CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 <u>Innu-aimun</u>

Innu-aimun is a Central Algonquian dialect spoken by the Innu people of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. In linguistic literature Innu-aimun is referred to as Montagnais, being a subgroup of the linguistic continuum known as Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The field work for this thesis was carried out with speakers of Sheshatshit Innu-aimun and it is in accordance with the wishes of Sheshatshit community leaders that 'Innu-aimun', their own term for their language, is used here.[i]

Innu-aimun is spoken over a large and geographically varied area within which there is some degree of linguistic variability, most particularly lexically and phonologically. Contact between the various linguistic groups means that this type of variability exists even within communities, Sheshatshit being a case in point (Clarke and MacKenzie 1984).[ii]

The system of orthography adopted throughout follows Drapeau and Mailhot (1989).[iii] Terminology exclusive to Algonquian linguistics is avoided where a more standard term

is available.

1.2   <u>Aims</u>

    This thesis has two principal aims. The first is to describe two valency-increasing processes in Innu-aimun, applicative formation and causative formation. The second is to attempt to account for the properties displayed by each of these types of construction.

    In Algonquian linguistic literature applicative constructions are more frequently referred to as 'double object' (Bloomfield 1979: Eastern Ojibwa, Todd 1971: Severn Ojibwa, Grafstein 1984: Western Ojibwa), 'double-goal' or 'benefactive' (Wolfart 1973: Plains Cree). The term 'benefactive' reflects the fact that a large proportion of Algonquian applicatives are benefactive; for example, <u>Tshaan maatishamuaau paakueshiakana ishkuet</u> 'John cuts a piece of bread off for the girl'.[iv] Structurally, applicatives have two non-subject noun phrases (NPs), <u>paakueshikana</u> 'bread' and <u>ishkuet</u> 'girl', and extra verbal morphology (Marantz 1984). I shall argue, following ideas proposed by Baker (1988), that only transitive verbs in Innu-aimun can participate in applicative formation. By 'transitive', I

mean a verb which is able to take an object, rather than a
verb which is inflected to agree with its object. As I
shall show, Transitive Inanimate verbs do not show any
agreement with their objects; within this definition of
transitivity, however, they still qualify as transitive
verbs.

Morphological causatives are discussed in this thesis;
that is, constructions which have a causative morpheme
inside the verb. Phrasal causatives, which are found in
English, for example, are formed by the addition of an
independent verb as in 'I made John eat the cake'. Phrasal
causatives are also found in Innu-aimun, but they are
outside the scope of this thesis.

Of particular interest in accounting for the properties
displayed by Innu-aimun applicative and causative
constructions will be the theory developed in the work of
Baker (1988), that morphological alternation, including
valency increase, is accountable for in terms of syntactic
movement of an independent lexical head into a verb. This
theory is called 'Incorporation' (Baker 1988, 1).
Specifically, Baker claims an applicative morpheme, such as

a benefactive, is a preposition lexically marked as an affix. In order to satisfy its requirements as an affix, it incorporates into a verb. Baker (1988, 147) also claims, for morphological causatives, that causative morphemes are verbs which are lexically marked as affixes, and which incorporate into a verb.

Baker (1988) does not discuss any Algonquian languages. Nevertheless, his theory of Incorporation can be easily applied to causative and applicative constructions in Innu-aimun because both the applicative morpheme and the causative morpheme are contained within the verb complex at Surface Structure. It is possible that, parallel to well-attested instances of Noun Incorporation in Algonquian languages in general (in Cree, for example, (Mellow 1989)), there is also Preposition Incorporation and Verb Incorporation. While not all of the arguments in the work of Baker (1988) are relevant to Innu-aimun, the broad concepts presented in this work, such as Case Parameterization and Incorporation, serve as a useful framework for describing and discussing the properties of Innu-aimun structures.

1.3   <u>Innu-aimun Applicative and Causative Constructions</u>

The purpose of this section is simply to introduce the types of construction that will be discussed in some detail from Chapter Three onward. In Chapter Two I provide an outline of the Innu-aimun grammar relevant to the discussion presented in this thesis. For the examples which appear in this section however, a simplified gloss is provided and no familiarity with Algonquian grammar is assumed. Example (1) shows an applicative construction.[v]

(1) **Nimaatishamuaau atiik^u-uiaashinu naapess.**
     ni-maatisham-**au**-aau atiik^u-uiaash-inu   naapess
     1-cut-**APP**-TA   caribou meat-OBV   boy
     'I'm cutting off caribou meat for the boy.'

The verb has Transitive Animate (TA) inflectional morphology, indicating its object is grammatically animate.[vi] Characteristic of applicative constructions, there are two non-subject noun phrases (NPs), the animate beneficiary of the action, <u>naapess</u> 'boy', and the inanimate theme, <u>atiik^u-uiaash-inu</u> 'caribou meat'.[vii] As mentioned in the previous section, applicative constructions in Algonquian are sometimes referred to as double object constructions. However, in Chapters Three and Four I shall show that it is misleading to use the term 'double object

5

construction' to refer to Innu-aimun applicatives because
the theme does not display properties characteristic of an
object. The extra verbal morphology which appears in
applicative constructions is highlighted in bold in example
(1); -au is referred to throughout this thesis as the
applicative morpheme. Example (2) shows a causative
construction.

(2) **Ninakaapaniaau Tshaan.**
     ni-nakaapani-**i**-aau   Tshan
     1-stop_move-**CAUS**-TA   John
     'I cause John to stop moving.'

     Addition of the morpheme -i to an intransitive verb
allows the addition of a causee, in this case ni- 'I'.The TA
suffix shows that the object, Tshaan, is animate. Causative
constructions may also have inanimate objects and examples
of this will be shown in Chapter Five.

1.4   Thesis Organization

     The remaining chapters in this thesis are organized as
follows. In the first section of Chapter Two there is a
brief outline of the theoretical framework of generative
grammar. In particular, some of the problems of attempting a
generative analysis of Algonquian are raised and a number of

assumptions are stated. In section 2.2, a theory of valency
increase, put forward in the work of Baker (1988), is
discussed. In section 2.3 the Innu-aimun grammar which will
be relevant to the discussion, and which is a necessary
preface to considering applicative and causative
constructions in more detail, will be outlined.

In chapters Three and Four data is presented and
applicative constructions in Innu-aimun are discussed in
some detail. In Chapter Five the theoretical implications
arising from the applicative data are considered, and
examples of causative constructions are presented and
discussed. A larger proportion of this thesis is given over
to the presentation and discussion of applicative
constructions than to causatives. This is because
applicatives proved to be more complex than causatives.
Chapter Six concludes this thesis with a summary of the main
points and a list of questions arising which may form the
basis of further research.

FOOTNOTES

i...   I am grateful to Mr. Daniel Ashini for drawing my attention to this matter of terminology.

ii...   Although the data collected for this thesis is morphologically and syntactically consistent, I do not claim that Sheshatshit Innu-aimun is a homogeneous dialect. Sheshatshit Innu-aimun is hereafter referred to simply as Innu-aimun.

iii...   It should be noted that the orthography of Drapeau and Mailhot (1989) is followed with one exception. Throughout this thesis long vowels are represented with a double letter. This is due to software restrictions.

iv...   I do not have any figures to quote as to the percentage of Innu-aimun applicatives which are benefactive, but it is clearly the majority of them. This is probably also true of Algonquian languages in general.

v...   In all the examples in this thesis, the first line (which appears in bold) is a phonemic representation of Innu-aimun. The second line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown in which the underlying forms appear. Thus, in example (1), the applicative morpheme appears in its reduced form -u in the bold line and in its full form -au in the second line.

vi...   In Algonquian languages nouns are grammatically animate or inanimate. In all but a small number of cases grammatical and logical animacy coincide. Animacy is discussed in chapter two.

vii...   The obviative suffix -inu is required on the theme because, in this example, two third persons appear in the same clause. Obviation, a system of disjoint reference, is discussed in Chapter Two.