

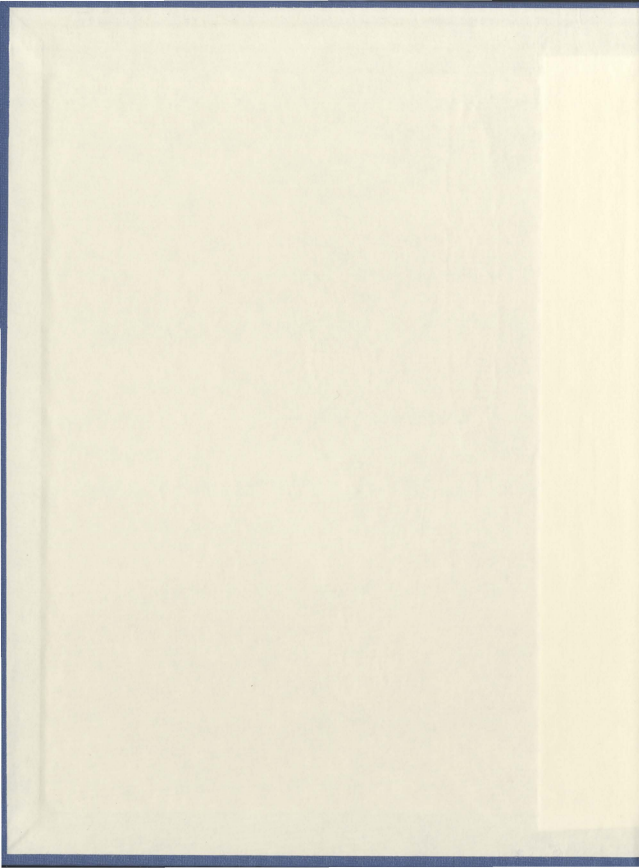
A DESCRIPTION OF PREVERB AND PARTICLE
USAGE IN INNU-AIMUN NARRATIVE

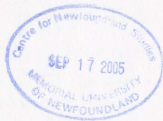
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JANE BANNISTER





A DESCRIPTION OF PREVERB AND PARTICLE USAGE IN
INNU-AIMÛN NARRATIVE

by

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Bachelor of Arts
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ABSTRACT

Sentences with multiple preverbs and/or particles are examined in this thesis. The data sentences were collected from the first 18 stories of the Labrador Innu Text Project. Chapter 1 is an introduction to Innu-aimun grammar, with sections on previous research into word ordering, especially preverb ordering. Chapter 2 describes the patterning, use and co-occurrence of the ten most common preverbs in the data sentences. Preverbs are subdivided into modal preverbs, temporal preverbs, aspectual preverbs and other preverbs. Chapter 3 discusses 28 common particles in the data. These particles are also divided into smaller groups, including complementizers, focus particles, negative particles, adverbs, temporal and aspectual particles, particles of speaker opinion and particles with changed forms. Both chapters 2 and 3 include discussion of regular patterns of ordering of preverbs or particles. Chapter 4 is an analysis of the use of the independent or conjunct orders following negative particles. Optimality Theory is used to explain Innu data, and sentences are analyzed based on Brittain (2001, 1997). A general thesis conclusion ends chapter 4.

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ABBREVIATIONS

p = particle	CIN = conjunct independent neutral
p.intrg = interrogative particle	IIN = indicative independent neutral
p.neg = negative particle	IIP = indicative independent preterite
p.comp = complementizer	IIN.P = indicative independent neutral perceptive
prv = preverb	dup = reduplicated
dem = demonstrative	ic = initial change, the change of the first vowel in a verb stem or in a compound verb
VAI = animate intransitive verb	inv = inverse
VTA = transitive animate verb	NA =animate noun
VII = inanimate intransitive verb	NI = inanimate noun
VTI = transitive inanimate verb	obv=obviative
indef = indefinite	CS = conjunct subjunctive
perc = perceptive	intns = intensifier
IMP = imperative	

1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the particles and preverbs of Innu-aimûn (Montagnais). Algonquian languages, including Innu-aimûn, encode adverbial information in many different ways: through the use of particles of time and manner; with preverbs; and with verbal suffixes. Preverbs display regular ordering patterns, which have been explained by templatic accounts (See Lees 1979, Wolfart 1967, 1973 for preverb templates). These regular ordering patterns indicate that Innu-aimûn is not a free word order language. Other studies on Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi languages have examined word order (See for instance Starks 1987 on Woods Cree, and Cyr 1996 on Montagnais). Starks' work deals with the ordering of subject, object and verb in the Algonquian sentence. She says "although Woods Cree is technically a free word order language...word order is not entirely free" (1987:215). Although many different orderings of subject, object and verb are grammatical, unmarked sentences routinely show SVO order (1987:220). Cyr finds that Montagnais behaves similarly, with speakers being able to move sentence constituents around while maintaining the original meaning of the sentence, but displaying "typical word order preferences", like SV ordering when the verb is in the independent and VS ordering when the verb is in the conjunct (1996:197). The independent and conjunct orders are discussed in section 1.2.

Less work has been done regarding the ordering of particles. Ogg (1991) discusses Plains Cree connective particles, focusing on their position in the clause with respect to nouns and verbs. Ogg says connective particles often occur at the left edge of the clause with other particles but her discussion does not focus on the relationship

between particles or ordering, except for some ‘frozen forms’, multi-particle constructions that function as single words. These frozen forms include *ékwa mîna* ‘then again’ and *mâka mîna* ‘as usual’.

Innu-aimûn sentences also allow multiple preverbs and particles at the left edge of the sentence. Cinque’s (1999) influential work suggests an underlying hierarchy of adverbial heads provided by Universal Grammar. This hierarchy of adverbials creates a regular ordering of adverbs in every language. Evidence of regular ordering of particles and preverbs in Innu-aimûn might reflect this hierarchy. A description of the environments various preverbs and particles occur in is included in this thesis, with summaries of any regular ordering patterns appearing in chapter 2 for preverbs and chapter 3 for particles.

1.1 Data and following chapters

I am using sentences from the first 18 stories of the Labrador Innu Text Project (LITP). The texts are transcriptions of legends and stories tape recorded in 1967 by Madeleine Lefebvre and Robert Lanari. The stories were told by elders native to and/or living in Sheshâtshû. Some storytellers are from Davis Inlet, a nearby Naskapi-speaking community. The stories are largely *âtânûkana*, myths and legends, although one of the stories is *tipatshimûn*. *Tipatshimûn* are reports on actual events that have taken place. The texts of the stories show the effects of linked discourse, since the same characters are present throughout an extended piece of text. Table 1.1 lists the book and story numbers, the title of the stories and the length of each story, indicated by the number of sentences.

Table 1.1: Labrador Innu Text Project Stories

Book-Story number	Title	Number of Sentences
I-1	Mishta-pâushtik ^u	8
I-2	Uâpush	15
I-3	Mishikamâunnû	40
I-4	Uâpush mâk Umâtshâshkuk ^u	166
I-5	Aiâsheu	107
I-6	Ka Uî Uîtshimikut Kâkua	69
I-7	Atîk ^u -Mîtsuâp	46
I-8	Ka Uitashkumat	48
I-9	Misses Hubbard	28
II-1	Tshishina Ka Nâtikut	38
II-2	Ka Katashkuet	43
II-3	Mishtamishk ^u	39
II-4	Meshapush	98
II-5	Kâiâkuâpisht Kâsht Ka Ishkuâtet	25
II-6	Ka Tshitishimâkanit Âtshen	41
II-7	Ka Uitatikumât	110
II-8	Tshishina Ka Nâtikut	30
II-9	Manitusha ka unâpemit ishkuêu	56

The free translation of the text was done by two native speakers of Innu-aimûn: Judith Hill and Kanani Penashue. The glosses were added by myself and Laurel-Anne Hasler, a fellow master's student. This work was as part of SSHRC grant number 410-2000-0413, 'A Cross-Linguistic Study of Focus/Topic Structure and Binding Relations in dialects of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language group'. Hasler and I made a literal translation of the stories, referring to the free translations, and used

Shoebbox to create morpheme by morpheme glosses of each sentence of the stories. These two books are part of a corpus of interlinearized texts that has been used for research into anaphoric relations, and is available for further research.

The three number references to the texts take the form book number-story number-sentence number. For instance, when an Innu-aimûn sentence is referred to as 2-9-045, the source of the data is book 2, story 9, line 045. I will use the following format for the examples throughout: appearing on the first line below the Innu-aimûn sentence is the morphological breakdown of the sentence. Below that is the morpheme by morpheme gloss. In the third line below the original sentence is the part of speech. The gloss and part of speech lines use abbreviations, listed in Table 1.2 below. Numbers are used in these lines to indicate person, with 1 indicating first person and so on, with the addition of 4 to mark the obviative. The final line is a free translation by an Innu-aimûn speaker. Within this thesis, non-LITP examples are numbered consecutively throughout each chapter. Table 1.2 shows the parts of speech used to describe the interlinearized text examples.

Table 1.2: Abbreviations

p = particle	CIN = conjunct independent neutral
p.intrg = interrogative particle	IIN = indicative independent neutral
p.neg = negative particle	IIP = indicative independent preterite
p.comp = complementizer	IIN.P = indicative independent neutral perceptive
prv = preverb	dup = reduplicated
dem = demonstrative	ic = initial change, the change of the first vowel in either the verb stem or a compound verb
VAI = animate intransitive verb	inv = inverse
VTA = transitive animate verb	NA =animate noun
VII = inanimate intransitive verb	NI = inanimate noun
VTI = transitive inanimate verb	obv = obviative
indef = indefinite	CS = conjunct subjunctive
perc = perceptive	intns = intensifier
IMP = imperative	

I created a Shoebox database of selected sentences from the LITP. These sentences were selected because they had multiple preverbs, particles or combinations of preverbs and particles. I then used the concordance tool of Shoebox to isolate sentences with a particular preverb or particle. The concordance tool searches the database for a requested target word. It also provides the text occurring before and after the target word. This allowed me to compare all the sentences with a particular preverb or particle, and to examine the environments preceding and following the target preverb or particle.

The preverbs examined follow in chapter two, with descriptions of their typical environment. A short section with some theoretical discussion of the placement of preverbs follows. Chapter three is comprised of discussion of the typical environments surrounding different particles. The particles have been subdivided into general categories, such as ‘complementizer’ and ‘negator’. Some analysis of specific particles also occurs in chapter three. Chapter four is an expansion of the information found in Clarke (1982) and Brittain (2001) regarding interrogative and negative particles. The chapter includes analysis of the complements selected by the negative particles of Innu-aimûn, using Optimality Theory. Theoretical background pertinent to this analysis is included in chapter four. Chapter one continues with discussion of the structure of Innu-aimûn, and of previous research on preverb in the language.

1.2 *The structure of Innu-aimûn*

I examine the dialect of Innu-aimûn spoken in Shetshâtshû, Labrador in this paper. Innu-aimûn is an Algonquian language of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi family. It is a polysynthetic language with an animate/inanimate gender contrast, where humans, supernatural beings, animals and some plants are animate. Non-living objects are usually inanimate. Examples of the animate/inanimate contrast follow in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: Animate and Inanimate nouns

Noun	Gloss	Gender
<i>nâpeu</i>	man	animate
<i>mânîtu</i>	spirit	animate

<i>uâpush</i>	rabbit	animate
<i>mishtikⁿ</i>	tree	animate
<i>utâpân</i>	car	inanimate
<i>nîpî</i>	water	inanimate
<i>ûsh</i>	boat	inanimate

Some non-living objects pattern grammatically as animate nouns, like *ashâm* ‘snowshoe’. This is common to all Algonquian languages, and has been discussed by many researchers, including Wolfart 1973 for Plains Cree and Darnell and Vaneck 1976 for Cree.

Innu-aimûn uses an obviation system to distinguish between different third persons in discourse. Grammatical markers are used to differentiate between third persons.

The verbs of Innu-aimûn, and of all Algonquian languages, are quite complex. Statements that require many words in English can be expressed in one Innu-aimûn word, as in *mishûieu* ‘s/he makes him/her fearful and defensive of his/her place’. Nouns can act as the root of a verb, as in *nâpeuâtshimu* ‘s/he exaggerates a story’, which has as its root the animate noun stem *nâpeu* ‘man’. Nouns can also act as medial modifiers, as in *muâkueu* ‘s/he eats porcupine’, with the noun *kâkⁿ* ‘porcupine’ (medial *âku*) modifying the verb *mueu* ‘s/he eats’.

Verbal inflection varies depending on the verb’s mode, order and transitivity. Transitive verbs are further classified as to whether their subject and/or object are animate or inanimate (Cyr 1996). A summary of Innu-aimûn transitivity classes and examples is in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: Transitivity in Innu-aimûn

verb class	example	gloss
inanimate intransitive (II)	<i>utâmitin</i>	'something knocks against an object or a surface'
animate intransitive (AI)	<i>utâmishinû</i>	's/he knocks him/herself against an object or surface'
transitive inanimate (TI)	<i>utâmaim</i>	's/he knocks on something'
transitive animate (TA)	<i>utâmishimeu</i>	's/he knocks someone against an object or surface'

Cyr (1996:189)

Figure 1.1 (based on Brittain 2001:21 for Western Naskapi, with modifications for Innu-aimûn from Baraby 1999:3) gives a summary of the subdivision of inflections possible for the four types of verbs (II, AI, TI, TA).

Figure 1.1: Verb Paradigms

Class	Order	Mode	Tense	Perceptive
II AI TI TA	Independent	Indicative	Neutral	yes
			Preterit	
		Indirect	Present	yes
			Past	yes
	Conjunct	Dubitative	Neutral	
			Preterit	
		Indicative	Neutral	
			Subjunctive/Habitual	
		Indirect		
Dubitative	Neutral			
	Preterit			
Imperative	Indicative			
		Indirect		

The term 'class' is used by Algonquianists to refer to the transitivity of the verb and the gender of its subject or object. 'Orders' are the three basic conjugation patterns which can, according to Clarke 1982, be predicted by structural position (ie as main clause or subordinate clause). In my data from the LITP, I find that independent and

conjunct verbs appear in main clauses. Conjunct verbs regularly appear following negators, interrogatives or complementizers.

The independent order is marked with pronominal prefixes and with suffixes. The conjunct order is marked only by a set of suffixes. The changed conjunct order uses the same suffixes as the conjunct order with the first vowel of the verb undergoing a regular pattern of change. If a preverb is associated with a verb in the changed conjunct, the first vowel of the preverb will be changed, rather than the first vowel of the verb stem. The verb ‘smoke’ is shown in Table 1.5. It appears in the independent, conjunct and changed conjunct orders.

Table 1.5: Order in Innu-aimûn (Clarke 1982:83)

Order	example	gloss
independent	<i>nipîtuân</i>	‘I am smoking’
conjunct	<i>pîtuâiânî</i>	‘if/when I smoke’
changed conjunct	<i>pâtuâiânî</i>	‘whenever I smoke’

Verb order has a functional effect on the sentence in narrative (Cyr 1996, 1994). The independent is used for backgrounded sentences, the conjunct marks the sequential events of the story and the changed conjunct indicates a sudden change in the state of the world (Cyr 1996:192-3).

Modal inflection varies depending on whether or not the speaker was a direct witness to the event being discussed, or depending on the amount of doubt the speaker has about the information. Baraby includes the Perceptive (called subjective by Brittain and elsewhere) as a mode. The perceptive is used for the speaker’s perceptions of events,

or for describing events that occurred in a dream. Table 1.6 shows examples of modal inflection.

Table 1.6: Mode in Innu-aimûn (Cyr 1996:188, with information from MacKenzie, personal communication)

Mode	example	gloss
indicative	<i>atusseu</i>	's/he works (I am sure about it)'
indirect	<i>atussetak</i>	's/he works (I am sure about it though I haven't witnessed it myself)'
perceptive	<i>ka-atusseua</i>	'it seems to me that s/he works'
dubitative	<i>atussitshe</i>	's/he must be working'
subjunctive	<i>atussetî</i>	'if/when s/he works'

The Innu-aimûn verb stem is modified for aspect and mood with preverbal elements. One of these elements is the preverb, a morpheme that can only appear before verbs and can take the pronominal prefixes used to conjugate the independent order. An example of a preverb with inflection for person prefixed to it is in (1b). Example (1a) shows the same verb without preverbal modification for tense.

- (1a) nuâpamâu
 ni- uâpam -âu
 1- see -1sg
 'I see him'

(Clarke 1982:41)

- (1b) nikauâpamâu
 ni- ka uâpam -âu

1- fut see -1sg
 'I will see him'

(Clarke 1982:41)

I define a preverb as any element that can occur between the pronominal prefix and the verb stem. Particles, in contrast, are free standing words that do not appear between elements of verbal morphology. The verb stem is the element to which preverbs are added. A preverb plus verb stem creates a compound verb.

The particle occurs preverbally and modifies the verb phrase, as seen in 1-8-003.

(1-8-003) **Tshek ekue** tshitshipâtât ne
 tshek ekue tshitshipâtâ -t ne
 then at.that.moment run.away -CIN.3 that
P **P** VAI -sfx pro.dem.an

auâss.
 auâss
 child
 NA

And **then**, the child ran off.

Particles can also modify word classes other than the verb.

(1-5-031) Ek^u tâpue nûtshikuâkanit anite ût
 ek^u tâpue nûtshiku -âkani -t anite ût
 then indeed bother -indf>3 -CIN.3 there from
P **P** VTA -sfx -sfx dem.adv **P**

ishpimît.
 ishpimît
 above
P

Then, indeed, he was tormented from above.

In 1-5-031, the particle *ût* 'from' seems to modify another particle, *ishpimît* 'above'.

Alternatively, it is modifying the discontinuous phrase *anite ... ishpimît* 'there ... above'.

In this case, *ût* is modifying a demonstrative and a particle.

As well, particles cannot take verbal inflection, unlike preverbs, as seen in examples (1a) and (1b). The sentence **Ni shâsh uâpâmâu* 'I already see him' could never occur. The particle *shâsh* 'already' must occur outside the verbal inflection. *Shâsh nuâpâmâu* is grammatical.

The basic test I use to determine the status of a word as particle or preverb is whether or not the word in question can appear following personal prefixes. Preverbs always can be preceded by personal prefixes. Particles never can.

1.3 *Previous research on tense, aspect and mood in Innu-aimûn*

A description of morphemes that inflect Innu-aimûn sentences for tense and aspect can be found in Clarke (1982) and Clarke and MacKenzie (2000). Innu-aimûn marks tense with a future preverb, a past preverb and a past tense paradigm of verbal inflection.

Aspectual variation is marked by various preverbs and by reduplication. Cyr (1994) argues that different verbal orders act as different aspects within Montagnais discourse. She says the independent order is used in narratives for background information, acting as the imperfective. The conjunct order has perfective properties and is used in the sentences that describe the chronological, foregrounded events of the story. The changed conjunct order is used to focus listener's attention on verbs that trigger the use of the conjunct (1994:181-183).

Preverbs can mark modal variation, as does the use of different inflection paradigms, as described in Drapeau (1996). She says that the modals expressed through

- (4) ninipā
ni- nipā
1- sleep-AI.IP
'I was asleep'

(Clarke 1982:46)

1.4 *Previous research on preverb ordering*

Algonquian languages can be regarded as free word order languages (Cyr 1996:197), but as Cyr (1996) and Starks (1987) show, there are preferred word orders. Although many words can occur in different places in a sentence, preverbs must occur as part of the verb, with variation of order occurring within the compound verb. The ordering of preverbs relative to one another is discussed further in chapter two. In the following sections of this chapter, I discuss some work that has been done on the ordering of preverbs in Innu-aimūn and in Plains Cree.

1.4.1 *Plains Cree preverbs*

Wolfart (1967) states that the Plains Cree verb stem is "preceded by two preverb positions any number of which, including none, may be occupied" (1967:5). This implies that every verb is preceded by two slots which may or may not be filled. In his 1973 work, Wolfart describes these two groups of preverbs. Preverbs of position 1 are complementizers and future tense markers. According to Wolfart, only one preverb of position 1 can occur in a verb phrase. He adds that position 1 preverbs differ from position 2 preverbs because they occur only as preverbs, and cannot occur as particles or as prenouns (Wolfart 1973:76-77). More than one position 2 preverb can occur in a verb phrase, and some of these preverbs can occur as prenouns and as particles, such as *ne:wo*

Table 1.7: Preverbs in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973)

Position 1	Position 2	Verb stem
complementizers, subordinator <i>kā-</i> future tense markers <i>ka-</i> and <i>kita-</i>	abstract and concrete preverbs, potential action and intention, past tense <i>kī-</i> , able to <i>kī-</i> , <i>wī-</i> 'intend to', <i>isi-</i> 'thus', <i>ō-</i> , <i>ohci</i> , 'from there, therefore, originally'.	
only one can appear	more than one can appear, no established order	

1.4.2 Lees - expanding the template

Lees (1979) bases his work on Wolfart's description of Position 1 and 2 preverbs in studying Sheshâtshû Innu-aimûn. He argues that preverbs can be divided into three classes, proposing an additional class: the 'preadverbials'. He describes preadverbials as "preverb-like particles". Preadverbials have properties characteristic of preverbs, but are not true preverbs, partly because they can act as prepositions (1979:126-127). Despite their name, preadverbials do not modify adverbials in the same way that preverbs modify the verb stem. Lees' enlarged template is illustrated in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8: Preverbs of Innu-aimûn (Lees 1979)

Position I	Position II	Position III	Verb stem
complementizers and tense markers	preadverbials	other preverbs	

Lees suggests the Innu-aimûn preverb/particle *ût* is a preadverbial (1979:127). *ût* is a preverbal form that acts in conjunction with *čekwa:n* (*tshekuân*) 'what' to produce questions that gloss as 'why', as in (7), where *wet* (*uet*) is the changed form of *ut*. The spelling conventions used in the following examples are those used by Lees.

- (7) *čekwa:no wet- otamowat atum?*
 what.obv because- hit dog
 'Why do you hit the dog?' (1979:111)

In (8) the presence of *čekwa:n* alone signifies 'what'.

- (8) *čekwa:no wi:yapatak na:pew?*
 what-obv see man
 'What does the man see?' (1979: 111)

Lees' position I contains complementizers and all tense markers. Wolfart's position I preverbs include the complementizers and only the future tense markers. Lees says that the complementizers and tense markers can only function as position I preverbs, and cannot occur in any other position. Position II is the preadverbial class. The members of this class vary more than position I preverbs. Lees states that the parameters of the class are not clear. Some position II morphemes are *ût*, *uî* 'want' and *tshî* 'can', but Lees adds that these "may also function as class III preverbs" (1979:127). The classification of position III preverbs is more open ended than position I. Lees states four members of this class: *ati*, *pe*, *pimî* and *pam*. (Lees 1979:128).

Based on this analysis, Lees comes to a number of conclusions: (1) preverbal particles are in a fixed order. Complementizers must precede preadverbials, and preadverbials must precede other preverbs. If two position I preverbs occur, Lees observes that the

complementizer must precede the tense markers. He also claims (2) all three preverbal positions need not be filled. Any two of the positions can be filled, or only one, or none at all. An example of this follows in (9). Two preverbs occur before the verb stem *patat*, the position I complementizer *ka:-* and the position III preverb *pim-* 'around'. Position II is unfilled.

- (9) meyo na:pew ka:- pim- patat
 p.neg na prv prv vai
 be.not man COMP around s/he.runs
 'it's not the man who runs around' (1979:129)

Lees also argues (3) the members of each preverbal class are mutually exclusive. For instance, only one complementizer and one tense preverb can occur in the position I slot. He adds that position II and III preverbs can, however, form compound preverbs. In (10), the position II preadverbials *út* and *wi:* have come together to form a compound position II preadverbial.

- (10) čekwa:no ka:- utwi: itotet?
 dem.obv comp prv-prv vai
 what COMP because-want go?
 'Why does he want to go?' (1979:129)

As well, Lees states (4) the preverbal element closest to the verb stem must attach to the verb stem. Finally, Lees claims (5) the "loosest point of linkage is not after the last preverb and before the verb stem, but after the position II preadverbial" (Lees 1979:129). This means that non-verbal elements can only be added after the position II slot. This has the further implication that other words can only appear between a position I preverb and

the verb stem if a preadverbial is present. Examples given by Lees are in (11) and (12), below.

(11) čekwa:no ka:- utwi: na:pew itotet?
 what-obv COMP because-want man s/he.goes
 'Why did the man want to go?' (Lees 1979:130)

(12) *čekwa:no šī:pa ka: iskwes itotet?
 what-obv under COMP girl s/he.goes
 'What did the girl go under?' (Lees 1979:130)

In (11) the position I *kā* is followed by the position II *ūtwi*. Since a preadverbial is present, the noun *na:pew* 'man' can appear before the verb. Example (12) is ungrammatical, Lees claims, because the noun *iskwes* 'girl' is between the position I preverb and the verb stem with no preadverbial present.

2. THE PREVERBS OF INNU-AIMŪN NARRATIVE

In this chapter, I describe the most frequently occurring preverbs in books 1 and 2 of the Labrador Innu Text Project. The description includes any regular patterns in the appearance of these preverbs, including proximity to clause boundaries or co-occurrence with any other preverb or particle. Any regular patterns of occurrence are compared with Cinque's (1999) theory of adverb ordering.

Regularity in the ordering of preverbs has been observed in other dialects of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language continuum, such as Wolfart's 1973 study of Plains Cree (1973). Ordering in Sheshâtshû Innu-aimûn is also described in Lees (1979). Both of these approaches are discussed in Chapter 1. Clarke (1982) states situations in Innu-aimûn where co-occurrence of particles causes rigid ordering. When the preverbs *ka-* 'future' and *pâ-* 'likelihood, moral obligation' co-occur with *uî-* 'volition' or *tshî-* 'be able to', *ka-* and *pâ-* must precede. As well, *ka-* and *pâ-* cannot occur together. *Uî-* and *tshî-* are mutually exclusive as well. (1982:41). I will now describe some of the preverbs of Innu-aimûn, shown in Table 2.1. I have separated the preverbs into four groups – the modal preverbs *uî-*, *tshî-* and *pâ-*; the temporal preverbs *tshe-*, *ka-* (although *tshe-* and *ka-* are alternate forms of the same preverb, they are discussed separately in this thesis) and *kâ-*; the aspectual preverbs *tshî-* and *kâtshî-*. The final section includes the complementizer *e-* and the perceptive prefix *ka-*. *Ka-*, although not a true prefix, is included because of its presence in the compound verb. More preverbs occur in the stories of the LITP, but so rarely that there was not sufficient data to discuss them.

Table 2.1: Preverbs occurring in LITP Books 1 and 2

Preverb	Changed form	Gloss
Modal		
<i>uî-</i>	<i>uâ</i>	want
<i>tshî-</i>		can, ability
<i>pâ-</i>		should
Temporal		
<i>tshe-</i>		future
<i>ka-</i>		future
<i>kâ-</i>		past
Aspectual		
<i>tshî-</i>		perfective
<i>kâtshî-</i>		after
Complementizer		
<i>e-</i>		so

2.1 Modal preverbs

2.1.1 *uî-* 'want', volition, intention, habit

Uî- is preceded by several different morphemes in different ways: preverbs link to *uî-*, forming a larger compound verb; and negative particles and demonstratives precede *uî-* with a word boundary intervening. *Uî-* is usually followed directly by the verb stem but in one case is followed by a pronoun. This means *uî-* is often the final preverb in a longer string of particles, negative particles and preverbs.

Uî- is preceded twice by the perceptive prefix *ka-*. When the perceptive prefix occurs, the verb is marked with a *-ua* suffix., with the perceptive marked by the *-ua* suffix on the verb. 1-4-006 is an example of this.

(1-4-006)	Ka	-	uî	utâmaitsheua		
	ka	uî		utâmaitsh	-e	-ua
	perc	try.to	hit		-(TA)3>4	-perc
	pfx	prv	VTA	-sfx		-sfx

"Now," he said. "Make us cold. Now you can make us cold once again, since that's what you wanted."

2-2-036 shows a verb phrase made of the negative particle *ekā*, the past preverb *kā-*, the volitional preverb *uī-* and then the verb in the conjunct.

(2-2-036)	- Eitune	mā,	itikū,		
	(Unknown)	mā	it -iku	-u	
		intns	say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3	-IIN.3	
		p	VTA -sfx	-sfx	
	ekā	kā	uī	tshītūtein	!
	ekā	kā	uī	tshītūte -in	!
	not	past	want	leave	-(AI)CIN.2S !
	p.neg	prv	prv	VAI	-sfx

"You have been doing this," he said to her, "you did not want to leave! "

The following example, 2-2-014 shows *uī-* following a negative particle as part of a question, marked by the interrogative phrase *tshekuānnītshe uet*. *Tshekuān*, glossed as 'what', is translated as 'why' because of the presence of *uet* following the verb of speaking. The status of *uet* is discussed further in section 3.7.1. where its behavior as a particle with preverb characteristics is expanded upon.

(2-2-014)	«Tshekuānnītshe	»,	itenimeu,		
	tshekuān -nītshe		itenim	-eu	
	what	-IDN.obv	think	-(TA)IIN.3>4	
	p	-sfx	VTA	-sfx	
	« uet	ekā	uī	tshītūtet	? »
	ūt	ekā	uī	tshītūte -t	
	IC.because	not	want	leave	-CIN.3
	p	p.neg	prv	VAI	-sfx

"Why", he was thinking, "does she not want to go?"

Uâ- is the changed form of *uî-* and thus appears at the leftmost edge of the compound verb. Examples from the LITP show *uâ-* appearing after a clause boundary, a demonstrative, a negative particle and a string of particles. It can be joined with another preverb in a compound verb. In 1-3-037, *uâ-* appears before the compound verb *nâtshi-uâpamât* 's/he is going to see him/her'. *Nâtshi* is described as a 'concrete' preverb in Clarke 2000/1986, in contrast with the 'abstract', more tense related preverbs.

(1-3-037)	Ek ^u ât	niâtâti,		
	ek ^u ât	nât	-âti	
	then even.if	IC.go.to	-(TA)CS.3>4	
	p p	VTA	-sfx	
	uâ	nâtshi-	uâpamât,	ek ^u apû
	uî	nâtshi-	uâpam -ât	ek ^u apû
	IC.try.to	going.to	see	-(TA)CIN.3>4 then not
	prv	prv	VTA -sfx	p p.neg
	uâpamât	pieshuâpamâti.		
	uâpam -ât	peshuâpam -âti		
	see	-(TA)CIN.3>4	IC.near	-(TA)CS.3>4
	VTA -sfx	VTA	-sfx	

When he went to her, when he went to try to see her,
when he got close he could no longer see her.

There are no other examples of *uâ-* occurring with another preverb. An explanation for this can be found in Western Naskapi. The Western Naskapi cognate of *nâtshi-* seems to be processed as part of the verb stem by speakers, as opposed to being part of a compound verb. This means a Western Naskapi speaker's lexicon would have entries for both 'see' and 'go to see' as separate verbs. The evidence of Western Naskapi *nâtshi-* being part of the verb stem is that it is the only preverb that undergoes reduplication, a process that normally only affects the left edge of the verb stem. If *nâtshi-* is analyzed as part of the verb stem by Innu-aimûn speakers as well, then the compound verb would be

formed by the addition of *uâ-* to the verb stem *nâtshi-uâpamât*. This would support the observation that *uî-* and *uâ-* generally occur to the immediate left of the verb stem (Julie Brittain, personal communication).

There are three sentences where *uâ-* follows particles, as below. As well, all these examples show the particle *ât* occurring immediately to the left of *uâ-*. *Ât* is glossed in the dictionary as 'even if, all the same, in spite of the fact that'. *Ât* here is translated differently. Instead of 'even if', the free translation uses 'when' or 'while'.

(1-5-018) Ek^u ne nienekâtenitishit ne
 ek^u ne nekâtenitishi -t ne
 then that IC.suffer.dup.reflx -CIN.3 that
 p pro.dem.an VAI -sfx pro.dem.an

kûkûminâsh nânitam ât
 kûkûminâsh nânitam ât
 old.woman all.the.time even.if
 NA p p

uâ pitûtsheshiti,
 uî pitûtsheshi -ti
 IC.want enter.dim -(AI)CS.3
 prv VAI -sfx

nenua puâteu
 nenua puât -e -u
 that dream -(TA)TS.dir.3>4 -IIN.3
 pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl) VTA -sfx -sfx

ukussa : « Niká » !
 u- kuss -a ni- ûkâuí !
 3- son -obv(s/pl) 1- mother.voc !
 pfx- NAD -sfx pfx- NAD !

Then the old woman was always miserable. When she went in she always dreamed of her son calling: "Mom!"

(1-5-043) Ek^u ât **uâ** pitûtshet anite ne
 ek^u ât uî pitûtshet -t anite ne
 then even.if IC.want enter -CIN.3 there that
 p p prv VAI -sfx dem pro.dem

kûkûminâsh, ek^u ishkutenû anite
 kûkûminâsh ek^u ishkuteu -inû anite

old.woman	then	fire	-obv	there
NA	p	NI	-sfx	dem.adv

ekue	itinamuât		tshimannû,
ekue	itinamu -ât		tshiman -inû
and.then	hand	-(TA)CIN.3p>4	match -obv(s/pl)
p	VTA	-sfx	NI -sfx

ekue	ishkuâshuât		nenua.
ekue	ishkuâshu -ât		nenua
and.then	burn	-IIN.3>4	that
p	VTA	-sfx	pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl)

Then when the old woman wanted to go inside, then they handed her a stick on fire and then a match, and then they burned her.

(2-4-040) Ek^u apû tshî uinameshet eshk^u,
 ek^u apû tshî uinameshe -t eshk^u
 then not able clean.fish -CIN.3 still
 p p.neg prv VAI -sfx p

ushâm	papakâshinû		nenû,
ushâm	papakâshi -ini -u		nenû
because	be.thin.dim	-obv -IIN.3	that
p	VII	-sfx -sfx	pro.dem.in.obv

uâkâpissinam ^u			mâni
uâkâpissin -am		-u	mâni
bend	-(TI)TS.3>4	-IIN.3	usually
VTI	-sfx	-sfx	p

nenû	ât	uâ	uinameshetî.
nenû	ât	ui	uinameshe -tî
that	even.if	IC.try	clean.fish -(AI)CS.3
pro.dem.in.obv	p	prv	VAI -sfx

But, he couldn't clean the fish yet. It was too thin. He kept bending it as he tried to clean the fish.

2.1.2 tshî- 'ability'

My data show *tshî-* 'can/able.to' appearing either sentence initially, or following one to three particles, negative particles or preverbs. However, this grouping can only contain one negative particle. *Tshî-* most often occurs directly to the left of the verb

stem. It is shown as the final preverb in a string of preverbs in 1-6-018, following. The future preverb *tshika-* precedes *tshî-*.

(1-6-018) Apû tshika **tshî** nipâit,
 apû tshika tshî nipâi -t
 not fut.3 able kill -(TA)CIN.3>1
 p.neg prv prv VTA -sfx

itikû.
 it -iku -u
 say -(TA)inv.4>3 -IIN.3
 VTA -sfx -sfx

"He will not be able to kill me," he said to her.

Sentence 2-4-004 shows *tshî-* following two particles: *muk^u* 'but' and the negative particle *apû*. *Tshî-* directly precedes the verb stem, as in 1-6-018, above.

(2-4-004) Āt tshikākuāteu māni,
 āt tshikākuāt -eu māni
 even.if spear -(TA)IIN.3>4 usually
 p VTA -sfx -sfx p

muk^u apû **tshî** nipâiāt.
 muk^u apû tshî nipâi -āt
 but not able kill -(TA)CIN.3>4
 p p.neg prv VTA -sfx

He would spear them, but he couldn't kill them.

2-4-012 shows *tshî-* following the future preverb *ka-*, and directly before the verb stem. Clarke (1982:40) says the preverbs *ka-* and *pâ-* typically precede *tshî-*.

(2-4-012) - Māuāt apû **tshika tshî** nipâit.
 māuāt apû tshika tshî nipâi -it
 no not fut.3 able kill -(TA)CIN.3>1
 p.neg p.neg pfx- prv VTA -sfx

"No, he will not be able to kill me."

There are some exceptions where *tshî-* is not directly followed by the verb stem. It can also be followed by a particle and the verb, as in 1-5-027, where *tshî-* is preceded by the negative particle *apû*, and followed by the particle *minekâsh* 'long time' and finally by the verb stem.

(1-5-027) Apû **tshî** minekâsh nûkushiân,
 apû tshî minekâsh nûkush -iân
 not can long.time be.visible -(AI)CIN.1
 p.neg prv p VAI -sfx

tshessinât tshika nûtshikâkâunân.
 tshessinât tshika ni- utshikâkâu -inân
 surely fut.3 1- come.after -IIN.3>1p
 p prv pfx- VTA -sfx

"I cannot show myself or else they will come after us."

A negative particle occurs between *tshî-* and the verb stem in 1-5-040.

(1-5-040) Ek" nâhî kûkûminâsh anite, tân
 ek" nâhî kûkûminâsh anite tân
 then that(over.there) old.woman there how
 p pro.dem.an NA dem.adv p

tshipâ **tshî** ekâ natuâpameu.
 tshipâ tshî ekâ natuâpam -eu
 should.3 can not look.for -(TA)IIN.3>4
 prv prv p.neg VTA -sfx

Then that old woman, how can she not go to him?

1-6-013 is a question formed with the interrogative clitic *-â*. *Tshi-* occurs both before and after *-â*. The clitic focuses its interrogative force on the word it is cliticized

to, so in this sentence, the speaker's ability to eat is being questioned, not the action of eating or the tree as object. *Tshî-* may be repeated here to place even more emphasis on the speaker's ability to eat. In this legend, a giant porcupine proposes marriage to a human woman. She asks the porcupine the following question, wondering if she will have the same powers as the porcupine after their marriage.

(1-6-013)	Nipâ		tshî â	tshî muâu		mishtik ^{u?}
	ni-	pâ	tshî â	tshî mu	-âu	mishtik ^u
	1-	should	can	intrg	can eat	-(TA) IIN.1>3 tree
	pfx-	prv	prv p	prv	VTA -sfx	NA

"Would I be able to eat a tree?"

2.1.3 *pâ-* 'should'

In my data from the first 18 stories of the LITP, *pâ-* usually appears as *tshipâ-*. *Tshipâ-* is either the third person form of *pâ-*, or *pâ-* with the second person prefix *tshî-*. A similar process occurs with other preverbs such as *ka-* 'future' and *pâtshî-* 'potentiality'. This contrast is shown for *ka-* in (13) and (14) below. (13) shows *ka-* with the first person prefix. (14) shows *tshika-*, with no person prefix.

(13) Nika-uâpamâu
 ni- ka- uâpam -âu
 1- fut- see -(TA) IIN.1>3
 pfx- prv- VTA -sfx
 "I will see him"

(14) Tshika-uâpameu
 tshika- uâpam -eu
 fut.3- see -(TA) IIN.3>3'
 prv- VTA -sfx
 "S/he will see him/her"

(Clarke 1982:41)

(*Tshipâ*- appears preceded by a clause boundary, a demonstrative, and a string of a demonstrative and a particle. This preverb is often first in a string of preverbs and particles, but can also be the only preverbal information before a verb stem. *Tshipâ*- is often used in questions, with the usual word ordering *tân tshipâ tshî V*. As well, a word order like *tânite tshipâ ut tshî V* occurs. *Pâ*- precedes the preverb *tshî*- in both these question word orderings, as described by Clarke (1982:41). 1-5-040 shows the first word ordering in a question. Example 1-6-107 has the second word ordering for an interrogative. These examples also show particles occurring between preverbs and the verb stem. In 1-5-040, the negative particle *ekâ* follows the preverbs *tshipâ*- and *tshî*- and occurs directly to the left of the verb stem. In 1-6-107, the particle *ût* follows the preverb *pâ*- and precedes the compound verb *tshî*- *ûtshimitin*.

(1-5-040)	Ek ^u nâhî		kûkûminâsh anite, tân	
	ek ^u nâhî		kûkûminâsh anite tân	
	then that (over.there)		old.woman there how	
	p pro.dem.an		NA dem.adv p	
	tshipâ tshî	ekâ	natuâpameu.	
	tshipâ tshî	ekâ	natuâpam -eu	
	should.3 can	not	look.for -(TA) IIN.3>4	
	prv prv	p.neg VTA	-sfx	
	Then that old woman, how can she not fetch him?			
(1-6-017)	Tânite tshipâ	ût	tshî ûtshimitin	?
	tânite tshî- pâ	ût	tshî ûtshim -itin	
	where 2- should	because	can live.with -IIN.1>2	
	p.intrg pfx- prv	p	prv VTA -sfx	
	"How can I marry you?"			

Pâ- does not always indicate question formation, as in 2-7-007, where *pâ*- appears as part of the compound verb, and is preceded by the intensifier particle *mâ*.

(2-7-007) - Eukuan mâ tshipâ
 eukuan mâ tshi- pâ
 that's.it intns 2- should
 dem p pfx- prv

peshuâpamâu
 peshuâpam -âu
 get.closer -(TA) IIN.2>3
 VTA -sfx

eshinamin, iteu.
 ishin -amin it -eu
 IC.perceive.s.t-(TI)CIN.2>3 say -(TA) IIN.3>4
 VTI -sfx VTA -sfx

"Then you might get very close to them, according to what you see in your dream," he said.

2.1.4 Conclusion of modal preverbs

The modal preverbs examined above can all appear directly before the verb, but *tshî-* and *pâ-* allow other particles and preverbs to follow them. The modals can occur first in a clause, but also allow other preverbs or particles to precede them.

The changed modal preverb *uâ-* 'volition' can be preceded by the particle *ât* 'even if', although it is not required that the two co-occur.

Modal preverbs tend to co-occur with other modal preverbs, but can follow temporal preverbs.

2.2 Temporal preverbs

2.2.1 *tshe-* 'future'

There are 31 sentences that use the preverb *tshe-* 'future' in the first 18 stories of the LITP. No preverbs appear before *tshe-* in my data sample. *Tshe-* occurs in nine sentences after a sentence/clause boundary. The remainder of the sentences show *tshe-* following demonstratives or particles. *Tshe-* immediately precedes the verb stem in most

of the sentences, but can also have a particle, a negative particle or a preverb intervening.

In example 2-6-022, *tshe-* appears in a question, following an interrogative particle and followed by the modal preverb *tshî-* 'ability'.

(2-6-022)	Tânite	tshe	tshî	pimûteiâk ^u		ek ^u ?
	tânite	tshe	tshî	pimûte	-iâk ^u	ek ^u
	where	fut	able	walk	-(AI)CIN.21pl	so
	p.intrg	prv	prv	VAI	-sfx	p

Where will we walk there?

Example 2-7-099 shows *tshe-* after two particles, and preceding the verb stem.

(2-7-099)	Eukuannû		mâ	ek ^u	tshe
	eukuan	-inû	mâ	ek ^u	tshe
	that's.it	-obv(s/pl)	intns	then	fut
	dem	-sfx	p	p	prv

tshîtshîpaitûht.
 tshîtshîpâitu -ht
 run.away -(AI)CIN.3p
 VAI -sfx

Then they start off in haste.

The future and the perfective, discussed in 2.3.1, do not seem to appear in the same position in the structure of Innu-aimûn. This can be seen in a comparison of two sentences that contain the particle *ût*. *Ût* in these sentences is a particle of space, indicating the source of something being discussed. In the sentence with the future preverb *tshe-*, the verb clause appears with the future preverb first, followed by *ût*, then the verb. When *ût* appears with the perfective preverb *tshî-*, it precedes the preverb and the verb. In the examples which follow, 1-8-031 shows the future preverb, and 1-5-060 shows the perfective preverb.

(1-8-031) Nānitam tshika uāpimin anite
 nānitam tshi- ka uāpam -n anite
 always 2- fut see -IIN.2 there
 p pfx- pfx VTA -sfx dem.adv

tshe ūt piputueiān,
 tshe ūt piputue -iān
 fut from.there send.smoke.rising -(AI)CIN.1
 prv prv VAI -sfx

pātush shūk^u shāuennānūti.
 pātush shūk^u shiueni -nānū -ti
 after lots IC.be.hungry -CIN.Indef -(AI)CS.3
 p p VAI -sfx -sfx

You will always see me where I will send up smoke,
 but only if the people are very hungry.

(1-5-060) - Tānite tshipā ūt tshī takushinū
 tānite tshipā ūt tshī takushin -u
 however should.3 from perf arrive -IIN.3
 p.intrg prv p prv VAI -sfx

tshikuss?
 tshi- kuss
 2- son
 pfx- NAD

How in the world could your son have returned?

It seems that the future preverb moves past the particle *ūt*, but the perfective preverb does not, or that the particle originates closer to the verb stem in the sentence with the future preverb than it does in the sentence with the perfective. More data would be required to more conclusively describe the placement of these two preverbs.

2.2.2 *ka* 'future'

In my database, the future preverb *ka-* appears with the person marking prefixes *ni-* '1st person' and *tshi-* '2nd person'. In the third person, *ka-* always appears as *tshika-*, unmodified for person. This is the same process that affects *pā-*, discussed above in section 2.1.3. The *tshi* element of *tshika-* is not a second person prefix. Personal prefixes

indicate that the verb to follow is in the independent order. *Tshika-*, however, can occur with both the independent and the conjunct.

My data show the future preverb is preceded by a clause or sentence boundary, particles or negative particles. *Ka-* is most commonly followed by the verb stem or a preverb, often *tshî-* 'ability'. Clarke (1982:41) observes that *ka-* often precedes *tshî-* 'ability'.

Example 2-8-007 shows the first person *nika-* preceded by two particles and directly to the left of the verb stem.

(2-8-007) - Eshk^u minuât nika takushin,
 eshk^u minuât ni- ka takushin
 later again 1- fut arrive
 p p pfx- prv VAI

itikû,
 it -iku -u tshe ishin
 say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3 fut say -CIN.2>1
 VTA -sfx -sfx prv VTA -sfx

mâ takushiniânî minuât.
 mâ takushin -iânî minuât
 intns arrive -(AI)CS.1 again
 p VAI -sfx p

"I will return," he said, "and then you will tell me when I get back."

1-5-030 shows *ka-* preceded by the second person *tshî-*.

(1-5-030) Shûk mitshimini, itikû,
 shûk mitshimin -i it -iku -u
 go.ahead hold -Imp.2 say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3
 p VTA -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx

shûk tshika utâmuâuat
 shûk tshî- ka utâmu -âuat
 go.ahead 2- fut hit.with.s.t. -(TA)IIN.2>3p
 p pfx- prv VTA -sfx

niteshkanat.

nit- eshkan -at
 1- horn -NA.pl

"Hold on to me tightly," he said to him. "You will hit my horns hard."

In 2-4-012, the third person *tshika-* follows the negative particle *apû*, and precedes *tshî-* 'ability' and the conjunct verb stem *nipâit* 'he kills me'.

(2-4-012) Mâuât apû **tshika** tshî nipâit.
 mâuât apû tshika tshî nipâi -t
 no not fut.3 able kill -(TA)CIN.3>1
 p.neg p.neg prv prv VTA -sfx

"No, he will not be able to kill me."

In 1-6-020, *tshika* again follows *apû* and precedes *tshî*.

(1-6-020) Kie apû **tshika** tshî nâtishk
 kie apû tshika tshî nât -ishk
 and not fut.3 can fetch CIN.3>2
 p.conj p.neg prv prv VTA -sfx

tshinâpem, tshî uitshimitâni.
 tshî- nâpeu -im tshî uitshim -itâni
 2- man -poss perf live.with -CS.1>2
 pfx- NA -sfx prv VTA -sfx

And, your husband will not be able to come rescue you, after you marry me.

2.2.3 *kâ-* 'past'

Kâ- can be preceded by a demonstrative, noun, particle or the clause boundary. It is followed by the verb stem, a compound verb, or a particle and the verb stem. In 2-2-036 following, *kâ-* is preceded by the negative particle *ekâ* and followed by the verb compound *û- tshîûteîn*.

(2-2-036) - Eitune mâ, itikû,
 (Unknown) mâ it -iku -u
 intns say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3
 p VTA -sfx -sfx

eká	ká	uí	tshítúteín	!	
eká	ká	uí	tshítúte	-ín	!
not	past	want	leave	-(AI)CIN.2S	!
p.neg	prfx	prv	VAI	-sfx	!

"You have been doing this," he said to her, "because you did not want to leave!"

In 1-5-039, *ká*- is preceded by the particle *sháshish* 'long ago', the interrogative particle *tánite* 'where' and the demonstrative *nete* 'there'. *Ká*- occurs directly to the left of the verb stem.

(1-5-039)	Sháshish	tánite	nete	ká
	sháshish	tánite	nete	ká
	long.ago	where	over.there	past
	p.temp	p.intrg	dem.adv	prv
	músháueunákanit.			
	músháueun		-ákani	-t
	bring.to.open.water		-indf>3	-CIN.3
	VTA		-sfx	-sfx

It had been a long time ago when he had been taken away from here.

2.2.4 Conclusion of temporal preverbs

The temporal preverbs can all appear clause-initially, and all tend to appear immediately before the verb, without other particles or preverbs intervening. It is not required that they precede the verb directly, however. Each temporal preverb can be followed by a particle, or another preverb. The temporal particles can also be preceded by other preverbs or a particle. In terms of ordering of preverb class, the temporal preverbs precede the modal preverbs.

2.3 Aspect preverbs

2.3.1 Perfective *tshî-*

The perfective *tshî-* occurs much less often than the modal *tshî-* in the stories of the LITP. Of the 48 sentences found with *tshî-*, only seven have the perfective *tshî-*. Perfective *tshî-* occurs directly before the verb in all of the sentences. It is found following a demonstrative, a clause boundary, and a particle. Some examples follow, the first of which, 2-9-045, has three occurrences of perfective *tshî-*, in a case of parallel structure. The first occurrence of *tshî-* in 2-9-045 shows that Innu-aimûn allows discontinuity in the verb phrase. The pronoun *nenû*, referring to the toboggan that is referenced as part of the verb *utâpânitsheu* 'he gets the sled ready', occurs between *shâsh* 'already' and the perfective *tshî-*.

(2-9-045) Shâsh nenû **tshî** utâpânitsheu,
 shâsh nenû tshî utâpânitsh -eu
 already that perf get.sled.ready -(TA) IIN.3>4
 p pro prv VTA -sfx

shâsh **tshî** âneu, shâsh
 shâsh tshî ân -eu shâsh
 already perf place.st -(TA) IIN.3>4 already
 p prv VTA -sfx p

tshî uishkuetâpâteu
 tshî uishkuetâpât -eu
 perf wrap.st -(TA) IIN.3>4
 prv VTA -sfx

utauâssîma.
 u- auâss -im -a
 3- child -poss -obv(s/pl)
 pfx- NA -sfx -sfx

He had already gotten his toboggan ready. He already had his children wrapped in the toboggan.

(1-4-100) Pâtush **tshî** mitshishuiâni, tshe
 pâlush tshî mitshishu -iâni tshe

after perf eat -(AI)CS.1 fut
p prv VAI -sfx prv

mítshishuín.
mítshishu -in
eat -(AI)CIN.2
VAI -sfx

"When I am done eating, then you can eat."

(2-4-023) - Shāsh tshitshī tshissinuāpamitin,
shāsh tshi- tshī tshissinuāpam -itin
already 1- perf learn.by.observing -IIN.1>2
p pfx- prv VTA -sfx

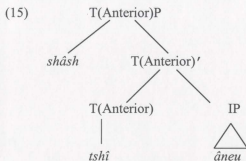
iteu, etānapītshein,
it -eu itānapītshe -in
say -(TA)IIN.3>4 IC.weave.certain.way -(AI).CIN.2
VTA -sfx VAI -sfx

etāpekaut tshitānapi.
itāpekau -t tshi- ānapi
IC.weave -CIN.2> 2- net
VTA -sfx pfx- NA

"I already saw what you were doing", he said to him,
"the way you weave your net".

Every instance of *tshī-* in 2-9-045 is preceded by the particle *shāsh*, 'already'.

This doubly marks the perfective, as the completion of the event is signaled by the perfective preverb and the particle. This is also seen in the examples that follow 2-9-045. In 1-4-100 *tshī-* follows the particle *pātush* 'after'. In 2-4-023, *tshī-*, marked with the person marker *tshi-*, follows *shāsh*. Cinque (1999:77) claims these constructions like this in English contain an adverbial phrase that acts as a specifier to a functional head. (15) below shows the middle clause of 2-9-045. Cinque suggests the label of T(Anterior) accompanies the English adverb 'already' (1999:82-83).



The placement of the verb in I, rather than in V, is based on Brittain (2001).

2.3.2 *kâtshî-* 'after'

Kâtshî- often occurs sentence or clause initially, but can also follow demonstratives and particles. *Kâtshî-* is followed by the verb stem, demonstratives and particles. 1-5-098 shows *kâtshî-* as the only preverb in a compound verb.

(1-5-098)	Ek ^u	nenû		kâtshî	aitit,	
	ek ^u	nenû		kâtshî	iti	-t
	then	that		after	do.dup	-CIN.3
	p	pro.dem.in.obv	prv	VAI		-sfx
	ûkâuia			ek ^u	tshe	
	u-	ûkâui	-a	ek ^u	tshe	
	3-	mother	-obv(s/pl)	then	fut	
	px-	NAD	-sfx	p	prv	
	ueueshiât.					
	ueueshi		-ât			
	decide.on		-(TA)CIN.3>4			
	VTA		-sfx			

After doing this, he decided what to do with his mother.

2-3-038 allows a demonstrative, *nenua*, between the preverbal information and the verb. The demonstrative is referring to the object of the verb.

(2-3-038) **Kâtshî** mā nenua nipâiât
 kâtshî mā nenua nipâi -ât
 after intns that kill -(TA)CIN.3>4
 prv p pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl) VTA -sfx

itâkanû nânâ
 it -âkani -u nânâ
 say -Indef -IIN.3 that (dead)
 VTA -sfx -sfx pro.dem.an

nimushumipan, eukuannû
 ni- mushum -pan eukan -inû
 1- grandfather -absent that's.it -obv(s/pl)
 pfx- NAD -sfx pro.dem -sfx

nepit.
 nipi -t
 IC.die -CIN.3
 VAI -sfx

After he had killed them, it is said, my late ancestor died.

In 1-3-012, *kâtshî-* is preceded by a particle, a demonstrative and a particle. After *kâtshî-* there is a NP *nenua âkaneshâua* 'that white man', and then the remainder of the compound verb. The verbal complex is made discontinuous by the subject of the verb.

(1-3-012) Tâpue nenû mâ **kâtshî** nenua
 tâpue nenû mâ kâtshî nenua
 indeed that intns after that
 p pro.dem.in.obv p prv pro.dem.obv(s/pl)

âkaneshâua uî tûtâkût,
 âkaneshâua -a uî tûta -iku -t
 Englishman -obv(s/pl) try.to do -inv -CIN.3
 NA -sfx prv VTI -sfx -sfx

tshînitshînikuânitshimeu nenû Mishikamânû.
 tshînikuânitshime -u nenû Mishikamâu -inû

paddles.around.it	-IIN.3	that	Mishikamau	-obv
VAI	-sfx	pro.obv	N.name	-sfx

Indeed, after the white man did this to him, he would go round and round Mishikamau.

2.3.3 Conclusion of aspect preverbs

The two aspect preverbs appear following the clause boundary or following demonstratives, particles or preverbs. *Tshî-* always appears before the verb stem in my data. *Kâtshî-* immediately precedes the verb stem, creating a compound verb. In some cases, the compound verb is made discontinuous by a noun phrase or a particle that occurs between *kâtshî-* and the verb stem.

2.4 Other preverbs

2.4.1 *e-* 'so'

E-, according to James (1991) signals the semantic function of an embedded clause in the context of the sentence as a whole, rather than giving tense information. James states it occurs with the conjunct, which is what I find in the stories of the LITP. She claims *e-* appears "in place of initial change in the first syllable of the verb" (1991:4). This suggests that it should appear as close to the verb stem as possible. In my data from the first 18 stories of the LITP, there are no preverbs that occur between *e* and the verb stem. *E-* is preceded only by particles and by clause boundaries. Brittain (2001) argues that *e-* acts as a subordinator. If *e-* is a subordinator, it belongs in C in the structure of an Innu-aimûn sentence. This then suggests that particles do not form part of the verb phrase, but rather occupy a slot outside of C.

The following examples show *e-* with one or two particles preceding.

(1-3-017) Tshék má e manásh̄tet utin
 tshék má e manásh̄te -t utin
 then intns so break.spruce.branches -CIN.3 take
 p p prv VAI -sfx VTA

ne ishkuess, uí tashkamassekaim^u
 ne ishkuess uí tashkamassekaim -u
 that girl try.to cross.bog -IIN.3
 dem.an NA prv VTI -sfx

nenû massekussinû anite
 nenû massek^u -ss -inû anite
 that muskeg -dim -obv(s/pl) there
 dem.in.obv NI -sfx -sfx dem.adv

takuannû ekue
 takuan -inû ekue
 be -obv at.that.moment
 VII -sfx p

tshítáussutshipanit.
 tshítáussuátshipani -t
 sink.in.mud -CIN.3
 VAI -sfx

While she was picking boughs, the girl tried to cross the bog. It was that small bog there where she went into the mud.

(2-2-004) Tshíuepātuáú apishish, muk^u peikuáú
 tshíuepātuá -u apishish muk^u peikuáú
 run.home.carrying -IIN.3 little only once
 VAI+O -sfx p p p

e mítshishut.
 e mítshishu -t
 so eat -CIN.3
 prv VAI -sfx

She took home a little bit of it, only enough for one meal.

In other languages of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi continuum, other preverbs can appear between *e-* and the verb stem. Wolfart cites the Plains Cree example *ē-kīh-wīhtamākot* 'when he told him' (1973:77). East Cree also allows preverbs to appear

between *e-* and the verb stem as in the subordinate clause *e-chî-takusiĥk* 'that the man came' (Clarke et al 1993:41).

2.4.2 *ka-* 'perceptive'

Perceptive *ka-* is always accompanied by a verb with perceptive marking. Because it is linked with a verbal suffix, *ka-* is not a true preverb, but rather a prefix. It is included in this discussion because it appears as part of the compound verb. The perceptive is used to convey things as they appear to the speaker. The perceptive *ka-* is preceded by a clause or sentence boundary, by a particle or by a demonstrative. It is usually followed by a verb with the perceptive suffix *-ua*, which ends the sentence or clause. Some examples of the perceptive follow. In 1-2-012, the perceptive follows the interrogative compound *tshekuân uet*.

(1-2-012)	Ek ^u	tshekuân	uet	
	ek ^u	tshekuân	ût	
	then	what	IC.from	
	p	p	p	
	ka-	tshikâkânuâshkupuâmenâua	?	
	ka	tshi-	kânuâshkupuâme	-nâ-ua
	perc	2-	have.long.thighs.dup	-(AI)IIN.P.2
	prv	prfx-	VAI	-sfx

"Then why do your thighs seem so long?"

Two sentences with the perceptive allow a particle between the perceptive prefix and the verb. One of these sentences is illustrated below. 2-9-005 shows the particle *ût*, here meaning 'from', between the prefix and the verb.

(2-9-005)	Ka	-	ût		shâtshishkueua	
	ka		ût		shâtshishkue	-ua
	perc		from/because		stick.out.head	-IIN.P
	prv		p		VAI	-sfx
	nâpeu,	ek ^u	shâsh			
	nâpeu	ek ^u	shâsh			
	man	so/then	already			
	NA	p	p			
	ka	-	nimishta	-	minuâtâua.	
	ka	ni-	mishta	minuât	-âua	
	perc	1-	very	like	-(TA)IIN.P	
	px	px-	px	VTA	-sfx	

"A man's head seemed to appear, and then right away I was really attracted to him."

Ût is not an initial, that is, part of the verb stem in this sentence. There is no room for an initial in the verb *shâtshishkue-ua*; the slot in the verb template for initials is filled by *shâtshi-* 'appear'. The medial position is filled with *-sku-* meaning 'head', and the final is the suffix *-e-*, indicating that the verb is animate intransitive. Wolfart describes three verb-internal components in Plains Cree: the obligatory initial, the optional medial and the final (1973:63). *Ût* has an antecedent in the preceding sentence in the story – the man's head appears from a rotten log. The perceptive is used in this sentence because a woman is quoted telling the story of what happened in her dream.

The second clause of 2-9-005, reprinted below, also contains prefixes between the perceptive prefix *ka-* and the verb stem.

(2-9-005) ek^u shāsh
ek^u shāsh
so/then already
p p

ka - nimishta - minuâtâua.
ka ni- mishta minuât -âua
perc 1- very like -(TA) IIN.P
pfx pfx- pfx VTA -sfx

... "and then right away I was really attracted to him".

In this clause, the first person prefix and the concrete preverb *mishta*- 'very' appear between *ka*- and the verb stem.

2.5 General Conclusion

When preverbs co-occur, the temporal preverbs tend to precede the modal preverbs. The modal preverbs appear directly to the left of the verb stem. Table 2.2 shows a template for a compound verb in Innu-aimûn.

Table 2.2 – Innu-aimûn compound verb

temporal preverbs	modal preverbs	verb stem
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Within the modal preverbs, *pâ*- 'should' tends to co-occur with *tshi*- 'able to'. When this happens, *pâ*- precedes *tshi*-.

When preverbs occur singly, they tend to appear directly to the left of the verb stem, although there are some instances where particles intervene. When this happens, it is often a negative particle that occurs between a preverb and the verb stem.

Finally, the complementizer preverb *e-* always appears immediately to the left of the verb stem in my data. No other preverbs intervene.

3. THE PARTICLES OF INNU-AIMŪN

In this chapter I describe the particles of manner and time that appear most frequently in the first 18 stories of the LITP. Although others appear as well, my discussion focuses on those that occur five or more times in the 18 stories. I will also be drawing some generalizations about the words that commonly precede and follow the particles in question, and making other observations about their use, where relevant. The particles of location are not included in this discussion. These particles, such as *upimeshkanau* 'on the side of the road' occur more infrequently in my database. The particle *ût*, which can act as either a locative particle or as a grammatical particle meaning 'from' or 'because' is included in my discussion due to other interesting factors, described in section 3.7.1.

The particles I describe have been subdivided into seven categories, complementizers, focusing particles, negatives, adverbs, temporal and aspectual particles, particles of speaker opinion and two idiosyncratic particles with changed forms.

3.1 Complementizers

3.1.1 *ek^u* 'then'

Ek^u occurs very frequently in Innu-aimŭn stories, with about 120 occurrences of the word in my database. It is discussed in Branigan and MacKenzie 2002. The most frequent placement of *ek^u* is sentence/clause-initially, followed by preverbs, particles, demonstratives or the verb. 2-6-019 and 2-8-012 show *ek^u* followed by a preverb and particle, respectively.

(2-6-019) Ek^u tshe utitamáku e kassekáut.
 ek^u tshe utitamú -iku e kassekáú -t
 then fut arrive -CIN.21>3 so be.a.waterfall -CIN.3
 p prv VTI -sfx pfx VII -sfx

"There, we will reach the falls."

(2-8-012) Ek^u tshek pepunnit, át
 ek^u tshek pipun -nit át
 then then IC.be.winter -(VII)CIN.3' as.soon.as
 p p VII -sfx p

akua pipunnit, ek^u
 akua pipun -nit ek^u
 unknown be.winter -(VII)CIN.3' then
 VII -sfx p

pietuenaminití
 petuet -aminítí
 IC.come.towards.making.noise -(TI)CIN.4>5
 VTI -sfx

auennua tshipishkuámit.
 auen -inua tshipishkuát -im -it
 someone -obv(s/pl) doorway -poss -loc
 pro.indef -sfx NI -sfx -sfx

Then, winter came and, because it was winter, then there was someone at the door.

The next most common position for *ek^u* is clause-finally, usually following a verb, as in examples 2-4-061 and 1-4-053.

(2-4-061) Tâpue teshkampâtât ek^u.
 tâpue tashkampâtâ -t ek^u
 true IC.run.across -CIN.3 then
 p VAI -sfx p

Then, it is true, he ran across.

(1-4-053) Ek^u iesset ek^u.
 ek^u esse -t ek^u
 then IC.break.ice(trap.beaver) -CIN.3 then
 p VAI -sfx p

Then he chopped through the ice to trap the beavers.

Ek^u occurs least often within the clause, followed by particles, demonstratives or the verb, and preceding particles. 1-6-027 shows *ek^u* following the verb and preceding a particle. In 2-1-023 *ek^u* occurs between particles.

(1-6-027) Eshe, iteu, tshika uitshimitin
 ehe it -eu tshi- ka uitshim -itin
 yes say -(TA) IIN.3>4 2- fut live.with -IIN.1>2
 p VTA -sfx pfx- prv VTA -sfx

ek^u enuet.
 ek^u enuet
 then at.least
 p p

"Yes, I will marry you, then."

(2-1-023) « Eukuan **ek^u** nāsht
 eukuan ek^u nāsht
 that's.it then really
 dem p p

nikūtshinān tshekāt »,
 ni- kūtshi -nān tshekāt
 1- die.of.cold -(AI) IIN.1p almost
 pfx- VAI -sfx p

iu itākanū.
 i -u it -ākani -u
 say -IIN.3 say -Indef -IIN.3
 VAI -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx

"We are almost dying of cold," he said, it is told.

3.1.2 *tshek* 'then', *ekue* 'then/so' and *tshek ekue*

Tshek and *ekue* appear separately in some sentences, but also appear together. Of the 71 data sentences with the word *ekue*, and the 24 with *tshek*, *tshek ekue* appears in 14. When they appear together, they are regularly clause-initial, as in the following examples:

(1-8-003) **Tshek ekue** tshítshipátát ne auáss.
 tshek ekue tshítshipátá -t ne auáss
 then and.then run.away -CIN.3 that child
 p p VAI -sfx pro.dem.an NA

And then, the child ran off.

(2-1-024) Apû tshî minûkatet, **tshek**
 apû tshî minûkate -t tshek
 not can burn.well -CIN.3 then
 p.neg prv VII -sfx p

ekue minûkatet.
 ekue minûkate -t
 and.then burn.well -CIN.3
 p VII -sfx

It did not burn well, but by and by it did burn well.

(2-4-079) **Tshek ekue** nakatâht
 tshek ekue nakat -âht
 then at.that.moment leave.behind -(TA)CIN3p>4
 p p VTA -sfx

anite e patshituâht.
 anite e patshituâ -ht
 there so check.net -(AI)CIN.3p
 dem.adv prv VAI -sfx

Then they left him behind there when they checked the net.

Tshek ekue does not require the highest position in the sentence structure. In

example 1-8-033, *ek^u* has first position. *Ek^u* appearing at the extreme left edge of a sentence is described in Branigan and MacKenzie 2002.

(1-8-033) Ek^u **tshek ekue** shîueniht.
 ek^u tshek ekue shîueni -ht
 so then and.then be.hungry -(AI)CIN.3p
 p p p VAI -sfx

Then, by and by, they were hungry.

It can also be seen from this example and from 2-1-024 above that the combination of *tshek ekue* can be glossed as ‘by and by’. The two particles, which separately have the similar meaning ‘then’, together have the meaning ‘eventually’.

Despite the fact that *tshek ekue* appears to be a frozen form (similar to those identified by Ogg 1991), *tshek* and *ekue* can appear separately. The following example, 2-7-020, shows *tshek* sentence-finally, with *ekue* in a higher position:

(2-7-020)	Apû	tshî	pimutakuatât		ekue
	apû	tshî	pimutakuat -ât		ekue
	not	can	shoot.at	-(TA)CIN.3>4	and.then
	p.neg	prv	VTA	-sfx	p
	shatsheueushkakut tshek.				
	shâtshueushkâ	-iku		-t	tshek
	come.to		-(TA)TS.inv.4>3	-CIN.3	then
	VTA		-sfx		p
	He could not shoot her with his bow and arrow there.				
	Then, she came around to where he was.				

When appearing without *ekue*, *tshek* usually appears sentence-initially. It is followed by particles and preverbs, negative particles, or simply the verb. In sentence 1-8-035, *tshek* appears twice. First it is sentence-initial, preceding the verb. In the next clause of the sentence, it is clause-initial and followed by the number particle *patetât*, ‘five’.

(1-8-035)	Tshek	mîtsHet,	tshek	patetât	itâkanû	
	tshek	mîtsHeti	tshek	patetât	it -âkani	-u
	then	be.many	then	five	say -Indef.	-IIN.3
	p	VAI	p	p	VTA -sfx	-sfx
	peikupipuna					nenû.
	peikw-	pipun	-a		nenû	
	one-	winter	-obv(s/pl)	that		
	px-	NI	-sfx		pro.dem.in.obv	

By and by, many times, five times in one year, it was said.

Here in 1-8-006 the negative particle *apû* appears between *tshek* and the verb.

(1-8-006) **Tshek** apû pâpissenimât
 tshek apû pissenim -ât
 then not IC.notice.s.o -CIN.3
 p p.neg VTA -sfx

tshetshipâtâniti
 tshitshipâtâ -niti
 IC.run.off -CIN3.obv
 VAI -sfx

nenua ukussa.
 nenua u- kuss -a
 that 3- son -obv(s/pl)
 pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl) pfx- NAD -sfx

By and by, he did not notice that his son had gone.

Ekue frequently appears alone in the LITP stories. *Ekue* appears sentence or clause-initially, but also occurs following particles or demonstratives. 1-3-014 shows *ekue* following the particle *muk*^u 'only'. 1-5-071 shows *ekue* following the demonstrative *anite* 'there'.

(1-3-014) Muk^u **ekue** akuâshitâpet
 muk^u ekue akuâshitâpe -t
 only at.that.moment drag from water -CIN.3
 p p VAI -sfx

kanapua mâni.
 kanapua mâni
 for.sure usually
 p p

He would usually have just pulled it ashore.

(1-5-071) Nishinishâpâni utishkuema,
 nishinu -shâpâni u- ishku eu -im -a
 be.two -IDR.obv 3- wife -poss -obv(s/pl)
 VII -sfx pfx- NA -sfx -sfx

anite **ekue** ânâshit nisht tshe

anite ekue ânâshi -t nisht tshe
 there and.then place.s.o unknown fut
 dem.adv p VAI -sfx unknown prv

takushinniti ukussa.
 takushin -niti u- kuss -a
 arrive -(AI)CIN.4 3- son -obv(s/pl)
 VAI -sfx pfx- NAD -sfx

He had two wives. He placed both of them where his son would arrive.

Ekue is usually followed by the verb, but a preverb, a particle or a locative particle can occur between *ekue* and the verb. In 1-4-119, the particle *iâpit* 'anyway' appears between *ekue* and the verb. 1-7-014 shows the preverb *ui-* 'want' in the same place.

(1-4-119) **Ekue** iâpit nakatâukut.
 ekue iâpit nakatâu -iku -t
 at.then anyway leave.behind -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -CIN.3
 p p VTA -sfx -sfx

And then, he flew off anyway, leaving him behind.

(1-7-014) **Ekue** ui tshitinikuât
 ekue ui tshitin -iku -ât
 and.then try.to grab.s.o -inv -(TA)CIN.3p
 p prv VTA -sfx -sfx

ekue nipâiâht.
 ekue nipâi -âht
 and.then kill -(TA)CIN.3p>4
 p VTA -sfx

Then it was going to catch up with them and so they killed it.

3.1.3 *ât* 'even if'

There are six sentences with *ât* in my database. *Ât* occurs sentence/clause-initially, after a particle or after a demonstrative. *Ât* is followed by preverbs, particles or

the verb. In 1-8-008, *ât* follows the particle *ek^u* and precedes the verb. 2-4-004 shows *ât* sentence-initially, before the verb.

(1-8-008)	Tshessenimât,		ek ^u
	tshissenim	-ât	ek ^u
	IC.know.about	-(TA)CIN.3>4	then
	VTA	-sfx	p
	ât	niânatuâpamât,	mâuât.
	ât	natuâpam	-ât
	even.if	IC.look.for.dup	-(TA)CIN.3>4
	p	VTA	-sfx
			p.neg

When he realized that he was gone, even though he went looking for him, no.

(2-4-004)	Ât	tshikâkuâteu	mâni,
	ât	tshikâkuât -eu	mâni
	even.if	spear	-(TA)IIN.3>4
	p	VTA	-sfx
			p

muk^u apû tshî nipâiât.
 muk^u apû tshî nipâi -ât
 but not able kill -(TA)CIN.3>4
 p p.neg prv VTA -sfx

He would spear them, but he couldn't kill them.

3.1.4 *tshetshî* 'so that'

Tshetshî 'so that' is labelled a complementizing particle in Drapeau's 1999 dictionary of the Betsiamites dialect of Montagnais. The dictionary also cites the morphologically related word *tshitshî*, the unchanged form of *tshetshî*, as a complementizing particle. Because of these dual forms, this word could also be classified amongst the particles with changed forms. Additionally, the form of *tshetshî* is more akin to that of a preverb, due both to the initial change and because of the

phonological shape of the word. Preverbs tend to be CV or CVCV shaped, while particles are CVC syllables.

My database contains no examples of the complementizer *tshitshî*, and only seven examples of *tshetshî*. In these seven sentences, it occurs at the beginning of a new clause with the compound verb directly to the right. An illustrative example follows.

(2-4-034)	Tshipâ	tshî	mînik ^u	natuenitamuti	
	tshipâ	tshî	mîn	-iku	natuenitamu -ti
	should.3	can	give	-inv	ask.for -CS.2>3
	prv	prv	VTA	-sfx	VTA -sfx
	assikumâna		tshetshî	mûkumânitshein.	
	assikumân	-a	tshetshî	mûkumânitshe	-in
	metal	-NI.pl	so.that	make.knife	-(AI)CIN.2
	NI	-sfx	p.conj	VAI	-sfx

Perhaps he would give you metal to make a knife, if you asked him for it.

3.1.5 Conclusion of complementizers

The complementizer particles generally appear clause initially and followed by the verb. Complementizers can be followed by other preverbs and particles appearing before the verb stem. The complementizer *ek^u*, however, may occupy a different slot in the structure of Innu-aimûn, since it can precede other complementizing particles, such as *ât*.

3.2 Focus particles

3.2.1 *muk^u* 'only, but'

Muk^u often appears at the beginning of a sentence or a clause. It can also be preceded by demonstratives and negatives. *Muk^u* is followed by particles, preverbs,

combinations of particles and preverbs, or the verb. 1-3-014 shows *muk^u* sentence-initially, with the particle *ekue* 'then' between *muk^u* and the verb. *Muk^u* appears following a demonstrative and preceding a preverb in 2-8-021.

(1-3-014)	Muk^u	ekue		akuāshitāpet	
	muk ^u	ekue		akuāshitāpe	-t
	only	at.that.moment		drag from water	-CIN.3
	p	p		VAI	-sfx

kanapua māni.
 kanapua māni
 for.sure usually
 p p

He would usually have just pulled it ashore.

(2-8-021)	Eukuannō	muk^u	kātshī	unātenit	
	eukuan	-inū	muk ^u kātshī	unāte	-nit
	that's.it	-obv	only after	catch.fire	-(II)CIN.4
	dem	-sfx	p prv	VII	-sfx

nenū upimim.
 nenū u- pimi -im
 that 3- fat -poss
 pro.dem.in.obv pfx- NI -sfx

Then his fat started burning rapidly.

3.3 Negative particles – *ekā* and *apū*

Three negative particles appear in the first 18 stories of the LITP: *apū*, *ekā* and *ama*. *Apū* and *ekā* are negators regularly used in Innu-aimûn. They are used to negate all word categories, including nouns, verbs and particles. My focus in this description is on the negative particles when they negate verbs. A more detailed discussion of their distribution with respect to independent or conjunct verb orders appears in Chapter 4.

The third negative particle, which appears in one LITP story, is *ama*. It is cognate to the East Cree *nama*, and is used in the Davis Inlet Naskapi. Its use in one of the stories

recorded in Sheshâtshîu almost certainly reflects migration between communities, and the origins of the storyteller. Its patterning will not be discussed in my work since it is probably not a Sheshâtshîu Innu-aimûn particle.

3.3.1 *ekâ*

Although *ekâ* can appear sentence or clause-initially, it usually follows one to three particles or preverbs. In 1-3-003, *ekâ* is preceded by the particle *ek^u* ‘then’ and is followed by the verb.

(1-3-003) Ek^u **ekâ** nitâpuetuâua,
 ek^u ekâ ni- tâpuetu -âua
 then not 1- agree -(TA) IIN.P.3
 p p.neg pfx- VTA -sfx

nitânish, iteu.
 ni- tânish it -eu
 1- daughter say -(TA) IIN.3>4
 pfx- NAD VTA -sfx

“Then I did not give him my consent for my daughter”,
 he said.

1-5-040 shows *ekâ* following a particle and two preverbs and preceding the verb stem.

(1-5-040) Ek^u nâhî kûkûminâsh anite, tân
 ek^u nâhî kûkûminâsh anite tân
 then that (over.there) old.woman there how
 p pro.dem.an NA dem.adv p

tshipâ tshî **ekâ** natuâpameu.
 tshipâ tshî ekâ natuâpam -eu
 should.3 can not look.for -(TA) IIN.3>4
 prv prv p.neg VTA -sfx

Then that old woman, how can she not go to him?

It is unusual for most particles to appear between preverbs and the verb stem as *ekā* does in 1-5-040. Typically, particles must occur to the left of the compound verb. The negative particles, therefore, do not behave in the same manner as other particles. Allowing the negative within the compound verb may be necessary to allow negation of the verb stem without negating the tense or aspectual information given by the preverbs.

2-2-036 shows that there is also room for preverbs between the negative particle and the verb stem. In this sentence, *ekā* is negating the entire compound verb *kā uī tshitûtein* 'you wanted to go'.

(2-2-036) - Eitune mā, itikû,
 unknown mā it -iku -u
 intns say - (TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3
 p VTA -sfx -sfx

ekā kā uī tshitûtein!
 ekā kā uī tshi- itûte -in
 not past want 2- go.by.foot - (AI)IIN.1/2
 p.neg pfx prv pfx- VAI -sfx

"You have been doing this," he said to her, "because you did not want to leave!"

3.3.2 *apû*

Apû is either clause/sentence-initial or preceded by particles. In my database, it is never preceded by preverbs, unlike *ekā*. *Apû* is followed by the verb, by the compound verb or by particles. *Apû* also occurs with the temporal particle *nîtâ* 'never' following it. *Nîtâ* 'never', is discussed separately in section 3.5.3.

In 1-6-055, *apû* is followed by three particles that occur before the verb.

(1-6-055) **Apû** minekâsh shâsh ût unuîu
 apû minekâsh shâsh ût unuî -u

not	long.time	already	from	go.out	-IIN.3
p.neg	p		p	VAI	-sfx
ne		ishkueu.			
ne		ishkueu			
that		woman			
pro.dem.an		NA			

Not long after that, the woman came out.

In 1-4-099 *apû* precedes the compound verb.

(1-4-099)	-	Aaa	mâuât,	iteu,		apû
		aaa	mâuât	it	-eu	apû
		aah	no	say	-(TA)IIN.3>4	not
		p	p.neg	VTA	-sfx	p.neg
		tshika		tshî	ashâmitân.	
		tshi-	ka	tshî	ashâm	-itân
		2-	fut	can	feed	-CIN.1>2
		px-	px	prv	VTA	-sfx

"Aah, no," he said. "I can't give you any to eat."

2-1-032 is an example of *apû* followed by a combination of particles and preverbs. *Apû* is sentence initial and followed by the particle *minuât* 'again', the preverb *tshika*- 'future' and the temporal particle *nîta* 'never'. All these things precede the verb stem.

(2-1-032)	'	Apû	minuât	tshika	nîta	itâshpinet	
		apû	minuât	tshika	nîta	itâshpine	-t
		not	again	fut.3	never	die.some.way	-CIN.3
		p.neg	p	prv	p	VAI	-sfx
		auen		tshetshî	kûtshit,	eukuan	
		auen		tshetshî	kûtshî	-t	eukuan
		someone	so.that	die.of.cold		-CIN.3	that's.it
		pro.indef	px.conj	VAI		-sfx	dem
		eshpish		mitunenitamin	'		
		eshpish		mitunenit	-amin		
		as.much.as		be.intelligent	-(TI)CIN.2>3		
		prv		VTI	-sfx		

itikùtshe.	
it -iku	-tshe
say -inv.4>3	-(TA) IDN.3>4
VTA -sfx	-sfx

"Never again will a person freeze to death. That is how intelligent you are." That is what he said to him.

3.3.3 Conclusion of negatives

The two negative particles behave differently in terms of what they follow. *Ekâ* tends to follow complementizers or preverbs. *Apû* occurs clause-initially, or can follow complementizing particles or particles of speaker opinion. Both negative particles often precede modal or tense preverbs or the verb. The specific conjugation of the verb that follows the negative particles is discussed in chapter four.

3.4 Adverbs

3.4.1 *tshîts hue* 'really'

Tshîts hue usually appears near the beginning of a clause, but not clause-initially. It follows particles, often *ek^u* 'then' or *shâsh* 'already', in most examples in my database. *Tshîts hue* is followed by the verb, other particles, or a preverb. 2-2-021 has *shâsh* preceding *tshîts hue*, with *tshîts hue* immediately preceding the verb. However, there is room in an Innu-aimûn sentence for many more particles, as seen in 1-5-046, below. In that sentence, *tshîts hue* is part of a series of particles. It follows *ek^u* 'then' and is followed by the particle of location *pâpessîsh* 'close by', and a particle of speaker opinion, *kanapua* 'definitely'. The verb follows these particles.

(2-2-021) Shâsh tshitshue shüenû, shâsh
 shâsh tshitshue shüeni -u shâsh
 already really be.hungry -IIN.3 already
 p p VAI -sfx p

tshitshue tshimâkateu ne nâpeu.
 tshitshue tshimâkate -u ne nâpeu
 really be.thin -IIN.3 that man
 p VAI -sfx pro.dem.an NA

Already, he was really hungry. Already, the man was getting really thin.

(1-5-046) Ek^u tshitshue pâpessish kanapua tânuu,
 ek^u tshitshue pessish kanapua itâ -inua
 then really close.by.dup definitely IC.be -obv
 p p p p VAI -sfx

eukuannû tshe utitikut
 eukuan -inû tshe utit -iku -t
 that's.it -obv(s/pl) fut meet -(TA)inv.4>3 -CIN.3
 dem -sfx prv VTA -sfx -sfx

uâpannitî ukussa.
 uâpan -initî u- kuss -a
 be.dawn -(II)CIN.4 3- son -obv(s/pl)
 VII -sfx pfx- NAD -sfx

Then he was getting really close. He would reach her the following day.

3.4.2 *minâush* 'hardly'

Minâush is not used very often in the first 18 stories of the LITP, appearing in only seven sentences. In these sentences, *minâush* appears sentence-initially three times, and after a particle three times. In the remaining sentence in my database, *minâush* follows a pronoun. It is followed by preverbs, or by the verb. In 1-4-011, *minâush* is sentence-initial, and followed by the preverb *tshî-* and the verb. In 2-2-022, *minâush* follows *shâsh* 'already' and directly precedes the verb.

(1-4-011) **Mináush** tshitshí pipimúten, iteu.
 mináush tshi- tshí pimúte -n it -eu
 hardly you- can walk.dup -IIN.2 say -(TA) IIN.3>4
 p pfx- prv VAI -sfx VTA -sfx

"You can hardly walk," he said to him.

(2-2-022) Shâsh **mináush** tshí pimúteu, ekue pet
 shâsh mináush tshí pimúte -u ekue pet
 already hardly able walk -IIN.3 and.then here
 p p prv VAI -sfx p p

takushinit kâu.
 takushini -t kâu
 arrive -CIN.3 again
 VAI -sfx p.time

Already, he could hardly walk. Then he returned home.

3.4.3 *shúk^u* 'so much'

Shúk^u sometimes follows the verb, a particle or a demonstrative. In other sentences it is followed by the verb or by a compound verb. It can also occur sentence-finally. In 1-3-013, *shúk^u* follows the particle *anútshish* and a demonstrative, and is followed by the verb.

(1-3-013) Anite miâm uâpâkatî, ekute anite
 anite miâm unknown ekute anite
 there like unknown right.there there
 dem.adv p p dem.adv

nepâiâkannitî atikua, anútshish
 nipâi -âkani -nitî atik^u -a anútshish
 IC.kill -Indef. -obv caribou -obv(s/pl) present.time
 VTA -sfx -sfx NA -sfx p

nenua **shúk^u** nipinua mâni.
 nenua shúk nip -inua mâni
 that lots be.dead -obv(s/pl) usually
 pro.dem p VAI -sfx p

There, when ..., recently killed caribou would always be there.

2-1-033 shows *shūk^u* following the verb. In this sentence, it is modifying *innū* ‘person’.

(2-1-033)	Tāpue	mā	apū	nītā			
	tāpue	mā	apū	nītā			
	indeed	intns	not	never			
	p	p	p.neg	p			
	kūtshit		shūk^u	itākanū		innū.	
	kūtshi	-t	shūk ^u	it -ākani	-u	innū	
	die.of.cold	-CIN.3	lots	say -Indef	-IIN.3	person	
	VAI	-sfx	p	VTA -sfx	-sfx	NA	

Indeed, as of today not many Innu have frozen to death, it is said.

3.4.4 Conclusion of adverbs

Two of the adverbs discussed, *mināush* and *shuk^u*, can appear sentence or clause-initially. *Tshítshue* does not. It is preceded by complementizer particles or temporal/aspectual particles like *shāsh* ‘already’. When the other adverbial particles are preceded by particles, they tend to be of the temporal/aspectual category. All the adverbial particles can be followed by the verb they modify, or can be followed by preverbs.

3.5 Temporal and aspectual particles

3.5.1 *shāsh* ‘already’

Shāsh occurs sentence/clause-initially, as in 2-2-022, as well as following particles. *Shāsh* is seen following two particles in 1-6-055.

(2-2-022)	Shāsh	mināush	tshī	pimūteu,	ekue	pet
	shāsh	mināush	tshī	pimūte -u	ekue	pet
	already	hardly	able	walk -IIN.3	and.then	here

p	p	prv	VAI	-sfx	p	p
takushinit			kâu.			
takushini	-t		kâu			
arrive	-CIN.3		again			
VAI	-sfx		p.time			

Already, he could hardly walk. Then he returned home.

(1-6-055)	Apû	minekâsh	shâsh	ût	unuiu	
	apû	minekâsh	shâsh	ût	unui	-u
	not	long.time	already	from	go.out	-IIN.3
	p.neg	p	p	p	VAI	-sfx
	ne		ishkueu.			
	ne		ishkueu			
	that		woman			
	pro.dem.an		NA			

Not long after that, the woman came out.

Shâsh can be followed by the verb, a clause boundary, particles or preverbs. It is used three times in 2-9-045, once with the demonstrative *nenû* 'that' and the preverb *tshî*- 'perfective' occurring between *shâsh* and the verb stem. *Nenû* refers to the toboggan that is part of the verb *utâpânitsheu* 's/he gets the sled ready'. This sentence is also discussed in section 2.3.1.

(2-9-045)	Shâsh	nenû	tshî	utâpânitsheu,	
	shâsh	nenû	tshî	utâpânitsh	-eu
	already	that	perf	get.sled.ready	-(TA) IIN.3>4
	p	pro	prv	VTA	-sfx
	shâsh	tshî	âneu,		shâsh
	shâsh	tshî	ân	-eu	shâsh
	already	perf	place	-(TA) IIN.3>4	already
	p	prv	VTA	-sfx	p
	tshî	uishkuetâpâteu			
	tshî	uishkuetâpât	-eu		
	perf	wrap.them	-{TA} IIN.3>4		
	prv	VTA	-sfx		
	utauâssîma.				
	u-	auâss	-im	-a	
	3-	child	-poss	-obv(s/pl)	

px- NA -sfx -sfx

He had already gotten his toboggan ready. He already had his children wrapped in the toboggan.

In 1-4-070, *shâsh* appears sentence-finally.

(1-4-070) Kassinû apû tânitî **shâsh**.
kassinû apû itâ -initî shâsh
all not be -(AI)CS.3 already
p p.neg VAI -sfx p

None of them were there anymore.

1-6-054 shows *shâsh* at the end of a group of particles, directly before the verb.

(1-6-054) Apû minekâsh **shâsh** māmâtuetâk.
apû minekâsh shâsh māmâtue -tâk
not long.time already moan -(AI)IIP.3
p.neg p p VAI -sfx

Not long after that, already he was moaning.

3.5.2 *minuât* 'again'

Minuât occurs sentence/clause-initially in half of the sentences in which it occurs

in my database. 2-6-016 shows *minuât* occurring clause-initially.

(2-6-016) **Minuât** ekue tipishkât, eshk^u
minuât ekue tipishkâ -t eshk^u
again and.then be.night -CIN.3 still
p p VII -sfx p

pimishkâuat îâpit.
pimishkâ -uat îâpit
paddle -(AI)IIN.3p always
VAI -sfx p

After another nightfall, still they were paddling..

Minuât can occur after particles. It can also occur sentence-finally following a verb. Sentence 2-8-007 illustrates both these cases. In the first clause, *minuât* follows the particle *eshk^u* 'later' or 'still' and occurs directly to the left of the compound verb. In the second clause, *minuât* occurs sentence-finally following the verb.

(2-8-007) - Eshk^u **minuât** nika takushin,
 eshk^u minuât ni- ka takushin
 later again 1- fut arrive
 p p pfx- prv VAI

itikû, tshe ishin
 it -iku -u tshe it -in
 say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3 fut say -CIN.2>1
 VTA -sfx -sfx prv VTA -sfx

mâ takushiniâni **minuât.**
 mâ takushin -iâni minuât
 intns arrive -(AI)CS.1 again
 p VAI -sfx p

"I will return," he said, "and then you will tell me when I get back."

2-1-020 shows *minuât* preceding the demonstrative *nenû*.

(2-1-020) Ek^u iteu : **Minuât** nenû ekuana
 ek^u it -eu minuât nenû ekuana -a
 then say -(TA)IIN.3 again that enough -obv
 p VTA -sfx p pro.dem p -sfx

uenuit, eukuannû meshta -
 unuî -t eukuana -inû mishta
 IC.go.out -CIN.3 that's.it -obv IC.very
 VAI -sfx dem -sfx prv

pitshikâshut mishkumî.
 pitshikâshu -t mishkumî
 sticky.with.heat -CIN.3 ice
 VAI -sfx NA

Then he said: « Again he was the one who went out, that was when the ice really crackled/popped. »

1-4-120 has *minuât* directly before the verb in the first clause, and directly following the verb in the second clause.

(1-4-120)	Minuât	pepâmpipâtât,		pepâmpipâtât		minuât.
	minuât	papâmpipâtâ -t		papâmpipâtâ -t		minuât
	again	IC.run.dup -CIN.3		IC.run.dup -CIN.3		again
	p	VAI	-sfx	VAI	-sfx	p

Again, he was off on his run, he was off on his run again.

3.5.3 *nîtâ* 'never'

Nîtâ 'never' always occurs with a negative particle preceding it. The negative particle does not have to immediately precede *nîtâ*, although it usually does. *Nîtâ* is followed by the verb, a preverb or a particle. 2-1-033 shows *nîtâ* following the negative particle *apû* and immediately to the left of the verb.

(2-1-033)	Tâpue	mâ	apû	nîtâ		
	tâpue	mâ	apû	nîtâ		
	indeed	intns	not	never		
	p	p	p.neg	p		
	kûtshit		shûk ^u	itâkanû		innû.
	kûtshi	-t	shûk ^u	it -âkani -u		innû
	die.of.cold	-CIN.3	lots	say -Indef -IIN.3		person
	VAI	-sfx	p	VTA -sfx -sfx		NA

Indeed, as of today not many Innu have frozen to death, it is said.

In 2-1-032, *nîtâ* does not directly follow *apû*. The particle *minuât* and the preverb *ka-* occur between *nîtâ* and the verb stem.

(2-1-032)	'	Apû	minuât	tshika	nîtâ	itâshpinet	
		apû	minuât	tshika	nîtâ	itâshpine	-t
		not	again	fut.3	never	die.some.way	-CIN.3

p.neg p	prv	p	VAI	-sfx
auen	tshetshí	kútshit,	eukuan	
auen	tshetshí	kútshi	-t	eukuan
someone	so.that	die.of.cold	-CIN.3	that's.it
pro.indef	pxf.conj	VAI	-sfx	dem

eshpish	mitunenitamin '			
eshpish	mitunenit	-amin		
as.much.as	be.intelligent	-(TI)CIN.2>3		
prv	VTI	-sfx		

itikútshe.				
it -iku		-tshe		
say -inv.4>3		-(TA)IDN.3>4		
VTA -sfx		-sfx		

"Never again will a person freeze to death. That is how intelligent you are." That is what he said to him.

Nítá follows the negative particle *eká* in 1-8-030. Example 1-8-030 also shows that particles can appear between *nítá* and the verb, with the particle *muk^u* 'only' in that position. In this story, a boy is kidnapped by a bear. The boy's father finds his child and returns him to their community. After his return, the boy dreams that the bear is speaking to him. In 1-8-030, the bear speaks to the boy, telling him not to mention him a lot. Later in the story, the bear tells the boy only to say his name twice.

(1-8-030)	Eukuan	eká	nítá	muk ^u	mitshetuáú	
	eukuan	eká	nítá	muk ^u	mitshet	-uáú
	that's.it	not	never	only	many	-times
	dem	p.neg p	p	p	p	-sfx

tshika	uín,	itikú.		
tshi-	ka uín	it -iku		-u
2-	fut name.s.o.Imp	say	-(TA)inv.4>3	-IIN.3
pxf-	pxf VTA	VTA	-sfx	-sfx

That's it, but do not mention me many times, he said.

2-3-002 shows the preverb *tshí-* 'ability' between *nítá* and the verb stem.

(2-3-002)	« Ne	amishk ^u »,	ka	- iteua,
-----------	------	------------------------	----	----------

ne	amishk ^u	ka	it	-e	-ua
that	beaver	perc	say	-(TA)3>4	-IIN.P
dem	NA	pfx	VTA	-sfx	-sfx

muk ^u	mishishtikupan,	apû	nîtâ	tshî
muk ^u	mishishti	-kupan	apû	nîtâ tshî
only	be.big	-IDP.3	not	never able
p	VAI	-sfx	p.neg	p prv

nipaiâkanit,	itâkanû,	tshetshî
nipai -âkani -t	it -âkani -u	tshetshî
kill -Indef -CIN.3	say -Indef -IIN.3	so.that
VTA -sfx	-sfx VTA -sfx	-sfx p.conj

nipaiâkanit.
nipai -âkani -t
kill -Indef -CIN.3
VTA -sfx -sfx

« The beaver», as he called it, but must have been a big one, it could never be killed, it is told, It (just) couldn't be killed.

3.5.4 *mâni* 'usually'

Out of sixteen sentences with this particle, *mâni* 'usually' occurs sentence or clause-finally in thirteen. In both cases, *mâni* is preceded by a particle or a verb. In the three cases where *mâni* is not sentence/clause-final, it is followed by a noun, or a demonstrative that refers to a previously mentioned noun. In 1-4-067, *mâni* is clause-final and is preceded by a verb. 1-3-015 is an example of clause-final *mâni* preceded by another particle.

(1-4-067)	Ek ^u	ât	uetinamishkueniti,
	ek ^u	ât	utinamishkue -initî
	then	even.if	IC.grab.beaver -(AI)CIN.4
	p	p	VAI -sfx

shâpûtuepanua		mâni.
shâpûtue	-pan	-ua mâni
go.straight.through	-IIP	-perc usually
VAI	-sfx	-sfx p

Then, he was trying to grab the beavers but they kept going through.

(1-3-015) Kátshí mánukáshuti ek^u
 kátshí mánukáshu -tí ek^u
 after set.up.camp -(AI)CS.3 then
 prv VAI -sfx p

uánátikuet ek^u mátshishut
 uínátikue -t ek^u mítshishu -t
 IC.clean.caribou -CIN.3 then IC.eat -CIN.3
 VAI -sfx p VAI -sfx

kanapua **máni**.
 kanapua *máni*
 for.sure usually
 p p

After setting up his tent, then he would clean the caribou and he would always have something to eat.

Even those sentences with *máni* appearing before a verb have *máni* near the end of a clause, as can be seen in 2-4-040 below. In this sentence, *máni* modifies the verb it follows, which means 'he bends it'. The *nenú* following *máni* refers to a piece of metal first mentioned in a previous sentence. *Nenú* serves as the object of the verb. A new clause begins after *nenú*, starting with the particle *át*. *Át* was discussed in section 3.1.3.

(2-4-040) Ek^u apú tshí uínameshet eshk^u,
 ek^u apú tshí uínameshe -t eshk^u
 then not able clean.fish -CIN.3 still
 p p.neg prv VAI -sfx p

ushám papakáshinú nenú,
 ushám papakáshi -ini -u nenú
 because be.thin.dim -obv -IIN.3 that
 p VII -sfx -sfx pro.dem.in.obv

uákápissinam^u **máni** nenú
 uákápissin -am^u *máni* nenú
 bend -(TI)IIN.3>4 usually that
 VTI -sfx p pro.dem.in.obv

át uá uínamesheti.
 át uí uínameshe -tí
 even.if IC.try clean.fish -(AI)CS.3
 p prv VAI -sfx

But, he couldn't clean the fish yet. It was too thin.
He kept bending it as he tried to clean the fish.

3.5.5 *eshk^u* 'still', 'yet', 'later'

Eshk^u can appear at the beginning of a clause or sentence. It can also follow a verb, appearing at the end of a clause. When it appears at the beginning of the clause, it can be followed by the verb, a negative particle and the verb or a combination of particles. 2-8-007 shows *eshk^u* sentence-initially, with the particle *minuât* 'again' between it and the compound verb, which contains the preverb *ka-* 'future'.

(2-8-007) - **Eshk^u** minuât nika takushin,
eshk^u minuât ni- ka takushin
later again 1- fut arrive
p p pfx- prv VAI

itikû,
it -iku -u tshe ishin
say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3 fut say -CIN.2>1
VTA -sfx -sfx prv VTA -sfx

mâ takushiniânî minuât.
mâ takushin -iânî minuât
intns arrive -(AI)CS.1 again
p VAI -sfx p

"I will return," he said, "and then you will tell me when I get back."

Sentence 1-9-028 has two occurrences of *eshk^u*. It first appears between the particle *tânite* and the negator *ama*. The second *eshk^u* is sentence-final.

(1-9-028) EK^u ama nitshissenimâu tân nete
ek^u ama ni- tshissenim -âu tân nete
then not 1- know.about -(TA)IIN.1>3 how over.there
p p pfx- VTA -sfx p dem.adv

etâtshimuht, tânite **eshk^u** ama

itâtshimu	-ht	tânite	eshk ^u	ama
IC.tell.story	-(AI)CIN.3p	because	yet	not
VAI	-sfx	p.intrg	p	p

ni-	mâmitunenit	-en	ni-	auâssi	-n	eshk ^u
1-	think.about	-IIN.1	1-	be.young	-IIN.1	still
pxf-	VTI	-sfx	pxf-	VAI	-sfx	p

I don't know how she told her story because I did not think as I do now. I was still a child.

3.5.6 *nânitam* 'always'

Only seven examples of *nânitam* are in my database. It occurs clause-finally three times, clause-initially once and within the clause three times. It follows the verb in four sentences. 1-8-031 shows *nânitam* clause-initially, preceding a preverb.

(1-8-031) **Nânitam** tshika uâpimin anite tshe ût
 nânitam tshi- ka uâpam -n anite tshe ût
 always 2- fut see -IIN.2 there fut from
 p pfx- pfx VTA -sfx dem.adv prv prv

piputueiân,	pâtush	shûk ^u
piputue	-iân	pâtush
smoke	-(AI)CIN.1	after lots
VAI	-sfx	p p

shâuennânutî.		
shîueni	-nânu	-ti
IC.be.hungry	-CIN.Indef	-(AI)CS.3
VAI	-sfx	-sfx

You will always see me where I will send up smoke, but only if the people are very hungry.

In 1-5-019, *nânitam* appears twice. First it is sentence-initial and followed by a demonstrative, and then it appears between the particle *tânite* and the verb.

(1-5-019) **Nânitam** eukuan etât, tânite
 nânitam eukuan itâ -t tânite
 always that's.it IC.be -CIN.3 where
 p dem VAI -sfx p.intrg

nānitam tshissítueu.
 nānitam tshissítu -eu
 always remember -(TA) IIN.3>4
 p VTA -sfx

It was there that she always remembered him.

In 1-8-028 *nānitam* appears following the verb, between the particle *mā* and the demonstrative *nenua*.

(1-8-028) Kenuenimāt mā **nānitam** nenua.
 kanauenim -āt mā nānitam nenua
 IC.take.care.of -(TA)CIN.3>4 intns always that
 VTA -sfx p p dem.obv

The bear had taken care of him the whole time.

3.5.7 *tshekât* 'almost'

Only 5 examples of *tshekât* occur in my database. In those five examples, it appears clause-initially three times. When it occurs clause-initially it is followed by the verb twice and is followed by a demonstrative and the verb once. It can also follow the verb and appear clause-finally or within the clause, between a demonstrative and the verb, as in 1-7-042, following. 2-4-067 is an example of *tshekât* occurring sentence-initially, preceding the verb.

(1-7-042) Iāpashāpiht anite **tshekât** tshe
 āpashāpi -ht anite tshekât tshe
 IC.look.behind.dup -(AI)CIN.3p there almost fut
 VAI -sfx dem.adv p prv

takushiniht, mishta - mīshetīnuā.
 takushin -ht mishta mīsheti -īnuā
 arrive -(AI)CIN.3p very be.many -obv(s/pl)
 VAI -sfx pfx VAI -sfx

atīkuā.
 atīk^u -ā
 caribou -obv
 NA -sfx

When they looked back, as they were almost arriving home, there were many caribou.

(2-4-067)	Auennua	uâpameuat,		
	auen	-inua uâpam -eu	-at	
	who	-obv see	-(TA)IIN.3>4	-pl
	pro.wh	-sfx VTA	-sfx	
	akuâukunua	nenua	Uâpusha,	
	akuâuku	-inua nenua	uâpush -a	
	wash.ashore	-obv that	hare	-obv
	VAI	-sfx pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl)	NA	-sfx
	tshekât	nipinua	shâsh.	
	tshekât	nipi -inua	shâsh	
	almost	die -obv	already	
	p	VAI -sfx	p	

Who was it that they saw washed up on shore, but the hare, who was already almost dead.

3.5.8 *iâpit* 'always', 'anyway'

Iâpit follows the verb, particles, or a noun. It can occur sentence-initially. It is followed by particles, demonstratives or the verb. It also occurs sentence-finally. *Iâpit* can appear directly before the verb, as in 1-4-119. There are no examples of *iâpit* followed by preverbs.

(1-4-119)	Ekue	iâpit	nakatâukut.	
	ekue	iâpit	nakatâu	-iku -t
	at.that.moment	anyway	leave.behind	-inv.4>3 -CIN.3
	p		VTA	-sfx -sfx

And then, he flew off anyway, leaving him behind.

The negative particle *ama* and the particle *uiesh* appear between *iâpit* and the verb in 1-9-019.

(1-9-019)	Iâpit	ama uiesh	tôtâkuat	
	iâpit	ama uesh	tôt -iku	-at
	anyway	not IC.because	do -inv.4p>3	-IIN.3p

p	p	p	VTA	-sfx	-sfx
náshtish,		ama	nânútshikákua.		
násht	-ish	ama	nútshiku	-iku	-a
completely	-dim	not	bother.dup	-inv.4p>3	-obv(s/pl)
p	-sfx	p	VTA	-sfx	-sfx

Still, they did nothing to harm them at all. They didn't lay a finger on them.

Iâpit appears sentence-finally in 2-6-016.

(2-6-016)	Minuât ekue	tipishkât,	eshk ⁹
	minuât ekue	tipishkâ -t	eshk ⁹
	again and.then	be.night -CIN.3	still
	p	p	VII -sfx p
	pimishkâuat	iâpit.	
	pimishka -uat	iâpit	
	paddle -(AI)IIN.3p	always	
	VAI -sfx	p	

After another nightfall, still they were paddling.

3.5.9 *minekâsh* 'a long time'

Minekâsh follows a negator in four of the seven example sentences from my database. One of these sentences has a preverb between the negator and *minekâsh*.

Minekâsh follows demonstratives in the other sentences. It is followed by particles or the verb. In 1-6-054, *minekâsh* directly follows the negator *apû*, and precedes the particle *shâsh* 'already'.

(1-6-054)	Apû	minekâsh	shâsh	mâmâtuetâk.
	apû	minekâsh	shâsh	mâmâtue -tâk
	not	long.time	already	moan -(AI)IIP.3
	p.neg	p	p	VAI -sfx

Not long after that, already he was moaning.

In 1-5-027, *minekâsh* appears between a preverb and the verb stem. *Minekâsh* appears in a slot normally reserved for preverbs.

(1-5-027) Apû tshî **minekâsh** nûkushiân,
 apû tshî minekâsh nûkushi -ân
 not can long.time be.visible -(AI)CIN.1
 p.neg prv p VAI -sfx

tshessinât tshika nûtshikâkâunân.
 tshessinât tshika ni- utshikâkâu -inân
 surely fut.3 1- come.after -IIN.3>1p
 p pfx- pfx- VTA -sfx

"I cannot show myself or else they will come after us."

1-9-018 shows *minekâsh* following a demonstrative and preceding the verb.

(1-9-018) Ek^u pet iâpit anite **minekâsh** tâuat
 ek^u pet iâpit anite minekâsh itâ -u -at
 then here anyway there long.time IC.be -IIN.3 -pl
 p p p dem.adv p VAI -sfx -sfx

ekunâht innua.
 akun -âht innu -a
 IC.take.pictures -CIN.3p>4 person -obv(s/pl)
 VTA -sfx NA -sfx

Then they stayed there. They stayed for a very long time, taking pictures of the Innu.

3.5.10 *kâu* 'again'

Kâu appears clause-finally, clause-initially or within the clause. When it appears clause-finally, it usually follows the verb. Appearing clause-initially, it is followed by one particle, which is often *ekue* 'then/so'. Within the clause, *kâu* is preceded by a particle and followed by a preverb. In 1-5-083, *kâu* follows the verb and is clause-final.

(1-5-083) Anite pimûtâkuenua
 anite pimûtâkue -ini -u -a
 there shoot.bow -obv -IIN.3 -obv(s/pl)
 dem.adv VAI -sfx -sfx -sfx

pitamâ ishpmît ekue pîtûtsheniti **kâu**.
 pitamâ ishpmît ekue pîtûtshe -nitî kâu
 now up and.then come -(AI)CIN.4 again
 p p p VAI -sfx p.time

There, he shot an arrow and then he came back inside again.

In 2-5-015, *kâu* appears after a clause boundary and before the particle *ekue* and the verb.

(2-5-015)	Kueshtâshkamûtshe			kanapua
	kueshtâshk	-am		-ûtshe kanapua
	go.around.outside	-(TI)TS.3>4		-IDN.3 definitely
	VTI	-sfx		-sfx p
	itâkanû		muk ^u	nemenû
	it -âkani	-u	muk ^u	neme
	say -Indef.	-IIN.3	only	that.one.over.there
	VTA -sfx	-sfx	p	dem
				-inû -obv -sfx

etûtet,		kâu	ekue	takushinit.
itûte	-t	kâu	ekue	takushin -t
IC.go.by.foot	-CIN.3	again	and.then	arrive -CIN.3
VAI	-sfx	p.time	p	VAI -sfx

He must have gone around it through the shaking tent, people say; he just walked around and then came back again.

2-7-074 shows *kâu* following *minuât*, another particle meaning 'again' and preceding the perceptive preverb *ka-*.

(2-7-074)	Umushuma			pînim
	u- mushum	-a		pînim
	3- grandfather	-obv(s/pl)		too.soon.or.too.late
	px- NAD	-sfx		p
	ekue	tâtshipuniti		tâpue, minuât
	ekue	tâtshipun -iti		tâpue minuât
	and.then	get.fat	-(TA)1>2	indeed again
	p	VTA	-sfx	p p
	kâu	kâ	ishinâkushinitî	ekue
	kâu	kâ	ishinâkushi -nitî	ekue
	again	past	look.like	-(AI)CIN.4
	p.time	px VAI	-sfx	p
	ishinâkushinitî.			
	ishinâkushi	-nitî		
	look.like	-(AI)CIN.4		
	VAI	-sfx		

His father in law indeed started to get fat and,
again, he looked more like himself, and like before.

3.5.11 Conclusion of temporal and aspectual particles

The temporal and aspectual particles are a large and varied set. Some tend to appear sentence/clause-initially, and are followed by the verb. This sub-set includes *shâsh*, *eshk^u* and *tshekât*. Others tend to appear with other particles, like *minuât*, which can occur following negative particles, particles of speaker opinion, and other temporal/aspectual particles. *Nânitam* follows particles of speaker opinion. *Iâpit* follows the complementizer particles and precedes negative particles, while *minekâsh* follows negative particles and precedes temporal/aspectual particles.

3.6 Particles of speaker opinion

3.6.1 *kanapua* 'surely'

Kanapua occurs after the verb in several database sentences. It precedes a particle, a preverb, or a demonstrative. Sentence 1-3-015 shows *kanapua* following and modifying the verb, and being followed by the particle *mâni* 'usually'. *Kanapua* can also precede the verb, as seen in sentence 1-6-064. A preverb can occur between *kanapua* and the verb, as in 1-5-105.

(1-3-015)	Kâtshî	mânukâshuti		ek ^u
	kâtshî	mânukâshu	-tî	ek ^u
	after	set.up.camp	-(AI)CS.3	then
	prv	VAI	-sfx	p
	uânâtikuet		ek ^u	mâtshishut
	uinâtikue	-t	ek ^u	mitshishu -t
	IC.clean.caribou	-CIN.3	then	IC.eat -CIN.3

(1-4-153) Ek^u mâtshít **tâpue.**
 ek^u mítshi -t tâpue
 then IC.eat.s.t. -CIN.3 indeed
 p VAI+O -sfx p

Then he eats it.

(2-1-033) **Tâpue** mâ apû nitâ
 tâpue mâ apû nitâ
 indeed intns not never
 p p p.neg p

kûtshít shûk^u itâkanû innû.
 kûtshi -t shûk^u it -âkani -u innû
 die.of.cold -CIN.3 lots say -Indef -IIN.3 person
 VAI -sfx p VTA -sfx -sfx NA

Indeed, as of today not many Innu have frozen to death, it is said.

(1-4-162) Apû minekâsh **tâpue** ek^u piâkumut.
 apû minekâsh tâpue ek^u pâkumu -t
 not long.time indeed then IC.vomit -CIN.3
 p.neg p p p VAI -sfx

Indeed, not long after, he threw up.

3.6.3 *mâte* 'well then', 'for instance'

Mâte usually occurs sentence-initially. Only once is it preceded by another word, the particle *miam* 'like' or 'exactly'. *Mâte* is followed by the verb, by preverbs and by the locative particle *nete* in one example. In 1-4-050, *mâte* is followed by a preverb. 2-3-036 shows *mâte* following *miam*, and preceding the verb.

(1-4-050) **Mâte** tshe ituâtamin,
 mâte tshe ituâtam -in
 well.then fut carry.on.back -CIN.2>1
 p prv VTA -sfx

tshe nipâiâkut.
 tshe nipâi -âkut
 fut kill -(TA)CIN.21p>3p
 prv VTA -sfx

"Well, carry me there, and we will kill them."

(2-3-036)	Ekue	makushenânût			inânû,
	ekue	makushe	-nânû	-t	i -nânû
	and.then	make.a.feast	-Indef	-CIN.3	say -Indef
	p	VAI	-sfx	-sfx	VAI -sfx
	makushenânû		miâm		ne
	makushe	-nânû	miâm	ne	
	make.a.feast	-Indef	like	that	
	VAI	-sfx	p	pro.dem.an	
	iâitit		nenû,		miâm mâte
	âiti	-t	nenû		miâm mâte
	IC.do.s.t.	-CIN.3	that		exactly well.then
	VAI.dup	-sfx	pro.dem.in.obv	p	p
	ka-	makushenânûâ			
	ka-	makushe	-nânû	-â	
	perc-	feast	-Indef	-IIN.P	
	pfx-	VAI	-sfx	-sfx	
	nâpaunânûti,				
	nîpau	-nânû	-ti		
	IC.marry	-Indef	-(AI)CIN.3		
	VAI	-sfx	-sfx		
	eukuan	aitinânîkupan.			
	eukuan	iti	-nânî	-kupan	
	that's it	IC.do	-(AI)Indef.	-IDP.3	
	dem	VAI	-sfx	-sfx	

Then there was a feast, it is said. There was a feast to celebrate what he had done, just like the feasts held at weddings. That is how it was done.

3.6.4 *nâsht* 'quite', really', 'completely'

Nâsht usually appears within the clause, never clause-finally and only once clause-initially. It directly precedes the verb in four out of seven examples in my database and often follows other particles. In 1-5-051 *nâsht* appears following the particle *ek^u* and preceding a verb in the perceptive, with the perceptive prefix.

(1-5-051)	« Ueshâ		ek ^u	nâsht
	uesh	-â	ek ^u	nâsht
	because	-ques	then	really
	p	-sfx	p	p

ka	-	takushinitaka		nikuss	»
ka		takushin	-itak -â	ni-	kuss
perc		arrive	-IIP -IIN.P	1-	son
px	VAI		-sfx	px-	NAD

itenitam^u.
 itenit -am^u
 think -(TI)IIN.3>4
 VTI -sfx

"Oh my, then my son must indeed be coming," she was thinking.

2-5-006 shows *nâsht* between particles.

(2-5-006)	Ek ^u	nâsht	kuetû	itinânû	kie	apû
	ek ^u	nâsht	kuetû	iti -nânu	kie	apû
	then	really	end	do -Indef	and	not
	p	p	p	VAI -sfx	p.conj	p.neg
	takuâk		anite	meshikamât		nipî.
	takuan	-t	anite	mishikamâ	-t	nipî
	be	-CIN.3	there	IC.be.big.lake	-CIN.3	water
	VII	-sfx	dem.adv	VII	-sfx	NI

Then, there was really nothing that could be done for there was no large body of water there.

3.6.5 *mâ* 'well', intensifier

Mâ is a focus particle that occurs frequently in my data sentences. It can focus different word classes, including verbs (the focus of my study), particles and demonstratives. I have placed the sentences containing *mâ* in different categories depending on where *mâ* appears in the clause. *Mâ* can appear (1) clause-finally not modifying a verb, (2) clause-finally following a verb and modifying it, (3) clause-initially without a verb (only one example of this), (4) clause-initial modifying a verb phrase, (5) clause-internally not modifying a verb and finally, (6) clause-internally modifying a verb. This final category has the most members. Sentences in group (1) show *mâ* following a

demonstrative or a particle as in 2-8-005. The first occurrence of *má* in 2-8-005 seems to be modifying the particle *ek^u* 'so'.

(2-8-005) Ek^u **má**, iteu, shíkatiminân,
 ek^u **má** it -eu shíkatim -inân
 so intns say -(TA) IIN.3>4 make.cold -Imp.2>21p
 p p VTA -sfx VTA -sfx

ek^u **má** mínuât shíkatiminân
 ek^u **má** mínuât shíkatim -inân
 then intns again make.cold -Imp.2>21p
 p p p VTA -sfx

kâ úí shíkatimiât.
 kâ úí shíkatim -iât
 past want make.cold -(TA) CIN.2>1pl
 pfx prv VTA -sfx

"Now," he said. "Make us cold. Now you can make us cold once again, since that's what you wanted."

Group (2) has *má* appearing clause-finally following a verb, as in 1-4-107.

(1-4-107) Ek^u mítshishu **má** !
 ek^u mítshishu **má** !
 then eat.Imp.2 intns !
 p VAI p !

"Well, now you can eat".

In 1-8-034, *má* may be focusing the demonstrative *nâ*, making it the only example in group (3).

(1-8-034) **Má** nâ nimushum uet
má nâhî ní- mushum út
 intns that 1- grandfather IC.from.there
 p pro.dem.an pfx- NAD prv

píputueut, iteu mâni.
 píputue -ut it -eu mâni
 make.smoke.rise -rel say -(TA) IIN.3>4 usually
 VAI -sfx VTA -sfx p

"There is my grandfather's smoke," he said to them every now and then.

Group (4), clause-initial *mâ* modifying a verb phrase, has *mâ* followed by an interrogative particle, by a verb or a compound verb, as in 1-6-009.

(1-6-009) Itikû niâtikut :
 it -iku -u nât -iku -t
 say -inv.4>3 -IIN.3 IC.go.to -inv.4>3 -CIN.3
 VTA -sfx -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx

Mâ tshika uitshimin ?
 mâ tshi- ka uitshim -in
 intns 2- fut live.with -CIN.2>1
 p pfx- prv VTA -sfx

He said to her, when he came towards her: "Will you marry me?"

Group (5), *mâ* occurring clause internally not focusing a verb or verb phrase, has *mâ* following a demonstrative or a pronoun, and preceding demonstratives or particles.

1-3-007 shows *mâ* following a demonstrative and preceding the demonstrative and noun phrase *ne nitânish* 'that my daughter'.

(1-3-007) Eukuan **mâ** ne nitânish,
 eukuan mâ ne ni- tânish
 that's.it intns that 1- daughter
 dem p prodem.an pfx- NAD

ka - tshitshitaussutshipanau,
 ka tshi- tshitâussûtshipan -âua
 perc 2- get.stuck.in.mud -IIN.P
 pfx pfx- VAI -sfx

tshitshinâtin, massekut.
 tshi- ishînu -itin massek³ -it
 2- dream -IIN.2>1 muskeg -Loc
 pfx- VTA -sfx NI -sfx

"There my daughter, you were stuck in the mud in a bog, I saw you in a dream.

Mâ follows a pronoun and precedes a particle in 1-8-036.

(1-8-036)	Nemenû		mâ	mâshnten	patetât	
	neme	-inû	mâ	mâshnten	patetât	
	that.one	-obv(s/pl)	intns	last	five	
	p.pro	-sfx	p	p	p	
	itâkanû,		ekute			
	it	-âkani -u	ekute			
	say	-Indef. -IIN.3	right.there			
	VTA	-sfx -sfx	p			
	eshitâtshimâkanit			tânite	apû	
	ishitâtshim	-âkani -t		tânite	apû	
	IC.pull.certain.way	-Indef. -CIN.3		because	not	
	VTA	-sfx -sfx	p	p	p.neg	
	tshî pimûtet.					
	tshî pimûte	-t				
	able walk	-CIN.3				
	prv	VAI -sfx				

There the last five it was said, then he was carried there on toboggan because he could not walk.

Group (6), the largest group, has *mâ* within the clause focusing the verb or preverbs. *Mâ* follows a demonstrative, the verb, preverbs or particles. It is followed by a demonstrative, the verb, a preverb or a particle. In 1-8-028, *mâ* follows the verb and precedes the particle *nânitam* 'always'.

(1-8-028)	Kenuenimât		mâ	nânitam	nenua.
	kanauenim	-ât	mâ	nânitam	nenua
	IC.take.care.of	-(TA)CIN.3>4	intns	always	that
	VTA	-sfx	p	p	pro.dem

The bear had taken care of him the whole time.

2-3-038 shows *mâ* following the preverb *kâtshî-* and preceding the demonstrative *nenua*. The compound verb *kâtshî-nipâiât* is made discontinuous because of the placement of *mâ* and *nenua*.

(2-3-038)	Kâtshî	mâ	nenua		nipâiât
	kâtshî	mâ	nenua		nipâi -ât
	after	intns	that		kill -(TA)CIN.3>4
	prv	p	pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl)	VTA	-sfx

itâkanû	nânâ
it -âkani -u	nânâ
say -Indef -IIN.3	that (dead)
VTA -sfx -sfx	pro.dem.an

nimushumipan,	eukuannû
ni- mushum	-pan eukuan -inû
l- grandfather	-absent that's.it -obv(s/pl)
pfX- NAD	-sfx pro.dem -sfx

nepit.
 nipi -t
 IC.die -CIN.3
 VAI -sfx

After he had killed them, it is said, my late ancestor died.

Mâ follows a demonstrative and precedes a particle in 2-7-099.

(2-7-099)	Eukuannû	mâ	ek ^u	tshe
	eukuan -inû	mâ	ek ^u	tshe
	that's.it -obv(s/pl)	intns	then	fut
	dem -sfx	p	p	prv

tshîtshipaitûht.
 tshîtshipâitu -ht
 run.away -(AI)CIN.3p
 VAI -sfx

Then they started off in haste.

3.6.6 Conclusion of particles of speaker opinion

The particles of speaker opinion seem to be placed in the sentence more freely.

This is to be expected, if they are added as afterthoughts to already stated sentences. This also suggests that their position in Innu-aimûn sentence structure may be more peripheral.

An exception to that statement is the particle *mâ*. *Mâ*, when it appears with other particles, can appear following complementizers, other particles of speaker opinion, and temporal/aspectual particles. It can be followed by complementizing particles, the verb

or preverbs. Similarly, *nāsh̄t* can appear following complementizers or other particles of speaker opinion, and preceding the verb. Generally, the other particles of speaker opinion can appear following complementizer particles and before the verb.

3.7 Particles subject to initial change

3.7.1 *ût* (*uet*) 'from/because'

Ût's form changes like a preverb, but it can modify other word classes besides verbs, like a particle. *Ût* can act like either an adverb or a preposition (José Mailhot, personal communication). In my data, *ût* follows demonstratives, preverbs and particles. As well, it is followed by the verb, or followed by preverbs and the verb. In these cases, it is acting as an adverb. *Ût* is followed by a locative particle, and acts as a preposition in 1-5-031, below.

(1-5-031)	Ek ^u	tâpue	nûtshikuâkanit		anite	ût	
	ek ^u	tâpue	nûtshiku	-âkani	-t	anite	ût
	then	indeed	bother	-indf>3	-CIN.3	there	from
	p	VTA	-sfx	-sfx	dem.adv	p	p
	ishpimit.						
	ishpimit						
	above						
	P						

Then, indeed, he was tormented from above.

The changed form, *uet*, follows a variety of word types, including demonstratives, nouns, particles and verbs. It also occurs clause/sentence-initially. *Uet* occurs before preverbs, the negative particle *ekâ* and the verb. In the question found in 1-6-017, *ût* appears between two preverbs.

(1-6-017) Tānite tshipā ūt tshī ūtshimitin ?
 tānite tshi- pā ūt tshī ūtshim -itin
 where 2- should because can live.with -IIN.1>2
 p.intrg pfx- prv p prv VTA -sfx

How can I marry you?

2-7-067 shows *ūt* between a preverb and the verb.

(2-7-067) Eukuannū nenū tshipā ūt
 eukuan -inū nenū tshipā ūt
 that's.it -obv(s/pl) that would because
 pro.dem -sfx pro.dem.in.obv prv p

nipipan itākanū ne
 nipi -pan it -ākani -u ne
 be.dead -IIP.3 say -indf>3 -IIN.3 that
 VAI -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx pro.dem.an

e uīshākūt atik^u.
 e uīshākū -t atik^u
 so be.in.rut -CIN.3 caribou
 pfx VAI -sfx NA

That is the way in which those caribou would have died, it is said, from rutting.

2-6-009 shows *ūt* following a demonstrative and preceding the verb.

(2-6-009) Uīashtet mā, nete ūt
 uāshte -t mā nete ūt
 be.light -CIN.3 intns over.there from
 VII -sfx p dem.adv p

uāshtenū, āshtamāshk^u
 uāshte -nū āshtamāshk^u
 be.light -VII.4' on.side.of.wooded.mountain
 VII -sfx p

ekute uet uāshtenit nenū
 ekute ūt uāshte -nit nenū
 right.there IC.from be.light -(VII)CIN.3' that
 p p VII -sfx pro.dem

kātshī nipāiākanniti
 kātshī nipāi -ākani -ini -iti
 after kill -indf>3 -obv -1>2
 prv VTA -sfx -sfx -sfx

unâtshima.
 u- nâtsh -im -a
 3- son.in.law -poss -obv(s/pl)
 pfx- NAD -sfx -sfx

There was a light which came from the side of the mountain after his son in law was killed.

In 1-2-012 another use of *uet* can be seen. When it appears in questions following the interrogative particle *tshekuân*, the gloss is 'why'. *Tshekuân* alone glosses as 'what'.

In 1-3-039, *uet* follows the demonstrative *eukuan* 'that's it' and precedes the negative particle *ekâ*.

(1-2-012) Ek^u tshekuân **uet**
 ek^u tshekuân üt
 then what IC.from
 p p p

ka-tshikâkânuâshkupuâmenâua ?
 ka- tshi- kâkânuâshkupuâme -nâua
 perc 2- have.long.thighs.dup -IIN.P
 pfx pfx- VAI -sfx

"Then why are your thighs so long?"

(1-3-039) Eukuan **uet** ekâ tâpuetâkanit
 eukuan üt ekâ tâpuet -âkani -t
 that's.it IC.because not agree -Indef. -CIN.3
 dem p p.neg VTI -sfx -sfx

tshetshî atuâikanit : matshî -
 tshetshî atu -âkani -t matshî
 so.that point.at -Indef. -CIN.3 bad
 p.conj VTI -sfx -sfx pvb

tshîshîkâu etuâkanitî
 tshîshîkâ -u atu -âkani -ti
 be.day -IIN.3 IC.point.at -Indef. -CS
 VII -sfx VTI -sfx -sfx

inânû Petshîshîkâpîshîkâu.
 i -nânu -u Petshîshîkâpîshîkâu
 say -Indef -IIN.3 Petshîshîkapushîkâu
 VAI -sfx -sfx NA.name

That is why you can not point at it. The weather gets bad if you point at it, it is said, Petshîshîkapîshîkâu.

Wolfart (1973) describes the Plains Cree cognates of *ût*, *ô* and *ohci* 'from there, therefore; originally'. He says that *ô* behaves as a preverb and *ohci* as a particle. *Ô* precedes all other preverbs with which it appears, and *ohci* has no fixed position (1973:77). It is possible that Plains Cree has maintained two historical forms that Sheshâtshîu Innu-aimûn has collapsed into one form with two functions. According to Drapeau's *Dictionnaire Montagnais-Français*, the historical pronunciation of Montagnais *ût* is *utchi*, which is more phonologically similar to the Plains Cree *ohci*. Alternatively, the Montagnais *utchi* could be little changed from the historical Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi form of the word, with the Plains Cree separation of *ô* and *ohci* an innovation.

3.7.2 *ishpish* (*eshpish*) 'so much that', 'as far as', 'so much', 'so much so', 'ever since'

Although *ishpish* and *eshpish* are labelled particles, their meaning and form seem close enough to consider that *eshpish* is the changed form of *ishpish*. As well, *eshpish* appears with the conjunct form of the verb in my database, which is expected when initial change occurs in a preverb. Many of the examples of *eshpish* are followed by the verb *tât* 's/he is there' or its plural form, *tâht* 'they are there'.

There are only four examples in my database of *ishpish*. It occurs following a clause boundary, following the verb, following a preverb and following a particle. It is followed by particles, the compound verb or the verb. 2-5-018 shows *ishpish* between a preverb and the verb. In 2-7-080, *ishpish* appears between a particle and the verb. In both these sentences, *ishpish* is appearing in a preverb-like position.

(2-5-018) Eukuan eshkukatenit nenû
 eukuan ishukukate -nit nenû
 that's.it IC.be.left.unburnt -(II)CIN.4 that
 dem VII -sfx pro.dem

kâ **ishpish** itûtet.
 kâ ishpish itûte -t
 past so.much go.by.foot -CIN.3
 prv p VAI -sfx

Right there where the line of fire stopped was where he had walked.

(2-7-080) Nete mâ **ishpish** shashkannit,
 nete mâ ishpish shashkan -nit
 over.there intns so.much be.melting.snow -(II)CIN.4
 dem.adv p p VII -sfx

ekute etâht itâkanû,
 ekute itâ -ht it -âkani -u
 right.there IC.be -(AI)CIN.3p say -indf>3 -IIN.3
 p VAI -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx

anite panakutenû
 anite panakute -nû
 there ground.is.visible.as.snow.melts -(VII)IIN.4
 dem.adv VII -sfx

ekute e-itâht,
 ekute e- itâ -ht
 right.there IC.conj- be -(AI)CIN.3p
 p prv- VAI -sfx

shashkannû shâsh.
 shashkan -nû shâsh
 be.melting.snow -(VII)IIN.4 already
 VII -sfx p

Later, when the snow started to soften, they stayed there, it is said, there where patches of ground were showing where the snow had melted.

In example 2-5-018, *ishpish* occupies preverbal position (between the preverb *kâ* and the verb *itûtet*). In contrast to 2-5-018, example 2-7-080 does not show *ishpish* occurring in preverb position. I conclude that *ishpish* is a particle that is required to be closer to the verb than other particles. Examples of the placement of the changed form *eshpish* support this second conclusion, as *eshpish* seems to be a particle that appears

closer to the verb than other particles. Unfortunately, there are no examples of person marking on *ishpish* preceding a verb in the independent, which would be the most compelling evidence to classify *ishpish* as a preverb.

Eshpish directly precedes the verb in eleven of the thirteen sentences in my database. It is preceded by other particles or demonstratives, but there are no examples of a preverb preceding *eshpish*. When *eshpish* appears within the clause, that is, with particles or demonstratives preceding it, it always directly precedes the verb. *Eshpish* also occurs clause-initially, either directly preceding the verb or preceding a demonstrative or a particle. 2-9-003 shows *eshpish* clause-initially, preceding the verb *tâht* 'they are there'.

(2-9-003)	Ek ^u	shâueniht		tshitshue	eshpish
	ek ^u	shâueni -ht		tshitshue	eshpish
	so/then	be.hungry	-CIN.3p	really	while
	p	VAI	-sfx	p	p
	tâht		anite.		
	itâ	-ht	anite		
	IC.be	-CIN.3pl	there		
	VAI	-sfx	dem		

They were really hungry while they were there.

Eshpish is sentence-initial in 2-8-010, and followed by another particle and a demonstrative.

(2-8-010)	Eshpish	mâ	anite	tât,		
	eshpish	mâ	anite	itâ	-t	
	as.much.as	intns	there	IC.be	-CIN.3	
	p	p	dem.adv	VAI	-sfx	
	nâpinnit			ek ^u	miâutât	
	nîpin	-nit		ek ^u	mâutâ	-t
	IC.be.summer	-(VII)CIN.3'	then	IC.gather	-CIN.3	
	VII	-sfx	p	VAI+O	-sfx	

pimînû.
 pimînû
 grease
 NA

While he was there in the summer, he spent the whole time gathering fat.

In 2-1-015 *eshpish* appears after a particle and before the verb.

(2-1-015) Ek^u iteu itâkanû : « Ek^u
 ek^u it -eu it -âkani -u ek^u
 then say -(TA)IIN.3>4 say -Indef -IIN.3 then
 p VTA -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx p

eshpish shâkâpueshit ne,
 eshpish shâkâpueshi -t ne
 as.much.as sweat -CIN.3 that
 p VAI -sfx pro.dem

piâpâtshikut, ek^u uenuit.
 pâtshiku -t ek^u unûi -t
 IC.drip.dup -CIN.3 then go.out -CIN.3
 VII -sfx p VAI -sfx

Then it is told that he said: "Then, while he was dripping with sweat, he went outside."

3.8 Other particles

Some particles occur so infrequently there are too few sentences available to give a description of their use. These include *mishkut* 'instead', *enuet* 'at least', *ushâm* 'because', *ushkat* or *ueshkat* 'at first', *anûtshîsh* 'present time', *pâtush* 'after', *uesh* 'because', *tshessinât* 'probably/surely', *shâshîsh* 'long time ago' and *minekâshish* 'a while/ for long enough'. These particles appear infrequently in the first eighteen stories of the LITP.

3.9 General conclusion

The complementizing particles most often appear at the left edge of the Innu-aimûn sentence, preceding all other particles occurring in the sentence. When other particles appear in a sentence without a complementizer, they also appear on the left edge. Focus particles appear at the left edge, and are usually only preceded by negative particles in my data. Negative particles are variable in their placement, however, since they can either negate a constituent of the sentence or negate the sentence as a whole. When they negate a constituent, they precede it. The negative particles can even appear within the compound verb. Other particles typically cannot appear between a preverb and the verb it modifies. When co-occurring with other particles, the negative particle *apû* tends to follow complementizers and particles of speaker opinion. Adverb particles follow complementizers or temporal/aspectual particles. More than one temporal/aspectual particle can appear in a sentence. The particles of speaker opinion can occur after the verb. When they appear before the verb, they occur after complementizers. One particle appears preceding a negative particle and a temporal/aspectual particle. More than one particle of speaker opinion can occur in a sentence. A possible template for the particles of Innu-aimûn is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Innu-aimûn particle template

Complementizer	Speaker Opinion	Temporal/ Aspectual	Adverb	(Compound) Verb
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Negative particles can occur between any particles, or between the particles and the (compound) verb. Not enough data is available to include the focus particles in this template.

4. QUESTIONS, NEGATIVES AND THE FORM OF THE VERB

Previous research has shown that verbs appear as independent or conjunct based in part on the temporal reference of a statement or question, and whether or not the statement is negated. Clarke states that for interrogatives, “the exact form of the verb...is dependent on the temporal reference of the event” (1982:127). Questions with a present reference use the indicative neutral changed conjunct, questions with future reference have the preverb *tshe-* and the indicative neutral conjunct, and questions with past reference use the preterit indicative independent (1982:127). Examples from Clarke (1982:128-131) follow. Example (16) shows the changed conjunct used after question words in questions with present reference. (17) has future reference, as evidenced by the preverb *tshe-* used before the conjunct verb. Example (18) has past reference, indicated by the *-pan* suffix of the preterit indicative independent.

- (16) *Auen uâpamukut?*
‘Who is seeing him?’
- (17) *Tânite tshe-mishikât?*
‘Where will he arrive?’
- (18) *Tân eshpish takuanîpan?*
‘How much was there?’

Clarke (1982:127) reports that the negative particles *apû* and *ekâ* are always followed by the conjunct. This is in contrast with some of the data I have found, where

verbs in the independent follow the negative *ekâ*. Example 1-6-037 has a quoted question. The question *Tân nânâ ekâ tâua?* has a question particle *tân*, the negative *ekâ* and the verb in the independent perceptive. The perceptive verb in this sentence does not take the prefix *ka-* because it is negated.

(1-6-037)	Tekushinit	nânâ	nâpeu	
	takushin -t	nânâ	nâpeu	
	IC.arrive -CIN.3	that (absent)	man	
	VAI	-sfx	pro.dem.an	NA
	: Tân nânâ	ekâ	tâua ?	iteu.
	tân nânâ	ekâ	itâ -ua	it -eu
	how that (absent)	not	be -IIN.P	say -(TA) IIN.3>4
	p	pro.dem.an	p.neg VAI -sfx	VTA -sfx

The man came home: "How come she's not here?" he asked.

In example 1-4-160, a different form of question morphology occurs with a verb in the independent. The interrogative in 1-4-160 is formed with the enclitic *-â*, which usually appears in yes-no questions (Clarke 1982:126). Clarke shows no negated yes-no questions in her work. The enclitic itself is added as a suffix to the element being questioned, so it can be suffixed to any word category. In 1-4-060, the verb following the question marker *â* is negated with *ekâ*, and is in the independent.

(1-4-160)	- Eshe,	tânite	ushâm	tshuf	mimitshishun
	ehe	tânite	ushâm	tshi- uf	mitshishu -n
	yes	where	because	2-	want eat.dup -IIN.2
	p	p.intrg p		pfx- prv VAI	-sfx
	mâni,	tshipâ	tshî â	ekâ	âkushin?
	mâni	tshi- pâ	tshî â	ekâ	âkushi -n
	usually	2-	should	can intrg	not be.sick -IIN.2
	p	pfx- prv	prv p	p.neg VAI	-sfx

"Yes. No wonder you're sick, you always want to eat and eat."

Example 1-5-097 is an example of a sentence with past reference taking the independent preterit endings, as described in Clarke (1982). 1-5-097 is an exclamation in question form. Because of its use of the question particle *tân* 'how', I expect its syntax to be question-like, and true to question form, the verb has the independent preterit suffixes expected.

(1-5-097) *Tân tshipâ ekâ ishkuâtepannû*
tân tshipâ ekâ ishkuâte -pan -nû
how should.3 not burn -IIP -(II)IIN.4
p prv p.neg VII -sfx -sfx

upimim.
u- *pimî -im*
3- *fat -poss*
pfx- NI -sfx

How should his marrow not burn?

However, the presence of the negative causes a problem. Clarke says that negatives typically require a verbal complement in the conjunct (1982:127). This statement seems to be contradicted by sentence 1-5-097. It is possible that the question word's (*tân*) requirements for a verb following in the independent are greater than the negative's requirements for a conjunct verb. That is, that *tân* needs to be followed by the independent in order for checking to occur. *Ekâ*, preferring a conjunct, does not need the conjunct to satisfy a checking relationship and therefore can allow the independent.

This data suggests that the description found in Clarke (1982) should be revisited. Are question words usually followed by the conjunct, with a limited set followed by the

independent? What follows negative particles? These two questions are addressed in the current chapter.

4.1 Interrogatives

In examining questions with *wh*-words from the LITP data, we see that both the independent and the conjunct orders can occur. I will discuss three Innu-aimûn *wh*-words in the following sections: *tshekuân* 'what', *tân* 'how' and *tânite* 'where'.

4.1.1 *tshekuân* 'what'

In the first two books of LITP stories, I found 9 questions with the interrogative word *tshekuân*. Four of those questions followed *tshekuân* with an independent form and five followed with a conjunct form of the verb. Three of the five conjunct forms are the changed conjunct with the change either in the verb itself or an accompanying preverb. The four sentences with the independent were all the independent perceptive, with a gloss of "it seems". The independent perceptive is discussed in the introduction to this chapter. An example sentence with the independent perceptive follows. This verb form is not discussed in Clarke (1982), possibly because it did not happen to occur in her field work.

(1-2-006)	Ek ^u	ne	tshekuân	ka -
	ek ^u	ne	tshekuân	ka-
	then	that	what	perc
	p	pro.dem.an	p	p

tsuîshâukanâshtenâua ?
 tshi- uîshâukanâshtenâ -ua
 2- have.yellow.feet -IIN.P
 pfx- VAI -sfx

"And why are the bottoms of your feet yellow?"

An example of a question with the conjunct form of the verb follows. This sentence follows Clarke's description. It has future reference (due to the future preverb *tshe-*) and a conjunct verb.

(1-5-074) - Tshekuännû tshe ashâmak ?
 tshekuân -inû tshe ashâm -ak
 what -obv(s/pl) fut feed -(TA)CIN.1>3
 NI -sfx prv VTA -sfx

"What should I feed him?"

The following sentence, 1-4-034, contains an example of the changed conjunct, again used in an exclamatory statement with interrogative syntax.

(1-4-034) Tshekuännû tshemâtenit, uishtinû !
 tshekuân -inû tshimâte -ini -t uisht -inû
 what -obv(s/pl) IC.stand -obv -CIN.3 lodge -obv
 p/NI -sfx VAI -sfx -sfx NI -sfx

What was standing there but a beaver lodge!

In 2-9-015 the meaning of *tshekuân* is changed because of the changed particle *uet*, from 'what' to 'why'. This use of *uet* is discussed in Chapter 3. However, as seen above in example 1-2-006 (page 79), *tshekuân* can be glossed as 'why' without *uet*.

(2-9-015) « Tshekuännitshe uet ekâ
 tshekuân -nitshe ût ekâ
 what -IDN.obv from/because not
 p/ni -sfx p p.neg

 uî tshîtshipitshit ? » itenimeu.
 uî tshîtshipitshi -t itenime -eu
 want leave.with.sled -CIN.3 think -(TA)IIN.3
 prv VAI -sfx VTA -sfx

"Why is it that she does not want to travel to winter camp?" he was wondering.

4.1.2 *tân* 'how'

There are 19 questions with *tân* 'how/what' in the first 18 stories of the LITP. Eleven of these are in the changed conjunct with the remaining two in the conjunct. Six are in the independent. One of the sentences in the independent has the preterit suffix, reference number 1-5-097.

(1-5-097)	Tân tshipâ	ekâ	ishkuâtepannû	
	tân tshi- pâ	ekâ	ishkuâte -pan -nû	
	how 2-	should not	burn	-IIP -(II) IIN.4
	p pfx- prv	p.neg	VII	-sfx -sfx
	upimim.			
	u-	pimî	-im	
	3-	fat	-poss	
	pfx-	NI	-sfx	

How his fire flared up the caribou marrow!

Other sentences with the independent do not have past reference. Rather, they have a sense of the dubitative, either due to their use of the dubitative suffix or in their meaning. Clarke glosses verbs with the dubitative ending with 'perhaps' (1982:48). Sentence 2-5-021, shows the independent dubitative present suffix on the verb following *tân*.

(2-5-021)	Tân itashinitsheni		nenua	
	tân itashi	-nitsheni	nenua	
	how be.such.a.number	-(AI) IDN.4	that	
	p VAI	-sfx	pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl)	
	ukâiâshtuaitsheshîma			
	u-	kâiâshtuaitsheshî	-im -a	?
	3-	firefighter	-poss -obv(s/pl)	
	pfx-	NA	-sfx -sfx	

"I wonder just how many there were of his firefighters!"

Example 2-3-021, although lacking a dubitative suffix on the verb following *tân*, has an element of speculation – the speaker has not seen a giant beaver pelt, but rather is basing his knowledge on the information in the story. This speculation is similar to the dubitative, used when there is no first-hand knowledge of the event being described. The verb following *tân* is in the independent.

(2-3-021)	Tân tshipâ	ishpitetshishû		atai,
	tân tshipâ	ishpitetshishi	-u	atai
	how would.3	be.a.certain.size	-IIN.3	beaver.pelt
	p prv	VAI	-sfx	NA
	ne	meshishtit		amishk ^u ?
	ne	mishishti -t		amishk ^u
	that	IC.be.big	-CIN.3	beaver
	pro.dem.an	VAI	-sfx	NA

How big the pelt would be of one of the giant beaver!

The preverb *tshipâ*- 'could/should' is often present with verbs in the independent that follow *tân*, as in 2-3-021 above and 1-5-040 and 1-5-042 below.

(1-5-040)	Ek ^u nâhî		kûkûminâsh	anite,	tân
	ek ^u nâhî		kûkûminâsh	anite	tân
	then that (over.there)		old.woman	there	how
	p	pro.dem.an	NA	dem.adv	p
	tshipâ	tshi	ekâ	natuâpameu.	
	tshipâ	tshi	ekâ	natuâpam -eu	
	should.3	can	not	look.for	-(TA) IIN.3>4
	pfx- pr	prv	p.neg	VTA	-sfx

Then that old woman, how can she not go to him?

(1-5-042)	Kie	tân tshipâ	tshî	itenimikû	
	kie	tân tshipâ	tshî	itenim	-iku -u
	and	how should.3	perf	think	-(TA)inv.4>3 -IIN.3
	p.conj	p prv	prv	VTA	-sfx -sfx

And how he would not think of him.

The sentences with *tân* and the changed conjunct do not have any particles or preverbal material between the wh-word and the verb, in comparison with the previous examples of the wh-word, preverbs and the independent. Some examples of the changed conjunct in questions follow:

(1-4-042) - « Tân etîn ? » ituekâtueu.
 tân iti -in ? ituekâtue -u
 what IC.do -(AI)CIN.2 ? reply -IIN.3
 p VAI -sfx ? VAI -sfx

"What are you doing?" he (Hare) repeated back to him.

(2-7-029) Tân etenitamin anite tshitshit
 tân itenit -amin anite tshitshit
 how IC.think -(TI)CIN.2>3 there very.near
 p VTI -sfx dem p

etâini ?
 itâ -ini
 IC.be -(AI)CS.2
 VAI -sfx

How do you feel when you are very near?

4.1.3 *tânite* 'where'

Eleven questions with *tânite* occur in the first 18 LITP stories. Of these, eight are in the independent, two are in the conjunct and one is in the changed conjunct. Again, some of those in the independent are dubitative, such as example 2-7-102. Others have the preverb *pâ-*, 'should', suggested in section 2.2.3 to have a dubitative meaning.

Sentence 1-6-017 is shown below with *pâ-*.

(2-7-102) Tânite anite takuanitshe ?
 tânite anite takuan -itshe
 where there exist -IDN.3
 p.intrg dem.adv VII -sfx

Where would that be?

(1-6-017)	Tânite	tshipâ	ôt	tshî	uitshimitin	?
	tânite	tshî-	pâ	ôt	tshî	uitshim -itin
	where	2-	should	because	can	live.with -IIN.1>2
	p.intrg	px-	prv	p	prv	VTA -sfx

How can I marry you?

None of the verbs in the independent are in the preterit.

Both the verbs with the conjunct have the future preverb *tshe-*. The one example of the changed conjunct has a present time reference. This is consistent with the observations made by Clarke (1982:127).

4.1.4 Conclusion of interrogatives

Overall the data from the LITP are consistent with the observations made in Clarke (1982) of sentences with interrogative words. I have observed that the independent dubitative and independent perceptive can follow question words. The independent also follows question words when the compound verb contains the preverb *pâ-*. Variations from Clarke's observations may be the result of differences in the source of data. Clarke's syntactic data came from sentences and short texts elicited from speakers (1982:viii). My data, coming from long stories mainly from the oral history of the Innu, have the grammar of extended narrative. There may be verbal forms in the LITP stories that were not recorded by Clarke.

Sentences with negatives are examined next to see if the LITP data follows the generalization found in Clarke (1982) that verbs following a negator are in the conjunct. Then the question of why verbs following a question word and a negator appear in the forms they do will be examined.

4.2 Negatives

In this section I examine the forms of the verb that follow the negative particles *apû* and *ekâ* in Innu-aimûn. I then describe the differing structure of sentences with *apû* and *ekâ*, based on Brittain (1997) and Brittain (2001). An Optimality Theory discussion of negated sentence structure concludes this section.

4.2.1 Verbal forms following negators

Clarke says that both the negators *apû* and *ekâ* are followed by verbs in the conjunct. *Apû* is the main clause negator and *ekâ* is used in subordinate clauses (1982:127). Brittain (2001) finds that the Western Naskapi cognate *âkâ* occurs with the independent subjective, the conjunct and in imperative sentences (206).

In the first 18 LITP stories, 76 sentences appear with the negator *apû*, and 35 with the negator *ekâ*. Of those sentences with *apû*, the majority appear with a verb following in the conjunct, with two exceptions, one with the independent neutral and one with an indirect independent. These two exceptions are due to the fact that *apû* negates a constituent other than the verb. The verb does not then need to be in the conjunct. The sentences with *ekâ* show more variation. Six have the independent neutral, one has the independent preterit, four are the independent perceptive and six are imperatives. The rest have a verb in the conjunct. *Ekâ* is followed by many different verb conjugations. Some examples of *ekâ* with different verb forms follow. 1-3-003 has the independent perceptive neutral.

(1-3-003) Ek^u ekā nitāpuetuāua,
 ek^u ekā ni- tāpuetu -āua
 then not 1- agree -(TA)IIN.P.3
 p p.neg pfx- VTA -sfx

nitānish, iteu.
 ni- tānish it -eu
 1- daughter say -(TA)IIN.3>4
 pfx- NAD VTA -sfx

"Then I did not give him my consent for my daughter",
 he said.

The independent perceptive appears in questions, as seen in section 4.1 and in sentence 2-7-084, where the word *ueshāushām* 'oh my god' is glossed as in the free translation as 'why'.

(2-7-084) Ei, iteu, ueshāushām
 ei it -eu ueshāushām
 hey say -(TA)IIN.3>4 oh.my.goodness
 p VTA -sfx p

ekā tshikāshunāua.
 ekā tshi- kāshu -nāua
 not 2- hide.oneself -(AI)IIN.P.2
 p.neg pfx- VAI -sfx

He said: "oh my goodness, why aren't you covering
 yourself?"

The imperative is used in the second instance of *ekā* in 2-2-011.

(2-2-011) Ekā pitamā, iteu, ushām mishta -
 ekā pitamā it -eu ushām mishta
 not now say -(TA)IIN.3>4 because very
 p.neg p VTA -sfx p pfx

minuāua mīta ute
 minuā -ua mīt -a ute
 be.good -(VII)IIN.3p firewood -obv(s/pl) here
 VII -sfx NI -sfx p.adv

uātshiāk^u, ekā tshītshipitshitāu.
 uītshi -āk^u ekā tshītshipitshi -ātāu
 IC.help.s.o -CIN.21>3 not leave.with.sled -Imp.1p>3

VTA -sfx p.neg VAI -sfx

"Just wait awhile," she said, "there is really good wood here at our camp. Let's not move our camp."

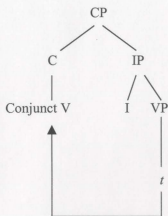
Many of the examples of *ekâ* and *apû* with verbs other than the conjunct are from quoted speech, although not all are.

Innu-aimûn allows the independent, conjunct and changed conjunct forms of the verb to follow the negator *ekâ*, but usually only allows the conjunct and changed conjunct to follow *apû*. Interrogatives require verbal complements of different orders, depending on the tense requirements of the sentence. Often the verb following an interrogative is in the independent. What happens when the verb being questioned is also negated? If the verb is negated by *ekâ* there may be no problem for an analysis since *ekâ* can be followed by the independent as well. If the verb is followed by *apû*, then problems may arise.

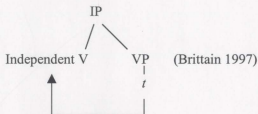
4.2.2 *Negated sentence structure*

The next question is how these sentences are structured. Why can *ekâ* accept verbs in the independent while *apû* never can? Brittain (1997) suggests that *ekâ* is in C, and that *apû* is in spec-C. Brittain (2001) argues that both *ekâ* and *apû* are in C. Brittain says that the conjunct form of the verb raises to C, and that the highest point that the independent form of the verb rises is to Infl. A conjunct verb is shown in (19), and an independent in (20).

(19)



(20)



(Brittain 1997)

More specifically, Brittain argues the independent verb moves from the head of the verb phrase through Agr_O and T to land at the head of the $Agr_S P$ (1997:262). The conjunct verb moves directly from the head of the VP to the head of the CP, in an instance of Long Head Movement. It does not stop in Agr_O , T or Agr_S , as evidenced by the fact conjunct verbs are not inflected for person or tense to the same extent that independent verbs are (1997:263-66).

Does this shed any light on why *ekâ* can take verbs in the independent as a complement and *apû* never can? If *ekâ* is in C, a more compact structure would result if

it is followed by the independent, because the independent only raises to Infl. This is shown in (21) following.

$$(21) \quad [_{CP} [_{C'} [_{C} ek\hat{a}] [_{IP} V_{independent}]]]]$$

When *ekâ* is followed by a conjunct, they both must be in C, creating a sentence with CP-recursion, as in (22).

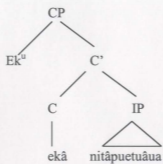
$$(22) \quad [_{CP} [_{C'} [_{C} ek\hat{a}][_{CP} [_{C'} [_{C} V_{conjunct}][_{IP} t]]]]]]$$

Allowing *ekâ* to be followed by the independent creates an elegant tree structure with less redundancy. *Apû* in spec-C can take the conjunct, with complement raising to C. This appears in (23).

$$(23) \quad [_{CP} ap\hat{u} [_{C'} [_{C} V_{conjunct}][_{IP} t]]]]$$

In an analysis with *apû* in C, as in Brittain (2001), all sentences with *apû* and the conjunct will require a double CP-structure, like the sentences formed with *ekâ*. With both negators in identical syntactic position, how can they be differentiated? Brittain says that Innu-aimûn learners use syntactic context to distinguish *apû* and *ekâ*, with *apû* used only in main clauses and *ekâ* used in subordinate clauses (2001:216). Some examples of the structure of negated independent and conjunct verbs follow, with only the relevant part of the sentence diagrammed. All examples are from the LITP.

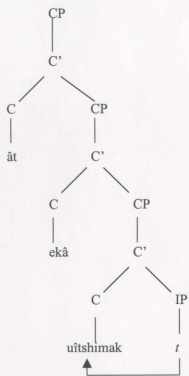
(24) *ekâ* with independent: 1-3-003



Ek^u ekâ nitâpuetuâua

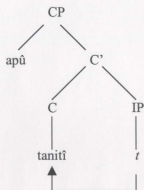
'Then I did not give him my consent for her'

(25) *ekâ* with conjunct: 1-6-025



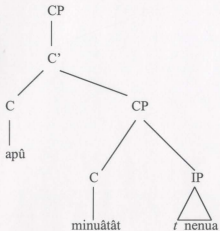
ât ekâ uîtshimak
'if I don't marry him'

(26) *apû* in Spec-CP with conjunct: 1-3-025, following Brittain (1997):



apû tânitî.
 'she was not there'

(27) *apû* in C with conjunct: 1-5-007, following Brittain (2001):



Apû minuâtât nenua.
 'she did not like him'

As can be seen, the trees with *ekâ* and *apû* in C followed by the conjunct are more complex, involving CP-recursion. This recursion is not necessary for the structures of *ekâ* and the independent. *Ekâ*, occurring in C, allows independent verb forms because they do not rise to C. If *apû* is found in spec-C, CP recursion is not incurred when a conjunct verb that raises to C is negated.

With one exception, *apû* never occurs with the independent. Sentence 1-6-055 is this exception. It is an example of constituent negation.

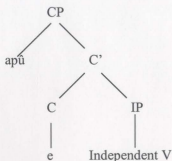
(1-6-055)	Apû	minekâsh	shâsh	ût	unuïu	
	apû	minekâsh	shâsh	ût	unuï	-u
	not	long.time	already	because	go.out	-IIN.3
	p.neg	p	p	p	VAI	-sfx
	ne	ishkueu.				
	ne		ishkueu			
	that		woman			
	pro.dem.an		NA			
	Not long after that, the woman came out.					

In 1-6-055, it is possible to have the independent following *apû* because it is actually negating the particle *minekâsh* 'long time'. In cases of non-sentential negation, the form of the verb is not influenced by *apû*.

Why does *apû* never occur with the independent? If it did, there would be an unfilled C between *apû* and the verb, as in (25). The placement of *apû* in (25) follows Britain 1997.

(28)

*



This suggests that Innu-aimûn grammar does not allow an unfilled complementizer head.

4.3 *Optimality Theory and unfilled heads*

Further insight into the problem of an unfilled head can be found in Grimshaw's (1997) work on the distribution of heads in English which uses the principles of Optimality Theory (OT). The basic tenets of OT are outlined by Grimshaw as follows:

- Constraints are universal.
- Constraints can be violated.
- Grammars are rankings of constraints
- The optimal form is grammatical; all nonoptimal candidates are ungrammatical. An optimal output form for a given input is selected from among a class of competitors in the following way: a form that, for every pairwise competition involving it, best satisfies the highest-ranking constraint on which the competitors conflict, is *optimal*.
(Grimshaw 1997:373)

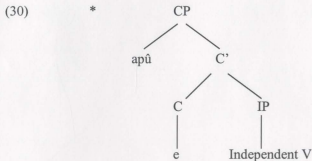
Optimality Theory is formalized into three components: the Generator (GEN), the Evaluator (EVAL) and the universal set of constraints (CON) (Archangeli 1997:14). In OT, multiple possible candidates are generated at the same time. The number of possible candidates is infinite, as GEN can add, delete or rearrange elements in the input. They are then evaluated for how well they satisfy a ranked set of constraints. These constraints are available to all languages, but may be ranked differently in each one. The grammatical output is the candidate that violates the least number of constraints, or one that violates only lowly ranked constraints. Violations of low-ranked constraints are allowed only if necessary to satisfy higher ranked constraints. Ungrammatical forms are those that have many violations, or those that violate high ranked constraints. (Archangeli 1997). EVAL deals with the infinite number of possible candidates using Faithfulness constraints which require the ideal output to be relatively similar to the input, meaning that a large number of possible outputs do not need to be considered in the computation. Completely unfaithful candidates must always be disqualified.

The constraints proposed by Grimshaw (1997) that are relevant to Innu-aimûn are as follows in (29).

- (29)
- Operator in Specifier (Op-Spec) – Negatives and interrogatives (that trigger English inversion) must be in Specifier.
 - Obligatory Head (Ob-Hd) – A projection has a head.
 - No Lexical Head Movement (No-Lex-Mvt) – A lexical head cannot move.

- Economy of Movement (Stay) – Trace is not allowed.

The constraint Obligatory Head, which states that all projections have a head, can be used to explain the impossible sentence in example (28) above, repeated below as (30):



Again, Innu-aimûn never allows the negator *apû* to be followed by the a verb in the independent. In OT terms, this candidate sentence violates the constraint Ob-Hd because of the empty complementizer. Since *apû* never occurs with the independent, Innu-aimûn must rank this constraint fairly high. Every output with *apû* and the independent would also contain an unfilled head, C, and so would crash. This can also be illustrated by a tableau, showing the impossible sentence compared to the grammatical *apû* followed by the conjunct, below:

Tableau 1 – Violation of Ob-Head- comparing 1-3-025 to the ungrammatical sentence

Candidates	Ob-Head	Op-Spec	No-Lex-Mvt	Stay
\mathcal{C}^* [_{CP} apû [_C [C tanitî]] [_{IP} t]]]			*	*
[_{CP} apû [_C [C e]] [_{IP} V-independent]]]	*!			

The optimal candidate, marked \mathcal{C}^* , only violates No-Lex-Mvt and Stay. These violations are acceptable, and thus lowly ranked, since Innu-aimûn allows verbs to move up in the tree for checking reasons. The dashed line separating two columns indicates that their ranking with respect to each other is unimportant. The unacceptable, non-occurring sentence is marked as unacceptable with the exclamation point following the asterisk that marks constraint violations. Note that according to the analysis of Brittain (2001), there would also be asterisks in Op-Spec, since *apû* is an operator not in specifier position. This constraint is also violated by all sentences with *ekâ*, so it does not rank highly in Innu-aimûn.

Ob-Head can optionally be violated in English, as the following examples from Grimshaw (1997) show:

- (31) * [_{IP} wh e [_{VP} t V...]] (1997:389)

(31), illustrating a sentence with a subject wh-phrase, is ungrammatical due to the violation of the obligatory head constraint. This would look like * “who see?”. There is no tense information on the verb because Infl is unfilled.

- (32) [_{CP} wh e [_{IP} DP will [_{VP} V t]]] (1997:396)

Example (32) illustrates a complement to a subject that provides more information about the subject, like “who he will see”. This example also violates Obligatory Head, because C is unfilled. This CP, however, is the optimal candidate of its tableau, despite the violation, because all other candidates considered violated the higher ranked (for English) constraint of Op-Spec.

Op-Spec is violated in grammatical Innu-aimûn sentences. All sentences with the negator *ekâ* violate this constraint because of *ekâ*'s presence in the complementizer, rather than in spec-C, like *apû*. An OT tableau illustrating this is shown below. Sentence 2-9-017, showing *apû* followed by the conjunct, is included to show that it does not violate Obligatory Head or Operator in Specifier.

Tableau 2 – *Ekâ and apû* – text sentences 1-3-003 and 1-6-025, repeated from above, and sentence 2-9-017

Candidates	Ob-Hd	Op-Spec
\mathcal{C} [_{CP} ek ^o [c [c ekâ][_{IP} nitapueuâua]]]		*
\mathcal{C} [c [c [c ât][c [c ekâ][c [c [c <i>ûtshimak</i>][_{IP} t]]]]]		*
\mathcal{C} [_{CP} apû [c [c <i>tshîtûtet</i>][_{IP} t]]]		

Although it is possible that Op-Spec is merely lowly ranked in Innu-aimûn, there is also the possibility of there being another constraint that is being spared violation because of the violation of Op-Spec. Perhaps the placement of particles and preverbs

could have something to do with this, since the absence of the negators in specifier position leaves that position open.

4.4 *Conclusion to chapter four*

This chapter begins with a problem – if interrogative particles are typically followed by the independent form of the verb, and negative particles are followed by the conjunct, which form of the verb should appear when an interrogative and a negative appear in the same sentence? I first examine three interrogatives on their own, and discover that in the LITP stories, these particles can be followed by the independent or the conjunct form of the verb. Negatives as well show variation in the form of the verb they take as a complement. Both the conjunct and independent forms occur with the negative particle *ekâ*. Optimality theory gives an explanation why only *ekâ* can occur with the independent.

Ekâ will always occur in negated interrogatives, because it is the negator that typically appears in subordinate clauses. *Ekâ*'s choice of complements is variable, so it seems negated interrogatives could appear with either the independent or the conjunct. I believe the question of which form of the verb will appear in a negated interrogative depends more on the verb form needed for the story, than on a checking relationship.

4.3 *General thesis conclusion*

In this thesis, I have described the placement of the most frequently occurring preverbs and particles in Sheshâtshû Innu-aimûn. I have found that the temporal

preverbs precede modal preverbs, and that aspectual preverbs co-occur with particles with a similar meaning. The preverb *e-* always appears directly to the left of the verb stem. In my data, it appears with no other preverbs.

A diagram of a possible Innu-aimun compound verb appears in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Innu-aimûn compound verb

temporal preverb	modal preverb	verb stem
------------------	---------------	-----------

Amongst the particles, I have seen that particles tend to appear as close to the left edge of the sentence as possible. Complementizer particles always appear on the left edge of the sentence, and directly precede particles of speaker opinion.

Temporal/aspectual particles then follow. Adverbs finally will appear closest to the verb.

Table 4.2 shows a possible ordering of particles in an Innu-aimûn sentence.

Table 4.2: Innu-aimûn particle template

Complementizer	Speaker Opinion	Temporal/ Aspectual	Adverb	(Compound) Verb
----------------	--------------------	------------------------	--------	--------------------

Textual examples of these preverbs and particles have come from legends and stories collected in 1967. The environments described, then, are those representative of oral narrative style. Research into conversational use of preverbs and particles may show slightly different patterns of use.

The final chapter of this thesis includes an Optimality Theory analysis of negator choice and verb order (independent versus conjunct) in narrative.

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