

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

LES MÉDIANES EN NEHIRAWEWIN,
DIALECTE HISTORIQUE DU CRI-MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI

MÉMOIRE

PRÉSENTÉ

COMME EXIGENCE PARTIELLE
DE LA MAÎTRISE EN LINGUISTIQUE

PAR

KEVIN BROUSSEAU

OCTOBRE 2009

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

MEDIALS
IN THE HISTORICAL
CREE-MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI DIALECT OF
NEHIRAWEWIN

THESIS

SUBMITTED

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE MASTER'S DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS

BY

KEVIN BROUSSEAU

OCTOBER 2009

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

Service des bibliothèques

Avertissement

La diffusion de ce mémoire se fait dans le respect des droits de son auteur, qui a signé le formulaire *Autorisation de reproduire et de diffuser un travail de recherche de cycles supérieurs* (SDU-522 – Rév.01-2006). Cette autorisation stipule que «conformément à l'article 11 du Règlement n°8 des études de cycles supérieurs, [l'auteur] concède à l'Université du Québec à Montréal une licence non exclusive d'utilisation et de publication de la totalité ou d'une partie importante de [son] travail de recherche pour des fins pédagogiques et non commerciales. Plus précisément, [l'auteur] autorise l'Université du Québec à Montréal à reproduire, diffuser, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de [son] travail de recherche à des fins non commerciales sur quelque support que ce soit, y compris l'Internet. Cette licence et cette autorisation n'entraînent pas une renonciation de [la] part [de l'auteur] à [ses] droits moraux ni à [ses] droits de propriété intellectuelle. Sauf entente contraire, [l'auteur] conserve la liberté de diffuser et de commercialiser ou non ce travail dont [il] possède un exemplaire.»

ቆይታ ስለሚኖረው ስለሚታወቅ ለሌሎች ስለሚታወቅ ለሌሎች ስለሚታወቅ

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In considering those whom I wished to acknowledge I appreciated the true value of their assistance in this project. I realize the road travelled might not have been as enjoyable had potential obstacles not been cleared from my path. Consequently, I wish to acknowledge my wife for, among other things, keeping our wonderful but lively kids from interrupting my work. I would also like to thank my kids, for successfully circumventing their mother and interrupting me when a break was indeed called for. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Lynn Drapeau, for being incredibly supportive, not simply financially, being a recipient of a SSHRC grant (#410-2005-14476), but personally. Her enthusiasm and candor are but a few of her qualities I gladly welcomed. The members of her research team on Innu grammar are also deservingly acknowledged for their help, discussions, and friendships. I would also like to thank another friend of mine, Manon Trembley, for her support and inspiration. Thanks also to my readers, Sophie Piron and Claire Lefebvre. Finally, I wish to gratefully acknowledge the Cree School Board for the continued financial assistance that allowed me to complete this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
RÉSUMÉ	x
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I ABOUT NEHIRAWEWIN	5
1.1 Origins of the term Nehirawewin	5
1.2 Genetic affiliation	6
1.2.1 Distribution of Algonquian languages	6
1.2.2 Algonquian languages in Quebec.....	7
1.2.3 CMN Dialects in Quebec	8
1.2.4 Location and Affiliation of Nehirawewin within the CMN Dialects.....	10
1.2.5 Dialects of Nehirawewin.....	14
1.3 Documentation of Nehirawewin	15
1.3.1 Antoine Silvy’s Dictionnaire montagnais-français.....	17
1.3.2 Nehirawewin Orthography.....	21
CHAPTER II THE ALGONQUIAN VERB AND MEDIALS	24
2.1 Polysynthetic Languages	24
2.2 Algonquian Verb Morphology	25

2.2.1	Bloomfield’s model.....	26
2.2.2	Goddard’s model.....	27
2.3	Initials.....	28
2.4	Finals	29
2.5	Medials	30
2.5.1	Verbal Classifiers.....	30
2.5.2	Incorporated Entities	31
2.5.3	Medials and Participant Ranking	32
	CHAPTER III Data And Analysis	37
3.1	Research Questions	38
3.2	Methodology	38
3.3	Initial and medial types	39
3.3.1	Initial types.....	39
3.3.2	Medial types.....	42
3.3.3	Types of resulting verbs.....	45
3.4	Medial Inventory.....	46
3.5	Medial Lifecycle	51
3.5.1	Apheresis.....	53
3.5.2	Restoration	54
3.5.3	Hypercorrection.....	55
3.6	Participant Ranking in Nehirawewin.....	57
3.6.1	Possessional and part/whole relations.....	58
3.6.2	Thematic Hierarchy.....	58
3.6.3	Animacy Hierarchy	61
3.7	Metaphor & Metonymy	62
3.7.1	Metaphor	62

3.7.2	Metonymy	63
	CONCLUSION	65
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	67

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.1 MODERN CMN DIALECTS IN QUEBEC AS ESTABLISHED BY FORD ET AL. (1980)	9
TABLE 1.2 ORTHOGRAPHICAL COMPARISONS OF NEHIRAWEWIN SOURCES	21
TABLE 1.3 SILVY'S ALPHABET WITH PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDANCES	23
TABLE 2.1 BLOOMFIELD'S MODEL FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DERIVATION	27
TABLE 2.2 GODDARD'S MODEL FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY STEM	28
TABLE 3.1 NEHIRAWEWIN MEDIALS FROM SILVY'S <i>DICTIONNAIRE MONTAGNAIS- FRANÇAIS</i> IN COMMON WITH MEDIALS FROM DRAPEAU'S <i>DICTIONNAIRE FRANÇAIS-MONTAGNAIS</i>	46
TABLE 3.2 NEHIRAWEWIN MEDIALS FROM SILVY'S <i>DICTIONNAIRE MONTAGNAIS- FRANÇAIS</i> NOT FOUND IN DRAPEAU'S <i>DICTIONNAIRE FRANÇAIS-MONTAGNAIS</i>	50

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3	third person subject
AI	intransitive verb with animate subject
AN	animate noun
Antipass	Antipassive
CMN	Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi
Dem	demonstrative
II	intransitive verb with inanimate subject
IN	inanimate noun
INV	inverse
obv	obviative
pl	plural
poss	possessor
TA	transitive verb with animate object
TI	transitive verb with inanimate object

RÉSUMÉ

Ce mémoire est une étude comparative diachronique entre deux dialectes du cri-montagnais-naskapi en ce qui concerne leurs utilisations des médianes. Le dialecte historique choisi est celui du nehirawewin du 17^e siècle, dialecte parlé dans la région du Saguenay. La source principale utilisée pour cette étude est le dictionnaire montagnais-français d'Antoine Silvy, rédigé à la fin du 17^e siècle. Le dialecte moderne utilisé pour la comparaison est celui parlé dans la communauté de Betsiamites, nommé leluwewn ou ilnû-aymûn. L'étude fait l'inventaire des médianes dans le dialecte historique et compare l'usage de celles-ci avec le dialecte moderne. En conclusion, l'étude démontre non seulement une grande similarité entre les dialectes historiques et modernes en ce qui concerne le processus d'incorporation de médianes mais aussi des points de différence au niveau de l'inventaire de médianes ainsi que leurs formes phonologiques.

Mots clefs : morphologie, médiane, incorporation nominale, classifieur verbal, nehirawewin, leluwewn, innu-aimun, cree-montagnais-naskapi, algonquien

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a diachronic analysis of the morphological position termed medial, and its contents, medials. More specifically, it explores verb classifiers and incorporation, both restricted to the medial position in Algonquian languages, in order to describe this particular area of grammar as it pertains to the historical Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects of Nehirawewin. This description will then be compared with the results of a study carried out within the scope of Lynn Drapeau's research project on the modern dialect of Leluwewn, the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect spoken in Betsiamites, which is taken here to be the direct descendent of Nehirawewin.

The medial position in Algonquian is an area of grammar that has yet to benefit from much scholarly attention. Most grammars of these languages do not place much emphasis on the topic and dedicate but a few pages to its description. A glance at the subject as it relates to Plains Cree is offered in Wolfart (1973). Valentine (2001) offers a brief review of noun incorporation and classifiers as they relate to the medial position in his Nishnaabemwin grammar, while Cowell & Moss (2008) sporadically mention the topic throughout their grammar of Arapaho. Studies that go beyond descriptive work are quite sparse. However, a few papers based on the analysis of the medials have broached the topic from a variety of angles. Hewson (1974) provides some reconstructions of medials for Proto-Algonquian, most of which

appear in his index of word formatives in his dictionary of Proto-Algonquian (Hewson, 1993). Denny (1976) addresses the issue of classifiers while Denny (1978) explores the matter from a semantic point of view. Voorhis (1983) explores medials in terms of lexical derivation in Kickapoo while Mellow (1989) offers a syntactic account of noun incorporation in Cree. Valentine (2002) explores the particular class of medials that refer to body-parts in his study of Nishnaabemwin, a topic that has also been examined in regards to Innu-Aimun (Baraby *et al.*, 2002). Consequently, medials are understood to some degree. On the other hand, a detailed survey of these and their functions has yet to be done for any Algonquian language. This is one of the objectives of Drapeau's project on Innu grammar. Since its inception members of the research team have contributed to the overall investigation of medials in Innu, more specifically on the Betsiamites dialect termed Leluwewn. Lachapelle (2008) explores the semantics of medials within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics. Vaughn (*in progress*) is preparing a study of classifiers while Drapeau (2008) provides a thematic role analysis of the use of medials. This study will contribute to this research project by examining the medial position and its functions in a historical precursor to Leluwewn.

The study of Nehirawewin has been generally overlooked, save for a recent study of its phonology as it relates to Proto-Algonquian (Harvey, 2005). The main reason why this language has been neglected can be attributed to the unavailability of works documenting it. Besides sparse mentions in a small number of publications, documents dealing directly with the dialect had been restricted to a few manuscripts that were unavailable to the public at large until the 1970's when the transcription and publication of some of these priceless manuscripts began. The first manuscript to be transcribed and published, Fabvre's *Racines montagnaises* (1970), was written not only in an older French dialect but also in a shorthand style. Although the transcribers did improve the readability of the document by filling in missing letters in Fabvre's writing, the archaic French was left untouched, making the document difficult to

understand if one's French is limited. This issue was tackled by later transcribers who made an effort to improve the readability of the other manuscripts by modernizing the French found within these.

This study aims to shed some light on the still unfamiliar historical dialect called Nehirawewin while concurrently providing as in-depth a survey of medials as possible. The interest in this subject arose from my lexicographic inclinations such as my desire to understand the morphology as well as the etymology of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi words. It should be recognized however, that there are serious limitations in attempting to provide an analysis of a dialect no longer spoken, at least not in the manner found in the manuscripts. Consequently, the historical source used for this study, Antoine Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* (1974), will be supported when the need arises, by other historical and modern sources.

The terminology employed in this thesis will now be addressed in order to prevent any potential misunderstandings. The terms language and dialect can be the source of much ambiguity due to the innumerable ways in which these are used. Definitions for these terms will be essentially borrowed from Campbell (2000: 7). A dialect is accordingly a regional variety of a language. Although Campbell's definition states that dialects of a language must be mutually intelligible, he does acknowledge the difficulty in applying this clause. For instance, in the case of a language continuum, dialects generally decrease in mutual intelligibility the farther they are apart from each other. Dialects much removed geographically can be unintelligible and thus constitute independent languages while still being varieties of the same language. Therefore, the issue of whether a dialect is mutually intelligible with other dialects of the same language will be left aside since the object of this study is a group of extinct dialects. Following Campbell still, the term language, as opposed to the term dialect, means a distinct linguistic entity that is not mutually intelligible with other languages. It will however occasionally be employed in a political or cultural sense. Nehirawewin will therefore be termed a language

consisting of various dialects. Concerning exonyms¹, an effort will be made to avoid using these when possible. There are a few reasons behind this decision. Centuries of colonisation have provided countless names for the peoples of the American continent, most of them being exonyms. This causes a degree of confusion, especially for those who are not well acquainted with the history of these peoples. These exonyms can group or separate people in a near arbitrary fashion and therefore run counter to an accurate anthropological or linguistic study. Endonyms will therefore be favoured though exonyms may occasionally surface in titles of works mentioned or citations.

The chapters of this thesis will be organized thus; Chapter 1 will introduce Nehirawewin, the subject of this study. It will also give further details about its genetic affiliation and provide information concerning the origins of the data; Chapter 2 will introduce the Algonquian verb while focusing on medials and their usage. Chapter 3 will establish the research questions and methodology employed and provide the data and analysis of the historical Nehirawewin dialect in relation to the modern Leluwewin dialect spoken in Betsiamites. Topics to be covered in that final chapter will include a coverage of initial and medial types encountered (§3.3), an exposition of the medial inventory provided by the data (§3.4), a discussion concerning the lifecycle of medials (§3.5), the question of participant ranking (§3.6), as well as a brief look at metaphorical and metonymical usage of medials (§3.7).

¹ An **exonym** is a name for a place that is not used within that place by the local inhabitants (neither in the official language of the state nor in local languages) or a name for a people or language that is not used by the people or language to which it refers. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exonym>

CHAPTER I

ABOUT NEHIRAWWIN

This chapter will provide some basic information concerning the historical dialect of Nehirawwin (§1.1), its genetic affiliation (§1.2), as well as the available documentation (§1.3).

1.1 Origins of the term Nehirawwin

The term Nehirawwin refers a group of closely related dialects recorded by Catholic missionaries in the 17th and 18th century and referred to them then as Montagnais. The name is based on the the speakers' endonym, *Nehiraw*, which was recorded by the missionaries as *Nehiraw-Iriniw*, meaning “Nehiraw person” (Silvy, 1974:89). These terms will therefore be employed throughout the thesis in order to identify the people, the Nehiraw, and their language, Nehirawwin. It must be noted that the language has also been termed Old Montagnais and Tadoussac Montagnais by Harvey (2005), the latter probably taken from Pentland (1978) in reference to the central missionary location where manuscripts of the said language were thought to have been compiled with the help of local informants.

1.2 Genetic affiliation

Nehirawewin is a member of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi (henceforth CMN), a group of dialects described as a continuum in Mackenzie (1980), a doctoral thesis in dialectology that establishes the continuum status of CMN after extensive comparative study in the areas of phonology, morphology, and lexicology. This conclusion is further supported in Mackenzie & Clarke (1981), a cross-dialectal study of verb paradigms. CMN is a language belonging to the Algonquian branch of the Algic language family. Algic's only other branch is a subgroup called Ritwan whose only two members, Wiyot and Yurok, were spoken until recent times in California.

1.2.1 Distribution of Algonquian languages

Algonquian languages are quite widespread geographically. The group extends from Labrador to Alberta in Canada, surrounding most of the Great Lakes region in both Canada and U.S.A., covering the northern half of the Atlantic seaboard. It is also spoken in the prairies of U.S.A. and has limited presence in northern Mexico.

Algonquian languages are generally divided into three groups; Eastern Algonquian, Central Algonquian, and Plains Algonquian. The Eastern Algonquian languages are the only ones that form a genetic subgroup. Central and Plains Algonquian are "areal groupings not genetic subgroups" (Goddard, 1994:203). In other words, "the languages are no closer to each other genetically than to any other Algonquian language." (Mithun, 2001:335) The following map illustrates the present extent of Algonquian languages, with the exception of Kickapoo, the only Algonquian language found in Mexico.



1.2.2 Algonquian languages in Quebec

In Quebec, Algonquian languages belong to either the Eastern or Central group. The Eastern group is confined to the Gaspé region, south of the St-Lawrence River, while the central group is found only north of the same river. The Eastern languages in Quebec are Migmaq (also spelled Micmac, Mi'kmag, and Mi'kmaw), Maleseet-Passamaquoddy (Malecite) and Western Abenaki. The Central group is represented by two dialects of Anishinabe and various dialects of CMN. Linguists call the northern dialect of Anishinabe spoken in the Abitibi region Algonquin, while the southern one spoken at Kitigan Zibi, an Indian reserve next to Maniwaki, is referred to as Nipissing Algonquin (Valentine, 2002).

1.2.3 CMN Dialects in Quebec

The CMN continuum in Quebec is commonly divided into four groups identified as Atikamekw, East Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi by linguists. However, the names of these divisions are more representative of political entities than linguistic groups. These must therefore be divided further to represent the dialectal reality and to determine where the historical dialect of Nehirawewin would be positioned.

Two basic criteria were formerly employed to categorize the various dialects. The first criterion was based on whether the inherited Proto-Algonquian¹ *k is palatalized when followed by front vowels. The second one is based on the realization of PA *r, previously reconstructed as *l (Goddard, 1994:204-205). These criteria establish Atikamekw as a separate dialect that preserves both historical phonemes as [k] and [r]. However, the criteria do not sufficiently support the common divisions of East Cree, Naskapi, and Montagnais, all of which palatalize the *k when preceded by front vowels. For one, both East Cree and a variety of Naskapi realize PA *r as [y] while Montagnais realizes the same proto-phoneme as [l] and [n], depending on where the language is spoken. Additionally, a second variety of Naskapi realizes this same proto-phoneme as [n]. A division of dialects along these lines is therefore inadequate; hence, more factors must be taken into consideration.

A few in-depth studies have been undertaken to establish a detailed classification of CMN dialects. A study by Michelson (1939) is probably the first one that explores some phonological data in detail. Pentland (1978) studied the issue diachronically while Mackenzie (1980) and Mackenzie & Clarke (1981), both mentioned above, describe numerous phonological, morphological, and lexical isoglosses across the continuum. In addition, based on a close examination of inflectional morphology and phonology, Ford et al. (1980) divide the language as spoken in Quebec into ten closely related dialects. The following table illustrates their

¹ henceforth PA

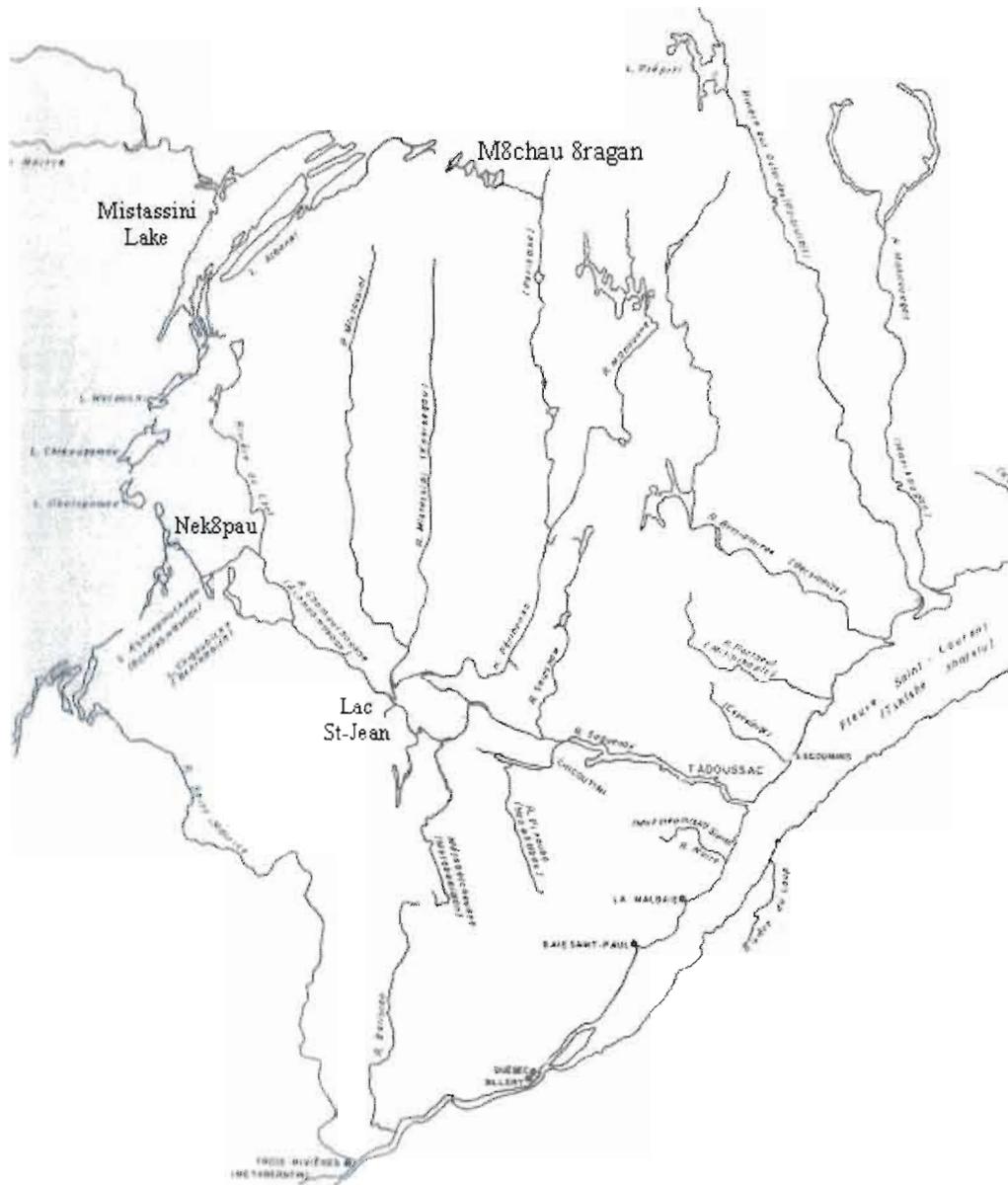
1.2.4 Location and Affiliation of Nehirawewin within the CMN Dialects

The missionary works on which we depend for our information on Nehirawewin seem precise enough to locate the area where the dialect was historically spoken. The *Jesuit Relations* of 1674 inform us that the dialect was spoken at Tadoussac, Chicoutimi, and Lac St-Jean and that it was related though distinct from the dialects spoken by those who were then called Papinachois and the Oumamiwetch (Salvucci, 2002: 238). Writing in 1726, Laure (1988: 547) mostly agrees by stating that the Nehiraw were a people related to the Anishinabe and identified them as coming from Tadoussac, Lac St-Jean, Nekoubau Lake, and Mistassini Lake. He also includes peoples called Assinipoels and the Papinachois. This mainly corresponds geographically with the drainage basin centered around the Saguenay River. Religious records, which record the names of individuals from different locales, can also be useful in ascertaining whether the dialect was indeed spoken in this area. Names of Nehirawewin origin should phonologically match the dialect represented in the Nehirawewin dictionaries of the day, the main features being the preserved Proto-Algonquian *r and the particular allophonic behavior of the Nehirawewin /k/. We are thus informed by a Jesuit named François Crépieul in 1674 that people from *Mystasini Sakahigan* (literally “Mistassini Lake”) were baptized in a streak of baptisms he carried out at *M8chau 8ragan*.⁴ Examples of names from these Mistassini people that look typically Nehirawewin include Ludovicus Sesiba8rat, Anna Arikisk8eu, and Josephus 8ra8as (Larouche, 1972: 11-16).⁵ Fabvre in 1691 notes the name of a Papinachois woman, *Elisabetham 8ar8nich* (Larouche, 1972: 76) while Crépieul in 1686 notes the names *Catharinam 8tamerimagan* and *Simone Nata8rat* even further east, by the Manicouagan River (Larouche, 1972: 94). We

⁴ This is a small lake at the head of the Peribonka river and directly east of Mistassini Lake, see map on following page. It is interesting to note that elders from Betsiamites whom Lynn Drapeau (personal communication) had worked with during the 1980’s often mentioned M8chwâwlân, the modern pronunciation of M8chau 8ragan, when narrating their winter journeys to the hinterland.

⁵ Crépieul notes that Sesiba8rat is an 8kimau, literally “chief”. Arikisk8eu translates into “toad woman”. The words 8kimau and Arikisk8eu are now *ucimàw* and *ayik-iškvew* in the modern Mistassini dialect.

similarly find many references to Nehiraw people in these same records around the Rivières des Outardes, a river directly west of Manicouagan River. We can therefore safely assume that Nehirawewin was chiefly spoken within the Lac St-Jean drainage basin and also in its periphery to the north at Mistassini Lake and to the east by Manicouagan River. The following map of the late 1600's illustrates the Saguenay basin and surrounding areas where the historical dialect of Nehirawewin was spoken.



Modern communities now within the historically Nehiraw area include Mistassini, Oujé-bougamou, Masteuiatsh, Essipit, and Betsiamites. Referring back to the dialect chart above, we notice that the language spoken within the area mentioned has long since split into at least three different dialects. Those spoken in the peripheral areas have broken away, at least phonologically, from the dialect centered

around Lac St-Jean. In this manner we can see how Mistassini and Oujé-bougamou now speak a dialect phonologically closer to the James Bay coast⁶ while the Betsiamites dialect has also shifted considerably phonologically. The people of Essipit, probably the original Tadoussac community, have experienced total language loss though speakers from Betsiamites have settled in their community. The dialect spoken in Mashteuiatsh on the shores of Lac St-Jean is phonologically closest to historical Nehirawewin. It preserves the pre-aspirate and intervocalic [h] but realizes the Nehirawewin /r/ as [l]. As with all CMN dialects in Quebec, except for the dialects of Nehirâmowin (the endonym that will henceforth be used for the Atikamekw language) it also palatalizes /k/ when followed by a front high vowel. Unfortunately, no extensive modern source exists for this dialect, the only being a 50 odd page thematically organized word-list where the most interesting entry is the word *Nehlueun*, the modern version of Nehirawewin (Harvey et Verreault, 2003:25). This word is also preserved as the verb *leluwew* in Drapeau's updated lexicographical database of Leluwewn, the dialect spoken in Betsiamites (Drapeau, 2009). The dialects of Nehirâmowin is also closely related as it preserves the /r/, but it has lost pre-aspirates in favor of a lenis/fortis distinction and does not palatalize its /k/ whatsoever (Beland, 1978). A comparison of lexical terms could also help determine what Nehirawewin's position is in CMN. For example, the PA lexical root for "pain" is realized as [te:w] in the Nehirâmowin and Mistassini dialects. However, the historical Nehirawewin and modern Leluwewn dialects realize this root as [te:y], pointing to a shared history. Nehirawewin neologisms such as the word *paspâpiwâkan* meaning "window" are also inherited by the modern dialects Mashteuiatsh (*Nehlueun*) and Betsiamites (*Leluwewn*).

⁶ This is most probably due to two factors; the fur trade and the settlement of Mistassini. The Hudson's Bay Company posts along James Bay redirected the Mistassini and Oujé-bougamou people towards that area for trade, an area where a y-dialect is spoken. Similarly, the settlement of Mistassini included peoples originally from Nichikun, Neoskweskau, and Nemiska, all y-dialect speakers. These influences would have been the catalyst for the language change undergone in these communities.

Geography, ethnonyms, historical records, and linguistic comparisons should therefore all agree that Nehirawewin is the direct ancestor of the dialect spoken at Mashteuiatsh (Nehluéun) and the one spoke in Betsiamites (Leluwéwn). Although the Mistassini dialect is probably also descended from Nehirawewin, linguistic change necessitates a thorough comparative study and limited space makes this reason enough to set the argument aside for the moment. However, although the dialect at Lac St-Jean is phonologically closer to Nehirawewin, Leluen, the dialect spoken at Betsiamites, will be the modern form used in the comparative segment of this study. This is simply due to its being far more documented than the dialect spoken at Lac St-Jean and thus more apt to provide a clear picture of modern incorporation.

1.2.5 Dialects of Nehirawewin

The Nehirawewin language as recorded in historical sources has been shown to be a collection of dialects. Pentland writes, “An examination of the two recently published Montagnais dictionaries of the seventeenth century shows that there may have been as many as a dozen different dialects recorded by Silvy and Fabvre” (Pentland, 1977: 155). It is safe to say that the evidence is entirely phonological in nature and no differences can be reported concerning morphology or the lexicon. Although not insignificant, the phonological differences are not excessive to the point where one would be pressed to judge the dialects as having been mutually incomprehensible. The variance reported lies in the realization of the PA *r and of clusters ending in *r (Pentland, 1977). These clusters were realized either as /h/ or /hr/⁷. The latter is based on the argument presented by Harvey (2005: 17) that pre-aspirates were not lost but simply not noted by French lexicographers. Harvey however, deals with the data as if it were one dialect and reconstructs the clusters as /h/. There are also some

⁷ Written as <h> and <r> respectively by Silvy and Fabvre. As a side note, it has been observed that no modern dialects of CMN realizes the PA *r clusters as /h/. This is simply an error due to the scarcity of materials documenting certain dialects and standardized spelling systems that conceal to some extent the phonological reality. The dialect as spoken in Waswanipi, Quebec realizes these cluster as /h/ and not as /hy/ as assumed by some authors. Examples are [pimhew] “he flies”, [ahapi] “net”, and [yehew] “he breathes”.

inconsistencies in the sources regarding sibilants as noted by Cowan (1977b). These differences are taken into account as dialect varieties recorded by the missionaries.

1.3 Documentation of Nehirawewin

The primary sources of Nehirawewin can be classified as either linguistic endeavors or religious works. Some are manuscripts that have yet to be transcribed and published but even these can usually be consulted in microfiche or in person if need be. Hanzelli (1969) contains a list of unpublished manuscripts compiled by French missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries and their locations. Below is an updated list of published and unpublished Nehirawewin sources.

LINGUISTIC WORKS

- *The Jesuit Relations* of Paul LeJeune. These can be found in the original French edition of the Jesuit Relations and in Thwaites edition, which includes an English translation (Thwaites, 1896-1901). Salvucci (2002) is an abridged version containing all passages of linguistic orientation found in the *Jesuit Relations*.
- *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* by Antoine Silvy, c. 1678-1690. This manuscript has been transcribed and published (Silvy, 1974) and the original is kept at the Archives publiques du Canada in Ottawa.
- *Racines montagnaises* by Bonaventure Fabvre, c. 1693. This manuscript has been transcribed and published (Fabvre, 1970) and the original is kept at the Archives du Séminaire de Québec at the Université Laval in Québec City.
- *Apparat français-montagnais* by Pierre Michel Laure, c. 1726. This manuscript has been transcribed and published (Laure, 1988) and the original is held at the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa.
- *Radicum Montanarum Silva* by Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse, c. 1766. This manuscript is a Nehirawewin-Latin dictionary. It has been recently transcribed

by John Bishop, a historian based at McGill University. It is also in the process of being translated and prepared for publishing. The original is held at the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa.

- *Haec Montaniae linguae elementa* by Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse, c. 1768. This manuscript is a grammar of Nehirawewin and is in the process of being transcribed. The original is held at the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa.
- *Lexicon correspondens Sylvae radicum Montarum* by Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse, c. 1772. This is the Latin-Nehirawewin counterpart of *Radicum Montarum Silva*. It has not yet been transcribed and is held at the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa.

RELIGIOUS WORKS

- *L'Oraison dominicale, traduite en langage des montagnars de Canada*, Enemond Massé (1632). This collection of prayers in Nehirawewin is published as part of Champlain's *Voyages au Canada*.
- *Nehiro-iriniui aiamihe massinahigan* by Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse (1767). First book ever published in Nehirawewin by Brown & Gilmore in Quebec City.
- *ABEGHJKLMNOPRSTU* by Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse (1767). This book was written to teach Nehirawewin people how to read and was published by Brown & Gilmore in Quebec City.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

The following five sources are records of baptisms, deaths, and marriages. They contain valuable nominal, biographical, cultural, and toponymical information. Left unlisted here are the numerous historical maps of Nehirawewin country containing invaluable toponymical information, the listing of which would constitute a study in itself.

- *Le registre de Sillery: 1638-1690.* (Hébert, 1994)
- *Le second registre de Tadoussac 1668-1700: transcription.* (Larouche, 1972).
- *Le troisième registre de Tadoussac: miscellaneorum liber.* (Hébert, 1976)
- *Le quatrième registre de Tadoussac: magnus liber.* (Hébert, 1982)
- *Pretiosa mors quorundam Algonquiniarum et Montanensium.* (Hébert, 2006)

Works based on the above sources include a comparative study by Trumbull (1872) of Massé's Nehirawewin translation of the Lord's prayer with translations from other Algonquian languages and four brief papers written by William Cowan examining the phonology of Nehirawewin from a historical perspective (Cowan, 1977a, 1977b, 1983, 1984, 1988). Pentland (1978) includes the dialect of Nehirawewin in his historical study of CMN dialects. However, the only in-depth study of the dialect is a phonological comparison of Nehirawewin and PA phonemes (Harvey, 2005). Barring any oversight, this is the extent of secondary sources for this historical dialect.

1.3.1 *Antoine Silvy's Dictionnaire montagnais-français*

The source used for this study is a late 17th century manuscript ascribed to a Jesuit named Antoine Silvy, transcribed by Lorenzo Angers, David E. Cooter, and Gérard McNulty, and published in 1974. His is one of two manuscripts compiled around the same time, the other being Bonaventure Fabvre's *Racines montagnaises*.

Concerning the date of Silvy's manuscript, Cooter and Simard conclude, in the preface to its transcribed version, that it was most probably compiled between 1678 and 1684, though they suggest a more precise period between 1678-1679 (Silvy, 1974: XIV). The major criterion on which this assumption is based is that Silvy would have had to have been in the Saguenay region in the company of Nehirawewin speakers to compile the dictionary. The dates suggested agree with a period when Silvy was present within this region. They therefore pay little attention to what they

call the Hudsonian period between 1684 and 1690 when Silvy travelled to Hudson's Bay in the company of troops. Their reason for setting aside this period is based on the possibility that the peoples native to that region might have spoken a different dialect, in their own words, "pourquoi colliger un dictionnaire montagnais pour des Indiens qui parlaient sûrement un dialecte différent?" (Silvy, 1974: XIII). Of course this is a real possibility, unverifiable as it may be. However, this period might still be an unwarranted omission. Guides who spoke the language in question were surely employed on this trek, possibly placing Silvy in the company of speakers for long periods of time. Surely he could have compiled the manuscript then. Besides, Cooter and Simard seem to agree that Silvy had access to some previously compiled manuscripts on which his dictionary would be based (Silvy, 1974: XVI). Unless we are certain that Silvy did not just transcribe the previous works but indeed expanded them, why place so much importance on Silvy's location during this exercise? Either way, a dictionary of the Saguenay dialects would have been without doubt greatly useful in his encounters with speakers of closely related dialects spoken around Hudson's Bay. And so although it is more probable that Silvy did compile his dictionary near the beginning of his service in the Saguenay region, nothing compels us to dismiss a later date. A more cautious estimate would therefore place the compilation of Silvy's manuscript between 1678 and 1690.

As alluded to above, Silvy's dictionary is probably based on some earlier works. In fact, Cooter and Simard agree that both Silvy and Fabvre probably had access to previously extant manuscripts. These possibly included short religious works and most probably a dictionary that had been previously compiled by Paul Le Jeune. The Jesuit Relations themselves, from the early part of the 17th century, contain many passages by Le Jeune regarding the study of Nehirawewin⁸. It is then confirmed in what is assumed to be Dequen's handwriting in the *Reglemens concernant le bon estat de la mission de Tadoussac* that LeJeune had indeed been

⁸ See page 59 of Salvucci, *American Languages in New France: Extracts from The Jesuit Relations* for an example of LeJeune's work.

compiling a dictionary that remained unfinished after his return to France in 1649 (Silvy, 1974: XII-XIII). Harvey (2005: 9) maintains the idea that both Silvy and Fabvre had access to a dictionary which is now lost, going as far as naming Le Jeune as the author of the latter without unfortunately providing any reasons to support his belief. However, direct evidence for the assumption that Silvy and Fabvre had access to a prior corpus compiled by Le Jeune can be found by examining what remains of Le Jeune's work, particularly his writings in the *Jesuit Relations*. One such example from the latter is a phrase written by LeJeune that found its way into both Silvy and Fabvre's dictionaries suffering only minor changes, e.g.:

- (1) LeJeune : etouctaian miraouinaman mir ouscamikhi je ferois bien aise de voir le Printemps (Thwaites, 1896-1901, 6: 203)
- (2) Silvy : et̕betaian mir̕skamits. si j'étais au printemps (Silvy, 1974: 32)
- (3) Fabvre : et̕betaian 2 aïen mir̕skamik mir̕sian uel 2 en mira̕inaman, en Si j'etais au printemps j'en serais aisé. (Fabvre, 1970: 64)

That the authors acquired the phrase directly from the *Jesuit Relations* should be ruled out. First, the phrase is quite random and does not make much sense in a dictionary where the bulk of the entries are independent words, not syntactic units such as this. Second, the entry following this phrase is identical in both Silvy and Fabvre's dictionary. Also, the previous entry in Silvy's dictionary is also present previous to the above example in Fabvre's dictionary, though this one is separated by some additional entries lacking in Silvy. We can therefore assume that both authors had access to LeJeune's dictionary from where they obtained not only the above example but also the shared previous and following entries in their particular ordering. Of course, the relation between Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* and Fabvre's more extensive *Racines montagnaises* should also be addressed in order to ascertain whether the similarities are in fact due to a common access to Le Jeune's manuscript or whether Fabvre freely borrowed from Silvy.

In want of any meticulous study of either dictionary I put together some informal statistics for this thesis. A quick estimate of the number of entries in Silvy's manuscript is approximately 7 632. Fabvre's manuscript in comparison contains an approximate 10 681 entries, a 40 percent difference when compared to Silvy's dictionary⁹. However, Fabvre's dictionary does not contain every entry found in Silvy's work. A close examination of entries found under the letter G of both dictionaries reveals some interesting facts. The letter G was chosen here because its section in both dictionaries is short. However, it is also ideal because voicing was non-distinctive in Nehirawewin. There therefore would have been no linguistic reason to distinguish entries using the letter K or G if their initial consonant were simply a velar stop. What we find is that the majority of entries in both dictionaries are identical. Silvy includes 91 total entries, 9 of which are not found in *Racines montagnaises*. Fabvre, on the other hand, includes a total of 114 entries, 32 of which are unique to his dictionary. There is therefore a core vocabulary of 82 entries found in both dictionaries. Had Fabvre had access to Silvy's manuscript he would have no doubt included all the entries found within the latter, simply by virtue of his attempt at compiling a more comprehensive dictionary. We can therefore conclude that Fabvre did not have access to Silvy's manuscript but both instead had first-hand access to Le Jeune's unfinished manuscript. The latter could probably be reconstructed by identifying the shared entries between the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* and *Racines montagnaises*. Given that Silvy expands Le Jeune's manuscript to a lesser extent than Fabvre, we can also conclude that his *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* is the closest thing we have to Le Jeune's original manuscript. The counterargument based on Fabvre's more extensive use of the letter <k> as

⁹ For each dictionary, the entries from 9 full pages and 1 incomplete page were added and divided by 10 in order to get an average number of entries per page. These numbers were then multiplied by the total number of pages to get a estimated number of entries for each book.

Silvy = ~47.7 entries/page x 160 pages = ~7632 entries

Fabvre = ~27.6 entries/page x 387 pages = ~10681 entries, a difference of 3049 entries

opposed to the palatalized version usually written as <tch> and <ç> will be examined below.

1.3.2 *Nehirawewin Orthography*

Nehirawewin orthography was in constant change throughout its recorded history. A comparative look at the works of Massé, Le Jeune, Silvy, Fabvre, Laure, and La Brosse can reveal interesting facts concerning these orthographical systems and the language itself. Although the first transcriptions can hardly be labelled orthographies, being mere attempts at capturing the language, successive works display an increased effort at standardizing. Take for example the following table of correspondances. Those marked (*) are forms absent from a said work but provided here based on the orthographical conventions of the said missionary.

Table 1.2 Orthographical comparisons of Nehirawewin sources

	Massé	Le Jeune	Fabvre	La Brosse
<i>my father</i>	nvtavoy	noutaoui	nʒtaʒi	*nutaui
<i>and</i>	gyez	caié	kaie/gaie	*kaie
<i>today</i>	oucachigatz	oukachigakhi	ʒkachigak/ʒkachgats	ukashigatsh

Massé's spelling of Nehirawewin was deeply influenced by his practical knowledge of French spelling and its idiosyncrasies. From what remains of Le Jeune's work we can only gather that he did not modify the spelling a great deal, though it may be assumed, due to the transmission of his work by Silvy and Fabvre, that his spelling conventions were later much revised. Silvy and Fabvre began using the character <ʒ> to represent the sequence <ov> and <ou>. They also abandoned <c> as an independent character in favour of <k> and occasionally <g>.

Fabvre also favoured <k> over the sequence <tch> and the character <ᑦ> used by Silvy to represent a palatalized /k/ and represented earlier as <kh>, <tz>, and <tch> by Le Jeune. It has been argued, on the basis of this character <k>, that Fabvre's dictionary represents an older form of Nehirawewin, one where the /k/ had not yet been palatalized to the extent found in Silvy (Harvey, 2005:12 ; Hewson, 1973:193). This opinion has overemphasized the differences between Silvy and Fabvre, which have been shown to share a large common body of entries. Harvey himself states, in reference to Fabvre's use of <k>, "occasionally the letter k is written where one would definitely expect /č/" (Harvey, 2005:35). He goes on to provide examples such as the word "tobacco", spelled by Fabvre as <kichtemau> though certainly realized with an initial /č/. This example was first reported by Michelson when he noticed the word spelled as <khichtemau> in the *Jesuit Relations* and went on to wonder whether it was not a "pseudo-correct Cree" (Michelson, 1939:90). A rather more blatant example of Fabvre's incorrect <k>'s would be the word he spells as <makikistemau> and translates as "bad tobacco" (Fabvre, 1970:133). Even in non-palatizing dialects this would be rendered /macicistemâw/, indicating that both <k>'s are in fact /c/'s. Another example is <n8kiniskan e8>, a verb meaning "to go hunt geese" (Fabvre, 1970:207). The lexical root for this word is /nût/, which becomes [nûc] due to the epenthetic /i/, yielding [nûciniskew]. No dialect of CMN would realize the word as [nûkiniskew], adding further proof that Fabvre was either standardizing his orthography by changing <tsh> to <k> or, if he was transcribing from Le Jeune's manuscript, dropping the following <h> in the <kh> sequences. Whatever his reasons were, this orthographic convention cannot be interpreted as a definitive sign that Fabvre's work represents a more conservative form of Nehirawewin.

Again, the assumption adopted for this thesis is that Silvy's dictionary is closer to Le Jeune's original manuscript and that Fabvre's dictionary does not document different dialects than those found in Silvy. The time and effort required to

tediously scour both available works, given their similarity, for examples of medials that can contribute to this study exceeds the scale of this thesis. Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* therefore provides the bulk of the examples while Fabvre's *Racines montagnaises* will only be used as a cross-reference in times of uncertainty.

The following chart presents the characters found in Silvy's manuscript and their phonological correspondances (excluding allophones) as proposed by Harvey (2005). The third column provides probable IPA correspondances. Entries used as data for this thesis will be presented throughout in reconstructed phonological forms. These will be based on Harvey's correspondances except for the phonemes /s/ and /š/, both of which will be rendered as /s/¹⁰. In addition, the circumflex over /č/ and /ê/ will be discarded to simplify the reading.

Table 1.3 Silvy's alphabet with phonological correspondances

Silvy	Harvey	IPA
a, e	a	a
a	â	a:
b, p	p	p
ch	š	ʃ
s	s	s
e	ê	e:
g, k	k	k
h	h	h
i	i, y	i, j
i	î	i:
m	m	m
n	n	n
ø	u, w	u, w
ø	û	u:
r	r	r
t	t	t
t, tsh, k	č	tʃ

¹⁰ Cowan (1977b) briefly explores this issue in Silvy's manuscript. He notes a pattern whereby some words only appear with /s/, others only with /š/, while still others vary between /s/ and /š/. The issue would have to be dealt with in a later study.

CHAPTER II

THE ALGONQUIAN VERB AND MEDIALS

This chapter will start with a terse characterization of polysynthetic languages (§2.1) and lead into a basic description of the Algonquian verb category (§2.2). An outline of Bloomfield's model for the Algonquian verb will then be provided (§2.2.1) followed by Goddard's more recent revision of the model (§2.2.2). Each morphological position and their contents will then be examined starting with the initials (§2.3), followed by finals (§2.4), and ending with a more thorough coverage of medials (§2.5). Medials as verbal classifiers will be described (§2.5.1) as well as incorporated entities (§2.5.2). The chapter ends with an account of Participant Ranking and its role in medial incorporation (§2.5.3).

2.1 Polysynthetic Languages

When you know all the parts of Speech of the languages of our Europe, and know how to combine them, you know the languages; but it is not so concerning the tongue of our Savages. Stock your memory with all the words that stand for each particular thing, learn the knot or Syntax that joins them together, and you are still only an ignoramous; with that, you can indeed make yourself understood by the Savages, although not always, but you will not be able to understand them.

Paul Le Jeune, 1635 (Salvucci, 2002: 60)

Polysynthetic languages are characterized by a high number of morphemes per word. This language type is in stark contrast to isolating languages, which barely make use of morphology but instead rely heavily on syntax to encode grammatical relations. What is therefore usually encoded as a clause by an isolating language can often be rendered as a verb by a polysynthetic language. Verbs are therefore paramount for polysynthetic languages. Le Jeune's intimate knowledge of European languages was accordingly quite inadequate to directly tackle the polysynthetic nature of Nehirawewin and he bears witness to this in the above passage. The following exemplifies the typological difference between the modern dialect of Leluwewn and French, the latter providing the translation to the first phrase.

- (4) kwâlaškamicinamw
il fait un creux dans le sol avec les mains

This single Leluwewn verb, taken from Drapeau (2009), a lexicographical database recently updated to provide the phonological forms of lexemes, was translated by the same author using ten words in French. The Leluwewn verb is marked for person, gender, number, instrument/manner, and even incorporates the entity *earth/ground*. The following section will provide what is necessary in order to parse such verbs.

2.2 Algonquian Verb Morphology

Algonquian languages are consistently head-marking languages as defined by Nichols (1986). Verbs inflect for number, gender, and person for their core arguments. Gender in Algonquian distinguishes grammatically animate from inanimate nouns, a distinction that is partially consistent with semantics though occasionally unpredictable. There are thus, morphosyntactically, four classes of verbs; intransitive verbs with a subject of animate gender (AI), intransitive verbs with an inanimate subject (II), transitive verbs with an animate object (TA), and transitive verbs with an

inanimate object (TI). The following Leluwewn examples, again drawn from Drapeau (2009) illustrate the four classes:

- (5) (AI) maškûšîw *he is hard*
- (6) (II) maškuwâw *it is hard*
- (7) (TI) maškûnamw *he hardens it with his hands*
- (8) (TA) maškûnew *he hardens it with his hands*

The final segment of the verbs above determines the class to which it belongs. These segments follow a strict pattern that permits the derivation of myriad lexemes. The template that governs this concatenation of morphemes in Algonquian languages has been described by Bloomfield and later revised by Goddard, both summarized below.

2.2.1 Bloomfield's model

Bloomfield (1946) assigns three positions within the verbal template; the root, the medial suffix, and the final suffix. Roots describe states, change of states, and actions. Final suffixes contain grammatical information such as the gender of participants and transitivity. They can also express the manner in which an action is accomplished or the manner by which a state is perceived. Inflections are then added that express person, number, tense, and mode.

A verb therefore consists minimally of a root and a final suffix, a medial suffix being optional and always occurring in between. He also distinguishes between primary and secondary derivation, the later involving a derivation based on an already derived verb stem. Interestingly, Bloomfield also states that some nouns could be devoid of a root, proposing that dependent noun stems, inalienably possessed entities

and kinship terms, are in fact medial suffixes that could also fill the medial suffix position in verbal derivation. Bloomfield's model can be illustrated as follows:

Table 2.1 Bloomfield's Model for Primary and Secondary Derivation

[[root + (medial suffix) + final suffix] + (medial suffix) + final suffix]
[[primary derivation] secondary derivation]

2.2.2 Goddard's model

Goddard (1990) revises the template proposed by Bloomfield. He also postulates three positions - the initial, the medial, and the final - though he differs in how he describes the combination of these. He distinguishes primary stems from secondary stems, proposing that primary stems may minimally consist of an initial. A more complex primary stem may additionally contain a final with an optionally intervening medial. Initials and finals may be derived from verb or noun stems and medials may be derived from noun stems. Accordingly, a verb cannot contain two medials. One medial would be part of either the derived initial or final. Derived initials may then form new primary stems. This marks an important departure from Bloomfield's model where the concept of derived initial is absent. Goddard's derived initials would simply be, in Bloomfield's model, stems from which a secondary derivation is produced. Goddard also differs from Bloomfield by identifying dependent noun stems as initials.

Secondary stems in this model are exclusive to cases of valency change and transposition. Secondary stems therefore consist of a primary stem (or theme) plus a final. Cases of valency decrease caused by incorporation are limited to primary stems, where the transitive stem would result in a derived initial onto which the incorporated noun is concatenated as a medial. Derivation of antipassive, beneficiary, or causative

forms would all qualify as secondary stems – as would the transposing of nouns into verbs. Goddard’s model of primary and secondary stems can be illustrated thus:

Table 2.2 Goddard’s Model for Primary and Secondary Stem

PRIMARY STEM	PRIMARY STEM WITH DERIVED INITIAL
[initial + ((medial) + final)]	[initial + (medial) + (final)]
[primary stem]	[[derived initial] + (medial) + final]
	[primary stem]
SECONDARY STEM (transposition/valency change)	
[initial + (medial) + final]	
[[primary stem] + final]	
[secondary stem]	

2.3 Initials

Initials represent actions, states, and changes of states. As such, they often correspond to adjectives and adverbs in isolating languages. The following examples from Drapeau (2009) illustrate the three types of initials.

(9) STATE:

cilipikašuw

[cilip – kašu] – w

[fast – flame.AI] – 3

it burns fast

(10) ACTION:

utâmaycew

[utâm – ay – ce] – w

[hit – INST – Antipass.AI] – 3

he hits

(11) CHANGE of STATE:

acûpaliw

[acû – pali] – w

[decrease – FIN.AI] – 3
it decreases, diminishes

2.4 Finals

As alluded to above, finals determine the verb class. Some finals express nothing besides this morphosyntactic class while others convey some meaning, hence the partitioning of finals into two groups, abstract and concrete finals. Concrete finals express the manner in which a verb is accomplished or the instrument used to accomplish an action. More complex concrete finals are those derived from existing verbs which are suffixed to initials and contribute the original meaning of the verb from which it is derived to the newly formed verb. These are called derived finals. The following examples from Drapeau (2009) illustrate the two types.

(12) ABSTRACT FINAL: **milwâw**
 [milw – â] – w
 [good – II] – 3
it is good

(13) CONCRETE FINALS

UNDERIVED: **mâkunamw¹**
 [mâkw – nam] – w
 [compress – manually.TI] – 3
he compresses it with his hands

DERIVED: **nîpîšašinâtew**
 [nîpîš – ašinâte] – w
 [leaf – written/drawn.II] – 3
it is a drawn leaf, a design representing a leaf

¹ The 3rd person marker /-w/ is dropped in the modern language after most nasal segments (it is pronounced as /u/ after animate subject verb finals such as –sin–) although there is evidence it was preserved in the historical dialect of Nehirawewin since Laure records it almost consistently in his 1726 dictionary of the language.

2.5 Medials

Bloomfield (1946) and Goddard (1990) agree that medials are optional within the Algonquian verb and this optional position can express either an incorporated entity or a verbal classifier.

2.5.1 Verbal Classifiers

A single one of our adjectives in French is associated with all our substantives. For example, we say, "the bread is cold, the tobacco is cold, the iron is cold;" but in our Savage tongue these adjectives change according to the different kinds of substantives... takabisiou nouspouagan, "my tobacco pipe is cold;"... tacascouan misticou, "the wood is cold." Paul Le Jeune, 1635 (Salvucci, 2002: 60)

Verbal classifiers describe the shape or substance of a participant. The following example is drawn from Silvy's dictionary (1974:37). Recall that the Nehirawewin data has been phonologically reconstructed using historical and modern sources.

- (14) **iskweyekanw**
 [iskwe – ek – an] – w
 [edge – sheet.like – II] – 3
it is the edge of something sheet-like

- (15) **iskwâpecinamw**
 [iskw – âpek – nam] – w
 [raise – string.like – TI] – 3
he raises something string-like

These examples clearly illustrate the use of a verbal classifiers that describes the shape of entities. The medials used in the above examples are *-ek-*, which

classifies something as ‘sheet-like’, and *-âpek-*, something string-like. Many other verbal classifiers were in use in Nehirawewin such as *-âskw-*, a medial that describes entities as ‘long & wooden’; and *-âpisk-*, which classifies entities of mineral origin.

2.5.2 *Incorporated Entities*

Likewise the verb nisiicatchin, means “I am cold;” the noun nissitai, means “my feet;” if I say nisiicatchin nissitai, to say “my feet are cold,” they will understand me; but I shall not understand them when they say Nitatagouasisin, which is the proper way to say, “my feet are cold.”

Paul Le Jeune, 1635 (Salvucci, 2002: 60-61)

The medial position can also contain incorporated entities. Although many of these phonological segments are identical or at least resemble independent nouns, some have no relation whatsoever to the noun they denote. For this reason the word noun is avoided in favour of the word entity. The following example, also drawn from Silvy’s manuscript (1974:53), will illustrate the process.

(16) **kinupituniw**

[kinu – pitun – i] – w
 [long – arm(s) – AI] – 3
he has long arms

(17) **kanawâpukew²**

[kanawâp – uke] – w
 [watch – habitation – AI] – 3
he housesits, he watches over the house

² Medials will always be glossed along with their post-medial accretions such as *-e-*, *-(a)k-*, and *or -ek-*.

Example (16) illustrates the incorporation of *-pitun-*, which expresses the entity ‘arm(s)’. This medial is clearly related to the dependent noun stem *-spitun-* which also means “arm” though this kind of obvious relation is not always the case. Example (17), on the other hand, illustrates the incorporation of *-uke-*, meaning “house/habitation”. This medial seems to be completely unrelated to the independent lexeme of the same meaning, *mîciwâhp*.

2.5.3 Medials and Participant Ranking

The process of medial concatenation in Algonquian languages is an ordered process based on a principle of participant ranking (Drapeau, 2008). What can be encoded as a medial is restricted to those entities that satisfy a number of criteria relating to their rank as participants in a verb. This ranking is based on three hierarchies that together work to determine the lowest ranking participant – the only participant that can be encoded as a medial. What follows summarizes this process as outlined in Drapeau (2008).

The first and most important of the three hierarchies is the **Animacy Hierarchy** (Siewierska, 2004). This hierarchy ranks participants according to their intrinsic animacy as such: human > animate > inanimate > abstract. Without exception, only the lowest ranked participants may be encoded as medials. It should be clear that the grammatical animacy (gender) does not always correspond to semantic animacy.

Once ranked according to animacy, the participants of an event are then ranked by means of the **Thematic Hierarchy**. This one ranks participants according to their thematic roles as follows: Agent > Patient > Theme > Goal/Location/Instrument. Exceptionally, higher ranking participants are encoded as medials, provided they rank lower on the animacy scale. Given that Algonquian languages do not permit inanimate agents (ex.: natural causes) as subjects of

transitive clauses, these are often encoded as medials or finals. Agents that may therefore surface as medials rank lower on the Animacy Hierarchy.

The third ranking is based on a relation that may occur between participants and expresses a **possessor/possessed** or **whole/part** relation, with the possessed or part ranking lower than the possessor or whole. This relation is independent of the Thematic Hierarchy and so suffices, provided it does not violate the Animacy Hierarchy, to determine the possibility for a participant to be incorporated in the medial position.

The following examples illustrate the workings of participant ranking in determining the possibility of encoding a participant as a medial. All cases of incorporation below, except for example (25), are taken from Drapeau (2008).

(18) **kûna cîšûškâkuw**

[kûn] – a [cîšû – sk(aw) – ku] – w
 [snow.AN] – obv. [warm – using.body/feet.TA – INV.AI] – 3
the snow keeps him warm

Example (18) contains two participants, “snow” and a third person animate subject. “Snow” is the Agent of the clause and the subject is the Patient. Of importance here is that the Agent is also innately (not grammatically) inanimate and as mentioned above, inanimate Agents may not assume subject position in Algonquian languages. It can thus be assigned to the medial position of the verb, yielding the subject position to the Patient which also ranks above “snow” on the animacy scale. The process yields the following verb:

(19) **cîšuwâkunew**

[cîšuw – âkune] – w
 [warm – snow] – 3
he is kept warm by the snow

The following example (20) contains two human participants, thus ranking equally on the Animacy Hierarchy.

- (20) **awâssa ašamew**
 [awâss] – a [ašam] – ew
 [child.AN] – obv. [feed] – 3.3'
He feeds a child

However, the participant “child” is a Patient ranking lower on the Thematic Hierarchy than the subject. Since the participant ranking can not be established using the animacy scale alone, the Thematic Hierarchy is called into play, permitting “child” to be incorporated and encoded as a medial.

- (21) **ašamâwsuw**
 [ašam – âwšw] – w
 [feed – child] – 3
He feeds a child

The above example (21) displays the interaction between the Thematic and Animacy Hierarchies. The following illustrates a case of possession.

- (22) **uškâliwa ne awâss umassina**
 [ušk – â] – liwa [ne] [awâss] [u – massin – a]
 [new– II] – obv [that.DEM] [child.AN] [3.poss – shoe.IN – pl]
The child's shoes are new

In example (22) the Thematic Hierarchy is of no use and other means must be employed to determine which of the participants may be encoded as a medial. The Animacy Hierarchy can be used, indicating that “shoes” ranks below “child” and should thus be incorporated. More importantly however, there is a possessional relation between the “child”, possessor, and the “shoes”, thing possessed. This

relation also correctly determines that “shoes”, ranking lower on this scale, must be encoded as the medial.

- (23) **uškassinew³ awâss**
 [usk- assine] – w [awâss]
 [new – shoe(s)] – 3 [child.AN]
The child has new shoes

Example (23) illustrates an agreement between the Animacy Hierarchy and the relation of possession. A more explicit example can illustrate the influence of possession, for instance:

- (24) **kanwelimew iškwewa nâpew**
 [kanwelim] – ew [iškwew] – a [nâpew]
 [keep.TA] – 3.3' [woman.AN] – obv [man.AN.]
The man is keeping a woman

In example (24) the Animacy Hierarchy becomes useless since both “woman” and “man” rank as human participants. In this case, the “woman” is kept by the “man”, making this participant the one to be incorporated as example (23) illustrates. This agrees with the Thematic Hierarchy which would rank “woman” as patient, hence the lower ranked participant.

- (25) **kanweliškwewew nâpew**
 [kanwelim – škwewe] – w [nâpew]
 [keep – woman] – 3 [man.AN]
The man is keeping a woman

³ This is also said **ussimassinew**, by younger speakers in Betsiamites, pointing to a change in the medial itself. This form was not gathered by Drapeau (1991).

Participant ranking is therefore an interplay between the Animacy and Thematic Hierarchies, as well as any possessional relation that may occur between participants. It remains to be seen if this description of medials and participant ranking applies equally to Nehirawewin as it does to the modern dialect of Leluwewn. The hypothesis is that the historical dialect should function identically to the modern one when it comes to participant ranking. This is because the hierarchies involved are either universal across languages, such as the Thematic Hierarchy, or they apply to the entire Algonquian family, such as the Animacy Hierarchy and the possessor/possessed-whole/part relationship.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND ANALYSIS

The objective of this study is to provide a description of medials within Nehirawewin based on Antoine Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* (1974). The data will then be compared to the modern dialect of Leluwewn, spoken by the people of Betsiamites. The data for the modern dialect will come from Drapeau's *Base de données lexicales de la langue innue* (2009). The data collected from Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* amounted to 885 entries, out of which 833 contained medials that were identifiable. The remaining entries seem to contain medials though the phonological shape and semantic content of these remain uncertain. The following will spell out questions specific to this study (§3.1) and provide details concerning the methodology (§3.2). The following sections will focus on the analysis of these medials and their host verbs along with a comparative look at the modern dialect of Leluwewn. Section (§3.3) will present the medial types encountered in the historical Nehirawewin data as well as the types of hosting initials found. Section (§3.4) will present the medial inventory of Silvy's Nehirawewin dictionary. Section (§3.5) discusses the concept of medial lifecycle, whereby a medial may phonologically erode, be repaired, be replaced, or lost as the language changes through time. Section (§3.6) addresses the question of Participant Ranking in order to

determine whether or not this analysis applies equally to Nehirawewin as it does to the modern dialect of Leluwewn. Finally section (§3.7) briefly explores the metaphorical and metonymical usage of medials in Nehirawewin.

3.1 Research Questions

The research objective for this study can be further defined by a few specific questions. Being a study of diachronic nature, these questions deal with the comparison of the historical data with the modern dialect. Of particular interest is the status of the medial inventory. The following questions will be addressed within the scope of this study.

- What types of initials can host medials in Nehirawewin and how do these compare to contemporary Leluwewn?
- What are the types of medials available and are these the same as the modern dialect?
- What types of verbs result from medial use?
- Does the system of participant ranking for medial incorporation apply equally to historical Nehirawewin?
- Is the historical inventory of medials identical to the modern inventory?
- Has the phonological form of these medials changed?

3.2 Methodology

The steps in this study included the creation of a database on FileMaker to store the numerous examples from Silvy's dictionary. Every verb found in the corpus that identifiably contained a medial was entered into this database for further analysis.

Once the corpus had been exhausted, the next step involved an attempt at identifying every medial contained in each verb. Before this could be done, the

orthographic conventions of Silvy's dictionary had to be addressed. In order to render the entries practical, a decision was made to phonologically reconstruct the data using numerous historical and modern sources. Henceforth, the data presented for Silvy will be given in their reconstructed forms. The next step in preparing the data was identifying the entries' morphosyntactic verb classes and then to analyse the entries morphologically in terms of root, initial, medial, and final. This was followed by an identification of the participants and their semantic content in order to verify the mechanism of participant ranking in this dialect. This being accomplished, the prepared data was now in a position to offer answers to the above stated research questions.

3.3 Initial and medial types

3.3.1 Initial types

Drapeau (2008) states concerning Leluwewn that "almost any type of initial may act as the base in verbs hosting medials". No specific type is singled out as incompatible so the statement could have probably been stronger. In any case, the various initial types provided with examples in her paper included simple bound roots, particles, AI verb stems, TI verb stems, TA verb stems, and nouns. Following are the Nehirawewin examples followed by the page number where they occur in Silvy's dictionary. These will illustrate the initial types mentioned above. Initials based on numerals are also provided as examples below.

i) Simple bound roots

(26) **natawâhcikwew** (p. 87)

[nataw – âhcikwe] – w

[go – seal.AI] – 3

he *hunts seal*

(27) **nîskaskamikâw** (p. 73, 82, 90)

[nîsk – askamik - â] – w

[humid – land - II] – 3

it (land) is humid

ii) *Particles*

(28) **nîpiteminew** (p. 93)

[nîpite – mine] – w

[in.one.row – fruit/grain.AI] – 3

he places the seeds/grains in a row (as in sowing)

(29) **napateniscew** (p. 85)

[napate – nisce] – w

[one.side – use.hand.AI] – 3

he uses one hand

iii) *Numerals*

(30) **nîsuskwewew** (p. 91)

[nîsw – (i)skwewe] – w

[two – women.AI] – 3

he has two women/wives

(31) **peyukwâpiskâw** (p. 5)

[peyukw – âpisk – â] – w

[one – mineral – II] – 3

it is a single one (object of mineral composition), there is one (object of mineral composition)

iv) *AI stems*

(32) **kimutipew** (p. 53)

[kimuti – pe] – w

[steal – liquid.AI] – 3

he steals s.t. to drink

- (33) **sîhkacitihcewaciw** (p. 145)
 [sîhkaci – tihce – waci] – w
 [be.cold – hands – cold/freeze] – 3
his hands are cold

v) *TI stems*

- (34) **tâpikwahimîcisew** (p. 5)
 [tâpikwah – mîcise] – w
 [thread – beads.AI] – 3
he threads beads

- (35) **pahkunaskwayew** (p. 122)
 [pahkun – askwaye] – w
 [peel – bark.AI] – 3
he peels bark

vi) *TA stems*

- (36) **piciskamisciwe** (p. 129)
 [piciskam – sciwe] – w
 [masticate – viscous.AI] – 3
he masticates s.t. viscous

- (37) **nûcihiskwewew** (p. 96)
 [nûcih – iskwewe] – w
 [be.busy.with – woman.AI] – 3
he is busy with a woman (pursuing, courting, making love)

vii) *Nouns*

- (38) **ascîwâkamiw** (p. 19)

[ascîw – âkam - i] – w
 [earth – liquid - II] – 3
it (liquid) is earthy

(39) **umîsihkumasew** (p. 73)

[umîsihkum – ase] – w
 [its.fleas – skin.AI] – 3
its skin is marked by fleas

The types of initials that host medials in Nehirawewin are therefore the same as those permitted in Leluwewn. It is safe to assume that in both the historical dialect of Nehirawewin and the modern dialect of Leluwewn any type of initial can be used as a host for medials. No difference can be noted between both dialects at this level, whether morphological or phonological. We now turn to medial types found in both dialects.

3.3.2 Medial types

Medials in Leluwewin can be divided into two main types, verbal classifiers and medials that represent entities. Of the second type, Drapeau (2008) classifies them semantically into groups representing body parts, objects, living beings, and environmental entities. These could also be partitioned morphologically into entities that are inalienably possessed entities (mainly, but not limited to body parts) and those that are not. The following are a few Nehirawewin examples from Silvy's dictionary that illustrate classifiers.

(40) **iskwâpiskâw** (p. 39)

[iskw – âpisk - â] – w
 [certain.length – mineral - II] – 3
it (object of mineral composition) is such a length

(41) **kisâskutew** (p. 48)

[kis – âskw – te] – w
 [hot – long.wooden – heat.II] – 3
it (a long and wooden object) is hot

(42) **aciwecisamw** (p. 20)

[aciw – ek – sam]¹ – w
 [reduce – sheet.like – cut.TI] – 3
he reduces the size of it (a sheet-like object) by cutting

The following examples from Silvy's Nehirawewin data illustrate incorporated entities listed following Drapeau's (2008) semantic groupings.

i) *Body parts*

(43) **napatekâtekâpawiw** (p. 82)

[napate – kâte – kâpawi] – w
 [one.side – leg(s) – stand.AI] – 3
he stands on one leg

(44) **mihkwanwew** (p. 66, 74)

[mihkw – anwe] – w
 [red – cheek(s).AI] – 3
he has red cheeks

ii) *objects*

(45) **uskakuhpew** (p. 104)

[usk – akuhpe] – w
 [new – tunic.AI] – 3
he has/wears a new tunic

(46) **maskawiminacisiw** (p. 63)

¹ TI and TA themes, -am- and -aw- respectively, will always be glossed along with the final to which they are suffixed.

[maskaw – minak – si] – w
 [hard – fruit/grain – AI] – 3
it is a hard grain

iii) *living beings*

(47) **papewaskwew** (p. 123)

[papew – askwe] – w
 [charm – bear.AI] – 3

he enchants a bear, he utters an incantation to successfully hunt a bear

(48) **kanawâwasuw** (p. 33)

[kanaw – âwasw] – w
 [keep – child.AI] – 3

he keeps a child

iv) *environmental entities*

(49) **misistikweyâw** (p. 72)

[mis – stikwe – â] – w
 [big – river – II] – 3

it is a big river, there is a big river

(50) **iripeskamikâw** (p. 38)

[iripe – (a)skamik – â] – w
 [slanted – land – II] – 3

it (land) slopes, there is a slope in the land

The types of medials found in the modern dialect of Leluwewn are also the same types used in historical Nehirawewin. Once again, no typological difference can be noted between the historical and modern dialects at this level although some phonological dissimilarities will be explored further below.

3.3.3 Types of resulting verbs

All four verbs types are derived through medial use in contemporary Leluwewn and historical Nehirawewin. The Nehirawewin examples that follow illustrate the four verb types.

i) II verbs

- (51) **sîwâkamiw** (p. 28)
 [sîw – âkam – i] – w
 [salty – liquid – II] – 3
it (liquid) is salty

ii) AI verbs

- (52) **tahkupituniw** (p. 13)
 [tahkw – pitun – i] – w
 [short – arm(s) – AI] – 3
he has short arms

iii) TI verbs

- (53) **iskwâpecipitamw** (p. 39)
 [iskw – âpek – pitam] – w
 [raise – string.like – pull.TI] – 3
he pulls it up (a sting-like object)

iv) TA verbs

- (54) **kâsistikwânenuw** (p. 33)
 [kâsî – stikwâne – n] – ew
 [wipe – head – manually.TA] – 3.3'
he wipes his head

3.4 Medial Inventory

In total, 135 different medials were identified from Silvy's Nehirawewin data, many realized through various allomorphs. Drapeau (2008) identifies 235 medials from the lexical database of contemporary Leluwewn. Although Drapeau's modern dictionary of Leluwewn (1991) was far more exhaustive than the historical dialect and contained a far larger number of medials than the less exhaustive historical sources, it is interesting to note that the latter still contained 20 medials absent from the modern data. The following table lists the Nehirawewin medials found in common with the modern dialect. The medials are listed with their respective post-medial accretions (**e**, **(a)k**, or a combination of both) along with their allophorps, modern Leluwewn equivalents, meanings, and etymologies when possible. Inalienably possessed nouns will be listed as unpossessed stems.

Table 3.1 Nehirawewin Medials from Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* in common with medials from Drapeau's *Dictionnaire français-montagnais*

Nehirawewin medial and allomorphs	Leluwewn equivalents	Meaning	Origin
-âhcikwe- ²	-âcikwe-	<i>seal</i>	âhcikw
-akâm-	-akâm-	<i>space</i>	
-akuhp-	-(a)kupe-	<i>tunic</i>	akuhp
-âkune- -âkunak- -âkw-	-âkune- -âkunak- -âkw-	<i>snow</i>	kûna
-akuniskwehune-	-(a)kuniškwewn-	<i>hat</i>	akuniskwehun
-âkwe-	-âkwe-	<i>porcupine</i>	kâkw
-akwe-	-akwe-	<i>snare</i>	
-(a)miskwe-	-(a)miškwe-	<i>beaver</i>	amiskw
-anwe-	-nwe-	<i>cheek</i>	-anway-
-âp-	-âp-	<i>eye(s)</i>	wâpiw
-(a)pahkwe-	-pakwe-	<i>roofing</i>	apahkway

² This is not to be confused with the medial -âcikwe-, from the noun *nicikw*, meaning "otter" and which is homophonous with the medial meaning "seal" in modern Leluwewn. Unfortunately the historical data did not contain any examples of the medial for otter.

-âpâw- -âpâwe-	-âpû- -âpwe-	<i>liquid</i>	
-âpe- -âpek-	-âpe- -âpek-	<i>string</i>	<i>possibly apis</i>
-âpisk-	-âpišk-	<i>mineral/metallic</i>	
-âpiskane-	-âpissikane- -âpissikan-	<i>jaw</i>	-tâpiskan-
-âpite-	-âpite-	<i>tooth</i>	-îpit-
-âpuswe-	-âpušwe-	<i>hare</i>	wâpus
-apuye-	-puye-	<i>paddle</i>	apuy
-ârwe-	-âlwe- -âlwe-	<i>tail</i>	
-ase-	-aše-	<i>skin</i>	-asakay-
-asâme-	-šâme-	<i>snowshoe</i>	asâm
-ascek-	-assek-	<i>marsh</i>	mascekw
-(a)scihkwe-	-ssikwe-	<i>pot</i>	ascihkw
-âscikan-	-âssikan- -âssikane-	<i>chest</i>	-skâscikan-
-ascisine-	-(a)ssine-	<i>shoe(s)</i>	mascisin
-âsiyâne-	-tâšyân-	<i>shorts</i>	âsiyân
-âste-	-âšte- -âštak- -âštekw-	<i>bough</i>	<i>possibly</i> astâpâhkwan
-(a)skamik- -skam-	-škamik- -škam-	<i>land</i>	
-(a)skate- -skat-	-škate-	<i>abdomen/belly</i>	-skatay-
-askwe- -skw-	-aškwe-	<i>bear</i>	maskw
-(a)skw- -âskw-	-(a)šksw-	<i>sky/cloud(s)</i>	wâskw
-âskw-	-âšksw-	<i>long & wooden</i>	
-askwaye-	-škwaye-	<i>bark</i>	waskway
-âste- -âstawe- ³	-âšte- -âštwe-	<i>light</i>	wâstew
-astise-	-aštiš-	<i>mitten(s)</i>	astis
-atapak-	-tape-	<i>root</i>	watapiy
-ate-	<i>stomach</i>	-ate-	mitay
-(a)tihkwe-	-(a)tikwe-	<i>caribou/reindeer</i>	atihkw

³ This might be a combination of two medials, -âst- and -awe-, see Siebert, «Proto-Algonquian *na:tawe:wa 'massasauga': Some False Etymologies and Alleged Iroquian Loanwords»

-atin-	-atin-	<i>mountain/hill</i>	
-âwkane-	-âwkun-	<i>spine</i>	wâwkan
-âwe-	-âwe-	<i>egg</i>	wâwi
-âwak-	-âwk-		
-awe-	-we-	<i>fur</i>	
-âwahk-	-âwk-	<i>sand/earth</i>	
-âwasw-	-âušw-	<i>child</i>	awâsis
-cest-	-cešt-	<i>nerve</i>	-cest-
-cikwe-	-acikwe-	<i>phlegm</i>	acikw
-cisce-	-cisse-	<i>buttocks/anus</i>	-cisc-
-cistemâwe-			
-cistemâwak-	-cištemâwe-	<i>tobacco</i>	cistemâw
-cistemâw-	-cištemâwc-		
-ciwâhpe-	-cwâpe-	<i>house</i>	mîciwâhp
	-mîcwâpe-		
-ek-	-ek-	<i>sheet-like/2D</i>	
-erikume-	-elikume-	<i>nostril(s)</i>	-terikum-
-ewak-	-ewk-	<i>flesh</i>	
-hcikwan-	-cikun-	<i>knee(s)</i>	-hcikwan-
-hcikwane-	-cikune-		
-hkwe-	-kwe-	<i>face</i>	-tâstamihkw-
-hrape-	-alape-	<i>net</i>	ahrapij
-htak-	-tak-	<i>wood</i>	
-htawake-	-tûce-	<i>ear(s)</i>	-htawakay-
-iskutawe-			
-skutawak-	-iškutwe-	<i>fire</i>	iskutew
-iskwewe-	-iškwe-	<i>woman</i>	iskwew
-kam-	-kam-		
-âkam-	-âkam-	<i>liquid</i>	
-kamik-	-kamik-	<i>house/room</i>	
-karasite-	-kalašte-	<i>sole</i>	
-kâte-	-kâte-	<i>leg(s)</i>	-skât-
-kuhtâkan-	-kutakan-	<i>trachea</i>	-kuhtâkan-
	-kutakane-		
-kute-	-kute-	<i>nose/beak</i>	-skut-
-kwaye-			
-kwayawe-	-kweye-	<i>neck</i>	-kwayaw-
-mahcesiwe-	-cešw-	<i>fox</i>	mahcesiw
-mihkwe-	-ikw-	<i>blood</i>	mihkw
-mine-	-mine-	<i>fruit/grain</i>	

-minak-	-minak-		
-mûswe- -swe-	-mušwe-	<i>moose</i>	mûsw
-nisce-	-nisse-	<i>hand</i>	
-nisce-	-isse-	<i>goose</i>	niska
-pak-	-pak-	<i>leaf</i>	
-pe- -pek- -pa-	-pe- -pek-	<i>liquid</i>	nipiy
-pihkwe- -pihkuk-	-pikwe-	<i>powder</i>	pihkw
-pime- -pimite ⁴	-pime-	<i>grease/fat/oil</i>	pimiy
-piskwane-	-piškune- -piškun-	<i>back</i>	-spiskwan-
-pitun- -pitune-	-pitun- -pitune-	<i>arm(s)</i>	-spitun-
-rawe- -raw-	-lwe-	<i>torso/body</i>	
-rihricitihcâne-	-lîlîciticâne-	<i>finger(s)</i>	rihricitihcân
-scîsikwe-	-ssîšikwe-	<i>eye(s)</i>	-scîsikw-
-sciwe- -sciwak-	-sswe- -ssuk-	<i>viscous</i>	asasciw
-sciwane-	-ssune-	<i>nose</i>	-sciwân-
-sek-	-šek-	<i>cliff</i>	
-sek-	-šek ⁵	<i>metallic</i>	
-sikâtihp-	-šakatipe-	<i>crown</i>	-sikâtihp-
-sikw-	-šikw-	<i>ice</i>	miskumiy
-sine-	-sine-	<i>stone</i>	asiniy
-sipe-	-šipe-	<i>duck</i>	sîsîp
-sit- -site-	-št- -šite- -šte-	<i>feet</i>	-sit-
-skahtikw- -skahtikwe-	-katikw-	<i>forehead</i>	-skahtikw-
-skwe-	-škwe-	<i>head</i>	
-stawe-	-štuye-	<i>beard</i>	<i>possibly related to medial -aw-</i>

⁴ This medial is of Anishinabe origin. Silvy's entry was probably originally provided by a bilingual informant.

⁵ This medial is only found in one verb, *tewešekaycew* "il sonne la cloche"

-stikwâne-	-štikwâne-	<i>head</i>	-stikwân-
-stikwe-	-štikwe- -štikw-	<i>river</i>	
-stimwe- -stimw-	-štīmwe-	<i>dog</i>	
-tâmiĥkan- -tâmiĥkane-	-âmakan-	<i>cheekbone(s)</i>	-tâmiĥkan-
-tâse-	-tâše-	<i>sock(s)</i>	-tâs-
-tasiscitâne-	-taštâne-	<i>calf</i>	-tasiscitân-
-tehe-	-teye-	<i>heart</i>	-tehiy-
-teraniwe-	-telnwe-, - telnîwe-	<i>tongue</i>	-teraniy-
-tiĥce-	-tice-, -tici-	<i>hand(s)</i>	-tiĥciy-
-tiĥkw-	-tikwaye-	<i>armpit(s)</i>	-tiĥkway-
-tiĥpe-	-tipe-	<i>brain</i>	-tiĥp-
-tukan-	-tukane-	<i>hip joint</i>	-tukan-
-tun-	-tune-, -tun-	<i>mouth</i>	-tun-
-uk-	-uc-	<i>house</i>	
-wat-	-ute ⁶	<i>bag</i>	-îwat-
-ute-	-ute ⁷	<i>boat</i>	ût
-wite-	-ûte-	<i>antler(s)</i>	

Many phonological differences between the historical and modern dialects can be noted in the table above. These differences will be addressed below (§3.5). As mentioned above, some medials found in the Nehirawewin data did not correspond to any modern medial in Leluwewn. The following table lists these medials.

Table 3.2 Nehirawewin Medials from Silvy's *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* not found in Drapeau's *Dictionnaire français-montagnais*

Nehirawewin medials and their allomorphs	Meaning	Origin
-âcikan ⁸	<i>stomach</i>	mâscikan

⁶ *pîuteym* "il jette son sac à l'intérieur avant d'entrer (signe qu'il a pris du gibier)"

⁷ *pîkutešimu* "il brise son canot au contact d'un objet, d'une surface" and *šekuteym* "il glisse, introduit qqch dans le canot renversé pour le portage"

⁸ There is only one example of this medial Silvy's dictionary but it does seem to correspond with Lacombe's (1874) entry *Estomac, mâskikan*

-anakwe-	<i>sleeve</i>	anakway
-âpisehw-	<i>earrings</i>	tâpisehun
-ascepahkwaye-	<i>bark roofing</i>	wascepahkway
-asce-	<i>country/land</i>	asciy
-atiman-	<i>snowshoe harness</i>	atiman
-kwanak-	<i>feather</i>	mîkwan
-hte-	<i>earlobe</i>	<i>possibly</i> mihtawakay
-kaskwe-	<i>nail/claw</i>	
-kwe-	<i>neck</i>	mikwayaw
-mîcise-	<i>bead</i>	mîcis
-natuhkurune-	<i>medecine</i>	natuhkurun
-pahkwesikane-, -pahkwesikanak-	<i>bread</i>	pahkwesikan
-pîstewe-	<i>bubbles/foam</i>	pîstew
-racesk-	<i>bark</i>	waraceskw
-scise-	<i>lip</i>	miscisiy
-tahkwak-	<i>star</i>	atahkw
-upîwayak-	<i>hair/fur</i>	upîway
-wîw-	<i>wife</i>	wîwa
-yawew ⁹	<i>animal (body)</i>	mîyaw

The absence of the above medials in the modern source should not be taken as a guaranteed sign of their absence in the spoken language.

3.5 Medial Lifecycle

An interesting aspect of a diachronic study of medials is that it allows us to explore their origins and the changes they go through; in other words, their lifecycles. It is usually taken for granted that medials originate from independent nouns although some of these may no longer be in existence. Medials like *-sine-* clearly relate to their nouns of origin, *asiniy* in this case. Other medials, due to phonological processes such as apheresis, are harder to track. For example, the medial *-pe-/-pek-* probably originates from the noun *nipiy* through such a process. Dropping the initial consonant or syllable and adding post-medial accretions *-e-* and/or *-ak-* and occasionally pre-

⁹ not to be confused with the medial *-rawe-*

medial accretions such as *-â-* can obscure a medial's origins, but careful observation can often reveal the source. Other medials, such as *-wit-* meaning "antlers" seem to have no phonologically corresponding nouns. It is safe to assume that their nouns of origin have fallen into disuse, leaving behind an enduring medial. Mithun writes "compounds and their constituents may have different lifespans in the lexicon." (1984: 853) This statement could safely be amended to say that medials and their nouns of origins also have different lifespans in the lexicon.

Interestingly, not all medials originate from nouns. One medial *-âp-*, meaning "eyes" is interesting in that it takes its origins from a verb. Its life without doubt began as a final derived from the verb *wâpiw* meaning "to see" as in the following Nehirawewin verb:

- (55) **nahâpiw** (p. 82)
 [nah - âpi] - w
 [proper - see.AI] - 3
he sees properly

However, the final eventually gave rise to a medial that took on referential status and came to mean "eyes" as in the following examples:

- (56) **wâseyâpiw** (p. 98, 104)
 [wâse - âp - i] - w
 [clear - eye(s) - AI] - 3
he has light-coloured eyes

- (57) **kîhcipâpiw** (p. 57)
 [kîhcip - âp - i] - w
 [twitch - eye(s) - AI] - 3
his eye(s) is(are) twitching

Being referential or classificatory in nature, medials do tend to originate from independent nouns, however, this does not exclude a final from migrating into the realm of medials as the above examples have shown.

Besides regular phonological change, the form of medials may vary for a number of reasons. A noun from which a medial originates may undergo some change or be replaced by another, in which case a medial may be reset to match the new nominal it represents. A medial may also become so eroded phonologically as to obscure its relationship to its noun of origin and prompt a new incorporated form. However, an obscure medial may also linger in its eroded phonological form. Evidently, such medials may eventually become so obscure as to lose their status as productively incorporated medials, yielding verbs that can only be partly parsed. Below are some examples between the historical dialect of Nehirawewin and the modern dialect of Leluwewn that can illustrate the changes a medial may undergo in its lifecycle. For each set of examples, the historical Nehirawewin precedes the modern Leluwewn entry.

3.5.1 *Aphesis*

JAW: -tâmikan- → -âmakan- (originally from **mitâmiĥkan**)

(58) **kîĥcîpitâmiĥkaniw** (Silvy, p. 57)

[kîĥcîp – tâmiĥkan – i] – w

[twitch – jaw – AI] – 3

his jaw is twitching

(59) **uŝîkâmakaniw** (Drapeau, 2009)

[uŝîk – âmakan – i] – w

[fold – jaw – AI] – 3

his jaw is scarred

BLOOD: -miĥkwe- → -ikwe- (originally from **miĥkw**)

(60) **misimihkwew** (Silvy, p. 65)

[misi – mihkwe] – w

[much – blood.AI] – 3

he has a lot of blood

(61) **mišikwew** (Drapeau, 2009)

[misi – ikwe] – w

[much – blood.AI] – 3

he has a lot of blood, he has high blood pressure

GOOSE: -nisce- → -isse- (originally from **nisk**)

(62) **nûciniscew** (Silvy, p. 96)

[nût – nisce] – w

[be.busy.with – goose.AI] – 3

he hunts geese

(63) **nûtissew** (Drapeau, 2009)

[nût – isse] – w

[be.busy.with – goose.AI] – 3

he hunts geese

The above medials all eroded over time, making their origins more obscure as they gradually lose more of their original form. Besides regular phonological change, all the above forms have eroded in an identical manner, losing their initial consonants to yield the modern forms, thus undergoing apheresis. The following examples exhibit an opposite process.

3.5.2 Restoration

MOOSE : -swe- → -mûšwe- (originally from **mûsw**)

(64) **nawiswew** (Silvy, p. 83)

[naw – swe] – w
 [pursue – moose.AI] – 3
he pursues a moose

- (65) **nûmûšwew** (Drapeau, 2009)

[nû – mûšwe] – w
 [pursue – moose.AI] – 3
he pursues a moose

HOUSE : -ciwâhpe- → -mîcwâpe- (originally from **mîciwâhp**)

- (66) **miruciwâhpew** (Silvy, p. 77)

[miru – ciwâhpe] – w
 [nice – house.AI] – 3
he has a nice home

- (67) **ussimîcwâpew** (Drapeau, 2009)

[ussi – mîcwâpe] – w
 [new – house.AI] – 3
he has a new house

In the examples (64) and (66) the medials had eroded phonological in an identical manner to the cases of erosion above and but were reset to their original forms by re-incorporating the full noun in the examples following these. This demonstrates that although the shape of the incorporated forms might not be constant, the mechanism of medial corporation is.

3.5.3 Hypercorrection

SHORTS : -âsiyâne- → -tâšyâne- (originally from **âsiyân**)

- (68) **kestâsiyânnew** (Silvy, p. 47)

[kest – âsiyâne] – w
 [remove – shorts.AI] – 3

he removes his shorts (or some form of clothing covering the groin area)

- (69) **nûcitâšyân**ew (Drapeau, 2009)
 [nût – tâšyâne – n] – ew
 [be busy with – fly – TA] – 3.3'
he touches her in a sexual manner

Examples (68) and (69) point to a change in the historical word **âsiyân**. In Silvy's dictionary, the word is translated as "brayet". A definition of this word is provided by the editors using a French dictionary of the period; "linge qui couvre depuis la ceinture jusqu'aux genoux, comme caleçons." (Silvy, 1974: 19) In Drapeau's database of modern Leluwewn, the word is translated as "braguette". The word has shifted semantically, explaining the translation of example (69), where the word takes on sexual connotations. The phonological difference between the historical and modern forms boil down to the modern medial being based on the possessive form **utâšyân**.

ARMPITS: -tihkw- → -tihkwaye- (originally from **mitihkway**)

- (70) **mîhritihkuw** (Silvy, p. 76)
 [mîhr – tihkw] – w
 [hairy – armpits.AI] – 3
he has hairy armpits
- (71) **upîwâwtikwayew** (Drapeau, 2009)
 [upîwâw – tihkwaye] – w
 [hairy – armpits.AI] – 3
he has hairy armpits

These examples are equally interesting because they point to a re-analysis of the root constituent of the word **utihkway**. Historically, the initial possession marker would

be omitted as well as the nominal final –ay, found in many words denoting body parts. The modern Leluwewn medial however, includes this final –ay in its medial form.

There are a few medials from the historical data that have seemingly been lost in the modern dialect. Two examples, –tahkwak– and –anakwe–, meaning “star” and “sleeve” respectively, originate from nouns no longer in use in the contemporary language. The historical word for meaning “star”, **atahkw**, has been replaced by **ucekatak** in modern Leluwewn, a word that originally referred to a certain constellation. The medial –tahkwak- has since fallen into disuse and no new medial has been coined. The historical word meaning “sleeve”, **anakway**, is also absent from modern Leluwewn. The medial –anakwe– has therefore also ceased to be used, although no medial has been derived from the modern word **lāšinikan**.

Medials can undergo apheresis over time but can also be restored by phonologically complete forms. Examples were provided above showing that both directions are possible although apheresis seems to be the general trend. It has also been shown that medials can change meanings as their nouns of origin do so diachronically. Medials can also be hypercorrected when their nouns of origin become opaque morphologically.

3.6 Participant Ranking in Nehirawewin

The workings of Participant Ranking as it applies to Leluwewn were detailed above (§2.5.3). Recall that Drapeau (2008) has shown that the same set of constraints and hierarchy operate both in the case of core argument selection (for the purpose of indexing on the verb) and incorporation. The highest ranking argument gets indexed on the verb and the lowest ranking may get incorporated. The following data, again taken from Silvy’s dictionary, will demonstrate the suitability of this analysis for Nehirawewin.

3.6.1 Possessional and part/whole relations

- (72) **âpucitâsew** (p. 6)
 [âput – tâse] – w
 [inside.out – sock(s).AI] – 3
he turns his socks inside out
- (73) **wâpikarasitew** (p. 97)
 [wâp – karasite] – w
 [white – sole. AI] – 3
he has white soles
- (74) **pûhcâpahwew** (p. 137)
 [pûhc – âp – ahw] – ew
 [insert – eye(s) – hitting/using.tool.TA] – 3.3'
he pokes him in the eye
- (75) **âpihtawascinepew** (p. 5)
 [âpihtawascine – pe] – w
 [half.full – liquid.IA/II] – 3
it is half full of liquid

These examples illustrate the application of participant ranking when it is determined by cases of possession or part/whole relations. Example (72) involves clothing. Examples (73) and (74) are cases of inalienably possessed objects, exemplified here with body parts. The final example (75) above refers to a certain quantity, a part/whole relation. The possessional/part-whole relation is therefore completely adequate to explain these cases of medial usage. The lower ranking participant (possessed/part) is persistently the one to be marked as a medial.

3.6.2 Thematic Hierarchy

The following cases illustrate the ranking of participants based on the Thematic Hierarchy, which ranks participants as follows: Agent > Patient > Theme > Goal/Location/Instrument. The examples below are listed according to their thematic roles.

i) *Location*

- (76) **âsawakâmehrew** (p. 8)
 [âsaw – akâme – hre] – w
 [across – space – fly.AI] – 3
he flies across

- (77) **rikwaskamicinamw** (p. 140)
 [rikw – askamik – nam] – w
 [cover – earth –TI] – 3
he buries it

ii) *Instrument*

- (78) **pimusinâtew** (p. 136)
 [pimw – (a)sine – t] – ew
 [throw – stone –TA] – 3.3'
he throws a stone at him

- (79) **akusciwatâw** (p. 11)
 [akw – sciwa – tâ] – w
 [stick – viscous – AI] – 3
he sticks s.t. using s.t. viscous (ex.: glue)

iii) *Goal*

- (80) **nawastimwew** (p. 84)
 [naw – astimwe] – w

[chase – dog.AI] – 3

he chases a dog

(81) **natawascepahkwayew** (p. 87)

[nataw – ascepahkwaye] – w

[go – roofing-bark.AI] – 3

he goes for roofing-bark (he goes and gathers bark used for roofing)

iv) *Theme*

(82) **arakaskâpiskâw** (p. 17)

[arakask – âpisk - â] – w

[wide – mineral - II] – 3

it (s.t. of mineral composition) is wide

(83) **kinwâskwanw** (p. 53)

[kinw – âskw - an] – w

[long – wooden - II] – 3

it (s.t. long & wooden) is long

(84) **wâsetahkwacisiw** (p. 98)

[wâse – (a)tahkwak – si] – w

[clear/visible – star – AI] – 3

it (star) is visible

v) *Patient*

(85) **kanawâwasuw** (p. 33)

[kanaw – âwasw] – w

[keep – child.AI] – 3

he keeps a child

(86) **aciwâpiskahamw** (p. 20)

[aciw – âpisk - aham] – w

[reduce – mineral – hitting/using.tool] – 3
he reduces the size of it (s.t. of mineral composition)

(87) **mîsahascisînew** (p. 72)

[mîsah – ascisîne] – w
 [patch – shoe.AI] – 3
he patches a shoe

The above examples confirm the Thematic Hierarchy in determining what can be encoded as a medial. However, participants marked as Agents cannot rely on this ranking to be incorporated since these are the highest ranked participants according to the Thematic Hierarchy. This hierarchy would therefore disallow the incorporation of Agents altogether. However, we find many instances where an inanimate Agent is incorporated. This means that the Animacy Hierarchy must take precedence over the Thematic Hierarchy as mentioned above (§2.5.3). The following illustrates this fact.

3.6.3 Animacy Hierarchy

(88) **kîskwepew** (p. 50)

[kîskwe – pe] – w
 [crazy – liquid] – 3
he is drunk

(89) **nestwâpew** (p. 89)

[nestw – âpe] – w
 [exhaust/kill – string.like] – 3
he is suffocated by the snare

(90) **arâkunacisiw** (p. 139)

[ar – âkunak - si] – w
 [cover – snow - AI] – 3
he is covered by the snow

The medials in all three examples above are semantically inanimate agents incorporated due to Animacy Hierarchy. Nehirawewin therefore functions identical to the modern dialects where Participant Ranking is involved. Not only does it respect the rankings set by all three hierarchies, the interaction between these hierarchies is identical. Where one hierarchy overpowers another in the modern dialects, the situation is paralleled in Nehirawewin.

3.7 Metaphor & Metonymy

Lachapelle (2008) discusses the use of medials in terms of categorization for the modern dialect of Leluwewn. Her study is based on cognitive theories of linguistics. Metaphors and metonyms are a significant part of her discussion and of interest to a comparative study with the historical dialect of Nehirawewin. Although not the focus of this thesis, a few examples are provided below for the sake of broaching the topic.

3.7.1 Metaphor

Metaphors are means to represent a concept via a more concrete one (Lachapelle, 2008: 71-72). Lachapelle writes that the most striking medial used metaphorically is that of *-âpek-*, meaning “something string-like” (Lachapelle, 2008: 72). This verbal classifier is used in the modern dialect of Leluwewn to refer to the more abstract category of time and its subordinate but more specific concepts such as a the length of a story or a lifespan. Entries metaphorically referring to time were not found in the historical Nehirawewin data but others referring to such things as rivers and the periphery of an island were found and are presented below.

- (91) **iskwâpekanw** (p. 39)
 [iskw - âpek - an] - w
 [certain.length - string-like - II] - 3
it (river) is a certain length

- (92) **tetipâpekahamw** (p. 157)
 [tetip – âpek – aham] – w
 [periphery – string-like - TI] – 3
he travels around an island by watercraft

A more concrete example of metaphorical usage of a medial was found in examples (93) and (94) below, where body-part medials are used to refer to abstract notions of character and habit.

- (93) **sûhcitehew** (p. 147)
 [sûhk – tehe] – w
 [strong – heart.AI] – 3
he is brave
- (94) **usâmaskatew** (p. 103)
 [usâm – askate] – w
 [too.much – belly.AI] – 3
he is gluttonous

Example (93) makes use of the medial *-tehe-*, meaning “heart”, to refer to the character of a person in the same way the word “courageous” can trace its history back to the French word “coeur”. Example (94) appropriately uses the medial *-askate-*, meaning “belly”, to refer to someone’s appetite. From what can be gathered in respect to the metaphorical usage of medials, historical Nehirawewin seems to agree with the modern dialect of Leluwewn.

3.7.2 Metonymy

Following the theory employed by Lachapelle, the notion of metonymy is defined as the usage of one concept to refer to a related concept. This can correspond to part/whole or contained/container relations for example (Lachapelle, 2008: 69). A

few entries illustrating the metonymical usage of medials were encountered in Silvy's Nehirawewin data. These are presented below.

(95) **museskatew** (p. 80)

[muse – skate] – w

[bare – belly.AI] – 3

he is naked

(96) **atehascihkew** (p. 21)

[ateh – ascihkwe] – w

[stir – pot.AI] – 3

he stirs that which is cooking in the pot

(97) **sâcikuteyâw** (p. 143)

[sâk – kute - â] – w

[come.into.view – nose - II] – 3

it germinates

Example (95) makes use of the medial *-skate-*, meaning “belly”, to refer to the human body. In this case a verb that would literally mean “he is bare-bellied” comes to mean “he is naked”, illustrating a part/whole relationship. Example (96) refers to a container/contained relationship, where the medial *-asci*kw-, meaning “pot”, focuses out attention to its contents instead. Example (97) is especially interesting. It uses the medial *-kute-*, meaning “nose/beak”, to refer to a germinating plant.

Although much more can be explored in terms of a proper study of metaphor and metonymy in the historical dialect of Nehirawewin, it is safe to assume, based on the above examples, that the metonymical usage of medials in historical Nehirawewin is identical to that of modern day Leluwewin. In fact, examples such as (93) and (95) are still commonly used in the modern language and so point to this fact.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis was to provide an overview of medials and their usage in historical Nehirawewin and to compare the results to the modern Leluwewn. A comprehensive study of medials in Algonquian is wanting despite the importance of these in the formation of Algonquian verbs. Studies concerning the historical Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect of Nehirawewin are similarly sparse. In this respect, a diachronic study of Nehirawewin medials is significant in being the first of its kind. Taking up the subject has allowed a glance at the history of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi and a comparative look at the modern dialect of Leluwewn.

Chapter 1 introduced the historical dialect of Nehirawewin, its genetic affiliation, and its documentation. We have seen that this dialect was spoken historically around the Saguenay basin, extending north to Mistassini Lake and east to Manicouagan River. We have also deduced that the dialects spoken at Mashteuiatsh and Betsiamites, Nehlueun and Leluwewn respectively, are probably the most direct descendants of historical Nehirawewin. For comparative needs we opted for the modern dialect of Leluwewn, spoken at Betsiamites, based on the fact that an extensive lexicographic database had been compiled in the said dialect. In Chapter 2 the Algonquian verb and its morphology were explained. In anticipation of work to be done, this culminated in a description of Participant Ranking as it applies to medial incorporation. The research questions, methodology, and the analysis of the data were presented in chapter 4.

Not surprisingly, medials were found to function in an identical fashion in both the historical and modern dialects. The same types of medial were found in historical Nehirawewin as those in modern Leluwewn. The resulting verb types were also identical. Participant ranking and the explanation it offers concerning the capacity for incorporation of certain participants can be appropriately applied to both the historical and modern dialects. Metaphorical and metonymical usage of medials, although briefly explored, also seem to function identically. Of interest though are the points of asymmetry, restricted only to the issue of medial lifecycles.

Many medials, besides having undergone regular phonological change, have been modified in a number of ways so that the historical and modern forms differ. These changes appear to be regular, with phonological erosion accounting for the loss of certain medials' initial consonants or syllables and with the replacement of eroded medial forms by complete independent noun forms. Certain medials found in the historical data were absent from the modern data and vice-versa, revealing the open-class nature of medials in that the inventory, despite retaining some frequently used medials, is constantly adapting to new linguistic realities. Despite these changes such as the forms of medials or in the medial inventory, the basic mechanism of medial incorporation has remained the same.

Our knowledge of Algonquian proper will surely be enriched when additional historical studies of Nehirawewin will be undertaken. In the meantime, it is hoped that this modest work has contributed to the overall study of Algonquian and more specifically medials.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baraby, Anne-Marie, Anne Bellefleur-Tetaut, Louise Canapé, Caroline Gabriel et Marie-Paul Mark. 2002. «Incorporation of Body-Part Medials in the Contemporary Innu (Montagnais) Language». In *Papers of the 33rd Algonquian Conference*, H.C. Wolfart, p. 1-12. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- Beland, Jean Pierre. 1978. «Atikamekw Morphology and Lexicon». Dissertation, Berkeley, Linguistics, University of California, 651 p.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1946. «Algonquian». In *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, Harry Hoijer et al., p. 85-129. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation.
- Campbell, Lyle. 2000. *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cowan, William. 1977a. «*xk/øk proto-algonquien dans le montagnais du 17e siècle». In *Actes du huitième congrès des algonquinistes*, William Cowan. Ottawa: Carleton University.
- , 1977b. «Review of Dictionnaire Montagnais-Français by Antoine Silvy ; Lorenzo Angers ; David E. Cooter ; Gérard McNulty». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 43, no 1, p. 73-75.
- , 1983. «Montagnais in the 17th century». *Anthropological Linguistics*. vol. 25, p. 404-410.
- , 1984. «Sur quelques formes montagnaises dans la Relation du Père LeJeune». *Algonquian and Iroquian Linguistics*. vol. 9, no 1, p. 6-7.
- , 1988. «Two Prayers in 17th century Montagnais». *Journal of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association*. vol. 10, p. 16-27.

- Cowell, Andrew, et Alonzo Sr. Moss. 2008. *The Arapaho Language*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Denny, J. Peter. 1978. «The Semantic Roles of Medials within Algonquian Verbs». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 44, no 2, p. 153-155.
- Denny, Peter. 1976. «What are noun classifiers good for?». *Chicago Linguistic Society Papers*. vol. 12, p. 122-132.
- Drapeau, Lynn. 2008. «Medials in Innu». In *Paper presented at the 40th Algonquian Conference. Minneapolis, Minnesota (October 24)*.
- , 2009. «Base de données lexicales de la langue innue, sur FileMaker pro: Version en orthographe phonologique».
- Fabvre, Bonaventure. 1970. *Racines Montagnaises (ca. 1693)*. Lorenzo Angers et Gerard E. McNulty. Coll. «Centre D'Etudes Nordiques: Travaux Divers». Québec: Université Laval.
- Ford, Alan, Lynn Drapeau et M. Noreau-Hébert. 1980. «Phonologie et morphologie des flexions (Rapport préliminaire sur la dialectologie des parlers cri-montagnais du Québec: première partie)». *Revue québécoise de linguistique*. vol. 10, p. 85-117.
- Goddard, Ives. 1990. «Primary and Secondary Stem Derivation in Algonquian». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 56, no 4, p. 449-483.
- , 1994. «The West-to-East Cline in Algonquian dialectology». In *Actes du vingt-cinquième congrès des algonquistes*, William Cowan, p. 187-211. Ottawa: Carleton University.
- Hanzeli, Victor Egon. 1969. *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages*, 3 t. Coll. «Janua Linguarum: Studia Memoriae Nicolai Van Wijk Dedicata». The Hague: Mouton.
- Harvey, Christopher W. 2005. «Sound Change in Old Montagnais». Master's thesis, Winnipeg, Linguistics, University of Manitoba, 90 p.
- Harvey, Georgette, et Monique Verreault. 2003. «Innu-aimun: lexique français-montagnais». revised. Mashteuiatsh: Conseil des Montagnais du Lac-St-Jean.

- Hébert, Léo-Paul. 1976. *Le Troisième Registre de Tadoussac: Miscellaneorum Liber*. Sainte-Foy: les presses de l'université du québec.
- , 1982. *Le quatrième registre de Tadoussac: Magnus Liber*. Sainte-Foy: Les presses de l'univeristé de québec.
- , 1994. *Le registre de Sillery: 1638-1690*. Sainte-Foy: Les presses de l'université du québec.
- , 2006. *Pretiosa mors quorundam Algonquiniorum et Montanensium (Mort précieuse de certains Algonquins et Montagnais) by François de Crespieul*. Joliette.
- Hewson, John. 1973. «Review of Racines montagnaise Bonaventure Fabvre, Lorenzo Angers, Gérard McNulty». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 39, no 3, p. 191-194.
- , 1974. «Proto-Algonquian Medials». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 40, no 4, pt.1, p. 308-316.
- , 1993. *A Computer-Generated Dictionary of Proto-Algonquian*. Coll. «Mercury Series ». Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Lachapelle, Magali. 2008. «Le rôle de la catégorisation dans l'utilisation des médianes dans le verbe innu». Master's thesis, Montreal, linguistique, Université du Québec à Montréal, 84 p.
- Lacombe, Albert. 1874. *Dictionnaire de la langue des cris*. Montreal: C. O. Beauchemin & Valois.
- Larouche, Léonidas. 1972. *Le Second Registre de Tadoussac 1668-1700: Transcription*. Montréal: les presses de l'université du québec.
- Laure, Pierre Michel. 1988. *Apparat français-montagnais (ca. 1726)*. David Cooter. Sillery: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Mackenzie, Marguerite Ellen. 1980. «Towards a Dialectology of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi». Doctoral Thesis, Toronto, Anthropology, University of Toronto, 288 p.
- Mackenzie, Marguerite Ellen, et Sandra Clarke. 1981. «Dialect Relations in Cree/Montagnais/Naskapi: Verb Paradigms». In *Montreal Working Papers in Linguistics*, Lynn Drapeau, p. 135-191. Montreal.

- Mellow, Dean. 1989. «A syntactic approach to noun incorporation in Cree». In *Actes du vingtième congrès des algonquistes*, William Cowan, p. 250-261. Ottawa.
- Michelson, Truman. 1939. «Linguistic Classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi Dialects». *Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology*. vol. Bulletin 123: Anthropological Papers, No.8, p. 67-95.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1984. «The Evolution of Noun Incorporation». *Language*. vol. 60, no 4, p. 847-894.
- . 2001. *The Languages of Native North America*: Cambridge University Press.
- Nichols, Johanna. 1986. «Head-marking and Dependent-Marking Grammar». *Language*. vol. 62, p. 56-119.
- Pentland, David H. 1977. «Proto-Algonquian Stop Clusters in Cree-Montagnais». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 43, no 2, p. 154-156.
- . 1978. «A Historical Overview of Cree Dialects». In *Papers of the Ninth Algonquian Conference*, William Cowan, p. 104-126. Ottawa: Carleton University.
- Salvucci, Claudio R. (2002). *American Languages in New France: Extracts from The Jesuit Relations*. Bristol, Evolution Publishing
- Siebert, Frank T. 1996. «Proto-Algonquian *na:tawe:wa 'massasauga': Some False Etymologies and Alleged Iroquian Loanwords». *Anthropological Linguistics*. vol. 38, no 4, p. 635-642.
- Siewierska, A. 2004. *Person*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silvy, Antoine. 1974. *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* Lorenzo Angers, David E. Cooter et Gérard E. McNulty. Montréal: les presses de l'université du québec.
- Thwaites, Reuben Gold. 1896-1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels And Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes.*, 73 t. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers.
- Trumbull, J. Hammond. 1872. «Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages». *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, p. 113-218.

Valentine, J. Randolph. 2001. *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

-----, 2002. «Variation in Body-Part Verbs in Ojibwe Dialects». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 68, no 1, p. 81-119.

Voorhis, Paul H. 1983. «Notes on the Kickapoo Medial Suffixes». *International Journal of American Linguistics*. vol. 49, no 1, p. 77-86.

Wolfart, H.C. 1973. «Plains Cree: A Grammatical Study». *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. vol. 63, no 5.