

**NATIONAL MUSEUM
OF MAN
MERCURY SERIES**

**MUSÉE NATIONAL
DE L'HOMME
COLLECTION MERCURE**

ISSN 0316-1854

**CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SERVICE
PAPER No.80**

**LE SERVICE CANADIEN D'ETHNOLOGIE
DOSSIER No. 80**

ISSN 0316-1862

NORTH-WEST RIVER (Sheshātshīt) MONTAGNAIS:

A Grammatical Sketch

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NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CANADA

OTTAWA 1982

MUSÉES NATIONAUX DU CANADA

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ABSTRACT

This work outlines the grammatical categories and inflections, both nominal and verbal, of the Montagnais dialect of North-West River (Sheshātshīt), Labrador. By way of background, the phonological system of the dialect is briefly sketched. Although the present work does not treat the derivational aspects of Montagnais morphology, it does include certain very common derivational forms (e.g. locative and diminutive forms of nouns, reflexive and reciprocal forms of verbs). The sketch terminates with a survey of the chief sentence types of North-West Montagnais.

RESUME

Cette étude décrit le dialecte montagnais parlé à North-West River (Sheshātshīt), au Labrador. On y examine les principales catégories grammaticales, ainsi que les désinences nominales et verbales du dialecte. En toile de fond, on trouve une explication sommaire du système phonologique. Bien que l'étude ne traite pas des processus de dérivation, elle touche quelques aspects très communs de la morphologie dérivationnelle (les formes locatives et diminutives du nom, les verbes réfléchis et réciproques). La dernière partie de l'étude constitue une brève description des principaux types de phrases trouvés dans ce même dialecte.

Les personnes désireuses de recevoir en français de plus amples renseignements sur cette publication sont priées d'adresser leurs demandes à: Service canadien d'Ethnologie, Musée national de l'Homme, Musées nationaux du Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M8.

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PREFACE

This grammatical sketch is by no means intended to provide a total picture of the inflectional system of North-West River (Sheshātshīt) Montagnais. Indeed, it is inadequate from at least two perspectives. First of all, the community of North-West River contains a great deal of inter-subject language variability, primarily of a phonological nature. This is for the most part the result of the divergent ethnographic backgrounds or group affiliations of the present-day residents of the community. The current sketch by and large represents the speech of informants of age thirty or less, who appear to speak a more homogeneous dialect than do their parents. Consequently, the present work cannot be interpreted as being representative of the community as a whole. Secondly, the syntax portion of the sketch is based on sentences and short texts elicited from bilingual Montagnais-English informants. The accuracy of the conclusions presented here will, of course, have to be verified by comparison with actual usage in real speech situations.

A comment on the orthographical system used in the present work is in order here. The choice of orthography lay in essence between two systems: on the one hand, a largely phonemic representation of the type adopted by Mailhot (e.g. Mailhot 1975, Mailhot and Lescop 1977); on the other, a phonetically-oriented system more similar to the various scripts used by individual Montagnais speakers. Each of these two systems, however, presented certain drawbacks. A phonemic representation obviously does not take into account various surface phenomena, and consequently could prove in certain instances somewhat removed from actual North-West River pronunciations. A phonetic approach to Montagnais orthography, on the contrary, obscures in many instances the historical background of lexical items; as well, it would be community-particular, making comprehension difficult for Montagnais speakers of related dialects in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. As a result, a type of compromise was reached in the present work: while the orthography used largely follows Mailhot (1975), several adaptations were made to the Mailhot system in order to better accommodate the phonetic features of North-West River Montagnais (see in particular sections 2.1.2, and 2.2.1 to 2.2.3). While a middle-of-the-road solution of this type may well be subject to criticism from both the phonemic and phonetic camps, it was felt to be the most practical solution to what is in fact an extremely complex issue.

Research for the present work was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Memorial University, as well as indirectly by Northern Scientific Training Grants to students of Memorial's Linguistics department. I would like to thank the numerous informants who were patient enough to help me check and recheck data, among them Penute Atuan, Ben Andrew, Caroline Jack, Mary Pia Benuen, Raphael Gregoire, Jack Selma, Punas Nuk and Joe rich. Special thanks must go to José Mailhot and to Marguerite MacKenzie, who offered much helpful advice and criticism. They are of course in no way responsible for any errors and problems which remain.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. NORTH-WEST RIVER: AN INTRODUCTION

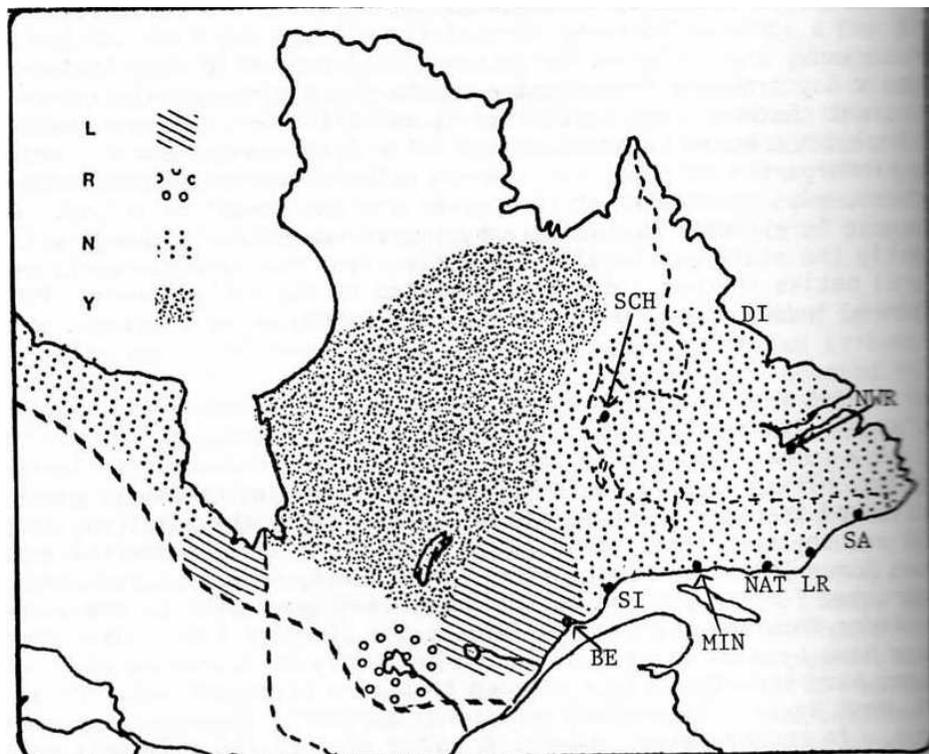
The community of North-West River (Montagnais Sheshātshī "where the water runs out") is situated on Lake Melville in Labrador. While it is located only some twenty-five miles from the former U.S. base at Goose Bay, it is connected to the Goose Bay/Happy valley region by what was until recently a very poor dirt road. The community is physically divided by water into two sides, a north and a south. The north side of the village has been settled by white Labradorians, and includes the International Grenville association Hospital, a Hudson's Bay store, a Protestant elementary and high school, and several Protestant churches. The south side is inhabited by some five hundred Indians, and includes a Roman Catholic school - the Peenamīn MacKenzie - which extends from Kindergarten to Grade 11, a Roman Catholic church, a residence for school teachers, plus the houses of the priest and the school principal. Peenamīn MacKenzie is attended exclusively by Indian students. Although until very recently the staff was totally non-native, over the past six or so years, several native teacher aides have assisted in the early grades. Many Indian children, indeed, come to school speaking little or no English.

North-West River has been a permanent Indian settlement only since the late 1950's. In the years previous to that, the north side of the river had been used as a summer camp-ground for various Montagnais bands (see Tanner 1978 for details). These were attracted by the three trading companies which had established themselves there, and no doubt also by the hospital (founded in 1916) and the fact that, after 1920, North-West River became the base for one or two Roman Catholic missionaries. In 1958-59, twelve houses were constructed for the Indians by the provincial government on the south shore of the river; this was followed in 1960 by the school. Since then, more and more houses have been built, and, with the necessity of educating their children, Indians have seen themselves obliged to become permanent settlers at North-West River. Employment opportunities there, however, are extremely scarce. In recent years, indeed, a number of families have been returning to the bush from fall to spring to engage in hunting and trapping.

1.2. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MONTAGNAIS

Montagnais is the term applied to a group of dialects of the Algonquian family that are spoken in Quebec and Labrador. All of these dialects are differentiated from more westerly forms of Algonquian - notably Cree - through the palatalization to [č] (noted tsh) of Proto-Algonquian (hereafter PA) *k. Montagnais dialects in Quebec/Labrador are differentiated from one

another by one very marked phonetic feature, namely the sounds (reflexes) assumed by PA *l̥. In the west (James Bay region) *l̥ becomes ɥ; in the east ɲ (e.g. in most of the seven Islands, plus the Lower St. Lawrence North Shore Montagnais dialects); in the south l̥ (e.g. Pointe-Bleue and Bersimis, in Quebec); and finally, ɾ in the Atikamek region of Quebec. The following map, adapted from Mackenzie (1980), illustrates the reflexes of PA *l̥ in the Montagnais dialects of Quebec - Labrador. On this map, NWR represents North-West River; DI-Davis Inlet; SCH-Schefferville; BE-Bersimis; SI-Seven Islands; MIN-Mingan, NAT-Natashquan; LR-La Romaine; SA-St. Augustin.



Reflexes of PA *l̥

As can be seen from the above map, Labrador Montagnais - in particular North-West River Montagnais (NWRM) - is an ɲ dialect, in that PA *l̥ and *l̥ merge as ɲ, as in PA *l̥ōtenwī NWRM ɲūtin "it is windy", or PA *leekawī → NWRM nekaū "sand".

The North-West River dialect of Montagnais shares certain features with the Moisie dialect of Montagnais spoken in seven Islands and Schefferville, yet is most similar to those Montagnais dialects found on the Lower North shore of the St. Lawrence in such Quebec communities as St. Augustin, La Romaine, Mingan and Natashquan. Various phonetic features which are characteristic of this latter group of dialects in general, and of NWRM in particular, will be

outlined in section 2.2. below. It should be noted that NWRM displays much variability in its phonological, and to a lesser extent morphological, characteristics, owing to the territorial and kinship contacts of speakers of NWRM with speakers of related Montagnais/Naskapi dialects. Consequently, many of the features listed in this sketch as characteristic of NWRM are to be interpreted as variable rather than as categorical.

2. THE PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF NWRM

2.1. INTRODUCTION

2.1.1. The Phonological System

Like most other Montagnais dialects, NWRM has the following phonemic inventory:

VOWELS

- The seven vowel phonemes consist of:
- i) three vowel pairs, the members of which are distinguished by vowel length or quantity (the diacritic $\bar{\text{}}$ over a vowel indicates length)

| | |
|-----|-----|
| /i/ | /ī/ |
| /a/ | /ā/ |
| /u/ | /ū/ |

- ii) the vowel /e/, which comes from PA * $\bar{\text{e}}$ (since the PA corresponding short vowel, * $\underline{\text{e}}$, has become $\underline{\text{i}}$ in Montagnais, there is no longer a Montagnais opposition of /e/ and /ê/; hence no length mark will be placed over the $\underline{\text{e}}$).

The vowel phonemes are now presented with their usual allophonic distribution and English phonetic approximation.

| Montagnais Vowel Phonemes | Usual Phonetic Realization | English Approximation |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| /ā/ | [a] | a of mama |
| /a/ | [ə] [ʌ] (particularly before <u>m</u>) | a of sofa u of but |

| | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| /ɪ/ | [i] | ee of sheep |
| /i/ | [ə], [ɨ] [y] | e of Rose's y of yes |
| /ū/ | [o] [u] (particularly after ɪ) | o of rope oo of loon |
| /u/ | [ʊ] [w] | u of put w of wall |
| /e/ | [e] | a of late |

It immediately emerges from the above table that while three pairs of vowels have been said to differ on the basis of length or quantity, what phonetically distinguishes them in NWRM is in fact not so much length as quality or timbre. Indeed, Martin et al. (1976) have shown, through detailed acoustic analysis of the Montagnais of Natashquan and Mingan, that in final open (stressed) syllable types, length is only one of the phonetic parameters of opposition, another being vowel quality. This would mean, for example, that the length distinction has disappeared in word-final ū and u, as in such pairs as ūhū, "owl" and ushu "he boils him".

The informal impression one derives from younger speakers of NWRM, indeed, is that vowel articulation is tending to be correlated with syllable type. The open or closed nature of the syllable, that is, to some extent determines vowel quality. The vowel e, for example, is usually heard as a tense close [e] (cf. French "les") in an open syllable, but as a lax, more open [ɛ] in a closed syllable (cf. English "bet"). Consequently a word such as esk^u "again" is heard as [ɛsk^w], while patetat "five" is pronounced [pədədat]. While phonemic opposition is maintained between ū and u, there is nevertheless a similar tendency to articulate both of these as lax [ʊ] (cf. English "put") in a closed syllable, but as [o] or [u] in an open syllable: contrast the singular miush [miyʊš] "box, suitcase" with the plural miuta [miyuta].

Several other comments are in order with respect to the vowel system presented in the above table. As can be seen, a neutralization process is underway in the originally short vowels. For - among younger speakers at least - the contrast between a and i is disappearing, both of these vowels being regularly heard as centralized [ə] or [i with tilde]; as a result, younger speakers tend not to differentiate between such pairs as (a)misk^u [(ə)məšk^w] "beaver" and mask^u [məšk^w] "bear".

The /u/ phoneme also has a further phonetic realization not noted in the above table. When in word-initial position, short u is regularly heard in NWRM and in Lower North shore Montagnais as [wə] or [we], as in utinam [wətənɫm] "he takes it from there" or ute [wəte] "here". (Long) ū, on the contrary, is always heard as [u] or [o], as in ūpinam [opənɫm] "he lifts it up".

The semi-consonant [w] pronunciation of u occurs in the same syllable as an immediately preceding or immediately following vowel. A semi-consonant [y] pronunciation of i is likewise triggered by the same environment. For the purpose of the present work, [w] and [y] will simply be treated as allophones of /u/ and /i/, respectively (see Martin 1975 for further details on this issue). A list of NWRM diphthongs involving [w] and [y] is given in 2.1.2. below.

Examples of minimal pairs will now be provided for certain of the vowel oppositions of NWRM. Phonetic transcriptions are provided in brackets.

ā/a

uskāt [wəškət] "his leg"

uskat [wəškət] "beginning"

ātshuk^u [ačʊk^w] "seal"

atshuk^u [(ə)čʊk^w] "snot"

ī/i

tshimīn [čəmin] "you give it to me"

tshimin [čəmən] "you drink"

uāpamīn [wabmin] "when you see me"

uāpimin [wabmən] "apple"

| <u>ū/u</u> | |
|--|---|
| ūspuākana [ošpwagna] "his pipe" | uspuākan [ušpwagn] "pipe" |
| niuāpamukūnān [nəwabmokonan] "we are seen" | niuāpamukunān [nəwabmokonan] "he sees us" |

| <u>i/u</u> | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| tātinam [tatənɒm] "he touches it" | tātunam [tatunɒm] "he opens it" |

| <u>a/u</u> | |
|---------------------------|--|
| uskan [səškən] "his bone" | uskun [wəšk ^w un] "his liver" |

| <u>ī/ū</u> | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| īsh [iš] "tell it to him" | ūsh [oš] "boat - canoe" |

| <u>e/ā</u> | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| tshekuen [čegwɛn] "who" | tshekuān [čegwan] "what" |

CONSONANTS

The eight consonant phonemes consist of:

i)

| three stop consonants | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| bilabial | /p/ |
| alveodental | /t/ |
| velar | /k/ |

ii)

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| one affricate | |
| palatal | /č/ |

iii)

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| two fricatives | |
| alveopalatal | /š/ |
| glottal | /h/ |

iv)

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| two nasals | |
| bilabial | /m/ |
| alveodental | /n/ |

As can be seen, no voiced stop, affricate or fricative phonemes exist in NWRM, nor indeed in most dialects of Cree and Montagnais. In actual fact, however, the three stop phonemes and one affricate phoneme have both voiced and voiceless allophones, with the voiced form being restricted to a voiced environment, typically an intervocalic one. Thus /p/ may be pronounced [p] or [b], /t/ is pronounced [t] or [d], /k/ is pronounced [k] or [g], and /č/, [č] or [j]. a word like utapan "car", with intervocalic ṭ and p̣, would typically be pronounced [(o)daban], and pimūteu "he walks" may occur as [pmodew]².

While most of the above consonant phonemes enjoy a fairly wide distribution, the /h/ phoneme occurs in NWRM only between two identical vowels, such as is the case in the word ūhū "owl".³

A list of Montagnais consonant phonemes is now provided, along with the closest English equivalent of each.

| Montagnais Consonant Phonemes | English Approximation |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| /p/ | p or b |
| /t/ | t or d |
| /k/ | k or g |
| /č/ | ch of church or j of jump |
| /š/ | sh of ship |
| /h/ | h |
| /m/ | m |
| /n/ | n |

It might also here be noted that stress in NWRM, as in most other Montagnais dialects of eastern Quebec-Labrador, is word-final.

2.1.2. Orthography

The orthography to be used in this sketch is essentially a phonemic one, with several symbolizations that are nevertheless phonetic rather than phonemic. This orthography borrows heavily from the basically phonemic notation outlined in Mailhot (1975); the Mailhot notation has been used since it is familiar to a considerable number of Montagnais - including some NWRM speakers - and, indeed, has been largely adopted, with certain minor variations, in a number of Quebec Montagnais communities. The orthography closely parallels the phonemic system presented in section 2.1.1.; thus it makes use of the seven vowel symbols introduced in that section (ā,a,ī,i,ū,u,e), as well as seven of the consonant symbols (p,t,k,h,m,n).

The following points represent the chief features of the present orthography which have been borrowed from the Mailhot system:

- i) Representation of the original short vowels ī and a as such, even though the i/a distinction has largely been neutralized for NWRM speakers.
- ii) Representation of vowels which are subject to procope and syncope in normal speech (see 2.2.2. below)
- iii) Use of a length mark (here ^) to represent historically long vowels
- iv) Use of ū instead of w, and ī instead of y
- v) Use of u/ū rather than o/ō
- vi) Representation of [č] as tsh, and of [š] as sh
- vii) Representation of [s] or [ss] as ss (these sounds being the historical outcome of palatalization of the group sk or st, or else the geminate resulting from the loss of i in the diminutive sequence -sis)
- viii) Representation of fricative + stop clusters as sp, st and sk, even though the pronunciation of the fricative in such clusters varies between [s] and [š]
- ix) Use of the symbols k^u and m^u to represent a word-final labialized velar stop and labio-velarized bilabial stop, respectively.

The following list provides a summary of the orthographical symbols used in the present work, and gives an example of each.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ā | nāss | [nass] | "completely" |
| a | mask ^u uāpātam | [mašk ^w] [wabadʌm] | "bear" "he sees it" |
| ī | shīshīp | [šišip] | "duck" |
| i | amisk ^u | [(ə)məšk ^w] | "beaver" |
| ū | kūn | [kon] | "snow" |
| u | kusseu uāpameu | [kussew] [wabmew] | "he is fishing" "he sees him" |
| e | ute | [ote] | "here" |
| ei ⁴ īu/iu | utei miskūshīu | [odey] [məšgošyu] | "his heart" "he is hard" |
| eu | nāpeu | [nabew] | "man" |
| āu | nipāu | [nəpaw] | "he is asleep" |
| p | pupun | [pʊpʊn] | "winter" |
| t | tānite | [tante] | "where" |
| k | kūkūsh | [kokoš] | "pig" |
| k ^u | kāk ^u | [ka(w)k ^w] | "porcupine" |
| tsh | tshīssu | [č isso] | "he is cooked" |
| sh | shīpī | [šibi] | "river" |
| m | mīn | [min] | "berry" |
| n | nīn | [nin] | "I" |
| h | ehe | [ehe] | "yes" |

2.1.3. Other Symbols

Several further symbols are used in this work to aid in the representation and interpretation of Montagnais words. A hyphen (-) is used as an orthographical symbol to separate preverbal elements from the verb stem, as in tshika-takushinu uīpat "he will be arriving soon" (see 5.2 below). The plus sign (+) is used to represent a morpheme boundary merely to facilitate phoneme identification, and is not to be construed as an orthographical symbol. A slash (/) is occasionally used to represent a syllable division.

2.2. VOWEL PROCESSES IN NWRM

Although the phonological and orthographical orientation of the present work is largely surfacist, several important phonological processes which characterize NWRM will now be outlined. These processes will be stated in a non-formalized fashion so as to be more easily understood by a general audience.

The most striking processes undergone by vowels in NWRM are the following:

- i) Labialization
- ii) Word-initial Short Vowel Deletion
- iii) Diphthong Raising
- iv) Nasalization
- v) Vowel Coalescence/Deletion

Each of these processes will now be treated in turn.

2.2.1. Labialization

As in other Montagnais dialects, the labialized or lip-rounded velar consonant sequence -k^u, when word-final, tends to assimilate an immediately preceding (non-labialized) i to (labialized) u. Thus what is historically -ik^u in Cree/Montagnais is pronounced either [ʊk] or [ʊk^w].

A similar rule of vowel labialization is to be found when the preceding vowel is a or e; thus what is written kāk^u "porcupine" may be pronounced [kawk^(w)], and mistamek^u "whale" may be heard with a u glide, [məstəmewk^w]. This process may perhaps be better treated as a type of metathesis (cf MacKenzie 1980: 131). Note that when -ik^u is not in word-final position, it does not affect a preceding ā; thus the plural of kāk^u, kakūt, is pronounced [kag^wʊt] rather than [kawg^wʊt]. In the case of an original preceding i vowel, however, labialization does occur over the syllable boundary; thus the plural of atshuk^u "seal" is pronounced [ačʊ g^wʊt] rather than [ačəg^wʊt]. Since then an i/u alternation does not exist phonetically before -ik^u for at least a large number of NWRM speakers,

the decision was made to represent the [æk^(w)] sequence as -uk^u rather than -ik^u in the present work. Thus, for example, the word for "seal" - noted as atshik^u in Mailhot and Lescop (1977) - will in this work be represented atshuk^u.

Vowel labialization is not restricted in NWRM to the environment of a following -ik^u. The process of vowel harmony operates to labialize ī or ā + labial consonant when u occurs in the following syllable, as in pupun "winter" (historically pipun). Similarly, ā and ī tend to be labialized by a contiguous word internal -ku-, as in takuan "it is (in a place)" which is pronounced [tog^wʊn]. Finally, among younger speakers at least, a progressive vowel harmony occurs in that word-initial u, when the mark of a 3rd person possessor, causes labialization of ī or ā in the following syllable, as in umashineikan "his book" pronounced [mwəšəneygən] or umassin "his shoe" pronounced [mwəssən]. the same phenomenon tends to occur in the case of first syllable long vowels: thus umītiminu "his piece of firewood" has been heard as [mwitəməno] and upīskueuen "his hair" as [pwiskwewʊn].⁵

2.2.2. Word-Initial Short Vowel Deletion

Word-initial short vowels which immediately precede a single consonant tend to be deleted in rapid speech, particularly the vowel ā; thus akūp "coat, jacket" is regularly pronounced [gop], asham "snowshoe" is pronounced [šam], and utāpān "car", [daban]. Note that the vowel resurfaces after such prefixes as the possessive prefix (see 4.2.1. below), to yield forms like nit+akūp [nətəgop] "my coat", ut+amisk^u [otəməsk^w] "his beaver".

The same tendency may occur in rapid speech when an initial short vowel is followed by a consonant cluster such as sp, st or sk, as in astāu "he puts it" pronounced [staw], and iskueu "woman" pronounced [skwew].

Outside of word-initial position, elision of short ī and short ā regularly occurs between homorganic nasal and stop consonants (e.g. in such environments as pVm or nVt), or between ś (<tsh) and a following t. Thus pimuteu "he walks" is normally pronounced [pmotew], uāpameu "he sees him" as [wabmew], nitassi "my land" as [ntəssi], and tshitakushin "you are sick" as [stakošən] (cf. 2.3.3. below). elision also typically occurs in the environment tsh-sh [č-š] as in mītshishu "he eats", which, after short vowel deletion and consonant simplification, is pronounced [mičo].⁶ Elision of short ī may result in a small number of consonant changes, such as the apparent deletion of p when in rapid speech a form like tshipātshī-nipāpan "he could have slept" is pronounced with initial [čaji].

As mentioned in 2.1.2. above, the orthography adopted in this sketch attempts to represent vowels that have been subject to syncope. The only consistent exception to this is to be found in inflectional endings, where, for example, a historically deleted vowel in such sequences as -nVtsh-, -nVt-, -nVn- (e.g. in noun plural, possessive and locative paradigms, as well as in certain verbal conjunct endings) is not represented.

2.2.3. Diphthong Raising

The vowel sequence ai [ay] - which historically derives from -ahi- - has undergone raising to ei [ey] in NWRM, as in the Moisie dialect. This raising may have occurred via the stages ahi→[ayi]→[eyi], a [y] being the normal phonetic transition between two contiguous front vowels. Several examples follow, along with their Cree counterparts (taken from Ellis n.d.)

| | <u>NWRM</u> | <u>Cree</u> |
|--------|-------------|-------------|
| "book" | mashineikan | masinahikan |
| "lake" | shākeikan | sākahikan |

The same raising occurs in the case of a historical sequence aha; this may be illustrated by such verbs as pisteim "he hits it by accident" or shaskeim "he lights it", where -eim derives from the sequence -aham (see 5.3.3.1. below).

The [ey] diphthong in NWRM does not simply result, however, from the historical sequences -ahi- and -aha-. The same raising occurs synchronically in NWRM in the sequences a + a or a + i (where + designates a morpheme boundary):

| | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------------|
| a + a | tshika + atusseu "he will work" nika + ashuāpamāu "I will wait for him" | [čəgeytussew] [nəgeyšwabmaw] |
| a + i | tshika + itūteu "he will go" | [čəgeytotew] |

Since occurrences of historical -ahi- and -aha- are heard - among younger speakers at least - as [ey], they will be represented in the present work as ei, the manner in which they are typically noted by literate NWR residents. this representation marks a departure from the Mailhot orthography, where the diphthong is noted ai (e.g. Mailhot and Lescop 1977).⁷ Synchronic sequences of a + a or a + i, however, will be noted a-a or a-i, since these vowels may be reconstructed whether by isolating the morphemes in question, or by inserting the individual morphemes into different morphemic combinations.

2.2.4. Nasalization

The nasal consonant n in intervocalic position between a and i may disappear in normal speech, nasalizing the diphthong which results. Thus tānispish "when" is regularly pronounced as [tāyspəš], utānisha "his/her daughter" as [utāyša], patshiuīānish "shirt" as [pəčuiyāyš] and ānisheniū, "angel" as [āyšenyu]. Speakers would appear to be aware of the alternative pronunciation with nasal consonant, and can usually restore the n in formal style.

The disappearance of the nasal consonant and ensuing nasalization of the vowel would seem, however, to be highly restricted. Thus these processes do not appear operative in the sequence ānī (as opposed to the āni sequence of the previous examples): the nasal consonant is not deleted in such words as nānīsh^u "by two", kānīmīst "dancer", kānīshishīt "twins". Further, it does not occur in all -ani- sequences: thus aniskuenuk^u "ant" and mānikueu "he builds him a dwelling" do not undergo the nasalization rule. Yet nasalization may (optionally) be found in certain ānū sequences, as in nānūtāu "he spills it" pronounced [nāwtaw]. It also may occur in certain eni sequences, as in mānitenish "sheep" pronounced [mandeyš]. Note that in this last example the nasalization rule would have to be ordered after the rule deleting a short vowel between the homorganic nasal+stop sequence n-t (cf 2.2.2. above), to prevent the production of such forms as *[māydeyš].

Further details on NWRM nasalization are to be found in Clarke and MacKenzie (1981), where it is shown that nasalization is a variable rule which is most likely to occur in the sequence -anish.

2.2.5. Vowel Coalescence/Deletion

This section will outline the processes involved when two vowels fall together synchronically at a morpheme boundary. In general, it may be said that short vowels at morpheme boundaries are less likely to be preserved than are long vowels. Examples will be provided of all four possible combinations of long and short vowels; forms arbitrarily chosen by way of illustration are 3rd person singular verb forms preceded by the preverb morphemes tshika- (future marker), nātshi- "go (over) to (do x)", and tshipā- "should, ought".

It might also be noted here that when two consonants become contiguous at a morpheme boundary, a connective i is generally inserted between them.

$$\underline{V_1 + V_2} \rightarrow V_2$$

As the following examples illustrate, only the second of two short vowels of a sequence tend to be preserved:

| | | | |
|-----------|--|---|---------------------------|
| i + a → a | nātshi + atusseu "he is going (over) to work" | → | [naəjtussew] ⁸ |
| i + u → u | nātshi + ushueu "he is going (over) to boil him" | → | [najušwew] |
| a + u → u | tshika + ushueu "he will boil him" | → | [čəkʊšwew] |

In the case of identical vowels, however, vowel coalescence occurs to give the phonetic equivalent of a long vowel:

| | | | |
|-----------|--|---|-----------|
| i + i → ī | nātshi + iteu "he is going (over) to tell him" | → | [najitew] |
|-----------|--|---|-----------|

The combinations a + i and a + a result in diphthong raising, as outlined in 2.2.3. above:

| | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---------------|
| a + i → [ey] | tshika + iteu "he will tell him" | → | [čəgeytew] |
| a + a → [ey] | tshika + atusseu "he will be working" | → | [čəgeytussew] |

V + V(long) → V(long)

In a short + long vowel sequence, the long vowel is maintained, as in:

| | | | |
|-----------|---|---|-----------------|
| i + e → e | nātshi + etatinastāu "he is going (over) to place it upside down" | → | [najetətnəstaw] |
|-----------|---|---|-----------------|

If however the vowel sequence involved is a + a or i + ā, the short vowel becomes a glide:

| | | | |
|--------------|---|---|----------------|
| a + ā → [ya] | tshika + ākushu "he will be sick" | → | [čəgyagošo] |
| i + ā → [ya] | nātshi + āpīkuneu "he is going (over) to untie him" | → | [najyabigonew] |

The sequence a + e results in [ey], as in:

| | | | |
|--------------|--|---|------------------|
| a + e → [ey] | tshika + etatinastāu "he will place it upside down" | → | [čəgeytətnəstaw] |
|--------------|--|---|------------------|

No clear examples could be found of sequences the second element of which was ī or ū.

V(long) + V → V(long)

This rule, which deletes a morpheme-initial short vowel when it follows a morpheme-final long vowel, would seem to be actualized only in the following vowel sequence:

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|---|------------|
| ī + a → ī | ūi + atusse "he wants to work" | → | [witʊssew] |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|---|------------|

If the two vowels in question are identical, the resulting V(long) could be interpreted as the output of either the above rule or of a rule of vowel coalescence, as in:

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------|
| ī + i → ī | uī + issīshueu "he wants to say" | → | [wissīšwew] |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------|

Further, when the second (or short_ vowel is u, this u is not lost, but remains as a syllable-initial vowel:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|-------------|
| $\bar{i} + u \rightarrow \bar{i}/u^9$ | uī + ushueu "he wants to boil him" | → | [wiuʃwew] |
| $\bar{a} + u \rightarrow \bar{a}/u$ | tshipā + ushueu "he should boil him" | → | [čəbauʃwew] |

Similarly, $\bar{a} + i$ would seem to be maintained:

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| $\bar{a} + i \rightarrow [ay]$ | tshipā + issīshueu "he should say" | → | [čəbayssiʃwew] |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|----------------|

If the sequence is $\bar{a} + a$, raising seems to occur in the second vowel, with the intervention of a y glide:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|----------------|
| $\bar{a} + a \rightarrow [aye]$ | tshipā + atusseu "he should work" | → | [čəbayetʊssew] |
| $\bar{a} + a \rightarrow [aye]$ | tshipā + apistam "he should live (there)" | → | [čəbayebəstɪm] |

$V(\text{long})_1 + V(\text{long})_2 \rightarrow V(\text{long})_1 V(\text{long})_2 \rightarrow [V(\text{long})_1 y V(\text{long})_2]$

No vowel coalescence would seem to occur when the two vowels which fall together at a morpheme boundary are both long. An intervening y glide, however, is typical of a $V(\text{long}) + V(\text{long})$ sequence, as displayed by the following examples:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--------------------|
| $\bar{i} + e \rightarrow [iye]$ | uī + etatinastāu "he wants to place it upside down" | → | [wiyetətənəstaw] |
| $\bar{a} + e \rightarrow [aye]$ | tshipā + etatinastāu "he should place it upside down" | → | [čəbayetətənəstaw] |
| $\bar{i} + \bar{a} \rightarrow [iya]$ | uī + ākushu "he tends to be sick" | → | [wiyagošo] |
| $\bar{a} + \bar{a} \rightarrow [aya]$ | tshipā + ākushu "he should be sick" | → | [čəbayagošo] |

The above morpheme boundary phenomena associated with vowels will not be represented in the orthography of the present sketch. Rather (see 2.1.3. above), preverbs will simply be separated from verb roots by a hyphen. Thus "he will be working" will be represented as tshika-atusseu, to be read as [čəgeytussew].

2.3. CONSONANT PROCESSES IN NWRM

The consonant processes to be outlined in this section are the following:

- i) Pre-Consonantal h-Deletion
- ii) š/h Alternation
- iii) Initial Consonant Cluster Simplification
- iv) akan → ān Reduction
- v) tsh/t Alternation

2.3.1. Pre-Consonantal h-Deletion

Certain Montagnais dialects, like Cree, have retained the pre-aspirated stop series hp, ht and hk. In NWRM, however - as in the LNS Montagnais dialects - the h generally disappears in such clusters, lengthening a preceding short vowel. For younger NWRM speakers, at least, h is lost in all pre-consonantal environments,¹⁰ even though in LNS dialects h is generally retained before a word-final consonant. The following NWRM examples are given with corresponding Pointe-Bleue (Quebec) forms, this latter dialect being the only Montagnais dialect that completely retains the pre-aspirated stop series (Mailhot 1975:31):

| <u>NWRM</u> | | <u>Pointe-Bleue Montagnais</u> |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| atīk ^u | "caribou" | atihk ^u |
| īk ^u | "louse" | ihk ^u |
| tākāu | "it is cold" | takhaiau |
| mīt | "piece of firewood" | miht |
| pimūteu | "he walks" | pimuhteu |

The single stop consonant which results from loss of preaspiration in NWRM may or may not be subject to voicing in intervocalic position, i.e., it does not necessarily appear as a fortis rather than a lenis consonant. The same observation has been made for the dialects of Bersimis, Schefferville and Seven Islands by Mailhot (1975:31).

2.3.2. š/h Alternation

Particularly among younger speakers, sh [š] tends to be replaced by h in initial and especially in intervocalic position; thus shīshīp "duck" may be pronounced [šihip] or even [hihip], and shāsh "already" may be pronounced [hah] in rapid speech. the sh → h sound change is typical of such LNS dialects as those of Mingan, Natashquan, La Romaine and St. Augustin (see Mailhot 1975:28, Drapeau et al 1975:353 and Cowan 1976:330-332).

2.3.3. Initial Consonant Cluster Simplification

An initial consonant cluster consisting of the affricate tsh plus the stop t (a cluster which itself results from the loss of a short vowel, as described in 2.2.2. above) is simplified in NWRM, as in many other Montagnais dialects, to [st]:

| Spelling | | Pronunciation |
|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| tshitatussen | "you are working" | [stətussɛn] |
| tshititenimāu | "you think (it) of him" | [stenəmaw] |

2.3.4. -ākan → -ān Reduction

In NWRM, a velar stop k is normally deleted in casual speech, at least among younger speakers, when it occurs in the sequence -ākan. Thus mītshuākan "table" is normally pronounced as [mičwan], tetapuakan "chair" as [tetəpwan] and uāpamākan, "he is seen" as [wabman].

2.3.5. tsh/t Alternation

Historically, tsh has become t in NWRM when it precedes syllabic n (< in), through a process of regressive assimilation of point of articulation. This explains such oppositions as nītsh "my house"/nītinān "our house", the latter presumably deriving from an earlier form *nītshinan.

3. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN MONTAGNAIS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Montagnais, like other languages of the Algonquian family, has two basic parts of speech: nominals and verbals. Of these two, verbals are more frequent, and display a more complex morphology, both inflectional and derivational. By comparison to English and other Indo-European languages, Algonquian languages are more verbally-oriented; that is, they tend to express notions that would be considered nominal in English by a verbal structure. Thus the English noun "dawn" would be translated into Montagnais as uāpākī, literally "when it is dawn", and the prepositional phrase "at night" would be equivalent to tepiskātshī, literally "when it is night".

In addition to nominals and verbals, a third part of speech can be identified in Algonquian languages. This, normally referred to as the particle, is characterized by an absence of inflectional endings; that is, it is invariable in form. Particles may correspond to English prepositions, conjunctions, adverbials or certain pronouns. It should be added that while the majority of particles are invariable, certain would appear to involve nominal endings, in particular the locative ending (see 4.4 below).

3.2. NOMINALS

Nominals in Montagnais include both nouns and pronouns. The inflectional endings of nominals reflect the following three main grammatical categories, each of which is outlined in the following sub-sections:

- i) animacy
- ii) number
- iii) person

In addition, nominal endings reflect a type of syntactically-determined person (obviation).

Two relatively minor derivational categories - the locative and the diminutive - are displayed by nouns but not by pronouns. Because of the frequency of occurrence of these categories they will be discussed in sections 4.4. and 4.5. below.

3.2.1. Animacy

Nouns and pronouns in Montagnais belong to one of two so-called "gender" classes: animate and inanimate. To a certain extent, this classification has a logical or natural basis: thus nouns denoting people and animals (as well as trees and certain plants) are classed as animate, whereas nouns denoting non-living entities are usually classed as inanimate. A number of non-living entities, however, belong to the animate category, and from a superficial point of view at least would appear to be so classed in a quite arbitrary or conventional manner. Among this latter group are to be found certain body parts, articles of clothing, and sacred items such as tobacco. Darnell and Vanek (1976: 162ff) suggest that non-living items classed in Algonquian as animate display a feature of "power": this would clarify why a tree is categorized as animate, whereas the (dead) wood derived from it is viewed as inanimate, or why bushes or shrubs with thorns to protect themselves are animate (e.g. raspberry), while those which do not have such protective devices are inanimate (e.g. strawberry).

3.2.2. Number

Montagnais nouns and pronouns are either singular or plural.¹¹ Marking for number is conveyed by means of an inflectional suffix, dependent on whether the noun is animate or inanimate. Actual animate and inanimate plural markers are provided in 4.1. below.

3.2.3. Person

All nouns and non-personal pronouns are invariably third person. Personal pronouns, however, occur in all three persons, as follows:

| <u>Singular</u> | | <u>Plural</u> | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | nīn "I" | 1p | nīnān "we" |
| 2 | tshīn "you (s)" | 2p | tshīniuāu "you (p)" |
| 3 | uīn "he/she" | 3p | uīniuāu "they" ¹² |

The first personal plural (1p) form listed above, however, is not the only means available for pluralizing a first singular (1) personal pronoun. For in addition to nīnān, there occurs the form tshīnān(u). The difference between the two forms is one of inclusion vs. exclusion of the addressee. tshīnān(u) refers to both speaker and addressee (i.e. an inclusive "we"); nīnān refers not to the addressee, but to the speaker and a third person, or someone external to the speech situation (i.e. an exclusive "w", since it does not include the addressee). Inclusive tshīnān(u) will be symbolized as a 21 plural (i.e. one having reference to addressee "you" and speaker "I"); nīnān, which could be represented as a 13 form, will simply be noted as a 1p personal pronoun. The distinction just outlined between inclusive and exclusive representation in the first person plural will also be found to occur in verb forms.

Since the person of the grammatical subject - as well as the object - is marked in the verb, personal pronouns would typically be used in a sentence only for emphasis.

3.3. VERBALS

The inflectional endings of Algonquian verbs reflect four major verb classes. These are dependent on the following factors:

- i) the presence or absence of a verbal object or goal
- ii) the gender (animate or inanimate) of the goal, in cases where one exists
- iii) the gender (animate or inanimate) of the subject or actor, in cases where no goal exists

The first of these factors results in a distinction between TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE verbs. In accordance with ii) above, transitive verbs are further subdivided into TRANSITIVE ANIMATE (TA) verbs and TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (TI) verbs, that is, verbs that have animate and inanimate goals, respectively. Intransitive verbs, in accordance with iii) above, will fall into one of two types: ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (AI) verbs, in the case of an animate actor, and INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (II) verbs, in the case of an inanimate actor.

The following table provides a summary of the above, along with an example of each of the four verbal types, using the stem uīshāu- "yellow".¹³

| VERB | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| +GOAL (TRANSITIVE) | | -GOAL (INTRANSITIVE) | |
| +ANIMATE GOAL | -ANIMATE GOAL | +ANIMATE SUBJECT | -ANIMATE SUBJECT |
| (TA) | (TI) | (AI) | (II) |
| uīshāukushueu "he browns him (lit. "makes him golden through cooking") | uīshāukusham "he browns it" | uīshāushīu "he is yellow" | uīshāuāu "it is yellow" |

The above four verbal classes are differentiated from one another by four distinct sets of inflectional suffixes. As will be seen below, these inflectional suffixes refer back to the subject or actor,¹⁴ with which they agree in number and person (except of course for the II verb class where the inanimate actor is of necessity third person). Verbs also agree with an obviative (3') actor (see 4.3. below for a discussion of the obviative category).

A variation on the above four verb types occurs in the case of verbs which are notionally transitive, yet whose inflectional suffixes place them formally in the intransitive AI paradigm. Such verbs have been termed pseudo-transitive, or TI2, and may be illustrated by such Montagnais forms as astāu "he places it", apatshitāu "he uses it", ishinākutāu "he does it in such a way". While verbs in the TI2 class are quite common in Montagnais, they will not be treated as a separate category in this study, since the inflections they display are identical with those of AI verbs.

The following subsections will outline the major grammatical categories for which are inflected all four basic verb classes. These categories are as follows:

- i) verb order
- ii) verb mode
- iii) verb tense
- iv) number and person agreement with actor (subject)

3.3.1. Verb Order

Any given Montagnais verb stem (i.e. AI,II,TA or TI) may co-occur with two different inflectional suffix sets, depending largely - though not exclusively - on whether the verb is to be found in a main or in a dependent clause at the surface level. The form assumed by the verb in a main clause is termed the INDEPENDENT ORDER, and that in a dependent clause the CONJUNCT ORDER. The difference between the two orders is formally reflected not only in differences in inflectional suffixes, but also in the presence or absence of personal prefixes, the independent being characterized by a personal (subject) prefix which is not found in the conjunct.

A third order, the IMPERATIVE, occurs in commands. Like the conjunct, the imperative differs from the independent through possession of a separate set of inflectional endings, as well as through absence of a personal (subject) prefix.

3.3.2. Verb Mode

Independent and conjunct orders both exhibit a modal dichotomy into INDICATIVE and DUBITATIVE modes.¹⁵ The indicative essentially represents an event as fact or reality, while the dubitative represents it as possibility or potentiality: contrast the dependent indicative niuāpamā "I saw him" with the independent dubitative niuāpamākupan "I might have seen him".

3.3.3. Verb Tense

Within each of the two modes outlined above, there occurs a binary division into two tenses: non-past and past. Since in the indicative, at least, the non-past tense may even assume a past reference - provided the sentence contains temporal particles with past reference, or by some other means indicates past temporal reference - the non-past tense will be called the NEUTRAL (see Ellis 1971).¹⁶ The past tense will be referred to as the PRETERIT.

3.3.4. Summary: Verbal Order, Mode and Tense

The following table summarizes the three grammatical dichotomies that are morphologically marked in the verb:

| ORDER | INDEPENDENT OR CONJUNCT | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|----------|------------|----------|
| MODE | Indicative | | Dubitative | |
| TENSE | neutral | preterit | neutral | preterit |

3.3.5. Number and Person of the Actor (Subject)

No matter what the order, mode or tense of the verb, its inflectional suffix reflects agreement in number and person with its subject or actor. In the independent order, this subject or actor is represented through the use of a personal prefix, which always occurs verb-initially. The prefix identifies only the person of the actor, as follows: ¹⁷

| | |
|----|-------------|
| 1, | ni- |
| 2, | tshi- |
| 3, | (no prefix) |

The number of the actor emerges from the form of the inflectional suffix; contrast:

| | |
|---|---|
| tshi+nipān ¹⁸ "you (s) are asleep" | tshi+nipānāu "you (p) are asleep" |
|---|---|

Both of these forms have a 2nd person prefix, tshi-, yet differ as to number as a result of differences in the inflectional suffix. as in the case of the personal pronoun, a plural form with 2nd reference (i.e. "we inclusive") is formed by means of 2nd person prefix, this time in conjunction with a 1st person plural suffix.

Contrast:

| | |
|--|--|
| tshi+nipānān "we (incl.) are asleep" | ni-nipānān "we (excl.) are asleep" |
|--|--|

which differ from each other in NWR Montagnais merely by means of their prefix. In other Montagnais dialects, the suffix may also differ.

Two phonetic variations occur among the 1st and 2nd person verbal prefixes, in accordance with morphophonemic rules. When the verb stem begins with a vowel other than u, -t- is inserted to produce the prefixes nit- and tshit-, as in nitāpitshitān "I use it" (cf. the 3rd person prefixless apatshitau "he uses it"). If the initial vowel of the verb is a vocalic u, however, the prefixes reduce to n- and tsh- as in nupāun "I fly" and tshūpāun "you fly" (cf. the 3rd singular form upau).

4. NOMINAL PARADIGMS

4.1. THE PLURAL PARADIGM

As outlined in 3.2.2. above, the plural inflectional suffix of any noun is dependent on the gender of that noun. In brief, inanimate nouns form their plural in -a, while animates form their plural in -at.¹⁹

| <u>Inanimate Nouns</u> | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| <u>Singular</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
| massin "shoe" | massina "shoes" |
| mashineikan "book" | mashineikana "books" |
| āshukan "bridge" | āshukana "bridges" |

| <u>Animate Nouns</u> | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Singular</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
| namesh "fish" | nameshat "fish(es)" |
| shīshīp "duck" | shīshīpat "ducks" |
| iskuess "girl" | iskuessat "girls" |

Several points should be made concerning the notation of plurals in this sketch. The plural of inanimate nouns ending in -k^u will be represented by -(k)ua, as in:

| <u>Singular</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| pāustuk ^u "waterfall" | pāustukua "waterfalls" |

Similarly, the plural of inanimates ending in -um (< im^u) would be represented (um)ua, although no such forms have been elicited. The plurals of animate nouns ending in -k^u and in -um (which results historically from -im^u) will be noted -ut::²⁰

| <u>Singular</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| kāk ^u "porcupine" | kākut "porcupines" |
| ātshuk ^u "seal" | ātshukut "seals" |
| atum (<atim ^u) "dog" | atumut "dogs" |

Finally, the plural of animate singular nouns ending in a vowel or diphthong, as well as those ending in -n, will be noted -t (cf. 2.2.5. and 2.2.2. above):

| <u>Singular</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| nāpeu "man" | nāpeut "men" |
| iskueu "woman" | iskueut "women" |
| innu "Indian person" | innut "Indians" |
| uspuākan "pipe" | uspuākant "pipes" |
| teueikan "toy" | teueikant "toys" |

For some NWR speakers, however, animate nouns ending in -n are pluralized by means of -at [ət].

In retaining a separate syllable morpheme -a as an inanimate plural marker, NWRM patterns with the Lower North Shore (Quebec) dialects. In other dialects, such as the Montagnais of Seven Islands, Schefferville, Pointe-Bleue and Bersimis, the inanimate plural marker -a is subject to loss; in these dialects, a phonological process involving the length, stress and tone of the final syllable is used as a compensatory plural marker (Mailhot 1975: 39). While tonal distinctions do seem to some extent operative in NWRM (see for example 5.4.2.1. below), they do not regularly occur as an alternative to the -a plural marker.²¹

4.2. THE POSSESSIVE PARADIGM

A possessed noun is marked by the following:

- i) an obligatory prefix designating the person of the possessor (1st person ni-, 2nd person tshi-, 3rd person u-)
- ii) a possessed noun suffix -im- which seems to specifically mark "possessable object", and which occurs in certain nouns only - see 4.2.2.

iii) an optional plural suffix, which pluralizes the possessor of i) above

Each of these affixes will now be treated in turn. An overall resume of the noun possessive paradigm will be presented in tabular form, along with other nominal suffixes, in 4.7. below.

4.2.1. The Possessive Prefix

The personal prefix designating a possessor is identical to the personal prefix used to designate a verbal actor (cf. 3.3.5. above), except in the third person, where a u- possessive prefix corresponds to a lack of prefix in the verb. As such, the possessive prefixes undergo the same morphophonemic processes outlined for the verbal prefixes, with t- insertion occurring before a noun beginning with any vowel, except u, and i- deletion before a noun with initial u:

| Stem - Initial Sound: | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | Consonant | Vowel (other than u) | The Vowel u |
| 1 | ni- | nit- | n- |
| 2 | tshi- | tshit- | tsh- |
| 3 | u- | ut- | u- |
| e.g. | nimashineikan "my book" | tshitapuī "your paddle" | ūspuākana ²² "his pipe" |

4.2.2. The -im- Suffix

The possessed noun suffix -im- has a distribution which has not been entirely determined. This distribution would appear to be essentially semantically-conditioned in that -im is likely to occur with animate nouns (especially the names of humans and animals), rather than with inanimates. Contrast:

| Inanimate | Animate |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| nipāssikan "my gun" | nishīshīp+im "my duck" |
| nitūsh "my boat" ²³ | nitauāss+im "my child" |

Note that morphophonemic rules affect -im- in a way similar to the animate plural suffix -at discussed in section 4.1. Thus after a noun stem ending in a vowel -im may reduce to -m by regular morphophonemic rule (see 2.2.5. above) as in ninipīm "my water", from ni+nipī+im; after a stem terminating in -k^u or -um (< -im^u) the i of the suffix is labialized to u (e.g. ni kāk+um "my porcupine"). It should also be noted that a noun stem ending in a diphthong (e.g. -āu, -eu) undergoes loss of the second element of the diphthong before affixation of the -m possessive marker, as in n+utshimā+m "my boss/chief" (cf. the independent noun utshimāu "boss, chief").

The -im- suffix, however, also co-occurs with a restricted number of inanimates. Thus it is regularly attached to at least two inanimate nouns ending in a diphthong, as follows:

| Independent Inanimate Noun Stem | Possessed Noun |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| shūniāu "money" | tshishūniā+m "your money" |
| meskanāu "path" | umeskanā+m "his path" |

The above distribution might suggest some degree of phonetic conditioning on the occurrence of -im- with inanimate nouns, yet there appear to be no obvious rules. Thus some shorter inanimates display the -im- suffix (e.g. ni+tshīman+im "my match", ni+pimī+m "my grease", ni+mīt+im "my piece of firewood") while others do not (e.g. tshit+ūsh "your canoe"). Inanimates ending in -im (e.g. u+mītshim "his food"), -in (e.g. tshi+massin "your shoe") and -kan (e.g. ni+mitshishuākan "my table") tend not to take the -im suffix, yet it is found in the inanimate ni+natukun+im "my medicine".

The key to the occurrence of -im- with inanimate nouns would appear to lie in semantic factors. As pointed out by José Mailhot (personal communication), inanimate nouns which denote body parts constitute a very interesting case. In those instances where a part of the body is treated as a detached entity, the noun will take the possessed suffix -im. Thus nustikuānim "my head" (e.g. of an animal) is opposed to the dependent noun (see 4.2.4. below) nustikuān "my (own) head", this latter never taking the -in suffix.

The example just given would suggest that the suffix -im- is used in those cases where possession must be specifically marked, given the nature of the noun in question. Thus an animate noun that is possessed is no longer a fully functioning animate, its new and temporary status being marked by -im-. In those instances, however, where an animate noun must, by virtue of its inherent characteristics, be conceived of only in a possessed state (the case

of the dependent nouns described in 4.2.4. below), the -im- marker is not used. Since, as a result of its categorization as an entity without power, an inanimate noun is readily possessable by an animate, this possession is not normally marked with -im-. Yet a dependent inanimate noun that is temporarily reclassified as non-dependent would take the -im- suffix - the case, for example, of body parts that cease to be inherently possessed by the designated possessor. It remains to be explained, however, why a very restricted number of inanimates (e.g. "match", "money", "path") regularly co-occur with -im-.

4.2.3. The Suffix of Plural Possession

When a noun is possessed by a plural possessor, this fact is marked morphologically through the addition of a suffix immediately following the -im- just discussed. The shape of the suffix is dependent on the person of the plural possessor, as follows:

| | |
|------|---------------------------|
| 1p , | inān |
| 21 , | inu/inān(u) ²⁴ |
| 2p m | iuāu |
| 3p m | iuāu |

Examples:

| 1p - nikākuminānt "our (excl.) porcupine" | | | |
|--|---|---|------------------------------|
| = <u>ni</u> (1 st person possessor) | + <u>kāk</u> (root) | + <u>um</u> (<u>-im</u> suffix after root in <u>-k^u</u>) | + <u>inān</u> (1p possessor) |
| 21 - tshimeskanāminu "our (incl.) path" | | | |
| = <u>tshi</u> (2 nd person possessor) | + <u>meskanā</u> (root <u>meskanāu</u> reduced before <u>-im-</u> suffix) | + <u>m</u> (<u>-im</u> suffix after root in vowel) | + <u>inu</u> (21 possessor) |
| 2p - tshitāshukaniuāu "your (p) bridge" | | | |
| = <u>tshit</u> (<u>tshi+t</u> before root in vowel) | + <u>āshukan</u> (root) | | + <u>iuāu</u> (2p possessor) |

In the case of a 1p or 21 possessor, this work will adopt the orthographical convention that the initial -i of the inān/inu suffix is dropped after noun stems terminating in -n or in a vowel, since i is not pronounced. Thus "our (excl.) shoe" will be written ni+massin+nān rather than ni+massin+inān, and "our (incl.) paddle", tshit+apui+nu.

Note that a possessive plural suffix typically does not co-occur, at least among younger NWRM speakers, with a suffix denoting plurality of the possessed object, whether inanimate -a or animate -at. Thus nimassinnān could be translated as "our (excl.) shoe" or "our shoes", the expected inanimate pluralizer (-a) being deleted after -inān.

4.2.4. Dependent Noun Stems

Certain nouns cannot occur independently, but are always found with an inseparable possessive prefix, whether the ni-, tshi- and u- discussed above, or the prefix mi-, referring to an indefinite possessor (i.e. "somebody's"). Such nouns are referred to as DEPENDENT. The dependent noun group consists essentially of nouns denoting body parts (e.g. utitshī "his hand", uskun "his liver", utshikun "his knee"), kinship terms (e.g. ukāuīa "his mother", utāuīa "his father", uikānisha "his relation", utussa "his aunt" etc.), several articles of clothing (e.g. mitāsh "stocking"), as well as a very small number of other nouns (e.g. mīush "suitcase" or "box"). The -im- possessive marker is not attached to dependent noun stems.

At least two dependent noun kinship terms have a special "vocative" form, or form of address. Thus nikāu "my mother" has a vocative form nīkā, and nūtāu "my father" has a vocative nūtā.

4.2.5. Irregular Noun Stems

A small number of nouns ending in -sh change the -sh to -t before adding any inflectional suffixes.²⁵ these include ush "boat, canoe" (e.g. nit+ush, "my canoe", nit+ūt+inān "our canoe", ūt+a "canoes") and the dependent stem mīush-, "box/suitcase" (possessed stem miut-, plural mīut+a). In somewhat different fashion the dependent stem ūtsh "his house" has -t 1p and 21 plural possessor forms (nīt inān, tshīt+inu) but -tsh forms elsewhere (e.g. nītsh "my house", tshītsh+iuāu "your (pl.) house"). An explanation for this latter phenomenon is found in 2.3.5. above.

The noun atum "dog" has an irregular possessed noun stem -tem, as in ni+tem "my dog". Elsewhere the stem is regular, as in atum+ut "dogs".

4.3. THE OBVIATIVE

Montagnais, like other Algonquian languages, possesses what is often referred to as a "further third person", distinguished from the third person by a distinct set of inflectional suffixes. This category, the obviative, might be better regarded as syntactically or contextually determined. A third-person noun or pronoun becomes obviative when it is "out of focus" in any given discourse, that is, when it is not the most prominent subject or topic of discourse. This would typically occur in a situation where a third person is already "in focus". An animate noun marked for obviation - henceforth noted as 3' - is indifferent to number, and can be understood as either singular or plural, as the context demands. Inanimate nouns maintain different inflections for singular and plural obviative.²⁶

Obviation will typically be found in both animate and inanimate nouns when they occur as the object or goal of a verb with a 3rd person subject. In such an instance, an inanimate noun will have a singular inflection -inu and a plural inflection -a, as in the following sentences, which contrast 3rd person subject/obviative object with 1st person subject/non-obviative (i.e. 3rd person) object.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| <u>1 subject, 3 object</u> | Nimisken ūsh | "I find a boat" |
| | Nimisken ūta | "I find some boats" |
| <u>3 subject, 3' object</u> | Miskam ūt+inu | "He finds a boat" |
| | Miskam ūt+a | "He finds some boats" |

-Inu will be represented as -nu after nouns ending in -n, as in Miskam mashineikan+nu "He finds a book". In addition, nouns ending in a diphthong (e.g. -aū, -eu) drop the second element of the diphthong before adding the inanimate singular obviative ending -nu, as in Kanauenitam shūniā+nu "He has money".

An animate noun, whether singular or plural, that is the object of a TA verb with a 3rd person subject will be marked by the animate obviative inflection -a, the same ending that marks the plural of inanimates:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Miskueu atīkua | "He finds a caribou"/"He finds some caribou" |
|----------------|--|

The possessive paradigm presents a second typical context for obviation. An animate noun that is possessed by a 3rd person animate will usually be marked as obviative, it being the second instance of a 3rd person. The following examples indicate the occurrence of an animate obviative marker -a with a 3rd person possessor, and its non-occurrence with a 1st or 2nd possessor:

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ūtāuī+a cf. nūtāu | "his father" "my father" |
| utapuī+a cf. tshitapuī | "his paddle (s)" "your (s) paddle" |

Note that when the noun in question is followed by a suffix of plural possession the -a of obviation may or may not appear; thus "their boss(es)" is translated as either ūtshimāmiuāu (=u+utshimāu+im+iuāu) or ūtshimāmiuāua.

An inanimate possessed noun does not take obviative endings, but rather the regular singular ➤ (zero) and plural -a inflections, as in:

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| u+mashineikan | "his book" |
| u+mashineikana | "his books" |

Several points should be made concerning the obviative inflections of a possessed noun which itself functions as the object of a verb. First of all, an expected obviative does not occur when the 3rd person possessor of the noun object is identical to the subject of the sentence; contrast:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Miskam u+mashineikan | "He finds his (own) book" |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|

in which "book" has no obviative marking, with:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Miskam u+mashineikan+nu | "He finds his (i.e. someone else's) book" |
|----------------------------|--|

where the expected obviative occurs. Of course, a noun with a 1st or 2nd person possessor that is the object of a 3rd person subject verb will receive the expected obviative marking, as in:

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| Uāpātam tshi+mashineikan+nu | "He sees your book" |
| Uāpameu tsh+shīshīp+im+a | "He sees your duck(s)" |

Here, "book" and "duck" are marked as obviative since they represent the second mention of a 3rd person, the verb subject "he" constituting the first.

Secondly, the situation may arise where the noun object is possessed by an obviative possessor, the latter not serving as subject of the sentence. Examples of such a case follow for TI and TA verbs with singular and plural objects.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| TI: Singular Object | Tshān miskamueu ²⁷ ūtāuī+a u+mūkumān+nu | "John finds his father's knife" |
| TI: Plural Object | Tshān miskamueu ūtāuī+a u+mūkumān+nua | "John finds his father's knives" |
| TA: Singular and Plural Objects | Tshān miskamueu ūtāuī+a u+tem+inua | "John finds his father's dog(s)" |

Here the 3rd person subject is at two removes from the possessed object, since the object is possessed by a second instance of a "3rd" person, i.e. by a 3' or obviative possessor. The object, then, constitutes the third instance of a 3rd person, i.e. a 3". In such instances, an inanimate singular has the same ending as does a regular 3' inanimate singular, -inu. The inanimate plural and animate (singular or plural) 3" ending, however, is -inua. The same 3" forms occur, incidentally, when the noun is not functioning as a verbal object; thus the phrase "John's father's dog(s)" is at two persons remove from the 3rd person possessor, "John".

The 3" (2nd obviative) marking just described occurs only in the case of a possessed noun at least two removes from a 3rd person verb subject or possessor. Thus should a 3' noun (e.g. a noun possessed by a 3rd person) occur as the subject of a verb, the (unpossessed) noun object will simply bear the regular 3' (1st obviative) marking:

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| TI | Tshān ūtāuī+a miskaminua mashineikan+nu (mashineikan+a) | "John's father finds a book (some books)" |
| TA | Tshān ūtāuī+a miskuenua atiku+a | "John's father finds a caribou/some caribou" |

It must be concluded, then, that the 3" inflections are reserved only for cases when a 2nd obviative is explicitly marked, as in the two cases described in the preceding paragraph.

While the above outline of the form and function of the obviative has concentrated on nominals that correspond to English "common" nouns, names of persons (cf. English "proper" nouns) are of course also subject to obviative marking in such contexts as those described above. While the obviative of a 3' proper noun ending in a consonant is formed by the addition of -a, as in :

| | |
|--|--|
| Tshān uāpamepan Mānī-Shān+a māk Mānī-Nūsh+a | "John saw Marie-Jeanne and Marie- Rose" |
|--|--|

Proper nouns ending in a vowel form their obviative in -ua, as in:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Tshān uāpamepan Mānī+ua | "John saw Mary" |
|----------------------------|--------------------|

Obviative marking is also to be found in complex sentences where both the main and dependent clauses contain what would be represented in English as a 3rd person subject. Further details on this point will emerge from section 6 below.

4.4. THE LOCATIVE

Nouns may also take a local or locative suffix, -ī̄t, illustrated in the following examples:

| <u>Noun (Singular)</u> | <u>Locative Form</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| mītshiuāp "house" | mītshiuāpīt "in the house" |
| ashām "snowshoe" | ashāmīt "on the snowshoe" |

The locative suffix reduces to -t̄ after noun stems ending in n̄ or in a vowel; in the case of a noun ending in a diphthong, the second element of the diphthong will be lost before the addition of the locative -t̄:

| <u>Noun</u> | <u>Locative Form</u> |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| āshukan "bridge" | āshukant "on the bridge" |
| nipī "water" | nipīt "in the water" |
| utenāu "town" | utenāt "in town" |
| uāshāu "bay" | uāshāt "on the bay" |

For nouns ending in -k^u, as well as those in -um (<im^u) the locative suffix assumes the form -ut̄:

| <u>Noun</u> | <u>Locative Form</u> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ministuk ^u "island" | ministukut "on the island" |
| mistik ^u "tree" | mistikut "in the tree" |

A locative ending apparently does not co-occur with a nominal plural suffix. It can be added to a possessed noun stem, however, as in ni+mistik+um+inān+t̄ "in our (excl.) tree".²⁸

A locative may be translated into English by means of the appropriate preposition (e.g. "at", "to", "in", "on", "by", "near", etc.) An exact spatial relationship, that is, is often left unspecified in Montagnais, the context serving to disambiguate. Where more specificity is desired, however, an indeclinable particle may be used. The following list includes a small number of such particles which would occur either independently (cf. English adverbials) or with a locative noun (cf. English prepositions):

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------|
| on (top of) | tākut |
| near | peṣṣīsh |
| in front | nīkān |
| behind | utāt |
| under | shīpā |
| underneath | atāmīt |
| down/below | nītāt |
| along the edge of/around | uāskā |
| through (straight) | shāputue |
| in the middle | tetāut |
| in between (two) | tastuīt |
| over | pāstāu |
| on the other side of | kueste |

It might be noted that a number of particles - defined in 3.1. above as invariable elements which do not take inflections - terminate in what would appear to be the same locative ending as found in the noun. These include pītakamīt "in", unuītāmīt "outdoors/outside", ispimīt "upstairs", enāt "downstairs", akamīt "on the other side (of the water)", and so on.

4.5. THE DIMINUTIVE

A noun stem may be followed by the diminutive suffix -īss as in shīshīpīss "a little duck", mīnūshīss "a kitten". This suffix is contracted to -ss after a noun stem ending in a vowel and, here again, the second element of a diphthong is lost before the addition of the diminutive final. Thus ashinī "stone" would have a diminutive ashinīss, while nāpeu "man" and iskueu "woman" correspond to nāpeṣṣ "boy" and iskuess "girl" respectively. Nouns ending in -k^u and those in -um (<im^u) form a diminutive in -uss, as in kākuss "Baby porcupine" (cf. kāk^u) and atumuss "puppy" (cf. atum).

The diminutive suffix should be regarded as a derivational rather than an inflectional ending, in that its function is to add semantic information to the noun rather than serve as a marker of any abstract grammatical category. As such, it occurs immediately after the noun root to form a noun stem, to which may then be affixed the various inflections described in 4.1. to 4.4. above (e.g. ni+mīnūsh+īss+im+at "my kittens").

4.6. THE -(I)PAN SUFFIX

Proper nouns and possessed nouns are peculiar in that they may be followed by a suffix that normally occurs as a verbal preterit ending. In the noun, this suffix denotes an entity which was but no longer is (i.e. "the late", "the former"). Examples of this suffix follow; a reduced version, -pan, is found after nouns ending in a vowel:

| | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Mānī_pan | "the late Mary" |
| Shāush+ipan | "the late George" |
| nikāu+pan | "my late mother" |

Note that the -ipan suffix may be followed by regular nominal endings, such as the animate obviative -a ending in ukāupan+a "his late mother".

4.7. THE NOUN PARADIGM: RESUME

The chart on page 36 summarizes the order and position of the various noun suffixes outlined in 4.1. to 4.6. above. By way of illustration the following possessed nouns are broken down into their component parts:

tshimashineikaniuāua "your (pl.) books", nishīshīpiminānt "on our (excl.) duck", utatikumiūāu "their caribou (sg. or pl.)", umaskuma "his bear(s)"

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|------|-----------------|----|------|---|---|
| tshi | mashineika n | | iuāu | | a |
| ni | shīshīp | im | inān | t | |
| ut | atīk | um | iuāu | | |
| u | mask | um | | | a |

Column Key

1. PREFIX DESIGNATING POSSESSOR
2. NOUN ROOT/STEM
3. (OPTIONAL) POSSESSED NOUN SUFFIX -im- (-um- after nouns ending in –
k^u)
4. PLURAL OF POSSESSOR
5. LOCATIVE (does not co-occur with 6)
6. PLURAL OR OBLIATIVE OF POSSESSED NOUN (an obviative marker occurs only in the case of a 3rd person possessor of any animate or a plural inanimate noun; both plural and obviative markers are usually deleted after 4).

4.8. PRONOUN INFLECTIONS

While pronouns share certain inflectional endings with nouns, their plural and obviative paradigms nevertheless differ considerably from noun paradigms. This section presents a summary, largely in tabular form, of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

4.8.1. Demonstrative Pronouns

a) "this" ("here") - said of persons or objects close to the speaker

| | ANIMATE | INANIMATE |
|-------|------------------------|-----------|
| | <u>PROXIMATE</u> | |
| Sing. | mue/ue ²⁹ | mue |
| Pl. | muetshe(nt)/uetshe(nt) | muenua |
| | <u>OBVIATIVE</u> | |
| Sing. | muenua | muenu |
| Pl. | muenua | muenua |

b) "that" - said of persons or objects farther from speaker

| | ANIMATE | INANIMATE |
|-------|------------------|---------------|
| | <u>PROXIMATE</u> | |
| Sing. | ne | ne/neme |
| Pl. | netshe(nt) | nenua/nemenua |
| | <u>OBVIATIVE</u> | |
| Sing. | nenua | nenu/nemenu |
| Pl. | nenua | nenua/nemenua |

A third degree of distance - i.e. distance farthest away from the speaker - does not appear to have been maintained as a complete subsystem in the NWRM demonstrative pronoun. Thus while in certain dialects the inanimate neme would appear to be said of an object more distant in space from the speaker than one denoted by ne, this distinction does not appear to have maintained itself rigorously among younger speakers. An animate demonstrative "that" denoting distance greater than that denoted by ne does occur in the form of nushī or nauashī, which appears to have a plural form nauatshent. No obviative forms of this pronoun, however, have been elicited.

A demonstrative pronoun equivalent to animate ne exists in the form of an; thus the sentence "That's my older brother" may be translated as either Nistesh an (Nīn an nistesh) or Ne nistesh. The an demonstrative may also occur simply in conjunction with a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun to denote possession as in nīn an "that's mine", tshīniūāu an "that's yours (pl.)" but not with a 3rd person.

In addition to the demonstrative pronouns noted, NWRM contains three demonstrative (adverbial) particles, corresponding to the three degrees of distance noted above: ute or ntā [nta] "here", n̄te [nte] "there" and nete [nete] "way over there".

4.8.2. Interrogative Pronouns

a) "which (one)"?

| | ANIMATE | INANIMATE |
|-------|------------------|-----------|
| | <u>PROXIMATE</u> | |
| Sing. | tānen? | tānen? |
| Pl. | tāntshent? | tānenua? |
| | <u>OBVIATIVE</u> | |
| Sing. | tānenua? | tānennu? |
| Pl. | tanenua? | tanenua? |

b) "who/what"

| | ANIMATE | INANIMATE |
|-------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| | <u>PROXIMATE</u> | |
| Sing. | tshekuen?/auen? "who" | tshekuān? "what" |
| Pl. | tshekuentshent? /auentshent? | tshekuāna? |
| | <u>OBVIATIVE</u> | |
| Sing. | tshekuenua? /aenua? | tshekuānu? |
| Pl. | tshekuenua? /aenua? | tshekuānua? |

The an demonstrative may be combined with an interrogative pronoun, as in tshekuān an? "What's that?", which is equivalent to Tshekuān ne? or Tshekuan neme?

5. VERBAL PARADIGMS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The various verbal categories found in North-West River Montagnais have been outlined in 3.3. above. It might simply be recalled here that:

- i) there exist four major verb classes: Animate Intransitive (AI), Inanimate Intransitive (II), Transitive Inanimate (TI), and Transitive Animate (TA)
- ii) any independent order verb will display the following shape (niuāpamāu "I see him" is used by way of example).

| <u>Subject/Actor Prefix</u> | <u>Verb Stem</u> | <u>Inflectional Ending</u> |
|---|--|---|
| e.g. ni (1 st person subject prefix) | uāpam (=root <u>uāp</u> + TA final <u>am</u>) | āu (1 st person singular subject inflection) |

5.2. PREVERBS

A verbal category not discussed as of yet is that of preverb. The term "preverb" is used to describe that group of bound verbal elements which occupy the slot immediately following the subject/actor prefix. Preverbs include elements that are semantically both concrete and abstract. Concrete preverbs that have been elicited to date - although the list is far from complete - are as follows:³⁰

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| nātsh(i)- | to go and do something (e.g. <u>ninātshi-uītamuāu</u> "I am going to go over and tell him") |
| matshi- | bad (e.g. <u>matshi-tūtam</u> "he does wrong") |
| minu- | good (e.g. <u>minu-mītshishu</u> "he eats well") |
| mista- | big/a lot (e.g. <u>mista-minu</u> "he drinks a lot") |
| nītāu- | acquired knowledge/ability ("know how to") (e.g. <u>ninītāu-pakāshimun</u> "I can swim") |
| iš-/it- | thus/in this manner/so (e.g. <u>iš-pukuan</u> "it tastes so - it has such a taste") |
| pūn(i)- ³¹ | stop (e.g. <u>pūn-atusseu</u> "he stops working") |
| tshīsh(i)- | finish (e.g. <u>nitshīsh-eimin</u> "I've finished talking") |
| ushām-[wešam] | too much (e.g. <u>niushām-mītshishun</u> "I eat too much") |

Of greater grammatical interest are the more abstract preverbs, which in many instances have meanings corresponding to the modal auxiliaries of a language like English. Among the abstract preverbs are found:

| | |
|-----|--|
| ka- | future marker (e.g. <u>nika-pimūten</u> "I will walk") |
| pā- | likelihood/moral obligation ("would/should/might") (e.g. <u>tshipā-uītamuāu</u> "you should tell him") |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| pātshī ³² | potentiality ("could/might") (e.g. <u>nipātshī-uāpamāu</u> "I might see him") |
| uī- | volition/intention/habit (e.g. <u>uī-atusseu</u> "he intends to/is going to/tends to/wants to work") |
| tshī ³³ | perfect marker (e.g. <u>nitshī-tūten</u> "I have done it") |
| tshī- | capacity ("be able to") (e.g. <u>tshī-tūtam</u> "he can do it") |

The preverbs pā- and pātshī- may combine with a preterit independent in -p- to form the equivalent of a "non-realized past event" as in Ni+pātshī+uāpam+āpan utākushīt "I could have seen him yesterday (but didn't)". Further details on this form are provided in 5.3.1.2. below. The two may also be used to make a suggestion or form the discourse equivalent of a polite imperative, as in Tshi+pā+uītamuāu "You should tell him".

It should be noted that in the 3rd person the preverbs ka-, pā- and pātshī- occur as tshika-, tshipā- and tshipātshī-. Contrast the 1st, 3rd person subjects in the following examples:

i)

| Nika-uāpamāu "I will see him" | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|---------------------|---|--|
| Ni 1 st person subject prefix | + | ka future Marker (1 st and 2 nd persons) | + | uāpam TA stem "see" | + | āu 1 st singular subject inflection |

ii)

| Tshika-uāpameu "He (3) will see him (3')" | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---------------------|---|--|
| Absence of subject prefix | | Tshika Future Marker (3 rd person) | + | uāpam TA stem "see" | + | eu 3 rd singular subject inflection |

Certain of the abstract preverbs may co-occur. Thus the future preverb ka combines with uī- and with the tshī- of capacity (-ka/uī-, -ka/tshī-); the same is true of the preverb pā- (-pā/uī- and, as previously seen, -pā/tshī-). Ka and pā, however, are mutually exclusive, as are tshī- and uī-.

Space does not permit further discussion of the co-occurrence of the various preverbs outlined in this section. Many further details are to be found in Lees (1979).

5.3. INDEPENDENT ORDER PARADIGMS

For all four verb types (AI, II, TI, TA), paradigms are provided for both indicative and dubitative mode, each in neutral (non-past) and preterit (past) tense, as follows:

- i) Indicative neutral
- ii) Indicative preterit
- iii) Dubitative neutral
- iv) Dubitative preterit

While the imperative constitutes a separate order, imperative forms are also provided here, for the sake of convenience, with AI, TI and TA paradigms. No imperative forms are found in II verbs.

5.3.1. Animate Intransitive (AI) Paradigms

Paradigms are here presented for the independent order of intransitive verbs with animate subjects. Any such verb may be marked for first, second, and third person, as well as obviative (3') subject; in addition, AI paradigms include an indefinite (Indf) subject (e.g. "people are asleep", "there is sleeping"), which may also take an obviative form (Indf').

5.3.1.1. AI Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: nipāu "he is asleep"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Stem-Final Vowel</u> | <u>Inflection</u> | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | ni | nip | ā | n | "I am asleep" |
| 2 | tshi | nip | ā | n | "you are asleep" |
| 3 | | nip | ā | u | "he is asleep" |
| 3' | | nip | ā | nua ³⁴ | "he (e.g. his father) is asleep" |

| | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|---|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| Indf | | nip | ā | nānu | "people are asleep" |
| Indf' | | nip | ā | nānunu | "people (obviative) are asleep" |
| 1p | ni | nip | ā | nān | "we (excl.) are asleep" |
| 21 | tshi | nip | ā | nān ³⁵ | "we (incl.) are asleep" |
| 2p | tshi | nip | ā | nāu | "you (p.) are asleep" |
| 3p | | nip | ā | ut | "they are asleep" |

Each of the above verbs is written as a single word (e.g. ninipān); in this as in most paradigms presented, a breakdown into major morphemes is provided for ease of identification. Here as elsewhere, the final column provides the inflectional endings. The preceding three columns represent personal prefix (subject or actor), root, and stem-final vowel, respectively.³⁶

The ā of the above paradigm is only one of several possible AI stem-final vowels, i.e. vowels added to basic roots or derived roots to form a stem to which inflections can then be added. The complete list of such vowels is given below, along with an illustrative example of each. Note that the variation in stem-final vowel represents the only difference among the various AI sub-classes; the AI inflectional suffixes, that is, are constant. While stem-final ā, e, i and u occur relatively frequently, ī and ū appear to be much rarer. Below, examples are given for the stem-classes e, i, u and ī.³⁷ The verb provided as an example of a u- stem is in fact an AI reflexive, reflexives being formed generally in Montagnais from a TA stem and an AI final -itishu- (see 5.3.1.7. below).

Stem-Final Variation (AI Indicative Neutral)

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example</u> (1 st and 3 rd person singular) | | | | |
|------------------------|--|----|------------|---|---|
| e ("walk") | 1 | ni | pimūt | e | n |
| | 3 | - | pimūt | e | u |
| i ("leave by vehicle") | 1 | ni | pūsh | i | n |
| | 3 | - | pūsh | - | u |
| u ("see oneself") | 1 | ni | uāpamitīsh | u | n |
| | 3 | | uāpamitīsh | - | u |
| ī ("be strong") | 1 | ni | shūtshish | ī | n |
| | 3 | | shūtshish | ī | u |

In one small group of AI verbs, the stem ends in a consonant, -n, rather than in a vowel; a representative paradigm follows for the stem takushin- "arrive":

| | | | |
|-------|------|----------|--------|
| 1 | ni | takushin | - |
| 2 | tshi | takushin | - |
| 3 | - | takushin | u |
| 3' | - | takushin | ua |
| Indf | - | takushin | nānu |
| Indf' | - | takushin | nānunu |
| 1p | ni | takushin | nān |
| 21 | tshi | takushin | nān |
| 2p | tshi | takushin | nāu |
| 3p | - | takushin | ut |

Indefinite subjects (whether proximate or obviative) are found, of course, in the various AI paradigms just described. Indefinites may be formed by the addition of -nānu to the AI stem, as in the case of the i- stem indefinite nīminānu (nimi+nānu) "there is a dance", or the u- stem nkuamunānu (nakamu+nānu) "there is singing (going on)". Note that AI e- stems display two finals: a -nānu final added directly to the e- stem, or a final -ānu which is added to the AI root minus the theme vowel. Ē- stem examples are provided by such forms as atussenānu/atussānu "there is work going on" or pimūtenānu/pimūtānu "people are walking". The same variation is observable in a-stems: thus "people are sleeping" may be translated as either nipānu or nipānānu.

5.3.1.2. AI Indicative Preterit

Illustrative verb: nipāpan "he was asleep"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Stem-Final Vowel</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | nip | ā | - ³⁸ |
| 2 | tshi | nip | ā | - |
| 3 | | nip | ā | pan |
| 3' | | nip | ā | nīpan(ī) |
| Indf | | nip | ā | nan(u)īpan |
| Indf' | | nip | ā | nānunīpan |
| 1p | ni | nip | ā | tān |
| 21 | tshi | nip | ā | tān |
| 2p | tshi | nip | ā | tāu |
| 3p | | nip | ā | pant |

As before, alternations exist among the stem-final vowel. The 1 and 3 singular are given below for each of the AI stem-final classes:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example (1st and 3rd person singular)</u> | | | | | |
|------------------------|--|----|------------|---|-------------------|--|
| e ("walk") | 1 | ni | pimūt | e | - | |
| | 3 | - | pimūt | e | pan | |
| i ("leave by vehicle") | 1 | ni | pūsh | i | - ³⁹ | |
| | 3 | - | pūsh | i | pan | |
| u ("see oneself") | 1 | ni | uāpamitīsh | u | (ī) | |
| | 3 | - | uāpamitīsh | ū | pan ⁴⁰ | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|----|-----------|---|------|
| ī ("be strong") | 1 | ni | shūtshish | ī | - |
| | 3 | - | shūtshish | ī | pan |
| n ("arrive") | 1 | ni | takushin | - | - |
| | 3 | - | takushin | - | ipan |

In North-West River Montagnais, it should be added, a preterit is also found in which -p- (observable above only in the 3rd person) occurs throughout the paradigm, whether AI, II, TI, or TA. However, this -p- preterit co-occurs only with such preverbs as pā- "should", pātshī- "could", kā- "would",⁴¹ uī- "want/intend to". The overall verbal meaning is that of non-realized event rather than of past factual; this perhaps clarifies Lemoine's identification of this paradigm as a "conditional" (Lemoine 1901:14). The following paradigm (nipātshī-nipānāpan "I could have slept") is typical of an AI ā- stem verb:

| | | | | | |
|----|------|------------|-----|---|----------|
| 1 | ni | pātshī | nip | ā | nāpan |
| 2 | tshi | pātshī | nip | ā | nāpan |
| 3 | - | tshipātshī | nip | ā | pan |
| 3' | - | tshipātshī | nip | ā | nīpan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | pātshī | nip | ā | nānāpan |
| 21 | tshi | pātshī | nip | ā | nānāpan |
| 2p | tshi | pātshī | nip | ā | nāuāpan |
| 3p | - | tshipātshī | nip | ā | pant |

Note that the temporal reference of such forms is apparently not restricted to the past: thus a form like ni+uī+nipāpan "I would have slept" may be found with a present particle like nutshish "now".

5.3.1.3. AI Dubitative Neutral

Illustrative verb: nipātshe "perhaps he is asleep"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Stem-Final Vowel</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | nip | ā | nātshe |
| 2 | tshi | nip | ā | nātshe |
| 3 | | nip | ā | tshe |
| 3' | | nip | ā | nītshen(ī) |
| Indf | | nip | ā | nān(u)ītshe |
| Indf' | | nip | ā | nānunītshe |
| 1p | ni | nip | ā | nānātshe |
| 21 | tshi | nip | ā | nānātshe |
| 2p | tshi | nip | ā | nāuātshe |
| 3p | | nip | ā | tshent |

Examples for verbs with stem-final other than ā are now provided:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example (1st and 3rd person singular)</u> | | | | |
|------------------------|--|----|-----------|---|--------------------|
| e ("walk") | 1 | ni | pimūt | e | nātshe |
| | 3 | - | pimūt | e | tshe |
| i ("leave by vehicle") | 1 | ni | pūsh | i | nātshe |
| | 3 | - | pūsh | ī | tshe |
| u ("see oneself") | 1 | ni | uāpamiīsh | u | nātshe |
| | 3 | - | uāpamiīsh | ū | tshe ⁴² |
| ī ("be strong") | 1 | ni | shūtshish | ī | nātshe |
| | 3 | - | shūtshish | ī | tshe |
| n ("arrive") | 1 | ni | takushin | - | nātshe |
| | 3 | - | takushin | - | ītshe |

5.3.1.4. AI Dubitative Preterit

Illustrative verb: nipākupan "he might have been asleep/perhaps he was asleep"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Stem-Final Vowel</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | nip | ā | nākupan |
| 2 | tshi | nip | ā | nākupan |
| 3 | | nip | ā | kupan |
| 3' | | nip | ā | nīkupan(ī) |
| Indf | | nip | ā | nān(u)īkupan |
| Indf' | | nip | ā | nānunīkupan |
| 1p | ni | nip | ā | nānākupan |
| 21 | tshi | nip | ā | nānākupan |
| 2p | tshi | nip | ā | nāuākupan |
| 3p | | nip | ā | kupant |

Examples for verbs with stem-final other than ā are given below:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example (1st and 3rd person singular)</u> | | | | |
|------------------------|--|----|-----------|---|---------------------|
| e ("walk") | 1 | ni | pimūt | e | nākupan |
| | 3 | - | pimūt | e | kupan |
| i ("leave by vehicle") | 1 | ni | pūsh | i | nākupan |
| | 3 | - | pūsh | ī | kupan ⁴³ |
| u ("see oneself") | 1 | ni | uāpamiīsh | u | nākupan |
| | 3 | - | uāpamiīsh | ū | kupan |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|----|-----------|---|---------|
| ī ("be strong") | 1 | ni | shūtshish | ī | nākupan |
| | 3 | - | shūtshish | ī | kupan |
| n ("arrive") | 1 | ni | takushin | - | nākupan |
| | 3 | - | takushin | - | īkupan |

There exists another paradigm similar in form to the dubitative preterit paradigm just provided. In this second paradigm, the -kupan of the dubitative is replaced by the form -shipan form represents a past event which is not represented as a past factual, nor as an event of which the speaker is absolutely sure, through not having witnessed it himself. Rather, the speaker may have been told of the event's occurrence by someone else. Thus while a 3rd person AI form such as takushinīshipan represents an arrival in the past, this arrival may have occurred without the speaker's being aware of it at the time (and consequently may be translated by "He apparently arrived, "He arrived without my knowledge", "He is said to have arrived" etc.)

The following forms represent an AI paradigm in -shipan:

| | | | | |
|----|------|-------|---|------------|
| 1 | ni | pimūt | e | nāshipan |
| 2 | tshi | pimūt | e | nāshipan |
| 3 | - | pimūt | e | shipan |
| 1p | ni | pimūt | e | nānāshipan |
| 21 | tshi | pimūt | e | nānāshipan |
| 2p | tshi | pimūt | e | nāuāshipan |
| 3p | - | pimūt | e | shipant |

5.3.1.5. AI Relational Forms

Each of the above AI paradigms also has a "relational" version, which occurs when a 3 or 3' animate is found to play a role with respect to the event denoted by the verb, without nevertheless serving as an actor or goal. The relational typically arises in a transitive verb when the object is possessed by a 3rd person who is not the subject (e.g. "John" in the sentence "I see John's book"). In an AI verb, a relational might occur in such a context as "I walk on John's show" where "John" is neither agent nor goal. The relational may of course be found in contexts other than that of possession; see, for example, Wolfart (1973:60).

The relational version of each of the above paradigms may be formed by the insertion of u after the stem-final; the inflections outlined in the AI paradigms above are then preceded by ā in the 1st and 2nd persons, and e in the 3rd, as in the following examples:

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| Nipimūteuān (=Ni+pimūt+e+uān) | nete | Pūn | umassint (u+massin+t) |
| "I am walking | on (lit. "there") | Paul's | shoe" |

The entire indicative neutral relational paradigm is now presented for the AI e-stem verb pimūteueu ("he walks in relation to him"); 1st and 3rd person singular forms only are given for the remaining AI independent relational paradigms.

AI Indicative Neutral-Relational

| | | | | | |
|----|------|-------|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | ni | pimūt | e | u | ān ⁴⁴ |
| 2 | tshi | pimūt | e | u | ān |
| 3 | - | pimūt | e | u | eu |
| 3' | - | pimūt | e | u | ānua ⁴⁵ |
| 1p | ni | pimūt | e | u | ānān |
| 21 | tshi | pimūt | e | u | ānān |
| 2p | tshi | pimūt | e | u | ānāu(āu) |
| 3p | - | pimūt | e | u | eut |

AI Indicative Preterit-Relational

| | | | | | |
|---|----|-------|---|---|------|
| 1 | ni | pimūt | e | u | ā |
| 3 | - | pimūt | e | u | epan |

AI Dubitative Neutral-Relational

| | | | | | |
|---|----|-------|---|---|---------|
| 1 | ni | pimūt | e | u | ānātshe |
| 3 | - | pimūt | e | u | etshe |

AI Dubitative Preterit-Relational

| | | | | | |
|---|----|-------|---|---|----------|
| 1 | ni | pimūt | e | u | ānākupan |
| 3 | - | pimūt | e | u | ekupan |

5.3.1.6. AI Unspecified Subject Forms

In addition to the paradigms already provided, an additional set of AI independent order paradigms is to be found. Semantically these forms resemble a passivized TA form; however, they would appear to be better viewed as "unspecified subject" forms.⁴⁶ Given their clear AI inflectional endings (which are added to a TA stem) they are included here. Such forms would appear to behave like AI u-stems in the 1st and 2nd persons, and n-stems in the 3rd.

The four independent order unspecified subject paradigms, as elicited in NWRM, are given below. Note that in the 1st and 2nd persons these forms are in fact based on the TA inverse (see 5.3.4. below). Indeed, in the 1st plural and 21 forms, the only formal difference between the TA inverse ("he sees us") and the AI unspecified subject form ("we are seen") lies in a single vowel: niuāpamukunān vs niuāpamukūnān, respectively.

Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: uāpamākanu "he is seen"

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukūn ⁴⁷ |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukūn |
| 3 | - | uāpam | ākanu |
| 3' | - | uāpam | ākannua |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ukūnān |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ukūnān |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ukūnāu |
| 3p | - | uāpam | ākanut |

Indicative Preterit

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|----------------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukū(i) ⁴⁸ |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukū(i) |
| 3 | - | uāpam | ākanīpan |
| 3' | - | uāpam | ākanīpanī |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ukū(ī)tān |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ukū(ī)tān |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ukū(ī)tāu |
| 3p | - | uāpam | ākanīpant |

Dubitative Neutral

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukūnātshe |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukūnātshe |
| 3 | - | uāpam | ākanītshe |
| 3' | - | uāpam | ākanītshe(ī) |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ukūnānātshe |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ukūnānātshe |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ukūnāuātshe |
| 3p | - | uāpam | ākanītshent |

Dubitative Preterit

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukūnākupan |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukūnākupan |
| 3 | - | uāpam | ākanīkupan |
| 3' | - | uāpam | ākanīkupanī |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ukūnānākupan |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ukūnānākupan |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ukūnāuākupan |
| 3p | - | uāpam | ākanīkupant |

5.3.1.7. AI Reflexives and Reciprocals

Semantically, AI verb forms often have "passive" or at least "middle" voice meanings, in the sense that the animate subject is not totally in control of the event denoted by the verb, but is somehow bound by it. AI indefinite-actor forms, based on TA stems, have just been discussed. Similarly, mention has been made of AI reflexives, formed from TA stems by the addition of an AI final. In the plural, AI reciprocal forms are also found, derived from TA stems through the addition of -itu to form an AI u-stem. Examples are provided in the 1st and 3rd persons plural reciprocal for the TA stem uāpam- "see":

AI RECIPROCAL

Indicative Neutral

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|-------|----|---|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 1p | ni | uāpam | it | u | nān | "we see each other/one another" |
| 3p | - | uāpam | it | u | t | "they see each other/one another" |

Indicative Preterit

| | | | | | |
|----|----|-------|----|---|------|
| 1p | ni | uāpam | it | u | tān |
| 3p | - | uāpam | it | u | pant |

Dubitative Neutral

| | | | | | |
|----|----|-------|----|---|----------|
| 1p | ni | uāpam | it | u | nānātshe |
| 3p | - | uāpam | it | u | tshent |

Dubitative Preterit

| | | | | | |
|----|----|-------|----|---|-----------|
| 1p | ni | uāpam | it | u | nānākupan |
| 3p | - | uāpam | it | u | kupant |

5.3.1.8. AI Imperative

Illustrative verb: nipā (you (s)) "sleep!"

| | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|----------------|---------------|
| 2s | - | nip | ā | - | "sleep" |
| 2p | - | nip | ā | k ^u | "sleep" |
| 21 | - | nip | ā | tāu | "let's sleep" |

Since the AI verb varies with respect to its stem final, examples are provided of a representative verb for each stem-type:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Imperative Paradigm</u> | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-------|---|----------------|
| e ("walk") | 2s | pimūt | e | - |
| | 2p | pimūt | e | k ^u |
| | 21 | pimūt | e | tāu |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----|-----------|---|------------------|
| i ("dance") | 2s | nīm | i | |
| | 2p | nīm | u | k ^{u49} |
| | 21 | nīm | i | tāu |
| ī ("be strong") | 2s | shūtshish | ī | |
| | 2p | shūtshish | ī | k ^u |
| | 21 | shūtshish | ī | tāu |
| u ("sing") | 2s | nakam | u | (ī) |
| | 2p | nakam | u | k ^u |
| | 21 | nakam | u | (ī)tāu |
| n ("arrive") | 2s | takushin | - | i |
| | 2p | takushin | - | uk ^u |
| | 21 | takushin | - | itāu |

Many Algonquian languages display a three-tier imperative system. Thus Ford and Bacon (1977/8:94-5), for the Seven Islands/Maliotenam/Schefferville dialects of Montagnais, have elicited an AI delayed imperative in -īkan and a polite imperative in -me. Failure to elicit consistent paradigms among younger NWRM speakers, however, suggests that this system is breaking down; while among such speakers no -īkan forms seem to exist, the 2p form of this paradigm (in -tshek^u) would appear to be acceptable with at least some AI verbs (e.g. nipatshek^u "go and sleep"). The suffix -me can be added in at least the 2nd person singular to result in an imperative that appears more a delayed than a polite imperative (as in nīmīme "go and dance"). A short stem vowel, incidentally, is lengthened before the -me/-mek^u endings.

Other strategies can, however, be found which produce equivalents of delayed and polite imperatives. The use of a pā(tshī-) prefix (cf. 5.2. above) + independent indicative results in a "polite" suggestion. Thus tshipātshī-pūshin (literally "you could leave") may be used with the pragmatic effect of a softened imperative, in much the same way as "you can/could/might leave" is used in English. A second strategy, the use of a conjunct order verb, is outlined in 6.3.8.3. below.

True imperative verb forms are made negative by means of the particle ekā, as in ekā nipā "don't go to sleep". This same eka forms the negative of conjuncts when the conjunct occurs in a dependent clause (see section 6.2.1. below).

5.3.2. Inanimate Intransitive (II) Paradigms

Inanimate intransitive verbs (i.e. verbs with an inanimate actor or subject) exhibit only 3rd person forms. In the singular, the three typical surface endings of II verbs in NWR Montagnais are as follows:⁵⁰

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Inflection</u> | <u>Examples</u> | |
|---|-------------------|---|--|
| ā | u | uāpāu uishāuāu | "it is white" "it is yellow" |
| e | u | tshītāputeu | "it floats away" |
| n (whether <u>-in-</u> or <u>-an-</u>) | (u) | uāpan tshimuan āpatin tshitshipanu | "it is dawn" "it is raining" "it is useful" "it starts" |

Since II paradigms are so short, all three types will be given below, in both proximate and obviative forms. II verbs distinguish between an obviative singular (noted as 3') and an obviative plural (3'p), the latter consisting of the 3' inflection -nu plus the -a of the inanimate plural.

5.3.2.1. II Indicative Neutral

| <u>ā - stems: uāpau</u> "it is white" | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-----|---|------------------|
| 3 | - | uāp | ā | u |
| 3p | - | uāp | ā | ua |
| 3' | - | uāp | ā | nu ⁵¹ |
| 3'p | - | uāp | ā | nua |

| <u>e - stems: tshītāputeu</u> "it floats away" | | | | |
|--|---|-----------|---|-----|
| 3 | - | tshītāput | e | u |
| 3p | - | tshītāput | e | ua |
| 3' | - | tshītāput | e | nu |
| 3'p | - | tshītāput | e | nua |

| <u>n - stems: āpatin</u> "it is useful" | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------|----|-----|
| 3 | - | āpat ⁵² | in | - |
| 3p | - | āpat | in | a |
| 3' | - | āpat | in | nu |
| 3'p | - | āpat | in | nua |

5.3.2.2. II Indicative Preterit

| <u>ā - stems: uāpapan</u> "it was white" | | | | |
|--|---|-----|---|--------|
| 3 | - | uāp | ā | pan |
| 3p | - | uāp | ā | panī |
| 3' | - | uāp | ā | nīpan |
| 3'p | - | uāp | ā | nīpanī |

| <u>e - stems: tshītāputepan</u> "it floated away" | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|---|--------|
| 3 | - | tshītāput | e | pan |
| 3p | - | tshītāput | e | panī |
| 3' | - | tshītāput | e | nīpan |
| 3'p | - | tshītāput | e | nīpanī |

| <u>n - stems: āpatinīpan</u> "it was useful" | | | | |
|--|---|------|----|--------------------|
| 3 | - | āpat | in | īpan ⁵³ |
| 3p | - | āpat | in | īpanī |
| 3' | - | āpat | in | nīpan |
| 3'p | - | āpat | in | nīpanī |

5.3.2.3. II Dubitative Neutral

| <u>ā - stems: uāpapan</u> "perhaps it is white" | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---|----------------------|
| 3 | - | uāp | ā | tshe |
| 3p | - | uāp | ā | tshenī ⁵⁴ |
| 3' | - | uāp | ā | nītshe |
| 3'p | - | uāp | ā | nītshenī |

| e - stems: <u>tshītāputetshe</u> "perhaps it is floating away" | | | | |
|--|---|-----------|---|----------|
| 3 | - | tshītāput | e | tshe |
| 3p | - | tshītāput | e | tshenī |
| 3' | - | tshītāput | e | nītshe |
| 3'p | - | tshītāput | e | nītshenī |

| n - stems: <u>āpatinītshe</u> "perhaps it is useful" | | | | |
|--|---|------|----|----------|
| 3 | - | āpat | in | ītshe |
| 3p | - | āpat | in | ītshenī |
| 3' | - | āpat | in | nītshe |
| 3'p | - | āpat | in | nītshenī |

5.3.2.4. II Dubitative Preterit

| ā - stems: <u>uāpakupan</u> "it might have been white" | | | | |
|--|---|-----|---|----------|
| 3 | - | uāp | ā | kupan |
| 3p | - | uāp | ā | kupanī |
| 3' | - | uāp | ā | nīkupan |
| 3'p | - | uāp | ā | nīkupanī |

| e - stems: <u>tshītāputekupan</u> "it might have floated away" | | | | |
|--|---|-----------|---|----------|
| 3 | - | tshītāput | e | kupan |
| 3p | - | tshītāput | e | kupanī |
| 3' | - | tshītāput | e | nīkupan |
| 3'p | - | tshītāput | e | nīkupanī |

| n - stems: <u>āpatinīpan</u> "it might have been useful" | | | | |
|--|---|------|----|----------|
| 3 | - | āpat | in | īkupan |
| 3p | - | āpat | in | īkupanī |
| 3' | - | āpat | in | nīkupan |
| 3'p | - | āpat | in | nīkupanī |

5.3.2.5. II Unspecified Subject Forms

II - like AI - verbs display unspecified subject forms. Such II verbs are formed from a TI stem to which is added an II -n stem derivational morphology, plus the appropriate II inflection. The verb uāpātakanu "it is seen" may be broken down as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|----------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------|
| uāp root | + | āt TI final | + | akan II final | + | u inflection |
|-------------|---|----------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------|

The four independent order II unspecified subject paradigms are presented below (since the obviative forms are highly regular, they are ignored here).

| <u>Indicative Neutral</u> | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-------|------|----|
| 3 | - | uāpāt | akan | u |
| 3p | - | uāpāt | akan | ua |

| <u>Indicative Preterit</u> | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------|------|-------|
| 3 | - | uāpāt | akan | īpan |
| 3p | - | uāpāt | akan | īpanī |

| <u>Dubitative Neutral</u> | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-------|------|-----------|
| 3 | - | uāpāt | akan | ītshe |
| 3p | - | uāpāt | akan | ītshen(ī) |

| <u>Dubitative Preterit</u> | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------|------|---------|
| 3 | - | uāpāt | akan | īkupan |
| 3p | - | uāpāt | akan | īkupanī |

5.3.3. Transitive Inanimate (TI) Paradigms

As pointed out in 3.3. above, there are two transitive verbal types, dependent on the animacy of the object or goal. Transitive inanimate (TI) verbs are those which have an inanimate object, and transitive animate (TA) verbs take an animate object. While this section will present only the inflectional suffixes for both TI and TA verbs, it should be noted that, in general, the stem to which such suffixes are added is not identical from TA to corresponding TI. Take as an example the root uāp-, meaning "see" (as well as "white", "bright"). If this root co-occurs with an animate object, the TA final -am- is added to the root to form a TA stem to which the inflection will be suffixed; if, on the contrary, an inanimate object is desired, the TI final -āt- will be added to form a TI stem:

| <u>Root</u> | <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Inflection</u> | |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| uāp | am (TA) | eu | "he sees him" |
| uāp | āt (TI) | am | "he sees it" |

Note that TA and TI finals often exist in pairs, each pair being related in meaning;⁵⁵ thus the above pair TA -am- and TI -āt- denote some sort of facial activity. For present purposes, however, the stem will be presented as an unanalyzed unit.

The post-stem inflectional suffixes of transitive verbs, like those of intransitives, are marked for the tense and mode of the verb, as well as for the number and person of the subject or actor. In addition, TA - but not TI - paradigms are inflected for a plural object.

5.3.3.1. TI Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: tūtam "he does it"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | en |
| 2 | tshi | tūt | en |
| 3 | - | tūt | am |
| 3' | - | tūt | aminua |
| 1p | ni | tūt | enān |
| 21 | tshi | tūt | enān |
| 2p | tshi | tūt | enāu |
| 3p | - | tūt | amut |

A sub-group of TI verbs possesses slightly different endings from those noted above. Such verbs have a 3rd person inflection -eim instead of -am (the -eim being derived historically from the TI final ah "by instrument" + the -am inflection - cf. 2.2.3. above). Examples are provided by shaskeim "he lights it" and pisteim "he strikes it by accident"; the 1st person singular corresponding forms would be nishaskein and nipiskein, respectively.

5.3.3.2. TI Indicative Preterit

Illustrative verb: tūtamūpan "he did it"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | e |
| 2 | tshi | tūt | e |
| 3 | - | tūt | amūpan |
| 3' | - | tūt | aminīpan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | tūt | etān |
| 21 | tshi | tūt | etān |
| 2p | tshi | tūt | etāu |
| 3p | - | tūt | amūpant |

Like other verb classes, the TI class also exhibits a "conditional" form based on a preverb (e.g. pā-, pātshī-, kā- etc.) and a preterit in -p-. The complete paradigm is given below for the root tūt- "make/do"; the form nipātshītūtenāpan would be translated "I really could have done it".

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Preverb</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|----|-----------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | pātshī | tūt | enāpan |
| 2 | tshi | pātshī | tūt | enāpan |
| 3 | - | tshipātshī | tūt | amūpan |
| 3' | - | tshipātshī | tūt | aminīpan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | pātshī | tūt | enānāpan |
| 21 | tshi | pātshī | tūt | enānāpan |
| 2p | tshi | pātshī | tūt | enāuāpan |
| 3p | - | tshipātshī | tūt | amūpant |

5.3.3.3. TI Dubitative Neutral

Illustrative verb: tūtamūtshe: "perhaps he does it"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | enātshe |
| 2 | tshi | tūt | enātshe |
| 3 | - | tūt | amūtshe |
| 3' | - | tūt | aminītshen(ī) |
| 1p | ni | tūt | enānātshe |
| 21 | tshi | tūt | enānātshe |
| 2p | tshi | tūt | enāuātshe |
| 3p | - | tūt | amūtshent |

5.3.3.4. TI Dubitative Preterit

Illustrative verb: tūtamukupan "he might have done it"

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | enākupan |
| 2 | tshi | tūt | enākupan |
| 3 | - | tūt | amūkupan |
| 3' | - | tūt | aminīkupan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | tūt | enānākupan |
| 21 | tshi | tūt | enānākupan |
| 2p | tshi | tūt | enāuākupan |
| 3p | - | tūt | amukupant |

As in other verb types, TI forms in -shipan are also found which represent a past event not directly observed by the speaker. The 1st and 3rd person singular forms would be nitūtenāshipan and tūtamushipan, respectively.

5.3.3.5. TI Relational Forms

Like AI verbs, TI verbs can be made "relational" to express the involvement, in the verbal event, of an animate which does not play the role of either actor or goal. Typically, a TI relational verb will take a noun object possessed by an animate that is not the subject, as in the sentence Niminuātamuān upāssikan "I like his gun" which contrasts with the non-relational Nimiuaten (mue) pāssikan "I like (this) gun". A TI relational is formed by adding -amu- to a TI stem, followed by the same inflectional endings displayed by corresponding AI relationals.

TI Indicative Neutral - Relational

Illustrative verb: tūtamueu "he does it" (in relation to him/for him)

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | | <u>Inflection</u> |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | amu | ān |
| 2 | tshi | tūt | amu | ān |
| 3 | - | tūt | amu | eu |
| 3' | (not elicited) | | | |
| 1p | ni | tūt | amu | ānān |
| 21 | tshi | tūt | amu | ānān |
| 2p | tshi | tūt | amu | ānāuāu |
| 3p | - | tūt | amu | eut |

As in the case of the AI relational, forms for the other three TI independent paradigms will be supplied for the 1st and the 3rd persons singular only. Note that in the 1st person singular dubitative neutral the inflection differs from that of the corresponding AI relational.

TI Indicative Preterit - Relational

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | | <u>Inflection</u> |
|---|-----------------------|-------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | amu | ā |
| 3 | - | tūt | amu | epan |

TI Dubitative Neutral - Relational

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | | <u>Inflection</u> |
|---|-----------------------|-------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | amu | ātshe |
| 3 | - | tūt | amu | etshe |

TI Dubitative Preterit - Relational

| | <u>Subject Prefix</u> | <u>Root</u> | | <u>Inflection</u> |
|---|-----------------------|-------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1 | ni | tūt | amu | ānākupan |
| 3 | - | tūt | amu | ekupan |

5.3.3.6. TI Imperative

Illustrative verb: tūtā "(you (s)) do it!"

| | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-------------------|----------------|
| 2s | - | tūt | ā | "do it!" |
| 2p | - | tūt | amuk ^u | "do it!" |
| 21 | - | tūt | etāu | "let's do it!" |

A delayed imperative ("Go and --") may be formed through the addition of a 2s ending -me or a 2p ending -mek^u to a TI stem. The delayed imperative inflections -amūkan (2s) and -amutshek^u (2p) are likewise used, though apparently rarely. Among younger speakers at least, the pragmatic equivalent of a delayed imperative is typically produced by use of tshe _ conjunct form (see 6.3.8.3. below).

When the object is 3' rather than 3, a relational TI imperative is called for, as in the following cases involving a 2s subject:

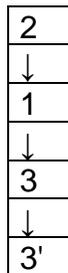
| | | | |
|------------------------|------|--------------|-----------------------|
| Tshītātam ^u | Tshā | umashineikan | "Look at John's book" |
| Utinam ^u | Pien | ushūniām | "Take Peter's money" |

The three relational forms follow for the verb pīkunam "he breaks it":

| | | | | |
|----|---|-------|-----|-----------------|
| 2s | - | pīkun | amu | |
| 2p | - | pīkun | amu | ek ^u |
| 21 | - | pīkun | amu | ātāu |

5.3.4. Transitive Animate (TA) Paradigms

The Transitive Animate verb class is in many ways the most complex of all verb classes. While, like the three classes outlined above, it is inflected for tense and mood as well as for the number and person of the subject/actor, it is also inflected for a plural object or goal. Furthermore, the TA paradigm is complicated by the fact that any person (1,2,3,3') may serve as either actor or goal. Yet in Algonquian languages in general there is a distinct hierarchy of person, which must be observed in the TA verb:



The 2nd person or addressee, that is, is higher in the hierarchy than the 1st; both in turn have precedence over the 3rd person, which itself takes priority over a 3' or obviative. In the TA verb, this hierarchy is clearly observable in the personal (subject) prefix: thus whether a 1st person actor acts upon a 3rd person goal, or a 3rd person actor acts upon a 1st person goal, the personal prefix will be ni-, i.e., the prefix of the person higher in the hierarchy:

| | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| niuāpamāu | "I see him" |
| niuāpamuk ^u | "He sees me" |

Given the identity of personal prefix in examples such as the above, it is left to the inflectional suffix to clarify the direction of the action - i.e. to indicate which of the persons involved is to be interpreted as actor, and which as goal. Such suffixes can be broadly classified into two types:

i) DIRECT - attached to forms which observe the hierarchy, namely:

| <u>Actor</u> | | <u>Goal</u> |
|--------------|---|-------------------|
| 1/2 | → | 3 (+3') |
| 3 | → | 3' |
| 2 | → | 1 |
| (3' | → | 3'' ⁵⁶ |

ii) INVERSE - attached to forms which do not observe the hierarchy, namely:

| <u>Actor</u> | | <u>Goal</u> |
|--------------|---|-------------|
| 3 (+3') | → | 2/1 |
| 3' | → | 3 |
| 1 | → | 2 |
| (3'') | → | (3') |

Among the direct forms, a 1/2 actor on a 3 goal is marked by ā, while a 3 actor on a 3' goal is marked by e; both of these direction markers are immediately followed by the tense and number suffix, as in:

| | <u>Direction Marker</u> | <u>Inflectional Suffix</u> |
|---------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| niuāpam | ā | u (1→3) |
| uāpam | e | u (3→3') |

The inverse of the 3→2/1 and 3'→3 forms is marked by uk^u (<ik^u) or a variant of this morpheme.

In the following subsections, the four basic paradigms of the TA independent order will be presented, along with the imperative order forms. In each paradigm, the order of presentation will be as follows:

- the 3rd person goal direct paradigm (i.e. 1/2 actor → 3 goal, 3 actor → 3' goal, as well as 3' actor → 3'' goal)
- the 3rd person actor → 1st and 2nd person goal inverse paradigm
- the 3' person actor → 3rd person goal inverse paradigm
- the 3'' person actor → 3' person goal inverse paradigm
- the 2nd person actor → 1st person goal direct paradigm
- the 1st person actor → 2nd person goal inverse paradigm

A special set of inverse inflections is found in the case of an obviative (3') actor and a 1st or 2nd person (i.e. 1,2,1p,21,2p) goal. Since these have not been elicited consistently from younger speakers, they will simply be presented, where available, as subset g).

It should be pointed out here that the TA inflections provided in the various paradigms following are for the most part to be found in all TA stem types. However, slight phonetic variations are to be found in TA stems ending in a vowel, such as those ending in -u (which may result from a TA final -au- added to a TI stem). Examples of such verbs are miskueu (misk+au+eu) "he finds him" or double-goal verbs like uītamueu (<uitam+au+eu) "he warns/tells him". In these cases the TA -au- final interacts with the initial vowel of the inflection to produce a form slightly different from that appearing in the uāpam paradigm used by way of illustration. A phonetic commentary is provided, where necessary, in the text.

NWRM also displays certain verb types which have apparently undergone regularization. Among these is the stem nip- "kill", as in ninipāu "I kill him" or nipeu "he kills him" (found as ninipiāu and nipieu, respectively, in certain other dialects of Montagnais). This stem, which corresponds to Cree nipahi-, occurs as the expected NWRM form nipei- (see 2.2.3. above) in paradigms other than those of the independent indicative neutral and preterit.

5.3.4.1. TA Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: uāpameu "he sees him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal⁵⁷

| | | | | |
|----|------|-------|------|--|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | āu | "I see him" |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | āu | "you (s) see him" |
| 3 | - | uāpam | eu | "he sees him" |
| 3' | - | uāpam | enua | "he (e.g. his father) sees someone else" |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ānān | "we (excl.) see him" |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ānān | "he (incl.) see him" |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | āuāu | "you (p) see him" |
| 3p | - | uāpam | eut | "they see him" |

In singular and plural forms with a 1st or 2nd person actor, a 3rd person plural goal is represented by the addition of -t̄ to the above forms, as in:

| | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| niuāpamāut | "I see them" |
| tshiuāpamāuāt | "you (p) see them" |

3rd person actor forms are indifferent to the number of the goal; thus uāpameu and uāpamenua may mean either "he sees him" or "he sees them".

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal
1s goal (he/they → me)

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|-----------------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | uk ^u |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukut |

Note that the -uk^u inflection of the 3rd singular form represents a labialization of the inflection -ik^u (see 2.2.1. above). In the case of a TA stem in u (<-au), the sequence -au+ik^u becomes ā as in niuītamāk^u (<ni+uītam+au+ik^u) "he warns me"⁵⁸. After a stem in -i, there is coalescence between stem final i- and inflection initial -i, as in ninipeik^u "he kills me".

1p goal (he/they → us (excl.))

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|---------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | ukunān |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukunānt |

21 goal (he/they → us (incl.))

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|---------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukunān/ukunu |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukunānt/ukunu |

2s goal (he/they → you (s))

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | uk ^u |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukut |

2p goal (he/they →you (p))

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukuāu |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukuāut |

c) 3' actor (either sing. or pl.) → 3 goal
(e.g. "John's father sees John")

3s goal (he/they →him)

| | | | |
|----|--|-------|-----|
| 3' | | uāpam | uku |
|----|--|-------|-----|

3p goal (he/they →them)

| | | | |
|----|--|-------|------|
| 3' | | uāpam | ukut |
|----|--|-------|------|

d) 3" actor (sing. or pl.) → 3' goal (sing. or pl.) (he/they → him/them)
(e.g. "John's father's friend sees John's father")

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| uāpam | ?ukunua ⁵⁹ |
|-------|-----------------------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal

1s goal (you →me)

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | in |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ināu |

1p goal (you →us)

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | inān |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | inān |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal2s goal (I/we →you (s))

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itin |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itinān |

2p goal (I/we →you (p))

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itināu |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itinān |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

Note that the format of g) differs from that of groups a) to f) above, since the left hand column here lists the various possible goals (1,2,1p,21,2p).

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|---------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukunī |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukunī |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ukunāna |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ukunāna |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ukunāua |

5.3.4.2. TA Indicative Preterit

Illustrative verb: uāpamepan "he saw him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ā |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ā |
| 3 | - | uāpam | epan |
| 3' | - | uāpam | enīpan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ātān |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ātān |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ātāu |
| 3p | - | uāpam | epant |

In the 1p, 21 and 2p forms, a plural object is noted through the addition of -t. In the 1st and 2nd person singular, however, a plural object is represented by -tīt, as in niuāpamātīt "I saw them". 3,3' and 3p actor forms are, as always, indifferent to the number of the object.

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal
1s goal

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|--------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | uku |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukutīt |

Note that the initial u of the inflection represents labialization of *j*. In stems ending in a vowel, no such labialization occurs, owing to the operation of other phonological rules. Thus "he killed me" is ninipeiku, and "he warned me", niuītamāku (<ni+uītam+au+iku).

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|-----------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | ukutān |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukutānānt |

21 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukutān |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukutānānt |

2s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | uku |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukutīt |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|---------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukutāu |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukutāut |

c) 3' actor (sing./pl.) → 3 goal3s goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|--------|
| 3' | - | uāpam | ukupan |
|----|---|-------|--------|

3p goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|---------|
| 3' | - | uāpam | ukupant |
|----|---|-------|---------|

d) 3" actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.) (he/they → him/them)

| | |
|-------|-----------|
| uāpam | ukunīpanī |
|-------|-----------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal1s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ī |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ītāu |

Note that "you (s) killed me" is tshinipeī, and "you warned me" tshiuītamuī (<tshi+uītam+au+i, the au being retained as u before a long vowel).

1p goal (you →us)

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | itān |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | itān |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal2s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itī |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itītān |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | ititāu |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itītān |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|----------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukunītī |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukunītī |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ukunītān |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ukunītān |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ukunītāu |

Like all other verb classes, the TA displays a -p- preterit which occurs only with a preverb and which refers not to a past factual event, but to a non-realized one ("I should have seen him" etc.). Only the 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal p-preterit paradigm will be presented in its entirety for the TA class:

| | | | | |
|----|------|---------|-------|-----------|
| 1 | ni | pā | uāpam | āpan |
| 2 | tshi | pā | uāpam | āpan |
| 3 | - | tshi pā | uāpam | epan |
| 3' | - | tshi pā | uāpam | enīpan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | pā | uāpam | ānānāpan |
| 21 | tshi | pā | uāpam | ānānāpan |
| 2p | tshi | pā | uāpam | āuāuāpan |
| 3p | - | tshi pā | uāpam | epant |

5.3.4.3. TA Dubitative Neutral

Illustrative verb: uāpametshe "perhaps he sees him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ātshe |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ātshe |
| 3 | - | uāpam | etshe |
| 3' | - | uāpam | enītshen(ī) |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ānānātshe |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ānānātshe |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | āuātshe |
| 3p | - | uāpam | etshent |

A 3rd plural goal is indicated by the addition of -nt at the end of any 1st or 2nd person actor form, as in Tshiuāpamātshent pūt "perhaps you (s) see them".

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal
1s goal

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|-----------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | ukutshe |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukutshent |

Note that forms such as ninipeikutshe (>ni+nipei+ikutshe) "perhaps he kills me" and niuītamākutshe (<ni+uītam+au+ikutshe) "perhaps he warns me" are to be expected (cf Footnote⁵⁸).

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|---------------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | ukunānātshe |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukunānātshent |

21 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|---------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukunānātshe |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukunānātshent |

2s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukutshe |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukutshent |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukuāuātshe |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukuāuātshent |

c) 3' actor (sing./pl.) → 3 goal

3s goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|---------|
| 3' | - | uāpam | ukutshe |
|----|---|-------|---------|

3p goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|-----------|
| 3' | - | uāpam | ukutshent |
|----|---|-------|-----------|

d) 3'' actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.) (he/they → him/them)

| | |
|-------|-----------|
| uāpam | ukunītshe |
|-------|-----------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal

1s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | inātshe |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ināuātshe |

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | inānātshe |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | inānātshe |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal

2s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-------------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itinātshe |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itinānātshe |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|-------------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itināuātshe |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itinānātshe |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ukunītshe(nī) |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ukunītshe(nī) |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ?ukunānātshe(nī) |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ?ukunānātshe(nī) |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ?ukunāuātshe(nī) |

5.3.4.4. TA Dubitative Preterit

Illustrative verb: uāpamekupan "perhaps he saw him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | ni | uāpam | ākupan |
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | ākupan |
| 3 | - | uāpam | ekupan |
| 3' | - | uāpam | enīkupan(ī) |
| 1p | ni | uāpam | ān(ān)ākupan |
| 21 | tshi | uāpam | ān(ān)ākupan |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | āuākupan |
| 3p | - | uāpam | ekupant |

For all the above forms except those with a 3rd actor, a plural object is formed through the addition of a final -t, as in niuāpamākupant "perhaps I saw them".

Note that corresponding forms in -shipan - denoting a past event not directly observed by the speaker - are also found, such as the 1st person sing. niuāpamāshipan, or the 3rd sing. uāpameshipan.

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal
1s goal

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|----------------------------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | uku(tā)kupan ⁶⁰ |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | uku(tā)kupant |

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|---------------|
| 3 | ni | uāpam | ukunānākupan |
| 3p | ni | uāpam | ukunānākupant |

21 goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|---------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukunānākupan |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukunānākupant |

2s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|---------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | uku(tā)kupan |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | uku(tā)kupant |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 3 | tshi | uāpam | ukuāuākupan |
| 3p | tshi | uāpam | ukuāuākupant |

c) 3' actor (sing./pl.) → 3 goal

3s goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|--------|
| 3' | - | uāpam | ukupan |
|----|---|-------|--------|

3p goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|---------|
| 3' | - | uāpam | ukupant |
|----|---|-------|---------|

d) 3'' actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.) (he/they → him/them)

| | |
|-------|------------|
| uāpam | ukunīkupan |
|-------|------------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal1s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | inākupan |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | ināuākupan |

The corresponding u (<au)-stem is tshīuītamunākupan [čəwitɫm^wʊnagobən] "perhaps you(s) warned me". Here, an original au + i(n...) becomes the expected -u- (see footnote 58 for further details). A stem in -i- will produce forms in -inākupan, such as tshinipeinākupan "perhaps you(s) killed me".

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|------------|
| 2 | tshi | uāpam | inānākupan |
| 2p | tshi | uāpam | inānākupan |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal2s goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itinākupan |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itinānākupan |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | tshi | uāpam | itināuākupan |
| 1p | tshi | uāpam | itinānākupan |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

(Forms unavailable)

5.3.4.5. TA -im- Forms

While TA verbs have no relational forms as such - unlike TI and AI verbs - they do possess a set of forms which at first glance might appear to play a role similar to the relational. Such forms can be recognized by the occurrence of the morpheme -im- between the stem and the inflectional suffix. According to Wolfart (1973:54), TA -im- forms occur only with specifically obviative goals. This comment can perhaps be better illustrated with a typical simple sentence type involving a TA -im- form.

An animate noun possessed by a 3rd person (the noun itself being normally marked for obviation, as in the 3' noun ut+auāss+im+a "his child") will, when serving as goal of a verb with a 1st or 2nd person actor, trigger a TA -im- form. Contrast 1a) and 1b) below, the first with a 3rd person animate object, the second with a 3'.

| | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| 1a) | Niuāpamāu Pūn | "I see Paul" |
| b) | Niuāpam+ <u>im</u> +āu Pūn ut+auāss+im+a | "I see Paul's child" |

In sentence 1b), a 3rd person ("Paul") intervenes between a 1st person actor and a 3rd person goal; this latter must be marked obviative as it is the second instance of an animate 3rd person. The result is a "gap" in the personal hierarchy, in that the goal slot is not filled by the person immediately below the actor:

| |
|-----|
| 1/2 |
| ↓ |
| 3 |
| ↓ |
| 3' |
| ↓ |
| 3'' |

In such an instance, the gap may be marked - although not necessarily - through the insertion of -im after the verb stem. In similar fashion, -im- may be inserted in a TA verb with a 3 actor and a 3'' - rather than a 3' - goal. Contrast the a) and b) examples below:

| | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------------------|
| 2a) | Utāmueu Pūna | "He hits Paul" |
| b) | Utām+ <u>im</u> +ueu ⁶¹ Pūna | "He hits Paul's child" |
| 3a) | Tshān nipeipan ūtāuīa | "John killed his (own) father" |
| b) | Tshān nipei+m+epan Penute+ua ūtāuī+nu(a) | "John killed Ben's father" |

5.3.4.6. TA ImperativeIllustrative verb: uāpam "see him"a) 2/21 actor → 3 goal3s goal (him)

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|-----------------|
| 2s | - | uāpam | - |
| 2p | - | uāpam | ek ^u |
| 21 | - | uāpam | ātāu |

3p goal (them)

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|----------|
| 2s | - | uāpam | at |
| 2p | - | uāpam | ekut |
| 21 | - | uāpam | ātāu(n)t |

3' goal (sing./pl.) (him/them - e.g., "John's relative(s)")(TA -im- forms)

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|--------------------|
| 2s | - | uāpam | im ā ⁶² |
| 2p | - | uāpam | im ek ^u |
| 21 | - | uāpam | im ātāu |

TA verb stems ending in other than a consonant display essentially the same inflections as those above, given several phonological rules already briefly mentioned. 3s goal forms are given, by way of example, for the TA stems nipei- "kill" and uītamu- "tell".

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|-----------------|
| 2s | - | nipei | - |
| 2p | - | nipei | ek ^u |
| 21 | - | nipei | ātāu |

| | | | |
|----|---|--------|-----------------|
| 2s | - | uītamu | - |
| 2p | - | uītamu | ek ^u |
| 21 | - | uītamu | ātāu |

A delayed imperative in -me- is found in at least the 2nd person singular, as in uāpame(nt) "see him (them)". With the root uītamu- "tell" the forms uītamume (2s) and uītamumetint (2p) have been elicited. A delayed (2s → 3s) form in -akan would also appear to exist, though not much used by the younger generation.

b) 2 actor → 1 goal

1s goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|-------------------------------------|
| 2s | - | uāpam | ṭ ⁶³ |
| 2p | - | uāpam | uk ^u (<ik ^u) |
| 21 | - | uāpam | iek ^u |

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|---|-------|------|
| 2s | - | uāpam | īnān |
| 2p | - | uāpam | īnān |

5.4. THE CONJUNCT ORDER

5.4.1. Introduction

As outlined in 3.3.1. above, the conjunct order of the verb is basically the set of forms the verb assumes in subordinate, rather than principal, clauses. The conjunct order of any verb form has a different set of inflectional suffixes than does the corresponding verb in the independent order. More striking perhaps is the total absence of personal (subject) prefix in the conjunct order. Contrast the independent and conjunct forms in the following sentence pairs:

| <u>INDEPENDENT</u> | <u>CONJUNCT</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| ni+pītuān "I smoke" | pītuānī "if I smoke" |
| tshi+nipān "you are asleep" | nipānī "if you are asleep" |

While the conjunct order is essentially restricted to subordinate clauses, it must be noted that in NWRM the conjunct is found in two frequently occurring main-clause types. First of all, it always appears in main clauses after the negative marker apū: contrast:

| <u>INDEPENDENT</u> | <u>CONJUNCT</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| ni+pītuān "I smoke" | apū pītuāiān "I don't smoke" |

Secondly, it occurs in a question-word (but not in a yes-no) question: thus a question introduced by any of the interrogative particles or pronouns corresponding to English WH-question words (such as "who", "which", "what" etc.) will contain the conjunct rather than the independent order of the verb:

| <u>Yes-No Question Independent Order</u> | <u>Question-Word Question Conjunct Order</u> |
|--|--|
| Tshītūteu-a "Is he leaving?" | Auen tshiātūtet? "Who is leaving?" |

Among Algonquianists, there has been a certain amount of confusion as to the labelling of the various tense and modal subcategories of the conjunct. The current sketch will follow Wolfart (1973:41-43) in distinguishing a non-dubitative and a dubitative sub-order. To maintain parallelism with the modes, since in essence they represent factual vs. nonfactual events, respectively. As in the independent order, two tense forms are found, a neutral and a preterit - though, as will be seen below, this division does not correspond simply to "non-past" vs. "past" time representation.

5.4.1.1. The Changed Conjunct

Formal criteria point to two further distinctions in the conjunct order, distinctions unparalleled in the independent. The first of these involves the fact that any verb in the conjunct may undergo a change in the vowel of the first syllable of the stem; if the first syllable is a preverb (e.g. uī- "volition", ka- "futurity"), it is this preverb which will be affected. Conjunct forms displaying such a change are referred to as changed conjuncts.

The distribution of changed vs. unchanged conjuncts will be discussed in more detail in section 6 below. For the time being, we will simply list the vowel correspondences to be observed in NWRM among the initial vowels of unchanged and changed conjunct verbal forms. A chart containing this information is given on the following page.

| VOWEL CORRESPONDENCE | | EXAMPLE |
|--|---|---|
| (The changed form is provided in a question word question while the vowel of the unchanged form is the same as that of the independent order form given in brackets) | | |
| i | e | auen pemūtet? "who is walking?" (cf. pimūteu) |
| a | e | auen meshineimuāt? "who writes to him?" (cf. mashineimueu) |
| u | ue | auen kuessikuāshut? "who is sewing?" (cf. kussikuashu) |
| ī | ā/iā | auen uā-pimūtet? "who wants to walk?" (cf. uī-pimūteu) auen piātuāt? "who is smoking?" (cf. pītuāu) |
| ā | iā | auenua uiāpamāt? "who does he see?" (cf. uāpameu) |
| ū | iū (uiū [wiyu] after bilabial consonants; see 2.2.1. above) | auen tiūtāk? "who is doing it?" (cf. tūtam) |

One further point concerning the changed conjunct should be noted here. Often conjunct forms beginning with e- are found in contexts where one might expect a changed conjunct, as in e-tūtāk(i) "when he does it" (cf. the independent order 3rd singular TI tutam). This e-, however, does not represent the changed form of any unchanged prefix; rather, it must be regarded as a "dummy" prefix the sole function of which is to represent or carry the initial change (cf. Wolfart 1973:46).

5.4.1.2. The Conjunct Subjunctive

The changed conjunct, then, is the first of two forms to be observed in the conjunct for which there is no parallel in the independent. The second of these involves an inflectional suffix. A typical conjunct in the indicative neutral can be made "subjunctive" through the addition of a final -ī, in the singular at least. Such a form would normally correspond to an English "if" or "when" clause with future temporal reference - i.e. a conditional clause representing an event that is potentially realizable. For example, the AI indicative neutral observable after the negative marker apū in apū pītuāiān "I don't smoke" forms the subjunctive pītuāiānī "if I smoke". Incidentally, a combination of initial change plus a subjunctive inflection results in a conjunct with an iterative meaning, as in piātuāiānī "whenever I smoke".

The terms "subjunctive" and "iterative" have been borrowed from Ellis (1961, 1971). For convenience, these forms will be regarded here as variants of the conjunct indicative.

5.4.1.3. Summary

The following table summarizes the contents of the conjunct order in terms of the various subcategories outlined above:

| ORDER | CONJUNCT | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|---------|----------|---------|
| | INDICATIVE | | DUBITATIVE | | | |
| MODE | NEUTRAL | | NEUTRAL | | PRETERIT | |
| TENSE | NEUTRAL | | NEUTRAL | | PRETERIT | |
| INITIAL SYLLABLE VOWEL CHANGE | -Change | +Change | -Change | +Change | -Change | +Change |
| SUBJUNCTIVE INFLECTION | Subjunctive | Iterative | - | - | - | - |

Of the above forms, the most common is the INDICATIVE NEUTRAL, which is found, in unchanged form, in all negative main clauses after the negative marker apū. This unchanged indicative neutral form can cover future time reference in all persons of the negative by means of the preverb tshikatshī, - as in Apū tshikatshī-pītuāiān "I won't be smoking".⁶⁴ The unchanged indicative neutral is also found after the particle tshīmā "I wish, if only" in clauses representing a wish relating to the present, as in tshīma tshimuāk "if only it were raining (now)." A changed indicative neutral is to be found in question-word questions, as will be illustrated in 6.2.2.

The conjunct does not parallel the independent in possessing a separate set of indicative preterit endings - hence the lack of a conjunct indicative preterit in the above table. Rather, past-time reference is provided in a negative main clause - i.e. after the negative particle apū - through the use of the preverb tūt, plus the unchanged indicative neutral conjunct. Thus "I didn't smoke" would be represented as Apū tūt pītuāiān (tūt will be arbitrarily represented as a separate word). In a subordinate clause - e.g. a dependent clause of time - temporal anteriority to the present is generally represented by a changed (or e-) conjunct indicative neutral, as in Tiūtāk, pūshīpan "When he did it, he left".

Of the two tenses of the dubitative, the DUBITATIVE PRETERIT, usually found in unchanged form, would appear to be somewhat more common than the DUBITATIVE NEUTRAL, which usually occurs in changed form. Both typically may be translated into English as if- clauses with past time reference, particularly with the implication of "contrary-to-fact". the sentence "I would have seen him if he had been walking" could be translated either with the AI dubitative neutral changed form etussekue, or the AI dubitative preterit unchanged atussetākue.

Note that the distinction, in the dubitative mode, between neutral and preterit is not strictly speaking only a temporal one: a close English parallel would be the contrast of "past" and "non-past" modal auxiliaries, which may in fact have exactly the same real time reference (e.g. "I can/could do it tomorrow").

The dubitative neutral and preterit conjunct also typically occur in contrary-to-fact wishes after the particle tshīma, as in the sentence "I wish it had rained"/"If only it had rained", which could be translated by any of Tshīma tshimuākue (unchanged II dubitative neutral), Tshīmā tshemuākākie (changed II dubitative neutral) or Tshimā tshimuantākie (II dubitative preterit). Apparently both tenses may here co-occur with a temporal particle or past or present reference, though not with one denoting future time. Thus a contrary - to - fact wish containing the dubitative neutral, such as Tshīmā etusseuāne ... may be completed with the particle utākushīt "yesterday" (to yield the meaning "I wish I had worked yesterday") or with nutshish "today" (to give "I wish I were working today"). Alternatively, both of the above sentences could have contained the dubitative preterit atusseiānākie.

5.4.1.4. Conjunct Negative Markers

As has been seen above, main clauses can be made negative by means of the negative particle apū plus the indicative neutral conjunct (with or without the preverb of past reference, tūt). In all dependent clause uses of the conjunct, however - including all uses of the dubitative and subjunctive conjunct, which always correspond to English dependent clauses - the negative marker is ekā, the same negative marker found in the imperative order. Ekā - realized as kā in normal speech - also appears in clauses of unrealized wish introduced by the particle tshīma. The following sentences provide examples of the use of ekā with various conjunct forms:

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| <u>Indicative Neutral</u> | Tshīma ekā miskākant | "I wish it wouldn't be found/May it not be found" |
| <u>Dubitative Neutral</u> | Ekā tātākie nete... | "If he wasn't there..." |
| <u>Subjunctive</u> | Ekā uāpamitīshuiānī... | "If I don't see myself..." |

5.4.2. Animate Intransitive (AI) Paradigms

5.4.2.1. AI Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: apū nipāt "he is not asleep"

| | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|---|------------------|
| 1 | apū | nip | ā | iān |
| 2 | apū | nip | ā | in |
| 3 | apū | nip | ā | t |
| 3' | apū | nip | ā | ntshī |
| Indf | apū | nip | ā | nānut |
| Indf' | apū | nip | ā | nānunit |
| 1p | apū | nip | ā | iāt |
| 21 | apū | nip | ā | iāk ^u |
| 2p | apū | nip | ā | iek ^u |
| 3p | apū | nip | ā | t' |

While the inflectional suffixes for all AI indicative neutral conjuncts are constant, the variations observed in the independent order occur in the stem final, i.e. in the element immediately preceding the AI inflections, usually a vowel. The following table presents the 1st and 3rd singular forms of each of the AI verb subclasses earlier distinguished in the independent order:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example (1st and 3rd person singular)</u> | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----|-------|---|-----|
| e ("walk") | 1 | apū | pimūt | e | iān |
| | 3 | apū | pimūt | e | t |
| i ("leave ") | 1 | apū | pūsh | - | iān |
| | 3 | apū | pūsh | i | t |
| u ("sing") | 1 | apū | nakam | u | iān |
| | 3 | apū | nakam | u | t |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|
| ī ("be strong") | 1 3 | apū apū | shūtshish shūtshish | ī ī | iān t |
| n ("arrive") | 1 3 | apū apū | takushin takushin | - - | iān t ⁶⁵ |

The above chart does not represent several phonetic peculiarities of verbs whose stem ends in *-i*. In the 2nd singular form, the combination pūsh+i+in yields the surface form pūshīn (see 2.2.5. above). In addition, there is a clear vowel distinction between the 3s and the 3p forms of AI *i*-stems, as shown by the following cases:

| | | | |
|----|------|----------|-----------------------|
| 3 | apū | pūshit | "he does not go away" |
| 3p | apū | pūshīt | "they do not go away" |
| 3 | nete | uiātshit | "where he lives" |
| 3p | nete | uiātshīt | "where they live" |

A similar opposition between 3rd singular and plural is to be found in *u*- stem verbs, as illustrated by the AI verbs unishinu "he is lost" and pātshinū "he falls down":

| | | | |
|----|------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| 3 | apū | unishint | "he is not lost" ⁶⁶ |
| 3p | apū | unishinīt | "they are not lost" |
| 3 | nete | pātshint | "he does not fall down" |
| 3p | nete | pātshinīt | "they do not fall down" |

Even in AI *ā*-, *e*- and *u*- stem verbs, it might be noted, a phonetic difference would seem to exist, for some NWRM speakers, between the 3rd singular and the 3rd plural forms of the AI indicative conjunct. This phonetic difference is represented in the *ā*- stem chart above by the sign ' in the 3p form. It would appear that the final *-t*' of the 3rd plural is "stronger" and more aspirated than that of the 3rd singular. In certain Lower North shore (Quebec) Montagnais dialects, indeed, a pre-aspirated *-ht* occurs as the 3p inflection, and presumably a "strengthened" *-t*' occurs as the word-final phonetic reflex of this among some NWRM speakers, who seem to pronounce, for example, the 3p form nipāt as [nəpat^h]. To further complicate the matter, certain pitch or tone distinctions seem to be operative, for some speakers, between 3rd sing. and 3rd pl. conjunct forms (see Mailhot 1975:39, and Footnote 21).

As in the independent order, conjunct AI indefinite subject forms display a slight variation when it comes to ā- and e- stems. Thus a final -ānu may be added directly to the root, without the intervention of a stem-final vowel, to produce such forms as apū nipānut "Nobody is sleeping" or apū atussānut "there isn't any work". By the addition of the regular ending provided in the table above, the forms would be apū nipānānut and apū atussenānut.

5.4.2.2. AI Indicative Preterit

As pointed out in 5.4.1.3. above, there is no separate set of preterit endings in the indicative conjunct. Rather, preterits in negative main clauses are formed from the corresponding indicative neutral by means of the preverb tūt, as in the following i- stem AI conjunct:

| Neutral | | |
|----------|-----------------|------------------|
| Apū | ākushiān | "I am not sick" |
| Preterit | | |
| Apū | tūt ākushiān | "I was not sick" |

In subordinate clauses, past reference is generally obtained through the use of the conjunct indicative neutral with changed or e- form.

Since there is no inflectional distinction between conjunct indicative neutral and preterit paradigms, no reference to the preterit will be made in the sections on II, TI and TA conjuncts.

5.4.2.3. AI Dubitative Neutral

The dubitative neutral is typically found in the context of an if - clause in the past, in a wish after the particle tshīmā, or in a clause dependent on a "don't know" main verb, as in the sentence Apu tūt tshissenimak iākushikue "I didn't know whether she was sick". As this example illustrates, the dubitative neutral usually occurs in changed form (cf. the independent ākushu "he is sick").

The entire AI dubitative neutral paradigm is provided for an ā- stem type, and illustrated by the changed conjunct nepākue "if (only) he were asleep" (cf. nipāu "he is asleep").

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|---|---------|
| 1 | nep | ā | uāne |
| 2 | nep | ā | ūne |
| 3 | nep | ā | kue |
| 3' | nep | ā | nikuenī |
| Indf | nep | ā | nānikue |
| Indf' | (Not elicited) | | |
| 1p | nep | ā | uātshe |
| 21 | nep | ā | uākue |
| 2p | nep | ā | uekue |
| 3p | nep | ā | kuent |

First and third singular forms only are provided for the remaining stem types:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example</u> (1 st and 3 rd person singular) | | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------|---|-------------------|
| e ("leave by foot") | 1 | tshiātūt | e | uāne |
| | 3 | tshiātūt | e | kue |
| i ("leave by vehicle") | 1 | pūsh | - | uāne |
| | 3 | pūsh | i | kue ⁶⁷ |
| u ("sing") | 1 | nekam | - | uāne |
| | 3 | nekam | u | kue |
| ī ("be strong") | 1 | shūtshish | ī | uāne |
| | 3 | shūtshish | ī | kue |
| n ("arrive") | 1 | tekushin | - | uāne |
| | 3 | tekushin | i | ikue |

5.4.2.4. AI Dubitative Preterit

Illustrative verb: nipātākue "if he had been asleep"

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|---|-----------|
| 1 | nip | ā | iānākue |
| 2 | nip | ā | inākue |
| 3 | nip | ā | tākue |
| 3' | nip | ā | ntākuenī |
| Indf | nip | ā | nānitākue |
| Indf' | (Not elicited) | | |
| 1p | nip | ā | iātākue |
| 21 | nip | ā | iākuākue |
| 2p | nip | ā | iekuākue |
| 3p | nip | ā | tākuent |

The dubitative preterit conjunct paradigm, then, would appear to be formed from the corresponding indicative neutral conjunct by the addition of -ākue, except in the 3' where an obviative is marked by -ākuenī, and the 3p, where a plural is marked by -ākuent. Note that the changed conjunct is not normally found in the dubitative preterit.

The dubitative preterit conjunct of the other five AI stem-types is illustrated below for 1st and 3rd singular subjects:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example (1st and 3rd person singular)</u> | | | |
|-------------------|--|------------------------|--------|------------------|
| i ("leave") | 1s 3s | pūsh pūsh | - i | iānākue tākue |
| e ("work") | 1s 3s | atuss atuss | e e | iānākue tākue |
| u ("eat") | 1s 3s | mītshish mītshish | u u | iānakue tākue |
| ī ("be strong") | 1s 3s | shūtshish shūtshish | ī ī | iānakue tākue |
| n ("arrive") | 1s 3s | tekushin tekushin | - i | iānakue tākue |

5.4.2.5. AI Relational Forms

As previously outlined, AI and TI independent order relational forms are found in contexts where reference is made to a 3 or 3' animate which does not function directly as actor or goal. The same situation holds in the conjunct. Here the relational is typically found in a clause dependent on a main clause, the 3 or 3' actor or goal of which does not function as actor or goal of the dependent clause - as in the sentence "John came in when I was asleep (i.e. in relation to John)". The AI conjunct relational is formed, in a 1st and 2nd person subject verb, through the addition of a -u- to the AI stem; the conjunct inflections which are then added, however, are not those of the corresponding AI conjunct, but rather closely resemble TA conjunct endings. Note that no special relational forms have been elicited with a 3 or 3' subject; consequently, the 3 and 3' forms to be found below are presumably those of the AI non-relational.

A full indicative neutral relational paradigm is provided for the \bar{a} - stem verb nipāu "his is asleep" in the changed conjunct form - a form it might assume in a dependent clause with past temporal reference (e.g. Nepāuk^u ... "When I was asleep ...")

AI Indicative Neutral Conjunct-Relational

| | | | | |
|----|-----|-----------|---|---------------------|
| 1 | nep | \bar{a} | u | (n)k ^(u) |
| 2 | nep | \bar{a} | u | t |
| 3 | nep | \bar{a} | - | t |
| 3' | nep | \bar{a} | - | ntshī |
| 1p | nip | \bar{a} | u | tshī |
| 21 | nip | \bar{a} | u | āk ^u |
| 2p | nip | \bar{a} | u | ek ^u |
| 3p | nip | \bar{a} | - | t |

The changed conjunct relational of the other stem-types is given below for the 1st and 2nd singular:

| <u>Stem-Final</u> | <u>Example (1st and 3rd person singular)</u> | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------|---|-------------------|
| i ("dance") | 1 | niām | - | uk ^(u) |
| | 2 | niām | - | ut |
| e ("walk") | 1 | pemūt | e | uk ^(u) |
| | 2 | pemūt | e | ut |
| u ("sing") | 1 | nekam | - | uk ^(u) |
| | 2 | nekam | - | ut |
| ī ("be strong") | 1 | shūtshish | ī | uk ^(u) |
| | 2 | shūtshish | ī | ut |
| n ("arrive") | 1 | tekushin | - | uk ^(u) |
| | 2 | tekushin | - | ut |

5.4.2.6. AI Subjunctive

It should be recalled that the subjunctive, formed from the conjunct indicative neutral through the addition of -ī, is generally found in dependent conditional clauses with potentially realizable consequences. An example would be the sentence (Tshek) ākushitshī apū tshika-atusset "If he is sick he won't go to work".

Illustrative verb: nipātshī "if he is asleep"

| | | | |
|----|-----|---|--------------------|
| 1 | nip | ā | iānī ⁶⁸ |
| 2 | nip | ā | inī |
| 3 | nip | ā | tshī |
| 3' | nip | ā | ntshī |
| 1p | nip | ā | iātshī |
| 21 | nip | ā | iāku(ī) |
| 2p | nip | ā | ieku(ī) |
| 3p | nip | ā | tāu(ī) |

The final ī is frequently not heard in the 21, 2p and 3p subject forms. In these cases, the deletion of -ī would result in forms that are still clearly distinguished from the corresponding indicative neutral - the 21 and 2p forms through pronunciation of the final u as a separate syllable, and the 3p form through a subjunctive inflection -tāu, distinct from the indicative inflection -t.

Since the subjunctive endings are regular for all AI stem types, no further examples will be provided.

5.4.2.7. AI Unspecified Subject Forms

A brief discussion of AI unspecified subject forms is to be found in 5.3.1.6. above. Here, the unspecified subject conjunct paradigms elicited in NWRM will simply be listed. It should be recalled that these "unspecified subject" forms are based on a TA stem which is then reprocessed as an AI and given regular AI inflectional endings.

Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: apū uāpamākant "he is not seen"

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|---------------------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam | ukūiān |
| 2 | apū | uāpam | ukūin |
| 3 | apū | uāpam | ākant |
| 3' | apū | uāpam | ākanit/ ākantshī |
| 1p | apū | uāpam | ūkūaāt |
| 21 | apū | uāpam | ukūiāk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpam | ukūiek ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | ākanīt |

The initial vowel of the inflection of 1st and 2nd person "subject" verbs has here been noted as u, although historically this was an i which underwent labialization under the influence of the immediately preceding and following elements.⁶⁹

Dubitative Neutral (changed)

| | | |
|----|--------|--------------|
| 1 | uiāpam | ukūāne |
| 2 | uiāpam | ukūne |
| 3 | uiāpam | ākanikue |
| 3' | uiāpam | ākanikuen(ī) |
| 1p | uiāpam | ukuuātshe |
| 21 | uiāpam | ukuuākue |
| 2p | uiāpam | ukuuekue |
| 3p | uiāpam | ākanikuent |

Dubitative Preterit

| | | |
|----|-------|-------------|
| 1 | uāpam | ukūiānākue |
| 2 | uāpam | ukūinākue |
| 3 | uāpam | ākantākue |
| 3' | uāpam | ākantākuenī |
| 1p | uāpam | ūkūiātākue |
| 21 | uāpam | ukūiākuākue |
| 2p | uāpam | ukūiekuākue |
| 3p | uāpam | ākantākuent |

Subjunctive

| | | |
|----|-------|------------|
| 1 | uāpam | ukūiānī |
| 2 | uāpam | ukūnī |
| 3 | uāpam | ākantshī |
| 3' | uāpam | ākantshī |
| 1p | uāpam | ūkūiātshī |
| 21 | uāpam | ukūiāku(ī) |
| 2p | uāpam | ukūieku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpam | ākantāu(ī) |

As usual, the changed conjunct form of the subjunctive results in an iterative form, as in uiāpamukūiānī "whenever I am seen".

5.4.2.8. AI Reflexives and Reciprocals

Reflexives and reciprocals, like unspecified subjects forms, are based on a TA stem; in the case of the former, this stem is then reprocessed as an AI u-stem. Further details can be obtained from 5.3.1.7. above; here the conjunct paradigms of reflexives and reciprocals are simply listed.

AI REFLEXIVES

Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: apū uāpamitīshut "he does not see himself"

| | | | | |
|----|-----|-------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | iān |
| 2 | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | in |
| 3 | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | t |
| 3' | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | ntshī |
| 1p | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | iāt |
| 21 | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | iāk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | iek ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpam itīsh | u | t |

Dubitative Neutral (changed)

| | | | |
|----|-------------|---|---------|
| 1 | uāpam itīsh | | uāne |
| 2 | uāpam itīsh | | ūne |
| 3 | uāpam itīsh | u | kue |
| 3' | uāpam itīsh | u | nikuenī |
| 1p | uāpam itīsh | | uātshe |
| 21 | uāpam itīsh | | uākue |
| 2p | uāpam itīsh | | uekue |
| 3p | uāpam itīsh | u | kuent |

Dubitative Preterit

| | | | |
|----|-------------|---|------------|
| 1 | uāpam itīsh | u | iānākue |
| 2 | uāpam itīsh | u | inākue |
| 3 | uāpam itīsh | u | tākue |
| 3' | uāpam itīsh | u | ntākuen(ī) |
| 1p | uāpam itīsh | u | iātākue |
| 21 | uāpam itīsh | u | iākuākue |
| 2p | uāpam itīsh | u | iekuākue |
| 3p | uāpam itīsh | u | tākuent |

Subjunctive

| | | | |
|----|-------------|---|---------|
| 1 | uāpam itīsh | u | iānī |
| 2 | uāpam itīsh | u | inī |
| 3 | uāpam itīsh | u | tshī |
| 3' | uāpam itīsh | u | ntshī |
| 1p | uāpam itīsh | u | iātshī |
| 21 | uāpam itīsh | u | iāku(ī) |
| 2p | uāpam itīsh | u | ieku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpam itīsh | u | tāu(ī) |

AI RECIPROCAL

Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: apū uāpamituiāt "we do not see one another"

| | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|---|------------------|
| 1p | apū | uāpam it | u | iāt |
| 21 | apū | uāpam it | u | iāk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpam it | u | iek ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpam it | u | (ī)t |

Dubitative Neutral (changed)

| | | | | |
|----|-----|-----------|---|-------------|
| 1p | apū | uiāpam it | u | iātshe |
| 21 | apū | uiāpam it | u | iākue/uākue |
| 2p | apū | uiāpam it | u | iekue |
| 3p | apū | uiāpam it | u | kuent |

Dubitative Preterit

| | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|---|----------|
| 1p | apū | uāpam it | u | iātākue |
| 21 | apū | uāpam it | u | iākuākue |
| 2p | apū | uāpam it | u | iekuākue |
| 3p | apū | uāpam it | u | tākuent |

5.4.3. Inanimate Intransitive (II) Paradigms

As seen in the independent order paradigms (section 5.3.1.2.), II verbs are of three basic types: ā- stems, e- stems and n- stems.

5.4.3.1. II Indicative Neutral

ā- stems: apū uāpāt "it is not white"

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|---|------------------------|
| 3 | apū | uāp | ā | t |
| 3p | apū | uāp | ā | tshī/kāu ⁷¹ |
| 3' | apū | uāp | ā | nt |
| 3'p | apū | uāp | ā | ntshī/nikāu |

e- stems: apū tshītāputet "it does not float away"

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 3 | apū | tshītāput | e | k |
| 3p | apū | tshītāput | e | kī |
| 3' | apū | tshītāput | e | nit ⁷¹ |
| 3'p | apū | tshītāput | e | ntshī/nikāu |

n- stems: apū āpatīk "it is not useful"

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------|----|-------------------|
| 3 | apū | āpat/iāpat | ī | k |
| 3p | apū | āpat/iāpat | ī | kī |
| 3' | apū | āpat/iāpat | in | nit ⁷² |
| 3'p | apū | āpat/iāpat | in | ntshī/nikāu |

The n- stem forms above are the result of a historical change whereby the expected form *āpatīnk early became āpatīhk in all dialects of Cree-Montagnais. In NWRM, ensuingly, the h preaspiration is lost before a consonant (see 2.3.1. above), and in disappearing lengthens the preceding vowel.

The n- stem example given above terminates in -in in the independent indicative neutral (i.e. āpatin "it is useful"). Other n- stems, however, have a final in -an, such as animan "it is difficult/expensive" and tshimuan "it is raining". Such verbs would have a 3s form in -āk (<*ank → ahk) i.e., apū ānimāk, apū tshimāk.

5.4.3.2. II Dubitative Neutral

While the dubitative neutral is often found as a changed conjunct, the unchanged form will be given here, as would typically be found after the particle tshīmā "I wish/if only".

ā- stems: uāpākue "if (only) it were white"

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-----------|
| 3 | uāp | ā | kue |
| 3p | uāp | ā | kuen(ī) |
| 3' | uāp | ā | nikue |
| 3'p | uāp | ā | nikuen(ī) |

e- stems: tshītāputekue "if (only) it would float away"

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|-----------|
| 3 | tshītāput | e | kue |
| 3p | tshītāput | e | kuen(ī) |
| 3' | tshītāput | e | nikue |
| 3'p | tshītāput | e | nikuen(ī) |

n- stems: āpatinikue "if (only) it were useful"

| | | | |
|-----|------|----|---------------------|
| 3 | āpat | in | ikue |
| 3p | āpat | in | ikuenī |
| 3' | āpat | in | nikue ⁷³ |
| 3'p | āpat | in | nikuen(ī) |

5.4.3.3. II Dubitative Preterit

ā- stems: uāpātākue "if (only) it had been white"

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|------------------------|
| 3 | uāp | ā | tākue/kākue |
| 3p | uāp | ā | tākuen(ī)/kākuen(ī) |
| 3' | uāp | ā | ntākue/nikākue |
| 3'p | uāp | ā | ntākuen(ī)/nikākuen(ī) |

e- stems: tshītāputētākue "if (only) it had floated away"

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|----------------------|
| 3 | tshītāput | e | tākue/kākue |
| 3p | tshītāput | e | tākuen(ī)/kākuen(ī) |
| 3' | tshītāput | e | ntākue/nikākue |
| 3'p | tshītāput | e | ntākuenī/nikākuen(ī) |

n- stems: āpatintākue "if (only) it had been useful"

| | | | |
|-----|------|----|----------------------|
| 3 | āpat | in | tākue/ikākue |
| 3p | āpat | in | tākuen(ī)/ikākuen(ī) |
| 3' | āpat | in | ntākue/nikākue |
| 3'p | āpat | in | ntākuenī/nikākuen(ī) |

Among certain n- stems, at least, a stem variation is to be found in the dubitative preterit. As seen in the II indicative neutral conjunct, n- stems take -k rather than -t as their 3rd singular inflection. In the dubitative preterit, however, a stem-final -n plus tākue may be found, apparently by analogy with ā- and e- stem types. The n- stem final may also take dubitative preterit inflections in -k, the connective vowel i being inserted before this -k (e.g. ikākue). Alternative forms do exist for n- stem dubitative preterits, however, in which the regular rule of *-nk → hk → (V(long)k) is operative, as in tshimuākākue "if (only) it had rained", or āpatīkākue "if (only) it had been useful".

5.4.3.4. II Subjunctive

ā- stems: uāpātshī "if it is white"

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-------------------|
| 3 | uāp | ā | tshī |
| 3p | uāp | ā | kāu(ī)/tāu(ī) |
| 3' | uāp | ā | ntshī |
| 3'p | uāp | ā | nikāu(ī)/nitāu(ī) |

e- stems: tshītāputetshī "if it floats away"

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 3 | tshītāput | e | tshī |
| 3p | tshītāput | e | kāu(ī)/tāu(ī) |
| 3' | tshītāput | e | ntshī |
| 3'p | tshītāput | e | nikāu(ī)/nitāu(ī) |

n- stems: āpatīkī "if it is useful"

| | | | |
|-----|------|----|-----------------|
| 3 | āpat | ī | kī |
| 3p | āpat | in | ikāu(ī)/tāu(ī) |
| 3' | āpat | in | ntshī |
| 3'p | āpat | in | nikāuī/nitāu(ī) |

5.4.3.5. II Unspecified Subject Forms

II unspecified subject forms, it will be recalled, are based on a TI stem to which has been added an II final (akan) and an II inflection. Paradigms are given below merely for apū uāpātakant "it is not seen".

Indicative Neutral

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|------|---------|
| 3 | apū | uāpāt | akan | t |
| 3p | apū | uāpāt | akan | tshī |
| 3' | apū | uāpāt | akan | it/tshī |
| 3'p | apū | uāpāt | akan | tshī |

The first vowel of the inflection may be influenced by the shape of the TI stem, as in apū miskākant "it is not found", from miskau+akant (cf. Footnote 58).

Dubitative Neutral

| | | | |
|-----|-------|------|----------|
| 3 | uāpāt | akan | ikue |
| 3p | uāpāt | akan | ikuen(ī) |
| 3' | uāpāt | akan | ikue |
| 3'p | uāpāt | akan | ikuen(ī) |

Dubitative Preterit

| | | | |
|-----|-------|------|-----------|
| 3s | uāpāt | akan | tākue |
| 3p | uāpāt | akan | tākuen(ī) |
| 3's | uāpāt | akan | tākue |
| 3'p | uāpāt | akan | tākuen(ī) |

Subjunctive

| | | | |
|-----|-------|------|---------------|
| 3s | uāpāt | akan | tshī |
| 3p | uāpāt | akan | tāu(ī) |
| 3's | uāpāt | akan | tshī |
| 3'p | uāpāt | akan | tāu(ī)/kāu(ī) |

5.4.4. Transitive Inanimate (TI) Paradigms

5.4.4.1. TI Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: apū uāpātāk "he does not see it"

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|-------------------|
| 1 | apū | uāpāt | amān |
| 2 | apū | uāpāt | aman |
| 3 | apū | uāpāt | āk |
| 3' | apū | uāpāt | amintshī |
| 1p | apū | uāpāt | amāt |
| 21 | apū | uāpāt | amāk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpāt | amek ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpāt | āk(āu) |

In the case of TI roots in ej (e.g. the independent indicative neutral pisteim "he strikes it by accident"), the initial a of the above inflections would be replaced by ej, as in the 1st singular apū pisteimān and the 3rd singular apū pisteik.

5.4.4.2. TI Dubitative Neutral

The TI dubitative neutral and preterit conjunct are illustrated in the context of a non-realized wish after the particle tshīmā.

Illustrative verb: tshīmā uāpātamukue "if only he were seeing it"

| | | | |
|----|----|-------|--------------|
| 1 | Tā | uāpāt | amuāne |
| 2 | | uāpāt | amūne |
| 3 | | uāpāt | amukue |
| 3' | | uāpāt | aminīkuen(ī) |
| 1p | | uāpāt | amuākue |
| 21 | | uāpāt | amākue |
| 2p | | uāpāt | amekue |
| 3p | | uāpāt | amukuent |

5.4.4.3. TI Dubitative Preterit

Illustrative verb: tshīmā uāpātākue "if only he had seen it"

| | | |
|----|-------|---------------|
| 1 | uāpāt | amānākue |
| 2 | uāpāt | amanākue |
| 3 | uāpāt | ākākue |
| 3' | uāpāt | amintākuen(ī) |
| 1p | uāpāt | amātākue |
| 21 | uāpāt | amākuākue |
| 2p | uāpāt | amekuākue |
| 3p | uāpāt | ākākuent |

5.4.4.4. TI Relational Forms

The occurrence of the TI relational conjunct has been discussed above under the AI relational conjunct. As in the TI independent, TI relationals are formed through the addition of -amu- to the TI stem; in the conjunct, however, this is followed by an essentially TA rather than a TI conjunct inflection. As seen in the AI relational conjunct, the 3rd person animate to which the dependent clause verb relates may be the actor/subject of the main clause, as in the sentence Tshiātātamuk niuāpamuku "He saw me looking at it".

A relational paradigm is provided for the indicative neutral conjunct apū uāpātamuk^u "I don't see it (e.g. John's book)", as well as for the dubitative preterit uāpātamukākue "if I had seen it (3')". All other relationals can easily be formed from a TI stem through the addition of -amu- and the corresponding TA conjunct inflections.

TI Indicative Neutral Conjunct - Relational

| | | | | |
|----|------|-------|-----|--------------------|
| 1 | apū | uāpāt | amu | k ^{(u)74} |
| 2 | apū | uāpāt | amu | t |
| 3 | apū | uāpāt | amu | āt |
| 3' | (apū | uāpāt | amu | āt) |
| 1p | apū | uāpāt | amu | tshīt |
| 21 | apū | uāpāt | amu | āk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpāt | amu | ek ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpāt | amu | āt |

TI Dubitative Preterit Conjunct - Relational

| | | | |
|----|--------|-----|---------------------|
| 1 | uāpāt | amu | kākue |
| 2 | uāpāt | amu | tākue |
| 3 | uāpāt | amu | ātākue/ākākue |
| 3' | (uāpāt | amu | ātākue/ākākue) |
| 1p | uāpāt | amu | ātshīkākue |
| 21 | uāpāt | amu | ākuākue |
| 2p | uāpāt | amu | ekuākue |
| 3p | uāpāt | amu | ātākuen(t)/akākuent |

5.4.4.5. TI Subjunctive

Illustrative verb: (tshek) uāpātākī "if he sees it"

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 1 | uāpāt | amānī |
| 2 | uāpāt | amanī |
| 3 | uāpāt | ākī |
| 3' | uāpāt | amintshī |
| 1p | uāpāt | amātshī |
| 21 | uāpāt | amāku(ī) |
| 2p | uāpāt | ameku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpāt | ākāu(ī) |

Of course, the subjunctive paradigm can also be made relational, given a context of the type described above. Such forms would consist of a TI root + amu + essentially TA conjunct inflections, as illustrated in the following relational TI subjunctive paradigm:

| | | | |
|----|--------|-----|----------|
| 1 | uāpāt | amu | kī |
| 2 | uāpāt | amu | tshī |
| 3 | uāpāt | amu | ātshī |
| 3' | (uāpāt | amu | ātshī) |
| 1p | uāpāt | amu | tshītshī |
| 21 | uāpāt | amu | āku(ī) |
| 2p | uāpāt | amu | eku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpāt | amu | ātāu(ī) |

5.4.5. Transitive Animate (TA) Paradigms

The presentation of TA conjunct paradigms follows the order used in the TA independent. Thus 3rd person goal and actor forms are given first, followed by 2 actor → 1 goal and 1 actor → 2 goal forms.

5.4.5.1. TA Indicative Neutral

Illustrative verb: apa uāpamāt "he does not see him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

As in the independent order, this paradigm includes 3 actor → 3' goal and 3' actor → 3" goal forms. Note that only 1st and 2nd person subjects are marked for plurality of the 3rd person goal.

3s goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|-----------------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam | āk |
| 2 | apū | uāpam | at |
| 3 | apū | uāpam | āt |
| 3' | apū | uāpam | āntshī |
| 1p | apū | uāpam | atshīt |
| 21 | apū | uāpam | āk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpam | ek ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | āt |

3p goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|--------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam | ākāu |
| 2 | apū | uāpam | atāu |
| 3 | apū | uāpam | āt |
| 3' | apū | uāpam | āntshī |
| 1p | apū | uāpam | atshīt |
| 21 | apū | uāpam | ākut |
| 2p | apū | uāpam | ekut |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | āt |

Should the TA stem to which the above endings are added end in a long vowel, the initial short a of the inflection will be deleted - thus for the stem shātshī- "love", the 1st and 2nd singular forms are shātshīk and shātshīt, respectively. Where, however, the inflection begins with a long vowel, both stem-final and inflection-initial vowels are maintained, as in the 3rd singular shātshīāt or the 2nd plural shātshīek^u.

It may be recalled that in the TA independent, slight variations were noted in the phonetic form of certain inflections, depending on the final element of the TA stem to which they were added. In the TA conjunct, similarly, inflections added to TA stems ending in a short vowel will display quite regular phonetic variants. Thus stems ending in -u (<au>), when followed by an inflection the first element of which is i (<*e>), undergo a regular rule by which au + i → ā, as in apū miskātāk^u "he does not find us (incl.)", from apū miskau + itāk^u.

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal

1s goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|----|
| 3 | apū | uāpam | it |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | īt |

Stems in u- (<au>) have a 3 singular inflection -ut, as in apū miskut "he does not find me" (by regular phonological rule from miskau + it, the -i of the -it being historically *i, not *e - cf. Footnote 58).

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|--------|
| 3 | apū | uāpam | inamīt |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | īmīt |

21 goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|-------------------|
| 3 | apū | uāpam | itāk ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | itākut |

2s goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|-------|
| 3 | apū | uāpam | isk |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | iskāu |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|-------------------|
| 3 | apū | uāpam | itāk ^u |
| 3p | apū | uāpam | itākut |

c) 3' actor (either sing. or pl.) → 3 goal3s goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|------|
| 3' | apū | uāpam | ukut |
|----|-----|-------|------|

3p goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|------|
| 3' | apū | uāpam | ukut |
|----|-----|-------|------|

The original inflection, -ikut, has been labialized to ukut [og^wʊt] after a stem ending in a consonant. In other stems -ikut is evident, as in apū nipeikut "he (3') does not kill him", or else the initial i of the inflection is lost in the surface form, as in apū miskākut "he (3') does not find him" (<miskau + ikut) by regular phonological rule).

d) 3' actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.)

| | | |
|-----|-------|----------|
| apū | uāpam | ukuntshī |
|-----|-------|----------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal1s goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|------------------|
| 2 | apū | uāpam | īn |
| 2p | apū | uāpam | īek ^u |

"You (s) do not kill me" would be translated apū nipeīn. Stems in u (<au) retain this u before a following long vowel: hence apū miskūīn "you do not find me" or apū uītamūīn "you do not warn me".

1p goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|-----|
| 2 | apū | uāpam | iāt |
| 2p | apū | uāpam | iāt |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal

2s goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam | itān |
| 1p | apū | uāpam | itāt |

2p goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|--------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam | itakut |
| 1p | apū | uāpam | itāt |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|---------------------|
| 1 | apū | uāpam | ?imi(ni)tshī |
| 2 | apū | uāpam | imiskī |
| 1p | apū | uāpam | iminamīt |
| 21 | apū | uāpam | imitāk ^u |
| 2p | apū | uāpam | imitāku |

5.4.5.2. TA Dubitative Neutral

The dubitative neutral conjunct is usually found in the changed form, in which it is given below.⁷⁵

Illustrative verb: uiāpamākue "if he saw him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

| | | |
|----|--------|----------------|
| 1 | uiāpam | āutshe |
| 2 | uiāpam | āutshe |
| 3 | uiāpam | ākue |
| 3' | uiāpam | ānikuenī |
| 1p | uiāpam | āu(āu)tshītshe |
| 21 | uiāpam | āuākue |
| 2p | uiāpam | euekue |
| 3p | uiāpam | ākūent |

TA stems in u (<au) here display u, as in uiātamūtshe "if I warned him", <*uiātamauāutshe.

A 3rd plural object is represented with all 1st and 2nd person subjects through the addition of -nt to the singular form as in uiāpamāutshent "if I saw them".

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal

1s goal

| | | |
|----|--------|--------|
| 3 | uiāpam | ukue |
| 3p | uiāpam | ukuent |

1p goal

| | | |
|----|--------|----------|
| 3 | uiāpam | ikākue |
| 3p | uiāpam | ikākuent |

21 goal

| | | |
|----|--------|--------|
| 3 | uiāpam | itāku |
| 3p | uiāpam | itākut |

2s goal

| | | |
|----|--------|---------|
| 3 | uiāpam | iskue |
| 3p | uiāpam | iskuent |

2p goal

| | | |
|----|--------|------------|
| 3 | uiāpam | ikuātshent |
| 3p | uiāpam | ikuātshent |

c) 3' actor (sing. or pl.) → 3 goal3s goal

| | | |
|----|--------|--------|
| 3' | uiāpam | ukukue |
|----|--------|--------|

3p goal

| | | |
|----|--------|----------|
| 3' | uiāpam | ukukuent |
|----|--------|----------|

d) 3' actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.)

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| uiāpam | ?ukunikue |
|--------|-----------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal1s goal

| | | |
|----|--------|-----------------|
| 2 | uiāpam | ūne |
| 2p | uiāpam | ?āuātshe/?iekue |

1p goal

| | | |
|----|--------|-------------|
| 2 | uiāpam | - (not |
| 2p | uiāpam | - elicited) |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal2s goal

| | | |
|----|--------|-----------|
| 1 | uiāpam | ituāne |
| 1p | uiāpam | itāuātshe |

2p goal

| | | |
|----|--------|-----------|
| 1 | uiāpam | ?itukute |
| 1p | uiāpam | itāuātshe |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

(Forms unavailable)

5.4.5.3. TA Dubitative PreteritIllustrative verb: uāpamātākue "if he had seen him"a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-------------------------|
| 1 | uāpam | akākue |
| 2 | uāpam | atākue |
| 3 | uāpam | ātākue |
| 3' | uāpam | ā(n)tākuen(ī) |
| 1p | uāpam | tshītākue |
| 21 | uāpam | ākuākue |
| 2p | uāpam | ekuākue |
| 3p | uāpam | ātākuent/ ?akuākuent |

An example of a 1 → 3 form for a TA stem originally in -au is miskukākue "if I had found him", from *miskau+akākue.

A 3rd plural object is represented in 1st and 2nd subject forms through the addition of -nt, as in Tshīma uāpamakākuent "if only I had seen them".

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal1s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 3 | uāpam | itākue |
| 3p | uāpam | itākuent |

1p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|--------------|
| 3 | uāpam | inamītākue |
| 3p | uāpam | inamītākuent |

21 goal

| | | |
|----|-------|---------------|
| 3 | uāpam | itāk(u)ākue |
| 3p | uāpam | itāk(u)ākuent |

2s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-----------|
| 3 | uāpam | iskākue |
| 3p | uāpam | iskākuent |

2p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-------------|
| 3 | uāpam | ?itāuākue |
| 3p | uāpam | ?itāuākuent |

c) 3' actor → 3 goal (sing. or pl.)3s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 3' | uāpam | ukutākue |
|----|-------|----------|

3p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|--------------------------|
| 3' | uāpam | ukutshent/ ukutākuent |
|----|-------|--------------------------|

d) 3'' actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.)

| | |
|-------|--------------|
| uāpam | ?uku(n)tākue |
|-------|--------------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal1s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 2 | uāpam | īnākue |
| 2p | uāpam | iekuākue |

1p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|---------|
| 2 | uāpam | iātākue |
| 2p | uāpam | iātākue |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal2s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 1 | uāpam | itānākue |
| 1p | uāpam | itātākue |

2p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|------------------------|
| 1 | uāpam | itātākue/itākuākue |
| 1p | uāpam | itātākuent/itākuākuent |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal(Forms unavailable)⁷⁶5.4.5.4. TA -im- Forms

TA forms in which -im- is inserted directly before the inflection - as outlined in 5.3.4.5. above - are to be found when the object of the verb is expressly marked as 3' rather than the expected 3rd person (or as 3" rather than the expected 3' when the verbal subject is 3rd person). The TA -im- conjunct, it should be noted, differs from the corresponding TA "simple" conjunct not only through the insertion of -im- directly after a verb stem, but also through the addition of -ī after the regular TA conjunct inflection. The overall result, indeed, is a paradigm the inflections of which in 1st and 2nd person subject indicative neutral forms do not differ substantially from those of the TA subjunctive outlined in 5.4.5.5. below.

The entire paradigm of TA -im- forms is presented only for the indicative neutral conjunct. As always, an indicative preterit would be formed from the indicative neutral + the preverb tūt. The stem nipei- "kill" is used by way of example, as in the sentence Apū nipeimakī Tshan utāuīa "I am not killing John's father".

Indicative Neutral

| <u>3' object</u> | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | | <u>Verb Stem</u> | <u>-im</u> | <u>Inflection</u> |
| 1 | apū | nipei | m (after stem in vowel) | akī |
| 2 | apū | nipei | m | atshī |
| 1p | apū | nipei | m | atshītshī |
| 21 | apū | nipei | m | aku(ī) |
| 2p | apū | nipei | m | eku(ī) |
| <u>3'' object</u> | | | | |
| 3 | apū | nipei | m | āt |
| 3p | apū | nipei | m | ātshī |

Note that the 3rd person subject forms do differ from the corresponding TA subjunctive forms outlined below.

An example of a dubitative (changed) neutral conjunct is provided in the clause nepeimāutshen(ī) Tshān ūtāuīa "if I had killed John's father". Here, as in the dubitative preterit Tshima nipeimakākuen(ī) Tshān ūtāuīa "If only I had killed John's father", the -im- forms also display the addition of -n or -nī to the corresponding conjunct forms without -im.

5.4.5.5. TA Subjunctive

Illustrative verb: (tshek) uāpamātshī "if he sees him"

a) 1/2/3 actor → 3 goal

3s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|---------------------|
| 1 | uāpam | akī |
| 2 | uāpam | atshī ⁷⁷ |
| 3 | uāpam | ātshī |
| 3' | uāpam | āntshī |
| 1p | uāpam | atshītī/atshītshī |
| 21 | uāpam | āku(ī) |
| 2p | uāpam | eku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpam | ātāu(ī) |

3p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-------------------|
| 1 | uāpam | akāu(ī) |
| 2 | uāpam | atāu(ī) |
| 3 | uāpam | ātshī |
| 3' | uāpam | āntshī |
| 1p | uāpam | atshītāu |
| 21 | uāpam | āku(ī)/akut |
| 2p | uāpam | eku(ī)/ekuāu/ekut |
| 3p | uāpam | āntsh(ī) |

As always, 3rd person subject forms are indifferent to the number of the object.

b) 3 actor → 1/2 goal1s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-----------|
| 3 | uāpam | itī/itshī |
| 3p | uāpam | itāu(ī) |

1p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-----------|
| 3 | uāpam | imītshī |
| 3p | uāpam | imītāu(ī) |

21 goal

| | | |
|----|-------|--------------------|
| 3 | uāpam | itāku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpam | itāku(ī)/itākutshī |

2s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 3 | uāpam | iskī |
| 3p | uāpam | iskāu(ī) |

2p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 3 | uāpam | itāku(ī) |
| 3p | uāpam | itāku(ī) |

c) 3' actor (sing. or pl.) → 3 goal3s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|---------|
| 3' | uāpam | ukutshī |
|----|-------|---------|

3p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-----------|
| 3' | uāpam | ukutāu(ī) |
|----|-------|-----------|

In the 3' actor forms, the initial u of the inflection comes from an i which has been labialized by the surrounding labialized elements. No such labialization emerges in a stem ending in a vowel (e.g. nipeikutshī "if he (3') kills him (3'"); stems ending in -u (<-au) here display the expected ā as in uītamākutshī "if he (3') warns him (3')", from uītamau+ikutshī.

d) 3' actor (sing./pl.) → 3' goal (sing./pl.)

| | |
|-------|-----------|
| uāpam | ?ukuntshī |
|-------|-----------|

e) 2 actor → 1 goal

1s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|---------|
| 2 | uāpam | īnī |
| 2p | uāpam | ieku(ī) |

1p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|--------|
| 2 | uāpam | iātshī |
| 2p | uāpam | iātshī |

f) 1 actor → 2 goal

2s goal

| | | |
|----|-------|---------|
| 1 | uāpam | itānī |
| 1p | uāpam | itātshī |

2p goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-----------|
| 1 | uāpam | itakutshī |
| 1p | uāpam | itātshī |

g) 3' actor → 1/2 goal

| | | |
|----|-------|-------------|
| 1 | uāpam | iminitchī |
| 2 | uāpam | imiskī |
| 1p | uāpam | iminamītshī |
| 21 | uāpam | imitākunī |
| 2p | uāpam | imitākuī |

As in other verb classes, the changed form of the subjunctive - i.e. the form produced by change in the initial-syllable vowel - will produce an iterative meaning, as in:

| | |
|---|--|
| Uiāpamātshī eimieu | "Whenever he sees her he talks to her" |
| Uetinātshī... (cf. Independent indicative neutral <u>utineu</u>) | "Whenever he takes her by the hand..." |
| Tshessenimātshī auenua... (cf. Independent indicative neutral <u>tshissenimeu</u>) | "Whenever he knows somebody..." |

6. AN OVERVIEW OF NWRM SENTENCE TYPES

This section will provide an introduction to the chief sentence types elicited to date in NWRM, and will serve in part to expand and amplify what has already been outlined in section 5.

It should be emphasized that what follows must be regarded as only a first step in the description of Montagnais sentence types. Further, most of the examples provided have been elicited in isolation, and do not form part of larger narrative segments which would provide details on nuances of meaning that are now noticeably absent.

It should also be noted that virtually no mention is made in this sketch of word order. A brief comment, however, should be made. While simple declarative statements would typically appear to be verb-initial, many examples have been found exhibiting subject-initial verb-final order. Whether these represent a further stylistic possibility or are merely the effect of interference from English remains to be seen. Note that some details on Algonquian word-order are to be found in Ford (1979a).

6.1. SIMPLE SENTENCES INVOLVING THE INDEPENDENT ORDER

6.1.1. Declarative Sentences

As is evident from section 5. above, normal one-clause affirmative declarative sentences take the appropriate tense and mode of the independent order (i.e. indicative neutral or preterit, dubitative neutral or preterit). Not every declarative sentence need contain a verb, however. Occasionally, English sentences containing an existential verb "be" correspond to verbless sentences in NWRM, as in:

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Mue nistesh (lit. This my older brother) | "This is my older brother" |
|--|----------------------------|

Locative "be", on the contrary, usually appears, as in:

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Mashineikan nete <u>asteu</u> mītshishuākant (lit. Book there is table - locative) | "The book is on the table" |
|--|----------------------------|

Two or more simple declarative sentences may be conjoined by the use of connective particles māk "and" or kie "and, also":

| | |
|--|--|
| Tshītūteu māk/kie apū tshikatshī-takushint | "He is leaving and won't be coming back" |
|--|--|

The connective particle ek^u "and" (pronounced [ego] before a consonant) is also found, as in:

| | |
|---|--|
| Mue kātshiskutamātshet eku ne natukunīsh | "This (person here) is a teacher and that (one there) is a doctor" |
|---|--|

Two simple sentences may also be conjoined by muk^u "but" (historically from mik^u by labialization as described in 2.2.1. above):

| | |
|---|---|
| Tshika-tshītūteu muk ^u tshika-takushinu kāu | "He will be leaving but he will be back later" |
|---|---|

6.1.2. Yes-No Questions

A question designed to elicit an answer of "yes" or "no" is formed from the corresponding declarative sentence by the use of an enclitic -a, which is normally affixed to the first word of the sentence. Contrast the following statements and corresponding yes-no questions in the a) and b) sentences following:

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1a) | Tshān uāpameu utema | "John sees his dog" |
| b) | Uāpameu-a Tshān utema? | "Does John see his dog?" |
| 2a) | Tshika-pūshu uāpantshī | "He will be going away tomorrow" |
| b) | Tshika-pūshu-a uāpantshī? | "Will he be going away tomorrow?" |

The b) examples above represent ordinary unmarked question order, with the verb in sentence-initial position. Should the topic of the question be another sentence element, however, this element would become sentence initial, with enclitic -a attached to it rather than to the verb. Thus if sentence 2b) had been construed as a question about the time of departure, the sentence would have read Uāpantshī-a tshika-pūshu? i.e., "Is it tomorrow that he will be leaving?"

The enclitic -ma would seem to be used instead of 0a when a yes answer is expected.

6.2. SIMPLE SENTENCES INVOLVING THE CONJUNCT ORDER

As was pointed out in 5.4.1. above, the conjunct is the verbal order largely restricted to subordinate clause usage. Its use in simple sentences, or main clauses, is largely restricted to two cases: negative main clauses and question-word questions.⁷⁸

6.2.1. Negative Sentences

A negative main clause is formed by the negative particle apū + the indicative neutral conjunct of the verb (or apū + tūt + indicative neutral conjunct if the reference is to a non-event in the past). Since entire paradigms of main-clause negatives have been provided in section 5. above, no further examples will be given here.

Recall that in subordinate clauses, a negative is formed by means of the particle ekā [ga] as in the sentence Nitshissenimāu tshe ekā takushint, "I know he won't come".⁷⁹

6.2.2. Question-Word Questions

Question-word questions in Montagnais are introduced by the following interrogative particles and pronouns: tshekuān "what"; tshekuen/auen "who"; tānite "where"; tānispish "when" (regularly heard as tāispish); tshekuan ut "why"; tshek/tānen(an) "which, what kind of"; tān ispish "how much/how many"; tān ish- "how". These interrogatives are normally followed by the changed form of the conjunct order of the verb; however, in those cases where the interrogative marker consists of two elements, the vowel change regularly affects the second of these elements, to produce, for example, tshekuān uet "why", tān espish "how much". Note that "how many" may also be expressed by means of tān + the equivalent of a changed conjunct, as will be seen below.

The exact form of the verb or particle is dependent on the temporal reference of the event. The following three possibilities arise in question-word questions:

| <u>Temporal Reference</u> | <u>Verb Form</u> |
|---|---|
| Present Reference - reference to an event in progress | Indicative neutral changed conjunct (or the e-conjunct for verbs whose first syllable vowel is ū) |
| Future Reference | <u>tshe</u> + indic. neutral conjunct |
| Past Reference | Preterit indicative independent (occasionally when reference is to a recent past, the indicative neutral changed conjunct may be found) |

Examples will now be provided for each of the above interrogatives in each of the three temporal references just outlined. For ease of reference, the 3rd singular independent indicative neutral form may be provided in brackets.

PRESENT REFERENCE

(with changed or e- conjunct)

| | | |
|----------|---|---|
| WHAT | Tshekuān <u>e-tūtaman?</u> (cf. indep. indic. neutral <u>tūtam</u> "he does it") Tshekuānnu ⁸⁰ netuenitāk? (cf. <u>natuenitam</u>) | "What are you (s) doing?" "What does he want?" |
| WHO | Auen <u>uiāpamukut?</u> (cf. <u>uāpameu</u>) | "Who is seeing him?" |
| WHERE | Tānite <u>uā-itūtein?</u> (cf. <u>uī-itūteu</u>) | "Where do you (s) intend to go?" |
| WHEN | Tānispish <u>etussein?</u> (cf. <u>atusseu</u>) | "When are you (s) working?" |
| WHY | Tshekuān <u>uet etussein?</u> | "Why are you (s) working?" |
| WHICH | Tshek mashineikan <u>iāpatshitāin?</u> (cf. <u>āpatshitāu</u>) | "Which book are you using?" (what kind of) |
| HOW MUCH | Tān <u>espish takuāk?</u> ⁸¹ (cf. <u>takuan</u>) | "How much is there?" |

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| HOW MANY | (Animate) Tān <u>etātishīt</u> ⁸² mistukut? (Inanimate) Tān <u>etātīkī</u> mashineikana? | "How many trees are there?" "How many books are there?" |
| HOW | Tān <u>eshinikāshut</u> ? (cf. <u>ishinikashu</u>) | "What is his name?" (lit. How is he called?) |

FUTURE REFERENCE

(tshe- conjunct)

| | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------------|
| WHAT | Tshekuān <u>tshe-tūtaman</u> ? | "What will you (s) be doing?" |
| WHO | Auen <u>tshe-mītshishut</u> ? | "Who will be eating?" |
| WHERE | Tānite <u>tshe-mishikāt</u> ? | "Where will he arrive?" |
| WHEN | Tān <u>tshe-ispish uāpamāt</u> ? | "When will he be seeing her?" |
| WHY | Tshekuān <u>tshe-ut atussein</u> ? | "Why will you (s) be working?" |
| WHICH | Tshek/Tānenan mashineikan <u>tshe-āpatshitāin</u> ? ⁸³ | "Which book will you be using?" |

| | | |
|----------|--|---|
| HOW MUCH | Tān <u>tshe-ispish takuāk?</u> | "How much will there be?" |
| HOW MANY | (Animate) Tān <u>tshe-tātishīt mistukut?</u> (Inanimate) Tān <u>tshe-tātīkī mashineikana?</u> | "How many trees will there be?" "How many books will there be?" |
| HOW | Tān <u>tshe-ishinikāshut?</u> | "What will his name be?" |

PAST REFERENCE

(independent indicative preterit)

| | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|
| WHAT | Tshekuān <u>tshitūte?</u> | "What did you (s) do?" |
| WHO | Auen <u>tshītūtepan?</u> | "Who was leaving?" |
| WHERE | Tānite <u>tshiuāpamā?</u> | "Where did you (s) see him?" |
| WHEN | Tānispish <u>tshitatusse?</u> | "When did you (s) work?" |
| WHY | Tshekuānnu <u>uet tūtamūpan?</u> ⁸⁴ | "Why did he do it?" |
| WHICH | Tshek/Tānen mashineikan <u>tshitāpatshitā?</u> | "Which book did you use?" |

| | | |
|----------|--|--|
| HOW MUCH | Tān <u>espish takuanīpan?</u> | "How much was there?" |
| HOW MANY | (Animate) Tān <u>etātishīpan</u> mistukut? (Inanimate) Tān <u>etātīnīpanī</u> mashineikana? | "How many trees were there?" "How many books were there?" |
| HOW | Tān <u>ishi-tūtāmūpan?</u> | "How did he do it?" |

6.3. COMPLEX SENTENCES INVOLVING THE CONJUNCT ORDER

6.3.1. Introduction

To a large extent, the distribution of conjunct types to be found in embedded or dependent clauses parallels that outlined in 6.2.2. above for question-word questions. The parallel is particularly obvious in the case of embedded sentential complements, which may or may not be introduced by an interrogative particle, or WH-complementizer (e.g. "I know why he will do it" "He left when he saw me"), as well as in relative clauses ("The man who is sick is my uncle"). As in the sentences of 6.2.2., the basic verb form of the embedded sentence is an indicative conjunct (neutral), the initial root or preverb syllable of which may be modified by vowel change, depending on the actual temporal reference of the event in question. Thus an embedded sentence displaying a reference to present time will typically contain a changed or e- conjunct, as in:

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Tshān tshissenitam nete <u>e-tāt</u> (e-conjunct)/ <u>tiat</u> (changed conjunct) | "John knows where he (i.e. John) is" |
|--|--------------------------------------|

An embedded sentence with future temporal reference will usually display the indicative neutral conjunct preceded by the changed future preverb tshe-, as in:

| | |
|--|---|
| Tshān tshissenitam <u>tshe-tāt</u> <u>uāpantshī</u> | "John knows that he will be there tomorrow" |
|--|---|

Embedded sentences with reference to the past are formed, however, in a fashion different from that of sentences discussed in 6.2.2. above. For in such embedded clauses, a conjunct rather than an independent is used; this conjunct will display a changed form, the equivalent e-complementizer⁸⁵, or a kā-complementizer, kā- being the changed form of the independent perfective preverb tshī- (kī- before palatalization in Montagnais). An example follows:

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Tshān tshissenimeu auenua e-tūtamintshī (<u>e</u> -conjunct)/ tūtamintshī (changed conjunct)/kā- tūtamintshī (<u>kā</u> -conjunct) ⁸⁶ | "John knows who did it" |
|---|-------------------------|

Sections 6.3.2. to 6.3.4. below deal in more detail with sentential complements and relative clauses, respectively. Prior to this, however, mention must be made of yet another complementizer which appears to be in ready use in NWRM, particularly by younger speakers. What is peculiar about this complementizer, however, is its co-occurrence in an embedded sentence with an independent rather than a conjunct order verb (even though clauses containing this form are negativized by means of the negative particle ekā, the same negative marker used with all conjunct and imperative order verb forms.) The complementizer in question consists of ka-...ua⁸⁷, which is attached to the simple independent indicative neutral. An example is the ka-tāua form (cf. the AI independent indicative neutral tāu "he is (in a place)" of the sentence Tshān tshissenitam (nete) ka-tāua, yet another alternative translation - for certain informants at least - of "John knows where he is").

The ka-...ua form has been discussed in Ford (1979b), where it has been pointed out that in meaning it seems to correspond most closely to a "progressive" or "continuous" form. Thus the sentence Uīn ka-tūtamua might be glossed "(It is) he who is in the process of doing it".

A complete paradigm is now provided of the ka-...ua forms of a typical TI verb, tūtam "he does it":

| | <u>Independent Indicative Neutral</u> | <u>Corresponding ka-...ua form</u> | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | nitūten | (nīn) | ka-nitūtenaua |
| 2 | tshitūten | (tshīn) | ka-tshitūtenaua |
| 3 | tūtam | (uīn) | ka-tūtamua |

| | | | |
|----|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 3' | tūtaminua | (uīn) | ka-tūtaminuī |
| 1p | nitūtenān | (nīnān) | ka-nitūtenānaua |
| 21 | tshitūtenān | (tshīnān) | ka-tshitūtenānaua |
| 2p | tshitūtenāu | (tshīniuāu) | ka-tshitūtenāuāua |
| 3p | tūtamut | (uīniuāu) | ka-tūtamutshī/tūtamutshent |

As may be seen, the ka-...ua forms exist in all persons. They may easily be formed from the corresponding independent indicative neutral, by the addition of ka-...ua in the 3rd person and ka-...aua in the 1st and 2nd persons. The 3rd plural, however, behaves in a slightly different fashion. A look at ka-...ua forms in relative clauses based on the AI verb tāu and the corresponding II takuan "be in a place" shows a similar 3rd singular/3rd plural opposition:

| | | | |
|--|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| | 3 | ne ka-tāua | "the one there (there he is)" |
| | 3p | netshe(nt) ka-tāutshī | "the ones there (there they are)" |
| | 3 | ne ka-takuanua | "the one there (there it is)" |
| | 3p | nenua ka-takuan <u>ua</u> /ka-takuan <u>ui</u> | "the ones there (there they are)" |

The following sections will demonstrate that ka-...ua forms may enjoy a fairly wide distribution in embedded sentences which refer to the present of speech. This verb type appears, indeed, to function as the normal complementizer in relative clauses of present reference (see 6.3.4. below). In addition, it may occur in WH-sentential complements after the particle nete, where it alternates with a changed conjunct, as in the clause nete ka-uitshua (uiātshit) nūtāu "where my father lives". In other circumstances, however, it is not yet clear to what extent these forms typically occur in speech, and whether they always necessarily involve the idea of an event in progress. Much more work is needed in this general area before any conclusions can be reached.

Sections 6.3.2. to 6.3.7. following present a survey of the distribution of the complementizers discussed above throughout various types of complex sentences.

6.3.2. WH-Sentential Complements

This section treats what in traditional terms would be called noun clause objects. Examples will be provided of clauses dependent on the main verb objects. Examples will be provided of clauses dependent on the main verb "know", which are translated by such English WH-forms as "who", "what", "where", "when", "why" and "how". Note, however, that in Montagnais those interrogative particles found in direct questions do not always appear in the indirect questions now under discussion: thus "where" in a dependent clause is found as nete rather than tānite, "what" is not necessarily translated by tshekuān as in direct questions, and so on.⁸⁸ All three temporal references of the dependent clause will be covered; as previously stated, the main difference between this type of sentential complement and question-word questions lies in verbs of past time reference.

1) Complement of Present reference (i.e., event in progress)

Possibilities:

- 1) changed conjunct
- 2) e- conjunct
- 3) ka-...ua form

| | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|
| WHO | Tshān tshissenimeu auenua atūtamintshī/ka-tūtaminuī | "John knows who is doing it" |
| WHAT | Tshissenitam e-tūtāk/tiūtāk | "He knows what he's doing" |
| WHERE | Tshissenitam (<u>nete</u>) e-tūtet | "He knows where he is going" |
| WHY | Tshān tshissenitam uet iākushit | "John knows why he is sick" |

| | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| HOW | Tshissenitam eshi-tūtāk | "He knows how he is doing it" |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------------|

2) Complement of Past Reference (i.e. realized event)

Possibilities:

- 1) kā-conjunct
- 2) changed conjunct
- 3) e-conjunct

| | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------------------|
| WHO | Apū tshissenimāt aenua ka-tūtamintshī/e-tūtamintshī/tiūtamintshī | "He doesn't know who did it" |
| WHAT | Tshān tshitshissenimuk ^{u89} kā-tūtaman | "John knows what you did" |
| WHERE | Tshān tshitshissenimuk ^u nete kā-tāut | "John knows where you were" |
| WHEN | Tshissenitam tātipeikana tshiātūtet/espish tshītūtet | "He knows what time/when he left" |
| WHY | Tshissenitam tshekuānu uet tshītūtet | "He knows why he left" |
| HOW | Apū tshissenitāk kā-ishitūtāk/eshi-tūtāk | "He doesn't know how he did it" |

3) Complement of Future Reference (i.e., non-realized event)

Possibility:

1) tshe + conjunct

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| WHO | Nitshissenimāu auenua tshe-kustāt | "I know who she will be afraid of" |
| WHAT | Apū tshissenitamān tshekuān tshe-miskamān | "I don't know what I'll find" |
| WHERE | Nitshissenimāu nete tshe-itūtet | "I know where he will be going" |
| WHEN | Apū tshissenimak tshe-ispish tshītūtet | "I don't know when she will be leaving" |
| HOW | Tshissenitam tsheishi-tūtāk | "He knows how he'll do it" |

Note that if the tense of the matrix verb is changed from present, the terms "present reference", "past reference" and "future reference" would have to be reinterpreted to mean that the sentential complement was co-temporal with, anterior to, or posterior to the event denoted by the matrix clause. The various conjunct possibilities already outlined would remain in effect.

6.3.3. -WH-Sentential Complements

This section will deal with examples whose embedded sentence corresponds to a full English sentence - i.e., sentences whose matrix verb is one of mental or sensory perception, such as "know that...", "see that...", "hear that..."⁹⁰. Sentential complements dependent on a value judgment matrix verb (e.g. "be sorry that...", "be surprised that...") are also treated in this section.

The complementizer types displayed by the -WH-sentential complements now to be discussed parallel those already seen with respect to WH-sentential complements in the previous section. The following table summarizes these types:

| TEMPORAL REFERENCE OF EMBEDDED SENTENCE | CONJUNCT TYPE |
|--|--|
| PRESENT REFERENCE (i.e. event in process of realization) | 1) <u>e</u> -conjunct 2) changed conjunct 3) <u>ka</u> -... <u>ua</u> form |
| PAST REFERENCE (i.e. realized event) | 1) <u>kā</u> -conjunct 2) changed conjunct 3) <u>e</u> -conjunct (4) <u>ka</u> -... <u>ua</u> form) |
| FUTURE (PROBABLE) REFERENCE (i.e. not-yet-realized event) | 1) <u>tshe</u> conjunct (2) <u>ka</u> -... <u>ua</u> form) |

As the above table suggests, ka-...ua forms may alternate with an e-conjunct or a changed conjunct when the reference is present or general, as in:

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Tshān apū minuātāk tshemuānit/e-tshimuānit/ka- tshimuanua | "John doesn't like rain" |
|---|--------------------------|

Apparently when reference is to the future the tshe- form normally occurs, although a number of informants also accept forms in ka-...ua as in:

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Nitshissenimāu tshe-pūshit/ka- pūshua uāpantshī | "I know that he will leave tomorrow" |
|--|--------------------------------------|

Similarly, some informants would use ka-...ua forms with past reference although others find them unacceptable. For this reason, such forms may be enclosed within brackets in this work.

Examples will now be provided for each of the three possible temporal references of the embedded or subordinate clause.

| 1) Present Reference | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Nitshissenimāu e-tshītūtet/tshiātūtet/ka-tshītūteua | "I know he is leaving" |
| Nitshissenimāu menuātāt (cf. indep. neutral minuāteu) | "I know he likes her" |
| Mista-matshentakuanu ⁹¹ e-tūtāk/tiūtāk | "It's too bad he's doing it" |
| Niminuāten e-mītshishuiān/miātshishuiān/ka-nimītshishunaua | "I'm happy that I'm eating" |

Occasionally a subjunctive conjunct may be found in the same context, as in:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Nitshisseniten tshimuākī | "I know that it's raining" |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|

| 2) Past Reference | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Nitshissenimāu nete kā-tāt/tiāt/e-tāt/ka-tāua | "I know he was there" |
| Nimiskātenimāu kā-tshītutet/tshiātūtet/e-tshītūtet/(ka-tshītūteua) | "I am surprised that he left" |
| Mista-matshenitakuannu kā-tūtāk/tiūtāk/e-tūtāk/(ka-tūtamua) | "It's too bad he's done it" |

| 3) Future Reference | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Nitshissenimāu tshe-tshītūtet (ka-tshītūteua) uāpantshī | "I know he'll be leaving tomorrow" |

Since value judgment sentences involve slightly different embedded sentence conjunct types for future reference, they will be discussed in more detail in 6.3.6. below.

As in the case of WH-sentential complements, a change in the tense of the matrix verb would simply change the point of reference to either past or future rather than present. In such cases, the complementizer type would be determined on the basis of whether the temporal reference of the embedded verb was simultaneous with, preceded, or followed that of the matrix verb.

6.3.4. Relative Clauses

6.3.4.1. Resume

The conjunct pattern of relative clauses follows that of the WH-sentential complements outlined in the previous section. The following table presents a resume of the various relative clause types possible when the temporal reference of the dependent clause is past, present or future:

| TEMPORAL REFERENCE OF RELATIVE CLAUSE | CONJUNCT TYPE |
|--|--|
| PAST REFERENCE (i.e. reference to a completed event) | <u>kā</u> - + conjunct indicative neutral |
| PRESENT REFERENCE (i.e. reference to an event in progress) | 1) ka- + independent indicative neutral in - <u>ua</u> More rarely: 2) changed or <u>e</u> -conjunct 3) <u>kā</u> - + conjunct indicative neutral ⁹² |
| FUTURE REFERENCE (i.e. reference to a not-yet-realized event) | 1) <u>tshe</u> - + conjunct 2) subjunctive conjunct |

Examples will now be provided to illustrate the three temporal references just outlined.

| 1) Past Reference | |
|---|---|
| (Ne) nāpeu kā-mishikāt utākushīt nukumish an | "The man who arrived yesterday is my uncle" |

| 2) Present Reference | |
|---|---|
| (Ne) nāpeu ka-tshītūteua/tshiātūtet/e-tshītūtet nukumish an | "The man who is leaving is my uncle" |
| Ne ka-mītshishua nistesh an | "The person over there who is eating is my older brother" |
| Muk ^u auen uā-mītshishut tshika-mītshishu | "Anyone who wants to eat will eat" |

| 3) Future Reference | |
|---|--|
| Ne nāpeu tshe-mishikāt uāpantshī... | "The man who will be arriving tomorrow..." |
| Ne takushintshī/tshe-takushint auen uāpantshī nistesh | "The person who will be arriving tomorrow is my brother" |

(Ne...auen is loosely translated as "the person")

As noted in the table on the previous page, a possible if rather infrequent alternative to a ka-...ua form in a relative clause of present reference would be a changed or e- conjunct. Thus a sentence like "Bring the one (inan.) that is hanging up" has two potential translations: Peta ne ka-akuteua and Peta ne ekutet (ekutet being the changed conjunct of the II verb akuteu). In actual fact, however, e- or changed forms do not appear to be totally equivalent to ka-...ua forms. Pagotto (1980:238-239) identifies such embedded sentences introduced by the e- complementizer as "-WH relatives", and translates them with an English -ing or infinitival construction instead of a full relative clause (e.g. "Bring me the one hanging up").

A further difference, however, seems to exist in NWRM between ka-...ua and e- relatives. This is apparent in the English translations of the following sentence pair:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mīnī (ne) ka-uīshāuāua mashineikan | "Give me the yellow book" |
| Mīnī e-uīshāuāt mashineikan | "Give me a yellow book" |

In both instances, a full embedded sentence (equivalent to "that which is yellow") corresponds to an English adjective. Yet while the first of the two sentences refers to a definite or particular book,⁹³ reference in the e-complementizer case is to an indefinite. In the latter case, that is, a presupposition is not necessarily made as to the existence of any such object.

6.3.4.2. Nominalized Relatives

In NWRM, the kā complementizer introducing a conjunct verb in relative clauses seems to be becoming more and more restricted to past reference. Nevertheless, kā + conjunct constructions have another important function in NWRM, as well as other dialects of Montagnais, in that they constitute an extremely productive means in modern Montagnais of nominal formation. As the following examples demonstrate, such nominalized forms display a variety of semantic subclasses, and include nouns denoting occupations as well as those which designate newly-invented objects such as "radio" or "television":

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| kā- mākunuest | policeman (lit. "the one who catches/arrests" etc.) |
| kā-uāpukuest | priest (lit. "the one who has a white collar") |
| kā-nakamust | record player/singer (lit. "that which sings") |
| kā- natutākanit | radio (lit. "that which is listened to") |
| kā-pimpant | airplane (lit. "that which moves about") |

Note that such nominalized forms take true nominal endings such as the diminutive ending -īss or the possessive marker -im (for further details, see Drapeau 1978).

6.3.5. Embedded Clauses of Time

Sections 6.3.2. to 6.3.4. above have dealt with embedded sentences the form of which depends on the actual temporal reference of the event denoted by the embedded clause. Thus an event in progress at the time of speech is usually represented by a changed or e- conjunct; an event completed at the time of speech may be represented by the same two forms or, perhaps more typically, by a kā- conjunct; and an event that is "future" or not-yet-realized at the time of speech is normally denoted by a tshe- conjunct. As seen, ka-...ua forms appear to be alternatives in certain clauses, particularly those of present reference, although the exact limitations on this form have yet to be worked out.

6.3.5.1. Clauses not Introduced by a Temporal Particle

The current section will deal with yet another sentence type which displays an embedded clause pattern fairly similar to that summarized above. It treats embedded clauses of time, or what in more traditional terms might be referred to as subordinate adverbial clauses of time. By virtue of the logical structure of such sentences, the event denoted by the embedded sentence is generally antecedent to that of the matrix sentence (e.g. "When he heard that, he left"). As a result, the conjunct types displayed in embedded clauses of time are slightly different from those seen in embedded sentences previously discussed.

This difference is not obvious in cases where the matrix verb represents a completed event in the past. Here, the embedded sentence may contain a changed conjunct, as in:

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Uiāpamak nipāpan (cf. indep. indic. neutral <u>uāpameu</u>) | "When I saw him he was asleep" |
|--|--------------------------------|

A second alternative is a kā-conjunct, as in:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Tshiuītamātī kā | uāpātamān, "I told you when I saw it" |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|

Apparently a kā...ua form is acceptable to certain speakers, as in the sentence:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ka-tshītūteua utākushīt ākushīpan | "When he left yesterday he was sick" |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

In cases where the matrix verb has present reference, the verb of the embedded sentence typically represents a habitual action (i.e., "whenever"). Here, the embedded verb usually takes the form of an iterative (i.e. changed subjunctive) conjunct, as in:

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (Nānitam) uiāpamakī nipāu | "When(ever) I see him he's asleep" |
| Tiūtāmānī niminueniten | "When(ever) I do it I'm happy" |

More rarely, an e-conjunct form is found, as in the sentence:

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Auāss e-ākushit nipāu | "When the child is sick it sleeps" |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|

The exact difference between this form and the iterative remains to be determined.

The form most used to express a clearly future reference in a dependent temporal clause is the conjunct subjunctive, as in the sentences:

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Petūtetshī nika-uītamuāu | "When he arrives, I'll tell him" |
| Uāpātamānī tshika-uītamātin | "When I see it, I'll tell you" |

The unchanged indicative conjunct may also be found, as in the sentence:

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Mishikāt tshika | uītamātin, "When he arrives I'll tell you" |
|-----------------|--|

In most of the above examples, there is logical antecedence of the event of the embedded sentence, as previously pointed out. If, however, this antecedence is to be clearly marked, somewhat different complementizers are used, the result being an embedded sentence corresponding to an English "after" clause (e.g. "After he heard that, he left"). When the matrix sentence contains either a present or past tense verb, the embedded sentence is introduced by the kā- complementizer followed by the tshī- perfective prefix, as follows:

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Kātshī-ākushit ek ^u tshiātūtet | "After he got sick (then) he left" |
| Kātshī-atussetshī ek ^u iākushit | "After he works (then) he gets sick" |

(The second case, with the overall force of a general reference, takes the subjunctive rather than the simple indicative conjunct). When the main clause reference is to a future event, only the preverb tshī- is used in the embedded sentence, with either the simple indicative or the subjunctive:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tshika-tshītūteu tshī-takushintshī | "He (3) will leave after he (3') arrives" |
| Tshī-unītshī ek ^u tshe-unuīt | "After he gets up he'll go out" |

6.3.5.2. Clauses Introduced by a Temporal Particle

while a number of temporal particles exist in NWRM to introduce a dependent clause of time, this section will treat only those corresponding to the English conjunctions "before"/"until" (pātush and esk^u ekā)⁹⁴ and "while" (mekuāt). The particle kue "and then", introducing temporally sequential events, will be left to section 6.3.8.1. below.

Sentences involving the particles which translate English "before" or "until" represent a temporal sequence of embedded-matrix clause that is just the opposite of that outlined for "after" sentences. Here, the matrix sentence represents an event that is chronologically anterior to that of the embedded sentence.

In NWRM, if the reference of the embedded sentence is to a past event, or to an event in progress, a changed conjunct is typically found, as in

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Niuāpamā esk ^u ekā tshiātūtet | "I saw him before he left" |
| Apū tūt uāpamak esk ^u ekā tshiātūtet | "I didn't see him before he left" |

If, however, reference is to a general or a not-yet-realized event in the dependent clause, the unchanged indicative neutral or, more typically, the subjunctive is used. In such instances, the particle pātush may be found instead of esk^u ekā, as in:

| | |
|---|--|
| Apū tshikatshī-unuīt pātush/esk ^u ekā nipāukī/nipāukuī/nipāu(n)k ^{u95} | "He won't go out before/until/unless I go to sleep" |
| Apū uī-atusset pātush ītishūmakī | "He won't work unless I force him to" |
| Apū tshikatshī-tūtamak ^u pātush tūtākī | "I won't (be able to) do it before/unless/until he does it" |

An example such as the last one could contain a past matrix verb (e.g. "I wasn't able to do it" or Apū tūt tshī-tūtamak^u) without any corresponding change in the conjunct verb of the matrix clause, since the reference is still to a non-realized event.

The only other temporal particle to be mentioned in this section is mekuāt "while", which represents as co-temporal the events of the matrix and the embedded sentence. Here again, if the event of the dependent clause is viewed as partially or totally actualized, a changed conjunct or its equivalent is called for; if the reference is to a general or not-yet-realized event, a subjunctive would normally be used:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Mekuāt nepāt nitshītūte | "While he was asleep I left" |
| Nānitam nitūten mekuāt nipāinī | "I always do it while you're asleep" |
| Nika-tūten mekuāt nipāini | "I'll do it while you're asleep" |

6.3.6. Clauses of "Unrealized Event"

The various sentence types outlined in 6.3.2. to 6.3.5. above display some variation in their choice of complementizer types. All of these differ, however, from a considerable group of sentences in which the event of the embedded sentence always remains merely "potential" or "possible" at the point of temporal reference represented by the matrix verb. The contrast may be brought out by examination of the following sentence pair:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Nitshissenimāu thse-tshītūtet | "I know that he'll be leaving" |
| Apū tshissenimak tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I don't know whether he'll be leaving" |

The first sentence, containing a tshē- complementizer, represents an event as a probable future reality. the second sentence, however, uses a tshetshī- complementizer to denote an event the realization of which is uncertain. The same opposition is found when the tense of the matrix verb is made past, as in:

| | |
|--|---|
| Apū tūt tshissenitamān tshemuāk utākushīt | "I didn't know that it rained yesterday" |
| Apū tūt tshissenitamān tshetshī-tshimuāk ⁹⁶ utākushīt | "I didn't know whether it rained yesterday" |

In such instances, only a tshētshī- complementizer may be acceptable, as demonstrated by the single possible translation for the sentence "He didn't tell me whether he would be leaving tomorrow":⁹⁷

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------|
| Apū tūt uītamut | tshetshī-tshītūtet/ *tshē-tshītūtet/ *etshītūtet/ *tshiātūtet/ *ka-tshītūteua/ *ka-tshītūtet | uāpantshī |
|-----------------|---|-----------|

In a number of -WH sentential complements the tshetshī-/tshe- opposition seems a little less clear. This is the case with sentences containing matrix verbs of value judgment. In such cases, when the reference of the embedded clause is to a future event, a choice seems to exist between a tshe- or tshetshī- complementizer, as in:

| | |
|---|--|
| Ishinākuannu tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-tshītūtet uāpantshī | "It is necessary for him to leave tomorrow" |
| Kustukuannu tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-tshītūtet uāpantshī | "It is dangerous for him to leave tomorrow" |
| Muestātenitākuannu tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-tshītūtet uāpantshī | "It's a nuisance that he's leaving tomorrow" |
| Tshika-ishinākuannu tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-tshītūtet uāpantshī | "It will be necessary for him to leave tomorrow" |

Even in such cases, however, there is some indication that a semantic opposition exists between tshe- and tshetshī- complementizers. In a sentence like:

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Nimiuenitamuān tshetshī-pūshit/tshe-pūshit | "I'm happy that he'll be leaving" |
|--|-----------------------------------|

the tshetshī- form seems to suggest "I'm happy if/in the case that he leaves", whereas the tshe- form implies that the leaving will occur in the normal course of future events ("I'm happy that he'll be leaving"). An alternative to the latter interpretation, indeed, would be the form ka-pūshua.

Certain examples are to be found in which only one of the tshetshī-/tshe- pair may occur. This is the case for a "general truth" statement of the type:

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nitauāssīun tshetshī-natūiān | "I'm too young to hunt" |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|

Apparently in this instance only the e- conjunct (e-natūiān) would be an acceptable alternative. The unacceptability of the tshe- conjunct would suggest that the latter is used only in conjunction with events the realization of which is represented as a future probability at the point in time to which the matrix verb refers.

The sentence types to be treated in this section all use a tshetshī- complementizer to represent virtual or purely potential events. For convenience, they will be broken down into a number of general semantic areas, to be treated in the following subsections:

- 6.3.6.1. "Whether" Clauses
- 6.3.6.2. "Future-Oriented" Verbs
- 6.3.6.3. Verbs of Order, Permission, etc.

6.3.6.1. "Whether" Clauses

As is obvious from the examples just provided, one important group of tshetshī- complements is to be found in sentences containing verbs which would be followed by English "whether" (e.g. "not know whether", "not tell whether"). In Montagnais, complements introduced by such matrix verbs, regardless of the tense of the latter, may take a tshetshī- complementizer. This is demonstrated by the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Apū tshissenimak tshetshī-tāt | "I don't know whether he is there" |
| Apū tūt tshissenimak tshetshī-tshītūtet utākushīt | "I didn't know whether he left yesterday" |
| Apū tūt uītamut tshetshī-tshītūtet utākushīt | "He didn't tell me whether he would be leaving yesterday" |

That the tshetshī- complementizer is used in cases where the speaker is unsure of the reality of the event of the embedded sentence becomes obvious when such sentences as those above are contrasted with sentences in which the speaker assumes the factuality of the embedded event:

| | |
|---|---|
| Apū tūt uītamut e-tshītūtet/kā-tshītūtet (ka-tshītūteua) nutshīsh | "He didn't tell me that he was leaving today" |
| Apū tūt tshissenimak tshiātūtet/kā-tshītūtet (ka-tshītūteua) | "I didn't know that he left yesterday" |

As may be seen from the above examples, an event believed by the speaker to be already realized or in progress would be represented by an e-, changed or kā- conjunct, or by a ka-...ua form.

The sentences given above with a tshetshī- complementizer may also occur with a tshe- complementizer. A difference of meaning would appear to exist, nevertheless, in such cases. Thus while a sentence like Apū uītamut tshetshī-tshītūtet uāpantshī would be translated "He won't tell me whether he'll be leaving tomorrow", replacement of tshetshī- by tshe- would result in the meaning "He won't tell me that he'll be leaving tomorrow", i.e., the speaker would presuppose in this latter case that the leaving will take place.

6.3.6.2. "Future-Oriented" Verbs

The matrix verbs grouped together here as "future-oriented" introduce embedded sentences the event of which is always potential or "future" at the time of reference of the matrix verb. Such verbs correspond to English verbs of the type "hope", "wish", "think about (doing something)", etc., as well as verbs the infinitival complement of which denotes purpose (i.e., "(in order) to" - cf. French "pour que", "afin de/que"). As might be expected, the regular complementizer in such cases is tshetshī-, although in certain instances tshe- is apparently also acceptable.

Examples are now provided of a member of such verbs, in the past, present and future.

| 1) Matrix Verb in Past | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Nipukushenimā tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I wished he would leave" |
| Nitashuāpamā tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I was waiting for him to leave" |
| Itenitamūpan tshetshī-tshītūtet | "He was thinking about leaving" |

Apparently an e-, kā- or changed conjunct would suggest an event already partially actualized, as would a ka-...ua form (e.g. "He was thinking as he was leaving").

| 2) Matrix Verb in Present | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Nipukushenimāu tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-tshītūtet | "I hope/pray he will leave" |
| Nipukuātāu tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I am anxious for him to leave" |
| Nitashuāpamāu tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I'm waiting for him to leave" |
| Petūteu-a tshetshī-mītshishut? | "Is he coming to eat?" |
| Apū petūtet tshetshī-mītshishut | "He is not coming to eat" |
| Natenitam/Māmitunenitam tshetshī-tshītūtet | "He is thinking about leaving" |

Interestingly, the main verb of this last example could be completed by e-tshītūt or the changed conjunct tshiātūtet, as well as by ka-tshītūteua, provided the dependent verb represents not a non-actualized event, but one already in progress - i.e. "He thinks while he is leaving."

| 3) Matrix Verb in Future | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| Nika-ashuāpamāu tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I will be waiting for him to leave" |
| Apū tshikatshī-ashuāpamak tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I won't be waiting for him to leave" |
| Tshika-takushinu-a tshetshī-mītshishut? | "Will he be coming to eat?" |
| Apū tshikatshī-takushint tshetshī-mītshishut | "He won't be coming to eat" |

6.3.6.3. Verbs of Order, Permission, etc.

A matrix verb of order or permission, no matter what its tense, likewise involves an embedded sentence representing an event as purely potential and not yet realized with respect to the temporal reference of the matrix sentence. Consequently, the usual complementizer in such cases is tshetshī-, although tshe- may also be found in the case of a present or past matrix verb. Even though, as in the past tense examples following, the overall implication of the embedded sentence may be that of a realized event, the temporal posteriority of the embedded sentence with respect to the matrix sentence results in the use of a tshetshī- complementizer.

| 1) Matrix Verb in Past | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Nititishumā tshethsī-uāpamisk/tshe-uāpamisk | "I ordered him to see you" |
| Apū tūt uītamuk tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-tshītūtet | "I didn't tell him to leave" |
| Nitāpuetuā tshetshī-tshītūtet/tshe-thsītūtet | "I allowed him to leave" |

| 2) Matrix Verb in Present | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Nititishumāu tshethsī-tūtāk/tshe-tūtāk | "I am ordering him to do it" |

| 3) Matrix Verb in Future | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nika-kuetshimāu tshethsī-tshītūtet | "I will ask him to leave" |
| Nika-tāpuetuāu tshetshī-tshītūtet | "I will allow him to leave" |

6.3.7. Conditional Clauses

Another type of embedded sentence representing an unrealized event is that corresponding to an English clause of condition. In NWRM, two types of such clauses may be distinguished, on the basis of the conjunct form used in the embedded sentence, namely, the subjunctive or the dubitative.

6.3.7.1. The Subjunctive in Conditions

An embedded sentence which poses an event as a purely hypothetical condition, yet nevertheless subject to possible eventual realization, normally takes the conjunct subjunctive. The particle tshek, meaning "someday" or "when the time comes" may be used to introduce such clauses:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Nika-ūstueniten (tshek) pūshitshī | "I'll be sad if he leaves" |
| Tshika-minuānu (tshek) pūshitshī | "It'll be good if he leaves" |
| Atussetshī nutshīsh... | "If he's working right now..." |

6.3.7.2. The Dubitative in Conditions

Conditional clauses represented by the subjunctive would appear to denote events the realization of which remains a possibility. When the event in question, however, is one that is extremely unlikely - and particularly when the condition is contrary to fact - a dubitative conjunct would be used rather than a subjunctive. The dubitative preterit conjunct would seem to be much more common than the dubitative neutral among younger speakers, and is given spontaneously as the usual form in sentences such as the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nikā-uāpamā(ku)pan atussetākue | "I would have seen him if he had been working" |
| Minu-tshīshikātākue utākushīt tshipā-pimūtenānāpan | "If it had been fine yesterday we (incl.) would have gone for a walk" |
| Tshipātshī-uītamuepan uāpamātākue | "He (3) could have told him (3') if he had seen him" |

The dubitative conjunct, whether neutral or preterit, may be used after the particle tshīmā to represent a non-realizable wish, as in:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Tshīmā tūtākue utākushīt | "If only/I wish he had done it yesterday" |
|--------------------------|---|

Should the wish, however, involve a potentially realizable event, an indicative neutral conjunct would normally be used:

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Tshīmā tshī-pimūteiān | "If only/I wish I could walk" |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|

6.3.8. Other Uses of the Conjunct

This section lists clause types in which the conjunct order appears obligatory (6.3.8.1.), as well as certain of those in which the conjunct appears to alternate with the independent (6.3.8.2. and 6.3.8.3.).

6.3.8.1. Clauses of Logical or Temporal Sequence

A temporal sequence of events (cf. English "and then") is represented by use of the particle kue + a clause containing the conjunct neutral⁹⁸, as in:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| E-tūtamuk kue tshītūtet | "When I did it (then) he left" |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|

An alternative to kue, in certain instances, is the particle ek^u, which is pronounced [ego] before a word-initial consonant. An example of sentences containing this particle may be found at the end of section 6.3.5.1.

Clauses introduced by kue may represent a logical sequence of events rather than a purely temporal one, as in:

| | |
|--|---|
| Ākushīpan utākushit kue ekā nātshi- atusset | "He was sick yesterday and so couldn't go to work" |
|--|---|

If the cause-and-effect nature of the sequence is to be emphasized, the particle uet may be used instead of kue, to link two clauses containing the conjunct:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| lākushiān uet ekā tshī- atusseiān | "I was sick and so couldn't work" |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

6.3.8.2. Clauses of Causation

Clauses of reason in NWRM are generally introduced by the particle tānite (less often by uesha). Such clauses do not usually take the conjunct order of the verb, but rather the independent. Examples follow of embedded clauses of reason introduced by tānite with past, present and future temporal reference.

| 1) Past Reference | |
|--|--|
| Apū tūt nātshi-atusseiān tānite nitākushī | "I didn't go to work because I was sick" |

| 1) Present Reference | |
|---|--|
| Tshika-minu kāpīa tānite tshishākimishinua | "He's going to drink the coffee because it's hot" |
| Mānī kassenitam tānite pūshu | "Mary is sad because she's leaving" |

| 1) Future Reference | |
|---|--|
| Apū tshikatshīnātshi- atusset tānite tshika-ākushu | "He won't be going to work because he's going to be sick" |

Clauses introduced by tānite are negativized in the same manner as are main clauses, that is, through the use of apū (tūt) + conjunct:

| | |
|--|---|
| Ninātshi-atusse utākushīt tānite apū tūt ākushiān | "I went to work yesterday because I wasn't sick" |
|--|---|

6.3.8.3. The Conjunct as an Imperative Equivalent

It has been pointed out (e.g. 5.3.1.8. above) that, among younger NWRM speakers at least, use of delayed imperative forms in -ikan and polite imperative forms in -me appear to be on the decline. Instead, other discourse strategies are employed to produce a similar effect. One of these, already commented on, is the use of a pā(tshī) prefix with an independent indicative. a second is the use of a changed future preverb tshe- plus a conjunct order verb; this produces the pragmatic equivalent of a "delayed imperative", as in tshe-pūshīn "leave" (e.g. "when he arrives"), as opposed to pūshī "leave" (i.e. "immediately").

NOTES

1. This [wə] apparently derives historically from ua-. See Mailhot (1975:37) for further details.
2. NWR pimūteu corresponds to pimuhteu in certain other Cree/Montagnais dialects. The intervocalic stop, that is, comes from an original preaspirated stop. While the intervocalic stop in such instances may remain voiceless or fortis, a lenis may also result, as in this example (see 2.3.1. below). Note also that while a simple intervocalic stop or affricate tends to be voiced, such voicing is not obligatory.
3. The sound [h] may also be heard instead of [š] in the speech of the younger generation. See 2.3.2. below for further details.
4. The diphthong noted ei is in fact noted ai in Mailhot (1975). Section 2.2.3. below deals with the raising of an original ai diphthong to ei in NWRM. Note also that the sequence āu in this work tends to be used uniformly for the diphthong [aw], whether or not the ā in question was historically long.
5. This phenomenon, indeed, is better treated as a case of initial possessive morpheme u immediately before the first syllable vowel, with optional deletion of the initial u-. Further details are to be found in Clarke and MacKenzie (1981).
6. Note that the single affricate produced from the sequence [čVš] → [čš] is always a fortis voiceless consonant. thus mītshishu [mičo] contrasts with the verb mītshu [mižo] "he eats it", where the single intervocalic affricate is voiced, as expected.
7. The representation of [ey] as ei rather than ai is clearly a phonetic rather than a phonemic solution. Indeed, the existence of an underlying ai is demonstrated by such forms as nipūtam [nəpotam] "my bottle", from nipūa + im, or the locative pūtāt "on the bottle", from an earlier pūtā + iht. While this observation provides an argument for the representation of the diphthong as ai, it should be noted that a phonetic solution has also been adopted, in parallel cases, even in the Mailhot system. Thus the word for "fox", which historically ends in -iu (i.e., -iw) would be represented as mātsheshu, even though the possessive is nimātsheshīm, from nimātsheshi + im. Incidentally, certain forms ending in -iu seem to have undergone restructuring: thus the noun kākātshu "crow" typically has a possessive nikākātshum rather than the expected nikākātshīm.

8. In fact, it is often difficult to tell, as a result of the neutralization of short i and short a for many speakers, which of the two vowels is actually preserved; as the examples show, all that is clear is that the labialized vowel u is maintained when preceded by i or a. Pentland (1979: 111 ff.) states the historical rule in Cree dialects to have been the preservation, in a sequence of two short vowels separated by a morpheme boundary, of the vowel closer to the centre of the word. According to Wolfart (1973:79), however, the first of two short vowels is the one that remains in Plains Cree. The present study does not deal with vowel coalescence phenomena of a diachronic nature in NWRM. Clearly more work is in order here to determine whether Montagnais patterns simply reflect those of Cree.
9. The symbol / is used to represent a syllable division (cf. Section 2.1.3.).
10. Pre-aspirated consonants do occur variably in NWRM, however, probably particularly among speakers with a Davis Inlet (Naskapi) background. Details on this phenomenon will be forthcoming in the University of Montreal Master's thesis of Rachel Bedard, which deals with variability in NWRM.
11. An animate noun in the obviative category, however, is indifferent to number (see 4.3. below).
12. Henceforth, 1,2 and 3 should be understood to mean "1st person singular", "2nd person singular", and "3rd person singular", respectively.
13. The "stem" of a nominal or verbal, to which inflectional endings are added, is to be understood to consist of a "root" carrying the basic meaning of the word, an optional medial, which adds semantic specification, and a concrete or abstract final, which places the concept in a grammatical category. While details on derivational morphology are far beyond the scope of this work, information may be obtained from such works as Denny (1977) and (1978a), or Wolfart (1973).
14. The situation, in reality, is more complex than this. The inflections of 1st and 2nd person transitive animate verbs can be broken down to reveal reference to a goal (see Wolfart 1973:39, 51052, 55). The representation of goal, however, forms part of the stem rather than the inflection of transitive inanimate verbs, and so would belong to a study of Algonquian derivational morphology.
15. The term "mode" has been borrowed from Ellis (1971), with some modification, in that here it is used to characterize only the indicative/dubitative contrast. As pointed out in Wolfart (1973:41-44), the subcategories distinguished within verb orders differ considerably from one author to the next.

16. The term "neutral" should not suggest the unmarked tense form, however. Thus in the dubitative conjunct, the so-called "neutral" tense seems to be used much less frequently than the "preterit" among younger speakers.
17. Note however that the personal prefix may refer to the person of the goal rather than that of the actor in those TA verbs where, through non-observation of the personal hierarchy, the action is made inverse. See 5.3.4. below.
18. As stated in 2.1.3. above, a plus sign (+) is arbitrarily used to indicate a morpheme boundary, in order to make a morpheme under discussion more easily identifiable. This sign is not used in ordinary orthographic representation.
19. To conform with other works on Montagnais, the inanimate plural ending is written with short a rather than a long a, even though it is pronounced [a] by most speakers, and derives from -ah (cf. Wolfart 1973, where the Plains Cree inanimate plural inflection is given as -ah).
20. The plural is represented as -ut to follow the typical spelling practice among literate NWR residents. Phonetically, -kut is pronounced [g^wʊt], the labialized consonant having strongly labialized the initial vowel of the animate plural. An alternative solution - following Mailhot (1975:38) - would have been to represent the plural in such cases as -uat.
21. Tonal distinctions have been reported for various Montagnais dialects in other inflections besides that of the inanimate plural. thus Mailhot (1975:41) shows that in Schefferville and Seven Islands, the 3rd singular and 3rd plural of the conjunct may be distinguished by this phenomenon. Martin (1977) has shown for the Montagnais dialects of Mingan and Natashquan that certain imperative forms are differentiated from one another uniquely by tone (rising vs. falling). In both of these areas, a tonal opposition is also to be found in NWRM, although apparently optionally. Further, among younger speakers, an -a marking inanimate plural or animate obviative (see 4.3. below) is regularly deleted after the 3rd (second obviative) marker -inu. Clearly, much more phonetic investigation remains to be done in NWRM.
22. Some informants report a long initial ū in cases where the 3rd person possessive prefix u- co-occurs with a noun stem in initial u (i.e. uspuākan "pipe" vs. ūspuākana "his pipe", the final a being an obviative marker--see 4.3. below). Other informants have reported hearing no difference in initial vowel length between the unpossessed and the 3rd person possessed form.
23. The root ūsh represents an exception to the rules of possessive prefixing outlined in 4.2.1. Although its initial vowel is u-, it takes the possessive variants nit-, tshit- and ut-.

24. All three forms of the 21 possessive suffix have been heard, depending apparently on the source dialect of the speaker's family.
25. This [š] results from the palatalization of an original PA *θ before an original *-i.
26. For further details on the obviative and for various theoretical approaches, see Wolfart (1973:16-24), Delisle (1974), Wolfart (1978), Ford (1981) and Grafstein (1981).
27. The TI verb form of this example is known as a "relational", and is discussed in 5.3.3.5. below. The TA verb form in the second example down, likewise, is a special form, to be treated in 5.3.4.5. An alternative form is miskimueu (cf. Footnote 61).
28. Note that a phonetic difference may be heard, in locatives of nouns ending in -n, between a 3 and a 3' possessor; contrast umassint "on his shoe(s)" with umassinī "on his (3') shoe(s)". In the former case, the i of the original locative morpheme -iht was deleted after n (see 2.2.2. above) before vowel lengthening and h deletion (see 2.3.1.) occurred. In the latter case, it is maintained in what was originally the context n + obviative possessor - ini- + locative iht.
29. Ue seems to occur more rarely than mue. Mue would appear to be a metathesized version of an original ume, through a process described in 2.2.1. above. Further details may be obtained in MacKenzie (1980:207), as well as in Clarke and MacKenzie (1981).
30. For example, a preverb nūte, denoting "absence of event denoted by the verb", would appear to co-occur with only certain verbs, as in ni + nūte + pītuān "I don't have any cigarettes" or ni + nūte + mītshishun "I don't have any food". The reader is referred to Lees (1979) for a detailed discussion of the various categories of morphemes which may precede verbal stems.
31. The bracketed (i) in this and other preverbs represents an intrusive vowel that is inserted only before a root in an initial consonant.
32. Presumably pātshī- is a combination of pā + the tshī- of ability, the latter in the abstract sense of "potentiality" which the ability marker assumes in a number of languages (cf. English "can").
33. Apparently tshī- as a perfective marker occurs much less frequently in NWRM than does tshī- as an ability marker.

34. Note that a 3' verb form is used not only with a 3' subject, but also when the subject is 3". This latter case is illustrated by the example Tshān ūtāuīa umīnūshiminua nipānua "John's father's cat is asleep".
35. The 21 form tshinipānu has also been elicited.
36. In the case of a number of paradigms treated in this work (e.g. the derived reflexive and reciprocal forms), the stem-final vowel is added to a full stem rather than a root. Such a stem consists of root + optional medial + final.
37. In actual fact, the u examples represent both the u and ū classes.
38. For certain NWRM speakers (particularly those with a Lower North Shore Quebec origin) the first and second singular indicative preterit ends not in a simple vowel, but in vowel + h- e.g. AI nipimūteh "I walked", TI niuāpāteh "I saw it", TA niuāpamāh "I saw him". While a final h is not represented in these paradigms, it is to be understood as a variable feature throughout.
39. The 1st person -ī inflection seems to come from an earlier -ih. In the 3rd person, the vowel is lengthened before the -pan inflection in all short vowel stems (cf. Ellis 1971:78).
40. U- stems other than reflexives contain u + ī in the 1st person, and ū + īpan in the 3rd.
41. The preverb of futurity found with p-preterits is always pronounced [ka] rather than [kə], and so is written with a long vowel to distinguish it from the regular future marker.
42. Again, u + ītshe is found in non-reflexive u- stems, as in minuenniuītshe "perhaps he is well" or natūuītshe "perhaps he is hunting". In the dubitative preterit which follows, u + īkupan appears in the 3rd singular of non-reflexive u- stems, as in natūuīkupan, pronounced [nətəwəwigobən].
43. As in the dubitative neutral, a short theme vowel is lengthened before the 3rd singular inflection. In similar fashion, the i that appears as the connective vowel after n- stems is lengthened to ī.
44. From here on, columns will be unlabelled, but for the AI verb should be understood to read "Subject Prefix", "Root", "Stem-Final Vowel" and "Inflection".
45. While this 3' relational has been elicited, it is not clear that it would ever be used. Indeed, a relational would be most likely to occur in the 1st and 2nd persons rather than in the 3rd.

46. Problems arising from the use of the term "passive" in works on Algonquian languages are outlined in Wolfart (1973:26-27). For a theoretical analysis of aspects of the passive, see Frantz (1976).
47. The initial u of the 1st and 2nd singular inflection -ukūn derives historically from an -i which has undergone labialization by the following labial sequence. such labialization does not occur when the inflection follows a stem ending in a vowel, as in ninipeikūn "I am killed" or niuītamākūn "I am told". Further details on the phonetic shape of such forms as the last two will be found in the discussion of TA independent and conjunct forms.
48. The i enclosed in brackets in the 1st and 2nd persons would seem to be a dialect variation.
49. Note that in the 2s and 21 forms i-, n- and ī- stems all seem to have the same initial vowel in the inflection, namely ī [i]. That the vowel is nevertheless short in i- and n- stems is proved by the phonetic opposition to be found in 2p forms between i-/n- stems on the one hand, and ī- stems on the other. In the former case, the original inflection ik^u labializes to [tk^(w)] (e.g. [nimʊk^(w)]). In the latter, the i vowel is retained, and the form shūtshishīk^u would be pronounced either [sočik^w] or [sočīʊk^(w)].
50. The semantics of these three II finals may be found in Denny (1977). In addition, several II stems in ī are found, as in timīu "it (body of water) is deep".
51. An obviative inflection will be found in the verb even if an inanimate noun subject is not explicitly marked as obviative. Thus the sentence "John's book is white" will be translated Tshān umashineikan uāpānu, not *Tshān umashineikan uāpāu.
52. This root is also commonly recorded in the independent order as iāpat-, which coincides with the changed conjunct form (see 5.4.1.1. below).
53. Here, as in the II dubitative neutral and preterit, a connective i is found in n- stems. This -i is lengthened before the -pan suffix.
54. While a final -ī is always represented here in the II independent dubitative neutral plural, it is not always heard in speech.
55. Often, indeed, such finals have intransitive (AI and II) correspondents.
56. See Wolfart (1973:52-55) for further details.

57. From this point on in the various TA paradigms, the label 1/2/3/actor → 3 goal should be understood to mean 1/2 actor → 3 goal, 3 actor → 3' goal, and 3' actor → 3'' goal. Similarly, in the c) section of all TA paradigms, the label 3' actor → 3 goal should be understood as 3' actor → 3'' goal. In Wolfart (1973:51-52) it is pointed out that in reality 3 and 3' actor forms do not overtly refer to a goal.
58. Note that according to the labialization/metathesis rule prevalent in NWRM (see 2.2.1. above), niuītamāk^u will be pronounced [nəwītəməwk]. It must be noted here that the historical phonological rule is au + i → ā only in those cases where the i represents an original *e in Cree/Montagnais. Thus verbs whose stems end in -au- will contain ā in 3 → 1/2 singular forms (where the -ik^u inverse marker comes from an original -ekw, as well as in the 1 → 2 forms of f) below, with inflection -itīn (< *eten). Where the morpheme-initial i represents an original PA i, however, the rule is au + i → u, as in the case of the -in inflection of the 2 → 1 forms of e) below. A further complication arises in that a TA 3rd person singular indicative neutral in -ueu may come from an original -u rather than -au stem; an example of this is provided by the TA verb peshueu "he brings him". Since the diachronic rule is u + i (<i or *e) → u over a morpheme boundary, there occur such 3 → 1/2 forms as tshipeshuk^u (< tshi + peshu + *ek^u) "he brings you".
59. A question mark indicates a form which has not been fully confirmed for NWRM, since it has been provided by only one, possibly two, informants.
60. -tā- is apparently optional throughout this paradigm; it would appear to be used more by older than by younger speakers, and in particular by those with a Seven Islands background.
61. In the case of TA verbs whose stems end in -u (e.g. utāmu + eu "he hits him") the -im- morpheme appears to be added, by at least certain informants, before the stem-final -u, resulting in the verb utāminueu rather than the expected utāmumeu. In the sentence Penute tshimipitunimeueu Pūna utauāssiminu(a) "Ben cuts Paul's child's arm off", the -im- morpheme occurs before stem-final -eu-. The explanation for the former of these two cases, at least, may be phonological, in that either metathesis or progressive vowel harmony may occur to transform the sequence umV to muV (see 2.2.1. above).
62. While -im is represented as a separate unit here, it is not heard as a separate syllable after stems ending in -m. Further, it reduces to -m after a vowel stem, as in nipeimā "kill him" (3').

63. The 2nd singular imperative is often heard with final aspiration, i.e. uāpamīh. The 21 ending is heard phonetically as [iyewk^(w)], as a result of labialization by word-final -k^u (see 2.2.1. above). A variant in -nk is also heard in the 2p → 1s goal form, as after the TA stem natutu "listen": natutunk "listen to me".
64. Apparently older NWRM speakers have tshikut- as their preverb, as do Moisie speakers. For young NWRM speakers, however, the preverb tshikatshī- seems to have become the regular future marker after apū.
65. Note that with a 3' subject, there is variation in n- stem inflections between -tshī and -it.
66. The phonetic form [wenəʃnt], where initial short u- is heard as [we], regularly undergoes nasalization to [wēiʃnt] (cf. 2.2.4. above).
67. In cases where the vowel affected by initial change is ū (as in the stems pūshi- and shūtshishī-), a changed form rarely occurs.
68. The -ī of the subjunctive is also heard as -ih. Note that the subjunctive paradigm is not simply equivalent to the conjunct indicative neutral +ī, since in the 3 and 1p form the final -t of the conjunct has been palatalized to -tsh before a following -ī. While this t- palatalization occurs in virtually all NWRM subjunctive paradigms, it is not found in those dialects most closely related, namely those of the Lower North Shore. Further, a -kī inflection in the NWRM II subjunctive, as well as in the TI 3 actor and TA 1 actor subjunctive forms, reveals that the expected palatalization of -k to -tsh has not occurred before the -ī subjunctive morpheme.
69. Hence the forms apū nipeikūiān "I am not killed" or apū uītamākūiān (< uītamau + ikuian) "I am not warned", where no such labialization occurs.
70. The u- stem vowel column has been left blank in the 1st and 2nd person forms, since the u- stem vowel disappears before the initial u of the inflection.
71. The 3rd plural forms apū uāpāk and apū uāpātāu have also been elicited.
72. Presumably the reduction of -nit to -nt that has occurred in ā- and e- stems does not occur here because of the presence of a stem-final n.

73. While a 3' II n-stem (e.g. āpatinnikue) is here distinguished from a 3rd person singular (e.g. āpatinikue), it is not clear that a phonological distinction exists between the two. Indeed, in the II unspecified subject forms provided several pages further along, the double n is not noted in the 3' and 3'p forms.
74. The initial vowel of the conjunct 1st person singular -ak inflection, as well as the 2nd person -at, has been deleted after a preceding u. In the 1st person, this labialization is so strong as to provide possible labialization of the -k.
75. A number of forms of the TA dubitative neutral proved extremely hard to elicit; as a result, certain inflections are left blank, or the inflection provided is preceded by a question mark. In other cases, several alternatives were given. Among the latter are to be found:

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| b) | 3s → 1p goal 3p → 1p goal 3 → 21 goal 3p → 21 goal | uāpaminimīt uāpaminimīmīt uāpamikuākue uāpamikuākuent |
| e) | 2 → 1p goal | uiāpamiātākue/uiāpamikuākue/uiāpamuāuātshe |
| f) | 1 → 2p goal | uiāpamīuātshe |

Several TA dubitative preterit forms, likewise, proved hard to elicit. Uāpamiātākue was given by at least one informant as a 3 → 1p form, while the 3/3p → 2p goal forms caused some confusion among informants.

76. The one g) form that has been elicited (the 3' → 1 -imitākue) would suggest a fairly regular series of such inflections, through the addition of -im before the corresponding 3 subject inverse form.
77. The 2s inflection -atī has also been attested in the 2nd person singular (cf. Footnote 68)
78. A sentence may occasionally, however, consist of what appear to be two dependent clauses, i.e., two conjunct verb forms, as in kā-uītamātān uiāpātāmān "I told you when I saw it". Here, the conjunct ka-uītamātān could be replaced by the independent tshiuītamati. In addition, the conjunct is typically used in narratives in what would correspond to English main clauses after the particle kue (see 6.3.8.1. below). Further details on the use of conjuncts in clauses corresponding to main clauses in languages like English are to be found in Rogers (1978).

79. Tshe- represents the changed form of the future prefix ka-, the original *ke- having undergone the expected palatalization in Montagnais. Note that while ekā is treated as an independent particle which precedes a verb, it nevertheless must follow those elements treated in this sketch as preverbs and arbitrarily attached to the verb stem by a hyphen.
80. Tshêkuannu is the obviative form of tshekuān "what" and is required when the subject is 3rd person.
81. The sentence Tān ispish tekūāk?, with vowel change apparently affecting the verb rather than the particle, has also been elicited.
82. Here, "how" is represented by the particle tān in conjunction with a full verb, whether AI or II, meaning "there is so much of...".
83. If "which" is to be understood in the sense of "what kind of", a better translation would be Tān eshinākuāk mashineikan tshe-āpatshitāin? "What kind of book will you be using?" A past equivalent of this sentence would be Tān eshinākuāk mashineikan tshitāpatshitā [stabəsta]?
84. In the case of the particle uet it is difficult to know whether one is dealing with changed uet or unchanged ut here, the latter form being regularly pronounced [wət] or [wut] in NWRM (see 2.1.1.). In similar fashion, it is difficult to hear whether it is the changed form espish or the unchanged ispish in the "how" examples below.
85. In accordance with current literature on the subject (e.g. Pagotto 1980, Lees 1979), the term "complementizer" will henceforth be used to denote those preverb-like entities which may introduce embedded sentences or, more traditionally, subordinate clauses. The term will cover the morphemes e-, tshe- (changed form of the future preverb ka-), kā (changed form of the perfective preverb kī-), as well as the ka-...ua morphemes to be discussed below. The mechanism of initial vowel change when no preverb is present must also be regarded as a complementizer.
86. The format of this example will be used from here on to denote alternative possibilities in the embedded sentence. Thus, in this particular case, the sentence "John knows who did it" may be translated in three different ways, with any one of the e-, kā- or changed conjunct forms.
87. The form in question is here noted ka-...ua, even though Ford (1979a) represents it as ki-...ua. Verbs in initial i have a ka-...ua form beginning with the pronunciation [gey], as in ka-iskuashueua [geyškwašəwewa] "who is burning him", or ka-itenitamua [geytəntəməwa] "who is thinking it". What is

apparent here is a vowel raising resulting from the co-occurrence of a + i at a morpheme boundary (see 2.2.5. above). Had the sequence been ki + i, one would have expected the phonetic result [gi]. Note also that had the original form been ki, a palatalization of [k] to [č] should have occurred in NWRM.

88. Indeed, the use of tshekuān in a sentence like Tshān tshitshissenimuk^u tshekuān e-tūtaman could suggest "John knows you did something", rather than "John know what you did".
89. The form tshitshissenimuk^u is a TA independent 3 actor → 2 goal form. In the case of such sentential complements, the main verb may be TA or, in certain instances, TI. Some discussion on the occurrence of a TA or a tl matrix verb may be found in Ford (1981:76).
90. The verb "think that" is, however, an exception. Instead of taking a sentential complement, such verbs are usually found in sentences containing two independent verbs, such as Ākushu, nitenimāu "I think that he is sick" (lit. "He is sick, I think him").
91. A matrix II verb will take the obviative ending -(i)nu when the verb of the embedded sentence has a 3rd person animate subject.
92. Note that in Cree, as well as in some other Montagnais dialects, kā- is the regular complementizer for relative clauses with present reference. Younger NWRM speakers, however, seem to use ka-...ua forms almost exclusively when the reference is to present time.
93. Hence the necessity of some revision in ford's (1979b) categorization of ka-...ua forms as "continuous" or "progressive", i.e., events that would typically be marked as non-stative. Here, apparently, a verb denoting an inherent state or quality may be represented with the ka-...ua form.
94. Also heard as [εškwaga].
95. These three variants are all examples of relational forms.
96. The dubitative neutral conjunct tshemuanukue could be substituted here for tshetshī-tshimuāk.
97. Here as elsewhere, an asterisk indicates a form judged unacceptable by several NWRM speakers.
98. Analysis of free conversation has revealed for one North West River speaker, however, a regular use of the conjunct dubitative neutral, whether changed or unchanged, after kue. A dubitative would seem rather unusual in this context, and the extent to which it would be used by the community in general remains to be determined.

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