CHAPTER II

CONSONANTS

2.0   The assumption is made herein that the dialects under study are derived from a level of Pre-Cree, common to all Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. Pre-Cree is a form of the Cree language intermediate between Proto-Algonkian and the present day dialects. It is unlikely that any proto-language ever existed in a single undifferentiated form at any time. To some extent, then, Pre-Cree is a theoretical construct. Nevertheless, it is useful in that it provides a single uniform basis to which the dialects under discussion can be related without having to continually specify changes from Proto-Algonkian.

The Pre-Cree level differs from Proto-Algonkian in the following ways (based on Bloomfield 1946 and Pentland 1979):

PA *1   is not differentiated but is an unspecified alveolar consonant represented by *1.

PA *t and *θ have fallen together as *t (except when palatalized, 2.31).

PA *i and *e have fallen together as *e.

PA *s and *š remain differentiated as *s and *s̀.

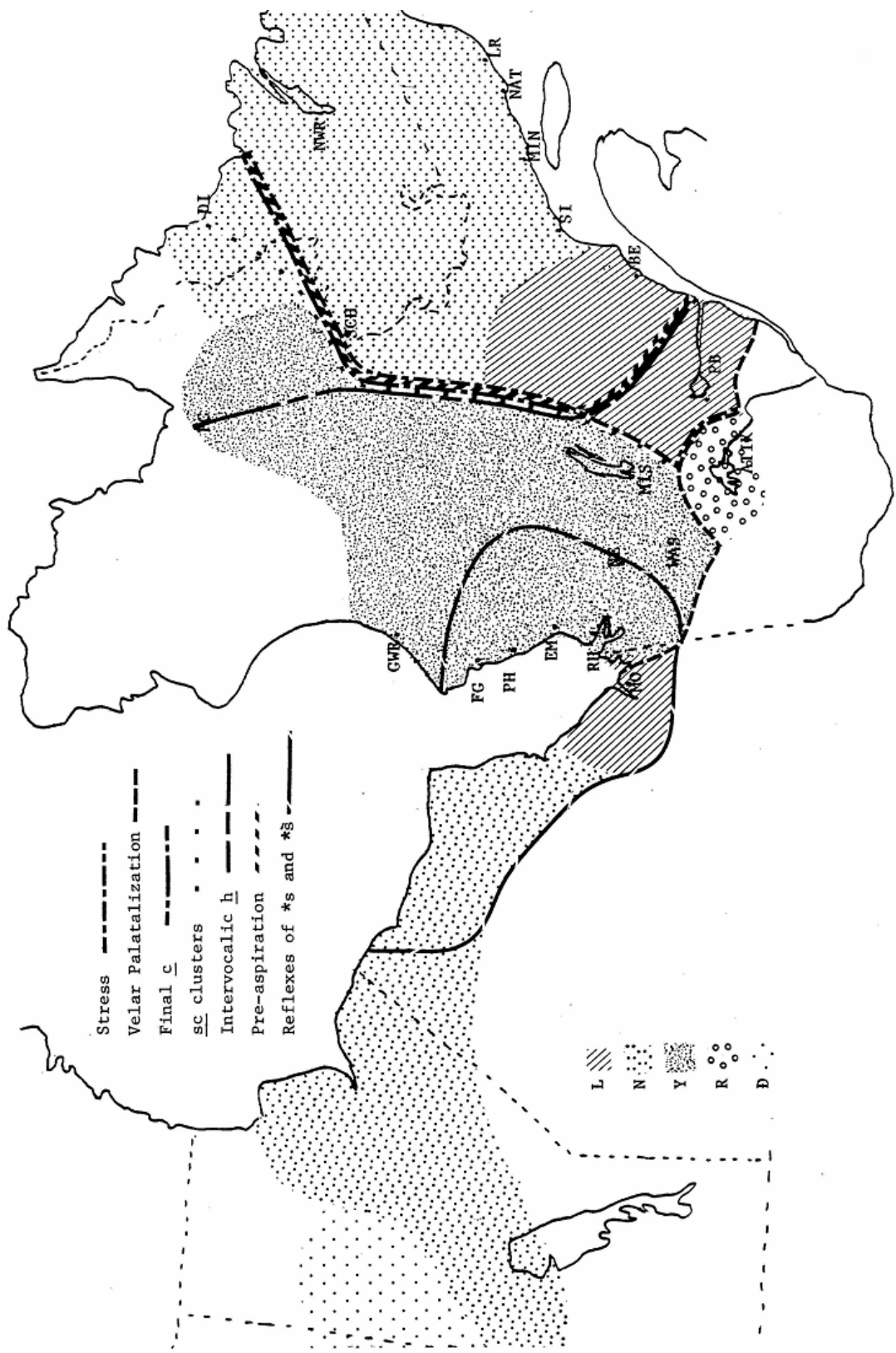PA clusters of a nasal or *h and a stop or affricate become *hc.

Consonant cluster series were *h<u>c</u>, *<u>x</u>C, *θ<u>k</u>, *<u>s</u>C and *

s`<u>C</u>. PA clusters with second member *s become *<u>s</u>.

The consonant inventory is as follows:

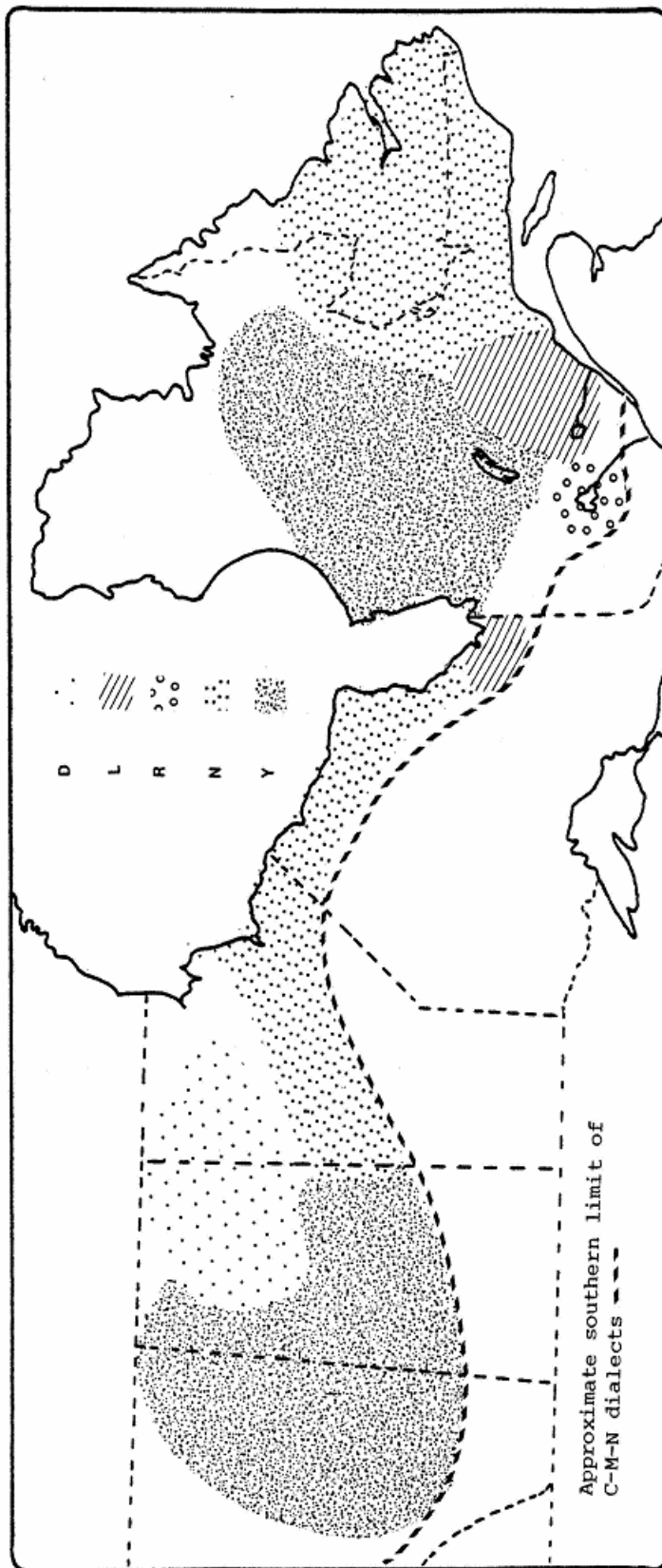| Stop	p	t		k	
Fricative		θ	s ŝ x̜		h
Affricate					
Nasal	m	n			
		l			
Semi-vowel	w	y			

   It will further be assumed that all the dialects
under study can be derived from the Pre-Cree level by the
application of a set of ordered rules.

   Map 2-1, following, shows the isoglosses for
consonant changes described in this chapter. Individual
isoglosses appear on maps in the section where the sound
shift is
discussed.

Map 2-1 Consonant Isoglosses (Cumulative)

2.1 Reflexes of Proto-Algonkian *1

The usual basis for the division of Cree-Montagnais-
Naskapi into dialects is the distribution of the reflexes
of PA*l. Within Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, the possible
reflexes are l, r, đ, n or y. All of these occur in the
non-palatalized dialects but only y, n and 1 occur in the
palatalized ones. Records from the 17th Century reveal a
dialect in which palatalization was taking place which
also used r (Fabvre 1695, Silvy circa 1678), but that
dialect is no longer in existence. Figure 2-1 shows the
correspondence between each reflex. Maps 2-2 and 2-3
indicate the distribution within the palatalized and non-
palatalized dialects. Differences may be noted between
the distribution mapped by Michelson and that of present-
day dialects. Discontinuities in the reflexes are
discussed in Pentland 1979 (349 f.f.).

Map 2-2 Distribution of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi
Dialects. From Michelson 1939.

Map 2-3 Reflexes of PA *1

Reflexes of PA *l

	PA	Plains	Woods	Swampy	Moose	Atikamekw	E. Cree (W. Mont)	Mont. (S. Mont)	Naskapi (E. Mont)
you (s)	*ki:la	ki:ya	ki:ða	ki:na	ki:la	ki:ra	ci:y	ci:l	ci:n
he	*wi:la	wi:ya	wi:ða	wi:na	wi:la	wi:ra	wi:y	wi:l	wi:n
it is windy	*lu:tinwi	yu:tin	ðu:tin	nu:tin	lu:tin	ru:tin	yu:tin	lu:tin	nu:tin
it goes fast	*kisyi:paliwa	kisi:payiw	kisi:padiw	kiłi:paniw	kisi:paliw	kiłi:pariw	ciłi:payiw	ciłi paliw	ciłi paniw
it is sharp, pointed	*ki:na:wa	ki:na:w	ki:na:w	ki:na:w	ki:na:w	kina:w	cina:w	cina:w	ci:na:w
it is long	*kinwa:wa	kinwa:w	kinwa:w	kinwa:w	kinwa:w	kinwa:w	cinwa:w	cinwa:w	cinwa:w

Non-palatalized   Palatalized

Figure 2-1

Within the non-palatalized dialects, several groups have been named on the basis of this distribution so that all the y-communities are referred to as Plains Cree, the d-speakers as Woods, the n-speakers as Swampy, the l-speakers as Moose and the r -speakers as Atikamekw (formerly know as Tête de Boule). Among the palatalized dialects the situation is less clear-cut. While all but one of the y-communities are referred to as East Cree, the term Montagnais refers to groups of both l and n-speakers. The most northerly group of y-speakers and of n-speakers are both referred to as Naskapi. These are terms of self-identification for the speakers (when speaking French or English). Pentland (1979) had proposed Western Montagnais (y), Eastern Montagnais (n) and Southern Montagnais (l) in order to make the naming convention consistent with those of western dialects.

It is certainly convenient to be able to distinguish dialect groups on the basis of a single feature. Michelson, however, has pointed out that such a classification is insufficient (1939:76). Even so, he defended his use of this method by pointing out that exhaustive dictionaries and grammars of every dialect did not exist. There still are not works describing all the dialects and what is available is by no means exhaustive.

2.11   On the whole there is strict correspondence between the reflexes of *1 within each group. As is to be expected though, those communities which are near the area of use of a different reflex show less homogeneity. For example, within the y-area Rupert House, Mistassini and Fort Chimo show the influence of neighbouring l- or n-groups. The Rupert House word for 'his tongue' occurs as ute:lli: instead of the expected uteyini: and may be attributed to the influence of Moose Factory, an l-dialect.

At Mistassini, which has close links with the l-dialect of Pointe Bleue, l occurs in loan words from this neighbouring village and is also the sound used to represent the English r. Other y-dialect communities use n in this situation.

Mistassini	Ft. George	
te:kale:p	-	'pancake'
me:li:	ma:ni:	'Mary'
mu:liya:w	mu:niya:w	'Montreal'

The Fort Chimo group are at this time speakers of a y-dialect. But Turner, who visited them in the early 1890's, stated that they were an n-dialect (1894). His categorization was based on the reflex for PA*1 in the following words (Turner's transcription). Equivalents in neighbouring dialects are also given.

Ft. Chimo	NWR(<u>n</u>)	GWR(<u>y</u>)	
"anik""(<u>ani:k</u>)	<u>ani:k</u>	<u>iyi:k</u>	'frog'
"winapau unu" (<u>wi:napa:w innu:</u>)	<u>innu:</u>	<u>iyiyu:</u>	'(black) person'
"Tchin"(<u>ci:n</u>)	<u>ci:n</u>	<u>ci:y</u>	'you' sg:
"notn"(<u>nu:tin</u>)	<u>nu:tin</u>	<u>yu:tin</u>	'it is windy'

At present, the Fort Chimo people use <u>y</u> as the reflex of PA*1 in almost all words. A few words do have the reflex <u>n</u>, notably <u>ni:na:n</u> 'we-all'. Older speakers from Fort Chimo (over 70 years of age) do speak an <u>n</u> dialect which shares many features with that of Davis Inlet, particularly the alternation of <u>n</u> and <u>y</u>. The relationship between the Fort Chimo and the Davis Inlet groups will be discussed in detail below (5.3).

2.12   For the Plains Cree <u>y</u>-dialects Pentland (1979:87) reported considerable variation in the reflexes of clusters ending in PA*1. Similar variation has been noted for the East Cree dialects:

<u>PA</u>	<u>Plains</u>	East Cree	
*wi:nle:wa	<u>wi:hye:w</u>	wi:he:w	'he names him'
*le:hle:wa	<u>ye:hye:w</u>	ye:hye:w	'he breathes'
*aʔlapya	<u>ahyapiy</u>	ahapi: ahi:pi: }	'net'
*wa:ʔlawi	<u>wa:hyu:</u>	wa:hyu:	'far'
*aʔla:wa	<u>ahye:w</u>	hye:w ahe:w }	'she places him'
*a:teʔlu:hke:wa	<u>a:tahyu:hke:w</u>	a:tiyu:hce:w	'he tells a myth'

Davis Inlet speakers may have either <u>n</u> or <u>y</u> as the reflex of a PA cluster ending in *l:

*wi:nle:wa	>	<u>wi:ne:w</u>	'he names him'
*le:hle:wa	>	<u>ne:ne:w</u> ~ <u>ne:w</u> ~ <u>ne:yu:</u>	'he breathes'
*aʔlapya	>	<u>ayapin</u>	'net'
*wa:ʔlawi	>	<u>wa:nu:</u> ~ <u>wa:yu:</u>	'far'
*aʔle:wa:	>	<u>ane:w</u>	'she places him'
*a:teʔlu:hke:wa	>	<u>a:tanu:ce:w</u>	'he tells a myth'

2.13   Within the palatalized <u>n</u>-dialects it is the peripheral communities of Sept-Isles/Maliotenam and Davis Inlet where variation is recorded.

Michelson, reporting on fieldwork carried out on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence in 1937, stated that the region from Mingan to Godbout (west of Sept-Isles) was a mixed <u>n</u> and <u>l</u> area (1939:71). Today there is little trace of <u>l</u> at Mingan but at Sept-Isles Cowan (1974) has recorded "lelew" for <u>ne:new</u> 'he breathes' and "plesis" for <u>pinesis</u> 'small bird'. Ford (1976) referred to a mixed <u>l/n</u> dialect with a predominance of <u>n</u> forms for this same community and Drapeau (1979) reported that the <u>l</u>-dialect there is on the way to extinction. Schefferville people, who are closely related socially and linguistically to the residents of Sept-Isles, make the substitution of <u>l</u> for <u>n</u> much less frequently than the latter and disparage this practice at Sept-Isles.

At Davis Inlet, which borders on the y-area, several words have y where n is expected as a relex of *1:

wayawi:w	instead of	unawi:w	'he goes out'
nispa:ya:w	"	ispa:na:w	'it is high'

In this community there is synchronic variation between n and y so that one may be substituted for the other. However, not all instances of n can vary with y but only those which are reflexes of PA *n. An n which is a reflex of PA *1 never alternates with y. This alternation is discussed below (2.7).

2.14 There is evidence of the change from r to l in historic times in the area of Betsiamites. The first Jesuit recordings of the language spoken by the Indians who visited the Tadoussac mission are of an r-dialect (Thwaites 1901). By the end of the seventeenth century few instances of l are found in the dictionaries of Silvy (c.1678) and Favre (1695). The editors of the Silvy dictionary pointed out that by the end of the eighteenth century reference works and religious books written in the r-dialect were no longer appropriate for the Tadoussac area. In 1766, the missionaries there reported that there was confusion between r, l and n. By 1845, l was the most frequently used reflex of *1 and r was not understood (Cooter and Simard 1974:xxi).

A similar phenomenon has taken place among the Fort Chimo Naskapi. In 1894 they were reported as speakers of an n̲-dialect (Turner 1894) but today they speak a y̲-dialect with the n̲ reflex in only a few words (MacKenzie 1979).

Through the careful examination of the phonological changes which take place in these dialects, this thesis will show that the division of the dialects on the basis of the reflexes of PA*1 is of less significance than most Algonkianists have thus far postulated. The difference between palatalized l̲ and n̲ groups particularly, is difficult to maintain. It is significant in this regard to note that Ellis grouped l̲ and n̲ non-palatalized varieties together (1962), stating that there is little variation between them.

2.2   Stress Placement

The rules which govern the placement of stress have not yet been satisfactorily formulated for any of the Cree dialects. Certainly this is an area in which there is great variation among the dialects. The placement of stress determines which short vowels will be syncoped whereupon the loss of certain short vowels triggers the operation of other rules such as affricate dissimilation. Differences in stress pattern and speed of utterance contribute to difficulties in mutual intelligibility (Pentland 1979:116).
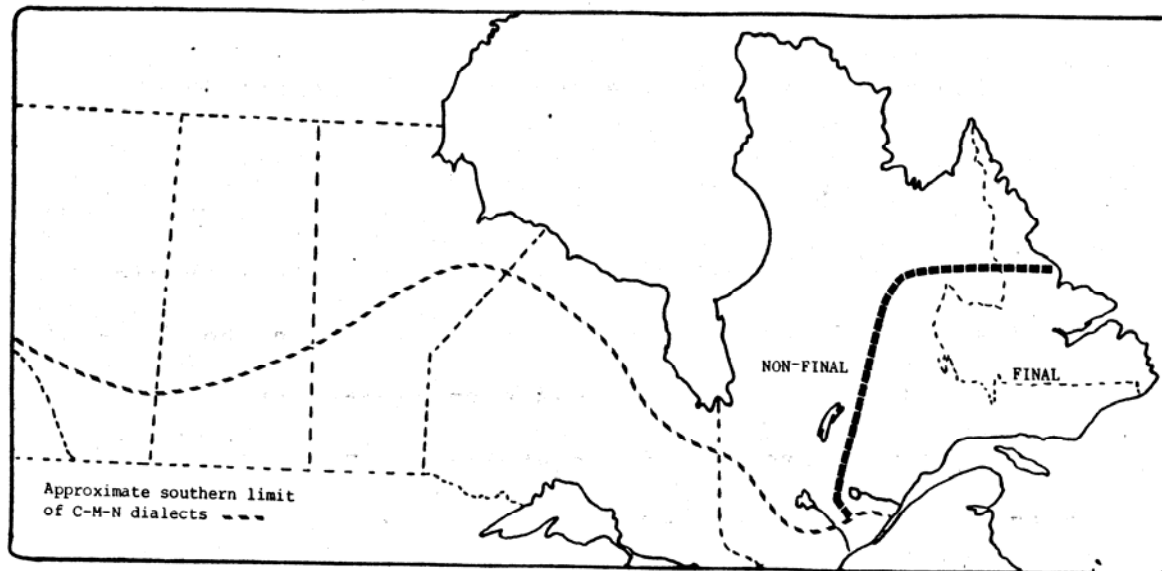
Map 2-4 <u>Stress</u>

There are two major patterns of stress for words in the palatalized dialects: final and non-final. The distribution of patterns is shown on Map 2-4. The extent of word-final stress coincides very neatly with the area of French influence. Consequently, it is difficult not to speculate that this feature is a result of language contact. In all <u>n</u>- and <u>l</u>-communities except those in Labrador, French is the second language of the Indians and the first language of the members

of the dominant society, including the powerful Roman Catholic clergy. At North West River, Labrador, it is only within this century that the English language has gained dominance as the second language of the Indians. Previous to that time, the people made regular trips to the North Shore of the St. Lawrence where they found French priests. Ford (1975) has attempted to formulate rules for the Moisie dialects. His assignment of primary stress to non-final syllables, however, is not convincing.

2.21   The stress patterns reported for the non-palatalized dialects are not appropriate to those palatalized dialects with non-final stress. Pentland found that although stress usually falls on the ante-penultimate syllable, whether the vowel is long or short there are still many exceptions (1979:118). Ellis' statement (1962:1-5) that stress is non-phonemic for Moose and Swampy dialects does not hold true for those y-dialects which apocope final short vowels. Here a shift in stress is used to mark morphological categories as in the inanimate plural:

<u>masinahí:kan</u>			'book'
<u>masinahi:kán</u>	<	/masinahi:kana/	'books'
<u>utá:pa:n</u>			'car'
<u>uta:pá:n</u>	<	/uta:pa:na/	'cars'

In some dialects with word-final stress, final short vowels can be dropped. Mailhot reported that in this case there is a diminution of intensity of stress (1975:39).

At Fort George, a <u>y</u>-dialect community, a shift in stress is used to differentiate otherwise homophonous words.

<u>yá:ka:w</u>	'sand'
<u>ya:ká:w</u>	'it is sandy'

For those dialects in which stress is non-final, it is difficult to formulate a rule of stress assignment. In di-syllables the long vowel again receives the stress, the penultimate one in the case of a word having two long vowels. Where the word has two short vowels, one or the other carries the stress. In words of three syllables or more, stress usually falls on the rightmost underlying long vowel. Final phonetic long vowels which result from the assimilation of a short vowel to a glide are not counted. If the long vowel stands more than third from the end, the penultimate or ante-penultimate short vowel will receive stress.

At least three degrees of stress can be recognized: primary, secondary and weak. A thorough analysis of the stress patterns for every dialect would contribute greatly to the understanding of other phonological processes such as the syncope of short vowels.

2.3   Palatalization

Palatalization in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi can apply to dental or to velar consonants. Dental palatalization is widespread in Algonkian languages (see Piggott 1974 for Ojibway) as it is for a11 dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The palatalization of the velar stop k is restricted to the y, n and l dialects of Quebec-Labrador and has been seen to constitute a major isogloss between the dialects, a topic discussed in 1.2.

2.31   By the rule of dental palatalization, the stop t can become s or c depending on the following morpheme. This palatalization reflects the Proto-Algonkian consonants *Θ and *t which have fallen together in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi as t. Both consonants were subject to palatalization before the high front vowels *i:, *i and also *y but not before *e: or *e. In Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi *i and *e have fallen together as i and the environment for palatalization is no longer phonologically transparent. The following examples are from Mistassini:

```
/na:t-e:w/ >           na:te:w            'he fetches him'

/ci-na:t-in/ >         cina:sin           'you fetch me'

/pe:t-a:stamuhte:w/ >  pe:ta:stamuhte:w   'he approaches'

/pe:t-i-pi:hce:w/ >    pe:cipi:hce:w      'he comes in'
```


The addition of the subjunctive suffix -i causes palatalization of final t in Conjunct Indicative Neutral verb forms in Plains Cree: e:wa:pamat 'as you see him' and wa:pamaci 'if you see him'. In the majority of the palatalized dialects, this does not happen. A few communities do, nevertheless, have irregular instances of palatalization. This is discussed in detail in 4.42

An additional case of dental palatalization results from the addition of the diminutive suffix - sis, icsis, is̀ or iss depending on the dialect. In this case t (from whatever source) may become c and s may become s̀. Examples from Mistassini are:

```
/atimw/ >              atim               'dog'

/atimw-is̀/ >           acimus̀             'puppy'

/si:pi:/ >             si:pi:             'river'

/si:pi:-is̀/ >          s̀i:pi:s̀            'stream'

/te:htapu:n/ >         te:htapu:n         'chair'

/te:htapu:n-is̀ >       ce:hcapu:ns̀        'little chair'
```

2.32   The rule of velar palatalization changes <u>k</u> to <u>c</u> when it occurs before the front vowels <u>i</u>, <u>i:</u> or <u>e:</u> Within Quebec, only the Atikamekw speakers retain <u>k</u> in this environment. The distribution is shown on Map 2-5.

Approximate southern limit
of C-M-N dialects ➤ ➤ ➤
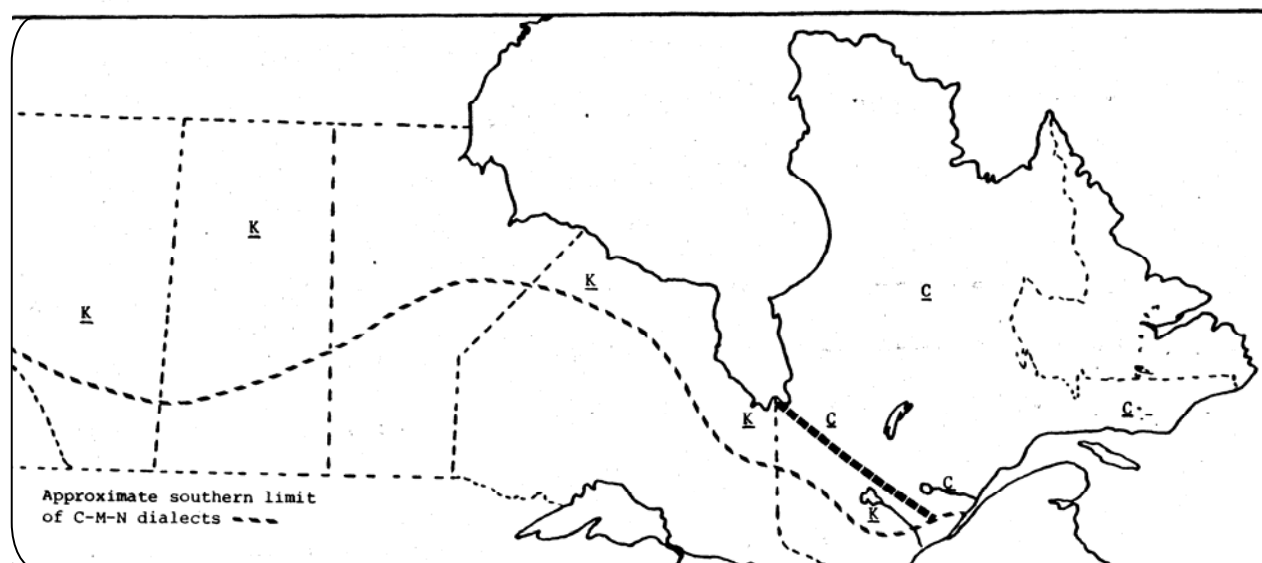
Map 2-5   <u>Velar Palatalization</u>

The following Fort George words indicate that the palatalization rule must be ordered before the change of <u>e:</u> to <u>a:</u> in the northern <u>y</u>-dialects.

<u>Moose</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	
<u>kinwa:w</u>	<u>cinwa:w</u>	<u>cinwa:w</u>	'it is long'
<u>ki:na:w</u>	<u>ci:na:w</u>	<u>ci:na:w</u>	'it is pointed'
<u>ke:kwa:n</u>	<u>ce:kwa:n</u>	<u>ca:kwa:n</u>	'thing, what'

The beginning of velar palatalization is attested to in the seventeenth century Montagnais dictionaries of the Jesuit missionaries Silvy (<u>circa</u> 1678) and Fabvre (1695). A number of words are cited with variant spellings using "k" or "tch" or "ts". Fabvre gives "ispimik, ispimits" for 'above', "mamits, mamik" for 'downstream' while in Silvy we find "keko" 'what is it' along with "tchek irini8" 'what man is it?', "nikik" for 'otter' but "nitchikweian" for 'otter skin'.

The Jesuit LeJeune arrived in Canada several decades before Fabvre and Slivy and is believed to have prepared a dictionary which was the model. It has since been lost (Cooter & Simard 1974:xv). The transcription of Montagnais words in LeJeune's letters in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1896) does not show an affricate in place of <u>k</u>, but does show a consistent differentiation between <u>k</u> before front vowels and <u>k</u> before back vowels. LeJeune writes "k", "c" or "g" before back vowels in words such as "kaie" <u>kaya</u> for 'so, and', "cata" <u>kata</u> as the future tense particle and "egou" <u>e:ku</u> for 'then, well'. Before front vowels, "kh" is used, as in "nikhiouan" for <u>niki:wa:n</u> 'I go home'. This sound was also differentiated from the affricate <u>c</u> which LeJeune represents with "tch" as in "tchipai" for <u>ci:pay</u> 'soul'. Later missionary writers did not make this systematic distinction. Both Cooper (1945) and Michelson (1939) discussed the probable phonetic value of LeJeune's

"kh" grapheme. Michelson proposed that the "kh" was equivalent to c. Cooper, however, after having presented new evidence, concluded that most likely "kh" had a value within the k range rather than within the tc ([c̀]) range". It seems likely that k before front vowels was then undergoing palatalization. Although it was not yet articulated as the present-day affricate c it was at least a palatalized k [ķ] or [kʸ]. Cooper as well holds that "kh" was perhaps an aspirated or possibly slightly palatalized k (42).

    2.33   There are a number of examples of phonetic [ki:] and [ke:] sequences which seem to violate the rule of velar palatalization. One set of exceptions can be simply explained (2.32) as the assimilation of a to a following y which produces [i:] as in the Mistassini words:

/u:htawakaya/	>	u:htu:ki:	'his ear'
/u:sakaya/	>	u:saki:	'his skin'
/kaya/	>	ki:ya	'so, yes'

Here the rule of assimilation must follow that of velar palatalization.

           The Independent paradigm of transitives with the theme sign - iskaw/-isk- 'by foot or body' for transitive animate/inanimate goals presents another exception. Examples are from the Mistassini dialect:

```
nimiske:n              'I find it'
cimiske:n              'you find it'
miskam                 'he finds it'
nu:ta:miske:n          'I kick it'
cu:ta:miske:n          'you kick it'
u:ta:miskam            'he kicks it'
```

Palatalization would be expected in these examples since instances of synchronic alternation between k and c are not difficult to find:

```
nina:sce:n         'I put down boughs'
na:sce:w           'he puts down boughs'
na:ska:nu:         'someone puts down boughs'
nisk               'goose'
niscika:n          'goose decoy'
```

A further example of alternation is found in the AI paradigm of some verbs at Pointe Bleu and Betsiamites. Many dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi preserve an alternation of vowels in the AI Independent paradigms: a: in the non-third persons and e: in the third person forms. (Lacombe 1874, Wolfart 1973:50).   This alternation has been levelled in other dialects, such as that of Mistassini and most other palatalized y-varieties so that e: (> a:) appears everywhere (except in indefinite actor forms).

> Betsiamites   Mistassini
>
> nimisinaika:n   nimasinahi:ce:n   'I write'
>
> misinaice:w   masinahi:ce:n   'he writes'

A problem occurs in that the k undergoes palatalization in the form for 'he writes' but not the one for 'he finds it'. Historical records may provide an answer. For the period of the seventeenth century, Fabvre gives "misten 3 tam8" and Silvy gives "ni misten 3.kam" for nimiske:n, miskam 'I find it, he finds it'. Both the first person forms are consistent with the rule of palatal simplification (2.4) which was already in operation at that time. By this rule, sk > sc > st > ss before front vowels. It is unclear whether the t in the third person in Fabvre " - tam8" is a mistake or is an example of regularization of the paradigm.

The eighteenth century manuscript of Laure (1726) gives "ni missen" for nimiske:n 'I find it" and "ni tatchissen, tatchiskamu" for nitaciske:n, taciskamw 'I kick it, he kicks it'. This demonstrates that there has been palatalization and subsequent simplification of sk to ss in the first person only. The La Brosse manuscript of 1768, however, shows more variation in "miʃken" and "miʃtʃen" for 'nimiske:n' I find it.

It seems that the form -ske:n underwent change by palatalization rule but -ske:n forms were in competition with -sce:n and -usse:n forms. Eventually the variation was resolved by regularizing the paradigm to the third person

form -_skam_ which was not 'subject to the rule of velar
palatalization.

          Another case of failure of _k_ to palatalize to
_c_ occurs when the Subjunctive marker is suffixed to Conjunct
Indicative Neutral verb forms. Thus at Mistassini the form
e:wa:pamak 'as I see him'   becomes _wa:pamake:_ 'if/when I see
him' and the _k_ is retained. Possible reasons for this are
discussed in 4.8.

    2.34   In some dialects _c_ is pronounced as [ts]
rather than [tš]. This occurs in the _l_-varieties of
Betsiamites and Pointe Bleue (Mailhot 1975:26) and at Rupert
House. This usage seems to be spreading up the James Bay
coast. The _l_-varieties of Quebec Montagnais are those where
final _c_ has been retained longest. At Pointe Bleu final _c_ is
[ts] and at Betsiamites older speakers still use final [ts].

          The inter-relationship between the rules of
affricate simplification (2.4 below) of _c_ in clusters, in
final position and before vowels remains to be examined in
detail. It might be expected that those varieties which
weaken final _c_ to [t] were the same ones which weaken _c_
elsewhere to [ts]. Unfortunately, this does not seem to have
been the case in the Montagnais varieties. Only at Rupert
House, where the rule is still variable, do the two changes
seem to occur together:

/cipahamw/   >   [dzəphəm]   'he closes it'

2.4   <u>Depalatalization</u>

        Every dialect which palatalizes <u>k</u> to <u>c</u> has rules
which simplify <u>c</u> to either [t] or [s] when next to <u>s</u> or
<u>t</u>. Thus we find <u>aski:</u> may become [<u>asci:</u>] [<u>astsi:</u>] or
[<u>assi:</u>] in various dialects.
    Historical evidence indicates that <u>sk</u> clusters were
the first to undergo velar palatalization and subsequent
simplification. While the dictionaries of Silvy and
Fabvre from the late 1600's show variable palatalization
of single <u>k</u>, almost all sequences of <u>skis</u> are recorded
as "stis".

Fabvre   "asti"   <u>aski</u>:   'earth'
          "mistinak8"   <u>miskina:kw</u>   'turtle'8
          "pastisikan" <u>pa:skisikan</u> 'gun'

Silvy   "astikw"   <u>askikw</u>   'kettle'
         "mastisin"   <u>maskisin</u>   'moccasin'

         "nipastinen"   <u>nipaskine:n</u> 'I shoot it'
         "nipassinen"

Furthermore, we find "sedizin" < <u>se:cisin</u> < <u>se:kisin</u> 'he
is afraid'. These examples indicate that velar
palatalization must have been completed first for (<u>s)kis</u>
sequences and then spread to <u>sk</u> and <u>k</u>. Similarly,
simplification of the <u>c</u><<u>k</u> must have taken place very
early in the vicinity of <u>s</u>.

    The palatalization of final <u>k</u> and subsequent
affricate simplification followed this. In all <u>n</u>- and <u>1</u>-
varieties in Quebec-Labrador, final <u>c</u><<u>k</u> is pronounced as

Depalatalization

Non-pal.	Rupert H.	Mistassini	Pte.Bleue	Moisie	LNS	Davis I.	
-ak	-ac / -at	-ac	-ats	-at	-at	-ats	'animate plural'
aski:	astsi:	asci:	assi:	assi:	astsi:	asci: / assi:	'earth'
maskisin	mastsìn	mastsin	massin	massin	mastsin / mahtin	massin	'shoe'
mi:cisu:	mi:tsu:	mi:tsu:	mi:tsu:	mi:tsu:	mi:tsu:	mi:tsu:	'he eats'
kitakuhp	stakuhp	stakuhp	stakuhp	stakup	staku:hp	sta:ku:f	'your coat, dress'
(ka)tatu:tam	cikatu:tam	skatu:tam	cikatu:tam	cikatu:tam	cikatu:tam	cikatu:tam	'he will do it'

Figure 2-2

[ts] or [t]. Only the varieties of Pointe Bleue and Davis
Inlet, whose territories are contiguous with that of the East
Cree, retain final [-ts]. Lemoine (1901) recorded it for
Betsiamites but Drapeau (1979:16) reports that only old
speakers use it and younger speakers use [-t]. Mailhot
(personal communication) noted that one family from
Schefferville also retain final [ts]; this family has its
hunting territory contiguous with the Fort Chimo and Davis
Inlet land. Within the East Cree area, Rupert House speakers
are innovating final [t] < c although this is quite variable
at the present time.
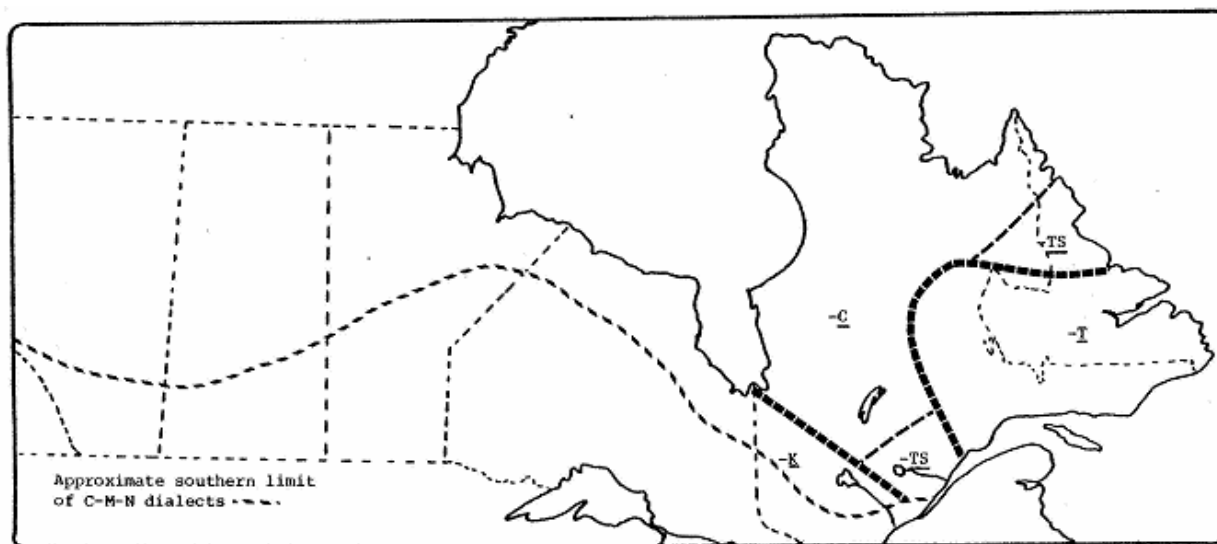
Map 2-b Final c

Among the palatalized dialects, palatal simplification is
most advanced in the central dialects of

Betsiamites and Moisie. There, all sequences of -<u>scis</u>,
-<u>sc</u>-, -<u>cis</u>- and -<u>c#</u> have been simplified.

   /maskisin/   > <u>mascisin</u>   > [massin] 'moccasin'

   /aski:/   > <u>asci:</u>   > [assi:]   'earth'

   /pakisin/   > <u>pacisin</u>   > [patsin] 'he drops'

   /-aki /   > <u>-ac</u>   > [-at]   'anim. pl.'

   The change of -<u>sc</u> to [ss] appears to be spreading to
younger speakers at Davis Inlet and Fort Chimo where <u>asci:</u>
~ <u>assi:</u> 'earth' have been recorded.

   The Tadoussac region, where the Jesuits recorded the
language, lies slightly west of Betsiamites. Baptismal,
marriage and death records for the surrounding area show
variation in the recording of final <u>c</u> < <u>k</u> as "ts" or "t" as
well as "k", "ki", "ng" and "tch". These variations all
occur for the locative suffix -<u>ihki</u>, used with place names.
(Larouche: 1668-1700).

   Within the <u>y</u>-varieties of the eastern James Bay area,
palatal simplification only occurs for -<u>scis</u>- and -<u>cis</u>-
sequences after syncope of the short vowel. For Mistassini:

   <u>citawa:si:m</u> >   [stəwɔ:si:m] 'your child'

   <u>mascisin</u>   >   [məstsɨn]   'shoe'

<u>asci:</u>   >   [əsci:]   'earth'

On the east coast of James Bay the retention of s̱ as well as s̱̀ creates a new affricate in some words so that mascis̱̀in > [məsts̀in] 'shoe' is perceived as mascin. This can cause homophony between the words mi:ciw 'he eats it' and mi:cis̱̀uw > [mi:tšu:] 'he eats', but is avoided through the voicing of -c-:

mi:ciw   >   [mi:ǰu:]   'he eats it'
                    tš
mi:cis̱̀uw >   [mi:ču:]   'he eats'

At Mistassini, the rule has been generalized to sequences of cik- as in [skatu:təm] < cikatu:tamw 'he will do it'.

In the Lower North Shore communities, the rule of palatal simplification in clusters appears to have ceased operating before the final stage of [ss] had been reached:

asci: >   [astsi:]   'earth'

mascisin   >   məstsn̥ > [məhtn̥]   'shoe

kascinu: >   kəstinu: > [kəhtn̥u:] 'all'

In final position, however, -ṯ is used throughout the region.

Map 2-7 indicates the extent of affricate simplification in Quebec-Labrador:
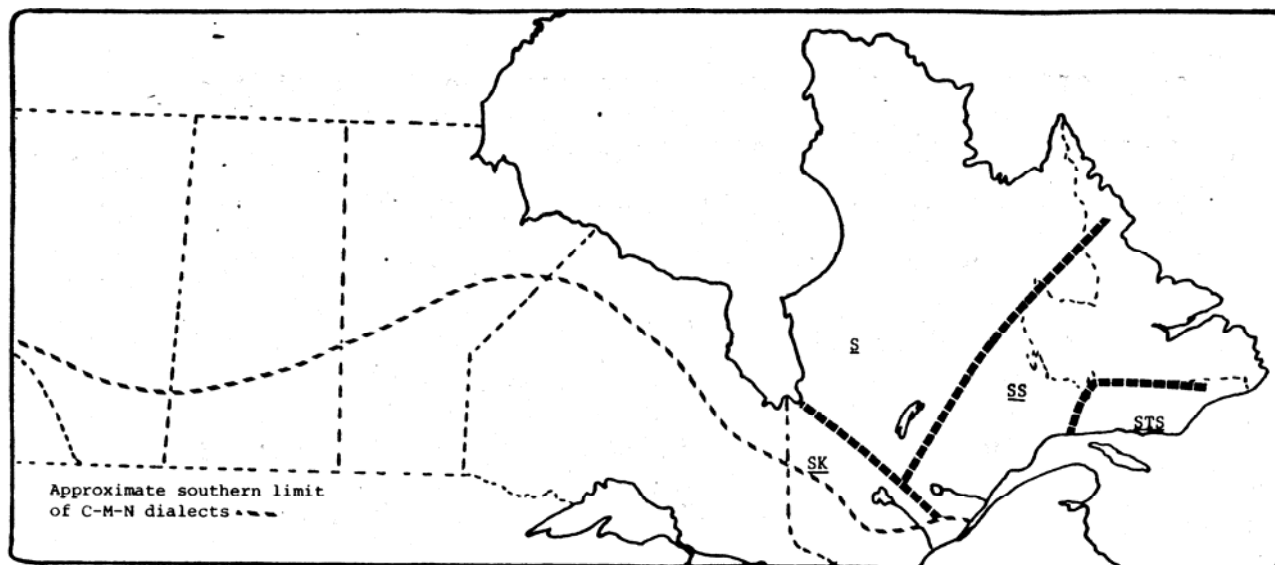
Map 2-7 sc clusters

It is possible, then, to posit several stages for the process of palatal simplification. First c dissimilated from a preceding s. This probably happened earlier for sequences of -scis- than the cluster -sc-. As more instances of k became palatalized to c, the rule of simplification was generalized to include final position (after the loss of final short i). The rule probably originated in the area around the Saguenay and Moisie rivers and spread outward from there to the Lower North Shore and over the height of land to the East Cree area. The simplification in final position did not spread to the East Cree area. The recent tendency to change final c to [-t] at Rupert House is most likely an independent development since there is, as yet, little evidence of contact between this community and the n and l palatalized ones to the east. Also, the Rupert House rule is as yet used mostly by younger speakers.

2.5   Loss of h

In the pre-Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, *h is
derived from Proto-Algonkian *h intervocalically and
before stops. Moreover, synchronic clusters of a nasal
and a stop (*mp, *nt, *nc, *nk) became *h plus a stop. The
few other sources of pre-aspirated stops were described
by Pentland (1979). They are of little concern for the
purposes of this analysis. In a number of palatalized
dialects there is a phonetic [h], the result of the shift
s > [h] which is described in 2.62.
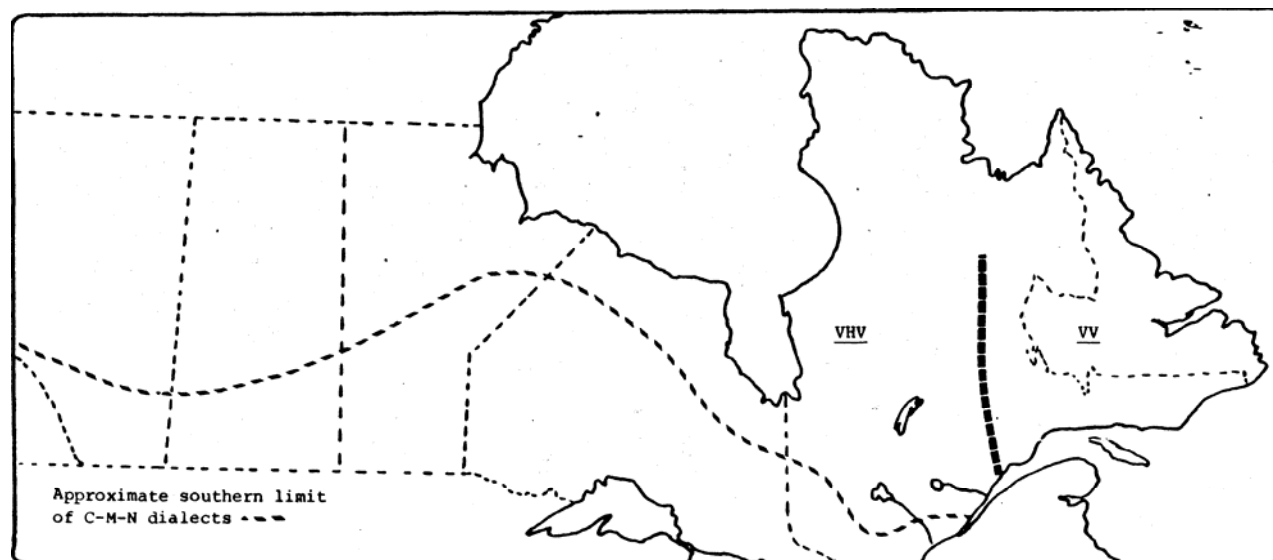
Map 2-8 Intervocalic h

Loss of h

Mistassini	Ft. Chimo	Davis Inlet	NWR	LNS	Moisie	Betsiamites
tu:ha:n	tu:wa:n	tu:wa:n	tu:wa:n	tu:wa:n	tu:wa:n	tu:wa:n
mahi:kan	miyi:kan	ma:nikey	meykan	maykan	meykan	miyikan
masinahi:kan	misinii:kan	masina:nikan	maṡineykan	maṡinaykan	maṡineykan	maṡini:kan
nicip(a)he:n	nicnipa:n	nicipe:	nicipeyn	nicipayn	nicipeyn	nicipiye:n
cip(a)ham	cipam	cipam	cipeym	cipaym	cipaym	cipi:m
atihkw	ati:xw	ati:xw	ati:kw	ati:xw	atikw	atikw
atihkuc	ati:xuc	ati:xuts	ati:kut	ati:kut	atikut	atikut
mi:ciwa:hp	mi:ciwa:f	mi:ciwa:f	mi:ciwa:p	mi:ciwa:hp	mi:ciwa:p	mi:ciwa:p
akuhp	aku:f	uku:f	aku:p	aku:hp aku:f	akup	akup
akuhph	aku:fa	aku:fa	aku:pa	aku:pa	"kup	"kup
miht	mi:ht	mi:ht	mi:t	mi:ht	mit	mit
mihth	mi:hta	mi:hta	mi:ta	mi:ta	"mit	"mit

Figure 2-3

2.51   Inter-vocalic h is never lost in the non-palatalized dialects although it disappears in a number of the eastern palatalized ones, as shown on Map 2-8. When vowels are of different quality, the h is lost in the palatalized varieties. However, between long vowels of the same quality h is retained:

Mistassini	Sept Isles	
u:hu:	u:hu:	'owl'
e:he:	e:he:	'yes'
a:hawe:sis	a:hawe:ṡiṡ	'old squaw duck'
tu:ha:n	tu: a:n	'ball'
mahi:kan	maikan	'wolf'

The situation of h before a front vowel is more complex. Pentland reported that for some speakers of non-palatalized dialects, h before a front vowel may become y or zero as in sa:kahikan > [sa:kaɪkən]. (1979:98).

Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet speakers simply drop the h completely before a non-high front vowel:

Mistassini	Ft. Chimo	Davis I.	
niciꞔahe:n	niciꞔa:n	niciꞔe:n	'I close it'
ciꞔaham	ciꞔam	ciꞔam	'he closes it'

At Betsiamites h becomes [y] and remains so before a long vowel. Before a short vowel h becomes [y] and then coalesces with neighbouring short vowels to long [i:]

'I close it'	'he closes it'	'book'
/nicipahe:n/	/cipaham/	/masinahikan/
nicipaye:n	cipayam	masinayikan
[nicipiye:n]	cipiyam	masiniyikan
	[cipi:m]	[masini:kan]

The Moisie, Lower North Shore and North West River speakers also change h to [y] and as well there has been regularization of the paradigm:

| Mistassini	NWR/Moisie	L.N.S.	
nicipahe:n	nicipeyn	nicipayn	'I close it'
cipaham	cipeym	cipaym	'he closes it'

The third person forms can be easily explained. After the h has become [y], the following short vowel drops and in the NWR/Moisie varieties the preceding a is raised to [e] by the high front glide. The first and second person forms may have been restructured on the model of the third person, even though that necessitated the deletion of the long vowel e: following [y]. The sequence may then be nasalized (3.7).

At Davis Inlet, <u>h</u> before front vowels occurs as <u>n</u> with lengthening of the preceding vowel:

/masinahikan/   >   masina:nikan   'book'

/wa:skahikan/   >   wa:ska:nikan   'house'

It is probable that the original <u>h</u> first became [y] as in the eastern varieties and then became subject to the replacement of <u>y</u> by <u>n</u> as described in 2.7.

2.52   Pre-Cree had a series of pre-aspirated stops *<u>hp</u>, *<u>ht</u>, and *<u>hk</u> alongside the simple stops *<u>p</u>, *<u>t</u>, *<u>c</u> and *<u>k</u>. In a number of palatalized and non-palatalized varieties, the pre-aspirated series is lost, sometimes with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel.
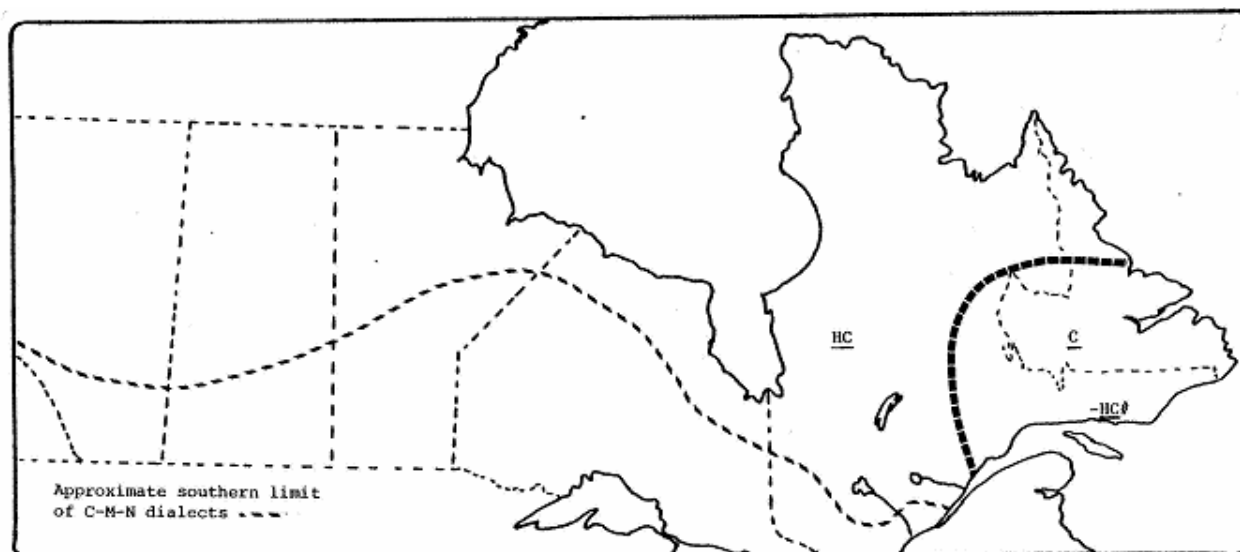
Map 2-9 <u>Pre-Aspiration</u>

Map 2-9 shows the areas of loss of pre-aspiration while Figure 2-3 gives examples of words with both inter-vocalic and pre-consonantal h for selected palatalized dialects.

The central palatalized dialects of Betsiamites and Moisie simply drop the pre-aspiration with no change in the preceding vowel:

/akuhp/	akup	'dress, coat'
/miht/	mit	'firewood (s.)'
/ispimihc/	isimit	'above'
/atihkw/	atikw	'caribou'

At North West River the preceding h drops but in this instance there is compensatory short vowel lengthening:

/akuhp/	aku:p	'dress'
/miht/	mi:t	'firewood' (s.)
/ispimihc/	ispimi:t	'above'
/atihkw/	ati:kw	'caribou'

At Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet there is short vowel lengthening and either the pre-aspiration remains or the pre-aspirated stop becomes a fricative:

/akuhp/	aku:f	'dress'
/miht/	mi:ht.	'firewood (s.)'
/ispimihc/	ispimi:hc	'above'
/atihkw/	ati:xw	'caribou'

A rule to predict when a pre-aspirated stop will become fricative cannot be written with any precision. It is clear that hk > x occurs first and hp > p or f next. The writer has noted only a single example of ht > Ɵ and none of hc > [c]. For Shamattawa, Anthony (1972) has reported that ht > Ɵ as well as hp > f and hk > x.

On the Lower North Shore, preceding short vowels are lengthened and pre-aspiration disappears except in absolute final position. Occasionally a pre-aspirated stop will become a fricative:

/akuhp/	aku:hp	'dress'
/akuhpa/	aku:pa	'dresses'
/miht/	mi:ht	'firewood (s.)'
/mihta/	mi:ta	'firewood (pl.)'
/ispimihc/	ispimi:ht	'above'
/atihkuc/	ati:kuc	'caribou (pl.)'

Both Ellis (1971) and Pentland (1979) have reported the loss of pre-aspiration in the non-palatalized dialects of Ontario and Manitoba, usually accompanied by compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel. For the palatalized varieties the lengthening cannot be considered as compensatory since, in many cases, the pre-aspiration remains even after lengthening takes place.

Béland observed that Atikamekw "systematically maintains a subphonemic double distinction between plain versus pre-aspirated consonants on the one hand, and voiced versus voice less consonants on the other hand" (1978:296). That is, all speakers distinguish two series of stops, either through contrast in voicing or through a contrast in pre-aspiration. The former system of contrast is more frequently used and extends to the fricatives as well.

2.53   There is an interesting relationship between the occurrence of the rule of h- loss and that of s̀ > h in Quebec-Labrador. The geographical extent of the change s̀ > h is coterminous with the area where h < *h has been lost in the largest number of linguistic environments. In the communities of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet it has been observed that inter-vocalic h has disappeared (except between vowels of the same quality). h before stops has normally been retained, and where it has not, the stop has become a fricative (see 2.52).

At Pointe Bleue, where the 1-dialect has retained pre-aspiration, there is no sign of the change s̀ > h. In the neighbouring l-variety of Betsiamites, which lost pre-aspiration in this century, the change to h has been innovated very quickly.

The Lower North Shore dialects are the only Montagnais varieties to retain a trace of pre-aspiration in word final position. This region is where the change of s̀ > h began and is now most advanced. Is there then potential homophony between words ending in hC and those ending in s̀C? It is the view of the writer that this is not the case and that the two clusters are always kept separate. This may be done by fricativization of hk > [x] as in [a:ti:xw] 'caribou', but is more often done by means of the difference in quality of the fricative. s̀ before a stop becomes [x] while h before a stop is articulated with less friction as [h], so that hC > [xC] and s̀C > [hC].

The s̀ > h change will probably show up next in Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet where inter-vocalic h has been lost but pre-aspiration retained. Already, younger speakers in these villages occasionally pronounce h < s̀, although they never do so before a stop. It will be interesting to follow the progress of this sound change to determine whether or not to is restricted to the non-pre-consonantal environment. It seems likely that if s̀ before

consonants becomes h, then all those pre-aspirated consonants which have not become fricatives will do so. Otherwise they will become stops and it will then be impossible to tell which stops were originally pre-aspirated and which were not, except historically.

In any case, it seems that in those dialects where s̀ > h, the original h no longer exists.
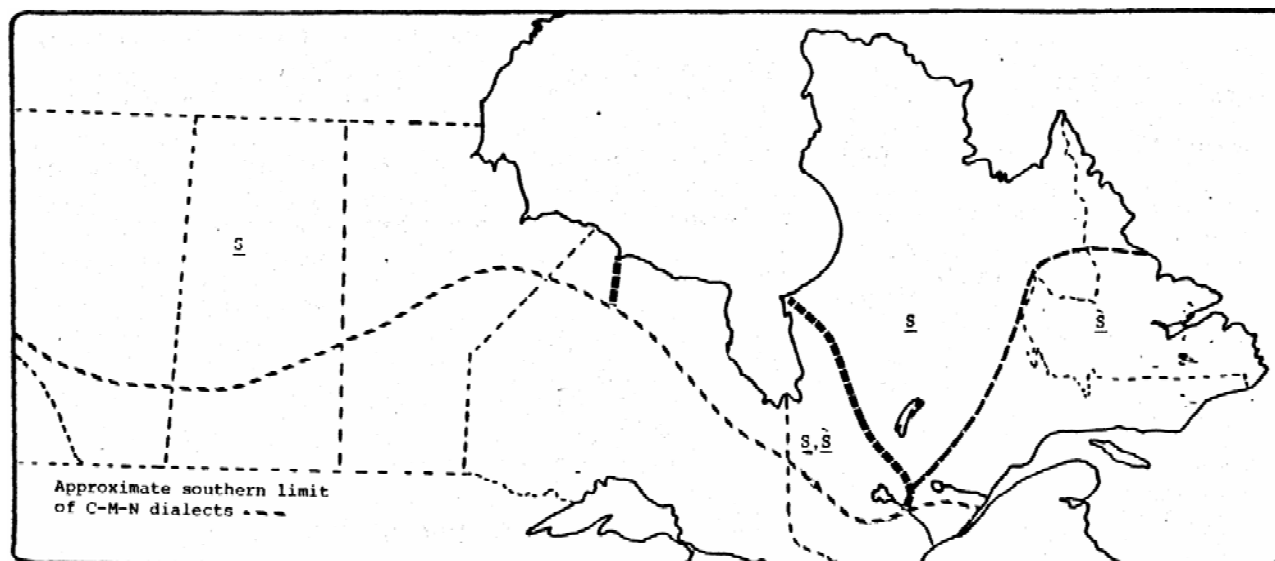
2.6 Reflexes of Proto-Algonkian *s and *s̀

Throughout the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi area there is variation in the distribution of the reflexes of PA *s and *s̀. In the central area on the east and west coasts of James Bay and south-east in the Atikamekw area, s and s̀ are separate phonemes and almost always keep the same distribution as in Proto-Algonkian. In the peripheral areas, to the prairies in the west and to Labrador in the east, *s and *s̀ fall together as either s or s̀.

PA	Plains	Swampy	Rup. H.	Mist.	Moisie
*wesa:wesiwa 'it is yellow'	usa:wisiw	usa:wisiw	usa:wsu:	usa:wsu:	wi:sa:ws̀u:
*si:pyiwa 'river'	si:pi:	si:pi	si:pi:	si:pi:	s̀i:pu:
*wa:puswa 'rabbit, hare'	wa:pus	wa:pus	wa:pus	wa:pus	wa:pus̀

PA	Plains	Swampy	Rup. H.	Mist.	Moisie
*s̀i:s̀i:pa 'duck'	si:si:p	s̀i:s̀i:p	s̀i:s̀i:p	si:si:p	s̀i:s̀i:p
*nyi:s̀w 'two'	ni:su	ni:s̀u	ni:s̀w	ni:sw	ni:s̀u

Map 2-10 shows the distribution of s̲ and s̲̀

Map 2-10   Distribution of s̲ and s̲̀

    Ellis remarked that for the non-palatalized dialects
the distinction between s̲ and s̲̀ is clearest at Moose
Factory and "as one moves north and west...the
distinction...becomes progressively more difficult to
catch" (1964:9). Pentland proposed a dividing line,
slightly west of the Ontario-Manitoba border, between
the area where s̲ and s̲̀ are kept separate and that where
they fall together (1979:84). In Atikamekw, also a non-
palatalized variety, the two sibilants are also
retained.

The distribution of variants among the palatalized dialects is the mirror image of that on the west coast of James Bay. The s̲/s̲̀ distinction is retained on the east coast from Rupert House north to Fort George. At Great Whale River and inland at Mistassini the distinction is lost as *s and *s̀ collapse as s̲. At Nemescau, located midway between Rupert House and Mistassini, there is variation among speakers, as might be expected. No doubt the degree of collapsing of s̲ and s̲̀ increases as a function of the proximity of the Nemescau hunting territories to Mistassini.

At Great Whale River, people are aware of the existence of two separate phonemes as a consequence of their contact with Fort George speakers and their use of the Moose Cree syllabic Bible. In a short spelling dictionary prepared recently by native teachers, many words are spelled with s̀ rather than the Great Whale s̲. The use of s̲ and s̀ in the dictionary, however, had no correlation with usage at Fort George or the Proto-Algonkian distribution. This may have been due to hyper-correction or randomness.

A11 palatalized dialects from Mistassini and Great Whale east have a single sibilant as the reflex of PA*s and *s̀. At Mistassini, Waswanipi, Great Whale River, and Fort Chimo, this sibilant is realized as s̲, becoming more palatal before high front vowels. All the l̲ and n̲ varieties from Pointe Bleue to North West River have s̲̀ as the

realization (with further changes before stops). Davis
Inlet, the n-dialect community nearest to Fort Chimo,
shows quite a bit of variation between [s] and [s̀] and
an analysis of the relative frequency of occurrence of
each could be undertaken with profit.

As Pentland pointed out, the falling together of
*s and *s̀ was underway in the non-palatalized area by the
end of the 1700's. In Quebec the dictionaries compiled by
Jesuits Silvy (circa 1678) and Fabvre (1695), show that s
and s̀ were still separate at that time. In the mid-
1700's, Laure (1726) and La Brosse (1768) recorded s̀
predominantly before consonants and word finally but both
s and s̀ in initial position. Nonetheless, forms such as
"ʃhipu" 'river' and "ʃhetʃtiʃin" 'I fear' show that s̀ was
replacing s before front vowels. By the end of the 1800's
the replacement is complete everywhere (Lemoine 1901).

2.61   All Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects have a
diminutive suffix. It may be -isis, is̀is̀, -is̀ or -iss
depending upon the dialect. Dialects in which *s and *s̀
have collapsed as s, use the palatal versions -is̀is̀ or -
is̀. In the n- and l- varieties of eastern Quebec and
Labrador which*s and *s̀ have collapsed as s̀, the
diminutive morpheme is -iss, resulting from -is̀is̀ through
short vowel syncope. The minimal pair utu:s̀ 'his canoe'
and utu:ss < utus̀is̀ 'his aunt' illustrate this.

Some examples are as follows:

Mistassini	Moisie	Swampy	
uta:pa:n	uta:pa:n	uta:pain	'car'
uca:paniš	uta:pa:niss	uca:painišiš	'little car'
atimw	atimw	atimw	'dog'
acimuš	atimuss	acimušiš	'puppy'

The -ši:š diminutive shows the effect of a sound symbolism rule whereby all apical consonants (t, s) in a word may become palatal (c, š) after the addition of the diminutive suffix. (Pentland 1974). This rule is common in the varieties from Mistassini west to Alberta where *s and *š are either kept separate or fall together as s. However, in the eastern palatalized varieties which have š as the reflex of both *s and *š, sound symbolism accompanies a diminutive suffix only when adults are addressing small children.

It is possible that *s and *š fell together as š rather than s in the eastern Quebec dialects, first, because the diminutive was becoming -isis > iss, and second, because diminutive symbolism operated in a very restricted way. At Mistassini and at Great Whale River, where the diminutive was –iš, *s and *š fell together as s maintaining a phonological distance. In all the palatalized varieties, the tendency to contract the diminutive -isis to -is or iss is apparent. The non-palatalized varieties appear to have -isis or –išiš (Pentland 1979:73,87). The non-palatalized

of Atikamekw, however, has two diminutive suffixes: -iss- and -iṡiṡ̀-
(Beland 1979:425-6).

       Although -<u>iss</u> represents the diminutive morpheme for
most lexical items in the palatalized <u>n</u> and <u>l</u> varieties, there remain
certain words which have -<u>ṡi:ṡ̀</u>.

       <u>uta:pa:niss</u>   'little car'

       <u>pinesi:ṡ̀</u>   'little bird'

       Diminutive forms such as <u>piye:si:s</u> 'small bird' and
<u>apikusi:s</u> 'mouse' appear to have been lexicalized early in the history
of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi and at that time were not subject to the
subsequent rules. The -<u>ṡi:ṡ̀</u> suffix may be the result of an early
historical rule by which *ehsehsa became <u>iṡi:ṡ̀</u>. The lengthened vowel
would then block the rule of syncope which would produce <u>iss</u> in later
forms.

2.62   In the Lower North Shore dialects there has been a
further change of <u>ṡ</u> to <u>h</u>. This takes place before a vowel or in final
position. Cowan (1976) suggested that the change first took place in
Mingan since the oldest of his informants from there also has the
highest percentage of [h] for <u>ṡ̀</u>. While no statistics are yet
available, it seems that the change is almost complete in initial and
final position. In intervocalic position, <u>ṡ̀</u> is only

occasionally found. Before stops s̀ may also become [h] as discussed below. Speakers are able to restore the s̀ in most cases and do this in more formal styles of speech, such as interviews (Cowan 1976:335).

The change of s̀ to [h] is now spreading to other l- and n- communities. Betsiamites seems to be innovating most rapidly of all the n- and l- villages. Cowan indicated that older speakers retain s̀ while younger ones replace it with [h] initially and intervocalically. Drapeau (personal communication) has reported that speakers over 40 years old use [h] consistently in intervocalic position and optionally in initial and final position. Furthermore, speakers from 20 years to 40 years old use [h] optionally only in final position.

Over 40	20-40 yrs.	
pine:s̀i:s̀	pine:hi:s	'bird'
pines̀i:hat	pine:hi:hat	'birds'
s̀i:pu:	hi:pu:	'river'

Speaker-s under 20 years have [h] in all positions.

At Sept-Isles and Schefferville the use of [h] for s̀ is variable in all positions. The correlates of its use by speakers remain to be investigated in detail. The replacement of s̀ by [h] has spread to the speech even of young Fort Chimo Naskapi (y) speakers (now resident at Schefferville). The writer has heard [h] for s̀ at Davis

Inlet in the speech of a woman married to a man from Sept-Isles.

It is interesting to note that speakers of the Lower North Shore dialects appear to equate the h of pre-aspiration with the [h] < s̀. It is orthographic practice to write "sh" everywhere before vowels and "s" before stops. In fact, "s" is also written for etymological h before stops. Thus forms such as "wapatask^w" for wa:pa:tahk and "atisk^w" for atihk^w are found in McNulty's Mingan grammar (1971).

2.63   In the seventeenth century Montagnais recorded by Fabvre and Silvy, s and s̀ were kept separate before stops. Cowan (1977a) postulated that the reflex of PA *sk remained sk, reflexes of *Өk became sk, and reflexes of *xk varied between sk and s̀k. This latter distinction has disappeared in the modern n and l dialects and indeed preceded the collapse of s and s̀ in other positions. Subsequently, however, variation has developed in the realization of s̀ in stop clusters.

At Pointe Bleue, Sept- Isles and Schefferville, sibilant-stop clusters are formed with [s̀] while at North West River they are formed with [s]:

Pointe Bleue	S.I. - Sch.	NWR	
is̀pimiht	is̀pimit	ispimi:t	'above'
mis̀pun	mis̀pun	mispun	'it snows'
nis̀t	nis̀t	nist	'three'
ni:s̀ta:w	ni:s̀ta:w	ni:sta:w	'my bro.-in-
amis̀kw	amis̀kw	amiskw	'beaver'
mas̀kw	mas̀kw	maskw	'bear'

In those dialects where s̀ is being replaced by [h] finally and before vowels, a similar phenomenon takes place in clusters of s̀ and a stop. This innovation began on the Lower North Shore of the St. Lawrence, since it occurs in the speech of older people, but can now be found in the speech of young people at Betsiamites. In the thirties, Michelson noted the change of s̀ to [h] at Natashquan and said that the same thing was reported for La Romaine and St. Augustin (1939:84). He made no mention of its occurrence in the speech of Mingan people, although present-day speakers there use [h] extensively.

Evidence for prior occurrence of this change at Natashquan and La Romaine comes from the distribution of [h] before stops. The most favourable linguistic environments, in descending order, are before k, p and t and following a, u, i:, i. The change is furthest advanced at Natashquan since s̀k is [hk] in all environments, s̀p is [hp], and s̀t is [ht] after a. La Romaine shows the same

distribution except that before t̲ there is still variation between [s̱] and [h]. At Mingan, where the rule has not been generalized to as many phonological environments, it applies mainly between back vowels and a following cluster. The following examples illustrate variation among the communities:

Mingan	La Romaine	Natashquan	
ispimit	içpmit	ihpmit	'above'
ustikwa:n	ustikwa:n	uhtikwa:n	'his head'
mahtn	mastn⎫	mahtn	'shoe'
	mahtn⎭		
pe:yakwahte:w	pe:yakwahte:w	pe:yakwahte:w	'nine'
mistuk	mistukw	mistuk	'stick'
nitu:hkan	nitu:hkan	nitu:htan	'my elbow'
nikahkw	nakahkw	nakaxw	'my palate'
mahkw	mahkw	mahkw	'bear'
amiskw	amihkw	amihkw	'beaver'
nisk	nihk	nihk	'goose'
ni:hta:w	ni:sta:w⎫		'my brother-
	ni:xta:w⎭		in law'

The distribution of [h] in a larger number of linguistic environments at Natashquan indicates that the innovation probably began with this group of speakers. The fewer environments for the change at Mingan reflects a more recent innovation. It is to be expected that s̱ will surely

become [h] in more and more words in the future.

For these Lower North Shore varieties, then, a new set of pre-aspirated stops is emerging. These are formed from s̀C clusters. This is happening only in those varieties where the original pre-aspirated stops have disappeared through h-dropping. Original pre-aspirated stops remain only in final position and these are in the process of becoming fricatives. Consequently there is little competition between pre-aspirated stops from s̀C clusters and hC clusters.

The younger speakers of the Fort Chimo variety show innovation of the change of s̀ to [h] between vowels. If the change is innovated preceding a consonant there may occur a merger of hC clusters with s̀C clusters. Nevertheless, since hC clusters are rapidly becoming fricatives, the merger may be avoided. It will be interesting to see whether a phonetic distance will be maintained between hC and s̀C clusters, and if it is, how this will be done.

At Betsiamites, the other community where the change s̀ > [h] is spreading quickly, clusters of s̀p and s̀k have been affected. The s̀t clusters become st, and no further change is found. Clusters of s̀k become [x] among younger speakers. The cluster s̀p before non-front vowels also becomes [x] while before front vowels it becomes [f]. Drapeau (1979) noted that some young speakers use [ht] for

<u>st</u> but never [hθ].

Betsiamites	Natasquan	Davis Inlet	
mukuma:n	mu:ku:ma:n	mu:xu:ma:n	'knife'
akup	aku:hp	aku:f	'dress'
ufwa:n			
uxwa:n	uhpwa:kan	uspwa:kan	'pipe'
ifmit	ihpmit	ispimit	'above'
maxw	mahkw	maskw	'bear'

At Betsiamites a full series of fricatives, derived from <u>s̀C</u> clusters, is in the process of developing. A similar process is taking place among Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet speakers. However, in the latter case the source of the fricatives is <u>hC</u> clusters. The <u>s̀C</u> clusters are maintained as such, or become fricatives (2.5).

2.7   <u>n</u> ~ <u>y</u> alternation

The speakers of the Davis Inlet variety have a synchronic alternation whereby <u>n</u> is pronounced either as [n] or as [y]. This alternation applies only to <u>n</u> which is the reflex of PA *n. The reflex of PA *1, which is also <u>n</u>, does not alternate synchronically with <u>y</u> although in limited number of lexical items <u>y</u> appears as the reflex instead of the expected <u>n</u> (2.1).

*me:skanawi	>	<u>me:skayaw</u> ~	<u>me:skanaw</u>	'road'
*[ ]	>	<u>tu:wa:n</u> ~	<u>tu:wa:y</u>	'ball'
*[ ]	>	<u>-na:n</u> ~ <u>-na:y</u> ~ <u>-ya:y</u> ~ <u>-ya:n</u>		first plural
				exclusive
				Independent suffix.

```
*nekipahe:n    >     niciphe:n ~      nicipahe:y          'I close it'
*ki:la         >     ci:n                                 'you'
*milwa:wi      >     minwa:w                              'it is good'
```

The conditioning for this alternation cannot be stated with precision although Ford (1978) has attempted to do so. The alternation occurs frequently in final and penultimate syllables. No examples of alternation have been found in initial syllables. The change of n to y is variable in many lexical items but has become categorical for a few, so that only y is used.

Few synchronic alternations occur between y and [n]. However, a number of the reflexes of PA *y are n instead of the expected y which occurs in every other dialect of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi:

```
*weya:ŝi        >         una:s            'meat'
*apwiya         >         apun             'paddle'
*metahci        >         miti:hci:n       'hand'
*askiya         >         assi:~ assi:n    'earth'
```

Again, the change of *y to n is most generalized in final syllables, and indeed, in final position.

A further instance of an unexpected n occurs before high front vowels. The dialects which retain intervocalic h have lexical items with the sequence -ahi as in masinahikan 'book', wa:skahikan 'house', mahikan 'wolf'. At Davis Inlet

these items are pronounced with <u>n</u> instead of <u>h</u>:

    <u>masinahikan</u> > <u>masina:nikan</u>   'book'

    <u>wa:skahikan</u> > <u>wa:ska:nikan</u>   'house'

    <u>mahikan</u>   > <u>ma:nikan</u> ~ <u>ma:nixey</u>   'wolf'

In other dialects, it has been noted that intervocalic <u>h</u> has become <u>y</u>. It may be that at Davis Inlet the sequence -<u>ahi</u>- became -<u>ayi</u>- and then participated in the general change of <u>y</u> > [n].

    An intrusive <u>n</u> also occurs variably in initial position in words beginning with short <u>i</u>:

    <u>iskwe:w</u> ~   <u>niskwe:w</u>   'woman'

    <u>iskute:w</u> ~   <u>niskute:w</u>   'fire'

    <u>ispimi:hc</u>~   <u>nispimi:hc</u>   'above'

The reason for the insertion of this <u>n</u> is unclear. Pentland (1979) has shown that the PA form of 'woman' actually began with *y, rather than *e as scholars had previously reconstructed. This would suggest that *yeΘkwe:wa may have become <u>niskwe:w</u> rather than <u>iskwe:w</u> at Davis Inlet. However, the other lexical item which Pentland reconstructed with initial *y does not have <u>n</u> or even <u>y</u> in the modern dialect: *yaʔt(ehs)i > <u>astis</u> 'sinew'.

    In dialects geographically contiguous to Davis Inlet, short initial <u>i</u> may become tense <u>i:</u>, instead of undergoing procope (3.41). It remains to be shown whether there is a

significant relationship between the occurrence of i: at initial and final word boundaries and the intrusion of n.

The sequence *-iya# has become [i:] in all Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. The replacement of *y with n by Davis Inlet speakers must have taken place at a very early date, before final short vowels on nouns were lost. This would indicate as well, that these speakers have been relatively isolated from speakers of neighbouring dialects since the replacement of *y by n and *n .by y took place. This replacement has been recorded in only one other dialect: that of the oldest speakers at Fort Chimo. In their speech, however, only the change of *y and *h to n has taken place:

waskahikan	>	wa:ska:nikan	'house'
mahikan	>	ma:nikan	'wolf'
nika:wi	>	nika:win	'my mother'
nipi:	>	nipi:n	'water'

These linguistic forms indicate that the Fort Chimo people had close contact with the Davis Inlet speakers in the past century. However, the frequency of contact has lessened in the past fifty years (Cooke 1976) and younger Fort Chimo speakers use n < *n and y < *y where all other Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi speakers do so.

2.8   Voicing

Voicing of stops, affricates and sibilants in most Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is environmentally conditioned

and not distinctive. Pentland has noted that stops are voiced
intervocalically in the western k-varieties. This is indeed
true for the palatalized varieties of East Cree and
Betsiamites. Stops are also voiced when they occur next to a
nasal and are unvoiced when next to a sibilant. There is a
tendency toward voicing of stops word-initially and de-
voicing word-finally. Sibilants are usually devoiced.

At the phonetic level, voicing can distinguish certain
pairs of words after the rule of short vowel syncope has
operated. At Rupert House [mi:ǰu:] < mi:ciw 'he eats it' is found
beside [mi:ču:] < mi:tšuw < mi:cìsuw "he eats".

In the Atikamekw varieties, however, a distinction between
two series of consonants has been innovated: a voiced/voiceless
alongside the original plain/pre-aspirated series of pre-Cree.
Beland (1979:296) stated that older speakers more frequently use
aspiration to distinguish consonants while younger speakers
favour a voicing contrast. He further noted that in word-initial
position, the voicing distinction is neutralized. As well, stops
may be voiced intervocalically or following a nasal. It is not
clear that voiceless stops of the voiced/voiceless series
correspond regularly to pre-aspirated stops of the other
series.

In contrast to almost all other Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi
dialects, Atikamekw permits voicing of sibilants s and s̀
between vowels. Cowan has recorded it at Pointe Bleue as well

(1974). It will be noted below that the Atikamekw have had contact with the neighbouring Algonquin, whose dialect of Ojibway contains voiced sibilants as well as stops.

Drapeau (1979) posited the emergence of a fortis/lenis series of stops which she thinks correspond to the pre-aspirated/plain series, a series which has been neutralized by Betsiamites and Moisie speakers. The examples she has provided, though, do not adequately support her hypothesis:

nipi:	>	[nəppi:]	'water'
mihta	>	[mətte]	'firewood'
atihkw	>	[ttəkw]	'caribou'

It is clear however, that two series of consonants are emerging in those palatalized dialects which have lost pre-aspiration. The close phonetic transcriptions provided by Martin (1977) indicate that there may be a correlation on the one hand between a short or lax vowel and a following fortis obstruent and, on the other hand, between a tense or long vowel and a lenis consonant:

wa:pa:w	>	[wa:ˈpɔ̯ǒ]	'it is white'
ne:ka:w	>	[ne:ˈkə̯ǒ]	'sand'
nipi:	>	[niPˈpi]	'water'
atim	>	[aTˈtIm]	'dog'

2.9   Minor Processes

  2.91   Assimilation of final alveolars

        At Betsiamites and in the Moisie communities t, n
(and s) are regularly assimilated to a preceding sonorant after
the operation of vowel syncope. In addition, t can be
assimilated to a preceding s. (Drapeau 1979:32-33; Mailhot
1975:34-35):

    awe:si:sat   >   [we:si:ss]   'animals'
    ustikwa:nit   >   [ustikwa:nn]   'on his head'
    a:kusit   >   [a:kuss]   'as he is sick'

It appears that degemination does not take place in all
instances (see 2.92).

  2.92   Degemination

        This is a rule with an extremely limited
application. Geminate consonants usually occur as the result of
either short vowel syncope or the simplification of fricative-
affricate cluster. The two situations where degemination does
occur are at the end of verbs:

        The first person singular ending for Independent
Indicative verbs is added to n-stem verbs to produce geminate nn
which is then reduced to single n:

    /ni-takus̀in-n/ >   nitakus̀in   'I arrive'

The palatalization of t plus the syncope produces geminate cc

which is reduced to <u>c</u> in the example below:

```
/e:nipa:-t-ic/                          'as they sleep'
 e:nipa:cic
 e:nip:cc
[e:nipa:c ]
```

In neither of the examples above is the geminate consonant crucial in order to distinguish the meaning of the form.

In the following examples geminate consonants result from the application of phonological rules but in the first three examples the geminate is a crucial morphological marker and is retained:

```
'I see him'           'car (obv.}'    'my aunt' 'shoe'     'earth'
/niwa:pam-im-a:w/     /uta:pa:n-inu:/ /nitu:sis/ /mascis̀in/ /asci:/
                                                 mascsin
[niwa:pamma:w]        [u t a : p a : n n u : ] [nitu:ss]  [massin]  [assi:]
```

Another geminate sequence, in initial position, does not undergo the rule of degemination. Instead, it is subject to the rule of nasal syllabification:

```
/ni-nipa:n/                         'I sleep'
nnipa:n
[ṇnipa:n]
```

Here again there is a morphological reason for not reducing the geminate <u>nn</u>. Ford (1917a:3) has noted that the sequence <u>nin</u> is heard as "ṇ". It is not clear, however, that this

transcription refers to a syllabic nasal or to degemination since Ford has transcribed syllabic nasals with the same symbol whenever he states that tin and nit become "tn̩" and "n̩t" respectively.

Regarding the non-palatalized dialects, Pentland (1979:120) concluded that gemination which results from vowel syncope produces a very long consonant.

2.93   Nasal syllabification

After the rule of short vowel syncope has operated, there often result clusters of a nasal plus a stop consonant or vice versa. In these cases, the nasal becomes syllabic:

wa:pame:w	>	[wa:pm̩e:w]	'he sees the other'
nita:nis	>	[n̩ta:nis]	'my daughter'
nici:ma:n	>	[n̩ci:ma:n]	'my canoe'
nita:mipe:kw	>	[n̩ta:mpe:kw]	'underwater'

All these are clusters of homorganic stops and nasals:

nipa:hpin	>	[nipa:hpin]	'I laugh'
nikatu:ten	>	[nikatu:ten]	'I will do it'

The occurrence of nasal syllabification seems to be current in all the palatalized dialects. Ford reported it at Davis Inlet (circa 1977) and in the Moisie dialects of Sept-Isles and Schefferville (1977-8). The writer has recorded the same process at Northwest River and in all the y-dialects.

Ellis has provided examples of this same rule in operation in the dialects spoken on the west coast of James Bay (1962:1-7). There, however, the rule is extended to include <u>nik</u> sequences and the sonorant <u>l</u> as well as nasals:

<u>nikawa:pama:w</u> >   [ņkawa:pama:w]   'I see him'

<u>nikiskelihten</u> >   [ņkisel'ten]   'I know it'

<u>nitawelihtam</u>   >   [ņtawel'tam]   'he wants it'

Béland also reported the rule in Atikamekw (personal communication). Undoubtedly it also occurs in the Plains dialects.