

**TOWARDS A
COMMON SPELLING SYSTEM
FOR THE INNU LANGUAGE**

**(POUR UNE
ORTHOGRAPHE UNIQUE
DE LA LANGUE INNUE)**

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Introduction

Thanks to the workshops that were sponsored by the Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais (ICEM) in 1989, the establishment of an Innu orthography has taken a decisive step forward. Discussions with speakers from various communities led to solutions for a large number of spelling problems. These decisions were set out in the *Guide pratique d'orthographe montagnaise* (ICEM, 1989) and then put into practice in the *Dictionnaire montagnais - français* (Presses de Université du Québec, 1991), compiled by Lynn Drapeau at Betsiamites. Only a few problems resulting from dialect variation were left unresolved.

During these workshops, agreement was less widespread concerning the spelling of grammatical forms. While many grammatical points were agreed upon, these were generally only the ones where there was no dialect variation. In the remaining cases, orthographic differences were reduced to two regional variants: the Eastern dialect and the Western dialect.

After 1989 spelling practices became more systematic, but a standardized orthography for Innu was still far from being agreed upon. Nevertheless, the idea of a standard orthography still persisted among the people who teach, translate or write in Innu. Teachers and curriculum developers were the first to see the inconvenience of having two regional spelling systems.

The prospect of a post-secondary program in Innu language and culture, which was to be offered in September 1997, lent urgency to the issue of Innu spelling. Knowing that the program would be offered to Innu of all regions of Québec and that it would have an emphasis on written Innu, it became impossible to maintain the regional spelling systems any longer. The working group which was to finalize the texts for the reading manual for CEGEP students was waiting for the final reforms.

Thus it was that the workshops on orthography were once again organized by ICEM, using the model of the previous workshops. They took place at Sept-Iles during March 13-15 and May 13-14, 1997. In both cases a working document created by the consulting linguist served as the basis for discussion. The second workshop focused on verb conjugations. Anne-Marie Baraby, co-author with Lynn Drapeau of a grammar (in preparation), was invited to participate, and the points of dialect variations described in their grammar were closely examined.

The draft which resulted from these sessions was very well received. Agreement was established concerning the main principles and rules of a written system that could be used by Innu speakers from both dialect areas.

At the end of this difficult task, the Innu language finally has a standard orthography that can be implemented and taught. Some minor points of variation between the Eastern and Western dialects are, unfortunately, unresolved, but they do not pose much of an obstacle to the standardization of texts. Let us hope that the standardization of Innu orthography is an ongoing process which will continue in the years to come.

* * *

Such substantial progress in the standardization of Innu spelling could not have been made without the invaluable contribution of all who participated in the workshops:

* Louise Bacon, teacher, La Romaine

* Denyse Bacon, teacher, Betsiamites

* Alice Bacon-Rock, teacher, Betsiamites

Céline Bellefleur, Innu language resource person, Maliotenam

* Charles-API Bellefleur, writer, La Romaine

* Sylvestre Bellefleur, translator, La Romaine

Anne Bellefleur-Tetaut, teacher, Natashquan

Louise Canapé, curriculum developer, Betsiamites

Germaine Gauthier, teacher, Schefferville

* Desneiges Jean-Pierre, Sept-Iles

* Philomène Jourdain, Innu language resource person, Sept-Iles

Estelle Kaltush, teacher, Natashquan

* Beaudoin Lalo, assistant principal, La Romaine

Jacqueline Mark, teacher, La Romaine

* George-Henri Michel, teacher, Sept-Iles

* Lisette Michel, teacher, Sept-Iles

Judith Mestokosho, teacher, Mingan

Desneiges Mollen, Innu language resource person, Mingan

* Évangéline Picard-Canapé, translator, Betsiamites

* Évelyne St-Onge, project supervisor, Sept-Iles

Anne-Marie St-Onge-André, teacher, Schefferville

*Philomène Vollant, elder, Schefferville

* Participated in one of the two workshops

Finally, I thank Louise Canapé who created the table for the demonstrative pronouns on page 34.

1

A common spelling system

1.1 Principles

1. Innu orthography will be based on a set of rules which will be called “the rules of written Innu”
2. Local variations of the spoken language will not be represented in the written system.
3. For spelling of words, Lynn Drapeau’s *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* will serve as a reference (but with some systematic changes and certain corrections).
4. The Eastern dialect will serve as the reference for the spelling of grammatical forms, but its conjugations and other paradigms will be regularized.
5. Lexical variants existing at the local or regional level will be treated as synonyms.
6. Details of syntax and wording used by individual authors will be respected.

1.2 Advantages and disadvantages

Advantages:

- this is a global solution and not a piecemeal solution
- the reform can be applied immediately (despite the problematic training situation, and the lack of a teaching grammar)
- the set of changes will be shared between the speakers of the West and those of the East: the spelling of words will be more difficult for Eastern dialect speakers while the spelling of grammatical forms will be more difficult for Western dialect speakers

Disadvantages:

- this reform requires the adoption of numerous changes in the current habits of all speakers
- in all dialects, the written language will be quite different from the spoken language (so no one will be able to rely on his or her pronunciation in order to know how to spell)
- learning the system will be more difficult and will take longer than it does at present
- the proposed reform does not include the speech of Mashteuiatsh
- all Innu words do not appear in the dictionary
- some minor points have, as of yet, no solution

1.3 Recommendations from the workshops

1. The principles of the standard orthography will be immediately applied within the post-secondary Innu language and culture program.
2. The new orthography will be adopted gradually by translators, editors, and other users of the language.
3. A *Supplement* to the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* will be produced by the Comité Kaianuet to give language users a more adequate tool for the standard spelling.
4. ICEM should ensure that the reference grammar currently in preparation serves as the means for establishing the common spelling system.
5. All new books destined for an Innu public and published by the ICEM, as well as new editions of older books (with the permission of their author), will use the common spelling system.
6. The *Lexique français-montagnais de l'enseignement*, produced by the Comité Kaianuet, will be revised using the new orthography and republished as a working document intended to meet the needs of those who use it.
7. In order to continue the process of normalizing and implementing the new system, the Comité Kaianuet will devote part of each semi-annual meeting, in spring and in fall, to workshops on orthography and grammar.

2

The common spelling system

2.1 The principles and their application

The *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* by Lynn Drapeau will be used as the reference work for the spelling of words.

This means that, in general, the spelling used in this book represents the norm, even if other speakers or other dialects differ somewhat.

Nevertheless, using the dictionary will require a certain amount of training. The letter “p”, which is not used in the new orthography, should be replaced by the letter “n”. Also, the small “u” used at the end of TI verbs is missing. Speakers therefore must learn to make certain changes when using the dictionary.

Unfortunately, the dictionary is not a perfect tool for the new orthography. In it there are certain words only used in the speech of Betsiamites, where it was compiled. Certain errors (typographical or otherwise) have been missed, and sometimes there are two different spellings of the same word, with no apparent difference. Like any work of this type, it has some gaps: current words have been omitted, words that are used in all regions except Betsiamites are not included, etc.

For this reason a *Supplement* which contains the additions and corrections to the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* has been created. While looking up words in the dictionary, users must also look in the *Supplement*, which contains the most recent versions of the main dictionary.

2.2 Spelling points not decided in 1989

See the Practical Guide to Montagnais Spelling (ICEM, 1989)

Number	variation	example	solution adopted
1	l / n	ilnu / innu	n
8	false u	umueu / mueu	u is not written
24	false pre-aspirates	uhpanu / upipanu	historical form (upipanu)
31	shtsh / ss	ashtshi / assi	ss
9	a / e in adverbs	ekuta / ekute	e
15	ua / u	uatshu / utshu	u
14	au / u	akau / aku	u , but with some exceptions: nekau, utenau, meshkanau, and certain verbs

2.3 Words where the orthography has been changed or newly standardized

For certain words, workshop participants adopted a different spelling than the one which appears in the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*. As well, when there were two spellings for a word, one was chosen as the official spelling. The new spelling of these words appears in the *Supplement*, followed by an asterisk (*). In addition, the *Supplement* contains words which did not appear in the dictionary.

ahashu* (to be added: ashu See ahashu)

aishi-manatueu

aishinakuan

aishinakushu

aishinikashu

aishinikatam^u

aishinikateu

aishpanu

aitenitakushu

aitutaieu

aituteu

akaneshau* and related words; BET akalishau

akushipanu

anite* (to be added: nite See anite)

anitshenat* (to be added: nitshenat See anitshenat)

atim^{u*}

iame* (to be added: niame See iame)

iamekateu

ishikapau*

itetshe* (to be added: tetshe See itetshe)

kanataut* (to be added: kanatuut See kanataut)

kapi* (to be added: kape See kapi)

kapiussik^{u*}

katshishapissitesht*

kaussi-nipausht* (to be added: kaussi-nipusht See kaussi-nipausht)

kautamaikanisht*

kuet See ekue

kutuepanu

mani*

manutshepanu

matshipu

Matshiteuiat

mau* (to be added: meu See mau)

namaieute*

nananikutini

nanikutini*

natau* (to be added: natuu See natau)

natau-assi* (to be added: natuu-assi See natau-assi)

natau-kanu (hunting permit)

natau-mashinaikan* (to be added: natuu-mashinaikan See natau-mashinaikan)

natshikapau*

nekatshiu* BET nekatshu

nenekatshiun* BET nenekatshun

niate LNS (synonym of naute)

nika* (to be added: neka See nika)

nikau (entered under ukauia)

nipau* (to be added: nipeu See nipau)

nipau* (to be added: nipu See nipau)

nipau-tapitshepishun* (to be added: nipu-tapitshepishun See nipau-tapitshepishun)

nipauieu* (to be added: nipuieu See nipauieu)

nipaukashu* (to be added: nipukashu See nipaukashu)

nipaukup* (to be added: nipukup See nipaukup)

nipaun* (to be added: nipun See nipaun)

nipekapau*

nisht^{u*}

nish^u

pakatakan See kapatakan*

pakau See kapau

pimitshuan*

pishim^{u*}

pituteshtau

pushipanu

shetan-pishim^{u*}

shetshishep and related words See tshetshishep*

shiship-pishim^{u*}

takuatshi-pishim^{u*}

takuepan* BET tapuepal (to be added: tapuepan See takuepan)

takuepanikatam^{u*} (to be added: tapuepanikatam^u See takuepanikatam)

takuepanikateu* (to be added: tapuepanikateu See takuepanikateu)

takuepanikatueu* (to be added: tapuepanikatueu See takuepanikatueu)

takuepaniu* (to be added: tapuepaniu See takuepaniu)

takuepaniun* (to be added: tapuepaniun See takuepaniun)

tat^u

tau* (to be added: teu See tau)

tshek^u See tsheku-*

tshiashku-uau
 tshiashkuss
 tshishapissiteu*
 tshishe-pishim^{u*}
 Tshishe-shatshu*
 tshiuekapau *
 tutamupanu
 uapikun-pishim^{u*}
 uashtessiu-pishim^{u*}
 ueshausham
 uikuiatshik^u
 uinashku-pishim^{u*}
 uitshetsheu
 uitsheuakana*
 uitsheuakanimau
 um See au or ume
 unashinataitsheu*
 unikapau*
 upau*
 upau-apikushish*
 upau-nikutshash*
 upau-pakatishu*
 upau-pishim^{u*}
 ushkau*
 ushkau-pishim^{u*}

2.4 Adverbs and preverbs

-**enukun** (used only in BET) will be replaced in the written system by **eukuan** or **eukuannu** according to the context.

-as in the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, the distinction between **ek^u** (meaning 'and', 'and then') and **eku** (meaning 'we go, let's go') will be kept.

-the written system will use **ekue** (and not kue or kuet), as in the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*.

-**mak** will be used only to signify 'and'. **ma** will be used in the following cases: **kie ma, ma kie, eku ma, uesh ma, eukuan ma, anutshish ma**, etc.

-**eukuan ekue** will be used (and not ekuan ekue).

-the future preverb will be written **tshe** (never tshet).

2.5 Compound words

After the 1989 workshops, a rule was adopted about how to spell the first part (preform) of compound words: a connecting vowel must be used when the second part of the compound begins with a consonant (see the *Practical Guide to Montagnais Spelling*, page 84e). The spelling of this type of compound in the dictionary follows this rule.

Participants in the 1997 workshops wanted to review this decision. They proposed firstly that the preforms always be written in the same way, no matter their environment, and secondly that the dictionary contain a larger number of current compounds beginning with preforms.

Consequently, compounds of this type which appeared in the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* will be corrected and written in the *Supplement* (followed by an asterisk). Also included will be words containing a preform which must be written as a single word, with no hyphen.

The new rule which was agreed upon is as follows: in compound words (written with a hyphen), preforms will always end in a vowel (generally **i**, but **a** in the case of mishta-).

akami-

akami-uashau*

akami-assi (Europe)

akami-assiss (Newfoundland)

akamishkutet* LNS akamishkuteu

ati-

ati-atisham^u*

ati-atishueu*

ati-anashkatamu*

ati-anasseu*

atasseu

atinikatam^u

atinikateu

ishi-

ishi-aiamiau

ishi-aimu

ishi-atanutsheu

ishi-atusseu

ishi-kushpu

ishi-mamitunenitam^u

ishi-manatueu

ishi-metueu

ishi-mitshishu

ishi-puamu

ishi-tepueu

ishi-tshishkutamatsheu

ishi-uauineu

ishi-uauitam^u

ishi-utinam^u

ishi-utineu

ishinniu

kukuetshi-

kukuetshi-passitsheu

kukuetshi-patshitueu

kukuetshi-atishkueu

kukuetshi-tshitau

matshi-

matshi-aimieu*

matshi-aimu*

matshi-akushu*

matshi-akushun*

matshi-anisheniu*, v.a.i

matshi-anisheniu*, n.a.

Matshi-anisheniu*

matshi-auen*

matshi-uapatam^{u*}

matshi-ishkueu*

matshi-ishkueutshenitakushu*

matshi-uiash*

matshi-ush

matshishkuteu*

matshitapan

matshitapanun

mishta-

mishta-apikan*

mishta-apikushish*

mishta-pikutauk*

mishta-atikuian*

mishta-ik^{u*}

mishta-minu-tshishikau

mishta-matshi-tshishikau

mishta-nanikutini*

mishta-papakatishu* BET mishta-pakatishu

mishta-utapanashk^{u*}

mishta-utshekatak^{u*}

mishta-utshishkatatak^{u*}

mishta-ait

mishta-akushu

mishta-anema

mishta-katak^u

mishta-mishau

mishta-mitshet

mishta-mukuman

mishta-pessish

mishta-shashish

mishta-shipishkueu

mishta-shipiu-auass

mishta-shipiunnu

mishta-taukum

natshi-

natshi-mitshimeu*

natshi-unaitsheu*

natshi-aiamiau

natshi-ataueu

natshi-atusseu

natshi-kusseu

natshi-mitshishu

natshi-mupu

natshi-nipau

natshi-tshishkutamatsheu

pishti-

pishti-pitutsheu*

pishti-uineu*

pishti-uitam^u*

pishti-mamishimeu

pishtashtau

puni-

puni-apatán*

puni-apatishu*

shipi-

shipi-neneu

shipi-kutshiu

tepi-

tepi-natau

tepi-nimu

tepamesheu

tipi-

tipi-atshitashu*

tsheku-

tsheku-auass

tsheku-mishtik^u

tsheku-missip

tsheku-mitshim

tsheku-mitshuap

tsheku-namesh

tsheku-pipun

tsheku-pishim^u

tsheku-shiship

tsheku-tshishik^u

tshekunnu

tshekushkueu

tshekutim^u**tshiashi-**

tshiashi-aiamieutshuap

tshiashi-aimun

tshiashi-aitun

tshiashi-atauitshuap

tshiashi-innu-mashinaikan

tshiashi-matshunish

tshiashi-mit

tshiashi-mitshuap

tshiashi-tipatshimun

tshiashi-tshekuan

tshiashakup

tshiashassin
 tshiashishpuakan
 tshiashitapan
 tshiashitapanun

tshinipi-

tshinipi-nitautshin*
 tshinipi-nitautshu*
 tshinipi-tshishikau*
 tshinipi-manukashu
 tshinipi-mishkutin
 tshinipi-mishkutshu
 tshinipi-panakuteu
 tshinipi-pashteu
 tshinipi-pashu

tshishi-

tshishi-aiamiau
 tshishi-aimu
 tshishi-aitu
 tshishi-apashtau
 tshishi-assimataitsheu
 tshishi-atusseu
 tshishi-kusseu
 tshishi-kussikuashu
 tshishi-mamitunenitam^u
 tshishi-manukashu

tshishi-natau
tshishi-naushtashu
tshishi-nikamu
tshishi-nimu
tshishi-nitautshineu
tshishi-nitautshu
tshishi-nushtau
tshishi-pakueshikanitsheu
tshishi-piminueu
tshishi-pituau
tshishi-tipatshimu
tshishi-tshishkutamatsheu
tshishi-uapekaitsheu

uani-

uani-aiau
uani-aimieu
uani-aimu
uani-ataueu
uani-kushpu
uani-kusseu
uani-metueu
uani-mishiu
uani-mupimeu
uani-nimu
uani-papu
uani-pinikunitsheu

uani-pituau
 uani-puetshitu
 uani-pushu
 uani-shishiu
 uani-shuenimeu
 uani-tshituteu
 uani-uitimushu

uapi-

uapi-apitshimineu*
 uapi-uasheshkunau*
 uapi-uasheshkunishiu*

ueshami-

ueshami-aimu
 ueshami-aitu
 ueshami-atusseu
 ueshami-kashiuashikatau
 ueshami-minu
 ueshami-mitshetu
 ueshami-mitshetuat
 ueshami-mitshishu
 ueshami-nipau
 ueshami-pimikatau
 ueshami-pituau
 ueshami-shiuau
 ueshami-shiutau

ueshami-shutshishimakatau

ueshami-shutshishiu

ueshami-shutshishtau

ueshami-takuepanikatau*

ueshami-tshitimu

ueshami-tutam^u

ueshami-tutueu

uni-

uni-peshaim^u

uni-peshaueu

uni-pitutsheu

uni-tshishikueu

uni-tshitu

ussi-

ussi-auass*

ussi-aiamieuapui

ussi-anakapeshakaneu

ussi-mitasheu

ussi-mitshim

ussi-mitshuap

ussi-mitshuapeu

ussi-mitshuapun

ussi-namesh

ussi-napatat

ussi-nipau

ussi-nipi
ussi-nipishapui
ussi-nipishaputsheu
ussi-pakueshikan
ussi-tetapuakan
ussi-tshekuan
ussi-uiash
ussi-uisht*
ussi-uitimusha
ussi-uitimushu
ussi-ush
ussi-ushtashk^u
ussi-uteu
ussakup See ushkakup
ussakupeu See ushkakupeu
ushkakup
ushkakupeu
ussitapan
ussitapaneu
ussitapanun
ussitasheu

uit-

uitatimua*

uitshi-

uitshi-auassa*

uitshi-akaneshashkueua*

uitshi-akaneshaua*

uitshi-atussemeu*

uitshi-kakusseshiniti*

uitshi-aiamiameu

uitshi-pituameu

uitshi-tipenitamumeu

uitshishpumeu* (to be added: uitshishkumeu See uitshishpumeu)

uitshi-

uitshi-aiamiau

uitshi-atanutsheu

uitshi-atusseu

uitshi-kakuenitam^u

uitshi-kanutsheu

uitshi-kashimu

uitshi-kusseu

uitshi-mashitsheu

uitshi-metueu

uitshi-natau

uitshi-nimu

uitshi-pakueshikanitsheu

uitshi-pinikunitsheu

uitshi-tipenitam^u

uitshi-tshishuapu

uitshi-uitimushu

3

Differences in Vocabulary

3.1 The Principle and its application

Lexical variants which occur at the local or regional level are considered as synonyms.

Up to this point, it has been common practice to change not only the spelling, but also the vocabulary within texts whenever these originate in a different dialect. From now on, texts will no longer need to be changed into the readers' dialect; the (original) vocabulary used by the author of the text will be preserved.

Adopting this practice will mean that synonyms will have to be studied in the post-secondary Innu language and culture program. Readers will have to understand the meanings of words that are not used in their own dialect but that are used by other Innu speakers. Reading and comprehension of these words will be part of the skills that a reader of Innu will have to acquire.

3.2 List of Synonyms

The words in this list followed by # are not included in the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, or else they have another meaning than the one used in the dictionary. They will be included in the *Supplement*.

East	West	local
aiatshimu #	tipatshimu	
aiatshimun #	tipatshimun	
aieun #	matshunish	
ashpi-mitshishuakan#	mitshishuakan	
ashpi-mitshishuakan- patshuian #	mitshishuakan-patshuian	
assikuman	tishunakan	
assui #	tshineshkan	
ataitshuap #	katshipaikanisht	
atimunnish#	atimunnish	kaminashueshu (BET)
atushkan #	atusseun	
iame	iame	niaut (BET)
itatusseu #	ishi-atusseu	
kaimu-mishtik ^u #	kanakutakanit	
kaimitunanit (MIN)	kaiminanut (SI)	
kaimimakak# (NAT)	kaimitunanut (BET)	
tenepuan# (ROM)		
kakussikuashupanit #	kakussikuashupanit	tassiputakan (BET)
kakussikuashutshepanit #	kakussikuashutshepanit	tassiputakan (BET)
kapi #	kaishkuateuapui#	
kapiminat #	upashtamakan	kapimipanit# (SHE)
kashutshishit #	kashutshishit	kauishaushisht (BET)
katepuesht #	katepuesht	shishipassik ^u
katshiu #	pikutau	
min# (small wild fruit)	minish	
mishkumi # (ice, frozen lake)	shakaikan	
mishkumiss # (small frozen lake)	shakaikaniss	
missip # (eider duck, duck)	shiship# (duck)	
mua #	ashtam	petute (SHE)
natashtikushueu	natshi-ataueu#	natshi-aiou# (BET)
niate #	naute	
nipi# (water, lake in summer)	shakaikan	

nipiss# (small lake in summer)	shakaikaniss	
nipishassik ^u #	nipishapussik ^u	
peikunnu# & related words	kutunnu & related words	
piuan #	mishpin	
pimiatshik ^u #	atshiku-pimi	
pitashun #	kassipitakan	
shanueu# & related words	naneu & related words	
shipissipaniukup #	kashipissipaniukup#	kukushakup (BET)
shunashkuataim ^u #	shushkuataim ^u #	shushkuatiau
tshishtakanapui# (alcohol)	ishkutuapui	
tshishtakanapui# (ROM)	kaminnanusht# (SI)	
kamatuepanishit # (MIN)	kautamaikanisht (BET)	
tepaeu #	natshishkueu	
tshishtukan	tshishtukan	ishkuatem (BET)
ueutshipiteu #	akussipiteu	
ukukuminashima	utishkuema	
ukuma# (his or her grandmother, mother in law)	ushikusha	
ukupaniema # (his or her child)	utauassima	
ushinam ^u	papu	
utikutima#	unatshima	
umushuma# (his or her grandfather, father in law)	utshishennima	

3.3 The System of Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns vary considerably from one dialect to another and from one community to another. In the common spelling system, these variations are considered to be lexical variants, like other synonyms. This means that a writer will use the pronouns that are used in his or her dialect and that readers - whatever their dialect - will have to be able to understand the meaning of these pronouns, even if they do not use them themselves.

The demonstrative pronouns which do not appear in the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* and those which have another usage than the one described in this dictionary will be included in the *Supplement*. Words which are corrections to the dictionary are marked with an asterisk.

See the chart of pronouns on the following page.

THE SYSTEM OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

ANIMATE			INANIMATE		
SINGULAR	PLURAL	OBVIATIVE	SINGULAR	PLURAL	OBVIATIVE
ue	utshenat	W: uenua E: _____	ume	umeni # or umenedi or umenua	umenu + a (pl)
ne	netshenat	nenua	ne	nene # or neneni # or nenua	nenu + a (pl)
an	anat # anitshenat #	W: _____ E: anua	an	W: ani # E: anua #	annu + a (pl)
			neme	nemene # or nemenedi	nemenu + a (pl)
W: naui E: nahi #	W: nauitshenat # E: nahitshenat #	W: nauinua E: nahinua	W: naume E: _____	W: naumene # or naumenua E: _____	W: naumenu+a (pl) E: _____
nana	W: nananat E: nekanat # or nieka #	W: nanani E: nekani	W: nana E: nene #	W: nanani # E: nekani #	W: nanani E: nekani

denotes words to be included in the *Supplement* to the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*

4

Grammatical Orthography

4.1 The Principle and its application

As the Eastern dialect is more conservative than that of the West, it will serve as the reference for the spelling of grammatical forms (prefixes and suffixes).

This does not mean that this dialect does not have irregularities in its grammatical forms (deletion, contraction, vowel alternations, nasalization, etc.). These irregularities will not be reflected in the written system: the paradigms and other conjugations will be regularized.

The common spelling will be based, as far as possible, on grammatical rules, which will be regular and easy to understand and to teach.

4.2 Unresolved points of grammatical spelling, 1989

See the *Practical guide to Montagnais spelling* (ICEM, 1989)

Number	Unresolved point	example	solution adopted
9	a / e in verbs	tau / teu nitatussen / nitatussan	regular conjugation
54	a / e in the inanimate plural	mita / mite	a
56	a / e in the animate obviative	auassa / auasse	a
68	k / t in the conjunct of verbs ending in -n	takuak / takuat	k
70	h / au in the plural conjunct of AI verbs	taht / tatau	h
71	shiht / shit in the animate plural participle ending in -sht	kaiakushiht / kaiakushit	shiht
72	h / au in the plural conjunct of TI verbs	utinahk / utinakau	h
73	hk / t in the plural of TA participles	katipenitahk / katipenitat	hk
74	i / kau / tau in the conjunct plural of II verbs	mishati / mishakau / mishtau pashteti / pashtekau / pashtetau	i i
74	i / kau in the inanimate plural of participles	kamashinaitshepaniti / kamashinaitshepanikau	i
64	∅ / ti in 1S and 2S past tense verbs	nuapama / nuapamati	ti
65	ain / aien in 1S and 2S verbs ending in -aim ^u	nitshipain / nitshipaien	ain
67	ak^u / k^u in the 1Pi ending of the conjunct	taiak ^u / taik ^u	ak^u
76	u / ∅ in the 2S imperative of u-stem verbs	nikamu / nikam	u
77	TA imperative of the 'give me' type	uitshi (ambiguous)	i (uitshii)

The following points are described in more detail in the following pages

62	AI verbs with indefinite subjects	niminanu / nimiranun pituananu / pituanun	nanu nanu
61	endings of verbs with indefinite subjects	niminannu / nimiranunu nimiranipan / nimiranuipan nimiranit / nimiranut	nannu nanipan nanut
63	nan / nanu in the 1Pi endings of independent verbs	tshipushinan / tshipushinanu	nan
63	nan / nu in the 1Pi ending of the possessive	tshukuminan / tshukuminu	nan

AI Verbs with indefinite subject

Variants:	EAST	WEST
problem of final n:	nimi nanu takushi nanu shiuen nanu	nimi nanun takushi nanun shiuen nanun
a or e radicals:	nipa nanu pitua nanu nashipe nanu pimute nanu	nipa nun pitua nun nashipa nun pimuta nun

Solution adopted : use the form **-nanu** in all AI verbs

pituananu
 nipananu
 nashipenanu
 pimutenanu
 niminanu
 takushinanu
 shiuennanu

Endings of AI verbs with indefinite subject

Variants:	EAST	WEST
Independent Present 3 Indefinite:	pitua nanu	pitua nanu (see previous point)
Indep. Pres. 4Indef.:	pitua nannu	pitua nanunu
Indep. Past Indic. 3Indef.:	pitua nanipan	pitua nanuipan
Indep. Past Indic. 4Indef.:	pitua nannipan	pitua nanunipan
Indirect Past 3Indef.:	pitua nanishapan	pitua nanuishapan
Indirect Past 4Indef.:	pitua nannishapan	pitua nanunishapan
Conjunct Indic. 3Indef.:	pitua nanit	pitua nanut
Conjunct Indic. 4Indef.:	pitua nannit	pitua nanunit
Conjunct. subj. 3Indef.:	pitua naniti	pitua nanuti
Conj. subj. 4Indef.:	pitua nanniti	pitua nanuniti

Solution adopted: In the Independent order, write the forms **without u**; in the Conjunct, write the forms **with u**. In both cases, the 4th person verbs will be formed by **doubling the n**.

	3Indefinite	4Indefinite
Independent:	pituananu pituananipan pituananishapan	pituanannu pituanannipan pituanannishapan
Conjunct:	pituananut pituananuti	pituanannut pituanannuti

N.B. In the 4th person, verbs with indefinite subjects take the inanimate obviative markers (**-nu, -nipan, -shapan**), not the animate ones.

nan / nanu in the endings of 1Pi Independent

This problem only occurs in the present and past indicative. In all other conjugations of the indicative, the ending is the same for the 1Pe and 1Pi in both dialects.

Variants:	EAST	WEST
Present Indicative:	1Pe nipapata nan 1Pi tshipapata nan	nipapata nan tshipapata nanu
	1Pe nitute nan 1Pi tshitute nan	nitute nan tshitute nanu
Past Indicative:	1Pe nipapata tan 1Pi tshipapata tan	nipapata tan tshipapata tanu
	1Pe nitute tan 1Pi tshitute tan	nitute tan tshitute tanu

Solution adopted: Use the same endings for 1Pi and 1Pe

1Pe: nipapatanan, nipapatatan, nitutenan, nitutetan, etc.

1Pi: tshipapatanan, tshipapatatan, tshitutenan, tshitutetan, etc.

nan / nanu in the endings of 1Pi possessive nouns

Variants:		EAST	WEST
Inanimate singular:	1Pe	nitassi nan	nitassi nan
	1Pi	tshitassi nan	tshitassi nu
Inanimate plural:	1Pe	nimitimi nana	nimitimi nana
	1Pi	tshimitimi nana	tshimitimi nua
Animate singular:	1Pe	nukumi nan	nukumi nan
	1Pi	tshukumi nan	tshukumi nu
Animate plural:	1Pe	nikanishi nanat	nikanishi nanat
	1Pi	tshikanishi nanat	tshikanishi nuat
Obviative animate:	1Pe	nukumi nana	nukumi nana
	1Pi	tshukumi nana	tshukumi nua

In certain cases, the 1Pe and 1Pi endings are the same in the two dialects, as below:

Locative inanimate:

1Pe	nitassi nat	nitassi nat
1Pi	tshitassi nat	tshitassi nat

Locative animate:

1Pe	nikanishi nat	nikanishi nat
1Pi	tshikanishi nat	tshikanishi nat

Obviative inanimate:

1Pe	nitassi nannu	nitassi nannu
1Pi	tshitassi nannu	tshitassi nannu

Solution adopted: Use 1Pe endings for the 1Pi.

1Pe: nitassinan, nitassinat, nimitiminana, nikanishinanat, nikanishinat, etc.

1Pi: tshitassinan, tshitassinat, tshimitiminana, tshikanishinanat, etc.

N.B. In writing, the personal pronoun **tshinanu** will be used (not tshinan).

4.3 New points of variation

False **i** in the conjugation of certain verbs

Variants:	EAST	WEST
Past tense indicative:	nitshishenniui \emptyset nitshishenniui tan tshitshishenniui tau	nitshishenniu ti nitshishenniu tan tshitshishenniu tau
Plural conjunct:	tshishenniui ht m ui ht	tshishenniu ht mu ht
Imperative:	upau i \emptyset upau i tau	upau \emptyset upau tau

Solution adopted: Do not write the false **i**

nitshishenniuti
nitshishenniutan
tshitshishenniutau

tshishenniuht
muht

upau
upautau

au / u in the stem of AI verbs

These verbs use **au** in the Eastern dialect.

In the dictionary, the situation is confusing:

Some verbs use **au**: tshitimau (pronounced stimu)
nimau (pronounced nimau)

Some verbs use **u**: natuu, nipuu, ishikapu
upuu (pronounced upuu only in BET)

Solution adopted: regularize verbs with an **au** ending (upau, nipau, natau, ishikapau and all verbs derived from -kapau) and change the spelling of their derivatives in the dictionary.

Conjugations: nupaun, nupauti, upauian, upautau, etc.

Derivatives: upau-pishim^{u*}, upau-apikushish*, upau-nikutshash*

Conjugations: ninipaun, ninipauti, nipauian, nipautau, etc.

Derivatives: nipauieu*, nipaukashu*, nipaukup*, nipaun*, nipau-tapitshepishun*,
kaussi-nipausht*

Conjugations: ninataun, ninatauti, natauian, natautau, etc.

Derivatives: kanataut*, nautaun-mashinaikan*, nataun-assi

Conjugations: nitishikapaun, nitishikapauti, ishikapauian, ishikapautau, etc.

Derivatives: ishikapau*, tshiuekapau*, unikapau*, natshikapau*, nipekapaun*

au / u in the endings of passive verbs

Variants:	EAST	WEST
Animate agent:	nuitamak aun nitik aun nuapamik aun	nuitamak un nitik un nuapamik un
Inanimate agent:	nipishtauk un nuitshik un	nipishtauk un nuitshik un

N.B. In the Western dialect, the two types of agents are distinguished in the spoken language: the u of the ending is long for passive verbs with animate agents.

Solution adopted: write **-au** in the endings of passive verbs with animate agents to distinguish them from passive verbs with inanimate agents.

Animate agent	Inanimate agent
nuitamakaun	nuitamakun
nuitamakauti	nuitamakuti
uitamakauian	uitamakuian
uatamakauiani	uatamakauani

Independent conditional past conjugation

The Eastern dialect has a different conjugation than that of the West, where the Independent past conditional is formed from the past indicative.

Variants:	EAST nipa akushi napan tshipa akushi napan etc	WEST nipa akushi ti tshipa akushi ti etc.
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Solution adopted: when writing, use the **-napan** conjugation.

1S	nipa akushinapan
2S	tshipa akushinapan
3S	tshipa akushipan
4	tshipa akushinipani
3Ind	tshipa akushinanipan
4Ind	tshipa akushinannipan
1Pe	nipa akushinanapan
1Pi	tshipa akushinanapan
2P	tshipa akushinauapan
3P	tshipa akushipanat

Independent past dubitative conjugation

Variants	EAST	WEST
AI Verbs:		
1S	nitakushi nasha	nitakushi nasha(pa)n
2S	tshitakushi nasha	tshitakushi nasha(pa)n
3S	akushi sha	akushi sha(pa)n
4	akushi nisha(pa)ni	akushi nisha(pa)ni
3Ind	akushi nanisha	akushi nanuisha(pa)n
4Ind	akushi nannisha	akushi nanunisha(pa)n
1Pe	nitakushi nanasha	nitakushi nanasha(pa)n
1Pi	tshitakushi nanasha	tshitakushi nanasha(pa)n
2P	tshitakushi nauasha	tshitakushi nauasha(pa)n
3P	akushi shapanat	akushi sha(pa)nat
II Verbs:		
3S	misha sha	misha sha(pa)n
3P	misha sha(pa)ni	misha sha(pa)ni
4S	misha nisha	misha nisha(pa)n
4P	misha nisha(pa)ni	misha nisha(pa)ni

Solution adopted: use the **-shapan** forms

1S	nitakushinashapan
2S	tshitakushinashapan
3S	akushishapan
4	akushinishapani
3Indef	akushinanishapan
4Indef	akushinannishapan
1Pe	nitakushinanashapan
1Pi	tshitakushinanashapan
2P	tshitakushinashapan
3P	akushishapanat
3S	mishashapan
3P	mishashapani
4S	mishanishapan
4P	mishanishapani

Independent dubitative past conjugation

The two dialects construct this conjugation differently. The Eastern dialect forms it from the present of the indicative and the Western dialect forms it from the past of the indicative. In the East, the -takupan conjugation is also used.

Variants:	EAST	WEST
	nitakushi n akupan	nitakushi t akupan
	shuapate n akupan	tshuapate t akupan
	nuapama n anakupan	nuapama t anakupan
	tshuitama n auakupan	tshuitama t auakupan

Solution adopted : Use the **-takupan** conjugation

1S	nitakushitakupan
2S	tshitakushitakupan
3S	akushikupan
4	akushinikupani
3Ind	akushinanikupan
4Ind	akushinannikupan
1Pe	nitakushinanakupan
1Pi	tshitakushinanakupan
2P	tshitakushinauakupan
3P	akushikupanat

Conjugation of the verbs **tau**, **iteu** and **itenimeu**

Is it necessary to regularize the irregular verbs?

The verb tau conjugates as nititan, tshititan, etc. There is an initial i that is not pronounced or written in the 3rd person. (it is in the dictionary without an initial vowel). Its conjugation is therefore irregular.

The verb iteu also has an initial i (which is spoken and written). If the conjugation were regular, one would say nititau, tshitau, etc. However there would then be confusion in the past tense: nititati would mean both 'I said to him' and 'I was somewhere'.

The verb itenimeu-itenitam^u behaves as if it does not have an initial i in the 1st and 2nd persons: one says nitenimau and niteniten.

Solution adopted : keep the irregular conjugations of tau and iteu, but regularize the conjugation of itenimeu-itenitam^u.

Verb tau: nititan, tshititan, etc.

Verb iteu: nitau, tshitau, etc.

Verb itenitam^u: nititeniten, tshititeniten, etc.

Verb itenimeu: nititenimau, tshititenimau, etc.

Endings of the TA conjunct verbs

Variants:	EAST	WEST
All verbs:		
3S-1Pe	uapam iamit	uapam imit
U-stem or i-stem verbs:		
1S-3S	petu ak	petu k
1S-3S	uitshi ak	uitshi k
2S-3S	petu at	petu t
2S-3S	uitshi at	uitshi t

Solution adopted: Do not write the **a**

3S-1Pe: uapamimit, uitshimit, shatshimit, etc.

1S-3S: petuk, uitamuk, uitshik, shatshik, etc.

2S-3S: petut, uitamut, uitshit, shatshit, etc.

Endings of the animate plural of the Independent subjective

Variants:	EAST	WEST
	ka-ta uati	ka-ta utshen
	ka-nuapama uati	ka-nuapama utshen
	ka-tshita uati	ka-tshita utshen

Unresolved, but with regional differences reduced:

EAST	WEST
write uti (not uati)	write utshe (not utshen)
ka-tauti	ka-tautshe
ka-nuapamauti	ka-nuapamautshe

Endings of the inanimate plural of the Independent subjective

Up to this point, the ending has been written ueni. According to the analysis contained in the Drapeau-Baraby grammar (in preparation), it should be written **uani**.

Solution adopted: write **uani**

Singular: ka-mishaua, ka-takuanua, ka-uapaua, etc.

Plural: ka-mishauani, ka-takuanuani, ka-uapauani, etc.

k / t in the 3S Conjoint of n-stem AI verbs

Variants:	BET	ELSEWHERE
	tshe takushi k tshe aiti k	tshe takushini t tshe aiti t
but:	takushini takue aiti takue	takushini takue aiti takue

Solution adopted: write **t**

takushinit, takushinitakue, etc.
aitit, aititakue, etc.

Initial change: long vowels in **i** and **a**

Variants:	EAST	WEST
Ordinary:	shikuak	shikuak
Changed:	sh ia kuaki	sh a kuaki
Ordinary:	tshishi-aimit	tshishi-aimit
Changed:	tsh ia shi-aimiti	tsh a shi-aimiti
Ordinary:	tshitshipanit	tshitshipanit
Changed:	tsh ia tshipaniti	tsh e tshipaniti
Ordinary:	takat	takat
Changed:	ti akati	te kati
Ordinary:	takunat	takunat
Changed:	ti akunati	te kunati

Solution adopted: Change long **i** to long **a** (not to **ia**)
 Change long **a** to **ia**

piuat: patuati (and not piatuati)
 shikuak: shakuaki (and not shiakuaki)

pakumut: piakumut
 makumat: miakumat

Differences appear when the Eastern dialect uses a long vowel in the first syllable of the verb and the Western dialect uses a short vowel:

	EAST	WEST
tshitshipanit:	tsh a tshipaniti	tsh e tshipaniti
matenitak:	mi atenitaki	me tenitaki
pakunak:	pi akunaki	pe kunaki

Initial change: diphthongs in **ai** and **ei**

There is some confusion about changed forms of verbs like aimit, aishinakuak, aishpanit, and peikussit.

Solution adopted: change **ai** to **ei**
change **ei** to **iei**

aitutet:	eitutet
aimit:	eimit
aishpanit:	eishpanit
peikussit:	pieikussit
teishinit:	tieishinit

Initial change: long **u**

There is some confusion about the changed forms of verbs like mupit, pushit, tutak and nutepanit.

Solution adopted: change **consonant + long u** to **e + consonant + u**

pushit:	epushit
mupit:	emupit
tutak:	etutak
nutepanit:	enutepanit

i in the possessive of nikau(i) and nutau(i)

Variants:	EAST	WEST
	nikau nutau	nikau i nutau i
	tshikau uau tshutau uau	tshikau i uau tshutau i uau
	ukau uaua utau uaua	uakau i uaua utau i uaua

Solution adopted : write the **i** of the stem

nikau**i**
 tshikau**i**
 ukau**i**a
 nikau**i**nan
 tshikau**i**nan
 tshikau**i**uau
 ukau**i**uaua
 nutau**i**
 tshutau**i**
 utau**i**a
 nutau**i**nan
 tshutau**i**nan
 tshutau**i**uau
 utau**i**uaua

k / tsh in the personal prefix for 2e

Variants:	BET	ELSEWHERE
	k utai	tsh utai
	k ukum	tsh ukum
but:	tshi kuss	tshi kuss
	tshi tuss	tshi tuss

Solution adopted: write **tsh** as in the other 2nd person possessives.

tshutai
 tshukum
 tshituss
 tshikuss

Double **u** in the 3rd person possessives

This problem occurs when the noun to be put in the third person possessive already begins with u.

Variants:	single u	double u
uapush:	∅ uapushima	u uapushima
uapishtan:	∅ uapishtanima	u uapishtanima

NB: the problem does not occur in *uitsheuakana* which is already in the possessive.

Solution adopted: write a single **u**

uapushima, uapishtanima, etc.

Joining: relative forms with **ka**

Variants:	together	separately
	kauapat	ka uapat
	Auass ka utikumit	Auass ka utikumit
	ne ka uinnut	ne ka uinnut
	ka uauiat	ka uauiat
	ka mishat mitshuap	ka mishat mitshuap

Solution adopted: write **ka** together when it has to do with a noun (that can be put in the possessive) or a pronoun; write **ka** separately when it has to do with a verb.

Nouns: kauauiat (nikauauiam)
 kakashkatshat (nikakashkatsham)
 katshishkutamuakanishiht (nikatshishkutamuakanishimat)
 Katipatshimu-mashinaikanitshet
 Kakatshinat

Verbs: Auass ka utikumit
 ne ka uinnut
 ka mishat mitshuap
 ka tshishkutamuakaniht auassat
 ishkueu ka peikussit

5

Text illustrating the adopted solutions

*: variant spellings

underlined and in bold: adopted solutions

[corr.]: correction of spelling from the dictionary

Auass kamashkut* **ka mashkut**

Mishta-shashish ut teshapanat***tashapanat** innuat nite [corr. **anite**] nutshimit, ne napeu mak utishkuema mak utauassimuaua. Ui natuuat***natauat** tshetshi nipaiautau***nipaht*****nipaiiht** mashkua * mashkua. Kue* **Ekue** tshitutetau * tshituteht; nite [corr. **anite**] tekushinitau***tekushiniht** kamamitshashkushiniti***ka mamitshashkushiniti** uashkuaia * **ushkuaia** ekuta* **ekute** e tutakau* **etutahk** uitshuau, uashkuaitshuapinu***ushkuaitshuapinu** ishinakutauat.

Katshi tshishtatau***tshishtah**t uitshuau, ne ishkuieu kue***ekue** utinak utassik^u kue***ekue** natshi-kuapitshet, eku***ek**^u uin ne napeu kue***ekue** natshi-natuut* **nataut**. Eku***Ek**^u ne auass katshi nakatakanit, nasht peiakupishu* **peikupishu** nite [corr. **anite**] uitshuat kue***ekue** utitikut mashkue***mashkua** kue***ekue** tshitutaikut. Tekushik***Tekushinit** ne ishkuieu, shash apu taniti utauassima. Mishue nanatuapameu; eshpish eka mishkuat ukusse***ukussa** tshek kue***ekue** mat, mishtanekatenitam^u ueniat utauassima.

Katshi kutuasht-tatupipuna, iapit peiakuit * **peikuit** natuuat* **natauat** nitshenat [corr. **anitshenat**] napeu mak utishkuema, tanite pakushenitamuat nanitam tshetshi mishkuatau*mishkuaht utauassimuaua. Kie kanuenimeshanat***kanuenimeshapanat** nish^u atimua; peiak^u*peik^u nenua mishtauinnunua, eku***ek**^u nenua kutaka mishta-tshimakatenua. Eku***Ek**^u nenua utema kauinnuniti***ka uinnuniti** eukuannua nenua muk^u e shuenimat, kie mishta-animishinua.

Nenua utema katshimakateniti***ka tshimakateniti** mishta-innishinua muk^u iapit apu shuenimat. Peiakuau***Peikuau** shietshishepashinit***tshietshishepaushinit** nitshenat [corr. **anitshenat**] innuat kue***ekue** petuatau***petuaht** e aimitituniti nenua utemuaua. Ne atim^u katshimakatet***ka tshimakatet** kue***ekue** itat nenua atimua kauinnuniti***ka uinnuniti**:

- Nin euian nipa uitamuau nutshimam nite [corr **anite**] e takuannit uatashkunu, tshipa ishpish mishta-minuenitam^u tshissenimat nite [corr. **anite**] etaniti ukusse***ukussa**, iteu.

Katshi petuat nenua utema katshimakateniti***ka tshimakateniti** essishueniti, eukuannu mak***ma** melu-ashamat, nishuau anu ishpish ashameu, muk^u utatshishiatikunu***utatshishitikunu** itashameu* ishi-ashameu. Tapue tshek mishta-uinnunua kie mishta-shutshishinua. Shash mishta-kushkushiku ne kashuenimakanit***ka shuenimakanit** atim^u nenua uitshishtimua [corr. **uitatimua**] kie shash uakashinueu***uinenimeu**. Katshi nishtutshishikua, kue***ekue** natshinatuu***nataut** ne innu; e nishiniti utema uitsheku***uitsheuku**. Tshek ma ne atim^u katatshipunakanit***ka tatshipunakanit** kue***ekue** natshikaput***natshikanaut** kue***ekue** mat.

Uiapamat ne napeu nenua utema e maniti kue***ekue** itenitak:

- Atut shetshen meu***mau** nitem, ushtuin ute pessish tetshe***tatshe** nikuss, itenitam^u. Eukuannu mak***ma** nianatuapatitshet, tshek ma uiapatak uatashkunu.
- Tan tshe tutaman ? itenitam^u.

Kue***Ekue** utinak e mishta-tshinuashkuannit mishtikunu kue***ekue** tshitshipataik nenu uatikunu. Tapue ma ! Uet uanauit***unuit** ishkueshk^u! Eukuan kue***ekue** nipat***nipaiat**. Iapit mamatuenua nenua utema. Minuat kue***ekue**

tshishtshishkaik***tshissishkaik** nenu uatikunu, enukun***eukuannu** uenaitishkuat***uenuitishkuat** mashkuse* **mashkussa** shash kue* **ekue** nipat***nipaiat**. Nenu mashten tshiashkaitshet, eukuannu pietuat e tepueniti auennua:

-Nuta ! Ekuan ishpish tshishtshishkai^she***tshissishkai^she** nin au tshikuss !
ishi-tepuenua.

Kue***Ekue** uitshiat e uanauiniti***unuiniti**, itinamueu utitshi. Tshekuannu nutim minaushinua ukusse***ukussa**, mishta-mishkatenimeu uiapamat nenu eshinakushiniti, kue***ekue** itikut utauassima:

- Nuta, eka patshitini tshetshi makumitau***makumiht** nitshenat [corr. **anitshenat**] atimuat kie tshetshi mutau***muiht*****muht**, itiku.

Ekue***Ek**^u ne auass miam aueshish e aitik***aitit**, auat utitshia pimuteuatsheu.

Eshk^u eka uenauiniti***uenuiniti** nite [corr. **anite**] uatikut, itikusha*itikushan* itikushapan nenua ishkueshkue* **ishkueshkua**:

- Kutauit***Tshutau*****Tshutau** uapamishke***uapamishki** ne eshinakushin nutim e minaushin, nasht apu tshika ut shuenimishk; kie tshika itau kutauit***tshutau*****tshutau** tshetshi mamushatshinak uishatshiminana***uishatshimina**, tshe pitshishkaik, nipit tshe ushak, nenu mak minapunu***minishapunu** elukun***eukuannu** tshe tshishtapunishk nutim eshpishtin, nutim tshe manipanikau***manipaniti** tshipiua, itikusha*itikushan***itikushapan** nenua ishkueshkue* **ishkueshkua**.

Kue***Ekue** tutaminiti nenu utauia miam ka itakanniti.

Tapue ma katshi tshishtapunakanit kue***ekue** kau tat auass. Kie nitshenat [corr. **anitshenat**] uikanishimauat mishta-minuenitamuat uiapamatau***uiapamaht** kau

ukussuaa. Tshiashi-nitautshit***Tshashi-nitautshit**, mishta-nitau-natuu***natau** tanite
 mishta-milu-tshishkutamakusha* tshishkutamakushan* **tshishkutamakushanan**
 nenua mashkue***mashkua**.

Kie eukuan ne eshikumipipuna uet makushenanit*makushanut*makushenanut
 kie uet mamu niminanit***niminanut**; nimishtamuakanu ne mashk^u eshpish
 nashkumakanit katshi innikat***innikaiat** nenua innu-auasse* **auassa**.

(Source: *Auass ka mashkut*, Équipe d'amérindianisation, Services éducatifs, Conseil de
 bande de Betsiamites, 1986)