GRAMMAR ENHANCED BILITERACY:
NASKAPI LANGUAGE STRUCTURES FOR FACILITATING READING
IN NASKAPI

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Moody Bible Institute, 1985

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William Joseph Jancewicz
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Date
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## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANIM</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMN</td>
<td>Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CQSB</td>
<td>Central Quebec School Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNIE</td>
<td>First Nations and Inuit Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INV</td>
<td>inverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISO</td>
<td>International Organization for Standardization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBNQA</td>
<td>James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MELS</td>
<td>Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[moe]</td>
<td>Montagnais ISO 639-3 language identifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>noun, animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDA</td>
<td>noun, dependent, animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>Naskapi Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDI</td>
<td>noun, dependent, inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEQA</td>
<td>Northeastern Quebec Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>noun, inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNK</td>
<td>Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nsk]</td>
<td>Naskapi ISO 639-3 language identifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBV</td>
<td>obviative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFL</td>
<td>Systemic Functional Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>verb, animate intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>verb, inanimate intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>volition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>verb, transitive animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI</td>
<td>verb, transitive inanimate</td>
</tr>
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</table>
ABSTRACT

The Naskapi language is the language of instruction in the early primary grades of the school in the Naskapi community. Only recently have Naskapi-speaking teachers received formal instruction in pedagogy, with a cohort of Naskapi teachers following courses for their Bachelor of Education degree towards careers teaching in the Naskapi language in their local school. These adults are highly motivated to become literate in their mother tongue in order to teach or prepare curriculum materials in the Naskapi language. This thesis explores how basic grammatical structures can be mastered, and provides insight into the form that pedagogical grammatical instruction should take, in order to equip these individuals to become adequately literate in their mother tongue.

Using data gathered from linguistic fieldwork and while conducting language classes for Naskapi adults, an instructional method for describing Naskapi language patterns in a form that is accessible to speakers is developed. This method was implemented in an experimentally in a classroom setting in which bilingual adult Naskapi speakers were learning to read and write their own language. Using a qualitative/mixed research methodology, the responses and performance of adult Naskapi learners were used to construct and to validate the framework.

A tangible outcome of this project is an instructional method that includes a component that may be grown into a pedagogical grammar of Naskapi crafted to help Naskapi toward successful literacy in their own language. This also identifies a starting point for developing a Naskapi language curriculum guide for teaching of Naskapi language structures to secondary-level students. This material targets the language arts competencies required by the educational jurisdictions governing the Naskapi school.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an exploration of Naskapi mother tongue literacy pedagogy, and the influence that instruction in grammatical structures has on successful reading and writing. While its direct application is for education in the Naskapi language community, it has a secondary application to mother tongue and second-language education in other First Nations communities, and indeed the principles that are applied extend to other learning environments as well. Grammaticography is a relatively new branch of linguistics that is primarily concerned with the “crafting of grammars” (Mosel 2006:41). More recently, the term has come to be used to describe parameters or constraints that guide grammar writing of a particular type, with a particular purpose, and for a particular audience (Baraby 2012:79-83). The grammaticographic model that constrains this research is one that attempts to bring together a description of the grammatical patterns in the Naskapi language as a component of an instructional method that leads to better fluency and comprehension for readers. It also targets a particular audience of users and a particular domain of use. The application of this research to the Naskapi situation provides an opportunity to meet a real need within the educational context.

Naskapi has had a tradition of mother tongue literacy that spans multiple generations. But in recent years the community has faced challenges in passing on this literacy to younger generations due to a shift in the education milieu that parallels the community lifestyle change from being nomadic hunter-gatherers to settlement in a permanent community. The important regard that mother tongue literacy holds in the life and identity of Naskapi people remains the same, while the structures for transmission have
changed from family-based to institution-based, along with an additional expectation placed on students to be successful in majority-language literacy, first in English and also eventually in French.

This research seeks to identify and address problems that hinder skilled, fluent biliteracy in adult Naskapi society. Thanks to initiatives at the Naskapi school over the past two decades, Naskapi children have an opportunity to learn to read both in their mother tongue and the language of wider communication. It is also an accepted fact in the Naskapi community that elders who learned to read in the context of family, church and traditional life still remain some of the most fluent and successful readers in the mother tongue literacy domains that support it. However, there is a large population of Naskapi speakers between the ages of the elders and the school children who never learned to read Naskapi well. In this group there are many young Naskapi parents who wish that they could read as well as their children, but then they look at their own parents’ and grandparents’ reading ability and feel that such skills are out of their reach. Something more is needed to help these learners to have confidence and accelerated success. This research sets out to meet that need by applying concepts described in a theoretical model of the process of reading in order to identify the shortcomings. These shortcomings are addressed by guiding adult learners into a systematic understanding of the structures of their own language through guided reading of meaningful texts, with a view to improving their reading success. In addition to guided language structure discovery through texts, questionnaires were administered that were designed not only to evaluate the success of this approach, but to also assist the learners in recognizing their own competency and roles in bringing about the language development goals they desire.

This research project does not primarily set out to craft a grammar of Naskapi. The purpose is rather to develop an instructional method that leads to better fluency and comprehension for readers in the target group, which uses elements of the grammar as a
scaffolding component that leads to better fluency and comprehension for readers in the target group. The Naskapi grammatical resource provided in Appendix A is an example of one component of an instructional methodology developed to meet the biliteracy needs of beginning adult Naskapi readers who are already literate in English, and that builds upon the grammatical descriptions of English that they have already been taught.

The goal of this project then is to research and develop an instructional methodology that incorporates the teaching of Naskapi grammar through the use of meaningful Naskapi texts, with a view to improving reading ability in Naskapi. The instructional methodology was carried out in an experimental situation with a class of adult Naskapi learners. The theoretical motivation, the development of the methodology, the detailed description of the classroom activities and the tabulation of results form the body of this thesis.

Chapter 1 gives the background of the project, including an introduction to the Naskapi people (section 1.1), their language and community, and a summary of relevant grammatical categories. Naskapi Orthography (section 1.2) provides a description of the origins and evolution of the writing system and its influence on literacy proficiency and fluency. Context of Research (section 1.3) orients this study relative to other work done on Naskapi grammar, lexicon, and literacy. Finally, Scope of Research (section 1.4) describes not only the target learners but also the parameters of grammatical description of the language and the development of the instructional methodology.

Chapter 2 begins with a brief description of theories of reading instruction that have been used effectively in literacy pedagogy in recent decades (section 2.1). Sections 2.2 and 2.3 describe the purpose and structure of a theoretical model of reading, and section 2.4 provides the primary rationale for using this particular model as the outline for integrating Naskapi grammar with reading instruction presented in later chapters. The remainder of the chapter addresses criticisms of the model and also suggests ways that
the model helps guide the research towards instructional activities designed to meet specific needs of Naskapi readers.

Chapter 3 explores some of the reasons for reading difficulties in Naskapi learners by applying the structure of Adams’ model to the current pedagogical framework. This research suggests an inefficient use of cognitive resources that may be addressed by altering the instructional methodology. Section 3.2 gives the plan for the implementation of the research methodology in the context of a Naskapi language course for adults, and includes an introduction for the grammatical resource component in Appendix A. Section 3.3 begins the application of the methodology, with a description of an approach for orthography learning that was developed prior to this present research. This orthography instruction is considered a prerequisite for learners and forms an integral component of the instructional methodology, and from which the participants of this research benefited. The remainder of the section fills in the rest of the learning components that build on that orthographic foundation.

Section 3.4 begins with the rationale for and description of interacting with texts as the foundation for the instructional method that addresses the problem. The instructional method of grammatical discovery itself is then demonstrated by a description of a typical daily guided reading session in a Naskapi classroom. Using a qualitative/mixed research methodology, section 3.5 enumerates and tabulates the quantitative results of using the instructional method with the participants in the experimental setting, along with the qualitative results from the use of the questionnaires.

Chapter 4 gives the evaluation and conclusions, showing how the problem was addressed, and evaluating the outcomes related to incorporating grammar teaching into reading instruction. Some recommendations for future research developing the pedagogy are also offered.
In this thesis, Naskapi language examples are provided in a romanized transcription or “roman equivalent” of the Naskapi syllabic symbols\(^1\) along with English glosses or translations. In the Naskapi grammatical resource intended to be used by speakers (Appendix A), every Naskapi example is provided in both the Naskapi syllabic orthography and the roman equivalent, along with English glosses or translations, as follows: ˈrɛ̂ sik ˈsiisiip ‘duck’. The Naskapi syllabic orthography is also used in other sections of the thesis as appropriate. The roman equivalent uses double vowels to indicate the phonemic contrast between tense and lax vowels (also called vowel “length”). Pre-aspirated consonants (ʰp, ʰt, ʰk, ʰtʃ) are indicated with a digraph (ʰp, ʰt, ʰk) or trigraph (ʰtʃ). The roman equivalent does not conform to either Innu-aimun standard spelling or Cree Standard Roman Orthography (SRO). The roman equivalents have approximately\(^2\) the range of phonetic values shown in Table 1, in what the International Phonetic Association calls a narrow transcription (International Phonetic Association 1999).

Table 1. Approximate phonetic values for roman equivalents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>roman equivalent</td>
<td>phonetic value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iːi</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i, ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uːu</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>o, ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aːa</td>
<td>a, æ, ɑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hʰk</td>
<td>hʰk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hʰtʃ</td>
<td>hʰtʃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^1\) The Naskapi syllabic writing system is described in detail in section 1.2.

\(^2\) The correspondences between the roman equivalents and the phonetic values in Table 1 are provided for reference. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe the Naskapi phonological system.
1.1 About Naskapi

1.1.1 Identification

When researching historical accounts of a particular people group, it is important to identify who is actually being referred to in the reference material. Often, the group’s name alone provides very little help in specifying a specific ethno-linguistic group. This is especially true concerning the name “Naskapi,” as pointed out by José Mailhot (Mailhot 1986:387). Mailhot reports that the term “Naskapi” first appears in written form in 1643 as “Ounachkapiouek,” which was used to refer to a group somewhere north of Tadoussac, Quebec, at the mouth of the Saguenay River. She goes on to describe the various locations in which these people were supposed to have lived, as reported through the last three centuries.

David Pentland (Rogers and Leacock 1981:187) analyzed this first occurrence of the word (here spelled phonologically) unaskaahpiiwak⁵ and determined that it probably meant, to the Saguenay people group who used the term, “people from the place where something disappears,” or “people from the place where it is no longer visible.” This likely refers to the visible horizon, and the phenomenon of perspective: that objects appear to get smaller and smaller the farther away they are, until they finally “disappear” from view altogether. Evidently then, at least to the people who used the word, this word referred to any people who lived beyond the horizon, just beyond the region where people are known.

However, starting with that early period until the recent past, both the neighboring Aboriginal groups and Europeans who have used the term usually meant either a group more primitive than themselves, or comparatively more primitive than other people groups they know about. Consequently, even though the word sometimes was used to refer to some specific group of people on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, the one that
used the term could equally have been referring to whomever he considered to be “more primitive,” not necessarily some group previously so named. Further, in some cases the term was not even used to identify a particular group: simply a category of people “less civilized” than other Indigenous people.

“Montagnais,” on the other hand, was a term used by Champlain for the people he encountered at the mouth of the Saguenay River in the 1600s. Peter Armitage (1991) notes that by the early 19th century, Europeans were using the term to refer to those people groups that they considered “more civilized” than others. So the popular usage of the two terms “Montagnais” and “Naskapi” tended to classify Indigenous groups according to a European measure of “civilization.”

But today the term “Naskapi” has come to apply specifically and only to the people of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula who are direct descendants of the former nomadic caribou hunters of the tundra region south of Ungava Bay. This group has been variously referred to through the 20th century as “Fort Chimo Naskapi,” and later “The Naskapi Band of Schefferville,” and who now comprise the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach near Schefferville. Although they are often considered a part of the larger Innu grouping, which until the late 1990s has been referred to as Montagnais-Naskapi by linguists and anthropologists, the Naskapi themselves insist that they are a unique people-group. Indeed, it can be shown both linguistically and ethnographically that the Naskapi are distinct from their neighbors. While on one hand they do share certain cultural and linguistic similarities with Labrador Innu, Quebec Montagnais, and East Cree, on the other hand they have a unique history, relationship to the land, and certain linguistic distinctives (MacKenzie 1980:220), which set them apart from the rest of the Aboriginal population on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula.

It has been reported elsewhere that certain ancestors of the Naskapi of Quebec used a name for themselves that was recorded variously as Nenenot (Turner 1888) or Nenenat
(Houston 1979). It was said that this name means “The True Men,” although contemporary Naskapi speakers have not been able to identify this word as such. Instead, current Naskapi speakers suggest that this could be a transcription of the phrase *niin innut* ‘I am a person; I am Innu’, as spoken by n-dialect speakers.

Whatever they once were called, the term “Naskapi” was finally handed down to and eventually embraced by the Kawawachikamach group. However it may have occurred, given the basic early meaning of the word and their relatively late date of sustained contact with Europeans, today’s Naskapi received the name automatically; if it indeed had come to mean “more primitive” (in the negative sense) or “more traditional” (in the positive sense), they were unable to use it to refer to anyone else.

It is this group currently residing at Kawawachikamach whose language is described in this research. The usage of the word “Naskapi” in the following historical section refers then specifically to the nomadic caribou-hunting ancestors of the current Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach, although they themselves did not begin to call themselves by that name until after the 1950s.

1.1.2 History

This section provides a historical background of the current Naskapi language community, dividing their history into three distinct stages: the period of initial contact with Europeans before their move to Schefferville (section 1.1.2.1), a period of coalescence as a socio-linguistic group marked by their period of settlement at Schefferville (section 1.1.2.2), and the beginnings of their self-determination and development at Kawawachikamach (section 1.1.2.3). A map is provided (Figure 1) indicating the locations of the place names mentioned in these sections.
1.1.2.1 Before Schefferville

Alan Cooke’s draft of *A History of the Naskapis of Schefferville* (Cooke 1976) contains his research into the historical background of the group currently living at Kawawachikamack. Much of what he reports is an account of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s attempt to persuade the nomadic caribou hunters of the northern interior of Quebec-Labrador to become dependent upon the various posts set up by the Company beginning around 1820, in order that they would hunt for furs for them.

When the fur trading posts were first established by the French and English, there was fierce competition to attract Indians to particular posts. Attempts were made to oblige trappers to return to the same post all the time, but the post manager’s accounts from that period demonstrate the difficulty of establishing this kind of loyalty (MacKenzie 1980:20).

Fort Chimo, near present day Kuujjuaq, Quebec, was established by Nicol Finlayson and Erland Erlandson with the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1830. This would become the location of the first regular contact that the Naskapi would have with Europeans.

During the period of Fort Chimo’s first occupation, from 1830 to 1843, the relationship between the Naskapi and the Hudson Bay Company was not a cordial one. In the beginning, the traders were for the most part unsuccessful at getting the Naskapi to do what they wanted them to do: that is, to hunt for furs and trade with the Company, complaining that the Naskapi were “suspicious, thieving, independent and proud.” These epithets may reveal more of the traders’ manipulative commercial practices rather than the relative indifference and non-cooperation of the Naskapi.
But the traders were not new at this; they had succeeded in the past with other Aboriginal groups, and were determined to succeed as well with the Naskapi.
The debt system, whereby Indians were advanced food and equipment in the fall and the cost of these was deducted from the value of the furs at the end of the winter, was the main strategy used by the traders to keep trappers attached to their own post (MacKenzie 1980:21).

“Attaching” Aboriginal people groups to a particular trading post was, for the traders, standard business practice. It was hoped that they would become dependent upon the post for goods, and thus feel compelled to bring their furs to that post. For the Aboriginal people however, being attached to a post meant a serious change in lifestyle. Once thus attached, their freedom to move about when they wished was diminished. This diminishing freedom was, for the nomadic caribou hunters, not simply an inconvenience—for some it would mean disaster.

At first, the Naskapi were just not interested in the fur trade; they simply preferred to follow and hunt the caribou, as was their custom. This was frustrating to the traders, but it prompted the traders to increase their efforts. These efforts eventually had their effect, and by around 1842 the traders had accomplished to some extent what they desired: and Naskapi were beginning to develop a growing dependence upon European goods—the manufactured tools and foods available at the Hudson’s Bay Post. Further, they were becoming more and more dependent upon guns and ammunition for hunting caribou. In 1842, the Company closed Fort Chimo near Ungava Bay and opened Fort Nascopie in 1842 some 250 miles inland. The Company had hoped that Fort Nascopie would yield better fur returns, being located on Lake Pettisikapau, close to the height of land, just

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3 “Height of land” is a term that was once commonly used by travelers in regions of northern Canada and parts of the United States to refer to the boundary between watersheds. In this part of Canada it is still
fifteen miles or so southeast of present day Schefferville. In order to continue to have access to trade goods to provide for their families, the Naskapi also had to move inland and center their trade activities there.

But after having some success attaching the Naskapi to Fort Nascopie for about twenty-five years, the Company decided to reopen Fort Chimo and to close Fort Nascopie around 1870 because it was too difficult to supply, being located so far inland. The Company had discovered by this time that if they provided the Naskapi with all the ammunition they wanted, they would simply go off and hunt caribou rather than the fur-bearing animals that the Company was in business for. But if they limited the allotment of ammunition to the hunters, they were more likely to return to the post with furs in order to get more ammunition. Obviously, the migratory herds of caribou on which the Naskapi depended were not attached to any Hudson’s Bay post. In order to find caribou, the Naskapi sometimes had to travel great distances away from the post, and often, far from the post they would run out of ammunition. It was realized too late that limiting their ammunition allotment was an imprecise method of control over the Naskapi’s travels: if the traders limited the ammunition too much, the hunters and their families could starve. Unfortunately, this actually happened all too often.

Fort McKenzie, located about half way between Fort Chimo and old Fort Nascopie, was opened in 1916. The Naskapi were subsequently attached to this post as well, and some were even employed by the post as clerks and many as freighters, working to supply the post from Fort Chimo for the next thirty years or so. It was probably just prior to this period that the Mushau Innu, ‘barren-ground people’, began to separate from the Fort Chimo group and frequent the Labrador coast, eventually becoming dependent upon

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used to refer to the boundary between present day Quebec and Labrador. On one side of this boundary all rivers flow to the Atlantic Ocean, and on the other side they flow into Ungava Bay or Hudson’s Bay.
Company posts located there, especially at Utshimassits ‘store-clerk’s place’ at Davis Inlet. It must be remembered that prior to the 1950s the way of life of the Naskapi was still largely nomadic. Becoming attached to a post did not imply long-term settlement in one location—merely a strong tendency to trade seasonally at the same post.

After Fort McKenzie closed in 1948, the Naskapi returned again to Fort Chimo, some taking jobs at the air base near there at Kuujjuaq, but many of them by this time were living off relief efforts by the federal government. In the 1950s, there were several successful seasonal fur hunting trips organized in the vicinity of old Fort McKenzie, as well as an increased sense of responsibility for the Naskapi’s welfare on the part of the government. Growing out of this sense of responsibility, Indian Affairs Branch government representatives began discussing the idea of relocation to the south; either to Schefferville, the newly opened mining town of the Iron Ore Company, or to Sept-Îles.

The Naskapi were eventually promised medical care, schooling and housing whenever they would move to Schefferville. To this day it is not exactly clear who made these promises. Nor is it clear why, in June of 1956, the Naskapi of Fort Chimo began their journey overland and up-river to Schefferville. But by August of 1956 virtually all of them had relocated from Fort Chimo to the Schefferville area.

1.1.2.2 At Schefferville

Even though it seemed that some of the officials of the Indian Affairs Branch were aware of the Naskapi intention to move to Schefferville, a very poor reception awaited them there. Neither the town of Schefferville nor the Iron Ore Company had been informed of their coming, and consequently both were completely unprepared for the arrival of the Naskapi.

Alan Cooke’s narrative leaves off at this point, and although there has been no official history of the Naskapi from their arrival in Schefferville to the present, there is
enough information from various sources to continue the story. One may refer to Robbins (1969), Hammond (1976), Peat Marwick et Associés (1979), and especially Wilkinson and Geoffroy, *A Parcel of Fools* (1989) for more details on this period. Those sources combined with personal interviews with Naskapi people who lived through this period provide the basis for the history in this section.

After initially erecting shacks and tents for themselves in the vicinity of the Schefferville airport, a year later (in 1957) the Naskapi were urged by the municipal authorities to move to John Lake, about two miles northeast of Schefferville. There they shared a small parcel of land between the road and the lake with some Montagnais who had moved up from Sept-Îles after the completion of the railroad in 1954. Besides their own tiny shacks, other houses provided here were the small “four-room cottages” built by the Iron Ore Company in 1952 for use at the Burnt Creek mine site. These buildings were designed to be portable, moved by using a crane and low-bed trailer. These were moved to Knob Lake in 1954 to be occupied by company personnel. As permanent company housing became available in Schefferville, the unused cottages were then moved to John Lake where they became the homes of some of the Montagnais and Naskapi there. Some of these buildings are still in use today (Geren 1990).

Though the John Lake site was far from ideal, without running water, electricity or a sewage system, the Naskapi made it their home from 1957 to 1972. Despite the fact that the Naskapi depended upon their Montagnais neighbors for administrative support and advice, the latter having had more than three centuries of regular and intensive contact with Europeans, the relationship between the two groups was often strained and sometimes difficult. This could be attributed to a different philosophy of land and resource use. The Naskapi, having been more recently nomadic, tended to use the resources of the land wherever they found them. But the Schefferville Montagnais, who were non-nomadic, traditionally restricted land use and hunting areas to specific family
groups. The languages and phrases on the sign shown in Figure 2 provide some linguistic insight into this cultural perception.

Figure 2. “Protect Our Environment”

This sign, though it has disappeared in recent years, was for decades posted along the road between Schefferville and the mine site. The top line is in Innu-aimun (Montagnais) and reads *akua tuta nitassinan* ‘be careful with our (EXCL) land’. The second line is French, *Protegeons notre environnement* ‘let us protect our environment’ and the third line is English. The bottom line is in Naskapi and reads *miyunakatuwaaiataau stischinuw* ‘let us care for our (INCL) land’. Even though this sign was painted and transcribed in Naskapi prior to the orthographic standardization described in detail in other sections of this thesis, there is enough detail to show a significant difference in the grammatical structure of the word ‘land’ for Naskapi and Montagnais. In Montagnais, the word *assi* ‘land’ is inflected with a prefix and suffix that indicates to the reader that the land thus referred to is “ours,—but not yours.” The word *nit-assi-naan* ‘our land’ is first person plural exclusive. However, in Naskapi, the word *aschiy* ‘land’ is inflected with a prefix and suffix that indicates to the reader that the land thus referred to is “ours,—yours and mine together.” The Naskapi word (here spelled phonologically) *chit-aschi-nuw* ‘our land’ is second person plural inclusive. The
conscious choice of the different grammatical structure used for the “same” lexical item reveals something of the difference in speaker attitude towards the land.

While a good number of Naskapi men were able to find employment at the Iron Ore Mine, only a few held their jobs for more than a few months at a time. The reasons for the relatively high unemployment and rapid turnover are many, but a primary reason is likely that the Naskapi had very little knowledge of English or French. Even the first Anglican priest sent to them at Schefferville, Rev. Gavin White, was chosen because he had some ability in Inuktitut, a language some of the Naskapi also had learned during their time at Fort Chimo through their contacts with the Inuit.

By the mid 1960s, Naskapi children began to attend Knob Lake School in Schefferville, and their first formal education using English as the language of instruction began at that point. Initially, the Naskapi children did rather well in school, but for unknown reasons that good performance was not always maintained.

In 1969, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs acquired a thirty-nine acre parcel of land on the north side of Schefferville adjacent to Pearce Lake. By 1972, 106 row-housing units had been built there, forty-three of them for the Naskapi. Most of the Naskapi and Montagnais moved to this site, called the Matimekosh Reserve, but a few families chose to remain at John Lake and some are still there to the present time.

Although the move to Matimekosh improved living conditions somewhat, things were far from ideal due to the increased exposure to the non-Aboriginal community in Schefferville and the constant tensions with the Montagnais. The physical arrangement at Matimekosh was such that the Naskapi houses were situated centrally in the reserve with the Montagnais houses surrounding them. It was only in 1971 that the Fort Chimo Indians (as they were then more commonly known) became an official Indian Band under the Indian Act by a federal order-in-council. This created the Naskapi Band of Quebec, the band-council style of municipal self-government, which remains in effect to this day.
1.1.2.3 Kawawachikamach

1975 was a watershed year in the life of the Naskapi, when they decided to become involved in the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* (Government of Canada 1989). They entered into a contract with the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, which was intended to provide the Naskapi with logistical support and legal advice for the negotiations of the agreement.

Early in the 1970s, the Government of Quebec announced its intention to harness the hydroelectric potential of certain river basins in northern Quebec. At that time, the Government had not consulted with the Aboriginal people who occupied the affected areas, nor did their original plans contain any measures to relieve the impacts on the land or the people. In 1972, the Cree and the Inuit launched legal proceedings to halt the James Bay Project on the grounds that the Government had not fulfilled an earlier commitment to settle their land claims. By 1974, the Cree and Inuit had been granted an injunction halting construction of the James Bay Project.

Although the Naskapi had entered into these negotiations during 1975, ultimately the Agreement was signed without the Naskapi because it was realized that the demands on the Northern Quebec Inuit Association were too great to represent both their own interests and the interests of the Naskapi as well. Therefore, the Naskapi retained their own legal council and anthropological advisor, and in January of 1976 began negotiations of their own land claims in earnest.

In January of 1978, the *Northeastern Quebec Agreement* (Government of Canada 1984) was signed between the Naskapi and the signatories of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. In general, this agreement granted to the Naskapi benefits comparable to those that the Cree and Inuit received under their agreement. The Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NEQA) is very simply an exchange of rights. The Naskapi surrendered all their claims to land in Quebec in exchange for exclusive rights to
certain lands and specific social and economic development services to be provided to the Naskapi by the provincial and federal governments.

Of the many things the Northeastern Quebec Agreement provided, one of the most important was in section 20, which granted the Naskapi the opportunity to relocate their community to a location and design of their choice. Following technical and socio-economic studies of the various sites available (Peat, Marwick et Associés 1979) in January 1980 the Naskapi population voted almost unanimously to relocate to Block Matemace, a peninsula between lakes Peter and Matemace about 8 km northeast of the town of Schefferville. The site had been used in the past by the Naskapi as a hunting and fishing campsite, and thus was well known to many of them. Shortly after the decision to relocate, the Band Council organized a competition to find a suitable name for the site. The name Kawawachikamach, which means appropriately ‘by a winding lake’, was provided by Mrs. Nottie Sandy, the winner of the competition (Wilkinson and Geoffroy 1989)

The Naskapi Relocation Corporation, a non-profit corporation, was created to supervise the designing and building of Kawawachikamach. The Corporation’s members were all Naskapi except for one representative from each of the governments (Federal and Provincial). Job training programs provided for in the Agreement were for the most part very successful, and about 75 percent of the manpower used to build the houses at Kawawachikamach was Naskapi.

Although construction continues year by year as the Naskapi population expands, the village was substantially complete and occupied by the end of 1984.

As a result of the NEQA, two complementary but separate Naskapi-controlled local bodies serve the needs of the community: the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach (NNK) and the Naskapi Development Corporation (NDC). In general terms, the Naskapi Nation, (formerly known as the Naskapi Band) with its chief and council form of
government, is responsible for the physical needs of the municipality of Kawawachikamach. While this usually includes public utilities, construction and repair of the infrastructure, and security, it also carries some responsibility that directly relates to language use, such as the translation of its own documents, the authority of the Naskapi Education Committee, and sponsorship of the Naskapi newspaper.

The Naskapi Development Corporation has a different focus. It was formed by a bill passed by the Quebec National Assembly in 1979 to receive the one-time financial compensation paid under the Northeastern Quebec Agreement. It is a non-profit association without shares and is not incorporated for the purpose of making a profit for its individual members. The Naskapi Development Corporation’s mandate is summarized in the “Objects of the Corporation,” which include “to see to the welfare and the advancement of education of the Naskapis” and “to foster, promote, protect and assist in preserving the Naskapi way of life, values and traditions” (National Assembly of Quebec 1979: c. 26, s. 5). The Development Corporation is guided by a president and board of directors elected from the Naskapi population. The study of the Naskapi language and the encouragement and promotion of its sustainable use are among the primary objectives of the Naskapi Development Corporation, along with its historical, cultural and economic development mandate.

Granting that the reason for Schefferville’s existence was the production of iron ore, any change in mining operations would understandably have a drastic effect on the local economy. So, when steel production slowed dramatically worldwide in the late 1970s, the demand for the Schefferville’s low-grade natural ore virtually disappeared. Consequently, in January of 1981, a one third reduction of the Iron Ore Company’s workforce in Schefferville was announced. Another year saw economic conditions deteriorate further and the IOC Schefferville mining operation was closed down completely in October of 1982.
With the closure of the mine, employment opportunities were scarce for the Naskapi, who now had become permanent residents of the Schefferville region. This economic situation lasted for more than a generation. However, the Naskapi continue to be resilient, working toward providing a firm basis for a lasting and satisfying economy for Kawawachikamach and the region of Schefferville. Both the Naskapi Development Corporation and the Naskapi Nation Council continue to participate in several job-creation and professional development initiatives.

With the current resurgence in resource development in the north, the Naskapi community is taking advantage of the increased opportunities and moving forward toward greater economic success. Further, a revival of Naskapi interest in their own identity and heritage has resulted in an increased participation in hunting, fishing and other traditional activities, along with an increase in motivation towards literacy in their mother tongue among young people and younger adults. The research described by this thesis is a response to the current situation, which is a result of the historical context.

1.1.3 Language

This section provides a linguistic introduction to Naskapi, with a discussion of its genetic affiliation and geographic location (section 1.1.3.1) relative to other languages in its language family and subgroup. Also, an introductory summary of Naskapi grammatical patterns (section 1.1.3.2), word formation (section 1.1.3.3) and grammatical categories (section 1.1.3.4) is provided as background for the material in Appendix A, which contains a “Grammatical Resource for Text-Based Literacy Development,” described in section 3.2.3.

Most of the Naskapi language examples were elicited by this researcher from Naskapi language speakers who work at the Translation and Linguistics Services Department of the Naskapi Development Corporation, Kawawachikamach. All of these
speakers have also been trained in translation principles with the goal of rendering English texts into Naskapi that is clear, accurate and natural. Some of the examples were taken from translated documents, while other examples were taken from natural Naskapi texts that were recorded in Naskapi, transcribed and translated into English. All of the examples have been checked for accuracy and naturalness by a Naskapi speaker.

1.1.3.1 Genetic affiliation

In addition to being the official name of the people group, Naskapi is also the term used to refer to their language. Naskapi is the name given to two dialects of the Cree-Montagnais subgroup, which was formerly referred to as the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi (CMN) dialect continuum described by MacKenzie (1980). Figure 3 shows the Cree-Montagnais subgroup as part of the Algonquian language family and thus the Algic family. The most recent classification scheme presented in the 17th Edition (2013) of the Ethnologue lists Cree-Montagnais as a subgroup rather than a language, and eliminates the former geographic groupings of “Central” and “Plains,” along with the older term, Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. Thus, the current subgroup name “Cree-Montagnais” is equivalent to “Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi” (MacKenzie 1980:1), “the CMN dialect continuum” (Scott 2000:5), and “Cree-Innu-Naskapi” (Junker et al. 2004:1), some designations used previously in various linguistic references.

Naskapi is the name given to an individual language under the ISO 639-3 classification system with the identifier [nsk], which is spoken in two communities, Kawawachikamach in Quebec (Western Naskapi) and Natuashish in Labrador (Eastern Naskapi). While these two language varieties are quite similar, the terms “Naskapi” or “Eastern Naskapi” are no longer used by speakers or most linguists to refer to the Natuashish variety. The variety spoken at Natuashish is called Innu-aimun by speakers, a term identical to the word used to indicate a different language, identified under ISO 639-3 as [moe], Montagnais, which is spoken in eleven communities in Quebec and
Labrador. The language variety at Kawawachikamach, which its speakers refer to as Naskapi, is sometimes referred to as Western Naskapi by linguists. Western Naskapi is currently spoken by more than 1000 people (Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach 2013), most of whom reside at Kawawachikamach.

Figure 3. Cree-Montagnais genetic affiliation
(adapted from Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013)
Within the context of the Cree-Montagnais subgroup, the Naskapi language variety shares many features with related language varieties, but has several characteristics that set it apart. The standard classification features of the languages across the subgroup are two persistent phonological changes described in detail by MacKenzie (1980): (1) the palatalization of k to tʃ before front vowels and (2) the different realizations of Proto-Algonquian *l as j, n, l, r, and Ʉ. In Cree-Montagnais, the western varieties of Plains Cree, Woods Cree, Swampy Cree, Moose Cree and Atikamekw retain k before front vowels, while the eastern varieties of East Cree, Naskapi and Innu-aimun exhibit predictable palatalization of k to tʃ. Michelson (1939) based his classification of language varieties across Cree-Montagnais on the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l, even though he recognized that classifying language varieties on the basis of this single feature was insufficient. Thus, Plains Cree (Proto-Algonquian *l > j) is classified as a “y-dialect,” Woods Cree (Proto-Algonquian *l > Ʉ) as a “th-dialect,” Swampy Cree as an “n-dialect,” Moose Cree as an “l-dialect,” and Atikamekw as an “r-dialect.”

Pentland (1979) suggested a continuation of this pattern for the palatalized language varieties, classifying what he refers to as Western Montagnais (here in Figure 4 called East Cree and Western Naskapi) as a “y-dialect,” Eastern Montagnais as an “n-dialect,” and Southern Montagnais (here in Figure 4 called Western Montagnais, Pessamiu and Matsheuiatsh) as an “l-dialect.” MacKenzie (1980) however convincingly argues that such classifications based on a single feature are far from clear-cut. Still, the variation found in reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *l continues to be a convenient method that

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4 Here, the term Naskapi is used in the same way as the Ethnologue, that is, it refers to both Innu-aimun as spoken in Natuashish (Eastern Naskapi) and Naskapi as spoken in Kawawachikamach (Western Naskapi).

5 I have replaced the symbols used the references (cf. Michelson 1939 and MacKenzie 1980) with IPA phonetic symbols for consistency in this thesis. See those references for the values of those segments.
identifys an overall characteristic that can be used to classify these varieties of language in a general way.

Figure 4. Cree-Montagnais language varieties and palatalized (eastern) communities (adapted from Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013, and from Oxford 2007)

The uniqueness of the Naskapi variety mentioned earlier is characterized by the distribution of lexical items, phonological innovations, and certain grammatical features not shared with other varieties in the Cree-Montagnais subgroup (MacKenzie 1980:220). Figure 4 shows the relationship between the languages of the Cree-Montagnais subgroup and lists the communities in which the palatalized (eastern) varieties are spoken. Figure 5 shows a current map of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, indicating the settlements of the various palatalized (eastern) Cree-Montagnais language communities today.
1.1.3.2 Grammatical patterns

Naskapi is like other Algonquian languages, characterized by complex words that contain a large number of morphemes (polysynthetic) and flexible word order generally
based on pragmatic or semantic principles (non-configurational syntax). The adult mother tongue biliteracy students who participated in this research began with a perception that parts of speech in Naskapi are classified according to semantic criteria; that is, their understanding, based on their previous instruction in English, was that the names of persons and things are classified as “nouns” while actions and states are classified as “verbs.” The grammatical resource in Appendix A was crafted to account for these perceptions, and to provide a closer examination of the inflectional patterns to show that morphological criteria provide a much more definitive classification than semantics.

Traditional Algonquian grammar (Bloomfield 1946) divides words into three lexical categories: verbs, nouns and particles. Verbs and nouns exhibit complex and distinctive inflectional systems, but particles are generally considered to be indeclinable. Although the practice of grouping the pronouns and demonstratives with the grammatical particles was relatively common in Algonquian descriptions, Oxford (2007) suggests identifying a fourth class of words that includes pronouns and demonstratives. He proposes the general term “nominals” to identify nouns, pronouns and demonstratives together, and thus provides morphological criteria for classifying Algonquian parts of speech as illustrated in Figure 6.

![Figure 6. Classification of Algonquian parts of speech (after Oxford 2007)](image)

1.1.3.3 Word formation

This section provides a description of the nature of Naskapi word stems, the part of the word that carries the semantic core and to which the inflectional affixes are attached.
Minimally, a Naskapi word contains one morpheme, variously referred to as an “initial” or “root,” which may be optionally followed by a “medial,” and lastly an optional “final.” The initial contains the basic or “core” semantic meaning of the word, which may then be further specified by the addition of a final, which indicates the word class. A medial, when it occurs, generally has a classifying notion. Medials often indicate some physical property of a nominal (such as ‘metal’ or ‘liquid’), while medials may also indicate an instrumental sense on verbs (such as ‘by foot’ or ‘using a tool’). All words contain an initial, and the majority of stems also include a final. Medials are not obligatory. Other derivational processes are also used to form words in Naskapi, such as compounding, adding a suffix to indicate the diminutive, and reduplication of the initial syllable or syllables to indicate repetition.

Word formation processes described for other Algonquian languages by Bloomfield (1946), Wolfart (1973), and Goddard (1990) are common to Naskapi as well.

1.1.3.4 Grammatical categories

This section presents an overview of Naskapi inflectional affixes and how these are used to determine the classification of Naskapi parts of speech. Typically, grammatical categories such as gender and number, person and possession, obviation and direction are determined by or have a bearing on inflection.

**Gender and Number.** Like other Algonquian languages, Naskapi has two sets of inflectional morphemes that indicate number for nouns, each set corresponding to their gender category. The term “gender” is used to refer to the binary distinction of animacy versus inanimacy (Clarke and MacKenzie 2004). Nouns are classified according to the animacy of the entity that is named. For example, *siisiip* ‘duck’ is an animate noun and *misinaahiikin* ‘book’ is an inanimate noun. Animate nouns carry an inflectional suffix *-ich* to indicate plural or more than one: for example *siisiip* ‘duck’, *siisiip* *ich* ‘ducks’. Inanimate nouns carry the inflectional suffix *-a* to indicate more than one: *misinaahiikin*
‘book’, misinaahiikin ‘books’. Likewise, different verb stems with different sets of inflections are used depending upon the gender of the participants, thus ni-miskuwaaw siisiip ‘I find (ANIM) a duck’, ni-miskaan misinaahiikin ‘I find (INAN) a book’.

**Person and Possession.** Naskapi nouns are inflected to indicate ownership and the person and number of the possessor: for example ni-siisiipim ‘my duck’, carrying the first person prefix ni- with the possessive suffix -im, on the animate noun siisiip ‘duck’, and umisinaahiikinuwaaw ‘their books’, carrying the third person prefix u- with the plural possessive suffix -uwaaw on the inanimate noun misinaahiikin ‘book’.

Independent verbs also carry similar person-marking affixes: for example, nimiywaayihtaan ‘we (exclusive) are happy’ carrying the first person prefix ni- with the first person plural exclusive suffix -aanaan, on the verb stem miywaayiht ‘be happy’.

**Obviation and Direction.** As is common in Algonquian languages, when reference is made to more than one third person participant, the one mentioned first, or in focus, or more salient, is referred to as the *proximate*, while the other third person participant is referred to as the *obviative*. The criteria for designating a certain participant as proximate or obviative are not always a matter of timing (participant mentioned first) saliency or focus; it is often a more pragmatic choice made by the speaker depending on other discourse-level constraints. However, for the purposes of this introduction to the category, saliency may be mentioned as an important factor in the choice made. When there are two such third person participants in a text, the one designated as proximate is unmarked, while the one designated as obviative is marked with a suffix, as follows: uchimaaw ‘leader (PROXIMATE)’ uchimaawga ‘leader (OBIATIVE)’. Thus in example (1), the -a suffix marks the word uchimaaw ‘leader’ as obviative.

(1) Aaku chwaan aataat aniya uchimaawga
so John she/he.(PROX).says.to.him/her.(OBV) that leader.(OBV)
‘So John says to the leader,’
Obviative marking is obligatory in clauses containing transitive verbs with two third person arguments, and in third person kinship terms such as *utaawiya* ‘her/his father’ or *ustaas*a ‘her/his older brother’, because both the “relative” (father, older brother) and the person he is related to (him/her) are in view in the nominal. Because such obviative participants are sometimes considered “further third persons,” they are often indicated numerically either with 3’ (“three-prime”) or 4 (“fourth person”). Both conventions have been used in Algonquian grammatical descriptions. The descriptions in this thesis and in the grammatical resource in Appendix A will use the numeral 4 (“fourth person”) for pedagogical reasons: it is easier for adult Naskapi mother tongue biliteracy learners to grasp the significance of the numeral 4 as referring to someone “other” or “in addition to” the third person, which is referred to by the numeral 3.

The nominal category of obviation is linked to the verbal category of direction in transitive verbs. Transitivity carries with it a notion of actions being caused or initiated by the entity performing the action (the “agent,” or the term commonly used in Algonquian language descriptions (Wolfart 1973:26) the “actor”), and influencing or affecting the entity receiving the action (the “patient,” or “goal”). Like verbs in other Algonquian languages, Naskapi transitive verbs are inflected with suffixes that indicate the direction of the action. A verb bears the direct inflection suffix when the rank of the actor is higher than the goal on the participant hierarchy (see example (5) below). If the rank of the actor is lower than the goal on the participant hierarchy, then the verb bears the inverse inflection suffix. Examples will help make this clearer to non-speakers of Naskapi:

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6 Wolfart convincingly argues for the use of “actor” and “goal” for Algonquian languages rather than “subject” and “object” as used in descriptions of Indo-european languages, citing Bloomfield (1962:45). The terms “actor” and “goal” have become very widely used by Algonquian scholars.
In English, word order can signal a reversal of “direction” for transitive verbs:

(2) “The man sees the rabbit.” / “The rabbit sees the man.”

In the first sentence, the man is the actor, and in the second sentence the rabbit is the actor. In this type of English sentence, the order of the words plays a major role in determining the direction of the action.

But in the Naskapi sentence in example (3), the noun that functions as the obviative (the fourth person) is marked with the obviative suffix -a, and the verb is inflected with the direct suffix -aaw, which indicates that the actor is higher than the goal in the person hierarchy.

(3) naapaaw waapimaaw waapusa
    man.(PROX) he.(PROX),sees.him.(OBV) rabbit.(OBV)

   ‘The man sees the rabbit.’

To reverse the direction of the action, participant word order need not change, but the verb is inflected with an inverse suffix -ikw indicating that the actor is lower than the goal in the person hierarchy, as in example (4).

(4) naapaaw waapinikw waapusa
    man.(PROX) he.(OBV),sees.him.(PROX) rabbit.(OBV)

   ‘The rabbit sees the man.’

In the Naskapi examples above, the direction suffix on the verb changes (waapimaaw / waapinikw) signaling that the identity of actor and goal are reversed. The rabbit in both sentences is marked with the obviative ending -a. The verb ending tells us whether the action respects the hierarchy (direct) and thus whether the rabbit (obviative) is the actor or goal. If the ending on the verb is -aaw then the direction of the action respects the hierarchy, and the noun marked as obviative is the goal, receiving the action. However if the ending on the verb is -ikw then the direction of the action is the inverse of the hierarchy, and the noun marked as obviative is the actor, doing the action. Essentially
the direction marker on the verb and obviative marker on the noun work together to perform the same function that word order does in English.

The participants are ranked in the person hierarchy as follows:

(5) \( 2 > 1 > X > 3 > 4 > 5 > 0 \)

In the person hierarchy and elsewhere in this thesis, numerals are used to indicate person: \(2\) refers to “second person” (you), \(1\) refers to “first person” (me), \(3\) refers to “third person” (him, her) proximate, and \(4\) refers to “fourth person,” or “further third person,” obviative. The numeral \(5\) refers to “fifth person” or “further obviative.” The symbol \(X\) refers to “unspecified subject” (someone), and \(0\) refers to an inanimate noun. When a transitive verb is inflected with a direct suffix, the identification of the actor and goal respects the person hierarchy. When a transitive verb is inflected with an inverse suffix, the identification of the actor and goal is the inverse of the person hierarchy.

Table 2. Some examples of Naskapi verb paradigm sets\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Paradigm set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-nipaa-n</td>
<td>‘I sleep’</td>
<td>Independent Indicative Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-nipaan-awaa</td>
<td>‘It seems that I am asleep’</td>
<td>Independent Indicative Neutral, Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-nipaa-naatik</td>
<td>‘[I see in a picture or video that] I am sleeping’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-nipaa-naasipin</td>
<td>‘I was asleep [I found out later]’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ni-nipaa-naasipinuwa</td>
<td>‘it seems that I was asleep [I found out later]’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Past, Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa-nipaa-yaan</td>
<td>‘[he knows that] I am asleep’</td>
<td>Conjunct Indicative Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naapaa-waachaa</td>
<td>‘[I don’t know whether] I am sleeping [in his bed]’</td>
<td>Conjunct Dubitative Preterite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs also carry distinct sets of prefixes and suffixes that indicate tense, aspect and modality, whereby speakers distinguish whether a statement is a certain eyewitnessed fact

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\(^7\) This is only a representative sample of the verb paradigm sets in Naskapi. A full listing is found in Appendix A.
or whether the speaker intends to indicate some degree of evidentiality, doubt or inferred factuality. Each of these collected sets of prefixes and suffixes are referred to as the verb paradigms sets, examples shown in Table 2, and described in more detail in Appendix A.

Moreover, Naskapi verbs also may take preverbs, which are morphemes that occur between the person and tense prefixes and the verb stem. Such preverbs indicate manner, ability, volition or degree, and are considered to be part of the verb complex. Examples (6) through (8) illustrate the use of modal preverbs of volition wii- and ability chii-:

(6) $ni$- nipaa -n
   1 sleep 1s
   ‘I sleep.’

(7) $ni$- wii- nipaa -n
   1 VOL sleep 1s
   ‘I want to sleep.’

(8) $ni$- chii- nipaa -n
   1 ABIL sleep 1s
   ‘I can sleep.’

A common phenomenon related to inflection on verbs is an ablaut process that affects the first vowel of the verb, called initial change. For example, the verb stem nipaa ‘sleep’ often has the corresponding changed form naapaa in the conjunct order, cf. the Conjunct Dubitative Preterit form in Table 2. Initial change often occurs on verbs in content questions and relative clauses. When a preverb is present, initial change affects the first vowel of the preverb or prefix rather than the stem.

1.2 Naskapi Orthography

The structure of the writing system of Naskapi plays an important role in the application of this research, because it is so closely related to issues of literacy and biliteracy. This section describes the Naskapi orthographic situation in detail.
1.2.1 Canadian Syllabics

The Canadian syllabic writing system, which is also called simply “Canadian syllabics,” refers to a family of alphasyllabic scripts used to write Aboriginal Canadian languages of the Algonquian, Eskimo-Aleut, and Athabaskan language families (Comrie 2005:568, 2001).

In Canadian syllabics, the consonant is represented by the shape of the character, and the vowel is represented by the character’s orientation.

Canadian syllabics are currently used to write many of the language varieties included in the Cree-Montagnais subgroup from Naskapi in the east, to the Rocky Mountains on the west, including East Cree, Moose Cree, Eastern and Western Swampy Cree, Woods Cree, Plains Cree and Northern Alberta (Woodland) Cree. Syllabics are also used to write Inuktitut in the eastern Canadian Arctic. In the Canadian territory of Nunavut, syllabics are co-official with the roman alphabet. Syllabics are used regionally for many dialects of Ojibwe in Western Canada, and have been used as well as for Blackfoot, but are obsolete in that dialect. Among the Athabaskan languages north of the Algonquian family, syllabics have been used to write Carrier, Chipewyan, Slavey, Tli Cho (Dogrib), Tasttine (Beaver), and Dene-Suline. The map in Figure 7 indicates the approximate current range of use for Canadian syllabics.8

8 In some Cree and Ojibwe communities, both roman and syllabic writing systems are used. Some school districts have opted to teach roman spelling rather than syllabics, others have continued to use syllabics exclusively. It should be understood that although the map in Figure 7 shows approximate regions that use syllabics, it is more accurate to say that the system is used in individual localities and specific communities within these regions. The “Laurentian Plateau” refers to a geographic region of North America that includes much of northern Canada from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean.
Figure 7. Language varieties that currently use Canadian syllabics

1.2.1.1 How it works

The shape of the symbol represents the consonant. For example, the shape of the symbol $\pi$ represents the consonant $p$, and the shape of the symbol $ᑎ$ represents the consonant $t$.

To encode the same consonant with a different vowel, the orientation of the character is changed (either rotated or inverted). Figure 8 shows a common (East Cree) chart of syllabics characters that illustrates the pattern of four orientations.

From the chart it can be seen that to write the same consonant with a different vowel, only the orientation of the character is changed. Technically, some characters are “rotated” (90 degrees) and other characters are “inverted” (horizontal or vertical mirror-image), but both orientation methods give the sense of being “reversed” for each character shape.

Many Cree language varieties have phonemic contrast between tense and lax vowels, which is often referred to and perceived as vowel length (Muehlbauer 2012). In these varieties, such vowel length is commonly indicated by a dot diacritic over the character, a
practice referred to as “pointing;” that is, “pointed syllabics” refers to syllabic writing systems that distinguish long vowels from short by using an overdot diacritic. The East Cree syllabic chart in Figure 8 is a generic “un-pointed” chart; that is, no overdot diacritics are shown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vowel alone</td>
<td>▽</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>(h) &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>·▽</td>
<td>·△</td>
<td>·△</td>
<td>·△</td>
<td>◊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>▽</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>＜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>Ｕ</td>
<td>Ｊ</td>
<td>Ｐ</td>
<td>표</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ȧ</td>
<td>ṁ</td>
<td>ḫ</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
<td>ǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>הילד</td>
<td>Ｊ</td>
<td>Ｌ</td>
<td>Ｌ</td>
<td>も</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>０</td>
<td>％</td>
<td>＆</td>
<td>＊</td>
<td>表</td>
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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>０</td>
<td>ść</td>
<td>ść</td>
<td>ść</td>
<td>の</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
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<td>ń</td>
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<td>ń</td>
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<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
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<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
<td>ń</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8. East Cree syllabic chart

A syllable with w as the second element in a consonant cluster is represented by a dot placed to one side of the basic character, as on the “w” row in the chart in Figure 8, written as shown on the bottom row in Table 3.
Both dot diacritics may be combined on one character, indicating a consonant cluster with \( w \) along with vowel length, also shown in Table 3.

### Table 3. Typical use of dot diacritics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabic representation</th>
<th>Syllabic representation</th>
<th>Syllabic representation</th>
<th>Syllabic representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa</td>
<td>taa</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaa</td>
<td>twaa</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>kwaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For closed syllables, the character representing the coda consonant is written as a superscript, as in the “finals” column of the chart and in example (9).

(9) ᓂᓰᓰ siisiip ‘duck’, ᓂᑯᑎᐠ kutik ‘other’, ᓂᐧᐋᐳᐢ waapus ‘rabbit’

Most communities from approximately the Manitoba-Ontario border and eastward (including Naskapi) use a small, raised version of the \( a- \) syllabic series for these finals, as shown in the chart in Figure 8 and in example (9). The \( w \) and the \( h \) finals are exceptions to this pattern, with a small raised circle representing the \( w \) final (°), and two vertical strokes representing the \( h \) final (”). In many western communities, a different set of finals is used, as in example (10).

(10) ᓂᓰ siisiip ‘duck’, ᓂᑯ(JSONObject) kutik ‘other’, ᓂᐧᐋᐳ waapus ‘rabbit’

### 1.2.1.2 History and development

Cree legend attributes syllabics as a gift from the Creator Kise-manito to two Cree elders—Mista-naskowew, from Western Canada and Machi-minahtik, from Eastern Canada (Samson Cree Nation 2012). Historical accounts attribute the development of syllabics to James Evans, a Methodist missionary who worked among the Ojibwa and Cree in northern Canada.

Evans developed the script during the winter of 1840 at Norway House in Ruperts’ Land, in what is now Manitoba. Evans’ script has also been shown to have
correspondences with the abugida writing systems of Brahmi and Devanagari, as well as Indigenous Cree and Ojibwa geometrical designs or pictographs (Nichols 1996).

1.2.1.3 Adoption and use

The local Cree speakers quickly took to Evans’ syllabic script for writing their language. Cree people began to use it to write messages on tree bark using burnt sticks, leaving messages out on hunting trails far from the mission. Even at this early date, Evans believed that it was well adapted to Aboriginal Canadian languages, particularly the Algonquian languages that he was familiar with. He claimed that “with some slight alterations” it could be used to write “every language from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains” (Evans 1801-1846: June 11, 1841, letter to Evans’ brother).

Reverend George Barnley arrived at Moose Factory (see Figures 1 and 5) at the foot of James Bay in 1840, and during his first two years was mostly unsuccessful in his own attempts at formulating a usable writing system for Moose Cree. His plan had been to attempt to develop a writing system based on Byron’s stenography. However, he reports that in October 1842 two Cree speakers from Fort Severn, on western Hudson Bay, arrived at Moose Factory with a sample of James Evans’ syllabic writing obtained from Norway House at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. Barnley abandoned his own system of writing and adopted the Evans syllabics, first introduced to the James Bay region by these Fort Severn Cree, for the sake of uniformity in translations (Long 1986).

This sequence of events is repeated countless times across the territory where these languages are spoken, as the speakers themselves passed the skill of reading and writing along with the remarkable writing system that John Murdoch calls a “Successful Educational Innovation” in the title of his thesis (Murdoch 1981). Murdoch’s thesis

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9 In Canada, a Master’s thesis is commonly referred to as a dissertation.
towards the degree of Master of Education (University of Manitoba) examines the nature and evolution of Canadian syllabics, and provides a thorough and extensive description of the development and propagation of this writing system.

Murdoch’s thesis explains why “thousands of Crees who had no literate traditions in 1840 were literate only a decade later without any schooling at all” (Murdoch 1981:1). This was due to several factors, including Evans’ competence in Algonquian languages and his insight into the culture of the Cree people he came to serve. Evans was also a skilled woodsman, printer, tinsmith, and an innovator. Unlike many of his Euro-Canadian contemporaries, he lived and traveled with the Aboriginal people he came to serve. All these factors, combined with kinship ties between Cree families and the vast hunting territories that they traveled across regularly, contributed to the growth and transmission of the syllabic writing system. Murdoch’s thesis also helps one understand how, in spite of detractors since its invention, Canadian syllabics has endured as a writing system for many communities throughout the north.

1.2.2 Naskapi Writing System Distinctives

In this section, the ways that Naskapi is written differently from other varieties of Canadian syllabics is described, along with an account of the development of the Naskapi writing system and a description of Naskapi literacy domains.

As noted in the historical sections, the ancestors of the current residents of Kawawachikamach were not only nomadic caribou hunters, but were also very widely traveled. At the extremes of their territorial range, they would have extended or intimate contact with speakers of several other language varieties in the Cree-Montagnais subgroup. Brittain and MacKenzie (2010:9) observe in their draft of Naskapi-English Structures that the emergence of the two language varieties spoken at Kawawachikamach
and Natuashish respectively was at least in part due to their simultaneous conversion to different expressions of Christianity:

One of these factors was the introduction of the Naskapi to distinct Christian traditions: the Davis Inlet Naskapi became Catholics while the majority of the Fort Chimo Naskapi became Anglicans (Tanner 1944:659). Since no religious texts were available in Naskapi at the time of their conversion to Christianity, the Fort Chimo Naskapi adopted East Cree Christian texts (which had been translated for the people at Chisasibi\textsuperscript{10}), and the Davis Inlet Naskapi adopted texts translated into Montagnais for their southern neighbors. Thus, to a greater degree than at any time in the past, for the purposes of worship, the Fort Chimo Naskapi were exposed to East Cree, the Davis Inlet Naskapi to Montagnais.\textsuperscript{11}

There is evidence that the Naskapi began to embrace the teachings of the Church of England as taught to them by clergy who visited the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Fort Chimo as early as the end of the 19th century, and who established an Anglican mission there in 1904 (Hammond 2013). So it is possible to assume that the Naskapi first learned to read and write from clergy at the Anglican mission about this time.

However, in light of Murdoch’s claims (1981:176), it appears more likely that Cree speakers from the Fort George (Chisasibi) area related to Naskapi ancestors were the first

\textsuperscript{10} Chisasibi was formerly known as Fort George; these Cree texts refer to the Walton texts, sample in Figure 10. Sample pages from Walton’s Prayer Book (“the brown book”).

\textsuperscript{11} MacKenzie (1980) details the linguistic impact of these associations.
to transmit the skills of reading and writing in syllabics to the Naskapi families that frequented the Ungava Bay area, rather than the clergy themselves. And, given the historical context, it is probable that this transmission occurred near the beginning of the 20th century.

At that time, the printed religious texts available would have been those prepared by the Rev. John Horden, Bishop of Moosonee, translated into Moose Cree by himself and his Cree colleagues (Evans 1985). Figure 9 shows an example of a page from Horden’s Proper Lessons from the Old Testament (Horden 1878).

![Sample page from Horden’s Proper Lessons ('the green book')]
Just a few years later, the Rev. William “Reindeer” Walton and his wife began translating religious material into the northern dialect of East Cree, the language variety spoken at Chisasibi and Whapmagoostui (Morantz 2002).

Figure 10. Sample pages from Walton’s Prayer Book (‘the brown book’)

This dialect of Cree is much closer than Moose Cree to the language spoken by present-day Naskapi people, and several families presently living in Kawawachikamach are directly related to people living in those regions. When this researcher first began fieldwork at Kawawachikamach in the late 1980s, Horden’s Moose Cree New Testament, kaawiiwapach misinaahiikin ‘the black book’ (Horden 1876), Horden’s Book of Common Prayer and Psalms, kaamiikhwaach misinaahiikin ‘the red book’ (Horden 1890), Walton’s Book of Common Prayer and Hymns kaachistaamaawaapuuch misinaahiikin ‘the brown book’ (Walton 1923), and Horden’s Proper Lessons from the Old Testament kaasiipaakuuch misinaahiikin ‘the green book’ (Horden 1878), along with several other titles in syllabics were in daily and widespread use by all literate Naskapi persons. These
books employed a version of Canadian syllabics shown in Figure 8, and described in the previous section; examples of which are shown in Figure 9 (Horden 1878) and Figure 10 (Walton 1923).

In spite of the common use of these materials from the Cree communities among the Naskapi, those who wrote in syllabics did not strictly follow the orthographic patterns used by these printed varieties of Moose Cree and East Cree respectively. Instead, Naskapi people innovated their distinctive writing system in their own personal correspondence and note-taking, which continued to be developed to its present form through the 1990s.

Like the Northern dialect of East Cree (where Walton served), Naskapi has undergone a vowel merger between /e/ and /aa/ in which all occurrences of /e/ are realized as /aa/. This process is described in detail by MacKenzie (1980:98), and as a result one entire column of the syllabic chart is not necessary for Naskapi. Also, as noted by Murdoch, the majority of literate readers of syllabics who learned to read in an informal setting dispense with the overdot diacritic that indicates vowel length (Murdoch 1981:33), already referred to as “pointed syllabics.” While many school jurisdictions, including the Cree School Board in Quebec, continue to use the full “pointed syllabics” set in their education curriculum and manuals for standardized spelling (MacKenzie 1985, Bobbish-Salt and MacKenzie 2006), today’s Naskapi orthography has been handed down from those who used it in daily life “un-pointed.” In order to help highlight the differences between Naskapi and the East Cree syllabic chart (Figure 8), the Naskapi syllabic chart is shown in Figure 11.
Thus, each of the three vowel orientations may indicate either “long” or “short” vowels, indicated in the roman representation of the orthography by doubling the vowel.

In the fourth column in Figure 11 we find the standard “eastern finals” which are used whenever a single consonant is needed, for closed syllables or for the relatively common consonant cluster with an initial sibilant, as in spi or sku (‘Δ, ‘d) as in Δ^ΔΓ^Γ
ispimiihch ‘up, over, above’, or Δ^ΔΓ^Γ wiiskuswaaw ‘she/he smokes it to change its (ANIM) color’.

In the fifth column of the Naskapi syllabic chart (Figure 11), we find one distinction of Naskapi that sets it apart visually from all other versions of Canadian syllabics. It is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i/ii</th>
<th>u/uu</th>
<th>a/aa</th>
<th>final</th>
<th>Cwaa</th>
<th>kw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>vowel alone</strong></td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>(h) &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>·Δ</td>
<td>·△</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>△</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11. Naskapi syllabic chart
the way the Naskapi orthography indicates the common feature of consonant clusters with \( w \). Most syllabic orthographies present this feature with a single dot at mid-height. Many western languages (i.e., Plains Cree) place the mid-dot to the right or following the character in question \( kwe \) (雒) \( kwaa \) (ᒥ), while eastern languages (i.e., Moose Cree) place the mid-dot to the left or before the character in question \( kwe \) ((Qt)) \( kwaa \) (ᒥ). Naskapi is unique in placing two dots to the left. This is probably an interpretation and eventual evolution of the East Cree and Moose Cree placement of both the dot for vowel length (above) and the “\( w \) dot” (to the left). Since the \( e \) vowel has merged with \( aa \) in Naskapi, the only set of characters that ever occur in Naskapi with the “\( w \) dot” are the ones that would also have an overdot for vowel length \( kwaa \) (ᒥ) \( mwaa \) (ᒥ). It would seem that over time Naskapi writers shifted the positions of the two diacritic dots on these characters to the current positions shown in the fifth column in Figure 11. Table 4 compares the Cree and Naskapi forms for these characters.

Table 4. Comparison of East Cree and Naskapi diacritics for clusters with \( w \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East Cree</th>
<th>Naskapi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( pwaa )</td>
<td>( pwaa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( twaa )</td>
<td>( twaa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kwaa )</td>
<td>( kwaa )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The \( wi / wii \) Naskapi syllabic character (ᐃ) only carries one dot. The reason for this may be because this character is called upon to represent both long and short \( i \) equally in many contexts. Frequency counts in Naskapi text corpora reveal that the \( wi / wii \) character (ᐃ) represents \( wi \) in 52% of occurrences and \( wii \) in 48% of occurrences—a nearly equal distribution. On the other hand the \( wa / waa \) character (ᐧᒡ) represents \( waa \) (long vowel) in 91% of occurrences and \( wa \) (short vowel) in only 9% of occurrences.
Thus, most contexts that have syllabic characters with two dots for *w* also have vowel length.

Finally, one lone final occurs in the sixth column of the chart in Figure 11, *kw* (으) to represent the final *kw* sound, found in many common words like ]<ט: atiihw ‘caribou’, ہ כ: kaakw ‘porcupine’, and  י: mwaakw ‘loon’. The use of this symbol provides symbolic contrast for final *k* without *w*. Compare the words  י: mikw ‘only, but’, which ends in *kw*, with  י: maak ‘then, so, or’, which ends in *k*, to appreciate this difference.

At one time in the late 1980s, a linguist’s proposal (MacKenzie 1990) for harmonizing the Naskapi syllabic orthography with the much more widely used East Cree syllabic orthography was circulated in the form of one of the checking drafts of the *Naskapi Lexicon*. It was presented with the hope that, should the Naskapi community choose to adopt it, many of the materials being produced at that time by Cree Programs under the auspices of the Cree School Board for the East Cree Northern Dialect communities (Eastmain, Wemindji, Chisasibi and Whapmagoostui) could also be used for Naskapi. However this proposal was not accepted by Naskapi readers at that time because of a strongly held sense of ownership of their current writing system as a unique expression of their community. Given the historical situation at the time and the emergence of a Naskapi ethnic and political identity distinct from Cree or Montagnais (Innu), their preference for a writing system of their own is understandable, and has proved in time to have been beneficial and successful, as will be evident in subsequent sections of this thesis.

Two more unique and traditional features of written Naskapi have been encoded into the standard Naskapi orthography as well. One is the use of a “contraction” when consonant clusters with *w* are preceded by an initial sibilant. Naskapi speakers perceive these sequences as an orthographic unit, and are rendered with the *s* symbol (*) written
between the “length dot” and the “w dot,” as follows: spwaa is written (⾯), stwaa is written (⻈), skwaa is written (*ft). While sometimes this is rendered typographically as a sequence of s + pwaa, that is, spwaa as ⦅⾯, the contraction is strongly preferred by writers, and examples of these can be found in the handwriting example in Figure 13.

The other feature employed by Naskapi writers that has been incorporated into the standard Naskapi orthography is a secondary use of the mid-dot diacritic. A standard phonological feature of Cree-Montagnais languages is the phonemic pre-aspiration of consonants (Scott 2000:113). That is, hk is realized as a contrasting separate phoneme from k. For example, niikaa- the stem morpheme meaning ‘in front’ as in niikaniskim ‘she/he is the leader of it, in front’, contrasts with niihkaa- a stem morpheme meaning ‘slow’, in niihkaatisiiw ‘she/he is slow’. In most situations, context is sufficient for readers to know whether a consonant is meant to be pre-aspirated. However, because of a higher frequency of contrast between hk and k in similar environments, Naskapi writers began to distinguish these by writing a single mid-dot in front of the k series of syllabics. Indeed, for the conjunct indicative neutral paradigm, the aspiration alone provides the contrast between second person plural and first person plural inclusive, as shown in examples (11) and (12):

(11) chaa-chischaayihtimaakw ‘you (PL) will know it’ (-aakw, 2p suffix)
(12) chaa-chischaayihtimaahkw ‘we (INCL) will know it’ (-aahkw, 2I suffix)

In standard East Cree syllabics, all pre-aspiration and intervocalic h consonants are marked with an “h” syllabic character (ꞌ). That is, chaa-chischaayihtimaahkw ‘we (INCL) will know it’ is written in Cree thus: Ꚗिायꞌꞌꞌꞌꞌꞌ while in Naskapi syllabics it is standard practice to write this same word as follows: Ꚕ� isize ꚕꞌ Ꚗꞌꞌ ꚕꞌ, indicating only the pre-aspiration on the final k sound with the single dot. In Naskapi, the “h” syllabic character (ꞌ) is only used rarely, exclusively for intervocalic h between similar vowels,
as in **uuuu** (óóóó‘owl’ and in **niiii** (óóóΔ) ‘yes’. For this reason this character is often not included within the Naskapi syllabic chart itself, but rather in a note below the chart.

The Naskapi syllabic chart used in publications, education, and material production is similar to the chart provided in Figure 11, but also modified to meet the needs of the users by providing the roman equivalencies for each symbol along with a terse prose account of the special cases described above. This version of the chart also provides Naskapi keyboardists with instructions for accessing characters on computers via the Naskapi keyboard input method. The Naskapi syllabic chart for publication purposes is provided in Figure 12.

Other versions of the Naskapi syllabic chart have also been produced for pedagogical purposes, including charts that do not have any English or roman text on them at all, and charts that are used as worksheets for students to fill in.
Naskapi Syllabic Chart & Keyboard Layout

(Window) Keyman or Keyman Desktop (Mac) International Naskapi Common

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>waaw</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>paaw</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>taaw</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kaaw</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chii</td>
<td>chaaw</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mii</td>
<td>maaaw</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>naaw</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>saaw</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
<td>yaaaw</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Symbols:

For a "thin space" (after preverbs) press the ‘_’ key. –like this: type ni_misinaichan to get ᑲᓇᓯ ᒥᓯᓇn

For the ᐃ‘’ in words like ᐃ‘’ ‘yes’ or ᐃ‘’ ‘owl,’ type h=.

For the soft k ᖃ, ᖃ in words like ᖃ‘’ ‘he is sick’ or ᖃ‘’ ‘his relative,’ type hk.

The symbols ᕴ plus ᕵ may be contractions thus: ᕴ ᕶ and ᕴ. Type spwa for ᕴ.

For curved quotes press the ‘<’ key for ‘’ and the key ‘>’ for ‘’ –like this: type <naskapi> to get “a."b“A”

Final ᕴ may also be written ‘’ as in: ᕴ’ pimiy ‘oil.’ –press the ‘‘ key for ‘’

X is the symbol for Christ, just type ‘Christ.’

Although the following sounds do not exist in Naskapi, the characters are often used to spell proper names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12. Naskapi syllabic chart in publications and pedagogical materials
1.2.3 *Naskapi Literacy Domains*

This section outlines the place of written Naskapi in the community today, including the development of a unique Naskapi curriculum, various community language departments, and the use of written Naskapi in education, the workplace, worship and family life.

Hammond (2013) provides evidence that ancestors of the present day Naskapi people embraced literacy for not only religious purposes, but also for routine interpersonal communication, correspondence, and record keeping. Over the years through the 20th century, various examples of such documents were preserved and passed from generation to generation. Figure 13 and Figure 14 provide facsimile examples of some of these documents.

Just as Morantz reports for the James Bay Cree, the Naskapi quickly and completely embraced literacy in syllabics, a “magical form of communication” (Morantz 2002:82). Personal interviews and participant observations by this researcher in the 1980s in Kawawachikamach indicate that nearly everyone older than fifty at that time was at least basically literate, and many were accomplished readers and writers of syllabics. While the primary domain for Naskapi literacy until the 1980s was at church, many individuals and families read from their Cree prayer books or Bibles in their homes regularly, if not daily. Some Naskapi men had the custom of reading set portions each evening and morning. Several elders still do this: often they can be heard reading aloud, or singing from the Cree hymnal, at home during the day. Many homes, in spite of having scant furniture, had a special place, a cloth-covered table or nightstand, where the books were kept, indicating the importance of not only the ritual but also the books themselves. During their frequent hunting excursions to the bush, it was customary practice to bring the books along. In those days the books were few and all of them were small: four or five books could easily fit into a handmade drawstring bag that was especially made for
the purpose of transporting and keeping the books, carrying them to church over the shoulder or packing them together with hunting gear to bring to the bush during goose hunting, caribou hunting, or fishing.

Every older adult this researcher interviewed in over two decades of work in the Naskapi community, without exception, indicated that they learned to read (and often write) syllabics from a family member; an uncle or grandfather, using a Cree prayer
book, hymnal or portion of the Bible. Services were held by a Naskapi catechist or lay readers, three or more times per week throughout the year. Prayers and scripture would be read aloud, and three or more songs sung from the well-worn Cree hymnals.

When the Naskapi community began to establish an organized local government in the 1970s, their leaders consistently and systematically made it their practice to have not only simultaneous Naskapi language translation in meetings with representatives from
outside the community, but to also engage Naskapi personnel to provide written translations of important documents, minutes of meetings, and agreements. In the later 1970s and early 1980s, some of these documents were also regularly keyboarded in syllabics using a specially made Olivetti “Editor 4” electric typewriter owned by the Naskapi Development Corporation.

Figure 15. Joseph Guanish’s environmental impact study transcription, p. S-1

Even though English was the primary language of instruction during the 1980s, the Naskapi school did at that time also begin conducting classes in basic syllabics for
children. While some materials from the Cree School Board from James Bay Cree were employed, increasingly the Naskapi teachers began to develop their own materials that reflected the uniqueness of the language variety and the orthography in the distinctive Naskapi style described in the previous sections.

In the late 1980s, the first computers came into the community, and as soon as software could be developed to display and print syllabics (Jancewicz 2005), Naskapi personnel who were engaged in translation work were trained to begin producing their own materials in Naskapi at the Naskapi Nation office, the Naskapi Development Corporation office, and the school. This not only provided the opportunity to reproduce Naskapi language reading material easily, but also introduced the ability to edit and revise documents, as well as begin to compile a corpus of Naskapi texts for linguistic documentation and research.

During the 1990s, several non-Naskapi teachers initiated attempts to improve the educational opportunities for students to learn to read and write the Naskapi language. Eventually, the Naskapi curriculum development department was formed (Jancewicz 1998, Jancewicz et al. 2002, Aitken and McKenzie 2010). This was accomplished by identifying and equipping key teachers in the school to become important catalysts by involving them in Naskapi language material development. This provided the impetus for Naskapi to become the language of instruction in the primary grades at the Naskapi school. The fact that computers could at that time begin to be used by Naskapi staff and students to process the Naskapi language contributed to the success of this initiative.

The Naskapi Development Corporation began to take steps towards pursuing its educational and cultural mandate by increasing its focus on language-related projects through the 1990s. Under the supervision of Marguerite MacKenzie, they published the first edition of the *Naskapi Lexicon* (MacKenzie and Jancewicz 1994), and made steady progress on translation projects, including the production of transcriptions of Naskapi
legends and stories, translations of portions of the Bible and prayer books in Naskapi, and other language materials of value to the community.

Clergy at the Naskapi church at Kawawachikamach began in the 1990s to produce Naskapi language versions of the prayer books, Bible readings and hymns, using the familiar Cree books as a guide, but also sometimes attempting to adjust the language, using help from lay-readers and others, to make them more like Naskapi. It must be remembered that early literacy in syllabics until the late 1980s implied the ability to read books that had been translated into languages that were different from Naskapi: a significant amount of intra-language-family translation was required for Naskapi speakers to read these books. Many therefore developed a knowledge of Plains Cree, Moose Cree and East (James Bay) Cree, along with a practiced ability to translate from these into Naskapi. While it is difficult to determine how well these varieties of Cree were understood by Naskapi speakers, it is clear from this researcher’s interviews with them that some speakers were (and still are) quite skilled in their knowledge of these other languages. With the advances made in producing quantities of good quality books in the local variety of present-day Naskapi, the need for such multi-lingual skill is far less important than it used to be.

While significant progress has been made in Naskapi language education for children at the school, and traditional domains of Naskapi literacy in the community are beginning to expand, there remain some significant shortcomings that prevent the Naskapi language community from reaching its full potential. This thesis seeks to address these shortcomings with regard to biliteracy in the Naskapi community, as described in the next sections.
1.3 Context of Research

This section is an overview of the research and language development work of academic language advocates working in Naskapi and other closely related languages. Already mentioned and cited in previous sections is the work of Marguerite MacKenzie, with Memorial University of Newfoundland. She began her work in the 1970s with the Mistissini Cree (James Bay Cree, Southern Dialect) and has provided linguistic support to many language communities throughout the Cree-Montagnais subgroup, especially in the languages spoken from James Bay eastward. Besides her academic work focusing on descriptive grammatical analysis, and tireless editorial work on three major dictionaries, she has also provided assistance, guidance and training for speakers in orthography standardization and education (Jancewicz and MacKenzie 2002, Brittain and MacKenzie 2010).

Ann-Marie Baraby’s goals in her Ph.D dissertation (Baraby 2011) include writing a reference grammar for Innu-aimun, a task that has become a work of significance for herself and her many colleagues and collaborators, which she has proposed to do by employing a multi-level strategy (Baraby 2012). Her dissertation and the foundational work in grammaticography that she has accomplished over the past decade would appear to cover much of the ground already that the task of this current Naskapi research proposes to cover, particularly with regard to crafting a grammatical resource (Appendix A). While her work is very useful and does in fact inform the grammaticographic model proposed herein, the Naskapi research described in this paper has a different focus than does Baraby’s: language documentation of Naskapi for its own sake takes second place. What is actually in focus for Naskapi is reading pedagogy—using knowledge of grammatical structures as scaffolding in order to leverage their existing skills to significantly improve the success of Naskapis learning to read their own language.
In this regard, this researcher has recently benefited from valuable, significant and practical support for reading pedagogy on all levels by the work of Lori Morris, from the University of Quebec at Montreal. She initiated and continues to shepherd an initiative in the Innu language community of Betsiamites, Quebec, where she has trained teachers in the local school to test and monitor expressive and receptive lexical knowledge. She has designed this testing to be a key component that informs and focuses practical strategies for training mother tongue teachers in metalinguistic, lexical and morphological knowledge. The combination of testing students, and then using these results to train mother tongue teachers by focusing on student ability has shown to provide the necessary structure for reading success in both the mother tongue and second language of elementary school students. Her assessment procedures quantify the importance not only of phonological awareness, but also (crucially for this research) the place of morphosyntactic knowledge and lexical inventory in education (Morris and MacKenzie 2012). Some of the lexical and morphological testing procedures developed by Morris for children were also employed by this researcher, applying them to participants in this study. The results of these tests informed the design of methodology described in section 3.4.4 of this thesis.

Marie-Odile Junker’s work on the East Cree online dictionary and grammar website was initiated to develop and enhance online resources with a view to placing linguistic knowledge and grammatical and lexical information at the fingertips of language speakers (Junker et al. 2004, Junker and Luchian 2007). With an increasing sophistication among speakers of Cree-Montagnais, coupled with better access to such resources on computers and handheld devices, Cree, Innu and eventually Naskapi speakers will have more and more ways to explore and discover their own languages. It is hoped that besides the goal of documentation, the viability of these languages may also be enhanced by opening new contexts and milieu for their existence. The language course described in
section 3.2 of this thesis included an introduction of these resources to the participants of the study.

1.3.1 Grammar

This section outlines some previous work on grammatical description, and the use of these descriptions among mother tongue speakers of Naskapi and other related languages.

As early as 1983, a practical grammar of Naskapi was prepared for use by Naskapi speakers and teachers at the Naskapi school (Martens and Chase 1983). This small book provides a basic general introduction to the Naskapi language by comparing categories with English. It takes a loosely structural approach, introducing the sounds of the language, giving a simple outline of the syllabic writing system, grammatical categories, and examples for the processes of inflection and derivation. The section that introduces verbs describes concepts such as transitivity, and also includes inflection and order and tense. While the intention is to remain simple, the presentation suffers somewhat because of the order of the topics covered. The outline of the various sections is not confined to a morphological framework: for example, the section on noun inflection that marks obviative is presented between two unrelated sections that describe inanimate intransitive verb inflection and modal preverbs. While Baraby (2012:90) argues that it is often preferable to mix structural and functional approaches, and she follows through by crafting her Innu-aimun grammar with some sections arranged structurally (parts of speech) and other sections described using a more functional approach (semantics of modalities), Martens and Chase’s grammar of Naskapi has such short sections that it is easy to lose one’s bearings and miss seeing the pattern that the authors intend. However, in spite of these minor shortcomings, the book provides speakers and non-speakers alike with a common metalanguage to use to talk about linguistic features, and was an invaluable entry point into the language for this researcher.
Other, more detailed descriptions of specific topics of Naskapi grammar have been published and are useful within the scope of their description, including articles on Naskapi nominalizations (Jancewicz 1997), preverbs (Jancewicz and Mackenzie 1998), discourse analysis (Jancewicz 2000), morphosyntax (Brittain 2001), pronouns (Jancewicz and Nabinicaboo 2006), and several drafts (Jancewicz et al. no date) of a “working” grammatical description of a collaborative nature which have been used as classroom reference materials for speakers and curious non-speakers. These articles and descriptions provided some of the source material for the grammatical resource and instructional method developed by this research.

1.3.2 Lexicon

The researchers named in the previous section have also been deeply involved in lexicography work in Naskapi and other related languages. Indeed, it has been lexicography that has not only opened the door into the Naskapi community for other linguistic research, but also was the entry point for several of the named researchers to begin collaborative works and to serve the various related language communities with tangible items that met a strongly felt need. Of course, for any language, a dictionary of any size is not only remarkably useful, but provides a level of prestige and distinction that speakers of such minority languages desire. It has been no different for the Naskapi language, with the added benefit that the lexicon has a positive influence on standardization of spelling and orthography, stemming from local use of the lexicon and Naskapi speaker involvement with the ongoing growth and revision process.

1.3.2.1 Naskapi lexicon project

In 1994 a published lexicon of Naskapi words with their English and French translations was the result of a long-term project that had been sponsored by the Naskapi Development Corporation beginning in 1979. This project had two primary aims: first, to
establish a locally acceptable standard for writing Naskapi words in syllabics; and
second, to create the first official trilingual (Naskapi, English and French) lexicon of the
Naskapi language. MacKenzie and Jancewicz, in the introduction to the *Naskapi Lexicon*
describe the project this way:

“This lexicon is the result of years of work by many
persons, and this first edition is as accurate as possible. It
has been produced largely by and for the Naskapi
community itself, and as such it is a reflection of the culture
and language of the community.”

(MacKenzie and Jancewicz 1994)

The project endured through its humble beginnings with wordlists collected by
Agnes McKenzie, a Naskapi language teacher working in the Naskapi school in the late
1970s. Marguerite MacKenzie and Lana Martens began working on the project by
compiling, editing and filing the words on 3” x 5” slips of paper. After these were
proofread and keyboarded at Memorial University of Newfoundland (St. John’s), the
lexicon became one of the first Algonquian dictionaries to be maintained on computer
equipment. Over the years of the project, computer technology was rapidly developing,
and the database went from mainframe computers to laptops through the 1980s and
1990s. Several printouts were produced and sent back to the community for review
during this time.

In 1992 this researcher was invited to assist in reviewing and compiling the lexicon
database at Kawawachikamach, where he also completed the development of the Naskapi
syllabic computer font typeface, so that the proofreading copies of the lexicon could be
printed in the local variety of the writing system. After another year of checking every
word with speakers, and arranging for a French translation of the definitions, the first
edition of the *Naskapi Lexicon* was completed in 1994, becoming the first tri-lingual
Aboriginal language dictionary to be published in Canada. Since that time it has enjoyed wide use in the community and has also been made available in electronic (CD-ROM) versions and also on-line on the Internet (Library and Archives Canada 1998).

Since the publication of the *Naskapi Lexicon*, this researcher has continued to curate and edit the *Naskapi lexicon* computer database, and has collaborated with MacKenzie, Junker, the Cree School Board (Bobbish-Salt et al. 2004, Neeposh et al. 2004) and the work of the Innu-aimun CURA project *Knowledge and Human Resources for Innu Language Development* (MacKenzie et al. 2013). Each of these collaborations has as their goal the compilation of major dictionaries in all the palatalized Cree-Montagnais language varieties. Widespread access to these dictionaries in print and online versions provides not only a resource of lexical richness but also a benchmark for three standardized orthographies.

1.3.2.2 Specialized lexicons

Other projects related to lexicography have been specialized collections of medical, legal, and environmental terms (MacKenzie and Hendricks 2009, MacKenzie and O’Keefe 2007), and the Naskapi Resource Book, with classroom and common items listed (Jancewicz 2011). All of these projects created handbooks of practical terminology for teachers and other resource persons who relate to these language groups.

The lexicon projects described in this section are an important part of the resources made available to the participants described in the methodology sections of this thesis.

1.3.3 Literacy

This section describes work of Naskapi mother tongue curriculum development, teaching of literacy in the school, bilingual education and developing biliteracy. As noted in section 1.2.3, in the early 1990s certain teachers began efforts that would establish the Naskapi Curriculum Department at Jimmy Sandy Memorial School at
Kawawachikamach. Initially, this department was simply an in-house layout and reproduction facility for Naskapi language educational materials, serving the needs of the Naskapi language teacher and the teaching staff of some of the younger grades (Aitken and McKenzie 2010). Through the years, however, it has grown into a Naskapi language educational resource center, employing the services of Naskapi elders for culture and language content, a translator/technician, and educational consultants who work with the Quebec ministry of education in order to craft materials that meet the requirements of the educational competencies for the various grade levels that are covered by the curriculum. The model of Naskapi as the language of instruction was established for the pre-kindergarten through the primary grades through grade 3, which was set up as a transition level that is repeated (children attend “grade 3” twice, once with Naskapi as the language of instruction, and once using English). Grades four and above are taught in English, with Naskapi being taught as a subject.

In this model, the intended goal is that children have a completely Naskapi classroom environment for their first five years of formal education. However, due to a shortage of available mother tongue Naskapi speakers with adequate training and certification in education and pedagogy, the program was unable to staff grade 3 classrooms with Naskapi speaking teachers. Instead, as of the date of writing, transition to English begins at the end of Grade 2.

The challenge presented by the shortage of trained mother tongue Naskapi speakers to serve as certified teachers at the Naskapi school was addressed by a partnership between First Nations and Inuit Education (FNIE) operating under the auspices of the Department of Integrated Studies in Education, the largest department in McGill University’s Faculty of Education, and the Central Quebec School Board (CQSB), which in 2010 established the Naskapi-McGill teacher training program, to deliver community-based teacher education programs and professional development (McGill 2013). This
program provides community-access to courses that lead to teacher certification in two tracks: a certificate in education, and a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) degree. The sixty-credit certificate program provides an opportunity for First-Nations people living in their communities to become qualified as classroom teachers. The more advanced Bachelor of Education - Kindergarten and Elementary Education - First Nations and Inuit Studies program requires 120 credits and leads to teacher certification along with a degree.

Quebec graduates of the certificate program receive Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS) certification to teach at the elementary school level in First Nations and Inuit schools. On completion of the certificate requirements, trainees may apply for admission to the Bachelor of Education for Certified Teachers program. B.Ed degree graduates of FNIE teacher education programs are recommended by McGill University for full Quebec Certification with the Quebec Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS).

When this program was established in the Naskapi community of Kawawachikamach in September of 2010, a cohort of thirteen Naskapi-speaking adults was recruited to attend classes that were held full-time at the Naskapi school. Instructors from McGill University and other institutions were brought to the Naskapi community to teach one 3-credit course at a time, usually over a period of three weeks of instruction. Standard required courses in education such as Communication in Education (3 credits) and Children’s Literature (3 credits) were scheduled sequentially during an academic year stretching from September to June.

This researcher was also asked by FNIE and CQSB to develop a course in Naskapi language in order to train this cohort in Naskapi language structures to prepare them to teach Naskapi reading and writing to Naskapi-speaking elementary school children. From the outset it was clear that in order for these Naskapi adults to gain the skills required to adequately teach Naskapi reading and writing to children, they themselves would have to
work to improve their own mother tongue reading ability, along with learning pedagogical skills required to pass this ability on in a classroom setting. Eventually this group of Naskapi adults became the participants for the research carried out by this project.

1.4 Scope of Research

This section outlines the extent and limitations of the study, with regard to the areas of grammatical description, its usefulness for literacy and biliteracy instruction, and the specific characteristics of the target group of mother tongue literacy learners.

From the first classroom experience of the Naskapi language structures course (September 2010), it was felt that an understanding of Naskapi grammar could be beneficial for improving success and fluency in reading. Research suggests that second-language reading fluency is enhanced by explicitly teaching grammatical structures to students (Richards 2001:42), so it would follow that first-language reading fluency should similarly benefit. Indeed, the English language curriculum at the Naskapi school was beginning to incorporate instruction in grammatical structures for similar purposes. Further, in 2013 The Canadian Education Association (CEA-ACE) began to promote grammar teaching in schools across the country. “Learning ... skills heightens, rather than diminishes a student’s creativity” (Budra 2013).

However, in the context of the course on which my research is based in April of 2013, only thirty-nine contact hours over a period of three weeks were available. Given the limitations of classroom time with the target group, and the amount of English grammar that members of the target group had been exposed to, determining an instructional method that developed optimum efficiency was not only key to the success of the Naskapi-McGill teacher education program, but also had potentially far-reaching effects with regard to the successful maintenance of the Naskapi language. A
grammatical description of any language could be (and often is) an extensive lifetime project. It has been noted that the study of the grammar of Algonquian languages can be “... an inexhaustible source of pleasure and challenge for its students” (Valentine 2001:xxxi). While a complete grammatical description is an admirable aspiration, the challenge of this research was to capture, in thirty-nine classroom contact hours per course, a way to transmit those aspects of grammatical understanding that were helpful for acquiring the skills of reading (for adult learners and aspiring teachers). It is further expected that they would eventually pass on those reading skills to children in the classroom. The experiences related to meeting that challenge delimit the scope of this thesis.

1.4.1 Target Learners

This section describes the Naskapi mother tongue populations who were expected to benefit from the study. The primary beneficiaries were those Naskapi adults enrolled in the Naskapi-McGill teacher-training program established by the FNIE and CQSB, and described in section 1.3.3. Twelve of the original thirteen individuals who had enrolled in the program when it started in 2010 were still with the class when the research carried out by this thesis project was conducted during the spring of 2013. These twelve adults, nine women and three men, are mother tongue speakers of Naskapi who grew up at Kawawachikamach. They all attended Jimmy Sandy Memorial School, being instructed in English, and each one eventually completed secondary studies there, some by staying in the regular school program, advancing through grade eleven, others by returning to complete courses through the adult education program. As adults who have completed secondary education, they all have attained a level of English literacy that allows them to read to learn. Most of the participants had also been enrolled in various post-secondary education or training courses outside the community, however at the time of this research, none of them had completed their undergraduate studies.
These twelve were joined, during the duration of the research in the spring of 2013, by four additional participants who had been recently recruited by the Naskapi Development Corporation to serve as Naskapi language specialists-in-training to work in the Translation and Linguistics Services department of the Corporation: two young men and two young women. The language specialists-in-training are slightly younger than most of the Naskapi-McGill students (all of them being under thirty years old), and their presence rounded out the class so that the age range of the entire group was from twenty to forty-five years old, more completely representing the demographic of Naskapi adults who struggle with mother tongue literacy, identified in the introduction. All of the participants began the research with a basic knowledge of written Naskapi, but few of them could be considered fluent and skillful readers at the start of the research.

1.4.2 Other Beneficiaries

In addition to the target learners described in section 1.4.1, it is hoped that this research will have a positive impact on other groups as well. First and foremost, Naskapi school children, who will eventually be taught by the Naskapi-McGill teacher training course cohort, stand to benefit by the results of this study. It is expected that the children’s own success in reading in their mother tongue will be enhanced by a successful outcome of this study. Indeed, several of the participants in the study aspire to becoming teachers of Naskapi children, and will be equipped to apply the methods described in this research.

Also, speakers of related languages in neighboring communities and school districts should be able to apply the principles tested in this research in order to improve mother tongue and bilingual educational outcomes in those language communities. Other educators, including those involved in teaching in the languages of wider communication to Naskapi speakers or speakers of related languages, can likely benefit from an
understanding of some of the necessary Algonquian language structures that their
students must master for educational success.

Curriculum developers, who are engaged in producing materials for Naskapi and
other minority language communities, can apply some of the principles outlined in this
research in order to provide more effective materials for classroom teachers to use.
Finally, in spite of the fact that the scope of research is necessarily limited to those
language structures that are most basic for mother tongue reading and writing, and
language features that are accessible to the mother tongue speakers in the target group,
linguists who are involved in the description of Naskapi and other languages related to it
may find this presentation of Naskapi language structures helpful for their own
typological or descriptive linguistic research.
CHAPTER 2
READING THEORY AND PRACTICE

This chapter of the thesis turns to a discussion of how the study of reading theory has had an impact on current thinking and practice of literacy pedagogy. Some major theoretical directions are briefly touched upon, and comment is made on their possible application in the Naskapi school setting. Next, a more thorough description of a balanced approach proposed by Adams (1990) is presented, an approach that this research has experimentally integrated into the Naskapi adult literacy program.

2.1 Theoretical Continua

In his book *Conceptual Foundations of Teaching Reading*, Sadoski (2004) takes on the daunting task of classifying the myriad number of methods and approaches to teaching reading. By tracing the history of the topic beginning centuries before the Common Era, and presenting a summary description of reading pedagogy through the end of the 20th century, Sadoski gives a solid foundation for his criteria for sorting out a very complex landscape. He narrows the field to two primary continua: The first continuum, “Print Input vs. Reader Input,” explores and classifies the three fundamental competencies of reading: (1) decoding, (2) comprehension and (3) response. The second continuum, “Instruction vs. Education,” outlines and classifies the three basic teaching approaches: (1) program-controlled, (2) teacher-controlled and (3) reader-controlled. By intersecting these two continua, Sadoski provides a schema that can be used to represent the teaching of reading as a conceptual map. What rose to the surface in recent reading
theory are two approaches that once were considered to be in conflict with each other, and that occupy different regions of the continua: whole language and phonics.

2.1.1 Whole Language

Goodman was not the first to promote a reading theory that has become known as the whole language approach, but he is one of the most widely read and quoted proponents of the theory. He perceived reading as a “psycholinguistic guessing game” (Goodman 1967:126), in which he most notably takes issue with the notion of reading as a “precise process.” Instead, Goodman says, the reader makes extensive use of knowledge already stored in memory, in which new ideas only have meaning when related to something that the reader already knows. Proponents of whole language were often criticized for downplaying the teaching of skills and technical correctness in favor of more emotional or relational topics related to reading. The whole language approach emphasizes a love of literature, the “experience” of reading, the primary importance of “making meaning” in what is read, and “expressing meaning” in what is written. The strategies that whole language promotes are indeed beneficial and necessary.

One of the features that had been missing from the methodology used to teach Naskapi reading and writing in the Naskapi school in the 1990s was the primary importance of making meaning. During that period, the teaching method generally emphasized decoding and group drilling of the syllabic characters. However, during the past decade, some helpful elements of the whole language approach have begun to be incorporated in Naskapi classrooms, and the results have been encouraging (Aitken and McKenzie 2010). Some of these elements have included guided reading with “big books,” independent reading, read-aloud times and encouraging the use of free expression of ideas in writing, mainly through student journal entries.
2.1.2 Phonics

“Phonics” is a method for teaching reading and writing by developing a learner’s phonological awareness: the ability to identify phonemes and their relationship to encoded print. Phonics, and other skills-based approaches to reading instruction are often contrasted with whole language, but these should not be presented as a polar opposites, nor should “skills” proponents take aim at “whole language” as the enemy. The truth is that Goodman’s approach carries with it many essential facets of a successful approach to reading, and generations of students have learned to express themselves and to derive meaning from texts by means of its principles. However, for many readers, especially those with processing disorders or other challenges, it is essential that phonological (and morphological) skills be taught as an explicit strategy so that they can decode and parse in order to support the extraction of meaning from a text (Spear-Swerling 2013).

In the Naskapi school, instruction in skills has indeed been the primary approach to learning how to read, such as basic sound-symbol correspondences and decoding, but the range of skills taught has been narrow due to the lack of instruction to students beyond the basic orthographic level. A broader approach that integrates rigorous vocabulary building, phonemic awareness and recognizing patterns in the language in the context of reading could help lead to skillful fluent reading in Naskapi. This researcher suggests that this could be done by teaching grammatical structures from meaningful text.

It becomes clear from the evaluation of reading competencies at the Naskapi school (Jancewicz 2013), that neither extreme of “whole language” or “skills” alone is appropriate, and indeed that embracing one approach and ignoring the other is detrimental. Literacy learners need all the help they can get from many different areas,

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12 The meaning of the phrase “other challenges” also implies reading in a multilingual context.
including both “making meaning” and training in lexical, phonological and grammatical
skills at the same time.

2.2 The Purpose of Adams’ Reading Model Theory

“recommends more balance between whole language and phonics” (Sadoski 2004:40).
The model that Adams describes is a balanced approach that stresses the importance of
phonological awareness.

Adams was charged by a United States congressional mandate “to provide guidance
as to how schools might maximize the quality of phonic instruction in beginning reading
programs” (Adams 1990:29). From the outset, she challenged the opposition to phonics
in the field of reading instruction, and the theoretical model she describes provides a
balanced approach that provides learners with the optimal opportunity for success in
becoming lifelong literacy learners.

2.3 Adams’ Model of Reading Conceived

A “theoretical model” of reading is a graphical representation of the cognitive
processes that occur within the brains of persons while they are reading. Adams builds
the case for her model of reading by presenting aspects of several theories of reading that
describe what skilled readers actually do. The empirical testing that undergirds these
theories, such as eye-movement analysis and scans that record thoughtfulness during
reading, has become more routine and accessible in recent years because of computer-
mediated tracking, recording, and other analytical techniques. Adams describes several
theories of reading that she calls “Outside-In” (1990:96). These include “word shape
cues” (the idea that children might profitably be taught to recognize the “envelope” or
overall shape of the word), “sophisticated guessing” (the assumption that information that
can generate complete words resides in the readers’ memories) and “comprehension as hypothesis-testing” (the theory that readers possess a vast repertoire of knowledge about written text—not only spelling but syntax and semantics of the language). Taken together, these three theories seem to explain why skilled readers can operate at such remarkable speed and ease, and even anticipate what has not yet been read.

As it turns out, eye-movement research does not show that highly skilled readers reduce the number of words that they look at by “skimming” the page—in fact, skilled readers do the opposite: they tend to look at each and every word, and even process each individual letter very thoroughly. The apparent paradox is that on the one hand it helps to liberate readers from sounding out every letter in a word by allowing them to combine word-shapes, sophisticated guessing and hypothesis-testing in order to become skillful readers, while on the other hand we find that skillful reading still involves relatively complete processing of individual letters on the page.

Adams concludes then that none of the theories is entirely wrong—while none of them is sufficiently right, either. A skillful reader will have mastery of all reading strategies, along with phonological awareness. The theoretical model she proposes has all of these processes operating in parallel, complementing and supporting one another. This coordination of abilities is anchored in the process that involves individual symbol recognition. She builds her theoretical model using the components described in the sections beginning with 2.3.1.

2.3.1 Orthographic Processor

Skilled readers look at the symbols and see patterns. The likelihood of one letter following another in text can be determined statistically, and this likelihood is a learned skill, allowing the reader to predict sequences. Not only does the eye perceive the letters, their order, and sequence, but at the same time it also takes in each word as a whole, and
even entire phrases and clauses. This allows the brain to use the information it has learned not only about letter prediction, but also about meaning and inference, combining the hypotheses described in the preceding section. The Orthographic processor is the only part of the model that has input from the printed page. It uses all the learned and automatic letter recognition units and the linkages between them. Orthographic processing is the first thing activated when one begins to read.

(A) Th prps f th dmstrtn s t shw th th trsprncy f th nttn dcrss prcptsly whn th txt s cmprsd f rltvl Ing r nfrqt wrds nd bcms vrtlly mptrbl f wrds r nt smntcly r syntctcly prmd, vs. prcpn, swd, dmtr, trnp, tylgy, nnsns.


(C) The purpose of the demonstration is to show that the transparency of the notation decreases precipitously when the text is comprised of relatively long or infrequent words and becomes virtually impenetrable if words are not semantically or syntactically primed, vis. porcupine, seaweed, odometer, turnip, etymology, nonsense.

Figure 16. Priming the Orthographic processor with patterns (Adams 1990:120)

The three paragraphs in Figure 16 illustrate how the Orthographic processor is called upon when needed to decode words, working together with other information available to the brain about the known syllable patterns and expectations of the reader. Paragraph (A) offers very little help to the reader, because the orthographic sequences are unfamiliar. But when presented with paragraph (B), the reader’s Orthographic processor now has a chance to determine by word shape and syllable patterns what is encoded in the text, because each missing vowel is replaced by a dash. This dash assists the reader to recognize the shape of words with only the consonants as sound clues, combined with the knowledge that every syllable requires a vowel. The dashes assist the reader in identifying syllables. Paragraph (C) shows the text with all the missing vowels restored.
By comparing (B) with (C), the reader can determine just how far paragraph (B) can be decoded successfully before the long and infrequent words bring understanding to a halt.

2.3.2 Meaning (Semantic) Processor

As the visual image of a series of shapes begins to form, it sends signals to units that represent word meanings in the memory of the reader. As the visual information resolves itself, the mind settles in on a meaning candidate and sends the information back to the Orthographic processor until the meaning is established. In the example in Figure 17, (after Selfridge 1955) the second character in both words is identical. In the first word the character maps to H while in the second word it maps to A. But in the reader’s memory, only one choice is acceptable for each of the three letter sequences. These semantic choices, in conjunction with the expected meaning of the definite article followed by the noun allow the reader to make the appropriate orthographic choice in each word.

![THE CAT](image)

Figure 17. The Orthographic processor works with the Meaning processor

2.3.3 Context Processor

Finally, the Meaning processor is also connected in a send-receive manner to the Context processor. These connections allow the selection of appropriate words in context, when choices from the Meaning processor may be ambiguous. The Context processor constructs a coherent interpretation of the text. Figure 18 presents an ambiguity in the meaning of “bugs.” While the word could refer to computer glitches or spying devices, the Context processor disambiguates to provide the proper meaning, “insects.”
John saw several spiders, roaches and bugs.

Figure 18. The entire text serves the Context processor (Adams 1990:228)

2.3.4 *Orthographic, Meaning and Context Processors at Work*

These three interconnected modules are brought on-line by the brain as required, and each of them provides the reader with an efficient and split-second decision-making process to determine what the text means in context. If the meaning is clear from the interaction of the Orthographic processor and the Meaning processor, then the Context processor does not need to add anything to the choice made. On the other hand, if the meaning is not yet clear, the Context processor is called on to use the greater context of the word and its and grammatical and syntactic associations in order to establish the meaning for the portion of text considered. Figure 19 is a diagram of a model of reading that contains these three processors. This model shows the relationship between the processing of orthography, the meaning of words, and the context. The Orthographic processor takes input from the printed page, and comes into operation first. The Orthographic and Meaning processors have a two-way linkage between them, indicating they send signals to each other in both directions in order to settle on a meaning candidate for an orthographic stimulus. When necessary, the connection between the Meaning processor and the Context processor comes on line to assist in the selection of appropriate meanings for the context.
Figure 19. Three processors between print and understanding (Adams 1990:138)

At this point in the description of Adams’ model, it becomes apparent that for learners to improve their reading skill, it is vitally important for them to increase their vocabulary or internal lexicon, because of the centrality of the Meaning processor. The best approach, given the model so far, is to build vocabulary by reading meaningful words in meaningful contexts, so that the three processors (Orthographic, Meaning and Context) are developed concurrently.

Adams (1990:157) says, “The auditory image of any particular word, syllable or phoneme corresponds to the activation of a particular, interconnected set of those units.” This researcher concludes therefore that this means it is important for readers to also have a structural knowledge of their language: prefixes, suffixes and stems, so that they
become proficient in recognizing the spelling patterns and knowing the associated meanings of derived and inflected patterns. This requirement brings us to Adams’ fourth processor.

2.3.5 Phonological Processor

Adams’ model remains incomplete without what she calls the Phonological processor. It is this component of phonological awareness that allows the whole system to work together. The model becomes a triangle between the Orthographic processor, the Meaning processor and the Phonological processor, each connected to each other in two directions. The entire point of Adams model is the indispensability of the Phonological processor. Figure 20 shows Adams’ model of skilled reading, by adding phonological processing to the other cognitive strategies that skilled readers use to make meaning from text.

![Figure 20. Adams model of skilled reading (Adams 1990:158)](image-url)
The nature of the Phonological processor is to determine whether the string of characters provided by the Orthographic processor is pronounceable. If so, the Phonological processor will signal feedback to the Orthographic processor. The Phonological processor is also connected directly to the Meaning processor, so that activation of a word’s meaning can result in the phonological pronunciation of the word and thus help to confirm its meaning. Figure 21 shows that even grossly illegible segments can be overcome when the processors work together. The underlined words in the two sentences are absolutely identical, yet they may be interpreted correctly, as a noun in the first sentence and a verb in the second, because the response of the Meaning processor is reinforced by the excitation of the Context processor and confirmed by the Phonological processor, to make the correct orthographic choice.

Figure 21. Three processors working together when one fails (after Adams 1990)

It is important that the three processors (Orthographic, Phonological, and Meaning) be connected in both directions to each other. This circularity ensures the coordination between them. All three can be working on the same string of text at the same time.

The Phonological processor operates like the Orthographic processor in that it can receive information from the outside. The Orthographic processor receives print information, while the Phonological processor receives spoken information. But the Phonological processor can also accept information from the Orthographic processor, or even from itself (shown by the circular arrow pointing back to the processor itself in Figure 20) when the reader subvocalizes or generates speech images.
This means that the Phonological processor can be called upon when needed, but if it is not needed (as in the previous model), meaning can be determined directly from the orthography without activating the sound of the word in the mind of the reader.

But the Phonological processor is not simply superfluous—it provides a critical support for optimal reading performance. First, the Phonological processor serves as an alphabetic backup system, or a redundant processing route, by verifying that the spellings signals from the Orthographic processor are pronounceable. This helps to maintain speed when reading. Second, the Phonological processor serves as an expanded on-line memory system for individual words that is essential for comprehending a text. Because the Phonological processor is linked to the Orthographic and Meaning processors in a circle, each can support the other and compensate for difficulties or weaknesses in the other. Adams explains, “If a familiar response to the word is aroused in either the Meaning or Phonological processors, its orthographic image will be reinforced through the feedback they provide. Further, almost any orthographic string that finds a familiar response in one of these other processors will find a familiar response in both, thus doubling the feedback it will receive” (1990:165).

The position of the Meaning (semantic) processor is unlike the other processors within Adams’ system, because it receives information from all the other processors and therefore is less dependent on any one of them alone. Since making meaning from text is the primary motivation for reading, this processor is best served by receiving input from as many different methods as possible. This sharing of processing provides an efficient method of providing the sense of the text to the reader.

2.4 Adams’ Claim and the Distinctive Feature of her Model

Proficient reading is enhanced by an automatic capacity to remember and to recognize frequent spelling patterns visually (orthographic processing), and to translate
them phonologically (phonological processing). Adams claims that differences in this capacity are the principal separators of good from poor readers (1990:293). It is this central point and distinctive feature of her model, that is, the place of phonological processing, that has inspired this researcher to apply Adams’ reading model to teaching Naskapi adults to read. If it is possible to narrow the gap between poor readers and good readers by the application of principles revealed in her model, then the goals of this research will be realized. This model was selected because it contains features that integrate the perceived needs of Naskapi adult readers, and builds upon the foundation of the instruction they had previously received.

2.5 Adams’ Model Critiqued

Purcell-Gates’ (1997) evaluation of reading models places Adams’ model squarely in the realm of “skills-based” decoding approaches, and compares it unfavorably to “comprehension-based” approaches (espoused by Goodman 1996) on the grounds that decoding is “linear,” while the comprehension-based approaches are “cyclical.” She says that Goodman’s “Transactional Socio-Psycholinguistic Model of Reading ... is not linear but cyclical. Visual, perceptual, syntactic, and semantic cycles are constantly in play, each dependent on and enabling the others” (Purcell-Gates 1997). However, if in fact Purcell-Gates was being genuinely critical of Adams’ model because it is “linear”, it could be easily answered by referring to the graphic that describes her model shown in Figure 20. The incorporation of the Phonological processor builds in the cyclical aspect, along with the all-important component of balance.

Since the early part of this century, more balanced instruction has been widely accepted, even by those who espouse the whole language approach, as shown by the increase in the number of classrooms that employ a combination of skills-based and whole language methods and the evidence of student achievement that results from this
combination (Dahl et al. 1999:337). The debate between “whole language” and “skills based” reading instruction is no longer a hot issue. Methodologies that incorporate a blend or balance of approaches have been shown to provide the best success.

Indeed, Adams clearly states from the outset that her purpose in writing her book was to fulfill a mandate to support the appropriate teaching of phonics in schools. The key word is “appropriate,” and as Sadoski concurs: “The achievement of different goals and competencies at different ages with different students calls for different combinations” (2004:115). Even Adams and her critics agree with each other in this regard, as previously quoted, “None of these hypotheses is entirely wrong. The problem is that none of them is sufficiently right” (Adams 1990:105). Adams is not opposed to a whole-text approach, but her model provides a framework for a balanced approach that provides the best opportunity for success by including a necessary component of skills including phonological awareness.

2.6 Adams’ Model and Naskapi Language Patterns

Adams’ model of skilled reading provides definitions of four separate components that break down what readers actually do. This section matches these components to the orthographic, phonological, semantic and contextual patterns that can be observed in Naskapi. When adult Naskapi learners are taught the skills needed to recognize frequent orthographic patterns found in Naskapi texts and to pair these patterns to sounds and meanings in context, they can begin to access the patterns which they have already internalized as speakers when they read texts. Learners can build their vocabulary with new words in the context of words they already know by repeated exposure to good, consistently-spelled Naskapi texts. As they build their vocabulary and become more skilled at orthographic and phonological processing, they can become increasingly successful independent readers.
Integrating the structure of the Naskapi language into reading instruction allows for the components to be taught in a context where they can have maximum relevance to Naskapi literacy learners. In the sections that follow, Naskapi adult reading pedagogy is informed by Adams’ model of skilled reading.

2.6.1 Orthographic Processing

This section describes the unique role that the Naskapi writing system (i.e., Canadian syllabics) plays in the orthographic processing stage, and how this guides the reader into fluency by triggering specific grammatical categories that can be directly determined by word shape.

It was noted in section 1.2, which describes the Naskapi writing system, that there are a relatively small number of discrete character shapes to master, only ten, nine of which correspond to the consonants in the language. These shapes are then rotated (or reversed) into three positions that indicate three vowels, $i$, $u$, and $a$. While it has been pointed out in the section on the writing system that there are indeed six phonemic vowels in Naskapi, the writing system underdifferentiates the distinction between tense and lax vowels, and context provides sufficient information to enable speakers to disambiguate minimal pairs. This means that the orthographic system only needs to distinguish three vowels, making efficient use of the Canadian syllabic pattern. The relevant portion of Figure 12 is repeated here for reference.
Not only does the Naskapi orthographic system provide a distinctive and transparent writing system that corresponds to speakers’ perceptions of the sound system, but it is also relatively simple to learn and can be transmitted intergenerationally by persons untrained in pedagogy. It has been proven empirically that syllables are more readily perceived than phonemes (Foss and Swinney 1973, Massaro 1974), so theoretically a syllabic orthography would be easier to process than an alphabetic system for beginning readers. This research also suggests that even adult readers who have already had a lifetime of print-awareness and exposure to an alphabetic system can also learn to read their own language using a syllabic system. This is accomplished by starting from the structure and arrangement of the syllabic chart, and emphasizing the “shape-equals-consonant” and “orientation-equals-vowel” conception of the system. What follows is a

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Figure 12. Naskapi syllabic chart in publications
teaching method that separates shape from orientation (Jancewicz 2012). This was the teaching method that was used with many of the participants in this research in courses prior to the study described in this Chapter 3 of this thesis.

To teach the orthography of Naskapi, ten individual cards were produced, each one with just one syllabic shape printed large on the card. The cards are presented to the class one-by-one, always according to the order presented in the syllabic chart in Figure 12. As each syllable was taught, learners were shown one card at a time, held in a specific orientation while the syllable was pronounced and repeated by the class. Teaching the $p$ series is shown in Figure 22, Figure 23, and Figure 24.

![Figure 22. Teaching the $p$ series: $pii$](image)

While the card was held before the learners in this orientation, the leader repeated the sound of the syllable, pointing out that this particular card in this particular position represents the sound $pii$. The learners were encouraged to repeat the syllable $pii$ after the leader while they looked at the card.

Next, the leader rotated the card to the learners’ left, as in Figure 23, this time repeating the syllable $paa$. The learners were encouraged to repeat the syllable $paa$ after the leader while they looked at the card.
At this point, the leader rotated the card back to the upper position \textit{pii} as in Figure 22, eliciting the response \textit{pii} again from the learners as the card was turned back to that position.

Next the card was rotated again, but this time to the learners’ right, to the position in Figure 24, while the leader repeated the sound \textit{puu}. Now that all three syllable sounds had been introduced using the one card, the learners were encouraged to say the syllable with each turn of the card as a stimulus/response: \textit{pii, paa, puu}, several times in
succession, until it was automatic. The leader eventually altered the order of presentation once the basic character shapes and orientations were taught, but always beginning with the upright, \( ii \) position.

It is easy for lessons like these to become a game, as the leader would quickly turn the card from one orientation to the other, and the learners would call out the syllable that each orientation represents. This reinforced not only the association of the syllable with the shape of the character, but also the perception of rotation and orientation that is associated with the vowel of the symbol.

The \( t \) series was taught in a similar manner, as shown in Figure 25, Figure 26, and Figure 27.

Figure 25. Teaching the \( t \) series: \( tii \)

The pattern for teaching the remainder of this series is identical to the \( p \) series. The card was held before the learners in this orientation, the leader repeated the sound of the syllable, pointing out that this particular card in this particular position represents the sound \( tii \). The learners were encouraged to repeat the syllable \( tii \) after the leader while they looked at the card.
Next, the leader rotated the card to the learners’ left, as in Figure 26, this time repeating the sound *taa*. The learners were encouraged to repeat the syllable *taa* after the leader while they looked at the card.

![Figure 26. Teaching the t series: taa](image)

At this point, the leader rotated the card back up to the position *tii* as in Figure 25, eliciting the response *tii* from the learners as the card was turned back to that position.

![Figure 27. Teaching the t series: tuu](image)

Next the card was rotated a third time, but this time to the learners’ right, to the position in Figure 27. while the leader repeated the sound *tuu*. Once again, the learners
were encouraged to say the syllable with each turn of the card as a stimulus/response: \textit{tii, taa, tuu}, several times in succession, until it was automatic.

As can be seen from the syllabic charts presented elsewhere in this paper, the Canadian syllabic system has two different kinds of symbol orientation alternations. The first set, used with the vowels, and with consonants \textit{w, p} and \textit{t} are symmetrical and have simple 90 degree rotations, like the points of a compass; pointing up (or “north”) for \textit{i}, to the right (east) for \textit{u}, and to the left (west) for \textit{a}. The other set, the set with a “vertical stick” element on the symbol, (\textit{k, ch, m, s}, etc.) are asymmetrical and are “flipped over” or inverted to provide the other orientations. In order to teach the latter set of symbols effectively, identical cards were produced except that for this set the symbol was repeated, as a mirror image of itself, on the opposite side (on the back) of the card.

![Figure 28. Teaching the \textit{k} series: \textit{kii}](image)

During the teaching session, the leader began as before with the \textit{kii} symbol shown first, holding the card in front of the learners in a similar position as the ones just presented, as in Figure 28. As before, the leader pronounced the syllable and elicited a response, \textit{kii}, from the learners.
This time, however, when it is time for the next syllable in the series, the leader flipped the card over vertically, revealing the symbol on the back of the card. This simultaneously reinforced the relationship between the change in orientation and the sound of the syllable. The leader pronounced the syllable *kaa* as the card was flipped as in Figure 29. The learners were encouraged to repeat the syllable *kaa* after the leader while they looked at the card.

![Figure 29. Teaching the k series: kaa](image)

At this point, the leader flipped the card back up to the original position, *kii* as in Figure 28, eliciting the response *kii* from the learners as the card was flipped back to that position. The leader alternated between showing *kii* and *kaa* repeatedly until the relationship between the orientation and the change in sound is learned.
Next the card was flipped again (from the kaa position), but this time horizontally to the right, to the position in Figure 30 while the leader repeated the sound kuu. As before, the learners were encouraged to say the syllable with each turn of the card as a stimulus/response: kii, kaa, kuu, several times in succession, until it was automatic.

Care was taken so that the cards were held in the same relative positions as shown in the figures after each flip, since the position of the card reinforces the vowel associated with the orientation.

In this manner the entire syllabic inventory was taught interactively in a way that underscored the sound-symbol correspondence along with the relationship between the orientation and the vowel sound. This teaching method for the Naskapi orthography is presented here as a prerequisite component of the instructional approach presented in Chapter 3 of this research, which focuses primarily on guided interaction with meaningful text, drawing the learners’ attention to the symbols in context, pattern discovery and modeling oral reading.
2.6.2 Phonological Processing

After learners have been exposed to and have begun to exhibit a familiarity with the sound/symbol correlations, more emphasis can be placed on learning common sequences of characters. Just like in any other language, some sequences of phonemes are more common than other sequences in the experience of language speakers. Just as readers of English can learn automatic associations of sound and meaning from repeated exposure to alphabetic sequences that represent syllables and words, readers of languages that are represented by a Canadian syllabic orthography can also internalize such sequences in syllabics. It may even be easier for a reader of syllabics, not only because the number of separate characters is fewer with the result that longer sequences of phonemes are represented by fewer characters, but the individual syllabic characters also provide direct access to the syllable structure within words. Adams (1990:120) says that the primary function of vowels in alphabetic languages may well be that of promoting the syllable as a perceptual unit for reading. In the case of syllabics, the orthography is inherently designed around the syllable as a perceptual unit. Repeated and long-term exposure to print media in syllabics, both on paper and on electronic devices, is crucial for learners to begin to recognize and internalize character sequences.

Another practical method for internalizing high-frequency character sequences is to increase the learner’s recognition of commonly occurring words. For example, the word Pسعادة kiyaa ‘and’ is a very commonly occurring word in Naskapi, occurring as a separate word over 7000 times in a 160,000 word corpus, and occurring more than 10,000 times as a sequence within words in that same corpus. It is a high-frequency meaningful sequence. However the reverse of that sequence ںس P yaaki never occurs by itself as a word and within words is a meaningless sequence. The sequence ںس P yaaki occurs fewer than 500 times in the corpus, and each time it does occur it is a fragment of a bound morpheme,
only having semantic significance when it is followed by the phoneme \( n \), in which case it forms the bound morpheme -\( yaakin \), ‘container, vessel’, a noun final.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present a statistical analysis of the likely or unlikely sequences of characters one would expect to find in Naskapi text. But the point of this section is that there are obviously many common sequences that readers of Naskapi must become familiar with in order to become phonologically aware, and that readers today have ready access to representations of these sequences in available printed Naskapi text, high-frequency wordlists, and the *Naskapi Lexicon*, which also contains compiled analyses of semantically significant sequences that make up common morphemes in Naskapi. In order to have success in reading, learners must internalize these common phonological sequences.

### 2.6.3 Meaning (Semantic) Processing

This section provides a summary of the importance of integrating the lexicon with the grammar, along with some strategies for learning new words. A difficulty that speakers of minority languages face is the dominance of the language of wider communication. In another time, at another place, the Naskapi language was perfectly suited for communication and survival. A scant three generations ago, Naskapi people still practiced their nomadic way of life far from settlements, and the words that they used to talk about what mattered to them were common but elegant. Like other Algonquian languages, Naskapi words are morphologically complex and built up around such notions of physical shape or material, with different morphemes to indicate material or shape. Table 5 illustrates some of these morphemes.
Table 5. Inanimate noun finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finals</th>
<th>nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aayahipiyy</td>
<td>utaapanaayaahipiyy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaan</td>
<td>chisaayaakuyaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiwaahp</td>
<td>pipunichiwaahp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aahtikw</td>
<td>uskahtikw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aaskw</td>
<td>muhkumaamaaskw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aapiskw</td>
<td>mahtisaapiskw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aachin</td>
<td>apuunaachin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aapuy</td>
<td>ustumaapuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hkaan</td>
<td>nischihkaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min</td>
<td>waapimin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aasiiht</td>
<td>minaikwaasiht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skimikw</td>
<td>miihkuskimikw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut</td>
<td>suunaayaaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaaakin</td>
<td>puutaawiyaaakin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schin</td>
<td>chimuunischin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hkumaan</td>
<td>mistiikhumaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While most of these words remain in common use today, young Naskapi speakers also find themselves code switching or simply sprinkling their speech with nouns from the languages of wider communication. When this happens, speakers grow less familiar with the Naskapi name for things. In order to give the Semantic processor a chance to function, the reader must have at his command a vast vocabulary of words and their meanings. One practical way for learners to strengthen their command of vocabulary items in Naskapi is to understand the morphological derivation of words, in order to become aware of the grammatical patterns that Naskapi uses to indicate such notions as physical characteristics in nouns. For example, in the case of the patterns of noun finals described in Table 5, if a learner masters the noun final -chiwaahp ‘building’, the learner gains an understanding of a derivational principal that gives him access to more than two dozen lexical items. Recent assessments of elementary age children in related language communities (Morris and MacKenzie 2012) show an alarming deficiency in expressive and receptive lexical ability. In other words, young speakers generally have too few words at their disposal to talk about common things. This can be addressed in
many ways, such as drilling and memory work. However, the best approach is usually the simplest. Adults who still have a command of the language must intentionally communicate in the language to children, on a regular basis.

It is also beneficial to apply other whole-language strategies such as developing the semantic cuing system. Goodman said that there are three inter-related areas of knowledge that he calls “cueing systems”: the graphophonemic system (understanding of sound-symbol correspondence), the syntactic system (understanding of grammar) and the semantic system (understanding of context). Like Adams’ model, the cues that Goodman (1996:22) described suggest that readers can draw information from different sources in order to make meaning when they read. Strategies that learners can use for developing the semantic cueing system include making vocabulary lists, making predictions when reading stories, and paying attention to things outside the text, such as illustrations and section titles (C.O.D.E Project 2007). Adult learners who find themselves in situations of “not knowing enough words” can also discipline themselves to read more, and to place themselves in more physical contexts where the language is more likely to be used, such as in the company of older speakers, or sociolinguistic events which tend to be strong enclaves or domains for using the language, such as church services, hunting events, or other traditional activities.

2.6.4 Context Processing

As Goodman (1996) stresses, the key component of building the semantic cuing process is context. The only way for a learner to learn words is to learn more words. Words require a context of other words to have meaning (Kuhn and Stahl 1998). A glance at any dictionary will make this abundantly clear. Even though good dictionaries are augmented with visuals or other media to illustrate or reinforce the meaning of words, the primary method of providing meanings is by using more words. As pointed out in the previous section on the Meaning processor, learners must place themselves in situations
where the language is being used, and interact with language users, using the language themselves. In this way they will build the cognitive environment that is necessary to understanding the meaning of words in context. A practical classroom-based approach to addressing this requirement for learning within context is described in the next chapter as we follow a cohort of young adult Naskapi speakers who have set out on an adventure of learning to become more independently literate in their own language.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

This chapter of the thesis describes the practical application of the theory described in the previous chapter, by following a cohort of Naskapi adults through a language course developed to help them improve their reading skills in their mother tongue. Section 3.1 begins with a summary review of the external factors that relate to the methodology: the Naskapi people, their language, the writing system, and the place that literacy has held in their society. This review underscores some of the issues that learners face in order to highlight the instructional methodology that addresses these issues. This is followed by a detailed description of a pedagogy that aims to improve mother tongue literacy by incorporating instruction in language patterns revealed by the framework of Adams’ theoretical model.

3.1 Reading Without Mother Tongue Grammar Instruction

This section focuses on the problems that arise from trying to learn to read but ignoring the grammatical patterns of the language, and some possible reasons for this situation. The Naskapi people, as described in detail in section 1.1, are unique among the various other language communities that are members of the Cree-Montagnais subgroup of the Algonquian language family. Kawawachikamach is the only community where their language is spoken, where members of the community are direct descendants of a society of nomadic caribou hunters. In a relatively brief time, this group of people went from a subsistence lifestyle of the hunter-gatherer to life in a modern community with an educational system that reasonably expects proficiency in literacy.
Section 1.2 explored the development of their writing system, which, although it shares many features with the orthographies of other communities that use Canadian syllabics, remains distinct and unique. The Naskapi language community today has a strong emotional attachment to the way their language is written, resulting from more than a century of a strong tradition of literacy, with clear socio-cultural contexts in which literacy is encouraged and expected. In section 1.3, we have seen that the Naskapi language has not been ignored by the academic and language development sector, observing that Naskapi has enjoyed fruitful partnerships with linguists and educators. Their research has resulted in resources such as a substantial published lexicon, some analytical research in the Naskapi grammar, and considerable educational resources invested in the teaching of reading and writing in Naskapi to school children. The community has made long-term investments to continue producing Naskapi literature by means of initiatives that are broadly supported by Naskapi leadership and welcomed by all sectors of the society.

Given the literate background, the educational environment, and access to resources, that successful widespread fluent literacy in Naskapi should be a reality. Unfortunately, this is still not yet the case. The 17th Edition (Lewis et al. 2013a) of the Ethnologue reports a 1% - 5% literacy rate for Naskapi. While it must be understood that these figures represent earlier data, and interviews with speakers and educators who have performed evaluations (Jancewicz 2013) suggest that these figures are somewhat low, estimates still place the current mother tongue literacy rate no higher than 10%. However, in spite of the challenges that these figures represent, this research suggests that considerable success is indeed possible, and within the reach of the key stakeholders who can help to make it happen.
3.1.1 Educational Success at Stake

While notable progress has been achieved by the educational system at Kawawachikamach in recent years, the goals of widespread, successful, fluent biliteracy in the Naskapi population has yet to be realized. This has serious repercussions by hindering academic success in the majority languages. There is a well-documented correlation between mother tongue (L1) literacy and academic success in the language of wider communication (L2) (August and Hakuta 1997, Thomas and Collier 1997, Collier and Thomas 2004). Section 3.1.2 underscores one of the primary difficulties that stands in the way of these goals for Naskapi learners.

3.1.2 Orthographic Processing Overload

Adams’ model of reading labels four separate processes. Section 2.6 identified shortcomings, when it comes to Naskapi reading instruction, that result in overtaxing one of the processors, while under-utilizing the others. The Phonological processor, Meaning processor and Context processor are under-developed for Naskapi learners because they often lack adequate instruction of patterns of the Naskapi language. With adequate training, the automaticity of processing these patterns can ensure that the meanings represented by them can be accessed quickly. However, if these patterns are not internalized, the remaining processor, the Orthographic processor, is overloaded during the reading process, because it is called upon to do the entire task of extracting meaning from text. Each of the participants in this research were observed to have difficulty in reading their own language because while all of their cognitive resources were available, they were only called upon to do orthographic processing. Further, the orthographic processing that they were called upon to perform for reading their own language was hindered from the start because it had been conceptually presented in their elementary school classrooms with little regard for the structure of the syllabic system. Instead, learners were expected to memorize the syllabic characters as a mere linear sequence of
syllable-symbol correspondences, as in an alphabetic system, in which upwards of fifty different syllable-symbol correspondences are memorized individually. The participants in the research had all attended the Naskapi school and therefore had some level of exposure to the orthographic system. However, maintaining the system in memory was difficult partly because they had not been introduced to the structure of the system by means of the teaching method described in section 2.6.1. This difficulty with memory, combined with the teaching methods that they had been exposed to in the past and their lack of positive reading experiences in the intervening years, placed them in a situation that made it difficult for them to make progress in reading.

When “reading” is restricted to a process of “sounding out words,” or “word-calling,” then fluency is low, comprehension is poor, and little if any meaning making occurs (National Capital Language Resource Center n.d.). As a consequence, reading becomes “hard work.” However, simply insisting to students that “reading is fun,” cannot in and of itself provide learners with the tools they need to make it happen. The reading task only becomes more enjoyable and less work when meaning is made. This is accomplished by combining the automaticity of rapid syllable identification with an understanding of how those syllables are patterned, and how those patterns bring meaning to each sentence. This is what incorporating the structures of the language into the consciousness of the learners helps them do.

3.2 Schedule and Resources

This section outlines the schedule for the course that was taught to the participants during the Naskapi-McGill teacher training program “Naskapi Language 4” course introduced in sections 1.3.3 and 1.4.1, which was conducted in April of 2013 at Jimmy Sandy School in Kawawachikamach.
3.2.1 Three Week Class Schedule

Like most other courses in the Naskapi-McGill program, the Naskapi Language course is taught in a modular format. Participants enrolled earn 3 credits toward their Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) or Teacher Certification program in this course, number EDEE 342 721 (McGill 2013). The course was held for three hours each weekday morning from April 2 to April 18, 2013, for a total instructional contact time of thirty-nine hours.

The systematic teaching of the orthography, already described in section 2.6.1, was a pre-requisite to the instruction described in this section. However, experience has shown that text-based instruction of Naskapi grammar may take place successfully even though the beginning reading level of the participants as a group is still quite low. The instruction can proceed along the lines described here as long as (1) the leader has a thorough understanding of the text upon which the instruction is based and the ability to model the discovery of grammatical patterns, and (2) the learners can begin from a basic level of decoding or “sounding out words.”

During the first class hour, the orthography was reviewed with the research participants, and it was determined that all of the participants had attained a sufficient skill level in decoding written Naskapi to function as a guided reading group. After the first day and for all subsequent days of the course, the daily schedule shown in Table 6 was followed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 9:20</td>
<td>student-selected Naskapi language song sung as a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20 - 9:30</td>
<td>review of course schedule and the day’s activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 - 10:15</td>
<td>discussion of previous day’s readings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15 - 10:45</td>
<td>morning break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45 - 12:00</td>
<td>guided reading and text-based grammar discovery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The readings assigned for the course are found in Appendix D, “Naskapi Language 4 - Course Assignments.” These are a series of readings selected for this class that included an introduction to Algonquian language structures (Morris 2013), Naskapi history and culture readings (Hammond 2013), and also readings in Naskapi texts (Peastitute 2013). Students were expected to read each assignment before class time to prepare for classroom discussion. The Morris document provided the learners with a beginning-level general introduction to Algonquian languages and the language family, written at approximately the same register and employing a similar grammatographic model as the Naskapi grammatical resource in Appendix A (see section 3.2.3). However the Morris document is far more encyclopedic than the grammatical resource in Appendix A in terms of its coverage of all the language varieties in the Algonquian family, and does not contain the level of detail or focus on Naskapi that the Naskapi grammatical resource does.

3.2.2 Stories Used for Text-Based Grammar Discovery

Besides the textbooks provided for the assigned readings, the participants had books containing Naskapi stories that were chosen by this researcher and prepared in advance to use as the focal point for teaching grammar through text. The particular texts were chosen because they represented a genre and reading level appropriate for the participants.

The class alternated between reading naturally-occurring Naskapi texts (transcribed oral stories, from Peastitute 2013), and translated narratives (NDC Translation and Linguistics Services 2013) for the guided reading sessions each day during the last hour of the morning. The transcribed oral stories included *Wolverine and Rock, Wolverine and Bear, Wolverine and the Ducks,* and *Wolverine and the Geese.* The translated narratives included the first four chapters of *Genesis: The Book of Beginnings in Naskapi.* Each daily guided reading session included one chapter from either of these sources. Section
3.4.4 describes in detail the instructional method used each day during these guided reading sessions.

3.2.3 *Grammatical Resource for Text-Based Literacy Development*

Appendix A contains an example chapter of a description of Naskapi grammar which was crafted to be used as an outline of Naskapi language structures in the context of the Naskapi-McGill program Naskapi language class described in sections 1.3.3 and 1.4.1. The grammatographic model that constrains the presentation of this resource was designed to meet the needs of the target audience: adult first-language speakers of Naskapi who have been educated to the secondary school level, and who are reasonably capable readers of English. The description provides a correspondence between the structures of the target group’s mother tongue, Naskapi, and their second language, English, and assumes some prior education in English grammar in the public education system. In this way, the grammatical resource builds upon what the learners already know and are comfortable with, reduces the likelihood of using difficult metalanguage that would discourage them, and allows their prior knowledge and experience to be part of the scaffolding that assists them in understanding how their language is structured.

During the period of the participants’ elementary and secondary education, the teaching of at least some English grammar was the norm in Canadian classrooms (Walker 2011:42, Québec Dept. of Education 1953:74). Even current curriculum in the Naskapi school has attempted teaching English grammar in the secondary levels as part of an English as a Second Language (ESL) approach (Celce-Murcia 1998). The parallel description of Naskapi with English is one of the strategies applied to developing the participants’ metalanguage that was necessary to facilitate the discovery of Naskapi grammatical structure from texts. The register of the prose in the description of Naskapi is intentionally shifted to better accommodate the intended target group. Further, examples are provided in the Naskapi orthography along with roman equivalents.

3.3 Incorporating Grammar into Reading Instruction

The examination of Adams’ model of skilled reading in the previous chapter provided this researcher with an outline for incorporating the patterns of the Naskapi language into reading instruction. This section describes some of the methods for each of the four points of this outline that correspond to the four processors in the model. This guides the research towards a balanced instructional approach that helps the participants use visual cues in the writing system to connect the text to an understanding of the phonological patterns, along with the structure of grammatical categories, leading to a better understanding of the meaning in the text.

3.3.1 Orthographic Awareness

The first and most basic improvement that was made to teaching the sound-symbol correspondences was to conceptually reduce the number of symbols to just ten. Building on the fact that syllables are more accessible linguistic units than phonemes (Liberman et al. 1974:211), these ten syllabic symbols were taught using a method that relates the shape of the symbol to the first element of a syllable (consonant) and relates the orientation of the symbol to the second element of a syllable (vowel). This teaching method, which was developed and used successfully by this researcher in other classroom
situations with beginning readers prior to this research, was already presented in detail in section 2.6.1. Testing showed a dramatic improvement in the readers’ ability to recall the symbol-sound correspondence after the orthography was presented in a way that reflects its syllabic structure (Jancewicz 2012). A test was administered in which beginning readers were expected to correctly recall and identify all the symbols and their orientation, and correctly associate each symbol with the syllable sound in question. The test was first administered before any of the beginning readers had been exposed to systematic instruction in the orthographic system, and then the test was administered again following three weeks of orthographic instruction, using the teaching method described in section 2.6.1. The same test was administered again to these beginning readers after an interim period of three years, to determine whether there was long-term retention of the information. The results of the testing are shown in Table 7. The aggregate score is a simple percentage of correct responses out of a total possible of fifty-five correct responses, the scores of all the beginning readers calculated as an average score.

| Aggregate score, first attempt | 44.3% |
| Aggregate score, after three weeks of instruction | 98.0% |
| Aggregate score, three years after instruction | 97.2% |

Table 7 indicates not only an overall improvement of the beginning reader’s knowledge of the orthographic system after three weeks of instruction, but also notable retention of this knowledge over the long-term. The beginning readers who were tested only read Naskapi occasionally during the intervening years, in most cases only one or two occasions per week, for only a few minutes each occasion. However, the instructional method was reviewed with them about once a year.
3.3.2 *Phonological Awareness*

An awareness of Naskapi phonology and morphology patterns becomes part of the scaffolding that provides the reader with clues as to the connection between patterns in print and the sounds of speech. As shown in section 2.6.2, the higher-frequency sequences of characters that have semantic significance can be taught in mini-lessons during the guided reading of meaningful texts. By utilizing texts in this way readers of Naskapi can learn to recognize these patterns and associate them with meaningful units of speech.

3.3.3 *Meaning (Semantic) Awareness*

Beginning readers are better able to process the cues that help them retrieve the meaning of the word from his lexical inventory when they are aware of the inflectional patterns that are to be expected on the various word categories, In section 1.1.3.3 Word Formation, it was shown how Naskapi words have the core of their semantic meaning in the part of the stem referred to as the “initial.” The key to accessing semantic information is the combined automaticity of syllable recognition, phonological awareness, and morphology, enabling the recognition and identification of patterns of characters that reveal the core semantic meaning of the word in question. To accomplish this, coherent meaningful texts were used to reveal the grammatical patterns so that learners associated the patterns with the meaning of the text. Being able to identify grammatical categories within texts is a skill that enhances for independent, strategic reading. Smith writes, “fluent reading demands knowledge of the conventions of the text, from vocabulary and grammar to the narrative devices employed” (Smith 1994:178). Until they were equipped to draw on their knowledge of grammar conventions, students were unable to make the connections to make meaning out of their reading. Smith writes further, “Understanding how words go together in meaningful language makes prediction possible and, therefore, comprehension” (Smith 1994:189, cited in Simmons 2006:52).
3.3.4 Context Awareness

In addition to calling upon the knowledge of language that learners already access, the identification, classification and distribution of the so-called “particles” provide overall discourse-level cues to the meaning of the text.

The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate how readers of Naskapi may acquire the cognitive resources that they need to efficiently read with fluency and comprehension, and truly become biliterate.

3.4 Text-Based Learning

The key premise of this thesis is elaborated in this section, which describes how the patterns exhibited in the Naskapi grammatical resource (Appendix A) are best grasped by mother tongue speakers when presented and discussed in the context of meaningful texts. It is the experience of this writer that while the analysis and description of the structure of Naskapi may be fascinating and engaging to linguists, ordinary speakers of the language are quickly bewildered by the unfamiliar terminology and the density of the information that is generally presented in grammatical descriptions, even such as the grammatical resource in Appendix A, written for speakers. On the other hand, ordinary speakers can already grasp intricate and nuanced meanings that their grammar encodes in text, without any instruction in grammar at all. This inherent knowledge then is the key to the instructional method that was developed: to present the grammar to speakers incrementally in a way that scaffolds their understanding of the grammatical structure with a discovery approach using meaningful texts.

3.4.1 The Necessity of Interacting with Texts

Competent speakers of a language can, and generally do, communicate in fully formed and complete texts. On the other hand, grammatical descriptions such as the one
found in Appendix A often focus on unconnected and elicited fragments of texts. This mismatch contributes to a lack of understanding about the structure of one’s own language. Communicating meaning is natural, but communicators do not generally perform conscious analyses of their patterns of speech while they are expressing themselves. Leading learners towards discovering and becoming more aware of these patterns in order to improve their reading ability is the approach explored by this research. This is the reason that texts are used in the methodology, so that a linkage is made between the meaning in the text and the structures in the grammatical description.

3.4.2 What Comprises a Text?

A text is sometimes thought of as simply an extended unit of speech, as described in The Glossary of Linguistic Terms (Loos 2003). However, texts have come to mean far more than this. Ruddel and Unrau assert that the meaning of “texts” goes far beyond the printed text in a book. They see a text as the entire package of meaning that is “read” during the reading event, including “the task, the authority structure, the teacher, the sociocultural setting, and the classroom discourse” (Ruddel and Unrau 2013). These are important considerations to make when choosing material to read from in learning contexts. The point is that the purpose of texts is to convey meaning. When these meanings are conveyed in the process of reading, learners can access much more than just the meanings of the words. They also can begin to use these meanings to provide them with a window into the structures of their language. Different text genres often have structural characteristics that can be determined by procedures of discourse analysis. While languages often have their own unique grammatical patterns that are reflected in the various text genres, there are typological generalizations that may be made across languages. For example, narrative texts by definition must provide an account of events, and languages will pattern their categories of tense, aspect and other grammatical features to communicate coherently in such genres.
While the definition of “text” means any sequence of paragraphs, there are usually other criteria of coherence and purpose that define a text more specifically than simply “extended speech.” In describing Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Coffin (2010) makes the case that SFL provides a framework to see “language as a tool for thinking with.” Systemics provides a set of labels for describing a text in functional terms. The purpose of these labels is to show students how texts make meaning.

Coffin, referring to Michael Halliday as the main architect of Systemic Functional Linguistics, quotes Halliday thus: “learning a language is not so much a process of acquiring a commodity that is ‘out there’ but rather a process of ‘construction in interaction with others’” (Halliday 1980, 2003).

In An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics (Eggins 2004), the author says that SFL is recognized as a useful framework for viewing language as a meaning-making resource. Eggins (2004:2) also quotes Halliday: “Simultaneous strands of meaning ... are expressed in clause structures.” Systemicists have tried to describe exactly what dimensions of context have an impact on language use. Some aspects of context are irrelevant: for example, the color of the interactants hair. But other aspects of context are very relevant. SFL is concerned with where exactly in the language context and meaning are expressed, and how this is done. While SFL has been mainly applied in the context of speakers of other languages who are learning to speak and function in majority language society, it can also be useful for revealing the textual structure of a minority language like Naskapi so that speakers can access knowledge about the patterns within their own language to become more successful at becoming competent readers in that language. In this way, it can be used to help identify and classify the genres of Naskapi language texts that are chosen for guided reading and grammatical discovery.
3.4.3 Grammatical Understanding Derived from Texts

When texts are examined for the purpose of understanding more about the structure of the language, learners are able to benefit from what they already know. They already communicate in the language to make meaning, and use this prior knowledge to scaffold their ability in literacy. For example, by identifying all the nouns in a text, learners are able to not only observe the patterns of inflection that these nouns carry, but also how they are used to control relative information flow, balancing the introduction of new information (new referents in the text) with those already known. Or, by identifying and examining the category and position in the text of all the grammatical particles, the learner begins to gain an understanding of how these units are used in speech not only to communicate meaning but also to shape the structure of the genre of the text.

The next section (3.4.4) demonstrates the practical application of the use of texts to guide learners in the classroom into the structure of their own language, and how knowledge of these structures can, in turn, assist learners in their reading comprehension, to accelerate success in literacy.

3.4.4 Grammar in Naskapi Reading Instruction Demonstrated

The text assigned for the day was read several times by this researcher in preparation for each session, and a copy of the text was annotated to highlight the particular grammatical features it contained that would be illustrated during the guided reading procedure. For lesson planning in teaching situations using this method, if there are particular grammatical patterns that the learners needed to be exposed to or to master, a text that is known to contain those patterns could be chosen. Either approach, letting the text reveal the grammar within or choosing a text that illustrates certain grammatical features, can be employed to benefit the learners. To set up the learning space for such guided reading sessions, very little in the way of specialized equipment is necessary. At
the bare minimum a classroom space in which the learners can clearly see a text while working as a group, with a presentation surface such as a whiteboard or chalkboard, should be prepared in advance. This researcher found the use of a data projector connected to a computer to be very useful, particularly when the data projector can present the text on a surface that can be marked and annotated, such as a whiteboard.

For the earlier sessions of the Naskapi-McGill teacher-training course before this research was conducted, this was in fact the situation in the classroom. Between ten and fourteen adult learners at their own desks were seated in rows in front of a whiteboard, upon which the text being used for the instruction was projected by means of a data projector attached to the instructor’s computer. During those sessions the whiteboard surface was annotated directly using dry-erase markers.

For the session of the course that this research describes, the classroom equipment was upgraded to include the installation of an interactive classroom display in addition to the whiteboard. Such displays (SMART Technologies 2013, eBeam Interactive 2013, Epson Products 2013) enable the highlighting and annotation of the text directly and interactively during instruction, and it was found to be a very useful enhancement for the presentation of the text. The text was projected in a size appropriate for viewing from any seat in the room. Moreover, each of the learners were provided with a printed copy of the text to hold in their hand and to read from, or to annotate as they wished. Whenever such printed copies are provided, care was taken to ensure that the formatting, layout and appearance of the printed copies identical to the one projected at the front of the class. See Figure 31.
The reason for ensuring that printed and projected copies are identical is that during the group interaction with the text it is easier for the learners to maintain the visual correspondence between their own copy of the text at their desk and the one being projected. For example, if the version projected on the board has seven words in the first line of the text, then the version in the learners’ hands should also have seven words in the first line of the text. This correspondence became very important to the procedure as grammatical patterns were discovered by the group.

In any case, the instructional method presented in this research is not dependent upon the technology used. The same result can be achieved with a chalkboard or a paper flip chart, but this experience does confirm what other classroom teachers are discovering: that interactive technology can be a useful motivator for today’s students who tend to be over-stimulated with electronic gadgetry.

3.4.4.1 Reading stage

The first step was to simply read the text out loud. This researcher took the role of leader during all of these guided reading sessions, and the participants filled the role of learners. When all the learners in the group were ready and focused, each learner was asked to read a short portion of the text, while the rest of the learners followed along, either by reading silently from their own copy at their desks or by following along with
the one presented on the screen. For some of the early beginning readers, this meant reading short sections of about one or two sentences. For intermediate or more advanced readers longer sections were attempted. The leader also took turns reading in order to model reading fluency and intonation, and to also help the learners feel comfortable in the group as a learning community, which included the leader.

During the reading-aloud sessions, the entire episode or chapter presented in the text was read, ensuring that each learner in the group would have one or more chances to read. Depending on the difficulty level of the text chosen, this often went on for several pages of text, with a duration of about ten to twenty minutes. The leader ensured that the text presented on the screen was “scrolled” to follow along with the reading. In different classroom situations, this could be handled by a classroom assistant, or an advanced student. If projector technology is not available, it is important likewise to ensure that the pages are flipped or otherwise progressed at the appropriate time, so that the relevant portion of the text is visible to the class as appropriate.

3.4.4.2 Review stage

After the first read-through, the content of the story was briefly discussed. Questions were posed to the class, such as, “Did everyone in the classroom follow? Are there any difficult or unfamiliar words that need to be defined? Is the story, and the setting clear and well understood? Can the participants in the story be identified?” This stage of the instruction was important, so that any gaps in their understanding of the meaning of the text was filled in the minds of the learners. The reason for this is, as noted in section 2.6.4, readers need context to build their semantic cueing system. The leader also pointed out extra-textual clues to the meaning at this stage, drawing the learner’s attention to any illustrations, chapter or section titles, and other clues can be used in our “psycholinguistic guessing game” (Goodman 1967).
Once the learners had the meaning of the text established in their minds, a much shorter section of the text was presented for discovery of grammatical patterns. In most cases it has been the first few paragraphs of the text that was just read. This was selected so that the entire passage being considered for grammatical discovery was visible on the screen at one time. The portion presented at this stage of the instruction was prepared in advance by the leader.

Depending upon the level of grammatical knowledge that the learners were starting from, at this point in the schedule a brief (5 minute) mini-lesson was conducted on some aspect of the grammar under investigation, or a discussion of terminology or metalanguage that was needed for the text portion being considered. The reason for this was that the next phase of discovery requires that the leader and the learners share at least a rudimentary common vocabulary for the terminology to be employed: “noun,” “verb,” “pronoun,” etc. During the first few classes, the terminology for the session was reviewed at the beginning. During later classes, instructional sessions moved right from the reading and review stages to grammatical discovery, with frequent mini-lessons from the grammatical resource.
3.4.4.3 Discovery stage: nouns

The learners were then asked to begin identifying the nouns in the text. At the start, it was mainly guesswork, but the leader encouraged each attempt, and praised the correct ones. Starting from the beginning of the text (not randomly) each noun was identified and annotated. The annotation method used for this research and instructional method is to inscribe a blue circle around each noun. An example of this method is shown in Figure 32. This procedure of interactive discovery of the nouns proceeds under the guidance of the leader until the entire visible portion of the text on the screen was annotated with all the nouns, as in Figure 33.
3.4.4.4 Analysis stage: nouns

With the nouns in the text in question thus identified and annotated, the leader led the learners toward discovery of any grammatical patterning that they found in the nouns that have just been identified. For Naskapi, this provided an excellent opportunity to have a mini-lesson about the important grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate nouns, and how that distinction is reflected in the suffixes that are used to mark the grammatical categories of number and obviation, as described in the grammatical resource in Appendix A.

The leader used the adjacent whiteboard to begin to illustrate the various declensions of the nominal inflection system of Naskapi with charts and tables, always referring back to the text under consideration to underscore the meanings of the morphemes being illustrated. For example, the grammatical category of obviation on animate verbs is illustrated nicely in Figure 33, and a mini-lesson teaching the inflection and meaning of...
obviation was presented at this point. See Table 8, and also refer to the description of obviative inflections found in the grammatical resource in Appendix A. Portions of the grammatical resource were used as handouts during these mini-lessons, to reinforce the teaching and to provide the learners with reference materials.

Table 8. Animate nouns and their obviative forms

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<th>Obviative</th>
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</table>

3.4.4.5 Discovery stage: verbs

Without spending too much time on the nouns (five or ten minutes at the most in one session) the leader directed the learners back to the text being considered and followed a similar procedure, by asking for volunteers among the learners to identify the verbs in the text, once again starting at the beginning and working straight through the text.

It was key, during these discovery stages, that the leader remained sensitive to the learners’ abilities and allowed them to make their own discoveries as much as possible, and to provide much encouragement and praise. The leader also had to be on the alert for learners’ fatigue: if the leader is very enthusiastic about the language which can provide him with “... an inexhaustible source or pleasure and challenge for its students” (Valentine 2001), the leader may be tempted to press on but miss signs that the learners were not following completely or at all. It was sometimes the case that the learners had not yet begun to share the leader’s enthusiasm for Naskapi grammar, and the leader had to be reminded that this is interactive learning, which means action on the part of both the leader and the learners.
In the method developed for this research, the annotation method for verbs is to inscribe a red box around each verb. An example of this practice is shown in Figure 34. This procedure of interactive discovery of the verbs continued under the guidance of the leader (Figure 35) until the entire visible portion of the text is annotated with all the verbs, as in Figure 36.
At this point, with all the verbs in that portion of the text discovered and annotated, the learners were encouraged to look for patterns that have to do with verbs.

**Figure 36. Discovery stage, verbs (complete)**

3.4.4.6 Analysis stage: verbs

One feature of verbs that was immediately apparent was the small word-part on the left side of most of them, which is separated by a space that sometimes appears slightly smaller than a normal word space. Often this word-part is a single syllable, and many of these initial syllables can be identical in a typical text. This was a good place to begin to identify the patterns that may be found in the preverbs. By constantly making reference to the meaning of the annotated text (Figure 36) the leader assisted the learners by tabulating a list of all the preverbs that they found in the text. From this list, the leader together with the learners classified the verbs according to their order, independent or conjunct, the leader pointing out that the two verb orders take different sets of tense-marking preverbs. Working together, the leader guided the learners in developing the
following table, by which a generalization about the patterns of verb inflection was constructed resulting from an analysis of the text.

Table 9. Tense marking preverbs on independent and conjunct order verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(unmarked)</td>
<td>neutral</td>
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<td>ṭ</td>
<td>chii-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṭ P</td>
<td>chiki-</td>
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<tr>
<td>σ P</td>
<td>niki-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>aa-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaa-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chaa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By this stage of the instruction, the learners have interacted with a text; reading it, comprehending the meaning, analyzed and discovered some of the inflection patterns on nouns and verbs, and have deepened their understanding of the semantics and use of the various inflectional morphemes that they have discovered in context. At this point in the methodology, as was mentioned earlier, it was important for the leader to remain sensitive to the information load that the learners can cope with through each of these stages. Generally it was thought best to stop here after a session of about forty minutes to an hour. Indeed during one of the sessions that this research describes, one of the learners raised her hand to remark, “Sir, my brain is full.” In spite of such occasional indications of “grammar fatigue,” the overall enthusiasm (and reading ability) of the learners continued to improve through the course.

3.4.4.7 Additional grammatical observations

During several sessions, the learners remained attentive and eager to discover additional grammatical patterns when the discovery process had reached this stage. A significant topic that relates to the Orthography, Phonology and Meaning processors is the discovery of word formation patterns. Some additional background is needed at this point to orient the reader of this thesis to some the orthographic features that reveal distinctive and meaningful parts of the word to the reader of the Naskapi text.
In section 1.1.3.3, it was pointed out that the core meaning of the word is carried by the *initial*, or the first part of the stem. Canadian syllabic orthographic traditions that influenced Naskapi orthography (see Figure 9 “Horden” and Figure 10 “Walton”) wrote preverbs as separate words, even though the preverbs, including those most distant from the verb stem, the tense-marking preverbs, are bound (grammatically) to the verb stem. Examples (13) through (15) from Figure 9 (Horden) illustrate this for Moose Creek.

(13) ꜖ Ꜳ ꜐ ꜕ kipachi naatew ‘she/he went to him/her’

(14) ꜖ Ꜳ ꜐ ꜕ Ꜩ ꜡ ꜟ Ꜣ kietew, ki itawak ‘she/he said, they were there’

(15) ꜖ ꜑ ꜫ ꜐ ꜚ ꜟ ꜡ ꜟ Ꜣ Ꜳ ꜞ Ꜣ kiyawak ‘one of them is rich’

Examples (16) and (17) from Figure 10 (Walton) illustrate this for East Cree, Northern dialect.

(16) ꜚ ꜑ ꜐ ꜕ Ꜣ ꜟ Ꜣ ꜟ ꜝ kchaa aakaa wi tiyaak ‘we will not want to be here’

(17) ꜚ ꜑ Ꜣ ꜑ Ꜭ Ꜣ ꜝ kchaa aakaa taapwaatamaak ‘we will not believe it’

Each of the examples contain verbs with grammatically bound preverbs that are separated from the verb with a full space. Table 10 shows the relative positions of the verb stem and the preverbs in these Cree examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense marking preverb</th>
<th>modal preverb</th>
<th>modal preverb</th>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>꜖ ꜑</td>
<td>Ꜩ Ꜣ</td>
<td>ꜟ Ꜣ</td>
<td>꜕ ꜒ ꜝ</td>
<td>‘she/he went to him/her’</td>
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<td>꜖ ꜑</td>
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<td>꜖ ꜑</td>
<td>‘she/he said’</td>
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<td>Ꜣ ꜡ ꜟ Ꜣ Ꜳ</td>
<td>‘they were there’</td>
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<td>Ꜣ ꜡ ꜟ Ꜣ Ꜳ</td>
<td>‘they are rich’</td>
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<td>Ꜣ ꜡ ꜟ Ꜣ Ꜳ</td>
<td>‘we will not want to be here’</td>
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<td>Ꜣ ꜡ ꜟ Ꜣ Ꜳ</td>
<td>‘we will not believe it’</td>
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</table>

Over the years, other Canadian syllabics orthographic traditions developed, including early written versions of Naskapi, which connect the preverb symbols directly to the verb stem, with no intervening spaces. The likely reason for this development is that literate
users of the writing system consider the preverb string and the verb stem to be a semantic unit, that is, a word. Thus early writers of Naskapi (before the relatively recent print era) produced writing like those shown in examples (18) through (20), all taken from Figure 15 (Joseph Guanish). For each of these examples, the preverb and the verb is written together as one word, without any intervening spaces.

(18) \[\text{chiiutinaakinuw} 'it was taken'\]

(19) \[\text{chaachischaahtaakuch} 'they will not be known'\]

(20) \[\text{aachiskuutimaasunaanuuch} 'they are being schooled, educated'\]

However, during the 1990s, an orthographic innovation was introduced that combined the traditional practice of the Cree religious literature that underpins the Naskapi orthography (Horden and Walton’s texts, as in Figure 9 and Figure 10, using full word-spaces between preverbs and their verb stems) with the Naskapi readers’ linguistic sense that the preverbs, being grammatically “bound” morphemes, are part of the verb stem and should remain connected. Literate Naskapi elders and Naskapi language translators working together arrived at a consensus for an standardized orthographic practice that essentially connects the preverbs to the verbs, but visually separates them with a thin, non breaking space, using Unicode character U+202F “NARROW NO-BREAK SPACE” (The Unicode Consortium 2012). This approach addresses both the connectedness between preverbs and stems that readers sense, but also crucially provides the reader with easier visual access to the core meaning of the verb stem. Examples (21) through (23) show the same words from examples (18) through (20), from Figure 15, re-transcribed in standard Naskapi orthography, which includes the narrow no-break space (U+202F) between the preverbs and the verb stem. This space is represented in the roman equivalent by a dash.
As learners became more phonologically aware of the sequences of characters that have semantic significance, their eyes can distinguish and focus on the first 3-4 syllabic symbols in the stem of the word, which, as noted in section 1.1.3.3, carries the core meaning. Adams (1990) tells us that skillful readers call upon the brain’s ability to remember repeated patterns, and the Phonological processor working with the Orthographic and Meaning processors are activated more readily when the orthography provides readers with a clear, distinctive pattern that reveals the core meaning of the word. The use of the narrow no-break space provides this orthographic pattern for Naskapi readers.

As the learners examined the annotated text in Figure 36, they learned to not only easily recognize which words were verbs, but also were provided visual access to the preverb morphemes, those meaningful and high-frequency indicators of tense, aspect and mood, along with access to the initial sequence of characters that determines the core meaning of the stem.

<table>
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<th>tense marking preverb</th>
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</table>

When one compares the arrangement of preverbs in Table 11 with the first few lines of red boxes in Figure 36 identifying the verbs, it can be seen how the use of the thin no-
break space in the orthography helps readers by giving them a visual cue that highlights the patterns exhibited by the preverbs, and access to the initial sequence of syllabics in the stem. Notice the repeating patterns of the preverb syllabic symbols on the left side of each verb annotated in a red box. Awareness of this orthographic feature, combined with instruction about preverb patterns and their meanings, helps readers to make the correspondence between high-frequency patterns of characters in these locations and the meaning of these morphemes.

Finally, in another mini-lesson, pages from the *Naskapi Lexicon* were shown to the learners to provide confirmation that the initial sequence of syllabics symbols in the word stem contains the semantic core of the word. The importance of seeing and recognizing such common sequences in text for reading fluency and comprehension was underscored for the learners. Table 12 provides excerpts from the *Naskapi Lexicon* that show groups of related words which all share the same stem initial morpheme as of some of the verbs identified in the text listed in Figure 36:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naskapi Roman equivalent</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡיך</td>
<td>kischiihtaaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒭ</td>
<td>kischiiuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᑖᒡ</td>
<td>kischitimuaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᑎᒧaskan</td>
<td>kischitiimasuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᔅᑎᒧ</td>
<td>ischiiswaaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᔫᓯ</td>
<td>ischiiswaamikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᑖᒡ</td>
<td>usiihaaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᑖᒡ</td>
<td>usiihtaaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᒧ</td>
<td>miiichim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᒧ</td>
<td>miiichisuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓪᓄᒡᒋᔫᓯᑖᒡ</td>
<td>miiichisuwaakinaatikw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 Results Observed

This section of the thesis provides a description of the means whereby measurable results were obtained, and a tabulation of those results. The section begins with an overview of Qualitative/Mixed Research Methodology (section 3.5.1), and then provides details about the testing instruments used, and the results collected.

3.5.1 Qualitative/Mixed Research Methodology

In his discussion of qualitative, quantitative and mixed research methods, Creswell (2013) claims that “theoretical perspectives may be integrated with the philosophical assumptions that construct a picture of the issues being examined to the people to be studied, and the changes that are needed.” This relates to this present research in that success in mother tongue literacy is connected to “advocacy/participatory knowledge claims” about what such success means in each literacy setting. Speaker attitudes towards their mother tongue and the language of wider communication are critical factors in the survival and maintenance of minority languages. Many minority languages, including Naskapi, are classified as “threatened” while at the same time in certain domains could be classified as “vigorous” (Fishman 2001, Lewis and Simons 2010). The results were measured by tabulating both quantitative empirical data showing change in fluency rate along side qualitative responses from Appreciative Inquiry and subjective comprehension questionnaires. The two sources of data together provided evidence to support the research claims.

The text-based reading instruction method described in section 3.4.4 was conducted daily over the course of three weeks with the participants in the Naskapi-McGill teacher-training course as learners. Three instruments were used to measure both the reading ability and sociolinguistic attitudes of each participant: (1) an objective test of reading ability was administered to the participants both at the beginning and at the end of the
course, (2) an Appreciative Inquiry questionnaire was used close to the end of the course, and (3) a subjective self-evaluation comprehension questionnaire was administered at the end of the course. A discussion of these results follows in section 3.5.2. Copies of the questionnaires may be found in Appendices B and C.

3.5.2 Quantitative Results: Fluency Measurements

The objective test of reading ability in Naskapi was administered as follows: A selection of texts in Naskapi was chosen in advance that corresponded appropriately to the reading level of the participants. Each participant was asked to read aloud a brief section of Naskapi text that was completely unfamiliar to the reader. At this early stage of their ability, the participants were relying almost completely on “orthographic processing” to perform their reading task. Some of the sections to be read were longer than others, in keeping with the ability of the reader, but the content and level of complexity was equivalent.

Table 13. Fluency rate, 03 April 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participant number</th>
<th>syllabic symbols</th>
<th>seconds</th>
<th>fluency rate (syllables/second)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>167.92</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>217.86</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>109.31</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>121.00</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>145.76</td>
<td>2.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>140.15</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>164.35</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>107.40</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>83.53</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>162.34</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>127.16</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>160.77</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>140.77</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>101.88</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average</td>
<td>295.13</td>
<td>130.01</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The participants’ reading performance was recorded using a digital audio recorder, and the sound file was analyzed on computer to evaluate overall proficiency (hesitations, false starts and miscues) and also measured in order to count the number of syllable symbols in the text processed in a certain measured period of time, which provided a measurement of fluency. The results of these measurements are shown in Table 13 and graphically in Figure 37. Note that since participant 1 was only available for testing at the initial session on 03 April, but not available at the final session on 18 April, the data for this participant is left off of the graphical representations that show relative amount of change over time.

Figure 37. Chart of fluency rate, 03 April 2013

13 Olympus model LS-20 linear PCM recorder, 44100 Hz 16-bit digital audio.
After the first fluency test was administered on 03 April, this researcher met daily with the participants, following the text-based guided reading and grammatical instruction method described in section 3.4.4. This method was crafted to help them read better by reinforcing the Phonological processor, Meaning processor and Context processor, by presenting the grammar to speakers in a way that scaffolds their understanding of the grammatical structure with a discovery approach using texts. At the end of the three-week session, the same fluency test was administered to the participants, with the participants reading a different portion of text with a comparable level of difficulty as the text they read during the first test. The results of these measurements are shown in Table 14 and graphically in Figure 38.

Table 14. Fluency rate, 18 April 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participant number</th>
<th>syllabic symbols</th>
<th>seconds</th>
<th>fluency rate (syllables/second)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>not tested</td>
<td>not tested</td>
<td>not tested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>5.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>5.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>1204</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>3.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>average</strong></td>
<td><strong>226.43</strong></td>
<td><strong>709.71</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fluency standard</strong></td>
<td><strong>341</strong></td>
<td><strong>1995</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.85</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 39 shows the two results compared: that is, the data from 03 April (blue, graph bars on the left) along side the data from 18 April (maroon, graph bars on the right) for each participant, revealing the change in fluency rate over the three weeks of instruction. The numbers at the top of each graph bar correspond to the fluency rate
numbers in Table 14. Participant 1 was unable to attend this test session, so that data was not included on the graph. Nearly every participant from whom pre-instruction and post-instruction results could be gathered exhibited an increase in fluency. Some participants more than doubled their fluency score, and two participants approached the community fluency standard, the last bar shown on Figure 39, on the far right of the graph.

![Figure 38. Chart of fluency rate, 18 April 2013](image)

14 Joseph Guanish, a community elder now in his 80s, who not only served as the chief of the Naskapi community for more than a quarter century, but also continues to serve as a mentor and role model for Naskapi literacy in the community. He beyond doubt is considered by members of the Naskapi language community to be the standard for literacy ability. His score for the same test is presented in the rightmost column of Figure 39, and at the bottom row of Table 14.
The testing indicates a 144% overall aggregate improvement in the reading fluency of the participants after only three weeks of incorporating text-based grammar teaching with guided reading. It is acknowledged that a simple word-per-minute (or syllable-per-minute) rate does not reflect the many other factors that contribute to successful literacy. Proficient readers vary greatly in the speed of their reading. Rate often depends on purpose for reading, content, literary quality, and genre (Fountas & Pinnell 2013).

However, it is clear that such measurements do provide a useful and meaningful indicator of ability that correlates with other aspects of reading proficiency (Kormos and Dénes 2004), and this research makes use of these instruments with that understanding.

![Figure 39. Chart showing change in fluency rate, and the community standard](image)

3.5.3 Qualitative Results: Participant Questionnaires

In addition to the fluency measurement evaluations, the participants were also asked to complete two questionnaires, each of which had two purposes: (1) to provide data to
the research to evaluate the methodology, and (2) to provide feedback to the participants
to improve positive results and long-term outcomes.

3.5.3.1 Appreciative Inquiry questionnaire

During the last week of the course an “Appreciative Inquiry” questionnaire (Seel 2008) was administered, which was designed to elicit a response related to the participants’ own perception of the relative state of health of the Naskapi language, their own role in relation to this, and their emotional attachment to it. Appreciative Inquiry is a data-gathering approach that “builds on what is positive in organizational life. There is evidence from a number of different fields to show that a focus on positive reinforcement can have real and lasting effects” (Seel 2008:2). Appreciative Inquiry interviews can generate a lot of data, but Seel points out that the real value of the exercise lies not in the data itself, but rather in the process of telling the story. The participants, as they are engaged in thinking about the questions, actually increase their own appreciation for the values they describe, and by carrying out the inquiry process their attitudes and perceptions of themselves are changed. In terms of benefit to speakers of a threatened language, their improved attitudes as speakers coupled with their own tabulated results that showed improved reading proficiency could potentially be a powerful motivator for affecting positive changes in the literacy outcomes for the Naskapi community.

All of the responses for this questionnaire may also be found in Appendix B, along with the full text of the questionnaire.

The first question was worded as follows: “Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?” The participants’ responses were all positive, but could be divided into three main themes: “interacting with my parents and grandparents” (looking to the past and the previous generations), “interacting with my children” (looking to the present and future), and “interacting with others”
(comparing the Naskapi experience to the experiences of others). The first theme, “parents and grandparents” was represented in most of the responses, shown in examples (24) through (29).

(24) “I remember I used to ask my father ‘What’s that?’ whenever he asked me to get something for him. I would always repeat the word in Naskapi” (participant 1).

(25) “A phone call with my grandfather that lasted two hours. A very healing and valuable conversation about life and everything. We talked [in Naskapi] about everything” (participant 4).

(26) “I liked it when my father told legends when we were going to bed. If my brother and I did not understand [some of the words], we would ask our dad to explain more so it made sense” (participant 5).

(27) “The times when my grandparents were still around. I used to use the language all the time. I used to escort them out for medical [trips outside the community]. I think about the times when I used to talk to them. I try not to lose the language; my dad still uses the language a lot” (participant 6).

(28) “My experience of communicating in my mother’s tongue is when I used to live with my grandma and I used to speak our language” (participant 10).

(29) “Maybe first calling my parents ᓴᒥᑭᔭᓄᑖᑲ [niikaa kiyaa nuutaa ‘mom and dad’], this is how I call my parents in Naskapi” (participant 14).

This first theme “parents and grandparents” has strong emotional components of relationship and tradition. Elders, especially one’s own grandparents, are held in high regard for their wisdom that comes with age, and also for their practical and traditional knowledge about the world, life on the land, and their sense of identity. Today’s Naskapi adults want to maintain their connection to these things, and these responses indicate that they feel that this is best done through language.

The next theme that comes to light from the first question is “children”. Consider the responses in examples (30) through (32):

(30) “When I think about it, I find it meaningful when I talk to my kids and ask questions about our Naskapi language” (participant 11).
(31) “Whenever we go out on the bush, we speak more Naskapi and I learn more words when I’m there. It just feels natural” (participant 12).

(32) “There was a time when I was in the city and my girls and I were talking in Naskapi. Someone asked us what language we were speaking. I told briefly about the Naskapi language. This person was very surprised that we still speak our language” (participant 13).

In contrast to the first theme, which looked back, relating to and embracing the past, this theme is forward-looking, and is centered on intentionally passing on the language in the present so that future generations will still hold on to these things that are seen as important. By far the majority of responses to this question were associated with these first two themes, and have to do with relationships: looking back into the past—and tradition, and looking forward into the future—and legacy.

The third theme that came from this set of responses is connected to both of these, but is unique in that it does not focus on family relationships per se, but rather on things that by definition are outside the familial group, “others.”

(33) “When I was away for school and I met other natives that had lost their language. Also, when I attended a conference they had us speak in our language at the parliament” (participant 2).

(34) “Knowing that most of the Mohawks15 have lost their language I felt proud to be able to speak my language with no English. I felt sorry and sad for them” (participant 7).

(35) “It was when I was in therapy when I heard Mohawks talking in their language and they had a very hard time. It was like me reading in Naskapi but them speaking their language” (participant 8).

15 As part of their educational program, several of the Naskapi participants served as interns or student teachers in a Mohawk community. The responses in examples (34), (35) and (40) refer to these experiences.
“My most recent experience that I had that was meaningful and positive was the time I had to translate for a guy from the mines on-air at the radio station. It was the first time I ever did something like that” (participant 9).

This series of responses that relate to the theme of “the others” have a significant place in the inward motivation of the young Naskapi adults who are learning to read. Example (35) is especially fascinating in that the participant has visualized himself in the place of the Mohawks who had difficulty speaking their own language. “It was like me reading in Naskapi,” indicates some of the shame that this participant feels when he is unable to read as fluently as he would like. But he also has a sense of pride that his speaking ability in Naskapi is still automatic. One hopes that this becomes his motivation for spending the effort that it will take for him to gain the needed fluency in reading that he desires. Example (36) is interesting because the “others” being referred to are of two types: first, the non-Naskapi speaker, “a guy from the mines” who needed the services of this participant in order to communicate to the Naskapi community on the radio. The second type of “others” is the Naskapi listening audience on the radio. This participant clearly felt pride in being able to provide a service to her fellow Naskapi speakers by translating this message, and that boosted her own confidence and self-worth.

The second question in the Appreciative Inquiry questionnaire asks the participants to expand on the experience that they told about in the first question, probing how that experience made them feel about themselves. The most common theme that emerges in these responses about valuing selfhood is “pride,” as in examples (37) through (39):

(37) “I felt so proud of myself. I was thankful I still know my identity” (participant 2).
(38) “I take pride in my learning and I want to share it” (participant 4).
(39) “That I can communicate with my parents, my godparents, elders, my family, my friends, and other people in my mother tongue” (participant 5).

The theme of “pride” is further expanded into other similar positive emotions such as happiness, as in example (40):
(40) “I was happy I was born as a Naskapi and Naskapi speaker, and speaking it fluently. It made me proud to be a Native person because I was learning about Mohawk\textsuperscript{16} traditional culture” (participant 8).

The “pride” theme also expresses itself in gratitude, as in example (41)

(41) “I am thankful that I gave this job a chance, because I usually would not do this kind of work. I am learning so much about myself and my culture” (participant 9).

Besides the related themes of “pride, happiness and gratitude” that question two elicited, there is a strong theme of “action” that comes from the second half of the question, which talks about their self-perception in relation to work and the community. There were many responses related to the theme of action, and some representative samples are included here in examples (42) through (48):

(42) “I want to teach Naskapi language and culture” (participant 6).
(43) “I guess to involve myself because [so far] I don’t” (participant 7).
(44) “This work allows me to give something back to my community. Knowledge is power!” (participant 9)
(45) “As a teacher, teaching my kids” (participant 11).
(46) “I feel I’m ready to pass on the language to younger people” (participant 12).
(47) “I feel that Naskapi are realizing that we need to push the culture and language. I see change today” (participant 13).
(48) “I can teach in my language and contribute to sustaining Naskapi language and culture” (participant 14).

These responses related to the theme of “action” are the most significant ones thus far. They have to do with an indispensable motivational drive that can spur on individuals to take the steps required for self-improvement, and then make themselves available for

\textsuperscript{16} See footnote on example (34).
the greater good of the community. This raises the possibility that the participants are
gaining the confidence and skills to actually “do” something to affect positive change.

The third question relates to the core values of the community, the things that the
community can build upon for the future. Three interlocking themes came out of this
question. Participant responses could be placed on a continuum with “culture” as highest
importance on one end (two participants), and “language” as highest importance on the
other end (four participants). The majority of the responses, however, contained
expressions that related the two themes of culture and language to each other. The
remaining seven participants provided responses shown in examples (49) through (55):

(49) “Language, traditions & maybe beliefs” (participant 2).
(50) “The language is the core, and the Naskapi values. Slowly we will bring back all the
values to their rightful place in every Naskapi heart” (participant 4).
(51) “Language is one of the core factors that give “life” to our community. I feel that
without our language, we wouldn’t feel interested in learning about our culture. It
is important to continue working on our language so we don’t lose it like other Fist
Nations people” (participant 5).
(52) “I think language is very positive in keeping it strong and alive, and also it would be
good to keep the culture and traditions alive” (participant 8).
(53) “Just talking to each other in our own language gives life to our culture but we can
do more” (participant 12).
(54) “The language [skills] could be improved, and the cultural skills” (participant 13).
(55) “Naskapi language is spoken here. Strong values, a lot of local resources bringing
life to Kawawachikamach” (participant 14).

The relationship between language and culture that most of these participants
underscore in their responses places language in the place of primary importance, since
language is the means by which culture and traditions are expressed and transmitted to
the other generations. These statements affirm the participants’ positive perception of
their own language in their community.
The final question on the Appreciative Inquiry questionnaire asks the participants to dream about the possibilities for the future of their community, by making three wishes. Many of the wishes are of a general nature and obvious, such as teaching the language to the next generation, more widespread and fluent literacy in Naskapi, and the ongoing practice some of the traditional activities that define the Naskapi culture. But besides these there were also some significant specific goals mentioned, as shown in examples (56) through (68):

(56) “To invite elders to teach about Naskapi tools” (participant 1).
(57) “Bible to be used in school because kids could learn new words” (participant 5).
(58) “Typing in Naskapi” (participant 5).
(59) “Elders and youths getting together so youths could learn new words through different ways such as interviews, storytelling, etc.” (participant 5).
(60) “A museum for [archival] pictures” (participant 6).
(61) “A children’s choir class in Naskapi” (participant 6).
(62) “To have a cultural center—this would improve language” (participant 11).
(63) “To have language courses” (participant 11).
(64) “A Naskapi newspaper in syllabics” (participant 12).
(65) “Teach Naskapi language all the way through high school” (participant 12).
(66) “[Teach] more skills in building things, such as showshoes, paddles, canoes, and crafts” (participant 14).
(67) “[Encourage] more artisans and storytellers” (participant 14).
(68) “More people doing things together, not separately” (participant 14).

This researcher feels that the participants who responded to this questionnaire with this list of specific and positive goals are also motivated and perceive that they are becoming equipped to carry out these goals themselves in the context of their future work in the school and in the community. The resources that they need are within their reach and, in part, the tools developed during the course of this research provides them with
some of the key resources and methodology to make these wishes become a reality in their lifetime.

3.5.3.2 Subjective comprehension questionnaire

At the end of the course, and immediately after completing their final reading fluency tests described in section 3.5.2, the participants were asked to complete a “subjective comprehension” questionnaire. This questionnaire posed content questions about the text that the participants had just read for fluency, along with other questions designed to elicit a subjective self-evaluation of their understanding of grammatical categories, and questions probing their perception of the connections between comprehension, fluency and knowledge of Naskapi grammatical structures.

All of the responses for this questionnaire may also be found in Appendix C, along with the full text of the questionnaire.

The first question on the questionnaire not only asked participants whether or not they felt they had a grasp of the meaning of the text, but also required that they summarize the main point of what they read. Since the participants all read different portions of the selected texts, the responses in this section are quite variable. Nine of the twelve participants were able to adequately summarize the main point of the text, and one participant, in example (69), was also able to place the events in the text that he read relative to other events already known:

(69) “I can understand how the story is unfolding. The Wolverine is tricking the bear into believing he was lost and that [his] parents were missing him” (participant 12).

Two of the participants, however indicated some degree of difficulty in fully understanding the text that they read:

(70) “I don’t fully understand all of it, but I think I get the main point” (participant 2).

(71) “I got a good grasp starting at verse 7, [but] verse 8 I don’t really understand” (participant 14).
Both of these participants admitted difficulties in the midst of success, but seemed optimistic about the facts that they did understand. For all participants, the answers to this question indicated confidence that they could understand the text, and that they were in the process of gaining the skills that they required to make meaning from text. This researcher feels that this increase in confidence along with their learned skills will lead to steady improvement not only in their perceived reading ability, but also in their actual performance.

The second question on the subjective comprehension questionnaire asked whether the participants were able to identify Naskapi word categories in the text (verbs, nouns and other categories), and challenged them to provide examples of these. Again, since the texts were all different, the responses to these questions were varied. But several generalizations can be made. Seven of the thirteen participants (more than half) could respond confidently that “yes,” they can identify at least the verbs and nouns in the text that they read, and correctly did so with examples. Even those participants who were not as confident (participants 2, 13, and 14) who answered “yes, most of them,” or “yes, I think so,” were able to correctly identify word categories in their text. A few participants, however, made some miscues in answering these questions, and all of these miscues had to do with identifying words in “other word categories,” words other than nouns or verbs. This shows what this researcher expected: that the more basic categories of noun and verb were easier to grasp and incorporate into their reading strategy than some of the other categories less central to the characters or action in the story.

It must be admitted that using the word “grammar” in question three diluted the significance that this question could have had in validating the beneficial effects that grammar instruction has on reading. The majority of the participants responded to this question in a predictable way: that is, in the affirmative. However, in spite of the shortcomings due to the wording of this question, the responses do contain some
significant themes that are related to the instructional method. The question asks the participants if they are able to read more successfully now that they have received instruction in Naskapi grammar. Four of the participants specifically indicated particular elements of the grammar that were especially helpful to them, and were able to use their newly acquired grammatical metalanguage to refer to these elements:

(72) “Understanding tenses and person markers makes it easier and more comprehensible to me” (participant 4).

(73) “[I read more successfully] because [I] understand past tenses, pronouns and verbs” (participant 11).

(74) “I am better at understanding how a noun and verb are separate, and can identify them” (participant 12).

(75) “I can read better and more fluently because [I] know the preverbs” (participant 13).

Even though some of these comments reveal an imperfect understanding of grammatical structure, they do show that these participants perceive that some elements of the grammar were significant in helping them with their reading. These responses do not necessarily show that instruction in the grammar had a positive affect on their reading ability, but rather they indicate that they are beginning to use some grammatical metalanguage. It is hoped that their perceptions of success in this area and their increased confidence can have a positive influence on their reading.

Another theme that was not specifically related to word categories per se, but nevertheless was connected to the grammatical and morphological patterns that were taught, had to do with the orthography and phonology. The evidence of this was the participants’ focus on spelling in some of the responses. Note what participant 2 writes in example (76):

(76) “Yes, because now I know why it’s written the way it is and I understand it better” (participant 2).
This is a reference to the teaching about the patterns of spelling for specific lexical items and meaningful units, described in section 3.4.4.7. Even though no grammatical metalanguage is used, the response here indicates a deeper appreciation for the patterns of the language that the participants can observe, and how these relate to recovering meaning.

A significant finding related to the results of this study is indicated in the responses of five of the participants. There is a common thread through the following answers:

(77) “Yes, I am able to read the passage because I’ve done so much practice of typing and reading Naskapi in all Naskapi courses I took” (participant 5).

(78) “Yes, it gets easier from practicing” (participant 6).

(79) “Yes, because I’m starting to understand more words and pronounce them better” (participant 7).

(80) “Yes, because I know about the structure and I practice” (participant 9).

(81) “Yes, I think its because I practiced reading and writing” (participant 14).

Each of these responses attributes their improvement in reading to the amount of “practice” that the participant has had. While it may seem obvious that the more a person reads, the better that person will be at reading, this is, in fact an important tenet of reading instruction. Smith underscores this when he says, “children—and all readers—learn to read by reading” (Smith 2004:125). The participant responses confirm that practice is perceived by them to have an effect on their improved fluency.

Although the opportunity to practice reading was identified by these participants as the major contributor to fluency, this does not necessarily imply that grammatical instruction made no contribution. We have already seen that other participants evaluated the contribution of grammatical instruction positively. Participant 9 (see example (80)) combines these two factors by responding, “Yes, because I know about the structure and I practice.” This response seems to support the notion that a balanced approach, combining
skills practice, grammatical instruction, and reading meaningful texts, promotes increased fluency and comprehension.

Although the wording of the question anticipated an affirmative answer, one participant actually answered question three in the negative, as shown in example (82):

(82) “No, I’m not able to read [the] passage more successfully, because I read each syllabic slowly” (participant 1).

This participant earnestly admits that even with instruction in Naskapi grammar, she remains unable to read as well as she would like, because of having to read so slowly. This response seems to indicate that a certain level of reading fluency must be attained before the teaching of grammatical structures will be of benefit, and that this participant has not yet attained such a level of fluency. It may be that there was still not enough automaticity in orthographic recall for this participant to be able to benefit from learning the structure at this level of her reading ability. Still, this same participant was able to correctly identify verbs, nouns and other word categories in the passage that she read. This shows that only being able to identify the structure does little to help fluency and comprehension. This participant and others like her would be well-served to develop better automaticity by continued practice, and possibly by spending more time reading material that was more suitable for their reading level.

Question four on the subjective comprehension questionnaire not only underscores some of the results already mentioned, but also provides clear direction for pedagogy that would be of specific benefit to these particular participants. This question asks the participants to describe how they were helped by the instruction. First we consider participant 1, the same participant who answered question three with a negative response:

(83) “By reading twice each sentence, by putting pre tense [tense-marking preverbs] and verbs together, by following songs in [the] Naskapi hymn book or in the readings at church” (participant 1).
This participant outlines a clear path that she can continue to follow toward her own successful and confident literacy. Even though she currently struggles with automaticity in decoding (“reading twice each sentence”), she recognizes that she can increase her prospects for improvement by reading in domains of strong literacy use (“at church”), and significantly, applying some of the grammatical concepts that she is beginning to learn (“putting tense-marking preverbs and verbs together”) shows that she is beginning to acquire the tools that she needs to improve her reading, in spite of her perception that she still struggles with basic fluency.

The answers to question four from the other participants can be grouped into two general themes around the key phrases “I can” and “I do.” Eight participants responded with variations on the theme “I can,” describing how the teaching method gave them insights into the structure that gave them the ability to understand the text that they read. Examples (84) through (91) are from the “I can” group.

(84) “Knowing the grammar I understand it better” (participant 2).
(85) “I am able to understand what I read better knowing the parts of the words” (participant 4).
(86) “Knowing the nouns and verbs and particles the meaning helps me to understand more” (participant 6).
(87) “I can help my daughter read. I can sometimes find spelling mistakes” (participant 7).
(88) “Knowing the tenses of the words (past, future, present) [and] knowing how they end and start [inflection] and why” (participant 8).
(89) “I am able to recognize the words automatically. I am able to understand the person markers, [and] therefore understand what is going on” (participant 9).
(90) “I am able better to understand the flow of a sentence” (participant 12).
(91) “It helps me with the spelling mistakes” (participant 13).

All of these participants report that the course provided them with specific grammatical insights that helped them to be able to do things that before they could only
do with difficulty. Participant 7 can help her daughter read. Participants 7 and 13 find help with spelling. Participant 9 found help with automaticity and general comprehension. In fact, each one of this group mentioned “understanding” as one of the primary benefits of knowing the structure of Naskapi.

The other general theme found in the responses to question 4 related to the phrase “I do.” That is, like participant 1, these participants responded to the question with a list of things that they are beginning do in order to read better. The focus is not on what they have already learned, like the “I can” group, but rather on strategies that they can now apply in order to read better. Their responses describe the practices that they are adopting to give them better success at reading. Examples (92) through (95) show these responses.

(92) “I listen to people at church when they read [the] readings” (participant 5).
(93) “Typing practice with Genesis and the New Testament helps me to learn the words in the writing” (participant 5).
(94) “singing and following the songs in the hymn book” (participant 5).
(95) “Reading more helps me to read fluently” (participant 6).

Question four thus divides the participants into two groups: those who have more confidence and ability and thus are connected by the themes “I can” or “I understand;” and those who may be reading at a somewhat lower level and are connected by the theme “I do,” and who focus more on the practice of activities and strategies that they have found which can help them to read better.
CHAPTER 4
EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter begins with a summary of the study and the results, including both quantitative and qualitative evidence. The section on “reading blind” is a commentary on the difficulties encountered when reading is attempted by learners who have not been provided with sufficient training in language patterns to access all of the processors described in Adams’ reading model. Some possible reasons for this situation are suggested. In light of the reasons given, some directions for future pedagogy are recommended. Finally, some recommendations for further research and development of reading pedagogy for Naskapi are offered.

4.1 Summary of Results

This research developed an instructional method for learning Naskapi language patterns, designed to enhance their own literacy ability, in a form accessible to a cohort of Naskapi teachers following courses towards their Bachelor of Education degree. The instructional method was crafted to take into account the historical and sociolinguistic factors that make Naskapi a unique educational situation. The instructional method was implemented in an experimental situation in which these bilingual adult Naskapi teachers were learning to read and write their own language. During their three-week course, these participants made significant progress improving their literacy in their mother tongue as shown by the results described in section 3.5.

The choice of instruments for gathering the results was guided by principles of a mixed quantitative and qualitative research methodology, described in section 3.5.1.
These instruments included an objective test of reading ability based on fluency, administered to the participants before and after the course, providing a measure of their improvement. All but one participant improved in their reading fluency. The fluency rates of all participants averaged together showed an increase of 144%, with two participants (participant 4 and participant 5) approaching the fluency rate of an accomplished Naskapi reader, as discussed in section 3.5.2.

The other two instruments used were questionnaires designed to gather qualitative results. The first, an Appreciative Inquiry questionnaire, was administered during the last week of the course, and gathered responses that were analyzed in section 3.5.3.1. The principal themes revealed by this questionnaire were:

1. Their mother tongue holds a place of priority for the participants relative to the older generation “my parents and grandparents,” to the younger generation “my children,” and to “others” outside the extended family group.
2. The participants expressed “pride, happiness and gratitude” that they continue to function using their mother tongue.
3. The participants are eager to take “action” with regard to their own personal and community language development goals.
4. The participants still hold a high regard for their culture and traditions, and feel that their mother tongue is a key component in their sustainability.

The second questionnaire was a subjective comprehension questionnaire, which was administered at the end of the course immediately following the final fluency test. This instrument gathered responses that were analyzed in section 3.5.3.2. The principal themes revealed by this questionnaire were:
1. All the participants indicated confidence that they understood the text that they read, and that they were gaining the skills that they required in order to make meaning from text.

2. More than half of the participants indicated that they were able to grasp the distinctions between basic kinds of words (verbs and nouns).

3. The responses indicated that the participants are at different levels in their reading ability, which correlates with the relative ease at which they understand and apply grammatical concepts. This was shown by the “I can” and “I do” groups.

4. The participants were able to make accurate statements regarding reading activities that they could practice that would assist them toward continued improvement.

The results of all the measurement instruments taken together show that the research experiment did improve both perceived and actual reading ability. Implications of these results will be discussed in the next section.

4.2 Reading Blind

In our experience throughout this research, and indeed throughout our time in the Naskapi community, this researcher has witnessed the drawbacks of reading “blind,” that is, attempting to make meaning from a text without an adequate underpinning of phonological awareness, command of accessible vocabulary and an understanding of grammatical structure. This was highlighted by Adams (1990) in her theoretical model of skilled reading that describes how skilled readers are able to bring several interconnected aspects of their own knowledge about their language to bear on the reading task. Readers who have a strong knowledge of the orthography but still fail to have adequate access to phonology, context, and meaning are able to mechanically “sound out words” (albeit with
difficulty) but are often at a loss with regard to discovering the meaning of the text. However, if learners are taught to simultaneously gain and access knowledge about the linguistic patterns that are reflected in the phonology, semantics and contextual cues, then they have a far better chance for not only success in reading but also some of the positive emotional effects that can be gained from reading. Opening learners’ eyes to the patterns in their language by can help do this. The outcomes resulting from using the instructional method described in this research, evaluated in the results section, show that this method provides a way to reach this goal.

While the results have indicated an improved reading ability overall among the participants, along with positive indications of their own ability, one cannot say unequivocally exactly which aspects of the instructional approach resulted in the most significant improvements. Surely, three weeks of daily practice in reading in a safe and structured environment, regardless of instructional approach or the teaching of specific aspects of grammar, would result in a perception of increased fluency and comprehension.

This is not an unusual in the research of human behavior. The phenomenon in which subjects in behavioral studies change their performance in response to being observed is known as “the Hawthorne effect” (Dickson and Roethlisberger 1966). It is likely that some of the improvement observed in the ability of the participants can be attributed to the fact that they knew that they were part of this research.

Perhaps other aspects of the instructional approach, such as the practice of daily guided reading alone, had the most significant impact on the increased ability of these participants. Regarding the influence that grammar teaching has on L1 reading in other minority language contexts, Weber (personal communication 2013) reports, “It was when we taught about the structure of the language, giving it value and credibility as a ‘real’ language, that the people became readers. In cognition, the psychological reality of
legitimacy made a great difference.” This research therefore cannot not be hasty in attributing all of the progress made to the instructional approach alone. But clearly, taken together, all of the activities described in the methodology section have had an overall positive outcome as reflected in the quantitative and qualitative results. What mattered was that the research did something, and that doing something had a positive effect on the learners.

4.3 Directions for Future Pedagogy

Some recommendations are given here for integrating instruction in grammatical description into the reading of for developing increased fluency and comprehension. Since the participants in this study are all enrolled in a program that leads to a career in teaching in their own minority language community or in language development work, a practical application of the methods that were tested and shown to be successful in this research is imperative. The empirical results of the orthography testing and fluency testing, taken along side the subjective results of the Appreciative Inquiry and comprehension questionnaires, together provide evidence that teaching Naskapi language patterns in a text-based discovery approach can provide literacy learners with a significant improvement in reading ability. This suggests that the instructional method helps learners gain strategies they need to take advantage of all four cognitive processors at their disposal for success in reading.

4.3.1 Orthographic and Phonological Toolkit

Some of the successful strategies that were used with the participants are touched upon in this section. It was shown in section 2.6.1 that in place of a teaching method that stresses the rote memorization of a consecutive list of more than fifty different sound/symbol correspondences, it is far better to teach the syllabic orthography in the
context of its structural framework and conceptual design. This provides learners with more accessibility and automaticity for this foundational orthographic processing skill.

A solid foundation of the principles of the orthography helps learners to recognize high frequency meaningful patterns in the phonology that are reflected in the sequences of characters. This is accomplished not only by an increased exposure to text and print materials, but also to situations where the language is used in literacy. In other words, learners need to be immersed in environments where the written language is used and enjoyed.

4.3.2 Semantic and Contextual Toolkit

There are other strategies that come into play to develop learners’ knowledge of the semantic and contextual domains. It has been shown that many Naskapi speakers in younger generations do not have a strong command of the rich vocabulary that their parents and grandparents have had. Partly, this is due to the rapid shift from a nomadic lifestyle to life in a community, but also due to other factors, which can be adjusted. Lexical resources are available, and there are still many people in the older generations that are available to pass this semantic richness on. Younger speakers should be encouraged to appreciate and gain control of the processes of word formation, inflection and derivation, so that the mysteries of why words mean what they mean will give way to an expanded vocabulary.

Finally, by learning the patterns of their own language, new readers are able to increase their learning within all the various domains where the language is used, whether it is a new experience of reading a traditional legend that they never heard before, or discovering the joy, comfort and direction that their ancestors found that came from an understanding of religious texts in their own language.
4.4 Directions for Further Research and Development

There remains some uncertainty with regard to which activities or grammatical patterns are most optimal for achieving the desired instructional outcomes for the target group. This reveals a direction for further study. With more thorough “before” and “after” testing and evaluation, along with better controls on the various components of the instructional approach, it should be possible to more accurately determine which of the learning activities and grammatical structures are most necessary to focus on.

There have been exciting recent experimental breakthroughs that have provided neuropsychological support to Dual Coding Theory (DCT) as a model of reading (Sadoski and Pavio 2000, 2013). While applying Adams’ theoretical model has enabled us to develop activities that enhanced reading ability, it would be instructive to refine the instructional method further. In particular, future improvements could take advantage of modal differences in cognition, reinforcing the referential connections that non-verbal representations of language have to verbal linguistic representations.

Another area for further research would be a deeper look into grammatical structures, word derivation, syntax, and the structure of discourse text genres. With regard to the use of texts, Systemic Functional Linguistics (Coffin 2010) could well be explored at a deeper level to examine and describe the internal structures of texts, so that learners develop the ability to classify existing texts and create new texts of their own within the communication genres of Naskapi. Due to constraints on the scope of this research, the description of many other useful and interesting aspects of the language had to be limited—aspects that learners may also discover by applying the instructional method outlined in the previous chapters. Those learners who will also eventually become language teachers are encouraged to develop and expand the outline of Naskapi language structures over time. Suggestions for some of these areas follow:
4.4.1 Paradigmatic Awareness

A deeper understanding of the intricate patterns and interactions of the verb paradigms is recommended as a later stage of literacy development. While we have touched on the discovery and analysis of verbs in context of meaningful text in section 3.4.4.6, this study has merely scratched the surface of the amazing beauty and complexity of the Naskapi verb. The rich inflectional patterns and an analysis of the full set of possible participants for each verb discovered would be a worthy area of extended study for incorporating grammar into text-based Naskapi reading instruction.

4.4.2 Syntactic Awareness

Another fruitful area for further study that is recommended for further development of this method of reading instruction is the interrelatedness of clause types (independent, dependent) and how the interplay of verb mode and agreement relates to the overall message of the text. Once again, this is best discovered in the context of reading and analyzing Naskapi texts. Finally, focusing on the analysis and classification of discourse particles, and how they are used to express coherence, sequence or episodic grouping of information in the various text genres in Naskapi would also be a worthwhile and fascinating field of study that could be successfully undertaken using the methodology described in this thesis.

While this research began with the premise that there were optimal basic grammatical structures that should be mastered for learners to become adequately literate in their mother tongue, we have come full circle in our research to find that not only is a knowledge of grammar necessary for successful reading, but also that reading meaningful texts becomes the logical starting point for discovering the essential grammatical structures. The ongoing practice becomes a cycle of learning in which knowledge of
grammar improves reading ability, while increased reading ability improves the knowledge of grammar.
Appendix A
Grammatical Resource for Text-based Literacy Development

What follows is an example of part of a description of Naskapi grammar, which was crafted to be used as an outline of Naskapi language structures in the context of the Naskapi-McGill program Naskapi language class described in the thesis body. The grammatographic model used in this draft included the following constraints:

First, this description is targeted at adult first-language speakers of Naskapi who have been educated to the secondary school level, and who are reasonably capable readers of English. Second, this description intentionally provides a correspondence between the structures of the target group’s mother tongue, Naskapi, and their second language, English, and assumes some prior education in English grammar in the public education system. The reason for this is that during the period of the participants’ elementary and secondary education, the teaching of at least some English grammar was the norm in Canadian classrooms (Walker 2011:42, Québec Dept. of Education 1953:74). The parallel description of Naskapi with English is one of the strategies applied to developing the participants’ metalanguage that was necessary to facilitate the discovery of Naskapi grammatical structure from texts. Third, the register of the prose in the description of Naskapi is intentionally shifted to better accommodate the intended target group. Further, examples are provided in the Naskapi orthography along with roman equivalents.

The first chapter of the resource (not included in this appendix) covers a definition of “grammar” and a comparison of principal grammatical categories in Naskapi with English. The second chapter of the resource that is included here covers the basic
morphological structure of nouns, verbs, pronouns, and demonstratives, and also
describes a functional classification of grammatical particles. Besides the occasional
comparisons with structuralist English grammar (Walker 2011:56), current customary
Algonquian word category classifications are used in the description (cf. Morris 2013,

Additional chapters of the grammatical resource (not included in this appendix) go
on to describe Naskapi word derivation and nominalization, phrase and clause structure,
preverbs, negation, and discourse features.
CHAPTER 2
PARTS OF SPEECH

2.1 Parts of Speech in English

In English, words are traditionally classified according to their function in a sentence. Sentence grammar forms the major basic structural framework of the English language. Each word may be classified according to its “Part of Speech,” as follows:

Nouns: Names of persons, places, things, feelings (father, school, pencil, joy)

There are several grammatical categories that relate to nouns, including: gender, number (singular, plural) possessive, etc.

Pronouns: Words that may take the place of nouns (me, you, him, it)

Adjectives: Words that describe characteristics of nouns (old, large, yellow, tall)

Verbs: Words that describe states or actions (talk, sit, catch, drive)

There are also several grammatical categories that relate to verbs, including: tense (past, present, future) mood, etc.

Adverbs: Words that describe characteristics of verbs (slowly, nicely, dramatically)

Prepositions: Words that indicate location in space or time (inside, under, after)

Conjunctions: Words that connect other parts of the sentence (and, but, yet, nor)

Interjections: Words used to express emotional reaction (Look out! Oh, My!)

English sentences are built by applying various rules of grammar (the structural patterns or syntax) to parts of speech.
2.2 Kinds of Words in Naskapi

In Naskapi, words may be categorized as they are in English, but there are only three basic divisions of word categories which correspond to some of the parts of speech in English: **Noun** is what we call a word that identifies a person, place, thing or thing, i.e. ᐊᓖᒡᓚ asiniy ‘rock’, ᐊᓂᑖᓗ atiikwa ‘caribou’, ᒥᒣᐗ miichiwaap ‘house’, ᑐᒥᓄ taapwaaun ‘truth’). **Verb** is what we call a word that describes an action or a state or condition, i.e. ᐅᒪᒋᐸᑖᐤ chisipaahtaaw ‘run’, ᓂᐗᒋᐸ nipaaaw ‘sleep’, ᒥᗫᐗ miyaaw ‘give’, ᐅᓂᑖᓗ yutin ‘it-is-windy’. Finally, **Particle** is a word that linguists have used for the category for most other kinds of words, i.e. ᑳᓂ kwaat ‘then’, ᓯᐗ kiyaa ‘and’, ᑳᐗ mikw ‘but’, ᓯᓂ minuwaach ‘again’.

Naskapi words that are verbs and nouns, pronouns and demonstratives all share one similarity: they can take prefixes and suffixes that indicate grammatical categories. Further, there are distinct sets of prefixes and suffixes that only can occur on words of a certain type. It will be seen that it is actually these distinctions that set apart the different kinds of words in Naskapi, not the meaning of the words themselves. Particles, on the other hand do not take such prefixes and suffixes. In recent years however, linguists have begun to propose a classification system for the category “particle” in Algonquian languages, which corresponds to the function or meaning of particles as prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions or adjectives (Oxford 2007). But for the purposes of this study we will continue to group the particles together for the most part, as those words that are “indeclinable” that is, they do not take prefixes or suffixes like the other word categories in Naskapi do. Table 1 illustrates the three kinds of words in Naskapi.
Table 1. Three kinds of words in Naskapi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of Words</th>
<th>Like what?</th>
<th>Naskapi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns / Pronouns</td>
<td>names of persons places, things</td>
<td>᭐Dismiss, ᭜Dismiss, ᭙Dismiss, ᭢Dismiss, atiitiih, miichiwaahp</td>
<td>‘rock’, ‘caribou’, ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>actions or states</td>
<td>᭐Dismiss, ᭙Dismiss, ᭤Dismiss, ᭷Dismiss, paapaaht, nipaa, miyaaw</td>
<td>‘run’, ‘sleep’, ‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particles</td>
<td>other kinds of words</td>
<td>᭐Dismiss, ᭮Dismiss, ᭤Dismiss, ᭷Dismiss, nima, kiyaa, miik, minwaach</td>
<td>‘not’, ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘again’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Prefixes and Suffixes: Inflection

We have said that people can use either Naskapi or English to talk about gender, person, number and direction. For the most part the two languages handle these categories in their own unique ways.

One aspect that came to light in that discussion was the amount of information carried by the inflection of words. By inflection we simply mean the parts of the words that are “added-on” to the beginnings and endings of words: prefixes in the front (to the left, before the word) and suffixes at the end (to the right, after the word). As a group these word parts can be called affixes, or simply inflections. (Just as a matter of terminology, the “other” part of the word that is not either a prefix or suffix we call the stem). Inflection occurs in both English and Naskapi. For the grammatical category we call number the two languages follow similar patterns: Naskapi and English both mark a plural noun by adding a suffix (the bit at the end of the word):

Table 2. Indicating number in Naskapi and English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naskapi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>᭐Dismiss ᭢Dismiss ᭤Dismiss paapaaht, taahtipuwaakin</td>
<td>‘one chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>᭐Dismiss ᭤Dismiss niisu taahtipuwaaking</td>
<td>‘two chairs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 2, the word for ‘chair’ is inflected with a suffix in both languages to mark it as a plural: English adds -s and Naskapi adds -a (to inanimate nouns).

But for the other grammatical categories, we find that the two languages tend to function quite differently:

For distinguishing **gender**, English uses a different set of pronoun words: “I see **him**, I see **her**” while Naskapi uses a different set of suffixes for gender agreement:

(1) $\sigma \ni-waapimaaw$ ‘I see him’ (animate)
(2) $\sigma \ni-waapahtaan$ ‘I see it’ (inanimate)<sup>1</sup>

For distinguishing **person as subject** English again uses different pronoun words: “**I** see it, **you** see it” while Naskapi uses a different set of prefixes: (more inflections):

(3) $\sigma \ni-waapahtaan$ ‘I see it’
(4) $\sigma \chi-waapahtaan$ ‘you see it’

Again, for distinguishing **person as object** English marks it using different pronoun words: “you see **me**, you see **him**” while Naskapi uses a different set of suffixes (inflections again):

(5) $\sigma \chi-waapimaaw$ ‘you see him/her’
(6) $\sigma \chi-waapimin$ ‘you see him’

For **direction**, English indicates this using the same verb but different word-order in a sentence, “The man sees the rabbit,” “The rabbit sees the man.” while Naskapi still uses verb suffixes (still more inflections):

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<sup>1</sup> Examples (1) and (2) show suffixes that have a derivational component, as well as containing inflection, since transitive animate and transitive inanimate are in two different verb classes. See section 2.5.2 for more information.
The man sees the rabbit.

The rabbit sees the man.

For obviation, a category not specified grammatically in English, Naskapi once again uses a noun suffix (yet another inflection) to specify this category. The lack of this category in English contributes to uncertain meanings of some sentences, i.e. “John sees the dog go to his house.” (whose house? John’s house or the dog’s house?). In Naskapi this inflectional category specifies the participants’ roles.

John sees the dog go to his (John’s) house.

John sees the dog go to his (the dog’s) house.

You will notice that for all of the grammatical categories listed above, Naskapi uses inflections (prefixes or suffixes) to make the distinctions, where English usually uses words or word order. This is an important difference to keep in mind. In English, word-order, that is, syntax provides the same grammatical information, which in Naskapi is handled by inflection, that is, morphology.

The next sections will introduce the basic inflections used commonly on Naskapi nouns and verbs. While other nominals such as pronouns and demonstratives are also inflected for agreement, this discussion will confine itself to common nouns.
2.4 Nouns

This section explores some characteristics of Naskapi noun inflection, the relationship that Naskapi noun classification has with the various sets of inflection used, and the grammatical information that these inflections carry.

Just like in English, Naskapi speakers talk about persons, places, and things, and the words that name these things are called nouns. For example, “tree,” “rock,” “man,” “wife,” “dog,” “book” and “house” are all English nouns.

A noun in Naskapi is a word that is:

- the name of an concrete object, like ᐱᑐᐳᑭ taahtipwaakin ‘chair’, ᑳᒧ�� misinaahiikin ‘book’, ᑲᐸᐤ naapaaw ‘man’;
- the name of a more abstract thing, like ᑲᒧ�� aaimisuun ‘difficulty’, ᑲᒧ�� asuutimaachaun ‘promise’, ᑲᒧ�� iyimuun ‘language’;
- the name of a person, like ᕱᓂ ni Aanii ‘Annie’, ᕱᓂ ni Chaani ‘Johnny’, or a character in a legend like ᕱᐤ ni Chaahkaapaas ‘Chahkapesh’;
- the name of a place, like ᐱᐸᔨ Waasaach ‘Sept-Îles’.

When you look up a noun in the Naskapi Lexicon it is given in its basic form, which is singular. Inflections or affixes can be added to the basic noun to indicate that it is plural (more than one) or owned (possessive) or a location (‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’, called locative).

Nouns can also be joined together to make new, compound nouns like ᐳᔨᐃᐳᑲᑖᐸᐸᑖᐸᐸᐸ iskutaautaapaan ‘train’ which comes from ᐳᔨᐃᐳᐸ iskutaaw ‘fire‘ + ᐳᐳᐸ ытаapaan ‘vehicle’. When a new, different word is a result of words or word-parts coming together, it is a process called derivation—that is, a new noun is derived from the process.
2.4.1  *Gender: Two classes of Nouns*

In Naskapi, we classify nouns according to their gender, which (as was pointed out earlier) has to do with whether they are animate or inanimate. A Naskapi speaker learns and knows from experience and inference to which category a noun belongs, just as a speaker of English knows without thinking about it that a man is a “he,” a wife is a “she,” and a rock is an “it.” You will observe from the following sections that Naskapi words take a different set of inflections depending on whether they are classified animate or inanimate gender.

![Figure 2. Two classes of nouns](image)

The nouns classified animate are marked with part of speech abbreviation `NA` in the *Naskapi lexicon*, and use the plural marker `-ich`. A second group of nouns classified as inanimate are marked as `NI` in the lexicon, and use the plural marker `-a`. We can say that a noun in Naskapi has animate gender if it uses the `-ich` plural, and has inanimate gender if it uses the `-a` plural. So, if you are not a Naskapi speaker and are not sure whether a noun is animate or inanimate, just ask a Naskapi speaker to give you the plural form. The suffix used will tell you which it is. Table 3 shows how the plural is formed on animate nouns, and Table 4 shows the plural form of some inanimate nouns.
Table 3. Some animate Naskapi nouns and their plural forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᒪ</td>
<td>nimaas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᔅᑲ</td>
<td>siisiip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᐲ</td>
<td>asaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᐱ</td>
<td>naapaas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Some inanimate Naskapi nouns and their plural forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᖑᓐᓂ</td>
<td>misinaahiikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᖓ</td>
<td>miiht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᖔᐅᑦ</td>
<td>mistikw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᓂᐅᑦ</td>
<td>siipiit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gender of a noun can often be predicted following the logical rule that animate nouns are used to refer to living things and inanimate nouns to non-living things. However, it is not always so simple. Think about the gender of nouns in French—some are called masculine and others are feminine. In French there is no clear reason why a *chaise* ‘chair’ should called feminine gender (*la chaise*) while *table* ‘table’ should be masculine (*le table*). You can see that the gender classification of a noun is not always predictable.

Most Naskapi nouns that are in the animate classification are indeed names of living things, such as people, animals, fish, birds, insects, etc. Some plants are included, but not all. But in addition to these, some things that are clearly non-living, such as ᓲᑴᑲ้อย ᓂᑭpuwaakin ‘pipe’ (for smoking), ᓂᐲᐱ asaam ‘snowshoe’, ᓂᐲᑖᑦ tuwaan ‘ball’, and ᓂᑖᐲᐳᑦ aahipiiy ‘net’ are animate gender. Table 5 provides more examples of non-living but nevertheless “animate” Naskapi nouns and their plural forms.
Table 5. Some non-living animate Naskapi nouns and their plural forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>chaak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>piisim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>pikaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>astis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>taawaahiikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>aaskin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>kuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>astuuhkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>chaakich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>piisimuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>pikaanich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>astisich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>taawaahiikinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>aaskinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>astuuhkinch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of words for non-living things have inanimate gender, but if you are not sure, it is best to test by inflection (check for the plural form), or to look the word up in the lexicon. A few nouns can be either animate or inanimate gender, depending on the meaning. The word matmistikw can be animate when it means ‘tree’ but inanimate when it means ‘stick, log’. The word matasiniiy is inanimate when it means ‘bullet, stone’ but may be animate when it means ‘(useful) stone, rock’.

2.4.2 Noun Inflection

As one looks carefully at Table 5 it soon becomes clear that the suffixes alter their usual sounds and spelling depending upon which sounds are found on the noun stem to which they are attached. This is common in languages and found both in English and Naskapi. For instance, the basic English inflection for “plural” is the -s suffix added to the end of nouns like this:

- singular: pencil
- plural: pencils

But if we want to make the plural of a noun like ‘family’ or ‘glass’, we have to vary the spelling of the basic inflection slightly:

---

2 The variation in the spelling of these plural endings will be discussed in section 2.4.2.1.
These variations follow regular patterns and we have “rules” in English that help us to remember how to do it every time. Naskapi likewise follows regular patterns when it comes to these kinds of sound and spelling. To make this easier to follow, whenever there are potential variations the basic inflection is listed first, followed by the conditions that produce the variations of the basic inflection. These changes in the sound and spelling of the inflections are called morphophonemic variation, and account for the different spelling of the suffix.

2.4.2.1 Number: singular and plural

As we have seen, the plural of a noun is marked by adding an ending, or suffix. The basic plural ending -ich is used on animate nouns, which also may be found as -uch or just -ch depending on the final sound of the stem. The basic plural ending -a is added to inanimate nouns to indicate the plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naapaas</td>
<td>naapaasich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miisch</td>
<td>miischich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astis</td>
<td>astisich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaan</td>
<td>unaanich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atiihkw</td>
<td>atiihkuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naapaaw</td>
<td>naapaauch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Animate nouns (NA) and their plural forms
Since the variations for the plural suffix in Naskapi follow regular patterns, it might help to have “rules” in Naskapi which help us to remember how to do it every time. In general, front vowels i or ii are easily affected by the sounds occurring close to them. Since the animate plural ending has a short i right at the place it attaches to the stem, different sounds found at the end of the stem will have an effect on that short i, which often results in a change. For example, the word $<$q-d $<$ atiihkw ‘caribou’ ends in w. When the one talks of more than one caribou, and adds the plural ending -ich, the w and the short i combine to form u and we get $<$q-d$<$ $<$ atiihkuch ‘caribou (PL)’.

Here are some rules for adding the plural ending on animate nouns:

(11) Animate words ending in -w drop the -w and add -uch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$&lt;$q-d $&lt;$ anatim(w)</td>
<td>$&lt;$q-d$&lt;$ anatikuch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Animate words which end in -iy drop the -y and add -ch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$&lt;$q-d $&lt;$ aahipi $&lt;$</td>
<td>$&lt;$q-d$&lt;$ aahipiich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few animate words end in a -w that cannot be heard and is not written until an ending is added. These words use -uch for the plural marker. The word $<$q-d $<$ atim(w)
‘dog’ has this ending so the plural is &h &j atimuch ‘dogs’, as does the noun-final -stim(w) ‘pertaining to dogs’ as in &k &l naapaastim ‘male dog’, plural &n &o naapaastimuch ‘male dogs’, and &o &p nuusaastim ‘female dog’, plural &o &p nuusaastimuch ‘female dogs’.

Certain nouns in Naskapi are always used in the plural. There are not very many of these, but they can be unexpected, because they are not always plural in English.

Table 10. Some nouns which are always plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&amp;k &amp;l</td>
<td>iihkuta</td>
<td>Labrador tea (NI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;k &amp;l</td>
<td>chichinaapuiich</td>
<td>milk (NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;k &amp;l</td>
<td>yuuskwaanich</td>
<td>flour (NA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns, like &o &p miskusuw ‘grass’ are usually used in the plural &o &p miskusuwa. Although less common, this word can be said in the singular, for instance for one piece of grass.

The nouns of Naskapi can also be divided into two groups according to whether the thing named can be counted as individual units or cannot be counted, because it exists as a single unit or mass. Most nouns are count nouns: these include words like &k &l taahtipuwaakin ‘chair’, &k &l misinaahiikin ‘book’, &k &l iskwaaw ‘woman’, &k &l mistikw ‘tree’; we can add the plural suffix to these nouns to talk about many units. Certain words, however, cannot be separated into units: these include words like &k &l kuun ‘snow’, &k &l yaakaaw ‘sand’, &k &l asisichuw ‘mud’, and some abstract things like emotions. These words are always singular and cannot be made plural.

The count nouns are used with the quantity words &k &l mihchaat ‘many’ and &k &l pischaa ‘few’, while the mass nouns are used with the quantity words &k &l místiiy ‘much, a lot’ and &k &l apisiis ‘a little’.

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There are some nouns which are used with ᐃᓄᑕ ᐊᓄ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ ᑲᑎ ᑲᑎ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ ‘a lot’, and ᐊᑕᒥ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ ‘a little’ that are not mass nouns because they may still be made plural and used with ᐃᔨᐯᑖᐦ ᐊᐦᐦ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ ‘many’ and ᐃᔨᐯᑖᐦ ᐊᐦᐦ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ ‘few’. These are words like ᐃᔨᐯᑖᐦ ᑎ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ‘salt’, ᐃᔨᐯᑖᐦ ᑎ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ‘salt (PL)’, and ᐃᔨᐯᑖᐦ ᑎ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ‘sugar’, ᐃᔨᐯᑖᐦ ᑎ ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ᐊᔨᑖᔨᑎ镐 ‘sugar (PL)’.

2.4.2.2 Locative: at, on, or in

In Naskapi there are few separate words corresponding to the English prepositions ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘to’, ‘on’, ‘from’. Instead, a suffix is used on nouns to show that the word is somehow involved in or indicates a location. This suffix is referred to as the locative. The basic locative suffix is spelled as -iihch, which also may be found as -uuuχ or just -hch, depending on the final sound of the stem. For the locative, both animate and inanimate nouns use the same basic locative suffix, following these rules:

(13) Most words add -iihch.
(14) Words which end in -kw drop the -w and add -uuhch.

Table 14. Locative for words ending in -kw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mistikw</td>
<td>mistikuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mischaakw</td>
<td>mischaakuuhch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few other words such as atim(w) ‘dog’, piisim(w) ‘sun, month’, waapus(w) ‘rabbit’, muus(w) ‘moose’ also add this suffix because there is a -w at the end of the word that is not written and cannot be heard in the ordinary singular form. But we do hear the -uu sound whenever the locative suffix is added:

Table 15. Locative for words ending with (-w)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atim</td>
<td>atimuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waapus</td>
<td>waapusuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muus</td>
<td>muusuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piisim</td>
<td>piisimuuhch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) Words which end in -aaw drop the -w and add -hch.

Table 16. Locative for words ending with -aaw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iskutaaw</td>
<td>iskutaahch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chistaamaaw</td>
<td>chistaamaahch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uchimaaw</td>
<td>uchimaahch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaihkunaaw</td>
<td>kwaihkunaahch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While much of the variation found on nouns when the locative ending is used is regular and predictable by rules, some of the variation is irregular and must be learned by speakers. Examples of these variations are given below.
Table 17. Locative for words ending with -uw

(16) Some words which end in -uw drop the -uw and add -uuhch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᓄ JW</td>
<td>ᖃᓄ J ᖃᑲ aauuchuwh rubber, tire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖄᒥ Y</td>
<td>ᖄᒥ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᓄ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᓄ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17) Some words which end in -uw drop the -uw and add -iihch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᑖᑲ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᑖᑲ Y ᖃᑲ aayuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᑲ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(18) A few words which end in -uw drop the -uw and add -aahch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18. Locative for words ending with -iy

(19) Some words which end in -iy drop the -y and add -hch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(20) Some words which end in -iy drop the -iy and add -aahch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y</td>
<td>ᖃᑭᔪ Y ᖃᑲ aayuuhch on the card</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 19. Locative for words ending with -uy

(21) Some words which end in -uy drop the -y and add -hch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuy</td>
<td>apuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waastuy</td>
<td>waastuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asuy</td>
<td>asuuuhch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apisuy</td>
<td>apisuuuhch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.2.3 Possessive: yours, mine, his/hers

Just as in English we have ways of informing the hearer that someone is the owner of
the thing we are talking about, so also in Naskapi. The idea of possession in either
language is an important one. For instance, you would perceive a great difference
between the messages of the following two sentences that I could say to you in English:

“**A** house burned down yesterday.”

“**My** house burned down yesterday.”

The difference here is the matter of possession, (who owns it) which we normally
handle in English with possessive pronouns like “his,” “her,” and “my.”

In Naskapi (as usual) the difference is handled with inflection. Rather than a separate
word for “my,” or “your,” the noun in the sentence that is possessed by someone takes a
basic possessive prefix indicating the person of the possessor, shown in Table 20. The
numerals shown in the tables designate the person of the possessor, and the tables are
organized to respect the person described in section 2.5.4.2.

Table 20. Basic possessive suffixes

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>‘my’ or ‘our’</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>‘his’ or ‘their’</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are applied to nouns as shown in Table 21:
Table 21. Possessive prefixes on inanimate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΓγΑΔΡα</td>
<td>misinaahiikin</td>
<td>‘book’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΓγγΑΔΡα</td>
<td>chimisinaahiikin</td>
<td>‘your book’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σγΓΑΔΡα</td>
<td>nimisinaahiikin</td>
<td>‘my book’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΓγγΓΑΔΡα</td>
<td>umisinaahiikin</td>
<td>‘his book’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a plural possessor, that is, corresponding with English “our,” “their,” and “y’all’s” (plural “your”), the same basic prefixes are used, but suffixes are also added to indicate the plural, as in Table 22:

Table 22. Plural Possessive suffixes on inanimate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΓγΑΔΡ.Ο.Δῃ</td>
<td>chimisinaahiikinuwaaw</td>
<td>‘your (plural) book’ (y’all’s)</td>
<td>2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΓγΑΔΡ.Ο.Δῃ</td>
<td>chimisinaahiikinu</td>
<td>‘our book’ (you &amp; me)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σγΑΔΡ.Ο.Δῃ</td>
<td>nimisinaahiikinaan</td>
<td>‘our book’ (us, not you)</td>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΓγΑΔΡ.Ο.Δῃ</td>
<td>umisinaahiikinuwaaw</td>
<td>‘their book’</td>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns that begin with a vowel other than u use a connecting sound -t- between the prefix and the stem, as in Table 23:

Table 23. Possessive prefixes on nouns beginning with vowels other than u

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≪≪ΔΡα</td>
<td>aapaakin</td>
<td>‘screwdriver’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≪≪ΔΡα</td>
<td>chit-aapaakin</td>
<td>‘your screwdriver’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ≪ΔΡα</td>
<td>nit-aapaakin</td>
<td>‘my screwdriver’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γ≪ΔΡα</td>
<td>ut-aapaakin</td>
<td>‘his screwdriver’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With nouns that begin with a u vowel sound, the i on the second or first person prefix is dropped, as in Table 24:

Table 24. Possessive prefixes on nouns beginning with u

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Γ≫≪Δα</td>
<td>utaapaan</td>
<td>‘truck’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γ≫≪Δα</td>
<td>chutaapaan</td>
<td>‘your truck’</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ≫≪Δα</td>
<td>nutaapaan</td>
<td>‘my truck’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⊳≫≪Δα</td>
<td>yutaapaan</td>
<td>‘his truck’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Also, there are many animate nouns that take the same personal prefixes but also add another basic possessive suffix -im after the stem, as in Table 25:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d³h</td>
<td>kuuukuus</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ³dr⁴l</td>
<td>nikuukuusiim</td>
<td>‘my pig’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the noun stem ends in a vowel, the suffix is just -m

| d³h     | skittu | ‘snowmobile’ |             |
| σ³dr⁴l  | chiskittuun | ‘your snowmobile’ | 2         |

If the noun stem ends with -w, the -w drops out and the suffix is -um

| b³d     | kaakw  | ‘porcupine’ |             |
| σ³b³d⁴l | nikaakum | ‘my porcupine’ | 1         |

While just about any Naskapi noun may be inflected for possession, there is a certain class of Naskapi nouns that must always be inflected for possession. Nouns in this group are called dependent nouns. These normally refer to body parts, such as σ³niitiihchiy ‘my hand’; family members, such as σ³C³nistaas ‘my brother’, and certain personal possessions: σ³niich ‘my house’. These are marked in the Naskapi Lexicon as NDA (noun, dependent, animate) or NDI (noun, dependent, inanimate). Since dependent nouns must always be inflected with a “possessor” prefix, when one wants to talk about “a foot,” which does not belong to anyone in particular, the prefix mi- is used. Table 26 and Table 27 show the typical inflections for dependent body part words and dependent kinship words. Note that the words translated as ‘sister’ in Table 27 refer only to someone’s ‘older sister’.
Table 26. Examples of dependent body-part words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>misit</td>
<td>misita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chisit</td>
<td>chisita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nisit</td>
<td>nisita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usit</td>
<td>usita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27. Examples of dependent kinship words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chimis</td>
<td>chimisich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimis</td>
<td>nimirich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umisa</td>
<td>umisach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimisinuw</td>
<td>chimisinuach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimisuwaaw</td>
<td>chimisuwaawch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimirinaan</td>
<td>nimirinaanich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umisuwaawa</td>
<td>umisuwaawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word miichiwaap ‘building’ is irregular since it cannot be made possessed. If you want to say ‘my house’ you have to use the dependent noun niich ‘my house’ or wiich. ‘his house’. This is a member of a small set of words that are neither the names of body parts nor relatives but are grammatically classified as dependent because they work the same way as body parts and kinship words.

Table 28. Other dependent nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chich</td>
<td></td>
<td>your house</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niich</td>
<td></td>
<td>my house</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiich</td>
<td></td>
<td>her/his house</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niichinaan</td>
<td></td>
<td>our (EXCL) house</td>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimisinuw</td>
<td></td>
<td>our (INCL) house</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiichiwaaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>your (PL) house</td>
<td>2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiichiwaaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>their house</td>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a small number of words that begin short a- which lose that sound after a possessive prefix is added. An example is the word $<a>y$ ‘paddle’, shown in Table 29.

Table 29. Loss of initial short a- with possessive prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$&lt;a&gt;y$</td>
<td>apuy</td>
<td>paddle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\cap&gt;y$</td>
<td>chipuy</td>
<td>your paddle</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\sigma&gt;y$</td>
<td>nipuy</td>
<td>my paddle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\cap&gt;\sigma&gt;y$</td>
<td>upuya</td>
<td>his/her paddle</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.2.4 Obviative: the other

It was noted in chapter 1 that the category obviation has to do with which participants are in focus, and the direction of the action between participants. The term proximate refers to primary, more important or first-mentioned focus and the term obviative refers to secondary, less important or next mentioned focus.

Third person Naskapi nouns are marked according to their focus in the sentence. Of the two participants in the sentence, “He finds a book,” “he” is proximate, first-mentioned; and “book” is obviative, next-mentioned. The obviative marker for singular inanimate nouns is -iyuw, thus:

(22) $\Gamma^{\nu}P_L$ $\Gamma^{\nu}P_\sigma \Delta P \sigma^{-\sigma}$

misikim misinaahiikini$iyuw$

she/he.(PROX).finds.it.(OBV) book.(OBV)

‘She/he finds a book.’

The marker for plural inanimate nouns is -a, and plural nouns thus marked can also be obviative with no additional marking, as follows:

(23) $\Gamma^{\nu}P_L$ $\Gamma^{\nu}P_\sigma \Delta P \sigma_\alpha$

misikim misinaahiikina$a$

she/he.(PROX).finds.it.(OBV) books.(OBV)

‘She/he finds some books.’
The obviative marker for animate nouns, both singular and plural is \(-a\), so:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{misikuwaaw} & \quad \text{siisiip} \\
she/he\,(\text{PROX}).\text{finds}\,him/her,\text{it}\,(\text{ANIM})\,(\text{OBV}) & \quad \text{duck}\,(\text{OBV})
\end{align*}
\]

‘She/he finds a duck (singular).’ or ‘She/he finds some ducks (plural).’

Table 30 compares the plural and obviative noun inflections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Obviative</th>
<th>‘a duck’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|        |         |          | \(\begin{align*}
\text{siisiip} & \quad \text{siisiip} \\
‘a duck’ & \quad \text{duck}\,(\text{OBV})
\end{align*}\) |
|        |         |          | \(\begin{align*}
\text{siisiipich} & \quad \text{siisiipich} \\
‘some ducks’ & \quad \text{some ducks}\,(\text{OBV})
\end{align*}\) |
|        |         |          | \(\begin{align*}
\text{misinaahiikin} & \quad \text{misinaahiikin} \\
‘a book’ & \quad \text{book}\,(\text{OBV})
\end{align*}\) |
|        |         |          | \(\begin{align*}
\text{misinaahiikin} & \quad \text{misinaahiikin} \\
‘some books’ & \quad \text{some books}\,(\text{OBV})
\end{align*}\) |

In summary, an animate noun inflected as obviative may be either singular or plural.

An inanimate noun inflected as plural may be either proximate or obviative. An inanimate noun inflected as obviative is also singular.

2.4.2.5 Vocative: terms of address

Naskapi nouns that refer to family members or relatives have a form that is used when addressing that person. We call these terms of address the vocative.
Table 31. Vocative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᑭᑕᐃᐎ ᓰᵘᵘʰᵗᵃᵃביץ.iterator</td>
<td>ᓇᑕ ᓰᵘᵘʰᵗᵃاء!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᑭᑕ ᓰᵘᵘʰᵗᵃاء!</td>
<td>ᓇᑕ ᓰᵘᵘ hawk!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᐱᐧᑯ ᓰᵘuhkkum</td>
<td>ᐱᐧᑯ ᓰᵘuhku!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This so-called “inflection” is a bit different from others we have seen to this point because it involves the loss of a sound from the stem rather than the addition of a sound. In the examples in Table 31, the word ᓭᑕᐃᐎ ᓰᵘᵘʰᵗᵃ𝙖 vüc.iterator ‘my father’ (talking about him) loses the final syllable -wiy, leaving the vocative form ᓭᑕ ᓰᵘᵘhawk! ‘my father’ (talking to him), and the word ᐱᐧᑯ ᓰᵘuhkkum ‘my grandmother’ (talking about her) loses just the final consonant -m, leaving the vocative form ᐱᐧᑯ ᓰᵘuhku! ‘my grandmother’ (talking to her).

2.4.2.6 Order of noun inflections

Sometimes it helps to see the big picture and compare the positions of the inflections relative to the noun. First we provide a list of forms recalled from some of the previous examples. Example (25) through (30) list first the uninflected forms of ‘duck’, ‘pig’, ‘book’, ‘cup’, ‘house’, and ‘screwdriver’, along with one or more forms carrying the inflections. This is followed by Table 32 with columns showing separate “slots” for each inflection discussed.
(25) \( 'sii\text{i}i\text{p} 'duck' \) \( 'sii\text{ip}\text{ich} 'ducks' \) \( 'sii\text{ipa} 'duck/ducks (OBV)' \)

(26) \( 'ku\text{uhk}\text{uus} 'pig' \) \( 'nu\text{ku\text{uus\text{im}}i\text{c}h} 'my pigs' \)

(27) \( 'mis\text{ina\text{ah\text{i}}i\text{k}\text{in}} 'book' \) \( 'mis\text{ina\text{ah\text{i}}i\text{k}\text{in\text{iyuw}} 'book (OBV)' \)
\( '\text{chi\text{mis\text{ina\text{ah\text{i}}i\text{k}\text{in}}a\text{aw}} 'your (plural) book' \)

(28) \( '\text{mi\text{in\text{ik\text{w\text{a}}a\text{a}}\text{k\text{in}} } 'cup' \) \( '\text{mi\text{ii\text{h\text{w\text{a}}a\text{a}}\text{k\text{in}}a} 'cups' \)

(29) \( '\text{mi\text{ich\text{i\text{w\text{a}}a\text{a}}\text{h\text{p}} } 'house' \) \( '\text{mi\text{ich\text{i\text{w\text{a}}a\text{a}}\text{h\text{p\text{i}}i\text{h\text{c}}}} 'at the house' \)

(30) \( '\text{a\text{a\text{p\text{a}}a\text{a\text{h\text{ik\text{i}}i\text{k\text{i}}n}} } 'screwdriver' \) \( '\text{ni\text{t\text{a\text{a\text{p\text{a}}a\text{a\text{h\text{ik\text{i}}i\text{k\text{i}}n}}a}} 'my screwdrivers' \)

Table 32. Relative order of noun inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person (possessor)</th>
<th>-t- connecting sound</th>
<th>Noun stem</th>
<th>-im possessive</th>
<th>plural of possessor</th>
<th>-iich locative</th>
<th>plural of noun</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td>sii\text{i}i\text{p} sii\text{i}i\text{p} ku\text{uhk\text{uus}} mis\text{ina\text{ah\text{i}}i\text{k}\text{in}} mis\text{ina\text{ah\text{i}}i\text{k}\text{in}} mi\text{ii\text{h\text{w\text{a}}a\text{a}}\text{k\text{in}} mi\text{ich\text{i\text{w\text{a}}a\text{a}}\text{h\text{p}} mis\text{ina\text{ah\text{i}}i\text{k}\text{in}} a\text{a\text{p\text{a}}a\text{a\text{h\text{ik\text{i}}i\text{k\text{i}}n}}a</td>
<td>-iich</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-iich</td>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u- chi-</td>
<td>-t-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-aaw</td>
<td>-iich</td>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-iich</td>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The “noun stem” column is the uninflected noun that you start with. The last three columns, locative, plural and obviation, are mutually exclusive. If a noun has a suffix from any of these three columns, it cannot have a second suffix from either of the other two columns. For example, if a noun is plural, it does not take locative endings.

If an animate noun is obviative, it does not take plural endings. For example,

(31) \( 'sii\text{i}i\text{p} 'duck' \)

(32) \( 'u\text{i\text{s\text{ii\text{ip\text{ima}}} } 'his duck (OBV)' or 'his ducks (OBV+PLURAL)' \)

But, if an inanimate noun is plural, it does not take obviative endings:
2.5 Verbs

This section provides an introduction to verb classes and verb inflection patterns in Naskapi. Beginning with a description of the role that transitivity plays in the classification of verbs in Naskapi, this section explains how the four verb classes are defined, which in turn provides the backdrop to the nature of the verb paradigms that contain the patterns of verb inflection.

Like other Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946), we recall that Naskapi has three basic kinds of words: (1) nouns, words that name people and animals, things and ideas; (2) verbs, words that describe actions and states; and (3) particles, which include function words like ‘under’, ‘and’, ‘around’, ‘but’, etc. This three-division system is much simpler on the word level than English for example, which has more than twice the number of basic divisions or “Parts of Speech.” However, as we examine the verbs in Naskapi you will see that Naskapi turns out to be every bit as complex as English, perhaps even more so. The complexity is just on a different level.

In English, the rules governing the structure of a sentence (word order) are very complex. Thus, the parts that make up sentences in English (words) have many different divisions (parts of speech). However, we will find that in Naskapi the information communicated in a single verb (one word) will always constitute an entire sentence in English. The Naskapi Lexicon illustrates this phenomenon: all the English translations of Naskapi verbs are complete sentences. Consequently, this is where the greatest complexity will be found in Naskapi—in the verbs.

Just as in Section 2.4 Nouns, the material in this section is presented in a structured fashion with a view to making it easier for speakers to discover and understand the
patterns of their own language. In chapter 1, the grammatical categories of gender and number, person and possession, obviation and direction were introduced. Before classifying the verbs in Naskapi we need to recall all of those in addition to one more: transitivity.

**Transitivity:** Verbs are used in language to describe actions or states of being. The participants in the action of a verb are sometimes described in terms of their “semantic roles,” which refers to the relationship of each participant to the event described by the verb. The person or thing that does the action is called the actor. When and if there is someone or something that receives or is affected by the action, that one is referred to as the goal. “Actor” and “goal” are words that are used to refer to the roles of participants with respect to the verb. Some grammars also refer to these as the “subject” and “object.” If a verb has two participant roles (that is, both an actor and goal) it is called a transitive verb—because the action “transits” or passes over from the actor to the goal. Take for example, the English sentence “Ben hits the ball.” There are two participant roles: Ben is the actor, the ball is the goal, and the action, the “hitting” passes or transits between the participants, from the actor to the goal.

Verbs that do not have goals are called intransitive verbs. An English example could be “Ben is sleeping.” Ben is the actor, is sleeping is the action, but there is no goal; no one or no thing receiving the action. To sum up, verbs with goals receiving the action are transitive verbs (e.g. ᐃᓄᑖᐦ iitaaw ‘she/he says to him/her’, ᐱᓂᒪᒡᒧᒥ utaamaahaam ‘she/he hits it’, ᐱᐧᑯᑦᒧᒥ miskuwaaw ‘she/he finds him/her’, ᐱᒥᓄᑖᐦᒋᔅ paamiitaahkunim

---

3 Wolfart convincingly argues for the use of the notions “actor” and “goal” for Algonquian languages rather than the notions “subject” and “object,” used in descriptions of Indo-European languages, citing Bloomfield (1962:45). The terms “actor” and “goal” have become very widely used by Algonquian scholars.
‘she/he carries it along’), and verbs without goals receiving the action are intransitive verbs (e.g. σ<° nipaaaw ‘she/he sleeps’, Δ<° iispahtaaw ‘she/he runs’, <I>° apuw ‘she/he sits’, ḡ<° pimuuttaaw ‘she/he walks’). It is crucial to grasp the meaning of transitivity as we begin our classification of verbs.

2.5.1 Classifying Framework

There are lots of different ways to organize information. One widely used method is to organize information taxonomically. That means, you group things that are alike together, and you give each grouping a name. Next, within each group, you further subgroup things that are alike, and name those things. In this description of Naskapi language patterns the names that have been given to things are not arbitrary, but for the most part they have been chosen in keeping with other studies of related Algonquian languages.

In order to visualize the classification of the verbs, we will review the three kinds of words in Naskapi, by building a “tree” on which to sort out the words of this language.

Words

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Nouns} \\
\text{Verbs} \\
\text{Particles}
\end{array} \]

(3 basic divisions)

Figure 3. Three kinds of words (review)

In Section 2.4 Nouns, we learned that there were two basic divisions or classes of nouns based on gender: a noun can be either animate or inanimate, as illustrated in Figure 4.
In this section, we learned that there are two basic divisions of verbs based on transitivity; a verb can be either transitive or intransitive, illustrated in Figure 5.

But when we think about the classification of verbs, we find that the category of gender is also a factor, just as it is with nouns: The participant(s), that is, the actor and goal if there is one, must either be animate or inanimate as well. This brings us to the four verb classes in Naskapi.

2.5.2 Verb Classes

The four verb classes in Naskapi are distinguished by whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, and then further by the gender (animacy or inanimacy) of the participants. Algonquian languages have been described along similar lines since the last century, and
indeed Wolfart (1973:38-39) asserts, “There are four basic verb types which are distinct in derivation and inflection.” and “The classification of verbs into four types is a common trait of Algonquian languages. There can be no question about its appropriateness to the description of Cree even though its terminology is not immediately obvious from the Cree situation.” With this introduction in mind, let us discover what sets these verb classes apart in Naskapi.

2.5.2.1 Transitive animate verbs (VTA)

These verbs have a goal to receive the action, which makes them transitive, and that goal is an animate noun. Thus, these are called transitive animate verbs. The abbreviation VTA stands for “verb, transitive animate” and this is the designation you will find listed with the definition of these verbs when you look them up in the Naskapi Lexicon.

Example (35) shows a sample transitive animate verb, and its place on the verb classification “tree” is shown in Figure 6.

(35) σ ᵃʔ蘑菇 niwaapimaaw ‘I see him/her’ (VTA)

In example (35), “I” (first person, 1) is the animate actor and “him/her” (third person, 3) is the animate goal. There are two participants, so the verb is transitive.

![Figure 6. Transitive animate verbs (VTA)](image)

2.5.2.2 Transitive inanimate verbs (VTI)

These verbs also have a goal to receive the action, which makes them transitive, but this time the goal is an inanimate noun. So these are called transitive inanimate verbs.
indicated with the abbreviation VTI, for “verb, transitive inanimate” in the dictionary or lexicon. Example (36) shows a sample transitive animate verb, and its place on the verb classification “tree” is shown in Figure 7.

(36) ᖃᓗ ᕥᔅᑖᐸ ni-waapahtaan ‘I see it’ (VTI)

In example (36), “I” (first person, 1) is the animate actor and “it” (inanimate noun, 0) is the goal. There are two participants so the verb is transitive.

2.5.2.3 Animate intransitive verbs (VAI)

Since these verbs have no goal, the gender is determined by the actor of these verbs—the person or thing that does the action is an animate noun, and having no goal to receive the action they are by definition intransitive. Thus they are called animate intransitive verbs with the designation VAI in the dictionary or lexicon.

Example (37) shows a sample animate intransitive verb, and its place on the verb classification “tree” is shown in Figure 8.

(37) ᖃᓗ ᕥᔅᐸᑦᑖᐸ ni-pipaamuhtaan ‘I walk around’ (VAI)

In example (37) “I” (first person, 1) is the animate actor, and there is only one participant, so the verb is intransitive.
2.5.2.4 Inanimate intransitive verbs (VII)

Here the gender of the thing “doing” the action is inanimate (or unspecified completely) and further there is no goal receiving the action (intransitive). Thus they are called inanimate intransitive verbs, with the abbreviation VII in the dictionary or lexicon. Example (37) shows a sample animate intransitive verb, and its place on the verb classification “tree” is shown in Figure 8.

(38) miskutin ‘it is frozen’ (VII)

In example (38) “it” (inanimate noun, 0) is the actor, and there is only one participant, (the thing in the state of being frozen) so the verb is intransitive.

Note that the nodes on our tree may be simplified at this point as in Figure 10 because all verbs must fit into one of the four classes above and the division between transitive and intransitive is already reflected in the name of the class.
Thus we find four classes of verbs in Naskapi. They are marked with those abbreviations indicated above in the lexicon, and the sets of inflections (paradigms of prefixes and suffixes) that are found will be different for each class.

2.5.3 Order

Each branch of the verb tree in Figure 10 can be further broken down into orders for each of the four verb classes. For example, the dictionary entry for the transitive animate verb ‘help’ in Naskapi is ‘ᐎᒋᐎᐎᐎᐎᐎ’ wiichihaaaw ‘she/he helps him/her’. The basic ‘dictionary form’ of the verb always is normally inflected with the third person ‘him/her’ Independent direct inflection; the stem of the verb is wiichih-‘help’. Sections 2.5.3.1 through 2.5.3.3 illustrate the three verb orders in Naskapi and the sets of inflections that they carry.

2.5.3.1 Independent order

As the name suggests, independent order inflections are the set of prefixes and suffixes that we find on verbs used in independent clauses. Usually, an independent clause is a declarative sentence that can stand alone.

(39) upatenchi- wii- wiichih -itin
      you.(2) (VOL) help I.(1),(INV)
‘I want to help you.’

Example (39) is a transitive animate verb (VTA), with inflection (prefixes and suffixes) for independent order.
2.5.3.2 Conjunct order

The conjunct order is very common in Naskapi. “Conjunct” means “joined, combined or associated,” and thus this order is used when there is more than one verb in the sentence, or when a “content” question is asked, (like ‘where are you going?’) and in many other situations. The conjunct order takes a different set of inflections than the independent order. The same verb is used twice in the following sentence: ᖈ aa- wiichih-iiit aa-chistimaatisit, akaawii pipaamaachimu taan kaa-is-waawiiichihit. ‘Whenever you help someone who is in need, don’t talk about how you helped him.’ The verb stem in these examples, wiichih- ‘help (someone)’, is the same verb stem in example (39), which has inflection (prefixes and suffixes) for independent order.

\[(40)\] aa- wiichih -iiit
\(\text{NEUTRAL} \) help you.(2)>her/him(3).(DIR) ‘whenever you help him/her’

\[(41)\] kaa- isi- waa- wiichih -iiit
\(\text{PAST} \) thus (REDUP) help you.(2)>her/him(3).(DIR) ‘you (thus continually) helped him.’

Examples (40) and (41) illustrate a transitive animate verb (VTA), with inflection (prefixes and suffixes) for conjunct order.

2.5.3.3 Imperative order

The imperative order is used when the verb is used in a command. Once again, the same verb stem, wiichih ‘help (someone)’, is used, inflected with the imperative order inflection.
Each of the three verb orders have their own different sets of inflections (prefixes and suffixes) for each of the four verb classes (there is no imperative order for inanimate intransitive VII verbs. Why do you think this might be?)

![Figure 11. Verb classes and verb orders](image)

Thus we find three orders of verb inflection in Naskapi. These orders are identified by their distinctive sets of inflections (prefixes and suffixes).

### 2.5.4 Verb Paradigms

In Naskapi, like other Algonquian languages, degrees of evidentiality regarding a statement are encoded in the inflections that are applied to verbs. Each of the basic verb orders described above can be subdivided even further into inflection sets that indicate whether the speaker is referring to an event that he witnessed himself, or if there is some degree of inference indicated about the factuality of the event. Each of these subsets of inflections can be organized into paradigms. In a general sense, a “paradigm” is “something that serves as a model or pattern,” and in linguistics it is defined as “a set of forms illustrating contrastive morphological markings.” The verb paradigm sets for
Naskapi are patterns of inflections that are grouped together according to their verb class and order. Each verb paradigm provides a listing of all the various inflections that may be applied to a verb for all possible combinations of participants (Sections 2.5.4.1 and 2.5.4.2)

2.5.4.1 Participants (person and number)

As mentioned in chapter 1, the participants in the category of person (I, you, he/she) are referred to in the usual way (first, second and third person, respectively). A “shorthand” method of referring to the various categories of person is to use numerals, so that 1 refers to “first person” and means (I, me), and 2 means “second person” (you). Number (singular and plural) is marked by using a “p” for “plural”; that is, while 2 means “second person” (you singular), 2p means “second person plural” (y’all). Thus 3 means “third person” (he/she), and 3p means “third person plural” (they).

For categories not found in English, those of first person plural inclusive and exclusive will be noted in this fashion: 1p means “first person plural exclusive” (only multiple first persons, but not any second persons; we, but not you) and 21 means “first person plural inclusive” (we, including you)”.

The “fourth person” (further third person), like “father” in “I saw John’s father” we’ve called obviative and is indicated with the numeral 4. Inanimate nouns are indicated with the numeral 0. Indefinite actor (someone) is indicated with X.

A complete listing of the numerals used to refer to participants is found in Table 33.
Table 33. Numerals indicating participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Participant(s)</th>
<th>English example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person (singular)</td>
<td>(you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person (singular)</td>
<td>(I, me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>unspecified person</td>
<td>(someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person (singular)</td>
<td>(he, she, it [ANIM])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fourth person obviative</td>
<td>(her father...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>fifth person, further obviative</td>
<td>(her father’s dog...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>inanimate noun</td>
<td>(it [INAN])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0'</td>
<td>inanimate noun, obviative</td>
<td>(her book...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X'</td>
<td>unspecified person, obviative</td>
<td>(someone’s father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2l</td>
<td>first person plural (inclusive)</td>
<td>(we, you &amp; me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>second person plural</td>
<td>(y’all, you guys, youse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>first person plural (exclusive)</td>
<td>(we, but not you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>third person plural</td>
<td>(them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4p</td>
<td>fourth person plural, obviative</td>
<td>(her children...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5p</td>
<td>fifth person plural, further obviative</td>
<td>(her son’s puppies...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>plural inanimate noun</td>
<td>(those books [INAN])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p'</td>
<td>plural inanimate noun obviative</td>
<td>(her books...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For transitive verbs, the actor and goal relationship (direction) is shown with a “wedge” between the numerals, for example:

(43) 1 > 2  first person actor, second person goal “I(1) help you(2)”

(44) 3 > 0' third person actor, inanimate obviative goal “he(3) sees his book(0’)”

2.5.4.2 Hierarchy and direction

The inflections on Naskapi verbs are of two basic types: prefixes (before the verb stem) and suffixes (after the verb stem). Personal prefixes, which indicate the “person” of the participants, are only found on verbs of the independent order. As mentioned earlier, there are three such “personal” prefixes: چ - chi- 2 ‘second person’, ۇ - ni- 1 ‘first person’, and ۇ- (null, that is, no prefix) ‘any other person’. In any utterance, the one speaking is the first person 1 and the one spoken to is the second person 2. These two participants are called the “speech act participants,” and are “local” to the utterance: they have to “be there.” All other participants, such as third person 3 or unspecified person X are non-speech act participants. They are “non-local” to the utterance, and they can be

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spoken about without being present in the speech act (to hear, as a second person, or to speak, as a first person.) This phenomenon of only marking the speech act participants, 2 “second person” or 1 “first person” gives rise to the notion of a difference between verb inflections that mark “local” participants (first or second person) and “non-local” participants (third person or others, non-participants in the speech act). In forming a transitive animate independent verb, the following hierarchy or “ranking” must be observed:

(45) 2 > 1 > X > 3 > 4 > 5 > 0

That is, ḥ Chi- “second person” ranks first, Ṝ Ni- 1 “first person” ranks next, and then X, 3, 4, 5, 0 “unspecified, third, fourth, etc.” rank lower. This hierarchy is practically applied to the personal prefixes on independent verbs as follows: First, check if there is any second person participant, 2 (you or y’all or you & me) involved in any way as either actor or goal. If the answer is yes, then ḥ Chi- will always be the prefix. It ranks first.

If there is no second person involved, next check for a first person participant, (I or we) as either actor or goal. If the answer is yes, Ṝ Ni- will be the prefix. It ranks next.

If there is no second or first person involved, but instead either a third person, or “someone” (X) or “they” (3p) or the “other guy” (4), then there will be no prefix.

Thus far, we can identify one of the persons involved in independent verbs from the prefix on the verb. Now we look to the suffix to determine the other person involved and the direction of the action (that is, which participant is the actor and which participant is the goal). Let’s look at a verb:

(46) 2 > 1 ḥ Chi- Ṝ Waapimin

prefix ḥ Chi- means “second person involved”

suffix -in means “first person singular (direct)”
The prefix tells us that there is a second person involved. The suffix tells us that the other participant is first person, and that the direction of the action corresponds with the hierarchy (2 > 1 > X > 3 > 4 > 5) “direct,” so the meaning of the above example is you see me (2 > 1; 2 sees 1).

\[(47)\quad 1 > 2 \quad \text{\textit{chi-waapimitin}} \quad \text{‘I see you’}
\]

prefix \(\text{\textit{chi-}}\) means “second person involved”

suffix \(-itin\) means “first person singular (inverse)”

This time the suffix tells us that there is a first person involved but that the direction of action does not correspond with the hierarchy (2 > 1 > X > 3 > 4 > 5). That is, the inverse marker reverses the hierarchy (1 > 2; 1 sees 2, I see you). In other words, the direction of the action is reversed, the opposite of the hierarchy.

To recap,

\[(48)\quad 1 > 2 \quad \text{\textit{chi-waapimin}} \quad \text{‘you see me’} \quad 2 > 1 \quad \text{(follows hierarchy)} \quad \text{direct}
\]

\[(49)\quad 1 > 2 \quad \text{\textit{chi-waapimitin}} \quad \text{‘I see you’} \quad \text{1 > 2} \quad \text{(does not follow hierarchy)} \quad \text{inverse}
\]

The designations of “direct” and “inverse” are determined by whether or not the participants correspond to the hierarchy, which on independent verbs also determines which person prefix is found on the verb. The suffix contains the information that “reverses” the direction of action. In this particular case, the inverse morpheme -it-reverses the roles of actor and goal.

2.5.4.3 Paradigm sets

It has been seen that in Naskapi, there are four verb classes, and that these classes can have different prefixes and suffixes attached to provide the various classes, orders, modes, etc. These sets of prefixes and suffixes have been arranged to provide paradigm sets that provide a framework or pattern by which verbs may be parsed or “conjugated.” Table 34 lists the verb paradigm sets for Naskapi. The independent order paradigm sets
are listed first, followed by the conjunct order paradigm sets, and lastly the imperative paradigm set.

Table 34. Naskapi verb paradigm sets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Paradigm set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ o</td>
<td>nipaa-w</td>
<td>‘he/she is asleep’</td>
<td>Independent Indicative Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ σ&lt;χγ</td>
<td>ki-nipaa-waa</td>
<td>‘it seems that he/she is asleep’</td>
<td>Independent Indicative Neutral Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ &lt;σ&lt;χλ a</td>
<td>chipaa-nipaa-pin</td>
<td>‘she/he could have slept’</td>
<td>Independent Indicative Preterit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ b</td>
<td>nipaa-tik</td>
<td>‘[I see in a picture or a video that] she/he is asleep’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ σ&lt;χ b</td>
<td>ki-nipaa-tikaa</td>
<td>‘[I see in a picture or a video that] she/he seems to be asleep’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Present Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ y a</td>
<td>nipaa-sipin</td>
<td>‘she/he was asleep [I found out later]’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ σ&lt;χ y a</td>
<td>ki-nipaa-sipin-waa</td>
<td>‘it seems that she/he was asleep [I found out later]’</td>
<td>Independent Indirect Past Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ b</td>
<td>nipaa-tchaa</td>
<td>‘perhaps she/he is sleeping’</td>
<td>Independent Dubitative Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ a</td>
<td>aa-nipaa-t</td>
<td>‘[I know that] she/he is asleep’</td>
<td>Conjunct Independent Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ b</td>
<td>nipaa-chaa</td>
<td>‘if she/he is asleep’</td>
<td>Conjunct Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ &lt;σ&lt;χ</td>
<td>naapaa-yuamii</td>
<td>‘every time she/he is asleep’</td>
<td>Conjunct Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ &lt;σ&lt;χ b</td>
<td>naapaa-kwaa</td>
<td>‘[I don’t know whether] she/he is asleep’</td>
<td>Conjunct Dubitative Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ b</td>
<td>nipaa-taakwaa</td>
<td>‘she/he should have slept’</td>
<td>Conjunct Dubitative Preterit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ&lt;χ</td>
<td>nipaa</td>
<td>‘sleep!’</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.4.4  Paradigm application

As noted above, a verb paradigm is simply a “chart” of a model verb with all of its prefixes and suffixes provided, for any of the numerous logical participants and other conditions such as direction of action. Such paradigms may be used to either determine the precise meaning of a particular Naskapi verb form (analysis) or to determine which Naskapi verb form must be used to express a particular meaning (synthesis). It is our intention that an entire set of verb paradigms would be provided with a reference grammar of Naskapi, but providing all of these here is beyond the scope of this thesis: Each of the paradigm sets would contain all of the forms for each of the verb classes in
that set, including all the combinations of person participants in the action. For example, the Independent Indicative Neutral paradigm set would have four example forms for inanimate intransitive verbs (VII) for each model verb stem. Table 35 shows this paradigm for VII verb \( \downarrow t < ^{o} \) \( \text{waapaaw} \) ‘it is white’.

Table 35. Independent Indicative Neutral inanimate intransitive (VII) paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>( \downarrow t &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>waapaaw</td>
<td>it is white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>( \downarrow t &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>waapaawa</td>
<td>the things are white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0'</td>
<td>( \downarrow t &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>waapaayuw</td>
<td>his/her thing is white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p'</td>
<td>( \downarrow t &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>waapaayuwa</td>
<td>his/her/their things are white</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For animate intransitive verbs there would be far more example forms, since there are far more possible animate person participants. The paradigm for VAI verb \( \sigma < ^{o} \), \( \text{nipaaw} \) ‘she/he sleeps’ is shown in Table 36.

Table 36. Independent Indicative Neutral animate intransitive (VAI) paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>( \sigma \sigma &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>ni-nipaan</td>
<td>I sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>( \cap \sigma &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>chi-nipaan</td>
<td>you sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>( \sigma \sigma &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>ni-nipaanaan</td>
<td>we (me and her/him) sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>( \cap \sigma &lt; ^{o} \sigma^{o} )</td>
<td>chi-nipaanaanuw</td>
<td>we (you and me) sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>( \cap \sigma &lt; ^{o} \sigma^{o} )</td>
<td>chi-nipaanaawaaw</td>
<td>you-all sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>nipaaaw</td>
<td>she/he sleeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>( \sigma \sigma &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>nipaau&lt;ch</td>
<td>they sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt; ^{o} )</td>
<td>nipayuw</td>
<td>her/his (child) sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt; ^{o} \sigma^{o} )</td>
<td>nipaanuw</td>
<td>people sleep, everyone is asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X'</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt; ^{o} \sigma^{o} )</td>
<td>nipaauuyuw</td>
<td>everyone is asleep (at someone else’s house)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For transitive inanimate verbs, there are the same number of example forms in the paradigm, corresponding to the number of animate person participants. The paradigm for VTI verb \( \cap \cap ^{b} \) \( \text{tuutim} \) ‘she/he does it’ is shown in Table 37.
Table 37. Independent Indicative Neutral transitive inanimate (VTI) paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>σ GCCα</td>
<td>ni-tuutaan</td>
<td>I do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>γ GCCα</td>
<td>chi-tuutaan</td>
<td>you do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>σ GCCα.α</td>
<td>ni-tuutaanaan</td>
<td>we (me and her/him) do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>γ GCCα.o</td>
<td>chi-tuutaanaanauw</td>
<td>we (you and me) do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>γ GCCα.ξο</td>
<td>chi-tuutaanaawaaw</td>
<td>you-all do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ω Ων</td>
<td>tuutim</td>
<td>she/he does it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>Ω Ωην</td>
<td>tuutimuch</td>
<td>they do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ω Ωγηη</td>
<td>tuutimiyuw</td>
<td>her/his (child) does it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Ω CP.α</td>
<td>tuutaakinuw</td>
<td>people do it, everyone is does it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X'</td>
<td>Ω CP.αηη</td>
<td>tuutaakinuuyuw</td>
<td>everyone is does it (at someone else’s house)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally for the Independent Indicative Neutral paradigm set, the largest paradigm by far is the one that shows the transitive animate (VTA) forms. This is because there are at least two participants involved, and a paradigm attempts to provide the forms for every logical combination of participants. Because there are so many possible forms in this paradigm, we divide the paradigm into four subsets based on the patterns of the inflections. These subsets are “local” (only first and second person participants involved), “mixed non-local, direct,” “mixed non-local, inverse” (third persons and lower participants on the hierarchy involved), and “unspecified actor” (X). The first subset in the paradigm for VTA verb ꚭ":{"β}: waapimaaw ‘she/he sees him/her’ is shown in Table 38. The other subsets are very large, containing all the various possible person combinations. These other subsets are omitted for space considerations in this thesis.
Table 38. Independent Indicative Neutral transitive animate (VTA) local paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you and me (local) direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &gt; 1</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapimin</td>
<td>you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p &gt; 1</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a,_highlighted</td>
<td>chi-waapiminaaw</td>
<td>you-all see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &gt; 1p</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapiminaan</td>
<td>you see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p &gt; 1p</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapiminaan</td>
<td>you-all see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you and me (local) inverse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &gt; 2</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapimitin</td>
<td>I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &gt; 2p</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapimitinaaw</td>
<td>I see you-all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p &gt; 2</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapimitinaan</td>
<td>we see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p &gt; 2p</td>
<td>⬤ ᬣרכי ᬣא^a</td>
<td>chi-waapimitinaan</td>
<td>we see you-all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If all the combinations in one paradigm set were listed, there would be more than 76 different forms. Multiplying this figure times the number of paradigm sets in Naskapi (13, plus the imperative set), one may calculate that there are over one thousand possible verb form inflection combinations that may be applied to verbs. Just as it is impractical to list every form in this resource, it is also impractical to attempt to teach every form as a strategy for improving literacy performance. These forms are presented in this section to illustrate that there are clearly optimal levels of grammatical instruction that are useful for a given reading level.

### 2.6 Other Word Categories

As noted in section 2.2, while Bloomfield and others traditionally describe three lexical categories for Algonquian words (Bloomfield 1946), in recent years it has become common to divide the category of particles into declinable and indeclinable units, and to group the declinable units with the nouns under the general heading of “nominals,” which includes personal pronouns and demonstratives (Oxford 2007). This leaves the rest of the (uninflected) particles, which may be classified according to their semantic function or their syntactical distribution.
2.6.1 Pronouns and Demonstratives

2.6.1.1 Personal pronouns

Naskapi uses personal pronouns to refer to individuals from the perspective of the speaker. When the speaker indicates the one spoken to, he says Gesture chiyi ‘you’ (singular), and refers to himself as Gesture niyi ‘me, I’. Table 39 contains the complete set:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>chiyi</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>chiyiwaaw</td>
<td>‘you all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>chiyaanuw</td>
<td>‘we (including you)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>niyi</td>
<td>‘me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>niyaan</td>
<td>‘we (but not you)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>wiiy</td>
<td>‘him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>wiiyiwaaw</td>
<td>‘them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gesture</td>
<td>wiiya (OBV)</td>
<td>‘him/her/them (his/her father) the other/s’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the personal pronouns may be used in sentences as either the actor or goal of a verb, they are most commonly used for emphasis, indicating such senses as ‘you yourself’ or ‘me (and not him)’. The participant information (the actor or goal) is primarily carried by verb inflection, and the pronoun, when included, repeats this information, thus providing emphasis:

(50) Gesture Gesture Gesture Gesture naataah chiki-ituhtaan. ‘You will go there.’
(51) Gesture Gesture Gesture Gesture chiyi naataah chiki-ituhtaan. ‘You yourself will go there.’
(52) Gesture Gesture Gesture Gesture naataah chiyi chiyi-ituhtaan. ‘You yourself will go there.’

The second person pronoun Gesture chiyi ‘you’ may come last in such sentences, but some older speakers reject this position, stating that while younger speakers may be heard using Gesture chiyi ‘you’ in final position, they do not consider this to be correct Naskapi. When personal pronouns are used in this way, the various positions in the sentence indicate a shift in emphasis:
(53) \[\alpha \gamma \cup \Delta \cap \gamma \times maanaataah chaa-ituhtaat wiyy.\] ‘It is there that s/he will go (s/he herself and not someone else).’

(54) \[\Delta \times \cup \Delta \cap \gamma \times maanaataah wiyy chaa-ituhtaat.\] ‘It is there that s/he will go (s/he will go there and not someplace else).’

(55) \[\Delta \times \alpha \cup \gamma \times wiyy naataa chiki-ituhtaaw.\] ‘s/he will go there (whether s/he likes it or not).’

When the second person pronoun \(\cap \gamma\) ‘you’ is used at the beginning of a sentence, it adds the sense of an imperative to the emphasis.

(56) \(\cap \gamma \times \alpha \cup \gamma \times chiiy naataa chiki-ituhtaan.\) ‘You will go there (whether you like it or not, so go!)’

When personal pronouns are used with proper nouns, they form an equational sentence, serving as an introduction or salutation. There are no verbs in the Naskapi examples (57) and (58).

(57) \(\cap \gamma \times \sigma^\times Silas niyy.\) ‘It’s me, Silas.’ or ‘I’m Silas.’

(58) \(\cap \gamma \times \Delta \times chusip wiyy.\) ‘He is Joseph.’

Personal pronouns may be used with a demonstrative, such as \(\sigma \times u\) ‘this’:

(59) \(\sigma \times \Delta \times niyy u Silas.\) ‘It’s me, Silas.’ or ‘I’m Silas (I’m the one, I am he).’

2.6.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives (this/that/these/those) can behave either as pronouns or as determiners. As pronouns, they identify, replace or point to nouns. As determiners, the demonstratives modify a noun that follows. There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns in Naskapi, each with three levels of relative distance from the speaker: proximal (near), distal (away) and remote (further away).

Set one contains \(\sigma \times u\) ‘this’ (proximal), \(<\Delta \times an ‘that’ (distal), and \(\alpha \times naa ‘that (over) there’ (remote).

Set two contains \(\llcorner \sigma \times maaw ‘here’ (proximal), \llcorner \Delta \times maan ‘there’ (distal), and \llcorner \alpha \times maanaa ‘over there’ (remote). Set two is always used with a gesture.
(60) \( \sigma <x \cdot \triangle \gamma \cdot \sigma \cdot \sigma <x \cdot niwaapimaaw u naapaaw. \) ‘I see this man.’ (PROXIMAL)

(61) \( \sigma <x \cdot \triangle \gamma \cdot \sigma <x \cdot niwaapimaaw an naapaaw. \) ‘I see that man.’ (DISTAL)

(62) \( \sigma <x \cdot \triangle \gamma \cdot \sigma <x \cdot niwaapimaaw naa naapaaw. \) ‘I see that man (way over there).’ (REMOTE)

(63) \( \lambda \cdot \triangle \sigma \cdot maaw Willie. \) ‘Here is Willie.’ (while pointing at or touching him)

Demonstrative pronouns are inflected for number (plural) and obviation (in relation to another participant). This inflection agrees with the gender of the referent. To illustrate, inflected forms for set one demonstratives are shown in Table 40.

Table 40. Demonstrative pronouns set one

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Animate)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>proximal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><strong>Obviative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>oyaayuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>'these'</td>
<td>'this/these (OBV)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>distal</strong></td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot an )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot anch )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot aniyaayuwa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>'that/those (OBV)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>remote</strong></td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot naa )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot naach )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot niyaayuwa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that there'</td>
<td>'those there'</td>
<td>'that/those there (OBV)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Inanimate)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>proximal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><strong>Obviative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>oyaayuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>'these'</td>
<td>'this (OBV)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>distal</strong></td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot an )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot aniya )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot aniyaayuwa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>'those'</td>
<td>'that (OBV)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>remote</strong></td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot naa )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot niyaayuwa )</td>
<td>( \sigma &lt;x \cdot niyaayuwa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that there'</td>
<td>'those there'</td>
<td>'that there (OBV)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.1.3 Indefinite pronouns

The words \( \sigma <x \cdot awaan \) and \( \sigma <x \cdot chaakwaan \) function as indefinite pronouns.

(64) \( \sigma <x \cdot niwaapimaaw naataa awaan. \) ‘I see someone over there.’ (animate)

(65) \( \sigma <x \cdot niwaapahtaan naataa chaakwaan. \) ‘I see something over there.’ (inanimate)

Indefinite pronouns may occur in various positions in the sentence, but not at the very beginning. Whenever an indefinite pronoun is placed at the beginning of a sentence,
the statement changes to a question, and in such cases the pronoun is an interrogative pronoun.

2.6.1.4 Interrogative pronouns

As was just pointed out, the words ʷʷʷʷʷʷ awaan and ʷʷʷʷʷʷ chaakwaan may function as interrogative pronouns when they occur at the beginning of a sentence. In such cases, they are translated as ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ respectively.

(66) ʷʷʷʷʷʷ a? awaan u? ‘Who’s this?’

(67) ʷʷʷʷʷʷ a? chaakwaan u? ‘What’s this?’

Interrogative pronouns are inflected for number and obviation to agree with their referent in the same way as indefinite pronouns. The inflected forms for the interrogative are shown in Table 41.

Table 41. Interrogative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʷʷʷʷʷʷ awaan</td>
<td>ʷʷʷʷʷʷ awaanchii</td>
<td>ʷʷʷʷʷʷ awaayuwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>‘who (PL)’</td>
<td>‘who (OBV)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʷʷʷʷʷʷ chaakwaan</td>
<td>ʷʷʷʷʷʷ chaakwaayuwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>‘what (PL)’</td>
<td>‘what (OBV)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interrogative pronoun ʷʷʷʷʷʷ taan means ‘where?’ and is often used along with a demonstrative pronoun such as ʷʷʷʷʷʷ an ‘this’ or ʷʷʷʷʷʷ anch ‘these’.

(68) ʷʷʷʷʷʷ ʷʷʷʷʷʷ an a? awaas? ‘Where is the child?’

(69) ʷʷʷʷʷʷ ʷʷʷʷʷʷ anch a? awaasich? ‘Where are the children?’

ʷʷʷʷʷʷ taan can also be used to indicate a selective interrogation, as in ‘which one?’

The particle ʷʷʷʷʷʷ chaakw ‘which’ or ‘where’ followed by an animate noun can also be used to indicate a selective interrogation, just like ʷʷʷʷʷʷ taan. The ‘where’ or ‘which’ interpretation will depend on the context.
2.6.1.5 Alternative pronoun

The alternative pronoun ṏ蓇 k̓utik ‘other’ is used when the speaker is referring to an alternate choice, or with the meaning of ‘another.’

The alternative pronoun is inflected for number and obviation to agree with their referent in the same way as demonstrative and indefinite pronouns.

2.6.1.6 Focus pronouns

<̀<̈d̂<̈ä aaukun ‘that (one in particular)’ is a focus pronoun, a merged form of the focus particle  <̀<̈d̂ aaukw ‘(FOCUS)’ with the demonstrative pronoun  <̈<̈ an ‘that’. It is used to focus the attention of the listener on a certain person or thing. In formal texts, the unmerged form is preferred.

Focus pronouns can be used alone, with an optional demonstrative pronoun, such as <̈<̈<̈ aniyaa ‘those’ or  <̈<̈<̈ anch ‘these’, or with a noun.

As is common with other nominal inflections, the focus pronouns exhibit a loss of distinction between proximate plural and obviative plural for inanimate referents.
2.6.2 Grammatical Particles

Grammatical particles are indeclinable and have recently been classified by linguists according to their function or role in the sentence: that is, those particles that function like prepositions may be classified as prepositions; those that function like adverbs are classified as adverbs. Here are a few representative examples representing a functional classification of grammatical particles in Naskapi.

(77) Conjunctions

\( \text{(balance)} \)

\( \text{kiyaa} \) ‘and’

\( \text{maak} \) ‘or’

\( \text{mikw} \) ‘but’

(78) Interjections

\( \text{maah!} \) ‘hark, listen!’

\( \text{kimaa} \) ‘I wish that…’

\( \text{aakwaan!} \) ‘look out!’

(79) Time

\( \text{saas} \) ‘already’

\( \text{tiwaach} \) ‘right away’

\( \text{pipunuuhch} \) ‘last winter’

(80) Number

\( \text{paaikw} \) ‘one’

\( \text{pitaataahch} \) ‘five’

\( \text{nistusaap} \) ‘thirteen’

(81) Quantity

\( \text{niiswaamihkwahniis} \) ‘two teaspoonfuls’

\( \text{misiwaa} \) ‘all’

\( \text{naukwapinikin} \) ‘four handfuls’

(82) Space

\( \text{siipaa} \) ‘under’

\( \text{aatimaapiisimuuhch} \) ‘west’

\( \text{akaamihch} \) ‘across water’
Depending on the way they are used in a sentence and what they modify, these particles may be adverbial, adjectival or prepositional. For example, the grammatical particles of “space” generally function as prepositions when they are in a noun phrase with a locative noun, as \( 's < siipaa \) ‘under’ in example (84):

(84) \( 's < \sigma<\Delta<\sigma<\quad \quad \quad \ b<\chi<\xi \)

\( siipaa \) nipaaun-iihch kaa-aastaat.
\( \text{under} \) \( \text{bed-(LOC)} \) she/he.placed.it

‘She/he put it under the bed.’

Grammatical particles of “number” and “quantity” generally function as adverbs when they modify verbs in a verb phrase, as \( \wedge \chi<\lambda \chi \) \( pitaataahch \) ‘five’ in example (85):

(85) \( \wedge \chi<\lambda \chi \) \( \cap r' b^\circ \) \( \lambda^b \) \( \Delta^\lambda \chi \) \( \cap \cap d^\circ x \)

\( pitaataahch \) \( \chiisikaaw \) \( \maak \) \( ispis \) \( \chiii-tikusinuw. \)
five \( \text{it.is.day.(VII)} \) then until she/he.arrived

‘She/he arrived five days later.’

Note here that the word modified \( \cap r' b^\circ \) \( \chiisikaaw \) ‘it is day’ is an inanimate intransitive verb. But the same particle \( \wedge \chi<\lambda \chi \) \( pitaataahch \) ‘five’ may function as an adjective when used to modify nouns in a noun phrase, as in example (86):

(86) \( \cap \cap \triangleleft \langle \lambda^\circ \chi \quad \wedge \chi<\lambda \chi \quad \cap \cap r' \wedge \sigma^\circ x \quad \cap \cap \lambda^\circ x \)

\( \chiii-utinaaw \) \( pitaataahch \) \( asiniya \) \( siipiisiihch \) \( uuhch. \)
\( \text{she/he took} \) \( \text{five} \) \( \text{rocks} \) \( \text{brook.(LOC)} \) (SOURCE)

‘She/he took five rocks from the brook.’

This chapter of the grammatical resource may be expanded further to include more examples, paradigm sets and declensions (such as additional sets of demonstrative pronouns or distributions and functions of grammatical particles). Other chapters describing further aspects of Naskapi grammatical patterns are also being compiled.
Appendix B

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaires

As part of the evaluation procedure during the last week of the three-week instructional period, the participants in the research were asked to complete an Appreciative Inquiry questionnaire. This appendix contains scanned images of the responses of each participant. Participant 3 did not submit a questionnaire.
Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   I remember I used to ask my brother "What's that?" whenever he asks me to get something for him, I would always repeat the words in Naskapi. In order to say it and recognize it.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself  I liked learning Naskapi language, one thing I valued most is history, where my ancestors come from.
   (b) The nature of your own work or study Yes, my studies is connected to Naskapi.
   (c) Your place in the community itself I like living in my community, cause this is where my family live, who I value everyday.

3. Think about the core factors that give 'life' to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   We need more Naskapi teachers, because we need to learn how to read and write Naskapi.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) To have Naskapi classes every year
   2) To teach history to children
   3) To invite elders and teach about Naskapi tools.
Participant 2

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   When I was away for school and I met other natives that had lost their language. Also, when I attended a conference that had us speak in our language at the parliament.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself I felt so proud of myself, I was thankful I still know my identity.

   (b) The nature of your own work or study I felt like I had a precious thing that I can use with whatever I would be doing.

   (c) Your place in the community itself I am blessed to be a part of my nation that still has their language.

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   language, traditions + maybe beliefs.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) that everyone would want to preserve our language.

   2) that we could practice our traditions the true Naskapi way.

   3) that everyone cared enough to want to make a difference.
Participant 4

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   A phone call with my grandfather that lasted 2 hours. A very healing and valuable conversation about life and everything. We talked about many topics.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself. I was able to understand and be understood by my grandparents. I felt valued and respected.

   (b) The nature of your own work or study. I have finally found a place here in my community. Thanks to learning about myself and my culture, I feel comfortable and proud.

3. Think about the core factors that give 'life' to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   The language is the core, and the Naskapi culture. Slowly we will bring back all the values to their rightful place. In every Naskapi heart.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) More teachers and writers, in Naskapi.

   2) To relearn the culture with young people.

   3) To have a sense of family in the whole community.
Participant 5

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?
   I liked when my father told legends when we’re going to bed. If my brother and I didn’t understand, we would ask our dad to explain more so it made sense.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...
   (a) Yourself. Explain how you could communicate with your parents, your grandparents, elders, my family, my friends, and other people in my mother tongue.

   (b) The nature of your own work or study. I keep to take good courses of Naskapi that will benefit me and my students of ESL.

   (c) Your place in the community itself. I like it when my family speaks in our mother tongue at home so we could understand our parents, grandparents, etc.

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.
   Language is one of the core factors that give ‘life’ to our community. I feel that without our language, we wouldn’t feel interested in learning about our culture.
   It is important to continue working on our language so we don’t lose it like other first nations people.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?
   1) Bible to be used in the school because kids could learn new words.
   2) Singing in Naskapi.
   3) Elders and youth getting together so youth could learn new words through different ways such as interviews, story telling, etc.
Participant 6

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about... language and...

(a) Yourself, the language, and trying to keep the traditional ways of life.

(b) The nature of your own work or study: I like learning and I like seeing others learning too.

(c) Your place in the community itself: I want to teach Naskapi, language and cultural...

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

the language is used more (books), there’s nature all around (animals, etc...)

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

1) more traditional teaching
2) A museum of pictures etc...
3) Have more classes

Have a children’s choir class in Naskapi.

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Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?
   
   Knowing that the Mohawks have lost their language, I felt sad to be able to speak my language with no English. I felt sorry and sad for them.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...
   
   (a) Yourself

   (b) The nature of your own work or study

   I need to work harder to speak my language and read.

   (c) Your place in the community itself

   I guess to involve myself because I don't

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   Learning the language in school

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) Afterschool programs ex: Elder's Gatherings
   2) Community involvement + activities
   3) More
Participant 8

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

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Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?
   
   It was when I was in therapy when I heard Mohawks talking in their language and they had a very hard time. It was like me reading in Naskapi, but them speaking their language.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...
   
   (a) Yourself. I was happy I was born as a Naskapi and Naskapi speaker and speaking it fluently.
   
   (b) The nature of your own work or study. It made me proud to be a Native person because I was learning about Nibunik tradition.
   
   (c) Your place in the community itself. I was just happy and proud to be Naskapi and knowing the language is still alive.

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   I think the language is very positive in keeping it strong and alive, and also it would be good to keep the culture and tradition alive.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?
   
   1) More people to be grateful language is still alive
   2) The school to keep students learning it up until grade 6.
   3) 

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Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

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Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

My most recent experience that was meaningful and positive was the time I had to translate for a guy from the mines on-air at the radio station. It was the first time I ever did something like that.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

(a) Yourself I am thankful that I gave this job a chance, because I usually would not do this kind of work. I am learning so much about myself and my culture.

(b) The nature of your own work or study This work allows me to give something back to my community. Knowledge is power.

(c) Your place in the community itself This job allows me to reconnect to my culture and language.

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

Kaumiva is isolated and the language still exists. NDIC hired a new Naskapi language specialist, and it is a positive thing for the community.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

1) Community Empowerment

2) People to see the importance of the language

3) Community Involvement.
Participant 10

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

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Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   My experience of communicating in my mother's language is when I used to live with my grandma and I used to speak Naskapi

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself - When my grandmother used to teach me words because I was always curious about anything in Naskapi.

   (b) The nature of your own work or study - I love my training because I'm thinking that some of the things I forgot are coming back.

   (c) Your place in the community itself - Our community is getting better because doing part of activities. But most of all the elder gathering

3. Think about the core factors that give 'life' to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   The positive values that can build here in our community is see traditional activities and do traditional way of life.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) We could teach our language to the younger ones.

   2) Our children can still keep this language if we do something in traditional way on activities.

   3) Just speak in Naskapi.
Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

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Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   When I think about it, I find it meaningful when I talk to my kids and ask questions about our Naskapi language.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...
   (a) Yourself  As a teacher, teaching my kids.
   (b) The nature of your own work or study  When reading and asking questions to my family.
   (c) Your place in the community itself  When I feel at the church or when I talk about history in our community.

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   Culture, cooking, traditional foods in our community, gathering in a tent.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) To have cultural center - This would improve language.
   2) To have museum - To actually see.
   3) To have language courses.
APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   whenever we go out on the bush, we speak more naskapi and I learn more words when I’m there. It just feels natural.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself learning new words and speaking in language

   (b) The nature of your own work or study feels good to speak in my own language

   (c) Your place in the community itself I feel I’m ready to pass on the language to younger people.

3. Think about the core factors that give ‘life’ to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   Just talking to each other in our own language gives life to our culture but we can do more.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) Naskapi News paper in syllabics?

   2) Have more people learn to read and write in syllabics.

   3) Teach Naskapi language all the way through High School.
Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   "There was a time when I was in the city and some girls and I were walking in "Naskapi." Someone asked what language we were speaking. I said I prefer to speak Naskapi language. This person was very surprised that we still speak our language."

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself: I value my culture and my language. I push myself to do both. Always!

   (b) The nature of your own work or study: I feel I am connected with this group because we all speak our language.

   (c) Your place in the community itself: I feel that Naskapi are really starting that we need to push the culture and language. I see change today.

3. Think about the core factors that give "life" to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   The language could be like the cultural skills.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) To work on the language.

   2) """" reading and writing.

   3) """" cultural skills."
Participant 14

Naskapi Language Project

APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire, developed by Richard Seel (Seel, 2008) provides the basic outline for a language survey questionnaire.

The generic questionnaire (provided by Seel) underpins every appreciative interview. The survey team will begin with this draft, modifying the questions to reflect the sociolinguistic attitudes regarding language use, language proficiency, attitude toward the local variety of the language, and social networks.

Appreciative Inquiry Questionnaire (Generic)

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth.

1. Think of a time when being able to communicate in your mother tongue [Naskapi] was a very meaningful and positive experience. How would you describe that experience?

   Maybe, first calling my parents or Pitsc
   This is how I call my parents mom and dad in Naskapi.

2. In that experience, think about the things you valued most about...

   (a) Yourself: I am able to speak both languages of my parents

   (b) The nature of your own work or study: I can teach in my language and contribute to sustaining Naskapi language and culture.

   (c) Your place in the community itself: I can help build a safer and better Naskapchechkanachee for my children and students.

3. Think about the core factors that give 'life' to your community; the really positive values it can build upon.

   Naskapi Language is spoken here, Strong Values, alot of local resources being life to Naskapchechkanachee.

4. What three wishes do you have which would improve the vitality and strength of your language community?

   1) More skills in building things (smushes, palette, canoe, crafts)
   2) Artisans
   3) More people doing more things together

   Significantly
Appendix C

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaires

As part of the evaluation procedure at the end of the three-week instructional period, the participants in the research were asked to read a short text in Naskapi. Then, each participant was asked to complete a subjective comprehension questionnaire. This appendix contains scanned images of the responses of each participant. Participant 3 did not submit a questionnaire, and Participant 10 was unavailable to respond.
Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 138

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

   This story is about three sons. Noah, Ham, and Japheth. They had a son named Canaan. These Noah's three sons are where all the people came from.

2. Are you able to identify...
   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Write one here with its translation: next thing that happen in
   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Write one here with its translation: he was three son of
   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) Write one here with its translation: and is the conjunction

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

   No, I'm not able to read passage more successfully, because I read each syllables slowly.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

   1) By reading twice each sentence
   2) By putting pre tense and verbs together
   3) By following songs in Naskapi hymn book or in the readings in church,

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Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read:

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:
   I don't fully understand all of it, but I think I get the main point. "God loves us very much, that he sacrificed his son for us." Jesus knew that he is going home so he prepares his people.

2. Are you able to identify...
   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes, I think so.
   Write one here with its translation: •ACA = he said to.
   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes, I think so.
   Write one here with its translation: •JOn = Judas.
   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) No.
   Write one here with its translation: •As = people.

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?
   Yes, because now I know why it is written the way it is and I understand it better.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.
   1) I feel like I know how to pronounce words right.
   2) I understand what it is saying, sometimes.
   3) Knowing the grammar I understand it better.
Participant 4

Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 73 words approx.

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage: "Yes. When Jesus went to his disciples after he died, Thomas was not there. The first time, he visited. He did not believe the others. The second time, he visited. Jesus told Thomas to stop doubting and he gave him the Holy Spirit."

2. Are you able to identify...
   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes
      Write one here with its translation: "Jesus
   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes
      Write one here with its translation: "Jesus
   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) Yes
      Write one here with its translation: "Since"

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is? Yes. Understanding tense and person markers makes it easier and more comprehensible to me.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.
   1. Understanding that particles in a sentence make the sentence more complete to the reader and the place of inflection.
   2. Nouns and verbs are located.
   3. I am able to understand what I read better knowing the parts of the words too."
Participant 5

Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 269

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

   (God instructs Noah to build an ark because He will destroy all living things by sending a flood. God wants to destroy all living things because Earth and the world has completely gone bad except Noah and his family. God instructs Noah to pick two animals, male and female. God also tells Noah how to make)

   Are you able to identify... the ark.

2. Are you able to identify...

   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes
       Write one here with its translation: b dA£ CN Gc - righteous

   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes
       Write one here with its translation: D $ Ch G -

   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) Yes
       Write one here with its translation: L Lg - talking about God

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

   (Yes. I can able to read this passage because I know somuch prehice of language and reading Naskapi in all Naskapi Literature is book.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

   1) I listen to people in church when they read passages.

   2) I sing passages with grammar and grammar words used in the writing.

   3) Another thing that helped me is grammar and following songs sung from hymnal book.
Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy students' subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 154

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

The boy is dying. God sent an angel to help the boy. God gave the boy water and a better life.

2. Are you able to identify...

(a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers?

Write one here with its translation: God him a.

(b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers?

Write one here with its translation: An Angel

(c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers)

Write one here with its translation: and.

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

Yes, it gets easier from practicing.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

1) Knowing the words, verbs, and particles helps.
2) Meaning helps me to understand more.
3) Reading more to help me read fluently.
Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy students's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 175

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

God's 3 days of creating earth and 1st part of the 4th

2. Are you able to identify...

(a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? DeCo
Write one here with its translation: He made

(b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? De
Write one here with its translation: He separated

(c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) De
Write one here with its translation: This is it

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

Yes, because I'm starting to understand more words and pronounce them better.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

1) I understand and learn new words
2) I can help my daughter read
3) I can sometimes find spelling mistakes
Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 149 words

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

   God is sending away Abraham and his people from
   a place to a place called Gerarah. He sends him
   to a mountain to build a tent for him in offering.

2. Are you able to identify...

   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes
      Write one here with its translation: 

   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes
      Write one here with its translation: 

   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) No
      Write one here with its translation: 

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

   Yes, because I have more understanding of the words and how they fit in the story.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

   1) Knowing the tenses of the words (past, future, present)
   2) Knowing how they end and start and why
   3) 

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Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read: 153.

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:
   And gave Adam the job to name all animals and birds, and made the first woman out of Adam's rib.

2. Are you able to identify...
   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes
   Write one here with its translation: δοκιμε
   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes
   Write one here with its translation: μηδε
   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) No
   Write one here with its translation:

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?
   Yes, because I know the structure and I practice.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.
   1) I am able to recognize the words instinctively
   2) I am able to see actions faster than before
   3) I am able to understand the person markers. Therefore understand what is going on.
Participant 10

Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy students’ subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read:

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

2. Are you able to identify…

(a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers?
________________________________________________________________________

Write one here with its translation:

________________________________________________________________________

(b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers?
________________________________________________________________________

Write one here with its translation:

________________________________________________________________________

(c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers)
________________________________________________________________________

Write one here with its translation:

________________________________________________________________________

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

1) ________________________________________________________________

2) ________________________________________________________________

3) ________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read:

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

   - The story & read is in the middle of action happening. People begin to see the frog grandmother because dots are being thrown to their friend but couldn't do anything but need frog to help.

2. Are you able to identify...

   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers?

   Write one here with its translation: being done to that 4th person.

   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers?

   Write one here with its translation: behind the tent.

   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers)

   Write one here with its translation: when the night comes.

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

   Yes, because as you understand past tenses, pronouns, verbs.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

   1) Noun - talking about a person

   2) Verbs - what is happening

   3) Ovideate - the one talked about.
Participant 12

Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read:

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:
   
   I can understand how the story is unfolding. The wolverine is tricking the bear into believing he was lost and that his parents are missing him.

2. Are you able to identify...
   
   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes

   Write one here with its translation: ḥa-̂-sini:ma = I was looking for you.

   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes

   Write one here with its translation: ṣad:u = our mother

   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) Yes

   Write one here with its translation: ṭu = you

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?

   Yes, I am better at understanding how a noun and verb are separate and can identify them.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

   1) I understand how verbs sound and look like

   2) I know what is animate and inanimate

   3) I am able to better understand the flow of a sentence.
Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother tongue literacy student's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire

Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read:

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

   Evaluation: Trying to figure out what is stuck on the mountain top.
   If it was a rock he saw walking.

2. Are you able to identify...

   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? most of them
   Write one here with its translation: f'ml - he doesn't see him

   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? yes
   Write one here with its translation: dho - rocks

   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers) most of them
   Write one here with its translation: t t to my - this is how I sit.

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?
   Yes, I can read better and more fluently. Because I know the preverbs, you say it in one word:

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.

   1) It helps me pronounce words that I don't know how.
   2) It makes me use the words I don't normally use.
   3) It helps me with the spelling mistakes.

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Naskapi Language Project

SUBJECTIVE COMPREHENSION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide the researcher with the mother-tongue literacy students's subjective response to their own individual reading performance and perceived degree of improvement. It will be administered in either Naskapi or English, according to the preference of the subject.

Subjective Comprehension Questionnaire
Take a few minutes to jot down some notes to yourself in response to the following questions. The researcher will interview you and help you to explore these questions in depth. Length of the text that was read:

1. Do you feel that you have a complete grasp of the passage that you have just read? Write a short summary of the main point of the passage:

   I got a good grasp but starting out Verse 7 I don't really understand.

2. Are you able to identify...
   (a) The verbs, their tenses and person markers? Yes, Most of them
   Write one here with its translation:  
   (b) The nouns, their focus, number or possession markers? Yes
   Write one here with its translation: Land of Babylonia
   (c) Other word categories? (pronouns, conjunctions, modifiers)
   Write one here with its translation: Like...

3. Are you able to read this passage more successfully now than before you had instruction in Naskapi grammar? Why do you think this is?
   Yes, I think its because I practiced reading and writing.

4. Describe how knowing the structure of Naskapi helps you to read more fluently and with better comprehension.
   1) Verbs you know what action is being done
   2) Nouns you know what
   3) Particles you know what
   __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________

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Appendix D
Naskapi Language 4 Course Assignments

The experimental methodology included teaching a cohort of Naskapi teachers following courses towards their Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) degree with a view to advancing their careers in their local school teaching in the Naskapi language. This cohort also served as the participants in the research described in chapter 3 of this thesis, and whose responses are recorded in Appendices B and C. The following document contains the description of the modular Naskapi course, the course outline, and the assignment list for the participants, and was also used to provide the participants with references to the readings and the schedule of course assignments and projects.
Naskapi Language 4 - Course Assignments

Reading Summaries:
The Naskapi 4 course focuses primarily on two areas: (1) Naskapi language practice (reading, writing, typing, and grammar) and (2) Naskapi history and culture component that is mainly covered in the reading and response assignments. Each day of class will be divided into both of these areas.

For the Naskapi 4 course, the main reading assignments will come from Marc Hammond’s (to appear) *Naskapis Emergent* (preliminary draft). March 2013. Unpublished report (102 p., PDF draft of Chapter 2). We will be reading from a draft transcription provided to this class by the author. There are also readings from *Kuikwachaaw* and *Into Algonquian*.

Each day of the class, several pages of reading from these articles will be assigned. See the “Daily Reading Assignment” section of this handout. Students are expected to read the material and then type a “reading response”, which will be collected and graded as homework. These reading response assignments are due before the beginning of the next day’s class period. They should be about 1/2 page in length for each article (no less than 50 words, and no more than one full page).

The filename should include the student’s name, the word “summary” and the date, like this:

**eshecanapish-summary-03Apr**

Naskapi Language Keyboarding Practice:
After each class, the student is expected to spend (at least) one hour typing in Naskapi on the computer. As in previous classes, in order to be exposed to the best examples of Naskapi spelling and punctuation, these assignments are taken from the New Naskapi Book of Genesis published by the Naskapi Development Corporation.

All students will be working from the same material at their own pace, beginning on the first day from page 1 of the book. The student is to type for one hour, beginning each day where he or she left off on the day before.

The filename should include the student’s name, the word “typing” and the date, like this:

**suniam-typing-03Apr**

All assignments are due anytime after 1:00 PM on the day they are assigned, no later than 9:00 AM the next day sent by e-mail to the instructor at: bill_jancewicz@sil.org.

If this is impossible, the assignment may be handed in by USB drive during class the next day. Assignments handed in late will have their grade reduced.

Final Projects / Report:
Just like at the end of the Naskapi 1 - 3 class, each student is to prepare a 5 minute project report to be delivered in class, in spoken Naskapi, evaluated as before by the rest of the class. Also, a new final project is an “oral reading” performance, during which each student will read aloud to the class a piece of Naskapi literature chosen for the student in advance. The project report topic may be:

- Why should we learn about the Naskapi history?
The importance of knowing how the Naskapi grammar works in order to read it.
Naskapi Translation: Discuss the two directions of translation: Naskapi as the “source” and Naskapi as the “target”.

**Daily Reading Assignments:**

Here are all the reading assignments for the entire course:


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<th>Wednesday 03 April</th>
<th>Thursday 04 April</th>
<th>Friday 05 April</th>
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<th>Monday 15 April</th>
<th>Tuesday 16 April</th>
<th>Wednesday 17 April</th>
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