

CHAPTER IV

MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICON

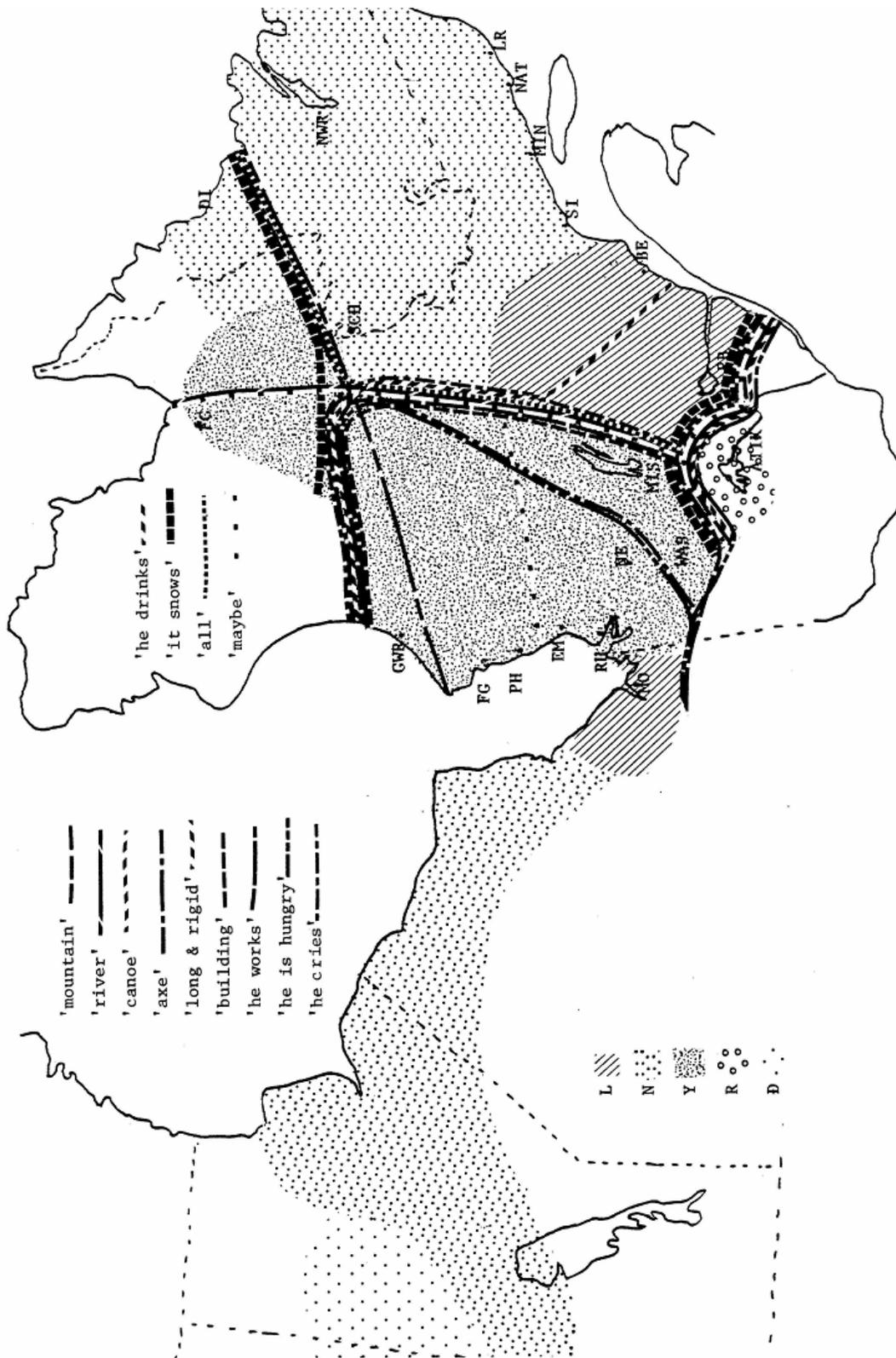
4.0 There is, without doubt, a great deal of variation among dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. In this chapter the inflectional morphology of intransitive verbs in different dialects will be compared, as well as negative formation for Independent verbs, and a small selection of lexical items. Another area which offers great scope for the study of variation is the derivational morphology of nouns and verbs. To date, however, it has been the subject of few studies. Although Wolfart's work on Plains Cree (1973) and Béland's on Atikamekw (1978) provided useful outlines of the derivational morphemes used in these dialects, the only in-depth analysis is Drapeau's thesis on the noun morphology of Betsiamites Montagnais (1979). In her thesis she described a number of processes which are not found in the neighbouring y-dialect (East Cree) area. Chief among these is the addition of inflectional affixes normally used with nouns to the relative forms of verbs. In other varieties these relative forms, such as ka:pimihya:makahc "the one which flies, airplane" are treated syntactically as nouns; they can appear in subject or object position, but cannot be inflected like nouns.

Choice of one of a number of possible derivational morphemes may also give rise to variation among communities.

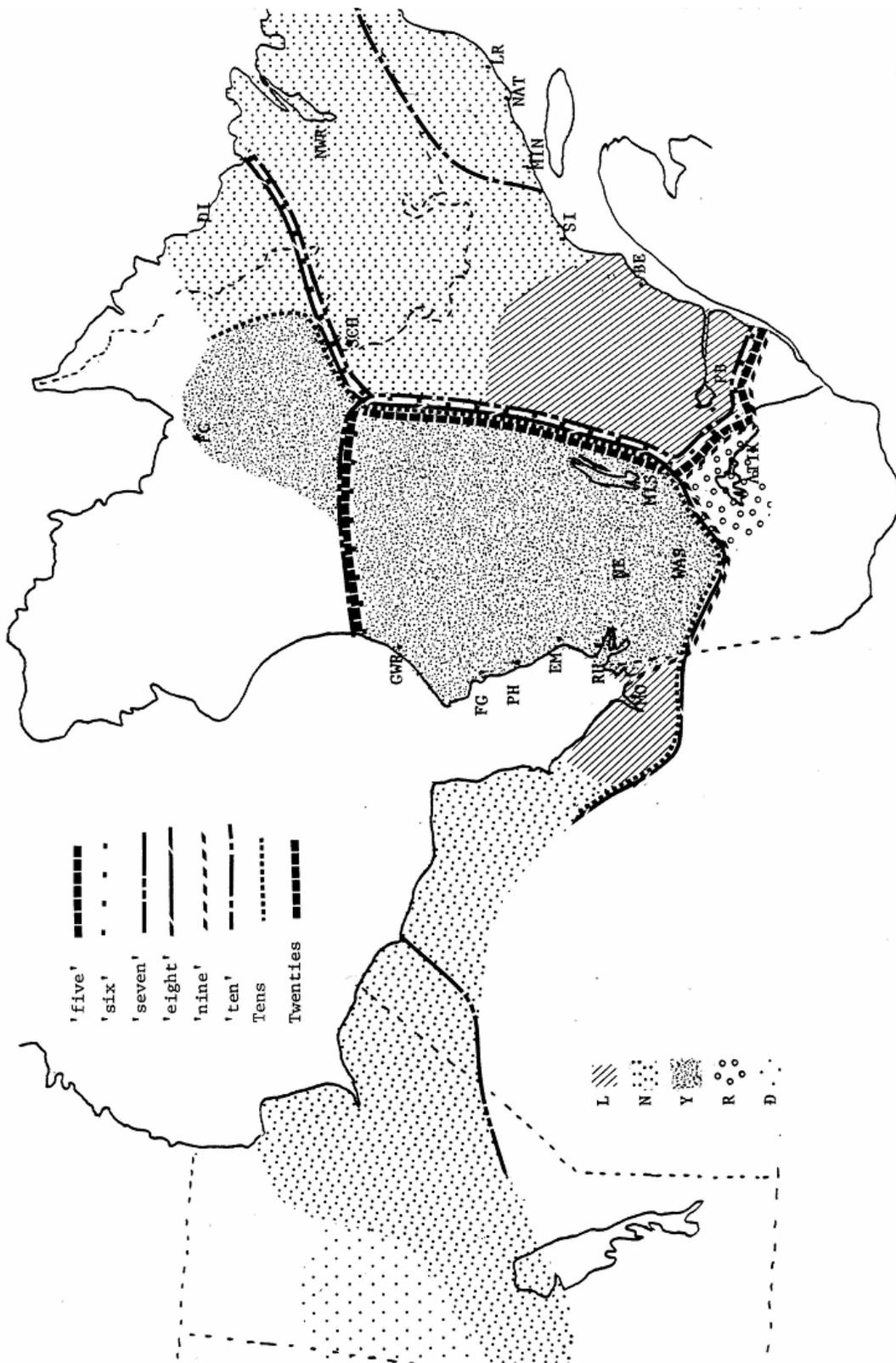
Southern y-dialect communities in Quebec have all innovated the English word 'school' as isku:luw 'he goes to school'. The derived word for 'he teaches school', however, varies from one community to the next because of addition of a different derivational suffix. At Mistassini isku:lu:hi:we:w is used, at Rupert House isku:lu:hi:ce:suw and at Eastmain isku:lu:hi:we:suw.

Several processes account for the variation in lexical items. Sometimes, when two words are closely related in meaning but not in morphology, one or the other prevails in everyday usage. This is the case with mispun 'it snows' and pi:wau 'it is a blizzard'. In some communities mispun has dropped out of usage and pi:wau has become the regular word for 'it snows'. In others both mispun and pi:wau are used. A second process is that in which words are obviously morphologically related, sharing the same first syllable(s), but have different endings. The pairs ma:tuw and ma:w 'he cries' and si:utew and si:we:liw 'he is hungry' fall into this category. A third process is the action of historical phonological change alone. Variants such as u:t and u:s 'canoe' are the result of such change.

Words which have been introduced as terms for new objects show potentially the greatest variation of all. The contact of Montagnais people with French speakers is reflected in borrowings from that language, as in the case of mi:nus 'cat' and te:kane:p 'pancake' from 'des crêpes'.



Map 4-2 Lexical Isoglosses (Cumulative)



Map 4-3 Numerals Isoglosses (Cumulative)

The parallel items used on the east coast of James Bay are pu:si: 'cat' and pa:nike:k 'pancake'. Mistassini speakers, however, use the Montagnais neologisms mi:nus and te:kale:p, indicating close contact with French trading companies at Pointe Bleue in earlier years. The only published study of neologisms in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi is McNulty's recent paper on Mingan vocabulary (1978).

The following cumulative maps for morphology (4-1) and lexicon (4-2,3) show two distinct patterns. The inflectional morphology of verbs shows innovation in the palatalized area. The Dubitative paradigms in particular differ significantly in the palatalized and non-palatalized varieties. Within the palatalized communities, the lower North Shore and the southern y-dialect villages emerge as distinct sub-groups, each unified by their use of Conjunct suffixes. On the other hand, the distribution of the Independent Indicative Preterit paradigm and the negative particle for Independent verbs indicates a sharp break within the palatalized area, between palatalized y-dialects on the one hand and n- and l- dialects on the other.

The distribution of lexical items shows a major break between the East Cree y-dialects on the one hand and the Montagnais-Naskapi dialects on the other hand. The East Cree speakers on the James Bay east coast share much

vocabulary with the Moose and Swampy speakers of the west coast of James Bay. Mistassini (East Cree) and Pointe Bleue (Montagnais) are identified as transitional communities.

4.1 Verb Inflection

The Moose dialect of Cree shows a great proliferation of verbal suffixes. Ellis (1961, 1971) in a revision of Bloomfield's terminology distinguished three major orders of suffixes: (a) the Independent, usually used in independent clauses, (b) the Conjunct, normally used in dependent clauses, and (c) the Imperative, used for commands. For both of the first two of these orders he posited an affirmative (Indicative) and a Dubitative mode, as well as an additional Subjunctive mode for the Conjunct. Each mode, except the Subjunctive, occurs in either the Neutral or Preterit tense (Ellis 1971).

The Imperative order has no modes. It has two tenses, Immediate and Delayed. For each of these tenses, a separate set of suffixes exists.

Within each of the three orders, there is a clear relationship between the modes and tenses. All the verb forms within the Independent order require a personal prefix, which is closely related to the personal pronoun, as well as a suffix. The Conjunct and Imperative orders do not use these personal prefixes. The Independent and Conjunct orders use

different, though related, sets of preverbs to indicate future action and completed action.

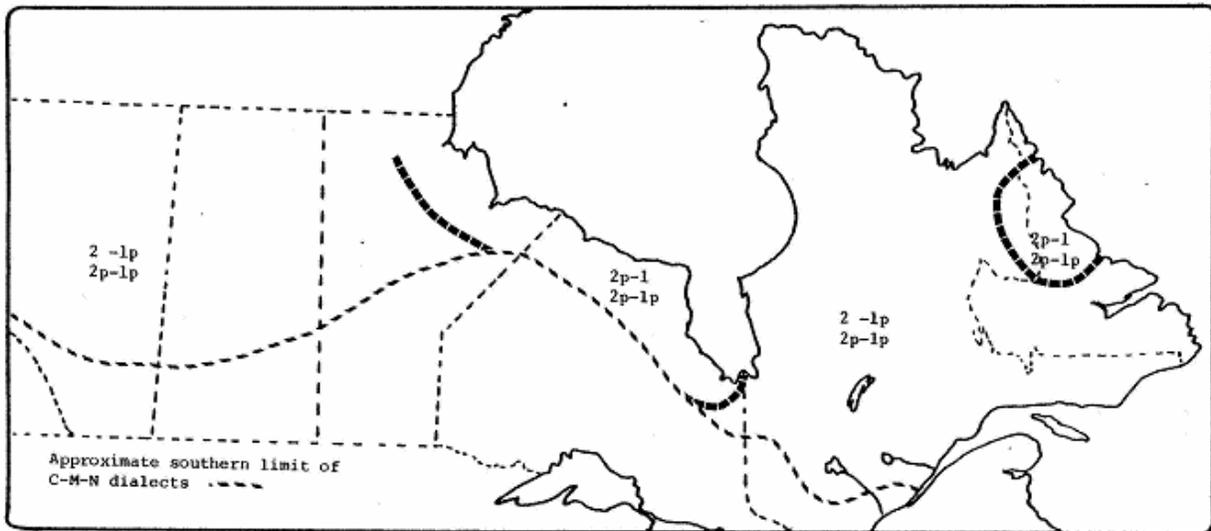
The sources for the paradigms are listed below. The transcription used by other authors has been made consistent with that used in this thesis.

Plains	Wolfart 1973
Moose/Swampy	Ellis 1971
Atikamekw	Béland 1978
Fort George	Author's notes
Mistassini	" "
Eastmain	Vaillaincourt 1978
Pointe Bleue	J. Mailhot's notes
Betsiamites	Lemoine 1901
Moisie	Ford and Bacon 1977-8
Lower North Shore	McNulty 1971; M,J. Basile's notes.
North West River	S. Clarke (to appear); author's notes.
Davis Inlet	Ford 1978; J. Mailhot's notes; author's notes

Because this thesis deals primarily with phonology, only Animate Intransitive (AI) and Inanimate Intransitive (II) suffixes are given for comparison. An exception is made in the case of the Subjunctive suffixes for the Transitive Animate (TA), in order to show variation in palatalization.

4.11 Local Forms

Local forms are those which include first and second person referents, but no third persons. They may also be called the 'you-and-me' forms (Béland 1979:32). Among all the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects, there is discrepancy as to how forms ending in -itina:n and -itina:wa:w are glossed.

Map 4-4 Local Forms

The Plains, Atikamekw, East Cree, Betsiamites and Moisie forms all agree in neutralizing the 2 - lp and

Local Forms

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>E. Cree</u>	<u>Betsiamites</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>Davis Inlet</u>
-i n	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I
-i na: n	U/U-II	U-II	U/U-II	U/U-II	U/U-II	U/U-II	U-II
-i na: wa: w	UU-I	UU-I/I	UU-I	UU-I	UU-I	UU-I	UU-I/I
-i ti n	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U
-i ti na: n	II-U/U	II-U	II-U/U	II-U/U	II-U/U	II-U/U	II-U
-i ti na: wa: w	I-UU	I/I-U	I-UU	I-UU	I-UU	I-UU	I/I-U

Figure 4-1

Note: I and II stand for first person singular and plural respectively.
 U and UU stand for second person singular and plural respectively.

2p - 1p forms. kiwa:pamina:n may mean either 'you (s) see us' or 'you (pl) see us'. Kiwa:pamitina:n may mean either 'we see you (s)' or 'we see you (pl)'. In Moose and Swampy Cree (Ellis 1971) and Davis Inlet Naskapi, however, these forms mean 'you (s) see us' and 'we see you (s)' respectively.

In Moose and Swampy and Davis Inlet varieties it is the 2p - 1 and 2p - 1p forms which are neutralized. kiwa:pamina:wa:w may mean either 'you (s) see us' or 'you (pl) see us'. kiwa:pamitina:wa:w may be glossed 'I see you (pl)' or 'we see you (pl)'. In all other dialects these forms are glossed as 'you (pl) see me' and 'I see you (pl)' respectively.

The Proto-Algonkian situation as reconstructed by Goddard (1967:94) is the same as that found among the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects which agree with Plains Cree. In these dialects the number of the first person must be specified; in the Swampy/Moose and Davis Inlet forms, the number of the second person must be specified.

4.2 Independent Order

Independent order verbs require the use of a personal prefix with non-third (local) forms. This prefix is ni- for first person and ki- or ci- for second person. Preterit forms in Plains Cree prefix u- to the third person. Otherwise third person forms have no prefix. The prefixes are not included on the charts of suffixes (Figures 4-2 through 4-5).

There is some variation in future tense markers for the Independent forms. All varieties affix -ka- immediately after the personal prefix for first and second persons:

nikanipa:n		'I will sleep'
ki	}	kanipa:n
ci		

However, in the third person ta-, kata- or cika- are found. The distribution is as follows:

<u>ta-</u>	}	Plains, (Moose, Swampy <u>kata-</u> → <u>ta-</u>)
<u>kita-</u>		
<u>kata-</u>		Plains, Atikamekw, East Cree, Moose, Swampy
<u>cika-</u>		East Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi

Within East Cree, cika- is the most frequently heard with reference to future action. The use of kata- signals firm intention, or the assurance that the future action will indeed come to pass. LeJeune gave "cata" (kata) as the only future marker for Montagnais in 1632.

4.21 Independent Indicative Neutral

The indicative neutral suffixes of Independent verbs show a high degree of uniformity in every community. The variations which occur do so because of phonetic changes in the third person animate plural morpheme: it is -ak in non-palatalized varieties and c, ts or t in palatalized varieties. Also, the variation of n~y and y~n at Davis Inlet results

Independent Indicative Neutral - AI

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Mooose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>E.Cree</u>	<u>Betsiamites/ Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>	<u>Davis Inlet</u>
1	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n
2	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n
11	-na:n	-na:n	-na:n	-na:n	-na:n	-na:n	-na:n~na:y~ -ya:y~ya:n }
12	-naw } -na:naw }	-na:naw	-na:nu } -nu }	-na:nu:	-na:nu:	-na:n	-na:n } -na:y }
22	-na:wa:w	-na:wa:w	-na:wa:w	-na:wa:w	-na:wa:w	-na:w	-na:w~ya:w
3	-w	-w	-w	-w	-w	-w	-w
33	-wak	-wak	-wak	-wc	-wt	-wt	-wats
3'	-yiw	-eliwah	-erimak	-iyiw	-lu/nu	-inwa	-iniw

Figure 4-2

in difference in first and second person forms. Another source of minor variation results from a syncretism, in the Labrador varieties, of the suffixes for first person plural exclusive and inclusive forms as -na:n. These two verb forms are then distinguished only by the personal prefix, ni- or ci-.

A set of suffixes which consists of -wa suffixed to the Indicative Neutral inflection is reported for the Lower North Shore and North West River varieties (J. Mailhot, S. Clarke, forthcoming). While the use of these forms is not well understood at this time, they are used as present tense verbs in relative clauses, as documented by Clarke (ibid.). This is a distinct deviation from other dialects which use only Conjunct verbs in this situation. Conjunct forms are, however, used for past and future tenses in the relative clauses.

4.22 Independent Indicative Preterit

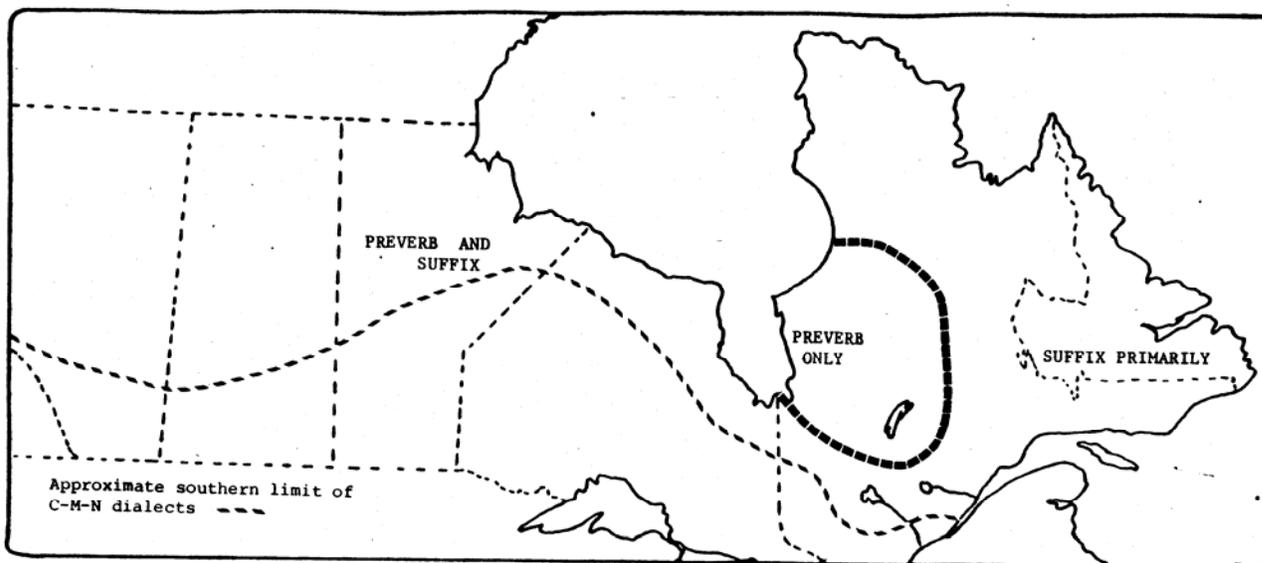
In the Preterit tense forms, there is more variation. The Indicative Preterit neutral forms are used in the eastern Quebec-Labrador dialects in order to express the past tense of an Independent neutral verb. In the palatalized y- dialects, a different mechanism is used for expressing the past tense. For these y- dialects the addition of preverb ci: to the neutral verb form indicates completed action: Mistassini nici:nipa:n but Moisie ninipa:pan for 'I slept'.

Independent Indicative Preterit - AI

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	<u>Pointe Bleue-</u> <u>() Bets./Moisie</u>	<u>LNS</u>	<u>NWR</u>	<u>Davis Inlet</u>
1	-h	-htay	-ttay	-h	-(h)ti:	-h	(-h)	-na:pan } -ya:pan }
2	-h	-htay	-ttay	-h	-(h)ti:	-h	(-h)	-napan
11	[]	-hta:n	-tta:n	-hta:n	-(h)ta:n	-ta:n	-ta:n	(-ya:pan)
12	-hta:na:w	-hta:naw	-tta:nu	-hta:nu	-(h)ta:nu	-ta:n	-ta:n	
22	-hta:wa:w	-hta:wa:w	-tta:wa:w	-hta:wa:w	-(h)ta:w	-ta:w	-ta:w	(-wa:pan)
3	-h/-htay	-uLpan	-u(:)pan	-h	-pan	-pan	-pan	-pan
33	-hta:wa:w	-uLpani:k	-u(:)panak	-hta:wa:w	-pant(s)	-pant	-pant	-pants
3'	[]	-eli:panih	-iri:pan	-yih	-li:pan/ -ni:pan	-ni:pan	-ni:pan } -ni:pani: }	-nawa

Figure 4-3

Map 4-5 indicates the areas where the past tense is usually formed with either a preverb or a suffix:



Map 4-5 Past Tense of Independent Verbs

The preterit verb paradigm exists in the northern y-dialects but does not express past action. It is used with a future preverb ka- to express the modal idea of 'should'. The paradigm is seldom used. The following forms are from Fort George:

<u>ninipa:n</u>	'I sleep'
<u>nici:nipa:n</u>	'I slept'
<u>nikanipa:n</u>	'I will sleep'
<u>nikanipa:h</u>	'I should sleep'

The use of both the Preterit and the preverb ki: (ci: in the palatalized varieties) are reported for the non-palatalized varieties (Wolfart and Carroll 1973; Ellis

1964; Beland 1978}. Lemoine (1901) recorded the use of ci: with Independent Indicative forms as the "passé indéfini". Mailhot (personal communication) has said that it is occasionally heard in the Moisie varieties.

Bloomfield (1928) distinguished three sets of Preterit suffixes identified as h-preterit, ht-preterit and p-preterit. As well, he reported a syncretized ht- and p paradigm. In the Ellis paradigms of Moose Cree the second and third of these paradigms have fallen together to form a single set of suffixes. The ht- set is used for first and second person and the p- set for third person (1971).

According to Bloomfield, the personal prefix u is prefixed to the third person Preterit forms when the h or ht-suffixes are used, but not when the p- forms are used. In palatalized varieties, as well as in Moose Cree, this personal prefix is never used, since the third person in all these dialects is formed with the p-suffix. Wolfart noted that u- is prefixed to Plains Cree h- and ht- forms (1973:43). For an early stage of the palatalized dialects, La Brosse (1768) recorded the prefix u- with both (h)t- and p- third person preterit forms. Furthermore, he uses u with present tense verbs.

Within the palatalized dialects the full p- preterit is found as well as syncretized paradigms of h- and ht- as well as h-,ht- and p- forms.

The full p- preterit paradigm is found only at Davis Inlet, where no h- or ht- forms are found. The use of this paradigm by Fort Chimo speakers has not been confirmed. Lemoine has provided full p- preterit paradigms for Betsiamites (1901), although he labels them 'imperfect'.

<u>ninipa:napan</u>	'I slept'
<u>cinipa:napan</u>	'you slept'
<u>nipa:pan</u>	'he slept'
<u>ninipa:ya:pan</u>	'we slept' (incl.)
[]	'we slept' (excl.)
<u>ninipa:wa:pan</u>	'you slept' (pl.)
<u>nipa:pants</u>	'they slept'

The Preterit at Davis Inlet is not the only available means with which to express past time. One may also use the Indicative verb form with no preverb, in which case the present tense and past tense sound exactly the same, being distinguished only by context. The Preterit suffixes are used when a speaker is referring to the distant past.

At Pointe Bleue, Betsiamites, and Sept-Iles - Schefferville, the paradigm is a syncretism of the ht- and p- forms. Only at Pointe Bleue is the pre-consonantal h-retained. In every other community it drops by regular rule:

<u>Pointe Bleue</u>	<u>Bets. & Moisie</u>	
<u>ninipa:hti:</u>	<u>ninipa:ti</u>	'I slept'
<u>cinipa:hti:</u>	<u>cinipa:ti</u>	'you slept'
<u>nipa:pan</u>	<u>nipa:pan</u>	'he slept'
<u>ninipa:hta:n</u>	<u>ninipa:ta:n</u>	'we slept' (excl.)
<u>cinipa:hta:nu:</u>	<u>cinipa:ta:nu:</u>	'we slept' (incl.)
<u>cinipa:hta:w</u>	<u>cinipa:ta:w</u>	'you slept' (pl.)
<u>nipa:pants</u>	<u>nipa:pant</u>	'they slept'

Bloomfield's forms appear as -htay for first and second person (1928). These become phonetically (h)ti:; by a regular rule of short vowel assimilation ay# > i:# in many palatalized dialects.

In the Lower North Shore dialects and at North West River, the Preterit paradigm represents a syncretism of all three Plains Cree paradigms. The first and second person singular are formed with the h- suffixes, the first and second person plural with the ht- suffixes (with loss pre-consonantal h where appropriate), and the third person with the p- suffixes:

<u>ninipa:h</u>	'I slept'
<u>cinipa:h</u>	'you slept'
<u>nipa:</u>	'he slept'
<u>ninipa:ta:n</u>	'we slept' (excl.)
<u>cinipa:ta:nu:</u>	'we slept' (incl.)

<u>cinipa:ta:w</u>	'you slept' (pl.)
<u>nipa:pant</u>	'they slept'

The Fort George paradigm has syncretised the h-preterit and ht- preterit suffixes. The former are used in the singular and the latter in the plural:

<u>nikanipa:h</u>	'I should sleep'
<u>cikanipa:h</u>	'you should sleep'
<u>katanipa:h</u>	'he should sleep'
<u>katanipa:yih</u>	'he should sleep' (obv.)
<u>nikanipa:htan</u>	'we should sleep' (excl.)
<u>cikanipa:htanu:</u>	'we should sleep' (incl.)
<u>cikanipa:hta:wa:w</u>	'you should sleep' (pl.)
<u>katanipa:hta:waw</u>	'they should sleep'

These forms cannot appear without the future marker ka- for the first and second person, or kata- for the third person. The same use of future preverb with preterit inflection has been recorded for North West River. (5. Clarke, personal communication).

In the n- and l- palatalized varieties, there is another set of inflections resembling the p- preterit. These forms are glossed as 'hearsay' or 'rumour' and require the insertion of si:- before pan:

<u>ninipa:sìpan</u>	' I heard	I was asleep'
<u>cinipa:sìpan</u>	' "	you were asleep'
<u>nipa:sìpan</u>	' "	he was asleep'
<u>nipa:li:sìpan</u>	' "	his was asleep' (obv.)
<u>ninipa:na:na:sìpan</u>	' "	we were asleep' (excl.)
<u>cinipa:na:na:sìpan</u>	' "	we were asleep' (incl.)
<u>cinipa:wa:sìpan</u>	' "	you were asleep' (pl.)
<u>nipa:sìpan</u>	' "	they were asleep'

4.23 Independent Dubitative Neutral

The palatalized paradigm for the Dubitative Neutral differs from the Plains and western James Bay forms by regular deletion of -tu- before -k-, and -w- immediately after -k-. Rodgers, however, has recorded -tuhce: for Mistassini so there is variation among speakers (1960). The -tuhce: forms are marked as archaic and the -ce: forms as innovating, and younger speakers use only the latter.

The w following k is unstable and is absent from all but one of Wolfart's Plains forms. Ellis (1971:78) noted that his underlined w represents an alternation between w and zero for the Moose and Swampy suffixes. It must have been dropped long ago in the palatalized forms in order to allow -ke: to become -ce: by the rule of velar palatalization. The glottal stop in the Fort George forms may indicate the deletion of this morpheme.

Independent Dubitative Neutral - AI

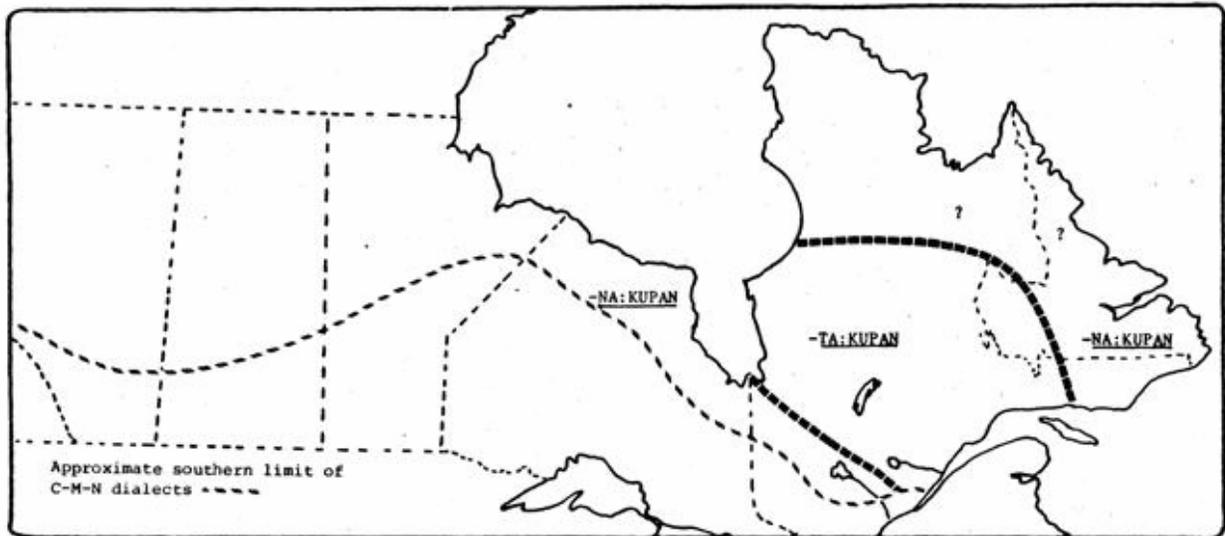
	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>	<u>Davis Inlet</u>
1	-na:tuk <u>w</u> e:	-na:tuke:	-na:ʔca:	na:ce:	-na:ce	-na:ce:	-na:ce:
2	-na:tuk <u>w</u> e:	-na:tuke:	-na:ʔca:	na:ce:	-na:ce	-na:ce:	-na:ce:
11	-na:na:tuk <u>w</u> e:	-na:na:tuke:	-na:na:ʔca:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:
12	[]	-na:na:tuke:	-na:wa:ʔca:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	[]
22	-na:wa:tuk <u>w</u> e:	-na:wa:tuke:	-na:wa:ʔca:	-na:wa:ce:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	(-na:na:ce:)
3	-uLtuk <u>w</u> e:	-u(:)tuke:	-ʔca:	-Lce:	-Lce:	-Lce:	-Lce:
33	-uLtuk <u>w</u> e:nak	-u(:)tukenak	-ʔca:nci:	-Lce:nci:	-cent	-cent	[]
3'	-eli:tuk <u>w</u> e:	-iri:tuke:	-yʔca:n(hi:)	-yce:	-ni:ce:	-ni:ce: -ni:ceni }	-nce:ni

Figure 4-4

Note: The underlined w in Swampy/Moose is subject to deletion.

4.24 Independent Dubitative Preterit

Variation in the Independent Dubitative Preterit forms consists of the replacement of n by t in morpheme initial position in the western palatalized varieties. The North West River suffixes retain n as do the non-palatalized varieties of Moose and Atikamekw (Map 4-6).



Map 4-6 I.D.P. suffixes

Dialect theory suggests that the more geographically widespread form is usually the more conservative form. If this is indeed the case, then the western palatalized use of t is an innovation. When data become available from the Lower North Shore, it will be possible to see just how far this innovation has progressed.

Independent Dubitative Preterit - AI

	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>P.B./Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>
1	-na:kupan	-na:kupan	-ta:kupan	-ta:kupane:	-ta:kupan	-na:kupan
2	-na:kupan	-na:kupan	-ta:kupan	-takupane:	-ta:kupan	-na:kupan
11	-na:na:kupan	-na:na:kupan	-ta:na:kupan	-tana:kupane:	-ta:na:kupan	-na:na:kupan
12	[]	-na:na:kupan	-ta:na:kupan	-ta:na:kupane:	-ta:na:kupan	-na:na:kupan
22	-na:wa:kupan	-na:wa:kupan	-ta:wa:kupan	-ta:wa:kupane:	-ta:wa:kupan	-nawa:kupan
3	-ukupan	-ukupan	-Lta:kupan	-Lkupane:	-Lkupan	-Lkupan
33	-uwa:kupan	-ukupanak	-ta:wa:kupan	-wa:kupane:nc	-Lkupant(s)	-Lkupant
3'	-elikupan	-iri:kupan	-ta:kupa:na:n(hi:)	-ykupane:	-li:kupan/ -ni:kupan	-ni:kupan } -ni:kupani }

Figure 4-5

A second innovation occurs in the southern y-dialects, as exemplified by the Mistassini paradigm. This innovation is the use of a -e: suffix, which is homophonous with the Subjunctive marker -e: (4.42). The Dubitative Preterit forms are clearly Independent, however, since personal prefixes are used with them.

Both northern and southern y-dialect forms require the prefixation of the past tense preverb ci:-. It is unclear whether this is necessary for the Moisie forms. The gloss for Mistassini and Fort George forms is 'x must have', with the understanding that the speaker did not actually witness an event, but has deduced what has happened from available evidence.

4.3 Imperative Order

In the Plains and Moose dialects of Cree, two sets of Imperative suffixes exist. One signals an immediate command and another signals delayed action. Both occur in the Quebec-Labrador dialects, along with a third set which is labelled 'polite' or 'further delayed'.

The 'polite' forms used at Fort George are made with the future indicative of the Conjunct, (ce:nipa:yn 'you'll sleep'). The polite suffixes reported for the Moisie by Ford (1977:95) were recorded by Lemoine (1901) for Betsiamites, but were referred to as 'delayed'. The series labelled 'delayed' by Ford does not appear in Lemoine's

Imperative Order - AI

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Moose & Swampy</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>
<u>Immediate</u>							
2	∅, i	-y	∅, i	∅	∅	∅	∅
21	-ta:n	-ta:(k) -ta:w } }	-ta:(n)	-ta:w	-ta:w	-ta:w	-ta:w
22	-k	-k	-k(w)	-kw	-kw	-kw	-kw
<u>Delayed</u>							
2	-hkan	-uLkhan	-u(:)kkan	-hkan	-Lkan	-	-
21	-hke:k	[]	[]	-hka:kw	[]	-	-
22	-hkahk	-uLke:k	-u(:)kkek(w)	-ca:k	-Lce:kw	-	-
<u>Polite</u>							
2	--	-	-		-Lme:	-Lme:	-
21	--	-	-		[]	[]	-
22	--	-	-		-Lme:kw	[]	

Figure 4-6

work. The 'delayed' series seems to have a low frequency of usage. The forms are seldom heard in everyday conversation, at least in the y-dialect communities, while the other immediate and polite imperatives are frequent.

4:4 Conjunct Order

Conjunct verb forms are usually associated with the use of dependent clauses in complex sentences. Actual usage is, of course, neither simple nor clear cut. Certain conjunctions, such as the common discourse marker e:kw, require a conjunct verb. The innovation of the apu: negativizer, which requires a conjunct suffix, for independent verbs, means that speakers of Montagnais dialects routinely use conjunct verbs in independent sentences (see 4.5).

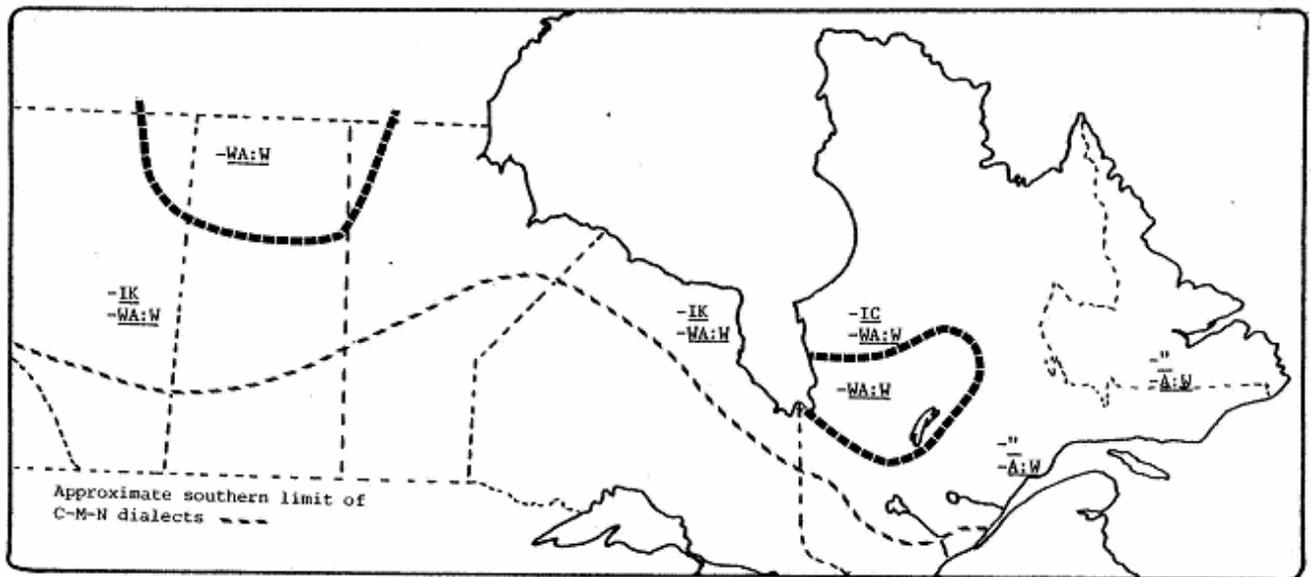
No personal prefixes are used with the Conjunct suffixes but there are Conjunct markers which are prefixed to the verb. Most common of these are: (a) e: 'whenever, while, as' which Ellis referred to as 'timeless' (1964:19-23), (b) ka: and ce:- past and future markers respectively and (c) the change of vowel in the first syllable of the verb (4.46). Moreover, a relative marker ka: "that which, the one who" requires a Conjunct suffix.

The Conjunct Preterit paradigms indicate a definite split between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. No Indicative Preterit paradigms exist for the

palatalized varieties, while the Dubitative ones have innovated suffixes which differ from the non-palatalized forms.

4.41 Conjunct Indicative Neutral

Indicative Neutral suffixes are uniform across the whole Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect continuum. Phonetic variation occurs due to the operation of the phonological rules of loss of final w, loss of pre-aspiration, or affricate simplification. Morphological variation occurs in the choice of a third person pluralizer for animate actors. Map 4-7 shows the areas where the pluralizers are used:



Map 4-7 Conjunct Plural Morphemes

Conjunct Indicative Neutral-AI

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>
1	-ya:n	-ya:n	-ya:n	-ya:n	-ya:n	-ya:n	-ya:n
2	-yan	-yan	-yan	-yan	-yin	-yn	-yn
11	-ya:hk	-ya:hk	-ya:kk	-ya:hc	-ya:hc	-ya:t	-ya:t
12	-yahk	-yahkw	-yakkw	-yahkw	-yihkw	-yakw	-ya:kw
22	-ye:k	-ye:kw	-ye:kw	-ye:kw	-ya:kw	-ye:kw	-ye:kw
3	-t, -k	-t, -k	-t, -k	-t, -k	-t, -k	-t	-t
33	-cik, -kik	-cik, -kik	-cik, -kik	-twa:w, -kwa:w	-c	-ta:w	-t
3'	-yit	-elicih	-irici	-yic	-yc	-nit	-nit -nici: }-

Note: For the third person, the first suffix is used with vowels stems, the second with n stems. Also, the initial y in first and second person suffixes may be dropped after n stems.

Figure 4-7

In the non-palatalized dialects Ellis (1971) and Wolfart (1973) proposed -ik as the pluralizer for the Conjunct Indicative and -wa:w as that for the Conjunct Subjunctive. The -ik suffix causes palatalization of the third person suffix -t, used with vowel stems, so that /-tik/ becomes -cik. The suffix for n-stems remains -kik < /-kik/ since there is no palatalization of k in these dialects.

In the majority of the palatalized varieties -ik is the third person pluralizer. The operation of the rules of velar palatalization, vowel syncope and degemination change the phonetic form of this suffix markedly. At Fort George the forms are -t for the third person singular and -c < -cic < -tic < /-tik/ for the plural:

<u>nipa:w</u>	'he sleeps'
<u>e:nipa:t</u>	'as he sleeps'
<u>e:nipa:c</u>	'as they sleep'

In the n and l varieties, -t < c can be used for both singular and plural. The plural form, however, is further marked by a shift in stress and intonation similar to that brought about by the loss of a final short vowel (3.42). The -a:w pluralizer can also be used. Lemoine, in 1901, reported a choice of either "aw" or "ts" (ts < c). The second form has been reduced to t in the modern language.

In a small group of East Cree communities (Rupert House, Nemiscau, Waswanipi, Mistassini) the -wa:w pluralizer has been generalized to the Conjunct Neutral and the -ik form is not used at all. Thus 'as they sleep' is e:nipa:twa:w. Wolfart related that the same thing has happened in Plains Cree communities in northern Alberta (1973:45). At Pointe Bleue a phonetic variant, -a:w, is used.

Ford and Bacon (1977-8) listed "-aw" as the only Conjunct pluralizer for the Moisie variety. Mailhot (personal communication) reported, however, that both reduced -t < -ic < -ik and -a:w are used. The choice of variant may be stylistic and the correlates remain to be investigated.

At Betsiamites there is evidence that the availability of two Conjunct plural morphemes allows speakers to make precise definitions of words. For instance, the relative form of the verb 'talk' can refer either to a lawyer or simply to someone who is talking. In the singular it is not possible to distinguish the two forms. It is possible in the plural:

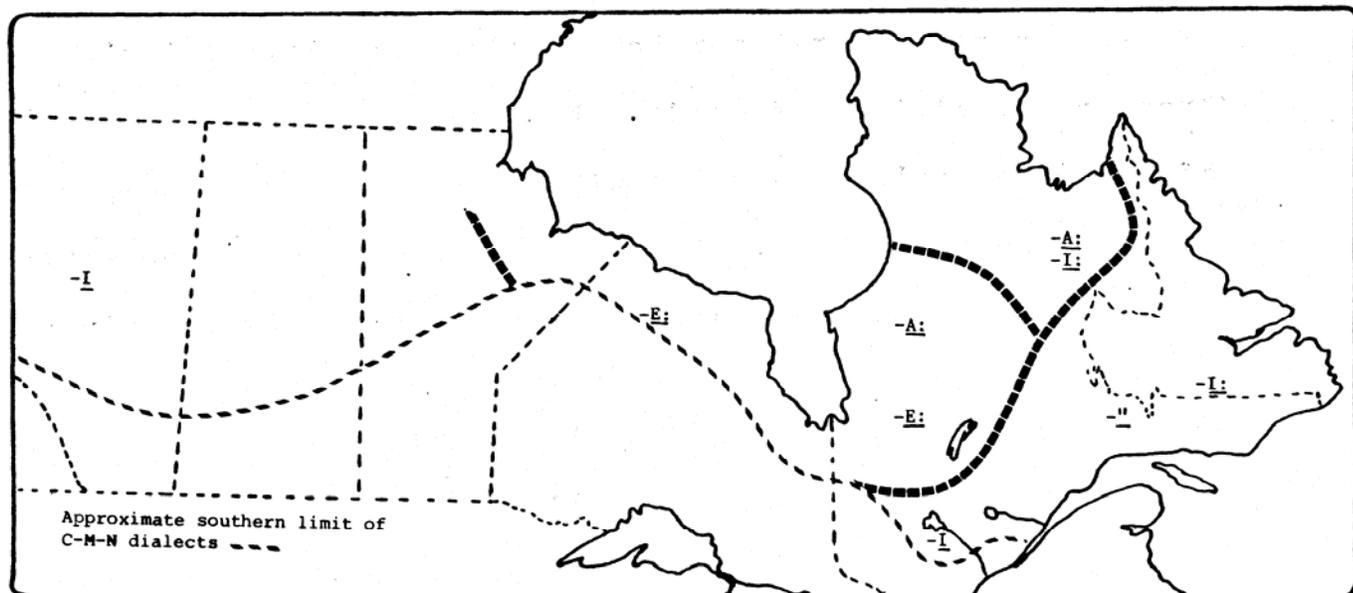
<u>ka:yimit</u>	'he who talks, lawyer'
<u>ka:yi"mit</u>	'lawyers'
<u>ka:yimita:w</u>	'they who are talking'

At Fort George, the -wa:w pluralizer is used with subjunctive forms; past tense forms and a third person object (rather than subject):

<u>mi:cisutwa:wa:</u>	'if they eat'
<u>ka:mi:cisutwa:w</u>	'(after) they ate'
<u>a:wa:pamikwa:w</u>	'as I see them'

4.42 Conjunct Subjunctive

A Subjunctive mode may be formed in most of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects by the addition of a suffix to the Conjunct Indicative Neutral inflections. The Subjunctive forms are usually glossed as 'if...' or 'if and when...'. For Plains Cree Wolfart gave -i as the suffix (1973:42) while Ellis gave -e: for Swampy and Moose dialects; the -i suffix in the latter dialects signals an Iterative (1971:81).



Map 4-8 Conjunct Subjunctive Suffixes

Some Conjunct Subjunctive Suffixes -TA

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Eastmain</u>	<u>Ft.G.</u>	<u>L.N.S.</u>	<u>N.W.R.</u>	<u>D.I.</u>
1-3	-aki	-ake:	-ake:	-ake:	-ika:	-ika:	-aki:	-aki:	-ace:
2-3	-aci	-ate:	-ate:	-ate:	-ita:	-ita:	-ati:	-aci:	-ite:
11-3	-a:ya:hki	-akihte:	-akitte:	-akitte:	-icihta:	-icihta:	-citi:	-aci:ti: -aci:ci:}	-aci:ce:
3-1	-ici	-ite:	-ite:	-ite:	-ita:	-ica:	-iti: -ici:}	-iti:	-ace:
3-2	-iski	-iske:	-iske:	-iske:	-iska:	-iska:	-iski:	-iski:	-asse:
3-11	[]	-iyamihte:	-iyamitte:	-iyamihte:	-iyimihta:	-imihica:	-imiti:	-imici:	[]
3-3	-a:ci	-a:te:	-a:te:	-a:te:	-a:ta:	-a:ca:	-a:ti:	-a:ci:	-ace:
3-3	-ikuci	-ikute:	-ikute:	-ikute:	-ikuta:	-ikuta:	-ikuti:	-ikuci:	[]

Figure 4-8

Both these suffixes occur in the palatalized varieties: -e: or -a: in the west and -i in the east. In the central area, a surface suffix is not used. Map 4-7 shows the distribution of affixes which are illustrated by the following examples:

Plains	<u>nipaya:ni</u>	'when/if I sleep'
Moose/Swampy	<u>nipa:ya:ne:</u>	"
Atikamekw	<u>nipa:ya:ne:</u>	"
Mistassini	<u>nipa:ya:ne:</u>	"
Fort George	<u>nipa:ya:ne:</u>	"
LNS/NWR	<u>nipa:ya:na:</u> ¹	"
Moisie	<u>nipa:y"a:n</u>	"
Davis Inlet	<u>nipa:ya:ye</u>	"

At Pointe Bleue, the distinction between the Conjunct Neutral and Subjunctive has been lost entirely. At Betsiamites and in the Moisie varieties the final -i is deleted but there is compensation of the type described in 3.42. The -i surfaces only after -isk in the 3-2 form as in wa:pamiski 'if he sees you' (Mailhot 1975:41).

¹ Typo in original, correct version should be: nipa:ya:ni:

The Fort Chimo speakers have two Subjunctive paradigms. One is formed with a: < e:, as in Fort George and Great Whale River. A second, formed with i:, is the same as the one used on the Lower North Shore and at North West River. The Fort Chimo speakers who live on the boundary of the two areas with different Subjunctive markers, have adopted both. This allows them to make the distinction between 'when' clauses and 'if' clauses with more precision than other speakers:

nipy:ya:na: 'when I sleep'²

nipa:ya:ni: 'if I sleep'

Apart from variation in choice of subjunctive morpheme, there is also variation regarding the presence or absence of palatalization of the final stops. Figure 4-8 provides a comparison of some Transitive Animate suffixes. In Plains Cree, all instances of final -t are palatalized to -c by the following -i. The Iterative marker -i for Moose and Swampy dialects also causes palatalization, as does the plural morpheme -ik. On the Lower North Shore, no palatalization takes place after the addition of -i. At nearby North West River both palatalized and non-palatalized variants occur for at least two suffixes.

² Typo in original, correct version should be: nipa:ya:na: "when I sleep"

No t- palatalization is to be expected from the addition of the subjunctive marker -e:, and none occurs in the Swampy/Moose, Mistassini or Eastmain Subjunctive forms. At Eastmain and in the communities to the north, e: becomes a: through a regular phonological rule (3.13). At Fort George, to the north of Eastmain, there is palatalization of some instances of t but not of others. The Davis Inlet variety, where the Subjunctive marker is e:, shows palatalization of the same instances of final t as at Fort George.

Furthermore, final -k in some Quebec-Labrador varieties fails to become c before -i or e:. For the Fort George and Eastmain forms this might have been explained by the occurrence of the change e: > a: before that of k > c but this clearly is not possible (3.13). Davis Inlet is the only community where a final k is palatalized by the subjunctive suffix:

<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Davis Inlet</u>	
<u>wa:pahtahke:</u>	<u>wa:pahtahce:</u>	'when/if he sees it'

The variation in palatalization before the Subjunctive suffix is not readily explicable. Since -i is the most geographically widespread marker, it may be the older form, with -e: being the innovative one. Perhaps the lack of distinct Subjunctive paradigm at Pointe Bleue indicates that the use of a Subjunctive is itself an innovation. Or possibly

the distinction was first lost at Pointe Bleue. The Fort George paradigm seems to have syncretized elements of the Plains and Moose/Swampy inflection. The historical origin of all these variations invites investigation.

4.43 Conjunct Indicative Preterit

These forms, although listed by Ellis (1971) for Moose and Swampy Cree varieties, do not exist in the palatalized dialects. Wolfart did not report them for Plains Cree (1973). The suffixes recorded for Atikamekw by Béland (1978) are remarkably similar to those given by Ellis.

4.44 Conjunct Dubitative Neutral and Preterit

Within the Quebec-Labrador palatalized dialects for which paradigms are available, there is a small amount of variation in the inflection of both the Dubitative Neutral and the Dubitative preterit forms. However the Dubitative Preterit forms for the non-palatalized varieties differ significantly from the palatalized ones. The Dubitative Neutral forms for the palatalized varieties use the changed form of the verb for present tense; the preverbs ce:- or ka:- are prefixed for future and past tense.

The Conjunct Dubitative Preterit forms show complete restructuring of the paradigm. The Quebec-Labrador palatalized series is formed by addition of -a:kwe: to the

Conjunct Dubitative Neutral - AI

	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Pointe Bleue</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>
1	-wa:ne:	-wa:ne:n	-wa:ne:	-wa:ne:	-wa:ne:	-wa:ne:
2	-wane:	-wane:n	-wine:	-wine:	-wne:	-une:
11	-wa:hkwe:	-wa:kkwe:n	-wa:hce:	-wa:wihce:	-a:kwe:	-wa:ce
12	-wakhwe:	-wakkwe:n	-whkwe:	-we:wihkwe:	-kwe:	-wa:kwe:
22	-we:kwe:	-we:kwe:n	-we:kwe:	-we:wikwe:	-e:kwe:	-we:kwe:
3	-ukwe:	-ukwe:n	-kwe:	-kwe:	-kwe:	-kwe:
33	-uwa:kwe:	-uwa:kwe:n	-wa:kwe:nc	(-wa:kwe:)	-ukwe:n(t)	-kwe:nt
3'	-elikwe:	-irikwe:n	-yikwe:	-likwe:	-unikwe:n	-nikwe:ni:

Figure 4-9

Conjunct Dubitative Preterite - AI

	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Ft. George</u>	<u>Pointe Bleue</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>
1	-wa:pa:ne	-wa:pa:ne:n	-ya:na:kwa:	-wa:pa:n	-ya:na:kwe:	-ya:na:kwe:
2	-wapane:	-wapane:n	-yna:kwa:	-yina:kwe:	-yna:kwe:	-yna:kwe:
11	-wa:hkupane:	-wa:kkupane:n	-ya:hta:kwa:	-wa:cipan	-ya:ta:kwe:	-ya:ta:kwe:
12	-wahkupane:	-wakkupane:n	-ykwa:kwa:	-we:whkupan	-yakwa:kwe:	-yakwa:kwe:
22	-we:kupane:	-we:kupane:n	-ykwa:kwa:	-we:wkupan	-ye:kwa:kwe:	-ye:kwa:kwe:
3	-ukupane:	-ukupane:n	-ta:kwa:	-kupan	-ta:kwe:	-ta:kwe:
33	-uwa:kupane:	-uwa:kupane:n	-ta:wa:kwa:	-kupants	-ta:kwe:n(t)	-ta:kwe:n(t)
3'	-elikupane:	-irikupane:n	-ykwa:n(hi)	-likupan	-nta:kwe:n	-nta:kwe:ni:

Figure 4-10

Indicative Neutral suffixes. Non-palatalized forms, on other hand, insert -pan- before the final e: of the Dubitative Neutral. This restructuring must be several hundred years old, since La Brosse recorded the -a:kwe: forms at Tadoussac (1768).

The Pointe Bleue paradigm for the Dubitative Neutral has an intrusive w in the first and second plural forms. The Dubitative Preterit paradigm for this community uses some suffixes from the palatalized paradigm (second singular) and others from the non-palatalized (first singular and all third persons). The first and second plural forms are slightly closer to the non-palatalized suffixes.

4.45 Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct

For all varieties except the eastern palatalized ones, the third person singular Conjunct inflection for both vowel-stems and n-stems is the same for Inanimate Intransitive (II) verbs. This is in contrast to inflections for the Transitive Inanimate (TI) and Animate Intransitive (AI). These two paradigms use -t or a phonetic variant for vowel-stems and -k for n-stems. But in the Inanimate Intransitive, -k is used for both stems.

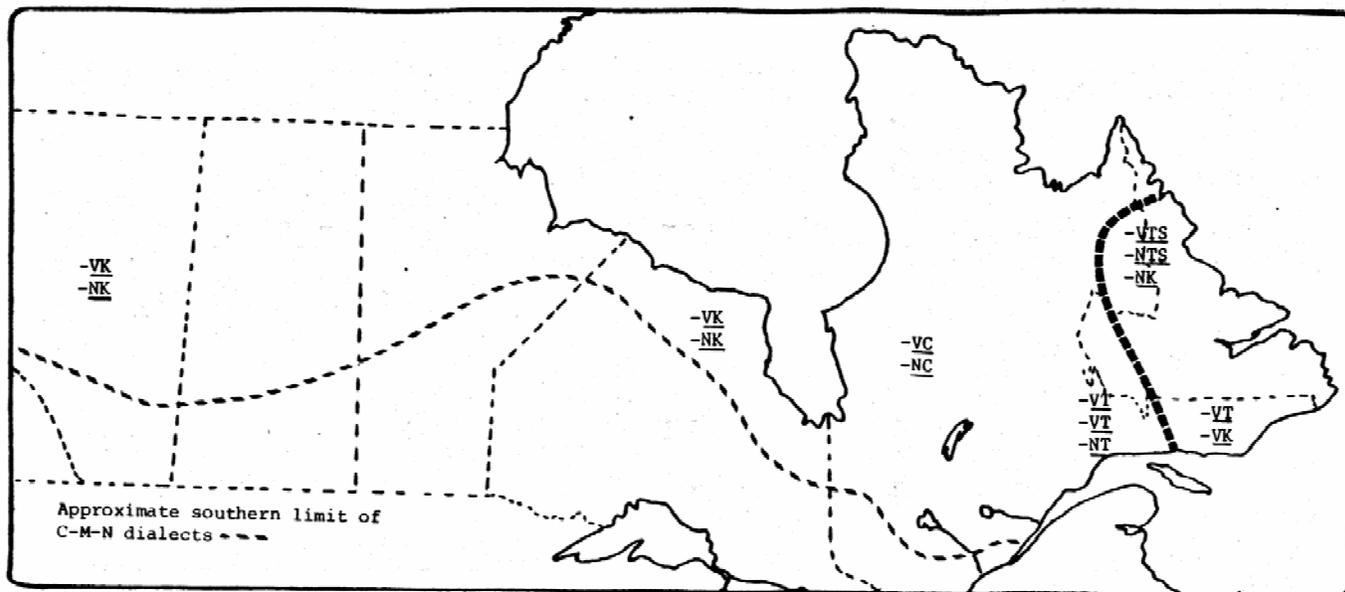
On the Lower North Shore and at North West River, however, II stems are inflected on the same pattern as that used for the TI and AI forms: -t < -c < -k for vowel-stems and -k for n- stems. Map 4-9 shows the

distribution of the singular II Conjunct suffixes for vowel-stem and n- stem verbs; both singular and plural suffixes are summarized below:

	<u>Vowel Stem</u>		<u>-n Stem</u>	
	<u>Sing.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>	<u>Sing.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Plains	-k	-ki	-k	-ki
Moose	-k	-ki	-k	-ki
Atik.	-k	-k	-k	-k~ki
Mist.	-c	-kwa:w	-c	-kwa:w
Ft.G.	-c	-c	-c	-c
P.B.	-ts	-ka:w	-ts:	-ka:w
Bets.	-t < c	-ka:w	-t < c	-ka:w
Moisie	-t < c	- "t(<ti?) -ka:w	-t < c (-k)	-t(<ti) -ika:w
LNS	-t < c	-ti:	-k	ki:
NWR	-t < c	-ci: -ka:w	-k	ki:
D.I.	-ts	-ta -ci:	-k -ts	(-ci:)

Figure 4-11

Plural II forms are somewhat more complicated. Unfortunately, less complete data exist for these suffixes. One difference occurs in the choice of conjunct plural morpheme. Geographically peripheral



Map 4-9 II Conjunct Singular Suffixes

varieties use -i(:) while central ones use -(w)a:w. Within Quebec-Labrador, the south-western varieties have innovated the -(w)a:w variant, while northern and eastern varieties retain -i:, as in the non-palatalized varieties (4.41).

Mailhot reported that within the Schefferville group, only those people who formerly hunted caribou to the north use the -k variant for n- stems (personal communication).

4.46 Initial Change

Initial change, the change in the vowel of the first syllable of a conjunct verb, is used to signal a

Initial Change

<u>Vowel</u>	<u>PA</u>	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Moose</u>	<u>Atikamekw</u>	<u>Eastmain</u>	<u>Ft.George</u>	<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>NWR</u>	<u>Davis Inlet</u>
i	*e:	e:	e:	e:	a:<e:	a:<e:	e:	e:	e:	e:
a	*e:	e:	e:	e:	a:<e:	a:<e:	e:	e:	e:	e:
u	*we:	we:	we:	we:	wa:<we:	wa:<we:	we:	we:	we:	we:
i:	*(y)a:	a: } iyi: }	a:	a:	a: } iya: }	a:	a:	a:	a: } iyi: }	a:
e:	*eye:	iye:	iye:	iye:	-	-	iye:	iye:	iye:	ine:
a:	*eya:	iya:	iya: } e:ya: }	iya:	iya:	iya:	iya:	iya:	iya:	ina:
u:	*wa:	iyu:	wa:	wa:	u: } iyu: } wa: }	[]	e:Cu: } (iyu:)RH }	e:Cu:	iyu:	u:

Figure 4-12

number of things. There is no doubt that there is variation among communities. At Mistassini it can be used to signal punctual past action as well as the present tense in dependent clauses :

<u>ka:nipit</u>	'he died'
<u>e:kw ne:pit</u>	'then he died'
<u>ta:nte: ce:nipa:t</u>	'where will he sleep'
<u>ta:nte: ne:pa:t</u>	'where does he sleep?'

The past and future markers used with Conjunct verbs, ka:- and ke: ~ ce: respectively, are changed forms of the preverbs ki:~ ci: and ka- which are used with Independent verbs.

Figure 4-12 shows the variation in replacement vowels used for initial change. The changed vowel for u: is the most variable. In some varieties it has been reshaped to iyu: on analogy with the other long vowels. At Davis Inlet, no change takes place. At Mistassini and in the Moisie varieties, changed verbs which have u: in the first syllable are homophonous with verbs formed with the preverb e:-. The Davis Inlet ine: < iyu: and ina: < iyu: are the result of y ~ n alternation (2.7). The Proto-Algonkian forms on Figure 4-12 are from Pentland (1979:409).

Variation occurs in those communities which have lengthened short vowels before pre-aspirated stops (and then

lost the pre-aspiration). In this case the sequences -ihC, -ahC, -uhC become -i:C, -a:C and -u:C respectively. Initial change is then carried out according to the surface vowel:

<u>Mistassini</u>	<u>North West R.</u>	
<u>tahka:w</u>	<u>ta:ka:w</u>	'it is cold'
<u>te:hka:c</u>	<u>tiya:ka:t</u>	'it was cold'
<u>mihkwa:w</u>	<u>mi:kwa:w</u>	'it is red'
<u>me:hkwa:c</u>	<u>ma:kwa:t</u>	'it was red'

Mailhot provided examples from the Moisie dialects which indicate how initial change operates on surface, rather than underlying, vowels. The word for 'he works' is atusse:w for the oldest Moisie speakers and the changed form is e:tusse:t. Younger speakers who have lost the initial short vowel through procope use tusse:w and twe:sse:t as the Independent and changed forms, respectively. An even younger group of speakers has neutralized the initial vowel of tusse:w and use the form [tisse:w]. The changed form for these speakers is then te:sse:.

4.5 Negation of Verbs

There are two different sets of morphemes which are used to make the negative of verbs. One is used with Independent verbs and the other with Conjunct and Imperative forms. In every case a pre-posed particle is utilized.

With Conjunct and Imperative verbs e:ka: occurs in all varieties:

e:ka: takusiniya:ne 'if I do not arrive'

e:ka: tu:t 'don't do it'

It can be reduced to ka: in rapid speech or can be emphasized with the suffix wiy with imperatives:

ka: tu:t 'don't do it'

e:ka: wiywi:wi: 'don't go out'

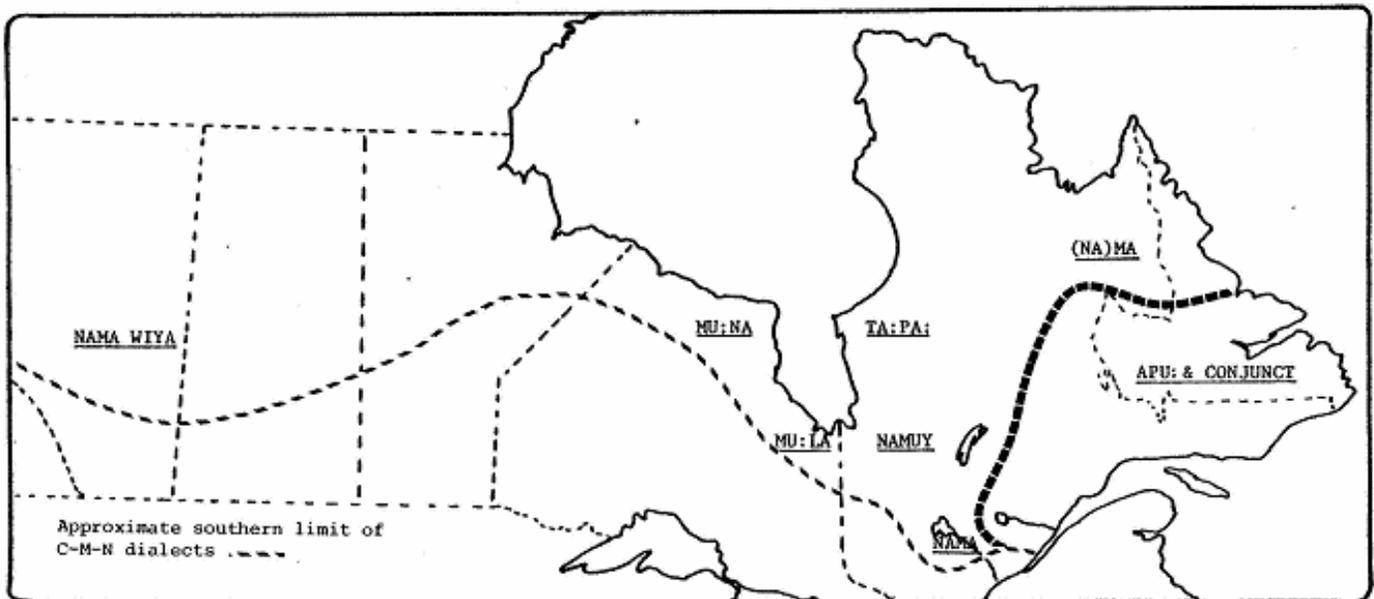
Lemoine gave the Imperative negative marker as "eka uil", which would be cognate with y-dialect e:ka:wiy. He further stated that e:ka is the short form (1901:56).

The negative form of the Independent verb is a more complex matter. All the non-palatalized varieties as well as the palatalized y- varieties and Davis Inlet variety use some variant of nama or nama wi:la:

Plains	<u>nama wila nipa:w</u>	'he is not asleep'
Moose	<u>nama wila nipa:w</u>	"
Mistassini	<u>namuy nipa:w</u>	"
Fort Chimo	<u>nama nipa:w</u>	"
Davis Inlet	<u>mata nipa:w</u>	"

In the palatalized n- and l- communities the particle is apu:, which requires that the verb be inflected with Conjunct, not Independent, suffixes:

Moisie	<u>nipa:w</u>	'he is sleeping'
	<u>apu:nipa:t</u>	'he is not sleeping'



Map 4-10

Negative of Independent Verbs.

The seventeenth century dictionaries of Silvy and Fabvre do not list apu:, but do give several negative sentences, all formed with nama. The La Brosse manuscript of 1768 gives "eka" and "nama", with "abua" written in above the line. This would indicate that apu: was a less frequent variant. Conjunctions in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi require either the Independent or Conjunct verb inflection. apu: was a particle requiring the conjunct which came into general use at the expense of nama. A possible source for apu: is Ojibway particle pwa:, reported by Bloomfield (1928) for use with Conjunct forms.

For Betsiamites at the turn of this century, Lemoine (1901) gave "apu" as the primary negativizer. He also included the use of "mawats" plus the Independent for future tense verbs. In the l and n varieties of Quebec-Labrador mawats is the contracted form of nama wa:c, and is the usual word for 'no'.

In those palatalized dialects which use nama or namuy plus the Independent, a past tense requires a different past marker than does the present tense. Affirmative past tenses are formed with the preverb ci:-, and negative past tenses require the preverb uhci-:

ci:ta:w 'he was there'

namuy uhcita:w 'he was not there'

Ellis noted the use of uhci- for Moose and Swampy Cree as well (1962).

Those dialects which use apu: to negate Independent verbs require an additional morpheme for the past tense. This is tu:t, and gives apu: tu:t, which can be contracted to apu:t:

<u>apu:</u>	<u>nipa:t</u>		'he is not asleep'
<u>apu:</u>	<u>tu:t</u>	<u>nipa:t</u>	'he was not asleep'

Ford and Bacon (1977-8) recorded apu: cu:t for the Moisie varieties. McNulty (1971) gave only "apuht" for the Lower North Shore.

In the palatalized y- communities there is an alternate negative particle ta:pa:. It functions in the same manner as namuy, but has a slightly different meaning. It is most often used in those cases where a reason or explanation is being offered.

ta:pa: nitiya:n (because) I don't have any.

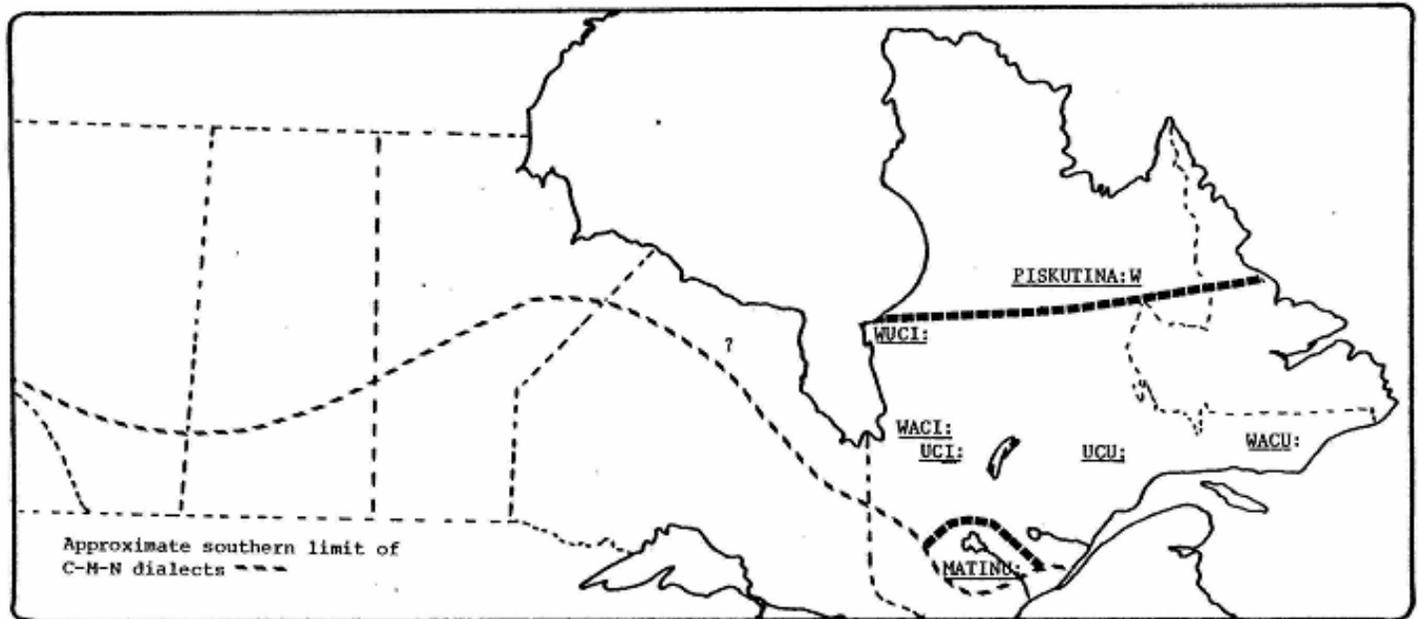
At Fort George ta:pa: has become the primary negativizer, and nama is used for 'no'.

4.6 Lexicon

4.61 Nouns

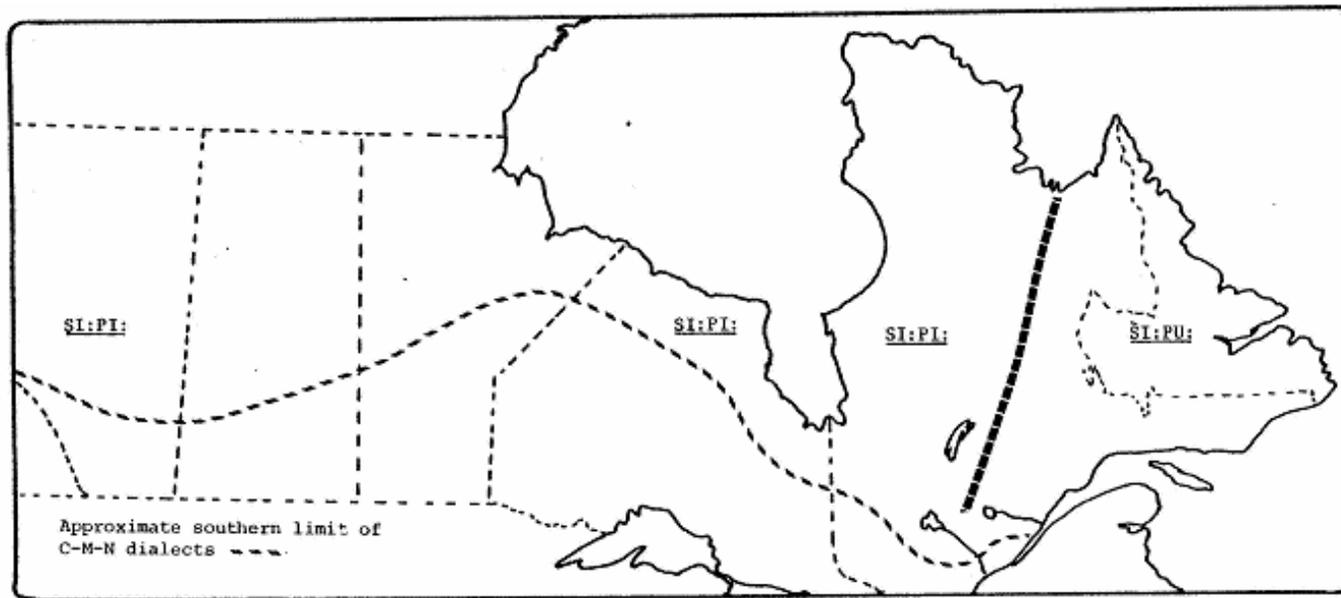
Variations in nouns can arise from several sources: (a) phonetic variation, (b) generalization of a related but different lexical item or (c) choice of a different combination morpheme.

Examples of phonetic variation occur in the words for 'mountain, hill', 'river' and 'canoe':



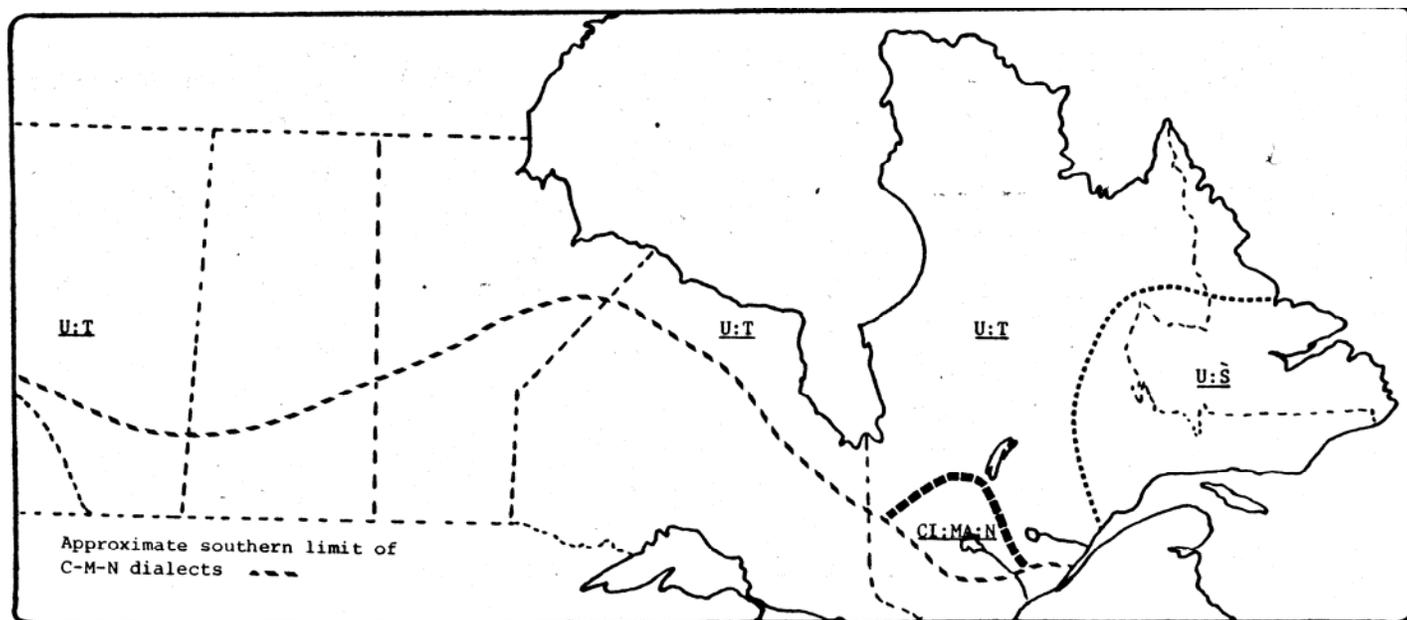
Map 4-11 'mountain, hill'

The modern forms wuci:, waci:, uci:, ucu: and wacu: for 'hill, mountain' for the Proto-Algonkian *wacyiwi are found in various communities. A different lexical item, piskutina:w, has replaced derivatives of PA* wacyiwi in northern Quebec-Labrador.



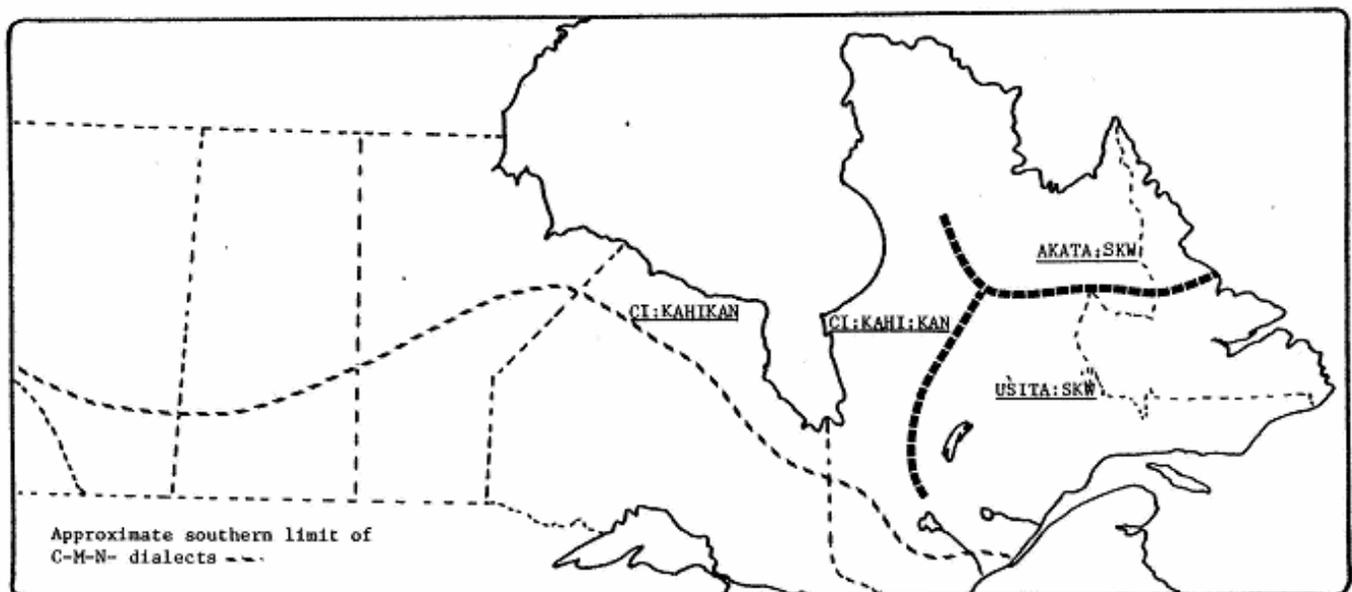
Map 4-12 'river'

The forms si:pi: and si:pu: for 'river' show the same difference in final vowels.



Map 4-13 'canoe'

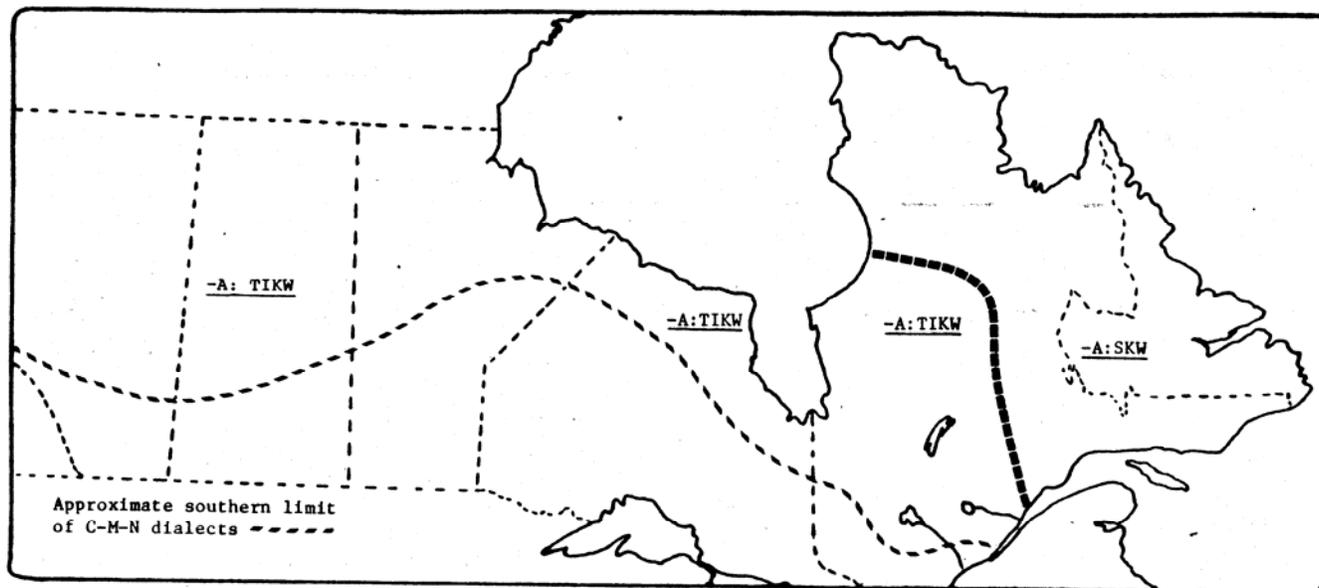
The term for 'canoe' from PA* u:θ- shows wide distribution of the variant singular forms u:si, u:s, u:ti and u:. The non-palatalized varieties reported on by Pentland use u:si, u:ti or u:t. The palatalized dialects in the western side of the peninsula use only u:t, a generalization from the plural form u:ta. In those n- and l- varieties where u:s is used, younger speakers may form the plural as u:sa while older speakers use the conservative form u:ta. Waswanipi and Atikamekw speakers use ci:ma:n, which means 'boat' in all other dialects, an influence from neighbouring Algonquin speakers.



Map 4-14 'axe'

The terms used for 'axe' in northern and eastern Quebec-Labrador are both formed with the noun final -a:skw 'long and rigid'. Mistassini and Waswanipi share the term usita:skw with the n- and l- dialects while Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet

share akata:skw. Other palatalized y- dialect communities use ci:kahi:kan, as do Plains and Swampy/Moose Cree (Map 4-14).



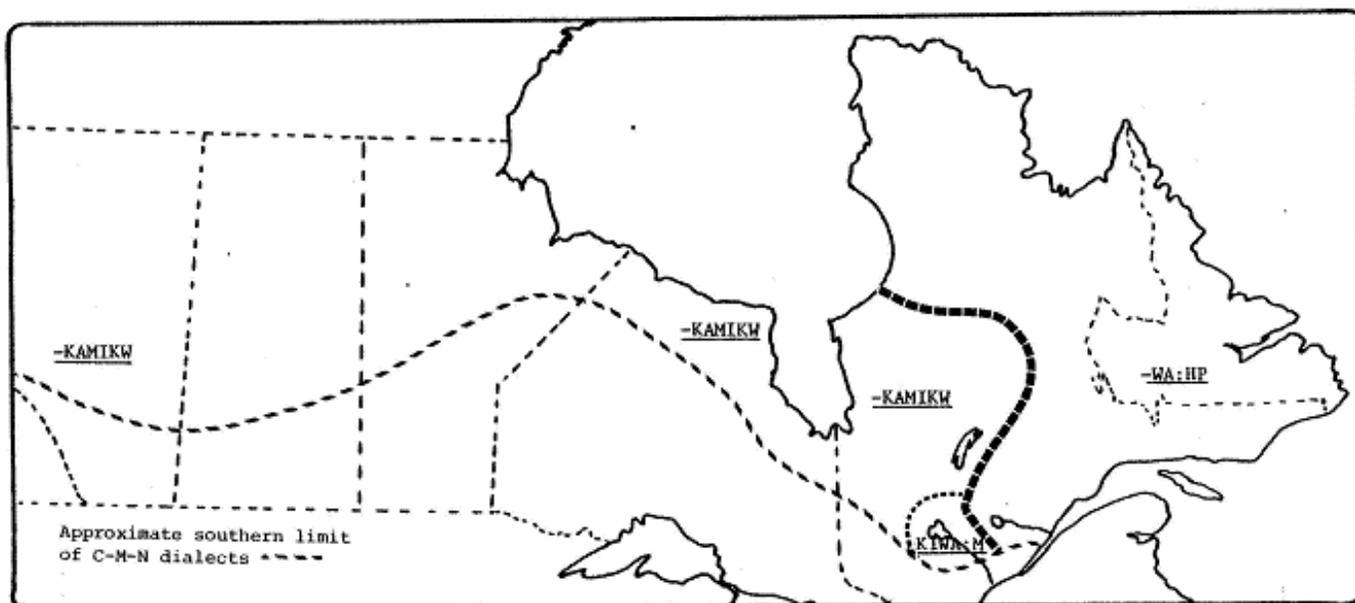
Map 4-15 'long and rigid'

A noun may be formed from an existing noun through the suffixation of a noun-final morpheme. A small class of these noun-finals refer to physical properties of the object described. Members of this set are a:tikw or -a:skw 'long and rigid'; -a:ipi: 'long and flexible'; -a:pu: or -a:puy 'liquid'; -a:piskw, 'hard, metallic'; -e:cin 'sheet-like'; -min 'compact'.

In eastern Quebec-Labrador the -a:skw variant of 'long and rigid, stick like' is the productive morpheme while -a:tikw is used in all varieties to the west.

	<u>asa:m</u>	'snowshoe'
Mistassini	<u>asa:ma:tikw</u>	'snowshoe frame'
Moisie	<u>aʂa:ma:skw</u>	'snowshoe frame'

The use of -a:tikw at Pointe Bleue indicates contact with Mistassini (Map 4-15). Even though -a:tikw has become the productive suffix in the East Cree varieties, some words have been lexicalized with -a:skw, such as apwa:na:skw 'roasting stick, spit'.



Map 4-16 'building'

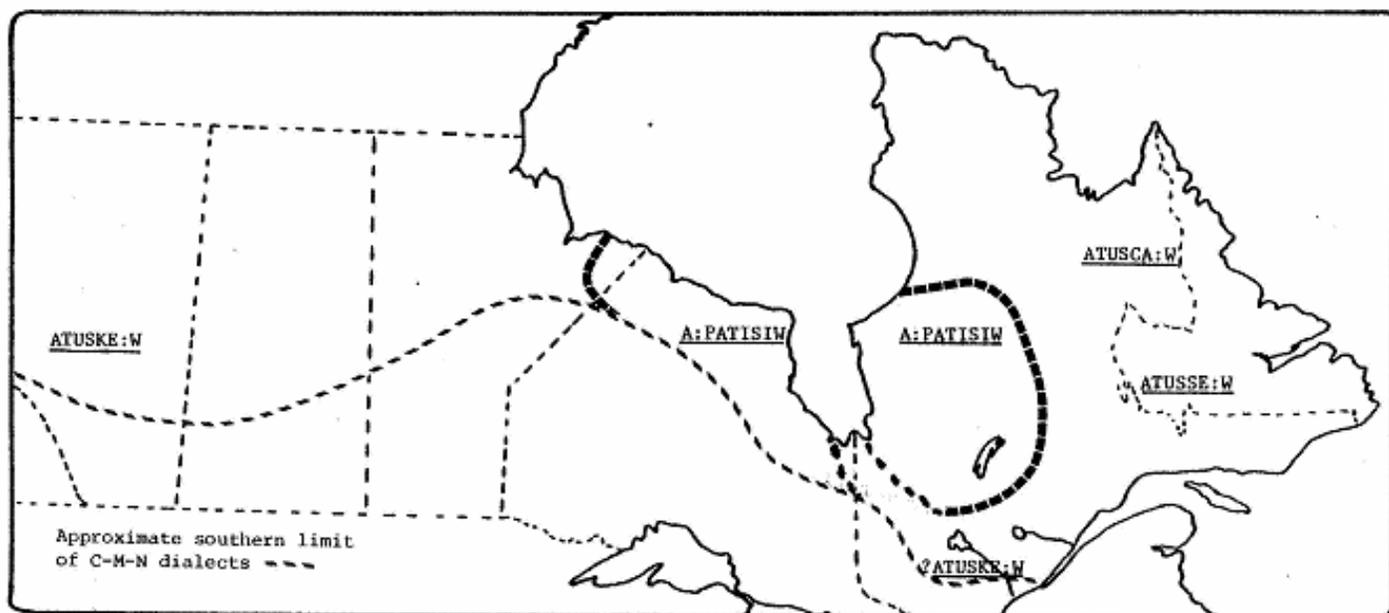
Another noun final which is almost coterminous with -a:tikw/-a:skw in distribution is -wa:hp or -kamikw for 'building' (Map 4-16). Pointe Bleue uses -wa:hp as the productive suffix but all communities to the west use -kamikw. Atikamekw uses the Ojibway variant -wa:m for -wa:hp.

	<u>ata:w</u>	'he buys it'
Mist.	<u>ata:wakamik</u>	'store'
Moisie	<u>ata:wuciwa:p</u>	'store'

	<u>suliyɑ:w</u>	'money'
Mistassini	<u>suliyɑ:wkamik</u>	'bank'
Moisie	<u>ʂuniyɑ:wciwɑ:p</u>	'bank'

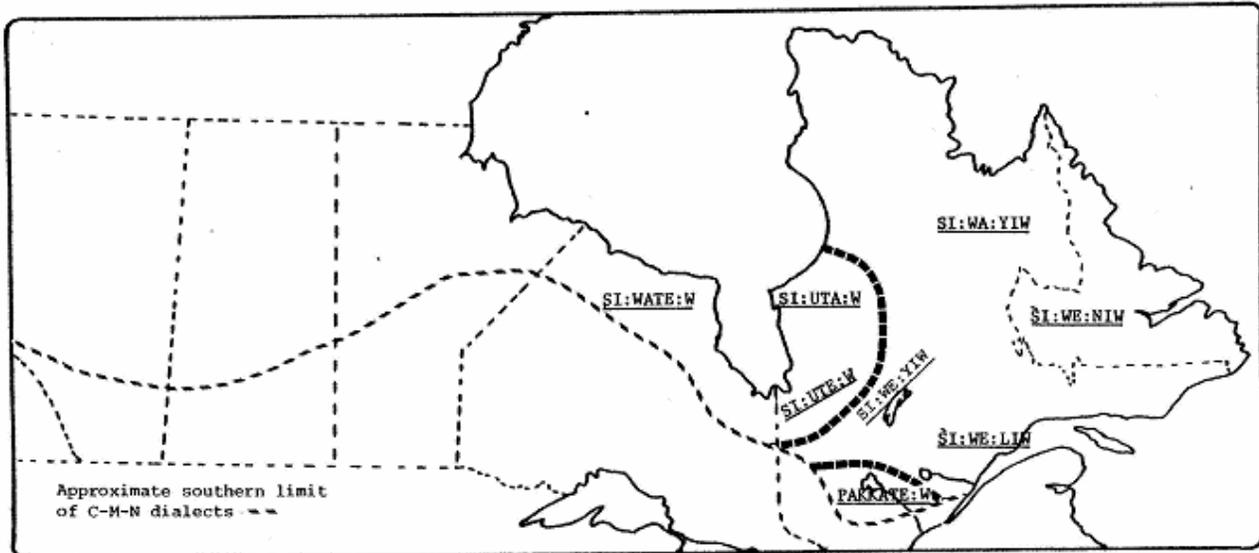
In the western area, some words, such as mi:ciwɑ:hp 'teepee' have been lexicalized with the non-productive suffix.

4.62 Verbs

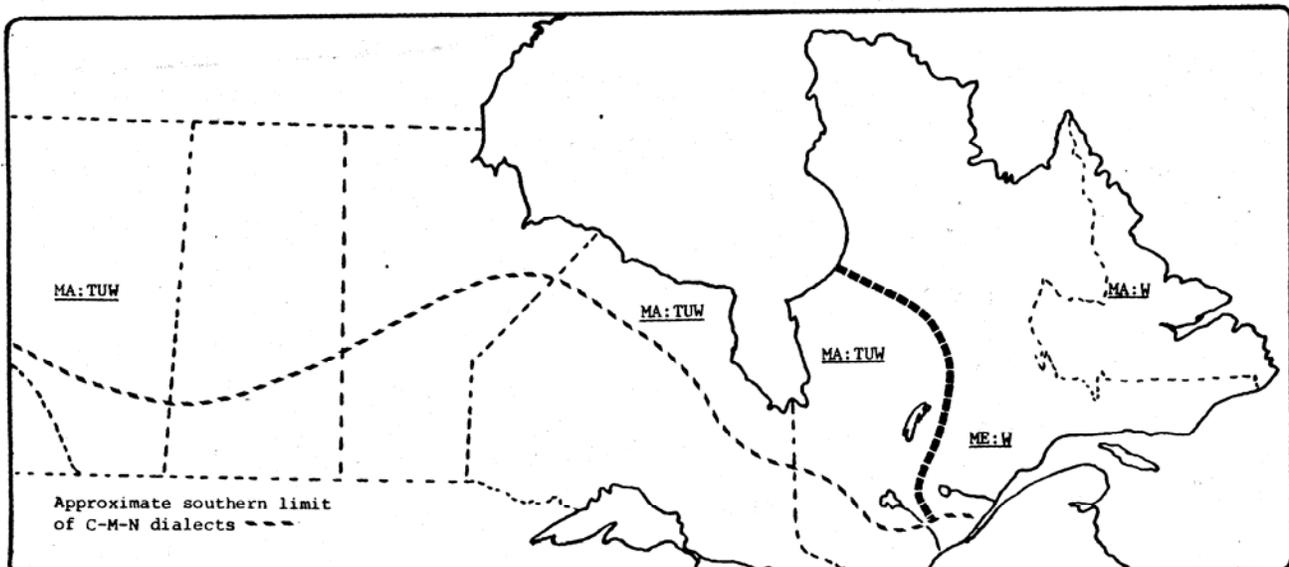


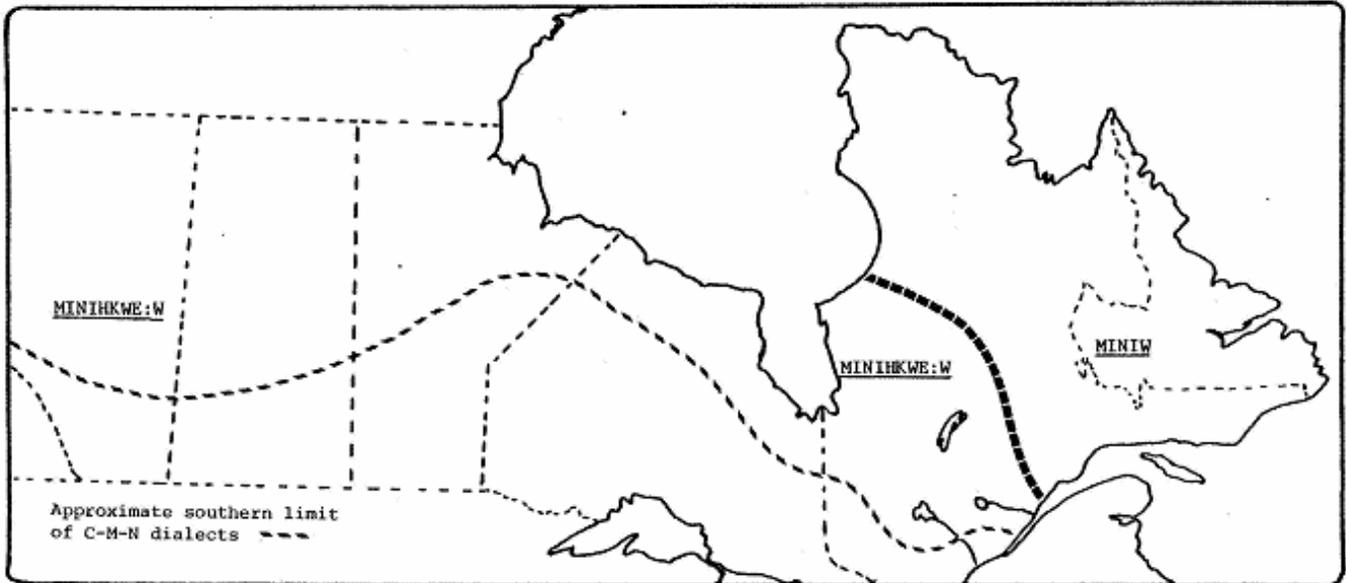
Map 4-17 'he works'

The usual term for "he works" is atuske:w. Subsequent phonological changes in the palatalized varieties yield atusca:w, atusce:w or atusse:w. The term a:patisiw 'he is used, he is useful' has been innovated on both the east and west coasts of James Bay (Map 4-17), although aituske:w 'he performs a task, labour' is used at Moose. At Pointe Bleue and Betsiamites the old a:~e: stem vowel variation is retained (2.3).

Map 4-18 'he is hungry'

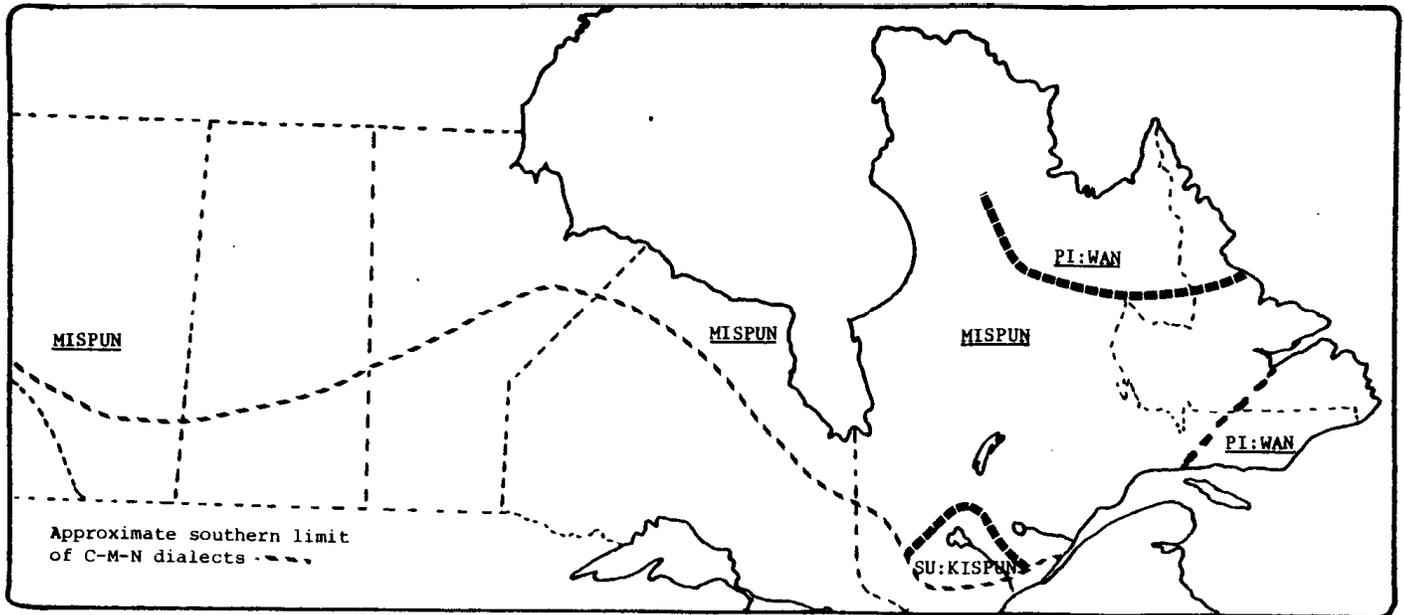
The lexical items used for 'he is hungry' show agreement on both coasts of James Bay, while the Mistassini items agree with those of the n- and l palatalized dialects. Atikamekw Cree uses the Ojibway-Algonkin term (Map 4-13).

Map 4-19 'he cries'

Map 4-20 'he drinks'

The distribution of the words for 'he cries' and 'he drinks' follows the same pattern. All the y-varieties except that of Fort Chimo use ma:tuw and minihkwe:w for these verbs, as do all the non-palatalized dialects including Atikamekw. In addition, Pointe Bleue speakers use the same lexical items. All other Montagnais-Naskapi varieties use related but different forms: me:w or ma:w, 'he cries' and miniw 'he drinks' (Map 4-19, 20).

The eastern palatalized form ma:w 'he cries', is cognate with forms that occur in Ojibway and Menomini (Me. ma:w and Oj. ma:w). The western form ma:tuw 'he cries' may be the combination of the root for 'weep' PA*ma(a) plus the medial for 'weep' *atwemo. The transitive verb form is the same in all dialects (mu:hew, 'he makes him cry'). The eastern form miniw 'he drinks' agrees with the Fox and Menomini forms.

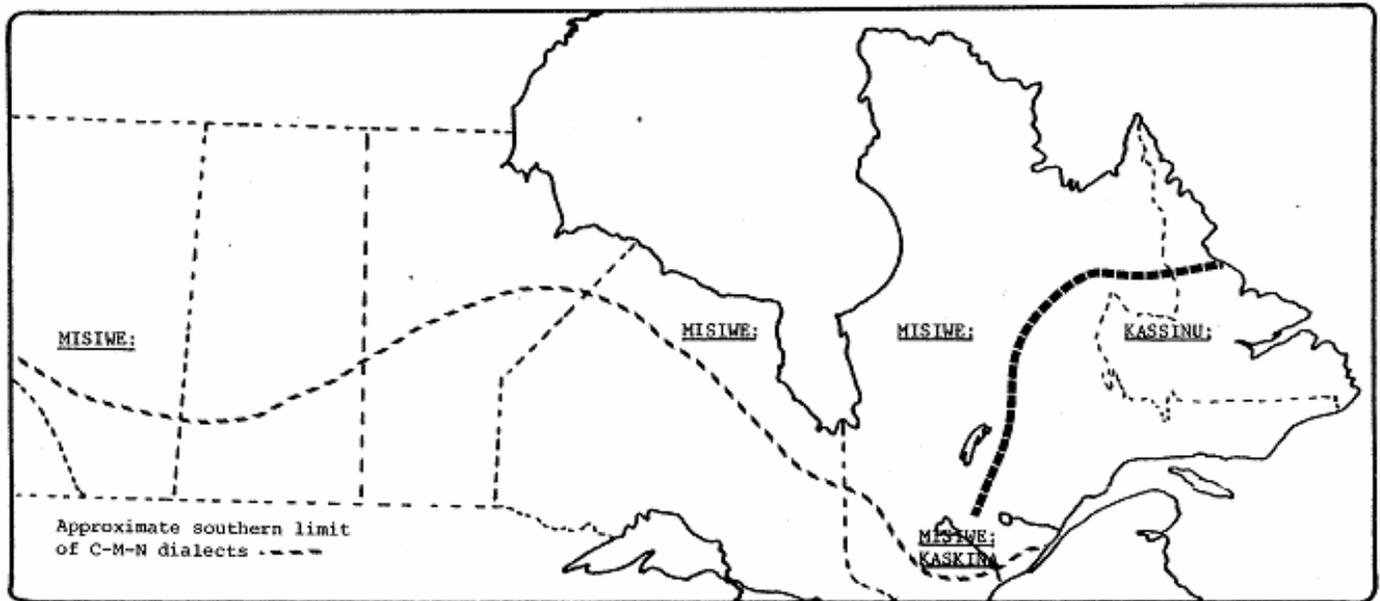
Map 4-21 'it snows'

The usual word for "it snows" is mispun; it is the most widely used. Among the Naskapi speakers and those on the Lower North Shore it has been replaced by pi:wan, literally "it is a blizzard", which is also used by speakers who use mispun. The Atikamekw word, su:kispun literally means 'it is snowing hard', and is cognate with the Ojibway word.

4.63 Particles

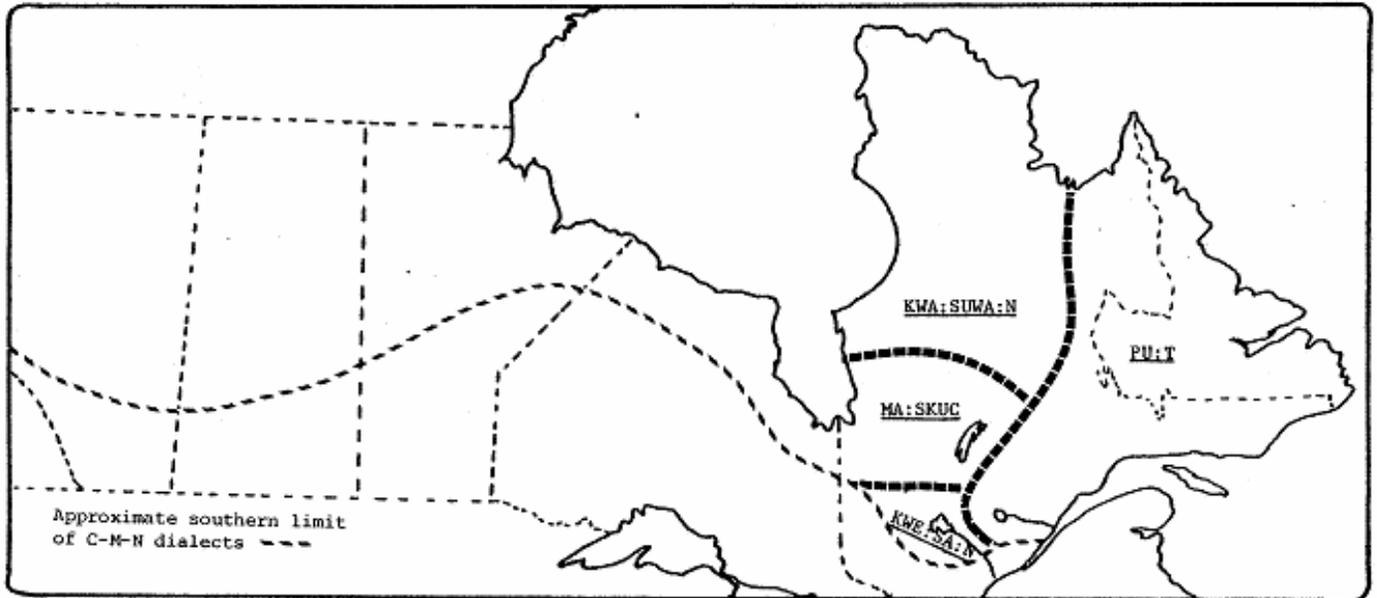
In Algonkian languages, particles are all those lexical items which are not nouns or verbs and usually are not inflected. They include words for time (adverbs) and space (prepositions), conjunctions, exclamations, pronouns, demonstratives and numbers. In Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi there is significant variation, between groups of dialects, in the small words used as particles. Because each particle

carries a high information load, this variation contributes greatly to a lack of intelligibility between speakers from different areas. The demonstrative for 'this' and 'that' will be discussed below (4.31) as will the numeral system (4.32).



Map 4-22 'all'

The word misiwe: is known in all varieties. In the Montagnais dialects the meaning is restricted to 'everywhere'. In other varieties the primary meaning is 'all', but it can also be used for 'everywhere' if followed by a second particle indicating place. For 'all', Montagnais uses kassinu: or kahtinu: while Atikamekw has kaskina: as well as misiwe: (Map 4-20). Michelson contended that the Montagnais word was a transformation of an earlier loan from Plains Cree kahkiya:w (1939:73). Recent study has shown that this is unlikely (Pentland 1979:79).



Map 4-23 'maybe, perhaps'

There are at least three different words used for 'maybe': (a) pu:t shared by the n- and l- palatalized varieties, (b) ma:skuc shared by southern East Cree, Moose, Swampy and Plains speakers, and (c) kwa:swan or kwe:sa:n shared by northern East Cree and Atikamekw (Map 4-23).

4.631 Demonstrative Pronouns

There is a clear relationship among the words used in different dialects for the demonstrative pronouns 'this', 'that' and 'that yonder', notwithstanding historical changes which obscure the similarities. A proliferation of demonstratives is found for the non-palatalized varieties of Plains, Swampy/Moose and Atikamekw Cree. In dialects to the east of these, there seems to be either syncretization or loss of certain forms. Unfortunately, an exhaustive analysis of the demonstratives has not been completed for any of the palatalized varieties, rendering comparison difficult. All forms which have been collected have been listed in Figure 4-13. Nonetheless, it is probable that more terms remain to be elicited.

As in the case of nouns and verbs, there seems to be a major break between the n- and l- Montagnais and Davis Inlet forms on the one hand and the non-palatalized and East Cree forms on the other. The East Cree forms are easily recognized variants of the western ones, but the loss of final short vowels means that animate and inanimate singular forms have merged. The plural forms are still distinguished.

The rule of initial short vowel loss (3.41) has operated on the Montagnais forms for 'that' and 'that yonder'. The demonstrative forms probably provided one of the first environments where this happened. Even the Lower North Shore dialects,

Demonstrative Pronouns

	<u>Plains</u>	<u>Swampy/ Moose</u>	<u>Atik.</u>	<u>Mist.</u>	<u>Ft.G.</u>	<u>Bets.</u>	<u>Moisie</u>	<u>L.N.S.</u>	<u>N.W.R.</u>	<u>Davis I.</u>	
'this'	3	awa	awa	awa	u:	u:	ume:	mwe: we: }	mwe:	mwe: we: }	we:
	33	u:ki	u:ku	u:ki	u:ci	u:ci			mwe:ce	wuts	
	3'	u:hi	u:hu	u:hi							
	0	u:ma	u:ma	u:he	u:	u:	ume:	ume:	mwe:	we:	
	00	u:hi	u:hu	u:hi	u:hi	u:hi	ume:n		mwe:nawa	ume:nwa we:nwa }	
'that'	3	ana	ana	naha	an	an	ne:	ne:	ne:	ne:	eya
	33	aniki	aniki	niki	anci:	anci:	nce:n		ne:ce:nt	ne:ce	eyats
	3'	anihi	anihi	nihi					-		
	0	anima	ani anima	nihe:	an	an	ne:		ne:	ne:	e:
	00	anihi	anihi	nihi	anhi:	anhi:			ne:nay	ne:nawa	enawa
'that yonder'	3	naha	na:ha	na:ha			nawi	na:wi:		nawi	
	33	ne:ki		ne:ki		na:chi:	ne:ce:n			ne:ce:nt	
	3'	ne:hi		ne:hi							
	0	ne:ma	ne:ma	ne:he			ne:ume:				
	00	ne:hi		ne:hi		na:hi:	ne:ume:n				

Figure 4-13

which do not normally delete initial short vowels, have in this case done so. The Montagnais forms have been recorded by Lemoine (1901) in essentially the same form as given in Figure 4-13.

The rule of progressive vowel harmony (3.5) occurs in those dialects which use mwe: instead of ume:. A subsequent change is the loss of initial m with the result that we: has become an alternant of mwe: in some communities.

In Davis Inlet, the alternation of y with n (2.7) results in [eya] < aya < ana for 'that' and 'these' (animate). The short vowel a is raised to [e] before y and is used even in enawa, where the n remains.

Béland (1978:138) reported the existence of a second set of demonstratives for Atikamekw so that pairs such as the following exist:

<u>u:ha</u>	~	<u>u:hwe:</u>	'this'
<u>naha</u>	~	<u>anahwe:</u>	'that'
<u>na:ha</u>	~	<u>anehwe:</u>	'that yonder'

These forms have been innovated at Mistassini and are now regularly in use there, although they are identified as Waswanipi dialect forms by older Mistassini speakers. It is a matter for investigation as to whether or not these forms spread to Waswanipi from the Atikamekw speakers.

Béland also stated that the suffix -ima may be added to both sets of forms to give u:ha~u:hama~u:hwe:~u:hwema for 'this'.

Optional deletion of the vowel preceding -ma gives u:ma for both animate u:hama 'this' and inanimate u:hima 'this'. The variant u:ma looks very much like the Montagnais u:me:, which is used for both animate and inanimate 'this'. The Atikamekw demonstratives for 'that' which occur without the initial short vowel are much closer to the Montagnais forms than are the East Cree variants. These similarities suggest close contact between Montagnais and Atikamekw in the past.

4.632 Numeral systems

The numbers other than 'one' to 'four' show considerable variation among dialects. It should be possible to posit evidence of contact between different groups at different times, but detailed ethno-historical information will be necessary before this can be done with any accuracy.

No single number morpheme for the series 'five' through 'ten' is used by all Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi varieties. The most geographically widespread is ni:swa:sik 'seven', which is used from Labrador to the west coast of Hudson Bay. The writer has recorded te:pakuhp at Fort Severn. It is not clear that it is used in Woods and Plains Cree as well.

East Cree and all the non-palatalized varieties (except Atikamekw) use (ni)ya:na:ne:w 'eight', an innovation since Proto-Algonkian. Atikamekw and the n- and l- (except Davis

Numerals 'five' to 'ten'

	'five'	'six'	'seven'	'eight'	'nine'	'ten'
Proto-Algonkian	*niya:lanwi	*nekwetwa:ši	*nyi:šwa:ši	*ne?šwa:šika	*[]	*meta:hθwi
Plains	niya:yan	nikutwa:sik	te:pakuhp	iya:na:ne:w	ke:ka:t- mita:ht	mita:taht
Moose	niya:lan	nikutwa:s	ni:swa:s	niya:na:ne:w	ša:nk } ša:kita:tu }	mita:taht } mita:ht }
Atikamekw	niya:rin	nikutwa:ssu	ni:šwa:ssu	ni:sšwa:ssu	ša:kita:ttu	mita:ttu
Mistassini	niya:yin	(ni)kutwa:sc	ni:swa:sc	ya:na:ne:w	pe:ykuste:w	mita:ht
Ft. George	niya:yw	nikutwa:sc	kutwa:sc ³	niya:na:na:w	pa:ykusta:w	mita:htw
Ft. Chimo	pata:ta:t	a:suta:c	ni:swa:suta:c	iya:na:na:w	pa:ykusta:w	pa:ykuyu:
Davis Inlet	pate:ta:s	a:sutats	ni:swa:suta:s	niya:ne:w	pe:ykuste:w	pe:ykunnu:
LNS	pate:ta:t	kutwa:ht	ni:hwa:st	nihwa:wh	pe:ykuhte:w	pe:ykunnu:
NWR/Moisie	pate:ta:(:)t	kutwa:ss	ni:šwa:ss	nišwa:wš	pe:ykuste:w	kutunnu:
Betsiamites/ Pointe Bleue	Pate:tat(s)	nikutwa:ss	ni:šwa:ss	nišwa:s	pe:ykuste:w	kutulnu:

Figure 4-14

³ Mistake in original; should be: ni:swa:sc

Inlet) use niswa:sc(u), which is cognate with the PA form. Dictionaries containing older forms of the palatalized variety give "niswasu" with final u preserved. (Laure, 1726, La Brosse, 1786).

East Cree and all the palatalized varieties use nia:yw or niya:yan 'five'. Naskapi and Montagnais dialects use pate:taht. Laure and La Brosse give "napatetatch" and "napatetash", respectively, for 'five'.

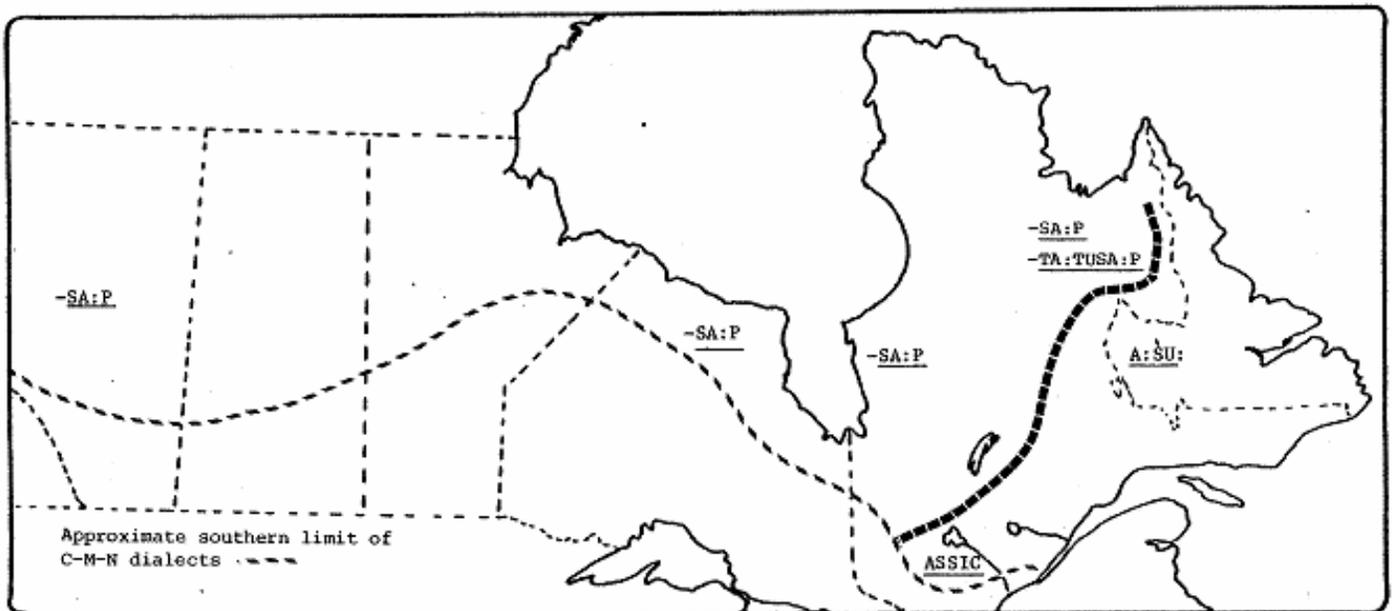
For the number 'six' the two Naskapi communities of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet share the form a:suta:ts. It is not used by any other group; all others use (ni)kutwa:sc.

All the palatalized varieties use pe:yakuste:w for 'nine'. Variation exists among the non-palatalized ones.

East Cree and all non-palatalized varieties use a cognate of the Proto-Algonkian word for 'ten' *mita:~. The remaining Montagnais and Naskapi communities have innovated two separate forms based on the word for 'Indian, person' iyu:~ilnu ~ innu:. The Lower North Shore and the Naskapi communities share pe:yakunnu 'one man, ten' the others share kutulnu: or kutunnu: 'ten'. North West River, although it is located between Davis Inlet and the Lower North Shore, uses the same word kutunnu: 'ten' as the Moisie dialects to the west. The eighteenth century records from the Saguenay region give "nikuturiniu" for

'ten'.

The processes by which the cardinal numbers above ten are formed indicate a division between Plains, Moose/Swampy and East Cree on the one hand and Atikamekw, Montagnais and Naskapi on the other.



Map 4-24 Teen formation

To form the teens, -sa:p or -sà:p is suffixed to the numbers one through nine in the westerly varieties. The eastern varieties use 'ten' followed by a particle a:su: or assic, and then the smaller number.

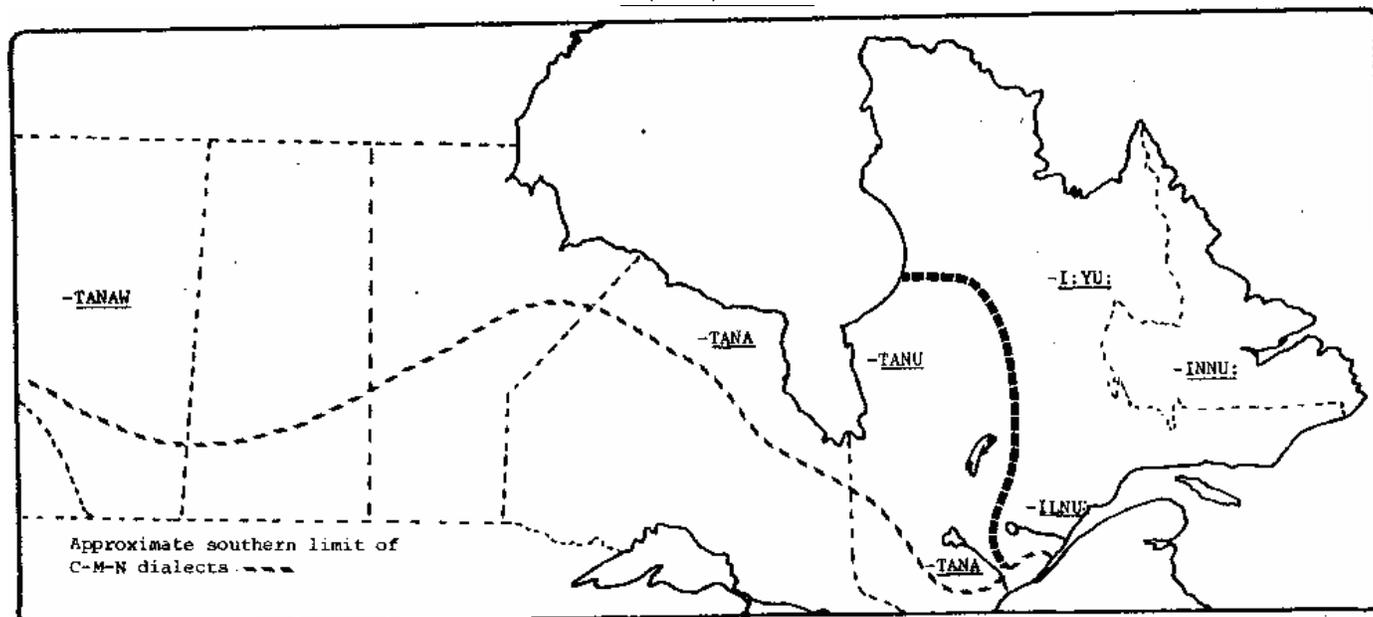
Plains	<u>ne:wsa:p</u>	'fourteen'
Moose/Swampy	<u>ne:wśa:p</u>	"
Fort George	<u>ne:wśa:p</u>	"
Mistassini	<u>ne:wśa:p</u>	"

Atikamekw	<u>mita:ttu:</u> <u>a:ssic</u> <u>ne:w</u>	'fourteen'
Moisie	<u>pe:ykunnu:</u> <u>a:su:</u> <u>ne:w</u> ⁴	"
Fort Chimo	<u>na:wsa:p</u>	"

Fort Chimo follows the East Cree and Moose/Swampy pattern for the numbers 'eleven' through 'fourteen'. For 'fifteen' through 'nineteen', however, an additional morpheme ta:tu: from tahtu 'so many', is inserted before sa:p:

<u>pata:ta:sta:tusa:p</u>	'fifteen'
<u>kutwa:scita:fusa:p</u> ⁵	'sixteen'
<u>a:suta:scita:tusa:p</u>	'seventeen'
<u>ya:na:na:wta:tu:sa:p</u>	'eighteen'
<u>pa:ykusta:wta:tu:sa:p</u>	'nineteen'

The eastern palatalized dialects form the numbers 'ten', 'twenty', 'thirty', etc., by adding the word for 'person, Indian' to the numbers 'one' through 'nine'. Western varieties suffix -(mi)tanu:



Map 4 -25 Tens formation

⁴ Typo in original, correct version should be: kutunnu: a:su: ne:w

⁵ Typo in original, correct version should be: kutwa:scita:tu:sa:p

Plains	<u>ne:mitanaw</u>	'forty'
Moose/Swampy	<u>ne:mitana</u>	"
Atikamekw	(ne:mitana)	"
Mistassini	<u>ne:mitanu:</u>	"
Fort George	<u>na:mitanu:</u>	"
Moisie	<u>ne:unnu</u>	"
Fort Chimo	<u>na:wuyu:</u>	"

The word for 'one hundred' is similar in all varieties and is based on mita:ht, even in those areas where a different word is used for 'ten'.

Plains	<u>mita:htumitanaw</u>
Moose/Swampy	(pe:yakumita:htumitana)
Atikamekw	<u>mita:ttumitana</u>
Mistassini	<u>pe:yakumita:htumitanu:</u>
Ft. George	<u>pa:ykumita:htumitinu:</u>
Pointe Bleue	<u>pe:yakumita:htimitanu:</u>
Moisie	<u>pe:yakumita:simitunnu</u>
Davis Inlet	<u>pe:yakumita:simitunnu</u>
Fort Chimo	<u>pa:yakumita:htumitinu:</u>