

PRACTICAL GUIDE  
TO MONTAGNAIS SPELLING

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## PREFACE

This Practical Guide to Montagnais Spelling is the outcome of an initiative taken by the Attikamek-Montagnais Cultural Institute, in the autumn of 1985, to make some progress on the question of standardization of the Montagnais writing system, with the collaboration of linguists.

The authors of the present document first analyzed recent Montagnais publications for the purpose of outlining current spelling practices throughout Quebec. In this way numerous points of spelling variation have been identified, some of which reflect dialect differences, and others of which are the result purely of spelling rules.

Each point was later discussed in workshops which took place at Longue-Pointe-de-Mingan (March 1986) and at Baie Comeau (October 1986), and recently at Natashquan (January 1989) and at Sept-Iles (February 1989). Under the direction of two linguists, these workshops brought together teachers, translators and editors from various Montagnais communities. The group workshop sessions allowed the discovery of additional points of variation which had not been found in the publication.

Because of the dialect differences which exist between regions and between communities, not all existing spelling differences were resolved but the discussions on spelling standardization have at least contributed to reducing them considerably.

This practical guide to spelling is the revised, up-dated and corrected version of the working paper The Standardization of Montagnais Spelling (November 1986). Revisions were made following the new workshops on spelling which took place in 1989. In the present version the naming of the sections and their order have been completely revised in order to make it easier to use.

For all those who write, edit, publish and teach in Montagnais, this document will provide the main elements of a spelling model which, although not perfectly standardized, is an important step in the right direction.



## ABBREVIATIONS USED

PB	Pointe-Bleue
BETS	Betsiamites
SI	Sept Isles
SCH	Schefferville
MIN	Mingan
NAT	Natashquan
ROM	La Romaine
SA	Saint-Augustin
SHE	Sheshatshit (Labrador)
LNS	Lower North Shore
( )	letter written in one dialect and not in another. Ex. maku(a)meu has two regional spellings: makuameu and makumeu.
AI	animate intransitive verb
II	inanimate intransitive verb
TA	transitive animate verb
TI	transitive inanimate verb
C	consonant
V	vowel
1S	1st person singular
2S	2nd person singular
1Pi	1st person plural inclusive



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<b>ITEM</b> variation between <b>l</b> and <b>n</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>l</b> or <b>n</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  PB & BET:        always <b>l</b> SI & LNS:        always <b>n</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Basic problem, difficult to resolve, theoretical solution possible.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Related to actual differences in pronunciation.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES</b>  PB & BET:        nelu, pilu, laleu, nil, nipimipal SI, SCH, LNS & SHE:        nenu, pineu, <b>naneu</b> , nin, nipimipan	

**SOLUTION**

Theoretical Solution:      **PB and BETS: write the sound `l' with the letter ñ**

**elsewhere: write n**

Ex.    BETS and PB: ñañeu, neñu, niñan  
elsewhere: naneu, nenu, ninan

Difficulty:            Teachers in PB and BETS would have to insert accents by hand on the **n** which corresponds to the sound `l' in their dialect, in the case of texts originating in other communities.

Pedagogy:              At BETS and PB, it will be necessary to specifically teach the students to write the sound `l' using the letter ñ and to read this letter correctly: `l' and not `n'.

<p><b>ITEM</b> long vowels</p>	<p><b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> a or à or â; u or ù or û; i or ì or î</p>																												
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>Montagnais: a, i, u, e Lemoine: long ~, § ā, short a, i, u Mailhot &amp; Lescop: à, ì, ù McNulty: â, î, û</p>																													
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>The Montagnais do not mark long vowels. This creates confusion, in writing, with short vowels which in turn leads to many problems in spelling and makes the system more difficult to learn and use.</p>																													
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>Montagnais has two series of vowels: long ~, § ‘, ā and short a, i, u. In total 7 vowels. In writing ~ and a get mixed up, as do § and i, ā and u.</p>																													
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>																													
<p><b>EXAMPLES</b></p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 15%;"></th> <th style="width: 20%;">`die'</th> <th style="width: 20%;">`get married'</th> <th style="width: 20%;">`swollen'</th> <th style="width: 25%;">`nut'</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Montagnais:</td> <td>nipu</td> <td>nipu</td> <td>pakan</td> <td>pakan</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lemoine :</td> <td>n<u>ì</u>pu</td> <td>n§ā</td> <td>p~k n</td> <td>pak~n</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mailhot :</td> <td>n<u>ì</u>pu</td> <td>nìpù</td> <td>pàkan</td> <td>pakàn</td> </tr> <tr> <td>McNulty :</td> <td>n<u>ì</u>pu</td> <td>nìpâu</td> <td>pâkan(?)</td> <td>pakân</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>						`die'	`get married'	`swollen'	`nut'	Montagnais:	nipu	nipu	pakan	pakan	Lemoine :	n <u>ì</u> pu	n§ā	p~k n	pak~n	Mailhot :	n <u>ì</u> pu	nìpù	pàkan	pakàn	McNulty :	n <u>ì</u> pu	nìpâu	pâkan(?)	pakân
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**SOLUTION**

Proposed: write the long vowels a, e, i, u

Ex. amiu, eñik<sup>u</sup>, papiñapañu, ñeñeu, amu,  
amatshuteu, nipishapui



**SOLUTION**

Proposed: write short vowels with a, i, u, never with e.

Ex. nussim, nipin, atusseu, patush, miñupañu,  
pimipatau, miñueñuitam<sup>u</sup>, minashtakan,  
u(a)ñashinataim<sup>u</sup>, ishinam<sup>u</sup>, utishinikashun,  
mishishtu, matshapekan

Difficulty: This presents the greatest Montagnais spelling problem, especially for the dialects of PB, BETS and SI-SCH.

- a) Reading: the spelling does not mark the difference between long vowels and short vowels. This creates a certain confusion in reading because some words which are different are spelled the same:

**pakan** = 'it is swollen' or 'nut'

**nipu** = 'he is married' or 'he is dead'.

- b) Writing: The Montagnais letter **e** is used to write only the sound 'e' as in **ñeñeu** 'he breathes'. Never write the vowel in **nimin** 'I drink' with the letter **e** but, depending on the word, use **a**, **i**, or **u**.

**Real e (as in ate)    False e (as in up)**

eñik <sup>u</sup>	nipu 'he is dead'	and not *nepu
nemu	atusseu	and not *tesseu
miñuenitam <sup>u</sup>	nutim	and not *nutem
esh	añiman	and not *añemen
ñeñeu	miñupañu	and not *menepeñu
shenam <sup>u</sup>	massin	and not *messen

Thus, when the sound in ate is heard, write **e**; when unsure, check the word in a dictionary.

Remarks: Special attention needs to be paid to **u** as there is a tendency to write **i** in words like nitakunaushun, tshituteu, tapitshepishun, atusseu, ashukan, patush, miñutueu.

(continued)



Pedagogy: The writing of vowels should be taught very carefully and thoroughly. WARNING: it is absolutely necessary that students learn to read vowels in a natural manner, which means the way the vowels are pronounced in their own dialects. Above all, artificial pronunciations, such as pronouncing `a', `i', and `u' the same way they are pronounced in English, must be avoided. DO NOT MIX UP WRITING AND SPEAKING! Every one writes the same way but each person pronounces according to his or her own dialect.



## SOLUTION

Proposed:        **write the initial vowel**

Ex.    **auass, ishkueu, aiau, aiamiau, akushiu, akunishkueun, atshinepik<sup>u</sup>, anikutshash, akuteu, atusseu, atik<sup>u</sup>, ishkuteu ishkuatem, ishkupañu, ishpimit, apu tshekuan, anutshish**

Difficulty:     For the dialects of BETS and SI-SCH, the words which are written with an **a** or **i** which is not pronounced must be learned specially.

TEACHING METHOD:    The words which have these vowels take personal prefixes like **nit-**, **tshit-** and **ut-**, just like the other words beginning with a vowel which is pronounced (while words which begin with a consonant take prefixes like **ni-**, **tshi-** and **u-**).

a) Words with a vowel which is not pronounced at the beginning:

ishkueu:	<b>nit</b> ishkuem	<b>tshit</b> ishkuem	<b>ut</b> ishkuem
auass:	<b>nit</b> auassim	<b>tshit</b> auassim	<b>ut</b> auassim
apu:	<b>nit</b> apin	<b>tshit</b> apin	

b) Words with a vowel pronounced at the beginning:

emikuan:	<b>nit</b> emikuan	<b>tshit</b> emikuan	<b>ut</b> emikuan
uñakan:	<b>nit</b> uñakan	<b>tshit</b> uñakan	<b>ut</b> uñakan

(continued...)





c) Words beginning with a consonant:

nipeun:      **n**nipeun            **tsh**nipeun            **u**nipeun

It will often be necessary to check with a dictionary in order to know which words start with a vowel which is not pronounced.

LNS:            pay attention to **a**tamit, **a**tamipekut, **a**tamakunat

Pedagogy: In the dialects of BETS and SI-SCH, the student should learn the list of words in which **i** and **a** are written but not pronounced.  
 IMPORTANT: the student should also learn to read the list of words without pronouncing the vowel.  
 Pronunciation while reading must be natural and in line with the child's dialect:

write **auass** but pronounce uass

write **auen** but pronounce uen

write **ishkuteu** but pronounce shkuteu

<b>ITEM</b> <b>a</b> before <b>k, m, p</b> which should be written <b>i</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>i</b> or <b>a</b>																																								
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS, SI & SCH: sometimes <b>i</b> , sometimes <b>a</b> , many mistakes LNS: tendency to write <b>a</b> before <b>m, p</b> and especially <b>k</b>																																									
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Important, applies to a large number of words. Difficult on the LNS.																																									
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  The problem arises from the fact that the dialects of the LNS often pronounce <b>i</b> like <b>a</b> when this vowel occurs before the consonants <b>k, m</b> and <b>p</b> .																																									
<b>RELATED TO:</b> short vowels (3)																																									
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left; width: 33%;">Old Montagnais</th> <th style="text-align: left; width: 33%;">BETS/SI/SCH</th> <th style="text-align: left; width: 33%;">LNS</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>shikak<sup>u</sup></td> <td>shikak<sup>u</sup></td> <td>shakak<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td>nikau<i>i</i></td> <td>nikau<i>i</i></td> <td>nakau</td> </tr> <tr> <td>shikuteu</td> <td>shikuteu</td> <td>shakuteu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ushpikai</td> <td>ushpikai</td> <td>ushpakai</td> </tr> <tr> <td>pitsheñik</td> <td></td> <td>pitsheñak</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ñanikapeshamu</td> <td></td> <td>ñañakapesham</td> </tr> <tr> <td>tshiñikau</td> <td></td> <td>tshinakau</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ñikuashkateu</td> <td></td> <td>nakuashkateu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>pashiku `get up'</td> <td>pashiku</td> <td>pashaku</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nikamu</td> <td>nikamu</td> <td>nakamu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>atipish</td> <td></td> <td>atapish</td> </tr> <tr> <td>shiputenamu</td> <td></td> <td>shaputenam</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>			Old Montagnais	BETS/SI/SCH	LNS	shikak <sup>u</sup>	shikak <sup>u</sup>	shakak <sup>u</sup>	nikau <i>i</i>	nikau <i>i</i>	nakau	shikuteu	shikuteu	shakuteu	ushpikai	ushpikai	ushpakai	pitsheñik		pitsheñak	ñanikapeshamu		ñañakapesham	tshiñikau		tshinakau	ñikuashkateu		nakuashkateu	pashiku `get up'	pashiku	pashaku	nikamu	nikamu	nakamu	atipish		atapish	shiputenamu		shaputenam
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Old Montagnais	BETS/SI/SCH	LNS
nutim	nutam	nutam
nutimau	nutamau	nutamau
nutimashkuan	nutamashkuan	nutamashkuan
uitimushu		uitamushu
nimishtshuat	nanamissuat	nanamissuat
ishkueshtimu	? ishkueshtimu	ishkueshtamu
uatshishimu	uatshishamu	uatshishamu
mamashikushtimiku	?mamashikushtamuku	mamashikushtamuku
nashipetimit	nashipetamit	nashipetamit
atimapu	atamapu	atamapu
atimuteu	atamuteu	atamuteu
utitiman	utitamin	utitaman
natimit		natamit

#### SOLUTION

Proposed: write the vowel **i**, as in old montagnais

Ex. see the old forms in the section  
EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS

IMPORTANT: There are several cases where the vowel should be **u**

Ex. pitukamit (and not \*pitakamit)  
manukashu (and not \*manakashu)

IMPORTANT: Not every **a** before **k**, **m** or **p** should be changed to **i**

Ex. mishanakau  
ashameu  
ushakai

Pedagogy: All these words require special teaching in all dialects. Check with a dictionary.

<b>ITEM</b> <u>u</u> which should be written <b>i</b> or <b>a</b> (1st case)	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>i/a</b> or <b>u</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS:     make the effort to write the vowel as it is pronounced on the LNS but lack consistency ROM: no problem. Lack of data for other communities.	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Secondary problem - solution exists but difficult to apply for BETS, SI & SCH.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Difficulties based on real differences in pronunciation. In certain words the vowel is clearly pronounced <b>i</b> or <b>a</b> on the LNS, but is pronounced <b>u</b> at BETS, SI, SCH.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> short vowels (3), <b>k</b> and <b>u</b> at the end of words (25)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS     :     mikuau, atikuss, umik <sup>u</sup> , pakueshikan, utashtamuk <sup>u</sup> , puk <sup>u</sup> , amukuan, assuk <sup>u</sup>  ROM     :     mikuau, atikush, umiuk, pakueshikan, assikuashk, emikuan	

SOLUTION	
<u>Proposed:</u>	<p><b>write the original vowel (i or a depending on the word)</b></p> <p>Ex. mikuau (and not *mukuau), atikuss (and not *atukuss), pakuesham<sup>u</sup> (and not *pukuesham<sup>u</sup>), takut (and not *tukut)</p>
<u>Difficulty:</u>	<p>A problem to apply at PB, BETS, SI &amp; SCH where all these vowels are short and pronounced u (SHE &amp; LNS pronounce them long). One must know how the vowels are pronounced on the LNS or check with a list.</p> <p>Vowel <b>i</b>:</p> <p>mikuau, mikushiu, kamikuakamit  atik<sup>u</sup>, atikuss, atiku-pimi  assik<sup>u</sup>, assikuashk<sup>u</sup>, assikuman  emikuan, emikuaniss, utemikuanishu / uetemikuanishu LNS  pik<sup>u</sup> `powder', pikuss `snow louse'  utashtamik<sup>u</sup>, nitashtamikut  nimik<sup>u</sup>, tshimik<sup>u</sup>, umik<sup>u</sup>, umikuiapi  tshishikushu / tshishikuashu LNS  pikutau, kamatau-pikutat</p> <p>Vowel <b>a</b>:</p> <p>utshekatak<sup>u</sup>, utshekatakut (locative)  kañakunau, kañakunass  tshakuñau  pakuteun  apakuai  akakuai  amak<sup>u</sup> `lacing needle'  takut, takutau(a)t, takutashtau, takutapu  takumeu, takunam<sup>u</sup>, takuneu, nitakunau(a)shun  takukuman  takuaikan, takuaitsheu  takuashu, takuapekashu, takuashkuan  takushkateu, takutitsheueu  pakueshueu, pakueshikan  pakuenam<sup>u</sup>, pakuepitam<sup>u</sup>, pakuekaim<sup>u</sup>, pakuemeu</p> <p>This also implies that BETS writes:  apu tutamak<sup>u</sup> (and not *tutamuk<sup>u</sup>)  ekue uapatamak<sup>u</sup> (and not *uapatamuk<sup>u</sup>)</p> <p><u>Pedagogy:</u> In the dialects of PB, BETS, SI-SHE, teach the correct spelling of these words individually.</p>

<b>ITEM</b> u which should be written i or a (2nd case)		<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  i/a or u	
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS, SI & SCH: sometimes i/a, sometimes u; depends on the pronunciation. Often u is written and `e' is pronounced. LNS: very strong tendency to always write u before the syllables ku, k <sup>u</sup> , mu, m <sup>u</sup> .			
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Major problem. Many words affected. Differences in pronunciation between dialects.			
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Short a and i have a tendency to be pronounced u (vocalic Harmony) before syllables which contain u. While the pronunciation u in this context seems to be generalized on the LNS, it is much less so in the western dialects.			
<b>RELATED TO:</b> short vowels (3), k and u at the end of words (25)			
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>			
BETS ussishuk <sup>u</sup>  mishtukut mishtikulu mishtuk <sup>u</sup> mishtik <sup>u</sup> - ishkuatem  tshishik <sup>u</sup> tshishikau utshishikumumu  ushtikuan  takushinu  ka ititikut ituku  nitukuna  amishk <sup>u</sup>	SI   mishtukut mishtukushu    tshishukunu   ushtukuan	ROM nissishukua missishikua ussishikua mistukuat  tshishhuk tshishukunu tshishikunu  ushtukuan	NAT ustsishukua  mistuk  tshishikunu   tukushenu

BETS	SI	ROM	NAT																																		
kussikuashu uatshikuteu uapikuteu neshikuau kushikutu nutimikutam ushiku nikuteu pishikupanu uatuk <sup>u</sup>	kussikuashu uatshikuteu uapikuteu neshikuau kushikutu nutimikutam ushiku nakuteu pishikupanu uatak <sup>u</sup>	kushukuashu  neshukuau kushukutu  ushuku nukuteu  uatuk	Ushuku																																		
SOLUTION																																					
<p><u>Theoretical Solution</u>: write the vowels <u>a</u> or <u>i</u> of Old Montagnais  Exception: muk<sup>u</sup></p> <p><u>Before the syllable ku or k<sup>u</sup></u></p> <p>Vowel <b>a</b>:</p> <table> <tbody> <tr> <td>takushinu</td> <td>`autumn':</td> </tr> <tr> <td>takuan</td> <td>takuatshin</td> </tr> <tr> <td>peiakunnu LNS</td> <td>takuakut</td> </tr> <tr> <td>takuepañ/tapuepañ BETS</td> <td>takuatshi-pishim<sup>u</sup>, etc.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Paku(a)t-shipu</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>`hole':</td> </tr> <tr> <td>`snare':</td> <td>pakuneiau</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nakuakaniapi</td> <td>pakunetam<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td>nakuakanitsheu</td> <td>pakunesham<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td>nakuashu</td> <td>pakuneneu, etc.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nakuateu, etc.</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>`useful wood':</td> </tr> <tr> <td>`island':</td> <td>ishpimitakut</td> </tr> <tr> <td>missipenak<sup>u</sup></td> <td>iñnashtitak<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Uteinak<sup>u</sup></td> <td>papatshitak<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>pishkutshitak<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>ushkuetak<sup>u</sup>, etc.</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="text-align: right;">(continued...)</p>				takushinu	`autumn':	takuan	takuatshin	peiakunnu LNS	takuakut	takuepañ/tapuepañ BETS	takuatshi-pishim <sup>u</sup> , etc.	Paku(a)t-shipu			`hole':	`snare':	pakuneiau	nakuakaniapi	pakunetam <sup>u</sup>	nakuakanitsheu	pakunesham <sup>u</sup>	nakuashu	pakuneneu, etc.	nakuateu, etc.			`useful wood':	`island':	ishpimitakut	missipenak <sup>u</sup>	iñnashtitak <sup>u</sup>	Uteinak <sup>u</sup>	papatshitak <sup>u</sup>		pishkutshitak <sup>u</sup>		ushkuetak <sup>u</sup> , etc.
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	pishkutshitak <sup>u</sup>																																				
	ushkuetak <sup>u</sup> , etc.																																				





Vowel **i**:

mishtik <sup>u</sup>	nanikutin(i)
mishtikushu	tshishik <sup>u</sup>
uapikun	ushtikuan
apikushish	ussishik <sup>u</sup>
tshipiatik <sup>u</sup>	paushtik <sup>u</sup>
uatik <sup>u</sup>	nitshik <sup>u</sup>
ñikun	eñik <sup>u</sup>
ñikushkupañnu	kussikuashu
ñikuashkan	uâtshikuteu
ñikuashkateu	atshik <sup>u</sup>
shishtiku	nutikumateu
pishikupañu	nanitamikun
tshiñik(a)u	ushiku
neshikuau	nikuteu
kushikutu	mishishtikuau
pitikushiu	ukakumikueu
utshishikumumu	kauapikuesht
kutiku(a)niu	anikutshash
natamik <sup>u</sup>	atshinepik <sup>u</sup>
utatshikumumu	minishtik <sup>u</sup>

## Conjugated verb forms:

he sees me: nuapamik<sup>u</sup>  
 the other sees him: uapamiku  
 the other says to him: itiku  
 he says to me: nitik<sup>u</sup>  
 someone sees to me: nuapamik(a)un  
 someone sees you: tshuapamik(a)un  
 something happens to him: utitiku  
 something happens to me: nutitikun  
 sit (you pl.): tetapik<sup>u</sup>

Before the syllable **mu** or **m**<sup>u</sup>Vowel **a**:

nikamu  
 tshikamu  
 massekushkamik<sup>u</sup>

(continued...)



Vowel **i**:

at**i**muss  
at**i**m<sup>u</sup>  
uit**i**mua  
nit**i**m<sup>u</sup>

pish**i**muss  
pish**i**m<sup>u</sup>  
uit**i**mushu

Important: In many cases, there is a real **u** which should not be written **i** or **a**.

Ex. sh**u**k<sup>u</sup>  
pak**u**mu  
muk**u**man  
k**u**kuetshimeu  
k**u**kuetapat  
tshitap**u**ku

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS				
false u	ø or u				
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>BETS &amp; PB: does not exist  SI : rare (demonstrative only)  LNS : frequent (demonstrative, 3rd possessive, some words)</p>					
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Minor. Easy to settle.</p>					
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>This phenomenon is the of copying <b>u</b> before <b>mu...</b> or after <b>um...</b> This copying goes in two directions: muak<sup>u</sup> ---&gt; umuak<sup>u</sup>; umassin ---&gt; umuassin.</p>					
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>					
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>BETS : ume, umelu, mueu, umassin, muak<sup>u</sup>  PB : ume, umelu, mueu, umassin, muak  SI : umue/mue, umuenu, mueu, umassin, muak  MIN : umue, umuenu, <b>umueu</b>, <b>umuak</b>  NAT : <b>umueu</b>, <b>umuashtna</b>, <b>umuak</b>  ROM : umue, umuenu, <b>umueu</b>, <b>umuak</b></p>					

## SOLUTION

Proposed:        **do not write the "false u"**

Ex.    **ume** (and not \*umue)  
        **umeñu** (and not \*umueñu)  
        **umashtshina** (mashtshina)  
        **umashinaikan** (mashinaikan)  
        **umakañipakan** (makañipakan)  
        **umanitema**  
        **umahkushim**  
        **umatsheshima**  
        **umatshi**  
        **umatshishkapema**

Not settled: the LNS speakers will continue to write:  
        **umueu, numuau** (elsewhere mueu, nimuau)  
        **umuak<sup>u</sup>, numuakum** (elsewhere muak<sup>u</sup>, nimuakum)

<b>ITEM</b> variation between <b>a</b> and <b>e</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>a</b> or <b>e</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  1. BETS: <b>a</b> but <b>e</b> everywhere else 2. LNS : <b>a</b> but <b>e</b> at BETS and SI	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor but difficult.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> plural inanimate in <b>a</b> (54), animate obviative in <b>a</b> (56)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> 1. BETS        : <b>amukuan</b> <b>tapateu</b> <b>nitshiuan</b> <b>ninashipan</b> SI            : <b>emukuan</b> <b>tepateu</b> <b>ni tshiuen</b> <b>ni nashipen</b> MIN          : <b>emikuan</b> <b>tepatau</b> <b>ni tshiuen</b> <b>ni nahipen</b> ROM          : <b>emikuan</b> <b>ni tshiuen</b> <b>ni nashipen</b> 2. BETS        : <b>meu</b> <b>nipeu</b> <b>teu</b> SI            : <b>meu</b> <b>nipeu</b> <b>teu</b> MIN          : <b>mau</b> <b>nipau</b> <b>tau</b> ROM          : <b>mau</b> <b>nipau</b> <b>tau</b> NAT          : <b>mau</b> <b>nipau</b> <b>tau</b>	

other cases of variation:

ekute / ekuta  
 apu tat / apu tet  
 nite / nita `there'  
 utehe / utahi  
 tananu / tenanu

**SOLUTION**

Will vary between **a** or **e** according to the local pronunciation.

Recommended:

Ⓒ that the LNS write **e** in the word `one' and its derivatives

PB	BETS	SI-SCH	LINS
tepateu emikuan			
tau	Teu		Tau
	Meu		Mau
nipau	nipeu		Nipau
	Peik		paia <sup>u</sup>
shipissa	shipisse	shipissa	
mashkua	Mashkue	mashkua	

<b>ITEM</b> variation between <b>ai</b> and <b>ei</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>ai</b> or <b>ei</b>																										
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS: <b>ai</b> ; problem of distinguishing between <b>i</b> and <b>ai</b> SI :       generally <b>ai</b> , sometimes <b>ei</b> ; problem of distinguishing between <b>ai</b> and real <b>ei</b>																											
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Important, easy to settle.																											
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  <b>ai</b> is pronounced <b>î</b> at BETS, <b>ei</b> at SI and LNS. The diphthongs <b>ai</b> and <b>ei</b> are phonetically confused with each other at SI and on the LNS.																											
<b>RELATED TO:</b>																											
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left; width: 25%;">BETS</th> <th style="text-align: left; width: 25%;">SI</th> <th style="text-align: left; width: 25%;">MIN</th> <th style="text-align: left; width: 25%;">ROM</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>put<b>ai</b></td> <td>put<b>ai</b></td> <td>put<b>ai</b></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ushak<b>ai</b></td> <td>ushak<b>ai</b>/ ushak<b>ei</b></td> <td>uashak<b>ai</b></td> <td>ushak<b>ei</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>na<b>ikam</b></td> <td>na<b>ikam</b>/ ne<b>ikam</b></td> <td>ne<b>ikam</b></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>pim<b>aim</b></td> <td>pim<b>aim</b></td> <td>pim<b>aim</b></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ma<b>ikan</b></td> <td>ma<b>ikan</b></td> <td>ma<b>ikan</b></td> <td>me<b>ikan</b></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Examples of real <b>ei</b>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">teue<b>ikan</b>, neue<b>ikanat</b>, ute<b>ei</b>, me<b>i</b>, auass-me<b>ish</b>,  ute<b>iminan</b>, <b>ei</b>- `knock against', pe<b>i</b>(a)kuan, pe<b>i</b>(a)k<sup>u</sup></p>				BETS	SI	MIN	ROM	put <b>ai</b>	put <b>ai</b>	put <b>ai</b>		ushak <b>ai</b>	ushak <b>ai</b> / ushak <b>ei</b>	uashak <b>ai</b>	ushak <b>ei</b>	na <b>ikam</b>	na <b>ikam</b> / ne <b>ikam</b>	ne <b>ikam</b>		pim <b>aim</b>	pim <b>aim</b>	pim <b>aim</b>		ma <b>ikan</b>	ma <b>ikan</b>	ma <b>ikan</b>	me <b>ikan</b>
BETS	SI	MIN	ROM																								
put <b>ai</b>	put <b>ai</b>	put <b>ai</b>																									
ushak <b>ai</b>	ushak <b>ai</b> / ushak <b>ei</b>	uashak <b>ai</b>	ushak <b>ei</b>																								
na <b>ikam</b>	na <b>ikam</b> / ne <b>ikam</b>	ne <b>ikam</b>																									
pim <b>aim</b>	pim <b>aim</b>	pim <b>aim</b>																									
ma <b>ikan</b>	ma <b>ikan</b>	ma <b>ikan</b>	me <b>ikan</b>																								



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **ai**

Ex. mikuash <b>ai</b>	ushpik <b>ai</b>	uiku <b>ai</b>
at <b>ai</b>	ushkat <b>ai</b>	ut (a)u (a)k <b>ai</b>
put <b>ai</b>	apaku <b>ai</b>	u (a)shku <b>ai</b>
ushak <b>ai</b>	ut <b>ai</b>	akaku <b>ai</b>
mi <sup>h</sup> <b>ai</b>	upiu <b>ai</b>	ñak <b>ai</b> tsheshu
tapa <b>ai</b> kan		

naikam <sup>u</sup>	naikueu
mashina <b>ai</b> kan	mashina <b>ai</b> tshesu
uapeka <b>ai</b> kan	uapeka <b>ai</b> tshesu
tipa <b>ai</b> kan	tipa <b>ai</b> tshesu
tisha <b>ai</b> kan	tisha <b>ai</b> tshesu
tship <b>ai</b>	katship <b>ai</b> tshesht
tauapeka <b>ai</b> kan	tauapeka <b>ai</b> tshesu
naitam <sup>u</sup>	naiapu

all verbs in **-aim<sup>u</sup>** and in **-aitsheu**

ataim <sup>u</sup>	manaim <sup>u</sup>	utamaim <sup>u</sup>
utaim <sup>u</sup>	pitaim <sup>u</sup>	nitaim <sup>u</sup>
pimaim <sup>u</sup>	ñakaim <sup>u</sup>	k (a)uaim <sup>u</sup>
tshipuashkuaim <sup>u</sup>	pakaim <sup>u</sup>	nitashkuaim <sup>u</sup>
apaim <sup>u</sup>	tipaim <sup>u</sup>	manashkuaim <sup>u</sup>

Difficulty: 1) BETS, PB and SI: to distinguish **ai** from real **i**

Ex. put**ai** but nipi, a<sup>h</sup>api, apui

2) elsewhere: to distinguish **ai** from **ei**

Ex. mei	auass-meish	ñiue <b>ei</b> kanat
sheim <sup>u</sup>	teue <b>ei</b> kan	ñekaus <b>sei</b>
ute <b>i</b>	ute <b>ei</b> minan	te <b>ei</b> kateshinu
te <b>ei</b> shinu	te <b>ei</b> ueu	pe <b>i</b> (a)kussu
pe <b>i</b> (a)k <sup>u</sup>	pe <b>i</b> (a)kuan	tap <b>ei</b> tsh <b>ei</b> mashu
mi <sup>h</sup> ue <b>ei</b> mashu		



		SOLUTION
<u>Proposed:</u>	<b>do not represent nasalization in writing</b>	
Ex.	nitanish	aku <b>au</b> ku
	uikanish	pim <b>au</b> ku
	uapeka <b>ai</b> kan	pisht <b>au</b> ku
	ma <b>ai</b> kan	<b>e</b> ukuan
	ashamaka <b>ni</b> sh	t <b>au</b> kam
	aiapan <b>ni</b> sh LNS	pit <b>au</b> kuan
	aishiñnuat	shau <b>kushiu</b> LNS/shukushiu
	nananish	patshu <b>ai</b> nitshuap
	ishpan <b>ni</b> shiu	Pieñ <b>i</b> sh
	kuañ <b>ni</b> shiu	Piñ <b>a</b> menush
	auass-me <b>i</b> sh(a)	Eñ <b>e</b> nish
	mañat <b>e</b> nish	Tanieñ <b>i</b> sh
	uñak <b>ni</b> sh LNS	Shimuñ <b>i</b> sh
	utapan <b>ni</b> sh LNS	Misheñ <b>i</b> sh
	tetapuak <b>ni</b> sh LNS	Shaush
	matshu <b>n</b> isha	
	manishueu	
	uanisham <sup>u</sup> LNS / unisham <sup>u</sup>	
	uanishinu LNS / unishinu	
	panishauatam <sup>u</sup>	
	utataku <b>an</b> iship LNS / utatakaniship	
	uasheshku <b>an</b> ishiu LNS / uasheshkunishiu	
	utshishtshiman <b>ni</b> shu MIN / utshissimanishu	
	Uañaman-shipu LNS / Uñaman-shipu	
	tan ishpi <b>sh</b>	
	nek <b>ni</b> LNS	
	eñitsh <b>eni</b>	
	ka-teñ <b>u</b> eni	
	atusseñitaku <b>eni</b>	
	auenñitsh <b>eni</b>	
<u>Difficulty:</u>	On the LNS & at SHE, where nasalization is very frequent, it is difficult for a speaker to know what the non-nasalized form is. However, the most frequent rules are as follows.	
	(continued...)	



pronunciation	spelling
aish	anish
eish	enish
auk	auk
euk	euk
ei	eni

When in doubt, check with a word list or a SI-SCH or BETS dialect dictionary.

Pedagogy: On the LNS, the spelling of words with nasalization needs special teaching. The following beginning exercises are suggested: compare the spelling of a pair of words.

- Ex. 1) Pieñiss `young Pien' - Pieñish `old Pien'  
Eñeniss `young Enen' - Eñenish `old Enen'
- 2) utapaniss `little car' - utapanish `old car'  
tetapuakaniss `little chair' - tetapuakanish `old chair'

On the LNS, make up special exercises on the correct spelling of verbs ending in **eni**:

- inanimate plural verbs:

Ex. mishatsh**eni**  
ka-mishau**eni**  
mishataku**eni**  
mishaku**eni**

- animate obviative verbs:

Ex. eñitsh**eni**  
auenñitsh**eni**  
atusseñitsh**eni**  
atusseñiku**eni**  
atusseñitaniku**eni**  
ka-atusseñu**eni**

But it must be understood that THE FACT THAT NASALIZATION IS NOT WRITTEN SHOULD NOT INFLUENCE THE STUDENTS' PRONUNCIATION: when reading aloud, they should pronounce words in a natural way, with nasalization.



SOLUTION

Proposed: write e

Ex. napeiak<sup>u</sup>  
 tshe atusseian  
 tshe atusseiat  
 tshe nashipeiak<sup>u</sup>  
 nikupaniem  
 ukupaniema  
 pitukaieu  
 nipaieu  
 kushpitaieu

Difficulty: In the LNS dialect, it should be noted that this reduction of a sequence of vowels occurs in the following cases:

- 1) adding the syllable **ian** or **iat** or **iak<sup>u</sup>** or **iek<sup>u</sup>** after an **e**-stem

Ex.	nape	+	iak <sup>u</sup>	=	napeiak <sup>u</sup>
	atusse	+	ian	=	atusseian
	atusse	+	iat	=	atusseiat
	atusse	+	iak <sup>u</sup>	=	atusseiak <sup>u</sup>
	atusse	+	iek <sup>u</sup>	=	atusseiek <sup>u</sup>

- 2) adding the TA verb ending after an **a**-stem:

Ex. nipaieu (elsewhere nipieu)  
 pitakaieu (elsewhere pitakieu)

- 3) in the words nikupaniem, nikupanieminan etc.

<p><b>ITEM</b></p> <p><b>i</b> which drops in a sequence of vowels</p>	<p><b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b></p> <p><b>ai</b> or <b>a</b>  <b>ei</b> or <b>e</b>  <b>ui</b> or <b>u</b></p>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>LNS:                <b>a, e, u</b></p> <p>elsewhere:        <b>ai, ei, ui</b></p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Minor. Easy solution.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>In the LNS dialect, <b>i</b> drops in the endings of the 2nd pers.sing.simple conjunct and in the subjunctive of AI verbs.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES</b></p> <p>LNS                :    apu atussen,    apu tan,    apu mitshishun</p> <p>elsewhere:        apu atusse<b>in</b>,    apu t<b>ain</b>,    apu mitshish<b>uin</b></p>	



## SOLUTION

Proposed:     **write i**

Ex.   apu atusse**in**  
      atusse**ini**  
      tshe nashipe**in**  
      niashipe**ini**  
      tshe tipatshimu**in**  
      tepatshimu**ini**

<b>ITEM</b> variation between <b>au</b> and <b>u</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>au</b> or <b>u</b>		
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: <b>u</b> LNS : <b>au</b>			
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Important. Difficult to settle.			
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Sequence of <b>au</b> is systematically reduced to <b>u</b> at BETS and often, but not always, at SI.			
<b>RELATED TO:</b>			
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>			
BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
ushtishku	ushtishku	uhtihkau	uhtishkau
meshkanu	meshkanu	mehkanau	meskanau
leku	neku	nekau	nekau
nipu	nipu	nipau	nipau
aku	aku	akau	akau
apitu	apitu	apitau	apitau
aitu	aitu	aitau	aitau
milunam	minunam		minaunam
kunuelitam	kanuenitam	kanauenitam	kanauentam
uitumeu			uitaumeu
tuuan	tuuan		tauan
kushinu	kushinu	kauhinu	kaushinu
nuueu			nauaueu
anishkushtau	anishkushtau	anihkauhtau	anishkaushtau
`drip'			
papatshiku	papatshiku		papatshikau
`hair'			
milueu	minueu		minaueu

BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
`with an instrument' kasht <b>uku</b> tship <b>ueu</b>	kasht <b>auku</b> tship <b>auku</b>		kasht <b>auku</b> tship <b>au</b> eu
`with an axe' tshimik <b>ueu</b>	tshimik <b>(a)ueu</b>		tshimik <b>au</b> eu
`indefinite subject' nutamuk <b>un</b>	nutamuk <b>un</b>		nutamuk <b>au</b> n
<b>SOLUTION</b>			
<p>Regional differences maintained, except in the words:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">meshkan<b>au</b>    (locative meshkanat)  u(a)ten<b>au</b>    (locative u(a)tenat)  ñek<b>au</b>        (locative ñekat)</p>			

<b>ITEM</b> variation between <b>ua</b> and <b>u</b>		<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>ua</b> or <b>u</b>	
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: <b>u</b> LNS : <b>ua</b>			
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Important. Difficult to settle.			
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Sequences of <b>ua</b> are systematically pronounced <b>u</b> right at the beginning of a word at BET & SI and sometimes in other contexts as well.			
<b>RELATED TO:</b> au in a final syllable (16)			
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>			
BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
unieu unitau ukateu ukashiu ukun unaikan ulashinataim unishkut unushu uluiu ushkuai ushkuii ushtupu utshashk <sup>u</sup> utshishtun utshu ushakai  utakussu makumeu	unieu unitau ukateu ukashiu ukun unaikan ulashinataim unishkut unushu uluiu ushkuai ushkuii ushtupu utshashk <sup>u</sup> utshishtun utshu ushakai  utakussu makumeu	<b>uanieu</b>  <b>uakateu</b>  <b>uakuan</b> <b>uanaikan</b>    <b>uanaiiu</b> <b>uashkuai</b> <b>uashkuii</b>   <b>uatshishtun</b> <b>uatshu</b> <b>uashakai</b>   utaku <u>assu</u> maku <u>ameu</u>	<b>uanieue</b> <b>uanitau</b> <b>uakateu</b> <b>uakashiu</b> <b>uakuan</b> <b>uanaikan</b> <b>uanashinataim</b> <b>uanashkut</b> <b>uanaushu</b> <b>uanaiiu</b> <b>uashkuai</b> <b>uashkuii</b> <b>uashtauapu</b> <b>uatshashk</b> <b>uatshishtun</b> <b>uatshu</b>   utaku <u>assu</u> maku <u>ameu</u>

BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
<u>Other contexts</u>			
ui <u>u</u> shu	ui <u>u</u> shu	ui <u>u</u> ashu	ui <u>u</u> ashu
up <u>u</u>	m <u>u</u> pu up <u>u</u> /up <u>u</u>	um <u>u</u> ap <u>u</u> up <u>u</u>	m <u>u</u> ap <u>u</u> up <u>u</u> <u>u</u>
<i>sticky substance</i>			-ssuakau
uinass <u>u</u> kua	uinass <u>u</u> kau		uinass <u>u</u> akau
<i>hard sand</i>			-tau <u>u</u> at
takut <u>u</u> at		takut <u>u</u> a ht	tau <u>u</u> akau
takut <u>u</u> akau		takut <u>u</u> akau	tau <u>u</u> akaim
takut <u>u</u> akaim		takut <u>u</u> akaim	
<i>soft sand</i>			
- <u>u</u> at			- <u>u</u> at
- <u>u</u> akau			- <u>u</u> akau
- <u>u</u> akaim			- <u>u</u> akaim
<i>hunt</i>		nata <u>u</u>	nata <u>u</u>
natleueu		nata <u>u</u> neueu	nata <u>u</u> neueu
<i>child</i>			
nipekua <u>u</u> shu etc.		- <u>u</u> ashu	- <u>u</u> ashu
		nipeku <u>u</u> ashu	nipeku <u>u</u> ashu
<b>SOLUTION</b>			
Regional differences maintained			
Ex.	LNS	ELSEWHERE	
	<b>u</b> anitau	<b>u</b> nitau	
	<b>u</b> aniu	<b>u</b> niu	
	<b>u</b> anaushui	<b>u</b> nushu	
	<b>u</b> ashkuai	<b>u</b> shkuai	
	<b>u</b> atshu	<b>u</b> tshu	
	<b>u</b> atenau	<b>u</b> tenau	

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<b>ITEM</b> ua in final syllable in II verbs and in adverbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>u</b> or <b>ua</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	

BETS : generally **ua**  
SI : **u**  
MIN : generally **ua**  
ROM : generally **ua**

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Important. Priority. Simple.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

**RELATED TO:** variation between **ua** and **u** (15)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
Adverbs:			
euk <b>uan</b>	eukun	euk <b>uan</b>	eukun
ek <b>uan</b>	ekun	ek <b>uan</b>	
ek <b>uat</b>	eukunu		
II Verbs:			
tak <b>uan</b>	takun	tak <b>uan</b>	tak <b>uan</b>
ishinak <b>uat</b>	ishinakut	ihinak <b>uak</b>	ishinak <b>uak</b>
matshelitak <b>uan</b>	matshenitakun		matshentakun
tshimun	tshimun	tshim <b>uan</b>	tshim <b>uak</b>

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write ua

Ex. VERBS

ua

takuan  
tshimuan  
nukuan  
ñañuan  
piuan  
ishinakuan  
mataunakuan  
minueñitakuan  
uineñitakuan  
kushtikuan  
uasheshkuan

uakashkuan  
kashteuashkuan  
nishtutakuan  
petakuan  
miñutakuan  
mataushpukuan  
ishpakuan  
ishimakuan  
uitshimakuan

True u

mishpun  
pipun  
(apu) nikut

Ex. ADVERBS

ekuan  
eukuan  
peikuan

but ekute/ekuta

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
a as a marker of time	a or ø
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>LNS &amp; SHE:        always a  elsewhere:        always ø</p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Minor. Simple solution and easy to apply.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>Reflects a real dialect differences: the final <b>a</b> which surfaces in the term for measurement of time is always pronounced in the LNS dialect although it is replaced by a low tone elsewhere.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>NAT            : paiukunu tepaina, nistu tepishkua, paiukutsishukua  elsewhere: peiku-tshishuk<sup>u</sup>__, nishupun__</p>	



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write the a

Ex. pei(a)kupishimua  
pei(a)kuminashtakana  
nishuminashtakana  
nishtutshishikua  
tatutipaikana

Difficulty: To write this **a** only in words having to do with units of time (hours, days, nights, weeks, years) and not with units of volume, length or weight.

timeother

pei(a)kutipaikana	pei(a)kutipapekaikan
nishutipishkua	nishuminakan
nishtupishimua	nishtukuapikakan
neutshishikua	neutipashkunikan
ishkanitipishkua	
eshukumitshishikua	

Remarks: at the time of the workshops, the terms for units of counting were spontaneously treated as compounds and written with a hyphen. This point was reexamined by the linguists along with the other cases of uncertain compounds.

See no. 85, point 6.

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
<b>tsh</b>	<b>tsh</b> or <b>ts</b>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p><b>tsh</b> everywhere (PB, BETS, SI, MIN, ROM)</p> <p><b>ts</b> at NAT</p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Priority. Major. Easy to settle.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>Pronounced <b>ts</b> at BETS &amp; PB.</p> <p>Pronounced <b>tsh</b> elsewhere</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>PB : atshen, atshimeu,</p> <p>BETS : atshen, atshimeu, tshishtukuan</p> <p>SI : atshen, atshimeu, tshishtukuan</p> <p>MIN : atshen, atshimeu,</p> <p>ROM : atshen,</p> <p>NAT : atsen, atsimeu, tsestukuan</p>	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **write tsh**

Ex. **Atshen, tshinuau, atshimeu**

<b>ITEM</b> <b>tsh</b> at the end of a word	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>t</b> or <b>tsh</b> or <b>ts</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  PB: systematically <b>tsh</b> BETS & SI: systematically <b>t</b> LNS: generally <b>t</b> , but sometimes <b>ts</b> or <b>tsh</b> at ROM	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Minor. Easy to settle.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  PB : tetaut <b>sh</b> , mishkut <b>sh</b> , uit <b>sh</b> , ueshkat <b>sh</b> , pahkuat <b>sh</b> BETS : tetaut, mishkut, uit, ueshkat, pakuat SI : tetaut, mishkut, uit, ueshkat, pakuat MIN : tetaut, uehkat ROM : tetaut <b>s</b> , mishkut <b>sh</b> , uit <b>sh</b> , ueshkat, pakua <b>st</b>	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: write t except in `house': nitsh, tshitsh, uitsh

Ex. tetaut, mishkut, pakaut

**special solution for PB who write and pronounce ts  
and write tsh**

Pedagogy: the exceptions nitsh, tshitsh and uitsh should be given special attention in the dialects of BETS, SI and SCH.

<p><b>ITEM</b></p> <p><b>tshish</b></p>	<p><b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b></p> <p><b>tshish</b> or <b>tsh</b></p>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p><b>tshish</b> is sometimes written <b>tsh</b> by mistake.</p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Priority. Minor. Easy to settle.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the sounds <b>tsh</b> and <b>tshish</b>.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b> ss originating from <b>tshish</b> (32)</p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p><b>tshishennu</b> is sometimes written <b>*tshennu</b></p> <p><b>mitshishu</b> is sometimes written <b>*mitshu</b></p> <p><b>matshishiu</b> is sometimes written <b>*matshiu</b></p>	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **tshish**

Ex.	<b>tshishuapu</b>	<b>tshishimeu</b>
	<b>tshishin</b>	<b>tshishiteu</b>
	<b>tshisheñishu</b>	<b>tshishapishteu</b>
	<b>tshishuñue (a) shu</b>	<b>tshishipañu</b>
	<b>tshishashteu</b>	<b>tshishitamunueu</b>
	<b>tshishakamiteu</b>	<b>tshishitshu (a) n</b>
	<b>tshishetakushu</b>	<b>tshisheñnu</b>
	<b>tshisheñniu</b>	<b>tshishiku (a) shu</b>
	<b>tshishuaieu</b>	

Difficulty: 1) the distinction must be made between **tsh** and **tshish**:

	<b>tsh</b>	<b>tshish</b>	
mit <b>shu</b>	`he eats something'	mit <b>shishu</b>	`he eats'
mat <b>shiu</b>	`he moves'	mat <b>shishiu</b>	`he is ugly'
at <b>shenu</b>	`he is an Atshen'	<b>tshisheñnu</b>	`an old man'

2) do not mix up **tshish** with **tish**:

**tish**

apat**tishu** (and not \*apat**shishu**)  
 uenut**tishiu** (and not \*uenut**shishiu**)  
 mat**tishu**akanu (and not \*mat**shishu**akanu)

<b>ITEM</b> <b>sh</b> elsewhere than before a consonant	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>sh</b> or <b>h</b> [or <b>ø</b> or <b>u</b> ]
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  SI & BETS:        agreement on <b>sh</b> in all positions NAT & ROM: <b>sh</b> everywhere except final, where sometimes there is <b>ø</b> ( <b>u</b> is an anomaly) MIN: <b>h</b> is everywhere	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority, solution easy to find but difficult to apply to LNS.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  - always pronounced <b>h</b> on the LNS but also at BETS  - at SI, the pronunciation varies between <b>sh</b> and <b>h</b> according to the position in the word  - at NAT & ROM, <b>h</b> final is heard seldom or not at all	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>sh</b> before a consonant (22)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS     : <b>shashish, Sheshush, shuliau, namesh, anutshish</b> SI        : <b>shashish, shash, shuniau, nishtesh, apukushish</b> ROM     : <b>shashish, Shenum, shesheshu, anutshi__, apukushi__</b> NAT     : <b>apishish, nutsish, meu</b> MIN     : <b>apihih, anutshih, nameh, apukuhih</b>	



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **sh**

Ex. **shashish, Sheshush, ashini, mitasha, eshat**  
(and not \*hahih, \*Hehuh, \*ahini, \*mitaha, \*ehat)

Difficulties: 1) problem of application for the LNS where the original **sh** is now pronounced **h**.

2) at the end of a word, at NAT, SA & ROM, final **h** is pronounced barely or not at all.

Ex. of words to check:

anutsh**ish**  
apish**ish**  
nisht**esh**  
asht**ish**  
apikush**ish**  
ap**ish**  
miu**ash**  
u**sh**  
name**sh**  
Mesh (atanukan)  
e**sh**  
minu**sh**

3) difficulty on the LNS of distinguishing between **h** which should be written **sh** and **h** which should be written **h**

nete**he**  
nite**he**  
ute**he**  
n**ahi** (vs. nashi `come towards me')  
u**hu** `owl' (vs. ushu `he ends')

Pedagogy: On the LNS, the fact of teaching students to use **sh** instead of **h** in spelling DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY SHOULD CHANGE THEIR PRONUNCIATION. When reading aloud, insist that the children pronounce as they normally do when speaking.

<b>ITEM</b>  <b>sh</b> before a consonant	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>shk</b> or <b>sk</b> or <b>hk</b> <b>shp</b> or <b>sp</b> or <b>hp</b> <b>sht</b> or <b>st</b> or <b>ht</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  SI & BETS : agreement on <b>sh</b> everywhere ROM & NAT : variation between <b>sh</b> and <b>s</b> MIN : alternates between <b>h</b> or <b>s</b> LNS : spelling varies for the same word in each community	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Solution easy to find but difficulties in application for the LNS.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Partially related to real differences in pronunciation.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>sh</b> elsewhere than before a consonant (21)  DO NOT MIX UP WITH: PRE-ASPIRATED CONSONANTS (23)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS : u <b>sh</b> ka, n <b>ishk</b> , n <b>isht</b> , l <b>isht</b> am, m <b>ish</b> ta, u <b>sh</b> kat, i <b>sh</b> pish, i <b>sh</b> palu  SI & SCH: m <b>ash</b> ten, tap <b>ish</b> ku, m <b>ish</b> kam, u <b>sh</b> tukuan, i <b>sh</b> pish, e <b>sh</b> pish  ROM : u <b>ash</b> ka, a <b>ish</b> kat, n <b>isk</b> /n <b>ishk</b> , n <b>ist</b> /n <b>isht</b> , n <b>isht</b> am, m <b>isk</b> utsh, u <b>sk</b> at/u <b>sh</b> kat, i <b>sh</b> pish  NAT : u <b>esh</b> kat, n <b>esh</b> k, n <b>ash</b> pit, i <b>sh</b> kuteu, ut <b>ish</b> kuema, m <b>ist</b> uk, m <b>ishest</b> u, m <b>ista</b> , ts <b>ist</b> apakun  MIN : m <b>ahk</b> <sup>u</sup> , a <b>misk</b> <sup>u</sup> , u <b>h</b> kata, m <b>ist</b> ukua, a <b>paht</b> au, n <b>ishk</b> , u <b>st</b> ukuan/u <b>ht</b> ukuan	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **sh**

Ex. ueshkat	mish <sup>h</sup> ta-min
mashte <sup>h</sup>	ish <sup>h</sup> kueu
aishkat	ish <sup>h</sup> kuteu
ushkata	ushtash <sup>h</sup> k <sup>u</sup>
mish <sup>h</sup> tikua	ushtash <sup>h</sup> kuash <sup>h</sup> k <sup>u</sup>
nishk	mishish <sup>h</sup> tu
amish <sup>h</sup> k <sup>u</sup>	ushtikuan
mash <sup>h</sup> k <sup>u</sup>	nish <sup>h</sup> tikuan

Difficulty: In the LNS dialect, it is very difficult to separate **sh** and pre-aspiration before a final consonant. In the doubtful cases, it is necessary to consult a dialect dictionary for SI or BETS.

**sh**

pre-aspiration

pish<sup>h</sup>k<sup>u</sup> `nighthawk'  
 nasht  
 ushtash<sup>h</sup>k<sup>u</sup>

pik<sup>u</sup> (pronounced pi<sup>h</sup>k<sup>u</sup>)  
 patetat (pronounced pateta<sup>h</sup>t)  
 apu takuak (pronounced apu takua<sup>h</sup>k)

<b>ITEM</b> pre-aspirated consonants	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  hC or shC or sC or C
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS & SI: k, p, t MIN : hk, hp, ht ... ROM : sk, sp, st ... NAT : shk, shp, sht ...	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Very important. Difficult to resolve. Theoretical solution possible, difficult to apply on the LNS.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Only PB retains all the old pre-aspirations, as in Cree: pim <sup>h</sup> uteu, pe <sup>h</sup> tam <sup>u</sup> , uti <sup>h</sup> kumu, aku <sup>h</sup> pa, aku <sup>h</sup> p, mi <sup>h</sup> ta, mi <sup>h</sup> t.  BETS, SI & SCH have lost the pre-aspiration in all positions: pimuteu, petam <sup>u</sup> , utikumu, akup(a), akup, mit(a), mit.  LNS retains pre-aspiration only before a final consonant: pimuteu, petam <sup>u</sup> , utikumu, akupa, aku <sup>h</sup> p, mita, mi <sup>h</sup> t.	
RELATED TO: false pre-aspirates (24), locative of nouns (53), sh before a consonant (22).	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  THE END OF THE WORD:  BETS: atik <sup>u</sup> , MIN: atiuhk, ROM: atik, NAT: atishk/atikua  BETS & SI: tshishat, ROM: tshishast  BETS & SI: mit, MIN: miht/mita  BETS & SI: uet, MIN: ueht, ROM: uesht, NAT: uesht  BETS & SI: mashkutit, NAT: mashkuatishk, MIN: mahkauatiht  BETS & SI: nashipeiat, MIN: nashipeiaht, ROM: nashipeiast	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: do not write the pre-aspiration of final consonants

**PB will continue to write pre-aspiration in all positions** (Ex. pimuhteu, pahpu, pehtueu, mihta)

Difficulty: Speakers from the LNS cannot spontaneously know if what they are pronouncing `h' is an old **sh** (which must be written) or a pre-aspiration (which should not be written).

Most common cases of pre-aspiration:

1) Nouns

Ex.	akup	plural:	akupa
	mit		mita
	mitshuap		mitshuapa
	assik <sup>u</sup>		assikua
	atik <sup>u</sup>		atikuat
	ik <sup>u</sup>		ikuat
	amak <sup>u</sup>		amakuat

2) Adverbs

Ex.	patetat
	apu ut
	apu tshika ut
	atut
	uet
	aiat `different'
	nipinut

(continued ...)



Ex. pipunut  
 takuakut  
 shikuanut  
 enat  
 ishpimit  
 atamit  
 mamit  
 natimit  
 nutshimit  
 eñuet  
 uetshit

3) Locative nouns

Ex. mitshuapit  
 ashinit  
 Ekuanitshit  
 U(a)ñaman-shipit  
 Pessamit  
 iñnit  
 uinipekut  
 shipissit  
 nitshit  
 nitshinat

4) TI Verbs in the conjunct, 3rd person singular:

Ex.	tshe utinak	subjunctive: utinaki
	tshe katshitinak	katshitinaki
	tshe tutak	tutaki
	tshe mamituneñitak	mamituneñitaki

5) II Verbs ending in -n, in the conjunct 3rd person singular:

Ex.	tshe tshimuak	subjunctive: tshimuaki
	tshe nipik	nipiki
	tshe nukuak	nukuaki
	tshe tshishik	tshishiki

(continued ...)





6) Endings of the 1st person plural of verbs in the conjunct:

Ex.	tshe tshimuak	subjunctive:	tshimuaki
	tshe nipik		nipiki
	tshe nukuak		nukuaki
	tshe tshishik		tshishiki

Ex. st person plural exclusive (niñan):

tshe atusseiat	subjunctive:	atusseiati
tshe uapamiat		uapamiati
tshe uapamitat		uapamitati
tshe uapamatshit		uapamatshiti
tshe uapami(a)mit		uapami(a)miti

Ex. 1st person plural inclusive (tshiñanu):

tshe atusseiak <sup>u</sup>	subjunctive:	atusseiakui
tshe uapamak <sup>u</sup>		uapamakui
tshe uapamitak <sup>u</sup>		uapamitakui

7) In other cases, check with a dictionary for the SI or BETS dialect.

Pedagogy: It is understood that the fact that pre-aspiration of final consonants is not written DOES NOT MEAN THAT LNS SPEAKERS CHANGE THEIR PRONUNCIATION. When reading aloud, children should pronounce the pre-aspirated consonants, as they do normally.

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS	
false pre-aspirates	CVC or C or hC	
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>		
BETS, SI & SCH:  LNS: always hC	sometimes C, sometimes CVC (in this case, it often happens that the vowel does not match the one in Old Montagnais.)	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>		
Minor problem for the western dialects. Major problem for the LNS.		
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>		
In the western dialect, the consonants are pronounced strongly, like a double consonant. On the LNS, double consonants are pronounced <b>hC</b> which leads to confusion with `h' which should be written <b>sh</b> before a consonant.		
<b>RELATED TO:</b> sh before a consonant (22)		
<b>EXAMPLES</b>		
<p>OLD MONTAGNAIS</p> <p>pimut<b>ata</b>u tshiu<b>eta</b>u it<b>ata</b>u ukau<b>it</b>ueu mashkauak<b>at</b>ueu utam<b>it</b>au ak<b>ut</b>au p<b>it</b>e miñu<b>at</b>u<b>t</b>am matsh<b>at</b>u<b>t</b>am pimut<b>at</b>u<b>t</b>am ka <b>it</b>itan tshimiñu<b>at</b>it<b>in</b> <b>et</b>au tshiss<b>it</b>u<b>t</b>ueu tshiss<b>it</b>u<b>t</b>am</p>	<p>BETS/SI/SCH</p> <p>write pimut<b>it</b>au tshiu<b>et</b>itau it<b>it</b>itau ukau<b>it</b>ueu mashkuak<b>at</b>eu utam<b>it</b>itau ak<b>ut</b>itau p<b>it</b>e ? miñu<b>at</b>am ? matsh<b>at</b>am ? pimut<b>at</b>am ka <b>it</b>itan tshimiñu<b>at</b>it<b>in</b> <b>et</b>au tshiss<b>it</b>ueu tshiss<b>it</b>am</p>	<p>LNS</p> <p>pronounce pimu<b>ht</b>au tshiu<b>eht</b>au it<b>ih</b>tau ukau<b>ih</b>tueu mashkauak<b>ah</b>teu utam<b>ih</b>tau aku<b>ht</b>au p<b>ih</b>te miñu<b>ah</b>tam matsh<b>ah</b>tam pimut<b>ah</b>tam ka <b>ih</b>tan tshimiñu<b>ah</b>tin <b>eh</b>tau tshishtsh<b>ih</b>tueu tshishtsh<b>ih</b>tam</p>

OLD MONTAGNAIS	BETS/SI/SCH write	LNS pronounce																									
pitutsh <u>eu</u> nanatuapatitsh <u>eu</u>	pitsh <u>eu</u> nanatuapatitsh <u>eu</u>	pihtsh <u>eu</u> /pisseu nanatuapahtsh <u>eu</u>																									
shikukata <u>u</u> (hiccup)	shikukata <u>u</u>	hahkata <u>u</u>																									
peikupip <u>u</u> na nishupip <u>u</u> neshu uapapip <u>u</u> ña (eyes) kuetipip <u>u</u> ña	peikup <u>u</u> n nishup <u>u</u> neshu uapapip <u>u</u> ña kudetipip <u>u</u> ña	peiaku <u>h</u> p <u>u</u> na nishuh <u>h</u> p <u>u</u> neshu uapah <u>h</u> p <u>u</u> ña kuetih <u>h</u> p <u>u</u> ña																									
<b>SOLUTION</b>																											
<p><u>Proposed</u>:   west:   write the old forms (CVC)</p> <p>                  LNS:   write hC</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: center; width: 50%;">WEST</th> <th style="text-align: center; width: 50%;">LNS</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>pimut<u>t</u>atau</td> <td>pimu<u>h</u>tau</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ukauit<u>t</u>ueu</td> <td>ukaui<u>h</u>ueu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>mashkuakat<u>t</u>ueu</td> <td>mashkauaka<u>h</u>teu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>utamit<u>t</u>atau</td> <td>utami<u>h</u>tau</td> </tr> <tr> <td>akut<u>t</u>atau</td> <td>aku<u>h</u>tau</td> </tr> <tr> <td>kaupip<u>u</u>nit</td> <td>kau<u>h</u>panit</td> </tr> <tr> <td>pitutsh<u>eu</u></td> <td>pihtsh<u>eu</u></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>It is recommended that the LNS write the form CVC in verb conjugations:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;">Ex. tshit<u>t</u>itin</td> <td style="width: 40%;">(and not *tshihtin or</td> <td style="width: 30%;">*tshistin)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ka it<u>t</u>itan</td> <td>(and not *ka ihtan)</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>tshimiñuat<u>t</u>itin</td> <td>(and not *tshiminuahtin)</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			WEST	LNS	pimut <u>t</u> atau	pimu <u>h</u> tau	ukauit <u>t</u> ueu	ukaui <u>h</u> ueu	mashkuakat <u>t</u> ueu	mashkauaka <u>h</u> teu	utamit <u>t</u> atau	utami <u>h</u> tau	akut <u>t</u> atau	aku <u>h</u> tau	kaupip <u>u</u> nit	kau <u>h</u> panit	pitutsh <u>eu</u>	pihtsh <u>eu</u>	Ex. tshit <u>t</u> itin	(and not *tshihtin or	*tshistin)	ka it <u>t</u> itan	(and not *ka ihtan)		tshimiñuat <u>t</u> itin	(and not *tshiminuahtin)	
WEST	LNS																										
pimut <u>t</u> atau	pimu <u>h</u> tau																										
ukauit <u>t</u> ueu	ukaui <u>h</u> ueu																										
mashkuakat <u>t</u> ueu	mashkauaka <u>h</u> teu																										
utamit <u>t</u> atau	utami <u>h</u> tau																										
akut <u>t</u> atau	aku <u>h</u> tau																										
kaupip <u>u</u> nit	kau <u>h</u> panit																										
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<b>ITEM</b> <b>k + u</b> at the end of a word	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>k or k<sup>u</sup> or uk or ku</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & MIN: agreement on <b>k<sup>u</sup></b> SI & NAT : always <b>k</b> NWR : alternates <b>k</b> and <b>k<sup>u</sup></b> ROM : <b>k</b> in general but also <b>uk</b> and <b>ku</b>  Difficulties at MIN & SHE with the usage of <b>k<sup>u</sup></b> . Difficulties at ROM with <b>uk</b> .	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority, theoretically easy, purely conventional.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  There are 2 different kinds of <b>k</b> in Montagnais: <b>k</b> as in <b>uapishk</b> , <span style="margin-left: 300px;"><b>k + u</b></span> as in <b>uapashk + u</b>  The <b>u</b> which follows <b>k</b> is pronounced in all dialects.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>k<sup>u</sup></b> in compound nouns (26)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS : <b>eshk<sup>u</sup>, katak<sup>u</sup>, uinipek<sup>u</sup>, amishk<sup>u</sup>, atik<sup>u</sup>, muk<sup>u</sup>, ik<sup>u</sup>, metueiek<sup>u</sup>, nuitsheuakanituk<sup>u</sup>, apu uapamek<sup>u</sup>, nitshiluemuk<sup>u</sup></b> SI : <b>ek, eshk, katak, atshuk, atik, kak, ka taiak, muk</b> ROM : <b>uinepek, massek, muk/muku, kak, e nishiak, ni tshinuemuk, atiuk/atik/atiku, iuk, paiuk</b> NAT : <b>eshk, napiak, kak, paiuk, tse mitsiak, tse taiek</b> MIN : <b>kak<sup>u</sup>, tshiahk<sup>u</sup>, mahk<sup>u</sup></b> SHE : <b>kak<sup>u</sup>, umik<sup>u</sup>, eshk, peik, katak<sup>u</sup>, muk</b>	

## SOLUTION

Proposed:      **write k<sup>u</sup>**

Solution on the way to being adopted in all communities except PB: Recommended that PB make an effort to use it, since Montagnais is taught as a second language: the fact of seeing k<sup>u</sup> at the end of words will be an aid to pronunciation.

Ex. kak <sup>u</sup>	muk <sup>u</sup>
atik <sup>u</sup>	eshk <sup>u</sup> eka
katak <sup>u</sup>	shuk <sup>u</sup>
tshiashk <sup>u</sup>	ek <sup>u</sup> /eku LNS & SHE
amishk <sup>u</sup>	meteuk <sup>u</sup> `play'
mashk <sup>u</sup>	apu uapamek <sup>u</sup>
massek <sup>u</sup>	nuitamak <sup>u</sup>
atshik <sup>u</sup>	nuitsheuakanitik <sup>u</sup>
uinipek <sup>u</sup>	e nishiak <sup>u</sup>
ik <sup>u</sup>	peik <sup>u</sup> /peiak <sup>u</sup> LNS

k<sup>u</sup> is useful for writing the distinction between certain words:

Ex. mak `and'  
mak<sup>u</sup> `cry'

ishkueshk `female goose'  
ishkueshk<sup>u</sup> `female bear'

apu uapamak `I do not see him'  
apu uapamak<sup>u</sup> `you and I do not see him'

apu shuk `not really'  
shuk<sup>u</sup> / shukwa LNS `go on', `again', `more'

tshek `suddenly'  
tshek<sup>u</sup> `which'



**SOLUTION**

Proposed: write u on the line

Ex.	uinipek <sup>u</sup>	-	uinipeku- <b>au</b> eshish
	atik <sup>u</sup>	-	atiku- <b>pi</b> mi
	atshik <sup>u</sup>	-	atshiku- <b>pi</b> mi
	mashk <sup>u</sup>	-	mashku- <b>pi</b> mi
	tshiashk <sup>u</sup>	-	tshiashku- <b>ua</b> u
	uinashk <sup>u</sup>	-	uinashku- <b>pi</b> shim <sup>u</sup>

<b>ITEM</b> m + <b>u</b> at the end of a word	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>m</b> or <b>um</b> or <b>m<sup>u</sup></b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> <p>In general, <b>m</b> is written in singular words but <b>mu</b> in plural words (ex. atumuat but atum, tutamuat but tutam).</p> <p>The addition of a "small u" in singular forms is beginning to take hold.</p>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Easy to apply.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> <p>The <b>u</b> which follows the <b>m</b> is generally not pronounced, except on the LNS, where it is light.</p> <p>In all dialects, the necessity for writing the final <b>u</b> is revealed in the plural forms of the TI verbs (ex. utinamuat, tutamuat) and in the diminutive and plural form of nouns (ex. atimuss &amp; atimuat).</p> <p>The question is clearly related to that of the vowel which recedes <b>m + u</b>: from now on atum &amp; pishum will be written atim<sup>u</sup> &amp; pishim<sup>u</sup>.</p>	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>u</b> which should be written <b>i</b> or <b>a</b> (7) animate plural of nouns (50) plural of independent verbs (51)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> SI : atum <sup>u</sup> , pishum <sup>u</sup> , tutam <sup>u</sup> , petam <sup>u</sup> , shashkaim <sup>u</sup> , tshipaim <sup>u</sup> SA : pitaim <sup>u</sup> , uitam <sup>u</sup> NAT : pitaim/pitaium, uitam/uitaum, mennaum MIN : ataum elsewhere: atum, pishum, tutam, petam, shashkaim, tshipaim	



## SOLUTION

Proposed:      **write m<sup>u</sup>**

Ex. TI VERBS: tutam<sup>u</sup>  
                   utinam<sup>u</sup>  
                   shenam<sup>u</sup>  
                   ishinam<sup>u</sup>  
                   mushtenam<sup>u</sup>  
                   pitaim<sup>u</sup>  
                   mair<sup>u</sup>  
                   nataim<sup>u</sup>  
                   munaim<sup>u</sup>

Ex. NOUNS:      pishim<sup>u</sup>  
                   atim<sup>u</sup>  
                   nitim<sup>u</sup> `my brother-in-law/  
                   sister-in-law'

Pedagogy:    m<sup>u</sup> is very useful in understanding the formation:

- of the plural of TI verbs (shenam<sup>u</sup>+at, nataim<sup>u</sup>+at)
- of the diminutive of certain nouns (pishim<sup>u</sup>+ss,  
                   atim<sup>u</sup>+ss)
- of the plural of certain nouns (nitim<sup>u</sup>+at, atim<sup>u</sup>+at)
- of the animate obviative of certain nouns (uitim<sup>u</sup>+a,  
                   atim<sup>u</sup>+a)

<b>ITEM</b> <b>sh + u</b> in 'two' <b>sht + u</b> in 'three'	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> with <b>u</b> or without <b>u</b> (or <b>k</b> )
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> west:            agreement to write nish & nisht LNS: a lot of variation in 'two', anomalies	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Easy to resolve.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> The final <b>u</b> of the word 'two' is not generally pronounced except in the dialects of LNS and SI-SCH (pronounced nüsh). The usefulness of writing this final <b>u</b> is revealed by the form of this word when it is joined to another word: ex. nish <b>ut</b> shishikua. The case of 'three' is similar even though the final <b>u</b> is never pronounced: nisht but nisht <b>ut</b> tipishkua.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>k + u</b> at the end of a word (25) <b>k + u</b> in compound nouns (26) <b>m + u</b> at the end of a word (27)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> ROM:            nishuat, ni <b>uk</b> (anomaly) NAT:            nishuat, nish <b>k</b> (anomaly) MIN:            nihuat, nih <sup>u</sup> /ni <b>uhk</b> <sup>u</sup> (anomaly) elsewhere:        nishuat, nish	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed:      **write u at the end**  
                  **nish<sup>u</sup> `two'**  
                  **nisht<sup>u</sup> `three' (vs. pronoun nisht LNS)**

<p><b>ITEM</b></p> <p><b>ss</b> diminutive of nouns and other cases</p>	<p><b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b></p> <p><b>ss</b> or <b>s</b> or <b>sh</b></p>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>BETS, SI &amp; NAT: agreement on <b>ss</b> everywhere  ROM: <b>sh</b> everywhere  MIN: ususally <b>s</b> but also <b>ss</b></p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Priority. Very easy solution.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>The differences are purely in writing: they do not reflect any real difference in speaking.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>BETS: au<b>ass</b>, nap<b>ess</b>, ishku<b>ess</b>, tshik<b>uss</b>, auet<b>iss</b>, nit<b>uss</b>, metuakan<b>iss</b>, emikuan<b>iss</b></p> <p>SI: au<b>assiss</b>, ut<b>assa</b>, nap<b>essat</b>, ishku<b>essat</b>, kukush<b>iss</b>, ik<b>uss</b>, tshiashk<b>uss</b></p> <p>ROM: au<b>ash</b>, nap<b>esh</b>, ishku<b>esh</b>, mish<b>ip</b>, emikuan<b>ish</b>, mashinaikan<b>isha</b>, auet<b>ish</b></p> <p>NAT: au<b>ass</b>, miss<b>ip</b></p> <p>MIN: au<b>as</b>, auet<b>is</b>, nap<b>es</b>, miss<b>ip</b>/mes<b>sep</b></p>	

## SOLUTION

Proposed:      **write ss**

Ex. diminutives:

emikuan <b>iss</b>	ut <b>iss</b>
utapan <b>iss</b>	shipi <b>ssa</b>
atim <b>uss</b>	iku <b>ss</b>
tshiashk <b>uss</b>	uten <b>ass</b>
kukush <b>iss</b>	ushku <b>ass</b>
nameshi <b>ssat</b>	utshim <b>ass</b>

other cases:

nit <b>uss</b>	neuapi <b>ss</b>
nik <b>uss</b>	nishuapi <b>ss</b>
nus <b>sim</b>	tshikap <b>iss</b>
missi <b>pat</b>	nishtuni <b>ss</b>
ishku <b>essat</b>	shikauni <b>ss</b>
nap <b>essat</b>	aueti <b>ss</b>
au <b>assat</b>	An <b>iss</b>

<b>ITEM</b> <b>ss</b> originating from <b>sht</b> at the end of a word	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>sht</b> or <b>ss</b> or <b>st</b> or <b>ht</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS: <b>sht</b> MIN: <b>ht</b> NAT: <b>sht</b> ROM: <b>st</b> SI: <b>ss</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor.    Easy.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> <b>sht</b> is pronounced <b>ss</b> at the end of a word at PB, BETS and SI and <b>ht</b> on the LNS.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>sh</b> before a consonant (22)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS    :    kutuas <b>sht</b> , nishuas <b>sht</b> , nas <b>sht</b> , kashiuas <b>sht</b> , us <b>sht</b> SI        :    kutuass, nishuass, nass, kashiuas, <b>uss</b> MIN     :    kutua <b>ht</b> , nihua <b>ht</b> ,    na <b>ht</b> , ka-hiu <b>aht</b> , <b>uht</b> NAT     :                    nishuas <b>sht</b> , nas <b>sht</b> , ROM     :    kutuast, nishuast, nas <b>sht</b> /nash	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **sht**

Ex. kutuas**sht**, nishuas**sht**, nas**sht**, kashiuas**sht**, us**sht**

Difficulty: In the dialects of PB, BETS, SI and SCH, point out the difference between words ending with **ss** and those ending with **sht**.

**ss**

au**ass**  
shipi**ss**  
emikuani**ss**  
minakani**ss**  
atimu**ss**  
ishku**ess**  
nap**ess**  
put**ass**

**sht**

kutuas**sht**  
nishuas**sht**  
nas**sht**  
us**sht**  
kashiuas**sht**  
kauapikue**sht**  
kapiminue**sht**  
Anishpuas**sht**

Pedagogy: Words with final **sht** should receive special attention during teaching in the western dialects.

<b>ITEM</b> ss originating from shtsh		<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> ss or sht or sts or tsh or ht or htsh or stsh	
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: always ss ROM : most often ss but also sht, sts, tsh NAT : varies between sts, sht, ht but also ss MIN : alternates between htsh, stsh and ht			
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Solution difficult to apply to all dialects.			
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> These spelling differences reflect real differences in pronunciation even among the individual LNS dialects.			
<b>RELATED TO:</b> sh before consonants (22), tn originating from tshin (39)			
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>			
BETS & SI	ROM	NAT	MIN
kassinu	kassinu	kassinu	kahtnu
pessish	pessish	pessish	pehtshih
passikan	--	passikan	pahtshikan
massek <sup>u</sup>	massek	--	--
ussishuk <sup>u</sup>	nissishuk	ustsishukua	--
umassin	messna/mashtna	umuashtna	umahtna
ussinitshishu	--	uhtnissu	uhtnitshu
ussi mishtuk <sup>u</sup>	--	ustsemistukut	uhtshimitshuap
passie	patshie/pastsie	--	pahtshe
atusseu	--	atustseu	atustsheu
tshisselimeu	tshissenimeu	tshistsenimeu/ tsissnimuku	tshistshenimeu
assi	assi	astsi/utassit	ahtshi
uelipissish	uenipishish	--	--



## SOLUTION

On the LNS, will vary between **ss** and **shtsh**.

Principle to follow on the LNS: choose **ss** when the two pronunciations exist in local speech.

Ex. k**ass**inu / kas**htsh**inu  
 pe**ss**ish / pes**htsh**ish  
 at**usseu** / at**ushtsheu**  
 a**ssi** / as**htshi**  
 um**ass**ina / um**ashtsh**ina  
 u**ss**initshishu / u**shtsh**initshishu  
 pa**ss**ikan / pa**shtsh**ikan  
 ma**ss**ek<sup>u</sup> / ma**shtsh**ek<sup>u</sup>  
 u**ssi**-mishtik<sup>u</sup> / u**shtshi**-mishtik<sup>u</sup>  
 tsh**isse**nimeu / tsh**ishtsh**enimeu  
 u**ss**ishk<sup>u</sup> / u**shtsh**isk<sup>u</sup>  
 nitaku**assin** / nitaku**ashtsh**in  
 pei(a)k**ussu** / peiak**ushtshu**  
 i**ss**ishueu / i**shtsh**ishueu

Difficulty: In the LNS dialect, the **ss/shtsh** alternation is mixed up with the two other problems:

- 1) what is pronounced 'h' or 's' before a consonant should also be written **sh** before **tsh**:

Ex. at**ushtsheu** (and not \*atustsheu)  
 tsh**ishtsh**enimeu (and not tshistshenimeu)

(continued ...)



2) what is pronounced `tn' in the middle of a word should be written **tshin**:

Ex. masht**tshina** (and not \*mahtna)  
kash**tshinu** (and not \*kahtnu)

Pedagogy: In the LNS dialect, the spelling of all these words requires special teaching.

Remarks: It is recommended that LNS speakers eventually reexamine the possibility of writing **ss** even if their pronunciation is different.



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **tshish**

Ex. utat**tshishi**  
 mit**tshishimu**  
 tat**tshishiu**, tat**tshishikamu**  
 mit**tshishu**, mit**tshishuakan**  
 pat**tshishimu**  
 shut**tshishiu**  
 uat**tshishiu**  
 mat**tshishiu**  
 tshet**tshishep** / shet**tshishep** LNS

Difficulty: For NAT, ROM and SA it is difficult to distinguish between **ss** which should be written **tshish** and the one which should be written **tsh**. For example, 'he must eat' should be written mit**tshishutshe** (and not \*missusse).

Pedagogy: All words which include the **tshish** sequence should receive special attention on the LNS.

<b>ITEM</b> <b>sh</b> originating from <b>tshish</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>tshish</b> or <b>sh</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> Sometimes at NAT, often at ROM: <b>tshish</b> is written <b>sh</b> .	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Reflects a difference in pronunciation.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS:        ukat <b>tshish</b> apishteshim SI:            ukat <b>tshish</b> apishteshim NAT: uk <b>ash</b> apisteshim ROM: ka <b>sh</b> apishtesht MIN: ka <b>h</b> apisteht	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **write tshish**

Ex. **tshishapishteu**  
**katshishapishtesht**





## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **tshit** or **tshisht** depending on the case

**Exception:** **apashtau** (and not **\*apatshitau**)

Ex. PREFIX **tshit** (2nd person)  
**tshita**iamian    **tshit**assik<sup>u</sup>  
**tshita**ñimishin **tshitu**ñakan  
**tshit**itin        **tshita**iamieunat  
**tshit**au         **tshitem**

**tshit** IN A WORD

<b>tshit</b> uteu	<b>tshit</b> utaieu
<b>tshit</b> ishaim <sup>u</sup>	<b>tshit</b> ish(a)ueu
papat <b>tshit</b> ak <sup>u</sup>	kapapat <b>tshit</b> akut
puet <b>tshitu</b>	
uit <b>tshitu</b>	
pat <b>tshiti</b> nam <sup>u</sup>	pat <b>tshiti</b> neu    pat <b>tshiti</b> naun
pat <b>tshite</b> ñimu	
<b>tshitu</b>	eka <b>tshitu</b> (and not <b>*kashtu</b> )
kat <b>tshiti</b> nam <sup>u</sup>	kat <b>tshiti</b> neu    kat <b>tshita</b> im <sup>u</sup> kat <b>tshit</b> (a)ueu
<b>tshita</b> imueu	
nut <b>tshita</b> u	eka nut <b>tshita</b>
pat <b>tshit</b> (a)uakan	pat <b>tshit</b> (a)ueu

**tshisht** IN A WORD

**tshisht**emau  
**tshisht**apakun  
**tshisht**ap(a)uñeu    **tshisht**aputshikueu  
uit**tshisht**am<sup>u</sup> (and not **\*uitshitam<sup>u</sup>**)

Remarks: `laziness' and `poverty' should both be written  
**tshit**...

Ex. **tshit**imatshenitakushu    `he is pitiable'  
**tshit**imatshishiu            `he is miserable'  
**tshit**imiushinu                `he is stretched out lazily'

but distinguish:

**tshit**imau    `he is poor'  
**tshit**imu     `he is lazy'

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
Dubitative <b>tshe</b>	<b>tshe</b> or <b>sse</b> or <b>stshe</b> or <b>stse</b>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>ROM: <b>sse</b>  MIN: <b>htshe</b> (but also <b>tshe</b>)  SA : <b>htshe</b>  NAT: <b>stshe</b> or <b>stse</b> or <b>sse</b>  elsewhere: <b>tshe</b></p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Minor. Easy to solve.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>The sequence <b>htsh</b> is pronounced <b>ss</b> at ROM &amp; NAT.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b></p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>SA : e<b>htshe</b>, eni<b>htsheni</b>, ituku<b>htshe</b>  MIN : e<b>htshe</b>, eni<b>tshen</b>, ituku<b>tshe</b>  ROM : e<b>esse</b>, eni<b>ssei</b>, ituku<b>sse</b>  NAT : e<b>estshe</b>, eni<b>stseni</b>, ituku<b>sse</b>  elsewhere: e<b>tshe</b>, eni<b>tshen</b>, ituku<b>tshe</b></p>	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **write -tshe** (and not \*htshe)

Ex. **etshe** nushpuakan  
tshika takushin**tshe**  
eñ**tsheni** uitsheuakana  
anutshish mitshishu**tshe**  
mashkua uapamik**tshe**

<b>ITEM</b> <b>tit</b> originating from <b>tshit</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>tshit</b> or <b>tit</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> LNS: <b>tit</b> elsewhere: <b>tshit</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor. Easy.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> In the LNS dialect, <b>tshit</b> is reduced to <b>tit</b> as an ending for the 1st person plural exclusive of TA conjunct verbs.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> LNS : apu uapamat <b>tit</b> , tshe kanauenimat <b>tit</b> elsewhere: apu uapamat <b>tshit</b> , apu kanauenimat <b>tshit</b>	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **write tshit**

Ex. apu uapamat**tshit**  
uiapamat**shiti**  
ka kan(a)ueñimat**tshit**  
ken(a)ueñimat**shiti**

<b>ITEM</b> <b>pm and mp</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>pim or pm</b> <b>pam or pm</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS & SI: always write <b>pim, mip, pam</b> NAT & MIN: always write <b>pm, mp</b> ROM: generally <b>pm, mp</b> but sometimes <b>pim</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Simple rule for all dialects.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  <b>pm, mp</b> are pronounced in all dialects.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS : <b>pimi, pimuteu, uapimin, apu uapamin, pimipalu, piminueu, uapameu, ashuaapameu</b> SI : <b>pimi, upime, pamipanu, ishpmimit, uitapimeu</b> ROM : <b>pmi, uapmin, ni pmuten/pimuteu, papampanu, ishpmimist, uitapmeu</b> NAT : <b>upmim, tshi ka pmuten, ishpmimit</b> MIN : <b>pmi, pmuteu, pmishkau, pmpatau, ispmiht</b>	

SOLUTION

Proposed: write the vowel (i or a depending on the case)

Ex. pimi, pimuteu, pamipañu, uapameu

Difficulty: As this vowel is not pronounced in any dialect it is difficult to know whether it should be written **i** or **a**.

pim

pam (`see' family)

pimi

uapameu

uapimin (apple)

apu uapamin

uitapimeu

apu uapamek<sup>u</sup>

nipimuten

uapamek<sup>u</sup> (whale)

ishpimit

uapam

pimishkau

tshitapameu

pimipañu

nishtuapameu

kapiminuesht

nakatuapameu

upime

peshuapameu

pimit

natuapameu

ashuapameu

tushkapameu

mip

map

pamipañu

atimapu

papamipañu

pimapu

Uñiamipan

Sheñumipan

amipañu

atamipekut

amipushu

<b>ITEM</b> <b>tn</b> originating from <b>tin, tan</b> and <b>tun</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>tin</b> or <b>tn</b> , <b>tin</b> or <b>tan</b> , <b>tin</b> or <b>tun</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> SI & BETS: <b>tin</b> but confusion with <b>tan</b> or <b>tun</b> at end NAT & MIN: <b>tan</b> and <b>tun</b> but always <b>tn (tin)</b> ROM: <b>tan</b> and <b>tun</b> but varies between <b>tn</b> and <b>tin</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Priority. Easy solution but difficulties of application in the western dialect.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> At BETS, SI & SCH, vowels occurring between <b>t</b> and <b>n</b> are not pronounced. In the LNS dialect, <b>tin</b> is always pronounced <b>tn</b> .	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS        : <b>lutin, utinam, tshiuetin, nanikutin, tshiminitin, uepashtin, kashtin</b> SI            : <b>tshika uitamatinau, tshinashkumitin, nutin, uepashtin, kashtin</b> ROM         : <b>nutn, utneu, ntutnan, uapatneu, tshi naskumitinan/tshi nashkumitnau, nanikutni</b> NAT         : <b>tsiuetn, tsuapatniti, meshestnua, nanekutni</b> MIN         : <b>nanekutni</b>	



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write one vowel between t and n

usually **i**:

Ex. nanikutin(i)  
 tshimiñitin  
 tshinashkumitinau  
 utinam<sup>u</sup>  
 nitutinan  
 uapatiñieu  
 mishishtiñua

sometimes **a**:

Ex. atañukan  
 atañutsheu  
 kaiatañutshesht

sometimes **u**:

Ex. mamituñenitam<sup>u</sup>  
 mituneñitshikan

Difficulty: In the western dialect, it is necessary to check the vowel in II verbs. Most of them take **i** but it is necessary to learn those where **a** or even **u** is written (in the LNS dialect, these vowels are clearly pronounced in the conjunct):

<b>i</b>		<b>a</b>
ñutin		kupitan
tshiuetin		apatan
patshitin		ueñutan
mashkutin / mashkauatin LNS		itan / aiatan LNS
ishkutin / ishkuatin LNS		tshishatan
tatshitin		uepashtan
ashatshitin		
pitshetin		
		<b>u</b>
		kashtun



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **tshin**

Ex.	<b>tshinuau</b>	<b>tshinuapekan</b>
	<b>tshinuakamau</b>	<b>tshinuekan</b>
	<b>tshinuashkushu</b>	<b>tshinuashkuan</b>
	uat <b>tshin</b> akan	uat <b>tshin</b> ashameu
	uat <b>tshin</b> akaniss	uat <b>tshin</b> akanitak <sup>u</sup>
	napueiet <b>tshin</b> am <sup>u</sup>	masht <b>tshin</b> LNS
	mat <b>tshin</b> akushu	mat <b>tshin</b> akuan
	takuat <b>tshin</b>	takuat <b>tshin</b> eñitakuan

Difficulty: Presents real difficulty especially on the LNS where the sequence **tshin** is systematically reduced to **tn**.

<b>ITEM</b> <b>nt</b> or <b>lt</b> which should Be written <b>nit</b> or <b>ñit</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>nit/lit</b> or <b>nt/lt</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS & SI: agreement to always write <b>i</b> between <b>n</b> (or <b>l</b> ) and <b>t</b> NAT & MIN: never write <b>i</b> ROM : never write this <b>i</b> except in "manitu"	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Simple solution but difficult to apply because it is necessary to know when to write <b>nat</b> or <b>nit</b> .	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  The <b>i</b> is not pronounced in any dialect.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>nt</b> which should be written <b>nat</b> (41), conjunct plural of AI verbs (70), locative of nouns (53)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  IN THE MIDDLE OF A WORD  BETS : <b>nite, nita, nanitam, tanite, maniteu, niteliten, manitikalau, miluelitakushu, muitsheukanituk<sup>u</sup>, patshitinitan</b>  SI : <b>nite, nita, nanitam, tanite, manitush, kutshipanita, ka tipenitak, nipitepaniti, ni minueniten</b>  ROM : <b>nite, nita, nantam, manitu/mantush, nikanteu, ka tipentak, minuentam, kutshipantauat</b>  NAT : <b>nite, nita, nantam, tante, ka mentushit, minuentam, manteu, itentakushu</b>  MIN : <b>nite, tante, nita, nantam</b>	

## AT THE END OF A WORD

- BETS : tan eshi nipiakanit pileu, tshima papalit, 2  
etshishtuakanit
- SI : 8 e tshishtuakanit, ishi uapatam kashikanit, apu  
unishinit
- ROM : ka minakant, ka mataupitakant (?), eskue ka  
tshitshipant
- NAT : niatakant, kue tshuetant, nema nte ishpanit, eunkuan  
tshiauepant

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write i between n or ñ and t

Ex. IN THE MIDDLE OF A WORD

nite	niteñiten
apu nita	nikaniteu
nitau atusseu	minueñitam <sup>u</sup>
nanitam	tipeñitam <sup>u</sup>
tanite	iteñitakushu
maniteu	kutshipañitau
Tshishe-Manitu	pimipañitau
manitush	nuitsheuakanitik <sup>u</sup>

Ex. AT THE END OF A WORD

tshe itakanit (itakanitau, itakaniti, itakanñiti)  
tshe tipishkañit (tipishkañiti)  
tshe papañit (papañitau, papañiti)  
ka miñakanit (miñakanitau, miñakaniti)

utapanit (locatif)  
mitshishuakanit  
tetapuakanit

<b>ITEM</b> <b>nt</b> which should be Written <b>nat</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>nat</b> or <b>nt</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  SI & BETS: agreement on <b>nat</b>  LNS: varies between <b>nat</b> and <b>nt</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Easy theoretical solution but difficult to apply in all dialects because it is necessary to know when to write <b>a</b> or <b>i</b> .	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  At SI & BETS: This <b>a</b> is never pronounced. On the LNS, it is pronounced in the middle of a word but sometimes not in the last syllable.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> animate plural of nouns (50), of independent verbs (51) and of pronouns (52)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  IN THE MIDDLE OF A WORD:  BETS: <b>natuu, natuelitam, natutam, natuapameu, natukulin, nanatuapameu</b>  SI: <b>natuu, natukun, kanatutakanit</b>  ROM: <b>natuaishu, natutam, natuentam/ni ntuentamuau, innu-natukuna/ntukuntsheshishkuesh, nantuapmeu</b>  NAT: <b>apu natutak, ntuapmant</b>  MIN: <b>nantuataamuk, natuapmikut</b>	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **a** between **n** and **t**

Ex. IN THE MIDDLE OF A WORD

natuu / natau  
 natukuieu  
 natutam<sup>u</sup>  
 nat(a)uapameu, nanat(a)uapameu  
 nat(a)uapatam<sup>u</sup>, nanat(a)uapatam<sup>u</sup>  
 nataim<sup>u</sup>  
 natimit  
 nat(a)u mitshishu  
 nat(a)uñeueu  
 natutikueu / natauatikueu LNS  
 mañatenish

Ex. AT THE END OF A WORD

añushkanat (animate plural)  
 eshkanat  
 aiamieunat  
 akushipanat  
 takushinitshenat  
 tutamushipanat

Attention: atamakunat (from -akunak- 'snow')  
 Ussitakunat

<b>ITEM</b> <b>ntsh</b> which should be written <b>nitsh</b> , <b>natsh</b> or <b>nutsh</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>ntsh</b> or <b>nitsh</b> , <b>nitsh</b> or <b>nutsh</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS & SI: <b>nitsh</b> but sometimes confused with <b>nutsh</b>  LNS                : <b>nitsh</b> written <b>ntsh</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Simple solution.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  In the western dialects vowels occurring between <b>n</b> and <b>tsh</b> are never pronounced.  In the LNS dialect, <b>a</b> is always pronounced, <b>u</b> is sometimes pronounced, and <b>i</b> never.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS        : <b>nitshen</b> , <b>auenitshe</b> , <b>akunitsheu</b> , <b>nitshuk<sup>u</sup></b> , <b>nakuanitsheu</b> , <b>pakueshikanitsheu</b>  SI            : <b>nitshent</b> , <b>auenitshent</b> , <b>manitsheu</b> , <b>nitshuk<sup>u</sup></b>  ROM         : <b>ntshent</b> , <b>uentshent</b> , <b>mantshheu</b> , <b>ntshuk</b> , <b>pakueshikantsheu</b> , <b>akuntsheu</b>  NAT         : <b>ntsent</b>  MIN         : <b>ntshent</b> , <b>Ekuantshiht</b>	



## SOLUTION

Proposed: write a vowel between n and tsh

usually **i**:

Ex. nitshenat  
 auenitshe (pronounced aumentshe)  
 nitshik<sup>u</sup>  
 akunitsheu  
 Ekuanitshit  
 massinitsheu / mashtshinitsheu MIN  
 pakueshikanitsheu  
 nakuanitsheu  
 kaikunitshesht  
 unitshissu / uanitshishtshu MIN

sometimes **a**:

Ex. natshishk  
 u(a)natsheshk<sup>u</sup>

sometimes **u**:

Ex. anutshish  
 Manutsheu

<b>ITEM</b> <b>mm</b> which should be written <b>mim</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>mim</b> or <b>mm</b> or <b>m</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  PB & BETS: <b>mim</b>  Elsewhere:        generally <b>m</b> and sometimes <b>mm</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Minor. Simple solution.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  In TA verbs with an obviative object, at least two <b>ms</b> are pronounced in all dialects and PB pronounces <b>mim</b> .  Simple spelling rule: write <b>mm</b> or <b>mim</b> ?	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  PB & BETS:        nuap <b>mim</b> au ukau elsewhere:        nuap <b>mm</b> au / nuap <b>m</b> aua / nuap <b>mm</b> aua ukauia	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: write **mim**

Ex. ukuma (t)shash nitshi uap**mim**aua  
apu nishtuap**mim**aki utanisha  
apu mishta iteñ**mim**aki unapema

Difficulty: Seems to have created difficulties for many so far in spite of the fact that the 2 **ms** are pronounced clearly in all dialects.

<b>ITEM</b> <b>pp</b> which should be written <b>pip</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>pp</b> or <b>pip</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor. Rather rare.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Purely a spelling rule: when <b>-pan</b> 'dead' is added to a noun which ends in <b>p</b> , is it necessary to write <b>i</b> between the two <b>ps</b> ? This <b>i</b> is pronounced at PB.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed:    **write pip**

Ex. Shushe**p** + **pan** = Shushe**pipan**  
Piñ**p** + **pan** = Piñ**pipan**  
Mashka**p** + **pan** = Mashka**pipan** (family name)  
Miku**a**p + **pan** = Miku**a****pipan** (family name)

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
<b>nn</b> and <b>ln</b>	<b>lin</b> or <b>nn</b> or <b>n</b> or <b>nin</b>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>BETS: always <b>lin</b>  SI &amp; MIN: always <b>nn</b>  ROM: varies between <b>nn</b> and sometimes <b>nin</b>  NAT: always <b>n</b></p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Problem major - solution possible.  NAT: anomaly to be corrected.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>Simple spelling rule: decide between <b>n̄in</b> and <b>n̄n</b>.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b> l/n variation (1), <b>nn</b>, <b>ll</b>, <b>nl</b>, <b>ln</b> when an ending is added (46)</p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>BETS : <b>ilinu</b>, <b>nitiliniun</b>, <b>uilinu</b>, <b>ilinishat</b>, <b>tshishelinu</b>,  <b>kutulinu</b>, <b>natukulinish</b>, <b>nishiuelinan</b></p> <p>SI : <b>innu</b>, <b>nitinniun</b>, <b>uinnu</b>, <b>innishat</b>, <b>tshishennu</b>, <b>kutunnu</b></p> <p>ROM : <b>innu</b>, <b>inniminana</b>, <b>innishu</b>, <b>inniship</b>, <b>ininituk</b>,  <b>uitshininua</b> ka <b>tshisheniut</b>, <b>utenima</b>, <b>inast</b>, <b>paiukunu</b></p> <p>NAT : <b>inu</b>, <b>apu iniut</b>, <b>nishunu</b></p> <p>MIN : <b>innu</b>, <b>innineu</b>, <b>innaht</b></p>	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write ñn

Ex.

iñnu	iñniu
pessamiuñnu	iñnishu
nitiñnim	niteñni
utiñniun	tshisheñnu
uiñnu	natukuñnish / natukuañnish

LNS

iñniship	atauñnu
iñniminana	kutuñnu / peiakuñnu LNS
iñnasht	nishuñnu
iñniñeu	nishtuñnu
iñnatshik <sup>u</sup>	
iñnikueu	
iñnitsheuai / iñnitsheuan	MIN

Difficulty: Problem of application on the LNS where these words are usually pronounced with a single **n**.

Pedagogy: On the LNS, it is necessary to individually teach the spelling of words containing **nn**.

<b>ITEM</b> nn, ll, nl, ln when an ending is added	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> nn or nin, ll or lil nl or nil, ln or lin
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS: nin, lil, nil, lin elsewhere: varies between nn and n	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Major problem but solution possible.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Two problems mixed up here:  1. n-dialects: when an ending which begins with n is added to a noun or stem which ends with n, the two consonants meet, thus, the double nn should be written.  2. Simple spelling rule: is it necessary to write i between these two consonants?	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> nn and ln (45), l/n variation (1)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS : nitamuk <sup>u</sup> tshekuanilu ashameu ekue tshiuetitatau nelu nipinilu uiapanilit mak, mishta uauashinaku uitsheuakan umassin shipekunilu apu papalilit, apu pimishinilit nishiuelinan, shiuelinanun nutapaninan, tshutapaninu, nimashinaikaninan pimishininanun, takushininanun  SI : apu tshekuannu nishtuapatak nitshent auassat eukunu e uapatakau ... mitshetut e kashtinakau nenu akushunu umassin nete nikan shepannu uin tshetshi tshitapatak nemenu tipan tshekuannu e ishinakunit utshent ka tutakau katshishkutamuakannit nishiuenannan, shiuenannanu, pimishinnanu	

46a

ROM	:kukuetshimeu tshekuanu mineu uanashinataikanu matsheshu tshinapekanu ushui Shinipest nashieu Atuana ka pikupanit uttapanu petau ka mataupitakanit apu apatentakunit at pepemau eshinakushit uen
-----	---



NAT :apu tshekuanu tutak  
eunkuanu muk etatusset  
inu astsinu nu tsi pa meshkuaaim kie nepua te  
mistukushiuastinu tukuannitse  
tshek ma nte pepunnit, nantam muk uin nukuteu  
apu nta ne ueuepnetant kun shiakuaniti

SOLUTION

Proposed: write nn or ññ or nñ or ñn

Ex. apu tshekuanñu issishuet  
akushunñu kushtam<sup>u</sup>  
shepaññu umassin  
shiueññua uminushima  
nimish mitshenñua umatshunishima  
eukuannñu etat utishkuema  
aueññua k(u)enueñimikut ?  
tshika takushinñua ushima  
eshk<sup>u</sup> apu papaññiti ukañuma  
apu tshika ut takushinñiti umanitema

Ex. nutapannan, tshutapannu  
nimashinaikannan, tshimashinaikannu  
nitetapuakannan, tshitetapuakannu  
nipimishinnan, tshipimishinnan(u), pimishinnanu  
nitakushinnan, tshitakushinnan(u), takushinnanu  
niminnan, tshiminnan(u), kaminnanut  
nipapañnan, tshipapañnan(u), papañnanu  
nishiueñnan, tshishiueñnan(u), shiueñnanu  
nipuñnan, tshipuñnan(u), puñnanu

(continued ...)



Difficulties: So far seems to have been a problem for any, event though the 2 **ns** are clearly pronounced in their dialect.

Problem of application in the LNS dialect where what is grammatically **n + n** is usually pronounced **n** and not **nn**.

Refer to grammatical analysis to identify the cases where **nn** should be written:

- 1) with the obviative marker **-ñu** or **-ñua**:

tshekuan + ñu = tshekuanñu  
papañ + ñua = papaññua

- 2) with possessive endings **-nan** or **-nu**:

ni + massin + nan = nimassinana  
tsh + utapan + nu = tshutapannu

- 3) with verb endings **-nan** or **-nan(u)**:

ni + shiueñ + nan = nishiueñnan  
tshi + shiueñ + nan(u) = tshishiueñnan(u)

- 4) with **-nanu(n)** for impersonal subject verbs:

shiueñ + nanu(n) = shiueñnanu(n)  
pimishin + nanu(n) = pimishinnanu(n)

Pedagogy: In all dialects, foresee the need for special exercises on nouns ending in **n** (ex. utapan, utaipan, massin, mitshishuakan, uñakan, minakan, etc.) and on **n**-stem verbs (ex. minu, takushinu, pimishinu, utamishinu, tshimishinu, teishinu, u(a)nishinu, etc.).

<b>ITEM</b> dropping of the syllable <b>ka</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>akan</b> or <b>an</b> , <b>kan</b> or <b>n</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS & SI: <b>akan</b> or <b>kan</b> (with rare omissions) LNS : often <b>an</b> or <b>n</b> ( <b>ka</b> is omitted)	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Minor. Easy.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  In casual style, the syllable <b>ka</b> in the morphemes <b>-akan</b> , <b>-kan</b> , and <b>-akanu</b> drops in all dialects. It is, however, pronounced in formal style.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  mu <b>akanu</b> / mua_nu ashtuan <b>akan</b> / ashtuana_n uapatali <b>akanit</b> / uapatania_nist min <b>akan</b> / mina_n	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **ka**

Ex. mitshishu**akan**, min**akan**, ashtua**akan**,  
mu**akanu**, it**akanu**, uapam**akanu**

Difficulty: Not all nouns ending in **an** originate from **-akan** or **-kan**. For example, one will write:

pakakuan (and not \*pakakuakan)  
mukuman (and not \*mukumakan)  
tueunan (and not \*tueunakan)  
akutipan (and not \*akutipakan)

The syllable **ka** drops in the following three contexts:

- 1) many nouns made with the **-akan** final, which mostly designate tools, instruments and other useful things:

tetapu <b>akan</b>	ushpu <b>akan</b>
tishu <b>akan</b>	upashtim <b>akan</b>
u <b>akan</b>	makanip <b>akan</b>
naku <b>akaniapi</b>	mitshishu <b>akan</b>
akushiu <b>akan</b>	atusseu <b>akan</b>
kassipit <b>akan</b>	uatshin <b>akaniss</b>
mikut <b>akan</b>	pakata <b>akan</b>
pashpapu <b>akan</b>	patshit(a)u <b>akan</b> `net fishing'
shetshipitu <b>akan</b>	shiuta <b>kan</b>
uashtenitam <b>akan</b>	pakak <b>an</b> LNS
a <b>akapeshakan</b>	minasht <b>akan</b>
uikupesh <b>akan</b>	uitsheu <b>akana</b>

but one must write: nikuashkan (and not \*nikuashkakan)  
ashpishan (and not \*ashpishakan)

- 2) some nouns made with the **-kan** final:

tipa**ikan**  
tipape**kaikan** (sometimes pronounced tipapain)

(continued)

- 3) transitive verbs made with **-akanu** which have the passive meaning 'it was done' (ex. 'he/it is eaten', 'he/it is seen', 'he/it is used', 'he is told'):

mu <b>akanu</b>	apu mu <b>akanit</b>
uapamak <b>kanu</b>	apu uapamak <b>kanit</b>
apashtak <b>kanu</b>	apu apashtak <b>kanit</b>
itak <b>kanu</b>	apu itak <b>kant</b>

Pedagogy: The nouns in **-akan** and **-kan** and the passive verbs in **-akanu** require special teaching in all communities.

<b>ITEM</b> dropping of the syllable <b>pa</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>pa</b> or <b>ø</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: always written LNS : sometimes written	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor. Easy.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> The loss of the syllable <b>pa</b> affects the dialects of SI and the LNS, especially in the verb `see' and its derivatives.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS : tshitapatamuk <sup>u</sup> , netuapatak, uapateu SI : tshitapatamuk, netuapatak, uapateu ROM : tshitta_tamuk, ua_teu MIN : tshita_tamuk, netua tahk, uapateu NAT : tshita_tam, ua_teu	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **pa**

Ex. tshitapatam<sup>u</sup>, natuapatam<sup>u</sup>, uapateu, nanatuapatam<sup>u</sup>

Difficulty: Especially in the LNS dialects, this syllable is often omitted. At SI and SCH pay special attention to verbs with a past tense in **-shipan**:

takushinishipan (and not \*takushinishin)

nipishipan (and not \*nipishin)

akushishipan (and not \*akushishin)

Pedagogy: Special attention needed here for LNS dialects as well as for SI and SCH.



<b>ITEM</b> personal prefixes	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>ni</b> or <b>n</b> , <b>tshi</b> or <b>tsh</b> , and other variants		
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS: <b>ni</b> and <b>tshi</b> everywhere but <b>n</b> and <b>tsh</b> before u SI : <b>ni</b> and <b>tshi</b> everywhere ROM : <b>ni</b> and <b>tshi</b> in general but some inconsistency. Problems with the 3rd person NAT : in general <b>n</b> for 1st but also <b>ne</b> , no consistency for the 2nd person SPECIAL PROBLEM BEFORE A WORD BEGINNING WITH <b>U</b>			
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority. Easy to resolve if the rule of internal consistency is used.			
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Differences are only in spelling and do not at all reflect differences in pronunciation from one dialect to the next.			
<b>RELATED TO:</b> boundary 1: personal prefix (78)			
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>			
	1st	2nd	3rd
BETS	<b>nitau</b> <b>nitassi</b> <b>nitem</b> <b>nuitsheuakan</b> <b>nuapamau</b> <b>nui uluin</b>	<b>tshitau</b> <b>tshitassi</b> <b>tshitem</b> <b>tshuitsheuakan</b> <b>tshuapamau</b> <b>tshui uluin</b>	- <b>utassi</b> <b>utem</b> <b>uitsheuakan</b>
SI & SCH	<b>nitau</b> <b>niteneniten</b> <b>niuapamau</b> <b>ni uishamukuti</b> <b>niui uapamau</b>	<b>tshitau</b> <b>tshiteniten</b> <b>tshiuapamau</b>  <b>tshiui uapamau</b>	uitsheuakan

	1st	2nd	3 <sup>rd</sup>
ROM	<b>nakau</b> <b>ni</b> uapaten <b>nimushum</b> <b>niuishamau</b> <b>ni</b> uinnun	<b>statamiskatin</b> <b>tshi</b> uapmanan <b>tshi</b> uitsheuakan <b>tshuitamatnau</b> <b>tshi</b> uauitshikuau <b>tshi</b> ui nakatuentenan	<b>u-u</b> nashinataikan <b>u-u</b> itsheuakan
NAT	<b>nemushum</b> <b>ntashamuk</b> <b>ntuku</b> <b>nuapma</b> <b>nuiten</b> <b>nui</b> tapuen	<b>tsetip</b> <b>tsakau</b> <b>tsestukuan/tshustukuan</b> <b>tsuatau</b> <b>tsuapatnitn</b>	
<b>SOLUTION</b>			
<b>Proposed:</b> 1st person: <u>ni-</u> or <u>nit</u> but <u>n-</u> before u			
2nd person: <u>tshi-</u> or <u>tshit-</u> but <u>tsh-</u> before u			
3rd person: <u>u-</u> or <u>ut-</u>			
Ex.	<b>nipapin</b> <b>nitakunen</b> <b>nimiñuatau</b>	<b>nitapin</b> <b>nitishkuessiun</b> <b>nitinñishin</b>	<b>nu(a)nin</b> <b>nuapamau</b> <b>nuaneñiten</b>
	<b>nimitshishuakan</b> <b>nishuñiam</b> <b>nipassikan</b>	<b>nitassi</b> <b>nitakup</b> <b>nitasham</b>	<b>nushpuakan</b> <b>nutshimam</b> <b>nutshtashk<sup>u</sup></b>
	<b>tshipapin</b> <b>tshitakunen</b> <b>tshimiñuatau</b>	<b>tshitapin</b> <b>tshitishkuessiun</b> <b>tshitiñishin</b>	<b>tshu(a)nin</b> <b>tshuapamau</b> <b>tshuaneñiten</b>
	<b>tshimitshishuakan</b> <b>tshishuñiam</b> <b>tshipassikan</b>	<b>tshitassi</b> <b>tshitakup</b> <b>tshitasham</b>	<b>tshushpuakan</b> <b>tshutshimam</b> <b>tshushtashk<sup>u</sup></b>
	<b>umitshishuakan</b> <b>ushuñiam</b> <b>upassikan</b>	<b>utassi</b> <b>utakup</b> <b>utashama</b>	<b>ushpuakana</b> <b>utshimam</b> <b>ushtashk<sup>u</sup></b>

50

<b>ITEM</b> plural of animate nouns	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>at</b> or <b>t</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  Great differences between communities.	

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Important problem. Priority. Complicated to solve.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

**RELATED TO:** animate plural of independent verbs (51)  
animate plural of pronouns (52)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

	BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
u#	ilinu <b>t</b>	innu <b>t</b>	innua <b>t</b>	innua <b>t</b>
k <sup>u</sup> #	kaku <b>a</b> t	kaku <b>a</b> t	kaku <b>a</b> t	utshékataku <b>a</b> t
C#	ku <b>t</b> a <b>k</b> a <b>t</b>	ku <b>t</b> a <b>k</b> a <b>t</b>	messep <b>a</b> t	ku <b>t</b> a <b>k</b> a <b>t</b>
n#	eshka <b>n</b> a <b>t</b>	eshka <b>n</b> t	ehka <b>n</b> a <b>t</b>	eshka <b>n</b> a <b>t</b>
sh#	minusht/ minush <b>a</b> t	minush <b>a</b> t	minuh <b>a</b> t	minush <b>a</b> t
ai#	atai <b>t</b>	atai <b>t</b>	ataia <b>t</b>	ataia <b>t</b>
i#	alipi <b>t</b>	anipi <b>t</b>	anipia <b>t</b>	anipia <b>t</b>

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **write -at**

Ex. aņipiat, ataiat, iņnuat, atimuat, nitimuat, missipat,  
kakuat, mishtikuat, amishkuat, kutakat, minushat,  
kukuminashat, mushat, nishimat, maikanat,  
uapishtanat, aiamieunat

Pedagogy: For the western dialects, the rule of adding **-at** for the plural should be specially taught, especially after the consonant **n** where the **t** of the plural is not pronounced.

<b>ITEM</b> animate plural of independent verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> at or t			
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> Great differences among communities.				
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Important. Priority. Complicated to solve.				
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>				
<b>RELATED TO:</b> animate plural of nouns (50), animate plural of pronouns (52)				
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>				
	BETS	SI	MIN	ROM
u#	neut, metueut	neut, metueut	neu <b>at</b> , metue <b>uat</b>	neu <b>at</b> , metue <b>uat</b>
m#	tutam <b>ut</b>	tutam <b>ut</b>	tutam <b>uat</b>	tutam <b>uat</b>
k <sup>u</sup> #	uapamuk <b>uat</b>	nuapamuk <b>ut</b>	nuapamuk <b>uat</b>	nuapamuk <b>uat</b>
n#	tutamupan <b>at</b>	tutamupan <b>at</b>	tutamupan <b>t</b>	tutamupan <b>t</b>
i#	nuapamat <b>it</b>	nuapamat <b>it</b>	nuapamata <b>it</b>	nuapamata <b>it</b>

## SOLUTION

Proposed: **write -at**

Ex. after **u**:

teuat/tauat, meuat/mauat, nipeuat/nipauat  
 takushinuat, pimishinuat, shiueñuat  
 tutamuat, katshitinamuat, ishinamuat  
 uapamakanuat, ai(a)miakanuat, itakanuat  
 nitauat, iteuat, tshititauat, tshuapamauauat  
 nuapamikuat, tshititikuat, nitai(a)mikuat

Ex. after **n**:

nitshitapamananat, nipushiananat, nititananat  
 metuepanat, ipanat, uapamepanat, tutamupanat  
 itakanitshenat, takushinitshenat, kushpitshenat  
 kushpikupanat, akushikupanat, issishuekupanat  
 iteshipanat, uapameshipanat, pimuteshipanat

Ex. after **i**:

nuapamatiat, nitatiat, nipushiatiat  
 nuapamikuti~~at~~, tshitai(a)mikuti~~at~~, tshitikuti~~at~~

<b>ITEM</b> animate plural of pronouns	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>t</b> or <b>nt</b> <b>tshe</b> or <b>tshen</b> or <b>tshent</b>										
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  In general <b>t</b> is written but the plural of the pronouns <b>an</b> and <b>ne</b> is a special case.											
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Important because these words are very frequent.											
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Two possibilities here:  1) apply to pronouns the same rule as for nouns and independent verbs 2) treat pronouns as a special case											
<b>RELATED TO:</b> animate plural of nouns (50) animate plural of independent verbs (51)											
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left; width: 50%;">SINGULAR</th> <th style="text-align: left; width: 50%;">PLURAL</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>an</td> <td>ant or n<b>tshe</b> / nit<b>shen</b> / nit<b>shent</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ne</td> <td>ne<b>tshe</b> / ne<b>tshen</b> / ne<b>tshent</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>nana</td> <td>nanan / nanant</td> </tr> <tr> <td>auen</td> <td>auen<b>itshe</b> / auenit<b>shen</b> / auenit<b>shent</b></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		SINGULAR	PLURAL	an	ant or n <b>tshe</b> / nit <b>shen</b> / nit <b>shent</b>	ne	ne <b>tshe</b> / ne <b>tshen</b> / ne <b>tshent</b>	nana	nanan / nanant	auen	auen <b>itshe</b> / auenit <b>shen</b> / auenit <b>shent</b>
SINGULAR	PLURAL										
an	ant or n <b>tshe</b> / nit <b>shen</b> / nit <b>shent</b>										
ne	ne <b>tshe</b> / ne <b>tshen</b> / ne <b>tshent</b>										
nana	nanan / nanant										
auen	auen <b>itshe</b> / auenit <b>shen</b> / auenit <b>shent</b>										

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **write -at**

Ex. **anat**  
**eukuanat**  
**nananat** (LNS **nekananat**)

NOTE: certain pronouns make them plural with **-tshenat**:

Ex. **nitshenat**  
**netshenat**  
**utshenat**  
**auenitshenat**



<b>ITEM</b> locative of nouns	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> -t or ø or -ht or -st																											
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS: -t after a vowel, -it after a consonant (including n) SI : -t after a vowel, -it after a consonant (-t after n) MIN : -ht after a vowel, -ht after a consonant (-t after n) ROM : -st after a vowel, -ist after a consonant (-t after n)																												
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Important, frequent.																												
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>																												
<b>RELATED TO:</b> nt or lt which should be written nit or ñit (40) pre-aspirated consonants (23)																												
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 10%;"></th> <th style="width: 25%;">BETS</th> <th style="width: 25%;">SI</th> <th style="width: 25%;">MIN</th> <th style="width: 15%;">ROM</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Ex:</td> <td>assit</td> <td>assit</td> <td>ahtshiht</td> <td>assist</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>matakapi<b>t</b></td> <td>matakapi<b>t</b></td> <td>matakapi<b>ht</b></td> <td>matakapi<b>st</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>mishtukut</td> <td>mishktukut</td> <td>mihtukuht</td> <td>mistukust</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>utapan<b>it</b></td> <td>utapan(<b>t</b>)</td> <td>utapan<b>t</b></td> <td>utapan<b>t</b></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>					BETS	SI	MIN	ROM	Ex:	assit	assit	ahtshiht	assist		matakapi <b>t</b>	matakapi <b>t</b>	matakapi <b>ht</b>	matakapi <b>st</b>		mishtukut	mishktukut	mihtukuht	mistukust		utapan <b>it</b>	utapan( <b>t</b> )	utapan <b>t</b>	utapan <b>t</b>
	BETS	SI	MIN	ROM																								
Ex:	assit	assit	ahtshiht	assist																								
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	mishtukut	mishktukut	mihtukuht	mistukust																								
	utapan <b>it</b>	utapan( <b>t</b> )	utapan <b>t</b>	utapan <b>t</b>																								

## SOLUTION

Proposed: after consonant: -it

after vowel: -t

Ex:	assit	a <sup>h</sup> apit	utenat	ḥekat
	matakapit	mitshuapit	miutit	utit
	mishtukut	amishkut	minishtukut	atumut
	utapanit	u <sup>h</sup> akanit	tetapuakanit	

Difficulty: LNS, do not write pre-aspiration; in all dialects write **-it** after **n**, even if **i** is not pronounced.

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
inanimate plural in <b>a</b>	<b>a</b> or <b>e</b> or <b>ø</b>
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>LNS : agreement everywhere to write <b>a</b> in nouns, verbs and pronouns</p> <p>SI : varies between <b>a</b> and <b>ø</b> - problems of agreement: only the plural of nouns is marked sometimes</p> <p>BETS: alternates between <b>a</b>, <b>e</b> and <b>ø</b> - same problem of agreement as at BETS</p> <p>BETS and SI are making efforts but lack consistency</p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Priority, theoretically simple solution but requires an effort on the part of BETS, SCH and SI.</p> <p>Check on: rules of grammatical agreement.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>Spelling differences reflect in part real differences among speakers of Montagnais: the <b>a</b> of the inanimate plural is always pronounced on the LNS but rarely pronounced in other dialects, where a tonal difference marks a plural. Real difficulty at BETS: when plural is not marked by a tonal difference, the inanimate plural is pronounced <b>e</b>.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b> animate obviative in <b>a</b> (56)</p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>BETS : uapukuna tashikam ekue ui metuatshet utapanisse mite ekue pimitat nite mushe tshima tshitshipalikau ume nimitim_ tshinishtuapaten a kutak_ minisha ? tan eshinakuat ne minisha ? ashteu_ mashinaikana</p> <p>SI : tshishkutamuakanut tshetshi tutakau uta nish tshekuan_ shash apu tshikut ishpanikau mitshiuap_ kanauenitamut nenu_ uinuau unatukunimuau_ nenu_ assia nika tuten kutak_ tshipita</p>	

<p>ROM : nissishukua nist mistukua maisham nenua uanashinataikana nishina niskata miam itashteua uanashinataikana</p> <p>NAT : matsi nateme mita kassinu shipissa</p>	
<b>SOLUTION</b>	
<p><u>Proposed</u>: <b>marker with a (nouns, pronouns, and present tense independent verbs)</b></p> <p>Particularly at BETS: write <b>e</b> when the plural marker is pronounced as (mashinaikanisse apashta, nish<sup>u</sup> aiapan mashinaikana):</p> <p>Ex. mita (BETS mite) pitukata mishta mitshena utapana pikupañua neñua utapanissa (BETS utapanisse) mushe ashteua mashinaikana kutaka tshimetuakana nika aian uiñuau unatakuñnimuaua neñua tshinishtuapaten a kutaka minisha? nisht<sup>u</sup> mishtukua nitapashtan tshimassinuaua mannamik<sup>u</sup> nishina nishkata kassinu shipissa (BETS shipisse) tan etatinikau (LNS etatiki) mitshuapa? nitasha nimishken natuapañua nimashinaikanashkua (BETS nimashinaikanashkue)</p> <p><u>Difficulty</u>: Problems of application in the western dialect, because the inanimate plural is usually marked by a low tone. It is indicated by <b>a</b> (<b>e</b> at BETS) only in certain contexts (after <b>ss</b>, <b>shku</b>, depending on the dialects).</p> <p>MIN, ROM &amp; NAT: The only case where the usual <b>a</b> of the inanimate plural is replaced with a low tone is that of possessed nouns ending in <b>uau</b>. Check the spelling in these cases:</p>	



Pedagogy:

At PB, BETS, SI-SCH, a special lesson is needed very early on in the teaching of reading and writing. It is suggested that the students, from the beginning, be exposed to the forms which are generally used in the plural (massina, mitasha, ussishikauna, pishkueuna, minisha, in̄ niminana, etc.).

But it must be understood that in reading aloud, THE INANIMATE PLURAL OF NOUNS MUST BE PRONOUNCED IN A NATURAL WAY, AS SPOKEN IN EACH DIALECT.

At PB, where Montagnais is taught as a second language, the final **a** of plural nouns will be an aid to good pronunciation.

<b>ITEM</b> inanimate plural in <b>i</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>i</b> or <b>ai</b> or <b>ain</b> or <b>ø</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> LNS: usually <b>i</b> but also <b>ai</b> or <b>ain</b>  elsewhere: usually <b>ø</b> (the plural is not written differently from the singular except in the case of conjunct II verbs where it is sometimes indicated by <b>-kau</b> see 74).	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Priority. Easy theoretical solution but requires a good knowledge of grammar in the western dialect.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> <b>-i</b> as an inanimate plural marker surfaces in all verbs except those of the independent present (which takes <b>-a</b> ) and except in the plural conjunct of II verbs (which take <b>-kau</b> in the western dialect but <b>-i</b> in the LNS dialect). It also surfaces in certain pronouns.  In the western dialect, this inanimate plural is indicated by means of a low tone. In the LNS dialect the problem of marking the plural is often mixed with that of nasalization.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> conjunct plural, II verbs (74), nasalization (11), inanimate plural in <b>a</b> (54), animate obviative in <b>i</b> (57)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> MIN : aiamuna apu miam etahteti, aiamuna apu tshistakanti, katshi papeiuk <sup>u</sup> takuakau nenai etahteti: A, B, C, nenei aiamuna apu minashteti, umuenai ka uauiehteuai, ka iashteuai  NAT : ka mikuashkuanuain iat nitautnnua, ne ka tsishpakauai nakashtamuna eunkuan eshinakuaki  SCH : utshua, shipua, shakaikana, shipissa, uin nenu kassinu uauitam tshe ishinikatent_, mue ka ishteuen_, nishinipan_ uta	





ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
animate obviative in <b>a</b>	<b>a</b> or <b>e</b> or <b>ø</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	
LNS : agreement everywhere to write <b>a</b> in nouns, verbs and pronouns SI : generally not marked - sometimes with <b>a</b> (nouns only) BETS: generally not marked - sometimes with <b>e</b> (nouns only)	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>	
Priority, theoretically easy solution but requires an effort on the part of BETS, SI and SCH.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>	
<b>-a</b> as animate obviative marker surfaces in nouns (ex. ushpuakana), pronouns (ex. neña <b>a</b> ) and only in independent order verbs, ordinary present tense (ex. pimuteña <b>a</b> ) and indirect present (ex. pimuteña <b>itaka</b> ). In cases where the <b>-a</b> is not pronounced as such, it is always replaced by a low tone.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> inanimate plural in <b>a</b> (55), variation <b>a/e</b> (9) animate obviative in <b>i</b> (57)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>	
BETS: ekue uishamat nelu_ auasse ushim_ uitsheueu nelu_ ukau metuakanisse miluku Kakuss uitsheuakan_ Pipan ekue uapamat pileu_ Nadya uishameu nelu_ Dominique_ Telu_ ushim_ ne Kakuss kushkupalu ne Shushep uiapamat Palashue_ utanakutsha-shimilu_	
SI : uinuau tshetshi ashu uitamuatau nenu_ kutak_ auassa shash nishtuapatamueu e minu uitamuat innua auen uikanish_ kutshipanitaupishtukuiautshishe utshimau_ tshetshi nishtuapataminit utineu auennu_ tshe atussenit	

ROM : ukuma  
 aiatshimeu tshiashkua mak namesha  
 nenua kutaka itashumeu  
 iteu nenua Atuana  
 Tshishe Manitu tshitshishkutamakunu tshetshi  
 minuatumaku kassinu auennua uiapamaku  
 itentakushinua ukupanima  
 Enen ka nanatushimat Tania utuashiminua

NAT : namesha apu nipat  
 utsimashkuess kue nestuapmat ushima, ushtesha  
 nestuapmukut  
 nishunua ukupanima, tshash mamesheshtnua nua  
 apu uenua uapamat  
 aiamianitaka ushima, ka-aimietaka ma

## SOLUTION

Proposed: mark with **a** (nouns, pronouns and verbs in the present independent)

Special to BETS: write **e** when the obviative marker is pronounced as such (auasse kanueñimeu nimish, atikua nipiepan nutaui)

- in nouns and pronouns:

Ex. tshiñuemeu neñua Puñissa (BETS Puñisse) ne Mañi  
 ushtesha nana nutau (i) Uñiama  
 Puña unatshima ne Ishpashtien  
 minuut nikauia uitshimepan Atuan  
 nishtesha uitshimepan ne ishkuueu  
 Puña uapameu Mañi  
 Puñ uapameu Maña  
 Puña uapamiku Mañi  
 Puñ uapamiku Maña  
 nishtesha pushieue nishim  
 nishtesh pushieue nishima  
 Puñ ushima utemiñua neñua

- in verbs:

Ex. ukauia akushiñua, itakanu (present, ordinary mode)  
 ninishtuapamimaua utanisha  
 takushinñitaka unapema (present, indirect mode)  
 utishkuema pushiñitaka

(continued...)

**Difficulti:** Problems of application in the western dialect because the animate obviative is most often marked by a low tone. It is indicated by **a** (**e** at BETS) only in certain contexts which may vary according to the dialect (after **ss**, **shk<sup>u</sup>** or **sh**).

**MIN, ROM & NAT:** the only case where the usual obviative **a** is replaced by a low tone is that of possessed nouns which end in **uau**. The spelling must be checked in these cases:

Ex. utauau**a** nipiñua  
 tshishimuau**a** uishameu kauapikuesht  
 matshishinua utemuau**a**

**Pedagogy:** At PB, BETS, SI-SCH should be specifically taught at the primary level but it is suggested that this point be introduced after the animate plural.

Suggested types of exercises:

- auditory discrimination (recognize a low tone)
- invert the subject and object of TA verbs (like pushieu, uapameu)
- word order (does not function as in English)

**ATTENTION:** The fact that the obviative **a** is marked should not change the natural pronunciation when reading aloud, pronunciation should be normal for each dialect.

ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
animate obviative in <b>i</b>	<b>i</b> or $\emptyset$
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	
BETS & SI: $\emptyset$ LNS & SHE: <b>i</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>	
Major. Simple theoretical solution but its application in the western dialect requires a good knowledge of grammar.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>	
<p>-<b>i</b> as animate obviative marker appears in all verbs except those of the independent present (which take <b>-a</b>) and in some pronouns (others take <b>-a</b>).</p> <p>At BETS, SI and SCH, this <b>i</b> is never pronounced as such, it is replaced by a change of tone.</p>	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> animate obviative in <b>a</b> (56), inanimate plural in <b>I</b> (55)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>	
BETS:        ukau <i>i</i> akushilipan_, ushim telipan_, apu uapamimak_ ROM :        akushinipani ukussa uauitamueu namesha eshinakushinti tekushint nte tanti NAT :        eshk iniunipani ukauia nutsish apu iniunti eku nekani ushima put uitseuana enistseni kie emikuana tenitseni SHE :        apu tshissenimmaki nukum uikanisha etashinitshi tapan nte ueshkat eshk <sup>u</sup> nte tanitshi utauia	

**SOLUTION**

Theoretical solution: **write i**

- In verbs other than the present independent:

Ex. apu iñniuñiti unapema  
nateu nete etañiti  
nukum uishamepan kauapikueshiñiti (participle)  
teñipani ushtesha  
teñikupani ukussa  
eñikupani ukauapikueshimuaua  
atusseñitsheni Pun utishkuema  
eñitsheni uitimusha  
akushiñishipani nimish utanisha  
eñishipani utauaua  
kushpiñitakueni ukussa, tshipa kushpipan kie uiñ  
apu nita uapamimaki ukauia  
apu tshisseñimimaki tshetshi tañikueni ushtesha  
ka-teñueni uitimusha niteñimau

- In certain pronouns:

Ex. auenñitsheni utauia nimushum  
tshekuenñitsheni uishamekupan ?  
umushumuaua nanani (nekani LNS)

(continued...)

Difficulty: The theoretical solution seems to be very difficult to apply for BETS & SI-SCH speakers, especially since not writing final **i** does not lead to confusion (words in which it surfaces already carry another obviative marker). However, it is certain that in these dialects a low tone corresponds to **i** on the LNS and at SHE.

<b>ITEM</b> reflexive verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>tishu</b> or <b>shu</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> LNS: <b>shu</b> elsewhere: <b>tishu</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> In the LNS dialect, the form <b>-shu</b> is more frequent but the form <b>-tishu</b> is also used.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> u-stem verbs (59)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> tshitapamit <b>tishu</b> / tshitapam <b>ishu</b> itenimit <b>tishu</b> / itenim <b>ishu</b> tshishkutamat <b>tishu</b> / tshishkutam <b>ashu</b>	

## SOLUTION

Proposed: write **-tishu**

Ex. itenimit**ishu**  
 nitshitapamit**ishunan**  
 tshishkutamat**ishupan**  
 nitipeñimit**ishun**  
 nishtuapamit**ishuat**  
 mashinaimataut**ishunanu**(n)

Difficulty: In the LNS dialect, check the spelling of these verbs since the most usual form in the speech of this region is **-shu**.



ITEM	SPELLING VARIANTS
u-stem verbs	u or i
<p><b>CURRENT USAGE</b></p> <p>BETS &amp; SI: alternates between <b>i</b> and <b>u</b>  LNS : always <b>u</b></p>	
<p><b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b></p> <p>Minor. Simple solution but demands an effort on the part of BETS, SI &amp; SCH.</p>	
<p><b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b></p> <p>Reflects a differences in pronunciation at BETS and SI where the vowel in these verbs is not pronounced <b>u</b>.</p>	
<p><b>RELATED TO:</b> short vowels (3), conjunct of verbs in <b>shit</b> in the singular (69)</p>	
<p><b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b></p> <p>BETS : nimitshishun/nimitshishin, apu mitshishit, apu mitshishian  nitshitapamitishun/nitshitapamitishin, apu tshitapamitishian  apu tshitapamititau/apu tshitapamitutau</p> <p>SI : nitapuetatishin, mashinatutishunanu</p> <p>ROM : ni mishun, ni tshissenimishun, tshetshi nishtuapamishut</p> <p>NAT : tsi ka ui nakatuenimishun</p>	

<b>SOLUTION</b>
<p><u>Proposed:</u>        <b>restore the vowel u</b></p> <p>Ex. nimitshishun, tshimitshishu(ti), apu mitshishuian, apu mitshishut, ninikamun, tshinikamu(ti), apu nikamuian, apu nikamut, nitshishkutamatishun, tshitshishkutamatishu(ti), apu tshishkutamatishuian, apu tshishkutamatishut</p> <p>N.B.        In the imperative, regional variants will be kept (see no 76). In the 3rd person past, the variation among individuals and among dialects has not been solved.</p> <p>Ex. mitshishipan or mitshishupan</p> <p><u>Difficulty:</u>    In the western dialect, where this vowel is not often pronounced i, it is impossible to predict which verbs have u-stems. These should be checked against a word list. Thus, this solution is difficult for speakers to apply because of the large number of words to be remembered. However, it is agreed that, with the help of a list, everyone will continue to make an effort to use this spelling solution.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(continued ...)</p>



Verbs with stem in **u**:

**MUN**

ninikamun  
 nipakashimun  
 nitipatshimun  
 nipakumun  
 nishakueñimun  
 nipatshiteñimun  
 nipuamun  
 nikatshessimun  
 nitakushimun  
 nitshitishimun

**PUN**

nitatshipun  
 nitshishpun

**NUN**

nuiñnun

`breath' family:  
 nipitshishetamun  
 nipakutamun  
 nitishkutamun  
 etc.

`sleep' family:  
 nimiñukuamun  
 nimushekuamun  
 nimatuekuamun  
 nishikatshikuamun  
 nitaimikuamun / nitaiamikuamun LNS  
 nueshamikuamun  
 etc.

**SHUN**

nimitshishun  
 nitshishikashun  
 nikashun  
 nipashun  
 nishatshipashun  
 nishukaitashun  
 nitapashun  
 nitapueshun / nitaiapueshun LNS

(continued ...)



nimaushun / nimaushun LNS  
 ninatamishun  
 nuiushun / nuiuashun LNS  
 ninanushun / ninanaushun LNS  
 ninakuashun

`sew' family:

nikussikuashun  
 nitashpikuashun  
 nueeshikuashun  
 etc.

`dress' family:

nitshishuashpishun  
 niminuashpishun  
 ninapeuashpishun  
 nitishkueuashpishun  
 nitinnuashpishun  
 nitatashpishun  
 etc.

`be named' family:

nitishinikashun  
 nitinnunikashun  
 nitakanashaunikashun  
 nimataunikashun  
 etc.

`by heat' family:

nuanikashun  
 nitishkuashun  
 apu uakashkukashut  
 apu pissikashut  
 apu kuanapissikashut / kuanapishtshikashut LNS

`look like' family:

nitakushikashun  
 ninipekashun / ninipakashun LNS  
 ninipukashun / ninipaukashun LNS  
 nitanimishikashun  
 nitshishuapikashun  
 etc.

(continued. . .)



## `effects' family:

ninaushtashun / ninauashtuashun LNS  
 nipushtashun / nipushtuashun LNS  
 nuñashtashun / nuañashtuashun LNS  
 nitatashtashun / nitatashtuashun LNS  
 niminushtashun / niminuashtuashun LNS  
 nunitashun / nuanituashun LNS

## `by the wind' family:

nishapuashun  
 nishekuashun  
 nikuashun  
 nipakuashun  
 nuepashun  
 nipimashun  
 etc.

## `child' family:

nitashuapamaushun / nitashuapamaushun LNS  
 nikanaushun / nikaniauashun LNS  
 ninushaniaushun / ninushaniaushun LNS  
 nitakunaushun / nitakunauashun LNS

## `for himself' family:

nimanukashun  
 nutapanikashun  
 ninipishakashun  
 numitimikashun  
 nitaiamituashun  
 etc

## reflexive verbs:

nitshitapamitishun  
 nuapamitishun  
 ninaikatishun  
 nitshishkutamatishun  
 nitutamitishun  
 nititeñimitishun  
 nitipeñimitishun

(continued. . .)



reciprocal verbs:

nuapamitunan

nuepinitunan

nitaimitunan / nitaiamitunan LNS

nishatshitunan

nuakashinatunan

etc.

<b>ITEM</b> u/i variation of II verbs in n	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> u or i
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> PB & LNS: u elsewhere: mainly i but also u	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor. Easy solution.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> In old Montagnais, this vowel was u. In the dialects which change this vowel to i, the form with u can also be said.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> nipinupan / nipinipan nutinupan / nutinipan tshimuanupan / tshimuanipan	

## SOLUTION

Proposed:        **write u**

Ex.    takuanupan, takuanutshe, takuanushipan  
       tshimuanupan, tshimuanutshe, tshimuanushipan  
       uikanupan, uikanutshe, uikanushipan

Difficulty:    **-upan, -utshe, -ushipan** only surface in ordinary forms, not obviatives. In the obviative **-ñipan, -ñitshe, -ñishipan** must be written.

Ex. <u>ordinary</u>	<u>obviative</u>
takuanupan	takuan <u>ñ</u> ipan
mitshenutsheni	mitshen <u>ñ</u> itsheni
uikanushipan	uikan <u>ñ</u> ishipan

<b>ITEM</b> impersonal subject verbs, <b>a</b> and <b>e</b> stems	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>nanu</b> or <b>nun</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  PB & LNS: <b>nanu</b> SHE: <b>nanu</b> or <b>nu</b> BETS, SI, SCH: <b>nun</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Complex problem.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Two problems mixed up here: the alternatives of <b>-nanu</b> and <b>-nu</b> and the presence of a final <b>n</b> in <b>-nun</b> .  The alteration of <b>-nanu/-nu(n)</b> already existed in Old Montagnais. It is also found in Cree. Contrary to what has been suggested it is not that the syllable <b>-na</b> drops in certain dialects, in which case the spelling solution is not as clear as first believed.  Before proposing a spelling solution, there must be more information on the distribution of these forms in Montagnais dialects.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> <b>a/e</b> variation (9) endings of impersonal subject verbs (62)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  LNS & PB : nipan <b>anu</b> , tan <b>anu</b> , metu <u>an</u> <b>anu</b> , atuss <u>en</u> <b>anu</b> , naship <u>en</u> <b>anu</b>  SHE:nip <b>anu</b> / tan <b>anu</b> / metu <u>an</u> <b>anu</b> / atuss <u>en</u> <b>anu</b> / naship <u>en</u> <b>anu</b> / n <b>ipu</b> tan <b>u</b> ,      metu <u>an</u> <b>u</b> ,      atuss <u>an</u> <b>u</b> ,      naship <u>an</u> <b>u</b>  BETS, SI-SCH: nipan <b>un</b> , tan <b>un</b> , metu <u>an</u> <b>un</b> , atuss <u>an</u> <b>un</b> , naship <u>an</u> <b>un</b>	



LNS: without **u**  
elsewhere: with **u**

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Minor.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

It is a question of the endings of impersonal subject verbs, in non-present independent modes and in the conjunct: the LNS dialect does not have **u** in these endings even though it exists in all other dialects.

**RELATED TO:** impersonal subject verbs, **a** and **e** stems (61)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

LNS:           apu pushinant, apu akushinant, nimiranipan,  
                  inanitshe

elsewhere: apu pushinanut, apu akushinanut, nimiranuipan,  
                  inanuitshe

<b>SOLUTION</b>	
<p><u>Proposed</u>: LNS: write <u>i</u> (independent &amp; conjunct)  elsewhere: write <u>ui</u> (independent), <u>u</u> (conjunct)</p>	
LNS	ELSEWHERE
Ex. independent verbs:	
niminanipan atapinanitshe inanishipan	niminanuipan atapinanuitshe inanuishipan
Ex. conjunct verbs:	
tshe niminanit tshe atapinanit apu akushinanit	tshe niminanut tshe atapinanut apu akushinanut

<b>ITEM</b> 1st person plural inclusive of possessives and independent verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  nu/nanu or nan tanu or tan
--	---

**CURRENT USAGE**

BETS & SI: **nu/nanu** and **tanu**

LNS : **nan** and **tan**, except in **tshinanu**

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Very secondary problem. Difficult to settle.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

Reflects a real dialect difference.

**RELATED TO:**

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

BETS & SI: **tshika itutenanu**, **tshimiluelitenanu**,  
**tshititutetanu**, **tshimiluelitetanu**

LNS : **tshinanu tshitassinan**, **tshi ui nakatuenitenan tshi**  
**minuenitenan**, **tsi ka shiuenan**



<b>SOLUTION</b>
<p>Regional differences not resolved:</p> <p>LNS: <b>nan</b></p> <p>Elsewhere: <b>nanu/nu</b></p> <p>Ex. LNS:                   tshitassin<b>an</b>, tshika shiuenn<b>an</b></p> <p>Elsewhere:               tshitassin<b>u</b>, tshika shiueñ<b>nanu</b></p>

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<b>ITEM</b> endings for 1st and 2nd person singular in the past	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  - <b>ti</b> or <b>ø</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	

LNS & SHE:       ø  
elsewhere:       ti

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Important. Difficult. Not possible to settle.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

Reflects a real dialect difference.

**RELATED TO:**

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

LNS	elsewhere
ni nipa_ atiuk	ninipiati atik <sup>u</sup>
ni uapamiti pineuat	nuapamati atikuat
ni mitshi_ uaua	nimitshiti uaua
ni pmashi_ inutist	nipimashiti elutit
nuitamaku_	nuitamakuti `he told me'
nuitamakaui_	nuitamakuti `I was told'

<b>SOLUTION</b>	
Regional differences difficult to settle.	
Ex. LNS and SHE	Elsewhere
nuapama pineu nimitshi uau ninipa atik <sup>u</sup> nuitamaku nuitamakau	nuapamati piñeu mimitshiti uau ninipiati atik <sup>u</sup> nuitamakuti nuitamakuti

<b>ITEM</b> endings for 1st & 2nd person singular of verbs like tshipaim <sup>u</sup>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>aien</b> or <b>ain</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	

BETS: -**aien**

elsewhere: -**ain**

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Minor. Difficult to settle.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

Real dialect difference which surfaces in all verbs which form their 3rd person in -**aim**.

**RELATED TO:**

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

PB : nitship**ahen**

BETS : nitship**aien**

elsewhere: nitship**ain**

**SOLUTION**

Dialect differences difficult to resolve:

PB: <b>-ahen</b>	nitship <b>ahen</b> , nitip <b>ahen</b> , tshinak <b>ahen</b>
BETS: <b>-aien</b>	nitship <b>aien</b> , nitip <b>aien</b> , tshinak <b>aien</b>
elsewhere: <b>-ain</b>	nitship <b>ain</b> , nitip <b>ain</b> , tshinak <b>ain</b>

<b>ITEM</b> endings for 1st and 2nd person conjunct	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  a or i
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  Great variation in writing these words.	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Minor.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  These vowels are pronounced clearly only in the LNS dialect.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  TI (2S) : apu tutaman/tutamin TA (you-he) : apu uapamat/uapamit TA (we-he) : apu uapamatshit/uapamitshit	







## SOLUTION

Proposed:PB and BETS: k<sup>u</sup>elsewhere: ak<sup>u</sup>

Ex.           `sleep'

`see someone'

BETS nipaik<sup>u</sup>uapamaik<sup>u</sup>PB           nipaik<sup>u</sup>uapamaik<sup>u</sup>elsewhere nipaiaik<sup>u</sup>uapamak<sup>u</sup>

Remarks:

At PB and BETS, the forms of the type `see something' should be uapatamak<sup>u</sup> to conform with the principle adopted in point 6.

<b>ITEM</b> conjunct of verbs in <b>n</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>k or tsh or t</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: <b>t</b> LNS                : <b>k</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Difficult to settle.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Real dialect difference.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS :        apu lutit, ka takuat, tshe takuatshit, apu nukuat, apu tshimut SI        :        apu nutit, ka takut, e ishinakut, ka tshimut, uapat ROM       :        apu takuak, apu tshishik PB        :        lutitsh, takutsh SHE       :        takuak, nutik, uapak, nipik MIN       :        animahk, etakuahk, tan ehtshihuemakahk	

<b>SOLUTION</b>									
<p>Regional differences difficult to settle:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;">PB: <b>-tsh</b></td> <td style="width: 30%;">apu ñutit<b>sh</b></td> <td style="width: 40%;">apu takuat<b>sh</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>BETS, SI, SCH: <b>-t</b></td> <td>apu ñutit</td> <td>apu takuat</td> </tr> <tr> <td>LNS and SHE: <b>-k</b></td> <td>apu ñutik</td> <td>apu takuak</td> </tr> </table> <p>Remarks: in the LNS dialect, do not write pre-aspiration.</p>	PB: <b>-tsh</b>	apu ñutit <b>sh</b>	apu takuat <b>sh</b>	BETS, SI, SCH: <b>-t</b>	apu ñutit	apu takuat	LNS and SHE: <b>-k</b>	apu ñutik	apu takuak
PB: <b>-tsh</b>	apu ñutit <b>sh</b>	apu takuat <b>sh</b>							
BETS, SI, SCH: <b>-t</b>	apu ñutit	apu takuat							
LNS and SHE: <b>-k</b>	apu ñutik	apu takuak							

<b>ITEM</b> conjunct of verbs ending in <b>shit</b> in the singular	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>shit</b> or <b>sht</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS:        always <b>sht</b> SI :         mostly <b>sht</b> but also <b>shit</b> LNS :        mostly <b>shit</b> but also <b>sht</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Priority because grammatical, theoretically simple solution but requires an effort on the part of BETS, SI and SCH.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  Partly related to differences in pronunciation: BETS, SI and SCH contract the pronunciation of the last syllable. Special difficulty for these dialects: knowing whether to write the <b>i</b> or <b>u</b> vowel.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> conjunct plural, AI verbs (70), <b>u</b> -stem verbs (59)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS:    apu akus <b>ht</b> , e miluas <b>ht</b> mitshiuap,tshetshishepaus <b>ht</b> , auass etelitakus <b>ht</b>  SI :      e itentakush <b>it</b> , eukuannu pus <b>ht</b> , ne assi eshpish minuas <b>ht</b>  ROM :    tshe push <b>it</b> , kassinu eshpitashkamikas <b>ht</b> , amushk etentakush <b>it</b>  NAT :    pemash <b>it</b> ma tepeshkant	



Everyone makes an effort to mark the plural, except in participles.

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Major grammatical problem. Very difficult to resolve.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

Reflects real dialect differences: LNS & SHE have a plural in **-h-** while elsewhere there is a plural in **-au** which alternates with a low tone (the **-au** form is used in formal style).

**RELATED TO:** conjunct plural, participles in **sht** (71) conjunct plural, TI verbs (72), TA verbs (73)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

BETS: ekue pitsheta**u**, apu tshi pushit**u**, ka ishi natuelitak**u**, apu tatapishkut ishi shuelimat**u**, kassinu etashit\_ ishku**e**ut, aueshisht nite etat\_, apu takushinit**u**, ekue milakanit**u**, ekue uapamakanit**u**, kue amipalit**u**

SI : nitshent ka tata**u**, ka mamishishtit**u**, tshetshi eka unishinit**u**, apu takushinit**u**  
e natapishtuakanit**u** Innut

ROM : nist ka t**ast**, tan etatusse**st** ntshent, nutem eshinakush**ist** aueshishat, ntshent ka uitsheu**ast**  
Sheshusha, auashat ka minan**ist**, kustumu**at** tshetshi uttamuakan**ist**

NAT : apu nta pituas**ht** tiakuaitset**u**, eku ta eneusht mietau**esht**, eku push**isht**, eshpe**sh** tukushen**isht**, katsi mitsut\_ kie katsi kutu**e**t\_ eku tsiatute**sht**,  
uiashaman**isht** utsimassat

MIN : ntshent ka ta**ht**, tshe itatuhtshe**ht** auassat, ntshent tepatshimakani**ht**, tshetshi eka uanta**ht**, uapuehat ekunan**ht**

70a

**PARTICIPLES:**

BETS: nitshen katshishkutamatsh**e**t\_, nitshen ka akushit\_

SI : auassat kaitus**e**t\_, katshishe utshimautus**e**t\_ ekue pashtinak**u**

ROM : katshishkutamatsh**est**, ka iakush**ist**, ka aiami**ast**

MIN : ka tshishkutamuani**ht**

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: LNS & SHE: **-h-** (and not s or sh)

**elsewhere: -au**

**participles: -h- (all dialects)**

Ex. ordinary AI verbs:

LNS & SHE	ELSEWHERE
ekue taht	ekue tatau
ekue metueht	ekue metuetau
ekue miniht	ekue minitau
ekue nikamuht	ekue nikamutau
ekue pushiht	ekue pushitau
ekue uapamituht	ekue uapamitutau
ekue tutamatishuht	ekue tutamatishutau

Ex. AI verbs in **-nit**:

LNS & SHE	ELSEWHERE
ekue takushiniht	ekue takushinitau
ekue uapamakaniht	ekue uapamakanitau
ekue minakaniht	ekue miñakanitau
ekue amipaniht	ekue amipañitau
ekue papaniht	ekue papañitau

(continued...)

Ex. Participles derived from AI verbs, except those in **sht** (see no. 71)

ALL DIALECTS

kaiatañutshe**ht**  
 kauapishi**ht**  
 kamanitushi**ht**  
 kaiamituatshe**ht**  
 kaiatusse**ht**  
 kapikuta**ht**  
 kapei(a)kussi**ht**  
 kautishkuemi**ht**

Difficulty: It is recommended that in the western dialect, an effort be made to write the plural of participles (up until now not written differently from the singular, even if it has a low tone).

Remarks: Two solutions could theoretically reduce the regional spelling differences:

- 1) All dialects (except PB) mark the conjunct plural (including participles) by means of **-h-**.
- 2) All LNS speakers adopt the marker **-au**. In this case the form of the plural conjunct will be quite different from that of the simple conjunct.

subjunctive plural: auassat patush nipata**ui**  
 conjunct plural: auassat apu nipata**au**

These two solutions should eventually be reexamined by speakers of all dialects.



<b>ITEM</b> plural of conjunct, participles in <b>sht</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> shit or <b>shat</b> or <b>shisht</b>																
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS:        always <b>shit</b> SI :         alternates between <b>shat</b> and <b>shit</b> LNS :        uncertain, lack of information																	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Secondary, but difficult to resolve.																	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>																	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> conjunct verbs with singular in <b>shit</b> (69) conjunct plural, AI verbs (70)																	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 15%;"></th> <th style="width: 5%;"></th> <th style="width: 40%; text-align: center;">SINGULAR</th> <th style="width: 40%; text-align: center;">PLURAL</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>BETS</td> <td>:</td> <td>kauapukuiesht kamakunuesht kanikamusht</td> <td>kauapukuies<b>shit</b> kamakunue<b>shit</b> kanikamu<b>shit</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>SI</td> <td>:</td> <td>kamashinaitshesht kanikamusht kauitenitakusht</td> <td>kamashinaitshes<b>hat</b> kanikamu<b>shat</b> kauitenitaku<b>shit</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>NAT</td> <td>:</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-</td> <td>kamakunue<b>shisht</b></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>				SINGULAR	PLURAL	BETS	:	kauapukuiesht kamakunuesht kanikamusht	kauapukuies <b>shit</b> kamakunue <b>shit</b> kanikamu <b>shit</b>	SI	:	kamashinaitshesht kanikamusht kauitenitakusht	kamashinaitshes <b>hat</b> kanikamu <b>shat</b> kauitenitaku <b>shit</b>	NAT	:	-	kamakunue <b>shisht</b>
		SINGULAR	PLURAL														
BETS	:	kauapukuiesht kamakunuesht kanikamusht	kauapukuies <b>shit</b> kamakunue <b>shit</b> kanikamu <b>shit</b>														
SI	:	kamashinaitshesht kanikamusht kauitenitakusht	kamashinaitshes <b>hat</b> kanikamu <b>shat</b> kauitenitaku <b>shit</b>														
NAT	:	-	kamakunue <b>shisht</b>														

<b>SOLUTION</b>			
<p><u>Proposed:</u> LNS: <u>shiht</u></p> <p>PB: <u>shat</u></p> <p>elsewhere: <u>shit</u></p> <p>(At PB the plural of these participles follows the rule for animate nouns and not that for conjunct verbs).</p>			
Ex.	LNS	PB	ELSEWHERE
	kanimi <b>shiht</b>	kanimi <b>shat</b>	kanimi <b>shit</b>
	kapiminu <b>eshiht</b>	kapiminu <b>eshat</b>	kapiminu <b>eshit</b>
	kanikamu <b>shiht</b>	kanikamu <b>sh</b>	kanikamu <b>shit</b>
	kakusse <b>shiht</b>	kakusse <b>shat</b>	kakusse <b>shit</b>

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<b>ITEM</b> plural of TI conjunct verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  kau or t or shk or hk
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	

BETS:                alternates between **-kau** and **-t**  
SI    :                **kau**  
ROM & NAT:         **shk**  
MIN   :                **hk**

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Major grammatical problem, theoretical solution possible.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

Same situation as for the plural of conjunct AI verbs.

**RELATED TO:** conjunct plural, AI verbs (70), TA verbs (73)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

BETS    :                apu tapuetak**au**/tapuetat  
                              apu tshisselitak**au**/tshisselitat  
SI        :                eukunu e uapatak**au**  
ROM     :                teuat ntshent ka tapuetash**k**  
                              tshetshi tshissenitash**k** kie uinuau  
NAT     :                nistuat katepentash**k**  
MIN     :                tshetshi nistuata**hk** auassat

		SOLUTION
<u>Proposed:</u> LNS <b>-hk</b> (including participles) elsewhere: <b>-au</b> (participles: <b>k</b> changed to <b>t</b> )		
Ex.	LNS	ELSEWHERE
	ekue uatin <b>hk</b> ekue tapuet <b>hk</b> apu uapata <b>hk</b>	ekue utinak <b>au</b> ekue tapuetak <b>au</b> apu uapatak <b>au</b>
Participles:	nisht <sup>u</sup> kakushapata <b>hk</b> nitshenat katipenit <b>hk</b>	nisht <sup>u</sup> kakushapata <b>t</b> nitshenat katipe <b>ñ</b> itat
<u>Difficulty:</u>	The plural with <b>-h-</b> cannot be used in the LNS dialect unless pre-aspiration of final consonants is not marked (see no. 23). If pre-aspiration is written it will no longer be possible to write the difference between the singular and plural of TI conjunct verbs.	
	Pre-aspiration marked	not marked
	ne auass apu nishtut <b>hk</b> auassat apu nishtut <b>hk</b>	ne auass apu nishtut <b>ak</b> auassat apu nishtut <b>ak</b>
Remarks:	Two solutions could theoretically reduce regional spelling differences:	
	1) That all dialects (except PB) mark the conjunct plural (including participles) by using <b>-h-</b> .	
	2) That the LNS speakers adopt the marker <b>-au</b> . In this case the form of the conjunct plural of the subjunctive will be quite different from that of the simple conjunct.	
	subjunctive plural: auassat patush nishtutak <b>au</b> i	
	conjunct plural: auassat apu nishtutak <b>au</b>	
	These two solutions should eventually be reexamined by speakers of all dialects.	

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<b>ITEM</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>
plural of TA conjunct verbs	t or at <b>au</b> h or sh or s or ø
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	

In all communities, it happens that the distinction is not made in writing between a singular and a plural verb.

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Extremely important. Very difficult to get uniformity.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

The TA verbs have three different markers in the plural: **-au**, **-t** and **-h-**.

**-t** plural: not a problem except for the spelling rule (should write **t** and not **at**).

Complex situation for the 2 other plurals because **-au** and **-h-** do not have the same distribution in the different dialects. In addition, in the western dialect, **h** is replaced by a low tone.

**RELATED TO:** conjunct plural, AI verbs (70), TI verbs (72)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

<b>SOLUTION</b>		
<u>Proposed:</u> IN ALL DIALECTS		
<b>write <u>-t</u>:</b>	(we incl.-them) (you pl.-them) (they-us incl.) (they-you pl.)	tshe uapamakut tshe uapamekut tshe uapamitakut tshe uapamitakut
<b>write <u>-au</u>:</b>	(I-them) (you s.-them) (they-you s.)	tshe uapamakau tshe uapamatau tshe uapamishkau
<b>write <u>-h-</u>:</b>	(we excl.-them) (they-us excl.)	tshe uapamatshiht tshe uapami(a)miht

LNS & SHE: **write -h-**

ELSEWHERE: **write -au**

(they me)       tshe uapami**ht**  
(they him)      tshe uapama**ht**

tshe uapamit**au**  
tshe uapamata**au**

Difficulty:    In all dialects, the plural of the following forms has until now been written the same for the singular and the plural. All therefore should write:

tshe uapamatshit            `we excl. see him'  
tshe uapamatshi**ht**            `we excl. see them'

tshe uapami(a)mit            `he sees us excl.'  
tshe uapami(a)mi**ht**            `they see us excl.'

<b>ITEM</b> plural of II conjunct verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>kau</b> or <b>i</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: <b>-kau</b> LNS                : <b>-i</b>	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Very difficult to settle.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> inanimate plural in <b>i</b> (55)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS:        tan etapishtakan <b>kau</b> uishitshimina SI    :        eukun tshe ui unuipanitakan <b>kau</b> atusseuakan shash apu tshikut ishpan <b>kau</b> mitshiuap ROM   :        tan etatiki mitshuapa apu takuaki tshipaututshuap nte mamist	

## SOLUTION

Proposed:        **LNS: -i (including participles)**

**elsewhere: -kau (including participles)**

                     Ex. LNS

                                 ELSEWHERE

Singular: pashtet

pashtet

Plural: pashteti

pashtekau

Singular: takuak

takuat

Plural: takuaki

takuanikau

Singular: takat

takat

Plural: takati

takakau

Plural participle:

kamashinaitshepañiti    kamashinaitshepañikau

Difficulty:        At BETS, SI and SCH, a special effort should be made to teach **kau**; in practice, the **kau** is not often pronounced, but is usually replaced by a low tone.



<b>ITEM</b> subjunctive of verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> marked or not
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS & SI: subjunctive written like ordinary conjunct LNS : subjunctive usually different	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Secondary problem, theoretically solution easy but means an effort on the part of BETS, SI and SCH.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> In the speech of all Montagnais - except PB - there is a difference between the simple conjunct and the subjunctive. At BETS, SI & SCH, the subjunctive is indicated by a low tone, except after <b>shk</b> (ex. uapamishki/uapamishke BETS). On the LNS, it is indicated by <b>-i</b> , except after <b>k<sup>u</sup></b> (pronounced <b>ku</b> ) and after <b>au</b> (pronounced with a low tone). NB: the subjunctive marker is always added to the ordinary conjunct form.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS: uapat_ nika natshi shushukuan miamitunelitaman_, tapue... muk <sup>u</sup> essishuein_ tshika ishinakuan SI & SCH: tshishtaian_ ume kau nika kushpin shaputuepan_ nenu e itenitakushit, tshika tshi aitu..., aishkat itutein_ e peikussin, apu tshikut animiuin mushtuenitamin_ tshetshi tshiuein,tshe tshiuein ROM: uapaki nika tashkamain shipu mishta tshishin pepuki minuat takushiniani... muk aituteni, tshe ishi-nashatan tshishtata <b>au</b> auassat...	





2) after **au** (subjunctive plural): indicated by a low tone but written **ai**:

AI & TI verbs	TA verbs
iakushitau <b>i</b>	uapamakau <b>i</b> (I-them)
tekushinitau <b>i</b>	uapamatau <b>i</b> (you s.-them)
pemutetau <b>i</b>	uapamatau <b>i</b> (they-him)
uetinakau <b>i</b>	uapamatshitau <b>i</b> (we excl.-them)
uiapatakau <b>i</b>	uapamitau <b>i</b> (they-me)
pietakau <b>i</b>	uapamishkau <b>i</b> (they-you s.)
etutakau <b>i</b>	uapami(a)mitau <b>i</b> (they-us excl.)

Rule to follow: write final **-I** in all cases. (But it is understood that in reading aloud, the pronunciation is as normal.)

Difficulty for BETS, SI & SCH:

Several factors work against the adoption of marking the subjunctive in the western dialect.

- 1) The theoretical solution appears to be very difficult for speakers of these dialects to apply, since the subjunctive is marked by a low tone.
- 2) The rules of distribution of the subjunctive are poorly understood by linguists.
- 3) The fact that the subjunctive is written differently from the simple conjunct does not seem to create confusion.
- 4) In certain cases the subjunctive marker is confused with the **i** of the inanimate plural and with the **i** of the animate obviative.

<b>ITEM</b> 2nd singular imperative AI and TI verbs	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> final vowel or ø
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> LNS :        final vowel always written BETS:        final vowel never written SCH :        make an effort to write the final vowel	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor, very easy solution but requires an effort on the part of BETS, SI and SCH.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> The final vowel of certain verbs in the 2nd person singular imperative is not pronounced at BET, SI and SCH although it always is on the LNS.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> u-stem verbs (59)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> SCH :        uinenita, aiashikaushi, tuta, tshitapata ROM :        uauita, naushuna, nimi, mini, mitshi NAT :        nakatuenta, shatshuapata, utna PB :        tuta, papi SI :        tut_, pap_, tshitapat_, naushun_, nim_, min_, mit_ BETS:        tut_, pap_, tshitapat_, naushun_, nim_, min_, mit_	

		SOLUTION																	
<u>Proposed:</u>	1) write the final vowel when it is <u>i</u> or <u>a</u> 2) in u-stems: PB: <u>ui</u> LNS: <u>u</u> elsewhere: do not write the vowel u																		
1) <u>i</u> or <u>a</u> vowel	Ex. papi                                   eka unineñita ai(a)mi                               tuta nimi                                   tshitapata mini                                  ashuapata mitshi                                uauita eka aiashikuashi                   u(a)tina																		
<u>Difficulty:</u>	At BETS, SI & SCH, one cannot count on the pronunciation in order to know which vowel to write. Ways of finding out: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- always <b>a</b> in verbs like tshitapatam<sup>u</sup>, u(a)tinam<sup>u</sup>, kushtam<sup>u</sup>, uaneñitam<sup>u</sup>, u(a)nisham<sup>u</sup>, usham<sup>u</sup>, sheshkam<sup>u</sup>, shenam<sup>u</sup>, uashtenam<sup>u</sup>, uepinam<sup>u</sup>, etc.</li> <li>- for verbs with no object, look at the 1st person singular independent form:               <table style="margin-left: 20px; border: none;"> <tr> <td>ni</td><td>+</td><td><b>nimi</b></td><td>+</td><td>n</td></tr> <tr> <td>ni</td><td>+</td><td><b>mitshi</b></td><td>+</td><td>n</td></tr> <tr> <td>ni</td><td>+</td><td><b>papi</b></td><td>+</td><td>n</td></tr> </table> </li> </ul>				ni	+	<b>nimi</b>	+	n	ni	+	<b>mitshi</b>	+	n	ni	+	<b>papi</b>	+	n
ni	+	<b>nimi</b>	+	n															
ni	+	<b>mitshi</b>	+	n															
ni	+	<b>papi</b>	+	n															
2) <u>u</u> vowel	No common solution for u-stem verbs (see no. 59) except mitshishu (eat!). Special problem on the LNS: no difference between 2nd person singular imperative and 3rd person singular independent. At BETS & SI-SCH, where the final <b>u</b> is not pronounced, it is better to not write this vowel and maintain the distinction.																		
`he sings'	LNS	PB	ELSEWHERE																
`sing!'	nikamu	nikamu	nikamu																
	<b>nikamu</b>	<b>nikamui</b>	<b>nikam</b>																
`he does it to himself'	tutamatishu	tutamatishu	tutamatishu																
`do it to yourself'	<b>tutamatishu</b>	<b>tutamatishui</b>	<b>tutamatish</b>																

<b>ITEM</b> TA imperative of the 'give-me' type	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> i or ø
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> LNS : i always written BETS: i never written SI : lack of information	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Minor, very easy solution but requires an effort on the part of BETS, SI and SCH.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> The final i is always pronounced on the LNS; at SI and BETS, it is never pronounced but there is a change of tone which allows the distinction to be made between verbs like `give- him', `make-him'.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b>	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS : ashuapam_, uitamu_, uisham_, patshitin_, uitsheu_, shenamu_ SI : ashuapam_, uitamu_, uisham_ ROM : tutui, uitsheui, uitshishkumi, eka pissenimi, aui NAT : natutui, ashami, mini, nashpetutui, tsitapmi	

<b>SOLUTION</b>	
<u>Proposed</u> : write final <b>i</b> when the object is 'me'	
Does not apply at PB where the imperative is very different (uapam 'see him', uapamishi 'see me')	
Ex.   `him'	`me'
ish	ishi
uitsheu	uitsheui
tutu	tutui
uitamu	uitamui
tipatshimushtu	tipatshimushtui
miñ	miñi
nashkum	nashkumi
asham	ashami
shenamu	shenamui
ashuapam	ashuapami
tshitapam	tshitapami
uisham	uishami
uitshishkum	uitshishkumi
natatu	natatui
<u>Not settled</u> : Case of imperative of verbs in <b>-ieu</b> . In all dialects, except PB, the distinction between the object `me' and `him' is marked by tone (PB uitshihi `help him' uitshihishi `help me').	
Ex. of verbs which will have ambiguous meaning in written form:	
uitshi       `help him'	or           `help me'
minatshi   `clean him up'	or           `clean me up'
pushi       `put him in'	or           `put me in'
shatshi     `love him'	or           `love me'
Even more complex case:	
ai(a)mi `talk' or `talk to him' or `talk to me'	

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<b>ITEM</b> Boundary 1: personal prefix	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> attached or detached or with hyphen
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	
BETS:	attached
SI :	attached or detached



MIN : attached or detached or with hyphen  
ROM : attached or detached or with hyphen

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Priority.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

**RELATED TO:** boundary 3: personal prefix and preverbs of time (80), personal prefixes (49)

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

BETS:        **ninakuan, ninatutuau, nituten**  
              **tshituteti**  
              **ukatshishapishteshim, upiminueun**  
              **nuapamau, tshuapamau**  
              **nitakushin, nitassukuman**  
              **tshitassuk<sup>u</sup>, tshitush**  
              **utakupilu, utassuk<sup>u</sup>, utauassim**

SI :         **ni tshishkutamakunan**  
              **utinnu aitunuau**

MIN :        **ntutetan**  
              **tshi mahanaikanaht**  
              **umahanaikan/u mahanaikan, u-mitshem**  
              **tshitatustsheu mahanaikan**

ROM :        **ni-nakuan, ni natutuau, ni tuten**  
              **tshi tute**  
              **u-kashapishteshim, upminauan**  
              **ni uapamau**  
              **tshi uapamau**  
              **nit akushin, nitashikumana**  
              **tshitush, tshit-assiuk**  
              **utakupinu, ut-assiuk, utuashima**



**SOLUTION**

Proposed:            **attached to noun or to verb**

Ex.	<b>nipapin</b>	<b>nimanitem</b>
	<b>nitauassiun</b>	<b>nitauassim</b>
	<b>tshipikutan</b>	<b>tshimetuakan</b>
	<b>tshitai (a)miau</b>	<b>tshitakup</b>
	<b>utishkuema</b>	<b>unapema</b>
	<b>utassik<sup>u</sup></b>	<b>ushpuakana</b>

<b>ITEM</b> boundary 2: preverbs of time	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> All agree to detach it.	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Preverbs of time: <b>e, ka, katshi, etshi, tshipa, tshika, ui, tshi, tshe</b>	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> boundary 3: personal prefix + preverb of time (80)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>	

<b>SOLUTION</b>	
<u>Proposed:</u>	<p>1) <b>separate from verb, without hyphen</b></p> <p>Ex. ka papit                      ui papu  tshe papit                      etshi papit  katshi papit                    tshetshi papit  tshi papit                        tshi papu  tshipa papu</p> <p>2) <b>separate each preverb</b></p> <p>Ex. tshipa tshi ui papu  ka ui itutet  tshipa tshi eka tshi tshitaimatishu  tshe ui tutak  ka ui tutak  nipa tshi ui tuten</p> <p>N.B. write apu tshika ut (and not *tshikut)</p>

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<b>ITEM</b> boundary 3: personal prefix + preverbs of time	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  attached or detached
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	



## SOLUTION

Proposed: personal prefix attached to first preverb of time

Ex. nika ituten  
nipa nipanapan  
tshitshi takushin  
tshipa peten  
nitshi uapaten  
tshika papin  
tshipa shiueñu  
tshika tshi mishken  
tshui nashen  
tshika ui nashuau

<b>ITEM</b> boundary 4: participles in <b>ka</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> <b>ka</b> attached, detached, or with a hyphen
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS:        the preverb <b>ka</b> is always attached to the verb SI :        usually detached	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Simple. Pure spelling rule.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> These words with <b>ka</b> are called `participles'. They are used frequently for forming new words which designate people, professions or occupations, objects, places or activities. These words are characterized by the fact that they can be made possessive. Examples: <b>nikashiuashim</b> `my sugar' <b>tshikauapikueshiminu</b> `our priest'.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> boundary 6: adding <b>i</b> between preverb and vowel (83). DO NOT MIX UP WITH THE PREVERB OF TIME <b>KA</b> (79)	
<b>EXAMPLES</b> `cook' : ka piminuesht ka-piminuesht kapiminuesht  `priest': ka uapikuiesht ka-uapikuiesht kauapikuesht  `sugar':        ka shiuasht ka-shiuasht kashiuasht	



## SOLUTION

Proposed:        **write as a single word, except Ka Tipeñitak**

## NAMES OF PERSONS AND PROFESSIONS

kautapanitshesht	nikautapanitsheshim
kapiminesht	tshikapimineshiminu
kauapikuesht	ukauapikueshimuaua
kanikutesht	tshikanikuteshim
kaiassitshesht	nikaiassitsheshim
kamanapitepishuesht	nikamanapitepishueshim
kautapesht	tshikautapeshiminu
kaimisht	nikaimishiminan
katshishkutamatshesht	nikatshishkutamatsheshim

## PROPER NAMES OF PEOPLE

Kamiñuapeut  
Kaiakuatapeut  
Kaiakuatishkueut  
Kakanupitunet

## NAMES OF OBJECTS

kashiuasht	nikashiuashim
katshishapishtesht	tshikatshishapishteshim
kañipasht	tshikañipashim

## NAMES OF PLACES

Kamassekuakamat  
Katshipuñeu-shipiss

Difficulty:    Accumulation of vowels when the verb begins with  
                  **ai:**    leave out an **a**

Ex.    **k**aiminanut        (and not \*kaiaiminanut)  
         **k**aimisht         (and not \*kaaimisht)  
         **kaia**mituatshet (and not \*kaaiamituatshet)

<b>ITEM</b> boundary 5: subjective mode in <b>ka</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> with or without hyphen
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> BETS: hyphen Elsewhere: without hyphen	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Simple problem, purely a rule.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> Mode used, among others, for the telling of dreams. Function of the hyphen: to distinguish the prefix <b>ka</b> of the subjunctive mode (ex. ka-papua) from the preverb <b>ka</b> (ex. ka papit).	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> boundary 2: preverbs of time (79)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS : ka-tshipaikanua SI : ka tshipeikanua MIN : ka tshipeikanua	

<b>SOLUTION</b>	
<u>Proposed:</u>	<b>ka attached to verb with a hyphen</b>
	Ex. tshekuañnu ne <b>ka</b> -papua! <b>ka</b> -mishta mishaua, eshinakuat <b>ka</b> -kununua, niteñite(ti) <b>ka</b> -shiueñua, nitishinuau <b>ka</b> -nitakushinaua, nitishinen tshekuan ne <b>ka</b> -nakatinua

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<b>ITEM</b> Boundary 6: Adding <b>i</b> between a preverb and a vowel	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b>  <b>i</b> or <b>ø</b>
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>	

BETS:        never **i**  
SI    :        variable  
ROM :        often **i**

**TYPE OF PROBLEM**

Minor.

**LINGUISTIC COMMENTS**

**RELATED TO:**

**EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS**

BETS:        nika apin, ka akushilit, mishta atusseu, tshe  
              apashtat

SI    :        ka atussetau/kaitusset

ROM :        ka **i**akushinti, tshe **i**apashtat

Proposed:      1)    **do not write i when the verb and preverb are detached**

Ex.    nika apin  
      mishta atusseu  
      ka akushiñiti  
      tshika apashtan  
      tshe akushit  
      nite ka atusset

2)    **write i in participles**

Ex.    Kaianuet, kaiakushi(h)t, kaiatañ  
      utshesht Kaissitshesht

<b>ITEM</b> boundary 7: compound words	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> with or without hyphen
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> No consistency in any dialect (except NAT which does not use a hyphen). Problem not solved during the workshops but analysed later by the linguists.	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> Important. Concerns a very large number of words. Purely a spelling rule.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> The 2nd member of a compound word is a noun (compound noun), a verb (compound verb) or an adverb (compound adverb). The first member of a compound can be a noun, a verb, an adverb or any other element which does not stand as an isolated word (called a "preform"). The spelling problem arises from the fact that if one takes account of the meaning of the word, parts of certain compounds seem more strongly attached than others. The main question is whether to rely on the structure of the word or its meaning in order to decide whether or not to write a hyphen.	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> boundary 8: uncertain compounds (85)	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b> BETS: shuliau-aueshish, nutshimiu-natukulin, tshishe-utshimau, nipun-tapitshepishun, uapimin-tapateu, Tshitshitua-Mali, pashtisse-kuashkutu, ilinu-pimipaliakanu, mishta papu, natshi kusseu, ishi apashtakanu, pami-takunam, mishku-atusseu, mishta milekash, mishta-min, ussi-naikuakanu SI : upishtukuiau assit, uitshi innu auasse, utinnu aitunuau, kakusseshiu innutshimau, tshishe utshimau, shuniau aueshish, nutshimiu aimun, innu-pimipaniakanu, minu mamitunenitam, nitau atusseu, ishi uapatakanu MIN : atustsheu mahanaikan, tipatshimu-mahanaikant, ehi tshistshenimaht, aihitshissuakanu ROM : tshishe-ka-aiamituatshet, Ulamen-shipist, innu-assist, akam-assist/akamassit, aiamieu-unakan, innu-aimun, Tshishe Manitu, aiamieu mashinaikan, natshi-kusseu, nat-assikumani, ka ishi-mushtuentamenti, nitau passitshet, natshi passitshepan, mishta uitshipueu <div style="text-align: right;">(continued)</div>	

**SOLUTION**

Solutions rejected by workshop participants:

- never put a hyphen
- always put a hyphen

Until now, there has been agreement to use the hyphen only in compound nouns of the following types:

NOUN + NOUN

Ex. ishkuteu-ush  
ushkat-mitshishuakan  
ushakai-pakueshikan  
auass-meish

VERB + NOUN

Ex. aiamieu-mashinaikan  
nipeu-akunishkueun  
atusseu-añakapeshakan  
tshimuan-akunishkueun

For all other categories of compound nouns, the participants were very reluctant to use hyphens. However, there do exist many other cases of compound words:

ADVERB + NOUN

Ex. ai(a)t + assi  
nutshimiu + iñnu  
mashteñ + atushkan  
mamit + innuat LNS

(continued...)





PREFORM + NOUN	Ex.	Tshishkue + Atuan Tshishe + Manitu tshishe + napeu tshishe + kaiamituatshet miñu + napeu mashi + mitush matshi + manitu matsh + ush uss + ush ussi + tshekuan tshiashi + tshekuan Akam + assiss (Newfoundland) nitshi + kukuminash mishta + nutshimiuñnu mishta + utshimau Mishta + Napeu mishta + massek <sup>u</sup> Mishta + nipi LNS
NOUN + VERB	Ex.	kakusseshiu + pimipañiakanu iñnu + pakueshikanitsheu uashau + ai(a)mu akañeshau + tshishkutamatsheu iñnu + nikamu utshimau + atusseu
VERB + VERB	Ex.	ashineu + mitshishu aiamieu + nip(a)u tshetshishepau + mitshishu tipishkau + atusseu kuishkushiu + nikamu
ADVERB + VERB	Ex.	nutshimiu + atusseu pei(a)ku + mitshishu nishu + atusseuat pashtisse + kuashkutu ait(a)u + kupitan neu + tshishikau
PREFORM + VERB	Ex.	tshishkue + pituau nitau + kussikuashu ashte + miñukushu ashte + ñutin nanat(a)u + nipeu natshi + atusseu

(continued)

mishta + tshishkutamuakanipan  
 pami + takuneu  
 uapi + shipekun  
 kashteu + mikuau  
 tshiñip + nitautshu  
 uani + shishiu  
 matsh + akushu  
 matsh + uteu  
 matshi + tshishikau  
 akua + tipishkau  
 kukuetshi + mitshishu  
 ishi + atusseu / itatusseu LNS  
 ishi + tshishkutamatsheu  
 uss + uteu / ushtsh + uteu LNS  
 ussi + mitshuapeu  
 mishta + mitshishu  
 mishta + kamatshishiu  
 miñu + mitshishu  
 miñu + tshishikau  
 miñu + iñniu  
 miñu + uitamueu  
 uesham + tshishiteu

PREFORM + ADVERB      Ex. mishta + nutshimit  
                               mishta + añem  
                               uesham + katak<sup>u</sup>

Note the following constructions:

1) COMPOUND NOUNS OR VERBS FORMED FROM THREE OR MORE ELEMENTS:

Ex. tshiash + iñnu + mashinaikan  
       u(a)ñaman + shipiu + ai(a)mu  
       mishta + miñu + mitshishu  
       uitshi + kakusseshiu + auassa  
       ishi + iñnu + tshishkutamuakanu  
       nitau + matshi + tutam<sup>u</sup>  
       matshi + manitu + tshishe + utshimau

(continued...)



2) PARTICIPLES FORMED FROM COMPOUNDS (this type of participle is often used as a title):

Ex. katipatshimu + mashinaikanitshesht (the journalist)  
 kaitshi + kakueñitak (the jealous one)  
 kaitshi + papit (the joker)  
 kanitau + kussikuasht (the good seamstress)  
 kautei + akushi(h)t (those with a heart condition)  
 kaussi + nipushi(h)t (the newlyweds)  
 katshishe + utshimau + atusseht (the bureaucrats)

3) PREVERB KA- (SUBJECTIVE MODE, WITH HYPHEN) + COMPOUND VERB:

Ex. ka-nimishta + uiñnakushinaua ma kie !  
 ka-mishta + mamishaueni ma tshitasha !  
 ne ka-kashteu + shipekunua mitshuap, tshuapaten a?  
 ka-tshinitau + kussikuashunaua ma !

\* \* \* \* \*

Proposed by the linguists:

The linguists are of the opinion that it would be very difficult to work out rules which are CONSISTENT, CLEAR, EASY TO APPLY (AND THEREFORE EASY TO TEACH) to determine which categories of compound words should be written with a hyphen and which ones written without a hyphen.

The only way to proceed would be to decide for each word based on its meaning) and to teach these words individually.

Since,

- Montagnais spelling is already very difficult to learn and to teach (problem of writing correct short vowels, problems of grammatical agreement),
- there exist numerous uncertain compounds (see no. 85) where the decision must be made, case by case, which ones to write as a single word and which ones to write as two words (and thus learn and teach them individually),
- the question of hyphens in compound words is a simple spelling rule, and consequently should not create additional spelling difficulties.

(continued...)

Therefore, the linguists suggest:

that those using the spelling rules try out the solution which is simplest and easiest to learn and teach (even though it is the least popular):

**write all words with a hyphen**

Problem of connective i:

Is it necessary to write ussi-tshekuan or uss-tshekuan ?  
 Akami-assiss or Akam-assis ?  
 tshiashi-utshimau or tshiash-  
 utshimau ?

**rule: write the connective i when the 1st member of the compound is a preform (and not a word) and the second member begins with a consonant.**

Ex. without connective i:

ushkat-mitshishuakan	(ushkat = one word)
taukam-tshiashk <sup>u</sup>	(taukam = one word)
Akam-assiss	(preform akam + V)
uss-uteu	(preform ushk/uss + V)
matsh-ush	(preform matsh + V)

Ex. with connective i:

mashi-mitush	(preform mash + C)
ussi-nip(a)u	(preform ushk/uss + C)
matshi-manitu	(preform matsh + C)
tshiashi-tshekuan	(preform tshiash + C)

<b>ITEM</b> boundary 8: uncertain compounds	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> written as one word or as two words with a hyphen									
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b> No consistency in any community. Problem not deeply examined during the workshops but analysed later by the linguists.										
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b> More than a simple spelling rule. Very complex at the level of analysis. Lack of data for the speech of the LNS.										
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b> In numerous cases, it is not clear whether or not we are dealing with a compound word because the 2nd member is the same as the corresponding free word: ex. <table data-bbox="776 909 1218 1003" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">ushit</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">+</td> <td>amishk<sup>u</sup></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">pipun</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">+</td> <td>akup</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">pishakan</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">+</td> <td>ashtish.</td> </tr> </table> In other cases, the 2nd member is identical to the isolated word in one dialect and not in another: ex. i <sup>h</sup> nu + (a)ssi ushkan + (a)tik <sup>u</sup> . Should these cases be considered as single words or as compounds written as two words? If they are written as two words, a hyphen must be used. No solution proposed can be universal: it is necessary to memorize a list of words.		ushit	+	amishk <sup>u</sup>	pipun	+	akup	pishakan	+	ashtish.
ushit	+	amishk <sup>u</sup>								
pipun	+	akup								
pishakan	+	ashtish.								
<b>RELATED TO:</b> boundary 7: compound words (84).										
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>										

## SOLUTION

Proposed by the linguists:

## 1. NOUNS DESIGNATING ANIMALS OR PARTS OF ANIMALS:

- a) when the 2nd member is different from the name of the animal itself:

**write as a single word**

## Examples

-ak <sup>u</sup> (porcupine)	ushuiak <sup>u</sup> , napeiak <sup>u</sup> , ukauiak <sup>u</sup>
-(a)mesh (fish)	ushkanamesh, utatshishi(a)mesh, napemesh
-amek <sup>u</sup> (fish)	uapamek <sup>u</sup> , mishtamek <sup>u</sup>
-apishtan (martin)	ushkatapishtan, nipinapishtan
-atsheshu (fox)	kashteu(a)tsheshu, ushui(a)tsheshu
-apush (hare, rabbit)	utipapush, mishtapush, ushitapush
-ship (duck)	ishkueship, iñniship, ushkutiship
-ishk (goose)	ishkueshk, utashishk, uapishk
-ñeu (ptarmigan)	iñniñeu, uapiñeu
-apiñeu (white ptarmigan)	iñnapañeu
-tshashk <sup>u</sup> (muskrat)	ushkanitshashk <sup>u</sup> , uishinautshashk <sup>u</sup>
-apishu (lynx)	patapishu, ushtikuanapishu
-shik <sup>u</sup> (merganser)	mishtashik <sup>u</sup>
-ishkatshan (gray jay)	atshenishkatshan

(continued...)

- b) when the 2nd member is the same as the name of the animal itself:

**write as two words**

Examples:

mush (moose)	ushkat-mush, ishkie-mush, nushe-mush
muak <sup>u</sup> (loon)	ashi-muak <sup>u</sup> , mikuan-muak <sup>u</sup> , ushit-muak <sup>u</sup>
maikan (wolf)	ishkie-maikan, uitui-maikan
esh (shell)	mukuman-esh, kashteu-esh
shikushish (weasel)	ishkie-shikushish, uitui-shikushish
apikushish (mouse)	nipiu-apikushish, upau-apikushish
shikak <sup>u</sup> (skunk)	nape-shikak <sup>u</sup> , uitui-shikak <sup>u</sup>
tshiashk <sup>u</sup> (gull)	taukam-tshiashk <sup>u</sup> , tshetsheku-tshiashk <sup>u</sup>
kukush (pig)	ushkat-kukush, upuam-kukush
aueshish (animal)	uitui-aueshish, pipun-aueshish
etc.	

- c) **write as a single word in the following cases:**

Examples

-atik <sup>u</sup> (caribou)	upuamatik <sup>u</sup> , upanatik <sup>u</sup> , uishau(a)tik <sup>u</sup>
-amishk <sup>u</sup> (beaver)	ushitamishk <sup>u</sup> , patamishk <sup>u</sup> , ushui(a)mishk <sup>u</sup> N.B. Mishtamishk <sup>u</sup> (Giant Beaver) N.B. tshishemishk <sup>u</sup> (old beaver, also used in the sense of 'head boss')
-atshikash (mink)	uitui(a)tshikash, pipun(a)tshikash
-atshik <sup>u</sup> (seal or otter)	iñnatshik <sup>u</sup> , ushtikuanatshik <sup>u</sup>

note: in certain words it is impossible to tell the difference between 'otter' and 'seal'.

(continued...)



## 2. NOUN DESIGNATING OBJECTS (AS WELL AS DERIVED VERBS):

a) **usually written as two words:**

## Examples:

ushkat-mitshishuakan, ashpi-mitshishuakan LNS  
 ushakai-pakueshikan, iñnu-pakueshikanitsheu (V)  
 ishkuteu-utiss, matsh-ush, matsh-uteu (V)  
 uishau(a)tiku-uiash, tshikass-uiash  
 utshashku-uatik<sup>u</sup>, matsheshu-uatik<sup>u</sup>  
 mishta-atikuian, tshikass-atikuian  
 mitashiapiu-assikuman, uishau-assikuman  
 etc.

b) **write the following cases as a single word:**

## Examples

-tapan (vehicle) akushiutapan, iñnutapan,  
 ishkuteutapan, uishkuenitapan,  
 ussitapaneu (V)  
 -tapanashk<sup>u</sup> (train) ushtikuanitapanashk<sup>u</sup>  
 -shpuakan (pipe) ushtikuanishpuakan, tshishpuakan,  
 pishteushpuakan, ashiniushpuakan  
 -ñakan (dish) mishiñakan, uapikunñakan,  
 nashupiñakan, tshishakamiteshuñakan  
 -(a)ssik<sup>u</sup> (metal  
 container) ushui(a)ssik<sup>u</sup>, shshipassik<sup>u</sup>,  
 nipishapussik<sup>u</sup>, kuapitsheu(a)ssik<sup>u</sup>,  
 tshishpakau(a)ssik<sup>u</sup>  
 -asham (snowshoe) pipunashamat, takuakashamat,  
 ushkasamat, ushkasameu (V),  
 tshikashameu (V)  
 -ashtish (mitten) pishakanashtishat, ñiñikashtishat,  
 napateshtish, napateshtisheu (V)  
 -(a)kup (clothing) tshimuanakup, mikueiaukup, ushkakupeu  
 /ussikupeu (V)  
 -atai (beaver skin) nipinatai, takuakati  
 -tshekatak<sup>u</sup> (star) uapanitshekatak<sup>u</sup>

(continued...)



## 3. NOUN DESIGNATING PEOPLE:

a) **usually written as two words**

Examples:

iñnu-utshimau, tshishe-utshimau, mishta-utshimau  
 tshishe-napeu, miñu-napeu  
 innu-auass, pessamiu-auass, u(a)ñaman-shipiu-auass,  
 uit-auassa  
 nitshi-kukuminash, uitshi-kukuminasha  
 nitshi-tshisheñnu, uitshi-tshisheñnua

b) **write the following cases as one word**

Examples

-iñnu (human, (Indian)	uashauñnuat, tshiashiñnuat, aitshiñnu, uitshiñnua, akushiuñnu, mashiñnu
-shkueu (woman)	iñnushkueu, akañeshashkueu, napeshkueu, kupanieshkueu, pessamiushkueu, N.B. tshisheishkueu, Tshisheishkueu
-shkuess (girl)	iñnushkuess, u(a)ñaman- shipiushkuess natukuñnishishkuessiu (V)

4. VERBS IN -INNIU: **write as one word**

Examples: nitishiñniun, nitakushiñniun, nitshiamiñniun  
 minuenniu / miñuiñniun BETS `be healthy'

5. VERBS IN -APU, -ANEU, -ASHTEU, -ASHTAU: **write as one word**

Examples:

nitetapin, tetapi ! nitshiamapin, tshiamapi!, nimiñ  
 u(a)pin, nitetañau, nitakutañau, nitshishkañau,  
 nuaiapekañau  
 innu(a)shteu / ñeñushteu BETS  
 nitiñnu(a)shtan / niñeñushtan BETS

(continued...)

ATTENTION: do not make a distinction in spelling between contexts where a verb means 'write' as opposed to 'place' (it is the same verb):

Examples:

uauieshteu, nuauieshtan (place or write in a circle)  
 miñu(a)shteu, nimiñu(a)shtan (place or write well)  
 mamu(a)shteu, nimamu(a)shtan (place or write together)  
 matau(a)shteu, nimatau(a)shtan (place or write strangely)  
 tatipanashteu, nitatipanashtan (place or write separately)

6. TERMS FOR MEASUREMENT (WEIGHT, VOLUME, LENGTH, MONEY, TIME):

**write as one word**

Examples:

(2 pints)	nishuñakan
(2 spoonfuls)	nishuemikuan
(2 gallons)	nishuminakan
(2 cups)	nishutshishakamiteshuñakan
(2 "bottlesful")	nishuputai
(2 armloads)	nishutakunikan
(2 loads)	nishutapan
(2 pocketsful)	nishu(a)ssimuteush
(2 little boxes)	nishumishtikutiss
(2 yards)	nishutipashkunikan
(2 feet)	nishushit
(2 pounds)	nishutipapekaikan
(40 pounds)	nishukuapikakan
(200 pounds)	nishuatakan
(2 dollars)	nishuapiss
(40 cents)	nishu(a)tai
(2 pairs)	nishumitash, nishu(a)sham,
etc.	

(continued...)

ATTENTION: **also write as one word the terms for measurement of time** (inconsistent decisions were made during the workshops):

Examples:

(1 summer)	pei(a)kunipina, papei(a)kunipina
(2 weeks)	nishuminashtakana, nanishuminashtakana
(3 nights)	nishtutipishkua, nishtutipishkueshu (V)
(10 months)	kutuñnuepishimua / peiakunnuepishimua LNS
(4 hours)	neutipaikana, naneutipaikana
(10 days)	kutuñnuetshishikua / peiakunnuetshishikua LNS
(1 year)	peikupipuna / peiakuhpuna LNS
(so many years old)	tatupipuneshu / tatuhpuneshu LNS
(so many months)	tatupishimua, tatupishimueshu (V)
(every day)	eshukumitshishikua
(all month)	ishkanipishimua
(1/2 day)	pushkutshishikua
(several months)	mitshetupishimua
etc.	

<b>ITEM</b> boundary: 9 interrogative <b>a</b>	<b>SPELLING VARIANTS</b> with or without hyphen
<b>CURRENT USAGE</b>  BETS: space MIN : hyphen and 2 spaces ROM : hyphen	
<b>TYPE OF PROBLEM</b>  Minor. Simple.	
<b>LINGUISTIC COMMENTS</b>  	
<b>RELATED TO:</b> 	
<b>EXAMPLES OF VARIATION FOUND IN TEXTS</b>  BETS : tshipetuau <b>a</b> ? MIN : minaushiu - <b>a</b> ? ROM : tshi petuau- <b>a</b> ?, tshi tshissentenu- <b>a</b> ?	

**SOLUTION**

Proposed: **detached, no hyphen**

Ex. tshipetuau **a** ?  
tshitshisseñitenau **a** ?  
miñaushiu **a** ?  
tshika tshi **a** ituten ?  
nipa tshi **a** tuten ?

**RULES FOR THE USE OF CAPITALS (UPPER CASE)**

Only cases where a capital (upper case) is used:

- names of people or characters in a story  
 Ex. **Mañi**  
**Puñ**  
**Tshakapesh**  
**Mishtapeu**  
**Uapush** (if he is a character)
- compound names of people: capital for each part  
 Ex. **Mishta-Napeu**  
**Mañi-Nush**  
**Mishta-An-Piñamen**  
**Tshishe-Manitu**  
**Ka Tipeñitak**
- compound names of a character: only one capital  
 Ex. **Mishta-atim<sup>u</sup>**
- compound names of organizations: capital for each part  
 Ex. **Nutshimiu-Atusseun**  
**Iñnu-Nikamu**  
**Upishtikuiiau-Tshishe-Utshimau**
- place names  
 Ex. **Kamishikamat**  
**Uashat**  
**Pessamiu**  
**Shatshit**  
**Kamitapenanut**
- compound place names: only one capital  
 Ex. **Mishta-shipu**  
**Mishta-pakatakan**  
**Tshishe-shipu**  
**Paku(a)t-shipu**
- names of Indian people and groups: no capital  
 Ex. **iñnuat**  
**akañeshuat**  
**mishtikushuat**  
**uashauñnuat**  
**mamiuñnuat**  
**pessamiuñnuat**  
**u(a)ñaman-shipiuñnuat**  
**paku(a)t-shipiuñnuat**









## APPENDIX: LIST OF WORDS

AIAMIAU 'pray' AIMU 'talk', LNS: AIAMU

AIT 'different', LNS: AIAT

AMISHK<sup>u</sup> 'beaver'

ATAUITSHUAP, LNS: ATAUEUTSHUAP

EKUT, EKUTE

ESHE 'yes'

IAPIT (and not \*iat or \*aiapit)

KANĀPUA (and not \*napua or \*mipua)

KAN(A)UEŅIMEU

KAUAPIKUESHT

MAŅIKANET

MASHK<sup>u</sup> 'bear'

MASHINAIKAN

MASHKUAU 'hard'

MASHKUTIN 'frozen' LNS: MASHKAUATIN

MIŅEKASH, PB & LNS: MIŅAKASH

MISHKUMI 'ice'

MITSHISHU 'eagle'

MITSHUAP

MIUSH 'box', LNS: MIUASH

(continued...)



NANIKUTIN (I)

ÑASHUP

NATAMIK<sup>u</sup> 'anyhow'

NATSHISHK

NIKAMU

NISHTUAU (and not \*nishtua)

NISHUAU (and not \*nishua)

ÑIUEIKAN NIEUITSHEU

PAPINAMAN

PASHPAPUAKAN, PB: PISHAPUAKAN

PATSHUIAN

PEI (A)K<sup>u</sup>

PEI (A)KUAU (and not \*peiakua)

PIÑASHUE

-PITSHU 'travel by toboggan': PIMIPITSHU / TSHITSHIPITSHU

PITSHU 'gum'

PITAMA

PITUKAMIT

SHAKAU 'bushes'

TSHITSHITUA 'saint'

TSHIMA 'would that ...'



TSHITSHUE

UAPASHK<sup>u</sup> 'polar bear' / UAPISHK 'snow goose'

UISHATSHIMINA LNS: UISHATSHIMINANA

UKUEIAU 'neck'

TAN AN

TANEN, TANEN AN

TAN ISHPISH

TAN TAT

UINASHK<sup>u</sup> 'muskrat'

UINASHKU-PISHIM<sup>u</sup>

UEÑAPISSISH