MICMAC MORPHOPHONEMICS

by

James Lawrence Fidelholtz

S.B., Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1963)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY at the MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY January, 1968

Signature of Author

Department of Modern Languages,
8 January, 1968

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Submitted to the Department of Linguistics on 8 January 1968 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

Micmac nouns are shown to have two genders--animate and inanimate--with plurals ending respectively in g and l. Consideration of singular/plural alternations leads to postulating, among other things, that all j's come from underlying t's before i, and that all g's come from underlying g's after a nondiffuse grave vowel. The consequences of these two processes are traced.

Contraction, wherein certain verbs lose a short e in the initial syllable in certain tenses, is examined.

The intransitive verbs show three numbers: singular, dual, and plural; in the singular, there are three persons--1st, 2nd and 3rd; in the dual and plural, there are four persons--we inclusive, we exclusive, 2nd, and 3rd; also, the endings indicate the gender of the subject. The various person markers, tense markers, and negation markers are examined, and morphophonemic consequences of the various facts and assumptions are discussed.

Transitive verbs do not distinguish dual and plural, but verbal endings generally change as both subject and object change in person, number, and gender. The rules pertinent to deriving these endings in the various tenses are discussed.
In possessed nouns, the prefixes reflect an "order of preference," which is 2nd person, 1st person, 3rd person in the more conservative type of possession, but 1st, 2nd, 3rd in the more frequent type. Dual and plural are not distinguished in the possessed noun, nor in the possessor. Animate nouns possessed by a third person singular animate are in the obviative, which ends in _ in the singular; likewise verbs with animate third person subjects and animate third person objects are obviative, but overtly indicate this only with singular objects.

Some theoretical issues considered are: neighborhood rules; suppletion, quasi-suppletion, and lexical insertion; the genesis of morpheme boundaries surrounding inserted (metathesized or epenthetic) segments; morphological features in phonological rules; the basis for the division of animate intransitive from inanimate intransitive verbs on the one hand, and transitive animate from transitive inanimate on the other; node-copying conventions; and certain conventions used in writing rules.

Thesis Supervisor: G. Hubert Matthews

Title: Professor of Linguistics
DEDICATION:

TO MY PARENTS
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

James Lawrence Fidelholtz was born 31 August 1941, in Toledo, Ohio. From an academically uninspired but behavioristically interesting grade school career in Toledo and Nashville, Tennessee, where he moved in 1954, he went on to place high in the state mathematics contests during his high school years; during this time, a new facet of our hero was revealed: his lack of athletic prowess. Attending M.I.T. on a Merit Scholarship beginning in September, 1959, he received his S.B. in Mathematics. During this period, he joined Zeta Beta Tau fraternity, The American Mathematical Society, and the Linguistic Society of America, and in 1963 was elected to the Society of the Sigma Xi. The friendly neighborhood Linguistics department at M.I.T. accepted him for graduate work, and upon him devolved numerous fellowships: an NDEA Title IV fellowship in Linguistics for 1963-1966; an ACLS fellowship for the LSA Summer Institute in 1963; an ACLS fellowship for field work in the summer of 1965; and an NIH Student Traineeship for 1966-1967.
and the summer of 1967. He has also been a research assistant in the Modern Languages Department, in the summer of 1964 and the first semester of the 1967 academic year.

He attended M.I.T. from September, 1959, to January, 1968; and the University of Washington during the summer of 1963. As a minimal reaction to the "publish or perish" syndrome, he has published, in the QPR of the MITRELE #86, for July, 1967, pp. 290-301, an article entitled "English Phonology: Selected Topics." He has taught at a series of Linguistic Colloquia at Tufts University during the 1966-1967 academic year, and gave a lecture on Linguistics at the 1967 NDEA German Summer Program at Hofstra University.

In January, 1968, upon receipt of his Ph.D. degree, he will trepidate onto active duty in the U.S. Army as a First Lieutenant.
I wish to thank the many people whose discussions, exhortations, and help have contributed to this dissertation. In particular, I wish to thank the following: the American Council of Learned Societies, which supported my summer's studies at the LSA Linguistic Institute in 1963, where my appetite, if not my whistle, was whetted by my introduction to field work, and which also paid for my first summer of field work in Restigouche; Professor Karl Teeter, who interested me in Micmac in particular by mentioning it (love at first audition); A. D. Deblois, who directed me to Restigouche; Father Gabriel, Capucin, parish priest at Restigouche, who found lodging for me, and provided consistent aid and encouragement; John Jerome, my informant; Rachel Dedam, "little Louie," and all my friends in Restigouche and Campbellton, who made my stays there more enjoyable; Professor Morris Halle, who always seems to find time in a busy schedule for discussions, kind words, and an occasional figurative tack in my chair; Ives Goddard.
talks with whom have helped both to clear up many troublesome points in Micmac, and to place my studies of Micmac more nearly within the framework of Algonquian studies in general, and who is always stimulating; Hugh Matthews, who clamps onto problems as if in an epoxied paroxysm, the only solvent being a solution, and who has discovered many inconsistencies in earlier versions of this thesis, and suggested more correct solutions than I blush to admit; Ken Hale, who read an earlier draft of the thesis, and made several trenchant comments and suggestions; Mistress Cheryl Jaffe, who designed the decorations and supported my sagging morals; the other professors and graduate students at M.I.T. during the past half dozen years, who have helped mold me professionally; Carole Taylor, Laurie Richlin, Elizabeth Metcalf, Sara Rollins, and Marie Allen, tom- typists extraordinaire, the last two deserving of a medal for their dogged perseverance and nearly incredible skill in deciphering my horrendously holographic manuscripts; and, last and least, the Research Laboratory for Electronics at M.I.T., which was supported in part by a contract with the U.S. Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories, and a grant from the National Institutes of Health.
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Micmac is a member of the Algonquian group of languages, spoken largely in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and the early explorers such as Jacques Cartier were probably the first Europeans to encounter them. Certainly the Vikings have left no records of contact with the Micmacs as such, although they would perhaps be the most likely indigenes for them to have encountered. The bulk of their early intercourse with white men was with the French, and therefore the first borrowed words were from the French. With the British defeat of the French in 1760, together with the American Revolution and the massive flight of the Loyalists to the Maritime provinces from the United States, the French influence was relatively suppressed, and nearly all Micmacs today speak English instead of French as a second language. Words borrowed in the last century or so are accordingly
mostly from the English.

There has been relatively little linguistic work done on the Micmacs. Aside from a few early word lists, there is an early grammar by Abbé Maillard,\(^1\) which consists largely of paradigms. There are two extant dictionaries by Silas T. Rand, an English-Micmac dictionary dating from 1888 and a posthumous Micmac-English dictionary from 1902, edited by Jeremiah Clark;\(^2\) the former is rather arbitrary in its choice of forms of words, and the latter is virtually useless if one does not know Micmac. Speck's monograph\(^3\) contains a good deal of vocabulary and ethnology, but little linguistics.

By far the best grammar of Micmac is Father Pacifique's *Leçons Grammaticales de la Langue Micmaque.*\(^4\) He makes many trenchant observations and gives rather thorough verbal paradigms, although he does miss some generalizations about the language, and, for example, generally fails to indicate vowel length in words.

Micmac itself is spoken by most of the ten or fifteen thousand Micmac Indians, who, as mentioned above, are generally bilingual in English. The dialect which this dissertation is concerned with is that of Restigouche,
Quebec. Data were gathered primarily from a single informant, John Louis Jerome (Selom), of Restigouche.

Phonetically, Micmac is not complex. The vowels are i, u, e, o, and a, which may be long or short; glides are w, y, and rarely h and ?; the liquid is l; nasals are m and n, and obstruents are p, t, g, j, s, and g, which may be voiced or unvoiced, long or short. The vowels i, u, u, o, o, and a are approximately as in English feet, fit, boot, look, croak, neck, and father, respectively, except that the off-glides of the long vowels are less prominent; e, o, and a are as in French après, comme, fâcher; w, y, h, ?, l, m, n are as in English. Short vowels are either unmarked or marked with a breve (˘ or ˘). Long vowels are marked with a macron (˘). The obstruents are predictably voiced or unvoiced. The voiced counterparts to p, t, g, j, and s are indicated by ˘, ˘, ˘, ˘, , and ˘, respectively. (The symbols follow Pacifique’s usage, except that his ˘ is changed here to j; he also uses ˘ for our o, and o for our u and w, and i for our i and y) ˘ is uvular, and intervocally is a spirant. The dots above or beneath the voiced obstruents are neither normally nor consistently used. Voicing is predictable by the following rule: ˘

Word-initially, obstruents are voiceless and unaspirated; word-finally, and before other obstruents they are voiceless and rather heavily aspirated. This aspiration will occasionally be indicated by a raised \( \ddot{h} \) (thus: \( \ddot{p}, \ddot{t}, \ddot{g} \)), but it is usually not indicated. The rule is

\[
(AB) \ [\text{+obst}] \longrightarrow [\text{+aspirated}] / \# \{[\text{+obst}] \}.
\]

Most \( \mathring{g} \)'s seem to be predictable from underlying \( g \), and likewise most \( \mathring{j} \)'s seem to come from underlying \( t \). Long obstruents are generally from a sequence of two identical obstruents, and are unvoiced. These will be indicated normally by the obstruent with a colon following it (\( p:\, t:\, g:\, j:\, s:\, \mathring{g}:\) ), but may be written as a sequence of two identical obstruents (\( pp, tt, gg, jj, ss, \mathring{gg} \) ), especially in the case of \( ss \). Only in the word \( \text{it}\mathring{e}\mathring{s} \)--I will be (there)--, so far as I know, an interdental (long) \( t:\) is found. Except that this is from a labial + \( t \) cluster (cf. present stem \( \text{eim}- \), future \( -\text{tes} \) ), I have no explanation for this peculiar phenomenon.

Any continuant consonant (\( l, m, n, \) or \( s \)) before a consonant becomes long:

\[
(AC) \ [\text{+cont}] \longrightarrow [\text{+long}] / \# C.
\]

That is, \( -sC- \longrightarrow -ssC- \). Unless otherwise stated, any sequence \( -ssC- \) comes from underlying \( -sC- \). Intervocally,
however, both $s$ ($\rightarrow s$) and $ss$ ($\rightarrow s$: ) occur, indicating a phonemic difference. After $u$ or $w$ and before an obstruent or a word boundary, $q$ has a slight labialization, which varies in prominence. Thus, $-ugC-$ or $ug#$ sequences are written now as $-ugwC-$ or $ugw#$, now as $-ugC-$ or $ug#$, respectively, indiscriminately.

Whenever a sonorant occurs between consonants or word boundaries, or after a consonant, it becomes syllabic (rule (AC) furthermore makes it long if it is before a consonant):

$$(AD) \quad \left[ +\text{son} \right] \quad \left[ +\text{syllabic} \right] \quad / \{C\} / \{C\} #$$

The syllabic sonorants are indicated by $l$, $m$, $n$; these are not to be confused with the symbols for voiced obstruents. The syllabic $l$, $m$, $n$ are occasionally and inconsistently written $ll$, $mm$, $nn$, respectively, especially late at night. Thus: $gmln$--mountain--, $mljin$--thumb--, $lgwetu$--female ungulate--, $mn\tilde{u}$--devil. Each may also occur long, as in the last word. Furthermore, $l$ may occur voiceless ($l$) before an obstruent, as in $pil\tilde{u}e\tilde{y}$--I'm different.

Boundary and other symbols are the normal ones: $+$ for a morpheme boundary, $#$ for a word boundary, and $=$ for an
intermediate boundary (as in the English *refer*). $\emptyset$ is the empty, or null, symbol, and is assigned the feature [-unit]; everything else is [+unit].

Many words are made up of two or more morphemes. The +-boundaries between these morphemes will often be omitted when not relevant to the discussion.

If $X$, $Y$, and $Z$ are segments or boundaries, the sequence $-XYZ-$ is to be taken to imply that $XYZ$ is a part of some word.

We will use binary distinctive features, and the segments we use are the usual abbreviations for bundles of distinctive features. $[a, b, c, \ldots]$ will be used to abbreviate the set of features common to the set of segments $\{a, b, c, \ldots\}$. The features are as given below in tables I and II.
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Short and long vowels correspond to what is frequently called lax and tense.

Stress or accent is indicated by an apostrophe (') before a syllable which has primary stress, and a comma (,) before a syllable which has secondary stress. Stress is not always indicated, however, unless it is relevant to the particular discussion. All cited forms and forms in derivations are underlined, except where it is obvious, as in lists. The colon indicating consonant length is underlined, as opposed to the punctuation mark. Definitions of words are separated from the word and from what follows the definition by double hypens (--). (Thus: maqtaweg—he's black—is a verb.) Exceptions to this are when what follows is a period (.) or a close parenthesis (}).
"S. t.\textquoteleft", "s. o.\textquoteleft", and "o. s.\textquoteleft" abbreviate "something," "someone," and "oneself," respectively.

The form of phonological rules we use is the following:

\[
[+A] \rightarrow [+B] / [+C] \rightarrow [+D] / \left\{ [+E] \rightarrow [+F] \right\}
\]

abbreviates the two rules:

\[
\left\{ [+E] [+A] [+F] \rightarrow [+E] [+A] [+D] \right\}
\]

\[
\left\{ [+C] [+A] [+D] \rightarrow [+C] [+B] [+D] \right\}
\]

The arrow \(\rightarrow\) is used in general for "rewrite-type" rules; that is, feature changes, additions, phrase-structure expansions, and the like. The double arrow \(\Rightarrow\) is used in general in transformational rules. If we have a rule

\[
A \rightarrow B / C \rightarrow D,
\]

C will be referred to as the "pre-environment," and D as the "post-environment." We use Greek letters (\(\alpha, \beta, \text{ etc.}\)) as variables (over + and -) in phonological rules.

The optionality or obligatoriness of a particular rule is indicated by the abbreviations OPT or OBL, respectively, above the arrow. We treat "optional" and "obligatory" as the antipodes of a binary feature. Thus, the
negative or opposite of "optional" is "obligatory," and conversely. If an arrow is otherwise unmarked, the rule in question is to be construed as obligatory.

We use the following abbreviations for particular bundles of features: \( V \) for \([+]\text{voc}, -\text{cons}\), \( L \) for \([+]\text{voc}, +\text{cons}\), \( G \) for \([-\text{voc}, -\text{cons}\]), and \( C \) for \([-\text{voc}], +\text{cons}\). Bundles of features are enclosed in brackets (\([ ]\)). The environment \( A(B)C \) is an abbreviation for the conjunctively ordered set of environments \( \{AB\} \). \( A(B)C \) is an abbreviation for the disjunctively ordered set of environments \( \{ABC\} \). \( A>B<C \) can abbreviate several things, depending on the nature of \( A \) and \( C \). If \( A \) and \( C \) are both bundles of features, \( A>B<C \) abbreviates the disjunctively ordered set of environments \( \{[A][B][C]\} \), where \([-A]\) is interpreted as the set-theoretic union (i.e., the disjunction) of the opposite value of each of the features of the conjunction of features \([A]\). If \( C \), say, is a sequence of segments or features, \( A>B<C \) abbreviates \( \{ABC\} \). If both are sequences, \( A>B<C \) abbreviates \( \{ABC\} \). That is, \( A>B<C \) is the disjunction of the following two sequences: \( ABC \) and the sequence obtained by replacing anything in angle brackets with its negative disjunction if it is a conjunction of features, and by \( \emptyset \) if it is a sequence of segments or features. We distinguish also
between the following two notations:

\[
\langle \langle +F_1 \rangle \rangle,
\]

whose negative is \{\{-F_1\}\} ; and

\[
\langle \langle +F_1 +F_2 \rangle \rangle,
\]

whose negative is \(\emptyset\).

Subscripted angle brackets (\(\langle_{2}^{2}\)) indicate the groups of bracketed entities which go together. Thus, assuming A, B, C, . . . are bundles of features,

\[
\langle_{1}^{1}\rangle A \langle_{2}^{2}\rangle B \langle_{4}^{4}\rangle C \langle_{1}^{1}\rangle D \langle_{2}^{2}\rangle E
\]

abbreviates the following disjunctively ordered set:

\[
\{\begin{array}{c}
\text{ABCDE} \\
\{-A\}B\{-C\}DE \\
\{-A\}\{-B\}\{-C\}D\{-E\} \\
A\{-B\}CD\{-E\}
\end{array}\}
\]

"\(\langle X \rangle_a B \langle Y \rangle_c\), a \(\Rightarrow\) c" means "if X, then Y." Thus, e.g., if X is a feature, the foregoing abbreviates \{\(\langle X B Y \rangle\)\}.

If A and B are forms of a word, "A \(\Rightarrow\) B" means "A becomes B" (upon application of a rule or rules, etc.). If A and B are rules or items which can sustain an ordering relation, "A \(\Rightarrow\) B" means "A follows B." "A \(\Rightarrow\) B" means, in
either case, "B > A".

Other conventions and abbreviations are discussed in the text and footnotes.
CHAPTER II

NOUN PLURALS

There are in Micmac two classes of nouns, so-called "animate" and "inanimate." In general, all semantically animate nouns belong to the former class, as well as a few semantically inanimate nouns, such as live trees. The plural for animate nouns is -9; that for the inanimate -1. Manifestly, there are no phonological constraints as to which nouns are animate or inanimate. A few examples will suffice to make this point clear:

- 'nî'pit\(^h\)--tooth
- gôpit--beaver
- gə'mu̯j--wood
- l'mu̯j--dog
- 'lên?tûgwîjî'--little deer
- pîj--immature sex organ
- gîgām?'gôn--pole, boat pole
- gîgām?'gôn--fancy pole, flagpole
- gîgām?'gông\(^h\)--poles, boat poles
- gîgām?'gông--fancy poles, flagpoles

Thus, nouns must be marked in the lexicon as being [+ animate].
The following words indicate that -g is in fact
the animate plural:

\[ gl'o\,go, \, wej, \, gl'o\,go, \, wej^h \]

- cord (of wood)

- mountain

- skate

- glass, tumbler

- fox

- bird

- pot

while those that follow indicate that the inanimate plural
is -l:

- day

- skirt

- pocket

- tepee

The inanimate word for "egg," wā\,plural wā\,(w)ul, suggests that a rule is necessary relating \(w\) and \(u\). In
fact, it is in general the case that in a particular environ-
ment we always find one of \(w\) or \(u\), but never the other.
Thus, intervocalically, for example, we find \(w\) in māwiōmi--
assembly--, pēwitū--I sweep it--, etc., but we never find
\(*vuv*- sequences. Interconsonantally (where "consonant"
in this case includes liquids and glides) we find ū in such words as pūqūgw--eye--, sūliēwēy--money--, nūtūs--my daughter--, nūtlē--I hear you--, mūlātmē--I dig it up--, sēspaqānēyūgw--he's not a blabbermouth, etc., but we never find *-CwC- sequences, except where the w indicates a labialized q. After q and before a vowel we find w in words such as ntsūgwis--my aunt--, mēgwēq--it, he is red--,
wēgwēq--that's the end--, ēlūgwēn--you work--, etc., but we never find words like *ntsūgūls, *mēqūeq, etc. After a vowel and before q, we find w in such words as wōwq--pots--, but we do not find such words as *wōūq. Before or after other consonants, and after or before a vowel, respectively, however, we find ū, and not w: tū'āsqām--I turn it (hay) over--, mū'īn--bear--, pū'īgn--broom--, 'sūltis--candy--, nū'éwēy--of an Indian--, ēlū'ēwēyē--I'm crazy--; wāl--eggs--, gēūm--I hew it--, ēūpniāq--the wind calms down--, māulūgwēgūgw--we work together--, etc., but it is impossible to have, e.g., *mwin, *twāsgām, *swltis (note that sūltis is borrowed from English sweets, and the w changed to ū to conform with the Micmac sound pattern), *ōwpi, etc. At the beginning or end of a word, only w appears adjacent to a vowel: wāw, wōw--pot--, wēlāgw--evening--, wīgātign--
letter--, \textit{wui--fly--}; \textit{g\text{\={a}}sg\text{\={i}}w--proper--}, m\text{\={o}}g\text{\={p}}\text{\={e}}w--I'm not swollen. At the end of a word after \textit{g}, we find both \textit{w} and \textit{\={u}}; but we will see below that words ending in \textit{\={u}} have long \textit{\={u}} in the underlying form; therefore we wish to predict \textit{w} after \textit{g} before a word boundary (thus, \textit{\={i}l\={a}sg\text{\={w}}--card--}; cf. \textit{\={i}l\={a}sg\text{\={u}}g--cards}). Otherwise, only \textit{\={u}} appears at the beginning or end of a word adjacent to a non-vowel; \textit{\={u}gwp\text{\={i}}n--his hand--}; \textit{g\={a}lp\={u}--caribou--}, \textit{\={w}asp\={u}--seal--}, etc.; \textit{*w\={a}sp\={w}}, etc.

Notice, incidentally, that we will need a later rule devoicing \textit{w / g} \#.

Now, a rule to capture the generalization inherent in these data could ostensibly either derive \textit{w}'s from \textit{\={u}}, or vice-versa, or could derive both from an underlying form unspecified for vocalicness. It turns out, however, that it is simpler to state the rule by deriving \textit{w} from \textit{\={u}}, rather than the second or third alternative. Since all \textit{w}'s appear to come from this source, however, it seems simpler still to make all \begin{itemize}
  \item [-long]
  \item [+diff]
  \item [+grave]
  \item [-cons]
\end{itemize}
the feature [vocalic]] [+voc], and then change the appropriate ones to \textit{w}. The statement of such a rule is the following:
This rather simple rule accomplishes just what we desire, except in two cases: it gives us \( w \) in the environments \( #____g \) and \( g_____g \), whereas we must ultimately get \( ñ \).

This is not a real problem, however, because, as we will see later (see Contraction chapter, p. 90), we need on independent grounds a rule revocalizing \( w \) to \( ñ \) in these as well as other environments, so no incorrect forms will be derived.

Some very interesting parallels to and differences from this rule may be noticed with respect to the occurrence of \( ñ \) and \( y \). The restrictions are very similar: between vowels we find only \( y \), between consonants only \( ñ \): 'wáyópsg--bead--, \( ñ\u0131v\u0107y--of\ an\ Indian--, \( w\u0115tm\u0107y\u0107g--we\ (exc.)\ are\ smoking--; \( n\u0131gn--my\ hand--, \( l\i\u0131g\u0107t\u0107--I\ put\ it--, \( q\i\u0131g\u0107l\u0107y\u0107--I'm\ ready--,\ etc.;\ but\ *w\i\u0131psg, *lyg\u0107tu,\ etc.\ Also,\ at\ the\ end\ of\ a\ word\ after\ a\ vowel\ we\ find\ only\ \( y \),\ not\ \( ñ \): \( m\u0107g\u0107p\u0107y--I'm\ swollen--, \( ñ\u0131v\u0107y\u0107,\ etc.\ But\ we\ do\ not\ find\ \( y \) in\ some\ environments\ where\ we\ find\ \( w \).\ At\ the\ beginning\ of\ a\ word\ before\ a\ vowel: \( îp--bull\ mole--, \( îp\i\u0131w\u0107w\u0107y--
eternal--, *yāp, etc. After q (or any consonant) before a vowel or a word boundary: giásqiw, tiám--moose--, etc., but *gyásqiw, *tyām, *ēpity, *igtīgy, etc. ¹ We will see below (page 30) that we need a rule to delete final lax vowels, and that this rule must follow the i--> y rule (cf. discussion of pūtāy, loc. cit.). But then the alternation igtiq--other, igtiqilq--others (underlying igtiqi, animate plural g) shows that we do not get y after g before #, for otherwise we would expect the incorrect *igtīgy. We do find y and i, however, post-vocally and pre-consonantally, for all consonants except g: pāgālāywin--you surprise me--, ēym--I am (there)--, nēpayn--you(s) are sleeping--, wēgāytēw--he'll be mad. We will see later that words with -vg- sequences do not come from underlying -īg- sequences, but rather have either a vowel or another consonant after the i, which segment is deleted.

We can, then, generalize the above rule to derive y from i as well as deriving w from ū. The post-environment for the two cases will be very similar, but the pre-environment for i--> y is much more restricted than that for ū--> w. The word pāgālāywin shows that ū--> w must occur before i--> y, unless the V in the pre-environment of the
rule can be changed to [-voc]; but ēlūewīy—'I'm crazy—shows the order unquestionably, since if ī→ y first, we would get ēlūēulēl→ ēlūēuyēy, and then, not only would the ū→ w rule block unless we also changed the post-environmental V to [-cons], but also even if we would get the ū to change to w, we would still be left with an unwanted y. Thus the rule reads:

\[
(BA) \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[-cons]}
\text{[+voc]} \\
\text{[+voc]} \\
\text{[-cons]} \\
\text{[-cons]} \\
\text{[+voc]} \\
\text{[+voc]} \\
\end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[-voc]} \\
\text{[+voc] +diff} \\
\text{[-voc]} \\
\text{[-voc] +cons} \\
\text{[-voc] +cons} \\
\text{[-voc] +cons} \\
\end{array} \right\}, a \rightarrow b
\]

Consider the word 'jēnū, giant, plural jē'nūg. If simply q is the animate plural, as we maintain, we must either lengthen the ū in the plural, or shorten it in the singular. But if we choose the former, we must explain why ū gets lengthened in je'nūg, but not, e.g., in wāqūg, lice, singular wāqw. Thus we must postulate a rule shortening ū in word-final position. Precisely the same argument holds for, e.g., 'sīpū, river, plural sī'pūl. But now notice that this same rule generalized will handle such words as 'tā,pīl, tā'pīg, bow and 'mūntī, 'mūn'tīl, bag. Further
support for this rule is the fact that we in general do not get word-final long vowels.

\[
(BB'b)\ [^{+}\text{voc}] \quad \text{-----} \quad [^{-}\text{cons}] \quad \text{-----} \quad [^{-}\text{long}] / \quad \text{-----} \quad \#.
\]

The stress rule in Micmac is problematical; nonetheless certain aspects of it seem to be clear: basically, the second mora from the end of the word (perhaps not counting a final short syllable) seems to get stress. Notice, then, that this rule must come before the stress assignment rule, in order to get the stress assigned to the appropriate syllable. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
tápí & \rightarrow tápí \rightarrow 'tápí \\
tápí+g & \rightarrow tápí+g \rightarrow 'tápí\tilde{g}; \\
jěnū & \rightarrow jěnū \rightarrow 'jěnū \\
jěnū+g & \rightarrow jěnū+g \rightarrow 'jěnū\tilde{g}.
\end{align*}
\]

Furthermore, this rule must follow the ū \(\rightarrow\) \(\tilde{w}\) rule, in order that \(ap'gũ\), gum, plural \(ap'gūg\), would not become \(*ap'gw\), since the ū must be short to become \(\tilde{w}\).

Consider now the following words:

\[
\begin{align*}
'igtig, 'igtigig & \quad \text{other} \\
',jā'wāli, ,jā'wālia\tilde{g} & \quad \text{a chew, grasshopper} \\
mū'\tilde{in}, mū'\tilde{ina}\tilde{g} & \quad \text{bear} \\
ti'ām, ti'āmugw & \quad \text{moose} \\
'nissgām, 'nissgāmāg & \quad \text{god, God.}
\end{align*}
\]
Now, we wish to preserve the generalization that the animate plural is simply -g. Furthermore, the last two words show that in words like these, the vowel preceding the g cannot be predicted from the singular. Thus we must postulate that each of these stems ends in a short vowel, which is deleted in the singular, i.e., at the end of a word, as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(BB'a)} \\
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{long} \\
\text{voc} \\
\text{cons}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{array} \quad \text{---->} \quad \emptyset / \_\_\_ #.
\]

Notice ilasgw, ilasgūg--card. The singular indicates that this rule must follow the ū --> w rule, in order that the singular not become *ilasg. Likewise, 'pū, tāy, 'pū, tāyg--bottle, shows it must also follow the i --> y rule. The words i'nūsgw, i'nūsgwāg, Indian woman, are derived as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i'nūsglā</th>
<th>i'nūsglā+g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i'nūsgwā</td>
<td>i'nūsgwāg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'nūsgw</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| i'nūsgwāh | i'nūsgwāg | w --> w/h/g_#; g --> ą.

This derivation in fact shows that the w-devoicing rule mentioned earlier must follow the ū-dropping rule. Of course the ū --> ∅ rule must precede the ū --> ū rule, or else we would get rid of all long final vowels also.
Now, for mūn, muīnəg, we postulated the underlying form mūnənə. The sequence underlying the plural is thus mūnənəq. But as we see, we need a rule making q into q at least /ā + ____ #. We will examine this rule in detail later. We just note in passing that words like 'mūsōq--horsefly--indicate that the rule must operate after o as well as ā.

Now consider əpīt--woman--, plural əpījig. Looking at the plural, we see we must analyze it as əpīji + q. Since we know that final short vowels drop, we can easily see that the singular is əpīt, and the final i drops. In the plural, however, we need a rule after the vowel-dropping rule which turns t into j before i. We will see later that this rule is very general, and in fact allows us to get rid of underlying j, deriving all actual occurrences of j from t before i. See below, however, for some problems with this analysis.

There is one pair of words which looks puzzling. Alongside sīssgū--mud, plural sīssgūl, we have ugsīssgw-h--his face--, ugsīssgūl--his faces. The former is completely regular. We will return to the latter in the chapter on noun possession.
We will now examine nouns ending in \( \text{Vw} \) in the singular (underlying \( \text{Vu} \# \)). First, the nouns in \( \text{Vw} \# \) are perfectly regular: \( \text{apgaw} < \text{apgau} \), plural \( \text{apgaul} \)--spruce bark; \('ji'gaw, plural 'ji'ga\( \text{w} \),--bass; sqgew, plural sqgew\( \text{h} \), hen. So are nouns in -ow: \( \text{wisawow} \), plural \( \text{wisawow} \),--loose, diseased feces--; \( \text{wow} \), plural \( \text{waw} \),--pot--; \( \text{tesipow} \), plural \( \text{tesipow} \),--horse.

The nouns in -\( \text{aw} \# \) and -\( \text{aw} \# \), however, are very peculiar. First of all, all nouns in -\( \text{aw} \# \) are inanimate, with plurals in -\( \text{al} \# \), and all nouns in -\( \text{aw} \# \) are animate, with plurals in -\( \text{aq} \# \). Thus, e.g., \( \text{ali}, \text{gew} --clothes--\), pl. \( \text{aligal} \); \( \text{guntew} --stone--\), pl. \( \text{guntal} \); \( \text{saga'maw} --chief--\), pl. \( \text{saga'maw} \); \( \text{la'tolaw} --bull--\), pl. \( \text{la'tolaw} \); \( \text{ug'tlaw} --kidney--\), pl. \( \text{ugtlaw} \), etc. Since all the plurals have the vowel -\( \text{a} \), it seems best to make all the underlying vowels -\( \text{a} \), and have a rule stating that inanimate nouns undergo the rule \( \text{a} \rightarrow \text{e} / \text{w} \). Secondly, notice that the \( \text{w} \) in both cases is deleted in the plural. If the \( \text{w} \)-deletion rule comes before the \( \text{a} \rightarrow \text{e} \) rule, the latter need not mention anything occurring after the word boundary. That is, in inanimates only in the singular does \( \text{a} \rightarrow \text{e} \), but if we do not delete the \( \text{w} \) in the plural
first, the rule would have to mention that the word boundary could not be followed by the plural marker, or that the word was [+singular], etc. But if we delete the \( w \) in the plural first, then the plural will not meet the structural description of the \( ã \rightarrow \tilde{e} \) rule when it could apply. Thus the two rules we need to account for the facts mentioned are:

\[
\text{w-deletion}
\]

\[
(BC') \quad w \rightarrow \emptyset / ã \text{ } + \{1\} \#
\]

\[
\tilde{a} \rightarrow \tilde{e}
\]

\[
(BD'a) \quad ã \rightarrow \tilde{e} / [-\text{animate}] [u,w] +
\]

Just as for \(-\text{vw}#\), the nouns ending in \(-\text{vy}#\) are of interest. Just as before, those ending in \(-\text{vy}#\) (underlying \(-\text{vi}#\)) are perfectly regular:

\[
\text{átláy, átláyl or átláyg} \quad \text{shirt}
\]

\[
\text{'lā, pāy, lā'pāyg} \quad (\text{wash-}) \text{tub}
\]

\[
\text{'plū, jēy, 'plū,jēyg} \quad \text{bluejay}.
\]

Also, the one example I have of \(-\text{y}#\), namely 'putāy(g)\(^h\)--bottle (cf. Fr. bouteille), is also regular. We find peculiarities, however, in nouns and adjectives ending in \(-\text{y}#\). The plurals are in \(-\text{eg}#\) for the animate and \(-\text{el}#\) for the inanimate. Thus: 'wis:ey, wis:ēl--nest; 'plū:ey,
,pl'lel, pl'leq, new (sg., pl. inan., pl. an.). The I seems to be changed to an ē in the plural, by a rule such as the following:

(BE) \[ [1, y] \rightarrow ē / ē + \{\text{gender}\} \]

Notice that here again we have the peculiar fact that nouns in -āy# are animate, while nouns in -ey# are inanimate. This suggests that we can generalize our a-→e rule so that it occurs as well before y as before w. Notice, however, the adjectives. If, as seems likely, adjectives must be marked with the gender of the modified noun, we would expect, e.g., pilēy to become *plāy when modifying an animate noun. That it does not, and that the adjective animate plural is, e.g., pilēg, not *plāyg, indicates that at least some part of our solution is incorrect. See below, pages 37 ff., for another way of handling these phenomena.

Among inanimate nouns, there is a large class of words ending in -n which in the plural simply lengthen the n to ē. Thus:

'gwītŋ, 'gwītn canoe
'ūlāgn 'ūlāgān vase
wīgātign, wīgatiqē book
āsūn, āsūn  
'poğon, 'poğon  
'āgūṣn, 'āgūṣn  

We see that these words are in fact inanimate because ūn--fog--, and 'sissgon--nose--, have the irregular plurals ūnl and 'sissgonl alongside the expected ūn and 'sissgon. What clearly is needed here are two rules: the first changing ū to n / n + _, and the second converting a sequence of two n's into a long ū. The word 'sītem--beach, plural 'sītem, makes it appear that the ū --> n rule is slightly more general, but wigū'am(1)--tepee(s) and 'wigū'.dm(1)--house(s) make it appear that 'sītem may simply be irregular (see below). We also find göspēm--lake--, with the plural either göspēm or göspeml. In fact, the latter is used as the topic in a question. The borrowed word mitiñ--meeting--, pl. mitiñ, shows, however, that the rule can be at least partially generalized.

There is a small class of animate nouns ending in q, q or qw which in the plural merely lengthen the q:

'lēnʔ, tūgwʰ, 'lēnʔ, tūg:ʷʰ  
'pīgőq, 'pīgőq:  
ḥēml'agʰ, ḥēml, āgʰ

Obviously, this implies that we need a rule giving us a
long q from a geminate cluster. But notice that this rule, the n + n → n rule, and the i + i → i rule (see below) are really all the same rule:

\[ (+segment) \rightarrow [1 \rightarrow 2] \rightarrow [+long] \emptyset \text{ iff. } l=2. \]

The borrowed inanimate nouns ægsl--axle and māl--mile give further support to this rule. Their plurals are, respectively, ægsl and māl, from underlying ægsl + 1 and māl + 1, respectively, showing that the rule operates for l also.

Consider the nouns mögō'pāq--wine--, plural mögō'pāqāl and 'nīgōq, spear, plural 'ni,go'qol. There are two possible solutions to the problem of the vowel which appears before the plural morpheme. First, we could assume that the vowel appears in the stem, so that the stems would be mögōpāqā and nīgōqā, respectively. Or we could postulate a rule inserting a vowel after q identical with the one before it. These cases give us no reason to choose the latter. Consider, however, tīām, tīāmuqw₁, moose. The stem, we have seen, is tīāmu, and the plural is tīāmu₉. But we must get the w₁ after q somehow. Also notice that this rule must either be before the ū → w rule or copy w instead.
of $u$, for we cannot have the $w$-devoicing rule devoice $u$ as well because of words like $apgú$--gum. But now suppose that we postulate the underlying forms $mōgpāg$, $nīgōg$, and $tiāmuţg$, as well as a very early rule (at least before the $u \rightarrow w$ rule) which copies any $o$, $a$ or $u$ as a short vowel after $g$ if it appears before the $q$. We would then get the following derivations:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
mōgpāg & nīgōg & tiāmu + g & \text{V-copying} \\
mōgpāg & nīgōg & tiāmu + gū & \text{V-copying} \\
mōgpāg & nīgōg & tiāmu + gw & u \rightarrow w \\
mōgpāg & nīgōg & tiāmu + gw & \ddot{v} \rightarrow \emptyset \\
mōgpāg & nīgōg & tiāmūgw^h & g \rightarrow \ddot{g}; w \rightarrow w^h.
\end{array}
\]

Notice that the plural of 'pīgōg' is 'pīgōg', not 'pīgōg', showing that the vowel-copying rule hops over any number of $g$'s, unless it turns out that it is in fact a very late rule, after the agglomeration of the $g$'s, or that the last $\ddot{a}$- gets deleted.

Consider the word 'wāgey--body--', pl. wā'gōl. Taken together, they appear to pose a problem for the vowel-copying rule: the underlying form appears to be $uāgei$, which would in fact give us the correct forms, except for an unwanted $-a-$ between the $-q-$ and the $-e-$ (or $-a-$). Suppose, however, that the underlying form is $uāgi$. Note the derivations:
uāgi | uāgi+l  
---|---
uāgai | uāgai+l  V-copying  
wāgay | wāgay+l  glide-formation  
wāhay | wāhe+i+1  ā -->  ē  
wāgey | wāge+i+1  [i, y] -->  ē  
wāgēy | wāgē+i+1  geminate segment agglomeration  
wāgēy | wāgē+i+1  g -->  ĝ  
'wāgēy | wāgē+i+1  stress assignment  
'wāgay | wāgē+i+1  vowel reduction.

Observe that the plural shows that the ā -->  ē rule must precede the [i, y] -->  ē rule, for otherwise we would get the partial derivation uāgi+l --> wāgay+l --> wāhe+i+1, and the [i, y] ---→  ē rule could not apply if it came before the ā -->  ē rule, thus giving us the incorrect *'wāgēil. The singular shows that the vowel reduction rule (not stated here) must follow the stress assignment rule.

Another possibility here is that vowel copying does not apply before vowels after the g. Also, except for the irregular word lēpyē—one foot—, we never find ō (or ū) in word-final position, so it might be that ō becomes ūy in word-final position, instead of vice versa.

In fact, word-final ō would become ū by final-vowel-shortening, and we could have a rule inserting ū in the environment ū____#. We could further generalize this:
except for the expletive mögwā--no!--we find no final ā's (or ā's). After final-vowel-shortening, then, we could have a rule inserting y after ē and w after ā at the ends of words, and then rule (BD) could apply as usual. We postulate, then, a glide-insertion rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{[voc]} -\text{cons} \quad \text{[voc]} -\text{diff} \\
&\text{[cons]} +\text{diff} \quad \text{[cons]} -\text{long}
\end{align*}
\]

(BG') [-unit] ----> #.

The two irregular words lepyē and mögwā could be underlying lēpyēē and mögwāā, respectively. We are postulating, then, that, say, sağamā and wāğē become sağamā and wāğē, respectively, by final-vowel-shortening and then become, respectively, sağamāw and wāğey by rule (BG). In the plural, wāğē+1 gives the expected wāłēl, but from the putative sağamā+q we get sāğamāq, not *sāğamāq. In fact we find no plurals like the latter, which would make the following rule necessary (note that the obviative 1 behaves as usual just like the inanimate 1):

(BH) a ----> [-long] + \{[+obviative] \}

At this point we must recall the following regular singular-plural alternations: plūjēy/plūjēyg--bluejay--, lāpāy/ lāpāyg--bucket--, núogtāv4--totem pole--, and māligēw/
māligēwg--barrel. That is, āw, ēw, āy, and ēy occur regularly and with no morphophonemic alternations noun-finally. Furthermore, recall pūtāw/pūtāwq--bottle--, and the total absence of any -ēy/-ēyg or -ēy/-ēyl singular/plural alternations. Notice also the regular wisawōw/wisawōwl--diarrhea--, tēsipōw/tēsipōwq--horse--, and wōw/wōwq--pot--, from wisawōw, tēsipōw, and wōw, respectively (see page 315, and cf. also maltew/maltewq--(kinds of blood), showing that -āw/-āwl and -āw/-āwg are normal singular/plural alternations; -āw/-āwl or -āw/-āwg, however, does not exist. That is, what rules (BG) and (BH) say is that nouns in Micmac may end in ā or ē followed optionally by a glide; but if they end in a short non-diffuse vowel followed by a glide, it must be either ēw or āy. This latter fact can be captured by an extension of rule (BG):

\[
\begin{align*}
(BG) & \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{<unit>} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{<voc>} \\
\text{-cons} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+voc} \\
\text{-diff} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{-cons} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{+voc} \\
\text{-diff} \end{bmatrix} - \text{long} \quad \text{agrave} \quad \text{agrave} \quad \text{#},
\end{align*}
\]

and of course rule (BD) operates just as it did before. We get, then, the following derivations:

sāgāmā ġūntā wisse tēsipe[i,u](+g) ġūntā+1 wisse+1
sağamā ġūntā wisse " " " (BBb)
sağamaw ġūntāw wissey tēsipēw(+g) " " (BG)
Furthermore, this treatment obviates rule (BE).

We claimed above that all j's come from underlying t's before i. Let us examine the question further. The distribution of j is rather peculiar. The vast majority of its occurrences are before i, and, conversely, very few t's appear before i, facts which by themselves suggest the rule. But, furthermore, j enters normally into consonant clusters as the last member: \(^4\) qjiang--city, epitj--little woman, apjejit--he's small, njigram--my brother, mjegas--I will be dirty, assgoj--toad; as the initial element of a cluster, however, it is severely restricted: in fact it appears only before q (and occasionally 1 in an inanimate plural—see below). But now we must explain why j does appear before q.

Since all j's presumably come from t before i, -jg- would have to come from -tIg- via -jig-. But of course we also find -jig- sequences, as in njigrm. The problem is to predict the deletion of the -I-. A few facts are quite clear. First of all, we almost never, with very few exceptions (wuj--fly--, lmuj--dog--, nmej--fish--, with plurals ending in -ig and -g in free variation), find -jig- after a
long vowel. Furthermore, we see from words like ėū'lēji-- to be poor-- (ēū'lējit--he's poor; ėū'lējg < ėū'lējig, it's poor) that we in fact must delete the ɬ / ūj g. Conversely, we never find -jg- after a consonant (except perhaps ɬ; exception: mig ĕjig ĕjg--turtles) or in initial position (except for ĕjōli--toad--, which appears to be merely a [predictable?] alternate form of ĕsōli). Curious cases are the sequences -ējig-. All nouns in ĕjig have plurals in -ēq. Furthermore, we have such words as ĕjgwi--I sneeze, ĕj ĕgūj ĕq--pumpkins--, and ĕgtēįq--the last time--, all of which seems to indicate that the -I- also deletes / ūj g. But we also have verbal third person plurals in -ējig (e.g., wājūpēǵq--they are full) and such words as ĕjgalāleq--I reject him--, ĕjigēw--a little while ago.

Now, consider words such as ĕgūmlį--your grandmother--, plural ĕgūmlijg, as opposed to ĕpū, ĕpiįq. To get final -i, the former would appear to come from ĕgūmltį --→ ĕgūmlį --→ ĕgūmittel, whereas, as claimed above, the latter comes from ĕpūtį --→ ĕpūt. But obviously no ordering of the t → j rule and the ū → q rule can account for both words, given the underlying forms above. Notice
also that ēpīt keeps -jīg in the plural, while gugumīj apparently deletes the 1. Of the two, the case of ēpīt seems most clear-cut: no other order of the rules would work. The problem with gugumīj, then, is that we must have an i following the underlying t when the t → j rule applies.

We notice the curious fact that, except for unjīl, unjīl--his head--no words seem to end in -jī. Also, all words ending in -j have it preceded by a vowel or 1, except for migjīgī, turtle, which we have seen is irregular in other respects, pōgānī--hazel nut--., and ngōtnānī--bastard. Also there is a pejorative ending -j, in, for example, npīdnī--my dirty, disfigured, ugly old, etc. hand--, from npīgān--my hand--, (see Contraction chapter, p. 98, for further discussion of -j). What these facts suggest is a late rule deleting l / [+voc] j __ #. The word jīmej--Jim--, plural jīmejāq, is of interest here. The plural shows that the stem ends in ā. The underlying form must be timētīa. The vowel deletion rule gives us then timētī; t → j gives jīmeji; and i-deletion gives us the correct jīmej. We will discuss the i-deletion in the plural at a later point.
But now we see that we can retain our munched cake with respect to ꙡugumij by assuming that the underlying form is ꙡuغوゥm٣٣. Then the final vowel-shortening rule will give us ꙡuغوゥm٣٣, and the t → j rule will then apply, giving us ꙡuغوゥm٣٣, since the t is now followed by an i. Finally, the ꙡj٣٣ → ꙡj٣٣ rule will apply, giving us ꙡuغوゥm٣٣--your granny.

But now what about the plural. We would expect it to be ꙡuغوゥm٣٣٣, but in fact it is ꙡuغوゥm٣٣. Have we been shot down at last? We now notice that, whereas we have words like ꙡi٣٣٣--bass--with ꙡi٣٣ sequences, the only cases of ꙡi٣٣ sequences are like ꙡ٣٣--I know him, which we will see at an earlier stage can be analyzed as ꙡ٣٣ + ꙡ٣٣. So if we now have a rule deleting ꙡ / ꙡ which takes ꙡ + ꙡ → ꙡ, we will in fact obtain the correct results.

First of all, we must notice that while we have been talking of words like ꙡuغوゥm٣٣, this analysis will explain all words ending in ꙡ٣٣ or ꙡ٣٣, such as Ꙣ٣٣--chicken--, Ꙣ٣٣--Frenchman (i.e., French-speaker)--, Ꙣ٣٣--my father-in-law--, Ꙣ٣٣--hummingbird--, and Ꙣ٣٣--my grandchild--, all of which come from
underlying -ti#.

Furthermore, because of words like ēpit, ēpijig, and nūjigesstunepilewet—hangman, we do not want to delete /vjg/ g. But we can now explain the apparent exceptions to this rule (such as (g)ījga—a little bit—, ējgānawalag—I do something for him—, ējgwey—I have the hiccups—, nūjgā—very good) by assuming that -ījg- comes from an underlying -ītīg- sequence via -ījg-, with the application of the i-deletion rule.

Some further evidence for the t --t j analysis is seen in the plurals of inanimate dimunitives:

āwgtīj—footpath  pl. āwg'tītļ
wāgwjīj—little egg  pl. wawg'hjītļ or wawg'hjījļ.

It seems that we need a rule before the t --t j rule deleting ī before ĭ, in at least some cases (cf. rule (DG), pp. 192, 237 below), but the two plurals of wawgjīj apparently pose a problem for this analysis. Now, we will see below (Transitive chapter, p. 275f.) that the verbal ending ātl is derived from ati+l, and that we must delete short ĭ before ĭ, which rule comes before t --t j. We could extend this rule to delete long ī there as well, if it was preceded by t (cf. muñ'tīl—bags—(< muntuīl), suomu'sīl—beech trees—, ga,watgu'pīl—beers—, mlaga'jūmīl—butters—,
ugwsugunīl--tails). But now we recall that the plural morphemes can sometimes be separated from the noun stem by a #-boundary. In that case, the [i,ɨ]-deletion rule would not apply, but final-vowel-shortening would, giving us, say, -jī#l ----> -jī#l. Then i/j-----#-deletion would apply, giving us finally -j#l. Thus, we would claim under this analysis that wawgjītīl comes from underlying wawgjītī+1, whereas wawgjījīl comes from underlying wawgjītī#1. This approach furthermore explains certain peculiar facts in the transitive verbs (see below, Transitive chapter, page 288). It will also help account for peculiarities in the obviative (see Possession chapter below, page 333).

Another solution would be to place the rule deleting į before final-vowel-shortening and make it optional (for at least some stems); under this analysis, the plurals would typically have to be separated from the noun stems by a word boundary (#).

On the other hand, the words: gə'mūj--wood--, pl. gə'mūjīl--bunches of wood--; pəgij(1)--package(s)--, and pɨj(l)--immature sex organ(s)--, indicate that, again, the į-dropping rule must be after the t --> j rule, for we need final -tiī# in the underlying forms of all these
words, to get finally -j#, as we saw above; but the plurals have no 1, which must have therefore been deleted, but only after the t → j rule, since -j- does in fact appear in the plural.

Here are the rules we have just discussed, in the appropriate order:

1 - (BG) final glide-insertion
2 - (BB) \[\begin{array}{c}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons}
\end{array}\] \[\begin{array}{c}
<-\text{long}>
\end{array}\] \[\begin{array}{c}
<-\text{unit}>
\end{array}\] / ____ #
3 - (BC') w-deletion
4 - (BI) t → j / ____ i
5 - (BD') a → e
6 - (BJ') i → ø / [+voc] j → (a) ____ \\
\[\begin{array}{c}
<-\text{long}>
\end{array}\] \{1\} ^8
\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{g}
\end{array}\]
7 - (BF') geminate segment agglomeration
8 - (BH) a → [-long] / ____ +[+plural]
We will now examine some apparent exceptions to the t —> j rule, and cases where j appears phonetically before other vowels than i.

Consider words like jujii—lizard—, nijús—my brother-in-law—, jūjūgā—sometimes—, in which we find a j followed by a short ū. In order to maintain our previous generalization about j, there must be an i following t in the underlying forms of these words. Now, the underlying form of, e.g., jūjī could not be tititi, with some rule changing i to u after the t —> j rule applied, for then we could not explain why we have jījuağ and not *jūjuağ. The simplest solution would be to postulate underlying forms with -țiū-, and then have ı delete before -ū- after t —> j. We see that, whereas we find words like gigįw—near—, iapįwoweī—eternal—, tujįw—then—, nēmīwei—I see my sweetheart—, with ĭw sequences, we find no *-įįw- sequences, and, in fact, apparently no *-įw- or *-įū- sequences at all except for the following words: gląsgįw—just right—; nūtāįw—before—, which may be underlying long ĭ which shortens after a long vowel; sîwğatm—I'm tired of staying here—, and sîwey—I'm bored—; and several words
given by Pacifique which are unfamiliar or uncertain to me:

Wejiuli Nisgam--The Holy Ghost, weleiwei--to be beneficent--, wius (włyus)--meat--, each of which may contain actual or underlying -i-, or, in the case of the last, it may be underlying ūiūs-- włyus; wégayugtaq--I'm annoyed with him--, wégayupéwi--I sulk--, and nūjēywajig--schoolteacher--, which contain the sequence -yũ-, and thus would not undergo the rule in any case if we limit it to -i-.

We therefore have good empirical support for a rule deleting short -i- before -u-. Words like wejūseg--it's windy--, ḡi'jū--mommy--, wajūpei--I'm full--, indicate that the rule must also apply before long -ū-. Now, clearly the i --> ō / _____ u rule must come after the t --> j rule. But we showed earlier (since t --> j follows final-vowel-shortening, which follows glide formation) that the t --> j rule must follow the u --> w rule. But now the word jiuma, from underlying tituaga via titiwağa and jijiwağa, shows that the rule must allow i --> ō before w as well as u. (We will later need a rule revocalizing w to u; this rule must clearly precede it.)
Thus, juji, e.g., would come from underlying tütiti via tütiti, jiéji, and jüjüji.

We find further support for this rule from several quarters. Consider the verb gëwgi--I'm cold. The stem is gëgütì, and the g and u metathesize (see pp. 91 ff.; cf. the future, gūjites, with deletion of the first -ë- and later deletion of the first g). Now, the Micmac analogue to English -ness is the suffix -uti added to verb stems (we will investigate below why the t does not change to j).

Furthermore, when -uti is added to a verb stem it causes contraction (deletion of an -ë- in the first syllable) if possible. Thus geguti+uti becomes gûti + ūti. This does not become *güjiuti, as we might expect, but rather gûjùti--coldness, cold--, by the rule above.

There is a prefix nûjì (nûti) meaning "habitual" or "professional." We have the word pairs gëstunëpilewet--he garrotes--; nujigestunepilewet--hangman--; apogonmuet--helps--; nuiapogonmuet--helper. Corresponding to ewigigët--he writes--, however, we have nûjù'igigët--clerk--
We find a curious alternation in wējūgēi—I come here, opposed to jūgūa'—come here! (the imperative regularly takes contraction). We would otherwise expect either *ugwįjūgā or *ugwįjįgūgā, depending upon the relative ordering of the g-insertion rule and the i-deletion rule (note that there must be at least an i after the j, to explain the j's appearance, although the i-deletion rule would apparently block). The actual imperative, however, suggests a partial underlying form of -tiųgē-. Now notice that if we set up an underlying form uētiųgūgē (or uētiųgūgē, with the V-copying and the g.s.a. rules applying), we would get uētiųgūgē

\[ \text{u} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{w} \quad \text{uētiųgūgē} \rightarrow \quad \text{j} \quad \text{wējūgūgē} \quad \text{i-dropping} \rightarrow \quad \text{wējūgē}. \]

We need a rule to delete the ū here. But notice that we already have a rule deleting -i- in the same environment (/j___g). However, for short ū to be deleted, the j must be preceded by a long vowel. But here the j is preceded by a short vowel. So we see that in fact we can generalize the rule to ū also, but only if we change the rule slightly to make ū delete after j after a short vowel. In fact, the only place we find -jug- sequences at all is in word-initial
position, or after consonants, when the ū is short. The single apparent exception is Pacifique's word wēj:ūgwijījī--I have a mother-in-law (cf. jūgwījīj--mother-in-law), but this is wēt + jūgwījīj, so that the [i,u]-deletion rule would block.

But we now see that the i-dropping rule must precede the [i,u]-deletion rule; i.e., -Vtiug- \rightarrow -Vjiug- \rightarrow -Vjug- \rightarrow -Vjg-. Note that the rule would not delete ū- in the sequence Vj ug-, although I know of no clear examples of this block.

Now consider the imperative: uetiūgā! \rightarrow 
utiūgā \rightarrow utiuguua \rightarrow utiuguwa \rightarrow ugtiuguwa \rightarrow ugjiuguwa \rightarrow uggjugua \rightarrow uggjugā. Observe that one of two things is necessary here: either the g-insertion rule must precede the [i,u]-deletion rule, or else the initial ū must somehow delete before both the g-insertion and [i,u]-deletion rules. (See contraction chapter, p. 89, for another solution to this problem.)

**T Actually Appearing Before I**

We have claimed that t --\rightarrow j / ____ i, with no restrictions whatsoever. We do find, however, some actual t's before i, in such words as:
agääntieumg--Sunday
ättig'ňäši--I work hard
'ngätîgôn--pound

h'tig--the other
ín?güti--one by one
mitî, mitîg--tree, trees
nti, ntîg--my sleigh dog, dogs
ntinit--my body, person
weti, wetîg--worm, worms
witigetultîgw--we are brothers
pigti--I fart

ǒm'tîjîn--thumb, one inch
n?gänôpäti, -tîl--well, wells
pâ'tîs--Baptist
'sîngätîgn--raft.

This list is, so far as I know, exhaustive, except for certain very productive morphemes which I give below:

-ũtí, -ûtîl--ness: (takes contraction)

aniapsuti--penitence
lağpusuti--apron
milesuti--riches, wealth (cf. milesi--I'm rich)
sapeuti--wisdom
sipistağanôsuti--pin
wağamôti--purity (cf. wağamêi--I'm pure)
wasteuti--snowflake (cf. wastew--snow)
eluëuti--sin
ulôtî--health (cf. welñi--I'm well)
-ēgātī--field of, pl. -ēgātīg

wāstewēgātīg--fields of snow
tapētanēgati--potato field
wenjūnēgati--apple orchard
ŋpūmānēgati--blueberry plain

-(ult)-, -(ti)-: plural morpheme of intransitive verbs:
elieie--I go, eliātīgwei--we (pl.) go
welaŋapultioŋ--you (pl.) are high.

There is a rule which inserts a -t- between two
morphemes in certain cases where otherwise two vowels would
come together, and another (perhaps the same rule) which
inserts -i- between two morphemes in certain cases where
otherwise two consonants would come together. Thus: aligāl--
clothes--, ugtaligal (< u + t + aligal < u + aligal)--his
clothes. Now, consider the word nē̱ugt--one, alone. As a
prefix it appears in neugtipug--one winter, all winter--
(cf. aŋtapug--in the middle of winter) and neugtitelmeg--I
think only of him. Also consider the words igataŋan--garden--,
and inaŋan--right (side), which form ugtigataŋan--his garden--,
and ugtinaŋang, on his right. These examples show that the
t-insertion and i-insertion rules must come after the
t---→ j rule. Thus we get, for example,

\[ u + ināgān + g \]

\[ " \]

\[ t ---→ j \]

\[ ut + ināgān + g \] t-insertion

\[ ugt + inaŋan + g \] g-insertion
ugtinašang on his right.

The other cases of t before i are less tractable. There are several possibilities for accounting for these t’s: 1) the t could derive from a different underlying consonant; 2) the i could derive from a different underlying vowel; 3) there could be a segment between the t and the i which deletes after t → j. We will consider the feasibility of each of these possibilities, and arrive at the conclusion that most actual -ti- sequences come from an underlying -tūi- sequence.

Suppose the t is a different underlying segment. The words tiām: piami--any (further)--, ntīnīn: gīnī’gwējįj--ant--, aniaapsuti:mlaqgįjumį--butter--, ,ati’ew:aniapsuti, wigatįjį: aligal--clothes--, indicate respectively that attempts to derive these t’s from underlying p, g, m, n, or l would be ill-advised, since we then could not account for the second word in each pair above. We already need a rule (see Intransitive, pp. 158ff) to change s to t in certain verb forms (cf. mažįsi--I move, mažtįgw--we move). The rule is rather restricted, but we might suppose it could be fixed up to handle all t’s before i. However, the pairs of words gamlamuti--breath--: ’suwo, mu’si--beech tree--, tiām--moose--: sia’wasi--I continue--, amalgaṅtįeg--we (exc. pl.)
dance--: tewalsieg--we (exc. dual) piss--, ati'ew--good-
bye--: lasiet--plate--show that the s --> t rule cannot
be generalized to handle these cases.

We can quickly eliminate the possibility of deriving the i from another vowel. Compare, for example,
wigatiŋ with tēglejg--a little bit--, tōgon--dress--, ntūqwapeŋ--my chin--, tāgamag--I hit him. All the other
vowels appear in the environments where i appears after t.

We thus have remaining the possibility of another
segment between the t and the i, which is later deleted.
Since there is no intuitive reason or morphological evi-
dence for considering this segment to be a consonant, we
will consider only vowels. Clearly, it cannot be an i.
The words pūtay (g̊)--bottle(s)--, āgātāygw--one-half--, jawatay (< -tā + i , cf. jawaṭātīgw)--I chew tobacco--, and pemitāyeg--we (exc.) are going--, gūljewgteit--he crucifies
me--, nteymp--my tape--, and oqotei--sweetheart--, show that
the vowel could not be long or short a or e, for we could
not account for the -tai- and -tei- sequences in these words
if the a or e deleted in that position. We do not find -toi-
sequences, but we find in fact no -oi- sequences, and since
we do not wish to consider o an underlying vowel, we will
not consider it further here.
Thus, we are left with the vowels ū and ū. First of all, we note that the sequences -tū-, tū-, -tūc- occur freely: pemātuan--I carry those things--, pemātuq--we (exc.) carry it--, pemātuq--you (pl.) carry it--, atu'asswētēsin--I fall backwards--, 'ātūn--Antoine, Anthony--,'Atūu--Ottawa--, 'ātūomg--sand--, isstuēi--I'm different--, 'mātūes--porcupine--, etc.

There is a suffix meaning "to be" (or sometimes "to have") which sometimes appears as -ewi- (-owi-), sometimes as -ui-, and sometimes simply as -i-. It is not clear what the conditions are when each appears (and note gāmūj--wood--: gāmūjig or gāmūjuig--it is wood). In any case, the word māntū (≪ māntū, cf. māntūg) -- devil--, forms māntūi (presumably from māntū + i+i, with shortening of the ū)--I am a devil. Witū--his beard-- (≪ witū) forms witūi--I have a beard. These words show that the underlying sequence 'tūi- is not impermissible. In fact, we do not find actual -tūi- sequences in Micmac, suggesting that we need a rule shortening ū / t___i. This would explain gētūi--I want to--, (≪ gētū + i, cf. gētūtāmin--I want you to hit me) nesstuimuei (≪ nēstūimuei)--I give good advice--, nētuisgei (≪ nētūisgei)--I sell--, pituiptāgan (≪ pitūi + ptāgan--100)--1000--, mētūlmāg (≪ mētu + imāg, cf. welimāg--it tastes good--),
metuuguna — bad weather — it tastes bad. In fact, such words as ewgjapugū'asi—I step on it— (stem ewgjapugū+iasi; cf. plural ewgjapuguetaygw—we (inc.) step on it) and giguow—your (pl.) house—suggest that this u-shortening rule, which must apply after glide-formation, is at least somewhat more general, also applying after q and before nondiffuse vowels.

But the same rule could operate to delete $i$ / t _____ i (after t —> j applies), thus accounting for actual -ti- sequences.

Note the words mimajuinu—person—, and wajuieji—I'm full—, from mimatiuinu and watiuieji, respectively, which show that the i —> $ø$ / _____ u rule comes after the u —> $ø$ / t _____ i rule, for otherwise we would get *mimajinu and *wajieji, respectively, unless we make the u —> $ø$ rule less general. That is, with this ordering we do not have to distinguish between j and t in the u —> $ø$ rule, whereas we would under the other ordering. Note that in these words, u —> w will apply, and the w will be revocalized by rule [DN] (see p. Intr. 186).

Consider the stem -gät— — foot. Thus we have n?gat—my foot—, and wégätî—I have feet. But the latter
must come from \textit{wegat + ui}, for if it came from \textit{wegat + i}, we would expect \textit{*wegaji}. But we in fact noted above that the suffix for "have" normally appears as \textit{-ui}. This, then, is strong evidence for the \textit{u}-deletion rule, since with it we have a perfectly well-formed regular word, while without it we have no explanation for the shape of \textit{wegati}.

There is one point which should be mentioned here which has so far not been accounted for. That is the total absence in Micmac of any \textit{-sj} sequences, except across certain large morpheme boundaries, namely, only before the diminutive suffix \textit{-jīj}, as in \textit{ālāmēsjīj}--low mass--, from \textit{ālāmēs}--mass (from the French \textit{à la messe}). This suffix probably has an inherent intermediate \textit{-}boundary preceding it (i.e., its underlying form is \textit{=śtītī}). Thus, the above discussion implies that I derive the word \textit{mūstīl}--bellies-- from underlying \textit{mūstuī + 1}. The fact that words like \textit{*mūsji} do not exist in Micmac might imply that we should except the \textit{t \rightarrow j} rule from applying after \textit{s}, but since we can get along without this restriction, I will not include it in the rule. Furthermore, the alternation \textit{ēpītēs}--(teenage) girl--/\textit{ēpītējīj}--(presumably \textit{ēpītes+jīj})--little girl--suggests that it may be the case that \textit{s} deletes before \textit{j}, at least
in some cases. Again, the free variation between assgoj and jgoj—toad—suggests that in at least some cases there is some sort of alternation between s and j.

We now examine cases of j appearing before non-diffuse vowels.

We note the following words:

I

wejaamiejig—its boiling
aljaam—I spread it
jij:awignej—raisin
jaqali—quickly
nin?jaqmtesq—it drips
nijan—my child
jagej—lobster
Jimajaq—Jims
n?tepijaqgan—my glove
jajigaqi—I go along the edge
jajigeh—I'm healthy
nugwigjat—she has a soft bottom
pewgjalqeg—there's a hole in it
n?tugwejan—my forehead

II

puljaiyn—locomotive
teqjejilj—kid
joj—George
aj:emay—I play ball
apjējg--it's small, few
awijējg--it's rare
wejēya<--I try him out
gisgajēy--I'm prepared
gisgajālōg--I get him ready
ajāsi--I move along (on land)

III
aljemān--you leave an odor around
jij:emān--you stink
ejelātu--I can't help it
jenu--giant
jel--or
sepiljenm--I hold it in my hand
maljewejuit--he's young
wej:elami--I sigh

IV
mejegēg--he's dirty
getgujetehin--I fall face down
malgujetehin--I pitch forward
naqamajejg--it's easy

V
mījoqom--dry wood
a'tejoqo--just now
gepojqom--I plug it up
iljoqwatu--I repair it

VI
nuji+apoqonmuet--helper
əgji+āsutmaqan--greatest prayer
ägji+iansalëwit--archangel
ägji+iapluew--you great devil!

VII
siawäsi--continue!
iapjîwowey--eternal
mtiäqatesta¶gan--collection
giasgïw--just right
aniapsi--make penance
wiaqâtu--mix, mingle
tiäm--moose
päTiäs--priest
siguniëj--sparrow
a¶galasiëw--Englishman (i.e., English-speaker)
gìmëniëwi--I receive communion
øtigïëwinu--drunkard
maliëwigw--we're getting married

VIII
gisgajiey--I'm ready
ajiey--I move on water
guj:iewey--cross.

Lists I and V show that we must have a rule delet-
ing i at least after j and before a and o, but list VI
shows both that the i cannot be long, and that there can-
not be a boundary between the i and the a. List II shows
that i deletes after j before long vowels, regardless of
boundaries, but list VII shows that a j must precede the i
for it to drop before ő, ą, or ą. In fact, we will see later that i must also drop before ė and a if it is preceded by a +-boundary.

Lists III, IV, and VIII indicate problems with the i-dropping rule before e, however. For example, ajiey (cf. ajāsi) seems to show that the sequence j+ie- is permissible. We will see below, however, that verbs such as ajiey are bimorphemic, the second element being -iesi, of which the s is deleted, and later the final i is as well deleted in the singular (see Intransitive chapter, pp.158 ff.). But if the rule dropping i after j applies before the rule which drops the final i, then ajie-, say, would be aj+iiei+, and we never find the i dropping before ei. In fact, except for list IV, which have je sequences of which the e may be underlying long ė or i (for example, cf. welimäg--it smells good, < wel+imäg, to ji:jemäg--it stinks), i deletes between j and e only if the e is followed by a sonorant non-vocalic segment.

Following is a list of rules discussed in this section:

1 - (BA) glide-formation
2 - (BI) t --> j / _____ i
3 - (CB'a) t-insertion

4 - (CC) \[ \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{u} \\
  \text{< long>}
\end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{< unit>}
\end{array} \right] / t \quad \text{i} \]

5 - (CA) \[ i \rightarrow \emptyset / \quad \text{[u, w]} \]

6 - (CD') \[ i \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  j \\
  \text{< long>}
\end{array} \right] \quad \text{a} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{< diff>}
\end{array} \right] \quad \text{b} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{< + voc>}
\end{array} \right] \quad \text{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{< son>}
\end{array} \right], a \Rightarrow b \]

7 - (BJ) \[ \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{+ voc}
\end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  j \\
  \text{< long>}
\end{array} \right] \quad \text{#} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{< grave>}
\end{array} \right], \text{a} \Rightarrow b \]

8 - (CE') g-insertion

\[ \hat{g} \]

We now wish to consider the rule changing g to \( \hat{g} \).

There are ample examples showing that it does not occur freely in the environment of a; namely, such words as

- anga'I dance--; 'angga'I attack him--; galun--
gallon--, galipu--caribou--, gajewgj--cat--, nōgaw--
always--, jigaiey--I'm touchy--, igatn'ewey--I'm a racer--,
igiqeqg--I put him--, igaiqg--I support him--, gaiussggap--
Glooscap, legendary hero of Micmac legend—, 'gawi—porcupine quill—, gāgan—door—, gāt—eel—, etc. show that simply before a, q does not change. Thus, we claim that the rule applies as stated, after long or short a. Note that, with the vowel-copying rule, we normally expect to find an a after the q as well as before it. This is indeed the case in such words as a, ġantīewti—week—, etlaqalq—I stay with him—, maqatpay—I have a big head—, ma'qāq—it's big and round—, pāgalq—I bite him—, pāgalay—I'm surprised—, 'ağam—snowshoe—, ağalasi'ew—Englishman—, aptağan—plate—, etc. Of course, at the end of a word we normally expect the copied a to delete by the vowel-shortening rule: a— and (a —→ a —→ a —→ ġ)—, manag—not yet—, moğopağ—wine (pl. moğopağal)—, tegitpağ—cold night.

Now consider words with a followed by a hard q, such as ġanūtemağ—I tell him a story, jagej—lobster—(cf. mi'jagej—vein), mągasan—store—, nālāgin—you're raring to go—, which seem to be exceptions to the q —→ ġ rule. Consider jagej. The underlying form must begin at least with ti-. It cannot be simply tigeti, or we would get *jigej. So it must be at least tiv'gēti. Vi cannot be
just ā or ā, since we would then get *jaqêj. In fact it cannot be any grave vowel alone, since we do not get vowel-copying. Since it cannot be i alone (which would give *jiqêj), the only single vowel it could possibly be is ā. But then we would need a rule to change e to ā after g → ā. But we would in that case be unable to explain why the second e remains in mējē'gēg—its dirty—it cannot be long: cf. pēgiēg—it takes long). Suppose, however, that the underlying form were tiagetī. After applying various rules through the t → j and g → ā rules we would have jiaegej. It was shown above that i → ā / j → a, so we will end up at some point after g → ā with jaqêj. However, we never find -āā- sequences in Micmac, so it would not be unreasonable to delete e if it is after ā. We propose such a rule:

(DA') e → ā / a

to apply after g → ā, for otherwise we would get *jaqêj. Words like ãgusān—hat, Almawāqig—Germany, nāqweg—day—(< ãgusn, Almauāqig, and nāqweq, respectively) show that the rule must also apply after long ā.

We will see below that, in order to handle certain facts of contraction, we must postulate -ea- sequences as
well, of which at least the e is always deleted. But now we see that these -ea- and -ae- sequences will allow us to regularize the statement of permissible vowel sequences, since all other combinations of vowels are attested: namely, that any sequence of vowels is permissible.

We also find words, however, like epsa≠ˈtej--stove--, apa≠ˈt--sea--, ala÷sin--I fly--, maɡtawęq--he's black--, paɡtaqam--in the middle of nowhere--, m'saɡtaq--floor--, naɡtm--I abandon it--(< nag + tm + i; cf. nagalq--I abandon him). This implies that either restrictions must be put on the vowel-copying rule, or the a's must somehow be deleted.

In examining the cases where the vowel-copying rule appears not to work, we note that the q is inevitably followed by a [+obstruent] segment. This fact is true for o and u as well: epeˈtoqnisit--he moans--, m'tusok--storm--, węsamogji--I smooch--, awgti--road--, ewgsimg--I fool him (with words)--, eulamugsi--I look skinny--, pugsugw--firewood--, uggit--for. We find no words like *maɡmigew, *epeˈtoqnis, *puglugw, except for words like uɡ'laɡanməl--his wounds--(< u + q + laɡan + m + 1 < u + laɡan + m + l, cf. laɡan--wound, see Possession chapter, p. 325 for g-insertion). In fact, we find no words with -ag[+son]-,
og[+son]-, or -ug[+son]-, which, together with the fact that
vowel copying does not apply to non-grave vowels, provides
very strong evidence that in words like maqn--moccasin--the
\(\ddot{a}\) is followed by an \(\dddot{e}\) which deletes; otherwise this word
would be totally inexplicable: neither vowel-copying nor
g-spirantization is operative; but the \(\dddot{e}\) would block both
rules. Now, to have the vowel-copying rule operate in all
environments and then have certain \(a\)'s, \(o\)'s, and \(u\)'s deleted
later would appear to be impractical, since we would then
have no obvious way of accounting for the presence of the
second \(a\) in magatui--lend it to me! (say, ma\(\ddot{g}\)atui → ma\(\dot{g}\)atui,
somewhat → ma\(\ddot{g}\)atui (to stop *ma\(\dddot{g}\)atui); or, alternately,
ma\(\dddot{g}\)tui → ma\(\dot{g}\)atui; but now, in either case, a-deletion would
have to apply, giving *ma\(\dddot{g}\)tui; we will discuss the proveni-
ence of these \(a\)'s below). Thus, we wish to stop the grave
vowel from being copied if a \([+\text{obstruent}]\) segment immedi-
ately follows the triggering \(q\). I.e., we derive, say,
ma\(\dddot{g}\)taw\(\dddot{e}\)g as follows: magtaw-- → V-copying does not apply
--→ ma\(\ddot{g}\)taw-.

But now, what of the second \(a\) in magatui? Clearly,
if the underlying form were magat-, V-copying (applicable
here, because the second \(a\) is \([-\text{obstruent}]\)) would give us
magaat-, and later geminate segment agglomeration would give us *magaat-. On the other hand, if the underlying form is magt-, V-copying would not apply at all, giving us *maat-.

Thus, there must be a [+sonorant] (i.e., [-obstruent]) segment, but not a, following the g. That is, the V-copying rule would apply, giving us mag\[X^+\text{son}\] t- \(\rightarrow\) maga\[X^+\text{son}\] t-, and then the segment we have designated \[X^+\text{son}\] must delete. But we already have a rule deleting \(\ddot{a}\) after a, so if we postulate an \(\ddot{a}\) in the underlying form, everything will work out appropriately: magetui \(\rightarrow\) magaetui \(\rightarrow\) magetui \(\rightarrow\) magatui.

Thus, the vowel-copying rule would now read:

\[(DB')\] \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
V & g & \emptyset & [+\text{son}] \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\] \(\rightarrow\) \([1^\text{-long}]\) \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 4 \\
\end{array}\]

There is a question whether the rule can copy the vowel over two g's as well as only one. Such words as (Pacifique's) wanta\(\ddot{a}\)gwijin--be in peace, have peace of mind--, wenaga\(\ddot{a}\)gwijasi--raise one's thoughts--, and sog\(\ddot{a}\)gwat--eclipse-- would imply that we are in fact limited to only one g, for otherwise we would expect *wanta\(\ddot{a}\)gwawijin, *wenaga\(\ddot{a}\)gwawijasi, and *sog\(\ddot{a}\)gowat, respectively. It may be that there are
boundaries between the two g's, but this seems somewhat unlikely. Also, sāpāgōtōsi—I prick myself—if two g's were allowed by the rule, could come only from sāpāggetōsi.

A word like magā— it's big and round could come from maga + g → magaa+g → magā, or from magā+g → magaa+g → magā; that is, the second a is unspecified for length.

A word like elipama—I slide—must clearly have an underlying form with an a before the g, in order to account for the spirantization, which a later gets deleted. It is not completely clear what the rule deleting the a looks like, but stress or the preceding segment probably has something to do with it. Some sort of stress rule seems to be the answer. Thus, compare engālog—I stop him—, with na'gāsi—I stop.

Consider a word like amogwan—spoon. The underlying form could not be amaguan or amoquan, since we would get *amogawan or *amogowan, respectively. Nor could it be amagn, since we would then get *amogan; nor amugn, since we'd get *amogun. We will see (Transitive chapter, p. 299ff) that we need a rule changing au, eu, ua, and ue to o in certain cases. Thus, we might suppose that the vowel-copying rule copies sequences of grave vowels instead of single
vowels, and that the underlying form amuagn --> amuaguan
--> amogwan --> amogwan --> amogw (with the o being
deleted by the same (problematical) rule which deletes a
in elipgami). However, words like tuagan--ball--, wagantew--
bone--, papuagat--fun--, wawgy--louse--, testipowwy--horses--,
show that sequences of grave vowels are in general not
copied. The fact that long vowels are copied as their short
variants likewise refutes the sequence-copying contention.

Clearly, however, at the time that the g --> g rule
applies, a or o must precede the g, although it must after-
wards be deleted. In fact, a cannot precede the g, since
it would be copied. Thus, when g --> g applies, the g
must be preceded by an o; thus we get the partial derivation:
amogwan --> amogwan --> amogw. This o cannot be under-
lying, since we do not get *amogw, so, as indicated
above, it may come from a sequence of a or e and u, or vice
versa. amuaguan is ruled out, by the above arguments against
single a. The sequence [a,e]u is more desirable than ue,
since the former can predict the u after the g, whereas the
latter cannot. Thus, we derive: am[a,e]ugan -->
am[a,e]uguan --> am[a,e]ugwan --> amogwan --> amogw
--> amogw. (This rule, which converts u[a,e] and [ae]u
to o in some cases, makes the o have the same length as the a or e originally had.) We will also see below (Transitive chapter, p. 263) that the underlying form amuguan would give us successively amoquan, amogwan, amqwan, am?qwan.

We find similar vowel-deletion phenomena very often interconsonantally, which are just as problematical. Thus, for example, 'geq:usg--godfather--, is from underlying gequsg, which stem can be confirmed by independent evidence (see Contraction chapter below); but 'puguw--eye-- does not delete the second u to give *pug:w. It is, of course, possible that this word is underlying pugiug, which would presumably block unstressed V-deletion, but this explanation could not work for the e in cases like eleqeg--it plays--, or the i in cases like igtigig--others.

If the rules discussed above also apply after o, the same range of facts for o as for a can be accounted for:
1) q appears before o: Goliat--Goliath--, gogol-lgwej--chicken--, gopit--beaver--, nig:q--spear--; 2) q appears after o, and before ō (from vowel-copying): apogom:mvuy--I help--, wipogon--trunk--, egsuogon--lie--, nogon--I cough--; 3) q appears after o at the ends of words: nq:q--very--, tq:q--then--, nig:q--spear--; 4) ō is not copied across q
by vowel-copying if the $q$ is followed by an obstruent: $\acute{\text{e}}$peto$\acute{\text{g}}$sit--he moans--, m$\text{t}$uno$\text{g}$t--storm--, m$\text{a}$go$\acute{\text{g}}$sit--he's big and round--; 5) [a,o]-deletion causes certain underlying $\ddot{o}$'s (from underlying au, eu, or $\ddot{e}$, see below) to be deleted, deriving -Cgo- and #go- sequences: $\acute{\text{g}}$osi--finger-nail--, assgolj--toad--; 6) since -oe- sequences do not exist, underlying -o$\ddot{e}$g- sequences can account for actual -og-: gogwe$\ddot{j}$ij--spider ($\ddot{g}$oeque $=$ jij).

Although we cannot prove it conclusively at this stage of our knowledge of Micmac, many facts strongly imply that all $\ddot{o}$'s come from other underlying segments--$\ddot{e}$ (cf. g$\ddot{u}$nǔ--we (inc.)--, g$\ddot{u}$nǔwėy--ours-- g$\ddot{u}$nu+ėwey), ėu or ėu (cf. mat$\ddot{e}$-m--I beat it--, mat$\ddot{e}$q$\acute{\text{g}}$si--I get beaten--mat$\ddot{e}$+ug$\acute{\text{g}}$si; and an$q$gūnā-m--I cover it--, an$q$gūnol--I cover you-- an$q$gūnā+ul), ū (pem$\ddot{a}$t$\ddot{u}$q--he carries it-- pem$\ddot{a}$t$\ddot{u}$q; cf. pem$\ddot{a}$tū--I carry it-- pem$\ddot{a}$tu+i); furthermore, $\ddot{o}$'s are relatively rather rare in Micmac.

Certain short $\ddot{o}$'s (such as that in pem$\ddot{a}$t$\ddot{u}$q) clearly do not have a w-glide following them--very frequently they are the ones followed by $\acute{\text{g}}$ rather than $q$, although not exclusively so. Many short $\ddot{o}$'s and virtually all long $\ddot{o}$'s may have at least an optional w-glide following them, however.
Certain facts of contraction (see the next chapter) suggest that perhaps the most common source of o is from eu (or, sometimes, au), with the o having the length of the underlying a or e. All -ewg- and -awg- sequences, then, would come from underlying -equ- and -agu- (see next chapter), respectively, after eu and au become o. Eu and au become o before $g \rightarrow \hat{g}$, and before contraction (as we shall see); -og- sequences, then, which are decidedly rare even among the sparse set of [-og-, -o$\ddot{g}$-] sequences, would come from -eog- by $\ddot{e}$-deletion after $g \rightarrow \hat{g}$, which in turn would come from -[a,e]ueg-. This would also explain oppositions such as goqomin--sloë--: gugumij--your grandmother--, the former from geuqmin, the latter from g+ugumij.

All this would furthermore provide additional evidence that vowel-copying is rather a later rule than has been so far implied, since we wish to account for the $\ddot{a}$ in, say, nōgōm--I cough--by vowel-copying.

There still remain a few $\hat{g}$'s which resist analysis as derivable from $g$'s. The verb stem esamugwā--drink--contains perhaps the most troublesome of these.
Here is a list of the rules discussed in this chapter:

1 - (DC)  \([a, e]u \rightarrow o\)
2 - (DB)  vowel-copying
3 - (BG)  final glide insertion
4 - (BA)  glide-formation
5 - (BB)  final-vowel shortening
6 - (DD)  \(w \rightarrow [-\text{voice}] / g \)

This rule is in fact much more general. All clusters of the type \([-\text{cons}] \ [-\text{voc}] \) are voiceless.

7 - (BC')  \(w\)-deletion
8 - (BI)   \(t \rightarrow j\)
9 - (CB')  \(t/i\)-insertion
10 - (CC)  \(u/t \rightarrow \) i-deletion
11 - (DE)  \(s \rightarrow t\)
12 - (DF)  \(j \rightarrow y / t\)
13 - (CD')  \(i \rightarrow [\phi / j \ \text{V} \ \text{diff}]\)
14 - (BD')  \(a \rightarrow e \ [\text{animate}] \ [\text{cons}] \ \text{diff} \ \text{grave} \ #\)
15 - (DG)  \(i \rightarrow [\phi / l] \ #\)
16 - (CA)  \(i \rightarrow [\phi / [u, w] \ #\)
17 - (BJ')  \(i \rightarrow [\phi / Vj \ [+\text{plural}] \ #\)
18 - (DH)  stress rule
19 - (DI)  \(g \rightarrow [+\text{uvular}] \ [\text{uvular}] \ #\)
20 - (DJ) contraction
21 - (DK) vowel-reduction
22 - (DL') g-deletion
23 - (CE') g-insertion
24 - (DA') e---$\emptyset$ / a ___
25 - (DM') l---$[+$nasal]/n+ ___
26 - (DN') w-revocalization
27 - (DO) [g,p]-deletion
28 - (BF) [+segment] [+segment]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
2
\end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset \left[+\text{long}\right],
\]
if 1 = 2 with the possible exception of length and continuancy.
29 - (BH) a---$[-$long$]/___ [+plural]$
We have observed that there is a contraction rule, which operates on verb stems in the future, imperative, and certain other tenses, and after verbal prefixes. This rule essentially deletes the first vowel of the stem, almost always if it is ŋ, in occasional words if it is ŋ or ŋ and never if it is any other vowel. For example:

ëltasi--I rely on it  lítasiás--I will rely on it
sëgin--you urinate  sgités--you will urinate
ğewisin--I am hungry  guisintes--I'll be hungry
naganiqey--I scoop out  n?ganígás--I will scoop out
ğwáy--I land  ǵwátes--I will land
wigpey--I drink habitually wigpás--I'll drink habitually
nulmágapi--I feel high  nulmágapiás--I'll feel good, high
awantaşí--I forget  awantaşias--I'll forget
ásuṭamewinui--I pray  ásuṭamewinuites--I'll pray
píjuit--he pees  (nursery word) ²
píjuitew--he'll pee.
Note that such alternations as wēlāgāpi--I'm tipsy--, wēlāgāpiās--I'll be tipsy--show that this rule applies after the glide formation rule, for otherwise we could not account for 1) the deletion of the ĕ, although in the underlying form it is the second vowel, and 2) the appearance of w in the first syllable of the future (if the e deleted first, we would always expect *ūlāgāpiās).

The fact that in cases like sēsəpaqānēg--he's a blabbermouth--, sēsəpaqānētēw--he'll be a blabbermouth--, we never get a shortening of the long ĕ in the future indicates that long vowels are in fact underlying, since if ĕ were underlying ūū, we would expect the first one to delete here, giving us sōsəp- → *sōsəp-. We could only salvage the sequence hypothesis if the contraction rule came after geminate segment agglomeration, which alternations like gāgāmāsi--I stand up--, gā'ā'māsi--stand up!--indicate is not the case. This latter case, incidentally, indicates that contraction occurs after g ----→ ĝ, since we would otherwise expect *g:ā'māsi.

The alternation naqanīgei: nʔaqanīgās shows that true ķ's sometimes delete, since this ķ apparently could not be an underlying ū and still cause g to undergo spirantizing.
Furthermore, ogwāy:gwātes shows, for the same reason, that "underlying" o also sometimes deletes. Now, we could maintain the generalization about ē being the vowel triggering contraction, and at the same time explain why only a fairly small percentage of verb stems with a or o in the first syllable undergo contraction, if we assumed that these two stems, say, were from underlying neagnīg- and eug(w)ā-, respectively, and the contraction rule deleted sequences of vowels containing an ē. In the former case in the present, vowel-copying, g-spirantization, and a neighborhood generalization (see below, Transitive chapter, p.365,fn.16) of the e-deletion rule would give us neagnīg- → naγanīg, while in the future we would have the same results, except that contraction (which comes before e-deletion) would delete the ea of neagnīg-, giving us n̂anīg-, and sonorant-syllabification would give us n̂̃anīg-. In the latter case in the present, u would become o, causing g-spirantization, and the e would drop by a slight generalization of e-dropping; or the e could become o, causing the u to become o as well, with one ultimately dropping. In the future, the same would occur, except that contraction would drop eo, giving us gwa-. Those verbs with o in the first syllable which do
not undergo contraction in the future could come from underlying -au- sequences, to which contraction cannot apply.

Now, consider the uncontracted/contracted alternation getqiej/agtigiâs—I am/will be drunk. We expect the contraction agtiâs, which we expect normally to insert a ç after the second of three consecutive consonants. Instead, we find, apparently, an į inserted. Clearly, this į cannot be in the underlying form, inasmuch as in that case we would expect the incorrect *agjigiâs and *gejgiey. Thus, the į is obviously inserted after the t---j rule has applied, and of course after contraction. Thus, presumably the shwa-insertion rule is sensitive to diffuse vowels in the post-environment, inserting a matching vowel. This environmental sensitivity would also explain the following uncontracted/contracted alternations:

wetgimg/ugwtigimâs  I sent/will send him and he returned/ will return
geşgul/âgsugultes  I am/will be heavy
getguni/âgtugunites I sleep/will sleep there
mesguli/m?sgulites  I prick/will prick myself
wesmugway/ugwsumugwâs I run/will run away
wetgitasi/ugwtigitasites  I am/will be sent from, by
nestu'ëy/nsutuëtes  I am/will be intelligent, understand
nes'tuëy/nsutuâs  I come/will come to my senses;
note also the alternations

\[
\text{getgālāg/gtōgālās} \quad I \text{ make/will make him drunk,}
\]

and

\[
\text{nestāg/n?sāt:es} \quad I \text{ understand/will understand him,}
\]

which contain, respectively, the same initial morphemes as \text{getgīey/gtīgiās} and \text{nestuēy/nsutuētes} mentioned above, and, since a diffuse vowel does not appear in the second syllable, a shwa instead of the corresponding diffuse vowel is inserted. See below for further discussion of this rule.

Now consider such alternations as \text{tōgjuēy/gtōjojuētes--}

\[
\text{I climb/will climb--and mātawēy/mātawētes--I am/will be black.}
\]

The former appears similar to \text{getgīey}, in that the vowel inserted by shwa-insertion is sensitive to the environment, in this case the pre-environment. But now it is quite evident that before shwa-insertion can apply, the \text{o} must have been deleted by contraction; but then we could not tell whether to insert \text{o} or \text{a} (or even perhaps some other vowel) in either case above. In short, the problem is insoluble if the vowel is not there at the time the contraction rule applies. That is, our analysis of vowel-copying above was slightly in error, and vowel-copying must apply before obstruents as well as before sonorants,
and then the copied vowels delete in some environments. Everything, then, remains the same, except that vowel-copying does not require a [+sonorant] segment following the g, and we need a rule deleting at least a and o after g and before obstruents, which rule can probably be combined with the problematical unstressed short vowel deletion rule. Toqjuay, then, gives us toqjuay → toqjuay; in the future we get toqjuay → toqjuay → toqjuay. Similarly, in the future we get maqataw → maqataw → maqataw. Note the alternation getguje' testu/ gtugjetestutes—I turn/will turn it upside down--, which shows that the shwa-insertion rule must precede the unstressed V-deletion rule (or rules), for we must get in the future getgujetestu → qtgujetestu → qtugjetestu → qtugjetestu. In the other order, we have no way of deriving the ū in the contracted form.

The unstressed V-deletion rule also presumably explains the alternation tegelējijig/etgēlējitag—there are/will be a few of them. Presumably the underlying stem is tegelēji-, with V-deletion or contraction deleting one or the other of the e's, depending on the form. The same rule explains the deletion of i between j and q in
wejgapāḥ—the tide comes in--, but not in the contracted
ugwjiqapāḥtātew—the tide will come in--; and the i-
deletion in mejjiqway(< mejjiq- < mejjiq-)--I defecate--, but not in mjijivās (< mejjiq-)--I will defecate.

We will now try to determine the correct form of
contracted alternations:

gesgag/əgsəguās           hurt by putting o.s. on
gespāləq/əgsəpāləs         eat him all up
getgāləq/əgtəgāləs         make him drunk
nespit/n?șepit:ew           take care of it
nestaq/n?șət:es            understand
wesgewōqtaq/ugwsəgewōqtuās laugh at
wetsəmq/ugwtsəməq̃          feed from
gesgelisi/əgsəgelisites    protect oneself
mesqey/m?șəqətes           be sorry
wesgewey/ugwsəgeweťéew    laugh
westay/ugwsətās            survive, escape
wet:ęg/ugwtętętes          win
wet:əg/ugwtętętew           the wind comes/will come from.

From the first, for example, we would, without shwa-insertion, expect *gsquāš. It seems fairly clear from this list that, in a sequence of three consonants, a shwa is inserted between the second and third. Further support for this will come from several facts we will consider in later chapters. Consider, however, the last example above. The
stem is presumably wett-. In the present, we have wettq, and the shwa-insertion rule would give us wet:ag. In the future we get ugtt+tew (by rules to be discussed shortly), which by a rule to be discussed in the Intransitive chapter inserts a t: ugtt+tew. Now shwas will be inserted: ugtatatatew, and the middle one syncopated, giving us ugtatatatew.

The same shwa-insertion rule should account for the initial insertion of shwa before two obstruents: aggu--gum--, (ə)sstogon--var tree--, agsəguəs, agtəgāləs, etc. The rule, then, is

\[(\text{EA}) \quad [-\text{unit}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{voc} \\
+\text{diff} \\
\text{agrave} \\
\end{array} \right\} / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
^c_2 \\
+\text{voc} \\
+\text{diff} \\
\text{agrave} \\
\end{array} \right\}_a , a+b, \\
\text{#} \quad [+\text{obst}]_2 \quad \right\}
\]

We do, however, find apparent exceptions to (EA):

pesgwesewey/əpsgwesewəs
wesgey/ugwəgəs
wesgituigm/ugwsqtuigates
wes'gwəya̱/ugwə'gwəya̱s
wesgumg/ugwsguməs
wesqitpi/u(gw)sgitpites
mow, reap
fish
write it on top
mess around with
speak, talk about
stay on top.

We see that s is the middle consonant in each of these
exceptional clusters; in fact, they are all underlying -esg-, so perhaps the environmental consonants in (EA) need to be specified somewhat more precisely. The alternation wesgewọta/g̊uq̊wọṭuas appears regular, in contradistinction to the above alternations.

We find a few cases where apparently shwas are inserted between the first and second consonants of a three-consonant cluster, as well as or instead of between the second and third consonants:

\[
\begin{align*}
esa'g̊a'tu/g̊op̊sa'g̊atutes & \quad \text{warm him} \\
ep'esg̊e'te\text{w} & \quad \text{close a book} \\
ep'teg/pəṭe\text{tew} & \quad \text{it is/will be hot.}
\end{align*}
\]

Now, in each case we never find different verbs with identical underlying sequences of segments which undergo shwa-insertion in the expected way, which leads us to suspect that this sort of alternation is predictable. If in fact it is not, and we do not see how to predict it, the implication is that shwa must be an underlying segment, in order to get, say, pəstes, and not *ps̄ṭes.

This phenomenon may have something to do with those verbs in which contraction does not or may not obtain in the future, although they have a short e in their first syllable. Observe the following verbs which do not take
contraction in the future:

elegewáleg--I make him king (cf. elipgamútu/lipgamútutes--make it slide, and elegewit--king)

emísigtagâ--I see his ghost (cf. emit:ugwalg/mit:ugwat:es--visit)

ewegég/ewegâtes, wegâtes--need (s.o.)
ewegetu/wegetutes, ewegetutes--need (s.t.)
getōgwamg--I look her up and down (cf. getuang/ gtuanâs--I want to kill (s.o.)

meta'gâtu--I uncover it (cf. meto'gwâtu/m?togwâ(t)utes--bring down (from the woods))
nespnm--bring it along (cf. nespitm/n?sapit:ew--take care of it)

pejotu--I bring a lot of it

penogwenm--I handle food or fine clothes
tepâlâg--put (s.o.) on (s.t.) (cf. tepîg/ tpiâs--give s.o. his share).

There is no apparent semantic or phonological regularity among these verbs, which suggests that verbs with ə in the first syllable are marked by a lexical rule to undergo contraction if they are not inherently marked not to undergo it. That is, contraction is a major rule, since the number of exceptions to it is smaller than the number of regular verbs.

There are a small number of verbs which either may or may not undergo contraction in the future, with a con-
comitant semantic difference. Thus:

\[\text{maqatpay} - \text{I have a big head}\]
\[\text{maqatpäs} - \text{I'll have a big head (in general)}\]
\[\text{mrqatpäs} - \text{I'll have a big head (i.e., a hangover)},\]

and \[\text{epatgwepuquålq} - \text{I lean him up against something--has two future forms, epatgwepuquålq and patgwepuquålq, with a slight but unknown semantic difference, according to our informant. The verbal form ne} \]
\[\text{ugesunaq} - \text{(it is) three days--has two future forms:}\]
\[\text{nesugunaq} - \text{it'll be about three days; it'll probably be three days}\]
\[\text{nesugunaq} - \text{it is going to take three days.}\]

It is peculiar, however, that generally when we have a verb with a short e in the initial syllable which does not undergo contraction, we do not find verbs beginning with the identical sequence which do undergo contraction. Such are the following verbs, none of which undergo contraction in the future:

\begin{align*}
esqipëg & \quad \text{wait for} \\
essëm & \quad \text{dye} \\
gewlq & \quad \text{slow (s.o.) down} \\
gemqtim & \quad \text{respect} \\
gestunepilg & \quad \text{hang (s.o.)} \\
mêqta & \quad \text{doubt} \\
mestannaq & \quad \text{have all of s.o.'s things} \\
nepsalq & \quad \text{raise}
\end{align*}
pepgālāg         make flat
pepsālāg         overcome easily
pestiēwatm       celebrate
petēg            hit, cut accidentally
petgā            step on accidentally
sepijōtlg        put in (s.o.'s) hand
septunālāg       close s.o.'s mouth by hand
wej:elamit       sigh.

Contraction in these verbs would produce, generally speaking, a "cumbersome" sequence, and despite shwa-insertion and the fact that ostensibly equally cumbersome sequences are produced in some cases by contraction, nevertheless this fact seems to have something to do with their not undergoing contraction. We cannot, however, presently specify just what properties of these sequences cause them to be immune to contraction. It may be the case that these examples of particular -CeC- sequences which seem to forbid contraction have some relation to the problematical unstressed-V-deletion rule.  

For geg:unm—I have it—, we find the contraction 
gūgūnūmās—I will have it. If the underlying form is 
gēgūgn + m, vowel-copying will account for the second u, and then, in the present, the first u will drop by unstressed V-deletion, thus:  
gēgūgn + m → gēgūgn + m
→ gēggūn + m → gegūn + m. In the future we will
have, after contraction, \( ggūgūn + m \ldots \). Now, the first \( ū \) will not drop. However, we need a special rule dropping the first \( g \), and lengthening the \( ū \). This will be discussed below.

We observe the following alternations of stems without and with contraction:

- \( \text{wejūsāg} \) -- it's blowing
- \( \text{wesgwei} \) -- I laugh
- \( \text{waśamēin} \) -- you're too much
- \( \text{wajūpēi} \) -- I'm soaking
- \( \text{wesmūgwa} \) -- I run away
- \( \text{wejiani} \) -- I come from
- \( \text{wejgienei} \) -- I'm scabby
- \( \text{wesmuit} \) -- he has horns
- \( \text{wejagamalēin} \) -- you boil me
- \( \text{wējipec} \) -- (cold) east wind
- \( \text{wētmitei} \) -- I desire it

These alternations in general evince a \( w[a, e][\text{+obstruent}] \):

\( \text{ug}(w)[\text{+obst}] \) - alternation, whereas we would expect \( *w[\text{+obst}] \) or \( *u[\text{+obst}] \) as the contraction form. This suggests a rule inserting \( g \) after initial \( w \) before a \( [\text{+obstruent}] \) segment:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
# & w & \emptyset & [\text{+obstruent}] \\
(CE') & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & \xrightarrow{1 2 /g/ 4},
\end{array}
\]

applying after the contraction rule. We recall that the
contraction rule in turn applies after glide-formation, and in particular after vowel-copying. This raises the question of where the labialization of the inserted g arises, since it is not there when vowel-copying occurs. We will return to this problem below.

The following alternations show that we must specify [+obst] in the g-insertion rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wēlgm} & \rightarrow \text{I run into it} & \text{ulgētes} & \rightarrow \text{I'll run into it} \\
\text{wēlēi} & \rightarrow \text{I'm well, good} & \text{wūliās} & \rightarrow \text{I'll be well} \\
\text{wē'naɡayen} & \rightarrow \text{you're jumping} & \text{āl'unaɡayēn} & \rightarrow \text{you're jumping around} \\
\text{ēwīɡag} & \rightarrow \text{he's writing it} & \text{etl+wīɡag} & \rightarrow \text{he's writing it} \\
\text{tēwālsi} & \rightarrow \text{I urinate} & \text{tūalsités} & \rightarrow \text{you will urinate} \\
\text{gewisin} & \rightarrow \text{I'm hungry} & \text{gūisintes} & \rightarrow \text{I'll be hungry,}
\end{align*}
\]

since the rule does not apply before sonorant consonants or vowels. Note the last, gūisintes, which indicates that the contraction rule, instead of deleting the e or a, simply changes it to ē, which may later be deleted in certain circumstances; for, otherwise we should expect X+geūisin → X+gewisin → *gwisin-. Perhaps a later rule optionally changes -ēw- to -ū-. This observation, if correct, vitiates part of the earlier argument that contraction must follow glide formation, since even after contraction there is a vowel there, although reduced.
Observe the prefix něũgt(i)--only. For example, něũgtitōlmag--I think only of him, ngūtitōlmās--I'll think only of him. Note that the contracted form apparently could only have come from underlying enguti- or neguti-. The former appears to be completely out of the question, since no evidence suggests any rule metathesizing e and n, so we will confine our attention to the latter: neguti-. If the underlying form were neguti-, and we had a rule metathesizing the g and u, after contraction (since they do not metathesize in nguti-), we would in fact get the right results here. The words

mōgwēg--red
mē'gwāig--middle
pēgwālاغ--I force him to do something
ēgwijālag--I put him in the water

show that there must be a non-vowel (in fact a [+obst] segment, as shown by the following list) following the -g[u,w]- for the rule to be applicable, and the words

gūjūmūg--outside
ūmgūgūmin--(you) hail
wōgw:wis--fox
wōgŵ'--pots
āgūsėn--hat
īgūsuāgan--ladder
ẽg̃gewesg--headwind
woğümawâ--I have a relative
"gisiğû--old man
şğhtûğûnin--if you sleep there
pûgûgw--eye,

indicate that only a short [-diffuse] vowel can precede the -gu- for the rule to apply, and the words geg:üsq--godfather--, and geg:üm--I have it--(see above), from underlying gegugûsq and gêgûqn+m, show that V/g--g-deletion must precede the metathesis rule, which in turn must precede geminate segment agglomeration. In fact, the only words with a -V[w, SCALL]g- sequence are those where V is either ã or ü, except for pî(w)g:w--flea--, wûwq:wis--fox--, getulîwgi--I want to move--, si(w)g:w--spring--, mûgîtumûw--we work together on it--, and these could be underlying pi(Ü)ggu (or pi(u)ggu), uouq(u)is, getu + liûsi, si(Ü)gug, and mû + gtm + ügu, respectively (but see below). Words with -ewgC- and -awgC- sequences, such as âwgti--road--, and ewgsimq--I fool him (with words)--, we must attribute to underlying -eguC-, for otherwise we could not explain the -ew- instead of -o-. The crucial fact to recognize here is that we never find -egü[+obstruent]- or -âgu[+obstr]- sequences, except for elağûtm--I'm related to. However, the related word telagûmq--I'm related to him--indicates
that the stem is -agūm- (with the prefix tel--such--), and that the m is deleted before -tm, but only after the metathesis rule has failed to apply, since the m is [-obstruent]. (Actually, the stem must be -aqūm- in order to stop the g --> ŋ rule.) Note the word pūgūw--eye--, which shows that a [+diffuse] vowel can appear before -gu[+obst]-.

We could also explain the following alternation by this metathesis rule: gēwqji--I'm cold--, gūjiās--I'll be cold. Thus: gēguji --> gēwqji; gēguji + as --> ggūjiās --> gūjiās by the same rule which gives us gūgūn from ggūgūn.

Let us examine certain examples of contraction which are similar to the neugti-- type:

geg:ung (< gewg:ung < gegugung)/gūguntēs (< ggugun- < gegugun)--hold

gewqsm (< gegusm)/gūsētes (< ggusētes < gegusētes)--saw down

gewgjāląτ ( < peguj-)/pūjala(t)utes ( < pguji- < peguji)--put a hole in it

gog:wālą (< gogogwālą < geogogwālą < geugogwālą)/gogwātutes (< gogąwą- < geogogwąłą)--grab, seize

sōgoyey (< sogoy- < seogoy- < segoży-)/sogọyēs (< segoży-)--go up into the woods

gewqji (< geuji < geguji)/gūjītes (< ggjuji- < geguji)--get cold

geg:unevey (< gegugnewey)/gūgunewās (< ggugnewās)--be the godparent.
Apparently the following phenomenon is evidenced by these data: when a \( g \) (uvular or not) is adjacent to another \( g \) (uvular or not), whether because of contraction or \( g \)-insertion; and one of the \( g \)'s is adjacent to a grave, noncompact vowel in the first syllable of the word; that vowel lengthens, and the \( g \) adjacent to it is deleted. This is a fairly straightforward rule, and appears to be necessary in order to handle these facts of contraction; yet it is of a very peculiar type.

We will see below that we will have to postulate "neighborhood rules" in order to handle certain phenomena which occur either before or after certain environments.

This, however, seems to be sort of a "neighborhood transformation," where the environment itself is affected. The generalization was captured in the verbal statement of the rule, but appears much more difficult to capture formally. The only plausible way to capture the generalizations is by using two neighborhood rules (see below, Intransitive page 200, fn. 16):

\[
\begin{align*}
(EB) \quad & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{long}] / \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}
\end{align*}
\]
The only other way to state this is by the awkward and more costly transformation:

\[
\begin{align*}
&[+\text{cons}] & [\text{-unit}] & [+\text{voc}] & [+\text{cons}] & [+\text{cons}] \\
&[+\text{grav}] & [+\text{grav}] & [\text{+long}] & [+\text{cons}] & [\text{-unit}] \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6
\end{align*}
\]

which furthermore does not really capture the generalization. The feature \([-\text{compact}\)] is necessary on the vowel to avoid deriving the contracted \*gāmāsi- instead of the correct ġ'amāsi- from gāgamāsi-.

There is one stem with contraction properties somewhat similar to those observed above. We give some of its forms below:

- gejīg--I know him
- ġejiās--I'll know him
- ġēytū--I know it
- ġejiātes--I'll know it
The first and third contracted forms above suggest the underlying form geji- (from getit-). Now, it seems that in several situations (say, if followed by a consonant), one of the ji sequences is dropped: geji, geji. But the alternation meji:igway/mjijigwās--I defecate/will defecate--apparently indicates that this is not a phonological rule. Thus, it appears that there may be a peculiar type of suppletion in this stem: one stem in contracted tenses, the other in normal ones. The interesting thing here, however is geji:/agji:tes, presumably from underlying gejiu/ geji:tes. Now, we assume that the i in -jit- is deleted because of lack of stress, as above, giving us geji/ gjijtutes. But now, we see that in each case the j of jt is deleted, while the preceding vowel is lengthened. Thus, it seems that rules (EB) and (DO) could be generalized to handle this phenomenon. Since this is the only stem of this type which we are aware of, we will not generalize (EB) and (DO), but we merely remark that it would be quite feasible.

Another peculiar sort of contraction is evidenced by the following words:
These words might be construed as evidence that at least rule (DO) is somewhat more general, but many alternations such as

\[ \text{peginetm/peginet:es} \rightarrow \text{I take/will take a bite off it} \]
\[ \text{pa\d{a}s\d{a}lugwey/pe\d{a}s\d{a}lugwetew} \rightarrow \text{I slide/will slip into the water} \]

indicate that this cannot be the case. However, it is true that we never find alternations of the type \( \text{po}^{\d{a}x-}/\text{po}^{\d{a}x-} \), for any \( X \). Thus, (DO) is optional for -\( \text{pa} \)- sequences.

Another curious set of cases where a \( \text{g} \) deletes are the following examples:

\[ \text{gesg\d{e}g/gesg\d{e}tetew, gesg\d{e}tetew} \rightarrow \text{it is/will be wide} \]
\[ \text{gesgij\d{a}si/gesgij\d{a}ytes} \rightarrow \text{I go/will go over} \]
\[ \text{gesg\d{a}tu/gesg\d{a}tutes} \rightarrow \text{I widen/will widen it (cf. gesg\d{a}tu/gesg\d{a}tutes} \rightarrow \text{I make/will make it disappear} \]
\[ \text{gesg\d{m}\d{a}si/gesg\d{m}\d{a}sites} \rightarrow \text{I take/will take a short cut.} \]

It appears that some, but not all, morphemes beginning in \( \text{gesg-} \) delete the first \( \text{g} \) in the contracted form, for some
occult reason. The curious case of *juqū́a instead of the expected *ūgwjuqua from wejquē—may belong with these cases, as may the deletion of the g in the verb wesmugway in the plural forms (wesmulti-, see Intransitive chapter below, p.133).

Certain forms of the word wāw—egg—, are of interest. The pejorative suffix -j, meaning "dirty, disfigured, spoiled," appears in, for example, npiŋ—my hand—: npiŋj—my dirty, disfigured hand--; ngat—my foot—: ngāj(?ngat)—as my dirty foot. We have also the word wāwaj—rotten egg—, clearly with this same suffix. The g appears problematical. We cannot suppose that the underlying form is āgū́ + j, with deletion of the g in the singular, and metathesis of the g and u in the pejorative, since we would then expect *awgsn instead of āgūn—hat.

Nor can we suppose that the underlying form is āgū́, with deletion of the final g, since there is no evidence from anywhere else that such a g-deletion rule is necessary. Thus, we must postulate that the g is inserted here, after -āw— and before [+obst]. The words sāsēw + ītu—I change it—and sāsēwtniaq—the wind changes (< sāsēw + tniaq) show that the same rule holds for ēw as for āw. Here
again, we could not suppose an underlying form sāsēgū+, with deletion of the g in certain environments, since words like gēgwēg—upstairs and nāgweg—day have g in essentially the same environment, so we would expect *sāsegwātu in that case.\(^5\) Furthermore, it is clear that the gu-metathesis rule would not work after long ā and ē (cf. āqusn).

One problem with this rule arises with words like napēw—rooster. In the plural, underlying napēu + g, we would first expect the vowel-copying and glide formation rules to give us napēw + gw, and then the g-insertion rule to give us napēwgw ---→ napēwgw; but we in fact get na'pēwgw. The latter, however, is apparently a hearing error; see below.

We might be tempted to extend this g-insertion rule to handle cases like gewgji. We could postulate the underlying form geuji ---→ geugji; with contraction:

geuji ---→ guji- (although, notice, we could not explain the long ū in the contracted form). However, we then could not explain why we get, for example, eugniag (eup + tniaq) ---→ the wind falls--, instead of *eugpniag, or metawgvilat---
he's barking at a distance--(<<mētā + wegwila + t>) instead of *mētawg:wilat.

We can, however, extend it to lax compact vowels before the w: mawg:itam--I add it up--(<mau--together + egitam--I count it: mau + egitam --> maw + gitam --> maw + g + gitam --> mawg:itam) and mawgpilam--I bundle it up--(<mau + pilam; cf. melgapiq--I tie him firmly--(<melgi--strongly+pilg). We will see below why metawgwilat does not undergo the rule.

The rule thus reads:

(CB') Ø ----> g / $V\quad\text{-diffuse} \quad w\quad + [+obst].$

This rule can help us explain certain forms of the word nēū--four--: nēug:ūl--four (inanimate) things. The underlying form is presumably nēū, plus the inanimate ending g, plus the plural marker l. It is not clear why the ē shortens (cf. rule (IC), pp. Intr. 206ff below), but taking this for granted, we get the following derivation: 5a

nēu+g+1
nēu+g+1 ē-shortening
nēu+g+u+1 V-copying
nēw+g+u+1 glide formation
new+g+g+u+1 g-insertion
nēwg:ūl geminate segment agglomeration.
It is important to remark that in words like wāwgiːj—little egg—, gājuːwgiː—cat—, sāsēwqtniːq—the wind changes—, nēŋt, etc., the inserted g is rather different from other g's, such as those in mēqweq, for example. It is in fact a voiceless lax continuant, /X/ or /h/. This fact lends further credence to the claim that a separate rule is necessary to insert these "g"'s in this environment, since the rule apparently inserts, not a g per se, but a velar continuant. In fact, if we are correct about the provenience of many o's being eu and au, then all -awg- and -ewg- sequences would have to come from underlying -agu- and -egu-, respectively, lest we derive -og-. On the other hand, when inserted before a g, the continuant undergoes geminate segment agglomeration with it, yielding a long non-continuant gi.

We note here that in ēwūg—use him, ēwūt—you use him, and others, we find no inserted g. It may be that here the underlying form is ēũũ + g, with glide formation, and the rule is inapplicable. Note also Pacifique's péutem—I scorch it--; and the words elūēuti—wickedness—, sāpēuti—wisdom—, and wasteūti—snowflake—, from, respectively, elūēui + utī (cf. elūēwin—you're wicked),
sapeūi + ūti (cf. sāpewi--, I'm wise), and wāsteū + uti
(cf. wāstēw--snow), by the rule of i-deletion given in the
previous chapter (q.v.) (if applicable), and a ū-deletion
rule, so that these words are good evidence neither for nor
against the g-insertion rule, since they do not until very
late provide the appropriate environment for the rule. On
the other hand, note the words se(w)g:w--sweet--; pi'g:w,
pl. pi(w)g:ug--flea--; si(w)g:w, siwq:ul--spring.

We note that Pacifique gives the following uncon-
tracted-contracted alternations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uncontracted Alternations</th>
<th>Contracted Alternations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wesapuni--have hair (John: usapuni)</td>
<td>usapuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēsgaجملg--to greet</td>
<td>usgaجملmėtew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wesgumge-- to speak of a neighbor</td>
<td>usgumge-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetgāpālg--soak</td>
<td>ūtgāpāl-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If these alternations are in fact valid, the generality of
the first g-insertion rule we mentioned becomes question-
able. In each case, however, John Jerome, if he has the
word, gives the expected form with ugwC-. In one case,
wēssgōtm--I'm working, frigging at it--, the future form
ūssgōt:es was elicited, but this was later given by the
informant as the expected ūgwsgōt:es. We note furthermore,
however, that Pacifique gives the words in the right-hand
column below corresponding to John Jerome's words in the
left-hand column:
A
lagamie jig -- they boil
wejeyaô, -jôtm--try out
gwejeiaô, wejotem; contr.;
egwejamaieejig, wejağamieijig
weltamultimg--Friday
gweltamultimg
wesawei--cliff, point
gwesawei--point
'weseyaô, -sotm--protect
gwésêiaô, -sotem; contr.:
ugottes
we'tajigwey--I have a sour
look
gwétajigwey--to have a dreadful
appearance
wetapey--I get punished
gwetapei--to be punished;
contr.: gutapetes
wetapet--he catches hell
gwétapet--the ox (long-
suffering animal)
wetâmây--to smoke
gwêtemai--to smoke; contr.:
(u)gtêmas
gwegwasultij, wegwasim--
to fear.

These alternations, \(^6\) coupled with the non-existence of
initial gwe- or gwa- in present-day Micmac lend credence
to the supposition that initial g is deleted before wê or
wâ. The only exception to this generalization is the
(rather archaic) exclamation 'gwassta, lè--holy jumpin'!
(cf. footnote above). Note gwïlåg--I look for him--, and
gwitn--canoe--, which show that the rule operates only
before w[-diffuse]; and ngwejïj--my little sister--,
mêqwâig--in the middle--, which show that the rule must be
restricted to initial position. Thus we would derive
wêsôtm from underlying guesôtm via gwesôtm (cf. ûgsôt:ês--
I will protect it), by the g-deletion rule, whereas we
derive, say, wëssgōtm from underlying ūes- (cf. contracted
ūssgōt:es). Furthermore, the contracted form of wësspāq--
it (the boat) leaks--may be ągszpāq:tw, and only suppos-
ing that this stem is underlying gwēs-, which somehow
undergoes contraction irregularly, can explain the proveni-
ence of the q.

Now, in the contracted form, we get, for example,
qūetmās --> gwetmās --> qwtmās. This latter must some-
how end up ūgwtmās. Ostensibly, this could be by one of
two processes: either a u could be inserted before initial
gw[+obst], a cumbersome and unmotivated rule at best, or
the q and w could metathesize, giving us #wg[+obst], and
later rules could flat g after [u,w] and revocalize the w.
The metathesis rule could obviously be combined with the
similar one necessary for nēqt, and it, together with the
revocalization rule, would explain the often vanishing
shortness of the initial ūgw derived by this process (in,
e.g., (ūgw)jūgā < guejugu--; cf. wejgēt, and above, pp.
Nouns, 51-52).

Clearly, the g-deletion rule must follow contrac-
tion, to stop it from deleting in contracted forms. We
see evidence that the metathesis rule in this case must apply only between \textit{g} and \textit{w}, not \textit{g} and \textit{y}, since we get such words as \textit{g\textcircled{ajom}ug}--outside--, \textit{g\textcircled{u}t\textcircled{a}ti\textcircled{g}l}--they are pouring out--, \textit{g\textcircled{u}tput\textcircled{u}i}--your chair--, \textit{g\textcircled{u}tan}--village--, and not \textit{*ugjam\textcircled{u}g}, etc. It is possible, however, that the metathesis rule does apply here between \textit{g} and \textit{y}, and that the underlying forms of these words are, respectively \textit{gi\textcircled{u}timug}, \textit{gi\textcircled{u}t\textcircled{a}}--, \textit{g} + \textit{l\textcircled{u}tpu\textcircled{t}i}, and \textit{gi\textcircled{u}t\textcircled{a}n}, which all would delete the \textit{i} by \textit{i/-u-} deletion. This latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that words beginning \textit{gu[+obst]}- are rather rarer than those beginning \textit{gu[-obst]}-, which one would \textit{a priori} expect to be the case if the underlying forms were \textit{giu}-, since interconsonantal vowel sequences are likely to be less frequent than interconsonantal single vowels. Furthermore, we find words like \textit{ugjipesg}--root, \textit{ugsuguni}--tail, \textit{ugtejg}--behind, and others, which appear to be "contracted" forms, but have no non-contracted alternants (but cf. \textit{wesuguni}-- have a tail). The simplest explanation would be to assume that they came from \textit{gutipesg}, \textit{gusugn\textcircled{i}}, \textit{gutetig}, respectively, and undergo metathesis and its concomitant rules.

Further apparent evidence against the initial-syllable \textit{g}-insertion rule comes from words like \textit{usan--}
deluge--, usesi--nest--, utguta1g--inter--(all from Pacifique, and either different or nonexistent in Mr. Jerome's dialect), which we should expect to be *ugsan, etc., if the g-insertion were applicable. On the other hand, these might begin with #iu-, and the i delete by i/u-deletion, which would of course have to apply after g-insertion.

Support for the initial syllable g-insertion interpretation of the facts comes from words like ug:wati--I have feet--(< utgatui; u = 3rd sing. poss. prefix; gat = foot; and ui = have). If initial syllable metathesis were valid, we would expect *ugwati.

With reference to the metathesis rule, all other things being equal, we would obviously like to derive all -[e,a][u,w]g[+obst]- sequences by this rule. However, as we have shown, words like wawgi must be derived by an insertion of the g. Therefore we might suppose that the g in neugt (underlying negut; cf. contraction ngut- and v. supra) is introduced by a generalized version of the g-insertion rule. Prima facie, this seems plausible, since we would need first a rule to delete the g in, e.g., negut, and in fact we already have a similar rule to delete
initial g's. That is, by generalizations of two already needed rules, we could get rid of another apparently necessary rule.

There are arguments against this solution. In words with underlying gwes-, say, we would get, in contraction, gwes- $\rightarrow$ gws- $\rightarrow$ ws-, and we would have to extend the g-insertion rule further to include this initial environment, in order to get ugws-. But this would fail utterly in distinguishing between, say, gwes- and wes-, since they would have identical forms after g-deletion; thus we would have no way of deriving the wes-: us- contraction alternations. The latter alternation does, however, appear to be sporadic and irregular, "slips of the tongue," as it were, as was pointed out above. Furthermore, if this is correct, and no real wes-: uc- contraction alternations exist, we can do without the initial g before the we- or wa-, and simplify the g-deletion rule.

There still remain a few apparently totally irregular contractions. The following are inexplicable cases:

gespu, gu'ātegey/egsâpuguātegās--I tell/will tell lies
wesga'ālamg/ugw'sāgalms--I kiss/will kiss her
nepapigway/nąpiguâtes--I am/will be blind [cf. Pacifique's negapigway].

Following are the rules we have discussed in this
chapter, and their relative ordering:

1 - (DB')  Vowel copying
2 - (BA)    Glide-formation
3 - (BI)    t --> j
4 - (DI)    g --> ̂g
5 - (DJ)    Contraction:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
X & (\#) & \# C_o \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

6 - (EA)    Shwa-insertion
7 - (DK)    unstressed-V-deletion
8 - (DL')   g-deletion
9 - (CE')   g-insertion
10 - (EG)   pre-u u-deletion:
\[ \ddot{u} \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_\_\_ + \ddot{u} \]
11 - (EF')  m-deletion:
\[ m \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_\_\_ + tm \]
12 - (CA)   pre-u i-deletion
\[ i \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_\_\_ [u, w] \]
13 - (EB)   contraction vowel-lengthening
14 - (DO)   [g, p]-deletion
15 - (DA')  \( e \rightarrow \emptyset / \_a \)
16 - (DN')  glide-revocalization
17 - (BF)  geminate segment agglomeration
18 - (EH')  \( g \rightarrow [ + flat ] [ u, w ] \)
We will now examine the intransitive verbs.

Generally speaking, such verbs have three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. There are several facts which lead us to subgroup the dual and plural together: firstly, whereas all three numbers occur in two genders—animate and inanimate—, the animate gender in the singular occurs in three "persons" ("I", "you", and "he"), while in the dual and plural we find four "persons" (we inclusive, we exclusive, you, they); secondly, some verbs have but a single form for both the dual and plural—for example, ajiet—he moves (on water), ajiejig—they (dual or plural) move (on water)—although there is a non-existing but predicted separate form (*ajietijig or *ajetig) for the plural, whereas no verb has, for example, a single form for the singular and dual, but a different one for the plural; also, certain suffixes (e.g., ugwātiː: to go (so many) in a boat: tāpgwātiːjig—they go two in a boat, they two go in a boat: nesugwētājig—they go three in a boat: -110-
but *neugtugwāsit, *neugtugwiet—he goes one [i.e., alone] in a boat; the latter can only be stated by using the general stem -iesi [see below] with a direction prefix) occur only in dual or plural contexts, but no known stem exists occurring only in singular and dual contexts, or only in singular and plural contexts. On the other hand, there is at least one indication of a grouping together of the singular and dual: namely, at least two verbs exist which use one stem in the singular and dual, and an at least partially suppletive stem in the plural: 'wessget—he fishes--, 'wessgejig—they (dual) fish--, 'wessgatijig—they (plural) fish--, pegising—he arrives--, pegisingig—they (dual) arrive--, peytājig—they (plural) arrive.

(The second is more obviously suppletive; with the first compare 'wessgewēg, 'wessgewēgig, 'wessgewōltijig—he, they (dual), they (plural) laugh.) In the lexicon the suppletive forms will have to be listed, but the indications for their use will require mention of the feature [plural] (see below). Thus, for Micmac number, we must postulate two binary features (at least two are necessary to distinguish three categories), [+ singular] and [+ plural]. The singular is [+ singular], the dual is
[- singular], and the plural is [+ plural]. Note that if either feature is [+]-valued, the other is redundantly [-]-valued. In transitive verbs, (true) adjectives and nouns, the distinction between dual and plural is obliterated, thus rendering the distinction between the features [singular] and [plural] redundant. Just considering the animate forms, we have three forms in the singular, and four forms in each of the dual and plural. These eleven forms, if we wished to distinguish them by combinations of binary features, would require at least four features (three features could handle only at most $2^3 = 8$ different forms; four could handle as many as $2^4 = 16$ different forms). We have already postulated the features [+ singular] and [+ plural] to handle the singular-dual-plural distinction. We need at least two features to handle the person distinctions within each number (at most four). The obvious set of features to choose two from is $\{[+ 1st person], [+ 2nd person], [+ 3rd person]\}$. Of the three possible choices of two features from this set, we can immediately eliminate the set $[+ 2nd person], [+ 3rd person]$, since 12 nonsingular and 2 nonsingular would force have the same set of features, namely $[-3rd person]$.
Also 13 nonsingular and 3 nonsingular would have the same features: \([-2\text{nd person}}\] +3rd person]. Of course, the preceding two sentences assume that our choice of names for features will have semantic validity (i.e., mnemonic value) as well as that the features themselves will have syntactic validity, but this seems the obvious thing to do until we are forced to renounce it. The choice between the other two possible sets of two features, namely 1) \([+ 1\text{st person}], [+ 2\text{nd person}]\) and 2) \([+ 1\text{st person}], [+ 3\text{rd person}]\), is less obvious. We give below the features for each person in the singular and nonsingular:

1 sing. 2sing. 3sing. 12non-sing. 13 non-sing. 2 non-sing.

1) \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+\text{sing} & +\text{sing} & +\text{sing} & -\text{sing} \\
+\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & +\text{1st} \\
-\text{2nd} & +\text{2nd} & -\text{2nd} & +\text{2nd}
\end{array}
\]

3non-sing.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
-\text{sing} & -\text{sing} & -\text{sing} & -\text{sing} \\
-\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} \\
-\text{2nd}
\end{array}
\]

2) \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+\text{sing} & +\text{sing} & +\text{sing} & -\text{sing} \\
+\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} \\
-\text{3rd} & -\text{3rd} & +\text{3rd} & +\text{3rd}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
-\text{sing} & -\text{sing} & -\text{sing} & -\text{sing} \\
-\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} & -\text{1st} \\
+\text{3rd}
\end{array}
\]
Of course, the sets of features with [-sing] can be [+plural] (i.e., dual or plural), but this will not affect our argument. Note that in the non-singular forms, [a2nd] would imply [-a3rd], and thus there is no substantive difference between the two choices of features; that is, both would apparently account for the same facts, a priori. 3a

Now, there are several aspects of Micmac morphology which indicate that the "order of preference" of the persons is the following: 2nd, 1st, 3rd. A second person form is one which includes a second person: 2sing, 2non-sing, and 12non-sing. The non-second person first person forms are: 1sing, 13non-sing; and the non-second, non-first person third person forms are: 3sing, 3non-sing. This preferential order shows up in several places: the choice of theme in transitive verbs (see below, Transitive chapter), and nominal possessive affixes for certain nouns.

Consider one of these nouns, m̓q̓í̱g̑a̱n--hook:

- n̓m̓í̱g̑a̱n
  - my hook
- g̓m̓í̱g̑a̱n
  - your (s.) hook
- umí̱g̑a̱n
  - his hook
- g̓m̓í̱g̑a̱n̓u
  - our (inc.) hook
- n̓m̓í̱g̑a̱n̓e̱n
  - our (exc.) hook
- g̓m̓í̱g̑a̱n̓u²¹
  - your (non-sing.) hook
- umí̱g̑a̱n̓u²¹
  - their hook.
At least the following generalizations can be made about the prefixes: a) the prefix is \( g_ - \) for 2sing, 2non-sing, and 12non-sing; b) the prefix is \( n_ - \) for 1sing, and 13non-sing; c) the prefix is \( u \) otherwise (3sing, 3non-sing).

Clearly, we will need to refer to each of the categories a), b), and c). We observe the simplest feature specification of these three categories for each of the proposed feature schemes:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{a)} & \text{b)} & \text{c)} \\
1) & \begin{array}{c}
[+2nd] \\
[-2nd] \\
[+1st] \\
[-1st]
\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}
[-2nd] \\
[-1st] \\
[+3rd]
\end{array} \\
2) & \begin{array}{c}
[-3rd] \\
[-3rd] \\
[-3rd] \\
[-3rd]
\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}
[+3rd] \\
[+3rd] \\
[+3rd] \\
[+3rd]
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

It is clear that the features 1) allow a much simpler specification of these categories which are pervasive in Micmac. We thus choose the first option, since it allows us, with the four features [1st person], [2nd person], [singular], and [plural], to account most simply both syntactically and semantically for the occurrent forms and other ramifications of Micmac.

We will now try to determine the base forms of the various persons in the various numbers. Let us examine the present forms of a typical verb stem, ayji- --be such,
be that way--:

ayji  I am such
ayjin  you (s) are such
ayjit  he is such
ayjig  it is such
ayjīgw  we (12dual) are such
ayjieg  we (13dual) are such
ayjio  you (dual) are such
ayjiwig  they (an, dual) are such
ayjiwigl  they (inan, dual) are such
ayjultīgw  we (12pl) are such
ayjultieg  we (13pl) are such
ayjultio  you (pl) are such
ayjultijig  they (an, pl) are such
ayjultigl  they (inan, pl) are such.

The prima facie endings are:

1sing  ø
2sing  n
3an,sing  t
3inan,sing  g
12dual  igw
13dual  eg
2dual  ôg
3an,dual  ji+g
3inan,dual  g+1
12plural  (u)lți+igw
13plural  (u)lți+eg
2plural  (u)lți+ôg
We can immediately improve on the underlying forms of some of these endings. Examining the 3an. forms, we see that the nonsingular forms end in the animate plural morpheme \textit{g} (cf. the 3inan. nonsingular forms, which end in the inanimate morpheme \textit{l}, and see Noun chapter, above). But this is preceded by \textit{ji}, which we know comes from underlying \textit{ti}. But the singular, then, must be \textit{ti}, of which the final vowel is deleted by final-vowel-shortening, which rule is inapplicable in the nonsingular forms, and which of course must precede \( \textit{t} \rightarrow \textit{j} \), which rule gives us \textit{jig} in the nonsingular forms. The plural morpheme must of course end in the underlying form, not in \textit{-ti-}, but in \textit{-tui-}, to stop the \textit{t} from becoming \textit{j}. The morpheme, furthermore, appears to be \textit{-ltui-}, before which the \textit{i} of the stem changes to \textit{u}:

\[
\text{(FA')} \quad \text{i} \rightarrow \text{[+grave]} / \text{ltui}.
\]

The previous list, then, takes the form:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{1sing} & \emptyset \\
\text{2sing} & n \\
\text{3an.sing} & ti \\
\text{3inan.sing} & g \\
\text{12dual} & igw
\end{tabular}
We now examine other stems in the various numbers.

Below are the singular forms of several verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1sing</th>
<th>2sing</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jij:emā-</td>
<td>jij:emā́y</td>
<td>jij:emā́n</td>
<td>jij:emā́t</td>
<td>jij:emā́́g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>megwēi-</td>
<td>megwēy</td>
<td>megwēyn</td>
<td>megwēg</td>
<td>megwēg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wegāi-</td>
<td>wegāy</td>
<td>wegāyn</td>
<td>wegā́y</td>
<td>wegā́́y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 2sing ending -n and the 3inan.s. ending -g appear here uniformly. In jij:emā́́g, the -g is spirantized by rule (DI). In megwēg (≠ megwḗy+g), the -y deletes by a rule [(EF)] to be discussed shortly. The 3an.s. -t (≠ ti) shows up as -g in megwēg—he is red. If, however, the stem ends in -āi, the -i will be changed to -y by the glide-formation rule, and we notice that after consonant stems in general (-n, -l, -m, -y), we always get -g in the 3sing. an., and never -t, so that the -g of megwēg is predictable.
Note the following 3sing an forms (with 1sing in parentheses): nastesing (nastesin)--be caught--, telgilg (telgil)--be that size--, getugw (getu)--bellow--, agamig (agamim)--snowshoe--, megweg (megwey)--be red--, welaqapit (welaqapi)--be tipsy. All together, these typical examples show that the t of the third person becomes g after verb stems ending in n, l, u, m, or y (< i), but not i. Note, incidentally, that apparently no verb stem ends in a non-sonorant consonant. Such words as n?teplj--my goat--, eLtu--I make it--, mut!--don't!--, mtijin--thumb--, show that the t does not become g generally in this environment. Thus, the rule reads

\[
(FB) \quad t \longrightarrow g \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
+son \\
+diff \\
+grave \\
-voc \\
+cons \\
\end{array} \right\} + _____ . 
\]

The features in braces are necessary to exclude i, but include u and y. It appears that no verb stem at this stage ends in -w, so the inclusion of w in the rule is gratuitous. This rule clearly comes after the glide formation rule. The fourth and fifth examples indicate that, after the t \(\longrightarrow\) g rule, we need a rule deleting m and y, before + q. The first person-third person alternations wēgāy-wēgāyg--get mad, and alām-alāg--swim around, show
that, for \( y \), we must have a \([-\text{comp}]\) vowel preceding, whereas the deletion is more general for \( m \):

\[
(\text{EF}') \quad \begin{bmatrix}
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{son} \\
\text{acons} \\
\text{agrace}
\end{bmatrix} \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \{[\text{acons}]\} \quad \{[-\text{comp}]\} + \text{g}.
\]

Note that this rule will apply before underlying \( g \)'s (inanimates) as well as before \( g \)'s from underlying \( t \)'s, so that (EF') must follow (FB).

Now, looking at the first person forms, we see a problem. In \textit{ayji} and \textit{megwey}, it appears that a zero ending is added to the stems, whereas in \textit{jij:em\(\ddot{a}\)y} it appears that a \( y \) (\( \text{<} i \)) is added to the stem. We might be tempted to suppose, as we did above for \textit{ayji}-, that the first person singular suffix is \( \emptyset \), and that, if a \( y \) appears there, it is part of the stem, and predictably deleted in certain cases. Comparing \textit{weg\(\ddot{a}\)y}--I get mad--to \textit{jij:em\(\ddot{a}\)y}--I stink--, however, we see that if the stem for the latter were \textit{jij:em\(\ddot{a}\)i}-, we would have no way of distinguishing these two verbs in order to obtain the proper 2sg and 3sg forms. In fact, the simplest and most obvious solution is that the stems are \textit{weg\(\ddot{a}\)i-} and \textit{jij:em\(\ddot{a}\)-}, respectively. But now we cannot say that the first person ending is \( \emptyset \), since then we would expect \( \textit{jij:em\(\ddot{a}\)+}\emptyset \rightarrow *\textit{jij:em\(\ddot{a}\)}\), or the like.
Thus we see that, in order to handle jij:emāy, we must postulate the first person singular ending to be -i. But notice that this is the only vocalic person ending, and thus, under appropriate conditions (namely, if not devocalized by the glide-formation rule) the vowel-shortening rule would delete it. The one problem with this analysis is verb stems ending in -Ci or -Cu. In the first person, we would get -Ci + i or -Cu + i, respectively, and we would expect the glide-formation rule to change the last i to y, thus shielding it from the vowel-dropping rule. We will solve this problem below.

We now examine the dual forms of several verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>WE (I.)</th>
<th>WE (E.)</th>
<th>YOU</th>
<th>THEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayji-</td>
<td>ayjīgw</td>
<td>ayjieg</td>
<td>ayjio̱</td>
<td>ayjijig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nastesin-</td>
<td>nastesinugw</td>
<td>nastesineg</td>
<td>nastesinog</td>
<td>nastesingig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be caught</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wegāi-</td>
<td>wegā'yu̱gw</td>
<td>we'gāyeg</td>
<td>wegāyo̱</td>
<td>wegāygig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THEY (INAN.)

ayjigl
jij:emāgal
nastesgĭl
(wegāygĭl).

We immediately notice that the peculiarities of
the first person singular -i morpheme appear to be reiterated in the dual, but in an even more complex manner. The endings, depending on the stem, appear to be -igw (or -ygw or ùgw), -(i)eg, -(i)og, -jig, and -gì, respectively.

Again, considering for example jij:emayeq (stem jij:ema-) and we'gayeq (stem wegaï-), we see that the ending must be -ieg in order to explain the -y- in the first example, but that the -i- must delete in at least the same verbs where the 1st person -i- deletes. In examining the 2dual form, we see that, by an analogous argument, it must be -iog.

We note that all the animate dual forms end in -g, except for the 12dual, which ends in -gw. But we recall that this w would be predictable by the vowel-copying rule if the g were preceded by a u (Note that some stems do have the 12dual ending -ùgw). Since we wish to consider these g's the animate plural (i.e., non-singular) morpheme, and thereby regularize the paradigm, we postulate a u preceding the g in the underlying form of this ending. We thus have the following partial analysis of, respectively, the 12dual, the 13dual, and the 2dual:

\[ ? \ u + g \quad ie + g \quad io + g. \]

Consider the duals weladapeq--we(exc.) are tipsy--, and weladapioq--you(dual) are tipsy. The plurals of these
two persons are, respectively, welagapultieq, welapultieq,
and, as we saw, these endings can be partially analyzed as
-lti+eg and -lti+og; note also that the negative -u- (-w-)
is inserted between the i and the following vowel:
welaga\pult\weq, welaga\pult\weq. Clearly the -eg and -og
are identical to part of the corresponding dual endings;
that is, they appear to mean "we exclusive" and "you non-
sing.", respectively. But this means that the -lti- (or
-ti-, see below) must be the plural morpheme, and this
contention is borne out by the fact that it appears
throughout the plural forms. This leads us to suspect
that the -i- in these two dual forms is in fact the dual
marker, although in the dual it appears unambiguously only
in the 13\text{dual} and 2\text{dual}. Another explanation is possible.
Since the plural (-lti-) and the negative plural (-lti+\text{w}-) act like i-stems and consonant-stems, respectively, in
both of which cases the first -i of a following morpheme
would delete (as, e.g., the l\text{sing} -i deletes after such
stems), we could suppose that the 13non-sing and 2non-sing
endings were -ie + q and -io + q, respectively (that is,
with no morpheme boundary between the i and the e or o).
and that -lti + ie + q, for example, becomes -lti + eg,
just as welagapi + i and welagapi + ieg become welagapi
and welagapiq, respectively. If the latter were the case, however, we should be unable to explain why verbs like pemiey--I'm walking-- (pem+iesi) and eliey--I'm going-- (el+iesi) are not *pemey and *eley, respectively (see below, and cf. agamimeq, telgileg, supposedly < agamim+ie+g and telgil+ie+g, respectively). The dual forms themselves, moreover, indicate that the i is morphemic. The negatives of welagapiq and welagapioc are welapiweg and welapiwoq. The w in the negative endings is the negative morpheme. There are two possibilities: either the w comes between the i and e (respectively, o), in which case the i must a fortiori be morphemic; or it appears in the underlying form before the ie (resp., io), in which case the i must be morphemic in order to be deleted (see below, rule (FD), and cf. pemiey, etc., where the i is not morphemic and not deleted, above). All considerations, then, lead us to postulate the i as the dual morpheme. But now, if the -i- is the dual morpheme, we should expect to find it in all the dual forms, just as the plural morpheme is ubiquitous in the plural forms. However, it is never clearly present in the 3dual, animate or inanimate. It seems a priori unlikely that the -i- would appear in the underlying forms of all duals but the 3rd persons, since then the rule
introducing it would have to mention extra features, and would furthermore not be parallel to the rule introducing the plural. It would seem preferable first to introduce the -i- into all dual forms, and then to alter or delete it as required in particular forms, if that solution is feasible. Thus we would have the following basic endings in the dual:

\[
\begin{align*}
&12\text{dual} & 13\text{dual} & 2\text{dual} & 3\text{dual an.} & 3\text{dual iman.} \\
i + u + g & i + e + g & i + o + g & i + ti + g & i + g + l.
\end{align*}
\]

Since the i in the dual never appears in the third person forms, we need a general rule deleting it. Note that in a similar position, the final i of the plural morpheme does not delete; since there is no morpheme boundary between the t and the i of the plural morpheme, we see that a morpheme boundary is necessary before the i in the rule to delete i. Furthermore, we do not want the initial i to delete in, for example, \textit{igamui}--give it to me--, so a morpheme boundary is necessary after the i as well as before it for it to be deleted. We want it to drop before both +ti+ and +g, which suggests that it drops before \underline{_____} + C. Thus our i-deletion rule is as follows:

\[(FC) \quad \text{i} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \underline{_____} + C.\]
We note that the form jij:emāgal, from jij:emā + i + g + l, indicates that this i-deletion rule comes before the vowel-copying rule, since the penultimate segment can only be introduced by vowel copying, and the -i- would block vowel-copying if it were there. Obviously, it must also precede g-spirantization. Furthermore, the apparent validity of this rule is borne out by the future forms, where in the plural, the plural morpheme precedes the future morpheme(s), which begins with -tes-, but in the dual there is no marker preceding it, whereas we would otherwise expect +i+ there.

The 12dual form poses certain problems. Sometimes it appears as -igw (i̯gw after an i-stem, -ygw after a vowel stem), sometimes as -ūgw (after -Vy-, -C-, and -u-stems). Note that the 13dual and 2dual forms appear in these positions as īeg (or -vēg), ĩog (or yōg) and eg, ẽg, respectively, except that they appear as eg, ẽg after i-stems. These facts seem to be the reverse, in some sense, of those for the 12dual.

If we suppose that the u of the 12non-singular morpheme is short, we can easily enough, for example, drop the -i- in the appropriate cases, but then we should expect, for example, *nastesinugw instead of nastesinusugw. But the
very fact that +i+ generally appears to drop after consonant- and u-stems indicates that the u of this form is long, which would make the 12dual form perfectly analogous to the other dual forms, and furthermore help give us at least some cogent basis for an explanation of the stress differences in certain dual forms (e.g., wegā'yūgw, but we'gāyeg, cf. Noun chapter, p. 29). We thus postulate the underlying dual form as i + ŭ + q. We will still need some slightly distasteful rules with this form, deleting ŭ, or changing it to i in certain cases, but certainly not worse than with a postulated i + u + g. If, furthermore, we postulated the underlying form as simply + ŭ + q, we would need a rule changing ŭ to i or y in forms like welagapigw or aljagw, an undesirable and poorly motivated sort of rule. The least desirable rule necessary with the postulated form is a rule deleting ŭ in certain cases. However, the very variety of forms in the 12dual suggests that at least such a slightly messy rule will be necessary. Let us examine in slightly more detail just what rules will be necessary.

We give below representative stems, the underlying 12dual form, and the surface 12dual form:
welagapi - be tipsy  welagapi + i + ūg  welagapiBW
elueui - be a sinner  elueui + i + ūg  elueuiBW
alja - stagger about  alja + i + ūg  aljaghW
taluege - what is X worth  taluege + i + ūg  taluegeyW
egnutmue - train  egnutmue + i + ūg  egnutmueyW
wetma - smoke  wetma + i + ūg  wetmaygw
nastesin - be caught  nastesin + i + ūg  nastesinūgw
wegāi - get mad  wegāi + i + ūg  wegāyW
sēsəpaqanei - be a blabbermouth  sēsəpaqanei + i + ūg  sēsəpaqaneyW
getu - bellow  getu + i + ūg  getūgw.

First of all, in looking at the consonant (-n, -l, -m) stems, we note that the dual +i+ never appears in any form, thus: nastesineq, teqileq, agamimég, suggesting a rule deleting i after [+cons] segments (which, we note in passing, are all [+diffuse]). And, indeed, this rule is borne out by the fact that the lisinq +i+ also never appears after these verbs: nastesin, teqil, agamim- -I get caught, am that size, snowshoe. But, in examining -Ci- and -Cu- stems, we see precisely the same phenomenon: welagapiqeg, getueg; welagapi, getu. Also in -Vi- stems (apparently, no -Vu --o Vw stems exist): wegāyeg; wegāy. What all this suggests is that the +i+-deletion rule operates after diffuse vowels as well as after sonorant
diffuse consonants and glides (viz., y, which is $[^{+son}]^{+diff}$), i.e., that the rule reads:

$$(\text{FD}') \quad [i, y] \rightarrow \emptyset / [^{+son}]^{+diff} + - + .$$

Now note that this rule cannot be combined with the previously given pre-C $+i-$ deletion rule, since the latter must come before vowel-copying, and the former must apply after final-vowel-shortening, which follows V-copying. The reason (FD') cannot apply before final vowel-shortening is that we would expect, e.g., the lsing wela$\tilde{a}$api $+ i$ to become in that case wela$\tilde{a}$api by rule (FD'), and then final-vowel-shortening would give us the incorrect *wela$\tilde{a}$ap. (We know that wela$\tilde{a}$api- ends in a short vowel because the plural is wela$\tilde{a}$apiulti, see below, pp. 132ff). Since final-V-shortening follows glide-formation, both $+i+$ and $+y+$ must delete, which they do. Now, in every case where the $+i+$ does not delete, namely in vowel stems, we will have at this point in the derivation of the 12dual $V + y + \tilde{u} + gw$, after the $+[i, y]+$-dropping rule has failed to apply. But what we in fact get is $V + y + gw$, indicating that we need a $\tilde{u}$-dropping rule:

$$(\text{FE'a}) \quad \tilde{u} \rightarrow \emptyset / +[i, y] + .$$
Note that if we order \( (FE') \) after \( (FD') \), we can state it in this maximally simple way, whereas if we order it before \( (FD') \) we will also have to mention the segment before \(+i+\), in order to stop \( \ddot{u} \) from deleting where we do not want it to. Thus simplicity dictates that \( (FE') \) follow \( (FD') \).

Thus far we have correctly derived all dual forms except for the 12dual forms of \(-Ci\) and \(-Cu\) stems. Let us examine these now. After application of rule \( (FD') \) to, e.g., welagapi + i + \( \ddot{u}gw \) and getu + i + \( \ddot{u}gw \), we will have, respectively, welagapi + \( \ddot{u}gw \) and getu + \( \ddot{u}gw \), and \( (FE') \) will not apply. We wish to end up respectively with welagapi\( \ddot{g}w \) and getu\( \ddot{g}w \). Note that if we can assign the correct gravity to the \( \ddot{u} \), geminate segment agglomeration (not limited to short segments, since there are no "overlong" segments in Micmac) give us the correct vowel. Thus we need the following rule:

\[
(\text{FE}'b) \quad \ddot{u} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-grave} \\ \text{+diff} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+voc} \\ \text{+cons} \end{bmatrix}
\]

The word \( \text{ntl\ddot{i}sugw} \)--my son-in-law shows that we cannot generalize rule \( (\text{FE}'b) \) by eliminating the feature \( [-\text{cons}] \), since then we would expect \( *\text{ntl\ddot{i}sugw} \). On the
other hand, **ewigigey--I write--**, shows that we cannot generalize it by eliminating the feature [+voc], unless we require a morpheme boundary before the deleted segment.

We will now examine the plural forms. The major problem with the plurals, as we shall see, is determining the shape of the plural morpheme itself. The person endings are identical to those of the dual. The plural morpheme seems in any case generally to end with -**ti**+, with (u)l- before it in certain stems. We have seen the plural forms for **ayji--be such--**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 plural</td>
<td>ayjultigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 plural</td>
<td>ayjultieg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>ayjultig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 plural an.</td>
<td>ayjultijig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e plural an.</td>
<td>ayjultigl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are quite typical. As we showed above, the person morphemes are: 12--ū + g; 13--e + g; 2 non-sing--o + g; 3 non-sing an.--**ti** + g; 3 non-sing inan.-- g + 1, while here the plural morpheme is -**lti**-, and the rules (FD'), (FE'), and (FA') given above give the correct forms.

Several examples indicate that the form of the plural morpheme is at least partially unpredictable. Thus, **getu--bellow--**, has the plural **getultti**-, whereas, e.g.,
Igatau--plant--, has the plural igatauti--; also, the stem, e.g., mogpe-, be swollen--, has two plural forms: mog'itti- and mogpati--; and the stem etligwe-, grow up here--, has two plural forms: etligulti- and etliguti-.

Some verbs which have alternate forms for the plural also appear to have concomitant semantic differences, but this is apparently not true for all of them. Thus it seems that we need at least two forms for the plural (and, we will claim, only two): one with an -1- before the -ti-, and one without this 1. If this is true, we will simply have to mark each verb stem as to which plural morpheme it takes.

Below are the singular and plural stems of representative verbs which have the -1- in the plural (verb stems which are unique of their type are so indicated): 8

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{welagapi-}, \text{be tipsy} & \quad \text{wela\textsuperscript{agapulti-}} \\
\text{getu-}, \text{bellow [unique]} & \quad \text{getulti-} \\
\text{alj\textbar-}, \text{stagger} & \quad \text{alj\textbar\textit{ulti-}} \\
\text{caluege-}, \text{what use is? [unique]} & \quad \text{talueg\textbar\textit{ulti-}} \\
\text{esamu\textsuperscript{gua-}}, \text{drink [unique]} & \quad \text{esamu\textbar\textit{ulti-}} \\
\text{wel\textbar-}, \text{be well} & \quad \text{wel\textbar\textit{ulti-}} \\
\text{wega\textbar-}, \text{get mad} & \quad \text{wega\textbar\textit{ulti-}} \\
\text{mesgil-}, \text{be big} & \quad \text{mesgilulti-} \\
\text{nastesin-}, \text{be caught} & \quad \text{nastesulti-} \\
\text{agamim-}, \text{snowshoe} & \quad \text{agam\textbar\textit{ulti-}}
\end{align*}
\]
to̱jūgusue-, climb up [unique]  to̱jūgusulti-
nağanige-, scoop  nağanïlti-
wetma- smoke  wetm'ïlti-
amalga-, dance [unique]  amalgaïlti-
wesmugwa- flee [unique]  wesmultî-

The last, being both unique and quite irregular, will not be considered further here (note, however, that the -g- in the stem is very lax). We will make the simplest assumption, that in these cases the plural morpheme is -lti-, and try to predict what vowel, if any, precedes this for particular stems. Note that in the cases we are considering, the vowel preceding the plural morpheme, if any, is either ū, ū or Ṣ, suggesting at least the partial generalization of rule (FA'):

\[(\text{FA'}) \quad V \longrightarrow \begin{cases} \text{+grave} \\ \text{-comp} \end{cases} / \quad + \text{lti}.\]

In the first two examples, we would have welɑǥapi + lti- \(\longrightarrow\) welɑǥapulti- and getu + lti- \(\longrightarrow\) getultî-, showing that [+diffuse] vowels remain [+diffuse]. Looking at the next two cases, we see that we have aljā + lti- \(\longrightarrow\) aljōlti- and taluege + lti- \(\longrightarrow\) taluegōlti-, further demonstrating that [-diffuse] vowels remain [-diffuse], although becoming, if necessary, [-compact] as well. Thus far, rule (FA') appears to handle things pretty well.
Now consider the next example. We have *weleī + lti-* \(\rightarrow\) *welūlti-*. If rule (FA') applied to the underlying form given, however, we would expect to get *welūulti-*. If, however, the \(i\) (or \(y\)) can be deleted before rule (FA') applies, then rule (FA') will give the correct results. But now recall that we indeed have a rule for deleting \(y\) in approximately this environment, rule (EF'), which we repeat here for convenience:

\[(EF') \quad \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{voc}] \\
[+\text{son}] \\
[@\text{cons}] \\
[@\text{grave}]
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \begin{cases}
@\text{comp} \\
[-\text{comp}]
\end{cases} + g.
\]

Note that if we "generalize" this for the moment to apply before \(____ + \{g, l\}\), and put (EF') before (FA'), we can handle *weleī-*. But now note that in *wegāi + lti-* and *mesgil + lti-*, rule (EF') does not delete the \(y\) or the \(l\), and in fact we get *wegāultyti-* and *mesgilulti-* \(^9\). Conversely, in *agamīm + lti-*, the \(m\) deletes by rule (EF'), giving us *agamī + lti* \(\rightarrow\) *agamūlti-* by rule (FA'). One consonant stem poses a problem here, however. We would expect *nastesin* not to delete the final \(n\) before *lti*, since it does not delete it before the 3sing \(g < t\). We see, however, that *nastesin + lti-* \(\rightarrow\) *nastesultī-*, suggesting that the \(n\) drops at least before \(l\).
Of the typical "consonant-stems", wegay- (segueaguei-), telgil-, nastesin-, weley- (segueleisei-), agamim-, we note the following forms: a) 2sing: wegæyn, telgïn (seguegleil + n), nastesi (segueastesin + n), weleyn, agamimon; b) 3sing an.: wegayg, telgîq, nastesiq, welég, agamîq; c) lsing future: wegaytes, telgiltes, nastesintes, weletes, agamites; d) plural stem: wegayulte-, telgilulte-, nastesulte-, welölte-, agamulte-. The following facts are evident: none of the consonants drop before n; n drops only before l; m drops before l, g, t; y drops before l, g, t, only if after a [-comp] vowel. We alter rule (EF') as follows to account for these facts.

\[
\text{(EF') \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\begin{align*}
+voc \\
+son \\
+cons \\
\{\text{grave}\}
\end{align*}
\end{array}\right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / \{[\text{[-comp]}]\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{nasal} \\
\text{+voc}
\end{array}\right\}
\]

While we have explained why the stem-final consonant does not delete in wegayulte- and mesgilulte-, we have not yet accounted for the u before the plural morpheme. Our discussion above implies one of two things: either the u comes from an i or a u of the stem, or a diffuse vowel must be inserted before rule (FA') applies. If we examine the -Ci- stems, we find that only a handful end in -ni or -li.
and only a few end in -\textit{mi}. Now, given the segment before the \textit{C}, it is very nearly predictable whether the stem does or does not end in \textit{i}, as exemplified by the following verbs in their lsing forms: \textit{messguli} (prick o.s. accidentally)--\textit{etlatal} (eat), \textit{telgil} (be that size); \textit{wetapsuni} (be worth s.t., be worthwhile), \textit{unjani} (have children)--\textit{nastesin} (be caught); \textit{atgitemi} (cry), \textit{elipami} (glide, slide), \textit{elugwomi} (have it done by [s.o.]), \textit{tesipouni} (have a horse), \textit{atlasami} (rest)--\textit{ala\~n} (swim around), \textit{ala\~n} (stay all around), \textit{tele\~n} (be dressed that way), \textit{nepm} (die, be dead), \textit{punewenn} (shut up [talking]). The rule for stating this, however, is very complicated:

\[
(FF) \quad i \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{cases} \{+\text{cons}\} \\ \{+\text{voc}\} \\ \{+\text{along}\} \end{cases} \begin{cases} \{-\text{diff}\} \\ \{i\text{diff}\} \\ \{-\text{grave}\} \\ \{\text{grave}\} \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{son} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{vowel} \end{cases} 
\]

Furthermore, it would become even more complex if we tried to include y-stems (\textit{wegay-}) or u-stems (\textit{getu-}) in it. In addition, it appears that this rule would raise certain problems in ordering. On the other hand, the rule necessary to insert a [+diffuse] vowel, namely
(FG') \[ \emptyset \rightarrow [^\text{voc} -\text{cons} +\text{diff} -\text{long}] / [^\text{voc} \text{acons}] + \text{[+cons]}, \]

(i.e., insert \([i,u]\) after \(y\)-stems and \(l\)-stems before the plural morpheme) has fewer features than rule (FF), and is more appealing in general. Therefore, while rule (FF) or something like it may be necessary somewhere in the grammar to help account for the facts of the lexicon, we do not include it in the phonology.

If rule (FG') comes before rule (FA'), we can eliminate the feature [+grave] from the inserted segment. Also, if it comes before rule (EF'), we may be able to simplify rule (EF'), since \(y\) and \(l\) would no longer precede \(l\), but \([i,u]\), and could not be subject to rule (EF').

\[(EF') \left[ ^{-\text{voc} +\text{son} \text{acons}} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ ^{[-\text{comp}]} \right\} + \left[ ^{+\text{cons} -\text{nasal} \langle -\text{voc} \rangle} \right]. \]

We now examine the -lti- plurals which we have so far not discussed: \(\text{to'j} \text{j} \text{y} \text{gusue} + \text{lti-} \rightarrow \text{to'j} \text{j} \text{y} \text{gusulti-};\)
\(\text{n} \text{a} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{i} \text{g} \text{e} + \text{lti-} \rightarrow \text{n} \text{a} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{i} \text{g} \text{i} \text{t} \text{i}-; \text{w} \text{e} \text{t} \text{a} \text{m} + \text{lti-} \rightarrow \text{w} \text{e} \text{t} \text{a} \text{m} \text{i} \text{t} \text{i}-.\) These three verb stems each end in a short non-diffuse vowel. They suggest a rule deleting such vowels, before the plural morpheme:
Rule (FH') immediately poses a problem: namely, depending on the order of the rules, how do we keep the stem-final vowels of taluege- and esamugwa- from deleting in the plural (taluegolti-, esamugolti-), or how do we keep the stem-final vowel of, e.g., naganige- from changing to o? First of all, we notice that, whereas we have stems in -a and -e, we apparently have none in -e. Furthermore, the plurals taluegolti- and esamugolti have a long o, whereas rule (FA') would, as it stands, make us expect a short o. These considerations lead us to postulate the underlying form of the stems as talueg- and esamugwa-, respectively, with the e and a being shortened in the singular and dual by the following rule:

(FH') \[\begin{array}{c}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
-\text{diff} \\
-\text{long}
\end{array}\] \[\rightarrow \emptyset / \_ + \text{lti}.\]

But now notice that, with (FI') and the stem as indicated, we do not have any need of mentioning length in rule (FA'):
the u or o is the same length as the underlying vowel. Thus, agamīm--agamulti-, but nastesin--nastesulti. Furthermore, rule (FH') explains the absence of o in
plurals, whereas if we did not assume that the length of the vowel in the plural reflects the length of the stem vowel, we would have to assume that this absence was an accidental gap. Note, incidentally, that the foregoing observations imply that the stem of getülti- is getū-, with a long ū, which becomes shortened in the singular and dual.

We might suppose that the stem amalgae-, plural amalgalti-, could be explained by assuming the underlying stem amalgae-. Then in the plural, if we ordered rule (FA') before rule (FH') the e would become o, and then delete, leaving us with the correct amalgatliti-. This will not work, however. The 3sing inan. is amalgag, and we saw above that post-a e-deletion must apply after g-spirantization (see Nouns, p. 66), so we would expect, if the postulated stem were correct, the 3sing inan *amalgag. We can be saved only if -o- can be an underlying vowel, and we included o in the post-a e-deletion rule. Then, in the singular, the o would delete, but only after causing the g in the 3sing inan to undergo g-spirantization; in the plural, rule (FH') would delete the o, giving us the correct form (again assuming that rule (FA') comes before
rule (FH'). For the moment, however, we leave this as an irregular stem, which must be marked in the lexicon so as not to undergo vowel-gravifying.

Following are the pertinent rules so far discussed in this chapter.

1 - (FC) \[ i \rightarrow \emptyset / + ____ + C \]

2 - (DB') Vowel-copying

3 - (BA) glide-formation

4 - (BB) final-vowel-shortening

5 - (FB) \[ t \rightarrow g \]

6 - (BI) \[ t \rightarrow j \]

7 - (FG') \[ \emptyset \rightarrow u / [a_{\text{cons}}] + ____ + [+\text{voc}] \]

8 - (FD') \[ i \rightarrow \emptyset / [+\text{son}] + ____ \]

9 - (FE') \[ \tilde{u} \rightarrow [\langle \text{\text{-}unit} \rangle / \langle+\rangle [a_{\text{grave}}] \langle+\rangle [+\text{diff}] \langle+\rangle ____ \]

10 - (EF') \[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \\ \langle a_{\text{cons}} \rangle \\ \langle a_{\text{grave}} \rangle \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [a_{\text{comp}}] \\ [-\text{comp}] \end{array} \right\} + \left[ +\text{cons} \right] \left[ -\text{nasal} \right] \left[ -\text{voc} \right] \]

11 - (FH') \[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / ____ + \text{lti} \]

12 - (FA') \[ v \rightarrow [+\text{grave}] / ____ + \text{lti} \]

13 - (DI) \[ g \rightarrow g / [+\text{grave}] ____ \]
We now examine the plurals of verb types which we have not yet discussed. The singular stems and plural stems are listed below (again, those exemplars which are to my knowledge unique ones are so noted):

I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Stem</th>
<th>Plural Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mogpe-, be swollen</td>
<td>'mogpati-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elugwe-, work</td>
<td>eluguti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetma-, smoke</td>
<td>wetmuti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesnugwa-, be sick</td>
<td>gesnuguti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agamim-, snowshoe</td>
<td>agamimiti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nepm-, die [unique]</td>
<td>nepmuti-, neputi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naganama-, be drinking</td>
<td>naganamati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluewie-, be crazy</td>
<td>eluewiatu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getguni-, sleep there [unique]</td>
<td>getguniti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welmutu-, be generous</td>
<td>welmututi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egnutmue-, train</td>
<td>egnutmute-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neugtu'gwalugwe-, be alone</td>
<td>neugtu'gwaluguti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elege-, throw [elege-, ege unique]</td>
<td>elagati-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pegwatelige-, buy [unique]</td>
<td>pegwateligati-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We recall from examples like singular stem mogpe-, plural stem mogpenti- or mogplti-, that there are two plural morphemes, -ltui- and -tui-, and that stems must be marked as
to which plural morpheme (possibly both) they take. That
is, it is in general impossible to predict from the stem
which plural morpheme it takes.

Now, we notice in examining this list and the list
of -lti- plural verbs that by and large no singular stem
ends in a long vowel. In fact, the only exceptions to
this generalization are the unique verb pisgwā-, which we
will discuss later, and the class of verbs exemplified by
aijā-. One possible way to account for this would be to
assume generally that the singular stem is identical to the
underlying verb stem (as appears to be the case in, for
example, most of the -ḻti- plural verbs). This thesis is
rebutted by the following pairs of singular stem--plural
stem alternations:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{wasogwe-}, & \quad \text{wasoguti-}, \quad \text{shine, be lit} \\
\text{milogwe-}, & \quad \text{milogwati-}, \quad \text{smell all different ways} \\
\text{getape-}, & \quad \text{getapati-}, \quad \text{dive} \\
\text{gegjepe-}, & \quad \text{gegjepati-}, \quad \text{be hung over} \\
\text{pima-}, & \quad \text{pimati-}, \quad \text{hunt geese (at night with a light)} \\
\text{nima-}, & \quad \text{nimati-}, \quad \text{bring one's own food} \\
\text{gesnugwa-}, & \quad \text{gesnuguti-}, \quad \text{be sick} \\
\text{wissugwa-}, & \quad \text{wissugwati-}, \quad \text{cook} \\
\text{aganimue-}, & \quad \text{aganimuati-}, \quad \text{squeal, tell on people} \\
\text{egināmue-}, & \quad \text{egināmuauti-}, \quad \text{teach}
\end{align*} \]
elugwe-, eluguti-, work
neugtugwalugwe-, neugtugwalugūti-, be alone.

On the other hand, neither can we postulate that the stem is the plural stem minus the plural morpheme, since then we could not explain the pairs

tepīge-, tepīgāti-, distribute
apsīga-, apsīgāti-, have a small house.

In examining the list above, we note two possibilities if the singular stem ends in a short vowel:
either it deletes before the plural morpheme, or it becomes a long vowel before the plural morpheme (with or without changing quality and/or other modifications).

We saw above that we needed a rule (rule (FI')) for taluegē- to shorten long stem vowels in the singular. We wish to claim that a modification of this rule allows us to account for the alternations of short vowel in the singular with long vowel in the plural; that is, that in these cases the long vowel is stem-basic and gets shortened in the singular. Conversely, the alternations of short vowel in the singular with zero or shwa in the plural we claim is accounted for by a generalization of rule (FH'); that is, that in these cases, the short vowel is stem-basic, and gets deleted (or changed to shwa) in the plural.
The necessary rule reads as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[ +voc} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\text{-diff} \\
\text{-long} \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / ____ + (1)\text{ti}.
\]

We now examine the consequences of these assumptions.

The one apparent exception to these assumptions is verbs of the type \text{alja}-, plural stem \text{aljolti}-. If the stem is indeed \text{alja}-, we should expect the singular stem to be \text{*alja}-, but here the \text{a} does not shorten. So somehow we must keep this \text{a} from shortening (compare \text{esamugwa}-, \text{esamugolti}-). We might suppose that the stem was \text{aljae}-, with the \text{e} deleting after singular vowel-shortening. In the singular, if we ordered post-a e-deletion after rule (FI'), vowel-shortening, (FI') would therefore not apply, and the \text{e} would delete correctly, giving us \text{alja}-. In the plural, we see that one or both of two ordering relations would have to hold: either post-a e-deletion would have to be ordered before rule (FA), vowel-gravifying, or rule (FH') must precede rule (FA). This stem, however, cannot be correct, since the 3sing inan. is \text{aljaq}, whereas, since post-a e-deletion is ordered after g-spirantization, we would therefore expect \text{*aljaq}. It also could not be \text{aljai}- or \text{aljau}-, since then we'd expect the plurals
*áljayulti- or aljaulti-, respectively. Furthermore, the stem could not be aljaa- or aljāa-, since, again, the a would become o in the plural and get deleted, giving us *áljalti- or *áljalti-, respectively. Consider, however, the possible stem aljaa-. In the singular, vowel shortening would give us aljaa-, and geminate segment agglomeration would correctly give us aljā-. In the plural, rule (FA) would give us aljaolti-, and the o would not delete since it is long. Now, however, we would need a rule to delete the a:

(FJ) a ----> ø / ____ o.

We tentatively adopt this solution. (FJ) can ultimately be combined with rule (DA), although we will not consider it further. Another possibility would be to lexically exempt stems ending in a from undergoing rule (FI), vowel shortening, if they are lexically marked [+ -lti-plural] (cf. naganamati-, naganamay < naganama+i). The unique stem esamugwa- (cf. pl. esamugolti-) refutes this hypothesis, however,

We note that (FI') is wrongly stated. Since the dual stems of all the verbs in list I above are the singular stems plus +i+, we want the non-plural vowel-shortening rule to operate before +i+. But stem vowel shortening
as stated, as we mentioned, must follow final vowel shortening, so when (FI') applies, it is to \( \ldots V + ti + g \), and will not apply, just as it does not apply before the plural: \( \tilde{V} + tui + \). Perhaps (FI) must mention the feature \([\text{-plural}]\). We would prefer, however, a less desperate solution. Since the plural morpheme at this point is \( -(1)tui- \), we could have the vowel shorten in the environment before \(+ [+\text{segment}]_{1}^{2} + \). Since in no tense or mood form does any morpheme ever intervene between the stem and the plural morpheme, and the negative morpheme \(-u- \) (see below) is the only one which ever intervenes between the stem and person endings, this formulation would appear to account for the facts. On the other hand, examination of the noun plurals \( \text{mutil}--\text{bags}--\text{and goti}g--\text{beams}-- \), from \( \text{muti}+l \) and \( \text{goti}+g \), respectively, shows that the rule would be incorrect if stated that way. Thus, the postenvironment must either specify that it applies only in verbs, or else explicitly state that it applies in nonplural forms. The latter seems preferable, so the rule must read

\[
(FI') \quad \begin{array}{c}
\{+_\text{voc} \} \\
\{ -_\text{cons} \}
\end{array} \rightarrow [\text{-long}] / \_ + [\text{-plural}].
\]

It is pertinent here to give the amended list of
underlying forms for the various persons and numbers in the present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.s.</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.s.</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12dual</td>
<td>i+u+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13dual</td>
<td>i+e+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2dual</td>
<td>i+o+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.dual</td>
<td>i+ti+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.dual</td>
<td>i+g+1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12pl</td>
<td>(1)tui+u+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13pl</td>
<td>(1)tui+o+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>(1)tui+o+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.pl</td>
<td>(1)tui+ti+g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.pl</td>
<td>(1)tui+g+1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consider the verbs with -ti plurals. Examining list I, we see that most of them have a long vowel preceding the +ti+. Let us examine the exceptions to this generalization. Mogpat- and wetmati- are from mogpe+ti- and wetma+ti, respectively, which, by rule (FH') become mogp+ti and wetm+ti, respectively, and a late rule, which we discussed above (see Contraction chapter, pp. 83ff.), inserts a ə. Similarly, gesnuguti- and eluguti- are from gesnugua+ti- glide-formation gesnugwa+ti- (FH')

gesnugw+ti ə-insertion gesnugw+ə+ti
gesnuquti- and elugue\textsuperscript{ti} glide-form. \(\Rightarrow\) elugwe\textsuperscript{ti} (FH')
elugw\textsuperscript{ti} 2-insert. \(\Rightarrow\) elugw\textsuperscript{e\+ti} \(\Rightarrow\) elug\textsuperscript{u\+ti}, respectively. We will disregard the stem +ege- (as in elege-, throw, plural elag\textsuperscript{ati}-), since this stem is peculiar in several respects, most of which are ill understood at present (but see below, p. 155). The only other exception to the generalization is egnutrnue-, plural egnutmuautl-. We will see below that the stem of this verb is egnutmueu-. Note that this is the only class of -\textsuperscript{ti} plural stems ending in a vowel preceded by a long vowel.

What is the implication of the preceding discussion? Simply this: a rule lengthening vowels before +\textsuperscript{ti}, if properly ordered and stated (namely, ordered after (FH'), to avoid deriving *moopG\textsuperscript{ti}-, and before shwa-insertion, to avoid deriving moop\textsuperscript{ati}-, and specifying that the preceding segment is [-long]), is perfectly permissible in the grammar. But what motivation have we for such a rule? Consider the stem agamim-, plural agamim\textsuperscript{uti}-. The -\textsuperscript{u} before the plural morpheme cannot be part of the stem, for there is no reflex of it in the singular. What then is its provenience? Note that we already need a rule (viz., (FG')) inserting a short \textsuperscript{u} between some stems and the l\textsuperscript{ti} plural. By a suitable generalization of this rule.
we could also insert a \( \ddagger \) between \( \ddag \text{gamim}^- \) and \( -\text{ti} \), giving us \( \ddag \text{gamim} + \ddagger + \text{ti}^- \):

\[
(FG') \quad [-\text{unit}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{cases} \text{[+voc]} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{+diff} \\ \text{-long} \end{cases} \quad / \quad \begin{cases} \text{[avoc]} \\ \text{-columns} \end{cases} + \quad + \quad [+\text{plural}].
\]

The generalization would be essentially worthless if we had to insert a long \( \ddagger \), depending on which plural marker was picked. But notice that if we had a rule lengthening vowels before \(+\text{ti}\), we would, with no other rules needed, be able to explain the long \( \ddagger \) in \( \ddag \text{gamim}^\ddagger \text{muti}^- \).

Thus far we have seen mostly negative evidence for such a vowel-lengthening rule (that is, that it is not incompatible with the facts of Micmac). We now look at some strong positive evidence for it. We will see below that the past tense morpheme is essentially \( p \) in the singular.

But observe a typical verb: stem: \( \ddag \text{moge}^- \); 2sing past: \( \ddag \text{moge}^\ddagger \text{p} \) (presumably \( \ll \ddag \text{moge} + n + p \)). We see that the 2sing marker \( n \) is changed to \( t \) in the past. But in particular, once it has changed to \( t \), the vowel before it is lengthened, even though we know the vowel is short in the underlying form. We will see that this is quite typical, and thus that we need a rule lengthening vowels before \( t+p \). But now a similar rule (in fact the same rule
"generalized") lengthening vowels before +ti seems quite natural. We now state this rule:

\[(FK') \quad \left[ +\text{voc} \right] \rightarrow \left[ +\text{long} \right] / \left[ -\text{long} \right] \quad t \{i^p\}.\]

We will discuss the further generalization of rule (FK') after discussing the past tense below (see page 212). The [-long] in the pre-environment includes consonants. Note here the verbs agatassi--be half mad--and tep:i--be on board, in, on s.t.--whose 2sing past forms are, respectively, agatassitap and tep:itap. These indicate that long consonants come from underlying sequences of short consonants, since if the stem consonants were long, rule (FK') would not apply, and we would end up with the incorrect *agatassitap and *tep:itap, respectively. Accordingly, (FK') must precede geminate segment agglomeration.

In the light of rules (FH') and (FK'), we have then the following derivations of short-vowel stems from I above:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mogpe} + n & \quad \text{wetma} + n & \quad \text{elugwe} + n & \quad \text{gesnugwa} + n \quad \text{(no rules apply)} \\
\text{mogpen} & \quad \text{wetman} & \quad \text{elugwen} & \quad \text{gesnugwan}; \\
\text{mogpe} + ti - & \quad \text{wetma} + ti - & \quad \text{elugue} + ti & \quad \text{gesnugua} + ti - \quad \text{glide-formation} \\
& \quad \text{elugwe} + ti & \quad \text{gesnugwa} + ti & \quad \text{(FH')}, \text{\textipa{3-insertion}}
\end{align*}
\]
mogpati wetmati elugutti gesnuguti;

and long-vowel stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naganama+n} & \quad \text{eluwei+n} \quad \text{getguni+n} \quad \text{welmatu+n} \\
\text{naganama+n} & \quad \text{eluwei+n} \quad \text{getguni+n} \quad \text{welmatu+n} \quad \text{(FI')} \\
\text{naganaman} & \quad \text{eluwiem} \quad \text{getgunin} \quad \text{welmatun}; \\
\text{naganama+ti} & \quad \text{eluwei+ti} \quad \text{getguni+ti} \quad \text{welmatu+ti} \\
\text{naganamati} & \quad \text{eluwiati} \quad \text{getguniti} \quad \text{welmatuti. (no rules apply)}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that we need a rule for eluwei- to change e to a in the plural. But note that in each case the change occurs before ti. The rule, then, reads as follows:

\[(BD'b) \quad \frac{\text{[+voc]} \quad \text{[+grave]} \quad \text{[+comp]}}{\text{[+voc]} \quad \text{[+comp]}} / \quad \text{ti.}\]

Of course, (CD) must precede (BD'b); otherwise we would expect, say, *pemia* instead of pemiaq from pemie[sii]+g.

There are also two classes of verbs which have e in the stem which changes to a before the 3 inan. ending g. The first is the eluwei- type (e.g., eluwayia). The second is the iesi-verbs (e.g., pemie-, which gives pemiaq; see below). The first thing which strikes us about these verbs is that the e is preceded by i (cf. mogpe-, mogpeg; taluege-, taluegeq; wetape-, wetapeq;
getu-, getueg; elugwe- elugweg). For the present purposes, we will require that an i must precede the e, although such verbs as apogonmuag— it helps— (apogonmuėg) suggest the possibility that this can be somewhat generalized. However, there may in fact be an i before the e even in this verb, but proving that is beyond the bounds of the author's present powers. Thus we can extend (BD') to include the environment i ___ + g; an optional (u) must be added before the ti to handle the case of egnutmueu-, egnutmui- ti-, egnutmueg (see below):

(BD'b,c)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{[+voc]} \\
&\text{-cons} \\
&\text{-diff} \\
\rightarrow \\
&\text{[+grave]} \\
&\text{[+comp]} \\
&\text{\{b\} (u)ti} \\
&\text{\{c\} i ___ + g.}
\end{align*}
\]

The fact that we never find o before ti in the plurals of these verbs implies one of two things: either rule (FA) must be specified as applying only to verbs marked [+ -ltui-plural], or else rule (BD'), changing e (and o) to a, must be ordered after (FA). In that case, in verb stems ending in e, and e will become o by rule (FA), and a by rule (BD'b); likewise, in verb stems ending in a, the a will become o by rule (FA), and a again by rule (BD'b).

We now consider some other cases in group I. The type of neugtugwalugwe- is peculiar. It is otherwise
identical to elugwe-, except that in the plural we get -ðti- instead of the expected -ũti-. We might suppose that the ū was stem-basic, but we will see that the ū-shortening rule applies after glide-formation (to get, e.g., aposgwapuge--to change one's story--from aposgwapugue--; see above, Noun chapter, p. 58), so in that case we would expect *neugtugwñalugwe-. We note that all words like this with ūti plurals are "long" words—the stems are generally longer than those of the elugwe- type. One word of this type in particular is instructive. Pagsip:esıwlugwe-, plural pagsip:esıwluquti--be sick and tired of working--, < pagsip:ā--intensive--, + sîw--tired, bored--, + elugwe--work. Note that, although the last element of this word is elugwe-, which by itself has a plural simply in -uti-, nevertheless in this combination the plural is in -ñti-. Clearly the stems are identical, and the only possible conditioning factor is the length of the word. Thus, we must suppose that the verbs of the type neugtugwñalugwê- are a subclass of the elugwe- verbs, and that somehow the length of the word lengthens the ū in the plural. It is not at all clear how this in fact works.

Another interesting type is the verbs like egnutmue-train--, plural egnutmuñauti-. These appear
identical to the eluēwie- verbs, except for the ē in the plural -āuti-. We might like to say that the stem is in fact egnūtmēu-. Now, although all of these verbs end in -[u,w]e- in the singular (most in fact in -ewe-, and the others in -lue-, - mue-, and one in -awe-; all could plausibly end in the same morpheme with a frequentative connotation) we cannot predict the ē from this fact, as we see from the pairs

agnimue-, agnimūti-, tell on 
people teach
eginamue-, egināmūti-, eginamueu-

atgnewe-, atgnewāti-, be the 
dealer be an altar boy.

nutnewe-, nutnewāti-, 

This stem type furthermore appears partially to fill in an apparently accidental gap, namely that of verb stems in -Vw- < -Vū-. In fact, we will have to delete the w in the singular and dual, by a general rule, which will explain why there are no realized -Vw-stems:

\[(BC') \quad w \longrightarrow \emptyset / [+\text{voc}]_{-\text{long}} + [+\text{segment}]^2 + .\]

Rule (BC') must clearly apply before the t \(\rightarrow\) g rule, so that we get, e.g., egnūtmēt, and not *egnūtmueg for the 3sing an. form. But now note that, since rule (FK) must specify an optional [+diffuse] vowel in any case after the affected V (in order to handle negatives, see below) we can assume the stem is egnūtmēu-, and in the singular
and dual the ū will drop by rule (BC'), giving us the correct forms, while in the plural the ĕ is protected by the ū from being dropped by rule (FH') and will be lengthened by rule (FK).

We noted above that consonant stems which take the -ti- plural, like āgamīm-, have an "epenthetic" ū in the plural. We suggested above (and will discuss further in the section on the past tense, below) that a short ū is inserted by a generalization of rule (FG'), after a consonant before +ti, which ū then gets lengthened by rule (FK).

Note the idiosyncratic stem nepm, which may optionally delete the ū by a late rule if it is not word-final.

The stem el-tege--throw--, (from el--to-- + ege--throw) has the plural stem elagati-. Idiosyncratically, for this particular stem +ege-, the first ĕ becomes ā in the plural, before vowel copying (perhaps by suppletion, although a minor rule subpart of (BD ) might handle it). Thus: +ege+ti --→ +age+ti --→ +agaet+ti --→ +agāti--. Many other prefixes besides ēl--to--, occur with this stem.

Here are the rules we have used in this chapter, and their relative ordering:
1 - (FC)  i ----> ø / + _____ + C
2 - (DB)  Vowel-copying
3 - (BA)  glide-formation
4 - (BB)  final-vowel-shortening
5 - (BC)  w ----> ø / V _____ + [-plural]
6 - (FB)  t ----> g
7 - (BI)  t ----> j
8 - (FG')  ø ----> u / [avoc cons] + _____ [+plural]
9 - (BD')  e ----> a / (b) _____ (u)ti
10 - (FK')  v ----> [+long] / [-long] _____ t{i p}
11 - (FD')  i ----> ø / [+son +diff] +
12 - (FE')  ù ----> [unit Grave] / <+> [cons +diff Grave] <+>____
13 - (EF')  [voc cons Grave] ----> ø /
14 - (FH')  [voc -cons -diff Long] ----> ø / _____ + (1)ti
15 - (FA)  v ----> [+grave -comp] / _____ [+plural]
16 - (DI)  g ----> ĝ
17 - (FI')  [voc -cons] ----> [-long] / _____ + [-plural].
There is a further type of verb which forms its dual and plural peculiarly. That is the verbs ending in -āsi, usually meaning motion of some sort. These verbs also often optionally delete the s in the singular. A similar type ends in -ies-, which we will see comes from underlying -iesi-.

We give below the conjugations of milāsi-, a typical āsi verb; ayji-, a regular i-stem; pemie-, a typical ēsi verb; and eluēwie-, a regular ē-stem. Note the overriding similarities, despite obvious differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>milāsi-</th>
<th>ayji-</th>
<th>pemie-</th>
<th>eluēwie-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>milā(s)i</td>
<td>ayji</td>
<td>pemiey</td>
<td>eluēwiey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>milā(s)in</td>
<td>ayjin</td>
<td>pemien</td>
<td>eluēwien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.s.</td>
<td>milā(s)it</td>
<td>ayjit</td>
<td>pemiet</td>
<td>eluēwiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.s.</td>
<td>milāςg</td>
<td>ayjig</td>
<td>pemiaγ</td>
<td>eluēwiaγ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 dual</td>
<td>milātigw</td>
<td>ayjīgw</td>
<td>pemātigw eluēwieyγw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 dual</td>
<td>milātieg</td>
<td>ayjieg</td>
<td>pemātieg eluēwieyeg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>milātioγ</td>
<td>ayjioγ</td>
<td>pemātioγ eluēwieyoγ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.dual</td>
<td>milātijig</td>
<td>ayjijig</td>
<td>pemātijig eluēwiejig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.dual</td>
<td>milātigl</td>
<td>ayjigl</td>
<td>pemātigl eluēwiaγl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pl</td>
<td>militaygw</td>
<td>ayjultigw</td>
<td>pemitaygw eluēwiātigw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 pl</td>
<td>militayeg</td>
<td>ayjultieg</td>
<td>pemitayeg eluēwiātieg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>militaγoγ</td>
<td>ayjultioγ</td>
<td>pemitaγoγ eluēwiātioγ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.pl</td>
<td>militaγig</td>
<td>ayjultijig</td>
<td>pemitaγig eluēwiātijig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We see that the dual is formed as if the stem were \textit{milāti}-, while the singular is formed as if the stem were \textit{milāsi}- (or \textit{milāy}-, if the \textit{s} is deleted). Thus, it appears that we need a rule to change the \textit{s} to \textit{t} in the dual. It is not obvious, however, precisely how to state this rule. First of all, we must distinguish \textit{milāsi} (\textit{mil} + \textit{āsi}) from \textit{teltāsi}—think so \textit{(< tel} + \textit{tāsi)}, dual \textit{teltāsieq}, and from \textit{apognnāsi}-, help oneself \textit{(< apognnā} + \textit{si)}, dual \textit{apognnāsieq}. From these examples it is clear that we must mention the length of \textit{ā} in the rule, or the morpheme boundary preceding it. There is a problem in excluding the plural from undergoing the rule. The obvious way would be by referring to the dual \textit{+i} after the stem. This implies that the \textit{s} \textit{----} \textit{t} rule precedes rule (FD) and is after \textit{t} \textit{----} \textit{j}. However, we must not have the rule apply before the lsing \textit{+i}, and if we mention only \textit{+i} in the rule, the only way to stop the rule from applying to the lsing would be to order it after (FD). Since we cannot do this, we must specify in the rule that further segments follow the \textit{+i}:

\[(\text{DE'}) \quad \text{s} \text{----} \text{t} / +\text{ā} \quad \text{i} + \text{i} + [+\text{segment}].\]
To get the optional forms in the singular, we must have an 
onoptional s-deletion rule:

\[(GA') \quad s^{\text{OPT.}} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad +\ddot{a} \quad i + [+\text{segment}] +.\]

In order for \((GA')\) to apply only in the singular, and not 
also in the dual, it must follow \((DE')\). But note that it 
must also follow final-vowel-shortening, so that the \(i\) of 
the 3sing \(ti\) will have been deleted. In fact, \((GA')\) must 
precede \((FD);\) otherwise in the 1sing, the \(+i+\) of \(milasi + i\) 
would have deleted, making \((GA')\) inapplicable, and not 
allowing us to derive \(mil\u0101y\).

Now, the closely related set of verbs ending in 
-\(ie\)-, such as pemie- --walk-- also generally refer to 
motion. (Cf. pemtugwim--I'm running, etltugwim--I'm 
running--, etl\(\ddot{i}\)ey--I'm going--, to see that pem- and etl- 
are prefixes.) The singular of pemie- is formed on this 
stem, while the dual stem is pem\(\ddot{a}\)ti-. The provenience of 
this \(t\) is not obvious. It could come from an underlying \(s\), 
as in mil\(\ddot{a}\)ti-. Since the plurals of these two verbs are 
formed identically (see p.157), this seems not a bad 
hyothesis. That is, we would hypothesize that the stem 
is pem + iesi. Incidentally, we note that there cannot be 
a morpheme boundary between the \(i\) and the \(e\), for otherwise
rule (FD) would delete the ɪ in pemiey. Thus we need to
generalize rule (GA’) to delete the s here obligatorily.
It is obvious that we need a rule changing the e of
pemiesi to a in the dual.

Thus, the stems appear to be iesi and aasi. The two
would be perfectly parallel if the latter were underlying
iasi. For the aasi verbs, the ɪ never turns up, but we do
note the peculiar fact that, while we have numerous verbs
such as pegjasisi—it takes me a long time to get there
(cf. pegitgopi—I sit a long time, pegit + gopi), we
find no verbs ending in -t + aasi (cf. teltaasi, tel + tasi—I think thus, to see that such sequences are
not a priori ruled out). This could be very easily
explained if we assumed that the underlying form of this
suffix were -iasi. Conversely, if we assumed it were
simply aasi, we would have no explanation for the proveni-
ence of the ɪ in pegjasisi, which must come from a t before
ɪ. We therefore see that the two suffixes are, respectively,
iesi and aasi in their underlying forms, and that we
can change rule (GA’) to read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(GA')} &; s \xrightarrow{\text{OBL}} \emptyset / + V \quad \begin{cases}
\text{-long} \\
\text{-grave} \\
\text{+voc} \\
\text{-diff} \\
\end{cases} \quad i + [+\text{segment}].
\end{align*}
\]
The fact that we must mention the vowel preceding the ā or ē will suffice to distinguish these two stems from the verb jāgālīsi—I speak fast—(jāgliīsi), and verbs like pessaptōsit—he cut himself—, which come from Cāusi or Cēusi. Of course we will need a rule (obviously after the t → j rule) deleting ĭ before a long nondiffuse vowel (cf. pegijēg—it, he takes a long time, pegit+iēg.

This, however, is not quite correct; we find, for example, pegiijiētesg—it takes us (exc. pl.) a long time to get there (on a boat)—from pegit+iē+ti+eg. Therefore, the rule must exclude a morpheme boundary after the long nondiffuse vowel, which the āsi/iesi verbs will fit, since the morpheme-final ĭ will not have been deleted. Rule (CD), then, must have ĭ become [-unit] iff the ā, ē is not followed by a morpheme boundary.

We also must have a rule deleting the stem-final ĭ in the singular forms of pem+iiesi, but this rule must come after the s-deletion rule. Furthermore, simplicity dictates that it come before rule (FD), for otherwise we would have the following for the lsing form: pem+iiesi+glide-formation, s-deletion \[\text{pem+iiesi} \rightarrow \text{pem+iiesi} \rightarrow \text{pem+iiesi} \rightarrow \text{pem+iiesi}\] pem+iien, and we would have no obvious way of changing this ĭ to the ĭ which appears there. If it comes before rule
(FD), however, we would get \textit{pem+iesi+i} \xrightarrow{\text{glide-formation, s-del.}} \textit{pem+ie+y} \xrightarrow{\text{i-deletion}} \textit{pem+ie+y}, and then rule (FD) would not apply. The rule, then, is as follows:

\[(\text{GC}) \quad \text{i} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[+voc]} \\ \text{[-grave]} \\ \text{[-diff]} \end{array} \right] \quad \longrightarrow \quad +.\]

Since (GC) must follow (GA), and therefore final-vowel-shortening and in particular glide-formation, if we specify that only \textit{i} deletes here, the dual morpheme will be kept from deleting in verbs like \textit{taluegeyeg} (\textless \textit{taluegæ+i+eg}), which at this stage will be \textit{taluege+y+eg}. A verb like \textit{pemiet}, e.g., would be \textit{pem+ie+i+t} at this stage, since glide-formation failed to apply because the \textit{s} had not yet been deleted. But now note that when the \textit{s} optionally deletes in verbs like \textit{milæsit}, we get \textit{milæyt}, not \textasteriskcentered{milat} or \textasteriskcentered{milat}. Thus we must have the feature \text{[-grave]} in the rule, to keep it from applying after \textit{a}.

One problem immediately manifests itself, however: with vowel-shortening applying before one- or two-segment morphemes, we should expect the \textit{ā} to shorten in, say, \textit{milæsin} (if it were from \textit{mil+iā+si+n}). We could not except \textit{ā} from the rule, since then we would have no way of getting the short \textit{ā} in the singular and dual of \textit{nãðañãmæ-} (plural \textit{naganämæti-}; cf. \textit{wëtmæ-}, pl. \textit{wëtmæti}). If the
stem ended in -ā, we would expect the ā to delete in the plural, as in wetmā-. However, if the stem ends in -iāsi with no internal morpheme boundaries, the ā will not be affected by the rule, and we can retain the generality of the rule. Now, however, we see that the e in iesi could not be long, since, as shown above, we want these two morphemes to be as nearly parallel as possible, and we therefore do not want an internal morpheme boundary in iesi if one is not present in iāsi; but if the e were long, it could not shorten unless it were followed by a +-boundary. But now we must explain the fact that the e becomes ā in the dual (pemāṭi-). We will now examine this phenomenon.

We recall that rule (BD') above changes e to a before ti, and we clearly want it to apply in the dual and plural of pemiesi- and the plural of, say, eluēwīe- (the plural of pemiesi- will be discussed below):

\[
\begin{align*}
pem+iēsī+i- & \rightarrow eluēwīe+ti- \quad \text{(DB') [see below]} \\
pem+iēti+i- & \rightarrow eluēwīe+ti- \quad \text{(FK')} \\
pem+iāṭi+i- & \rightarrow eluēwīā+ti- \\
pemāṭi- & \rightarrow eluēwiāṭi-. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Since e \(\rightarrow\) ā in the plurals of iesi stems also, we see that this rule must precede ā-metathesis (see below). The
e is not required to be [+long] to undergo (BD'), for e never appears before +ti without first being lengthened. In order to subsume these two verb types (pem+iesi- and eluewie-) under the same rule (BD'), we must assume that e becomes a at least after s-deletion and probably also after i-deletion; that is, at the stage where pem+iesi+q, say, has become at least pem+iei+q, and probably pem+ie+q.

But now (FK'), vowel-lengthening, will allow us to handle the facts if the pemie type verbs have the stem +iesi-. In the singular, the s deletes by the corrected (GA'):

\[(\text{GA'}) \quad s \rightarrow \emptyset / + i \quad + \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+voc]} \\
\text{-diff} \\
\text{[-long]} \\
\text{[-grave]}
\end{array} i + [+\text{segment}] +,
\]

and the i deletes by rule (GC), giving us the correct form. In the dual, we have pem+iesi+i+, and a generalization of (DE') will give us pem+ieti+, and (FK) will give us pem+iêti-, and (BD) and the i-deletion rule will give us the correct pemàti-. Note that we do not have to worry about morpheme boundaries in (FK), since (FK) must apply after the t \rightarrow j and ū \rightarrow \emptyset t \quad i \text{ rules, in order to handle the facts in the dual of pemē- (before -ti from -si) and in the plurals (before -ti from -tui); and therefore underlying ê's before i (as in the 3rd person}
animate morpheme -ti-) will either have had the i deleted at the end of a word (e.g., the 3sing an.) or will have had the t become j (e.g., the 3nonsing an.) before the application of (FK), which will therefore not apply in either case. We now examine the plural forms of verbs in iasi and iesi:

II

milasi-, play
naqasi, stop
siptaqasi-, stretch, expand
majasi-, go, leave
alasi-, walk around
evugajquugasi-, step on it
pisgwai-, come in [unique]
pemie-, go, walk
wan?tagaye-, get quiet [unique]
wejgue, come here
soqiye-, go up into the woods [unique]
wejie-, come from [unique]
elie-, go

milita + i-
naqitata + i-
siptaqayti + i-
maytai + i-
aitai + i-
evugajquuguetata + i-
pisgweatata + i-
pemita + i-
wan?tagayti + i-
wejgwata + i-
soqui + i-
weytai + i-
eitai + i-

They are basically subclasses of two major types: milasi- and pemie-, which, as we have seen above, have the stems mil+iasi and pem+iesi, respectively. The plural stem of milasi, militi-, presumably has the underlying form mil+iasi+tui-. Clearly, we will need a rule to move the
ā in these cases around the t. However, there are two possibilities for the provenience of the t in the plural:
a) it could be the t of the plural morpheme, and s-deletion occurs also in the plural; or b) the s → t rule could apply in the plural, and the t of the plural could delete. The latter possibility seems to offer more difficulties, and to require considerably more complicated rules, so we will pursue the ramifications of the former possibility.

First of all, we will have to generalize (GA') to drop s in the plural as well. In order to avoid having to express the extra segment ū of the plural morpheme -tui- in the rule, we must order (GA) after the u → / t ___ i rule. We could not simply specify t in the rule, since we would then always delete the s before the t of the 3sing. Furthermore, clearly the rule metathesizing ā around t must apply after this rule, as well as after the u → / t ___ i rule, since otherwise we would have no way to drop the ū. On the other hand, using the morphemic feature [+plural] would both make the rule simpler and obviate this ordering condition. But we can simplify the rule even further. Since in the dual the s is obligatorily
changed to \( t \), and (DE) applies before (GA), we do not even need the feature [+plural] in the post-environment. The pre-environment is sufficient to limit the rule to the \( \bar{\text{asi}} \) and \( \text{iesi} \) verbs; so we can make the rule optional in the singular and obligatory elsewhere (i.e., in the plural).

Observe the dual and plural of \( \text{mil+i\bar{asi}} \) after the application of (GA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{mil+i\bar{asi}+i} )</td>
<td>( \text{mil+i\bar{asi}+tui} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( u \rightarrow \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{mil+i\bar{asi}+ti} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( s \rightarrow t )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{mil+i\bar{ati}+i} )</td>
<td>( \text{mil+i\bar{ati}+ti} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( s \rightarrow \emptyset )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, in the plural, we want the \( \bar{a} \) to end up after the \( t \), but we do not want this rule to affect the \( \bar{a} \) of the dual. Here the only difference between the two forms is the \( \bar{i} \) (left over from s-deletion applied to \( \bar{iasi} \)) of the plural. If we delete this \( \bar{i} \) before \( \bar{a} \)-metathesis, we will end up with wrong forms, as we will see below. Thus, since we cannot delete the \( \bar{i} \) beforehand, and in any case have no rule for so doing, the \( \bar{a} \)-metathesis rule must mention
it. Observe that rule (GC) must precede ā-metathesis, since the first i of iāsi deletes even in the plural, and we could not otherwise account for this fact.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ā} & \text{i} & \text{+t} \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\Rightarrow \emptyset \ 2 + 1 + 3.
\]

Now note that we in fact wish to end up with militāy-, so we do not want the first +i+ (left over after ā-metathesis) automatically to delete; on the other hand, we must have the second +i+ (from +ti+ due to the ā-metathesis) delete in the 3plural forms, in order to get militājig and militāgal. Therefore, when the ā is metathesized, it must have a +-boundary inserted after it; for otherwise the y (≪ i) after it would not delete by rule (GFc) (see below) in the 3an. and 3inan. forms of the plural. In examining the above list, the do find some examples where the first +i+ also apparently deletes. Note the following verbs which delete the +i+:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>sing. stem</th>
<th>plural stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nag+iāsi</td>
<td>nağāsi</td>
<td>.nağa'tā+i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat+iāsi</td>
<td>majāsi</td>
<td>.maj'tā+i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aī+iāsi</td>
<td>alāsi</td>
<td>.aī'tā+i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wet+iesi wejie ,wey'ta+i
el+iesi elie ,eI'ta+i
ewgjepugue+iäsi ewgjepuguäsi ,ewgj0,pugue'ta+i.

We compare these to the following, which do not delete the +i:

IV

nisag+iäsi nisagäsi ,nisagay'ta+i
siptag+iäsi siptagäsi ,siptagay'ta+i
gigat+iäsi gigajäsi ,gigaji'ta+i
jañal+iäsi jañaläsi ,jañali'ta+i
tatut+iäsi tatujäsi ,tatujitä+i
alpeg+iäsi alpegäsi ,alpegiatanä+i
pejil+iäsi pejiläsi ,pejili'ta+i
pisu+iäsi pisuäsi ,pisui'ta+i,13

First we note that with rule (CD) preceding ã-metathesis, we will have the correct plural stems for most verbs, with no further rules. Thus, after ã-metathesis (which, we recall, comes after t --j), we will have the following for the first five examples of III above:

naga + i + t + ã + i-
maj + i + t + ã + i-
al + i + t + ã + i-
wej + i + t + ã + i-
el + i + t + ã + i-.14

Note that the j following the stem is the final segment of
the original īasi or īesi, and because of considerations of
simplicity could not delete before ā-metathesis, since it
must delete only in verbs of certain stem types. Consider
the verb gesgāsi-, plural stem gesgatā+i-. If we suppose
that the stem is merely gesg-, we will be unable to explain
the -a- in the plural. Therefore, we assume that the stem
is gesga-. (Note that the singular stem gesgāsi- \( \prec \)
gesga+āsi (by geminate segment agglomeration) \( \prec \) gesga+iāsi
(by rule (CD)) gives further support to our method of
handling aljā- above.) These two stems (naq- \( \Rightarrow \) naga and
gesga) might suggest that +i+ deletes after a or even after
all vowels. The plural forms nisāgatā+i- and siptāgatā+i,
pisuitā+i- (all from list IV) refute these two claims,
respectively. The last example does indicate, however,
that we must limit the rule to only certain vowels. Note,
moreover, that those stems ending (at this point) in -a,
and whose previous vowel is furthermore secondarily
stressed, delete the +i+, while those whose previous vowel
is unstressed do not delete it. These examples then show
that we wish to delete +i+ at least in the environment
\[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
+stress \\
C_l^2 \text{ a }
\end{array}
\] . This implies that the stress rule,
although ill-understood at present, must precede the +i+-
deletion rule.
Now, observe the middle four cases in list III. The stems, at the time of application of the rule, all end in a or e followed by i or l. Note furthermore that the examples, gigaji'tā+i- and jagali'tā+i- from list IV shows that this a or e must be stressed. Thus we also with to delete +i+ in the environment [+voc -diff +cont -stress -aestr] . Such examples as militā+i- show that the vowel must be [-diff].

There remains at least one further case where we want +i+-deletion. Namely, in such cases as ,ewgjā,pugueti+tā-, which we wish to end up as ewgjāpuguetā-. Note, however, that the preceding vowel, ū, is unstressed, and that we have no examples where the i does not drop after ū. Furthermore, examples like ,atlāge'tā+i- show that the stressed vowel may be rather far from the ē. These observations suggest that we also must drop +i+ simply in the environment after ē . Note that each of these three environments is followed by the plural tt+tā+i-, which in particular begins with a segment which is a C. But now we see that we could have the same rule delete the +i+ separated from t by ā-metathesis, before a consonant. That is, the +i+ would delete in -t+tā+i+j+q and in
-tā+ιt+g+1, giving us, respectively, -tājig and -tāgal.

Since the preceding vowel (+ι) is unstressed, we must combine the ā with the ē environment mentioned above.

Note that in the second environment mentioned above we need not mention the gravity or length of the ā, for +ι always deletes after ē and ā in any case, and ē is not found in this environment. The rule, then, must be as follows:

\[
(GF) \quad \text{i} \longrightarrow \emptyset \ /
\begin{cases}
  a) \left[ +\text{voc} \left[ +\text{cons} \right] \left[ +\text{stres} \right] \left[ -\text{cont} \right] \right] \left[ -\text{astri} \right]
  \\
  b) \left[ +\text{stres} \left[ +\text{segment} \right] \left[ +\text{voc} \right] \right] \left[ -\text{cont} \right] \left[ -\text{diff} \right] \left[ -\text{astri} \right]
  \\
  c) \left[ +\text{voc} \left[ -\text{astri} \right] \left[ -\text{cont} \right] \left[ -\text{diff} \right] \left[ -\text{astri} \right] \left[ -\text{diff} \right] \left[ -\text{astri} \right] \left[ -\text{diff} \right] \left[ -\text{astri} \right]
  \\
  d) \left[ +\text{voc} \left[ +\text{cont} \right] \left[ +\text{segment} \right] \left[ +\text{voc} \right] \right] \left[ -\text{cont} \right] \left[ -\text{diff} \right] \left[ -\text{astri} \right]
\end{cases}
\]

The C in the post-environment is to stop the +ι from deleting after the plural tā+ in non-third person plural forms. Possible exceptions to part b) are geta\daggerasi and teta\daggerasi, plurals geta\daggeratā+i and teta\daggeratā+i, respectively. An exception to part a) is a\daggerasi-, plural stem a\daggeritā+i.

\( (GF) \) must come before rule (DI), g \( \longrightarrow \) ĝ, since the 3sing ian. is -tagal, and not *-tagal. The ĝ is inserted by the general ĝ-insertion rule given above (see
Clearly, (GF) must follow the stress assignment rule.

With two of the stem types, weije- and majasi-, a problem still remains after they undergo +i-deletion. At this point they are, respectively, wej+tā+i- and maj+tā+i-, but we want them to end up as weytā+i and maytā+i, respectively. The simplest solution would be to convert the j into y; this solution is supported by the fact that there are not any -jt- sequences in Micmac. Thus, for example, the transitive inanimate verb "I know" is geytu, future 2gjitutes; presumably the present comes from gejitu by i-deletion and j --→ y. Thus we have the rule:

(DF')  j --→ y / t.

Note that, since all -jp- and -jq- sequences come from, respectively, -jip- and -jig- sequences by i-deletion, if we order rule (DF') before these i-deletion rules, we will only have to mention obstruent C instead of t in the post-environment of rule (DF).

There is a unique āsi verb, singular stem pisgwā--go in, come in--, dual pisgwāti-, plural pisgwetā+i-. The dual and plural indicate that the stem should be pisgue+iāsi-; but then we should expect the 3sing to be,
e.g., *pisgwāsit or *pisgwāyt, rather than the actual pisgwāt. What this indicates is, firstly, that this verb must be marked in the lexicon to obligatorily undergo s-deletion; furthermore, the ī must be obligatorily deleted; but this implies essentially making a special rule for this verb, since, e.g., milāsi- could never undergo it, even with optional s-deletion (milāyt, not *milāt). The alternative would be to assume a sort of suppletion: the singular has the stem pisgwā- (like aljā-; or pisqwe+āā), whereas the nonsingular has the stem pisqwe + āsī (plus +i+ or +ti+). Neither solution seems particularly desirable, we cry, and forge ahead.

Consider now the verb wejgu- --come here, come this way--, dual stem wejgwāti-, plural stem wejgwitā+i. From the dual and plural stems, we would predict the singular *wejgw+ie- < uejgu+ie. Indeed, we find the prefix wejgu- in the following words: wejgwānia--daybreak, first light of the morning--(i.e., daybreak is coming; cf. gisapnia--day(break)--, i.e., daybreak is here, has already happened); wejgwipsqwā--come in (towards speaker, who is in). But if the underlying stem is wejgu+iesi, we will have to have a rule changing ī to ī after ī or w in certain cases. Now consider the verb tāwiš- --go out,
eliminate--, plural stem tewitā+i, and its contracted form, i.e., where the first-syllable ē is deleted. This is tuās, instead of the expected *tuiās. Here again we see that ā must become u on occasion when following ū or w. Observe, incidentally, that contraction must follow the u --→ Ø / t ___ i rule; otherwise we would expect *tiās. The present stem tewie-, compared to the future tuās ("></tweś), shows that there must be a consonant before the ū, w]. Furthermore, the verb tewijāwig--it pours out--, future tuijāwitaw, shows that the rule is inoperable if a consonant follows the ā. In fact the verb wejgwie-, come on a boat (plural stem wejgwātī-, stem wejgu+iē-) shows that only a short vowel can follow the ā for the rule to work (cf. the verb under discussion, wejgüe (wejgu + iesi)). Thus the rule is:


Since the ē of wejgu+iē becomes shortened in the singular by rule (FI), (GG') must apply before rule (FI), but (GG') must also apply after contraction to get tuās, not *tuiās. Now, considering that (GG') does not apply in the dual and plural of wejgüe- (wejgwātī-, wejgwātā-), we see that it
must apply after the lengthening of the ą. (If rule (CD) applied before short vowels as well, (GG') would merely have to follow (CD). Since (GG') must follow (FK), vowel lengthening, and we have claimed (GG') must precede (FI), vowel shortening, it therefore follows that (FI) must follow (FK). But this apparently cannot be, since then the vowels which had been lengthened would be shortened again; in fact, (FI'), as stated, must precede the rule deleting ź / t ____ i. Thus, we must preclude the stem wejgwie- (< wejgwie-) from undergoing (GG') by some other means. Now, inasmuch as there are numerous cases like wejgwie- (wigwie--faint--, patgwie--go close to s.t. (on the water)--, esgwie--have some left--et al.), it would appear inadvisable simply to mark them in the lexicon as exceptions. On the other hand, unless (GG') follows (FK), it is difficult to see how to exclude its application in, say, wejgwātieq, and (FK) must follow (FI). Thus, in the singular of wejgwie-, the final e is shortened by (FI); in the singular of wejgwiesi-, the s and i are successively deleted, the former clearly before (FK). Thus, when (GG') applies, the maximum possible difference between the two forms would be the final i of the second stem: wejgwiet, wejgwiei+; and it may be that in order to
exclude the former case from rule (GG'), we need to have the (immediately) prior rule

\[(GGa) \quad [\quad] \longrightarrow \quad [-next rule] / [\quad] [\quad] +,\]

with \((GGa,b)\) ordered before \((GC)\). Alternatively, we could change \((GG)\) to read

\[
(GG) \quad [\begin{align*}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave}
\end{align*}] \longrightarrow \quad <\text{grave}> / [\begin{align*}
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{diff} \\
+\text{voc} \\
+\text{grave} \\
-\text{cons} \\
-\text{long}
\end{align*}] .
\]

If we failed to specify \([-\text{grave}]\) in the changing segment in rule \((GG)\), we would get \(u\)'s changing to \(i\) where we do not want them to. We will see, however, that the post-environment of \((FI)\) in actuality must include the morpheme feature \([-\text{plural}]\), so the difficulties above may be obviated in that way, and the serious problems concomitant with ordering \((FK)\) after \((FI)\) do not arise. The correct order, then, is \((FK) \prec (GG) \prec (FI)\). Note here the verb \(\text{pewige-}--\text{sweep--}, \text{future puig\text{"a}s.}\) This stem gives strong evidence for long vowels not necessarily being sequences of two short underlying vowels, for then in the future we would get \(\text{peuiig-} \longrightarrow \text{pewiig-} \longrightarrow \text{pawiiig-} \longrightarrow \text{puig-}, \) and now we would expect \((GG)\) to apply, giving us \(\text{puuiig-} \longrightarrow \ast\text{puig-}.\) Also, cf. \(\text{mu\text{"i}n--bear--,}\) which we would likewise expect to be \(\ast\text{m\text{"u}in}\) if the \(\text{i}\) were a sequence
of two short vowels.

The remaining verb of class II, \(\text{sogoye}^-\), dual stem \(\text{sogwati}^-\), plural stem \(\text{sogwitis}^+\), is quite a peculiar one. First of all, note the alternation between the \(\text{\~o}\) in \(\text{sogoyey}\) and the \(\text{\~w}\) in \(\text{sogwatieq}\), which suggest a rule relating \(\text{\~o}\) and \(\text{\~u}\) or \(\text{\~w}\). Secondly, as we saw in the Contraction chapter, p. 93, the contracted form \(\text{segogoyas}\) is from \(\text{segogoyas}\) by contraction, which is likewise presumably from \(\text{segog+i\~as}\) by vowel copying and \(\text{g}\)-hatting. If we had a rule before vowel copying turning certain \(\text{i}'s\) into \(\text{\~i}\), we would be able to assume an underlying form of \(\text{segug}^+\) for the stem. But now notice that the \(\text{g/u-metathesis}\) rule would apply if the form remained uncontracted, if we assumed that \(\text{\~i}\) as well as \(\text{\~u}\) was sufficient to trigger the rule, and we would get \(\text{segug+i\~esi} \rightarrow \text{segog+i\~esi} \rightarrow \text{segog+ye}\). Now we need rules (EB) and (DO) to delete one of the \(\text{g}'s\) and lengthen the vowel, giving \(\text{sogw+ie}\), and we would need another rule to predict the alternation between \(\text{\~w}\) and \(\text{\~i}\) here. In the future, we would get \(\text{segug+ie} \rightarrow \text{segog+ie} \rightarrow \text{segog+ye} \rightarrow \text{segogoye}^-\).

The rules we have discussed with respect to the \(\text{\~esi}\) and \(\text{i\~esi}\) stems, then, are the following:
1 - (DE) $s \rightarrow t + V_i + i + [+segment]$

2 - (GA) $s \rightarrow \emptyset / + V_i + [+segment]$

3 - (DF) $j \rightarrow y / [+obst]$

4 - (GC) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / [+voc]$

5 - (CD) $i \rightarrow [+]unit_3$

\[
\begin{align*}
\{j \in l\} &\quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{diff} \\
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave} \\
-\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \\
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\
+\text{son} \end{bmatrix}}_{a \rightarrow b}
\end{align*}
\]

6 - (GD) $\tilde{a} \quad i + t \quad i +
\begin{bmatrix} i \\
1 \quad 2 \\
3 \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset 2 + 1 + 3$

7 - (GF) $i$-dropping

8 - (GG) $i \rightarrow [+]grave / [+cons]$ 

\[
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}
\]
Past Tense

We now wish to examine the past tense forms. The past tense of a typical verb, *welagapi*, follows:

1sing     welagapiap
2s        welagapitap
3an.s.    welagapip
3inan.s.  welagapipap
12dual    welagapig:up
13dual    welagapiegap
2dual     welagapigop
3an.dual  welagapipnig
3inan.dual welagapip
12pl.     welagapultigup
13pl.     welagapultiegap
2pl.      welagapultigop
3an.pl.   welagapultipnig
3inan.pl. welagapultipn

We observe that the past tense of, for example, *welagapijig* (*welagapi+i + ti + q*)—they (dual) are drunk—is *welagapipnig*—they were drunk. The *-q* is clearly the plural morpheme, and *-ni* or *-pni* seems to be the past tense morpheme. *Welagapiap*—I was drunk—(pres.: *welagapi*) shows that the *-p* does belong to the past tense morpheme, which must thus be *-pni*. We note that in the first person the *-i* of *-pni* is deleted by the final-*V*-
shortening rule, and that we need a rule dropping final -n after -p- (no word in Micmac ends in -pⁿ, so this rule is justified). Note the words *wapniag*--dawn--; *gapnol*--government--, *gisnpe*--I'm tired--, *welialgamusi*--those things looked good--, showing that -pⁿ- is not at all an impermissible sequence, unless it is word-final. Cf. also *atveys*--your tape--, to see that it is only -n- which is not permitted in this environment; and *nitn*--my nostril--, *wigatign*--letter--, *magni*--shoe--to see that n is deleted only after p.

Now we must ask the question what has happened to the -ti- of the third person morpheme in *welagapi* and in *welagapii*--he was drunk.

First, we see that -jic- in general is a permissible sequence: *njita*--my neck--, *jime*--I paddle--, *jigaliga*--I scull--, *apigigi*--mouse--, *jinam*--man--, *pejita*--I trip forward. We find no -jip- sequences, however. We do find -jip-sequences in words like *jipalq*--I fear him--and *wejipeg*--east wind. Consider the word *wejpei*--I'm submerged. Since the -j- must come from a -t- before -i-, we know that the underlying form is *wetipei* → *wejipei*; but we see that we need a rule here to drop -1- / j ___ p. But in order to account for the
-i- in words like *wejipej*, we must assume that it comes from -i-, which fits well with the fact that there are no -jip- sequences. Thus we see that we need a rule shortening long -i-, and deleting short -i-, / j ___ p:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{i} & \text{-long} \\
\hline
\text{-unit} & \text{-long} \\
\end{array} / j ___ p.
\]

Note that -jp- in *wejpej* is morpheme internal. (This is the only case known to me of a -jp- sequence in Micmac.) Also note that this i-deletion rule must follow the t ---) j rule, to get wejpej and not *wetpej*.

Now, observe that we find morpheme-internal -tp-, e.g. in gitpu--eagle; ptplutagan--law, weji+plumul--I judge you; but we do not find it across morpheme boundaries.

Finally, look at what must be the underlying form for *wela^gapi+pniq*:

\[
\text{wela^gapi} + i + ti + pni + g.
\]

We see that the t ---) j rule and i-deletion rules will give us

\[
\text{wela^gapi} + j + pni + g.
\]

Note that by deleting the j, we will arrive at the correct form. In fact, since there are no -t+p- sequences as well as no -j+p- sequences, we can state this rule thus:
There is an apparent stem -tnia which means "the wind (does something)" in, for example, sasewtnia—the wind changes, from sasew + tnia + g (cf. sasewatu—I change it; the -g- is predictable, see the Contraction chapter); also in asugwetnia—the wind is coming the opposite way—(< asugwe+tnia+g). Consider the word eu'pniq—the wind dies down, falls. The 3sginan ewipg—it (the sea) is calm—, shows that the first morpheme must be eup (it is not clear to me why the -i- drops), and that the underlying form of the word is eup + tnia. But now we must delete the -t- here also. The implication is that the above rule can be "generalized" to apply either before or after p.

In third person nonsingular forms, and in only these forms, we find the nonsingular morpheme q or I after the past morpheme pni. In these cases, the i and n remain. Since the q precedes pni (> p) in the 12 nonsingular, 13nonsingular, and 2nonsingular forms, we will clearly need a rule moving the [-singular] morpheme behind the past -pni- if it is in a [-1st person] form. It would appear that this is some sort of morphological rule,
We note several other problems. Firstly, the first person past ending appears to have an \( \ddot{a} \), or perhaps a \( \ddot{a} \), before the \( p \); note welagaapiap, nastesinap, wegayap, senapaâyeyap, welmassap, whereas we would expect, for example, *welmassap. Secondly, we find vowel copying operative before the past-tense morpheme, whereas if it began with the obstruent \( p \), we would expect vowel-copying not to occur; thus: nastesinùgw--nastesinùgup, nastesinoù--nastesinoùop, wetma--wetmagap. The latter difficulty could perhaps be handled by assuming that the past tense was \#pni or =pni, with vowel-copying operative before \# (respectively, =), and final-vowel-deletion applying only before \##. Note that apparently we must have vowel-copying apply before word boundary in any case to handle, e.g., lentug:ù--deer (pl.). The former difficulty, however, appears unlikely to be felicitously handled in this way. It therefore seems that we must have a [+sonorant] segment before the \( p \) in the past tense morpheme. This must be a vowel, since it is not at all clear how any of the consonantal sonorants would universally delete in the varied environments of the past tense, or how it would change to \( \ddot{a} \) in the 1st person sing. On the other hand, it is not clear just what vowel it is. If it were \( \ddot{u} \), we
would expect the 12dual past *nastesinügüp instead of the correct nastesinūgūp; if it were ê, we would expect *nastesinūgwap; if it were ô, we would expect the 2dual past *nastesinogōp, instead of the correct nastesinōgōp; if it were ë, we would expect *nastesinūgwep; if it were î, we would expect *nastesinūgwip or *nastesinūgip. Even more obviously, it could not be any long vowel. Thus it must be some other vowel. Without the addition of features to the inventory, the only vowel not so far evident in Micmac is æ: [+compact] [-grave]. We note here that the typical result of this vowel is ë, (cf. nastesinegap, nastesinūtāp, nastesgāp, nastesingāp), so we will need a rule

\[(\text{HC}') \quad \begin{cases} \text{[+comp]} & \text{[−grave]} \rightarrow \text{[−comp]} & \text{[+grave]} \end{cases}\]

But note that, in the first person forms we want the æ to remain [+compact], so we must amend the rule:

\[(\text{HC}') \quad \begin{cases} \text{[+comp]} & \text{[−grave]} \rightarrow \text{[−cons]} \end{cases} / \begin{cases} \text{[+diff]} \end{cases} \]

and (HC') must come before the rule which deletes the īsing +[i,y]+ in certain cases. Note that after vowels, ë normally deletes (this fact can probably be incorporated
into the rule deleting ê after ã), and that -cw- normally becomes -cũ-:

\[(HD') \ e \ ----> \ ø / [t\text{voc}]\]

\[(DN') \ c \ w \ ø\]

\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ ----> \ 1 /ũ/ \ ø.\]

But now note that in the 3sing past, rule (HD) must precede the rule deleting ī in the environment j p. Thus:

\[\text{welagapi} + \text{ti} + \text{æpni} \ ----> \ j_i \ (HC'), \ v----> \ ø, \ n----> \ ø\]

\[\text{welagapi} + ji + æp \ ----> \ \text{welagapi} + ji + p \ \text{I-dropping}\]

\[\text{welagapi} + j + æp \ \text{[t,j]}----> \ ø \ \text{welagapi}. \text{ Note that the } [t,j]\ ----> \ ø \text{ rule would be inoperative unless we had already deleted the e}.\]

As mentioned above (see Intransitive, p. 149), the 2sing morpheme n is quite generally changed to t in the past tense; cf. nastesinūtæp, wela(g)apitæp, sēsapaganētæp, aljatæp, milāsītæp, etc. Thus we need the rule

\[(HE') \ n \ ----> \ [-nasal] / \text{æpni}\]

Now, we note that vowels invariably get lengthened before this t (namely, by rule (FK), v.p. 150). After most consonant stems, however, we find a long ū before the t of the 2sing, as in nastesinūtæp, telgīlutæp, agamīmutæp, wēgāyūtæp (cf. aljatæp), eymūtæp, alqatmutæp; but compare
sesapa\textgreek{anetap}, stem sesapa\textgreek{aney}. We will clearly need a rule for sesapa\textgreek{aney} and the stems like it to delete the \textgreek{y} in certain cases: before the \textgreek{t} of the 2\textgreek{sing} past (but not the 2\textgreek{sing} \textgreek{n}: sesapa\textgreek{aneyn}) and the \textgreek{t} of the future morpheme tes; before the \textgreek{g} of the 3\textgreek{sing} an (the \textgreek{g} \textless \textgreek{t}; but \textgreek{y}-deletion must come after \textgreek{t} \rightarrow \textgreek{g}, since the \textgreek{t} will not be affected if the \textgreek{y} has been deleted) and the underlying \textgreek{g} of the 3\textgreek{sing} inan; and before the \textgreek{l} of the -liti-plural. In each case the \textgreek{y} must follow e (cf. weg\textgreek{ayutap}, weg\textgreek{ayg}, weg\textgreek{ayulti}). Since we find no stems ending in \textgreek{y} preceded by \textgreek{i}, \textgreek{u}, \textgreek{o}, or \textgreek{l}, and since any stem which might end in \textgreek{w} ostensibly has it deleted, we can write the rule (cf. rule (EF)):

\[(HF) \quad \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{voc}]
\
[-\text{cons}]
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{voc}]
\
[-\text{comp}]
\end{array} \quad + \quad \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{cons}]
\
[-\text{nas}]
\end{array} \quad .
\]

Observe that rule (HF) implicitly countermands the generalization about \textgreek{y} and the other sonorants embodied in rule (EF). This might appear to be justified because, of all rules (sonorant-deletion, \textgreek{u}-insertion) pertaining to a sonorant followed by an obstruent, only this fact relating to \textgreek{y} refers to the preceding vowel; thus it requires at least a two-feature complication of each of the above-mentioned rules. Let us examine in more detail the facts
outlined above on page 135. The table below shows the following forms: a) -lti plural stem (where applicable); b) -ti plural stem (where applicable); c) 13dual fut; d) 3sing; e) 2sing past; f) 2sing of the five representative consonant-stems: wegay- (< wegai-), weløy- (< welöi-), agamim-, nastesin-, and telgil-:

stem: wegay- weløy- agamim- nastesin- telgil-
a) wegayulti- welölti- agamulti- nastesulti- telgilulti-
b) agamultii-
c) wegaytesnen welêtesnen agamitesnen nastesientesnen telgitesnen
d) wegayg weleğ agamig nastesing telgilg
e) wegaytutag weletap agamı mátap nastesınıtap telgiltap
f) wegayn weløyın agamının nastesın telgün.

The underlined forms (____) have the sonorant deleted; those underlined with dots (.....) have a ü inserted. After sonorant deletion, rule (FA) will give the correct vowel quality in the a) forms. The long ŋ's in the f) forms are from ŋ-assimilation and geminate segment agglomeration. The c) forms are, as we will see below, from stem+i+tesnen. The i, however, will have been deleted by rule (FC) above. We will clearly need two rules in
addition to \(\text{(HF)}\): a \(\ddot{u}\)-insertion rule (rule \(\text{(FK)}\) above will lengthen some of these short \(\ddot{u}\)'s), and a sonorant-deletion rule (similar to rule \(\text{(EF')}\) above). We see that we must have some way to distinguish the \(13\)-dual future \(\text{agamîm}^{+i}+\text{tesnen} \rightarrow \text{agamîm}+\text{tesnen} \rightarrow \text{agamîtesnen}\) from the -\(\text{ti}\) plural stem \(\text{agamîm}^{+i}- \rightarrow \text{agamîm}^{+\ddot{u}+i}- \rightarrow \text{agamîmûti}-\). The only plausible way to do this is to require a morpheme boundary at most two segments after the \(t\) before which the \(u\) is to be inserted (the future morphemes are all at least three segments long; the \(u\) of the plural \(1\)-\(\text{tui}\) will have been deleted by the time this rule is applied; and the 2\(\text{sing}\) past \(t\) from \(n\) is itself a morphe-phrase). We state each of these rules:

\(\ddot{u}\)-insertion

\[
(\text{FG}) \quad [-\text{unit}] \rightarrow \ddot{u} / \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{son} \\ \{+\text{voc} \\ [-\text{cons}] \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ [-\text{cons}] \end{array} \right] t(\{+\text{seg}] +
\]

sonorant-deletion

\[
(\text{EF}) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{son} \\ \{<\text{grave} > \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ <\text{voc} > \end{array} \right].
\]

\(\text{(HF)}\) must precede \(\ddot{u}\)-insertion, for otherwise we would either derive the incorrect \(*\text{wele}^\ddot{y}ultî-\) instead of
welóliti-, or we would have to use the more complicated version of (FG) which was obviated by our having the prior (HF).

Now (EF) as stated is not quite correct. We would expect inanimate nouns ending in n to delete this before the plural l, unless the l —> n rule precedes rule (EF). This difficulty can be handled successfully. But we also expect animate nouns ending in m to delete this segment before the plural g. Of course, they do not (agam/agamg).

Therefore, either our analysis of noun plurals is wrong, or we must limit (EF) to application only in verb forms. Another possibility is that the few animate nouns ending in m which take straight g plurals each end in fact in m̃, where the vowel gets deleted in the plural as well as the singular. In fact this is quite plausible. Of the dozen or so animate nouns known to me which end in m in the singular, and which do not have plurals in -a® (as, e.g., nissgam/nissgama®—god), those which end in -Vm (about half) all have plurals in -mg, while all the rest (namely, ending in -Cm or -Vm) have plurals in -mugw, except for n?tuëmg—my domestic animals. Pagtasm—wolf—has the expected plural pagtasmugw, but also has a peculiar and irregular dual form pagtasmg. The last form is quite
irregular in any case, since only a handful of nouns have
dual forms, and need not concern us, while -tuêm could
plausibly be tuêVm or tueem—in fact, the m in this word
is slightly syllabic, which would incline us toward the
former representation, with the vowel reducing; this
would then make it regular as well. We can, then, assume
that all animate nouns ending in m (again, except for
those with -âq plurals, which have -ma stem—finally) in
fact end in mu̯-, and the ū would be deleted by final-
vowel—shortening in the singular, and by a rather general
rule in the environment ūm +g in those plurals in
-mg. This rule must of course follow (EF).

Note that a suitable generalization of (HF) could
drop w after short o before g, so as not to block g-
spirantization after o from [a,e]u.

There is a further problem in the past tense.
Namely, in the inanimate plurals, we find, for example,
-gâpû, from underlying g+êpni+l, with an ostensible
deletion of the i before l-assimilation. Clearly, this
i-deletion must be at least in the environment l #,
since it does not occur before the plural -lti-, in, e.g.,
ûj:ultijig—they have a father—, < ujjîl+lti+ti+g. But
we find support for such an i-deletion rule from other
quarters. Thus, we saw in the Noun chapter that *igtig--
other-- an. pl. igtigig, must have the underlying form
igtigi, with final vowel-deletion in the singular. But
the inanimate plural is igtigj, not *igtigil, which can
only derive by such a rule as that under discussion.
Furthermore, this rule would explain why we have no
nominal plurals ending in -*i+1#, whereas we do have
nominal plurals in -i+g# (e.g., igtigiq, *epijig). The
rule, then, is:

(DG') \( i \longrightarrow \emptyset / \ldots \# \),

and (DG') must be ordered before rule (DM) (1 \( \rightarrow \) n),
giving us, say, gelt+g+epni+1 \( \rightarrow \) geltagapni+1 (DG') \( \rightarrow \)
geltagapn+1 (DM) geltagapn+1 \( \rightarrow \) geltagapn+1 g.s.a. \( \rightarrow \) geltagapn.

**Negative Forms**

We now turn our consideration to the negative
forms of intransitive verbs. For the verb welagapi-, the
negative forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s.</td>
<td>welagapiw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s.</td>
<td>welagapiwun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.s.</td>
<td>welagapi(w)gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.s.</td>
<td>welagapinugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12dual</td>
<td>welagapi(w)g:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 dual</td>
<td>welagapiweg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>welagapitog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 annal</td>
<td>welagapit(w)gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 inanl</td>
<td>welagapinugul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pl.</td>
<td>welagapultiwog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 pl.</td>
<td>welagapultiweg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>welagapultiwog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 annpl</td>
<td>welagapultiweg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 inanpl</td>
<td>welagapultiweg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the negatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 dual</td>
<td>welagapiweg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>welagapitog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 plural</td>
<td>welagapultiweg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>welagapultiwog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The negative morpheme seems to be \(-w- (\llangle [\ddot{u}] \rrangle), and it appears to follow the dual or plural number morpheme (-i- or -lti-, resp.); but it precedes the person markers (e.g., -eg or -a). The 2sing negative welagapiwun reinforces the last of these observations. We will not discuss here the ultimate provenience of the negative morpheme, but even if it arises outside the verb and is moved within the verb transformationally, we will assume that this occurs before any of the phonological rules we are considering apply, and that at the point where they begin to apply, the shape of negatives is

\[ \text{stem} + (\text{number morpheme}) + \ddot{u} + \text{person marker}. \]
That is, we know in some cases the negative ū must follow the number morpheme and precede the person marker, and we know of no cases where this order is provably violated; therefore we will assume that in ambiguous or unclear cases, the given order is the underlying one, inasmuch as this never leads to any contradiction and is the simplest possible assumption.

If we examine the following representative lsing neg forms (with their underlying forms in the right column):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lsing Form</th>
<th>Underlying Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welagapiw</td>
<td>welagapi + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nastesinu</td>
<td>nastesin + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wegāyū</td>
<td>wegāi + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljāw</td>
<td>aljā + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogpew</td>
<td>mogpe + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetmaw</td>
<td>wetma + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alāmu</td>
<td>alām + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welmtu</td>
<td>welmtu + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milāsiw</td>
<td>miliāsi + u + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemiew</td>
<td>pemiesi + u + i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

it is immediately clear that rule (FD) will in all cases delete the lsing ū (or ū), since u and w are both [+son] +[diff].

It is equally clear, from cases such as nastesinu and welagapiw that we must not allow rule (FD) to delete u or w as well as [i,y], since we would then expect the incorrect
*nastesin and *welagapi as the lsing neg forms. We note a slight problem with the form wegayu. From the underlying form wegai + u + i, we get wegai + w + i by part a) of Glide Formation (rule (BA)), and then wegay + w + i by part b), and wegay + w by rule (FD). If part b) preceded part a) of rule (BA), we would get wegai + u + i $\longrightarrow$ wegayu + u, part a) would be inapplicable, and rule (FD) would give us the correct wegayu; but we know that a) precedes b). Thus we need a later rule revocalizing w; but we have such a rule, (DN'), which can handle this if we generalize it slightly and order it after rule (DD) (w-devoicing after q) and before shwa-deletion (rule (HD)):

(DN') \[+\text{cons} \] \[+\text{diff} \] \[+\text{grave} \] \[\longrightarrow\] \[+\text{voc}\] / \{[-\text{voc}] \} \{\#\} \{\text{a}\} \{\#\}.

The only other form which raises any problems is welmatu < welmtu + u + i. The i drops by rule (FD), but we know that the +i+ cannot drop by this rule, yet we must somehow delete it. This appears to be parallel to the +i+ dropping in, for example, welagapi + i + eg > welagapieg, yet this +i+ drops by rule (FD), which, as we saw above, cannot apply here. It might appear that (BC'), which deletes the last u in egnutmewu- in the nonplural forms,
would apply here as well. Indeed, it would as it is stated; unfortunately, it would also apply in mogpeweg, taluegeweg, gesnugwaweg, and aljæweg, incorrectly deleting the w. Thus (BC') is incorrect as stated. Since the stem of taluegeweg is taluegε-, we see that we cannot gain anything by assuming a different quantity or quality for the segment preceding the deleted u. The only possibility would be to require that a morpheme boundary not be present between the vowel and the (u,w) to be deleted. The only way to do this is to add just before (BC') the rule

(BC'a) [ ] \rightarrow [-next rule] / + \\

These kinds of rules are well motivated in the cases of systematic exceptions to various kinds of rules; this, however, is more in the nature of an exception to the general convention that any two adjacent segments in a rule may have a morpheme boundary (+) between them without affecting the applicability of the rule. Furthermore, we see that (FI) correctly handles the facts: in the singular, the -aw and -ew stems are not before a one- or two-segment morpheme, so
the w does not delete; in the plural, however, the w deletes, since it is before the q or l of the plural. But the nouns jîgâw and maligêw, plurals jîgâwq, maligêwg, respectively, show that (BC) must be restricted to short vowels. But this in turn shows that the penultimate segment of the stem egnutmueu- is unambiguously short, since (BC) could not now delete the ū if the ĕ were long. Also, rule (BD), ĕ ---→ ĕ, must apply before rule (FD), [i,y] ---→ ø / [+son] [[[+diff]]], in order to get, e.g., wetmaw and not *wetmew. This statement of the rule also suggests the solution to the problem in, e.g., the plural of maltewu- blood--; there are two plurals: mal'tal--[big, caked pieces of blood; all around; etc.] and mal'teuul--[several kinds of blood]. If we assume that the second, "generic" plural differs from the first in being separated from the stem by a single word boundary (#; or a =-boundary), then (BC) will not apply in the generic plural, and the -ů- will correctly not be deleted. In fact, if we used a #-boundary here, the ū would become w; this fact suggests that we have a =-boundary here, although the ʔ-insertion and w-revocalization rules might allow us to handle the facts with a #-boundary. We note that in general we have no cases of ũ + ū ---→ ū in Micmac; and in fact, we
apparently need a rule for, say, (w)ulugs--his infected sweat gland, tonsil--(cf. nulugs, gulugs--my, your), to delete the initial 3sing possessive morpheme ū before a stem beginning with ū; without the rule, we might expect *ūlugs by geminate segment agglomeration. Note, however, that this word does appear to begin with a w-glide, and it is not unlikely that welmatu ends in one as well (welmatuw). If this is in fact the case, then we need no new rules to account for the facts: u+ulugs ----> w+ulugs and welmtu+u+i ----> welmtu+w+i ----> welmatuw.

We will assume that this correctly accounts for the facts.

The corrected version of (BC), then, reads

\[
\begin{array}{l}
(BC')
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{array}{l}
\mbox{-cons}\\ 
\mbox{+diff} \\
\mbox{+grave}
\end{array} \\
\mbox{-cons}\\ 
\mbox{+voc} \\
\mbox{-long}
\end{array} \\
(a) [-\mbox{next rule}] / + \\
(b) \emptyset / \begin{array}{l}
\mbox{-cons}\\ 
\mbox{+voc} \\
\mbox{-long}
\end{array} + [-\mbox{plural}].
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

Alternatively, we would rewrite these rules as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
(BC')
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{array}{l}
\mbox{-cons}\\ 
\mbox{+diff} \\
\mbox{+grave}
\end{array} \\
\mbox{-cons}\\ 
\mbox{+voc} \\
\mbox{-long}
\end{array} \\
\mbox{<unit> / } \begin{array}{l}
\mbox{<unit>} \\
\mbox{-cons}\\ 
\mbox{+voc} \\
\mbox{-long}
\end{array} \leftrightarrow [-\mbox{plural}].
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

We recall that, in order to account for the absence of the dual morpheme i (or y) in, for example, the 13dual forms welagapiw, alameg, nastesineq, getueg, telgileg or welkeyeg, as opposed to aljayeq, modpeyeg, or wetmayeq, we needed the rule
But now notice that in the corresponding negative forms, the \( i \) (resp. \( y \)) inevitably deletes, and the negative \( u \) (or \( w \)) is present in virtually every case: \( \text{welagapi}+y+w+\text{eg} \), \( \text{nastes}+i+w+\text{eg} \), \( \text{alja}+y+w+\text{eg} \), \( \text{mogpe}+y+w+\text{eg} \), respectively. In particular, there is obviously no possible rule to delete the \( y \) in \( \text{mogpe}+y+w+\text{eg} \) which would disregard the \( w \) and not at the same time incorrectly delete the \( y \) in \( \text{mogpe}+\text{eg} \), giving us \( \ast\text{mogpe}+\text{eg} \) or the like. Thus, whatever rule is necessary to delete the \( y \) in \( \text{mogpe}+y+w+\text{eg} \) must refer to the following \( w \) (\( < \tilde{u} \)). Several facts are to be noted here: firstly, this \( y \) (or \( i \)) deletes in every case; secondly, what deletes must be a morphemic \( y \) (cf. \( \text{weley}+y+w+\text{eg} \), and \( \text{ayji}+y+w \)) thirdly, the negative \( +w+ \) (\( < +\tilde{u}+ \)) is the only diffuse sonorant which the morphemic \( y \) (or \( i \)) ever precedes. With all these facts in mind, it is clear that a sort of "generalization" of rule \((\text{FD}')\) will effect the deletion of this \( y \): namely, in addition to deleting in the environment

\[
\left[\begin{array}{l}
+\text{son} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave}
\end{array}\right] \to \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l}
+\text{son} \\
+\text{diff}
\end{array}\right] + + + ,
\]

\([i,y]\) must also delete in the environment
It is clear that this is a valid generalization. We will discuss below the appropriate way to capture the generalization inherent in such "in the neighborhood of" rules; but for now we note that the one environment is the exact reverse of the other, reading right to left instead of left to right. With respect to the generalization of (FD') which we will hereinafter refer to as (FD), observe that \( y \) does not delete before the 2nonsing \( \ddot{u}g \) (and obviously (FD) cannot follow \( \ddot{u} \)-depletion), and that stems (e.g., \( \text{getu}^- \)) ending in a long \( \ddot{u} \) or \( \ddot{i} \) will have this vowel shortened by (FI) before the application of (FD). It thus appears that we must restrict (FD) to application only around [-long] diffuse sonorants. Thus the preliminary form of (FD) reads

\[
(FD') \quad [i,y] \rightarrow \emptyset \bigg\lfloor \begin{array}{l}
\begin{bmatrix}
[\text{son}]
[\text{diff}]
\end{bmatrix} \\
\begin{bmatrix}
[\text{son}]
[\text{diff}]
\end{bmatrix}
\end{array} \bigg\rfloor 16
\]

The stems ending in a long vowel (\( \text{talueg}^- \), \( \text{na\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}m}^- \), \( \text{elu\ddot{w}wie}^- \), \( \text{getu}^- \)) will, in all the negative dual forms, be subject to rule (FI), vowel-shortening, since
each precedes the monosegmental morpheme +ɪ+; this observation explains, for example, the form naŋanāmaweg instead of *naŋanāmāweg.

We now examine the dual negatives. Typical examples are given in the left column, with their underlying forms in the right column:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left Column</th>
<th>Right Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welagapig:w</td>
<td>welagapi+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nastesinug:w</td>
<td>nastesin+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telgilug:w</td>
<td>telgil+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weqāyug:w</td>
<td>weqāi+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getug:w</td>
<td>getū+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weleiyug:w</td>
<td>weleēi+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljawg:w</td>
<td>aljaā+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taluegewg:w</td>
<td>taluegē+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moqpewg:w</td>
<td>moqpe+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetmawg:w</td>
<td>wetma+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋanāmawg:w</td>
<td>naŋanāmā+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluēwiewg:w</td>
<td>eluēwie+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eymug:w</td>
<td>eim+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welmātug:w</td>
<td>welmtu+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milātig:w</td>
<td>mil+iāsi+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemātig:w</td>
<td>pem+iēsi+i+u+ūg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon examination, it is clear that in the underlying forms of stem + i + u + ūg, vowel copying, glide-formation and rule (FD) will give us stem + w + ugw, and it is clear that we wish to delete the ū here to arrive at the correct
forms. But this can easily be done by a suitable generaliza-
tion of rule (FE') such that $+w+$ as well as $+y+$ is suffi-
cient to trigger the rule (note, incidentally, that if
rule (FD) has not deleted the $i$ or $y$, it can only be
after a vowel, and will thus have become a glide, $y$):

\[
(\text{FE'}) \quad \tilde{u} \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-unit} \\
\text{agrave}
\end{array} \right] / \leftrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+diff} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\text{-voc} \\
\text{agrave}
\end{array} \right] \leftrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+diff} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\text{-voc} \\
\text{agrave}
\end{array} \right]
\]

Note the examples in the left-hand column, with
the predicted forms in the right-hand column:

i) welagapig:w \hspace{1cm} welagapit+w+g:w
getug:w \hspace{1cm} getu+w+g:w
welmatug:w \hspace{1cm} welmatu+w+g:w
milati+w+g:w \hspace{1cm} pemati+w+g:w

ii) nastesinug:w \hspace{1cm} nastesin+w+g:w
telgilug:w \hspace{1cm} telgilt+w+g:w
wegayug:w \hspace{1cm} wegay+w+g:w
weleyug:w \hspace{1cm} weley+w+g:w
eyug:w \hspace{1cm} eym+w+g:w

iii) aljawg:w \hspace{1cm} alja+w+g:w \hspace{1cm} aljaaw+w+g:w.

The first group each ostensibly has the negative $w$
deleted, although the $g$ in each case may be (optionally?)
pre-labialized. We see a similar phenomenon in words
such as $\underline{si}(w)g:w$--spring--, $\underline{pi}(w)g:w$--flea--, compare
these cases to such words as awgti--road--and ewgsmg--I fool him--, where the w is clearly present in an environment which is similar, except that it is preceded by a [-diffuse] vowel. These observations suggest a late rule

\[
(\text{IB}') \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons} \\ \text{-voc} \\ \text{+diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+voc} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{+diff} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{g.}
\]

The second group above suggest a further modification of rule (DN'), w-revocalization, to include a [-voc] segment in the post-environment, together with ð and #. But now note that the rule can be substantially simplified if ð is construed as [-vocalic]; in particular, we could change rule (HC'), ð-deletion, to make the result [-voc] if it is not changed to ə:

\[
(\text{HC}) \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+comp} \\ \text{-grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+comp} \\ \text{+voc} \\ \text{+grave} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons} \\ \text{+diff} \\ \text{-grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{g.}}
\]

which does not increase the complexity of the rule. Then (DN') will be changed to read:

\[
(\text{DN}') \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons} \\ \text{+diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+voc} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{[-voc]} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{g.}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{[-voc]} \end{bmatrix}\]

if the ū ---→ ð / t____ i rule follows glide-formation (which it must, unless (GD), ŏ-metathesis, precedes glide-
formation, which the ordering \( BA \triangleleft BB \triangleleft GA \triangleleft GD \) indicates it cannot do, cf. militayeg \( \text{mil}+\text{ai}+\text{ty}+\text{eg} \)
then we note that the \( i \) will have become a glide; and in
typical verbs which do not undergo \( \text{a} \)-metathesis, such as
welagultieg, we will need to generalize \((DN')\) to revoc-
alize \( y \) as well, but simply post-consonantally; further-
more, such words as iap'jiwowy--eternal--show that we
never get \#yV____. Thus the rule must read

\[
(DN) \begin{array}{c}
\text{-cons} \\
\text{+diff} \\
\text{+grave}
\end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+voc]} \\
\{ \text{[-voc]} \\
\text{[+voc]} \text{[+voc]}
\end{array}
\]

Note that \((DN)\) must also follow \((GD)\), \( \text{a} \)-metathesis, in
order to get, say, militayeg, and not \*militaeug.

The one form aljawg:w raises an interesting
problem. The underlying form after the application of
rule \((FE')\) is aljaa+w+gw, and then \((FI')\), vowel shortening,
gives aljaa+w+g:w. Now, because of aljayeg, \((FI')\)
must precede \((BF)\), geminate segment agglomeration, lest
we derive the incorrect \*aljayeg \( \text{< aljayeg < aljaayeg} \).
But now we note analogous forms to aljawg:w: the 12plural
forms of the -iäsi- and iesi- verbs, which end in -täyg:w
from quasi-underlying -tä+y+gw (cf., e.g., the corres-
ponding 13plural forms in -täyeg). It thus appears that
we need a rule to shorten ą in the environment ____[y,w]g, and the word wągw—louse—indicates that a morpheme boundary must be included in the post-environment:

\[(IC) \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ [+\text{diff}] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} [-\text{long}] / \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} [-\text{cons}] \\ [-\text{voc}] \\ [+\text{diff}] \end{array}\ g,\]

and (IC) must follow geminate segment agglomeration so that aljaą+w+gw will have become aljaą+w+gw, and the rule will apply. But recall the inanimate plural of the word něū—four—: něwq:ul. This is underlying něu+g+₁. Note that the way we have stated (IC), to apply to any non-diffuse vowel (including ė), and with a +-boundary required before the glide, the shortening of the ė in něwq:ul is not predictable, which suggests that newq:ul is irregular. (IC) furthermore explains the otherwise inexplicable short vowel in the ending of, e.g., 12dual aljaąygw (cf. aljaąyeg). But now recall napěwgw. From rule (IC) we would expect *napěwgw. Thus it is apparent that the +-boundary must be before the w. Thus we conclude that newq:ul is irregular. But notice that the animate plural is newijig, suggesting an underlying newi, with final-vowel-dropping to new, whereas the inanimate could not have this stem. Thus (IC) appears to be the correct
rule (necessary for aljäwgw and aljäygw), and nēwgül is irregular in its short stem vowel and lack of final stem vowel (we should expect *nēwigl). If the stem were nē+u+ (clearly absurd), then we might be able to explain the e shortening by rule (FI).

There is one further problem with these 12dual negative forms. The final q is invariably a long one, whereas in the underlying form it is not long. But we have already discussed a rule for inserting a g before obstruents after a w which follows a non-diffuse vowel (see contraction chapter, p.89). After rule (FD) applies, the w will follow [+diffuse] vowels as well as [-diffuse] ones, but if we generalize g-insertion to allow a glide before the w as well as a non-diffuse vowel, and order g-insertion before rule (FD), the +y+ will still precede the w in the negative forms, and we can then state the g-insertion rule as:

\[(CE') \quad \emptyset \rightarrow /g/ \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-cons} \\
\text{voc} \\
\text{-diff}
\end{array} \right] w \quad + \quad [\text{+obst}].\]

Note that this must precede rule (IB), w-deletion, to get welagapig:w and not *welagapigw. Note that (CE) must follow rule (FE), ā-depletion, in order never to apply in the 12dual.
The plural negative forms can be handled similarly to the duals. There are essentially two distinct types here: \textit{welagapultig:w}, from \textit{welagapulti+u+ugw} via \\
\textit{welagapulti+w+ugw}, \textit{welagapulti+w+gw}, and \textit{welagapulti+w+gw}; and \textit{militawg:w} from \textit{mili+i+asi+t+u+ugw} via \textit{mili+i+ti+w+gw}, \textit{mili+i+t+a+i+w+gw}, and \textit{mili+t+a+i+w+gw}. The latter shows again that \(\ddot{a}\)-metathesis must precede either rule (FD) or rule (GFc) (or both); and that there must be a +-boundary inserted after the \(\ddot{a}\), in order for the \(\ddot{i}\) to be deleted by either of the two above-mentioned rules.

When we examine the singular negative, typical examples given below, with their respective underlying forms in the right-hand column:

\begin{align*}
\text{taluegewgw} & \quad \text{talueg}\ddot{e}+u+ti \\
\text{na\'gan\'amawgw} & \quad \text{na\'gan\'am\'a+u+ti} \\
\text{wela\'gapigw} & \quad \text{wela\'gapi+u+ti} \\
\text{welma\#tuugw} & \quad \text{welma\#tu+u+ti} \\
\text{mi\'lasigw} & \quad \text{mi\'lasi+u+ti} \\
\text{nastesinugw} & \quad \text{nastesin+u+ti} \\
\text{agam\'imugw} & \quad \text{agam\'i+m+u+ti} \\
\text{weg\'ayugw} & \quad \text{weg\'ay+u+ti} \\
\text{mo\'pegewgw} & \quad \text{mo\'pe+u+ti} \\
\text{wet\#mawgw} & \quad \text{wema+u+ti} \\
\text{pemiewgw} & \quad \text{pemiesi+u+ti} \\
\text{alj\'agw} & \quad \text{alja\ddot{a}+u+ti},
\end{align*}
the fact which immediately strikes us is that the 3sing t is changed to g, which is in fact just what we would expect by the t → g rule discussed above (Intransitive, p.119):

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{(+cons)} \\
\text{(+diff)} \\
\text{|-grave]} \\
\text{|-cont]} \\
\text{|-nasal]} \\
\text{\textbf{-diff}} \\
\text{\textbf{-diff}} \\
\text{\textbf{+son}} \\
\text{\textbf{+diff}} \\
\text{\textbf{[+grave]}} \\
\text{\textbf{[-voc]}} \\
\text{\textbf{[+cons]}} \\
\end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{l}
\text{(+son)} \\
\text{(+diff)} \\
\text{[+grave]} \\
\text{[-voc]} \\
\text{[+cons]} \\
\end{array} \]

What is of interest here, however, is the fact that we in all cases get a w after the g, although there is no w in the underlying form (cf. also the 3 plural negative militāgwig). But this w would be perfectly predictable if the t → g rule came before vowel copying; for then, the u would be copied after the g, and glide-formation and w-devoicing would give us the correct results. Furthermore, since vowel-copying must precede glide formation (rule (BA), cf. Noun chapter, page 36), we can predict the first w in, say, nāgānāmawg, whereas if (FB) follows (BA) we would expect *nāgānāmawg. Placing t → g after vowel-copying, on the other hand, would require ad hoc rules: first of all a "g-rounding" rule (which there is some independent evidence for; see Contraction, p. 104); but then we would also need to reiterate the rule predicting the w-devoicing,
which must precede any such g-flatting rule (cf. above). Since no ordering constraints deter us, we place rule (FB) before rule (DB), vowel-copying, which of course implies (FI) as well comes before (DB), since it must precede (FB)

We predict the shortening of the long underlying stem vowel in, e.g., nağaänamawgw by rule (FI), as above for the 12 dual. Such examples as the 3 sing negatives welapapigw. miläsígw, welmatugw are further evidence for rule (IB) above. The 3 sing neg form aljâgw suggests two things: firstly, rule (IB) should be modified such that it deletes w after long vowels (cf. wetamawqw) as well as after short diffuse ones; and secondly, it applies after geminate segment agglomeration (so that aljaː+w+gw will have become aljaː+w+gw), and in particular after rule (DI), g-spirantization, so as not to derive *aljaːw. (IB) will now read

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(IB')} \\
&\begin{bmatrix}
\text{-voc} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\text{+diff} \\
\text{+grave}
\end{bmatrix} \quad \text{OPT} \\
&\quad \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix}
\text{+voc} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\{\text{+diff}\} \\
\{\text{+long}\}
\end{bmatrix} \quad g.
\end{align*}
\]

As further evidence for this rule, note the word welâ(w)g--evening.

Such cases as nastesinugw, wegâyugw, eymugw are further evidence for w-revocalization, rule (DN) (cf. above; wegâyugw, say, is from wegây+y+w+u+gw via wegây+w+gw).
Now, we observe that in the 3sing negative, the \( g \) is never long, as it always is in the 12dual; indeed, this is typically the only difference between these two forms of a particular verb. But the way (CE') is presently stated, we would expect, for example, *taluegewg:w for the 3sing. Let us examine these two forms of this verb just before (CE') applies:

12 dual \hspace{1cm} 3sing

taluege+y+w+gw \hspace{1cm} taluege+w+gw.

Cases such as newg:ul--four--, \(<\) neug+1 and saseagtniaq\( \wedge \) sasegw+tniaq\( \wedge \) show that we cannot limit the rule to application before \([-\text{grave}]\) obstruents if \([a,e]\) precedes the \( w \); mawgip:\( \wedge \) m and mawg:itam show that the rule must allow lax nondiffuse vowels before the \( w \). Thus the only way to exclude the 3sing negative form from undergoing the rule is to require a glide (y) to precede the \( w \) just in case the \( w \) is morphemic (i.e., preceded by a \(+\)-boundary). The rule, then, reads

\[
(CE') \hspace{1cm} \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\begin{pmatrix}
-voc \\
+cons \\
-diff \\
+grave \\
+obst
\end{pmatrix} & \begin{cases} 
\begin{pmatrix}
-cons \\
+diff \\
+obst
\end{pmatrix} \\
\begin{pmatrix}
-cons \\
+voc \\
-diff \\
+obst
\end{pmatrix}
\end{cases} \\
\end{cases} \begin{pmatrix}
+diff \\
\end{pmatrix} +[\text{obst}].
\]

We list below typical 3dual negative and 3plural negative forms, with the corresponding underlying forms in
the right-hand column, and the phonological shape of each after the application of \( t \rightarrow g \), vowel-copying, glide-formation, vowel-shortening, and rule (FD), in the middle column:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>After t → g</th>
<th>After vowel-copying, glide-formation, vowel-shortening, and rule (FD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welagapiGW</td>
<td>welagapi+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>welagapi+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milatiGW</td>
<td>milati+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>mil+iasi+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welmatIGw:W</td>
<td>welmatu+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>welmatu+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nastesinUGw</td>
<td>nastesin+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>nastesin+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wegaGYw</td>
<td>wega+y+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>wega+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welveyGW</td>
<td>weley+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>wele+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alamUGw:W</td>
<td>alam+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>alam+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuguwAGw:W</td>
<td>nugu+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>nugu+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taluegeGW</td>
<td>taluege+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>taluege+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayanamaGW</td>
<td>nayanama+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>nananama+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluewieGW</td>
<td>eluewie+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>elueui+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalgAWGw:W</td>
<td>amalga+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>amalga+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogpeGW</td>
<td>mogpe+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>mogpe+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetmawGW:W</td>
<td>wetma+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>wetma+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getIGw, getugw</td>
<td>getu+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>getu+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljagw</td>
<td>alja+a+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>alja+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welagapultIGw</td>
<td>welagapi+l+ti+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>welagapi+l+tu+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalgaItIGw:W</td>
<td>amalga+l+ti+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>amalga+l+tu+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eganutamuutIGw</td>
<td>eganutamue+ti+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>eganutmue+tu+i+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>militIGw</td>
<td>mil+i+ti+w+gi+t+g</td>
<td>mil+iasi+t+u+ti+g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first place, we see that the vowel is almost
inevitably lengthened, regardless of its original length, and that prior to this lengthening, the +w+ in, say, nastesin+w+gwi+g must have been revocalized to u. In fact, we can generalize (FK') to handle lengthening before +w+gwi(+g), as well as before ti and t+p. Note that in the 1st dual past we get, say, nastesine<ap, not *nastesine<ap, so that a g in the environment, must exclude a following a. The rule, then must read

\[
\begin{align*}
\left[+\text{voc}\right] & \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \left[\text{long}\right] \left[+\text{diff}\right] \left[\text{voc}\right] \\
\left[-\text{cons}\right] & \xrightarrow{} \left[-\text{long}\right] \\
\end{align*}
\]

(FK)

\[
\begin{align*}
\left[\text{voc}\right] & \left[-\text{cons}\right] \left[\text{diff}\right] \left[\text{voc}\right] \left[-\text{cons}\right] \left[\text{voc}\right] \left[-\text{cons}\right] \\
\left[-\text{voc}\right] & \left[-\text{diff}\right] \left[-\text{voc}\right] \left[-\text{diff}\right] \left[-\text{voc}\right] \\
\end{align*}
\]

(i.e., + ----- [+long] / {[-voc]} / {[-long]} / {[-long]} / {[-long]} / {[-long]}

We observe that (FK) can help explain the relation (even more obvious historically) between welā(w)gw—evening—and ulāgu—yesterday—(cf. welaqwēg—yesterday evening). If we suppose that the underlying form is welaguī, V-shortening will give welaqwi, (FK) will give welaqwi, and we would need an ad hoc rule deleting the final i. For
ulagu, on the other hand, we can assume that the stem undergoes contraction, and ad hoc shortening or deletion of the final \( \ddot{i} \) to give wlagwi, or wlagw by vowel-shortening, and ulagu by w-revocalization. From another point of view, if we viewed wela(w)gw as deriving from the negative third person of some putative verb wela (wela+u+ti \( \rightarrow \) wela(w)gw), the future negative inanimate would be expected to be ulâ+nu+gw (see below), and in fact we find the presumably related word ulonugw--tonight. These comments are clearly meant only to be suggestive. Note that since \( \vartheta \)-insertion must follow (FK), two things result from this way of stating (FK): first, vowels are kept from lengthening before \(-t\ddot{a}-\) unless the \( \vartheta \) is derived from ae, since in other cases the \( \vartheta \) has not yet been inserted; second, it gives further evidence for ae (or at least some reduced underlying segment) being the provenience of this \( \vartheta \).

Although, as indicated, the data are not quite clear, probably due to faulty hearing on the part of the observer, it appears that the g in the 3dual negative is long. Now, if we placed the g-insertion rule after (FK), we could get the correct results by allowing a long vowel as well as \( y \) to trigger the rule if it occurred before a
morphemic $w$. This would not be as general as it might be, and is partially wrong, as well; for example, it would not insert a $g$ in underlying $piwqw$, since the $l$ is [+diffuse], but we end up with $piwg:w$, and we do not find $-lwgw$-sequences within a morpheme. We revise the rule as follows:

\[
(CE') \quad \emptyset \quad \xrightarrow{\begin{array}{c}
\text{-voc} \\
\text{+cons} \\
\text{-diff} \\
\text{+grave} \\
\text{+obst} \\
\text{+cont}
\end{array}} \xrightarrow{\begin{array}{c}
\text{-cons} \\
\text{+voc} \\
\text{+grave} \\
\text{+obst} \\
\text{+cont}
\end{array}} \xrightarrow{\begin{array}{c}
\text{-cons} \\
\text{+voc} \\
\text{+grave} \\
\text{+obst}
\end{array}} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\langle 1 \rangle \\
\langle 2 \rangle
\end{array}
\]

Aside from some nonexistent and thus vacuous subparts, this rule has the following implications: i) insertion is not allowed in the environment $y+[u,w]_{(+)[+obst]}$; this is to keep the rule from applying in the 3sing neg.; this also stops the rule from applying in $meta+wegwila$-$meta+wegwila$: ii) note that it would apply to $[y,w]+[u,w]_{(+)[obst]}$; therefore, such cases as $wegayugw$ (not $wegayug:w$) indicate either that $(CE')$ precedes $u$-insertion or that it must be restricted to $w$, and not $ü$ as well: iii) one of the vacuous subparts specified contains a long glide, which is nonexistent in Micmac: iv) $g$ is inserted in the environment $y[u,w]_{(+)[+obst]}$, to get, e.g.,
wawq < wawi; this means it is also inserted in, say, napew+gw, which presumably becomes napewg:w; this is a very difficult position to distinguish the long consonant, which may account for the short consonant in the data (cf. the situation for the 3dual negative forms); furthermore, this allows us to account in a simple manner for the long g: in newg:ul: v) note that g is inserted / v[u,w]----[+obst], that is, in the neugti-type cases; that is, we wish to generalize our treatment of g-deletion and -insertion in the chapter above on contraction: vi) the angle brackets around the last +boundary in the rule keep the rule from applying in the environment [y,w]+[u,w]----[+obst]; this gives us, say, wasteuti from wastew+uti, instead of *wasteugti. Further elaborations of this rule will be discussed in the Noun Possession chapter below (see Possession, p. 325).

Note that rule (IB') accounts for the deletion of w in, e.g., welagapigw or welmgatugw, and that (DN) accounts for the ū (ū) in, e.g., nastesinugw, just as in the 3sing negative. Precisely the same rules we have been discussing will account for the typical 3plural negative forms:
welaŋapi+lći+w+gwi+g
egnutmuāu+tī+w+gwi+g (FK)
welaŋapi+lći+w+gwi+g
egnutmuāu+tī+w+gwi+g (CE')
welaŋapi+lći+w+gwi+g
egnutmuāu+tī+w+gwi+g (BF), (IB'), etc.
welaŋagapultīg:w(ig)
egnutmuāutīg:w(ig).

So far we have not discussed the deletion of the -ig which occurs in most 3nonsing negative forms. Since we find occasionally the alternation of forms like getūg:w-
getuqwig (which, incidentally, indicate that (FK) is optional at least in some cases before w+gwi) lead us to suspect that the ig-deletion depends upon a long vowel being pre-
sent before the wg:w. But we must explain certain apparent exceptions to this generalization. Firstly, aljāgwig is
derived as follows: aljaatā+gwi+q (FK) n.a. (GFC) n.a.
ig-deletion n.a. (BF) n.a. (IB')
aljāgwig. Note that this stem, in order to stop ig-deletion from applying, must not be able to undergo (FK); this is

the reason for the additional pre-environment \{[-long] \} in
\{[-voc] \} (FK). Now consider militāgwig. At some point this form is mil+i+tā+i+w+gwi+q. If we order (FD) after (FK), we see that the i will not be lengthened by (FK), and that its deletion, followed by w-deletion, will give us the correct form. The rule we need, then, is
and (ID) must follow (FK) and precede (FD) and (IB').

In the left-hand column are typical examples of the 2sing negative, with their respective underlying forms in the right-hand column:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Underlying Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welagapiwun</td>
<td>welagapi+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljawun</td>
<td>alja+a+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogpewun</td>
<td>mogpe+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetamawun</td>
<td>wetma+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluewiewun</td>
<td>eluewie+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagananawun</td>
<td>naganana+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astesinuun</td>
<td>nastesin+u+n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wegayun</td>
<td>wegai+u+n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems clear that, since the ū is before n, it will in no case become a glide; on the other hand, we find, after stems ending in a vowel, a w before the -ūn 2sing neg ending; furthermore, after consonant stems, instead of the expected -ūn we find -ūn. It is as if, before glide-formation, a ū had been inserted after the stem (note that
if the ù were inserted after glide formation, we would expect geminate segment agglomeration to give us -ùn uniformly; but we find, say, mogpewun, not *mogpeùn. We thus postulate an early rule (before glide-formation)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[FG']b)} & & \begin{bmatrix}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{diff} \\
+\text{grave}
\end{bmatrix} & \Rightarrow & \begin{bmatrix}
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{cons} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave} \\
+\text{nasal}
\end{bmatrix} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & \Rightarrow & 1 & 1 & 3.
\end{align*}
\]

This rule can be combined with rule (FG') given above, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(FG) } & \emptyset \rightarrow \text{ù} / \begin{bmatrix}
+\text{son} \\
\begin{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
+\text{voc} \\
\begin{bmatrix}
+\text{cons}
\end{bmatrix} \\
-\text{voc}
\end{bmatrix} \\
+\text{voc} \\
+\text{grave}
\end{bmatrix}_1 & \Rightarrow & \begin{bmatrix}
+\text{cons} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave} \\
-\text{cont} \\
+\text{nasal}
\end{bmatrix}_2.
\end{align*}
\]

**Inanimate Forms**

It is traditional in Algonquin linguistics to divide the intransitive verbs into two separate classes: the so-called animate intransitive (AI)—i.e., those with animate subjects; and inanimate intransitive (II)—those with inanimate subjects. It is intrinsically the claim of this division that the conjugation of II verbs is essentially unrelated to that of the animate ones. Clearly, if there were
no basis for this dichotomy, it could not have survived the scrutiny of the dozens of linguists who have dealt with various Algonquian languages. I would like to claim, however, that this dichotomy is merely speciously correct, and that intransitive inanimate verbs differ from their animate counterparts for the most part in ways which are predictable from the fact that they are inanimate rather than animate, just as the difference between, say, duals and plurals, or between the 2sing form and the 3sing form, can be predicted by simply knowing that the endings are different in each case. The one substantive difference between AI and II verbs, namely that in inanimate forms a large number of stems are more or less unpredictably mutated, will be relegated to the lexicon or minor phonological rules; in fact, the vast majority of verbs have no difference whatsoever between their II stems and their AI stems.

We have maintained above that the 3sing inan morpheme is -g. We list below the types of stems which form the inanimate on the same stem as the animate forms, with the 3sing inan form in the right-hand column:\(^{17}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{welaqapi-} & \quad \text{be drunk} & \text{welaqapig} \\
\text{eijgwi-} & \quad \text{sneeze} & \text{eijwig}
\end{align*}
\]
wegāy-, be mad  
alled-, stagger (about)  
nugwā-, be burning  
taluegē-, what good is one?  
esamugwā-, drink  
amalga-, dance  
wesmugwa-, flee  
mōgpe-, be swollen  
wesge-, fish  
wetma-, smoke  
naqanāmā-, be drinking  
gesnugwa-, be sick  
eluēwī-, be crazy  
getguni-, sleep there  
egnutmeu-, train  
deleg-, throw  
iqātagw-, plant  
pisgwā-, come in  
want?tagayesi-, quiet down  
wejgūesi-, come  
pemiesi-, be walking  
sōgoyesi-, go up into the woods  
wejiesi-, come from  
eliesi-, go  
nepm-, die

Stems ending in a long vowel of course shorten it by rule (FI'). Stems ending in before preceded by (or in
-iesi, where the s and i delete) change this ǝ to ǝ in the
Jinan. Nepm+g deletes the m by sonorant-deletion.

Many stems which may be first sight appear to be
irregular in the inanimate are in fact predictable by vari-
ous rules:

teligi-, be that shape telig:
sesapâganëi-, be a blabbermouth sesapâganëg
penogwëi-, be filthy penogwëg
mil+iäsi-, play miläsæg
naä+iäsi-, stop nagäsæg, nagäig
maj+iäsi-, go, start moving majäsæg, majäyg.

The first may have its i deleted by unstressed V-
deletion. The second two delete the stem-final y (< ı)
by sonorant-deletion. The last three indicate that a sub-
part of the vowel reduction rule must read as follows:

(JA) [ ] ----> /ǝ/ / s ____ + g.

Furthermore, as the alternant forms show, rule (JA) must
follow the optional (GA), s-deletion, since we would other-
wise expect majäq > *majäq (unless rule (GA) were
constrained so that a â after the s would block it).

As mentioned above, there are numerous intransitive
stems which appear to mutate in the inanimate in somewhat
unpredictable fashion. To see that such stems must be
marked as irregular, observe the pairs of stems listed below, with their 3sing inanimate forms in the right-hand column:

- **tepesi-**, be sufficient → **tepessg**
- **etlesi-**, be glowing → **etlesig**
- **epetociśi-**, moan → **{epetociśi, epetociśi}**
- **pasegi-**, be thick → **paseg**
- **segi-**, piss → **segig**
- **weliażamgusi-**, look good → **weliażamgug**
- **ēnusī-**, lose oneself → **ēnusig**
- **welagapi-**, be tipsy → **{welagapi, welagapi}**
- **gisgajēy-**, be ready → **gistațeg**
- **pewgjēy-**, have a hole in → **pewgjēg**
- **tep:isey-**, be separated → **tep:isteg**
- **pasey-**, be thick → **pasēg**.

The first member of each pair above must be marked somehow as irregular.

We now examine various classes of these mutations.¹⁹

- **tepesi-** → **tepessg**
- **gelji-**, be frozen → **gelطاg**
- **teligi-** → **telig:**
- **pasegi-** → **paseg:**
- **wejigi-**, be descended from → **wejig:**

The verbs above appear to drop the stem-final i, and, as we see from the penultimate list above, they do so in no phonologically predictable way (with the possible exception of
teligi- and wejigi-). Furthermore, geḷg̣ shows that this must be before t --> j, which itself is a rather early rule in the grammar. Thus one of two possibilities must obtain: a) there is a very early minor rule in the phonology, deleting i in the inanimate, which these exceptional stems must be marked to undergo; b) there is a morphological or lexical (i.e., suppletive) alternation in these stems. Since, in these cases at least (and in most cases of stem-mutation in the inanimate) the stem is by no means completely suppletive, it seems preferable to choose the first alternative, namely that these stems undergo the minor rule

(JB') i ---->  Ø / ___ + g.

nastesin-, be caught  nastesg
egwijin-, be in the water egwitg
pegisin-, arrive  pegisg
gesgul-, be heavy gesgugw
taligsugul-, be that heavy taligsug: w
telgil-, be that size telgīg
agamīm-, snowshoe  agamig.

These examples all appear, among other things, to drop their stem-final sonorant in the inanimate. Note that no stem which ends in a sonorant consonant keeps that consonant in the inanimate, so that these cases apparently could be handled by a major rule:
(JC') \quad \left[ +\text{cons} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset / \quad \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ + \, g.

However, such nouns as \textit{gigamgon}--pole--, pl. \textit{gigamgong}; \textit{gāl}--fourth--, pl. \textit{gālg}; \textit{aŋam}--snowshoe--, pl. \textit{aŋam} show that in fact (JC') cannot be a major rule. We can capture the generalization, however, by a lexical rule which marks all verb stems as subject to the minor rule (JC). The first three, ending in \textit{-in} can be handled if we order (JC') before (JBD'). Then all verb stems ending in \textit{n} can be marked in the lexicon by a general rule to undergo the minor rule (JBD') as well as (JCP'). The stem \textit{gesgul-} will undergo (JC') and give the correct form. The stem \textit{taligsugul-} will undergo (JC') in the inanimate, giving \textit{taligsugu+g}, and then unstressed V-deletion will give us \textit{taligsug:w}. The last two examples are very interesting. They indicate that we need another minor rule to change the quantity of the last vowel in certain stems, in the inanimate. The vowel-quantity-switching rule must come after (FI), so that we get \textit{etltāq} and not \textit{*etltāq}. Cases where long vowels get shortened will be handled by rule (FI) in any case (so long as (FI) comes after rule (JC')), so that the rule really needs only to lengthen stem-final vowels:

(JD') \quad V \quad \rightarrow \quad [ +\text{long} ] / \quad \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ + \, g.
In this list of stem alternants we find stems which undergo loss of some of their final segments (-si, -pi, -im, -ie̱i, -i), and which add segments (primarily -te-, but also -we-, -e-, and -l-). It is very difficult to make any worthwhile generalizations about this group, and attempts to do so seem to have a linear relationship between simplicity and ad hoc-ness, and none are extremely ad hoc. Because of _tepesi--tepesg_, we cannot even make the generalization that irregular stems ending in _-si_ lose that ending.

This group does raise a very serious and disturbing problem, however. We cannot, as we have seen, relate these stems to their inanimate counterparts by any very revealing
set of rules, with some exceptions. On the other hand, one is reluctant simply to dismiss the problem as a case of suppletion, whose mechanisms we understand poorly in any case, since the stems obviously seem merely to be mutated, not substituted for directly. Many of these stems, then, seem to be in a sort of limbo--not regular enough to be generalized by phonological rules--even minor rules--yet retaining enough of their phonological identity so that we do not want to invoke suppletion, at least not in the ordinary sense of that term. The solution to this problem does not seem to be at hand, but it must be recognized as a very serious one, indeed. In Jeffrey Gruber's recent paper on lexical insertion rules, there is suggested a very reasonable way to handle many types of suppletion. This type of quasi-suppletion, however, has not been discussed previously to my knowledge. One must not, however, confuse this problem with the dissimilar one of submorphemic, or quasi-phonological, semantic regularities (e.g., glimmer, glow, glide, etc. in English). The former has very little relation to meaning, except in a sort of syntactic sense, for the meaning is not changed in general even though the stem becomes mutated; the latter is a case of submorphemic
semantic quasi-regularity, which may ultimately be able to be handled by Gruber's lexical insertion technique.

We observe that (JD') could almost be subsumed under (FK). In this connection, consider the examples:

teglēji-, be few   teglējg
eulēji-, be poor   eulējg
euljewēji-, be destitute   euljewējg.

None of these three cases can be handled by rule (JB') above, since if the -i deleted by (JB'), the stems would not undergo t \(\rightarrow\) j, and we would get, say, *eulētg. In fact, however, we would expect this short i to delete in this environment as long as the preceding vowel was long.

Thus teglējiq (BJ) \(\rightarrow\) teglējg. We would expect the same thing, however, for eulēji, which would give us *eulējg. Furthermore, we would expect the i not to delete in euljewējiq \(\rightarrow\) euljewējg, which it does. It appears that the only way to handle the last example is to add a minor rule subrule to rule (BJ), namely:

(JE) \(i \rightarrow \emptyset / \emptyset j \rightarrow g\),

and to specify that euljewēji- undergoes (J3). But now we have a way to handle eulēji. If we supposed that the e were short in the underlying form, then (JE) would delete
the i in the inanimate, and we would get the correct form. But now in the animate we would want the stem vowel to be lengthened. This could be done by a minor rule addition to rule (FK), namely

\[ (JF) \quad V \longrightarrow [+\text{long}] / \text{ji}. \]

This must be a minor rule, since it does not work in general (cf. the 3sg-3pl transitive ending -ëjig, not *ëjig; see next chapter). Thus we have two minor rules which look like "generalizations" of a sort of the major rule (FK). It is not at all clear, however, how or if the rules are to be formally combined.

Now, although some intransitive stems mutate in the inanimate, the endings themselves--g in the singular; 
\[ i + g + l \longrightarrow g + l \] in the dual; and -(l)ti + g + l in the plural are never changed. We do note, however, a very peculiar fact: many verbs show no difference in form between the inanimate dual and plural, both taking the shape of the dual. Some verbs alternate the semantically plural forms between the formally dual and formally plural ones; and some obligatorily have the formally plural form in the plural. Curiously, it appears that those stems which mutate in the inanimate singular by what can be
described as minor phonological rules (e.g., nastesin-, nastesg) seem always to allow, and usually in fact demand, the formation of the semantic plural on the formal plural stem (nastesultigl); whereas those stems which appear to mutate the stem less predictably in the inanimate singular (e.g., ga'isi-, ga'iteg), that is, those stems whose alternations apparently would be better handled by the morphological component that by the phonological component of the grammar, seem not to allow the formation of the semantic inanimate plural on the formal plural stem (ga'itegl; *ga'sultigl); that is, for these stems the dual and plural inanimates are identical, and both identical to the expected dual form. It is not at all clear what the implications, if any, of this observation are. There are a very few exceptions to this generalization (geAlji-, geAltagl, *geAljultigl).

One of these in particular is instructive: getū-, pl. stem getūlti-; inan.: getueg, getuegl, getuātigl. Note that the plural inanimate is different from the dual inanimate, although the inanimate stem is ostensibly morphologically formed; but note further that the plural is formed on the "inanimate stem" getue-, rather than on the normal plural stem getūlti-. The peculiar irregularity of this stem lends
further credence and empirical support to separating the inanimate stem mutations into two classes: morphological and quasi-phonological.

The negatives of inanimate forms are instructive. The first column below contains the verb stems, the second column the inanimate singular and the third the inanimate singular negative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Inanimate Singular</th>
<th>Inanimate Singular Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welağapi-</td>
<td>welağapi-g</td>
<td>welağapi-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaşi-</td>
<td>gaşte-g</td>
<td>gaşte-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wegāy-</td>
<td>wegāy-g</td>
<td>wegāy-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sesşağanēy-</td>
<td>sesşağanē-g</td>
<td>sesşağanēy-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisgajēy-</td>
<td>gisgatte-g</td>
<td>gisgatte-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tep:isey-</td>
<td>tep:iste-g</td>
<td>tep:iste-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljā-</td>
<td>aljā- têm</td>
<td>aljā-nugw (sic in data; ?aljānugw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuguwa-</td>
<td>nuguwa- têm</td>
<td>nuguwa-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalga-</td>
<td>amalga- têm</td>
<td>amalga-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moğpe-</td>
<td>moğpe-g</td>
<td>moğpe-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetma-</td>
<td>wetma- têm</td>
<td>wetma-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesnugwa-</td>
<td>gesnugwa- têm</td>
<td>gesnugwa-wnugw (sic in data; gesnugwanugw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egnutmueu-</td>
<td>egnutmue- têm</td>
<td>egnutmue-nugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eliesi-</td>
<td>elia- têm</td>
<td>elia-nugw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most noticeable fact here is that the negative is formed on the mutated stem, if the stem gets mutated in the inanimate. Also, although we would a priori expect the formation inan. stem + wurde as the form underlying the
negative, we apparently find in each case inan, stem + ŋ + ŋ + g.
Furthermore, either this insertion must follow the minor rules
which mutate the stems, or these minor rules must refer to
the semantic feature [-animate], instead of segmental phono-
logical features, in order to keep these minor rules from
becoming too complicated. We have then the rule
(JG') $\emptyset \longrightarrow n \rightarrow \underline{\text{g}}$, and (JG') must obviously precede t $\longrightarrow$ g, to keep it from
inserting an n in the 3animate negative forms of animate
verbs.

We now note the following negative inanimates, the
columns identified as above:

i) gelûsi-  gelul-g  gelul-tnugw
teligi- telig-g  telig-tnugw
nastesin- nastes-g  nastes-tnugw
telgwijin- telgwit-g  telgwit-tnugw
taligsugul- taligsug-gw  taligsugw-tnugw
nepm-  nep-g  nep-tnugw

ii) welialgamgusi- welialgamgu-gw  welialgamgu-tnugw
etl+toësi- etltâ-ê  etltâ-tnugw
telgil- telgï-g  telgî-g-tnugw
milâsi- milâsâ-g  milâsâ-g-tnugw
naûsî- naûsâ-g  naûsâ-tnugw

iii) eym-  esteg  ey-g-tnugw
i'gataçu- i'gataçu-gw  i'gataçû-tnugw.
We observe, first of all, that whenever the inanimate stem ends in a [+cons] segment (as in those stems in the first group above), a t is inserted between the stem and the inanimate -nugw ending:

(CB' b) $\emptyset \rightarrow t / [+\text{cons}] + n + u +$, and (CB' b) must follow (JG'). Note wegaynugw, showing that a t is not inserted following glides. The second list appears puzzling. These stems appear to end in non-consonantal segments, and yet insert a t as if they ended in consonantal ones. Etltâg, negative etltâtnugw, can be explained if we assume that the word was misheard, and is in fact etltâg:, that is, etltâgtg, which appears more likely considering the animate stem etlto$^g$si- and the fact that numerous inanimate stems are formed by dropping $^g$si from the animate stem. We apparently cannot assume that welialgamugw ends in a long g (i.e., that the stem ends in g), for then we would expect the negative *welialgamugtnugw instead of the actual form. But observe that if i-deletion, rule (JB'), were to apply before rule (CB'b), t-insertion, and we were to change rule (JC') to delete all continuants, not just sonorant ones (this would also help account for the fact that $^g$si so often deletes in irregular stems):
then we would get the right results as follows:

\[
(JB') \frac{\text{[+cons]}}{\text{[+cont]}} \rightarrow \emptyset \left[ \frac{\text{[\_animate]} \frac{\_animate}}{\_animate} \right] + ,
\]

\[
(JC) \frac{\text{[+cont]}}{\text{-animate}} \rightarrow \emptyset \left[ \frac{\_animate}{\text{[\_animate]}} \right] + ,
\]

Note that this ordering will also explain why we get a \( t \) inserted in \( \text{telgiltnugw} \): when rule \( (\text{CB}'b) \) applies, the word is \( \text{telgiltnugw} \rightarrow \text{telgiltnugw} \), and only then does the \( t \) delete.

Notice that this order of the rules \( (\text{JB}') \) before \( (\text{JC}) \) contradicts the order necessary to handle \text{nastesin} phonologically. Several possibilities present themselves:

a) the \(-\text{in} \) in \text{nastesin} drops morphologically (not at all impossible, since the morpheme \text{tes} appears in several places with roughly the meaning of "have impact with; fall");

b) our analysis of at least one of the two cases is wrong (of course this possibility can be immediately dismissed);

c) the stems must be marked, not only for which rules they undergo, but also for which order they undergo them in.

The last possibility is not unthinkable, in view of the recent work on exceptional rule order by Kiparsky (in a diachronic context) and Bailey. The contention of the latter is that there is only one unmarked order: namely, in the
simplest case of only two rules, that which subjects (at least part of) the output of the first rule to the second, where in the opposite order the second would not apply to these cases. But if our analyses are correct here, the implication is that the unmarked order of two rules is not predeterminate, even within a given grammar. Thus, to consider the case in hand, we have two rules: (JB'), a final i-dropping rule; and (JC), a final continuant-dropping rule. For stems like nastesin, where we want the n and i successively to drop, the "unmarked" order is (JC)-(JB'); for stems like welialgamgusi, where we want the i and s to drop, the unmarked order is (JB')-(JC). If these arguments are correct, a significant generalization may be implied here: for irregular morphemes, the minor rules they undergo must first be specified for each morpheme in the lexicon; once they have been specified, however, they simply apply in the unmarked order. Notice, however, that for telgil-, which undergoes rule (JC) but not (JB'), we must still have rule (JC) ordered after t-insertion, rule (CB'b) (whatever validity our generalization has, it probably does not extend to insertion rules). Thus we must change our generalization slightly: once the minor rules to be applied have been
specified, they apply in the unmarked order if this is different from the assigned order.

In considering the last two examples in the second group above, we see that, given our previous analysis of these stems as ending in the morpheme \( \text{iäsi-} \), there is no obvious way of inserting the \( \text{t} \) before \( \text{nugw} \). It is not possible to assume that these stems undergo mutation in the inanimate to \( \text{iäsg-} \), for a possible inanimate dual of \( \text{miläsi-} \), say, is \( \text{miläsægl} \), without the long \( \text{g} \) we would in that case expect. Furthermore, this mutation would be unique. But these stems do undergo (CB'\(b\)), t-insertion, despite the fact that they seem to end in a \([-\text{cons}]\) segment. We will assume that this morpheme \( \text{iäsi} \) is marked such that it undergoes rule (CB'\(b\)) despite the fact that it does not meet its structural description. In fact, this may entail adding an ad hoc feature to the pre-environment of (CB'\(b\)), which feature would be found only in this morpheme, to allow it to undergo the rule.

Note that in \( \text{telgägtngw} \) and \( \text{miläsægtngw} \), there is ostensibly an epenthetic \( \text{g} \) before the \( \text{t} \). Note also that this appears to be inserted only in verbs which meet two conditions: a) they have undergone rule (CB'\(b\)), t-insertion
and b) their stems end in \( i \) or \( y \). Another possibility would be that what was heard as \( qt \) may in reality be a long \( t \); and that (CB'b) inserts a long \( t \). Of course, in the former case, rule (JA'), changing \( i \) to \( \theta \) in such verbs as \( \text{milasag} \), would have to follow the rule necessary to insert the \( g \), which rule in turn would obviously have to follow (CB'b).

The final group of two verbs is quite peculiar, in that the negative inanimate stem appears to be mutated from the positive inanimate stem, as in the case of \( \text{i'gataquenugw} \); or else mutated differently, as in the case of \( \text{eygtnugw} \) (presumably \( \text{eym+u+q} \rightarrow \text{sym+tnugw} \rightarrow \text{eytnugw} \rightarrow \text{eygtnugw} \)). Note that the only minor rule which \( \text{eygtnugw} \) undergoes is (JC), whereas in the positive, 'eteg, not only does it also undergo (JB') but it also adds -te- (probably morphologically). We will see below that we need a rule changing \( ti+n \) into \( tn \) in certain cases; but we could not extend this to \( te+n \) in an attempt to regularize \( \text{eygtnugw} \), since then we could not account for, say, \( \text{gagtenugw} \) instead of \( *\text{gagtnugw} \). (Furthermore, we still would not be able to account for the \( y \) left in the stem.)

From the following plural negative inanimates, underlying forms after application of (JG') in the right hand column:
we see that we need a rule deleting the i here. Words like
ntin show we must have a morpheme boundary in the environ-
ment of the rule; awgtin (awgtin) - you're on wages-, shows that the environment cannot be limited by simply
putting morpheme boundaries before or after the n, or both.
We recall rule (DG'), which deletes i / 1# . It
would be preferable to combine the proposed rule with (DG'),
if possible. Note that we want i to delete before l before
a word boundary, but to delete before n only before a mor-
pheme boundary. We can state this, but now observe the
following: if # has the features [-FB], we must make
the final feature complex in the rule read in part [-FB],
whereas if # has the features [+FB], we must make the
final feature complex simply [+FB]. This is only a
small notational argument, but it gives some slight evi-
dence, "intuitive" if you will, for # having the features
[+FB], which in fact corresponds with our intuitive feel-
ing that word boundaries are, a fortiori, formative boundar-
ies as well. Furthermore, it seems to me that if one
wishes to insist on # having the feature [-FB], we then
have no cogent or even plausible grounds for assuming (as a universal, yet!) that \#W+\# automatically becomes \#W\# (as it must conventionally in at least several languages, e.g., Catawba; see note 14 above); whereas, if \# does have the feature [+FB], then it becomes perfectly explicable that we never find the sequence \#+ or \#+. In fact, the rule for "insertion" of word boundaries could be greatly simplified by making it simply change the feature [-WB] to [+WB], if it is in the appropriate place in the sentence. Then the only collapsing necessary would be that of two consecutive +'s, which would be simplified to one + conventionally.

We have, then, the rule:

\[
(DG') \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{long} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ <\text{nasal}> \end{bmatrix} [\text{+FB}] [<\text{WB}>].
\]

Note that (DG') must apply after \~a-\text{metathesis}, because of militanugul < milasi+tii+nugul.

An optional (n)u must be added before the g in part b) of rule (BD'), in order to handle the negative inanimate verbs of those types, where e also becomes a, as in elue\~wianugw and pemianugw:
Future and Imperative

The future in Micmac evinces endings which typically do not appear to have any direct relationship to the person endings we have seen in the other tense forms. The endings in each person are the following:

1s  tes, -äs
2s  tes
3s. an  tew
3s. inan.  tew
12dual  tesŋugw
13dual  tesŋen
2dual  toŋsp
3dual an.  taŋ
3dual inan.  tal
12plural  (1)ti+tesŋugw
13plural  (1)ti+tesŋen
2plural  (1)ci+toŋsp
3plural an.  (1)ti+taŋ
3plural inan.  (1)ti+tal.

We notice some regular aspects of the future. In the plural (and presumably also in the dual, where the morphemic i would be dropped before t by i/ +___+C-dropping), we find

See p. 246 below for a better statement of this rule.
the usual plural morpheme (l)ti, followed by the peculiar future set of endings. Now, there is not any obvious way to derive the given endings from the ones we have met earlier, with the addition of some "future" morpheme. A few are partially similar to the corresponding present ending; thus, 12dual future -tesnugw, present -ugw, suggesting -tesn- as the "future morpheme." But the 13dual is tesnen, whereas the 13present is -eg. Again, the 2dual present is of, which we also find in the corresponding future togap, but apparently, as it were, embedded in the "future morpheme," which itself appears rather mutated from that of the previous two forms. Again, the w of the 3sing tew does not appear to be readily explicable. We note in passing that rules 8C') and (BD') would derive the plurals tag and tal from tew+g and tew+l, respectively (see Possession chapter, page 316).

It would appear that we have an entirely different set of endings for the future forms, and that the lexical insertion rules for the endings substitute first for PERSON FUT, and then for PERSON and TENSE (see below, Transitive chapter, p. 277).

As we have mentioned earlier, those verb stems having an e in the first syllable undergo "contraction" in
the future, deleting the e with certain concomitant changes in the stem.

The future negatives are very interesting. Just as in the positive forms, the stem undergoes contraction if it is susceptible to it. The endings, however, are not those of the future positive forms, but are rather identical to the simple negative endings. That is, verbs which do not undergo contraction are formally identical in the negative and the future negative. (The only difference is that the present negative verbs are preceded by mō--not--, while the future negative verbs are preceded by mā--(will) not.

Thus: mō jigpiw--I am not lonesome--; mā jigpiw--I will not be lonesome.) This indicates that the node FUTURE is deleted in negative environments (of course, after a copy is placed before the verb; see the Transitive chapter, pp. 278ff.). This node-deletion must be before the lexical insertion rules for the future endings, inasmuch as these must be blocked.

For certain verb stems, primarily those ending in a short non-diffuse vowel, the 1s future ending appears, often optionally, as -ās instead of tes. It is to be noticed that the only portion of the future endings which
is recurrent is the t. It is just this t which is ostensi-
ibly deleted in some of the ls future forms. There may be
some sort of regularity here, but it is not evident, and we
pass over this for now.

We indicated above that the 3in. and 3an. endings
are both tew, which fact might lead us to the hypothesis
that, in the general case, for a particular verb, the two
forms would be identical. This is very often the case, as,
e.g., mogpetew--he, it is swollen. Very often, however, we
find a t inserted in the inanimate which is lacking in the
animate third person form: eulejitew--he will be poor--, 
eużyjtew--it will be poor. But in fact, the stems which
evidence this t in the inanimate future are precisely
those for which it also occurs in the inanimate negative.
In fact, with the exception of possible contraction in
the future, the form of the stem which precedes the inani-
mate future ending -tew is always identical to that which
precedes the inanimate negative -nuw. Now, clearly this
t is more than a purely phonological phenomenon, as was
wrongly implied above in rule (CB'b); for if it were only
phonological, we would have no way to avoid deriving, say,
*tługilgątew instead of the correct tługiltew--he'll be that
size (cf. gelultâtew—'it'll be good, gelulq—'it is good). The only possible and plausible feature to handle this is the feature [-animate]. But note that, despite the fact that more than phonological features are necessary to describe this phenomenon, at least some such features are necessary, since this t appears only after consonant stems. Furthermore, the particular ending which explicitly indicates the inanimateness of the subject appears as far away from this t as three segments (in, e.g., nastestnugw—'it is not caught—, where the q is the inanimate ending), or as close as adjacent to it (in, e.g., nastestâtew—'it will be caught).

The implication of the preceding paragraph is that, for simplicity in stating the t-insertion rule, the animateness of the person endings must be copied on to each segment (in particular, at least the last three of nastesin-) of the verb, as a sort of morpheme feature. This of course solves the problem of how to state the minor rules which apply only to II verbs—they include the feature [-animate] in their environments instead of the segment q which was used above. But this also indicates the theoretical relevance of the traditional division of
intransitive verbs into AI and II. Rule (CB' b) then, must be restated as follows:

(CB'b) \( \emptyset \longrightarrow [t] / [+\text{cons}] \ldots [+\text{seg}]_3 \) #.

The specification \([+\text{seg}]_3\) is necessary to avoid getting the \( t \) inserted in the simple present inanimate, e.g., \textit{nastesg}, \textit{nastesgl}—\textit{it}, they are caught.

One further fact bears comment here. The \( t \) is only inserted after consonants, and in the future only before the \( t \) of the ending \textit{tew}. This gives us the sequence \textit{Ctt+}, which by the shwa-insertion rule discussed earlier (see Contraction chapter, pp. 83ff.) becomes \textit{Ctt+}, which explains why we never find a long \( t \): in these future forms (the shwa-insertion rule of course precedes geminate segment agglomeration). This also provides strong evidence for the shwa-insertion rule, since otherwise we would have no way to explain the provenience of the shwa in these forms, except by saying that (CB) introduces \( \text{ta} \).

It is noteworthy that the \( t \) which recurs throughout the future endings is never changed to \( g \) where other \( t \)'s are. Thus, \textit{nastesintew}—he will be caught—, not \textit{*nastesingew}; but compare \textit{nastesing}—he is caught < \textit{nastesin+t+}. There are two possible ways to explain this
phenomenon. Either the t ---g rule must be restricted
to, say, only those t's which begin a morpheme at most
two segments long, cf. nastesingig—they are caught---
nastesin+t+g), or else the t of the future endings is pre-
dictable, by a rule occurring after t ---g. This would
also help provide some basis for explaining the fact that
the t is occasionally missing in the ls future forms. We
do in fact have a t-insertion rule, (CB'a), which must
occur after the t ---j rule, and therefore a fortiori
after the t ---g rule. Rule (CB'b), we note in passing,
could not be used to insert this t, since it must insert
the t before the future-ending t in, say, nastesetew---
it'll be caught--, and the rule could hardly insert two
t's there. On the other hand, (CB'a) appears ill-suited to
being extended to handle a putative future-t-insertion.

Thus, the first alternative seems preferable. In
fact, the only morpheme ever to undergo the t ---g rule
is the 3an. morpheme ti, which, it so happens, is also the
only inflectional or conjugational morpheme beginning with
t, except for the future morphemes and the plural morpheme,
so it would probably be fairly easy to limit the rule's
application. We will not discuss this problem further.
The fact that \( BD' \) is not particularly elegant as it stands tempts us to state it with the morphemic features [+plural] and [-animate], instead of the phonological environments (u)ti and ((n)u)+q, respectively. Furthermore, the fact that the e also changes to a in the inanimate future (e.g., _luewiatew_, _pmiatew_) shows that the rule would have to be inordinately complicated if we did not use morphemic features in at least the second part of the rule. We cannot use the feature [+plural] in the first part of the rule, since it must also apply to the dual stem _pemati_- < _pem+iesi+i_-; nor can we use the feature [-singular], since the rule does not apply in the dual, say, _eluewieyeg_—we (exc.) are crazy. The rule, then, must be stated

\[
(BD') \quad \begin{align*}
\text{[+voc]} & \\
\text{-cons} & \\
\text{-diff} & \quad \longrightarrow \quad \begin{align*}
\text{[+grave]} & \\
\text{[+comp]} & \quad / \quad \begin{align*}
(a) & \quad (u)ti \\
(b) & \quad _i_ + [-animate].
\end{align*}
\end{align*}
\end{align*}
\]

The intransitive imperative in Micmac is of three types, corresponding to singular, dual, and plural "subject." We give below some representative intransitive imperatives:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imp.s.</th>
<th>Imp.dual</th>
<th>Imp.pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welagapi-, be tipsy</td>
<td>welagapi</td>
<td>welagapigw</td>
<td>welagapultigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telgil-, be that size</td>
<td>telgilën</td>
<td>telgilugw</td>
<td>telgilultigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesnugwa-, be sick</td>
<td>ġgsnugwa</td>
<td>ġgsnugwawg</td>
<td>ġgsnugutigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naγanāmā-, drink</td>
<td>n?ganāma</td>
<td>n?ganāmawg</td>
<td>n?ganāmātigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moqpe-, be swollen</td>
<td>moqpa</td>
<td>moqpegw</td>
<td>moqpetigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluēwie-, be caazy</td>
<td>luēwia</td>
<td>luēwiegw</td>
<td>luēwiātigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mil+iāsi-, play</td>
<td>milāsi</td>
<td>milātigw</td>
<td>militāgw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elt+iēsi-, go</td>
<td>lēi</td>
<td>lātigw</td>
<td>lātigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welmātu-, be good</td>
<td>wlmātu</td>
<td>wlmātugw</td>
<td>wlmātūtigw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alām-, swim</td>
<td>alāen</td>
<td>alāμugw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyμ-, be (there)</td>
<td>Ḳen</td>
<td>Ḳμugw</td>
<td>Ḳμūtigw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>welagapi-</td>
<td>wlaγapiw</td>
<td>wlaγapinew</td>
<td>wlaγapultṇew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telgil-</td>
<td>tligilu</td>
<td>tligi̡new</td>
<td>tligilultṇew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesnugwa-</td>
<td>ġgsnug̣aw</td>
<td>ġgsnugwanew</td>
<td>ġgsnugutṇew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naγanāmā-</td>
<td>n?ganāmaw</td>
<td>n?ganāmanew</td>
<td>n?ganāmātnew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moqpe-</td>
<td>moqpẹw</td>
<td>moqpenew</td>
<td>moq̣p̣(ḷ)tnew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluēwiẹ-</td>
<td>luēwiew</td>
<td>luēwịnew</td>
<td>luēwịātnew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mil+iāsi-</td>
<td>milāsịw</td>
<td>milātṇew</td>
<td>militāṇew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elt+iēsi-</td>
<td>lieẉ</td>
<td>lātṇew</td>
<td>lātṇew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welmātu-</td>
<td>wlmātụ</td>
<td>wlmāṭnew</td>
<td>wlmāṭūtnew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alām-</td>
<td>alāmụ</td>
<td>alāμnew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyμ-</td>
<td>Ḳμụ</td>
<td>Ḳμṇew</td>
<td>Ḳμūtnew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are few insightful comments to be made about these forms. The stems undergo contraction if susceptible to it, and the endings seem to be
Positive | Negative
---|---
Singular | Ø (ēn if stem ends in a consonant) | Ø + w
Dual | ugw | ne+w
Plural | [Plural morpheme] + ugw | [Plural morpheme] + ne+w

Apparently, consonants delete after a long vowel before the alternant Imp. s. ending ēn (cf. alāēn, ēn, from alām+ēn, ēntēn). The ēn never appears in the negative. The nonsingular ugw (cf. 2nonsingular morpheme og, perhaps also from ug) is replaced by ne in the negative. The u of ugw becomes w post-vocically, and is then optionally deleted by rule (IB') (see above), usually so after long vowels. The post-ē of the plural morpheme is deleted before n of the negative nonsingular ne by rule (DG'). The stems ending in underlying long or short a or e all end in short vowels in the nonplural imperatives, and in short a in the singular positive imperative. This indicates two things: the vowels are shortened by rule (FI), and, furthermore, rule (BD') apparently must also require e to become a in word-final position. The final e in, say, mōpē must be shielded somehow from final-vowel-shortening in the imperative singular. This appears to show that there is some segment underlying the singular imperative morpheme, which
is in all cases deleted. It could not be a diffuse vowel, because then we would expect it to show up in the negative singular forms, which it does not. If it were a nondiffuse short $\text{a}$ (replaced by $\emptyset$ in the negative), it would be much simpler to account for the ubiquitous appearance of $\bar{\text{a}}$ instead of $\text{e}$ in the positive singular imperative (by rule (DC); see Possessive chapter below). The $\bar{\text{a}}$ would universally delete by final-vowel-shortening, and long final vowels would shorten by rule (FI). We thus assume the following underlying endings:

Positive: singular--$\bar{\text{a}}$, non-singular--$\text{ug}$
Negative: singular--$\emptyset + \text{w}$, non-singular--$\text{ne} + \text{w}$.

These endings show a sort of parallel double suppletion--$\emptyset$ for $\bar{\text{a}}$, and $\text{ne}$ for $\text{ug}$.

We will further discuss imperatives in the Transitive chapter, pp. 310ff.
In the transitive conjugation, verbs are inflected differently depending on both the subject and the object. Thus "you s. carry me" is pemālim and "I carry you s." is pemālul, (stem pemāl-, endings -in--you-me and -ul-- I-you, respectively). Furthermore, the stem is in general different for animate and inanimate objects. Thus, pemā-l-t—you s. carry him--, tagam-t—you s. hit him--, pemā-tū-n—you s. carry it--, tag̃tm-n—you s. hit it.

Just this fact is what is behind the traditional division of Algonquian transitive verbs into transitive animate (TA) and transitive inanimate (TI); that is, those with animate objects (TA) and those with inanimate objects (TI).

We wish here, however, to maintain, just as we did above for the intransitive verbs, that this division is largely spurious, and that a single stem underlies the related TA and TI verbs, which is mutated (to a great extent predictably), depending on the animateness of the object, and in particular on the form the animate (respectively, inanimate)
"marker" takes for a particular verb. Since this marker is never sensitive to the subject, but only to the object, it would seem desirable to have the object marker precede that for the subject, both following the verb stem, in the structure which the rules to be postulated are to operate on. Now, for the intransitive verbs, the pertinent features (number, person, animateness) of the subject must obviously be copied after the verb. Likewise, in the transitive verbs, copies of both the object and subject must appear after the verb stem in some order, and since the theme, which comes immediately after the animateness marker (see below), as well as the animateness marker, is sensitive to the object, it would again appear advisable to have the object copy precede the subject copy. If this is the case, moreover, we will see that we will be able more easily to derive the occurrence and correct order of the post-theme person endings.

We will assume for Micmac the underlying structure as follows:

```
(PA)  
S       
/   \\
NP   VP \\  
|     \\ 
Subject V  
|     |  
Verb(stem) NP 
|     |  
Object. 
```
We wish at some point to arrive at the following structure from (PA) above:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Subject} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{Verb(stem)} \\
\text{Obj copy} \\
\text{Subj copy} \\
\text{Object.}
\end{array}
\]

An appropriate way to do this would be by the following convention: make copies of all noun phrases dominated only by the same S which dominates the V in question, making the copies in order right daughters of the V, the "closest" NP's being copied first, where distance from A to B is defined by the number of nodes of the tree touched on the shortest intra-tree path from A to B. Thus, V is two away from the object NP, but three away from the subject NP, so the object NP is copied first.

We will see that the theme is more closely related to the stem than to either the object copy or subject copy, which implies that the animateness marker is also related at least as closely. That is, from (PB), we wish to have at least the following under the node V:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{Verb Stem} \\
\text{VStem Animateness Theme} \\
\text{Obj} \\
\text{Subj.}
\end{array}
\]
One way to do this would be to copy certain features of the object onto the verb stem, which features would later get spelled out as separate morphemes; or the nodes may be created directly by the transformations. In any case, (PC) is roughly the structure we will assume to underlie transitive verbs.

Verbs with inanimate objects can be divided into three or four classes, depending on the marker they take after the stem: -tū-, -tm-, -m-, or ø (for the stem -ege-only). Thus: ³ minigwatu--hide--(an. minigwalg); amallugwatm--decorate up--(an. amallugwalq); metem--strike, hit (unexpectedly)--(an. meteq); ḏisiege-y--throw(it) over--(an. ḏisalaq). We see the impossibility of predicting the inanimate marker on phonological grounds from the following pairs:

miniwigalq/minigwatu
amallugwalq/amallugwatm;
ajipjulg(urge s.o. to do s.t.)/ajipjutu(hope s.t. will happen)
gelulg(talk to)/gelutm(ask for);
getan?g/getan?tu--hunt
amigweng/amigwenm--smear up;
aIgwilaq/aIgwilm--look around for
eIaq/elatm--resemble.
There are a few apparent regularities, but mostly negative ones, such as that -tm- does not occur after stems ending in -n or -v, and -m- does not occur alone after stems ending in -w or m. A rare positive regularity is that stems ending in -g (-q) or -l seem to take the -m- inanimate marker. By and large, however, it appears that stems must be marked as to which marker they take. Occasionally, a stem may take either of two markers, often with a concomitant semantic difference: menõtu--I take things off (e.g., clothes from a line)--; menõtm--I take it off by unconsciously frigging at it (e.g., paint on a table). This is decidedly rare, however, and normally no semantic differences are discernable among the different inanimate stem endings.4

Inasmuch as it is fairly obvious that the indicated markers are correct, it is natural to inquire whether there are analogous markers for animate objects. If we consider an. pemãlq, inan. pemãtu, we see that the inanimate ostensibly has -tu- added to the stem pemã--; the animate, then, is pemã(+).lq (q is the 1s-3s. an. ending). Now, either the l could be the animate marker, or it could be part of the stem, which would delete by some rule before -tu-. 
But in the latter case, we would not be able to delete the 1 (cf. telgil+tew). Thus, the 1 appears to be the animate marker for this verb. Just as for the inanimate markers, however, the particular form of the animate marker is not predictable: pemāləq (pemātu, an. marker 1), --an?gunā-ŋ (an?gunā-m, an. marker Ø); therefore, we wish to postulate at least two animate markers, -1- and Ø, and the stem must be marked as to which it takes. Observe that 1 typically occurs after stems ending in a vowel (but not all of these, e.g., an?gunā-ŋ; and not only these, e.g., nasōtlq).

Many stems end in -m, for example caḷamg (a tagm+g; taṭtm); wipem-g (wipetm); gesgēlm-əq (gesgēitm); aligtesm-əq (aligtestu). In the inanimate, this m is deleted by sonorant-deletion (before -tm- and -tu-; recall that m cannot occur after a stem ending in m), and thus the animate marker can be taken to be Ø.

We now list the types of alternations between animate and inanimate stems (unique stems of their type are so indicated; the 1s-3s and 2pl-3s forms are given where the stem is ostensibly different in the two forms):

An: -l- |
| Inan.: -tu- |
| pemā-l-, carry | pemā-tu- |
| e'lipšamū-l-, make slide | elipšamū-tu- |
elō-l-, carry a lot of (s.t.) to
ajipju-l-, urge (to do s.t.)
a jipju-tu-, hope (it) will happen
mimugwa-l-, hide
pet-l-, petu-l- [unique], catch (fish)
petu-tu-
pegisu-l- [unique], bring
pegisi-tu-
a'lūpa-l- [unique], carry on the back
alūp-tu-
etl'āgipu-l- [unique], file, saw
etl'āgit-tu-
nasōt-l- [unique], put on
nasō-tu-

An: Ø
aligtesm-, shatter
aligtes-tu-
getan- [unique], hunt (for)
getan?-tu-
ēn- [unique], lose
ēn?-tu-
nemi- (nemi-g, nemī-oq), see
nemi-tu-
geji- [unique], know
gēy-tu-
esgipē-, wait for
esgipe-tu-
ēpā- [unique], kill
ēpa-tu-
elugwā-, make (s.o., s.t.) work
elugwe-tu-
pegwatua- (pegwataq, pegwatu-oq), cause
pegwa-tu-

Inan.: -tu-
amallugwa-l-, decorate up
amallugwa-tm-

gelu-l-, talk to
gelu-tm-, ask for

wetgo-l- [unique], forbid, prevent (verbally)
wetgo-tm-
An: Ø

Inan.: -tm-

\( \text{tag}-tm- \), hit
\( \text{aǐmi}-tm- \), curse at
\( \text{assu}-tm- \), be the boss of
\( \text{wipe}-tm- \), sleep with
\( \text{mussgwa}-tm- \) [unique], lick
\( \text{malig}-tm- \) [unique], mock, laugh at
\( \text{gesgel}-tm- \), hate
\( \text{an?gitelm}- [\text{-telm} \ unique], \text{think of} \)
\( \text{apgwe}- [-p-; \text{inan.} -tm-, unique], \text{bite loose} \)
\( \text{alam}- [-am- \ unique], \text{look around for} \)
\( \text{apogonmua}- (\text{apogonma}, \text{apogonmu-oq}), \text{help} \)
\( \text{an?gweywa}- (\text{an?gweya-g}, \text{an?gweywa-oq}), \text{look after} \)
\( \text{giseywa}-, \text{finally get the best of} \)
\( \text{euleywa}-, \text{mistreat, abuse} \)
\( \text{asgaywa}-, \text{hurt, damage} \)
\( \text{āsutmessew}-, \text{pray for} \)
\( \text{elugwowa}- [\text{unique}], \text{work for} \)
\( \text{witlugwowa}- [\text{unique}], \text{work with} \)

An: -1-

Inan.: -m-

\( \text{atlasmūt}-1- \), give a rest to
\( \text{nassigwa}-1- [\text{unique}], \text{scrape} \)
An: ⌀

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An:</th>
<th>Inan.: -m-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>metē-, strike, hit unexpectedly</td>
<td>metē-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an?gunā-, cover</td>
<td>an?gunā-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amigwen-, smear up</td>
<td>amigwen-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelpil-, tie (with a rope)</td>
<td>gelpil-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē(w)u- [unique], use</td>
<td>ē(w)u-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēp- [unique], deserve</td>
<td>tēp-m-, be able to afford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menwig-, take off the list</td>
<td>menwig-m-, copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tem?s-, cut (intentionally)</td>
<td>tem?s-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temsa$Γ$-, partition off</td>
<td>temsa$Γ$-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gepijo$Ω$- [unique], plug up, seal</td>
<td>gepijo$Ω$-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūg- (nūgeg), soften up</td>
<td>nūgu-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aTgwilua- (aTgwila$Ω$, aTgwilu-o$Ω$),</td>
<td>algwil-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look all over for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mestanmua-., have everything</td>
<td>mestan-m-, have every-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone had</td>
<td>thing, all of (s.t.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amasgipn$.$- [unique], torture</td>
<td>amasgipn-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An: $-$1-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An:</th>
<th>Inan.: ⌀</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āsis-a$غا$-l- [--aga/-ege- unique],</td>
<td>āsis-ege-y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several of these alternations bear further comment.

The animate/inanimate pairs pētl-/pētu-tu-,
mussgw$Ω$-m-/mussgwa-tm-, malig$Ω$-m-/maligu-tm- show that in
certain cases a lax vowel is reduced in the animate before
a sonorant consonant. Such stems as wētu- --touch, heft--
telgim- --count that way--, alūpal-, show that this is
apparently not a major phonological rule. There may be a
minor phonological rule which handles this (note, incidentally, the alternate form šëtul- for the first stem).

In taqam- (taq-tm-), temsaga-m- (temsaq-), gepijog-m- (gepijog-), and nugu-m- (nugas), the vowel before the m in each case arises from vowel-copying. Consider taqam-. The inanimate (taqtm-) shows that the stem must be tagm-, and that in the inanimate, the m deletes by sonorant-deletion. It looks like vowel-copying must be after sonorant-deletion, for otherwise we would expect tagm+tm --* tagam+tm --* *taqatm, which would give us the incorrect form, unless unstressed-V-deletion (which, since it follows contraction, must follow sonorant-deletion in any case) deleted the copied a. The only reason we have assumed that vowel-copying was so early was so that we could simply copy the u around g, and let rule (BA), glide-formation, change it to w at the end of a word. But we have seen in the preceding chapters that we need a rule for g-rounding in any case (see Contraction, pp. 104, 109), to handle such forms as ugpign--his hand--, where the non-sonorant after the g would be sufficient to cause the copied u to delete. If the g-rounding rule were early, then (before final-vowel-shortening, in order to get, say, gawatgw--spruce--from gawatgu via gawatgu), we could place
the vowel-copying rule later—after sonorant deletion.

This, then, would allow us to simplify the glide-formation rule somewhat, since we would no longer have to devocalize u's after g. On the other hand, glide-formation clearly precedes contraction (since we get, say, \( \text{wla}\text{gapi\~a}\)—I'll be tipsy— from \( \text{wela}\text{gapi-} (\text{uel})\), which must of course precede geminate segment agglomeration (cf. \( \text{ug:wa}\text{ytes}\)—I'll get mad—from \( \text{we}\text{g\~a}y\) ); and after geminate segment agglomeration we must have another g-rounding rule (to get, say, \( \text{ug:wa}\text{ytes} \), and not \( \ast\text{ug:}\text{\~a}y\text{tes} \)). Now, we might be able to get by with the other order of these two rules (geminate segment agglomeration and g-rounding), say, by allowing an optional g in the pre-environment of the g-rounding rule, or by making the result of geminate segment agglomeration [\(+\text{round}\)] if either segment agglomerated is [\(+\text{round}\)]; yet the fact remains that a g-rounding rule must follow at least g-insertion (since inserted g's often get rounded), which must of course follow contraction. Thus, we must have a g-rounding rule at some point after glide-formation, and therefore having one preceding it seems superfluous. Therefore, we keep the glide-formation rule as is, and keep the g-rounding rule only after geminate segment
agglomeration.

Now, vowel-copying must certainly come before contraction, as we saw in the Contraction chapter, above, page 81. Also, since glide-formation will devocalize u's in word-final position after q, and g-flatting will give us other word-final gw sequences, vowel-copying does not have to precede glide-formation. We can, therefore, place it after sonorant-deletion.

Several facts bear comment here. Since the o-formation rules are rather early in the grammar, vowel-copying follows them. Now, a never shows up as a result of vowel-copying before a vowel after the g (although it is copied before glides, as in siptagaytajig—they stretch). O is generally not copied as such before vowels, either; on the other hand, we find such words as

- mə́ntuógwom devils' abode
- wowg:wis fox
- gołwey what
- móg(ː)wā no
- ogwatg north wind
- ogwat he lands,

but none such as *gołwey, *mógā, *ogwatg, etc., which leads us to suppose that o might be copied as u (or w) before
vowels. Likewise, the facts would indicate that $u$ is copied before vowels as $w$: we find words such as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elugwey</td>
<td>I work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elugwatm</td>
<td>I fix it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga$\hat{t}$ugw$\hat{g}$</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asugwe,tnia$\hat{g}$</td>
<td>the wind is coming the opposite way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'atugwalg</td>
<td>I tell a story about him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pugwelg</td>
<td>there's a lot of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ug:wit$\hat{g}$</td>
<td>his mother (cf. $ngij$--my mother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ug:wat</td>
<td>his foot (cf. $ngat$--my foot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapugwan</td>
<td>ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pugwales</td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?sugwis</td>
<td>my aunt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yet we find no such words as *elugewy, *pugelg, *sugis, *pugales, etc.

Now, since we do not wish to copy $a$ before vowels, but wish to have $o$ and $u$ copied as $w$ prevocally; and since each vowel is copied unchanged before sonorants, it appears that the vowel-copying rule will have to be rather complicated. There is a much simpler solution, however. Since the g-rounding rule must apply after $u$ in any case, the $g$'s in the above examples would become [+round] even if the vowel preceding them had failed to undergo vowel-
copying, if we allowed the g-rounding rule to apply after 
\( g \) as well as after \( u \); and a rounded \( g \) could be realized as 
\( gw \) prevocally. Then we could restrict vowel-copying 
to apply before consonants (including liquids and glides) 
only, and g-rounding and rounding-elaboration (which could 
be combined into a single rule) could handle the facts 
spelled out above.

The rules, then, would read

**vowel copying**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+\text{voc} & -\text{voc} & \text{[-unit]} & \{+\text{cons}\} \\
-\text{cons} & +\text{cons} & \{+\text{voc}\} \\
+\text{grave} & +\text{grave} & \text{[-diff]} \\
\text{[]} & \text{[]} & \text{[]} & 4
\end{array}
\]

\[
1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4
\]

\[
\Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
1 \\
\text{[-long]}
\end{array}\right] \quad 4
\]

**g-rounding**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
-\text{comp} & +\text{cons} & \text{[-unit]} & \langle+\text{voc}\rangle \\
+\text{grave} & +\text{grave} & \text{[-diff]} \\
\text{[]} & \text{[]} & \text{[]} & 4
\end{array}
\]

\[
1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4
\]

\[
\Rightarrow 1 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
2 \\
+\text{round}
\end{array}\right] \langle\left[\begin{array}{c}
-\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff}
\end{array}\right]\rangle \quad 4.
\]

Recalling that (EH) follows geminate segment agglomer-
eration, then, we can explain the contraction alternation
wa$juig~tu/uq:(w)ajuig$tut~es--I bend/will bend it--, presumably from the underlying stem weagtiuig$atu-. In the present, j-formation, i-dropping, vowel-copying, unstressed-vowel-deletion, and e-dropping will give us the correct form, with no chance for rounding of the g, since it follows a [+compact] vowel. In the future, considering only the relevant first part of the stem, we get weagj-
(DB) weagaj- (DI) weag$aj- contraction
weag$aj- g-insertion
weag$aj- glide-revocalization, g.s.a.
weag$aj- 
ug:aj- (EH) u$g:wajuig$tu. Furthermore, if vowel-copying also follows a-metathesis, we could explain the hitherto troublesome fact that we get vowel-copying in the 3inanimate plural forms of asi/iesi verbs: -ta$gal.

The fact that vowel-copying does not operate before vowels, combined with the fact that rule (EH) follows unstressed-vowel-deletion, can furthermore explain words like apusag$ign--key. The underlying form could be apusag$ign or apusaug$ign, which would become apusag$ign and apusag$ign, respectively; then unstressed-V-deletion would apply, giving apusag$ign in both cases, and in particular rule (EH) could not apply in the latter case, which explains why we do not get *apusgwign.
Another considerable savings can be effected by the late placement of vowel-copying. We recall that vowel-copying must precede the stress rule, but that (GFa) and (GFb) must follow it, since stress plays a part in them. (GFc) need not follow stress, but it does follow s-deletion. Now, rule (FC), which is essentially identical to (GFc), must precede vowel-copying; but now that vowel-copying follows s-deletion, we can combine the two rules (that is, eliminate (GFc) and place (FC) after s-deletion before vowel-copying).

Certain words have stems ending in long vowels in the animate, but in short vowels in the inanimate: esgipe-/esgipetu-; nepa-/nepa-tu-; elugva-/elugwe-tu. These, especially the last, seem to be simply quasi-suppletive alternant stem forms. We will see below that an ostensibly similar case, nemī-g (nemio)/nemi-tu-, is actually regular, with a short-vowel stem in both animate and inanimate. In order to discuss the alternations between the animate and inanimate forms of certain stems, we will have to mention some of the particular animate endings and a few of the rules pertinent to them. These forms will be more thoroughly discussed in a few pages.
The alternation found in the animate of certain stems is very interesting. Before endings normally beginning with a vowel, the stem ends in \(-u\) (-w-); before endings normally beginning with a consonant (all having third person objects, except the 3-2s. form), the \(\ddot{u}\) disappears and is replaced by an \(\ddot{a}\). Thus: 2s-1s gwilu-in, but 1s-3s gwila-\(\ddot{a}\). We will claim below that the theme for third person object is \(\ddot{a}\), which is normally deleted in the present, except in the 3-3 forms. Now, it would be tempting here to suppose that the \(\ddot{a}\) is the third-person-object theme which shows up after \(u\) and before a consonant. Furthermore, we recall that \(\ddot{c}\) becomes \(\ddot{a}\) (usually ultimately \(\emptyset\)), except after diffuse vowels and glides. Thus, if we changed the \(\ddot{c}\)-deletion rule to apply only before consonants (note that it so far only applies to \(\ddot{c}\)pni), and assumed that the theme is \(\ddot{c}\) instead of \(a\), we could apparently account for the facts, with some sort of \(\ddot{u}\)-deletion rule. The 3s.-3s. form gwiluat\(\ddot{l}\), however, shows that this is apparently wrong, since we would expect \(*gwilat\ddot{l}\) with the above formulation, unless the ending is \(a+X+tl\), where \(X\) is some diffuse non-consonant, and the \(\ddot{c}\)-deletion rule is a "neighborhood" rule. Aside from having no motivation for having any \(X\) in
the ending, we would have to delete it (after u-deletion), and change the 2-deletion rule. On the positive side, however, this might explain why the third-person-object theme appears in the ending -atm, but in no non-third-person-subject third-person-object endings. Furthermore, we do have the analogous, and also apparently inexplicable, -ti- in the 3pl-3 form atitl.

Another possible explanation for these stems would be to have the stem end in -ua- (-wa-), which would then assume the correct shape by a-deletion and u-deletion rules. This solution has certain appeal, since some verbs of this type (e.g., apodonmaq, apodonmatm-) show up with an ą before the inanimate ending, which would be otherwise inexplicable. Most of these verbs (e.g., gwilm-), however, have no such ą in the inanimate, and the statement of the a-deletion rule would be problematic, considering the class of verbs with a vowel (ő) before the wa: elugwowa: w (< elugwewg), but inanimate elugwowa-tm- --there does not seem to be any principled way to delete the ą in, say, the 1-3s. form elugwowa: w without also deleting it in the inanimate. There appear to be fewer problems with the -ua alternative, however, than with the other, so we
provisionally adopt it.

We need, for this alternative, two rules: an a-dropping and a u-dropping rule. The u-dropping rule deletes u before a followed by a consonant:

\[(KA) \quad u \longrightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ \_ a \ [+cons].\]

The a-dropping rule deletes a after u and before a vowel:

\[(KB) \quad a \longrightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ \_ [+voc].\]

Now, the 3-3 form gwiluatl shows that (KA) must precede (KB), since this comes from gwiluatl, and if the rules applied in the reverse order we would expect *gwilatl. We have pointed out above that the deletion of a in asutmessew+g:w must be by a minor rule, because of asutmessewatm-, or else this alternation is morphological. Also, the verb em?atua--lend to--, 3s-1 em?atuit, shows that the u/t-i-deletion rule must precede rule (KB), since we would otherwise expect *em?atit. This stem also provides further evidence for this type of verb ending in underlying -ua-; for if it ended in simply -u, we would again expect the incorrect *em?atit for em?atuit < *em?atuit by the u/t-i-deletion rule.

There is one further group of verbs of this type.
which bears commenting upon. An exemplar is **1-3 gisēywa**, 2-1 gisēywin, inan. **gisī-tm-**. Now, under the proposed analysis, it is difficult to see why -ēywa- becomes -ō- before -tm-, but not before, say, the 2-3 (a)̣t (in gisēyat). On the other hand, under the rejected analysis, with the stems in question ending in ū, the t or -tm- becomes the only consonant before which -ēyū- ever appears, and although it will perhaps take an admittedly ad hoc rule to delete the y, which, if it must be done, must be done in either case; nonetheless once we have deleted it, perfectly general rules will change the -ēu- to -ō- (cf. metōl < metē+ul). Whatever rule or rules convert gisēyẉt (< gisēywat) to gisōt- must allow a morpheme boundary between the y and the w; cf. ulōti—goodness—< uley+ṭi < welēy+ṭi.

It is interesting to note that the class of verbs ending in -ua, which we have just been discussing, for the most part have the idea of an indirect object implicit in them, implying that -ua- (−ēwa-) may be some sort of indirect object morpheme, perhaps related to əu-—use.
Furthermore, it is just this morpheme -ua- (or -a- after -tu-) which is added after the inanimate morpheme to indicate "do X to it for (s.o.)" (i.e., the benefactive). Thus: etlogs^-I cook it, etlogs^ma^-I cook it for him.

Among the rest of the alternations are several irregular types. Nasötu^-l- -- to dress, may be exemplary of a rare type of combination of tu+1 ---t^-l- meaning "do something habitually," or the like; cf. nasötu^-I dress it. Several, such as alüpal^-alüptu- and nassigwa^-l/-nassigum-, show a loss of a vowel (a here) in the inanimate. As pointed out above, ewigew^-/ewigewa^-tm- behaves similarly to the members of this class, losing the a in the animate rather than in the inanimate. Many, such as pegisul^-/pegisi-tu- and en^-/ën^-tu- show vowel quality or quantity changes in the stem. Some, such as etlagipu^-/etlagit^-tu-, apgwep^-/apgwe^-tm-, ësisaga^-l/-asis-ege-, and an?gi-côlm^-/an?gi-te^-tm- (cf. gesgel^-/gesgel^-tm-), witlugwow^-/witlugwa^-tm-, seem to have partially suppletive stems, which, interestingly enough, are typically affected only in the last few segments. The alternation in alam^-/alap^-tm- (cf. tagam^-/ tag^-tm-) is poorly understood, and may be quasi-suppletive, as for the stems just mentioned; but compare this m/p
alternation to that in the (apparently syntactically determined) alternations msigu/apsigu--grass, mtn--ten (obsolete)/pituipthagam--1000, mgasn/apqasn--shoe, mgion/apqion--hook, apqumi/(Pacificque) mgumi--ice. In amasgipn/amasqionm there is an alternation between a long and short final n in the stem. We discussed the alternation in geji-/gey-tu- in the Contraction chapter.

Endings

The endings we wish to account for are the following (added, e.g., to the stem tagam--hit--, inan. tag--tm-):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s-me</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>iwun</td>
<td>itop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl-me</td>
<td>iog</td>
<td>iwoq</td>
<td>ioqop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-me</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>igw</td>
<td>ip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they-me</td>
<td>ijig</td>
<td>Igw</td>
<td>ipn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-13</td>
<td>ieg</td>
<td>iweg</td>
<td>iegap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl-13</td>
<td>ieg</td>
<td>ieg</td>
<td>iegap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-13</td>
<td>(i)namat</td>
<td>(i)namat</td>
<td>(i)namatop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ugwsiég)</td>
<td>(ugwsiég)</td>
<td>(ugwsiégap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they-13</td>
<td>(i)namajig</td>
<td>(i)namajig</td>
<td>(i)namajig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ugwsiégig)</td>
<td>(ugwsiégig)</td>
<td>(ugwsiégigap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-2s</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>ul(n)u</td>
<td>ulap, nap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-2s</td>
<td>uleg</td>
<td>ul(n)ueg</td>
<td>ulgap, ngaap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-2s</td>
<td>[ulg(w)]</td>
<td>ulnugw</td>
<td>[ulgap]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asg</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>asgap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They-2s</td>
<td>(ə)gig</td>
<td>(ə)gəp</td>
<td>ulnugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He-12</td>
<td>(ugwsigw)</td>
<td>(ugwsigup)</td>
<td>ulgutew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They-12</td>
<td>(ugwsigwig)</td>
<td>(ugwsigwigup)</td>
<td>ulgutag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2pl</td>
<td>ulog</td>
<td>ul(n)ucg</td>
<td>ulogop, nogoop ulogosp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-2pl</td>
<td>uleg</td>
<td>ul(n)ueg</td>
<td>ulegəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He-2pl</td>
<td>(ugwsioq)</td>
<td>(ugwsioqop)</td>
<td>(ugwsitoqsp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They-2pl</td>
<td>(ugwsioqwig)</td>
<td>(ugwsioqwigop)</td>
<td>(ugwsitoqsp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-him</td>
<td>(ə)g</td>
<td>(ə)gəp</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-him</td>
<td>(ə)t</td>
<td>awgt</td>
<td>(ə)təp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-him</td>
<td>ug:w</td>
<td>ag:w</td>
<td>ug:up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-him</td>
<td>(ə)gət</td>
<td>aγat:</td>
<td>(ə)gət:əp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl-him</td>
<td>ogw</td>
<td>awoq</td>
<td>ogop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He-him</td>
<td>atl</td>
<td>agul</td>
<td>apnig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They-him</td>
<td>ātitl</td>
<td>ātigul</td>
<td>ātipnig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-them</td>
<td>(ə)gig</td>
<td>aγig</td>
<td>(ə)gəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-them</td>
<td>(ə)jig</td>
<td>awgjig</td>
<td>(ə)təp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-them</td>
<td>ug:wig</td>
<td>ag:wig</td>
<td>ug:upnig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-them</td>
<td>(ə)gəj:ig</td>
<td>aγaj:ig</td>
<td>(ə)gət:əp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl-them</td>
<td>ogwig</td>
<td>awoq(w)ig</td>
<td>ogopnig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He-them</td>
<td>ajig</td>
<td>agwig</td>
<td>apnig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They-them</td>
<td>ātijig</td>
<td>ātigul</td>
<td>ātipnig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The forms with inanimate subject are identical to those with animate third person subjects, except that plural subjects add -₁ instead of -(i)g to the singular subject form, for all but the third person objects and 1s object, which are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it-him</td>
<td>øj</td>
<td>uugw</td>
<td>( aç)tän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they-him</td>
<td>øji</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>øtän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>øwij</td>
<td>uugwl</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-them</td>
<td>øgwiti</td>
<td>øgwitiwug:w</td>
<td>( aç)gwitipän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they-them</td>
<td>øgwiti, øgwitatl</td>
<td>øgwitig:ul</td>
<td>gwitipneg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-me</td>
<td>ig</td>
<td>inugw</td>
<td>igap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they-me</td>
<td>igl</td>
<td>inugul</td>
<td>igapn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We also wish to account for the inanimate endings below, added, say, to the stem taq-tm-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-it</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-it</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ùn</td>
<td>ùtæp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl-it</td>
<td>og</td>
<td>uog</td>
<td>ogap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-it</td>
<td>eg</td>
<td>ueg</td>
<td>egap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-it</td>
<td>ùgw</td>
<td>ug:w</td>
<td>ùgup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, it-it</td>
<td>(t aç)g</td>
<td>ugw</td>
<td>(t aç)gap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (an., inan,) -it Ìtij</td>
<td>Ìtig:w, ùgw</td>
<td>Ìtip</td>
<td>(t aç)tag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I-them an uan apn =sing.
2s.-them n uñ ùğpême "
2pl.-them oğol uoğol oğopême "
13-them egl uegl egpême "
12-them ûgul ug:ul ûgupême "
he-them (t(ə))gl ugl (t(ə))gəpême (t(ə))tew
they(an., inan,- them ûtitl ûtit:ul ûtipême (t(ə))tağç
it-them (t(ə))gl ugl (t(ə))gəpême (t(ə))tew,
(t(ə))tal.

Of course the i in the I-it form is deleted by rule (PD),
but we know it is there because of the I-it form āsisgey.

Certain regularities are observable within these forms. First, virtually all forms with second person (2s.,
2pl., or l2) objects begin with, or at least have an altern-
ant form beginning with, ul. Secondly, all forms with non-
second-person first-person objects (viz., 1s and l3) begin
with, or have an alternant form beginning with, i. Thirdly,
forms with third person objects (3s. and 3pl.) seem to
begin with an a, which is, however, lacking in the present
and past non-third-person subject forms, but shows up uni-
formly in the negative and future forms. We see that, of
these three "themes"—second-person object: ul, first-
person object: i, third-person object: a—we recognize
only the i for first-person objects as apparently identical
to the first-person ending of the intransitive verbs (but not to the 13 ending eg). It appears at best problematical to relate ul to n (or og), and a seems even less likely to be a variant of ti. 6a

In examining the "non-thematic" portion of the endings, the first thing which strikes us is a similarity, indeed identity in many cases, of these remainders to various intransitive verb endings. In fact, if we look just at forms involving first or second persons in both subject and object, in the majority of forms the remainder is identical to the intransitive ending for the subject. This observation might lead us to postulate that the "theme" is in fact a "realization" of the object, whereas the "remainder" is a realization of the subject. There are several reasons why this cannot be the case. First of all, and most importantly, there are numerous cases where the "remainder" is apparently a realization of the object. Such an example is 1-2pl ulog. Now note that the "theme" is still determined by the object, so that each part of this ending is in some sense a realization of the object. Furthermore, some endings have, in addition to the theme, partial or complete realizations of both the subject and the object. Thus, for example, 3pl-3s ati1 (from a
[theme] + tui [plural (of the third person subject)] + ti [third person] + 1 [obviative marker]). We are therefore forced to postulate, at some point in the derivation of transitive verb endings, one of the two following orders: [Stem + Theme + Subj + Obj] or [Stem + Theme + Obj + Subj].

Of course, again, we are assuming that we wish to capture what regularities there are, rather than introducing the endings as wholes, which would imply that similarities to the intransitive endings are merely coincidental.

The negative morpheme 2 appears to intervene between the theme and the "remainder"; thus: 2-13 ieg, negative iweg; 13-2 uleg, negative ulueg. Similarly, the "plural" morpheme ti (tui) in the abovementioned form a'titl comes between the theme and the remainder. We see, then, that the stem plus the theme (and a fortiori the animateness marker) acts somehow as a unit; that is, the structure of what we have examined thus far must be

```
 Verb
  Stem ?Ending
 VStem Animateness Theme Subj Obj.
```

In fact, the theme cannot even be separated from the VStem (that is, from the animateness indicator adjoined to the VStem, see above) by a +-boundary; that is, there must
either be an $\alpha$-boundary before it, or no boundary at all (the $\alpha$-boundary deleted, let us say, by a morphological rule). This is evident because certain stems (such as pemâ--carry) take an $\imath$-augment with animate objects (i.e., pemâ-$\imath$); yet the $\imath$ theme for first person objects does not necessarily delete in these cases, as expected by rule (FD). In fact, the 3s-13 ending (i)namât indicates that the $\alpha$-boundary following the theme may delete as well, since otherwise we would expect this ending universally to be simply namât. As mentioned above, the negative morpheme intervenes between the nodes labelled "Stem" and "Ending" in diagram (FD). In certain irregular forms we note the absence of the negative morpheme: 13-3s âgât; negative âgât; (note spirantization of the g, impossible with an intervening u, cf. 12-3s. negative âgâw), future atesnen; 3s-13 inamât, negative inamât, future inamâtew, 3pl-13 inamâjig. The -tew in the 3s-13 future can only be the 3s future morpheme, which implies that namâ is the realization of the 13 object. Now, at some point before the insertion of the appropriate morphemes, and regardless of the relative order of subject and object in the underlying form, the 3s-13 must have the following structure:
This is evident because nama is inserted not just in the appropriate Obj slot, but for Neg Obj as well, if Neg appears. Likewise, tew substitutes for Subj Fut, as discussed in the previous chapter. Now, the future may affect the beginning of the word (contraction) as well as the end (the future endings). The most plausible way of handling this fact is to introduce Tense as a feature (features) on the verb, which, in the case of Future, get "spelled out" both before and after the verb. If Tense were attached, as indicated in (PE) to a node below Verb, we would have no principled way to explain the pre-Verb alternations, or else we would be unable to explain how a feature on one node gets spelled out attached to a lower node. Thus, a perhaps more plausible structure for the verb at this point would be the following:

This is even more likely, considering the morphological rules we will discuss below for permuting the Object and Subject in certain cases, which at least in those instances
would derive the structure above.

If we examine the post-theme portion of the endings, we see that sometimes it includes what we recognize as the intransitive ending associated with the subject, sometimes that associated with the object, and sometimes portions which seem to be associated respectively with both the subject and the object. Furthermore, a marker for inanimate objects (aside from the inanimate morpheme itself) is never present, except for an 1 added to the forms for plural. Since, as we have shown, we need abstract markers representing both the subject and object in the underlying form for the verb at some point, we will need transformations to delete certain markers and rearrange others. It turns out that the simplest set of transformations to do this operates on the underlying order Obj-Subj, further supporting the contention that this order is the correct underlying one. These transformations, which must follow the transformations dealing with reflexives, are as follows:
(KC) 1a) is for the 2pl-3 forms; b) correctly deletes the object marker in the 1s object, 2s object, inanimate object, and 13-2pl forms. The \([-3\) subject form in (KC) 1b) does not occur; apparently that form is always substituted for by the quasi-passive -ugwsio. (KC) 2) then reverses the order of the object and subject markers in the 1s-3, 13-3, and 12-3 forms. Then (KC) 3a) deletes the subject marker in the 1-2pl, 2-13, and 2s-3 forms; while (KC) 3b) deletes the subject marker in the 3-3 forms. Following (KC) come certain rules spelling out idiosyncratic morphemes in the 13-3, 3-13, and 3-12 forms (the first of which appears in subj-obj order by (KC), whereas the other
two were not affected by (KC) and thus appear in obj-subj order.

\[(KD) \quad \langle \text{Neg} \rangle_a \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} +1 \\ -2 \\ +3 \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{a) [nam]} \\ \text{b) [gät]} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} -1 \\ -2 \\ +3 \end{array} \right], \quad a \Rightarrow b\]

\[(KE) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} +1 \\ +2 \\ -3 \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \langle u \rangle \text{gu} \\ \langle a \rangle \text{a} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} -1 \\ -2 \\ +3 \end{array} \right].\]

These rules, then, derive the endings we want.

Another lexical insertion rule, applying before (KG) below, will give us the irregular 3-2 ending \$sg$:

\[(KF) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} +2 \end{array} \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[Neg]} \\ \text{[+sing]} \end{array} \right] \quad \rightarrow \quad /\$sg/ \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[-Fut]} \end{array} \right].\]

The themes will be introduced before (KC) applies by the following rules (which also include the rules for the intransitive verbs, namely those where the theme is immediately followed by the subject marker, and is what we called the dual and plural morphemes in the Intransitive chapter):

\[(KG) \quad \text{Theme} \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \left[ +2 \right] / \quad \left[ +2 \right] \\ \left[ +1 \right] / \quad \left[ +1 \right] \\ \left[ +3 \right] \text{No} / \quad \left[ +3 \right] \end{array} \right\} / \quad \left[ +\text{obj} \right] \\
\text{No} / \quad \left[ +\text{subj} \right].\]
After (KE) applies, the various person marker morphemes (identical to those of the intransitive conjugation) are introduced.

A few of the endings will not have reached their final form after all these rules have applied. Let us examine them. The 1s-3 form will be \( a + i + ti \), which by glide-formation becomes \( a + y + ti \), and by \( t \rightarrow g \) becomes \( a + y + gi \), whereupon \([i,y]/+C\)-dropping and final-vowel-shortening give us \( a + g \), which normally becomes \( g \) by a
presumably idiosyncratic rule dropping the theme a in all non-third-person-subject present forms. Note that this way of handling this form, aside from making rule (KC)2) somewhat simpler than it would otherwise have to be, also explains the otherwise inexplicable fact that the 1-3 form is always q, whereas the 2s-3 form is t, never q. On the other hand, I can see no ready explanation why the 2s-3 neg form is -awgt, rather than awg; (cf. 3-3 neg agul, positive -atl); that is, why the t --→ g rule fails to apply in this case. Perhaps this form is simply marked as an exception to the t --→ g rule. Otherwise, the g-insertion rule would have to preced t --→ g, and it does not appear that this is possible. One further possibility is that rule (KC)1a) is slightly more general, deleting the 3sg marker before 2s as well as before 2pl subjects; that the third person animate marker is _; and that rule (HE) is more general, being a "neighborhood" rule, changing n to t before _ or after -(u+) (of course, after t --→ g has failed to apply, but before g-insertion). We leave this problem unresolved for now.

The 3-12 form, from the rules ul+gu+ti, becomes ulgugw by t --→ g, vowel copying, and final-vowel-shortening,
and becomes u1g:w by unstressed V-deletion. The 12-3 form, a+ugu+ti after (KB), becomes a+ugugw by the same rules as the previous form, and then becomes u1g:w by unstressed V-deletion and a-deletion. The 13-3 form, a+gt+ti after (KD), becomes g2t: by a-deletion and final-vowel-dropping. The 1-2s form, u1+t from the rules, becomes u1 by i/ [+son]+ + -deletion.

In the inanimate, the endings after the inanimate marker are for the most part identical to those of the intransitive verbs. We see that the +i+ morpheme must appear before the ending in non-singular forms, despite the fact that it appears in none of the -tu-, -tm- or -m- marker verbs, which would cause it to delete anyway, because in the irregular inanimate stem -ege-, we find, say, the 13-it ending -egeyeg, whose y would be otherwise quite inexplicable. This fact explains the necessity for rule (KHb). On the other hand, this morpheme cannot be the provenience of the initial i in the 3pl-it ending -Itij, since if it were, we would expect it to delete by the i/+ +C-deletion rule. Thus the angle brackets in rule (KJa) as well. In fact, the ending Itij comes from +i+itui+ti, and the first +i+ deletes by the usual rule
before a diffuse sonorant, while the *i lengthens before ti by rule (FK). We see that the rule deleting u/t_i must apply after the rule deleting the first-person and dual morphemic i's, since otherwise we would expect, say, *pematu and *pemateg, instead of pematu and pemateg, respectively.

In the I-it form, the i would delete after the m or ū of the normal inanimate marker, but stays in -egetv. Likewise, the 3s subject t normally becomes g, but stays t in eget. In the 3pl.an.-it form, we expect itui+ti+g to become ṭijig by t --> j, u/t_i-deletion, and (FK); but we get ṭij instead. The verb getgunṭijig shows that the ig cannot delete by some generalization of (ID), so it appears that we must mark this form idiosyncratically to undergo (ID). The same sort of comments hold for the 3pl.inan.-it and 3inan-3an. forms, which all may or must end in -j; final j otherwise comes from underlying -tī or tiV, either of which would be anti-systematic here.

In the 3s-it form, we note that with the inanimate markers -tm- or -m-, the m deletes by sonorant-deletion. The forms with 3pl.inan. object are usually simply the 3s,inan. object forms with l (the inanimate plural marker) added. But in the 1s-3pl. inan. form, this plural marker is
inexplicably -an instead of -1. We recall that in the animate third person plural object forms, there is also the animate plural marker -q after these forms. The 2pl-them form ogwig in fact shows that this is not connected with an immediately preceding formally marked third person ending, just as these inanimate plurals follow the formal markers for other persons. Also, third person plural subjects as well cause the appropriate plural marker to appear at the end of the form. In fact, if either the subject or object is a plural third person inanimate, the plural marker which appears is the inanimate -l, whereas the animate plural marker -q (apparently with a preceding i; cf. ogwig < og + ig) appears only in forms in which both object and subject are animate, and one of them is plural. Thus, e.g., in both the 3an.pl-3inan.pl. and 3inan.pl.-3an.pl., the plural marker is -l, whereas in the 3an.pl.-3an.pl. form it is -ig. The 2pl-them form, which deletes the formal marker for "them," as well as the plural inanimate object forms, show that the number marker must be present before rule (KC) applies. It would appear that the node Number should be present in the structure before the theme-realization rules apply, and have its realization zero in many cases. In any event, we shall assume that
this node Number is created by the transformations which
copy the object and subject after the verb. Then we will
need the following rules to account for its realizations;
rule (KK) must apply before (KC):

\[
\text{(KK)} \quad \text{Num} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Plu} \\ -\text{an} \end{bmatrix} / ([+\text{obj}]) & \begin{bmatrix} +3 \\ -1 \end{bmatrix} ([+\text{subj}]) \\
\emptyset 
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\text{(KL)} \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{a)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Plu} \\ -\text{an} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [1] \\
\text{b)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Plu} \\ +\text{an} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [(i)g].
\end{cases}
\]

It is very curious that the endings for inanimate
subject forms often have identical shapes to the corre-
responding animate subject forms, and that in any case, only
the it, them-me endings (+ig- -igl) overtly have the inanimate
\text{g}; in every other case the realization of the inanimate
third person itself appears to be the same as that of the
animate (except, of course, for plural markers). So appar-
ently, when we introduce the third person markers, we must
have a special rule to get \text{g} in the it-me forms, but then
the rule must introduce \text{ti} for both the 3an and the other
3inan. markers.
These inanimate subject forms provide other difficulties as well. We have already noted the curious final \(-j\) of the 3pl-3inan.s. forms; \(-j\) also occurs in the 3inan.-3an. forms. The 3s.inan.-3s.an. form is \(aj\) (the rules would give \(*ugwit\)), indicating a quasi-underlying form \(ΩtiV\); the past is \(at\)\(\varepsilon\)\(n\), indicating the underlying form \((?)\)\(at+pni+1\), whereas the negative is \(ugug\), and the future is \(ugu-\)\(te\)\(w\), both indicating the \(ugu\) (\(?\) \(ug\)) theme.¹⁰

Furthermore, in the 3inan.pl.-3an.pl. form, the plural marker \(l\) may optionally delete. This is also true of the 3inan.pl.-13 form, which may be either \(-inam\(\varepsilon\)l\) or \(-inam\(\varepsilon\)\(j\)l\), but if the \(l\) is deleted, can only be \(inam\(\varepsilon\)j\). The i/\(-l\)-deletion rule discussed on page 46 of the Nouns chapter above can help explain these forms: \(inam\(\varepsilon\)l\) has a +boundary between the \(t\) and the \(l\), while \(inam\(\varepsilon\)\(j\)l\) has a #-boundary; of course, the \(j\) in \(inam\(\varepsilon\)j\) is followed by a #-boundary after the \(l\) has deleted, which accounts for the \(j\), inasmuch as the i-deletion rule cannot apply. On the other hand, these forms may simply be free alternants.

In the 3-[+2]pl and 3-[+1]pl. forms, namely 3-12, 3-13, 3-2pl, we may optionally have, formally speaking, the passive form, which is \(-ugwsi\) followed by the 12, 13, or
2pl intransitive endings, respectively. In fact, in the 3-2pl. this passive is the only form permitted. But it must be remarked here that in Micmac the true passive forms require an indefinite subject which is deleted. That is, there is no Micmac analogue to English "Bill was hit by John," but only of "Bill was hit." As soon as the underlying subject becomes definite, an active sentence is required. With the forms under discussion, however, we may have both the subject and object explicit, showing that they are not real passives, but true active forms which merely resemble the passives.

When both the subject and object are third person animates, we have seen that the object becomes obviative. If the object is singular, it takes the ending 1, and the morphophonemics are identical to those of the animate 1. This is similar to the English example where the s of the possessive and the s of the plural have identical morphophonemics, by and large, although being quite different morphemes; if plural, its ending is the regular animate plural g. Thus: jīnm pemālatl ŋmūj;--the man carries the dog--; jīnm pemālatl ŋmūjg;--the man carries the dogs. Cf. tepaʒan pemālaj ŋmūj;--the sled carries the dog. As is
evident, precisely the same facts obtain in the endings. Only the singular third person animate object of a third person animate subject becomes overtly obviative, adding the obviative morpheme \(-\). It appears problematical exactly how to introduce this obviative morpheme, but since it is mutually exclusive with the plural markers, we could include it in the expansion of rule (KK); yet it is not a number marker as such. The resolution of this formal problem must await a more detailed analysis of the syntax.

We have used the feature [obviative] above in rule (KC). It might be queried why we do not use the feature

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[1st person]} \\
\text{[2nd person]} \\
\text{[-3rd person]}
\end{array}
\]

However, that in \(j\text{í\text{n}m p\text{e\text{m\text{a\text{t\text{o}}}}}\text{g} q\text{u\text{n\text{t\text{e\text{w}}}}}\) --the man carries the stone-- and \(t\text{e\text{p\text{a\text{\text{a}}}n p\text{e\text{m\text{a\text{\text{a}}}i}}}\text{ j} \text{n\text{m\text{u}}}\text{j}--the sled carries the dog--, as opposed to \(j\text{í\text{n}m \text{p\text{e\text{m\text\text{a\text{\text{a}}}l}}}\text{t} \text{l} \text{n\text{m\text{u}}}\text{j}--the man carries the dog--, the object is not obviative, whereas in the last case it is obviative. If we adopted the proposed features, we would in essence be saying that whether or not \(\text{n\text{m\text{u}}}\text{j}--\text{dog}--, \text{say}, is [+3rd person] depends on the animateness of the subject. This seems counterintuitive, and we have therefore introduced the new feature [obviative]. Furthermore, it cannot
be simply the object which becomes obviative, or even the second and later third person animate nouns in a sentence, for in "John's sled carries the dog," "dog" is not obviative, and in "The man carries me," "me" is not obviative. These facts are similar to those in most other Algonquian languages.

We have now covered the basic present active forms. The past tense forms are simply the present forms plus the past tense morpheme -apni-, with the third person g or l plural markers occurring after the past tense morpheme. Thus, in forms which do not have the g or l plural in the present, the past tense ends in p, since the i and n will successively be deleted (cf. above, p. 180 et seq.). Forms which have the g or l plural in the present end in pni and pn, respectively, in the past, the latter from rules discussed in the intransitive chapter above. If -deletion comes before vowel-copying, as there is nothing to stop it from doing (especially since it appears that vowel-copying is a rather late rule), we would then have another argument for making \( \mathfrak{a} \) be [-voc], that is, a glide; for vowel-copying seems not to apply before vowels.

In the future, we typically find the future morpheme
corresponding to the last post-theme "intransitive" morpheme which occurs in the present tense form. Thus, 2s-1 pres. i-n, future i-tes; 3s-13 pres i-nam-t, future i-nam-tew; 1s-2pl pres ul-co, future ul-toqsp, etc. This does not appear to hold true, however, in the an-3an. forms, where the theme is followed by the future morpheme corresponding to the subject. This may be handled by changing rule (KC)1a) to read

\[
\left[+3 \begin{array}{l}
\langle \text{an}\rangle \\
\langle \text{an} \rangle
\end{array} \right] \left[\left[\langle +1 \rangle_a \langle -2 \rangle_a \langle +3 \rangle_a \right] \langle +\text{Fut} \rangle_a \right], \quad a \Longrightarrow b,
\]

and adding an optional third entry in the structural description of the rule. This would not affect the rule, other than making it applicable to those new cases. This would make (KC)2) inapplicable, and then the future-spelling rule could operate on the last person morpheme in the ending, together with the Num morpheme, except when the last person morpheme was the third person morpheme. That is, we get 3s-3s fut atal, 3s-3pl fut ataq; but both the 12-3s and 12-3pl future forms, say, are atesnugw. This sort of rule again looks like the type most easily handled by Gruber's lexical insertion technique.

The negative forms will require slightly more
detailed consideration. As mentioned before, the negative morpheme ñ typically appears between the theme and the rest of the present ending. Thus, the negatives 2pl-1 iwoñ, 2-13 iweg, 2s-3s awqtn ( < a+ut by g-insertion), 2pl-3s awoñ. Incidentally, the passive and passive-like active endings form their negative by adding ñ after ñgusi and before the rest of the ending, which suggests that ñgusi is the passive "theme"; that is, that when theme time comes around, passive sentences already have the indefinite underlying subject in the "object" position, and ñgusi is assigned as the 3indef. theme. The position of the negative morpheme in intransitive non-singular forms furthermore justifies our calling the number morphemes in the intransitive verb forms, and the few transitive forms which have them, parts of the theme.

The 2s-1 neg. form is -iwun, from i+u+n by rule (FG) above, which inserts a ñ before ñn, and which applies before glide-formation.

The second person object forms are curious. For example, from 13-2 uleg, we find -ulnueg, with optional deletion of the n to give the expected -ulueg. This is typical, and suggests that the theme may in fact be -ûln-
instead of simply -\textit{\(\tilde{u}\)}-, and that the \(n\) may or must delete depending on factors which do not seem readily specifiable. Except for this \(n\), the forms do not offer many peculiarities. Thus, 1-2s \textit{ulnu} \(\langle ulntu+i\rangle\), 13-2 \textit{ulntu+eq}, 1-2pl \textit{ulntu+oq}. The 3-2s and 3-12 forms pose no problems. We expect \\
\textit{ulntu+ti} \(\triangleright\) \textit{ulnugw} for the former and \textit{ulntu+qu+ti} \(\triangleright\) \\
\textit{ulntu+qu+q} \(\triangleright\) \textit{ulnugw}; for the latter; the final long \textit{g:w} in the 3-12 was not recorded, but the informant insisted the two forms were different, so this omission is very likely erroneous.

The 3-13 negative form is peculiar. If the underlying form were the expected \textit{i+u+nam\$t}, we would not have any means of deleting the \textit{u} which would not also delete it incorrectly in the 2s-1 negative form and the intransitive 2s negative. This suggests that rule (KDa) is in fact not a simple expansion rule, but a lexical insertion rule, and that \textit{nam\$} is inserted for \textit{(Neg) 13} in this form, which would make the negative identical to the positive, as it indeed is.

Certain of the third person object forms are problematical. We saw above that the 2-3 forms are unexceptional. The 3pl-3 forms are also regular: \textit{\(\tilde{a}\)tigul} \(\langle\)
\( \text{at+i+w+gu+l} \) (by \( \text{w-revocalization} \) and \((\text{IB'}))\), which deletes the first \( \text{w} \) \( \text{< at+ui+u+wi+l < at+ui+u+ti+l} \) and \( \text{atiqwig < a+ti+u+ti+q} \). Likewise, the \( 3\text{inan-3an.pl. forms} \) are regularly formed, and we have already mentioned the peculiarities of the \( 3\text{inan-3an.s. negative forms} \). The remaining forms are very curious. We list them below, the occurrent form in the first column, and the corresponding presumed underlying form in the second column:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1s-3 & \text{ag} \\
12-3 & \text{ag:w} \\
13-3 & \text{agat:} \\
3s-3 & \text{agul}
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{The 1-3 form in particular is problematical. Note that glide formation would give us} \ a+ti+i+ti, \text{and we would then have no way for the} \ t \text{to become} \ g. \text{This suggests that this form may be the result of a lexical insertion rule just as the 3-13 form above. The fact that the} \ g's \text{in the 1-3 and 13-3 forms undergo spirantization further indicates that this lexical insertion would have to cover the negative node, again just as in the 3-13 form. This is necessary to distinguish these two forms from the 3-13 negative form} \ agul \text{without spirantization. Again, the fact that we get vowel-copying in} \text{-agat:} \text{indicates that} \ g \text{is a glide. The} \]

[u,w]-deletion in 12-3 ag:w and 3-3 aquul comes from a generalization of (IB'), making it optionally applicable when any vowel precedes the ū; most examples given in the discussion of (IB') above, such as sewg:w, can certainly appear with the w barely present if at all. On the other hand, those words such as awgti and ewgsimg which contain an inserted continuant g cannot be pronounced *agti or *egsim. Thus, we must constrain the g to be [-uvular], and (IB') can be considerably simplified:

\[
(\text{IB'}) \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{-cons}
\text{-voc}
\text{+diff}
\text{+grave}
\end{array} \quad \text{OPT} \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{+voc}
\text{-cons}
\text{-diff}
\text{+grave}
\text{-uvul}
\end{array}
\]

Of course, the 12-3 and 3-3 endings may be awg:w and awgul, respectively, but rarely are so, especially the latter. Since (IB) applies after geminate segment agglomeration, the inserted continuant g in, say, sewg:w, will have been agglomerated with the following non-continuant g.

Now, the fact that we need to make use of the lexical insertion technique to handle a few irregular forms should not tempt us to give up on trying to capture the generalizations inherent in the transitive verb endings. In fact, that is precisely the beauty and one of the most appealing features of the lexical insertion technique: it
permits us to capture the generalizations in a basically regular inflectional system, while affording us a mechanism to handle forms which are ostensibly irregular or non-systematic.

The inanimate object forms we discussed above with reference only to the -m- or -tm- inanimate morpheme. We recall that this morpheme may also take the shape ∅ (after -ege-) or -tu-. The stem -ege- reinforces our observation that the endings are basically those of the intransitive endings: 1-it -egey, 2s-it -egen, 3s-it -eget, 12-it -egeyqw, 13-it -egeyeq, 2pl-it -egeyoq. Also after -tu-, most endings are just as in the transitive forms: 12-it -tūq (< tu+uw), 13-it -tueg, 2pl-it -tuoq. The 2s-it form -tūn, underlying tu+n, further supports rule (FG), which would make this tuu+n, to give us the correct form. The 3s-it form with this stem is -teq, underlying -tu+g from -tutt by t --> g. This is obviously due to the u --> o rule we discussed above in the second chapter:

(KM) \[
\begin{align*}
[-\text{long}] & \quad \longrightarrow \quad [-\text{diff}] / [\text{voc}] \\
[-\text{cons}] & \quad \longrightarrow \quad [-\text{diff}] \\
[-\text{grave}] & \quad \longrightarrow \quad [\text{cons}] \\
[-\text{grave}] & \quad \longrightarrow \quad [-\text{diff}]
\end{align*}
\]

The 3pl-it forms are interesting both in the -tu- stems
(underlying -tu+i+itui+ti) and the stem ege (underlying -ege+i+itui+ti). Rules discussed above delete the morphemic i among other things and at some point we will get -tu+itij and -ege+itij, respectively. We wish these to end up -tutij and -egetij, respectively. That is, we wish to adjust the quality of the i to that of the preceding vowel, to get -tu+itij and -ege+itij as intermediate forms. For this, we need a generalization of rule (FE'):

\[
(FE) \begin{array}{c}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{long} \\
+\text{diff}
\end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\langle\text{-unit}\rangle \\
\langle\text{agrave}\rangle \\
\langle\text{βdiffuse}\rangle
\end{array} / \langle+\rangle \begin{array}{c}
\langle\text{-voc}\rangle \\
\langle\text{agrave}\rangle \\
\langle\text{βdiff}\rangle
\end{array} + \ldots.
\]

If an inanimate stem ended in -o or -a, we would expect from this rule -ōtij; no such stems are encountered, however.

In the 3-it negative of -tu- stems, we get -tuqw, from underlying tu+u+ti \(\rightarrow\) tu+u+gw by t \(\rightarrow\) g and final-vowel shortening. Now rule (KM) will not apply, but pre-u u-deletion, discussed in the Contraction chapter, will, and we see that pre-u u-deletion must apply after (KM) has failed to apply. Pre-u u-deletion will also cause many of the other -tu- negative forms to be identical to the corresponding positive form.

We now will examine the different types of transitive verb stems, and the peculiarities of each type.
The stem \textit{mete}-- strike--, has no animate marker, so the endings are attached directly to the stem. The endings beginning with a consonant or -\textit{g} remain unchanged, except that \textit{e} is absorbed by the \textit{o}: 3-2s \textit{metesg}, 1-3 \textit{metog}, etc. Likewise for the first person object forms in -\textit{i}-: 2s-1 \textit{metein}, 2-13 \textit{meteyeg}, etc. Before endings beginning with a grave vowel, however, the stem undergoes certain changes. In the forms with endings in -\textit{ugws} and -\textit{ul}-, we get \textit{metogws} and \textit{metol}, respectively. This indicates the operation of two rules: first, a rule changing \textit{e} to \textit{o}:

\begin{equation}
\text{(DC')} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{e} \rightarrow \text{[+grave]} / \quad \text{[u, w]},
\end{array}
\end{equation}

and then an extension of rule (\text{IB}'), discussed above, to delete the \textit{w} or \textit{u}:

\begin{equation}
\text{(IB)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[cons} \\
\text{+diff} \\
\text{+grave}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{[OPT]} \\
\rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[-unit]} \\
\leftarrow \text{[diff]}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[voc} \\
\text{+cons} \\
\text{-cont]}
\end{array} \\
\rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+grave] \\
\text{+diff]}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

In the forms with endings in -\textit{a}-, we get \textit{meta}-, thus: 3-3 \textit{metatl}. This suggests a generalization of (\text{DC}'), which is further evidenced in the 2pl-3 \textit{metogw} \textit{mete}+\textit{og}:

\begin{equation}
\text{(DC')} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{e} \rightarrow \text{[+grave]} / \quad \text{[cons} \\
\text{+comp]} \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[grave] \\
\text{+comp]}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

That is, \textit{e} becomes \textit{a} before \textit{a}, and \textit{o} before \textit{o}, \textit{u}, or \textit{w}. We find further evidence of (\text{DC}') in the negative: 1-3 \textit{metag} <
metē+a+q, 3-3 metāqul < metē+a+w+ti+1; also in the future; 2s-3fut. metātes < metē+a+ttes. One form is quite curious. The 12-3 form is metog:w < metē+w. (DC') correctly predicts the quality of the ɔ, but the quantity is puzzling. Consideration of the 3pl intransitive negative forms seemed to indicate that long vowels are permissible before long ɣ, but perhaps the labialization of the ɣ is sufficient to cause shortening of the preceding vowel. In any case, the past metog:up and negative metag:w show precisely the same shortening phenomenon. We will not give the shortening rule here, but we note that it must come after at least rules (DC'), vowel copying, and unstressed V-deletion. This appears to be the same phenomenon which shortens the ɔ in the 3sing neg aljawgw and 12plural pemitaygw; on the other hand, it is an unsolved problem how to limit (IC) so that it will not apply to, say, the 3plural negative modpegw:w, inasmuch as ig-deletion must be fairly early, although a later placement of the ig-deletion rule may ultimately provide the solution of this problem.

The stem elugwā- evidences similar phenomena to those of metē-: before endings beginning with -i or a consonant, the stem is untouched, but before endings
beginning in ā or ă, the stem changes to ēlug(w)ō-, and it remains untouched before -a- endings. Thus: 2-1 ēlugwāyn, 3-2s ēlugwāsq, 1-3s ēlugwāq; 1-2s ēlug(w)ōl, 3-12 ēlug(w)ōgwsīgw; 3-3 ēlugwātīl. These data suggest that (DC') be further generalized to include ā as well as ē:

(DC') \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+voc]} \\
\text{[-cons]} \\
\text{[+long]} \\
\text{[-diff]}
\end{array}
\] \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+grave]} \\
\text{[a comp]} \\
\text{[-cons]} \\
\text{[+grave]} \\
\text{[a comp]}
\end{array}
\]

(IB), which must of course apply after (DC'), must also apply after g-spirantization, in order that we derive, say, metōgwsioğ, and not *metōgısioğ.

The stem nemi-, see, remains unchanged before first-person-object -i endings, giving, say, 2-1 nemiin from nemi+in by geminate segment agglomeration. Before endings beginning with -ū, the i changes to ā:

(KN) \[i \longrightarrow u / \underline{-} + ā.\]

Such words as qiasgīw show that the i must be short, and the morpheme boundary must be present in the rule so that we get jujij--lizard and not *jūjij from underlying tiutitī by the rule given in the Noun chapter:

(CA) \[i \longrightarrow 0 / \underline{-} \quad \text{[+cons]} \quad \text{[+grave]} \quad \text{[+diff]} .\]
(KN) followed by geminate segment agglomeration gives us
1-2s nemūl, 3-12 nemūgwsigw, 13-3 nemūgw, etc. Note that
the form nemūl < nemitul shows that (KN) must follow pre-ū
ū-deletion; if (KN) also follows i/ ū-deletion, then
the comment about jujij above is no longer applicable, and
we can eliminate the morpheme boundary in (KN). Before end-
ings beginning with other vowels, the short i remains:
2pl-3 nemioq, 3-3 nemiatl; neg: 1-3 nemiaq, 13-3 nemiaqat;
fut: 2-3 nemiates, etc. Before endings which begin with a
consonant (which is preceded by a d in many verbs), the
final i of nemi- becomes long, thus: 1-3 nemīq, 2-3 nemīt,
13-3 nemīqat, 3-2s. nemisq (cf., respectively, pemal-ag,
pemal-at, pemal-agat, pemal-asg). In the case of the third-
person-object forms, we know that there is some sort of
vowel originally there (either ā or e) which normally
deletes or becomes shwa, let us say by an idiosyncratic
rule. What these data, then, suggest is that the vowel
becomes shwa, which then sometimes deletes, but only after
causin the immediately preceding vowel, if there is one,
to become long. That is, we amend rule (HD') above to read

(HD) \[
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons}
\end{array}
\] θ

1 2 ===> 1 1,
which effectively lengthens the vowel preceding ə. Of course (HD) must apply before vowel-copying, to avoid deriving, say the 2pl intransitive past *-o долг.

The gwilua- type verbs were discussed above, Transitive chapter, pp. 265-70, and rules (KA) and (KB). The only comment that needs to be made here is that the wetmeyewa- type, in addition to forming their inanimates irregularly: wetmöt̄m̥ (notice that only the deletion of the stem-final ə, and especially that of the y, is irregular here, for the given inanimate would be perfectly regular from underlying wetmeu+tm̥ by (DC') and (IB'), also have similar optional forms in some of the second-person-object endings. Thus, 1-2s wetmeyeul, rarely wetmöl. Whatever idiosyncracy, at present ill-understood, of these stems which gives the inanimate can account for these peculiar forms as well.

The stem temsaq̠-, with no animate marker, has a few forms which bear discussion. Consider the 3-2s form temsaq̠asq and the 13-3 form temsaq̠:q̠t. We recall that we wish to say that the 3-2s ending is (irregularly) -asq̠ (cf. pemul-asq̠), while the 13-3 ending is -a+q̠t or -a+q̠t̄, and that the rule eliminating the third person-object ə or əə
changes it to shwa, which we further recall is [-voc], that is, a glide. Furthermore, vowel-copying does not occur after g before vowels. What all these observations imply is that vowel-copying applies before the rule changing ŋ or ŋ to ŋ; thus temsaŋ+tsg becomes temsaŋ+tsg by vowel-copying, but temsaŋ+a+get fails to undergo vowel-copying and then becomes temsaŋ+agat and finally temsaŋ+at by unstressed V-deletion. The remaining forms are as expected: 2s-1 temsaŋin, 1-2s temsaŋul, 2pl-3 temsaŋog; neg: 1-3 temsaŋag, etc. The behavior of the stem gepijq- is identical to that of temsaŋ-, except that vowel-copying, if applicable, produces an ŋ instead of an ŋ.

The stem ewiŋew- --build a house for--, remains unchanged before endings beginning with a vowel: 2s-1 ewiŋewin, 1-2s ewiŋewul, 2s-13 ewiŋewieg, 3-3 ewiŋewatl, 2pl-3 ewiŋewog, etc. Before endings beginning with a consonant, however, we observe that we have the environment of g-insertion, rule (CE), satisfied; namely, ew+[+obst]; and we in fact get 1-3 ewiŋewg:w, 2s-3 ewiŋewgt, and 13-3 ewiŋewggat. Of course, in the negative we no longer get g-insertion because of the intrusive ŋ: 1-3 neg ewiŋewag.

We now examine the reflexive and reciprocal forms
of Micmac. A typical reflexive is ta'am-si--I hit myself--, with the reflexive morpheme -si- added to the stem. Pemālsii--I carry myself--, shows that in fact the reflexive morpheme is added to the animate stem. This is superficially just what we would expect, except that inanimate reflexives, e.g. pemālsiq--it carries itself--, also add the morpheme -si- to the animate stem. Likewise, the reciprocal morpheme -stii- (t stui-) is also added to the animate stem, even for inanimate reciprocals: pemāltultiq--they (inan.) carry each other. The implications of this are difficult to determine, but it may mean that the reflexives and reciprocals are simply morphemes added to the animate stem; that is, that they are not transformationally derived. Determination of the facts must await a detailed analysis of Micmac syntax.

The reflexive nemīsi--I see myself--, adds support to our claim that the ending is -si-, since the final -i- of the stem would in that case be lengthened. The reflexive metōsi--I strike myself--, is of interest, however. It is presumably from metē+si+i, and we would expect the stem-final ē to become o by rule (DC'). But this would then require that o be both [+grave] and [-compact]. Thus we
see that, whereas the glides y and w correspond to the
vowels i and u respectively, the glide ə corresponds to the
vowel ə. Of course, it does not appear to be derivable
from the vowel, as the diffuse glides are.

The same arguments apply to an?gunōsi--I cover my-
self--, from an?gunā+əsi. We do find the form elugwāsi--I
make myself work--, presumably from elugwā+əsi+i, whereas
we would expect *elug(w)ōsi, like an?gunōsi. This form,
together with pemālsı (as opposed to the expected *pemāləsi)
might lead us to hypothesize that there are two reflexive
(resp., reciprocal) morphemes, -əsi and -si (resp., -tui-
and -tui-), and that the particular stem must in general be
marked as to which one it takes. This hypothesis is per-
haps supported by the fact that some verbs have alternate
forms for, say, the reflexive; e.g., taŋamsı or taŋamǝsi;
maljensi or maljenusti--I massage myself--; an?gitɛləmsı or
an?gitɛlməsi--I think of myself. The reflexives of the
-ua- stem verbs of course normally drop the ū: apoqonmasi--
I help myself; but occasionally there is the option of
dropping the ā: nenusi, nenasi--I know myself. This adds
further support to the analysis wherein there are two
choices of the reflexive morpheme. Once the choice of əsi
or si (resp, əti or ti) has been made, the animate stem, plus the reflexive (resp., reciprocal) morpheme is inflected as if it were an intransitive verb, meaning "X oneself," and it forms its plural with -lti−: pemāltultieg−we (exc.) carry one another. Of course the reciprocal can only appear in the non-singular forms: pemāltieg−we (exc., dual) carry each other−, but *pemaltin−*you(s.) carry each other.

The passive forms, as has been mentioned above, can occur only with an indefinite underlying subject. These forms are apparently derived in two separate ways. One is by adding the "passive stem" -ugsi− to the animate stem of the verb, which combination is then inflected precisely like an intransitive verb, with, however, only formally singular and dual forms. This passive morpheme, like the reflexive and reciprocal morphemes, is also added to the animate stem even for the inanimate passives, which are inanimate objects in the "underlying form," thus: pemālugwsig−it gets carried. The comments made above about the reflexive hold, then, mutatis mutandis, for this type of passive as well. Except in the 12, 13, and 2pl passives, where it is the only possible one, the -ugsi− form is rather rare, though somewhat less so in the past, and especially in the
negative, than in the present and future.

The other type of passive is much less consistent. The inanimate of this passive is formed on the inanimate stem, while the animate passives are formed on the animate stem. This suggests that these passives are transformationally derived. We give the endings of the second type of passive below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>img</td>
<td>imθg</td>
<td>imgθp</td>
<td>iten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s.</td>
<td>ulg</td>
<td>ulnθmθg</td>
<td>ulgθp</td>
<td>ulten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>ut</td>
<td>amθg</td>
<td>utp</td>
<td>aten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they an.</td>
<td>ujig</td>
<td>amθgig</td>
<td>utpθng</td>
<td>aten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>asθg</td>
<td>asθ:t:nugw</td>
<td>asθgθp</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they inan.</td>
<td>asθgl</td>
<td>asθ:t:nugul</td>
<td>asθgθpθn</td>
<td>ten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note, first, that the animate forms have fairly consistently the theme which corresponds to the passive subject; that is, to the underlying object (-i- for the first person, -ūl(n)- for the second person, and -a- for the third person). The a is absent in the present third person animate forms, but appears in the negative and future. The remainders of these forms are more problematical, however. First of all, in the animate negative forms, there appears uniformly the (morpheme?) segments -mθg after the theme.
It may be that this is the realization of the indefinite subject in negative contexts (that is, of Neg+3inddef, but not including the final Num morpheme, cf. 3pl. -amרגיג). This would imply that in positive contexts (namely, the present and past, of the tenses we are considering in this thesis) that the indefinite subject of first, second, and third persons is, respectively, -mq, -g, and -ut, the latter also replacing the 3 theme. That 유 is a single morpheme is further implied by the fact that, if a morpheme boundary appeared between the 유 and the 티, we would expect 티 --+ 풍 to apply, giving us *-ugw. Furthermore, if [t,j]/

p-deletion only deletes morphemic 티 or 떳, the fact that 유 is a morpheme would also explain why the past is -ut.repaint(niq), instead of *-up(niq). The future has uniformly the ending -ten after the theme (which is null in the inanimate passives). This appears similar to the future morphemes so far seen for the intransitive and transitive verbs, but not identical to any of them. Compare the 1sfuture and 2sfuture -tes, and the 3sfuture -tew. The inanimate appears to have the "theme" -asוג- (pres. tagtasוג--it got hit--; negative tağtasat:nuqו; future ṭagtasוגtג tung; cf. the similarities to the inanimate future
forms of the -äsi- verbs, see previous chapter), which in the future appears to alternate with -ten (cf. sam?tëten--it will get patted--; námít:en--it'll be seen).

Some imperatives are also transitive in their formation. Of course, the only possible imperatives are for the non-second-person objects, namely 1s, 13, and 3an. and inan.; there are also 2s and 2pl "reflexive" imperatives. Now, many facts lead to an analysis of imperatives with a marker for the second person in the underlying form: firstly, the absence of imperatives with 12pl. objects; secondly, the fact that the 2s and 2pl imperatives are formed precisely on the reflexive stem. Semantically, this is precisely what we would expect. The inanimate imperative, "do X to it!", is formed on the inanimate stem; and the animate imperatives are formed on the animate stem.

As to the actual formation of the imperatives, there are several problems, but many regularities. Firstly, the imperative marker has at least some features in common with the future marker, for it causes contraction if the stem is susceptible to it. It cannot be identical with the future, and simply optionally deleted, for the endings are distinct from the future endings, despite a very few similarities to be mentioned below.
It seems clear that part of the ending must be the "object" theme; observe the endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s.imp.s.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13imp.s.</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.imp.s.</td>
<td>ə (≻ Ø; see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.imp.s.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s.imp.pl.</td>
<td>igw&lt; i + ug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13imp.pl.</td>
<td>in(en), (ieg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.imp.pl.</td>
<td>ugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.imp.pl.</td>
<td>ugw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, for the verb stem pemāl/pemātu--carry--, we get the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sing</td>
<td>pmāli</td>
<td>pmāligw</td>
<td>pmāliw pmālinew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13nonsing</td>
<td>pmālin</td>
<td>pmālinen</td>
<td>pmālin pmālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.s., nons.</td>
<td>pmāl</td>
<td>pmālugw</td>
<td>pmālaw pmālanew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3inan.s., non-s.</td>
<td>pmātu</td>
<td>pmātugw</td>
<td>pmātu pmātnew.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending after the theme, except for the 13 imperative forms, seems to be ugw in the present plural, and Ø in the present singular. In the negative, the word mut--don't--, is prefaced to the verb, and the singular ending simply adds w to the present, but the plural substitutes ne for ūg, and adds the w to that. In the 13 imperative, the ending seems normally to be n (ʔn nā), with sometimes (optionally?)
-nē- added in the 13 imp. pl. before the n, even in the present forms. We recall that we saw the same basic endings in the intransitive imperatives, and we there made a case for the singular ending being ā. The same case may be made here, although somewhat less strongly.

The stem metē-, 3imp. metā, shows several things: firstly, the 3imp. ending must in fact be -ā, in order to get the ā of meta. Secondly, the rule eliminating the third-person-object theme must follow rule (DC'), in order to get the ă to change to ā. Thirdly, the ā-elimination rule must precede final-vowel-shortening, in order to get meta, and not *meta (Note that no 3imp. of any verb ends in a long vowel). This comment would not hold if rule (FI) could apply in the imperative. After the i theme of the 1simp., the -āsi- of the 2dual (reflexive) imp., and the -līti- of the 2plural (reflexive) imp., we find the ā of āgw deleted (clearly after vowel-copying) by rule (IB), giving us the ostensible ending āgw. The ā of the negative ā is deleted after the 13 imp. ending ā in by final-vowel-shortening (note that glide-formation does not apply to it in this position). Rule (DG') above would be able to handle the deletion of ā in the 2pl (reflexive) imp. ending
-əsi+lti+new >  -sultnew if the n were followed by a mor-
pheme boundary, which seems questionable. It may be that
(DG') is incorrectly stated, and should apply universally
to unstressed i's before (consonantal?) sonorants; see
Possession chapter, p.318, for the emended (DG), which
handles these cases. We point out, without attempting an
explication, the partial similarity between the ne which
appears in the negative imp. pl., and certain of the future
morphemes (lsfut -tesnen, passive fut -ten).

We observe that the imperative forms pose several
unanswered problems; but their explicable aspects shed
sufficient light on general problems as to make their dis-
cussion at least somewhat fruitful.
CHAPTER VI

NOUN POSSESSION

Possessed nouns in Micmac are inflected for both the person and number of the possessor, and the number of the possessed noun itself. The person and number of the possessor is usually indicated by a combination of a prefix and a suffix on the possessed noun, and the number of the possessed noun is indicated by the animate plural marker $g$, or the inanimate $l$, depending on its gender, added after the possessor suffix, if there is one. In addition, with third person possessors, animate nouns become obviative, in which case the singular possessed animate noun adds the obviative $-l$ after the suffix, and the plural obviative noun has the same suffix as the non-obviative (that is, it ends in $-g$). The combination of the prefix and suffix in many cases resembles the personal pronouns (see page 334 below).

The suffixes are typically the following: 1's--s. $l$

$\emptyset$, 2's--s. $\emptyset$, 3s.'s--s. $\emptyset$; 12's--s. $\text{inu}$, 13's--s. $\text{inen}$.
2pl.'s--s. *uow*, 3pl.'s--s. *uow*. Thus, for the stem *-ig--*
house--, we have the following forms:

- nīg--my house
- gīg--your(s.) house
- wīg--his house
- gīginu--our(l2) house
- nīginen--our(l3) house
- gīguow--your(pl.) house
- wīguow--their house
- nīgl--my houses
- gīgl--your(s.) houses
- wīgl--his houses
- gīginal--our(l2) houses
- nīginal--our(l3) houses
- gīgual--your(pl.) houses
- wīgual--their houses.

There has been the implication in previous chapters
that underlying *-ueu-* becomes *-uow-*, but there has been no
explicit rule given. This can clearly be handled by an
extension of *(DC')*:

\[(DC) \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+voc} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\text{-diff} \\
\text{-long}
\end{array} \right\} \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+grave} \\
\text{comp}
\end{array} \right\} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-cons} \\
\text{+grave} \\
\text{comp} \\
\text{-long}
\end{array} \right\} ,
\]

\[a \rightarrow b, a \rightarrow d, \text{and } b \rightarrow c.\]

We see, then, that *-uow* is from underlying *-uew*. But now
we can explain why in the 2pl.'s and 3pl.'s plural, the
*-uow* becomes *-ual* or *-uag*, depending on the animateness
of the stem. For the underlying forms of these two plural
endings are *-uew+l* and *-uew+g*, respectively, and rule *(BC)*
discussed above will delete the *w*, giving us, respectively,
*-ue+l* and *-ue+g*, and then rule *(BD')* generalized will change
the \( \tilde{e} \) to \( \tilde{a} \), giving us -ual and ual, respectively, just as in the simple noun plurals aligew, aligal--clothes--, and quntew, quntal--stone(s). That is, rules (BDa) (BDb), and (BDC) are combinable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(BD)} & \quad \{ +\text{voc} \} / \{ +\text{cons} \} \quad \{ -\text{cons} \} / \{ +\text{voc} \} \\
\text{(BDa)} & \quad \{ -\text{long} \} / \{ +\text{voc} \} \\
\text{(BDb)} & \quad \{ -\text{long} \} / \{ +\text{voc} \} \\
\text{(BDC)} & \quad \{ +\text{voc} \} / \{ +\text{voc} \}
\end{align*}
\]

where \( a \Rightarrow b \) and \( c \Rightarrow d \).

In the 3sing an. and 3sing inan. of verbs, the future morphemes are both underlying \( \text{tā} \), in fact, which in the singular becomes \( \text{tā} \) by rule (BBb), \( \text{taw} \) by rule (BG), and \( \text{tew} \) by rule (BDA); in the plural we get \( \text{tā}+l \) \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{tal} \) and \( \text{tā}+q \) \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{tāq} \) by rule (BH).

The 12's ending is -inu in the singular. Now, this cannot be the underlying form, since we would expect the \( û \) to drop by final-vowel-dropping if this were the case.

Thus, the underlying form is either -inu or -inuv. Now the plural of, say, the inanimate is -inal. This strongly suggests that the underlying form is in fact -inua, with rule (KA) operating in the plural to delete the \( û \); in the
singular, neither (KA) nor (KB) (a-deletion) would be applicable, but final-vowel-dropping will drop the \( a \), giving us the correct form. Note that a rule of alternation between \( \ddot{u} \) and \( \dddot{a} \) will not work here, because either would be deleted by final-vowel-shortening. Thus, since we need rule (KA) in any case, it is apparent that to postulate a u/a-alternation rule for the gwilua-type verbs would involve an unnecessary rule, in addition to being incorrect, since such a rule would be impossible to formulate correctly (cf. pugtew--wood--; pa\&ateg--the glaring sun--, to see that \( \ddot{u} \) and \( \dddot{a} \) can occur in virtually identical environments).

The 13's ending is \(-inen\), of which the \(-in-\) appears similar to the initial part of the 12's ending \(-inu\), while the \(-en-\) appears reminiscent of part of the future 13 ending (-tesnen), and part of the 13 imp. pl. ending (-inen). In the 13's plural, however, we find the form \(-inal\) or \(-ina\), identical to the ending in the 12's plural. Yet it does not seem possible to drop the \( n \) before \( g \) or \( \ddot{l} \) (cf. nastesint\( g \)). Thus, we appear to have another example here of quasi-suppletion (only the latter part of the ending is changed: \(-inen\) ostensibly becomes \(-ina\) (or \(-inua?\))). In any case, the lexical insertion technique appears to be
both applicable and necessary in this case, at the very least to substitute ą for ūn. See the Transitive chapter, fn. 11, for discussion of this sort of lexical insertion.

Various phonological rules are applicable to these endings when they are added to certain stems. In particular, various things happen to the i of -inu or inen. When the stem ends in a dental (t or n) the i drops, by an extension of (DG').

\[
\begin{align*}
\left[ +\text{voc} \right] & \left[ +\text{cons} \right] \left[ +\text{son} \right] \left[ +\text{grv} \right] \\
-\text{cons} & -\text{grv} \\
-\text{long} & +\text{diff} \\
+\text{diff} & +\text{nas} \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{OPT}_{b} \\
\emptyset / ( \left[ +\text{cons} \right] \left[ -\text{grv} \right] ) + g \rightarrow f \\
\left[ +\text{grv} \right] \\
\left[ -\text{nas} \right] \end{array}
\]

Thus we get n?gatnu--our (12) leg; nitn+inen > nitn+nen > nitnen--our nostril--; gâñsigwan+inu--our eyebrow-- OPT > gâñsigwanu.

From the stem -ngigu--parent-- (cf. gâñiguw--your (s.) parent) we get 2pl.'s pl. gâñiguwağ (gâñiguwağ) < gâñigu+wağ < gâñigu+uağ < gâñigu+ueu+q. The stems -itū-- hair--, and -inū-- (/ilu--)--food--, form their 13's pl. possessive as nitūnal and ninūnal, respectively, from
nitūinal and ninūinal, respectively. These forms suggest that we alter (GG'), which changes i to ū after C[u,w] and before a vowel. It is not clear, however, whether to change the rule so that it would delete i after Cū_____ before anything, or to allow sonorant consonants after the i. The latter can be stated more simply, so we arbitrarily choose it until further evidence is available:

\[(GG) \left[ \begin{array}{c}
{+voc} \\
{-cons} \\
{+diff} \\
{-grave}
\end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left( \begin{array}{c}
{-cons} \\
{+diff} \\
{-long}
\end{array} \right) \]

Another interesting case is stems such as -ti---(sled) dog--- (cf. n?ti--my dog--, n?tig--my dogs), which in, say, the 13's s. gives us n?tī+inen \rightarrow \ n?tinen. Presumably, since this is a general phenomenon of stems such as these, we need some little-understood rule here to delete the i. Clearly, however, this rule must follow (DG), since we do not wish to get *n?tnen:

\[(LA) \quad \tilde{i} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \emptyset + i(n) (????).\]

This particular stem shows another very interesting alternation. Instead of the 13's s. form n?tinen derived above, we usually find n?tinen; likewise we find the 12's s. form n?tenu alongside the expected n?tinnu. The corresponding forms are found in the 12's and 13's plural. These forms
appear almost capriciously irregular. Another apparently irregular formation is the 13's, 2pl's, and 3pl's forms of -itap- --buddy. The stem must be -itapa-, shown by the plural, e.g., nitapaq--my buddies. But the 13's s. is nitapenen (cf. the regular 12's s. gitapinu), and the 2pl's and 3 pl's forms are gitapewow and witapewal, respectively, instead of the expected *gitapuow and *witapual, respectively.

Note the regular witapal--his buddy--(the l is the obviative, see below). These two stems are apparently simply semi-suppletive in certain possessed forms, although no rational description of this behavior seems to be forthcoming.

The prefixes of noun possession show some interesting alternations, and indicate a state of flux in present-day Micmac. The basic prefixes are uniform throughout the different types of noun possession (viz., n- for first person, g- for second person, and y- for third person), but the persons which take a particular prefix vary slightly in the two types of possession. The plural possessed noun, however, always takes the same prefix for a given person as the singular of that noun.

The first, historically more conservative, and, as might be expected, the more infrequent of the two, is that illustrated by most of the nouns we have so far considered.
That is, 1s. n-, 2s. q-, 3s. ū- (w-). This type of possession is found only before stems beginning with a vowel (but not all such stems), and furthermore, the stems are formally obligatorily possessed, (for convenience, we will call these obligatorily possessed stems inalienable), and all inalienable stems which begin with a vowel take this type of possession. In fact, a few stems of this type have alienable forms, but the possessed stem takes on a different shape. Thus: sapun--hair--, but n-usapun--my hair. Very interesting in this respect is the noun āpi--net--, with the inalienable form n-utāpi--my net--, alongside the regular possessed form n?tāpim (see below for the provenience of the t and m of the latter form).

We list here stems which seem to show a vowel pre-augment after the first class of possessor prefixes, with the augmented stem in parentheses after the definition of the noun: āpi--net--(-utāpi; perhaps confused with -utapi) (tapi, see below); mgign--hook--(-amign); sapun--hair--(-usapun); tapi--bow--(-utapi); tepagan--sled--(-etepagan); tmagan--pipe--(-etma gan if prefix is g: -utma gan otherwise); tmawey--tobacco--(occasionally -etmawey if prefix is g; utmawey otherwise);³ tmign--axe--(-etmign); nijan--my child (vocative)--(-eñjan). This pre-augment (ū or ā in each
case) cannot be predicted, since we find, for example, 3s.'s--s. ugwtlaminu--his belly--, and we will see below that the t could not be predicted if the stem were hypothetically -laminu; therefore the stem must be -tlaminu, and we would expect, say, 3s.'s--s. *utlaminu. Furthermore, we could not explain the different vowel after n in nutmawey and natmign under this analysis. Also, the stem -utapsun--clothes--, e.g., nutapsun--my clothes, has no corresponding alienable form *tapsun, but instead has the phonologically unrelated alienable form aligew, so it appears that we cannot postulate the above stems as beginning with ñ- or a-, which gets deleted in the alienable form. Furthermore, we would have difficulty formulating a rule to delete it, since we have words such as usgitpa#tug--on the waters--and usgus--weasel--, although there are other peculiar facts which might suggest such a rule of initial [ñ,e]-deletion (obviously before contraction, since we would get #ñC- from verbs in #weC- or #euC-, and we want g-insertion to apply there). Having noted the problem with these forms, we will not discuss them further here.

An unusual noun of this type is -ig-- home (cf.
the regular -\( \text{iq} \)-house). The stem can only be singular,\(^4\) and the forms are: 1's, 13's \text{nignon}, 2s's, 2pl's \text{giguow}, 3s.'s, 3pl.'s \text{wiguow}, 12's \text{gignu}. It is apparent that the "singular" possessor forms are identical to the semantically corresponding plural forms. Thus, it appears that the Micmacs do not consider a residence with a solitary inhabitant a "home."\(^5\)

The prefixes of this type are seen to agree with the "order of preference" discussed above (Intransitive chapter, pp. 114-115); that is, if the possessor is [+2nd person], the prefix is \(g\)- (2s., 2pl, or 12); if the possessor is [-2nd person] but [+1st person], the prefix is \(n\)- (1s., 13); and finally, if the possessor is

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{[-2nd person]} & \text{(that is, [+3rd person])}, \\
\text{[-1st person]} & \text{(that is, [+3rd person])}
\end{cases}
\]

This is, as we noted, just the sort of statement we had to make about the themes in the transitive conjugation, in rule (KG), for example, and therefore agrees with the facts in other areas of Micmac morphology.

The second type of possession does not fit this pattern of the person preference being 2, 1, 3, and seems instead to have taken on the order of preference which is characteristic of English, namely 1, 2, 3. Most alienable
nouns, and all inalienable stems beginning with a consonant, are of this type. This type has the following prefixes:
1s. n-, 2s. g-, 3s. ū-, 12 n-, 13 n-, 2pl g-, 3pl ū-. We see that the only prefix which is in fact different is the 12 n-, as opposed to the g- of the first type of possession. This difference, however, is crucial. It means that, for this type of possession, if the possessor is [+1st person], the prefix is n-; if [-1st person] but [+2nd person], the prefix is g-, and if [-1st person] (i.e., [+3rd person]) the prefix is ū-.

Now, in addition to the difference of the prefix in the 12's form, we also often find a t inserted between the prefix and the stem in this type of possession, especially before stems beginning with a vowel. Thus, for awgti--road--, we find the following singular possessed forms:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
  n?tawgti--my road \\
  øgtawgti--your(s.) road \\
  ugwtawgti--his road \\
  n?tawgtinu--our(12) road \\
  n?tawgtinen--our(13) road \\
  øgtawgtiwow--your (pl.) road \\
  ugawgtiwow--their road.
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The g after the ū's in the third person possessor forms arises from a generalization of rule (CE'), g-insertion,
which is also necessary to derive the contracted form, say, \textit{ugwtma-} from \textit{wetma-} --smoke--instead of the incorrect \textit{*utma-}:

\begin{align*}
(CE) \emptyset & \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{diff} \\
+\text{grave} \\
+\text{obst} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{long} \\
+\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \\
& \quad \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} _1^{+}\text{obst}, \\
_a \rightarrow \_b \cup \_c \end{bmatrix}
\end{align*}

This, of course, supersedes the \textit{g}-insertion rule given in the contraction chapter above (cf. Contraction, p. 89), and allows us to eliminate the \textit{g}-metathesis rule given there (p. 91), and handle the facts by means of the initial \textit{g}-deletion rule and the \textit{g}-insertion rule. The \textit{g}-deletion rule, then, is:

\begin{align*}
(DL) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{diff} \\
-\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \textit{g/} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \textit{+obst,} \quad \_a \rightarrow \_b \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \Longrightarrow \quad 1 \emptyset 3 \quad 4.
\end{align*}

Now, in order to get the \textit{t} inserted in the correct forms, we must first somehow formally distinguish the inalienable nouns from the alienable ones (cf. \textit{n-utāpi} and \textit{n?t-āpi}), for inalienable vocalic stems (i.e., beginning with a vowel) never insert the \textit{t}, while alienable vocalic stems always do. Since in the former case the person prefixes are added to a stem, which cannot exist in isolation,
whereas in the latter case the prefixes are added to a true word, it would seem quite reasonable to have a word boundary (#) between the prefix and stem in just the alienable possessed nouns, and to insert the t before this word boundary. The t in fact seems to be inserted only before vowel stems. Thus, from the stem -gat--foot, we get 2's s. 2ggat; from -jitagan--neck--, we get 2s's s. 2gjitagan; from -sisgw--face--, we get 2s's s. 2gisgw; from -tinin--body--, we get 2gtinin--your(s.) body. Even liquid and glide stems do not appear to insert the t: laqalans--barn--, 2glalansm--your(s.) barn--; wigew--fat--, 2wigem--your(s.) fat. Therefore, when we find the t inserted before an ostensible consonant stem, we must assume that there is in fact a vowel there. Thus: 2gusugan--ladder--, 2gtgusuganm--your(s.) ladder, cf. elgusue--climb--, which provides further support for the contraction rule merely changing the e to a, not deleting it entirely, although, if t-insertion comes before contraction, these facts will be handled in any case. Also: lmuj--dog--, 2gtmujm--your(s.) dog--, which shows that there must be a vowel before the l in the underlying form, and perhaps also an n. The t in 2gtlusanign--your(s.) elbow--(cf. lusanign--elbow) shows that this stem must begin with a vowel. From wigatign--
book, letters--, we get ugwtuigatign--his book--; but note that this noun comes from the verb ewige--write--by contraction. Apparently, the t is always inserted after the l's morpheme n--; thus: -sissgon--nose--, n?tsissgon--my nose; -gat--foot--, n?t?qat--my foot; taqlij--goose--, n?t:aqlijm--my goose--; n?taqalansm--my barn--; n?twigem--my fat--, as well as the expected, say, n?tawgiti--my road.
Thus we need the following t-insertion rule:

\[ \text{(CB}'a\text{'s)} \quad \emptyset \rightarrow [t] / \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+seg} \\
\text{<nasal}_a \\
\end{array} \right] \quad \# \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+voc} \\
\text{<cons}_b \\
\end{array} \right], \quad a \Rightarrow b. \]

If we look at the 3's forms of stems beginning with g[+son]--, we find further evidence for distinguishing the alienable from the inalienable stems by means of a word boundary. Thus, for example, -gajign--leg--, gajign--your(s.) leg--; ug:wajign--his leg--(alienable); but gajuewgj--cat--, ugwgajuewgjm--his cat (alienable): and -gij--mother--, n?gij--my mother--, gij--your(s.) mother--, ugwijl--his mother; but gisigu--old man--, ugwgisiguml--her old man. Since vowel-copying does not operate across word boundaries, the fact that gajuewgj has a word boundary before it, whereas -gajign does not, would explain the fact that we get vowel-copying in the latter, but not in the
former, case.

We have seen above that some stems add -m- before the possessive endings, for example, n\textsubscript{tgajuewqim}--my cat. It is unusual for inalienable nouns to take this ending, and even the ones that do, do so only in the plural possessor forms. But the stems which take this m cannot be phonologically predicted. Thus: 3s.'s--s. ugwt\textsubscript{apapim}, but 3s.'s--s. ugwt\textsubscript{awg}\textsubscript{ti}, from \textsubscript{ap}\textsubscript{api}--thread--and awg\textsubscript{ti}--road--, respectively. Therefore, the stems must be marked for whether or not they suffix the \textit{m} when possessed. If the \textit{m} is suffixed to a noun, it is not necessarily suffixed before all endings; however, if it is suffixed for a particular possessor form in the singular, it is also suffixed to the corresponding possessor form in the plural. Thus, for the stem -\textsubscript{ag}\textsubscript{ey}--body--, we have 12's s. ga\textsubscript{ag}\textsubscript{eynu}, and 13's s. nag\textsubscript{ey}\textsubscript{minu}; but the plurals correspond: 12's pl. ga\textsubscript{ag}\textsubscript{ey}\textsubscript{nal}, 13's pl. nag\textsubscript{ey}\textsubscript{minal}. The only exception I know of to this generalization is ls's--s. n\textsubscript{tg}\textsubscript{amlamun}--my heart--, ls's pl. n\textsubscript{tg}\textsubscript{amlamunm}, but this may be because of a semantic difference: the ls.'s s. form refers to the organ in my body, the ls.'s pl. refers normally to cards of the heart suit. It appears that no stem can suffix the \textit{m} before a particular ending if there is a longer ending
which does not suffix it. That is, if any ending occurs after m-suffixation, -inen does (very rarely, as in -ageny, does -inen occur with m-suffixation, but -inu without it); -uow (the 2pl's and 3pl's forms both either do or do not occur with m-suffixation for a particular stem) can occur with m only if inen/inu do; and the singular endings (all Ø) also occur or not with m-suffixation as a bloc, but if they do occur with it, uow and inen/inu must also. In fact, most stems which take m-suffixation at all do so for all possessor persons, and most of the remainder do so for all plural possessor persons. These facts are very strange, and it seems difficult to capture the generalization given above, especially since the fact that -inen can ever occur with m-suffixation without -inu doing the same (as in -ageny) implies that this must be a surface phenomenon, inasmuch as the two endings are the same length in the underlying form (-inen and -inua, respectively). We will not dwell on this peculiar problem any further, but have mentioned it as an interesting fact, and a problem for the theory.

Now, it is often the case that, if a stem takes m-suffixation, certain ones of the prefixes may be absent.
For example, atl'ay--shirt--, has m-suffixation for all persons, but the prefixes are absent before all the plural possessor forms. Thus: n?tatlāym--my shirt--, but atlāmuow--your(pl.) or their (pl.) shirt. Here, again, if any bloc of prefixes is present, it must be at least the singular possessor prefixes, and most nouns have the prefixes in all forms. Only one noun that I know if, nu--Indian--, lacks the prefixes in all forms: num--my, your(s.) Indian--, numg--my, your(s.), his Indians. Many nouns, however, can optionally have the prefixes absent. Since only forms with m-suffixation may omit the prefixes, one occasionally finds nouns with m-suffixation only in the plural forms, and just these forms without the prefixes. Thus, for dosi--(finger)nail--, we have, say, l's s. n?tdosi, but l3's s. dosiminen.

We find similar phonological changes of certain stems before the suffix -m to those we have noted before. Thus, wow--pot, pail, bucket-- (nuou < ueu), becomes -uom- before -m, since the final u deletes before a consonant, as in the ending -uow, and a t is inserted between the prefixes and the stem: l's s. n?tuom, 2pl's pl. agtuomuaq, etc. Likewise, magamigew--land--, 3s's--s. ugwmagamigem; glitaw--strawberry--, 3s's--s. ugwlitaml. Note that
vowel-copying occurs before this m: amlamoṭ--mackerel--, 
1's s. nʔtamlaməṭom.

There are a few problematical forms with the m
suffix. -got--coat--, becomes -gotem-- with the m-augment,
which might lead us to suppose that the underlying form is
gote, where in the singular the ĕ deletes by final-vowel-
shortening. This explanation is sufficient for this stem,
but note that ĕpit--woman--, also becomes -epitem-- with the
m suffix. Now, the plural ĕpijiŋ, as we have seen (see
Noun chapter, p. 31 ) shows us that the underlying form is
ĕpitī, which also shows that there is a #-boundary between
the word and the m suffix, for we must have it in order for
the ĭ to drop. Perhaps these stems show that the suffix is
siém, with the ĕ dropping in most cases, or the m might be a
contracted form, but this seems problematical at best. The
stem glu--eagle--, becomes -glum-- in the 1s and 2s possessor
forms, but -gluʔum-- in the remaining forms. Similar pheno-
mena to these crop up in several places, but it is at pre-
sent very poorly understood.

Singular animate nouns with a third-person possessor
take the obviative ending -l, after the person suffix. In
the plural, the 3's an. pl. is just as expected, with the
-ł superseding, as it were, the -l ending. Thus, from
ulugws--nephew--, we get ulugws1--his nephew--, ulugwsual
(< u-ulugs+ueu+1)--their nephew--; but ulugwsig--his
nephews--, ulugwsual--their nephews. We note that the
occurrence of the 1 obviative ending and the g animate
plural ending is precisely that which we saw in the transi-
tive verbs, where the possessed noun corresponds to the
object of the verb, and the possessor corresponds to the
subject. These facts, then, could be handled without
special rules for possessed nouns, if possessed nouns were
sentences in the underlying form, with the possessor as
subject and the possessed noun as object. We have no evi-
dence at present as to what the verb is, but guesses might
be made on semantic grounds. We will not pursue this fur-
ther here, but leave it for a detailed analysis of Micmac
syntax.

Occasionally, if the possessed noun is syntactically
animate but semantically inanimate (e.g., agam--snowshoe--, pl. agamq), the obviative is optionally absent. Thus:
3s.'s--s. ugwtaqagam or ugwtaqam1; 3pl's--s. ugwtaqamuow or
ugwtaqamual. This is, however, also true of the verbs, and
the syntax: pematoq agam or pemalatl agaml--he carries a
snowshoe.
The 3s.'s--s. form of animate nouns ending in -j is peculiar. As expected, the obviative I is added, but the j may or must become t, depending on the stem. Thus ngij--my mother--, but 3s.'s--s. either uq:witl or uq:wijl. The 3s.'s--s. of -ijimij--arse--, and -ugumij--grandmother--, are always, respectively, wijimitl and uguimitl. The j must be preceded by a vowel, and short, for this to occur, inasmuch as the 3s.'s--s. form of -uj:--father--is uj:il, never *ut:il. Now, if we compare the plural of gəmùj--wood--, namely gəmùjl--bunches of wood (never *gəmùtl), it is not at all clear why the j becomes t (or, conversely, why the t → j rule is blocked) before the obviative I, but not before the inanimate plural I. The i-deletion rule discussed above, can, however, clear up certain difficulties with these forms, but the basic peculiarities remain.

In very few cases of which I am aware, there is a formal difference between the dual and the plural of a possessed noun (or of any noun, for that matter). The noun stem is -sisgu--face. The singular and dual may have only singular possessors, and are, e.g., aqsisgw--you(s.) face--, and aqsissgul--your(s.) faces(dual). The plural is,
e.g., *gissqul---your(s.) faces (plural) (apparently, this indicates an even worse state than two-faced). This is quite strange, and I have no explanation for it.

The personal pronouns provide some interesting parallels to the noun possession affixes. They are: *nèn---I, *me---, *gìl---you---, *gìnu---we, us inc.---, *nìnen---we, us exc.---, *gìlew---you pl.---; *negm---he, him---, *negmow---they, them (an.)---, *negla---they, them (inan.) (over here); *negla---they, them (inan.) (over there). The third person pronouns seem to be formed on a different stem (-eg(m)/-egla-) from the rest, and will not be analyzed here (historically, they were formed on the same stem as the non-third-person pronouns).

The first- and second-person pronouns bear striking resemblances to the prefix and suffix combinations for the first type of possession discussed above. The prefixes all agree with those expected for possession by that person; that is, *nèn, *gìl, *gìnu, *nìnen, and *gìlew. We recall that the endings in the singular were Ø, which would make us postulate a stem *-ìn/-ìl- as the personal pronoun stem. The 12 pronoun we would then postulate as underlying *gìn-inu > *gìnu; the 13 *nèn-inen > *nìnen; the 2pl. *gìl-ueu > *gìluow. Aside from the unexplained l/n alternation (see above, Possession, fn. 6), we could not account for the
deletion of the ū in the 2pl. form (cf. giñual--your(pl.) tongues--, gilũow--your(pl.) food), nor for the shortening of the ū in the 12 and 13 forms (cf. giñu--your(s.) tongue, ninu--my tongue). It is not even clear that lexical insertion could help us here, although the personal pronouns are maddeningly close to at least quasi-regularity. Perhaps when the lexical insertion technique is refined, it should be required to indicate that, in cases like these, the formal "cost" of lexical insertion of segments or features is not appreciably different from the "cost" of simply inserting the different morphemes for their syntactic features. Note, by the way, that, although negm--him--, is irregular, negmow--them--, is formed from it quasi-regularly, although we would perhaps expect *negmuow.
FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1(p.11). Grammaire de la Langue Mikmaque, par M. l'Abbé Maillard, 1864.

2(p.11). Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians, Silas Tertius Rand; Rand's Micmac Dictionary . . . , by Jeremiah S. Clark, B.A.

3(p.11). Beothuk and Micmac, by Frank G. Speck, 1922.


5(p.12). We use the following system in numbering rules. In general, rules are identified by a sequence of two letters, assigned more or less in the order of the rules' appearance in the text. Thus, for example, the first letter of all rules appearing in the introduction is A, and the second is A, B, C, or D, accordingly as it is the first, second, third, or fourth rule given, respectively. Some rules may have a prime, as rule (HC'). Later changes in, or generalizations of, a rule will be identified by the same letters, with the prime removed, only when that is the final form of the rule. If a rule is listed at the end of a section, having been mentioned but not expatiated upon in
that section, it will be given the initial letter corresponding to that section. Thus, in general the letters identifying a rule give a clue as to where to find that rule discussed. The initial letters of the rules are assigned according to the section they fall in, as follows:

- **A** Introduction
- **B** Noun Plurals, pp. 22 to 47
- **C** Noun Plurals, pp. 48 to 64
- **D** Noun Plurals, pp. 64 to 76
- **E** Contraction
- **F** Intransitive Verbs, pp. 109 to 156
- **G** Intransitive, pp. 157 to 179
- **H** Intransitive, pp. 180 to 191
- **I** Intransitive, pp. 192 to 217
- **J** Intransitive, pp. 218 to 249
- **K** Transitive
- **L** Noun Possession.

Rules will furthermore be assigned numbers in addition to the letters, to indicate their order of application in a particular list of rules. References to a rule will generally mention these numbers only when the list in question is lengthy.

feature analyses of natural languages. We use the features of Fundamentals.

7(p.15). Note that we will need a feature to distinguish \( q \) from \( \hat{q} \) (since \( \hat{q} \) is not continuant except intervocally). The "New features" (see Sound Pattern of English, hereafter abbreviated as SPE) provide a way to specify uvular as opposed to velar (namely, uvular is [-high], velar is [+high]), but this is not particularly critical for our purposes, and we will use the ad hoc feature [uvular]. We specify \( y \) as [diffuse], despite the fact that apparently it is [-diffuse] (i.e., palatal) acoustically and physiologically. Again, the "new features" make \( y \) and \( i \) identical, except for vocalicness (essentially by making \( i \) a "palatal"); this, however, is, I think, a mistake. The change of \( \hat{i} \) to \( \hat{y} \) in many languages (in particular, Micmac), instead of to a putative dental glide, is, I feel, perfectly analogous to the ubiquitous change of \( t \) to the palatal \( \hat{c} \), when it becomes [+strident], rather than to the dental affricate \( c \). The only difference is that \( c \) exists and is fairly common, whereas we virtually never find a dental glide. What is being claimed here is the following: whenever \( t \) becomes [+strident], and whenever \( \hat{i} \) becomes [-vocalic], with no other features mentioned in the change, a universal convention comes into play which states that all nongrave affricates and glides are [-diffuse], i.e., palatal, unless the rule specifically states that the \( t \) or \( \hat{i} \) is to remain dental.

\[ M, n, \text{ and } \hat{l} \text{ may take stress only in certain positions} \]
(preconsonantally, probably reflecting the stress on a deleted vowel).
NOUN PLURALS

1 (p. 27). lepy̆̆—one foot—is an exception to this; it is borrowed from the French.

2 (p. 32) It appears that, generally speaking, a single #-boundary separates the plural morpheme from the stem, and that it may in certain unknown circumstances be weakened to a +-boundary. This optional #-deletion, then, could account for the variation wisawowl/wisawoul: the former is from uisauou#l, the latter from uisauou+l.

3 (p. 32). Compare Arnold Zwicky’s treatment of German nouns for phonological rules mentioning inherent features of the noun.

4 (p. 41). Curiously, however, there are no -sj- sequences. Cf. Grimm’s Law.

The actual morphophonemic alternations of t and j are not exceedingly frequent. We gather some of them here for the reader’s edification:

- pegitgopi I sit a long time < pegit+gopi
- pegijāsi it takes me a long time to get there < pegit+iāsi
- gelji I'm frozen
- geltāg it's frozen
- awgtījI footpaths (< awgtĪj+1)
- wejīey I come from < wet+iey
- wetgitm I send for it from < wet+gitm
- wetsāg I kicked him out because < wet(i)+sāg
- wejisāg
nat:amul I go and bum from you < nat:amul
najiwissugwowg:w I go and cook for him <
nati+wissugwowg:w

There is also, of course, the 3sing-t/3nonsing - jik alternation, which we have expatiated on elsewhere. This, however, appears to trace back to a Proto-Algonquian alternation between *-ta and *-kiki, that is, a suppletive alternation (cf. Peoria: he X's me: -ita/they X me: -ijiki), although even this is not clear-cut. Thus, the final-vowel-shortening rule seems to be a Micmac, or at least not a Proto-Algonquian, phenomenon. But the fact that it must be an early rule, and before the t ---&gt; j rule, raises problems with the plausibility of this rule placement in historical change, although similar phenomena are not unknown. In any case, the Micmacs do not know Peoria, and we must write what in our judgment is the best synchronic grammar, and let the historical chips fall where they may.

The transitive ending we elicited as -atl is given as -ajl by Michelson, but (earlier) as -atl by Gatschet. This indicates a historical alternation between t and j, similar to the present synchronic free variation in, e.g., awgtitl/awgtijl.

Now, there is a school of thought, so to speak, in present phonological theory which espouses what has been termed the "naturalness convention." The strongest statement of this position is that if a segment in a given morpheme never undergoes actual morphophonemic alternations with another particular segment, it may not be entered in the dictionary as the latter segment. Aside from essentially disallowing patterning arguments, this approach would
also force us in Micmac, for example, to make the q in
naqānāmay—I drink—uvular in the underlying form, since
this particular one never undergoes alternations with
velar q, and despite the fact that a rule is unquestionably
necessary to change velar q to a uvular after a. But that
is not all. Since uvular q is clearly more highly marked
than velar q, the dictionary must also be complicated.
While I do feel that there may well be some validity in a
greatly weakened version of the naturalness convention, I
also feel that it is quite plausible to "take all the rides"
one can reasonably get. I also find it quite ironic that
some of the strongest proponents of the naturalness conven-
tion, which in essence limits the application of rules to
only those cases where there is morphophonemic alternation
involved, are also proponents of the "unmarked order"
explanation of rule-order changes, which in essence tends
to remove limitations on rule applicability due to rule
order. It is implausible that language should, on the one
hand, increase the domain of applicability of rules in his-
torical change, while severely limiting their putative
domain of applicability in language learning. After all,
the positing of totally, or at least largely, suppletive
paradigms in languages is only the logical extension of the
argument upon which the naturalness convention is based.

It is true that one can carry the argument too far
in the other direction as well, and the author does in
many cases do this more or less deliberately, but that is
more a methodological approach than a theoretical dogma.
Note that this word comes from e\textit{piti\textasciitilde{t}iti\texteuro{}}, and the final-vowel-dropping rule gives us e\textit{pit\textasciitilde{t}iti}, ultimately e\textit{piti\textcircled{j}i}.  

The alternations, e.g., \textit{nmeejg}/\textit{nmeejig} might be construed as arguing for underlying long vowels and underlying sequences of two short vowels. We could then explain these alternations as follows: \textit{nm\textasciitilde{ej}i\textasciitilde{t}g} \rightarrow \textit{nmeejg}; \textit{nmeeji\textasciitilde{t}g} \rightarrow \textit{nmeejig} \rightarrow \textit{nm\textasciitilde{e}jig}.

Although the Proto-Algonquian appears to have j here; cf. Munsee \textit{jig\textasciitilde{wa}l}--toad.

The feature \textit{[unit]} is used in this way several times in this dissertation. This feature is used in SPE in a more restricted way: the identity element \textit{e} (sometimes, and in this dissertation generally, indicated by \textit{}} is \textit{[-unit]}; all segments and boundaries are \textit{[+unit]}; the rule "t is deleted" is stated "t \longright\rightarrow \textit{[-unit]}." Now, of course \textit{[-unit]} is unspecified for all other segmental and boundary features. Thus we must in any case have the convention that \textit{[uF]} is reinterpreted as \textit{[-unit]} (where \textit{[uF]} means "unspecified with respect to feature F") for all segment and boundary features \textit{F}, and any value (+ or -) of \textit{\alpha}. We use this convention explicitly, so that, in this rule for example, \textit{[-unit]} is automatically interpreted as \textit{[-unit]} \longright\rightarrow \textit{[-unit]} \longright\rightarrow \textit{[-unit]}.
and we must invoke the convention under discussion to derive the desired

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{voc} \\
-\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{nasal} \\
-\text{cont}
\end{bmatrix}
\quad ----> 
\begin{bmatrix}
-\text{unit} \\
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{voc} \\
-\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff} \\
-\text{nasal} \\
-\text{cont}
\end{bmatrix},
\]

But now there can be no theoretical cavils against using the convention as in rule (BB). In fact, it not only allows us to save a feature in the rule, but also the rule as stated better captures the generalization implied by rule (BB): that vowels in word-final position lose a mora, as it were. Otherwise, the rules must be stated

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons} \\
-\text{long} \\
+\text{long}
\end{bmatrix}
\quad ----> 
\begin{bmatrix}
-\text{unit} \\
-\text{long}
\end{bmatrix}/ -- \#,
\]

which is rather less desirable than rule (BB). A similar convention is used for the boundary features, with respect to the phonological features. Thus, e.g., \([+\text{WB} -\text{diff}]\) is interpreted as \([+\text{WB} \text{udiff}]\). Features, then, can be viewed as forming at least a triple hierarchy: [unit], boundary features, and segment features, each of which may be viewed as a sort of erasure operation on all features.
lower-ranked in the hierarchy. Thus, we can say, for example, that if [-unit] is added to any bundle of features, it essentially "erases" those features; whereas if any bundle of features is added to [-unit] (as in insertion), [-unit] automatically becomes [+unit], which gives us the possibility of a phonological palimpsest, as it were. This hierarchical erasure, furthermore, may shed some light on the heretofore darkling facts of phonological feature hierarchical behavior.

8(p.47). We must restrict the post-environment in part b) to only l and g, for two reasons: we never need to delete i before other consonants in this position; and in words such as apjejit--he's small--we cannot allow the rule to be operative.

9(p.57). For some more examples of the ui suffix, note the following words:

| wišis | animal |
| wišisui | I am an animal |
| wenuj | Frenchman |
| weňjui | I'm French |
| gļošowej | star |
| gļušowejui | I'm a star |
| nœmej | fish |
| nœmejuit | he's a fish |
| pugsugw | wood |
| pugsugwi | I have wood |
tiam moose
tiamuin you're a moose
jïnou man
jïnouei I'm a man

10 (p.60). Note also the morphophonemic alternation of s and j in wesmoqjiit--he smooches--, wesmoqgiijig--they smooch.

CONTRACTION

1 (p.77). This phenomenon of verbs undergoing changes in the initial syllable is typical of Algonquian languages generally, cf. Menomini (see Bever, Leonard Bloomfield and the Menomini Language, p. 97). Usually, however, we find an insertion in some non-indicative moods (including the future) in the other languages, whereas in Micmac we find what is apparently a deletion. This ostensibly reflects the fact that the general Algonquian conjunct order has become the independent verbal tense in Micmac.

2 (p.77). Note that this word comes from pij--immature sex organ-- + ui--have/be-- + ti--he--, from pïtïhui+ti.

3 (p.78). Whenever verbs beginning in #we[+son]-- undergo contraction, the expected #w[+son]-- is realized either as ws-- (i.e., syllabic sonorant) or wS--, generally
the former, although in interconsonantal position in compounds, always the latter.

3a (p.83). This alternation, together with the first one above, indicate that more needs to be said about the restrictions on diffuse vowel sensitivity of the shwa-insertion rule, since as it is now formulated we would expect these two contractions to be *əgsuguas and *n?sipit:ew. We deafly sidestep this problem, however.

3b (p.88). In fact, it may be the case that the contraction rule requires that a vowel follow the consonant following the first syllable, and that when contraction occurs where two consonants ostensibly follow, there is a vowel between those two consonants (perhaps ə) which is deleted by unstressed-V-deletion. Thus, say gesqa̱ would be underlying gesvga̱ (contraction əgsuguas), whereas esgipèg (no contraction) would have a true underlying consonant cluster.

4 (p.96). But observe that such a phonological rule would help explain the fact that the third person past tense of verbs is, say, welaqapip—he was tipsy—, from welaqapi+jitp, although we have handled this differently (see below, Intransitive chapter, pp. 37ff.). The rule might be possible to state if we require a +-boundary after the deleted ji.

5 (p.99). The stem sāsew— is historically from the French changer, according to Pacifique, and sāsewatu was formerly pronounced /sæze'watu/. 

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5a (p. 100). The fact that underlying *neu does not become *no indicates that some restrictions must be put on rule (DC) below; namely, it appears that, at least if the e or a is long, there must be a morpheme boundary between it and the u; otherwise rule (DC) is inoperable, and we do not get o.

6 (p. 103). Apparently of two dialects, since Pacifique often gives examples of both pronunciations for the same word—perhaps this dropping of initial g is a recent diachronic change, and the initial gwe— we find in Pacifique were elicited from older people. Historically, in most cases, the g is absent.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

1 (p. 110). Hereafter we will use the following abbreviations for the different persons: "I"—1 sing.; "you sing."—2 sing.; "he, she"—3 sing. an. (or 3 sing., if unambiguous); "it"—3 sing. inan.; "we inclusive (dual or plural)"—l2dual or l2plural; "we exclusive (dual or plural)"—l3dual or l3 plural; "you (dual or plural)"—2dual or 2plural; "they (dual or plural, animate or inanimate)"—3dual an. or 3 plural an. (or 3dual or 3plural, if unambiguous), 3dual inan. or 3plural inan. Also, to refer to, e.g., l2dual or l2plural, we will use l2non-sing.

In the chapter on transitive verbs, we will discuss the so-called "obviative case," and will conclude that we
need a special feature to handle it; this is different from the features presently under discussion, however, inasmuch as it is a derived, and not an underlying, feature.

2 (p. 110). The former would be from ajiē- (cf. eluēwī-, below); the latter would be from at+iesi (cf. pem+iesi-, below). Verbs of these two types are distinguishable only in the plural.

Cf. Pacifique's discussion of these verbs, p. 104: "Il est possible cependant que ce second duel et ce pluriel ne soient que le développement régulier d'une forme en āsi, peu ou point usitée au singulier. Dans ce cas, les verbes strictement en īei n'auraient pas de pluriel, et il n'y aurait rien de bien étonnant, le nombre de ceux qui vont sur l'eau est nécessairement limité et classé en groupes, ce qui convient bien au duel."

3 (p. 112). Note the similarity between these particular features, and certain phonological features, in particular diffuseness and compactness. The only possibilities are [+diff], [-diff], and [+comp] for vowels, and in consonants [+diffuse] implies [-compact]. We do not call the dual [+sing] [+plural], because we are as usual assuming mnemonic value for the features (see below). We could not use the features [singular] and [dual] i.e., singular = [+sing] [-dual], dual = [-sing] [+dual], plural = [-sing] [-dual], since then the singular and dual will not form a class which is needed for wesge-. Likewise, the class needed for ajiet and ajiejig precludes using the features [dual] and [plural].
3a (p. 114). Note, however, that, the arguments below aside, the choice of [1st] and [3rd] is factually incorrect, since 2nonsing may in fact refer to 2sing plus 3, and yet it would have to be marked [-3rd]; hence that choice is eliminated on semantic grounds.


5 (p. 115). Cf. Postal's discussion in "On So-called 'Pronouns' in English," pp. 196ff. Clearly, the examples he gives on p. 197 are cogent semantically. On the syntactic level, however, only two features are typically necessary, at least in Micmac and English, and general rules assign the "highest-up" specification to "impossible" combinations (note that in English the "order of preference" is 1st, 2nd, 3rd, as opposed to the Micmac 2nd, 1st, 3rd). Thus: 'nin aŋ gíl aŋ negm militaygw'-- 'I and you and he are playing,' the 12plural form. That is,

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[+1st \text{ person}] \\
[+2nd \text{ person}] \\
[+3rd \text{ person}]
\end{array}
\]

is not distinguished in Micmac from

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[+1st \text{ person}] \\
[+2nd \text{ person}] \\
[-3rd \text{ person}]
\end{array}
\]

nor

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[+1st \text{ person}] \\
[-1st \text{ person}] \\
[+2nd \text{ person}] \\
[-3rd \text{ person}]
\end{array}
\]

from

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[+3rd \text{ person}]
\end{array}
\]

In other words, in Micmac the feature [3rd person] is, at least in the intransitive verbs, syntactically unmarked, as it were. Furthermore, this method of handling the facts accounts for the syntactic absence of

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[-1st \text{ person}] \\
[-2nd \text{ person}] \\
[-3rd \text{ person}]
\end{array}
\]
it is simply not distinct from \[ -1st \text{ person} \]
\[ -2nd \text{ person} \]
\[ +3rd \text{ person} \]. Of course, this absence must presumably be expressed as a semantic universal for languages with three persons. We will see below that the feature [3rd person] is necessary for the simplest specification of certain phenomena in the transitive conjugation, so that, as should be expected, the feature [3rd person] is necessary in Micmac; nevertheless, it is clearly, in some sense, the "most highly marked" of the person features.

6(p.115). I shall assume here, as in general, that the underlying shape of a particular morpheme is constant, until such an assumption, in a particular case, becomes untenable (e.g., in cases of suppletion).

7(p.131). This must come, of course, from underlying -tuit, in order to explain the t before i, but we will refer to the plural morphemes as -ti or -l'ti, except where this might prove ambiguous.

8(p.132). The left column we will refer to as the "singular stem" and the right column as the "plural stem."

9(p.134). We will see below where the u's in these forms arise from.

10(p.144). Note that, although we state the post-environmental restrictions in essentially phonological terms (namely (l)ti), nevertheless rule (FH') is never operative save before the plural morpheme; that is, if we
allowed "morphemic" or morphological features in the phonology, as we clearly must do--cf. Zwicky--, then we could refer to the post-environment simply as [+plural], thus saving several features. Similar comments hold for rules (DE) and (GA) below, where the features saved are considerably fewer. For methodological reasons, however, we prefer not to use this method unless forced to, inasmuch as many ostensibly spurious solutions to problems would manifest themselves.

This formulation with [+plural] instead of the phonological features appears to be not only desirable in the case of rule (FA'), however, but necessary; for if we consider the plurals lepyol--feet--(singular lepye) and muntil--bags--(singular munti), we can see that with rule (FA') as stated we would expect *lepyol and *muntul, respectively. The former is a unique irregular foreign stem, but the latter is exemplary of quite a large class of nouns. Thus rule (FA) must be stated as follows:

\[
\text{(FA)} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} [+voc] \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} [+\text{grave}] \\ -\text{comp} \end{array} \right] / \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} [+\text{plural}] \\ +\text{verb} \end{array} \right].
\]

\(11\) (p.160). These two stems, iasi and iesi, are the only two of their type known to me. They merit extended consideration for two reasons, however: firstly, each enters into the formation of a vast number of compounds, many very frequently used; secondly, of the rules necessary to handle them correctly, only three--(DE) and (GA), having to do with the s, and (GD), ā-metathesis--are otherwise than very general. The other rules we either have met or will meet in many places in the grammar of Micmac.
It is pertinent to observe that in the dual, nutā--be in need, lack--, say, ends identically to the plurals of aisi/iesi verbs. Thus:

| 12 dual | nutaygw | 12 pl | militaygw |
| 13 dual | nutāyeg | 13 pl | militāyeg |
| 2 dual  | nutāyog | 2 pl  | militāyog |
| 3 an.dual | nutājig | 3 an.pl | militājig |
| 3 inan.dual | nutājal | 3 inan.pl | militājal |

If the s-deletion and a-metathesis rules came very early (before glide-formation, at least), we would naturally expect this similarity of forms (in the dual, we would have nutā + dual i + endings; in the plural we would have mili + t + ā (moved by metathesis) + i (left over from ti) + endings). This ordering appears to be impossible, however, since s-deletion must follow final-vowel-shortening, which follows glide-formation. Furthermore, a-metathesis must follow the e --→ a rule, in order to get the correct plural forms for the iesi verbs, which rule must follow the rule deleting u before i and after t, which follows t --→ g and t --→ j. It seems unlikely that all these rules precede glide-formation.

Now, this might be taken as an argument that the aisi/iesi verbs are simply suppletive in the dual and plural. But note that this requires, not only that the stems themselves be suppletive, but also that the plural morpheme be suppletive as well (and bimorphemic: tā+i). Also, in particular, in the plural of, say, mil+iāsi, viz. mil+i+tā+i-, we would expect the fourth segment—that is, the morphemic i—to delete unless rule (GD) followed both (FC) and (FD).
If the form \textit{mil+i+tā+i} were generated by suppletion, we would have no explanation for our not having \textit{*miltāv-}. (See below, Intransitive chapter, footnote 15, for the rejection of another related plausible solution to the problems posed by these stems).

13 (p.169). Note that this plural stem comes from \textit{pisu+i+i+isi+tui-}, which by glide-formation becomes \textit{pisu+yasi+tuy-}; then s-deletion, [i,y]/\textit{ā}-deletion, and u-deletion give \textit{pisu+i+i+ty-}, whereupon \textit{ā}-metathesis gives \textit{pisu+i+t+a+y-}; the \textit{i} before the \textit{t} is surrounded by consonants when glide-formation applies, and is thus immune to its effects.

14 (p.169). The first of these, for example, is underlying \textit{naga+i+i+isi+tui-}, which, after the application of (GA), (CD), and u/t \textit{ā}-deletion, becomes \textit{naga+ā+i+t+i-}. Now \textit{ā}-metathesis applies, giving us \textit{naga+i+i+t+a-i-}. We gave reasons above why there must be a \textit{+}-boundary following the \textit{ā}, which can only get there if it is inserted concomitantly with (GD), since before the application of (GD) there is neither a \textit{+}-boundary following \textit{ā} nor one preceding the \textit{i} of \textit{ti}. But now, if the \textit{+}-boundary must be inserted upon the application of the rule, we must ask whether it is just an \textit{ad hoc} insertion or a general convention. Clearly, we would prefer the latter. But no reasonable convention could place a \textit{+}-boundary after an inserted segment, but not before it. Thus, the convention we assume is the following: if a segment or segments are introduced into a morpheme by a rule, which segments do not originate within the morpheme in
question, and are not copies of segments within the same morpheme, then +-boundaries are placed on either side of the inserted segments. This convention would give us, in the example above, naga+i+tti+i-. Without this or some similar convention, it does not appear possible to account for the requisite +-boundary after the ă.

R. H. Robins describes the following phenomenon in Sundanese ("Vowel Nasality in Sundanese," in Studies in Linguistic Analysis, Basic Blackwell, Oxford, 1962, pp. 87-103): vowels are nasalized only if preceded in the word by a nasal consonant, and separated from it only by vowels and glottal glides (i.e., h or ?). An exception to this is words with the plural infix -ar- after the first consonant of the stem. In these words, if the stem-initial consonant is nasal, the a of -ar- is nasalized, the vowel after r is not nasalized, but if the second (or later) vowel of the stem is normally nasalized, the third (respectively, (n+1)st) vowel of the infixed stem is also nasalized. Thus, e.g.: măhăl--to be expensive--, mărahăl--pl. stem. The only way to capture these phenomena, short of having two separate nasal-assimilation rules—one before and one after the prefix-insertion—, is by means of the following rule (the data are actually slightly more complicated, but in no way relevant to our discussion):

\[
(\text{GE}) \quad V \rightarrow [\text{+nasal}] / [\text{+nasal}] \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{-cons} \\ \text{(-diff)} \\ \text{(+voc)} \end{array} \right)_{0}
\]

But this rule must mention the +-boundary after the inserted plural morpheme ar, for otherwise in the singular stem mărios--to examine--, we would expect the incorrect
*marios*. Thus, marahal must have at least the structure mahr ah; now, since ar is in fact a morpheme, it would be incomprehensible if the rule which infixed it placed a morpheme boundary after it, but not before it, so we would expect the structure to be mahr ah. But notice what we have here in either case: either the sequence #m+, or at least #m+rt. But in neither case is the segment or segments enclosed between boundaries a bona fide morpheme--in the first case, it is just part of a longer morpheme; in the second it is parts of two morphemes. Thus, we have proven that segments or sequences of segments enclosed by boundaries do not necessarily have to be morphemes as such for the phonology to treat them as morphemes. Of course, we must point out here that such situations arise only very rarely: with infixes, which are relatively rare, and with rules such as (GD) which insert segments into a morpheme.

Incidentally, note that (GE) poses a problem with respect to the interpretation of rules of this type. There appears to be good motivation (see, e.g., SPE and Bever's Ph.D. Thesis) for applying rules to the longest possible environment, and to shorter ones only if the longer ones are inapplicable. But now problems arise when a longer environment is applicable--should or should not the shorter environments now be applicable? It seems clear that a shorter environment must not in fact be allowed to apply to the same segment to which a longer environment has already applied. Bever suggests (Thesis, pp. 110 ff.) not only that segments to which the rule is applied be marked so as not to undergo any later subpart of the rule, but also that segments merely mentioned in the rule be similarly
marked, and he presents good evidence from Menomini for this being the case. But with rule (GE) above, we see that, in a word like m+ar+ahal, the long environment will apply to the last a giving m+ar+ahāl. But the first a has been, then, mentioned in the rule, and should therefore be exempted from being nasalized. But this gives us wrong results. Therefore, we accept Bever's formulation, except that we must allow at least some segments mentioned in an already-applied early subpart of a rule to undergo a later subpart of that rule. Perhaps only segments adjacent to, or perhaps as many as two segments away from, the affected segment may be marked so as not to undergo later subparts of the rule.

But now, any intuitive or theoretical reservations we might have had about the conventional addition of \(+-\)boundaries surrounding segments, groups of segments, or morphemes inserted into a morpheme are shown to have been ill-founded.

Observe that this same convention will obviate the difficulties with epenthetic segments. Thus, for example, Hockett (C. F. Hockett, "Problems of Morphemic Analysis," Language, 1947, reprinted in Joos, pp. 229-242) discusses the "problem" of Fox poon+i+meewa \(<\) poon+meewa by i-epenthesis. Such problems are inevitable, for if we must insert a segment \(i\) between \(W\) and \(Z\) of \(W+Z\), we do not a priori have any way of knowing whether to expect \(Ws+Z\) or \(W+sZ\). This inconclusiveness in itself would lead us to desire conventionally to derive \(W+s+Z\) in these instances.

It may turn out that in certain cases of insertion or epenthesis, reasons will be found to assume that
+-boundaries are absent on one or both sides of the inserted segment or segments. In such cases, we would claim, the specific statement must be made that one or both +-boundaries are not to be inserted in the particular case. That is, in the unmarked case, +-boundaries are inserted.

Bever (pp. 128ff) gives good evidence for having a rule in Menomini which inserts a vowel, and a later rule deleting all such inserted vowels, in order to make certain apparently irregular phenomena having to do with certain words containing glottal stop, become in fact quite regular. This poses an interesting question for our convention: if correct as stated, we would expect, say, \( CV?X \_0 \rightarrow CV?+V+X \_0 \rightarrow \) (other rules apply) \( \rightarrow CV?+X \_0 \), thus ending up with a +-boundary within a morpheme, although nothing extramorphemic is in evidence here. This may perhaps indicate that our convention applies only to "moved" segments, as opposed to "inserted" ones, although poonimeewa leads us to extend this at least to "moved" segments and segments inserted between morphemes, as opposed to within them. We will shortly present a notational way of handling these phenomena.

First, we wish to look at certain parallel facts between the #-boundary and the +-boundary. Now, it is generally the case that # is found adjacent to at least one "word." Thus, in \( \#_1\#_2\#_3\text{touch}\#_4\#_5\#_6 \) (where we have labelled the #-boundaries for expository convenience), 1 and 6 are presumably adjacent to the preceding and following words, respectively. 2 and 5 are adjacent to "untouched", and 3 and 4 are adjacent to "touch." Note that the
convention has been that a real word (in a particular sentence, say,) is set off by a double #-boundary (thus, "touch," while a word in its own right, is in this context not a "word," per se, of the sentence). In other words, we could define right- and left-#-boundaries =# and #=, such that any lexical word \( W \) enters a sentence as =#W#=; prefixes then are =#Pre and suffixes Suf f=# (e.g., =#un and d=#).

Then, in a particular sentence, say, a word is defined as a group of morphemes preceded and followed by =##=, and not containing any sequences of two double crosses. Thus, the above becomes =##=un#=touch=#d=##=, and we can read off from this the fact that "touch" is a real word (while, say, "un" is not), but that it is merely part of a larger word in this context. This is, of course, equivalent to bracketing the #'s, where #= and =# are equivalent to (# and #), respectively, and calling a "word" a group of morphemes preceded and followed by #)#, and containing no )).

Similar phenomena can be observed with respect to the +-boundary, except that the analogues to prefixes and suffixes are much rarer. Typically, any sequence of segments surrounded by +-boundaries is a morpheme, and only in cases of infixation, certain types of metathesis (such as (GD)), insertion, and perhaps epenthesis, can segments be surrounded by +-boundaries without being morphemes. Note also that we must have the general convention essentially stating that, when two +-boundaries come together, one is deleted. (This is needed in order correctly to describe phenomena in various languages. For example, in Catawba, there is a rule inserting a glottal stop after a stressed
vowel before a morpheme boundary followed by one of the following sequences: a) h followed by #, or b) any other consonant followed by either # or a +boundary. This would be impossible to state unless the +boundary following h were "swallowed up," so to speak, in word-final position. See Matthews, "Catawba Phonology." Now, suppose we set up a similar convention for the +boundaries to that we set up for the #-boundaries: namely, we set up \( b \) and \( t \) as, respectively, left- and right-morpheme-boundaries; that is, a morpheme \( M \) enters the syntax from the lexicon as \( bM \). Furthermore, when two morphemes come together, we get \( bM \rightarrow bM \rightarrow \), which we will notationally indicate as \( bM \rightarrow bM \rightarrow \). Let us point out here that this notation is essentially the equivalent of adding a feature to the boundary feature inventory: \([\text{right-boundary}]\). \( b \) and \( # \), then, are \([\text{+right-boundary}]\); \( b \) and \( # \) are \([-\text{right-boundary}]\); and \( + \) and \( # \) are unspecified for the feature \([\text{right-boundary}]\). To the author's knowledge, there is never any reason for using this feature with the \(-\)boundary. When two morphemes come together, then, we claim that we need the following convention, which is similar to the one necessary in any case to eliminate sequences of +boundaries:

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
+FB \\
-WB \\
+RR
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+FB \\
-WB \\
-RR
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+FB \\
-WB
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Before this we will need a convention deleting the meaningless sequence \( b- \) (we will see how this sequence can arise below):
Now suppose we alter our convention slightly to the following: any segment or sequence of segments inserted into a morpheme has conventionally a \( \uparrow \)-boundary on its left and a \( \downarrow \)-boundary on its right. Now, notice what happens in the case of Menomini vowel-insertion: \( \#CV?X_0 \) becomes \( \#CV?\uparrow V \downarrow X_0 \), then various rules apply, and then the inserted vowel deletes, leaving us with \( \#CV?\uparrow \downarrow X_0 \); but now our convention deleting \( \uparrow \) will give us \( \#CV?X_0 \), which is precisely what we wish to derive, as opposed to the intuitively repugnant \( \#CV?+X_0 \), which we have no way to avoid deriving under the other formulation. Again, in the Sundanese case, we get, say, \( m\darrow\hat{\text{ar}}\darrow\hat{\text{a}}\text{h} \), and we can have a very late rule (after \( \darrow \)-deletion and \( \darrow \)-to-\( \uparrow \)-agglomeration) which interprets \( \darrow \) or \( \darrow \) as \( \uparrow \) if it has not been either deleted or agglomerated with its opposite, thus giving us finally \( m\darrow\hat{\text{ar}}\hat{\text{a}}\text{h} \). A possible alternative here is to simply delete any partial \( \uparrow \)-boundary, thus giving us, say, \( \text{marah} \); this is clearly undesirable from an intuitive point of view, however, and probably provably impossible in the insertion cases--cf. \( \text{poonimeewa} \), and the discussion below. Another possible alternative is simply to leave all remnant \( \darrow \)- and \( \darrow \)-boundaries as such, thus giving us, say, \( m\darrow\hat{\text{ar}}\darrow\hat{\text{a}}\text{h} \). In other words, this would state that \( \text{ar} \) is a "morpheme" (that is, it has \( \darrow \) on its left and \( \darrow \) on its right--note that this interpretation would also make the \( \text{a} \) in
Micmac milit-a-yeg a morpheme, whereas we know it is merely part of one originally). In any case, the important thing here is that the implicit claim is being made here—correctly—that the m in marahal does not end a morpheme (nor does the second a begin one), although the first a does begin a morpheme (and the r end one, respectively). Now, notice what happens in the insertion cases, such as poon-meewa → poon+i-meewa (or the Micmac u+aligew → u+t+aligew).

This is underlying *poon-*meewa, and we see that we can avoid all ad hoc statements of how to get two +-boundaries where there was only one originally by simply making the general convention that insertion goes between a + -boundary and a - -boundary if possible, unless the rule specifically states otherwise. Thus we have poon-*meewa → poon+i-meewa, which would remain as it is or become poon+i-meewa depending on whether we chose the first or third alternative above. But observe that here we might very well wish to say that the i is not morphemic, despite the fact that it is not a part of either the preceding or following morpheme. That is, it seems perfectly plausible that on occasion we might have phonological material which we wish neither to assign to any morpheme in particular, nor to call a morpheme in its own right. Certainly this makes at least as much sense as talking about "meaningless morphemes" or "empty morphemes," or the like. And poon-i-meewa says just this: n ends a morpheme, m begins one, and i does neither. That is, phonologically speaking the i has virtually the same status as the first e, say, in meewa.
It is possible to think of phonological evidence which might choose between the two viable alternatives: if, in a language, certain phenomena occurred morpheme-initially or -finally, there was inflexion of some sort, and this inflexion produced an environment where the morpheme-edge phenomena could occur, whether or not they did occur could choose between the +-+ convention and the ++ interpretation, respectively. On the other hand, the way we have stated our conventions, the + boundary is distinct from neither the - boundary nor the - boundary, so this sort of evidence would choose between the two alternatives only if the + boundary were more highly marked than either - or -; that is, only if we needed both the features [right-boundary] and [left-boundary], where + would be [right-boundary], - would be [left-boundary], and + would be [+LB].

In any case, I know of no such phenomena in any such language, but certain possible situations might be suggested: suppose Sundanese had a glide-formation rule forming glides in the environment + , then the plural of, say, niis-- to cool oneself--, namely nariis, would be naryis or naris, depending on whether the word were narilis or marilis, respectively, under the interpretation using only [RB] (or, of course equivalently, using only the feature [LB]). It may very well be that Fox has just such a rule (Menomini and Micmac have similar rules), in which case the fact that we get poonimeewa and not poonimeewa would argue for the interpretation and the two-feature ([RB] and [LB]) analysis of the morpheme boundaries.
Be that as it likely is, with this notation we see that the + boundary and the #-boundary have similar characteristics and distribution—much more so than under the usual formulation—and that several vexing problems are conveniently handled in an intuitively satisfying manner. This notation for morpheme boundaries was suggested by Hugh Matthews, ever the proponent of lucid reasoning and non-loose formulations.

But observe that we never find the clusters gp or tp in word-final position, so these shwas may be derivable by shwa-insertion.

It has been suggested by Ives Goddard (personal communication) that the ls ending is not ɨ, but a, and that a y (će ɨ) is inserted between vowels, giving us, for example, welaŋapitya from welaŋapita, and then the a would be deleted by final-vowel-shortening. Furthermore, he would have the dual morpheme be ɸ, just as is the singular, and y's would be inserted where necessary by the same rule. This would eliminate our rule (FC). Now, in the past the a would not drop, but the ɨ would drop in the same places as it otherwise would. Also, this approach would help explain the peculiar first person plural of transitive inanimate verbs (see below) in an, rather than in the expected -l (from itl). The a, then, would be the ls morpheme, and the n could plausibly come from l (we do find other curious l/n alternations; see below, Possession chapter, fn 6).

In the plurals of āsi and įesi verbs, the same y-insertion would apply, obviating our treatment with
ā-metathesis. In fact, the suggestion is that these two stems are suppletive in the dual and plural (that is, 
\{iāsī\}[dual] \(\Rightarrow\) -āti-, \{iāsī\}[plural] \(\Rightarrow\) -itā-).

In view of the fact that we need three special rules (s \(\Rightarrow\) t, s-deletion, and ā-metathesis) to handle just these stems, there does appear to be some merit in this suggestion, although it is somewhat unclear the relative weights to give lexical insertion rules and phonological rules. As far as feature-counting is concerned, it is six and a half of one and a dozen of the other. This solution would, however, explain recalcitrant problems such as the fact that in general these plurals are identical to the duals of ā-stem verbs. The acceptability of the lexical insertion rules essentially hinges, however, upon the viability of y-insertion. For if y-insertion is invalid, then the rule for the plural would have to replace say, jāsī+[plural] by itā+i, and this sort of suppletion is quite unknown, and therefore immediately suspect.

There are, indeed, certain serious problems with y-insertion. We will see in the Transitive chapter below that we do not insert y between vowel stems (such as metē--strike) and vocalic endings (such as -atl--he X's him). That is, we get metāt, not *metēyat, or the like. On the other hand, we see that in each case where the y would ever have to be inserted (viz., before 1s ā, 12nonsingular ū+q, 13nonsingular e+q, and 2nonsingular o+q) it is before a morphemic vowel. Thus, if we can maintain that there is not a morpheme boundary after the ā in the transitive ending atl (a contention which we shall see is none too obvious), and
in other endings where a y is not inserted, we still could salvage the y-insertion, but with much less generality (the rule would essentially insert i between consonants at a morpheme boundary, but between vowels only if the second were a morpheme).

16(p.200). Bailey and Milner have suggested that the feature [sonorant] be restricted to liquids, nasals, glides, and short diffuse vowels; that is, that non-diffuse vowels and long vowels are not sonorant. They have given a good deal of evidence for this. If this is correct, we can do away, not only with the feature [-long] in (FD'), but also with the feature [+diff], since Micmac has no non-diffuse sonorant consonants.

This rule clearly presents a generalization which present theory cannot capture. We wish to propose a convention, then, which will allow us to state simply that some rule applies "before or after" a particular environment. In his paper on what he terms the "neighborhood convention," Emmon Bach proposes that we abbreviate the rule, for example,

\[ \text{a} \longrightarrow \text{b} / \{ \text{c} \} \]

as

\[ \text{a} \longrightarrow \text{b} / \text{c}, \]

with no environmental dash, and the second is to be interpreted as meaning the first. He gives several good motivations for the use of some such neighborhood convention.

We see, however, that we cannot restate rule (FD'):
in this way, for each part of the rule has both a pre-environment and a post-environment, which we have no way to separate without an environmental dash. We therefore propose a modification of Bach's convention, namely that we abbreviate \( FD' \) as

\[
(FD') [i,y] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{son}] + \\
+ \rightarrow [+\text{son}]
\end{array} \right.
\]

where the rule is to be read from top to bottom, and then from bottom to top (or vice versa, which is obviously equivalent, since we could simply write the components of the environment in the opposite order). This is far from the only example of such rules in Micmac. It was mentioned in the introduction that consonants are voiceless in both word-initial and word-final position, which implies the further rule:

\[
(IA) \quad [+\text{obst}] \rightarrow [-\text{voice}] / \#
\]

As another example, the inanimate noun plural \( n \) becomes \( n \) after stem ending in \( n \) (\( \text{agusn}n \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{agusn}n \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{agusn}n \)); verb stems ending in \( l \) have this segment changed to \( n \) before the 2sing ending \( n \) (\( \text{telgil}n \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{telgin}n \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{telgin}n \)). We must have, then, the rule
Now, an interesting case in Micmac is the rule deleting [t,j] adjacent to p. If the p follows, [t,j] must be a morpheme. If it precedes, it is merely necessary for the two to be separated by a +-boundary. The non-generalized rule, then, reads

\[ \text{(DM)} \quad 1 \rightarrow [ \text{+nasal} ] / + \]

\[ \text{[t,j]} \]

Basically, the [t,j] must be preceded by a +-boundary, and separated from the p by a +-boundary (possibly the same one). It seems, then, that we must allow for the possibility of the dash being accompanied, as it were, at least by a boundary, thus:

\[ \text{(HB')} \quad [\text{t,j}] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{p} + \\ + \text{----+} + \text{p} \end{array} \right\} \]

that is, \[ [\text{t,j}] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{p} + + \\ + \text{----+} + \text{p} \end{array} \right\} \]

and we must allow the same convention to operate in the first part of the rule which operates between morphemes: namely, deleting a +-boundary (see fn. 14 above), to give us the correct

\[ [\text{t,j}] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{p} + \\ + \text{----+} + \text{p} \end{array} \right\} \]

from (HB).

We discussed above (pp. 93 to 97) the set of two neighborhood rules for deriving, say, "gujites" and "sogoyey" from, respectively, "gujites" and "sogoyey", rules (EB) and (DO).
Another, less clear-cut, neighborhood rule exists in Micmac. We recall that, to regularize vowel sequences and explain hard g's after non-diffuse back vowels, we postulated underlying ae sequences, and needed a rule to delete e after a. Now, it also appears that to handle certain facts of contraction, we need to postulate aa and eo sequences in the initial syllables of certain verbs, with the e deleting in the present. Thus, we need the rule

(DA)  e ---+ ø / [+voc] \\[-diff] [+grave]

Except for Bach's paper, to my knowledge, there is no explicit discussion of neighborhood rules in the literature. In general, linguists either do not notice such phenomena, or ignore them, or else they simply state the expanded rule with no further comment. Thus, for example, Bever gives an example from Menomini where short vowels drop adjacent to long vowels, or after another short vowel, a rule which he blandly states thus (p. 117):

\[
\begin{array}{c}
 [+voc] \\
[-long] \\
\end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
 / i) [+voc] + \\
 / ii) + [+voc],
\end{array} \right.
\]

with no further comment. Despite the fact that he later somewhat complicates this rule to make it less obviously a neighborhood rule, it is simpler and more in line with our intuition to state it as a neighborhood rule, with the complication added as a separate rule; in fact, this course gives a set of two rules which in sum is simpler than Bever's single rule. This, however, he does not even consider. This sort of thing is rather common, and indicates what must
be a surprising prejudice against such rules, for no readily discernible reason. There is no crucial evidence in Micmac for any of the neighborhood rules as to whether they are disjunctive or conjunctive. Likewise for Menomini. Bach's evidence, however, indicates rather strongly that they are disjunctive.

In any case, it seems obvious that the theory must be expanded to include such rules, with mirror-image inversion around the environment. Bach proposes a notation which cannot handle neighborhood rules with both pre- and post-environments, nor rules such as our (HB) above. On the other hand, our convention has no way of inherently deciding which of the two rules comes first—in Micmac this is never crucial, but Bach gives cases where the ordering is in fact crucial, and his convention predicts the correct ordering. Our notation could handle this, but it would have to be more expensive to order the two parts of the rule than to have them apply freely. Which evaluation measure is correct must await further investigation, but Bach's notation simply cannot handle some of the facts of Micmac.

17(p.219). Not in all cases will the verb make good semantic sense in the inanimate; nonetheless, we use the typical stem for each class, rather than finding a verb of the same class which would make sense in the inanimate.

18(p.221). But see below for the class of stems which delete final i in the inanimate.
Despite the fact that we treat these alternations as in large part predictable by minor phonological rules, nonetheless we must realize that most of these alternations presumably trace back to a Proto-Algonquian alternation between A1 final elements and II final elements. Thus, Bloomfield states, "Intransitive verb finals go largely in pairs, for an. and inan. actors." ("Algonquian," p. 107).

Compare also the following alternations from various Algonquian languages with the corresponding ones of Micmac (in this list, "A/B" means A is the A1 stem, B is the II form):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>FOX</th>
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<th>Proto-Algonquian</th>
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<td>-api/-a?te'--be in place, be there</td>
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<td>-hšin-/-ssin--fall, land, lie</td>
<td>jîg-pi-/jîg-te-g--be dull, lonesome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micmac</td>
<td>-hšin/-həen--lie</td>
<td>-hšin-/-ssin--fall, land, lie</td>
<td>jîg-pi-/jîg-te-g--be dull, lonesome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these alternations, then, trace back to Proto-Algonquian, but Micmac appears to have regularized most of these formerly quite unpredictable alternations.

21 (p.231). This rule is, in fact, equivalent to saying that the negative morpheme takes the shape nū in the inanimate. If the n is inserted by a rule such as (JG'), however, the +-boundary following it would be automatically inserted as well (it never makes any difference in any phonological rule) by the convention discussed in fn. 14 above.

22 (p.246). "Imp.s." will mean the "(you s.) do X" imperative; "Imp.dual" will refer to the "(you dual) do X" imperative; and "Imp.pl." will refer to the "(you pl.) do X" imperative. Likewise, "Neg.Imp.dual," for example, will be used to mean the "don't (you dual) do X" negative imperative.

TRANSITIVE

1 (p.250). We shall refer to the transitive endings by the following abbreviation: the person(s) marked positively in the subject; the number [singular or plural (non-singular)] of the subject (usually present only if ambiguity is possible); hyphen; the person(s) marked positively in the object; the number of the object (again, only if ambiguity is possible). Thus, subject "I", object "you sing." is indicated by "1s-2s" or "1-2s"; subject "they", object "we(inc.)"
by "3pl-l3"; etc. Equivalently, these forms will also be designated by "I-you s., "they-us(inc)", etc; or by "I-2s", "1s-you", etc. Dual and plural are never formally distinguished in transitive verbs, either in the subject or in the object.

2(p.252). Rosenbaum's "erasure principle" (see Rosenbaum, The Grammar of English Predicate Complement Constructions, esp. chapters 1 and 2) may be a related phenomenon—in any case, node-copying proceeds this way in several languages. We find very similar phenomena in Mohawk (cf. Postal, "Mohawk Prefix Generation" in Proc. of IX International Congress of Linguists, pp. 346ff.), except that the particles are adjoined before the verb, and thus the order Subj. Copy - Obj. Copy - Verb obtains, as opposed to the Micmac order Verb - Obj. Copy - Subj. Copy; but notice that with the general convention suggested here, these two orders are equivalent: all that needs be stated is whether the copies appear before or after the verb. Furthermore, with this approach only one NP-copying rule need be stated, whereas the more usual notation requires two. That is, if this is correct, we would expect to find in languages which inflect verbs for objects as well as subjects, that the "Object copy" is always closest to the verb. That is, for a particular language, we can say "copy X, Y, Z, . . . on W" without specifying the order in which they are to be copied. Only the direction of copying (i.e., before or after W) need be specified a priori.

Ken Hale (personal communication) informs me that
all Australian suffixing languages have verbal forms with the order Verb - Subj. Copy - Obj. Copy; similarly, Navaho evinces the order Obj. Copy - Subj. Copy - Verb. Perhaps the rule depends on either the input, or, more likely, the deep structure of transitive sentences in the language in question.

3(p.253). All forms in the next four paragraphs will be 1s subject, 3s object, unless otherwise indicated. If the object is animate, this ending is -q; if it is inanimate, the ending is i.

4(p.254). We might say that we actually have only three choices of inanimate stem ending: Ø (for -ege- only), -t-, or -tu-, and that m is added after a consonant. Then, for verbs like mete-m--I strike it--, we could postulate the underlying stem meteh-, with Vh becoming V̊. This is a phonological rule in Proto-Algonquian, but we merely mention it here as a possible alternative, without pursuing its ramifications.

5(p.255). Many of these animate and inanimate markers trace back to Proto-Algonquian. Thus ("A/B" means A is the TA form, B the TI form), Algonquian (#80, p. lll) has -h/-htoo; Menomini commonly has the TI ending -t.; and Ojibwa often has -t or -to. Menomini also has the relatively rare alternation -w/-m (16.176, p. 363). Note the following which is similar to Micmac:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algonquian</td>
<td>-pw/-pot</td>
<td>by mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micmac</td>
<td>jigp~/jigtm</td>
<td>eat up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note the following alternations, which show similarities to the Micmac rule (EF):

Ojibwa:
- -N/-to--wet, melt (15.47, p. 106)
- -piN/-pito--pull (15.50)
- -gim/-ssito--lay, throw (15.51)
- -wiN/-wito--convey (15.52)
- -a?aN/-a?atto~--track (15.55, p. 107)

Menomini:
- -m/-to--(16.1, p. 329)
- -N/-to--(16.1, p. 329),

although the Algonquian alternations
- -am/-ant--by mouth, eat, bite (#82, p. 113)
- eelem/-eelent--by thought (#82; cf. Micmac -têlm-/ -têtm--thought)
- waapam-/waapant--look at (#82),
suggest that (EF) may not trace back all the way to Proto-Algonquian.

Also note that the Fox common alternation -m/-t- (p. 842) may correspond to the typical Micmac -l/-tu-, -tm- alternations.

6 (p.271). Complete forms in parentheses indicate those which are also passive forms; forms in brackets ([ ]) indicate those which may only be passive forms (viz., -ulg for the he-2s. form; since the other form is apparently suppletive, i.e., irregular, we will formulate rules to derive the form -ulg. The fact that the negative and future of the he-2s form is ostensibly derived from the form ulg further reinforces our contention that Ñag is an irregular interloper). Dashes indicate that the predicted form does not occur. A shwa in parentheses indicates that there is or
is not a shwa in the form, depending on the stem. The i is parenthesized in the 3an-13 forms to indicate the fact that some stems have the i there optionally, others obligatorily, and others obligatorily do not have it.

Compare with these endings the passive paradigm on page 308 of the Transitive chapter below.

6a (p.275). Pacifique, in another connection, noted this "order of preference" of 2, 1, 3 in Micmac:

"Il est bien remarquable qu'à ce mode [le subjonctif] la lettre initiale soit g (de gil, gileo, toi, vous) toutes les fois qu'il es fait mention de la seconde personne, comme sujet ou complément; n (de nin, ninen, je, nous) seulement quand l'autre est la troisième; enfin o (de ola, oegela, lui, eux) quand il n'y a que des troisièmes personnes; voulue ou instinctive, c'est une politesse très délicate envers ceux à qui on parle."

(Leçons, pp. 158-9).

7 (p.278). The same sort of rule is necessary to spell out certain features of a possessed noun before the noun, and certain ones after it. Thus, in g-ugunij-inu-- our (inc.) grandmother--, aside from the stem -ugunij-, we find the following morphemes: g-prefix indicating a 2nd person possessor, and -inu suffix indicating a 1st person plural possessor. That is, of the features of the possessor, the person features are copied both before and after the stem, whereas the number features are copied only after the stem. In a phonological context, Hoffman discusses a formally similar sort of rule, for deriving initial consonant clusters in English from underlying segments.
8(p.278). The "Tense" before the stem may be, not a tense as such, but some marker which causes contraction, among other things. This marker is shared by many non-indicative moods (the future, subjunctive, dubitative, etc.), as well as by nominalizations and the non-initial verbal elements of compounds.

9(p.283). The fact that the t does not become q here following u indicates that we may have been wrong in postulating any u-stems; they may all be uu > uw stems, with length dependent on the first u; then we could simplify both the t ---→ g rule (to apply now only after sonorant non-vowels, instead of in the awkward environment of the present rule), and the g-insertion rule (to apply after [u,w]). Alternatively, the long ū stems could be from uu, while in the short u stems, u could become w after any obstruent, and be revocalized if not after g. Neither solution is entirely satisfactory. Either one, however, implies that glide-revocalization must essentially reiterate glide-formation by making new glides (in, e.g., awgt < aught < aut) as well as new vowels. This might also explain the y in forms like milāyt, milāytes, where the s was deleted from milāsit, milāsites, respectively, by a rule which follows glide-formation. On the other hand, these forms may simply have been misheard, and may actually have a vowel instead of a glide.

10(p.288). Cf. the Fox it-him participial ending -qwitri (see Fox, page 828).
Some sort of extension of the lexical insertion technique might very well provide a means of handling the vexing problem of quasi-suppletion discussed passim above. That is, we might extend it to insertion of segments, or even features, in certain cases of merely slight suppletion, as, for example, the verb *wesge*- with its plural stem *wesge*- . That is, we might want to enter it in the lexicon with an entry similar to the following:

\[
\text{u} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{e} \\
\text{[-long]} \quad \text{[-plural]} \quad \text{[+long]} \quad \text{[+plural]},
\]

or, more simply,

\[
\text{u} \quad \text{e} \\
\text{[±long]} \quad \text{[±plural]}
\]

Note that this only requires one more feature than if the stem were actually regular (vowel length must of course be specified in any case). Thus the expense of this suppletion might be figured as the one "extra" feature needed, which corresponds well with our intuitive feeling that this irregularity is relatively very minor. Compare with this stem the putative entry for a stem like *g subjective-si*-be burnt-- , inanimate stem *g subjective-te*-:

\[
\text{g subjective} \quad \{ \text{si} \quad / \quad [±\text{anim}] \\
\text{te} \quad / \quad [−\text{anim}] \}
\]

The expense here is all the features necessary to specify *g subjective*, *si*, and *te*, as well as the two specifications of animateness. (That is, the "extra" cost is that for, say, *te*-quite a few features--plus two.) Thus, this stem would be rather suppletive by our measurements, and indeed,
intuitively it strikes one as very suppletive.

On the whole, then, we have seen that the lexical insertion technique holds forth great promise for such diverse problems as quasi-suppletion, submorphemic semantic regularity, and suppletive limitations of productive and inflectional or conjugational morphology.

12(p.309). In Micmac, a sentence with an indefinite subject boils down to a passive sentence.

13(p.311). "Imp.s.," etc., will have the same basic meanings as in the Intransitive chapter above (see fn. 22 there), except that they will mean, say, "(you s.) do X to."

POSSESSION

1(p.314). In cases where any ambiguity might arise "s." and "pl." will refer to the number of the possessor only if they are followed by 's. In general, the abbreviation after the hyphen (or after the space, when the reading is not impaired by leaving out the hyphens) refers to the number of the possessed noun.

2(p.315). Cf. the following animate noun, mijimijarse--, especially the 3s.'s--s., which is in the obviative. The obviative is discussed below, p. 331.
nijimij  my arse
gijimij  your (s.) arse
wijimitl  his arse
gijimijinal  our (12) arses
nijimijinal  our (13) arses
gijimijual  your (pl.) arses
wijimijual  their arses.

3(p.321). Clearly, these latter two are related to the stem wetma--smoke. From contraction, however, we would expect, say, *ugwtmadan (but cf. jughu, instead of the expected ugwjugu). It may be that there is a (minor?) rule deleting some initial u's after contraction and before g-insertion. Note that in the possessed forms, the u is no longer word-initial, and so we would not expect g-insertion. The ending -aqtan is a typical deverbal nominalizing suffix, while the ending -alvey appears in certain other nouns (cf. salawey--salt--, from the French sel).

4(p.323). Anthropologists take note: this fact proves that the Micmacs had and have no summer homes.

5(p. 323). Thus, the morphological evidence is that togetherness is very strong among them. Incidentally, the forms nignaq--at my, our (exc.) home--, giguag--at your(s.pl.) home--, wiguaq--at his, their home--, gignaq--at our (inc.) home, are formed by adding the locative morpheme -g, phonologically identical to the animate plural morpheme.
There are some peculiar, and poorly understood, alternations between 1 and n in Micmac, other than rule (DM). We have seen the alternation between the transitive endings beginning in -ul/-uln-, *inu/nu*--Indian--, and *lmųj/nmųj*--dog--, (perhaps syntactically conditioned). We also note the aforementioned stem *-inų/-ilų* --food. Its full singular conjugation (with corresponding forms in the plural) is: 1's *ninu* (rare *nilu*), 2s.'s *gilu*, 3s.'s *wilu*, 12's *ginūnu*, 13's *ninūnen*, 2pl.'s *gilūow*, 3pl.'s *wiluul*. (Also observe the regular stem *-iŋu/-ilnu*--tongue.) This particular case may have something to do with avoiding homonymy with some of the personal pronouns (see below), but the problem still remains. Also, within the personal pronouns, we find *n-ı̊n*, *n-ı̊n-en*, *g-ı̊n-ų*, but *g-ı̊l*, *g-ı̊l-ęw* (see below).
APPENDICES
WORD INDEX

This is an index only of the Micmac words mentioned in the text or footnotes. Definitions for each word are given, followed by page references. An underlined page reference indicates extensive discussion of the word in question. The words are listed in alphabetical order, except that a is disregarded in alphabetization. Thus, e.g., māntu follows mnaq and precedes modopaq. Of two words identical except for the fact that one contains a a, the one without the shwa comes first. Likewise, long vowels and consonants are alphabetized as if they were short, except that a long segment is construed as following a short segment in alphabetical order in ambiguous cases. Thus, napq follows nepaq, but precedes nepilq; wissey follows wisawow, but precedes wisis. Likewise, a is alphabetized as g: apganj precedes apgu, but follows a hypothetical apganj. Also, y is alphabetized as if it were i, and w as if it were u, except that in ambiguous cases y and w are construed as following i and w, respectively: sīsgu precedes -sīsgw.

-382-
aγ -- and; 65, 349.
āgalasi'ēw -- Englishman [i.e., English speaker]; 62, 65.
āγāntiēumg -- Sunday; 53.
aγāntiēuti -- week; 65.
'āgam(g) -- snowshoe(s); 65, 190, 224, 332.
āγataygw -- one-half; 56.
āγatassi- -- be half mad; 150.
-āγey -- body; 328, 329.
agnīmuē -- squeal, tell on people; 142, 154.
agnutm/aγ -- I/tell a story to/him; 65.
āγtapug -- in the middle of winter; 54.
'āgusn(n) -- hat(s); 35, 66, 91, 98, 99, 366.
atji- -- be such; 115-116, 120, 121, 127, 131, 157, 158.
ajāsi -- move along (on land); 61, 63, 172.
ajiēmay -- I/play ball; 60.
ajgōnēwāl/aγ -- I/do s.t. for/him; 45.
ajie -- move (on water); 62, 63, 110, 348.
ajipju/lg,-tu -- urge s.o. to do s.t. [inan.: hope s.t. will happen]; 253, 256.
alaγsin -- I/fly; 67.
alam-, alap/tm- -- look around for; 257, 270.
alām -- swim around; 119, 136, 194, 198, 211, 247, 248.
alameš -- mass; 59.
alamešjīj -- low mass; 59.
alāsi -- walk around; 165, 168, 169.
algatm -- stay all around; 136, 186.
aiguaωlu-, aiguaω/m -- look all over for, look around for; 253, 258.

ali,gew, (-gal) -- clothes; 32, 54, 55, 316, 322, 361.
aligtesm-, aligtes/tu- -- shatter; 255, 256.

aljaqam -- spread it; 60.
aljemā- -- leave an odor around; 61.
aI'mawāqig -- Germany; 66.
aI'mim-, aI'mi/tm- -- curse at; 257.
alpegāsi -- go in and out of the water while swimming; 169.
alunaqaye- -- jump around [cf. wenaqaye-]; 90.
a'lūpa/l-, a'lūp/tu- -- carry on the back; 256, 258, 270.
amalga- -- dance; 55-6, 64, 133, 139-140, 211, 220, 230.
amallugwal/g, -atm -- decorate up (an., inan.); 253, 256.
amasqipn-, amasqipn/m- -- torture; 258, 271.
am?wan -- spoon; 70-2.
amigwen/g, amigwenm -- smear up; 253, 258.
amlamog -- mackerel; 331.
an?gweywa-, an?gō/tm -- look after; 257.
an?guna/g, an?guna/m -- cover; 73, 255, 258, 306.
anipsi -- make penance; 62.
anipsutsi -- penitence; 53, 55.
apaqt -- sea; 67.
apapi -- thread; 328.
apgwep-, apgwe/tm -- bite loose; 257, 270.
api -- net; 321, 325.
apigjīj -- mouse; 181.
apjēji-, apjējg -- be small, few (an., inan.); 41, 61, 344.
apoŋonmasi -- help oneself; 158.
apoŋonmua-, apoŋonma/tm- -- help; 257, 267, 306.
apoŋonmuē -- help; 50, 72, 152.
apsgwapugue- -- change one's story; 153.
apsiŋa -- have a small house; 143.
apusɡiŋ -- key; 264.
asgaywa-, asgō/tm- -- hurt, damage, bother; 64, 257.
-āsi -- v. jāsi.
āsisege-, āsisāgał -- throw over (inan., an.); 253, 258, 270, 274.
'āsugwe,tniąg -- the wind is coming the opposite way; 183, 262.
asum-, asu/tm- -- be the boss of; 257.
āsūn(n) -- blanket(s); 35.
asutmessew-, āsutmessewa/tm- -- pray for; 257, 268.
asutmewinui -- pray; 77.
a'teljójo -- just now; 61.
atgitemi -- cry; 136.
atgnewe- -- be the dealer; 154.
at'iesi v. ajie-
at'iw -- goodbye; 55.
atiewi -- say goodbye; 53.
at:ign'āsi -- work hard; 53.
atlāy(-l or -g) -- shirt(s); 33, 330.
atlasōmi -- rest; 136.
atlasmūt/l-, atlasmūt/m- -- give a rest to; 257.
atl̬ag̱asi -- pace; 171.
'Atua -- Ottowa; 57.
atu'asgwetesin -- fall backwards; 57.
'atuen -- Antoine, Anthony; 57.
'ātugwalg -- tell a story about; 262.
'atuomg -- sand; 57.
avantāsi -- forget; 77.
awgti, (-tīl) -- road(s); 53, 67, 92, 296, 324, 327, 328.
awgti/g -- it/costs s.t; it is not free; 53, 237.
awgtīj, (tījl, -tīl) -- footpath(s); 45, 339.
awgtuge'may -- I/charge myself; 53.
awiǰējg -- it's rare; 61.
ægsj(1) -- axle; 36.
-ēgati, (-tīg) -- field(s) of- ; 54.
-ege -- [v. also elege-]-- throw; 148, 155, 253, 284, 285, 297, 373.
egināmueu- -- teach; 142, 154.
egsuogon -- lie; 72.
egwijāl/əg -- put (s.o.) in the water; 91.
egwijin -- be in the water; 223.
eym- -- be there; 13, 27, 186, 201, 202, 209, 225, 236, 247.
ejelātu -- I/can't help it; 61.
ejgwe- --have the hiccups; 45.
ejgwi -- sneeze; 42, 219.
ejguj(g) -- pumpkin(s); 42.
ejiglāl/əg -- I/reject/him; 42.
elag, elatm -- resemble; 253.
elagati- v. eleg-
elagutm -- be related to; 92.
eleg- -- play, throw; 72, 141, 148, 155, 220.
elegewal/ag -- make king; 86.
elegewit -- king; 86.
elgusue- -- climb; 326.
,elipami -- glide, slide; 70, 136.
elipamul/l-, elipamulu/tu -- make slide; 86, 255.
elitasi -- rely on it; 77.
elo/l-, elo/tu- -- carry a lot of (s.t.) to; 256.
elitu -- make it; 119.
eluwei -- be wicked, a sinner; 101, 128.
eluwei- -- be crazy; 24, 28, 141, 151, 154, 157, 158, 163, 164, 200, 201, 211, 217, 220, 238, 246, 247, 348.
elugwa, elugwe/tu -- make (s.o., s.t.) work; 256, 265, 300-1, 306.
elugwatm- -- fit it; 262.
elugwe- -- work; 24, 141, 143, 147-8, 150-1, 152, 153, 237, 262.
elugwomi -- have it done by (s.o.); 136.
elugwow-, elugwowa/tm -- work for; 257, 267.
emgatua- -- lend it to; 68-9, 268.
emit:ugwalg -- visit; 86.
emisigta- -- see the ghost of; 86.
ën-, en?/tu- -- lose; 256, 270.
en?gál/ág -- I/stop/him; 70.
ēnusī -- lose o.s.; 222.
epāgwesg -- headwind; 91.
epatgwepeguāl/ōg -- lean him up against s.t.; 87.
epetāŋ v. epetogsi.
epetogsi -- moan; 67, 73, 222.
ēpit, (ēpijig) -- woman, (-men); 31, 42-3, 45, 192, 331.
ēpitējīj -- little girl; 59.
ēpiteś -- (teenage) girl; 59.
ēpitjīj -- little woman; 41, 342.
epsagtej -- stove; 67.
epsog -- warm; 85.
epeteg -- it is hot; 85.
esamugwā -- drink; 74, 132, 138, 144, 145, 220.
esgipē-, esgipe/tu- -- wait for; 87, 256, 265, 346.
esgwiē- -- have some left; 176.
essām -- dye; 87.
etl- -- -ing; 159.
etlāgali/g -- I/stay with/him; 65.
etlāgipu/l-, etlāgit/tu -- file, saw; 256, 270.
etlatal -- be eating; 136.
etlēlesi -- be glowing; 222.
etlilesi -- be going; 159.
etligwe- -- grow up here; 132.
etlōgsm/(aŋ) -- cook it (for s.o.); 270.
etltaŋ v. etltogsi
etltogsi -- be blabbing; 224, 225, 231, 232.
etltugwīm -- be running; 159.
ewgjopuguāsi -- step on s.t.; 58, 165, 169, 171.
ewgsim/g -- I/fool (with words)/him; 67, 92, 296.
ewegeg, ewegetu -- need (s.o., s.t.); 86.
-ewi v. -ui.
ewięge- -- write; 327.
ewigew-, ewigewa/tm -- build a house for; 270, 304.
ewigeg -- he/writes it; 90.
ewigige- -- write; 50, 131.
ewigeg -- it (the sea) is calm; 183.
eulamugsi -- look skinny; 67.
euléji-- be poor; 42, 227, 242.
euljeweji -- be destitute; 227.
eu'nia -- the wind dies down, falls, calms down; 24, 99, 183.
ê(w)u--, êwu/m-- use; 101, 258, 269.
g-- 2nd person possession prefix; 115.
agašama-- stand up; 78, 95.
agaśan -- door; 65.
agaśi--, gašteg -- be burnt (an., inan.); 225, 229, 230, 236, 370, 377.
agašte-- v. gašsi--
gaštugwâ-- thunder; 262.
n/gaj -- my/dirty foot; 98.
-gajign -- leg; 327.
gajuewgj -- cat; 64, 101, 327, 328.
gâl(g) -- (one) fourth; 224.
galipu -- caribou; 25.
galun -- gallon; 64.
â:amâsi v. gašamâsi.
gamlamun -- heart; 328.
gamlamuti -- breath; 55.
gapnol -- government; 181.
-gat -- foot; leg; 58, 98, 106, 262, 318, 326, 327.
gat -- eel; 65.
gawatgw -- spruce; 259.
ga, watgu'pîl -- beer(s); 45.
'gawi -- porcupine quill; 65.
gegwâlq -- slow (s.o.) down; 87.
gegweg -- upstairs; 99.
gegjepê -- be hung over; 142.
gegunm -- have; 88-9, 92, 93.
'geg:unewey -- be the godparent; 93.
'geg:usg -- godfather; 72, 92.
gêytu -- v. gejiq.
geji-, gêytu -- know (an., inan.); 44, 95, 96, 173, 256, 271.
gejigew -- a little while ago; 42.
gejisi -- know o.s.; 96.
gejii-, geltâg -- be frozen (an., inan.); 192, 222, 223, 229, 339, 370.
gelpil-, gelpil/m -- tie (w/a rope); 258.
geltâg v. gelji.
gelul- v. gelusi.
gelulg, gelutm -- talk to [inan.: ask for]; 253, 256.
gelusi -- be good; 225, 231, 243.
gepijoâ, gepijogo/m- -- plug up, seal; 61, 258, 259, 304.
gepajogom v. gepijoâ.
gepmitâlm/âg -- respect; 87.
gepsa'gâtu -- close (a book); 85.
gesga/â -- hurt by putting o.s. on; 83, 346.
gesgâsi -- disappear; 170.
gesgâtu -- make it disappear; 97.
gesgātu -- widen it; 97.
gesgēy -- be wide; 97.
gesgēlm/āg, gesgēl/tm -- hate; 255, 257, 270.
gesgelisi -- protect o.s.; 83.
gesgijāsi -- go over; 97.
gesgmāsi -- take a short cut; 97.
gesgul -- be heavy; 80, 223, 224.
gesnugwa- -- be sick; 141, 142, 147-8, 150-1, 196, 220, 230, 247.
gespāl/āg -- eat all up; 83.
gespu, guātege- -- tell lies; 107.
gestunepilewet -- he/garrotes; 50.
gestunepilg -- hang (s.o.); 87.
geta'gāsi -- hurry up; 172.
getan/g, getan?/tu -- hut (for); 253, 256.
getape- -- dive; 142.
getgāl/āg -- make drunk; 81, 83.
getgie- -- be drunk; 80, 81.
getgujetehin -- fall face down; 61.
getguje'testu -- turn it upside down; 82.
getguni -- sleep there; 80, 92, 141, 151, 220, 285.
getgōwam/g -- I/look her up and down; 86.
getu- -- bellow; 119, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 139, 152, 198, 200, 201, 202, 211, 216, 225, 229.
getuan/g -- want to kill (s.o.); 86.
getui- -- want to; 57.
getuliiwgsi -- I/want to move; 92.
getūtgam/in -- I/want you to hit me; 57.
gewisin -- be hungry; 77, 90.
gewgji -- be cold; 50, 93, 99, 367.
gewgsm -- saw down; 93.
geum -- I/hew it; 24.
giasgiw -- just right, proper; 25, 27, 48, 62, 301.
gigajāsi -- argue; 169, 171.
gīgam?gōn(g) -- pole(s); boat pole(s); 22, 224.
gīgam?gōn(n) -- flagpole(s); fancy pole(s); 22.
gigjīw -- near; 48.
-gij -- mother; 262, 327, 333.
gijga, ijga -- a little bit; 45.
gi'jū -- mommy; 49.
gīl -- you(s.); 334, 349, 375, 380.
gīlew -- you pl.; 334, 375, 380.
gini'gwejij -- ant; 55.
gīnu -- we, us (inc.); 73, 334, 380.
gīnuowey -- ours; 73.
gisapnia -- day (break); 174.
gisēywā, gisō/tm -- finally get the best of; 257, 269.
gisgajāl/gg -- I/get ready/him; 61.
gisgajēy -- be prepared; 26, 61, 222, 225, 230.
gisgajie/y -- I/be ready; 62.
gisigu -- old man; 92, 327.
gispnēy -- be tired; 181.
gitpu -- eagle; 182.
@gjiensalēwit -- archangel; 62.
@gjiapluew -- you great devil!; 62.
@gjiāsutmagan -- greatest prayer; 61.
gjigan -- city; 41.
glitaw -- strawberry; 330.
gl'o gö, wej(g) -- star(s); 23, 344.
gl, ogowejui -- be a star; 344.
glu -- eagle; 331.
gl'usgapa — glooscap, legendary hero of Micmac legend; 64-5.

g'ñnìewi — receive communion; 62.
g'mtn — mountain; 14.
g'múj(1) — wood, (pl. = bunches of); 22, 46, 57, 333.
g'múj(u)g — it is wood; 57.
go'go'lígwej — chicken; 44, 72.
go'gomin — sloe; 74.
go:wálاغ — grab, seize; 93.
go'gwey — what; 261.
go'gwejij — spider; 73.
goliat — Goliath; 72.
go'pit(g) — beaver(s); 22, 72.
g'osi — (finger)nail; 73, 330.
g'ospem (-m or -1) — lake(s); 35.
-got- — coat; 331.
gotì/g — beam/s; 146.
g'sgúas v. gesgãg.
g'tgálas v. getgálag
g'tgiéwinu — drunkard; 62.
g'gtugun- v. getguni.
gwå — v. ogwå-
-gwajign v. -gajign.
'gwasta,le — holy jumpin'!; 103.
u/g:wat v. -gat.
nt/gwêjij — my/little sister; 103.
gugumn v. geg:unm.
gugumij; 44. v. -ugumij.
-gwij v. -gij.
gwilua-, gwil/m — look for; 103, 266-7, 268, 317.
guisin- v. gewisin.
ugwitl v. -gij.
'gwitin(n) -- canoe(s); 34, 103.
gūji- v. gewgji.
gujjiewey -- cross; 62.
guj̕amug -- outside; 91, 105.
guljewtē- -- crucify; 56.
gu̕ntew, (-tal) -- stone(s); 32, 40-1, 290, 316.
gutan -- village; 105.
gutāti/gl -- they/be pouring out; 105.
heml'ag(g) -- hemlock; 35.
- i v. ui.
iap -- bull moose; 26.
iap'jiwovey -- eternal; 26-7, 48, 62, 204.
-ig- -- home; 58, 322-3.
-īg -- house; 315, 323.
igal/g -- I/support/him; 64.
igāl/ōg -- I/put/him; 64.
igatačan -- garden; 54.
igātağu -- plant; 132, 220, 230, 236.
igatn'ēwe/y -- I/be a racer; 64.
-igne v. -ig.
igungmua- -- give it to; 125.
igtig(-ig, -1) -- other, (others an., inan.); 27, 29, 53, 72, 192.
-iguow v. -ig.
ijga v. gijga.
n/ijus -- my brother-in-law; 48.
ilasgw, (-gug) -- card(s) -- 25, 30.
iljo'gwatu -- repair it; 61.
-ilnu -- tongue; 335, 380.
-ilu v. -inū.
īm- v. eym.
imā- -- smell, taste; 57, 58.
inagan -- right (side); 54-5.
in?guti -- one by one; 53.
inū- / -ilu- -- food; 318, 335, 380.
inū -- v. -ilnu.
istuēy -- be different; 57.
itap -- buddy; 320.
itēes -- I will be there [v. eym-]; 13.
itn -- nostril; 181, 318.
itū -- hair; 318.
-j -- dirty, disfigured, spoiled, rotten; 43, 98, 106, 215.
jagalāsi -- hurry up; move fast; 169, 171.
jagalī- -- quickly; 60.
jagalīsī -- speak fast; 161.
jagej -- lobster; 60, 65-6.
jajigāsi -- go along the edge; 60.
jajigēy -- be healthy; 60.
ja'wāli(a) -- chew(s); grasshopper(s); 29.
jawātā- -- chew tobacco; 56.
jel -- or; 61.
'jenu, (je'nūg) -- giant(s); 28, 29, 61.
įgolj, ąsągolj -- toad; 42, 60, 73, 41.
jigajie/y -- I/be touchy; 64.
jīgaligwatm -- scull; 181.
'jī'gāw(g) -- bass(es); 32, 44, 197.
n?/jignam -- my/brother; 41.
jigp-, jigtm- -- eat up; 373.
jigpi- -- be calm, dull, lonesome; 225, 241, 370.
jigte- v. jigpi.
-jīj -- diminutive; 59.
jiwawignej -- raisin; 60.
jij:emā- -- stink; 61, 63, 118, 120, 121, 122, 126.
jijuāga -- sometimes; 48, 49.
n?/jilj -- my/father-in-law; 44.
jimej(aŋ) -- Jim(s); 43, 60.
jīme- -- piddle; 181.
jǐnām -- man; 181, 289, 290, 345.
jīnāmui -- be a man; 345.
jipal/g -- I/fear/him; 181.
-jītağan -- neck; 181, 326.
jīj -- George; 60.
jugūa v. wejğūesi-.
jugwįij -- mother-in-law; 52.
jujįij -- lizard; 48, 50, 301.
lağalangs -- barn; 326, 327.
lağan -- wound; 67.
'lağ:ol(g) -- cord(s) (of wood); 23.
lągpusuti -- apron; 53.
lą'pay(g) -- (wash-) tub(s), bucket(s); 33, 39.
lapugwan -- ship; 262.
lasiet -- plate; 56.
la' t: ōlaw, (-laq) -- bull(s); 32.
'len? tugwji(j) -- little deer(s); 22.
lepyē(1) -- foot, (feet) [measure]; 38, 39, 339, 351.
lgwetu -- female ungulate; 14.
Igusuag an -- ladder; 91, 326.
ligat u -- I/put it; 26.
Imūj (-g or -ig) -- dog(s); 22, 41, 289, 290, 326, 380.
lnu -- Indian; 330, 380.
I'nūsgw(ag) -- Indian woman; 30.
-ti v. -ti-.
luewie- v.eluēwie.
lusgēign -- elbow; 326.
-m- -- v -tu-.
ma -- not [fut.]; 241.
maq̣ạg̣ v. maq̣og̣si.
maq̣amigew -- land; 330.
maq̣as an -- store; 65.
maq̣atpa-- have a big head; 65, 87.
maq̣atui v. emq̣atua-.
magn -- moccasin; 68.
maq̣og̣si- maq̣ag̣-inan. -- be big and round; 65, 70, 73.
maq̣ot(1) -- skirt(s); 23.
maq̣taẉey -- be black; 17, 67, 68, 81, 82.
ṃil(1) -- mile; 36.
majāsi -- move, go, leave; 55, 165, 168, 169, 173, 221.
malgujetehin -- pitch forward; 61.
maliēwi -- get married; 62.
maligēw(g) -- barrel(s); 39-40, 197.
maligām-, maligu/tm- -- mock, laugh at; 257, 258.
maljen -- massage; 306.
maljewejui- -- be young; 61.
maltew (-tal; generic pl., -teul) -- blood; 40, 197.
'mapos(l) -- pocket(s); 23.
mattē- -- beat; 73.
mattōgsi -- get beaten; 73.
'matues -- porcupine; 57.
maw- -- together; 100.
mawg:itm -- add it up; 100, 210.
mawgpilm -- bundle it up; 100, 210.
măugtm/úgw -- we/work together on it; 92.
māwiōmi -- assembly; 23.
mālulugwe/ýgw -- we/work together; 24.
me'gōtig -- it's expensive; 53.
meŋtāg -- doubt (s.o.); 87.
me'gwaig -- in the middle, middle; 91, 103.
megwēy- -- be red; 24, 91, 101, 118, 119, 120, 121.
mejegēy -- be dirty; 61, 66, 41.
mej:igwa- -- defecate; 83, 96.
meŋpil/g -- tie firmly; 100.
menōtm -- take off by unconsciously frigging at it
[e.g., paint on a table]; 254.
menōtu -- take things off [e.g., clothes from a line];
254.
menwīg-, menwīg/m- -- take off the list [inan.: copy]; 258.
mesgēy -- be sorry; 83.
mesgil- -- be big; 132, 134, 135.
mesguli -- prick o.s. accidentally; 80, 136.
mesṭānnu-, mestan/m- -- have everything (s.o., s.t.)
had; 87, 258.
meta'gatu -- uncover; 86.
metawgila/t -- he/be barking at a distance; 99-100.
mete-g,-m -- strike, hit (an., inan.); 253, 258, 269, 299-300, 301, 305, 312, 364, 373.
meto'gwatu -- bring down (from the woods); 86.
metuimag -- it tastes bad; 57-58.
metu(ū)gunaag -- bad weather; 58.
mgign v. ąpgign.
mgasn v. ąpgasn.
mgumi [Pacifique] v. ąpgumi.
mijigjigj(g) -- turtle(s); 42, 43.
-ąmign: n. mgign.
mī'jagej -- vein; 65.
mijimij v. -ijimij.
imāsi-- play;
157, 158, 159, 162, 165, 167Lu, 171, 174,
186, 194, 201, 202, 204, 207, 208, 209,
211, 216, 221, 230, 235, 236, 238, 247,
349, 352-3, 361, 376.
milesi -- be rich; 53.
milesuti -- riches, wealth; 53.
milićaj -- humming-bird; 44.
imlogwē-- smell all different ways; 142.
mimajuinux -- person; 58.
mimugwa/l-, mimugwa/tu -- hide; 256.
iminigwal-, -atu -- hide (an., inan.); 253.
imī, (mitīg) -- tree(s); 53.
imitéy -- of poplar; 53.
imītīŋ(n) -- meeting; 35.
m?jegās -- I will/be dirty [v. mejegēy-]; 41.
mlagā'jumi, (-mīl) -- butter(s); 45, 55.
mĩjoqom -- dry wood; 61.
moŋa -- not yet; 65.
mëntu -- devil; 14, 57.
mëntui -- be a devil; 57.
mëntuŋgwom -- devil's abode; 261.
mõ -- not [pres., past]; 241.
mog(:)wã -- no!; 39, 261.
mogo'pag(al) -- wine(s); 36-7, 65.
m'saŋtaŋt -- floor; 67.
msigu v. ñpsigu.
mti'agasteagan -- (church) collection; 53, 62.
m'tijin -- thumb, one inch; 14, 53, 119.
mtn -- ten [obs.; cf. pitui/ptñ/agaŋ]; 271.
m'tūnoŋt -- storm; 67, 73.
mui'n(aŋ) -- bear(s); 24, 29, 31, 177-8.
mugja -- very good; 45.
mulŋatm -- I/dig it up; 24.
'munți, (-'tĩl) -- bag(s); 28, 45, 53, 146, 351.
musgwam --, musgwatm- -- lick; 257, 258.
'muŋoč -- horsefly; 31.
musti, (-'tĩl) -- belly, (-ies); 53, 59.
mut -- don't; 119, 311.
n- 1st person possession prefix; 115.
nagamaŋjeŋg -- it/be easy; 61.
nagánamâ -- drink (alcohol); be drinking; 141, 145, 151, 162, 200, 201, 207, 208, 209, 211, 217, 220, 237, 247, 341.
'naganĩge- -- scoop (out); 77, 78, 79, 133, 137, 138.
na'gasi -- stop; 70, 165, 168, 169, 170, 221, 230, 353.

'na'go'm(g) -- skate(s); 23.

na'gtm-, na'gal- -- abandon (it, him); 67.

'na'gweg(l) -- days); 23, 66, 99.

najiwissugwów: w -- go and cook for; 340.

nalagi- -- be raring to go; 65.

napéw(g) -- rooster, cock(s); 99, 205, 215.

nassígwa/l-, nassígu/m -- scrape; 257, 270.

nasó't/l, nasó/tu-- put on, dress; 255, 256, 270.


nat'am/g -- go and bum from; 340.

na'telamugwisi -- be that color; 225.

négaw -- always; 64.

negla -- they, them (inan.; over there); 334.

negm -- he, him; 334, 335, 349.

negmow -- they, them (an.); 334, 335.

nemi-, nemi/tu -- see; 256, 265, 301-2, 305, 310.

nemíwey -- I/see my sweetheart; 48.

nenua- -- know; 306.

nēpā-, nēpa/tu -- kill; 256, 265.

nepay -- be sleeping; 27.

nepapigwā- -- be blind; 107.

nepm -- die, be dead; 136, 141, 220, 221, 231.

nepsãlōg -- raise; 87.

nespitm -- take care of it; 83, 86, 346.

nespnm -- bring it along; 86.

nestāg -- understand; 81, 83.

nestu'ēy -- be intelligent, understand; 80, 81.
nes'tūe- -- come to one's senses; 80.
nestuimue- -- give good advice; 57.
nesugweta- -- go three in a boat; 110.
nesugunaŋ -- (it is) three days; 87.
etuisge- -- sell; 57.
new -- four newišig (an.), newg:ul (inan.); 100, 205, 206, 210, 215, 347.
neugt -- one, alone: 54, 101, 104, 106.
neugt(i)- -- only, alone; 91, 93, 215.
neugtipug -- one winter; all winter; 54.
neugtitel/mag -- think only of; 54, 91.
neugtugwalugwe -- be alone; 141, 143, 152-3.
newg:ul v. new.
newišig v. new.
'ŋatign -- pound; 53.
n?ganĩge- v. naganĩge-
n?ganopati, (-tíl) -- well(s); 53.
-ŋĩgu -- parent; 318.
ŋotnanj -- bastard; 43.
ngutilenm- v. neugtitelm-
n?gutĩw -- at once; 53.
'nigoû(ol) -- spear(s); 36-7, 72.
nijan -- [v. -njan] my child [voc]; 60, 321.
ńimā- -- bring one's own food; 142.
nin -- I, me; 334, 349, 375, 380.
ninën -- we, us (exc.); 334, 375, 380.
nin?jagumtesg -- it/drops; 60.
'nipit(l) -- tooth (teeth); 22.
nisagasi -- go down (the hill); 169, 170.
'nisgam(aŋ) -- god(s); 29, 49, 190.
-njan -- child; 321.
nemēj (-g, -ig) -- fish(es); 41, 342, 344.
Nemējui -- be a fish; 344.
'nmtn(g) -- mountain(s); 23.
NMUJ v. ImuJ.
noŋ -- very; 72.
noŋom -- cough; 72, 74.
-noŋwan -- eyebrow; 318.
Nspitew v Nspitm.
Nu -- v lnun.
Nu'eyey -- of an Indian; 24, 26.
Nug-, nugu/m- -- soften up; 258, 259.
Nugwā- -- burn, be burning; 211, 220, 230.
Nugwigja- -- have a soft bottom; 60.
Nujiapōŋmuet -- helper; 50, 61.
Nujiapōŋmuet -- school teacher; 49.
Nugwigja- -- have a soft bottom; 60.
Nugwigja- -- school teacher; 49.
Nugwigja- -- have a soft bottom; 60.
Nugwigja- -- school teacher; 49.
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Nugwigja- -- have a soft bottom; 60.
Nugwigja- -- school teacher; 49.
Nugwigja- -- have a soft bottom; 60.
pagalôg -- I/it/him; 65.
pagasãlugwe/y -- slide, slip into the water; 97.
pagasegey -- throw it into the water; 97.
pagšipe-- intensive; 153.
pagsip:esïlugwê-- be sick and tired of working; 153.
pagтаqam -- in the middle of nowhere; 67.
pagtauqeg -- the glaring sun; 317.
pagtuşm(ugw or -g) -- wolf; 190.
papuağan -- fun; 71.

pasegi -- be thick; 222.
pasey -- be thick; 222.
patgwie -- go close to s.t. (on the water); 176.
ap'tîis -- Baptist; 53.
patîías -- priest; 62.
peãgij(1) -- package(s); 46.
pegijäsì -- take a long time to get there; 160, 339.
pegijey -- take long, a long time; 66, 97, 161.
pegijie- -- it takes one a long time to get there (on a boat); 161.
pegijīnâmâlôg -- it takes me a long time to put it into/her; 97.

peginetm -- take a bite off it; 97.
pegisin -- arrive; 111, 223.
pegisu/lu-, pegisi/tu- -- bring; 256, 270.
pegitgopi -- sit a long time; 160, 339.
pegitnìm -- hold a long time; 97.
pegwäl/ag -- force (s.o.) to do s.t.; 91.
pegwatelige-- buy; 141.
pegwatua-, pegwatu- -- cause; 256.
pejiläsi -- be, get in the way; move forward, ahead; 169.
pejītaŋama- -- trip forward; 181.
pejőtu -- bring a lot of it; 86.
pem- -- progressive prefix; 159.
pemigi -- grow; 225.
pemptugwīm -- be running; 159.
penogwēy -- be filthy; 221.
penoğwenm -- handle food, fine clothes; 86.
pepgāḷg -- make flat; 88.
pesāḷg -- overcome easily; 88.
pessaptōsi -- cut o.s.; 161.
pesgwesewey -- mow, reap; 84.
pestiēwatm -- celebrate; 88.
pet:ē- -- hit, cut accidentally; 88.
petgā̊g -- step on accidentally; 88.
pēt/l-, pētu/l-; pētu/tu -- catch [fish]; 256, 258, 259.
pewgjaḷgatū -- put a hole in it; 93.
pewgjaḷgēg -- there's a hole in it; 60.
pewgjēy -- have a hole in; 222.
pewīgē- -- sweep; 177.
pewitū -- sweep (s.t.); 23.
pētem -- I scorch it [Pacifique]; 101.
p̣ganj -- hazel nut; 43.
p̣g̣aw, (p̣g̣aul) -- spruce bark(s); 32.
p̣pgign -- hook; 114, 271, 321.
Opq'o'sŋ -- shoe; 181, 271.
Op'gu, (ɺgũ) -- gum(s); 29, 37, 84.
Opqumangenati -- blueberry plain; 54.
Opqumi -- ice; 271.
piami -- any (further); 55.
-pign -- hand; 25, 26, 43, 98, 259.
n/pignj -- my/dirty, disfigured, ugly old, etc. hand; 43, 98.
pigti -- I/fart; 53.
pig:w v. piwig:w.
pɨj(1) -- immature sex organ(s); 22, 46, 345.
pɨjui- -- pee; 77.
'piley, (-lēl, -lēg) -- new; 33-4.
piltuey -- be different; 14.
pîma- -- hut geese (at night with a light); 142.
pišgwâ- -- come in; 142, 165, 173-4, 220.
pišuâsi -- go for nothing; 169, 170, 353.
pituipnągan -- 1000; 57, 271.
pi(w)g:w, pi(w)g:ug -- flea(s); 92, 102, 214.
'pîgog, (-gog:) -- lover(s); 35.
'plū,jēy(g) -- bluejay; 33, 39.
piitungi v. pemiesi.
poggie/y -- start; 97.
'pogon(n) -- bed(s); 35.
pogtaçaptm -- see it as it is; 97.
pogtigim/g -- send; 97.
opsigu -- grass; 271.
pestes v. epesqo.
ptagañ -- plate; 65.
ptñañgan -- 100; 57.
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167, 175, 176, 189, 203, 268, 276, 285, 295,
350, 352, 353

(CD) -- 43, 62-63, 64, 66, 75, 151, 161, 164, 169,
170, 176, 179, 264, 353

(CE) -- 51, 52, 54, 64, 67, 74, 76, 84, 89, 90, 91-93,
94, 98-101, 102, 104, 105-6, 107, 108, 178,
183, 206, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 236, 260,
264, 283, 296, 304, 322, 324-325, 376, 379

(DA) -- 66-67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 79, 93, 109, 139,
144, 145, 186, 264, 368

(DB) -- 36-7, 38, 51, 52, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72,
73, 74, 75, 79, 81, 82, 88, 90, 99, 100, 108,
122, 126, 129, 140, 156, 178, 184, 201, 208,
209, 211, 236, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264,
265, 283, 291, 295, 300, 303, 304, 312, 327,
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(DC) -- 40, 41, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 92, 101,
191, 249, 261, 299, 300, 301, 303, 305, 306,
312, 315, 347.

(DD) -- 30, 37, 75, 195, 208

(DE) -- 55, 75, 158, 159, 163, 164, 166, 167, 179,
351, 364

(obstruent--) devoicing -- v. (IA)

(DF) -- 75, 96, 173, 179

(DG) -- 45, 46, 75, 191, 192, 236, 237-238, 248, 288,
291, 295, 312-313, 318, 319

(DH) -- 29, 38, 70, 75, 127, 170, 173, 265

(DI) -- 30, 31, 37, 38, 64-75, 78, 79, 93, 108, 118,
126, 139, 140, 144, 156, 172, 178, 191, 209,
264, 295, 341
(DJ) -- 50, 51, 52, 74, 76, 77-108, 175, 178, 213, 240f., 247, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 278, 310, 322, 326, 327, 345-347, 376, 379

(DK) -- 38, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 76, 82, 83, 84, 88, 92, 96, 108, 221, 259, 264, 284, 294, 300, 304, 346


(DM) -- 35, 76, 188, 191, 192, 291, 367, 380

(DN) -- 49, 58, 76, 104, 109, 147, 148, 150, 177, 186, 195, 197, 203, 204, 209, 212, 213, 215, 264, 295, 376

(Do) -- 50, 76, 93-95, 96, 97, 108, 178, 215, 367

(EA) -- 80, 81, 82, 83-85, 88, 108, 147, 148, 150, 172, 178, 197, 213, 244, 346, 363

(EB) -- 93-95, 96, 108, 178, 367

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e-deletion -- v. (DA)


(EG) -- 102, 108, 197, 198, 298, 302

(EH) -- 90, 104, 109, 208, 209, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 294, 327

(FA) -- 117, 131, 133-134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 152, 156, 188, 351

(FB) -- 118-119, 120, 140, 154, 156, 187, 208, 209, 211, 231, 244, 245, 282, 283, 284, 285, 294, 295, 297, 298, 309, 352, 376

(FC) -- 125, 126, 129, 140, 156, 168, 188, 189, 239, 265, 282, 284, 352, 363

(FE) -- 127, 129–131, 140, 156, 200, 201, 202, 204, 206, 298

(FF) -- 135–6, 137

(FG) -- 135, 136–137, 140, 148, 149, 155, 156, 188, 189, 190, 214, 218, 293, 297

(FH) -- 137–8, 139, 140, 143, 144, 147, 148, 150, 155, 156, 163, 350–351

(FI) -- 138, 139, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 151, 156, 162, 163, 175, 176, 177, 200, 201, 204, 206, 209, 220, 224, 248, 249, 312

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\{vowel dropping\shortening\} -- v. (BB)

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(FK) -- 148–150, 154, 155, 156, 163, 164, 165, 176, 177, 186, 189, 212, 213, 216, 217, 228, 285

(GA) -- 63, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 166, 167, 174, 176, 179, 204, 221, 265, 351, 352, 353, 364, 376

(GC) -- 63, 161–162, 164, 168, 176, 177, 179, 221

(GD) -- 163, 165–168, 169, 170, 179, 203, 204, 238, 264, 351, 352, 353, 355, 358, 364

g- deletion -- v. (DL), (DO)

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(GG) -- 174–178, 179, 319

g-hatting -- v. (DI)
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glide-insertion -- v. (BG)
glide-revocalization -- v. (DN)
g-roundering -- v. (EH)
g.s.a. -- v. (BF)
g-t-insertion -- v. (KD)
g/u-metathesis -- v. [ED]

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(HB) -- 182-3, 186, 309, 367, 369
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(JG) -- 231, 232, 233, 236, 371
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oFormation -- v. (DC), (KM)

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Pl.-expansion -- v. (KL)

plural vowel deletion -- v. (PH)

post-e i-deletion -- v. (GC)

post-p final n-deletion -- v. (MD)

pre-C ji-deletion -- v. (MF)

pre-ji vowel-lengthening -- v. (JF)

pre-j s-deletion -- v. (ME)

pre-u i-deletion -- v. (CA)

pre-u u-deletion -- v. (EG)

revocalization -- v. (DN)

rounding elaboration -- v. (EH)
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ū-depletion -- v. (FE)
(u)gu-insertion -- v. (KE)
uelnserion -- v. (FG)
unstressed vowel deletion -- v. (DK)
u --- o -- v. (KM)
u-shortening -- v. (CC)
u/t i-deletion -- v. (CC)
uvularization -- v. (DI)
V/g g-deletion -- v. (DK)
(obstruent-) voicing -- v. (AA)
vowel-copying -- v. (DB)
(final) vowel deletion\{dropping\} -- v. (BB)
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w-devoicing -- v. (DD)
w-revocalization -- v. (DN)
MICMAC RULES

Obstruent-voicing

(AA) [+obst] ----> [+voice] / [+voice] ___ [+voice]

Obstruent-aspiration

(AB) [+obst] ----> [+aspirated] / ___ { [+obst] # }

Continuant-lengthening

(AC) [+cont] ----> [+long] / ___ c

Sonorant-syllabification

(AD) [+son +cons] ----> [+syllabic] / { c } ___ { c } #

Glide-formation

(BA)

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{[-cons}} \\
{\text{+diff}} \\
{\text{-long}} \\
{\text{<+grave>}_a}
\end{align*}
\]

----> \[
\begin{align*}
{\text{[+voc]}} \\
{\text{[+voc]}} \\
{\text{[<cons>}_b]} \\
{\text{[<cons>}_b]} \\
{\text{[<cons>}_b]} \\
{\text{[<cons>}_b]}
\end{align*}
\]

, a \rightarrow b
Final vowel shortening

\[(BB) \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -unit \\ -long \end{bmatrix} / \_ \_ \_ \# \]

w-deletion

\[(BC) \quad w \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -long \end{bmatrix} / \_ \_ \_ + [-plural] \]

a/e-alternation

\[(BD) \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -diff \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} a) [-grave] / \begin{bmatrix} -long \\ +noun_a \\ -anim_b \\ +diff \end{bmatrix} [-cons \\ +grave] # \\ b) \_ \_ \_ (u) ti \\ c) [+grave] / \begin{bmatrix} +verb \\ +plural \\ -anim_c \end{bmatrix} +, \end{cases} \]

where \(a \rightarrow b\) and \(c \rightarrow d\).

Geminate Segment agglomeration

\[ [+\text{segment}] [+\text{segment}] \]

\[ 1 \quad 2 \quad =\Rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ +\text{long} \end{bmatrix}, \]

if \(1=2\) with the possible exception of length and continuancy.
Glide-insertion

(BG) \[ \text{[unit]} \] \rightarrow \text{[-voc] [-cons] [+diff grave]} / \text{[+voc -diff -long grave]} \]

\(\ddot{a}\)-shortening

(BH) a \rightarrow \text{[-long]} / \text{[+obviative]} \)+.

\(t \rightarrow j\)

(BI) t \rightarrow j / \text{[+segl3]}

i-deletion \(j \rightarrow g\)

(BJ) \[ \text{[+voc -cons [+diff grave]]} \rightarrow \emptyset / [+voc] j \] / \]

\[-\text{grave} \]
\[\text{[+long]} \text{[+unit]} \{1\}_g, a \rightarrow b\]

\(i \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{[u, w]}\)

(CA) i \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{[u, w]}\)

t-insertion

a) \[ \text{[+cons] [+anim] [+seg]_3} \]

(CB) \(\emptyset \rightarrow [t] / \text{[+seg [\text{[nasal]}_c] [+voc]_d]} , c \rightarrow d\)
u-shortening

\[(CC) \quad \left[ \frac{u}{\text{long}} \right] \longrightarrow \left[ \frac{-\text{unit}}{-\text{long}} \right] / t \quad \overset{\text{i}}{\longrightarrow} \]

i-deletion

\[(CD) \quad i \rightarrow \langle 3^{+}\text{unit} \rangle / \left\{ j \right\} \overset{\text{a}}{\longrightarrow} \]

\[
\left[ \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{-diff} \\
\text{+voc} \\
\text{-cons} \\
\left\{ \langle 1^{+}\text{long} \rangle \right\}_b \\
\left\{ \langle 2^{-}\text{grave} \rangle \right\}
\end{array} \right]
\langle 3^{+} \rangle \langle 2^{+}\text{son} \rangle , \quad a \Rightarrow b
\]

g-insertion

\[(CE) \quad \emptyset \longrightarrow \left[ \langle 3^{-}\text{voc} \rangle \right] / \left\{ \langle 1^{-}\text{voc} \rangle \right\}_{b} \langle 2^{+}\text{long} \rangle_{c} / \# \quad \left[ \langle 1^{+} \rangle \right]_{a} \quad \left[ \langle 2^{+}\text{grave} \rangle \right]_{a} \quad \left[ \langle 2^{+}\text{diff} \rangle \right]_{a} \]

\[
\quad / \quad \overset{\text{a,0}}{\longrightarrow} \quad \overset{\text{b or c}}{\longrightarrow}
\]
e-deletion

\[(DA) \quad e \rightarrow \emptyset / [a,0] \]
Vowel-copying

\[
\begin{align*}
(DB) & \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \\
& \quad \begin{bmatrix} \{+\text{cons}\} \\ \{-\text{voc}\} \end{bmatrix} \\
& \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \rightarrow \\
& \quad \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \quad 4
\end{align*}
\]

O-formation

\[
\begin{align*}
(DC) & \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \quad \frac{\text{OPT}_{a}}{b} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} \\
& \quad \begin{bmatrix} \{-\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \\ +\text{diff}\} \\ b \Rightarrow c. \end{bmatrix}
\end{align*}
\]

w-devoicing

\[
(DD) \quad w \quad \longrightarrow [-\text{voice}] / g \quad \rightarrow \#
\]

s \rightarrow t

\[
(DE) \quad s \quad \longrightarrow t / + V \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} i + i + [+\text{segment}] \\
& \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{long} \end{bmatrix}
\]

j \rightarrow y

\[
(DF) \quad j \quad \longrightarrow y / \rightarrow \# t
\]
uvularization

(DI) \( g \rightarrow [+uvular] / \)

Contraction

(DJ)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
1 & 2 & 3 & \emptyset
\end{array}
\]
\[ g\text{-deletion} \]

\[(DL) \left[ \langle-WB\rangle_a \right] \left[ \langle g \rangle \right] \left[ \langle -\text{cons} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{diff} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle -\text{grave} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{obst} \rangle_b \right], a \rightarrow b \]

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & \emptyset & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ l\text{-nasalization} \]

\[(DM) \]

\[ l \rightarrow [+\text{nasa}] / + \]

\[ w\text{-revocalization} \]

\[(DN) \]

\[ \left[ \langle -\text{cons} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{diff} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \right] / \left\{ \left[ \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \right] / \left\{ \langle \# \rangle \right\} \right\} \right\} \]

\[ g\text{-deletion} \]

\[(DO) \]

\[ \left[ \langle +\text{cons} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{long} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{cons} \rangle \right] \right\} \right\} \right\} \]

\[ Shwa\text{-insertion} \]

\[(EA) \]

\[ [-\text{unit}] \rightarrow \left\{ \left[ \langle -\text{cons} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{diff} \rangle \left[ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle \right] \left[ \langle +\text{obst} \rangle_a \right] \left[ \langle +\text{obst} \rangle_b \right] \right\} \right\} \]

\[ \begin{array}{cc}
C_1 & C_2 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ a \rightarrow b . \]
**Contraction vowel-lengthening**

\[
(EB) \begin{cases}
+\text{voc} \\
+\text{grave} \\
-\text{comp}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases}
+\text{long} \\
+\text{cons} \\
+\text{grave}_2
\end{cases}
\]

**Sonorant-deletion**

\[
(EG) \begin{cases}
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{cons} \\
+\text{son} \\
-\text{grave}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{cases}
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{nasal} \\
+\text{voc}
\end{cases}
\]

**Pre-u u-deletion**

\[
(EG) \quad u \rightarrow \emptyset / \quad + u
\]

**g-rounding**

\[
(EG) \begin{cases}
-\text{cons} \\
-\text{comp} \\
+\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff}
\end{cases} \begin{cases}
+\text{cons} \\
-\text{unit}
\end{cases} \begin{cases}
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{cons}
\end{cases} 
\]

\[
1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \Rightarrow
\]

\[
1 \begin{cases}
-\text{voc} \\
+\text{cons}
\end{cases} \begin{cases}
+\text{grave} \\
+\text{diff}
\end{cases}
\]

**Vowel-gravifying**

\[
(FA) \begin{cases}
+\text{voc} \\
-\text{cons}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases}
+\text{grave} \\
-\text{comp}
\end{cases} \begin{cases}
+\text{plural} \\
+\text{verb}
\end{cases}
\]
Morphemic i-deletion

\[(FB) \quad t \rightarrow g / \begin{cases} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \\ [+\text{grave}] \\ [-\text{voc}] \\ [+\text{cons}] \end{cases} +_\] 

\[\text{Morphemic i-deletion}\]

\[(FC) \quad i \rightarrow \emptyset / +_\] 

\[(FD) \quad [i,y] \rightarrow \emptyset / +_\]

\[\text{u-depletion}\]

\[(FE) \quad +\text{voc} -\text{cons} +\text{long} +\text{diff} \rightarrow \begin{cases} [-\text{unit}] \\ \text{grave} \\ \text{diffuse} \end{cases} / +_\]

\[\text{u-insertion}\]

\[(FG) \quad [-\text{unit}] \rightarrow u \begin{cases} +\text{son} \\ +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} [+\text{voc}] \\ [-\text{voc}] \end{cases} t ([+\text{seg}]) +\]

\[\text{Plural vowel deletion}\]

\[(FH) \quad v \begin{cases} +\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{cases} \rightarrow \emptyset / +_\]

\[\text{Vowel shortening}\]

\[(FI) \quad V \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / +_\]
a-deletion

(FJ) \( a \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ _ \delta \)

Vowel-lengthening

\[
\begin{align*}
[+voc] \Rightarrow [+\text{long}] / \left\{ \left[ -\text{long} \right] \right\} / \\
{-}\text{cons} \Rightarrow \text{OPT} \Rightarrow [+\text{long}] / \left\{ \left[ -\text{long} \right] \right\} / \\
{-}\text{cons} +\text{diff} \Rightarrow [+\text{diff}] \Rightarrow \left\{ [-\text{diff}] \right\} \Rightarrow [+\text{diff}] \Rightarrow [+\text{long}] / \left\{ \left[ -\text{long} \right] \right\} / \\
{a} \rightarrow {b}
\end{align*}
\]

s-deletion

(GA) \( s \rightarrow \emptyset / + v \left[ +\text{voc} \right] + \left\{ -\text{diff} \right\} \rightarrow i + \left\{ [+\text{segment}] + \right\} \\
{\text{post-e i-deletion}}

(GC) \( i \rightarrow \emptyset / e \_ _ + \\
{\text{a-metathesis}}

(GD) \( \tilde{a} \_ _ _ + i + t \_ _ _ _ i + 2 \_ 3 \rightarrow \emptyset 2 + 1 + 3 \)
asi i-deletion

(GF)  \( i \rightarrow \emptyset \) / \( \begin{cases} 
    a) \quad \{ [+voc] \quad [+\text{cons}] \quad [-\text{cont}] \quad [-\text{strep}] \} \\
    b) \quad \{ [+\text{stress}] (+\text{segment})^2 \quad [+voc] \quad [-\text{diff}] \} + \quad C \\
    c) \quad \{ [+voc] \quad [-\text{diff}] \quad [+\text{grave}] \quad [+\text{long}] \} 
\end{cases} \)

\( i \rightarrow u \)

\( \begin{cases} 
    +voc \\
    -\text{cons} \\
    +\text{diff} \\
    -\text{grave} 
\end{cases} \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \{ [-\text{grave}] \} / \)

\( +\text{cons} \quad [-\text{cons}] \\
-\text{diff} \\
+\text{grave} \)

\( -\text{cons} \quad +\text{diff} \)

\( +\text{long} \quad [+\text{voc}] \quad [+\text{son}] \) \( \langle + \rangle \)

i-deletion

(HA)  \( \langle i \rangle \) \( \rightarrow \langle [-\text{unit}] \rangle / j \) \( \quad \emptyset \quad P \)

[t,j]-deletion

(HB)  \( [t,j] \) \( \rightarrow \emptyset / \quad + \quad P \)

æ-deletion

(HC)  \( [+\text{comp}] \) \( \rightarrow \langle [+\text{comp}] \rangle / \langle [-\text{cons}] \quad [+\text{voc}] \quad [+\text{diff}] \quad [-\text{grave}] \rangle \) \( \langle + \rangle \)
Shwa-deletion

\[(\text{HD}) \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \xrightarrow{} \emptyset \]
1 \quad 2 \quad \Rightarrow 1 \quad 1

n-denasalization

\[(\text{HE}) \ \text{n} \xrightarrow{} [-\text{nasal}] / \quad \text{æ pni} \]

Glide-deletion

\[(\text{HF}) \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \xrightarrow{} \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ -\text{comp} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} [+\text{cons}] \\ -\text{nas} \end{array} \]

Obstruent-devoicing

\[(\text{IA}) \begin{array}{c} [+\text{obst}] \xrightarrow{} [-\text{voice}] / \quad \# \]

w-deletion

\[(\text{IB}) \begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} [-\text{unit}] / \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ -\text{cons} \\ <-\text{diff} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} [+\text{cons}] \\ -\text{cont} \\ <-\text{grave} \end{array} \]

\[(\text{IC}) \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \xrightarrow{} [-\text{long}] / \quad \# + [y,w] \quad g \]

ig-deletion

\[(\text{ID}) \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ +\text{long} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{long} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ +\text{cons} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ +\text{cons} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ +\text{long} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [+\text{voc}] \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \]
1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \Rightarrow 1 \emptyset \emptyset
Minor i-deletion (MINOR)

(JA) \[
\begin{array}{c}
_{\text{long}} \\
\end{array}
\] \rightarrow \partial / s \_\_\_ + g

Continuant-deletion (MINOR)

(JB) i \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_|
Marker-movement (MORPH)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1) } & \{ a \} \quad [+3] \quad [-1] \\
& \{ b \} \quad [-an] \quad [-3] \\
& \quad \{ +sg \} \quad <+3> \\
\text{2) } & \quad [+3] \quad [+1] \\
\text{3) } & \quad a \quad [-3] \\
& \quad \{ +sg \} \quad [-1] \\
& \quad \{ +obv \} \quad [+] \\
& \quad [+obj] \quad [\text{+subj}] \\
& \quad \text{1} \quad \text{2} \quad \text{1} \quad \text{1} \\
& \quad \text{1} \quad \text{2} \\
& \quad \text{1} \quad \text{1} \quad \text{1} \quad \text{1} \quad \emptyset \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{nam}\bar{a}/g\ddot{a}t-insertion (MORPH)
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KD) } & \quad \langle \text{Neg} \rangle_a \quad [+1] \\
& \quad \text{----} \quad \{ a \} \quad [\text{nam}\bar{a}] / \langle i \rangle_b \\
& \quad \text{b) } \quad [g\ddot{a}t] / a \\
& \quad \text{----} \quad [-1] \\
& \quad \text{a} \Rightarrow \text{b}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{(u)gu-insertion (MORPH)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KE) } & \quad [+1] \\
& \quad \text{----} \quad [\langle u \rangle \text{gu}] / [\langle a \rangle] \\
& \quad \text{----} \quad [-1] \\
& \quad \text{\quad} \\
& \quad \text{\quad}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{\ddot{a}sg-insertion (MORPH)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KF) } & \quad [+2] \\
& \quad \text{[\text{-Neg}]} \\
& \quad \text{[\text{+sing}]} \\
& \quad \text{[\text{-1}]} \\
& \quad \text{[\text{+3}]} \\
& \quad \text{----} \quad \ddot{a}sg / [\text{-Fut}]
\end{align*}
\]
Theme-expansion (MORPH)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KG) Theme} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\{[+2] / \text{-----} [+2] \\
(+3) \text{ No} / \text{-----} [+3] \\
\text{No} / \text{-----} [+\text{subj}] \\
\end{array} \right\} \text{ [+obj]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

No-expansion (MORPH)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KH) No} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
a) [+P] / \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{an}] \\
[-\text{sg}] \\
[-1] \\
\text{[ ]} +3 \\
+\text{pl} \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
b) [-P] / \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{an}] \\
[-\text{sg}] \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
c) [\text{a}] / \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{subj}] \\
\text{a} \text{pl} \\
\text{a} \text{sg} \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
d) \emptyset \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Person-expansion (MORPH)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KI) 2} & \rightarrow [u1] \\
\text{b) 1} & \rightarrow [i] \\
\text{c) 3} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[a]} \\
\emptyset \\
\end{array} \right\} \left( \text{No} [+\text{an}] \left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{[ ]} [-\text{an}] \\
\end{array} \right] \right) \\
\end{align*}
\]

Number-expansion (MORPH)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(KJ) [+P]} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\{2 \text{l}\} \\
\{1 \text{l}\} \\
\end{array} \right\} \text{tui}/\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{2-} \text{itui-} \text{plural} \\
\text{1-an}_1 \\
\end{array} \right] \text{[obj]} \\
\text{b) [-P]} & \rightarrow [i] \\
\text{c) [+sg]} & \rightarrow \emptyset . \\
\end{align*}
\]
Num-expansion (MORPH)

\[
\begin{cases}
+\text{Plu} \downarrow / ([\text{obj}]) & \quad +3 \downarrow ([\text{+subj}]) \\
-\text{an} \downarrow & \quad -1 \downarrow \langle \text{an} \rangle
\end{cases}
\]

(KK) Num \rightarrow \emptyset

Pl-expansion (MORPH)

\[
\begin{cases}
a) \quad +\text{Plu} \downarrow / -\text{an} \downarrow \rightarrow [l] \\
b) \quad +\text{Plu} \downarrow / +\text{an} \downarrow \rightarrow [(i)g]
\end{cases}
\]

\[
v \rightarrow 0
\]

(KM) \[
\begin{cases}
-\text{long} \downarrow / -\text{cons} \downarrow & \quad +\text{cons} \\
+\text{grave} \downarrow & \quad -\text{diff} / +\text{grave}
\end{cases}
\]

\[
i \rightarrow u
\]

(KN) \[i \rightarrow u / \quad + u
\]

\[
\bar{i} \rightarrow \emptyset
\]

(LA) \[\bar{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / \quad + i(n) [?]
\]

u-deletion

(MB) \[u \rightarrow \emptyset / \quad V \downarrow / -\text{long} \quad m \quad + g
\]

TA Vowel Reduction (MINOR)

(MC) \[V \rightarrow \emptyset / \quad +\text{anim} \quad [\text{+son}]
\]
Post-p final n-deletion

(MD)  n ----> ø / p _____ #

Pre-j s-deletion

(ME)  s ----> ø / _____ j

Pre-C ji-deletion

(MF)  ji ----> ø / _____ + c
PARADIGMS AND DATA

The membership of the various classes of verbs and nouns—especially for the verbs—is more or less exhaustive, to my knowledge, with a few exceptions. That is, the number of verbs, say, of a particular class gives some idea of the relative commonness of that class in the lexicon. Most of the verbs are unglossed, because of time pressures, but many may be found in the Word Index (page 382), and the author intends to publish a Micmac-English dictionary, which will contain these verbs.

Some paradigms are incompletely filled out. Most often, this is due to the missing forms being quite predictable, as for verbs which are subclasses of other verbs. Occasionally, however, it is due to the fact that only certain forms were elicited, and the author is unsure what to predict for the missing form(s). The X's in certain slots of the transitive paradigms indicate that the forms in question are impossible in Micmac, as in every other known language. More than one entry in a slot indicates variation.
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ANIMATE PLURALS

ap'sagtej ḫ(gh) -- stove

'ep,saŋ'tej ḫ(gh) -- star

gl'ōgo,wej(ḡ ḫ) -- star

,m(ȝ)la'gej ḫ(ḡ) -- milk

mā'la,gej ḫ(ḡ) -- milk

glo'gonntiej(ḡ) -- great blue heron, gulls

jijig'aw'a'tej(ḡ) -- sandpiper, snipe

a'pog'aw'a,tej(ḡ ḫ) -- woodpecker

'gapja'gwej(ḡ) -- robin

'aji'put:aŋa,nej(ḡ) -- bat

mu'įn,ej(ḡ) -- baby bear

a'tutu,ej(ḡ) -- squirrel, chipmunk

'g31mu'ej(ḡ) -- mosquito

mi'jipjamuej(ḡ) -- June bug

mu'ulum?wej(ḡ) -- marmot, woodchuck

muss'paj(ḡ) -- porpoise

a'pal,gaŋa,mej(ḡ) -- groundhog

,aŋ'tagwej(ḡ) -- Negro

'pla'wej(ḡ) -- partridge, grouse

ti'ā,mēj(ḡ) -- baby moose

ana'wej(ḡ) -- vagina, flatfish

mi'jagej(ḡ) -- vein

'gom(ȝ)mgwej(ḡ) -- sucker

'jaŋgej -- lobster

mā,geŋ'nej(ḡ) -- hairless bat

'wenuj(ḡ) -- Frenchman
ap'jijgâr, muj(g^h) -- duck
'gâga, guj(g) -- raven, crow, blackbird
, pugâ, latâ'muj(g^h) -- little people
'sg'we'sm Wuj(g^h) -- bitch
apl'tigmuj(g^h) -- bay duck
ej^h guj(g^h) -- pumpkin, watermelon
mili'tâj(g^h) -- hummingbird
a'paštuge 'wâj(g^h) -- European [note: -gewâj]
'mîg'hjîghj(g) -- turtle

a'pigjiy(g^h) -- mouse
'gini, gâwe'jîj(g^h) -- ant, burr, thistle
jujîj(g^h) -- lizard, reptile
'gâgwe, jîj(g^h) -- spider
n?ju'gwîjîj(g^h) -- (my) mother-in-law
'mîjga'mîj(g^h) -- grandfather
'gugu'mîj(g^h) -- grandmother
gopsâjîj(g^h) -- little cup
gâpjîj(g^h) -- cup
la'poljîj(g^h) -- bowl
'jîjgâlû'weëgâ, jîj(g^h) -- lamb
'mogo, le'wîj(g) -- brant
'jip'jîj, jip'jîjh -- little bird
'len'tugwjîj(g^h) -- little deer
wâsogo'wîj(g^h) -- firefly
n?t'gwëjîj(g^h) -- (my) little sister
,mîjû'sjîj(g^h) -- baby
aphâ'wan, jîj(g^h) -- spoon
mîghjîghjîj(g^h) -- little turtle
nį'mėjįj(gʰ) -- herring
nu'jįj(gʰ) -- (my) grandchild
ele'gewis,gwej(gʰ or ig) -- princess
nį'mėj(gʰ or ig) -- fish
l'mūj(gʰ or ig) -- dog
'miɡamə,waįj(gʰ) -- Micmac [note plurals: miɡamaŋ, miɡaməwaŋ]
āij(gʰ or ig) -- such (a)
nʔ'jilj (gʰ or ig) -- father-in-law

'laggol 'lag:oq=gʰ -- cord (of wood)
m̓əgʰrəl (gʰ or a) -- mackerel
gəl(gʰ) -- fourth
etuél(gʰ or a) -- Edward
,gaq̓li'čl(gʰ) -- Gabriel

apsu'təgan(gʰ)--doll
'gigam? 'gon(gʰ) -- pole
'nəmtə(gʰ) -- mountain
'gəmtə(gʰ) -- mountain
'gəq̓gəq̓min(gʰ) -- wild prune
'lətəsəsun(gʰ) -- (water) pail
,ņəgəpaq̓sun(g) -- well pail (permanent)
'lip̓əmətə,gaq̓n(g) -- (spin-) top
'mq̓gə'sən(g) -- shoe
məq̓n(gʰ) -- mocassin
apu'tįg'iqən(gʰ) -- picture
'nəmno,gon(g) -- birch
nanʔ'gən, nan,gon(gʰ) -- comb
nə,ga'ltə'gən(gʰ) -- comb
'pitugun(gh) -- shawl
pu'igan(gh) -- broom
wen'jūsuga, pun(gh) -- turnip
sus'panigən(gh) -- soap
'sup;, in(gh) -- pint
ə'sstoson(gh) -- fir tree, var
'tapə, tan(gh) -- potato [also occasionally --, taŋ]
'tūagən(gh) -- ball
[cf. ntu'agan -- my knife]
'epta'gan(gh) -- plate
g'lap, tan(gh) -- blacksmith
, sūl'min(gh) -- beads, rosary
'tma'gan(gh) -- pipe
gū'ghtign(gh) -- letter
, sspl'sun(gh) -- belt
'na'hsun(gh) -- sheet
'n̂mno'oŋon, n̂mho'gangh -- birch
'ta'gwangh -- young, small salmon
gapiten(gh) -- captain
, ga'lun(gh) -- gallon

'a'gam(gh) -- snowshoe
'n̂gogon(gh) -- skate

'paqtəsəm, \{paqtə, səmy \ -- two\} \{paqtəsəmugə -- a lot\} -- wolf
(n, n?t)'jigənam(gh) -- (my) brother
nə'mag, tam(gh) -- brother-in-law
n'n'tu, Ḗð(ə)m(gh) -- cat, horse, dog, cow
'gospem(gh) -- lake
,lasi'et(\textsuperscript{h}g\textsuperscript{h}) -- plate

[Note: ,lasi'ejig -- lots of plates]

'tǝməlet, 'tǝməjlet\textsuperscript{h} -- glass, tumbler

'ǝpit, \{'ǝpit\textsuperscript{h}, 'ǝpijig\} -- woman

'tepgun'set, \{-se\textsuperscript{h},h\textsuperscript{h}\} -- month, moon

'gopit (g\textsuperscript{h} or a\textsuperscript{g}) -- beaver

'siget\textsuperscript{h} -- cigarette

'aləp\textsuperscript{h}t\textsuperscript{h} -- halibut

la'pǝ, lis\textsuperscript{h} -- one yard

'uuss'guss\textsuperscript{h} -- weasel, marten

'gǝ'gǝ, g'wes\textsuperscript{h} -- owl

'pug'\text{wa}, les\textsuperscript{h} -- swallow

'wow?'gwis\textsuperscript{h} -- fox

,matu'es\textsuperscript{h} -- porcupine

wa'pus\textsuperscript{h} -- snowshoe rabbit

'mimi'ges\textsuperscript{h} -- butterfly, moth

,tep'i'nǝs\textsuperscript{h} -- bedbug

'ǝpitǝs\textsuperscript{h} -- girl

gu1'gwis\textsuperscript{h} -- hog

mi'tis\textsuperscript{h} -- tree

wisis\textsuperscript{h} -- animal

'pǝ'tli, ǝs\textsuperscript{h} -- priest

'pipu'g'wes\textsuperscript{h} -- whistle\textsuperscript{K} (bird)

,nʔutus\textsuperscript{h} -- my daughter

'gǝla'mugsi\textsuperscript{s} -- uncle

nʔt'gwis\textsuperscript{h} -- (my) son

'nı\textsuperscript{h}l\textsuperscript{h}, muss\textsuperscript{h} -- brother-in-law
sugwis\((g^h)\) -- aunt
mass\((g^h)\) -- cunt
geg:us\((g^h)\) -- godparent
l'patis\((g^h)\) -- young man
gass\((g^h)\) -- train
g\44 mutn'ess\((g^h)\) -- thief
gulgwis\((g^h)\) -- pig

'iap\((g^h)\) -- male animal
'ginap\((g^h)\) or (preferred) a\(g\) -- giant
'sisip\((g^h)\) -- bird
'sassap\((g^h)\) -- jellyfish

wow\((gwh)\) -- pot
guow\((g^h)\) -- pine [also 'guag' -- lots of pines]
'tesi, po, 'tesi'powgw -- horse
,luu'og, taw, 'tawg\(h\) -- statue, totem pole
t'moq, taw, 'tawg\(h\) -- trunk, beam
'lippe, taw\((g^h)\) -- ash
'jigaw\((g^hw)\) -- bass
'aI'mantil'ew\((g^w)\) -- German
,mali'gew\((g^h)\) -- barrel [cf. aligew, -gal]
agalasi'ew\((g^h)\) -- Englishman
na'pew\((g^h)\) -- male bird, rooster
pigilew\((g^h)\) -- glass lamp globe
sgwe\((g^h)\) -- hen

'la, pai, la'pai -- (wash)tub
'pu, tay\((g^h)\) -- bottle
atlay\((g^h)\) -- shirt [note also: atlayyl]
ga'watɡʷ, -gugʰ -- spruce
wɑugʷ, wɑ'gug -- head louse
'i, lasɡʷ, i'lasgug -- card
pi(w)ɡːw, pi(w)ɡːug -- flea

eɪsa'pet(âg) -- Elizabeth
essgimo(âg) -- Eskimo
'aɪma(hâg) -- German
apə'ləm(âg) -- Abraham
a'pisstanewgj(h)(âg) -- martén(?), fisher(?)
an'tle(âg) -- Andrew, André
alili(âg) -- Aurelie
'Atua, 'At,ua-âg -- Ottowa
'atu,en(âg) -- Antoine
at,â ata'ag -- Adam(s)
a'selīg(âg) -- Angelique
'goliat(âg) -- Goliath
'gʊspər(âg) -- a sticky fish (?chub)
məkrəl (â or gh) -- mackerel
ləmpəri,{-priaɡ} -- lamprey
'gisi'gwissɡʷ(âg) -- old woman
nissgam(âg) -- god
'gənbə,ôl, ,gən'bâlagâ -- government
'sunumɡʷ('âg) -- wild goose
lən(âg) -- loon
,jigə'ti(âg) -- chickadee
mu'ɪn(âg) -- bear
'giu'nig(âg) -- otter
'gopit(âg or gh) -- beaver
'putəp(ə̈) -- whale
'wǎp(ə̈),mog, -- porpoise
jə'wəli(ə̈) -- cricket, grasshopper
'eli(ə̈) -- Eli
l'nusgw(ə̈) -- Indian woman
'gi,nap,'gina,paحفظ (preferred) or 'gi,napgh -- giant
'pùo,win('ə̈) -- sorcerer, witch
'gət(ə̈) -- eel
t'husu'esgw(ə̈) -- daughter-in-law
ugpə,šigtj'ejəməl, -- ejəmuə -- his, their arse
əlussgap(ə̈) -- Glooscup
'gən̪ə, gən̪ow(ə̈) -- pine; gən̪ə -- lots
etuəl(ə̈) or g) -- Edward
pərj(ə̈) -- perch
(ə̈)'ssələj(ə̈) -- toad, frog
təpləj(ə̈) -- goal [also pl. 'təpləg]
jəjəlu'ewghj(ə̈) -- sheep
,ga'awghj(ə̈) -- cat
mi'aw(n)j(ə̈) -- cat
əŋ'ənə'ən, ('ə̈)n'ənə'ən -- bastard
ujəl,ujəj(ə̈) -- his father, his fathers
wəj (ə̈ or ʔə̈) -- fly
	nuluqss, -gəj(ə̈) -- (my) nephew
rəts(ə̈) -- rat
əs,'əsəj(ə̈) -- clam
jə'gəj, jə'gəj(ə̈) -- jackass
mesəg(ə̈) -- big
'ightig ,ightigjig, ightigjig' -- other
'gutjewgh'tasit,-i'jig -- crucifix
wa'jupet, -pe,jig -- he, they are full

 epith, \{epijig, \}
 -- woman

 ele'gewith,-wi,jig -- king
ansa'lewit,-wi,jig -- angel

,tepgun'set, seijg -- month

el'malgi,gwe'jit,-jijig -- mole [he burrows holes]
sas'ejit,-jijig -- crab louse ("he's flat")
jjijj:e'majit,-jijig -- stinkbug ("he stinks")
sapue,jit,-eji,jig-- dragonfly
'en?ge,jit,-,jijig -- inchworm ("he measures")
me'gewjit,-jijig -- beet ("it's red")
enpâog,sit,-sijig -- pail, tub, kettle
apussta'lewit,-wijig -- apostle

jin(\(\emptyset\))m(ugw) -- man
'waliss'pam(ug) -- brant (loon) [gavia immer]
ti'äm(ugw) -- moose
d'tesgäm, 'tësgämugw -- snake
m'tësgm(ugw) -- snake
wenjati'äm(ugw) -- cow

'apa,pi, -a'pig -- thread
'ta,pi, ta'pig -- bow
'ga,wi, ,ga'wig -- porcupine quill
'assgu,si, -'sig -- cedar
'ni'pi, -'pig -- leaf, petal
'pâ'gö'si, -'sig -- lily
'pi,jo,go,su,ti -- latch, lock
'səga, ti, -'tig -- needle
,amu'esusi, -'sil -- wasp, bee, etc., nest, hive
'weti, ,we'tig -- worm

\{ g̓əti \}
\{ g̓ə'tig \} -- beam

ən?ti, ən?tig -- (my) sleigh dog
'wen'jū'sūn, a̱g'si, -'sig -- apple tree
'əpi, áp'g -- net

ləm̥pori, \{-ri'g \} -- lamprey

ət'g̚amu, -ə,mūg -- anow
,əp'gu, əp'gūg -- gum
,(ə)m'əgata'wāpu, -awa'pūg -- double-crested cormorant

\{ g[u]/ə]lu \} ,gəl'ūg -- eagle
\{ glu \}
a'pigji'lu, -'lūg -- skunk
'was'pu, ,was'pūg -- harbor seal
'amu, ,a'mūg -- wasp, hornet, bee
a'ləsuinu, -,nūg -- wanderer
'jenu, je'nūg -- giant
'nu, ,l'nūgw -- Indian
mi'majui, nu, mi,majui'nūg -- person
'mən, tu, -'tūgw -- devil
,gi'gwə, ju, 'gi, gwa'jūg -- badger
'məl'su, ,məl'sūg -- testicle
'pə, mu, ,pə'mūg -- salmon
'gali'pu, gali'pūg -- caribou
n'puinu, puinuğ -- corpse  
'gisigü, gi, sigug -- old man  
'musspe, ju, 'jüg -- porpoise (black)

\{ôm'gatawa'pu, \} -- marsh duck  
\{ôm, gatawa'pūg\} -- marsh duck  
a'toi'gwās, -sūg -- trout  
'peju, pe'jug -- codfish  
wu'naług, ess'u, 'sūg -- little brown bat  
alağtegewinu, (–e)wagw -- sailor  
alașuinu(ug) -- salesman, traveler  
'gğwesu, 'sūg -- muskrat  
gissteju, 'jug -- someone who's been deceived

'goli'taw, 'tag -- strawberry  
\{našašgu'aw\}, naš:gu'aš -- snowshoe  
\{nas:gu'aw\}, nas:gu'aš -- snowshoe  
as'gọpa, law, -, laš -- board  
, saš'a'maw, - , maš -- chief  
lat:šlaw, -laš -- bull  
'noša, maw, - , maš -- kin  
ugh'tlaw, -laš -- kidney  
'gagpe, saw, - 'saš -- smelt  
'lip:e, ťaw, - , taš [cf. lip:etāwgh]

'len?, tug , 'len? {ugw} -- deer  
'mušog, mušog:w -- horsefly  
wā'pimoq, wa, pī'm {og} -- porpoise  
'pīgoq, 'plgoq: -- lover  
tūngaw, tūsūgaw -- son-in-law
'ulugw; ulugw or ulugul -- tonsil
heml'ag, 'heml'ag: -- hemlock
,amabla'mog, -'mog: -- mackerel
lgwetusgh; lgwetug:wh -- female cow, moose, etc.

'jipijija'weg[ə]/j, jit, -- hawk (same in plural)
'geg, gusg, ,n't'geg, gusg -- godfather

INANIMATE PLURALS

ala'mes(1) -- mass
'nii'pit'h, -pi'th1 -- tooth
'nagweg, -gl1 -- day
tep'hi, -gl1 -- night
espos duy, -tl -- sword
,weli'gig, -gl1 -- nice day
gen'muj(11) -- wood
wa'tap, seg, wa, tap'seg1 -- something whitish
'ig'tig, 'ig'tigl, 'ig, tigig -- other
ep'gaw, ep'gawul -- spruce bark
npugw(1) (npugtuq) -- woods
',atu'omg(h)1 -- sand(s)
,m2'pawam -- back
ugpawam1 -- their backs
Gulungh(1) -- wheat
atlay(l, usually g) -- shirt
,neug'tap'seg, tapuaps'seg1 -- one, 2 lumps
neug'tayg(l) -- one dollar
ps'gij(1) -- package
nəgat(1) -- (my) foot
ge'jīgasəg(1) -- corner
,jiuju'ejg(1) -- bells [note: ,jiujej -- one bell]
matawəg(1) -- outlet
magot(1) -- skirt
'majjis(1) -- match
sagteg(1) -- layer
'suǐ,tis(1) -- sweet, candy
,wawg *jij, {jij1} -- little egg
wun'jīgwom(ə1) -- house
pīj, pījl -- immature sex organ
gesig(ə1) -- winter
'mapor, 'ma'po'sl -- pocket
maltew {malte(w)ul -- 2 kinds
malt,al -- caked, big pieces} -- blood
'nagweg(ə1) -- day
nipgh, nipghəl -- summer
'sissən(ə1,n) -- nose
wayopsəg(ə1) -- bead
wigu'arn(ə1) -- tepee
'wigu'om(ə1) -- house
'wisawow, ,wisa'wowəl -- loose feces
wi'mæg(ə1) -- burn scar, scar from a burn
'wasueg(1) -- flower
lepyə(1) -- one foot

awgh'ti, -til -- road
'mass,gwi, 'mass'gwəl -- bark
'muńt,i, 'mun'til -- bag
\{\text{elu}'\text{g}(w)\text{ut}, i\}\text{sin}
\{\text{elu}'\text{g}(w)\text{u}, t\text{i}l\}\text{-- saintness}
sa'\text{p}\text{\c{s}uti}, -u, t\text{i}l -- ash, beech tree
'suwo, mu'\text{s}i, -'w\text{i}l -- ash, beech tree
a,\text{gan\c{\i}t}\text{euti}, -'t\text{i}l -- week
,\text{an\c{\i}g}\text{u}'n\text{osu}, ti, -'t\text{i}l -- cover
pa't\text{\c{s}auti}, -'t\text{i}l -- table
,\text{pusumu'ti}, -'t\text{i}l -- bedsack
'\text{gamlamu}, ti, -'t\text{i}l -- breath
'\text{gaw}\text{ath}'\text{gupi}, ga, \text{wath'gu}'p\text{i}l -- beer
'\text{nut}\text{\c{s}uti}, -'t\text{i}l -- (my) chair
'm\text{\c{s}}\text{susi}, -'s\text{i}l -- moss
,\text{m}\text{\c{\i}lag\c{\i}j}\text{umi}, -, m\text{i}l -- butter
\text{m\c{\i}gig\c{\i}n}\text{\c{n}ti}, -'t\text{i}l -- strength
's\text{u}g\text{u}, ni, -'n\text{i}l -- tail
su'\text{n}\text{\c{s}uti}, -t\text{i}l -- feast
'\text{gosu}, \text{gos}i l -- fingernail
'm\text{\c{s}}\text{usti}, -'t\text{i}l -- belly
'un\text{i}j\text{\i}, un'j\text{\i}l -- head
\text{m\c{n}}'\text{\c{\i}mu}ja, pi\text{\h}, -p\text{i}l -- dogwood (a kind of earth vine)
su'omusi, -'s\text{i}l -- American beech
'tupsi, , tup's\text{i}l -- alder

m\text{\c{\i}}'\text{s}\text{u}g\text{u}, m\text{\c{\i}}'\text{s}\text{\c{\i}}g\text{\i}l -- grass
\text{\c{\i}}'\text{\c{\i}}hi'\text{pu}, \text{si}'p\text{\u}l -- river
\ '\text{w}\text{\c{\i}}\text{\c{\i}}w, '\text{w}\text{\c{\i}}(w)u\text{l} -- egg
\text{tap\c{\i}tanaua}pu, -p\text{\u}l -- potato soup
p's\text{u}g\text{u}, -g\text{\u}l -- hay
'sissgu, sissg\text{\i}l -- mud [cf. ugsisgw, ugsisg\text{\i}l, below]
'\text{w}\text{\c{\i}}nu, '\text{w}\text{\c{\i}}nu'u\text{l} -- tongue
me-dollar -- strong (taste)
su-dollar -- rotten
ug-tam-ku (al) -- his belly (their bellies)
mo-dollar -- wine

(ə)t-dollar -- source of fresh water, spring
'əm-dollar -- lime rock
'ni-dollar -- spear
'gu-dollar -- bog
'gasa-dollar -- iron

se-dollar -- sweet
'(h)su-dollar -- firewood
,'siga-dollar -- yummy
m-dollar -- slate rock
m-dollar -- eye
'ənt-dollar -- submarine
'al-dollar -- cloud
, 'na-dollar -- handle
ug-ess-dollar -- his face, their faces
[cf. 'si-dollar -- mud]
si-dollar -- spring
,'ulu-dollar -- tonsil
wel-dollar -- night
gulu-dollar -- wheat

,aw-dollar -- footpath
,jiju-dollar -- little bell
, waw-dollar -- little egg

gun-dollar -- pebble
wen'jusn(n) -- apple
wigatign(n) -- notebook
'gwisn(n) -- canoe
'ulaqan(n) -- vase, dish
tepakan(n) -- sleigh, sled
wason'gonman'gan(n) -- candle
wagan(n) -- knife
ugwh'jusn(n) -- wind
mas'gwe'si,mam(n) -- wild cherry
't'pu gui,ma,gan(n) -- club, weapon
t'amigan, t'mi,gan -- axe
'tumaqan, tuma,gan -- pipe
ji'gosign, ji'gosi,gn -- ember
'sitam, 'sit'am -- beach
n'jiGun, -gun -- knee
'pussgun, ,puss'gun -- breast
'gwajin'gn, -'gin -- leg
'woqwin, woq'swin -- his, their backbone(s)
'a'pogw(ə)i,gn,-'gin -- jink-pole
,apus'g(ə)ign,-'gin -- key
asun, asun -- blanket
'pipena'gan, -'gann -- bread
'n?pi'gn,'gin -- (my) hand
(ət)p'lut,a,gan,-'gann -- law
'pogam, 'pogam -- bed
't(ə)m,sagu,gan,-'ginn -- wall
'tapgu'mam,-'man -- blueberry
glu,sua'gan,-'gann -- word
'tapə,tan,-,tan (usually -'tang) -- potato
laplu'san,-'san -- prison
m?tawen(n) -- flag
'sapun, sa'pun -- hair
'sign, si'gâ -- one sock, pair
sûn, sûn -- cranberry
wenjû,sûn,-ûn -- apple
'wiga,tîgân,'gân -- book
'wigun, ,wi'gûn -- bean
'wissgan, ,wiss'gân -- bladder
,agô,nute'sma'gân,-'gân -- story
'tâg(w)usn', 'agosn -- hat
,aso'gômûta,gân(n) -- ferry boat
,aso'go'mûn(n) -- bridge
pi,essgâmín,'min -- corn, 2 ears
ug'tl'magan, -,gân -- his shoulder
rô'mûn, -,gôn -- axe
'tûgwe's'mûn,-'mun -- pillow
gtûn(n) -- yr. mouth
ôgi'gân, -'gân -- city
'gâgan, -,gân -- door
,gamla'mûn(n) -- heart
(n)gânîgân,ngânîgân -- scoop
,gegwâ'lgîgân, -,gôn -- snow bank
gâ, 'lâ'gîgân, 'gîgân -- handcuff
'gâmû'n(n) -- artery
'gutagân, -'gân -- throat
'gu,tan, gu'tân -- village
'gû'pi,sun,'sun -- anchor
'jîtagân, 'gân -- neck
lams'gîgân -- casket
, logi'pila'gan -- bandage

'luss, gani'gan, - gan -- pan-fried bread, elbow

'maga'san(n) -- store

'majoqhteligan(n) -- arrow

'mage'gan(n) -- leather

mi'jan(n) -- shit

miwi'jema'gan, - gan -- fork

,n?pi'sun(n) -- medicine

ni'pisspagan, - gan -- switch

'nipm'an(n) -- little red berries

'nani'si, gwan, - gwan -- (my) eyebrow

'samugwan, - gwan -- water

,se'gigan(n) -- sail

'sissgon (n or a??) -- nose

,sis' mosquitoes, - gigan -- sugar

'sutua, gan, - gan -- ear

ugwi'jus(a)n, -s(a)n -- wind

'un, {un or un'al} -- fog

'wisun, wi'sun -- name

'wihu, gwa'gan, - gan -- blade (of knife, etc.)

apt'un, apt'un -- cane

'msetgun(n) -- knot (of a tree)

ass'gota'gan(n) -- disturbance

a'mal'gwa'gan(n) -- dance

'egsuqgon(n) -- lie

'gusua'gan(n) -- ladder, stairs

'ugati'gon(n) -- pound

'Igowa'gan(n) -- employment

'Iuta'gan(n) -- fence
'wis:ei, wisel -- nest
'nisa[a,ɔ]y, nisa'gel -- hill
'ala'weih, -wel -- pea
'sewge weih, -wel -- sweet thing
'am?gwese'weih, -wel, -weg -- first (one)
'mushu'ei, -'el -- handkerchief
'gogwe, go'gewel -- thing
pesge'gem[m]ge, wei, -wel -- mourning clothes, armband for mourning
ug'tejge, wei, -wel, -weg -- last
'pilei, pi'lul, pi'leg -- new
'sagawei, -wel, -wel -- old
'pilu, ei, pilu'eq, -el -- other, different
'mitei, miti'eg, -el -- of wood (poplar?)
'luuweyel, -eq, -el -- of an Indian
'ninewel -- mine
'gilewei -- yours
'negemei, wei -- his
'wino'gewel, -gewel -- arse
a, pan? 'gituow, ei, -wel -- payment
, pitewei, -wel -- tea
'gul'g'isuei, -el -- bacon
gal'gunewei, -wel -- cake, etc. [anything sweet]
, ali, gew, ali, gal -- clothes
, maga, mi, gew, -gal -- land, earth
guntew, -tal -- stone
mu'sew, -sal -- piece
wa'gantew, -tal -- bone
maltew {mal(te(w))ul -- 2 kinds
       {malt, al -- caked, around, big pieces} -- blood
't(u)mawei, tumawel -- tobacco
'gujij'ewei,-wel -- cross
ma'll'tewghjuei,-el -- hammer
an?'gùo,wei,-wel -- hide, skin
m?'jëgei,-gel -- dirt
wa'g'wei,-gweg,-gewel -- hollow
,wu'ës'dgei,-gel -- wing
po'walam'h?gewel -- choke cherry
maI,s'ñ'awei,-wel -- silver maple
'sna,wey, -'wel -- sugar maple
'wagay, wa'gei -- body

wa,gante'wat,pajit, -- skull
,pal -- " s[dual]
,pëtijig -- " s[plural]
POSSessed noun classes

animate

Agam

Agam

Gasgusí (Gasgusim-)

Amu

Amu (Amum)

Ami'a'moș(om)

'Apapi(m)

,gigam'gôn(m)

antley

Antley

gogoligwej(m)

asgoplaw

asgoplaw

Gat

Gisigu(m)

Gagalôpi(m)

epit

épit(em)

gajuewgi(m)

gimwe

es(m)

Glitaw (Glitam-)

Glu
gopit(m)  gwis
Tap(m)    inaγan(m)
jagej(m)  jįgąw(jįgaum-)
jignam    jįgun (exists in the singular, only for singular possessor)

-γiJ
-gij             -ŋjan
-įjimiJ          -kįgįwan
-ŋgįgw        tapi (-utapi)
tmaγan (-utmaγan; -oτmaγan if prefix is g-)
             -ugumįj
-ųj:             -uląγan
-uluγws

kosį
kosį(m)             got(em)
gwįįįįj(m)           ilasgw (-lasgu(m))
itgu(m)

ńu
ńu
INANIMATE

-āgay
-āgay

-ijinuan (plural person forms desunt)

āgusn
āgusn

-inoğwey(m) (exists only for singular possessor in the singular, and for plural possessor in the plural)

alaweyc

alaweyc
alugw (alugum)
gāgan(m)

galiputi(m)
ğospem

gūnte (guñtem)

swgti
swgto

-gat
-gat

-jitagan

-inu

-inu (exists only for singular possessor in the singular, and for plural possessor in the plural)
-ipit

-itn (exists only for plural possessor in the plural)

-itu

-umji

aspun (-usapun)

-utapsun

mgign (-mig:n)

tepagan (-pagan)

utmawey (-utmawey; occasionally -tmawey

if prefix is g-)
### POSSESSED NOUN PARADIGMS

#### ANIMATE POSSESSED NOUN TYPES

**aţam -- snowshoe**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n?t aţam</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āgt aţam</td>
<td>your s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ugwt aţam</td>
<td>his</td>
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<tr>
<td>n?t aţam inu</td>
<td>our i.</td>
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<td>n?t aţam inen</td>
<td>our e.</td>
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<td>āgt aţam uow</td>
<td>your pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ugwt aţam uow</td>
<td>their</td>
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**amu -- bee**

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<td>n?t amu m</td>
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<td>āgt amu m</td>
<td>your s.</td>
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<td>ugwt amu m</td>
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<td>āgt amu m uow</td>
<td>your pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ugwt amu m uow</td>
<td>their</td>
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**ańtley -- Andrew**

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<td>ańtley əm</td>
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<td>ańtley əm l</td>
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<td>ugw t asʼgōplau m l</td>
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<tr>
<td>asgōplau m inen</td>
<td>asʼgōplau m ual</td>
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<tr>
<td>asgōplau m uow</td>
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<td>n?t ūpitem inag</td>
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<tr>
<td>ugw t ūpitem ual</td>
<td>ugw t ūpitem ual</td>
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**geg:us -- godfather**

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**-gij -- mother**

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<td>ug:wijg</td>
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<td>n? gij inag</td>
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<td>æ gij uow</td>
<td>æ gijusag</td>
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<td>ug:wij ual</td>
<td>ug:wijusag</td>
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**^gosi -- fingernail, claw**

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<td>n?t ^gosi m inag</td>
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-Indian

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<td>ɖu m</td>
<td>ɖu m g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɖu m</td>
<td>ɖu m g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɖu m l</td>
<td>ɖu m g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɖu m inu</td>
<td>ɖu m inag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɖu m inen</td>
<td>ɖu m inag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɖu m uow</td>
<td>ɖu m uag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɖu m ual</td>
<td>ɖu m uag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-Øgmaw -- relative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n Øgmaw</td>
<td>n Øgma $g$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Øgmaw</td>
<td>g Øgma $g$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w Øgma l</td>
<td>w Øgma $g$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Øgmaw m inu</td>
<td>g Øgmaw m inag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n Øgmaw m inen</td>
<td>n Øgmaw m inag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Øgmaw m uow</td>
<td>g Øgmaw m uag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w Øgmaw m ual</td>
<td>w Øgmaw m uag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INANIMATE POSSESSED NOUN TYPES

-āğey -- body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n āğey</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g āğey</td>
<td>your s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w āğey</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g āğey nu</td>
<td>our i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n āğey m inen</td>
<td>our e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g āğey wow</td>
<td>your pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w āğey wow</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-āğusn -- hat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n?t āğusn</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğt āğusn</td>
<td>your s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught āğusn</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t āğusn m inu</td>
<td>our i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t āğusn m inen</td>
<td>our e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğt āğusn m uow</td>
<td>your pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught āğusn m uow</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

alawey -- pea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n?t alawey m</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğgt alawey m</td>
<td>your s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught alawey m</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t alawey m inu</td>
<td>our i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t alawey m inal</td>
<td>n?t alawey m inal</td>
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<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t alawey m inen</td>
<td>n?t alawey m inal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gt alawey m uow</td>
<td>gt alawey m ual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught alawey m uow</td>
<td>ught alawey m ual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- `awgti` -- road

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n?t awgti</td>
<td>n?t awgti l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ggt awgti</td>
<td>ggt awgti l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught awgti</td>
<td>ught awgti wal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n?t gat</td>
<td>n? gat l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g gat</td>
<td>g gat l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught gwat</td>
<td>ught gwat l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t gat nu</td>
<td>n?t gat nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?t gat nen</td>
<td>n?t gat nen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g gat uow</td>
<td>g gat uow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ught gwat uow</td>
<td>ught gwat uow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- `Ig` -- foot, leg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n Ig</td>
<td>n Ig l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Ig</td>
<td>g Ig l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n Ig</td>
<td>n Ig l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Ig</td>
<td>g Ig l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRANSITIVE VERB CLASSES

**aŋam**

aŋam

gesiguatu'gwim

gig'togot'gwim

pogtaŋam

**aŋe**

ajey (ajiejig -- nonsingular)

**alëm**

aŋusäm

aŋëm

asogomäm

eŋäm

ëlëm

natawäm

nogom

pesgeveyäm

cetg'im

-wëganam

**atgäm**

atgäm

etlajągatg

etlgäm

evgefitum

aŋäm

an'gëm

ë'sunäm

elëm

maŋtawegnäm

noŋäm

pëmëm

pusgäm

tësipowäm

naŋäm (exists in singular only)
pesūŋwây  piluimây
pîtâŋgây  pûjemây
sewîgn'ât  sipitpây
tâwîgnây  wagamigatây
espëngâ  etlîgjëy
mësta'îgta'pëg(eg)

'almw'getm
'almw'getm  e'uigm
gâgyem?tm  nâ'gwogtesgm
noëtm  telgm
wejînoëtm  welgm

amalgay
amalgay

egnûcmuey
eginâmuey  egnûcmuey
eisiwey  ge'sâluey
igatn'ewey  ignâmuey
jigpegnëwey  jigpegnëwey
jn?pegnëwey  jipaluey
netawey  {nussutmalsewey
nutnewey  {nussutmassewey
pa'galuey  pemâluey
desgësawey  taluey
teluey  we'îlîluey
### eym

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nagapugui</td>
<td>wejgwisugwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajis@gwi</td>
<td>apugui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apajipusulewi</td>
<td>a'tiewi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ejgwi</td>
<td>elisugwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epajgwepugui</td>
<td>gisigui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glusegapewi</td>
<td>letewi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maliewi</td>
<td>matgapugui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilueyawi</td>
<td>sa@amawii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapewi</td>
<td>sip@igiwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smatewi</td>
<td>stupi@ewi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunewi</td>
<td>t@isipowi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c@ctleayawi</td>
<td>cht@ayawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wastewi</td>
<td>w@asugumewi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wigewi</td>
<td>ul@ja@gajewi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unjewi</td>
<td>wo@gumawii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### elegey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'la@gtegey</td>
<td>al'gaptegey (not used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ejiglegey</td>
<td>el@git:egey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elegey</td>
<td>eulictegey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesategey (rare)</td>
<td>gespu'gu@tegey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getani@tegey</td>
<td>gigto@ategey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisapagstestagey</td>
<td>gis@ategey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisitegey</td>
<td>gutegey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
eliey

eliey

elumiew

agnimu'ey
alipuluey
altagayet
amaliey
am? jimoqoyey
apajiey
apsugapuguey
áisiapuguey
'atapnewey
egitjey
ejeliey
elapuguey
epargwiey
epsguminey
esgviey
etlamgley
etlpney
eulitegney
gagayey
geg:unewey
gemrspacey
gesatigey
gesgmiey
gesipiey
gespiag
getgieguy
giaspiey
gigwajiey
ginuey
ásasiey
jajigiey
jipleuey
ma'tawiey
maiweygw
ma'gauley
maniey
miliey
minuley
musiguigungaipayey
nanleyster
napiey
načapiey
nestūey
niganiey
nisiey
nutnevey
ogogṣiṣighuey
pağiṣiyey
pağiṣipiey
pačgwiey
pećwatelīgey
pejišasgiey
pēâseauiey
pemnīgiey
pempey
plexgwiey
pepatuguey
piaqiey
pieliey
piłniqiey
piłsan'miey
piłsuiey
piugwiey
meme\textsuperscript{igwey} & pegijje\textsuperscript{ey} \\
tcAgmume\textsuperscript{y} & gge\textsuperscript{jepey}
\hline
nuImigwey (exists only in singular and dual) & \\
nun'mipsigwey & tetap\textsuperscript{uwey} \\
ges\textsuperscript{igji}je\textsuperscript{y} & pag\textsuperscript{eip}\textsuperscript{egispny}

**elugwey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ejgwey</th>
<th>elugwey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etlewogwey</td>
<td>galugwey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilaagugwey</td>
<td>n\textsuperscript{alugwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pape\textsuperscript{ogwey}</td>
<td>pas\textsuperscript{agwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pes\textsuperscript{igwey}</td>
<td>pes\textsuperscript{igwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet:ogwey</td>
<td>pipugwey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po\textsuperscript{iglugwey}</td>
<td>pos\textsuperscript{iglugwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus\textsuperscript{iglugwey}</td>
<td>ses\textsuperscript{agwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta\textsuperscript{lugwey}</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{iaugwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weje'wogwey</td>
<td>weta\textsuperscript{ajigwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witlugwey\textsubscript{gw}</td>
<td>\textsuperscript{elugwey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'euligwey</td>
<td>me'ta'wipugweg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**emigia\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{ag}**

| emigia\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{ag} | 

**etitog\textsuperscript{si}\textsuperscript{a}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>etitog\textsuperscript{si}</th>
<th>magog\textsuperscript{si}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>metetog\textsuperscript{si}</td>
<td>na'tetetog\textsuperscript{si}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petog\textsuperscript{si}</td>
<td>pitog\textsuperscript{wsi}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nisną
Gý
gisgajey

igatagu
etisitŋigu
i'gətəgətu
'tit,pilaŋu
((n)ɪnaŋu)
menətagu
sitŋigu
wasamatejigu

jippi
eweqepi
jippi
mestapı
me'süpi
misilsepi
opipı
pegitpi
sogpɨgw
{tep:i
{teptəg
wan'ətagpi
welpı
wesgitpi
ətəmapı
welaŋapi
gəcipi
giŋwatpi
pejilasgəteg (exists only in inanimate forms)

majəsi
alęsi
apajęsi
majęsi
getpag
wasam?pag
wejgapag
petpag
ewgsam?pag
wespag

milasi
ajasi
alpegaasi
apsamasi
apso\(^2\)asi
astusi
aja,\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)an\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)y
elapasi
epasi
gasiaasi
gesgiasi
gesigavaasi
getagaamasi
getupasi
gigjasi
ginasi
jaigi\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)asi
jenasi
megwaasi
menasi
milasi
nag:masi

'ala'pasi
apa'jigwa'jiasi
asogomi\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)asi
at:iginasi
ejigjiasi
elsamiy
\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)t\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)yi
gegwasi
gesgaasi
gesgasi
getapaasi
gigaasi
giwig\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)asi
ges\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)asi
masgweisasi
metginesisasi
minasi
na\(^\text{\texttilde}{\text{\textasciitilde}}\)asi
mogpey

getapey
^mogpey
A naganigi
wasogwey
wetapey
etligwey

naganamay

aj: 'emay
a'languay
\{am\}jimogjay
\{agjimogjay
an\'gwisagay
apsigay
\^{asutmay
egwicay
\'{elagamay
\^{el\^{asutmay
\^{etawagtmay
gagam\^{atay
gu't\^{atay
ji\^{istaganay
\^{magatpay
macaluat
metgatpay
\^{menaganay

jimey
^naganpey
waji
weligwey
wigpey

a'jignay
al\^{usay
\{am\}jimo\^{witagnay
\{agjimo\^{witagnay
apsatpay
\^{asugwet\^{inmay
awtugmay
ej\^{aganje 'testay
elay
\'{em\^{isigtmay
ewigay
ginisgusitay
jawatay
lip\^{emay
\{ma\}ca 'wituyay
melgaganatpay
meltig\^{nay
me 'sugt\^{aganay
metemay
metgwantay
mewimay
\^\_naganamay
nat:awagtmay
\^\_esunay
\^\_nimay
nugwa\^\_tugway
nunay
nutmay
pajijignay
\^\_pemigay
\^\_pestmay
\^\_pitaluat
pl'ujagamay
\^\_putmay
\^\_sugul\^\_gay
te'pista\^\_ganay
wegwilay
welnomay
westay
\~\_gajijay

\~\_nagasi
ges'\~\_gasi
tet\~\_tagasi
\~\_wisgasi

metestay
met\~\_n\~\_omay
mit:\~\_natay
n\~\_ntuay
nesgway
netutmay
niwipsgunay
nugwigjat
nut\~\_may
pagsip:\~\_atay
pejitagamay
penat
pa\~\_teum\~\_atigw
pit:\~\_natay
po\~\_gwalay
sesupagtesgmay
teligwata\~\_may
tetpignay
welay
wess\~\_tmay
wissugway
getagasi
\~\_nagasi
\~\_wisgasi
nas tesin

{kājimaotesin
{l'am?jimootesin
alinetesg
alisin
apsgupegijin
atuaasgūjin
,eji'gisin
elāgatesin
elisin, elisin
enamtesin
epōgwatesin
ețlaluesin
ețogwaatesin
gagapijin
gesitesin
getgujetesin
gig'togotesin
jigtesin
malgujetehin
māsngvesin
matgāwvetehin
mēnagwisg
metetesin
nastesin
nen?gētehin
nissin
nutesin

alašsin
aliĝjesin
alīpgoesg
alōgosin
at'u'sagwtesin
egwǐjin
ejinašsin
elāgesin
elūjin
epōwesin
epasgōtesin
etītesin
ewgįsin
geşgįsin
getapectesin
gewisin
gitągatesin
jin?pağumtesin
maligtesin
matluesg
matgvetesin
mēsgeantesin
naptesin
na'tătehin
nin?ja'gum?tesin
nutatesin
oğolom?gvetehin
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<tr>
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<th>pasgîtesin</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>pejêtejigetehin</td>
<td>pemâs in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemis in</td>
<td>pilûtesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punsin</td>
<td>sâgan?gatesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>săgatuetesin</td>
<td>sigtesin</td>
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<tr>
<td>sojotesin</td>
<td>sojôgîpetesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teígwîjin</td>
<td>tetaputesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetapûtesin</td>
<td>tetpâgatesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan?tagwîjin</td>
<td>wan?ta'gojin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weógwîjin</td>
<td>weîttesin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēcâgatesin</td>
<td>wētôg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uguñejûjin</td>
<td>wetsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>win?gûwîjin</td>
<td>wessin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eígwîjin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**nâtelamugsi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eulamugsi</th>
<th>neugtamugsieq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>telamugwsi</td>
<td>welamugwsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wigapugwsi</td>
<td>gesamugwsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**nêmg**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nêmg</th>
<th>pemin?pm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**neugtugualugwey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>neugtu'gwalugwey</th>
<th>pagâsip:esîlwulugwey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sesu'pâlulugwey</td>
<td>pagâ'salulugwey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pagâ'sasugwey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
newtugum

\{\text{newtugum} \}
\{\text{newtugumutijig} \}
\{\text{nesugwigig} \}
\{\text{nesugw Wigig} \}

ogway

\{\text{ogway} \}
\{\text{ogway} \}
\{\text{ogway} \}
\{\text{ogwayjig (nonsingular)} \}

pegisin

pegisin

pegwateligey

pegwateligey

pemley

\{\text{pemley} \}
\{\text{pemley} \}
\{\text{mesipemley} \}
\{\text{tewley} \}

pemigi

pemigi

pemam

\{\text{pemam} \}
\{\text{pemamam} \}
\{\text{pemamagig} \}
\{\text{pemamultijig} \}

Ilem
penogwey

penogwey

sogwey(ugw)

eulitelgwy

mat:agtgegwy

nut:agtigege

pit:eggy

tem:tegegwy

pevigwy

ennipisgwgy

pisgy

wejgwapisgwgy

pugwelygy

pugwe- (ugw, eg, og, gi, ultiog, ultigw, ulcijig, ultieg; the only singular form is pugweig)

amasey

awasey

esgey

espey

etupaneg

ewegey

swipteg
eunasey

eunee
gag:eg

gegwey
gepgey
gesgeg
gigjey

gigwajey
giasey

istuey

jajigey
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<td>wagtgye</td>
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waltagey
wamay
welgy
wesgewey
wiguay
wisawey
ejelg
gameg

\textit{siptagaasi}
\begin{align*}
\text{mena'gas}i & \quad \text{nen'gas}i \\
\text{sipta'gas}i & \quad \text{wan'tagasi} \\
\text{wenagasi} & \quad \text{tewatagasi}
\end{align*}

\textit{sigeuyeysag}
\begin{align*}
\text{sigeuyeysag} \\
\text{sigeuyetigi} \\
\text{sigeuyetagal}
\end{align*}

\textit{sogoyey}
so'goyey

\textit{calisugul}
calisugul
telisugul

calugey
talugey


1. **tojígusuey**
   - tojígusuey

2. **wan?tagayey**
   - wan?tagayey

3. **wegáy**
   - pagáley
   - puságíwáy

4. **wejgüey**
   - enmituéét
   - wejgüey
   - wejgwitéét

5. **wejíey**
   - wejíey

6. **wejagàpi**
   - ága'tassi
   - a'güsmsí
   - a'ligasi
   - {alsumsi
   - } assumei
   - amígwensi
   - an?go'sasi
   - an'apsí
   - ásutméwinui
   - atásmi
   - anánsisí
avantasi

ucjeb

agnutmasi

elapi

elgacasi

elamasi

eligasi

e'lipi

eluwwi

elugvomi

emegwëyasi

ënagijiji

ënusii

epi

esgipesi

etmapi

etësii

etëmoi

ewâwivi

ewgsimas

ewigi

eunasisi

wag'isi

gejissi

gelagasi

gelusi

gesalgusi

avgta

eginëmasi

elapatasi

elégwëtewi

el'gitasi

elëtëmoi

elipgami

elitasi

eluëwinui

eluëltmäsi

em'tesgii

enmësi

epetogëi

ëpëtëwi

esõgëi

etëlenmi

etëliujig

euwgasëg

ewegësi

ewgësi

ewëltëmlugsi

gagami

gag:isitasëg

gajugwsi

gäpilasi

gëmëltëmlugwsi

gesgësi
pāgip:etāsī
pasaŋasī
pagitaŋopī
pepegegasi
pemgtogopī
pemtesgasi
pasgatamī
pi̱gī
tāpitaŋgāsī
p blueprint
putuapasi
pawapasi
pawagegāmī
putuataṃ
segī
sigaṭasī
sipitpagaśī
sōgotemī
tegī
telgusī
telṭasī
telūsī
telūsī
tesōgw
tēsipoumi
tetupūtāsī
tewąpī
togonasi
pēpī
pępiaśasī
pejilasgī
pemawgasi
pemipī
peppaptōsī
petōsī
tēji
tēgipōgōgī
tēgipōgōgī
pēgipā
pumte̱mī
pus'temī
sapa̱:ačōsī
sespečōsī
sipī
siwaji	
talūsī
tellitasī
telīsī
tettōgisi
temig
tēsisgegsijig
tēsunemīgōgī
tewali
tewijūg
wajuinśātēsī
wansi
wēgwēmasi
wej:elami
welāgapi
welapesi
wetajigwapewi
wetapesi
wet’gitasi
wetuli
ugwuli
wijētIgw
wilui
win?pasi
wipetigw
uj:i
ūsi
etli’etuli
ji’palgusi (no plural forms)
INTRANSITIVE VERB TYPES AND SUBTYPES

I. lti-Plurals

A. i-Stems

welagapi

egwii
geʒji
welisagamgusi
na'telamugsi
etitoğsi
eulēji
telapsgesi
gesisi
jigpi
gelusi
pemigi
teligi

B. Consonant Stems

nastesin
teğwijin
pegisin
telgil
ta'ligsugul
(al)ağamım
altugım
wegëy
getu
C. a-Stems and e-Stems

ålā

Nū̄ga

tāluègē

esamugwā

Amlāgā

Wesamugwā

tošjūğusue

II. -ći Plurals

A. Short Vowel Stems

Amogpe

E eligwe

Elugwe

Neugtugwalugwe

Wesgē

Wetma

gesamugwā

B. Long Vowel Stems

Anaganàmā

Eluēwē

Pegwatelīgē

Getgunī

C. Varia

Egnutmweu

Elege
D. Consonant Stems

eym
alăm
algacm
almgetm
nepm

E. u-Stems

weimētu

(1)i'gātağâ

(n)i'nagum

F. iesi and jesi Verbs

1. iesi Verbs

milāsi

nağāsi
siptagañsi
majañsi
alañsi
ewgjapuguñsi
pisgwe(s)ı

2. jesi Verbs

pemjesi

wejgüesı
wan'tağayesi
soğoyesi
wejesi
elsesi
INTRANSITIVE VERB PARADIGMS

welâgapi- -- be tipsy

(welâgapi-, followed by:); (fut: wlaâgap-)

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>iap</td>
<td>ites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOU S</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>iwun</td>
<td>têap</td>
<td>ites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HE</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>igw</td>
<td>ip</td>
<td>itew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>ig</td>
<td>inugw</td>
<td>igêp</td>
<td>itew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WE I DUAL</td>
<td>îgw</td>
<td>îg:w</td>
<td>îgup</td>
<td>itesugw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WE E DUAL</td>
<td>ieg</td>
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<td>iegêp</td>
<td>itesnen</td>
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<td>îgw</td>
<td>îpêig</td>
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<td>iêugî</td>
<td>îgêpê</td>
<td>ital</td>
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<td>ulîtîgw</td>
<td>ulîtîg:w</td>
<td>ulîtîgup</td>
<td>ulcîtesugw</td>
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<td>ulîtîuêgî</td>
<td>îgêpê</td>
<td>(ulcîtal)</td>
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eįgiw- -- sneeze
(eįg-, followed by:)

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<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
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<tr>
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<td>win</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>wit</td>
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</table>
geți- -- be frozen

gez-, followed by:) (fut: əgh-)  

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<th>Future</th>
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<td>təg</td>
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weilalgamgusi--look good

(weilalgam-, followed by:) (fut: weilalgam-)

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<td>gusigw</td>
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</table>
| WE E DUAL
| YOU DUAL
| THEY DUAL
| THEY INAN
| WE I PL
| WE E PL
| YOU PL
| THEY PL
| THEY INAN
| gusitjig | gusinugul | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
| gusigw | gusinugul | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
| gusit | gusit | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
| gusit | gusit | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
| gusit | gusit | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
| gusit | gusit | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
| gusit | gusit | gusitjig | gusiti(gtə)tal |
na'telamugsi- -- be that color

(na'telam-, followed by:)

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<th>PAST</th>
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<tr>
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etitogsi- -- be blabbing
(etî-, followed by:) (fut.: tî-)

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<td>ogsit</td>
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<td>ågap</td>
<td>ågtñew</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>YOU PL</td>
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<tr>
<td>THEY INAN</td>
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</table>
eulēji- -- be poor

(eul-, followed by:)

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telapsga-si-- be that big (of something in lump shape)
(telapsg-, followed by:) (fut.: tlapsg-)

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ga'si- -- be burnt
(ga'si-, followed by:)

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jigpi- -- be lonesome, dull, calm, alone

(jig-, followed by:)

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gelūsi- -- be good

(gel-, followed by:) (fut.: ǵl-)

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pemigi- -- grow
(pemi-, followed by:) (fut.: pmi-)

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teligi-- one's shape
(teli-, followed by:) (fut.: tli-)

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nastesin- -- be caught
(nastes-, followed by:)

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telgwi- - think, believe
(telgwi-, followed by:) (fut.: tlgwi-)

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telgil- -- be that size
(telg-, followed by:) (fut.: tlg-)

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ta'līgagul- -- what does ( ) weigh?; how heavy is?

(ta'ligsu-, followed by:)

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(a1)agam- – go (around) in snowshoes

((a1)agam-, followed by:)

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altugūm- -- run all over

(altu-, followed by:)

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wega'y- -- get mad

(we-', followed by:) (fut.: ug'-)

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getǔ- -- bellow, holler

(get-, followed by:) (fut.: $get$-)
Sēsəpəgənəngyi- -- be a blabbermouth

(sēsəpəgənəngyi, followed by:)

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penogwēy- -- be filthy, bad-mannered
(penog-, followed by:)

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tep:isëy- -- be separated; live separately

(tep:i-, followed by:)

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tep:isëy- -- be separated; live separately

(tep:i-, followed by:)

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aljaā- -- stagger (about); fall around
(atj-, or atj-, followed by:)

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nuŋa- -- be burning; burn

(nuŋw-, followed by:)

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talueg- -- what use is?

(talueg-, followed by:)

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esamuɣwāː -- drink
(esamuɣ-, followed by:) (fut.: samuɣ-)

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amalg- -- dance
(amalg-, followed by:)

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wesmuwa- -- flee, run away
(wesmu-, followed by:) (fut.: uguwumu-)

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toğjugusue- -- climb up
(toğjugusu-, followed by:)

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ltijig
mo^pe- -- be swollen
(mo^p-, followed by:)

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etligwe- -- grow up here; grew up here

(etlig-, followed by:) (fut.: tlig-)

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elugwe- -- work
(elug-, followed by:) (fut.: lug-)

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neugtugwalugwe--live alone; be alone
(neugtugwalug-, followed by:) (fut.n?gutugwalug-)

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**wesge-** -- fish

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**vetma-** -- smoke (tobacco)

(wet-, followed by:) (fut.: ugwt-)

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gesnugwa- -- be sick

(gesnug-, followed by:) (fut.: ƙesnug-)

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naŋanām - be drinking (alcohol)

(naŋanăm-, followed by:) (fut.: nantaim-)

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eluzwi- -- be crazy
(eluzwi-, followed by:) (fut.: lužwi-)

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,pegwa'telig- -- be a buyer
(pegwatelig-, followed by:) (fut.: &pgwatelig-)

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getgunTI- -- sleep there; sleep here
(getgun-, followed by:) (fut.: getgun-)

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egŋūmweu- — train (people)

(egŋūmweu-, followed by:) (fut.: ɡŋūmwe-)

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The table above shows the different verb forms for the verb "egŋūmweu-" in Tigrinya, with columns for the present, negative, past, and future tenses.
elege- -- throw, play a game, run for office
(el-, followed by:) (fut.: i-)

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alim- -- swim around
(alim-, followed by:)

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alga: stay all around

(alga-, followed by:)

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almoget - -- swear, curse

(almoget-, followed by:)

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**nepm-** -- die, be dead

(nep-, followed by:) (fut.: ё?p-)

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welmət̠u- -- be good; be generous

(welmət-, followed by:) (fut.:welmət-)

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((1) ꞨꞨꞨ, followed by:)

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((n)inaŋum- -- stutter

((n)inaŋ-, followed by:

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**mil+iši- -- play**

(mil-, followed by:)

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**nagasi- -- stop**

*(nag-, followed by:) (fut.: nag- or nang-)*

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siptagāsi- -- stretch, expand

(siptag-, followed by:)

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**majäsí- -- go, start moving**

*(ma-, followed by:)*

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aläsi— walk around

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ewgjępugue+iisi - step on it

(ewgjępugu-, followed by:)

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pisgwā(s)i- -- come in
(pisgw-, followed by:)

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pem+iesi- -- walk, move

(pem-, followed by:) (fut.: pem-)

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wejgutiesi-- come (here); come (this way)

(wejg-, followed by:) (fut.: jug-)

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wantagiesi- -- get quiet
(wantagiesi, followed by:)

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segoṭ-iesi- -- go up into the woods
(sog-, followed by:) (fut.: sog-)

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eliesi- -- go

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<td>eltiajgal</td>
<td>eltiajegul</td>
<td>eltiajegp</td>
<td>liitical</td>
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</table>
TRANSITIVE VERB CLASSES

\[\text{\textit{a}}\textit{tatu}\]
\[\text{\textit{a}}\textit{tatu}\]
\text{esmuetu}
\text{gasiputu}
\text{ig\text{\textit{a}}n\text{\textit{a}}}muetu
\text{men\text{\textit{o}}}tu
\text{ogonipgw\text{\textit{a}}}tu
\text{pemuptu}
\begin{cases}
\text{piptogogwatu (not used)} \\
\text{pigto\text{\textit{a}}}gwatu \\
\text{pit:o\text{\textit{a}}}gwatu
\end{cases}
\text{sagiputu}
\text{s\text{\textit{a}}}tu
\text{ten\text{\textit{a}}gitu}
\text{vassogw\text{\textit{a}}}yestu

\[\text{\textit{a}}\textit{jimogjemg}\]
\text{a\text{\textit{j}}imogjemg}
\text{a'\text{\textit{s}}}mng
\text{elt\text{\textit{a}}}gang
\text{et\text{\textit{a}}}mng
\text{ge'm\text{\textit{u}}}t\text{\textit{m}}ng
\text{il\text{\textit{u}}}mg
\text{mes\text{\textit{a}}}mng
\text{nat:aamng}
\text{pipal\text{\textit{a}}}mng
\text{ag\text{\textit{m}}}ng
\text{as\text{\textit{it}}}emng
\text{e\text{\textit{m}}}m\text{\textit{a}}g\text{\textit{m}}ng
\text{e\text{\textit{w}}}s\text{\textit{a}}mng
\text{get\text{\textit{u}}}ang
\text{ja\text{\textit{g}}}al\text{\textit{a}}mng
\text{mim\text{\textit{a}}}gw\text{\textit{e}}ng
\text{pi\text{\textit{t}}}semng
\text{ta\text{\textit{g}}}al\text{\textit{a}}la\text{\textit{g}}emg
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<td>tugumg</td>
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<td>wetsmg</td>
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### a\_ipjul/g -- a\_ipjul/tu

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<td>petulg, pe_t_lg/pe_t_tu</td>
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<td>mimu'gwalg</td>
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<td>mini'gwalg</td>
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### alamg/alaptm

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### algwilua/algwilm

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a'lu̞p̞al̞g -- al̞u̞p̞/cu

a'lu̞p̞al̞g

a̞mal̞lugwal̞g -- amal̞lugwe/tm

amal̞lugwal̞g
apog̊epil̞g
a'wa̞ntcasualg
elugwal̞g
e'mît:ugwal̞g
es̞g̊wal̞g
gelul̞g
gesal̞g
'igal̞g (cf. i'g̊al̞g)
jipal̞g
mil̞asualg
mul̞gal̞g
musualg
nag̊epil̞g
nepal̞g
nespal̞g
nus̞epigwal̞g
pipugwal̞g
(pualg (pref.))
(pewalg
talul̞gwal̞g
wel̞pasualg/it
wetprovul̞gwal̞g
wissugwal̞g
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<td>pejɪpɡųg</td>
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<tr>
<td>peno'weng</td>
<td>pesəiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēsəgæg</td>
<td>səpəg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepiljeng</td>
<td>septunepilg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se 'wissəæg</td>
<td>ceppəg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēpæg</td>
<td>wan'taŋæŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'gon/gig</td>
<td>wejipəags</td>
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<tr>
<td>wejgung</td>
<td>wijëwug</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<td>a'pigṣigtag</td>
<td>egpuŋtag</td>
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<tr>
<td>egnu'ltəg</td>
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<td>'geleysag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesgæg</td>
<td>gesgu'tesgag</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(?)giapnləya̱</td>
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<td>igənəmæg</td>
<td>pa 'pəiya̱</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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<td>san?gewitelmag</td>
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<table>
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<td>gelâgag</td>
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a, pan?gite 'wassewg:w

a, pan?gite 'wassewg:w
pipugwog:w (not used)

apgwep-g/apgwe-tm

apgwepg
etipøg
getupg
mawg: ip/gig
peginepg
wigpøg

ap'jil(l)tu

ap'jiltu

apogonmau-/apogonmatm

agnutmaøg
\( \text{eginaømag} \)
\( \text{geginæmag} \)
apogøømag
elaø
tet:æg

'asgayag/asgøtm

asgayag
wespayag
mun?sayag
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<td>pagăsăgal-g</td>
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<tr>
<td>pepușăgal-ăg</td>
<td>teșăgal-g</td>
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</table>

| așitălmăg         |   | nagăt'gelmăg |

| asogomasuatm      |   | elăgutm     |
| asogomasuatm      |   | gașamutm    |
| ewıt-ăm           |   | gisșutm     |
| gesigăuguıt-ăm    |   | menőțm      |
| jîgöț-ăm          |   | pitlāmutm   |
| napľugwatm        |   | telutm      |
| teșisigatm        |   |            |
| wetușț-ăm         |   |            |

<table>
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<th>,asutmes'ewg:w</th>
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<td>asutmes'ewg:w</td>
<td>asum\textasciitilde{e}w\textasciitilde{g}:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elugwowe\textasciitilde{g}w</td>
<td>e\textasciitilde{w}t\textasciitilde{g}e\textasciitilde{w}:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewigigewg:w</td>
<td>gl'utmesse\textasciitilde{w}g:w</td>
</tr>
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<td>wis\textasciitilde{u}n?\textasciitilde{g}e\textasciitilde{w}:w</td>
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<table>
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esmēg
gisigig

mesēg
sigteg

tepēg
tugteg

vetsēg
wigupēg

wejīsēg

atgēnē'waig

aniapuśūtīg
atgēnē'waig

elulg
nastāŋūtīg

gopūlīg
sepūj:ūtīg

wetapulg

atlasmūtīg/atlasmūtī-tm

atlasmūtīg

noqtmūtīg

elapil-ēm

elapilīm

gasūlīg

getsēm

gewgēm

'gū-wum

gisāgīsēm

musgēsm

musgatesgm

nut:āgēm

pesgwēsm

pesogopsgatēm

elegēvālēg

ajghvālēg

as'ūgopil/gig

elegēvālēg

gesālēg

(?)gesnugvālēg

i'gwijālēg
elugwāg/elugwetu
   elugwāg
   netuisgāh

en/əg -- en?/tu
   enəg

gesipə-g/gesipetu
   gesipəg
   pesəg
eveteqeq

eget‘ tqipul-g/etləqit-tu
eget‘ tqipulg

gel'ig/getyu
   gel'ig

gepi'og:/gepipo'om
   gepipo'og:w

ges'gelməg/ges'gel-tm
   ges 'gelməg
   wesga 'gelməg

metə'galəg
nasta'galəg
sil'wəgaləg
tugəgaləg

malign-g/malignu-tm

malign-

mestan-g/mestan-tm

mestan-

wasamgigjesmag

wasgitujmag

mete-g/mete-tm

an?guneg
epatgwege
gegmateg
uguewteg
meteg
napteg
neugtuteg
nigatneg
ni?spi?pagaqteg
nugwaltugweg
peteg
piteg
telteg
tetaputeg
wastewgteg
weteg

epatgweyteg
geltmeg
gwgtmeg
matmeg
nan?gweg
nesugteg/gig
n?gan?tegweg
nigotmeg
nugteg
ogotgwegeg
pewgteg
samteg
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togteg/gig
wetegatmeg

mugwmg/mugwmatm

mugwmg
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<td>'pegwatāg/pegwatu</td>
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pem-li-ŋ/pe-m-li-tu

ajg³ng³
al³ng³
ap³g³
apsap³ng³
*at³samug³ng³ (+ -tm)
eje³ng³
e³ng³
*e³lp³g³am³ng³
e³mp³ng³
\{(eng³ng³
\{nen³ng³
epat³g³wep³ng³ug³ng³
et³ng³
g³w³ng³
g³p³ng³
ge³mp³ng³
g³sp³ng³
g³tap³ng³
g³w³ng³
g³:waj³ng³
g³gaj³ng³
g³:j³ng³
(1)ig³ng³
il³ng³
it³t³ng³
al³ng³
am?jimo³ng³ng³
apsap³ng³
aso³g³om³ng³
ej³mp³ng³
ej³j³ng³ng³
e³mp³ng³
*e³m³ng³/gig
e³lu³ng³ng³
en³ng³
epat³g³ng³
es³t³ng³
g³s³ng³
g³l³ng³
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tagam- [tağt-] -- hit [tağ-, followed by:]

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605
[the future of tagm- is identical to that of pemä-; those forms which begin in pemäl- add the ending following the 1 to the stem tagm-; those forms which begin in pemätu- add the ending following the u to the stem tagat-)

[the negative of tagm- is nearly identical to that of pemä-; most forms which begin in pemäl- add the ending following the 1 to the stem tagm-; most forms which begin in pemätu- add the ending following the t to the stem tagtm-; the only exceptions to the foregoing are the following forms:]

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mētē- -- strike; hit unexpectedly

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007
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068
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[the negative is the same as pemâ- (in the animate object forms) and ōka- (in the inanimate object forms)]
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[the past is the same as that for tāgam-; the following forms are of interest, however:]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>YOU S</th>
<th>WE I</th>
<th>WE E</th>
<th>YOU PL</th>
<th>HE</th>
<th>THEY AN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIM</td>
<td>wīgéωγ:up</td>
<td>wīgéωγt&amp;p</td>
<td>wīgéωγ:up</td>
<td>wīgéωγ:&amp;t&amp;p</td>
<td>wīgéωγ&amp;op</td>
<td>wīgéωaph</td>
<td>wīgéωatip bö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This dictionary is compiled from my unpublished English translation of Pacifique’s *Leçons Grammaticales de la Langue Micmacue*. The original orthography is rather ambiguous; for example, Pacifique’s o may be either our u or w. While Pacifique’s orthography is not uniquely convertible to ours, to converse is in fact true: our u and w correspond to Pacifique’s o; our i and (here, occasionally) y correspond to his i; our o corresponds to his o; and our j corresponds to his ti. All other aspects of the orthography are as in Pacifique. Pacifique does not consistently mark long vowels, and the vowels for which he does indicate length are often erroneously so indicated.

The alphabetical order is that of English, except that w and y are not distinguished for purposes of alphabetization, except that of two otherwise identical words, one of which has u and the other y in a particular place, the one with u comes first. Long vowels are likewise indistinct from short ones with respect to alphabetization, except that in otherwise ambiguous cases, long vowels follow their short counterparts in alphabetical order. Hyphens and word boundaries (i.e., spaces) are disregarded.

The page references for each entry are those of the French original, not those of the translation. The attempt has been made to include every use or mention of every word in the *Leçons*.

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The definitions and other material in brackets indicate additions by the present author; that is, definitions or cross-references which are lacking or not obvious in Pacifique. If a word is undefined and not cross-referenced, it is undefined in Pacifique and used so that its meaning is obscure, and is furthermore unfamiliar to Mr. Jerome.

The entries are generally self-explanatory, and follow Pacifique's style of indicating the "principle parts" of a word by its affected segments, plus (usually) one, only, other than the main entry; a few conventions merit mention, however. The abbreviation "contr.:" indicates that the verb in question contains an e in its first syllable, which is lost in the future, imperative, and certain other categories. Noun possession is often indicated by giving the 1sing possessor form, the 2sing possessor form, and the 3sing possessor form, separated by commas, only the prefix in question being evinced by the latter two. Thus: nt/agusen, gt-, ugt- -- my, your, his hat.
aa (/ah/) — ah! interjection of agreement; 9, 14, 15, 18, 238.

ae (/ah/) — sigh in song Nebagwagan: 15.


-aŋ(al) — v. -o/kait.

aŋai — alas!; 11, 14, 22, 238.

aŋam(g) — snowshoes(s); 37, 276, 287, 320. nt/aŋam(g), gt/—, ugt/— — my, your, his snowshoes(s).

aŋamai, aŋamoltiŋw — to have snowshoes, to wear snowshoes; 121, 278.

aŋamawi — v. ŋamawi.

aŋumi, wetaŋami — to have snowshoes; 278.

aŋumai — to go in snowshoes; 121, 278.

pemŋamai — to walk in snowshoes, advance.

aŋantiŋwam, gaŋantiŋwam — Sunday; 203, 211, 228.

aŋantiŋuti, agentiŋuti — week; 203, 317.

aŋapɔjin, ŋapɔj, pitg; gaŋapɔjin — to be suspended, hang; 189, 273.

agastalasi — ? = gwastalé; 239 (Rand).

aŋat, in, ig — half mad, half-wit, idiot; 262.

aŋataŋ, aŋati—, ŋeti— half, half-way; 43, 77, 120, 178, 202, 203, 205, 223, 284.

contr.: aŋta—.

aŋatătu — to make half; 275.

contr.: ŋatatătu/ŋatu.

aŋatęgiŋ — the tide is halfway down; 107.

aŋati — v. aŋataŋ.

m/aŋeli(1) — flesh (meats), body, the flesh; 33, 73, 180, 183, 210, 219, 246, 251, 279, 318.

n/aŋeli, g/-, w/—.

agentiŋuti — v. aŋantiŋuti.

aŋ esgiŋ — and the rest; etc; 236.

aŋeti — v. ŋativaŋ.

aglasiew — English (man); 24, 27, 35, 36, 278.

aglasiesui — English; 143, 189.

aglasiewi — to be English; 278.

aglasiewisi — to speak English; 262.
agišiédīgwejįj -- a small, little Englishwoman; by extension, a little Protestant; 35.

āgniąją -- v. āgnuąjaŋ.

āgniąjaŋ -- to confess, cause to know, proclaim; 102, 268.

āgnutaŋ, tąs, tamsą -- to make know, to inform; 272, 296, 311.

āgnutaŋąťąn -- new, piece of news, 11, 14, 251, 264, 278, 296.

āgnutaŋąńi, nįg -- there is something new; 278.

āgojomeų, āgojomeę -- herring; v. nemeiįj; 14, 37.

āgta -- v. āgtaŋ.

āgtaŋę -- in the middle of winter; 43, 136, 249, 257.

āgtaŋęg (ęg) -- in the middle of the night; (at) midnight; 31, 43, 91, 257.

agwesęn (ęl) -- cap, hat, head covering; 40, 240, 278, 320.

n/ą/t/اغوسيس, g/t/-, uų/t/-, -- ny, your, his.

agwesęnų -- to wear a hat, to be covered by one; 278.

agwesęnį, ąngę -- to have a hat; 278.

agwesęni -- to be a hat; 278.

-ąg(ęl) -- (so many) dollars; 202.

-ąpųągęlė -- two dollars.

ąjį, ąliej -- such a, such a thing; interjection of hesitation, ummm...; 10, 18, 22, 26, 209, 238, 254, 278, 317.

ąjį -- to be such a; 278.

ąji, -in, -it -- to progress, to advance, to move from place, from position; 16, 76, 229, 260.

ąjiaŋę, ątem, ątemąŋ -- to bother; 292, 294.

ąjenųądąjęg, tu, taŋ -- to be harmful, to put in disorder, disturb; 133, 303.

ąji -- more, movement; 50, 223, 229, 241, 258, 263, 292.

ąjaŋįąmąjięg (ęg) -- blackberries; 37.

ąjaŋįąsųąliaąweįj -- interest; 24, 223.

ąji amąęg -- farther; 229.

ąjię, ąieųąg/ąitąg, ąitaąg -- to advance, increase; to progress (on water/land); 24, 105, 266.

ąjięt -- hour [lit.: it (the sun) advances]; 62, 203, 204.

ąjięg, itu, itąg -- to be occupied in, to push forward; 292.
ajigenat -- more strong; 309.
ajig -- to agitate, to pursue; 301.
ajipjul, ñtu -- to hope in, to count on, to hope, to wait for; 135, 186.
ala -- that, there, over yonder; 15, 18, 52, 53, 208, 229, 257.
alaøl -- towards there; 229.
alaaßn, nan, nq -- to fly; 122, 273.
alatgei, taqaigw, taqatigw -- to sail; 103.
alatøaßninu, nuqwu -- sailor; 252.
aløeg, tu, taq -- to walk [tr.]; 302.
alam, alem; alemen, aleg, alultijig -- to swim (in every direction); 120, 272.
alamæ -- mass; 17, 40, 126, 133, 165, 225, 247, 251, 258, 275.
[< Fr. à la messe]
alamesigaøaßnitug -- at the mass; 258.
alamasjig -- low mass; 247.
alamjig -- you're looking around for them; 308.
alanguai -- to paddle; 264.
alapi, atigw, itaigw -- to look from one side to the other; 260.
alæi, -in, -it -- to go from side to side, to roam, to be a vagabond, (go for a) walk, go here and there, walk around; 16, 57, 74, 76, 104, 197, 285, 302, 310, 317.
alasuine, nuqwu -- voyager (on land), prowler; 252.
alasumg, alasumg, utam -- to worship, to honor, to pray, venerate, adore; 184, 189, 217, 272, 296, 299, 312.
alasutmaøan -- religion, prayer, faith; 49, 87, 143, 165, 197, 245, 251, 294.
alasutmaøanganjig -- short prayer, invocation; 49.
alasutmai, alasutmai, alasutmai -- to pray; 13-14, 16, 33, 55, 57, 78-87, 88, 96, 112, 137, 188, 197, 237, 276.
alasutmaø -- prayer; 87, 142, 143, 231.
alasutmaøgöwe, wel -- parochial, parishioner; 23, 87.
alasutmaøgöwe, wel -- ceremony; 87.
alasutmaøen -- to pray for someone; 23, 26, 33, 75, 140, 142, 143, 170, 176, 197.
alasutmaøinu -- Catholic; 27.
alasutmaø -- to make prayer; 23, 175.
alasutmaøinu, nuqwu -- (praying) Christian, Catholic; 127, 209, 252, 278.
alasutmewini -- to be a Christian; 22, 278.
alasutmoowom -- Church; 49, 143, 258, 285.
alasutmoowomij -- chapel; 49, 258.
alatijig -- v. aläsi.
(alaswe), alasel -- peas; 40. (Does not appear in sing.)
alum(?), älag, älagig, ælultijig -- to swim here and there (of fish);
121. [cf. alæm]
alaglg, aten -- to stay with now and then, to remain here and there
[as an ending: someone or something is staying with us] [from
this: Acadian, Acadie, Acadia]; 305.
alowlala -- to search here and there, to seek; 120, 177, 219.
alugæleg, tu, ū, æleg: angunæleg -- to cover, to hide; 302.
ail-, iali- -- to go here and there; 219, 229, 278.
alæl̮ -- that spills; 267.
alæsî, alasî, alitasî -- to go here and there, to walk around, to
wander, to be a vagabond; 229, 267.
aligæw, aligew -- clothes, goods, linen, thing, property; 23, 24, 36,
133, 214, 216 (declension); 257, 278, 321;
nt/aligæw, gt/-, ugt/- -- my, your, his property. Pl.: aligal.
aligtesin, tesing, tesg -- to vibrate; 273.
aligtesstu -- to make vibrate; 273.
alijemai -- to play ball; 264.
alilî -- Aurélie; 246.
alipæsim, memen, mig, multigw -- to glide; 273.
aliptag -- vibrate; 274.
alipulusæi -- [ride; ride on horseback]; 290.
alismæsi -- to spread here and there; 68.
alispæi, paigw, patigw -- to be wet; 103.
alitæsi -- to be distracted, inattentive; 56, 228, 261.
alitasuægan -- spirit (thought); 177.
alitg -- it flows in different directions; 123.
alajægæ, ægæ, ægæmæg -- to paint, stain, smear, coat, overload; 273,
298.
alaji, ain, sig -- to be painted, soiled, stained (lit. and fig.)
74, 262.
aljæmæn -- [leave an odor wherever one goes]; 276.
alæluai -- hallelujah; 26.
Alma -- German; 36-37. [< Fr. allemand] Pl. - almağ.
almağetem, meg, almağetem -- to swear, curse; 117, 183, 225, 270, 271.
Almağig -- Germany; 268.
almağetem -- v. almağetem.
almağ, mitem -- to insult, to curse; 183, 271.
almağitai -- extend one's hands; 168, 300.
almağ, utem -- to dominate, to be the master; 184, 272.
almağusin -- obey; 209.
almaşi -- to be a free man; 285.
almaşi -- to be a master, command; 209, 224, 262.
almaşdjel -- commands; 162, 309.
al -- some people, those, there are those of them who...; 29, 121, 212.
al...al -- some...others, one...the other.
alşajig -- v. alşasi; 285.
alşasğ -- to run after; 295.
alşasğan -- (cf. waltig); 24.
alşuğvin, men, iğ, ultigv -- to run here and there; 70, 121.
alşuğlitijig, [?altuglitijig] -- v. altugvin.
alşuğ(ül) -- cloud(s); 246.
alşuğşag -- the weather becomes overcast; 107, 267.
Alum -- Aaron; 197.
alüşai, -an, at -- to be thin; 22, 265, 276.
aluşamg -- emancipation; 265.
amاغen, چنتام -- to paint, to stain; 185.
amalga, ge, gat -- to dance; 32, 88, 89.
amalgağan, amalgwäğan -- a dance, diverse leaps; 22, 218.
amali -- variety; 218.
amaliştağän -- flower-bed; 218.
amali ntëmgwël -- diverse songs; 218.
amallugiwl -- to weave artistically; 261, 305.
amalugiwa -- piece of embroidery; 218.
amaseq -- far; 143, 204, 229, 232, 249, 251.
amasejig -- a little bit far; 229.
amasejag, şalıag -- to remain far from him, from one another; 306.
amasgwiwëlneg, nem -- to torment; 184.
amasgwipalasi, sigw, -stigw; amasgwipansi -- to suffer, torture, suffer from bad treatment; 33, 42, 103, 268.
amasigdi, éin, ág -- to be miserly; close-fisted; 75.
amasigding -- avarice; 75.
Amen -- amen, tlap, let it be so; 26, 33, 247.
angsantj -- picker; 37.
angvan -- soup spoon; 37.
angwes -- v. angwes.
angwes elugutingal -- v. angwes...
angwesgati -- as it is round; 183.
alamâgiv -- mackerel; 37; analamâg -- pl.
amos -- v. na mós.
angwes, angwès -- first, firstly, first time. [cf. tem]; 199, 200, 203, 225, 226, 228.
angwes elugutingal -- Monday (1st day of work); 203, 226, 228.
angwesensei -- first [designation, rank, grade, etc. of an individual]; 201.
angwesensei -- first (in time); 23, 40, 76, 200, 201, 254, 292.
angwesensei, ein, sit -- to be the first (to have arrived); 201.
amsiagusi, amusiagug -- passable appearance; 227.
amul gagegi -- almost lost (entering one house for another); 223.
amuiv -- almost, partly, mediocre; 205, 223.
amu, ianu, imauj -- it must be, therefore, certainly, quite certain, assuredly, honest to goodness, yes; 23, 51, 91, 160, 189, 190, 192, 219, 233, 269, 276, 317.
ana -- v. anin.
anapow -- to one side; 229.
anapleemeg, -şepem -- to hate; detest a person, a thing; 218.
anap -- an odd number, from which something is lacking; 123.
anaptegi, sigg, -stigseg -- to look. [cf. angseg] 103, 192, 221, 223.
angam, anganmiv -- immediately, 24.
angam, tem, tema -- to listen with attention; 168, 296.
angategii, sin, sit -- to think, reflect; 71, 190, 277.
[no contraction]
angitasuivni -- to be a thinking, reflective being; 190.
angitâlemeg, têtem, temâg -- to be careful of, to think of; 251, 300, 309.
angotâgan -- custody, care; 271.
angotasi, sin, sit -- to be protected, looked after; 71.
angotem, men, te -- v. angwiâg.
angwatzâtem -- to multiply; 118.
angwatuanel -- sell; 223.
angwiâg: aënaâg, iul, ivin -- to look after someone, keep take care
of; 72, 142, 177, 271, 313. angotem -- keep something.
angotemâg -- keep something belonging to him, or for him.
angwiâi, anguewei, angügri -- to grow, to augment; 267.
angwiâeg -- v. neugt angwiâeg.
angwiâgai, gan, gat -- my, your, his joints; 88, 217.
anguj -- v. inguj.
angujiv -- there are some; 211.
angunai/tew -- cover, hide; 91.
angunâdeg, no1, nain, no1u -- to cover; 179, 302.
angueei, angügri -- v. angwiâg.
ani-, ana-- -- abhorrence; 218.
aniâeg, aniaptem -- to look unfavorably upon, to detest, to regret,
to regard with aversion, to be sorry for; 119, 218, 300.
aniapsi, in, it -- to make penance; 218, 261.
aniapsim, aniapsigewei, aniapsutu -- penance, act of contrition; 133,
218, 300.
aniapsuâgan/el -- penances; 260.
aniapsulaq, uwa1, temâg -- to expiate, bear the penalty; 305.
aniapsuiyu, nusgu -- penitent one; monk; nun; 46, 236, 252.
aniapsutelq, su1em, temâg -- to punish; 307.
aniapsutu -- v. aniapsim.
aniaptem -- v. aniâeg.
Anies -- Agnes; 11, 14, 15, 42.
Anili -- 270.
nt/ansalemeg -- my/angel; 214, 278, 312, 313 [cf. ansalewit].
ansalewit. -- angel; 23, 37, 42, 49, 213, 214, 258, 278, 312, 313.
ansalewitevit -- he acts like an angel; 278.
ansema, assema -- certainty, assuredly; 44, 103, 205, 220, 233, 234,
282, 290, 295, 317.
ansuëg -- that is difficult, strange; 25, 106.
Antle -- Andro; 164.
ap, apj -- again, afresh, anew, yet again, else; 15, 30, 33, 80, 104, 180, 223, 225, 234, 237, 251, 257, 265, 267, 276, 285, 290, 310, 317.
ap goñwe, but goñwe ap. (p. 234)
apasgosit, -sijig, lapasgosit, -- kettle(s); 37.
apaët -- the sea; 28.
apaëtug -- on the seas, on the high seas, asea; 229, 235.
apaëtugewag -- Europeans; 229.
apaëtugjig -- near the shore; 229.
apaëtujgel -- at some distance from the shore; 229.
apaëtui -- marsh bittern (wader) (bird of prey); 37, 254.
pl. - apagtuiaq.
apajii -- to return, after having attained the goal; 229.
apajjisi, -jëleg, jëtu -- v. apajjiei.
apajji -- again; (mental) return, anew; 51, 219, 229.
apajjiei, -jësi, jëleg, jëtu -- to come back, bring back, return; 134, 219, 275.
apajjiei, apiëjiei -- to revive; 219.
apajjitasi, apatgijjasi -- to come back to better feelings; to convert; 219, 229.
apangitaq, tem, temaq -- to pay someone; 48, 118, 197, 257, 271, 296, 306.
apangitawalseug, ul, win -- to pay for, to be a server, surety; 176, 296.
apajtuowei = payment, salary, recompense; pay; 118, 271.
apaji -- thread(s), cord(s); 9, 14, 37 [cf. ëpi].
apatgijjasi = v. apajjitasi.
apatnemuei, muesigw, mutajigw = to return; 51, 102.
* (apaji + ignemuei)*
apattelaq -- to redeem; 158, 177.
apengetem = v. apangitaq.
apgu- = (a) deliverance, (b) treachery; (a) end long, (b) end short; 219.
apgwälq, atem -- to deliver; to betray, surrender; 187, 211, 219.
apgwälqeg, ëtu -- to untie, to deliver, to save (someone), to put back; 133, 186, 211, 219.
agñjigewei -- absolution; 186, 219.
agñjig, agnw̃jig -- to detach with the teeth; 182.
ajig, tajī(g) -- bow(s); 16, 18, 22, 34, 37, 320, 321.
  n/utajī(m), g- , u - -- my, your, his bow(s).
ajig -- come from; 16.
api alashi -- I come from walking.
āpi(1) -- net(s); 9, 14, 16, 18, 26, 34, 37, 307, 320.
  n/t/āpi, g/t/āpi, u/g/t/āpi -- my, your, his net [cf. apapi].
ajigjij -- mouse; 254.
ajigjīlu -- skunk; 254.
apijigtaq, tam, tamaq -- to pardon, forgive; 33, 176, 258, 271, 296.
apijipie -- v. apajipie.
apijipngwevi, apijipñg, apijipgewei -- resurrection; 141, 219.
  apijipnggewei, vēit. -- I am, he is, the resurrection.
apijippostal -- to be restored (to life); 33, 73, 141, 219, 246, 251.
apis -- especially, still more, up until, moreover; 26, 33, 223, 225, 249.
apistansuj -- marten; 50.
apj -- [v. apj].
apjegil, lg; apsegil(g) -- (to be) little (less large); 122, 274.
apjājg(el) -- small, little, few; 40, 49, 121, 203, 241, 257.
apjājig -- very little, very few; 49, 241.
apjig, ul, in, itu, ițaq -- to do good (to), with the idea of
  meriting recognition; 174.
apjig -- 290.
apjijewal/sis -- if he is made quite small; 196.
apjijewa -- the Eucharist; 23.
apjiw, iajj, apji, iapji, iatpi -- that lasts forever, eternal,
  always; 24, 33, 73, 77, 103, 154, 165, 178, 212, 219, 224, 225,
  265, 269, 270, 272, 305.
apjulisus -- [they made you forever]; 276.
aplām -- Abraham; 217, 263, 320.
ap me -- etc., and so forth; 223.
āpogonemag, matem -- to help; 177.
APOSULAG -- Béauséjour (point); 237.

APATPAI, PAN, PST -- MY, YOUR, HIS SMALL HEAD, TO HAVE A SMALL HEAD; 217, 265.

APSEGIL(g) -- [v. SPISOIL].

APSEGIT, APSEG - (SO MANY) ROUNDED OBJECTS; 202.

APSEGEGING, ETG -- TO RUN UP TO THERE BACKWARDS; 273.

APSEGULLEG, TEU, TEU -- TO BRING BACK TO DETACH; 303.

APSEGWSEGITG, APSEGWSEGITG -- RETURN OF THE CURRENT, EBB, DRAW BACK (JORDAN); 123, 229.

APGWMAI -- TO RETRACE ONE'S STEPS, BEFORE HAVING REACHED THE GOAL; 229.

APGWGI -- REPETITION, RETURN, RECESSION; 225, 229.

APGWULAPASI -- TO LOOK BACK; 229.

APGWWSEGITG -- V. APGWWSEGITG.

APSEGIGA -- A LITTLE RESIDENCE; 284.

APSEGWSITAN(g) -- DOLL; 37, 143.

APTEGALEG, APTEGALEM, INAPTEGALEM -- TO STAY WITH CONSTANTLY, TO HAVE A HOME, TO STAY, RESIDE, LIVE THERE CONTINUALLY; 118, 230, 270, 287, 305 [AF. ATLEGALEM].

APTENEM, IAPTENEM -- TO HAVE FOREVER; 24, 270.

APTESEGAN, APUSAN, MEN, GE -- TO LOOK, SHUT WITH A KEY; 120, 179, 262.

APTUGOPISOTLEG, TELEM -- TO CROWN; 188.

APTUN -- STAFF, SCEPTER, ROD; 217, 275, 321.

N/UTAPTUN (E(M)), G/-, UTAPTUNEM -- MY, YOUR, HIS STAFF.

AFU -- JUICE, GRAVY (IN COMPOSITION); (16) WUSAFTU -- BROTH (16), WUSAFTU -- INK (16).

AFUG, AFT, AFUJAL, AFUL, AFTUN -- TO SEND, TO MAKE AN ENVOY OF SOMEONE; 158, 175.

AFUGJI -- V. AFUGJI.

AFUGUGRA -- TO SEND (THINGS); 134, 175, 275, 309.

APUNEK, EPUINEK -- BELOW; 14, 189, 229.

APUNEK PEJUSULSIT -- BE HUMBLE, DEGRADE YOURSELF; 189.

APUSAN -- V. APTESEGAN.
apusingapuguet — (he) speaks badly, coarsely; 219.
apugí, apugí — disorder; 219.
apungigen — key; 320.
nt/apungigen, st-, ugt/-, my, your, his key.
apustralwit — apostle; 187, 198, 276, 311.
aság, asegug -- on the other side; 27, 229, 249, 316.
aság — overleaf, reverse (of a sheet of paper); 229.
aságág, ám, ámmág -- to meet; 229, 295.
aségug -- v. aség.
asieg, at, wajel -- to take vengeance on someone; 294.
Aség — Angélique; 11, 214.
asiegweinág -- the wind is in front of one; 268.
asgaigág, agsegág, agnaimajel, il, iwín -- to disturb, to do injury
to; 154, 165, 176, 271.
asgotom -- disturb a thing.
asgotomág -- disturb something belonging to or relating to someone.
asgotağan -- disturbance, misadventure; 271.
asgotom, men, tg -- v. asgaigaç.
asig -- to push, to tempt in words; 301.
asisapuguet, -guási, gustäga -- to pass over, step over; 229.
asísé, asieg -- over the top; 229.
asisiv -- v. asisé.
asisolg, sotu, tag -- to throw over (the top of); 307.
asitapuguetí -- to answer; 219.
asitapuguetíweí -- a response; 229.
asité(-) -- response, permission; 219, 229, 233.
asite gelusit -- he answers; 219.
asitálemag, tásam, tamağ -- to permit, consent; 219, 296, 300.
asitamvägweanengapenel -- he did (not) respond to them; 177.
asitamvägwean -- response; 219.
asmág -- on this side, by here, this way; 229, 247, 251.
assem -- v. ansma.
astäg -- heat (of the Sun); 91, 285.
asugom -- six; 27, 41, 90, 121, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204, 245, 258, 317.
asugomal/in -- take across (you - me); 68.
asugoméwei -- sixth; 23, 27, 200, 201.
asugonigaan -- bridge; 194.
asugom tésiğ, tèsigel -- six; 199.
asugom tésisgağ -- sixty; 199.
asugom tésisgağ -- sixty; 199.
asugom tésipunai -- to be six years old; 90.
asugom tesisgağipunai -- I'm sixty.
asugon tesugumugw -- to go in a boat in sixes; 121.
ásun -- outer garment; blanket, coat, overcoat; 15, 250, 257, 279, 320; nt/asunem, st/-, ugt/-, my, your, his...
asunän, men, nağ, *olgugw -- to be clothed; 120.
asuni(ig) -- there is a covering; 279.
at -- that one, that; 208.
atam -- Adam; 16, 42, 45, 185, 210, 254, 256, 252, 297, 315.
atal, len, le, *olgugw -- to eat; 122, 175, 222, 226, 250, 275.
ataleneği -- to eat; 222.
atalulting -- general meal; 226, 275.
atalug, lut, lujel -- to cause to eat; 175.
atapęgan -- to wind (a clock); 272.
atel -- about to, from the moment; 225.
ataugtąg -- that is more dear, expensive; 223.
ataugtugwei -- to raise the price; 223.
atelğ -- more than; 50, 205.
ateljojo -- since; from the moment of (implies impatience); 225.
atelțağ [?mateltəğ] -- it sounds like that; 224.
atgenęg, nol, na'n -- to do his share, to make participate; 179.
atgeng -- to divide up; 179, 269.
atgenewağan -- share; 179.
atgenewağ, watem, temęğ -- to distribute, divide up; 270, 305.
atgeneweig, nautigw -- to make shares, to distribute; 268.
atgilğ -- be a little bigger; 50.
atgitemi, min, mit -- to weep; 150, 70, 211, 241, 277.
atlięw, ativ -- adieu, goodbye; 225.
atliståğ, tem, temęğ -- to say goodbye; 225, 296.
atlięw -- to say goodbye; 225.
ativ -- v. ativ.
atignai -- [to work extra hard]; 276.
atli -- shirt; 279, 321.
    nt/atli/um, st/-, ugt/-, my, your, his shirt.
atlai, ig -- I have a shirt, there is one; 279.
atlasemi -- to rest; 259.
atlasesemulg, mušam, temeq -- to pacify; 308.
atlasesemutigseg -- Sunday (day of rest); 228.
atlegating -- pace, step; 205.
atniaq -- the wind changes; 268.
Atua -- v. Utawa.
atuauqgutesin, sing, téeq -- to fall backwards; 273.
Atuán -- Antoine; 252.
    Atuánayq (his wife), Atuáněj, -nisģeq (his children).
atugopilatij -- 321.
atugait -- history; 226.
atugwałg, ñem -- to talk about a thing; 293.
atugwałlg, pilem, lemaq -- to stretch; 307.
atugwałqeq, sut, ewanj -- to recount to someone; 293.
atuoman -- to be covered by sand; 279.
atuamg -- sand (no sing.); 266, 279.
atuomqimin(g) -- strawberry(ies); 37.
atuomi, ming -- to be, have sand; 279, 286.
atutuej -- squirrel; 189.
atutugwej -- squirrel; 50, 189.
avan -- v. avani.
avanamg, naptem, tamaq -- to lose sight of; 300.
avanăj, in, -eq; avanitu, tun, toq -- to be ignorant of, forget,
    neglect; 22, 134, 218.
avang, avanitu -- to ignore, to consider as a stranger, not to know;
    22, 134, 184, 218.
avan-, avan-- ignorance, forgetfulness; 218.
avanităsi -- v. avanităsi.
avanitălemeq, tātem, tātemeq -- to forget (person, thing); 168,
    211, 299.
avanitu -- v. avang, avanăj.
avanităsi, sin, sit -- to forget, make an oversight; 71, 218, 222, 237,
    261, 299. [< avanităsi]
awasegei, aseigw, setigw -- to spoil, 101.
awasemai, man, mat -- to brag, boast; to fan oneself, use a fan; 264.
awgsami -- v. awsamiv.
awgti -- road, way, path; 15, 22, 36, 40, 46, 141, 153, 211, 217, 230, 278, 284, 317.
awgti, awgtig -- it is expensive; 1231, 259.
awgti(tii); awgtig -- to be a road; 1231, 263, 278.
awgtigemai, man, mat -- to guide; 88.
awgtijel) -- (foot)path; 40.
awi, awiu -- around; 22, 218.
awia -- final exclamation of Nsawagan (song); 15, 238.
awialel, tu, taq -- to surround; 302.
awiajamel -- to intertwine; 302.
awijetg, awijetjel -- it is more; 22, 27, 70, 225.
awisiw, awisii -- merely; 22, 225.
awi -- v. awi.
awiupogo osg, sem -- to sense; 182.
awiu pogo osgut -- he has incense burned before him.
awiu pogo sigen -- censor; 218.
awna -- on the contrary; 22, 218, 257, 272, 310.
aunaqaj, auna -- exception, to the contrary; 218.
awsami, amsami, awsamii,wasami, dusami, eusami, wansami -- too, too much; 23, 24, 50, 223.
ee(ehe/) -- yes; 9, 14, 16, 18, 211, 233, 238, 251, 270, 275, 309, 317.
eg -- locative ending for proper nouns; at the home of; 46.
eggel -- from time to time; 225; [< hiptuuigel]
eggel -- [v. gil]; 49.
eggotem, temen, tg -- to retard, to put back; 293.
eggiljei, en, et, atigw -- to read, count; 103, 1270, 276, 277.
contr.: giljetes.
eging, egitem -- to read, to count, to recite; 20, 118, 178, 183, 245, 251, 259, 300.
contr.: gil, git/tes
Ègsetaig -- v. ègsetaig.
ègsetaig -- tomorrow morning; 43, 225.
ègsitpug, ègsetpug -- in the morning; 14, 43, 49, 222, 225.
ègsetpugweg -- yesterday morning; 43, 49.
ègsuei, en, et -- to lie (fib); 16, 18, 25.
ègseuqon -- a lie; 119.
ègwesselsempègseuqon, quaeritis mendacium.
ègwasi, sit, sig -- to set back (a watch); 293.
ègrug, ègut, ègwajel -- to stop, to retard; 293.
ègwijatu -- to soak; 275.
ègwijn, ng, itg -- to be in (deep) water; 273.
ègwitai, tan, tat, tag -- to be attached, suspended, clasped; 265.
ègum, nugum -- to pulverize; 261, 289.
ègutai, tan, tat, taigw, tattigw -- to be dressed; 265.
--ai, --en, --et emg -- to say; 9, 16, 22, 29, 101, 103, 189, 210, 212, 266, 276, 310, 189.
[v. teluei: cf. eloq]
eiaq, at, wajel -- to have (little used except for having children); 294.
eim, einem, eig, eimugw, eteg -- to be (there, somewhere); to have in one's possession; 10, 18, 22, 23, 24, 27, 33, 38, 49, 50, 56, 101, 120, 138, 207, 211, 227, 230, 232, 236, 237, 241, 242, 250, 258, 264, 266, 270, 284, 287, 289, 290, 293, 297, 309, 322.
eioq -- Is it possible? You don't say! (mark of distressed surprise); [archaic]; 16, 18, 310.
èjaqanjetestai -- to stumble; 265.
èjaqanjetestangewei gutew -- stumbling block, scandals; 265.
èjelatu -- I can't do it; it is impossible; 16.
èjelaq -- it is impossible; 101, 266.
èjelai -- to be feeble, incapable; 219, 262. èjeloltijig.
èjeldiaq, lotem, temag -- to be incapable of helping, to harm, not to have power on or over; 219, 294, 305.
èjeli -- impotence; 219.
èjeliei -- to become incapable; 188, 267.
èjelotem -- v. èjeldiaq.
ejgin(e/tut) -- v. *jigenam.*
ejgelj(eg) -- v. *jgelj(eg).*
qjgujg -- pumpkin, melon, cucumbers; 31; qjgujgewi têpatê -- pumpkin pie; 31.
ejiqalaq, tu, tag -- to send back, reject, chase, throw out, remove; 18, 33, 115, 133, 154, 182, 230, 285, 302, 303, 318.
contr.: 7

ejgelâni -- [to go away]; 76.
qjigelegai -- to push aside; 230.
ejigel -- to brush aside; to reject; 230.
ejigelan, seg(eg) -- stirred by the wind; 273.
ejinaqsing, naqsing -- to fly low; 273.
el, elemit -- leave, he leaves laughing; 259.
el -- toward; 16, 231, 275; alamesèl.
elâq, âlum -- to resemble; 296.
elâqa-te -- v. *elâqel.*
elâqamai, mêm, mat -- to braid the middle of the snowshoe; 89.
contr.: *lâqamai.*
elâqatesg -- the trap falls, closes; 123.
elâqetītīgai, gegtīg, getīg -- to file; 101.
contr.: *lâqetītīgai.*
elâqojin, mân, ng, gotg -- to incline the head to the front; forward; 122, 273.
elâqtag, tem, temag -- to throw [tr.]; 297.
elâqtusai -- to throw [intr.]; 269.
elâquatam -- to have a relative; 272.
elai, elan, elat -- resemble, to have a resemblance; 88.
elâtiqg -- we resemble each other.
elâaqel -- [v. *elq.*]
elâleg, tu, tag -- to lead, carry somewhere, conduct there; 20, 133, 153, 192, 232, 246, 251, 262, 303.
contr.: 7
elâluei, lueigw, luqetigw -- to lead, to conduct, 102, 192.
contr.: *lāluq.*
elan, elem -- to swim in one direction; 120, 272.
elâpâleg, âtu -- to sprinkle with water, to baptise privately (in an emergency); 186. contr.: *lāpâlegesg.*
elâpâsi -- to look to that side; 260.
elapilem(ağ) -- to carry a liquid (to someone); 269.
contr.: la̱pilema̱g.
elaŋuŋu̱la̱g, uatem, tema̱g -- to support, vote for; 305.
elaseniga -- [v. eli̱g].
elasu̱u̱g -- v. elasu̱u̱g.
elatnia̱g -- the wind falls; 268.
elâ̱tu -- v. elâ̱leg.
elâ̱gei, geσi̱g, elâ̱gati̱gwi̱̱g -- to throw dice, to vote, draw lots; 103, 229, 262.
contr.: la̱gatimâ̱wai = election, legates.
elâ̱geâ̱mâ̱gi̱(g) -- kingdom(s); 212, 295.
elâ̱geâ̱walul -- I make you king; 196.
elâ̱geâ̱wî̱i̱j -- prince; 35.
elâ̱geâ̱wisgwi̱̱g -- queen; 35, 48, 258, 311.
elâ̱geâ̱wisgwa̱j -- princess; 35, 48.
elâ̱geâ̱wit -- he who is elected, king, the chosen; 23, 27, 35, 37, 44,
45, 48, 103, 189, 194, 196, 229, 232, 258, 276, 279, 296, 311;
nt/elgeam/inen -- our king.
elâ̱geâ̱mitwit -- he is king, he reigns; 27, 279.
elâ̱i̱, elâ̱g -- to be important; 262.
elâ̱lemit -- laugh; 183, 211.
elâ̱g -- v. elp.
elâ̱g [defective], â̱la̱jî̱l, â̱la̱ji̱l, â̱ln, â̱lno̱g -- to say to someone; 16,
contr.: la̱-tal.
elâ̱gaḻg -- to go encamp with him; 305.
elâ̱gamug -- on this side of a sound, arm of the sea; 230.
elâ̱gamisug -- from this side of a river; 230.
elâ̱gisg, â̱lu̱g; elâ̱gmati̱jî̱ -- to send someone on a mission, to give a
message, command; 44, 45, 175, 188, 237, 258, 301, 308, 309, 312 ,
313.
elâ̱gitem, ta̱sî̱g -- to send; 271.
elâ̱go̱mi, elâ̱go̱mi -- to send to fetch; 297.
elâ̱go̱mî̱tta̱g, tem, tema̱g -- to call, invite, to invoke, to pay a visit,
call on; 209, 297.
elâ̱gewtu̱ -- female moose, caribou, ox, or sheep (added to generic noun);
36.
elâ̱gwî̱la̱g -- to go make inquiries; 177.
elâ̱gu̱ji̱n, ng, gutg -- to incline the head to one side; obliquely; 122, 273.
elgusua’gan -- ladder, staircase; 89, 279.
elgusua’ganem, wetelgusua’ganem -- to have a staircase, ladder; 279.
elgusuai, uau, uat -- to leap, to climb by jerks; 89, 205.
elgusua’gan -- ladder, staircase.
|fasi -- sit down; li’fasi -- go sit; felipasi -- I’ll go to leave by water/I’m going to warm myself.
Eli -- Eli; 42, 254, 279, 300.
eliasit -- he gets discouraged; 261.
eliiel, ën, ët, eli’sew/eli’tigw, elitaigw -- to go (on water/on land);
contr.: lis, li’li.
eli’g, elitu, elitaq (elatq) -- to make; 1255, 292; v. elitu.
eligasi-j -- [(be) depends, relies on; hides behind]; 255.
eligemai -- to sling (a stone); 264.
eligu, ønu, øug -- to serve the soup, to mix, to drain, to hollow out, to clear away; 136.
n/els -- [v. elig].
Elisafet, Sapat -- Elisabeth; 248, 251.
elisewel, eigw, samigw -- to sew; 106.
contr.: lisevëgës.
elisim -- lie down; 112, 122, 273;
contr.: lisimëgën.
elistaq, tem, temaq -- to disobey, resist, refuse a thing; 162, 271, 296.
elitëlemag, tetem, temaq -- to value; 300.
elitg -- it flows in one direction; 123.
elitu, eltu -- to make, to fashion, also to observe, celebrate (the mass); 133, 135, 255, 275, 279, 285, 292.
eljel -- [jelajel]; 308.
eluqwe, eluqwalg -- to go to work; 105, 229, 305.
elmälag, tu, täg -- to lead away, carry away (to one’s home); 134, 242, 276, 303.
elmegiaq, giatw -- the tide abates; ebbs; 107.
elmie, ieiguitigw, i'taigw — to go home (one's own) (by water/by land), go away; 24, 29, 105, 242.
contr.: lmač.
elmiγanig — (in) the future, later; 45, 77, 225.
elmiγanag — to send back home; 301.
elŋ, elŋ ūana, elŋ oŋuŋ, emŋana — for, indeed, suppose that, as 
a matter of fact; 29, 187, 228, 233, 236, 265, 290, 308, 318.
elŋ — [v. el/g].
elnaγoŋom(g) — runner(s)(of sleigh), skates; 37.
elnaŋa — quite certainly, certainly! of course!; 233, 238.
elnaŋateg, tesa — (to be) driven in; 273.
eln/oŋ — v. el/g (say).
elnaŋoŋom — green wood; 34.
elŋ oŋuŋ — v. elŋ.
elŋ fa — for truly; 233.
elŋ ūana, emŋana — [v. elŋ].
elŋ tẹpatug, tẹpatug — only, except for, however; 143, 228, 233, 236, '265, '267, '276.
elnu — v. elnu.
elnuŋaleg, ūa, ūaŋ — to make a man; 196, 303.
elnuŋaŋ, -in, it — to become a man; 16, 18, 33, 75, 76, 257.
elnsa — of an Indian; 41.
elnu, -in, -it — to be a man, an Indian; [inanimate],
there are people; 16, 18, 70, 73, 141, 142, 190, 206, 210, 211, 
elnsaŋtaw, -taw — statue(s); 37, 268.
elnu'tesin, tesag, tesag — to dance in the Indian manner; 122, 273.
elolg, eloŋu, ūaŋ — to carry and throw down, to make a pile, heap,
throw on the ground; 188, 307.
elp, elg — also, moreover; 29, 33, 49, 50, 149, 177, 180, 189, 202, 
223, 233, 236, 258, 275, 279, 303, 309, 320.
elŋa — truly, really; 16, 18, 89, 222, 233, 251, 310.
elpatug, elpatugiŋ, lepatug — little boy; 27, 258, 313.
elpauš — boy; 35, 47, 257, 313.
elpaušeg(aŋ) — young girl(s); 35.
elpaušuui — to be a boy; 263.
Elsetgug — Bear River; 31.
elsumg, su'tem, tema'g -- to judge, undertake to judge, attribute; 242, 272, 301.
contr.: lsumata.
elta'ganewei, neweigw, nautigw -- to spin; 106.
contr.: ita'ganewetès.
elta'go'pen -- 75.
élű -- v. élűtu; 275.
eluwa'leg, wá'tu -- to render evil; wicked, harmful, to prevent; 133, 147, 151, 185, 186, 193.
contr.: luwátutes.
eluwd, -in, -it, -ultieg -- to be wicked, a sinner; 16, 23, 26, 33, 51, 55, 70, 73, 103, 190, 210, 220, 221, 254, 257, 258, 321.
eluwd'ei, wieigw, wiatígw -- to be mad, crazy, insane, to become insane; 23, 25, 103, 190, 268.
eluwd'éet -- a madman; 25.
eluwd'nu, nusgw -- a wicked person, a sinner; 25, 73, 252.
eluwd'nu'i; luw'dinu'sgowi -- to be a sinner, a sinneress; 73, 263.
eluwd'ti -- wickedness, evil, sin; 29, 33, 36, 49, 70, 72, 73, 133, 176, 178, 179, 180, 185, 187, 213, 221, 230, 257, 263, 265, 271, 277, 318.
elugomi -- v. elgomi.
elugomítag, tem, tema'g -- to employ, to order (dinner, commodities); 297.
elugóg, gout, gowajel; elugueug -- to work for someone, to be employed by someone, at someone's service; 26, 293, 305.
contr.: lugoutultigw.
elugów'nu, nusgw -- a workman; working woman; 252.
elugwág'an -- work, production; 321; nt-, gt-, ugt/elugwág'an(em), my, your, his work.
elugwág, -g'atem, -tema'g -- shape, mold, make prepare, accomplish, work, fabricate; 24, 270, 276, 289, 305.
elugwéi, gweigw, gútîgw -- to work; 25, 105, 222, 225, 228, 229, (275), 277.
elugweg -- v. elugóg.
elugutígël -- day of work; 203, 226, 228.
eluigenég -- seven; 23, 26, 41, 49, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 228, 317.
eluigenég'éi -- seventh; 23, 200, 201, 228.
eluigenegwei nagweg -- Sunday (7th day); 228.

dluigeneg tasiqel -- seven of them; 49, 199.

eluigeneg tesisgaq -- seventy; 199.

e. tesisg̱əsijig, tesišgaqal.

elitemasi -- to swear; 229.

elulę, luṭu, taq -- to carry, transport by water; 188, 308.

eluḻg -- v. eḻ̱g̱m.

elulsi -- to paddle one's own canoe; 308.

elum, men, elug -- to show; 273.

contr.: lu/tes.

elumag̱, mat, musjel -- to point out where, show; 296.

contr.: lumuloqtew.

élumg, uten, temag -- to slander, to tell tales; 301.

eḻ̱p̱eg̱, ṯ̱ma -- to carry on one's back; 181.

nt/elasug -- (my)/son-in-law; 30, 214.

nt/łussegsjw -- my/daughter-in-law.

elutaq̱, ten, temag -- to imitate in speech, to mimic; 289, 297.

eluta̱̱n -- enclosure, fence; 229.

elutemenag̱ -- piece of slander; tales; 301.

elutemenag̱igeṉ, geigw, getigw; elutemenag̱igeṉ -- to tell tales, to hawk baleful news, to make slander; 101, 301.

contr.: lutemanigw-

emelsistaq -- to frighten; 89.

emelsistaqemai, man, mat -- to dream, see, hear, to imagine strange things, to have bad premonitions; 89.

emelsistaqemawei -- phantasmagoria; 89.

em̱̱j̱g -- v. ej.

em̱̱j̱tuig̱, tul, tuin, tuitu -- to lend to someone; 102, 164, 175, '275. 'contr.: má̱g̱tuwias.

em̱̱j̱tuigejtau -- to borrow; 171.

em̱̱j̱gen -- v. mej̱gen.

dmitu̱̱galg̱, atem, temag; dmitu̱̱galg̱ -- to visit; 214, 306, 317.

contr.: mitu̱̱galas.
empie -- one foot (measure); 24, 204–205 [< Fr. un pied].

emtesgi, gin, git -- to be arrogant, proud; 45, 70, 245, 258.

fut.: mtes- or metes--.

emtoñwalg, atem -- to praise; 170, 187.

contr.: metoñwalanej.

emtugugußi -- to kneel down; 76.

contr.: mutgugußi--

enagei, geigv, ĝatigv -- to extend the branches of the plant; 266.

enèg, ēnet, ēnajel; entu -- to lose; 16, 20, 120, 136, 184, 247, 251, 257, 275.

enègæ, nènæg; ĝam, ĝasæg, ĝol, ĝain -- to stop, to prevent (with force); 298.

enegalv, -lag -- gallon(s); 205.

enègælag, tu, taq; nènægælag -- to stop, hinder; 133, 303, 307.

contr.: nègalas.

enègasæiv, nègasæiv, nègæi, nègæeg -- immediately; 22, 76, 133, 224, 225, 227.

enègætem -- to measure; 270.

enègægiæn -- pound (wt.), (added to each number); 205.

enigæi -- to carry a burden on the shoulders; 266.

enntana -- v. eln tana.

ènog -- I tell it to you [cf. el]; 248.

èntu.-- v. èneg; 16, 120, 136, 251, 275.

entugugtemæ -- v. netugugtemæ.

ènusit -- he is lost; 184.

Ep -- Eve; 16, 42, 45, 210, 254, 256.

epægasæ, ĝaseæ -- to warm (a stove, iron, hair); 182.

epægægænæ, epægætej -- stove; 182.

epægæwægæ, ĝweæsem -- to put away by digging, to put aside; 182.

epæsi -- to be seated, to sit down; 16, 18, 76, 285.

epægwwijæn, jing, gwiæg -- to be in (deep) water on the side; 273.

epægæswut/igtug -- in/means; 136, 306.

epægægiæn(ei) -- a piece of silver, worth about 20 sous; 120.

epægætaæg, ěpægætaæg, ěpægætag -- on high; 230, 231.

epægesænæg -- from the south; 106.

epægewægæ, pgewæg -- below; 230, 261, 308.

epægewægal -- on the side below; 230.

epægewæiæ -- (I) go down; 33, 42, 230, 235.

contr.: pgewæiæ.
epgumagan -- v. prugumagan.
epâ, epin, épit -- to be (seated); 13, 18, 20, 26, 33, 46, 70, 206, 248, 249, 251, 258, 276, 277, 302.
contr.: é
epitésnâi -- to make bread, to bake; 268.
epit -- woman, wife; 13, 26, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 42, 45, 47, 48, 51, 75, 120, 134, 149, 185, 208, 211, 236, 248, 251, 253, 279, 291, 302, 313; nt/epitea, gt-, ugt/epitemal.
epitéjij -- little girl; 48, 136, 277.
epitejijui -- to be a little girl; 279.
epites -- girl; 9, 13, 14, 35, 47, 48, 251, 257, 272, 279, 309, 313, 317.
epitésu -- to be a girl; 263, 279.
epitéwi -- to be a woman; 263, 279, 313.
epitéwiel, wîegiw, wiatígw -- to genuflect, bend the knee; 103, 267.
contr.: pitwiatori!
epitéjij -- little woman, dear creature; 48.
emegwiging, emegwiung; gutg -- to have the head inclined; 122, 273.
eméfígâi, gât -- my, ... his side; 88, 217, 235.
emetug -- to the side; 230.
emetug augti -- sidewalk; 230.
emegtej(g) -- stove(s); 37, 182; [v. also spâgasigen]
Émégteg -- Rivière-du-Loup; 249, 251.
emsetgun -- branches; 189.
emegwâ -- v. pâgswâsem.
emegwesawel/tew -- v. pesgswesawei.
epsem -- to warm (a thing); 270.
èpsi, -in, it -- have a fever; be warm, hot; 16, 70, 251, 261.
èptâgan -- plate; 36, 182, 212, 257, 279; èptâgan -- pl.
èptâg -- it gets hot, it is hot; 70, 250, 251, 257, 258, 270.
epuneg -- v. apuneg.
èss -- shellfish; clam; 16.
èsâg, esam -- to hunt, to chase [someone, something]; 18, 20, 120, 142, 147, 178, 179, 193, 227, 249, 251.
contr.: sa/tes.
eselgei, gen, get -- to (be) give(ing) as food; 187.
eselg, eselem -- to give as food; 187.
esemeg, suetu -- to give to eat, to nourish, furnish food to; 120, 127, 134, 183, 187, 249, 251.
contr.: sem/æs, pæutu/tes.
etmag, etawei -- to ask for, to beseech, to seek, implore, collect; 20, 22, (47), 197, 250, 300, 302, 306, 317.
etas, etas uen -- each one; each one in his turn; 212, 291.
etasit, etasig -- who is next.
etaswej nàvèg -- each day (of the week).
etasewei -- (marks rank) each; 201.
etasunìlìgw -- walk two by two; 212.
etas uen -- v. etas.
etawàtsemai -- to beg for oneself; 264, 300.
contr.: tawàtsematug.
etawalseug, seut, seujel -- to pray for, to intervene, to intercede for someone, to ask for another.
contr.: tawalsewas.
etawei -- I ask, collect, beggar; [v. etmag].
etog -- v. øim.
etogàjioq -- you follow one after another; 212.
etogaspenigél -- [v. øim.]
etòlemit -- to smile; to laugh; 259.
eteltesing, teog -- to beat (heart); 273.
eteltuli -- to build a canoe there; 70.
etemawa, aine, aig -- to come after; 74, 230.
etemaw -- next, in the following place; 230.
etemawog, øemawig, øemawit -- who, that comes next, the second; 230.
etenapenigél -- [v. teñmag.]
etogesnug -- from the west; 106.
etogwìm, anem, gowig -- to run; 121, 276, 277.
contr.: tugwiþes; altogwìm -- to run here and there; gishtogotogwgìm -- to run around, in a circle.
etogañig, ãgøm, ãgømàg; tetogañem -- to stay with someone, somewhere; to remain in his properties or surroundings; to reside, make one’s residence there; to remain there always without being from there; 118, 210, 230, 232, 277, 305. [cf. apeañem]
etolemit -- to be busy laughing; 259.
etoliswi -- to chat, to chat, to chat, to gossip, speak; 135, 275, 277.
etoliogwì, ãweigw, ãgitigw -- to speak, to chat; 105.
etili -- (progressive); 143, 189, 230, 260, 261, 268, 285, 299, 316.
etiligwì, ãweigw, gùtilìgwg -- to push; 106.
etil nàgìtìmèl, etil nàgìtìmèl -- stations; 260.
étnéq, nºl, néíq -- to tempt, betray, deceive, scandalize [usu. in comp.]; 298.
etoq, étuqjig -- he makes his nest, they make their nest; 136.
etoqwatering, teq -- (to be) well supported, deep-rooted; 273.
etqenetoq -- v. teqman.
etuíl -- Edward; 25.
etug -- perhaps; 27, 56, 57, 75, 120, 149, 153, 163, 206, 210, 233, 234, 238, 239, 250, 251, 258, 259, 274, 276, 293, 308, 309, 317.
etugaméweg -- v. etugaméweg.
etugjlo -- perhaps, perhaps as well, probably, that should be, maybe; 56, 234, 250, 317.
etug suíq -- perhaps, indeed; 56, 234.
etugaméweg, étuqaméweg -- scapular; 14, 37, 296.
[singular does not exist]
etuí -- v. etuí.
etuígasig -- written inside and outside; 230.
etuí panuq, etuípanuq -- open on two sides; 230.
etuíx, etuí -- on two sides, on both sides; 230, 236.
etuíx gámívomel -- side-aisle (of a church); 236.
etuíli -- to build a canoe; 53, 70, 259, 281.
etuipanuq -- v. etuí, panuq.
étqaméwasi, sin, sit; étqaméwasi -- to be made flesh; 71, 318.
fut.: wágw-. 
etqamétu -- to change something into flesh; 196; étuqamétu -- I change it into his flesh.
etuíwí -- to be flesh, man; 279.
etuíwíwisaq -- [v. étuqaméwasi]
etuawí, in, it -- have, possess; 23, 74, 294, 302, 312.
etuawí the lightning before the storm; 123.
etuawí -- [use oneself]; 292.
etuawí -- there is room; 23, 262, 1292.
etuawí -- there is not room; 23.
etuq, wuq, nawái; sum -- to use, to employ; 17, 23, 120, 179, 186, 255, 289, 293, 302.
no contr.
etuq -- v. àli.
etuqjat -- adoptive father; 279.
etuqji -- to have a father; 26, 50, 75, 210, 279, 292, 314.
éugjímg, ujímg -- to have a father; 215, 216 (declension).

eugjípugúfìsi -- to trample under foot; 260.

eugjísìn, nen, ng -- to be stretched out on; 122.
    contr.: ugisìntes.

eug{s}aní -- v. awsanìw.

eug{s}imí -- to speak too much, exaggerate, deceive in words; 301.

eug{g}simìt -- to be mistaken; 301.

eugul -- v. aujìgul.

ewiği, gã, gat -- to build; 88.
    contr.: wiga/tes.

ewiği -- to be written, painted, described; 193.

ewigatem, men, tg -- to build; 117, 136.
    contr.: wigatìtes.

ewigem, men, ãeg -- to write, describe, mark, photograph; 119, 147, 170, 172, 181, 193, 194, 233, 276.
    contr.: ã

éwigí -- to have a residence (in general); 279, 283.
    contr.: ã

éwigígeí, -èn, -êt -- to write; 55, 57, 93-100, 101, 137, 222.
    contr.: wigíge-

ewigígesímí -- to have a pencil; 283.

ewigígesínam, nàç, noltìgìw -- to use a pencil; 283.

ewigígesug, ut, uajel -- to write for someone; 175.

ewigímesí -- to be/have a relative, ally, friend, near kin, relation by marriage, neighbor; 55, 313.
    wigímesítes -- I'll have one.

éwigípí -- the sea is clam, it is calm; 30, 274.

éwigitìg -- oscillate; 274.

éwigítìg, tem -- to name, to give a name to; 26, 51, 117, 118, 136, 142, 147, 151, 182, 250, 251, (262), 310.
    contr.: wite.

éujgái, gan, gat -- to have an adoptive father; 263.
    contr.: ujgates.

éulamug -- puny; 136.

éulamugsi, sin, sit -- to appear miserable; 71.

éuléí -- to be miserable, worthy of pity; to lie; 190, 191, 197, 219.

éuléías -- to treat someone badly, shamefully; to take badly; to be of a bad attitude; 191, 219, 294.
SULEJI

Suleji, in, it léjg -- to be poor, miserable, a pauper: 23, 40, 43, 55, 70, 197, 211, 219, 260, 288.

Suléjiimu -- pauper: 252.

Sulgutai, sulgam -- to be poorly dressed: 265, 269.

Suli -- misery, pity: 219, 267, 276.

Suligwe, gweigw, gultigw -- to push badly: 106.

Sulistağ, tem, temê -- to listen with benevolence: 184, 296.

Sulîtêlemeg, têtem -- to have pity, compassion, mercy, to be merciful: 45, 55, 72, 103, 193, 211, 219, 224, 241, 255, 258, 266, 276, 312.

Sulîtêlemugusi, sin, sit -- to be an object of pity, of compassion: 72.

Sulîtêlgei, eigw, atigw -- to have compassion: 103.

Sulitetegei -- (to) have compassion, mercy, pity; to be merciful: 55, 219, 224, 255, 258, 266, 276.

Sulîjewêji -- to be poor, little, miserable, puny, weak: 197.

(colloquial language)

Sultegağ -- to meet sadly: 295.

Sum, uuman, eug -- [v. uêg].

Sunasi -- (mental) disorder: 219.

Sunasiet -- to be attacked, worried by it; deranged, crazy: 23, 219.

Sunasitsîi -- (I) think, (I) am worried by it: 219.

Sunasitelemeg -- (I) think he is worried by it: 219.

Sündi, nêg -- to be dark, blue, foggy: 254, 262.

Sündêwe, bluing [for washing]: 262.

Swojemanîg -- to be more distant relations, cousins: 313.

Süpêniag -- the weather (wind) is calm (after a storm): 107, 268.

Süpôlagiağ -- the wind turns with the sun: 267.

Swsami -- very, excessively, too; 50. [cf. wasami]

-g -- animate plural ending: 36 et passim.

-g -- locative plural ending, abbreviation (? of -istug, in, on; 45 et passim.

gâ -- v. gaksi.

gaxas, gaxais(aj), -istetal -- several times: 49, 61, 91, 123, 143, 149, 226, 257.

Gaxaisi -- [finish talking]; 143.

Gaxaisugunağ -- several days: 91.

Mu gaxaisugunağtanug -- not many days.
gañalúgweí — (my) work is finished; 223.

gañamataí — to be patient, agreeable, prepared to render service; 197.

gañamatawalséíweí, waígw, waígw — to be a reconciler, mediator,
a bondsman; 102.

gañamatawalséulígw — he is our reconciler; our mediator.

gañamataluséseg — to be put in the place of another, to serve as a
security, guarantee, as an answerable mediator, to interpose
oneself (used only for Christ); 176, 197.

gañam — stand up; 17, 70.

gañamútem — to endure, be patient, constant; 118, 272.

gañam — door; cloth door of a tepee; 205, 238, 284.

[< gañi + nang]

gañapemug — 228.

gañapéjín — v. añapéjín.

gañapétseg — he sees all (things); 223, 269.

[< gañi + anápétsegel]

[gañg]agel — v. gañgagel.

gañggaeg — rough; 267.

gañggaeg, gañggaeg — he supports all; 223, 269.

[< gañi + gelgagel]

gañggaem — recite all; 20, 183, 245.

gañggauméseg — that is achieved; 223.

gañggauménseg — to read, recite, count all; 223, 261, 318.

[cf. gañggaem]

[gañi] — completely (pertains to quantity); 20, 32, 75, 76, 221, 223,
245, 261, 269, 303, 308.

[gañíeí] — I am finished, at the end; I know no more of it; 223.

[gañiag], gañiag — that is finished.

gañiemen, temen, teg — to grieve, moan, bawl; 271.

gañiag — burnt, consumed; 89, 182, 222, 258.

gañiag, saem — to burn; 182.

gañiag — [burn oneself]; 89.

[gañitlóeg] — v. tagitlóeg.

gañitseg — burnt; 182, 267.

gañituweg — it thunders; 91, 143.

[gañituweg] — it is thundering, there is some thunder, the thunder;
91, 143, 264.
Gain — Cain; 210, 256.
n/gaji’en, g-, ugwajigen — my, your, his leg; 318.

gaju(ŋ) — wild pepper(s); 38.
gajewgj, gajewgj — cat; 14, 24, 29, 37 [cf. miawj].
gal — one-fourth; 20, 203, 205, 245. [< Fr. quart]
galgiś — one-fourth; 24, 205. [< Fr. quartier]
galgunéwëi — biscuit; 23.
gališu — caribou; 18.
galipuť — shovel; 18.

gamäši, agamäši — to get up and stand upright, raise oneself; 17, 76, 260.
contr.: gamäši.

Gamawg — 258.
Gamaw̱ticing — on the other side of the road; 231.
Gamag — on the other side (river valley, etc.); 231, 247, 249, 251.
Gamagwomel — 236.
Gamituesi — to quarrel, fight, to grab by the hair; 269.
Gamalxz(i)ng(el) — respiration(s), breath(s), minute(s), second(s); 203.

n/galamun — heart; n/galamun, u/galamun, my, his heart; 28, 29, 89, 118, 179, 180, 189, 193, 219, 235, 257, 274, 318.

Gamsoğ — rocks on the other side; Canso; 231, 249.
Gamu(ŋ) — cake with fat; 27, 38, 245.
Ganipewaj — Abenakis; 37.
Ganipewaŋ — pl.

Gantawagi — Caughnawaga, Canada; 22.
Gaplieł — Gabriel; 245, 251, 258.
Gas — train, wagons; 20, 245.
[< Eng. gas]

Gasagañ, gams — to clean (a gun); 298.
Gasātu — to obliterate; 133, 178.
Gasawoğ — iron; 22.
Gasawoğaši — iron wire; 22.
Gasawoğwei — iron instrument, of iron; 22, 255.
Gasawoğwei awgti — railroad (road of iron); 22.
Gasgëg — on the shore; 231.
gasgemtəlnənən, ɡənijig, ɡənal -- one hundred; 41, 199, 200, 205.
gasgemtəlnənənəniɡ -- 100 dollars; 202, 320.
gasgemtəlnənənpənəi -- be 100 years old; 90.
gasgemtəlnənənumunit -- this is the 100th day; he's 100 days old; 202.

gasgəw, ɡəso -- wait, stop, listen, hold it an instant (all pleasant); softly; 23, 27, 194, 209, 226, 238.

ɡəso -- v. ɡəsəw.
gasgusi(g) -- cedar(s); 38, 306.
gasuigem, məgu, mutigw -- to obliterate; 269.
m/gat (el) -- foot; 29, 185, 214, 217, 281, 318.
m, g/gat, ugwət.
ɡət(aɡ) -- eel(s); 20, 181, 184, 205, 245, 254, 258.
ɡətətu/-i -- v. ɡətətu.
ɡətəjiɬ -- little eel; 254 [v. ɡət].
Gatlin -- Catherine; 246, 249, 251, 314.
gatu, sətu -- but; 14, 17, 18, 27, 30, 32, 89, 136, 151, 177, 185, 205, 209, 233, 234, 237, 238, 239, 251, 257, 258, 259, 265, 269, 270, 276, 280, 281, 284, 293, 295, 302, 320 [cf. məgatu]
gəwatgu(g) -- spruce(s); 38.
gəwatguɬ -- spruce beer, beer; 22, 38.
gəw(g) -- porcupine quill(s); 38, 305.
gəwəsəw, -aɡ -- thorn(s), prickle(s); 38.
ge, gəj, gəseɡ -- let's go, courage, it's your turn, try, here is, there is; go ahead and... [cf. na] 11, 14, 17, 18, 26, 182, 183, 233, 235, 237, 245, 251, 268, 276.
gegenceːting -- v. ɡəgenceːting.
geget -- before long, already, about to; 43, 107, 225, 226, 242, 245, 276.
geginəməɡ, mat, muajel -- to show, instruct, form the intelligence; 192, 296.
egəginəməsəi -- to be instructed (in intellectual endeavor), to be taught, to learn; 35, 143, 151, 192, 225, 235, 268.
contr.: ginəmə-.
egəginəməsəti(1) -- lesson(s); 40.
esəməswẽwGI eginəməsətu -- first lesson.
egəginəmAting(ela) -- doctrine(s); 121, 136, 285.
contr.: ginəmamu-.
egəginəməswi, egiw, atigw -- to show (speaking of the intelligence), to teach, e.g., to read, speak, pray; 35, 43, 151, 192, 221, 225, 235, 268, 276, 286.
contr.: ginəmə-.
egəginuʃəgaɬənəg -- I make them know it; 164.
geginugwatağanit — it is a sign; 189, 276.
geginumtağ — to make know, to teach how to work; 296.
geginumtağasi — to be instructed (in non-intellectual endeavor); 268.
geginumtağasei — to show how to do (a non-intellectual thing, as work); 268.
geginug — certainly; 245, 251.
geginuwag — the top of a hill; 231.
geginuwag — on top of a hill; 231.
geginuwanam — to lie down clothed; 283.
geginuwatutiel — they load; 320.
geginuweg, geginuwei — on high, above; upstairs; 25, 231.
geginuwegel — from above; 231.
geginuwe — v. geginuweg.
geginuwait — 38.
gegi — v. ge.
gegi, gazeg — for example, let’s see, try, it’s your turn; 20, 143, 183, 233, 237, 245, 251, 289.
geginuwe, geginuwiei — to have the hiccups; 267.
geginuji, jul, jin, jitu — to know, to be acquainted with, to know that one is...; 44, 135, 136, 152, 156, 168, 175, 178, 180, 187, 188, 205, 208, 211, 227, 237, 257, 276, 285, 290, 312. contr.: giji—.
geginujiav — v. geginujiow.
geginujiowgel — quite recently; 226.
geginujiow, -gaw,— go — lastly, it is not long since; 63, 226.
geginujiowgijig — a small moment ago; 226.
geginujiow — v. geginujiow.
geginujiowusi, sin, sit — to be known; 72, 283.
agiijinuan — cheek; 319. ugiijinuan, g-, u/gwejinuan.
geginujiowem, men, lg; geginujiow — to attach, to bind, to tie up to the pier; 119, 188, 269. contr.: gijiowites.
géjisi, sin, sit — to know oneself; 72.
gejitu — [v. gejíjok]
gél — towards; 235.
gelağa, ćam, čama, ćol, ćain — to put in chains; 298.
gelağa — to be in chains; 298.
gelağa — to put (people) in chains; 298.
gelağa — constable; 298.
ngelamugis, g-, u- = el — uncle (generic term of respect and consideration); 46, 316.
gelaptanág — at the home of/the blacksmith; 46.
gelatgwétä — to nail; 180.
gélđeq, otem, teq — to protect, hold, observe; 295.
gelentes) — v. gélne.
géléş, ğwajel — to hold tight under oneself; 296.
gélgen, men, geg — to rule, to sustain, to support; 223, 269.
gelšaw, -teq — raspberry(ies); 22, 34, 36.
gélji, gélte — it is frozen; 70, 245.
gélnegei — to be a godfather or godmother; 184.
gélne, men, neg — to hold; 119, 174, 184, 269, 270, 277.
gélne, gélne.
ngelnigen, g-, u- = el — my, your, his godchild; 29, 184, 315.
geloğowéji((i)g) — star(s), heavenly body, sun; 26, 34, 38, 174, 254, 257, 284, 308, 312.
geloğowéjemi — to have stars; they shine; 174, 284.
geloğowéjig(g) — little star(s); 308.
geloğowéjui — to be a star; 284.
geloğowéjima — the stars appear; 107.
gelpilasit — to be attached, laced; 261.
gelpilg — [v. gejípila]
gelteg — v. gélji.
gelujiéswémi — v. gulújíswí.
gelulg — v. gelusi.
gelupsi(aq) — falcon(s); 37.
Gelusgap, Glusgap — Glooscap, hero of the Micmac legends; 179, 245, 253, 285.
gelusgapeñ, glusgapeñ — to lie, deceive, be a liar, be clever; 220, 283.
gelusi, sin, sit; gelulg, utem, temâg -- to speak to someone; 10, 14, 53, 70, 71, 143, 188, 197, 219, 242, 245, 251, 257, 276, 308, 309.
gelûsi, -sin, -sit, gelûlg -- good, beautiful; 29, 40, 43, 62, 63, 64, 70, 71, 87, 122, 142, 143, 164, 175, 188, 190, 208, 209, 212, 224, 230, 242, 245, 251, 257, 276, 281, 308, 309, 319.
gelûsiei -- (I) become good; 190.
Gelûsit -- the Beautiful, the Good(above all), God; 71.
gelusuağan -- word; 71, 245, 270, 289.
gelûsuţi -- beauty; 71.
geluţem, gwiluţem -- to ask for, to reclaim, to seek in words, to make inquiries; 197, 272.
contr.: gluttes.
geluţemelseug -- to speak for, to intercede; 294.
gemeniéwi -- to partake of the sacrament; 263.
gemeniéüti -- [v. gemniéüti]
gemetginağ -- [your territory]; 276. [v. -metgi]
gemniéüti; gemeniéüti; gumniéüti -- communion; 26, 222, 235, 246, 251.
piltui gemniéüti -- first communion; 26.
gemséñem -- [v. mesneg.]
gemten(g) -- mountain(s); 38, 189, 257, 274, 316.
gemuj(e)l -- wood, tree (standing); 38, 189, 236, 247, 273, 276, 277, 284, 289.
gemujemi -- to have wood, a tree; 284.
gemusnuğwei -- to steal firewood; 267.
gemutâmg, ćem, temâg -- to steal his property from someone; 187, 301.
[cf. gemutnalg]
gemutnalg -- to steal; 187, 301. gemutnei -- to steal; 268.
gemutnes -- thief; 194.
gemutnèsuoğwomin -- den of thieves; 275.
gên -- thank you; 20, 174, 238, 245.
genâg -- far; 153, 231, 309.
genêjîjg -- a little far; 231.
gensgitelemeg -- to scorn; 300, 309.
gên weñaln -- v. weñaln, gân.
génug, génuguj, génugadj, génugwéj, gunuğwéj -- although, without doubt; 234, 237.

gępög -- obstructed, Quebec; 248.

gēpēnlol(ağ) -- governor(s); 37, 74, 252, 284.

gēpēnolemi; noligonwom -- to have a governor; a woman governor; 284.

gēpēnolewi -- to be governor; 284.

gēpētal -- [v. gēpētaig]

gēpētalēl -- towards the heights, altitudes; 231.

gēpētalig -- that is above; 51, 77, 258;

contr.: gēpētalig.

gēpijoğtem, temen, teğ; gēpijoğom, men göğ -- to plug up (a hole);

to block up (a door); to obstruct; 112, 120, 271.

contr.: gēpijoğtes -oön.

gēpmag -- illustrious, worthy, holy; 245, 300.

gēpsim -- indicates honor, respect; 220.

gēpmîləmeg, tātem, temag -- to honor internally, to venerate, esteem,

to revere; 44, 118, 220, 258, 259, 261, 300, 313, 321.


gēpmîləmegusit -- revered; 261.

gēpmîləmegusit -- Reverend; 261.

gēpsağatu -- to close with a key, to lock; 133.

gēpînê/tut -- captains (voc); 46.

ges -- go away!, go lie down! (to a dog); 20, 238, 245, 251.

gesajyet -- exotic, animal in captivity; 269.

gesagu, gun, gug -- to be loved; 193.

gēsâlag, tû, tāg -- to ruin, destroy, lose, burn; 85, 187, 272, 303.

gēsalig, -ît, -lajel, atem -- to love, like; 18, 28, 29, 37, 72, 89, 

117, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 186, 187, 189, 

191, 192, 193, 194, 204, 210, 211, 242, 251, 257, 258, 281, 295, 

313, 315, 318.

contr.: gēsaligu, gun, gug -- to be amiable; 135.

contr.: gēsaligu, gun, gug -- you are very kind.

gēsaligu, sin, sit -- to be loved, liked, beloved, preferred; 51, 

70, 72, 135, 183, 189, 193, 257, 298.

contr.: gēsaligu, sin, sit -- to love oneself; 72, 192.

contr.: gēsaligewei -- charity?; 139.

contr.: gēsaligewei -- to love (intr.); to be loving; 17, 18, 191, 220, 223, 

251, 268.
gésamg, ap'tam, temağ -- to see shine; 300.
gésamquisit, mugsit -- glorious, to be glorified, appear brilliant; 71, 183, 255, 300.
gésamgsijig -- brilliant; 257.
gésamug -- brilliant; 136.
gésamugsit -- v. gésamquisit.
gésamugsuti -- glory; 180, 255.
gesaññuğusei -- to speak solemnly; to swear (purposely); 267.
gesatagei -- to love (intr.); 191.
gesatem, gesatg -- [v. gesalq]
gesatşatemegep -- 277.
gesätu -- to burn, to destroy; 133.
gésé -- [v. ges]
gésel, -eiağ -- to be careful; 220.
gésélag, otem, temaq -- to treat with dignity, to look after; 295.

contr.: geselq.
gésemülg, len, lin, lit, lig -- to please; 308.
géséuli -- to like, be pleased by; 136, 149, 188, 276.
gesg -- v. ges.

[gesä] -- be lost; contr.: gesgai. [q.v.]
gesgajig -- [hurt by putting oneself on]; 265, 292.
gesgağtu -- to lose, to demolish; 133, 1265.
gesgåp -- [v. gesgajig]; 292.
gesgåg -- broad, wide; 245, 251, 257.
gesgelemagusepenel -- he didn’t spare him; 151.
gesgålemag, gültem, temaq -- to honor, glorify (in action); 299.
gesgelesi -- to honor, glorify oneself, to be haughty, self-loving; 299.

gesgemenag -- v. gesgemenag.
gesgemi -- promptly, before time; 226.
gesgitålemag, tåtem, temaq -- to have a great idea, great esteem (fullness); 300.
gesgul, len, lg -- heavy; 122, (205). [cf. gauq]

contr.: gausultes.
gesgul, len, lin, lit, lig -- to overload; 308.
gesgumenag -- v. gesgemenag.
gesgusgag -- to attain exactly; 295.
gesi -- v. gēi.
gesi mgotig -- dearest, very dear; 241.
gesi puqwi -- very, excessively, too; 50.
gésie -- to be honored; 220.
gésig -- (it is) winter; 43, 77, 245, 251, 257, 258.
gesin -- last winter.
gesinug -- next winter.
gesigaw -- fast; 259.
gesigawelmit -- he laughs fast.
gesigawamgig -- it flows swiftly; 123.
gésigawajig, [gesigawā(s)i] -- go fast; 209.
gesigawitugwa -- to run fast; 273.
gesigenatasiel -- 261.
gésinugwai, an, at, ač -- to be sick; 24, 84, 90, 197, 220, 254, 276.
gésinugwaji, -jiji -- to be a little sick, to have an indisposition (quite slight); 90, 197, 254.
gésinugwamgel -- sickness; 24, 33.
gesispāleg, -pātu -- to wash, to purify; 133, 186, 230, 318.
  contr.: gispi, -1-.
gésitelemeg, gésitētem -- to admire, covet, esteem, appreciate, to have an exalted idea; 51, 118, 193, 270, 300.
  contr.: gisiţētes.
gesitesin -- to fall on land; 273.
gesmenač -- to offer; 178.
gesmenematimgewi -- sacrifice; 178.
gésmi -- to push on, progress, pressure, advance; 220, 231.
gésmei -- shove forward, advance, progress; 24.
gésmutāg, ṭol, ṭeín, ṭot -- to touch, push (with the elbow); 298.
gesmug, gut, swajel -- to make sick, hurt, to make suffer; 294.
gésaşamgig -- the end of the world; 245, 251.
gésopāleg, tu, tač -- to use, spend; 303.
  contr.: gespatoč.
gespēg -- extremity, Gaspē; 245, 248.
géspetēg, gētu aşantāwing -- Saturday; 89, 203, 225, 228, 251, 258.
gespia - -- the end; 226, 257.
gespiag - that is the end; 226.
gespiagawa - I am the last; 76.
gespi atugsit, gespiatugsit, gespiatogst - the end of the story;
226, 239, 261.
gespigisg - -- the last day; 284.
gespigigensmi, ming -- to have the last day, to see it; 284.
gespiscotelg, telem, lema - to gird, encircle; 307.
    contr.: gespisotelutev.
gespugawaegi, -eigw, -tagatigw - to deceive; 103, 178, 220, 267,
    282, 303, 310.
    contr.: gespugawagee/tès.
gastunpi, pilim, lema - to strangle; 307.
gastunpilai - to hang oneself; 307.
getaqama(s)i - to taste; 264, 307.
getaqamota, telem, lema - to give to taste; 307.
getaqamug - in the rear part of the hut, place of honor; 231.
getalgiwu, gut, gwajel - to tear the eyes away from someone; 294.
getàma, metem, tema - to consent, to give an exemption, a favorable
   response; 296.
   contr.: gtamu.
getamatimagewi - exemption, dispensation; 296.
getan/astita - to hunt, gather; 32, 39.
getang, getantu - to detest, to pursue, to hunt, to take (game);
   732, 739, 51, 104, 184, 204, 210, 236, 322.
getan/itgig - [be on the back of]; 257.
getantege - to pursue, to detest, to hunt; 104.
   contr.: getantegetès.
gétantimagewi - 236.
getafa, fa - to be inundated; flood; 92, 179, 265.
   contr.: gatafa/gig.
getafasu - to sink (slowly); 122.
getafaqei, eigw, iatigw - to sing; 103, 135, 197, 276, 294.
   contr.: gatafegiées.
getapei, pejig, petijig - to plunge; 268.
getapetesis, teag - to fall under the water, to plunge; 122, 273.
getafolg, potu, tağ - to push under water, to submerge, immerse; 135,
   188, 307.
getatgeweg - it threatens (death); 107.
getel -- in truth, truly; 183, 187, 233, 234, 238, 245, 248.
gëtel étug -- without doubt; in truth; 234, 238.
gëtel oû, gëtel oûj -- yes, indeed, truly, in effect, is it possible, is it so? without doubt, in truth, it is unquestionable, nothing truer; 233, 238.
gëtel ëa -- yes truly, in truth; 233.
getgaleg -- get (someone) drunk;
  contr.: gëtagalinen (q.v.)
gëtgiëi -- to become intoxicated, to be drunk (insulting language, even if true); 24, 103, 237, 245.
gëtgiotì -- drunkenness; 220, 276.
  contr.: wini gëtgioti -- nasty drunkenness.
gëtgiotësin, ng, sg -- to fall backwards; 273.
gëtgiotëstu -- to reverse; 275.
gëtgunì -- (to) sleep there; 231.
  contr.: gëtgunin.
gëtlamsetà, tem, temà -- to believe someone; 56-57, 72, 118, 119, 153, 183, 221, 270, 297, 309.
  contr.: gëtelam-
gëtlamsetasi, sin, sit -- to believe (inwardly), to hold as true; 33, 51, 72.
gëtlamsetëm -- [v. gëtlamsetà]
gëtlamsetëwinù -- a believer, a faithful one; 252.
gëtleweì, getleweìwaà -- truth; 23, 143, 189, 264, 284, 297.
gëtleweìwàgani -- I am truth; 278.
gëtmeìseg, sem -- to burn completely; 182.
gëtmeseng(ël) pegtnematimgweì, (wel) -- holocaust(s); 182.
gëtmesimgweì -- holocaust; 265.
gëtpijit -- retailer, small merchant, huckster; 252.
getteg -- v. teptege.
gëtu(-) -- want to; 32, 90, 203, 239, 281, 282, 294.
gëtu, -n, -g -- to cry, to proclaim, to yell; to toll, ring -- 135, 265.
  contr.: gëtu-j.
gëtu aëntiàwìng -- v. gëspetàg.
gëtuang -- to want to kill; 184.
gëtuapsì -- I want to profit by it; 73.
gëtug -- it sounds (e.g., bell), he sings; 226, 254, 265.
getugsi

getugsi -- to want, need to sleep, to be sleepy; 220, 261.
getuqwa -- at the signal of the bell, when one strikes; 135, 226.
gətu (to) want, wish, precede; 27, 43, 106, 120, 143, 174, 188, 211, 220, 228, 231, 232, 233, 257, 261, 268, 277, 293, 295, 296, 297, 303, 305, 310, 320.
getui ağıntiswimel -- Saturday (last day before Sunday); [cf. gəspat] 228.
getufai, ıtulgu -- to drive into (e.g., a nail); 265.
getupg, ıtutsem -- to want to taste, to eat, to feel the appetite; 162.
gewug -- a piece of chopped wood; 274.
gewatu -- to knock down, to upset; 133.
gewji, jin, jit; gewji -- to be cold; 23, 55, 70, 260;
contr.: gujites.
gewgunawet, wajig -- godfather, godmother; 315.
gewgunem, men, ng -- to have, to hold in the hand, to carry in the arms; 39, 119, 140, 166, 170, 185, 257, 283, 309, 320.
contr.: gujumz.
gewgunewai, weigu, nautigw -- to hold, to be a godfather or godmother; 106. [cf. gewgunawet]

n/gewunit, g/-, gewunijel -- my, your, his godfather or godmother; 46, 185, 315. [cf. gewgunawet]
gewunag -- v. gewunag.
gewunujjig -- [v. gewunem]
gewunag (for gewunag) -- godmother; 46, 185.
gedei -- to become feeble; 133.
gewisin, -nen, -ng -- be hungry; 9, 14, 121, 175, 249, 273.
gewji, -in, -it -- [v. gewjii]
geum, gewmen, geug -- to fell trees; 120.
getai -- v. wēgai.
giasgiv -- exactly; 220.
giasgiwwej -- exactitude; 220.
gig -- pointed, sharp; 20, 245, 251.
giğajiv, giğaji, giğat -- in resisting, in spite of all, in doing incessantly; 210, 220.
giğamgun(g) -- pole(s) (for guiding boat); 38, 248, 257.
giğat -- v. giğajiw.
giğatmotɵ -- insubordinate conduct; 220.
gişılwewj, goğoligwewj, giğilwewj -- chicken, cock; 135, 254.
gigelgwajj [g] -- [chick(s)]; 255.
gigelgwami -- to sing, to crow; 259.
gigjasimg -- to approach; 231.
gigjw -- near (there); 231, 232, 277.
gigelgwajj [v. gigelgwajj]
gigpesag -- it is raining, it rains; 91, 248.
gigpesan -- rain; 284, 309.
gigpesanemi -- to have some rain; 284.
gigpesanig -- there is some rain; 284.
gigpoweg -- dew; 274.
gigtatotesin -- to jump in a circle, to whirl around, to fall in turning; 122, 273.
gigtatotesinit -- turn; 38, 268.
gigtatotesini -- to turn (the millstone); 231.
gigtatu -- v. givat.
gigtatulasatumag -- way of the cross (a mass at, e.g., Good Friday); 231.
gigtatu -- v. gohjatu.
gigtau -- gihjau.
gigtawgjai(w) -- v. gohjati(w).
gigtawgjei -- v. gohjatei.
gigtawgjinit, ng -- to hold the head upright; 273.
gigtatettel -- [upright]; 153.
gigtatu -- v. gohjatu.
gij -- [v. egam]
n/gij, g/-, u/gwijel -- my, your, his mother; 17, 18, 23, 26, 29, 45, 46, 204, 214, 215, 220, 223, 282, 302, 317 [cf. wegwijim]
gijga, gijgaj -- a little; 27, 50, 223, 227, 245, 290.
gijgajig -- a small quantity; a dash; 223.
giju -- mother, mommy; you, my mother [voc.]; 17, 18, 46, 215, 251, 314.
gflew, gilow -- you (plural); 23, 44, 46, 158, 180, 184, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 237, 259, 263, 276, 277, 278, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 313, 321.

gfléwai -- your(s); 23, 41, 213.
gfléwin -- it is you; 207.
gfléwowe -- your (pl); 23, 213.
gilje/tès -- v. giljres.
gflow -- v. gilow.
gis -- [v. gisic]
giséstu, gisitug, gisitug -- to (speak in a) whisper, speak low, in secret; 188, 221, 238, 261.
gisi -- secretly; 221.
gisitug, gisitug -- [v. giséstu]
ginasu, ginamating, ginamast -.v. gisic.
ginap -- giant, hero, warrior; 37, 44, 252, 254, 271.
ginapamugai -- to have a war-like countenance; 44.
ginapisgw -- Amazon; 44.
ginasi -- to advance; to continue, to overstrain one-self, progress, to make the end of; 76, 245, 260.
gim -- we (inc.); 17, 51, 52, 134, 144, 187, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 217, 222, 235, 245, 248, 276, 277, 295, 309, 310, 312.
ginmauti -- [let me know]; 232.
ginu -- [brag, boast]; 304.
ginuwai -- our(s); 26, 189, 213.
gipówat, gipgwat -- the middle of the afternoon; 264.
gipoğwași, -in, it -- to be inclined, to lean, be disposed to good or evil; 24, 76, 178, 260.
gipoğwásit -- (the sun) goes down; 260.
gipoğwat -- turn it; 235.
gipoğwítamgewel -- inclinations, temptations; 260.
giságis -- become full; 44.
  tpug giságis -- this morning or during last night, the moon became full.
  ulonug giságisitew -- this evening it will be full.
gisèleg, ëtu -- to do, to result, make (implies effort); 52, 68, 135, 170, 187, 309, 312 [cf. gisitul]
gisatalug -- to satisfy; 175, 208.
gisategeli -- to make, to result, to end in something; 267.

gisei, seg -- to be careful, clever, to have a good time; 295.

giselaŋ, otem, temeŋ -- to treat cleverly, with care, delicately; 295.

gis/elag] -- 268.

gis/elemasenel -- 151.

gis/ewistu/gw -- [be able to talk]; 52.

gisgaŋjöleg, ätu, taŋ -- to accomplish, to establish, prepare, make; 76, 133, 153, 180, 187, 222, 261, 303.

gisgaŋjö, éin, ëg; gisgattag -- to be prepared; 75, 232, 265.

gisgaŋjöei -- to become aware, to finish; 75.

gisgattag -- [v. gisgaŋjö]

(-)gisgeg -- day (in composition); 222, 224. [cf. gisgug]

gis gisi -- after, after it is finished (anterior past prefix; past indefinite); 53, 62, 110, 126, 151, 241.


gis -- already, after (pluperfect prefix); to be able; 51, 53, 62, 75, 110, 114, 126, 149, 151, 153, 179, 183, 185, 189, 211, 212, 221, 226, 241, 257, 259, 262, 266, 273, 276, 279, 280, 281, 284, 299, 301, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 321.

gisig, sul, sin, siŋu -- to make, to create, to manufacture (easily); 130, 175, 192, 209, 275, 292, 303.

gisigig, git, giaŋel -- to raise (a child); beget; bring up; 259, 292.

gisigū -- old, old man, ancient father, married man, chief, father of a family; who has charge of others; 32, 35, 36, 42, 143, 253, 258, 285.

n/gisigum, g-, u- -el -- my, your, his old man.

gisigū elŋat̬us -- bachelor; 35.

gisigū ēŋt̬es -- spinster; 35.

gisigugepenel -- 309.

gisigūi, in, it -- to be old; 26, 70, 190, 211, 263.

gisiguisei -- to grow old; 26, 190, 307.

gisigwigsv -- old woman, aged or married woman; 42, 221, 253, 258, 285.

(n)gisigum; -wisgom -- (my) husband; my wife; 29, 253. [cf. asigū]

gisigusem -- [he's so old]; 276.
gisi misulagwag -- afternoon; 226.
gisisi -- to develop, to be created oneself; 188, 192, 307, 309.
gišitağ , tat, tuajel -- to do something to, for someone; make something for someone; give something to someone; 58, 146, 161-172, 174, 176; [< gisitu]
gišitağan -- work, creature; 194, 285, 322.
   n/gisitağan(em), g-, u- -- my, your, his work.
gišitsi -- to be made; 138, 193, 256, 261, 283.
gišitəșei -- to make, to create (easily); 104, 175, 177, 192, 267, 293.
gišitu -- to make, to create, to carry out (without effort); 26, 33, 132, 135, 183, 187, 192, 210, 221, 238, 256, 261, 276, 283, 309.
gisna -- or; or as well; or else; 26, 33, 52, 62, 136, 143, 178, 200, 202, 210, 211, 224, 237, 245, 251, 254, 257, 258, 259, 270, 277, 285, 287, 297, 301, 310, 319.
gisogwasi -- to climb, to arrive at the heights; 260.
gispen -- as soon as; immediately when; if it occurs, occurred, by means of; once that; if once, if it happens thus; 226, 237, 302, 312.
gispenəg, nol, nəin, not -- to tire; 298.
gis sağ -- it's been a long time; formerly; 63, 228, 251.
gisteju -- slave; 285, 316.
gistejui -- to be a slave; 285.
   n/gistem, g/-, u/gistem/el -- my, your, his slave; 316.
   n/gisulğum, g/-, u/-, my, your, his God, Creator.
Gisulğowd -- to be God (creator); 285.
gisusenig -- created (ones); 210.
gi- -- v. egiŋ, egi̇tem.
giğašasi -- to be overpowered; 273.
giğašatesin, ng -- to fall from fatigue; 273.
gitg -- both; 31, 45, 52, 53, 212.
gitpu -- eagle; 245, 251.
givasgetṇağ -- (the wind) changes; 268.
giwațatem, siwațatem -- to be bored; 118, 277.
giwęsu -- musk-rat; 24.
giwtaw, giwtogwiv, giwtoğw, giğtoğwi -- around; 24, 91, 121, 189, 231.
giwtoɣotgwim -- to run around, in a circle; 121.
    contr.: giwtoɣotgwim/tes -- I will run (e.g., in baseball).

giwvw -- earthquake; 24.

giwtoɣwi(w) -- v. giwntaw.
giwmaγaj, giwmaγa -- especially, principally; 24, 181, 209, 220, 245.

giwnil(ig) -- otter(s); 24, 37;
    giwnilgewi -- of the otter.

giwtoɣwiv -- 189. [Read giwtoɣwiv, v. giwntaw]

gjí -- v. gejí.
gjí alasutmaγan(εl) -- sacrament(s); 29, 40, 49, 87.

gjí alasutmoγow -- cathedral; 49, 258.
gjíansaléwit -- archangel; 49, 258.
gjíaŋaγí -- the ocean (lit.: the great sea); 28.
gjíaŋapi -- the equator; 37.
gjíaŋlégowívgw -- empress; 48.
gjíaŋlégowit -- emperor, great king; 48, 180, 258.
gjíeluęutí -- v. gieluęutí.
gjígan -- Sydney ("the large city"); 251.
Gjígeluųsit -- the supreme Good, the Most Beautiful and the Most Good; God; 48, 71, 188, 189, 258.

Gjígelusuaγan -- the Word; 71, 140, 196.

Gjígelusutg, -tg -- white fir; 38.

gjígemug, gjígeminug -- 231, 261, 266.
gjíjaγamiŋaŋ -- [v. m/\i:\aγami\i]\n
gjíjaŋlew -- [you great devil!]; 239, 258.
gjíjitąγwinu -- a wise person, a doctor; 227, 252, 254, 264, 283, 298, 311.

gjíjiu-tes -- v. gejig.

gjíliuęutil -- capital sins, deadly sins; 29, 49.

gjímentuit -- that is a great demon, the chief of the demons; 258, 286.


gjípićiliš -- bishop; 29, 46, 48, (209), (254), 258, 321.

gjipatliaswsugsit, mug -- violet (color of the bishop); 254.

Gjípatliaswe -- to be a bishop; 209.

Gjípatliasij -- prelate; 48, 258.

Gjípil -- v. gejišilem.
gji'ipitui mt'elna'ganijig, gji'ipitui mt'elna'ganel -- one million (an., inan.); 41, 199, 200.

Gjimagnaw -- the supreme Lord; 29, 48, 154, 177, 194, 209, 258, 311.
Gjisapewit -- the most Holy One; 29, 48, 70, 189, 255, 258.
Gjisapeutil -- the theological virtues; 29, 49.

Gjisamugwamogugig -- 258.

Gji'si'pu -- large river; 49. (whereform Sissiboo, Weymouth)
Gjiwasogonesagan -- Easter candle; 255.

Gjiwgcuei -- of the Holy Family; 254.

Gjiwinsit -- the great wicked one; 51, 258.

Gjiula'anganel -- large vase; 49, 258.

Gla'ipis -- thus far, finally, until, when, up until, as far as; 210, 226, 231, 236, 237, 260, 264, 287, 317. [/glapis/]

Glé -- Gray; 28.

Gl'll -- Claire; 28.

Glist -- Christ; 285. [not used]

Glistewin -- (you are) the Christ; 180, 270, 285.

Glot -- Claude; 53.

Gluljéweii, guljéweii, geluljéweii(ak -- cross; 24, 180, 187, 231, 236, 257, 277, 294, 322.

n/geluljéweii, -weii'm, g/-, u/-, my, your, his cross.

Gluljéugt'sit, -si'jig -- crucifix; 38, 262.

Gluljéughteg, tol, t'éin; tem -- to crucify; a thing; also to consecrate it, to attach to a cross, to bless, mark with a cross; 119, 142, 151, 179, 180, 211, 271.

Gluljéughtogsi -- to be crucified; 33, 42, 262.

Gluljéwegtogi, sin, sit -- to make the sign of the cross; 71, 180, 262, 308, 320.

Glultenutugeneg -- [v. gelusi]; 62, 64.

Glusgap -- v. Gelusgap.

Glusgapewi -- to be clever, to deceive, to be a liar, deceiver; 179, 285.

Glusgewej -- Glooscap's maidens; 285.

Glut/tes -- v. gelutem.

Gmeltami -- [? v. meltami] first, beginning; 31, 315.

Gmetesgin -- 286.

Gogoligwej -- v. gikoligwej. 
gogomin(g)  —  aloe, wild prune(s); 38, 257.
 wenju  gogomin(g)  —  plum(s), prune(s).
gogwajatu, gigawajtu, gogwajuleg  —  to arrange, regulate; 275, 276, 303.
gogwaja1, gigawaja1  —  to be right, accurate, in order; 263.
gogwaji, gigwaji  —  correctly; 221.
gogwajie1, gigwajie1; ielgw; iatigw  —  to be appropriate, in order, correct; 103, 221.
gogwuleg, gogwatu, gigwatu  —  to catch, seize, to take, to vanquish [little used except for expeditions of war or the procedures of justice] [lit.: to seize violently from the enemy]; 135, 185, 194, 275, 303, 309.
  nat gojwai  —  that thing.
gogwejjit  —  a little thing (now: a spider); 25.
gogwejuj, -uel  —  a trifle, trifles, a little thing, bagatelles; 25, 48, 310.
gogwenugweg  —  139.
Goliat  —  Goliath; 254.
Gop  —  Cope (proper name); 20, 245, 251.
gopit(aq)  —  beaver(s); 27, 37, 181, 241, 251, 285.
gopijj(g), gopaeji(g)  —  cup(s); 38. [< Eng. cup]
goptemeng  —  league [lit.: as far as they eye can see] [measure]; 205, 246, 251.
gospel(g)  —  lake(s); 246, 259.
gpajj  —  296.
gpajji  —  298.
gpemi  —  313.
gpepistemewen  —  208.
gpiojo/tes, -en  —  v. gepjojoen.
gpilsemaw  —  bear false witness against; 22, 310; v. gepilsem.
  ma wen gplismaw  —  do not bear false witness against anyone.
gpun  —  [v. puni]
gsal  —  v. gosalg.
gsalgusit -- [v. gesalgus-]
gsamugsin -- [v. gesamugsi]
gsa(s) -- v. gesam.
gsat-, gsal- -- v. gesal.
gsegai, gsagalagul -- lost; 223, 310. [< gessegai; cf. gesgatu]
gségélmugsin -- honorable?; 39.
péčelévdug téli gségélmugsin -- honorable vase.
gsegug -- v. gésigé.
gsématu -- push! (button or bell); advance; 24, 231.
[< gesmatu, v. gesmul]
gsepatoğ -- v. gěspăleg.
gsepisotelultow -- v. gěspisotelg.
gsepugwategei, -gwal -- v. gěspugwategei, gěspugwalei.
gsi -- v. gědi.
gsigawasig -- v. gěsigawas-.
gsin(ug) -- v. gěsig.
gsimugwa -- v. gěsimugwa-.
Gsispasugati -- Purgatory; 133, 196.
gsipal-, -păt- -- v. gěsipăleg.
gsitătemeg -- [v. gesitelemeg]
gsug, gsulug, gsog -- it weighs; 205.
gsugul -- v. gesugul.
gsugul(eg) -- black fir(s); 38.
Gtağamug -- Newfoundland [lit.: on the other side]; 28, 230.
Gtağamispug -- on the other side of a river; 230.
gtalitasiw -- 282.
gtanul -- v. getămăg.
gtantegei -- v. getantegei.
gtanit -- v. getang.
gtanug, gtañugwel -- towards the large sea; 136, 231.
gtapăğa- -- v. getantegei.
gtanit -- v. getang.
gtanug, gtañugwel -- towards the large sea; 136, 231.
gtapăğa- -- v. gătăpa(z).
gtapemidętes -- v. gětapęgidi.
gtapji -- v. apiliv.
gtapotu-tes -- v. gětapotu.
gt/atgitemi-w -- [v. atgitemi]
gtég, gtětig, gtěgel; gtěgi -- the other, others; 11, 14, 28, 40, 43, 44, 54, 133, 136, 187, 208, 209, 226, 228, 230, 237, 258, 303, 307, 310, 314, 317.
gtěgišiwmu -- drunkard; 252.
gtěgi/oti -- v. getgioti.
gtěgańipen -- the summer before last; 43.
gtěgigug -- last winter; 43.
gtěgi sęponug -- the day after tomorrow; 43, 228, 258.
gtěgi sịgkun -- the spring before last; 43.
gtěgitęg -- the autumn before last; 43.
gtěgi ulagu -- the day before yesterday; 226.
gtelamsęt -- v. getlamsętem.
gtelęsiw -- [v. telęsi]; 263.
gtelatağašatęne -- [v. telategeš]
gtęmai -- [v. gwętemai]
(mu)gtęgalen- -- do not tempt us, induce us [< getgaleg]; 28, 33, 185.
gtu- -- v. getu (cry)
gtugunin -- [v. getguni]
gtu -- v. getui (want); 135, 268.
   gtui gtug gtuj -- if he wants to yell, let him yell.
guąg -- v. guow.
gwaijg, gwaiq, gwaiqgel -- in the middle, among, close to; 231, 258.
   [cf. mđgaiq]
gwanasg -- driftwood; 123.
guasgam -- to turn the hay; 272.
gwastalé -- ah! what a business! nonsense! (expresses complete
   surprise, astonishment); 30, 239. (YRanda's agastaléi)
gwé -- hey! (archaic) call to the door of a hut; 238.
gwejamatsultıp -- v. węjwatęsi.
gwe -- greetings! hello! [cf. gwę]; 25, 51.
gwejamamęög -- boil [cf. wejamamęög]; 38, 257.
gwejösąq, ọtm, ẹsọq, wọjọtem -- to solicit, strive to obtain, to
   'attempt, try; 272, 295.
   contr.: ujọtemuținę, ugọt-
n/gwejįjį, g-, u/gwejįjį/₁ -- my, your, his younger sister [also: 
generic term for person toward whom one feels protective]; 29,
   230, 316.
gwejotem, men, tg -- to try, to strive; 272.  
contr.: uggottes.
gwilaji -- to be modest; 260.  
contr.: gula[ji]tes.
gwaltamisep -- you fasted; 203.
gwaltamulting -- Friday (day of penitence, abstinence); 140, 203,  
211, 228, 258.
gwesawei -- point; 22, 202.
gwesapsgiaq -- Causapscul (the point with the pebbled bottom); 202.
gwesdiaq, iul, iwin: gweso[tem] -- to protect, to look after, to take  
care of; 177.
gweso[tem] -- to be fasting for communion, to keep (Sunday, a fast),  
to look after; 50, 177, 272, 276.  
contr.: ugsot/tes.
gwetsiaq -- to frighten (children, animals); 176.
gwetsjigwe, gwislw, ūlīgw -- to have a dreadful appearance; 106.
gwets'ai, peiw, pešigw -- to endure, to be punished; 101.  
contr.: guta[p]tes.
gwets'tet -- the ox (the long-suffering animal); 101.
gwetsapolg, potu, taq -- to drag along; 307.
gwets'lg -- Iroquois; 31, 106.
gwetsmai -- to smoke; 25, 239, 264, 289, 290.  
contr.: ugm/tes, gtem-
Gug -- Cook (proper noun); 20, 246.
gu[t]wes -- giant; 254.
gu[n]as -- v. gewgunem.
gwilaq, lem, lemaq -- to look for, to inquire into, search for; 26,  
29, 67, 119, 169, 170, 175, 177, 193, 275.
gwiliq -- to follow (passive); 193.
gwilj -- [v. gwilaq]
u/gwilualin -- 66;[v. gwilaq]
gwilutem -- v. gelutem.
guisu -- osprey; 181.
n/gwis, g-, u/gwis/el -- my, your, his son; 26, 27, 29, 33, 46, 50,  
53, 121, 169, 180, 194, 215, 257, 259, 275, 276, 281, 314;  
[cf. we'ngwisim]
gułtan(n) -- dinghy(ies), open boat(s), canoe(s); 40, 208, 240, 276, 285, 322.
gwitni, nig -- to be, that is, there is, a canoe; 281.
guje'mug -- outside, outside! out of here, out of doors, outdoors; 231, 239, 246, 251, 258.
guji -- 158, 178. [? < g + wej] guji apattalulgunenu -- that he might redeem us.
u/g/ujifila'gan/ual -- their/bonds; 304.
guji/tes -- v. gujji.
gujuti -- the cold, coldness [cf. gujji]; 285.
Gul -- Gould; 20, 246.
gula'ji -- v. gujeljii.
gulaman -- in order that; so that; 237.
guláin -- greetings! [lit.: here is hoping you're well, happy]; [cf. weleii] 17, 33, 251.
gulgwis -- pig, pork; 26, 181, 254.
gulgwisuei -- bacon; (pig) lard; 26, 27, 254.
gulgwisuo'gwom -- pigsty; 26.
gulji'wei -- [v. guji'wei]
gulpisun -- anchor; 246.
gulpiv -- forthwith; immediately; 24, 226.
gulnětu, gulnětemg -- to join, to mix, to mix up, 235, 275, 290.
gulg -- with; 14, 235, 246.
gulumwa'gšiel -- [wheat plants, wheat stalks]; 276.
gulumgul -- corn, wheat; 182, 276.
gumnieuti -- v. gumnieuti.
gunteugse -- small rock, pebble; 49.
guntew, suntal -- stone(s), rock(s), Condo; 23, 36, 49, 114, 135, 136, 141, 169, 202, 246, 265, 270, 275, 285.
gunteuqsen -- stone pipe; 290.
gunuguwě -- v. genug.
guow, guag -- fir (tree)(s); pine(s); 26, 38.
guowagamitg -- a grove of pine trees; 26.
guowipgw -- fir balm, turpentine; 26.
gusamtemsew -- cut too close [? < wasamtemsew]; 182.
guta'fe-- v. gu'afei.
gutāsi, -āti, -itā -- run, pour(out); 217, 235, 318.
gutgéai, geigw, getigw -- to pour out, to overturn; 101.
gutputi -- v. -pututi.
I -- (indicates) frequency, custom; frequentative; intensive; state;
often; 16, 197, 219.
ipusi -- I take many trips by water.
iu -- oh! dear me, oh, dear!; 16, 23.
iuj -- especially, still more; 24, 223.
iulasutmai -- v. alusutmai.
Ialgwilusi, ialgvilem -- to seek without respite, to be a seeker,
seek on all sides; 229.
iuli- -- [v. alli]
Iuli- -- indicates frequency, often inattentive; the grinding of habit;
219, 229, 278.
iulasutgel -- [v. alusutgel, I-]; 309.
iulultiog -- [you used to swim around]; 289.
iuluj -- [v. amuj]
iap(ą) -- male moose, caribou, ox or sheep (added to generic name);
24, 36, 37.
iap(aį) jįgeluęj(ę) -- ram(s); 37.
iapjį, iapjiw -- v. apjiw.
iapjinengwewi -- eternal death; 225.
iapjiwewi -- eternal; 24, 276.
iapjį usgijimuti -- eternal life; 33.
iaptenem -- v. aptonem.
ięn, įg, įj -- [v. aim]
-Įg -- but, at one's home; 20, 25, 27, 48, 62, 75, 89, 117, 118,
n/įg, g/-, w/- -- my, your, his house.
įgių, ĭn, ĭat, ĭgę -- to arrive, fall into, knock against, that
happens (suddenly); 17, 22, 83, 84, 88, 180, 226, 245.
įgaleg, ĭgatu -- to place, put; 133, 147, 159, 180, 187, 236, 320.
įgalę, ĭgatem -- to protect; 147, 187, 255.
įgataąn, ĭgataąun -- (cultivated) field, garden; 187, 213, 236,
247, 251, 258, 276, 279, 308.
įgataąnįj -- garden; 247.
įgataąating -- offertory; 103.
" [įgataąai]
igataqew -- we put him; offer to someone; 21, 136, 276.
igataqew, gün, goğ -- to be a farmer; 21, 136, 212, 251, 268, 293.
igataqewalig, guatem, temäg -- to cultivate a thing (a field, plant); 293, 306.
igataqewel, -eigw, -taqatigw -- to set down, to make an offering; 103.
igataqewel, eigw, naqatigw -- to make a race; 106.
igatauwei -- stake (in a game), wager; 133.
g/igenaŋ -- [v. ḏig]; 272.
igenene -- [v. ḏig]; 89.
igeug, um, umaŋ -- to seize; 293.
ngämgäj, g-, w/imagenj/el -- my, your, his neighbor, relation, brother, relation by marriage, ally, friend, husband, wife; 28, 44, 47, 90, 150, 185, 189, 210, 215, 230, 247, 248, 251, 313, 322. [cf. w/igenemig]
ignemäŋ, mul, muin -- to give to someone; 25, 27, 33, 48, 51, 138, 142, 143, 151, 158, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 172, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 191, 192, 193, 262, 264, 265, 274, 277, 278, 290.
ignemäŋwe, gütigw -- to be a beneficiary, to receive a gift, be favored by a gift; 165, 193, 267.
ignemasi -- to be given to oneself, to attribute to oneself, to appropriate for oneself; 192.
ignemusi, än, ét -- to give; 25, 102, 191, 192.
ignemusti -- to give a thing, to make a gift, to renounce; 134.
ignemusi -- I am given a present; 193.
igoptemëse -- 205.
igtem, temen, teg -- to give; 271.
igtowi -- to get used to giving; 271.
ng/ijus, g-, w/ijus/el -- my, your, his brother/sister-in-law (of a married person); 316. [cf. w/ijusimig]
ilagnutemëmg -- rendering of an account; 296.
ilaŋum, uten, temäg -- to be reconciled, make an alliance; 301.
ilagutagăg -- alliance, testament; 258, 280.
ilaleg, tu, tağ -- to prepare, regulate, arrange; to repair (something easy); 133, 275, 303.

ilâsqw, -ugu -- card(s); 9, 14, 37, 246, 251.

ilâsuguwe, èn, ât -- to play cards; 25, 105.

n/ilemus, g-, w/ilemus/el -- my, your, his sister/brother-in-law (sibling-in-law of the opposite sex); 316.

ilgwijâleg, tu, tağ -- to console; 303.

ilitu -- renew, remake; 133.

iljoğâtu -- to repair (a difficult thing); 275.

iljoğwâtu -- repair, rectify, to set in order, ratify; 133.

n/ilnu -- tongue; 153, 188, 302, 319.

n/ilnu, g/-, w/-, my, your, his tongue.

ilpilâgu, ân, âg -- to undo the strap of a burden; 136.

ilsumaq, sutem, temâq -- to condemn, look for the bad in; 301, 309, 312.

ilsutağan -- judgment, right; 321; nt/ilsutağanem, gt-, ugt/-, my, your, his judgment.

ilsuteget -- [to judge]; 310.

iltâtu -- to close; 133.

ilu, g-, w-- my, your, his nourishment; 17, 18, 25, 26, 33, 178, 183, 248, 251, 321. [cf. wilumá]

ilumâq, uþem, temâq -- to bless (from afar), to repair, to put in order, correct orally; 118, 301.

imu/tug, -sepop -- v. eim.

inağan, inağanei -- right(side); 33, 49, 235, 319, 320, 321. 

ugt/inağan/g -- at his right.

İnağem, ğemen, ğeg (also inâqem, ğeim, ğeg) -- to stutter; 262, 272.

inaptegatem -- v. aptagatem.

İnewiğig -- they are four abreast; 204.

inguj, anguj, inguji -- one by one, in his turn, one of, a part of, someone, certain ones; 204, 211, 212.

İngûtuğwêtağ -- to go one by one, in a line, single file; 204.

İpajî -- humbly, urgently; 16, 30, 51, 103, 183.

ipajie, iêigw, iatîgw -- to be humiliated; 103.

ıpajînte, matemül -- I humbly honor you; 30.

ıpattamg -- to ask humbly; to beseech; 300.

n/ibit -- tooth; 40, 201, 249, 294, 319.

n/nibit(el), g/-, w/-, my, your, his tooth (teeth).

ipusi -- [v. pusì, i-]; 70.
Isäg -- Isaac; 68, 209, 217, 275.
Isenigwég -- at the home of Mrs. Eason; 46.
-Isgw -- [v. -sgw].
Isîl -- Israel; 266.
Ismaelwak -- Ishmaelites; 301.
isop -- hyssop; 186.
istôgô, istôgôj, istôgôj, stâgô -- as, like; 16, 32, 143, 189, 237, 261, 286, 288, 305, 308, 319.
istôôj -- to be different; 263.
i(t)-tes -- v. eim.
n/itaô, g=, w/itap/1 -- my, your, his friend, comrade; 27, 47, 214, 215, 248, 251, 275, 276, 309, 306.
n/itaôpsg -- girlfriend; 316.
n/itaôpij -- [little friend]; 27.
I/tâ/psigw -- to go two by two, two abreast, in couples; 204.
g/itêm, w/itemw/1 -- master (to or of an animal); 322.
itôgisi -- [v. teppisi, -I]; 204.
I tôsitaô -- they will be so many pairs; 204.
n/itôu, g=, w/itu/1 -- my, your, his eyebrow; pl. n/itgu/g, g/itgu/g, w/itgô; 319.
I tôôtu -- (I) have that habit; 134.
I tôsu -- v. â-, teluô; 219.
n/itn(êl), g=, w= -- my, your, his nostrilâs; 319.
n/itul, g=, w= -- my, your, his beard, (side-)whiskers (no singular); 40.
n/itgôsun, g=, w= -- my, your, his burden; 322.
jâgalô -- rapidly, quickly, briskly; with zeal, liveliness; suddenly, swiftly; 18, 222.
jâgôj -- lobster; 250.
jâgalôj -- to follow the bank, shore; 32, 223.
jâgalôj, -gôj -- to be well, in good health, vigorous; 18, 223.
jâgalô -- accurately, completely; 223, 297.
jat[/sat/] -- go away! (to a cat); 250, 251. [< Fr. chatte]
jâl -- and even, and, and likewise, also, even; (in numbers) plus, and; 20, 29, 49, 51, 61, 69, 115, 138, 177, 183, 188, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 224, 233, 234, 236, 238, 250, 251, 257, 258, 265, 266, 270, 276, 289, 290, 317.
jâl mé -- still more; 224.
jâl mu -- not even so many; (in comparison) than; 224, 238.
jêl oğuj àlp mé -- and even still more; 233.
jênu -- hero, giant; 9, 18, 254.
jêsgolj(eg), ejêsgolj(eg) -- toad(s); 31, 37, 289.
jêsgoljewigus -- former name of November; 31.
jigalugum men, gug, gumugw, gumitij -- to go alone in a boat; 121, 204.
jîgav -- perch (bass); 22.
jîgelâtu-, -lîeg -- v. eîgelâleg.

n/jigenam, g-, u/jigenam/el -- my, your, his (younger) brother; 30, 301, 315, 316.
contr.: eûjine/tut. [cf. wi:jigem]

jìgitâtâgei -- to disturb, to cause trouble by striking noisily; 102.
jigjatu -- to upset, to overturn; 250.
jigjawigenej -- [raisin], 143. [cf. ji:jawigenej]
jìgôsgug -- punk, tinder; 40, 245, 289, 290.
jìgotegei -- to sulk; 104.

jîgsâtağ, tem, temağ -- to listen to, to pay attention (as when one speaks softly); 119, 188, 233, 271, 297, 298, 303.

jîgtağ, tem, temağ -- to listen to; 298.

jîgesineg, tesg -- to become calm; 274.


n/jîjîgakamîj -- soul; 29, 30, 70, 175, 184, 189, 215, 226, 263, 283, 295, 302, 303, 304, 312.

n/jîjîgakamîj, g-, ug-/-, my, your, his soul.

jîjemai -- to smell bad, to stink; 265.

jîjgawîgâñâj(g) -- grape(s); 31.

jîjgeluwej(g)j(eg) -- sheep(s); 37, 224, 291, 316, 319.

jîjgeluwejgij(g) -- lamb(s); 25, 27, 31, 37, 258, 291.

jîjgawêga(j), jîjuâëga -- sometimes; 12, 14, 24, 188, 210, 229, 258, 306.

jîlê-i, -in, -âg -- to be wounded; injured; 18, 225, 250.

n/jîlîj, g-/-, ujîjel -- my, your, his father-in-law; 30, 255, 283, 316.

jîm -- Jim; English dim. of James; 20, 250, 251.

jîmei, meîgw, meîtîgw -- to row, to paddle; 102.
jimpaguntesing, tesg -- to fall drop by drop; 274.


jinemu -- to be a man; 36, 70, 263, 291.

-jinemum -- husband; (pl.) men, workers, soldiers; 30, 261, 291, 302, 317; n/jinemum, g/-, u/jinemum/el, my, your, his husband; n/jinemum/g, g/-/-, u/jinemum, my, your, his men, workers, soldiers, etc.

jinpagnewei, neweigw, nautigw -- to milk; 106, 266.

jinpenergi -- to milk a cow; 266.

jikalq, a'tem -- to fear (someone, something); 29, 45, 135, 170, 187, 209, 236, 250, 255.

jikalqu, gun, gug -- to be formidable, dreaded, an object of fear; 187, 193.

jipalsatag, 'tem, 'temag -- to obey with reverence; 298, 315.

jipalsei, lueigw, luatigw -- to fear, to be fearful, timorous; 103.

jipijij -- bird [cf. sisip] 14, 249, 261.

jipsi -- to be frightened; 261.

jiptuk -- perhaps, than, that, also [takes contraction]; 26, 33, 50, 56, 225, 229, 234, 238, 250, 289.

jiptujj -- brook; 49, 250; [at weymouth: sibusi]

m/jita'gan -- nape of the neck, scruff; 319; n/jita'gan, g/-, ug/-, my, your, his scruff.

jitu'g'el(?) -- at times, sometimes; 229.

jitung, nem, nemag -- to protect, shelter; 185, 189, 270.

Jo -- Joe; 18.

joğ -- devilishly; 239.

getu gostemai -- I want to smoke.

getu joğtemai -- I want devilishly to smoke.

getu joğawai -- I want devilishly to get angry.

Joğ -- George; 20, 250.

jugů -- v. wejugu-; 251.

jugwāq'etēw -- v. wejwag'eq; 92.

jugwatutes -- [v. wejwatut]; 135.

jugwia, jugwia, jugwita -- [v. wejgu-]; 14.

n/jugwijij, g/-, u/jugwijij/el -- my, your, his mother-in-law; 30, 283, 316.

jugulafasi -- to look in this direction; 260.
jugin- -- v. wëggunem.
jugū (gū-ia, gū-ie) -- v. wejgū; 14, 18, 179, 217, 303.
jujja -- [lizard, reptile]; 205.
jupsulg -- to intimidate; 308.
-1 -- inanimate plural ending; 36 et passim.
lağama-- v. elağamai; 89.
ug/lağanemel -- (a) wound; 188, 217, 295.
lagaţingéwe -- election; 103. [< elégei]
lağittege-- v. elğațitlegei; 101.
laglans -- barn; 28. [< Fr. la grange]
laglème -- cream; 28. [< Fr. la crème]
laglus(g) -- pitcher(s); 38. [< Fr. cruche]
lagol(g) -- cord(s) (of wood); 38, 245; [< Fr. cord]
lagpisuti -- apron; 246.
lal, latu -- v. elalek.
lälue -- v. eläluei.
lamalgeg -- interior of a grotto, sepulcher; 231.
lamège, lam, lamu -- inside; 231.
lamègei -- below; 231.
Lamelig -- America; 246. [< Fr. l'Amerique]
lamğamug -- under the earth, in limbo; 33, 42, 231.
lamğwan -- undergarment; 231.
lami -- v. lamège.
lamigwong, lamugwong -- inside the hut; 14, 138, 231, 258.
lamlutağan -- court, enclosure; 231.
lampoğ -- water from the depths; bottom of the water; (by ext.)
    pure, clear water; 121, 231, 246, 289.
lamsoğ -- under a rock; 231.
lamu-- v. lamège.
lamuaw -- the inside of an egg; 231.
lamiguwong -- v. lamigwong.
Lamuli -- (Fr.) Lamorue; 17.
lağağogsit -- v. ağağogsit.
lapaï(g) -- tub, bucket; [< Fr. baille]
lafal -- v. elapēleg.
lafaltinewe -- blessed water; 186, 248.
lapēlēs(g) -- rod(s) [measure: 3 feet]; 38, 205, 246. [< Fr. verge]
lapigot -- smallpox; 246. [< Fr. la picotte]
lapiasg -- flax; 38. (no singular).
lapilem - -- v. elapīlem.
laplalot -- Round Hill; 246, 251. [< Fr. Prée Ronde]
laplus-brush; 246. [< Fr. la brosse]
laplusen, laplisun -- prison; 70, 222, 246. [< Fr. la prison]
lapeljij (g) -- bowl(s), cup(s); 38, 249. [< Fr. bol + iij]
lapuel(g) -- stove; 38. [< Fr. la poile]
Lapuent -- Point? 237.
lasiit(g) -- plate(s); 17, 34, 38, 246, 254, 257. [< Fr. l'assiette]
lasil -- sealing wax; 39, 249; [no plural] [< Fr. la cire]
lāsup -- soup; 250, 257; [< Fr. la soupe]
lasupjij -- [a little soup]; 251, 258.
latażsun(g) -- pail, bucket (for carrying); 38, 246.
la-tal -- v. elg.
latinewisi -- to speak Latin; 262.
lati -- [v. eliei]
latolaw -- bull; 36; [< Fr. le taureau]
pl.: latolāg.
latusan -- one dozen; 202, 250; [< Fr. la douzaine]
lātu-tes -- v. elētu.
laē -- v. elēgoi.
laglagewisi -- to speak Greek; 262 [< Fr. le grec]
lōni -- Remy; 9, 14.
Lēn -- diminutive of Helen; 20, 246. [< Fr. Hélène]
Lenate -- Irishman; 37.
Lenateag -- plural.
lentu -- 298.
lentug -- deer; 246 (1298).
lepatuj -- [v. elpatuj]
lesgiyen -- casket; 164.
lesgégen -- chest; 134.
léswip -- Jew; 12, 14, 17 [< Fr. le juif]
lesuípowisi -- to speak Hebrew; 262.
létgamun(g) -- arrow(s); 38, 246, 321, 322.
       n/letgamunem, g/-, u/g/letgamunem/el, my, your, his arrow.
li -- v. eli.
lia -- [v. elie]
lie/tes -- v. elie.
ligeši -- to put; 209.
liggsasuti -- refuge, hiding-place; 322; nt/eligasuti(m), gt/-, ugt/-,
       my, your, his hiding-place.
ligpenigen -- basket; 165, 193, 246.
Lilian -- Lillian; 246.
lipgatamun(g) -- shoe of the virgin, virgin's shoe; (flower); 38,
       246.
lipgemutağan(g) -- (spin-)top; 38, 143, 268, 309.
       -lis, -ulis -- aunt (sister of parent of opposite sex); 247, 315.
       nè/lis, gè/-, u/lis/el; n/ulis, g/-, ulis/el -- my, your, his
       aunt.
lisewé/tès -- v. elisewi.
lisin/en -- v. elisin.
listmasi -- go lie down, stretch out (slowly); 122, (1238).
lisit -- disobey; 246.
listuguj -- Restigouche; 246, 270.
lität -- [v. elie]
litu -- v. elitu.
limalanej -- [v. èlmàlej]; 276.
limè -- v. elmie.
lmuj -- dog; 29, 274, 276.
linim -- too, very; 29, 75, 211, 233, 239, 262.
       mu linìm -- not too; mu linim mesgigenug -- not too seriously.
linim tà na -- that is truly too much, that is too strong (without
       hope or remedy); far too much; 229, 239.
linu(g) -- man, Indian, person, man in general; 29, 35, 42, 44, 50,
       53, 54, 110, 136, 138, 179, 190, 208, 237, 253, 258, 273, 275, 279,
       292, 293, 320, 321.
linuasiwqsep -- v. elnuasi--.
lnuigtug -- [in Indian; in the Indian language]; 237.
lnusgw, lnusgwa -- Indian woman; 35, 253. [< lnu + sgw]
Log -- Roch; 20, 246.
log ștug ūa mǫgwe -- God forbid, far from it, absit; 233, 239.
Lola -- Laurent, Laura; 246.
Lom -- Rome; 20, 246.
Los -- Rose; 20, 246.
Lot -- Lot; 20, 246.
Leșugtug -- Richibouctou; 29.
Lsum/ata -- v. elsung; 301.
Itașanewă-teș -- v. eltașanewei; 106.
lușwai-es -- v. elwsâleg; 185, 186.
lușwatu-teș -- v. elwsâtu; 133.
lușwîêt -- v. elwsîet.
lușwît -- [v. elwsâî]
lugou/tultigw -- v. elugow; 293.
lugwatem -- [v. elugwâleg]
ul/tlugwatașan -- task; 275. [cf. elugwe]-
lugwâg -- between; 236.
-lugwai -- [v. elugwe]
Lui -- Louis; 17, 42, 258.
Luis -- Louise; 17.
Lulop -- Europe; 246.
lum- -- v. elumâg; 296.
nt(e)/lusuesgom, gt(e)/-, ut/lusuesgom/el -- my, your, his daughter-in-law; 30, 316. [cf. ntelusug]
lusuesgw -- a daughter-in-law.
Lutel -- M. Le Loutre; 237, 240. Lutl-oğ -- past.
lu-/teș -- v. elum.
lutmașanigé -- v. elutmașânișei.
m- -- v. what comes after it [general noun marker]
ma...gisna -- v. mu...gisna; 237.
mağăg (al, ēg, ēğel), mağōğısit -- big: 43, 45.
mağaj -- severely, hardly; 221.
mağonigw (-gal) -- the Earth; a world, land, clay; 26, 33, 36, 42, 45, 50, 54, 76, 138, 179, 221, 235, 246, 257, 261, 265, 274, 279, 286, 287, 292, 309, 322.
mağamigwi -- to be earth; 286.
mağasan -- store; 286. [< Fr. magasin]
mağatgwig -- the sea is bad, agitated, swelling; 77.
[< mağa - big + tgu -- wave]
mağatpaj, pan, pat -- my, your, his large head; to have a large head; 217, 265.
mağatui-- v. emğatuig.
mağalemeg -- to adore; to treat magnificently; 258, 299.
mağiga -- sing: 32.
getumağiga -- I want to sing.
mağigan -- a large residence; 284.
mağōğısit -- v. mağăg.
ne/mağtam, ge-, u/mağtam/el -- my, your, his sister/brother-in-law (sibling-in-law of the same sex); 315.
mağtawegen -- black garment; 285.
mağtawegenemi -- to have a black garment; 285.
mağtawegenam, namen, nağ, noltigw -- to be clothed in black; 121, 285.
mağtawegen, mağtawegen -- a black pipe, a short clay pipe; 289, 290.
mağtawei, weg -- to be black; 40, 224, 254, 285.
mağtawituat -- he has a black beard; 40.
maial -- M. Maillard; 240.
mail -- mile; 205. [< Eng. mile].
majaleg, tu, tağ -- to move, excite [lit. and fig.]; 212, 268, 304, 320.
majâsi -- to move, stir, to depart; 17, 18, 76, 136, 204, 211, 230, 241, 251.
majasipseğeneg -- trembled; 257.
majatog -- [v. majâleg]
majâgel -- at times, sometimes; 226, 289.
majitag -- [v. majâsi]
majulgwais, waten, temâg -- to follow, pursue; 51, 257, 306.
mala -- over yonder, there, yonder; 16, 18, 231.
malaél -- towards (there), in that direction; 16, 17, 18, 231, 275.
  misogwa malaél -- right up to there; 17.
maláj, éin, âg -- to be lazy; 75, 246, 257.
maléing, malogon -- laziness, sloth; 75, 120, 249, 251.
Malgalit -- Marguerite; 11, 14.
malgojetesing, tesg -- to fall to pieces; 273.
malgon, otem -- to eat, to devour (lit. and fig.); 118, 181, 184, 189, 276, 283, 309, 310.
Mali -- Mary; 11, 14, 33, 42, 159, 249, 251, 279, 302, 312.
Mali -- (B.V.) Mary; 11, 14, 44, 45, 314.
maléwi -- to be married; 263, 302, 317. [< Fr. mariage]
maligialg, otem, tamaq -- to laugh at; 295, 301.
malióg, geug -- cask, barrel, drinking mug; 36, 38, 43, 205.
maliógwujj -- barrel; 205.
maligietem -- to be mocking, making fun of (in words); 301.
maliqmad, item, tamaq -- to laugh at, to make fun of (in words); to poke fun at; 180, 192, 301.
maligemusi -- to be mocked, laughed at; 262.
maligimuisi -- to poke fun, to laugh at, to mock; 192, 268.
maliqtem, men, tâ -- to laugh at, to ridicule (in action); 272.
maligutem, maligutem -- to laugh at, to ridicule (in words); 272.
Malij -- Mariette; 246.
malipganj -- v. píanj; 30.
malisí -- to speak Malecite; 262.
maljérweui -- to be young; 257, 263.
maloqon -- v. maléing.
malpaléwit -- doctor; 246, 251, 294.
mals -- flint; 29.
malsan -- merchant; 40, 246, 286. [< Fr. marchand]
  pilei malsan -- new merchant.
malsanewi -- to be a merchant, to trade; 286.
malsanwegowom -- store; 286.
malțeW -- blood; 23, 230, 235, 318, 322.
  ne/malțem, ge/-, u/-, my, your, his blood.
Manag -- Mr. Manach; 237.
mapos -- pocket of a garment; 249.
masgłaemeg, gëltem, mağ -- to scorn, renounce; 230, 299.
masgelemagsultięg -- you evil ones! 230.
masgwāleg, ṭu, ṭag -- to put away, put in reserve, shelter, put aside, hide; 24, 303. [Pac. says < masgwē -- bark]
masgwès -- birch (tree); 256.
masgwésimaŋ(εl) -- wild cherries; 256.
masgwegesing, gwesg -- to cower under the covers; 274.
masgwē(1) -- bark (of a tree); 24, 256, 275, 303.
mataṅgatesgoi -- v. mataṅgatesgoi.
mataluāt -- he moves his tail; 264, 276.
mataliē -- 261.
mataŋsingesing, gesg -- stirred up, agitated by the wind; 274.
matawēg -- confluent (Matapedia); 221.
matawi -- to encircle; 221.
matawiaŋ -- whole; 205, 221. matawiejig.
matentinej -- [v. matneg]
matew -- never, no more; 23, 141, 188, 211, 226, 234.
mategoḡweg -- 274.
mategoḡtem, matgoḡasi -- to bow; 270.
mategoḡesin, ng -- to shake the head; 273.
matneg, nem -- to wrestle against, to struggle against, to fight; 47, 184, 298.
mataṅgatesgoi, mataṅgatesgoi -- to toll (the bell); ring; 104, 250.
mataṅgtesgoi -- to send a telegram; 250.
mattēg, tol, tēin, tot -- to beat; 180, 184, 262, 298.
mattogsi -- to be beaten; 193.
mattosig -- to strike oneself; 262.
matuas -- porcupine; 25.
maw, mawi -- together, all at once; 22, 223, 231.
mawateng -- all joined, all counted; 223.
mawātu -- to gather, join together; 223, 275, 308.
mawēn -- no one, nobody; 22, 24, 51, 89, 141, 177, 183, 212, 234, 257, 295, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 321.
maugitemeg -- to add up; 118, 223.
maugitemeg, -gitasig -- additional; 223.
mugpilem -- to bind together (faggots); 269.
mawi [v. maw]
mawi alasutamag -- public prayer, retreat; 87.
mawisigw, atigw, itaigw -- to gather together; to be common, reunited; 33, 73, 230, 268.
mawimi -- assembly, band; 22, 33, 223, 254, 322. n/mawiomi, g/-, ug/-, my, your, his band.
mawitamgewei -- assembly; 268.
manemeg -- to give all together; 178, 205, 231.
mawoltitiij -- let them all be together; 224.
mawotu -- to gather together a large quantity; 275, 276.
Maupeltug -- Membertou; 294.
mé, mé -- always, moreover, more, still, yet; 17, 18, 20, 27, 33, 50, 52, 66, 75, 104, 139, 149, 151, 185, 189, 211, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 233, 239, 247, 251, 257, 258, 266, 267, 276, 277, 280, 282, 287, 309, 313.
mé gatu -- what a business (unpleasant, regrettable, arduous); oh my! 239, 257, 276.
meäng -- to choose; 185.
meñitlamekg, tatem, temag -- to glorify (inwardly); honor one's name; 26, 33, 247, 261, 300.
meñopag -- v. meñotag.
meñotag -- dear, expensive; 9, 14, 70, 241. contr.: á
mëgañ, tem, temag -- to doubt, to lack confidence; 297.
meñañ, miañeg, miav -- in the middle; between, among, around, amidst; 231, 236. [cf. gwaïj]
meñwasag -- Migwasha, red rock; 256.
meñweg -- [red]; 189, 276, 309.
méj -- v. mé.
mej àgw -- go to the devil! (swear word) 239.
mejàj(g), mulañajg -- milk, breast(s); 38, 257, 293, 307.
melgaluei -- to strengthen; 267-268.
melgapai -- to have a hard head; 265.
melgeti, gëg -- to be difficult, hard; 49, 189, 221, 257, 262, 267.
melgeang -- I hold him strongly; help; 33, 174, 185, 247.
melgéfilg -- to attach strongly; 188.
melgi -- strongly; 51, 106, 118, 221, 309.
melgígnai, nan, nat, nág -- to be strong, powerful, solid; 37, 40, 50, 194, 265, 293.
u/melgígenotim -- his/might; 177, 288, 321.
melgínewasi -- be strong; 189, 280.
melgijinem -- ginat; 106.
mélgitat -- brave; 222.
mélgitëten -- [think hard about it!]; 188.
méljégwi -- bird without feathers; 37.
   méljégwiağ -- pl.
méljogom -- dry wood; 34.
mélmuatégot -- he waters; 136.
méltagit -- 306.
méltag -- v. méltagutg; 226.
méltagítamg -- first-born; 226.
méltag pagajeg -- immaculate; 75.
< méltagutg -- since the beginning.
méltagutg -- since the beginning; in the beginning; at the origin; 71, 75, 226.
méluiagweg -- v. nisulagweg.
méluij -- rather [as opposed to auna, q.v.] 26, 143, 194, 218, 221, 233, 239, 283, 302.
méluij oğw -- especially; how then? 233, 239.
mémeg -- a fallow field; 247.
menág -- no, not yet; 69, 107, 136, 141, 143, 151, 226, 234, 247, 266, 275, 276, 304, 309.
menágaj, menaga -- with care; 120, 221, 247, 251.
menagatan -- feeble; 208, 265.
mé nággeg -- v. nággeg; 227.
menágweing, gweg -- tormented, tossed island; 274.
mé nalaiv -- too late, too far; 17. [cf. mé, nalaiv]
ménäleg, tu, täg -- to remove, tear out (tooth), pull out; 58, 124-132, 133, 137, 142, 146, 186, 193.
ménäfelag -- to clean; 304.
ménasgw -- rock; 256.
méngatalg, atom, temağ -- to pity; 306.
mengatpai -- to have a bald head; 265.
mengitem -- to subtract; 118.
meniel, meniağ -- to move aside; to draw back, remission of sins; 33, 73.
meniagağ, meniagem -- to go to look for; 119, 177.
menolg, otem -- to extract (potatoes), to draw out of the ground; 188.
menoteğet, tağatijig -- those who harvest; 188.
ménottu -- to gather, to pick, harvest; 276.
ménterumasneg -- [he bit it off]; 321.
méntu(g) -- devil(s); demon; 51, 75, 115, 143, 187, 219, 236, 239, 247, 254, 258, 286, 294, 299, 305.
ménterügi -- the Kingdom of Satan, Hell; 50, 75, 210, 286, 296.
méntu gjjaplew -- the devil! (swear word, vulgar); 239.
méntui -- to be a devil; 286.
méntuisi -- to become a devil; 286.
méntujijuit -- he is a little devil; 286.
méntuogwom -- the dwelling of the devil; 286.
ménuağal, atem, mag -- to have need of; 306.
ménuağasi -- to be needed; 306.
ménuağei -- to need, to wish, to require; 225, 267.
méntuogwem, men, geg -- to copy, to paint, to photograph; 119.
me/nunj -- head; 318; [v. unji]
mé puğwelg -- more than; 50.
mésağel, ätu -- to swallow; 29, 187.
méselenseg, söltem -- to call upon someone, to demand a thing; to invoke, to pray to get a thing, to implore; 51, 183, 219, 271, 276.
corr.: mésélte/mul.
meset -- [v. mese]
mésetesgağ -- to lack; 295.
mésgegatesin, sing, tesg -- to fall, to stretch oneself out, prostrate oneself, to let oneself go, to drop; 273, 276, 308, 309.
mäsgeî, dîn, âg -- to regret, to be sad; 75.
corr.: mäsgeî/tes.
mesgil, len, ig, gig -- to be large, big; 37, 40, 43, 45, 49, 51, 53, 56, 59, 62, 77, 87, 90, 101, 122, 142, 143, 149, 180, 247, 257, 258, 262, 265, 270, 277, 322.
corr.: msegil/tes.
mesgoli -- to drive a splinter into the flesh; 259.
mesi -- entirely; 221, 224.
mesi -- to not be able; 136, 184, 221, 223, 265.
mesig, itu, iťağ -- to deliver, to betray; 293.
mesig, itu, iťağ -- to be missed, to be incapable in comparison with
something or someone; 143, 284, 293.
mesing -- to discover, denounce, make known, betray; 293, 301.
contr.: msim-ās.
mesisit -- he makes me incapable; 293.
mesiwěn -- you are unshakable; 221.
měși ugaťenai -- insatiable; 265.
mesneg, nem -- to take, to receive, welcome; 24, 152, 184, 269, 280,
299, 321.
contr.: msen-
mesta -- v. mset.
Mesta Gisitegeṭ -- the Creator; the Author of all things; 104, 175.
mesta gtpağen -- deluge; 265.
mesta melgiyenat -- the All-powerful; 265.
mestanemağ -- to give all; 177, 295.
mestang, mestanem -- to have all; 119, 135, 184.
contr.: msenat/tes
měsulėg, ėtu -- to show; 187.
mesuamg, mesuapteget -- to see completely; 300.
mesueg, mesui -- overtly, openly; 221, 231, 312.
měsūtegağ, ėtuğ -- bare, publicly, uncovered; 134, 180, 231.
mete, muta -- for, because, since; 17, 18, 90, 233, 237, 251, 270,
295, 300.
[mu + ta]
mez ta gatu -- but evidently; 233.
mětemaį, man, mat -- to walk, take a trip; 91.
contr.: mtemas
metesgi- -- v. emotesgi; 70.
metesgwağan/itug -- pride; 76.
metetağ -- the bell tolls; 266.
metetetesing, tesg -- to smack, to clap (the lips); 273.
metetoğsilijel -- buzzing; 302.
ne/mesgi, ge/-, u/- -- my, your, his country, native land; 217, 227,
253, 282, 287, 321.
mētgwai, gwan, gwat -- to have a bare head; 90.
mētas -- ten (in composition); 198, 199.
  mētas/aigel -- 10 piastres, 202.
  mētasapgesijig, -mētasapsgēgel -- spherical, round; 202.
  mētasipunai -- to be 10 years old; 90, 203.
  mētasipunēgeg -- 10 years; 203.
  mētasgoçsjig -- ten (long, round objects); 201.
  mētasugumūgw -- to go ten in their boat; 121, 204.
  mētasugunāg -- 10 days; 202.
  mētasugunit -- he's 10 days old; 203.
  mētasugusalai -- to spend 10 months; 203.
  mētasunemigsijig -- 10 of a kind; 204.
metnemai -- to make a campfire and remain close by; 264.
mētōgal -- v. entōgal; 187.
mētuail, ën, ëg -- to be hard, troublesome, sad, difficult; 17, 18, 67, 75, 106, 210, 221, 257.
  contr.: mētuail
mētuunāg -- bad weather; 91.
  * Maillard: mētuag;
  contr.: mētuunāgteg
mētuippugwēg -- [it can be heard swaying]; 237.
md tujv -- still at present; 226, 228.
mēwilai, matisenig -- to grieve, lament; 264, 271.
mgesen -- mocassin, slipper, soleless shoe, house slipper, Indian foot-
  wear; footwear, shoes, boots; 38-9, 40, 214, 257, 261, 287, 322.
  ne/mgesen, ge-, u-, my, your, his shoe; ne/mugsen, ge-, u/mugsen,
  my, your, his shoes, boots.
mgesenām, men, nag, noltigw -- to have footwear; 121.
mgesenami, nam -- to have some shoes, to be shoed; 287.
mgiğen, emiğigen -- fish-hook; 214, 298, 322; ne/miggen, ge/-, u/-,
  my, your, his fish-hook.
mgiğenatgw -- (fishing) rod; 322.
mētōg -- v. mētōg; 241.
mgiğen -- ice; 287.
mgiğen -- ice; 287.
miaw, miawg -- [v. mēgwaig]
mēgwawg -- the middle of the hut; 236.
mēглаweg -- nave; 236.
miauw(eg) [miawj] -- cat(s); 14, 24, 37. [cf. gajewj]
miauiagweg, meluiaagweg -- noon; 106, 226.
-miggen -- v. miggen.

Migmawaj -- Micmac; 22, 35, 37, 46, 247, 286.

migmā - pl. migmatut - voc. pl.

miğmawei -- Micmac; 41.

migmawi -- to be a Micmac; 206, 251, 286.

migmawisi -- to speak Micmac; 262.

Migmawisingawaj -- the Micmac language; 226.

migmawisgwij -- to be a Micmac lady; 46, 286.

migmawisgwj -- a female Micmac; 35.

migmawisgwêj -- a young Micmac girl; 35.

Migmâwâs -- the nymph of the forest; 25.

miguang, apten, temâg -- to see, regard with pleasure; 300.

migwitâlemeg, tetem -- to remember (willingly, easily); 118, 183, 290.

miji -- v. mi'iti, mi'isi.

mijijg -- still; 227.

mijipjgai, gan, gat -- to stock up on food; 264.

mijipjgewi -- food; 23, 27, 140, 293.

mijisi, sin, sit -- to eat; 69, 71, 227, 276, 277.

[At Restigouche: miiti [miiti]].

mijisotelg -- to take care of, to give to eat, to cause to graze; 187.

miji, mijij -- v. mi'iti, mi'isi; 71, 227, 276, 277.

mijuajijewi -- to be a child; 286.

mijuajijewal/esis -- he made himself into a child; 196.

mil, milal -- mile(s) [not used; nonce borrowing].

milamūgul -- diverse things; 143, 156, 224.

milâsi -- to play, to do various things, to amuse oneself, divert oneself; 76, 224, 247, 249, 259, 260, 277.

milesi, sin, sit -- to be rich; 70, 71, 222, 224, 247, 265.

milésuinu -- a rich person; 252.

milésutui -- riches, wealth; 71, 224, 322.

milgutai -- to be richly dressed; 224, 265.

mili -- number, quantity; variety; 70, 224.

Mili -- Emily; 17, 18.
milisi -- to speak different languages; 71, 262, 276.
militīsi -- to have various kinds of thoughts, to muse; 224.
miloğvet -- a chatterer; 224.
miltawengwel -- various requests, invocations; 224.
milvigasit -- mottled; parakeet; 224.
mīmai [obs] -- v. mīmai.
mimaji -- to live; 175, 190, 209, 225, 227, 242, 260, 265.
u/mimajinuma -- [read u/mimajinuma]; 312.
mimajuāgan -- life; 286, 322;

'n/mimajuāganem, g/-, ug/-, my, your, his life.
mimajuāganem -- to use, enjoy, make life; 286.
mimajuāganemi -- to possess life; 286.
mimajuāganī -- I am the life; 278.
mimajuānā -- living being; individual; person, someone; pl.:

the people, nations; 44, 74, 138, 143, 197, 214, 242, 252, 258, 286, 312, 320.
mimajuinui -- to be a person; 242, 286.
mimajuinumī, -numi -- to have people dependent on oneself; 286.
mimajung, junem -- to endue with life, to give and maintain life, to
give life to; 185, 192.
mimajunsi -- to be given life.
mimajunusi -- to give life; 192.
mimaltung -- anointment; 226.
mīmātu -- to oil; 247.
mimei -- oil; 22, 27, 38, 247.
mimi - to be hungry; 259.
mimentet -- rolled up (wound up top); when spinning; 38, 268, 309.
mimwāgan(el) -- acorn(s); 189.
mimgwānomusi -- the oak; 189.
mimgwātu -- v. mimwātu; 275.
mimgweg -- to anoint; 185.
mimil -- sugarco almond; 40, 143, 247 (no sing.).
mimūgāleg, tu, tağ -- to hide [lit. and fig.]; 236, 261, 275, 304.
mīnijg -- fruit (in general); 31, 188, 256.
mīn/ioğ -- [you fruits]; 289.
mīnit(el) -- [minute(s)]; 203.
mīnuāleg, tu, tağ -- to renew, return to life; 192, 304.
mīnualesi -- to renew oneself; 192.
minuatasi -- to be revived, renewed; 261.
minuatagei -- to revive, renew; to do reviving; 192, 221, 267.
minui -- anew; 73, 180, 221.
minuliteg -- revived; 217.
minui usgijnui, -nuin, -nuit -- to be reborn; 73.
minunsi -- to revive; be revived; 33, 43, 70, 221, 236, 247, 261.

mē/mis, gē/mis, wē/is/al -- my, your, his older sister [or: respectful reference to any person with a sufficient age difference, but not old enough to be called nupum]; 46, 214, 247, 275, 315-316, 317.

miségen -- rags; 286. miségenam -- to wear rags; 286.
Misel -- Michael, Michel; 27, 42, 45, 258.
misémín(g) -- currant; 38.
misgu/g -- at Miscou; 285.
misogw -- as far as; until; thus far; up until; 17, 18, 120, 194, 205, 227, 231, 296, 316.
mitašLEG -- to withdraw from him; 304.
mitašalg, atem, tēmaš -- to stay apart, keep apart (from); 306.
mitašleg, tu, tāeg -- to separate, remove; 304.
miti -- poplar; 17, 18.
mitiei, -tīeg, -tiel -- of poplar; 40-41.
mīnai, mīnemai -- to take snuff; 264.
mitugwal/as -- v. amituugwal; 62-63, 276, 306.
mitwal, mitwatem -- v. muwal, muwatem.
mjige/igtug -- [in/dirt]; 302.
mijašamijusieieg -- spiritual; 90. [cf. -ijašami;]
moqopaš, mōgopaš -- wine; 143, 286.
moqwe, moqwa...gisna; 237; v. mu...gisna.
Mois -- Moses; 17, 279, 298, 316. [< Fr. Moïse]
moțua gatu -- not precisely; perhaps not; 234.

msańtagt -- floor; 29.
msal, msatu -- [v. mesélleg]
mségé -- v. méségé; 75.
mségilg, msegig -- v. msegil.
msél-, msél- -- v. msegélmenog.
msen- -- [v. mesneg]
msetantes -- v. mestanem.
mset tami -- everywhere; 232.
msét tésigel -- all things (collectively); 198.
msét/uèn -- each and every one, everybody; 212, 224.
msigwies -- v. msigwies.
msjas -- v. mesig.
ne/msigwang, ge-, u/msigwan -- my, your, his eyelashes; 319.
msiguégtišjg -- [at the little hayfield]; 264.
msigwies(g), msigwèj, msigwies -- sparrow(?); 255.
msin/as -- v. mesing.
ntawégen -- flag; 29, 189, 287.
ntéln tésijg, tésigel -- ten; 26, 29, 41, 198, 201, 202, 203, 222, 199.
ntélnağan -- [v. ntéln, ptui ntélnağan-]
ntélnévei -- tenth; 200, 257.
ntema -- v. métémai.
ntéšan -- baby, the last child (even an adult); 29.
ntésgem -- serpent, snake; 29, 255.
ntesgi- -- v. mtesgi-.
ntiağatestağan -- (a) search; 29.
ntijin -- thumb [finger and measure]; 29, 204.
ntoğań -- garment, coat; 29, 275.
ntoğalawisog -- they would not have come down (from the woods); 84, 180.
ntuámigwasin -- 289.
ntuè/tew -- v. métuèj.
ntuğunağ- -- v. mentuğunağ.
mtunogt — bad weather, storm, snow storm; 29, 274.


mu ansema — not, in no way; 234.

mu...gisna, moqwe...gisna, moqwa...gisna -- neither...nor; 52, 237.

mugsen — v. agesen.

mui — sea duck; 37. muiaq — pl.

muin — bear, the Great Bear (constellation); 17, 18, 35, 37, 45, 181, 201, 251, 254.

muinaq — young bear; young of an animal; in general; Ursa Minor (little bear); 254.

muivalg, atem (at Rest.; miwalg, miwatem) — to thank; 14, 187, 208, 220, 276.

mujaji, jin, jin — to love; 70, 247, 260.

mujja, mujgaj — excellently; 221.

mujgajéwei — well done, excellent; pleasant, suitable, agreeable; 49, 221.

mulagej(g) — v. melagej(g).

mulagejg, mulagejumi — butter; 14, 257 [cf. tepulewei].

mulgag, atem; temag — dig; hollow out, turn the ground over; 179, 247, 306.

Mulian — Montreal; 24.

sulin — mill, any machine; 247, 268. [< Fr. moulin]

mu lniim — not too; 29.

munemgwej(g) — marmot; 254, 257.

mu ngutéi — than, it is not the same, not likewise (after mëj, më); 50.

munsa — very remarkable, extraordinary; 221.

munsiaq, munseiaq, somet — to beset, to flatter, ccax, cajole; to strive, to do, to persist; 176, 221.

munti(l) — bag, pocket, sack, projecting beam or boom; 25, 36, 70, 143, 205, 247.

muntij — small sack, bag; 247.

mu pa — not for sure; not really; (v. pa) 18, 164.

musapogjat — soft; 39.

musapunel — [v. usapun].

musgatu — to point out, to show; 38, 133.

musgwalg, atem, temag — to embrace, to lick [vulgar, exc. for dogs, etc.]; 306.

musgwiag — the weather clears; 107, 267.
musgun -- the sky; 247.
musgunamug, musgit -- blue, the color of the sky; 189, 247, 254.
musguniğen -- cubit; 204.
Musi -- Monsieur (obsolete); 240.
Musieu -- Monsieur; 237.

musigātu -- to clean, to clear, to strip; 133.
musigisgetug -- up in the air; 289.

musualg,atem, temāg -- to lack, to be bored of; to miss; 118, 306.
musei -- handkerchief; 40.

mūta -- v. māte.
mu tā gatu -- is it possible? not possible; nevertheless, no; 237.
mutgulpūguāsi -- v. emutgulpūguāsi.

na, nat -- that, this; there is; isn't that so; thus then; now, however, here is, now, therefore; (emphasis particle used super-abundantly in Mi'cmaq conversation) [cf. gc] 14, 17, 18, 20, 25, 33, 50, 53, 62, 64, 71, 73, 79, 90, 134, 138, 143, 149, 175, 178, 183, 185, 187, 189, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 222, 223, 224, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 239, 247, 251, 257, 258, 262, 275, 276, 277, 278, 282, 286, 287, 288, 293, 294, 301, 308, 309, 310, 317.

nağiij -- to delay, neglect; 188, 227, 260.
nağijīgei, gemgel -- to neglect, to delay; be in the process of delaying, neglecting; 227, 260.
nağijīj(āl(āl)), mē- -- a little later, just now, a little further; '227, 232, 246.

nağal/as -- v. engāleg, 303.

nağala, nağela -- those' an; 208, 209.

nağalg, nağtem, temāg -- to leave, abandon; 271, 288, 302, 306.

nağemajējg -- an easy thing; (it is) easy; easily; 49, 107, 123, 143, 192.

nağanam, multitug -- to draw w/a vase for drinking; 272, 276.

nağanamai -- to drink; 272.

nağanapsei -- to draw from a well for drinking; 272.

nağapēmisug -- maid; 253.

nağapet -- servant, server; disciple; apostle; nağapem/el unağapenpma.

nağapuguei -- to speak slowly; 227.

nağasi/tes -- v. neņeņzi; 260.
nāgat -- those (an.); 208.
nāgatgēlemeg, gēltem, temāg -- to have discomfort, repugnance because of, to be uneasy with (an.); to find difficult, cumbersome (inan.); 271, 299.
nāgati, tin, tit -- to shoot an arrow; 71, 259.
   fut.: nāgati--

nāgātu- -- v. nāgātu; 133.

nāgēg, mē nāgēg, nāgēgēlēl -- late, later, a tendency to be late; 227.
nāgēgel -- farther, later; 232.

nāgela -- v. nāgala.
nagjiji, -jijg -- to be light (an., inan.); 260.
nagjisi -- to speak fast; 262.

nāgjit -- domestic animal; 308.

nāgjulg -- to domesticate; tame; 308.

nagoštēsgem -- to arrive by day; 227.

nagowāsī -- to travel by day; 260.

nagowi -- of the day; 227.

nagowisi, -wiag -- it makes day; 227.

nāgsāsi -- to advance; to prevent, to hurry; 227, 293.

nāgsī -- promptly, fast; 76, 133, 224, 227.
   contr.: nāgsī.

nāgtem, men, teg -- [v. nāgala].
nāgweg, -gel -- day(s); 23, 25, 40, 43, 56, 62, 202, 212, 228, 260.
   u/nāgum -- his/day.

nāguset -- the sun star of the day; 34, 183, 227, 247, 251, 260, 287, 309, 312.
   u/nagusetem/el

nāgusetėwei -- watch; 23, 268.

nagusetewit -- it is the sun, a sun; 183, 287, 290.

naj -- [v. eneg]

naji, also nas, nat -- to come for (the purpose of); to be just about to; to have the intention; 20, 62, 168, 189, 208, 221, 232, 247, 293, 312.

najineg -- to come to tempt; 298.
   najineinamejel -- he comes to tempt us.

nala -- those (an.); 208, 212.
nalagi, ěin, ěit -- to be diligent, fervent; 259.
nalaiw -- late, far; soon, near (place); 17, 18, 227, 232.
    mē nalaiw -- too late, too far; 17.
nalgiši, nuqwałtugosi -- to comb one's hair; 262, 298.
nalgun(g), nuguwalgu(on(g) -- comb(s); 39, 247.
nalqwaštogsepeneg -- he drew it out; 321.
nalqweg, nuqwalweg -- to comb; to comb one's hair; 298.
nalmoğtami -- to skin (eels); 259.
nalsigu(m), men, gug; nalsigu, ěun, ěug -- to scratch, to scrape; 121, 136.
namâši, sin, sit -- to go in the direction of the wind; 76, 247.
na msêt, nan amset -- that is all, it is finished, the end; 212, 224.
nân -- five, five times; 20, 199, 202, 203, 236, 247, 251, 317.
    nànağigel -- 5 dollars; 202.
    nànapsešigjig (an.) -- 5 round objects; 202.
    nànapsegel (inan.) -- 5 round objects; 202.
    nang -- 5 (wt. or measure); 204.
    nànisgešáigel -- 50 dollars; 202.
    nànoğsit -- 5 long round objects; 201.
    nànâgal -- 5 long, round objects (inan.); 201.
    nànuğumuğw -- to go 5 in their boat; 204.
    nànuğunâş -- 5 days; 203.
    nànuğunit -- he's 5 days old, this is the 5th of the month; 203.
    nìnunâsîg -- 5 fathoms; spans of the arms; 205.
    nànuhmêisišijig -- 5 of a kind; 203.
    nanutëšîg -- to kill 5 of (hunting or fishing) by striking or
    knocking senseless; 204.
    nan (amsêt) -- v. na msêt; 212.
    nànàwëi -- fifth; 23, 27, 200.
    nànegw(u) -- [v. angëniw]
    nànägw, nânägw, nanjig -- to be five [in no.]; 259.
    nänîjig, nîg âî -- five (an., inan.); 41, 181, 199, 247, 279.
    nànispâsîjig, nanîspa(âl) -- fifty; 41, 181, 199.
    nàntuawai -- v. natuai; 90.
    nàntunëg, tunëg, tunëwëi -- to seek (with the hand), to feel; 185.
    nàntêm, nantëni -- always, without cease; 179, 227, 247.
na pa jëla, na ta jëla -- quite certainly; 233.
    nàpeqwig -- male small animal (otter, fox, etc.); (added to generic
    noun); 36.
    napëjig -- little cock; 254.
    napëlgeug -- v. naplugeug.
napeltug -- conductor, captain; 294.
napemàgw -- male fish; 35, 37.
  nàpe'mà -- pl.
napesem -- male canine (added to generic noun); 35.
napesgw -- male animal (added to generic noun); 35.
napew(g) -- male fowl, cock, bird; 36, 254.
napgaâ, gul, gwin -- to replace, to hold the place, to be curate; 33,
  177, 247, 297.
  nàpge'm -- to depict, to copy.
napgwajel -- vicar [lit.: he replaces him]; 33, 247, 297.
napi -- [do again; quote]; 91.
  nàpi matemânej -- let us walk in his footsteps.
napiâ -- male whale, seal, etc. (added to generic noun); 35.
naplugueug, napelgeug, gewatem, temag -- to follow; reproduce, imitate;
  294.
naplugueug, tem, temag -- to repeat, respond; 297.
  nàpeg, nem -- to return; 184.
nappuneug, watem, temag -- to occupy the place, to replace, succeed;
  294.
naptesing, tesg -- to have the same fate; to have the same destiny;
  122, 274.
napugwan -- [ship]; 259.
napuigasi/t -- [his/picture]; 143.
nàpuigâ -- to copy; 180.
nàpuigi'gen(g) -- portrait(s), image(s), photograph(s); 39.
n-as -- v. eneg.
nas -- v. naji.
nasaptegei -- I come to see; 232.
nasaptem, nasamg -- v. nassamg.
nasgaâ, gem, gemaâ -- to clothe; 296.
nasgo'law, -fâg; nasgu'law -- board(s); 34, 39.
nasgvet, nasgultigâ -- virgin, young girl, servant; 25, 33, 51, 106,
  159, 287.
nasgâ'gâna -- ring, jeweled ring; 287.
nasoteg, telam, lemag -- to dress, to lay on (scapular, veil at
  baptism); 307.
nassam/g, nasaptem; nasamg, nasaptem. -- come to see [cf. nasaptegei]; 207, 217, 221, 232, 312.
nastagalatiji -- [they hitch him up, put a harness on him]; 321.
nasun -- a floating lifesaver; 287.
nasunigen -- dress, best clothes; 287.
nasusgwaw, gwağ -- snowshoes; 37, 287.
nát -- [v. na, náii].
ata -- v. nátawi.
na taa -- without doubt; 233.
natağamasi -- to go across; 32.
na têla -- v. na pa têla.
natalâleg -- to do something to; to disturb, harm; 305.
na taliâg -- something happens; 222.
nataâmi -- somewhere around; from somewhere; nearly; 18, 62, 205, 230, 232, 251, 264, 276.
natawi -- v. nátawi.
natel -- there; 33, 50, 73, 138, 211, 231, 232, 247, 251, 258, 268, 270.
natégâleg, tu, tağ -- to take out, pull out, deliver; to get out; 133, 304.
natégâsi -- to extricate oneself from a difficult spot; 260.
natégaspâleg -- to tear away, pull out; 133, 304.
nat goğwei -- something, that thing; 25, 211, 310.
na tisip -- then; 257.
nati- -- v. nei.
nâtitiy -- 220.
nat/tam/ultes -- I will come to ask you; 221, 232.
nattawağtemai -- I come to ask for, to seek; 232.
natuağaneg -- Eel Ground; 90.
(< natuai -- to harpoon)
natuaï, an, at -- to harpoon; 90.
also: nenatuai, nantuai.
nat'ung(ig)...toğ gteg(ig) -- some...then others; someone...then another; 212.
na tujiw -- then; 257.
naujî, naugji -- that is why; 211, 237.
nawéi -- Noah: 22, 42, 209, 256. [< Fr. Noé.]
nawig -- (it is) impossible; a thing which one cannot attain, that one cannot do: 22, 87, 107.
nausaputağan -- earring: 287.
négafigwai, éwan, éwat -- to be blind: 90, 240.
néga -- in continuing, at full length, and so on; right straight ahead: 22, 227, 232. [cf. wéga.]
négela, wégela -- these, these things, them, these; formerly, these past days, in that time: 17, 32, 56, 134, 149, 158, 163, 168, 176, 180, 197, 208, 211, 213, 225, 227, 228, 229, 237, 238, 257, 260, 293, 299, 308, 312, 313.
négela tlisip -- at that time: 208, 228, 238.
négemowei -- his: 23, 41, 213.
négemwit -- it is he: 207.
negemow -- they: 26, 28, 206, 207, 209, 211, 276, 277, 308, 310, 320.
négemowei -- their: 26, 213.
négét -- [v. néi.]
neqa -- a flood in the house: 91.
négku, énu, éug -- to bring game: 135.
négafigwek- -- sit quietly (under): 136.
nequsioji, egeigw, gutiw -- to go look for meat: 105.
nei, nén, nétt -- to die: 33, 103, 247. (natigw, natitij)
neištu -- to point out: show: 133, 304.
neiag, aptem, taim -- to go to see: 300.
neiafenaq -- dawn: 268.
néitgšleg, tu, taq -- to show by sticking out (tongue): 304.
neli ji -- [v. nei]
némgiq -- fish: 9, 14, 37, 121, 288.
nemjemi -- to have a fish: 288.
nemjij, agogomaw, agogomegw -- herring: 14, 37.
nemjui -- to be a fish: 288.
nemigusi, sin, sit — to be seen; 72, 193.
nemisi, sin, sit; tigw, tultigw — [v. nemig].
nemitasi -- to be seen; 193.
nemitegei -- to see; 267.
nemitemgel -- [v. nemig]
nemivi -- to see (in general); 191. (intr.)
nemjåleg, tu, taq -- to raise; 133, 304.
nemjåsi -- to raise oneself; 154, 260.
nemlapogsin -- to be dragged along; 274.
nemul(eg) -- v. nemi-.
nénaq, nénat, nenem -- to know (by sight); 119, 138, 176, 217, 223, 269, 270.
nénaqâsi, itaq -- to hurry; 227, 260.
enaqgei -- to be hurried; 262.
enaqitaq -- v. nenaqitasi.
nenaqitasi, in, it -- to want an object quickly; 17, 18, 70.
enagiw, nenägi -- fast; 227, 233.
enatuai -- v. natuai.
enâpenâleg, tu, taq -- to claim one's rights; to avenge oneself; 304.
enesatsgitem -- to divide; 118.
enâtiq -- v. eñâtiq.
enâleg, nenâtâu -- v. eñâleg, eñâatu.
enâsi -- to stop; 260.
engepitgesinesgwe -- gnawing; 274.
engepitgetesing, tesg -- to gnash the teeth; 274.
engetesin, tesg -- to tremble; 274.
ennuñtijal -- v. nénaq; 138.
nenuitâlemeg, tätêm -- to know it in the mind; to remember (in being given an account of the thing); 118, 183.
nenustaq -- to know by the voice, know his voice, the voice; 178, 297.
èp, nèpèn, nèp -- to die; contr.: npiès; 20, 33, 42, 43, 120, (222)226, 233, 240, 292, 296, 302, 310, 317.
èfai, èn, èt -- to sleep; 89, 242, 261, 265, 287.
èfag -- to put to sleep; 179.
èfag, bol, baín -- to kill; 10, 14, 179, 180, 241, 255, 258, 301, 306.
nepasmasi -- to lie down; 260.
contr.: npasmasi/tes.
nepateeg -- soporific; 267.
nepateeg -- poison; 267.
nepategi -- to kill; 267.
nepatu -- [v. nes] to get for oneself; to make one's living; 179, 211.
nepawisg -- moonlight; 123.
nepilg, pitem -- to take care of, to give remedies to, as a doctor;
188, 271.
contr.: npit/tes.
Nepisigwit -- Bathurst; 286.
nepotegesena -- murderer; 256.
nepaleg, nepatu -- to elevate; raise; 134, 304.
nepaapi -- to look up; 261. No contr.
nepsetgewal -- to bring up; 304.
nepsetgwiapa -- to look up; 261. No contr.
nepatu -- to juggle; to dream, to reflect, to muse; 275, 310.
nputitgiga -- the deceased; 126.
nas -- three (in combination); 198, 199, 202.
nasijig, nasigel, nasitili, nasigag.
nasigel -- three dollars; 202.
nasipgesig -- 3 round objects (an.); 202.
nasipgesigel -- 3 round objects (inan.); 202.
nasipunik -- I'm three years old; 90, 203.
nasipuneg -- three years; 203; 285.
nasigegaigel -- thirty dollars; 202.
nasigedig -- 3 (long, round) objects (an.); 201;
(inan.)nasigal.
nasogetgel -- 3 (contents); 202.
nasugumugw -- to go 3 in a boat; 121, 204.
nasuguna -- three days; 202.
nasugunit -- he's 3 days old; this is the 3rd of the month; 202.
nasugusalai -- to spend 3 months; 203.
nasuleigw -- there are 3 boats; 204.
nasunemigsi -- 3 of a kind; 204.
nasutanaji -- he takes 3 of them (game); 204.
nasutagi -- to kill 3 of (fishing, or hunting) by striking, knocking senseless; 204.

nasesi, san, sat -- to fear, mistrust, to suspect danger; 90.
contr.: nsas.
nasaleg, tu, tag -- to cure; 115, 304.
nesamugwai, gwan, gvat -- to drink; 90, 277.
contr.: nsamugwais.
néséi -- to be cured; 263.

contr.: nésé/tew.

nesesijig -- [v. nesisijig]
nesgawei, gaweigw, gautigw -- to sing; with gestures and responses; 106.

contr.: nsgawe. nsgawağan -- this song.
nesgwağ -- [it talks back]; 185.
nésisijig, nésisgal, nesisijig -- three (ani., inan.); 41, 49, 70, 103, 136, 204, 205, 257, 274, 285.
nesisgâsijig, nésisgâgal -- thirty (ani., inan.); 41, 199, 202.
nésisigw -- we are three; 262.
nesplie, ieigw, iatigw -- to have with oneself; 103, 136, 276, 283.

wigatigen nesplet -- he has a book.
nesplie wigigemgéweí -- a slate (to write on); 136.
nesplit -- v. nesplitew.

nestâg, nestem -- to understand; 55, 57-8, 66, 108-116, 117, 119, 132, 137, 139, 141, 142, 146, 178, 221, 297.

contr.: nset/tes.

nestemai -- to understand; 197.
nestemalséwâ(i), n, t -- to interpret; 51.
nestemalseug, watem -- to make understand, to interpret someone; 176, 197.
nestemalseugsi -- to be interpreted; 197.
nestuei, atigw -- to understand; 269.
nestuei, oltigw -- to be intelligent; 233, 269.
nestuing -- to recover; to correct, warn, instruct; 192, 301.
nestuimi -- to recover oneself, to correct oneself.
nestuimume -- to correct (in words), to reprimand [intr.]; 192, 268.

contr.: nstuiumetew.
nestuit/si -- to have the use of reason; 269.
nesuna-- -- have 3 of them; 185.

Nesusuti -- Trinity; 204.
nésutağ, tem, temâ -- to fear, mistrust; 170, 263, 297.
nesutaji -- he kills three; 298.

nët -- this, this one, that one; pl. these: 20, 207, 208, 212, 226, 247, 292, 310. p. nëgët.
netaği -- to be ashamed; (30), (31), (123), (180), (258), 262.
nëtağiisâ, otem, temâ -- to humiliate, to make ashamed; 295.

contr.: ntaeïwas.
nêtaigağ -- to frighten; 176.
nêtatasultinej -- let's go, take care! 237.
nêtatasuti -- intelligence, wisdom; 221.
nêtatugulit -- to be a clever hunter; 70.
nêtau -- v. nêtau.
nêtawâgatog -- [he handles it cleverly]; 294.
nêtauam -- to know how to swim; 120.
êtaweu -- to call, cry out (appropriately), to sell by auction; 25, 106.
êtaweu, wig, woltijig -- scouts; 221.
êtaweu -- v. nêtauig.
nêtauganam -- to be skillful in using snowshoes; 278.
nêtau, nêtau, nata, nêtau, ntau -- signifies capacity, ability;
(115), (178), 189, 207, 221, 259, 289, 296.
[contrary to mês, q.v.]
nêtauwesig -- to give willingly as food; 187.
netna -- that's it, all right; that is to say, precisely; that's what;
nêtopligtâg, tem, temag -- to wrestle against, to revolt, make war;
297.
contr.: nêtoplîg/tusenel.
nêtauai, ain, aig -- to be a scout, spy; (?52), 74, (?72).
nêtugsitimenai -- to obtain necessities (by hunting); in general, to
earn a living; lay in provisions; 80, 264.
contr.: nêtugsitima, entugsitem.
nêtuguli, lin, lit -- to chase, hunt; 70, 227.
fut.: nêtu--.
nêtuïsagâg -- to sell for someone; 179.
contr.: nêtuisgoletes.
nêtuïsgâd -- to sell; 266.
contr.: nêtuïsgâd/wanig
nêtuïsgemg, gem, gemâg -- to sell; 301.
contr.: nêtuïsgem/atisnu.
nêtuïsgêtu -- to sell; 130, 134, 224, 275, 308.
contr.: nêtuïsgêtus.
nêtuug, ult, ulajel -- to be missed by someone; 288-9.
nêtupeî -- to make war; 207, 259.
nêtuweî -- to reclaim; 264.
nêtuâl imposed -- to be capable; clever (in building a canoe); 70.
new -- four; 23, 199, 205, 317.
néwaigel -- 4 dollars; 202.
néwapsgesijig (an.), néwapságél (inan.) -- 4 round objects; 202.
néug -- 4 (weight or measure); 204.
néugumugw -- to go 4 in a boat; 204.
néugunit -- he's 4 days old; this is the 4th of the month; 203.
néugusalai -- to spend 4 months; 203.
néwipunai -- I'm 4 years old; 203.
néwipungég -- 4 years; 203.
néwiségalgel -- 40 dollars; 202.
neunasig -- 4 fathoms, spans of the arms; 205.
némugn -- to go 4 in a boat; 204.
némugnusahí -- to spend 4 months; 203.
niwi -- Iva 4 years old; 203.
niwiplgeg -- 4 years; 203.
n6misgdgaigel -- 40 dollars; 202.
n6ugw -- 4 (weight or measure); 204.
neugt -- one, an; once, one time; 28, 29, 135, 178, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 227, 228, 257, 258.
néugulig, néugtalig -- one dollar; 202.
néugtang -- I take one of them (game); 203.
néugtangpsesi (an.), néugtangsgél (inan.) -- 4 round object; 202.
néugtél, tél, tajel -- to kill one by striking, knocking senseless; 204.
néugtipner -- I'm one year old; 90, 203.
néugtipnú -- one fathom; span of the arms; 205.
néugtipnú -- one night; 203.
néugtesat (an.), néugtesál (inan.) -- one (long, round) object; 203.
néugtú -- one (contents); 202.
néugtú -- one day; 202.
néugtú -- he's one day old; this is the 1st of the month; 203.
néugtasalai -- to spend 1 month; 203.
néugtú -- one fathom; span of the arms; 205.
néugtu -- multiply by one; 205.
néugtu -- one of a type; 204.
néugtu -- one single family of that sort; 204.
neugtamugsitijel -- his equal; 259.
neugt angwian -- a generation; 267.
neugtšpugetig -- the great French sou, the English penny; 202.
néugt -- one thing; 90, 199, 202, 224, 279, 317.
neugtajig -- a group, a class; 255.
néugtjig, tšjg -- one (cardinal) person, thing; 33, 41, 89, 120, 189, 199, 208, 211, 224, 255, 257, 308, 309, 317, 318, 320.
neugtajig, néugtajel -- they are one.
néugtwištoq -- he speaks alone; soliloquy; 204.
neugti, ngui, ngutei -- the same, only, the same thing; likewise; uniquely; 14, 27, 149, 204, 209, 221, 224, 227, 258, 309.
nēugtigit -- a single progeny, a unique son; only, unique: 33, 204, 259, 292.
neuitgisgeg -- one day; a whole day; 203, 227.
neugtipug -- one winter; 136, 257.
neugtisgaáwe -- tenth; 22, 200, 257.
néugtisgësijig, néugtisgaál -- ten; (ani., inan.); 41, 61, 115, 120, 166, 198-9, 204, 282.
néugtisgaáigel -- 10 dollars; 202.
néugtisgëgugunáeg -- 10 days; 202.
néugtisgësili ji jel tapu -- 12 (of them); 115.
neugtitelem -- (I) think only of (him); 224.
neugtitjag -- all night, a night, one night; 31, 227.
neugt siniwa -- one last time; 228.
neugtuvaluet -- to be alone; a bachelor; 204.
néugtung, tunem -- to have (to hold) one of them; 185, 270.
néugtupesti, tan, tat -- my, yours, his unique (son), privileged, cherished one; 204.
neugunáeg, neugunit -- 4 days; 23.
néwajig, néuggul -- 4 (ani., inan.); 41, 199, 257, 258, 267.
neuwipunai -- to be 4 years old; 90.
néwistisgësijig, néwistisgaál -- forty, (ani., inan.); 41, 199, 236.
neunaji -- he has four of them; 185.
néwcowi -- fourth; 23, 200, 203.
néwcowi élugutimgel -- Thursday (fourth day of the week); 203, 228.
ngal -- v. nágalg.
ngani -- old, used, inconvenient; 35, 221.
ngani épitès -- spinster; 35.
ngani lpatus -- bachelor; 35.
nganigan -- an old residence; 284.
nganigwom -- old hut; Bethlehem; 221.
nganipsemun -- chalice; 29, 39, 300.
nganootíten -- [v. nganoppati]
nganoppati -- well, shaft; 29, 38, 265.
nganuisun -- family name; 29, 221.
ngapagsun(g) -- bucket (to draw water); 38.
ngasaiw, ngaseg -- v. engasaiw.
ngasi -- v. našsi, engasaiw.
ngati -- v. našat/-i.
ngatigen -- mine, talent, large coin; 166.
ne-, ge-, u-ngigug -- my, your, his parents; 247, 282, 298, 315.
[cf. wāngigwume]
ge/ngigwinaq -- (our first) ancestors; 45, 254.
ngu-(tes) -- v. ngatu.
ngwet -- hey! The devil!; 239.
ngutapew -- (old) bachelor; 35.
ngutapewisgw -- (old) spinster; 35.
ngutei -- [v. ngutet]
ngutejteu -- [v. ngutejiit]
ngutunenamisgug -- one single family of that sort; 204.
nguti -- v. ngutet.
ngutisgegsuti -- about ten [v. ngutisgengan]; 199, 204.
ngutiw -- at once; 227.
ngutuapit -- [stay alone!]; 310.
ngutun-as -- v. ngutung.
nigamulg, mutu, tag -- to fatten; 179, 308.
nigani, niganiw, nigantug -- before, in front of; in advance; 52, 68, 135, 227, 252, 254, 264, 283, 298, 311.
nigani gijitegewinu(g) -- prophet(s); 135, 227, 252, 254, 283, 298, 311.
nigantug -- v. niganiw; 227.
nigatnèg, nol, nèin -- to follow; pursue, to privateer; 299.
nigatnèwei, eigw, nautigw -- to win a race; 106.
nigè, nígèj -- now; 14, 25, 26, 33, 139, 227, 238, 242, 247, 263, 276, 312.
nigejewel, wel, weg -- of the present; 227.
nigè toê, nigèj toê -- now, now then (conj.); 233, 238.
nogog -- harpoon; 247.
Nigsgam -- v. nigsgam.
Nigtualag, tu, tag -- to separate; 304, 305.
Nigula -- [Nicholas]; 270.
ne-, ge-, uñijan(ê); -ñjan -- your, his child(ren); young; 46, 227, 248, 255, 277, 312, 314, 316. [cf. wēñijanjing]
ne, ge-, uñijgami(j) -- v. nigsgami.
Nijgi, gig -- to be cured; 189, 259.
Nijgulg, ult, ulajel -- to cure; 189.
nijin/tut -- disciples (voc.): 47, (7211).
nilaji -- to be pleasant, nice, affable, sociable; 263.
n̄mai, m̄mai [obs.], man, mat -- to lay in stock for a trip, have provisions for a voyage; 89, 248, 264.
nimāgamigagel -- mountain; 302.
n̄mangewei -- Last Sacrament; 248.
nimōgon(g) -- birch(es); 39.
nimasung, sumem -- to choose: 185, 214, 312.
n̄men -- we, us [exc.]: 33, 50, 52, 158, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 248, 259, 276, 277.
nimēnēwei -- ours: 213.
ninēwei -- mine, my; 23, 41, 213, 309.
ninēwi -- it is me; 207, 309.
ninjagunesin, tesg -- to disgust; 274.
inen -- last summer [v. nip]; 43, 230, 258.
nipenug -- next summer; [v. nip] 43, 258.
nipg -- (the) summer: 30, 43, 123, 258.
nip(g) -- leaf, cabbage(s): 17, 18, 27, 34, 39, 40, 41, 143, 189, 248, 257, 276, 289.
nipi -- night; 227.
nipij -- little leaf; 268.
nipisōgon(el), nipispāgan(el) -- switch(es); rod(s); 41, 245, 267.
nipisōgonteg, tol, tēn -- to whip: 180, 192.
nipisōgontesii -- to flagellate, whip oneself: 192, 262.
nipispāganel -- v. nipisōgonel.
nipuge -- forest; 28.
nipugtug -- of the forest; in the wood: 189, 235.
nisāgasi -- to descend (a slope): 304.
nisāleg, tu, tāg -- to descend, go down; lower: 18, 134, 251, 304.
nisapasi -- to look down: 260.
nisāsi -- go down, descend (stairs): -- 18, 76, 134, 251, 261, 268, 304.
nisegei -- to let fall; 267.

nisgamewa'leg, tu, tag -- to make God, make worship(self); 304.
nisgamewasi -- to become God; 32.
nisgamewi, in, tsg -- to be pious, consecrated to God, holy, divine, to hold as God; 23, 32.
nisgamewi, in, it, ig -- to be God; 23, 32, 70, 229, 279, 288.
nisgamewigan -- the temple of God, or simply holy, consecrated to God; 284.

Nisgamewiga -- Mother of God; 23, 32.
nisgamewitasi, talemeg, telgei, tetem, tetegaie -- to believe (in) God; 32.
nisgamewiti -- divinity; 23, 32, 139.
ne-, ge-, u-, nisgami(j)-el, nisgami(j)/el -- my, your, his grandfather; 26, 32, 46, 48, 215, 222, 248, 288, 290, 314, 315.
nisgamijui -- to be a grandfather; 288.
nisieii -- to fall (from high up); 143, 267, 268.
nisijuatageg -- having come down; 189.
nisijiw -- in descending; downwards; 232.
niweti, n, t -- to dry up; 107.
niwetegeg -- the sea is low [cf. niwiti]; 107.
niwilijai -- to have clean hands; 266.
niwisgunai, nan, nat, nagem -- to be haggard, dropsical; 265.
ne-, ge-, u-, nihan, -el -- v. ne, ge, u-, nihan; 315.
no'gam, men, go'k, guiltigw -- to cough; 121, 248.
npai -- v. nepai.
npasamasi/ -- v. nepasamasi.
npe -- v. nep.
npeg -- death; [cf. nep]; 222, 226.
npi-- v. nep.
npijipotem -- [tobacco pouch]; 290.
ne-, ge-, u-, npim -- my, your, his beverage, tap water, liquid; 220, 322.
npisun -- remedy, cure; 179, 254.
npit/tes -- v. nepitem; 271
apu-- v. nep.
npuâgan -- agony, death; 265, 268, 301.
npuânu, nusgw -- a dead, deceased person; 253, 257.
nsa- -- v. nésai.
nsamuâkâ-s -- v. nésamuâkâ.
nsa/t\ui, nsal- -- v. nésaleg.
nsé -- v. nésâi; 263.
nssepitew -- he'll remain; 225.
nsêt- -- v. nestâg.
nsatetemâswêt -- v. nêstarâswêt.
nsatemâseuti -- interpretation; 197.
nsântânuâgan -- orphan; 29, 288.
nsântânuânâni -- to be an orphan; 288.
nsântueg -- v. nesnteuxi, oltigw.
nsâteuxi -- nesstuig.
nsâteuximue -- v. nesstuimuei.
nsgâsiyel -- [[extending his hand]]; 189.
nsâgtiegel -- [[who carries his hand]]; 212.

Nagawaâgan -- Micmac song; 30, 32, 106.
Gûnâu tonâte éige gânaatugwunê. Response: âê [[/ahê/]]. Final sigh: avia! (/hawiha/!)
nsgawê -- v. nesgawêi.
nșpâg -- at the same time; 30, 227.
nsuâgunağ -- v. nès (nèsugunâg).
nsut/a- -- nèsutağ.
nnagei -- v. nêntâgei.
ntâgoqon -- (sense of) shame; pl.: shameful conduct, shameful things, pleasures, etc.; 30, 31, 123, 180, 258.
nntâgoqonêi -- ashamed; 30.
nntawê -- v. netawêi.
nntawi -- v. netawi.
ntautiwig -- [[if we couldn't talk]]; 280.
nteliey -- v. tiâi.
ntémg -- 309.
ntémgewel -- songs; 218.
ntéplug -- armies; 30, 200, 259, 288.
ntéplulg -- warship; 259.
ntêlili -- [? v. têlili]; 284.
ntog -- song; 32, 227. (telintog)
ntog, ntoğ -- then, next; 227, 238, 290.
ntopligt-- v. nətoplīgtə̃.
ntu/tew -- [v. netuij]; 52, 276.
*ntutesg; ntutoğsep.
ntugsiptem-- v. netupsistemə̃i.
ntuguli-- v. netuguli, ntuisg-- v. netuisg-.
ntowanin, nusgw; nujintoğ -- a singer; 253.
ntupliwèg -- v. netupeli-
ntutm-- v. nətuteməi.
u -- father, daddy, papa, you my father (vocative) [cf. -uij]: 17, 18, 46.
nuel -- the implication is; 18.
uël -- Christmas; 17, 249. [< Fr. Noël]
uwelwimə̃ewaj -- Christmas (Noël); 143.
nugtem -- to pulverize; 290.
nugu; nuğuj -- henceforth, from now on, in the future; 133, 175, 227, 248, 261, 263, 275, 286.
nugwaltuguwat -- to have a beautiful head of hair; [cf. məlweg]; 264.
nugwaltweg, ēşi -- (v. məlweg, məlēşi)
nugwaltugon(g) -- v. məlgun(g).
nugujewaj -- let that be enough for just now; stop; 227.
nugu -- v. sfung.
nugumi -- grandmother (vocative); [v. susunij]; 46.
nujeiwajji -- [she guides them; looks after them, teaches them]; 316.
uji -- of the nature of; one who does (habitually, professionally); 17, 18, 22, 26, 35, 51, 102, 135, 151, 164, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 191, 194, 221, 253, 255, 267, 284, 288, 304, 307, 310.
uji afoqonemuat -- assistant; 102.
uji Gağamatawalsewet -- the intermediary; 102.
uji gestunepilewet -- hanged; 307.
uji ginamuat -- a master teacher, instructor; 221.
uji gəjijiteget -- a learned man; 135.
ujisi euillitéget -- the Very Merciful One; 255.
uji gituńit -- adversary; 51.
uji mağatuigetitiy -- bankers; 164.
nuji nepateget -- executioner; butcher; 267.
uji nsaluet -- doctor; 304.
uji ntoğ -- v. ntowinu.
uji Pgwatawalsewet -- the Redeemer; 102.
uji sgașanet -- doorkeeper, gateskeeper; 284, 288.
uji tpeluget, nuji tpelugewinu -- judge.
uji tpiget -- the Indian agent (the distributor); 102, 175, 191.
uji ugsetawiwet -- the Savior; 22, 175.
uji ugsuatoget -- an officer of the police, policeman; 135, 194.
uji wigiget, wigigewinu -- secretary; 253.

nujotegewinu -- guardian, pastor; 288.

nujotegewinui -- to be a guard, pastor; 288.

nujotemuluj -- (let him take care of our property); 276.

nujotg -- protect; 189.

tulmiteta -- know by heart, ponder, ruminate; 221.

nuniu, nului -- by heart, from memory; secretly, in the heart; 221, 248.

nunai, nan, nat -- to suck the breast; be at the breast; 89, 248.

nunai (niand)
nuntijig

munetjig (Haillard)

munaljg, atem, temajg -- to suck the breast, to suck; 307.

nusesgan -- to poke, stir; 248.

nusesgw -- female animal (added to generic noun); 35.

nusesgwalg -- to nourish; to give the breast; 307.

nusetogon -- my salvation; 189.

nusugwai, gwan, gwat -- to follow; 90.

nusugug, gug gwajel -- to follow, come after, imitate; 236, 294.

nusumsgw -- female beaver; 36.

nutajg, nuten -- to hear; 14, 118, 178, 200, 226, 242, 274, 275, 280, 297, 309, 312.

nutajg -- lack, incomplete; 227.

nutagwej, gugiw -- to watch over the pot; 267.

nutai, tan, tat -- to lack something, miss that; 88.

nutaiw -- late, removed (place); near; 18, 227, 232, 251.

nutam, men, tag -- to lack something, incomplete; 272.

nutamai, men, mat -- to lack; to not have enough of, to be short of (something); 88, 248, 274, 289, 290.

nutantégésenajg -- murderer; 210.
nutapteget -- an inspector, supervisor; 221.
nutasi -- to be knowing, to understand; 261.
nutatesin, tesg -- to come to lack, to come short; 274.
nutaugtiçemuei -- to conduct, guide, to be the pastor, shepherd; 88, 268.
nutem -- [v. nutaÇ]
nutenai -- to learn, hear; hear said; 242, 264.
nutÇwei, éin, èg, èwoltijig -- to be young, inexperienced; 75, 257.
nutneg, nem, newei -- to be a bearer; by extension, a servant, acolyte, candle-holder; 106, 184.
o: -- call (e.g., to prayer); oh; 16, 85.
n/ogemaw, g/ogemaw, w/ogemal -- v. n/ogumaw.
oÇlonmgwetesieg, tesg -- to fall forward; 273.
oÇgmew, tigw, tijig -- to separate; 226, 302, 312, 317.
oÇonipwãtu -- to cache, to hide in the ground, to cover with earth, by extension, to inter, to bury; 133.
oÇosi(g) -- (finger)nail, claw; 9, 14, 16, 38, 182.
oÇotoi -- intimate friend, companion, husband, wife, close buddy (used only between husband and wife); 16, 22, 27, 47, 258.
oÇogotgwÇteg -- to attach, fasten; 180, 257, 312.
-oÇsit, -aÇ -- (so many) long, round objects (ani., inan.); 201.
neuÇtoÇsit -- one long, round object.
tapuÇsitijig -- an.
tapuÇ -- inan.
oÇteg -- (so much) contents; 202, 205.
neuÇtoÇteg -- one.
oÇw, oÇuj -- for; indeed; 11, 14, 177, 183, 189, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 287, 309, 318.
oÇwai, an, at, aÇ -- to land, to arrive by boat, to debark; 11, 14, 16, 24, 89, 251.
oÇwatenug -- from the north; 106.
oÇmÇ -- the north, wind from the north; 123.
oÇwatnoÇwei -- of the north; 254.
n/ogumaw, ogumaw, ogumal; -ogemaw/-ogemal -- my, your, his cousin; 284, 313.
oÇipi -- (Garden of) Olives; 16.
o o o: o niÇgam -- oh God!; 238.
oo (`oho/) -- oh! call, echo; 238.
opelgwijałeg -- v. oplâleg.
opelteg -- [it's in the wrong place]; 276.
oplâleg, tu, tağ; opelgwijałeg -- to offend, profane; 133, 275, 302, 303.
oplategêi -- I do evil, bad; 16.
oplêî, leg, lollijêg -- to be awry; 262.
o ugiît -- oh! for...; 238.
pâgalai, sin, aig -- to be astonished, surprised, to admire; 74, 141.
pâgalam, pâgalaptem -- to see with astonishment, to admire; 53, 271.
pâgalatem, men, teg -- to hear with astonishment, admiration; 271.
pâgalêg, tu, tağ -- to bite; 304.
pâgaluêl -- to bite; 221, 268.
pâgam -- back, 226, 274, 320. pâgam, g-, uge -- my, your, his back.
ng, g-, uggâgam -- behind me, you, him; 231, 236, 320.
pâgam, aphetem, têmağ -- to see clearly, completely; to take complete account of; 271, 301, 312.
pâgañeniağ -- the full day; 268.
pâgaptem -- [v. pâgam]; 271.
pâgapiquîti -- confession; complete confession; 118, 140, 221, 233.
pâgapiquategêi -- to hear a confession; 267.
pâgapiquatem -- to confess (one's sins); 118.
pâgapiquêl, èn, èt -- to confess one's sins; 25, 102, 178, 219, 225, 229, 248, 276.
pâgasaluêl -- to plunge; to make sink; 268.
contr.: pâgasaluêtw.
pâgasiâleg, tu, tağ -- to make fall into the water; to immerse; 304.
pâgasieî -- to sink (intr.); fall in the water; 55, 268.
pâgasiti -- to be bitten; 304.
pâgatetem -- to be certain of a thing; 270.
pâgêgeî, âgetw, setigw -- to throw everything; 101.
pâgênatêg, temağanatêg, tomağanatgw -- shaft, tube; 256, 289, 290.
pâgêwimêleg -- Passover; 236.
pâgêwimêg -- Eater; 142.
pâgêwimêgêg -- past.
paći -- completely (a bit stronger than pahi, q.v.) (pertains to quality); 180, 221.

pahos (g) -- lily; 39.

pahi -- to prepare fish, to cut it; 261.

pahatagan -- the desert; 248, 251, 316.

pahatapateg -- the light of the sun; sunshine; 183.

pahatasi/n -- [glare, radiate]; 183.

pahatateg -- the sun's light; 269.

pahatesg, tesem -- to fill with smoke; 182.

pahatesit -- he is sick of it; 182.

pahesing, gveseg -- shoal, shallow; 274.

pajiji, põjili, pajijiw -- very, above; 18, 26, 33, 51, 149, 150, 153, 189, 221, 222, 248, 251.

pajijiei -- to surpass; 54, 221.

pajijenat -- he is a great deal stronger than I; 51.

Paison -- Pharaoh; 309.

panagatztu -- to open a book; 134.

panatu -- to open; 134.

pangamagleg, tu, taeg -- to deter; 304.

paniaeg -- spring; 43, 225.

paniang -- next spring; 43, 258.

paniljasi -- to open the hand; 134.

paniljatu -- to open another's hand; 134.

pansagatztu -- to open with a key; to unlock; 134.

pantaqtesing -- new moon; 274.

pantatu -- to open (a door); 134, 288.

panteg -- [an opening, clearing]; 230.

Papowagi -- where the Pope lives (Rome); 246.

papowit -- Pope; 23, 188, 248, 257.

paphasi -- to go downstream; descend; go down; 76, 232, 248.

papeg -- below, downstream; 27, 232, 248, 251.

papi, in, it -- play; 18, 70, 189, 259, 276.

papig, itu, itaeg -- to play with something, someone; 143, 293.

papasgan -- game; 24, 270.

paseg -- but [cf. pasig, sig]; 32, 143, 294.
pasegi -- to have a thick skin; 259.
pasēluj -- sparrow; 246, 251, 255.
pasg̱sēmmuatal -- she'll crush it; 45.
pasginessing, tesg -- burst; 274.
pasgusi -- to sleep deeply; 262.
pasi -- [v. gēsi]; 18.
pasig -- v. sig; 224.
pastungewaaj, gēwisgw -- an American; 253.
patatag, tu, taq -- to sin against; 304.
pataluti -- table; 206.
patasuti -- iniquity; 51, 182, 310.
patateqeji -- to commit sins, to sin; 95, 104, 267.
pateqejewinu -- sinner; 302.
patatujei -- [left]; 319, 320.
patatujem -- my/left hand; 319.
patatuqel -- on the left side; 235.
pategisg, gisqeg -- the weather gets bad; 123.
pategw -- [go close to]; 258.
Patis -- Baptist; 249, 251.
pätliasg -- priest(s); n/pätliāsem, g-, ug- -el; 29, 35, 46, 48, 165, 178, 207, 232, 237, 248, 251, 258, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288, 311.
pätliasewi -- to be a priest; 187, 288.
pätliāsisgw -- nun; schoolmistress; 29, 35.
patlíasjij -- clergyman; 48, 258.
pawši, pawoltijig -- to be slow; lazy; 228.
pawi -- slowly; 228.
pawisi -- to speak slowly; 262.
pé -- v. pēl.
pēgaj, pēgajiw -- entirely, from top to bottom; 89, 222.
pēgajwi, ēin, ëg -- to be right, pure, well conserved; 75, 226.
pēgajwag, atem, temaq -- to protect the right, the security of it; conserve, save; 272, 295.
pēgat -- last quarter from the end; 222.
pğenestg -- it gets dark; 123.
pğenitpağ -- v. pğonitpağ.
pegig, m/pegigul; n/pegigul, n/pegugul; g-; ug- -- eye(s); 280, 300, 319.

pegi, jeg, pejigi, peji -- long, a long time; 90, 228, 266, 288, 290, 315.

pegiwew, -laq -- glass; 39.

pegiwetug teli gségumugsin -- honorable vase.

pejisi, nen, sing, sultigw, pejitaeg -- to come, arrive; 33, 53, 56, 62, 63, 121, 236, 274, 276, 309, 310, 312.

contr.: pejisintes.

pejitsitu, pejotu -- to bring, to fetch [cf. wëjgwa]eg]; 135, 211, 251, 275, 310.

contr.: pejitsutes.

pejitsug, si'tu; sùtu -- bring, lead to; 189, 229, 242, 308.

contr.: pejitsulas.

pejitsutasi -- to be brought; 261, 309.

pejigatem, men, -tg -- to remain for a long time in one spot; 117.

contr.: pejigattew.

pejitnem -- to hold a long time; 270, 322.

contr.: 

pejitnematimgwey(-wel) -- sacrifice(s); 182, 258, 268, 308.

pejitnemusi -- to make an offering, a sacrifice; 268.

pejitpi -- to be seated for a long time; 228.

pejittu, tun, taq -- to be late in coming; 276.

pejigualust -- the Long Beard (former chief of Cape Breton); 40.

pejigwaeg, atu -- to procure, acquire, to make, to cause to do, to be the cause; make do; be at fault; 134, 166, 179, 183, 187, 270, 275, 277, 294, 310.

contr.: 

pejwang, pegwanem -- to help, to alleviate (a sickness), to move; 184.

contr.: pegwansit.

pejwatag, tai -- to cause to have, to procure, to be the cause; 165, 197.

contr.: 

pejwatasi, sin, sit -- to procure, to make for oneself; 72, 295.

pejwatatingwey elu'etui -- scandal; 72, 187.

pejwatatingwey -- to redeem; 102.

pejwat awsawai -- to do that for someone, to procure it by intervening or mediation; 159, 197, 294.

pejwatelaq, lem -- to buy; 119, 159, 177, 277.

pejwateliwgi, geigw, geitigw -- to buy, make a purchase; 101, 241.

contr.: pegwateliwgeses.
pegwateluei -- to buy; 268.
pegwategei -- to make; to be the cause; 267.
peigwi, peigwiw -- throughout, entirely, everywhere; 224, 232, 300.
peji -- [accidentally]; 175.
pejilasi -- to go farther, higher, more to the back of the hut; come ahead, move forward; 51, 222, 261.
pejilgil, len, lg -- to be larger; 122, 263.
contr.: *
pejili, pjiili, pejiliw, pjiliw -- more, further, superior, by comparison; prefix of preference [cf. pejili], especially, specially; 14, 18, 26, 28, 30, 33, 51, 77, 87, 121, 135, 175, 193, 208, 222, 223, 230, 241, 257, 258, 263, 287, 310.
pejili apjítimgewei -- the highest benefit, the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist; 174.
pejiligenai -- (to be) stronger; 51, 309.
pejili Nasgwet -- the holy Virgin; 287.
péjipug -- the winter close at hand; 43, 276.
pejipuluei -- to ride on a horse; 290.
pejitaieg -- [v. pegisin]
péjotu -- v. pégisitu.
péjul -- [codfish]; 32.
pelamuega, -muágatigw; pelamugwei, θutigw -- to fish for salmon; 105.
pelétu -- to miss, lack; 133.
pelémmsgw -- male beaver; 36.
pelas -- pigeon; swallow (L. passer), 181, 246, 251, 255.
pél gasgew -- wait a little; 226.
péli -- ?fail (to do something); 188.
Pelinal -- Bernard; 248.
pemağamin, men, mg, multigw -- to walk in snowshoes, advance; 121.
pemağsin, sinen, sing, seg -- to fly; 272.
pémálég, tu, tág -- to carry; 18, 134, 143, 295, 304, 307.
contr.: pmalas.
pesaluei -- to carry, transport in a cart; 268.
péman, mamen, mağ, moltigw -- to swim; 120.
pemangéleg -- the flame burns; 267.
pemapég -- hereditary; 222.
pemafegsit -- to come by generation; 222.
pemapei, peg -- to last; 268.
pemaugsa'gan -- life, existence; 286.
pemaugsuinu -- a person, a living person; 253.
pemaulei, latigw -- to carry on the back; 267.
pemuguaji -- [he surpassed them]; 316.
pemiei, -iaq -- to go, advance; 222.
pemig -- to last; 222.
pemigisgeg -- until today; 296.
pemi nipg -- during the summer; 258.
pemipit -- to trot; 222.
pemipug -- during the winter; 43, 249, 258.
pemipulei -- to ride a horse; 268, 290.
pemi sigw -- during the spring; 258.
pemitegëi -- to make things grow; 136.
pemiteg, pempegitg -- it flows; 123.
pemitgwaq -- [during the autumn]; 258.
pemlugwej -- continue to work; 222.
pemnigai -- to advance with one's load; 266.
pemnisie/jig -- [they're/falling]; 276.
pempegitg -- v. pemitg.
pemten(g) -- mountain, chain of mountains; 38, 256, 265, 268, 289, 302.
pemtesgag -- to pass beyond [lit. and fig.]; 295.
pemtesgesing, gesg -- agitated, tossed; 274.
pemuigigeli -- continue writing; 222.
pemuptu -- to carry on the back; 275.
penegunemag -- to give from on high; 33, 178, 183.
penesgwit -- a litter of animals (added to generic noun); 35.
pénist -- she lays (eggs); eggs of fowl; 36, 248.
peniasgwit -- a litter of whales, seals, etc. (added to generic noun); 35.
ë/penoqitelmaw -- [think nasty things about]; 210.
penoqitëlematiseniga
penoqallagi, tu, taq -- to disparage, humiliate (by action); 304, 310.
pésa'leg, tu, taq -- to scorn, disdain, to value little, despise; 248, 304.
pépsëiag, otem, temag -- to have the upper hand; to disdain; 295.
pépsitèlematiji -- to feel scorn toward, to scorn; 210.
pepsitelgēi -- to feel scorn inwardly toward indeterminate persons; 266.
no contr.
pepsotasi, sin, sit -- to be dominated, vanquished; 71.
pepsotegei -- to conquer, to tame, to treat with scorn; 267.
Résa -- Vincent; 12, 14.
pesaț -- it is snowing; 91, 248, 309.
contr.: psatew, psaj
peseg, pesetu -- to feel, sense; to scent, smell; 182, 275, 276, 284.
pèsâmgówei, pèsâmgówei, wèg -- image, relic of a saint; object of piety; images, medallions; badge; 14, 39, 184, 266, 295.
pèsgâleg, ū, ū -- to divert, move aside; 304.
pesgâleg -- to remove the skin; 304.
pesgatami -- to skin (eels) with the teeth; 259.
pesgatotegei -- to remove the skin; 267.
pesgatpategei -- to scalp; 267.
pâseg, pâsegem -- to fire a gun at someone; something; 181, 269.
pesgèmgeg -- v. pesgèmgeg.
pèsegèlag -- the gun goes off; it fires; 107, 181, 291.
pesgèwai -- gun; 34, 107, 181, 248, 288, 291.
pèsâggówei, in, it -- to have a gun; 288.
pèsâggówiam -- to use a gun; 288.
pesgèwaii -- to carry a gun; 288.
pèsgitpâleg, tu, taț; pèsigpâleg -- to break (bonds); 304.
pesgvesaewi, sautîg -- to harvest, to mow, to reap; 268.
contr.: epesgvesawetaw
pesgvesem, men, sîg -- to mow, to harvest, to shear, reap; 119, 182, 262, 275.
contr.: peseqwestes, ëpesgwes-
m-, n-, s-, u/ pesgun -- v. m/pesgun.
pesgunatâg -- nine; 41, 199, 201, 203, 250.
pèsângunatâgói -- ninth; 23, 200.
pèsângunatâg tâsijîg, tâsigel -- nine; 199.
pèsângunatâg tâsisigâț -- ninety; 199.
p. tâsisgêgâšiğ, -gâgâl.
pesgitg -- it flows in a fork (windsor); 123.
pèsigpâleg -- v. pèsigpâleg.
pesigwei, pesĩgweĩ, gweĩg, gutigw -- to drive wood down the river; 106.
peslutaɡan, pesluteɡemgewel -- parables; 267.
pesluteɡei -- to speak in figures, parables; 267.
pesoɡautigemai -- to err; 264.
pesoɡopsɡalɡeg, ɡu, taɡ -- to miss (duty, road, train) (being in need of it); to violate (commandments); 134, 304.
pesoɡwatu -- to escape, to divert; 139.
pessites -- v. epsi.
pestiɛwalɡ, atem -- to celebrate, to keep as a holiday; 187.
[<Fr. fester]
pestiɛwing -- feast; 12, 14, 70, 251.
[<Fr. feste]
pesunkei -- to speak in figures, parables; 267.
pesunm -- preach; 115.
pesuɡtu -- to dry up; 134.
pesũɡweĩ, gwi, -gweugw, gultigw -- to leap up; to rush headlong; 106.
petegam -- tart, pie; 25, 27, 248, 251.
pesfuɡweĩ -- to swear, in surprise; 267.
petelg -- v. petelg.
petegm -- to scold, blame; 211, 301.
petelg, petelg, let, lajei -- to catch with a line or nets; 307.
petlugsit -- caught in the line; the nets; 307.
petnaiɡ -- [v. petteniaɡ]
petteniɡitɛm, teɡaɡ -- to cut accidentally (with an axe), injure with an axe; 299.
petteniɡ, petniɡ -- the wind rises; 107, 268.
pettesgaɡ -- to meet by chance; 295.
petew -- sauce, soup; 256.
petewei -- tea [no pl.]; 23, 27, 256.
petteweɡ -- teapot, infusion, decoction; 23, 256.
pettewemag -- to give a tea, to have a tea party; 256, 264.
pettogi -- to be injured accidentally with an axe (by another); 299.
petttiɡis -- he/injures himself with an axe accidentally; 299.
petulɡ, petulɡig, petulujig -- to capture fish in the nets; 308.
pewai, -wan, -at -- to dream; 23, 89.
pewalɡ, atem -- to wish, to desire, to need; 9, 14, 23, 24, 27, 31, 117, 159, 162, 163, 187, 189, 209, 219, 233, 275, 294, 298, 305, 310, 315, 321.
pewam, wamen, waq -- to sweep; 23, 114, 120.
contr.: µ
pewasagesetgei, getijig -- to beat grain; 266.
pewjalag, gol, gein, got -- to pierce; 299.
pewig, -wul, -win, pewitu -- to dream about someone, something; 134, 175.
contr.: puina-
pewigei, geigw, getigw -- to sweep; 101.
contr.: puigetes
peulig, pediae, pautigei -- to scorch, singe; 308.
pjadet -- v. pjadajatem.
pjalamet -- v. pjalalalui.
pjan -- walnut [Fr. noix]; 30.
pjanj, pjanjig, malipganj -- hazel-nuts; 30.
pjasaluete -- v. pjasalalui.
pjasite -- v. pjasasies.
pjaw, pjaw or pewag -- spruce bark(s); 39.
pjawigan(uel) -- hut; tepee covered with spruce bark; 39.
pjestaig -- [v. pepestaig]
pjawig -- v. pjawag.
pjawestag -- v. spewesie.
(tali)/pji -- [v. pjiag]
pjisin-tes -- v. pjasin.
pjistu -- v. pjasitus.
pjisul-as -- v. pjasulag.
pjitat - v. pejitatem; 117.
pjitnem -- v. pjitnem.
pjogisigen -- adu pjoisigen -- censer; 218.
pjoqt -- bump, bruise, hump; 30.
pjoju -- fugitive; 30.
pjotanaj -- bastard; 30.
pjugu(g) -- gum(s), resin, incense, wax; 30, 39, 184, 265, 276, 289.
pjawal, pwat -- v. pjawalag.
pjwan -- v. pjawang.
pjwatagat -- v. pjawataag; 165.
pjwatawalesswat -- v. pwatawalesswat.
pgwatawalsew/i-- v. pegwatawalseug.
pgwatel-- v. pegwatelam.
pgwatelige-- v. pegwateligei.
pgwatu/an-- v. pegwaleg.
pguig-- there is some gum; 289.
p gumügan(el), pgumügan-- weapon, whip, birch-rod; club;
 n/pgumügan, g-, ug-- my, your, his weapon; 30, 256, 268, 289, 323.
p wog(u) -- incense-box(es) -- 30, 39.
p gutenem-- to have fire [cf. pugtew]; 289.
pi-- [v. epj]
piangil-- to be very large; 121.
piani-- [much more]; 241.
pila-- Pierre; 11, 14, 18, 24, 44, 50, 52, 240, 288, 321.
piesgemin-- ear of corn, maize; 201, 266.
piesgeminægi-- to clean maize, corn; 266.
Pigtol-- Victor; 12, 14, 250.
Pigtu-- Pictou; 237, 248.
pigwelg, pugwelg, pigweli-- several, numerous, many [sing: many a;
several]; 14, 29, 37, 52, 75, 122, 140, 167, 224, 257, 258, 266, 273.
pigweluñanæg, pugweluñanæg-- a good many days; 91.
pigun-- feather; 18, 248, 251.
pij-- [v. epjt]
pijatog'ol-- [he puts them in]; 319.
pijoñosutig-- pin, knob, latch; 39.
pijoñosutil-- bud; 249, 251.
Filat-- v. Pos Pilat.
pilei, plæg, pilæl-- new, fresh; 40, 222, 248, 254, 257, 261, 301.
pilei ilagutağan-- New Testament; 301.
pilæwan-- new garment; 288.
pili-- new [cf. pilei]; 222.
piloğwat-- parakeet; 224.
piloğwat-- parakeet; 224.
pilsiañg, otem, temæg-- to unduly mistreat; 295.
pilsimañg, siml, simn-- to bear false witness; caluminate; 183, 295.
piltuateg-- strange conduct; 222.
piltuei, piltueg; piltui-- strange, new, singular, first, peculiar; 26, 222.
piltug -- new rope; 222.
pilugwagat -- reddens, blushes; 317.
pilue, pilui -- something else, other, different, another; 25, 40, 168, 180, 212, 222, 287, 300.
piluimâ -- to smell; 265.
piluitelgei -- to be jealous; 266.
pimai, man, mat -- to chase birds; hunt birds; 89, 248.
Pinoeg -- Kentville; 248.
Pio -- Pius; 18, 24, 257.
(< Fr. Pie)

pipnianm/atigi -- interrogate; 319.
pipnuijgatem -- to examine, scrutinize; 118.
pipnâgan(ei) -- bread; 14, 27, 43, 48, 141, 169, 196, 248, 251, 257, 288, 300.
pipnâganegeli -- to go look for, to procure, bread; 197.
pipnâganemâ -- to have bread; 288.
pipnâganëgëasis -- (to make as) bread; 196.
pipnâganâ -- to be bread; 286, 288.
pipnâganijj â -- small bread, a little bit of bread; 48.
pipnâgsigen -- a bread morsel, griddle cake; slice of bread; 48, 248, 251.
pipnâgsigenuj -- little morsel, mouthful of bread; 48, 248-9.
pipnoq -- kneading-trough; 248.
pipnuijgamatil -- [look at oneself in a mirror]; 149.
piptoqgawâtu, piptoqgâtu -- to make round; 134.
piptoqospagâleg, tu, taq -- to fashion (mold) into a circle, a ring; to form, mold; 30, 33, 134, 304.

pipugwângâne -- instruments; 135.
pipugwam/ajel -- [he/toots his horn at/him]; 312.
pipugweug -- to play for someone; 294.
pis -- flea; 20, 249.
pisgataqan -- chain; 249.
pisgjaq -- late, dark, black; 107, 220, 267.
pisgwa, an, at, â; pisgwetâjig -- to enter; 24, 27, 51, 91, 205, 210, 212, 238, 278, 285, 310.
pisgwâleg, tu, taq -- to bring in (various things); 134, 304.
pisgwâtagwi -- v. pisgwâi.
pisvolg, gnotu, tab -- to bring in, to introduce a quantity of; 134, 308.
pisi, sin, sit -- to be inside; contained; 70.
pisuwig -- in vain, uselessly, (consequently), freely, gratuitously; 26.
pitaq, pitogisit -- long (inan., ani.); 43, 187, 257, 277, 322.
pitaqawi -- trousers; 43.
pi'talqaq -- it is deep, high; 38.
pitaluat -- to have a long tail; 254.
pitapagatu -- to lengthen; 134, 275.
pitasuin, men, ig, ultigw -- to walk in the snow; 121.
pitaw -- higher up, up-river, up-stream; 15, 22, 27, 232.
pitawam, wamen, wagg -- to row, swim against the current; 22.
pi'tawaqisi, in, it -- to go up, ascend; to go upstream; 22, 76, 232, 248.

Pitaupog -- Brador Lake; 232.
m/piten(n) -- hand(s), palm [also measure]; 29, 134, 179, 187, 204, 215, 217, 295, 309, 318, 319, 322.
   n/piten, g-, ug-
n/pitenoqog -- arm; 319.
   n/pitenoqog, g-, ug-
pitgasogog -- horn; 307.
pitgenatem, men, atg -- to load (a ship, cart); 117.
pitgwiatigw -- v. pitgawi.
pitlamatem -- to make long (syllable, note, etc.); 272.
pitligai, gian, gag -- to have a long stride; 90.
pitigan -- a new residence; 284.
pitigasi, sin, sit -- to take a long stride; 90.
pitogisit -- v. pitaq.
pittalualia -- lion; 305.
pitogeai -- to put an offering in the collection box; 267.
pituaqan(el) -- hill(s); 256, 276, 288, 289.
pitugung -- mantle(s); humeral veil; shawl; 39, 146, 249, 296.
pitui -- lengthened, raised, moved back; extreme; beyond; at bottom; 26, 41, 48, 199, 200, 202, 222, 283, 288, 315.
pitui qatlanagan -- one thousand; 199, 200, 222.
pitui qatlanagijig, pitui qatlanagan -- one thousand (ani., inan.); 41.
pitui nisgami -- great grandfather; [in past] ancestor; 48, 222, 315.
piitui ujiji -- great-grandson; great-grandchild; 222, 283, 315.
pjilasif -- v. pejilasii.
pjiljig-- v. pejiljili.
pjili, pjiliw -- v. pejili.
m/plagan -- the front, chest; 320.
n/plaganeg, g-, u(g)-; n/usgalug, g-, usgalug -- before, in front of me, you, him; 231, 236, 308, 320.
Plans -- France; 285.
Plansue', Plansua, Plasua -- François; 12, 14.
Plasit -- Placide; 30.
plasolg -- schooner; 30.
Plasua -- v. Plansue'.
plawøj -- partridge; 30, 181.
plegu/1 -- nails; 126, 208.
Plisit -- Brigitte; 30.
plos -- brush; 30. [< Fr. brosse]
pma/1/as, pma/t- -- v. pemâleg.
pmaule/tew -- v. pemauile.
pmai- (< pem) indicates walking, carrying on; 30, 91, 276, 303.
pmiei -- walk; 219, 276, 281.
poqajitâlemeg, tâtem, temâg -- to scorn; 300.
pqji (jit), poqâ -- beginning; 70, 212, 225, 228.
poqigiteg -- his conception; 225.
poqijing -- [it's (surprisingly) starting to run again]; 272.
pqjit -- he flees; 228, 249.
poqonitpag, peqonitpag -- dark night; in general, obscurity, darkness; gloom; gloomy night; 31, 91, 123, 179.
pqâ -- v. poqil.
poqtâgâmin -- to leave on showshoes; 278.
poqtâgâpetegemg -- to look at only one object; 224.
poqtâgei, in èg -- to be alone; 249.
poqtâgi -- uniquely; 224.
poqtâgitâsimg -- fixed idea; 224.
poqtamâgâsi -- to leave (by land); depart; 61, 76, 228, 241, 242, 249.
poqtamgiâgawô-i -- I am the beginning; 76.
poqtangiei -- to go by land; 76.
poqtegin/aji -- he/ordained them; 115.
pogtelugwei -- I begin to work; 228.
pogtenigei -- to set out loaded; 266.
Pol -- Paul; 20, 50, 52, 249.
Ros Pilat -- Pontius Pilate; 20, 33, 42. [< Fr. Fonce Pilate]
Postun -- U.S.A.; 246. [< Boston]
pštltśugs -- Indian island at Cape Breton; 10, 14.
psa-- -- v. peseq.
pseψwes-- -- pesrvesen.
psigpat-- -- v. pèsčipélag.
ptéqim-- -- v. pétqimq.
pua-- -- v. péwaj, péwam.
puaqan -- dream; 24.
puat-- -- v. pewatem.
pusu, pusuaq -- bushel(s); 25, 39, 70, 205; [< Fr. boisseau]
(--)pug -- winter; 43, 77, 222, 249, 258.
wéqgulqug -- (the) winter (that) comes.
péqipug -- the winter close at hand.
pémipug -- during the winter.
stéqipug -- last winter.
aqtaqug -- in the middle of winter.
Puqseg -- Charlottetown; 27, 249.
puqseg(ul) -- piece(s) of firewood; woods; 30, 40, 249, 277, 288, 308.
puqsegem, -gumi -- I have some (fire)wood; 288.
puqsegqwi, -qwig -- to be woods; there are woods; 288.
puqtenemai, mameq -- to have a fireplace, a place of assembly; 289.
puqteq -- fire; 23, 270, 289.
puqtemewij, majis(el) -- match; 23.
puqteqwi, wig -- to be fire; there is one; 289.
puqtemewij -- intoxicating beverage (fire water); liquor; 31, 79, 289.
pugtewqwom -- (fiery) furnace; 23.
pugweaq(g) -- swallow(s) [bird]; 40.
puqweqit -- he advances; faces; 231.
pugwequtes -- [face (some way)]; 285, 312.
pugwei -- half; 25, 205.
pugweq -- v. piwelaq.
PUGWELUGUG

PUGWELUGUG -- there are many people on the shore; 121.
puqwelugugu -- v. πικωλελυγωναμ.  
puqweletaγan -- sieve; 322.
pugi -- 276.
π/pug(u)l, n-, g-, u- -- v. περικ(ul).  
(n)puqum, z-, uγ -- my, your, his gum, quid of tobacco; 30, 39.
π/piqumaγan, g-, uγ -- [v. πγμαγαν]
pui -- v. περικ.
puiγέ-τες -- v. περιγεί.
puiγεν(γ) -- broom; 39.
puljaγαμίατε -- gushing; 265.
puljain -- locomotive; 249.
-(i)puŋi -- to be (so many) years old; 90, 203.
puŋin/πuŋī -- to be one year old.
punaŋaγ -- to leave alone; 294.
punaŋé -- v. πusul punaŋέ.
punaneuγaγ -- v. πusul punaneuγaγ.
punafei, ḫag -- to lack, cease; 228, 268.
punatemge:wel -- badges of temperance; 269, 275.
punatu -- to abandon, to renounce; to cease, stop; 51, 134, 220, 249, 275.
punäγei, ṣeigw, ḥetigw -- to leave, to stop doing something; 101.
punëwεnem, men, ng -- to stop talking, crying; shut up!; 119, 228.
punëwistu -- be quiet; to stop talking, speaking; 26, 228, 275.
punëgre/u -- [stop staying there]; 287.
-(i)punëqeg -- (so many) years; 203, 224.
puni -- to stop making (beer); 134.
punįqotẹga -- stop sulking!; 104. [< ḥtẹgei]
pumilasi -- to stop playing; 76, 249.
punnemias -- [stop seeing (someone)]; 317.
punsespẹši -- to stop amusing oneself; 249.
punsin -- (I) stop flying; 284.
puntemi -- stop weeping, crying; 70, 249.
puntoγsi -- to stop wailing; 70, 249.
punulγwal(u)l -- I/stop following/you; 51.  
[< punatu ma julγwalul]
puowin -- sorcerer, wizard; (shaman); 26, 40, 46, 253.
pusg-- v. pusgi.
pusgatalomeg -- greediness; 122, 222, 258.
pusgi, pusg-- inclined to, custom, rather bad; without cease, without end, without measure; frequently, subject to; in disorderly manner; carelessly; 74, 134, 188, 222, 228, 249, 259, 278.
pusgi ugaimg -- anger; 74.
m/pusgun -- the chest; 249, 320.
   n/pusgun, pesgun; g-i ug-- my, your, his chest.
pusi -- to leave by canoe; by water; 16, 18, 69, 70, 76, 225, 262.
pusigw -- we leave in a canoe.
pusultigw -- we leave in several canoes.
şustemit -- who weeps a lot; 70.
pusuel -- good evening (obsolete); 228.
   [< Fr. bon soir]
Puṣuelg -- a place on the Richibouctou River, where a Frenchman greeted his friends with "bon soir" after a brawl; 228.
   [< Fr. bon soir, + -g]
şusul -- good day [archaic]; 183, 228, 250, 296.
   [< Fr. bonjour]
pusuleugtağ -- to say good day; 296.
   [< Fr. bonjour]
şusul şunañe -- good year; 228.
   [< Fr. bonne année]
pusul şunañega -- to wish a good year; 296.
putai(g) -- bottle(s); 39, 43, 201, 208.
   [< Fr. bouteille]
puştemai, man, mat -- to lack, omit, to get out of doing; 39.
putep, putup, putap -- whale; 12, 14, 289.
putapesgw -- female whale.
puşualg, ate, teme -- to sound the trumpet; 307.
putusuinu -- orator; 53, 253.
sa-- v. esan.
Şağ -- Jacques; 20, 249, 251.
şağ -- a long time since, long ago; 27, 63, 139, 208, 210, 228, 249, 251, 287, 290, 309.
Sagalın -- Zacharie; 246, 251.
sắngamasgw -- [v. sátmasgw]
sắngantesg(el) -- to fall softly; 123.
sắngati(g) -- needle(s); 18, 39.
sắngatuetesin -- to fall, to stretch out on the ground; fall full length; 122, 193, 274.
contr.: sángatuetesin/tes.
sángawei -- old, ancient, from in the past; former, of former times; 22, 38, 40, 228, 258, 263, 301.
sángawei ilagutağan -- Old Testament; 301.
sángawejg -- the ancients; 42, 228.
Sagâj -- v. Sagâji.
sángentesing, tesg -- to fall slowly and to extend (snow); 274, 309.
Sagâj, Sagôj -- dim. of Jacques [v. Sâg]; 250, 251.
sánglopi -- hair ribbon; 261.
sángmasgowi -- to be a lady; 189.
sángmasgw(âg), sángamasgw -- chief's wife; lady, woman, mistress, Indian woman; 36, 48, 253, 311.
sángmasgwêj, -gwejîj -- a young lady; 48.
Číngam; sángmağ -- son of the chief; little chief.
sángmawagi -- district, organized territory (with a chief); 22.
sángmawi -- to be a master, lord, chief; 33, 42, 70, 189, 289.
sángmautivo -- authority; 256.
sagog -- Jacob; 217, 263, 280, 312.
ságpígun -- tear; 217, 257.
sángsîs/îog -- cedars; 289.
sángsigwei, gweigw, gutigw -- to fish by torch; 106.
sángsigwesem, men, sg -- to light (by rubbing); 114, 120.
contr.: sángsigwes-tes.
sángtağ, tem, temâğ -- to obey, to do something in obedience, to respond to an appeal; replaced by jîgsetem, getlansetem; 30, 33, 50, 119, 223, 297.
sâl -- shawl; 20, 249.
(< Fr. châle)
salâwej -- salt; 22, 27.
Saln -- Charles; 29.
(< Fr. Charles)
Salnot -- Charlotte, Jeanotte; 29.
samāleg, samātu -- to touch; 134, 189.
sam- -- [v. ṭaṣṣař.]
samugwan -- water; 48, 49, 143, 151, 175, 235, 265, 276, 289.
samugwanatu -- to change to water; 196.
samugwanij -- frog; 289.
samugwanjij -- a little water; 48.
samugwat -- [he drinks]; 265.
sān -- John, Jean; 20, 246, 249, 251.
[< Fr. Jean]
san Nuel, Samuel -- Jean-Noel, Samuel; 249.
sansu -- one piastre (little used today); 202.
[< Fr. cent sous]
santé -- holy; 223.
[< Fr. sainté]
santewai -- (to be) holy, a saint; 22, 33, 159, 254, 311, 313, 322.
[< Fr. santé]
\( n/santem, g\), ug- -i.
Santewi Mawomi -- the Church (holy assembly); 254, 322.
samuel -- v. San Nuél.
sapūleg, tu, tağ -- to save, to get out of difficulty; 305.
sapamg, sapartem -- to penetrate; 300.
sapaptegei -- to penetrate all; 300.
sapi -- to be getting people out of difficulty; 305.
\( j\)apatis -- John the Baptist; 249.
[< Fr. Jean-Baptiste]
sapat -- v. Elisabêt.
sapétimāgw -- dolphin, grampus; 37. [cf. Read., p. 54.]
sapētimağ -- pl.
sapewi, win, wit -- to be wise, holy, virtuous; 14, 25, 26, 29, 38, 45, 70, 73, 190, 193, 235, 251, 255, 258, 263, 305, 309, 310, 313.
sapewi -- I become wise, holy; 190.
sapēwimun -- a saint, wise, holy person; 73, 253, 313.
sapēwimui -- to be a saint; 263.
sapēwitelsi/n -- [to think oneself a saint]; 237.
SAPUTI(1)

sapūti(1) -- grace(s); courage; virtue; wisdom; 24, 33, 36, 49, 70, 73, 119, 135, 184, 257, 261, 302.
sapitgewesing, tesg -- to squint; to look at out of the corner of one's eye; 274.
sapmitiţenn -- v. sāpus; 318.
saponug -- tomorrow; 43, 207, 228, 242, 258.
saptesguaji -- [he touches them (with something he's driving)]; 205.
sāpus -- pierced; 217, 235, 318.
sās, saj, sog -- v. ḍesāg.
sasewāsi -- to change; 261.
sasewātu -- to change; 11, 14, 18.
(< Fr. changer, formerly /šačewača/)
sat (/šat/) -- scat! (to cats); 18.
(< Fr. chatte)
alai -- Gēdōn; 253.
sēg -- in vain; 20, 179, 210, 222, 232, 249, 317, 321.
sēgépen(g), sīgāpun(g) -- sweet potato; 39.
     wēngūisīgāpun -- turnips.
ségewali -- to rise; 309, 312.
sēgēwat -- rising of the sun; 264.
sēgēwei, -wel -- from nothing; a trifle, a useless thing; found (sprung from nowhere); 30, 212, 222.
sēgēwinu, nusg -- a stranger; a pagan; 253.
sēgwisgālag -- v. sēwisgālag.
selusalam(g) -- Jerusalem; 91, 261, 302.
sem -- v. ędemēg.
n/sem, g/sem, u/g/sem/el -- my, your, his niece; 720, 727, 29, 7251,
     316.
semgelačši -- to look up; 261.
     no cōntr.
semgw -- wild goose; 37.
     semgwāg = pl.
semftatiu -- [cf. smāsi, lismāsi, ismāsi]; 204, 309.
semtug -- v. sesmtug.
n/semu, gēsnu, u/g/semu/el -- my, your, his horn; 312.
semewtu/tēs -- v. sesmuwētu.
semwining -- v. sulming.
semngw -- the bustard; 181.
sengatigen -- raft; 123.
sent, sentel, sensel -- cent(s); 202.
(Eng. cent)
señusagnemug -- from the southwest; 106.
sepa -- v. sepa.
sepa, ain, aig -- to hunt in the morning; 74, 228.
sepañatu -- to close a book; 133.
contr.: spañatu.

sepai, sepa -- this morning; 43, 63, 228, 258.
sepèságaleg, tu, tag -- to lock up; 305.
sepiljeng, jenem -- to hold in the hand (closed); hold tight in the hand; 185, 269, 309.
sepiljotelg, telem, lema -- to put in the hand (wax candle, etc.); 188, 307.
septumaleg, tu, tag -- to close the mouth, the muzzle; 305.
seaga, men, ég, sultigw -- to be barefoot; 121, 285, 286.
sega, èn, òt -- to cry out (in a disorderly manner); 25, 105, 177, 232, 312.

sesitg -- it flows in all directions [also of the spirit; it loses its way in distractions]; 123.

sepañuwe -- to speak the wrong way; 222.

spesel, spesag -- restless; to be inattentive; disturbing, restive; 222, 249, 263, 276.

speselag, otém, temag -- to disturb, trouble, molest; 295.

sepsanag -- noise, disorder; 134, 249, 251.

spesetasi -- to be restless; 222.

spespu -- dissipated, restless; 222.

sepsuñatagen -- bell; 250.

SusuguUl -- Jesus Christ; 18, 33, 90, 175, 184, 211, 257, 258, 265, 283, 292, 295, 310.


Sesuñatagen -- he is Jesus; 285.

Sétan, Sent Ann -- Saint Anne; 249, 314.

Sétan -- of Saint Anne; 254.
Setnug = Grand-Pré; 249, 251.
m/setuagan -- ear; 274, 319, 321.
n/setuagan, g/setuagan, ug/setuagan.
sewg, sewggel, or sewggul -- sweet; 40.
sewgweii, -wêl -- delicacy(ies); 40.
sewigenat -- weakened, listless; 265.
sewigâleg, séwigâleg, tu, taâ -- to break, crack; to break up, violate; 134, 193, 305, 318.
contr.: #
sgaluen -- v. gesaluei.
sâsigwes= -- v. sâsigwesem.
sât -- v. sâtaâ.
sâtu -- v. gatu.
sâtuetesin -- v. sâtuetesin.
sâtulg -- you are obeyed; 258.
sgeimal -- v. esgemaît.
segmtug, sement -- next, then, moreover; immediately after, all of a sudden, at once; 30, 228.
sâminjiij -- [a little seed; a little bit of seed]; 276.
sigiesi= -- v. esgipesi=.
sâpôtimuç -- v. espôogwig.
-sgw, -swâg (pl.), -isgw = "female person" ending; 34-5; 37, 258.
sgu -- leech; 30.
sâwegwig -- female small animal (otter, fox, etc.) (added to generic noun); 35.
(-)sgvâj, -sgvâjij -- feminine ending for young; 35, 37.
sâwemêgw -- female fish (added to generic noun); 35, 37.
pl. sâwemaû.
sâwesem -- female canine, bitch (added to generic noun); 35.
sâwew -- female fowl, hen; 30, 36, 254.
sâsâs(g) -- weasel; 30, 36.
siâwâsi -- to continue, to proceed [lit. and fig.]; 261.
siâwî, siâwi -- often, continually, constantly; 24, 228, 276, 303, 317.
sig, pasig -- only; 20, 139, 180, 209, 211, 224, 249, 256, 266, 277, 279, 286.
sigentâg, sigentu -- to baptise; 287, 297, 303.
SIGENTASI

sigentasi -- to be baptized; 203, 209, 258, 278.
sigentasuti, sigentating -- baptism; 297.
sigentasum, musgu -- a Christian; a baptized person; 253, 297.
sigentating -- baptism; [v. sigentasuti] 133, 297.
sigentatingewei -- catechism; 285, 297.
sigentu -- v. sigentag.
sigogus -- March; 202, 246, 251.
sigtēg, tēm, tēmēg -- to wound, kill; 254, 299.
sigteging, tesg -- to fall from one's full height, to collapse; 274.
sigw -- (the) spring; 20, 43, 77, 249, 258.
sigwap -- widower; 253, 289.
sigwafewi -- to be a widower; 263, 289.
sigun -- last spring; 43, 249, 258.
sigundēj -- sparrow; 255.
sigunmōg -- next spring; 43, 249, 258.
sigusgwewi -- to be a widow; 263, 288, 289.
sigusgul -- [widow]; 241.
m/sil -- lips; 29, 257, 319.
sindw -- suddenly; all of a sudden; 228.
sipēliw -- often; 18, 24.
sipeliw, sipeli -- in rank, in series; 228.
sipeluguatuann, -gualeg, -puguatuann, puguolgig -- to arrange them (ani., inan.) in rank, in series; 228.
sipdōg -- that is hard, tough; 77.
sipisagāg -- flexible; 322.
sipinaqsasi -- to extend the hand; 261, 308.
sipistaqanosuti -- pin; 249.
sipsulg -- to make tremble; 308.
sipu-- river; 18, 36, 49, 230, 249, 251, 257, 270.
sipuatu -- to change into a river; 135.
sipuēs -- fresh water mussel; 255.
sipusis -- v. sipujiu.
n/sis, g/sis, u/sis/el -- my, your, his elder brother; 29, 46, 316, 317.

m/sisgw -- face; 30, 177, 319.
  n/sisgw, g/sisgw, ug/sisgw

sisgu -- mud; 249.

n/sisgug -- before me (face); 236.
  m/sisgug, g/sisgug, ug/sisgug.

sisip -- bird [cf. ḥpū: ]; 14, 249, 251, 289.

sidpewi -- to be a bird; 289.

sismošon -- sugar; 245, 251, 276.

sismošoni/t -- [he's/a diabetic]; 189.

sismošoni/maš -- sugared; that has the taste of sugar; 265.

sispanigen(g), suspanigen(g) -- soap; 39, 250.

sist -- three, three times; 30, 62, 90, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 227, 279, 317.

sistėwaj -- third (one) [rank, grade, etc]; 201.

sistėwei -- third, thirdly, third time; 23, 138, 200, 203, 228.

sistėwei -- to be third; 76.

sistėwei, sluqutimgel -- Wednesday (3rd day of work); 203, 228.

sisuameleg -- to blaze; 267.

sisuei -- [(a) blaze]; 319.

sitmugu, gun, guq -- to blow one's nose; 136.

m/situn -- throat, neck; also tongue, language, voice; 319.

siwatėtem -- v. siwatėtem.

siwe, -sin, eč -- to be bored, tired; 24.

smāsi -- lie down! [? v. lismsa: ]; 238.

snewai, snewel -- maple; 30, 189, 276.

sneweiei -- of maple; 30, 189.

so -- 251.

soqwatem -- to be bored somewhere; 270.

soqopgesein -- to strike one's head against something; 274.

soqotemi -- to vomit; 259.

soqotesin -- I throw myself, hurl myself against; 274.

sosop -- Joseph; 42, 45, 46, 249, 258, 275, 301.

spangātu -- v. spangātu.
Spaniol -- Spaniard; 36.
spaniola -- pl. [<Fr. espagnol]
spaniolsi -- 21.
spisgwotuanel (?) -- v. pisgowolq. [p. 308]
staqa, staqa -- v. istaqa.
stoqon(g) -- fir(s), fir branch(es), branch(es); 39.
stoqong gewgumjig -- Palm Sunday; 39.
stoqonamug, namugsit -- green; 39, 254, 268, 309.
sual -- almost; as it were; nearly; 25, 56, 57, 183, 234, 290.
sug -- Sook (proper name); 20, 250, 258.
sugwi -- aunt (voc.); 46.
n/sugwis, g/sugwis, u/sugiws/el -- my, your, his aunt [sister of parent of same sex]; 46, 264, 274, 315, 316, 317.
sugulagaq(al) -- rotten; 40.
sugulegai -- to rot; 40, 264.
sugusgw -- widow; 253.
sulisat -- v. seidsgaleg.
sul -- Sewell; 20, 250, 251.
suliewegai -- to go to procure money; 197.
suliewei -- silver, money; 24, 105, 140, 164, 174, 194, 223, 235, 289, 303, 323.
   n/suliewei, sulieweiem; g-; ug- -- my, your, his money.
sulieweiem -- I have some (available) money; 289.
sulieweiei -- of silver; 24, 120.
suliewdig -- there is money; 289.
suliewdeimi -- to have some money; 289.
suliewdeigwom -- bank; 24.
sulnalij -- small journal; 175, 178, 250, 251.
   [<Fr. journal]
sumalgi -- sou [lit.: piece of copper] [now little used]; 202.
sun(al) -- berry(ies); cranberry(ies); 40, 250, 257.
sunati -- knoll; 250, 274.
sunawi -- to fast; 253.
sunning, semwining -- rosary, string of beads [no singular]; 14, 39, 163, 178, 183, 205, 221, 255.
Supi -- Sophie; 18, 251.
supin(g) -- cup(s); 39, 205. [lit., quart, pint a little less than a liter]
asupanjağen -- v. sispanağen.
ta -- (used after a word) is it? is that what? is that?: 16, 18, 90, 120, 138, 162, 165, 168, 192, 204, 210, 211, 212, 223, 229, 231, 233, 234, 237, 239, 251, 258, 270, 277, 282, 286, 287, 289, 309, 310, 315.
tagalij -- goose; 246.
contr.: tľam-ás.
taľtağatimegovei -- a telegram, a message; 104.
taľtalog, gaľtalog -- a serpent, a large lizard, crocodile; 255.
taľteg -- [v. taľameg]
taľtegei -- to strike, to pat; by extension, to telegraph; 101, 104, 250.
taľtem -- [v. taľameg]
talagut/em -- what is your relation; what relation are we? 272.
(na)talameg, talatu -- to treat in a disagreeable manner; what did [ ] do to [ ]? what is [ ] doing?; 134, 222, 305.
ta;/atege/y -- [what is wrong with]; 279.
tal/aughtigel -- what is their price?; 202.
talái, -léin, -låg -- how is one, in what state; [talåg:] well! what? Is it so? How is that?: 75, 89, 239, 262.
taláig, otam, temeğ -- how to treat; 295.
taľgig, taľgilg -- how big?; 205.
tali -- how; 18, 45, 75, 90, 184, 188, 204, 205, 208, 222, 232, 234, 267, 270, 278, 280, 284, 287, 301, 309, 320.
talișeg -- what is there?; 267.
tali amaseg? -- how far?; 232.
talilåtem -- to value it at all; 270.
taliganig -- what sort of dwelling-place is that?: 284.
talim/ates -- [what will you tell him?]; 208, 309.
talimsgesenag -- 208.
talitåtem -- to value it; 270, 276.
talugwevi -- to make something; work how?; 222.
talpiteg -- for what length; 205.

talpitegisit -- how tall?; 204.

talsip -- when?; 234, 257.

taluengi, getijig -- to what good?; 266.

taluai, en et -- what does (one) say?; 18, 310.

taluisi -- what is (one's) name; 26, 70.

tan -- v. etang.

tami -- where; 16, 18, 105, 106, 139, 149, 210, 220, 230, 232, 234, 285, 286.

tamial -- towards where?; 16, 232.

tami ta -- wherever; 18, 27.

tami sëg -- elsewhere; 232.

tan, tâneg, tâneg -- when, at the time when [v. tan -- that which]; 43, 228, 250, 257.

tâneg -- past.

tâneg -- future.


tana -- [-that]; 233, 236.

taneg -- v. tan; 228.

tan engasaiw -- as soon as; 22.

-tang, tanjig -- to take (so many)[fish or game]; 204.

tan gsoq -- weight; what it weighs; 205.

tan pasig -- as you wish, it does not matter what; 224.

tan pa tami -- anywhere; 232.

tan ya tujiw -- it does not matter when, any time; 228.

tan teluisi -- one's name; 26. (lit.: that which you are called)

tan tës -- so many times; 198.

tan têsigel -- all things (distributive); 198.

tan tël -- [where they came from]; 257.

tan t lisip -- when; 31.
tan tujiw -- [when, whenever]; 277.
tân wên -- a certain one, someone; 211.
tanug -- v. tan.
tapatat(g), tapatan(g) [latter at Rest.] -- potato(es); 14, 39, 202, 250.

Talian -- (an) Italian; 36.
Taliang -- plural.
təpi -- v. əpi.
Tapit -- David; 27, 45, 52, 249, 254, 296, 312, 320.
təpuagli -- 2 dollars; 202.
təpuapsgesi(al), təpuapsgel (inan.) -- two (round) objects; 202.
təpuug -- two [weight or measure]; 204.
təpuugumugw -- to go two in a boat; 121, 204.
təpugunağ -- two days; (33), 42, (142), 202, 236.
təpugunit -- he's two days old, this is the 2nd of the month; 203.
təpuqusalai -- to spend two months; 203.
təpuipunai -- I'm two years old; 90, 203.
təpuipunáeg -- two years; 203.
təpuisgáunağ -- 20 days.
təpuitpağ -- 2 nights; 203.
təpuileigw -- there are 2 boats; 204.
təpuinasig -- two fathoms, spans of the arms; 204.
təpunemig -- multiply by two; 205.
təpunemigisi(gj) -- two of a kind; 204.
təpuoíg(e)l -- two [of contents]; 202.
təpuogisi(gj) (alin.), təpuag (inan.) -- two (long, round) objects; 201.
təputaŋji(g) -- you take two of them (game); 204.
təputaŋgi(g) -- to kill two of (in fishing or hunting) by striking, knocking senseless; 204.

təpuówistögg, təpuówístuti(gj) -- dialogue; 204.
təpuúgul -- v. təpuúzi(g)is.
tapugunağ -- two days later; two days being past; 33, 42, 142, (236).
təpuisgá(al), təpuinsgá(al); təpuisgáisi(g)j -- twenty; 26, 41, 199, 301.
təpuisgáutig -- the twenty pieces (of Joseph); 202.
təpuisgésutig -- about twenty; 204.
təpu mièln -- twenty; 199.
tapunaji -- he has two of them; 185.
təpuoujá -- second (one) [rank, grade, etc.]; 201.
təpuowai -- second; secondly, the second time; 23, 200, 203, 228.
TAPUWEI ELUGUTIMGEL

TAPUWEI ELUGUTIMGEL — Tuesday (2nd day of work); 203, 228.

tapowdi — to be second; 76.

tapusijig, tâpuqul — two persons, things; 41, 51, 61, 90, 183, 198, 199, 208, 210, 211, 237, 250, 256, 257, 258, 276, 309, 313, 317.

tâs — how many times?: 20, 105, 198, 224, 234, 250, 251.

tásaigel — how many dollars?; 202.

tâs ajiet — what hour is it? to how many degrees has the sun advanced?; 203.

tâsipunä — how old are you?: 90, 203.

tâsipungeg — how many years?: 200, 203, 224.

tâsitpâg — how many nights?: 203.

tâsoqsit — how big, long?: 205.

tâsoqsiyig (an.), tásâgal (inan.) — how many long, round objects?: 201.

tâsugunit, tásugunâg — how many days?: 203, 224.

tásuigus — how many months?: 203.

tásunâsîg — what depth?: 205.

tâsunâmig — how many [of a class]?: 204.

tâsâg — what capacity?: 205.

Tâséwei, Tâséwaj — what is his rank?: 201.

Tâséwétës, Tëseg, Tëte — what will be my, your, his rank?

Tasiyig, tasi — how many; 70, 198, 225, 250, 282.

Tasisijig — 275.

tasugusalai — how many months?: 264.

tatuiji — (to) what extent, what age?, etc.; 90, 224, 232, 234.

tatuijw — when?: 257.

tawaštëma — v. ātawaštëmaí.

tawâlsëwá — v. ātawâlsëwáí.

tawai — former nickname for an Indian [cf. tuei]; 22, 317.

taulenäsi, in, it — to open the mouth; 22, 76.

të — [v. të gatu]

Tëg, Tëgig — to kill (so many) (hunting or fishing) by striking, knocking senseless; 204.

të gatu — oh how much?: 239.

tëgig — it is cold, it gets cold; 9, 14, 49, 222, 241, 245, 251, 257, 258.

contr.: tugenug, tgetew.

tëgijig — it is a little cold; 49.

tegelamseg — cold wind; 106.

tëgelajig, lâjgal — to be few in number; 260.
TELAPSGEG

Tegelugumag -- some days; 91.
Tegn, tegnig, tegenel, tegeni, tegeneg -- who?, which?, whom?,
what?: 40, 43, 211, 239, 250, 309.
Tegn oew -- what then?: 239.
Teig -- cold; 222.
Tegig -- it is cold; 77.
Teigisseg -- cold day; 106, 222.
Teginipg -- cool summer; 123.
Tegipug -- cold winter; 136, 222.
Teigtpag -- cold night; 91, 222.
Tagotem, men, t6 -- to attend, to be with; assembly): be
present together; 52, 118, 136, 177, 192, 246, 272.
Contr.: 

Tegseg -- wind from the northwest; northwest; 106, 232.
Tegseggol -- from the northwest side; 232.
Tegvaluat -- to have a short tail; 264.
Tegweleg, iul, iwin; tagotem -- to be with, to assist; 30, 31, 33,
177, 188, 220, 290.
Contr.: 

Tei -- v. otei.
Taj -- either; 20.
Taj -- [v. sim.]
Tel -- [v. tel]
Telaqig -- a flat, round piece (of such circumference, or such worth);
202.
Telaqutem -- such a one is my relative; 272.
N/telajel -- [v. telei]
Telalag, telatu, tag -- to make thus, to treat thus, to render thus,
' to do this t6: 134, 191, 193, 194, 275.
Contr.: 

M/telamilug -- entrails, insides; 28, 30, 33, 259, 318.
N/telamilug, nto telamilug, utelamilug.
N/telamseel, g/telamseel, ug/telamseel -- my, your, his lap; 320.
Telamug(ul) -- like, similar; 31, 33, 40, 90, 115, 129, 127, 128,
Telamugsi, sin, sit -- to appear such; 71, 276.
Telapsgeg -- [it (a lump) is that big]; 202.
telaptem -- to look at thus; 269, 271.
télapmeg, guëigw, guatígw -- to speak thus; promise; 103, 133.
  contr.: telaptem

télási -- to act thus, do thus; 76, 190, 212, 263.
ntélataγan -- [my] fault; (I'm) responsible for it]; 194.
télastasi -- (to) be treated thus, (to) treat oneself thus; 193.
télataγei, telotaγei -- to do thus, make; to have that attitude, manner
of doing; 104, 191, 208, 267, 279.
  contr.: télóγei

telatigel -- v. télóγei.
télóγu -- v. télóγego.
télóγtiγ -- to be worth that much; 202, 208, 320.
télóγi, lán, lá; -lajel; -latigel -- to be such, in such a state; be
that way, thus; behave thus; 33, 52, 53, 75, 189, 190, 191,
  contr.: télóγtiγ

télóγiγ -- to treat someone thus, to take as such, to be of such an
attitude; 75, 191, 289, 295.
telem -- to estimate; 753, 269, 1275.
  contr.: tel/tes
telemego -- to instruct, to lay claim to, to make pay a bill; 259, 269.
-temego, têtem, þetemego [tr.]; [intr.] -tâsi, -tetâsi -- verb
  endings expressing thought, desire, mental state, complacency,
  intention, wish; 118, 183, 187.
telemmuγi -- [charge that much]; 191.
télóγi̇wi̇stū -- to speak thus; 135.
telgei -- 191.
telgêm -- to be thus dressed; 269.
telgemaγul -- seasons; 258.
telgil, len, lg, gig -- to be of such height; 122, 138, 159, 189,
197, 270.
telgim, telgi̇tem, þasig -- to prescribe, command; 58, 75, 91,
153, 189, 200, 223, 271, 297.
telguși -- to sleep thus, to dream; 202.
telgutai -- to be dressed thus; 265.
téli -- thus; 14, 18, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39, 50, 62, 87, 89, 91, 103,
143, 149, 153, 156, 175, 178, 181, 183, 184, 188, 189, 190,
197, 207, 220, 222, 224, 225, 227, 232, 250, 251, 255, 258, 259,
261, 266, 268, 270, 272, 275, 277, 280, 285, 289, 290, 295, 296,
  contr.: teli.
téli...téli -- as...as; 50.
tēliāg — that is true, it is just so, it's the truth; 14, 16, 18, 23, 24, 26, 33, 107, 140, 175, 190, 220, 222, 238, 250, 251, 257, 266, 257, 280.

tēliāgwai, wēl — the truth, true things; 23.

tēmi amaseg — such a distance; 232.

tēlej — v. tēlej.

tēliāgāg — that is that sort of dwelling-place; 284.

tēlimai, an, at, aγ — to smell of; to have such an odor; 182, 265.

tēling, mūl, min — to say to, tell to (someone); 31, 45, 68, 142, 154, 159, 168, 184, 189, 199, 212, 309, 311.

contr.: 7

telintu — to sing; 126, 128, 129, 135, 275.

contr.: 7

telipenei — to suffer; (in general); 268.

telīsi, sin, sit — to speak thus; 71, 262.

contr.: 7

telitai, tan, tat — to be of such force, be able to such an extent; 39, 189.

telitāsi — to think thus; 190, 210, 257, 309.

telitassuimui — to be a thinking, reflecting being; 190.

telitassuimui — (I) begin to think; become a reflecting man; 190.

telītelemem, telitetem — to think it, to believe, to judge thus, to suppose; 33, 143, 192, 193, 194, 262, 270, 282, 308.

telitetegei — that is our attitude, our manner of thinking; 191.

tellugwe — I work thus; 222.

m/telmağan — shoulder; 319, 320. n/telmağan, g, ug–.

tēlmetoğaone — his wicked conduct in several things; 95.

tēlmetu — to behave thus; 134, 222.

tēlmeņ, nēm — to hold thus; 184.

telotasi (pāssive); to be thus treated; 193.

teloțegei — v. telategei.

teloțem, men, tg — to find such, to hold as such, to treat as such; 191, 192, 193, 194, 272.

contr.: 7

telopesug — such a distance; 232.

tēlșetemai — to hear of thus; 264.

teltam/gējel — [(we) ask of (her) in that way]; 159.
telanuatigw -- 276.
teltawei, weigw, waiigw -- to ask for thus; 73, 136, 269.
tāltāg, tēm, tēmag -- to strike thus; 299.
teltāgei -- I work that hard; 250.
tāltēj -- let it stay there; 250.
teltēm, tēmen, tēg -- to cut, to hack (with an axe); 119, 250.
contr.: tletēges tletēmāni

tāltoesi -- to be struck; 299.
tēltosī -- to hit oneself thus; beat one's chest; 262, 299.
tēluai, luiegw, luatigw -- to speak, to talk thus; 16, 18, 29, 91, 103, 143, 189, 212, 219, 226, 251, 257, 276, 317.
contr.: tluetes

teluigaseg -- that is written; 173.

n/telui̇ni̇g -- finger; 29, 287, 319, 320, 321.
n/telui̇ni̇gi̇n, g̃̃, ũ̃

tēluisi, in, it -- to be named such, thus; 23, 26, 33, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 69, 70, 72, 76, 77, 90, 94, 100, 110, 116, 120, 128, 130, 137, 141, 142, 190, 198, 210, 256, 257, 270, 309, 258.
teluitem -- to name thus; 31, 50, 118, 175, 182, 209, 210, 258, 271.
contr.: n

tēlu̇m, utēm, tēmāg -- to speak about thus; speak to thus; 302.
contr.: n

nu/, gu/, ug/tēmāg̃̃n; tomạg̃̃an -- pipe; 214, 256, 289, 290, 323.
tēmạg̃̃anat̃̃ -- v. pạg̃̃enat̃̃
tēmạg̃̃āñ̃ei -- [of the pipe, pipe fragments]; 290.
tēmạg̃̃āñ̃i -- sheildrake; shell-bird; 37.
tēmạg̃̃āñ̃ị̣g̃̃ -- pl.
tēmạg̃̃āttēg̃̃, tēm, tēmạg̃̃ā -- to saw; 299.
tēmạg̃̃ātēgei -- to saw; 101.
tēmasig -- it splits; 226.
tēmawei, tomawei, wēl -- tobacco; 22, 202, 256, 289, 290, 323.
n/utomawei, g̃̃, utomawei

tēmawei, wetmaweịmi -- to have some tobacco; 289.
tēmaweịjīj -- [a little tobacco]; 290.
tēmg -- firstly, first; at first; 29, 199, 200, 210, 225, 228, 256, 320.
temgówaj -- first [designation rank, grade, etc., of an individual]; 201.
temgówai -- first of all, firstly, first (in position); first time; 23, 200, 201, 225, 228.
temgewei -- to be first (in first place); 201.
témelát(g) -- glass (tumbler); 39.
-temi -- cry; 249. puntemi -- stop crying.
temi, tem -- half (w/certain words); 205. [< Fr. demi]
temia -- half-pint; 205. [< Fr. demiard]
temig -- that is deep; 77, 250, 270.
temigen -- an axe, tomahawk; 34, 140, 208, 214, 256, 290, 323.
	temigenâm -- I have an axe in my possession.
temigenjį -- hatchet; 256, 290.
tempijas -- fifty cents, half-dollar; 202, 205. [< Fr. demi piastre]
temoğtaw, tağ -- trunk (of a tree); 34, 39, 257, 285.
tempesu(ağ) -- half bushel; 205, 255. [< Fr. demi boisseau]
temawseg mulin -- mower; 268.
tenseg, sem -- to cut (with a knife, sickle, etc.); to strike; to sniff out; 182, 268, 270.
tentedgei -- to work hard; 102.
tepaganjį -- little sleight; 272 [v. topağan]
tépasi -- to go abroad; embark; 68.
tépate -- meat or fish pie; paste; 25, 27, 31, 251, 256. [< Fr. pâté]
tepateğ -- sweet; 256.
tépêtu -- to set down (an offering); 134.
tépaw -- near; 232.
tépawel -- close enough; also, before long; 232.
tépog -- [v. tebem]
tépogei -- to put into the collection, to deposit an offering; 102.
	contr.: tepegetes
tépêli(jêg) -- goat(s); 250.
tépêlji(jîj) -- kid; 250.
tépêlmaswej -- cheese; 12, 14. [< Fr. fromage]
tépem, men, tépog -- to deserve; 117, 119, 175, 270, 271.
tepeseg -- an even number; 123.
tepesgel -- equals; 123.
tépetug -- v. èln tépetug.
tepgaten -- to be married; 185, 208, 270, 276.
teppgumset, teppgunsat, sejig -- moon, month: (23), 34, 37, 90, 201, 203, 250, 251, (267), 281, 290, 312.
teppgig, gigel -- the night, night: (31), 40, 77, 91, (222), 250, 251.
teppgisawtig -- different price (bell): 259.
teppgisdi, gistag -- to be separated; 263.
teppgisi -- separate (things); 204.
teppgwlan -- ashes, dust; 290.
teppgwnam -- to use dust; 290.
teppgwane mi -- to have dust; 290.
teppgwani -- to be dust; 290.
teppgwaniei -- to become dust; 290.
teppguset -- v. teppgenuset.
teppgensetewei, wel -- calendar; 23, 267.
tepi -- enough; 224.
tepplag -- that is enough; 18, 107, 224, 250, 251.
tepplag, ful, fin, fitu -- to make a division, distribution; to give (his) share to; 9, 10, 31, 175, 191, 308.
teppligei, gen, get -- to make a distribution; distribute; make shares; 102, 175, 191.
(n)teppiljagan -- glove; 30.
teppinigleweli -- vinegar; 12, 14, 23.
teppiseweit -- pepper, 23.
teppitwete -- (I) find that it is enough; that it is just right; 224.
tepplumg, utem, tema -- to judge, promise; 44, 302, 308.
tepplutagan -- judgment, law, settlement, commandment; 177, 280, 295, 323.
 n/, g/, ug/tepplutagan(em)
tepplutem, men, tg -- to judge, to rule; 118, 269.
  contr.: tpelut-tes.
teppneg, nem, neka -- to reach, hit; 257, 269, 299.
  contr.: none or etpenetes, etepeneg--.
teppotu -- to set down (a quantity); 134.
teppultisenedi -- [they were on board]; 209, 256.
teppsetag, tem, tema -- to hear, to hear my; 298.
teppseg, gettag -- inside a vessel, within; 232.
teppulewei -- butter [cf. mulageg]; 14, 23.
 n/, g/, ug/tepun -- my, your, his seat, place; 259, 280, 303, 322.
tès, tesi -- so many times, each time [answers tès]; 20, 179, 180, 198, 200, 203, 224, 250, 251, 268, 205, 317.
tésaigel -- so many dollars; 202.
tésapgesijig (an.), tésapsgaigel (inan.,) -- round objects; 202.
tésig -- so many [wt. or measure]; 204.
tésipunai, nân, nat -- to be so many years old; 90, 203.
tésipungeg -- so many years; 107, 136, 200, 203, 224.
tésisgaigel -- so many tens of dollars; 202.
tésogsiijig (an.), tésaigail (inan.,) -- so many (6, 7, 8, 9 or 10) long round objects; 201.
tésugumugw -- to go so many in their boat; 204.
tésugunät -- so many days; 202.
tésugunit -- he's so many days old; this is that far into the month; 203.
tésugusalai -- to spend so many months; 203, 264.
tésuigus -- so many months; 203.
tésunemig -- so many fathoms, spans of the arms; 205.
tésunemig (inan.), tésunemigsiijig (an.,) -- so many [of a class, type]; 203.
tésutōgig -- to kill so many of (hunting or fishing) by knocking senseless or striking; 204.

tèsiigel -- v. tesiw.
tésigisgeg -- every, each day; 203, 224, 277.
tesiw, tesiog, tesiog, tesiijig, tesiigel; tesisgegisijig, tesisgaigel,
tenisig -- so many [an., inan.]; 27, 33, 41, 46, 49, 143,
151, 153, 183, 198, 199, 200, 204, 209, 211, 224, 250, 258,
261, 267.
tesiijig -- v. tesiw.
téninig -- every summer; 123.
tèsinigsiijig, tèsinsgaigel -- v. tesiw.
tesiog -- v. tesiw.
tésifow, tésipo -- horse; 16, 17, 18, 27, 36, 37, 140, 290.
* [Fr. le chevaux]
tesipo elgewetu -- mare, female horse; 36.
tesipomon[cats]; 182.
tesipowam, men, waâ -- to go by horse, use a horse to ride on; 272,
290.
tésipowai pgumañan -- a (horse) whip; 256.
tesipowi -- to be a horse; 200, 256, 290.
tesipounui -- to have a horse; 290.
tésisgegisijig, tésisgaigel -- v. tesiw.
tesitij — v. tesigw.
tesit wen — each one; 211.
tesunemigsitij — [let them be that many pairs]; 266.
tét — here (emphasis); 20, 120, 207, 229, 232, 250, 251.
tetagaši — to hurry; 260.
ug/tetan — [it if began]; 202.
tetafu — exactly; 222, 228.
tetafualeg, tu, tač — to satisfy, render a service to; do
   exactly; 134, 305.
tetafuatet — he behaves as is necessary; 222.
tetapuatesin, ng — to be fortunate; to occur opportunely; 274.
tetafuiač — v. tetrač.
tetafuutæg — that arrives on time; it happens deservedly; 123, 143.
   tetaši — v. télémeg.
tet aseq — on this side; by here; 229.
tetat — the rising of the sun or moon, beginning of the month; new
   moon; 203, 266.
tetlæl — this way; in this direction; 232.
   tetašem, -télémeg, -tetaši, tetemač — [v. télémeg]
tetlæšatem — v. etlašatem.
tetlelaui, win, wit — to belong, to be from (there); 31, 70, 232, 263,
   287.
tetli — in this place; there; 149, 212, 230, 232, (255), 258, (284),
   287, 312.
tetpačač — that which is, that which happens; 91.
tetpačatesin — to fall accurately; 274.
tetpi — — equal, same; equally; 50, 212, 224.
tetpič, tetapačč — it is time, he arrives right on time, he has
   just arrived; the time has arrived; 107, 222, 228, 241.
tetpičenajig — they're of the same strength; 50.
tetpiččil — to be the same size; 50, 224.
tettsač, tettu — to owe; 135, 275, 298. [< Fr. dette]
tettejali — which ought to be; 189, 308.
tettuei, tueigw, tuatigw — to owe, to be in debt; 103. [< Fr. dette]
tettu'gon -- debt; 103, 298.
tētujēg -- [be that age]; 236, 293.
tētuji -- such an extent; such an age; etc.; 54, 224, 232.
tētu'tig -- [they owed them (past)]; 194.
tēwā'agal, atem, temag -- to throw outside; 307.
tēwā'atū -- to throw it outdoors; 134.
tēwā'ataq, tem, temag -- to draw back; 298.
tēwā'tu'ēi, atigw, atigw -- to throw outdoors; 134.
tēwafleg, tu, taq -- to take out; 134, 305.
tēwaf'agal, tu, taq -- to tear out; rescue; 30, 134, 289, 305.
   contr.: tual'atataq
   tēwaf'agal, atem, temag -- to tear out, pull out (souls from
   Purgatory); 307.
tēwaf'asi -- to be rescued; delivered; 143, 305.
tēwaf'atū -- v. tēwaf'ag'al.
tēwap'ig -- Port-Royal, Annapolis; 30.
tēwaf'atu -- v. tēwaf'el.
tēwō'gēl, ñëigw, ñëigw -- to throw out; 101.
tēwiel, ñëigw/áti'g -- to go out; set out (on water/land);
   26, 49, 105, 210, 230, 267.
   contr.: ñ; tūf!
tēgam/as -- v. taq'amag.
tēgāte'ge -- v. taq'tōgei.
tēgi -- a cold; the cold; 31, 90, 272.
tēgi matnig -- I have a cold; 90.
tēgæn/ug -- [v. tēgæg.]
tēgæpē -- spring; source of fresh water; 30, 256, 265.
tēpēg'el nēgigel -- falls, the large springs; 265.
tē'gæw -- [v. tēgæg.]
tēg -- v. toqg'el.
tēg -- that he should be present, that he attend; 31.
tēgju'a -- v. toq'jua'j.
tēgonasî -- v. toq'gonasî.
tēgonw' -- v. toq'ong.
tēgonug -- v. toq'ong.
tēgonah -- twin; 31.
tłopuqtu'tu -- v. tłopuqtu'tu.
tłot/(tes) -- v. tłotem.
tług(g) -- wave(s); 31, 77.
tłwat/tes -- v. tłwatem.
tłwe'i -- v. tłwejag.
tług -- there are waves [cf. tług]; 77.

n/, g/, ug/ti/ -- my, your, his dog, cat, any little pleasure animal (pet); 30, 45, 214, 274, 280, 317.
tłam(ug) -- moose; 15, 18, 24, 37, 181, 251, 291.
tłamuŋgei -- to go look for moose meat; 197.
tłamuŋγen -- moose hide; 291.
tłamesem -- dog for a moose hunt; 291.
tłamuŋγan -- moose hunt; 291.
tłamui -- to be a moose; 291.

n/, g/, u:tinin

tłagaŋitig -- Tracadie, where one resides; colony, village, settlement; "at our place; 118, 232.
tłagaŋiŋg -- former name of Carleton, little Tracadie, a colony formed from another; 118.
tłagug(en) -- Hellebore(s), hemlock(s), poisonous plant(s); 39.
tłamug -- [v. tleamug]
tłantsu -- twenty-five cents; 31, 202. [ < OFr. quarante sou]
tłapte -- v. tlelam.
tłapuguei -- v. tleapuguei.
tłateg' -- v. tleateg'.
tłatu -- v. tlatu.
tlę -- v. tle'ei, tleam.

tleí, tlél, tlèg -- to belong, to be from; of, belonging to; to make part of; 31, 236, 254, 255, 257, 270.
tłéianel -- v. tleéianel.
tleigafen -- [v. tleí]
tleí -- v. tleí.
tleita -- [v. tleí]
tleté -- v. telétém.
tli -- v. telí.
tlia, tliaj, teliej, ntheliaj -- let it be so; amen; although [cf. teliaj]; 14, 24, 26, 33, 107, 140, 175, 222, 238, 266, 267, 280.
tlia sgatu -- however, nevertheless; yet; 238.
tlim- v. telim.
tlintu- -- v. telintu-.
tlisi- -- v. telisi-.
tlisip -- then; 31, 32, 43, 120, 142, 143, 208, 228, 237, 238, 257, 317.
tlitelem, tlitemet- -- v. telitelemeq.
tliqiog -- you behave thus [? telei]; 220.
tlot- -- v. telotem.
ltue- -- v. teluqi.
ltuit- -- v. teluit-.
ltu- -- v. telum.
tmipias -- 50 sous, 50 cents, half-piastre; 24, 255. [< Fr. demi piastre]
tog -- however, therefore, please, now then; 20, 133, 183, 233, 238, 241, 250, 251, 276, 313, 317.
togjunai, juan, juat -- to go up; 91.
contr.: tçogjuas.
togo -- [v. togo]

m/toqoluag - neck; 319;

n/, g/, ug/toqoluag.
n/, g/, ug/toqon -- my, your, his robe, gown, cassock, garment, clothing in general; 276, 322.
togonasi -- to live together, be married; 45, 55, 185.
togong, gonen -- to both hold, to hold with another, also to receive from another; to have part of something; 185.

contr.: &
togofugugleg, tu, tag -- to marry, unite, assort; place together; 134, 305, 313.
togi -- wailing; 249.
puntoqi -- to stop wailing.
togwag -- autumn; 31, 43, 91, 257, 258.
tog -- last autumn.
togonug -- next autumn.
toğâwâgeg -- that was during the autumn; 91.
toğângâtu -- to join, to put together; 134.
toğâweleg, tu, tağ -- to unite; join with another; 117, 304, 305.
contr.: S

toğw tlisip -- afterwards, then, next; 31, 228, 238, 257.
toğw tujw -- then, next, after; 228, 238, 257.
Toma -- Thomas; 18. [< Fr. Thomas]
tomâgan -- v. temâgan.
tomâganatgw -- v. paqentg.
tomawei, -wâl -- v. temawei.
tomaweigağan -- cigar; 256.
tomaweigağanjij -- cigarette; 256.
topâgan; tepâgan -- sleigh, toboggan; cart; sled; 40, 143, 194, 250, 272.
(i)tpâg -- during the night; (so many) nights; 31, 222. [cf. tepig]
tpêge -- v. tepâgei.
tpegig -- 270.
tpelum/timwegi -- v. teplumg.
tpelut-- v. tepluten.
utpelutağanin -- v. teplutağan.
tpen-- v. teplnâg.
tpâf -- [v. tepîf]
tpige/tes -- v. tepirei.
tponug, tpunug [?] -- during the night which is beginning; 31, 44.
tpug -- the night (near midnight); this morning; 31, 44.
tpunug -- v. tponug.
tûa -- v. teusi.
tûâgan(g) -- ball (to play with); 39, 143, 202, 299, 309.
tuâqigen -- ounce; 205.
tuâêt-- v. tewâêtâq.
tualâgal-- v. tewalâgal.
tualâgâsi --, tualâgitâ -- v. tewalâgâsi.
tuege-- v. tevûgei.
tuei, (tawei) -- companion, comrade [cf. etang]; (22), 47, 317.
   [Whites of Maritimes call Indians tawei]

n/, g/tu6m, ugtuem/56 -- my, your, his horse; cow; any beast of
   burden; any domestic work animal; 30, 281, 317.

tu6wieg, tu, tag -- to awaken; 302, 305.

ngtuwagegen -- chin; 29, 319. n/, g/, ugtuwagegen.

m/tuwagejan(g) -- forehead, brow; 29, 30, 318, 320.
   n/, g/, ugtuwagejan.

tuwim-- v. etuwim.

tuwung, utum, temag -- to awaken; 302.
   v. etuwel.

tuwim -- then; 24, 62, 226, 228, 238, 257, 277, 282.

n/, g/, ugtu(5) -- my, your, his canoe(s), dinghy, open boat; ark
   (Noah's); 30, 209, 217, 256, 309, 322.

tu6gwe0 -- cannon; 107, 250, 291.

tu6jewel -- rice; 23.

m/tun -- mouth; 30, 215, 257, 273, 319.
   n/, g/, ugtun.

Tu6at -- Thunder [chief]; 246. [ < Fr. tonnerre]

tug -- I don't know, what do I know? nobody knows; (?18), 26, 239.

tuc6futu6at -- to frame; 133.

tug6(g), tutug6(g) -- root of a pruss (spruce); 39, 184.

tupig(5) -- it falls, flake; 281, 308, 309.

tupigj6el -- [little flakes?]; 308.

n/, g/, ugtu/5el = my, your, his daughter; 20, 30, 46, 215, 250,
   251, 283, 315. [cf. wetusing]

tusj6 -- 0 (beloved) daughter; 215.

-tut -- vocative plural ending; 314. [et passim]

n/, g/, ugtutem/56 = my, your, his neighbor, friend of another
   nation; 313.
   [little used, except for etutemineg, particularly of the English]
   [cf. wetutemineg]

tutupi(g) -- v. tutpi(g).

tuwet -- v. etuwet.

tug -- I do not know [v. tug]; 18.

wa6ala -- these; 17, 149, 208, 209, 211.

wa6alwsan -- tower; 222.

wa6am6i, 6n, 6g -- to be pure; 75, 189.
Waγametgug -- Bonaventure; pure, clear river; 75.
waγamoti -- purity; 75.
waγan -- knife; 143, 255, 275, 281, 312.
waγanam -- to use a knife; 281.
waγanemi -- to have a knife; 281.
waγantow, -tal -- bone(s); 49, 276, 318.
waγasit -- wild animal; 24, 70, 308.
waγat -- those (inan.); 208.
waγatesg -- aurora borealis; 274.
waγelaig -- on this side; 230.
waγewasi -- v. waγewasi.
waγgaj -- barely, hardly, almost impossible; 24, 219, 223.
wagw -- v. wawg.
waι -- his property, wealth [archaic]; 24, 321.
waιj -- imp, object of witchcraft; 24.
waιjuei munti -- medicine bag; 24.
waisis(g) -- v. waisis; animal, beast; 14, 24, 32, 280, 297.
waisisemam -- to use a beast; 280.
waisisemi -- to have a beast; 280.
waisisemogwom -- den, lair; 24.
waisistugulititi -- hunters; 32.
waisisui -- to be a beast; animal; 263, 280.
wajuatu -- to complete, accomplish; 275.
wauji -- [fully]; 310.
wajuiei, en, et, ağ -- to be full; 143, 264, 267.
wajupeieliisa -- [his pail was full]; 300.
wajupe, -peji -- full; 38.
wajuπin -- full; 24, 33, 70.
wala -- here (more removed than ula); 230.
wala -- those (inan.); 208.
walaği -- on this side; 230.
walamgew -- (fishing) hole; 24.
walğeg -- [cave; at the hollow]; 264.
walnei -- handle, bay; 24.
walpoğ -- pool; 24.
waltas -- wooden dish, for the game of dice; 24.
wansit -- domestic (animal); tamed animal; 24, 308.
wantağai -- to pacify; 184.
wantağang, ğanul, ğanin -- to keep quiet; 184.
wantağei -- to be peaceful; 104, 219, 291.
wantağlağ, otem, temağ -- to reassure, to set at rest, tranquilize; 294.
wantağwäjin, switg -- to be in (deep) peace; 273.
wantaği -- tranquillity; 219.
wantağiel -- to be peaceful; 267.
wantağojin, ḡots -- to hold the head peaceful; 273.
wantağegetg -- it flows calmly; 123.
wantaği -- v. wanpi.
wąpegen -- white linen; 261.
wąpegena-m, -men, nąg, noltigw -- to be dressed in white, clothed in white; 121, 231.
wasipenangwewi -- dawn; 281.

wapei, ðain, ðag, waspoliog -- to be white; 186, 189, 190, 210, 229, 254, 281, 308, 319.

waspen -- v. waspe.

waspênei -- the land of the sunrise, of the Abenaquis, of the dawn; 30, 43.

waspênemegw -- white porpoise; 37. waspênemeq -- pl.

waspêniaq -- the day appears; it is dawn; the rise of the dawn; 107, 268.

waps, wapen -- the morning (future sense); dawn, it is daylight, day; 30, 43, 123, 281.

wapsêg -- at sunrise; 43.

wapsiei -- to whiten; 190, 268.

wapsus -- rabbit; hare; 24.

wasami -- v. awpacwim.

wasateg -- that illuminates; 269.

wasiantaj(g) -- (glass) lamp(s); 37-8.

waspitpeq -- clear night; 81, 91, 143.


g/, s/, usepawsoqom

wasapogasig -- alight, lit; 255.

wasapogonemâqan -- wax candle, candle, light, lamp, lantern; 43, 120, 188, 201, 255, 270, 275, 281.

wasapogonemâqanatgul -- candlemakers; 281.

wasapogonemâqanatming -- Candlemas; 255, 281.

wasapogonemâqantisweigi tepgenuset -- February; 281.

wasapogotâqsg -- lightning; 143.

wasapogowi, wig -- to be, there is lightning; 281.

wasapogwatesg -- flash of lightning; 274.

wasapogweg -- lightning; 91, 281.

wasapogwegan -- to have light; 281.

waspu -- seal; 24.

wastew -- snow; 24, 186, 196, 281.

wastewagatig -- [snow field]; 143.

wastewgateg -- white frost; 281.
wastewi, win, wit, wig -- to be snow; to be covered with snow; there is some snow; 281, 287, 289, 308, 309.
wastewi tupigel -- snowflakes; 308.
wasteuti(1) -- snowflakes; 281.
wasteutig -- some snow falls; 281.
wasugijj -- [little flower]; 272, 309.
wat -- these (inan.); [pl. of ut]; 208.
watapjijit -- yellow (7 bird); 261.
watapsit, ptâg -- yellow; 38, 40, 70, 254, 257, 261, 276.
waw, wawl -- egg; 9, 14, 25, 36, 40.
wwégei, ñen, -get -- to gather eggs; 25.
wwaei -- made of eggs; 25, 27.
wwag, wagw, wawgug (pl.) -- louse; 25, 254.
wwégaï, in, it -- to get angry, get mad; 15, 17, 18, 54, 73, 74, 76, 226, 239, 251, 258, 276, 303.

wwégaïj, iul, iwin -- to displease, to offend, to provoke, to bring down someone's wrath, to make angry at oneself; 33, 54, 73, 176, 226, 258, 295, 303.

wwégaïj, iul, iwin -- to displease, to offend, to provoke, to bring down someone's wrath, to make angry at oneself; 33, 54, 73, 176, 226, 258, 295, 303.

wwégaïstaï, tem, temaï -- to be annoyed with (person, thing, for him); 297.
wwégaïj, iul, iwin -- to displease, to offend, to provoke, to bring down someone's wrath, to make angry at oneself; 33, 54, 73, 176, 226, 258, 295, 303.

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wwégaïj, iul, iwin -- to displease, to offend, to provoke, to bring down someone's wrath, to make angry at oneself; 33, 54, 73, 176, 226, 258, 295, 303.

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wwégaïj, iul, iwin -- to displease, to offend, to provoke, to bring down someone's wrath, to make angry at oneself; 33, 54, 73, 176, 226, 258, 295, 303.

wwégaïj, iul, iwin -- to displease, to offend, to provoke, to bring down someone's wrath, to make angry at oneself; 33, 54, 73, 176, 226, 258, 295, 303.
wegisigwisgwomi -- to have a wife; 285.
wegisigumi -- to have a husband; 285.
wegisitaganit -- [he is made from]; 282.
wegisulgwomi -- to have as creator, to recognize him; 285.
weglistemi -- to have as Christ; 285.
wegogomiwig -- Green Bay; 237.
wegopegijini, gitg; wegwafegigtg -- to flow up to there and around the back; the current climbs up to the end; the tide rises to there [name of Truro, formerly Cobsquid]; 123, 230, 273.
wegon -- v. wegaw.
wegwag -- that is the end; 230.
wegwai, gwam, gwat -- to burn; 89.
wegwamuei, muegw, mutigw -- to dispute, discuss; 102.
wegwanmai, man, mat -- to be in need, at wit's end; 88.
wegwafegigtg -- v. wegogebigtg.
wegwatam -- to go on foot; 272.
wegwatasi -- to fear, be afraid; 54, 228.
 fut.: gwegwatasultip.
wegwi-- the end, the completion, the stopping; 230.
wegwijgaig, gan, gat -- to have as an adoptive mother; to have, regard, treat as a mother; 264, 282.
wegwijia, in, it -- to have as a mother; 25, 70, 210, 215, 282, 285, 314.
wegwilat -- he barks; 88, 246, 264, 276.
 contr.: #
wegwis, -in, it; simg -- to have a son, for a son; to be a father or mother; 23, 25, 26, 33, 45, 55, 70, 210, 215, 270, 281, 300, 314.
wegwisit Nisgam -- Mother of God; 25, 215, 281, 314.
wegwitenam -- to use a canoe; 281, 285.
wegwitenemi -- to possess a canoe; 285.
wegumigi -- to have a grandmother; 282, 314.
wejategemgw -- from; 200, 205.
wejatun -- [buy, get]; (149), 286.
wegjiejilei -- leper; 189.
wegjawleg, tu, tag -- to bring; lead to; 25, 135, 275, 303, 308.
 contr.: jugwatu-
wegwafag -- rising tide; 92.
 contr.: jugwafagtetow
wejgwatu -- [v. wejgwāleg]
wejgwiet, ien, ies, iaŋ -- to come; 14, 87, 267, 285, 309, 317.
wejguipug -- winter comes; the winter that comes; 43.
wejgulapāsin -- to look to this side; 260.
wejgunem -- to give, in return or payment; to bring; to pass; 102, 119.
contr.: jugun-
wejguwei -- v. wejgwiet.
wejī -- point of departure, place; reason; where from, because of;
from; from there; 25, 43, 49, 51, 74, 79, 143, 175, 178,
179, 180, 183, 185, 187, 189, 210, 211, 220, 230, 235, 237,
261, 265, 283, 292, 295, 302, 303, 308, 309, 310, 318.
wejīei, iegw/atingw, itaigw -- to come from, to have been there (by
sea/land); [inan.] that comes, results from; 17, 18, 27, 33,
contr.: ugie-
wējig, itu, itaŋ -- to find; 120, 135, 136, 219, 237, 241, 255,
270, 275, 276, 292.
no contr.
wejigisitasigep -- [it was made from, of]; 321.
wejigit -- [to descend from]; 45, 52, 259.
[wēji fitisena -- descended]
wejijgamiji -- to have a soul; 283.
wejijgamijui -- to be a soul; 283.
wejijgeluwegjimi/t -- (he) has sheep; 291.
wējiji -- to have grandchildren; to be a grandfather or grandmother;
' 283, 315.
wējilji -- to have a father-in-law; 283.
wējimanit -- fruit; 25, 33, 70, 259, 318.
wejinemui -- to have a man, to be married, to have a man at one's
service (for one's use); 291.
wejinemumi -- to have a man, to be married; 317.
wejifulgwei, gweigw, gwatigw -- to have convulsions; 102.
wji saŋ -- v. wetsaŋ.
wējitu, tun, toq -- [v. wēji].
wejiuli -- [v. wejiuli Nisgam]; 25, 26, 33, 50, 136, 164, 283.
wējotem -- v. guwējeiŋ.
wējpe, pēq -- to be submersed; 268, 270.
wejuguwiji -- to have a mother-in-law; 283.
I/wējui -- [v. wējij]
wejuow -- near, very near, near there; 26, 188, 230, 232, 270.
wejuowasi, sin, sit -- to approach; 25, 76, 219, 230, 251.
wejuowel -- nearby; 230.
wejuseg -- it is windy; it blows, the wind is blowing; [cf. unjun]; 106, 255, 268, 283.
wejusonemi -- to have some wind; 283.
wel -- v. weili-
welagowei -- to sup, to eat dinner; 225.
welagw, welag -- the evening; 91, 225, 242.
   contr.: #
welagweg -- last evening, yesterday evening; 43, 44, 225.
   contr.: ulagweg.
welaleg, ítu -- to do good, to please, to render a service; treat well;
   (inan.) bless, do well, behave well; 133, 142, 149, 170, 174, 183, 187, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197, 238, (72691), 230. contr. #
welalín -- thanks; 174, 238.
   gên welalin, ibid.
welaluei -- [do good (to others)]; 192.
   welalesi.
welamugsi, welamugsi; welamug -- to be good; beautiful, highly
   esteemed; of good kind; of good appearance; 43, 136, 150, 189, 193, 261, 276, 310.
wélafesi -- to make a success of; 184, 261, contr.: #
welafetem -- to profit by it; 270.
wélapsgiei, isiwig, iatîgw -- to get happy (drunk); 103.
   [ameliorates petriei]
welaptem -- to look at favorably, with pleasure; 210, 271.
   contr.: #
wélafuñsegi, guægw, guatigw -- to speak well; 102.
   contr.: ulafuguestes.
wélasi -- to be well, to become well (health); act well; 142, 195, 260.
wélatalugsiseniq -- well-nourished; 175.
welatèq -- the sun; 269.
wélatæqei, -iwig, -taqatigw -- to make well, to do good; 103, 191.
   contr.: #
wélatu -- [v. welaleg]
welegisgel -- it is nice, pleasant on the sea; 123.
   contr.: #
wé'lii; 'ain, eg, -loltiög -- to be well, happy, in good health; to go well; 9, 10, 14, 17, 18, 26, 33, 50, 51, 54, 57, 73, 74-5, 76, 120, 141, 177, 185, 189, 190, 191, 194, 195, 201, 209, 219, 222, 246, 248, 251, 258, 259, 263, 307, 318.

contr.: ✗

wéléiaq, lotem, tamaq -- to treat someone well, to take well, to be of good attitude, think well of, bless, hold as good; 162, 176, 177-178, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195.

weleiasi -- to do oneself well; 192.

wéléweí -- to be beneficent; 156, 191.

wélédístu -- to speak well; 183, 275.

wélíga'am -- to be well-clothed; 120.

wélégem -- to be well-dressed; 269.

welgil, len, lg- -- to be of good height; 122.

wélągvi'dalé, tu, taq -- to gladden, give good thoughts to; 183, 303.

wélągvi'áski -- to rejoice, be content; 64, 183, 260.

contr.: ✗

welgwi'jin, gwót -- to have good thoughts, be joyous; 273, 274.

welgutai -- to be well-dressed; 265.

weli, wel -- well, sacred, good; 13, 17, 33, 44, (50), 51, 89, 106, 117, 135, 143, 149, 177, 178, 189, 195, 204, 219, 242, 248, 250, 264, 267, 270, 284, 293, 296, 301.

contr.: uli

welieí, weliaq -- that is good, all right; 74, 143, 190, 241.

contr.: ✗

welisig -- beautiful weather; 143.

welisigseg(êl) -- a pretty day; good day; beautiful day; nice day; (it is) nice, pleasant on land; 25, 106, 123, 143, 255, 282.

contr.: ✗

welisigenem, migw -- to have, enjoy, a beautiful day; 282.

welisweí, gwélívw, gultígw -- to push well, 106.

welímai, man, mat, maq -- to smell good; 265, 275, 276.

wellimanig -- quite elaborate; 259, 309.

wélímg -- to speak well to someone, bless him [in his presence]; 220, 284, 285, 289, 290, 301.

contr.: ✗

wélímguisit -- he/is blessed; 301.

welí Nasgwet -- the Holy Virgin; 106.

welí ntu -- to sing well; 135.

welípug -- a good winter; 136.
WELITASI

Welitasi, sin, sit -- to be content, joyful, happy, have good thoughts; 72, 101, 196, 237, 257, 261, 262, 264. 
contr.: 

Welitelemeg, tetem -- to wish it, to desire it, to consent to it, be benevolent to, treat well; welcome, wish good to; to be willing; 52, 131, 191, 192, 194, 196, 290, 300.

Welotegaui -- to be agreeable, have benevolence; 191, 266. 
contr.: 

Welitag -- [nice night]; 143.

Wel tepi -- to take pleasure; 270.

Welmetu -- to be good, to behave well; 124, 134, 208, 276, 277. 
contr.: Ulmetutug.

Wel nemai, man, mat -- to be neat; 88. 
contr.: 

Wel neweg -- it gets cool; cool; 268.

Welotasi, sin, sit -- to be blessed; 71.

Welotegaui -- to do good works; result, ameliorate one's health; 191, 266.

Welotem, Welotemag -- v. Welitag.

Welotemagwei -- to be blessed in one's affairs, object of benediction, of favors; 193.

Welotemai -- to bless; 194.

Welotemuei -- to do a favor; 194.

Welpegitg -- it flows well; 123.

Welpeteg -- nice and warm; 261.

Welpi -- to be well seated, to sit well, comfortably; 249.

Welsetag -- to hear well; 297.

Welsetem, setemen, setg -- to listen with pleasure; 118. 
contr.: 

Wel tég -- that is good, well-placed; 74, 262.

Weltejieg(sal) -- it is not bad at all; 262.

Weltesagag -- to meet with pleasure; 224, 295.

Weltesin, nen, ng, tesg -- to result; to be lucky, meet success; 122, 273. 
contr.: Ultesin/tes

Welumeg, utem, temag -- to speak well of, to bless (at a distance); 302.

Wemaqamigemi -- to have a planet, a world; 286.

Wentogi, in, it -- to have a native land [cf. -metagi]; 25, 282, 287, 321.

wênaĝafemi, min, mit -- to have as a servant, disciple; 282.

wênaĝâisi -- to raise oneself; to get up; climb gradually; rise; 17, 76, 230, 251, 262, 267.

contr.: unâgâsi.

wênaĝgwâjâisi -- to raise one's thoughts; 76, 260.

contr.: ✗

wênaĝi -- elevation; 230.

wênaĝie, ân, ât -- to jump, leap, climb, rise; 24, 32, 33, 230, 267.

contr.: ✗

wenasgomi{n} (ntinin) -- I am his servant; 106.

wenâjêg -- that is troublesome, hard, difficult [metueg usually used]; 106.

wêngîwi -- to have parents; as parents; (251), (258), 263, 282, 315.

weni, min, mit -- to be someone; 143, 282, 310.

wenijangai, gan, gat -- to regard and treat as his (adopted) children; to have for children; 264, 282.

contr.: ✗

wêniîjani, min, mit -- to have children; to be parents; 25, 61, 70, 138, 163, 210, 237, 266, 282, 288, 315.

wênisgani, in, it -- to have as God, treat as God; 25, 32, 282, 287.

wênisgami{j}in, it; jimg -- to have as a grandfather; have a grandfather; 32, 70, 288, 314, 315.

wenjigwom -- house [lit.: French tepee]; 25, 43, 89, 120, 141, 210, 221, 258, 282.

wenjigwomâm -- to occupy a house; 282.

wenjigwomî -- to have a house; 282.

wenjugsenang -- French footwear [lit.: French moccasins]; 38.

wenjui -- to be French; 207, 256, 259, 282.

wenjui goqomin(g) -- prune(s), plum(s); 38.

wenjui masgwêzsiman -- cherries; 256.

wenjuiîmi -- to have Frenchman (in one's order); 282.

wenjuiîsi -- to speak French; 262.

wenjuisigapun -- turnips[lit.: French artichokes]; 39.

wenjuisgôwi -- to be a French woman; 282.

wenjuisgw -- French woman; 35.
wenjuisgwéj -- young French girl; 35.
wenjusun (-sūn, sunel) -- apple [lit.: French cranberry]; 25, 40, 213, 282, 284, 309.
wenjusunagí -- apple tree; 136.
wenjutiam -- cow, ox [lit.: French moose]; 25, 36, 280. [< Fr. moose; wēnju + tiam]
wenjutiamuei -- beef; 25, 27.
wenjutiamuj -- calf; 25, 179, 308.
wenmají, joltijig -- to suffer; 219, 258, 263, 286, 294, 303, 312. contr.: .PLAIN
wenmajíağ, oṣen, tómağ -- to punish, make suffer, torment; 192, 294. contr.: .PLAIN
wenmaji -- arduous movement; 219.
wenmajiýem -- to endure a cruel death; 270, 271.
wenmajiýenai -- to suffer from a sickness; 268.
wenmajotegí -- to make suffer, to torment; 192, 266.
wen ta -- who is; 26, 27, 45.
wenuj(g) -- Frenchman; 25, 35, 36, 38, 39, 208, 282, 309.
wēpzigwi -- to have eyes; 280.
wepgumağanam, wepugmağanam -- to carry, use a club, whip, etc.; 289.
wepgumağanemi -- to have a club, whip, to possess one; 289.
wepgumi -- to have some gum; 289.
wēpuguminai -- I am consumptive; 90.
wēptěn, in, it -- to have hands; 25, 70, 259, 280.
wēsagmami -- to have as master, lord, chief, to recognize as such; 25, 33, 170, 280, 289.
wēsamatesigu, gun, ɣōg -- to be overburdened; 136.
wēsantem, temen, tag -- to take too much of; 271.
wēsami -- v. wasami.
wēsamugvanam -- to use water; 289.
wēsamugvanemi -- to have some water; 289.
wēsafuni -- to have hair; 280. contr.: usapunaltijig.
wēsegeg -- 290.
wēsemugtağ, tem, tómağ -- to flee (person, thing, danger); 194, 271, 277, 297.
wēsemugwatem -- to embrace [Mafflard]; 306.
wēsgağanemi, nam -- to have a door, to use one, also to be doorkeeper; 284.
wèsga'geleneq, gelten, temeq -- to embrace (polite), to greet; 151, 183, 192, 271, 306.
contr.: •

wèsga'gelmuui, muesigw, musteqw -- to greet, (also) to embrace; 102, 192.
wèsgei, wesget, geigw, getigw -- to fish with a rod and line; 266.
wèsge'éi, din, ëq -- to laugh; 75, 91, 277, 317.
contr.: usgéewa-

wèsgewiag, wotem, temeq -- to laugh at, ridicule; to mock; 183, 272, 294.
wèsgejii, ugejii, usgit -- on the outside; 230.
wésge'tuaini, wessetauaini -- to have ears; 280.
contr.: usgotesses

wèsgewiag, wotem, temeq -- to have, possess; 286, 295, 298, 309.
wèsge'gewtem -- to speak bad of a neighbor; 270, 271.
wèsge'gewtem, wan, ëuat; wessugiwai [also wessujiwai, wissugwei]; -- to cook, do the cooking; 90, 105, 197, 267.
contr.: usgumuwas.

wèsge'gew, utem, temeq -- to speak of (rather unfavorably); mention; 197, 209, 272, 302, 310, 317.
wèsge'gewai, geigw -- to speak of a neighbor; 266.
contr.: usgumuagetaw.

wèsge'mingewai -- conversation, murmurs; gossip; 302.
wesgutem -- v. wèsge'gew.
wesimuqtaq -- v. wèsimuqtaq.

wèsimuqway, an, at, ëq, wèsimuqwai, en, et, ëq -- to flee; 24, 90, 166.
contr.: •
wèsimuqwalg -- to make flee; 306.
wèsmuqwa'ilg, utu -- to carry away while fleeing; 188.
wèspegiel, ñiaq -- the canoe takes in water; 267.
wèspeii, ëq -- to leak; 268, 270.
wèsamunultigw -- [v. wèsamanumit]
wèssetuaini -- v. wèsge'tuaini.
wèssstuni -- to have a throat; 280.

wessugwei -- v. wèsge'gewai.
westai, westamg - to escape, to be saved; 87, 88, 175, 209, 256, 265, 266.
contr.: ugseta-
westawig, -itu -- to save [a person, a thing]; 23, 25, 26, 33, 44, 45, 61, 142, 153, 170, 175, 180, 194, 200, 235, 246, 249, 257, 265, 276, 280, 296, 297, 305, 310, 311, 312.
contr.: ugsetawi-, ussetawi-.
westawiget -- he saves (in general); 22, 26, 175.
contr.: ugssetawigetwe-.
westaulg, -ulgup -- our Savior [lit.: he saves us]; 23, 25, 26, 33, 45, 61, 175, 180, 200, 235, 246, 249, 257, 280, 296, 297, 305, 311.
westaulgowit -- he is the Savior; 280.
westaulgumi -- to have a Savior; 280.
wésuleg, tu, taq -- to take, receive; 18, 43, (135), 166, (194), 217, 276, 303.
contr.: ugsulegen-.
wetaqam -- v. ságam.
wetaqenai -- satisfied; 265.
contr.: ugtaqenai.
wetaqglasiewini, -sewumi -- to have English (in one's order); 278.
wetaqnetaqenami -- to have something new; 278.
wetaqaligami, gemi -- to have some clothes; to be the owner; 278.
wetaqansalemi -- to have an angel, as an angel; 278.
wetaqapregdeg -- you are the race; 263.
wetaqesi -- to profit by; 261.
contr.: ugtqapesines
wetaqpsuni -- to have property, goods, clothes; to be proprietary;
by extension, to be worth something, to be useful, be of service; 280, 321.
wetaqapetanam -- to use a plate to eat (as opposed to taking a snack); 279.
wetaqaqenami -- to have a plate; 279.
wetaqasunemi -- to have, possess a blanket; 279.
wetaqastaimam -- I wear a shirt; 279.
wetaqatsalmi -- I have a shirt; 279.
wetaqawetam -- I use a road; 278.
wetaqawetemi -- I have a road; 278.
wetèg -- v. weteg.
wetelegemi -- to have a king, as king; 279.
wetelegewisgwomi -- to have as a queen; 279.
wetelgusuāgnem -- to use a staircase; 279.
wetelgusuāganemi -- v. alguśuāganemī.
wetelmui, -numi -- to have men (at one's service, disposal, orders); 279, 280.
wetējīj -- balmy breeze; 255.
wetējījījemi -- to have a little girl; 279.
wetepitējījemi -- to have a woman, to be married; 279, 313.
wetepitējemi -- to have a girl; 279.
wetējūni -- to have a seat; 280.
wetējāngseg -- it storms; 268.
wetējogasigenemī -- to have swords; 280.
wetējotemai -- to hear of from somewhere; 264.
wetējōpenemā -- to complain; 143.
wetējōngisseg -- cold day; 267.
wetējōpálg, atem, temā -- to soak, put in to soak; 118, 306.
  contr.: ñ
wetējōping, atem, temā -- to send from here; 301.
wetējōpingusit -- to be sent; 301.
wetējōpofōm -- to prevent, to forbid; 31, 188.
  contr.: ugoțōfōm-nugw.
wetējōpsisit -- he does without; 261.
wetējōpsitgeweig -- forbidden; 31, 256.
wetējōpuštu -- (to) forbid; 134.
wetējōward, ugoțōnem, ugoțōnemī -- to have clothes, wear clothes, be clothed; 283.
wetējōlipjīj -- to have a father-in-law; 316.
wetējōlipgenemī; nām -- to have fingers; to use fingers; 287.
wetī -- worm; 254.
wetīj -- small worm; 254.
wetēmawemī -- v. temawemī.
wetēmēi, ñiñ, ñe -- to be busy, occupied; 25, 262.
wētmeiag, otem, temag -- to wish to occupy, to disturb; be occupied
in; busy with; 220, 272, 295.
contr.: utmeiw-
wētmi -- occupation; 220.
wētmitem, tg -- to desire; 118, 220.
contr.: ugetemitettes.
wētnotem -- v. wētmeiag.
wētpuni -- to have a chair; 259.
wētsaŋ, wējisaŋ -- to chase, hunt because of that; 178, 227.
wētsamurgwiltisæneg -- they drew water out from the rock; 90.
wētsemeg -- to nourish with; 183.
wētsesi -- 285.
wēttaŋaiei, -en, -êt-- to be for one side; 22.
wētteg, wētæg -- the wind comes from; the direction of the wind;
106, 255.

tami wētteg -- where does the wind come from?
wētteg, tol, tēin -- to strike with; to take, kill; 298.
wēttōwi -- to have a pleasure animal (dog, cat, etc.); 280.
wēttunatæi -- to smell, to sense; 265.
wētuvæmi -- to have a work animal (horse, cow, beast of burden); 280,
281.
wētuwegæ, gwem, gwemag -- to test, try; 296.
wētuli -- to have a canoe, or any other vehicle; 259, 281, 285.
wētunam -- to use the mouth; 283.
wētunem/ugw -- (to) feel; 276.
wētunugai -- to use another's mouth or language; 264, 283.
wētuniai -- to have a mouth; 283.

wētuqotæm -- to feel, smell; 272, 276.
wētuqumænit -- he has for armies; 288.
wētusæi, sin, sit -- to have a daughter; 25, 70, 210, 215, 283, 314,
315.
wētuqumæning -- to be a neighbor of another nation; 313.
uggwai/was -- v. wēræiaŋ.
ugiljenæw -- [? v. agiljenæ]; 270.
ugji -- why; 71, 170, 182, 183, 186, 211, 212, 255, 292, 320.
[na ugji] -- that is why
ugjiaj, ugjej -- in order to; 159, 237, (266).
ugjicnuj -- [v. wejei]; 266.
  mu ugjicnuj ugtin -- in order that he not be able to say.
ugjie -- v. wejei.
ugjej -- v. ugjiaj.
ugjipenug -- from the east; 106, 174, 312.
ugjipesge - root(s); 123, 274.
ugjisaqawilin -- he is the sovereign Lord; 180.
ugjisin -- v. uqjisin.
ugjit -- for, because of [goes before or after the word]; 49, 62, 110, 143, 151, 164, 174, 180, 182, 189, 193, 211, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 258, 259, 261, 265, 275, 283, 286, 296, 303, 309, 310, 312, 314.
ugjotu -- v. gwediaq.
ugjuag -- v. wejei.
ugjuatu -- v. wejuatu.
uglaqanemel -- [v. ug-laqan/emel].
uglujiewgtalin -- 159. [cf. glujiewgtog].
ugnaligmanew -- [v. malingin].
ugnuji -- 275.
ugogwatu -- [v. goqwaleq]; 309.
ugpatiasemi, min, mit -- to have for a priest; 288.
(mu)uqsegawis, uqsegelan -- [v. gesaleq].
ugsegewei -- v. wesgewei.
ugseta -- v. westai.
ugsetawi/tu -- v. westawiz.
ugsetawit -- [v. westawit].
ugsitqamug, usgitqamug -- on the earth; universe; people; 14, 74, 138, 151, 178, 184, 220, 230, 250, 261, 297, 308.
ugso -- v. gesotem.
ugsuau, ugsuat -- v. wesualeq.
ugsuateget -- [cf. wesualeq]; 135, 194.
ugsguni -- tail; 17.
ugtaqaenai -- v. wataqaenai.
ugtalit(we)men -- v. talitetem.
ugtapesi -- v. wetapesi.
ugtèjg -- the last time; 226, 302.
ugtejgweí, wèg, wèl. -- last; 23, 40, 257, 302.
ugteli -- [ʔ ugteli]; 91.
ugtemas -- v. wëtemai.
ugtemitet -- v. wëtitemet.
ugtemot -- v. wëtemai.
ugtemotagan -- affair, occupation, cause; [cf. wëtemai]; 272, 303, 322.
   n/utemotagan, g/utemotagan, -/utemotagan.
ugtepitemel -- [cf. tepitemet]; 27, 288, 291, 302.
ugtesuní/an -- v. tèbun.
ugtesolep -- v. esaq.
ugtetli -- [ʔ tetli]; 255.
ugtiqataqun -- v. ifataqan.
ugtimen -- [v. sig]; 270.
ugtinagang -- [v. inaʃan]
ugtoqol -- v. wëtqol.
ugtoqonam -- [v. wëtqómani]; 283.
ugtoqoni -- v. wëtqóani.
ugtuqwaguj -- v. wëtqwuʃaŋ.
ugturqutaqanem -- [his grave]; 296.
ugwai -- v. wëkái.
ugwaiuti -- [offense]; 258.
ugwila-- v. wegwila.
ugwis -- v. wegwis.
uguli -- [ʔ weli]; 50.
   -ugum, uguμugw, meg, moğ, mitij -- to go (so many) in a boat; 204.
   n/ugum -- my/grandmother [vocative]; 215, 253.
   n/ugumí, gugumí, -/ugumíal -- my, your, his grandmother, ancestress,
   any aged person; 215, 248, 253, 282, 314.
   [cf. wërumílmíq].
ugumuljin -- eight (card.); 41, 199, 201, 250.
ugumuljinweí -- eighth; 23, 200.
ugumuljin tásigíj, tásigal -- 8 (ord.); 199.
ugumuljin tésisgaŋ -- 80; 199. v. tásisɡássijíŋ, -saʃal.
-uğunäg -- (so many) days; 202, 203.
-uğuni -- to be (so many) days old; 203.
ugunmajeiwağan/ual, /emual -- [v. wanna]
-uğusalai, in, it -- to spend (so many) months; 203.
wi= -- v. wiği.
wiğiți -- to mix, mingle; 133.
wiğiwä -- pell-mell, mingled, confused; 26, 189.
wig, wigel, wigëg -- soft, sweet, succulent; 25, 40, 256.
wigapug, wigapugi -- good-tasting, to taste good, tasty; 25, 27,
37, 40, 70, 254, 257, 276, 284.
wiga-, wigat= -- v. awigai-, awigatem.
wigatigen(él) -- book, paper, letter; 32, 40, 103, 136, 138, 140,
143, 149, 164, 194, 208, 213, 275, 283.
nt/ugatigen, gt-, ugt-
wigatigenam, nág, noltigw -- to make use of books, paper; 283.
wigatigenemí -- to have a book, some paper; 283.
wigatigen/jij -- a little notebook; 136.
wige -- v. argam.
wigeğ -- v. wig.
wigemui -- v. awigam.
wigew -- fat, the fat of food; 26, 283.
wigid, in, it, íg -- to be fat, in good health; 26, 27, 70, 263,
283.
wigepaleg, palt= -- to give a feast; 211, 230, 232, 270.
wigepaling -- v. wipumatigwemel.
wigi= v. awigi.
wigit= -- awigicem.
wigitgäméw -- [something to write with]; 136, 275.
wigigenpu -- ink; 16, 251, 283.
wigiğímnu -- v. miji wigifati.
wigiğeini -- pencil; 283.
wigani= -- v. awigami=.
wigeleg, pet -- to drink, to like to drink; chronic drunkenness; 26,
268.
wigpek, wigtem -- to like (the taste oj) -- 27, 118, 131, 254, 258,
284.
wiguajejg(EL) -- pleasure, agreeable thing; 25-6, 31, 321.

wiguaajimai -- to smell agreeable; 265.

wiguaajulg, jutu, tağ -- to give pleasure; satisfaction to; 308.

wiguamam, wiguomam -- to occupy a hut [even if not its master]; 283.

wiguami, wiguomi -- to have a hut; 283.

wiguamugsit -- [he/has a strange color]; 276.

wiguatpai -- to have a strange head; 265.

wigueg -- [it is strange]; 268.

wigwi -- extinction, death; 220.

wiguelei, guiatieg -- to die, become feeble; 26, 33, 220, 225.

wigung, utem, temagi -- to call, invite; 302.

wigununggewe -- invitation; 302.

wiguom -- hut; 25, 277, 279.

wiguomam -- v. wiguamam.

wiguomi -- v. wiguami.

wigupaltimgewi -- v. wigununggewe.

wigupj, wigupjig, wigupjig, upugjig, wipigj, upugj, wigups -- before long; soon; 29, 225, 302.

-wigus -- month (in composition); 203, 264.

wigustağ -- to hear with pleasure; 297.

wigutem, temagi, temai -- to ask for; to claim a thing; 197.

wigutemelseug, sewatem, temagi -- to ask in the name of another; 294.

wij- -- v. wij-.

wijeg -- a kind of partridge (Rand calls it Spruce partridge); 35.

wijegsiw -- female.

wijej -- the same thing, just as, also; 18, 26, 212.

wijeti- -- to go together; 235, 276.

wijeous, out, ewajel -- to go with, accompany; 192, 220, 293, 294.

wijetigw -- to go together in a group.

wij, wi- -- with; 220, 255.

wijigems, gemjig, gemjig, gemaji -- to have brothers, as brothers;

have sisters, near kin, relatives; 46, 183, 192, 282, 301, 315.

wijigetigw, tieg, tutigw -- to be brothers, neighbors; 120, 197, 259, 296, 303.

wijusima -- to have a brother- or sister-in-law, of a married person; 316.
William -- William; 52.

wilui, wiluing -- to have nourishment; to be nourishment; to have food; 284, 288, 321.

win, wip -- marrow, sap; 26.

winâleg, tu, tağ -- to profane, corrupt; dirty, spoil, make bad; 133, 303.

winapugwe, gueigw, guatîgw -- to speak bad, say bad things; 61, 102.

winsi -- to do badly; to do bad things; 61, 260.

winategei -- to do bad; 267.

winitu -- v. winâleg.

wini, nêg -- to be corrupted; 262.

windiâg, otem, temağ -- to soil, profane, spoil, dirty; 191, 272, 295.

winâjgel -- bad things; lewdness, evil things [cf. winâjg]; 31, 123, 258, 262.

winitâstu -- to speak badly; 275.

winingwâleg, tu, tağ -- to give bad thoughts; to scandalize; 303.

winingwin, gwitîg -- to have bad thoughts; 273.

winitâtau -- to be badly dressed; 265.

wini -- bad, wicked, dirty; 135, 220, 256.

wininge, ien, iet, iağ -- to be soiled, wicked; 123, 220.

winimai, man, mat -- to smell bad, be of bad odor; 254, 265.

wini ntu -- to sing badly; 135.

winitasi -- to think bad things; 61.

winitelêmeg -- to wish evil to; 300.

vinâjg(ey) -- evil, bad [cf. winâjgel]; 33, 77, 211, 250, 299.

wirmêtu -- to be bad, to behave badly; 134.

winitasi, sin, sit -- to be desacrated; 71.

winategei -- to profane; 267.

winitem -- v. winâjag.

wipasi, sin, sit -- to try, to make efforts; 71.

winâgiteg -- it flows badly; 123.

winsiâtağ -- to hear badly; 297.

winsit -- the wicked, the fornicator; 261.

winsutil -- temptations; 33, 185.

wip -- v. win.
wipe% -- to sleep with, lie with; 192, 301.
wi petemâgw -- shark; 37.
  wi petemaâ -- plural.
wipeâgw -- we sleep with each other; 192, 260.
wi piei, iêgw, iatigw -- to be with, accompanying; 103.
wi pîj -- v. wigupi.
wi poâom -- trunk; 189.
wi pu jıg -- v. wigupi.
wi pump, utem, temâ -- to eat with; 192, 302.
wi punftingewei, wigupaltingewei, wigepalting -- a feast with Indians
  and whites; place for smoking; 233, 270, 302.
wi putigw, ieg -- to eat together; 260, 272.
wis -- den, lair; 26, 27.
wisawaltugwat -- blond hair; 264.
wisawei, weg -- yellow; 22, 276.
wisawiá sulíewei -- gold (yellow silver); 24.
wisausun(êl) -- orange [lit.: yellow cranberry]; 284, 309.
wisâsi, sin, sit -- to be sick; 51, 72, 115.
wis gesuaâgn -- v. wis gesuânti.
wis gesuaâgnem, ênam -- to have a contagious disease, to suffer from
  it, even when there will be not any of it around oneself; 284.
wis gesuaâgn -- disease (contagious); 72, 284, 293, 306.
  wis gesuânti
wisô, wisî -- quickly, suddenly, unexpectedly; 26, 143, 220, 226.
wisôg -- the ash-tree; 226.
wisugwategei -- to make food, to do the cooking; 241, 242, 243.
wiswig -- astonishingly, with astonishment; 26, 220, 226.
wiswujele -- [foods]; 181.
wisîs -- v. waisis.
wissu goul, gousi -- I cook for you, for myself; 197.
wissugwe -- v. wissugwai.
wisu igendsiâg, notem, temâ; notem -- to vanquish, conquer, surpass,
  tame; 118, 295.
wisu igendêtemui -- to put into confusion, to rout; 170.
wisun -- name; 51, 164, 168, 213, 299, 300.
  n/wisu nem, âg, Âg -- my, yours, his name.
wisinungegâ, ëvatem, temá -- to give a name; 118, 175.
wisungeugsi -- to receive a name; 193.
wisungeugsi -- to receive a name; 193.
wisupeq, pem -- to cook for someone; 182.
wi-t, wite -- [v. awiteg].
witgetultigw -- we are brothers; 316.
witlugouget -- we cooperate with him; 293.
witlugutigw -- (to) work together; 220.
witni, witnuni -- to have nostrils; 284.
witpitaq -- to be seated with someone; 220.
witui, wituai -- to be bearded; 40, 70.
wituni -- v. witni.
witusi -- to call (name) oneself [cf. amtem]; 262.
wiusunel -- [burdens]; 320.
wius -- meat, flesh; 26, 27, 318.
[u-iws or wi-us in Pacifique] n/, g/, u/suseum.
wiusapu -- (meat) broth; 16, 251.
n/uj, g/uj, uj/el [ujiel] -- father, priest; 12, 15, 17, 18, 20,
26, 27, 33, 46, (150), 70, 75, 84, (1187), 206, 215, 216,
ujalat -- [v. vejatun]; 149.
uj(eg) -- fly; 17, (133), (150), 179, (1187), (1250), 259, (1279), 302,
(1314).
ujga- -- v. ujgi.
n/ujig, g/ujig, ujig/el; ujigi -- my, your, his grandchild [grandson
or granddaughter]; 26, 222, 283, 315.
ujimg -- v. ujimg.
ujotem -- zwajemig.
ujusen -- the wind; 255, 283, 389.
[cf. wejuset].
ujusenig -- there is wind, it is windy, that is wind; 283.
ula -- this, that one (more distant than ut); here; there; 17, 18,
32, 33, 45, 52, 53, 55, 120, 136, 138, 151, 158, 166, 179,
184, 207, 208, 209, 213, 224, 230, 236, 237, 250, 251, 264,
ula1 -- in this direction; 230.
ulaqan(n, el) -- vase; 34, 40, 49, 251, 257.
ulagu -- yesterday [cf. wulagw]; 43, 44, 53, 91, 133, 136, 209, 225,
226, 230, 258, 317.
ulâweg — [v. welâweg].
ulatimgêwei — v. ulatimgêwei.
ulalus — v. welâleg.
ulamugsuti — beauty; 261.
[cf. welamugsi]
ulamul — v. welamugsi.
ula'pesi — v. welâpesi.
ulapt — v. welâptem.
ula'fuqâ — v. welâfuqâwei.
ulatêgê — v. welatêgei.
ula tet — there, in this place; right here [cf. têt]; 230, 232, 250.
ulâtu — v. welâleg.
ulei — v. welâei.
ulegis — v. welâegis.
ulegise — v. welâgisge.
uleigw — to be (so many) boats, there are...; 204.
ulâimgêwei, uloti, ulitasuti, ulalatimgêwei — health, good fortune
n/uloti, g/uloti/m, uloti/m.
ulewistu — v. welâwistu.
uleiulangel — v. welâeiwei.
ulgwijasi — w.welâgwijäsi.
uli — v. welî.
ula—, ulie— — v. weliei.
uligisgit — v. welâgisgeg.
ulim — v. welimg.
ulimati — to glorify; 153, 265.
ulimgusi — v. welâimgusit.
uli nimâmgêwei — holy Viaticum, holy Last Sacrament; 89, 264.
ulitas — v. welâtasi.
ulitasuti — v. ulâtimgêwei.
uliteteg — v. welitetegoi.
ulitétem — v. welitétem.
ulmetu — v. welmetu.
ulonug — tonight; this evening; 31, 43, 44, 207, 226, 242, 258, 318.
ulonugwel — towards the evening; 226.
ulotemulgj — [v. welâia].
uloti -- v. ulöingweil.
ulpij -- v. welpt.
ulsét -- v. weisötem.
ultesin-- v. woltesin.
ul/ulugs/, ululugs, ulugs/ul -- ny, your, his nephew; 28, 316.
ulufgasig -- [well-written]; 208.
    "wel + wugasi] [q.v.]
ul/malteimatasit -- to change into blood; 196.
un/ulugel -- [? his wounds]; 306.
unugumin -- (you) hail; 289.
un -- fog; 17.
unaga-- v. wanažiei.
unagalalin -- [v. nažal-]; 302.
unaganigan -- capital; 17, 251.
unagâsi-- v. weneagle.
unagating -- Ascension; 267.
unâgâjâsi-- v. weneaglejâsi.
unâgie-- v. weneagle.
unâgum-- v. nêweg.
unâmâgi-- Cape Breton; 17, 251.
unâsig-- (so many) fathoms, spans of the arms; 205.
unemigitsit, sijig-- (so many) of a kind; 204.
unâsigj-- 276.
unâgigw-- [v. wzegw]
unijangâ-- v. wërdisjâ.
unjin-- [? v. mîjuntut]; 211.
unjeg-- on his head; 273, 318.
un/unjî; gun/unjî; unjî, unüji -- ny, your, his head; 45, 90, (273), 276, 318, 319.
unmajei-- v. wermajei.
unmajei/wata-- v. wërmajei.
unmajâsi-- [v. wërmajei]; 258, 303.
unmajâsuti-- sorrow; 257, 312.
unpitemuan-- [v. nepite]m]; 186.
untawi-- [? v. pàtawi]; 115, 178.
unuji -- v. uniji.
woğeji, woğejit -- spider; 26, 179.
woğejijapi -- cobweb, spider's web; 26.
woj(e) -- pot, boiler, caldron, kettle; vessel; 26, 36, 38.
woj(g)wis -- fox; 26, 181.
upestunemelin -- [v. pestunem.]
upitnei -- sleeve; 17, 251.
upusgewistun -- talkative; 149.
upugig, upugj -- v. wesupj.
usamte -- v. wesamten.
usan -- deluge (HANDLE); 265.
usaninug -- there is none.
/m/usanapun -- hair, head of hair; 257, 261, 319.
usapun/i -- v. wesapuni.
ussegewalin -- v. wesgeweil.
usgi -- nest; 255.
usgafelem-, følt-- v. wesgafelemeg.
usgafelemue -- v. wesgafelemuev.
/r/usgalug, g/usgalug -- v. -plaganev.
usgewe, usgewot-- v. wesgovedi, wesgovedir.
usgij -- v. wessij.
usgijinu(g) -- person, people, a living person; 73, 253, 286.
usgipenewg, -gug -- offering(s), victim, hosts (small pieces of bread during mass); 38, 303.
usgit -- v. wessiji.
usgitgumug -- v. wesgitgumug.
usgitgumugaweg -- men, inhabitants of the earth; 230.
usgitgumugewel -- [earthly things; the world]; 180.
usgitpaqtagug -- on the waves, on the waters; 235, 265.
usgitgug -- over, outside of; 230.
usgitgugwel -- exterior things; 230.
usgituwigemui -- write me the address; 181.
usgos = 184, 272.
usgot- -- v. wasgotem.
usgwei- -- v. wasgweiq.
usgugwa- -- v. wasgugwai.
usgumge- -- v. wasgumgei.
usgutem- -- v. wasgugwy.
usi, -in, it -- warm oneself; 17, 18, 70, 262.
usimugwa- -- v. wesimugwy.
ussétawigapen -- [v. westawig]; 170.
ut -- that, this one (before the eyes, can be pointed at); here; 14, 17, 18, 25, 32, 51, 55, 185, 207, 208, 209, 224, 231, 250, 258, 277, 287, 293, 307.
utan -- village; 9, 14, 214, 251, 321.

n/utanem, g-, utanem -- ny, your, his village.
utapsun, g/utapsun, utapsun -- ny, your, his property; 24, 275, 280, 301, 321.
Utawa, Atua -- Ottawa; 22.
n/uteg, güteq, uteg -- behind me, you, him -- 232, 236, 320.
gutenaq -- behind us.
n/utemagaq, gütemagaq -- v. temagaq.
ütémigen, gütemigen, utemigen -- v. temigen.
n/utemotaqañ, gütemotaqan, utemotaqan -- v. uatemotaqan.
utgapat -- v. wetgapatem.
utgutai, tan, tat -- to make an obsequies, to be present at a funeral; 28.
utgutals, utgutatem -- to inter, to inter the body of; to bury; 33, 42, 133, 187.
utgutasi -- to be interred; 296.
uti -- forms abstract nouns from concrete ones; 255.
ut/imelin -- v. sim; 138.
utmei- -- wetmei.
ut/motaqan -- v. uatemotaqan.
n/utomaqan, gütomagaq, utomaqan -- v. temagaq.
n/utomaweii, g/utomaweii, utomaweii -- v. temaweii.
utpelutaqanemel -- v. èplutaqan.
m/utputi -- chair, bench; 46, 49, 217, 246.
n/utputi, g-, utputi -- my, your, his chair.
ut tet -- right here; 250.


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(FH) $[_{\long}] \rightarrow \emptyset + [+\text{plural}]$

(FK) $v \xrightarrow{<\text{OPT}>} [+\long] / \{[_{\long}]\} \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}]) \{[_{\text{voc}}] \} \{[_{\text{voc}}] \} \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}]) \{[_{\text{voc}}] \} \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}]) \{[_{\text{voc}}] \} \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}]) \{[_{\text{voc}}] \}$

MINOR

(JF) $v \rightarrow [+\long] / \rightarrow b$

(ID) $i_{-}\text{deletion}$

(GD) $\text{a}_{-}\text{metathesis}$

(FD) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / [+]$

(FC) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / + \rightarrow c$

(LA) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow 1(n) \rightarrow i$

(EG) $\text{pre-\text{a}_{-}\text{deletion}}$

(BJ) $[u,i] \rightarrow \emptyset / [+\text{voc}] j \rightarrow \{x\}$

(JE) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow g$

(HB) $[t,i] \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow p$

(FE) $[i,j] \rightarrow [_{\text{voc}}] \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}]) \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}]) \rightarrow ([_{\text{voc}}])$

(RF) $\text{sonorant}_{-}\text{deletion}: [_{\text{voc}}] \rightarrow \emptyset / [+\text{voc}]$

(JC) $[+\text{cons}] \rightarrow \emptyset / [+]$

(MB) $u \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow v m \rightarrow c$

(FA) $v \rightarrow [+\text{comp}] / [+\text{voc}] \rightarrow [+\text{voc}]$

(DB) $\text{vowel}_{-}\text{copying}: 1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4 \rightarrow 1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 4$

(DH) $\text{stressed}_{-}\text{rule}$

(GF) $i_{-}\text{deletion}: i \rightarrow \emptyset / \rightarrow a) [+]$

$ \rightarrow b) \rightarrow [+\text{segment}] [+] \rightarrow [+\text{voc}] \rightarrow c$
i \rightarrow \phi / \{ u, w \}

i \rightarrow \phi / [+i₁m]

[u, o] \rightarrow [+long] / [+cons]_{3}

(DD)

[+cons]

[\text{grave}]

[\text{diff}]

\text{<OBJ>}

\phi / [+cons]_{3}

(DA)

e \rightarrow \phi / \{ +\text{voice} \}

(FJ)

a \rightarrow \phi / \delta

(AA)

C-voicing: [+obst] \rightarrow [+voice] / [+voice] \rightarrow [+voice]

(DN)

l-nasalization: l \rightarrow n / n

(DN)

glide-revocalization: [-cons] / [+voc] \rightarrow \{ [-voc] \} \rightarrow \{ \# \}

(BF)

\text{geminate segment agglomeration: [+segment]} \rightarrow \text{[+long]},

\text{where } 1 = 2, \text{ except possibly in length and continuance}

(EH)

g-rounding: [-voc] / [-constraint] / [-unit] \rightarrow [+cons]

(IB)

w \text{<OPT>} \phi / [+voc]_{1} \rightarrow [+cons]_{2}

m/p-alternation

[+voc] \rightarrow [-long] / [+cons]_{3} /[-diff]

[+cont] \rightarrow [+long] / c

[+obst] \rightarrow [+aspirated] / \{ [+obst] \}

(a)

[+obst] \rightarrow [+voice] /

(v)

\text{a} \rightarrow [-long] / \{ [+obviative] \} + \{ [+plural] \}