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

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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

by

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Memorial University of Newfoundland (2000)

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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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Thanks to Laurel-Anne Hasler, Tracy O’Brien and the rest of the graduate student cohort for commiseration and entertainment. Special thanks to Laurel-Anne for her work interlinearizing LITP data.

Thanks to my thesis examiners whose comments have helped me make this work much more readable.

Thanks to all the professors in the department for their interest in my work in Linguistics, and my life outside of Linguistics. Thanks to Colleen Porter, the unstoppable problem solver and administrative assistant to the Linguistics department.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... ii

Acknowledgments ....................................................................................................... iii

Table of contents ......................................................................................................... iv

List of Tables ............................................................................................................... vii

List of Figures ............................................................................................................. viii

Abbreviations .............................................................................................................. ix

1. Introduction ............................................................................................................. 1
   1.1 Data and following chapters ............................................................................. 2
   1.2 The structure of Innu-aimûn ........................................................................... 6
   1.3 Previous research on tense, aspect and mood in Innu-aimûn ......................... 13
   1.4 Previous research on preverb ordering ............................................................ 15
      1.4.1 Plains Cree preverbs .............................................................................. 15
      1.4.2 Lees - expanding the template ................................................................. 17

2. The preverbs of Innu-aimûn narrative ................................................................... 21
   2.1 Modal preverbs ............................................................................................... 22
      2.1.1 uî ‘want’, volition, intention, habit ......................................................... 22
      2.1.2 tshî ‘ability’ .......................................................................................... 27
      2.1.3 pd ‘should’ ............................................................................................. 30
      2.1.4 Conclusion of modal preverbs .................................................................. 32
   2.2 Temporal preverbs ......................................................................................... 32
      2.2.1 tshe ‘future’ ........................................................................................... 32
      2.2.2 ka ‘future’ ............................................................................................. 34
      2.2.3 kâ ‘past’ ................................................................................................. 36
      2.2.4 Conclusion of temporal preverbs ............................................................. 37

2.3 Aspect preverbs .................................................................................................. 38
   2.3.1 Perfective tshî .......................................................................................... 38
   2.3.2 katshî ‘after’ ............................................................................................. 40
   2.3.3 Conclusion of aspect preverbs .................................................................... 42

2.4 Other preverbs .................................................................................................... 42
3. The particles of Innu-aimûn

3.1 Complementizers
3.1.1 ek̂̂u ‘then’
3.1.2 tshek ‘then’, ekue ‘then/so’ and tshek ekue
3.1.3 ât ‘even if’
3.1.4 tsheish ‘so that’
3.1.5 Conclusion of complementizers

3.2 Focus particles
3.2.1 muk̂u ‘only, but’

3.3 Negative particles - ekâ and apû
3.3.1 ekâ
3.3.2 apû
3.3.3 Conclusion of negatives

3.4 Adverbs
3.4.1 tshîtshue ‘really’
3.4.2 minâush ‘hardly’
3.4.3 shûk̂u ‘so much’
3.4.4 Conclusion of adverbs

3.5 Temporal and aspectual particles
3.5.1 shâsh ‘already’
3.5.2 mînuât ‘again’
3.5.3 nîtâ ‘never’
3.5.4 mâni ‘usually’
3.5.5 eshk̂u ‘still’, ‘yet’, ‘later’
3.5.6 nânitam ‘always’
3.5.7 tshekât ‘almost’
3.5.8 lâpit ‘always’
3.5.9 minekâsh ‘a long time’
3.5.10 kâu ‘again’
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Labrador Innu Text Project Stories .................................................. 3
Table 1.2: Abbreviations ................................................................................. 5
Table 1.3: Animate and Inanimate nouns ......................................................... 6
Table 1.4: Transitivity in Innu-aimûn ............................................................... 8
Table 1.5: Order in Innu-aimûn .................................................................. 10
Table 1.6: Mode in Innu-aimûn ....................................................................... 11
Table 1.7: Preverbs in Plains Cree ................................................................. 17
Table 1.8: Preverbs of Innu-aimûn ................................................................. 17
Table 2.1: Preverbs occurring in LITP Books 1 and 2 .................................... 22
Table 2.2: Innu-aimûn compound verb ......................................................... 46
Table 3.1: Innu-aimûn particle template .......................................................... 94
Table 4.1: Innu-aimûn compound verb ......................................................... 119
Table 4.2: Innu-aimûn particle template ......................................................... 119
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Verb Paradigms ...................................................... 9
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.intrg</td>
<td>interrogative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.neg</td>
<td>negative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.comp</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prv</td>
<td>preverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ic</td>
<td>initial change, the change of the first vowel in a verb stem or in a compound verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>animate intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>transitive animate verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>inanimate intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI</td>
<td>transitive inanimate verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indef</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perc</td>
<td>perceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIN</td>
<td>conjunct independent neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIN</td>
<td>indicative independent neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIP</td>
<td>indicative independent preterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIN.P</td>
<td>indicative independent neutral perceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dup</td>
<td>reduplicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inv</td>
<td>inverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>animate noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>inanimate noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv</td>
<td>obviative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>conjunct subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intns</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 èkwa ñina ‘then again’ and màka ñina ‘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 Sheshâtshiu. Some storytellers are from Davis Inlet, a nearby Naskapi-speaking community. The stories are largely òtânûkana, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book-Story number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number of Sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-1</td>
<td>Mishta-pâushtik'<strong>u</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-2</td>
<td>Uâpush</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-3</td>
<td>Mishikamâunnû</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-4</td>
<td>Uâpush mâk Umâtshâshkuk'<strong>u</strong></td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-5</td>
<td>Aiâsheu</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-6</td>
<td>Ka Uï Uiîshimikut Kâkua</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-7</td>
<td>Atîk'<strong>u</strong>-Mîtshuâp</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-8</td>
<td>Ka Uîashkumat</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-9</td>
<td>Misses Hubbard</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-1</td>
<td>Tshishina Ka Nâtikut</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-2</td>
<td>Ka Kaîashkuet</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-3</td>
<td>Mishtamîshk'<strong>u</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-4</td>
<td>Meshapush</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-5</td>
<td>Kâîâkuâpisht Kåsh Kâ Iskhuâtet</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-6</td>
<td>Ka Tshîtishimâkanit Ätshen</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-7</td>
<td>Ka Uîitatikumat</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-8</td>
<td>Tshishina Ka Nâtikut</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-9</td>
<td>Manitusha ka uînàpemît ishkueu</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
Shoebox 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.
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-aimūn, using Optimality Theory. Theoretical background pertinent to this analysis is included in chapter four. Chapter one continues with discussion of the structure of Innu-aimūn, and of previous research on preverb in the language.

1.2 The structure of Innu-aimūn

I examine the dialect of Innu-aimūn spoken in Shetshâtshâlu, Labrador in this paper. Innu-aimūn 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nâpeu</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâniitu</td>
<td>spirit</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Vanek 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 *kâk* ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>uâpush</strong></th>
<th>rabbit</th>
<th>animate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>mishtikû</strong></td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>utâpân</strong></td>
<td>car</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nipî</strong></td>
<td>water</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>úsh</strong></td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.4: Transitivity in Innu-aimân

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb class</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inanimate intransitive (II)</td>
<td>utâmitin</td>
<td>‘something knocks against an object or a surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animate intransitive (AI)</td>
<td>utâmishinû</td>
<td>‘s/he knocks him/herself against an object or surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive inanimate (TI)</td>
<td>utâmaim</td>
<td>‘s/he knocks on something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive animate (TA)</td>
<td>utâmishimeu</td>
<td>‘s/he knocks someone against an object or surface’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cyr (1996:189)

Figure 1.1 (based on Brittain 2001:21 for Western Naskapi, with modifications for Innu-aimân from Baraby 1999:3) gives a summary of the subdivision of inflections possible for the four types of verbs (II, AI, TI, TA).
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-aimün (Clarke 1982:83)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>independent</td>
<td>nipîtuân</td>
<td>'I am smoking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjunct</td>
<td>pîtuâiânî</td>
<td>'if/when I smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changed conjunct</td>
<td>pâtuâiânî</td>
<td>'whenever I smoke'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>atusseu</td>
<td>‘s/he works (I am sure about it)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect</td>
<td>atussetak</td>
<td>‘s/he works (I am sure about it though I haven’t witnessed it myself)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceptive</td>
<td>ka-atusseua</td>
<td>‘it seems to me that s/he works’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubitative</td>
<td>atussitshe</td>
<td>‘s/he must be working’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>atusseti</td>
<td>‘if/when s/he works’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

(1b) nikauâpamâu
    ni- ka uâpam -âu

(Clarke 1982:41)
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 | tshitshipatât ne |
| tshek ekue | tshitshipatâ -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" tâpue nûtshikuâkanit anite ût |
| ek" tâpue nûtshiku -âkani -t anite ût |
| then indeed bother -indf>3 -CIN.3 there from |
| P P VTA -sfx -sfx dem.adv P |

ishpimit.
ishpimit
above
P

Then, indeed, he was tormented from above.

In 1-5-031, the particle ût ‘from’ seems to modify another particle, ishpimit ‘above’.

Alternatively, it is modifying the discontinuous phrase anite ... ishpimit ‘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 shāsh uąpămâu ‘I already see him’ could never occur. The particle shāsh ‘already’ must occur outside the verbal inflection. Shāsh nuąpămâu 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-aimūn

A description of morphemes that inflect Innu-aimūn sentences for tense and aspect can be found in Clarke (1982) and Clarke and MacKenzie (2000). Innu-aimūn 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
the use of preverbs are deontic and those expressed through different verb paradigms are epistemic.

James et al. (1996) report that the use of a ‘verb of speaking’ is common in the Betsiamites dialect of Montagnais, related to Innu-aimûn. A verb of speaking is used when secondhand, thirdhand or folkloric information is presented. This is common in the legends of the LITP. Example (2) shows itâkânu ‘it is said’, following reported information.

(2) ekwan ne kwe nipinicî itâkânu
    that’s.the.one that then he.is.dead it.is.said
    ‘he died, it is said’
    (James et al. 1996:141)

Other verbs of speaking include iteu ‘s/he said’, itikû ‘someone said’. The evidence is then presented as a quote (1996: 139-140). More information about Innu-aimûn evidentials can be found in James et al. 1996 and Drapeau 1996.

A verbal paradigm which only occurs with specific preverbs is discussed in Clarke 1982:47. Clarke describes an Innu-aimûn preterit paradigm where the –p suffix occurs in all persons, as in example (3) below. This paradigm can only occur with preverbs such as pâ- ‘should’, pâtshi- ‘could’, kâ- ‘would’ and ui- ‘want, intend to’ (1982: 47).

(3) nipâtshînipânâpan
    ni- pâtshi- nipânâpan
    l- could- sleep
    ‘I could have slept’
    (Clarke 1982:47)

A different verbal suffix must occur when no preverb is present, as in (4) below:
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-aimun 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

(Clarke 1982:46)
'four' and *ohci* 'thus' (1973:77). As well, Wolfart points out that both concrete and abstract preverbs can occur in position 2, as well as preverbs of potential action and those of intention (Wolfart 1973:76-77). Abstract preverbs "in many instances have meanings corresponding to the modal auxiliaries of a language like English" (Clarke 1982:40).

Wolfart finds that there is no required order of occurrence within the position 2 class. Example (5) shows a Plains Cree sentence with two preverbs. The first, *kā*- is a complementizer, and the second, *kih-* is the past tense preverb.

(5)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>comp-</th>
<th>past-</th>
<th>verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ꮤи oskinikiwah kā- kih- wâpamât</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'that young man whom she had seen' (Wolfart 1973:77)

Example (6) shows that more than one preverb can occur within position 2. *Ē-, the complementizer, appears in position 1.

(6)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>comp-</th>
<th>intend to-</th>
<th>come-</th>
<th>verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ė- wîh- pê- nipahikot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'as he was about to come and kill him' (Wolfart 1973:78)

Table 1.7 shows an overview of Wolfart’s description of Plains Cree preverbs.
Table 1.7: Preverbs in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position 1</th>
<th>Position 2</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>complementizers,</td>
<td>abstract and concrete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subordinator $kā$- future</td>
<td>preverbs, potential action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense markers $ka$- and $kita$-</td>
<td>and intention,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past tense $kī$-, able to $kī$-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$wī$- 'intend to', $isi$- 'thus',</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ō$-, $ohci$, 'from there,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>therefore, originally'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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 Sheshâtshâu 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position I</th>
<th>Position II</th>
<th>Position III</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>complementizers and tense markers</td>
<td>preadverbials</td>
<td>other preverbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lees suggests the Innu-aimân preverb/particle ět is a preadverbial (1979:127). ět 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.

\[(7) \text{čekwa:no wet- otamowat atum?}\]
\[\text{what.obv because- hit dog}\]
\[\text{‘Why do you hit the dog?’}\]

\[(1979:111)\]

In (8) the presence of čekwa:n alone signifies ‘what’.

\[(8) \text{čekwa:no wi:yapatak na:pew?}\]
\[\text{what-obv see man}\]
\[\text{‘What does the man see?’}\]

\[(1979: 111)\]

Lees’ position I contains complementizers and all tense markers. Wolfart’s position 1 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 ět, uî ‘want’ and tshi ‘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: atî, pe, pimi 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 *ut* 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 ši: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 kâ 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-AIMÜN 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 Sheshâtshiu 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 tshi- ‘be able to’, ka- and pâ- must precede. As well, ka- and pâ- cannot occur together. Uî- and tshi- 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-, tshi- 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 tshi- and kâtshi-. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Changed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Modal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ui-</strong></td>
<td>uā</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tshi-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>can, ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pā-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tshe-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ka-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kā-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspectual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tshi-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kātshi-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Complementizer</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1 **Modal preverbs**

2.1.1 *ui*- ‘want’, volition, intention, habit

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

*Ui-* 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 - ui  utāmaitsheua
           ka  ui  utāmaitshe -e  -ua
           perc  try.to hit  -(TA)3>4  -perc
           px  prv  VTA  -sfx  -sfx
```
He seemed to be trying to hit something; he did it there at the doorway.

There are several sentences with *ut*- preceded by the past marker *kâ*- as described in Clarke (1982). Examples with *kâ*- follow in 2-8-003 and 2-8-005.

(2-8-003)  
\( \text{text} \)  
\( \text{Ume} \)  
\( \text{mā, iteu,} \)  
\( \text{ume} \)  
\( \text{mā, it eu} \)  
\( \text{this} \)  
\( \text{intns say -(TA)IIN.3>4p} \)  
\( \text{pro. dem p} \)  
\( \text{VTA -sfx -sfx} \)  
\( \text{kā} \)  
\( \text{ui} \)  
\( \text{shikatimitâk”} \)  
\( \text{kā} \)  
\( \text{ui} \)  
\( \text{shikatim -itâk”} \)  
\( \text{past want make.cold -(TA)CIN.3>21} \)  
\( \text{prv prv VTA -sfx} \)  
\( \text{etikashukut} \)  
\( \text{iti} \)  
\( \text{kashu -iku -t pishim”-a} \)  
\( \text{IC.be.heated -(TA)TS.inv.43 -CIN.3 sun -obv} \)  
\( \text{VTA -sfx -sfx NA -sfx} \)  
"Look here," he said. "This is who wanted to make us cold. He has been melted by the sun."

(2-8-005)  
\( \text{Ek” mā, iteu,} \)  
\( \text{shikatiminän,} \)  
\( \text{ek” mā it eu} \)  
\( \text{shikatim -inän} \)  
\( \text{so intns say -(TA)IIN.3>4} \)  
\( \text{make.cold -imp.2>21p} \)  
\( \text{p p VTA -sfx VTA -sfx} \)  
\( \text{ek” mā minuât shikatiminän} \)  
\( \text{ek” mā minuât shikatim -inän} \)  
\( \text{then intns again make.cold -Imp.2>21p} \)  
\( \text{p p VTA -sfx} \)  
\( \text{kā} \)  
\( \text{ui} \)  
\( \text{shikatimiát.} \)  
\( \text{kā} \)  
\( \text{ui} \)  
\( \text{shikatim -iât} \)  
\( \text{past want make.cold -(TA)CIN.2>1pl} \)  
\( \text{prv prv VTA -sfx} \)
"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 *ui-* and then the verb in the conjunct.

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

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

The following example, 2-2-014 shows *ui-* following a negative particle as part of a question, marked by the interrogative phrase *tšekuānnītshe uet*. *Tšekuān*, 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.

$$\text{(2-2-014) «Tšekuānnītshe », itenimeu, }$$
$$\text{tšekuān -nitshe itenim -eu }$$
$$\text{what -IDN.obv think -(TA)IIN.3>4 }$$
$$\text{p -sfx VTA -sfx }$$
$$\text{« uet ekā uī tshītūtet ? » }$$
$$\text{ūt ekā uī tshītūte -t }$$
$$\text{IC.because not want leave -CIN.3 }$$
$$\text{p p.neg prv VAI -sfx }$$

"Why", he was thinking, "does she not want to go?"
Uđ- is the changed form of ưở- and thus appears at the leftmost edge of the compound verb. Examples from the LITP show údo- 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, údo- appears before the compound verb nátshi-udpamât ‘s/he is going to see him/her’. Nátshi is described as a ‘concrete’ preverb in Clarke 2000/1986, in contrast with the ‘abstract’, more tense related preverbs.

(1-3-037) Ek' ât niâtâti,  
then even.if IC.go.to -(TA)CS.3>4  
p p VTA -sfx

udios nátshi- uápamât, ek' apū  
IC.try.to going.to see -(TA)CIN.3>4 then not  
prv prv VTA -sfx p p.neg

uápamât  
pieshuápamâti.

uápam -ât  
peshuápam -âtı

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 údo- occurring with another preverb. An explanation for this can be found in Western Naskapi. The Western Naskapi cognate of nátshi- 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 nátshi- 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 nátshi- is analyzed as part of the verb stem by Innu-aimní 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 nenekâtenitishit 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  

\[uâ\]  
\[ui\]  
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  

\[ukussa\]  
\[u- kuss -a\]  
\[ni- ûkâuí\]  
\[3- son -obv(s/pl)\]  
\[1- mother.voc \]  
\[pfx- NAD -sfx\]  
\[pfx- NAD \]  

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 $ui$ pitûtshë-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
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) Ek₂ apū tshi uīnameshet eshk₂, ek₂ apū tshi uīnameshe -t eshk₂
then not able clean.fish -CIN.3 still
p p.neg prv VAI -sfx p

ushâm papakāshinū nenū,
ushâm papakāshi -ini -u nenū
because be.thin.dim -obv -IIN.3 that
p VII -sfx -sfx pro.dem.in.obv

uākāpissinam" mâni
uākāpissin -am -u mâni
bend -(TI)TS.3>4 -IIN.3 usually
VTI -sfx -sfx p

nenū āt uā uīnamesheti.
nenū āt uī uīnameshe -ti
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 tshi- 'ability'

My data show tshi- '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. Tshi- 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 *tshi*.

(1-6-018)  
Apû  *tshika*  *tshi* nipâi’t,  
apû  tshika tshi 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 *tshi-* following two particles: *muk* ‘but’ and the negative particle *apû. Tshi-* directly precedes the verb stem, as in 1-6-018, above.

(2-4-004)  
Åt  tshikâkuâteu  
åt  tshikâkuât -eu  
even.if spear -(TA)IIN.3>4  
p  VTA -sfx  -sfx  p

muk  apû  *tshi* nipâiåt.  
muk  apû  tshi nipâi -åt  
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 *tshi-* following the future preverb *ka-* and directly before the verb stem. Clarke (1982:40) says the preverbs *ka-* and *pâ-* typically precede *tshi*.

(2-4-012)  
-Mâuat apû  *tshika*  *tshi* nipâi’t.  
mâuat apû  tshika tshi 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 \textit{tshi}- 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 \textit{tshi}- is preceded by the negative particle \textit{apū}, and followed by the particle \textit{minekāsh} 'long time' and finally by the verb stem.

\begin{verbatim}
(1-5-027)  Apū  tshi minekāsh nūkushiān,
apū  tshi minekāsh nūkush  -iān
not  can long.time be.visible -(AI)CIN.1
p.neg prv p VAI  -sfx

tshessināt tshika nūtshikākūnān.
tshessināt tshika ni- utshikākāu -inān
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."
\end{verbatim}

A negative particle occurs between \textit{tshi}- and the verb stem in 1-5-040.

\begin{verbatim}
(1-5-040)  Ek nakhi  kūkūmināsh anite, tān
ek nakhi  kūkūmināsh anite tān
then that (over. there) old. woman there how
p pro.dem.an NA  dem.adv p

tshipā  tshi ekā natuāpameu.
tshipā  tshi ekā natuāpam -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?
\end{verbatim}

1-6-013 is a question formed with the interrogative clitic \textit{ā}. \textit{Tshi}- occurs both before and after \textit{ā}. 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. Tshi- 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.

\[(1-6-013) \text{ Nipā tshi ā tshi muāu mishtik"? }\]

"Would I be able to eat a tree?"

2.1.3 pā- 'should'

In my data from the first 18 stories of the LITP, pā- usually appears as tshipā-. Tshipā- is either the third person form of pā-, or pā- with the second person prefix tshi-. A similar process occurs with other preverbs such as ka- 'future' and pātshi- '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-uāpamāu
ni- ka- uāpam-āu
1- fut- see -(TA)IIN.1>3
pfx- prv- VTA -sfx
"I will see him"

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

(Clarke 1982:41)
(Tshipa-) 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. Tshipa- is often used in questions, with the usual word ordering tan tshipa tshi V. As well, a word order like tanite tshipa ut tshi V occurs. Pâ- precedes the preverb tshi- 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 tshipa- and tshi- and occurs directly to the left of the verb stem. In 1-6-107, the particle ut follows the preverb pâ- and precedes the compound verb tshi- uitshimitin.

(1-5-040) Ek“ nahi kükûminâsh anite, tan
ek“ nahi kükûminâsh anite tan
then that(over.there) old.woman there how
p pro.dem.an NA dem.adv p

tshipa tshi ekâ natuâpameu.
tshipa tshi 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) Tanite tshipa ût tshi uitshimitin ?
tânite tshi- pâ ût tshi uitshim -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.
"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 tshi- 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 *tshi-* ‘ability’.

(2-6-022) Tânite *tshe* tshi pimûteiâk" ek" ?

*tânite* tshe tshi pimûte -iâk" ek"

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 mā ek" *tshe*

eukuan -inû mā ek" *tshe*

that’s it -obv(s/pl) intns then fut
dem -sfx p p prv

tshitshipaitûht.
tshitshipâitu -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*. *Út* 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 *tshi-* , 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.
You will always see me where I will send up smoke, but only if the people are very hungry.

How in the world could your son have returned?

It seems that the future preverb moves past the particle ût, 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 pâ-, 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 *tshi-* ‘ability’. Clarke (1982:41) observes that *ka-* often precedes *tshi-* ‘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' mīnuāt nika takushin,
          eshk' mīnuāt ni- ka takushin
later again 1- fut arrive
  p   p     pfx- prv VAI
itikū,
    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
mā takushiniānī mīnuāt.
mā takushini -iānī mīnuāt
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 *tshi-*.

(1-5-030)  Shūk mitshiminī, itikū,
shūk mitshimīn -i  it -iku  -u
go.ahead hold -Imp.2 say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3
  p   VTA -sfx  VTA -sfx  -sfx
shūk tshi ka utāmuauat
shūk tshi- ka utāmu  -āuat
go.ahead 2- fut hit.with.s.t. -(TA)IIN.2>3p
  p   pfx-  prv VTA -sfx
niteshkanat.
"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 apū, and precedes tshī- ‘ability’ and the conjunct verb stem nipāit ‘he kills me’.

(2-4-012) Mauat apū tshika tshī nipāit.
- t
mauat apū tshika tshī nipāi -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 apū and precedes tshī.

(1-6-020) Kie apū tshika tshī nātishk
kie apū tshika tshī nāt -ishk
and not fut.3 can fetch CIN.3>2
p.conj p.neg prv prv VTA -sfx

tshīnapem, tshī uitshimitānī.
tshī- napeu -im tshī uitshim -itānī
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 kā- ‘past’

Kā- 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, kā- is preceded by the negative particle ekā and followed by the verb compound uī- tshītūteīn.

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

36
"You have been doing this," he said to her, "because you did not want to leave!

In 1-5-039, kā- is preceded by the particle shāshish ‘long ago’, the interrogative particle tânite ‘where’ and the demonstrative nete ‘there’. Kā- occurs directly to the left of the verb stem.

(1-5-039)  
Shāshish tânite nete kā
shāshish tânite nete kā
long.ago where over.there past
p.temp p.intrg dem.adv prv
mûshâueunâkanit.
mûshâueun -âkani -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 tshi-

The perfective tshi- occurs much less often than the modal tshi- in the stories of the LITP. Of the 48 sentences found with tshi-, only seven have the perfective tshi-.

Perfective tshi- 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 tshi-, in a case of parallel structure. The first occurrence of tshi- 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 tshi-.

\[
(2-9-045) \quad \text{Shâsh nenû } tshî \text{ utâpânitsheu,} \\
\text{shâsh nenû tshî utâpânits} \text{h -eu} \\
\text{already that perf get.sled.ready -(TA)IIN.3>4} \\
p \quad \text{pro prv VTA -sfx} \\
\text{shâsh tshî âneu,} \\
\text{shâsh tshî ân -eu} \\
\text{already perf place.st -(TA)IIN.3>4 already} \\
p \quad \text{prv VTA -sfx} \\
\text{tshî uishkuetâpâteu} \\
tshî uishkuetâpat -eu \\
\text{perf wrap.st -(TA)IIN.3>4} \\
p \quad \text{prv VTA -sfx} \\
\text{utauâssima.} \\
u- \quad \text{auâss -im -a} \\
3- \quad \text{child -poss -obv(s/pl)} \\
pfx- \quad \text{NA -sfx -sfx} \\
\text{He had already gotten his toboggan ready. He already} \\
\text{had his children wrapped in the toboggan.}
\]

\[
(1-4-100) \quad \text{Pâtush tshî mitshishuiâni,} \\
pâtush tshî mitshishu -iâni \\
tshe \\
tshe
\]

38
"When I am done eating, then you can eat."

Every instance of tshi- in 2-9-045 is preceded by the particle shásh, ‘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 tshi- follows the particle pâtush ‘after’. In 2-4-023, tshi-, marked with the person marker tshi-, follows shásh. 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 kātšī- 'after'

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

(1-5-098) Ek” nenû kātšī aitit,  
ek” nenû kātšī iti -t  
then that after do.dup -CIN.3  
p pro.dem.in.obv prv VAI -sfx  
ûkâuia ek” tshe  
u- ûkâui -a ek” tshe  
3- mother -obv(s/pl) then fut  
pfx- 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Katshi</th>
<th>mā</th>
<th>nenua</th>
<th>nipāiāt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katsuhi</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>nenua</td>
<td>nipāi -āt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after</td>
<td>intns</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prv p</td>
<td>pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl)</td>
<td>VTA -sfx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

In 1-3-012, *katshi*- is preceded by a particle, a demonstrative and a particle. After *katshi*- there is a NP *nenua akaneshaua* ‘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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tapue</th>
<th>nenû</th>
<th>mā</th>
<th>katshi</th>
<th>nenua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tapue</td>
<td>nenû</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>katshi</td>
<td>nenua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indeed</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>intns</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pro.dem.in.obv p</td>
<td>prv</td>
<td>pro.dem.obv(s/pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

akaneshaua  ul  tutâkût,  
akaneshau  -a  ul  tûta -iku -t  
Englishman -obv(s/pl) try.to do -inv -CIN.3  
NA -sfx  prv  VTI -sfx -sfx  
tshînitshînîkuànitshimeu nenû  Mishikamânû.  
tshînikuànitshime -u nenû  Mishikamâmû -inû
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) Tshek mā e manåshtet utin
tshek mā e manåshte -t utin
then intns so break.spruce.branches -CIN.3 take
p p prv VAI -sfx VTA

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

nenū massekussinū anite
nenū massek" -ss -inū anite
that muskeg -dim -obv(s/pl) there
dem.in.obv NI -sfx -sfx dem.adv
takuannū ekue
takuan -inū ekue
be -obv at.that.moment
VII -sfx p
tshītāussutshipanit.
tshītāussuatshipani -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) Tshīuepātuāu apishīsh, mukē peikuāu
tshīuepātuā -u apishish mukē peikuāu
run.home.carrying -IIN.3 little only once
VAI+O -sfx p p p
e mīshishut.
e mīshishu -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-kih-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-chi-takusihk ‘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 tshekuán uet.

(1-2-012)  Ekᵘ tshekuán uet
                ekᵘ tshekuán ût
               then what IC.from
                      p     p     p

ka-tshikákânuâshkupuâmenâua ?
ka  tshi- kânuâshkupuâme      -nâ-ua
perc 2- have.long.thighs.dup -(AI)IIN.P.2
prv  pfx- 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.
"A man's head seemed to appear, and then right away I was really attracted to him."

Út 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 shâshi- '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). Út 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>temporal preverbs</th>
<th>modal preverbs</th>
<th>verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the modal preverbs, *pá-* 'should' tends to co-occur with *tshi-* 'able to'. When this happens, *pá-* 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-aimûn**

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 *úit*, 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* ‘then’

*Ek* occurs very frequently in Innu-aimûn 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* is sentence/clause-initially, followed by preverbs, particles, demonstratives or the verb. 2-6-019 and 2-8-012 show *ek* followed by a preverb and particle, respectively.
"There, we will reach the falls."

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

(2-4-061) Tâpue teshkamipâtât ek'.
tâpue tashkamipâtâ -t ek' true IC.run.across -CIN.3 then p VAI -sfx p

Then, it is true, he ran across.

(1-4-053) Ek' iesset ek'.
ek' esse -t ek' then IC.break.ice(trap.beaver) -CIN.3 then p VAI -sfx p

Then he chopped through the ice to trap the beavers.
Ek" occurs least often within the clause, followed by particles, demonstratives or the verb, and preceding particles. 1-6-027 shows ek" following the verb and preceding a particle. In 2-1-023 ek" occurs between particles.

(1-6-027) Eshe, iteu, ehe it -eu yes say -(TA)IIN.3>4 p VTA -sfx

ek" enuet.

"Yes, I will marry you, then."

(2-1-023) « Eukuan ek" násht eukuan ek" násht that's it then really
dem p p

nikútshinân tshekât », ni- kûtshi -nân tshekât l- die.of.cold -(AI)IIN.1p almost
px - VAI -sfx p

iu itâkanû.
i -u it -êkani -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:
And then, the child ran off.

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

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" has first position. Ek" appearing at the extreme left edge of a sentence is described in Branigan and MacKenzie 2002.
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)  
(bold)

Apu tshi pimutakuatat  ekue
apu tshi pimutakuat -at  ekue
not can shoot.at -(TA)CIN.3>4 and.then
p.neg prv VTA -sfx p

shatsheueshkut tshek.  
shat sheue shka -iku -t  tshek
come.to -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -CIN.3 then
VTA -sfx -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)  
(italic)  

Tshek mitshet, tshek patetât itâkanû
tshek mitsheti tshek patetât it -ákani -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
pfx- 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 *apū* appears between *tshek* and the verb.

(1-8-006)  
*Tshek* apū  päpissenimát  
tshek apū  pissenim -åt  
then not  IC.notice.s.o -CIN.3  
p  p.neg VTA -sfx

tshetshipātānītī  
tshitshipātā -nitī  
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* "only". 1-5-071 shows *ekue* following the demonstrative *anite* "there".

(1-3-014)  
Muk" ekue  akuáshitāpet  
muk" ekue  akuáshitāpe -t  
only at.that.moment  drag from water -CIN.3  
p  p  
kanapua  mâni.  
kanapua  mâni  
for.sure usually  
p  p  
He would usually have just pulled it ashore.

(1-5-071)  
Nishinīshāpānī  utishkuema,  
nishinu  -shāpānī u- ishkueu -im -a  
be.two -IDR.obv 3- wife -poss -obv(s/pl)  
VII -sfx  pfx- NA -sfx -sfx

anite ekue  ânāshit  nisht  tshe
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 uî- ‘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 uî. tshitinikuât  
ekue uî tshitin -iku -ât  
and.then try.to grab.s.o -inv -(TA)CIN.3p  
p prv VTA -sfx -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, āt follows the particle ek" and precedes the verb. 2-4-004 shows āt sentence-initially, before the verb.

(1-8-008) Tshessenimât, ek" tshissenim -āt ek" IC.know.about -(TA)CIN.3>4 then VTA -sfx p

āt nīnānuapamāt, māuāt. āt nātuapam -āt māuāt even.if IC.look.for.dup -(TA)CIN.3>4 no p VTA -sfx p.neg

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

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

muk" apū tshī nipāiāt. muk" apū tshī nipāi -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.

3.1.4 tshetshī 'so that'

Tshetshī '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 tshitshī, the unchanged form of tshetshī, 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 tshetshī 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 *tshitshì*, and only seven examples of *tshetshi*. 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.

\[
(2-4-034) \begin{array}{ll}
Tshipà & tshi min\textsuperscript{\mu} natuenitamutì \\
tshipà & tshi min -iku natuenitamu -tì \\
should.3 can give & -inv ask.for -CS.2>3 \\
prv & prv VTA -sfx VTA -sfx \\
assikumàna & tshetshi mûkumûntshein. \\
assikumàn -a & tshetshi mûkumûntshe -in \\
metal & -NI.pl so.that make.knife -(AI)CIN.2 \\
NI & -sfx p.conj VAI -sfx \\
\end{array}
\]

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*\textsuperscript{\(\mu\)}, however, may occupy a different slot in the structure of Innu-aimúñ, since it can precede other complementizing particles, such as ât.

3.2 Focus particles

3.2.1 *muk*\textsuperscript{\(\mu\)} ‘only, but’

*Muk*\textsuperscript{\(\mu\)} often appears at the beginning of a sentence or a clause. It can also be preceded by demonstratives and negatives. *Muk*\textsuperscript{\(\mu\)} is followed by particles, preverbs,
combinations of particles and preverbs, or the verb. 1-3-014 shows muk' sentence-initially, with the particle ekue ‘then’ between muk’ and the verb. Muk’ appears following a demonstrative and preceding a preverb in 2-8-021.

(1-3-014) Muk’ ekue akuashitapet
muk' ekue akuashitape -t
only at.that.moment drag from water -CIN.3
p p

kanapua mani.
kanapua mani
for.sure usually
p p

He would usually have just pulled it ashore.

(2-8-021) Ekuuannu muk’ katshi unatenit
ekuan -inu muk’ katshi unate -nit
that’s.it -obv only after catch.fire -(II)CIN.4
dem -sfx p prv VII -sfx

nenu upimim.
enu u- pimi -im
that 3- fat -poss
pro.der.in.obv pfx- NI -sfx

Then his fat started burning rapidly.

3.3 Negative particles — ekâ and apû

Three negative particles appear in the first 18 stories of the LITP: apû, ekâ and ama. Apû and ekâ are negators regularly used in Innu-aimân. 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 Sheshâtshiu 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 Sheshâtshiu Innu-aimûn particle.

3.3.1 eki

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

(1-3-003) Ek' eki nitâpuetuâua,
eki ni- tâpuetu -ãua
then not 1- agree -(TA)IIN.P.3
p p.neg pfx- VTA -sfx

nitânish, iteu.
ni- tânish it -eu
l- 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 eki following a particle and two preverbs and preceding the verb stem.

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

tshipâ tshî eki natuâpameu.
tshipâ tshî eki 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 aspeccual 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* *tshitūtein* 'you wanted to go'.

(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 tshitūtein!

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

3.3.2 *apū*

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

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

(1-6-055) **Apū** minekāsh shāsh ūt unuu
**apū** minekāsh shāsh ūt unūī -u
long. time already from go.out -IIN.3  
ne ishkueu.  
ne ishkueu  
that woman  
pro.dem.an NA  
Not long after that, the woman came out.

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

(1-4-099)  
- Aaa, màuāt, iteu,  
apù  
aaa màuāt it -eu  
aah no say -(TA)IIN.3>4 not  
p. neg VTA -sfx  
"Aah, no," he said. "I can't give you any to eat."

2-1-032 is an example of *apù* followed by a combination of particles and preverbs. *Apù* is sentence initial and followed by the particle *mìnuāt* ‘again’, the preverb *tshìka- ‘future’* and the temporal particle *nìta* ‘never’. All these things precede the verb stem.

(2-1-032)  
*Apù* mìnuāt tshìka  
not again fut.3  
p.neg p prv VAI  
auen tshetshì kùtshit,  
auen tshetshì kùtshi  
someone so.that die.of.cold  
pro.indef pfx.conj VAI  
eshpish mitunenitamin ',  
eshpish mitunenit  
as.much.as be.intelligent -(TI)CIN.2>3  
prv VTI  
"That's it."

60
"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. Eká tends to follow complementizers or preverbs. Apū 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 tshitshue 'really'

Tshitshue usually appears near the beginning of a clause, but not clause-initially. It follows particles, often ekú 'then' or shāsh 'already', in most examples in my database. Tshitshue is followed by the verb, other particles, or a preverb. 2-2-021 has shāsh preceding tshitshue, with tshitshue immediately preceding the verb. However, there is room in an Innu-aimmün sentence for many more particles, as seen in 1-5-046, below. In that sentence, tshitshue is part of a series of particles. It follows ekú 'then' and is followed by the particle of location pāpessish 'close by', and a particle of speaker opinion, kanapua 'definitely'. The verb follows these particles.
Already, he was really hungry. Already, the man was getting really thin.

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

3.4.2 mináush ‘hardly’

Mináush is not used very often in the first 18 stories of the LITP, appearing in only seven sentences. In these sentences, mináush appears sentence-initially three times, and after a particle three times. In the remaining sentence in my database, mináush follows a pronoun. It is followed by preverbs, or by the verb. In 1-4-011, mináush is sentence-initial, and followed by the preverb tshí- and the verb. In 2-2-022, mináush follows shásh ‘already’ and directly precedes the verb.
"You can hardly walk," he said to him.

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

3.4.3 shûk‘ ‘so much’

Shûk‘ 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, shûk‘ follows the particle anûtshîsh and a demonstrative, and is followed by the verb.

There, when ..., recently killed caribou would always be there.
2-1-033 shows \( shūk' \) following the verb. In this sentence, it is modifying \( innū \) 'person'.

\[
\begin{align*}
(2-1-033) & \quad Tāpue \, mà \, apū \, nītā \\
& \quad tāpue \, mà \, apū \, nītā \\
& \quad \text{indeed intns not never} \\
& \quad p \quad p \quad p.\text{neg} \, p \\
& \quad \text{kūtshīt} \quad \text{\( shūk' \)} \, \text{itākānū} \quad \text{innū}. \\
& \quad \text{kūtshī} \quad t \quad \text{\( shūk' \)} \, \text{it} \quad \text{-ākani} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{innū} \\
& \quad \text{die.of.cold} \quad \text{-CIN.3} \quad \text{lots} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{-Indef} \quad \text{-IIN.3} \quad \text{person} \\
& \quad \text{VAI} \quad \text{-sfx} \quad p \quad \text{VTA} \quad \text{-sfx} \quad \text{-sfx} \quad \text{NA} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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, \( \text{mināush} \) and \( \text{shuk}' \), can appear sentence or clause-initially. \( \text{Tshūshue} \) does not. It is preceded by complementizer particles or temporal/aspectual particles like \( \text{shāsh} \) '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 \( \text{shāsh} \) 'already'

\( \text{Shāsh} \) occurs sentence/clause-initially, as in 2-2-022, as well as following particles. \( \text{Shāsh} \) is seen following two particles in 1-6-055.

\[
\begin{align*}
(2-2-022) & \quad \text{Shāsh} \quad \text{mināush} \, \text{tshī} \, \text{pimūteu}, \quad \text{ekue} \quad \text{pet} \\
& \quad \text{shāsh} \quad \text{mināush} \, \text{tshī} \, \text{pimūte} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{ekue} \quad \text{pet} \\
& \quad \text{already hardly able walk} \quad \text{-IIN.3} \quad \text{and.then here}
\end{align*}
\]
Already, he could hardly walk. Then he returned home.

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 tshi- ‘perfective’ occurring between *shâsh* and the verb stem. *Nenû* refers to the toboggan that is part of the verb *utâpântsheu* ‘s/he gets the sled ready’. This sentence is also discussed in section 2.3.1.

(2-9-045)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shâsh</th>
<th>nenû tshi utâpântsheu,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shâsh</td>
<td>nenû tshi utâpântsheh -eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>already that perf get.sled.ready -(TA)IIN.3&gt;4 p pro prv VTA -sfx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shâsh</td>
<td>tshi âneu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shâsh</td>
<td>tshi ân -eu shâsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>already perf place -(TA)IIN.3&gt;4 already</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p prv VTA -sfx p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshi uishkuetâpâteu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshi uishkuetâpât -eu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perf wrap.them -(TA)IIN.3&gt;4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prv VTA -sfx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utauâssima.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u- auâss -im -a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- child -poss -obv(s/pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
He had already gotten his toboggan ready. He already had his children wrapped in the toboggan.

In 1-4-070, shāsh appears sentence-finally.

(1-4-070) Kassinû apû tāniti shāsh.
kassinû apû itā -initi shāsh
all not be -(AI)CS.3 already
p p.neg VAI -sfx p

None of them were there anymore.

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

(1-6-054) Apû minekāsh shāsh māmātuetāk.
apû minekāsh shāsh māmātue -tāk
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 minuāt ‘again’

Minuāt occurs sentence/clause-initially in half of the sentences in which it occurs in my database. 2-6-016 shows minuāt occurring clause-initially.

(2-6-016) Minuāt ekue tipishkât, eshk’
minuāt ekue tipishkâ -t eshk’
again and.then be.night -CIN.3 still
p p VII -sfx p

pimishkâuat iāpit.
pimishkâ -uat iāpit
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, mînuât follows the particle eshk' "later' or 'still' and occurs directly to the left of the compound verb. In the second clause, mînuât occurs sentence-finally following the verb.

(2-8-007) - Eshk' mînuât nika takushin, eshk' mînuât ni- ka takushin later again l- fut arrive p p px- 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 takushiniâñi mînuât.
mâ takushin -îâñi mînuât
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 mînuât preceding the demonstrative nenû.

(2-1-020) Ek' iteu : Mînuât nenû ekuana ek' it -eu mînuât nenû ekuan -a then say -(TA)IIN.3 again that enough -obv p VTA -sfx p pro.dem p -sfx
uenuit, ekuannû meshta - unuî -t eukuan -inû mishta IC.go.out -CIN.3 that's.it -obv IC.very VAI -sfx dem -sfx prv
pitsikâshut mishkumi.
pitsikâshu -t mishkumi 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** pepâmipâtât, pepâmipâtât *minuât.*

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*

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.
Eukuan ekā nītā mukʷ mitshetuāu
eukuan ekā nītā mukʷ mitshet -uāu
that's.it not never only many -times
dem p.neg p p p -sfx

tshika uin, itikū.
tshi- ka uīn it -iku -u
2- fut name.s.o.Imp say -(TA)inv.4>3 -IN.3
pfx- pfx VTA VTA -sfx -sfx

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

2-3-002 shows the preverb tshi- 'ability' between nītā and the verb stem.

(2-3-002) « Ne amishkʷ », ka - iteua,
ne amishk° ka it -e -ua
that beaver perc say -(TA)3>4 -IIN.P
dem NA pfx VTA -sfx -sfx

muk° mishishtikupan, apû nîtâ tshi
muk° mishishti -kupan apû nîtâ tshi
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° ât uetinamishkuenî,
ek° 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.

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

Even those sentences with māni appearing before a verb have māni near the end of a clause, as can be seen in 2-4-040 below. In this sentence, māni modifies the verb it follows, which means 'he bends it'. The nenū following māni refers to a piece of metal first mentioned in a previous sentence. Nenū serves as the object of the verb. A new clause begins after nenū, starting with the particle āt. Āt was discussed in section 3.1.3.
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 ʻeshkʻ ‘still’, 'yet', 'later'

ʻEshkʻ 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 ʻeshkʻ sentence-initially, with the particle ʻminuāt ‘again’ between it and the compound verb, which contains the preverb ʻka- ‘future’.

(2-8-007)  

- Eshkʻ  

(2-8-007)  

- Eshkʻ  

Later again 1- fut arrive  

p p pfx- prv VAI  

ʻitikū,  

ʻit -iku  

say -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -IIN.3 fut say -CIN.2>1  

VTA -sfx -sfx prv VTA -sfx  

ʻmā  

ʻmā  

takushiniāni  

takushin -iāni  

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 ʻeshkʻ. It first appears between the particle ŭânite and the negator ama. The second ʻeshkʻ is sentence-final.

(1-9-028)  

Ekʻ ama nitsennenimāu  

ekʻ ama ni- tshissenim -āu  

then not 1- know.about -(TA)IIN.1>3 how over.there  

p p pfx- VTA -sfx p dem.adv  

etātshimuht,  

tānite ʻeshkʻ ama
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 nānitam 'always'

Only seven examples of nānitam 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 nānitam clause-initially, preceding a preverb.

In 1-5-019, nānitam appears twice. First it is sentence-initial and followed by a demonstrative, and then it appears between the particle tânite and the verb.
nânitam tshissitueu.
always remember -(TA)IIN.3>4
p VTA -sfx

It was there that she always remembered him.

In 1-8-028 nânitam appears following the verb, between the particle mâ and the demonstrative nenua.

(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 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) Iâpashâpiht anite *tshekât* tshe
âpashâpi -ht anite tshekât tshe
IC.look.behind.dup -(AI)CIN.3p there almost fut
VAI -sfx dem.adv p prv
takushiniht, mishta - mîshetinua.
takushin -ht mishta mîsheti -inua
arrive -(AI)CIN.3p very be.many -obv(s/pl)
VAI -sfx pfVVAI -sfx
atïkâa.
atïk' -a
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 -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 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 tûtâkuat
iâpit ama uesh tût -iku -at
anyway not IC.because do -inv.4p>3 -IIN.3p
VTA - sfx

náshtîsh, ama nânûtshikâkua.
násh -îsh ama nûtshiku -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, eshkù
minuât ekue tipishkâ -t eshkù
again and.then be.night -CIN.3 still
p p VII -sfx p

pimishkâuat iâpit.
pimishka -uat iâpit
paddle -(AI)IIN.3p always
VAl -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 mamâtuetâk.
apû minekâsh shâsh mamâteu -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) Apū tshi minekāsh nūkushiān,
apū tshi minekāsh nūkushi -ān
not can long.time be.visible -(AI)CIN.1
p.neg prv p VAI -sfx

tshessināt tshika nūtshikākāunān.
tshessināt tshika ni- utshikākau -inān
surely fut.3 l- 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 minekāsh following a demonstrative and preceding the verb.

(1-9-018) Ek" pet iāpit anite minekāsh tāuāt
ek" pet iāpit anite minekāsh itā -u -at
then here anyway there long.time IC.be -IIN.3 -pl
p p p dem.adv p VAI -sfx -sfx

ekunāht
akun -åht 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 kāu ‘again’

Kāu 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, kāu is preceded by a
particle and followed by a preverb. In 1-5-083, kāu follows the verb and is clause-final.

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

pitamā ishpimīt ekue pitūtsheniti kāu.
pitamā ishpimīt ekue pitūtshe -nitī kāu
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, kāu appears after a clause boundary and before the particle ekue and the verb.

(2-5-015) Kueshtāshkamūtshe kanapua
kueshtāshk -am -ūtshe kanapua
go.around.outside -(TI)TS.3>4 -IDN.3 definitely
VTI -sfx -sfx p
itākanū muk" nemenū
it -ākani -u muk" neme -inū
say -Indef. -IN.3 only that.one.over.there -obv
VTA -sfx -sfx p dem -sfx

etūtet, kāu ekue takushinit.
itūte -t kāu ekue takushin -t
IC.go.by.foot -CIN.3 again and.then arrive -CIN.3
VTA -sfx p.time p VTA -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 kāu following minuat, another particle meaning ‘again’ and preceding the perceptive preverb ka-.

(2-7-074) Umushuma plnim
u- mushum -a plnim
3- grandfather -obv(s/pl) too.soon.or.too.late
pfx- NAD -sfx p
ekue tātshipuniti tāpue, minuat
ekue tātshipun -iti tāpue minuat
and.then get.fat -(TA)1>2 indeed again
p VTA -sfx p p

kāu kā ishinākushinitī ekue
kāu kā ishinākushi -niti ekue
again past look.like -(AI)CIN.4 and.then
p.time pfx VTA -sfx p

ishinākushinitī.
ishinākushi -niti
look.like -(AI)CIN.4
VTA -sfx

78
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 shāsh, eshk" and tshekāt. Others tend to appear with other particles, like mīnuāt, which can occur following negative particles, particles of speaker opinion, and other temporal/aspectual particles. Nānitam follows particles of speaker opinion. Iāpit follows the complementizer particles and precedes negative particles, while minekāsh 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 māni ‘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) Kātshi mānukāshuti ek" kātshi mānukāshu -tī ek" after set.up.camp -(AI)CS.3 then prv VAI -sfx p uānātikuuet ek" mātshishut uinātikue -t ek" mīshishu -t IC.clean.caribou -CIN.3 then IC.eat -CIN.3
After setting up his tent, then he would clean the caribou and he would always have something to eat.

Then, anyway, I was afraid of him, and somehow then I went with him.

And she flies back and forth when the seasons change.

3.6.2 tâpue ‘indeed’

Tâpue can occur clause-initially or clause-finally. When it occurs clause-finally, it usually follows the verb, as in 1-4-153. When occurring clause-initially, it precedes the verb, a preverb and verb or other particles then the verb. An example of this is in 2-1-033. In this sentence, tâpue is followed by the intensifying particle mà and the negative particles apû and nîtâ. Tâpue also occurs before the verb, following particles, as in 1-4-162.
Then he eats it.

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

Indeed, not long after, he threw up.

3.6.3 māte ‘well then’, ‘for instance’

Māte usually occurs sentence-initially. Only once is it preceded by another word, the particle mīam ‘like’ or ‘exactly’. Māte is followed by the verb, by preverbs and by the locative particle nete in one example. In 1-4-050, māte is followed by a preverb. 2-3-036 shows māte following mīam, and preceding the verb.
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 nāsht ‘quite’, ‘really’, ‘completely’

Nāsht 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 nāsht appears following the particle ek² and preceding a verb in the perceptive, with the perceptive prefix.
"Oh my, then my son must indeed be coming," she was thinking.

2-5-006 shows násht between particles.

3.6.5 má 'well', intensifier

Má 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 má in different categories depending on where má appears in the clause. Má 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 má following a
demonstrative or a particle as in 2-8-005. The first occurrence of mâ in 2-8-005 seems to be modifying the particle ek" 'so'.

(2-8-005)  
Ek" mâ,  
eteu,  
shikatiminân,  
so intns say -(TA)IIN.3>4 make.cold -Imp.2>21p 
p  p  VTA -sfx  VTA -sfx  

ek" mâ  
minuât shikatiminân  
then intns again make.cold -Imp.2>21p 
p  p  p  VTA -sfx  

kâ  ui shikatimiât, 
kâ  ui shikatim -lât  
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 mâ appearing clause-finally following a verb, as in 1-4-107.

(1-4-107)  
Ek" mitshishu mâ  
then eat.Imp.2 intns !  
p  VAI  p  !  

"Well, now you can eat".

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

(1-8-034)  
Mâ  nâ  
nimushum  uet  
mâ  nâhî  
ni- mushum  ût  
intns that  1- grandfather IC.from.there  
p  pro.dem.an  pfx- NAD  prv  

piputueut,  
eteu  
mâni.  
piputue  -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 mā modifying a verb phrase, has mā followed by an interrogative particle, by a verb or a compound verb, as in 1-6-009.

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

Mā tshika uītshimin ?
mā tshi- ka uītshim -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), mā occurring clause internally not focusing a verb or verb phrase, has mā following a demonstrative or a pronoun, and preceding demonstratives or particles.

1-3-007 shows mā following a demonstrative and preceding the demonstrative and noun phrase ne nitānish ‘that my daughter’.

(1-3-007)  Eukuan mā ne nitānish,
eukuan mā ne ni- tānish
that's.it intns that 1- daughter
dem p pro.dem.an pfx- NAD
ka - tshitshitaussutshipanaua,
ka tshi- tshitāussūtshipan -áua
perc 2- get.stuck.in.mud -IIN.P
pfx pfx- VAI -sfx

tshitishinātin, massekut.
tshi- ishinu -itin massek" -it
2- dream -IIN.2>1 muskel -Loc
pfx- VTA -sfx NI -sfx

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

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

2-3-038 shows *mâ* following the preverb *kâtsî* and preceding the demonstrative *nenua*. The compound verb *kâtsî-nipâïât* is made discontinuous because of the placement of *mâ* and *nenua*. 
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” tshe
eukuan -inû mâ ek” tshe
that's.it -obv(s/pl) intns then fut
dem -sfx p p prv

tshitshipaitûht.
tshitshipaitu -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/aspektual particles. It can be followed by complementizing particles, the verb
or preverbs. Similarly, nāsht 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 윗 (uet) 'from/because'

윗's form changes like a preverb, but it can modify other word classes besides verbs, like a particle. 윗 can act like either an adverb or a preposition (José Mailhot, personal communication). In my data, 윗 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. 윗 is followed by a locative particle, and acts as a preposition in 1-5-031, below.

(1-5-031)  Ek⁶ tápue nūtshikuākanit   anite 윗
       ek⁶ tápue nūtshiku -ākani -t anite 윗
  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 ekā and the verb. In the question found in 1-6-017, 윗 appears between two preverbs.
Tənité tshipå ût tshi uitshimitin
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 ût between a preverb and the verb.

Ekuannũ nenũ tshipå ût
eukuan -inũ nenũ tshipå ût
that's.it -obv(s/pl) that would because
pro.dem -sfx pro.dem.in.obv prv p
nipi -pan it -âkani -u ne
be.dead -IIP.3 say -indf>3 -IIN.3 that
VAI -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx pro.dem.an

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

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

Uiâshtet mä, nete ût
uâshte -t mä nete ût
be.light -CIN.3 intns over.there from
VII -sfx p dem.adv p
uâshitenũ, âshtamâshkũ
uâshte -nũ âshtamâshkũ
be.light -VII.4' on.side.of.wooded.mountain
VII -sfx p

That is the way in which those caribou would have
died, it is said, from rutting.
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)  
Ek² tshekuân *uet*  
ek² tshekuân ūt  
then what IC.from  
p p p  
ka-tshikâkûnuâshkupuâmenâua ?  
ka- tshi- kâkûnuâshkupuâme -nâua  
perc 2- have.long.thighs.dup -IIN.P  
pfx pfx- VAI -sfx -sfx  
"Then why are your thighs so long?"

(1-3-039)  
Eukuan *uet* ekâ tâpuetâkanit  
eukuan ūt ekâ tâpuet -âkani -t  
that's it IC.because not agree -Indef. -CIN.3  
dem p p.neg VTI -sfx -sfx -sfx  
tshetshî atuâikanit  
tshetshî atu -âkani -t matshi  
so.that point.at -Indef. -CIN.3 bad  
p.conj VTI -sfx -sfx pvb  
tshishikâu etuâkaniti  
tshishikâ -u atu -âkani -ti  
be.day -IIN.3 IC.point.at -Indef. -CS  
VII -sfx VTI -sfx -sfx -sfx  
inânu Petshishkâpishkâu.  
i -nânu -u Petshishkâpishkâu  
say -Indef -IIN.3 Petshishkapushkau  
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, Petshishkapishkau.
Wolfart (1973) describes the Plains Cree cognates of ūt, ō and ohci ‘from there, therefore; originally’. He says that ō behaves as a preverb and ohci as a particle. Ō 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 Sheshâtshiu Innu-aimûn has collapsed into one form with two functions. According to Drapeau’s *Dictionnaire Montagnais-Français*, the historical pronunciation of Montagnais ūt 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 ō 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 espish 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 tät ‘s/he is there’ or its plural form, tāht ‘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
euken  ishkukate -nit  nenû
that's.it IC.be.left.unburnt -(II)CIN.4  that
dem  VII -sfx  pro.dem

kà ishpish itütet.
kà 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  etåht  itåkanû,
ekute  itå -ht  it -åkani -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-itåht,
ekute  e-  itå -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 itütet). 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
esthphpish 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 tāht ‘they are there’.

(2-9-003) Ek" shāuienīht tshītshue eshpish
     ek" shāueni -ht tshītshue eshpish
so/then be.hungry -CIN.3p really p VAI -sfx p
     p

  tāht anite.
itā -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 tāt,
eshpish mâ anite itā -t
as.much.as intns there IC.be -CIN.3 p p dem.adv VAI -sfx

  nāpinnit
  nīpīn -nit
IC.be.summer -(VII)CIN.3’ then IC.gather -CIN.3
VII -sfx p VAI+O -sfx

93
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\textsuperscript{u} iteu it\textsuperscript{a}kan\textsuperscript{u} : « Ek\textsuperscript{u} ek\textsuperscript{u} it\textsuperscript{-eu} it\textsuperscript{-\textamphora kani -u} ek\textsuperscript{u} then say -(TA)IIN.3\textgreater 4 say -Indef -IIN.3 then p VTA -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx -sfx p

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

piāpātshikut, ek\textsuperscript{u} uenuīt.
pātshiku -t ek\textsuperscript{u} unuī -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’, ushām ‘because’, ushkat or ueshkat ‘at first’, anūtshish ‘present time’, pātush ‘after’, uesh ‘because’, tshessināt ‘probably/surely’, shāshish ‘long time ago’ and minekāshish ‘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 apiù 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complementizer</th>
<th>Speaker Opinion</th>
<th>Temporal/Aspectual</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>(Compound Verb)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

95
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 uïapamukut?*  
‘Who is seeing him?’

(17) *Tânite tshe-mishikât?*  
‘Where will he arrive?’

(18) *Tân eshpish takuanipan?*  
‘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 nâná ekâ tâua? has a question particle tán, 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 nâná nâpeu
takushin -t nâná nâpeu
IC.arrive -CIN.3 that(absent) man
VAI -sfx pro.dem.an NA

: Tân nâná ekâ tâua ? iteu.
tân nâná 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 tshuí mimîtshishun
ehe tânite ushâm tshi- ui mîtshihu -n
yes where because 2- want eat.dup -IIN.2
p p.intrg p pfx- prv VAI -sfx

mâni, tshipâ tshi â ekâ âkushin?
mâni tshi- pâ tshi 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 tan '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)  Tan tshipā ekā ishkuātepannū
          tān tshipā ekā ishkuāte -pan -nū
          how should.3 not burn -IIP -(II)IN.4
          p prv     p.neg VII  -sfx -sfx

upimīm.
 u- pimī -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 (tān) requirements for a verb following in the independent are greater that the negative’s requirements for a conjunct verb. That is, that tān needs to be followed by the independent in order for checking to occur. Ekā, 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-aimün 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" ne tshekuân ka-
     ek" ne tshekuân ka-
then that what perc
p     pro.dem.an p     p

tshuîshâukanåshtenâua ?
tshi- uîshâukanåshtenâ -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)  
\[ \text{Tshekuānnū}\] tshe ashâmak ?  
\[ \text{tshekuān}\ -inū\] 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)  
\[ \text{Tshekuānnū}\] tshemâtenit, uîshtinū !  
\[ \text{tshekuān}\ -inū\] tshimâte -ini -t uîsht -inū  
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 tshekuān 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), tshekuān can be glossed as 'why' without uet.

(2-9-015)  
\[ \text{"Tshekuānnîtshe}\ uet\ ekā}\  
\[ \text{tshekuān}\ -nîtshe\ ût\ ekā}\  
what -IDN.obv from/because not  
p/ni -sfx p p.neg

uî tshîtshipitshit ? » itenimeu.  
uî tshîtshipishi -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  tán 'how'

There are 19 questions with tán '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)  Tän tshipâ ekâ  ishkuâtepnnû
tân tshi- pû ekâ  ishkuûte -pa -nû
how 2- should not burn  -IIP -(II)IIN.4
p  pfx- prv  p.neg VII  -sfx -sfx

upimîm.
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 tán.

(2-5-021)  Tän itashinitsheni nenua
tân itashi  -niteni nenua
how be.such.a.number -(AI)IDN.4 that
p  VAI  -sfx  pro.dem.an.obv(s/pl)

ukâiâshtuaitsheshima ?
u-  kâiâshtuaitshêsî -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) Tån tshipâ ishpitetshishū atai,
tân tshipâ ishpitetshishí -u atai
how would.3 be.a.certain.size -IIN.3 beaver.pelt
p prv VAI -sfx NA

ne meshishtit amishkʷ'?
ne mishishtí -t amishkʷ'
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) Ekʷ nāhí kūkūminâsh anite, tân
ekʷ nāhí kūkūminâsh 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 tshi itenimikû
kie tân tshipâ tshi 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 tán 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) - « Tán etin ? » ituekâtueu. 
  tán 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) Tán etenitamin anite tshitshit 
  tán itemit -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 tánite 'where'

Eleven questions with tánite 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) Tánite anite takuanitshe ?
  tánite anite takuan -itshe 
  where there exist -IDN.3 
  p.intrg dem.adv VII -sfx 

Where would that be?
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 Innû, 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.
The independent perceptive appears in questions, as seen in section 4.1 and in sentence 2-7-084, where the word *ueshâushâm* 'oh my god' is glossed as in the free translation as 'why'.

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

The imperative is used in the second instance of *eká* in 2-2-011.
"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 ekã and apũ 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 ekã, but usually only allows the conjunct and changed conjunct to follow apũ. 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 ekã there may be no problem for an analysis since ekã can be followed by the independent as well. If the verb is followed by apũ, then problems may arise.

4.2.2 Negated sentence structure

The next question is how these sentences are structured. Why can ekã accept verbs in the independent while apũ never can? Brittain (1997) suggests that ekã is in C, and that apũ is in spec-C. Brittain (2001) argues that both ekã and apũ 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).
More specifically, Brittain argues the independent verb moves from the head of the verb phrase through Agr₁ and T to land at the head of the Agr₃P (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 Agr₀, T or Agrₛ, 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.

\[
\text{(21) } [\text{CP } [c' [c ekā} \ [\text{IP } V_{\text{independent}}]])]
\]

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

\[
\text{(22) } [\text{CP } [c' [c eka]\ [\text{CP } [c' [c V_{\text{conjunct}}][\text{IP } t]]]]]
\]

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

\[
\text{(23) } [\text{CP } \text{apū } [c' [c V_{\text{conjunct}}][\text{IP } t]]]
\]

In an analysis with apū in C, as in Brittain (2001), all sentences with apū and the conjunct will require a double CP-structure, like the sentences formed with ekā. With both negators in identical syntactic position, how can they be differentiated? Brittain says that Innu-aimun learners use syntactic context to distinguish apū and ekā, with apū used only in main clauses and ekā 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)  *ekä* with independent: 1-3-003

\[
\text{CP} \\
\text{Ek}^a \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{IP} \\
\text{ekä} \quad \text{nitāpuetuāua}
\]

*Ek*a *ekä* nitāpuetuāua

'Then I did not give him my consent for her'
(25) ekâ with conjunct: 1-6-025

ató ekâ uitshimak
‘if I don’t marry him’
(26) *apū* in Spec-CP with conjunct: 1-3-025, following Brittain (1997):

![Diagram](image)

*apū* tāniti.
'she was not there'

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

![Diagram](image)

*Apū* minuaatāt nenua.
'she did not like him'
As can be seen, the trees with ekã and apû in C followed by the conjunct are more complex, involving CP-recursion. This recursion is not necessary for the structures of ekã and the independent. Ekã, 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.

\begin{verbatim}
(1-6-055) Apû minekãsh shåsh ūt unuiu
apû minekãsh shåsh ūt unuii -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.
\end{verbatim}

In 1-6-055, it is possible to have the independent following apû because it is actually negating the particle minekãsh ‘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 Brittain 1997.
This suggests that Innu-aimun 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):

(30) * CP
    \[\text{apū} \quad C' \]
    \[C \quad \text{IP} \]
    \[e \quad \text{Independent V} \]

Again, Innu-aimûn never allows the negator apū 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 apū never occurs with the independent, Innu-aimûn must rank this constraint fairly highly. Every output with apū 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 apū followed by the conjunct, below:
Tableau 1 – Violation of Ob-Head- comparing 1-3-025 to the ungrammatical sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Ob-Head</th>
<th>Op-Spec</th>
<th>No-Lex-Mvt</th>
<th>Stay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="https://via.placeholder.com/150" alt="image" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="https://via.placeholder.com/150" alt="image" /></td>
<td><img src="https://via.placeholder.com/150" alt="image" /></td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The optimal candidate, marked ![image](https://via.placeholder.com/150), 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:

\[(31) \quad *[\text{IP wh e } [\text{VP t V...}]] \quad \text{(1997:389)}\]

(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.

\[(32) \quad [\text{CP wh e } [\text{IP DP will } [\text{VP V t }]]] \quad \text{(1997:396)}\]
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Ob-Hd</th>
<th>Op-Spec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\mathcal{F}{\text{ek}^0, \text{ekâ}, \text{nitapueuâua}}$</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\mathcal{F}{\text{ekâ}, \text{uitshimak}}$</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\mathcal{F}{\text{apû}, \text{tshîtûter}}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ekå can occur with the independent.

Ekâ will always occur in negated interrogatives, because it is the negator that typically appears in subordinate clauses. Ekå’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-aimun compound verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>temporal preverb</th>
<th>modal preverb</th>
<th>verb stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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-aimun sentence.

Table 4.2: Innu-aimun particle template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complementizer</th>
<th>Speaker Opinion</th>
<th>Temporal/Aspectual</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>(Compound) Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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.
REFERENCES


