The syntax of Innu-aimun locatives[*]

Will Oxford
University of Toronto

This paper provides a description and preliminary analysis of the syntax of locative phrases in the Algonquian language Innu-aimun (Montagnais). The paper establishes a taxonomy of locative categories and describes the properties of each category. It also sets out the ways in which these categories combine to form locative phrases, which are then analyzed as *p*Ps in a model based on recent work by Svenonius (2006, 2010). Several syntactic patterns that affect locative phrases are described, including word-order variations and an apparent locative licensing effect.

1   Introduction

This paper examines the syntax of locative expressions in Innu-aimun, an Algonquian language spoken in Quebec and Labrador. Innu-aimun, also known as Montagnais, is a member of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect continuum, and is thus closely related to Cree proper. Aside from brief discussions in Clarke's (1982) grammatical sketch (33–34, 134–36), the grammatical properties of Innu-aimun locatives had not been described in the literature prior to Oxford 2008; the current paper is a further development of the description begun in that work. My data comes from fieldwork and texts from the community of Sheshatshiu, Labrador, where Innu-aimun is still spoken as a first language by approximately 90% of the population (Burnaby 2004; Thorburn 2005).

The main claim of the paper is that locative expressions in Innu-aimun form a grammatical system. There are three CORE LOCATIVE CATEGORIES, which form locative phrases: locative nouns, locative demonstratives, and locative prepositions. There are also two PERIPHERAL LOCATIVE CATEGORIES, which introduce or refer to locative phrases: locative presentatives and locative preverbs. The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 describes the properties of the core locative categories and Section 3 describes the ways in which these categories combine to form locative phrases. A preliminary analysis of the Innu-aimun locative phrase is proposed in Section 4, and several syntactic patterns that affect locative phrases are discussed in Section 5. The final two sections briefly describe the remaining locative categories of Innu-aimun: Section 6 outlines some further variants of the core locative categories, while Section 7 describes the peripheral locative categories.

2   Core locative categories

This section discusses the three core locative categories of Innu-aimun: locative nouns, locative demonstratives, and locative prepositions. Locative phrases are constructed from these categories.

2.1   Locative nouns

A locative noun is formed by adding the locative suffix *-ît* (allomorphs *-it*, *-t*) to a noun:

---

(1)
NOUN			LOCATIVE NOUN	
mîtshuâp	'house'	→	*mîtshuâp**ît***	'in/to/at the house'
nipî	'water'	→	*nip**ît***	'in the water'
utenâu	'town'	→	*utenât*	'in the town'
tetapuâkan	'couch'	→	*tetapuâkan**it***	'on the couch'
mishtik^u	'tree'	→	*mishtik**ut***	'in the tree'

As shown in (2), the locative suffix can be applied to a possessed noun. Under the reasonable assumption that possessed nouns are syntactically complex, this indicates that the locative suffix combines with some constituent larger than N (presumably NP or *n*P).

(2) *nimishtikuminân**it***
  ni- mishtik^u -im -inân **-ît**
  1- tree -POSS -1P **-LOC**
  'in our tree' (Clarke 1982:33)

We may characterize the locative suffix as a locative CASE MARKER, following Starks (1992:45) for Woods Cree and Dahlstrom (2009:223) for Meskwaki.

2.2 Locative demonstratives

Locative demonstratives consist of a demonstrative root plus the morpheme *-ite*. Non-locative and locative demonstrative forms are compared in (3).

(3) BASIC INNU-AIMUN DEMONSTRATIVES

	NON-LOCATIVE		LOCATIVE	
DISTAL	*ne*	'that'	*ne**te***	'there, to that, in that'
NEUTRAL	*an*	'that/it'	*an**ite***	'there, to the, in the'
PROXIMAL	*ume*	'this'	*u**te***	'here, to this, in this'

In other Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects, the locative morpheme *ite* also functions as an independent word meaning 'there' (e.g. Plains Cree *itê* 'there' (Wolvengrey 2001)), but it was not used as such by my consultants in Sheshatshiu.

2.3 Locative prepositions

Locative prepositions are indeclinable particles that are able to take a locative NP complement. Some prepositions are listed in (4).
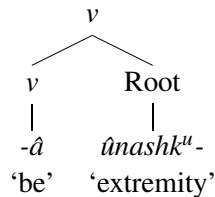
(4) *âitû* 'on both sides (of)' *kueshte* 'on the other side' *shek^u* 'under, below'
  âkû 'hidden behind' *pessîsh* 'near, close to' *tâkut* 'on top (of)'
  âpitû 'halfway along' *pîtute* 'inside' *uâshkâ* 'all around'
  itetshe 'in the direction of' *shîpâ* 'under, underneath' *ût* 'from'

Many locative prepositions are mono-morphemic, but some end in the same locative suffix *-ît* that is found on locative nouns, as noted by Clarke (1982:34):
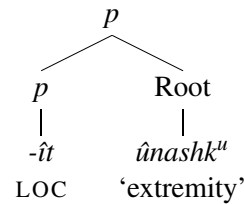
(5) *akâm**ît*** 'across, on the other side (of)' *nîtât* 'at the bottom/foot (of)'
  *atâm**ît*** 'in, at the bottom (of), under' *ûnashku**t*** 'at the end/edge (of)'
  enât 'at the bottom (of), down'

We saw above that when this suffix occurs on a locative noun, it seems to be inflectional (a case marker). When it occurs on a locative preposition, however, this is clearly not the case: on the prepositions in (5), the locative suffix is an integral part of the word, apparently serving as a category-defining word-formation element parallel to the "FINALS" found on Algonquian nouns and verbs. This hypothesis is illustrated in (6): a root such as *ûnashk^u* 'extremity' can combine with a verb final (little *v*; Brittain 2003, Branigan et al. 2005) to form the verb stem *ûnashkuâ-* 'to be the tip,' or it can combine with a locative final (the locative suffix, taken to be little *p*) to form the preposition *ûnashkut* 'at the end/edge of.'

(6) a. ROOT + *v* = VERB STEM
ûnashkuâ- 'to be the tip'

```
          v
         / \
        v   Root
        |    |
       -â   ûnashkᵘ-
      'be'  'extremity'
```

b. ROOT + *p* = PREPOSITION
ûnashkut 'at the end/edge of'

```
          p
         / \
        p   Root
        |    |
       -ît  ûnashkᵘ
       LOC  'extremity'
```
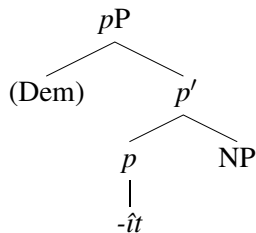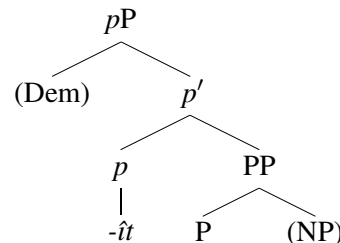
3   The locative phrase (*p*P)

Following the hypothesis that the locative suffix is actually a "light preposition" *p*, I will regard all locative phrases as having the syntactic category *p*P, parallel to the analysis of verb phrases as *v*P. This section describes the basic syntactic properties of the *p*P. There are two sides to the syntax of any phrase: its external syntax (i.e. its distribution) and its internal syntax (i.e. its composition). In broad terms, the distribution of Innu-aimun locative phrases matches that of English prepositional phrases: a locative phrase can function as an adverbial modifier or as the complement of a goal-selecting verb. The position of the *p*P within the sentence is not fixed, although ordering tendencies no doubt exist, as examined by Wolvengrey (2007, 2010) for Plains Cree locatives. My work differs from that of Wolvengrey in that I focus on the internal syntax of locative phrases rather than their external syntax.[1]

The composition of *p*Ps can be described as follows. The *p*P is headed by a "light preposition" *p*, which is realized by the locative suffix *-ît* on certain prepositions and is otherwise null.[2] A locative demonstrative modifier can appear at the left edge of the *p*P. As its complement, *p* takes either a locative NP (which can be a null NP) or a PP. Within this PP, P optionally takes a locative NP as its complement. This description is illustrated more clearly by the tree diagrams in (7).

(7) a. NOMINAL *p*P
(*p* takes NP complement)

```
          pP
         /  \
      (Dem)  p′
            /  \
           p    NP
           |
          -ît
```

b. PREPOSITIONAL *p*P
(*p* takes PP complement)

```
          pP
         /  \
      (Dem)  p′
            /  \
           p    PP
           |   /  \
          -ît  P  (NP)
```

These structures allow for the possible locative phrase templates listed in (8). Examples illustrating each of these templates in turn are given in (9).

---

[1] Of course, a full analysis of locative phrases must address both their internal and external syntax; I have chosen to focus on their internal syntax as a starting point.
[2] Similar morphological idiosyncrasy is found, for example, in English deadjectival verbs: compare *to darken*, where the verbalizing morpheme is overtly realized by a suffix, with *to clear*, where the verbalizer is null (zero-derivation).

(8)   POSSIBLE LOCATIVE PHRASES

    a. NP$_{LOC}$ d. Dem + NP$_{LOC}$ g. Dem

    b. P   e. Dem + P

    c. P + NP$_{LOC}$ f. Dem + P + NP$_{LOC}$

(9) a. *Pîtutetishimû* [$_{NP}$ ***uîtshît***].
       rush.inside.3S [$_{NP}$ 3.home.LOC]
       'He ran **into his tent**.' (LITP 1–4)[3]

    b. [$_{P}$ ***Shek^{u}***] *tâuat tûânat.*
       [$_{P}$ under] be.3P ball.3P
       'The balls are **underneath**.' (WO 1–2)

    c. [$_{P}$ ***Âkû***]   [$_{NP}$ ***mishtikut***] *kâshû.*
       [$_{P}$ behind] [$_{NP}$ tree.LOC] hide.3S
       'S/he is hiding **behind a tree**.' (WO 1–8)

    d. *Ekue nakatâuât*   *nenua ukussa* [$_{Dem}$ ***nete***]   [$_{NP}$ ***minishtikut***].
       then leave.CONJ.3>3′ that.3′ 3.son.3′ [$_{Dem}$ that.LOC] [$_{NP}$ island.LOC]
       'Then he left his son **on that island**.' (LITP 1–5)

    e. *Umishkumîmîshapan* [$_{Dem}$ ***anite***]   [$_{P}$ ***atâmît***].
       have.ice.DUB.3S   [$_{Dem}$ the.LOC] [$_{P}$ inside/under]
       'He must have had ice **inside (himself)**.' (LITP 1–4)

    f. *Nimessipimîkâshinân* [$_{Dem}$ ***nete***]   [$_{P}$ ***tetâut***]   [$_{NP}$ ***meshkanât***].
       1.run.out.of.gas.1P   [$_{Dem}$ that.LOC] [$_{P}$ halfway.along] [$_{NP}$ road.LOC]
       'We ran out of gas **halfway along the road**.' (WO 6–1)

    g. *Iâpit*   [$_{Dem}$ ***nete***] *ashtunuat.*
       anyway [$_{Dem}$ there] build.canoe.3P
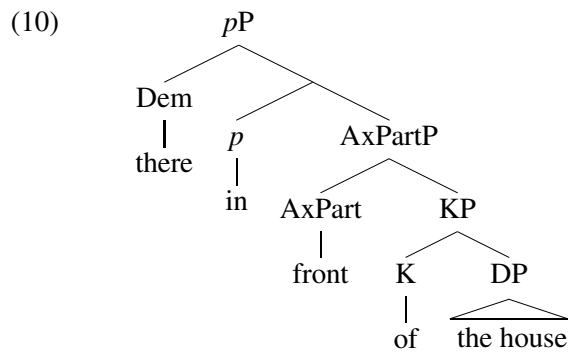   'In any case, they were building canoes **there**.' (LITP 3–2)

4   Preliminary analysis of the locative phrase

In this section, I make a preliminary attempt to interpret the Innu-aimun facts in light of recent theoretical work on prepositional phrases. I lay out a possible theoretical framework for the analysis of locative phrases based on the work of Svenonius (2006, 2010) and I show how this framework can apply to Innu-aimun prepositional and nominal locative phrases. I also consider the nature of locative demonstratives in light of a proposal by Kayne (2005). The analysis suggested here is preliminary and stands to be refined in future work.

4.1   Theoretical framework for locatives

I will assume the following simplified version of the cartographic framework for spatial PPs developed by Svenonius (2006, 2010):

---

[3] In the examples in this paper, "LITP" refers to the narrative texts of the Labrador Innu Text Project (Mailhot et al. 1999, 2002), while "WO" refers to data from my fieldwork in Sheshatshiu, Labrador.

(10)

```
                    pP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        Dem                   │
         │         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
       there       p                  AxPartP
                   │          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                   in       AxPart                  KP
                             │              ┌────────┴────────┐
                           front            K               DP
                                            │          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                            of        the house
```
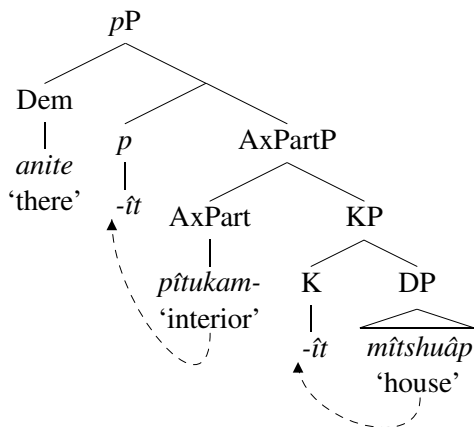
In this structure, *p* is a conflation of Svenonius' Path and Place heads, which are distinct in English (*to* vs. *in*) but do not appear to be formally distinguished in Innu-aimun.[4] I will treat the locative demonstrative as a modifier of the *p*-projection; this is in line with Svenonius 2006:72, where Dem is treated as a Place modifier, but it differs from Svenonius 2010, in which a dedicated DeixP projection is adopted. The complement of *p* is an "AXIAL PART" projection, a term which Svenonius uses to refer to the quasi-nominal elements found in expressions like *in **front** of*, *in **back** of*, *on **top** of*. As nominals do, AxPart requires a case particle (K) in order to take a DP complement.

4.2 Analysis of Innu-aimun locative phrases

The structure in (10) can be straightforwardly applied to an Innu-aimun prepositional locative phrase as shown in (11). For simplicity, I have shown all elements in their base position; dashed arrows indicate movements that will occur.

(11) PREPOSITIONAL *p*P
anite pîtukamît mîtshuâpît 'there inside the house'

```
                    pP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        Dem                   │
         │         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
       anite       p                  AxPartP
      'there'      │          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                  -ît       AxPart                  KP
                             │              ┌────────┴────────┐
                          pîtukam-          K               DP
                          'interior'        │          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                           -ît        mîtshuâp
                                                       'house'
```
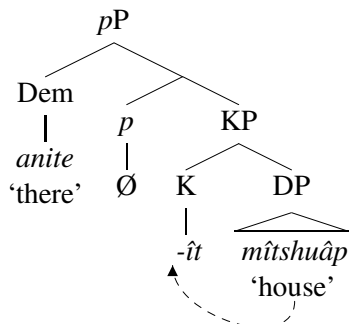
An advantage of this structure is that it provides two distinct positions for the two uses of the locative suffix identified earlier: in its derivational use (as a locative "final"), the locative suffix occurs in *p* and incorporates the head of its AxPart complement. Recall that only certain prepositions carry the locative suffix, so it is also possible for this *p* to be null. In its inflectional use (as a locative case marker), the locative suffix occurs in K and incorporates the head of its DP complement.[5] According to this analysis, then, a locative preposition is underlyingly *p* + AxPart, while a locative noun is underlyingly K + DP.

---

[4] This use of *p* differs from Svenonius' (2010) use of *p* for a higher head that introduces the Figure argument.
[5] I am assuming that within an Innu-aimun DP, N undergoes head-movement to D. In support of this assumption, consider that Innu-aimun is a head-marking language in which N inflects for possession, bearing both a possessive marker and affixes that agree with the possessor in person and number.

A nominal locative phrase—that is, a locative phrase that does not include a preposition—can be analyzed as involving null *p* taking a KP complement directly, rather than the AxPartP complement that occurs in prepositional locatives:

(12) NOMINAL *p*P
      anite mîtshuâpît 'there at/in/to the house'

The analysis sketched here provides a straightforward account of the internal structure of Innu-aimun locative phrases, and it is also consistent with their distribution: since nominal and prepositional locative phrases are both underlyingly *p*P, it follows that both types of phrases have the same distribution, and that this distribution parallels the distribution of PPs in other languages such as English.

4.3   A note on locative demonstratives

In the analysis sketched above, I have treated the locative demonstrative as a phrasal modifier of the *p*P. It is also worth noting that diachronically, at least, the locative demonstratives are complex, as indicated in (13): they are composed of a demonstrative root plus the locative morpheme *ite*.

(13) *nete*   'there, to/at that' = [Dem *ne*] 'that' ⎫
      anite 'there, to/at the'   = [Dem *an*] 'that/it' ⎬ + [Loc *ite*] 'there'
      ute   'here, to/at this'   = [Dem *u-*] 'this' ⎭

Synchronically, it is an open question whether locative demonstratives such as *nete*, *anite*, and *ute* are still morphologically complex. However, the Dem + *ite* pattern that gave rise to these items is apparently still a part of Innu-aimun syntax, as it surfaces when a more complex demonstrative such as *neka* 'that (absent)' occurs in a context where a locative demonstrative is required. In (14), for example, we find the form *neka ite* 'to/at that (absent),' which we may consider a "periphrastic locative demonstrative" in contrast to fused forms such as *nete* 'to/at that.'

(14) *Ekᵘ tshâtâpâtâk   nenua tshematânitî   ushtesha   utshishtâkanâshkunua,*
      then IC.look.at.CONJ.3S that.3′ IC.erect.CONJ.3′ 3.brother.3′ 3.dam.blocking.stick.3″
         [Dem ***neka***]   [Loc ***ite***] [N ***assît***]   *kie* [Dem ***neka***]   [Loc ***ite***] [N ***ishpimît***].
         [Dem that.ABS] [Loc there] [N earth.LOC] and [Dem that.ABS] [Loc there] [N above.LOC]
      'Then he looked at the poles which his brother had stuck upright, **down to the earth** and **up above**.' (LITP 3–1)

Forms such as *neka ite* (literally 'that there') are reminiscent of Kayne's analysis of English *here* and *there* as underlyingly being 'this here' and 'that there' (Kayne 2005, chapter 4), as sketched in (15).

(15) a. *there* = P THAT *there* PLACE
     b. *here* = P THIS *here* PLACE

Evidently, then, the syntactic status of the Innu-aimun locative demonstrative warrants further investigation. However, I must leave this to future work.

5 Syntactic patterns affecting locative phrases

Now that the basic structure of locative phrases has been discussed, I turn to three syntactic patterns that locative phrases take part in: (1) coordination, (2) word-order variations, and (3) locative licensing.

5.1 Coordination

As a basic test of their constituency, note that locative phrases can be coordinated, as shown for nominal *p*Ps in (16) and prepositional *p*Ps in (17).

(16) *Eukuannû pemûtâkuenitî* [*pP* ***anite ishpimît***] *kie* [*pP* ***anite nipît***].
      that's.when shoot.arrow.3 [*pP* the.LOC above.LOC] and [*pP* the.LOC water.LOC]
      'Then he shot his arrow **up** and **into the water**.' (LITP 1–5)

(17) *Ân kâtâu mîna* [*pP* ***anite shek^u ûtît***] *mâk* [*pP* ***anite âkû***
      Ann hide.3S berry.3P [*pP* the.LOC under canoe.LOC] and [*pP* the.LOC behind
      upatshuiânitshuâpît].
      3.tent.LOC]
      'Ann hid the berries **under the canoe** and **behind her tent**.' (WO 6–2)

5.2 Word-order variations

The elements of the locative phrase appear in three (and only three) different word orders, which I will refer to as (1) canonical order, (2) inverted order, and (3) discontinuous order. The CANONICAL ORDER is what we have seen in all examples presented to this point: the locative demonstrative precedes the "lexical head" of the locative phrase, as in (18).

(18)   NOMINAL LOCATIVE   PREPOSITIONAL LOCATIVE
      [*pP* Dem + NP]   [*pP* Dem + P + NP]

In the INVERTED ORDER, the "lexical head" of the *p*P appears in phrase-initial position rather than the typical demonstrative-initial order, as schematized in (19) and exemplified in (20).

(19)   NOMINAL LOCATIVE   PREPOSITIONAL LOCATIVE
    N + [*pP* Dem + __] + V. . .   **P** + [*pP* Dem + __ + NP] + V. . .

(20) a. [NP ***Umeshkanât***] [Dem *nete*]   *eshtât.*
       [NP 3.path.LOC] [Dem that.LOC] IC.place.CONJ.3S
       'He put it on his path.' (LITP 4–3)

    b. [P ***Shek^u***] [Dem *anite*]   [NP *nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*
       [P under] [Dem the.LOC] [NP bed.LOC] be.dirty.3S
       '(Even) under the bed, it's dirty.' (WO 4–5)

Inverted order is found almost exclusively in sentence-initial position, and appears to mark focus or emphasis. This is clearly illustrated by (21), which is minimally different from (20b). Here, focus is

marked by including a sentence-initial focus particle; in consequence, the word order returns to normal. It would appear, then, that inversion and the use of a focus particle are two alternative strategies for marking focus in a sentence-initial phrase.

(21) <u>*Iât*</u> [_{Dem} ***anite***]   [_P ***shek^u***] [_{NP} ***nipeunit***] *uînâkuan.*
     even [_{Dem} the.LOC] [_P under] [_{NP} bed.LOC] be.dirty.3S
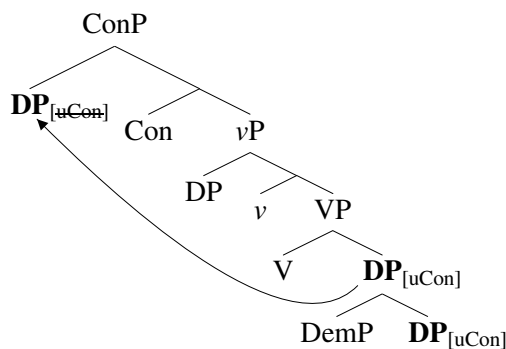   'Even under the bed, it's dirty.' (WO 4–5)

In the DISCONTINUOUS order, the demonstrative detaches from the remainder of the locative phrase and occurs in immediate pre-verbal position, as in (22)–(23).

(22)   NOMINAL LOCATIVE   PREPOSITIONAL LOCATIVE
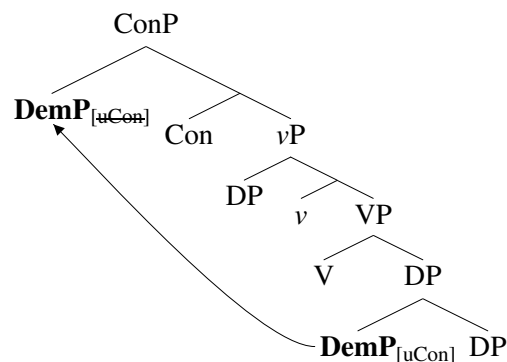   **Dem** + V... + [_{pP} __ + NP]   **Dem** + V... + [_{pP} __ + P + NP]

(23) *Mashk^u* [_{Dem} ***anite***]   *nânîpû* [_P ***âkû***]   [_{NP} ***patshuiânitshuâpît***].
     bear   [_{Dem} the.LOC] stand.3S [_P behind] [_{NP} tent.LOC]
     'There was a bear standing behind the tent.' (WO 1–1)

The same dislocation pattern also affects non-locative demonstratives, and has been documented for nominal function words in various Algonquian languages: Innu-aimun numerals (Cyr 1996), Swampy Cree quantifiers and numerals (Russell and Reinholtz 1995, Reinholtz 1999), and Ojibwe quantifiers, numerals, and (non-locative) demonstratives (Kathol and Rhodes 1999, Lochbihler 2009). Focusing on quantifiers and non-locative demonstratives in Ojibwe, Lochbihler (2009) analyzes the dislocation process as involving movement to a pre-verbal Contrast position. If the entire DP bears the [Contrast] feature, as in (24), the result of movement is a pre-verbal DP. If a DemP or QP bears the [Contrast] feature, as in (25), the result is the discontinuous word order.
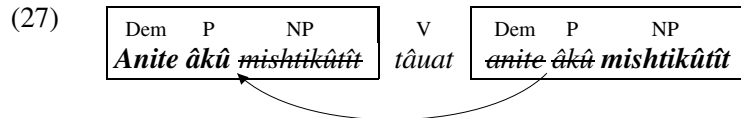
(24)   DP-MOVEMENT   (25)   DEMP-MOVEMENT (= DISLOCATION)

Although Lochbihler was not concerned with locatives, it seems that her analysis can, in principle, apply equally well to the Innu-aimun dislocation pattern shown in (22). However, prepositional *p*Ps in Innu-aimun have a second dislocation possibility: in addition to just dislocating the demonstrative, it is also possible for the demonstrative and preposition to move to pre-verbal position *together*, as in (26).

(26) **Dem** + **P** + V... + [_{pP} __ + __ + NP]

     [_{Dem} ***Anite***]   [_P ***âkû***]   *tâuat* [_{NP} ***mishtikûtît***].
     [_{Dem} the.LOC] [_P behind] be.3P [_{NP} box.LOC]
     'They are behind the box.' (WO 4–3)

In this example, the dislocated string is not a constituent, which is a problem under Lochbihler's analysis. We can account for (26) if we adopt an alternative analysis in which the dislocation pattern instead results from SPLIT SPELL-OUT (Radford 2004:193–195 and references therein). Under such an analysis, the entire pP would be targeted for movement, but the NP would be spelled out in the original post-verbal position, as shown in (27).

(27)

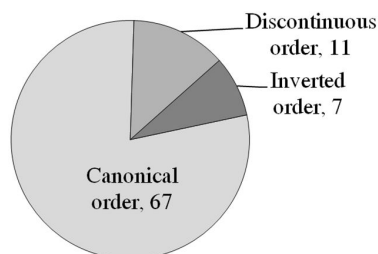| Dem	P	NP		V	Dem	P	NP
Anite	*âkû*	~~*mishtikûtît*~~		*tâuat*	~~*anite*~~	~~*âkû*~~	*mishtikûtît*

Under this analysis, the discontinuous order would not involve DemP movement, unlike in Lochbihler's account. Instead, it would always be the entire DP (or, in the case of locatives, the pP) that moves, with the surface realization depending on how the movement is spelled out. The continuity of spell-out could potentially be affected by phonological factors, as in the well-known case of Heavy-NP Shift in English.
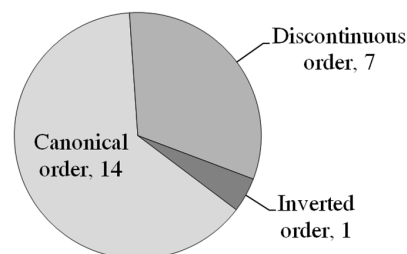
If the split spell-out analysis turns out to be correct for Innu-aimun locatives, we would then have to consider whether this analysis should be extended to all cases of the pre-verbal dislocation pattern, including those analyzed by Lochbihler in Ojibwe. Since the split spell-out analysis always involves movement of the entire phrase rather than just the DemP modifier, it may make different predictions about the resulting meaning than Lochbihler's analysis, in which the dislocated DemP modifier must bear contrast. However, as Lochbihler (2009:12) notes, the semantic/pragmatic contribution of dislocation is not fully clear, so these predictions are not as easy to test as one might expect.

As an epilogue to the discussion of the three word-order variants, let us consider their textual frequency. In the LITP texts, these three orders account for 85 of the 86 nominal pPs and all 22 of the intransitive prepositional pPs.[6] The proportions of each order are shown in (28).

(28) a. NOMINAL pPS (Dem + N_{LOC})   b. PREPOSITIONAL pPS (intransitive: Dem + P)

Discontinuous order, 11
Inverted order, 7
Canonical order, 67

Discontinuous order, 7
Canonical order, 14
Inverted order, 1

5.3   A "locative licensing" pattern

The final syntactic pattern to be discussed here involves an intriguing co-occurrence restriction. When a nominal pP functions as the complement of a goal-selecting verb and occupies post-verbal position, it can occur either with or without a locative demonstrative, as shown in (29).

---

[6] Full transitive PPs are rare in the LITP texts. This appears to result from at least two factors: (1) the use of prepositions with incorporated nouns (see Section 6 below), and (2) the use of verbs with prepositional roots (e.g. *shîpâshkam^u* 's/he goes under it', cf. the preposition *shîpâ* 'under').

(29) a. 'I went to the store.' (WO 3–1)

   (i) *Nititûte*   [*pP* ***anite*   *atâuitshuâpît***].
       go.PAST.1S [*pP* the.LOC store.LOC]

   (ii) *Nititûte*   [*pP* ***atâuitshuâpît***].
        go.PAST.1S [*pP* store.LOC]

  b. 'We brought him to the hospital.' (WO 3–1)

   (i) *Nititûtiâtân*   [*pP* ***anite*   *natûkûnitshuâpît***].
       bring.PAST.1P>.3 [*pP* the.LOC hospital.LOC]

   (ii) *Nititûtiâtân*   [*pP* ***natûkûnitshuâpît***].
        bring.PAST.1P>.3 [*pP* hospital.LOC]

However, if a postverbal nominal *p*P functions as an adverbial modifier of a verb that does not select a location, the locative demonstrative becomes obligatory:

(30) a. 'We ate in the car.' (WO 3–2)

   (i) *Nimîtshishûtân* [*pP* ***anite*   *utâpânit***].
       1.eat.PAST.1P [*pP* the.LOC car.LOC]

   (ii) **Nimîtshishûtân* [*pP* ***utâpânit***].
        1.eat.PAST.1P [*pP* car.LOC]

  b. 'The kids are dancing in the store.' (WO 2–3)

   (i) *Auâssat nîmuat*   [*pP* ***anite*   *atâuitshuâpît***].
       child.3P dance.3P [*pP* the.LOC store.LOC]

   (ii) **Auâssat nîmuat*   [*pP* ***atâuitshuâpît***].
        child.3P dance.3P [*pP* store.LOC]

One obvious interpretation of this pattern is that the locative demonstrative is able to play some role in licensing a locative NP. While I will not propose an analysis of this pattern here, some points should be noted (Oxford 2008: 119-121). First, the pattern is robust across speakers in elicitations. Second, the pattern applies only to nominal *p*Ps; in prepositional *p*Ps, the demonstrative is never obligatory. Third, the pattern applies only in post-verbal position; in pre-verbal position, the demonstrative is optional in all cases. Finally, note that that the conditioning of this pattern shows that the distinction between oblique complements and adverbial modifiers is grammatically relevant in Innu-aimun.

6   Variants of the core locative categories

To this point, the paper has focused on the syntax of the prototypical members of the three core locative categories. The remainder of the paper turns to the "odds and ends," providing a brief description of all other locative categories that my research has identified. This section outlines several more complex or less common variants of the core locative categories: (1) defective locative nouns, (2) deverbal locative nouns, (3) locative demonstratives as relativizers, (4) classificatory prepositions, (5) compound prepositions, and (6) non-locative categories that may be confused with locative prepositions.

6.1 Defective locative nouns

The small class of words in (31) carry the locative suffix and have the same distribution as typical locative nouns, but they have no corresponding non-locative noun form.

(31) DEFECTIVE LOCATIVE NOUN   NO CORRESPONDING NOUN
     nûtshimît   'inland/in the bush'   **nûtshim*   'bush/inland'
     nâshipetimît   'on the shore/bank'   **nâshipetim*   'shore/bank'
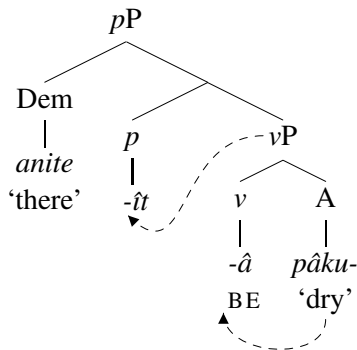   *ishpimît*   'up above, in the air'   **ishpim*   'sky, area above'

6.2 Deverbal locative nouns

Like defective locative nouns, the words in (32) also bear the locative suffix, have the same distribution as typical locative nouns, and lack corresponding non-locative noun forms. However, as indicated, they do have corresponding *verb* forms:

(32) APPARENT LOCATIVE NOUN   CORRESPONDING VERB
     uînuât   'at the river mouth'   *uînuâu*   'it is the mouth of the river'
     minâshkuât   'in the woods'   *minâshkuâu*   'it is a wooded area'
     pâkuât   'on dry land'   *pâkuâu*   'it is dry, dried out'

We can analyze such examples straightforwardly if we allow *p* to combine with a verb stem, as in (33).

(33)   *anite pâkuât* 'on dry land'

As a *p*-projection, the resulting derived form will have the same distribution as a locative noun, despite the fact that the complement of *p* is verbal rather than nominal.

6.3 Locative demonstratives as relativizers

Clarke (1982:136) notes that a locative demonstrative can also introduce a subordinate clause of location. In such examples, the demonstrative is not translated as 'there,' but rather seems to function as some sort of relativizer, as indicated in the translation of (34).

(34)   *Nitshissenimâu* [CP ***nete***   *tshe itûtet*].
     1.know.1>3   [CP that.LOC FUT walk.to.CONJ.3S]
     'I know **where** he will be going.' (NOT 'I know he will be going **there**')

6.4 Classificatory prepositions

In addition to the simple locative prepositions shown in Section 2.3, Innu-aimun also has morphologically complex prepositions that contain a morpheme related to their argument. These complex prepositions fall into at least two types: classificatory and compound prepositions. Classificatory prepositions are formed by combining a prepositional root with a bound nominal morpheme (in Algonquianist terms, a MEDIAL), as exemplified in (35).

(35) a. *âpitûâshk^u* 'midway along a sticklike object'
     (*âpitû-* 'midway along' + *-âshk^u* 'sticklike object')

   b. *âkûâkunat* 'hidden behind a snowbank'
     (*âkû-* 'hidden behind' + *-âkunat* 'snow(bank)')

Some classificatory prepositions, such as those in (36), are tripartite: in addition to the prepositional root and the classificatory medial, they also contain the familiar locative suffix *-ît*. As with simple prepositions, this suffix may be analyzed as an overt realization of *p*.

(36) a. *nîtâtshuanit* 'at the foot of the rapids'
     (*nît-* 'at the foot' + *-âtshuan* 'rapids' + locative *-ît*)

   b. *âpitûtâtît* 'midway on a wooden thing'
     (*âpitû-* 'midway' + *-itât* 'wood' + locative *-ît*)

As illustrated in (37), classificatory prepositions are syntactically transitive: in addition to their incorporated nominal morpheme, they may also take an external locative nominal complement, just as a simple preposition can.

(37) [$_{p}$P **Âpitûâshk^u**   *mishtikut*]   *tâu*   *pineshîsh.*
      [$_{p}$P midway.along+sticklike branch.LOC] be.at.3S bird
      'A bird is perched halfway along a branch.' (Hasler 2006:24)

Since the complex preposition remains transitive, we may say that, in Chung and Ladusaw's (2004) terms, the medial RESTRICTS the argument of the prepositional root rather than saturating it.

6.5 Compound prepositions

Like classificatory prepositions, compound prepositions also contain a nominal component, but it is a full-fledged noun rather than a bound medial:

(38) a. *akâmi-**shîpû*** or *akâmi-**shîpît*** 'across the river'
     (*akâm-* 'across' + *shîpû* 'river' (+ locative *-(î)t*))

   b. *âpitû-**uâshâu*** 'midway along the bay'
     (*âpitû-* 'midway along' + *uâshâu* 'bay')

My preliminary evidence suggests that compound prepositions are intransitive (Oxford 2008:147), although further confirmation is required. If this turns out to be correct, then it would appear that the compounded noun saturates the argument of the prepositional root.

6.6 Non-locative categories

Locative prepositions must be distinguished from two similar categories that are not grammatically locative: SPATIAL ADVERBS and FUNCTIONAL PREPOSITIONS. Spatial adverbs, exemplified in (39), differ from prepositions in that they cannot take a locative NP complement.

(39)   *mamen* 'here and there', *nâshik^u* 'low down, at a lower level', *nishkue* 'on the way'

In addition to its large inventory of locative prepositions, Innu-aimun also has at least two "functional prepositions": comparative *miâm* 'like' and *mâkât* 'than,' exemplified in (40).

(40) a. [$_{PP}$ ***Miâm*** *ukâuîa*]   *ishi-pimûteu.*
         [$_{PP}$ like   3.mother.3′] thus-walk.3s
         'She walks just like her mother.' (WO 4–5)

   b. *Etatû pîtuâu*   *uîn*   *Ân*   [$_{PP}$ ***mâkât*** *Shûshepa*].
        more smoke.3s EMPH Ann [$_{PP}$ than   Joseph.3′]
        'Ann smokes more than Joseph.' (WO 1–5)

Functional prepositions are dramatically different from locative prepositions in several ways. First, the object of a functional preposition is non-locative and cannot be omitted. Second, a functional preposition cannot be modified by a locative demonstrative or function as an oblique complement of a goal-selecting verb. Finally, the word order of a functional PP is rigid: only the "canonical order" (P + DP) is possible; the inverted and discontinuous orders are ungrammatical.

7 Peripheral locative categories

In addition to the core categories of locative nouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and their extensions, Innu-aimun has two additional distinct locative categories, both of which introduce or refer to locations rather than forming locative phrases: (1) locative presentatives and (2) locative preverbs.

7.1 Locative presentatives

Innu-aimun has a category of function words that I will refer to as PRESENTATIVES (Oxford forthc.), which are obligatorily sentence-initial introductory elements similar to French *voici/voilà*. As shown in (41), the non-locative presentatives are paralleled by a locative series ending in the same *-ite* morpheme that occurs on locative demonstratives. The use of locative presentatives is exemplified in (42).

(41)   INNU-AIMUN PRESENTATIVES

	NON-LOCATIVE	LOCATIVE
AFFIRMATIVE	*eukuan*	*eku**te***
	'that's the one (that…)'	'that's where…'
NEGATIVE	*namaieu*	*namaieu**te***
	'that's not the one (that…)'	'that's not where…'
INTERROGATIVE	wh-words	*tan**ite***
	'who/what is it (that…)'	'where is it (that…)'

(42) a. ***Ekute***   *uetshît*   *Mânî.*
        that.is.LOC   IC.live.at.CONJ.3   Marie
        'That's where Marie is from.' (WO 1–1)

    b. ***Namaieute***   *anite*   *uiâtshîht.*
        that.is.not.LOC   where   IC.live.at.CONJ.3P
        'That's not where they live.' (WO 3–3)

7.2   Locative preverbs

Algonquian languages have a class of auxiliary-like elements known as PREVERBS, which almost always occur in immediate pre-verbal position and encode notions such as tense, aspect, modality, degree, and location. Innu-aimun has two locative preverbs: the ablative RELATIVE PREVERB *ût/uet* 'from, originating from' and the proximal DIRECTIONAL PREVERB *pet* 'this way, to here,' exemplified in (43).

(43) a. [$_{VP}$ ***Uet***   *unuîtatât*]   *uiâshashkunû* [$_{pP}$ *anite*   *uâtashkût*].
        [$_{VP}$ IC.from put.out.CONJ.3′] bear.meat.3′   [$_{pP}$ the.LOC bear.den.LOC]
        'She put bear meat outside [from] the bear den.' (LITP 2–2)

    b. *Ek^u* [$_{VP}$ ***pet*** *teueunitî*]   *nenua ûhûa* [$_{pP}$ *anite*   *utashtuaikanit*].
        and [$_{VP}$ here land.CONJ.3′] that.3′ owl.3′ [$_{pP}$ the.LOC 3.teepee.top.LOC].
        'And then the owl landed [here] on top of the teepee.' (LITP 1–4)

As these examples show, locative preverbs can refer to a locative phrase elsewhere in the sentence. This is not obligatory, however: a locative phrase can occur in the absence of a locative preverb and vice versa.

8   Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that Innu-aimun locative expressions form a grammatical system. The three inter-related "core" locative categories are locative nouns, locative demonstratives, and locative prepositions, which combine to form locative phrases (*p*Ps). Locative phrases can function as either adverbial modifiers or oblique complements, and they appear in three major word orders: canonical, inverted, and discontinuous. The internal syntax of Innu-aimun locative phrases appears to fit well with current theoretical work on PP structure (Svenonius 2006, 2010; possibly Kayne 2005). The various interesting syntactic patterns in which locatives participate provide us with another angle from which to approach Algonquian syntax.

References

Branigan, Phil, Julie Brittain, and Carrie Dyck. 2005. Balancing syntax and prosody in the Algonquian verb complex. In *Papers of the 36th Algonquian Conference*, ed. by H. C. Wolfart, 75-93. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

Brittain, Julie. 2003. A distributed morphology account of the syntax of the Algonquian verb. In *Proceedings of the 2003 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, ed. by S. Somesfalean and S. Burrell, 26-41. Département de linguistique et de didactique des langues, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Burnaby, Barbara. 2004. Linguistic and cultural evolution in an unyielding environment. In *Cultural Diversity and Education: Interface Issues*, ed. by David F. Philpott, Wayne C. Nesbitt, Mildred Cahill, and Gary H. Jeffery, 31-49. St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Chung, Sandra, and William A. Ladusaw. 2004. *Restriction and Saturation.* Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 42. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Clarke, Sandra. 1982. *North-West River (Sheshātshīt) Montagnais: A Grammatical Sketch.* Number 80 in National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Papers. National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

Cyr, Danielle E. 1996. Montagnais: An ethnogrammatical description. In *Quebec's Aboriginal Languages: History, Planning, Development*, ed. by Jacques Maurais, 174-203. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

Dahlstrom, Amy. 2009. OBJ_θ without OBJ: A typology of Meskwaki objects. In *Proceedings of LFG09*, ed. by Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, 222–239. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.

Hasler, Laurel Anne. 2006. Report from Innu Particle Workshop, October 2005, Carleton University. Unpublished manuscript, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Contains data provided by José Mailhot.

Kathol, Andreas, and Richard Rhodes. 1999. Constituency and linearization of Ojibwe nominals. In *Proceedings of WSCLA 4: Workshop on Structure and Constituency in Languages of the Americas*, ed. by Marion Gerda Caldecott, Suzanne C. Gessner, and Eun-Sook Kim, 75–91. Vancouver: UBCWPL.

Kayne, Richard S. 2005. Some notes on comparative syntax, with special reference to English and French. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Richard S. Kayne, 3-69. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lochbihler, Bethany. 2009. Discontinuous DP constructions. In *2009 CLA Conference Proceedings*, ed. by Frédéric Mailhot.

Mailhot, José, and collaborators (eds.) 1999. *Sheshatshiu-atanukana mak tipatshimuna, Madeleine Lefebvre mak Robert Lanari ka pitutepanitaht 1967 [Myths and Tales from Sheshatshit, Collected by Madeleine Lefebvre and Robert Lanari in 1967]*, volume 1 and 2. St. John's, Newfoundland: Labrador Innu Text Project.

Mailhot, José, and collaborators (eds.) 2002. *Sheshatshiu-atanukana mak tipatshimuna, Madeleine Lefebvre mak Robert Lanari ka pitutepanitaht 1967 [Myths and Tales from Sheshatshit, Collected by Madeleine Lefebvre and Robert Lanari in 1967]*, volume 3 and 4. St. John's, Newfoundland: Labrador Innu Text Project.

Oxford, Will. 2008. *A Grammatical Study of Innu-aimun Particles.* Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics Memoir 20.

Oxford, Will. forthcoming. Verb morphology on Innu-aimun pronouns: Evidence for the nature of Algonquian wh-questions. In *Papers of the 41st Algonquian Conference*.

Radford, Andrew. 2004. *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the Structure of English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reinholtz, Charlotte. 1999. On the characterization of discontinuous constituents: Evidence from Swampy Cree. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 65: 201-227.

Russell, Kevin, and Charlotte Reinholtz. 1995. Hierarchical structure in a nonconfigurational language: Asymmetries in Swampy Cree. In *Proceedings of the Fourteenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 431–445.

Starks, Donna. 1992. Aspects of Woods Cree syntax. Doctoral dissertation, University of Manitoba.

Svenonius, Peter. 2006. The emergence of Axial Parts. In *Nordlyd: Tromsø Working Papers in Linguistics 33.1*, ed. by Peter Svenonius and Marina Pantcheva, 49–77. Tromsø, Norway: CASTL.

Svenonius, Peter. 2010. Spatial P in English. In *Mapping Spatial PPs: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 6*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Luigi Rizzi, 127–160. New York: Oxford.

Thorburn, Jennifer. 2005. Language attitudes and use of the Sheshatshiu Innu: Preliminary findings. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 25: 76-84.

Wolvengrey, Arok. 2001. *Cree: Words.* Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center.

Wolvengrey, Arok. 2007. Placing Plains Cree locatives: On the road to a functional analysis. Paper presented at WSCLA 12, University of Lethbridge, March 30.

Wolvengrey, Arok. 2010. Placing Plains Cree locatives: Further down the road towards a functional analysis. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Functional Discourse Grammar, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, Lisbon, June 3.