Towards a grammar of Innu-aimun particles

WILL OXFORD
Memorial University of Newfoundland

In Algonquian linguistics, indeclinable particles are traditionally treated as a single class (e.g. Bloomfield 1946). Although this approach is morphologically accurate, it obscures the fact that particles serve a wide variety of grammatical functions. In fact, there is very little in the way of a general descriptive and analytical framework for Algonquian particles. My master's thesis (Oxford 2007)[1] is an attempt to remedy this situation for Innu-aimun (Montagnais). The goal was to classify Innu-aimun particles into well-justified grammatical categories. To this end, the grammatical properties of each class of particles were described and analyzed. This paper provides a brief overview of the findings.[2]

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

For the most part, the study's scope is limited to the dialect of Innu-aimun spoken in Sheshatshiu, Labrador. Two major sources of data were used: texts and fieldwork. Textual data was obtained from the Labrador Innu Text Project (LITP), a corpus of 29 traditional stories comprising just under 15,000 words (Mailhot 1999, 2002). Fieldwork was conducted by the author in Sheshatshiu with eight speakers over a period of eight weeks. The elicitations primarily involved the creation by the consultant of Innu-aimun sentences containing a given particle, as well as the careful translation of sentences between English and Innu-aimun. Working from these sources of data, particles were grouped into classes based mainly on distributional patterns, though derivational morphology was also used as a criterion.

The following major classes of particles were identified: adnominal particles (adjectives and quantifiers), prepositions, adverbs, focus particles, negators, conjunctions, and interjections. As particles, all words in these classes are indeclinable. However,

there are also two groups of declinable function words that share certain properties with particles. In order to make the description of particles completely explicit, they must be distinguished from these declinable function words, which I refer to as "nominal function words" and "clefting words." This paper briefly describes the properties of these two classes before turning to the various groups of particles.

NOMINAL FUNCTION WORDS

This category contains function words that carry nominal inflection—items that Algonquianists have traditionally referred to as "pronouns." I use the term "pronoun" in a more specific way, as explained below. Three basic classes of nominal function words may be distinguished: (1) pronouns, (2) demonstratives, and (3) nominal adjectives.

Pronouns

Under the definition adopted in my thesis, a pronoun is a nominal function word that behaves syntactically like a noun. Innu-aimun pronouns fall into two classes: (1) personal pronouns (e.g. *nîn* 'I/me/my,' *tshîn* 'you/your'), which are used for emphasis, and (2) indefinite pronouns (e.g. *auen* 'someone, a person'; *tshekuân* 'something, a thing'). Personal pronouns may not be modified; they therefore pattern syntactically like full noun phrases.[3] Indefinite pronouns, on the other hand, pattern like nouns rather than NPs, as they may be accompanied by a demonstrative or quantifier:

(1)   *ne auen*   'that person'

(2)   *kassinû tshekuân*   'everything'

Both types of pronouns may also take on special properties when they occur sentence-initially. These properties are discussed in the section on "clefting words" below.

Demonstratives

Demonstratives, unlike pronouns, may occur either pronominally (e.g. *ume* 'this one') or adnominally (e.g. *ume mîtshuâp* 'this house'). Their ability to accompany nouns distinguishes them syntactically from pronouns. The demonstrative paradigm includes several degrees of distance, as illustrated by the animate singular proximate forms given in (3).

(3)			
	Proximal	*ume*	'this'
	Neutral	*an*	'it, the, that'
	Distal	*ne*	'that'
	Remote	*nâî*	'that (way over there)'
	Inaccessible	*nânâ*	'that (absent or dead)'
	Hesitation	*ai*	'that (name forgotten)'[4]
	Interrogative	*tânen*	'which'

Demonstratives inflect for animacy, number, gender, and obviation, and also have derived locative forms (discussed below). The full range of forms for distal *ne* is shown in (4).
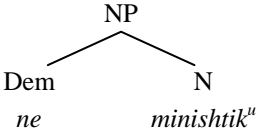
(4)				
	Animate	PROX SG	*ne*	'that'
		PROX PL	*netshenat*	'those'
		OBV	*nenua*	'that/those'
	Inanimate	PROX SG	*ne(me)*	'that'
		OBV SG	*ne(me)nû*	'that'
		PL	*ne(me)nua*	'those'
	Locative	EXTENDED	*nete*	'at/to that; there'
		RESTRICTED	*neta*	'right at/to that; right there'[5]

The locative demonstratives are particles derived from demonstrative roots by the locative *-ite/-ita* finals. Cyr (1993) suggests that these forms should be included in the demonstrative paradigm, noting that many other languages possess a series of oblique demonstratives. However, Cyr's suggestion does not seem to have been generally taken up. In my thesis, I offer additional arguments in favor of Cyr's proposal. In fact, I claim that although locative demonstratives, as particles, are morphologically distinct from non-locative demonstratives, they nevertheless belong to exactly the same syntactic category. Non-locative and locative demonstratives

(e.g. *ne* 'that' and *nete* 'there') seem to have exactly the same relationship as non-locative and locative nouns (e.g. *mîtshuâp* 'house' and *mîtshuâpît* 'at the house').[6] This parallelism is illustrated by the examples in (5). Non-locative demonstratives accompany non-locative nouns, as in (5a), while locative demonstratives accompany locative nouns, as in (5b).[7]
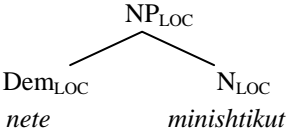
(5a)   [$_{NP}$ ***Ne***   *minishtik^{u}*] *kushtikuan.*
       [$_{NP}$ that   island]   be.dangerous.3S
       'That island is dangerous.'

(5b)   *Nimânukâshuîtân*   [$_{NP}$ ***nete***   *minishtikut*].
       1.set.up.camp.PAST.1P   [$_{NP}$ that.LOC   island.LOC]
       'We set up camp on that island.'

The following syntactic diagrams illustrate these parallel structures:

(6a)   *ne minishtik^{u}* 'that island'   (6b)   *nete minishtikut* 'on that island'

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            NP                                    NP_LOC
           /  \                                   /    \
        Dem      N                           Dem_LOC     N_LOC
        ne      minishtik^u                  nete       minishtikut
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The diagram in (6b) indicates that there is a close syntactic relationship between *nete* and the locative noun it accompanies. In addition to the similarity illustrated in (5), there are other reasons to believe that this is the case. For one thing, locative demonstratives and locative nouns have an overwhelmingly high rate of co-occurrence—in Cyr's (1993) data, for example, 86% of locative nouns are accompanied by locative demonstratives. Furthermore, in certain contexts, this co-occurrence is obligatory. For example, when a locative noun that functions as a VP modifier occurs in post-verbal position, it is obligatorily accompanied by a locative demonstrative, as shown in (7a-b).

(7a)   *Nimîtshishûtân*   ***anite***   ***utâpânit***.
       1.eat.PAST.1P   the.LOC   car.LOC
       'We ate in the car.''

(7b)   **Nimîtshishûtân* ***utâpânit***.

This interesting pattern is quite robust across elicitations with different speakers.[8] If the locative demonstrative *anite* were analyzed as an adverb, as is commonly assumed, this pattern would be puzzling—why should an adverb obligatorily co-occur with a noun? However, if *anite* is analyzed as a determiner, as argued here, its close grammatical relationship with the noun is unsurprising.

To this point, all examples have shown locative demonstratives in their adnominal function. However, we also often find examples in which the locative demonstrative occurs alone and acts as an adverbial modifier:

(8) *Tshietshishepâushinit*   *ek*^{u} *uenaitshepanit*   **anite**.
     IC.be.morning.CNJ.4   and.then   IC.set.trap.CNJ.3S   the.LOC
     'When it was morning, he built a trap there.' (LITP 2-9)

Given the analysis sketched above, such examples are unsurprising. The ability of *anite* to occur pronominally (i.e. without a noun) is shared with non-locative demonstratives; it is a property common to all demonstratives. The ability of *anite* to act adverbially is shared with locative nouns; it is a property common to all locative nominals. Examples like (8) are therefore perfectly consistent with the proposed analysis.

Nominal adjectives

This category contains only one item, the word *kutak* 'other.' Although Junker and MacKenzie (2004) refer to its East Cree cognate as an "alternative pronoun," *kutak* does not qualify as a pronoun under my definition, because it may occur adnominally, as in (9). *Kutak* is also not a demonstrative, as it does not denote a degree of distance; furthermore, it is not mutually exclusive with demonstratives, as also shown in (9).

(9) *Ek*^{u} *itenimeuat anitshenat* **kutakat**   *uemishtikushuat*: […]
     and.then   think.3>4   that.PL   other.PL   whiteman.PL
     'Then the other white men thought: […]' (LITP 1-9)

It seems, then, that we must recognize *kutak* as a type of nominal function word that is distinct from both pronouns and demonstratives. I refer to *kutak* as a "nominal adjective," a term that is intended to capture its declinability as well as its ability to accompany and modify a noun. In addition to the declinable *kutak*, Innu-aimun also has a set of indeclinable nominal modifiers, which I refer to as "particle adjectives." The use of "adjective," an uncommon term in Algonquian linguistics, is justified in the discussion of particle adjectives below.

CLEFTING WORDS

In addition to pronouns, demonstratives, and the adjective *kutak*, Innu-aimun has another class of declinable function words, referred to in my thesis as "clefting words." Such an ad-hoc term is necessary because the words in this class do not easily fall under any of the traditional part-of-speech labels. Their grammatical properties seem to be an amalgam of those of pronouns, verbs, and conjunctions. Clefting words have the following characteristics: (1) they always occur sentence-initially, (2) they are predicative, (3) they involve contrastive focus, (4) they inflect for tense and mood like AI/II verbs, and (5) they are normally followed by a clause containing a changed conjunct verb form. Examples of the clefting word *eukuan* 'it is this/that one [that…]' are provided in (10-11).

(10) ***Eukuannû*** *nenû*   *utâpânnû* [*kâ*   *tshimutit*   *Ân*].
        it.is.OBV   that.OBV   car.OBV   [IC.PAST   steal.CNJ.3>4   Ann]
        'It's THAT CAR that Ann stole.'

(11) ***Eukuannîtshe*** *nenû*   *utâpânnû* [*kâ*   *tshimutit*   *Ân*].
        it.is.DUB.OBV   that.OBV   car.OBV   [IC.PAST   steal.CNJ.3>4   Ann]
        'It might be THAT CAR that Ann stole.'

Judging by (10) alone, it might seem that *eukuan* is a pronoun in some sort of nominal predication structure. However, in (11), note that *eukuan* carries a verbal dubitative suffix—an indication that the grammatical structure involves an overtly verbal component. Also

note that (10-11) are quite similar to English cleft sentences, as they contain a copula-like verbal form followed by a focused NP and a subordinate clause containing a gap. This similarity is the reason for the "clefting word" label.

The clefting word category contains two "core" members, *eukuan* 'it is this/that one [that…]' and its negative equivalent *namaieu* 'it is not this/that one [that…],' which both serve no grammatical function other than the one shown in (10-11). As with demonstratives, *eukuan* and *namaieu* are paralleled by derived locative equivalents in *-ite*: *ekute* 'it is here/there [that…]' and *namaieute* 'it is not here/there [that…].'

In addition to these core clefting words, it is also possible for pronouns to serve in the clefting capacity, taking on the full range of properties described above. Examples (12-13) show the personal pronoun *uînuâu* 'they' and the indefinite pronoun *tshekuân* 'something' acting as clefting words.

> (12) **Uînuâushapan**   [*iâpashtâht*   *nutâpânû*].
>   it.is.them.PAST.INDIR   [IC.use.CNJ.3>4   1.car.OBV]
>   'It was apparently THEM that used my car.' (José Mailhot, p.c.)

> (13) **Tshekuânnîtshe**   [*eitit*]?
>   what.is.it.DUB.OBV [IC.do.CNJ.3>4]
>   'What might it be that she is doing?'

Aside from the dubitative morphology, example (13) is actually a run-of-the mill Innu-aimun *wh*-question. In fact, Innu-aimun *wh*-questions have exactly the same grammatical properties as other "clefting word" sentences. It seems, then, that in grammatical terms, a *wh*-question is simply a cleft sentence in which an indefinite pronoun serves in the "clefting word" role. This conclusion ties in with a long tradition of regarding Algonquian *wh*-words as predicative (e.g. Bloomfield 1946:116); more recently, several researchers have argued that Algonquian *wh*-questions are biclausal and/or clefted (Wolfart 1973; Johns 1982; Reinholtz & Russell 1995; Blain 1997). The ability of Innu-aimun *wh*-words to carry tense and mood provides strong support for the biclausal analysis.

Finally, although clefting words are defined by the fact that they may be followed by a clause containing a changed conjunct verb form, it is also common for them to be followed simply by a noun, as in (14).

(14) *Eukuannîtshenî   nenua   put*   [*nimassina*].
      it.is.DUB.OBV   that.OBV perhaps [1.shoe.OBV]
      'Maybe THOSE are my shoes.'
      (lit. 'It might perhaps be THOSE [that are my shoes].')

The suggested literal interpretation is intended to imply that in examples like (14), the noun is actually a nominal predicate that occupies the same position as the subordinate clause in other clefting word sentences. This speculative analysis allows examples like (14) to be unified with the more canonical cleft sentences discussed above. However, further research is required in order to support this analysis.[9] In any case, it is a fact that clefting words also frequently occur in such examples.

PARTICLES

Now that the two groups of declinable function words have been described, we may turn to the indeclinable particles, which can be divided into the following classes: (1) adnominal particles, (2) prepositions, (3) adverbs, (4) focus particles, (5) negators, (6) conjunctions, and (7) interjections.

Adnominal particles
Adnominal particles are those that can occur within the noun phrase. They fall into two subgroups: quantifiers and adjectives.[10]
Quantifiers, which are particles that specify the quantity of a noun, may be further classified into non-numeral quantifiers (e.g. *kassinû* 'all, every, each,' *passe* 'some') and numeral quantifiers (e.g. *nisht^u* 'three'). There is also a group of complex quantifiers which are formed by combining a quantifier initial with a nominal morpheme. Complex quantifiers serve several functions—they may act as measure words (*nishtunâkan* 'three cupfuls'), classifiers

(*nishtuâshk^u* 'three sticklike objects'), nominals (*nishtuâpiss* 'three dollars'), or adverbials (*nishtutipishkua* 'for three nights').

Adjectives are particles that may accompany and modify a noun, as exemplified here by *peikûtâu* 'same' and *mâshten* 'last':

> (15)   *Utâkushît*   **peikûtâu**   *nishk*   *nuâpamâtân.*
>   yesterday   same   goose   1.see.PAST.1>3
>   'We saw the same goose yesterday.'

> (16)   *Eukuana*   *nenua*   **mâshten**   *nisht^u*   *tshîmana.*
>   it.is.PL   that.PL   last   three   match.PL
>   'Those are the last three matches.'

One might object to the use of the term "adjective" on the grounds that adjectives do not exist in Algonquian languages. This issue arises because the term "adjective" is overly general in regard to English. It is necessary to distinguish between (at least) two classes of English adjectives: lexical adjectives (e.g. *happy, big*) and functional adjectives (e.g. *same, last*) (cf. Kayne 2005, Cinque 2005), as shown in (17). Although both classes of adjectives may act as attributive nominal modifiers, they are otherwise quite different: unlike lexical adjectives, functional adjectives cannot take a degree modifier, do not have comparative forms, and cannot function predicatively.

> (17)   Contrast between English lexical and functional adjectives

	Lexical	Functional
Attributive	*The **happy** man*	*The **same** man*
Degree modifier	*The really **happy** man*	**The really **same** man*
Comparative	*The **happier** man*	**The **samer** man*
Predicative	*The man seems **happy***	**The man seems **same**.*

The two classes of adjectives are also distinguished by word order, as shown in (18): functional adjectives immediately follow the determiner while lexical adjectives immediately precede the noun.

> (18a)   *The **same** three **happy** men.*
> (18b)   **The **happy** three **same** men.*

The Innu-aimun particles identified as adjectives in this paper correspond with English functional adjectives—a small, closed class of function words which are closely akin to demonstratives and quantifiers. Under this analysis, it remains the case that Innu-aimun, unlike English, lacks a large, open class of lexical adjectives.

Prepositions

Prepositions are particles that may take an NP complement. They fall into two basic subgroups: functional prepositions and locative prepositions. Functional prepositions take a non-locative complement noun, as exemplified by the preposition *miâm* in (19).

(19) [PP ***Miâm***   *ukâuîa*]   *ishi-pimûteu.*
      [PP just.like   3.mother.OBV]   thus-walk.3S
      'She walks just like her mother.'

Locative prepositions, on the other hand, take a locative complement noun. Furthermore, locative prepositions are often preceded by a locative demonstrative, as in (20-21).

(20) [PP *Anite*   ***shek^u***   *mishtikut*]   *tâuat.*
      [PP the.LOC   under   tree.LOC]   be.3P
      'They're under the trees.'

(21) *Nimessipimîkâshinân* [PP *nete*   ***tetâut***   *meshkanât*].
      1.run.out.of.gas.1P   [PP that.LOC   in.the.middle   road.LOC]
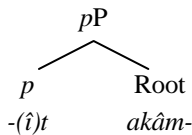   'We ran out of gas halfway along the road.'

Locative prepositions have a great deal in common with locative nouns. Syntactically, both categories are often accompanied by a preceding locative demonstrative; as well, phrases headed by both categories have the same distribution, acting either as adverbial modifiers or as complements of goal-selecting verbs. Morphologically, certain locative prepositions also seem to end in the same *-(î)t* suffix that is found on locative nouns (e.g. *akâmît* 'on the other side of,' *atâmît* 'beneath, on the inside of,' from the roots *akâm-* and *atâm-*). These similarities are discussed further below.

There are also (at least) two types of complex locative preposi-tions: (1) classificatory prepositions and (2) compound preposi-tions. Classificatory prepositions are formed by combining a prepo-sitional root with a classificatory medial (e.g. *âpitûâshk^u* 'halfway along a sticklike object', *âpitû-* 'halfway along' + *-âshk^u-* 'sticklike object'). Like simple locative prepositions, classificatory preposi-tions may take a locative NP object:
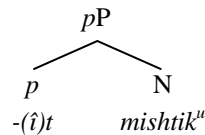
(22)   [PP ***Âpitûâshk^u***   *mishtikut*]   *tâu*   *pineshîsh.*
      [PP halfway.along+sticklike.object   branch.LOC]   be.3S   bird
      'A bird is perched halfway along a branch.' (Hasler 2006: 24)

As mentioned for simple locative prepositions above, certain classi-ficatory prepositions also appear to carry the locative *-(î)t* suffix (e.g. *âpitûtâtît* 'halfway along a wooden thing,' composed of the initial *âpitû-* 'halfway along,' the medial *-tât-* 'wooden thing,' and the locative *-(î)t* suffix). Such examples suggest that the locative suffix may actually be a locative final. It may therefore be possible to analyze locative *-(î)t* as a "little *p*," by analogy with the analysis of verb finals as *v* (Brittain 2003, Branigan et al. 2005, Mathieu 2006). This analysis is sketched in (23).

(23a)   Preposition (*p* + Root)   (23b)   Locative noun (*p* + N)
       akâmît 'on the other side of'   *mishtikut* 'on the branch'

               *p*P   *p*P

     p   Root   *p*   N
  -(î)t   *akâm-*   *-(î)t*   *mishtik^u*

The little-*p* analysis treats locative prepositions and locative nouns as occupying the same type of lexical-syntactic structure (a *p*-projection), thereby explaining the grammatical similarities be-tween the two categories. However, the analysis is currently noth-ing more than a suggestion. Further research is required in order to work out the details.

Compound prepositions, the other class of complex locative prepositions, are composed of a prepositional root and a full-

fledged noun rather than a bound morpheme (e.g. *âpitû-uâshâu* 'halfway along the bay,' from *âpitû-* 'halfway along' + *uâshâu* 'bay'). Compound prepositions appear not to take external locative NP complements—rather, it seems that the incorporated noun itself satisfies the preposition's complement position.

Adverbs

Adverbs are particles that modify non-nominal constituents— verbs, prepositions, other adverbs, or complete clauses. It is common to classify adverbs on semantic grounds, and although this practice has no grammatical basis, it is nevertheless useful. The semantic classification of Innu-aimun adverbs offered in my thesis is based mainly on the work of Quirk et al. (1985) and Cinque (1999). I distinguish three basic semantic adverb classes: circumstantial, degree, and modal. The following paragraphs briefly enumerate and exemplify the members of each class.

The class of circumstantial adverbs contains manner adverbs (*manât* 'carefully'), spatial adverbs (*mamen* 'here and there'), and temporal adverbs, which may be further subdivided into the following categories: absolute-time adverbs (*anûtshîsh* 'now'), relative-time adverbs (*tshek* 'then'), aspectual adverbs (*shâsh* 'already'), frequency adverbs (*nânitam* 'always'), and durational adverbs (*minekâsh* 'for a long time'). Certain circumstantial adverbs may be used in both spatial and temporal senses (*mâmû* 'together').

Degree adverbs may be classified following the scale of degrees proposed by Quirk et al. (1985) and modified by Paradis (1997). Amplifying degree adverbs indicate a higher-than-neutral value on the scale; this class contains boosters (*iâmâ* 'more and more') and maximizers (*nâsht* 'completely'). Attenuating degree adverbs indicate a lower-than-neutral level on the scale; this class contains approximators (*tshekât* 'almost'), diminishers (*apishîsh* 'a little'), and minimizers (*minâush* 'barely').

Modal adverbs, the final semantic class, may be further divided into epistemic (*pût* 'perhaps'), evidential (*mipuâ* 'apparently'), evaluative (*tshishpeu* 'fortunately'), and volitional (*usht* 'intentionally') subclasses.

Turning from semantics to grammar, adverbs may be classified syntactically according to the type of constituent they modify: VP adverbs modify verb phrases, sentence adverbs modify entire clauses, and degree modifiers modify particles. A finer-grained approach to the syntax of adverbs is offered by Cinque (1999, 2004), who proposes that adverbs are rigidly ordered according to a detailed language-universal hierarchy of functional heads. Testing the applicability of Cinque's hierarchy to Innu-aimun would be an enormous task (see Sheilds (2005) for the beginnings of such an analysis in Menominee), but preliminary work indicates that Innu-aimun adverbs are indeed hierarchically ordered. Ordering restrictions do not always show up, however—when two adverbs occur sentence-initially, their positions can usually be freely exchanged, as in (24).

(24)   'He always walks slowly.'
(24a)   ***Nânitam   metinû   pimûteu.***
        always   slowly   walk.3s
(24b)   ***Metinû   nânitam   pimûteu***
        slowly   always   walk.3s

However, when the two adverbs are in other positions, ordering restrictions often apply, as in (25).

(25)   'He always walks slowly.'
(25a)   ***Nânitam   pimûteu   metinû.***
        always   walk.3s   slowly
(25b)   * ***Metinû   pimûteu   nânitam.***
        slowly   walk.3s   always

As the relevant examples are exceedingly rare in textual data, this line of inquiry must be pursued using elicitations and grammaticality judgments, which makes it a very difficult task. Nevertheless, it appears that solid ordering patterns do indeed exist.

    The syntactic position of adverbs also seems to be influenced by a phonological factor: there is a small class of adverbs (most notably *pût* 'perhaps' and *mân* 'often') which appear to be enclitics, as

they cannot occur sentence-initially; rather, they must always follow some other constituent. This is shown for *pût* in (26).

(26a)   *Etuet   tshissenimetshe   pût.*
        Edward know.DUB.3>4   perhaps
        'Perhaps Edward knows him/her.'
(26b)   *Etuet pût tshissenimetshe.*
(26c)   **Pût Etuet tshissenimetshe.*

Following Ernst (2002) and Abeillé and Godard (2003), we may refer to *pût* and *mân* as "light adverbs"—phonologically small adverbs that occur in a more restricted range of positions than their non-light counterparts. Light adverbs are also found in English and French, as illustrated in (27).

(27)   NON-LIGHT ADVERB   LIGHT ADVERB
(27a) English
       *The house was **recently** painted.*   *The house was **just** painted.*
       *The house was painted **recently**.*   **The house was painted **just**.*
(27b) French
       *Il mange **correctement** sa soupe.*   *Il mange **bien** sa soupe.*
       *Il mange sa soupe **correctement**.*   **Il mange sa soupe **bien**.*

Focus particles

Focus particles, which correspond to English words such as *only*, *even*, *too*, and emphatic *himself*, are particles that associate with focused constituents. Focus particles are not as well-known as the more traditional parts of speech. For a comprehensive cross-linguistic discussion of focus particles, see König (1991).

Innu-aimun focus particles may be classified on semantic, phonological, or syntactic grounds. Semantically, focus particles fall into the following subclasses: restrictive (e.g. *muk^u* 'only, just'), additive (e.g. *iât* 'too, even'), emphatic (e.g. emphatic *uîn*), and interrogative (e.g. the polar question marker *â*).[11]

Before discussing the phonological and syntactic subclasses of focus particles, one major grammatical property should be noted: focus particles typically either immediately precede or immediately follow the focused constituent. Since Innu-aimun focused phrases

always occupy sentence-initial position (Branigan and MacKenzie 2001:7), this means that the associated focus particle is normally found either at the beginning of the sentence, as in (28), or in second position, as in (29).
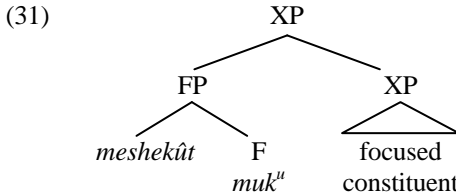
(28) ***Muk^u*** *utâtshâpîa* *apû* *tâniti.*
 only 3.bow.OBV not be.CNJ.4
 'Only his bow was gone.' (LITP 2-7)

(29) *Uenipissîsh* ***muk^u*** *nika* *mûpin.*
 little.while only 1.FUT visit.1S
 'I'm going to visit for just a little while.'

As these examples illustrate, the focus particle *muk^u* can precede or follow the focused constituent. Some focus particles share this property. Others, however, have a more restricted distribution. Some, such as emphatic *uîn* and the question particle *â*, always follow the focused constituent, while others, such as *kie* 'also, too,' always precede the focused constituent. In my thesis, I suggest that uniformly postpositional focus particles such as *uîn* are actually enclitics, while uniformly prepositional focus particles such as *kie* are freestanding words; particles which can be either prepositional or postpositional, such as *muk^u*, seem to have both enclitic and freestanding variants. Evidence in favour of this phonological classification of focus particles is provided in my thesis (Oxford 2007:229-230, 241-243).

 Focus particles also fall into two distinct syntactic classes: a class of heads ("primary" focus particles) and a class of modifiers ("secondary" focus particles). Secondary focus particles (e.g. *pissik^u* 'nothing but,' *meshekût* 'mostly') are more semantically specialized than primary focus particles (e.g. *muk^u* 'only, just'); furthermore, they are able to accompany and modify primary focus particles, as shown in (30).

(30) ***Meshekût*** ***muk^u*** *nâpeuat* *tâuat.*
 mostly only man.PL be.3P
 'It's mostly just men there.'

Secondary focus particles such as *meshekût* seem somewhat like
degree modifiers. However, unlike other degree modifiers, they
occur only in focus contexts, which is why I have classified them
with the focus particles. I suggest analyzing secondary focus parti-
cles as modifiers of the primary focus particle head, as shown by
the diagram in (31).[12]

(31)

```
                        XP
                   /         \
                FP             XP
              /    \          /  \
        meshekût    F     focused
                   muk^u   constituent
```

Negators

Innu-aimun sentence negation has been well-documented by
MacKenzie (1992). The main clause negator is *apû*, while subordi-
nate clauses are negated by *ekâ*, which also occurs in imperatives.
Innu-aimun also has the dubitative negator *atut* 'probably not.' The
syntax of Innu-aimun sentence negation is analyzed by Brittain
(1996, 1997, 2001).

Constituent negation is not discussed by MacKenzie (1992).
Constituents that are integrated into a clause are negated by *apû*, as
in (32), while stand-alone utterances are often negated by *mâuât*, as
in (33). (*Mâuât* also serves as an interjection meaning 'no.')

(32) ***Apû*** *minekâsh*   *shâsh*   *mâmâtuetâk.*
      not   long.time   already   moan.INDIR.3S
      'Not long after that, he already seemed to be moaning.' (LITP 1-6)

(33a) ***Mâuât*** *nîn!*   (33b) ***Mâuât*** *nânitam.*
       not   me   not   always
       'Not me!'   'Not always.'

Conjunctions

In traditional usage, the term "conjunction" refers to a variety of
"linking words" which actually have very little in common, such as
English *and*, *after*, and *whether*. Innu-aimun conjunctions are simi-

larly heterogeneous; in fact, "conjunction" should simply be regarded as a useful cover term, not as a natural grammatical class. The two major classes of Innu-aimun conjunctions are coordinators and subordinators (discussed in an unpublished paper by Starks (1982)). There is also a set of conjunctive adverbs.

A coordinator is a particle that joins two grammatically equivalent constituents. Innu-aimun has two subclasses of coordinators: (1) symmetrical and (2) asymmetrical. Symmetrical coordinators (e.g. *mâk* 'and,' *kie* 'and,' *ek^u* 'and,' *muk^u* 'but,' *tânite* 'because') join two grammatically identical constituents—two phrases of the same type, as in (34), or two clauses containing verbs in the same order, as in (35).

(34) *Uâpuiâna* **kie** *auâssîu-matshunisha mishkam^u*.
blanket.OBV   and   baby-clothing.OBV   find.3>4
'He found a blanket and baby clothes.' (LITP 3-5)

(35) *Nishtûtamûpanat nenû* **muk^u** *etatû uî tshissenitamuat*.
understand.PAST.3P that.OBV but   more VOLIT know.3P>4
'They understood it but they want to know more about it.'

It is important to note that coordinated clauses are separate obviation domains in the sense of Bruening (2001:212)—that is, each clause can contain a distinct proximate argument, as in (36).

(36) *Kutueu*   *Pûn* **ek^u**   *mânukâshû Mânî*.
make.fire.3S Paul   and   pitch.tent.3S Mary
'Paul started the fire and Mary pitched the tent.'

In addition to the symmetrical coordinators listed above, Innu-aimun also has two asymmetrical coordinators: *ekue* and *ek^u*, both glossed as 'and then, and so.'[13] In an asymmetrical coordination structure, the second clause obligatorily contains a verb in the conjunct order, as in (37).

(37) *Kutueu*   *Pûn* **ekue**   *mânukâshût   Mânî*.
make.fire.3S Paul   and.then pitch.tent.CNJ.3S Mary
'Paul started the fire and then Mary pitched the tent.'

On morphological grounds, this may appear to be a case of subordination. However, the example in (37) differs from subordination in an important way: the two clauses remain separate obviation domains. This is different from clear-cut examples of subordination such as (38), in which the subordinate clause is in the same obviation domain as the main clause.

(38) *Mânî   mânukâshû   kâtshî   kutuenitî   Pûna.*
      Mary   pitch.tent.3S   after   make.fire.CNJ.OBV Paul.OBV
      'Mary pitched the tent after Paul started the fire.'

Examples such as (37) are therefore distinct from true cases of clausal subordination. However, due to the presence of conjunct inflection, they are also distinct from true cases of clausal coordination. It appears that these examples lie somewhere between coordination and subordination, a fact that the label "asymmetrical coordination" is intended to reflect.

The asymmetrical coordinators *ekue* and *ek^u* often occur in another context: they may serve to link an adverbial clause with what seems to be a main clause, as in (39). As in (37), the clause following *ekue* obligatorily contains a verb in the conjunct order.

(39) *Kâtshî   tshîtutet   **ekue**   nipâiân.*
      after   leave.CNJ.3S   and.then   sleep.CNJ.1S
      'After he left, (then) I went to sleep.'

The syntactic status of such examples is somewhat puzzling, as they seem to involve both coordination and subordination. Nevertheless, this is a structure that occurs with great frequency.

Before leaving the topic of coordination, it should be noted that coordinators often occur in a structure which I refer to as a "coordination fragment"—a coordination structure in which the first clause is omitted, parallel to English examples such as *But I don't know* or *And then she left*. When asymmetrical coordinators occur in coordination fragments, the requirement that the following verb be inflected in the conjunct order is maintained, as shown in (40).

(40) **Ekue**   *patshitinâk*   *nenû.*
       and.then   put.down.CNJ.3>4   that.OBV
       'Then he put it down.' (LITP 3-2)

The internal structure of such examples has been examined by Branigan and MacKenzie (2002).

   This concludes the discussion of coordination, a surprisingly complex topic. For reference, a summary of the various types of clausal coordination discussed above is provided in (41).

(41) COORDINATION TYPE   STRUCTURE
(41a) Symmetrical   [$_S$ V$_{IND}$] **coord** [$_S$ V$_{IND}$]
(41b) Asymmetrical (initial independent)   [$_S$ V$_{IND}$] **eku(e)** [$_S$ V$_{CNJ}$]
(41c) Asymmetrical (initial adverbial)   [$_{AdvCl}$ V$_{CNJ}$] **eku(e)** [$_S$ V$_{CNJ}$]
(41d) Asymmetrical fragment   **eku(e)** [$_S$ V$_{CNJ}$]

   We may now turn to subordination. Innu-aimun appears not to have any particles that act as complementizers or relativizers. It does, however, have a set of adverbializers, such as *mekuât* 'while,' shown in (42).

(42) **Mekuât**   *nepât*   *nitshîtûte.*
       while   IC.sleep.CNJ.3S   1.leave.PAST.1S
       'While he was asleep, I left.' (Clarke 1982: 145)

Innu-aimun also has a small group of "sentence-initial subordinators"—particles that obligatorily occur in sentence-initial position and must be followed by a clause containing a conjunct verb. The sentence-initial subordinator *enûsh* 'it's the first time [that…]' is exemplified in (43).

(43) **Enûsh**   *pushiân*   *kâpimipanit.*
       is.first.time   go.on.trip.CNJ.1S   airplane
       'It's the first time I've gone on a plane.'

Due to the predicative nature of such particles, it is tempting to refer to them as "particle verbs." More research is required in order to better understand their properties.

Finally, Innu-aimun has a set of conjunctive adverbs, which are adverbial particles that serve to link a sentence with the preceding discourse (e.g. *eshpa* 'however,' *mâte* 'well then, for example,' *utin* 'in that case, therefore'). An example of *mâte* is given in (44).

> (44) **Mâte**   itutâî   anite.
>   well.then   take.IMP.2>1   the.LOC
>   'Well then, take me there.' (LITP 1-4)

Interjections

The final category, interjections, contains those particles that may stand alone as non-elliptical utterances (Ameka 1992, Wilkins 1992). Innu-aimun interjections may be informally divided into the following groups: emotive interjections (*ueshâushâm* 'oh my goodness!'), evaluative interjections (*ekush* 'it doesn't matter'), imperative interjections (*ashâk^u* 'get back!'), response words (*ehe* 'yes,' *mâuât* 'no'), interrogative tags (*tshiâ* 'is that so?'), routines (*kuei* 'hello'), and backchannel devices (*ehe* 'mhm').

RECURRING GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS

The particles discussed in this paper participate in a range of interesting grammatical patterns. It is impossible to discuss these patterns in detail here, but two especially common phenomena deserve mention: (1) the tendency for function words to appear in pre-verbal position, and (2) the pervasive occurrence of grammatical exceptions associated with sentence-initial position.

Pre-verbal dislocation

For the most part, function words that accompany lexical categories immediately precede the category they are associated with. For example, a demonstrative typically immediately precedes the noun it specifies. I take this to be the unmarked word order. However, this order is frequently disrupted by a process that forms discontinuous constituents in which the function word occurs preverbally and the associated XP occurs sentence-finally. Examples of this process are provided in (45-48). As can be seen, it affects

the following sequences: demonstrative + noun, quantifier + noun, preposition + noun, and focus particle + noun.

(45) ***Nete*** *nititûtetân* ***tshâinîsh-mîtshishûtshuâpît.***
     that.LOC   1.go.PAST.1P Chinese-restaurant.LOC
     'We went to the Chinese restaurant.'

(46) *Shâsh* ***kassinû*** *matâpeuat* *anite* ***innuat.***
     already all   arrive.from.country.3P the.LOC   person.PL
     'All the Innu had already come there from the country.' (LITP 4-2)

(47) ***Anite*** *âkû* *tâuat* ***mishtikûtît.***
     the.LOC   behind be.3P box.LOC
     'They're behind the box.'

(48) ***Muk^u*** *pîtutepanû* ***nânâ*** *auâss.*
     only go.in.3S   that.ABS child
     'Only the child went inside.' (LITP 4-3)

A similar pattern also occurs in Swampy Cree, as discussed by Reinholtz (1999). Reinholtz analyzes the pattern as involving raising of the function word into pre-verbal position for focus purposes. In Innu-aimun, however, the process appears to apply more generally than in Swampy Cree; furthermore, there is no clear evidence that it has a focal effect. In my thesis, I suggest that such examples may in fact be derived in a manner exactly opposite to that of Swampy Cree—perhaps the noun underlyingly occupies pre-verbal position along with the function word and is realized in sentence-final position due to a process something like Heavy-NP Shift. Theoretical issues aside, this pattern is quite widespread and contributes significantly to the fluidity of Innu-aimun word order.

Exceptions in initial position
    Another recurring pattern is the exceptional grammatical behaviour often exhibited by items that occupy sentence-initial position. The following exceptions all involve initial position:

(49)   A sentence-initial adverbial locative noun may occur without an accompanying locative demonstrative; otherwise, the demonstrative is required.

(50)   In at least certain cases, a sentence-initial locative NP cannot be interpreted as a complement of the verb, unlike locative NPs in other positions.

(51)   In sentence-initial position, prepositions and locative nouns often precede the accompanying locative demonstrative; in other positions, the reverse order is the default.

(52)   Sentence-initial adverb sequences are freely ordered; in other positions, the same adverbs are often rigidly ordered.

(53)   For some speakers (though not for others), a sentence-initial NP does not constitute a suitable host for enclitic adverbs such as *pût*.

(54)   Sentence-initial NPs can be ignored by the rule that places the enclitic question particle *â* in second position.

It seems likely that these exceptions are due to the presence of a special topic/focus position on the left periphery of the clause. The movement of a constituent into this position may disrupt the default word order, as in (51-52). The position also seems to be structurally isolated from the grammatical "core" of the sentence, thus exempting the fronted constituent from grammatical relationships and constraints that would otherwise apply, as in (49-50) and (53-54).

CONCLUSION

This paper has provided a preliminary classification of Innu-aimun function words and particles. It goes without saying that the material presented here is merely a first step towards understanding the grammar of this complex group of words. Nevertheless, I hope that this summary will serve as a useful source of reference material for further work on Innu-aimun particles and for similar studies in other Algonquian languages.

ENDNOTES
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[1] The thesis has subsequently been published in book form (Oxford 2008).

[2] For more context, explanation, and detail, the reader is encouraged to consult the thesis itself. I would like to acknowledge the invaluable support provided by my thesis supervisors, Phil Branigan and Marguerite MacKenzie. Thanks also go to Julie Brittain, Lynn Drapeau, José Mailhot, and Charlotte Reinholtz. I am grateful for the helpful comments received from the audience at the 39th Algonquian Conference, in particular Ives Goddard. My research was supported by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Institute for Social and Economic Research (Memorial University), The J. R. Smallwood Foundation for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, the Northern Scientific Training Program, and Marguerite MacKenzie's SSHRC CURA project.

[3] For simplicity, I use the NP representation throughout, avoiding the issue of whether Innu-aimun nominals should actually be analyzed as DPs following Abney (1987).

[4] Cyr (1993) suggests including the "hesitation pronoun" in the demonstrative paradigm. It can be seen as denoting mental inaccessibility, a meta-linguistic degree of distance.

[5] The terms "extended" and "restricted" follow Proulx (1988). Algonquian demonstratives are also examined by Pentland (2000) and Goddard (2003).

[6] I am not arguing that the locative *-ite* final and the locative *-(î)t* suffix are one and the same, only that they both serve to mark the same grammatical feature.

[7] Interlinear glosses use the following abbreviations: ABS absent, CNJ conjunct, DUB dubitative, EMPH emphatic, FUT future, IC initial change, IMP imperative, INDIR indirect, LOC locative, OBV obviative (noun), P plural (verb), PL plural (noun), S singular, VOLIT volitional. Examples with no citation are from my fieldwork; otherwise, a citation is provided.

[8] Phil Branigan (p.c.) reports that he has confirmed this pattern with a speaker of the Mushuau (Eastern Naskapi) dialect of Innu-aimun as well.

[9] As Charlotte Reinholtz (p.c.) has pointed out, this would predict that Innu-aimun allows embedded nominal predicates, a prediction which I have not yet been able to test.

[10] Or, more precisely, "particle adjectives," in contrast with the nominal adjective *kutak*.

[11] Blain (1995) provides an in-depth look at emphatic *wiya*, the Plains Cree cognate of *uîn*. The Cree equivalent of the question particle *â* is discussed by Reinholtz (2002).

[12] This diagram is compatible with Reinholtz and Wolfart's (2001) analysis of Cree focus particles, with slight modifications.

[13] *Ek^u* may act as either a symmetrical or asymmetrical coordinator. As a symmetrical coordinator, it means 'and'; as an asymmetrical coordinator, it means 'and then, and so.'

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