SOUND CHANGE IN OLD MONTAGNAIS

by

Christopher W. Harvey

A Thesis submitted to the

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

Master Of Arts

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SOUND CHANGE IN OLD MONTAGNAIS

Chris Harvey

ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the sound changes which occurred from reconstructed Proto-Algonquian to Old Montagnais. The Old Montagnais language was recorded by the Jesuits during the seventeenth century in the region of Québec City, Lac Saint-Jean and the lower Saguenay River at the Tadoussac mission. Their most important works which survive to this day are two dictionaries, *Dictionnaire montagnais* by Antoine Silvy and *Racines montagnaises* by Bonaventure Fabvre. By comparing the entries in these two dictionaries with their Proto-Algonquian cognates, a series of sound changes is presented which account for the seventeenth century form of the language. Most notably, this period sees the beginnings of *k-palatalisation, so characteristic of Montagnais languages today. Other sound changes include: some /s/~/š/ neutralisation, /st/ assibilation, and the /r/ reflex of *l.

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Transcription and Abbreviations

The phonological transcription employed in this thesis is as follows: Long vowels are indicated with a macron (ā), palato-alveolar affricates and sibilants with a háček (č), and Montagnais high rounded back vowels are written with the letter *u* instead of the usual Algonquianist *o*, as is customary in Montagnais linguistics and practical orthographies.

Examples of Montagnais taken directly from sources are written in italics, their French glosses (where applicable) are in italics in single quotation marks, and their translations into English are in roman in single quotation marks. In Fabvre's dictionary, the original source may contain letters placed above others indicating variation; this has been retranscribed as (x/y). Phonetic transcriptions are in brackets, while phonemic transcriptions are written between slashes. Angled brackets indicate an unsystematic orthography.

Abbreviations for dialects are used throughout this work:

BM	Betsiamites Montagnais
CM	(General) Central Montagnais
EC	(General) East Cree
EM	(General) Eastern Montagnais
IEC	Inland East Cree
MM	Mingan Montagnais
N	Kawawachikamach Naskapi
NEC	Northern (Coastal) East Cree
OM	Old Montagnais
PC	Plains Cree
SEC	(Coastal) Southern East Cree
SM	Sheshātshīt Montagnais
WC	Woods Cree
F	from *Racines montagnais* (Fabvre 1970)
S	from *Dictionnaire montagnais* (Silvy 1974)
AI	animate intransitive
II	inanimate intransitive
TA	transitive animate
TI	transitive inanimate

Introduction

Dialects and Languages

The modern Algonquian languages of northern Québec and Labrador can be divided into two broad dialect continua: Algonquin-Eastern Ojibway and East Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The former are the easternmost dialects of the Ojibway dialect chain, whereas the latter form a part of the Cree continuum. It is the latter which will be the focus of this work.

The Cree continuum is made up of many dialects, not all of which are mutually comprehensible. Traditionally, these dialects have differentiated by their treatment of Proto-Algonquian *k and *l (Pentland 1978).[1] The first level of dialect grouping is based on the reflex of *k plus a front vowel, it is either /k/ (Cree) or /č/ (Montagnais). The border between these two primary level dialect groups is basically the Québec-Ontario boundary, with a pocket of Cree (r-Cree, Atikamekw) spoken to the east of Algonquin.

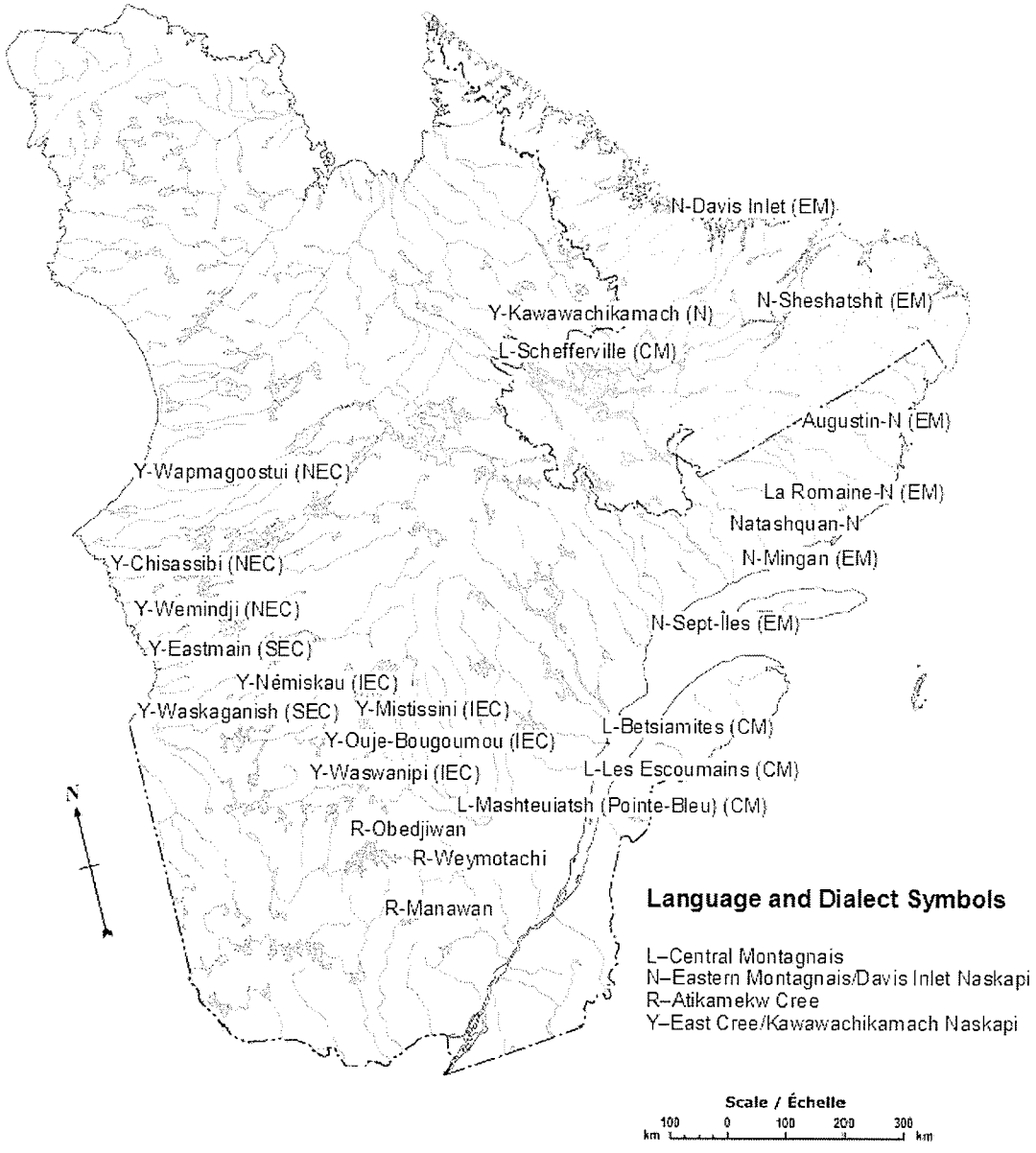
Both Cree and Montagnais are then subdivided into secondary collections of dialects based on their reflex of *l. Within the Montagnais chain, there are three existing dialects: y-Montagnais (including East Cree and Kawawachikamach Naskapi), l-Montagnais (Central or Southern Montagnais), and n-Montagnais

(Eastern Montagnais and Davis Inlet Naskapi). It is possible to subdivide these dialects even further; for example, East Cree has at least three internal divisions: Northern, Southern-Coastal and Southern-Inland (MacKenzie 1987). Map 1 indicates each of the contemporary Montagnais communities, along with its dialectal affinity.

Orthographies

Just as there are spoken languages and dialects, one can also speak of orthographies and ortholects (va. The type of writing system employed by the modern Montagnais communities is largely a product of which denomination of missionaries became the most firmly established.

The English missionaries brought with them their Moose Cree religious texts written in Algonquian syllabics. Thus East Cree and Kawawachikamach Naskapi follow the eastern syllabics tradition, which has the following attributes. A consonant not followed by a vowel is written with a small, superscripted form of the a-series syllabic: ᓴᔅᑲᒋᐤ /saskačīw/ 'he is bored' (SEC). A consonant plus /w/ plus a vowel is written with either one dot (East Cree) or two dots (Naskapi) to the left of (or above) the syllabic: ᐧᑲᔅᒋᓂᒻ /kwāsčinim/ 'she/he turns it over' (N). East Cree long vowels are marked by a floating dot, Naskapi long vowels are



Map 1– Montagnais / Cree Communities (Dialects in parentheses)

unmarked.

French Jesuit missionaries, the first to document the Montagnais languages, employed the Latin alphabet. At first, their orthographies were typically attempts at writing the Native language using mostly French rules. Énemond Massé – a Jesuit missionary who was in Québec during the early seventeenth century – uses *c* before back vowels, but employs the non-French *k* before front vowels to represent /k/ (Champlain 1632:16). Other distinctive characteristics of the Jesuit orthographies are: *ou* or *8* for /u/ and /w/; *ch* for /š/; *tch* for /č/ and *ts/tz* for [c]. Long vowels were generally unmarked. Today, the Latin Montagnais orthographies could be said to stem from the Jesuit systems, except that *u* has replaced *8* and *sh/tsh* (from English orthography) are used instead of *ch/tch*.

I have modified the standard Latin orthographies of the modern Montagnais dialects somewhat by consistantly marking long vowels with a macron. In transliterating dialects employing syllabics, I also utilise the macron to indicate length, and have also written /č/ and /š/ for ⟨ch⟩ and ⟨sh⟩. For rendering Proto-Algonquian, I follow the transliterations of the modern dialects, using a macron where Bloomfield (1946) writes long vowels as doubled, or Aubin (1975) uses a colon.

Historical Context

Beginnings

The Montagnais language can be said to have begun with the first instance of a Proto-Algonquian *k changing to /č/. When this actually occured is conjecture, but Pentland (1977:115) suggests that sometime around 1400 C.E. is a good guess. The history of the Montagnais language may begin with the word *Magots* 'Iroquois' in 1550, in a manuscript by Thevet (Hoffman 1961:175). It shows clearly that the *k had palatalised to /č/ before a Proto-Algonquian front vowel.[2]

Two of the first Jesuits to study the Montagnais language were Paul Le Jeune (in Thwaites 1896–1901) and Énemond Massé (in Champlain 1632). Massé stayed in New France between the years 1625 and 1629. There he worked with a Montagnais man, Pierre Pastedechouan, to develop translations of a group of Catholic prayers which appear in Champlain's *Voyages* (1632:16–20).

Le Jeune, working in Montagnais territory in the 1630's, found learning Montagnais extremely difficult, relying on the local children to recite his translated prayers and point out the mistakes (Berthiaume 1998:342).

Old Montagnais

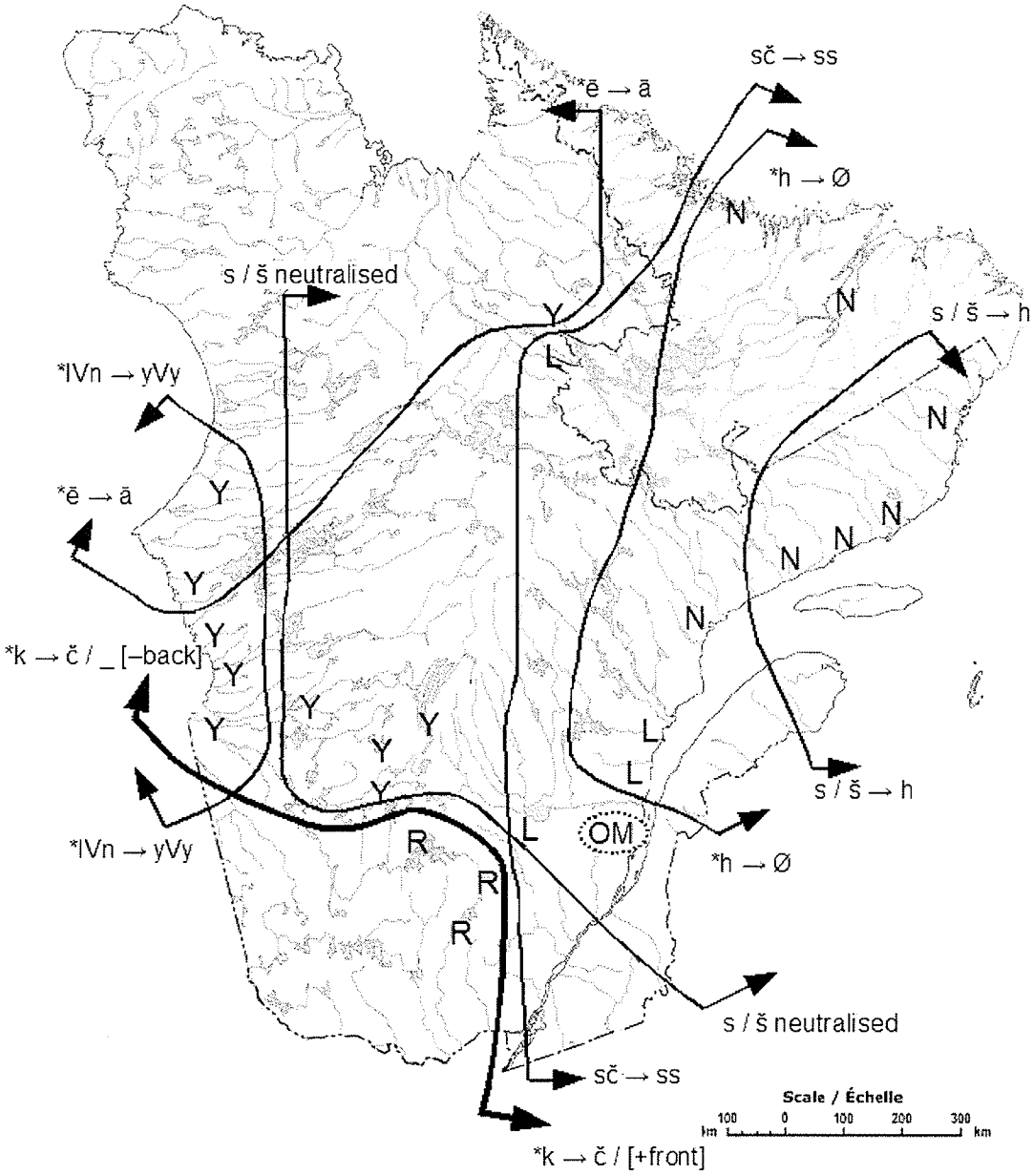
The dialect of Montagnais favoured by the Jesuits was an r-dialect—a Montagnais reflex of *l which is no longer extant. The first sustained contacts between the Jesuits and speakers of the Montagnais language were in the region of the city of Québec (Trumbull 1873:65). In this dialect, some instances of word-final *k had changed to /č/, as in words like *escouteoutz* 'in the fire'—/iškutēhč/ (SEC) (taken from verse 7 of *Le Symbole des Apostres* in Champlain (1632:18)). Furthermore, *sk before a front vowel had already shifted towards /ss/: *Assitz* 'on earth'—/assīt/ 'on the land' (SM) (from line 3 of *Pater Noster* in Champlain (1632:16)). Word-initial *k followed by a front vowel had not yet been fully palatalised. The second person prefix *ke- (modern /či-/) was written *ki-* by Massé (Champlain 1632:16) and *khi-* by Le Jeune (Trumbull 1873:66). Le Jeune's use of *h* between the *k* and *i* supports the view that this /k/ plus a front vowel was starting to become palatalised; *kh* was also used in Algonquin of that period for /č/. Michelson (1939:90) proposed that *kh* had become more-or-less identical with /č/ at the time of Massé and Le Jeune. Cooper (1945) on the other hand suggests that /k/ plus a front vowel had yet to merge with /č/; instead retaining a velar quality, [kʸ].

As stated above, this was an r-dialect, meaning instances of Proto-Algonquian *l have a reflex of /r/, as in the obviative of 'earth' *Assiriouy* (from *Le Symbole des Apostres* verse 1). The French missionaries were fully aware of other dialects. La Brosse (see §8.1) mentions that of the three interchangeable letters *n*, *l*, and *r*, *r* was chosen as a standard (La Brosse in Silvy 1974:xxi). In the mid to late 1700's, the r-dialect was still being written. The title of La Brosse's 1767 prayer book, *Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe-Massinahigan*, contains two *r*'s. By at least the middle of the nineteenth century, the r-dialect of Montagnais had faded away, being replaced by an l-dialect. What was written by Silvy as *tiss8ragan* 'trick', had become *tisholaigan* in Père Arnaud's 1856 work (Cooter and Simard in Silvy 1974:xxi). Map 2 shows the major isoglosses of modern Montagnais. The r-Montagnais dialect written about by the Jesuits is labelled OM, Old Montagnais.

The Dictionaries

The Authors and the Tadoussac Dialect

The bulk of this work is based on two dictionaries written during the late seventeenth century. The first, *Dictionnaire montagnais* by Antoine Silvy, although



Map 2 – Major Isoglosses in Montagnais / Cree

not as comprehensive as Fabvre's work, is nonetheless an impressive *œuvre*. Born in 1638 in Aix-en-Provence, he arrived in Canada in 1673, where he spent time at the Ottawa and Wisconsin missions (Thwaites 1896–1901, 59:306). During the years 1678–1693, Silvy travelled variously to Lac St-Jean, Tadoussac, James Bay, and Hudson Bay, living out the remainder of his life in Québec City. His dictionary was likely compiled between the years 1678 and 1679 at Saint-Charles de Métabetchouan, Lac St-Jean (Cooter and Simard in Silvy 1974: xiv).

The second was compiled by Bonaventure Fabvre (Favre, Faure). He was born in Troyes, France, in 1655 (Thwaites 1896–1901, 71:157), and came to New France in 1679, dying in Québec in 1700. His monumental dictionary, entitled *Racines montagnaises*, was compiled at Tadoussac between 1695 and 1696. As will be seen, this dictionary seems to contain more transcription or copying errors for the Montagnais words than does Silvy. In this thesis, the French glosses from Fabvre remain in his own spelling, whereas the editors of Silvy (1974) have regularised the French words into their modern forms where possible.

Both authors had a vocabulary (now lost) compiled by Le Jeune as a template and guide to their own dictionaries. The work of these two Jesuits compos-

es the most important record of Old Montagnais. The term Old Montagnais will be used throughout as a label for the r-dialect studied by Fabvre and Silvy. I also use the term Tadoussac Montagnais as a synonym. However, the short biographies of the two authors show that they spent time in various regions which now house different modern dialects, and certainly did so at that time as well. Cooter and Simard (in Silvy 1974:xviii) note that the Old Montagnais recorded by Silvy would have been from the Lac St-Jean area, a dialect then known as Papinachois, although the Papinachois inhabited a territory further east. However, there would have been much sustained contact with many other dialects.

> Tadoussac restait le centre de toutes les missions organisées dans ces vastes contrées, au nord du grand fleuve. C'est là que les Indiens venaient se faire instruire et recevoir les sacrements depuis les bords de la baie d'Hudson jusqu'à l'île d'Anticosti. (Rochemonteix 1896, 2:370)[3]

I have designated the dialect as from Tadoussac for several reasons: one is that the dictionaries were compiled at this locale, but more importantly because the mix of informants of different dialects would have been common in the Tadoussac mission. Tadoussac, although strongly based on the Lac St-Jean

dialect of central Montagnais, is a somewhat artificial conglomeration of many dialects into a literary standard utilised by the French.

Massé's prayers show a more innovative dialect with all final *k's* being palatalised. In Fabvre's *Racines*, final k-palatalisation is scarce, and almost always given as a variation of *k*. The conservative nature of Fabvre's text makes sense geographically. Massé collected his data in the Québec City region—Tadoussac had yet to be established at that time. Québec is east of the Lac Saint-Jean homeland of Fabvre and Silvy's informants, and consequently more likely to have participated in the sound change innovations which in Montagnais consistently arise from the east (see map 2).

The Dating

The most troublesome aspect of these dictionaries is discerning their date of compilation. Fabvre and Silvy would have collected material for their word-lists over long periods of time, thus no one single date can be assigned. Sasseville and Shea (1887:13) state that Silvy's dictionary was written between 1678 and 1685, corresponding to the time he spent in Montagnais territory. The title page of the manuscript bears the date 1674–78 written in an unknown hand, but this would have been too early. Dating Fabvre's text is problematic, and McNulty

simply indicates that it was penned before 1695. Judging from the Montagnais forms in each book, Fabvre's certainly represents a more archaic form of the language: there are fewer instances of k-palatalisation. It could very well be that his informants spoke a more conservative dialect, or that Fabvre was copying older forms from Le Jeune's dictionary. This said, I will assume that Fabvre's data show an earlier stage of the language, although collected perhaps twenty years later.

The Data

This thesis outlines the sound changes which had occurred between reconstructed Proto-Algonquian and Old Montagnais. I am basing the reconstruction for the most part on Aubin's *Proto-Algonquian Dictionary* (1975) and Pentland (p.c.), although other sources of Proto-Algonquian words will be cited when appropriate. The data are divided into sections based on the Proto-Algonquian consonant or vowel, with clusters containing the sound included at the end of the section. I have provided several examples of each change, from both Fabvre's and Silvy's dictionaries, along with at least one cognate from a modern dialect where available. The modern dialectal information comes from the following sources: East Cree: *Cree Lexicon: Eastern James Bay Dialects* (MacKenzie 1987); Kawa-

wachikamach Naskapi: *Naskapi Lexicon* (MacKenzie and Jancewicz 1994); Betsiamites Montagnais: *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* (Drapeau 1999); Mingan Montagnais: *Lexique montagnais-français du parler de Mingan* (McNulty and Basile1981); and Sheshatshit Montagnais: *North-West River (Sheshātshīt) Montagnais: A Grammatical Sketch* (Clark 1982). Comparisons with Plains Cree have been drawn from Wolfart and Ahenakew (1998) and LeClaire and Cardinal (1998). All Latin and French texts have been translated by the author, and I take sole responsibility for any errors or misunderstandings.

Historical Phonology

Old Montagnais Consonants

The tables below show the phonological inventory of the Old Montagnais language as recorded by Fabvre and Silvy.

p	t	č	k	
	s	š		h
m	n			
	r			
w		y		

i, ī		u, ū
ē		
	a, ā	

1. Proto-Algonquian *p

1.0

Proto-Algonquian *p when not part of a consonant cluster appears as *p, pp* or *b* in Fabvre and Silvy, representing the phoneme /p/ (a bilabial stop). *B* is typically used when /p/ is intervocalic, especially when preceded by a long vowel, but this too is inconsistent: *mipit* (F.155) for /mīpit/ 'someone's tooth'.

1.	*aʔtāpya	bow	
	Atchabi (F.4)	*'arc'*	'bow'
	/ačāpīčēu/ (BM)	*'il fait un arc'*	'he makes a bow'
2.	*šāpwāpāwē-	through	
	ni chab8aba8an (S.24)	*'je suis transpercé d'eau'*	
		'I am soaked with water'	
	/šāpwāpāwēw/ (SEC)	ᔕ·<̇<̇·∇°	'he/it is soaked through'

The letter *p* – and occasionally double *pp* – can be found written by Fabvre and Silvy wherever the phoneme /p/ occurs.

3.	*api-	sit in place	
	Apin -i8 (F.28)	*'estre assis'*	'be seated'
	nit' apin (S.16)	*'je m'assis'*	'I am sitting'
	/apū/ (EC)	◁̇>	'he sits'
4.	*apiweni	seat	
	Appi8in (F.30)	*'demeure, place'*	'residence, seat'
	/apūn/ (BM)	*'siège, place'*	'seat'

Both authors note in their dictionaries that *p* and *b* are interchangeable, and each occasionally gives two variants of a Montagnais word, one with *p* and the other with *b*. Silvy (23) mentions that *'B / idem est ac P'* [B is the same as P], and Fabvre (45) indicates at the beginning of his B section that *'Vix in usu B sapit P'* [Scarcely in use, B has the sense of P]. Word-initially and finally the

letter *p* is consistently employed, e.g. *Kakatap, 'L'un apres l'autre'* 'the one after the other' (F.89),

5.	*pepōn-	be winter	
	Pip8n (F.305)	*'hyuer'*	'winter'
	pip8n (S.134)	*'hiver'*	'winter
	/pipun/ (EC)	ᐱ>ᓀ	'it is winter'
6.	*papikwa	flea	
	Papik8 (F.276)	'pulces'	'flea(s)'
	papik8 (S.123)	'puce'	'flea'
	/pāpukᵘ/ (MM)	'puce'	'flea'

1.1

There are six Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters in which *-*p* is the second member: *čp, *hp, *mp, *θp, *šp, and *xp. The first of these, *čp, usually shows up as *sp*, occasionally *chp* or *p* in Old Montagnais – the *p*-form being the rarest and restricted to Fabvre. The *i* in Fabvre's *g8sipărin* (example 1) is likely a mis-copying or poor transcription.

1.	*kwečpan-	fear	
	g8sipărin -i8/g8g8părin g8g8pănin (F.67)		
		'creindre l'ennemy'	'fear the enemy'
	ni g8g8spanin (S.34)	*'je crains, v.g. l'ennemi'*	'I fear, e.g. the enemy'
	/kušpanēlimēu/ (BM)	*'il appréhende, redoute...'*	'he fears, dreads...'

2. *pačpāpi-	look through (AI)	
Paspābin -i8 (F.280)	*'regarder en cachette'*	'look secretly'
ni pasbabin (S.125)	*'je regarde en cachette, v.g. par un trou'*	
	'I look secretly, e.g. through a hole'	
/pāhpāpu/ (EM)	*'il regarde par la fenêtre'*	
	'he looks through a window'	

1.2

Pre-aspiration of consonants is not something that either Fabvre or Silvy indicate, thus it is not surprising that Proto-Algonquian *hp is rendered as *p* in the Old Montagnais documents. However, it is not so simple to say that the French writers missed hearing the /h/ sound in an unfamiliar environment, or just left the sound out of the orthography. In Betsiamites and Eastern Montagnais, preconsonantal *h is no longer pronounced. In the former dialect, the *h has been lost altogether, while in the latter this *h has also been lost, but not before lengthening the preceding vowel.[4] Assuming East Cree and Naskapi (where /h/ in clusters is retained) had separated from Old Montagnais before Fabvre wrote his dictionary, these /h/'s may have already disappeared.[5] Yet it is more likely that there were indeed /hC/ clusters in Old Montagnais on the basis that *hp does not appear as *b* when coming after a long vowel. Due to the many inconsistencies surrounding voiced versus voiceless consonants in Fabvre and Silvy,

the force of this conclusion cannot be determined, so I am treating the reflex of *hp as /hp/—where the /h/ indicates the likely pre-aspiration. In the modern language, this /h/ in consonant clusters has disappeared in southern and eastern Montagnais dialects, but remains in Mashteuiatsh (Pointe Bleue), East Cree, and Naskapi (Ford 1977:243). Mashteuiatsh Montagnais is probably the direct descendant of Tadoussac Montagnais, so it is reasonable to propose that the /h/ in /hC/ was retained.

1.	*pāhpi-	laugh (AI)	
	Papin -i8 (F.276)	*'rire, ridere'*	'laugh'
	ni papin (S.123)	*'je ris'*	'I laugh'
	/pāpu/ (EM)	*'il sourit'*	'he smiles'
	/pāhpuw/ (N)	<>°	'she/he laughs'
2.	*wīhpēm-	sleep with (TA)	
	8iperĭmau (F.235)	*'c8cher dehors auec qqn.'*	
	ni 8iperimau (S.107)	*'je couche dehors avec qqn.'*	
		'(I) sleep outside with someone'	
	/uīpēmēu/ (BM)	*'il couche avec qqn'*	'he sleeps with s.o.'
	/wīhpāmāw/ (NEC)	·Δ"<L°	'he sleeps with him'

1.3

The cluster *mp merges with *hp in Old Montagnais, resulting in /hp/.

1.	*wempenam-	lift up (TI)	
	8pinam8 (F.245)	*'Leuer, Eleuer, s8leuer qqch.'*	'lift, raise'
	n' 8pinen (S.111)	*'j'élève'*	'I raise'
	/upinam/ (BM)	*'il soulève qqch du sol'*	'he lifts s.t. from the ground'
	/uhpinam/ (SEC)	ᐅᐦᐱᓇᒪ	'he lifts it up'
2.	*wīmp-	hollow	
	8ipitagăhen (F.235)	*'creuser, tr8er qqch.'*	'dig out, pierce'
	ni 8ipitagahen (S.107)	*'je troue, je creuse'*	'I am piercing, digging out'
	/uīpitakāu/ (BM)	*'qqch est vide'*	'something is empty'

1.4

The combination *šp is an uncommon one in Proto-Algonquian, appearing however in at least one common root, *ešp- 'above'. In contrast with what will be seen with *čp, *θp, and *xp, Old Montagnais shows more /s/ ~ /š/ variation compared to t- and k-clusters. In fact, words derived from the Proto-Algonquian root *ešp- vacillate between *chp* and *sp*.

1.	*ešp-	above	
	Ispimik ispimits (F.80)	*'en haut, la haut'*	'above'
	Ichpa (F.74)	*'Haut'*	'high'
	nit'ispinen (S.40)	*'je hausse qqch.'*	'I am raising something'
	nit'ichpinau (S.37)	*'je le hausse avec la main'*	
		'I am raising him by hand'	
	/išpimit/ (BM)	*'en haut, en l'air'*	'above, in the air'
	/išpimihč/ (EC)	ᐃᔕᐱᒥᐦᒪ	'above, the roof'

2. *kīšpo-	be full (AI)	
Kichp8n (F.105)	*'Se saouler, estre saoulé'*	'get full, be full'
ni kichp8n (S.50)	*'je suis saoul [de manger]'*	'I am full'
/čīšpu/ (BM)	*'il est repu, rassasié'*	'he is full, satisfied'

In Central and Eastern dialects of modern Montagnais, the distinction between /sC/ and /šC/ has been neutralised, so that only one version of the sibilant is used before a given stop: /šp/ and /šk/, but /st/. Old Montagnais and East Cree did not participate in the sibilant neutralisation rule.

1.5

Proto-Algonquian *θp becomes *sp* in Fabvre and Silvy.

1. *keθpisweni	binding	
Kispĭs8nek (F.118)	*'bracelets'*	'bracelets'
kispis8n (S.56)	*'bracelet'*	'bracelet'
2. *eθpw-	he finds the taste like so (TA)	
Isp8g8an (F.81)	*'il a le g8st de'*	'it has the taste of'
isp8g8an (S.41)	*'elle a ce goût'*	'it has this taste'
/išpuēu/ (BM)	*'il le goût ainsi'*	'he tastes it thus'
/ispuwāw/ (NEC)	Δ`>·◁°	'he finds the taste of it...'

1.6

Old Montagnais has *sp* from *xp.

1.	*mexpo-	it snows (II)	
	Misp8n (F.161)(S.78)	*'il neige'*	'it is snowing'
	/mišpun/ (BM)	*'il neige'*	'it is snowing'
	/mispun/ (EC)	ᒥᐢᐳᓐ	'it is snowing'
2.	*mexpetwini	s.o.'s arm	
	Mispit8n (F.161)	*'mon* [sic] *bras'*	'my arm'
	nispit8n (S.78)	*'mon bras'*	'my arm'
	/ušpitun/ (BM)	*'(son) bras'*	'(his/her) arm'
	/uspitun/ (N)	ᐅᐢᐱᑐᓐ	'her/his arm'

Thus *čp , *θp, and *xp can be said to have merged into a single cluster, /sp/.

On a few occasions, the sibilant has become /h/, resulting in /hp/, written *p*.

3.	*wexpani	lung	
	8pan (F.244)(S.111)	*'poumon'*	'lung'
	/upan/ (BM)	*'(son) poumon'*	'(his/her) lung'
	/ohpan/ (PC)	ᐅᐦᐸᐣ	'his/her lung'
	/ospan/ /ohpan/ (WC)	(Pentland 1979:65)	'his lung'[6]
4.	*pāxpā?θēwa	woodpecker	
	Papachte8 (F.272)	*'pique-bois'*	'woodpecker'
	papachteu (S.121)	*'pique-bois'*	'woodpecker'
	/pašpašteu/ (BM)	*'pic-bois'*	'woodpecker'
	/pahpahscīs/ (WC)	ᐸᐦᐸᐦᑎᓵ	'woodpecker'

To analyse why, in some cases, *xp becomes /sp/ and in others /hp/, the Cree language and its dialects, which show the same variation, should be examined also. There seems to be no obvious geographical rationale which determines

which of the two reflexes is employed. Why, for example, would the *xp in 'lung' be Old Montagnais and modern Plains Cree /hp/, while the *xp in 'arm' would stay /sp/[7]? Betsiamites Montagnais has the /šp/ reflex in 'woodpecker', but Old Montagnais has /hp/. There must have been – very early in the development of the Cree-Montagnais language group – a set of two competing sound changes: i) *xp→sp, ii) *xp→hp. Mixture of these two dialect groups during a period when Cree-Montagnais speakers were in close contact with each other may have led to a single modern dialect having both reflexes.

2. Proto-Algonquian *t and *θ

2.0

The Proto-Algonquian phonemes *t and *θ merged into a single sound, /t/ – an alveolar or dental stop – in both Cree and Montagnais. It was written by Silvy and Fabvre as *t* or *tt*.

Fabvre and Silvy use the letter *t* word-initially, medially, and finally where Proto-Algonquian has *t. The digraph *tt* shows up in a few cases, especially when beginning the second syllable after a short vowel.

1.	*tahkyē-	be cold (II)	
	Takau (F.353)(S.149)	*'cela e froid'*	'that is cold'
	/tākāu/ (MM)	*'c'est froid'*	'it's cold'
	/tihkāu/ (NEC)	ᑎᐦᑳᐤ	'it is cold to touch'
2.	*kyātā-	hide (TI)	
	Kātan tau (F.96)	*'Cacher quelque chose'*	'hide something'
	ni katan -tau (S.47)	*'je cache qqch.'*	'I hide s.t.'
	/kātāu/ (BM)	*'je cache qqch'*	'I hide s.t.'
	/kātāw/ (N)	ᑲᑕᐤ	'she/he hides it'
3.	*wīpiti	his/her tooth	
	Mipit (F.155)	*'dent'*	'tooth'
	/uīpit/ (BM)	*'(sa) dent'*	'(his/her) tooth'

Proto-Algonquian *θ also has /t/ as its Old Montagnais reflex, but *θ behaves differently when word-final.

4.	*θaʔθawenki	between	
	Tachta8ik tachta8its (F.351)		
		'Inter, entre, parmy'	'between, among'
	tachta8its (S.148)	*'entre'*	'between'
	/tahtauit/ (MM)	*'entre deux choses'*	'between two things'
	/tistuwīhč/ (N)	ᑎᐣᑐ·ᐃᒡ	'in the middle, in between'

5.	aθemwa	dog	
	Attim^{8} (F.44)	*'chien'*	'dog'
	attim8 (S.22)	*'chien'*	'dog'
	/atim/ (BM)	*'chien'*	'dog'
	/atim/ (EC)	◁∩ᒡ	'dog'

2.1

In certain circumstances, Proto-Algonquian *θ appears as *ch* in Old Montagnais. This occurs whenever *θ is morpheme final and the following sound is /i/, /ī/, or /y/.

1.	*ōši < *ōθi	canoe	
	8ch (F.223)	*'canots à canoter'*	'canoe'
	8ch (S.103)	*'canot'*	'canoe'
	/ūh/ (MM)	*'canot'*	'canoe'
	/ūt/ (N)	▷ᑦ	'canoe'
2.	*ōθali	canoes	
	8tai (F.223)(S.103)	*'canot pl.'*	'canoe plural'
	/ūta/ (MM)	*'canot pl.'*	'canoe plural'

Similarly, as in Cree (Pentland 1979:67), morpheme-final *t becomes /č/ when before /i/, /ī/, or /y/: /wīpičū/ – ·Δ∧J̇, 'walrus' (EC) from *wīpitiwa. This variation raises the question, are *t and *θ still – grammatically at least – different underlying phonemes in Montagnais? These two palatalisation rules are not at all common for nouns stem-finally, appearing in only a few stems, e.g.:

*ōθ- 'canoe' and *wīwaθ- 'pack'. They are also not productive; the list of noun stems ending in *θ can no longer grow in number. Instead, we are left with a few irregular stems, which have a palatalised and non-palatalised version. These two rules were phonemicised in Proto-Algonquian itself, but they ceased being phonological when Early Cree merged *e with *i and before the final-vowel deletion rule, which removes the word final *i.

2.2

Both *t and *θ occur in three consonant clusters: *ht/*hθ, *nt/*nθ, and *ʔt/*ʔθ. Both members of the pair *ht/*hθ were written *t* in Old Montagnais. Unlike the case with /hp/, it is impossible to say that this *t* is /ht/, or whether the /h/ had been deleted. Neither writer indicated voicing for the alveolar/dental stop, which might distinguish a plain /t/ without pre-aspiration. However, as preaspiration exists in some modern Montagnais dialects—East Cree, Mashteuiatch, and Naskapi—the Old Montagnais reflex is likely /ht/.

1. *mehθali — fuel, firewood (pl.)

Mitai (F.161)	*'bois de haute futaie'*	'wood of the high forest'
ni8mitimin (S.110)	*'j'ai du bois de chauffage'*	'I have some firewood'
/mīht/ /mīta/ (MM)	*'bois de chauffage'*	'fire wood'
/miht/ (EC)	ᒥᐦᑦᒡ	'firewood' singular

2.	*mehtawakayi	s.o.'s ear	
	Mita8agai (F.162)	*'mon* [sic] *oreille'*	'my ear'
	mita8agai (S.78)	*'l'oreille'*	'the ear'
	/utukai/ (BM)	*'(son) oreille'*	'(his/her) ear'
	/wīhtūkiy/ (N)	·ΔↃᑭᐣ	'her/his ear'
3.	*anihtwiyāxkwi	'handle of fish spear'	
	anitθiask (F.25)	'harpon à castor'	'beaver harpoon'
	anit8i (S.14)	*'bâton à tirer le castor'*	
		'stick for shooting (harpooning) beavers'	

2.3

Another source of Old Montagnais /ht/ is *nt/*nθ.

1.	*pīnθaham-	enclose in something (TI)	
	Pitahen (F.310)	*'f8rer en un sac'*	'put it in a bag'
	ni pitahen (S.132)	*'je fourre qqch. dans un sac'*	
		'I am putting something in a bag'	
	/pītaim/ (MM)	*'il le met dans un tiroir'*	
		'he is putting it in a drawer'	
2.	*metenθ-	track, follow (TA)	
	Mitĭtau (F.163)	*'suiure qlqn à La piste'*	'track s.o.'
	ni mititau (S.79)	*'je le suis à la trace'*	
		'I am following him, tracking'	
	/mititēu/ (BM)	*'il suit les pistes'*	'he follows the trail'
	/mitihtēw/ (SEC)	ΓᑎᑌᐤU°	'he tracks him'

3.	*kwāškwanθepyē-	jump into the water	
	K8achk8tĭban (F.123)	*'Saulter en L'eau'*	'jump into water'
	ni k8achk8tiban (S.59)	*'je saute dans l'eau'*	'I am jumping in the water'
4.	*akintam-	count (TI)	
	Akiten tam8 (F.20)	*'nombrer, compter'*	'number, count'
	nit'atchiten (S.13)	*'je compte'*	'I am counting'
	/ačītam/ (MM)	*'il les compte'*	'he counts them'
	/ačihtim/ (NEC)	ᐊᒋᐢᑎᒪ	'he counts things'
5.	*kexkēlentam-	know (TI)	
	Kisterĭten tam^{8} (F.118)	*'Scauoir, connoistre'*	'know'
	ni kisteriten (S.56)	*'je connais'*	'I know'
	/čissēlitam/ (BM)	*'il sait qqch'*	'he knows s.t.'
	/čisčāihtim/ (N)	ᒋᔆᒪᐃᑎᒪ	'she/he knows it'

2.4

The sound change from Proto-Algonquian *ʔt and *ʔθ to Old Montagnais is unusual in that there appear to be two distinct reflexes, /št/ and /st/. The former appears in a wide variety of environments, with either Proto-Algonquian consonant cluster as its origin. The latter is generally restricted to *ʔt, and in specific phonological environments. There is, of course, some overlap and confusion; for example Silvy uses both *achtis* and *nitastis* for *θaʔθehs- 'mitten'–although *achtis* is the main dictionary entry. This type of variation will be covered in §5.. Table 1 shows seventeen roots containing either *ʔt or *ʔθ, along with the Old

Proto-Algonquian	Gloss	Fabvre		Silvy	
*θa?θawenki	between	*tachta8ik* (351)	ch	*tachta8its* (148)	ch
*ne?θwi	three	*nicht8hau* (192)	ch	*nicht8* (91)	ch
*kī?θenwi	stormy	*kichtin8* (106)	ch	*kichtin*^{8} (51)	ch
*me?θamēkwa	whale	*michtameg8* (150)	ch	*michtameg8* (73)	ch
*pwe?θ–	put on clothing	*p8chtassïanan* (316)	ch	*nip8chtastisinahau* (137)	ch
*kwe?θēwa	he fears him	*nik8chten* (125)	ch	*nik8chten* (60)	ch
*we?θwe?θwetamwa	cough	*8cht8ten* (225)	ch	*ni8t8cht8ten* (104)	ch
*θa?θehs–	mitten	*achtis* (11)	ch	*achtis* (9) *nitastis* (90)	ch/s
*θe?θēmāwa	tobacco	*kistēmau* (166)	s	*kichtemau* (51)	ch
*ne?tami	first	*nichtam nichtan* (191)	ch	*nichtam* (91)	ch
*me?tekwa	tree	*michtik8 mistik8ach* (151)	ch/s	*mistig8* (73)	s
*kešyā?tēwi	hot weather	*kichachte8* (100)	ch	*kichachte8* (48)	ch
*aθoxkyē?tawēwa	work for him	*atos(ch)techtāgan* (42)	ch	*nitatochtecht8au* (21)	ch
*ne?tekwāni	my head	*8chtigǩan 8stigǩan* (226)	ch/s	*nichtig8an* (29)	ch
*meni?tekwi	island	*ministik minichtik8* (155)	ch/s	*michiministik8* (73)	s
*pāwi?tekwi	rapids	*pa8ichtik8 pahaustik* (271)	ch/s	*pa8istik* (121)	s
*namē?tēkwa	fish	*namestek* (175)	s	*namestek* (83)	s

Table 1. *?t and *?θ in Old Montagnais

Montagnais words from Fabvre and Silvy.

There is a consistent shift from *ʔθ to /št/ in both Fabvre and Silvy, with a few cases of /št/ paired with a variant /st/ or only /st/. The sound change from *ʔt is also strikingly consistent between the two authors: where Silvy has *ch*, Fabvre writes the same; where Silvy has *s*, Fabvre writes *ch/s*. Thus it seems quite clear that Proto-Algonquian *ʔt had two Old Montagnais reflexes: /št/ and /st/. As will be seen in §4.4, *ʔt was not the only source of /st/ in Old Montagnais.

Although there is no apparent phonological basis to predict which form would occur in Old Montagnais, a pattern certainly exists. *ʔt changes to /št/ except when the following syllable is *{e/ē}kw. There is a strong tendency for the syllable *{e/ē}kw to be stem final, so that where Fabvre has predictably both /št/ and /st/ in his entry for *neʔtekwāni, Silvy reports only /št/; thus by the time of Silvy's recording, the rule had become:

$$*ʔt \rightarrow st \;/\; \_\; \{*e/*ē\}k(w)\#$$

This rule might also include *ʔθ as well as *ʔt, but I have no examples with *ʔθ in this environment.

Cowan (1979) suggests that there are in fact two such clusters in Old Montagnais, stable /št/ and unstable alternating /št/~/st/, each variant stemming

from a different Proto-Algonquian cluster—although he does not clearly state which cluster (*ʔt and *ʔθ) leads to which variant. My research, on the other hand, does not support this conclusion. In Silvy, both clusters produce a stable form, /št/, /st/ < /št/ being recoverable via a sound change. Fabvre's material does not show the same clear relationship between /st/ and /št/ here, but where Silvy has /st/ Fabvre tends to have recorded /st/ or the variation. As for the exceptions of 'tobacco' and 'mitten' Cowan reports that these seem to have gone through "some sort of analogic reformation...which makes the forms slightly problematical" (1979:4).

In the modern dialects of Naskapi, Inland East Cree, and Montagnais, the differences between /šC/ and /sC/ have been neutralised, so there are no corroborating data from these languages. Modern Coastal East Cree distinguishes the two sibilants, but does not apply the same rule as proposed for Old Montagnais.

3. Proto-Algonquian *[č]

3.0

Where Proto-Algonquian has the reconstructed allophone of *t, *[č][8], Fabvre and Silvy write *tch*, which I assume to be the palato-alveolar affricate /č/, based both on the French pronunciation of the spelling *tch* as well as their treatment of the

reflex of word-final *k as *ts*, showing that both authors distinguished [č] from [c]. On rare occasions, the Old Montagnais dictionaries employ the grapheme *d* before a high front vowel to indicate /č/, and even less commonly, *g* or *tg* before a high front vowel, emulating French orthographic rules.

1. *[č]īpaya ghost

   Tchipai (F.370) *'Ames de trépassées'* 'souls of the dead'

   tchipaï (S.155) *'l'âme d'un trépassé'* 'the soul of a dead person'

   /čīpai/ (BM) *'cadavre, mort; fantôme'* 'dead body, ghost'

2. *ā[č]imo- tell a story (AI)

   Tipatchimau (F.378) *'raconter à qlqn'* 'tell to s.o.'

   ni tipatchimau (S.157) *'je lui dis'* 'I say to him'

   /tipāčimu/ (BM) *'il raconte une histoire...'* 'he tells a (lived) story'

3. *eši[č]imē- paddle there (AI)

   Ichitchiman e8 (F.72) *'partir, aller par eau'* 'leave, go by water'

   nit'ichitchiman (S.36) *'je navigue'* 'I sail, go by boat'

   /išičimēw/ (SEC) Δᔑᑎᒣ° 'he paddles to'

3.1

Three consonant clusters end in *[-č]: *[hč], *[nč], and *[ʔč]. Proto-Algonquian words which contain the first two clusters are always written as *tch* by Fabvre and Silvy. I am treating the Old Montagnais reflex of *[nč] and *[hč] as /hč/ for reasons explained in §1.2.

1.	*mwēh[č]ih	certainly	
	M8ets, moets (F.167)	'fort bien, Fortement'	'strongly'
	m8etch (S.80)	'tout à fait, entièrement'	
	/mwehč/ (SEC)	·ᒣᑊᑌ	'just like, exactly the same'
2.	*meθen[č]yi	my hand	
	nititchi (F.163)	*'ma main'*	'my hand'
	nikin8titchan (S.54)	*'j'ai une longue main'*	'I have a long hand'
	/mitīči/ (MM)	*'main'*	'hand'
3.	*ān[č]ih-	change (TA)	
	Atchi8sin i8 (F.40)	*'changeante en mary'*	'changing ones husband'
	nit'atchi8i8in (S.20)	*'je change de femme'*	'I change wives'
	/āhčihāu/ (NEC)	◁ᑊᒋᑊ◁°	'he changes, relocates him'

3.2

There are few examples of *ʔ[č] in the dictionaries of Fabvre and Silvy, and those which do exist display a high degree of variation. The data below suggest that *[ʔč] had originally become *tch* /hč/ in Old Montagnais, although the form *st* /st/ also appears. In this case, /st/ is the result of depalatalising the *[č] element to produce *ʔt.

1.	*yeʔtyākwa	soul	
	Atchak^{8} (F.39)	*'ame, anima'*	'soul'
	atchak8 (S.20)	*'âme'*	'soul'
	/ačakᵘ/ (BM)	*'âme, esprit'*	'sould, spirit'

2. *ke?[č]ineθki right hand

   Kistinititchi (F.118) *'La main droite'* 'the right hand'

   nikistinit, nikistinistitchi (S.57)

   'ma main droite' 'my right hand'

3. *[č]i?[č]īkwa wart

   Kitchĭg8n tchichg8n (F.104)[9]

   'verrue, verruca' 'wart'

   kichig8a kichig8n (S.49)

   'verrue' 'wart'

   /učičikumu/ (BM) *'il a une verrue'* 'he has a wart'

Example 3 shows that in Fabvre's time, there was some variation between *tch* and *ch*. However, his dictionary order indicates that he felt the *ch*-form to be primary; Silvy has only *ch* here.

4. Proto-Algonquian *k

4.0

One of the most readily identifiable features of the Montagnais group is that Proto-Algonquian *k becomes /č/ before front vowels. This sound change is so conspicuous that it is probably the one isogloss that most linguists use to separate the Montagnais dialects from Cree. In Old Montagnais, the process of palatalisation had just begun, and most words still show *k* instead of *tch* in many palatalising environments.

Both authors use *g* as well as *k* to represent the /k/ sound. Unlike *p~b* and *s~ch*, neither writer comments that *g* and *k* are the same sound. As there are a fair number of entries with words beginning with *g*, it does not seem reasonable to propose that *g* was used only when a long vowel preceded it. Interestingly, *g* is almost never used before the front vowels *e* and *i*, as according to French orthographical rules, this would indicate the sound [ž]. There are also a few other written variants of /k/, such as *kk* in *tikkahihan* (F.377) *'eponger'*, 'mop up', and *kh* in *askhik8* (S.18) *'loup-marin'*, 'seal'.

1. *kāhsīnkwē- wash one's face (AI)

   gassisk8atĭg8an (F.66) *'s'essuyer le front, uisage'* 'wash ones face'

   ni gassik8enis8n (S.33) *'je m'essuie le visage'* 'I wash my face'

   /kāhīkueu/ (MM) *'il s'essuie la figure'* 'he washes his face'

2. *kēkōhi something, anything

   kek8 (F.97) *'quel'* 'which'

   kek8, tchek8 (S.47) 'qu'est-ce?' 'what is it'

   /čeku/ (MM) 'quel' 'which'

4.1

K-palatalisation occurred in three stages: the first shows up as a final *ts* in Old Montagnais. The rule is: *k→/č/ / _[–back]#, or *k palatalises to /č/ before a Proto-Algonquian front vowel in the final syllable. As all of the writers con-

sistently employ the digraph *ts*—or, in the case of Massé, *tz*—instead of *tch*, I submit that in this position, /č/ was pronounced [c] not [č]. This change had already become apparent in the early 1600's, where Massé translates 'on earth' as *assitz* (Proto-Algonquian *axkinki). Here the locative suffix *-nki becomes /hts/, indicating that palatalisation affects consonant clusters ending in *k as well.[10] In Fabvre, the vast majority of animate plurals still end in *-k* and in Silvy, while k-palatalisation may have been becoming the norm, the overwhelming number of counterexamples show the process was still far from complete.[11] This said, occasionally the letter *k* is written where one would definitively expect /č/, as in *nikech, nitchech* (F.97) ← *netyē?ti 'my nerve', or *kichtemau* (S.51) ← *θe?θēmāwa 'tobacco'. This is taken as evidence that orthographic *k* was sometimes being used to write /č/. Instances of *k* in a palatalising environment may have been an orthographic convention.

1. *kelakexkaw- 'he makes him itch by foot or body movement'

   Kirakichkāg8ek ik8ak (F.116)

   'etre demangé de p8x' 'itchy with lice'

   ni kiratchichkag8ets ik8ats (S.55)

   'les poux me démangent' 'lice make me itch'

2. *8sakiseg8ek* (F.247) *'ceux de Tad8ssak'* 'people of Tadoussac'

   8satchiseg8ets (S.112) *'ceux de Tadoussac'* 'people of Tadoussac'

3. *weθākwiwi 'last night'

   8etag8chik (F.251) *'hier soir'* 'last night'

   8etag8chits (S.114) *'hier'* 'yesterday'

4. *Pachag8na8ichets* (F.259)

   'espines fort piquantes' 'very prickly thorns'

   pachag8na8ichets (S.117)

   'épines' 'thorns'

5. *naθemenki upriver

   Natimi[t]ch, mits (F.184)

   'A mont, en haut La Riui(er)e'

   'upstream'

   natimitch (S.88) *'amont, en haut de la rivière'*

   'upstream'

   /natimit/ (BM) *'en amont; à l'ouest (vents)* ' upstream, westerly'

4.2

The second type of k-palatalisation occurs in the middle of a word, before a front vowel, i.e. /ē/, /i/, or /ī/.

$$*k \rightarrow /č/ \; / \; \_ \; [-back, +vocalic]$$

Fabvre shows many more examples of mid-word k-palatalisation than word-finally, and as above, Silvy's data indicates that at that time the process had gone

further. Both authors show *k in this environment as *tch* /č/. On many occasions, Fabvre provides a *t* variant, *8akināgan 8atināgan* (F.214) 'tamarack' ← *wākenākana; Silvy also writes *t* here (102).

1. *wākenam- bend (TI)

8akĭnen nam8 (F.214)	*'plier, c8rber'*	'bend, curve'
ni 8atchinen (S.99)	*'je plie, je courbe'*	'I bend, curve'

2. *kīwē- around, turning, returning

Ka(tch/k) i8esk8erin (F.89)		
	't8rner...la teste...'	'turn one's head...'
nikatchi8eskerin (S.44)	*'je tourne...la tête...'*	'I turn my head...'

3. *walakēθkwa bark

8rakechk8a (F.246)	*'t8te sorte d(')ecorce d(')arbres'*	
	'all kinds of tree bark'	
8ratchechk8 (S.112)	*'toute écorce d'arbre'*	'all tree bark'
/ulačēšk^{u}/ (BM)	*'écorce'*	'bark'
/uānāčehk^{u}/ (MM)	*'écorce'*	'bark

The case of *d* occurs in the entry *pimabedinen -nam8* (F.298), *ni pimabed-inen* (S.131) 'twist'. Predictably, as in the case with *b*, the preceding vowel is long. Interestingly, in Betsiamites Montagnais, the modern form of the word is /pīmāpič̲ēnam/ 'he twists s.t.', and in East Cree, /pīmāpihč̲ēnam/ 'he twists it'. The modern words show that the root of 'twist' should contain /č/, not /t/. A fur-

ther example comes from Fabvre: *Sa<u>d</u>isin* 'to be afraid'; the Proto-Algonquian cognate is *sē<u>k</u>esi-. By the k-palatalisation rule (§4.2), one would expect the phoneme *k to change to /č/. Both *t* and *d* represent a palatalised sound before a high front vowel, as in modern Acadian French.

4.3

Although intervocalic k-palatalisation had developed quite strongly in Silvy, palatalisation at the beginning of a word is much less common. Either /k/ resisted palatalisation word-initially, or it would have required Silvy to do a wholescale reordering of his dictionary—as he typically kept the same order as Fabvre,[12] Silvy may have decided to keep initial *k* to save himself this organisational task. Whichever the case, I will work under the former assumption.

1.	*kīlawi	you (sg.)	
	kir (F.116)	*'toy'*	'you (sg.)
	kir (S.55)	*'toi'*	'you (sg.)
	/čīn/ (MM)	*'toi'*	'you (sg.)
2.	*keki	having, with	
	Kiki (F.109)	*'auec, uel Auprès'*	'with, next to'
	kitchi (S.52)	*'auprès, avec'*	'next to, with'
	/čič/ (EC)	ᒋᐩ	'including, along with'

4.4

While the process of k-palatalisation (§4) can be said to be complete when Fabvre began compiling his dictionary, a new change was just beginning: st-assibilation.

$$st \rightarrow ss \,/\, V \_ V$$

Although this rule could be listed along with the *t clusters, it only occurs in words when the /t/ comes from Proto-Algonquian *k. The great majority of entries in the two dictionaries have only *st*, but a few incorporate this new change, which in the modern dialects is limited to Montagnais-proper—not East Cree or Naskapi.

1. *maškimotay– bag

Mastim8tě8ach (F.141)	*'sac, p8che, basace'*	'bag, pocket, pouch'
massim8te8ach (S.69)	*'sac'*	'bag'
/massimutueuš/ (BM)	*'sac, poche'*	'bag, pocket'[13]

2. *pāθkenam- open, uncover

Pastinen, passinen (F.282)

'ouurir, dec8urir son uisage'

'open, uncover his/her face'

ni passinen, pastinen (S.125)

'je tourne, j'ouvre un feuillet'

'I am turning, opening a page'

/pāssinēu/ (BM) *'il l'expose, le découvre'*

'he is exposing, uncovering him/her'

4.5

There are seven different consonant clusters which have *k as their second element: *čk,*hk, *nk, *sk, *šk, *θk, *xk. Like the other consonant clusters already discussed, there is some degree of confusion and apparent inconsistency surrounding *ch* and *s*. This is compounded by k-palatalisation. Before looking at the individual cases, it is useful to look at the fourth variation on *k sound change:

{s,š} k → st / _ [–back, +vocalic]

As opposed to the first three palatalisation sound changes which affect a plain *k, this *k→t change had been completely implemented by the time of Silvy and Fabvre; there are virtually no cases of /k/ retained in this position.

4.6

Proto-Algonquian *čk becomes *sk* /sk/ in Old Montagnais. There are not many examples available for *čk, so there is the possibility that *chk* could also be a reflex, but there are no data to corroborate this.

1.	*welakačkwali	his palate	
	8aragask8 (F.220)	*'palais d'animal'*	'palate of an animal'
	/ulakaškua/ (BM)	*'(son) palais'*	'(his/her) palate'
2.	*pački	a little bit	
	Pasti (F.282) (S.125)	*'une partie'*	'a part'
	/pisč/ (NEC)	ᐱᖏ	'some'

4.7

Proto-Algonquian *hk and *nk become /hk/ in Old Montagnais, written *k* (or very rarely *g*) in Old Montagnais.

1.	*atehkamēkwa	whitefish	
	Attikămeg (F.43)	*'poisson blanc'*	'whitefish'
	attikameg^{s} (S.22)	*'poisson blanc'*	'whitefish'
	/atīkamek^{u}/ (MM)	*'poisson blanc'*	'whitefish'
2.	*ehkwa	louse	
	Ik8a pl. 8ak (F.75)	*'poux'*	'lice'
	ik8a (S.37)	*'pou'*	'louse'
	/īhkw/ (N)	Δ^{d}	'louse'

3.	*kawenkwaʔši-	be sleepy (AI)	
	Ka8ik8ăchin n8 (F.92)	*'se rendormir'*	'to fall asleep again'
	ni ka8ik8achin (S.45)	*'je me rendors'*	'I fall asleep again'
	/kauhkašū/ (SEC)	ᑲᐅᐦᑲᓇ̀	'he falls asleep'
4.	*lānk-	light weight	
	Rakachi8, Ragachk8emagachi8 (F.320)		
		'etre leger'	'to be light weight'
	ra(g/k)achi8a (S.139)	*'cela est leger'*	'that is light weight'
	/lākašu/ (BM)	*'c'est léger'*	'it is light weight'

4.8

Unlike the two consonant cluster reflexes discussed above, *sk seems to show some variation between *k* and *sk* as in Silvy's word for 'seal' (example 1). However, this instance of *sk* indicates that it is an Ojibway word, /āskik/. Thus the Old Montagnais reflex of *sk is /hk/.

1.	*āskikwa	seal	
	Akĭk^{8} (F.19)	*'l8p-marin'*	'seal'
	askhik8 (S.18)	*'loup-marin'*	'seal'
	/āčuk^{u}/ (MM)	*'phoque'*	'seal'
2.	*nōskwātam-	lick (TI)	
	N8k8aten tam (F.203)	*'Lecher, lambēre'*	'lick s.t.'
	ni n8k8aten (S.95)	*'je lèche'*	'I am licking'
	/nūkuātam/ (BM)	*'il le lèche'*	'he is licking it'

3. *meskwē-, meskwesi- be red (II, AI)

Mikǎsin i8 (F.153)	*'Etre r8ge'*	'to be red'
mik8au (S.74)	*'cela est rouge'*	'that is red'
/mīhkusīw/ (N)	ᒥᐦᑳᓰᐤ	'she/he is red'

4.9

A stable source of Old Montagnais /šk/ is *šk. It is stable in the sense that there is no confusion between /šk/ and /sk/.

1. *ešk**w**āntēmi door

ichk8aten (F.73)	*'quarrure de porte'*	'shape of a door'
ichk8atem (S.37)	*'carrure de porte'*	'shape of a door'
/iškwātēm/ (BM)	*'porte d'une maison'*	'door of a house'

2. *ešk**w**etēwi fire

ichk8te8 (F.73)(S.37)	*'feu'*	'fire'
/iskutāw/ (N)	ᐃᓴᑯᑕᐤ	'fire'

Proto-Algonquian roots containing *šk before a front vowel do participate in *k→t, although there seems to be some hesitance in Fabvre and Silvy in de-palatalising the sibilant /š/ when before /t/(←k).

3.	*aškipo-	eat raw food (AI)	
	Achtǐb8n (F.10)	*'manger cru ou cuit'*	'to eat raw or cooked food'
	nit'achtib8n (S.9)	*'je mange cru'*	'I am eating raw food'
	/asčipū/ (EC)	ᐊᑎᒋ	'he eats something raw'
4.	*maškimotay-	bag	
	Mastim8tě8ach (F.141)	*'sac, p8che, basace'*	'bag, pocket, pouch'
	massim8te8ach (S.69)	*'sac'*	'bag'
	/massimutueuš/ (BM)	*'sac, poche'*	'bag, pocket'

4.10

The Old Montagnais reflex of *θk is *sk* /sk/, with occasional appearances of *chk* /šk/—probably errors in Fabvre's or Silvy's recording.

1.	*-āpeθk-	stone, metal	
	Abiskau (F.2)	*'choses de pierre fer'*	'iron ore'
	peïok8 abiskau (S.5)	*'une chose de fer'*	'one piece of iron'
2.	*weθkanali	bones	
	8skan (F.248) (S.113)	*'ossemts'*	'bones'
	/uškan/ (BM)	*'(son) os'*	'his/her bone'
3.	*weθkweni	liver	
	8sk8n (F.249) (S.113)	*'foÿes d'animaux'*	'animal liver'
	/uskun/ (EC)	ᐅᑲᐢ	'(his) liver'

4. *kwēθkenam- turn (TI)

K8echkag8tĭtan (F.125)

'tourner, uirer uiance' 'to turn, curve'

nik8esk8sinen (S.61) *'je tourne la broche avec la main'*

'I turn the pin by hand'

nik8echkag8titan(S.61) *'je tourne la chair dans la chaudière'*

'I turn the meat in the boiler'[14]

/kwāsčinim/ (N) :ᑲᐟᒋσᒪ 'she/he turns it over'

4.11

Proto-Algonquian *xk proves to be a difficult case in Old Montagnais, but it appears to have become *sk* /sk/, with some variants showing *chk* /šk/. Cowan (1976:144) makes a case for "une distinction entre les réflexes des groupes consonantiques proto-algonquiens *xk et *θk."[15] The basis of his argument is that *θk changes to /sk/ while *xk alternates between /sk/ and /šk/. The data in his article are: *xk → /sk/~/šk/: 17 instances; *xk → /sk/ only: 3 instances – a ratio of 85%:15%. These numbers show a tendency towards the alternating variant (although not significantly). Using the same dictionaries by Fabvre and Silvy, my results are quite different.[16]

Table 2 shows that /sk/ is by far the most common reflex of *xk, with only a few examples of variation. This evidence is at odds with the conclusion that there was a clear distinction between *xk and *θk. Hence I will treat /sk/ as the reflex

Proto-Algonquian	Gloss	Fabvre		Silvy	
*melōxkamyiwi	spring season	*Mir8skamik mits* (160)	s	*mir8skamik* (77)	s
*mexkwamya	ice	*Misk8hămi, misk8ami8* (160)	s	*misk8ami* (77)	s
*nexka	goose			*niska, nistchich* (94)	s
*kwayaxkwi	properly	*G8eïask, g8ïaskw8* (67)	s	*g8eïachk, g8iask8* (34)	ch/s
*pexkwēwi	have a lump	*Pisk8au* (308)	s	*pisk8au* (134)	s
*ākemāxkwa	white ash tree	*Akimask^{8} atchimask^{8}* (19)	s	*atchimask8* (19)	s
*anāxkyāni	mat, rug	*Anachkan, Anaskan* (24)	ch/s	*anachkachim8n, anaskan* (14)	ch/s
*aθoxkyēwa	work	*at8chkan, atoskan* (24)	ch/s	*nit'atocht(ch)em8n, nit'atostche8in* (21)	ch/s
*mexkenāhkwa	snapping turtle	*Mistinak8* (161)	st	*mistinak8 nimissinak88tanach* (78)	ss/st
*axkehkwa	kettle			*astik8* (19)	st
*axkyi	land	*asti* (36)	st	*asti* (19)	st
*kexkinōhamwa	learn	*kistinohimahau* (118)	st	*nikistinohima8au* (57)	st

Table 2. *xk in Old Montagnais

of Proto-Algonquian *xk.

5. Old Montagnais /šC/ versus /sC/

Silvy, at the beginning of the letter S, comments that *'s. cum ch confunditur'* [*s* is mixed/confused with *ch*]; nowhere is this observation more appropriate than when *s* or *ch* precedes another consonant. In virtually every Old Montagnais consonant cluster starting with a sibilant, there are exceptions to the rule: e.g. usually /sk/ but in some instances /šk/. K-palatalisation, and the k→t and st→ ss sound changes show that a great upheaval was happening in the language involving palatalisation by front vowels. Thus there should be little surprise that /s/ and its palatal counterpart /š/ would join in this series of changes.

There do seem to be trends in Old Montagnais concerning sC/šC consonant clusters. Where the second element is /p/, the outcome is almost always /sp/. There are a very few examples, like *8(ch/s)pikēgan* (F.226) 'sides of an animal' ← *nexpikēkani 'my rib', which show variation between /šp/ and /sp/. Fabvre also lists this word as *8spikegan* (F.249), and Silvy has only the *s*-version, *8spigai* (S.113). This variation is very likely a mishearing by Fabvre; it is significant that he placed *8(ch/s)pikēgan* out of alphabetical order, grouped together with a number of *8(ch/s)t-* words.

In /-t/ clusters, the sibilant is typically /š/, and for clusters containing /k/, the usual result is /sk/. There are, of course, exceptions to these generalisations. It is interesting that in modern Betsiamites Montagnais—where /SC/ clusters have been completely regularised (i.e. there is no more /s/~/š/ alternation)—the sibilant in each cluster is the opposite of what occurs in Old Montagnais, namely /šp/, /st/, /šk/.

This striking opposition between Old Montagnais and Betsiamites Montagnais hints at a possible explanation of the sC/šC confusion. It seems clear that in Central and Eastern dialects of Montagnais, Inland East Cree, and Naskapi (but not in Coastal East Cree), there was a drive to remove any phonological contrast between /š/ and /s/. This applies both to sibilants in clusters as well as regular *s and *š. In modern Montagnais, this drive resulted in the sound change *s → /š/, and in Inland East Cree and Naskapi *š → /s/. This merger, now complete, must have been in progress in the seventeenth century, with some dialects and communities choosing /š/, and others /s/ for both *s/*š as well as *sC/*šC. One can imagine that in places like Tadoussac or Lac St-Jean, the Jesuits would have met speakers from different groups of varying ages, each in a separate stage of *s regularisation. They recorded multiple forms when they heard them.

To accommodate Cowan's observations on *xk in Old Montagnais, it is entirely possible that one of the dialects kept *xk (pronounced [çk]?) distinct from *šk, accounting for the higher than expected number of alternating /sk/ and /šk/. It is perhaps more likely that there was a distinction in Old Montagnais between /sC/ and /šC/, but that Fabvre and Silvy were having trouble distinguishing the two sibilants due to phonetic interference from the second consonant (compensation for co-articulation). Furthermore, when the Proto-Algonquian phonemes *s and *š are analysed, it will be clear that Old Montagnais kept the two sounds distinct.

6. The Proto-Algonquian Sibilants: *s and *š

6.0

Plain *s and *š are virtually devoid of the kind of confusion that exists in consonant clusters. The reconstructed Proto-Algonquian phoneme *s almost always appears as *s* /s/ in the Tadoussac Montagnais dictionaries. On occasion, Fabvre and Silvy use double *ss* to represent /s/—generally in the same environment as double *tt*: the onset of the second syllable (see below §6.2,example 2).

1.	*sēkesi-	be afraid (AI)	
	Sedisin i8 (F.338)	*'auoir peur'*	'to be afraid'
	ni sedisin (S.144)	*'j'ai peur'*	'I am afraid'
	/heču/ (MM)	*'il a peur'*	'he is afraid'
2.	*kīšesamaw-	cook it for s.o. (TA)	
	ki Kichisamă8in (F.103)		
		'tu me fais cuire cela'	'you cook it for me'
	ni kichisama8au (S.49)		
		'je fais cuire pour lui'	I cook for him'
3.	*mōswa	moose	
	8ïas m8s (F.230)	*'chair d'orignal'*	'moose meat'
	m8s8 (S.81)	*'orignal'*	'moose'
	/mūš/ (BM)	*'orignal'*	'moose'
	/mūs/ (EC)	ᒧᐠ	'moose'

6.1

Quite rarely, *s will appear as *ch* /š/ in Fabvre or Silvy, or both, such as in the following example.

1.	*wāposwa	rabbit	
	8ab8ch8 pl.8ek (F.211)	*'Lieures'*	'hares'
	8ab8ch (S.98)	*'lièvre'*	'hare'
	/wāpuš/ (EC)	·ᐊ̇>ᐢ	'hare (rabbit)'

This is not necessarily due to sibilant mixing in Old Montagnais; in Moose Cree the palato-alveolar is also found for this lexical item: ·ᐊ̈>ᐢ /wāpōš/ (Ellis

1983:697). It is likely then that *wāposwa became Proto-Cree *wāpošw by diminutive consonant symbolism. A more systematic form of diminutive consonant symbolism changes all of the dental stops /t/ to /č/ and dental fricatives /s/ to /š/ in words with the diminutive suffix (MacKenzie 1980:50). A few other cases occur where a single word can have either sibilant, such as *m8stis, m8stich* (F.168) *'au fond de l'eau'* 'at the bottom of the water'. Oddly, here one would expect something like *m8stits*, where *ts* is the reflex of the locative *–nki, so the two forms of the word in Fabvre should probably have been *m8stits, m8stitch.* Other examples do not seem explicable as sound change, such as Fabvre's transcription of *'petite s8ris'* 'little mouse': *8abik8chich* for the singular, but *8abik8chi(s/ch)ek* for the plural—one would expect the plural to be only *8abik8chichek*, not *8abik8chisek* with an *s*.

6.2

Proto-Algonquian *s appears as the second element in three consonant clusters, namely *hs, *ns, and *?s. In each case, the Old Montagnais reflex is /s/.

1.	*wīyōhsi	meat	
	8ïas (F.230) (S.106)	*'chair'*	'flesh, meat'
	/ūiāš/ (BM)	*'(sa) chair, viande'*	'(his/her) flesh, meat'

2. *ēhsepana raccoon

   Eseban (F.63) *'animal, gros, gras'* 'large, fat, animal'

   esseban (S.31) *'gros animal'* 'fat animal'

3. *wetehsāpam- see in the distance (TA)

   8tisa8abămau (F.257) *'voir'* 'to see'

   8tisabetagani8i8 (S.116)

   'on le voit' 'one sees it'

   /utisāpimāw/ (N) ᐅᑎᕀᐱᒪ° 's/he sees ... in the distance'

4. *wensam- bring it to boiling (TI)

   8sen (F.248) (S.112) *'faire b8illir'* 'to make boil'

   /uswāw/ (NEC) ᐅ·ᕀ° 'he boils it (an)'

5. *namēʔsa fish

   Names (F.174) (S.83) *'poisson'* 'fish'

   /namēs/ (SEC) ᓇᒣ 'fish'

6.3

Old Montagnais consistently shows *ch* /š/ where Proto-Algonquian has *š, in all positions.

1. *ešiː[č]imē- paddle there (AI)

   Ichitchĭman e8 (F.72) *'partir, aller par eau'* 'leave, go by water'

   nit'ichitchiman (S.36) *'je navigue'* 'I sail, go by boat'

   /išichimēw/ (SEC) ᐃᔑᒋᒣ° 'he paddles to'

2. *kāšakēwa cat

   Kachakich (F.86) *'un chat animal'* 'a cat'

   kachatchichich (S.43) *'chat'* 'cat'

3. *šāpw- through

   chab8aste8 (F.45) *'Transparant'* '(be) transparent'

   chab8aste8, chib8aste8 (S.24)

   'il est transparent' 'he is transparent'

   /hāpuāhteu/ (MM) *'les rayons du soleil pénètrent'*

   'the sun's rays are coming through'

6.4

Exactly like *s, *š can be found as the second element in three consonant clusters, *hš, *nš, and *?š, and just like its alveolar counterpart, the reflex of these clusters is regular in Old Montagnais, appearing as /š/.

1. *nemehšōma my grandfather

   n8m8ch8m (F.150)(S.80)

   'mon grand père' 'my grandfather'

   /ūmuhummāu/ (MM) *'grand-père'* 'grandfather'

2. *-ihšin- fall/lie (AI)

   Ka8ichinin (F.91) *'tomber à terre...'* 'fall to the ground'

   ni ka8ichinin (S.45) *'je tombe'* 'I am falling'

   /kāuhinu/ (MM) *'il tombe'* 'he is falling'

3.	*nōnšyēʔθemwa	female dog	
	N8chestim8 (F.203)	*'chienne qui a des petits'*	
		'female dog with puppies'	
	n8chestim8 (S.95)	*'chienne ayant des petits'*	
		'female dog who has puppies'	
	/nūsāstim/ (N)	ᓄᓴᐣᑎᒻ	'female dog'
4.	*kawāʔši-	be blown down (AI)	
	Ka8achi8 mistik (F.91)	*'bois renuersé par le vent'*	
		'wood knocked down by the wind'	
	ni ka8achin (S.44)	*'le vent me renverse'*	'the wind blows me over'
	/kūwāšū/ (NEC)	ᑯ·ᐊᕐᕕ	'it (anim) blows down'
5.	*eleneʔšipa	ordinary duck, mallard	
	Irinichip (F.76) (S.38)	*'canard'*	'duck
	/ilnišip/ (BM)	*'canard noir'*	'black duck'

The Proto-Algonquian Nasals: *m and *n

7.0

From Proto-Algonquian through to Old Montagnais—and indeed including the modern dialects[17]—the two nasals /m/ and /n/ have been remarkably stable. Apart from the reconstructed cluster *ʔm there are no instances in the proto language where a nasal constitutes the second element of a consonant cluster. Proto-Algonquian *m stays *m* /m/ in all positions. Fabvre occasionally writes *n* for *m,* as in *ichk8aten* 'door', or an alternating *m~n*: as in *nichtam~nichtan* 'first'.

Silvy's entries keep the original *m*. It could be that the data from Fabvre was miscopied, although it is strange that he would give both versions of the word for 'first'. I do not believe these dicrepancies reflect any kind of sound change.[18]

1.	*melwesi-	be good (AI)	
	Mir8̄sin (F.159)	*'Estre bon'*	'to be good'
	ni mir8sin (S.77)	*'je suis bon'*	'I am good'
	/minuhīu/ (MM)	*'il/elle est beau'*	'he/she is beautiful'
2.	*wekimāwa	chief	
	8kimau (F.241)	*'capitaine, chef...'*	'captain, leader...'
	8tchimau (S.110)	*'capitaine'*	'captain'
	/učimāw/ (N)	ᐅᑭᒪᐤ	'manager, director'

7.1

The Proto-Algonquian consonant cluster *ʔm changes to /hp/ in Old Montagnais.

1.	*wīkiwāʔmi	house	
	Miki8apika8au (F.152)	*'faire maison à qlqn.'*	'make s.o. a house.
	mitchi8ap (S.74)	*'cabane'*	'cabin'
	/mīčiwāhp/ (EC)	ᑎᑭ·ᐊᐦᐸ	'teepee'

2.	*akweʔmi	blanket	
	nit'achitaseg8n nitag8p (S.8)		
		'je mets ma robe à rebours'	
		'I put on my dress the other way around'	
	/akūhp/ (EM)	*'robe, veston, manteau'*	'dress, jacket, coat'
	/iskwāukūhp/ (N)	Δ˙ᑲᐅᑯᐸ	'(woman's) dress'

7.2

The reflex of *n in Fabvre and Silvy is always *n* /n/.

1.	*nepyi	water	
	Nipi (F.197) (S.93)	*'Eau, boisson'*	'water, drink'
	/nipi/ (MM)	*'eau, lac'*	'water, lake'
2.	*akōtin-	be hanging (AI)	
	Ak8tchĭnin (F.22)	*'c8ché dans un branle suspendu'*	
		'laid in a suspended swing'	
	/akučinu/ (BM)	*'il est suspendu'*	'he is suspended'
3.	*nīmyi-	dance (AI)	
	Nimi8 (F.195)	*'dancer'*	'dance'
	ni nimin (S.92)	*'je danse'*	'I am dancing'
	/nīmuw/ (N)	σ˩°	'he/she dances'

8. Proto-Algonquian *h and *l

8.0

Unlikely as it may at first glance seem, Proto-Algonquian *h and *l can reasonably be grouped together. Under conditions to be discussed below, *l becomes /h/. In Old Montagnais, *h appears as *h* /h/ or it may be omitted altogether. The presence of /h/ is further evidence that /hC/ clusters were still pronounced as such in the language. In the modern dialects where *h has disappeared (i.e. Betsiamites and Mingan), it has vanished from all environments (§1.2), the rule in Betsiamites Montagnais being *h → Ø. As this is not the case in either Fabvre or Silvy, this is support for the statement that /hC/ did exist, but it was not transcribed.[19] The letter *h* was also used as a hiatus marker, separating vowels and semivowels, as in *mihau* 'body' (S.73). Laure in the 1720's writes *nihiau* /nīyaw/ for 'my body'.

1.	*masenahikani	book	
	Massinahĭgan (F.141)	*'Ecrit, papier, Liure'*	'Writing, paper, book'
	massinahigan (S.68)	*'livre, écrit...'*	'book, writing...'
	/misinihīkin/ (NEC)	ᒥᓯᓂᐦᐃᑭᓐ	'letter, book'
	/mašinaikan/ (BM)	*'livre, lettre'*	'book, letter'

2.	*kexkinōhamākē-	teach people (AI)	
	Kistinohimāgan(F.118)	*'enseigner q.ch.'*	'to teach something'
	ni kistinohamagan (S.57)		
		'j'enseigne'	'I teach'
	/čisčinuhamāčew/(EC)	ᒋᐠᒋᓄᐦᐊᒫᒉᐤ	'he teaches'
3.	*wetēhyi	his heart	
	8tai (F.201)	*'son cœur'*	'his/her heart'
	nitehik (S.155)	*'dans mon cœur'*	'in my heart'
	8irin8tean (S.108)	*'graisse du cœur'*	'fat/oil of the heart'
	/utāi/ (N)	ᐅᑕᐃ	'her/his heart'

In example 3 above, the *h is not written by Fabvre, and in Silvy appears in some (*nitehik*) but not all (*8irin8tean*) instances with the same morpheme. In inanimate plurals, where the Proto-Algonquian *-ali had changed to /-ahi/ early on during the Proto-Cree phase (Pentland 1979:96), the /h/ is always absent in the dictionaries, and the inanimate plural is written either *-a* or *-ai*. The word final /h/ is still extant in East Cree. In modern Betsiamites Montagnais, although now no longer phonetically overt, /h/ in suffixes is the driving force behind falling tone. It is thus likely that in Old Montagnais, word-final /h/ was pronounced.

There are instances of *h* occurring at the beginning of words in Silvy and Fabvre, although *h never appears in this position in Proto-Algonquian. A few of

the lexical entries starting with *h* are onomatopoeic, like *Hohomisǐ8* (F.69) 'owl', or words for foreign concepts:*haïachtime8* (S.35) 'those from Gaspé', *Hiatchirini8* (F.69) 'stranger from another nation'. The changed conjunct prefix *ēh was written *he* (or sometimes *hech* before a vowel), *he Nichiats* (F.189) '(as) we (are) two', *hech isp8t* (F.69) '(as) he eats it thus'. An interesting example is *Hehebigau – 'Haragnée'* (F.69) 'spider', with a silent *h* appearing at the beginning of both the French and Montagnais words.

8.1

In Cree and Montagnais dialectology, the modern reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l is the litmus test. Following this method, modern Montagnais can be divided into three main dialect groups: East-Cree *l → /y/, Central Montagnais *l → /l/, and Eastern Montagnais *l → /n/.[20] The language described by Silvy and Fabvre falls into none of these categories; the most common sound change involving *l is *l → *r* /r/.[21] Occasionally *l changes not to /r/ but to /h/ (see §8.5). Furthermore, there is evidence that the /n/ reflex was more prevalent than appears in the dictionaries. Fabvre notes at the top of his R-chapter, *'R se prend qlq fois pr N'* – 'R appears sometimes for N' (320), showing that he was fully aware that there was a link between /r/ and /n/. Even more interesting is the comment made

by La Brosse that '*ils ont l'habitude de prononcer indistinctment n, l et r dans certains mots...nous avons adopté le r, comme purement montagnais...*' (Cooter and Simard in Silvy 1974:xxi).[22] Here it is made clear that although the different dialects' reflexes of *l were understood, the missionary writers had decided upon the letter *r* to represent a phoneme which could be realised /n/~/l/~/r/.

1.	*ēlikwa	ant	
	Erĭg8 (F.63)	*'F8rmy, formica'*	'ant'
	erig8 (S.31)	*'fourmi'*	'ant'
	/ēlikᵘ/ (BM)	*'araignée, crabe'*	'spider, crab'
2.	-īl-	personal pronoun base	
	Nir (F.197)	*'moy'*	'me'
	8ir (S.107)	*'lui'*	'him'
	/wīy/ (N)	·Δᵛ	'he/she, him/her, it'

8.2

There are three Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters involving *l as the second component: *hl, *nl, and *ʔl. The first, *hl is extremely rare, the example below being the only word reconstructed with *hl.

1.	*lēhlē-	breath (AI)	
	Rehan, nehan, reran (F.323)		
		'respirer...'	'to breathe...'
	ni rehan, ni nehan (S.140)		
		'je respire'	'I am breathing'
	nēnēu (MM)	*'il respire'*	'he/she is breathing'
	/yēhyēw/ (EC)	ᐊᐦᐊᐤ	'he breathes'

It appears that the basic reflex of *hl is *h* /h/, as it appears in all but one of the versions written down by the two authors, with *rehan* as the primary entry. That East Cree has /hy/ for *hl, keeping with its tendency to keep pre-consonantal /h/, hints at a possible sound change mechanism, from *hl → *hr → /h/.

8.3

As with *hl above, *nl generally appears as *h* /h/ in Silvy and Fabvre, rarely with the alternative *r*.

1.	*nōnl-	breastfeed (TA)	
	N8hau (F.203)	*'aletter'*	'to breastfeed'
	ni n8hau (S.95)	*'je l'allaite'*	'I breastfeed him/her'
	/nūhāniāuahu/ (MM)	*'elle allaite son bébé'*	'she breastfeeds her baby'.
	/nūnāmēw/ (BM)	*'il le tète'*	'he (*sic*) breastfeeds him'

2.	*wīnl-	name (TA)	
	8ihau 8irau (F.232)	*'nommer'*	'to name'
	ni 8ihau (S.106)	*'je profère, je nomme'*	'I am uttering, am naming'
	/uīlēu/ (BM)	*'il le nomme'*	'he is naming him'
	/wīhēw/ (SEC)	·Δ̇ᑊ∇°	'he gives him a name'

8.4

The last consonant cluster involving *l is Proto-Algonquian *ʔl. Here there is some variation between *r* and *h* by Fabvre, but only *h* by Silvy. In one case (underlined in example 2), Silvy represents this /h/ by *ch*; this could be an error, a miscopying, or a palatalisation of the fricative (perhaps [ç]).

1.	*aʔlapya	net	
	Arăbi (F.31)	*'Rez à prendre poisson'*	'net for taking fish'
	/alapī/ (BM)	*'filet'*	'net'
	/ahīpī/ (EC)	◁ᑊΔ̇Λ̇	'net'
2.	*ešpiʔlē-	fly high (AI)	
	Ichpire8 (F.74)	*'il uole haut'*	'he is flying high'
	Ispire8 ispihe8 (F.81)	*'Il vole bien haut l'oiseau'*	
		'the bird is flying very high'	
	ichpire8 (S.37)	*'il vole haut'*	'he is flying high'
	ispicheu (S.40)	*'il vole bien haut'*	'he is flying very high'

3. āntaʔlēwa	move to another place (TA)	
Atăhen (F.37)	*'rep8sser...'*	'push away...'
nit'atahen (S.19)	*'je pousse l'aviron...'*	'I am pushing the oar...'
/āhtihēu/ (SEC)	ᐊ̇ᐦᑎᐦᐁᐤ	
	'he places him somewhere else'	

8.5

The alternative forms of words containing Proto-Algonquian *l given in the Tadoussac Montagnais dictionaries raises an important issue, namely, why in some cases the reflex is *r* and in others *h*. I will leave aside the occurrences of *n* as there are n-dialects of Montagnais spoken today on the Bas-Côte-Nord. What is apparent in the data is that for *l and each of the three *l clusters, there are two reflexes: /r/ and /h/. The former is by far the most common reflex of *l, while the latter is the most common for *hl, *nl, and *ʔl.[23] Fabvre tends to show more *h~l* variation than does Silvy, indicating that by the time Silvy was compiling his lexicon, the situation was in the process of sorting itself out. Below is an example of *l → /h/.

1. *lexkanapi- stay overnight AI

Hiskanăbin riskanăbin (F.69)

'sei8rner' 'to stay somewhere'

riskanapin (S.140) *'je demeure encore ce soir'*

'I am staying again tonight'

/iskanapū/ (SEC) ᐃᐢᑲᓇᐳ 'he spends the day in camp'

There are several possible explanations for this variation. The authors could have misheard their Montagnais informants. The *h* could have been silent or a /y/ from an East Cree dialect. Or here one can see the emergence of a new reflex of *l, and consequently a short-lived h-dialect.

It seems that there may have been an area, probably in western Québec, where there was a tendency to pronounce *l as /h/. Speakers of this dialect were present during the time of Fabvre's data collection, but had not collaborated as much with Silvy, or had been assimilated into the r-dialect by that time. Thus there would have been a isogloss running north-south through central Québec, the eastern portion retaining their /r/ or /n/ for all cases of *l, and a western portion that was progressively turning to /h/. Remnants of the latter can be heard in East Cree.

Old Montagnais semivowels

9. Proto-Algonquian *w

9.0

The two Proto-Algonquian semivowels *w and *y are distinct from the other consonants in that their reflexes in Old Montagnais (and Cree) depend largely on the quality and quantity of the neighbouring vowels. Semivowels which appear after consonants do not function in the same way as the other consonant clusters previously discussed; up to this point, all clusters have been treated as units. The sound changes and examples below will clarify why semivowels have been separated from other consonants.

In most of the modern Montagnais orthographies, the tendency has been to write the semivowels with their short vowel counterparts, thus /w/ is written ⟨u⟩, and /y/ with ⟨i⟩. Martin (1979) discusses the phonological reasoning behind this decision. In Old Montagnais, the Jesuits also wrote /w/ and /y/ with vowel graphemes, but probably not so much for phonological reasons as for French orthographical practice. Thus pre-vocalic or inter-vocalic /w/ is written *8* or *8̆* by Fabvre—Silvy uses *8* throughout. In contrast, when /w/ appears as an off-glide at the end of a word, it is typically written with *u*, virtually the only instance of

the use of this letter. The superscript ^{8} appears in variation with *8* at the end of words only when preceded by a consonant. This is certainly [w] in the modern dialects, and most likely also in Old Montagnais.

The sound /y/ is generally indicated with a i-tréma (ï) inter-vocalically (/y/ does not occur after consonants in Old Montagnais). This letter can either function as /y/: *aïask8* (S.12) *'après'* 'after', or as /iy/: *8ïas* (F.230) *'chair'* 'meat'.[24] An off-glide /y/ is generally written with a plain *i*, although occasionally it is *ï*.

9.1

Generally speaking, Proto-Algonquian *w is retained in Silvy and Fabvre's dictionaries before a long vowel, regardless of whether the preceding sound is vocalic or consonantal.

1.	*ēmeskwāna	spoon	
	Emikǎan (F.62)	*'cuiller s'en servir'*	'spoon'
	emik8an (S.31)	*'cuiller'*	'spoon'
	/ēmikuān/ (BM)	*'cuillère'*	'spoon'
2.	*kīwē-	go home, back (AI)	
	Kiǎan e8 (F.113)	*'s'en aller, s'en ret8rner'*	'to go away, go back'
	ni ki8an (S.54)	*'je m'en retourne'*	'I am going back'
	/čīuēu/ (BM)	'il s'en retourne'	'He is going back'

3.	*kīwōtē-	go visiting (AI)	
	Kih8tan e8 (F.114)	*'faire uoÿage par eau ou par terre part8t'*	
		'to make a journey everywhere by water or land'	
	ni kih8tan (S.54)	*'je fais un petit voyage'* 'I make a short journey'	
	/čīutēw/ (SEC)	ᒋᐅᑌᐤ	'he visits'

In Aubin's Proto-Algonquian dictionary, there is only one entry containing *wō: *kīwōtē-. In modern East Cree, this *wō has become either /w/ or /u/.[25] There is a strong possibility that Fabvre and Silvy used *h* as a hiatus marker between the *i* and *8*, indicating the pronunciation /iu/ instead of /iw/ or /yu/.

9.2

Words containing *w before short vowels behave quite differently in Tadoussac Montagnais. There is a tendency for coalescence of the semivowel and vowel. Where a vowel precedes the *w as well, further alternatives are possible. Thus, *w + V̆ will be analysed in pairs.

Occurrences of *wa in Old Montagnais fluctuate between /wa/, and more rarely, /a/ word-initially or following a consonant. In the modern dialects, there is some variation between written /wa/ and /u/ at the beginning of words, but in Betsiamites Montagnais and East Cree at least, /wa/ has been completely replaced by /u/ word initially.

1.	*watōxpyi	alder	
	At8spi (F.43) (S.22)	*'aulne, bois Alnus'*	'alder, alder wood'
	/utūspī/ (EC)	ᐅᑐᐢᐱ	'speckled alder tree'
2.	*waθanyi	bird tail	
	8atăni pl. nia (F.222)	*'queïe d'oyseau'*	'bird tail'
	8atanni (S.102)	*'queue d'oiseau'*	'bird tail'
	/utanī/ (BM)	*'queue...d'un oiseau'*	'tail...of a bird'
	/uatani/ (MM)	*'queue d'oiseau'*	'bird tail'
3.	*kwesekwan-	be heavy (II)	
	K8sigšan (F.127)	*'cela est pesant'*	'that is heavy'
	k8ssik8an (S.62)	*'cela est pesant'*	'that is heavy'
	/kuhukuan/ (MM)	'c'est lourd'	'it's heavy'

9.3

Both *we and *wi become /u/ word-initially or after a consonant.

1.	*wexpwākana	pipe	
	8sp8āgan (F.250)	*'Calumet, petunoire'*	'tobacco pipe'
	8sp8agan (S.113)	*'calumet'*	'tobacco pipe'
	/ūhpuān/ (MM)	'pipe'	'pipe'
2.	*āhkwesi-	be sick (AI)	
	Akšsin (F.22)	*'Etre malade'*	'to be sick'
	nit'ak8sin (S.13)	*'je suis malade'*	'I am sick'
	/ākuhu/ (MM)	*'il est malade'*	'he is sick'

3. *apwiyi	paddle	
Ap8i (F.30)	*'auiron'*	'oar, paddle'
nap8i (S.17)	*'mon aviron'*	'my oar, paddle'
/apui/ (MM)	*'aviron, rame'*	'oar, paddle'

9.4

When there is a sequence of *VwV, words in Old Montagnais often show some assimilation towards /u/. The combinations *awe and *awi do not participate in this change. *awe resists change when the *aw is part of the root, but not elsewhere: *wīyaw-ehs-i → /wīyās/. In Proto-Algonquian, *awe contracted to *ō, which Early Cree-Montagnais generalised back to *awe, leading to *ā (Pentland 1999:250)

1. *kawenam-	knock down by hand (TI)	
Ka8inen (F.92)	*'Renuerser'*	'knock down'
ni ka8inen (S.45)	*'je renverse'*	'I am knocking down'
2. *kawihšimo-	go to bed (AI)	
Ka8ichim8n (F.91)	*'se c8cher pour dormir'*	'to lie down to sleep'
ni ka8ichim8n (S.45)	*'je me couche pour dormir'*	'I am lying down to sleep'
/kaušimū/, /kūšimū/ (EC)		
	ᑲᐅᔑᒧ, ᑯᔑᒧ	'he goes to bed'

3. *kelawexkyi-	be a liar (AI)	
Kirassika8au (F.116)	*'mentir à qlqn'*	'to lie to someone'
ni kirassika8au (S.56)	*'je lui mens'*	'I am lying to him'

When the Proto-Algonquian personal prefixes *ne-, *ke-, *we-, *me- are attached to nouns and verb stems beginning with a *w, there arise *VwV combinations which coalesce in Old Montagnais: *ewe → /ū/, *ewi → /ī/.

5. *ne-wekimāw-	1st-chief	
n8kima8in (F.241)	*'etre capitaine'*	'to be captain'
n'8tchimas8n (S.110)	*'je fais du capitaine'*	'I act like a captain'
6. *me-wipit-i	someone's tooth	
Mipit (F.155)	*'dent'*	'tooth'

9.5

When Proto-Algonquian *CwV occurs at the end of a word, the vowel deletes leaving a word-final postconsonantal semivowel. Typically, the *w also disappears in Tadoussac Montagnais, unless the preceding consonant is /k/ or /m/, in which case it is retained.[26] Both authors usually write the sound with *8* or superscript ^{8}. In the modern Montagnais orthography, this final sound is written with a superscript ^{u}.

1.	*ameθkwa	beaver	
	Amisk^{8} (F.23)	*'Castor'*	'beaver'
	amisk8 (S.14)	*'castor'*	'beaver'
	/amiskw/ (EC)	ᐊᒥᐢᑯ	'beaver'
2.	*wempenam-	lift up (TI)	
	8ipinam8 (F.245)	*'ig. Leuer, Eleuer...'*	'lift, raise s.t.'
	/upinam/ (BM)	*'il soulève qqch du sol'*	'he lifts s.t. from the ground'

10. Proto-Algonquian *y

10.0

Both Fabvre and Silvy used i-tréma (ï) to represent the /y/ phoneme when it occurs before a vowel, and plain *i* when it is an off-glide to a previous vowel. The following sections contain sound change rules applying to the Proto-Algonquian *y in Old Montagnais:

$$*y \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ C\ \_$$

1.	*wākyē-	be crooked (II)	
	8akau (F.213)	*'Il est tortu, c8rbé'*	'he/it is twisted, bent'
	8agau, 8akau (S.98)	*'il est tordu'*	'he/it is twisted'
	/uākāu/ (MM)	*'cela est courbé'*	'that is bent'
2.	*pyētaw-	bring it (TI)	
	Petan (F.289)	*'aporter qlq che par terre'*	'bring by land'
	ni petan (S.128)	*'j'apporte par terre'*	'I am bringing by land'
	/pētāw/ (SEC)	VĊ°	'he brings it'

This y-deletion occurred before k-palatalisation. This is shown by *tahkyēwi 'it is cold' → /tahkāw/ in Southern East Cree, /tākāu/ in Mingan Montagnais.

10.1

There is a restoration of post-consonantal *y in noun stems:

*Cy- → Ciy-

There are a few cases where Fabvre and Silvy write a *8* at the end of words. In these cases, the *8* either replaces the *i* or is added after it.

1.	*-xkašya	(finger, toe) nail	
	Miskăchi pl. chia (F.160)		
		'griffe, ongles d'animal'	'claw, nails of an animal'
	miskach8 (S.77)	*'griffe, ongle d'animal'*	'claw, nail of an animal'
	/uškašī/ (BM)	*'(son) ongle, griffe'*	'his/her/its nail, claw'
2.	*axkyi	land	
	asti (F.36) (S.19)	*'terre, pays'*	'land, country'
	/asčīy/ (N)	ᐊᐠᒋᔾ	'land'

10.2

After vowels, *y remains /y/.

1.	*kwayaxkwi	properly, good	
	G8eïask, g8ïaskw8 (F.67)		
		'droit, droitement'	'straight'
	g8eïachk, g8iask8 (S.34)		
		'droit'	'straight'
	/kuīšk^{u}/ (BM)	'droit'	'straight'
2.	*awiyaka	someone, anyone	
	A8ïats (F.27)	*'qlqn'*	'someone'
	a8iak (S.15)	*'quelqu'un'*	'someone'
3.	*akaskwaya	leech	
	Akak8ai pl. aïak (F.19)	*'sangsue'*	'leech'
	akak8ai pl. aïak (S.12)	*'sangsue'*	'leech'
	/akakuai/ (BM)	*'sangsue'*	'leech'

Old Montagnais Vowels

11. Proto-Algonquian *a and *ā

11.0

In most cases, the Proto-Algonquian vocalic inventory {*a, *ā, *e, *ē, *i, *ī, *o, *ō} has been retained in Tadoussac Montagnais, with the obvious exception of *e, which very early on became /i/ in all Cree and Ojibway dialects. The precise phonetic nature of the vowels recorded by Silvy and Fabvre are, of course, im-

possible to determine, but it is readily apparent that Old Montagnais had seven distinctive vowels.

In most cases in Fabvre, and virtually all in Silvy, vowel length is not indicated. The term *length* may be somewhat of a misnomer, for in modern Cree as well as Montagnais, there is a significant quality as well as quantity difference between the vowels. For example, in Betsiamites Montagnais, short /a/ is pronounced [ə] or [ʌ], while long /ā/ is [a] (Drapeau 1999). The same quantitative differentiation occurs in Sheshātshīt Montagnais (Clarke 1982:3), in Chisasibi Northern East Cree (Martin et al. 1978), and in Plains Cree. For the sake of convenience, I will continue to use the terms *long* and *short* as well as the macron to indicate long vowels. Where Fabvre does indicate vowel length, he typically does so with a breve over a short vowel, or a macron over a long vowel. These diacritics are invariably found on the penultimate syllable, suggesting that Fabvre was only hearing length—or determined it relevant—on this syllable: compare *Nichĭgan* 'pieces' with its plural *Nichigăna*. For a student of classical poetry, the usage of macrons and breves surely indicates quantitatively long and short vowels.

11.1

Proto-Algonquian short *a usually has *a* as its Old Montagnais reflex. There is some *a* ~ *e* variation in Fabvre in suffixes, e.g. *m8s8ek* 'moose pl.' for /mūswak/, the *e* likely indicating an allophone [ə].

1.	*atehkamēkwa	whitefish	
	Attikămeg (F.43)	*'poisson blanc'*	'whitefish'
	attikameg^{8} (S.22)	*'poisson blanc'*	'whitefish'
	/atīkamek^{u}/ (MM)	*'poisson blanc'*	'whitefish'
2.	*myālamēkwa	catfish	
	Maramēg8 (F.139)	*'Barbües poisson'*	'bearded fish'
	marameg8 (S.68)	*'barbu [poisson]'*	'bearded fish'
3.	* takwihšin-	arrive (AI)	
	Tag8chinin (F.351)	*'ariuer, La desus il ariua'*	
		'to arrive, on that he came'	
	ni tag8chinin (S.149)	*'j'arrive, je viens'*	'I am arriving, coming'
	/takušin/ (SEC)	ᑕᑯᔑᵃ	'he arrives'

The vowel *a is written fairly consistently as *o* or *8* when preceding a labio-velar, and *e* when preceding /y/. In a few variants of words, *a is deleted altogether.

4.	*pēyakwi	one	
	Peïok8 (F.287) (S.127)	*'un 1'*	'one 1'
	/peiuk^{u}/ (MM)	*'un'*	'one'

5. *wāpam- look at (TA)

8apămau v.8abămau 8apmau (F.219)

	'voir qlqn. n.'	'to see someone'
ni 8apamau (S.101)	*'je le vois'*	'I see him'
/uāpmēu/ (MM)	*'il le voit'*	'he sees him'

11.2

Old Montagnais has /ā/ as the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *ā. Fabvre and Silvy on occasion write this vowel with a macron *ā*, but usually just *a*:

1. *nakān- stop by hand (TA)

ki Nagānin (F.170)	*'tu m'arrestes'*	'you are stopping me'
ni naganau (S.82)	*'je l'arrête'*	'I am stopping him'
/nikānāw/ (NEC)	σ̇ḃȧ°	'he stops his...by hands...'

2. mexkāti sb's leg

Miskach v. niskats (F.160)

	'Ma Iambe'	'my leg'
miskach (S.77)	*'jambe'*	'leg'
/uškāt/ (BM)	*'sa jambe'*	'his/her/its leg'

12. Proto-Algonquian *e, *ē, *i, and *ī

12.0

Very early on in the linguistic history of the northern Algonquian languages, *e and *i merged in all environments. The result is that both of these Proto-Algonquian short vowels become *i* /i/ in Old Montagnais, sometimes written *ĭ* in Fabvre.

There are occasional examples of *a~i* variation, such as in *s8tchir8tin~s8kar8tin* (S.146) 'the wind blows strongly'. In addition, there are instances where Fabvre writes *e* in place of /i/: *ninikihau~nenekihau* (F.196) 'to hurry s.o. up'; or where the /i/ is omitted altogether: *chichi8ĭrau~chich8rau* (F.53) 'to urge/harden to battle'.

1.	*elenyiwa	person	
	Irini8 (F.76) (S.38)	*'homme'*	'person'
	/innu/ (MM)	*'un Indien'*	'an Indian'
2.	*kešīm-	anger by speech (TA)	
	Kichimau (F.103)	*'offencer quelqn....'*	'offend s.o. by speech.
	ni kichimau (S.49)	*'je l'offense ...'*	'I am offending him/her...'
	/čišimēu/ (BM)	*'il le fait fâcher...'*	'He makes him angry...'
3.	*kexkēlem-	know about (TA)	
	Kisterĭmau (F.118)	*'connoistre qlqn.'*	'to know s.o.'
	ni kisterimau (S.56)	*'je le connais'*	'I know him'
	/čisčēimēu/ (SEC)	ᒋᐠᒉᐃᒣᐤ	'he knows him'

12.1

Apart from the cases mentioned above, Tadoussac Montagnais orthographic *e* or *ē* /ē/ stems from Proto-Algonquian *ē.

1. *ēlikwa ant

Erĭg8 (F.63)	*'F8rmy, formica'*	'ant'
erig8 (S.31)	*'fourmi'*	'ant'
/ēlikᵘ/ (BM)	*'araignée, crabe'*	'spider, crab'

2. *θeʔθēmāwa tobacco

M8echtasĕmau kistēmau (F.166)		
	'Haÿr Le petun'	'to hate tobacco'
ak8bass8 tchistemau (S.13)		
	'le pétun est fort'	'the tobacco is strong'
/čistēmāu/ (MM)	*'le tabac'*	'tobacco'

12.2

Fabvre and Silvy consistently wrote *i* for /ī/, the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *ī. When a /y/ followed this vowel, the two sounds were transcribed with one letter, *ï* as in *8ïas* (F.230) 'meat', or with an *h muet*: *nihiau* (F.151) 'body', modern Montagnais /uiu/ (BM).

1. *wīni marrow

8in (F.234)	*'... moisle d'os'*	'bone marrow'
8in (S.107)	*'moelle'*	'marrow'
/wīn/ (EC)	·Δᵃ	'marrow'

2. *nīhθenam- lower (TI)

Nitinen (F.202)	*'mettre bas qlq. che'*	'lower something'
ni nitinen (S.94)	*'j'abaisse...qqch.'*	'I am lowering...s.t.'
/nitinam/ (BM)	*'il décroche...qqch'*	'he is taking down...s.t.'

13. Proto-Algonquian *o and *ō

13.0

Proto-Algonquian *o and *ō had their phonetic value raised somewhat in Old Montagnais, to the point that Fabvre and Silvy most often heard these sounds as [u] and [ū]. This shift is indicated by their choice of symbol, the omicron-upsilon ligature ȣ, used in Greek manuscripts for the combination *ou,* pronounced [u].[27] There are cases where the symbol *o* was preferred for either *o or *ō, in entries such as *nit'ap8eiron* 'I sweat from work' (S.17) or *Atostē8in* 'labour' (F.42). In most cases where *o* appears, it is in a closed syllable or in the vicinity of /h/ or /kw/, suggesting that in these environments, the vowel sound was lowered somewhat. As with other vowels, in penultimate syllables it was possible to use diacritics, *8̆ 8̄*, to indicate the length, although *8̆* could also function as a semi-vowel.

13.1

The Old Montagnais reflex of *o was *8* /u/. Proto-Algonquian *we and *wi after a consonant or at the beginning of a word are identical to *o.

1.	*eškwetēwi	fire	
	ichk8te8 (F.73)(S.37)	*'feu'*	'fire'
	/iskutāw/ (N)	ᐃᐠᑯᑕᐤ	'fire'
2.	*kenwesi-	be long (AI)	
	Kin8sĭtan (F.112)	*'auoir un pied Long'*	'to have a long foot'
	ni kin8sin (S.54)	*'je suis grand, long'*	'I am tall'
	/tnuhīu/ (MM)	*'il est long'*	'he is tall'
3.	*kyāso-	hide oneself (AI)	
	Kas8n (F.94)	*'Se cacher'*	'to hide oneself'
	ni kass8n (46)	*'je me cache'*	'I am hiding'
	/kašu/ (MM)	*'il se cache'*	'he is hiding'
4.	*kep(w)eton-	be dumb (AI)	
	Kipit8nin (F.115)	*'Etre muet'*	'be mute'
	ni kip8t8nin (S.55)	*'je suis muet'*	'I am mute'
	/čiputunēnēw/ (EC)	ᒋᐳᑐᓇᓇᐤ	
		'he shuts someone's mouth with his hand'	

13.2

Proto-Algonquian *ō consistently appears as *8* in Fabvre and Silvy's dictionaries.

1.	*ōhōmehsiwa	great horned owl	
	Hohomisĭ8 (F.69)	*'Hib8'*	'owl'
	hohomisi8 (S.35)	*'chat-huant'*	'great horned owl'
	/uhūmisū/ (EC)	ᐅᐦᐆᒥᓱ	'great horned owl'

2.	*ō[č]yēwa	fly (insect)	
	8tche8 pl 8ek (F.254)	*'grosses m8ches noires'*	'big black flies'
	8tche8 pl 8ets (S.114)	*'grosse mouche noire'*	'big black fly'
	/ūčēw/ (BM)	*'mouche domestique'*	'housefly'
3.	*pōsi-	embark (AI)	
	P8sin (F.317)	*'s'embarquer en canot'*	'to get in a canoe'
	ni p8sin (S.138)	*'je m'embarque'*	'I am embarking'
	/pūsū/ (EC)	ᓭᓯ	'he embarks'

Conclusion

The Old Montagnais Language

What was the Tadoussac dialect?

The data give a clear view of the kinds of changes the Tadoussac Montagnais dialect had experienced up until the end of the seventeenth century. The language was certainly branching off from the Cree to the west, but had not fully become the East-Cree or Montagnais of today. Two of the most defining features were k-palatalisation and *o raising to /u/. Judging from the isoglosses in Map 2, the language in *Racines montagnaises* and *Dictionnaire montagnais* has less in common with its Atikamekw neighbours than do the Coastal Southern East Cree speakers. The dashed line on the "s / š neutralised" isogloss indicates a partial sound change: Old Montagnais typically did not differentiate between sibilants before consonants, but continued to have two distinct phonemes prevocalically.

That the Jesuits recorded an r-dialect should not be too surprising. The /r/ reflex in Montagnais was current at least as far east as Québec City in the 1600's. Looking south and west, the /r/ phoneme continues to be present in Atikamekw

and Mohawk. Further along, there were r-dialects of Algonquin-Ojibway (Pentland 1978:116), and the Huron language on the shores of Lake Huron had the same phoneme. Thus there was a large area where *r* was an active member of the phonological inventory; Old Montagnais was the north-easternmost member of this region.

Bonaventure Fabvre and Antoine Silvy have left us with a rare window into a Native language and culture during the early years of colonisation. In fact, one could say that in these dictionaries we are looking at the birth of a new language, the branching off of Montagnais from its Early Cree parent. It is possible to observe sound changes like k-palatalisation and sibilant neutralisation in action; the precise changes which help define the Montagnais language today. The two authors transcribed what they heard in a commendable and relatively consistent way, rendering their dictionaries useful and quite intelligible hundreds of years later. This linguistic feat was not often imitated in the following centuries. Even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the published literature of many Native languages in North America pales by comparison. Although the Jesuits certainly lacked the level of cultural awareness and acceptance demanded today, their exemplary linguistic work, accomplished in difficult conditions without the

aids of modern technology, serves as a model for any modern linguist or lexographer.

Endnotes

[1] Of course, each community could be said to have its own ideosyncratic dialect. The dialects presented here are based on a number of shared traits and sound changes.

[2] In much of the early Montagnais documentation, word final /č/ is written *ts* or *tz*, indicating that there was a [c] allophone of /č/ in this position.

[3] Tadoussac stayed the centre of all organised missions in these vast lands, to the north of the great river [St. Lawrence]. It is there that the Indians come to get instructed and receive the sacrements from the coast of Hudson's Bay to the Anticosti Island.

[4] Eastern Montagnais does have surface hC clusters, but here the /h/ has arisen from general Montagnais /s/.

[5] That /h/ remains in this position in East Cree and Naskapi could also be because the /h/-deleting innovation present in the eastern dialects has not yet reached the coast of James Bay.

[6] Goddard (1994:196 note 14) suggests *wespani (alias weçpani) to explain the variation in Woods Cree and the *hp* reflex in other Cree-Montagnais dialects.

[7] In Cree dialects from Fort Severn, Ontario, west, /š/ has merged with /s/ (Pentland 1977: 126).

[8] *[č] is not a phoneme of Proto-Algonquian. It is an allophone of /t/ occuring before /i/, /ī/, /y/ (Pentland 1979:340). In its daughter languages Montagnais, Cree, Ojibway, etc., /č/ has the status of phoneme. In this section, I will keep [č] in brackets, emphasising its status.

[9] Listed in the dictionary amongst words beginning with *kichi-*.

[10] Modern East Cree /asčīhč/ 'on earth'. Note that the final sound is /hč/.

[11] This is probably due to the influence of Le Jeune's dictionary, where the animate plural was likely *-ak*. The instances of *-ts* in plurals are mostly in Silvy's example sentences which are absent in Fabvre.

[12] For example, *kitchi* is ordered just after *ni kikat8nan*.

[13] The plural of the Betsiamites word is /massimutueuta/. This is an example of how word final *θ becomes /s/~/š/ word finally, c.f. § 2.0.

[14] Fabvre and Silvy give many other words containing the root *kwēθk- 'turn': *K8e(sk/ss)igabă8in, K8echtiparihau, nik8essikaba8itan, nik8etchigaba8in.*

[15] "a distinction between the reflexes of the Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters *xk and *θk."

[16] I formulated my own list of *xk words without looking at Cowan's. There are several words in both our lists, others which are in mine only.

[17] Modern-day Mingan Montagnais does have nasalised diphthongs where there was previously a sequence /āni/ or /ānu/, e.g. /ntā̃ĩh/ (my daughter) from *netānehsa 'my daughter', (McNulty 1981:*vi*).

[18] In the modern dialects, there is no remnant of /n/ here: /līštam/, /iškuātēm/ (BM), /nīhtam/ (MM), ᑊᐢᒡᒐᒪ /nīštam/, ᐃᐢᐠ·ᑲᐣᑌᒪ /iškwāhtēm/ (EC), ᓂᐟᑎᒪ /nīstim/, ᐃᐟᑲᑕᒥᑭᓂᐱᐢᓈ /iskwātāmīkinipisun/ (N).

[19] Another alternative is that there were two *h-deletion rules: i) *h → Ø / _C, ii) *h → Ø, the first would be applicable in Old Montagnais, the second would not. I do not support this analysis.

[20] The n-group also includes the Davis Inlet Naskapi dialect which has phonological rules which change /n/ → /y/ in some environments (Ford 1977).

[21] The only other surviving dialect with this sound change is Atikamekw (Tête-de-boule Cree), whose territory is just to the west of Tadoussac and Lac St-Jean. Together, Atikamekw and Old Montagnais demarcate an 'r-dialect' area. This area may also include most Iroquoian languages, and Algonquian r-dialects in New England (Pentland 1978:116)

[22] 'they habitually pronounce n, l, and r interchangeably in certain words...we have adopted the letter r as purely Montagnais...'

[23] The modern dialects of Montagnais tend to show /l/ or /n/ in all cases, while in East Cree one finds /y/ ← *l and /h/ ← {*hl, *nl, *ʔl}.

[24] The tréma diacritic was used in Montagnais by Fabvre and Silvy much as it is in French: to indicate two consecutive vowels rather than a diphthong. Besides *ï*, other similarly accented letters can be found: *möa* (F.164) and *moä* (S.79) /ˀmua/ *'be quiet!'; K8eäsk–* (F.125) for the more usual *k8eïask*. In one case (F.124) the *tréma* is placed above *p*, indicating variation with *b*: *K8apĭta*. Very few, if any, other examples of the *tréma* are in the dictionaries.

[25] Modern East Cree orthography does not distinguish an off-gliding /w/ from /u/. In the middle of words, this sound is written ᐅ /u/: ᑲᐅᓯ /kāusū/ 'he is rough', but at the end of words, the syllabic final ° /w/ is employed: ᑲ·ᐊ° /kāwāw/ 'it is rough'. This indicates that word-internally, there is syllabification of the sound, although Martin (1979) makes no distinction between the two, writing both [ŭ]. This can be compared with Betsiamites Montagnais, where Drapeau writes [w]: /kaushiu/ [kawšiw] and /kauau/ [kawaw].

[26] Some modern dialect orthographies (e.g. Betsiamites, East Cree) no longer write /mw/ at the end of a word as the sound has been lost here. Mashteuiatsh has /mw/, /tw/, /šw/ word-finally (Siméon 1997).

[27] This ligature is conventionally represented by ⟨8⟩ in the writings of Algonquianists. The French authors chose this symbol because *u* in French represents [ü].

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