TOWARDS A DIALECTOLOGY OF

CREE-MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI

by

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ABSTRACT

This study describes linguistic variations among the dialects of the Cree language at the levels of phonology, morphology and lexicon. The dialects which undergo velar palatalization (k>c) within Quebec-Labrador are described in detail. The language spoken in these nineteen communities has been referred to as Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi or Montagnais-Naskapi by various scholars. Only the dialects where velar palatalization does not take place are unambiguously regarded as Cree. The relationship between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects is examined and the dialects spoken between Alberta and Labrador are found to form a continuum. Within the continuum sub-groups are established but the existence of a significant break between non-palatalized (so-called Cree) and palatalized (so-called Montagnais-Naskapi) dialects is challenged.

At the level of phonology it is demonstrated that the majority of sound shifts occur in both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. Usually, however, these shifts are

generalized to more phonological segments, and over a larger geographic area, in the palatalized dialects. Processes of short vowel assimilation, loss, neutralization and rounding are much more widespread. As well, the processes of velar palatalization, short vowel syncope and subsequent de-palatalized account for the majority of the differences between palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. These processes are linguistic innovations which originate in thee Quebec dialects, which have been longest in contact with European populations.

The differences in inflectional morphology and non-palatalized dialects than within either group. The distribution of lexical items, however, divides the palatalized dialects into two major groups, which correlate with areas of English and French influence. Speakers in the west of Quebec, where English is dominant, share vocabulary with the non-palatalized dialects in the rest of Canada. The linguistic groupings are displayed by the use of isoglosses on maps. These linguistic patterns are then correlated with non-linguistic ones of geographical, social and cultural variation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

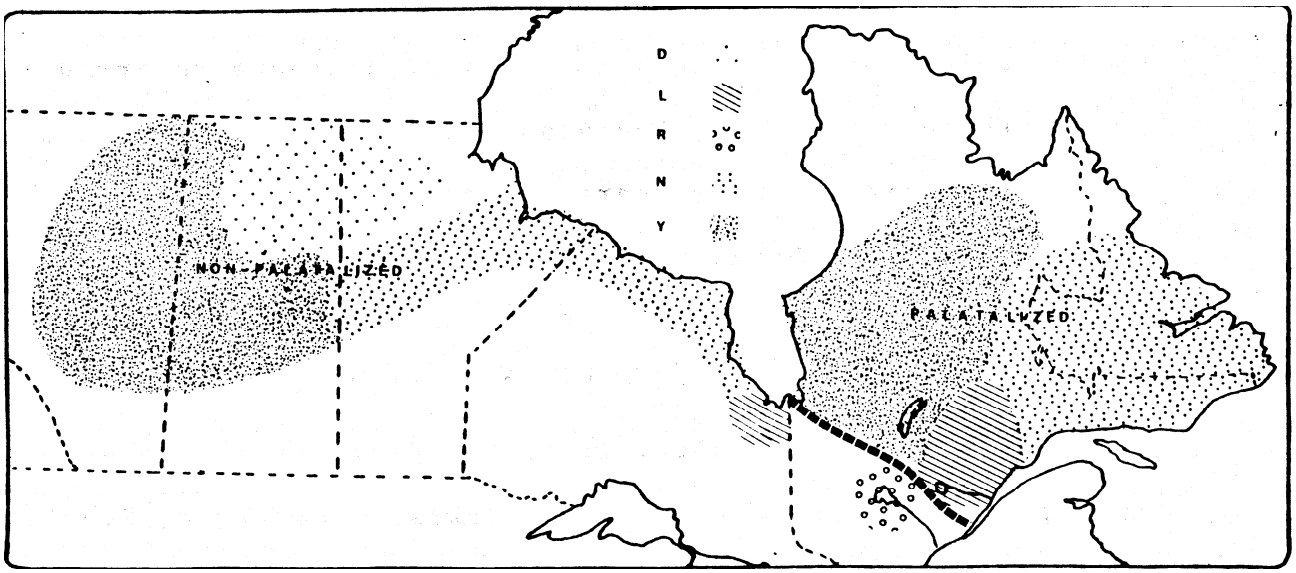
1.0 The Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language, a member of the Algonkian family, is the largest Canadian Indian language. It claims at least sixty thousand speakers, from the Rocky Mountains in the west to the Labrador coast in the east.

1.1 Aim and Scope

This study will identify and describe some of the variation which exists within this language. An attempt will be made to establish to what extent the traditional dialect groupings can be maintained and to what extent the dialects form a continuum. The very name Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi indicates that subdivisions of the language exist. In fact, the nature of the relationship between the sets of dialects referred to by the three terms Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi has been a point of debate for many years. The majority of scholars favour a distinct break between Cree on the one hand and Montagnais-Naskapi on the other. Controversy arises, however, over which sub-groups are to be identified as Cree or Montagnais or Naskapi. In particular, it is the dialects of Quebec - Labrador, where velar palatalization takes place (k > c, 2.32), whose affiliation is in dispute. Throughout this study these dialects will be referred to as 'palatalized dialects'. All other dialects will be referred to as 'non-palatalized'.

The focus of this study is the description of variation

within the palatalized dialects in the areas of phonology, morphology and lexicon. Field work was carried out in most of the nineteen palatalized communities in Quebec – Labrador and detailed information collected for individual villages. The variants within the non-palatalized dialects will also be noted, whenever they are available from published sources. A very few years ago Wolfart observed that "the dialects of the Cree (excluding Montagnais-Naskapi) are yet to be described adequately" (1973). Today, the work of Wolfart himself, Béland (1978) and Pentland (1979) have provided several such descriptions for the non-palatalized varieties; to date none exist for the palatalized varieties. The areas where palatalized and non-palatalized dialects are spoken are outlined on Map 1-1.



Map 1-1 Palatalized and Non-Palatalized Dialects

The linguistic variation within Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi is described in terms of a traditional dialect-geography model. The smallest geographical unit under consideration is the village. Systematic differences in speech from one village, or cluster of villages, to the next are the object of study. Differences in phonology, morphology and lexicon are identified and their geographical distribution is illustrated by means of isoglosses on maps.

In recent years dialect geography has come under criticism for narrowness of scope and outdated methodology. In a critique of mainstream American dialectology as exemplified by work on the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, Underwood pointed out that "of primary importance... are regional variables, of secondary importance are social variables, and of no importance are stylistic variables." (1974:28-29). If dialectology is to give an accurate description of language variation, he contended, the methodology must include refined interview and sampling techniques of informants, the recording of speech in a variety of styles, as well as tests of receptive and communicative competence. Variation within the speech community is no less significant than variation between communities.

Within the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi communities internal variation certainly exists and must eventually be described and accounted for. Correlation must be made between linguistic and non-linguistic variables. Some of the latter used in social dialectology, such as social class, may not be appropriate.

Cree society, unlike Euro-American society, is relatively egalitarian. Although there are economic disparities between individual families within villages, these families cannot be seen as belonging to larger groups based on social inequality. It will be necessary, then, to find the social variables elsewhere than in distinctions of class or caste. One such variable which is noted throughout this study is the age of the speaker. Age may also correlate with the degree of bilingualism in French or English. Although the sex of the speaker has not yet been found to correlate with specific differences, it remains a potential variable.

A second clear correlate of intra-community differences, in addition to age, is the family origin of the speaker. Most families are associated with a hunting territory in a particular location. The intra-community divisions described in 1.41 are reflected in speech patterns. It should be noted, however, that although the villages began as artificial constructs, they have, in the past twenty years, become established communities. As such, they can be expected to take on some of the characteristics of such an institution. As political power becomes more important, affiliations may shift away from geographically-based family groups to ones which contain political and economic features as a significant component.

It is expected then, that patterns of variation which are found between communities will also exist within communities. Speakers whose hunting ground is on the periphery of the

community territory may well have linguistic features associated with the neighbouring community. A difference which represents a regional variant among older speakers may spread to mark age groups within a single community. For this reason, a detailed description of regional linguistic differences is a necessary starting point for any study of intra-community variation.

1.1 Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the controversy over classification of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects (1.2) as well as background information about the Indians of Quebec-Labrador who speak these dialects. The geographical setting is described in terms of relief, drainage basins, vegetation and fauna (1.3). Aspects of traditional and modern lifestyle are briefly discussed (1.4). The remainder of the Introduction outlines the method of investigation (1.5) and lists abbreviations (1.6).

In chapter II, the variation in consonants is described. The palatalization of k to c before front vowels and subsequent depalatalization of c to t or s account for a large number of phonological differences between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. The evolution of PA *1 as y, n or l occurs in both these groups, as does the loss or fricativization of pre-aspirated stops. Proto-Algonkian *s and *ṡ are retained in both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects around James Bay but merge in the dialects to the east and west.

Differences in vowels are discussed in chapter III.

It becomes clear that the processes of assimilation, lengthening, loss, rounding and neutralization occur in both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. In the non-palatalized varieties these changes are restricted to a few segments and a small number of environments. In the palatalized dialects of Quebec-Labrador these same processes have been generalized to a much larger number of lexical items.

Selected aspects of verb morphology and vocabulary have been treated in chapter IV. Sections 4.1 through 4.4 describe variation in the inflectional morphology of intransitive verbs. The less frequently used paradigms have been completely reshaped in the palatalized dialects. The formation of the negative of Independent order verbs is an innovation in the n-and 1- palatalized dialects; palatalized y-dialect speakers use the same pattern as non-palatalized speakers (4.5). Similarly, the y- speakers share most lexical items with the non-palatalized speakers to the west; n- and 1- palatalized speakers use related but different vocabulary (4.6).

Chapter V contains a summary of the dialect groupings which can be made on the basis of the information discussed in the preceding chapters (5.1-5.2) Linguistic innovations and the direction of change are identified (5.3). Innovation has generally occurred in those areas where there has been longest contact with populations which speak a different language: French, English, Inuktitut or Algonquin (5.4). Finally, correlation is shown between the patterning of linguistic and non-linguistic (geographic, social, cultural) features (5.5).

1.2 Previous classification of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects

The first serious linguistic classification of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi was attempted by Michelson in 1912. Previously, the Handbook of American Indian Languages had stated that Cree and Montagnais were related, but the nature of the relationship was unspecified. In his 1912 paper Michelson stated that Montagnais was "practically the same language as Cree" (247). He further pointed out that the dialects spoken on the east coast of James Bay were more closely related to Montagnais than to Cree and should be considered as such. In 1924 he proposed that the dialects of Eastmain and Rupert House be classified with those of Mistassini and Montagnais, while his 1933 note placed Tête de Boule (Atikamekw) with Cree proper. With the 1936 reports of his trip to James and Hudson Bays he began his insistence on a dividing line between Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. Although it was at this point that he first used the hyphenated term, Montagnais-Naskapi, Michelson never made an attempt to distinguish Montagnais from Naskapi as did some subsequent writers.

1939 saw the publication of Michelson's last major paper "Linguistic Classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi Dialects". While never stating that they are separate languages, he emphasized as strongly as possible the sharp boundary which he saw as existing between them. He viewed them as being derived from a common ancestor, rather than one from the other. Moreover, he asserted that the reflexes l, n and y of PA*l which

exist both in the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects developed independently.

Michelson did however distinguish sub-groups within Montagnais-Naskapi although he did not attempt to identify them by any terms except linguistic ones. He stated that among the dialects along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, Bersimis to Mingan is one unit and all communities east of those a second unit. These are all n or mixed n-1 dialects. His first sub-division is made according to the reflexes of PA*1 which divide Montagnais into four groups: one in y, one in l, one in n and a fourth mixed n-l group. His y-dialects contain all the present-day y-dialects except Fort Chimo, which Michelson classified as n, and among these, Fort George and Great Whale River form a sub-group. The pure 1-group consists of Lake St. John (Pointe Bleue) and Bersimis (Betsiamites) but this grouping crosscuts the one in which he stated that Bersimis to Mingan is a linguistic unit. The problems of classification without a well-thought-out basis become clear.

Michelson clearly intended his classification to be a working one, as he states when proposing the reflexes of PA*1 as a basis of division. He hoped that it would "serve as a stepping-stone to an exhaustive classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects" (85). While the present study cannot claim to be at all exhaustive, it will perhaps

carry the work of establishing a basis for classification of dialects somewhat further.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1946) stated unequivocally that Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi should be considered "as a single, separate language" (182) by an appeal to the criterion of mutual intelligibility. And indeed, inasmuch as speakers of neighbouring dialects can understand each other, then there is sufficient justification for such a position. They also pointed out that linguists had chosen to consider Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi as a single language while ethnographers preferred a two-way division. As will be evident from the following discussion, the situation is not so clear-cut.

Since Michelson's pronouncement that Cree and Montagnais were two separate entities it has been unclear just what in fact was the nature of the relationship among Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi. There is general agreement that the relationship is very close, certainly closer than that between Cree and Ojibwa, as is evident from the use of the hyphenated term Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. Most classifications of Algonkian languages use this convention to refer to what Wolfart termed a "language complex whose territory stretches from the Labrador coast to the Rocky mountains" (1973:7).

However, linguists who work with the non-palatalized dialects have always been reluctant to include Montagnais-

Naskapi in their descriptions of Cree. Wolfart (1973:7) stated that "until less ambiguous and more detailed evidence becomes available, the term 'Cree' should be used in its narrow sense". Pentland, in his recent thesis on the historical phonology of Algonkian, restricted his discussion of the Cree language to the non-palatalized dialects (1979). The palatalized dialects then are referred to either as Montagnais-Naskapi (Wolfart and Michelson) or simply as Montagnais (Pentland).

This has certainly not been the case for linguists who work on the palatalized dialects. They have tended to refer to the y-dialects from Mistassini to James Bay as Cree or Naskapi and the other dialects as Montagnais or Montagnais-Naskapi.

Gilles Lefebvre, in his 1953 M.A. thesis on the Algonkian language family, followed Michelson in referring to Montagnais-Naskapi and distinguishing dialects in y, n, l and mixed l-n. His examples from notes made by J.P. Vinay at Pointe Bleue in the late 1940's include some Mistassini words as well. The discussion of morphology focuses on the 1-varieties which he consistently referred to as Montagnais and which he contrasted with the morphology of Plains Cree. In his comparative chart of Algonkian languages, he distinguished Montagnais from Naskapi. While the Montagnais words are clearly from an 1-dialect, it is less clear what the source of the Naskapi words could be. The presence of y and both e: and a: vowels would indicate that the words are from a southern y-dialect. However,

the forms "sipo" (si:pu:) 'river' and "assi" (assi:) 'moss' do not occur in the y-dialects, only the n and 1 varieties; instead si:pi and asci: are used. As well, the term for 'it snows', given as "piwon" (pi:wan}, does occur in the northern y-dialects of Great Whale River and Fort Chimo. Unfortunately, these are just the dialects where e: and a: have fallen together as a:. The most likely source for Lefebvre's Naskapi word list, then, is a Mistassini person who has strong family connections with Pointe Bleue and who would be bi-dialectal. These are in fact the people interviewed by Vinay at Pointe Bleue.

Confirmation that Lefebvre regarded the y-dialects as Naskapi comes from the citation of "n'to:t" (nitu:t) as Naskapi and "n'to:s" (nitu:ss) as Montagnais (1953:45). But no attempt was ever made clearly and systematically to distinguish the two subgroups.

Vinay (1964) in his outline of the linguistic situation in Nouveau-Québec described Montagnais as consisting of three sub-categories: "Montagnais" - the dialect in 1, "North Shore" - the dialect in n, and "Naskapi" - the dialect in y. This grouping is regrettably not as neat as it first appears since Davis Inlet, clearly an n-dialect, is included with Naskapi.

Rogers (1960), describing the Mistassini dialect, did not address the question of classification at all but referred only to the name Mistassini. MacKenzie (1971) describing the

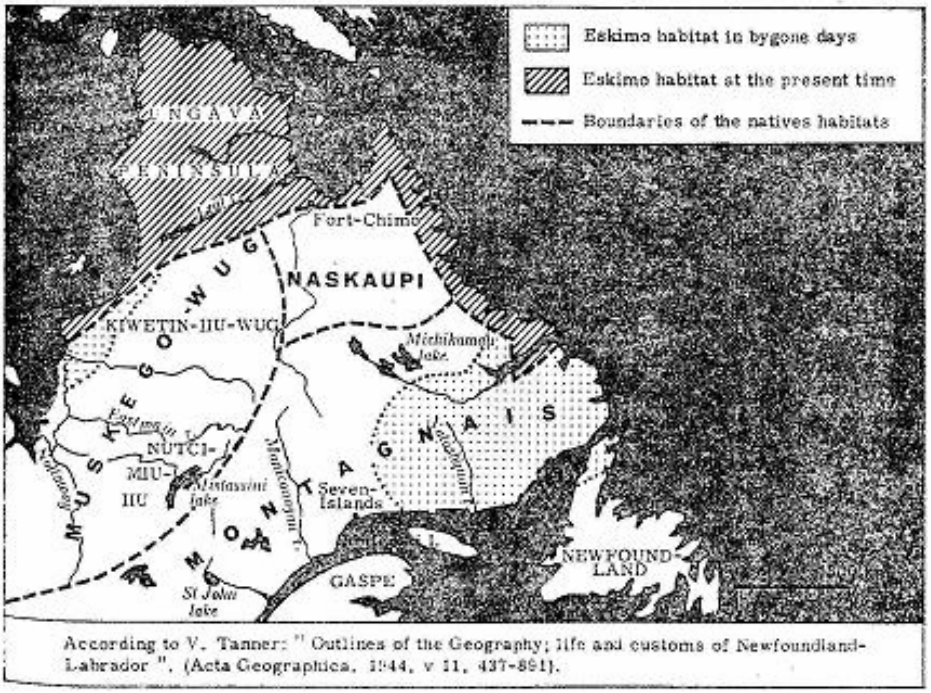
same dialect, referred to it as East Cree rather than Montagnais.

Drapeau et al (1975), in their paper on phonological aspects of Montagnais dialectology, included the y-dialect of Mistassini and postulated an old split between Cree and Montagnais. In her thesis Drapeau confirmed that Montagnais included all the dialects which have undergone velar palatalization (1979).

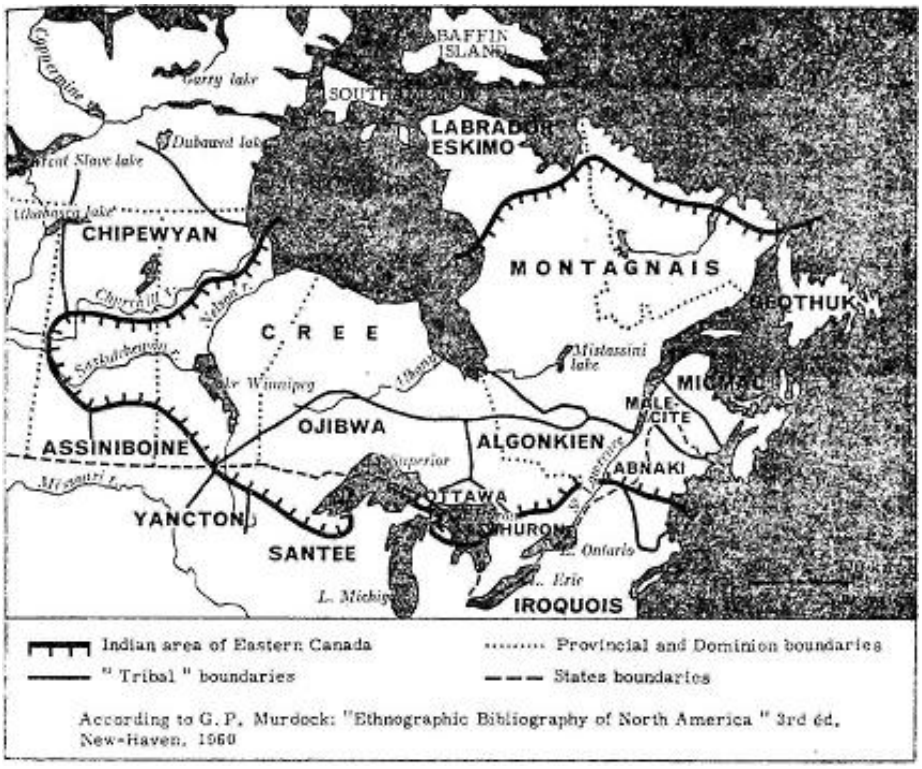
McNulty in the preface to his grammar of Mingan dialect distinguished a11 the y-dialects as "Cris-des-Marais" (Swampy Cree) and included the Fort Chimo (Schefferville) Naskapi as part of this group. He stated "I have avoided using the term Naskapi because I think it has much more bearing on Anthropology and History than on Linguistics since the language of the Schefferville Naskapi is the same as that of the Swampy Cree at Great Whale River" (1971:vii).

Ethnographic terminology is at least as varied as linguistic usage and does not overlap in any significant way. Honigmann (1964) provided a synopsis of nomenclature as applied by anthropologists. There is, undoubtedly, among ethnographers, as among linguists, general accord that the people from Pointe Bleue and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence are to be called Montagnais. Controversy arises only over which groups are to be called Naskapi and which Cree.

The following maps show two ethnographic classifications:



Map 1-2 From Honigmann 1964.



Map l-3 From Honigmann 1964.

What seems clear from the above is that many writers distinguished at least three groups: a southern group always referred to as Montagnais, a northern group often referred to as Naskapi and a western group associated with the Cree of western James Bay.

Although scholars differ with respect to which populations they refer to by the terms Cree, Montagnais or Naskapi, the Indians themselves seem to have settled on which term they wish to be referred to by. When Indians speak their own language, of course, the problem does not arise since the phonetic variants of PA* iliniwa 'man, person, Indian' plus a geographic adjective are used. Thus the people on the east coast of James Bay would say cisa:si:pi:w-iyiyiwac, 'great river people', to refer to the people who live at Fort George, or wi:nipe:kw-iyiyiwac, 'salt water people', to refer to all the coastal villages as opposed to the inland ones (nu:hcimi:w-iyiyiwac, 'bush people'). But when an Indian speaks English, the term 'Cree' refers to the speakers of all palatalized y-dialects except that of Fort Chimo. 'Naskapi' refers to the people of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet, and 'Montagnais' refers to those in all other villages.

The terms Montagnais and Naskapi as well as Tête de Boule (Atikamekw) are an historical legacy which has unfortunately obscured the fact that these are all dialects of one language and form a dialect continuum. The fact that there is a great variation in the application of these terms emphasizes the need for a clarification of the actual

linguistic relationship between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects.

Although this thesis will focus on a description of the palatalized dialects of Quebec-Labrador, their relationship to the non-palatalized dialects will also be discussed (5.1). It is clear that the dialects of Atikamekw have much in common with the palatalized dialects and that the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects spoken around James Bay also share many features. This thesis will attempt to demonstrate that the "sharp boundaries" between Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi (k- and c-dialects respectively) are in fact rather blurred. The validity of a sub-division into three groups which corresponds with the nations of Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi will also be considered in light of the linguistic evidence.

1.3 Geographical Setting

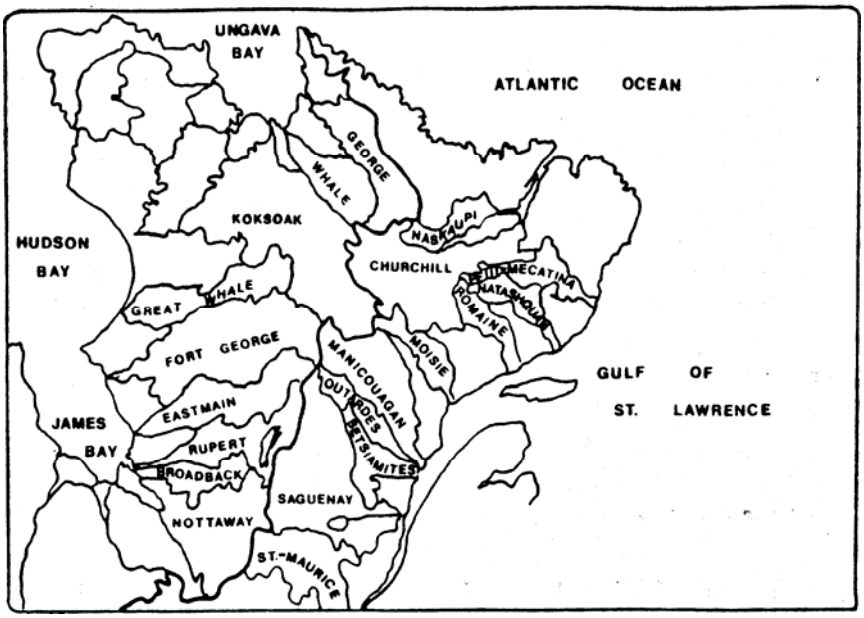
The Quebec-Labrador peninsula is assumed herein to constitute that land mass north and east of a line drawn from the bottom of James Bay (Ontario-Quebec border) to the southern shore at Lac St. Jean to the mouth of the Saguenay River (Tadoussac). This area includes all the communities which speak velar palatalized dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi and excludes those communities where the Atikamekw dialects are. These latter are the only representatives of the non-palatalized dialects in Quebec and are located

directly south of Waswanipi. Neighbouring Algonkian languages include Algonquin (a dialect of Ojibwa) in the region west of the Atikamekw villages, Abenaki to the east of the Atikamekw and Micmac across the St. Lawrence on the Gaspé peninsula.

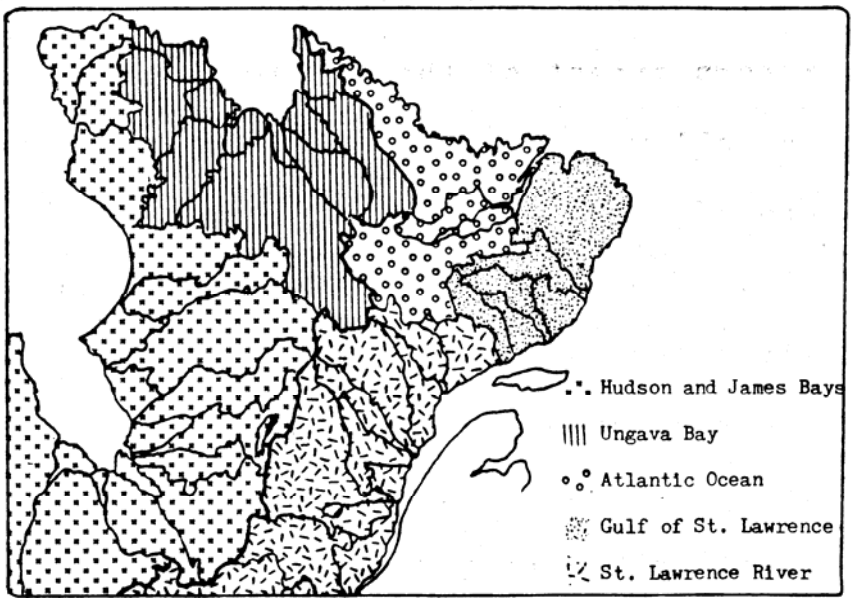
1.31 Relief

The peninsula, a sloping plateau, extends approximately 600 miles from east to west and 500 miles from north to south. The major portion has been inhabited by the speakers of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The coastal and inland areas north of Latitude 55° N, are occupied by Inuit people. A central height of land divides the plateau, with rivers flowing either north-west to James, Hudson and Ungava Bays, or south-east to the St. Lawrence and Sea of Labrador. Map 1-4a shows the drainage basins of the major rivers in the peninsula. Map 1-4b shows the major watershed areas. Such geographic features as waterways and heights of land are well-known correlates of dialect differentiation. As is evident from Map 1-7, the hunting territories of most communities center around a single river or drainage basin. As well, all the palatalized y- communities lie north-west of the height of land while all the and 1-communities lie south-east of it. It would be misleading, however, to give undue importance to a single geographic feature. While the height of land is indeed difficult to travel across in the northern area, it is relatively easy

to do so in the southern area west of the Saguenay drainage basin.



Map 1-4a Major River Basins

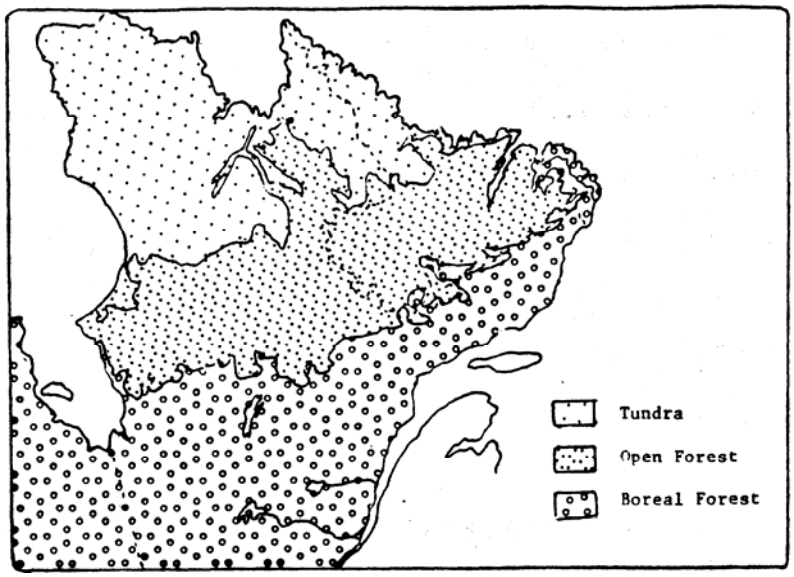


Map 1-4b Major Drainage Areas

1.32 Vegetation

From the south, beginning at the northern limit of the temperate climatic zone the peninsula extends north through a sub-arctic to an arctic zone which starts about the 55th parallel. The vegetation zones range from the boreal forests of the taiga in the south to the treeless barrens of the tundra in the north. While the northern-most area inhabited by the Indians is primarily barren ground, forest vegetation can be found in steep river valleys.

The boreal forest of the sub-artic consists mainly of coniferous trees (black and white spruce, balsam fir, tamarack, Banksian pine), as well as white birch, common and balsam poplar. Bushy shrubs including alder and several kinds of willow and many types of berry bushes are also found there. The forest floor is covered thickly with moss. Toward the northern extent of the taiga the trees thin out considerably and all vegetation is smaller and closer to the ground. The ground tends to be covered with reindeer moss, a type of lichen. The southern reaches of Indian territory then are thickly forested with closed-crown boreal vegetation which increasingly becomes open-crown in the northern regions. At the peninsula's extreme northern limit, arctic tundra is everywhere present except in the river valleys (Map 1-5).



Map 1-5 Vegetation

1.33 Fauna

The same fauna are found from south to north, although beaver and moose are less common toward the north while caribou and ptarmigan become more numerous. Large game animals including moose, caribou and bear, are the preferred hunting of Indians. North and east of Lake Mistassini, caribou, rather than moose, are the focus of hunting. In addition some of the fur-bearers which are trapped, such as beaver, provide a reliable source of meat, as do porcupine and to a lesser extent, hare. Fox, marten, otter, mink, muskrat, ermine, lynx and wolf are also trapped. Waterfowl are an important seasonal

resource, particularly on the James Bay coast which constitutes part of a major flyway for migrating geese. Fish are a principal alternate food source whenever hunting and trapping does not provide enough meat. Important species include trout, pike, whitefish, burbot and sturgeon. Salmon provide a significant seasonal source of food for the Indians on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence and in Hamilton Inlet (North West River).

1.4 Social Setting

The Indians traditionally have lived in small groups of families which during the winter spread out over the peninsula to hunt and trap. In summer they returned in larger groups to certain coastal areas in order to take advantage of the seasonal resources such as migratory birds and salmon as well as to renew social contacts with members of other hunting groups. The majority of the families in the southern areas have hunting territories to which they return on a regular basis in the winter. They usually spent six to ten months in the bush.

When fur-trading posts were first established by the French and English there was fierce competition to attract Indians to particular posts. Attempts were made to oblige trappers to return to the same post all the time but the post managers' accounts from that period demonstrate the difficulty

of establishing this kind of loyalty. Families often took their fur to a post which was less convenient if they felt that a better bargain in trade items could be negotiated. The debt system, whereby Indians were advanced foods and equipment in the fa11 and the cost of these was deducted from the value of the fur at the end of the winter, was the main strategy used by traders to keep trappers attached to their own post.

In the more northerly areas, many resources were, as they are now, sparse and trappers were not able to obtain fur as readily as in the southern regions. The culture was, as today, centered around the caribou hunt with the result that the people were much more nomadic than Indians further south. Records from the last century kept by Hudson Bay managers confirm the lack of interest on the part of the northern people in the more settled and regulated life of a fur trapper (Cooke 1976).

The Indian communities referred to in this thesis are not necessarily coterminous with pre-contact groups. Instead, they usually are the result of the placement of fur trading posts in the 18th and 19th century. Previous to that era, a number of families gathered at coastal sites during spring, summer and fall in order to exploit the seasonal or migratory resources such as salmon or geese. During the winter they would return inland in small groups of families in order to hunt big game and trap fur. As religious and educational

services were provided in increasing numbers, the families did indeed return consistently to the same posts and eventually settled there. The communities which grew up around the trading posts became the set of bands in existence today.

1.41 Intra-community Divisions

However, historical records make it clear that there were once more bands than there are now villages. Some bands had undoubtedly amalgamated with neighbouring ones (Speck 1931:565. Thus within each village, subgroups are still distinguished by the Indians themselve. The basis of the classification may be the name of the river which the group ascended on their way to their interior hunting grounds or the name of the largest body of water in the area where they used to spend the winter (Tanner 1978, Mailhot personal communication).

Map 1-6 Band Territories (after Speck 1931)

Speck's map (1-6) shows the former situation. The Nichikun band now constitutes part of the Mistassini band while members of the Kaniapiskau band reside now at Fort George. The Ungava, Petitsikapau, Barren Ground and Davis Inlet bands have probably become the present-day Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet groups.

Within the community of Mistassini, a number of smaller groups can be identified: the Nichikun, the Neoskweskaw and those with Pointe Bleue links. In 1970 the post at Meniscau was closed and part of this community relocated at Mistassini. The remainder moved to Rupert House on James Bay.

When the post of Old Factory, between Fort George and Eastmain, was closed a number of people moved to Eastmain, rather than the new village of Paint Hills.

Tanner (1977) has proposed five separate groups within the present-day community of North West River. Each group is associated with a caribou herd which winters in a particular area traditionally frequented by that group. As well, there has been in-migration through marriage from Davis Inlet, Sept-Iles and St. Augustin.

The St. Marguerite and Moisie groups are now resident at Sept-Iles/Maliotenam.

Within most of the James Bay communities a distinction is made between 'coaster' and 'inlander' groups (Preston, in

press). Tanner (1978) has described migrations of coasters inland, of inlanders farther inland and changes in band affiliation at Fort George. The coaster-inlander distinction has its basis in material culture and social patterns. The coasters, who were much more involved in the exploitation of the coastal food resources such as seal and walrus, adopted some aspects of Inuit technology (Rogers 1964). They had easier access to the common settlements during winter than did the inlanders, whose hunting territories were up to 200 miles distant. The inlanders only visited the post in the summer. Moreover, they eschewed the use of seal for food, although they did trade with the coasters for sealskin boots. It is not completely clear whether this coaster -in- lander division is paralled by a linguistic division.

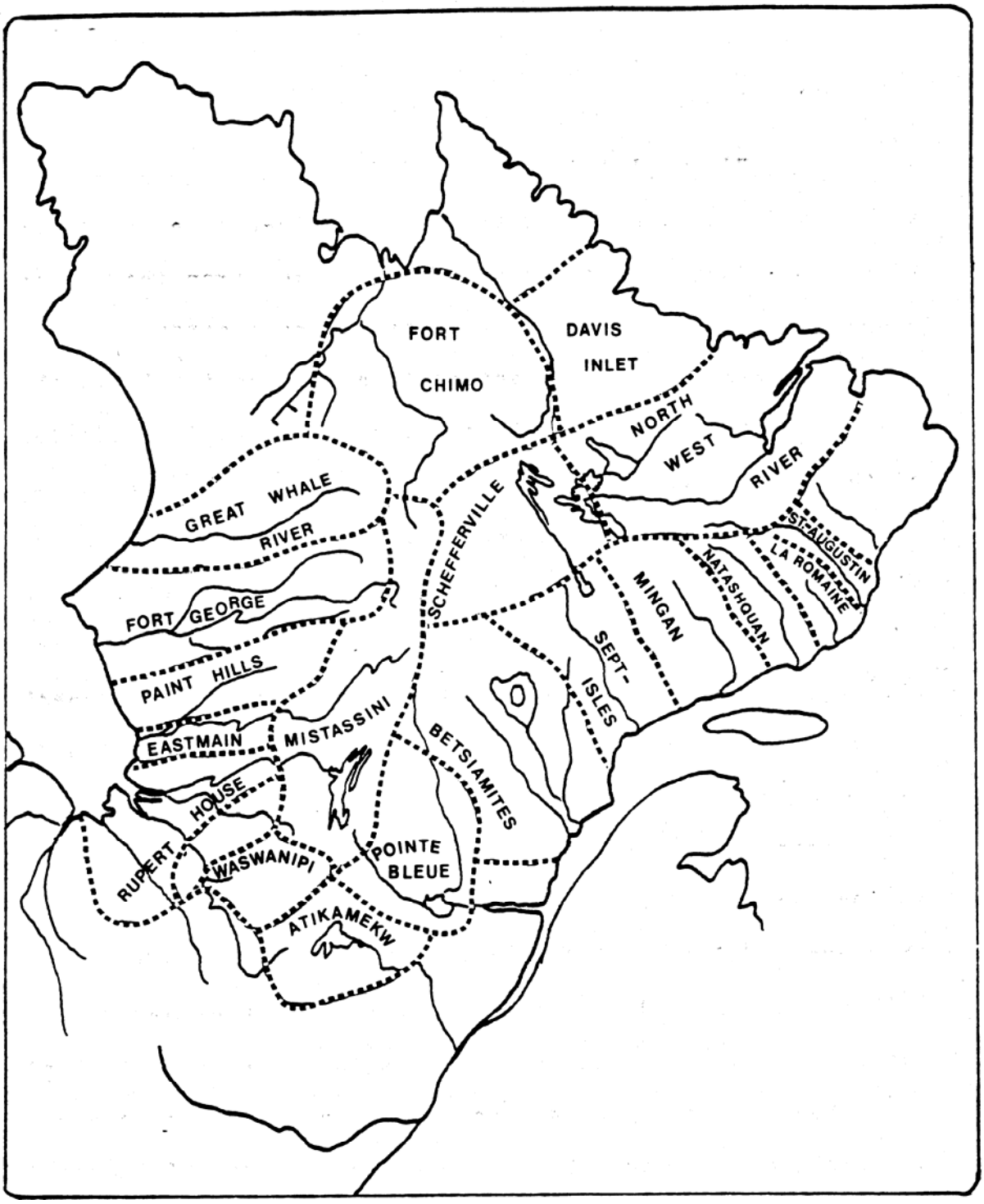
Since it is clear that all present-day communities contain geographically affiliated sub-groups, it is probable that within each community, these divisions will be reflected in linguistic variation. For purposes of this thesis, the assumption of relatively homogeneous speech communities will be maintained. Nevertheless, the fact of internal variation will be acknowledged and noted whenever information permits. Ethno-historical work such as that presently being undertaken by Morantz (1978) on the east coast of James Bay and by Mailhot and Vincent (in progress) on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence may well provide directions for more detailed

linguistic studies.

1.42 Demography

Figure 1-1 is a chart indicating the population and second language of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects within the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, taken from the survey prepared by the Government of Quebec (Marcil circa 1978). The terminology of Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi follows the usage of the groups themselves. The approximate boundaries of the hunting territories used by each community are out-lined on Map 1-7. These territories usually centre around a single river or drainage basin (Map 1-4a & b). Note that no data has been obtained for the Lower North Shore community of St. Augustin. Only the Atikamekw communities contain speakers of non-palatalized dialects.

Although the speakers of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, within the Quebec-Labrador peninsula share a common native language, they are divided by their second languages and the respective cultures associated with them. The Cree east of James Bay and inland to Mistassini as well as the Fort Chimo Naskapi speak English as a second language and profess Anglicanism as a Christian religion. Until the recent upsurge of Québecois nationalism and Quebec's discovery of its northern territory, the James Bay communities had strongest communicative links with Ontario. Native people were sent there to be educated and hospitalized. The Indian people of the Labrador coastal



Map 1-7 Community Hunting Territories (Present-day)

Community	Population	Second Lang.		Grouping
Great Whale River	372	English		
Fort George	1,611	English		
Wemindji	713	English	Coastal	
(Paint Hills) Eastmain	335	English		East
Rupert House	1,112	English		Cree (Y)
Nemiscau	104	English		
Waswanipi	811	English	Inland	
Mistassini	1,846	English		
Pointe Bleue	1,800	French		Montagnais (L)
Betsiamites	2,000	French		
Sept-Iles	1,000	French	Moisie	
Maliotenam Schefferville	600	French		
Mingan	300	French		
Natashquan	400	French		Montagnais
La Romaine	525	French		(N)
St. Augustin	700	English, French	Lower North Shore	
North West River	700	English		
Labrador Davis Inlet	150	English		Naskapi (N)
Labrador Fort Chimo (Schefferville)	300	English		(Y)
Atikamekw (3 villages)	2,000	French		Cree (R)

Figure 1-1 Population and Second Language Distribution

villages also use English as a second language even though they were earlier converted to Catholicism by French Missionaries. The French clerics withdrew in the face of the Newfoundland English Catholic mission early in this century, so that only traces of the former association with the French remain in proper names and loan-words. The villages from Pointe Bleue to La Romaine (including Schefferville) use French as a second language and are Roman Catholic.

Indian political organizations have, within Quebec-Labrador, tended to form along second-language lines. The province-wide Indians of Quebec Association (I.Q.A.) which was formed in the 1960's, soon split along linguistic lines. Early in the 1970's, the Cree broke from the I.Q.A, and the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) was established to further and protect the interests of the English speaking villages in the James Bay area. This association is comprised solely of the palatalized y- communities, excluding Fort Chimo. Subsequently, the Conseil Atikamekw-Montagnais was created as these two groups withdrew from association with the Mohawks and Hurons. In Labrador, the provincial boundary fostered the isolation of the Davis Inlet and the North-West River people from their Quebec relatives, with the result that the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association (of Labrador) was formed.

New political affiliations can be expected to have an effect on the language of the individual communities. Although,

in the past, a regional standard language has never been implemented, it will be interesting to observe whether there will be linguistic convergence among members of any single political association. This is a distinct possibility for the East Cree villages since The Grand Council has requested a language commission to create and legitimize neologisms.

1.5 Data and Informants

The data for this thesis co-me from two types of sources: field notes and tapes gathered by the author and also by linguists and anthropologists who made them available to the author; published grammars and dictionaries of a few of the dialects. The author was able to visit all the palatalized communities except Pointe Bleue and those on the shore of the St. Lawrence River (Betsiamites to St. Augustin). Tapes, notes and transcriptions for n- and l- communities in Quebec-Labrador were generously provided by José Mailhot who has worked in the area as an ethno-linguist for over ten years. As well, William Cowan allowed his tapes of the n- and l- dialects to be copied. The only community for which linguistic data were not obtained is St. Augustin.

There are, to date, no published studies of any of the palatalized dialects of the scope of Wolfart's Plains Cree (1973). Most of the published works are in the form of language learning courses and, as such, are often less than exhaustive in presentation of phonological and grammatical

information. Béland's recent doctoral thesis, "Atikamekw Morphology and Lexicon" (1978) is the most detailed account of a Quebec Cree dialect but describes, of course, a non-palatalized variety.

Fieldwork for this thesis was not originally carried out by the traditional method of preparing a questionnaire to be administered in all communities. Instead, the list of phenomena which display variation was compiled over a number of years of trying to establish standard orthographies for the Cree and Montagnais communities. In the past ten years, there has been a demand from native people within Quebec for education in their own language. In almost a11 cases this has meant the teaching of reading and writing skills in the language of each community.

The Cree of Quebec and the Fort Chimo Naskapi have used a syllabic orthography for the last century, while the Montagnais (and Atikamekw) use a roman orthography introduced by the missionaries in the seventeenth century. There has never been a regional standard for either of these orthographies. Usually people teach themselves how to read and write. Some use the biblical model provided by religious literature. But often the religious books which are available in the native language are written either for a different dialect or for an earlier and more conservative form of the language. Consequently, many people use their own pronunciation as a guide to writing and the result is a large variation in

spelling of the same lexical items and morphemes.

The issue of a standard spelling system for either syllabics or roman has not yet been resolved. Nevertheless, the exercise of trying to establish such a system stimulated research into the dialect differences by Mailhot for n- and l- dialects of Montagnais (1975) and by the author for East Cree and Fort Chimo Naskapi. An initial list of lexical items was compiled as a result of this research. Items not already recorded in existing notes and publications were then elicited from speakers. As the analysis proceeded, new areas of significant variation were discovered and this necessitated further elicitation in as many locations as time and funding permitted.

Many aspects of inter-community language variation remain to be explored. As well, the whole issue of internal variation of each community has been merely touched on in this study. The data presented in this thesis, however, should provide a starting point for more detailed investigations.

1.6 Transcription and Abbreviations

The transcription used in this thesis is consistent with that in general use by Algonkianists. The vowels are e:, i:, a:, u:, i, a, u. The colon (:) marks the 'long' vowels. High rounded back vowels are transcribed by u: and u, rather than o: and o, which are used by other Cree linguists: Ellis (1971), Wolfart (1973), Béland (1978) and Pentland (1979)

following Bloomfield (1946). The grapheme <u> is the only one used by the Montagnais and is closer to phonetic reality for both East Cree and Montagnais. For this reason it is used here. All examples from published sources which use o: or o have been re-written with u: or u.

The consonants are p, t, č (written c) k, s, š, h, m, n, l, r, y, w. Phonemic forms are underlined, phonetic forms enclosed by square brackets ([...]) and morpho-phonetic forms enclosed in slashes (/.../). Forms in the original transcription of other authors are enclosed by double quotation marks ("..."}. Glosses are enclosed by single quotation marks (' . . .').

Abbreviations are as follows:

TA	Transitive Animate Verb
TI	Transitive Inanimate Verb
AI	Animate Intransitive Verb
II	Inanimate Intransitive Verb
1	First Person Singular
11	First Person Plural Exclusive
2	Second Person
12	First Person Plural Inclusive
22	Second Person Plural
3	Third Person Proximate Animate
33	Third Person Plural
3'	Third Person Obviative Animate
0	Third Person Inanimate
C	Consonant

V	Vowel
R.H.	Rupert House
Em.	Eastmain
P.H.	Paint Hills
Ft. G.	Fort George
G.W.R.	Great Whale River
Ft. C.	Fort Chimo
D.I.	Davis Inlet
Sch.	Schefferville
S.I.	Sept-Isles
L.R.	La Romaine
Nat.	Natasquan
Min.	Mingan
Bets.	Betsiamites
P.B.	Pointe Bleue
Mist.	Mistassini
Was.	Waswanipi
Nem.	Nemiscau
Moisie	Sept-Isles and Schefferville
LNS.	Lower North Shore (includes Mingan to St. Augustin).
NWR.	North West River
Atik.	Atikamekw

CHAPTER II

CONSONANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

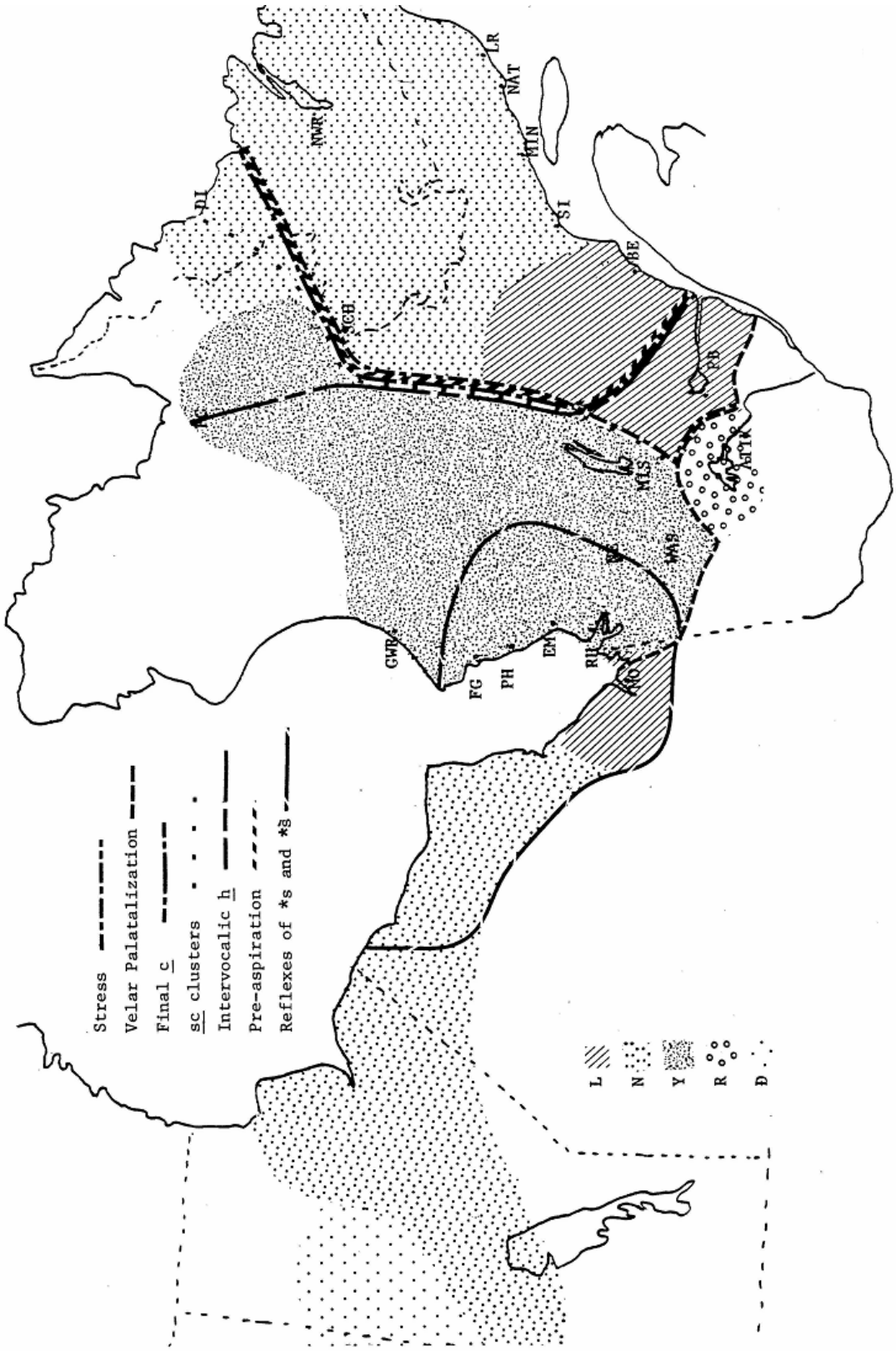
Consonant cluster series were *hc, *x̂C, *θk, *sC and *s̀C. PA clusters with second member *s become *s.

The consonant inventory is as follows:

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

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

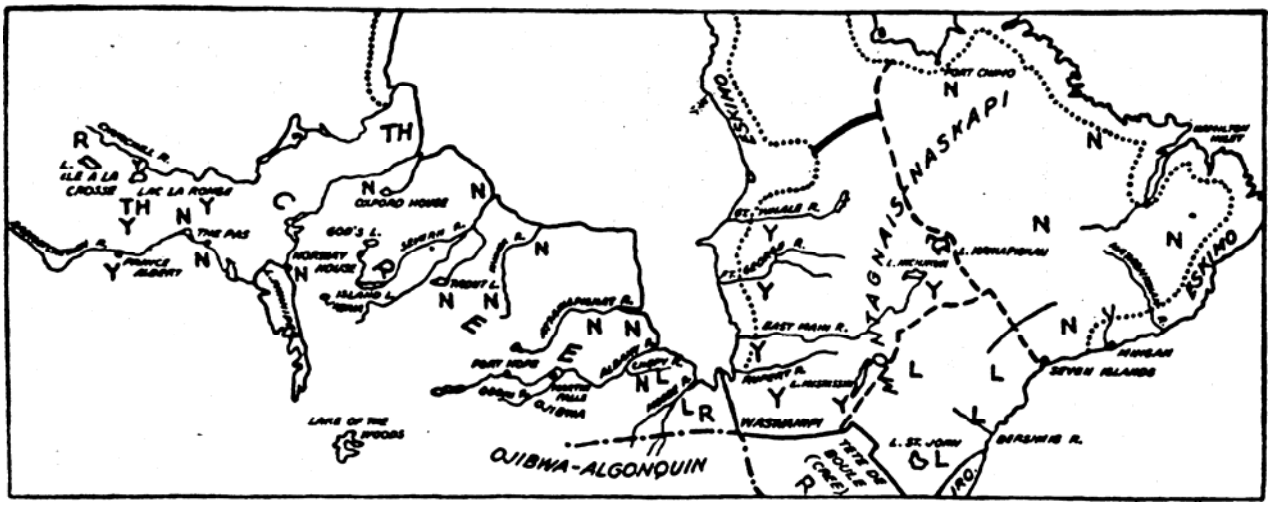
Map 2-1, following, shows the isoglosses for consonant changes described in this chapter. Individual isoglosses appear on maps in the section where the sound shift is discussed.



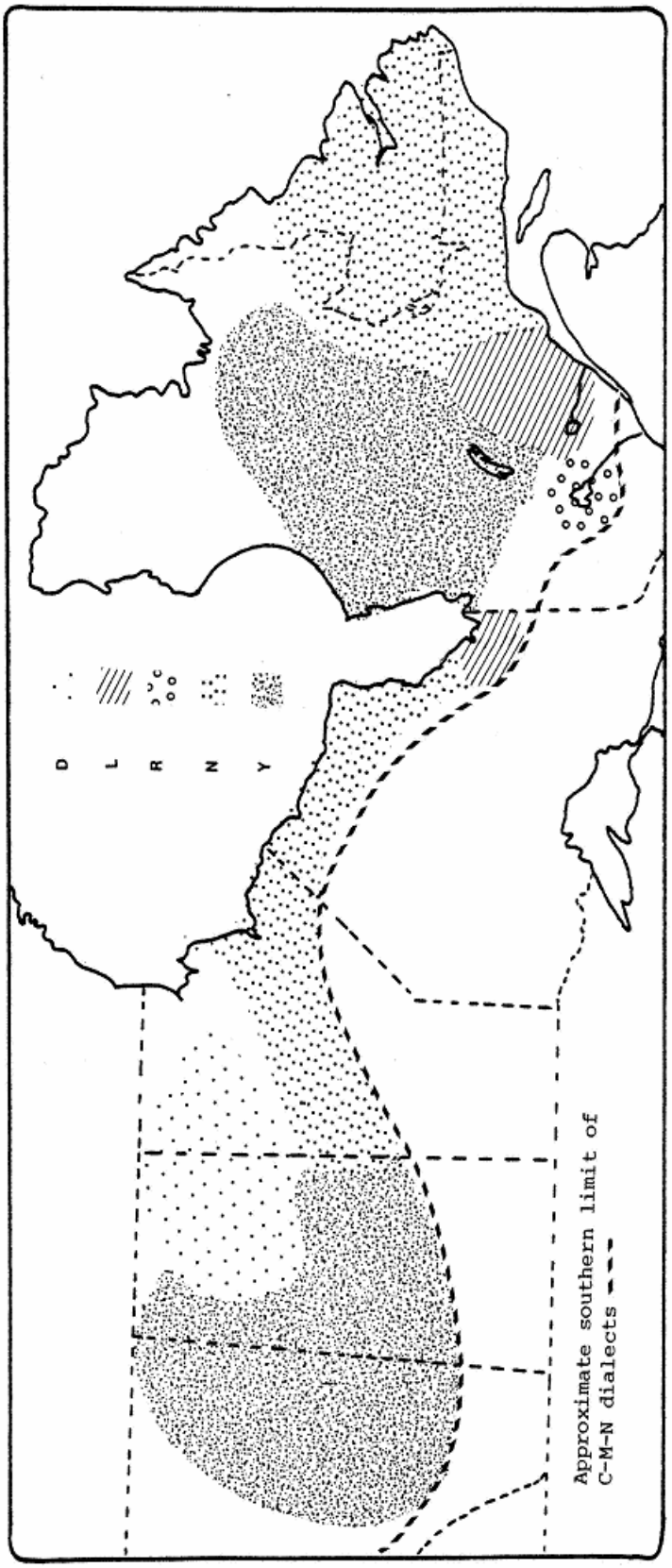
Map 2-1 Consonant Isoglosses (Cumulative)

2.1 Reflexes of Proto-Algonkian *1

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



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



Map 2-3 Reflexes of PA *1

Reflexes of PA *l

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

Non-palatalized

Palatalized

Figure 2-1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PA	Plains	East Cree	
*wi:nle:wa	wi:hye:w	wi:he:w	'he names him'
*le:hle:wa	ye:hye:w	ye:hye:w	'he breathes'
*a?lapya	ahyapiy	ahapi: ahi:pi:	'net'
*wa:?lawi	wa:hyu:	wa:hyu:	'far'
*a?la:wa	ahye:w	hye:w ahe:w	'she places him'
*a:te?lu:hke:wa	a:tahyu:hke:w	a:tiyu:hce:w	'he tells a myth'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

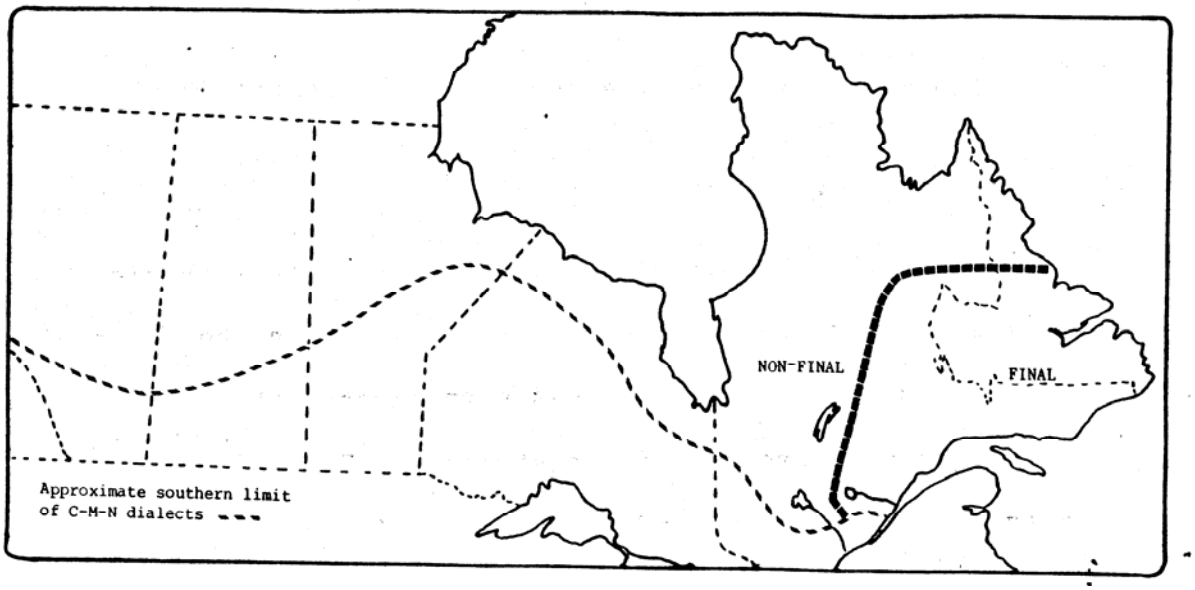
2.14 There is evidence of the change from r to l in historic times in the area of Betsiamites. The first Jesuit recordings of the language spoken by the Indians who visited the Tadoussac mission are of an r-dialect (Thwaites 1901). By the end of the seventeenth century few instances of l are found in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

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

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

2.2 Stress Placement

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



Map 2-4 Stress

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

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

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

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

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

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

yá:ka:w	'sand'
ya:ká:w	'it is sandy'

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

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

2.3 Palatalization

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

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

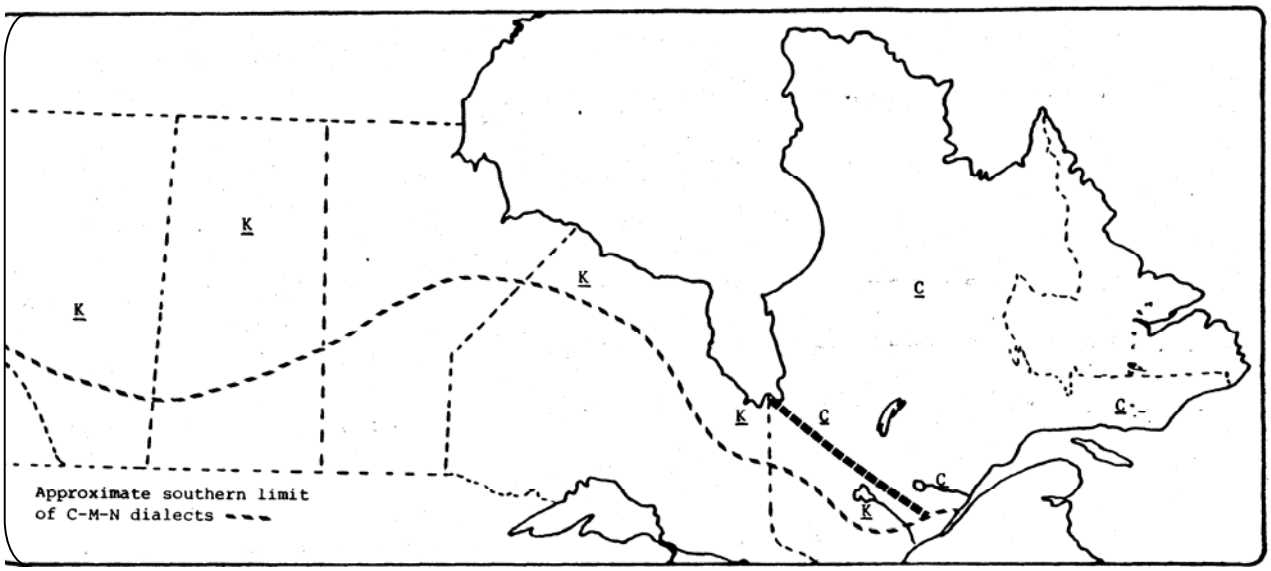
/na:t-e:w/ >	na:te:w	'he fetches him'
/ci-na:t-in/ >	cina:sin	'you fetch me'
/pe:t-a:stamuhte:w/ >	pe:ta:stamuhte:w	'he approaches'
/pe:t-i-pi:hce:w/ >	pe:cipi:hce:w	'he comes in'

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

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

/atimw/ >	atim	'dog'
/atimw-iš/ >	acimuš	'puppy'
/si:pi:/ >	si:pi:	'river'
/si:pi:-iš/ >	šiːpiːš	'stream'
/te:htapu:n/ >	te:htapu:n	'chair'
/te:htapu:n-iš >	ce:hcapu:nš	'little chair'

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



Map 2-5 Velar Palatalization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

/cipahamw/ > [dzəphəm] 'he closes it'

2.4 Depalatalization

Every dialect which palatalizes k to c has rules which simplify c to either [t] or [s] when next to s or t. Thus we find aski: may become [asci:] [astsi:] or [assi:] in various dialects.

Historical evidence indicates that sk clusters were the first to undergo velar palatalization and subsequent simplification. While the dictionaries of Silvy and Fabvre from the late 1600's show variable palatalization of single k, almost all sequences of skis are recorded as "stis".

Fabvre	"asti"	aski:	'earth'
	"mistinak8"	miskina:kw	'turtle'8
	"pastisikan"	pa:skisikan	'gun'
Silvy	"astikw"	askikw	'kettle'
	"mastisin"	maskisin	'moccasin'
	"nipastinen"	nipaskine:n	'I shoot it'
	"nipassinen"		

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

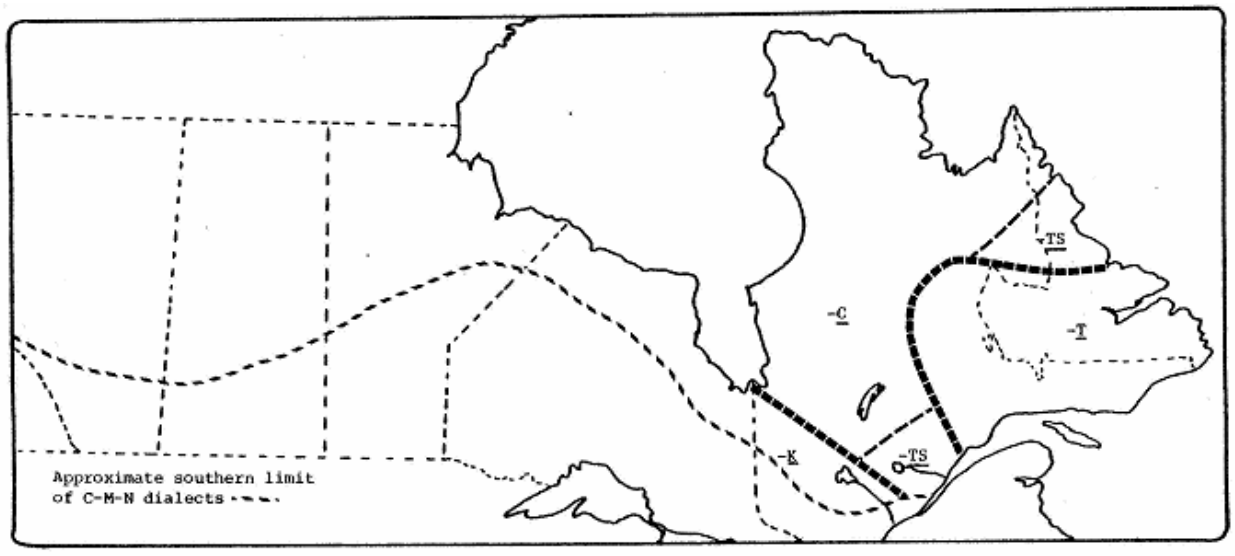
The palatalization of final k and subsequent affricate simplification followed this. In all n- and l-varieties in Quebec-Labrador, final c<k is pronounced as

Depalatalization

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

Figure 2-2

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



Map 2-b Final c

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

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

/maskisin/	>	mascisin	> [massin]	'moccasin'
/aski:/	>	asci:	> [assi:]	'earth'
/pakisin/	>	pacisin	> [patsin]	'he drops'
/-aki /	>	-ac	> [-at]	'anim. pl.'

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

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

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

citawa:si:m	>	[stəwɔ:si:m]	'your child'
mascisin	>	[məstsɨn]	'shoe'
asci:	>	[əsci:]	'earth'

On the east coast of James Bay the retention of s as well as s̀ creates a new affricate in some words so that mascis̀in > [məstsˇin] 'shoe' is perceived as mascin. This can cause homophony between the words mi:ciw 'he eats it' and mi:cis̀uw > [mi:tšˇu:] 'he eats', but is avoided through the voicing of -c-:

mi:ciw	>	[mi:ǰu:] (tšˇ)	'he eats it'
mi:cis̀uw	>	[mi:ču:]	'he eats'

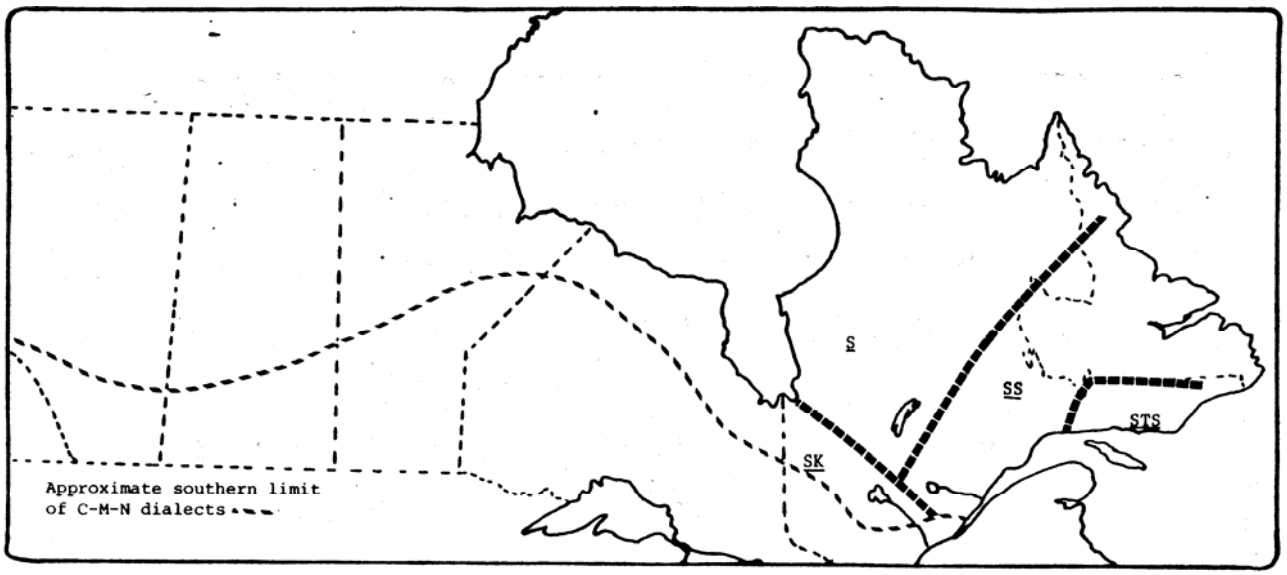
At Mistassini, the rule has been generalized to sequences of cik- as in [skatu:təm] < cikatu:tamw 'he will do it'.

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

asci:	>	[astsi:]	'earth'
mascisin	>	məstsn̥ > [məhtn̥]	'shoe
kascinu:	>	kəstinu: > [kəhtn̥u:]	'all'

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

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

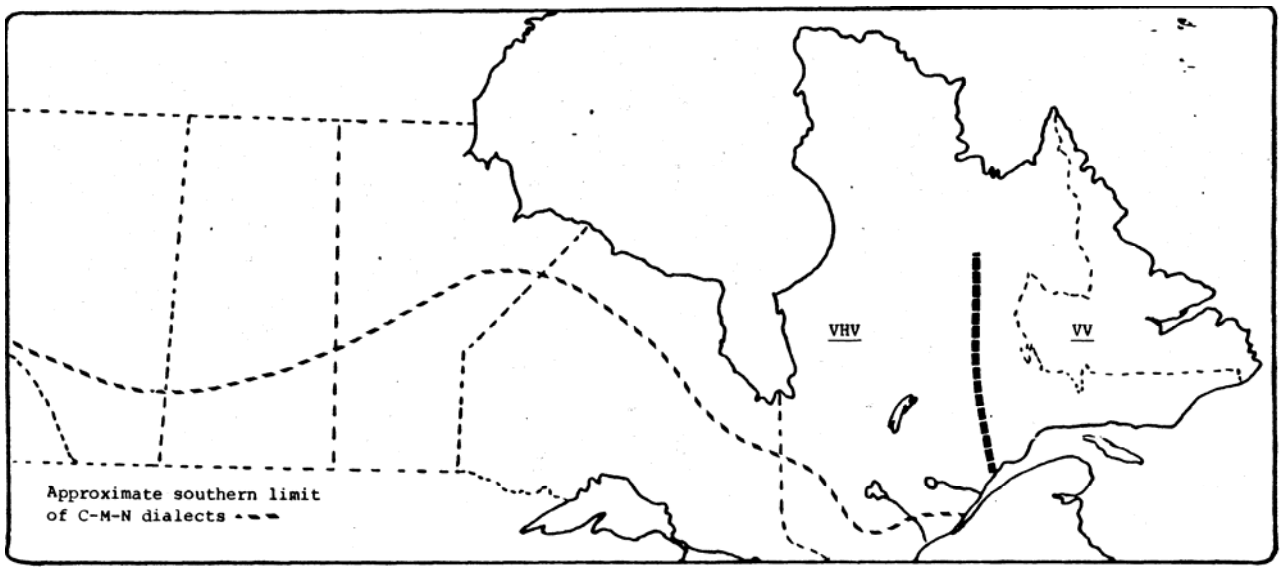


Map 2-7 sc clusters

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

2.5 Loss of h

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



Map 2-8 Intervocalic h

Loss of h

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

Figure 2-3

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

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

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

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

Mistassini	Ft. Chimo	Davis I.	
nicipahe:n	nicipa:n	nicipe:n	'I close it'
cipaham	cipam	cipam	'he closes it'

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

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

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

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

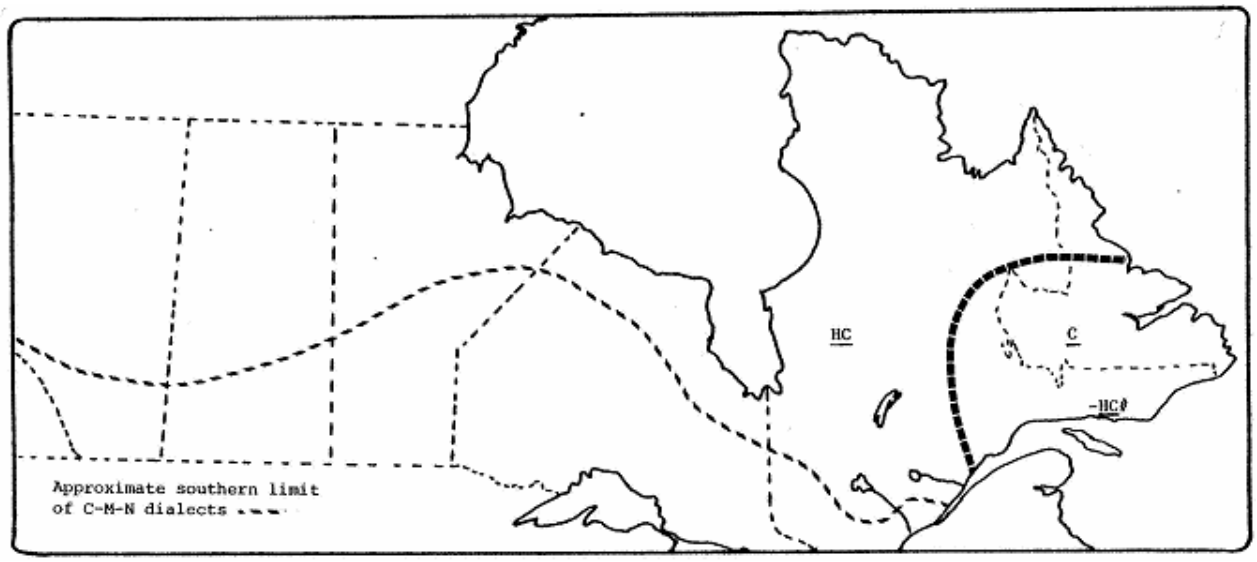
The third person forms can be easily explained. After the h has become [y], the following short vowel drops and in the NWR/Moisie varieties the preceding a is raised to [e] by the high front glide. The first and second person forms may have been restructured on the model of the third person, even though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

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

/masinahikan/	>	masina:nikan	'book'
/wa:skahikan/	>	wa:ska:nikan	'house'

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

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



Map 2-9 Pre-Aspiration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In any case, it seems that in those dialects where s̀ > h, the original h no longer exists.

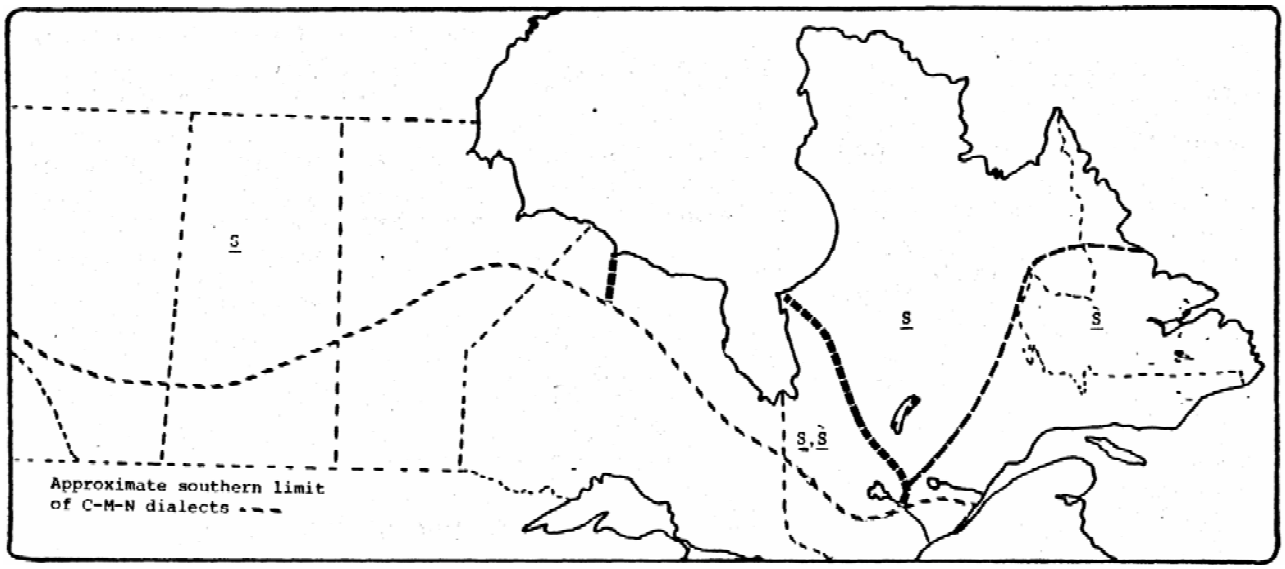
2.6 Reflexes of Proto-Algonkian *s and *s̀

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

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

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

Map 2-10 shows the distribution of s and s̀



Map 2-10 Distribution of s and s̀

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some examples are as follows:

Mistassini	Moisie	Swampy	
uta:pa:n	uta:pa:n	uta:pain	'car'
uca:panis̀	uta:pa:niss	uca:painis̀is̀	'little car'
atimw	atimw	atimw	'dog'
acimus̀	atimuss	acimus̀is̀	'puppy'

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

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

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

Although -iss represents the diminutive morpheme for most lexical items in the palatalized n and l varieties, there remain certain words which have -šì:š.

uta:pa:niss	'little car'
pinesi:š	'little bird'

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

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

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

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

Over 40	20-40 yrs.	
pine:ŝi:ŝ	pine:hi:s	'bird'
pineŝi:hat	pine:hi:hat	'birds'
ŝi:pu:	hi:pu:	'river'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pointe Bleue	S.I. – Sch.	NWR	
isṗimiht	isṗimit	ispimi:t	'above'
misṗun	misṗun	mispun	'it snows'
nisṫ	nisṫ	nist	'three'
ni:sta:w	ni:sta:w	ni:sta:w	'my bro.-in-
amisḳw	amisḳw	amiskw	'beaver'
maskw	masḳw	maskw	'bear'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

st but never [hΘ].

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

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

2.7 n ~ y alternation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

these items are pronounced with n instead of h:

masinahikan	> masina:nikan	'book'
wa:skahikan	> wa:ska:nikan	'house'
mahikan	> ma:nikan ~ ma:nixey	'wolf'

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

An intrusive n also occurs variably in initial position in words beginning with short i:

iskwe:w	~ niskwe:w	'woman'
iskute:w	~ niskute:w	'fire'
ispimi:hc	~ nispimi:hc	'above'

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.8 Voicing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

wa:pa:w	>	[wa:'pɔ̯ŭ]	'it is white'
ne:ka:w	>	[ne:'kə̯ŭ]	'sand'
nipi:	>	[niP'pi]	'water'
atim	>	[aT'tIm]	'dog'

2.9 Minor Processes

2.91 Assimilation of final alveolars

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

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

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

2.92 Degemination

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

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

/ni-takuṡin-n/ > nitakuṡin 'I arrive'

The palatalization of t plus the syncope produces geminate cc

which is reduced to c in the example below:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.93 Nasal syllabification

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

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

All these are clusters of homorganic stops and nasals:

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

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

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

nikawa:pama:w	>	[ŋkawa:pama:w]	'I see him'
nikiskelihten	>	[ŋkisel'ten]	'I know it'
nitawelihtam	>	[ŋtawel'tam]	'he wants it'

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

CHAPTER III

VOWELS

3.0 The two series of vowels in Algonkian have traditionally been referred to as 'long' a:, e:, i:, u:, and 'short' a, e, i, u. The distinction between them has been attributed to a difference in quantity (Bloomfield, 1946:86). Functionally, the distinguishing characteristic of long vowels is that they do not undergo reduction, although linguists have questioned quantity being designated as the salient feature. Little work has been done to analyze these vowels by modern sonographic methods. The use of the feature 'tenseness' has been proposed as a replacement for 'length'. Piggott, who uses tense/lax rather than long/short to describe Odawa vowels, stated that "some realizations of the tense vowels are, impressionistically, not of a significantly greater duration than the corresponding lax vowel" (1974:108). Drapeau (1979:19) has drawn attention to the fact that all the long vowels are tense and the short ones non-tense. Tenseness can replace length in phonological analysis as is done by MacKenzie (1971).

Nonetheless, sonographic analyses which have been carried out for the Moisie and Mingan dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi indicate that the relationship between tenseness and length is more complex than the simple one-to-one relationship implied by the above: Ford (1976), Mailhot

(1975) and Drapeau (1979) have each distinguished two degrees of length for final tense vowels in the varieties of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi spoken in Betsiamites and Sept-Isles/ Schefferville. These are the same dialects where final lax vowels are deleted and where stress is on the final syllable of the word. Drapeau indicated that all long vowels are phonetically shortened in an accented syllable (the final one). In these dialects a lax vowel a is suffixed to indicate inanimate plural and subsequently undergoes a rule of apocope. However it leaves behind a mark in the form of a lengthening of the preceding tense vowel (as well as other changes in intonation, aspiration, and final consonant, etc. as in Mailhot 1975:39):

Moisie	LNS	
uta:pa:n	uta:pa:n	'car'
uta:pa::n	uta:pa:na	'cars'
mi:cwa:p^{h}	mi:cwa:hp	'house'
mi:cwa::p	mi:cwa:pa	'houses'

A tense vowel in final position, open or closed syllable, may then be morphophonemically long or short. Ford maintained that this lengthening can apply equally to lax vowels and suggested a feature [+ accent] which doubles the length of any vowel.

An oscillographic analysis of a limited corpus was undertaken for the Mingan dialect by Martin et al (1977) in an

attempt to discover whether length is indeed a salient feature of Montagnais vowels. He measured duration, frequency and amplitude in four contexts: stressed and unstressed closed syllables; and stressed and unstressed open syllables. He also provided a close phonetic transcription for seventy-one lexical items. Martin reported that the vowels were realized as follows:

i: as [i:], [i] and [I]

e: as [e], [e:] and [ɛ]

a: as [a] and [a:]

u: as [o], [ʊ], [ʊ:] and [o:]

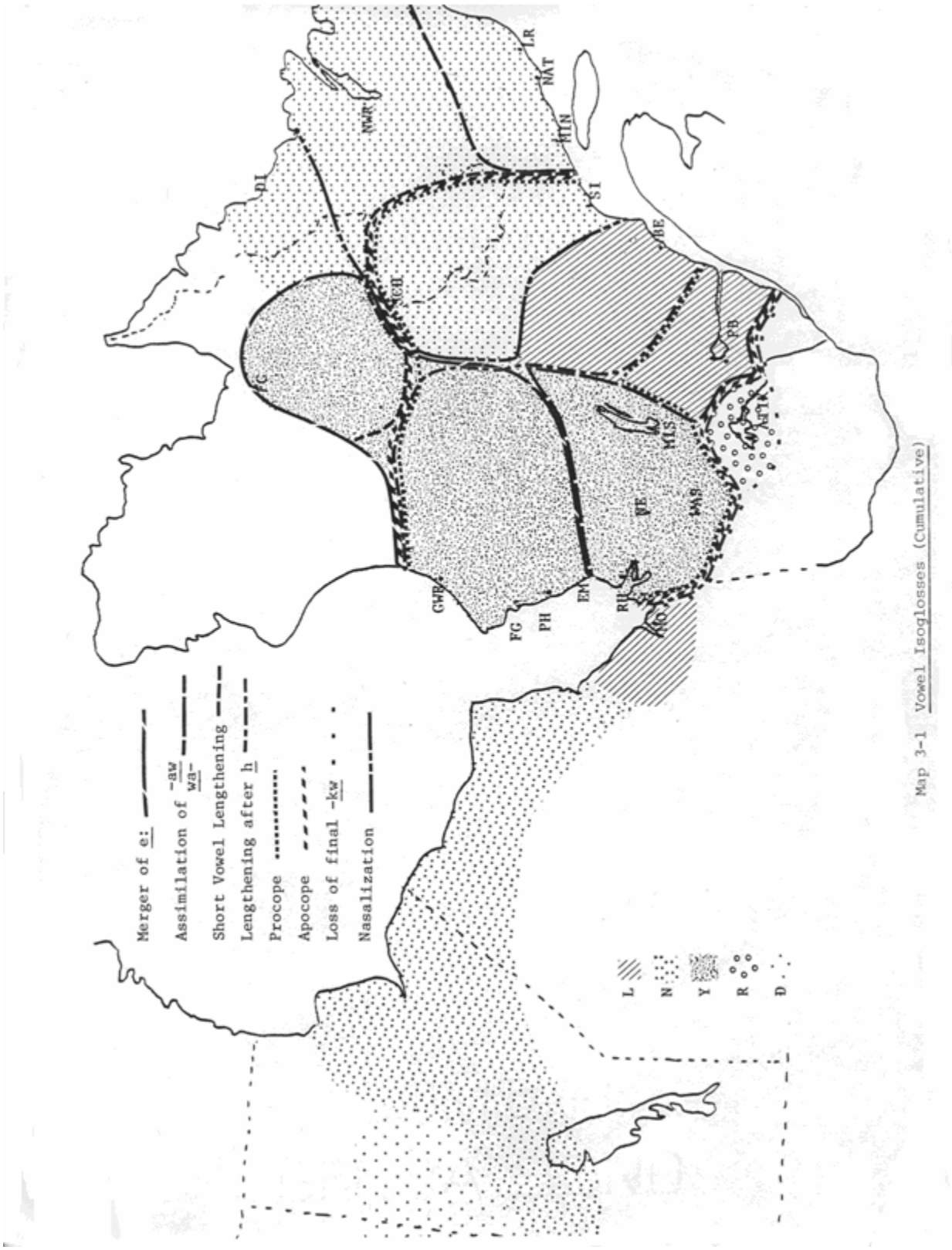
i as [i], [I] [ɨ] and [ɛ]

a as [a], [ə] [ʌ] and [ɛ]

u as [o] and [ʊ]

In addition, Martin commented that: (a) vowels (long or short) are systematically longer under stress than when not under stress, (b) vowels are always longer in an open syllable and (c) the difference between 'long' and 'short' vowels is neutralized in a stressed (final) open syllable. He concluded that in other syllables (unstressed open and closed, stressed closed) duration is the most pertinent of all the acoustic factors used to distinguish 'long' and 'short' vowels. He also pointed out that a more comprehensive study of the vowels is needed.

An examination of Martin's transcription suggests several



Map 3-1 Vowel Isoglosses (Cumulative)

hypotheses about the behaviour of 'short' vowels which will be discussed in 3.2.

3.1 Long Vowels

There is variation among the dialects with respect to the phonetic quality of long vowels. The vowel u: tends to be more like [u] towards the western side of Québec-Labrador and more like [o] towards the east. The use of the graphonic symbol < o: > for most of the non-palatalized dialects would indicate that its realization is closer to [o] than [u].

The vowel e: may vary between [e] and [ɛ]. Drapeau reported that the variant [ɛ] is used in (final) stressed closed syllables (1979:20). In the southern y-varieties of Quebec, [e] occurs before y and k and [ɛ] elsewhere.

Generally a: is [æ] in the southern y-varieties (except adjacent to w) but becomes more like [a] in the northern y-varieties. In Betsiamites, a: occurs as [ɒ:] (Drapeau 1979:20).

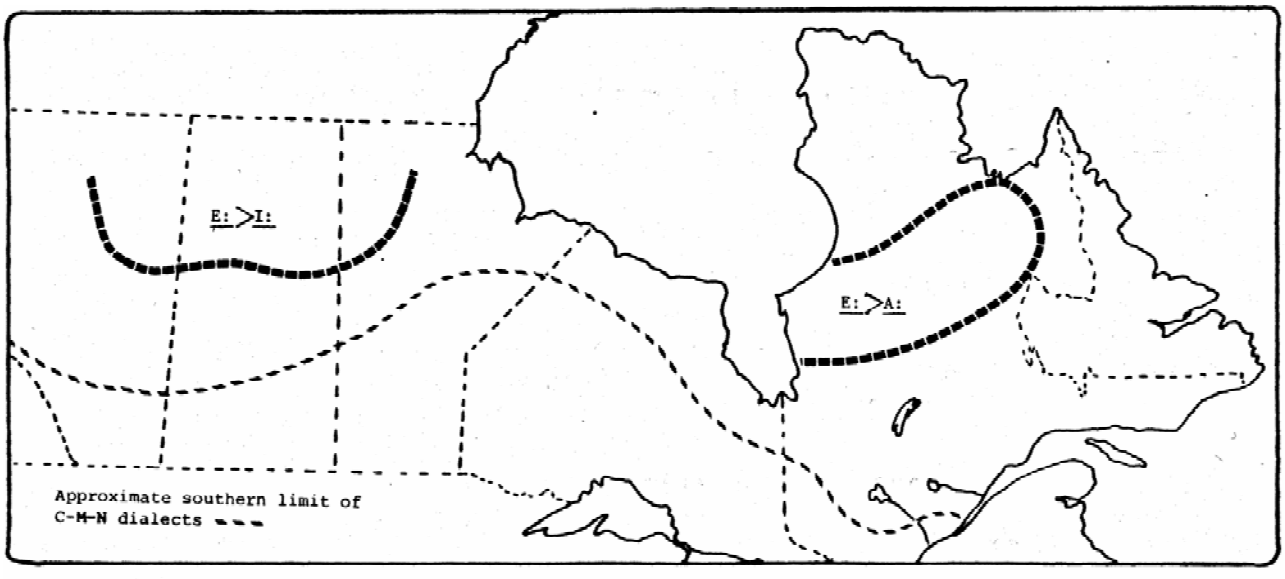
3.11 Lowering of e:

In most of the dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi there are four phonemic 'long' vowels: i:, e: u: and a:. In the northern y-area of the palatalized dialects,

however, e: has collapsed with a: in all words except the one for 'yes':

Southern y	Northern y	
na:pe:w	na:pa:w	'man'
ne:te:	na:ta:	'over there'
iskwe:w	iskwa:w	'woman'
enikamut	a:nikamut	'whenever he sings'
e:he:	(n)i:hi:	'yes'

A comparable merger has been reported for some dialects of Plains Cree (Pentland 1979:104). There, e: has fallen together with i: rather than with a:, so that na:pew is pronounced as na:pi:w. Wolfart indicated that the y-dialects of Plains Cree can be split on the basis of this feature into a northern and southern group, as can the y-dialects of Quebec (1973:11).



Map 3-2 Merger of e:

The merger of e: and a: took place historically in the palatalized dialects after k had been palatalized to c. Thus ke:ka:t 'thing' becomes ce:ka:t and finally ca:ka:t. If the merger had occurred prior to velar palatalization, the present pronunciation of 'thing' in the northern y-varieties would be ka:ka:t < ke:ka:t. The merger would have then removed the environment for the palatalization of the first k.

The a: vowel which results from this merger then participates in those rules which back and round a: in the vicinity of w (3.42).

Map 3-2 shows the communities in which this rule of e: lowering operates. At Eastmain, the majority of speakers merge the vowels but inconsistently. This village is at the southern boundary of the area where e: becomes a:. The change of e: to a: there may be considered a recent innovation. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the village include many families who have moved in from neighbouring communities in the south and the north. When the post of Old Factory, mid-way between Eastmain and Paint Hills, was closed and the population relocated, some families settled at Eastmain. The Old Factory speakers did not use the e: vowel.

One extended family, originally from Rupert House to the south, use both e: and a:, as do Rupert House speakers.

Throughout their several generations of residence among Eastmain speakers, this aspect of their dialect has changed very little. As well, they have their trapline the farthest inland of any Eastmain family, sharing a boundary with Mistassini and Nemiscau people.

The older Mistassini people who have territories to the north-west of the Mistassini hunting area, towards Paint Hills and Fort George have acquired the [æ] variant of e:, mainly in initial position.

The variation between [ɛ] and [æ] for e: is correlated with the location of the family hunting group territory. This indicates that, for the hunting people, attachment to a particular post is not the only important non-linguistic variable affecting speech. Year-round residence in a community is a recent phenomenon. The usual pattern, until relatively recent times, was that eight to ten months were spent on the hunting territory, where frequent contact was had with people from the neighbouring territories. Those families which had the hunting grounds on the periphery of a community's territory, would then have had neighbours who could easily have been attached to a completely different community.

The Betsiamites data recorded by Cowan (1974) and Drapeau (1979) give only a single instance of a change of e: > a:, in the word for 'spoon'. Both writers provide

amikwa:n rather than the expected e:mikwan. Further investigation may reveal whether this is a chance sound shift or the beginning of the sound change discussed above.

3.12 Backing and rounding of a:

Whenever a: is preceded by w it is rounded to [ɔ:]. When followed by w, it is backed to [o:], as is the case at Mistassini:

/ita:pame:w/	>	[Itæ:pm̥ew]	'he sees him so'
/wa:pame:w/	>	[wɔ:pm̥ew]	'he sees him'
/niwa:pama:w/	>	[nɨwɔ:pm̥ɒ:w]	'I see him'

The a: between two occurrences of w, is backed and rounded to [o:], with optional loss of the w:

/miywa:siw/	>	[miyɔ:su:]	'it is pretty'
/miywa:w/	>	[miyo:w]	'it is good'
/e:cinwa:c/	>	[ɛcɨnɔ:c]	'as it is long'
/cinwa:w/	>	[cɨno:w]	'it is long'

These two rules do not serve to distinguish one dialect from another. They appear to be in general use in many Cree dialects and are reported for the west coast of James Bay by Ellis (1964:1-6) and for Betsiamites by Drapeau (1979:20). In the northern y-group of Quebec rounding and raising occur between the high glides w and y not just between w. The Fort George [miyo:yhtam] < miywa:yihtam,

'he likes it' illustrates this. For Moose and Swampy, Pentland reported that in rapid speech, e: is raised before w as in [skwɔ] < iskwe:w. (1979:116).

3.13 Loss of w before [ɔ:]

Once a: has been backed and/or rounded, the preceding w may be deleted in the environment C_V:. This is a feature of casual style, rapid speech and youth:

/mwa:kw/	>	[mwɔ:kʷ~mɔ:kʷ]	'loon'
/kwa:pahamw/	>	[kɔ:phəm]	'he scoops it'
/cinwa:ce	>	[cinɔ:ce:]	'if it is long'

The loss of w in some words has become categorical for younger speakers.

In inter-vocalic position, w preceding a: may be deleted in rapid speech, causing a preceding short vowel to be deleted as well.

/wi:ciwa:kan/	>	[wi:cɔ:kan]	'companion'
/ciwa:pama:wa/	>	[cɔ:pm̥a:we]	'do you see him?'
/nituwa:pahta/	>	[n̥tɔ:hth]	'fetch it!'

The backed and rounded vowel [ɔ:] indicates the former presence of a preceding w. Young speakers may also delete w before e: :

/itwe:w/	[i:twe:w~i:te:w]	'he says'
/nituwe:yime:w/	[ntwe:yme:w~nte:yme:w]	'he wants him'
/twe:huw/	[te:hu:]	'it lands from the air'

3.2 Short vowels

In the palatalized dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi the short vowels i, a and u are subject to a large amount of phonetic variation: deletion, assimilation, neutralization, lengthening and rounding. The non-round i and a are more often affected than u which remains relatively stable. In addition, short vowels normally carry weak or secondary stress if there is a long vowel in a word.

Variations in phonetic realization of short vowels cannot be simply represented, by the use of isoglosses, as being discontinuous. Variation is distributed throughout any single community according to the age and family affiliation of the speakers. This is also the case within the entire group of communities. As well, individual speakers show variation relative to their speed of utterance. The treatment of short vowels in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi is an excellent topic for a variability study of the type which has been carried out for English by Labov (1972).

3.21 Assimilation to semi-vowels

The semi-vowels y- and w often modify neighbouring short vowels. i in particular is always assimilated to either glide. u is always assimilated to w but never to y. The assimilation of a varies according to community and lexical item. In all cases of assimilation to a glide the result is a phonetically tense vowel [i:] or [u:]

3.22 Assimilation to y

The sequence iy is phonetically indistinguishable from i:y both in the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects (Pentland 1979:115). In the palatalized varieties a is often raised to [i] before y with the result that [iy] < ay and iy do not contrast. This occurs with greatest regularity between two consonants or between a consonant and a long vowel. Pentland reported this for the non-palatalized varieties also (1979:114).

If the sequence ay in initial position is followed by a long vowel, a rule of procope or lengthening or raising may operate before the assimilation rules. When a stop is prefixed, however, assimilation to y then takes place:

	Mistassini	Ft. George	LNS
/aya:w/ 'he has it'	[ya:w]	[i:ya:w]	[a:ya:w]
/nitaya:n/ 'I have it'	[n̩tiya:n]	[n̩tiya:n]	[n̩tiya:n]

The following Mistassini examples illustrate the fact that sequences of aya, iya, iyi, become [i:]:

/kwayaskw/	>	[kwi:skw]	'straight, correct'
/apiyane:/	>	[api:ne]	'if you (s) sit'
/ayahc/	>	[i:hc]	'different'
/iyiniw	>	[i:nu]	'Indian, person'

In final position, iy becomes [i:]:

/nipiy/	>	[nipi:]	'water'
/asiniy/	>	[əsini:]	'stone'

At Davis Inlet, where y is often replaced with n, the above words are nipi:n 'water' and asini:n 'stone'. This indicates that any pan-dialectal analysis of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi must retain the final sequence of iy at the systematic level.

There is raising of a before y in the majority of palatalized communities. In eastern Quebec-Labrador ay may become [ey] but on the western side of the peninsula ay becomes [i:]. The Lower North Shore communities generally retain ay as [əy] while the neighbouring Moisie speakers to the west use [ey]. Further west, Betsiamite speakers, as well as those on the east coast of James Bay, use [i:].

LNS	Sch.	Bets.	
uš̀akay	uš̀akey	uš̀aki:	'his skin'
pu:tay	putey	pu:ti:	'bottle'
š̀a:kaikan	š̀a:keikan	š̀a:ki:kan	'lake'

At Northwest River, where speakers have had contact with both the Lower North Shore and the Moisie dialects, raising of a before y is variable:

usàkay	>	[usàkəy]	'his skin'
ci:pay	>	[ci:pey ~ ci:pəy]	'spirit, ghost'
nitawakay	>	[nitu:key~nitu:ki:]	'my ear'

Mistassini speakers also show variation in the pronunciation of ci:pay 'ghost' as [ci:pəy] or [ci:pi:] and pu:tay 'bottle' as [pu:tay] or [pu:ti:].

3.23 Assimilation to w

In the palatalized dialects, i is always assimilated to a following w. The result may be a phonetically short or long vowel, depending on subsequent rules:

	Mistassini	Betsiamites	
/apiw/	[əpu:]	[pu]	'he sits'
/mi:cisuw/	[mi:tsu:]	[mi:tsu]	'he eats'

Proto-Algonkian nouns ending in -*Cyiwa show variation in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. The words for 'mountain', 'river', and 'mud' illustrate this:

	*wacyiwi	*si:pyiwa	*asiskyiwi
Plains	waci:	si:pi:	asiski:
Mistassini	uci:	si:pi:	asiscu:
Moisie	ucu:	sì:pu:	asìscu:

Assimilation to w

PA	Atikamekw	Mistassini	Ft.George	Moisie	NWR/LNS	Davis I.	
*wacyiwi	-	waci:	wuci:	ucu:	wacu:	-	'mountain'
*waʔsˋaskˋwa	ucaskw	watskw	wuciskw	uciskw	waciskw	waciskw	'muskrat'
*takwani	takun	takun	takun	takun	takwan	takwan	'there is'
*amiθkwaki	amiskuk	(a)miskuc	amiskuc	amiskut	amiskwat	amiskwats	'beavers'
*walawi:wa	uruwi:w	wi:wi:w	wi:wi:w	unawi:w	wanawi:w	weywi:w	'he goes out'
*wela:kani	ura:kan	wi:ya:kan	wi:ya:kan	una:kan	una:kan	una:kan	'dish'
*awe:n-	awi:n	(a)we:n	uwɔ:n	we:n	a:we:n	awe:n	'who'
*wehtawakayi	uttu:kay	uhtu:ki:	uhtawkiy	u:tu:key	utu:key	wi:htu:kan	'his ear'
*mye:xkanawi	me:skanu	me:skanu:	me:skanaw	me:skanu:	me:skanaw	me:skeyaw	'road'
*u:te:wenali	u:te:nu	ute:na:w	ute:naw	ute:nu:	ute:naw	ute:nəw	'town'
*le:kawi	ne:ku	ye:ka:w	ya:ka:w	ne:ku:	ne:kaw	ne:ku:	'sand'
*nimiwa	[ ]	ni:mu:	ni:mu:	ni:mu:	ni:mu:	ni:mu:	'he dances'
*nekamuwa	[ ]	nikamu:	nikamu:	nikamu:	nikamu:	nikamu:	'he sings'

Figure 3-1

All the palatalized n- and l- speakers have generalized the ending iw > [u:] in the words for 'mountain' and 'river' while Plains speakers have generalized iy > [i:]. Mistassini speakers use the iy variant in these two words, but iw > [u:] in 'mud'.

Records in the Montagnais language from the-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give "shipiw", sì:piw 'river' without assimilation of the i to w. Presumably the iw > [u:] coalescence is recent.

Assimilation of i to a preceding w also takes place as exemplified by Mistassini /ci-u:ta:mahw-itin/ > [cu:ta:mhutin] 'you hit me'. As noted by Pentland (1979:10), Proto-Algonkian *we and *wi become u after a consonant or a word boundary, so that the sequence wi is rare. He did note variation between wi and u before y as in apuy ~ apwiy, 'paddle'. Drapeau reported that, at Betsiamites, stressed interconsonantal u is pronounced [wə] (1979:19):

/tipa:cimuwin/ > tipa:cimun [tepa:tsemwən] 'story'

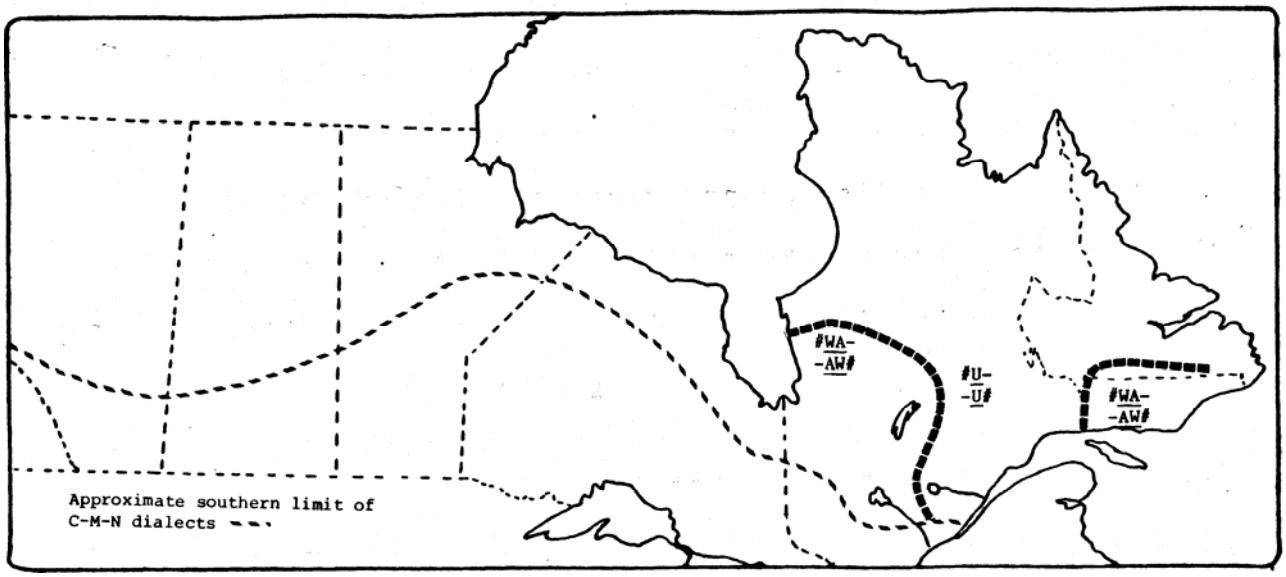
The majority of her examples, however, were derived from the sequence -CVwin although she analyzes it as /Cun/. It is unlikely that -CVwin became -Cun and then [Cwən]. Most probably --CVwin was always pronounced as [-Cwən]. At nearby Mistassini, most sequences of -CVwin can be heard as such in slower speech, although in rapid speech there is coalescence to [-Cu(:)n].

Short u assimilates to a following w to give [u:] in some dialects and [u] in others. The rules for the production of a short or long vowel remain to be investigated and await detailed phonological studies of individual dialects. For speakers of n- and l- dialects in Quebec-Labrador there is, as mentioned above, neutralization of long and short vowels in final syllables.

Pentland stated that in Plains Cree final u:w and uw do not contrast as they do in Woods or Swampy Cree (1979:115). This is also the case in the y-dialects of Quebec (MacKenzie 1971).

The assimilation of a to w is complete in the central palatalized communities: Pointe Bleue, Betsiamites, Sept-Iles and Schefferville. In the Lower North Shore communities, the sequence wa and aw remain unchanged:

	Moisie	LNS	
/ne:kaw/	ne:ku:	ne:kaw	'sand'
/me:skanaw/	me:skanu:	me:skanaw	'road'
/ute:naw/	ute:nu:	ute:naw	'city'
/waciw/	ucu:	wacu:	'mountain'



Map 3-3 Assimilation of a to w

In the southern y-community of Mistassini, the assimilation of a to w has spread to only certain lexical items:

/wacyiw/	>	waci: - uci:	'mountain'
/wacaskw/	>	wacaskw	'muskrat'
/me:skanaw/	>	me:skanu:	'road'
/ye:kaw/	>	ye:ka:w	'sand'

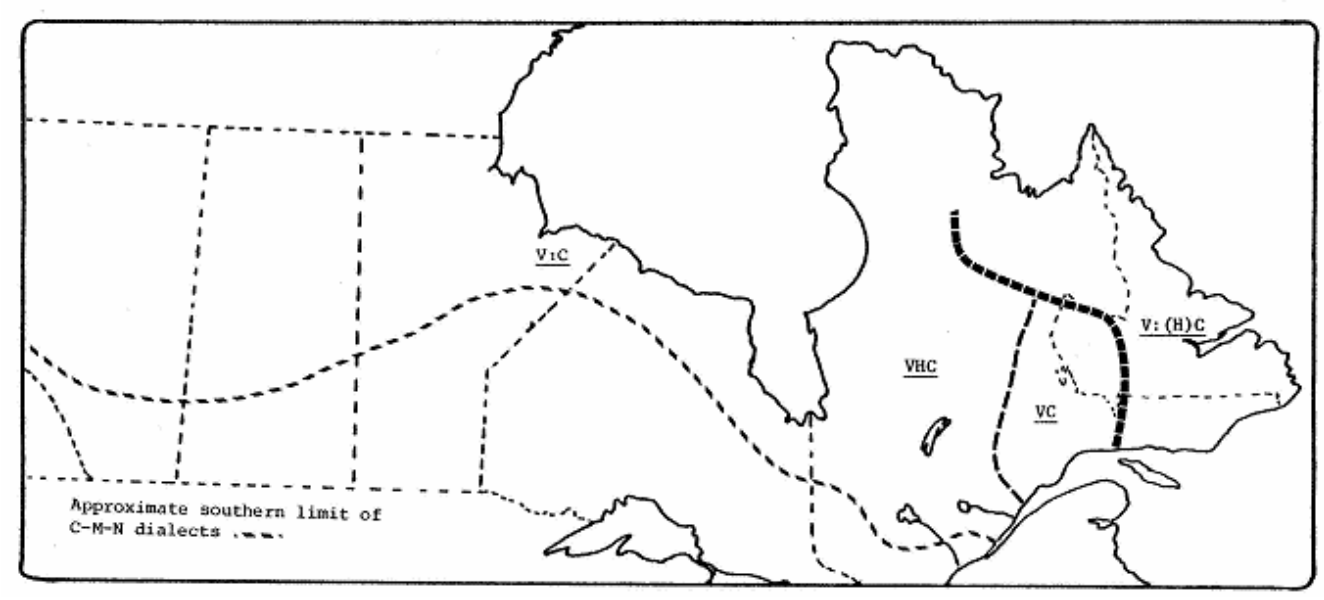
In the northern y-community Fort George, initial wa becomes [wʊ] as in [wʊci:] for waci: 'mountain'.

There is also variation in the treatment of -awaC- sequences. In the central area (Rupert House to the Moisie) uhtawakay becomes [u(h)tu:ki:] 'his ear'. On the Lower North Shore the output is [uhtwakey] while in the northern y-area it is [uhtawkay].

3.3 Lengthening of Short Vowels

3.31 Lengthening of short vowels before h

In the eastern palatalized dialects there is a lengthening of short vowels before pre-aspirated stops. In some cases the pre-aspiration is then lost. This phenomenon is not merely compensatory lengthening for the loss of pre-aspiration such as that reported by Ellis for a northern dialect of Western James and Hudson Bay (1962). Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet speakers retain pre-aspiration in many words while Lower North Shore speakers retain it in word-final position only. The regions where lengthening takes place within the palatalized dialects are shown on Map 3-4.



Map 3-4 Short Vowel Lengthening

Short Vowel Lengthening Before h

Mistassini	Moisie	LNS	NWR	Ft. Chimo	
wa:pahtam	wa:patam	wa:pa:tam	wa:pa:tam	wa:pa:htam	'he sees it'
tahka:w	taka:w	ta:ka:w	ta:ka:w	ta:xa:w	'it is cold'
miht	mit	mi:ht	mi:t	mi:ht	'firewood'
e:mihkwa:n	e:mikwa:n	e:mi:kwa:n	e:mi:kwa:n	a:mixwa:n	'spoon'
akuhp	akup	aku:hp	aku:p	aku:f	'coat, dress'
pimuhte:w	pimute:w	pimu:te:w	pimu:te:w	pimu:hta:w	'he walks'

Figure 3-2

Examples of words in which lengthening occurs are cited in Figure 3-3.

Schefferville speakers lose h in both intervocalic and pre-consonantal position and generally do not lengthen a preceding short vowel. Mailhot, however, indicated that lengthening occurs variably in mono-or di-syllabic words. She thought that in the Lower North Shore dialects, the vowel which occurs before a pre-aspirated stop is, in fact, not lengthened, but simply tensed (1975:31-2). Confirmation would seem to be a matter for oscillographic analysis. Unfortunately, crucial examples are not included in Martin's study of vowel length in the Mingan dialect (1977).

At Davis Inlet a is lengthened before inter-vocalic h which then becomes n (2.9) so that sa:kahikan becomes [sa:ka:nikan] 'lake' and mahikan becomes [ma:nixey] 'wolf'.

The one environment where the rule which lengthens short vowels before pre-aspirated stops is blocked, occurs between the homorganic consonants n and t as illustrated below:

Mistassini	miniwe:yihtam	'he likes it'
Davis Inlet	miniwe:ni:tam	"
LNS and NWR	miniwe:ntam	"

The lengthening rule is blocked only in Lower North Shore and North West River varieties. If the rule of short vowel deletion is ordered before that of lengthening, the Lower North Shore form for 'he likes it' is produced:

	LNS	Davis Inlet
	/minwe:nihtamw/	/minwenihtamw/
deletion	minwe:nhtamw	-
lengthening	-	minwe:ni:htamw
other rules		
	[minwe:ntam]	[minwe:ni:htam]

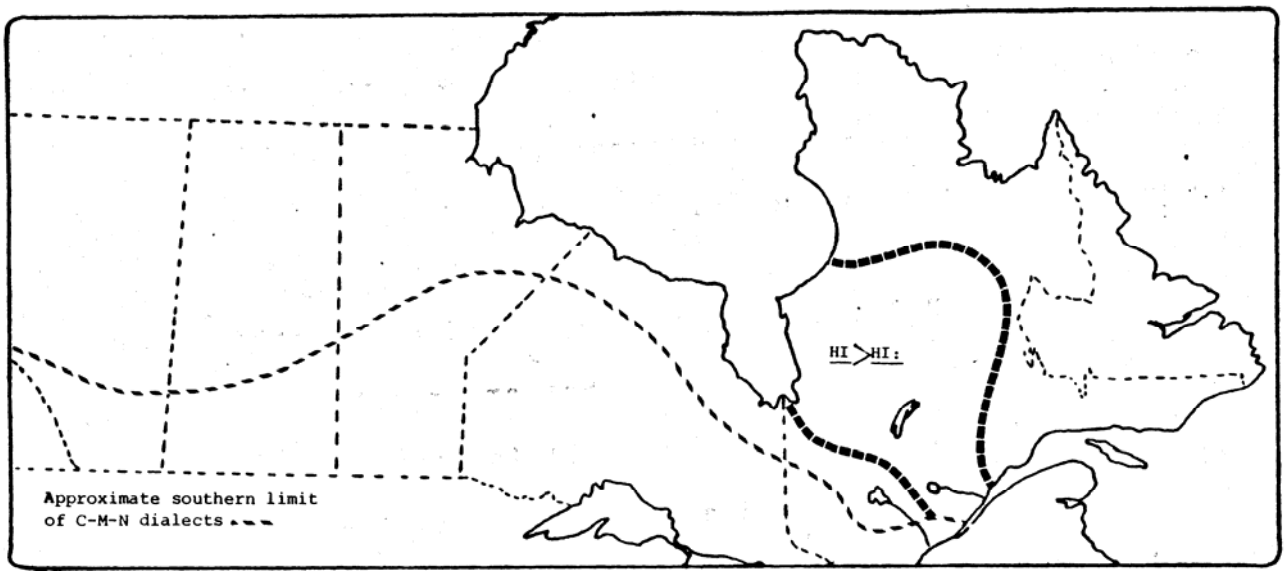
Although the form nihtawakay 'my ear' provides an environment for blocking the lengthening rule, the surface form [ni:tukay] occurs in the Lower North Shore dialects. The occurrence of the lengthened [i:] could be explained by the fact that a morpheme boundary intervenes between the n and the following vowel, since 'ear' is a dependent noun.

3.32 Lengthening of i after h

The y-dialects of Quebec which retain inter-vocalic h have a rule which lengthens short i whenever it follows h. Most lexical items which have the sequence

-hi- have been formed either with the causative morpheme -ih- or the TI instrumental morpheme -ah-:

Swampy-Moose	Mistassini	
masinahikan	masinahi:kan	'book'
kiwanihitin	ciwanihi:tin	'I lose you'
mahikan	mahi:kan	'wolf'



Map 3-5 Lengthening after h

In those varieties where h becomes a glide y, lengthening of a following i does not take place. At Davis Inlet h becomes n (2.7) in sequences of -ahi- and lengthening does not take place:

/masinahikan/	>	masina:nikan	'book'
/mahikan/	>	ma:nikan	'wolf'

3.4 Loss of short vowels

The non-round short vowels i and a are subject to deletion in many environments, usually when they carry weak stress. The back rounded short vowel u is never deleted but can become devoiced to [w] in medial and final position. The extensive syncope of vowels in medial position is one of the characteristics of the velar palatalized dialects (Michelson 1939:80). It provides the environment for the rules of affricate dissimilation of c which render so many lexical items unintelligible to speakers of non-palatalized dialects. For instance, maskisin 'shoe' occurs as massin in eastern Quebec.

Rules of short vowel deletion exist for some of the non-palatalized dialects, but are relatively restricted in their application. Ellis reported deletion of a and i between a stop and a homorganic nasal or sonorant l where natawe:lihtam 'he wants it' becomes [ṇtawe:ltam] (1964:1-6). Similarly, Béland recorded the forms [wa:pm̥e:w] < wa:pame:w 'he sees him' for Atikamekw (personal communication). Pentland (1979:119) reported syncope of unstressed i but not a in western Cree dialects. No non-palatalized variety, however, has generalized rules of short vowel loss to the same degree as the palatalized varieties.

3.41 Loss of initial short vowels (procope)

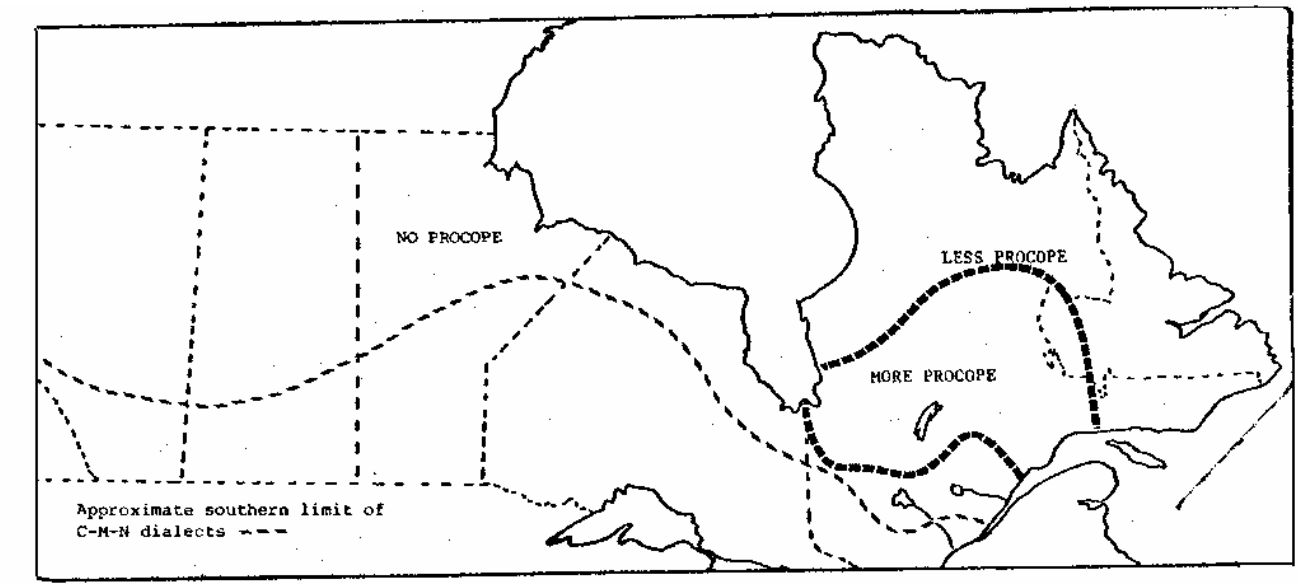
In initial position a and i (but seldom u) are

often deleted as in the Mistassini examples below:

iskwe:w	>	[skew:w]	'woman'
awa:s	>	[wa:s]	'child'
ispimihc	>	[spimihc]	'above'

Procope is most general in the southern -y Betsiamites and Moisie varieties. In the Lower North Shore varieties, initial short vowels are neutralized with long vowels and the procope rule is blocked.

'beaver'	amiskw
Neutralization	a:miskw
Procope	-



Map 3-6 Procope

Cowan (1976:332) gave an example of the relatively great, but not total, retention of initial a and i in the speech of an 85-year-old man as contrasted with that of a 50-year-old. At Betsiamites and in the Moisie communities

the initial short vowel is generally lost, except in formal speech. In the southern y-communities there is variation according to speed and style of speech.

When a prefix is added to a word, deleted initial short vowels are restored. For those dialects where the vowel was lengthened, it is shortened. An epenthetic t is inserted before a non-round short vowel and a prefix ending in a short vowel. Insertion of the t before u is variable.

Mist	[wa:s]	'child'
	[ṇtəwa:sʲi:m]	'my child'
	[skew:w]	'woman'
	[ntiskwe:m]	'my wife'
P.B.	[a:kuhp]	'dress'
	[ṇtəkuhp]	'my dress'
LNS	[i:skwe:w]	'woman'
	[ṇtiskwe:m]	'my woman'

Drapeau has presented evidence for Betsiamites showing that not all instances of initial i undergo procope. Certain words have i: where i would be expected historically and this [i:] alternates with [i] when a consonant is prefixed:

[i:ssiswe:w]	'he says'
[nitissiswa:n]	'I say'

She posited a prior stage in the language when a rule of neutralization of short and long initial vowels existed (3.7). The rule of procope came into competition with it before initial i became i: in all words. Initial a was not affected by the neutralization rule (1979:26).

Mailhot (personal communication) has stated that in the Moisie dialects initial i becomes tense in some lexical items (before t or sp in all examples) but undergoes procope in others (before sk):

/ite:nitamw/	[i:te:ntəm]	"he thinks it"
/ite:w/	[ite:w]	"he says"
/ita:cimuw/	[itæ:cɨmu]	"he tells"
/ispis/	[ispəs-]	"as, so"
/iskute:w/	[s̀kute:w]	"fire"
/iskan/	[s̀kən]	"all (day)"

A limited amount of procope has been reported for one non-palatalized dialect only, Atikamekw. Béland (1979:137) has written that initial a of one set of demonstratives is always deleted (4.31).

3.42 Loss of Final Short Vowels (Apocope)

Pentland's statement that Proto-Algonkian word final vowels are usually lost in Cree applies to both palatalized and non-palatalized varieties (1979:116). In the palatalized varieties, the loss is more widespread. Among

Loss of Final Short Vowels

	Ft.George	Mistassini	Pte. Bleue	Bets.	Moisie	LNS	Ft.Cimo	
mihta	mihth	mihth	mihta	mətte	"mit	mi:ta	mi:hta	'firewood (pl.)'
akuhpa	akúhph	akúhph	akuhpa	"kup	"kup	aku:pa	aku:fa	'coats, dresses'
ukusisa	ukús	ukusa	ukussa	ukusse	ukussa	ukussa	ukusa	'his son'
te:we:hikan-a:skwa	-	-	te:we:hikan-a:skwa	te:we:ikan-askwe	te:we:ika"n-a:skw	te:we:ikan-a:hkwa	ta:wa:ikan-a:skwa	'drum sticks'
uta:pa:na	uta:pá:nh	ata:pá:nh	uta:"pa:n	uta:"pa:n	uta:"pa:n	uta:pa:na	uta:pa:na	'cars'
api	ɛp	ap	api	pe	[ ]	api	api	'sit!'
nikamu	nikam	nikam	nikamu	nə"kum	[ ]	nikamu	nikamu	'sing!'

Note: Mailhot (1975) represents the whole set of compensatory features by the symbol ".

Figure 3-3

the non-palatalized dialects the western varieties may retain word-final vowels on particles, pronouns and mono-syllabic stems. Eastern non-palatalized varieties retain these vowels only on mono-syllabic stems with short vowels. In the palatalized varieties a final short vowel can be heard only occasionally on a mono-syllabic stem, and indicates a wish to emphasize the word. Pentland states that the rule of loss of Proto-Algonkian word final vowels is an innovation which is spreading from east to west within the non-palatalized dialects. It is clear that this innovation is even more generalized in the palatalized dialects:

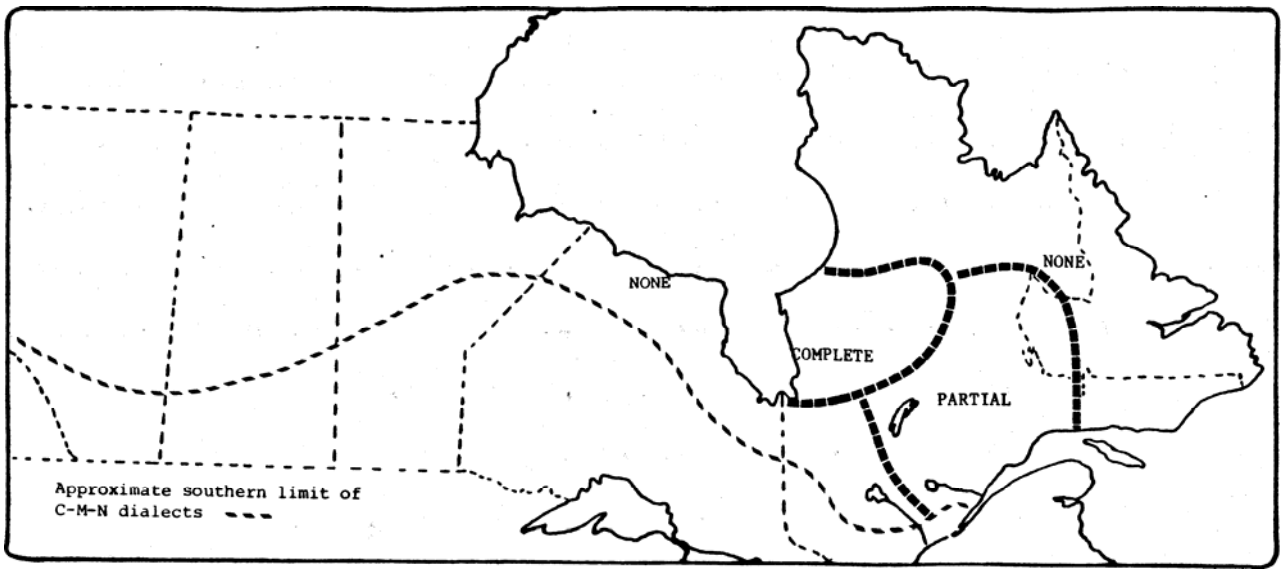
Plains	Albany	R.H.	S.I.	
niska	niska	nisk	nisk	'goose'
mihti	mihti	miht	mit	'firewood'
wa:wi	wa:wi	wa:w	wa:w	'egg'

All synchronic instances of retention of final short vowels a and i in the palatalized dialects arise from the addition of obviative or inanimate plural suffixes to nouns; addition of TI Imperative marker; or deletion of suffixes to form AI Imperative verb forms.

nita:nis	'my daughter'
uta:nisa	'his daughter'
wa:w	'egg'
wa:wa	'eggs'
uta:maham	'he hits it'
uta:maha	'hit it'

ni:miw 'he dances'

ni:mi 'dance!'



Map 3-7 Apocope of i and a suffixes

Map 3-7 shows the areas where the suffixes a and i are dropped. On James Bay's east coast there is total apocope of a. Inland at Mistassini, a is retained after the sibilants s, š and h. At Pointe Bleue the vowel remains in mono- and di-syllabic words and after -skw- Betsiamites keeps the suffix [-e] in monosyllabic words and after -skw- while in the Moisie area it is retained only after s (Mailhot 1975:39). All the communities to the east and north of these retain short vowels. Figure 3-4 gives examples from various dialects.

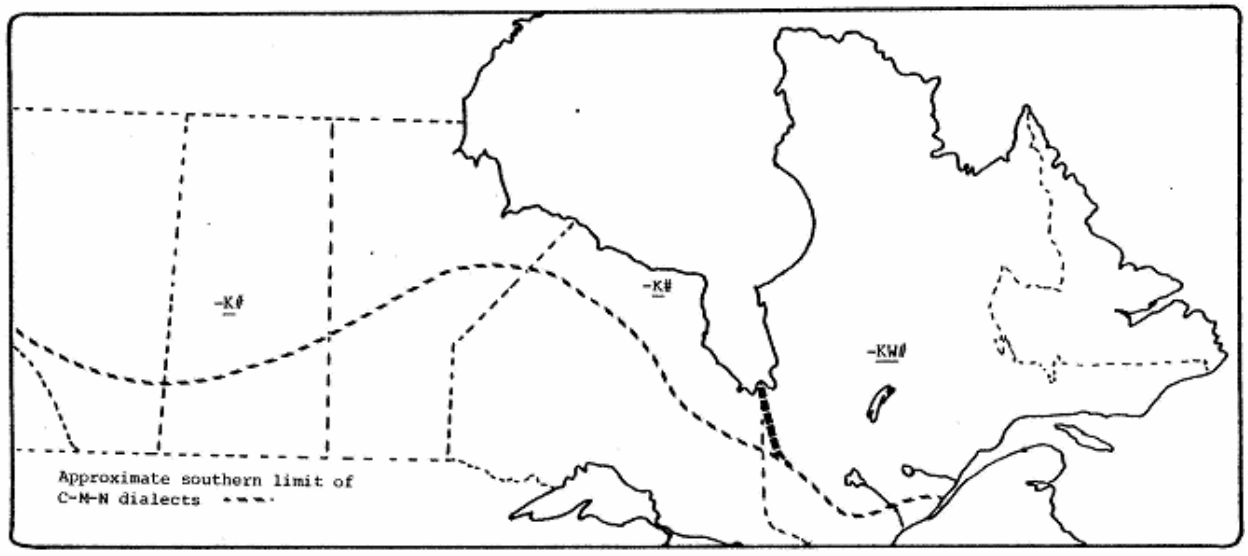
As noted above (2.2), the loss of a final short vowel which is a morphological marker always results in a phonetic

marker being left somewhere in the word. In the James Bay y-dialects this marker consists of a shift in stress. In addition, some speakers may have a whispered vowel at the end of the word, a voiceless a. In the n and l dialects described by Mailhot, stress is always final so that the deleted vowel is signaled by one of the following: (a) lengthening of the final vowel, (b) lengthening of the final consonant if it is not a stop, (c) absence of a glottal stop or post-aspiration, (d) diminution of intensity level of stress, or (e) a level tone instead of a rising one. The rules which generate these changes remain to be investigated in depth.

In some communities where final short vowels are retained, there is phonetic modification. At Betsiamites, for example, where a and i have fallen together, final a is pronounced [e]. In the Lower North Shore villages and at North West River, final short vowels are neutralized with final long vowels so that there is no contrast in a stressed (final) open syllable (Martin 1977:133).

3.421 The retention of final kw is another characteristic feature of the palatalized dialects. Michelson (1939) noted that final kw is an archaic feature of what he refers to as Montagnais-Naskapi. The only non-palatalized variety to retain these clusters is Atikamekw (Béland 1979). In a11 other non-palatalized varieties the w is dropped and

surfaces only when a suffix is added. Map 3-8 illustrates where final -kw is retained:



Map 3-8 Loss of final w after k

Moose	Atik.	E. Cree	Moisie	
atihk	atikkw	atihkw	atikw	'caribou'
atihkwak	atikkwak	atihkuc	atikut	" (pl.)
amisk	amiskw	amiskw	amiskw	'beaver'
amiskwak	amiskwak	amiskuc	amiskut	'beavers'

Post-consonantal w can be heard in the northern y-palatalized communities in the words for 'ten' mita:htw, 'three' nistw and 'two' ni:sẁ. Although there is an underlying final w in the words for 'rabbit' wa:puṣ̀ and 'moose' mu:s, it only surfaces in the plural forms 'rabbits' wa:puṣ̀uc and 'moose' mu:suc. The palatalized communities to

the south and east have mita:ht 'ten', nist 'three' but ni:sˋw 'two'. In the non-palatalized dialects described by Pentland (1979), the post-consontantal w remains only if the following short vowel also remains as in mu:swa 'moose'.

Word-final w occurs morpho-phonemically after t, s, sˋ, m and n in a few lexical items. After the nasals m and n final w is deleted in all dialects.

Moose	Mist.	Ft. G.	
atim	atim	atim	'dog'
atimwak	atimuc	atimuc	'dogs'
takuˋsin	takusin	takuˋsin	'he arrives'
takuˋsinwak	takusinuc	takuˋsinuc	'they arrive'

Final w is in the process of being lost. The process is most advanced in the non-palatalized varieties. Since final w never occurs after a nasal stop, in any dialect, this is presumed to be the earliest environment for its loss. It is retained in all palatalized dialects after k, which is the last environment for its loss. Within the palatalized varieties the rule of final w loss is most general in the southern dialects. The loss of post-consonantal w in non-final position is discussed in 3.13.

3.43 Short vowel syncope

As noted above (3.4) syncope of short vowels is common in the palatalized dialects. The prevalent environment

for syncope is found, not surprisingly, between homorganic consonants and under weak stress. Both a and i may be lost while u only loses syllabicity and is devoiced to [ʍ]. The syncope rule is clearly connected to the stress assignment rule (although this rule has not been formulated) but variation is found among the communities as to exactly which vowels are deleted. In addition, deletion increases in rapid speech.

The phenomenon of short vowel syncope becomes increasingly general from the western non-palatalized dialects to the eastern palatalized ones. In the western non-palatalized varieties, Pentland reported syncope of only i between homorganic stops and fricatives as well as between stops and nasals (1979:119). Ellis noted syncope of both i and a, but only between homorganic stops and sonorants (excluding glides), for Moose and Swampy dialects (1962:1-7).

For the palatalized variety at Betsiamites, Drapeau cited syncope of non-round short vowels between homorganic sonorants m, n, l and stops p, t as well as between a stop and a fricative or affricate (1979:32). In the Lower North Shore dialects short vowels undergo syncope between homorganic stops and nasals and between two fricatives.

At Mistassini the environments for syncope are even more numerous. Short i and a are deleted entirely; u becomes devoiced and non-syllabic but can remain as a liabilization of a preceding stop. There are almost no two classes of

consonants between which syncope does not take place in the Mistassini dialect (accents denote stress):

pímisìn	>	[pImsIn]	'he lies down'
natá:mi:pè:kw	>	[ṇta:mpekw]	'underwater'
siná:kun	>	[sna:kun]	'it appears so'
utá:mahàm	>	[uta:mhəm]	'he hits it'
usìhé:w	>	[ushe:w]	'he makes him'
nité:m	>	[ṇtɛm]	'my dog'
yú:tin	>	[yu:tṇ]	'it is windy'
ápis	>	[əps]	'string, rope'
mí:cisù:	>	[mi:tsu:]	'he eats'
ù:sikú:n	>	[u:sku:n]	'his saliva'
pé:yakw	>	[peykw]	'one'
úkusà	>	[uksə]	'his son'
típahàm	>	[tIphəm]	'he measures it'
e:htá:yan	>	[ehtayn]	'as you are there'
citákuhp	>	[stəkuhp]	'your coat'

As speech becomes more rapid, the number of short vowels which are deleted may increase: nisit 'my foot' becomes [ṇsIt] and even [ṇst].

In all the Mistassini examples, the deleted vowel is an unstressed one. A rule of short vowel syncope cannot be formulated until the principles of stress assignment are understood. The rules of apocope and procope may also be dependent on the stress pattern of a particular dialect.

Until such rules are formulated, it is possible to say only that a) syncope applies to unstressed short vowels, b) homorganic consonants provide the most favoured environment for deletion and c) the phenomenon of syncope is most generalized (occurs in the largest number of linguistic environments) in the southern y-dialects, the l-dialects and perhaps the Moisie dialects.

Syncope occurs relatively late in the application of phonological rules. The lengthening of short vowels before pre-aspirated stops occurs first:

	Mistassini	NWR	
	/wa:pahtamw/	/wa:pahtamw/	'he sees it'
lengthening	-	wa:pa:htam	
h-loss	-	wa:pa:tamw	
syncope	wa:pa:tamw		
other rules	[wɔ:phtəm]	[wɔ:pa:təm]	

In some communities, however, the syncope rule deletes a short vowel in a particular environment before that vowel can be lengthened:

	Davis Inlet	NWR	
	/wanihtamw/	/wanihtamw/	'he loses it'
syncope	-	wanhtamw	
lengthening	wani:htamw	-	
h-loss	wani:(h)tamw	wantamw	
other rules	[wəni:(h)təm]	[wəntəm]	

The syncope rule at North West River applies only to the sequence n-t, since /wa:pahtamw/ results in [wɔ:pa:tɔm] rather than [wɔ:phtəm]. The phenomenon of syncope between homorganic nasals and stops is an old rule in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, as is indicated by the wide geographic range of its occurrence. By the time the rule of lengthening reached the North West River and Lower North Shore speakers, the short vowel in n-t sequences was no longer recoverable, and therefore not subject to lengthening. This situation would also suggest that the rule of lengthening originated in the northern dialects of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet. It would also suggest that syncope occurs less in those northern dialects, as it indeed does. In 3.41 and 3.61 there is discussion about competition between rules which delete short vowels and rules which lengthen short vowels in initial position. A similar competition between rules of syncope and of lengthening occurred in the eastern palatalized varieties in n-t sequences.

3.5 Short Vowel Rounding

All the velar palatalized dialects are characterized by a rule usually referred to as vowel harmony (Michelson 1939:73). By this rule a non-back short vowel i or a will be rounded and backed to u if u or w appear in an adjacent syllable:

/mistikw/	> [mistuk]	'stick, tree'
/atimw/	> [atum]	'dog'
/pakune:ya:w/	> [pukune:ya:w]	'it has a hole'
/cinuse:w/	> [cunse:w]	'pike'

It does not seem to matter whether the non-round vowel is stressed or not. The rounded vowel which initiates the vocalic harmony may subsequently undergo a rule of reduction:

/mistikw/	>	[mistuk]	'stick, tree'
/takusinw/	>	[tukwsin]	'he arrives'

The intervening consonant may or may not be pre-aspirated:

/nikikw/	>	[nicukw]	'otter'
/atihkw/	>	[atuhkw]	'caribou'

A variation of the rule occurs in the non-palatalized dialects of Atikamekw (Béland 1978:300). In the following examples there is metathesis of the rounded back vowel and the preceding consonant:

/atimw/	>	[atiwm]	'dog'
/atihkw/	>	[atiwk]	'caribou'
/asikw/	>	[asiwk]	'merganser'

Béland stated that this metathesis occurs only when the vowel preceding -kw is i. It appears that the metathesized w is non-syllabic although Cooper's transcriptions of "askiuk" askikw 'kettle' and "nikiuk" nikikw 'otter' do not clearly support this (1945). Cooper also records several words where an assimilation of the i and w has taken place, as is normal in the palatalized varieties: "oskijuk" < uskisikw 'his eye' and "sesegatuk" < se:sse:ka:ttikw 'black spruce'. Béland did not mention any such assimilation.

Among the palatalized dialects, a metathesis is recorded in one dialect only, that of La Romaine. It is of limited occurrence and is found variably in final position in words which have undergone a rule of lengthening of short vowels before a following pre-aspirated stop. The pre-aspirated stop may then become a fricative:

atihkw	>	[ati:wx]	'caribou'
umihkw	>	[umi:wx]	'his blood'
ascihkw	>	[assi:ux]	'kettle'
askihkwa	>	[assi:kwa]	'kettles'

In communities where short vowels are lengthened before pre-aspirated stops, this lengthening rule is ordered before the vowel harmony rule:

atihkw	>	[ati:kw]	'caribou'
umihkw	>	[umi:kw]	'his blood'
askikw	>	[assi:kw]	'kettle'
mistikw	>	[mistuk]	'stick'
uski:s̀ikw	>	[ussi:s̀uk]	'his eye'

The rule of vowel harmony, does not operate at all across stop clusters with s or s̀:

maskw	>	[maskw]	'bear'
amiskw	>	[amiskw]	'beaver'

The short vowel rounding rule applies after the syncope rule as is shown by the fact that [pey:kw] < pe:yakw

rather than [pe:yukw].

When vowel harmony must operate across a nasal consonant, there is a great amount of variation in whether it is or is not applied. Most frequently it is applied to disyllabic nouns, of which there are very few:

/atimw/	>	[atim ~ atum]	'dog'
/pi:simw/	>	[pi:sim ~ pi:sum]	'some'
/wa:pahtamw/	>	[wa:pahtam ~ wa:pahtum]	'he sees it'
/takus̀inw/	>	[tukws̀in]	'he arrives'

A rule of vowel harmony is operating in the ve1ar palatalized dialects and in the non-palatalized dialects of Atikamekw. The environments of its application, however, differ slightly. The rule in Atikamekw provides for metathesis of the u or w, but not necessarily for assimilation of the non-round vowel to it. Metathesis takes place in final syllables only and may operate across the nasal m in nouns as well as across k.

This rule of vowel harmony, while in common use, is especially prevalent among younger speakers. In y-dialect communities some older speakers do not have this rule in their speech at all. Other older speakers, who have the rule, can always recover the quality of the short vowel. Younger speakers, however, are losing the ability to recover the short i or a. One factor in the older speakers' ability to recognize whether [u] is underlying i or a, may be

their familiarity with religious literature in which the quality of the vowels is preserved. Most religious publications in syllabics used by East Cree speakers are written in the dialect of Moose Factory. There, no vowel harmony takes place and the original values of the vowels are retained. Older people literate in syllabics tend to write i or a while still pronouncing u. Younger literate speakers write u wherever they pronounce it. Mailhot reported that older monolingual speakers in the n- and l-dialects have the ability to recover the quality of a rounded short vowel due to their familiarity with a conservative spelling system (1975:33).

It must also be noted that the speech of an individual may contain both words which have undergone the rule of vowel harmony and others which, although they are candidates, have not done so. Tentatively, it may be stated that the rule occurs more frequently in monosyllabic forms and word-final syllables. For certain speakers, only the addition of a suffix returns the vowel in a final syllable to its original value:

mistikw	>	[mistuk]	'tree'
mistikuc	>	[mistikuc]	'trees'

This rule of vowel harmony has been innovated in the palatalized dialects within the last century. Older speakers may have the rule in their speech but they are always aware of the underlying vowel, usually restoring it when writing. In

the speech of these older and middle-aged speakers, there often occurs morphophonemic alternation between some grammatical forms which have undergone the rule and others which have not. This variation allows them to become aware of the phonetic value of the underlying vowel.

Younger speakers tend to use the form of the word which has undergone vocalic harmony in all grammatical forms. They cannot recover the underlying vowel and may be said to have phonologically reshaped the lexical item.

Regressive vowel harmony is an established rule in the Quebec-Labrador dialects. Progressive vowel harmony is a recent innovation. The young speakers at Northwest River round a short vowel in a syllable following u. As yet, the environment is restricted to that following a nasal consonant at the beginning of a word:

umaš̀inahikan > [muš̀ineykan] 'book'

The initial round vowel can be deleted after harmony has occurred. However, another example of progressive harmony suggests metathesis of the u and following nasal. The demonstrative particle 'this' is in other n-dialect communities ume:. In NWR it is mwe:, clearly metathesis. In the Moisie varieties, mwe: 'here it is' exists as a separate demonstrative along with ume: 'this one'. The demonstrative forms are discussed in 4.64.

This rule of progressive vowel rounding has not spread to many lexical items. For Davis Inlet and Natashquan [mwi:xw] and [umwi:hx], respectively, for umihkw 'his blood', have been recorded by Cowan (1974). Younger speakers at North West River use [umwi:kw] for the same word. The insertion of an unnecessary initial u in [umwɔ:kw] < mwa:kw 'loon', at Natashquan, Mingan and North West River is hypercorrection.

3.6 Short Vowel Neutralization

Short vowels which have not been assimilated, lengthened, rounded, or deleted, may be subject to neutralization. They may be neutralized either with a long vowel in initial or final position, or inter-consonantally the non-round short vowels may fall together as a single sound, [ɨ], [ə] or [i]. Neutralized vowels of the first type are usually recoverable through morphophonemic alternation (by adding a prefix or suffix). The second type occurs among older speakers for vowels under secondary and weak stress. Younger speakers in certain communities have neutralization in all possible environments and cannot recover the quality of the original vowel.

3.61 In certain communities where procope does not occur, there is neutralization of long and short vowels in initial positions. On the Lower North Shore and at Pointe Bleue a: and a become [æ], i: and i become [i] - both tense vowels; u: and u are neutralized as [ʊ]:

Neutralization

	Ft.George	Rupert Hse.	Mistassini	Pte.Bleue	Bets.	Moisie	LNS	Ft.Chimo	
amiskw	miskw	(ə)miskw	əmiskw	a:miskw	mi:s`kw	mis`kw	a:miskw	əmiskw	'beaver'
a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	a:mu:	'bee'
iskwe:w	i:skwo:w	skwe:w	skwe:w	i:skwe:w	s`kwew	(i)skwe:w	i:skwe:w	i:skwe:w	'woman'
nakatam	nikitam	nəkətam	nəkətam	nəkətam	nikitam	nikitam	n k tam	nikitam	'he abandons it'
miht	miht	məht	miht	miht	mit	mit	mi:ht	mi:ht	'firewood' (S)
mi:tus	mi:tus	mi:tus	mi:tus`	mi:tus`	mitis`	mi:tis	mi:tus`	mi:tus`	'poplar'
pu:si	pu:s	pu:s	pu:s	pu:si	pu:s`i:	pu:s`i:	pu:s`i:	pu:si:	'embark'
nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	nipi:	'water'
si:pa:	si:pa:	s`i:pa:	si:pa:	si:pa:	si:pa:	si:pa:	si:pa:	si:pa:	'under'
akuhpa	kuhph	akuhph	akuhph	akuhpa:	"kup	"kup	aku:pa:	aku:hpa	'coats, dresses'

Figure 3-4

a:mu	>	[æmu]	'bee'
a:miskw	>	[æmIskw]	'beaver'
ispimihc	>	[ispImIt]	'above'
u:s`	>	[ʊh]	'canoe'
uskat	>	[ʊxkɛt]	'the first time'

In the northern y-communities of Quebec i: and i are pronounced [i:] in initial position.

iskwe:w	>	[i:skwo:w]	'woman'

Drapeau reported that several words have an alternation between initial [i] and [I] after the addition of a prefix. She explained these forms as being the result of a former rule of initial lengthening which was in competition with now common rule of procope (3.41). The same phenomenon is reported for Sept-Isles by Mailhot (personal communication).

At North West River it is possible to find examples of initial short vowels which have been deleted or lengthened, or which remain lax:

iskute:w	>	[iskʊte:w ~ skʊte:w]	'fire'
amiskw	>	[mIskw ~ mIskw ~ æmIskw]	'beaver'

Since North West River has ties with both the Moisie communities where procope is predominant and the Lower North Shore where neutralization predominates, this variation is not surprising. No doubt a correlation exists between the use of one or other of the rules and the community affiliations

of the speakers.

The oscillographic studies done by Martin for Mingan showed a neutralization of vowel quality for orthographically long and short vowels (3.0). There is little correlation between the length marks used by native speakers and the phonetic length of the vowel. The forms in double quotation marks have length marked with ˆ by the native speakers themselves. The phonetic transcriptions are from Martin et al (1977) where [T't] represents a fortis stop.

u:s	"ûh"	['ʊχ̣]	'canoe'
u:hu:	"uhu"	[ʊ'xʊ]	'owl'
u:te:	"ûte"	[ʊT'te]	'here'
uta:s	"utâh"	[ʊT'tah]	'his socks'

Although tenseness does not correlate with the native speakers' marking of length, certain vowels are phonetically longer than others:

a:hcikw	"âtshukw"	[a:'ts^{s}ʊk]	'seal'
acikw	"atshukw"	[aT'ts^{s}ʊk]	'snot'
usuw	"uhu"	[ʊ'χ̣ʊ]	'he boils'
uhte:w	"utew"	[ʊ:'te ŭ]	'it boils'

It seems that vowels which are lengthened because of a loss of pre-aspiration are distinguished by length rather than tenseness. Other long vowels in Martin's list which are derived from short vowels before a pre-aspirated stop also

are transcribed with length. So, however, are a number of vowels which are historically long. The relationship between synchronic and historical length of vowels has not yet been investigated in detail.

3.62 In those eastern palatalized dialects which preserve final short vowels, the difference between long and short is neutralized in a final open syllable (Martin et al 1977):

pu:si	[pʊ'hi]	'embark!'
nipi:	[nip'pi]	'water'
una:kana	[ʊna:'na]	'cups'
sì:pa:	[çi:'pa]	'under'

This is true for non-low vowels at Betsiamites and Pointe Bleue. In these communities a does not neutralize with a: in final position; they are pronounced [ɛ] and [a] respectively. Drapeau further stated for Betsiamites that all long vowels are shortened in a final stressed syllable, but that in a closed syllable differences between tense (long) and lax (short) vowels are maintained (1979:20).

3.63 Between consonants, i and a may fall together, especially when not under primary stress. In some communities young speakers collapse the vowels even under primary stress.

Drapeau reported that among the young speakers at Betsiamites, a and I have fallen together almost everywhere as [ə] (which she represents orthographically as "e") (1979:19). She further distinguished a small set of words in which historical #iC has become #i:C, rather than undergoing procope (3.41). A certain number of words became lexicalized with initial i: before the rule was overtaken by the procope rule. The vowel returns to lax [I] or [ə] when a prefix is added.

In the northern y-area, short a under stress becomes raised to [ɛ]. Otherwise it is neutralized with i to [I]:

citakuhp	>	[stɛ́kuhp]	'your coat'
nakata:w	>	[nikitá:w]	'he abandons him'

These are just the dialects where e:, often [ɛ], has collapsed with a: as [a:] and no merger of [ɛ] < a and e: occurs. For the northern y-dialects the rules of lengthening initial i and raising stressed a are ordered before the short vowel neutralization.

At Rupert House, stressed i may be realized as [ə] as in [məht]< miht 'firewood' and [n̩sət] < nisit 'my foot'.

Clarke (personal communication) reported that younger speakers at North West River have collapsed inter-consonantal i and a as [ɨ].

There is evidence that neutralization is spreading to the short round vowel u as well. Béland observed that all short vowels are centralized in weak syllables so that the penultimate vowels in a:sukan 'bridge, pier, wharf' and asikan 'stockings' are phonetically identical(1978:302). Drapeau (1979) recorded "uspətən" for uspitun 'his arm' and "mələpəlu" for minupalu: 'it goes well' whereas Lemoine (1901) provided "ushpitun" and "milupalu" for the earlier stage of the Betsiamites dialect.

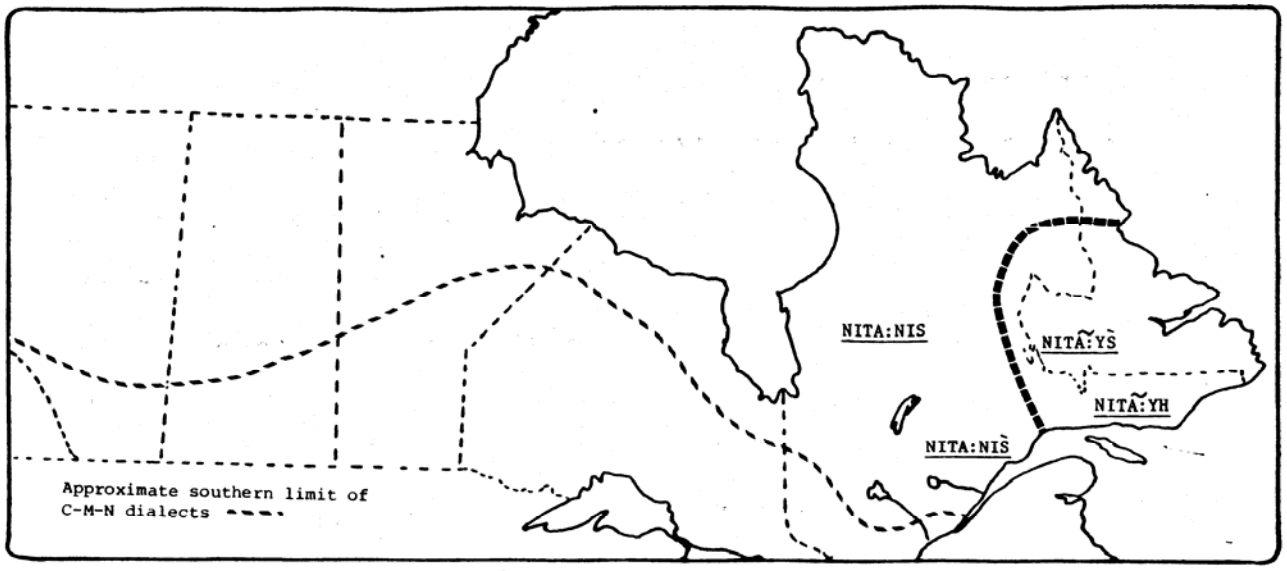
For Sept-Isles, Mailhot (personal communication) reported that young speakers use the following forms:

atusse:w	>	[təsse:w]	"he works"
mi:tus	>	[mi:təs]	"poplar"
pa:tus	>	[pa:təs]	"until"
minupaniw	>	[mənəpənu]	"it goes well"
minumi:cisuw	>	[mənəmi:cisu]	"he eats well"

3.7 Nasalization

Nasalization of vowels is generally absent from Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. Nevertheless, in most of the n-dialects certain sequences have been nasalized. In the following examples from North West River it is demonstrated that this is due to the effect of the nasal consonant n, which is then deleted:

/nita:nisˋ/	>	[nitã:ysˋ]	'his daughter'
/wanisˋamw/	>	[wãyham]	'he carves it'
/wanisˋiniw/	>	[mãysˋinu:]	'he is lost'



Map 3-9 Nasalization of 'nita:nisˋ'

Map 3-9 shows the extent of nasalization of the word ni:ta:nisˋ, 'my daughter'. This is the only item which is consistently nasalized within every community where nasalization occurs.

At North West River and Mingan, the word wanisˋiniw 'he is lost' is recorded as [wãysˋinu] while for Mingan there is [wãyham] < wanisam 'he carves it'. These examples indicate that the rule of nasalization applies to sequences of -a(:)ni-. After the first vowel becomes nasalized, the nasal consonant is deleted and the second vowel becomes non-syllabic:

	/nita:niṡ/	/waniṡiniw/	/wanihamw/
nasalization	nitãniṡ	wãniṡiniw	wãnihamw
n drops	nitã:iṡ	wãiṡiniw	wãihamw
[- syllabic]	nitã:yṡ	wãyṡiniw	wãyhamw
other rules	[ṇtãyh]	[wãyṡinu:]	[wãyham]

The form [wanta:w] for wanihta:w 'he loses it' demonstrates that the syncope rule bleeds nasalization rule by altering the sequence -aniht- to [-ant-].

Besides these relatively transparent forms, there also exist problematic examples of nasalization in the Lower North Shore communities of Natashquan and La Romaine:

masinahikan	>	[maṡinãykan]	'book, paper'
caṡahikan	>	[cahãykan]	'broom'
ci:te:kahikan	>	[ci:te:kãykan]	'calendar'
cipaham	>	[cipãym]	'he closes it'
cipe:tu:n	>	[cipe:tð:n]	'you hear me'
nipe:ta:kw	>	[nipe:tã:kw]	'he hears me'

Although none of these sequences has an underlying nasal consonant as part of the nasalized sequence, in all but the last example, there is a nasal consonant elsewhere in the word. In the first four examples there might be a possibility that the nasalization rule had been generalized to sequences of [-ay]. This cannot, however, serve as an explanation of the final two examples.

The innovation of nasalized vowels in dialects which have been in contact with French for several hundred years presents an interesting case of language contact. At this time, too little data exists to be able to formulate an adequate phonological description of this process.

CHAPTER IV

MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICON

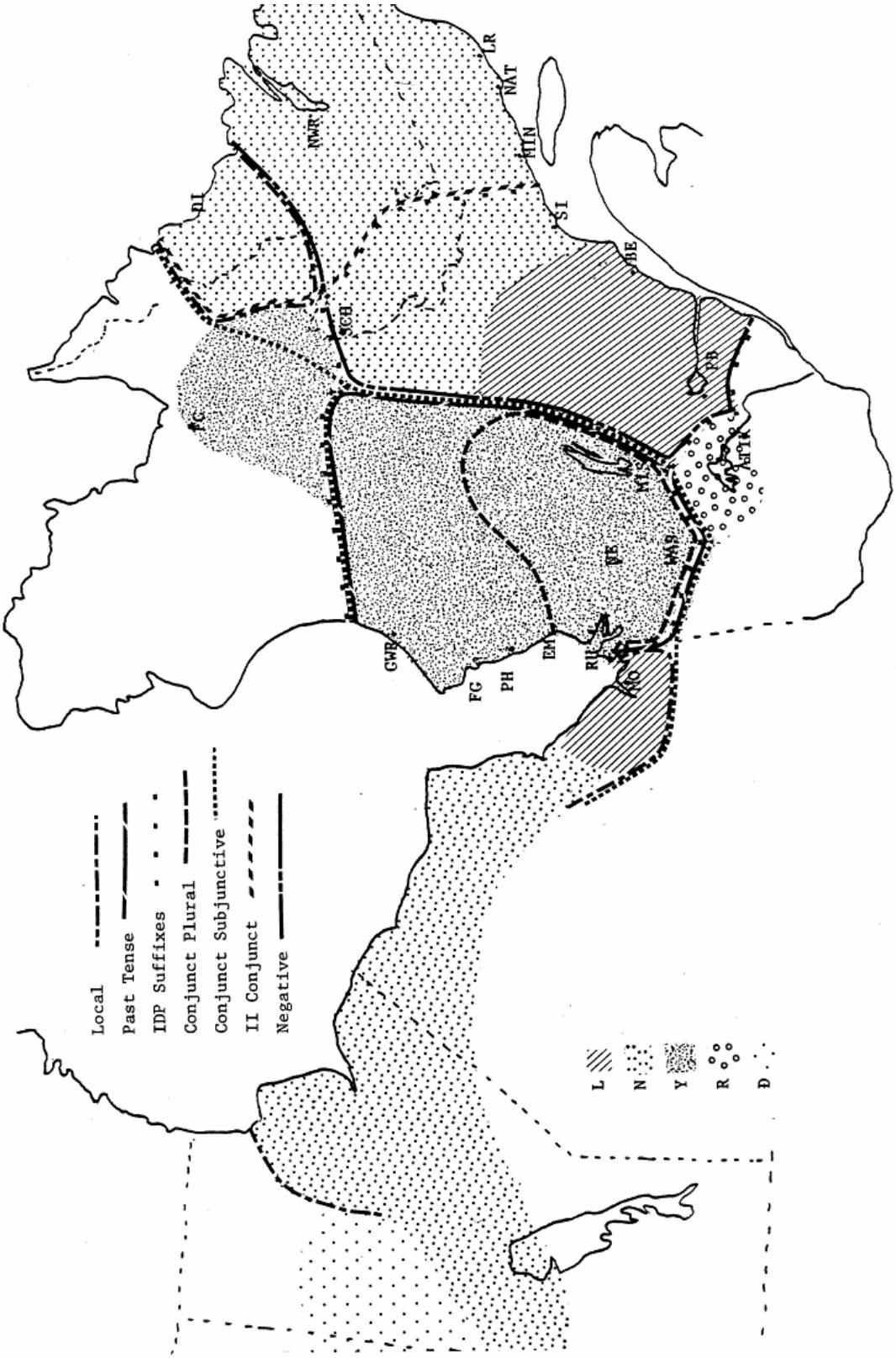
4.0 There is, without doubt, a great deal of variation among dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. In this chapter the inflectional morphology of intransitive verbs in different dialects will be compared, as well as negative formation for Independent verbs, and a small selection of lexical items. Another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

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

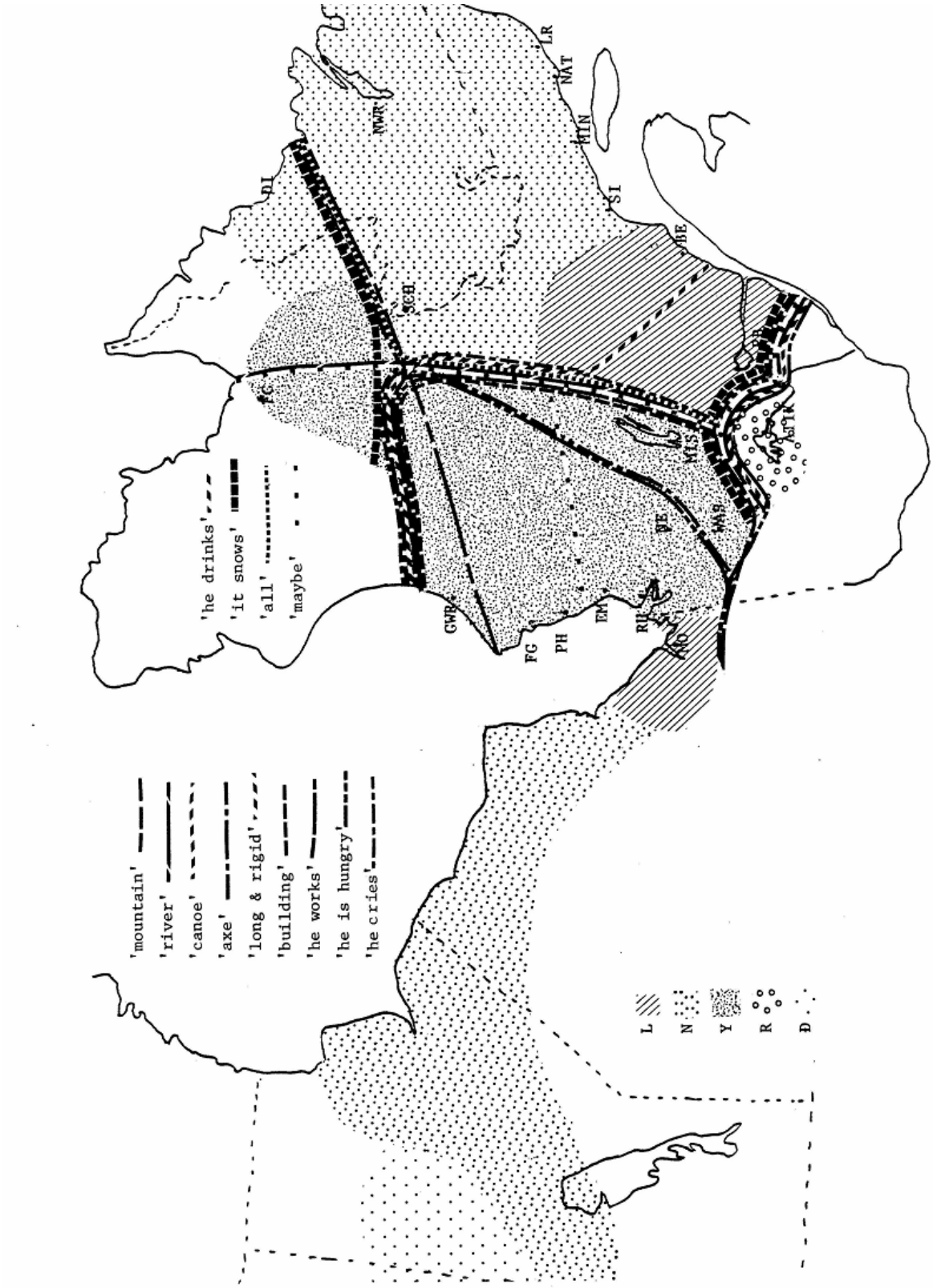
Southern y-dialect communities in Quebec have all innovated the English word 'school' as isku:luw 'he goes to school'. The derived word for 'he teaches school', however, varies from one community to the next because of addition of a different derivational suffix. At Mistassini isku:lu:hi:we:w is used,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

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

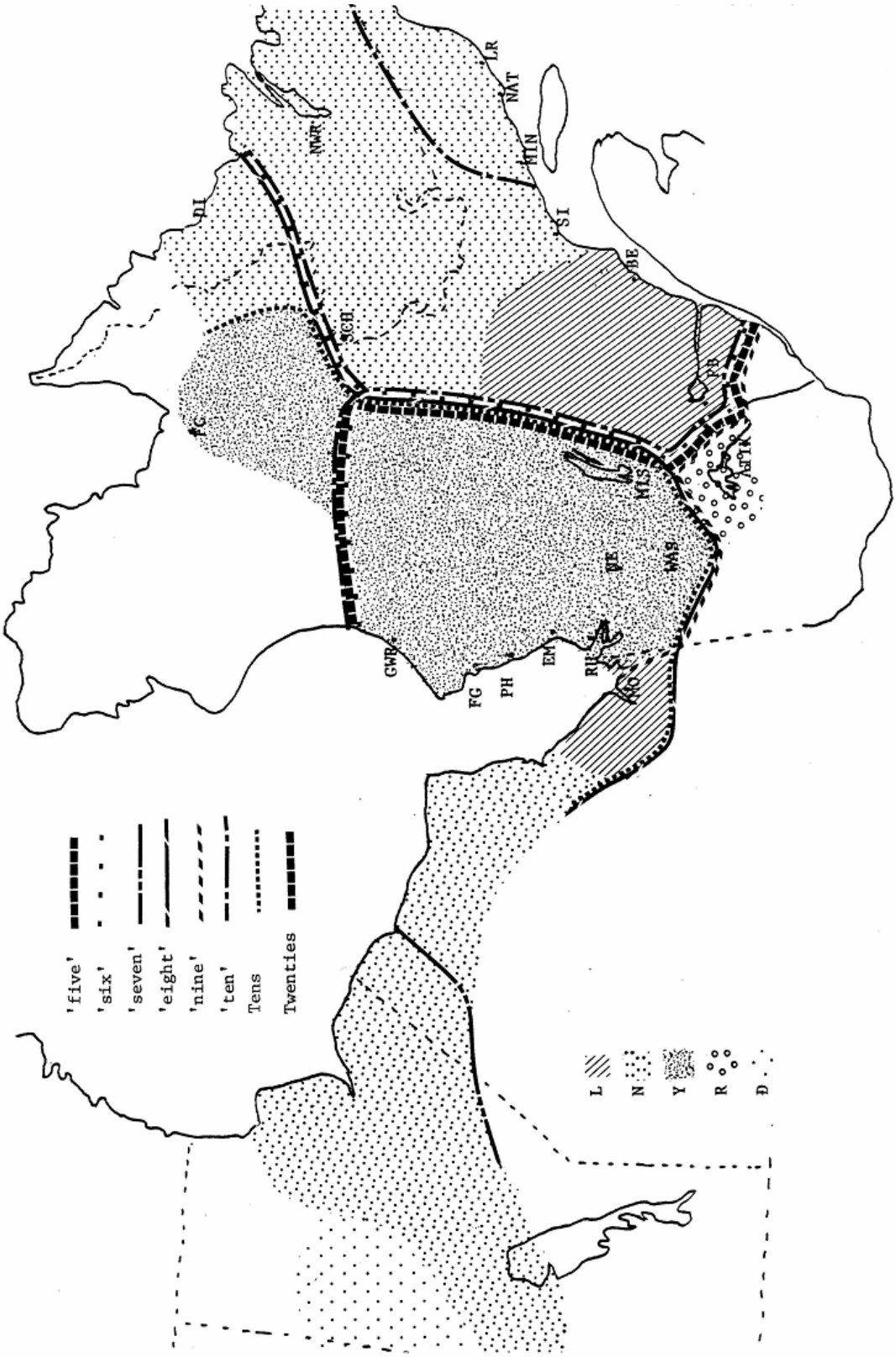
Words which have been introduced as terms for new objects show potentially the greatest variation of all. The contact of Montagnais people with French speakers is reflected in borrowings from that language, as in the case of mi:nus 'cat' and te:kane:p 'pancake' from 'des crêpes'.



Map 4-1 Morphology Isoglosses (Cumulative)



Map 4-2 Lexical Isoglosses (Cumulative)



Map 4-3 Numeral Isoglosses (Cumulative)

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

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

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

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

4.1 Verb Inflection

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

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

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

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

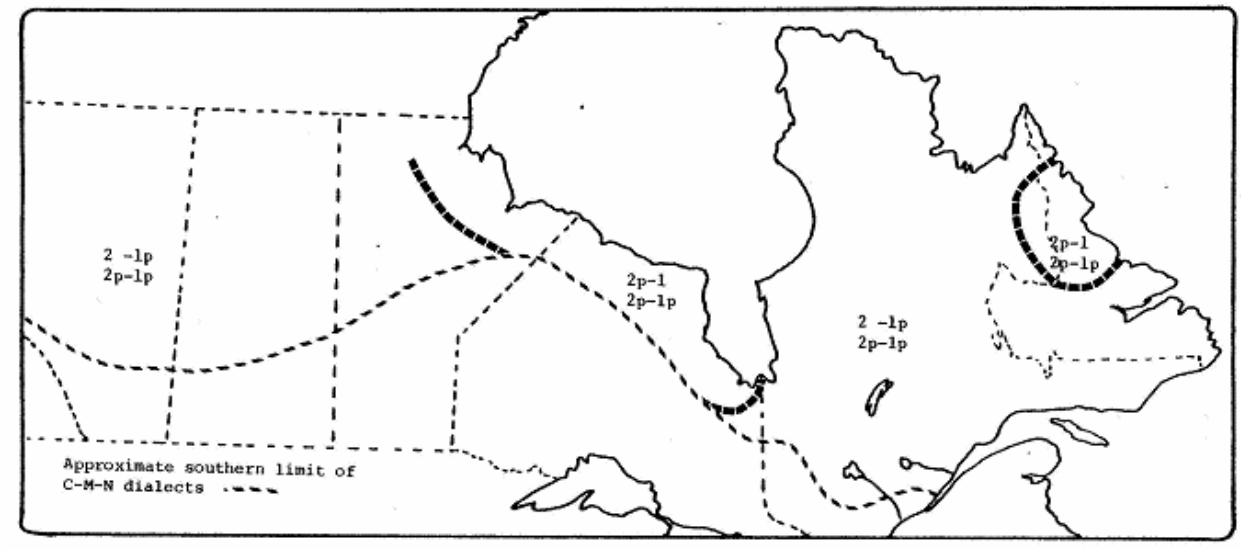
The sources for the paradigms are listed below. The transcription used by other authors has been made consistent with that used in this thesis.

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

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

4.11 Local Forms

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



Map 4-4 Local Forms

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

Local Forms

	Plains	Moose	Atikamekw	E.Cree	Betsiamites	Moisie	Davis Inlet
-in	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I	U-I
-ina:n	U/U-II	U-II	U/U-II	U/U-II	U/U-II	U/U-II	U-II
-ina:wa:w	UU-I	UU-I/I	UU-I	UU-I	UU-I	UU-I	UU-I/I
-itin	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U	I-U
-itina:n	II-U/U	II-U	II-U/U	II-U/U	II-U/U	II-U/U	II-U
-itina:wa:w	I-UU	I/I-U	I-UU	I-UU	I-UU	I-UU	I/I-U

Figure 4-1

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

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

In Moose and Swampy and Davis Inlet varieties it is the 2p - 1 and 2p - lp forms which are neutralized. kiwa:pamina:wa:w may mean either 'you (s) see us' or 'you (pl) see us'. kiwa:pamitina:wa:w may be glossed 'I see you (p1)' or 'we see you (pl)'. In all other dialects these forms are glossed as 'you (pl) see me' and 'I see you (pl)' respectively.

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

4.2 Independent Order

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

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

nikanipa:n		'I will sleep'
ki / ci	kanipa:n	'you will sleep'

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

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

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

4.21 Independent Indicative Neutral

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

Independent Indicative Neutral - AI

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

Figure 4-2

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

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

4.22 Independent Indicative Preterit

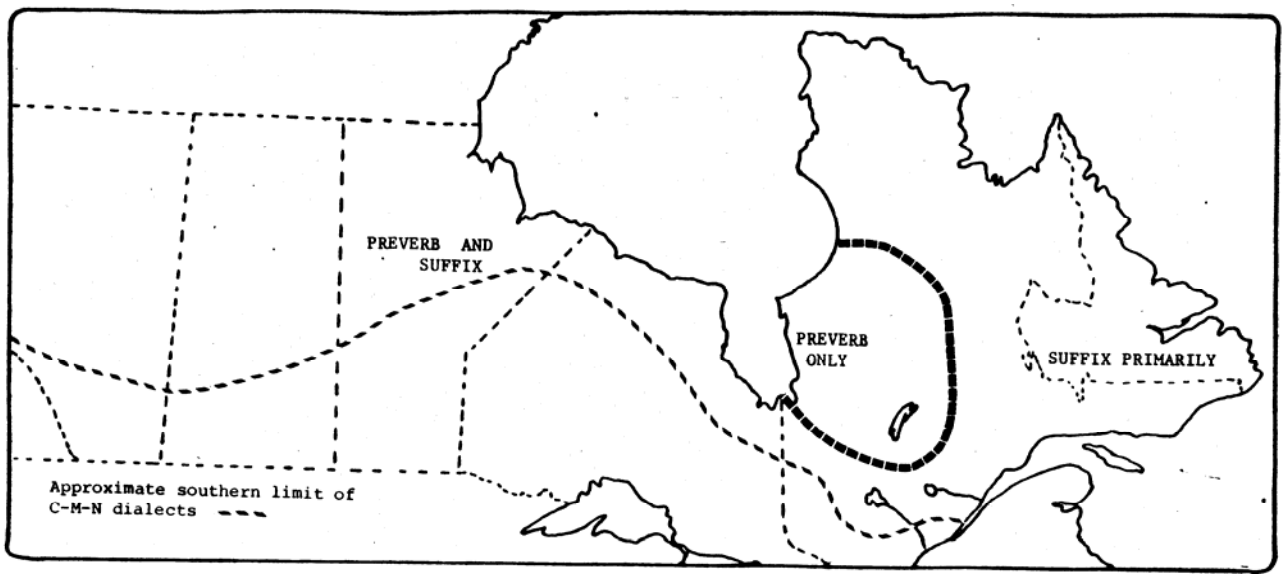
In the Preterit tense forms, there is more variation. The Indicative Preterit neutral forms are used in the eastern Quebec-Labrador dialects in order to express the past tense of an Independent neutral verb. In the palatalized y-dialects, a different mechanism is used for expressing the past tense. For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

Independent Indicative Preterit – AI

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

Figure 4-3

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



Map 4-5 Past Tense of Independent Verbs

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

ninipa:n	'I sleep'
nici:nipa:n	'I slept'
nikanipa:n	'I will sleep'
nikanipa:h	'I should sleep'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cinipa:ta:w	'you slept' (pl.)
nipa:pant	'they slept'

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

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

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

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

ninipa:s̀ipan	'I heard	I was asleep'
cinipa:s̀ipan	' "	you were asleep'
nipa:s̀ipan	' "	he was asleep'
nipa:li:s̀ipan	' "	his was asleep' (obv.)
ninipa:na:na:s̀ipan	' "	we were asleep' (excl.)
cinipa:na:na:s̀ipan	' "	we were asleep' (incl.)
cinipa:wa:s̀ipan	' "	you were asleep' (pl.)
nipa:s̀ipant	' "	they were asleep'

4.23 Independent Dubitative Neutral

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

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

Independent Dubitative Neutral - AI

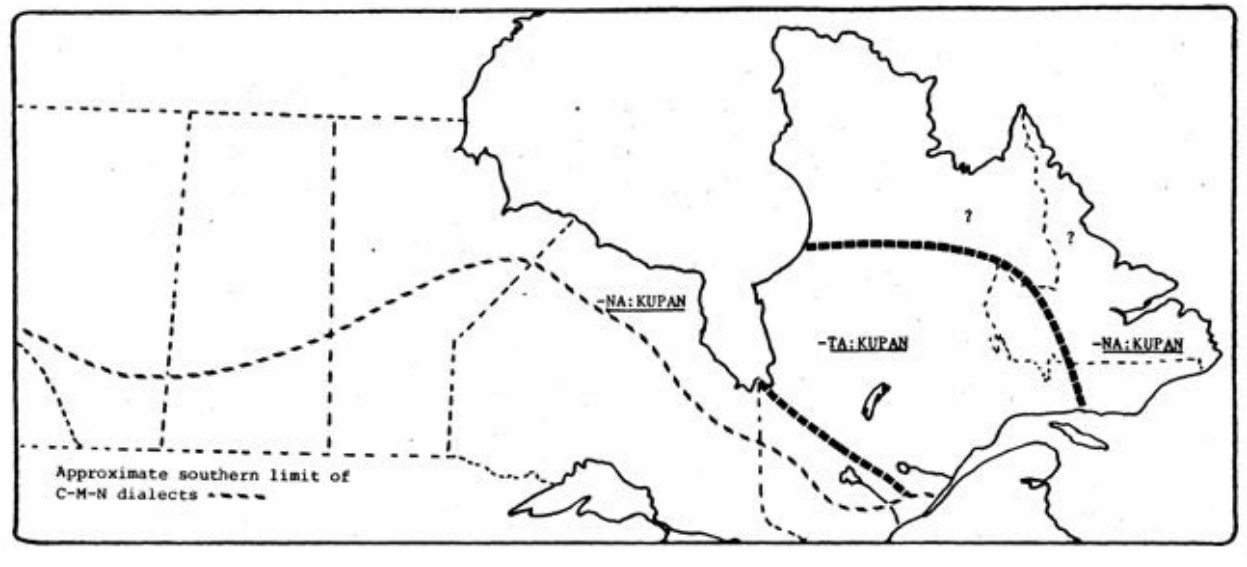
	Moose	Atikamekw	Ft.George	Mistassini	Moisie	NWR	Davis Inlet
1	-na:tukwe:	-na:tuke:	-na:ʔca:	na:ce:	-na:ce	-na:ce:	-na:ce:
2	-na:tukwe:	-na:tuke:	-na:ʔca:	na:ce:	-na:ce	-na:ce:	-na:ce:
11	-na:na:tukwe:	-na:na:tuke:	-na:na:ʔca:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:	-na:na:ce:
12	[ ]	-na:na:tuke:	-na:wa:ʔca: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

Figure 4-4

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

4.24 Independent Dubitative Preterit

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



Map 4-6 I.D.P. suffixes

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

Independent Dubitative Preterit - AI

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

Figure 4-5

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

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

4.3 Imperative Order

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

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

Imperative Order - AI

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

Figure 4-6

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

4:4 Conjunct Order

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

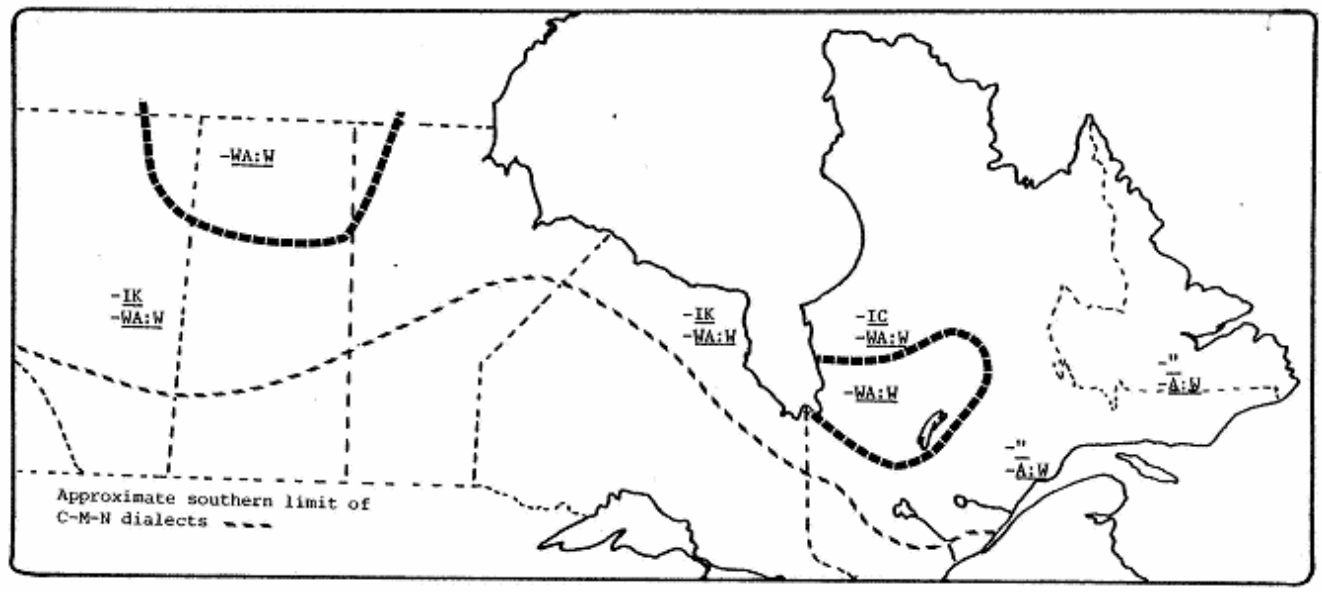
No personal prefixes are used with the Conjunct suffixes but there are Conjunct markers which are prefixed to the verb. Most common of these are: (a) e: 'whenever, while, as' which Ellis referred to as 'timeless' (1964:19-23), (b) ka: and ce:- past and future markers respectively and (c) the change of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

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

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

4.41 Conjunct Indicative Neutral

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



Map 4-7 Conjunct Plural Morphemes

Conjunct Indicative Neutral-AI

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

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

Figure 4-7

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

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

nipa:w	'he sleeps'
e:nipa:t	'as he sleeps'
e:nipa:c	'as they sleep'

In the n and 1 varieties, -t < c can be used for both singular and plural. The plural form, however, is further marked by a shift in stress and intonation similar to that brought about by the loss of a final short vowel (3.42). The -a:w pluralizer can also be used. Lemoine, in 1901, reported a choice of either "aw" or "ts" (ts < c). The second form has been reduced to t in the modern language.

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

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

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

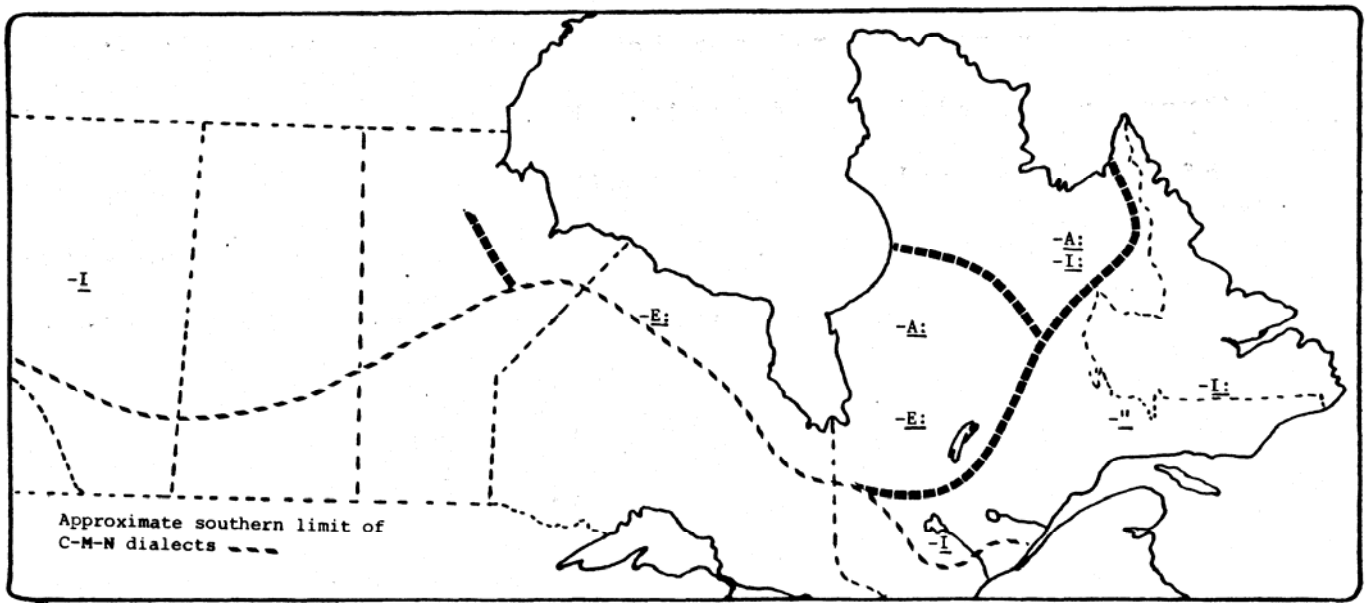
ka:yimit	'he who talks, lawyer'
ka:yi"mit	'lawyers'
ka:yimita:w	'they who are talking'

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

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

4.42 Conjunct Subjunctive

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



Map 4-8 Conjunct Subjunctive Suffixes

Some Conjunct Subjunctive Suffixes -TA

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

Figure 4-8

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

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

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

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

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

nipy:ya:na: 'when I sleep'[2]

nipa:ya:ni: 'if I sleep'

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

[2] Typo in original, correct version should be: nipa:ya:na: “when I sleep”

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

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

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

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

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

4.43 Conjunct Indicative Preterit

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

4.44 Conjunct Dubitative Neutral and Preterit

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

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

Conjunct Dubitative Neutral - AI

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

Figure 4-9

Conjunct Dubitative Preterite - AI

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

Figure 4-10

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

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

4.45 Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct

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

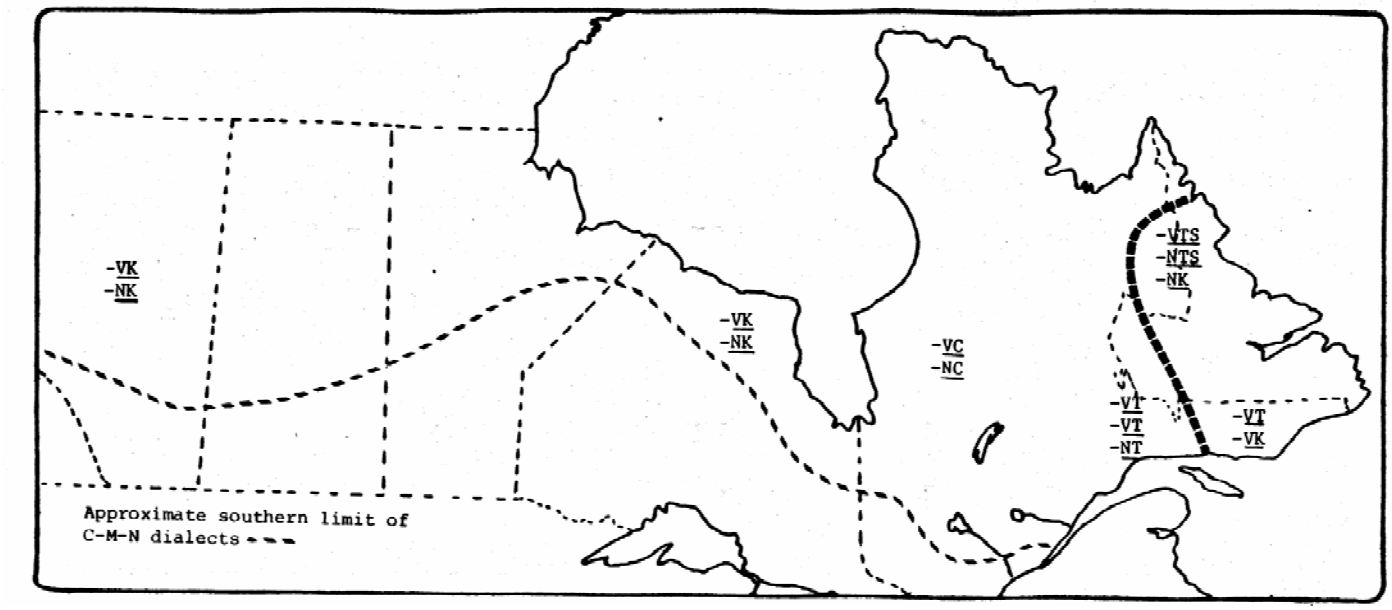
On the Lower North Shore and at North West River, however, II stems are inflected on the same pattern as that used for the TI and AI forms: -t < -c < -k for vowel-stems and -k for n- stems. Map 4-9 shows the

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

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

Figure 4-11

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



Map 4-9 II Conjunct Singular Suffixes

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

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

4.46 Initial Change

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

Initial Change

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

Figure 4-12

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5 Negation of Verbs

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

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

e:ka: takusiniya:ne	'if I do not arrive'
e:ka: tu:t	'don't do it'

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

ka: tu:t	'don't do it'
e:ka: wiywi:wi:	'don't go out'

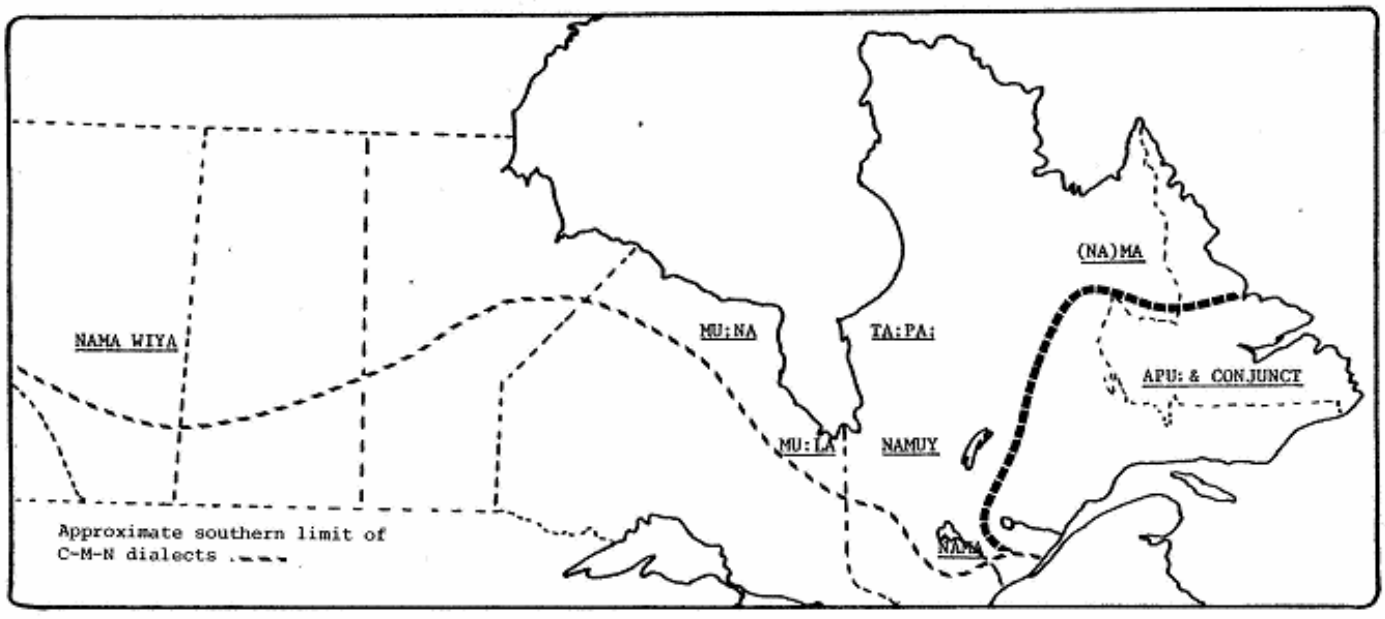
Lemoinegave the Imperative negative marker as "eka uil", which would be cognate with y-dialect e:ka:wiy. He further stated that e:ka is the short form (1901:56).

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

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

In the palatalized n- and 1- communities the particle is apu:, which requires that the verb be inflected with Conjunct, not Independent, suffixes:

Moisie	nipa:w	'he is sleeping'
	apu:nipa:t	'he is not sleeping'



Map 4-10 Negative of Independent Verbs.

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

For Betsiamites at the turn of this century, Lemoine (1901) gave "apu" as the primary negativizer. He also included the use of "mawats" plus the Independent for future tense verbs. In the 1 and n varieties of Quebec-Labrador mawats is the contracted form of nama wa:c, and is the usual word for 'no'.

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

ci:ta:w	'he was there'
namuy uhcita:w	'he was not there'

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

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

apu:	nipa:t		'he is not asleep'
apu:	tu:t	nipa:t	'he was not asleep'

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

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

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

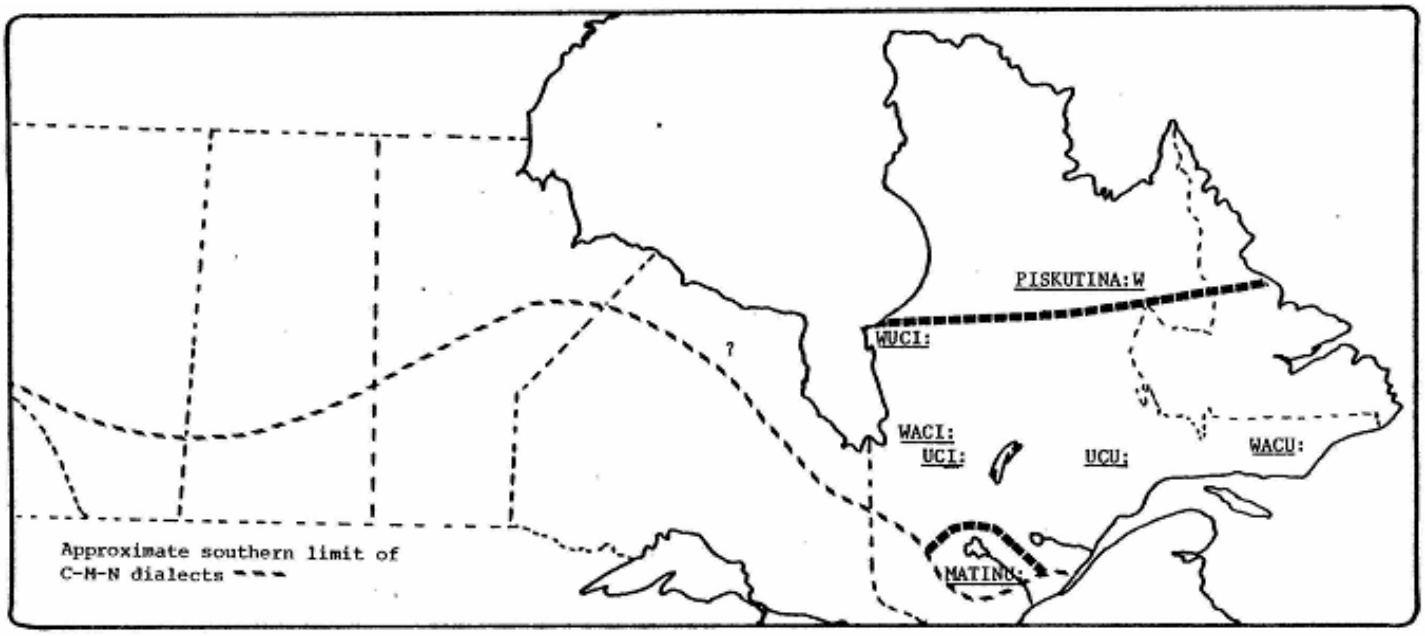
At Fort George ta:pa: has become the primary negativizer, and nama is used for 'no'.

4.6 Lexicon

4.61 Nouns

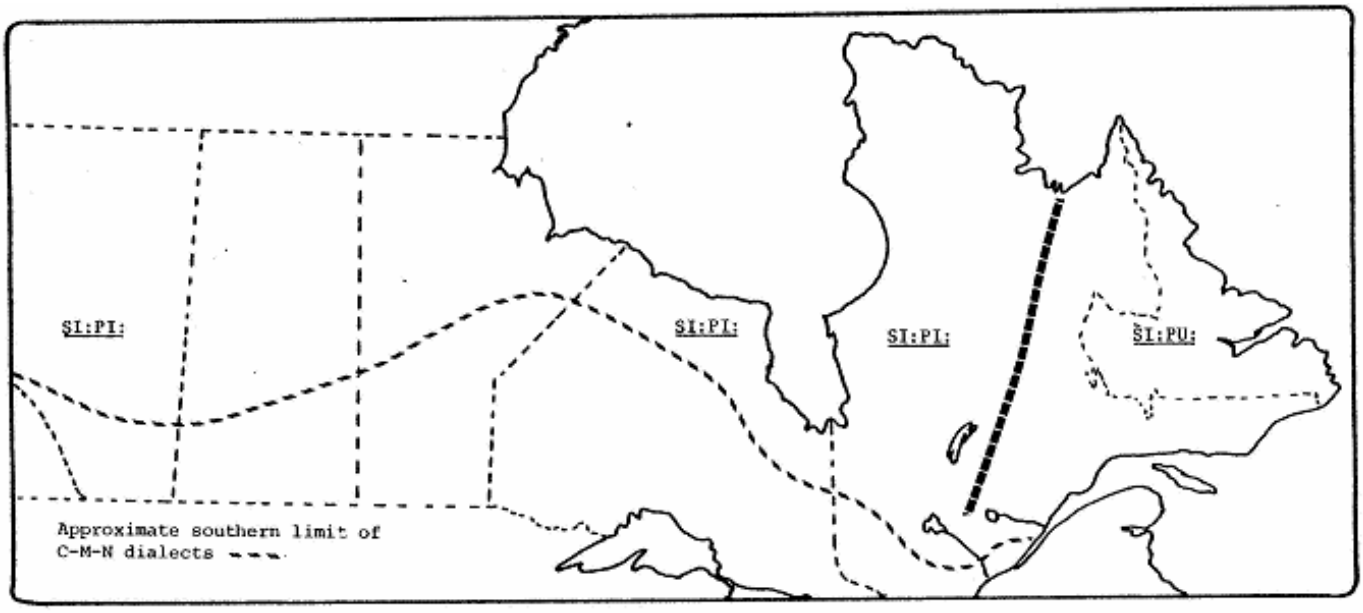
Variations in nouns can arise from several sources: (a) phonetic variation, (b) generalization of a related but different lexical item or (c) choice of a different combination morpheme.

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



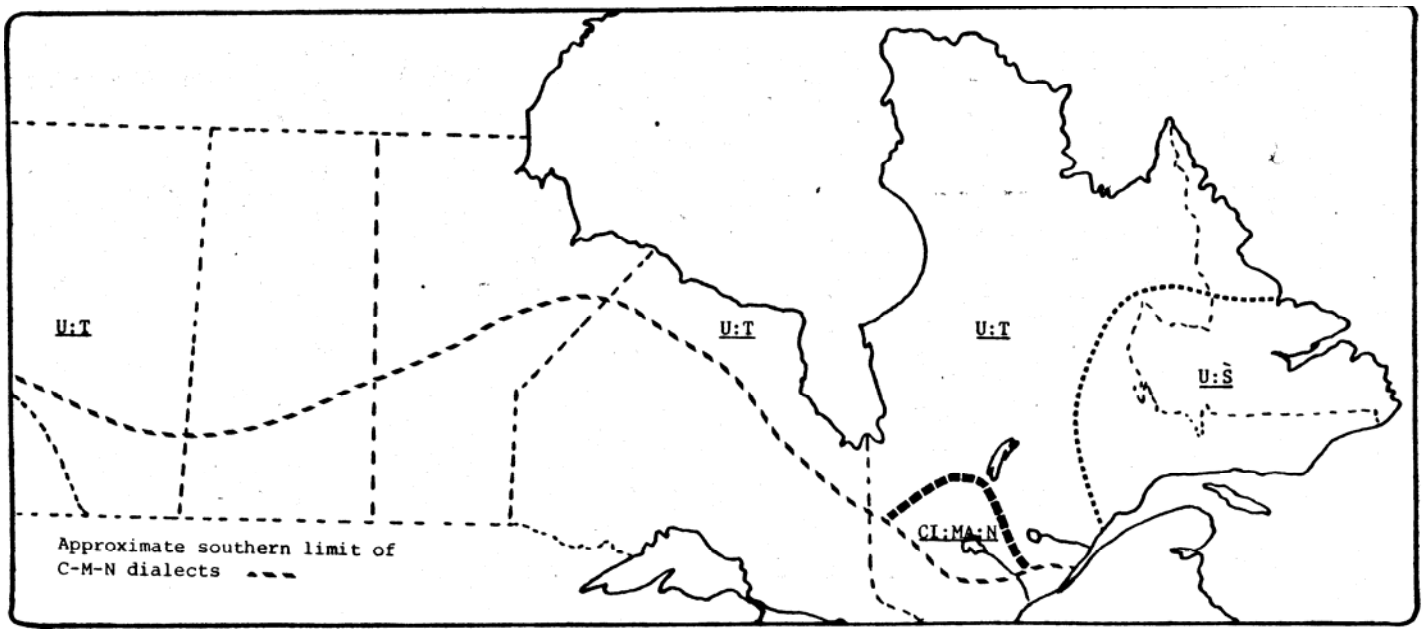
Map 4-11 '<u>mountain, hill</u>'

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



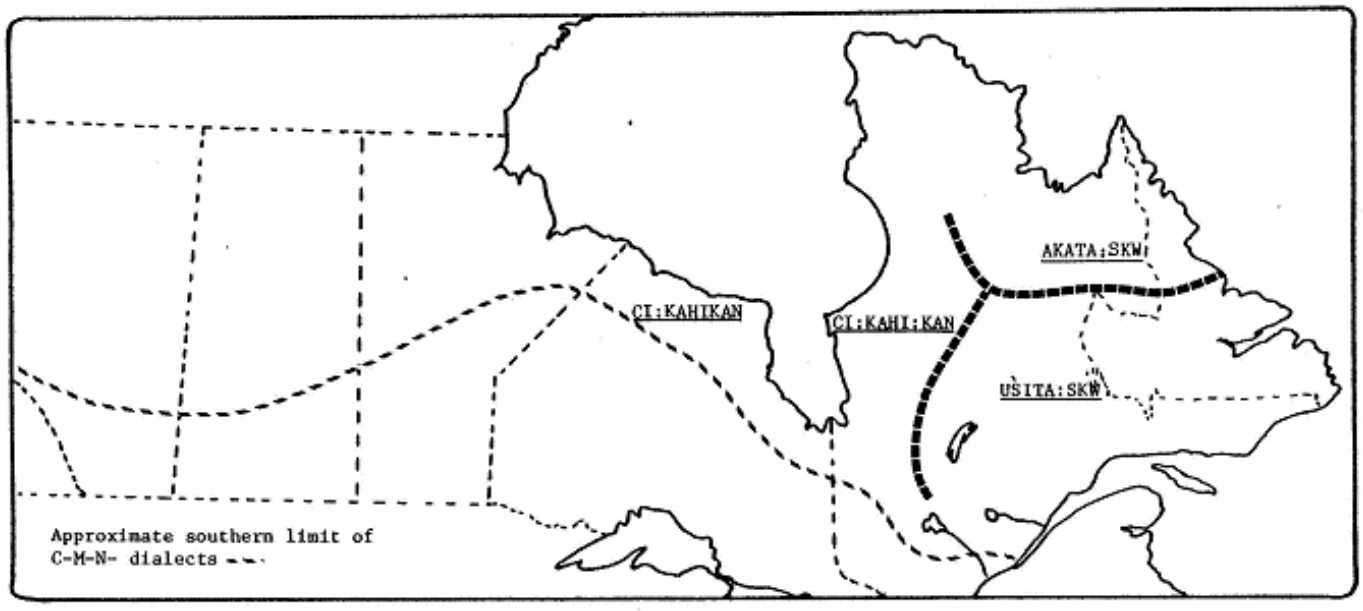
Map 4-12 'river'

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



Map 4-13 'canoe'

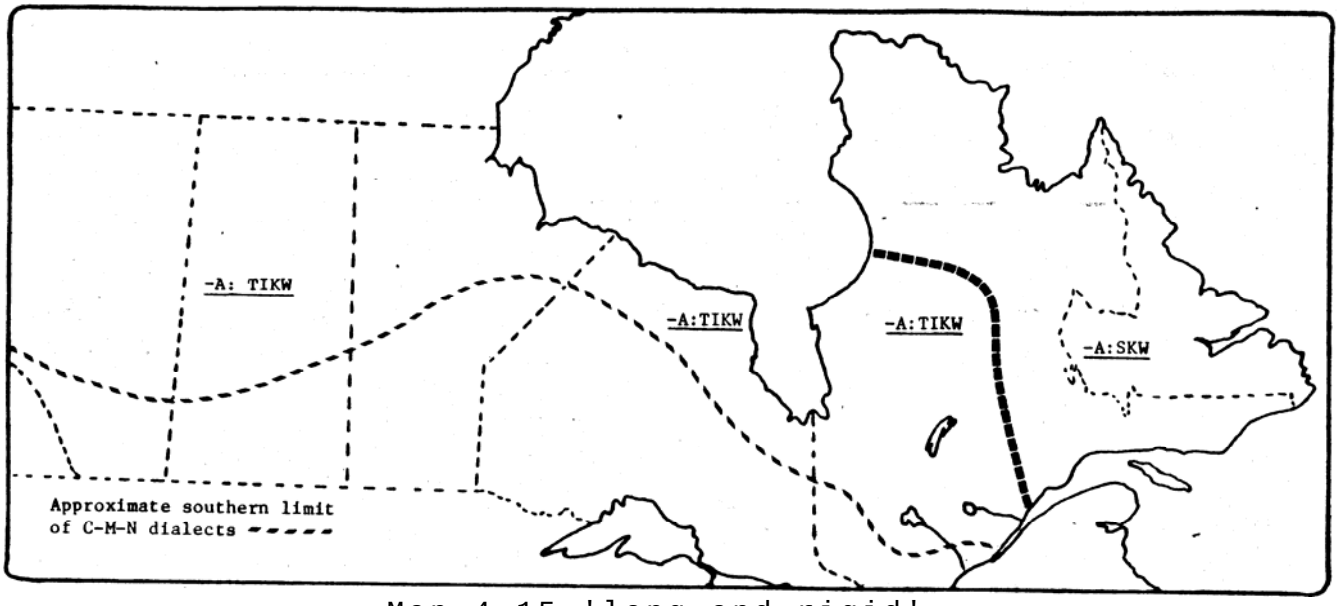
The term for 'canoe' from PA* u:θ- shows wide distribution of the variant singular forms u:si, u:s, u:ti and u:. The non-palatalized varieties reported on by Pentland use u:si, u:ti or u:t. The palatalized dialects in the western side of the peninsula use only u:t, a generalization from the plural form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



Map 4-14 'axe'

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

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



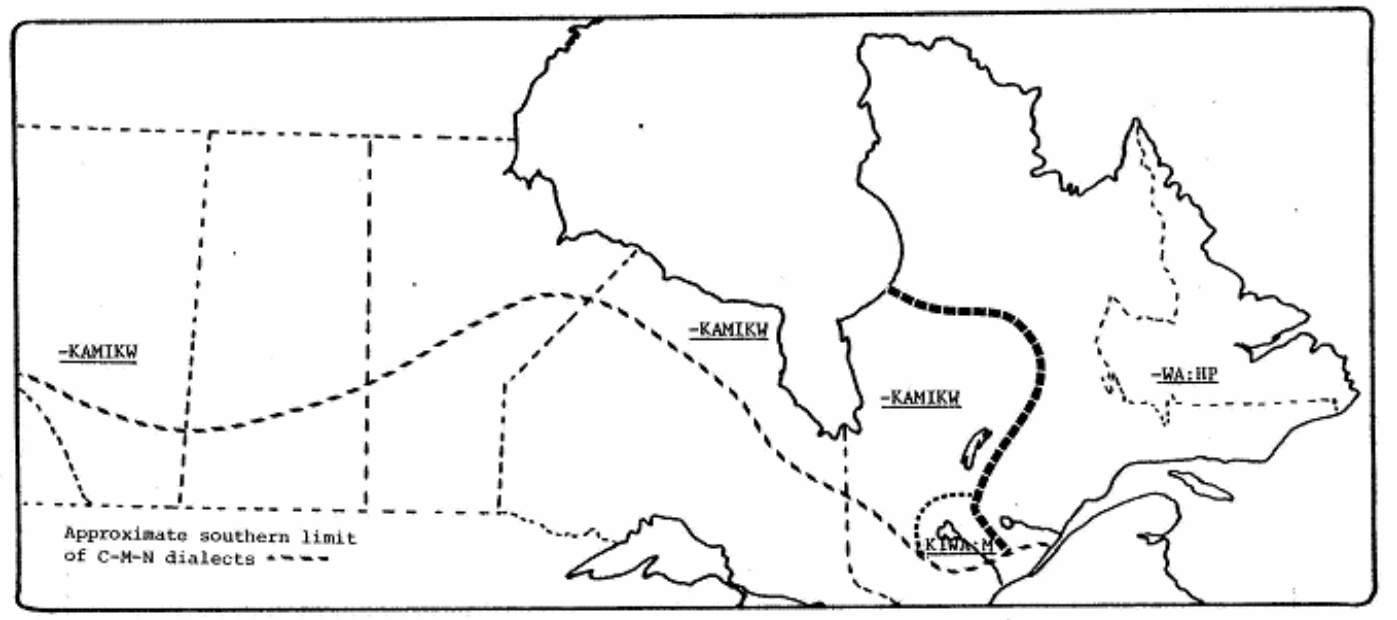
Map 4-15 'long and rigid'

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

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

	asa:m	'snowshoe'
Mistassini	asa:ma:tikw	'snowshoe frame'
Moisie	aṣa:ma:skw	'snowshoe frame'

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



Map 4-16 'building'

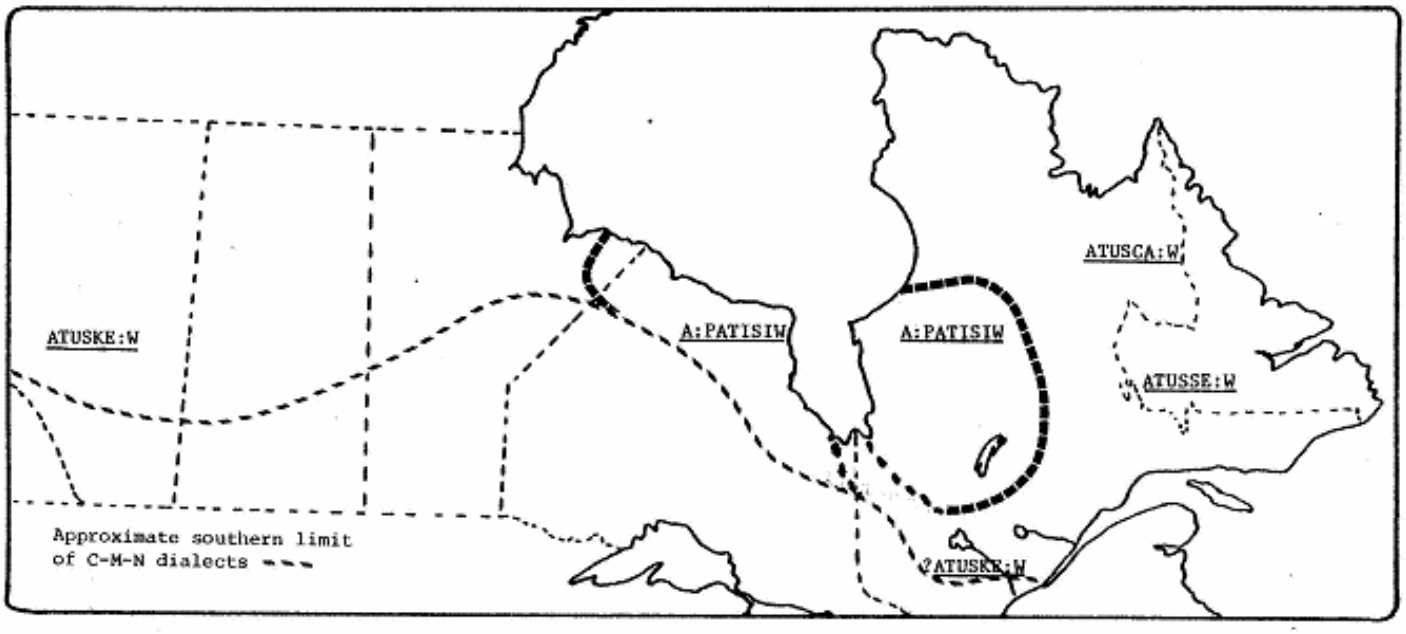
Another noun final which is almost coterminous with -a:tikw/-a:skw in distribution is -wa:hp or -kamikw for 'building' (Map 4-16). Pointe Bleue uses -wa:hp as the productive suffix but all communities to the west use -kamikw. Atikamekw uses the Ojibway varient -wa:m for -wa:hp.

	ata:w	'he buys it'
Mist.	ata:wakamik	'store'
Moisie	ata:wuciwa:p	'store'

	suliya:w	'money'
Mistassini	suliya:wkamik	'bank'
Moisie	s̀uniya:wciwa:p	'bank'

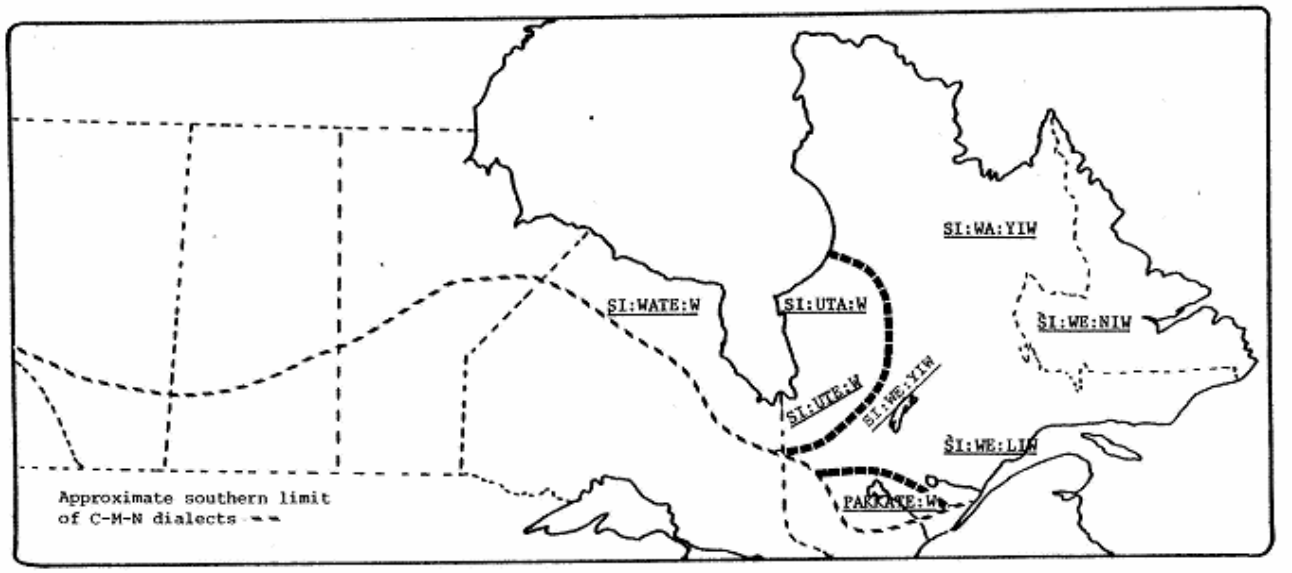
In the western area, some words, such as mi:ciwa:hp 'teepee' have been lexicalized with the non-productive suffix.

4.62 Verbs



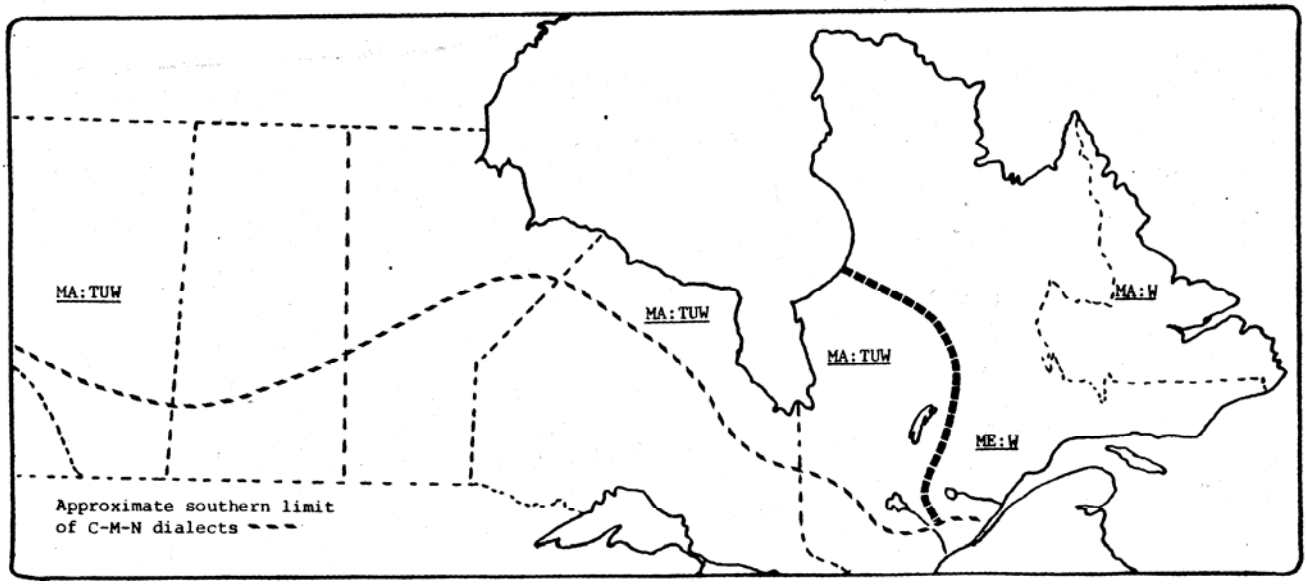
Map 4-17 'he works'

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

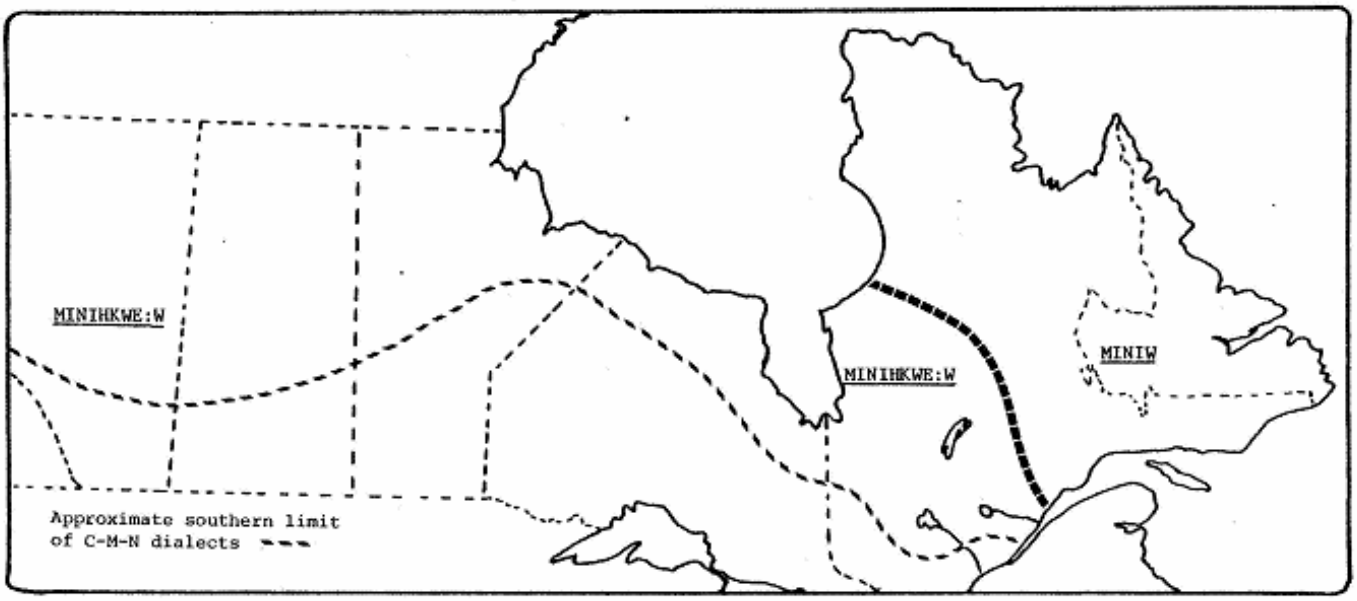


Map 4-18 '<u>he is hungry</u>'

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



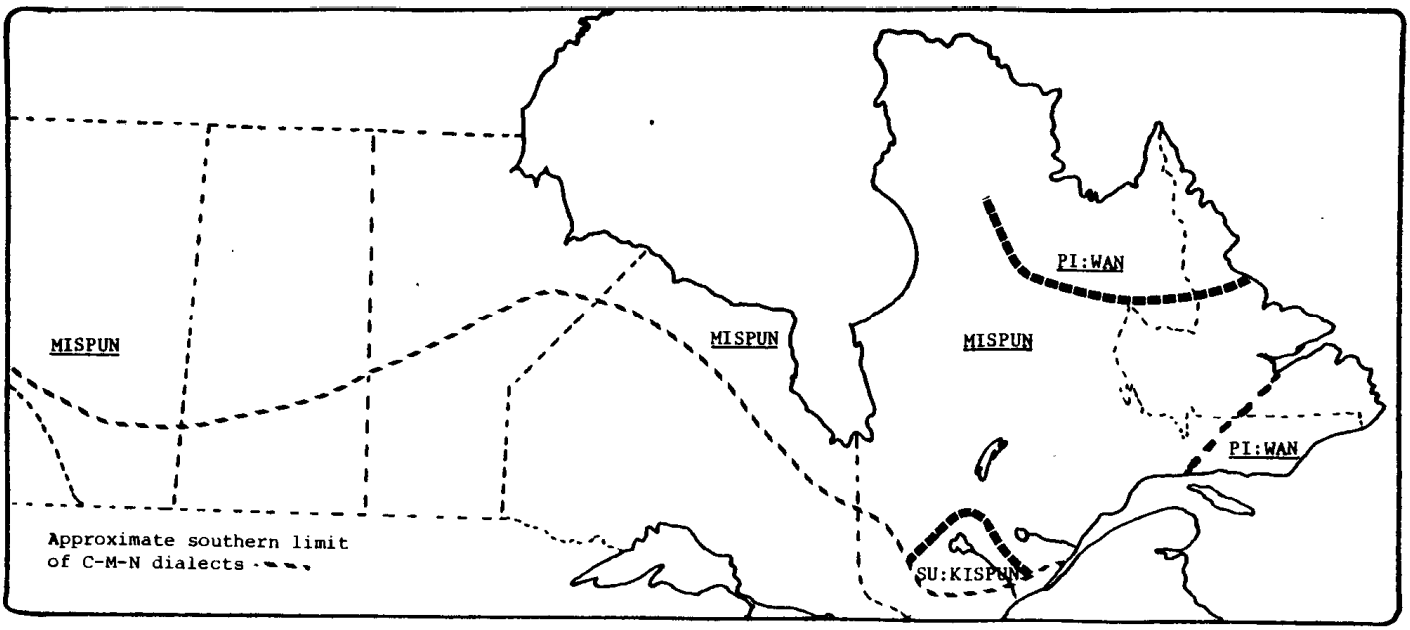
Map 4-19 '<u>he cries</u>'



Map 4-20 'he drinks'

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

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



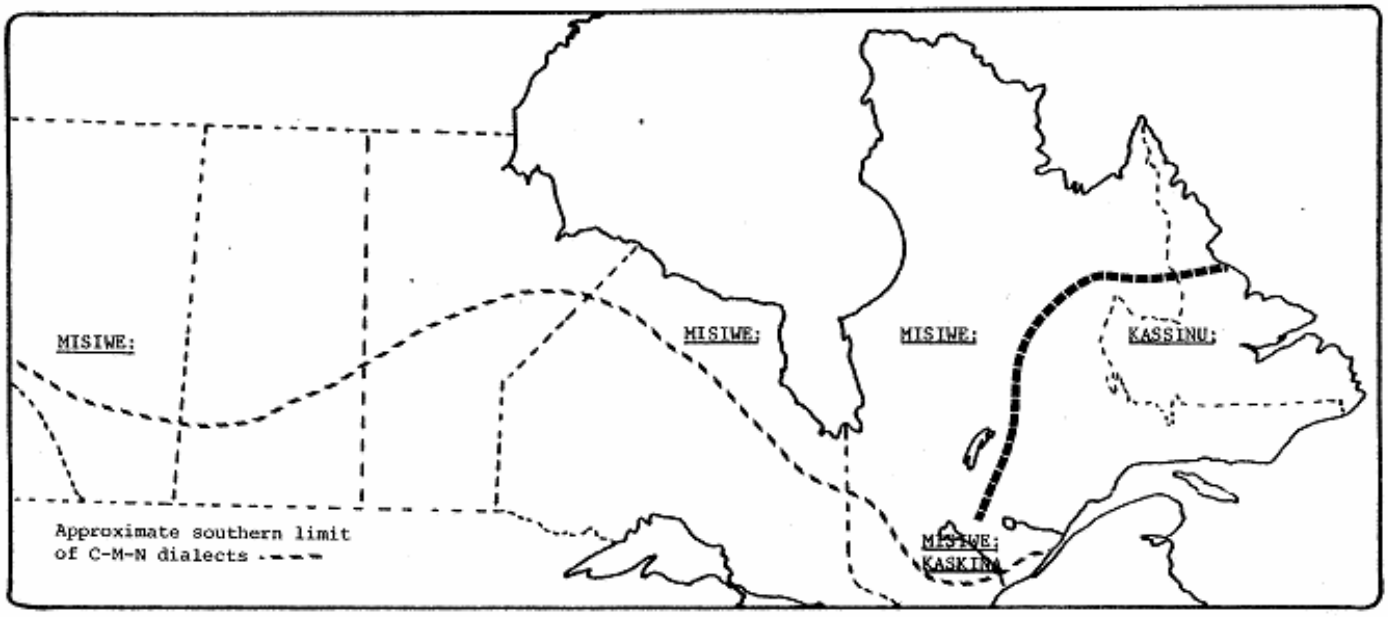
Map 4-21 'it snows'

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

4.63 Particles

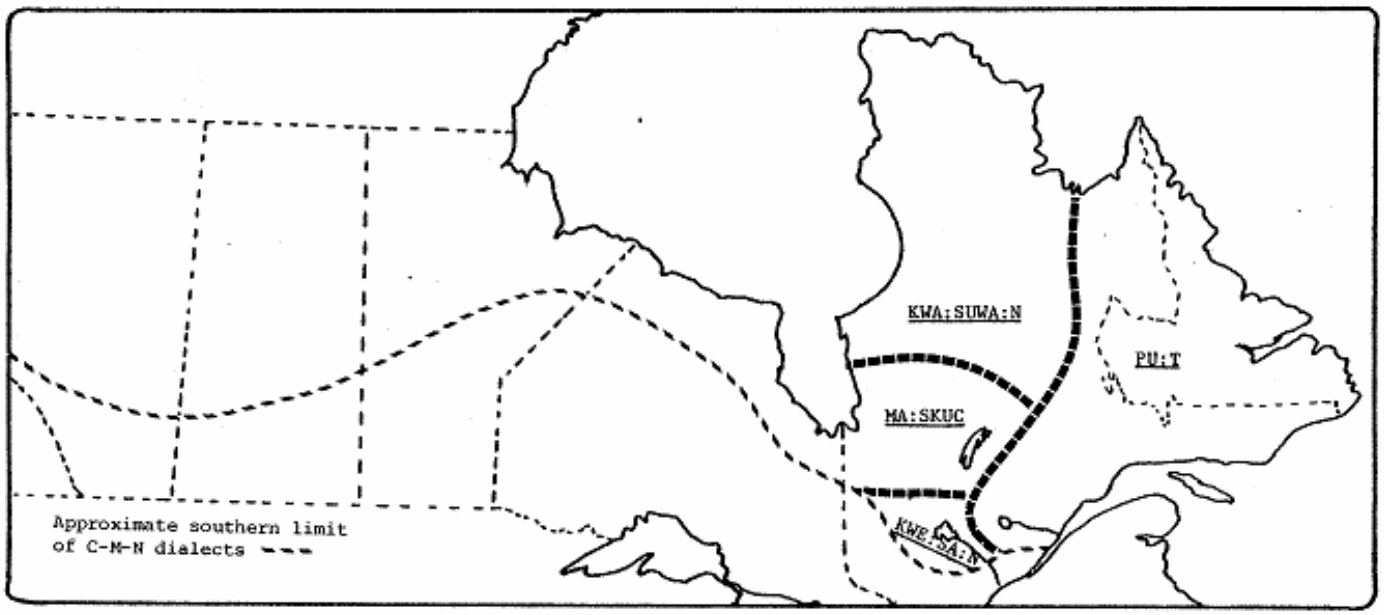
In Algonkian languages, particles are all those lexical items which are not nouns or verbs and usually are not inflected. They include words for time (adverbs) and space (prepositions), conjunctions, exclamations, pronouns, demonstratives and numbers. In Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi there is significant variation,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

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



Map 4-22 'all'

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



Map 4-23 '<u>maybe, perhaps</u>'

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

4.631 Demonstrative Pronouns

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

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

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

Demonstrative Pronouns

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

Figure 4-13

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.632 Numeral systems

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

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

East Cree and all the non-palatalized varieties (except Atikamekw) use (ni)ya:na:ne:w 'eight', an innovation since Proto-Algonkian. Atikamekw and the n- and 1- (except Davis

Numerals 'five' to 'ten'

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

Figure 4-14

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

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

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

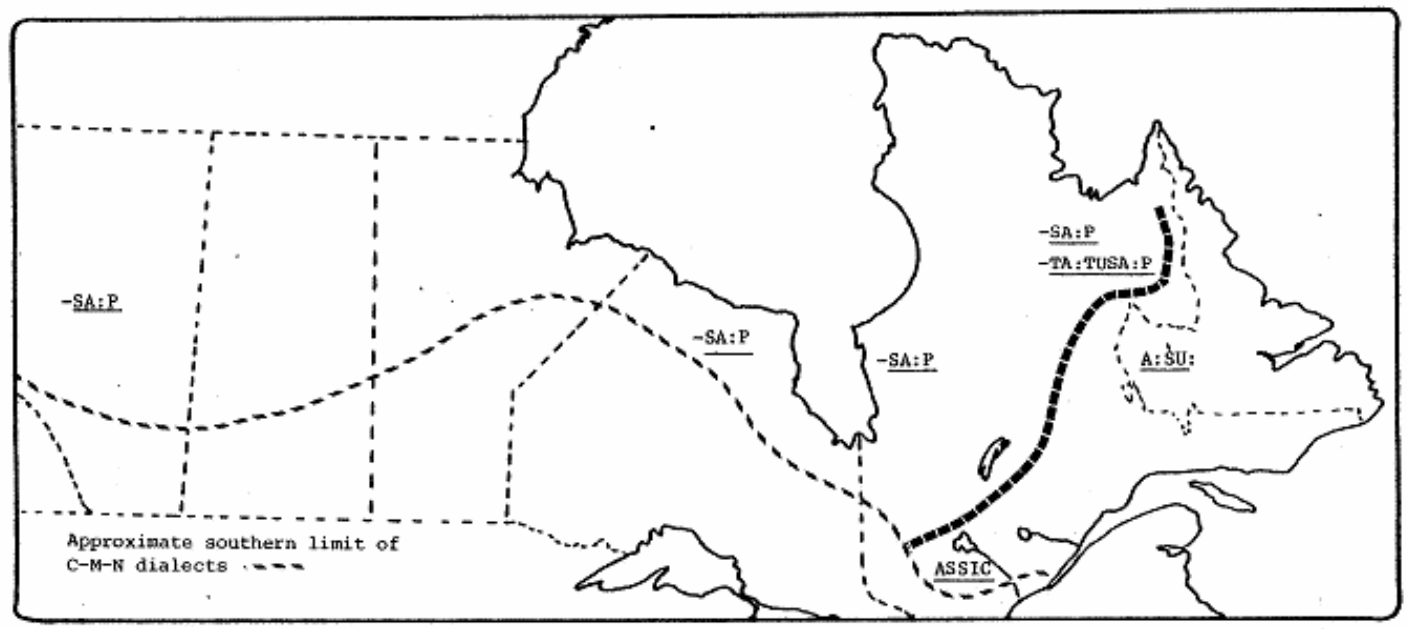
For the number 'six' the two Naskapi communities of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet share the form a:suta:ts. It is not used by any other group; all others use (ni)kutwa:sc.

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

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

'ten'.

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



Map 4-24 Teen formation

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

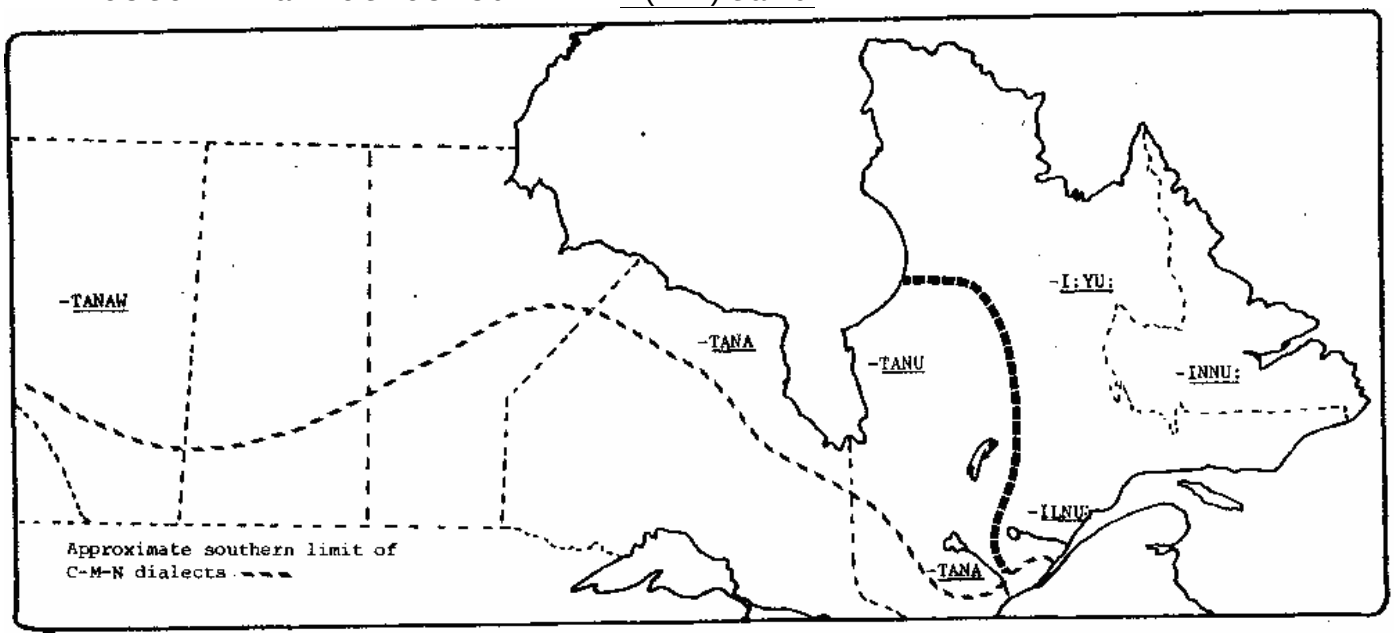
Plains	ne:wsa:p	'fourteen'
Moose/Swampy	ne:ws̀a:p	"
Fort George	ne:ws̀a:p	"
Mistassini	ne:ws̀a:p	"

Atikamekw	mita:ttu: a:ssic ne:w	'fourteen'
Moisie	pe:ykunnu: a:su: ne:w[4]	"
Fort Chimo	na:wsa:p	"

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

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

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



Map 4 -25 Tens formation

[4] Typo in original, correct version should be: kutunnu: a:su: ne:w
[5] Typo in original, correct version should be: kutwa:scita:tu:sa:p

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

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

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

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0 In this chapter the variation in phonology, morphology and lexicon which was presented in preceding chapters will be discussed from several points of view: evidence for a Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect continuum, sub-groupings of the palatalized dialects, areas where change has taken place through innovation, linguistic innovation as a result of areal contact with other language groups and, finally, the geographical, social and cultural correlates of the linguistic groupings. The reader will no doubt find it useful to refer to the maps and tables in preceding chapters.

5.1 The Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi Continuum

The discussion of the relative status of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects in 1.2 made it clear that most linguists propose a boundary between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. This was based primarily on the single phonological feature of velar palatalization. The cumulative maps for phonological and morphological isoglosses tend to support such a boundary. They also show, however, an equally distinct boundary between the palatalized y-dialects (East Cree) and the palatalized n- and l-dialects (Montagnais). The lexical isoglosses show the major boundary to lie within the palatalized

area - again between the East Cree y- communities and the n- and l- communities; the Atikamekw dialects are also lexically separate. It has become clear that, when all levels of language are taken into account, the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects form a continuum. The phonological, morphological and lexical variations outlined in previous chapters support this conclusion.

5.11 The sound shifts fall into three groups: a) shifts which range across both palatalized and non-palatalized varieties, b) shifts which occur in either but not both, and c) shifts which occur in both varieties but which may have arisen independently.

For the purposes of discussion the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects around James and Hudson Bays will be referred to as 'central' dialects. Those closer to the plains in the west and the Labrador coast in the east will be referred as 'peripheral' dialects.

A phonological feature which spans both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects is the retention of PA·*s and *s̀ as s and s̀ respectively. It can be described as a 'James Bay' phenomenon, although the Atikamekw dialects are also included. The retention of final -kw and the operation of rules of vowel harmony extend into Atikamekw from the palatalized dialects. Short vowel apocope, syncope, assimilation and neutralization are more generalized in the palatalized dialects but also occur in the non-palatalized ones, particularly in the east. The retention of pre-aspirated stops also extends to both east and

west coasts of James Bay. The majority of the lexical items which were discussed occur on both sides of James Bay, Similarly, the demonstrative pronouns and the negative marker for Independent verbs are used by both non-palatalized speakers and palatalized y-speakers.

5.12 Sound shifts which are found exclusively within the palatalized dialects are mostly a result of the process of velar palatalization. The affricate c created by this rule undergoes subsequent depalatalization and de-affrication, aided by the widespread short vowel syncope. The ṡ > h shift, which as yet primarily affects n- and l- speakers of Montagnais, is a recent sound change. The Dubitative paradigms within the palatalized dialects are quite different from those found in the non-palatalized ones. Among the lexical items surveyed, only the numeral for 'nine' was not used in non-palatalized communities.

The non-palatalized varieties show variation between hp~sp, hc~sc, sk~Θk (Pentland 1979:82). This does not occur in any palatalized dialect.

5.13 A number of other sound shifts occur in geographically non-contiguous areas of both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. These changes may have begun in pre-Cree before the split into n, l, y, r and đ dialects. Or, they may have arisen independently through natural phonological change. This is a question that will be left to the expertise of historical linguists. Changes which occur towards both the eastern and western peripheries of the dialect continuum are,(a) lengthening of

short vowels before h; (b) fricativization of pre-aspirated stops; (c) loss of pre-aspiration; (d) merger of e: with another long vowel; (e) merger of s and ṣ; and (f) the development of l as n, y, r or l.

5.2 Sub-Groupings of Palatalized Dialects

The palatalized dialects also form a continuum but sub-groupings may be established. One previous sub-classification includes separating y, l, and n into Western, Southern and Eastern (Pentland 197_). Indians themselves have adopted another set of terms: (East) Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi; the area of usage of the latter terms only partially overlaps that of the former. In this section the linguistic basis for these sub-divisions will be examined.

5.21 A major division between the y-dialects of East Cree and the n- and l- dialects of Montagnais is most strongly supported by morphological and lexical isoglosses. No vowel or consonant isoglosses run parallel to the y, n and l lines. Vowel isoglosses indicate separation of northern and southern y, n and l- communities on the basis of different innovations (5.3). Consonant isoglosses generally run between the y-dialects on the one hand and the n- and l- dialects on the other. They diverge around Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet in the north and Pointe Bleue in the south. Morphological and lexical isoglosses also follow this pattern, although Pointe Bleue appears more unambiguously part of the n/l- group.

5.22 The y- group includes all those communities which refer to themselves as East Cree, plus Fort Chimo Naskapi.

The recent adoption of y to replace n by Fort Chimo speakers will be discussed below (5.24). Within the y- group, two major divisions appear: one indicating a north-south split and a second separating the four James Bay villages from other y-communities. Characteristics of the northern sub-groups include the merger of e: with a:, the neutralization of initial i with i: less procope, less syncope, use of both -ic and -wa:w Conjunct pluralizers and a number of lexical differences. The boundary runs through the community of Eastmain, where e: is in variation with a:. People from this village, however, generally consider themselves part of the southern group.

The east-west grouping cross-cuts the north-south one and is based on the merger of PA *š and *s as s outside the immediate James Bay area. Inland communities also use i:nu:- instead of i:yu: for the morpheme 'Indian, ordinary'. Several lexical isoglosses separate the inland communities of Mistassini and Waswanipi from the coastal ones. These two villages use n/l- Montagnais vocabulary. Nemiscau is a transition dialect where s and š are beginning to merge and i:nu:- alternates with i:yu:.

5.23 The two l- dialects of Pointe Bleue and Betsiamites are separated by a number of phonological isoglosses. Pointe Bleue retains inter-vocalic and pre-consonantal h, and final c as [ts] instead of [t], as do the y-communities to the west. There is some evidence that Betsiamites speakers have lost h and reduced c to [t] within this century (Lemoine 1901, Drapeau 1979). There is no feature which has so far been found exclusively

in these communities is the retention of the e:~a: stem vowel variation in AI verbs, and the use of l <PA*1 also occurs in the Moisie varieties. Both these l- villages share the morphology and lexicon with the n- villages.

5.24 The n- dialects can be divided into three major groups: Moisie, Lower North Shore and Davis Inlet. Davis Inlet, however, shares relatively few features with the other n- communities. Its affiliation will be discussed below (5.25).

One n-community, North West River, exhibits characteristics of all three major n-groups.

All the n- communities can be grouped together on the basis of the limited set of lexical items examined in 4.4. No doubt divisions would appear on the examination of a larger vocabulary sample.

The Moisie dialects share with other southern palatalized dialects the innovation of assimilation and deletion of short vowels. The Lower North Shore and North West River share lengthening of short vowels, and incipient fricativization of pre-aspirated stops and retention of final short vowels, with the Naskapi communities of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet. The Lower North Shore dialects are conservative in using [sts] instead of [ss] for sc; they are the source area of nasalization and also the change of s̀ > h, both of which are now spreading to other villages. At the morphological level, these dialects share the use of -k with n- stem II verbs; North West River shows variation in these inflections.

5.25 The term 'Naskapi' has a long history of usage

and application to various northern palatalized dialects. Today, the Indians of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet refer to themselves as Naskapi. The linguistic evidence does give limited support to the posited existence of Naskapi sub-group; this group is best seen, however, as transitional between the y-dialects of East Cree and the n- dialects of North West River and the Lower North Shore.

Strong support for a Naskapi sub-grouping is found in the distribution of lexical items. The two villages share some vocabulary not used elsewhere. Phonologically, these dialects are the source of the innovations of short vowel lengthening before h and fricativization of pre-aspirated stops. The unusual n/y alternation reported for Davis Inlet speakers also exists among older Fort Chimo speakers. There is evidence that Fort Chimo speakers used n, instead of y, in the last century. The innovation of y and the merger of e: with a: are relatively recent sound shifts, due to the influence of the James and Hudson Bay dialects (MacKenzie 1979). The Naskapi communities also share the retention of the cluster sc and final c with the East Cree.

This pattern is confirmed by the distribution of negative markers for Independent verbs. The use of apu: plus the Conjunct is restricted to the l- and all other n- dialects. It would seem, then, that in the past, speakers of Naskapi formed a relatively isolated sub-group, which, however, had contact with both northern East Cree and eastern Montagnais groups. The dialect of Fort Chimo, in particular, has undergone recent

change which makes it slightly closer to East Cree. The historical and social reasons for this will be discussed below (5.5).

5.26 Besides the major east/west division for Quebec-Labrador, a secondary cross-cutting north/south division emerges. This results from two patterns of innovation, one spreading north-west from the Saguenay region, and a second spreading south-east from the Ungava region.

5.3 Innovation and Change

There have been a number of innovations between Proto-Algonkian, pre-Cree and the present day dialects. It is relatively simple to identify these changes at the level of phonology, since a proto-level is well established. At the level of morphology and lexicon, the task becomes more difficult.

5.31 Innovations which have affected the peripheral areas of the dialect continuum have been: (a) the merger of PA *s and *š as either s or š, (b) the merger of e: with another long vowel, (c) lengthening of short vowels before pre-aspirated stops; (d) fricativization of pre-aspirated stops; (e) loss of pre-aspirated stops. These changes apparently occurred independently in widely separated palatalized and non-palatalized dialects.

5.32 Other innovations are restricted to one or other of these major groups. The loss of final w after k is largely confined to the non-palatalized dialects. Where kw is retained in non-palatalized Atikamekw and all palatalized dialects,

short vowel rounding also takes place. Loss of short vowels through deletion and assimilation is most generalized in the palatalized dialects from Sept-Isles westward. In the non-palatalized Swampy dialects west of James Bay, these phenomena are still more frequent than in the Woods and Plains groups beyond. To the east and north of the Moisie area, as well, these changes diminish in frequency.

Only in the palatalized dialects have velar palatalization and subsequent depalatalization occurred. Certain changes, such as s̲ > h̲ and nasalization, are confined to the n̲- and l̲-palatalized area. Neutralization of short with long vowels is also most general in this area.

5.33 It is possible to identify the area of maximum phonological innovation among the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. This area includes the southern palatalized dialects and stretches from Rupert House on James Bay to Sept-Isles on the St. Lawrence River. The community where the dialect is changing the most rapidly is Betsiamites. It is not co-incidental that Betsiamites is the closest community to Tadoussac, which was the site of the first mission to the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, established at the beginning of the 1600's. This is the area of heaviest and longest European settlement. However, the southern palatalized dialects, on the northern periphery of European settlement, have undergone the largest amount of phonological change. This set of changes is generally moving from east to west.

Another set of changes, the lengthening of short vowels before pre-aspirated stops and subsequent fricativization of these stops, appears to have begun in the northern area with the Naskapi dialects of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet. These shifts moved south along the eastern periphery of the dialect continuum to the Lower North Shore communities.

The Lower North Shore is the source of the recent innovation of s̀ > h. This change has spread rapidly outwards (within thirty to forty years) to the other n- and l- communities.

The effects of the changes in the vowel system seem to have been to make the phonological system more like that of Indo-European languages (i.e. English and/or French). The symmetrical Proto-Algonkian system of four long and four short vowels is evolving into a system of three or four tense vowels and one or two lax ones. The fricative series is being expanded through the addition of f and x while the pre-aspirated stop series is disappearing. Some dialects which have lost pre-aspirated stops nevertheless maintain two series of stops. These may be voiced/voiceless or fortis/lenis. Words may now begin with clusters of s and a stop, as in English and French.

5.34 It is more difficult to determine where innovation has taken place in the inflectional suffixes for verbs. Only phonological variation is readily identifiable as the result of the sound shifts described in chapters II and III. The frequently used Indicative paradigms of both the Independent

and Conjunct orders differ only phonologically across the dialect continuum. The Dubitative paradigms, however, have distinctly different forms within the palatalized and non-palatalized groups. Goddard has prepared a valuable comparison of Independent Indicative inflectional suffixes (1967) but unfortunately nothing comparable exists for the other paradigms. Whether the innovations have occurred in the palatalized or non-palatalized dialect will be left a question until further comparative evidence becomes available.

The negative formation process of apu: plus the Conjunct, innovated since the eighteenth century, occurs only in the n- and l-palatalized dialects (excluding Davis Inlet). The set of demonstrative pronouns in all the palatalized dialects has undergone simplification so that the three-way distinction of 'this here', 'that there' and 'that over there' is breaking down into a two-way distinction 'this' and 'that', as used in English and French. In the demonstrative adverb system of 'here' 'there' and 'over there' the tripartite distinction is still maintained. Within the palatalized group, the n- and l- dialects have undergone extreme phonological restructuring.

At the lexical, as well as morphological, level, determination of which forms are innovated is still a problem. Forms used as minihkwe:w 'he drinks' and ma:tuw 'he cries', used in the non-palatalized and East Cree dialects, are geographically more widespread. The n- and l- Montagnais forms miniw 'he drinks' and me:w~wma:w 'he cries', however, are cognate with

forms from other Algonkian languages (Fox and Menomini) (Aubin 1975, Bloomfield 1975).

5.4 Areal Contact

Once the nature and directions of language change are identified and described there still remains the problem of actuation - why the change began at a particular time in a particular place.

One of the accepted causes of linguistic change is contact between different languages and dialects. In this section and the next, some patterns of language contact in Quebec-Labrador will be discussed briefly.

Areal linguistics refers, in general, to the exchange of linguistic features between speakers of genetically unrelated languages who are in close geographical contact. Over hundreds of years of such contact, two languages may come to resemble each other very closely in phonological and morphological structure. It is not necessary that the languages under study be genetically unrelated, although such a situation strikingly exemplifies the effects of prolonged linguistic contact. It is also possible to see the effects when two languages of the same family are spoken in the same area as in the case of Cree and Algonquin. Non-Algonkian languages which have been spoken

in areas inhabited by the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi are Inuktitut, French and English.

The medium of innovation through areal contact is usually the bilingual or bidialectal individual (Scherzer 1973, Winter 1973). It is not necessary that all members of the community know a second language, since bilingual speakers may serve as prestige models. It is hypothesized, then, that certain innovations which have taken place in the Quebec-Labrador dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi were stimulated by contact with speakers of different languages: Algonquin, Micmac, Inuktitut, French and English.

5.41 In the south-western part of Quebec the non-palatalized dialects of Atikamekw Cree, the palatalized dialects of East Cree (Waswanipi and Rupert House) and Montagnais (Pointe Bleue, Betsiamites) and the Ojibway dialects of Algonquin share a number of features.

The neutralization of a and i noted in the western palatalized dialects is also reported in some Algonquin dialects (Daviault et al 1978:57) as is deletion of unstressed lax vowels (Piggott 1978:161). The tensing of initial short vowels which takes place in Pointe Bleue Montagnais is noted for Algonquin as well (ibid 162).

In Atikamekw Cree, fricatives may be voiced. This is the only Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect where this occurs regularly, although the rule is being innovated in Betsiamites Montagnais. Voiced and unvoiced series of fricatives and stops occur in all

dialects of Ojibway and Algonquin. Béland has reported the existence of a voiced/voiceless series of stops alongside the pre-aspirated/plain series in Atikamekw. He has referred to the fact that speakers of Atikamekw Cree read the Montagnais and Algonquin religious literature with little difficulty. Béland's lexicon includes the innovation of some Algonquin phonological features, such as loss of final w in iskute 'fire'. Béland also recorded Algonquin lexical items in Atikamekw, e.g. ci:ma:n instead of u:t for 'canoe' (1978). The use of ci:ma:n 'canoe' has spread to the palatalized dialect of Waswanipi.

The Algonquin dialect data reveals the extent to which there has been influence of Cree. At the phonological level, nasal consonants can no longer occur before stops in Algonquin. Lexical borrowing from Cree is also evident (Piggott 1978, Daviault et al 1978). As Daviault et al pointed out, collaboration with ethnohistorians, with the aim of documenting Cree-Algonquin contact, should prove highly fruitful for linguistics (1978:57).

5.42 Contact between Micmac speakers and Montagnais is also an area to be explored. The innovation of a marker apu:, which requires Conjunct verbs, and the loss of nama, which requires Independent suffixes, has increased dramatically the use of the Conjunct forms. In this respect Montagnais is becoming more like the Eastern Algonkian languages, such as Micmac, which no longer use Independent forms at all.

5.43 Contact between the Inuit and the Cree within the Labrador peninsula has been long-standing and intimate. Although their relations have often been characterized as antagonistic, recent ethno-historical research into genealogies, as well as accounts by the Indians themselves, indicate that there has been intermarriage between the groups (M. Hammond, personal communication). On the east coast of James Bay, a large family of Inuit who lived on the Charlton Islands offshore from Eastmain are fluently bilingual in Inuktitut and Cree. There has always been a minority Inuit population at Fort George. At Great Whale River, where East Cree and Inuit share the settlement, the Inuit are in the majority. The Fort Chimo Naskapi group traded at that post, now an Inuit community, for one hundred years and were settled there for some years before 1954 (Cooke 1976). At least one Naskapi has married into the Inuit community and many older Fort Chimo Naskapi speak some Inuktitut. This stands in contrast to the James Bay Cree who did not learn Inuktitut unless one of their parents was Inuit.

Historical records indicate that the Inuit once occupied the coast of Labrador right down to the gulf of St.Lawrence (Taylor 1978). The coastal-oriented Inuit and the Inland-oriented Indians would certainly have met from time to time. There is some genealogical evidence that the progenitor of one of the large Labrador Indian families was part Inuit and had been raised by Inuit in Nain for a number of years (M. Hammond,

personal communication).

The material culture also gives evidence of contact through the exchange of tools and techniques. Rogers (1964) detailed a large number of shared items, while archeologists speculate that the bent fishing hook was adopted by the Inuit from the Indians (J. Tuck, personal communication).

What are the linguistic facts which suggest contact between Inuit and Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi speakers? Without more detailed analysis of the contiguous dialects of each language, no firm answer can be given. However, the phonological changes noted for the more northern Indian groups suggest several hypotheses. In the northern -y area, along the coast of James and Hudson Bay and inland to Ungava Bay, there has been long-term contact and even inter-marriage. It is in just this area where the e: phoneme has dropped out of usage, leaving three tense vowels, a:, i: and u:. The vowel system of Inuktitut has only these three vowels and does not include e: as a phoneme.

The fricativization of hp to [f] or [ɸ] and hk to [x] is most widespread among the Naskapi speakers. It can be presumed from the wider distribution of the fricative throughout the lexicon, that the change originated in this northern area, rather than on the Lower North Shore where it is restricted to final position. Inuktitut also has /f/ and /x/ as phones. The reduction of the series of four tense vowels to three can be explained in terms of establishing a symmetrical

relationship with the series of three lax vowels. The loss of the tense vowel e: which has no lax correspondent has also occurred in some dialects of Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973). In Plains Cree, however, e: merged with i:, rather than with a: as in northern Quebec-Labrador. It is possible that it was the contact with Inuktitut which fostered coalescence with a: among the latter although this did not happen in similar situation on the west coast of James Bay.

Fricativization of pre-aspirated stops is reported for the Shamattawa and Winisk dialects of Cree in Ontario, where there has been little, if any, contact with Inuktitut. The phonologica1 stability of stop clusters with h in Shamattawa should be investigated, as should the length of contact with speakers of Scottish dialects of English, who also use [f], [Θ] and [x].

5.44 The Saguenay River region near Tadoussac, where in the early sixteen hundreds the French established a mission for the Montagnais, is a source area for many innovations (5.3). Those which can be specifically attributed to French are the use of word final stress and nasalization. The loss of initial short vowels and the innovation of initial consonant clusters sp, st, sc and sk occurs in areas of longest French or English contact. The neturalization of the long and short vowels is best documented for the Lower North Shore dialects, but is occurring elsewhere in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The emergence of a series of voiced/voiceless stops in Atikamekw and one of fortis/lenis stops in Betsiamites could be due to the influ-

ence of French; or it might have been stimulated by contact with Algonquin speakers. The level of language which shows unambiguously the separate spheres of influence of French and English is the borrowing of lexical items.

Bilingualism among speakers of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects in Quebec-Labrador has increased dramatically with enforced school attendance. Most Indians under twenty years of age speak English or French as a second language. The imposition of these European languages as the only languages of schooling has meant that, in some cases, the younger peoples' command of their native language is decreasing. An accelerated rate of change at all levels of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi is to be expected. Already, young speakers at Mistassini have adopted many English words as verb stems, using them with Cree inflection. In addition, the suffix -a with a falling intonation, which marks a yes/no question, can be replaced by the rising intonation pattern used for these questions in English.

5.5 Non-linguistic Patterns

Two macro-linguistic patterns for the palatalized dialects in Quebec-Labrador were established in the preceding sections. An east-west division separates the y- dialects from the l- and n- dialects. Mistassini and Pointe Bleue in the south and Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet in the north are transition dialects on this boundary. A north-south division sets off the southern area of innovation, from Rupert House to the Moisie River.

Thus the Lower North Shore and North West River dialects form distinct sub-group of the major eastern division and the northern y-dialects form a distinct sub-group of the major western division. The pattern of cross-cutting isoglosses is a familiar one in the dialect geography of Europe, where such lines reflect the extent of changing political boundaries. Bynon reported that it may take fifty years for a political boundary to be reflected in a linguistic isogloss, but that it can be maintained as such for five hundred years after the disappearance of the political correlate (1978). Linguistic isoglosses reflect, in a very limited and approximate manner, the extent to which communication between groups is promoted or inhibited. The patterns of communication are continually changing as social, political and economic relations change. Effective barriers to communication are likely to be different at different times.

This section will point out a correlation between the broad linguistic patterns and certain social and cultural patterns which have existed among the Indians of Quebec-Labrador in historic times. The ethno-historical summary used here is the result of discussions with anthropologists currently researching the historical movements of the Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi (A. Tanner, J. Mailhot, T. Morantz). The summary is highly tentative and is intended only to facilitate correlation and suggest areas for much-needed further research.

5.51 Prior to historic contacts there were trade routes which covered all of North America. European trade goods started

to enter the Quebec-Labrador area 100 to 150 years before regular contact with white settlers. These supplies came from whalers and fishermen who had minimal contact with Indian people around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Strait of Belle Isle. Stone from Mistassini and from northern Labrador was traded to distant areas. Iroquoian pottery seems to have been traded both north to James Bay and inland and east to the Lower North Shore. Other items such as tobacco would not leave obvious signs for archeological research, but it seems probable that the trade included other goods.

A north-south division between tundra and forest vegetation is still reflected in differences in cultural values and way of life. Tundra dwellers, especially the Naskapi, are caribou hunters on a full-time basis. This means that they gathered in groups of up to 200 for communal hunts. While caribou hunting was also highly valued by the Montagnais, it was one of a number of hunting activities, and people only assembled occasionally for group hunts. However, this group-caribou-hunting pattern, and the associated cultural features (strong leaders, competition for leadership, strong emphasis on divination, caribou marrow-fat the main feast food) were found to a lesser degree among the Lower North Shore Montagnais, who thus were to some extent a transitional group among the Montagnais and Naskapi. The reason may be that, unlike other Montagnais groups, they had access to large herds of caribou (in the Mealy Mountains, Attikonak-Lac Joseph and, to some extent, George River

areas) and this influenced their cultural values. The northern East Cree hunters from Great Whale River, Fort George and Nichicun (north of Mistassini) were also more involved in caribou hunting than the forest dwellers to the south who depended on beaver and moose.

Both the forest-dwellers and the tundra groups probably had a pattern of annual alternation between small, widely-scattered groups and larger concentrations. The time of the year when the larger groups got together would have depended on the resources available, and this also determined the size of the groups.

The tundra-dwellers, although they were thinly scattered over a very large area, probably were able to assemble in very large groups (up to 200 people) at those times when the caribou were in big herds (mainly fall and early winter). On James Bay the geese would have allowed large groupings in the spring and fall, and fishing might have extended these periods.

It is probable that the Indians further south found it easier to get material for canoes, and so were more mobile in the summer than the more northern people. Again, in terms of the kind of resources they tended to make use of, it may be said that the forest-dwellers (Cree and Montagnais) were more likely to stay close to rivers and lakes, and to stay away from higher land with few rivers or lakes. The tundra-dwellers, on the other hand, were less tied to waterways, for two reasons: (a) their chief game, caribou, is as often as not found in the

hills, (b) the tundra environment makes walking travel away from waterways easy, while in the forest it is necessary to travel along water courses because the trees impede travel. Also, of course, the Naskapi covered far greater distances. These factors would not divide sharply between the southern and northern groups but gradually shade from one another. In winter it is probable that there was some tendency for the forest groups to have a range of hunting land they returned to year after year. Again the Lower North Shore may have lacked this pattern, because of the relative scarcity of beaver, a lack of moose and the importance of the caribou herds.

Having looked at the probable prehistoric situation (given the need for caution because of the scarcity of archeological data) it would appear that variation would be expected between the southern James Bay and St. Lawrence River groups (which had summer contact with others along the same coast, but who would have rarely if ever travelled to the other coast). One would also expect the inland groups between them to provide a transition, as there is little barrier to travel, and people probably could have communicated in either direction. Given the same basic interests and activities, they could have married or lived as guests with each other. Both the northern James Bay (Great Whale and Fort George) and the eastern Montagnais (Lower North Shore) would probably have been transitional groups between the southern forest and northern tundra, able to live either the forest or tundra way of life, because of their proximity to large herds of caribou.

Whatever the aboriginal pattern of social contacts among Indians, it would tend to be reinforced by contact influences. The Indians no doubt influenced the traders and missionaries in the routes they followed and the other groups they contacted. Thus the French and English 'empires' to some extent reflected past geographic tendencies of travel and contact, and have themselves created barriers to further contact, even when transportation overcame the dependence on watersheds. However, these 'empires' had limited effect in the interior, so that groups like the Waswanipi, Mistassini, Nichicun (now at Mistassini), Schefferville Montagnais and the Naskapi in general were less influenced by these restraints than those nearer the James Bay or St. Lawrence shores. This broad pattern correlates with the linguistic one, where greatest divergence is found between the James Bay Cree and eastern Montagnais groups.

5.52 The first historic period is during the French monopoly, from 1600 to 1670. Until the 1650's the French were restricted to the Quebec and Saguenay region, as well as Huronia. Some James Bay Indians were probably receiving trade goods via the Hurons and the Ottawas while others were trading via the Saguenay/Lac St. Jean middlemen. On the Lower North Shore, intermittent trade continued with the fishermen and whalers and goods must have moved inland by intertribal trade routes.

The French immediately encouraged the Indians to attach themselves to a settlement wherever there was a religious mission. Some Indians in the immediate vicinity did so and became

similar to the "Home' Indians later to appear on James Bay. The registers of Tadoussac reveal a good deal of inter-marriage between linguistic 'nations', not only of Montagnais, but including Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki. This provides a possible source for linguistic innovations.

5.53 The next period is roughly between the time of the founding of the Hudson Bay Company (1670) and the time the HBC absorbed the Northwest Company (1821). During this period there emerged the distinction between Rupertsland (the area granted to the HBC under its charter and including the James and Hudson Bay watersheds) and the Domaine du Roi (mainly the watershed of the St. Lawrence, centered on the Saguenay/Lac St. John region). In the hinterland, the claims overlapped so that Mistassini and Waswanipi received traders from both sides. After 1760, the Domaine du Roi became the King's Posts, but the competition with the HBC continued, although the French St. Lawrence traders were replaced by the Scottish Northwest Company men, and free traders.

During this period the main fur trade gatherings were on salt water (both St. Lawrence and James Bay) and Saguenay/Lac St, Jean. Several excursions were made by traders into the interior, but few of them became established on a regular basis. The Indians were moving back and forth a great deal between the French and English posts.

At the same time, a large part of the peninsula had no posts at all, and Indians had either to take the long journeys to the coast, or obtain the few supplies they needed from other Indians. This latter pattern of intertribal trade was probably

enforced by some of the groups closest to the posts, who profited as middlemen. Nevertheless, this middleman pattern did not become as strongly entrenched as elsewhere on the continent.

Records show that Mistassini and Nichicun people were turning up both at the St. Lawrence posts and on James Bay during this period. This would imply that the interior people, plus the lower north shore Montagnais, were relatively mobile during this period, compared to the western Montagnais and coastal Cree. Again, this trade pattern would be consistent with the transitional dialect pattern of diverging isoglosses found in the interior.

5.54 From 1800 to 1945 Sept-Isles seems to have been a major fur trade centre, drawing Indians from Kaniapiskaw (now Fort George band), Michikamau (now Schefferville Montagnais), and even George River (Naskapi) and Hamilton Inlet (North West River). However, the trade pattern was subject to shifts according to the prices being offered by inland posts closer to these Indians.

Prior to 1945 the pattern was probably quite different between the Montagnais (those accessible from the St. Lawrence) and the Cree and Naskapi. The former began to undergo influence from European settlers starting in the early 19th century. In the Lower North Shore area cod fishing and seal hunting were major summer industries, especially from Mingan east. In the Saguenay/Lac St. Jean area first lumbering and then farming brought Whites, and these activities also began

to move downstream. The result in both cases was to draw some Indians into these activities, especially in summer, and to facilitate travel within the regions (Saguenay/Lac St. Jean by road, Lower North Shore by boat). In winter most Indians still went in the bush.

During the same period, the Indians of James Bay, Great Whale and Fort Chimo/Fort McKenzie had little or no contact with Europeans apart from traders and the occasional missionary. For those on James Bay, the group most attached to a specific post were called the 'Home Indians'. Other Indians spent more time in the bush; these 'Inlanders' probably were most likely to change which post they went to from time to time. During this period, among the East Cree Inlanders, the HBC was gradually having more and more success in tying down each Indian to a particular post. However, the posts in the interior opened and closed, and it is probable that the customers of particular post had little in common identity. They would have only spent a few weeks together.

There were other social groupings. There seem to have been regional sub-groups which gathered together in the bush away from the post. These groups probably met in spring and fall, at places of resource concentrations (fall fishing and berrying, spring water birds). They traveled together to the post. They may even have formed the crews of the canoe brigades that supplied the inland posts, so that the brigades that supplied the inland posts, so that the brigades would have been one source of intergroup contact. From around 1800 to about 1927 Waswanipi, Mistassini, Neoskweskau and

Nichicun were supplied from James Bay; afterwards their supplies came from Oskelaneo (in the CN line, between La Tuque and Senneterre). However, the latter route did not entail much social contact. The Oskelaneo Indians carried the goods half way (to Lynx Eye portage) and the Mistassini carried them from there. As well, a group of Indians identified as Mistassini regularly traded at Pointe Bleue. It is not known if they trapped between Lac St. Jean and Mistassini, but by 1915 when Speck interviewed them, their hunting grounds were well within the present Mistassini land (i.e. on the James Bay side). One can only assume they went to Lac St. Jean because of cheaper prices, or to see relatives.

The same period saw the first direct trade with the Indians of the Ungava Bay drainage. This trade appears have utilized links with many other parts of the peninsula. First, the traders set out from James Bay, and later they encouraged James Bay Indians to move into the Ungava and inland region. Later, the supply route was changed to the Atlantic Coast (North West River) and the posts moved farther south (Petisikapau, Michikamau and Winokapau). These later posts were also visited by Montagnais, and the Montagnais were involved in the founding and supplying (i.e. mail service from Sept-Isles) of Fort McKenzie, where the Naskapi were settled for a period.

It is likely that the boundary between the Montagnais and the Naskapi remained distinct, despite these contacts, owing to their different cultural values and way of life (forest <u>vs</u>.

tundra dwellers, respectively).

5.55 Since about 1945 strong pressures have been exerted to tie each Indian person to a specific village. These pressures include churches, schools, band lists, houses, welfare and jobs. This has not stopped interband communication. However the pattern of communication is now influenced by road, rail and air routes, by past marriages, by second language, by religious affiliation and by political groupings -both Indian Affairs 'districts' and Indian organizations.

Before 1950, the North West River Montagnais of Labrador had strong marriage ties with the Sept-Isles people in Quebec. After this time, which coincides with the entry of Newfoundland/ Labrador as a Canadian province, these links shifted to Davis Inlet, the Naskapi village up the Labrador coast. Programs for Indians in Newfoundland and Labrador are not administered by the Department of Indian Affairs but by the province. This political fact has led to a strengthening of links between the two Labrador villages.

The Fort Chimo Indians who had been settled at posts in the Ungava region were relocated at Schefferville in 1956. This mining town had been built since 1950 and many Indians from the Sept-Isles band had relocated there as well. These people had always hunted in the surrounding area and eventually formed the Schefferville Band of Montagnais. The two groups have shared a village site for the past twenty-five years. The Naskapi have become diglossic in Montagnais (but not vice-

versa, a reflection of the differing social status of the two groups). Today, the speech of young Naskapis shows heavy phonological and lexical borrowing from Montagnais.

The formation of regional Indian political organizations since 1970 has reinforced the division between East Cree and Montagnais groups. The use of syllabic and roman orthographies for the native language and of English and French as second language supports this division. It may be expected, then, that dialect differences which already existed between the groups will increase as contact between them is minimized.

Within the group of communities which make up the Grand Council of Crees (of Quebec) there is a tendency towards standardization of the syllabic orthography and vocabulary used for translating political documents. At the moment, two standards are evolving, a northern and a southern, following the dialect patterns which have been established. It remains to be seen whether a single standard will emerge.

5.6 Conclusion

This study has attempted, through the methods of dialect geography, to show the existence of a continuum of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects across Canada. The palatalized dialects of Quebec-Labrador form an integral part of this continuum. Within the palatalized dialects sub-groupings can be made according to the distribution of linguistic features. These sub-groupings have come about through the spread of linguistic innovations due to contact between groups of speakers. The

patterns of linguistic innovation and change correlate with patterns of social contact, due to marriage, trade and political factors, between Indian groups.

Recently the methods of dialect geography have been criticized as being inadequate and outmoded. Although detailed patterns of regional, social and stylistic variation which correlate with a large number of regional geographic and social factors cannot be described, patterns do emerge. There is a certain amount of evidence that these patterns are replicated in the speech behaviour of individuals or communities. For the purposes of describing linguistic variation among a non-stratified nomadic population, such as the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, dialect geography provides a necessary and entirely adequate starting point.

APPENDIX

Appendix

This appendix provides some formalization of the phonological rules described in chapters two and three. Examples of the operation of each rule follow it in the form of a derivation from a base form to a surface representation. In order that the reader may understand more fully the operation of the rules in various dialects, as many applications of rules as possible to each derivation are recorded. The particular dialects to which each rule, or sub-part of a rule, applies is noted to the right of a derivation. Optional rules are noted as such. For cross-reference, the pages on which the rules are discussed are noted following the name of the rule in the appendix.

It must be kept in mind, however, that these are examples only, and are not necessarily valid for every speaker in a given community. A more accurate formulation of the sound changes between communities would need to account for at least two types of variation: firstly, among speakers within a single community and secondly, within both lexical items themselves (phonological environment) and within the lexicon. It is hoped that future studies of these dialects will begin to clarify the amount and nature of the variation which is always present.

I Reflexes of PA *1 (p 37)

(R1)	*1>	l	Moose, PB, Bets.
		n	Swampy, Moisie, LNS, NWR, DI
		y	Plains, palatalized-y (East Cree)
		~~d~~	Woods
		r	Atikamekw

(Exl)	"it is windy"	*lu:tinwi
		lu:tin
		nu:tin
		yu:tin
		~~d~~u:tin
		ru:tin

(Ex2)	"grouse"	*pilewa
		pile:w
		pine:w
		piye:w
		pi~~d~~e:w
		pire:w

II n~y Alternation (p 83)

(R2a) PA *n > n ~ y

(R2b) PA *y > y ~ n

(Ex3) "road" *me: skanawi

(2) n ~ y Altern. me:skanaw ~ me:skayaw

(34) Assim. to w me:skanu: ~ me:skayu:

(19) Raising to y me:skanu: ~ me:skeyu:

(Ex4) "ball" *[ ]

(2) n ~ y Altern. tuwa:n ~ tu:wa:y

(Ex5) "meat" *weya:si

(35) Assim. to w una:si

(7) Apocope una:s

(Ex6) "earth, moss" *askiya

(5) Vel. pal. asciya

(7) Apocope asciy

(20) Assim. to y asci:y

(3) n ~ y Altern. asci:n ~ asci:

(11) Depalat. assi:n ~ assi:

The exact phonological conditions under which there alternations take place have not yet been precisely defined.

(Ex7) "wolf" *[ ]

mahihkan

(28) length. bef.h ma:hi:hkan

(29) h > y ma:yi:hkan

(3) y > n ma:ni:hkan
(2) n > y ma:ni:hkay
(19) raising bef. y ma:ni:hkey
(31) h C > fric. ma:ni:xey

III Dental Palatalization

All rules of dental palatalization are morphologically conditioned.

(R3a) t > s / -in

(TA Indep, you-me morpheme)

(Ex8) "you fetch me: ci-na:t-in

(3) Dental pal. cina:sin

(Ex9) "you fear me" ci-kust-in

(3) Dental pal. cikussin

(49) Degemination cikusin

(R4a) t > c

/_____-dim. suffix

(R4b) s > š

The dimunitive suffix has been lexicalized in different forms in various dialects. The underlying form for all dialects is set us as /-išiš/. In Plains Cree it becomes -isis, in platalized y-dialects iš and in platalized n and l-dialects -iss. The derivations are given here. This rule is optional.

(Ex10)	"river"	si:pi:	
	"little river"	si:pi:-iš	Mistassini
(4b)	Dent. pal	ši:pi:š	

(Ex11)	"dog"	atimw	
	"puppy"	atimw-iš	Mistassini
(4a)	Dent. Pal.	acimuš	

IV Velar Palatalization (p 51)

(RS) $k > c / \left\{ \begin{matrix} \underline{i} \\ \underline{i}: \\ \underline{e}: \end{matrix} \right\}$ all palatalized dielects

(Ex12)	"it is long"	kinwa:w	
(5)	Vel. pal.	cinwa:w	
(Exl3)	"it is pointed:	ki:na:w	
(5)	Vel. pal.	ci:na:w	
(Exl4)	"thing"	ke:kwa:n	
(5)	Vel. pal.	ce:kwa:n	
(lb)	a: rounding	ce:kwɔ:n	
(Ex15)	"goose"	nisk	
	"decoy"	nisk-i-ka:n	
(5)	Vel. pal.	niscika:n	

Several morphemes are marked as exceptions to the rule: misk -"find" -isk- 'TI final, by foot or body; -k- 'TI Conjunct suffix.'

This rule is ordered before the rule of assimilation of ay to i: (19).

(Ex16) "so, then, o.k." kaypa:

(19) Assim. to y kiy:pa:

(20) Assim. to y ki:pa:

V Stress Placement (p 45)

(R6a) Stress > V(:)(C) # palatallized-n & 1
> elsewhere remaining dialects

(Ex17)	'book'	masinahikán	
	(6a)	masinahikán	palatalized-n & 1
	(23)*s > ś	maśinahikán	palatalized-n & 1
	(30) h-loss	maśinaikán	Bets, Moisie, LNS,NWR
	(19) Assim. to y	maśineikán	Bets, Moisie, NWR

(R6b) The assignment of primary stress is not well understood for the palatalized -y dialects. However, primary stress shifts to penultimate with the addition of certain morphemes.

(Ex18) 'book' masinahikan

(45) Lengthening after h masinahi:kan palatalized -y

Stress assignment masinahi:kan (except FC)

(Ex19) "books" masinahi:kana

(8) Apocope masinahi:kanh

(6b) Stress shift masinahi:kanh

VI Apocope (p 119)

(R7a) a / i > ø / _____ # all palatalized

(Ex20) "goose" *niska

(7) Apocope nisk

(Ex21) "firewood" *mihti

(7) Apocope miht

(Ex22) "egg" *wa:wi

(7) Apocope wa:w

(R7b) w > { ø / C-____ # (nas) } all dialects

{ ø / C-____ # } Plains, Woods, Swampy, Moose

(Ex23) "he sees it" wa:pahtamw

(7b) Apocope of w wa:pahtam

(Ex24)	"he lies down"	pimiṡinw	
(7b)	Apocope of w	pimisin	
(Ex25)	"dog"	atimw	
(7b)	Apocope of w	atim	
(R8a)	i > ø / C____ #		palatalized-y except FG
(Ex26)	"sit"	api	
(8a)	Apocope	ap	southern pal. -y
(36)	Neutral.	ɛp	northern pal. -y
		* * * *	
		api	
(38)	Neutral.	api:	FG, DI, NWR, LNS

(R8b)

a >	h / C- ____# [-sib]	Mistassini
	h / (C) VCVC- ____ #	PB
	h / VC - ____ # [-sib]	PB, Moisie

(Ex27)	"firewood"	miht-a	
		mihta	PB
(8b)	Apocope	mihth	palatalized -y
		* * * *	
		miht-a	
(28)	Lengthening	mi:hta	FG, DI, NWR, LNS
(32)	h-loss	mi:ta	NWR

(Ex28)	"his son"	ukusis-a	
(9)	Syncope	ukussa	pal.n & 1
(3)	Neutral	uskusse	Bets
		* * * *	
		ukussa	
(49)	Degem.	ukusa	Mist., FG
(8b)	Apocope	ukus	James Bay pal.-y

(Ex29)	"drumsticks"	te:we:hikana:skw-a	
		te:we:hikana:skwa	PB
(30)	h-loss	tewe:ikana:skw	FG, NWR, DI, LNS
(35)	Neutral.	te:we:ikana:skwe	Bets.
(8b)	Apocope	te:we:ikana:skw	Moisie

VII Syncope (p.125)

(R9) $V \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; C \_\_\_\_ C$ (-stress)

(Ex30)	"he lies down"	pimiṡin	
(9)	Syncope	pimṡin	

(Ex31)	"it is windy"	yu:tin	
(9)	Syncope	yu:tn	

(Ex32)	"it appears so"	isina:kun	
(33)	Procope	sina:kun	
(9)	Syncope	sna:kun	

(Ex33)		"rope"	apis	
	(9)	Syncope	aps	Mist.
(Ex34)		"book"	masinahikan	
	(45)	Length. after h	masinahi:kan	
	(9)	Syncope	masnhi:kn	pal.-y
	(48)	Nas. Syll.	masṇhi:kṇ	pal.-y
(Ex35)		"he sees it"	wa:pahtamw	
	(7b)	Apocope of w	wa:pahtam	pal.-y
	(9)	Syncope	wa:phtam	
			* * * *	
			wa:pahtamw	
	(7b)	Apocope	wa:pahtam	all dialects
	(28)	Length. bef. h	wa:pa:htam	FC
	(32)	Loss of h	wa:pa:tam	NWR, LNS
			* * * *	
			wa:pahtamw	
	(7b)	Apocope of w	wa:pahtam	all dialects
	(32)	Loss of h C	wa:patam	Bets., Moisie
	(9)	Syncope (opt.)	wa:ptam	Moisie

VIII Depalatalization (p.57)

(R10a)	c > ts / ____ #	PB, DI
(R10b)	ts > t / ____ #	Bets., Moisie LNS, NWR

(Ex36)		"man"	na:pe:w	
		"men"	na:pe:w-aki	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	na:pe:waci	all palatalized
	(7)	Apocope	na:pe:wac	all palatalized
	(9)	Syncope	na:pe:wc	all pal.-y
	(10a)	Depal.	na:pe:wts	PB, DI
	(10b)	Depal.	na:pe:wt	remaining pal.-n & l
(Ex37)		"above"	ispimihki	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	ispimihci	all palatalized
	(7)	Apocope	ispimihc	all palatalized
	(33)	Procope	spimihc	southern pal.-y, Bets., Moisie
	(10a)	Depal.	spimihts	PB
	(10b)	Depal.	spimiht	Bets., Moisie
	(32)	Loss of h	spimit	Bets., Moisie
			* * * *	
			ispimihc	
	(28)	Lengthening	ispimi:hc	FC, DI, LNS
	(10a)	Depal.	ispimi:hts	DI
	(10b)	Depal.	ispimi:ht	LNS
	(32)	Loss of h	ispimi:t	NWR

(R11a) c > ts / ____ s, s ____

(R11b) ts > t / ____ s, s ____

(Ex38)		"earth"	aski:	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	asci:	pal.-y
	(11a)	Depal.	astsi:	LNS
	(11b)	Depal.	assi:	remaining pal.-l&n
(Ex39)		"shoe:	maskisin	
	(5)	Vel. pal	mascisin	
	(9)	Syncope	mascsin	all pal.
	(11a)	Depal.	mastsin	Mist., LNS
	(11b)	Depal.	massin	PB, Moisie, NWR
			* * * *	
			mastsin	
	(25)	ŝ > h	mahthin	LNS
	(9)	Syncope	mahthn	LNS
	(32)	Loss of h	mahtn	LNS
(Ex40)		"tobacco"	cisteima:w	
	(9)	Syncope	csteima:w	
	(11b)	Depal.	tste:ma:w	Mist.
(R12)		c > s / { ____t, ____k }		most pal. dialects southern pal. –y
(Ex41)		"your (s) coat"	kit-akuhp	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	citakuhp	
	(9)	Syncope	ctakuhp	pal.-y, PB
	(32)	Loss of h	stakup	Bets., Moisie
			* * * *	

(Ex42)		"he will do it"	kika-tu:tamw	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	cikatu:tamw	
	(7a)	Apocope of w	cikatu:tam	
	(9)	Syncope	ckatu:tam	southern pal.-y
	(12)	Depal.	skatu:tam	southern pal.-y

IX Merger of e: with a (p.97)

(R13)	e: > a:		northern pal.-y: (FG, GWR, PH, FC (Em))
(Ex42)		"man"	na:pe:w
	(13)	Merger	na:pa:w
(Ex43)		"he plays"	me:tawe:w
	(13)	Merger	ma:tawa:w
	(14)	a: > ɔ:	ma:tawɔ:w
	(15)	ɔ: > o:	ma:tawo:w
	(36)	Assim. to w	ma:tuwo:w

X Backing and Rounding of a: (p.101)

(R14)	a: > ɔ: / w ____		most dialects
(Ex44)		"he sees him"	wa:pame:w
	(14)	a: > ɔ:	wɔ:pame:w
	(9)	Syncope	wɔ:pme:w
	(48)	Nas. Syll.	wɔ:pmew

(Ex45)	"it is nice"	mywa:šiw	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	mywɔ:šiw	
(16)	Loss of w	mywɔ:šiw	
(34)	Assim. to w	mywɔ:šu:	
(R15)	ɔ: > o: / ____ y, w		most dialects
(Ex46)	"it is good"	miywa:w	pal.-y
(14)	a: > ɔ:	miywɔ:w	
(15)	ɔ: > o:	miywo:w	
(20)	Assim. to y	miiyo:w	
(Ex47)	"he likes it"	miyweiyihtamu	northern pal.-y
(76)	Apocope of w	miyweiylhtam	
(9)	Syncope	miyweiyhtam	
(13)	e: > a:	miywaiyhtam	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	miywɔ:yhtam	
(15)	ɔ: > o:	miywo:yhtam	
(16)	Loss of w	miyo:yhtam	
(20)	Assim to y	mi:yo:yhtam	
(36)	Neutr.	mi:yo:yhtim	
(R16)	w > ø / VC ____ ɔ:, o:, e:		in some lexical items only
(Ex48)	"he scoops it"	kwa:pahamw	
	Apocope of w	kwa:paham	

	(9) Syncope	kwa:pham	
	(14) a: > ɔ:	kwɔ:pham	
	(16) Loss of w	kɔ:pham	
(Ex49)	"if it is long"	kinwa:k+ei	
	(5) Vel. pal.	cinwa:ce:	southern pal.-y
	(14) a: > ɔ:	cinwɔ:ce:	
	(16) Loss of w	cinɔ:ce:	
	(13) e: > a:	cinɔ:ca:	northern pal.-y
(Ex50)	"he lands from air"	twe:huw	
	(16) Loss of w	te:huw	
	(34) Assim. to w	te:hu:	southern pal.-y
(Ex51)	"he likes it"	miywe:y htamw	
	(7b) Apocope of w	mywe:y htam	
	(9) Syncope	mywe:yhtam	
	(16) Loss of w	mye:yhtam	southern pal.-y
(Ex52)	"what, thing"	ce:kwa:yiw	
	(14) a: > ɔ:	ce:kwɔ:yiw	
	(15) ɔ: > o:	ce:ko:yiw	
	(16) Loss of w	ce:ko:yiw	
	(34) Assim. to w	ce:ko:yu:	

In the following words, however, post-consonantal w remains.

(Ex53)	"what, thing"	ke:kwa:n	
(5)	Vel. pal.	ce:kwa:n	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	ce:kwɔ:n	

(Ex54)	"really, truly"	ta:pwei	

XI Assimilation to y (p. 104)

(R17a) a > e / ____ y

(R17b) e > i / ____ y

(Ex55)	"bottle"	pu:tay	
(17a)	Assim. to y	pu:tey	Moisie
(17b)		pu:tiy	
(19a)		pu:ti:y	
(19b)		pu:ti:	southern pal.-y, Bets.

(Ex56)	"he has it"	aya:w	
(17)	Assim. to y	iya:w	
(19a)	Assim. to y	i:ya:w	northern pal.-y
		* * * *	
		aya:w	
(37)	Neutr.	a:ya:w	LNS
(33)	Procope	ya:w	Mist.

(Ex57)	"I have it"	nit aya:n	
(17)	Assim to y	nitiya:n	
(19)	Assim to y	niti:ya:n	pal.-y

(R18) a > i / # V:y ___

(Ex58) "he talks a lot" a:yamiw pal.-y

(18) Assim to y a:ymiw

(34) Assim. to w a:ymu:

(R19a) i > i: / ____ y

(R19b) i:y > i: / ____ C
#

(Ex59) "bottle" pu:tay

(17a) Assim to y pu:tey

(17b) Assim. to y pu:tiy

(19a) Assim. to y pu:ti:y

(19b) Assim. to y pu:ti:

(Ex60) "straight, correct" kwayaskw

(9) Syncope kwayskw

(19a) Assim. to y kweyskw

(17b) Assim. to y kwiyskw

(19a) Assim. to y kwi:yskw

(19b) Assim. to y kwi:skw

XII Reflexes of PA *s and *ṡ (p 72)

(R20) *ṡ > s Plains, Swampy, Woods
GWR, FG, Mist.

(Ex61)	"duck"	*ṡi:ṡi:pa	
(20)	*s > s	si:si:pa	
(7a)	Apocope	si:si:p	eastern non-pal.
(Ex62)	"river"	si:pyiwa	
(7a)	Apocope	si:pyiw	
(16)	Loss of w	si:pyi	some western dialects
(19)	Assim. to y	si:pi:	
(R21)	*s > ṡ		pal. - n & l
(Ex63)	"river"	si:pyiwa	
(21)	*s > ṡ	ṡi:pyiwa	
(7a)	Apocope	ṡi:pyiw	
(34)	Assim. to w	ṡi:pu:	
(Ex64)	"duck"	ṡi:ṡi:pa	
(7a)	Apocope	ṡi:ṡi:p	
(R22)	ṡ > h		LNS, Bets.
(Ex65)	"river"	*si:pyiwa	
(21)	*s > ṡ	ṡi:pyiwa	
(7a)	Apocope	ṡi:pyiw	
(31)	Assim. to w	ṡi:pu:	
(32)	ṡ > h	hi:pu:	

(Ex66)	"small bird"	pine:s̀i:s̀	
	(22) s > h	pine:hi:h	

(R23) s > h / ____ k, p
a ____ t — LNS

(Ex67)	"above"	ispimihc	
	(10) Depal	ispimiht	
	(25) Lengthening	ispimi:ht	
	(23) sC > hC	ihpimi:ht	
(Ex68)	"his head"	ustikwa:n	
	(15) a: > ɔ:	ustikwɔ:n	Min., La R.
	(23) sC > hC	uhtikwɔ:n	Nat.
(Ex69)	"my palate"	nikaskw	
	(23)	nikahkw	LNS
(Ex70)	"beaver"	amiskw	Min.
	(23)	amihkw	La R., Nat.

(R24) s̀k > x

s̀p > { f / ____ V, -bk ; x / ____ V, +bk } — Bets.

(Ex71)		"bear"	maśkw	
	(24)	Fric	maxw	
	(3)	Neutral.	maxw	Bets.

(Ex72)		"above"	iśpimiht	
	(24)		ifimiht	
	(29)	h-loss	ifimit	
	(9)	Syncope	ifmit	
	(30)	Procope	fmit	
	(35)	Neutral.	fmat	Bets.

(Ex73)		"pipe"	uśpwa:kan	
	(14)	a: > ɔ:	uśpwɔ:kan	
	(24)	sp > f	ufwɔ:kan	
	-	Syllable loss	ufwɔ:n	Bets.

XIII Lengthening before h (p.111)

(R25) $\left\{\begin{matrix} i > i: \\ a > a: \\ u > u: \end{matrix}\right\}$ / ____hC FC, DI, NWR, LNS

(Ex74)		"caribou"	atihkw	
	(25)	Length.	ati:hkw	
	(28)	Fric.	ati:xw	FC, DI, LNS
			* * * *	
	(25)	Length.	ati:hkw	
	(29)	h-loss	ati:kw	NWR

(Ex75)		"firewood"	miht	
	(25)	Length.	mi:ht	FC, DI, LNS
	(29)	h-loss	mi:t	NWR
(Ex76)		"coat, dress"	akuhp	
	(9)	Syncope	kuhp	
	(25)	Length.	ku:hp	
	(28)	Fric.	ku:f	FC, DI, LNS
			* * * *	
	(25)	Length.	ku:hp	
	(29)	h-loss	ku:p	NWR
(Ex77)		"coats, dresses"	akuhp-a	
	(38)	Neutr.	a:kuhpa:	LNS
	(25)	Length.	a:ku:hpa	
	(29)	h-loss	a:ku:pa	LNS
(Ex78)		"it is cold"	tahka:w	
	(25)	Length.	ta:hka:w	
	(28)	Fric.	ta:xa:w	FC, DI
			* * * *	
	(29)	h-loss	ta:ka:w	NWR, LNS

Evidence for lengthening before intervocalic h comes from Davis Inlet, where h subsequently becomes n.

(Ex79)		"wolf"	mahihkan	

(25)		ma:hi:hkan	
(26)	h > y	ma:yi:hkan	
(2)	n ~ y	ma:ni:hkay	
(17)	Assim. to y	ma:ni:hkey	
(28)	Fric.	ma:ni:xey	

XIV Loss of h (p.63)

(R26a) h > y / V_1 ____ V_2 Bets., LNS, NWR, Moisie

(Ex80)	"I close it"	ni:cipahe:n	
(26)	h > y	nicipaye:n	
(17)	Assim. to y	nicipiye:n	Bets.
		* * * *	
(26)		nicipaye:n	NWR, Moisie
-	Regularization	nicipeyn	

(Ex81)	"he close it"	cipaham	
(26)	h > y	cipayam	
(17)	Assim. to y	cipayam	
(18)	Assim. to y	cipi:am	
(19)	Assim. to y	cipi:m	Bets
		* * * *	
(26)	h > y	cipayam	
(17)	Assim. to y	cipeyam	
	Regularization	cipeym	

(R26b)	h > y / a ____ i		DI
(Ex82)	"book"	masinahikan	
	(25) Length.	masina:hikan	
	(26b) h > y	masina:yikan	
	(2) y ~ n	masina:nikan	DI
(R27)	h > ø / V_1 ____V_2		FC, DI
(Ex83)	"I close it"	ni-cipahe:n	
	(27) h > ø	nicipae:n	
	(9) Syncope	nicpe:n	DI
		* * * *	
	(13) e: > a:	ni-cipahe:n	
	(27) h > ø	nicipaa:n	FG
	(9) Syncope (opt.)	nicipa:n	
(R28a)	{ hp > f, hk > x } / ____ #		LNS
(R28b)	hp > f hk > x		FC, DI
(Ex84)	"coat, dress" (pl.)	akuhp-a	
	(25) Length.	aku:hpa	
	(29) h-loss	aku:pa	LNS
		* * * *	

	(25) Length.	aku:hpa	
	(28) Fric.	aku:fa	FC, DI
(Ex85)	"coat, dress" (s)	akuhp	
	(25) Length.	aku:hp	
	(28) Fric.	aku:f	LNS, FC, DI
(Ex86)	"knife"	mukuma:n	
	(25) Length.	muhkuma:n	
	(28) Fric.	mu:xuma:n	FC, DI
(Ex87)	"he laughs"	pa:hpiw	
	(28) Fric.	pa:fiw	
	(31) Assim. to w	pa:fu:	FC, DI
(R29a)	h > ø / ____ C		Bets., Moisie, NWR
(R29b)	h > ø / ____ CV		LNS
(Ex88)	"coat, dress"	akuhp	
	(29) h-loss	akup	Bets., Moisie
		* * * *	
	(25) Length.	aku:hp	
	(29) h-loss	aku:p	NWR
(Ex89)	"coat, dress" (pl.)	akuhp-a	

	(25)	Length.	aku:hpa	
	(29)	h-loss	aku:pa	LNS
(Ex90)		"firewood"	miht	
	(29)	h-loss	mit	Bets., Moisie
			* * * *	
	(25)	Length.	mi:ht	LNS
	(29)	h-loss	mi:t	NWR
(Ex91)		"firewood" (pl.)	miht-a	
	(25)	Length.	mi:hta	
	(29)	h-loss	mi:ta	LNS
(Ex92)		"knife"	muhkuma:n	
	(29)	h-loss	mukuma:n	Bets., Moisie
	(25)	Length.	mu:hkuma:n	
	(29)	h-loss	mu:kuma:n	LNS, NWR

XV Procope (p.116)

(R30a)	a > ø	/ # ____ C -stress	most pal. dialects except LNS
	i > ø		most pal. dialects except LNS & northern-y
(Ex93)		"child"	amiskw
	(30)	Procope	miskw
			* * * *

	(37) Neutral.	a:miskw	LNS, PB
(Ex94)	"he feeds her"	aṡme:w	
	(30) Procope	ṡme:w	
(Ex95)	"woman"	lskwe:w	
	(30) Procope	skwe:w	
		* * * *	
	(37) Neutral.	i:skwe:w	LNS, northern pal.-y
	i > ni	niskwe:w	DI

XVI Assimilation to w (p.106)

(R31a)	i > uw / ____ #	all pal. Dialects
(R31b)	a > uw ____ # #____ C	pa.-y, Bets., PB, Moisie, northern pal.-y
(R31c)	uw > u:	

(Ex96)	"he sits"	apiw	
	(31a) Assim. to w	apuw	
	(31c) Assim. to w	apu:	
		* * * *	
	(9) Syncope	piw	
	(31a) Assim. to w	puw	
	(31c) Assim. to w	pu:	Bets.

(Ex97)	"he eats"	mi:cisuw	
(9)	Syncope	mi:csuw	
(11)	Depal.	mi:tsuw	
(31c)	Assim. to w	mi:tsu:	all pal.
(Ex98)	"road, path"	me:skanaw	
(31b)	Assim. to w	me:skanuw	
(31c)	Assim. to w	me:skanu:	pal. y, Bets., PB, Moisie
(Ex99)	"who"	awe:n	
(13)	e: > a:	awa:n	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	awɔ:n	
(31b)	Assim. to w	uwɔ:n	northern pal.-y
(R32a)	a > u / #w ____ C		northern pal.-y
(R32b)	i > u / w ____ C		
(R32c)	wu > u #____ C		Moisie
	____		pal.-y, Moisie
(Ex100)	"muskrat"	waciskw	
(9)	Syncope	waciskw	
(11)	Depal.	watskw	
(32a)	Assim. to w	wutskw	northern pal.-y
(32c)	Assim. to w	utskw	Moisie
(Ex101)	"beaver"	amiskw-ac	

(32a)	Assim. to w	amiskwuc	
(32c)	Assim. to w	amiskuc	pal.-y
(10a)	Depal.	amiskuts	PB
(10b)	Depal.	amiskut	Moisie

(Ex102) "it is there" takwan

(32a)	Assim. to w	takwun	
(33c)	Assim. to w	takun	

(Ex103) "dish" wila:kan

(1)	*l > y	wiya:kan	pal.-y
		* * * *	
(1)	*l > n	wina:kan	
(32b)	Assim. to w	wuna:kan	
(32c)	Assim. to w	una:kan	pal.-n
		* * * *	
(1)	*l > l	wila:kan	
(32b)	Assim. to w	wula:kan	
(32c)	Assim. to w	ula:kan	pal.-l

(R33a)	VwV > u: / C ____ C	(distribution unclear)
(R33b)	V:wV > Vu / C ____ C	northern pal.-y
(R33c)	wV > u / C ____ C	

(Ex102) "his ear" wihtawakayi

(7)	Apocope	wihtawakay

(17)	Assim. to y	wihtawakey	
(17)	Assim. to y	wihtawakiy	
(18)	Assim. to y	wihtawaki:	
(32)	Assim. to w	wuhtawaki:	
(32)	Assim. to w	uhtawaki	
(33)	Assim. to w	uhtuski:	southern pal.-y
(29)	h-loss	utu:ki	Moisie

(Ex103)	"story, news"	tipa:cimuwin	
(33)		tipa:cimu:n	southern pal.-y Moisie
(Ex104)	"schooling"	ciskutama:ce:win	
(13)	e: > a:	ciskutama:ca:win	
(33b)	Assim. to w	ciskutama:ca:un	
(36)	Neutr.	ciskutima:ca:un	northern pal.-y

(Ex105)	"I burn you"	cit-iskwa:sw-itin	
(9)	Syncope	ctiskwa:switin	
(12)	Depal.	stiskwa:switin	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	stiskwɔ:switin	
(33c)	Assim. to w	stiskwɔ:sutin	

XVII Neutralization of Short Vowels (p.135)

(R34) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ a \end{matrix} \right\}$ > ɨ / C ____ C (-stress) southern pal.-y

(Ex106)		"book"	masinahikan	
	(9)	Syncope	masinhikan	
	(42)	Length.	masinhi:kan	
	(6)	Stress	masinhi:kan	
	(34a)	Neutr.	mɨsɨnhi:kɨn	Mist.

(R35b) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ a \\ (u) \end{matrix} \right\}$ > ə Bets.

(R35b) i > ə / ____ RH
-stress

(Ex107)		"it goes well"	minupaniw	
	(31)	Assim. to w	minupanuw	
	(31)	Assim. to w	minupanu:	
	(35a)	Assim. to w	mənəpənu:	Bets.

(Ex108)		"my foot"	nisit	
	(35a)		nəsət	Bets.
			* * * *	
	(9)	Syncope	nsət	
	(35b)		nsət	RH

(R35c) a > e / ____ # Bets.

		"firewood"	miht-a	
	(29)	h-loss	mita	
	(35c)	Neutr.	mite	

(R36) $\underline{a} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\varepsilon} \ / \ \# \ \_\_\_\_ \\ \quad +\text{stress} \\ \underline{i} \ / \ C \ \_\_\_\_ \ C \end{array} \right\}$ northern pal.y

(Ex109)	"beaver"	amiskw	
(9)	Syncope	amskw	
(36)		ɛmskw	
	"he takes it off"	manipitam	
(36)		minipitim	

The vowel retains its quality when following or preceding h.

(Ex110)	"he closes it"	cipaham	
(Ex111)	"house"	wa:skahikan	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	wɔ:skahikan	
(4)	Length.	wɔ:skahi:kan	
(36)	Neutral.	wɔ:skahi:kin	
(R37a)	a > a: > # ____ C		PB, LNS
(R37b)	i > i: > # ____ C		PB, LNS, northern pal.-y
(Ex112)	"beaver"	amiskw	
(37)	Neutr.	a:miskw	PB, LNS
(Ex113)	"woman"	iskwe:w	

	(37)	Neutr.	:skwe:u	PB, LNS, northern pal.-y
(R38)	V > V: / ____ #			LNS, NWR, Moisie
(Ex114)		"embark!"	pu:si	
	(38)	Neutr.	pu:si:	
(Ex115)		"canoes"	ut-a	
	(38)	Neutr.	uta:	
(Ex116)		"eat!"	mi:cisu	
	(9)	Syncope	mi:csu	
	(12)	Depal.	mi:tsu	
	(38)	Neutr.	mi:tsu:	

XVIII Short Vowel Rounding (p.129)

(R39a)	VCw > VwC#			Atik., NWR (var.) La R.
(Ex117)		"dog"	atimw	
			atiwm	Atik
			atum	
(Ex118)		"porcupine"	ka:kw	
			ka:uk	NWR

(Ex119)	"pail"	ascihkw	
(11)	Depal.	assihkw	
(25)	Length.	assi:hkw	
(28)	Fric.	assi:xw	
(39a)	Rounding	assi:wx	La R.

(R39b) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \underline{i} \\ \underline{a} \end{matrix} \right\} > \underline{u} \;/\; C \_\_\_\_ C \left\{ \begin{matrix} w \\ u \end{matrix} \right\}$ most pal. dialects, variable

(Ex120)	"tree"	mistikw	
(39b)	Rounding	mistukw	

(Ex121)	"he arrives"	takuṡin	
(39b)	Rounding	tukuṡin	
(9)	Syncope	tukṡin	Mist

(Ex122)	"dog"	atimw	
(39b)	Rounding	atumw	
(8)	Apocope	atum	

(Ex123)	"pike"	cinuṡe:w	
(39b)	Rounding	cunuṡe:w	
(8)	Syncope	cunṡe:w	

(R40a) u C V: > u C w V: NWR, DI, FC

(Ex124)	"his gun"	upa:scisikan	

(9)	Syncope	upa:scsikan	
(11)	Depal.	upa:ssikan	
(40)	Rounding	upwa:ssikan	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	upwɔ:ssikan	NWR

(R40b) vCV > (u) Cu)

(Ex125)	"his book:	umaṡinahikan	
(27)	h-loss	umaṡinaikan	
(17)	Assim. to y	umaṡineikan	
(40b)	Rounding	(u)muṡineikan	

XIX Lengthening after h (p.114)

(R41) i > i: / h ____ pal.-y

(Ex126)	"book"	masinahikan	
(41)	Length.	masinahi:kan	
(9)	Syncope	masinhi:kan	
(Ex127)	"I help you"	ci-wi:cih-itin	
(41)	Length.	ciwi:cihi:tin	

XX Consonant Voicing (p.86)

(R 42a) C > C / { # ____ V ; V ____ V ; C ____ V ; [+nas] } pal.-y, Atik.

[stop -vce] [stop +vce]

(Ex128)		"really"	taipwe:	
	(42a)	Voicing	da:bwe:	pal.-y
(Ex129)		"where"	ta:nite:	
	(9)	Syncope	ta:nte:	
	(42a)	Voicing	da:nde:	pal.-y, Atik.

(R42b) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} s \\ ṣ \end{matrix} \right\}$ > z / V ____ V > ż Atik.

(Ex130)		"duck"	ṣi: ṣiip	
	(42b)		ṣi:zi:p	Atik.

XXI Assimilation of Final Aveolars (p.89)

(R43) $\begin{matrix} t \\ n \end{matrix}$ > $\begin{matrix} s \\ n \end{matrix}$ / $\begin{matrix} s \\ n \end{matrix}$ ____ Bets.

(Ex131)		"animals"	awe:si:sak	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	awe:si:sac	
	(10)	Depal.	awe:si:sat	
	(9)	Syncope	awe:si:st	
	(43)	Assim.	awe:si:ss	Bets.
(Ex132)		"on his head"	ustikwa:nihk	
	(5)	Vel. pal.	ustikwa:nihc	
	(10)	Depal.	ustikwa:niht	
	(14)	a: > ɔ:	ustikwɔ:niht	

(29)	h-loss	ustikwɔ:nit	
(9)	Syncope	ustikwɔ:nt	
(43)	Assim.	ustikwɔ:nn	Bets.

XXII Nasal Syllabification (p.91)

(R44) $n > \underline{n} \;/\; \begin{matrix} \# \_\_\_\_ C \\ C \_\_\_\_ V: \end{matrix}$

This rule follows that of Syncope (9), which provides the phonetic environment for (44).

(Ex133)	"he sees him"	wa:pame:w	
(14)	a: > ɔ:	wɔ:pame:w	
(9)	Syncope	wɔ:pme:w	
(44)	Syllab.	wɔ:pm̩e:w	

(Ex134)	"my daughter"	nita:nis
(9)	Syncope	nta:nis
(44)	Syllab.	n̩ta:nis

XXIII Degemination (p.89)

(R45) $C_1C_1 > C \;/\; \_\_\_\_ \#$

(Ex135)	"I arrive"	ni-takuš̀in-n	
(9)	Syncope	ntakuš̀inn	
(44)	Syllab.	n̩takuš̀inn	
(45)	Degem.	ntakuš̀in	

(Ex136)	"as they sleep:	e:-nipa:-t-ic	
(3b)	Dental pal.	e:nipa:cic	
(9)	Syncope	e:nipa:cc	
(45)	Depal.	e:nipa:c	

XXIV Nasalization (p.141)

(R46)	a(:)ni > ã(:)i / C ____ s̀		LNS, NWR

(Ex137)	"my daughter)	nita:nis̀	
(9)	Syncope	nta:nis̀	
(44)	Syllab.	nta:nis̀	
(46)	Nas.	ntã:nis̀	
(22)	s̀ > h	ntã:ih	LNS

(Ex138)	"he is lost"	wanis̀inuw	
(33)	Assim. to w	wanis̀inu:	
(46)	Nas.	wais̀inu:	

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