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

by

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ABSTRACT

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

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

1. INTRODUCTION

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

Less work has been done regarding the ordering of particles. Ogg (1991) discusses Plains Cree connective particles, focusing on their position in the clause with respect to nouns and verbs. Ogg says connective particles often occur at the left edge of

the clause with other particles but her discussion does not focus on the relationship between particles or ordering, except for some 'frozen forms', multi-particle constructions that function as single words. These frozen forms include *êkwa mîna* 'then again' and *mâka mîna* 'as usual'.

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

1.1 Data and following chapters

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

present throughout an extended piece of text. Table 1.1 lists the book and story numbers, the title of the stories and the length of each story, indicated by the number of sentences.

Table 1.1: Labrador Innu Text Project Stories

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

The free translation of the text was done by two native speakers of Innu-aimûn: Judith Hill and Kanani Penashue. The glosses were added by myself and Laurel-Anne Hasler, a fellow master's student. This work was as part of SSHRC grant number 410-2000-0413, 'A Cross-Linguistic Study of Focus/Topic Structure and Binding

Relations in dialects of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language group'. Hasler and I made a literal translation of the stories, referring to the free translations, and used 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.

Table 1.2: Abbreviations

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

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

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

1.2 The structure of Innu-aimûn

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

Table 1.3: Animate and Inanimate nouns

Noun	Gloss	Gender
nâpeu	man	animate
mânitu	spirit	animate

uâpush	rabbit	animate
mishtik^{u}	tree	animate
utâpân	car	inanimate
nipî	water	inanimate
ûsh	boat	inanimate

Some non-living objects pattern grammatically as animate nouns, like *ashâm* 'snowshoe'. This is common to all Algonquian languages, and has been discussed by many researchers, including Wolfart 1973 for Plains Cree and Darnell and 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^{u}* 'porcupine' (medial *âku*) modifying the verb *mueu* 's/he eats'.

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

Table 1.4: Transitivity in Innu-aimûn

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

Cyr (1996:189)

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

Figure 1.1: Verb Paradigms

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

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

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

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

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

Order	example	gloss
independent	*nipîtuân*	'I am smoking'
conjunct	*pîtuâiânî*	'if/when I smoke'
changed conjunct	*pâtuâiânî*	'whenever I smoke'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1a) nuâpamâu
ni- uâpam -âu
1- see -1sg
'I see him' (Clarke 1982:41)

(1b) nikauâpamâu
ni- ka uâpam -âu

```
1-  fut see   -1sg
'I will see him'                                    (Clarke 1982:41)
```

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

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

```
(1-8-003)      Tshek ekue           tshîtshipâtât       ne
               tshek ekue           tshîtshipâtâ -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)      Ekᵘ  tâpue  nûtshikuâkanit          anite   ût
               ekᵘ  tâpue  nûtshiku -âkani  -t     anite   ût
               then indeed bother   -indf>3 -CIN.3 there   from
               p    p      VTA      -sfx    -sfx   dem.adv p

               ishpimît.
               ishpimît
               above
               p

               Then, indeed, he was tormented from above.
```

In 1-5-031, the particle *ût* 'from' seems to modify another particle, *ishpimît* 'above'. Alternatively, it is modifying the discontinuous phrase *anite ... ishpimît* 'there … above'. In this case, ût is modifying a demonstrative and a particle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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', *pâtshî-* 'could', *kâ-* 'would' and *uî-* 'want, intend to' (1982: 47).

(3) nipâtshînipânâpan
ni- pâtshî- nipânâpan
1- could- sleep
'I could have slept' (Clarke 1982:47)

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

(4) ninipâ
ni- nipâ
1- sleep-AI.IP
'I was asleep' (Clarke 1982:46)

1.4 Previous research on preverb ordering

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

'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, *kīh-* is the past tense preverb.

(5) ōhi oskinīkiwah kā- kīh- wāpamāt
comp- past- verb stem
'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) ē- wīh- pē- nipahikot
comp- intend to- come- verb stem
'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)

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

1.4.2 Lees - expanding the template

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lees' position I contains complementizers and all tense markers. Wolfart's position 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 *ût*, *uî* 'want' and *tshî* 'can', but Lees adds that these "may also function as class III preverbs" (1979:127). The classification of position III preverbs is more open ended than position I. Lees states four members of this class: *ati, pe, pimî* and *pam*. (Lees 1979:128).

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

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

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

'it's not the man who runs around' (1979:129)

Lees also argues (3) the members of each preverbal class are mutually exclusive. For instance, only one complementizer and one tense preverb can occur in the position I slot. He adds that position II and III preverbs can, however, form compound preverbs. In (10), the position II preadverbials *ût* 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 *ûtwî*. 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-AIMÛN 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 Sheshâtshîu Innu-aimûn is also described in Lees (1979). Both of these approaches are discussed in Chapter 1. Clarke (1982) states situations in Innu-aimûn where co-occurrence of particles causes rigid ordering. When the preverbs *ka-* 'future' and *pâ-* 'likelihood, moral obligation' co-occur with *uî-* 'volition' or *tshî-* 'be able to', *ka-* and *pâ-* must precede. As well, *ka-* and *pâ-* cannot occur together. *Uî-* and *tshî-* are mutually exclusive as well. (1982:41). I will now describe some of the preverbs of Innu-aimûn, shown in Table 2.1. I have separated the preverbs into four groups – the modal preverbs *uî-*, *tshî-* and *pâ-*; the temporal preverbs *tshe-*, *ka-* (although *tshe-* and *ka-* are alternate forms of the same preverb, they are discussed separately in this thesis) and *kâ-*; the aspectual preverbs *tshî-* and *kâtshî-*. The final section includes the complementizer *e-* and the perceptive prefix *ka-*. *Ka-*, although not a true prefix, is included because of its presence in the compound verb. More preverbs occur in the stories of the LITP, but so rarely that there was not sufficient data to discuss them.

Table 2.1: Preverbs occurring in LITP Books 1 and 2

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

2.1 Modal preverbs

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

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

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

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

```
ekue           itit       anite
ekue           iti -t     anite
at.that.moment do  -CIN.3 there
p              VAI -sfx   dem.adv

utshipishkuâmît.
u-    tshipishkuât -im   -ît
3-    doorway      -poss -Loc
pfx-  NI           -sfx  -sfx

He seemed to be trying to hit something; he did it
there at the doorway.
```

There are several sentences with *uî-* 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)

```
Ume      mâ,   iteu,
ume      mâ    it  -eu
this     intns say -(TA)IIN.3>4p
pro.dem p     VTA -sfx            -sfx

kâ   uî   shîkatimitâkᵘ,
kâ   uî   shîkatim  -itâkᵘ
past want make.cold -(TA)CIN.3>21
prv  prv  VTA       -sfx

etikashukut                          pîshimua.
itikashu     -iku            -t      pîshimᵘ -a
IC.be.heated -(TA)TS.inv.4>3 -CIN.3 sun     -obv
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)

```
- Ekᵘ  mâ,   iteu,              shîkatiminân,
  ekᵘ  mâ    it   -eu           shîkatim  -inân
  so   intns  say  -(TA)IIN.3>4  make.cold -Imp.2>21p
  p    p      VTA  -sfx          VTA       -sfx

ekᵘ   mâ     mînuât shîkatiminân
ekᵘ   mâ     mînuât shîkatim  -inân
then  intns  again  make.cold -Imp.2>21p
p     p      p      VTA       -sfx

kâ   uî  shîkatimiât.
kâ   uî  shîkatim  -iât
past want make.cold -(TA)CIN.2>1pl
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 *ekâ*, the past preverb *kâ-*, the volitional preverb *uî-* and then the verb in the conjunct.

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

            ekâ   kâ   uî   tshîtûteîn          !
            ekâ   kâ   uî   tshîtûte -în        !
            not   past want leave    -(AI)CIN.2S !
            p.neg prv  prv  VAI      -sfx        !

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

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

```
(2-2-014)   «Tshekuânnîtshe    », itenimeu,
             tshekuân –nîtshe     itenim   -eu
             what     -IDN.obv    think    -(TA)IIN.3>4
             p        -sfx        VTA      -sfx

            « uet        ekâ   uî   tshîtûtet       ? »
              ût         ekâ   uî   tshîtûte -t
              IC.because not   want leave    -CIN.3
              p          p.neg prv  VAI      -sfx

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

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

(1-3-037)

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

uâpamât		pieshuâpamâti.	
uâpam	-ât	peshuâpam	-âtî
see	-(TA)CIN.3>4	IC.near	-(TA)CS.3>4
VTA	-sfx	VTA	-sfx

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

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

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

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

(1-5-018)

Ekᵘ	ne	nienekâtenitishit			ne
ekᵘ	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	pitûtsheshitî,				
uî	pitûtsheshi	-tî			
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	: « Nîkâ		»	!	
u- kuss	-a	ni-	ûkâuî	!	
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)

Ekᵘ	ât	**uâ**	pîtûtshet		anite	ne
ekᵘ	ât	uî	pîtûtshe	-t	anite	ne
then	even.if	IC.want	enter	-CIN.3	there	that
p	p	prv	VAI	-sfx	dem	pro.dem

```
kûkûminâsh, ekᵘ  ishkutenû     anite
kûkûminâsh  ekᵘ  ishkuteu -inû anite
old.woman   then fire     -obv there
NA          p    NI       -sfx dem.adv

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

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

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

(2-4-040)

```
Ekᵘ  apû   tshî uînameshet              eshkᵘ,
ekᵘ  apû   tshî uînameshe  -t           eshkᵘ
then not   able clean.fish -CIN.3       still
p    p.neg prv  VAI        -sfx         p

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

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

nenû           ât      uâ      uînameshetî.
nenû           ât      uî      uînameshe  -tî
that           even.if IC.try  clean.fish -(AI)CS.3
pro.dem.in.obv p       prv     VAI        -sfx
```

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

2.1.2 tshî- 'ability'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Would I be able to eat a tree?"

2.1.3 pâ- 'should'

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

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

(14) Tshika-uâpameu
tshika- uâpam –eu
fut.3- see -(TA)IIN.3>3′
prv- VTA –sfx
"S/he will see him/her" (Clarke 1982:41)

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

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

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

            Then that old woman, how can she not fetch him?

(1-6-017)   Tânite  tshipâ       ût      tshî uîtshimitin       ?
            tânite  tshi- pâ     ût      tshî uîtshim   -itin
            where   2-    should because can  live.with -IIN.1>2
            p.intrg pfx-  prv    p       prv  VTA       -sfx

            "How can I marry you?"
```

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.4 Conclusion of modal preverbs

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

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

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

2.2 Temporal preverbs

2.2.1 tshe- 'future'

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

of the sentences, but can also have a particle, a negative particle or a preverb intervening. In example 2-6-022, *tshe-* appears in a question, following an interrogative particle and followed by the modal preverb *tshî-* 'ability'.

(2-6-022)

Tânite	**tshe**	tshî	pimûteiâkᵘ	ekᵘ ?
tânite	tshe	tshî	pimûte –iâkᵘ	ekᵘ
where	fut	able	walk -(AI)CIN.21pl	so
p.intrg	prv	prv	VAI -sfx	p

Where will we walk there?

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

(2-7-099)

Eukuannû		mâ	ekᵘ	**tshe**
eukuan	-inû	mâ	ekᵘ	tshe
that's.it	-obv(s/pl)	intns	then	fut
dem	-sfx	p	p	prv

tshîtshipaitûht.

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

Then they start off in haste.

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

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

tshe **ût** piputueiân,
tshe ût piputue -iân
fut from.there send.smoke.rising -(AI)CIN.1
prv prv VAI -sfx

pâtush shûk^{u} shâuennânûtî.
pâtush shûk^{u} shîueni -nânû -tî
after lots IC.be.hungry -CIN.Indef -(AI)CS.3
p p VAI -sfx -sfx

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

(1-5-060) - Tânite tshipâ ût tshî takushinû
tânite tshipâ ût tshî takushin -u
however should.3 from perf arrive -IIN.3
p.intrg prv p prv VAI -sfx

tshikuss?
tshi- kuss
2- son
pfx- NAD

How in the world could your son have returned?

It seems that the future preverb moves past the particle *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 *tshî-* 'ability'. Clarke (1982:41) observes that *ka-* often precedes *tshî-* 'ability'.

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

```
(2-8-007)   - Eshkᵘ mînuât ni-ka-      takushin,
              eshkᵘ mînuât ni-   ka  takushin
              later again  1-    fut arrive
              p     p      pfx- prv VAI

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

            mâ    takushiniânî      mînuât.
            mâ    takushin -iânî    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."
```

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

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

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

            niteshkanat.
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

            tshinâpem,        tshî uîtshimitânî.
            tshi- nâpeu -im   tshî uîtshim   -itânî
            2-    man   -poss perf live.with –CS.1>2
            pfx-  NA    -sfx  prv  VTA       -sfx

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

2.2.3 kâ- 'past'

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

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

```
ekâ   kâ   uî tshîtûteîn          !
ekâ   kâ   uî tshîtûte -în        !
not   past want leave    -(AI)CIN.2S !
p.neg pfx prv VAI      -sfx       !

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

In 1-5-039, *kâ-* is preceded by the particle *shâshish* 'long ago', the interrogative particle *tânite* 'where' and the demonstrative *nete* 'there'. *Kâ-* occurs directly to the left of the verb stem.

```
(1-5-039)   Shâshîsh  tânite  nete       kâ
            shâshîsh  tânite  nete       kâ
            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 tshî-

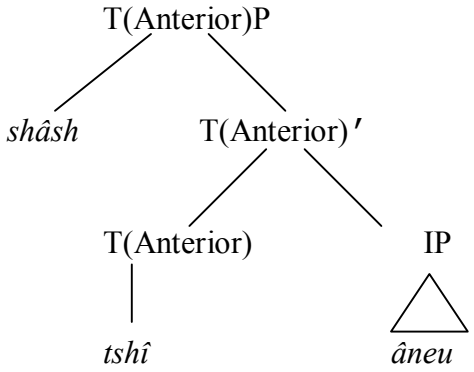
The perfective *tshî-* occurs much less often than the modal *tshî-* in the stories of the LITP. Of the 48 sentences found with *tshî-*, only seven have the perfective *tshî-*. Perfective *tshî-* occurs directly before the verb in all of the sentences. It is found following a demonstrative, a clause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

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

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

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

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

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

```
(1-4-100)   Pâtush tshî mîtshishuiânî,      tshe
            pâtush tshî mîtshishu -iânî     tshe
            after  perf eat       -(AI)CS.1 fut
            p      prv  VAI       -sfx      prv

            mîtshishuîn.
            mîtshishu –in
            eat       -(AI)CIN.2
            VAI       -sfx

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

(2-4-023)   - Shâsh   tshitshî   tshissinuâpamitin,
              shâsh   tshi- tshî tshissinuâpam      -itin
              already 1-    perf learn.by.observing -IIN.1>2
              p       pfx-  prv  VTA                -sfx

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

            etâpekaut             tshitânapî.
            itâpekau -t           tshi- ânapî
            IC.weave –CIN.2>      2-    net
            VTA      -sfx         pfx- NA

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

Every instance of *tshî-* in 2-9-045 is preceded by the particle *shâsh*, '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 *tshî-* follows the particle *pâtush* 'after'. In 2-4-023, *tshî-*, marked with the person marker *tshi-*, follows *shâsh*. 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).

(15)



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

2.3.2 kâtshî- 'after'

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

```
(1-5-098)   Ekᵘ  nenû           kâtshî aitit,
            ekᵘ  nenû           kâtshî iti       -t
            then that           after  do.dup  -CIN.3
            p    pro.dem.in.obv prv    VAI       -sfx

            ûkâuîa                  ekᵘ  tshe
            u-    ûkâuî  -a         ekᵘ  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)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1-3-012)

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

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

tshînîtshînikuânitshimeu		nenû	Mishikamânû.
tshînikuânitshime	-u	nenû	Mishikamâu -inû

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

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

2.3.3 Conclusion of aspect preverbs

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

2.4 Other preverbs

2.4.1 e- 'so'

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

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

(1-3-017)
Tshek mâ **e** manâshtet utin
tshek mâ e manâshte -t utin
then intns so break.spruce.branches -CIN.3 take
p p prv VAI -sfx VTA

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

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

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

tshitâussutshipanit.
tshitâussuâtshipani –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)
Tshîuepâtuâu apishîsh, mukᵘ peikuâu
tshîuepâtuâ -u apishîsh mukᵘ peikuâu
run.home.carrying -IIN.3 little only once
VAI+O -sfx p p p

e mîtshishut.
e mîtshishu –t
so eat -CIN.3
prv VAI -sfx

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

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

between *e-* and the verb stem as in the subordinate clause *e-chî-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 *tshekuân uet*.

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

            ka-tshikâkânuâshkupuâmenâua ?
            ka   tshi- kânuâshkupuâme       –nâ-ua
            perc 2-    have.long.thighs.dup –(AI)IIN.P.2
            prv  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.

(2-9-005) **Ka** - ût shâtshishkueua
ka ût shâtshishkue -ua
perc from/because stick.out.head –IIN.P
prv p VAI -sfx

nâpeu, ek^{u} shâsh
nâpeu ek^{u} shâsh
man so/then already
NA p p

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

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

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

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

```
(2-9-005)   ekᵘ      shâsh
            ekᵘ      shâsh
            so/then  already
            p        p

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

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

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

2.5 General Conclusion

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

Table 2.2 – Innu-aimûn compound verb

temporal preverbs	modal preverbs	verb stem

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

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

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

3. THE PARTICLES OF INNU-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 *ût*, which can act as either a locative particle or as a grammatical particle meaning 'from' or 'because' is included in my discussion due to other interesting factors, described in section 3.7.1.

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

3.1 Complementizers

3.1.1 *ek*^{u} *'then'*

Ek^{u} occurs very frequently in Innu-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*^{u} is sentence/clause-initially, followed by preverbs, particles, demonstratives or the verb. 2-6-019 and 2-8-012 show *ek*^{u} followed by a preverb and particle, respectively.

(2-6-019) **Ekᵘ** tshe utîtamâku e kassekâut.
ekᵘ tshe utîtamu -iku e kassekâu -t
then fut arrive -CIN.21>3 so be.a.waterfall -CIN.3
p prv VTI -sfx pfx VII -sfx

"There, we will reach the falls."

(2-8-012) **Ekᵘ** tshek pepunnit, ât
ekᵘ tshek pipun -nit ât
then then IC.be.winter -(VII)CIN.3' as.soon.as
p p VII -sfx p

akua pipunnit, **ekᵘ**
akua pipun -nit ekᵘ
unknown be.winter -(VII)CIN.3' then
VII -sfx p

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

auennua tshipishkuâmît.
auen -inua tshipishkuât -im -ît
someone -obv(s/pl) doorway -poss -loc
pro.indef -sfx NI -sfx -sfx

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

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

(2-4-061) Tâpue teshkamipâtât **ekᵘ**.
tâpue tashkamipâtâ -t ekᵘ
true IC.run.across -CIN.3 then
p VAI -sfx p

Then, it is true, he ran across.

(1-4-053) **Ekᵘ** iesset **ekᵘ**.
ekᵘ esse -t ekᵘ
then IC.break.ice(trap.beaver) -CIN.3 then
p VAI -sfx p

Then he chopped through the ice to trap the beavers.

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

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

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

"Yes, I will marry you, then."

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

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

iu itâkanû.
i -u it -âkani -u
say -IIN.3 say -Indef -IIN.3
VAI -sfx VTA -sfx -sfx

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

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

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

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

And then, the child ran off.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tshek ekue does not require the highest position in the sentence structure. In example 1-8-033, *ek*^{u} has first position. *Ek*^{u} appearing at the extreme left edge of a sentence is described in Branigan and MacKenzie 2002.

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

Then, by and by, they were hungry.

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

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

```
(2-7-020)   Apû   tshî pimutakuatât                **ekue**
            apû   tshî pimutakuat -ât              ekue
            not   can  shoot.at   -(TA)CIN.3>4    and.then
            p.neg prv  VTA        -sfx             p

            shatsheueshkakut tshek.
            shâtsheueshkâ -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)   **Tshek** mîtshet, **tshek** patetât itâkanû
            tshek mîtsheti tshek patetât it  -âkani  -u
            then  be.many  then  five    say -Indef. -IIN.3
            p     VAI      p     p       VTA -sfx    -sfx

            peikupipuna              nenû.
            peikw- pipun  -a         nenû
            one-   winter -obv(s/pl) that
            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 *apû* appears between *tshek* and the verb.

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

            tshetshipâtânitî
            tshitshipâtâ –nitî
            IC.run.off   –CIN3.obv
            VAI          -sfx

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

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

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

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

            kanapua  mâni.
            kanapua  mâni
            for.sure usually
            p        p

            He would usually have just pulled it ashore.

(1-5-071)   Nîshinîshâpânî   utishkuema,
            nîshînu –shâpânî u-   ishkueu -im   -a
            be.two  –IDR.obv 3-   wife    -poss -obv(s/pl)
            VII     –sfx     pfx- NA      -sfx  -sfx
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.3 ât 'even if'

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

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

(1-8-008)

Tshessenimât,		ek^{u}	
tshissenim	-ât	ek^{u}	
IC.know.about	-(TA)CIN.3>4	then	
VTA	-sfx	p	
ât	niânatuâpamât,		mâuât.
ât	natuâpam	-ât	mâuât
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)

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

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

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

3.1.4 tshetshî 'so that'

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

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

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

(2-4-034) Tshipâ tshî mînik^{u} natuenitamutî
tshipâ tshî mîn -iku natuenitamu –tî
should.3 can give -inv ask.for -CS.2>3
prv prv VTA -sfx VTA -sfx

assîkumâna **tshetshî** mûkumânitshein.
assîkumân -a tshetshî mûkumânitshe -in
metal -NI.pl so.that make.knife -(AI)CIN.2
NI -sfx p.conj VAI -sfx

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

3.1.5 Conclusion of complementizers

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

3.2 Focus particles

3.2.1 muk^{u} 'only, but'

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

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

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

kanapua mâni.
kanapua mâni
for.sure usually
p p

He would usually have just pulled it ashore.

(2-8-021) Eukuannû **muk^{u}** kâtshî unâtenit
eukuan -inû muk^{u} kâtshî unâte -nit
that's.it -obv only after catch.fire –(II)CIN.4
dem -sfx p prv VII -sfx

nenû upimîm.
nenû u- pimî -im
that 3- fat -poss
pro.dem.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-aimûn. They are used to negate all word categories, including nouns, verbs and particles. My focus in this description is on the negative particles when they negate verbs. A more detailed discussion of their distribution with respect to independent or conjunct verb orders appears in Chapter 4.

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

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

3.3.1 ekâ

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

```
(1-3-003)   Ekᵘ  ekâ   nitâpuetuâua,
            ekᵘ  ekâ   ni-   tâpuetu -âua
            then not   1-    agree   -(TA)IIN.P.3
            p    p.neg pfx- VTA     -sfx

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.2 apû

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

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

```
(1-6-055)   Apû   minekâsh  shâsh   ût      unuîu
```

```
apû   minekâsh  shâsh   ût      unuî   -u
not   long.time already from    go.out -IIN.3
p.neg p         p       p       VAI    -sfx

ne           ishkueu.
ne           ishkueu
that         woman
pro.dem.an   NA

Not long after that, the woman came out.
```

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

```
(1-4-099)   - Aaa, mâuât, iteu,             apû
              aaa  mâuât  it  -eu           apû
              aah  no     say -(TA)IIN.3>4  not
              p    p.neg  VTA -sfx          p.neg

            tshika     tshî ashâmitân.
            tshi- ka   tshî ashâm -itân
            2-    fut  can  feed  -CIN.1>2
            pfx-  pfx  prv  VTA   -sfx

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

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

```
(2-1-032)   ' Apû   mînuât tshika     nîtâ   itâshpinet
              apû   mînuât tshika     nîtâ   itâshpine    -t
              not   again  fut.3      never  die.some.way –CIN.3
              p.neg p      prv        p      VAI          -sfx

            auen      tshetshî  kûtshit,            eukuan
            auen      tshetshî  kûtshi       -t     eukuan
            someone   so.that   die.of.cold  –CIN.3 that's.it
            pro.indef pfx.conj  VAI          -sfx   dem

            eshpish     mitunenitamin ',
            eshpish     mitunenit      -amin
            as.much.as  be.intelligent -(TI)CIN.2>3
```

```
prv         VTI             -sfx

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

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

3.3.3 Conclusion of negatives

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

3.4 Adverbs

3.4.1 tshîtshue 'really'

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

(2-2-021) Shâsh **tshîtshue** shîuenû, shâsh
shâsh tshîtshue shîueni -u shâsh
already really be.hungry -IIN.3 already
p p VAI -sfx p

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

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

(1-5-046) Ek^{u} **tshîtshue** pâpessîsh kanapua tânua,
ek^{u} tshîtshue pessîsh kanapua itâ -inua
then really close.by.dup definitely IC.be -obv
p p p p VAI -sfx

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

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

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

3.4.2 minâush 'hardly'

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

(1-4-011) **Minâush** tshitshî pipimûten, iteu.
minâush tshi- tshî pimûte -n it -eu
hardly you- can walk.dup -IIN.2 say -(TA)IIN.3>4
p pfx- prv VAI -sfx VTA -sfx

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

(2-2-022) Shâsh **minâush** tshî pimûteu, ekue pet
shâsh minâush tshî pimûte -u ekue pet
already hardly able walk -IIN.3 and.then here
p p prv VAI -sfx p p

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

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

3.4.3 shûkᵘ 'so much'

Shûkᵘ 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, *shûkᵘ* follows the particle *anûtshîsh* and a demonstrative, and is followed by the verb.

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

nepâiâkannitî atîkua, anûtshîsh
nipâi -âkani -nitî atîkᵘ -a anûtshîsh
IC.kill -Indef. -obv caribou -obv(s/pl) present.time
VTA -sfx -sfx NA -sfx p

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

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

2-1-033 shows *shûkᵘ* following the verb. In this sentence, it is modifying *innû* 'person'.

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

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

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

3.4.4 Conclusion of adverbs

Two of the adverbs discussed, *minâush* and *shukᵘ*, can appear sentence or clause-initially. *Tshîtshue* does not. It is preceded by complementizer particles or temporal/aspectual particles like *shâsh* '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 shâsh 'already'

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

(2-2-022) **Shâsh** minâush tshî pimûteu, ekue pet
shâsh minâush tshî pimûte -u ekue pet
already hardly able walk -IIN.3 and.then here
p p prv VAI -sfx p p

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

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

(1-6-055) Apû minekâsh **shâsh** ût unuîu
apû minekâsh shâsh ût unuî -u
not long.time already from go.out -IIN.3
p.neg p p p VAI -sfx

ne ishkueu.
ne ishkueu
that woman
pro.dem.an NA

Not long after that, the woman came out.

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

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

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

tshî uîshkuetâpâteu
tshî uîshkuetâpât -eu
perf wrap.them -(TA)IIN.3>4
prv VTA -sfx

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

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

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

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

            None of them were there anymore.
```

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

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

            Not long after that, already he was moaning.
```

3.5.2 mînuât 'again'

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

```
(2-6-016)   Mînuât ekue     tipishkât,      eshkᵘ
            mînuât ekue     tipishkâ -t     eshkᵘ
            again  and.then be.night -CIN.3 still
            p      p        VII      -sfx   p

            pimishkâuat            iâpit.
            pimishkâ -uat          iâpit
```

```
paddle   -(AI)IIN.3p   always
VAI      -sfx          p

After another nightfall, still  they were paddling..
```

Mînuât 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*^{u} '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^u mînuât nika      takushin,
              eshk^u mînuât ni-   ka  takushin
              later again  1-    fut arrive
              p     p      pfx- prv VAI

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

            mâ    takushiniânî      mînuât.
            mâ    takushin -iânî    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^u  iteu    :         Mînuât nenû    ekuana
            ek^u  it  -eu           mînuât nenû    ekuan  -a
            then say –(TA)IIN.3     again  that    enough -obv
            p     VTA -sfx          p      pro.dem p      -sfx

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

            pitshikâshut             mishkumî.
            pitshikâshu      -t      mishkumî
            sticky.with.heat –CIN.3  ice
```

```
                VAI                 –sfx    NA

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

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

```
(1-4-120)   Mînuât pepâmipâtât,       pepâmipâtât       mînuât.
            mînuât papâmipâtâ -t      papâmipâtâ –t     mînuât
            again  IC.run.dup -CIN.3 IC.run.dup -CIN.3 again
            p      VAI        -sfx   VAI        -sfx   p

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

3.5.3 nîtâ 'never'

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

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

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

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

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

```
(2-1-032)   ' Apû   mînuât tshika     nîtâ   itâshpinet
              apû   mînuât tshika     nîtâ   itâshpine       -t
              not   again  fut.3      never  die.some.way –CIN.3
              p.neg p      prv        p      VAI              -sfx

            auen      tshetshî  kûtshit,            eukuan
            auen      tshetshî  kûtshi       -t     eukuan
            someone   so.that   die.of.cold  –CIN.3 that's.it
            pro.indef pfx.conj VAI          -sfx   dem

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

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

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

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

```
(1-8-030)   Eukuan    ekâ   nîtâ  muk$^{u}$ mîtshetuâu
            eukuan    ekâ   nîtâ  muk$^{u}$ mîtshet -uâu
            that's.it not   never only many    -times
            dem       p.neg p     p    p       -sfx

            tshika     uîn,         itikû.
            tshi- ka   uîn          it  -iku           -u
            2-    fut  name.s.o.Imp say -(TA)inv.4>3    -IIN.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 *tshî-* 'ability' between *nîtâ* and the verb stem.

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.4 mâni 'usually'

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

```
(1-4-067)   Ekᵘ  ât      uetinamishkuenitî,
            ekᵘ  ât      utinamishkue   -initî
```

```
                then even.if IC.grab.beaver -(AI)CIN.4
                p    p       VAI            -sfx

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

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

(1-3-015)       Kâtshî mânukâshutî           ekᵘ
                kâtshî mânukâshu   -tî       ekᵘ
                after  set.up.camp -(AI)CS.3 then
                prv    VAI         -sfx      p

                uânâtîkuet               ekᵘ   mâtshishut
                uînâtîkue        -t      ekᵘ   mîtshishu -t
                IC.clean.caribou -CIN.3 then IC.eat    -CIN.3
                VAI              -sfx   p    VAI       -sfx

                kanapua  mâni.
                kanapua  mâni
                for.sure usually
                p        p

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

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

```
(2-4-040)       Ekᵘ  apû   tshî uînameshet         eshkᵘ,
                ekᵘ  apû   tshî uînameshe  -t      eshkᵘ
                then not   able clean.fish -CIN.3  still
                p    p.neg prv  VAI        -sfx    p

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

                uâkâpissinamᵘ           mâni    nenû
```

```
uâkâpissin -amᵘ         mâni    nenû
bend       -(TI)IIN.3>4 usually that
VTI        -sfx         p       pro.dem.in.obv

ât      uâ      uînameshetî.
ât      uî      uînameshe  -tî
even.if IC.try clean.fish -(AI)CS.3
p       prv     VAI        -sfx

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

3.5.5 eshkᵘ 'still', 'yet', 'later'

Eshkᵘ 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 *eshkᵘ* sentence-initially, with the particle *mînuât* 'again' between it and the compound verb, which contains the preverb *ka-* 'future'.

```
(2-8-007)   - Eshkᵘ mînuât nika      takushin,
              eshkᵘ mînuât ni-   ka  takushin
              later again  1-    fut arrive
              p     p      pfx- prv VAI

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

            mâ    takushiniânî       mînuât.
            mâ    takushin -iânî     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."
```

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

(1-9-028)

Ekᵘ ama nitshissenimâu tân nete
ekᵘ ama ni- tshissenim -âu tân nete
then not 1- know.about -(TA)IIN.1>3 how over.there
p p pfx- VTA -sfx p dem.adv

etâtshimuht, tânite **eshkᵘ** ama
itâtshimu -ht tânite eshkᵘ ama
IC.tell.story -(AI)CIN.3p because yet not
VAI -sfx p.intrg p p

nimâmituneniten, nitauâssîun **eshkᵘ**.
ni- mâmitunenit -en ni- auâssî -n **eshkᵘ**
1- think.about -IIN.1 1- be.young -IIN.1 still
pfx- VTI -sfx pfx- VAI -sfx p

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

3.5.6 nânitam 'always'

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

(1-8-031)

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

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

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

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

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

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

            nânitam tshissîtueu.
            nânitam tshissîtu -eu
            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 - mîtshetinua.
takushin -ht mishta mîtsheti -inua
arrive -(AI)CIN.3p very be.many -obv(s/pl)
VAI -sfx pfx VAI -sfx

atîkua.
atîkᵘ -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
            p      p   p          VTA -sfx      -sfx

            nâshtîsh,       ama nânûtshikâkua.
            nâsht      -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)   Mînuât ekue     tipishkât,      eshkᵘ
            mînuât ekue     tipishkâ -t     eshkᵘ
            again  and.then be.night –CIN.3 still
            p      p        VII      -sfx   p

            pimishkâuat           iâpit.
            pimishka -uat         iâpit
            paddle   -(AI)IIN.3p  always
            VAI      -sfx         p

            After another nightfall, still they were paddling.
```

3.5.9 minekâsh 'a long time'

Minekâsh follows a negator in four of the seven example sentences from my database. One of these sentences has a preverb between the negator and *minekâsh*. *Minekâsh* follows demonstratives in the other sentences. It is followed by particles or the

verb. In 1-6-054, *minekâsh* directly follows the negator *apû*, and precedes the particle *shâsh* 'already'.

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

            Not long after that, already he was moaning.
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.10 kâu 'again'

Kâu appears clause-finally, clause-initially or within the clause. When it appears clause-finally, it usually follows the verb. Appearing clause-initially, it is followed by

one particle, which is often *ekue* ‘then/so’. Within the clause, *kâu* is preceded by a particle and followed by a preverb. In 1-5-083, *kâu* follows the verb and is clause-final.

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

            pitamâ ishpimît ekue     pîtûtshenitî kâu.
            pitamâ ishpimît ekue     pîtûtshe –nitî kâu
            now    up       and.then come     -(AI)CIN.4 again
            p      p        p        VAI      -sfx p.time

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

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

```
(2-5-015)   Kueshtâshkamûtshe                    kanapua
            kueshtâshk        -am         -ûtshe kanapua
            go.around.outside -(TI)TS.3>4 -IDN.3 definitely
            VTI               -sfx        -sfx   p

            itâkanû           muku  nemenû
            it  -âkani  -u    muku  neme                -inû
            say -Indef. -IIN.3 only that.one.over.there -obv
            VTA -sfx    -sfx   p    dem                 -sfx


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

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

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

```
(2-7-074)   Umushuma                  pînim
            u-   mushum      -a       pînim
            3-   grandfather -obv(s/pl) too.soon.or.too.late
            pfx- NAD         -sfx     p
```

```
ekue     tâtshipuniti          tâpue, mînuât
ekue     tâtshipun -iti        tâpue  mînuât
and.then get.fat   -(TA)1>2    indeed again
p        VTA       -sfx        p      p

kâu    kâ   ishinâkushinitî        ekue
kâu    kâ   ishinâkushi -nitî      ekue
again  past look.like   -(AI)CIN.4 and.then
p.time pfx VAI         -sfx       p

ishinâkushinitî.
ishinâkushi -nitî
look.like   -(AI)CIN.4
VAI         -sfx

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

3.5.11 Conclusion of temporal and aspectual particles

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

3.6 Particles of speaker opinion

3.6.1 kanapua 'surely'

Kanapua occurs after the verb in several database sentences. It precedes a particle, a preverb, or a demonstrative. Sentence 1-3-015 shows *kanapua* following and modifying the verb, and being followed by the particle *mâni* 'usually'. *Kanapua* can also

precede the verb, as seen in sentence 1-6-064. A preverb can occur between *kanapua* and the verb, as in 1-5-105.

(1-3-015)
Kâtshî mânukâshutî ekᵘ
kâtshî mânukâshu -tî ekᵘ
after set.up.camp -(AI)CS.3 then
prv VAI -sfx p

uânâtîkuet ekᵘ mâtshishut
uînâtîkue -t ekᵘ mîtshishu -t
IC.clean.caribou -CIN.3 then IC.eat -CIN.3
VAI -sfx p VAI -sfx

kanapua mâni.
kanapua mâni
for.sure usually
p p

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

(1-6-064)
Ekᵘ **kanapua** kueshtak, enuet
ekᵘ kanapua kusht -ak enuet
then definitely IC.fear -(TA)CIN.1>3 at.least
p p VTA -sfx p

ekue uîtsheuk.
ekue uîtsheu –ak
at.that.moment go.with –(TA)CIN.1>3
p VTA –sfx

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

(1-5-105)
Kie mâmîshkut **kanapua** tshika ishpan
kie mâmîshkut kanapua tshika unknown
and in.exchange for.sure fut.3
p.conj p p prv

pepûki.
pipun –k
IC.be.winter –CIN.3
VII -sfx

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 *mâ* and the negative particles *apû* and *nîtâ*. *Tâpue* also occurs before the verb, following particles, as in 1-4-162.

(1-4-153)
Ekᵘ mâtshit **tâpue.**
ekᵘ mîtshi -t tâpue
then IC.eat.s.t. -CIN.3 indeed
p VAI+O -sfx p

Then he eats it.

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

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

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

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

Indeed, not long after, he threw up.

3.6.3 mâte 'well then', 'for instance'

Mâte usually occurs sentence-initially. Only once is it preceded by another word, the particle *mîam* 'like' or 'exactly'. *Mâte* is followed by the verb, by preverbs and by

the locative particle *nete* in one example. In 1-4-050, *mâte* is followed by a preverb. 2-3-036 shows *mâte* following *mîam*, and preceding the verb.

(1-4-050)

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

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

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

(2-3-036)

Ekue makushenânût inânû,
ekue makushe -nânû -t i -nânû
and.then make.a.feast -Indef -CIN.3 say -Indef
p VAI -sfx -sfx VAI -sfx

makushenânû miâm ne
makushe -nânû miâm ne
make.a.feast -Indef like that
VAI -sfx p pro.dem.an

iâitit nenû, miâm **mâte**
âiti -t nenû miâm mâte
IC.do.s.t. -CIN.3 that exactly well.then
VAI.dup -sfx pro.dem.in.obv p p

ka- makushenânûâ
ka- makushe -nânû -â
perc- feast -Indef –IIN.P
pfx- VAI -sfx -sfx

nâpaunânûtî,
nîpau -nânû -tî
IC.marry -Indef -(AI)CIN.3
VAI -sfx -sfx

eukuan aitinânikupan.
eukuan iti -nâni -kupan
that's it IC.do -(AI)Indef. -IDP.3
dem VAI -sfx -sfx

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2-5-006) Ek^{u} **nâsht** kuetû itinânû kie apû
ek^{u} nâsht kuetû iti -nânu kie apû
then really end do -Indef and not
p p p VAI -sfx p.conj p.neg

takuâk anite meshikamât nipî.
takuan -t anite mishikamâ -t nipî
be -CIN.3 there IC.be.big.lake -CIN.3 water
VII -sfx dem.adv VII -sfx NI

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

3.6.5 mâ 'well', intensifier

Mâ is a focus particle that occurs frequently in my data sentences. It can focus different word classes, including verbs (the focus of my study), particles and demonstratives. I have placed the sentences containing *mâ* in different categories depending on where *mâ* appears in the clause. *Mâ* can appear (1) clause-finally not modifying a verb, (2) clause-finally following a verb and modifying it, (3) clause-initially without a verb (only one example of this), (4) clause-initial modifying a verb phrase, (5) clause-internally not modifying a verb and finally, (6) clause-internally modifying a verb. This final category has the most members. Sentences in group (1) show *mâ* following a demonstrative or a particle as in 2-8-005. The first occurrence of *mâ* in 2-8-005 seems to be modifying the particle *ek*^{u} 'so'.

```
(2-8-005)   Ekᵘ mâ,   iteu,            shîkatiminân,
            ekᵘ mâ    it  -eu          shîkatim  -inân
            so  intns say -(TA)IIN.3>4  make.cold -Imp.2>21p
            p   p     VTA -sfx          VTA       -sfx

            ekᵘ  mâ    mînuât shîkatiminân
            ekᵘ  mâ    mînuât shîkatim  -inân
            then intns again make.cold -Imp.2>21p
            p    p     p VTA       -sfx

            kâ   uî shîkatimiât.
            kâ   uî shîkatim  -iât
            past want make.cold -(TA)CIN.2>1pl
            pfx prv VTA       -sfx

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

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

```
(1-4-107)   Ekᵘ  mîtshishu mâ    !
            ekᵘ  mîtshishu 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Group (5), *mâ* occurring clause internally not focusing a verb or verb phrase, has *mâ* following a demonstrative or a pronoun, and preceding demonstratives or particles. 1-3-007 shows *mâ* following a demonstrative and preceding the demonstrative and noun phrase *ne nitânish* ‘that my daughter’.

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

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

tshitishinâtin, massekut.
tshi- ishinu -itin massekᵘ -ît
2- dream -IIN.2>1 muskeg -Loc
pfx- VTA -sfx NI -sfx

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

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

(1-8-036) Nemenû **mâ** mâshten patetât
neme -inû mâ mâshten patetât
that.one -obv(s/pl) intns last five
p.pro -sfx p p p

itâkanû, ekute
it -âkani -u ekute
say -Indef. -IIN.3 right.there
VTA -sfx -sfx p

eshitâtshimâkanit tânite apû
ishitâtshim -âkani -t tânite apû
IC.pull.certain.way -Indef. -CIN.3 because not
VTA -sfx -sfx p p.neg

tshî pimûtet.
tshî pimûte -t
able walk -CIN.3
prv VAI -sfx

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

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

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

            The bear had taken care of him the whole time.
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

            Then they started off in haste.
```

3.6.6 Conclusion of particles of speaker opinion

The particles of speaker opinion seem to be placed in the sentence more freely. This is to be expected, if they are added as afterthoughts to already stated sentences. This also suggests that their position in Innu-aimûn sentence structure may be more peripheral. An exception to that statement is the particle *mâ*. *Mâ*, when it appears with other particles, can appear following complementizers, other particles of speaker opinion, and temporal/aspectual particles. It can be followed by complementizing particles, the verb or preverbs. Similarly, *nâsht* can appear following complementizers or other particles of speaker opinion, and preceding the verb. Generally, the other particles of speaker opinion can appear following complementizer particles and before the verb.

3.7 Particles subject to initial change

3.7.1 ût (uet) 'from/because'

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

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

```
ishpimît.
ishpimît
above
p

Then, indeed, he was tormented from above.
```

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

```
(1-6-017)   Tânite  tshipâ       ût      tshî uîtshimitin       ?
            tânite  tshi- pâ     ût      tshî uîtshim   -itin
            where   2-    should because can  live.with -IIN.1>2
            p.intrg pfx- prv    p       prv  VTA       -sfx
```

How can I marry you?

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

```
(2-7-067)   Eukuannû             nenû tshipâ ût
            eukuan    -inû       nenû tshipâ ût
            that's.it -obv(s/pl) that would  because
            pro.dem   -sfx       pro.dem.in.obv prv    p

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

            e    uîshâkût          atîkᵘ.
            e    uîshâkû   -t      atîkᵘ
            so   be.in.rut -CIN.3  caribou
            pfx VAI       -sfx    NA

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

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

```
(2-6-009)   Uiâshtet        mâ,   nete       ût
```

```
uâshte   -t     mâ    nete       ût
be.light -CIN.3 intns over.there from
VII      -sfx   p     dem.adv    p

uâshtenû,          âshtamâshkᵘ
uâshte   -nû       âshtamâshkᵘ
be.light –VII.4’   on.side.of.wooded.mountain
VII      -sfx      p

ekute        uet       uâshtenit             nenû
ekute        ût        uâshte   -nit         nenû
right.there  IC.from   be.light -(VII)CIN.3' that
p            p         VII      -sfx         pro.dem

kâtshî nipâiâkanniti
kâtshî nipâi -âkani  -ini -iti
after  kill  -indf>3 -obv -1>2
prv    VTA   -sfx    -sfx -sfx

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

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

In 1-2-012 another use of *uet* can be seen. When it appears in questions following the interrogative particle *tshekuân*, the gloss is ‘why’. *Tshekuân* alone glosses as ‘what’. In 1-3-039, *uet* follows the demonstrative *eukuan* ‘that’s it’ and precedes the negative particle *ekâ*.

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

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

            "Then why are your thighs so long?"

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

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

tshîshikâu       etuâkanitî
tshîshikâ -u     atu         -âkani  -tî
be.day    -IIN.3 IC.point.at -Indef. -CS
VII       -sfx   VTI         -sfx    -sfx

inânû             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 *ût*, *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 Sheshâtshîu Innu-aimûn has collapsed into one form with two functions. According to Drapeau's *Dictionnaire Montagnais-Français*, the historical pronunciation of Montagnais *ût* is *utchi*, which is more phonologically similar to the Plains Cree *ohci*. Alternatively, the Montagnais *utchi* could be little changed from the historical Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi form of the word, with the Plains Cree separation of *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 *tât* 's/he is there' or its plural form, *tâht* 'they are there'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In example 2-5-018, *ishpish* occupies preverbal position (between the preverb *kâ-* and the verb *itûtet*). In contrast to 2-5-018, example 2-7-080 does not show *ishpish* occuring in preverb position. I conclude that *ishpish* is a particle that is required to be closer to the verb than other particles. Examples of the placement of the changed form *eshpish* support this second conclusion, as *eshpish* seems to be a particle that appears closer to the verb than other particles. Unfortunately, there are no examples of person marking on *ishpish* preceding a verb in the independent, which would be the most compelling evidence to classify *ishpish* as a preverb.

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

```
(2-9-003)   Ekᵘ     shâuenîht          tshîtshue    eshpish
            ekᵘ     shâueni -ht        tshîtshue    eshpish
            so/then be.hungry -CIN.3p  really       while
            p       VAI       -sfx     p            p

            tâht          anite.
```

```
itâ   -ht      anite
IC.be -CIN.3pl there
VAI   -sfx     dem

They were really hungry while they were there.
```

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

```
(2-8-010)   Eshpish     mâ     anite    tât,
            eshpish     mâ     anite    itâ    -t
            as.much.as  intns  there    IC.be  -CIN.3
            p           p      dem.adv  VAI    -sfx

            nâpinnit                    ekᵘ  miâutât
            nîpin         -nit          ekᵘ  mâutâ     -t
            IC.be.summer  -(VII)CIN.3'  then IC.gather -CIN.3
            VII           -sfx          p    VAI+O     -sfx

            pimînû.
            pimînû
            grease
            NA

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

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

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

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

            pîâpâtshikut,      ekᵘ   uenuît.
            pâtshiku    -t     ekᵘ   unuî   -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 *mîshkut* 'instead', *enuet* 'at least', *ushâm* 'because', *ushkat* or *ueshkat* 'at first', *anûtshîsh* 'present time', *pâtush* 'after', *uesh* 'because', *tshessinât* 'probably/surely', *shâshîsh* 'long time ago' and *minekâshish* 'a while/ for long enough'. These particles appear infrequently in the first eighteen stories of the LITP.

3.9 General conclusion

The complementizing particles most often appear at the left edge of the Innu-aimûn sentence, preceding all other particles occuring 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 usuallyonly preceded by negative particles in my data. Negative particles are variable in their placement, however, since they can either negate a constituent of the sentence or negate the sentence as a whole. When they negate a constituent, they precede it. The negative particles can even appear within the compound verb. Other particles typically cannot appear between a preverb and the verb it modifies. When co-occurring with other particles, the negative particle *apû* tends to follow complementizers and particles of speaker opinion. Adverb particles follow complementizers or temporal/aspectual particles. More than one temporal/aspectual particle can appear in a sentence. The particles of speaker opinion

can occur after the verb. When they appear before the verb, they occur after complementizers. One particle appears preceding a negative particle and a temporal/aspectual particle. More than one particle of speaker opinion can occur in a sentence. A possible template for the particles of Innu-aimûn is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Innu-aimûn particle template

Complementizer	Speaker Opinion	Temporal/ Aspectual	Adverb	(Compound) Verb

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 uîâpamukut?*
'Who is seeing him?'

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

(18) *Tân eshpish takuanîpan?*
'How much was there?'

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

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

```
(1-6-037)   Tekushinit       nânâ         nâpeu
            takushin  -t     nânâ         nâpeu
            IC.arrive -CIN.3 that(absent) man
            VAI       -sfx   pro.dem.an   NA

            : Tân nânâ          ekâ   tâua ?     iteu.
              tân nânâ          ekâ   itâ –ua     it  -eu
              how that(absent)  not   be  -IIN.P say –(TA)IIN.3>4
              p   pro.dem.an    p.neg VAI –sfx    VTA -sfx


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

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

```
(1-4-160)   - Eshe, tânite  ushâm   tshuî      mimîtshishun
              ehe   tânite  ushâm   tshi- uî   mîtshishu -n
              yes   where   because 2-    want eat.dup   -IIN.2
              p     p.intrg p       pfx- prv  VAI       -sfx

            mâni,   tshipâ       tshî â     ekâ   âkushin?
            mâni    tshi- pâ     tshî â     ekâ   âkushi  -n
            usually 2-    should can  intrg not   be.sick -IIN.2
            p       pfx- prv    prv  p     p.neg VAI     -sfx
```

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

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

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

upimîm.
u- pimî -im
3- fat -poss
pfx- NI -sfx

How should his marrow not burn?

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

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

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

4.1 Interrogatives

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

4.1.1 tshekuân 'what'

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

```
(1-2-006)   Ekᵘ    ne          tshekuân ka -
            ekᵘ    ne          tshekuân ka-
            then   that        what     perc
            p      pro.dem.an  p        p

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

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

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

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

            "What should I feed him?"
```

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

```
(1-4-034)   Tshekuânnû          tshemâtenit,          uîshtinû  !
            tshekuân -inû       tshimâte -ini –t      uîsht -inû
            what     -obv(s/pl) IC.stand -obv -CIN.3  lodge -obv
            p/NI     -sfx       VAI      -sfx –sfx    NI    -sfx

            What was standing there but a beaver lodge!
```

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

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

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

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

4.1.2 tân 'how'

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

```
(1-5-097)   Tân tshipâ       ekâ   ishkuâtepannû
            tân tshi- pâ     ekâ   ishkuâte -pan -nû
            how 2-    should not   burn     -IIP –(II)IIN.4
            p   pfx- prv    p.neg VII      -sfx  -sfx

            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 *tân*.

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

            ukâiâshtuaitsheshîma                        ?
            u-    kâiâshtuaitsheshî -im   -a
            3-    firefighter       -poss -obv(s/pl)
            pfx- NA                -sfx  -sfx

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

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

```
(2-3-021)   Tân tshipâ   ishpitetshishû           atai,
            tân tshipâ   ishpitetshishi    -u     atai
            how would.3  be.a.certain.size -IIN.3 beaver.pelt
            p   prv      VAI               -sfx   NA

            ne         meshishtit       amishkᵘ ?
            ne         mishishti -t     amishkᵘ
            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)   Ekᵘ  nâhî             kûkûminâsh anite,  tân
            ekᵘ  nâhî             kûkûminâsh anite   tân
            then that(over.there) old.woman  there   how
            p    pro.dem.an       NA         dem.adv p

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

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

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

            And how he would not think of him.
```

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

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

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

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

             etâinî     ?
             itâ   -inî
             IC.be -(AI)CS.2
             VAI   -sfx

             How do you feel when you are very near?
```

4.1.3 tânite 'where'

Eleven questions with *tânite* occur in the first 18 LITP stories. Of these, eight are in the independent, two are in the conjunct and one is in the changed conjunct. Again, some of those in the independent are dubitative, such as example 2-7-102. Others have the preverb *pâ-*, 'should', suggested in section 2.2.3 to have a dubitative meaning. Sentence 1-6-017 is shown below with *pâ-*.

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

             Where would that be?
```

```
(1-6-017)   Tânite  tshipâ       ût      tshî uîtshimitin  ?
            tânite  tshi- pâ     ût      tshî uîtshim   -itin
            where   2-    should because can  live.with -IIN.1>2
            p.intrg pfx- prv    p       prv  VTA       -sfx

            How can I marry you?
```

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

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

4.1.4 Conclusion of interrogatives

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

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

4.2 Negatives

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

4.2.1 Verbal forms following negators

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

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

(1-3-003) Ekᵘ ekâ nitâpuetuâua,
ekᵘ ekâ ni- tâpuetu -âua
then not 1- agree -(TA)IIN.P.3
p p.neg pfx- VTA -sfx

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

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

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'.

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

ekâ tshikâshunâua.
ekâ tshi- kâshu -nâua
not 2- hide.oneself -(AI)IIN.P.2
p.neg pfx- VAI -sfx

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

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

(2-2-011) Ekâ pitamâ, iteu, ushâm mishta -
ekâ pitamâ it –eu ushâm mishta
not now say -(TA)IIN.3>4 because very
p.neg p VTA -sfx p pfx

minuâua mîta ute
minuâ -ua mît -a ute
be.good -(VII)IIN.3p firewood -obv(s/pl) here
VII -sfx NI -sfx p.adv

uâtshiâkᵘ, ekâ tshîtshipitshitâu.
uîtshi -âkᵘ ekâ tshîtshipitshi -âtâu
IC.help.s.o -CIN.21>3 not leave.with.sled -Imp.1p>3

```
VTA          -sfx      p.neg VAI              -sfx

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

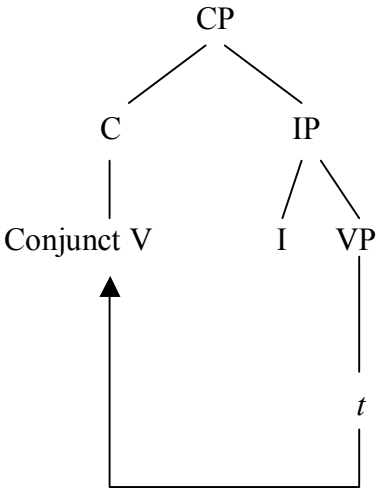
Many of the examples of *ekâ* and *apû* with verbs other than the conjunct are from quoted speech, although not all are.

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

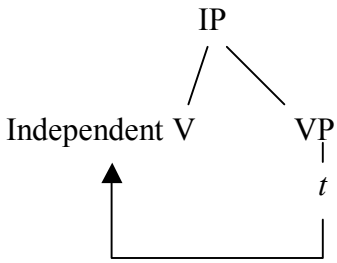
4.2.2 Negated sentence structure

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

(19)



(20)



(Brittain 1997)

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

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

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

(21) $[_{CP}\ [_{C'}\ [_{C}$ ekâ$]\ [_{IP}\ V_{independent}]]]]$

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

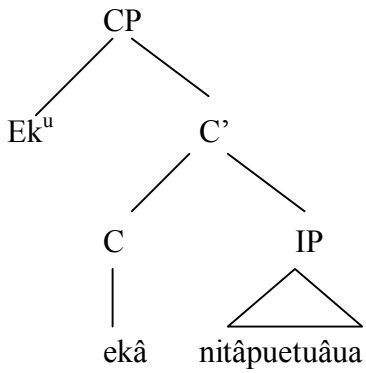
(22) $[_{CP}\ [_{C'}[_{C}$ ekâ$][_{CP}\ [_{C'}\ [_{C}\ V_{conjunct}][_{IP}\ t]]]]]$

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

(23) $[_{CP}$ apû $[_{C'}\ [_{C}\ V_{conjunct}][_{IP}\ t]]]$

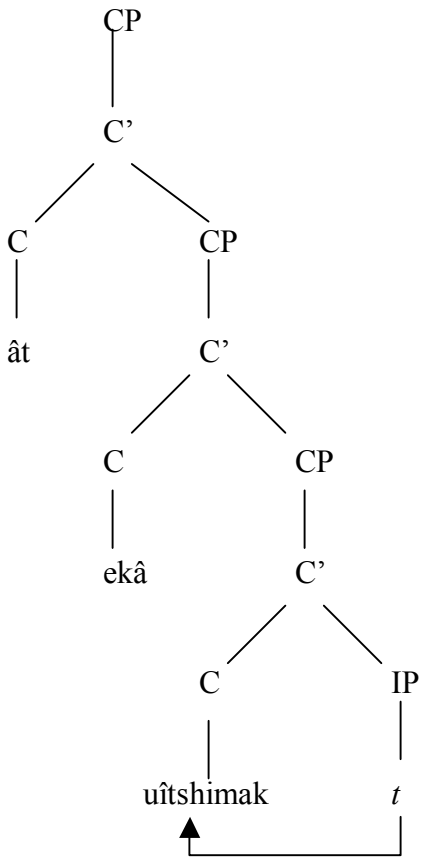
In an analysis with *apû* in C, as in Brittain (2001), all sentences with *apû* and the conjunct will require a double CP-structure, like the sentences formed with *ekâ*. With both negators in identical syntactic position, how can they be differentiated? Brittain says that Innu-aimûn learners use syntactic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

(24) *ekâ* with independent: 1-3-003



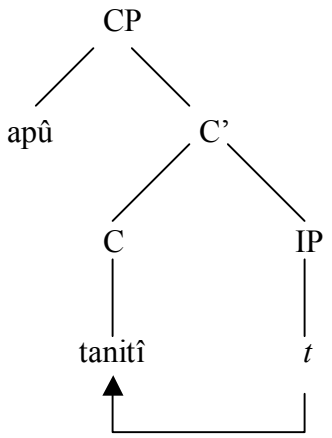
Ek[u] ekâ nitâpuetuâua
'Then I did not give him my consent for her'

(25) *ekâ* with conjunct: 1-6-025



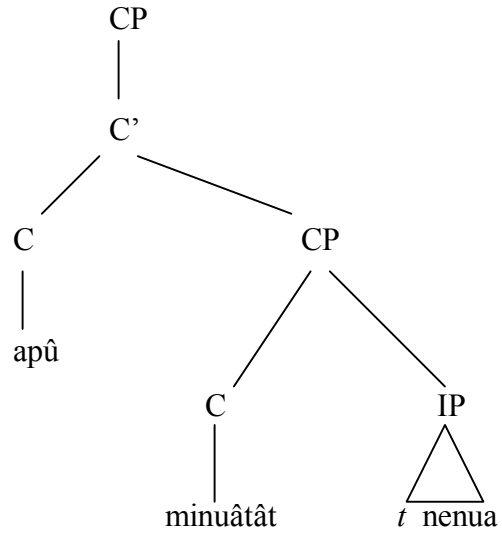
ât ekâ uîtshimak
'if I don't marry him'

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



apû tânitî.
'she was not there'

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



Apû minuâtât nenua.
'she did not like him'

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

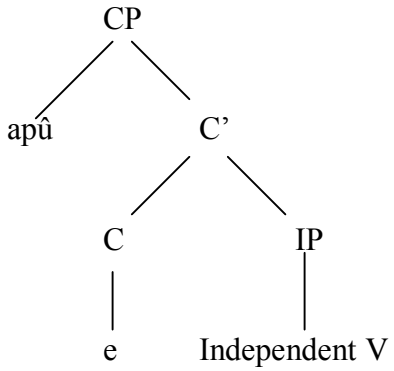
With one exception, *apû* never occurs with the independent. Sentence 1-6-055 is this exception. It is an example of constituent negation.

```
(1-6-055)   Apû   minekâsh  shâsh   ût      unuîu
            apû   minekâsh  shâsh   ût      unuî    -u
            not   long.time already because go.out -IIN.3
            p.neg p         p       p       VAI     -sfx

            ne ishkueu.
            ne          ishkueu
            that        woman
            pro.dem.an  NA

            Not long after that, the woman came out.
```

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

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

(28) *



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

4.3 Optimality Theory and unfilled heads

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

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

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

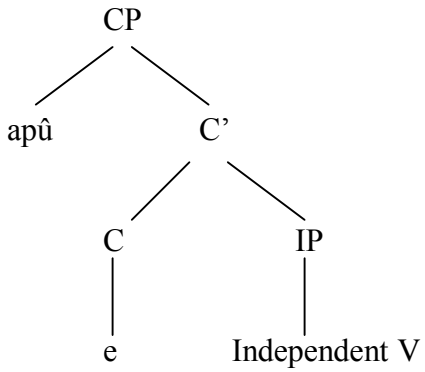
The constraints proposed by Grimshaw (1997) that are relevant to Innu-aimûn are as follows in (29).

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

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

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

(30) *



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

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

Candidates	Ob-Head	Op-Spec	No-Lex-Mvt	Stay
☞ [$_{CP}$ apû[$_{C'}$[$_{C}$ tanitî][$_{IP}$ *t*]]]			*	*
[$_{CP}$ apû[$_{C'}$[$_{C}$ **e**][$_{IP}$ V-independent]]]	*!			

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Candidates	Ob-Hd	Op-Spec
☞[$_{CP}$ ek^{u} [$_{C'}$[$_{C}$ ekâ][$_{IP}$ nitapueuâua]]]		*
☞[$_{CP}$[$_{C'}$[$_{C}$ ât][$_{CP}$[$_{C'}$[$_{C}$ ekâ][$_{CP}$[$_{C'}$[$_{C}$ *uîtshimak*][$_{IP}$ *t*]]]]		*
☞[$_{CP}$ apû [$_{C'}$ [$_{C}$ *tshîtûtet*][$_{IP}$ *t*]]]		

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

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

4.4 Conclusion to chapter four

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

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

4.3 General thesis conclusion

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

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

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

Table 4.1: Innu-aimûn compound verb

temporal preverb	modal preverb	verb stem

Amongst the particles, I have seen that particles tend to appear as close to the left edge of the sentence as possible. Complementizer particles always appear on the left edge of the sentence, and directly precede particles of speaker opinion. Temporal/aspectual particles then follow. Adverbs finally will appear closest to the verb. Table 4.2 shows a possible ordering of particles in an Innu-aimûn sentence.

Table 4.2: Innu-aimûn particle template

Complementizer	Speaker Opinion	Temporal/ Aspectual	Adverb	(Compound) Verb

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

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

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