PHONOLOGICAL VARIANTS IN PUKATAWAGAN WOODS CREE

by

Jennifer M. Greensmith

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
of the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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PREFACE

This thesis is a first attempt at a study of the phonological

contrasts and surface variants of Woods Cree, based on the dialect

spoken at Pukatawagan, Manitoba. The analysis is based on direct

elicitation and on narrative texts, one of which is included as an

appendix.

Few studies of Cree phonology exist, and no phonological

study has been made of the Woods dialect. Traditionally, Woods

Cree has been identified as that dialect of Cree which has the

ð-reflex of Proto Algonquian *l. Although variously written as ð,

th and θ, I argue that the Pukatawagan Woods Cree reflex is indeed

ð. This reflex is usually taken as the primary dialectological

diagnostic of Cree, but it is by no means the only feature in which

Woods Cree differs from the other Cree dialects.

I hope that students and teachers of Woods Cree will find

this study of use, faced as they are, like the majority of Cree

speakers, with the problem of reading with materials based on a

dialect of Cree other than their own.

For its financial support during my fieldwork, I am grateful

to the University of Manitoba Research Board. I should like to

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In the late seventeenth century, speakers of the Woods dialect of
Cree were first encountered on the coast of Hudson's Bay. They
acted as interpreters between officials of the Hudson's Bay Company
and the tribes who came from further inland to trade with the
English. In view of this early contact, it is more than a little
ironic that the Woods dialect of Cree is now the least studied of
all the Cree dialects.

1.1 THE ð DIALECT

The Woods dialect of Cree is most often referred to as the
ð-dialect -- that is, the dialect with the sound ð in words such as
nīða 'I', where other dialects of Cree have y, n, l or r, for
example, nīya, nīna, nīla, nīra. The sound ð has been variously
described as θ, th, and d.

Beyond this formal identification, very little information
is generally given. Pentland's comparative study (1979) proves to
be an exception to the general rule in that he gives modern data
from several different Woods Cree dialect areas. His main
interest, of course, is a search for historical correspondences.

The Woods dialect of Cree has yet to be studied in detail. One reason for this neglect may be that, relative to other Cree dialects, the number of Woods Cree speakers is small. Another reason may simply be that there has not been a linguist in the areas where the dialect is spoken.

1.2 NUMBER OF WOODS CREE SPEAKERS

According to Smith (1981:268), the population of "Western Woods Cree" by government bands in 1978 (Canada 1980) was given as 35,550. This figure is totally misleading -- it is based on legal and cultural affiliation rather than linguistic status, and encompasses all speakers of Woods Cree proper, as well as most, if not all, of the Northern Plains Cree and the Western Swampy Cree. If we add together the figures given for bands that are known to be in the Woods Cree dialect area, possibly no more than 8,000 of the total number may be speakers of Woods Cree. This figure in itself is only a rough estimate, as it reflects only the number of 'treaty' Indians, not all of whom speak Cree, whilst ignoring the number of Métis and 'non-treaty' Indians, many of whom are Cree speakers.

Wolfart (1973:10) quotes government figures for numbers of Plains Cree, to a total of 26,000, although he notes that the figures are not reliable for dialect or even language assignment.

Ellis (1973:6) suggests figures of 24,000 Swampy Cree speakers, 21,000 Plains Cree, a tentative 2,500 for the ð- and the r-dialects combined, and another 2,500 Moose Cree speakers.

While Ellis' figures may appear somewhat low in comparison to the figure of 8,000 given previously, we must take into account the fact that a proportion of each band number will not speak Cree -- or, at least, will not consider Cree as their first language. Some who grow up in urban centres do not speak Cree at home, whilst others who grow up on a reservation may learn their native language along with the more traditional way of life.

In view of the small number of speakers, it is perhaps not surprising that the Woods dialect has had a low priority for study and, furthermore, that nothing has been written specifically about Woods Cree.

1.3   NO MATERIAL FOR CLASSROOM USE

As we shall see, there are three paedagogical works which have been produced for the dialects with the majority of speakers -- for James Bay Cree, for Manitoba Swampy Cree, and for Plains Cree. As a direct result of the existence of these teaching manuals, and of the absence of anything comparable for Woods Cree, speakers of this dialect are of necessity presented with material based upon an unfamiliar dialect. They meet different sounds, words and inflectional endings, as well as unfamiliar sentence patterns and

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meanings. All this cannot fail to create the impression that Woods
Cree is not the "correct" form of Cree to speak.

Soveran (1966) writes about the difficulties that Cree
speakers encounter when learning the sound system of English. Her
observations on the handicap of a foreign accent apply equally to a
speaker of a different dialect:

> A foreign accent is a handicap when it colors speech in
> such a way as to cause social discrimination, classing
> the speaker as an "outsider", making it hard for him to
> be accepted on an equal footing with the rest of the
> group.

This, of course can happen to anyone who speaks a dialect that
differs from the mainstream. From my own experience as a speaker
of "British English", I find that on certain occasions it is more
expedient to conform to the speech pattern of the majority. For
instance, when I was teaching some local children how to cook, the
recipe for

[təmeyDə sas] ,

with vowels similar to those of Canadian English made and loss, was
accepted without question. They thought my British pronunciation
of

[təmātou sɔs] ,

with vowels similar to those of Canadian English saw and or, was
very odd!

Confidence in one's native dialect is likely to be shaken when one is living in a different setting -- for instance, in an urban centre for schooling -- and when one is taught with material based upon a different dialect.

In Meet Cree, Wolfart and Carroll mention briefly the different dialects of Cree, and speak of the "minor and superficial adjustments" required for a particular dialect area. In the case of the Woods dialect of Cree we suspect that they are neither.

1.4   STUDIES OF OTHER CREE DIALECTS

We have alluded to linguistic and paedagogical studies of the other Cree dialects. In this section, we shall review them in greater detail, moving across the country from east to west.

In the east, we begin with the detailed dialect survey of MacKenzie (1980). In this, the dialects of Cree spoken in Québec and the Labrador peninsula are identified as East Cree, Naskapi and Montagnais. This is a significant departure from previous analyses, notably Michelson (1939), which split Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi apart on the basis of the palatalisation of k to č.

There is now a considerable amount of material for these dialects of Cree, ranging from the work of MacKenzie through numerous grammatical studies such as those of Mailhot and Lescop

(1975) and Drapeau (1979), to whole books written by native speakers themselves with a French translation alongside the Cree text; here we are referring to Kapesh (1976, 1979).

Further west, Moose Cree, an l-dialect, is spoken at Moose Factory and near Fort Albany in Ontario. This dialect is the basis for several technical papers in syntax by James (e.g. 1982, 1983).

The Swampy dialect -- where n is the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l -- is spoken in both Ontario and Manitoba. Pentland (1979:59) subdivides the dialect into the Eastern Swampy dialects which are spoken at Fort Albany, Attawapiskat and Winisk; and the Western Swampy dialects, spoken from Fort Severn to Cumberland House, Saskatchewan.

For the Eastern Swampy dialect, we have the comprehensive teaching manual of Ellis (1983). This contains whole sections of conversational drills with the Cree written in syllabics as well as Roman orthography. Somewhat confusing to the casual reader is the conflict between Ellis' statement that this is a manual based on the Swampy Cree dialect, and the fact that throughout he uses the symbol l, the sound that is normally associated with the Moose dialect of Cree. Ellis' explanation is that the form of the syllabary used is that of Moose Cree, hence the l in the transcription. It does, however, leave one with the impression that the only difference between two adjacent Cree dialects is the substitution of one sound for another. As far as the Woods dialect

of Cree is concerned, this impression may well turn out to be a false one.

For the Western Swampy Cree dialect spoken in Manitoba, Voorhis has compiled a Cree phrase-book and grammar with the help of native speakers who first learned their Cree in different communities throughout the province (Voorhis et al. 1972). Voorhis uses the symbol n̄ for the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l, to distinguish it from the other n, which is present in all dialects of Cree. This enables speakers of other dialects to know where "their special sound" is likely to occur. Voorhis states (p. 7):

> This book is based on the Cree dialects of Manitoba.
> Where these dialects differ from one another, the dialect
> of Norway House (...) is used, <u>not because it is
> preferable</u>, but only because most of the contributors to
> this book are from there.

Voorhis shows by his careful wording [my underlining] that he is very much aware of the practical consequences of presenting material in only one dialect. He also gives other Manitoba Cree dialect forms where they are available. His "northern" variants have been especially useful in making comparisons with the Woods dialect.

In the west, the Plains or y-dialect of Cree is spoken in Alberta and Saskatchewan, extending south into the U.S.A. and west into the Peace River district of British Columbia. It is spread over the widest area of all the Cree dialects, although there are probably more speakers of Swampy Cree.

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The greatest wealth of data for this dialect lies in the texts collected by Bloomfield in Saskatchewan in 1925 (Bloomfield 1930, 1934). Plains Cree is the only dialect of Cree (excluding East Cree, Naskapi and Montagnais) for which there is a modern reference grammar (Wolfart 1973), and now it also has a text-based teaching manual (Ahenakew 1984). This manual is the only work of its kind in Cree to be written by a linguist who is also a native speaker of the language being presented.

In comparison with the above material available for a variety of Cree dialects, modern Woods Cree has nothing with which students, teachers and speakers of the dialect can identify. The only material that has been recorded falls into the category of historical documentation.

1.5   HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Historical evidence for the Woods Cree dialect comes from two sources -- from the traders, explorers, missionaries and from ethnographers.

We have already noted that Woods Cree was one of the earliest Cree dialects to be recorded. In the late seventeenth century, the Hudson's Bay Company was granted a royal charter, and from that time, Company officials included individual words and phrases in their reports and journals. It was mainly Woods Cree speakers with whom the fur traders met. According to Pentland (1979:58),

> The Hudson's Bay Company traders ... were surrounded by
> their Homeguard, the Woods Cree -- and saw only small
> numbers of the more distant groups, and then only for a
> week or two during the busy trading season.

Among the better known of the Company officials was Henry Kelsey.
Within the first decade of the eighteenth century he compiled, at
Fort Albany, a dictionary of about six hundred entries which turns
out to be Woods Cree (Wolfart and Pentland 1978). This is the
first substantial set of Woods Cree data that we possess. In 1743,
James Isham, another Company official, recorded a substantial
number of words and sentences, again at York Factory. The first
full grammar of any Cree dialect, that of Joseph Howse (1844), is
also based upon the same dialect, a century after the pioneering
records of Kelsey and Isham.

The Algonquian peoples have of course been studied by
ethnographers, a few of whom have worked in the Woods Cree dialect
area. Amongst these, we find M. Rossignol, an Oblate missionary,
who worked with the "Cree of the Rocks" in the early part of the
present century. He writes that he spent eleven years working at
the mission in Pelican Narrows where he came into contact with Cree
from as far away as Pakitiwagan [sic] and Nelson House. He then
spent twenty-seven years at Ile-à-la-Crosse in Saskatchewan. His
published works are few in number, but we owe to him an interesting
observation on the speech of the Woods Cree with whom he had
contact (1939:62).

Smith (1981) has written about the Western Woods Cree, a cultural grouping which, in his view, includes Woods, Plains and Swampy Cree speakers. He makes the observation (1981:256) that,

> Woods (or Rocky Cree) is somewhat different but not enough to cause any problems in communication: Woods Cree speakers use the Plains Cree translation of the Bible, and there is a small minority of Plains Cree speakers living among them in Saskatchewan.

Further on, he defines the territory of the Rocky Cree as "in" and "west of" the Churchill River drainage in northwestern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. This elaborates on the information from Rossignol, who writes that the country occupied by the Cree of the Rocks stretched over a rectangular area between the Saskatchewan and Churchill rivers.

Meyer's study of the Red Earth Crees (1985) also gives information on the Woods Cree people. He refers to the Basquia Indians who spoke an ð-dialect, and took their name from opāskwēyāw 'it is a wooded narrows' -- where The Pas, Manitoba now stands. The Pas is now in the Swampy Cree dialect area.

Finally, Leighton (1985) has compiled a list of herbs and plants used by the Woods Cree for medicinal purposes. This provides only limited information, lexical in nature, about the Woods Cree dialect.

It is not, of course, the primary aim of ethnographers to give linguistic detail. When this does happen, however, it is a bonus and deserves careful perusal. The only linguist to have
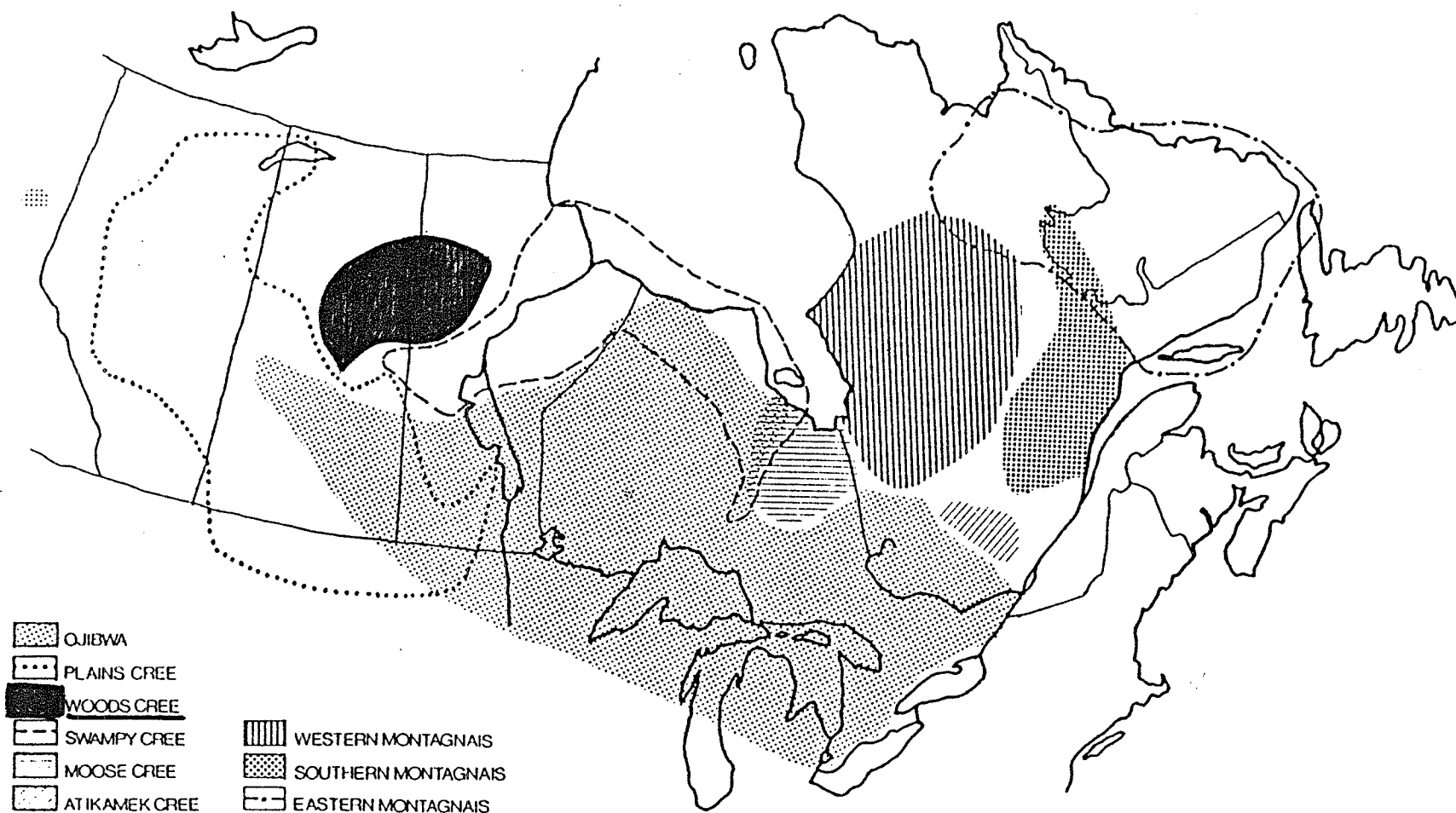
Map 1: Distribution of Cree dialects (from Pentland 1978b)
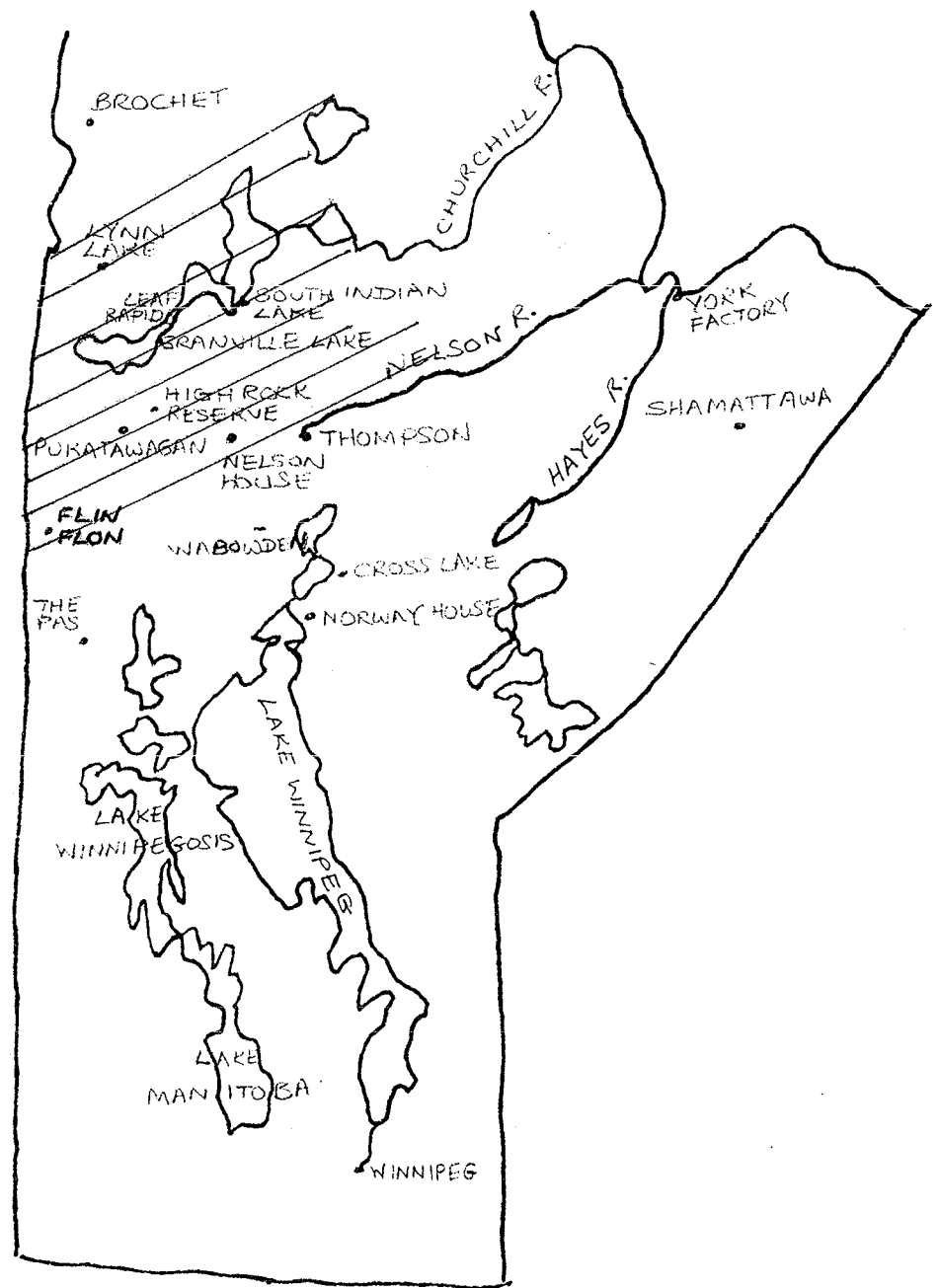
Map 2: Woods Cree Dialect Area in Manitoba

dealt with Woods Cree in detail is Pentland (1978, 1979) but his work is mainly from a historical perspective.

He does, however, give some synchronic evidence of the differences between the dialects of Woods Cree spoken in Saskatchewan at La Ronge, and in Manitoba at South Indian Lake. These differences are in the form of both phonological correspondences and surface variants, for example, the /sk/ in modern Western Woods Cree where modern Eastern Woods Cree -- the dialect spoken at South Indian Lake -- has /hk/, as seen in the words m̲i̲s̲k̲w̲ā̲w̲ and m̲i̲h̲k̲w̲ā̲w̲ 'it is red'.

We have mentioned the evidence for Woods Cree from the late seventeenth century through to the present day. Europeans first encountered Woods Cree speakers on the coast of Hudson's Bay, and now we find them as far west as Saskatchewan. Whether they have always been as far west as their present location, or whether they migrated westwards is not at issue here. Others have dealt with this problem (cf. Smith 1976, Pentland 1978b). We shall now explore the current distribution of Woods Cree speakers. Map 1 (from Pentland 1978b) shows the distribution of the Cree dialects and also the Ojibwa language.

1.6   THE EXTERNAL BOUNDARIES OF WOODS CREE

We have already noted that in the nineteenth century Joseph Howse
wrote the first full grammar of Cree, based on the Woods dialect
spoken at York Factory. In discussing the speech patterns of the
Woods Cree, he refers to those on the coast and those of the
interior, thereby implying the existence of at least two groups of
Woods Cree speakers (1844:38).

In contast to Howse, it is difficult to place any trust in
the information that Lacombe (1874) gives as to the whereabouts of
ð-dialect speakers in his own time. He makes a reference to the
r-dialect spoken by the "Cris d'Athabaskaw", and then describes a
th-dialect spoken by "presque tous les Cris des Bois". Elsewhere
he subdivides the Cris des Bois into "les gens de
l'Ile-à-la-Crosse" or sakittawawiyiniwok and "les gens du Rabaskaw"
or ayabaskawiyiniwok.

Pentland (1979:55) identifies the "Athapuscow" as "probably
the Misinipi". The Misinipi are known to have spoken an r-dialect
and were named after their dwelling place on the Churchill river,
possibly at South Indian Lake. The dialect was probably absorbed
by the ð-dialect as it seems to have been lost from the record in
the nineteenth century. The name "Misinipi" is still used, however
-- according to Paul Voorhis (p.c.), one Woods Cree speaker from
Pukatawagan referred to her people as misinipīwiðiniwak.

Lacombe appears to confirm the presence of Woods Cree speakers at Ile-à-la-Crosse in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but he describes the Cris des Bois as more of a cultural group than specifically as speakers of one particular dialect.

Much more detailed information comes from the fieldwork of Pentland in the 1970s. His study of Algonquian historical phonology includes material from the Woods Cree dialect areas of Sandy Bay and the La Ronge and Peter Ballantyne bands in Saskatchewan. In addition, he quotes a survey done at La Ronge (1978a) with informants who were brought up at Pelican Narrows, Stanley Mission, Deschambault Lake and Reindeer Lake on the Saskatchewan-Manitoba border.

Further information on the Woods Cree dialects spoken at Pukatawagan and South Indian Lake comes from the Voorhis (1981) study of 'Varieties of Cree Speech in Manitoba'. He was able to show the sharp line which divides the Woods Cree communities of Pukatawagan and South Indian Lake from the Swampy Cree communities to the south and east. Bundles of isoglosses mark differentiation in lexical items, phonology and inflection, based on the speech of fourteen Cree speakers. Voorhis notes that several Cree communities were not represented, including Nelson House and Brochet which are both in the Woods Cree dialect area.

Contrary to what we might have expected to find, some Swampy Cree communities are separated by fewer isoglosses from an

adjoining Woods Cree community than from an adjoining Swampy Cree community. Wabowden is an example of this. Although it has n for *l, Voorhis notes that, in lexical matters, Wabowden, Cross Lake and Norway House -- all in the Swampy Cree dialect area -- seem to form a group with the Woods Cree dialects.

So, although we speak of different dialects, the dividing lines may not be clearcut, and at the limits of each dialect area there may well be considerable overlap. Voorhis notes that, of the fourteen speakers who contributed to the survey, three came from the same community and fairly consistently offered differing forms. This led Voorhis to surmise that, had there been more speakers from each community, yet more differences might have shown up.

We have stated the current distribution of Woods Cree speakers in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, but have said little about internal boundaries that exist within each dialect area. The following section will explore this lack of homogeneity within the Woods Cree dialect.

1.7   THE INTERNAL BOUNDARIES OF WOODS CREE

To Howse we owe the first short observation (1844:38n) that different dialect areas do indeed exist within the Woods Cree dialect. He compares the th of thin of the coastal speakers with the th of this of the inland tribes, and elsewhere (1844:13n) makes

reference to a d̲ sound a̲n̲d̲ a t̲ (when discussing the "c̲h̲a̲n̲g̲e̲" that
Ojibwa speakers make of "t̲h̲ and t̲ or d̲ into their cognate n̲").
This suggests that Howse detected a noticeable difference within
the dialect area.

On the basis of the distribution of the reflexes of certain
Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters, Pentland (1979) divides the
Woods Cree dialect into two subdialects: in addition to the s̲k̲/h̲k̲
alternation that we have already noted, Manitoba Woods Cree has s̲p̲
where the Plains and Swampy dialects of Cree also have s̲p̲, in the
word o̲s̲p̲a̲n̲ 'lung' for example, whereas the Western dialect of Woods
Cree remains distinct with θ̲p̲: o̲θ̲p̲a̲n̲.

Now we shall turn to the Woods Cree spoken in Manitoba.
Whilst the survey of Voorhis (1981) points to the similarities
between the dialects spoken at Pukatawagan and South Indian Lake,
it also illustrates differences in both the lexicon and in
inflection. Pentland's work at South Indian Lake cites forms which
differ from those which Voorhis has recorded, and, in addition,
field reports from South Indian Lake by Starks (1984) suggest that
there are considerable differences between that dialect and the
dialect spoken at Pukatawagan.

Woods Cree is not uniform over the whole area. As
Bloomfield (1933:481) has written of speech differences within a
dialect area:

> Since every speaker acts as an intermediary between the
> groups to which he belongs, differences of speech within
> a dialect area are due merely to a lack of mediatory
> speakers. The influence of a speech-center will cause a
> speech-form to spread in any direction until, at some
> line of weakness in the density of communication, it
> ceases to find adopters. Different speech forms, with
> different semantic values, different formal
> qualifications, and different rival forms to conquer will
> spread at different speeds and over different distances.
> The advance of the new form may be stopped, moreover, by
> the advance of a rival form from a neighboring
> speech-center, or, perhaps, merely by the fact that a
> neighboring speech-center uses an unchanged form.

The present study of Woods Cree is based on the dialect spoken on

the High Rock Reserve at Prayer River, and at Pukatawagan in

northwestern Manitoba. Map 2 highlights the Woods Cree dialect

area in Manitoba.

1.8   PUKATAWAGAN WOODS CREE

Pukatawagan is situated seventy-five miles south of the town of

Lynn Lake, and the High Rock Reserve is thirty-five miles

north-east of Pukatawagan. The band name is Matthias Colomb, and

the total population in 1981 was 1,259.

Even within Pukatawagan itself, we have evidence of speech

differences. The youngest of my informants, M.C., frequently told

me that people living in other parts of Pukatawagan do not make the

same sounds in certain words as he does:

"Other people in Puk [sic] say that -- not me."

He elaborated on this by identifying three different areas within the town itself:

(1) nīyā   'at the point'

(2) paskwatinā   'on the clear ground, bare land'

(3) wāsahāsi   'in the small bay, narrows'

These appear to be locative forms. More work will have to be done with informants who live in each of the three areas in order to ascertain whether M.C.'s impression has substance.

Further information comes from a community health worker, S.C., who reports that most of the band lives in nīyā, and that the school and the nursing station are situated in paskwatinā, together with a fair number of families. There is also a small creek in this area, along which five families live. Only three families live in wāsahāsi.

Given the existence of this division, we should perhaps expect some variant forms; as yet the diagnostics by which we might identify the different speech patterns are not known.

1.9   SOURCES

This study is based on the speech of four informants. The eldest, S.L., was born on the High Rock Reserve and has spent her life in and around Pukatawagan. I was unable to learn her precise age: at first, her niece, M.W., told me that she was eighty-seven, but later it was discovered that S.L.'s birth had been registered in 1883. This would mean that she was at least ninety-nine when she told me texts, and quite probably older than that, as children born out in the bush were not usually registered at birth.

S.L. speaks very little English. I was fortunate enough to record some of her stories while she was visiting her niece in Winnipeg. Some of these stories are about her grandfather who, it is said, possessed superhuman powers; others are about wīhtikow, and still others are personal, for instance, of the time when as a young girl, after the death of her mother, she travelled alone for many miles in the middle of winter in order to be with her father.

Her niece, M.W., is in her early forties, and fluent in Cree, English and Ojibwa -- she is married to an Ojibwa speaker. She has lived in Winnipeg for many years, and works as an interpreter.

M.C. is the grandson of S.L. He is in his late teens and stays with his aunt, M.W., in Winnipeg so that he can attend school. He returns to his parents in Pukatawagan for vacations, thereby retaining contact with the speech of his home community.

It is one of M.C.'s stories that I have chosen as the sample text in Appendix C. His is a hunting story, based on the first time he went hunting with his brother and cousin.

W.H. is in his twenties and lives in Pukatawagan. He was visiting friends in Winnipeg when I met him and was able to elicit some forms from him -- in terms of volume, the amount elicited from W.H. is small, but some interesting variants have shown up in his speech.

Apart from W.H., the informants are all members of the same family; for this reason, it must be stressed that what is stated here may not hold for other dialects of Woods Cree -- it may not even be truly representative of the Pukatawagan area, since we have noted the perceived existence of three dialect divisions within Pukatawagan itself.

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Chapter II

AN OVERVIEW OF WOODS CREE SOUNDS

The purpose of this study is to provide teachers and students alike with material which will help them towards an understanding of the sound system of Woods Cree -- both the distinctive sounds, or phonemes, and the sub-distinctive sounds, or variants. In the introductory chapter, we spoke of lack of teaching material for the Woods Cree dialect. This study does not pretend to fill that gap even partially, but it will at least provide Woods Cree speakers with some explicit information on their dialect. It may be useful in the classroom as resource material alongside manuals based on other dialects of Cree, until such time as, it is hoped, there will be a full manual based on Woods Cree.

Before we sketch the Woods Cree phonemes and their variants, we shall first outline what we mean when we say that one sound is distinct from another.

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2.1 DISTINCTIVENESS

When we speak of distinctive sounds, we are referring to those
sounds which distinguish one word from another.

In English, the sounds p̲ and t̲ are distinct. For instance,
the words p̲i̲n̲ and t̲i̲n̲ have different meanings. They differ in one
sound, and it is that sound that we refer to as a distinctive
sound. In p̲i̲n̲, it is a p̲, and in t̲i̲n̲ it is a t̲. p̲ and t̲ belong to
a class of sounds which we call consonants. Vowel sounds are also
distinctive. The words p̲i̲n̲ and p̲a̲n̲ differ in meaning, and in one
sound. The sound that keeps them apart is i̲ in the word p̲i̲n̲, and a̲
in the word p̲a̲n̲. Another term for distinctive sounds is phonemes.

Cree, like English, distinguishes both consonant and vowel
sounds -- for example, n̲ī̲ð̲a̲ 'I' and k̲ī̲ð̲a̲ 'you' are kept apart by
the sound n̲ in n̲ī̲ð̲a̲ and k̲ in k̲ī̲ð̲a̲, while ā̲t̲a̲ 'although' and ō̲t̲a̲
'here' are distinguished by the sound ā̲ in ā̲t̲a̲ and ō̲ in ō̲t̲a̲. Vowel
length is also used to differentiate sounds in Cree: for instance,
there is a difference between o̲t̲a̲ 'behind' and ō̲t̲a̲ 'here' -- where
the macron, or bar, above the 'o' marks length. In Cree,
therefore, o̲ and ō̲ are different phonemes. Of course, vowels
differ in length in English, also -- for example, the vowel in b̲e̲d̲
is phonetically longer than the vowel in b̲e̲t̲ -- but it is not a
phonemic difference. There are no two words that are kept distinct
by this difference alone.

Cree also distinguishes consonants that are preaspirated, that is, that are preceded by an h or a puff of air, from those that are not. In the words ī-kī-mīðit 'he gave it to me', and ī-kī-mīðiht 'it was given to him', the sounds t and ht are distinctive. The two words differ only in the presence or absence of h before t.

Sounds that are not distinctive, that do not change the meaning of a word, are called variants. The example that is most often used to illustrate this in English is the p sound in pin and in spin. It makes no difference to English speakers that the initial p of pin is followed by a puff of air, whereas the p of spin is not. Most English speakers are not even aware of the difference. The reason for this is that a speaker of English never has to differentiate between words on the basis of that puff of air alone. In English, [p] and [ph] (where [h] marks the post-aspiration), are variants of the same phoneme. In other languages, however, that very difference is distinctive -- in Thai, for instance, both p and ph are phonemes (examples from Ladefoged (1975:126)):

pàa   'forest'
phàa   'to split'

A further difference between the Cree and the English sound systems is that for a Cree speaker, voicing does not appear to be distinctive, whereas for an English speaker voiced and unvoiced consonants are used to distinguish words. For example, the words pick and pig differ in meaning and in one sound. In English, therefore, k and g are phonemes. Cree speakers use the sound [k] in the word [kīða] 'you', but [g] in the word [agohp] 'blanket'. The [g] sound occurs between vowels, and never at the beginning of a word, whereas the sound [k] is always used word-initially, [k] and [g] therefore are variants of a special kind -- they are in complementary distribution. Sometimes, however, it is not possible to state the conditions under which certain sounds will occur -- in those cases we call them free variants. Examples of variants that we shall be looking at in detail are the sounds [γ] and [D] which are fast-speech or allegro variants of the phonemes k and ð, respectively.

When we first describe the sounds of a language, we use phonetic symbols that are universal, in other words, that can be used to describe sounds in any spoken language. Then, on the basis of distinctive contrast in meaning and sound, we decide which sounds are phonemes. At this point, our description becomes language-specific, or phonemic.

2.2   SUMMARY TABLE OF PHONEMES

The table which follows summarises the individual phonemes of the
Pukatawagan Woods Cree dialect.

<u>VOWELS</u>

i	ī	o	ō
	a	ā	

<u>CONSONANTS</u>

p	t	c	k
		s	h
m	n		
	ð		
w		y	

2.3   SYLLABLE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINTS

Following Pulgram (1970:23), I am defining the syllable as,

> a phonological unit with phonotactically determined
> boundaries.

Later, Pulgram states (p. 45) that

> any syllable boundary in any part of the utterance must
> obey the constraints that prevail in the language under
> scrutiny at the word boundary.

In other words, a consonant or sequence of consonants can only be syllable initial if it may also be word initial. Otherwise, it must form the coda of the preceding syllable or, in the case of a consonant cluster, be divided between the coda of one syllable and the onset of the next. The distribution of consonants in Woods Cree is listed in Appendix B.

2.3.1   Structure of the Syllable

Each syllable must contain one, and only one, vowel. This has been described as the nucleus (Pulgram 1970:40). There are as many syllables in an utterance as there are nuclei or, more simply, vowels.

The segment that precedes the nucleus of the syllable is called the onset. This is optional, as in vowel-initial words there is no onset for the first syllable. For example:

/otakohpa/   'his (obv.) blanket'

consists of four syllables, two of which are vowels that stand alone:

$o$ta$kohp$a$

The dollar sign ($) marks the syllable boundary.

The segment that follows the nucleus is termed the <u>coda</u>. This again is optional, like the onset. Only one of the syllables of <u>otakohpa</u> has a coda. When there is no coda, we call the syllable <u>open</u>. A <u>closed</u> syllable is one in which a segment follows the vowel, or nucleus.

It is universally the case that there is no language that only has closed syllables. The closed syllable is therefore the more marked, and Pulgram (1970:47) sets out three principles for governing the identification of syllable boundaries.

The first is the "principle of maximal open syllabicity". The second is the "principle of minimal coda and maximal onset". The third principle that Pulgram identifies is that of "the irregular coda".

According to the first principle, a syllable is to be kept open if at all possible -- that is, if its vowel appears in word final position. In Woods Cree, all vowels occur word initially and finally. The second principle applies when a consonant, or a sequence of two or more consonants must be divided by a syllable boundary. As an example of this we shall take <u>mōswa</u> 'moose' and

iskwīw 'woman'. In the case of mōswa, it seems that we have a
choice between three different syllabifications:

$mō$swa$

$mōs$wa$

$mōsw$a$

We reject the first and the last, however, because sw is not a
permissible cluster in either word initial or final position. We
are left with a solution that divides sw, assigning s to the coda
of the first syllable, and w to the onset of the second.

In the case of iskwīw, there appear to be four possible
syllabifications:

$i$skwīw$

iskwīw$

iskwīw$

$iskw$īw$

Once again, we reject the first and last solutions on the grounds
that skw is not permissible word initially or finally. This leaves
us with a choice -- whether to place the boundary between the s and
the k or between the k and the w. Here we must refer to Pulgram
(1970:43) who states that:

> It is an untenable position to describe a cluster of
> consonants at one point as syllable-initial or final and
> at another to have a syllable boundary between them.

If we split the sequence s̲k̲, we must ensure that there is no
occasion in which it will of necessity be assigned to the same
syllable. As it happens, there are several words which end in this
sequence, for example -- k̲w̲a̲y̲a̲s̲k̲ 'proper', p̲l̄ð̲i̲s̲k̲ 'finally'. The
existence of s̲k̲ as a word final cluster means that we must not
insert a syllable boundary between the two consonants. Hence we
choose the third solution -- iskwīw$ -- as the most appropriate
one.

The third principle, that of the irregular coda, simply
refers to the case when a consonant cluster is divided between two
syllables and still results in an unpermissible cluster, whether
syllable-initially or finally. Then it is the coda of the first
syllable that may bear the irregularity, not the onset of the
second. It follows from this principle that the coda is the weaker
of the two segments. We shall see evidence from the Woods dialect
to substantiate this, that syllable-final segments weaken and
frequently delete, whereas syllable-initial segments often undergo
a strengthening process.

We have already noted that the sequence s̲k̲ requires the
syllabification sk$. This is different from s̲p̲, s̲t̲ and s̲c̲ which do
not occur word finally and must therefore be syllabified as s$C
word internally. (Fricative-initial clusters do not occur word
initially.)

In the same way, the phonemic cluster <u>hk</u> must be treated differently from <u>hp</u>, <u>ht</u>, <u>hc</u> and <u>hð</u>, all of which may occur word finally, and therefore require the syllabification hC$. The absence of word final <u>hk</u> (except in the words <u>atihk</u> and <u>acāhk</u>) demands that the cluster be syllabified as h$k. This in turn raises a problem, that <u>h</u> is thereby identified as a possible word final segment, and as we shall see (2.4.3), <u>h</u> is not distinctive word finally in this dialect of Cree. We may perhaps use Pulgram's third principle -- that of the irregular coda -- to surmount this problem, i.e. that if there is any irregularity to be borne, then it is the coda rather than the onset which bears it.

However, we are still left with the problem that <u>sk</u> and <u>hk</u> must be syllabified differently from the other fricative-initial sequences. This is typologically strange, and may indicate that the principles outlined by Pulgram do not in fact work for the fricative-initial sequences of Woods Cree.

2.3.2   The Syllable in Woods Cree

In Woods Cree, the canonical structure of the syllable is:

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} C & (w) \\ w \end{matrix} \right\} \quad V \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} s,h\ (\ C\ ) \\ (\ h\ )\ C \\ w,y \end{matrix} \right\}$$

All consonants may be syllable initial, except h̲ and y̲. Only stops may be followed by w̲ in this position. All vowels may occur as the nucleus of the syllable. All individual consonants may form the syllable coda. However, the only clusters permitted syllable-finally are: h̲p̲, h̲t̲, h̲c̲, h̲k̲, s̲k̲ and h̲ð̲. The first member of these clusters is always a fricative, and the second member is never a sonorant.

2.4   LIST OF PHONEMES IN ISOLATION

This section will describe the more common allophones of these phonemes, class by class. The preaspirated stops are treated separately in Chapter V. Special problems will be explored in more detail later.

For the most part, the phonetic transcription used is a broad one. This is in keeping with the desire that this study should be easily decipherable, not only by linguists but also by students and native speakers of the language. For most purposes, a narrow phonetic transcription would clutter the text unnecessarily.

Rules for elision and contraction will be stated later (Chapter III) where I shall discuss in greater detail the various modifications that take place in this dialect after prefix, and between preverb and stem (either noun or verb).

2.4.1 Definition of Symbols

As the transcription is a broad phonetic one, the only special
symbols used are the following:

[ɪ] represents the short lower high front vowel;

[ā] is a long, low back, semi-rounded vowel;

[A] is a short, greatly reduced, low central vowel.

Throughout the study, phonemes in isolation are underlined
or enclosed by slashes //, and phonetic forms by square brackets
[]. The formalisations of the rules which are given in the next
sections employ the usual conventions:

-->	is realised as
/	in the context
___	place of change
#	word boundary
( )	optional
{ }	either / or

Let us run through a hypothetical example:

A --> B / ___ C

The segment A to the left of the arrow is the input, the segment B
to the right of it is the outcome, and the information to the right
of the slash is the context in which the rule applies. This simple
rule is to be understood as: A is realised as B before C.

If we rearrange the information to the right of the slash as
follows:

A --> B / C _____

the rule now tells us that: A is realised as B *after* C.

In most cases, V (vowel) and C (consonant) have *feature
specifications* attached to them. These tell us something specific
about them, and define the precise environment in which the change
is to take place. The feature specifications are enclosed in
square brackets and are placed beneath the V or C to which they
apply. Some are abbreviated:

[lg]   long

[nas]   nasal

[place]   place of articulation

[a]   alpha positive

[$-a$]   alpha negative

The symbols [+] and [-] refer to the presence or absence of
a particular feature that is specified:

```
       C     V
     [+nas] [-lg]
```

The above is a sequence of a nasal consonant followed by a short vowel.

The symbols $[a]$ and $[-a]$ as found, for example, in the feature specifications $[anas]$ and $[-anas]$ are simply a way of making rules that are as general as possible. If we wish to state that A has the variant [+nas] in the environment of a nasal, we can state this as follows:

```
A   -->   [+nas]  / ____    C
                            [+nas]
```

If we also wish to state that A lacks the feature [nas] in the environment of a non-nasal, this can be stated as:

```
A   -->   [-nas]  / ____    C
                            [-nas]
```

In order to state the two rules above as one, and in so doing, to capture the generality between them, we use the variable feature coefficient $[a]$:

```
A   -->   [anas]  / ____    C
                            [anas]
```

This rule now states that A has a nasal variant if C is nasal; alternatively, it states that A is not a nasal if C is not a nasal.

An additional advantage is that the alpha notation may be employed when the values for A and C are opposed:

A --> [αnas] / _____ C

                               [-αnas]

The rule above states that A is opposed to C in regard to the feature [nasal]: when A is [+nasal], then C is [-nasal], and vice versa.

For further discussion of the variable feature coefficient, see Anderson (1974:93 ff.)

2.4.2 <u>Stops</u>

/p/

The phoneme /p/ occurs as a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop [p]
word initially, medially and finally. It may be preceded by a
fricative medially and finally, and it may be followed by /w/
initially and medially.

[pōsı]	'go on board!' (impve.)
/pōsi/	
[nīpıt]	'my tooth'
/nīpit/	
[apı]	'sit!' (impve.)
/api/	
[sīsīp]	'duck'
/sīsīp/	
[ıspī]	'then, when'
/ispī/	
[pwālos]	'Paul'
/pwālos/	

[ospwāgAn]   'pipe'

/ospwākan/

/t/

The phoneme /t/ occurs as a voiceless unaspirated apico-dental stop [t] word initially, medially and finally. It may be preceded by a fricative medially and finally, and may be followed by the semivowel /w/ in word medial position. The sequence /tw/ has not been recorded initially.

[tahtā]   'every time'

/tahtwāw/

[mɪhcīt]   'many'

/mihcīt/

[nātīw]   'he gets him'

/nātīw/

[ɪta]   'where'

/ita/

[ɪtwīw]   'he says so to him'

/itwīw/

/c/

The phoneme /c/ occurs as a voiceless alveolar affricate [c] word
initially, medially and finally. It may be preceded by the
fricative /s/ in medial position. [c] varies freely with a
voiceless alveopalatal affricate [č] in the dialect of all the
speakers.

Strictly speaking, /c/ is an affricate, in that the passage
of air is completely obstructed only at onset. However, this
phoneme patterns in most respects as a stop and so is classed with
the other stops. The following examples show the variants in all
positions of the word:

[cīmān] ~ [čīmān]   'boat'
/cīmān/

[pɪmācɪ]   'save him!' (impve.)
/pimācih/

[īgīnɪstɪčɪk]   'there were three of them'
/ī-kī-nisticik/

[wīpAc]   'soon'
/wīpac/

[īgwīðāč]   'finally'
/īkwīðāc/

[pɪscɪ] ~ [pɪščɪ] 'by accident'

/pisci/

Note in the last example the assimilation of the /s/ to the palatal
position of [č].

/k/

The phoneme /k/ occurs as a voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k]
word initially and finally. It may be preceded by the fricative
/s/ both medially and finally, and may be followed by the semivowel
/w/ in word initial and medial position.

[kīwīhta]   'take him home!'   (impve.)

/kīwīhtah/

[mōswAk]   'moose'

/mōswak/

[ɪskwīw]   'woman'

/iskwīw/

[tātoskAm]   'he rips it'

/tātoskam/

[kwayask]   'straight, proper'

/kwayask/

Intervocalically or when followed by /w/, /k/ occurs as a voiced
velar stop [g].

[īgā]   'not'

/īkā/

[īgotī]   'there'

/īkotī/

[agohp]   'blanket'

/akohp/

[mɪstɪgwAk]   'trees'

/mistikwak/

2.4.3 Fricatives

/s/

In a cluster with [č] the /s/ assimilates to the palatal position
of the following stop:

<blockquote>

[pɪščɪ]   'by accident'

/pisci/

</blockquote>

Elsewhere, the phoneme /s/ occurs as a voiceless apico-alveolar
fricative [s] word initially, medially and finally. It is found as
the first member of an /s/ plus stop cluster word medially,
although only /sk/ has been recorded word finally in this dialect.
Medially, /s/ may be followed by the semivowel /w/.

<blockquote>

[sīpīsɪs]   'little river'

/sīpīsis/

[sīsīp]   'duck'

/sīsīp/

[nās]   'get him!' (impve.)

/nās/

[mōswa]   'moose'

/mōswa/

</blockquote>

/h/

The phoneme /h/ occurs intervocalically as a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. It may be followed by the semivowel /w/.

        [nahā]   'son-in-law'

        /nahā/

This form was spontaneously offered by M.C. and was initially glossed as "cross-them" (cf. Plains Cree ninahāhkisīm 'my son-in-law').

Other examples of [h] are:

        [anɪhɪ]   'these'

        /anihi/

        [kīpatahwīw]   'he missed him'

        /kī-patahwīw/

The phoneme /h/ has limited distribution. It is not distinctive word initially or finally, only intervocalically and as the first consonant in a cluster with /C/ or /Cw/. Vowels frequently undergo gradual devoicing at word or phrase boundary -- anywhere a pause is made. It is not unusual, in other words, to hear [h] word initially or finally, but it makes no difference to the meaning whether the [h] is there or not. This will be discussed in detail later in Chapter V.

2.4.4   Nasals

/m/

The phoneme /m/ occurs as a voiced bilabial nasal continuant [m]
word initially, medially and finally. It may be followed by the
semivowel /w/ word initially and medially.

[maskwa]   'bear'
/maskwa/

[kīmāyānAm]   'there were fresh tracks'
/kī-māyānam/

[mōsopwām]   'thigh of moose'
/mōsopwām/

[atɪmwa]   'dog' (obv.)
/atɪmwa/

[māc]   'not'
/mwāc/

/n/

The phoneme /n/ occurs as a voiced apico-dental nasal continuant
initially, medially and finally. It may be followed by the
semivowel /w/ in word medial position.

                    [nīða]   'I'
                    /nīða/

                    [nıgīnıpānān]   'we slept'
                    /nikī-nipānān/

                    [kıstıgwān]   'your head'
                    /kistikwān/

                    [tagosınuk]   'they arrive'
                    /takosinwak/

2.4.5 /ð/

Because of its sonorance, /ð/ shares features with /w/ and /y/ --
being +consonantal, -syllabic and +sonorant in the Chomsky-Halle
feature system -- and might indeed be classed with the semivowels.
Syllabically, however, it behaves like a stop.

This analysis of the phoneme /ð/ is further corroborated by
the evidence of English loan words with r, which appears as
phonological /ð/ in Cree:

    [taDīn]   /taðīn/   'train'

    [stōDi]   /stōði/   'at the store'

    [aðwāpat]   /aðwāpat/   'Robert'

The phoneme /ð/ shows a great deal of phonetic variation.
The surface variants will be discussed more fully later. At this
point, I will simply list them in order of frequency of appearance.

In intervocalic position, the phoneme /ð/ may occur as an
apico-alveolar affricate [dð], a voiced alveolar stop [d], or an
alveolar flap [D]:

/ð/ --> [dð]

                [āgīyatısıpwīpadðiyā]
                /ā-kī-ati-sipwīpaðiyā/
                    'we were just starting on a trip'

[ɪdðāsē]   'already'

/iða āsay/

/ð/ --> [d]

[ɪdɪnɪw]   'person'

/iðiniw/

[ātagopadiyā]   'we arrived'

/ā-takopaðiyā/

/ð/ --> [D]

As the flaps were recorded in narrative text and were not heard in
the course of direct elicitation, I regard this sound as a feature
of allegro speech. There are only three examples of this in the
text, and the third is none too clear. It is mostly texts from the
youngest speaker that have been analysed -- as yet, no flaps have
been observed in the dialect of the eldest speaker. The examples
of the flaps are:-

[āgīnācɪpaDīstamā]

/ā-kī-nācipaðīstamā/

'we drove over to get it'

      [mãc ıskapaDınãn]

    /mwãc nikisiskãpaðinãn/

          'we were not going fast'

This was recorded during a very fast piece of narrative.
Note the elision of the beginning of the verb -- without
trace!

    [nıpmpaDınãn]   'we drove'

    /nipimipaðinãn/

The phoneme /ð/ may also occur as a voiced post-dental fricative
[ð] word initially, medially and finally. It may be preceded by
the semivowel /w/ in word medial position:

    [ðĩgaw]   'sand'

    /ðĩkaw/

    [ıðınısıp]   'mallard duck'

    /iðinisip/

    [nımıðwĩðıhtĩn] 'I am happy about it'

    /nimiðwĩðihtĩn/

    [nahað]   'put him away!'

    /nahað/

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2.4.6 Semivowels

/w/

The phoneme /w/ occurs as a bilabial semivowel [w] word initially, medially and finally. It may follow /p/, /k/ and /m/ in word initial position -- the absence of the sequence /tw/ in the data may be accidental. In word medial position, the phoneme /w/ may follow any consonant or consonant cluster (although, as noted in Chapter V, the sequences /hpw/ and /stw/ have not been recorded).

[wɪðɪsk]   'because'
/wiðisk/

[āwāpmāyāhkwAk]   'when we saw them'
/ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/

[nɪyahðāw]   'I put him'
/niyahðāw/

[kwayask]   'straight, proper'
/kwayask/

[māc]   'not'
/mwāc/

[agwa]   'and'
/akwa/

　　　　　　　[iskwīwAk]　　　　　　'women'

　　　　　　　/iskwīwak/

[w] has an optional rounding effect on contiguous vowels, and
frequently interchanges with [y] in the environment of high front
vowels.　This will be discussed in Chapter III.

/y/

The phoneme /y/ occurs as an alveo-palatal semivowel [y] medially
and finally.　No instances of word initial /y/ have been recorded.

　　　　　　　[ayāw]　　　　'he has it'

　　　　　　　/ayāw/

　　　　　　　[nīyo]　　　　'four'

　　　　　　　/nīyo/

　　　　　　　[tōhtōsāpoy]　　'milk'

　　　　　　　/tōhtōsāpoy/

The effects which /y/ has upon vowels which precede and follow it
will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.4.7 <u>Vowels</u>

/i/

The phoneme /i/ occurs word initially, medially and finally as [ɪ]
-- a short lower high front vowel.

       [ɪskwīw]   'woman'

       /iskwīw/

       [wɪðɪsk]   'because'

       /wiðisk/

       [kanātamāgocɪk] 'they will defend them'

       /ka-nātamākocik/

       [cīmānɪ]   'in the boat' (loc.)

       /cīmāni/

Other variants of this vowel are due to the proximity of the
semivowels /w/ and /y/ and will be discussed in detail in Chapter
III.

/ī/

The phoneme /ī/ occurs as a long high front vowel [ī] word
initially, medially and finally.

        [īgā]   'not'
        /īkā/

        [nīða]   'I'
        /nīða/

        [sīsīp]   'duck'
        /sīsīp/

        [pmohtī]   'go!' (impve.)
        /pimohtī/

There is evidence which will be presented later (Chapter III), that
the phoneme /ī/ has two variants: [ī] and [ē].

But the variants do not appear with equal frequency in all
words. For instance, while /nīða/ 'I' always surfaces as [nīða],
/īkwa/ 'and' frequently surfaces as either [īgwa] or [ēgwa].
Statistics will be presented below (3.7) to show the textual
frequency of [ī] and [ē] in the speech of two speakers.

The words that follow show [ī] varying with [ē]:

[īgwa] ~ [ēgwa]   'and'

/īkwa/

[pīyAk] ~ [pēyAk]   'one'

/pīyak/

[wāpmīw] ~ [wāpmēw]   'he sees him'

/wāpamīw/

[tīpagohp] ~ [tēpagohp] 'seven'

/tīpakohp/

/a/

In a syllable closed by a stop, /a/ occurs as a short, greatly
reduced low central vowel [A].

        [nɪkīpatahānānAk] 'we missed them'

        /nɪkī-patahwānānak/

Elsewhere, the phoneme /a/ occurs as a short, low central vowel [a]
initially, medially and finally:

        [apɪw]   'he sits'

        /apɪw/

        [otagohp]   'his blanket'

/otakohp/

[īgota]   'there'

/īkota/

/ā̃/

The phoneme /ā̃/ occurs as a long, low central vowel [ā̃] word
initially, medially and finally.

[āgīspaðiyɪn]   'you were driving'

/ā̃-kī-ispaðiyan/

[ncīmānɪnān]   'our boat'

/nicīmāninān/

[āgīpmpaðiyā]   'we were riding in a boat'

/ā̃-kī-pimipaðiyā/

/o/

In a closed syllable, /o/ occurs as a short high-back rounded vowel
[u], which varies freely with [wɪ].

        [ustīsıðıwa]   'his older brother's' (obv.)

~ [wistīsıðıwa]

/ostīsiðiwa/

        [mıspun]   'it's snowing'

/mispon/

        [ātıgwıspīt]   'he started to go up'

~ [ātıguspīt]

/ā-ati-kospīt/

The phoneme /o/ may also occur as a short mid-back rounded vowel [o] initially, medially and finally.

        [osīma]   'his younger brother' (obv.)

/osīma/

        [anohc]   'just then, now'

/anohc/

        [nıkamo]   'sing!' (impve.)

/nıkamo/

/ō/

The phoneme /ō/ occurs as a long mid-back rounded vowel [ō]
initially, medially and finally.

       [ōta]   'here'
       /ōta/

       [mōswa]   'moose'
       /mōswa/

       [ahpō]   'or'
       /ahpō/

2.5   GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SOUND SYSTEM

This section draws attention to problems that remain in a statement
of the sound system of the Woods dialect of Cree. I have chosen to
state the problems rather than to ignore them, as it is only in
this way that other linguists may be alerted to them for future
phonological studies.

One of these problems is the apparent lack of symmetry in
the stop consonants -- namely, that /k/ has a voiced variant [g]
word medially, yet /p/ and /t/ do not.

This observation seems to have been made by Bloomfield in his discussion of the sound-systems of Fox, Cree, Menomini and Ojibwa (1925:142). He comments that in Fox and Cree non-initial k is usually voiced, whereas in Ojibwa all non-initial consonants are voiced. By omission, Bloomfield seems to be saying that Cree p and t are not voiced in any environment. Paul Voorhis notes however, (p.c.), that William Jones, in his Handbook of American Indian Languages sketch, emphasises the greater length of Fox [g] (likewise [d] and [b]). Voorhis further notes that in his own experience with Fox, /p/, /t/ and /k/ are all treated alike.

Another point upon which /p/ and /t/ appear to differ from /k/ in Pukatawagan Woods Cree is that the stops /p/ and /t/ have strengthened variants [pp] and [tt] respectively -- that is, voiceless stops with delayed release -- whereas there is no matching [kk] for /k/. These delayed release stops occur both before and after a stressed vowel. Examples are:

[nɪgīppáttaháw]   'I missed him'
/nikī-patahwāw/

[kīppáttahwīw]   'he missed him'
/kī-patahwīw/

[āgīgottáwīyā]   'we lit a campfire'
/ā-kī-kotawīyā/

[nɪgīgóttawān]   'I lit a campfire'
/nikī-kotawān/

[kíppahuk]   'they lock him in'

/kipahwak/

There are, however, other environments where this variant
occurs. In the next examples, the syllable which contains the
variant is not strongly stressed, although it may bear secondary
stress:

[nıgīppattaháná̄nAk] 'we missed them'

/nikī-patahwā́ná̄nak/

[ā́ppōsípinAk]   'I threw him in the boat'

/ā́-pōsipinak/

An alternative interpretation might suggest that in the last two
examples, the geminate [pp] occurs stem-initially, and may involve
the combination of h, the preverb boundary, and the initial
consonant of the stem. Paul Voorhis (p.c.) notes that preverbs
bear stress, and that therefore the geminate stop pp in the last
two examples follows a stress-bearing syllable. Syllable-initial
position following a morpheme boundary is an environment in which
we might expect to find the strengthened variant of a consonant,
and a geminate stop is stronger than a simple stop (cf. Foley
1970:90).

In some dialects of Cree, such a combination surfaces as a
fricative. Pentland (1979:99), for example, reports the Plains
Cree form:

[kīx̣īwēw]   /kīh-kīwēw/   'he returned'

We shall refer to this later when we discuss certain variants of the phoneme /p/. It may even be the case that the geminate is used for emphasis. In the text given in the appendix, M.C. repeated [nɪgīppáttahāw] twice -- as though he could not believe that he had missed his shot at the moose.

Longacre (1957:69n) observes that most Cree consonants, with the possible exception of /s/, /y/, /w/ and /h/, will geminate intervocalically provided that the preceding vowel is quite short (phonetically). He adds that "syllable break comes in the center of such a long geminated consonant."

Many examples from different environments must be gathered before we can state the full distribution of this particular allophonic variation. For this study, we can only document its occurrence. One reason that I shall not go further into this question is that it may well be a function of stress. A strong stress is discernible in this dialect on the third last syllable of polysyllabic words. Longacre (1957:67) has noted a high pitch on the antepenultimate syllable in contrast to the stress which, he observes, may fall on either the antepenultimate or the penultimate syllables. Although both Wolfart (1973:35) and Pentland (1979:119) mention that stress is far from fully understood, the fact remains that no detailed study has been made. In this study, too, no attempt is made at an analysis of the stress system, as this would have involved work with many informants and the analysis of long passages of text as well as slow elicitation to see how speech style affects the patterning of stress.

Another factor that will undoubtedly affect the placement of stress is the elision of consonants and vowels which occurs in this dialect as well as in other dialects of Cree. An investigation of prosody presupposes an adequate description of the segmental sound system of the dialect. In the case of Woods Cree, this is the first attempt at a description of the sound system.

One more problem that I shall only touch upon is the fact that certain words appear to be lexical variants of one another. They use phonemes that are distinct (and for which we have minimal pairs).

In English, for example, it makes no difference whether one pronounces the initial vowel of economics as [e] as in egg, or as [iy] as in easy. In the words pet and peat, however, these vowels are distinctive. Nor does it matter, in English, whether one says [wið] or [wiθ] for with, although the same sounds in thy and thigh are distinctive.

Likewise, in Pukatawagan Woods Cree, one may say both [īkwiðāt] and [īkwiðāc] for 'finally', although /t/ and /c/ are phonemically distinct (see Appendix A). Another pair that appears to operate in the same way is mwāt and mwāc. There is also a third variant mwā, which often appears phonetically as [mā]. All variants have the meaning 'no, not'. It is conceivable that these negatives have different semantic properties -- once again, I am merely drawing attention to the variation.

The possibility that the distinction between /t/ and /c/ has become neutralised word-finally is disproven by the ungrammaticality of such forms as *[ī-apic] for /ī-apit/ 'he sat', and *[mitātahc] for /mitātaht/ 'ten'.

The following chapters will explore in detail the surface variations that arise in this dialect of Woods Cree -- variants in the vowels and semivowels, consonants and consonant clusters.

Chapter III

SURFACE VARIANTS -- VOWELS AND SEMIVOWELS

When we speak of surface variation in Pukatawagan Woods Cree we are referring to the subdistinctive variation that is present even in the slowest, most carefully pronounced utterances. This variation may be more or less obvious, according to the environment, presence or absence of peer group, and state of excitement of the speaker.

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO SURFACE VARIATION

In general, the words 'surface variation' call to mind the work of Labov (1966) and Chambers and Trudgill (1980), and the whole field of sociolinguistics opens up -- with the concept of the linguistic variable, sampling techniques, and quantitative studies involving large numbers of informants in different settings.

Labov's study (1966, 1972) of the English spoken in New York City differed considerably from any that had been done before. Instead of using speakers who were representative of the "old stock" of original settlers, as, for example, had been the procedure of the Linguistic Atlas of the Eastern United States, Labov sought out speakers from all classes and ethnic backgrounds, and by use of informal interview techniques sought to record the vernacular, which he states (1972:208):

gives us the most systematic data for our analysis of linguistic structure.

Perhaps the best known of his interview techniques is the "rapid and anonymous" type of interview conducted for the department store survey (1972:43 ff.) where the social stratification of post-vocalic r is documented.

Trudgill has carried out work in England that is similar in design to Labov's work in the United States. His work on the non-standard dialects of English, especially those spoken in East Anglia around Norwich, and his insistence that children should not be taught a dialect of English which is not their own, has been the subject of criticism by those who believe, in Trudgill's words, that it is "socially, and economically, advantageous to employ this variety (i.e. standard English)" (1983:197).

The work of both Labov and Trudgill has challenged the concept of free variation which had been more or less widely accepted. In the words of Labov (1966:48), these variable elements have "traditionally been relegated to a kind of linguistic scrap-heap". Of previous dialect studies of the New York City speech area, he writes (1966:33) that

    all of these studies of New York City recognized the
    existence of social and stylistic variation, although the
    exploration of such variation was not their principal
    aim.

Labov examined these inconsistencies in the data and incorporated

them into a variability study. Whilst acknowledging that a greater

number of speakers will ensure a more comprehensive study, Labov

notes (1972:204) that:

> The basic patterns of class stratification, for example,
> emerge from samples as small as twenty-five speakers. ...
> Regular arrays of stylistic and social stratification
> emerge even when our individual cells contain as few as
> five speakers and we have no more than five or ten
> instances of the given variable for each speaker.

Both Labov and Trudgill acknowledge their debt, in terms of

phonetic material, to previous studies of the language. Labov

(1966:29) refers to a brief description of lower class English in

New York City, published in 1896, which he calls

> exceptionally valuable for the interpretation of
> linguistic changes now in progress in New York City.

In addition, his principal source of data is the Linguistic Atlas

of the Eastern United States, referred to earlier. This describes

the dialect regions of the Eastern United States as a whole, and

deals with lexical terms, verb forms and pronounciation.

Trudgill (1983:32) refers to the Survey of English Dialects

and the Linguistic Atlas of England, although he notes the lack of

information about certain features. More appreciatively, he states

(1983:31):

> In my own sociolinguistic work on the English spoken in
> the English city of Norwich (Trudgill, 1974), I found
> invaluable and made frequent reference to the excellent
> dialectological work carried out in the area in the 1930s
> by the American Guy S. Lowman and kindly made available
> to me by Professor Raven McDavid. This work was
> particularly helpful in my work on linguistic change, and
> in pointing to problematical areas for investigation.

He continues by pointing out that Labov has often stressed the fact
that:

> the study of linguistic change in 'apparent time' can
> only proceed with confidence if there are earlier
> records, usually dialectological, for the area, or at
> least, for neighbouring areas. Comparing the speech of
> older and younger speakers at a given time may suggest
> that certain linguistic changes are taking place, but one
> cannot be sure that age-grading is not taking place
> instead, unless older records are available for checking.

Both Trudgill in his work on the English dialects and Labov in his

work on Martha's Vineyard and in New York City relied heavily on

preliminary studies that had been made of the dialects of which

they made variability studies.

This study of Pukatawagan Woods Cree is not a variability

study. It merely attempts to isolate some of the more salient

surface variations that exist in the dialect today. My interest in

this aspect of the dialect developed during the course of the

research when it became apparent that there was a great deal of

variation of the kind which Labov (1966:581) identifies when

describing the conditioning of allophones:

> a slight variation in sound which shows no systematic
> pattern, and for which no social, stylistic or cognitive
> significance is immediately apparent.

This is not to say that the variation is unimportant -- it may

ultimately be of great significance; on the other hand, as Trudgill

(1983:95) state,

> it (i.e the variation) may also simply be due to the
> pronunciation which the fieldworker happened to elicit on
> the day.

I am not able to give statistics for most of the variation that I have recorded, but the speech of four speakers has been analysed. The speech of the middle-aged informant has been elicited in a more formal question and answer setting. The eldest and the youngest informants have recorded stories on tape, and the youngest aided in the transcription of his grandmother's stories.

It is in the speech of the youngest informant, M.C., that I have noted the most variation -- ranging from the slower, more careful style that he uses for dictation to the high degree of excitement when in parts of his own stories he relates the danger in which he found himself.

This is reminiscent of something Labov has pointed out (1966:107 ff.): that a good way of recording a casual speech style is to encourage the speaker to relate a situation in which his life has been threatened. The subject matter is likely to be such as to divert the speaker's attention from the fact that he is being recorded.

This chapter records the surface variations that have been observed in Pukatawagan Woods Cree. It is not a full-scale sociolinguistic study, as that would require a great deal of preliminary work. It is instead a first, non-quantitative attempt to isolate some of the more conspicuous surface variants in this dialect.

The next section will review statements about Cree
indicating that a great deal of phonetic variation exists under
conditions that, as yet, are undefined.

3.2 SURFACE VARIATION IN CREE

We have already referred to the great number of Plains Cree texts
recorded by Bloomfield in 1925. In the introduction to the
published version (1934:V ff.), he makes statements of this sort:

> a - short, low vowel, usually like the vowel of German
> nass, but varying occasionally forward, through the vowel
> of French patte, all the way to that of English pet or
> backward, all the way to the vowel of American English
> son.

> k - unvoiced velar stop, as in English kill, cow, but
> usually unaspirated, as in English skill, French cou.
> Within the word, after a vowel it is often voiced, hence
> like the initial of English go.

The above examples show that, for Bloomfield, a degree of variation
was acceptable, even though the distribution of the variants could
not necessarily be stated. Words like "usually", "often" and
"occasionally" tell us that there do not appear to be
readily-stateable conditions for the appearance of each variant.
Bloomfield's texts are all phonemicised, so we are not able to
isolate the occurrence of each individual variant.

Wolfart and Ahenakew (1982:70 ff.) make the distinction
between surface variants and full forms and stress the importance
of the latter in a writing system. They note that one form of a
word may surface in different ways, giving the example of <u>nitapin</u>
'I sit', which may surface as both [nitapin] and [ntapin], with the
short /i/ of the prefix deleted in the latter. They point out that
it is easy to learn the rules of pronunciation from the full form,
but virtually impossible to learn the full form from the surface
variant. An instance of this is [apōwak] for /apiwak/, where the
same sequence [ōw] may also represent /ow/ and /ō/, as well as
/iw/.

Despite the fact that full forms are preferable, for the
sake of uniformity, for a writing system, it is also necessary to
record the variants. Some will be shown to phonetically
conditioned -- for instance, Wolfart and Ahenakew (1982:73) point
to "the effect of a following rounded vowel or semivowel." Other
variants, however, do not appear to be phonetically conditioned,
and these variants should be isolated for further study.

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3.3 VOWEL VARIANTS

For the most part, the surface variation that is recorded in the following chapters appears to be optional in nature. Where it is obligatory, this will be stated.

We shall first explore the phenomenon of vowel elision. This is more likely to occur in rapid speech than in the elicited forms that tend to be somewhat artificially distended for linguists. We make the distinction between the allegro forms used in rapid speech, and the lento forms produced during slow elicitation.

In English, for example, the word can't shows the elision of a vowel between two consonants, one of which is a nasal. The longer form cannot is less frequently used in conversation, except perhaps for emphasis.

In Cree, the clearest cases of vowel elision are between consonants.

3.3.1 Vowel Elision between Consonants

When two consonants, one of which is a nasal, are separated by a short vowel, the vowel may optionally be deleted. When it does so, it gives rise to surface consonant clusters in addition to those clusters which are phonemically distinct (see Chapter V). The rule by which the vowel is deleted is:

$$V \longrightarrow \emptyset \ / \ C \ \underline{\quad} \ C \quad \text{(optional)}$$
$$[-lg] \qquad\qquad [\alpha nas] \quad [-\alpha nas]$$

This rule gives rise to surface clusters such as [nt], [nc], [ns]:

nt̲   [n̲t̲apɪn]   'I sit'   /nitapin/

n̲c̲   [n̲c̲īmānɪnān] 'our boat'   /nicīmāninān/

n̲s̲   [omān̲s̲ɪs]   'moose-calf'   /omānisis/

This type of elision may occur anywhere within the word. In the above examples, the sequences [nt] and [nc] happen to occur at the prefix boundary, whereas the cluster [ns] is found word-internally.

Other clusters arise through the phonological processes of assimilation and reduplication, both of which will be discussed more fully in Chapter V.

3.3.2   Vowel Adjustments at Morpheme Boundary

The first boundary that we shall discuss is the preverb boundary. At preverb boundaries, marked by a hyphen, one of the three rules which follow will apply:

Rule 1(a)

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} w \\ h \end{pmatrix} \ / \ \begin{array}{c} V_1 \\ [back] \end{array} \ \underline{\quad} \ - \ \begin{array}{c} V_2 \\ [back] \end{array}$$

<u>Rule 1(b)</u>

$$\emptyset \;\; \text{-->} \;\; y \;\;\; / \;\;\; V_1 \;\; \underline{\quad} \;\; - \;\; V_2$$

$$[\alpha back] \qquad [-\alpha back]$$

Rule 1(a) applies when the vowels are of different quality, length and neither is a front vowel. Rule 1(b) applies when one of the vowels is a front vowel. Examples with Rule 1 are:

    [āwotnAk]   /ā-otinak/

                'when I picked him up'

    [āhotētnān]   /ā-otihtamān/

                'when I grabbed it'

    [īyapɪyā]   /ī-apiyā/

                'when we stayed'

    [āyɪtɪgowā]   /ā-itikoyā/

                'when he told us'

    [nɪwīyapɪn]   /niwī-apin/

                'I am going to sit down'

<u>Rule 2</u>

$$V_1 \;\; - \;\; V_2 \;\; \text{-->} \;\; \bar{V}_2$$

[-lg]

[back]   [back]

Rule 2 applies when the vowels at the preverb boundary different in quality, neither is a front vowel (/i/ or /ī/), and the first vowel is short. Examples are:

[kǭtɪnamAn] /ka-otinaman/

'you will take it'

[kǭtētɪgut] /ka-otihtikot/

'it will come to him'

Rule 3

$$V_1 \; - \; V_1 \; \longrightarrow \; \bar{V}_1$$

Rule 3 applies when the vowels at the preverb boundary are the same in quality. Examples are:

[ītwīt] /ī-itwīt/

'he said so to him'

[ā̱tɪgospīt] /ā-ati-kospīt/

'he started to go up'

[nā̱tɪgospīn] /na-ati-kospīn/

'I will start to go up'

In the case of <u>word boundaries</u>, the rules apply in the same way. Examples with Rule 1 are:

[itīyanihi]   /itī̱_anihi/

        'where they'

In the following example, the insertion of y̲ causes the regular contraction of /ay/ to [ē] which we mention later (3.4.2):

[nīstay̱ıða]   /nīsta̱_iða/

[nīstēða]   'I too'

Examples with Rule 2 are:

[īgotōhcı]   /īkota̱_ohci/

        'from there'

In the next example, we first see that word-final /o/ is substituted by /w/ before a vowel initial word, then the regular contraction of /wā/ --> [a] after a consonant (as seen in 3.4.1):

[nīsa̱wāpmāyāhuk]   /nīso̱_ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/

               'we saw two of them'

Examples with Rule 3 are:

[mwīhcı̱togī]   /mwīhcı̱_ītokī/   'just about'

[īgwā̱nı]   /īkwa̱_ani/   'and then'

[āgīntīgotawīyā̲cıðo]

/ā-kī-nitawi-kotawīyā̲ aciðaw/

        'we lit a fire for a while'

    /w/ may also drop initially, for example:

[īgotī̲pAc]   /īkotī wīpac/

      'there suddenly'

In this example, the /w/ is in the environment of high front

vowels. As we shall see later (3.5), the semivowel in this

environment may assimilate to the position of the vowels:

/w/ --> [y]. Moreover, the sequence /īyī/, in this dialect of

Cree, contracts to [ī]. Together, this assimilation and

contraction may account for the sequence /ī#wī/ becoming [ī].

    At the <u>prefix boundary</u>, there are two connectives, <u>y</u> and <u>t</u>,

used in this dialect of Woods Cree. These connectives join first

and second person prefixes to vowel-initial stems. Either of these

forms may occur:

<u>nitapin</u>   'I sit'

<u>niyapin</u>   'I sit'

The same connectives are also found with vowel-initial nouns, for example:

<u>ni</u>takohp   'my blanket'

<u>niy</u>akohp   'my blanket'

The rule which states this is:

$$\emptyset \ \ \text{-->} \ \ \{ \ t/y \ \} \ \ / \ \text{PREFIX} \ \underline{\ \ \ \ } \ + \ \text{STEM}$$

$$\text{[vowel-initial]}$$

The choice of connective appears to be free, although the <u>t</u> connective outnumbers the <u>y</u> approximately by two to one.

Neither the class of the verb, nor whether the noun is animate or inanimate makes a difference:

<u>TA</u>

  <u>ni</u>taðahwāw 'I am burying him'

  <u>niy</u>asamāw   'I feed him'

<u>TI</u>

  <u>ni</u>tiskatīðihtīn 'I am tired of it'

  <u>niy</u>akihtīn 'I count it'

<u>AI</u>

  <u>ni</u>takohcin   'I float'

  <u>niy</u>apin   'I sit'

<u>NI</u>

   <u>ni</u>tastotin   'my hat'

   <u>niy</u>akohp   'my blanket'

<u>NA</u>

   <u>ni</u>tiskwīsisim 'my girl'

   <u>niy</u>iskinōhamākīm 'my teacher'

Although the first person prefix has been used throughout the examples, <u>t</u> and <u>y</u> are used as connectives with the second person prefix as well. With the <u>ni-</u> and <u>ki-</u> prefixes, the choice of connective appears to be free, although more examples with <u>t</u> were obtained by direct elicitation than with <u>y</u>.

The third person of verbs is not expressed by prefix in Cree, with the exception of the preterites of which I have no examples in the data. On nouns, the prefix is <u>o-</u>, and when the noun stem is vowel initial, the connective is invariably <u>t</u>:

      <u>o</u>takohp   'his blanket'

Verb stems which begin with /i/ and /o/ in the Woods Cree dialect spoken at Pukatawagan, exhibit lengthening of the stem vowel after <u>nit-</u> or the minimal variant <u>n-</u> but not after <u>niy-</u>:

      <u>o</u>sih   'fix him!' (impve.)

     <u>ni</u>tōsih<u>ā</u>w   'I am fixing him'

it_īw	'he tells him'
n_ītāw	'I tell him'

We might expect that verb stems with vowel initial /a/ would follow the pattern of those with /o/ and /i/ and exhibit lengthening of the stem vowel. This, however, is not the case, as the next examples show:

aðahwīw	'he buries him'
na_ðahwāw	'I bury him'

kiy_ayamihitonānaw	'we talk to each other'
k_ayamin_ānaw	'we are talking'

In this last pair of examples, note that the initial kiy- is a sequence of second person prefix plus the connective y.

It is of considerable interest that the /a/ does not lengthen in the same manner as /o/ and /i/. One possible reason might be that in this dialect of Woods Cree, the future tense of verbs with stem-initial /a/ is marked by the lengthening of the /a/:

nahðāw	'I put him'	(personal prefix n-)
n-āhðāw	'I shall put him'	(future preverb na)

The lengthening of the stem-initial vowel is distinctive in the
future -- there is no other way of keeping the future apart from
the present tense. This may well be the reason why /a/ does not
follow the pattern of /o/ and /i/.

In Plains Cree, variation in length of stem-initial /o/ has
been recorded, but not for /i/ or /a/. When the stem begins with
o-, this o- is lengthened after the personal prefix. Ahenakew
notes this with dependent noun stems (1984:34):

> nōsisimitik   'my grandchildren'
>
> cf.   osisima   'their grandchildren'

Ahenakew notes that in her dialect the possession paradigm of
independent nouns is completely regular, and the shape of the
personal prefixes is predictable.

Wolfart, however, mentions (1973:82) that:

> Before stems with initial /o/ or /ō/ there is a great
> deal of what seems to be free variation.

He gives examples with independent nouns:

> okimaw   'chief'
>
> nitōkimāminān   'our chief'
>
> nōkimāminān

and one example with a dependent noun:

> ōhkomiwāwa   'their grandmother'

Wolfart also notes that the initial /o/ of verb stems may lengthen in this way:

<u>oti</u>nēw   'he takes him'

n<u>ōti</u>nāw   'I take him'

In the Woods Cree examples above, we have seen the prefixes <u>ni-</u> and <u>ki-</u> in a reduced form: <u>n-</u> and <u>k-</u>:

n<u>aðahwāw</u>	/n+aðahwāw/
n<u>ītāw</u>	/n+itāw/
n<u>ahðāw</u>	/n+ahðāw/
k<u>ayaminānaw</u>	/k+ayaminānaw/

"Vowel-less" forms of the prefix are common with certain dependent noun stems:

n<u>atay</u>   'my belly'

k<u>atay</u>   'your belly'

but it has not previously been observed with verbs. Examples involving <u>n-</u> and <u>k-</u> —— the reduced variants of the personal prefixes —— are not as frequent as those where the connective, either <u>t</u> or <u>y</u>, is used, but they do occur regularly enough to suggest that they are not recording errors. For further details see Greensmith (1985).

3.4   THE EFFECTS OF SEMIVOWELS UPON VOWELS

This section explores further the variations that may take place within the word.

Both /w/ and /y/ optionally affect the quality of vowels contiguous to them. /w/ tends to round neighbouring vowels, and is then deleted. The general effect of /y/ is more difficult to state. Its distribution is more limited than that of /w/ as it does not occur word initially. After /i/ and /a/, moreover, it has the effect of neutralising the vowel and is then deleted. We shall first discuss the effects of /w/.

3.4.1   /w/ effects

We have stated that /w/ has a rounding effect. It may also give to neighbouring vowels the quality of backness. Examples of this are especially evident with the sequence /iw/. /iw/ may occur as [o] in word-final position:

/apiw/   [apo]   'he sits'
/iðiniw/   [ɪðɪno]   'person'

Note that this variation may affect all strings of the type /iw/, as /iw/ is morpheme internal in /iðiniw/, whereas it straddles a morpheme boundary in /api+w/.

The variation is optional, however, as both [ıðınıw] and [apıw] have been recorded. This kind of surface variation has been observed for Plains Cree by Wolfart and Ahenakew (1982:73 ff.), who discuss the variation in the phonetic realisation of /iw/ and of other sequences that are phonetically similar, but have different underlying representations.

Another variant of word final /iw/ is [ē], but this only occurs in certain nouns and will be discussed with word final /y/.

/wī/ may surface as [oy]:

/ā-ati-sipwīhtīt/   [ātısıpoyīhtīt]

             'he is just leaving'

/tāpwī/   [tāpoyī]

        'truly'

Here we see a change in syllabicity; the /w/ takes on the quality of a back vowel, and the high front vowel becomes a semivowel plus vowel. Another example of variation in syllabicity is the sequence /wīw/ which may surface as [oyu]:

/patahwīw/   [patahoyu]

         'he hits him'

/patahwīwak/   [patahoyuk]

         'they hit him'

/wī/ also surfaces as [wī], however:

/ā-kī-sipwīpaðiyā/   [āgīsɪpwīpaðɪyā]

          'we were going away on a trip'

We shall see further evidence of the instability of /w/ and
/y/ in 3.5, particularly when they are surrounded by vowels with
which they are not homorganic. This instability has been observed
by Wolfart (1973:37) in connection with the stem of the
demonstrative ēwako 'the self-same'. He records variants ēyako and
ēwako which seem to be completely interchangeable "except perhaps
for stylistic differences."

The sequence /aw/ may surface both as [aw] and as [o] with
pervasive rounding:

/kicīmāninaw/   [kɪcīmānɪnaw]

          'our canoe'

/wāhðaw/   [wāhðo]

          'far away'

The sequence /wa/ may vary with a single, back rounded vowel
[u]:

/kī-nācipaðīstamwak/   [kīnācɪpaðīstamuk]

          'they drove over and fetched it'

/pimakocinwak/   [pmagocɪnuk]

               'they are moving along'

/ā-kī-piniwīpahwak/   [āgīpɪnɪyīpahuk]

               'I knocked him down'

(Note the phonetic realisation of /iwī/ as [iyī] in the above example.)

    In addition to [u], /wa/ may be represented by [wA] in slow, careful speech:

/ā-wāpamāyahkwak/   [āwāpmāyahkwAk]

             'when we saw them'

/ā-itakwak/   [āyɪtagwAk]

             'I said so to them'

(The Plains Cree form corresponding to the above example is ē-itakok. However, the differences in inflection between this dialect and the Plains dialect will not be explored in this study.)

    The sequence /wā/ generally surfaces as [ā] except word initially, as the next example shows:

/wāpamatwāki/   [wāpmatāgɪ]

          'you see them'

/nikī-patahwānānak/ [nɪgīpatahānānAk]

          'we missed them'

/ā-aswāpamāyā/   [āsāpmāyā]

          'we were looking out for them'

/mwāc/   [māc]   'not'

The sequence /ow/ becomes [ō] in word final position:

/mīmihitow/   [mīmɪhɪtō]   [[sic!]]

               'he dances'

/ācimow/   [ācɪmō]

               'he tells a story'

The examples show that /w/ may back and round a vowel that is contiguous to it. This is not compulsory, however, as word initially, as well as medially and finally in the examples that we have already seen, sequences of /wV/ and /Vw/ remain unchanged:

/wiðisk/   [wɪðɪsk]

             'because'

/wīða/   [wīða]

             'he'

/ī-wī-nitawi-pāskiswānānak/

                  [īwīntīpāskɪsānānAk]

             'we wanted to go and shoot them'

/wacask/   [wačask]

             'muskrat'

/awa/   [awa]

             'this'

/wāpamīw/   [wāpmīw]

             'he sees him'

/ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/   [āwāpmāyāhuk]

             'we saw them'

3.4.2 /y/ effects

It is more difficult to generalise over the effects that /y/ may
have on neighbouring vowels. In this section, we shall review the
evidence for the effects which /y/ may have on a following vowel.

The first examples show the effect of /y/ on the
stem-initial vowel /i/: the sequence /yi/ may surface as [yu]:

/niyitīhīn/   [niyutīhīn]

'I stir it'

/niyiskinōhamākīw+im/

[niyuskınōhamākīm]

'my teacher'

The inflection for the second person singular conjunct of the VAI
paradigm, /yan/, surfaces as [yın]. This has been pointed out by
Voorhis (1972:13-3) as a northern variant.

/ā-kī-ispaðiyan/   [ākīspaðiyın]

'you were driving'

The sequence /yo/ may surface as [yu]:

/nīyo/   [nīyu]

'four'

/niyotahāw/   [niyutahāw]

'I beat him'

We shall now turn to the effects of /y/ on vowels that precede it.

The length of the high front vowel is difficult to to determine before /y/:

[āgīsɪpwīpaði̱yīk]   /ā-kī-sipwīpaði̱yīk/
'when you were going for a trip'

Phonetically, the final vowel of the stem sipwīpaði- seems long before /y/.

Word finally, /iy/ is realised as [ī]:

/sīpiy/   [sīpī]   'river'
/nīpiy/   [nīpī]   'leaf'
/pimiy/   [pmī]   'gasoline'

The underlying representation with word final /iy/ is attested to by the plurals:

/sīpiya/   'rivers'
/nīpiya/   'leaves'

Occasionally, in certain forms, /iy/ surfaces word finally as [ē]:

/nipiy/   [nɪpē]   'water'
/maskwamiy/   [maskomē]   'ice'

I have recorded both [pimī] and [pimē], [nipī] and [nipē]. [ī] and [ē] appear to vary freely when the underlying representation is /iy/. We shall return to this when we discuss the variants of the long front vowel /ī/ (3.7).

The sequence /ay/ also surfaces as [ē], but not as [ī]. This variation may occur anywhere within the word, including word finally. Note that in the last two examples, the /y/ is inserted by sandhi before it changes the preceding vowel and is deleted:

/ay/ --> [ē]

    /āsay/   [āsē]   'already'

    /nīsta iða/   [nīstēða]   'I too'

    /ta-isi-pahkonak/   [tēsipahkonAk]

            'how I shall skin him'

When /i/ or /a/ precede /y/, the distinction between them is lost, or neutralised. Note, however, that [ē] from /ay/ does not vary with [ī] in the same manner as the [ē] which comes from /iy/. The sequence /oy/ surfaces unchanged word finally:

    [tōhtōsāpoy]   'milk'

    /tōhtōsāpoy/

    [apoy]   'paddle'

    /apoy/

3.5   SEMIVOWELS IN GENERAL

This section will deal with the interchangeability, elision and
deletion of semivowels that has already been noted. We have seen
both /w/ and /y/ affect the quality and, on occasion, the length of
the vowels that precede them. I have recorded in one noun stem the
variation [iw] with [ē] for final /iy/:

    [nɪtīðanɪw] ˜ [nɪtīðanē] 'my tongue'

    /nitīðaniy/

This variation shows up in other forms:

    [otīðanɪw] ˜ [otīðanē] 'his tongue'

    /otīðaniy/

    [mitīðanɪw] ˜ [mɪtīðanē] 'a tongue'

    /mītiðaniy/

The variants do not include [ī] as we might have expected on the
basis of [pimī] and [sīpī] which, as we have seen, (3.4.2), have
the underlying forms /pimiy/ and /sīpiy/. From one younger
speaker, W.H., I also elicited [iw] for /iy/ in the form:

    /sīpiy/   'river'   [sīpiw]

The observation that [iw] appears as a surface variant for /iy/ is
further supported by the apparent interchangeability of the two
semivowels in intervocalic position:

/awi/ --> [ayi]

/ī-nīpawit/   [īnīpayıt]

　　　　　'he is standing'

/oyā/ --> [owā]

　/ā-itikoyā/   [āyıtıkowā]

　　　　　'he told us'

In the first example, the semivowel has assimilated to the quality
of the following vowel. In the second, the semivowel has
assimilated to the roundness of the preceding vowel.

3.5.1　The Preverb /nitawi-/

The sequence /awi/ has various phonetic realisations when it occurs
in the preverb nitawi- 'go and'. It may, of course, surface
unchanged:

/nitawi/ --> [nıtawı]

　/ā-kī-nitawi-mācīyā/   [ākīnıtawımācīyā]

　　　　　　'we went and hunted'

This variant only surfaces in slow, careful speech.

　　The variants which are listed below all come from the same
speaker, M.C., and are in order of frequency.

/nitawi/ --> [ntī]

　　　　　[tī]

[nɪtī]

[ntō]

[ntēyɪ]

/nitawi/ --> [ntī]

   /ā-kī-nitawi-aswāpamāyā/

        [āgīntīyasãpmāyā]

      'we went out and watched for him'

/nitawi/ --> [tī]

   /ā-kī-nitawi-pahkonāyā/

        [āgītīpahkonāyā]

      'we went and skinned him'

/nitawi/ --> [nɪtī]

   /ā-kī-nitawi-kotawīyā/

        [āgīnɪtīgotawīyā]

      'we went and lit a fire'

/nitawi/ --> [ntō]

   /nikī-wī-nitawi-pāskiswānān/

        [nigīwīntōpāskisānān]

      'we wanted to go and shoot him'

/nitawi/ --> [ntēyɪ]

   /ī-kī-nitawi-takosi/   [īgīntēyɪtakosɪ]

      'he got to his destination'

3.5.2   On the Deletion of the Semivowels

In the Pukatawagan dialect of Woods Cree, we have seen the
interchangeability of /w/ and /y/ intervocalically. We also see
the regular deletion of /w/ word finally in such forms as:

[mɪtātahtā]	'ten times'	/mitātahtwāw/
[tahtā]	'every time'	/tahtwāw/
[mɪhcītā]	'many times'	/mihcītwāw/
[pīyakā]	'once'	/pīyakwāw/

While I have not observed the intervocalic deletion of /w/,
I have observed its instability in this environment, when
surrounded by high front vowels. Voorhis (1976:42-44) writes that
intervocalic semivowels are sometimes dropped in Cree:

[wāsēnamāina] for /wāsēnamāwina/

     'windows'

[tahkāāw]   for /tahkāyāw/

     'it's cold'

Voorhis also notes the backing and rounding effect that /w/ may
have on a following /a/ or /ā/. As we have seen, this occurs
regularly in the Pukatawagan dialect of Woods Cree.

3.6 SURFACE VARIATION IN THE SHORT FRONT VOWEL

Before a cluster of /h/ plus stop, the high front vowel may be
lengthened and lowered to [ē]. On some occasions the /h/ is
dropped from the cluster, but not always:

[nɪpēhkɪ]   /nipihki/

'when summer comes'

[maskēhkē]   /maskihkiy/

'medicine'

[kōtēhtɪgut]   /ka-otihtikot/

'it will come to him'

[āhotētnān]   /ā-otihtamān/

'I grabbed it'

(Note in this last example the progressive assimilation of the
nasal /m/ to the position of the preceding stop, to be discussed in
greater detail in Chapter V.)

All the examples are with the clusters ht and hk. I have
not recorded any instances of this type before hp. Pentland
(1978b:109) has observed this phenomenon at South Indian Lake, and
gives this example:

[mɛɣkɔ]   /mihko/

'blood'

It is not uncommon to find instances in the data of [ē]
before /hC/ where the underlying form is /īhC/, for example,

   [mah<u>ē</u>hkAn]   /mah<u>ī</u>hkan/

        'wolf'

I have also recorded [ē] before /hC/, with deletion of the /h/:

   [apɩščɩw<u>ē</u>tɩgōs] /apisci-w<u>īh</u>tikōs/

       'small wihtikow'

We even find examples of hypercorrection, where the
underlying form /īC/ is reinterpreted, in the first example as
[ēhk], and in the second as [iht].

   [m<u>ēhk</u>wāc]   /m<u>ī</u>kwāc/

       'while'

   [tīmɩnɩhkwɩhtān]   /nitawi-minihkw<u>īt</u>ān/

       'let's go and drink!' (impve.)

3.7 THE LONG FRONT VOWEL

We have already alluded to the fact that the long front vowel /ī/
has a variant: [ē]. It has been observed by Pentland (1979:104),
that the Woods and Northern Plains dialects of Cree have a
completely symmetrical vowel system -- three long, three short.
Pukatawagan Woods Cree appears to be one such dialect -- but with a
difference, in that the [ē] is still in evidence.

First, we shall look at the phonetic evidence. In both the
stems and among the inflectional endings, there are words in which
the sound is sometimes [ē] and sometimes [ī]:

[pēyAk]	/	[pīyAk]	'one'
[ēgwānı]	/	[īgwānı]	'and then'
[wāpmēw]	/	[wāpmīw]	'he sees him'
[tēpagohp]	/	[tīpagohp]	'seven'

There are also words in which the vowel is consistently [ī]:

[īgā]	'not'
[nāpīw]	'man'
[nīyo]	'four'
[nīða]	'I'

There are no words, however, which consistently exhibit only [ē].

In terms of text frequency, the distribution of [ē] and [ī] is heavily skewed in favour of the latter:

	[ē]	[ī]
S.L. (99 yrs)	12	41
M.W. (42 yrs)	8	37
M.C. (20 yrs)	4	49

The chart illustrates the occurrence, by speaker, of [ī] and [ē] corresponding to Plains Cree /ē/ in one hundred running words of text. These counts show that S.L. uses [ē] corresponding to Plains Cree /ē/ less than one third as much as she uses [ī] (where Plains Cree has /ē/). The figures for M.W. and M.C. are not so high -- both use [ē] in the same environment as stated above less than one quarter of the time.

Even if there were no other evidence, this would suggest a merger of two vowels, /ē/ and /ī/, which were in contrast at an earlier stage. Evidence from Howse suggests that this merger did not start to take place until the nineteenth century. Howse (1844:37) uses the symbol è defined "as a in fate, mate", in such words as Tán-itte 'where' (p. 266), Ec´cot-tè 'there' (p. 254). The è sound corresponds to ē in Plains Cree, where modern Woods Cree now has i. Like Woods Cree, Plains Cree has lost the contrast

in the short front vowels, but, unlike Woods Cree, the Plains
dialect preserves the contrast, for the most part, in the long
front vowels. Wolfart (1973:35) reports the merger of /ī/ and /ē/
in the Saddle Lake area of north-eastern Alberta, and cites
Bloomfield who recorded both k̄ikway and k̄ekway 'what sort'.

The sound [ē] is not only a variant of /ī/, however, it is
also a variant of the word final sequence /iy/. Earlier we noted
that noun stems for which we assume, on the basis of plural and
obviative forms, an underlying representation of final /iy/,
frequently surface with [ī] or [ē] word finally:

   [sīpī] ~ [sīpē]   'river'
   /sīpiy/

   [pɪmī] ~ [pɪmē]   'gasoline'
   /pimiy/

   [nɪpī] ~ [nɪpē]   'water'
   /nipiy/

The fact that forms such as [sīpē], [pɪmē] and [nɪpē] exist
suggests two things. First, that these stems are re-interpreted as
ending in a long ī -- in other words, that word finally Pukatawagan
Woods Cree has no phonological distinction between [iy] and [ī].
Second, that the variation between [ī] and [ē] is bi-directional --
at least for these [ī]-final nouns.

Unfortunately, no clear information is as yet available from the texts of [ī] being realised as [ē] where it is underlying /ī/ and not /iy/. Yet, in the neighbouring dialect of South Indian Lake, field reports from Starks (1984) show this variation occurring in a number of morphemes, e.g., the preverb /wī/ surfaces as [wē]. Paul Voorhis (p.c.) has recorded [kē] for the past preverb /kī/ from speakers of Pukatawagan Woods Cree, which would suggest that the variation is indeed bi-directional.

It seems, therefore, that there is a sound change in progress, moving through the lexicon. In certain lexical items, the change is almost if not fully complete, in others it is only partially so.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that words which in English have [ey] are borrowed into Woods Cree with [ī]:

| [čīgup] | 'Jacob' | /čīkop/ |
| [taDīn] | 'train' | /taðīn/ |

Other words with a lower front vowel [ɛ] in English are also borrowed into Woods Cree as [ī]:

[sīða]	'Sarah'	/sīða/
[mīðī]	'Mary'	/mīðī/
[čīðī]	'Gerry'	/čīðī/

The fact that new words are borrowed into the lexicon with an [ī] is evidence in support of the existence of one phoneme /ī/.

In Pukatawagan Woods Cree, it is often very difficult to
distinguish [ī] from [ē], especially in the word [īgwānı] or
[ēgwānı].

Trudgill (1983:97) has observed that vowels may approximate
to each other without actually becoming the same. He quotes recent
work of Labov which

> deals with a number of cases where precisely this has
> taken place -- where, during the course of linguistic
> change, distinct vowels have become phonetically closer
> without actually merging.

Trudgill emphasises that when the approximation is close
enough

> speakers will themselves perceive the vowels as identical
> even when they are not.

M.C. was convinced that he did not use the sound [ē] at all,
whereas it is evident from the tapes that he does. What is
important to note here is the fact that the sound /ī/ has
psychological reality for M.C. -- he thinks he uses the /ī/ sound
exclusively.

I have followed M.C. and adopted his perception as the
convention by which [ī] and [ē] are represented as /ī/. I believe
that, for M.C., the variation of [ī] with [ē] does not entail
phonological distinctiveness and that his vowel system is
completely symmetrical -- three short vowels, and three long ones.

Chapter IV

SURFACE VARIANTS: CONSONANTS

In this chapter we present the evidence for the surface variation

of three consonants in particular: p, k, and ð. We shall leave

the variants of /ð/ to the end of this chapter, and concentrate

initially upon /p/ and /k/.

We have already observed the strengthening of /p/ and /t/ in

this dialect to [pp] and [tt] (2.5). Here we examine the evidence

for the weakening of consonants. This is a natural phonological

process which occurs in many languages, typically in allegro

speech. It has been observed by Hyman (1975:164) that,

> A consonant is subject to strengthening and weakening
> processes relative to its position within syllables and
> words.

4.1   ASSIMILATION

In this section, we examine the assimilation of nasals to

consonants which both follow and precede them. We also investigate

the surface variants of the stops /p/ and /k/ which fall into the

category of assimilation. Bhat (1978:56) states that the

substitution of a fricative for a stop intervocalically:

has been generally considered as a case of assimilation
of a consonant to the more open neighbouring vowel(s).

4.1.1   Nasal Assimilation

There is a rule of assimilation whereby a nasal may assimilate to

the position of the following or the preceding consonant. This

takes place after the deletion of a short vowel between the nasal

and consonant. First the rule for elision:

$$V \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad C \underline{\quad} C$$
$$[-\lg] \qquad\qquad [\alpha nas]\ [-\alpha nas]$$

The above rule states that a short vowel will be deleted when it

falls between two homorganic consonants, one of which must be a

nasal.

The rule of assimilation can be stated thus:

$$C \longrightarrow [\alpha place] \quad // \quad C$$
$$[+nasal] \qquad\qquad [\alpha place]$$

The double slash indicates that this is a neighbourhood, or mirror

image, rule (Langacker 1969) and applies disjunctively -- in other

words, if one expansion applies, then the other expansion cannot

apply to the same input form. This rule allows for assimilation to

the position of either the following or the preceding consonant.

The alpha notation enclosed within the square brackets is

simply a notational convention to capture a generalisation that

would otherwise need to be stated in two rules. If both values for alpha are the same, then either both segments will contain the feature or both will not. If the alphas have different values, then one segment will possess the feature, and the other will not (see above, 2.4.1).

In the examples below, the nasal assimilates to the position of the <u>following</u> consonant -- in other words, this is <u>regressive</u> assimilation.

    [mpagāsımon]   'I am swimming'

    /nipakāsimon/

The short, unstressed /i/ of the prefix is deleted, and the nasal /n/ then assimilates to the bilabial position of the following consonant.

    [ŋgīpatahāw] 'I missed him'

    /nikī-patahwāw/

This example also uses both rules. This time, the nasal assimilates to the velar position [ŋ].

    [ncīmānınān] 'our boat'

    /nicīmāninān/

In this case, the rule of assimilation does not apply as the nasal is homorganic with the following consonant.

In the above examples, the consonants have been word
initial; the following example is word medial. Here, the
alternative expansion of the assimilation rule is used, as the
nasal follows the consonant with which it becomes homorganic --
this is progressive assimilation:

[āhotētnān] 'I grabbed it'

/ā-otihtamān/

This example is of interest for two reasons. First, the
assimilation rule works in reverse and it is a short /a/ that is
deleted. (Second, the sequence /iht/ has become [ēt]. The loss of
pre-aspiration has both lengthened and lowered the preceding
vowel.)

4.1.2   The Phoneme /p/

Under certain conditions, the phoneme /p/ surfaces as a fricative
--in fact, as two different types of fricative. Both are quite
remarkable, but as yet there is no conclusive evidence to state
their distribution, owing to the paucity of examples. Three
examples occur in the text, where the phoneme /p/ surfaces as a
voiceless bilabial fricative. The first is in the speech of M.C.:

[āgīyatıɸītāgotık] 'night was coming'

/ā-kī-ati-pītākotik/

In fact, M.C. stumbled the first time he made the utterance, so this may not be a good example on which to base firm conclusions. The next example, however, comes from the texts of S.L., and there was no hesitation:

[āgip̱itohtīt]   'he came'
/ā-kī-pī-itohtīt/

In the dialect of S.L., there is often an audible devoicing of the vowel at preverb boundary, and especially between the particle ati and the preverb kī and stem. (ati always directly precedes the verb stem, kī may occur in that position.) It is possible that the fricative in the examples above is a combination of this connective [h] plus the initial /p/ of the verb stem.

The third example, again from the texts of S.L., is:

[ātɪgosp̱ɪhtahɪgut]

                'he started taking him up'
/ā-ati-kospihtahikot/

There is not a preverb boundary in front of the /p/ in this example, but the /p/ may have assimilated to the manner of articulation of the preceding member of the cluster, /s/. It is unfortunate that there are few examples of this type in the data so far analysed.

In two of the examples above, the voiceless bilabial fricative arises across a preverb boundary. We have already noted

the Plains Cree form that Pentland reports (2.5) where a
combination of h̲, the preverb boundary and stem-initial k̲ surfaces
as [x̭]:

   [kīx̭īwēw]   /kīh̲-k̲īwēw/ 'he returned'

It is interesting that in the Swampy Cree dialect spoken at
Shamattawa, Anthony (1972:27) recorded a bilabial fricative for
/hp/ under "unknown conditions". It needs to be emphasised,
however, that the combination of h̲ plus p̲ in the Pukatawagan Woods
dialect is not an organic cluster such as the one which Anthony
describes for Shamattawa -- it is separated by a preverb boundary.

     There are two occurrences in the text of M.C. where a
sequence of /pw/ becomes a voiced bilabial fricative [ß]:

   [āsₗß̲īpₗta]   'he started it'

      /ā-sipwīpita/

   [āgīsₗß̲īpaẟₗyā]

           'we were going away on a trip'

     /ā-kī-sipwīpaẟiyā/

In both instances, the fricative occurs in the morpheme sipwī-
'leave'.

I have also recorded the form [āsıw̲īpıta] for /ā-sipwīpita/,
without a trace of the /p/.

I can only document this variant -- there is not enough
evidence to suggest a pattern of distribution. It is possible that
speed of discourse might be a factor, as all the examples are from
texts rather than from direct elicitation. It is hoped that
further textual analysis may provide some more examples of this
unusual feature.

4.1.3   The Phoneme /k/

In the previous chapter, when /k/ was being discussed, I noted that
intervocalically, the voiceless velar stop surfaces as voiced [g].
The stop may also be realised as a velar fricative [γ]. In this
section, I will discuss the fricative and also other variants that
occur in the text. All the examples come from the texts of M.C.

[īpımıtısahoγut]

            'he (obv.) was chasing him'
    /ī-pimitisahokot/

[āpāpāskisāciɣ ayihiw]

       'he kept on shooting at them, you know'

/ā-pāh-pāskiswācik ayihiw/

[ıðıɣīɣīɣaɣīpātısıyā]

       'we were so stupid'

/iðiko ī-kī-kakīpātisiyā/

(Here the /o/ of /iðiko/ has contracted with the following /ī/.
The following instances of [ɣ] may be attributed to allegro
assimilation.)

    As I indicated earlier, however, there are other variants.
One is a glottal stop:

  [ātaʔopaðiyā]   'we arrived'

    /ā-takopaðiyā/

  [ītoʔī]   'I guess'

    /ītokī/

  [taʔopahtāw]   'he arrives running'

    /takopahtāw/

The glottal stop and the velar fricative are in free variation with the velar stop. The following are all variants of one phonemic form:

/ā-takopaδiyā/   'we arrived'

[ātagopaδiyā]

[ātaγopaδiyā]

[āta'opaδiyā]

The only difference is the context in which they occur. The form with [g] was elicited whilst transcribing the tape, those with [γ] and ['] occurred in the text in rapid discourse.

There is also evidence that the /k/ is dropped during very rapid speech. Examples of this are:

[pwāgohp]   /poko akohp/ 'only a blanket'

[māyīδa]   /māka wiδa/   'but'

Note in the example above the interchangeability of the semivowels, [y] for /w/.

Another surface variant of /māka wiδa/ is:

[māγīδa]

In this case /k/ may surface as [γ] or [∅].

There is much evidence to show that the phoneme /k/ undergoes considerable variation, mainly in intervocalic position, in rapid discourse. In slow elicitation it is always [g]. In informal, allegro speech, the stop may surface as a fricative. The velar stop may also surface as a glottal stop. This can perhaps best be described as an instance of ease of articulation, although we note with Sapir that a sound that for speakers of one language is relatively simple to produce may cause problems for speakers of another language. On the concept "ease of articulation" Sapir (1921:183) observes that:

> [It] may enter in as a factor, but it is a rather
> subjective concept at best.

The variation between a back stop and a glottal stop is attested in Arabic, where the uvular stop /q/ may surface as [ʔ] as well as [g]. Haywood and Nahmad (1965:7) state that:

> In modern Arabic in some areas, it is often pronounced as
> the hard [g] in go ... In the colloquial of Lower Egypt
> (Cairo Arabic) and certain parts of the Levant, it can be
> heard as a hamza [glottal stop].

Thus the variation between a back stop and a glottal stop is found in the vernacular of at least one other language.

4.2   CONSONANT ELISION

In this section, we shall examine the evidence for the elision of
consonants. In English, we hear frequently the phrase bran-new.
Although we spell it brand-new, we do not pronounce the d very
often, except perhaps for emphasis. The consonant d has undergone
a process of elision in between the two nasals with which it is
homorganic. The elision of d is so complete in this particular
case that even the Oxford English Dictionary lists both forms, with
a cross-reference from bran-new to brand-new.

In the Pukatawagan dialect of Woods Cree, the consonants ð,
h, k and p may all be elided:

/ð/   -->   ø

    /pīðisk/   [pī:sk]   'finally'
(The colon marks additional vowel length.)

/h/   -->   ø

    /anihi/   [anī]   'these'

/k/   -->   ø

    /kīhcınāc/   [īhcınāc] 'for sure'

/p/   -->   ø

    /ā-kī-sipwīpaðiyā/   [ākīsıwīpaðıyā]

            'we were going on a trip'

We have already discussed the intervocalic weakening of /p/ and /k/. Under the environment 'intervocalic' we also include consonant plus semivowel sequences. Elision is the ultimate form of weakening.

Certain morphemes in this dialect of Cree no longer have initial /k/. In the speech of M.C., there is a conjunct marker /ā/ which corresponds exactly to the conjunct marker /kā/ which S.L., his grandmother, consistently uses in her stories. M.C. aided in the transcription of those stories, and it turns out that whenever S.L. uses /kā/, M.C. substitutes /ā/. He does not even hear the difference, as several times when it was pointed out to him, he would respond:

"That's what I said!"

Another instance where we suspect that /k/ has dropped word initially is in the word niyiskinōhamākīm 'my teacher'. We find the same form with initial /k/ in the Plains dialect: kiskinōhamākēw 'teacher'. There is no trace of initial /k/ in the Pukatawagan form of this word, and the fact that y is inserted unambiguously establishes that the stem is vowel initial. (We have already noted that /y/ is sometimes inserted as a connective between prefix and stem, and that it tends to colour the vowel that follows it.)

As a conclusion to this section on weakening, I would suggest that, on the basis of the above evidence, /p/, /t/ and /k/

show different patterns of behaviour, and that this attests to the
relative strength of those stops in Woods Cree. We have abundant
evidence for the weakening of /k/ and sporadic evidence for the
weakening of /p/. There are no instances of /t/ weakening in the
data so far analysed, unless we include one whole paradigm with
/hð/ instead of /ht/. This was given during elicitation, however,
and not in a text. Until an example of /t/ weakening shows up in
the text, we shall state that on a relative scale of strength:

    t > p > k

It is interesting that /t/ should be the strongest of the stops in
Woods Cree, as Vennemann's material for Icelandic shows /t/
stronger than /p/ and /k/ (1972:6), and Skousen's data for Finnish
shows that /t/ only undergoes one weakening process, voicing,
whereas /k/ is deleted entirely and /p/ becomes a voiced fricative
[v] (1972:571).

    Typologically, then, it is not uncommon for languages to
have a relative scale of strength of stops similar to that which we
observe for Woods Cree.

4.3   THE PHONEME /ð/

As was noted earlier, the phoneme /ð/ also exhibits a great deal of phonetic variation in intervocalic position. The allophones are: ð, dð, d and D. On some occasions in rapid discourse it drops altogether.

These variants cannot be described as weakenings, however, if we are to apply to them the scale of strength which Foley has established, (1970:90):

```
ð    d    t    tt
-------------------------------->
1    2    3    4    strength
```

This scale would suggest that stops are stronger than fricatives.

Ferguson (1978:437) compares the phonological processes whereby [d --> ð] and, conversely, whereby [ð --> d] in six languages, and concludes of the latter process:

> [It] seems to be a relatively context-free, simplifying
> process which eliminates highly marked consonants.

By marked, Ferguson is referring to the theory that some sounds occur less often, carry less of a functional load, and are therefore more marked when they do occur than other sounds which are more common, the functional load of which is heavy, and which are therefore unmarked in their occurrence. According to this argument, the process whereby [ð --> d] would appear to be a change from a marked sound to one which is unmarked.

One problem that we meet here is that the process

[ð --> d] is identified as a context-free process by Ferguson, and Stampe (1973:23) asserts that context-free processes occur most often in slow, formal speech. In Pukatawagan Woods Cree, however, in the same way as we saw with the variants of /p/ and /k/ earlier, the process [ð --> d] takes place only in allegro speech. This, according to Greenberg, is precisely the environment where we may look for the direction of historical change (1978:248):

> It is plausible to consider that allegro forms give important insight into the identification of "difficult" forms and less-favored sequences and into the direction of historical change.

Greenberg is actually talking of initial and final consonant sequences, but perhaps we may extrapolate his conclusion on allegro forms to cover individual segments as well.

Let us return to the phonetic material. A first question concerns voicing: all the instances observed are voiced, and yet some observers have used a voiceless symbol. This phoneme is used as the primary diagnostic feature of the Woods dialect, and it has been written and described in various manners since the earliest point of contact.

Pentland (1979:89) writes that:

> In the early records, it is uniformly written "th", but this led a number of twentieth-century linguists to describe it as voiceless θ. Bloomfield (1925a:225) fell into this trap but corrected himself (1925b:145) once he had completed his Cree field work. Michelson usually referred to the "th" dialect ... but occasionally wrote θ.

Howse (1844:38n̲) implies that there really was a dialect with θ̲, as well as one with ð̆:

> The linguals are t̲h̲ (pronounced as in t̲h̲i̲n̲) ... I allude
> here to some of the tribes on the coast of the Bay; those
> of the interior, as on the S̲a̲s̲k̲á̲t̲c̲h̲e̲w̲u̲n̲, &c. affect more
> the f̲l̲a̲t̲ series, as t̲h̲ (in t̲h̲i̲s̲) ...

On the other hand, Rossignol, who worked at Ile-à-la-Crosse in Saskatchewan, quite categorically identified the sound as d̲, neither θ̲ nor ð̆ (1939:62):

> This d̲ of the Cree of the Rocks is hard, -- like the
> habitat itself. It is the ordinary English d̲, as in
> "do", or "Indian"; it is not the same as either the
> voiced or voiceless t̲h̲ of English.

Pentland (1979:89) notes that in James Isham's 1743 vocabulary there are examples of a d̲ reflex, which he (Pentland) identifies as a feature of the Saskatchewan Woods dialect, in intervocalic position.

Now we shall examine the phonetic variants. They are, in order of frequency of occurrence:

ð̆, d̲ð̆, d̲, D̲, ø̲.

As was stated earlier, sometimes in rapid discourse the ð̆ drops entirely:

[kasipwīpānānaw] 'we will go for a trip'

/ka-sipwīpað̆inānaw/

[pī:sk] 'finally'

/pīð̆isk/

The long [ā] and the overlong [ī:] that have been underscored in
the phonetic representations suggest that contraction has taken
place:

aði --> ā

īði --> ī:

In both cases, the pattern seems to be:

$$[V_1 \text{ ð } V_2] \quad --> \quad [\bar{V}_1]$$

In the second example, where the first vowel is already long, it
acquires extra length (:).

If we set aside the 'zero' allophone we are left with four
allophones that are all phonetically similar. It is possible that
the variation may be conditioned by stress.

In the Woods dialect of Cree, however, stress does not
appear to be a conditioning factor. As we have already noted,
primary stress in this dialect falls mostly on the antepenultimate
syllable.

In this section, I will concentrate on the examples already
used, involving the verb final -paði- and the noun stem iðiniw-:

-paδi-

1. [āgīsɪpwīpáδ̱ɪyā]   'we went for a trip'

2. [āgīsɪpwīpáḏδ̱ɪyā]   'we went for a trip'

3.   [ātagopáḏɪyā]   'we arrived'

4.   [īskāpáḎɪnān]   'we went fast' [[sic!]]

5. [āgīnācɪpaḎístamā]   'we drove over to fetch it'

iδiniw-

1.   [íδ̱ɪnɪw]   'person'

2.   [íḏɪnɪw]   'person'

3. [kɪsíδ̱ɪnɪw]   'old man'

4.   [ɪδ̱ínɪwak]   'people'

5.   [ɪḏínɪwak]   'people'

6. [kɪsīδ̱ínɪwa]   'old man' (obv.)

The first four examples with -paδi- and the first three with iδiniw- show the phoneme in question following the stressed vowel. If stress were the factor causing allophonic variation, we would expect to find the same allophone occurring in words of similar stress patterns.

If we look, however, at the first four examples with -paði-, there are four different allophones. Likewise, we should expect to find a different allophone occurring in words where the stress pattern is different. Look now at example (5) -- we have here the flap which also occurred in example (4) when that segment followed the stressed vowel.

Again, with iðiniw-, examples (1-3) show the phoneme following the vowel which bears primary stress -- yet two different allophones occur. In examples (4-6), the same pattern of allophonic variation arises when the phoneme precedes the vowel which bears primary stress.

In short, different allophones occur in environments of the same stress, and the same allophone occurs in environments where the stress is different. Hence, I conclude that the variation is independent of stress. Having checked conditioning factors such as sex and age, and finding that, apart from the flap, the allophones occur in the speech of both M.C. and S.L., I would suggest that the allophonic variation may well be due to speed of discourse -- but much further study will be required to test such a hypothesis.

Having shown that the allophonic variation is free, we choose the character ð to represent the phoneme since it best symbolises its sonorant nature (cf. 2.4.5). ð is also the most frequently elicited of the allophones, and it is always found during slow, deliberate elicitation. This choice of representation

further allows for the d̲ which Rossignol specified for Woods Cree

speakers with whom he had contact, and which Pentland recorded

intervocalically in the Saskatchewan dialects. (In view of the

several authors who have used the symbol θ̲ for this phoneme -- some

of whom had not even heard the Woods dialect! -- it deserves to be

emphasised that, with the phonetically motivated exception of [hθ]

in word final position, θ̲ is not even one of the allophones in

Pukatawagan Woods Cree).

In addition, we may cite comparative evidence from the other

Cree dialects, all of which have a sonorant as the reflex of

Proto-Algonquian *l̲ -- n̲, y̲, l̲ and r̲. It is in keeping with the

pattern, therefore, that the Woods dialect also has a sonorant as

the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l̲.

Chapter V

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

We shall begin with a few general comments about the type and distribution of consonant clusters. The variants of /hð/ and /hk/ in word-medial and final position will be explored in detail.

5.1   PHONEMIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Clusters of fricative plus stop occur medially. All the clusters of /h/ plus stop occur finally, although there are only two instances of word final /hk/. Clusters of fricative plus stop do not occur initially. Of the /s/ plus stop clusters, only /sk/ occurs finally.

/hp/

/ohpinīw/	'he lifts him up'
/mīkiwāhp/	'tent'

/ht/

/pōnihtā/	'quit!' (impve.)
/mitātaht/	'ten'

/hc/

    /ā-akohci/   'when he was floating'

    /anohc/   'just then, now'

/hk/

    /tihkitīw/   'it is thawing'

    /atihk/   'deer'

/sp/

    /ispahtāw/   'he runs to'

/st/

    /kistikwān/   'your head'

/sc/

    /pisci/   'by accident'

/sk/

    /tātoskam/   'he rips it'

    /wiðisk/   'because'

There is one phonemic cluster of two fricatives, /hð/, which surfaces as [hθ] word finally:

/hð/   [wāhðaw]   'far away'

       [wīhθ]   'name him!' (impve.)

We shall return to this cluster later (5.3.1).

Clusters of consonant plus /w/ occur medially. A possible gap in the data is /cw/. /kw/ and /mw/ also occur initially. /pw/ only occurs initially in a proper name, pwālos 'Paul', although this restriction also may be due to an accidental gap in the data.

Medially, there is evidence to suggest that /pw/ may become a bilabial fricative during rapid discourse (4.1.2).

/pw/

   /ā-kī-sipwīpaðiyā/

      'we were going away on a trip'

/tw/

   /āyītwimīkiwāhpi/

      'on both sides of the tent' (loc.)

/kw/

   /kwayask/   'straight, proper'

   /mistikwak/   'trees'

/sw/

   /mōswa/   'moose'

/hw/

   /kī-patahwīw/   'he missed him'

/mw/

   /mwāc/   'not'

   /atimwa/   'dog' (obv.)

/nw/

    /takosinwak/   'they arrive'

/ðw/

    /nimiðwīðihtīn/   'I am happy'

Clusters of fricative plus stop plus /w/ have limited occurrence in the data. These clusters only occur medially. /hpw/ and /stw/ were not recorded.

/htw/

    /tahtwāw/   'every time'

/hkw/

    /nitawi-minihkwītān/ 'let's go and drink!'

                                         (impve.)

/spw/

    /ospwākan/   'pipe'

/skw/

    /iskwīwak/   'women'

Other consonant clusters that arise through elision and reduplication are discussed in the next section.

5.2   SURFACE CONSONANT CLUSTERS

In the previous section we summarised the clusters which are
phonemically distinctive. In this section, I will outline
additional non-phonemic clusters which arise through the processes
of elision and reduplication. Other clusters that arise through
the operation of the vowel elision rule (3.3.1) are:

[nð]

    [īnīpınð₁k] 'when it was summer'

    /ī-nīpiniðik/

[ns]

    [omānsıs]   'moose-calf'

    /omānisis/

[nt]

    [tāntahtā]   'how many times'

    /tānitahtwāw/

[pmp]

    [ākīpmpaðiyā] 'when we were riding in a boat'

    /ā-kī-pimipaðiyā/

We have already seen the cluster mp arise through elision (4.1.1).
Here the nasal is syllabic.

[pm]

    [wāpmatākı] 'as you see them'

    /wāpamatwāki/

[tn]

    [paskwatnā] 'on the bare land' (loc.)

    /paskwatinā/

Another consonant cluster arises through the process of reduplication:

[hm]

    [īmāhmāhkāyāk] 'there were big waves'

    /ī-māh-māhkāyāk/

    [māhmīkıw] 'he gives (things to people)'

    /māh-mīkiw/

To conclude this section, we shall summarise the consonant clusters that arise through elision and reduplication:

pm	tn		
hm			
mp	nt	nc	ŋk
	nð	ns	

All the surface consonant clusters contain a nasal, and it is possible that more examples of reduplication might yield the clusters [hn] and [hs].

5.3 SURFACE VARIATION: CONSONANT CLUSTERS

In the following sections we shall explore the surface manifestations of two clusters -- /hð/ and /hk/.

5.3.1 /hð/

There is a certain amount of variation in regard to the phonetic manifestations of the cluster /hð/. From the eldest speaker, S.L., I have recorded both [h] and [hð]:

    [wāhaw] ~ [wāhðaw]   'far away'
    /wāhðaw/

I have not recorded any texts from M.W., but I have elicited only the sound [ð] in the same word:

    [wāðaw]

The youngest speaker, M.C., appears to have [ð] and [hð] in free variation in this particular word:

[wāðaw]

[wāhðaw]

In other words which include /hð/, the same variation is not
recorded:

[wīhθ]   'name him!' (impve.)

[ahðācı]   'as he places him'

It is interesting that in the case of the eldest speaker,
the most common variant is [h]. This is not one of the allophones
of the phoneme /ð/. If we base our discussion on the word wāhðaw,
there is variation in the speech of S.L. between /h/ and /hð/,
whereas M.C. varies between /ð/ and /hð/. M.W. appears to have
complete merger of /ð/ and /hð/.

M.C., however, only has variation between /ð/ and /hð/ in
this one word. As /hð/ may surface as either [hð], [ð] or [hθ],
but /ð/ never surfaces as [hð] and has no voiceless allophones, I
conclude that /ð/ and /hð/ are distinct.

5.3.2   Word Final /hk/

The cluster /hk/ has limited distribution, and in this respect
differs from other clusters of /h/ plus stop. It was recorded word
finally in only two words in this dialect:

/acāhk/ 'star'

/atihk/ 'deer'

Both words have an underlying /w/ stem finally, which is evident in the diminutive forms:

/acāhkos/ 'small star' (/acāhkw+is/)

/acihkos/ 'small deer' (/acihkw+is/)

(I would also expect to find the /w/ in the obviative, locative and plural forms, but these were not elicited.)

Whereas earlier (5.1) I suggested that some clusters, e.g., /cw/, /stw/, might actually exist but for some reason are not found in the data, in this instance it is the pattern of distribution of the /h/ + stop cluster in the data that indicates the virtual absence of the /hk/ cluster in word final position.

Of the clusters /hp ht hc hk/, all are found word medially. While /hp ht hc/ frequently occur word finally in the data, /hk/ has only been recorded in the words <u>acāhk</u> and <u>atihk</u>.

We do, however, have evidence from within this dialect of Woods Cree, that /hk/ has indeed dropped in word final position. Forms such as:

/ā-wāpamāyā/   'when we saw him'

/ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/ 'when we saw them'

show that /hk(w)/ surfaces once it is no longer in word final
position. Another pair which illustrates this is:

/ā-kīsi-pahkonāyā/   'when we finished skinning him'

/ī-pahkonāyāhkwak/   'which we had skinned'

The /hk(w)/ also surfaces medially in the subjunctive as we see in
the next examples:

/ācimoyahki/   'if we (incl.) tell a story'

/wāpamāyahkwaki/   'when we (incl.) see them'

It is interesting that comparative evidence from Plains Cree
shows that /hk/ appears in word final position in particles,
locatives and in verbal inflections, as well as in nouns that end
in /hk/ and /hkw/ (which surfaces as /hk/). Plains Cree forms are
from Ahenakew (1984) unless otherwise indicated. The following are
examples with particles :

Woods Cree   /otākosi/ 'yesterday'
Plains Cree   /otākosihk/

Woods Cree   /iðiko/   'so much'
Plains Cree   /iyikohk/

<u>Locatives</u>:

    Woods Cree   /kotawāni/   'on the fireplace'

    Plains Cree /maskimotihk/ 'in the bag'

    Woods Cree   /sīpī/   'on the river'

    Plains Cree /sīpīhk/   'in the river'

    Woods Cree /kicīmāninā/ 'inside our boat'

    Plains Cree /ōtēnāhk/   'in town'

In making comparisons in <u>verbal inflections</u>, I will begin with the
<u>imperative</u>. Verbs that are transitive and have animate goals (TA)
have an imperative that ends in /i/, for the 2p-3 form, whereas the
Plains Cree ending is /ihk/ for the same form. When the verb stem
ends in /w/, the /i/ of the imperative ending becomes /o/. This is
the same contraction that we saw take place in the diminutive forms
for /acāhk/ and /atihk/.

    Woods Cree   /pōnīðimi/   'forgive him!' (2p-3)

    Plains Cree /wāpamihk/   'look at him!' (2p-3)

    Woods Cree   /aswaho/   'be ready for him!' (2p-3)

                             /aswahw+i/

    Plains Cree /pakamahohk/   'hit him!' (2p-3)

                             /pakamahw+ihk/

In the <u>conjunct order</u>, verbs of the AI type inflect with /yā/ in the 1p form. In Plains Cree the corresponding form is /yāhk/.

    Woods Cree   /ā-kī-pimipaðiyā/ 'we were riding'

    Plains Cree   /ē-wīkiyāhk/   'we live there'

The following pair of examples have the same verb stem:

    Woods Cree   /ī-apiyā/   'we stayed'

    Plains Cree   /ē-apiyāhk/ 'we are sitting'

The difference in tense of the English is not at issue here. The Woods Cree example was taken from narrative text where Cree present tenses are frequently found.

    Two last pairs of examples provide a sub-minimal pair for Woods Cree:

    Woods Cree   /askī/   'on the ground' (loc.)

    Plains Cree   /askīhk/

    Woods Cree   /kitaski/ 'your pot'

    Plains Cree   /askihk/   'kettle'

The sub-minimal pair is:

        <u>askī</u>   'on the ground'

       <u>kitaski</u>   'your pot'

The only difference (apart from the <u>kit-</u>) is that of word final

vowel length -- nothing else. The <u>kit-</u> is the second person

possessive prefix <u>ki-</u> plus the connective <u>-t-</u>. What is very

significant here is that /askihk/ in Plains Cree is one of the

nouns which has an underlying /w/, and one might expect that in

Woods Cree, like <u>acāhk</u> and <u>atihk</u>, it would retain word final /hk/.

/aski/, however, drops word final /hk/ like all the foregoing

examples. It is remarkable, therefore, that only <u>acāhk</u> and <u>atihk</u>

preserve the /hk/ word finally.

It is now possible to state that, with two exceptions only,

$$/hk/ \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \; / \; \underline{\quad} \; \#$$

There is no phonetic trace of /hk/ in word final position.

On some occasions [h] is heard, but [h] is heard frequently when

vowels are gradually devoiced at the end of words, and it is not a

distinctive sound. In the text from M.C., for example, that is

given in the appendix, the following phrase is found:

/īkota ā-apiyā/ 'we stayed there'

Phonetically, there is as much of an offglide at the end of /īkota/

as there is at the end of /ā-apiyā/, yet there is no /hk/

underlying /īkota/.

Similarly, in the following phrase from the same text, the

locative /i/ contracts like any other word final short vowel:

[cīmānīyapıcık]   'they were in the boat'

     /cīmāni ī-apicik/

This contracts in the same way as:

[mwīhcītokī]   'just about'

     /mwīhci ītokī/

(The two vowels contract to form one by Rule 3 which was stated earlier (3.3.2).)

A further example shows that the conjunct ending also contracts in the same way as any word final vowel:

     [āgīntīgotawīyācıðo]

     'we went and lit a fire for a while'

     /ā-kī-nitawi-kotawīyā aciðaw/

Here the /yā/ inflection of the verb has contracted with the short initial vowel of /aciðaw/.

In all these examples, sandhi operates as usual between two vowels across a word boundary. The ending in question, whether of a locative, particle or verbal inflection, is not seen as different by a native speaker.

In conclusion to this section, I will re-emphasise that in this dialect there is no trace of /hk/ in word-final position except in two isolated instances.

We shall now consider the surface representations of the /hk/ cluster when it occurs word-internally.

5.3.3   Medial /hk/

/hk/ occurs medially in intervocalic position, and also when followed by /w/. There is a great deal of evidence to show that /hk/ is realised as [h], at least in narrative discourse:

[īgītaḫonāyā]   'we had taken him along'
/ī-kī-tahkonāyā/

[niyatıgoḫōsonān]   'we started to push off'
/niyati-kohkōsonān/

[īsōḫanıcıwa]   'the water was fast'
/ī-sōhkaniciwa/

When followed by /w/, the /hk/ surfaces in slow elicitation:

[āwāpmāyāhkwak]   'we saw them'
/ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/

We have, however, also seen the same form recorded as part of a narrative:

[āwāpmāyāḫuk]

Although there is evidence of the /w/ (/wa/ --> [u]), the /k/ is
gone from the /hkw/ cluster.

In the next example, again from the text, only [h] remains
of the /hkw/ cluster. (Note also that /k/ drops intervocalically,
and the contraction of the vowels, /ā/ with /a/).

    [oh̲āni]   'in his face' /ohkwākani/

In direct elicitation, the cluster surfaces:

    [takosinih̲kān] 'get there!' (delayed impve.)
    /takosinih̲kān/
    [pah̲kwacitīw]   'it is singed'
    /pah̲kwacitīw/

The /k/ in the /hk/ cluster behaves in the same way as other
instances of /k/, except that it never becomes [γ] nor [g] --
probably because the /h/ blocks the voicing. It does not surface
as a glottal atop [ˀ] -- David Pentland (p.c.) has observed that
this may be because preaspirated glottal stop is not a permissible
cluster in Cree.

Now the rule for /hk/ should read:

    /hk/ --> ø / ___ #   (compulsory)
        --> [h] / V __ (w) V   (optional)

This rule does not account for the two exceptions, acāhk and atihk.

The above rule accounts for Woods Cree, as spoken at
Pukatawagan. Pentland (1979:76) notes that in final position, some
words in Woods Cree and Plains Cree have [h] for /hk/, varying with
[x] and [hk], and that this also happens medially. The example he
gives has the /hkw/ cluster:

[ēmɪhwān] ~ [īmhwān] 'spoon'

In Pukatawagan Woods Cree, the form is:

[īmɪhkwān]

and no k-less forms were recorded.

In other dialects of Cree we also find evidence of the /h/
plus stop cluster becoming a fricative. In a study of the Swampy
Cree dialect spoken at Shamattawa, Manitoba, Anthony (1972) finds
that there are two possible reflexes corresponding to the Plains
Cree sequence of a short vowel plus pre-aspirated stop: either V̆
plus stop or V plus spirant. Anthony gives [x] as the velar
spirant, but is unable to state the distribution of these reflexes,
other than to say that they are not in free variation.

Ellis (1971:78), writing about the Cree spoken on the west
coast of James Bay, notes that word final /hk/ is:

> sometimes realized in fast or careless speech as [x] or
> the /k/ is dropped, leaving only an h-glide.

Pentland (1979:75) states that in the western Swampy Cree dialects
in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, /hk/ always becomes [x], apart from

The Pas, Cumberland House, Sandy Bay, Cross Lake and Wabowden,
which, he notes, follow the reflex of V̄ plus stop which Anthony has
described for Shamattawa.

In conclusion, the cluster /hk/ shows widespread variation
in this dialect of Woods Cree. It surfaces as either [hk] or [h]
medially, or is deleted in word-final position, with the exception
of <u>acāhk</u> and <u>atihk</u>.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

This study is a first attempt to detail some of the surface
variation that exists in the phonological system of Pukatawagan
Woods Cree.

We have observed the virtual absence of /hk/ word finally,
although the cluster is found internally, with a surface
representation of either [hk] or [h].

We have also seen the merger of two long front vowels into
one phoneme /ī/. This is a sound change in progress which is
currently moving through the lexicon, and as we have seen, it is
not yet complete.

There is also a competing sound change moving through the
lexicon -- the emergence of [ē] from the lowering and lengthening
of the short high front vowel /i/ before clusters of /h/ plus stop.
As yet, this has only been recorded before the clusters /ht/ and
/hk/ in this dialect.

Apart from the i̱ / e̱ variation which may possibly be
attributable to age-grading in that the younger speakers have more
i̱ sounds than the older speakers, the only other overall pattern to

emerge from this study is the tendency of certain stops to become fricatives. A considerable amount of instability has already been observed in the semivowels, both in this dialect and in other dialects of Cree. Perhaps we may speculate upon the length of time it will take before the weakened consonants achieve the state of instability of the semivowels.

Appendix A

MINIMAL PAIRS

Ideally, minimal pairs would be provided to illustrate each
individual phoneme. In Cree, this is a hard task to accomplish as
the words are long and few neat pairs are available to parallel the
/pin/ : /bin/ in English.

In addition to minimal pairs I have used subminimal pairs,
where the words differ not in one respect but in two, the second
difference generally being one of vowel length. (Pairs to
illustrate that vowel length is indeed distinctive are found at the
end of this appendix.) I have also used minimal contrasts, where
the sound is present in one word, but does not exist in the other.
Minimal pairs will be unmarked. Subminimal pairs will be marked
with an apostrophe: '. Minimal contrasts will be marked with
quotation marks: ".

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/p/

   /p/ : /t/   /kospīw/   'he goes up'

              /kostīw/   'he fears him'

   /p/ : /c/' /pimiy/   'gasoline'

              /cīmiy/   'James'

   /p/ : /k/   /ī-pī-itohtīt/ 'he comes here'

              /ī-kī-itohtīt/ 'he went'

   /p/ : /s/' /sīpīsis/   'narrow river'

              /sīsīpisis/ 'little duck'

   /p/ : /m/   /nipāpā/   'my father'

              /nimāmā/   'my mother'

   /p/ : /n/   /api/   'sit!' (impve.)

              /ani/   'indeed'

   /p/ : /ð/' /kipah/   'lock him in!' (impve.)

              /kīða/   'you'

```
/p/ : /w/'    /pīðisk/     'finally'
              /wiðisk/     'because'


/p/ : /ø/'    /pōsi/       'go on board!' (impve.)
              /osih/       'fix him!' (impve.)
```

/t/

```
/t/ : /p/     /kostīw/     'he fears him'
              /kospīw/     'he goes up'


/t/ : /c/     /otawāsisima/ 'his small children'
              /ocawāsisima/

                   'his dear little children'


/t/ : /k/     /atim/       'dog'
              /akim/       'count him!' (impve.)


/t/ : /s/'    /kinātīn/    'you fetch it'
              /kināsin/    'you fetch me'
```

/t/ : /s/'   /tihkitīw/   'it melts'

           /tihkisiw/   'he melts'

/t/ : /m/   /ōta/   'here'

           /ōma/   'this'

/t/ : /n/'   /atim/   'dog'

           /anima/   'that'

/t/ : /ð/'   /nitatoskān/ 'I am working'

           /aðōskan/ 'raspberry'

/t/ : /w/'   /āta/   'although'

           /awa/   'this'

/t/ : /y/   /nīpit/   'my tooth'

           /nīpiy/   'leaf'

/c/

/c/ : /p/'   /cīmiy/   'James'

              /pimiy/   'gasoline'

/c/ : /t/   /ocawāsisima/

                       'his dear little children'

              /otawāsisima/ 'his little children'

/c/ : /k/'   /ahðāci/   'as he places him'

              /ahðaki/   'as I place him'

/k/

/k/ : /p/   /ī-kī-itohtīt/ 'he went'

              /ī-pī-itohtīt/ 'he comes here'

/k/ : /t/   /akim/   'count him!' (impve.)

              /atim/   'dog'

/k/ : /c/'   /ahðaki/   'as I place him'

              /ahðāci/   'as he places him'

/k/ : /kw/   /kistikān/   'garden'

             /kistikwān/   'your head'

/k/ : /m/   /kistikwān/ 'your head'

             /mistikwān/ 'a head'

/k/ : /n/   /kinātāw/   'you fetch him'

             /ninātāw/   'I fetch him'

/k/ : /n/   /kinātik/   'he fetches you'

             /kinātin/   'you fetch it'

/k/ : /w/   /kīða/   'you'

             /wīða/   'he'

/s/

/s/ : /p/' /sīsīpisis/ 'little duck'

            /sīpīsis/   'narrow river'

/s/ : /t/' /kināsin/   'you fetch me'

            /kinātīn/   'you fetch it'

/s/ : /m/	/sihti/	'evergreen'	
	/mihti/	'firewood'	

/s/ : /n/	/sīpiy/	'river'	
	/nīpiy/	'leaf'	

/s/ : /ð/	/mīsīw/	'he defecates'	
	/mīðīw/	'he gives it to him'	

/s/ : /y/	/nīso/	'two'	
	/nīyo/	'four'	

/h/

/h/ : /hc/	/pīhin/	'wait for me!'	(impve.)
	/pīhcin/	'put him in!'	(impve.)

/h/ : /w/'	/niwīcihāw/	'I help him'
	/niwīcīwāw/	'I go with him'

/m/

/m/ : /p/   /nimāmā/   'my mother'

/nipāpā/   'my father'

/m/ : /k/   /mistikwān/ 'a head'

/kistikwān/ 'your head'

/m/ : /n/   /mīpit/   'a tooth'

/nīpit/   'my tooth'

/m/ : /s/   /mihti/   'log'

/sihti/   'evergreen' [sic]

/m/ : /w/   /mīpit/   'a tooth'

/wīpit/   'his tooth'

/m/ : /ø/   /nātam/   'he fetches it'

/nāta/   'fetch it!' (impve.)

/n/

/n/ : /p/	/ani/	'indeed'	
	/api/	'sit!'	(impve.)

/n/ : /k/	/ninātāw/	'I fetch him'	
	/kinātāw/	'you fetch him'	

/n/ : /s/	/nīpiy/	'leaf'
	/sīpiy/	'river'

/n/ : /m/	/nīpit/	'my tooth'
	/mīpit/	'a tooth'

/n/ : /ð/	/nōtin/	'fight him!'	(impve.)
	/ðōtin/	'it is windy'	

/n/ : /w/'	/nikihtimin/	'I am lazy'
	/kihtimiw/	'he is lazy'

/n/ : /w/'	/kitayānānaw/	'we (incl.) stay'
	/kitayānāwāw/	'you (pl.) stay'

/ð/

    /ð/ : /p/' /kīða/   'you'

                    /kipah/   'lock him in!' (impve.)

    /ð/ : /t/' /aðōskan/   'raspberry'

              /nitatoskān/   'I am working'

    /ð/ : /s/ /mīðīw/   'he gives it to him'

              /mīsīw/   'he defecates'

    /ð/ : /n/ /ðōtin/   'it is windy'

              /nōtin/   'fight him!' (impve.)

/w/

    /w/ : /p/' /wiðisk/   'because'

               /pīðisk/   'finally'

    /w/ : /k/ /ā-wī-ahðācik/

                   'where they intend to put him'

             /ā-kī-ahðācik/

                   'where they put him'

/w/ : /h/'   /niwīcīwāw/   'I go with him'

/niwīcihāw/   'I help him'

/w/ : /m/   /wīpit/   'his tooth'

/mīpit/   'a tooth'

/w/ : /n/   /wīpit/   'his tooth'

/nīpit/   'my tooth'

/y/

/y/ : /p/   /ayāw/   'he has it'

/apiw/   'he sits'

/y/ : /t/   /nīpiy/   'leaf'

/nīpit/   'my tooth'

/y/ : /c/'   /ā-kī-sipwīpaðiyīk/

'when you were going for a trip'

/ā-kī-sipwīpaðicik/

'when they were going for a trip'

/y/ : /s/   /nīyo/   'four'

/nīso/   'two'

/ht/

/ht/ : /t/   /ohtinam/

'he takes it from some place'

/otinam/   'he takes it'

/ht/ : /t/   /ī-kī-mīðiht/

'it was given to him'

/ī-kī-mīðit/

'he gave it to me'

/ht/ : /hð/'   /kikīwīhtitān/   'you take it home'

/kikī-wīhðāw/   'you named him'

There are no minimal pairs in the data to illustrate that /p, c, k/ contrast with the clusters /hp, hc, hk/. By analogy with /ht/, however, which has been shown to be distinctive from /t/, and because /p/ never surfaces as [hp], nor /hp/ as [p], I conclude that /hp, hc, hk/ are phonemes.

/i/

/i/ : /ī/'   /kitaski/   'your pot'

          /askī/   'on the ground'

/i/ : /ī/   /kiwīhðin/ 'you name me'

          /kiwīhðīn/ 'you name it'

This last form appears to be a TI stem, but it ends in /hð/,
which is remarkable. The whole paradigm was given by M.C.
with stem-final /hð/, and not just one word.

/i/ : /a/   /mihti/   'log'

          /mihta/   'firewood'

/i/ : /a/   /nōtinici/ 'as he fights me'

          /nōtinaci/ 'as you fight him'

/i/ : /o/'   /nitakohp/ 'my blanket'

          /otakohp/ 'his blanket'

/i/ : /ō/   /ita/   'where'

          /ōta/   'here'

/ī/

/ī/ : /i/' /askī/ 'on the ground'

      /kitaski/ 'your pot'

/ī/ : /a/ /kī-nipahīw/ 'he killed him'

     /ka-nipahīw/ 'he shall kill him'

/ī/ : /ā/ /kīða/   'you'

     /kāða/   'don't!'

/a/

/a/ : /ā/ /nahðāw/ 'I put him'

     /n-āhðāw/ 'I shall put him'

For an analysis of the future markers in this dialect of Cree, see Greensmith (1985).

/a/ : /ā/ /ā-kī-ahðat/ 'when you put him'

     /ā-kī-ahðāt/ 'when he put him'

/a/ : /ā/   /ā-kī-ahδāya/ 'when we (21) put him'

            /ā-kī-ahδāyā/ 'when we (1p) put him'

/a/ : /ī/   /ka-nipahīw/   'he shall kill him'

            /kī-nipahīw/   'he killed him'

/a/ : /∅/"   /akohpa/   'blankets'

            /akohp/   'blanket'

/ā/

/ā/ : /a/   /n-āhδāw/   'I shall put him'

            /nahδāw/   'I put him'

/ā/ : /a/   /ā-kī-ahδāt/   'when he put him'

            /ā-kī-ahδat/   'when you put him'

/ā/ : /i/   /āta/   'although'

            /ita/   'where'

/ā/ : /ī/   /kāδa/   'don't!'

            /kīδa/   'you'

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/ā/ : /o/   /nīyā/   'at the point'

            /nīyo/   'four'

/ā/ : /ō/   /āta/   'although'

            /ōta/   'here'

/o/

/o/ : /ō/   /ota/   'behind'

            /ōta/   'here'

/o/ : /ō/'   /otakohp/   'his blanket'

            /ōta/   'here'

/o/ : /i/   /ota/   'behind'

            /ita/   'where'

/o/ : /i/'   /otakohp/   'his blanket'

            /nitakohp/   'my blanket'

/o/ : /ā/   /nīyo/   'four'

            /nīyā/   'at the point'

/ō/

    /ō/ : /o/   /ōta/   'here'

                /ota/   'behind'

    /ō/ : /o/' /ōta/   'here'

                /otakohp/ 'his blanket'

    /ō/ : /i/   /ōta/   'here'

                /ita/   'where'

    /ō/ : /ā/   /ōta/   'here'

                /āta/   'although'

This concludes the documentation of minimal pairs.

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Appendix B

DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

This section will present the individual phonemes and summarise
their distribution.

/p/

p-	/pōsi/	'go on board!' (impve.)
pw-	/pwālos/	'Paul'
-p-	/nīpit/	'my tooth'
-pw-	/tāpwī/	'truly'
-sp-	/aspin/	'gone'
-p	/sīsīp/	'duck'

/t/

t-	/tānisi/	'how'
-t-	/nātīw/	'he is getting him'
-tw-	/ā-itwīt/	'when he said to him'
-st-	/kistikwān/	'your head'
-htw-	/tahtwā/	'every time'
-t	/mihcīt/	'lots'

/c/

c-	/cīmān/	'boat'
-c-	/pimāci/	'save him!' (impve.)
-sc-	/pisci/	'by accident'
-c	/wīpac/	'soon'

/k/

k-	/kīwīhtah/	'take him home!' (impve.)
kw-	/kwayask/	'straight, proper'
-k-	/kistikān/	'garden'
-kw-	/mistikwak/	'trees'
-sk-	/tātoskam/	'he rips it'
-hkw-	/pahkwacitīw/	'it is singed'
-skw-	/iskwīwak/	'women'
-k	/mōswak/	'moose' (pl.)
-sk	/otāpānāsk/	'car'

/s/

s-	/sīsīp/	'duck'
-s-	/sīpīsisi/	'in the little river'
-sc-	/pisci/	'by accident'
-st-	/kistikwān/	'your head'
-sk-	/kitaski/	'your pot'
-skw-	/maskwa/	'bear'

-sw-	/mōswa/	'moose'
-s	/nās/	'get him!' (impve.)
-sk	/wiðisk/	'because'

/h/

-h-	/nahā/	'son-in-law'
-hkw-	/ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/	'when we saw them'
-htw-	/tahtwā/	'every time'
-hŏw-	/nitahŏwāw/	'I bury him'
-hw-	/kī-patahwīw/	'he missed him'

/h/ is non-distinctive word initially and finally.

/m/

m-	/maskwa/	'bear'
mw-	/mwāc/	'not'
-m-	/nikamo/	'sing!' (impve.)
-mw-	/atimwa/	'dog' (obv.)
-m	/kī-mayānam/	'he made fresh tracks'

/n/

n-	/nīða/	'I'
-n-	/nikī-nipānān/	'we slept'
-nw-	/takosinwak/	'they arrive'

-n   /kistikwān/   'your head'

/ð/

ð-   /ðīwahikanak/   'dried meat'

-ð-   /ī-ðōti/   'when it is windy'

-ðw-   /nimiðwīðitīn/   'I am happy'

-hðw-   /nitahðwāw/   'I bury him'

-ð   /nahað/   'put him away!'   (impve.)

/w/

w-   /wīhð/   'name him!'   (impve.)

-hw-   /patahwīw/   'he misses him'

-hkw-   /ā-wāpamāyāhkwak/ 'when we saw them'

-hw-   /nitahðwāw/   'I bury him'

-mw-   /atimwa/   'dog' (obv.)

-sw-   /mōswa/   'moose'

-tw-   /ā-itwīyan/   'I said'

-ðw-   /nimiðwīðitīn/   'I am happy'

-hðw-   /nitahðwāw/   'I bury him'

-w   /nātīw/   'he fetches him'

/y/

-y-   /pīyak/   'one'

-y   /maskihkiy/   'herb, medicine'

/hp/

-hp-	/ahpō/	'or'
-hp	/mīkiwāhp/	'tent'

/ht/

-ht-	/pōnihtā/	'quit!' (impve.)
-htw-	/tahtwā/	'every time'
-ht	/mitātaht/	'ten'

/hc/

-hc-	/mihcītwāw/	'many times'
-hc	/anohc/	'just then, now'

/hk/

-hk-	/tihkitīw/	'it is thawing'
-hkw-	/ohkwākani/	'in his face' (loc.)
-hk	/acāhk/	'star'

acāhk and atihk 'deer' are the only two nouns recorded in this
dialect which surface with word final /hk/.

/hð/

-hð-	/wāhðaw/	'far away'
-hðw-	/nitahðwāw/	'I bury him'
-hð	/wīhð/	'name him!' (impve.)

/i/

i-   /iskwīw/   'woman'

-i-   /mihta/   'firewood'

-i   /pōsi/   'go on board!' (impve.)

/ī/

ī-   /īkotī/   'over there'

-ī-   /pīyak/   'one'

-ī   /pimohtī/   'go!' (impve.)

/a/

a-   /acāhk/   'star'

-a-   /tātoskam/   'he rips it'

-a   /maskwa/   'bear'

/ā/

ā-   /āsay/   'already'

-ā-   /cīmān/   'boat'

-ā   /pōnihtā/   'quit!' (impve.)

/o/

o-	/ohpinīw/	'he lifts him up'
-o-	/anohc/	'just then, now'
-o	/nikamo/	'sing!' (impve.)

/ō/

ō-	/ōta/	'here'
-ō-	/pōsi/	'go on board!' (impve.)
-ō	/ahpō/	'or'

Appendix C

THE MOOSE HUNT, BY MICHAEL CARIBOU

The text which follows was recorded in Winnipeg in November, 1982.
The Cree text appears on the top line of each set of three lines,
and is underscored. Beneath is a morphological analysis, and the
bottom line contains a literal translation. The abbreviations in
the morphological analysis are listed at the beginning of the
glossary.

There are points in this text where acoustic problems have
rendered the recording almost inaudible. Where these flaws exist,
the present edition of the text relies on paraphrases offered in
transcription by the narrator.

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(1) HELLO, nīsta   ayihaw   MICHAEL CARIBOU HERE. IT'S

         PR   IPC
         I, too   well

NOVEMBER THE SECOND, 1982, TUESDAY. I'M GOING TO TELL YOU ABOUT

WHEN ME, MY BROTHER AND MY COUSIN, ERIC BRADY, WE WERE GOING TO

GO MOOSE-HUNTING. I'M GOING TO TELL YOU HOW WE KILLED IT, HOW

WE SKINNED IT AND WHO SKINNED IT, AND WHAT HAPPENED WHEN WE

WERE COMING HOME. OKAY?

---

(2) īkw-āni   nipāpā   ā-itikoyā

IPC	NDA -pāpā- 3 poss 1	IPV-TA it- 3-1p cj.
and then	my father	he told us

---

ka-nitawi-mācīyā   ,   ī-nīpi   .   ayihaw,

IPV-IPV-AI mācī- 1p cj.	IPV-II nīpin- 0 cj.	IPC
to go and hunt moose	when it was summer	well

ā-kī-nācipaðīstamā   pimiy stōði   ,

IPV-IPV-TI nācipaðīst- 1p cj.	NI 0	NI loc.
we drove over and got it	gas	at the store

ā-kī-sipwīpaðiyā   .   akwa   ā-kī-pāsicipitamā

IPV-IPV-AI sipwīpaði- 1p cj.	IPC	IPV-IPV-TI pāsicipit- 1p cj.
we were going off	and	we were pulling it across

nicīmāninān ,   (PORT-¬ IN THE PORTAGE), ā-kī-isi-wað--¬   īkota   ohci.

| NI 0 poss 1p | | IPC | IPC |
| our boat | | there | from |

(IT TOOK US ABOUT TWO AND A HALF HOURS TO GET WHERE WE WERE GOING),

īkw-āni	ayihiwām	īkotī	ā-takopaðiyā	,	ā,
IPC	hesitation	IPC	IPV-AI takopaði- 1p cj.		
and then	you know	over there	we arrived		

nīso	ā-wāpamāyāhkwak		mōswak	ī-nīpawicik	.
IPC	IPV-TA wāpam- 1p-3p cj.		NA 3p	IPV-AI nīpawi- 3p cj.	
two	we saw them		moose	they were standing	

ayihaw,	(JAMES),	wīða	ā-pāskiswāt	anihi
IPC		PR	IPV-TA pāskisw- 3-3' cj.	PR 3'
well		he	he shot at him	that

ā-kī-nīpawiðit		mōswa,	māka	kī-patahwīw	.
IPV-IPV-AI nīpawi- 3' cj.		NA 3	IPC	IPV-TA patahw- 3-3' indep.	
they were standing		moose	but	he missed him	

nīsta	wiða	niki-pāskiswāw	,	māka	wīsta	mīna
PR	IPC	IPV-TA pāskisw- 1-3 indep.		IPC	PR	IPC
I, too	for	I shot him		but	he,too	too

(ERIC) --	māka	wiða	kahkiðaw	nikī-patahwānānak	anihi
	IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV-TA patahw- 1p-3p indep.	PR 3'
	but	for	all	we missed them,	that

mōswa.	tāni-poko	kī-ati-kospiwak	,	māka	wiða
NA 3'	IPC	IPV-IPC-AI kospi- 3p indep.		IPC	IPC
moose	just	they began to go up off the lake		but	for

ī-kī-māh-māhkāyā		mīna,	wiða	ī-kī-misāk-¬	(IN THE MIDDLE
IPV-IPV-II māhkāyā- 0 cj.		IPC	IPC		
there were big waves		too	for		

OF THE LAKE), ā-kī-pimipaðiyā   .   īkw-āni ,

        IPV-IPV-AI pimipaði- 1p cj.   IPC
        we were riding in a boat   and then

ī-tipiskāk   ā-kī-ati-¬ ā-kī-ati-pītakoti   ,

IPV-II tipiskā- 0 cj.   IPV-IPV-IPC-II pītakoti- 0 cj.
it was night   night was coming

ā-kī-nitawi-aswāpamāyā   mōswa,   sīpīsisi   anita,

IPV-IPV-IPV-TA aswāpam- 1p-3 cj.   NA 3   NI loc.   IPC
when we went and watched for him   moose   in the creek   there

akwa,   ā,   nītī-isi   sākahikanisīsi   ,   īkota

IPC   IPC   NI loc.   IPC
and   over that way   in the small lake   there

ā-apiyā   (FOR ABOUT AN HOUR OR TWO), īkā,   īkwa   aniki,

IPV-AI api- 1p cj.   IPC   IPC   PR
we remained   not   and   those

ā-wāpamāyā		kwayask ,	māka	wiδa	mihcīt	sīsīpak
IPV-TA wāpam- 1p-3 cj.	IPC	IPC	IPC	IPC	NA 3p
we saw him	properly	but	for	many	ducks

nikī-wāpamānānak	,	ī-papāmātakācik	,	kwayask
IPV-TA wāpam- 1p-3p indep.	IPV-AI papāmātakā- 3p cj.	IPC
we saw them	they were swimming about	properly

nikī-nōhtī-pāskiswānānak	;	ayihaw,	māka	mōswa
IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- 1p-3p indep.	IPC	IPC	NA 3
we wanted to shoot them	well	but	moose

ī-kī-manāmāhāyā	,	wiδisk
IPV-IPV-TA manāmāh- [?] 1p cj.	IPC
we were afraid for him	because

ta-sipwīyāmohkātāyā	,	ayihaw	kī-pāskisikīyā	--
IPV-TA sipwīyāmohkāt- 1p-3 cj.	IPC	IPV-AI pāskisikī- 1p cj.
we would scare him away	well	if we took a shot

(SO) mwāc   nikī-pāskiswānānak   .

    IPC   IPV-TA pāskisw- 1p-3p indep.
    not   we could not shoot them [the ducks]

(3) kwayask   iδ-āsay   tipiskāw   ōma ,   ā-¬

    IPC   IPC   II tipiskā- 0   PR 0
    properly   already   it is dark   this

ā-kī-ati-kīwīpaδiyā   ,   itī   ā-kī-kot-¬,   itī

IPV-IPV-IPC-AI kīwīpaδi- 1p cj.   IPC   IPC
we started to head back   where   where

ā-kī-kotawīyā   ,   itī   ā-wī-nipāyā   ,   is-¬

IPV-IPV-AI kotawī- 1p cj.   IPC   IPV-IPV-AI nipā- 1p cj.
we had our campfire   where we were going to sleep

ispī   ā-kī-ati-kīwīpaδiyā   ,   mōswa   pīyak

IPC   IPV-IPV-IPC-AI kīwīpaδi- 1p cj.   NA 3   IPC
when   we started to head back   moose   one

nikī-pāskiswāw	,	māka	wiða	nikī-patahwāw	.
IPV-TA pāskisw- 1-3 indep.		IPC	IPC	IPV-TA patahw- 1-3 indep.	
I shot him		but	for	I missed him	

nikī-¬,	nikī-patahwāw	ana	mōswa
	IPV-TA patahw- 1-3 indep.	PR 3	NA 3
	I missed him	that	moose

ā-kī-pāskiswak	.	mōða	wiða	pakāhkam	wiða	(ERIC)
IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- 1-3 cj.		IPC	IPC	IPC	PR	
when I shot him		not	for	perhaps	he	

--	cīmiy	akwa	īðik	kī-wāpam-¬	kī-wāpamīwak
	NA 3	IPC	NA 3		IPV-TA wāpam- 3p-3' indep.
	James	and	Eric		they saw him

anihi	ā-kī-pāskisomak	--	(BUT THERE WAS TRACKS!) SO,
PR 3'	IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- 1-3' cj.		
that	when I shot him		

īkw-āni	ā-kī-nitawi-nipāyā	,	pīyak	mīna	poko
IPC	IPV-IPV-IPV-AI nipā- 1p cj.		IPC	IPC	IPC
and then	when we went to sleep		one	too	only

akohp	ī-kī-tahkonāyā	--	īðiko
NA 3	IPV-IPV-TA tahkon- 1p cj.		IPC
blanket	we had taken it along		so

ī-kī-kakīpātisiyā	.	--	mō	kwayask
IPV-IPV-AI kakīpātisi- 1p cj.			IPC	IPC
we were stupid			not	properly

nikī-ohci-nipānān	ispī	ā-pī-tipiskāk	,
IPV-IPV-AI nipā- 1p indep.	IPC	IPV-IPV-II tipiskā- 0 cj.	
we were not able to sleep	when	it got night	

iða	wīsa	ī-kisināk	.	īkw-āni
IPC	IPC	IPV-II kisinā- 0 cj.		IPC
you know	so	it was cold		and then

ā-kī-ati-pītāpa	ā-kī-pōnamā	,	kōpiy
IPV-IPV-IPC-II pītāpan- 0 cj.	IPV-IPV-TI pōn- 1p cj.		NI 0
the sun was coming up	we made a fire		coffee

ā-kī-minihkwīyā	,	ā-kī-mīcisoyā	,
IPV-IPV-AI minihkwī- 1p cj.		IPV-IPV-AI mīciso- 1p cj.	
we drank		we ate	

ā-kī-ati-sipwīpaðiyā	;	˙anima	sīpīsisi	,
IPV-IPV-IPC-AI sipwīpaði- 1p cj.		PR	NI loc.	
we headed out		that	in the creek	

ā-tīpiskāk	ā-kī-ispaðiyā	,	īkota
IPV-II tipiskā- 0 cj.	IPV-IPV-AI ispaði- 1p cj.		IPC
last night	we went		there

ā-kī-ispaðiyā	.	īkw-āni	īkotī
IPV-IPV-AI ispaði- 1p cj.		IPC	IPC
we went		and then	over there

ā-kī-nitawi-aswāpamāyā	mōswa,	mahti	ta-pī-¬
IPV-IPV-IPV-TA aswāpam- 1p-3 cj.	NA 3	IPC	
when we went and watched for him	moose	to see if	

ta-pī-¬-tī-pī-matāwisit	.
IPV-IPV-¬-IPV-IPV-AI matāwisi- 3 cj.	
he would come out	

(4)	nikī-pīhtawānān		īkota	mōswa
	IPV-TA pīhtaw- 1p-3 indep.		IPC	NA 3
	we heard him		there	moose

ī-papāmātakāt	,	māka	wiða	(THERE WAS FOG!)	mwāc	māka
IPV-AI papāmātakā- 3 cj.		IPC	IPC		IPC	IPC
he was swimming around		but	for		not	but

wiða	nikī-wī-nitawi-pāskiswānān		,	wiðisk	mwāc
IPC	IPV-IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- 1p-3 indep.			IPC	IPC
for	we were (not) able to go and shoot him			because	not

nikī-ohci-kiskīðihtīnān		kīspin	mōswa	akāciy	mwāc.
IPV-IPV-TI kiskīðiht- 1p indep.		IPC	NA 3	IPC	IPC
we had no way of knowing it		if	moose	or	not

(FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS)	īkota	ā-kī-apiyā	.	īkw-āni	cīmiy
	IPC	IPV-IPV-AI api 1p cj.		IPC	NA 3
	there	we sat		and then	James

ā-pīhtawāt		awiðawa	ī-matwī-kitowinikīðit	,
IPV-TA pīhtaw- 3-3' cj.		PR 3'	IPV- IPV- AI kitowinikī- 3' cj.	
he heard him		someone	he was making a noise	

sākahikanisīsi	nītī-isi	.	īkotī	ā-isicimīyā	,
NI loc.	IPC		IPC	IPV-AI isicimī- 1p cj.	
in the small lake	over that way		over there	we paddled	

ā-wāpamāyāhkwak		nīso	mōswak	--	omānisīs	akwa
IPV-TA wāpam- 1p-3p cj.		IPC	NA 3p		NA 3	IPC
we saw them		two	moose		moose-calf	and

nōsī-mōswa	--	ī-matwī-mīcisocik	.	ā-sipwīpita
NA 3		IPV-IPV-AI mīciso- 3p cj.		IPV-TI sipwīpit- 3 cj.
female moose		they were audibly eating		he started it

cīmiy	incin	,	īkotī	wīpac
NA 3	NI 0		IPC	IPC
James	the engine		over there	soon

ta-kī-ati-takopaðiyā		aya	;	nīða	--	mwāc	--
IPV-IPV-IPC-AI takopaði- 1p cj.		hesitation		PR		IPC	
so that we could arrive		you know		I		not	

nīða	anima	ā-kī-ohcipitamān		incin	,	ā-kī-¬
PR	PR	IPV-IPV-TI ohcipit- 1 cj.		NI 0		
I	that	I pulled it		the engine		

īkotī	ā-kī-ispaðiyān	.	cīmiy	akwa	īðik	ā-kī-¬
IPC	IPV-IPV-AI ispaði- 1 cj.		NA 3	IPC	NA 3	
over there	I went		James	and	Eric	

ā-kī-otihtinahkwak	opāskisikaniwāwa	--	cīmiy	wīða
IPV- IPV- TI otihtin- 3p cj.	NI 0p poss 3p		NA 3	PR
they grabbed them	their guns		James	he

(THIRTY-THIRTY)	ā-kī-ayāt	,	akwa	ayihaw	īðik
	IPV-IPV-AI ayā- 3 cj.		IPC	IPC	NA 3
	he had		and	well	Eric

(SEMI-AUTOMATIC TWENTY-TWO)	wīða	ā-kī-ayāt	--
	PR	IPV-IPV-AI ayā- 3 cj.	
	he	he had	

ā-kī-māci-pāskiswācik	;	ahpō	pakāhkam	(FIRST TWO SHOTS)
IPV-IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- 3p-3' cj.		IPC	IPC	
they started shooting at them		or	perhaps	

ā-kī-¬	ā-kī-pāskiswāt	cīmiy,
	IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- 3-3' cj.	NA 3
	he shot him	James

ā-kī-tawahwāt   pīyakwāw.   īkw-āni

| IPV-IPV-TA tawahw- 3-3' cj. | IPC | IPC |
| he hit him | once | and then |

ā-pa-pāpahtāt   ana   ayihaw   nōsī-mōswa   --

| IPV-AI pāpahtā- redupl. 3 cj. | PR 3 | IPC | NA 3 |
| he was running back towards us | that | well | female moose |

ā-pāh-pāskiswācik   ayihaw   cīmiy   akwa   īðik,

| IPV-TA pāskisw- redupl. 3p-3' cj. | IPC | NA 3 | IPC | NA 3 |
| they kept on shooting at her | well | James | and | Eric |

patahwīwak   māka   wiða.   īkw-āni   nīða,

| TA patahw- 3p-3' indep. | IPC | IPC | IPC | PR |
| they missed her | but | for | and then | I |

ā-pakicīpinamān   ōma   īncin   ,   ā-otihtinamān

| IPV-TI pakicīpin- 1 cj. | PR 0 | NI 0 | IPV-TI otihtin- 1 cj. |
| I let go of it | this | the engine | I grabbed it |

ayihaw	(SHOT-GUN).	ā-pāskiswak	ohkwākani	,

IPC	IPV-TA pāskisw- 1-3 cj.	NDI -hkwākan- loc. poss 3
well	I shot him	in his face

mōða	wāhðaw	,	(ABOUT TEN YARDS)	ītokī	poko,

IPC	IPC			IPC	IPC
not	far away			I guess	only

ā-māci-kwīskikwāskohtit	.	ā-ati-kospit

IPV-IPV-AI kwīskikwāskohti- 3 cj.	IPV-IPC-AI kospi- [sic] 3 cj.
she jumped back	she started to go up

nisīhkāc	,	wīða	ayihaw	īðik	anihi	omānisīsa	mīna

IPC		PR	IPC	NA 3	PR 3'	NA 3'	IPC
sort of slowly		he	well	Eric	that	moose-calf	too

ī-kī-pāh-pāskiswāt	,	akwa

IPV-IPV-TA pāskisw- redupl. 3-3' cj.	IPC
he kept on shooting at him	and

ī-kī-tawahwāt		.	akwa	ayihaw	īkā	ana
IPV-IPV-TA tawahw- 3-3' cj.			IPC	IPC	IPC	PR 3
he hit him			and	well	not	that

nōsī-mōswa	ī-kī-wī-nakatāt		anihi	omānisīsima	.
NA 3	IPV-IPV-IPV-TA nakat- 3-3' cj.		PR 3'	NA 3' poss 3	
female moose	she could not leave him		that	her moose-calf	

īkw-āni	ōta	ā-pī-pimicipahtāt		ana	omānisīs	,
IPC	IPC	IPV-IPV-AI pimicipahtā- 3 cj.		PR 3	NA 3	
and then	here	she ran across sideways		that	moose-calf	

(ON THE OTHER SIDE)	wīsta	ī-ispahtāt	,	itī	anihi
	PR	IPV-AI ispahtā- 3 cj.		IPC	PR 3'
	he,too	he ran there		where	that

omāmāwa	ā-kī-ispahtāðit	.
NDA -māmā- 3' poss 3	IPV-IPV-AI ispahtā- 3' cj.	
his mother	she ran	

ī-pī-pimicipahtāðit , īðik ā-m-¬,

IPV- IPV- AI pimicipahtā- 3' cj.	NA 3	
as he ran sideways	Eric	

ā-pāh-pāskiswāt , kīhcināc ītokī mitātahtwāw

IPV-TA pāskisw- redupl. 3-3' cj.	IPC	IPC	IPC
he kept on shooting at him	for sure	I guess	ten times

ā-pāskiswāt ; pīðisk ā-piniwīpahwāt

IPV-TA pāskisw- 3-3' cj.	IPC	IPV-TA piniwīpahw- 3-3' cj.
he shot at him	finally	he knocked him down with his gun

īkota, sīpīsisi . īkw-āni īkota -- nikostīnān

IPC	NI loc.	IPC	IPC	TI kost- 1p indep.
there	in the creek	and then	there	we were scared of it

īða ka-nātāyā ana omānisīs , wīða īkota

IPC	IPV-TA nāt- 1p-3 cj.	PR 3	NA 3	IPC	IPC
you know	(for us) to go get him	that	moose-calf	for	there

ī-nīpawit	ayihaw,	awa	ayihaw	nōsī-mōswa	,	akwa
IPV-AI nīpawi- 3 cj.	IPC	PR 3	IPC	NA 3		IPC
she was standing	well	this	well	female moose		and

poko	pīyak	mōswasiniy,	(THIRTY-THIRTY),	ā-kī-ayāyā	.
IPC	IPC	NI		IPV-IPV- AI ayā- 1p cj.	
only	one	bullet		we had	

(5)	akwa	īðik	iða	wīða	mihcīt
	IPC	NA 3	IPC	PR	IPC
	and	Eric	you know	he	many

kī-ayāw	(TWENTY-TWO BULLETS),	māka	wiða
IPV-AI ayā- 3 indep.		IPC	IPC
he had		but	for

ī-kī-kostāyā	,	wiða	īkā	mihcītwāw
IPV-IPV-TA kost- 1p-3 cj.		IPC	IPC	IPC
we were scared of her		for	not	many times

ī-kī-nitawi-pīyakomāciyā　　　　　,　(OH YEAH, THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME WE

IPV-IPV-IPV-AI pīyakomāci- 1p cj.
we had gone hunting on our own

WENT MOOSE-HUNTING, TOO,)	īkwa	mīna	ayihaw	--	tānisi	ōma
	IPC	IPC	IPC		IPC	PR 0
	and	too	well		how	this

ā-tōtamā		--	(OH YEAH,)	mīkwāc	ā-akomoyā
IPV-TI tōt- 1p cj.				IPC	IPV-AI akomo- 1p cj.
we did it				while	we were floating

anita,	ī-kostamā	iða	ta-nātāyā	,
IPC	IPV-TI kost- 1p cj.	IPC	IPV-TA nāt- 1p-3 cj.	
there	we were scared of it	you know	(for us) to go and get him	

ana	omānisīs	anita	ā-akohci	,	iðik
PR 3	NA 3	IPC	IPV-AI akohcin- 3 cj.		NA 3
that	moose-calf	there	he was floating		Eric

ā-piniwīpahwāt	.	īkw-āni	pīðisk	nīða
IPV-TA piniwīpahw- 3-3' cj.		IPC	IPC	PR
he knocked him down with his gun		and then	finally	I

nititāwak	:	"(JUST)	aswaho		anihi	ayihawa	!
TA it- 1-3p indep.			TA aswahw- imp. 2p-3		PR 3'	PR 3'	
I said to them			be ready for him		that	that, well	

nōsī-mōswa	ta-pīcipahtāt	;	nīða
NA 3	IPV-AI pīcipahtā- 3 cj.		PR
female moose	she will run to this side		I

na-nātāw	awa	ta-pimahoci	,"
IPV-TA nāt- 1-3 indep.	PR 3	IPV-AI pimahocin- 3 cj.	
I will get her	this	she is floating	

ā-itakwak	.
IPV-TA it- 1-3p cj.	
I said to them	

(6)

cīmiy	iða	mwāc	itīðihtam	īkosi
NA 3	IPC	IPC	TI itīðiht- 3 indep.	IPC
James	you know	not	he did (not) agree	thus

ka-tōtamān	;	ohcitaw	ōma	nikī-tōtīn	,	tāni-poko
IPV-TI tōt- 1 cj.		IPC	PR 0	IPV-TI tōt- 1 indep.		IPC
(for me) to do it		anyway	this	I did it		just

ī-kī-napatī-isi-kwāskohtiyān	nicīmāninā	.
IPV-IPV-IPV-IPV-AI kwāskohti- 1 cj.	NI loc. poss 1p	
I jumped off on the side there	on our boat	

ā-otinak	awa	ayihaw	omānisīs	,
IPV-TA otin- 1-3 cj.	PR 3	IPC	NA 3	
I picked him up	this	well	moose-calf	

ā-pōsiwīpinak	cīmāni	.	īkw-āni	ayihaw,	cīmiy
IPV-TA pōsiwīpin- 1-3 cj.	NI loc.		IPC	IPC	NA 3
I threw him on board	in the boat		and then	well	James

ōmisi	ā-itwīt		:	"poyisa	!	kīða
IPC	IPV-AI itwī- 3 cj.			exclamation		PR
thus	he said			Boy!		you

kimāmaskācihoskin	,"	ī-isit	,	"awas	,
AI māmaskācihoski- [?] 2 indep.		IPV-TA it- 3-1 cj.		IPC	
you are amazing!		he said to me		get out of here	

mītakay	,	wī-kosāpīht-¬	,"	ana
NDI -ītakay- [?] poss indef.		IPV-AI kosāpī- sink [?]		PR 3
you prick! [?]				that

nītik	.
TA it- 3-1 indep.	
he said so to me	

(7)	īkw-āni	ayihaw,	ā-ati-kospit	awa
	IPC	IPC	IPV-IPC-AI kospi- [sic] 3 cj.	PR 3
	and then	well	she started to go up	this

nōsī-mōswa ,	ī-kī-wāpamit	ī-kīsi-¬
NA 3	IPV-IPV-TA wāpam- 3-1 cj.	
female moose	she had seen me	

ī-kīsi-pōsiwīpinimak	,	iða
IPV-IPV-TA pōsiwīpin- 1-3' cj.		IPC
I had finished throwing him in the boat		you know

nikī-tawahwānān	iða	mihcītwāw	anita,
IPV-TA tawahw- 1p-3 indep.	IPC	IPC	IPC
we hit her	you know	many times	there

ā-pimicipahtāt	sīpīsisi ,
IPV-AI pimicipahtā- 3 cj.	NI loc.
she was running sideways (from us)	in the creek

ā-āswapahtāt .	īkw-āni	ayihaw,	īkota
IPV-AI āswapahtā- 3 cj.	IPC	IPC	IPC
she was crossing the river	and then	well	there

ā-akomoyā	aciðaw	,	nītī	nōhcimi
IPV-AI akomo- 1p cj.	IPC		IPC	IPC
we were floating	for a while		over there	in the bush

matwī-kitowinikīw		awa	mōswa.	īkw-āni	ayihaw,
IPV-AI kitowinikī- 3 indep.		PR 3	NA 3	IPC	IPC
she was making a noise		this	moose	and then	well

īðik	ā-wāpahta	mihtawakaya
NA 3	IPV-TI wāpaht- 3 cj.	NDI -htawakay- 0p poss indef.
Eric	he saw it	ears

cāh-cīpipaðiwa	;	īkw-āni	īkota
II cāh-cīpipaði- (redupl.) 0p indep.		IPC	IPC
(they were) twitching		and then	there

ā-isi-pāskisikīt	,	kīhcināc	ītokī	(TWENTY
IPV-IPV-AI pāskisikī- 3 cj.		IPC	IPC	
he loosed a shot in that direction		for sure	I guess	

TIMES)	ā-isi-pāskisikīt		,	īðik	īkw-āni	ītokī
	IPV-IPV-AI pāskisikī- 3 cj.			NA 3	IPC	IPC
	he loosed a shot in that direction			Eric	and then	I guess

ī-kī-piscahwāt .

IPV-IPV-TA pistahw- dim. 3-3' cj.
that is when he managed to hit her

(8)	īkw-āni	ā-kospipahtāt		aspin	īðik,
	IPC	IPV-AI kospipahtā- 3 cj.		IPC	NA 3
	and then	he ran up into the bush		gone	Eric

īkwa	kwayask	ā-sākahikāmot
IPC	IPC	IPV-AI sākahikāmo- [?] 3 cj.
and	properly	he came back

ī-pimitisahokot	.	ī-pī-tīpwīt		iða	,
IPV-TA pimitisahw- 3'-3 cj.		IPV-IPV- AI tīpwī- 3 cj.		IPC	
he was chasing him (Eric)		he was shouting		you know	

kwayask	iða	tīpwīw		īðik,	wiða	wīsta
IPC	IPC	AI tīpwī- 3 indep.		NA 3	IPC	PR
properly	you know	he is screaming		Eric	for	he,too

ī-mīstayaskīsa	.	īkw-āni	ayihaw	takopahtā-¬,
IPV-TI mīstayaskīs- 3 cj.		IPC	IPC	
he was out of shells		and then	well	

takopahtāw	(ERIC).	cīmis	ana	ā-pāskiswāt
AI takopahtā- 3 indep.		NA 3	PR 3	IPV-TA pāskisw- 3-3' cj.
he arrives running		James	that	he shot at him

okwayāði	,	ī-isināpahkisi	.
NDI -kwayaw- loc. poss 3'		IPV-AI isināpahkisin- 3 cj.	
in his neck		she looked like she had fallen	

ā-nātāyā	,	āsay	mīna	ā-nīpawipaðihot
IPV-TA nāt- 1p-3 cj.		IPC	IPC	IPV- AI nīpawipaðiho- 3 cj.
we reached her		already	too	she stood up really fast

ana	nōsī-mōswa	,	nīða	akwa	ā-pāskiswak
PR 3	NA 3		PR	IPC	IPV-TA pāskisw- 1-3 cj.
that	female moose		I	and	I shot him

swātikan	ohci.	īkw-āni	pīðisk	ā-kī-nipit	.	akwa
NI 0	IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV-IPV-AI nipi- 3 cj.		IPC
shot-gun	from	and then	finally	she died		and

ā-kī-nitawi-kotawīyā	aciðaw	(FOR ABOUT HALF AN HOUR, TO
IPV-IPV-IPV-AI kotawī- 1p cj.	IPC	
we went and lit a fire	for a while	

LET THE MOOSE SETTLE DOWN AND DIE GOOD AND --¬,)	kwayask	isi
	IPC	IPC
	properly	thus

ta-nipit	.
IPV-AI nipi- 3 cj.	
for him to die	

(9) īkw-āni   ā-kī-nitawi-pahkonāyā   ,   ayihaw,

	IPC	IPV-IPV-IPV-TA pahkon- 1p-3 cj.	IPC
	and then	we went and skinned him	well

mīkwāc   nipahkonānān   ,   mwīhci   ītokī   āpihtaw

IPC	TA pahkon- 1p-3 indep.	IPC	IPC	IPC
while	we were skinning him	just when	I guess	half

nikī-isi-pahkonānān   ,   ispī   ---¬ (GUTS)

IPV-IPV-TA pahkon- 1p-3 indep.	IPC
we had skinned him thus	when

ā-pīciwaðawīpaðiki   ,   īkospī   nīða   akwa   īðik

IPV-II pīciwaðawīpaði- 0p cj.	IPC	PR	IPC	NA 3
they were coming out	then	I	and	Eric

ā-tapasīyā   .   īkw-āni   ayihaw   cīmiy

IPV-AI tapasī- 1p cj.	IPC	IPC	NA 3
we ran away	and then	well	James

ā-itikoyā	ta-pī-itohtīyā	,	īkā
IPV-TA it- 3-1p cj.	IPV-IPV-AI itohtī- 1p cj.		IPC
he told us	(for us) to come over here		not

ī-wī-itohtīyā	(BECAUSE OF THE GUTS.)	īkw-āni	ayihaw,
IPV-IPV-AI itohtī- 1p cj.		IPC	IPC
we did (not) want to go		and then	well

ā-ati-wawiyahkwātikoyā	,	pīðisk	nīða	pīyak
IPV-IPC-TA wawiyahkwāt- 3-1p cj.		IPC	PR	IPC
he started to swear at us		finally	I	one

mōsopwām	ā-otihtamān	,	ā-nāsipīhtatāyān	,
NI 0	IPV-TI otiht- 1 cj.		IPV-AI nāsipīhtatā- 1 cj.	
thigh of the moose	I grabbed it		I took it down to the river	

māka	ā-wawiyahkwāsit	cīmiy.	īkw-āni	mīna
IPC	IPV-TA wawiyahkwāt- 3-1 cj.	NA 3	IPC	IPC
but	he swore at me	James	and then	too

ā-kī-pīyakowīhkwatina   anihi   (GUTS).

IPV- IPV- TI pīyakowīhkwatin- 3 cj.   PR 3'
he took it out by himself   that

(10) ā-kīsi-pahkonāyā   ,   nipōsihtānān

     IPV-IPV-TA pahkon- 1p-3 cj.   AI pōsihtā- 1p indep.
     when we finished skinning him   we loaded it in the boat,

iða	ayihaw	wiyās,	niyati-kohkosonān	,	mōða	māka
IPC	IPC	NI 0	IPC-AI kohkoso- 1p indep.		IPC	IPC
you know	well	meat	we started to push off		not	but

mistahi	pimiy	nikī-ohci-ayānān	,	(ONE TANK)	poko
IPC	NI 0	IPV-AI ayā- 1p indep.			IPC
a great deal	gas	we did not have it			only

nikī-ayānān	.	(HALF-WAYS,)	pahki	ī-itohtahikoyā	,
IPV- AI ayā- 1p			IPC	IPV-TA itohtah- 0-1p cj.	
we had it			partly	it carried us there	

wiða	mīna	ā-kī-pimiciwa		,	(WE WERE PADDLING AGAINST
IPC	IPC	IPV-IPV-II pimiciwan- 0 cj.			
for	too	there was a current			

-- WE WERE GOING AGAINST WIND AND CURRENT). īkw-āni

	IPC
	and then

ā-kī-sipwīpaðiyā	,	kīhcināc	ītokī	(ONE HOUR)
IPV-IPV-AI sipwīpaði- 1p cj.		IPC	IPC	
we were going off		for sure	I guess	

mwīhci	nipimipaðinān	.	mwāc	nikisiskāpaðinān
IPC	AI pimipaði- 1p		IPC	AI kisiskāpaði- 1p indep.
just when	we drove		not	we were (not) going fast

iða	wiða	nīso	mōswa	ī-pahkonāyāhkwak	,	akwa
IPC	IPC	IPC	NA 3	IPV-TA pahkon- 1p-3p cj.		IPC
you know	for	two	moose	which we had just skinned		and

cīmāni	ī-apicik	,	akwa	ī-nistiyā	,
NI loc.	IPV-AI api- 3p cj.		IPC	IPV-AI nisti- 1p cj.	
in the boat	they were		and	there were three of us	

akwa	ayihaw,	(OUR GEAR),	ī-¬-paðiyā.	(NOW WE,)	nīso	(TWO BIG
IPC	IPC				IPC	
and	well				two	

LAKES WE CROSSED, OH YEAH, AT LEAST),	īkotī
	IPC
	over there

ā-kī-ati-mīscipimipaðiyā	(AGAINST THE FAST WATER).	īkw-āni
IPV-IPV-IPC-AI mīscipimipaði- 1p cj.		IPC
we started to run out of gas		and then

ā-kī-ati-pimiskāyā	,	kīhcināc	ītokī	pīyako-kīsikāw
IPV-IPV-IPC-AI pimiskā- 1p cj.		IPC	IPC	IPC
we started to paddle		for sure	I guess	one day

mīna	āpihtaw-tipiskāw	ā-kī-pimiskāyā		, isko-¬, isko-¬
IPC	IPC	IPV-IPV-AI pimiskā- 1p cj.		
too	half a night	we paddled		

(INTO THE FALLS) ā-kī-takocimīyā		.	īkw-āni	ayihaw .--
IPV-IPV-AI takocimī- 1p cj.			IPC	IPC
we got there by paddling			and then	well

ā-takocimīyā	(IN THE FALLS),	ayihaw,	nīða	akwa
IPV-AI takocimī- 1p cj.		IPC	PR	IPC
we got there by paddling		well	I	and

cīmiy	ā-kapāyā	.
NA 3	IPV-AI kapā- 1p cj.	
James	we got off the boat	

(11) mōða	wiðisk	na-kī-kospicīmāninān		,
IPC	IPC	IPV-IPV-AI kospicīmāni- 1p indep.		
not	because	we would (not) be able to paddle up		

wiða	iðiko	ī-sōhkāniciwa	;	īkw-āni
IPC	IPC	IPV-II sōhkāniciwan- 0 cj.		IPC
for	so	the water was fast		and then

nikapānān	iða	īkota,	ayihaw,	akāmisi
AI kapā- 1p indep.	IPC	IPC	IPC	IPC
we got off the boat	you know	there	well	across this way

anita.	nikospinān	,	īkotī	iða	ayihaw
IPC	AI kospi- [sic] 1p indep.		IPC	IPC	IPC
there	we went off		over there	you know	well

kī-pimataman	ayihaw	mīskanaw,	ita	taðīn
IPV-II pimataman- 0 indep.	IPC	NI 0	IPC	NA 3
it goes through	well	railroad	where	train

ā-pimakoci	.	īkw-āni	ā-kī-ati-sipwīpahtāyā	,
IPV-AI pimakocin- 3 cj.		IPC	IPV-IPV-IPC- AI sipwīpahtā- 1p cj.	
he goes along		and then	we started running	

mwīhci	ītokī	(SIX MILES)	ā-kī-pimipahtāyā	,
IPC	IPC		IPV-IPV-AI pimipahtā- 1p cj.	
just when	I guess		we ran	

īkw-āni	īkotī	ā-kī-ispahtāyā	(NINETY-NINE).
IPC	IPC	IPV-IPV-AI ispahtā- 1p cj.	
and then	over there	we ran	

īkotī	ayihaw	miscikōsiw,	('PETE MITCHELL')
IPC	IPC	NA 3	
over there	well	white-man	

isiðīhkāsow	,	ā-kī-nitotamawāyā	(GAS, TWO
AI isiðīhkāso- 3 indep.		IPV-IPV-TA nitotamaw- 1p-3 cj.	
he is called so		we asked him for it	

GALLONS)	nikī-mīðikonān	,	(MOOSE-MEAT)	ōma
	IPV-TA mīð- 3-1p indep.			PR 0
	he gave us			this

nikī-asamānān	.	īkw-āni	ayihaw,
IPV-TA asam- 1p-3 indep.		IPC	IPC
we gave him to eat		and then	well

ā-kī-kihtimiyā		ayihaw,	ka-kāwi-ispahtāyā
IPV-IPV-AI kihtimi- 1p cj.		IPC	IPV-IPC-AI ispahtā- 1p cj.
we were too tired (lazy)		well	(for us) to run back

(FIVE MILES , SIX MILES, OR FIVE, I'D SAY, SIX MILES OR WHATEVER.)	īkw-āni
	IPC
	and then

ayihaw	(PUSHCAR)	ā-kimotiyā	,	nīða	akwa	cīmiy	akwa
IPC		IPV-AI kimoti- 1p cj.		PR	IPC	NA 3	IPC
well		we stole it		I	and	James	and

(ALL THE WAY)	ā-kī-pimitāpāsoyā	(IN THE PUSHCAR),	akwa
	IPV-IPV-AI pimitāpāso- 1p cj.		IPC
	we rode along		and

(GAS), ā-kī-nitawi-mōskinahtāyā   (OUR TANK),

IPV-IPV-IPV-AI mōskinahtā- 1p cj.
we went and fueled it up

ā-kī-ati-sipwīpaðiyā   (AGAINST THE FAST WATER. WE WENT TO THE

IPV-IPV-IPC-AI sipwīpaði- 1p cj.
we headed out

PORTAGE); ā-kī-ispaðiyā   ,   akwa   ā-kī-pāsicipitamān

IPV-IPV-AI ispaði- 1p cj.   IPC   IPV-IPV-TI pāsicipit- 1 cj.
we went   and   I pulled it over

nicīmān	,	akwa	aya	nicīmāninān ,	akwa	ayihaw,
NI 0 poss 1		IPC	hesitation	NI 0 poss 1p	IPC	IPC
my boat		and	you know	our boat	and	well

wiyās	ā-kī-kaskīwīhtatāyā	,	ā-kī-pōsihtāyā
NI 0	IPV-IPV-AI kaskīwīhtatā- 1p cj.		IPV-IPV-AI pōsihtā- 1p cj.
meat	we took it over the portage		we loaded it

kāwi	cīmāni	,	ā-kī-ati-sipwīpaðiyā	.
IPC	NI loc.		IPV-IPV-IPC-AI sipwīpaði- 1p cj.	
back	in the boat		we headed out	

(12)

kīhcināc	ītokī	āpihtaw-tipiskāw
IPC	IPC	IPC
for sure	I guess	half a night

ā-kī-takosinā	pātimā	.	īkw-āni
IPV-IPV-AI takosin- 1p cj.	IPC		IPC
we arrived	that's when		and then

nipāpā	,	ā-māmaskātikoyā
NDA -pāpā- 3 poss 1		IPV-TA māmaskāt- 3-1p cj.
my father		he was amazed at us

ī-kaskihtāyā	ta-nipahāyā	mōswa.	(THAT'S IT).
IPV-AI kaskihtā- 1p cj.	IPV-TA nipah- 1p-3 cj.	NA 3	
we managed	for us to kill him	moose	

[1] HELLO, IT'S ME, MICHAEL CARIBOU, HERE. IT'S NOVEMBER THE SECOND, 1982, TUESDAY. I'M GOING TO TELL YOU ABOUT WHEN ME, MY BROTHER AND MY COUSIN, ERIC BRADY, WE WERE GOING TO GO MOOSE-HUNTING. I'M GOING TO TELL YOU HOW WE KILLED IT, HOW WE SKINNED IT AND WHO SKINNED IT, AND WHAT HAPPENED WHEN WE WERE COMING HOME. OKAY?

[2] Then my father told us to go moose-hunting, in the summertime. We drove over and got gas at the store, we were going away on a trip. And we were pulling our boat ACROSS THE PORTAGE, we started our trip from there. IT TOOK US ABOUT TWO AND A HALF HOURS TO GET WHERE WE WERE GOING, and when we arrived over there, you know, we saw two moose standing there. JAMES shot at the moose which was standing there, but he missed him. I shot at him as well, and so did ERIC -- but we all missed those moose. They just began to go up off the lake, but there were big waves, too, for it was a big -- we were riding IN THE MIDDLE OF THE LAKE. Then it was night, night was coming when we went and watched for the moose in the creek there, and over that way in the small lake; we sat right there FOR ABOUT AN HOUR OR TWO, we did not see those moose properly; but we saw plenty of ducks swimming all over the lake, we really wanted to shoot them; but, well, you know, we were afraid for the moose, because we would scare him away if we took a shot -- so we could not shoot at the ducks.

[3] It was already quite dark when we started to head back
to the place where we had our campfire, where we were going to
sleep, when we started to head back, I shot at one moose, but I
missed him. I missed that moose when I shot at him. I think that
ERIC -- James and Eric did not see that moose when I shot at him --
BUT THERE WAS TRACKS! SO, then we went to sleep, also, we carried
only one blanket between us -- we were so stupid -- we were not
able to sleep well when it got night -- it was so cold, you know.
Then, when the sun was coming up, we made a fire, drank coffee, ate
and headed out; that creek where we went last night, that's where
we went. And there we went and watched for the moose, to see if he
would come out.

[4] We heard the moose swimming around there, but THERE WAS
FOG! But we did not want to go and shoot him, because we could
have no way of knowing if it was the moose or not. We sat there
FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS. And then James heard someone making a noise in
the small lake over that way. We paddled over there and saw two
moose -- a moose-calf and his mother -- they could be heard
feeding. James started the engine so that we could get there
quickly -- no -- it was I who pulled the engine-starter, I drove
over there. James and Eric grabbed their guns -- James had a
30-30, and Eric a SEMI-AUTOMATIC 22 -- they started shooting at
them; I think James fired the FIRST TWO SHOTS, he hit the moose
once. Then the female was running back towards us -- Eric and
James kept on shooting at her, you know, but they missed her

anyway. Then I let go of the engine and grabbed a SHOTGUN. I shot the moose in the face, she was not far away, only ABOUT TEN YARDS, I guess, she jumped back. She slowly started to go up into the bush, Eric kept on shooting at the moose-calf and hit him. That female did not want to leave her calf. That moose-calf ran across here, he ran there on the other side where his mother was running. He was running across, and Eric kept on shooting at him [the calf], for sure, he fired at him about ten times; finally, he knocked him down, there in the creek. Then we were scared there, you know, to go and get that calf for she was standing there, the female, and we only had one 30-30 bullet.

[5] But Eric, you know, he had many 22 BULLETS, but we were scared of her, for we had not gone hunting many times on our own, OH YEAH, THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT WE WENT MOOSE-HUNTING, TOO, and also -- how did we do it? -- OH YEAH, while we were floating there [in the boat], we were scared, you know, to go and get that calf which was floating there [in the water], the one which Eric had knocked down. Then, finally, I said to them: "JUST be ready for that one! the female moose may run to this side; I'll get this one which is floating," is what I said to them.

[6] James, you know, did not agree that I should do it this way; I did it anyway, I just jumped off on one side of our boat. I picked up this moose-calf, and threw him on board. Then James said to me: "Boy, you really are amazing!" he said to me, "get out of here, you prick! We could have [?] sunk," he said to me.

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[7]   And then the female moose started to go up into the
bush, she had seen me as I had finished throwing the calf into the
boat, we hit her many times there, as she was running sideways from
us there in the creek, as she was crossing the river. Then we were
floating there for a while, and the moose made a noise up over
there in the bush. Then Eric saw ears twitching; then he shot in
that direction, he shot that way about TWENTY TIMES, for sure,
then, I guess, that's when he managed to hit her.

[8]   And then, Eric was gone, he ran up into the bush, but
he came right back with the moose chasing him. He was yelling, he
was really screaming, for Eric, too, was out of shells. Then ERIC
arrived, running. James shot the moose in the neck, and she looked
as if she had fallen. We went to get her, but already that female
stood up again quickly, and I shot her with a SHOTGUN. Finally,
then, she died. We went and lit a fire for a while, FOR ABOUT HALF
AN HOUR, TO LET THE MOOSE SETTLE DOWN AND DIE GOOD AND --, for her
to really die.

[9]   Then we went and skinned her, well, while we were
skinning her, when we were just about half-way through skinning
her, as the GUTS were coming out, at that point Eric and I ran
away. Then James told us to come back over there, but we did not
want to go BECAUSE OF THE GUTS. Then he started to swear at us,
and finally, I grabbed one of the thighs and took it down to the
river, but James swore at me. Then he took those GUTS out by
himself.

[10] When we had finished skinning the moose, we loaded the
meat in the boat, and started to push off, but we did not have a
great deal of gas, we had only ONE TANK. HALF-WAYS, it carried us
part-way there, for there was also a current, WE WERE PADDLING
AGAINST -- WE WERE GOING AGAINST WIND AND CURRENT. Then we started
off [by motor], we drove for just about ONE HOUR, for sure. We
were not going fast, you know, because of the two moose we had just
skinned which were in the boat, and there were the three of us and
OUR GEAR. NOW WE, crossed two, TWO BIG LAKES WE CROSSED, OH YEAH
-- AT LEAST, that is where we started to run out of gas AGAINST THE
FAST WATER. Then we started to paddle, we paddled to, INTO THE
FALLS. We paddled for a whole day and half the night, for sure.
Then we got there, IN THE FALLS, we got there by paddling, and
James and I got out of the boat.

[11] Because we would not be able to paddle up on account
of the fast water, then we got out there, across this way. We went
up, there was a railroad going through there, where the train goes.
Then we started running, we ran for just about SIX MILES, then we
ran over there, to milestone 99. There we asked a white guy called
Pete Mitchell for GAS, He gave us TWO GALLONS, and we gave him
MOOSE-MEAT to eat. Then we were too tired to run back the FIVE
MILES, SIX MILES, OR FIVE, I'D SAY, SIX MILES OR WHATEVER. Then we
stole a PUSHCAR, and James and I rode along in it, ALL THE WAY IN
THE PUSHCAR, and filled up OUR TANK with GAS, and headed out
AGAINST THE FAST WATER. WE WENT TO THE PORTAGE; we went there, and

I pulled my -- I mean, our -- boat over, and we took the meat over the portage, then we loaded it back in the boat and headed out.

[12] For sure, for about half the night, that's when we arrived there. Then my father was amazed that we managed to kill a moose. THAT'S IT.

Appendix D

CREE-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

The glossary is listed according to stem, starting with the
dependent noun stems, which must take a prefix. For instance,
-stikwān- 'head' will never stand alone. It will always be
preceded by a prefix, for example kistikwān 'your head'.

The glossary covers words found in the main body of the
study as well as in the Cree text. I have decided to list words
that begin with the sound ð after c, since a practical orthography
might use the letter d (or, of course, th).

For paedagogical consistency, this glossary uses the same
conventions and abbreviations as those printed in Ahenakew 1982
(except for the verb class codes AI, II, TA, TI).

Abbreviations in Text and Glossary

NA   animate noun

NI   inanimate noun

NDA   animate noun, dependent

NDI   inanimate noun, dependent

AI   verb with animate actor, usually intransitive

II   verb with inanimate actor, intransitive

TA   verb with animate goal, transitive

TI   verb with inanimate goal, usually transitive

PR   pronoun

IPC   indeclinable particle

IPV   indeclinable preverb

-atay-

    NDI   belly

-hkwākan-

    NDI   face

-htawakay-

    NDI   ear

-īpit-

    NDI   tooth

-ītakay- [?]

    NDI   penis [?]

-kwayaw-

    NDI   neck

-māmā-

    NDA   mother

-pāpā-

    NDA   father

-sīm-

    NDA   younger brother

-stikwān-

    NDI   head

-stīs-

    NDA   older brother

-tīðaniy-

    NDI   tongue

acāhkw-

    NI   star

acāhkos-

    NI   small star [dim.]

aciðaw

    IPC   for a while

aðōskan-

    NA   raspberry

aðahw-

    TA   bury someone

aðwāpat-

    NA   Robert [proper name]

ahǒ-

    TA   put, place someone

ahpō

    IPC   or

akāciy

    IPC   or

akāmisi

    IPC   across the water

akiht-

    TI   count something

akim-

    TA   count someone

akohci-

    AI   float

akohp-

    NA   blanket

akwa

    IPC   and

ana

    PR   that [animate proximate singular]

ani

    IPC   and, indeed

anihi

    PR   that [animate obviative / inanimate plural]

anima

    PR   that [inanimate singular]

anita

    IPC   there

anohc

    IPC   just then, now

api-

    AI   sit

apisci

    IPC   small

apoy-

    NI   paddle

asam-

    TA   feed someone

aski- [sic]

    NI   pot, kettle

askiy-

    NI   ground

aspin

    IPC   gone

astotin-

    NI   hat

aswahw-

    TA   be ready for someone

aswāpam-

    TA   watch for someone

ati

    IPC   begin, start to

atihkw-

    NA   deer

acihkos-

    NA   small deer

atimw-

    NA   dog

atoskī-

    AI   work

awa

    PR   this [animate proximate singular]

awāsis-

    NA   child

awiðawa

    PR   someone [obviative]

aya

    IPC   well [hesitation]

ayami-

    AI   talk

ayamihito-

    AI   talk to one another

ayā-

    AI   have something

ayihaw

    IPC   well [hesitation]

ayihaw

    PR   that, well [hesitation] [proximate]

ayihawa

    PR   that, well [hesitation] [obviative]

ā

    IPV   conjunct marker

ācimo-

    AI   tell a story

āpihtaw

    IPC   half

āsay

    IPC   already

āsay-mīna

    IPC   again

āswapahtā-

    AI   run across the river

āta

    IPC   although

āyitwimīkiwāhpi

    NI   on both sides of the tent [loc.]

cīðī-

    NA   Gerry [proper name]

cīḳop-

    NA   Jacob [proper name]

cīmān-

    NI   boat, canoe

cīmiy-

    NA   James [proper name]

cāh-cīpipaði-

    II   twitch [reduplicated]

ðīkaw-

    NI   sand

ðīwahikan-

    NA   pounded meat [usually plural]

ðōtin-

    II   be windy

iða

    IPC   you know

iðinisip-

    NA   mallard duck

iðiniw-

    NA   person

isi

    IPC   thus

isicimī-

    AI   paddle there

isiðīhkāso-

    AI   be called so

isināpahkisin-

    AI   appear to fall

iskatīðiht-

    TI   be tired of something

iskinōhamākīw- [sic]

    NA   teacher

iskwīsis-

    NA   girl [dim.]

iskwīw-

    NA   woman

ispaði-

    AI   drive

ispahtā-

    AI   run to

ispī

    IPC   then, when

it-

    TA   say so to someone

ita

    IPC   where

itī

    IPC   to where

itīðiht-

    TI   agree to something

itīh-

    TI   stir something

itohtah-

    TA   take someone there

itohtī-

    AI   go there

itwī-

    AI   say so

ī

    IPV   conjunct marker

īðik-

    NA   Eric [proper name]

īðiko

    IPC   so

īkā

    IPC   not

īkosi

    IPC   thus

īkospī

    IPC   then

īkota

    IPC   there

īkotī

    IPC   over there

īkwa

    IPC   and

īkw-āni

    IPC   and then

īkwiðāc

    IPC   finally

īmihkwān-

    NI   spoon

īncin-

    NI   engine

īsa

    IPC   I understand

ītokī

    IPC   I guess

ka

    IPV   future marker

kahkiðaw

    IPC   all

kakīpātisi-

    AI   be stupid

kapā-

    AI   disembark

kaskihtā-

    AI   manage something, succeed

kaskitīwā-

    II   be black

kaskīwīhtatā-

    AI   carry something over portage

kāða

    IPC   don't!

kāwi

    IPC   back

kihtimi-

    AI   be lazy

kipahw-

    TA   lock someone in

kisīðiniw-

    NA   old man

kisinā-

    II   be cold

kisiskāpaði-

    AI   go fast

kiskīðiht-

    TI   know something

kistikān-

    NI   garden

kitowinikī-

    AI   make a noise

kī

    IPV   past, completive marker

kī

    IPV   able to

kīða

    PR   you

kīhcināc

    IPC   for sure

kīsi

    IPV   finished

kīspin

    IPC   if

kīwīhtah-

    TA   take someone home

kīwīhtitā-

    AI   take something home

kīwīpaði-

    AI   head back, home

kohkoso-

    AI   push off

kosāpī-

    AI   sink

kospicīmāni-

    AI   paddle up to shore

kospihtah-

    TA   take someone up to shore

kospipahtā-

    AI   run up into the bush

kospi-   [sic]

    AI   go up, ashore, away from water

kost-

    TI   be scared of something

kotawān-

    NI   fireplace

kotawī-

    AI   have a campfire

kōpiy-

    NI [?] coffee

kwayask

    IPC   proper, straight

kwāskohti-

    AI   jump

kwīskikwāskohti-

    AI   jump backwards

mahīhkan-

    NA   wolf

mahti

    IPC   to see if

manāmāh-   [?]

    TA   be afraid for someone

maskihkiy-

    NI   medicine

maskw-

    NA   bear [singular: maskwa]

maskwamiy-

    NA   ice

matāwisi-

    AI   come into the open

matwī

    IPV   audibly

māci

    IPC   start to

mācī-

    AI   hunt

māhkāyā-

    II   be rough water [usually reduplicated]

māh-mīki-

    AI   give [reduplicated]

māka

    IPC   but

māmaskācihoski- [?]

    AI   be an amazing person

māmaskāt-

    TA   be amazed at someone

māyān-

    TI   leave fresh tracks

miðwīðiht-

    TI   be happy about something

mihcīt

    IPC   many

mihcītwāw

    IPC   many times

miht-

    NI   firewood, log [singular: mihti]

minihkwī-

    AI   drink

mispon-

    II   be snowing

mistahi

    IPC   a great deal

miscikōsiw- [sic]

    NA   white man

mistikw-

    NA   tree

mitātaht

    IPC   ten

mitātahtwāw

    IPC   ten times

mīciso-

    AI   eat

mīð-

    TA   give it/him to someone

mīðī

    NA   Mary [proper name]

mīkiwāhp-

    NI   tent

mīkwāc

    IPC   while

mīmihito- [sic]

    AI   dance

mīna

    IPC   too

mīsī-

    AI   defecate

mīskanaw-

    NI   railroad

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mīstayaskis-

    TI   be out of shells

mīscipimipaδi-

    AI   run out of gasoline

mōδa

    IPC   not [also namōδa]

mōskinahtā-

    AI   fill something up, fuel up

mōsopwām-

    NI   thigh of moose

mōswasiniy-

    NI   bullet

mōsw-

    NA   moose   [singular: mōswa]

mwāc

    IPC   not [also mwāt, mwā, mō]

mwīhci

    IPC   just when

na

    IPV   future marker

nahaδ-

    TA   put someone away

nahā-

    NA   son-in-law

nakat-

    TA   leave someone

namōða

    IPC   not [also mōða]

napakisin-

    AI   lie flat

napatī

    IPV   to the side

nācipaðīst-

    TI   drive over and fetch something

nāpīw-

    NA   man

nāsipīhtatā-

    AI   take something down to the river

nāt-

    TA   fetch, get someone

nāt-

    TI   fetch, get something

nātamaw-

    TA   defend someone from something

nikamo-

    AI   sing

nipah-

    TA   kill someone

nipā-

    AI   sleep

nipi-

    AI   die

nipiy-

    NI   water

nisīhkāc

    IPC   sort of slowly

nisti-

    AI   be three

nitawi

    IPV   go and

nitotamaw-

    TA   ask someone for something

nīða

    PR   I

nīpawi-

    AI   stand

nīpawipaðiho-

    AI   stand up quickly

nīpin-

    II   be summer

nīpiy-

    NI   leaf

nīso

    IPC   two

nīsta

    PR   I also

nītī

    IPC   over there

nītī-isi

    IPC   over that way

nīyāw-

    NI   point

nīyo

    IPC   four

nōhtī

    IPV   want to

nōhcimi

    IPC   in the bush

nōsī-mōsw-

    NA   female moose [singular: nōsī-mōswa]

nōtin-

    TA   fight someone

ohci

    IPC   from, with

ohci

    IPV   past preverb in negative clauses

ohcitaw

    IPC   anyway

ohpin-

    TA   lift someone up

ohtin-

    TI   take something from some place

omānisīs- [sic]

    NA   moose-calf

osih-

    TA   fix someone

ospwākan-

    NA   pipe

ota

    IPC   behind

otahw-

    TA   beat someone

otākosi

    IPC   yesterday

otāpānāskw-

    NA   car

otiht-

    TI   reach something

otihtin-

    TI   take hold of something

otin-

    TA   pick someone up

ōma

    PR   this [inanimate singular]

ōmisi

    IPC   thus

ōta

    IPC   here

pahki

    IPC   partly

pahkon-

    TA   skin someone

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pahkwacitī-

    II   be singed

pakāhkam

    IPC   perhaps

pakāsimo-

    AI   swim

papāmātakā-

    AI   swim around

paskwatināw-

    NI   clear ground, bare land

patahw-

    TA   fail to hit someone

pātimā

    IPC   until

pakicīpin-

    TI   let go of something

pāpahtā-

    AI   run back

pāh-pāskisw-

    TA   continually shoot at someone [reduplicated]

pāsicipit-

    TI   pull something across

pāskisikan-

    NI   gun

pāskisikī-

    AI   shoot

pāskisw-

    TA   shoot at someone

pimahocin- [?]

    AI   float

pimakocin-

    AI   move along

pimataman-

    II   go through

pimatāwisi-

    AI   come out

pimāci-

    TA   save someone

pimicipahtā-

    AI   run sideways

pimiciwan-

    II   be a current

pimipaδi-

    AI   drive

pimipahtā-

    AI   run

pimiskā-

    AI   paddle

pimitāpāso-

    AI   ride along

pimitisahw-

    TA   chase someone

pimiy-

    NI   gasoline

pimohtī-

    AI   go

piniwīpahw-

    TA   knock someone down

pisci

    IPC   by accident

pistahw-

    TA   hit someone accidentally

pī

    IPV   come and

pīcipahtā-

    AI   run by here

pīciwaðawīpaði-

    II   be coming out

pīðisk

    IPC   finally

pīhtaw-

    TA   hear someone

pītakoti-

    II   be nightfall

pītāpan-

    II   be dawn

pīyak

    IPC   one

pīyako-kīsikāw

    IPC   one day

pīyakomācī-

    AI   hunt by oneself

pīyakowīhkwatin-

    TI   take something out by oneself

pīyakwāw

    IPC   once

poko

    IPC   only

poyisa

    IPC   Boy! [exclamation]

pōn-

    TI   make a fire

pōnihtā-

    AI   quit

pōsi-

    AI   go on board

pōsihtā-

    AI   load something on board

pōsiwīpin-

    TA   throw someone on board

sākahikanisīs-

    NI   small lake [dim.]

sākahikāmo- [?]

    AI   come back

siht-

    NI   evergreen [proximate singular: sihti]

sipwīhtī-

    AI   leave, go away

sipwīpaði-

    AI   go away, drive, head out

sipwīpahtā-

    AI   run away, off

sipwīpit-

    TI   start something (engine) by pulling

sipwīyāmohkāt-

    TA   scare someone away

sīða

    NA   Sarah [proper name]

sīpiy-

    NI   river

sīpīsis-

    NI   creek [dim.]

sīsīp-

    NA   duck

sīsīpisis-

    NA   small duck [dim.]

sōhkāniciwan-

    II   be fast water

stōð-

    NI   store

swātikan-

    NI   shotgun

ta

    IPV   future marker

taðīn-

    NA   train

tahkon-

    TA   take someone along

tahtwāw

    IPC   every time

takocimī-

    AI   arrive by paddling

takopaði-

    AI   arrive in a vehicle

takopahtā-

    AI   arrive running

takosin-

    AI   arrive

tapasī-

    AI   run away

tawahw-

    TA   hit someone

tāni-poko

    IPC   just

tānisi

    IPC   how

tānitahtwāw

    IPC   how many times

tāpwī

    IPC   truly

tātosk-

    TI   rip, burst something

tipiskā-

    II   be night

tipiskāw-

    NI   night

tīpakohp

    IPC   seven

tīpwī-

    AI   scream

tōhtōsāpoy-

    NI   milk

tōt-

    TI   do something

wacask-

    NA   muskrat

wawiyahkwāt-

    TA   swear at someone

wāhðaw

    IPC   far away

wāpaht-

    TI   see something

wāpam-

    TA   see someone

wāsahāw-

    NI   bay, narrows

wiða

    IPC   for [also wiðisk]

wiðisk

    IPC   because [also wiða]

wiyās-

    NI   meat

wī

    IPV   intend to, want to

wīcih-

    TA   help someone

wīcīw-

    TA   go with someone

wīða

    PR   he

wīhð-

    TA   name someone

wīhð- [sic: cf. Appendix A]

    TI   name something

wīhtikow-

    NA   monster

wīhtikōs-

    NA   small monster [dim.]

wīpac

    IPC   soon, suddenly

wīsa

    IPC   so

wīsta

    PR   he also

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