



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

Certified by Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by
Chairman, Departmental Committee
on Graduate Students



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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 ĝ'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 l 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 MITRLE #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 trepitate onto active duty in the U.S. Army as a First Lieutenant.

PREFACE

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, tometypists 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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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION



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 Indians 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 monograph³ 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 (Sālujīj Selōm), 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 ʔ; the liquid is l; nasals are m and n, and obstruents are p, t, q, ʃ, s, and ġ, which may be voiced or unvoiced, long or short. The vowels ī, i, ū, u, ō, ě, and ā 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; ē, o, and ǎ are as in French après, comme, fâcher; w, y, h, ʔ, l, m, n are as in English. Short vowels are either unmarked or marked with a breve (ṽ or ṽ̆). Long vowels are marked with a macron (ṽ̄). The obstruents are predictably voiced or unvoiced. The voiced counterparts to p, t, q, ʃ, and s are indicated by p̣, ṭ, q̣, ʃ̣, and ṣ, respectively. (The symbols follow Pacifique's usage, except that his tj is changed here to ʃ; he also uses ô for our o, and o for our u and w, and i for our i and y) ġ is uvular, and intervocalically is a spirant. The dots above or beneath the voiced obstruents are neither normally nor consistently used. Voicing is predictable by the following rule:⁵

(AA) [+obst] -----> [+voice] / [+voice] _____ [+voice].

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 $\underline{\quad}^h$ (thus: \underline{p}^h , \underline{t}^h , \underline{g}^h), but it is usually not indicated. The rule is

$$(AB) \quad [+obst] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [+aspirated] / \text{ ______ } \begin{cases} [+obst] \\ \# \end{cases}$$

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

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

$$(AC) \quad [+cont] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{ ______ } C.$$

That is, $\underline{-sC}$ ----> $\underline{-ssC}$ -. Unless otherwise stated, any sequence $\underline{-ssC}$ - comes from underlying $\underline{-sC}$ -. Intervocally,

however, both s (---> ṣ) and ss (---> s:) occur, indicating a phonemic difference. After u or w and before an obstruent or a word boundary, g 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):

$$(AD) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow [+syllabic] / \left\{ \begin{matrix} C \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\} \underline{\quad} \left\langle \begin{matrix} C \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\rangle$$

The syllabic sonorants are indicated by ḷ, ṃ, ṇ; these are not to be confused with the symbols for voiced obstruents. The syllabic ḷ, ṃ, ṇ are occasionally and inconsistently written əl, əm, ən, respectively, especially late at night. Thus: g̣ṃṭṇ--mountain--, ṃṭij̣iṇ--thumb--, ḷgẉetu--female ungulate--, m̄n̄t̄ú--devil. Each may also occur long, as in the last word. Furthermore, ḷ may occur voiceless (ḷ) before an obstruent, as in p̣ịlṭuēy--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 re=fer). \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,⁶ and the segments we use are the usual abbreviations for bundles of distinctive features. [a, b, c, . . .] will be used to abbreviate the set of features common to the set of segments {a, b, c, . . .}. The features are as given below in tables I and II:⁷

I

	p	t	j	g	g̃	s	m	n	l	y	w	h	?	ə	i	u	e	o	æ	a	
Cons(onantal)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Voc(alic)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(=[-obst(ru-ent)])	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Son(orant)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Nas(al)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diff(use)	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Grave	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Stri(dent)	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comp(act)	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Round(ed)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Cont(inuant)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Voice(d)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stress	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Syl(labic)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

II

	+	#	=	Ø
Unit	+	+	+	-
Seg(ment)	-	-	-	
F(ormative) B(ound- ary)	+	+	-	
W(ord) B(oundary)	-	+	-	

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: maġtawēg--he's black--is a verb.) Exceptions to this are when what follows is a period (.) or a close parenthesis ()).

"S. t.", "s. o.", and "o. s." abbreviate "something," "some-
one," and "oneself," respectively.

The form of phonological rules we use is the follow-
ing:

$$[+A] \text{ ----> } [+B] / [+C] \text{ ______ } [+D] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+E] \overline{[+H]} [+F] \\ [+G] \overline{[+H]} [+F] \end{array} \right\}$$

abbreviates the two rules:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left(\begin{array}{l} [+C] \\ [+E] \end{array} \right) [+A] \left(\begin{array}{l} [+D] \\ [+F] \end{array} \right) \text{ ----> } \left(\begin{array}{l} [+C] \\ [+E] \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} [+A] \\ [+B] \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} [+D] \\ [+F] \end{array} \right) \\ \left(\begin{array}{l} [+C] \\ [+G] \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} [+A] \\ [+H] \end{array} \right) [+D] \text{ ----> } \left(\begin{array}{l} [+C] \\ [+G] \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} [+A] \\ [+B] \\ [+H] \end{array} \right) [+D] \end{array} \right\}.$$

The arrow ----> is used in general for "rewrite-type" rules;
that is, feature changes, additions, phrase-structure expan-
sions, and the like. The double arrow ===> is used in
general in transformational rules. If we have a rule

$$A \text{ ----> } B / C \text{ ______ } D,$$

C will be referred to as the "pre-environment," and D as
the "post-environment." We use Greek letters (α , β , etc.)
as variables (over + and -) in phonological rules.

The optionality or obligatoriness of a particular
rule is indicated by the abbreviations OPT or OBL, respect-
ively, above the arrow. We treat "optional" and "obliga-
tory" 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: \underline{V} for $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{VOC} \\ -\text{CONS} \end{bmatrix}$, \underline{L} for $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{VOC} \\ +\text{CONS} \end{bmatrix}$, \underline{G} for $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{VOC} \\ -\text{CONS} \end{bmatrix}$, and \underline{C} for $\left\{ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{VOC} \\ +\text{CONS} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$. Bundles of features are enclosed in brackets ([]). The environment $A \begin{Bmatrix} B \\ C \end{Bmatrix}$ is an abbreviation for the conjunctively ordered set of environments $\begin{Bmatrix} AB \\ AC \end{Bmatrix}$. $\underline{A(B)C}$ is an abbreviation for the disjunctively ordered set of environments $\begin{Bmatrix} ABC \\ AC \end{Bmatrix}$. $\langle \underline{A} \rangle B \langle \underline{C} \rangle$ can abbreviate several things, depending on the nature of \underline{A} and \underline{C} . If \underline{A} and \underline{C} are both bundles of features, $\langle \underline{A} \rangle B \langle \underline{C} \rangle$ abbreviates the disjunctively ordered set of environments $\begin{Bmatrix} [A]B[C] \\ [-A]B[-C] \end{Bmatrix}$, 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 \underline{C} , say, is a sequence of segments or features, $\langle \underline{A} \rangle B \langle \underline{C} \rangle$ abbreviates $\begin{Bmatrix} ABC \\ [-A]B \end{Bmatrix}$. If both are sequences, $\langle \underline{A} \rangle B \langle \underline{C} \rangle$ abbreviates $\begin{Bmatrix} ABC \\ B \end{Bmatrix}$. That is, $\underline{\langle \underline{A} \rangle B \langle \underline{C} \rangle}$ is the disjunction of the following two sequences: \underline{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:

$$\left[\left\langle \begin{array}{c} +F_1 \\ +F_2 \end{array} \right\rangle \right],$$

whose negative is $\left\{ \left[\begin{array}{c} -F_1 \\ -F_2 \end{array} \right] \right\}$; and

$$\left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} +F_1 \\ +F_2 \end{array} \right] \right\rangle,$$

whose negative is \emptyset .

Subscripted angle brackets ($\langle_2 _2 \rangle$) indicate the groups of bracketed entities which go together. Thus, assuming A, B, C, . . . are bundles of features,

$\langle_1 A_1 \rangle \langle_2 B_2 \rangle \langle_1 C_1 \rangle D \langle_2 E_2 \rangle$ abbreviates the following dis-

junctively ordered set:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ABCDE \\ [-A]B[-C]DE \\ [-A][-B][-C]D[-E] \\ A[-B]CD[-E] \end{array} \right\}.$$

" $\langle X \rangle_a B \langle Y \rangle_c$, $a \Rightarrow c$ " means "if X, then Y." Thus, e.g.,

if X is a feature, the foregoing abbreviates $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} XBY \\ [-X]B \end{array} \right\}$.

If A and B are forms of a word, "A \rangle 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 \rangle B" means "A follows B." "A \langle 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 -g; that for the inanimate -l.

Manifestly, there are no phonological constraints as to which nouns are animate or inanimate. A few examples will suffice to make this point clear:

'nī'pīt ^h --tooth	'nīpītł--teeth
gōpīt--beaver	gōpītg ^h --beavers
gə'mūj--wood	gə'mūjl--bunches of wood
l'mūj--dog	l'mūjg--dogs
'lěn?tūgwjīj--little deer	'lěn?tūgwjījg ^h --little deer(s)
pīj--immature sex organ	pījl--immature sex organs
gīgām?'gōn--pole, boat pole	gīgām?'gōng ^h --poles, boat poles
gīgām?'gōn--fancy pole, flagpole	gīgām?gōn--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'oĝo,wej, gl'oĝo,wej^hg^h--star
 'lăg:ǒl, 'lăg:ǒlg^h--cord (of wood)
 'nəm̩t̩ŋ, 'nəm̩t̩ŋg^h--mountain
 'nāĝoĝom, 'nāĝoĝomg^h--skate
 'təm̩lət, 'təm̩lətg^h--glass, tumbler
 'wow,g:wis, 'wow,g:wisg^h--fox
 's̩ʃip, 's̩ʃipg^h--bird
 wow, wowgw^h--pot
 'pūtay, 'pūtayg^h--bottle;

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

'nāĝweg, 'nāĝwēgl--day
 mǎĝōt, mǎĝōtl--skirt
 'mǎp̩os, 'mǎp̩osl--pocket
 w̩ġu'ām, w̩ġu'āml--tepee
 'wisawow, ,wiʃa'wowl--loose feces

The inanimate word for "egg," wāw, plural wā(w)ul, suggests that a rule is necessary relating w and ǔ. In fact, it is in general the case that in a particular environment we always find one of w or ǔ, but never the other. Thus, intervocalically, for example, we find w in māwiōmi--assembly--, pēwitǔ--I sweep it--, etc., but we never find *-VǔV- sequences. Interconsonantly (where "consonant"

in this case includes liquids and glides) we find ǔ in such words as pǔgǔgw--eye--, sǔliěwěy--money--, ntǔs--my daughter--, nǔtl--I hear you--, mǔlgǎtm--I dig it up--, sēsopağǎnēyǔgw--he's not a blabbermouth, etc., but we never find *-CwC- sequences, except where the w indicates a labialized g. After g and before a vowel we find w in words such as ntsǔgwis--my aunt--, měgwēg--it, he is red--, wēgwāg--that's the end--, ěłǔgwěn--you work--, etc., but we never find words like *ntsǔgǔis, *měgǔēg, etc. After a vowel and before g, we find w in such words as wǒwg--pots--, but we do not find such words as *wǒwg. Before or after other consonants, and after or before a vowel, respectively, however, we find ǔ, and not w: tǔ'ǎsgǎm--I turn it (hay) over--, mǔ'in--bear--, pǔ'ign--broom--, 'sǔitǔis--candy--, nǔ'ěyěy--of an Indian--, ěłǔ'ēwiěy--I'm crazy--; wāǔl--eggs--, gěǔm--I hew it--, ěǔpniǎg--the wind calms down--, mǎǔlǔgwěygw--we work together--, etc., but it is impossible to have, e.g., *mwīn, *twǎsgǎm, *switǔis (note that sǔitǔis is borrowed from English sweets, and the w changed to ǔ to conform with the Micmac sound pattern), *éwǔpn, etc. At the beginning or end of a word, only w appears adjacent to a vowel: wāw, wǒw--pot--, wěłāgw--evening--, wīgǎtǔign--

letter--, wūj--fly--; qīāsgīw--proper--, mōḡpēw--I'm not swollen. At the end of a word after g, we find both w and ū; but we will see below that words ending in ū have long ū in the underlying form; therefore we wish to predict w after g before a word boundary (thus, īlāsgw--card--; cf. īlāsgūg--cards). Otherwise, only ū appears at the beginning or end of a word adjacent to a non-vowel; ūḡwpīgn--his hand--; ḡālīpū--caribou--, wāspū--seal--, etc.; *wāspw, etc. Notice, incidentally, that we will need a later rule devoicing w / g ____ #.

Now, a rule to capture the generalization inherent in these data could ostensibly either derive w's from ū, 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 w from ū, rather than the second or third alternative. Since all w's appear to come from this source, however, it seems simpler still to make all

-long
+diff
+grave
-cons

 segments (originally unmarked for the feature [vocalic]) [+voc], and then change the appropriate ones to w. The statement of such a rule is the following:

$$(BA') \begin{bmatrix} +diff \\ +grave \\ -long \\ -cons \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \begin{cases} [+voc] \\ [-voc] \end{cases} / \begin{cases} [+voc] \\ [-cons] \\ \# \\ g \end{cases} \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [+voc] \\ [-cons] \\ \# \\ g \end{cases}.$$

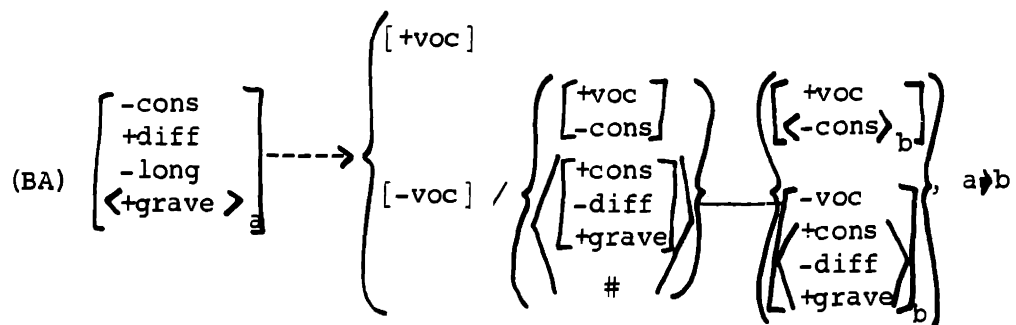
This rather simple rule accomplishes just what we desire, except in two cases: it gives us w in the environments #____g and g____g, whereas we must ultimately get ǔ. This is not a real problem, however, because, as we will see later (see Contraction chapter, p. 90), we need on independent grounds a rule revocalizing w to ǔ 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 i and y. The restrictions are very similar: between vowels we find only y, between consonants only i: 'wǎyǒpsg--bead--, nǔěyěy--of an Indian--, wětmǎyěg--we(exc.) are smoking--; npǐgn--my hand--, lǐgātǔ--I put it--, qǐsgǎjēy--I'm ready--, etc.; but *wǎǐǒpsg, *lygātu, etc. Also, at the end of a word after a vowel we find only y, not i: mǒǒpěy--I'm swollen--, nǔěyěy, etc. But we do not find y in some environments where we find w. At the beginning of a word before a vowel: ǐǎp--bull moose--, ǐǎpjīwōwěy--

eternal--, *yǎp, etc. After g (or any consonant) before a vowel or a word boundary: gǐǎsgǐw, tǐām--moose--, etc., but *gyǎsgǐw, *tyām, *ēpity, *igtǐgy, 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 pūtǎy, loc. cit.). But then the alternation igtǐg--other, igtǐgǐg--others (underlying igtǐgǐ, animate plural g) shows that we do not get y after g before #, for otherwise we would expect the incorrect *igtigy. We do find y and i, however, post-vocally and pre-consonantly, for all consonants except g: pǎǧǎlāywin--you surprise me--, ěym--I am (there)--, něpayn--you(s.) are sleeping--, wěǧǎytěw--he'll be mad. We will see later that words with -yg- sequences do not come from underlying -ig- 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 ǔ. The post-environment for the two cases will be very similar, but the pre-environment for ǐ--> y is much more restricted than that for ǔ--> w. The word pǎǧǎlāywin shows that ǔ--> w must occur before ǐ--> y, unless the V in the pre-environment of the

rule can be changed to [-voc]; but ěľüewiěy--I'm crazy-- shows the order unquestionably, since if ĩ--> y first, we would get ěľüěüľěĩ----> ěľüěüyěy, and then, not only would the ũ--> w rule block unless we also changed the post-environmental V to [-cons], but also even if we would get the ũ to change to w, we would still be left with an unwanted y. Thus the rule reads:



Consider the word 'jěňũ, giant, plural jě'nũg. If simply g is the animate plural, as we maintain, we must either lengthen the ũ in the plural, or shorten it in the singular. But if we choose the former, we must explain why ũ gets lengthened in je'nũg, but not, e.g., in wāgũg, lice, singular wāgw^h. Thus we must postulate a rule shortening ũ in word-final position. Precisely the same argument holds for, e.g., 'sĩpũ, river, plural sĩ'pũl. But now notice that this same rule generalized will handle such words as 'tă, pĩ, tă'pĩg, bow and 'mũntĩ, 'mũn'tĩl, bag. Further

support for this rule is the fact that we in general do not get word-final long vowels.

(BB 'b) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / \text{ ----} \leftarrow \#.$

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:

tăpī ---> tăpī ---> 'tăpī
 tăpī+g ---> tăpī+g ---> tă'pī+g;
 jĕnū ---> jĕnū ---> 'jĕnū
 jĕnū+g ---> jĕnū+g ---> jĕ'nū+g.

Furthermore, this rule must follow the ũ ---> w rule, in order that ,əp'gũ, gum, plural əp'gũg, would not become *əpgw, since the ũ must be short to become w.

Consider now the following words:

'igtig, 'igtigig	other
,jā'wāli, ,jā'wāliaĝ	a chew, grasshopper
mũ'īn, mũ'īnaĝ	bear
ti'ām, ti'āmugw	moose
'nīssgām, 'nīssgāmăĝ	god, God.

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:

$$(BB'a) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{long} \\ +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } \#.$$

Notice ilasgw, ilasgŭg--card. The singular indicates that this rule must follow the ŭ --> w rule, in order that the singular not become *ilasg. Likewise, 'pū, tăy, 'pū, tăyg--bottle, shows it must also follow the ĩ --> y rule. The words ,i'nūsg^h, ,i'nūsg^hwăĝ, Indian woman, are derived as follows:

lnūs ^h gŭă	lnūs ^h gŭă+g	
lnūs ^h gwă	lnūs ^h gwăg	ŭ --> w
lnūs ^h gw	n.a.	Ŷ --> ∅
lnūs ^h gw ^h	lnūs ^h gwăĝ	w --> w ^h /g___#; g--> ĝ.

This derivation in fact shows that the w-devoicing rule mentioned earlier must follow the Ŷ-dropping rule. Of course the Ŷ --> ∅ rule must precede the Ŷ --> Ŷ rule, or else we would get rid of all long final vowels also.

Now, for mūīn, muīnaĝ, we postulated the underlying form mūīnă. The sequence underlying the plural is thus muīnă+g. But as we see, we need a rule making g into ĝ at least / ă + _____ #. We will examine this rule in detail later. We just note in passing that words like 'mŭsŏĝ--horsefly--indicate that the rule must operate after ŏ as well as ă.

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

There is one pair of words which looks puzzling. Alongside sĭssgŭ--mud, plural sĭssgŭl, we have ugsĭssgŭ^h--his face--, ugsĭssgŭl--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 Vw in the singular (underlying Vu#). First, the nouns in V̄w# are perfectly regular: ap̄gāw < ap̄gāũ#, plural ap̄gāũl--spruce bark; 'ji'gāw, plural 'ji'gāwg^h--bass; sgwēw, plural sgwēwg^h, hen. So are nouns in -ow: wisāwōw, plural ,wisā'wo^wũl²--loose, diseased feces--; wōw, plural wōwg^h--pot--; tēsipōw, plural tēsipōwgw^h--horse.

The nouns in -ěw# and -ǎw#, however, are very peculiar. First of all, all nouns in -ěw# are inanimate, with plurals in -ǎl#, and all nouns in -ǎw# are animate, with plurals in -ǎĝ#. Thus, e.g., ,ǎlĭ,gēw--clothes--, pl. ǎlĭgǎl; gũntěw--stone--, pl. gũntǎl; ,sǎĝǎ'mǎw--chief--, pl. ,sǎĝǎ'mǎĝ; lǎ't:ōlǎw--bull--, pl. lǎ't:ōlǎĝ; ũg'tlǎw--kidney--, pl. ũgtlǎĝ, etc. Since all the plurals have the vowel -ǎ-, it seems best to make all the underlying vowels -ǎ-, and have a rule stating that inanimate nouns undergo the rule $\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e} / ______w^+$.³ Secondly, notice that the -w- in both cases is deleted in the plural. If the w-deletion rule comes before the $\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e}$ rule, the latter need not mention anything occurring after the word boundary. That is, in inanimates only in the singular does $\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e}$, but if we do not delete the 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 $\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e}$ rule when it could apply. Thus the two rules we need to account for the facts mentioned are:

w-deletion

(BC') $w \rightarrow \emptyset / \check{a} _____ + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ g \end{array} \right\} \#$

$\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e}$

(BD'a) $\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e} / \left[\underline{\quad} \right] [u,w] +.$

Just as for -Vw#, the nouns ending in -Vy# are of interest. Just as before, those ending in -V̄y# (underlying -V̄i#) are perfectly regular:

$\check{a}\check{t}\check{l}\check{a}y$, $\check{a}\check{t}\check{l}\check{a}y\check{l}$ or $\check{a}\check{t}\check{l}\check{a}y\check{g}^h$	shirt
'lă,pāy, lă'pāyg	(wash-)tub
'plū,jēy, 'plū,jēyg	bluejay.

Also, the one example I have of -ăy#, namely 'pūtăy(g)^h--bottle (cf. Fr. bouteille), is also regular. We find peculiarities, however, in nouns and adjectives ending in -ěy#. The plurals are in -ēg# for the animate and -ēl# for the inanimate. Thus: 'wis:ey, wis:ēl--nest; 'pīlēy,

.pī'lēl, ,pī'lēg, new (sg., pl. inan., pl. an.). The i seems to be changed to an ě in the plural, by a rule such as the following:

$$(BE) \quad [i, y] \text{ -----} \rightarrow \text{ě} / \text{ě} \text{ ______ } + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ g \end{array} \right\} \#.$$

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., pīlēy to become *pīlāy when modifying an animate noun. That it does not, and that the adjective animate plural is, e.g., pīlēg, not *pīlāyg, 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 n̄. Thus:

'gwīṭṇ, 'gwītṅ	canoe
'ūlāḡan 'ūlāḡān̄	vase
wīḡātīgn, wīḡatīḡn̄	book

āṣūn, āṣūn̄	blanket
'pōḡon, 'pōḡon̄	bed
'āḡuṣṣṇ, 'āḡuṣṣṇ̄	hat

We see that these words are in fact inanimate because ūn-- fog--, and 'sissḡon--nose--, have the irregular plurals ūn̄l and 'sissḡonl alongside the expected ūn̄ and 'sissḡon̄. What clearly is needed here are two rules: the first changing l to n / n + _____, and the second converting a sequence of two n's into a long n̄. The word 'sītom--beach, plural 'sīt'om̄, makes it appear that the l --> n rule is slightly more general, but wigū'am(1)--tepee(s) and 'wigū'om(1)--house(s) make it appear that 'sītem may simply be irregular (see below). We also find ḡōspēm--lake--, with the plural either ḡōspēm̄ or ḡōspeml̄. In fact, the latter is used as the topic in a question. The borrowed word mītiṇ--meeting--, pl. mītiṇ̄, shows, however, that the rule can be at least partially generalized.

There is a small class of animate nouns ending in g, ḡ or gw which in the plural merely lengthen the g:

'lěn?, tūḡw ^h , 'lěn?, tūḡ:w ^h	deer
'pīḡōḡ, 'pīḡōḡ:	lover
hēm̄l'ag ^h , hēm̄l, āḡ: ^h	hemlock.

Obviously, this implies that we need a rule giving us a

long g from a geminate cluster. But notice that this rule, the $n + n \rightarrow \bar{n}$ rule, and the $i + i \rightarrow \bar{i}$ rule (see below) are really all the same rule:

$$(BF') \quad \begin{array}{cc} [+segment] & [+segment] \\ 1 & 2 \end{array} \implies \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ +long \end{bmatrix} \emptyset \text{ iff. } 1=2.$$

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

Consider the nouns mōgō'pāg--wine--, plural mōgō'pāgal and 'nīgōg, spear, plural 'ni,gō'gōl. 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 mōgōpāg and nīgōgō, respectively. Or we could postulate a rule inserting a vowel after g identical with the one before it. These cases give us no reason to choose the latter. Consider, however, tīām, tīāmŭ^hg^h, moose. The stem, we have seen, is tīāmŭ, and the plural is tīāmŭ^hg. But we must get the w^h after g somehow. Also notice that this rule must either be before the ŭ --> w rule or copy w instead

of u, for we cannot have the w-devoicing rule devoice ǔ as well because of words like əpgǔ--gum. But now suppose that we postulate the underlying forms mǒgpāg, nǐgǒg, and tiāmug, as well as a very early rule (at least before the u --> w rule) which copies any o, a or u as a short vowel after g if it appears before the g. We would then get the following derivations:

mǒgpāg	nǐgǒg	tiām <u>u</u> + g	
mǒgǒpāgǎ	nǐgǒgǒ	tiām <u>u</u> + gǔ	V-copying
mǒgǒpāgǎ	nǐgǒgǒ	tiām <u>u</u> + gw	ǔ --> w
mǒgǒpāg	nǐgǒg	tiām <u>u</u> + gw	ǔ --> ∅
mǒgǒpāĝ	nǐgǒĝ	tiām <u>u</u> g ^h	g --> ĝ; w --> w ^h .

Notice that the plural of 'p̄lǐgǒĝ' is 'p̄lǐgǒĝ:', not *'p̄lǐgǒĝĝ', 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 -ǒ- gets deleted.

Consider the word 'wāĝəy--body--, pl. wā'ĝel. 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 -ĝ- and the -e- (or -ə-). Suppose, however, that the underlying form is uāgi. Note the derivations:

<u>uāgi</u>	<u>uāgi+1</u>	
uāgai	uāgai+1	V-copying
wāgay	wāgai+1	glide-formation
wāgay	wāgei+1	ǎ --> ě
wāgey	wāgee+1	[i,y] --> ě
wāgey	wāgē+1	geminate segment agglomeration
wāgēy	wāgē+1	g --> ĝ
'wāgēy	,wāgēl	stress assignment
'wāgēy	,wā'gēl	vowel reduction.

Observe that the plural shows that the ǎ --> ě rule must precede the [i,y] --> ě rule, for otherwise we would get the partial derivation uāgi+1 --> wāgai+1 --> wāgei+1, and the [i, y] -----> ě rule could not apply if it came before the ǎ --> ě 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 lěpyē--one foot--, we never find ē (or ě) in word-final position, so it might be that ē becomes ěy in word-final position, instead of vice versa.

In fact, word-final ē would become ě by final-vowel-shortening, and we could have a rule inserting y in the environment ě____#. We could further generalize this:

except for the expletive mōġwā--no!--we find no final ā's (or ǎ's). After final-vowel-shortening, then, we could have a rule inserting y after ě and w after ǎ at the ends of words, and then rule (BD) could apply as usual. We postulate, then, a glide-insertion rule:

$$(BG') \quad [-unit] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} -voc \\ -cons \\ +diff \\ \text{grave} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} +voc \\ -diff \\ -long \\ \text{grave} \end{array} \right] \text{ ______ } \#.$$

The two irregular words lěpyē and mōġwā could be underlying lěpyēē and mōġwāā, respectively. We are postulating, then, that, say, saġamā and wāġē become saġamǎ and wāġē, respectively, by final-vowel-shortening and then become, respectively, saġamǎw and wāġēy by rule (BG). In the plural, wāġē+1 gives the expected wāġē1, but from the putative saġamā+q we get sǎġāmǎġ, not *sǎġāmǎġ. 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):

$$(BH) \quad a \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-long] / \text{ ______ } + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+obviate] \\ [+plural] \end{array} \right\} +.$$

At this point we must recall the following regular singular-plural alternations: plūjēy/plūjēyg--bluejay--, lǎpāy/lǎpāyg--bucket--, nūōġtāw(ġ)--totem pole--, and mǎliġew/

măligēwg--barrel. That is, āw, ēw, āy, and ēy occur regularly and with no morphophonemic alternations noun-finally. Furthermore, recall pūtāy/pūtāyg--bottle--, and the total absence of any -ēy/-ēyg or -ēy/-ēyl singular/plural alternations. Notice also the regular wisawow/wisawowl--diarrhea--, tēsipow/tēsipowg--horse--, and wōw/wowg--pot--, from wisawēw, tēsipēw, and wēw, respectively (see page 315, and cf. also maltew/maltewl--(kinds of) blood), showing that -ēw/-ēwl and -ēw/-ēwg 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):

$$(BG) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \langle -unit \rangle \\ -voc \\ -cons \end{array} \right] \dashrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} -voc \\ -cons \\ +diff \\ \langle \alpha grave \rangle \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} +voc \\ -diff \\ -long \\ \alpha grave \end{array} \right] \text{ ______ } \#,$$

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

săġāmā	gūntā	wissē	tēsipe[i,u](+g)	gūntā+l	wissē+l	
saġamā	gūntā	wissē	"	"	"	(BBb)
saġamāw	gūntāw	wissey	tēsipēw(+g)	"	"	(BG)

săgamăw	guñtăw	wissey	tēsipěw(+g)	guñtal	wissē+l	(BH)
"	guñtěw	"	"	"	"	(BD')
"	"	"	tēsipow(+g)	"	"	e-->o
săgamăw	guñtěw	wissěj	tēsipōw(g)	guñtăl	wissēl.	

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 gjiğăn--city, ēpitjīj⁵--little woman, apjējit--he's small, n?jignam--my brother, m?jěgās--I will be dirty, əssgōlj--toad; as the initial element of a cluster, however, it is severely restricted: in fact it appears only before g (and occasionally l in an inanimate plural--see below). But now we must explain why j does appear before g. Since all j's presumably come from t before i, -jg- would have to come from -tīg- via -jiq-. But of course we also find -jiq- sequences, as in n?jignām. 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 (wūj--fly--, lmūj--dog--, nəməj--fish--, with plurals ending in -ig and -g in free variation), find -jiq- after a

long vowel.⁶ Furthermore, we see from words like ěŭ'lēji-
 --to be poor-- (ěŭ'lējit--he's poor; ěŭ'lējg < ěŭ'lējig,
 it's poor) that we in fact must delete the ĭ / ṽj _____ g.
 Conversely, we never find -jg- after a consonant (except
 perhaps l; exception: mig^hjig^hjg--turtles) or in initial
 position (except for jġōlj--toad--, which appears to be
 merely a [predictable?] alternate form of ǝsġōlj).^{6a} Curious
 cases are the sequences -ṽjig-. All nouns in -ěj#
 have plurals in -ějg. Furthermore, we have such words as
ějgwi--I sneeze, ej^hgŭj^hg--pumpkins--, and ŭgtějg--the last
 time--, all of which seems to indicate that the -ĭ- also
 deletes / ṽj _____ g. But we also have verbal third per-
 son plurals in -ějig (e.g., wājūpějig--they are full) and
 such words as ějigǝlǝlǝg--I reject him--, gějigĕw--a little
 while ago.

Now, consider words such as gŭgŭmĭj--your grand-
 mother--, plural gŭgŭmĭjg, as opposed to ēpĭt, ēpĭjĭg. To
 get final -j, the former would appear to come from gŭgŭmĭtĭ
 --> gŭgŭmĭjĭ --> gŭgŭmĭj, whereas, as claimed above, the
 latter comes from ēpĭtĭ --> ēpĭt. But obviously no order-
 ing of the t --> j rule and the ṽ --> ∅ rule can account
 for both words, given the underlying forms above. Notice

also that ēpit keeps -jig in the plural, while gugumij apparently deletes the i. Of the two, the case of ēpit seems most clear-cut: no other order of the rules would work. The problem with gugumij, 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 un̄jī, ūn̄jīl--his head--no words seem to end in -ji. Also, all words ending in -j have it preceded by a vowel or i, except for migjigj, turtle, which we have seen is irregular in other respects, pġanj--hazel nut--, and nġotnānj--bastard. Also there is a pejorative ending -j, in, for example, npīġnj--my dirty, disfigured, ugly old, etc. hand--, from npīġn--my hand--, (see Contraction chapter, p. 98, for further discussion of -j). What these facts suggest is a late rule deleting i / [+voc] j ____ #. The word jimēj--Jim--, plural jimējaġ, is of interest here. The plural shows that the stem ends in ǎ. The underlying form must be timētia. The vowel deletion rule gives us then timēti; t --> j gives jimēji; and i-deletion gives us the correct jimēj. 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 gugumij by assuming that the underlying form is gǔgǔmītī. Then the final vowel-shortening rule will give us gǔgǔmītī, and the $t \rightarrow j$ rule will then apply, giving us gǔgǔmījī, since the t is now followed by an i. Finally, the Vji# \rightarrow Vj# rule will apply, giving us gǔgǔmīj--your granny.

But now what about the plural. We would expect it to be *gǔgǔmījīg, but in fact it is gugumijg. Have we been shot down at last? We now notice that, whereas we have words like 'jī'gāw--bass--with -jīg sequences, the only cases of -Vjīg sequences are like gějīg--I know him, which we will see at an earlier stage can be analyzed as gějī + ig. So if we now have a rule deleting ī / Vj _____ g, and place it before the rule which takes $i + i \rightarrow ī$, we will in fact obtain the correct results.

First of all, we must notice that while we have been talking of words like gugumij, this analysis will explain all words ending in -Vj# or -lj#, such as goŋo'līgwěj--chicken--, wěnúj--Frenchman (i.e., French-speaker)--, n?jilj--my father-in-law--, militāj--humming-bird--, and nǔjij--my grandchild--, all of which come from

underlying -tī#.

Furthermore, because of words like ēpit, ēpijig, and nūjigesstunepilewet--hangman, we do not want to delete i / ĵj _____ g. But we can now explain the apparent exceptions to this rule (such as (g)ĵjga--a little bit--, ăjgəŋəwāləg--I do something for him--, ějgwey --I have the hiccups--, mūjgă--very good) by assuming that -ĵjg- comes from an underlying -ĵtīg- sequence via -ĵjīg-, with the application of the i-deletion rule.

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

<u>ăwgtīj</u> --footpath	pl. <u>ăwg'tīṭl</u>
<u>wăwg^hjīj</u> --little egg	pl. <u>wawg^hjīṭl</u> or <u>wawg^hjījl</u> .

It seems that we need a rule before the t --> j rule deleting i before l, 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 ătḷ is derived from ati+l, and that we must delete short i before l, which rule comes before t --> j. We could extend this rule to delete long i there as well, if it was preceded by t (cf. mun'tīl--bags-- (← muntui+l), suomu'sīl--beech trees--, ga,watgu'pīl--beers--, mlagə'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,ī]-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 wawgjījl 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 ī 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'mūjl--bunches of wood--; pæ'gij(l)--package(s)--, and pīj(l)--immature sex organ(s)--, indicate that, again, the ī-dropping rule must be after the t ---> j rule, for we need final -tī# in the underlying forms of all these

words, to get finally $-j\#$, as we saw above; but the plurals have no \bar{i} , which must have therefore been deleted, but only after the $t \rightarrow j$ 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) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{long} \rangle \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \langle -\text{unit} \rangle \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] / \text{ _____\#}^7$

3 - (BC') w-deletion

4 - (BI) $t \rightarrow j / \text{ _____\ } i$

5 - (BD') $a \rightarrow e$

6 - (BJ') $i \rightarrow \emptyset / [+voc] j \text{ _____\ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) _____\#} \\ \text{(b) } \langle +\text{long} \rangle_d [+seg] \\ \text{_____\ } c \Rightarrow d \end{array} \right.$

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle -\text{long} \rangle_c \\ \text{ _____\ } \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ g \end{array} \right\}^8$

7 - (BF') geminate segment agglomeration

8 - (BH) $a \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / \text{ _____\ } [+plural]$

J

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 jujij--lizard--, nijus--my brother-in-law--, jijuağa--sometimes--, in which we find a j followed by a short ü. 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., jujij 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 jijuağa and not *jüjuağa. The simplest solution would be to postulate underlying forms with -tiü-, and then have i delete before -ü- after t --> j. We see that, whereas we find words like gigjiw--near--, iapjiwowe--eternal--, tujiw--then--, nemiwei--I see my sweetheart--, with iW sequences, we find no *-jiw- sequences, and, in fact, apparently no -iw- or -iü- sequences at all except for the following words: giäsgiw--just right--; nütaiw--before--, which may be underlying long i which shortens after a long vowel; siwgätm--I'm tired of staying here--, and siwēy--I'm bored--; and several words

given by Pacifique which are unfamiliar or uncertain to me:
Wejiuli Nisgam--The Holy Ghost, welaiwei--to be beneficent--,
wius (wiyŭs)--meat--, each of which may contain actual or
underlying -ī-, or, in the case of the last, it may be under-
lying ŭliŭs-- wiyŭs; wégayugtaĝ--I'm annoyed with him--,
wégayupéwi--I sulk--, and nŭjēywajig--schoolteacher--,
which contain the sequence -yŭ-, and thus would not undergo
the rule in any case if we limit it to -ī-.

We therefore have good empirical support for a rule
deleting short -ī- before -u-. Words like wejūseg--it's
windy--, gī'jū--mommy--, wajūpei--I'm full--, indicate that
the rule must also apply before long -ū-. Now, clearly the
i --> ∅ / _____ 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
jijŭāĝā, from underlying titiuaga via titiwaĝa and jijiwaĝa,
shows that the rule must allow i --> ∅ before w as well as
u. (We will later need a rule revocalizing w to u; this
rule must clearly precede it.)

$$(CA) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{long} \\ +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } [-\text{unit}] / \text{ --- } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} .$$

Thus, jujij, e.g., would come from underlying tiütiti via tiütiti, jiüjji, and jüjji.

We find further support for this rule from several quarters. Consider the verb gëwgji--I'm cold. The stem is gëgüti, and the g and u metathesize (see pp. 91 ff.; cf. the future, güjites, with deletion of the first -ë- and later deletion of the first g). Now, the Micmac analogue to English -ness is the suffix -üti added to verb stems (we will investigate below why the t does not change to j). Furthermore, when -üti is added to a verb stem it causes contraction (deletion of an -ë- in the first syllable) if possible. Thus geguti+uti becomes güti + üti. This does not become *güjiüti, as we might expect, but rather güjüti--coldness, cold--, by the rule above.

There is a prefix nüjji (< nüti) meaning "habitual" or "professional." We have the word pairs gëstunëpilewet--he garrotes--: nüjigestunepilewet--hangman--; apoöñmuet--helps--: nüjiapoöñmuet--helper. Corresponding to ewīgigët--he writes--, however, we have nüjü'igigët--clerk--

(\leftarrow nūji+wīgiget \leftarrow nuji+ěwīgiget by contraction, see below, p. 77ff.), instead of *nujiwīgiget.

We find a curious alternation in wějgūei--I come here, opposed to jūgūa!--come here! (the imperative regularly takes contraction). We would otherwise expect either *ugwjīgūā or *ugwj(ə)gūā, 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 -tiūgūě-. Now notice that if we set up an underlying form uětiūgūě (or uětiūgūě, with the V-copying and the g.s.a. rules applying), we would get uětiūgūě

$\begin{array}{c} u \text{ ---} \rightarrow \text{---} \rightarrow w \\ \text{---} \rightarrow \text{---} \rightarrow \end{array} \text{uětiūgūě}^t \text{---} \rightarrow \text{---} \rightarrow j \text{ ---} \rightarrow \text{---} \rightarrow \text{wějūgūě} \text{ ---} \rightarrow \text{---} \rightarrow \text{wějūgūě}$ i-dropping

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 i 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 ǔ is short. The single apparent exception is Pacifique's word wěj:ǔgwijiji-- I have a mother-in-law (cf. jǔgwījīj--mother-in-law), but this is wět + jǔgwījij, 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- --> -Vjiug- --> -Vjug- --> -Vjg-. Note that the rule would not delete -ū- in the sequence -Vjūg-, although I know of no clear examples of this sequence.

Now consider the imperative: uetiǔgǔa! --> utiǔgǔă --> utiuguua --> utiuguwa --> ugtiuguwa --> ugjiuguwa --> ugjuguwa --> ugjugūa. 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 ǔ 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 --> j / _____ i, with no restrictions whatsoever. We do find, however, some actual t's before i, in such words as:

aġānt̄ieumg--Sunday	,ăṭ̄iēw(i)--(I say) goodbye
ăttig'nāṣi--I work hard	awg ^h ti, awg ^h t̄il--road, roads
'ngăt̄igon--pound	awg ^h tig--it costs something, it is not free
ig ^h tig--the other	awg ^h tugě'mai--I charge myself
īn?gūti--one by one	me'gōtig--it's expensive
miti, mit̄ig--tree, trees	mitiei--of poplar
nti, ntig--my sleigh dog, dogs	ti'am--moose
ntinin--my body, person	tlaġatig--Tracadie
weti, wet̄ig--worm, worms	wiġatign--book
witigetult̄igw--we are brothers	mūssti, mūsst̄il--belly, bellies
pigti--I fart	mti'āġātesstaġan--church collection
əm't̄ij̄in--thumb, one inch	mūnti, mūnt̄il--bag, bags
n?ġānōpāt̄i, -t̄il--well, wells	n?gūt̄iw--at once
pă't̄is--Baptist	'sāġāti, 't̄ig--needle, needles
'sngăt̄ign--raft.	

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

-ūti, -ūt̄il-- -ness: (takes contraction)

aniapsuti--penitence	laġpusuti--apron
milesuti--riches, wealth (cf. milesi--I'm rich)	
sapeuti--wisdom	sipistaġanōsuti--pin
waġamōti--purity (cf. waġamei--I'm pure)	
wasteuti--snowflake (cf. wastew--snow)	
elueuti--sin	ulōti--health (cf. welēi--I'm well)

-ēgātī--field of, pl. -ēgātīg

wāstewēgatīg--fields of snow tapōtanēgati--potato field

wenjūsūnēgati--apple orchard p̄gūmānēgati--blueberry plain

-(u)lti-, -ti- : plural morpheme of intransitive verbs:

eliei--I go, eliātīgw--we (pl.) go

welaġapultioġ--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--, uġtaligal (< u + t + aligal < u + aligal)--his clothes. Now, consider the word něŭgt--one, alone. As a prefix it appears in neugtipuġ--one winter, all winter-- (cf. aġtapuġ--in the middle of winter) and neugtitēlmeg--I think only of him. Also consider the words igataġan--garden--, and inaġan--right (side), which form uġtigataġan--his garden--, and uġtinaġang, 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 + ināġan + g

"

ut + inaġan + g

uġt + inagan + g

t ---> j

t-insertion

g-insertion

ugtināḡang 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 -t̥i- sequence.

Suppose the t is a different underlying segment. The words tiām: piami--any (further)--, ntīnīn: gīnī'gwějij--ant--, aniapsuti: mlagḡjūmi--butter--, ati'ew: aniapsuti, wigatign: 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. majāsi--I move, majātīḡw--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'wāsi--I continue--, amalgāl̄tieḡ--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, wigatiġn with tġglejg--a little bit--, töġon--dress--, ntügwapeġn--my chin--, tăġaməg--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 evidence for considering this segment to be a consonant, we will consider only vowels. Clearly, it cannot be an i. The words pütay (g^h)--bottle(s)--, ăġătăyġw--one-half--, jawätay (< -tā + i, cf. jawätätġw)--I chew tobacco--, and pemitäyeg--we (exc.) are going--, gŭljewgteit--he crucifies me--, ntēypm--my tape--, and oġotei--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 ǔ and ū. First of all, we note that the sequences -tǔǎ-, tǔě, -tǔō- occur freely: pemātuan--I carry those things--, pemātueg--we (exc.) carry it--, pemātuog--you (pl.) carry it--, atu'assgwětēsin--I fall backwards--, 'ǎtǔēn--Antoine, Anthony--, 'Atǔǎ--Ottawa--, 'ǎtǔōmg--sand--, isstuēi--I'm different--, 'mǎtǔēs--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-.⁹ It is not clear what the conditions are when each appears (and note gǎmūj--wood--: gǎmūjig or gǎmūjuig--it is wood). In any case, the word mǎntǔ (< mǎntū, cf. mǎntūg)--devil--, forms mǎntǔi (presumably from mǎntū + i, with shortening of the ū)--I am a devil. Witǔ--his beard-- (< witū) forms witǔi--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 gětǔi--I want to--, (< gětū + i, cf. gětūtǎgamin--I want you to hit me) nesstuimuei (< nětūimuei)--I give good advice--, nětuisgei (< nětūisgei)--I sell--, pituiptnāgan (< pitūi + ptnāǎgan--100)--1000--, mětūimǎǎ (mětū + imǎǎ, cf. welimǎǎ--it tastes good--,

mētūūqunāq̄--bad weather)--it tastes bad. In fact, such words as ewgjaṗugū'āsi--I step on it--(stem ewgjaṗugūe+iāsi; cf. plural ewgjaṗugetaygw--we (inc.) step on it) and qiguow--your (pl.) house--suggest that this u-shortening rule, which must apply after glide-formation, is at least somewhat more general, also applying after g and before nondiffuse vowels.

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

Note the words mimajuinu--person--, and wajuiei--I'm full--, from mimatiuinu and watiuiei, respectively, which show that the i --> ∅ / _____ u rule comes after the u --> ∅ / t _____ i rule, for otherwise we would get *mimajinu and *wajiei, respectively, unless we make the u --> ∅ rule less general. That is, with this ordering we do not have to distinguish between j and t in the u --> ∅ 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 -gāt- --foot. Thus we have n?gat--my foot--, and wēgātī--I have feet. But the latter

must come from wegat + ui, for if it came from wegat + i, we would expect *wegaji. But we in fact noted above that the suffix for "have" normally appears as -ui. This, then, is strong evidence for the 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 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 -sj- sequences, except across certain large morpheme boundaries, namely, only before the diminutive suffix -jīj, as in ǎlāmēsjīj--low mass--, from ǎlāmēs--mass (from the French à la messe). This suffix probably has an inherent intermediate =-boundary preceding it (i.e., its underlying form is =tītī). Thus, the above discussion implies that I derive the word mūsstīl--bellies-- from underlying mūstuī + l. The fact that words like *mūsjī do not exist in Micmac might imply that we should except the t --> j rule from applying after s, but since we can get along without this restriction, I will not include it in the rule. Furthermore, the alternation ēpītēs--(teenage) girl-- /ēpītējīj--(presumably < ēpītes+jīj)--little girl--suggests that it may be the case that s deletes before j, at least

in some cases. Again, the free variation between əssǰǒlj and jǰǒlj--toad--suggests that in at least some cases there is some sort of alternation between s and j.¹⁰

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

We note the following words:

I

wejaǰamiejig--it's boiling
 aljaǰam--I spread it
 jij:awignej--raisin
 jaǰali--quickly
 nin?jaǰumtesg--it drips
 nijan--my child
 jagej--lobster
 Jimējaǰ--Jims
 n?tepij:aǰan--my glove
 jajigāsi--I go along the edge
 jajigēy--I'm healthy
 nugwigjat--she has a soft bottom
 pewgjalǰēg--there's a hole in it
 n?tuǰwejan--my forehead

II

puljāyn--locomotive
 tēpljējīj--kid
 Jōj--George
 aj:ēmay--I play ball

apjējg--it's small, few
 awijējg--it's rare
 wejēyaġ--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
 sepiļjenņ--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
 naġamajejg--it's easy

V

mījoġom--dry wood
 a'teļjoġo--just now
 gepojoġom--I plug it up
 iljoġwātu--I repair it

VI

nuji+apoġonmuet--helper
 əgji+āsutmaġan--greatest prayer

əgji+ansalēwit--archangel
 əgjiāpluew--you great devil!

VII

siawāsi--continue!
 iapjiwowej--eternal
 mtiāḡatestaḡan--collection
 giasgīw--just right
 aniapsi--make penance
 wiaḡātu--mix, mingle
 tiām--moose
 pātliās--priest
 siguniēj--sparrow
 aḡalasiēw--Englishman (i.e., English-speaker)
 gəmḡniēwi--I receive communion
 ḡgtigiēwinu--drunkard
 maliēwīgw--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 deleting i at least after j and before a and o, but list VI shows both that the i cannot be long, and that there cannot 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 ē, ā, or ǎ. In fact, we will see later that i must also drop before ē and ā 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. ajāsī) 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+ieit, 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 ē or i (for example, cf. welimāġ--it smells good, < wel+imāġ, to jij:emāġ--it stinks), i deletes between j and ě 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) $t \rightarrow j / \underline{\quad} i$

3 - (CB'a) t-insertion

4 - (CC) $\left[\begin{array}{c} u \\ \langle \text{-long} \rangle \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \langle \text{-unit} \rangle \\ \text{-long} \end{array} \right] / t \text{ ______ } i$

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

6 - (CD') $i \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} j \\ \langle \text{-long} \rangle_1 \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{-diff} \\ \text{+voc} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \langle \text{-long} \rangle_1 \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \langle \text{-grave} \rangle_2 \\ \langle \text{-long} \rangle_2 \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{-voc} \\ \text{+son} \end{array} \right\}_2, a \Rightarrow b$

7 - (BJ) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{+voc} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{+diff} \\ \beta\text{grave} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{[+voc] } j \text{______ } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{-grave} \\ \langle \text{-\beta long} \rangle_b \end{array} \right\} \text{[+unit]}\#.$

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \langle \beta \text{long} \rangle \\ \text{______} \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ g \end{array} \right\}, a \Rightarrow b$$

8 - (CE') g-insertion

ĝ

We now wish to consider the rule changing g to ĝ.

There are ample examples showing that it does not occur freely in the environment of a; namely, such words as amal'gay--I dance--; 'assgayaĝ--I bother him--; galun--gallon--, galipu--caribou--, gajuwegj--cat--, nĕgaw--always--, jigajiey--I'm touchy--, igatn'ĕwey--I'm a racer--, igālĕg--I put him--, igalq--I support him--, gĕ'lusgap--

Glooscap, legendary hero of Micmac legend--, 'gawi--
 porcupine quill--, gāḡan--door--, gāt--eel--, etc. show
 that simply before a, g 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 g as well as before it. This is
 indeed the case in such words as a,ḡāntiēuti--week--,
etlaḡalg--I stay with him--, maḡatpay--I have a big head--,
ma'ḡāḡ--it's big and round--, paḡālag--I bite him--,
pāḡalay--I'm surprised--, 'aḡam--snowshoe--, aḡalasi'ēw--
 Englishman--, ḡptaḡan--plate--, etc. Of course, at the end
 of a word we normally expect the copied ă to delete by the
 vowel-shortening rule: aḡ--and (aḡ --> aḡa --> aḡ -->
ăḡ)-- , maḡaḡ--not yet-- , moḡopāḡ--wine (pl. moḡo'pāḡal)-- ,
teḡitpaḡ--cold night.

Now consider words with ă followed by a hard g,
 such as ăḡanūtmaḡ--I tell him a story, jăḡěj--lobster--
 (cf. mi'jăḡěj--vein), măḡasăn--store-- , nălăḡin--you're
 raring to go-- , which seem to be exceptions to the g --> ḡ
 rule. Consider jagej. The underlying form must begin at
 least with ti-. It cannot be simply tigetī, or we would
 get *jigej. So it must be at least tiv^jḡētī. v_i^j cannot be

just ǎ or ā, since we would then get *jaĝǎj. 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 *jīgej), the only single vowel it could possibly be is ě. But then we would need a rule to change e to a after g --> ĝ. But we would in that case be unable to explain why the second e remains in mějě'gēg--it's dirty--(it cannot be long: cf. pegijēg--it takes long). Suppose, however, that the underlying form were tiaegetī. After applying various rules through the t --> j and g --> ĝ rules we would have jiaegej. It was shown above that i --> \emptyset / j _____ a, so we will end up at some point after g --> ĝ with jaĝǎj. However, we never find -ǎǎ- sequences in Micmac, so it would not be unreasonable to delete e if it is after ǎ. We propose such a rule:

(DA') e -----> \emptyset / a _____

to apply after g -----> ĝ, for otherwise we would get *jaĝej. Words like āgusān--hat,, Ālmawāgig--Germany--, nāgweg--day-- (← āegusn, ālmawāgig, and nāgweg, 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 epsaġtej--stove--, apaġt--sea--, alaġsin--I fly--, maġtawēg--he's black--, paġtaġam--in the middle of nowhere--, m'saġtaġt--floor--, naġtm--I abandon it-- (< nag + tm + i; cf. naġalg--I abandon him). This implies that either restrictions must be put on the vowel-copying rule, or the ă's must somehow be deleted.

In examining the cases where the vowel-copying rule appears not to work, we note that the g is inevitably followed by a [+obstruent] segment. This fact is true for o and u as well: epetoġsit--he moans--, m'tūnoġt--storm--, wēsəmoġji--I smooch--, awġti--road--, ewġsimġ--I fool him (with words)--, eulamugsi--I look skinny--, pugsuġw--firewood--, ugjit--for. We find no words like *maġmigew, *epe'toġnit, *puglugw, except for words like ug'lāġanməl--his wounds-- (< u + g + lāġan + m + l < u + lāġan + m + l, cf. lāġan--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 māgn̄--moccasin--the ā is followed by an ě which deletes; otherwise this word would be totally inexplicable: neither vowel-copying nor g-spirantization is operative; but the ě 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 maġatui--lend it to me! (say, maġatui > maġaatui, somehow > maġatui (to stop *maġātui); or, alternately, magtui > maġatui; but now, in either case, a-deletion would have to apply, giving *maġtui; we will discuss the provenience of these a's below). Thus, we wish to stop the grave vowel from being copied if a [+obstruent] segment immediately follows the triggering g. I.e., we derive, say, maġtawēg as follows: magtaw- --> V-copying does not apply --> maġtaw-.

But now, what of the second a in maġatui? Clearly, if the underlying form were magat-, V-copying (applicable here, because the second a is [-obstruent]) would give us

magaat-, and later geminate segment agglomeration would give us *maġāt-. On the other hand, if the underlying form is magt-, V-copying would not apply at all, giving us *maġt-. 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 $\text{mag} \begin{bmatrix} X \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \text{t-} \rightarrow \text{maga} \begin{bmatrix} X \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \text{t-}$, and then the segment we have designated $\begin{bmatrix} X \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix}$ must delete. But we already have a rule deleting ě after ǎ, so if we postulate an ě in the underlying form, everything will work out appropriately: magetui \rightarrow magaetui \rightarrow maġaetui \rightarrow maġatui.

Thus, the vowel-copying rule would now read:

$$(\text{DB}') \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{v} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{g} \quad \emptyset \quad [+ \text{son}] \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \quad \quad \Rightarrow \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \quad 4.$$

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) wantaġgwiġin--be in peace, have peace of mind--, wenaġgwiġāsi--raise one's thoughts--, and soġġwāt--eclipse-- would imply that we are in fact limited to only one g, for otherwise we would expect *wantaġgawijin, *wenaġgawijāsi, and *soġġowāt, respectively. It may be that there are

boundaries between the two g's, but this seems somewhat unlikely. Also, săpaġ:ă'tōsi--I prick myself--, if two g's were allowed by the rule, could come only from săpăggetōsi.

A word like maġāġ--it's big and round could come from maġa + g --> maġaa+g --> maġāġ, or from maġā+g --> maġāā+g --> maġāġ; that is, the second a is unspecified for length.

A word like elipġami--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 en?ġālaġ--I stop him--, with na'ġāsi--I stop.

Consider a word like am?ġwan--spoon. The underlying form could not be amaguan or amoguan, since we would get *am?ġawan or *am?ġowan, respectively. Nor could it be amagn, since we would then get *am?ġan; nor amugn, since we'd get *am?gun. We will see (Transitive chapter, p. 299ff.) that we need a rule changing au, eu, ua, and ue to ō 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 ---> amog^hwan ---> am?^hgwan (with the o being deleted by the same (problematical) rule which deletes ä in elip^hgami). However, words like tūā^hgān--ball--, wā^hgāntew--bone--, papuā^hgān--fun--, wāwq^w--louse--, tēsipow^wg^w--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^h rule applies, a or o must precede the g, although it must afterwards be deleted. In fact, a cannot precede the g, since it would be copied. Thus, when g ---> g^h applies, the g must be preceded by an o; thus we get the partial derivation: amogwan ---> amog^hwan ---> am?^hgwan. This o cannot be underlying, since we do not get *am?^hgowan, 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 ---> amogwan ---> amog^hwan ---> am?^hgwan. (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 amoguan, amogwan, amog^hwan, am^hgwan.

We find similar vowel-deletion phenomena very often interconsonantly, which are just as problematical. Thus, for example, 'geg:usg--godfather--', is from underlying gegugusg, which stem can be confirmed by independent evidence (see Contraction chapter below); but 'pugugw--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 elegeg--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) g appears before o: Goliat--Goliath--, gog^holigwej--chicken--, gopit--beaver--, nigog^h--spear--; 2) g^h appears after o, and before ö (from vowel-copying): apog^honmuey--I help--, wipog^hom--trunk--, egsuog^hon--lie--, nog^hom--I cough--;
- 3) g^h appears after o at the ends of words: nog^h--very--, tog^h--then--, nigog^h--spear--; 4) ö is not copied across g^h

by vowel-copying if the g is followed by an obstruent:
ěpetoġsit--he moans--, mtūnoġt--storm--, maġoġsit--he's
 big and round--; 5) [a,o]-deletion causes certain underlying
ǒ's (from underlying au, eu, or e, see below) to be
 deleted, deriving -Cġo- and #ġo- sequences: ġosi--finger-
 nail--, ḡssġolj--toad--; 6) since -oe- sequences do not
 exist, underlying -oěg- sequences can account for actual
-og-: gōgwejīj--spider (← gōegue = jīj).

Although we cannot prove it conclusively at this
 stage of our knowledge of Micmac, many facts strongly imply
 that all o's come from other underlying segments--ě (cf.
qīnū--we (inc.)--, qīnūōwěy--ours-- qīnu+ěwey), ēu or āu
 (cf. mattē-m--I beat it--, mat:ōġsi--I get beaten--
mattē+uġsi; and an?ġunā-m--I cover it--, an?ġunōl--I cover
 you-- an?ġunā+ul), ǔ (pemātōġ--he carries it-- pemātǔ+ġ;
 cf. pemātǔ--I carry it-- pemātuti); furthermore, o's are
 relatively rather rare in Micmac.

Certain short ǒ's (such as that in pemātoġ) clearly
 do not have a w-glide following them--very frequently they
 are the ones followed by ġ rather than g, although not
 exclusively so. Many short o's and virtually all long ō'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 -egu- and -agu- (see next chapter), respectively, after eu and au become o. Eu and au become o before g --> ġ, and before contraction (as we shall see); -og- sequences, then, which are decidedly rare even among the sparse set of [-oġ-, -oġ-] sequences, would come from -eog- by ě-deletion after g --> ġ, which in turn would come from -[a,e]ueg-. This would also explain oppositions such as gogomin--sloe--: gugumij--your grandmother--, the former from geugmin, 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 ō in, say, nōġom--I cough-- by vowel-copying.

There still remain a few ġ's which resist analysis as derivable from g's. The verb stem esamuġwā-- --drink-- contains perhaps the most troublesome of these.

Here is a list of the rules discussed in this chapter:

- 1 - (DC) [a,e]u----> o
- 2 - (DB) vowel-copying
- 3 - (BG) final glide insertion
- 4 - (BA) glide-formation
- 5 - (BB) final-vowel shortening
- 6 - (DD) w ----> [-voice] / g _____ #
This rule is in fact much more general. All clusters of the type $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \end{bmatrix} [-\text{voc}] \#$ are voiceless.
- 7 - (BC') w-deletion
- 8 - (BI) t---->j
- 9 - (CB') t/i-insertion
- 10 - (CC) u/t _____ i-deletion
- 11 - (DE) s ----> t
- 12 - (DF) j ----> y / _____ t
- 13 - (CD') i---->∅ / j _____ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{v} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$
- 14 - (BD') a---->e / $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{animate} \\ \text{_____} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \#$
- 15 - (DG) i-->∅ / _____ l#
- 16 - (CA) i-->∅ / _____ [u,w]
- 17 - (BJ') i-->∅ / Vj _____ / $\begin{cases} \# \\ +[\text{plural}] \end{cases}$
- 18 - (DH) stress rule
- 19 - (DI) g---->[+uvular] / $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$ _____

- 20 - (DJ) contraction
 21 - (DK) vowel-reduction
 22 - (DL') g-deletion
 23 - (CE') g-insertion
 24 - (DA') e--->∅ / a _____
 25 - (DM') l--->[+nasal]/n+ _____
 26 - (DN') w-revocalization
 27 - (DO) [g,p]-deletion
 28 - (BF) [+segment] [+segment]
 1 2 =>> ∅ $\left[\begin{array}{c} 2 \\ +\text{long} \end{array} \right]$,
- if 1 = 2 with the possible exception of length and continuancy.
- 29 - (BH) a---> [-long] / _____ +[+plural]



CHAPTER III

CONTRACTION



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 ě, in occasional words if it is ǎ or ǒ and never if it is any other vowel.¹ For example:

ělitāsi--I rely on it	litāsiās--I will rely on it
sěǵin--you urinate	sgitēs--you will urinate
ǵewisin--I am hungry	guisintes--I'll be hungry
naǵanīgey--I scoop out	n?ǵanīgās--I will scoop out
ǒǵwāy--I land	ǵwātes--I will land
wigpey--I drink habitually	wigpās--I'll drink habitually
nulmaǵapi--I feel high	nulmaǵapiās--I'll feel good, high
awantāši--I forget	awantašias--I'll forget
āṣuṭamēwinui--I pray	āṣuṭamēwinuites--I'll pray
pījuit--he pees (nursery word) ²	pījuitew--he'll pee.

Note that such alternations as wěłǎġapi--I'm tipsy--, włǎġapiās³--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 ě, 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 *ǔłǎġapiās).

The fact that in cases like sēs̄paġanēg--he's a blabbermouth--, sēs̄paġanētēw--he'll be a blabbermouth--, we never get a shortening of the long ē in the future indicates that long vowels are in fact underlying, since if ē were underlying ěě, we would expect the first one to delete here, giving us sěēs̄ap- > *sēs̄ap-. We could only salvage the sequence hypothesis if the contraction rule came after geminate segment agglomeration, which alternations like ġǎġmāsi--I stand up--, ġ:ǎ'māsi--stand up!--indicate is not the case. This latter case, incidentally, indicates that contraction occurs after g ----> ġ, since we would otherwise expect *g:a'māsi.

The alternation naġanīgei: n?ġanīgās shows that true ǎ's sometimes delete, since this ǎ apparently could not be an underlying ě and still cause ġ to undergo spirantizing.

Furthermore, ogwāy:gwātes shows, for the same reason, that "underlying" o also sometimes deletes. Now, we could maintain the generalization about ě 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 ě. 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 neaġanīg- --> naġanīg, while in the future we would have the same results, except that contraction (which comes before e-deletion) would delete the ea of neaġanīg-, giving us nġanīg-, and sonorant-syllabification would give us nʔġanīg-. 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 ġwā-. 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 getgiey/əgtigiās--I am/will be drunk. We expect the contraction gtqiās, which we expect normally to insert a ə after the second of three consecutive consonants. Instead, we find, apparently, an i inserted. Clearly, this i cannot be in the underlying form, inasmuch as in that case we would expect the incorrect *əgjigiās and *gejgiey. Thus, the i 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:

wetgim/ugwtigimās	I sent/will send him and he returned/ will return
gesgul/əgsugultes	I am/will be heavy
getguni/əgtugunites	I sleep/will sleep there
mesguli/mʔsugulites	I prick/will prick myself
wesmugway/ugwsumugwās	I run/will run away
wetgitasi/ugwtigitasites	I am/will be sent from, by
nestu'ēy/nsutuētes	I am/will be intelligent, understand
nes'tūēy/nsutuās	I come/will come to my senses;

note also the alternations

getgāl^og/əgt^ogālās I make/will make him drunk,

and

nestag[^]/n?s^ot:es I understand/will understand him,

which contain, respectively, the same initial morphemes as getgiey/əgtiqiās and 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 toġjuāy/ət^ojuātes--
 I climb/will climb--and maġtawēy/m^oatawētes--I am/will be
 black. The former appears similar to getgiey, 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 o must have been deleted by contraction; but then we could not tell whether to insert o or 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. Toĝjuāy, then, gives us toĝojuāy--> toĝjuāy; in the future we get toĝjuāy --> toĝojuāy --> tĝojuāy. Similarly, in the future we get maĝtawē- --> maĝatawē --> mĝatawē-. Note the alternation getquje'testu/ əgtugjetestutes--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- --> gtgujetestu- --> gtugujetestu- --> gtugjetestu-. In the other order, we have no way of deriving the ŷ in the contracted form.

The unstressed V-deletion rule also presumably explains the alternation teglējijig/ətgĕlējitag--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 g in

wejgapāġ--the tide comes in--, but not in the contracted ugwjigapāġtətew--the tide will come in--; and the i-deletion in mej:igway (< mejjiġ- < mejjiġiġ-)--I defecate--, but not in mjiġiwās (< mejjiġiġ-)--I will defecate.

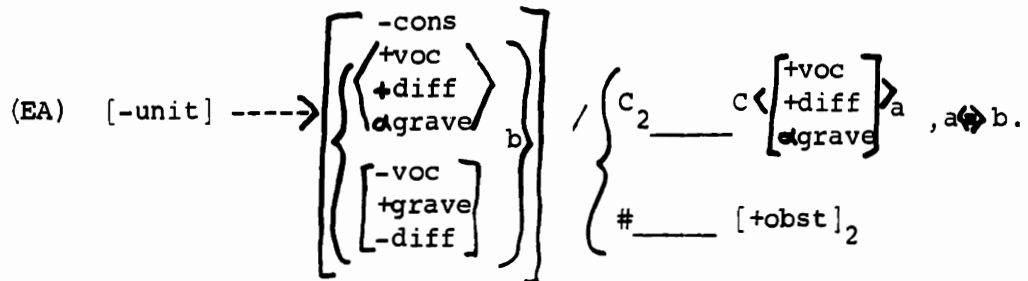
We will now try to determine the correct form of the shwa-insertion rule. Observe the following uncontracted/contracted alternations:

gesgaġ/əgsəguās	hurt by putting o.s. on
gespāləġ/əgsəpālās	eat him all up
getgāləġ/əgtəgālās	make him drunk
nespitm/n?səpit:ew	take care of it ^{3a}
nestaġ/n?sət:es	understand
wesgewōġtaġ/ugwsəgəwōġtuās	laugh at
wetsəmg/ugwtəsəmās	feed from
gesgelsi/əgsəgelsites	protect oneself
mesgēy/m?səgētes	be sorry
wesgewēy/ugwsəgewētew	laugh
westay/ugwsətās	survive, escape
wet:ēg/ugwtətētes	win
wet:əg/ugwtət:etew	the wind comes/will come from.

From the first, for example, we would, without shwa-insertion, expect *gsquās. 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 wett+g, and the shwa-insertion rule would give us wet:əg. 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+t+tew. Now shwas will be inserted: ugtətətətew; and the middle one syncopated, giving us ugwtət:tew.

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



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

pesgwesewey/əpsgwesewās	mow, reap
wesgey/ugwsgās	fish
wesgituīgṁ/ugwsgituīgətes	write it on top
wes'gwēyaḡ/ugws'gwēywās	mess around with
wesgung/ugwsgumās	speak, talk about
wesgitpi/u(gw)sgitpites	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 wesgewōḡtaḡ/ugwsəḡwōḡtuas 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:

epsəḡ/pəstes	warm him
gepsa'ḡātu/gəpəsa'ḡātutes	close a book
epteg/pətətew	it is/will be hot.

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 *əpsətes.

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 ě in their first syllable. Observe the following verbs which do not take

contraction in the future:

elegēwāleg--I make him king (cf. elip[^]gamūtū/lip[^]gamūtutes--
make it slide, and elegēwit--king)

emīsigta[^]g--I see his ghost (cf. emit:ugwalg/mit:ugwat:es--
visit)

ewegēg/ewegātes, wegātes--need (s.o.)

ewegetu/wegetutes, ewegetutes--need (s.t.)

getō[^]g[^]wamg--I look her up and down (cf. getuang/ gtuanās--
I want to kill (s.o.))

meta[^]gātu--I uncover it (cf. meto[^]g[^]wātu/m?to[^]g[^]wā(t)utes--
bring down (from the woods))

nespnm--bring it along (cf. nespitm/n?səpit:ew--take care
of it)

pejōtu--I bring a lot of it

peno[^]gwenm--I handle food or fine clothes

tepālōg--put (s.o.) on (s.t.) (cf. tepīg/ tpiās--give
s.o. his share).

There is no apparent semantic or phonological regularity among these verbs, which suggests that verbs with ě 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:

maḡatpay--I have a big head

maḡatpās--I'll have a big head (in general)

mʔḡatpās--I'll have a big head (i.e., a hangover),

and epatgwepuḡālḡ--I lean him up against something--has two future forms, epatgwepuḡālās and patgwepuḡālās, with a slight but unknown semantic difference, according to our informant. The verbal form nesuḡunaḡ--(it is) three days--has two future forms:

nesuḡunaḡtətew--it'll be about three days; it'll probably be three days

nsuḡunaḡtətew--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:

esgipēḡ	wait for
essəm	dye
geḡwālḡ	slow (s.o.) down
gepmītēlmḡ	respect
gestunepilḡ	hang (s.o.)
meḡtaḡ	doubt
mestanmaḡ	have all of s.o.'s things
nepsālḡ	raise

pepgā ^l g	make flat
pepsā ^l g	overcome easily
pestiēwatm	celebrate
pet:ēg	hit, cut accidentally
petgā ^g	step on accidentally
sepij:ōtlg	put in (s.o.'s) hand
septunā ^l g	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.^{3b}

For geg:unm--I have it--, we find the contraction gūgūnmās--I will have it. If the underlying form is gěgūgn + m, vowel-copying will account for the second u, and then, in the present, the first u will drop by unstressed V-deletion, thus: gěgūgn + m --> gěgūgūn + m --> gěggūn + m --> gěg:ūn + m. In the future we will

have, after contraction, ggŭgŭn + m.... Now, the first ŭ will not drop. However, we need a special rule dropping the first g, and lengthening the u. This will be discussed below.

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

wej _u ṣḡg--it's blowing	ugj _u ṣḡn--wind
wesgewei--I laugh	ugsḡgḡwēṭew--he'll laugh
waṣamēin--you're too much	ugwsāmētes--you'll be too much
wajuṣpei--I'm soaking	ugwj _u ṣpās--I'll be soaking
wesm _u ḡwāy--I run away	ugws _u m _u ḡwās--I'll run away
wejiei--I come from	ugwjiās--I'll come from
wejgiei--I'm scabby	ugjigi--scab
wes _u muit--he has horns	ŭgs _u m _u ḡ--if he has horns
wējaḡamālin--you boil me	ugwjaḡamālas--I'll boil him
wějipeg--(cold) east wind	ugwjipeṅḡw--eastward
wēṭmitēṭm--I desire it	ugtmitētṭēs--I'll desire it.

These alternations in general evince a w[a,e][+obstruent]-: ug(w)[+obst]- alternation, whereas we would expect *w[+obst]- or *u[+obst]- as the contraction form. This suggests a rule inserting g after initial w before a [+obstruent] segment:

#	w	∅	[+obstruent]			
(CE')	1	2	3	4	⇒	1 2 /g/ 4,

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:

wělgm--I run into it	ulgətes--I'll run into it
wělēi--I'm well, good	wūliās--I'll be well
wě'năġayen--you're jumping	ăl+ūnaġăyĕn--you're jumping around
ěwīgəg--he's writing it	etl+wīgəg--he's writing it
těwălsi--I urinate	tŭălsites--you will urinate
gewisin--I'm hungry	gŭisintes--I'll be hungry,

since the rule does not apply before sonorant consonants or vowels. Note the last, gŭisintes, which indicates that the contraction rule, instead of deleting the e or a, simply changes it to ə, which may later be deleted in certain circumstances; for, otherwise we should expect X + geŭisin- --> X + gewisin- --> *gwisin-. Perhaps a later rule optionally changes -əw- to -ŭ-. 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 něŭgt(i)--only. For example, něŭgtitēlməg--I think only of him, ngŭtitēlmās--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

měgwēg--red
 mě'gwāig--middle
 pěgwāləg--I force him to do something
 ęgwijāləg--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

gŭjəməŭg--outside
 ŭmgŭgŭmin--(you) hail
 wŭwg:wis--fox
 wŭwgw^h--pots
 āgŭsən--hat
 lgŭsuāĝan--ladder
 epāĝwesg--headwind

wōgŭmāwi--I have a relative
 giṣigŭ--old man
 əghtŭgŭnin--if you sleep there
 pŭgŭgw--eye,

indicate that only a short [-diffuse] vowel can precede the -gu- for the rule to apply, and the words geg:ŭsg--god-father--, and geg:ŭnm--I have it--(see above), from underlying geguṣsg and gĕgŭgn+m, show that \check{V}/g g-deletion must precede the metathesis rule, which in turn must precede geminate segment agglomeration. In fact, the only words with a $-\check{V}[w, ŭ]g-$ sequence are those where \check{V} is either \check{e} or \check{a} , except for pī(w)g:w--flea--, wōwg:wis--fox--, getuliwgsi--I want to move--, si(w)g:w--spring--, māŭgtmūgw--we work together on it--, and these could be underlying pi(ŭ)ggu (or pi(u)gug), uoug(u)is, getu + liŭgsi, si(ŭ)gug, and māŭ + gtm + ŭgu, respectively (but see below). Words with -ewgC- and -awgC- sequences, such as āwgti--road--, and ewgsimg--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 -ĕgŭ[+obstruent]- or -ăgu[+obstr]- sequences, except for elagŭtm--I'm related to. However, the related word telagŭmg--I'm related to him--indicates

that the stem is -agŭm- (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 -aegŭm- in order to stop the g --> ġ rule.) Note the word pŭġŭgw--eye--, which shows that a [+diffuse] vowel can appear before -gu[+obst]-.

We could also explain the following alternation by this metathesis rule: gĕwgji--I'm cold--, gŭjiās--I'll be cold. Thus: gĕguji --> gĕwgji; gĕguji + as --> ggŭjiās --> gŭjiās by the same rule which gives us gŭġŭnm from ggŭġŭnm.

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

- geg:ung (< gewg:ung < gegugung)/gŭguntēs (< ggugun- < gegugun)--hold
- gewgsm (< gegusm)/gŭsṭes (< ggusṭes < gegusṭes)--saw down
- pegjalġātu (< peguj-)/pŭjalġa(t)utes (< pguj- < peguj)--put a hole in it
- gog:wālāg (< gogogwālāg < geogeogwālāg < geugeugwālāg)/gogwātutes (< ggogwā- < geogogwālāg)--grab, seize
- sogoyey (< sogogoy- < seogogoy- < segogoy-)/sgogoyās (< segogoy-)--go up into the woods
- gewgji (< geuji < geguji)/gŭjites (< gguji- < geguji)--get cold
- geg:unewey (< gegugnewey)/gŭgunewās (< 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):

$$(EB) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ +grave \\ -comp \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [+long] / \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ +grave \end{bmatrix}_2 \quad \underline{\quad}$$

$$(DO) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\langle \text{OBL} \rangle} \emptyset / \# \begin{array}{c} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \cdot \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ \langle +\text{long} \rangle \\ [+ \text{cons}]_1 \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

The only other way to state this is by the awkward and more costly transformation:

$$(EC) \quad \# \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} [+ \text{cons}]_1 & [-\text{unit}] \\ [+ \text{cons}] & [+ \text{cons}]_1 \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} [+ \text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} [+ \text{cons}] & [+ \text{cons}] \\ [+ \text{grave}] & [+ \text{grave}] \end{array} \right\} \\ 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \end{array} \Rightarrow$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \emptyset_1 \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{bmatrix} 4 \\ +\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ \emptyset_1 \end{array} \right\} \quad 6,$$

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 *ḡ:amāsi-* from *gaḡamāsi-*.

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

gejīg--I know him
gēytŭ--I know it

əgjijiās--I'll know him
əgjītutes--I'll know it

gej̄isi--I know myself ʒgjij̄isites--I'll know myself.

The first and third contracted forms above suggest the underlying form gejiji- (from getiti-). Now, it seems that in several situations (say, if followed by a consonant), one of the ji sequences is dropped: gejig, gejisi. But the alternation mej:igway/mjijigwās--I defecate/will defecate-- apparently indicates that this is not a phonological rule.⁴ 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 gēytu/ʒgjītutes, presumably from underlying gejitu/gejijitutes. Now, we assume that the i in -jit- is deleted because of lack of stress, as above, giving us gejtu/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:

poġtaġaptm/p(:)otaġaptates--I see/will see it as it is
 poġjiey/pojiās--I start/will start
 paġasegey/pasegās, əpasegās--I throw/will throw it
 into the water
 poġtigimg/p(:)otgimās--I send/will send him
 pegijīnāmālg/p(:)ijīnāmāutes--it takes/will take me a
 long time to put it into her
 pegitn̄m/pitnās, əp̄pitnās--I hold/will hold it a long
 time
 pegijēg/əp:ijēgtətew, əp̄ijēgtətew--it takes a long time.

These words might be construed as evidence that at least
 rule (DO) is somewhat more general, but many alternations
 such as

peginetm/əp̄ginet:es--I take/will take a bite off it
 paġasālūgwey/əp̄gāsālūgwetew--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 poġX-/p̄gX-, for
 any X. Thus, (DO) is optional for -pg- sequences.

Another curious set of cases where a g deletes are
 the following examples:

gesgēg/əssgētew, gesgegtətew--it is/will be wide
 gesgijāsi/əssgijāytes--I go/will go over
 gessgātu/əssgātutes--I widen/will widen it (cf. gessgātu/
 əgsəgātutes--I make/will make it disappear)
 gessgmāsi/əssgmāsites--I take/will take a short cut.

It appears that some, but not all, morphemes beginning in
gesg- delete the first g in the contracted form, for some

occult reason. The curious case of jugua instead of the expected *ǔgwjugua from wejgūě- 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, npign--my hand--: npǐǵnj--my dirty, disfigured hand--; ngat--my foot--: ngǎj(?nǵaj)--my dirty foot. We have also the word wāwgj--rotten egg--, clearly with this same suffix. The g appears problematical. We cannot suppose that the underlying form is ǔāǵū + j, with deletion of the g in the singular, and metathesis of the g and u in the pejorative, since we would then expect *āwgsn instead of āǵŭsn--hat. Nor can we suppose that the underlying form is ǔāǵg, 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 + [tobst]. The words sāsēw + ātu--I change it-- and sāsēwgtniaǵ--the wind changes (< sāsēw + tniaǵ) show that the same rule holds for ēw as for āw. Here

again, we could not suppose an underlying form sāsēgũ +, with deletion of the g in certain environments, since words like gēgweg--upstairs and nāgweg--day have g in essentially the same environment, so we would expect *sāsēgwātu in that case.⁵ Furthermore, it is clear that the gu-metathesis rule would not work after long ā and ē (cf. āgusn).

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 napēwg+gw --> napēwg:w; 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 --> gūji- (although, notice, we could not explain the long ū in the contracted form). However, we then could not explain why we get, for example, eupniaġ (← eup + tniaġ)--the wind falls--, instead of *eugpniaġ, or metawgwilat--

he's barking at a distance-- (< měťá + wegwila + t) instead of *měťawg:wilat.

We can, however, extend it to lax compact vowels before the w: mawg:itəm--I add it up-- (< mau--together + egitəm--I count it: mau + egitəm --> maw + gitəm --> maw + g + gitəm --> mawg:itəm) and mawgpiləm--I bundle it up-- (< maw + piləm; cf. melgəpilg--I tie him firmly-- < melgi--strongly-+pil+g). We will see below why metawgwilat does not undergo the rule.

The rule thus reads:

$$(CE') \quad \emptyset \text{ ----> } g / \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{-diffuse} \end{array} \right] w \text{ ______ } + [+obst].$$

This rule can help us explain certain forms of the word něū--four--: něūg:ŭl--four (inanimate) things. The underlying form is presumably něū, 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}

<u>nēu+g+l</u>	
<u>něu+g+l</u>	<u>ē</u> -shortening
<u>něu+g+u+l</u>	V-copying
<u>něw+g+u+l</u>	glide formation
<u>nēw+g+g+u+l</u>	g-insertion
<u>něwg:ŭl</u>	geminate segment agglomeration.

It is important to remark that in words like wāwgjīj--little egg--, gǎjuěwgj--cat--, sāsēwgtniaġ--the wind changes--, něŭgt, etc., the inserted g is rather different from other g's, such as those in měgwēg, 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 g:.

We note here that in ēwŭg--I use him, ēwŭt--you use him, and others, we find no inserted g. It may be that here the underlying form is ēŭŭ + g, with glide formation, and the rule is inapplicable. Note also Pacifique's péutem--I scorch it--; and the words eluēuti--wickedness--, săpeŭti--wisdom--, and wasteŭti--snowflake--, from, respectively, eluēui + uti (cf. eluēwin--you're wicked),

săpeŭi + ŭti (cf. săpewi--, I'm wise), and wăsteŭ + uti (cf. wăstew--snow), by the rule of i-deletion given in the previous chapter (q.v.) (if applicable), and a ŭ-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^wg:w, pl. pi(w)g:ug--flea--; si(w)g:w, siwg:ul--spring.

We note that Pacifique gives the following uncontracted-contracted alternations:

wesapuni--have hair (John: usapuni)	usapuni
wesgaġēlməg--to greet	usgaġēlmətew
wesgumge- --to speak of a neighbor	usgumge-
wetġăpălg--soak	ŭtġăpăl-

If these alternations are in fact valid, the generality of the first g-insertion rule we mentioned becomes questionable. In each case, however, John Jerome, if he has the word, gives the expected form with ugwC-. In one case, wëssgōtm--I'm working, frigging at it--, the future form ŭssgōt:es was elicited, but this was later given by the informant as the expected ŭgwsġōt: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:

wějāġamiejig--they boil	gwejaġamiejig, wejaġamiejig
wejeyaġ, -jōtm--try out	gwejeiaġ, wejotem; contr.;
	u(g)jottes
weltamultimg--Friday	gweltamultimg
wesawei--cliff, point	gwesawei--point
'weseyaġ, -sotm--protect	gwéséiaġ,-sotem; contr.:
	ugsottes
we'tajigwey--I have a sour look	gwétajigwey--to have a dread- ful appearance
wetapey--I get punished	gwetapey--to be punished;
	contr.: gutapetes
wetapet--he catches hell	gwétapet--the ox (long- suffering animal)
wetamay--to smoke	gwétemai--to smoke; contr.:
	(u)gtemās
	wegwatasultij, wegwatasi-- 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 wě or wā. The only exception to this generalization is the (rather archaic) exclamation 'gwāssta, lě--holy jumpin'! (cf. footnote above). Note gwīlāġ--I look for him--, and gwitṅ--canoe--, which show that the rule operates only before w[-diffuse]; and ntgwējīj--my little sister--, měgwāig--in the middle--, which show that the rule must be restricted to initial position. Thus we would derive wēsōtm from underlying quesōtm via gwesōtm (cf. ūgsōt:ēs--

I will protect it), by the g-deletion rule, whereas we derive, say, wěssgōtm from underlying űs- (cf. contracted űssgōt:es). Furthermore, the contracted form of wěsspāġ-- it (the boat) leaks--may be ǵgsǵpāġtǵ tew, and only supposing that this stem is underlying gwěs-, which somehow undergoes contraction irregularly, can explain the provenience of the ǵ.

Now, in the contracted form, we get, for example, ǵűetmās --> gwetmās --> gwtmās. This latter must somehow end up űgwtmās. Ostensibly, this could be by one of two processes: either a ű could be inserted before initial gw[+obst], a cumbersome and unmotivated rule at best, or the ǵ and w could metathesize, giving us #wg[+obst], and later rules could flat ǵ after [ű,w] and revocalize the w. The metathesis rule could obviously be combined with the similar one necessary for něűgt, and it, together with the revocalization rule, would explain the often vanishing shortness of the initial űgw derived by this process (in, e.g., (űgw)jűgűǵ < gűejgű-; cf. wűjgűűt, and above, pp. Nouns, 51-52 .

Clearly, the g-deletion rule must follow contraction, to stop it from deleting in contracted forms. We

see evidence that the metathesis rule in this case must apply only between g and w, not g and u, since we get such words as gǔjəmǔg--outside--, gǔtātigl--they are pouring out--, gǔtputi--your chair--, gǔtan--village--, and not *ǔgǔmǔg, etc. It is possible, however, that the metathesis rule does apply here between g and u, and that the underlying forms of these words are, respectively gǔtimug, gǔtā-, g + lǔtpǔtī, and gǔtān, which all would delete the ǔ by i/____u- deletion. This latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that words beginning gu[+obst]- are rather rarer than those beginning gu[-obst]-, which one would a priori expect to be the case if the underlying forms were giu-, since interconsonantal vowel sequences are likely to be less frequent than interconsonantal single vowels. Furthermore, we find words like ugjipesg--root, ugsuguni--tail, ugtejg--behind, and others, which appear to be "contracted" forms, but have no non-contracted alternants (but cf. wesuguni- -- have a tail). The simplest explanation would be to assume that they came from gutipesg, gusugnī, gutetīg, respectively, and undergo metathesis and its concomitant rules.

Further apparent evidence against the initial-syllable g-insertion rule comes from words like usan--

deluge-- , usēsi--nest-- , utġutalg--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-- (< u+gat+ui; 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 wāwgj 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- ---> gws- ---> 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 weC-: uC- contraction alternations exist, we can do without the initial g before the we- or wa-, and simplify the g-deletion rule.

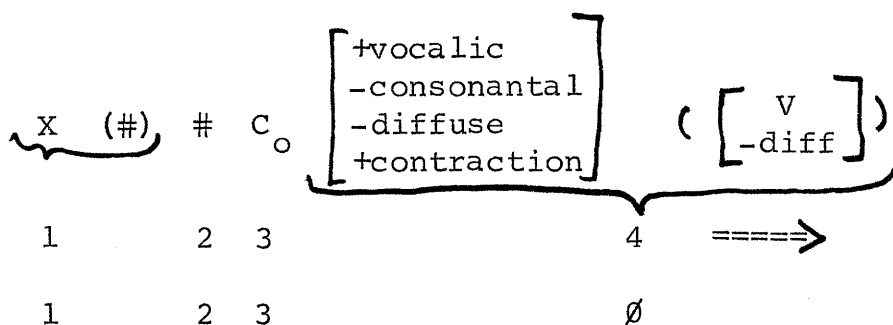
There still remain a few apparently totally irregular contractions. The following are inexplicable cases:

gespu, gu'ātegey/egsəpuguātegās--I tell/will tell lies
 wesga 'galməg/ugw'sāgalmās--I kiss/will kiss her
 nepapigwāy/nḡapigwātes--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) $t \rightarrow j$
- 4 - (DI) $g \rightarrow \hat{g}$
- 5 - (DJ) Contraction:



- 6 - (EA) Shwa-insertion
- 7 - (DK) unstressed-V-deletion
- 8 - (DL') g-deletion
- 9 - (CE') g-insertion
- 10 - (EG) pre-u u-deletion:
 $\ddot{u} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____} + \ddot{u}$
- 11 - (EF') m-deletion:
 $m \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____} + tm$
- 12 - (CA) pre-u i-deletion
 $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____} [u, w]$
- 13 - (EB) contraction vowel-lengthening
- 14 - (DO) [g, p]-deletion

- 15 - (DA') e-->∅ / ^a
- 16 - (DN') glide-revocalization
- 17 - (BF) geminate segment agglomeration
- 18 - (EH') g-flattening:
g-->[+flat]/[u,w] .



CHAPTER IV

INTRANSITIVE VERBS



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);¹ 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 (*ajiātijig or *aytājig) for the plural,² 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., ugwātī-: to go (so many) in a boat: tapugwātijig--they go two in a boat, they two go in a boat; nesugwetājig--they go three in a boat;

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--', 'wēssgətijig--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 $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ singular} \\ - \text{ plural} \end{bmatrix}$; the dual is

$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ singular} \\ - \text{ plural} \end{bmatrix}$, and the plural is $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ singular} \\ + \text{ plural} \end{bmatrix}$. 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.³ 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 $\{[\u{+} \text{ 1st person}], [\u{+} \text{ 2nd person}], [\u{+} \text{ 3rd person}]\}$. 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 perforce have the same set of features, namely $\begin{bmatrix} +2\text{nd person} \\ -3\text{rd person} \end{bmatrix}$.

Also 13 nonsingular and 3 nonsingular would have the same features: $\begin{bmatrix} -2\text{nd person} \\ +3\text{rd person} \end{bmatrix}$. 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) $[\underline{+} \text{ 1st person}]$, $[\underline{+} \text{ 2nd person}]$ and 2) $[\underline{+} \text{ 1st person}]$, $[\underline{+} \text{ 3rd person}]$, 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) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sing} \\ +\text{1st} \\ -\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ +\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ -\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ +\text{1st} \\ +\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ +\text{1st} \\ -\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ +\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$

3non-sing.

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ -\text{2nd} \end{bmatrix}$

2) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sing} \\ +\text{1st} \\ -\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ -\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ +\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ +\text{1st} \\ -\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ +\text{1st} \\ +\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ -\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sing} \\ -\text{1st} \\ +\text{3rd} \end{bmatrix}$

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, [α2nd] would imply [-α3rd], 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, mgigen--hook:

nəmig:ən	my hook
gəmig:ən	your (s.) hook
umig:ən	his hook
gəmig:ə̄nu	our (inc.) hook
nəmig:ə̄nen	our (exc.) hook
gəmig:ə̄nuow	your (non-sing.) hook
umig:ə̄nuow	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:

	a)	b)	c)
1)	[+2nd]	$\begin{bmatrix} -2nd \\ +1st \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -2nd \\ -1st \end{bmatrix}$
2)	$\begin{bmatrix} \{-sing\} \\ \{asing\} \\ -\alpha 1st \\ -3rd \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha sing \\ +1st \\ -\alpha 3rd \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -1st \\ +3rd \end{bmatrix}$

It is clear that the features 1) allow a much simpler specification of these categories which are pervasive in Micmac.⁴ 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.⁵

We will now try to determine the base forms of the various persons in the various numbers.⁶ 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 (l2dual) are such
ayjieg	we (l3dual) are such
ayjioĝ	you (dual) are such
ayjijig	they (an. dual) are such
ayjigl	they (inan. dual) are such
ayjultīgw	we (l2pl) are such
ayjultieg	we (l3pl) are such
ayjultioĝ	you (pl) are such
ayjultijig	they (an. pl) are such
ayjultigl	they (inan. pl) are such.

The prima facie endings are:

lsing	∅
2sing	n
3an.sing	t
3inan.sing	g
l2dual	igw
l3dual	eg
2dual	oĝ
3an.dual	ji+g
3inan.dual	g+l
l2plural	(u)lti+igw
l3plural	(u)lti+eg
2plural	(u)lti+oĝ

3an.plural (u)lti+ji+g
 3inan.plural (u)lti+g+l.

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 g (cf. the 3inan. nonsingular forms, which end in the inanimate morpheme l, and see Noun chapter, above). But this is preceded by ji, which we know comes from underlying ti. But the singular, then, must be 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 $t \rightarrow j$, which rule gives us jig in the nonsingular forms. The plural morpheme must of course end in the underlying form, not in -ti-, but in -tui-, to stop the t from becoming j. The morpheme, furthermore, appears to be -ltui-, before which the i of the stem changes to u:

(FA') i ----> [+grave] / _____ ltui.

The previous list, then, takes the form:

lsing	∅
2sing	n
3an.sing	ti
3inan.sing	g
l2dual	igw

13dual	eg
2dual	oġ
3an.dual	ti+g
3inan.dual	g+l
12plural	ltui+igw
13plural	ltui+eg
2plural	ltui+oġ
3an.plural	ltui+ti+g
3inan.plural	ltui+g+l.

We now examine other stems in the various numbers.

Below are the singular forms of several verbs:

Stem	1sing	2sing	he	it
jij:emā- --stink	jij:emāy	jij:emān	jij:emāt	jij:emāġ
megwēi- --be red	megwey	megweyn	megwēg	megwēg
wegāi- --be mad	wegāy	wegāyn	wegāyg	(wegāyg).

The 2sing ending n and the 3inan.s. ending g appear here uniformly. In jij:emāġ, the g is spirantized by rule (DI). In megwēg (< megwēy+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 -ēi, 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 lsing in parentheses): nastesing (nastesin)--be caught--, telgilg (telgil)--be that size--, getugw (getu)--bellow--, aġamīg (aġamīm)--snowshoe--, megwēg (megwēy)--be red--, welaġapit (welaġapi)--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?tēplj--my goat--, eġtu--I make it--, mut!--don't!--, mtijin--thumb--, show that the t does not become g generally in this environment. Thus, the rule reads

$$(FB) \quad t \text{ ----} \rightarrow g \left[\begin{array}{l} +son \\ +diff \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+grave] \\ [-voc] \\ [+cons] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] + \text{ ______ } .$$

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 $t \rightarrow g$ rule, we need a rule deleting m and y, before + g. The first person-third person alternations wegāy--wegāyq--get mad, and alām--alāġ--swim around, show

that, for y, we must have a [-comp] vowel preceding, whereas the deletion is more general for m:

$$(EF') \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \\ \alpha\text{cons} \\ \alpha\text{grave} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\alpha\text{comp}] \\ [-\text{comp}] \end{array} \right\} \text{-----} + g.$$

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 ayji and megwēy, it appears that a zero ending is added to the stems, whereas in jij:emāy it appears that a y (< i) is added to the stem. We might be tempted to suppose, as we did above for 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 wegāy--I get mad-- to jij:emāy--I stink--, however, we see that if the stem for the latter were jij:emāi-, 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 wegāi- and jij:emā-, respectively. But now we cannot say that the first person ending is \emptyset , since then we would expect jij:emā+ \emptyset --> *jij:emā, 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:

STEM	WE (I.)	WE (E.)	YOU	THEY
ayji-	ayjīgw	ayjieg	ayjioġ	ayjijig
jij:emā-	jij:emaygw	jij:emāyeg	jij:emāyoġ	jij:emājig
nastesin- be caught	nastesinūgw	nastesineg	nastesinoġ	nastesingig
wegāi-	wegā'yūgw	we'gāyeg	wegāyoġ	wegāygig

THEY (INAN.)

ayjigl

jij:emāġal

nastesgl

(wegāygl).

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 ūgw), -(i)eg, -(i)og̃, -jig, and -g̃, respectively. Again, considering for example jij:e'māyeg (stem jij:emā-) and we'gāyeg (stem wegāi-), 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 -iog̃. 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 -ūgw). 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 ie + g io + g.

Consider the duals welag̃apieg̃--we(exc.) are tipsy--, and welag̃apioḡ--you(dual) are tipsy. The plurals of these

two persons are, respectively, welaġapultieg, welaġapultioġ, and, as we saw, these endings can be partially analyzed as -lti+eg and -lti+oġ; note also that the negative -u- (-w-) is inserted between the i and the following vowel: welaġapultiweg, welaġapultiwoġ. Clearly the -eg and -oġ 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 13dual and 2dual. Another explanation is possible. Since the plural (-lti-) and the negative plural (-lti+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 1sing -i deletes after such stems), we could suppose that the 13non-sing and 2non-sing endings were -ie + g and -io + g, respectively (that is, with no morpheme boundary between the i and the e or o), and that -lti + ie + g, for example, becomes -lti + eg, just as welaġapi + i and welaġapi + ieg become welaġapi

and welaġapieġ, 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. aġamimeġ, telgileġ, supposedly < aġamim+ie+ġ and telgil+ie+ġ, respectively). The dual forms themselves, moreover, indicate that the i is morphemic. The negatives of welaġapieġ and welaġapioġ are welaġapiweg and welaġapiwoġ. 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:

12dual	13dual	2dual	3dual an.	3dual inan.
i + u + g	i + e + g	i + o + g	i + ti + g	i + g + l.

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, igandmui--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 _____ + C. Thus our i-deletion rule is as follows:

(FC) i -----> ∅ / + _____ + C.

We note that the form jij:emā^hgal, 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 (-īgw 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 ieg (or -yeg), io^hg (or yo^hg) and eg, o^hg, respectively, except that they appear as eg, o^hg 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 nastesinūgw. 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 l2dual 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 + ū + g. We will still need some slightly distasteful rules with this form, deleting ū, or changing it to ī in certain cases, but certainly not worse than with a postulated i + u + g. If, furthermore, we postulated the underlying form as simply + ū + g, we would need a rule changing ū to i or y in forms like welagapīgw or aljaygw, an undesirable and poorly motivated sort of rule. The least desirable rule necessary with the postulated form is a rule deleting ū in certain cases. However, the very variety of forms in the l2dual 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 l2dual form, and the surface l2dual form:

welaġapi- be tipsy	welaġapi + i + ūg	welagapīgw
eluēui- be a sinner	eluēui + i + ūg	eluēwīgw
aljā- stagger about	aljā + i + ūg	aljajgw
taluege- what is X worth	taluege + i + ūg	taluegeygw
egnutmue- train	egnutmue + i + ūg	egnut̪m̪ueygw
wetma- smoke	wetma + i + ūg	wet̪maygw
nastesin- be caught	nastesin + i + ūg	nastesinūgw
wegāi- get mad	wegāi + i + ūg	wegāyūgw
sēs̪paġanēi- be a blabbermouth	sēs̪paġanēi + i + ūg	sēs̪paġanēyūgw
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: nastesineg, teġileg, agamīmeg, suggesting a rule deleting i after $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix}$ segments (which, we note in passing, are all [+diffuse]). And, indeed, this rule is borne out by the fact that the lsing +i+ also never appears after these verbs: nastesin, teġil, agamīm--I get caught, am that size, snowshoe. But, in examining -Ci- and -Cu- stems, we see precisely the same phenomenon: welaġapieg, getueg; welaġapi, getu. Also in -Vi- stems (apparently, no -Vu --> 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 $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$),
i.e., that the rule reads:

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

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 welaġapi + i to become in that case welaġapi by rule (FD'), and then final-vowel-shortening would give us the incorrect *welaġap. (We know that welaġapi- ends in a short vowel because the plural is welaġapulti, 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 l2dual V + y + ū + 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 ū-dropping rule:

$$(FE'a) \quad \bar{u} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad +[i, y] + \text{ ______ } .$$

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 \bar{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 l2dual forms of -Ci and -Cu stems. Let us examine these now. After application of rule (FD⁰) to, e.g., wela[^]gapi + i + \bar{u} gw and getu + i + \bar{u} gw, we will have, respectively, wela[^]gapi + \bar{u} gw and getu + \bar{u} gw, and (FE') will not apply. We wish to end up respectively with wela[^]gapi \bar{g} w and get \bar{u} gw. Note that if we can assign the correct gravity to the \bar{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:

$$(FE'b) \quad \bar{u} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \quad [-grave] / \begin{bmatrix} -grave \\ +diff \\ +voc \\ +cons \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----} .$$

The word ntl \bar{u} sugw--my son-in-law shows that we cannot generalize rule (FE'b) by eliminating the feature [-cons], since then we would expect *ntl \bar{l} sugw. On the

other hand, ewīgigey--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+,⁷ with (u)l- before it in certain stems. We have seen the plural forms for ayji--be such--:

12plural	ayjultīgw
13plural	ayjultieg
2plural	ayjultioġ
3plural an.	ayjultijig
eplural inan.	ayjultigl.

These forms are quite typical. As we showed above, the person morphemes are: 12--ū + g; 13--e + g; 2non-sing--o + g; 3non-sing an.--ti + g; 3non-sing inan.-- g + l, 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 getūlti-, whereas, e.g.,

igātaġu--plant--, has the plural igātaġuti--; also, the stem, e.g., moġpe-, be swollen--, has two plural forms: moġ'p̄ti- and 'moġp̄ti-; and the stem etliqwe-, grow up here--, has two plural forms: etliq̄ulti- and etliquti-. 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 -l- before the -ti-, and one without this l. 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 -l- in the plural (verb stems which are unique of their type are so indicated):⁸

welaġapi-, be tipsy	welaġapulti-
getu-, bellow [unique]	getūlti-
aljā-, stagger	aljōlti-
taluege-, what use is? [unique]	taluegōlti-
esamuġwa-, drink [unique]	esamuġōlti-
welēi-, be well	welōlti-
wegāi-, get mad	wegāyulti-
mesgil-, be big	mesgilulti-
nastesin-, be caught	nastesulti-
aġamīm-, snowshoe	aġamūlti-

toġjūgusue-, climb up [unique]	toġjūgusulti-
naġanige-, scoop	naġanigłti-
wetma- smoke	wetm'łti-
amalgā-, dance [unique]	amalgāłti-
wesmuġwa- flee [unique]	wesmulti-.

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 -łti-, 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, u or ō, suggesting at least the partial generalization of rule (FA'):

(FA') v ----> $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{array} \right]$ / _____ + łti.

In the first two examples, we would have welaġapi + łti- --> welaġapulti- and getu + łti- --> getūłti-, showing that [+diffuse] vowels remain [+diffuse]. Looking at the next two cases, we see that we have aljā + łti- --> aljōłti- and taluege + łti- --> taluegōłti-, 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 welēi + lti- --> welōlti-. If rule (FA') applied to the underlying form given, however, we would expect to get *welēulti-. 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:

$$(EF') \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \\ \alpha\text{cons} \\ \alpha\text{grave} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{acomp}] \\ [-\text{comp}] \end{array} \right\} \text{_____} + \text{g}.$$

Note that if we "generalize" this for the moment to apply before _____ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{g} \\ \text{l} \end{array} \right\}$, and put (EF') before (FA'), we can handle welēi-. 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 wegāyulti- and mesgilulti-.⁹ Conversely, in agamīm + lti-, the m deletes by rule (EF'), giving us agamī + lti- --> 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- --> nastesulti-, suggesting that the n drops at least before l.

Of the typical "consonant-stems", wegāy- (< wegāi-), telgil-, nastesin-, welēy- (< welēi-), aḡamīm-, we note the following forms: a) 2sing: wegāyn, telgiṅ (< telgil + n), nastesiṅ (< nastesin + n), welēyn, aḡamīmān; b) 3sing an.: wegāyg, telgilg, nastesing, welēg, aḡamīg; c) 1sing future: wegāytes, telgiltes, nastesintes, welētes, aḡamītes; d) plural stem: wegāyulti-, telgilulti-, nastesulti-, welōlti-, aḡamūlti-. 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.

$$(EF') \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \\ \text{dcons} \\ \{\text{dgrave}\} \\ \{\langle\text{-grave}\rangle\} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+comp] \\ [-comp] \end{array} \right\} + \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

While we have explained why the stem-final consonant does not delete in wegāyulti- and mesgilulti-, 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 -mi. Now, given the segment before the C, it is very nearly predictable whether the stem does or does not end in i, as exemplified by the following verbs in their lsing forms: messguli (prick o.s. accidentally)--etlatal (eat), telqil (be that size); wetapsuni (be worth s.t., be worthwhile), un̄jani (have children)--nastesin (be caught); atqitemi (cry), elipq̄ami (glide, slide), elugwomi (have it done by [s.o.]), tesipoumi (have a horse), atlasomi (rest)--alām (swim around), alq̄atm (stay all around), telqm (be dressed that way), nepm (die, be dead), punewenm (shut up [talking]). The rule for stating this, however, is very complicated:

$$(FF) \quad i \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \{ [\alpha\text{cons}] \} \\ \{ [+v\text{oc}] \} \\ \{ [\alpha\text{long}] \} \\ \{ [-\text{diff}] \} \\ \{ [-\emptyset\text{diff}] \} \\ \{ [-\text{grave}] \} \\ \{ [\alpha\text{grave}] \} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{son} \\ +\text{cons} \\ \alpha\text{grave} \\ \beta\text{voc} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} +.$$

Furthermore, it would become even more complex if we tried to include y-stems (wegāy-) or u-stems (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

$$(FG') \quad \emptyset \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{voc} \\ \alpha\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix},$$

(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'):

$$(EF') \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \\ \langle \alpha\text{cons} \rangle \\ \langle \alpha\text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset / \langle \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{comp} \\ [-\text{comp}] \end{bmatrix} \right\} \rangle + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \end{bmatrix}.$$

We now examine the -l̄ti- plurals which we have so far not discussed: toġ'jūgusue + l̄ti- ---> toġjūgusulti-; naġanīge + l̄ti- ---> naġanīġl̄ti-; wetama + l̄ti- ---> wetam̄l̄ti-. These three verb stems each end in a short non-diffuse vowel. They suggest a rule deleting such vowels, before the plural morpheme:

$$(FH') \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +voc \\ -cons \\ -diff \\ -long \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } + lti.$$

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 esamu[^]gwa- from deleting in the plural (talueg^olti-, esamu^olti-), 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 -ē. Furthermore, the plurals talueg^olti- and esamu^olti 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^e- and esamu[^]g^{wā}-, respectively, with the e and ā being shortened in the singular and dual by the following rule:

$$(FI') \quad V \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-long] / \text{ ______ } + [+segment] +.$$

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, a[^]gamim--a[^]gamulti-, but nastesin--nastes^ulti. Furthermore, rule (FH') explains the absence of ō 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 getūlti- is getū-, with a long ū, which becomes shortened in the singular and dual.

We might suppose that the stem amalg-, 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 amalg+lti-. This will not work, however. The 3sing inan. is amalgag̃, 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) $i \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / + \text{ ______ } + C$

2 - (DB') Vowel-copying

3 - (BA) glide-formation

4 - (BB) final-vowel-shortening

5 - (FB) $t \text{ ----} \rightarrow g$

6 - (BI) $t \text{ ----} \rightarrow j$

7 - (FG') $\emptyset \text{ ----} \rightarrow u / \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ +cons \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ } + \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ +cons \end{bmatrix}$

8 - (FD') $i \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +son \\ +diff \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ }$

9 - (FE') $\bar{u} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \langle -unit \rangle \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} / \langle + \rangle \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle \text{ ______ }$

10 - (EF') $\begin{bmatrix} -voc \\ +son \\ \langle +cons \rangle \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} +comp \\ -comp \end{bmatrix} \right\} \text{ ______ } + \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ -nasal \\ \langle -voc \rangle \end{bmatrix}$

11 - (FH') $\begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -diff \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } + lti$

12 - (FA') $v \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +grave \\ -comp \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } + lti$

13 - (DI) $g \text{ ----} \rightarrow \hat{g} / \begin{bmatrix} v \\ +grave \\ -diff \end{bmatrix} \text{ ______ }$

14 - (FI') V -----> [-long] / _____ + [+segment]

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

<u>singular stem</u>	<u>plural stem</u>
moḡpe-, be swollen	'moḡpəti-
elugwe-, work	eluguti-
wetma-, smoke	wetməti-
gesnugwa-, be sick	gesnuguti-
aḡamim-, snowshoe	aḡamimūti-
nepm-, die [unique]	nepmūti-, nepūti-
naḡanāma-, be drinking	naḡanāmāti
elūwie-, be crazy	elūwiāti-
getguni-, sleep there [unique]	getguniti-
welmətu-, be generous	welmətūti-
egnutmue-, train	egnutmuāuti-
neugtu'gwalugwe-, be alone	neugtu'gwalugūti-
elege-, throw [<u>eltege-</u> , [<u>ege</u> unique]]	elaḡati-
pegwatelige-, buy [unique]	pegwateligūti-.

We recall from examples like singular stem moḡpe-, plural stem moḡpəti- or moḡpūti-, 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 aljā-. 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 -lti- plural verbs). This thesis is rebutted by the following pairs of singular stem--plural stem alternations:

wasog[^]we-, wasog[^]uti-, shine, be lit
 milog[^]we-, milog[^]wāti-, smell all different ways
 getape-, getap^oti-, dive
 gegjepe-, gegjep^āti-, be hung over
 pīma-, pīm^āti-, hunt geese (at night with a light)
 nīma-, nīm^āti-, bring one's own food
 gesnugwa-, gesnuguti-, be sick
 wissugwa-, wissugw^āti-, cook
 ag^əanimue-, ag^əanimu^āti-, squeal. tell on people
 egināmue-, egināmu^āti-, teach

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:

$$(FH') \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } + (l)ti.^{10}$$

We now examine the consequences of these assumptions.

The one apparent exception to these assumptions is verbs of the type aljā-, plural stem aljōlti-. If the stem is indeed aljā-, we should expect the singular stem to be *aljǎ-, but here the ā does not shorten. So somehow we must keep this ā from shortening (compare esamuġwa-, esamuġōlti-). We might suppose that the stem was aljāe-, with the 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 e would delete correctly, giving us aljā-. 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 aljāġ, whereas, since post-a e-deletion is ordered after g-spirantization, we would therefore expect *aljāġ. It also could not be aljāi- or aljāu-, since then we'd expect the plurals

*aljāyulti- or aljāulti-, 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 *aljalti- or *aljālti-, respectively. Consider, however, the possible stem aljāa-. In the singular, vowel shortening would give us aljaa-, and geminate segment agglomeration would correctly give us aljāa-. In the plural, rule (FA) would give us aljaōlti-, and the ō would not delete since it is long. Now, however, we would need a rule to delete the a:

(FJ) a ----> ∅ / _____ ō.

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 ā from undergoing rule (FI), vowel shortening, if they are lexically marked [+ -lti-plural] (cf. naḡanāmati-, naḡanāmay < naḡanāma+i). The unique stem esamuḡwā- (cf. pl. esamuḡōlti-) 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 ...V + ti + g, and will not apply, just as it does not apply before the plural: V̄ + tui +. Perhaps (FI) must mention the feature [-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 + [+segment]₁² +. 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 muntīl--bags--and gotīg--beams--, from muntī+l and gotī+g, respectively, shows that the rule would be incorrect if stated that way. Thus, the post-environment must either specify that it applies only in verbs, or else explicitly state that it applies in non-plural forms. The latter seems preferable, so the rule must read

$$(FI^{\circ}) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----> } [-\text{long}] / \text{ ______ } + [-\text{plural}].$$

It is pertinent here to give the amended list of

underlying forms for the various persons and numbers in the present tense:

1s	i
2s	n
3an.s.	ti
3inan.s.	g
12dual	i+ū+g
13dual	i+e+g
2dual	i+o+ġ
3an.dual	i+ti+g
3inan.dual	i+g+l
12pl	(l)tui+ū+g
13pl	(l)tui+o+ġ
2pl	(l)tui+o+g
3an.pl	(l)tui+ti+g
3inan.pl	(l)tui+g+l.

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. Mogp^hti- and wetm^hti- are from mogpe^hti- and wetma^hti, respectively, which, by rule (FH') become mogp^hti and wetm^hti, respectively, and a late rule, which we discussed above (see Contraction chapter, pp.83ff), inserts a ə. Similarly, gesnuguti- and eluguti- are from gesnugua^hti- $\xrightarrow{\text{glide-formation}}$ gesnugwa^hti- $\xrightarrow{\text{(FH')}}$ gesnugw^hti $\xrightarrow{\text{ə-insertion}}$ gesnugw^həti $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$

gesnuguti- and elugue+ti $\xrightarrow{\text{glide-form.}}$ elugwe+ti $\xrightarrow{\text{(FH')}}$ elugw+ti $\xrightarrow{\text{ɔ-insert.}}$ elugw+ɔ+ti \rightarrow eluguti-, respectively. We will disregard the stem +ege- (as in elege-, throw, plural elaḡati-), 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 egnutmue-, plural egnutmuāuti-. We will see below that the stem of this verb is egnutmueu-. Note that this is the only class of -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 +ti, if properly ordered and stated (namely, ordered after (FH')), to avoid deriving *moḡpēti-, and before shwa-insertion, to avoid deriving moḡp̄ti-, 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 aḡamīm-, plural aḡamīmūti-. The -ū- 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 ū between some stems and the lti plural. By a suitable generalization of this rule,

we could also insert a ǔ between aġamīm- and -ti, giving us aġamīm + ǔ + ti-:

$$(FG') \quad [-unit] \text{ ----> } \left[\begin{array}{l} +voc \\ -cons \\ +diff \\ -long \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} \alpha voc \\ \alpha cons \end{array} \right] + \text{ ____ } + [+plural].$$

The generalization would be essentially worthless if we had to insert a long ū, depending on which plural marker was picked. But notice that if we had a rule lengthening vowels before +ti, we would, with no other rules needed, be able to explain the long ū in aġamīmūti-.

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: moġpe-; 2sing past: moġpēt₂p (presumably < moġpe + 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:

$$(FK') \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow [+long] / [-long] \text{ ______ } t \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ +p \end{array} \right\}.$$

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:

mo [^] gpe+n	wetma+n	elugwe+n	gesnugwa+n	(no rules apply)
mo [^] gpen	wetman	elugwen	gesnugwan;	
mo [^] gpe+ti-	wetma+ti-	elugue+ti	gesnugua+ti-	glide-formation
"	"	elugwe+ti	gesnugwa+ti	(FH'). a-insertion

mogp^ə+ti wetm^ə+ti elugw^ə+ti gesnugw^ə+ti
mogp^əti wetm^əti eluguti gesnuguti;

and long-vowel stems:

nag^əanā^āmā+n eluē^ēwiē+n getgunī+n welm^ətū+n
nag^əanā^āmā+n eluē^ēwiē+n getguni+n welm^ətu+n (FI')
nag^əanā^āman eluē^ēwien getgunin welm^ətun;

nag^əanā^āmā+ti eluē^ēwiē+ti getgunī+ti welm^ətū+ti
nag^əanā^āmāti eluē^ēwiāti getgunīti welm^ətūti. (no rules
apply)

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

(BD'b) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----> } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{array} \right] / \text{ ______ } ti.$

Of course, (CD) must precede (BD'b); otherwise we would expect, say, *pema^ə instead of pema^ə from pemie[si]t^ə.

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 eluē^ēwiē- type (e.g., eluē^ēwia^ə). The second is the iesi-verbs (e.g., pemie-, which gives pema^ə; see below). The first thing which strikes us about these verbs is that the e is preceded by i (cf. mog^əpe-, mog^əpeg; taluege-, taluegeg; wetape-, wetapeg;

getū-, getueg; elugwe- elugweg). For the present purposes, we will require that an i must precede the e, although such verbs as apogonmuag--it helps-- (← apogonmuē+g) 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-, egnutmuāuti-, egnutmueg (see below):

$$(BD'b,c) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \dashrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{array} \right] / \begin{cases} \text{b) } \underline{\quad} (\text{u}) \text{ti} \\ \text{c) } \text{i} \underline{\quad} + \text{g.} \end{cases}$$

The fact that we never find ō 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 -ūti- instead of the expected -ǔti-. 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., apsgwapugue- --to change one's story--from apsgwapugūe-; see above, Noun chapter, p. 58), so in that case we would expect *neugtugwalugue-. We note that all words like this with ūti plurals are "long" words--the stems are generally longer than those of the elugwě- type. One word of this type in particular is instructive. Paḡsip:esīwluḡwe-, plural paḡsip:esīwluḡūti- --be sick and tired of working--, < paḡsip:ě---intensive--, + sīw---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 -ūti-. 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 neugtugwalugwě- are a subclass of the ělugwě- verbs, and that somehow the length of the word lengthens the ǔ in the plural. It is not at all clear how this in fact works.

Another interesting type is the verbs like egnutmue---train--, plural egnutmuāuti-. These appear

identical to the eluēwiē- verbs, except for the ǔ in the plural -āuti-. We might like to say that the stem is in fact egnūtmuēu-. 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 u from this fact, as we see from the pairs

agnimue-, agnimuāti-,	tell on	egināmue-, egināmuāti-,
	people	teach
atgneue-, atgnewāti-,	be the	nutneue-, nutnewāti-,
	dealer	be an altar boy.

This stem type furthermore appears partially to fill in an apparently accidental gap, namely that of verb stems in -Vw- < -Vǔ-. 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') w ----> ∅ / $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] \text{ ______ } + [+segment]_1^2 +.$

Rule (BC') must clearly apply before the t --> g rule, so that we get, e.g., egnūtmuēt, 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 egnūtmuēu-, and in the singular

and dual the ǔ will drop by rule (BC'), giving us the correct forms, while in the plural the ě is protected by the ǔ 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 agamīm-, 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 ǔ is inserted by a generalization of rule (FG'), after a consonant before +ti, which ǔ then gets lengthened by rule (FK).

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

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

Here are the rules we have used in this chapter, and their relative ordering:

- 1 - (FC) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / + \text{ ______ } + C$
- 2 - (DB) Vowel-copying
- 3 - (BA) glide-formation
- 4 - (BB) final-vowel-shortening
- 5 - (BC) $w \rightarrow \emptyset / V \text{ ______ } + [-\text{plural}]$
- 6 - (FB) $t \rightarrow g$
- 7 - (BI) $t \rightarrow j$
- 8 - (FG') $\emptyset \rightarrow u / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ } + [+plural]$
- 9 - (BD') $e \rightarrow a / \begin{cases} \text{b) ______ (u)ti} \\ \text{c) i ______ + g} \end{cases}$
- 10 - (FK') $v \rightarrow [+long] / [-long] \text{ ______ } t \begin{Bmatrix} i \\ p \end{Bmatrix}$
- 11 - (FD') $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ }$
- 12 - (FE') $\bar{u} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \langle -\text{unit} \rangle \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \langle + \rangle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle \text{ ______ }$
- 13 - (EF') $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \\ \langle +\text{cons} \rangle \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{Bmatrix} +\text{comp} \\ -\text{comp} \end{Bmatrix} \text{ ______ } + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
- 14 - (FH') $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } + (l)ti$
- 15 - (FA) $v \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } + [+plural]$
- 16 - (DI) $g \rightarrow \hat{g}$
- 17 - (FI') $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-long] / \text{ ______ } + [-plural].$

IĀSI AND IESI

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 -ie-, which we will see comes from underlying -iesi-.

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

	<u>mil+iāsi-</u>	<u>ayji-</u>	<u>pem+iesi-</u>	<u>eluēwiē-</u>
1s	milā(s)i	ayji	pemiey	eluēwiew
2s	milā(s)in	ayjin	pemien	eluēwien
3an.s.	milā(s)it	ayjit	pemiet	eluēwiet
3inan.s.	milās ^o g	ayjig	pemia ^o	eluēwia ^o
12dual	milātīgw	ayjīgw	pemātīgw	eluēwiewgw
13dual	milātieg	ayjieg	pemātieg	eluēwieweg
2dual	milātio ^o	ayjio ^o	pemātio ^o	eluwiewo ^o
3an.dual	milātijig	ayjijig	pemātijig	eluēwiewjig
3inan.dual	milātigl	ayjigl	pemātigl	eluēwia ^o gal
12pl	mitaygw	ayjultīgw	pemitaygw	eluēwiātīgw
13pl	mitāyeg	ayjultieg	pemitāyeg	eluēwiātieg
2pl	mitāyo ^o	ayjultio ^o	pemitāyo ^o	eluēwiātio ^o
3an.pl	mitājig	ayjultijig	pemitājig	eluēwiātijig

3inan.pl militāgal ayjultigl pemitāgal eluēwiātigl.

We see that the dual is formed as if the stem were milāti-, while the singular is formed as if the stem were milāsi- (or milāy-, if the s is deleted). Thus, it appears that we need a rule to change the s to t in the dual. It is not obvious, however, precisely how to state this rule. First of all, we must distinguish milāsi (mil + āsi) from teltāsi--think so (← tel + tāsi), dual teltāsieg, and from apogonmāsi-, help oneself (← apognmā + si), dual apogonmāsieg. From these examples it is clear that we must mention the length of 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 +i+ after the stem. This implies that the s → t rule precedes rule (FD) and is after t → j. However, we must not have the rule apply before the lsing +i+, and if we mention only +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 +i+:

(DE') s → t / + ā _____ i + i + [+segment].

To get the optional forms in the singular, we must have an optional s-deletion rule:

(GA') s $\xrightarrow{\text{OPT.}}$ \emptyset / + \bar{a} _____ i + [+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 milāy.

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--, etliey---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 pemāti-. The provenience of this t is not obvious. It could come from an underlying s, as in milāti-. Since the plurals of these two verbs are formed identically (see p.157), this seems not a bad hypothesis. 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 i 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 ā in the dual.

Thus, the stems appear to be iesi and āsi. The two would be perfectly parallel if the latter were underlying iāsi. For the āsi verbs, the i never turns up, but we do note the peculiar fact that, while we have numerous verbs such as pegijāsi--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 + āsi (cf. teltāsi, < tel + tāsi--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 -iāsi. Conversely, if we assumed it were simply āsi, we would have no explanation for the provenience of the j in pegijāsi, which must come from a t before i. We therefore see that the two suffixes are, respectively, iesi and iāsi in their underlying forms,¹¹ and that we can change rule (GA') to read:

$$(GA') \quad s \xrightarrow{\langle OBL \rangle} \emptyset / + v \left[\begin{array}{l} \langle -long \rangle \\ \langle -grave \rangle \\ +voc \\ -diff \end{array} \right] \text{ — } i + [+segment] +.$$

The fact that we must mention the vowel preceding the ā or e will suffice to distinguish these two stems from the verb jaqalīsi--I speak fast-- (← jagl+iīsi), and verbs like pessaptōsit--he cut himself--, which come from Cā+usi or Cē+usi. Of course we will need a rule (obviously after the t → j rule) deleting i before a long nondiffuse vowel (cf. pegijēg--it, he takes a long time, pegit+iētg. This, however, is not quite correct; we find, for example, pegijiātieg--it takes us (exc. pl.) a long time to get there (on a boat)--from pegit+iē+ti+teg. Therefore, the rule must exclude a morpheme boundary after the long nondiffuse vowel, which the iāsi/iesi verbs will fit, since the morpheme-final i will not have been deleted. Rule (CD), then, must have i become [-unit] iff the [ā, ē] is not followed by a morpheme boundary.

We also must have a rule deleting the stem-final i in the singular forms of pem + iesi, 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+iesi+i glide-formation, s-deletion → pem+iei+y (FD) → pem+iei, and we would have no obvious way of changing this i to the y which appears there. If it comes before rule

(FD), however, we would get pem+iesi+i $\xrightarrow{\text{glide-formation, s-del.}}$ pem+ieiy $\xrightarrow{\text{i-deletion}}$ pem+ie+y, and then rule (FD) would not apply. The rule, then, is as follows:

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

Since (GC) must follow (GA), and therefore final-vowel-shortening and in particular glide-formation, if we specify that only i deletes here, the dual morpheme will be kept from deleting in verbs like taluegeyeg (\leftarrow taluegē+iteg), which at this stage will be taluege+ty+teg. A verb like pemiet, e.g., would be pem+ieī+tt at this stage, since glide-formation failed to apply because the s had not yet been deleted. But now note that when the s optionally deletes in verbs like milāsīt, we get milāyt, not *milāt or *milat. Thus we must have the feature [-grave] in the rule, to keep it from applying after ā.

One problem immediately manifests itself, however: with vowel-shortening applying before one- or two-segment morphemes, we should expect the ā to shorten in, say, milāsīn (if it were from mil+iā+si+n). We could not except ā from the rule, since then we would have no way of getting the short ă in the singular and dual of nāgānāmă- (plural naganāmāti-; cf. wētămă-, pl. wetmăti). If the

stem ended in -ǎ, we would expect the ǎ to delete in the plural, as in wetmǎ-. 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 (pemāti-). 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, eluēwiē- (the plural of pemiesi- will be discussed below):

<u>pemtiesi+</u>	<u>eluēwiē+tuī-</u>	(DE') [see below]
<u>pemtiēti+</u>	"	u --> ∅ / t ___ i
"	<u>eluēwiē+ti-</u>	(FK')
<u>pemtiāti+</u>	"	
<u>pemtiāti+</u>	<u>eluēwiā+ti-</u>	e --> a [(BD')]
<u>pemāti-</u>	<u>eluēwiāti-</u>	

Since e --> 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 ě never appears before +ti without first being lengthened. In order to subsume these two verb types (pem+iesi- and eluēwiē-) 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+g, say, has become at least pem+iei+g, and probably pem+ie+g.

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'):

$$(GA') \quad s \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / + i \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \langle -\text{long} \rangle \\ \langle -\text{grave} \rangle \end{array} \right] \text{ ---- } i + [+segment] +,$$

and the i deletes by rule (GC), giving us the correct form. In the dual, we have pem+iesi+it+.., and a generalization of (DE') will give us pem+tietit+.., and (FK) will give us pem+iēti-, and (BD) and the i-deletion rule will give us the correct pemāti-. Note that we do not have to worry about morpheme boundaries in (FK), since (FK) must apply after the t --> j and ǔ --> ∅ t ___ i rules, in order to handle the facts in the dual of pěmiě- (before -ti from -si) and in the plurals (before -ti from -tui); and therefore underlying t'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 iāsi and iesi:

II

milāsi-, play	militā + i-
naḡāsi, stop	naḡatā + i-
siptaḡāsi-, stretch, expand	siptaḡaytā + i-
majāsi-, go, leave	maytā + i-
alāsi-, walk around	aītā + i-
ewgʝəpuguāsi-, step on it	ewgʝəpuguetā + i-
pisgwā-, come in [unique]	pisgwetā + i-
pemie-, go, walk	pemitā + i-
wan?taḡāye-, get quiet [unique]	wan?taḡaytā + i-
wejḡue, come here	wejḡwitā + i-
sōḡoye-, go up into the woods [unique]	sōḡwitā + i-
wejie-, come from [unique]	weytā + i-
elie-, go	eītā + i-

They are basically subclasses of two major types: milāsi- and pemie-, which, as we have seen above, have the stems mil+iāsi and pem+iesi, respectively. The plural stem of milāsi, militāi-, presumably has the underlying form mil+iāsi+tui-. Clearly, we will need a rule to move the

\bar{a} in these cases around the \underline{t} . However, there are two possibilities for the provenience of the \underline{t} in the plural: a) it could be the \underline{t} of the plural morpheme, and s-deletion occurs also in the plural; or b) the $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ rule could apply in the plural, and the \underline{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 \underline{s} in the plural as well. In order to avoid having to express the extra segment \check{u} of the plural morpheme $-\underline{tui}$ in the rule, we must order (GA) after the $u \rightarrow \emptyset / t \underline{\quad} i$ rule. We could not simply specify \underline{t} in the rule, since we would then always delete the \underline{s} before the \underline{t} of the 3sing. Furthermore, clearly the rule metathesizing \bar{a} around \underline{t} must apply after this rule, as well as after the $u \rightarrow \emptyset / t \underline{\quad} i$ rule, since otherwise we would have no way to drop the \underline{u} . 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 \underline{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 āsi and 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 mil+iāsi after the application of (GA):

<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>	
mil+iāsi+i-	mil+iāsi+tui-	
"	mil+iāsi+ti	u ---> ∅
mil+iāti+i	"	s ---> t
"	mil+iāi+ti	s ---> ∅
mil+iāti+i	mil+iāi+ti.	

Now, in the plural, we want the ā to end up after the t, but we do not want this rule to affect the ā of the dual. Here the only difference between the two forms is the i+ (left over from s-deletion applied to iāsi) of the plural. If we delete this i before ā-metathesis, we will end up with wrong forms, as we will see below. Thus, since we cannot delete the i+ beforehand, and in any case have no rule for so doing, the ā-metathesis rule must mention

it. Observe that rule (GC) must precede \bar{a} -metathesis, since the first \underline{i} of $\underline{i\bar{a}si}$ deletes even in the plural, and we could not otherwise account for this fact.

$$(GD) \quad \bar{a} \quad \underbrace{i \quad + \quad t}_2 \quad \underbrace{i \quad +}_3 \quad \Longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad 2 + 1 + 3.$$

Now note that we in fact wish to end up with militāy-,¹² so we do not want the first $+i+$ (left over after \bar{a} -metathesis) automatically to delete; on the other hand, we must have the second $+i+$ (from $+ti+$ due to the \bar{a} -metathesis) delete in the 3plural forms, in order to get militājig and militāḡal. Therefore, when the \bar{a} is metathesized, it must have a $+$ -boundary inserted after it; for otherwise the \underline{y} ($\ll \underline{i}$) after it would not delete by rule (GfC) (see below) in the 3an. and 3inan. forms of the plural. In examining the above list, they do find some examples where the first $+i+$ also apparently deletes. Note the following verbs which delete the $+i+$:

III

<u>stem</u>	<u>sing. stem</u>	<u>plural stem</u>
nag+iāsi	naḡāsi	,naḡa'tā+i
mat+iāsi	majāsi	,may'tā+i
al+iāsi	alāsi	,alī'tā+i

wet+iesi	wejie	,wey'tā+i
el+iesi	elie	,eī'tā+i
ewgjɔpugue+iāsi	ewgjɔpuguāsi	,ewgjɔ,pugue'tā+i.

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

IV

nisag+iāsi	nisaġāsi	,nisaġay'tā+i
siptag+iāsi	siptaġāsi	,siptaġay'tā+i
gigat+iāsi	gigajāsi	,gigaji'tā+i
jaġal+iāsi	jaġalāsi	,jaġali'tā+i
tatut+iāsi	tatujāsi	,tatujitā+i
alpeg+iāsi	alpegāsi	,alpegitā+i
pejil+iāsi	pejilāsi	,pejili'tā+i
pisu+iāsi	pisuāsi	,pisui'tā+i. ¹³

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

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

Note that the i following the stem is the final segment of

the original iāsi or iesi, 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 gesq-, 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- < gesga+āsi (by geminate segment agglomeration) < gesga+iāsi (by rule (CD)) gives further support to our method of handling aljā- above.) These two stems (nag- > naga and gesga) might suggest that +i+ deletes after a or even after all vowels. The plural forms nisaḡaytā+i- and siptaḡaytā+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

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] C_1^2 \text{ a } \underline{\quad}. \text{ This implies that the stress rule, although ill-understood at present, must precede the } +i+ \text{ deletion rule.}$$

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 j or l. Note furthermore that the examples, ,gigaji'tā+i- and ,jaḡali'tā+i- from list IV shows that this ǎ or ě must be stressed. Thus we also

with to delete ti+ in the environment
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{cons} \\ \text{acont} \\ \sim\text{astri} \end{array} \right]$$

_____. Such examples as militā+i- show that the vowel must be [-diff].

There remains at least one further case where we want ti+deletion. Namely, in such cases as ,ewgja,puguetā+i+tā-, which we wish to end up as ewgjapuguetā-. Note, however, that the preceding vowel, ǔ, is unstressed, and that we have no examples where the i does not drop after ě. Furthermore, examples like ,atlḡe'tā+i- show that the stressed vowel may be rather far from the ě. These observations suggest that we also must drop ti+ simply in the environment after ě _____. Note that each of these three environments is followed by the plural ti+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 ti+ separated from t by ā-metathesis, before a consonant. That is, the ti+ would delete in -tā+ti+ji+g and in

-tā+itg+l, giving us, respectively, -tājig and -tāgal.

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

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

$$(GF) \quad i \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a) } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{stress} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ \alpha\text{cont} \\ \sim\alpha\text{stri} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{b) } [+stress][+segment] \begin{matrix} 2[+\text{voc}] \\ 1[-\text{diff}] \end{matrix} \end{array} \right\} + \text{---} + \text{C.} \\ \text{c) } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \beta\text{grave} \\ \beta\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right.$$

The C in the post-environment is to stop the +i+ from deleting after the plural tā+ in non-third person plural forms. Possible exceptions to part b) are geta'āsi and teta'āsi, plurals geta'atā+i- and teta'atā+i-, respectively. An exception to part a) is ajāsi-, plural stem ajitā+i.

(GF) must come before rule (DI), $g \text{ --} \rightarrow \hat{g}$, since the 3sing inan. is -tāgal, and not *-tāḡal. The ḡ is inserted by the general ḡ-insertion rule given above (see

Contraction chapter, pp. 83ff.) Clearly, (GF) must follow the stress assignment rule.

With two of the stem types, wejie- and majāsi-, 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 gēytu, future əgjitutes; 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 -jg- 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 pisque+iāsi-; but then we should expect the 3sing to be,

e.g., *pisgwāsīt 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 i 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 pisgwāā- (like aljā-; or pisgwe+āā), whereas the nonsingular has the stem pisgwe + iāsi (plus ti+ or tti+). Neither solution seems particularly desirable, we cry, and forge ahead.

Consider now the verb wejgūe- --come here, come this way--, dual stem wejgwāti-, plural stem wejgwitā+ti. From the dual and plural stems, we would predict the singular *wejgw+ie- < uejgut+ie. Indeed, we find the prefix wejgu- in the following words: wejgwapniag̃--daybreak, first light of the morning--(i.e., daybreak is coming; cf. gisapniag̃--day(break)--, i.e., daybreak is here, has already happened); wejgwipisgwā--come in (towards speaker, who is in). But if the underlying stem is wejgut+iesi, we will have to have a rule changing ī to ū after ū or w in certain cases. Now consider the verb těwiě- --go out,

eliminate-- , plural stem tewitā+ti, and its contracted form, i.e., where the first-syllable ě is deleted. This is tūās, instead of the expected *tuiās. Here again we see that i must become u on occasion when following ǔ or w. Observe, incidentally, that contraction must follow the $u \rightarrow \emptyset / t \text{ ____ } i$ rule; otherwise we would expect *tuiās. The present stem tewie-, compared to the future tūās (< twiās), shows that there must be a consonant before the [ǔ,w]. Furthermore, the verb tewijǫwig--it pours out--, future tuijǫwitew, shows that the rule is inoperable if a consonant follows the i. In fact the verb wejgwie-, come on a boat (plural stem wejgwiāti-, stem wejgu+iē-) shows that only a short vowel can follow the i for the rule to work (cf. the verb under discussion, wejgūe < wejgu + iesi). Thus the rule is:

$$(GG') \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+grave] / [+cons] \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ____ } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix}.$$

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 tūās, not *tuiās. Now, considering that (GG') does not apply in the dual and plural of wejgūe- (wejgwāti-, wejgwiātā-), we see that it

must apply after the lengthening of the ě. (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 ů / t ____ i. Thus, we must preclude the stem wejgwiě- (< wejgwiē-) from undergoing (GG') by some other means. Now, inasmuch as there are numerous cases like wejgwiē- (wiquiē--faint--, patgwiē- --go close to s.t. (on the water)--, esgwiē- --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, wejgwātieg, and (FK) must follow (FI). Thus, in the singular of wejgwiē-, 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+, wejgwieit+; and it may be that in order to

exclude the former case from rule (GG'), we need to have the (immediately) prior rule

(GGa) [] ----> [-next rule] / _____ [] +,

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

$$(GG) \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ +diff \\ -grave \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \langle -grave \rangle / [+cons] \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \text{ [] } \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \langle \leftrightarrow \rangle .$$

If we failed to specify [-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 [-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) < (GG) < (FI). Note here the verb pewige- --sweep--, future puigās. 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 pewiig- ----> pewiig- ----> p₃wiig- ----> puiig-, and now we would expect (GG) to apply, giving us puuig- ----> *pūig-. Also, cf. muīn---bear--, which we would likewise expect to be *mūin if the ī were a sequence

of two short vowels.

The remaining verb of class II, sōgoye-, dual stem sōgwāti-, plural stem sōgwitā+i-, is quite a peculiar one. First of all, note the alternation between the ō in sōgoye and the w in sōgwātieg, which suggest a rule relating ō and ǔ or w. Secondly, as we saw in the Contraction chapter, p. 93, the contracted form sgogoyās is from segogoyās by contraction, which is likewise presumably from segog+iās by vowel copying and g-hatting. If we had a rule before vowel copying turning certain ǔ's into ō, we would be able to assume an underlying form of segug+ for the stem. But now notice that the g/u-metathesis rule would apply if the form remained uncontracted, if we assumed that ō as well as ǔ was sufficient to trigger the rule, and we would get segug+iesi --> segog+iesi --> segogo + yesi --> seoggo+ye. Now we need rules (EB) and (DO) to delete one of the g's and lengthen the vowel, giving us sōgw+ie, and we would need another rule to predict the alternation between w and ō here. In the future, we would get segug+ie --> segog+ie --> segogo+ye --> sgogoye-.

The rules we have discussed with respect to the āsi and iesi stems, then, are the following:

1 - (DE) s -----> t / + V $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \alpha\text{grave} \\ \alpha\text{long} \end{bmatrix}$ ----- i + i + [+segment]

2 - (GA) s <OPT>∅ / + V $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \langle -\text{long} \rangle \\ \langle -\text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$ ----- i + < [+segment] +>

3 - (DF) j -----> y / _____ [+obst]

4 - (GC) i -----> ∅ / $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$ ----- +

5 - (CD) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix}$ -----> $\langle {}_3+\text{unit}_3 \rangle$ /



$\{ \langle {}_1^+ \rangle_a \} \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{diff} \\ +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \langle {}_1^+\text{long}_1 \rangle_b \\ \langle {}_2^-\text{grave}_2 \rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\} \langle {}_3^+ \rangle \langle {}_2^-\text{voc} \rangle \langle {}_2^+\text{son} \rangle, a \Rightarrow b$

6 - (GD) \bar{a} $\underbrace{i + t}_2$ $i +$
1 2 3 =====> ∅ 2 + 1 + 3.

7 - (GF) i-dropping

8 - (GG) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}$ -----> $\langle -\text{grave} \rangle$ / [+cons] $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}$ ----- $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix}$ <+>



Past Tense

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

1sing	welaġapiap
2s	welaġapitap
3an.s.	welaġapip
3inan.s.	welaġapigap
12dual	welaġapig:up
13dual	welaġapiegap
2dual	welaġapioġop
3an.dual	welaġapipnig
3inan.dual	welaġapipn̄
12pl.	welaġapultigup
13pl.	welaġapultiegap
2pl.	welaġapultioġop
3an.pl.	welaġapultipnig
3inan.pl.	welaġapultipn̄.

We observe that the past tense of, for example, welaġapijig (← welaġapi+i + ti + g)--they (dual) are drunk--is welaġapipnig--they were drunk. The -g is clearly the plural morpheme, and -ni- or -pni- seems to be the past tense morpheme. Welaġapiap--I was drunk--(pres.: welaġapi) 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 -pñ#, so this rule is justified). Note the words wapñiaġ--dawn--; gapñōl--government--, qispnei--I'm tired--, welialgamusigapñ--those things looked good--, showing that -pñ- is not at all an impermissible sequence, unless it is word-final. Cf. also qtēypm--your tape--, to see that it is only -n- which is not permitted in this environment; and nitñ--my nostril--, wigatign--letter--, mgasñ--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 welaġapipñig and in welagapip--he was drunk.

First, we see that -jiC- in general is a permissible sequence: n'jitaġan--my neck--, jimeī--I paddle--, jīgaligwatam--I scull--, apigjij--mouse--, jīnam--man--, pejitaġa'mai--I trip forward. We find no -jip- sequences, however. We do find -jip- sequences in words like jipalġ--I fear him--and wejipeġ--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 -i- / j ____ p. But in order to account for the

-i- in words like wejipeg, we must assume that it comes from -ī-, which fits well with the fact that there are no -jīp- sequences. Thus we see that we need a rule shortening long -ī-, and deleting short -ī-, / j ____ p:

(HA) $\left[\begin{array}{c} i \\ \leftarrow \text{long} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \left[\begin{array}{c} \leftarrow \text{unit} \\ \text{-long} \end{array} \right] / j \text{ ____ } p.$

Note that -jp- in wejpei 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 wejpei and not *wetpei.

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

Finally, look at what must be the underlying form for welaġapipniġ:

welaġapiti + ti + pni + g.

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

welaġapi + 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:

(HB') $\left[\begin{array}{l} +obstr \\ -grave \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } + p.$

There is an apparent stem -tniaġ which means "the wind (does something)" in, for example, sāsēwġtniaġ--the wind changes, from sāsew + tnia + ġ (cf. sāsēwātu--I change it; the -ġ- is predictable, see the Contraction chapter); also in āsugwetniaġ--the wind is coming the opposite way--(< āsugwe+tniaġ). Consider the word eu'pniaġ--the wind dies down, falls. The 3sginan ewipġ--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 + tniaġ. 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 ġ or l after the past morpheme pni. In these cases, the i and n remain. Since the ġ 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 $\left[\begin{array}{l} -1st\ person \\ -2nd\ person \end{array} \right]$ 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 ǎ, or perhaps a ə, before the p; note welaġapiap, nastesinap, wegāyap, sēsapaġanēyap, welmätūap, whereas we would expect, for example, *welmätūp. 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: nastesinūgw--nastesinūgup, nastesinoġ--nastesinoġop, wetmaġ--wetmaġap. 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:w--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 ǎ in the 1st person sing. On the other hand, it is not clear just what vowel it is. If it were ǔ, we

would expect the 12dual past *nastesinūgūp instead of the correct nastesinūgup; if it were ǎ, we would expect *nastesinūgwap; if it were ǒ, we would expect the 2dual past *nastesinoḡop, instead of the correct nastesinoḡop; if it were ě, we would expect *nastesinūgwep; if it were ĩ, 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: $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{compact} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}$. We note here that the typical result of this vowel is ə, (cf. nastesinegəp, nastesinūtəp, nastesgəp, nastesingəp),¹⁵ so we will need a rule

$$(HC') \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{comp} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{comp} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{round} \end{bmatrix} .$$

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

$$(HC') \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{comp} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \begin{bmatrix} \langle +\text{comp} \rangle \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{round} \end{bmatrix} / \langle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \rangle + \text{---} ,$$

and (HC') must come before the rule which deletes the ə normally deletes (this fact can probably be incorporated

into the rule deleting ě after ǎ), and that -Cw- normally becomes -Cǔ-:

(HD') $\text{ə} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \text{ ---}$

(DN') $\text{C} \text{ w} \text{ ə} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{C} / \text{ǔ} / \emptyset.$
 1 2 3

But now note that in the 3sing past, rule (HD) must precede the rule deleting ǐ in the environment j ___ p. Thus:
welaǰapi + ti + əpni $\text{t} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{j}, (\text{HC}'), \check{\text{v}} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset, \text{n} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset \rightarrow$
welaǰapi+jj+əp $\text{ ----} \xrightarrow{(\text{HD}')} \text{welaǰapi+jj+p} \text{ ----} \xrightarrow{\text{ǐ-dropping}} \text{welaǰapi+j+p} \text{ ----} \xrightarrow{[\text{t}, \text{j}] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset} \text{welaǰapip}.$ Note that the $[\text{t}, \text{j}] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset$ rule would be inoperative unless we had already deleted the ə.

As mentioned above (see Intransitive, p. 149), the 2sing morpheme n is quite generally changed to t in the past tense; cf. nastesinūtəp, welaǰapītəp, səsapaǰanētəp, aljātəp, milāsītəp, etc. Thus we need the rule

(HE') $\text{n} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{t} / \text{[-nasal]} / \text{ ---} +\text{əpni}.$

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 nastesinūtəp, telgilūtəp, agamīmūtəp, wegāyūtəp (cf. aljātəp), eymūtəp, alǰatmūtəp; but compare

sēsəpaḡanētəp, stem sēsəpaḡanēy-. We will clearly need a rule for sēsəpaḡanēy- and the stems like it to delete the y in certain cases: before the t of the 2sing past (but not the 2sing n: sēsəpaḡanēyn) and the t of the future morpheme tes; before the g of the 3sing an (the g < t; but y-deletion must come after t --> g, since the t will not be affected if the y has been deleted) and the underlying g of the 3sing inan; and before the l of the -lti- plural. In each case the y must follow e (cf. wegāyūtəp, wegāyg, wegāyulti). Since we find no stems ending in y preceded by i, u, o, or l, and since any stem which might end in w ostensibly has it deleted, we can write the rule (cf. rule (EF)):

$$(HF) \quad \begin{bmatrix} -voc \\ -cons \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -comp \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} + \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ -nas \end{bmatrix} .$$

Observe that rule (HF) implicitly countermands the generalization about y and the other sonorants embodied in rule (EF). This might appear to be justified because, of all rules (sonorant-deletion, ǔ-insertion) pertaining to a sonorant followed by an obstruent, only this fact relating to 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) l3dual fut; d) 3sing; e) 2sing past; f) 2sing of the five representative consonant-stems: wegāy- (< wegāi-), welēy- (< welēī-), aḡamīm-, nastesin-, and telgil-:

stem:	wegāy-	welēy-	aḡamīm-	nastesin-	telgil-
a)	<u>wegāyulti-</u>	<u>welōlti-</u>	<u>aḡamūlti-</u>	<u>nastesulti-</u>	<u>telgilulti-</u>
b)			<u>aḡamīmūti-</u>		
c)	wegāytesnen	<u>welētesnen</u>	<u>aḡamītesnen</u>	nastesintesnen	telgiltesnen
d)	wegāyg	<u>welēg</u>	<u>aḡamīg</u>	nastesing	telgilg
e)	wegāyūtəp	<u>welētəp</u>	<u>aḡamīmūtəp</u>	<u>nastesinūtəp</u>	<u>telgilūtəp</u>
f)	wegāyn	welēyn	aḡamīmən	nastesin̄	telgin̄.

The underlined forms (____) have the sonorant deleted; those underlined with dots (.....) have a ǔ inserted. After sonorant deletion, rule (FA) will give the correct vowel quality in the a) forms. The long n̄'s in the f) forms are from l-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 (HF): a \check{u} -insertion rule (rule (FK) above will lengthen some of these short \check{u} 's), and a sonorant-deletion rule (similar to rule (EF') above). We see that we must have some way to distinguish the 13dual future $\underline{a\hat{g}am\bar{i}m+ti+tesnen} \rightarrow \underline{a\hat{g}am\bar{i}m+tesnen} \rightarrow \underline{a\hat{g}am\bar{i}tesnen}$ from the $-ti$ plural stem $\underline{a\hat{g}am\bar{i}m+ti-} \rightarrow \underline{a\hat{g}am\bar{i}m+\check{u}+ti-} \rightarrow \underline{a\hat{g}am\bar{i}m\check{u}ti-}$. The only plausible way to do this is to require a morpheme boundary at most two segments after the \underline{t} before which the \underline{u} is to be inserted (the future morphemes are all at least three segments long; the \underline{u} of the plural (1)tui will have been deleted by the time this rule is applied; and the 2sing past \underline{t} from \underline{n} is itself a morpheme). We state each of these rules:

\check{u} -insertion

$$(FG) \quad [-unit] \dashrightarrow \check{u} / \left[\left\{ \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} +son \\ \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} +voc \\ +cons \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right\rangle \right. \right\} \right\} \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} +voc \\ +cons \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right] t ([+seg]) +$$

sonorant-deletion

$$(EF) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} -voc \\ +cons \\ +son \\ \left\langle -grave \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \dashrightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{c} +cons \\ -nasal \\ \left\langle +voc \right\rangle \end{array} \right].$$

(HF) must precede \check{u} -insertion, for otherwise we would either derive the incorrect $*\underline{wel\bar{e}yulti-}$ instead of

welōlti-, 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 (aġam/aġamg). 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 mV̄, 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 -aġ (as, e.g., nissgam/nissgamaġ--god), those which end in -V̄m (about half) all have plurals in -mg, while all the rest (namely, ending in -Cm or -V̄m) have plurals in -mugw, except for n?tuēm--my domestic animals. Paġtasm--wolf--has the expected plural paġtasmūgw, but also has a peculiar and irregular dual form paġtasmg. The last form is quite

irregular in any case, since only a handful of nouns have dual forms, and need not concern us, while -tuēm could plausibly be tuēVm 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 -ađ plurals, which have -ma stem-finally) in fact end in mǔ-, and the ǔ would be deleted by final-vowel-shortening in the singular, and by a rather general rule in the environment ǔm _____ +g in those plurals in -mq. 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, -gǎpn̄, from underlying g+ǎ pni+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., uj:ultijig--they have a father--, < ujji+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 igtigī, with final vowel-deletion in the singular. But the inanimate plural is igtigl, 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+l#, whereas we do have nominal plurals in -i+g# (e.g., igtigig, ēpijig). The rule, then, is:

(DG') $i \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } l \#$,

and (DG') must be ordered before rule (DM) ($l \text{ ---} \rightarrow n$), giving us, say, gelt+g+æpni+l $\text{---} \rightarrow$ geltəgəpni+l (DG') $\text{----} \rightarrow$ geltəgəpni+l (DM) $\text{----} \rightarrow$ geltəgəpn+n $\xrightarrow{\text{g.s.a.}}$ geltəgəpn̄.

Negative Forms

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

1s.	welaġapiw
2s.	welaġapiwun
3an.s.	welaġapi(w)gw
3inan.s.	welaġapinugw
12dual	welaġapi(w)g:w

13dual	welaġapiweg
2dual	welaġapiwoġ
3an.dual	welaġapi(w)gw
3inan.dual	welaġapinugul
12pl.	welaġapultiġ:w
13pl.	welaġapultiweg
2pl.	welaġapultiwoġ
3an.pl.	welaġapultiġw
3inan.pl.	welaġapultnugul.

From the negatives

13dual	welaġapiweg
2dual	welaġapiwoġ
13plural	welaġapultiweg
2plural	welaġapultiwoġ,

The negative morpheme seems to be -w- (< [ũ]), 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 -oġ). The 2sing negative welaġapiwun 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

stem + (number morpheme) + ũ + person marker.

That is, we know in some cases the negative ǔ 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):

welaḡapiw	welagapi + u + i
nastesinu	nastesin + u + i
wegāyǔ	wegāi + u + i
aljāw	aljā + u + i
mogḡpew	mogpe + u + i
wetmaw	wetma + u + i
alāmu	alām + u + i
welmḡtu	welmtu + u + i
milāsiw	miliāsi + u + i
pemiew	pemiesi + u + i.

it is immediately clear that rule (FD) will in all cases delete the lsing i (or y), since u and w are both $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{array} \right]$. It is equally clear, from cases such as nastesinu and welaḡapiw 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 *welaḡapi as the lsing neg forms. We note a slight problem with the form wegāyu. From the underlying form wegāi + u + i, we get wegāi + w + i by part a) of Glide Formation (rule (BA)), and then wegāy + w + i by part b), and wegāy + w by rule (FD). If part b) preceded part a) of rule (BA), we would get wegāi + u + i $\xrightarrow{b)}$ wegāy+u +y, part a) would be inapplicable, and rule (FD) would give us the correct wegāyu; 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 g) and before shwa-deletion (rule (HD)):

$$(DN') \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow [+voc] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-voc] \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ə} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}.$$

The only other form which raises any problems is welṃatu < welmtu + u + i. The i drops by rule (FD), but we know that the +ṃ cannot drop by this rule, yet we must somehow delete it. This appears to be parallel to the +i dropping in, for example, welaḡapi + i + eg > welaḡapieḡ, 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 egnutmueu- in the nonplural forms,

would apply here as well. Indeed, it would as it is stated; unfortunately, it would also apply in moġpeweg, taluegeweg, gesnugwaweg, and aljāweg, incorrectly deleting the w. Thus (BC') is incorrect as stated. Since the stem of taluegeweg is taluegē-, 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) [] ----> [-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 g or l of the plural. But the nouns jīgāw and maligēw, plurals jīgāwg, maligēwg, 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 ǔ if the ě were long. Also, rule (BD), $\check{a} \rightarrow \check{e}$, must apply before rule (FD), $[i, y] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$, 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 maltew-- blood--; there are two plurals: mal'tal-- [big, caked pieces of blood; all around; etc.] and mal'teul-- [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 -ǔ- will correctly not be deleted. In fact, if we used a #-boundary here, the ǔ would become w; this fact suggests that we have a =-boundary here, although the ∂ -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 $\check{u} + \check{u} \rightarrow \bar{u}$ 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 \check{u} before a stem beginning with \check{u} ; without the rule, we might expect *ulugs 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: utulugs ----->
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

$$(BC') \quad \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \begin{cases} \text{a) } [-next \text{ rule}] / + \text{ ---} \\ \text{b) } \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---} + [-plural]. \end{cases}$$

Alternatively, we would rewrite these rules as follows:

$$(BC') \quad \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \langle +unit \rangle / \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle \text{ ---} + [-plural].$$

We recall that, in order to account for the absence of the dual morpheme \check{i} (or \check{y}) in, for example, the 13dual forms welaġapieġ, alāmeg, nastesineġ, getueġ, telgileġ or welēyeg, as opposed to aljāyeg, moġpeyeg, or wetmayeg, we needed the rule

$$(FD') \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ } +.$$

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: welaġapiweg, nastesinueg, aljāweg, moġpeweg (underlying welaġapi+y+w+eg, nastesin+i+w+eg, aljā+y+w+eg, moġpe+y+w+eg, respectively). In particular, there is obviously no possible rule to delete the y in moġpe+y+w+eg which would disregard the w and not at the same time incorrectly delete the y in moġpeyeg, giving us *moġpeeg or the like. Thus, whatever rule is necessary to delete the y in moġpe+y+w+eg must refer to the following w (< ǔ). 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. welēyweg < welēy+y+w+eg, and ayjiw < ayji+y+w) thirdly, the negative +w+ (< +ǔ+) 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 (FD') will effect the deletion of this y: namely, in addition to deleting in the environment

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ______ } +,$$

[i,y] must also delete in the environment

$$+ \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} .$$

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 $+u\bar{g}$ (and obviously (FD) cannot follow \bar{u} -depletion), and that stems (e.g., $get\bar{u}$ -) ending in a long \bar{u} or \bar{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

$$(FD') \quad [i, y] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---} + \\ + \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right\} \quad 16$$

The stems ending in a long vowel ($talueg\bar{e}$ -, $nagan\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ -, $elu\bar{e}wi\bar{e}$ -, $get\bar{u}$ -) will, in all the negative dual forms, be subject to rule (FI), vowel-shortening, since

each precedes the monosegmental morpheme $+y+$; this observation explains, for example, the form naġanāmaweg instead of *naġanāmāweg.

We now examine the l2dual negatives. Typical examples are given in the left column, with their underlying forms in the right column:

welaġapig:w	welaġapi+i+u+ūg
nastesinug:w	nastesin+i+u+ūg
telgilug:w	telgil+i+u+ūg
wegāyug:w	wegāi+i+u+ūg
getug:w	getū+i+u+ūg
welēyug:w	welēi+i+u+ūg
aljawg:w	aljaā+i+u+ūg
taluegewg:w	taluegē+i+u+ūg
moġpewg:w	moġpe+i+u+ūg
wetmawg:w	wetma+i+u+ūg
naġanāmawg:w	naġanāmā+i+u+ūg
eluēwiewg:w	eluēwiē+i+u+ūg
eymug:w	eim+i+u+ūg
welmtug:w	welmtu+i+u+ūg
milātig:w	mil+iās+i+u+ūg
pemātig:w	pem+ies+i+u+ūg.

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 generalization of rule (FE') such that $+w+$ as well as $+y+$ is sufficient 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):

$$(FE') \quad \bar{u} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \langle \text{-unit} \rangle \\ \text{a grave} \end{array} \right] / \langle + \rangle \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{diff} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \langle \text{-voc} \rangle \\ \text{a grave} \end{array} \right] \langle + \rangle \text{ ---} .$$

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

i)	wela [^] gapi _g :w	wela [^] gapi _t +w _t g:w
	getu _g :w	getu _t +w _t g:w
	welm ^o tu _g :w	welm ^o tu _t +w _t g:w
	mil ^ā ti _g :w	mil ^ā ti _t +w _t g:w
	pem ^ā ti _g :w	pem ^ā ti _t +w _t g:w
ii)	nastesin _g :w	nastesin _t +w _t g:w
	telgil _g :w	telgil _t +w _t g:w
	weg ^ā y _g :w	weg ^ā y _t +w _t g:w
	wel ^ē y _g :w	wel ^ē y _t +w _t g:w
	eym _g :w	eym _t +w _t g:w
iii)	alj ^ā w _g :w	alj ^ā _t +w _t g:w alja ^ā w _t 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 si(w)g:w--spring--, pi(w)g:w--flea--, compare

these cases to such words as awgti--road--and ewgsimg--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

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

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

$$(HC) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{comp} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{---}} \begin{bmatrix} \langle +\text{comp} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \langle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} + \rangle \text{---},$$

which does not increase the complexity of the rule. Then

(DN') will be changed to read:

$$(DN') \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{---}} [+voc] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\}.$$

if the ǣ ---> $\emptyset / t \text{---} i$ rule follows glide-formation

(which it must, unless (GD), \bar{a} -metathesis, precedes glide-

formation, which the ordering (BA) < (BB) < (GA) < (GD) indicates it cannot do, cf. militāyeg < mil+āi+ty+eg) then we note that the i will have become a glide; and in typical verbs which do not undergo ā-metathesis, such as welaḡapultieg, we will need to generalize (DN') to revocalize y as well, but simply post-consonantly; furthermore, such words as iap'jiwowy--eternal--show that we never get #yV____. Thus the rule must read

$$(DN) \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle \end{array} \right] \text{ ----> } [+voc] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{voc}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{ ---> } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{voc}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{ \rangle}.$$

Note that (DN) must also follow (GD), ā-metathesis, in order to get, say, militāyeg, and not *militāieg.

The one form aljawg:w raises an interesting problem. The underlying form after the application of rule (FE') is aljaā+tw+gw, and then (FI'), vowel shortening, gives aljaa+tw+g:w. Now, because of aljāyeg, (FI') must precede (BF), geminate segment agglomeration, lest we derive the incorrect *aljāyeg (< aljāyeg < aljaāyeg). But now we note analogous forms to aljawg:w: the 12plural forms of the -iāsi- and iesi- verbs, which end in -tāyg:w from quasi-underlying -tā+y+gw (cf., e.g., the corresponding 13plural forms in -tāyeg). It thus appears that

we need a rule to shorten \bar{a} in the environment $______ [y, w]g$, and the word $\underline{w\bar{a}w}g$ --louse--indicates that a morpheme boundary must be included in the post-environment:

$$(IC) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -diff \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow [-long] / ______ + \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ -voc \\ +diff \end{bmatrix} g,$$

and (IC) must follow geminate segment agglomeration so that $\underline{alja\bar{a}+w+g}$ will have become $\underline{alj\bar{a}+w+g}$, and the rule will apply. But recall the inanimate plural of the word $\underline{n\bar{e}\check{u}}$ --four--: $\underline{n\check{e}w}g:ul$. This is underlying $\underline{n\bar{e}u+g+l}$. Note that the way we have stated (IC), to apply to any non-diffuse vowel (including \bar{e}), and with a +-boundary required before the glide, the shortening of the \check{e} in $\underline{n\check{e}w}g:ul$ is not predictable, which suggests that $\underline{n\check{e}w}g:ul$ is irregular. (IC) furthermore explains the otherwise inexplicable short vowel in the ending of, e.g., 12dual $\underline{alj\check{a}y}g$ (cf. $\underline{alj\bar{a}y}eg$). But now recall $\underline{nap\bar{e}w}g$. From rule (IC) we would expect $*\underline{nap\check{e}w}g$. Thus it is apparent that the +-boundary must be before the \underline{w} . Thus we conclude that $\underline{n\check{e}w}g:ul$ is irregular. But notice that the animate plural is $\underline{n\bar{e}w}ijig$, suggesting an underlying $\underline{n\bar{e}ui}$, with final-vowel-dropping to $\underline{n\bar{e}w}$, whereas the inanimate could not have this stem. Thus (IC) appears to be the correct

rule (necessary for aljǎwgw and aljǎygw), and něwg:ǔl is irregular in its short stem vowel and lack of final stem vowel (we should expect *něwigl). If the stem were nē+u+ (clearly absurd), then we might be able to explain the ē shortening by rule (FI).

There is one further problem with these 12dual negative forms. The final g 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:

$$(CE^1) \quad \emptyset \text{ ----} \rightarrow /g/ \ / \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{cons} \\ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \\ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \end{array} \right] w \text{ ______ } + [+obst].$$

Note that this must precede rule (IB), w-deletion, to get welaġapig:w and not *welaġapigw. Note that (CE) must follow rule (FE), ū-depletion, in order ever to apply in the 12dual.

The 12plural negative forms can be handled similarly to the duals. There are essentially two distinct types here: welaġapultig:w, from welaġapulti+u+ūgw via welaġapulti+w+ūgw, welaġapulti+w+gw, and welaġapulti+w+g:w; and militāwg:w from mil+iāsitti+u+ūgw via mil+āitti+w+gw, mil+i+tā+i+w+gw, and militā+w+g:w. The latter shows again that ā-metathesis must precede either rule (FD) or rule (GFc) (or both); and that there must be a +-boundary inserted after the ā, in order for the i to be deleted by either of the two above-mentioned rules.

When we examine the 3sing negative, typical examples given below, with their respective underlying forms in the right-hand column:

taluegewgw	talueġe+u+ti
naġanāma ^ġ wgw	naġanāma+u+ti
welaġapi ^ġ w	welaġapi+u+ti
welm ^ġ tu ^ġ w	welm ^ġ tu+u+ti
milās ^ġ igw	miliāsi+u+ti
nastesin ^ġ w	nastesin+u+ti
agamīm ^ġ w	agamīm+u+ti
wegāy ^ġ w	wegāy+u+ti
moġ ^ġ pe ^ġ w	moġ ^ġ pe+u+ti
wet ^ġ ma ^ġ w	wetma+u+ti
pemiew ^ġ w	pemiesi+u+ti
aljā ^ġ w	aljaā+u+ti,

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 $t \rightarrow g$ rule discussed above (Intransitive, p.119):

$$(FB) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ +diff \\ -grave \\ -cont \\ -nasal \end{bmatrix} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{bmatrix} -diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +son \\ +diff \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+grave] \\ [-voc] \\ [+cons] \end{array} \right\} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---}$$

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 3plural negative militāgwīg). But this w would be perfectly predictable if the $t \rightarrow g$ 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, naḡānāmauw, whereas if (FB) follows (BA) we would expect *naḡānāmauw. Placing $t \rightarrow g$ 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-flattening 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., na^hanā^vmāw^vgw by rule (FI), as above for the 12dual. Such examples as the 3sing negatives welag^hapig^vw, milās^vig^vw, welm^vatug^vw are further evidence for rule (IB^v) above. The 3sing neg form aljā^vgw suggests two things: firstly, rule (IB) should be modified such that it deletes w after long vowels (cf. wet^vmaw^vgw) as well as after short diffuse ones; and secondly, it applies after geminate segment agglomeration (so that aljaā^v+w^vgw will have become aljā^v+w^vgw), and in particular after rule (DI), g-spirantization, so as not to derive *aljā^vg^vw. (IB) will now read

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

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

Such cases as nastesinug^vw, wegāyug^vw, eymug^vw are further evidence for w-revocalization, rule (DN) (cf. above; wegāyug^vw, say, is from wegāy^v+y^v+w^v+ū^vgw via wegāy^v+w^vgw).

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		3sing
taluege+y+w+gw		taluege+w+gw.

Cases such as newg:ul--four--, < nēu+g+l and sāsēwgtniāġ sāsēw+tniāġ show that we cannot limit the rule to application before [-grave] obstruents if [a,e] precedes the w; mawgpil₃m and mawg:it₃m 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

$$(CE') \quad \emptyset \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{obst} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{diff} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{---} +[\text{+obst}].$$

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:

welaġapīgw	welaġapi+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	welaġapi+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
milātīgw	milāti+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	mil+ <i>iās</i> i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
welmətūg:w	welmət+ <i>u</i> + <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	welmət+ <i>u</i> + <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
nastesinūgw	nastesin+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	nastesin+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
wegāyūgw	wegāy+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	wegā+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
welēyūgw	welēy+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	welē+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
alāmūg:w	alām+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	alām+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
nūġwāwg:w	nūġwā+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	nūġwā+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
taluegēwgw	taluege+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	taluegē+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
naġanāmāwgw	naġanāma+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	naġanāmā+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
eluēwiēwgw	eluēwie+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	eluēuiē+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
amalgāwg:w	amalgā+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	amalgā+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
moġpēwgw	moġpe+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	moġpe+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
wetmāwg:w	wetmā+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	wetmā+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
getūgw, getugwig	getu+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	getū+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
aljāgwig	aljaā+ <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	aljaā+i+ <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
welaġapultīgw	welaġapi+ <i>lti</i> + <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	welaġapi+ <i>ltui</i> + <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
amalgāltīg:w	amalgā+ <i>lti</i> + <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	amalgā+ <i>ltui</i> + <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
egnutəmuaūtīg:w	egnutəmueu+ <i>tti</i> + <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	egnutmueu+ <i>tui</i> + <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i>
militāgwig	mil+ <i>āi</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>t</i> + <i>gwi</i> + <i>g</i>	mil+ <i>iās</i> i+ <i>tui</i> + <i>tu</i> + <i>tti</i> + <i>g</i> .

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 tw in, say, nastesintw+gwi+g must have been revocalized to u. In fact, we can generalize (FK') to handle lengthening before tw+gwi(+g), as well as before ti and t+p. Note that in the 13dual past we get, say, nastesinēgāp, not *nastesinēgāp, so that a g in the environment, must exclude a following a. The rule, then must read

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \xrightarrow{\langle \text{OPT} \rangle} [+long] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{long}] \\ [+diff] \\ [-\text{voc}] \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \\
 \text{(FK)} \\
 \left[\begin{array}{c} \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \\ -\text{cons} \\ +diff \end{array} \right] \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{obst} \\ \langle -\text{grave} \rangle \\ \langle -diff \rangle_a \end{array} \right] \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right) \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{voc} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +diff \end{array} \right]_b, a \Rightarrow b \\
 \text{(i.e., } \checkmark \text{---} \rightarrow [+long] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ [-\text{long}] \\ [+diff] \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (([y,w]) \text{ g w i} \\ (([i,u]) \text{ t } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bullet \\ i \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \text{)}.
 \end{array}$$

We observe that (FK) can help explain the relation (even more obvious historically) between welā(w)gw--evening-- and ulāgu--yesterday--(cf. welāgwēg--yesterday evening). If we suppose that the underlying form is welaguī, V-shortening will give welagwi, (FK) will give welāgwi, 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 ī to give wlagwi, or wlagw by vowel-shortening, and ulagu by w-revocalization. From another point of view, if we viewed welā(w)gw as deriving from the negative third person of some putative verb welā (welā+tu+ti > welā(w)gw), the future negative inanimate would be expected to be ulā+nu+gw (see below), and in fact we find the presumably related word ulōnugw--tonight. These comments are clearly meant only to be suggestive. Note that since ə-insertion must follow (FK), two things result from this way of stating (FK): first, vowels are kept from lengthening before -tə- unless the ə is derived from æ, since in other cases the ə has not yet been inserted; second, it gives further evidence for æ (or at least some reduced underlying segment) being the provenience of this ə.

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 piw_gw, since the i is [+diffuse], but we end up with p_iw_g:w, and we do not find -i_wg_w- sequences within a morpheme. We revise the rule as follows:

$$(CE') \quad \emptyset \text{ ----- } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{obst} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ \langle \text{ }_1 -\text{voc} \text{ }_1 \rangle_b \\ \langle \text{ }_2 +\text{long} \text{ }_2 \rangle_g \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle_a \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----- } \langle \text{ }_1 + \text{ }_1 \rangle$$

[+obst],

a → b or c.

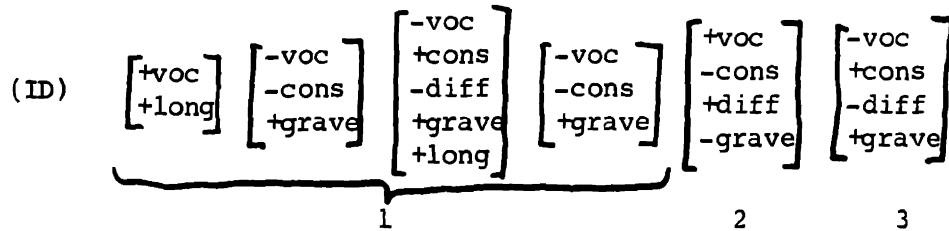
Aside from some nonexistent and thus vacuous subparts, this rule has the following implications: i) insertion is not allowed in the environment $\bar{V} +[u,w] \text{ ______ } (+)[+\text{obst}]$; this is to keep the rule from applying in the 3sing neg.: this also stops the rule from applying in meta+wegwila- meta+wgwila-: ii) note that it would apply to $[y,w] + [u,w] \text{ ______ } +[\text{obst}]$; therefore, such cases as wegāyugw (not *wegāyug:w) indicate either that (CE') precedes u-insertion or that it must be restricted to w, and not ū 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 $\bar{V}[u,w] \text{ ______ } + [\text{obst}]$, to get, e.g.,

wāwgj < wāw+tj; this means it is also inserted in, say, napēwtgw, 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 / $\check{V}[u,w] ____ [+obst]$, 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+tuti, 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., wela[^]gapi[̄]gw or welm^ətū[̄]gw, and that (DN) accounts for the ū (< ǔ) in, e.g., nastesinū[̄]gw, just as in the 3sing negative. Precisely the same rules we have been discussing will account for the typical 3plural negative forms:

welaḡapi+lti+w+gwi+g	egnutmuāu+ti+w+gwi+g	
welaḡapi+ltī+w+gwi+g	egnutmuāu+tī+w+gwi+g	(FK)
welaḡapi+ltī+wg+gwi+g	egnutmuāu+tī+wg+gwi+g	(CE')
welaḡapultīg:w(ig)	egnutmuāutīg:w(ig).	(BF), (IB'), etc.

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-
getugwig (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 present before the wg:w. But we must explain certain apparent exceptions to this generalization. Firstly, aljāgwig is derived as follows: aljaa+w+gwi+g $\xrightarrow{\text{(FK)}}$ n.a. $\xrightarrow{\text{(GFc)}}$ n.a. $\xrightarrow{\text{ig-deletion}}$ n.a. $\xrightarrow{\text{(BF)}}$ aljā+w+gwi+g $\xrightarrow{\text{(IB')}}$ 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 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{long}] \\ [+diff] \\ [-\text{voc}] \end{array} \right\}$ in (FK). Now consider militāgwig. At some point this form is mil+i+tā+i+w+gwi+g. 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



=====→ 1 ∅ ∅,

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:

welaġapiwun	welaġapi+u+n
aljāwun	aljaā+u+n
moġpewun	moġpe+u+n
wetmawun	wetma+u+n
eluēwiewun	eluēwiē+u+n
naġanāwun	naġanā+u+n
nastesinūn	nastesin+u+n
wegāyūn	wegāi+u+n.

It seems clear that, since the ŷ 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 -ŷn 2sing neg ending; furthermore, after consonant stems, instead of the expected -ŷn we find -ūn. It is as if, before glide-formation, a ŷ had been inserted after the stem (note that

if the \check{u} were inserted after glide formation, we would expect geminate segment agglomeration to give us $-\bar{u}n$ uniformly; but we find, say, $mo\hat{g}pewun$, not $*mo\hat{g}pe\bar{u}n$. We thus postulate an early rule (before glide-formation)

$$(FG'b) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ +diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \quad \emptyset \quad \begin{bmatrix} -voc \\ +cons \\ +diff \\ -grave \\ +nasal \end{bmatrix} \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad \quad \quad 2 \quad \quad \quad 3 \quad \quad \quad \Longrightarrow 1 \quad 1 \quad 3.$$

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

$$(FG) \quad \emptyset \longrightarrow \check{u} / \left[\begin{array}{c} +son \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{l} +voc \\ +cons \end{array} \right\rangle_1 \\ [-voc] \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{l} +voc \\ +grave \end{array} \right\rangle_2 \end{array} \right] \left\langle \begin{array}{l} +voc \\ +cons \end{array} \right\rangle_1 \left[\begin{array}{l} +cons \\ +diff \\ -grave \\ -cont \\ +nasal \end{array} \right]_2$$

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

wela ^h api-, be drunk	wela ^h apig
ejgwi-, sneeze	ejgwig

wegāy-, be mad	wegāyḡ
aljaā-, stagger (about)	aljāḡ
nūḡwā-, be burning	nūḡwāḡ
taluegē-, what good is one?	taluegeg
esamugwā-, drink	esamugwāḡ
amalga-, dance	amalgaḡ
wesmugwa-, flee	wesmugwāḡ
moḡpe-, be swollen	moḡpeg
wesge-, fish	wesgeg
wetma-, smoke	wetomag
naḡanāmā-, be drinking	naḡanāmaḡ
gesnugwa-, be sick	gesnugwāḡ
eluēwiē-, be crazy	eluēwiaḡ
getguni-, sleep there	getgunig
egnutmeu-, train (people)	egnutmueg
elege-, throw	eleggeg
igātaḡu-, plant	igātaḡugw
pisgwaā-, come in	pisgwāḡ
wan?taḡayesi-, quiet down	wan?taḡayaḡ
wejgūesi-, come	wejgūaḡ
pemiesi-, be walking	pemiaḡ
sōḡoyesi-, go up into the woods	sōḡoyaḡ
wejiesi-, come from	wejiaḡ
eliesi-, go	eliaḡ
nepm-, die	nepg.

Stems ending in a long vowel of course shorten it by rule (FI'). Stems ending in e preceded by i (or in

-iesi, where the s and i delete) change this ě to ǎ in the 3inan. 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 various rules:

teligi-, be that shape	telig:
sēsəpaḡanēi-, be a blabbermouth	sēsəpaḡanēḡ
penoḡwēi-, be filthy	penoḡwēḡ
mil+iāsi-, play	milāsəḡ
naḡ+iāsi-, stop	naḡāsəḡ, naḡāig
maj+iāsi-, go, start moving	majāsəḡ, majāyḡ.

The first may have its i deleted by unstressed V-deletion.¹⁸ The second two delete the stem-final y (< ī) by sonorant-deletion. The last three indicate that a subpart of the vowel reduction rule must read as follows:

(JA) $\left[\begin{array}{c} i \\ \text{-long} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow /ə/ / s \text{ ______ } + g.$

Furthermore, as the alternant forms show, rule (JA) must follow the optional (GA), s-deletion, since we would otherwise expect majāəḡ > *majāḡ (unless rule (GA) were constrained so that a ə 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	tepesg
etlesi-, be glowing	etlesig
epeto ^g si-, moan	{epetā ^g epeto ^g sig
pasegi-, be thick	paseg:
segi-, piss	segig
welia ^g gamgusi-, look good	welia ^g gamgug
ēnusi-, lose oneself	ēnusig
wela ^g gapi-, be tipsy	{wela ^g gapi ^g wela ^g gate ^g
gisgajēy-, be ready	gistat:eg
pewgjēy-, have a hole in	pewgjēg
tep:isēy-, be separated	tep:isteg
pasēy-, 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-	tepesg
gelji-, be frozen	ge ^g l ^g t ^g
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, geltog shows that this must be before $t \rightarrow j$, 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') $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____} + g.$

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') $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{son} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } + g.$

However, such nouns as gīgamgōn--pole--, pl. gīgamgōng; gāl--fourth--, pl. gālg; 'a^hgam--snowshoe--, pl. a^hgamg 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 -in can be handled if we order (JC') before (JB'). Then all verb stems ending in n can be marked in the lexicon by a general rule to undergo the minor rule (JB') as well as (JC'). The stem gesgul- will undergo (JC') and give the correct form. The stem taligsugul- will undergo (JC') in the inanimate, giving taligsugu+g, and then unstressed V-deletion will give us 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 etltā^h and not *etltā^h. 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') $V \text{-----} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{ ______ } + g.$

welialgamgusi-, look good	welialgamgu-gw
na'telamugwsi-, be that color	natelamugwsig, natelamū-gw
etltog [^] si-, be blabbing	etltog [^] sig, etltā-g [^]
telaps ^o gsi-, be that big	telapsge-g
getu-, holler	getue-g
ga [^] gsi-, be burnt	ga [^] gte-g
jigpi-, be calm, dull	jigte-g
eym-, be (there)	ete-g
gisgajēy-, be ready	gisgatte-g
tep:isēy-, be separated	tep:iste-g
gelūsi-, be good	gelul-g
pemigi-, grow	pemigwe-g.

In this list of stem alternants we find stems which undergo loss of some of their final segments (-si, -pi, -im, -iēi, -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,²⁰ 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	eulějg
euljewěji-, be destitute	euljewějg.

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, *eulětg. In fact, however, we would expect this short i to delete in this environment as long as the preceding vowel was long. Thus teglēji+g $\xrightarrow{(BJ)}$ 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 euljewěji+g \rightarrow euljewějg, 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) $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \check{v}j ______ g,$

and to specify that euljewěji- undergoes (JE). 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) V ----> [+long] / _____ ji.

This must be a minor rule, since it does not work in general (cf. the 3sg-3pl transitive ending -ǎjig, not *ājig; 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 ==> 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 (nastesultiql); whereas those stems which appear to mutate the stem less predictably in the inanimate singular (e.g., gaḡsi-, gaḡteg), that is, those stems whose alternations apparently would be better handled by the morphological component than by the phonological component of the grammar, seem not to allow the formation of the semantic inanimate plural on the formal plural stem (gaḡteql; *gaḡsultiql); 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 (geḡji-, geḡtəql, *geḡjultiql). One of these in particular is instructive: getū-, pl. stem getūlti-; inan.: getueg, getueql, getuātiql. 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:

welaġapi-	welaġapi-g	welaġapi-nugw
gaġsi-	gaġte-g	gaġte-nugw
wegāy-	wegāy-g	wegāy-nugw
sēs paġanēy-	sēs paġanē-g	sēs paġanēy-nugw
gisgajēy-	gisgatte-g	gisgatte-nugw
tep:isēy-	tep:iste-g	tep:iste-nugw
aljā-	aljā-ġ	aljā-nugw (<u>sic</u> in data; <u>?aljānugw</u>)
nūġwā-	nūġwā-ġ	nūġwā-nugw
amalga-	amalga-ġ	amalga-nugw
moġpe-	moġpe-g	moġpe-nugw
wetma-	wetma-ġ	wetma-nugw
gesnugwa-	gesnugwa-ġ	gesnugwa-wnugw (<u>sic</u> in data; <u>gesnugwanugw</u>)
egnutmueu-	egnutmue-g	egnutmue-nugw
eliesi-	elia-ġ	elia-nugw.

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 + ũ + g as the form underlying the

negative, we apparently find in each case inan. stem + n + ũ + 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 phonological features, in order to keep these minor rules from becoming too complicated. We have then the rule

(JG') $\emptyset \text{ ----} \rightarrow n / \text{ ______ } + \check{u} + g,^{21}$

and (JG') must obviously precede $t \text{ --} \rightarrow g$, 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) gel̄usi-	gelul-g	gelul-t̄nugw
teligi-	telig-g	telig-t̄nugw
nastesin-	nastes-g	nastes-t̄nugw
telgwijin-	telgwit-g	telgwit-t̄nugw
taligsugul-	taligsug-gw	taligsugw-t̄nugw
nepm-	nep-g	nep-t̄nugw
ii) welialgamgusi-	welialgamgu-gw	welialgamgu-t̄nugw
etlt̄toḡsi-	etlt̄ā-ḡ	etlt̄ā-ḡ-t̄nugw
telgil-	telgī-g	telgī-g-t̄nugw
milāsi-	milās̄-g	milās̄-g-t̄nugw
naḡāsi-	naḡās̄-g	naḡās̄-g-t̄nugw
iii) eym-	'eteg	ey-g-t̄nugw
i'gātaḡu-	i'gātaḡu-gw	i'gātaḡue-nugw.

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 ----> t / [+cons] _____ + n + u +,

and (CB'b) must follow (JG'). Note wegāynugw, 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. Etltāġ, negative etltāġtnugw, can be explained if we assume that the word was misheard, and is in fact etltāġ:, that is, etltāġ+g, which appears more likely considering the animate stem etltogsi- and the fact that numerous inanimate stems are formed by dropping -si from the animate stem. We apparently cannot assume that welialgamqugw ends in a long g (i.e., that the stem ends in g), for then we would expect the negative *welialgamgugtnugw 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 -si so often deletes in irregular stems):

$$(JC) \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ +cont \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ -animate \end{array} \right] + ,$$

then we would get the right results as follows:

welialgamqusi+u+g $\xrightarrow{(JB'), (JG')}$ welialgamqus+n+u+g $\xrightarrow{(CB'b)}$

welialgamqus+t+n+u+g $\xrightarrow{(JC)}$ welialgamqu+t nugw. Note

that this ordering will also explain why we get a t inserted

in telgigt nugw: when rule (CB'b) applies, the word is

telgil+nugw $\text{-----} \rightarrow$ telgil+t nugw, and only then does the l

delete.

Notice that this order of the rules (JB') before

(JC) contradicts the order necessary to handle nastesin phonologically. Several possibilities present themselves:

a) the -in in nastesin drops morphologically (not at all impossible, since the morpheme 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);

or 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 iāsi-, there is no obvious way of inserting the t before nugw. It is not possible to assume that these stems undergo mutation in the inanimate to iāsəg-, for a possible inanimate dual of milāsi-, say, is milāsəgl, without the long 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 [-cons] segment. We will assume that this morpheme iāsi 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 telgigtugw and milāsəgtugw, there is ostensibly an epenthetic g before the 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 ə in such verbs as milāsəg, 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 i'gāta[^]quenugw; or else mutated differently, as in the case of eygt[^]nugw (presumably eym+u+q ^{(DB), (BAa), (JG), (CB'b)} -----> eym+tnugw ^(JC) -----> ey+tnugw ^(CE') -----> eygt[^]nugw). Note that the only minor rule which eygt[^]nugw undergoes is (JC), whereas in the positive, 'eteq, 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 eygt[^]nugw, since then we could not account for, say, ga[^]tenugw instead of *ga[^]tnugw. (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:

welaḡapultnugul	welaḡapi+l̄ti+n+u+g+l
elugutnugul	elugue+t̄ti+n+u+g+l
naḡanāmātnugul	naḡanāmā+t̄ti+n+u+g+l,

we see that we need a rule deleting the i here. Words like ntinin show we must have a morpheme boundary in the environment of the rule; awgtin (< augti+n)--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 / _____ +l#. 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 morpheme boundary. We can state this, but now observe the following: if # has the features $\begin{bmatrix} -FB \\ +WB \end{bmatrix}$, we must make the final feature complex in the rule read in part $\begin{bmatrix} \langle -FB \rangle \\ \langle +WB \rangle \end{bmatrix}$, whereas if # has the features $\begin{bmatrix} +FB \\ +WB \end{bmatrix}$, we must make the final feature complex simply $\begin{bmatrix} +FB \\ \langle +WB \rangle \end{bmatrix}$. This is only a small notational argument, but it gives some slight evidence, "intuitive" if you will, for # having the features $\begin{bmatrix} +FB \\ +WB \end{bmatrix}$, which in fact corresponds with our intuitive feeling that word boundaries are, a fortiori, formative boundaries 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:

$$(DG') \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{long} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \\ \langle -\text{nasal} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{FB} \\ \langle +\text{WB} \rangle \end{bmatrix} .$$

Note that (DG') must apply after \bar{a} -metathesis, because of militānugul < milāsī+ti+n+uḡul.

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 elūēwianugw and pemianugw:

$$(BD:) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{cases} \text{a) } \underline{\quad} (\text{u})\text{ti} \\ \text{b) } \text{i} \underline{\quad} ((\text{n})\text{u})+\text{g}. \end{cases}$$

See p.246 below for a better statement of this rule.

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, -ās
2s	tes
3s. an	tew
3s. inan.	tew
12dual	tesnugw
13dual	tesnen
2dual	toḡsap
3dual an.	taḡ
3dual inan.	tal
12plural	(1)ti+tesnugw
13plural	(1)ti+tesnen
2plural	(1)ti+toḡsap
3plural an.	(1)ti+taḡ
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

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 -ūgw, suggesting -tesn- as the "future morpheme." But the 13dual is tesnen, whereas the 13present is -eg. Again, the 2dual present is oġ, which we also find in the corresponding future togsġp, 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 (BC') and (BD') would derive the plurals taġ 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 ostensibly deleted in some of the 1s 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 3inan. 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., moqpetew--he, it is swollen. Very often, however, we find a t inserted in the inanimate which is lacking in the animate third person form: eulējitew--he will be poor--, eulējtətew--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 inanimate future ending -tew is always identical to that which precedes the inanimate negative -nugw. 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, *tlgiltətew instead of the correct tlgiltew--he'll be that

size (cf. gelult@tew--it'll be good, gelulg--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 g is the inanimate ending), or as close as adjacent to it (in, e.g., nastest@tew--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 g 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) $\emptyset \rightarrow [t] / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{anim} \end{bmatrix} + \text{_____} [+seg]_3 \#.$

The specification $[+seg]_3$ is necessary to avoid getting the t inserted in the simple present inanimate, e.g., nastesg, nastesgl--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 tew. This gives us the sequence Ct+t, which by the shwa-insertion rule discussed earlier (see Contraction chapter, pp. 83ff.) becomes Ctət, 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 tə.

It is noteworthy that the t which recurs throughout the future endings is never changed to g where other t's are. Thus, nastesintew--he will be caught--, not *nastesingew; but compare nastesing--he is caught < nastesin+ti. There are two possible ways to explain this

phenomenon. Either the $t \rightarrow g$ rule must be restricted (to, say, only those \underline{t} 's which begin a morpheme at most two segments long, cf. nastesingiq--they are caught--nastesin+ti+g), or else the \underline{t} of the future endings is predictable, by a rule occurring after $t \rightarrow g$. This would also help provide some basis for explaining the fact that the \underline{t} is occasionally missing in the 1s future forms. We do in fact have a t -insertion rule, (CB'a), which must occur after the $t \rightarrow j$ rule, and therefore a fortiori after the $t \rightarrow g$ rule. Rule (CB'b), we note in passing, could not be used to insert this \underline{t} , since it must insert the \underline{t} before the future-ending \underline{t} in, say, nastes~~stew~~--it'll be caught--, and the rule could hardly insert two \underline{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 $t \rightarrow g$ rule is the 3an. morpheme ti, which, it so happens, is also the only inflectional or conjugational morpheme beginning with \underline{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)tg, respectively. Furthermore, the fact that the e also changes to a in the inanimate future (e.g., luēwiatew, 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 pemāti- < pemtiesiti-; nor can we use the feature [-singular], since the rule does not apply in the dual, say, eluēwieweg--we (exc.) are crazy. The rule, then, must be stated

$$(BD') \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{cases} \text{a) } \underline{\quad\quad} & (\text{u})\text{ti} \\ \text{b) } \text{i} \underline{\quad\quad} & + [-\text{animate}]. \end{cases}$$

The intransitive imperative in Micmac is of three types, corresponding to singular, dual, and plural "subject."²² We give below some representative intransitive imperatives:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Imp.s.</u>	<u>Imp.dual</u>	<u>Imp.pl.</u>
welaġapi-, be tipsy	wlaġapi	wlaġapigw	wlaġapultigw
telgil-, be that size	tlgilēn	tlgilugw	tlgilultigw
gesnugwa-, be sick	ġsnugwa	ġsnugwawgw	ġsnugutigw
naġanāmā-, drink	n?ġanāma	n?ġanāwawgw	n?ġanāmātigw
moġpe-, be swollen	moġpa	moġpegw	moġpōtigw
eluēwiē-, be caazy	luēwia	luēwiegw	luēwiātigw
mil+iāsi-, play	milāsi	milātigw	militāgw
el+iēsi-, go	lia	lātigw	lītāgw
welmōtu-, be good	wlmōtu	wlmōtugw	wlmōtūtigw
alām-, swim	alāēn	alāmugw	
eym-, be (there)	īēn	īmugw	īmūtigw

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Neg.Imp.s.</u>	<u>Neg.Imp.dual</u>	<u>Neg.Imp.pl.</u>
welaġapi-	wlaġapiw	wlaġapinew	wlaġapultnew
telgil-	tlgilu	tlinew	tlgilultnew
gesnugwa-	ġsnugwaw	ġsnugwanew	ġsnugutnew
naġanāmā-	n?ġanāwaw	n?ġanāmanew	n?ġanāmātnew
moġpe-	moġpew	moġpenew	moġp(1)tnew
eluēwiē-	luēwiew	luēwiēnew	luēwiātnew
mil+iāsi-	milāsiw	milātnew	militānew
el+iēsi-	liew	lātnew	lītānew
welmōtu-	wlmōtu	wlmōtnew	wlmōtūtnew
alām-	alāmu	alāmnew	
eym-	īmu	īmnew	īmūtnew.

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

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Singular	∅ (<u>ēn</u> if stem ends in a consonant)	∅ + 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, iēn, from alām+ēn, im+ēn). The ēn never appears in the negative. The non-singular ugw (cf. 2nonsingular morpheme oġ, perhaps also from uġ) is replaced by ne in the negative. The u of ugw becomes w post-vocally, and is then optionally deleted by rule (IB') (see above), usually so after long vowels. The post-t i 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, moġpe- 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 a (replaced by \emptyset in the negative), it would be much simpler to account for the ubiquitous appearance of a instead of e in the positive singular imperative (by rule (DC); see Possessive chapter below). The 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-- <u>ǎ</u> ,	non-singular-- <u>uq</u>
Negative:	singular-- <u>\emptyset + w</u>	non-singular-- <u>ne + w</u> .

These endings show a sort of parallel double suppletion-- \emptyset for a, and ne for uq.

We will further discuss imperatives in the Transitive chapter, pp. 310ff.



CHAPTER V

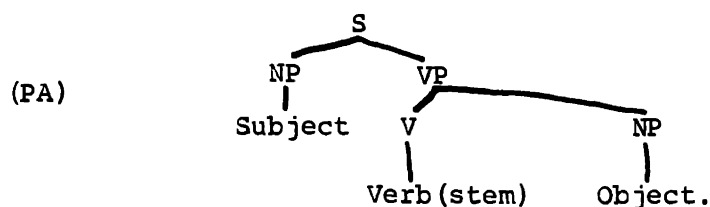
TRANSITIVE VERBS



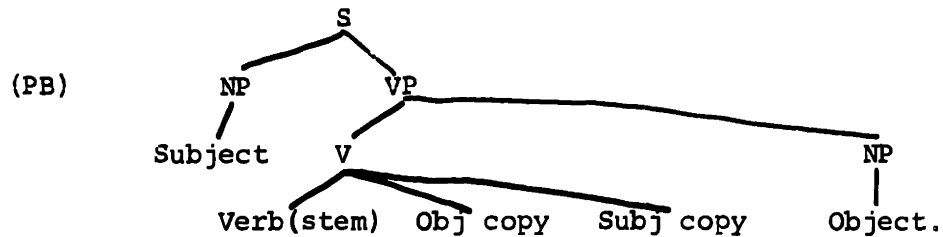
In the transitive conjugation, verbs are inflected differently depending on both the subject and the object. Thus "you s. carry me" is pemālin and "I carry you s." is pemālul, (stem pemāl-, endings -in--you-me and -ul-- I-you, respectively).¹ Furthermore, the stem is in general different for animate and inanimate objects. Thus, pemā-l-t--you s. carry him--, taġam-t--you s. hit him--, pemā-tū-n--you s. carry it--, taġ-tm-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:

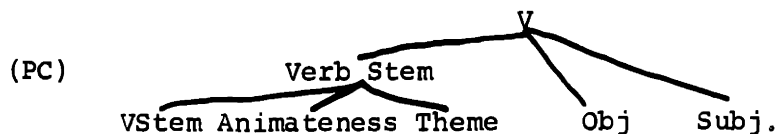


We wish at some point to arrive at the following structure from (PA) above:



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.²

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:



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: -tũ-, -tm-, -m-, or \emptyset (for the stem -ege- only). Thus:³ minigwatu--hide-- (an. minigwalg); amallugwatm--decorate up-- (an. amallugwalg); metēm--strike, hit (unexpectedly)-- (an. metēg); āsisege-y--throw(it) over-- (an. āsisaḡalg). We see the impossibility of predicting the inanimate marker on phonological grounds from the following pairs:

miniwgalg/minigwatu
 amallugwalg/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;
 aḡwilaḡ/aḡwilḡm--look around for
 elaḡ/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 -v̄, and -m- does not occur alone after stems ending in -v or m. A rare positive regularity is that stems ending in -g (-ġ) 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: menōtu--I take things off (e.g., clothes from a line)--; menōtm--I take it off by unconsciously friggig 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. pemālg, inan. pemātu, we see that the inanimate ostensibly has -tu- added to the stem pemā-; the animate, then, is pemā(+l)g (g 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 l (cf. telgil+tew). Thus, the l 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: pemāl^lg (pemātu, an. marker l), --an?gunā-^g (an?gunā-m, an. marker \emptyset); therefore, we wish to postulate at least two animate markers, -l- and \emptyset , and the stem must be marked as to which it takes. Observe that l typically occurs after stems ending in a vowel (but not all of these, e.g., an?gunā-^g; and not only these, e.g., nasōtl^g).

Many stems end in -m, for example caḡam^g (\leftarrow tagm+^g; taḡtm); wipem-g (wipetm); gesgēlm-^g (gesgēitm); aligtesm-^g (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 \emptyset .⁵

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):

<u>An: -l-</u>	<u>Inan.: -tu-</u>
pemā-l-, carry	pemā-tu-
e'lip ^g amū-l-, make slide	elip ^g amū-tu-

elō-l-, carry a lot of (s.t.) to	elō-tu-
ajipju-l-, urge (to do s.t.)	ajipju-tu-, hope (it) will happen
mimugwa-l-, hide	mimugwa-tu-
pēt-l-, pētū-l- [unique], catch (fish)	pētū-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: ∅

aligtesm-, shatter
getan- [unique], hunt (for)
ēn- [unique], lose
nemi- (nemī-g, nemī-oĝ), see
geji- [unique], know
esgipe-, wait for
nēpā- [unique], kill
elugwā-, make (s.o., s.t.) work
pegwatua- (pegwataĝ, pegwatu-oĝ), cause

An: -l-

amallugwa-l-, decorate up
gelu-l-, talk to
wetĝo-l- [unique], forbid, prevent (verbally)

Inan.: -tu-

aligtes-tu-
getan?-tu-
ēn?-tu-
nemi-tu-
gēy-tu-
esgipe-tu-
nēpa-tu-
elugwe-tu-
pegwa-tu-

Inan.: -tm-

amallugwa-tm-
gelu-tm-, ask for
wetĝo-tm-

<u>An: ∅</u>	<u>Inan.: -tm-</u>
taġm-, hit	taġ [^] -tm-
aīmim-, curse at	aīmi-tm-
assum-, be the boss of	assu-tm-
wipem-, sleep with	wipe-tm-
mussgwo ^o m- [unique], lick	mussgwa-tm-
malig ^o m- [unique], mock, laugh at	maligu-tm-
gesgēlm-, hate	gesgēl-tm-
an?gitēlm- [- <u>tēlm-</u> unique], think of	an?gitē-tm-
apgwep- [- <u>p-</u> ; inan. <u>tm-</u> , unique], bite loose	apgwe-tm-
alam- [- <u>am-</u> unique], look around for	alap-tm-
apoġonmua- (apoġonmaġ [^] , apoġonmu-oġ [^]), help	apoġonma-tm-
an?gwēywa- (an?gwēya-ġ [^] , an?gwēyw-oġ [^]), look after	an?gō-tm-
gisēywa-, finally get the best of	gisō-tm-
euleywa-, mistreat, abuse	eulō-tm-
asgaywa-, hurt, damage	asgō-tm-
āsutmessew-, pray for	āsutmessewa-tm-
elugwow- [unique], work for	elugwowa-tm-
witlugwow- [unique], work with	?witlugwa-tm-
<u>An: -l-</u>	<u>Inan.: -m-</u>
atlas [̄] mūt-l-, give a rest to	atlas [̄] mūt-m-
nassiġwa-l- [unique], scrape	nassiġu-m-

<u>An: ∅</u>	<u>Inan.: -m-</u>
metē-, strike, hit unexpectedly	metē-m-
an?gunā-, cover	an?gunā-m-
amigwen-, smear up	amigwen-m-
gelpil-, tie (with a rope)	gelpil-m-
ē(w)u- [unique], use	ē(w)u-m-
tēp- [unique], deserve	tēp-m-, be able to afford
menwīg-, take off the list	menwīg-m-, copy
tem?s-, cut (intentionally)	tem?s-m-
temsaġ-, partition off	temsaġ-m-
gepijoġ- [unique], plug up, seal	gepijoġo-m-
nūg- (nūgeg), soften up	nūgu-m-
aIgwilua- (aIgwila-ġ, aIgwilu-oġ), look all over for	algwil-m-
mestañmua-, have everything someone had	mestan-m-, have every- thing, all of (s.t.)
amasgipñ- [unique], torture	amasgipñ-m-

<u>An: -l-</u>	<u>Inan.: ∅</u>
āsis-aġa-l- [-aġa-/-ege- unique], throw over	āsis-ege-y.

Several of these alternations bear further comment.

The animate/inanimate pairs pēt_l-/pēt_u-tu-,
mussgwa_m-/mussgwa_{tm}-, malig_m-/maligu_{tm}- show that in
certain cases a lax vowel is reduced in the animate before
a sonorant consonant. Such stems as wēt_u- --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 pētul- for the first stem).

In taġam- (taġ-tm-), temsāġa-m- (temsāġ-), gepijoġo-m- (gepijoġ-), and nūgu-m- (nūgəg), the vowel before the m in each case arises from vowel-copying. Consider taġam-. The inanimate (taġtm-) 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 --> taġam+tm --> *taġatm, 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 ugwpign--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 gawatg^wu), 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, wlaḡapiās--I'll be tipsy-- from welaḡapi- < uel-), which must of course precede geminate segment agglomeration (cf. ug:wāytes--I'll get mad--from wegāy-); and after geminate segment agglomeration we must have another g-rounding rule (to get, say, ug:wāytes, and not *ug:āytes). 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 [+round] if either segment agglomerated is [+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 g, and g-flattening 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 sipta^hgaytājig--they stretch). o is generally not copied as such before vowels, either; on the other hand, we find such words as

māntuōgwom	devils' abode
wowg:wis	fox
gō ^h wey	what
mo ^h g(:)wā	no
o ^h gwatg	north wind
o ^h wat	he lands,

but none such as *gōgey, *mo^hgā, *o^hgatg, 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

elugwey	I work
elugwatm	I fix it
ga ^h tugwa ^h g	thunder
'āsugwe, tnia ^h g	the wind is coming the opposite way
'ātugwalg	I tell a story about him
pugwelg	there's a lot of it
ug:witl	his mother (cf. <u>ngij</u> -- my mother)
ug:wat	his foot (cf. <u>ngat</u> --my foot)
lapugwan	ship
pugwales	swallow
n?sugwis	my aunt;

yet we find no such words as *elugey, *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 o 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

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 \text{(DB)} & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} & [-\text{unit}] \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{cons}] \\ [- \text{voc}] \end{array} \right\} \\
 & 1 & 2 & 3 \quad 4 \\
 & & & \implies 1 \quad 2 \quad \begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \quad 4
 \end{array}$$

g-rounding

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 \text{(EH)} & \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} & [-\text{unit}] \quad \left[\left\langle \begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right\rangle \right] \\
 & 1 & 2 & 3 \quad 4 \\
 & & & \implies 1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle 4.
 \end{array}$$

Recalling that (EH) follows geminate segment agglomeration, then, we can explain the contraction alternation

wāḡjuigātu/ug:(w)ajuiqātutes--I bend/will bend it--, presumably from the underlying stem weagtiuiqā+tu-. 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) weagāj- contraction → wāḡaj-
 g-insertion → wgāḡaj- glide-revocalization, g.s.a. →
ug:aj- (EH) → ug:wajuiqātu. Furthermore, if vowel-copying also follows ā-metathesis, we could explain the hitherto troublesome fact that we get vowel-copying in the 3inanimate plural forms of āsi/iesi verbs: -tāḡal.

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 apusḡāḡign--key. The underlying form could be apusagign or apusaugign, which would become apusāḡign and apusoḡign, respectively; then unstressed-V-deletion would apply, giving apusḡign 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-; nepā-/nepa-tu-; elugwā-/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 (nemioḡ)/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 ŭ disappears and is replaced by an ǎ. Thus: 2s-1s gwilu-in, but 1s-3s gwila-ġ. We will claim below that the theme for third person object is ǎ, which is normally deleted in the present, except in the 3-3 forms. Now, it would be tempting here to suppose that the ǎ is the third-person-object theme which shows up after u and before a consonant. Furthermore, we recall that ǣ becomes ǎ (usually ultimately \emptyset), except after diffuse vowels and glides. Thus, if we changed the ǣ-deletion rule to apply only before consonants (note that it so far only applies to ǣpni), and assumed that the theme is ǣ instead of a, we could apparently account for the facts, with some sort of ŭ-deletion rule. The 3s.-3s. form gwiluatl, however, shows that this is apparently wrong, since we would expect *gwilat1 with the above formulation, unless the ending is a+X+t1, where X is some diffuse non-consonant, and the ǣ-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 \mathfrak{R} -deletion rule. On the positive side, however, this might explain why the third-person-object theme appears in the ending -atl, 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 ātiti.

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., apoḡonmaḡ, apoḡonmatm-) show up with an ǎ before the inanimate ending, which would be otherwise inexplicable. Most of these verbs (e.g., gwilm-), however, have no such ǎ in the inanimate, and the statement of the a-deletion rule would be problematical, considering the class of verbs with a vowel (ě) before the wa: elugwowg:w (← elugwewtq), but inanimate elugwowa-tm- --there does not seem to be any principled way to delete the a in, say the 1-3s. form elugwowg: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) u ----> ∅ / _____ ă [+cons].

The a-dropping rule deletes ă after ũ and before a vowel:

(KB) ă ----> ∅ / ũ _____ [+voc].

Now, the 3-3 form gwiluatl shows that (KA) must precede (KB), since this comes from gwilua+atl, and if the rules applied in the reverse order we would expect *gwilatl. We have pointed out above that the deletion of ă in āsutmessew+q:w must be by a minor rule, because of āsutmessewatm-, or else this alternation is morphological. Also, the verb em?ġatua--lend to--, 3s-1 em?ġatuit, shows that the u/t____i-deletion rule must precede rule (KB), since we would otherwise expect *em?ġatit. 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?ġatit for em?ġatuit < *em?ġatu+it 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 gisēyaḏ, 2-1 gisēywin, inan. gisō-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 ŭ, the t or -tm- becomes the only consonant before which -ēyŭ- 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 gisēyw+t (< gisēywa+t) to gisōt- must allow a morpheme boundary between the y and the w; cf. ulōti--goodness-- < ulēy+tuti < welēy+tuti.

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- (-ewa-) may be some sort of indirect object morpheme, perhaps related to ēu- --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: etlogsm[^]--I cook it, etlogsmag[^]--I cook it for him.

Among the rest of the alternations are several irregular types. Nasōt-l- -- to dress, may be exemplary of a rare type of combination of tu+l --> t-l- meaning "do something habitually," or the like; cf. nasōtu--I dress it. Several, such as alūpal-/alūptu- 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 pegisu-l-/pegisi-tu- and ēn-/ēn?-tu- show vowel quality or quantity changes in the stem. Some, such as etlāgipu-l/etlāgit-tu-, apgwep-/apgwe-tm-, āsisada-l-/āsis-ege-, and an?gi-tēlm-/an?gi-tē-tm- (cf. gesgēlm-/gesgēl-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, mtñ--ten (obsolete)/pituiptñagan--1000, mgasn/əpgə'sn--shoe, mgign/əpgign--hook, əpgumi/(Pacifique) mgumi--ice. In amasgipñ-/amasgipñm- there is an alternation between a long and short final n in the stem. We discussed the alternation in geji-/gēy-tu- in the Contraction chapter.

Endings

The endings we wish to account for are the following (added, e.g., to the stem taġam- --hit--, inan. taġ-tm-):⁶

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>
2s-me	in	iwun	it̄p	ites
2pl-me	ioġ	iwoġ	ioġop	itoġsop
he-me	it	igw	ip	itew
they-me	ijig	īgw	ipñ	itag
2s-13	ieg	iweg	iegəp	itesnen
2pl-13	ieg	iweg	iegəp	itesnen
he-13	{(i)namət {(ugwsieg)	(i)namət (ugswieg)	(i)namətəp (ugwsiegəp)	(i)namətew (ugwsitesnen)
they-13	{(i)naməjig {(ugwsiegig)	(i)naməjig (ugswiegig)	(i)namətəpñ (ugwsiegəpñ)	(i)namətəġ (ugwsitesnen)
I-2s	ul	ul(n)u	ulap, n̄ap	ultes
13-2s	uleg	ul(n)ueg	ulegəp, n̄egəp	ultesnen
he-2s	{[ulg(w)] {əsg	ulnugw -----	[ulgəp] əsgəp	ultew -----

they-2s	{ āsgig ----- }	----- ulnūgw	θsgθp̄n -----	----- ultaġ
he-12	{ ulgw (ugwsīgw) }	ulnugw (ugwsig:w)	ulgup (ugwsīgup)	ulgutew (ugwsitesnugw)
they-12	{ ulgwig (ugwsīgwig) }	ulnūgw (ugwsig:wig)	ulgup̄n (ugwsīgup̄n)	ulgutaġ (ugwsitesnugw)
I-2pl	uloġ	ul(n)uoġ	uloġop, nōġop	ultoġsθp
13-2pl	uleg	ul(n)ueg	ulegθp	ultesnen
he-2pl	(ugwsioġ)	(ugwsioġ)	(ugwsioġop)	(ugwsioġsθp)
they-2pl	(ugwsioġwig)	(ugwsioġwig)	(ugwsioġop̄n)	(ugwsioġsθp)
I-him	(θ)g	aġ	(θ)gθp	ās
2s-him	(θ)t	awgt	(θ)tθp	ates
12-him	ug:w	ag:w	ug:up	atesnugw
13-him	(θ)gāt:	aġat:	(θ)gāt:θp	atesnen
2pl-him	oġw	awoġ	oġop	atoġsθp
he-him	atl	agul	apnig	atal
they-him	ātital	ātigul	ātipnig	ātital
I-them	(θ)gig	aġig	(θ)gθpnig	ās
2s-them	(θ)jig	awgjig	(θ)tθpnig	ates
12-them	ug:wig	ag:wig	ug:upnig	atesnugw
13-them	(θ)gāj:ig	aġaj:ig	(θ)gāt:θpnig	atesnen
2pl-them	oġwig	awoġ(w)ig	oġopnig	atoġsθp
he-them	ajig	agwig	apnig	ataġ
they-them	ātijig	ātigul	ātipnig	ātitaġ.

The forms with inanimate subject are identical to those with animate third person subjects, except that plural subjects add -l instead of -(i)g to the singular subject form, for all but the third person objects and 1s object, which are:

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>
it-him	əj	ugugw	(ə)təp̄n̄	ugutew
they-him	{ əjl əgwij	----- ugugwl	ətəp̄n̄ -----	----- ugutaḡ, ugutal
it-them	əgwītij	əgwītiwg:w	(ə)gwītip̄n̄	(u)gutaḡ
they-them	{ əgwītij, əgwītitl	əgwītig:ul	gwītipneg	ugutaḡ
it-me	ig	inugw	igəp	itew
they-me	igl	inugul	igəp̄n̄	ital.

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

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>
I-it	i	u	ap	(t(ə))tes
2s-it	n	ūn	ūtəp	(t(ə))tes
2pl-it	oḡ	uoḡ	oḡop	(t(ə))toḡsəp
l3-it	eg	ueg	egəp	(t(ə))tesnen
l2-it	ūgw	ug:w	ūgup	(t(ə))tesnugw
he, it-it	(t(ə))g	ugw	(t(ə))gəp	(t(ə))tew
they (an., inan,)-it	ītij	ītig:w, ūgw	ītip	(t(ə))taḡ

I-them	an	uan	ap̄n	=sing.
2s.-them	n̄	ūn	ūt̄p̄n	"
2pl-them	oḡol	uoḡol	oḡop̄n	"
13-them	egl	uegl	egḡp̄n	"
12-them	ūgul	ug:ul	ūgup̄n	"
he-them	(t(ḡ))gl	ugul	(t(ḡ))gḡp̄n	(t(ḡ))tew
they (an., inan, - them	ītitl	ītig:ul	ītip̄n	(t(ḡ))taḡ
it-them	(t(ḡ))gl	ugul	(t(ḡ))gḡp̄n	(t(ḡ))tew, (t(ḡ))tal.

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

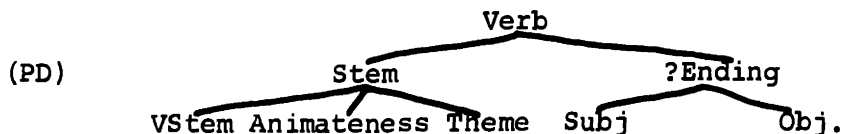
Certain regularities are observable within these forms. First, virtually all forms with second person (2s., 2pl., or 12) objects begin with, or at least have an alternant form beginning with, ul. Secondly, all forms with non-second-person first-person objects (viz., 1s and 13) begin with, or have an 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 uniformly 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 oġ), 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 uloġ. 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 ātītī (from a

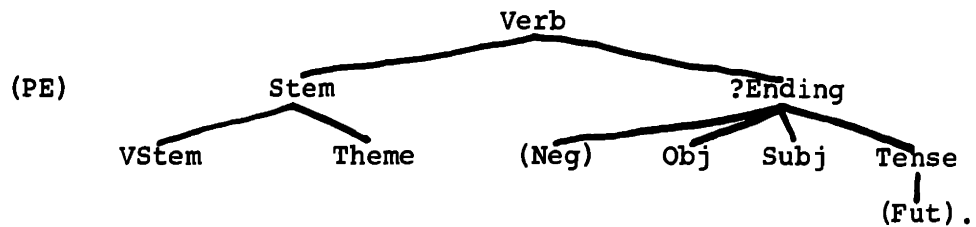
[theme] + tui [plural (of the third person subject)] + ti [third person] + l [obviative marker]). We are therefore forced to postulate, at some point in the derivation of transitive verb endings, one of the two following orders: [Stem + Theme + Subj + Obj] or [Stem + Theme + Obj + Subj]. Of course, again, 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 u 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 ātiti 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

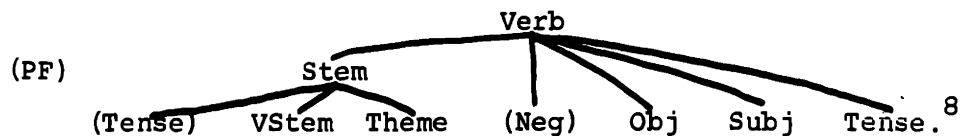


In fact, the theme cannot even be separated from the VStem (that is, from the animateness indicator adjoined to the VStem, see above) by a +-boundary; that is, there must

either be an \neq -boundary before it, or no boundary at all (the \neq -boundary deleted, let us say, by a morphological rule). This is evident because certain stems (such as pemā--carry) take an l-augment with animate objects (i.e., pemā-l); yet the i theme for first person objects does not necessarily delete in these cases, as expected by rule (FD). In fact, the 3s-13 ending (i)nam₁t indicates that the \neq -boundary following the theme may delete as well, since otherwise we would expect this ending universally to be simply nam₁t. As mentioned above, the negative morpheme intervenes between the nodes labelled "Stem" and "Ending" in diagram (PD). In certain irregular forms we note the absence of the negative morpheme: 13-3s ag₁t:, negative ag₁t: (note spirantization of the g, impossible with an intervening u, cf. 12-3s. negative ag:w), future atesnen; 3s-13 inam₁t, negative inam₁t, future inam₁tew, 3pl-13 inam₁jig. The -tew in the 3s-13 future can only be the 3s future morpheme, which implies that nam₁ 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:



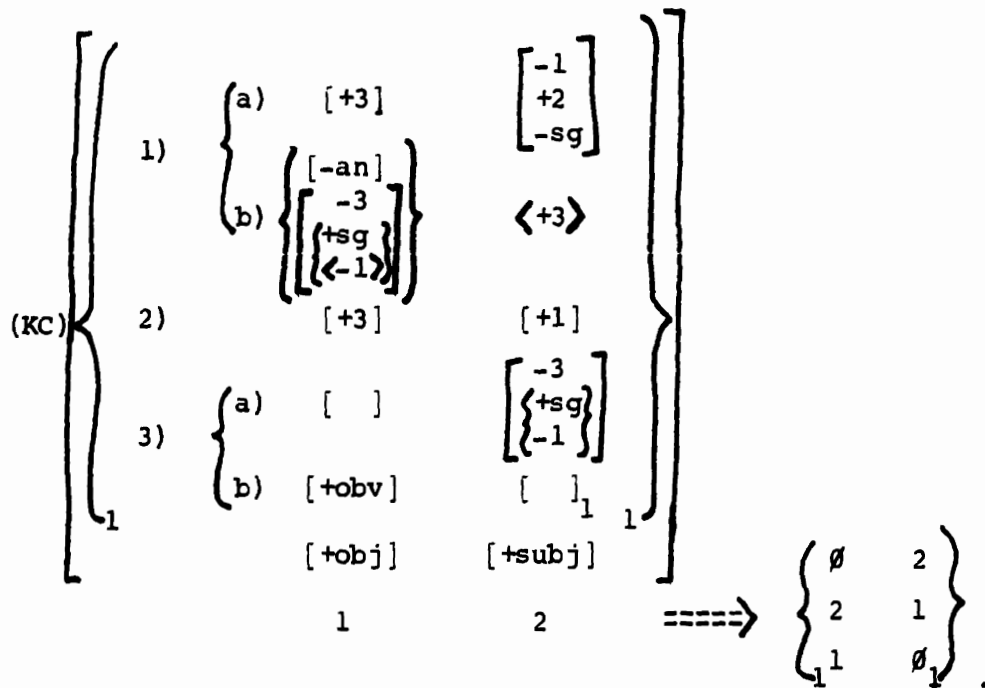
This is evident because nam is inserted not just in the appropriate Obj slot, but for Neg Obj as well, if Neg appears. Likewise, tew substitutes for Subj Fut, as discussed in the previous chapter. Now, the future may affect the beginning of the word (contraction) as well as the end (the future endings). 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.⁷ 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 l 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)1)a) 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 $\begin{bmatrix} +3 \\ -1 \end{bmatrix}$ -subject form in (KC)1)b) does not occur; apparently that form is always substituted for by the quasi-passive -ugwsioŋ. (KC)2) then reverses the order of the object and subject markers in the 1s-3, 13-3, and 12-3 forms. Then (KC)3)a) deletes the subject marker in the 1-2pl, 2-13, and 2s-3 forms; while (KC)3)b) 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).

$$(KD) \quad \langle \text{Neg} \rangle_a \begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ -2 \\ +3 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } [\text{nam}\mathring{a}] / \langle \overset{\vee}{i} \rangle_b \\ \text{(b) } [\text{g}\mathring{a}t] / \overset{\vee}{a} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} -1 \\ -2 \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}, \quad a \Rightarrow b$$

$$(KE) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ +2 \\ -3 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [\langle u \rangle \text{gu}] / \langle a \rangle \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} -1 \\ -2 \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}.$$

These rules, then, derive the endings we want.

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

$$(KF) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +2 \\ +\text{Theme} \end{bmatrix} [-\text{Neg}] \begin{bmatrix} +2 \\ +\text{sing} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +3 \\ -1 \end{bmatrix} \text{====} \Rightarrow / \mathring{a} \text{sg} / / \text{---} [-\text{Fut}].$$

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):

$$(KG) \quad \text{Theme} \dashrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+2] / \text{---} [+2] \\ [+1] / \text{---} [+1] \\ [+3] \text{ No} / \text{---} [+3] \\ \text{No} / \text{---} [+subj] \end{array} \right\} / \text{---} [+obj]$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(KH)} \quad \text{No} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 \text{a) } [+P1] / \text{ ----- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+an] \\ [-sg] \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-an] \\ (-[]) \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -1 \\ +3 \\ +pl \end{array} \right\} \\
 \text{b) } \left[\begin{array}{l} -P1 \\ -sg \end{array} \right] / \text{ ----- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-an] \\ [-sg] \end{array} \right\} \\
 \text{c) } \left[\begin{array}{l} +P1 \\ +sg \end{array} \right] / \text{ ----- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +subj \\ +pl \\ +sg \end{array} \right\} \\
 \text{d) } \emptyset
 \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(KI)} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 \text{a) } 2 \text{ -----} \rightarrow [u1] \\
 \text{b) } 1 \text{ -----} \rightarrow [i] \\
 \text{c) } 3 \text{ -----} \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle [ugwi] \rangle \\ [a] \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} / \text{ ----- } (\text{No}) [+an] \langle [-an] \rangle
 \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(KJ)} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 \text{a) } [+P1] \text{ -----} \rightarrow \left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle 2^1 \rangle \\ \langle 1^i \rangle \end{array} \right\} \text{tui} / \langle 2^+ \text{-ltui-plural} \rangle \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +obj \\ -an_1 \end{array} \right\} \right. \\
 \text{b) } \left[\begin{array}{l} -P1 \\ -sg \end{array} \right] \text{ -----} \rightarrow [i] \\
 \text{c) } [+sg] \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset.
 \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

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 ls-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 $[i,y]/+ \text{---} +C$ -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 g, whereas the 2s-3 form is t, never g. 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.⁹ Perhaps this form is simply marked as an exception to the t --> g rule. Otherwise, the g-insertion rule would have to precede 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 ʔ; and that rule (HE) is more general, being a "neighborhood" rule, changing n to t before ʔ or after ʔ+(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 ulg:w by unstressed V-deletion. The 12-3 form, a+ūgū^v+ti after (KB), becomes a+ūgugw by the same rules as the previous form, and then becomes ūg:w by unstressed V-deletion and a-deletion. The 13-3 form, a+gət+ti after (KD), becomes gət: by a-deletion and final-vowel-dropping. The 1-2s form, ul+ti from the rules, becomes ul 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 -ītij, 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 ītij 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, *pemāt and *pemāteg, instead of pemātu and pēmātűeg, respectively.

In the I-it form, the i would delete after the m or ű of the normal inanimate marker, but stays in -ege^ty. 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 ītijig by t --> j, u/t___i-deletion, and (FK); but we get ītij instead. The verb getguni^ttijig 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 -l. We recall that in the animate third person plural object forms, there is also the animate plural marker -g 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 -g (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):

$$(KK) \quad \text{Num} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Plu} \\ \langle -\text{an} \rangle \end{array} \right] / ([+\text{obj}]) \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right. \left[\begin{array}{l} +3 \\ -1 \\ \langle -\text{an} \rangle \end{array} \right] ([+\text{subj}]) \text{ ----}$$

$$(KL) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a) } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Plu} \\ -\text{an} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [1] \\ \text{b) } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Plu} \\ +\text{an} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [(i)g]. \end{array} \right.$$

It is very curious that the endings for inanimate subject forms often have identical shapes to the corresponding animate subject forms, and that in any case, only the it, them-me endings (ig- -ig1) overtly have the inanimate 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 apparently, when we introduce the third person markers, we must have a special rule to get g in the it-me forms, but then the rule must introduce 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 ʔtiV; the past is atəpn̄, indicating the underlying form (?)at+pni+l, whereas the negative is ugugw, and the future is ugu-tew, both indicating the ugu (ʔ ugwi) 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.-l3 form, which may be either -inamət̄l or -inaməjl, but if the l is deleted, can only be inaməj. The i/____l-deletion rule discussed on page 46 of the Nouns chapter above can help explain these forms: inamət̄l has a +-boundary between the t̄ and the l, while inaməjl has a #-boundary; of course, the j in inaməj 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 l, and the morphophonemics are identical to those of the animate l. 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 n̄mūjl--the man carries the dog--; jīnm pemālatl n̄mūjg--the man carries the dogs. Cf. tepaḡan pemāləj n̄mūj--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 l. 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

bundle $\begin{bmatrix} -1\text{st person} \\ -2\text{nd person} \\ -3\text{rd person} \end{bmatrix}$, which is otherwise unused. Note,

however, that in jīnm pemātoĝ guñtew--the man carries the stone--and tepaĝan pemāloj n̄mūj--the sled carries the dog--, as opposed to jīnm pemālatl n̄mūjl--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 n̄mūj--dog--, 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 -ʔpni-, 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 pnig and pñ, respectively, in the past, the latter from rules discussed in the intransitive chapter above. If ʔ-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 ʔ 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-nam²-t, future i-nam²-tew; 1s-2pl pres ul-o^g, future ul-to^gs²p, etc. This does not appear to hold true, however, in the an-3an. forms, where the theme ǎ is followed by the future morpheme corresponding to the subject. This may be handled by changing rule (KC)1)a) to read

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +3 \\ \langle +an \rangle_b \end{array} \right] \left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle +1 \rangle \\ \langle -2 \rangle_a \\ \langle +s \rangle_a \end{array} \right\} \right] \left[\langle +Fut \rangle_a \right], a \implies b,$$

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 ata^g; 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 ǔ typically appears between the theme and the rest of the present ending. Thus, the negatives 2pl-1 iwog, 2-13 iweg, 2s-3s awgt (< a+u+tt by g-insertion), 2pl-3s awog. Incidentally, the passive and passive-like active endings form their negative by adding ǔ after ǔgsi and before the rest of the ending, which suggests that uysi 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 uysi 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 ǔ before ǔn, 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 -ǔln-

instead of simply -ŭl-, 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 ulnu (< uln+u+ti), 13-2 uln+u+eg, 1-2pl uln+u+og[^]. The 3-2s and 3-12 forms pose no problems. We expect uln+u+ti > ulnugw for the former and uln+u+gu+ti > uln+u+gu+g > ulnug:w for the latter; the final long 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 i+u+namot, we would not have any means of deleting the 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 namo is inserted for (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: atigul <

ā+ti+w+gu+l (by w-revocalization and (IB'), which deletes the first w) < a+tui+u+gwi+l < a+tui+u+ti+l and ātigwig < a+tui+u+ti+g. Likewise, the 3inan-3an.pl. forms are regularly formed, and we have already mentioned the peculiarities of the 3inan-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:

1s-3	a [^] g	a+u+i+ti
12-3	ag:w	a+u+ug:w
13-3	a [^] gat:	a+u+g ^ə t:
3s-3	agul	a+u+ti+l.

The 1-3 form in particular is problematical. Note that glide formation would give us a+w+i+ti, and we would then have no way for the t to become g. 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 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 without spirantization. Again, the fact that we get vowel-copying in -a[^]gat: indicates that ə is a glide. The

[u,w]-deletion in 12-3 ag:w and 3-3 agul comes from a generalization of (IB'), making it optionally applicable when any vowel precedes the ǃ; 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 *egsimg. Thus, we must constrain the g to be [-uvular], and (IB') can be considerably simplified:

$$(IB') \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\text{OPT}} \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \text{ — } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{uvul} \end{bmatrix}$$

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.¹¹

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 \emptyset (after -ege-) or -tu-. The stem -ege- reinforces our observation that the endings are basically those of the intransitive endings: I-it -egey, 2s-it -egen, 3s-it -eget, 12-it -egeyqw, 13-it -egeyeg, 2pl-it -egeyoq̄. Also after -tu-, most endings are just as in the transitive forms: 12-it -tūgw (\leftarrow tu+ugw), 13-it -tueq, 2pl-it -tuoq̄. 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 -toq̄, underlying -tu+q from -tu+tt by $t \rightarrow g$. This is obviously due to the $u \rightarrow o$ rule we discussed above in the second chapter:

$$(KM) \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{long} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-\text{diff}] / [\text{voc}] \text{ ----} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} .$$

The 3pl-it forms are interesting both in the -tū- 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+ītij and -ege+ītij, respectively. We wish these to end up -tūtij and -egētij, respectively. That is, we wish to adjust the quality of the ī to that of the preceding vowel, to get -tu+tūtij and -ege+tētij as intermediate forms. For this, we need a generalization of rule (FE'):

$$(FE) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{long} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \begin{bmatrix} \langle -\text{unit} \rangle \\ \text{a grave} \\ \beta \text{diffuse} \end{bmatrix} / \langle + \rangle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \\ \text{a grave} \\ \beta \text{diff} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ ---}.$$

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 -tugw, from underlying tu+u+ti > tu+u+gw by t --> 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 metē- --strike--, has no animate marker, so the endings are attached directly to the stem. The endings beginning with a consonant or -jC remain unchanged, except that θ is absorbed by the ē: 3-2s metēsḡ, 1-3 metēḡ, etc. Likewise for the first person object forms in -i-: 2s-1 metēin, 2-13 metēyeg, etc. Before endings beginning with a grave vowel, however, the stem undergoes certain changes. In the forms with endings in -ugwsi- and -ul-, we get metōḡwsi- and metōl-, respectively. This indicates the operation of two rules: first, a rule changing ē to ō:

(DC') $\bar{e} \text{ ----} \rightarrow [+grave] / \text{ ______ } [u, w],$

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

(IB) $\begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +diff \\ +grave \end{bmatrix} \langle \text{OPT} \rangle \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-unit] / \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ \langle -diff \rangle \end{bmatrix} \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ -cont \\ \langle +grave \rangle \\ \langle -diff \rangle \end{bmatrix}.$

In the forms with endings in -a-, we get metā-, thus: 3-3 metāt1. This suggests a generalization of (DC'), which is further evidenced in the 2pl-3 metōḡw metē+oḡ:

(DC') $\bar{e} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +grave \\ \alpha_{comp} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +grave \\ \alpha_{comp} \end{bmatrix}.$

That is, ē becomes ā before a, and ō before o, u, or w. We find further evidence of (DC') in the negative: 1-3 metāḡ <

metē+a+g, 3-3 metāgul < metē+a+w+ti+l; also in the future; 2s-3fut. metātes < metē+a+tes. One form is quite curious. The 12-3 form is metog:w < metē+ug:w. (DC') correctly predicts the quality of the ö, but the quantity is puzzling. Consideration of the 3pl intransitive negative forms seemed to indicate that long vowels are permissible before long g:, but perhaps the labialization of the g:w 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 ǎ 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 moḡpēwg: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 ǔ or ǒ, the stem changes to ělug(w)ō-, and it remains untouched before -a- endings. Thus: 2-1 elugwāyn, 3-2s elugwās̄g, 1-3s elugwāġ; 1-2s elug(w)ōl, 3-12 elug(w)ōgwsīgw; 3-3 elugwāt1. These data suggest that (DC') be further generalized to include ā as well as ē:

$$(DC') \quad \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \\ +long \\ -diff \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \begin{bmatrix} +grave \\ \alpha comp \end{bmatrix} / \text{ --- } \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +grave \\ \alpha comp \end{bmatrix} .$$

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

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

$$(KN) \quad i \text{ ----> } u / \text{ --- } + \check{u}.$$

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

$$(CA) \quad \check{i} \text{ ----> } \emptyset / \text{ --- } \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ +grave \\ +diff \end{bmatrix} .$$

(KN) followed by geminate segment agglomeration gives us 1-2s nemūl, 3-12 nemūgwsīgw, 13-3 nemūg:w, etc. Note that the form nemūl < nemi+ul shows that (KN) must follow pre-ǔ ǔ-deletion; if (KN) also follows i/ ___ǔ-deletion, then the comment about jujij above is no longer applicable, and we can eliminate the morpheme boundary in (KN). Before endings beginning with other vowels, the short i remains: 2pl-3 nemioġ, 3-3 nemiatl; neg: 1-3 nemiaġ, 13-3 nemiaġat; fut: 2-3 nemiates, etc. Before endings which begin with a consonant (which is preceded by a ə in many verbs), the final i of nemi- becomes long, thus: 1-3 nemīg, 2-3 nemīt, 13-3 nemīgat, 3-2s. nemīsġ (cf., respectively, pemal-əg, pemāl-ət, pemāl-əgət, pemāl-əsg). In the case of the third-person-object forms, we know that there is some sort of vowel originally there (either ǎ or æ) 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 causing the immediately preceding vowel, if there is one, to become long. That is, we amend rule (HD') above to read

$$(HD) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{ə} \quad \begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & \text{====} \Rightarrow & 1 & 1, \end{matrix}$$

which effectively lengthens the vowel preceding ǝ. Of course (HD) must apply before vowel-copying, to avoid deriving, say the 2pl intransitive past *-oǝǝp.

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 wetmēywa- type, in addition to forming their inanimates irregularly: wetmōtm- (notice that only the deletion of the stem-final ǎ, and especially that of the y, is irregular here, for the given inanimate would be perfectly regular from underlying wetmēu+tm- by (DC') and (IB')), also have similar optional forms in some of the second-person-object endings. Thus, 1-2s wetmēyul, rarely wetmōl. Whatever idiosyncrasy, at present ill-understood, of these stems which gives the inanimate can account for these peculiar forms as well.

The stem temsaǧ-, with no animate marker, has a few forms which bear discussion. Consider the 3-2s form temsaǧasg and the 13-3 form temsaǧ:ǝt. We recall that we wish to say that the 3-2s ending is (irregularly) -ǝsg (cf. pemāl-ǝsg), while the 13-3 ending is -a+ǧǝt or -ǝ+ǧǝt, and that the rule eliminating the third person-object ǎ or ǝ

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 ǎ or ǣ to ə; thus temsag^h+asg becomes temsag^htasg by vowel-copying, but temsag^h+atget fails to undergo vowel-copying and then becomes temsag^hagot and finally temsag^h:ot by unstressed V-deletion. The remaining forms are as expected: 2s-1 temsagin, 1-2s temsagul, 2pl-3 temsagog^h; neg: 1-3 temsagag^h, etc. The behavior of the stem gepijog^h- is identical to that of temsag^h-, except that vowel-copying, if applicable, produces an ö instead of an ǎ.

The stem ewigew- --build a house for--, remains unchanged before endings beginning with a vowel: 2s-1 ewigewin, 1-2s ewigewul, 2s-13 ewigewieg, 3-3 ewigewat1, 2pl-3 ewigewog^h, 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 ewigewg:w, 2s-3 ewigewgt, and 13-3 ewigewggot. Of course, in the negative we no longer get g-insertion because of the intrusive ÿ: 1-3 neg ewigewa^h.

We now examine the reflexive and reciprocal forms

of Micmac. A typical reflexive is taqam-ʔsi--I hit myself--, with the reflexive morpheme -ʔsi- added to the stem. Pemālsi--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 -ʔsi- to the animate stem. Likewise, the reciprocal morpheme -ʔti- (← ʔtui-) is also added to the animate stem, even for inanimate reciprocals: pemāltūltigl--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 -ʔsi-, since the final -ī- of the stem would in that case be lengthened. The reflexive metōsi--I strike myself--, is of interest, however. It is presumably from metē+ʔsi+i, and we would expect the stem-final ē to become ō by rule (DC'). But this would then require that ʔ be both [+grave] and [-compact]. Thus we

see that, whereas the glides y and w correspond to the vowels ĩ and ũ respectively, the glide ə corresponds to the vowel ǒ. 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 myself--, 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 pemālsi (as opposed to the expected *pemāləsi) might lead us to hypothesize that there are two reflexive (resp., reciprocal) morphemes, -əsi- and -si- (resp., -ətui- and -tui-), and that the particular stem must in general be marked as to which one it takes. This hypothesis is perhaps supported by the fact that some verbs have alternate forms for, say, the reflexive; e.g., taġamsi or taġaməsi; maljensi or maljenusi--I massage myself--; an?gitēləmsi or an?gitēlməsi--I think of myself. The reflexives of the -ua- stem verbs of course normally drop the ũ: apoġonmasi--I help myself; but occasionally there is the option of dropping the ǎ: 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, oti 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:

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>
I	img	iməg	imgəp	iten
you s.	ulg	ulnəməg	ulgəp	ulten
he	ut	aməg	utəp	aten
they an.	ujig	aməgig	utəpnig	aten
it	asəg	asət:nugw	asəgəp	{ten {asəgtətew
they inan.	asəgl	asət:nugul	asəgəp̄n	ten.

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, -ŭl(n)- for the second person, and -a- for the third person). The ă 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 -məg after the theme.

It may be that this is the realization of the indefinite subject in negative contexts (that is, of Neg+3indef, but not including the final Num morpheme, cf. 3pl. -am@gig).¹² 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 ǎ theme. That ŭt is a single morpheme is further implied by the fact that, if a morpheme boundary appeared between the ŭ and the t, we would expect t → g to apply, giving us *-uq̄w. Furthermore, if [t, j]/___p-deletion only deletes morphemic t or j, the fact that ŭt is a morpheme would also explain why the past is -ut@p(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" -as@g- (pres. ta@tas@g-- it got hit--; negative ta@tas@t:nuq̄w; future @t@tas@g@t@tew; cf. the similarities to the inanimate future

forms of the -āsi- verbs, see previous chapter), which in the future appears to alternate with -ten (cf. sam?tētēn-- it will get patted--; n?mit: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:¹³

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s.imp.s.	i	iw
13imp.s.	in	in
3an.imp.s.	ǎ (> ∅; see below)	aw
3inan.imp.s.	∅	u
1s.imp.pl.	igw < i + ug	inew
13imp.pl.	in(en), (ieg)	in
3an.imp.pl.	ugw	anew
3inan.imp.pl.	ugw	new

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

	Imp.s.	Imp.pl.	Neg. Imp.s.	Neg.Imp. Pl.
1sing	pmāli	pmāligw	pmāliw	pmālinew
13nonsing	pmālin	pmālinen	pmālin	pmālin
3an.s., nons.	pmāl	pmālugw	pmālaw	pmālanew
3inan.s., non-s.	pmātu	pmātugw	pmātu	pmātnew.

The ending after the theme, except for the 13 imperative forms, seems to be ugw in the present plural, and ∅ 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 ǔg, and adds the w to that. In the 13 imperative, the ending seems normally to be n (?< ně), with sometimes (optionally?)

-ně- 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 a. The same case may be made here, although somewhat less strongly.

The stem metē-, 3imp. metǎ, shows several things: firstly, the 3imp. ending must in fact be -ǎ, in order to get the ǎ of meta. Secondly, the rule eliminating the third-person-object theme must follow rule (DC'), in order to get the ē to change to ā. Thirdly, the ǎ-elimination rule must precede final-vowel-shortening, in order to get meta, and not *metā (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 -əsi- of the 2dual (reflexive) imp., and the -lti- of the 2plural (reflexive) imp., we find the ǔ of ǔgw deleted (clearly after vowel-copying) by rule (IB), giving us the ostensible ending igw. The ǔ of the negative is deleted after the 13 imp. ending 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 i in the 2pl (reflexive) imp. ending

-əsi+liti+new > - sultnew if the n were followed by a morpheme 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 discussion at least somewhat fruitful.

CHAPTER VI

NOUN POSSESSION

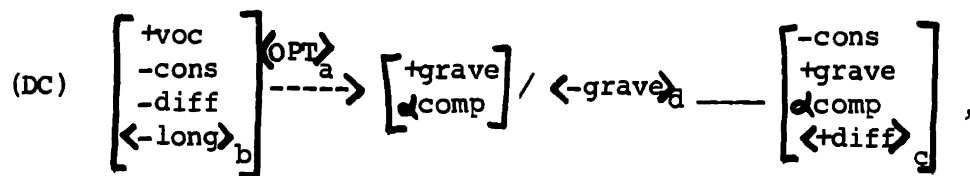
Possessed nouns in Micmac are inflected for both the person and number of the possessor, and the number of the possessed noun itself. The person and number of the possessor is usually indicated by a combination of a prefix and a suffix on the possessed noun, and the number of the possessed noun is indicated 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.¹
∅, 2's--s. ∅, 3s.'s--s. ∅; 12's--s. inu, 13's--s. inen,

2pl.'s--s. uow, 3pl.'s--s. uow. Thus, for the stem -ig- -- house--, we have the following forms:

nīg--my house	nīgl--my houses
gīg--your(s.) house	gīgl--your(s.) houses
wīg--his house	wīgl--his houses
gīgīnu--our(12) house	gīgīnal--our(12) houses
nīgīnen--our(13) house	nīgīnal--our(13) houses
gīguow--your(pl.) house	gīgual--your(pl.) houses
wīguow--their house	wīgual--their houses. ²

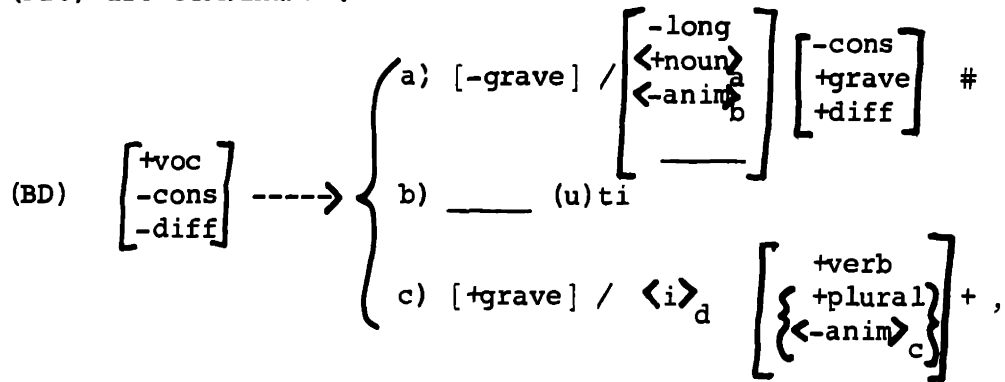
There has been the implication in previous chapters that underlying -ueu- becomes -uou-, but there has been no explicit rule given. This can clearly be handled by an extension of (DC'):



a \implies b, a \implies d, and b \implies 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 -uaġ, depending on the animateness of the stem. For the underlying forms of these two plural endings are -uew+1 and -uew+g, respectively, and rule (BC) discussed above will delete the w, giving us, respectively, -ue+1 and -ue+g, and then rule (BD') generalized will change

the \bar{e} to \bar{a} , giving us $-\underline{ua}l$ and $\underline{ua}\hat{g}$, respectively, just as in the simple noun plurals \underline{aligew} , \underline{aligal} --clothes--, and $\underline{gu\bar{n}tew}$, $\underline{gu\bar{n}tal}$ --stone(s). That is, rules (BDa) (BDb), and (BDc) are combinable:



where $a \Rightarrow b$ and $c \Rightarrow d$.

In the 3sing an. and 3sing inan. of verbs, the future morphemes are both underlying $\underline{t\bar{a}}$, in fact, which in the singular becomes $\underline{t\check{a}}$ by rule (BBb), \underline{taw} by rule (BG), and \underline{tew} by rule (BDa); in the plural we get $\underline{t\bar{a}+l} \dashrightarrow \underline{tal}$ and $\underline{t\bar{a}+g} \dashrightarrow \underline{t\check{a}\hat{g}}$ by rule (BH).

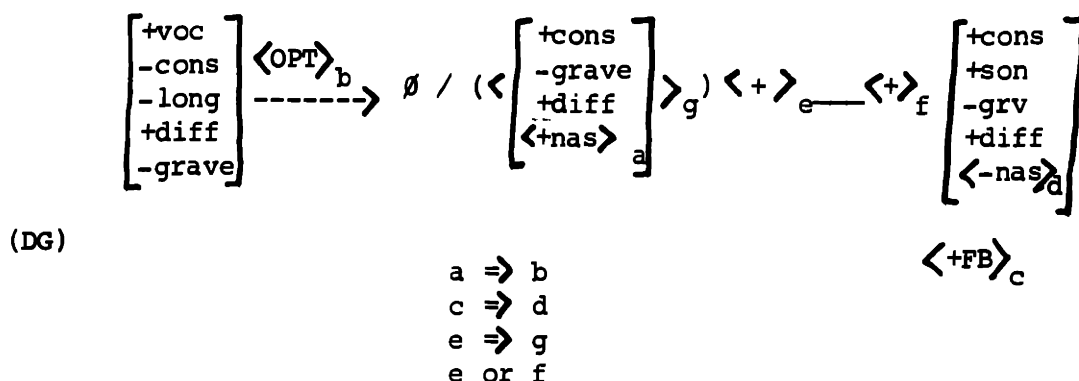
The 12's ending is $-\underline{inu}$ in the singular. Now, this cannot be the underlying form, since we would expect the $\underline{\check{u}}$ to drop by final-vowel-dropping if this were the case. Thus, the underlying form is either $-\underline{in\bar{u}}$ or $-\underline{inuV}$. Now the plural of, say, the inanimate is $-\underline{inal}$. This strongly suggests that the underlying form is in fact $-\underline{inua}$, with rule (KA) operating in the plural to delete the $\underline{\check{u}}$; 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 ũ and ǎ 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--; paġtateg--the glaring sun--, to see that ũ and ǎ 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 -inaġ, identical to the ending in the 12's plural. Yet it does not seem possible to drop the n before g or l (cf. nastesintg). 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 ǎ for ěn. 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').



Thus we get n?gatnu--our(12) leg; nitn+inen \rangle nitn+nen \rangle nitnēn--our nostril--; gənsigwan+inu--our eyebrow-- $\xrightarrow{\text{OPT}}$ gənsigwañu.

From the stem -ngigu--parent- (cf. gəngigw--your(s.) parent) we get 2pl.'s pl. gəngiguaĝ (gəngigu^waĝ) \langle gəngigu+waĝ \langle gəngigu+uaĝ \langle gəngigu+ueutĝ. The stems -itū--hair--, and -inū- (/-ilu-)--food--, form their 13's pl. possessive as nitūnal and ninūnal, respectively, from

nitū+inal and ninū+inal, respectively. These forms suggest that we alter (GG'), which changes i to ǔ 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:

$$(GG) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \langle -\text{grave} \rangle / [+cons] \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ [] } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{long} \\ +\text{voc} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle$$

Another interesting case is stems such as -tī- --(sled)dog-- (cf. n?ti--my dog--, n?tīg--my dogs), which in, say, the 13's s. gives us n?tī+inen -----> n?tinēn. Presumably, since this is a general phenomenon of stems such as these, we need some little-understood rule here to delete the ī. Clearly, however, this rule must follow (DG), since we do not wish to get *n?tnen:

$$(LA) \quad \bar{i} \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____} + i(n) (????).$$

This particular stem shows another very interesting alternation. Instead of the 13's s. form n?tinēn derived above, we usually find n?tenēn; likewise we find the 12's s. form n?tenenu alongside the expected n?tinu. 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., nitapaḡ--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 witapa-l--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 u- 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. g-, 3s. ǔ- (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); mqign--hook--(-əmig:n); sapun--hair--(-usapun); tapi--bow--(-utapi); tepaġan--sled--(-ətepaġan); tmaġan--pipe--(-ətmaġan if prefix is g: -utmaġan otherwise); tmawey--tobacco--(occasionally -ətmawey if prefix is g; utmawey otherwise);³ tmīgn--axe--(-ətmīgn); nijan--my child (vocative)--(-ənjan). This pre-augment (ǔ or ə in each

case) cannot be predicted, since we find, for example, 3s.'s--s. uqwtlaminu--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 natm̄ign 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 ǔ- or ǒ-, which gets deleted in the alienable form. Furthermore, we would have difficulty formulating a rule to delete it, since we have words such as usgitpaġtug--on the waters--and usgus--weasel--, although there are other peculiar facts which might suggest such a rule of initial [ǔ,e]-deletion (obviously before contraction, since we would get #ǔC- 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 -iq--house). The stem can only be singular,⁴ and the forms are: 1's, 13's nignen, 2s's, 2pl's giguow, 3s.'s, 3pl.'s wiguow, 12's 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

-2nd person
-1st person

 (that is, [+3rd person]), the prefix is ũ-. 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. ǔ-, 12 n-, 13 n-, 2pl g-, 3pl ǔ-. 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 $\begin{bmatrix} -1st\ person \\ -2nd\ person \end{bmatrix}$ (i.e., [+3rd person]) the prefix is ǔ-.

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:



n?tawgti--my road
 əgtawgti--your (s.) road
 ugwtawgti--his road
 n?tawgtinu--our (12) road
 n?tawgtinen--our (13) road
 əgtawgtiwow--your (pl.) road
 ugwawgtiwow--their road.

The g after the ǔ'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,
ugwtma- from wetma- --smoke--instead of the incorrect

*utma-:

$$(CE) \emptyset \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{obst} \end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ \langle \text{ }_1 -\text{voc} \rangle_b \\ \langle \text{ }_2 +\text{long} \rangle_c \\ \# \end{bmatrix} \right\} \langle + \rangle_a \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \text{---} \langle \text{ }_1 + \rangle [+obst],$$

$a \Rightarrow b \cup c$

This, of course, supersedes the g-insertion rule given in the contraction chapter above (cf. Contraction, p. 89), and allows us to eliminate the g-metathesis rule given there (p. 91), and handle the facts by means of the initial g-deletion rule and the g-insertion rule. The g-deletion rule, then, is:

$$(DL) \begin{bmatrix} \langle -\text{WB} \rangle_a \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} /g/ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \langle +\text{obst} \rangle_b, \quad a \Rightarrow b$$

1 2 3 4 =====> 1 ∅ 3 4.

Now, in order to get the t inserted in the correct forms, we must first somehow formally distinguish the inalienable nouns from the alienable ones (cf. n-utāpi and n?t-āpi), for inalienable vocalic stems (i.e., beginning with a vowel) never insert the 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. əggat; from -jitaḡan--neck--, we get 2s's s. əgjitāḡan; from -sisgw--face--, we get 2s's s. əgsisgw; from -tinin--body--, we get əgtinin--your(s.) body. Even liquid and glide stems do not appear to insert the t: laḡalans--barn--, əglaḡalansm--your(s.) barn--; wigew--fat--, əgwigem--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: lḡsuaḡan--ladder--, əgtlḡsuaḡanm--your(s.) ladder, cf. elgusue- climb--, which provides further support for the contraction rule merely changing the ě to ə, not deleting it entirely, although, if t-insertion comes before contraction, these facts will be handled in any case. Also: lmūj--dog--, əgthmūjm--your(s.) dog--, which shows that there must be a vowel before the l in the underlying form, and perhaps also an n.⁶ The t in əgtlusḡnīḡn--your(s.) elbow-- (cf. lusḡnīḡn--elbow) shows that this stem must begin with a vowel. From wīgatign--

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?^tgat--my foot; taglij--goose-- , n?t:aglijm--my goose-- ; n?tlaḡalansm--my barn-- ; n?twigem--my fat-- , as well as the expected, say, n?tawgti--my road. Thus we need the following t-insertion rule:

$$(CB'a) \quad \emptyset \text{ ----} \rightarrow [t] / \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{seg} \\ \langle \text{nasal} \rangle_a \end{array} \right] \text{ ---} \# \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ \langle \text{cons} \rangle_b \end{array} \right], a \Rightarrow b.$$

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-- , ḡg:ajign--your(s.) leg-- , ug:wajign--his leg--(inalienable); but gajuewgj--cat-- , ugwgajuewgjm--his cat (alienable): and -gij--mother-- , n?gij--my mother-- , ḡg:ij--your(s.) mother-- , ug:wijl--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?tgajuewgjm--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. ugwtāpapim, but 3s.'s--s. ugwtawgti, from āpapi--thread--and awgti--road--, respectively. Therefore, the stems must be marked for whether or not they suffix the m when possessed. If the 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 -āgey--body--, we have 12's s. gaḡeynu, and 13's s. naḡeyminu; but the plurals correspond: 12's pl. gaḡeynal, 13's pl. naḡeyminal. The only exception I know of to this generalization is 1s's--s. n?tgamlamun--my heart--, 1s's pl. n?tgamlamunml, but this may be because of a semantic difference: the 1s.'s s. form refers to the organ in my body, the 1s.'s pl. refers normally to cards of the heart suit. It appears that no stem can suffix the 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 -āgey, 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 \emptyset) 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 -āgey) 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'āy--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 of, nū--Indian--, lacks the prefixes in all forms: nūm--my, your(s.) Indian--, nūmq--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 ḡosi--(finger)nail--, we have, say, 1's s. n?tḡosi, but 13's s. ḡosiminen.

We find similar phonological changes of certain stems before the suffix -m to those we have noted before. Thus, wow--pot, pail, bucket-- (uou \leftarrow ueu), becomes -uom- before -m, since the final u deletes before a consonant, as in the ending -ow, and a t is inserted between the prefixes and the stem: 1's s. n?tuom, 2pl's pl. ḡtuomuaḡ, etc. Likewise, maḡamigew--land--, 3s's--s. ugwmaḡamigem; glitaw--strawberry--, 3s's--s. ugwqlitaml. Note that

vowel-copying occurs before this m: amlamoq--mackerel--,
 1's s. n?tamlamom.

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 ě deletes by final-vowel-shortening. This explanation is sufficient for this stem, but note that ēpit--woman--, also becomes -ēpitem- with the m suffix. Now, the plural ēpijig, as we have seen (see Noun chapter, p. 31) shows us that the underlying form is ēpiti, which also shows that there is a #-boundary between the word and the m suffix, for we must have it in order for the i to drop. Perhaps these stems show that the suffix is ēm, with the ě 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 -glu?um- in the remaining forms. Similar phenomena to these crop up in several places, but it is at present 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 -g superseding, as it were, the -l ending. Thus, from

ulugws--nephew--, we get ulugws_l--his nephew--, ulugwsual (← u+ulugs+ueu+l)--their nephew--; but ulugwsig--his nephews--, ulugwsuaġ--their nephews. We note that the occurrence of the l obviative ending and the g animate plural ending is precisely that which we saw in the transitive 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 evidence at present as to what the verb is, but guesses might be made on semantic grounds. We will not pursue this further here, but leave it for a detailed analysis of Micmac syntax.

Occasionally, if the possessed noun is syntactically animate but semantically inanimate (e.g., aġam--snowshoe--, pl. aġamq), the obviative is optionally absent. Thus: 3s.'s--s. ugwtaġam or ugwtaġaml; 3pl's--s. ugwtaġamuow or ugwtaġamual. This is, however, also true of the verbs, and the syntax: pemātoġ aġam or pemālat_l aġaml--he carries a snowshoe.

The 3s.'s--s. form of animate nouns ending in -j is peculiar. As expected, the obviative l is added, but the j may or must become t, depending on the stem. Thus ngij--my mother--, but 3s.'s--s. either ug:witl or ug:wijl. The 3s.'s--s. of -ijimij--arse--, and -ugumij--grandmother--, are always, respectively, wijimitl and ugumitl. The j must be preceded by a vowel, a n d short, for this to occur, inasmuch as the 3s.'s--s. form of -uj--father--is uj:l, never *ut:l. Now, if we compare the plural of gəmūj--wood--, namely gəmūjl--bunches of wood (never *gəmūt), it is not at all clear why the j becomes t (or, conversely, why the t --> j rule is blocked) before the obviative l, but not before the inanimate plural l. 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., əgsissgw--your(s.) face--, and əgsissgul--your(s.) faces(dual). The plural is,

e.g., agsissgūl--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: nīn--I, me--, gīl--you--, gīnu--we, us inc.--, nīnen--we, us exc.--, gīlew--you pl.--; negm--he, him--, negmow--they, them (an.)--, wegla--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, n-īn, g-īl, g-īnu, n-īnen, and g-īlew. We recall that the endings in the singular were \emptyset , which would make us postulate a stem -īn-/-īl- as the personal pronoun stem. The 12 pronoun we would then postulate as underlying g-īn-inu > *gīnu; the 13 n-īn-īnen > *nīnen; the 2pl. g-īl-ueu > *gīluow. Aside from the unexplained l/n alternation (see above, Possession, fn. 6), we could not account for the

deletion of the ǔ in the 2pl. form (cf. gīnual--your(pl.) tongues--, gilūow--your(pl.) food), nor for the shortening of the n̄ in the 12 and 13 forms (cf. gīnu--your(s.) tongue, nīnu--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.

⁴(p.11). Restigouche, P. Q., 1939.

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.

⁶(p.15). See Jakobson and Halle, Fundamentals of Language; Halle, Sound Pattern of Russian; Chomsky and Halle, "Some controversial questions in phonological theory"; Halle, "On the Bases of Phonology" and "Phonology in Generative Grammar," and Halle, "In defense of the number two," for detailed expositions and defenses of binary distinctive

feature analyses of natural languages. We use the features of Fundamentals.

⁷(p.15). Note that we will need a feature to distinguish g from ġ (since ġ is not continuant except intervocalically). 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 i to 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 ç, 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 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 i is to remain dental.

M, n, and l may take stress only in certain positions (preconsonantly, probably reflecting the stress on a deleted vowel).

NOUN PLURALS

¹(p.27). lepyē--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#1, the latter from uisauou+1.

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
geltəg	it's frozen
awgtījl	
awgtīt1	footpaths (< awgtīj+1)
wejiey	I come from < wet+iey
wetgitm	I send for it from < wet+gitm
wetsāg	
wejisāg	I kicked him out because < wet(i)+sāg

nat:amul I go and bum from you < nat+~~g~~tamul
 najiwissugwowg:w I go and cook for him <
 nati+wissugwowg:w

There is also, of course, the 3sing-t/3nonsing - jig alternation, which we have expatiated on elsewhere. This, however, appears to trace back to a Proto-Algonquian alternation between *-ta and *-čiki, 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 ---> 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 g in naḡanāmay--I drink--uvular in the underlying form, since this particular one never undergoes alternations with velar g, and despite the fact that a rule is unquestionably necessary to change velar g to a uvular after a. But that is not all. Since uvular g is clearly more highly marked than velar g, 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 convention, 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 historical 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.

⁵(p.41). Note that this word comes from ēpiti#tīī, and the final-vowel-dropping rule gives us ēpit#tīī, ultimately ēpitjīj.

⁶(p.42). The alternations, e.g., nāmējg/nāmējig might be construed as arguing for underlying long vowels and underlying sequences of two short vowels. We could then explain these alternations as follows: nāmējī+g --> nāmējg; nmeejī+g --> nmeejig --> nāmējig.

^{6a}(p.42). Although the Proto-Algonquian appears to have j here; cf. Munsee jigwal--toad.

⁷(p.47). The feature [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 e (sometimes, and in this dissertation generally, indicated by ∅) is [-unit]; all segments and boundaries are [+unit]; the rule "t is deleted" is stated "t ----> [-unit]." Now, of course [-unit] is unspecified for all other segmental and boundary features. Thus we must in any case have the convention that $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-unit} \\ \alpha F \end{bmatrix}$ is reinterpreted as $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-unit} \\ uF \end{bmatrix}$ (where [uF] means "unspecified with respect to feature F") for all segment and boundary features F, and any value (+ or -) of α . We use this convention explicitly, so that, in this rule for example, $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-unit} \\ \text{-long} \end{bmatrix}$ is automatically interpreted as $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-unit} \\ \text{ulong} \end{bmatrix}$. But SPE makes at least implicit use of this convention; for the rule mentioned above, "t ----> [-unit]," for example, says explicitly the following:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{unit} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix},$$

and we must invoke the convention under discussion to derive the desired

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{unit} \\ \text{ucons} \\ \text{uvoc} \\ \text{udiff} \\ \text{ugrave} \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \end{bmatrix}.$$

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

$$(BB') \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \{-\text{long}\} \\ \{+long\}_1 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\text{unit} \\ \{-long\}_1 \end{array} \right\} / \text{---} \#,$$

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., $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{WB} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix}$ is interpreted as $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{WB} \\ \text{udiff} \end{bmatrix}$. 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 apjējit--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:

w̄isis	animal
w̄isisui	I am an animal
wenuj	Frenchman
wēñjui	I'm French
ḡlōḡowej	star
ḡluḡowejui	I'm a star
n̄amēj	fish
n̄amējuit	he's a fish
pugsugw	wood
pugsugwi	I have wood

tiām	moose
tiāmuin	you're a moose
jīn ^o m	man
jīn ^o mui	I'm a man

¹⁰(p.60). Note also the morphophonemic alternation of s and j in wesmoġjit--he smooches--, wesmoġsijig--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 pīj--immature sex organ-- + ui--have/be-- + ti--he--, from pīti#ui+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 uS-, 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 *ʔgsuguās 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, gesgaġ would be underlying gesVgaġ (contraction ʔgsəguās), whereas esgipēg (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, welaġapip--he was tipsy--, from welaġapi+ji+p, although we have handled this differently (see below, Intransitive chapter, pp. 37Aff.). The rule might be possible to state if we require a +-boundary after the deleted ji.

⁵ (p.99). The stem sāsēw- is historically from the French changer, according to Pacifique, and sāsēwātu was formerly pronounced /sāzē'wātu/.

^{5a}(p.100). The fact that underlying nēu does not become *nō 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 ō.

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)"--12dual or 12plural; "we exclusive (dual or plural)"--13dual or 13 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., 12dual or 12plural, we will use 12non-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 ajie- (cf. eluewiē-, 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 iei 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 $\begin{bmatrix} +diff \\ -comp \end{bmatrix}$, $\begin{bmatrix} -diff \\ -comp \end{bmatrix}$, and $\begin{bmatrix} -diff \\ +comp \end{bmatrix}$ for vowels, and in consonants [α diffuse] implies [$-\alpha$ compact]. We do not call the dual $\begin{bmatrix} +sing \\ +plural \end{bmatrix}$, 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 = $\begin{bmatrix} +sing \\ -dual \end{bmatrix}$, dual = $\begin{bmatrix} -sing \\ +dual \end{bmatrix}$, plural = $\begin{bmatrix} -sing \\ -dual \end{bmatrix}$, 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.

⁴(p.115). And in Algonquian in general, as well as other languages. Cf. "Participant Placement in Algonquian and Georgian" by Ashok R. Kelkar, in IJAL, Vol. XXXI, #3, July, 1965.

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: 'n̄in aḡ ḡil aḡ negm militaygw'-- 'I and you and he are playing,' the 12plural form. That is,

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1st \text{ person} \\ +2nd \text{ person} \\ +3rd \text{ person} \end{bmatrix} \text{ is not distinguished in Micmac from}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1st \text{ person} \\ +2nd \text{ person} \\ -3rd \text{ person} \end{bmatrix}, \text{ nor } \begin{bmatrix} -1st \text{ person} \\ +2nd \text{ person} \\ +3rd \text{ person} \end{bmatrix} \text{ from } \begin{bmatrix} -1st \text{ person} \\ +2nd \text{ person} \\ -3rd \text{ person} \end{bmatrix}.$$

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 $\begin{bmatrix} -1st \text{ person} \\ -2nd \text{ person} \\ -3rd \text{ person} \end{bmatrix}$:

it is simply not distinct from $\begin{bmatrix} -1\text{st person} \\ -2\text{nd person} \\ +3\text{rd person} \end{bmatrix}$. 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 -lti, 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 lepyēl--feet--(singular lepyē) and muñtīl--bags--(singular muñti), we can see that with rule (FA') as stated we would expect *lepyōl and *muñtūl, 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:

$$(FA) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ -cons \end{bmatrix} \text{ ----> } \begin{bmatrix} +grave \\ -comp \end{bmatrix} / \text{ --- } + \begin{bmatrix} +plural \\ +verb \end{bmatrix} .$$

¹¹(p.160). These two stems, iāsi 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.

¹²(p.168). It is pertinent to observe that in the dual, nutā- --be in need, lack--, say, ends identically to the plurals of āsi/iesi verbs. Thus:

12dual	nutaygw	12pl	militaygw
13dual	nutāyeg	13pl	militāyeg
2dual	nutāyoġ	2pl	militāyoġ
3an.dual	nutājig	3an.pl	militājig
3inan.dual	nutāġal	3inan.pl	militāġal.

If the s-deletion and ā-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, ā-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 āsi/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 mil+ittā+ti- were generated by suppletion, we would have no explanation for our not having *miltāy-. (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 pisu+iāsiti+tui-, which by glide-formation becomes pisu+yāsiti+tuy-; then s-deletion, [i,y]/___ā-deletion, and u-deletion give pisu+āi+ty-, whereupon ā-metathesis gives pisu+ittā+ty-; the i before the 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 naga+iāsiti+tui-, which, after the application of (GA), (CD), and u/t___i-deletion, becomes naga+āi+ti-. Now ā-metathesis applies, giving us naga+ittā+i-. We gave reasons above why there must be a +-boundary following the ā, which can only get there if it is inserted concomitantly with (GD), since before the application of (GD) there is neither a +-boundary following ā nor one preceding the i of ti. But now, if the +-boundary must be inserted upon the application of the rule, we must ask whether it is just an ad hoc insertion or a general convention. Clearly, we would prefer the latter. But no reasonable convention could place a +-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+tā+i-. Without this or some similar convention, it does not appear possible to account for the requisite +-boundary after the ā.

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 ʔ). 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.: māhāl--to be expensive--, mārahāl--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):

(GE) V ----> [+nasal] / [+nasal] (+ar+V) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-cons} \\ \{-diff\} \\ \text{+voc} \end{array} \right]_0$ —

But this rule must mention the +-boundary after the inserted plural morpheme ar, for otherwise in the singular stem mārios--to examine--, we would expect the incorrect

*māriōs. Thus, mārahāl must have at least the structure mār+ahāl; 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 m[̃]ar+ahāl. But notice what we have here in either case: either the sequence #m[̃]+, or at least #mār[̃]+. 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+ah₁, the long environment will apply to the last a giving m+ar+ah^h₁. 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 s 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, $\underline{CV?X}_0 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \underline{CV?+V+X}_0 \text{ ----} \rightarrow$ (other rules apply) $\text{---} \rightarrow \underline{CV?+X}_0$, 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 $\#_1\#_2\text{un}\#_3\text{touch}\#_4\text{d}\#_5\#_6$ (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 $Suff\#$ (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 $)$ $($.

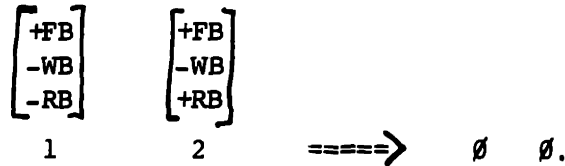
Similar phenomena can be observed with respect to the +-boundary, except that the analogues to prefixes and suffixes are much rarer. Typically, any sequence of segments surrounded by +-boundaries is a morpheme, and only in cases of infixation, certain types of metathesis (such as (GD)), insertion, and 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 ┆ and ┆ as, respectively, left- and right-morpheme-boundaries; that is, a morpheme M enters the syntax from the lexicon as ┆M┆. Furthermore, when two morphemes come together, we get ┆M₁┆┆M₂┆, which we will notationally indicate as ┆M₁+M₂┆.

Let us point out here that this notation is essentially the equivalent of adding a feature to the boundary feature inventory: [right-boundary]. ┆ and #, then, are [+right-boundary]; ┆ and #= are [-right-boundary]; and + and # are unspecified for the feature [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:

$$\begin{array}{c} \boxed{\begin{array}{c} +\text{FB} \\ -\text{WB} \\ +\text{RB} \end{array}} \\ 1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \boxed{\begin{array}{c} +\text{FB} \\ -\text{WB} \\ -\text{RB} \end{array}} \\ 2 \end{array} \quad \Longrightarrow \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{c} +\text{FB} \\ -\text{WB} \end{array}} .$$

Before this we will need a convention deleting the meaningless sequence ┆┆ (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 \vdash -boundary on its left and a \dashv -boundary on its right. Now, notice what happens in the case of Menomini vowel-insertion: $\#CV?X_0$ becomes $\#CV?\vdash V \dashv X_0$, then various rules apply, and then the inserted vowel deletes, leaving us with $\#CV?\vdash \dashv X_0$; but now our convention deleting $\vdash \dashv$ 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, $m \vdash \tilde{a}r \dashv ah\tilde{a}l$, and we can have a very late rule (after $\vdash \dashv$ -deletion and $\dashv \vdash$ -to- \vdash -agglomeration) which interprets \vdash or \dashv as \vdash if it has not been either deleted or agglomerated with its opposite, thus giving us finally $m\tilde{a}r+ah\tilde{a}l$. A possible alternative here is to simply delete any partial \vdash -boundary, thus giving us, say, $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}rah\tilde{a}l$; this is clearly undesirable from an intuitive point of view, however, and probably provably impossible in the insertion cases--cf. poonimeewa, and the discussion below. Another possible alternative is simply to leave all remnant \vdash - and \dashv -boundaries as such, thus giving us, say, $m \vdash \tilde{a}r \dashv ah\tilde{a}l$. In other words, this would state that ar is a "morpheme" (that is, it has \vdash on its left and \dashv on its right--note that this interpretation would also make the \tilde{a} in

Micmac milit-ā-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 mārahāl 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 infixation of some sort, and this infixation produced an environment where the morpheme-edge phenomena could occur, whether or not they did occur could choose between the \vdash -convention and the \dashv -interpretation, respectively. On the other hand, the way we have stated our conventions, the \vdash -boundary is distinct from neither the \vdash -boundary nor the \dashv -boundary, so this sort of evidence would choose between the two alternatives only if the \vdash -boundary were more highly marked than either \vdash or \dashv ; that is, only if we needed both the features [right-boundary] and [left-boundary], where \dashv would be $\begin{bmatrix} \vdash\text{right-boundary} \\ \dashv\text{left-boundary} \end{bmatrix}$, \vdash would be $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{RB} \\ +\text{LB} \end{bmatrix}$, and \dashv would be $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{RB} \\ +\text{LB} \end{bmatrix}$.

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 \vdash ____; then the plural of, say, niis-- to cool oneself--, namely nãriis, would be nãryis or nãriis, depending on whether the word were nãrãtiis or nãrãtiis, 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 poonymeeewa would argue for the \dashv -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.

¹⁵(p.185) 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 i, but a, and that a y (< i) is inserted between vowels, giving us, for example, welaġapity+a from welaġapi+a, and then the a would be deleted by final-vowel-shortening. Furthermore, he would have the dual morpheme be \emptyset , 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 i 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 i+l). 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 iesi verbs, the same y-insertion would apply, obviating our treatment with

\bar{a} -metathesis. In fact, the suggestion is that these two stems are suppletive in the dual and plural (that is,

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} i\bar{a}si \\ ie \end{array} \right\} + [\text{dual}] \implies -\bar{a}ti-, \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i\bar{a}si \\ ie \end{array} \right\} + [\text{plural}] \implies -it\bar{a}-.$$

In view of the fact that we need three special rules (s \rightarrow t, s-deletion, and \bar{a} -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 \bar{a} -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, iasit+[plural] by it\bar{a}+it, 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 met\bar{e}--strike) and vocalic endings (such as -atl--he X's him). That is, we get met\bar{a}tl, not *met\bar{e}yatl 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 \bar{a}, 12nonsingular \bar{u}+g, 13nonsingular e+g, and 2nonsingular o+g) it is before a morphemic vowel. Thus, if we can maintain that there is not a morpheme boundary after the a 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,

$$a \text{ -----} \rightarrow b / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} c \\ \text{---} \\ c \end{array} \right.$$

as

$$a \text{ -----} \rightarrow b / c,$$

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'):

$$(FD') [i, y] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+son] + \text{---} + \\ + \text{---} + [+son] \end{array} \right.$$

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

$$(FD) [i, y] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} [+son] \\ + \\ \text{---} \\ + \end{array} ,$$

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:

$$(IA) [+obst] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-voice] / \text{---} \# .$$

As another example, the inanimate noun plural l becomes n after stem ending in n (āgusn+l ----> āgusn+n ----> āgusn̄); verb stems ending in l have this segment changed to n before the 2sing ending n (telgil+n ----> telgin+n ----> telgin̄). We must have, then, the rule

$$(DM) \quad l \text{ ----} \rightarrow [+nasal] / \begin{array}{c} n \\ + \\ \hline \end{array} .$$

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

$$(HB') \quad [t,j] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} p + \hline + \hline + p. \end{array} \right.$$

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:

$$(HB) \quad [t,j] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} p \\ + \\ + \hline \end{array} ;$$

that is, $[t,j] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} p + + \hline + \hline + p, \end{array}$

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

$$[t,j] \text{ ----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} p + \hline + \hline + p \end{array} \right.$$

from (HB).

We discussed above (pp. 93 to 97) the set of two neighborhood rules for deriving, say, gūjites and sōgoyey from, respectively, ggujites and soggoyey, 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 ea and eo sequences in the initial syllables of certain verbs, with the e deleting in the present. Thus, we need the rule

$$(DA) \quad e \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] .$$

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):

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset \left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \text{ i) } [+ \text{voc}] + \underline{\quad} \\ / \text{ ii) } \underline{\quad} + [+ \text{voc}], \end{array} \right.$$

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.

¹⁹(p.222). 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 AI 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 AI stem, B is the II form):

Fox	-sū/-tā- --heat (#20.2, p. 804)
Ojibwa	-sw/-te°--by heat (13.14, p. 91)
Micmac	gaḡ-si-/gaḡ-te-g--be burnt
Proto-Algonquian	-api/-a?te°--be in place, be there (cf. Ojibwa, 13.23, p. 92)
Micmac	jig-pi-/jig-te-g--be dull, lonesome
Proto-Algonquian	-hšin/-hθen--lie
Ojibwa	-ššin/-ssin--fall, land, lie (13.41, p. 93)
Micmac	nastesin/nastes-g--be caught
Proto-Algonquian	-ekwesi/-ekwahk
Menomini	-εse/-yi°--quality, state (15.198, p. 308)
Micmac	welialgamgusi-/welialgamgū-g--look good
Menomini	ke.hkacew/ke.hkaten--he/it is cold, freezes (15.252, p. 317)
Algonquian	-ač̣i/-atene--cold (§76, p. 111)
Micmac	gełji-t/gełtθ-g--he/it is frozen.

Many of these alternations, then, trace back to Proto-Algonquian, but Micmac appears to have regularized most of these formerly quite unpredictable alternations.

²⁰(p.226). "Disjunctive Ordering Among Lexical Insertion Rules," Internal MIT Memorandum, 16 May 1967.

²¹(p.231). This rule is, in fact, equivalent to saying that the negative morpheme takes the shape n̥ 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-13"; 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 -g; 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: \emptyset (for -ege- only), -t-, or -tu-, and that m is added after a consonant. Then, for verbs like metē-m--I strike it--, we could postulate the underlying stem meteh-, with Vh becoming V̄. 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. 111) has -h/-htoo; Menomini commonly has the TI ending -to·; 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:

Algonquian	<u>-pw/-pot--by mouth</u> (#84, p. 114)
Micmac	<u>jigp-/jigtm- --eat up.</u>

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)
 -ššim/-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 -tēlm-/
 -tēt̄m- --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 šsg 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-ugumij-inu--our (inc.) grandmother--, aside from the stem -ugumij-, 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 g 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 < augt < aut) as well as new vowels. This might also explain the y in forms like milāyt, milāytes, where the s was deleted from milāsīt, milāsītes, 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 -gwiṭci (see Fox, page 828).

¹¹(p.297). 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 wēsge-. That is, we might want to enter it in the lexicon with an entry similar to the following:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{u} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{e} \qquad \qquad \text{s g e} \\ \text{[-long]} / \text{_____} \text{[-plural]} \text{ [+long]} / \text{_____} \text{ [+plural]}, \\ \text{or, more simply,} \\ \text{u} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e} \\ \text{[+long]} / \text{_____} \text{ [aplural]} \end{array} \right] \text{ s g ě- .} \end{array}$$

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 gaġsi--be burnt--, inanimate stem gaġte-:

$$\text{gaġ} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{si} / \text{ [+anim]} \\ \text{te} / \text{ [-anim]} \end{array} \right. .$$

The expense here is all the features necessary to specify gaġ, 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, mijimij--arse--, 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, *ugwtma[^]gan (but cf. jug^ua, instead of the expected ugwjug^ua). 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 -a[^]gan is a typical deverbal nominalizing suffix, while the ending -a)wey 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 nigna[^]--at my, our (exc.) home--, gigua[^]--at your(s.pl.) home--, wigua[^]--at his, their home--, gigna[^]--at our (inc.) home, are formed by adding the locative morpheme -g, phonologically identical to the animate plural morpheme.



⁶(p.326). There are some peculiar, and poorly understood, alternations between l and n in Micmac, other than rule (DM). We have seen the alternation between the transitive endings beginning in -ul-/-uln-, lnu/nu--Indian--, and lmūj/nmūj--dog--, (perhaps syntactically conditioned). We also note the aforementioned stem -inū-/-ilū- --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 wilūal. (Also observe the regular stem -iñu-/-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-īn, n-īn-en, g-īn-u, but g-īl, g-īl-ew (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 ə is disregarded in alphabetization. Thus, e.g., māntu follows mnaġ and precedes moġopaġ. Of two words identical except for the fact that one contains a ə, 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, nēpaġ follows nepaġ, but precedes nepilq; wissey follows wisawow, but precedes wīsis. Likewise, ġ is alphabetized as g: əpġanj precedes əpġu, but follows a hypothetical əpġanj. 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: sisgu precedes -sisgw.

- aġ -- and; 65, 349.
 aġalasi'ēw -- Englishman [i.e., English speaker];
 62, 65.
 aġāntiēumg -- Sunday; 53.
 a,ġāntiēuti -- week; 65.
 'aġam(g) -- snowshoe(s); 65, 190, 224, 332.
 aġamīm -- (to)snowshoe; 119, 124, 128, 132, 134,
 138, 141, 148, 149, 155, 186, 188, 189,
 207, 223.
 aġataygw -- one-half; 56.
 aġatassi- -- be half mad; 150.
 -āġey -- body; 328, 329.
 agnimūē- -- squeal, tell on people; 142, 154.
 agnutm/aġ -- I/tell a story to/him; 65.
 aġtapug -- in the middle of winter; 54.
 'āġusn(n) -- hat(s); 35, 66, 91, 98, 99, 366.
 ayji- -- be such; 115-116, 120, 121, 127, 131,
 157, 158.
 ajāsi -- move along (on land); 61, 63, 172.
 aj;ēmay -- I/play ball; 60.
 ajġānāwāl/āġ -- I/do s.t. for/him; 45.
 ajiē -- move (on water); 62, 63, 110, 348.
 ajipju/lġ,-tu -- urge s.o. to do s.t. [inan.: hope
 s.t. will happen]; 253, 256.
 alaġsin -- I/fly; 67.
 alam-, alap/tm- -- look around for; 257, 270.
 alām -- swim around; 119, 136, 194, 198, 211, 247, 248.
 alamēs -- mass; 59.
 alamēsjīj -- low mass; 59.
 alāsi -- walk around; 165, 168, 169.
 alġatm -- stay all around; 136, 186.

- aġwilua-, aġwil/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.
- aljā -- stagger about; 128, 132, 133, 142, 144-5,
 170, 174, 186, 194, 196, 198, 199, 201,
 202, 204-5, 206, 207, 209, 211, 216, 217,
 220, 230, 300.
- aljaġam -- spread it; 60.
- aljemā- -- leave an odor around; 61.
- aġmawāgig -- Germany; 66.
- aġmim-, aġmi/tm- --curse at; 257.
- alpegāsi -- go in and out of the water while swimming;
 169.
- alunaġaye- -- jump around [cf. wenaġaye-]; 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.
- amasgipn-, amasgipn/m- -- torture; 258, 271.
- am?ġwan -- spoon; 70-2.
- amigwen/g, amigwenm -- smear up; 253, 258.
- amlamoġ -- mackerel; 331.
- an?gitēlm-, an?gitē/lm- -- think of; 257, 270, 306.
- an?gweywa-, an?gō/tm -- look after; 257.
- an?gunā/ġ, an?gunā/m -- cover; 73, 255, 258, 306.
- aniapsi -- make penance; 62.
- aniapsuti -- penitence; 53, 55.
- apaġt -- sea; 67.
- āpapi -- thread; 328.

- apgwep-, apgwe/tm -- bite loose; 257, 270.
 āpi -- net; 321, 325.
 apigjīj -- mouse; 181.
 apjēji-, apjējg -- be small, few (an., inan.); 41,
 61, 344.
 apoḡonmasi -- help oneself; 158.
 apoḡonmua-, apoḡonma/tm- -- help; 257, 267, 306.
 apoḡonmuē- -- help; 50, 72, 152.
 apsgwapugue- -- change one's story; 153.
 apsiḡā- -- have a small house; 143.
 apusḡāign -- key; 264.
 asgaywa-, asgō/tm- -- hurt, damage, bother; 64, 257.
 -āsi --v. iāsi.
 āsisege-, āsisāḡal- -- throw over (inan., an.); 253,
 258, 270, 274.
 'āsugwe, tniaḡ -- the wind is coming the opposite way;
 183, 262.
 assum-, assu/tm- -- be the boss of; 257.
 āsūn(n) -- blanket(s); 35.
 āsutmessew-, āsutmessewa/tm- -- pray for; 257, 268.
 āsutmēwinui -- pray; 77.
 a'teljoḡo -- just now; 61.
 atgitemi -- cry; 136.
 atgnwē- -- be the dealer; 154.
 at+iesi v. ajiē-
 ati'ew -- goodbye; 55.
 ,atiewi -- say goodbye; 53.
 at:ign'āsi -- work hard; 53.
 atlāy(-l or -g) -- shirt(s); 33, 330.
 atlasami -- rest; 136.

- atlas̄mūt/1-, atlas̄mūt/m- -- give a rest to; 257.
 atl̄ogāsi -- pace; 171.
 'Atua -- Ottawa; 57.
 atu'asgwetesi -- fall backwards; 57.
 'atuen -- Antoine, Anthony; 57.
 'ātugwalg -- tell a story about; 262.
 'atuomg -- sand; 57.
 awantāsi -- 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, -tīt1) -- footpath(s); 45, 339.
 awgtuge'may -- I/charge myself; 53.
 awijējg -- it's rare; 61.
 ægsl(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.
 egnutmueu- -- train; 128, 141, 148, 152, 153, 154-5,
 195, 197, 211, 216, 220, 230.
 egsuoḡon -- lie; 72.
 egwijāl/ḡ -- 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/ḡ -- I/reject/him; 42.

- elaġ, elatm -- resemble; 253.
- elaġati- v. elege-
- elagutm -- be related to; 92.
- elege- -- play, throw; 72, 141, 148, 155, 220.
- elegēwāl/əg -- make king; 86.
- elegēwit -- king; 86.
- elgusue- -- climb; 326.
- eliesi- -- go, be going; 54, 124, 165, 169, 220, 230, 247.
- ,elip'ġami -- glide, slide; 70, 136.
- elipġamū/l-, elipġamū/tu -- make slide; 86, 255.
- elitāsi -- rely on it; 77.
- elō/l-, elō/tu- -- carry a lot of (s.t.) to; 256.
- eġtu -- make it; 119.
- eluēwi -- be wicked, a sinner; 101, 128.
- eluēwiē- -- be crazy; 24, 28, 141, 151, 154, 157, 158, 163, 164, 200, 201, 211, 217, 220, 238, 246, 247, 348.
- eluēuti -- sin, wickedness; 53, 101.
- elugwā, 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.
- emġatua- -- lend it to; 68-9, 268.
- emit:ugwalg -- visit; 86.
- emġsigtaġ -- see the ghost of; 86.
- ēn-, en?/tu- -- lose; 256, 270.
- en?ġāl/əg -- I/stop/him; 70.

ēnusi -- lose o.s.; 222.
 epāgwesg -- headwind; 91.
 epatgwepuā^l/g -- lean him up against s.t.; 87.
 epetā^g v. epeto^gsi.
 epeto^gsi -- moan; 67, 73, 222.
 ēpit, (ēpijig) -- woman, (-men),; 31, 42-3, 45, 192, 331.
 ēpitējīj -- little girl; 59.
 ēpites -- (teenage) girl; 59.
 ēpitjīj -- little woman; 41, 342.
 epsa^gtej -- stove; 67.
 eps^g -- warm; 85.
 epteg -- it is hot; 85.
 esamu^gwā- -- drink; 74, 132, 138, 144, 145, 220.
 esgipē-, esgipe/tu- -- wait for; 87, 256, 265, 346.
 esgwiē- -- have some left; 176.
 ess^m -- dye; 87.
 etl- -- -ing; 159.
 etla^ggal/g -- I/stay with/him; 65.
 etl'āgipu/l-, etl'āgit/tu -- file, saw; 256, 270.
 etlatal -- be eating; 136.
 etlesi -- be glowing; 222.
 etliesi -- be going; 159.
 etligwe- -- grow up here; 132.
 etlo^gsm/(a^g) -- cook it (for s.o.); 270.
 etltā^g v. etlto^gsi
 etlto^gsi -- be blabbing; 224, 225, 231, 232.
 etltugwīm -- be running; 159.
 ewgj^gpuāsi -- step on s.t.; 58, 165, 169, 171.
 ewgsim/g -- I/fool (with words)/him; 67, 92, 296.

- ewegēg, ewegetu -- need (s.o., s.t.); 86.
 -ewi v. -ui.
 ewīge- -- write; 327.
 ewīgew-, ewīgewa/tm -- build a house for; 270, 304.
 ewīgōg -- he/writes it; 90.
 ewīgige- -- write; 50, 131.
 ewipg -- it(the sea) is calm; 183.
 eulamugsi -- look skinny; 67.
 eulēji- -- be poor; 42, 227, 242.
 euljeweji -- be destitute; 227.
 eu'pniāġ -- the wind dies down, falls, calms down;
 24, 99, 183.
 ē(w)u-, ēwu/m- --use; 101, 258, 269.
 g- 2nd person possession prefix; 115.
 gaġamāsi -- stand up; 78, 95.
 gāġan -- door; 65.
 gaġsi-, gaġteg -- be burnt (an., inan.); 225, 229,
 230, 236, 370, 377.
 gaġte- -- v. gaġsi-
 gaġtugwaġ -- thunder; 262.
 n/gaj -- my/dirty foot; 98.
 -gajign -- leg; 327.
 gajuewgj -- cat; 64, 101, 327, 328.
 gāl(g) -- (one) fourth; 224.
 galipu -- caribou; 25.
 galun -- gallon; 64.
 ġ:amāsi v. gaġamāsi.
 gamlamun -- heart; 328.
 gamlamuti -- breath; 55.
 gapñōl -- government; 181.

- gat -- foot, leg; 58, 98, 106, 262, 318, 326, 327.
 gāt -- eel; 65.
 gawatgw -- spruce; 259.
 ga,watgu'pīl -- beer(s); 45.
 'gawi -- porcupine quill; 65.
 gegwālæg -- slow (s.o.) down; 87.
 gēgweg -- upstairs; 99.
 gegjepē -- be hung over; 142.
 geg;unm -- have; 88-9, 92, 93.
 geg:unewey -- be the godparent; 93.
 'geg:usg -- godfather; 72, 92.
 gēytu -- v. gejīg.
 geji-, gēy/tu -- know (an., inan.); 44, 95, 96, 173,
 256, 271.
 gejigew -- a little while ago; 42.
 gejīsi -- know o.s.; 96.
 gelji-, geltæg -- be frozen (an., inan.); 192, 222,
 223, 229, 339, 370.
 gelpil-, gelpil/m -- tie (w/a rope); 258.
 geltæg v. gelji.
 gelūl- v. gelūsi.
 gelulg, gelutm -- talk to [inan.: ask for]; 253, 256.
 gelūsi -- be good; 225, 231, 243.
 gepijog̃-, gepijog̃o/m- -- plug up, seal; 61, 258, 259,
 304.
 gepajog̃om v. gepijog̃.
 gepmitēlm/æg -- respect; 87.
 gepsa'g̃ātu -- close (a book); 85.
 gesga/g̃ -- hurt by putting o.s. on; 83, 346.
 gesgāsi -- disappear; 170.
 gesgātu -- make it disappear; 97.

- gesgātu -- widen it; 97.
- gesgēy -- be wide; 97.
- gesgēlm/əg, gesgēl/tm -- hate; 255, 257, 270.
- gesgelsi -- 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/əg -- eat all up; 83.
- gespu, gu'ātege- -- tell lies; 107.
- gestunepilewe/t -- he/garroted; 50.
- gestunepilg -- hang (s.o.); 87.
- geta'gāsi -- hurry up; 172.
- getan/g, getan?/tu -- hut (for); 253, 256.
- getape- -- dive; 142.
- getgāl/əg -- 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.
- getōgwam/g -- I/look her up and down; 86.
- getū- -- 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.
- getuliwgsi -- 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.
 giasgīw -- just right, proper; 25, 27, 48, 62, 301.
 gigajāsi -- argue; 169, 171.
 gīgām?'gōn(g) -- pole(s); boat pole(s); 22, 224.
 gīgām?'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.
 gisapniaġ -- day (break); 174.
 gisēywa-, gisō/tm -- finally get the best of; 257, 269.
 gisgajāl/og -- 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.
 ḡjjiansalēwit -- archangel; 62.
 ḡjjīapluew -- you great devil!; 62.
 ḡjjīāsutmagan -- greatest prayer; 61.
 gjigan -- city; 41.
 glitaw -- strawberry; 330.
 gl'oġo,wej(g) -- star(s); 23, 344.
 gl,oġowejui -- be a star; 344.
 glu -- eagle; 331.

gl'usgap -- Glooscap, legendary hero of Micmac legend;
64-5.

gm̄aniēwi -- receive communion; 62.

gmt̄n -- mountain; 14.

gam̄uj(1) -- wood, (pl. = bunches of); 22, 46, 57, 333.

gam̄uj(u)ig -- it is wood; 57.

goḡo'liḡwej -- chicken; 44, 72.

goḡomin -- sloe; 74.

goḡ:wālag -- grab, seize; 93.

goḡwey -- what; 261.

gōḡwejīj -- spider; 73.

goliat -- Goliath; 72.

gopit(g) -- beaver(s); 22, 72.

ḡosi -- (finger)nail; 73, 330.

ḡospem (-m or -l) -- lake(s); 35.

-got- -- coat; 331.

gotī/g -- beam/s; 146.

ḡsḡguās v. gesgaḡ.

ḡtḡgālās v. getgālḡ

ḡtḡgiēwinu -- drunkard; 62.

ḡtugun- -- v. getguni.

ḡwā- -- v. oḡwā-.

-gwajign v. -gajign.

'gwasta,le -- holy jumpin'!; 103.

u/g:wat v. -gat.

nt/gwējīj -- my/little sister; 103.

gūgunm v. geg:unm.

gugumij; 44. v. -ugumij.

-gwiij v. -gij.

gwilua-, gwil/m -- look for; 103, 266-7, 268, 317.

- guisin- v. gewisin.
 u/g:witl v. -gij.
 'gwitn(n) -- canoe(s); 34, 103.
 gūji- v. gewgji.
 guj:iewey -- cross; 62.
 gujə̃mug -- outside; 91, 105.
 guljewgtē- -- crucify; 56.
 guñtew, (-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'jīwowey -- eternal; 26-7, 48, 62, 204.
 -iāsi -- [motion]; 157-179, 235, 264, 348, 351, 352,
363-4.
 -iesi -- [motion, becoming]; 157-179, 221, 264, 348,
 351, 352, 363-4.
 -ig- -- home; 58, 322-3.
 -īg -- house; 315, 323.
 igal/g -- I/support/him; 64.
 igāl/ə̃g -- I/put/him; 64.
 igataġan -- garden; 54.
 igātaġu -- plant; 132, 220, 230, 236.
 igatṇ'ēwe/y -- I/be a racer; 64.
 -ignen v. -ig.
 igə̃nə̃mua- -- give it to; 125.
 igtig(-ig, -l) -- other, (others an., inan.); 27, 29,
 53, 72, 192.
 -iguow v. -ig.
 ijga v. gijga.

- ijimij -- arse; 333, 378-9.
 n/ijus -- my brother-in-law; 48.
 ilasgw, (-gug) -- card(s) -- 25, 30.
 iljogwātu -- repair it; 61.
 -ilnu -- tongue; 335, 380.
 -ilu v. -inū.
 īm- v. eym.
 -imā- -- smell, taste; 57, 58.
 inagan -- right (side); 54-5.
 īn?guti -- one by one; 53.
 -inū- / -ilu- -- food; 318, 335, 380.
 -inū -- v. -ilnu.
 istuēy -- be different; 57.
 -itap -- buddy; 320.
 it:es -- I will be there [v. eym-]; 13.
 -itn -- nostril; 181, 318.
 -itū -- hair; 318.
 -j -- dirty, disfigured, spoiled, rotten; 43, 98,
 106, 215.
 jaḡalāsi -- hurry up; move fast; 169, 171.
 jaḡali- -- quickly; 60.
 jaḡalīsi -- speak fast; 161.
 jagej -- lobster; 60, 65-6.
 jajigāsi -- go along the edge; 60.
 jajigēy -- be healthy; 60.
 ja'wāli(aḡ) -- chew(s); grasshopper(s); 29.
 jawātā- -- chew tobacco; 56.
 jel -- or; 61.
 'jenu, (je'nūg) -- giant(s); 28, 29, 61.
 jḡolj, sḡolj -- toad; 42, 60, 73, 41.

- jigajie/y -- I/be touchy; 64.
 jīgāligwatm -- 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.
 jij:awignej -- raisin; 60.
 jij:emā- -- stink; 61, 63, 118, 120, 121, 122, 126.
 jijuāga -- sometimes; 48, 49.
 n?/jilj -- my/father-in-law; 44.
 jimēj(aġ) -- Jim(s); 43, 60.
 jīme- -- poddle; 181.
 jīnam -- man; 181, 289, 290, 345.
 jīnāmui -- be a man; 345.
 jipal/g -- I/fear/him; 181.
 -jītaġan -- neck; 181, 326.
 jōj -- George; 60.
 jugūa v. wejgūesi-.
 jugwījij -- mother-in-law; 52.
 jujij -- lizard; 48, 50, 301.
 laġalans -- barn; 326, 327.
 lāġan -- wound; 67.
 'lag:ol(g) -- cord(s) (of wood); 23.
 laġpusuti -- apron; 53.
 la'pāy(g) -- (wash-) tub(s), bucket(s); 33, 39.
 lapugwan -- ship; 262.
 lasiet -- plate; 56.

- la't:ōlaw, (-laḡ) -- bull(s); 32.
 'len?tugw, (-tug:w) -- deer; 35, 184.
 'len?tugwjīj(g) -- little deer(s); 22.
 lepyē(1) -- foot, (feet) [measure]; 38, 39, 339, 351.
 lgwetu -- female ungulate; 14.
 ḡgusuaḡan -- ladder; 91, 326.
 ligātu -- I/put it; 26.
 lmūj (-g or -ig) -- dog(s); 22, 41, 289, 290, 326, 380.
 lnu -- Indian; 330, 380.
 l'nūsḡw(ag) -- Indian woman; 30.
 -lti v. -ti-.
 luēwie- v. eluēwiē.
 lusḡḡign -- elbow; 326.
 -m- -- v -tu-.
 mā -- not [fut.]; 241.
 maḡaḡ v. maḡoḡsi.
 maḡamigew -- land; 330.
 magasan -- store; 65.
 maḡatpa- -- have a big head; 65, 87.
 maḡatui v. emḡatua-.
 māgn -- moccasin; 68.
 maḡoḡsi- maḡaḡ-inan. -- be big and round; 65, 70, 73.
 magot(1) -- skirt(s); 23.
 maḡtawēy -- be black; 17, 67, 68, 81, 82.
 māil(1) -- mile; 36.
 majāsi -- move, go, leave; 55, 165, 168, 169, 173, 221.
 malḡujetehin -- pitch forward; 61.
 maliēwi -- get married; 62.
 maligēw(g) -- barrel(s); 39-40, 197.
 maligam-, maligu/tm- -- mock, laugh at; 257, 258.

- maljen -- massage; 306.
- maljewejui- -- be young; 61.
- maltew (-tal; generic pl., -teul) -- blood; 40, 197.
- 'mapos(1) -- 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.
- māugtm/ūgw -- we/work together on it; 92.
- māwiōmi -- assembly; 23.
- māulugwe/ygw -- we/work together; 24.
- me'gōtig -- it's expensive; 53.
- megtaĝ -- doubt (s.o.); 87.
- me'gwāig -- 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.
- meḷgṗil/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.
- mestañnua-, mestan/m- -- have everything (s.o., s.t.)
had; 87, 258.

- meta'[^]gātu -- uncover; 86.
- metawgwila/t -- he/be barking at a distance; 99-100.
- metē-g,-m -- strike, hit (an., inan.); 253, 258, 269,
299-300, 301, 305, 312, 364, 373.
- meto'[^]gwātu -- bring down (from the woods); 86.
- metuimā[^]g -- it tastes bad; 57-58.
- metū(ū)guna[^]g -- bad weather; 58.
- m̄gign v. əpgign.
- m̄gəsn v. əpgəsn.
- m̄gumi [Pacifique] v. əpgumi.
- m̄gjigj(g) -- turtle(s); 42, 43.
- əmig:n v. m̄gign.
- mi'[^]jāgej -- vein; 65.
- m̄jijimij v. -ijimij.
- milāsi- -- play;
 157, 158, 159, 162, 165, 167~~z~~, 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.
- mitāj -- humming-bird; 44.
- milogwē- -- smell all different ways; 142.
- mimajuinu -- person; 58.
- mimugwa/l-, mimugwa/tu -- hide; 256.
- minigwal-, -atu -- hide (an., inan.); 253.
- miti, (mitīg) -- tree(s); 53.
- mitiey -- of poplar; 53.
- m̄iti(ŋ) -- meeting; 35.
- m̄jegās -- I will/be dirty [v. m̄jegēy-]; 41.
- m̄lagə'jūmi, (-m̄il) -- butter(s); 45, 55.

- m̄ljogom -- dry wood; 61.
 monaĝ -- not yet; 65.
 m̄antu -- devil; 14, 57.
 m̄antui -- be a devil; 57.
 m̄antuogwom -- devil's abode; 261.
 mō -- not [pres., past]; 241.
 moĝ(:)wā -- no!; 39, 261.
 moĝo'pāĝ(al) -- wine(s); 36-7, 65.
 moĝpe- -- be swollen; 25, 26, 132, 141, 147, 148, 149,
 150-1, 194, 196, 198, 199, 201, 207, 211, 217,
 218, 220, 230, 242, 247, 248, 300.
 m'saĝtaĝt -- floor; 67.
 msigu v. apsigu.
 mti'āĝatestaĝan -- (church) collection; 53, 62.
 m'tijin -- thumb, one inch; 14, 53, 119.
 mtñ -- ten [obs.; cf. pitui/ptñ/aĝan]; 271.
 m'tūnoĝt -- storm; 67, 73.
 mu'in(aĝ) -- bear(s); 24, 29, 31, 177-8.
 mujga -- very good; 45.
 mulĝatm -- I/dig it up; 24.
 'muñti, (-tīl) -- bag(s); 28, 45, 53, 146, 351.
 musgwam-, musgwatm- -- lick; 257, 258.
 'muŝoĝ -- horsefly; 31.
 musti, (-tīl) -- belly, (-ies); 53, 59.
 mut -- don't; 119, 311.
 n- 1st person possession prefix; 115.
 naĝamajejg -- it/be easy; 61.
 naĝanāmā- -- drink (alcohol); be drinking; 141, 145,
 151, 162, 200, 201, 207, 208, 209, 211, 217,
 220, 237, 247, 341.
 naĝanīge- -- scoop (out); 77, 78, 79, 133, 137, 138.

- na'gāsi -- stop; 70, 165, 168, 169, 170, 221, 230, 353.
 'nāgōgōm(g) -- skate(s); 23.
 naḡtm-, naḡal- -- abandon (it, him); 67.
 'nāgweg(l) -- day(s); 23, 66, 99.
 najiwissugwowg:w -- go and cook for; 340.
 nalagi- -- be raring to go; 65.
 napēw(g) --rooster, cock(s); 99, 205, 215.
 nassīgwa/l-, nassīgu/m -- scrape; 257, 270.
 nasōt/l, nasō/tu- -- put on, dress; 255, 256, 270.
 nastesin -- be caught; 119, 126, 128, 132, 134, 135,
 136, 198, 199, 201, 202, 207, 209, 211, 212,
 215, 217, 223, 229, 231, 233, 234, 243, 244,
 245, 317, 370, 138, 184, 185, 186, 188, 194, 195.
 nat:am/g -- go and bum from; 340.
 na'telamugwsi -- be that color; 225.
 nēgaw -- 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.
 nemīwey -- 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.
 nepsālōg -- raise; 87.
 nespitm -- take care of it; 83, 86, 346.
 nespnm -- bring it along; 86.
 nestag -- understand; 81, 83.
 nestu'ēy -- be intelligent, understand; 80, 81.

- nes'tūe- -- come to one's senses; 80.
 nestuimue- -- give good advice; 57.
 nesugwetā- -- go three in a boat; 110.
 nesugunaġ -- (it is) three days; 87.
 netuisge- -- sell; 57.
 nēw -- four nēwijig (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.
 neugtitēlm/əg -- think only of; 54, 91.
 neugtugwalugwe -- be alone; 141, 143, 152-3.
 newg:ul v. nēw.
 nēwijig v. nēw.
 'n̄gatign -- pound; 53.
 n?ġanīge- v. naġanīge-
 n?ġanōpati, (-tīl) -- well(s); 53.
 -n̄gīgu -- parent; 318.
 n̄gotnanj -- bastard; 43.
 ngutitēlm- v. neugtitēlm-
 n?gutīw -- at once; 53.
 'nigoġ(ol) -- spear(s); 36-7, 72.
 nijan -- [v. -njan] my child [voc]; 60, 321.
 nīmā- -- bring one's own food; 142.
 nīn -- I, me; 334, 349, 375, 380.
 nīnen -- we, us (exc.); 334, 375, 380.
 nin?jaġumtesg -- it/drops; 60.
 'nipit(l) -- tooth (teeth); 22.
 nisaġāsi -- go down (the hill); 169, 170.
 'nisgam(aġ) -- god(s); 29, 49, 190.

- n̄jan -- child; 321.
 n̄mēj (-g, -ig) -- fish(es); 41, 342, 344.
 n̄mējui -- be a fish; 344.
 'n̄m̄t̄n̄(g) -- mountain(s); 23.
 n̄mūj v. lmūj.
 n̄ōḡ -- very; 72.
 n̄ōḡom -- cough; 72, 74.
 -n̄sigwan -- eyebrow; 318.
 n̄s̄p̄it:ew v nesp̄itm.
 n̄u -- v lnu.
 n̄u'eyey -- of an Indian; 24, 26.
 n̄ūg-, n̄ūgu/m- -- soften up; 258, 259.
 n̄ūḡwā- -- burn, be burning; 211, 220, 230.
 nugwigja- -- have a soft bottom; 60.
 nujēywajig -- school teacher; 49.
 nujiapōḡon̄muet -- helper; 50, 61.
 nujigestunepilewet -- hangman; 45. 50.
 nuju'īgiget -- clerk; 50-1.
 nulmaḡapi -- feel high; 77.
 n̄uoḡtaw(g) -- totem pole(s); 39.
 nut/l̄ -- I/hear/you; 24.
 nutā- -- lack; be in need; 352.
 nutāiw -- before; 48.
 nutneweu- -- be an altar boy; 154.
 oḡotey -- sweetheart; 56.
 oḡwā- -- land; 77, 79, 261.
 oḡwatg -- north wind; 261.
 p̄aḡalay -- I/be surprised; 65.
 p̄aḡalāyw/in -- you/surprise/me; 27.

- paġal^ˆg -- I/bite/him; 65.
 paġas^ˆalugwe/y -- slide, slip into the water; 97.
 paġase^ˆgey -- throw it into the water; 97.
 paġsip^ˆ:e- -- intensive; 153.
 paġsip^ˆ:esiw^ˆlugwe- -- be sick and tired of working; 153.
 paġta^ˆgam -- in the middle of nowhere; 67.
 paġta^ˆtateg -- the glaring sun; 317.
 paġt^ˆsm(-ugw or -g) -- wolf; 190.
 papua^ˆgan -- fun; 71.
 pasegi -- be thick; 222.
 pasey -- be thick; 222.
 patgwiē -- go close to s.t. (on the water); 176.
 pa'tīs -- Baptist; 53.
 pātīās -- priest; 62.
 pægij(1) -- package(s); 46.
 pegijāsi -- take a long time to get there; 160, 339.
 pegijēy -- take long, a long time; 66, 97, 161.
 pegijiē- -- it takes one a long time to get there
 (on a boat); 161.
 pegijin^ˆamāl^ˆg -- it takes me a long time to put it
 into/her; 97.
 peginetm -- take a bite off it; 97.
 pegisin -- arrive; 111, 223.
 pegisu/l-, pegisi/tu- -- bring; 256, 270.
 pegitgopi -- sit a long time; 160, 339.
 pegitn̄m -- hold a long time; 97.
 pegwāl/^ˆg -- force (s.o.) to do s.t.; 91.
 pegwatelige- -- buy; 141.
 pegwatua-, pegwatu- -- cause; 256.
 pejilāsi -- be, get in the way; move forward, ahead; 169.

- pejītaġama- -- trip forward; 181.
- pejōtu -- bring a lot of it; 86.
- pem- -- progressive prefix; 159.
- pemāl-, pemātu- -- carry (him, it); 57, 73, 250, 254,
255, 277, 285, 289, 290, 302, 303, 305, 306,
307, 311, 332.
- pemiesi -- be walking, walk, go; 56, 124, 151, 157,
158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 194,
201, 202, 207, 220, 238, 246, 300, 348.
- pemigi -- grow; 225.
- pemtugwīm -- be running; 159.
- penogwēy -- be filthy; 221.
- penogwenṃ -- handle food, fine clothes; 86.
- pepgālṡg -- make flat; 88.
- pepsālṡg -- overcome easily; 88.
- pessaptōsi -- cut o.s.; 161.
- pesgwesewey -- mow, reap; 84.
- pestiēwatm -- celebrate; 88.
- pet:ē- -- hit, cut accidentally; 88.
- petgaġ -- step on accidentally; 88.
- pēt/l-, pētū/l-; pētū/tu -- catch [fish]; 256, 258, 259.
- pewgjalġātu -- put a hole in it; 93.
- pewgjalġēg -- there's a hole in it; 60.
- pewgjēy -- have a hole in; 222.
- pewīge- -- sweep; 177.
- pewitu -- sweep (s.t.); 23.
- peútem -- I scorch it [Pacifique]; 101.
- pġanj -- hazel nut; 43.
- peġāw, (peġāul) -- spruce bark(s); 32.
- peġign -- hook; 114, 271, 321.

- ʔpgʰ'sn̄ -- shoe; 181, 271.
 ʔp'gu, (ɿgūg) -- gum(s); 29, 37, 84.
 ʔpgūmānēgati -- blueberry plain; 54.
 ʔpgumi -- 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. piwg:w.
 pīj(1) -- immature sex organ(s); 22, 46, 345.
 pījui- -- pee; 77.
 'piley, (-lēl, -lēg) -- new; 33-4.
 piltuēy -- be different; 14.
 pīma- -- hut geese (at night with a light); 142.
 pisgwā- -- come in; 142, 165, 173-4, 220.
 pisuāsi -- go for nothing; 169, 170, 353.
 pituipnāġan -- 1000; 57, 271.
 pi(w)g:w, pi(w)g:ug -- flea(s); 92, 102, 214.
 'pīġoġ, (-goġ:) -- lover(s); 35.
 'plū,jēy(g) -- bluejay; 33, 39.
 pmie- v. pemiesi.
 poġjie/y -- start; 97.
 'pōġan(n) -- bed(s); 35.
 poġtaġaptm -- see it as it is; 97.
 poġtigim/g -- send; 97.
 ʔpsigu -- grass; 271.
 pəstes v. epsəg.
 ʔptaġan -- plate; 65.
 ʔptnāġan -- 100; 57.

- pugsugw -- wood, firewood; 67, 344.
 pugsugwi -- have wood; 344.
 pugtew -- wood; 317.
 pugwales -- swallow; 262.
 pugwelg -- there's a lot of it; 262.
 pugugw -- eye; 24, 72, 92, 93.
 pu'īgn̄ -- broom; 24.
 puljāyn -- locomotive; 60.
 punewen̄m -- shut up (talking); 136.
 'pū, tay(g) -- bottle(s); 23, 27, 30, 33, 40, 56.
 saga'maw, ('maḡ) -- chief(s); 32, 39, 40-1.
 'sāḡati, (-'tīg) -- needle(s); 53.
 salawey -- salt; 379.
 saluijīj -- John Louis ["little Jean-Louis," i.e.,
 John Louis, Jr.]; 12.
 sam?tē- -- pat, touch; 310.
 sapaḡ:atōsi -- prick o.s.; 70.
 sapewi -- be wise; 102.
 sapeuti -- wisdom; 53, 101, 102.
 sapun -- hair; 321.
 sāsēwātu -- change (it); 98, 99, 183, 346.
 sāsēwgtniaḡ -- the wind changes; 98, 101, 183, 210.
 segi -- piss, urinate; 77, 222.
 seg:w v. sewg:w.
 selōm -- Jerome; 12.
 sepij:ōt̄l /g -- put in (s.o.'s) hand; 88.
 sepiłjenm -- I/hold it in my hand; 61.
 septunāl̄og -- close s.o.'s mouth by hand; 88.
 sēsəpaḡanēy -- be a blabbermouth; 24, 78, 128, 184,
 186, 187, 221, 230.

- se(w)g:w -- sweet; 102, 296.
 s^ʔg^ʌolj v. j^ʌg^ʌolj; 41.
 sgwēw(g) -- hen(s); 32.
 sia'wāsi -- continue; 55, 62.
 sig:w -- v. siwg:w.
 siguniēj -- sparrow; 62.
 sipista^ʌganōsuti -- pin; 53.
 sipta^ʌgāsi -- stretch, expand; 165, 169, 170, 261.
 'sipu, (si'pūl) -- river(s); 28.
 'sisgon (-n or -l) -- nose(s); 35, 327.
 -sisgw -- face; 31, 326, 333-4.
 sisgu, (-gūl) -- mud(s); 31.
 'sisip(g) -- bird(s); 23.
 'sitm(m) -- beach(es); 35.
 sīw -- tired, bored; 153.
 siwēy -- I/be bored; 48.
 siw^ʌgatm -- I/be tired of staying here; 48.
 si(w)g:w, (siwg:ul) -- spring(s); 92, 102.
 's^ʔn^ʌgatign -- raft; 53.
 sōgoyesi -- go up into the woods; 93, 165, 178, 220, 367.
 so^ʌggwat -- eclipse; 69.
 s^ʔssto^ʌgon -- var tree; 84.
 nt/sugwis -- my/aunt; 24, 262.
 'suitis -- candy; 24.
 suliewey -- money; 24.
 'suomu,si, (-'sīl) -- beech tree(s); 45, '55.
 ta^ʌgam-, ta^ʌgt- -- hit (him, it); 56, 250, 255, 257, 259,
 270, 271, 305, 306, 309.
 ta^ʌglīj -- goose; 327.
 taligsugul- -- be that heavy; 223, 224, 231.

- taluege -- what is X worth?; 128, 132, 133, 138, 143,
 151, 162, 196, 200, 201, 207, 210, 211, 220.
 'tapi, (ta'pīg) -- bow(s); 28, 29, 321.
 tap^ətanēgati -- potato field; 54.
 tapugwāti- -- go two in a boat; 110.
 tatujāsi -- how fast is one going? 169.
 tegitpaḡ -- cold night; 65.
 teglejg -- a little bit; 56.
 teglēji -- be few; 227.
 teglējiji- -- there are a few of; 82.
 -tēypm -- tape; 56, 181.
 tel- -- such; 93.
 telagumg -- be related to; 92.
 telapsg^əsi -- be that big; 225.
 telgil -- be that size; 119, 124, 128, 135, 136, 186,
 188, 198, 201, 202, 223, 230, 233, 234, 235,
 242, 247, 255, 366.
 telgim- -- count that way; 258.
 telgm -- be dressed that way; 136.
 telgwijin -- think, believe; 231.
 teligi -- be that shape; 221, 222, 223, 231.
 -tēlm-, tēt^m- -- thought; 374.
 teltāsi -- think so, thus; 158, 160.
 tem?s-, tem?s/m- -- cut (intentionally); 258.
 tem?saḡ[^]-, temsaḡ[^]/m- partition off; 258, 259, 303-4.
 tēp-, tēp/m -- deserve [inan: be able to afford]; 258.
 tepaḡ[^]an, -^ətepaḡ[^]an -- sled; 289, 290, 321.
 tepāl/^əg -- put (s.o.) on (s.t.); 86.
 tepesi -- be sufficient; 222, 225.
 tep:i- -- be on board; 150.
 tepīg -- give (s.o.) his share; 86.

- tepīgē- -- distribute; 143.
 n?/tepij:aḡan -- my/glove; 60.
 tep:isēy -- be separated; 222, 225, 230.
 n?/tēplj -- my/goat; 119.
 tēpljējīj -- kid; 60.
 -tes -- future marker; 13, 126, 239, 46.
 tēsipow(g) -- horse(s); 32, 40-1, 71.
 tesipoumi -- have a horse; 136.
 tetagāsi -- hurry up; 172.
 tew v. tes.
 tewalsi -- piss, urinate; 56, 90.
 tewiesi -- go out, eliminate; 174-5.
 tewijuig -- it pours out; 175.
 -ti-, -lti- intr. verb plural morpheme; 54.
 n/ti, n/tīg -- my/sleigh dog(s); 53, 319.
 ti'ām(ugw) -- moose; 27, 29, 36-7, 53, 55, 62, 345.
 tiāmui -- be a moose; 345.
 n/tinin -- my/body, person; 53, 55, 326.
 tlaḡatig -- Tracadie; 53.
 -tlaminu -- belly; 322.
 tlgil- v. telgil-
 n/tlūsugw -- my/son-in-law; 130.
 -tm- v. -tu-.
 tmaḡan, -~~t~~tmaḡan -- pipe; 321, 379.
 tmawey, -~~t~~amawey -- tobacco; 321, 322, 379.
 tmīgn, -~~t~~mīgn -- axe; 321, 322.
 'tmḡlet(g) -- glass(es), tumbler(s); 23.
 toḡ -- then; 72.
 toḡjuā- -- climb; 81, 82.
 toḡ'jūgusue -- climb up; 133, 137.

- to^gon -- dress; 56.
 -tnia^g -- the wind (does s.t.); 98, 99, 183.
 atpluta^gan -- law; 182.
 -tu-, -tm-, -m- -- transitive inanimate object marker;
 284, 297, 298, 373.
 tūa^gan -- ball; 71.
 tūā-s v. tewiesi-.
 tu'asgam -- I/turn it over; 24.
 n?/tuēm -- my/domestic animal; 190, 191.
 n/tugwapegn -- my/chin; 56.
 n?/tugwejan -- my/forehead; 60.
 tujīw -- then; 48.
 -tuom v. wow.
 n/tus -- my/daughter; 24.
 u- 3rd person possession prefix; 115.
 'wā^goy, (wā'gēl) -- body(ies); 37-8, 39.
 wa^gamēy -- be pure; 53.
 wa^gamōti -- purity; 53.
 wa^gāntew -- bone; 71.
 wa^gjuigātu -- bend; 264.
 wā(w)gw, (wāgug) -- louse (lice); 28, 205.
 'wayopsg -- bead; 26.
 wajuie/y -- I/be full; 58.
 wajupe- -- be full, soaking; 42, 49, 89.
 wan?ta^gayesi- -- get quiet; quiet down; 165, 200.
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 (KH) -- 282, 284
 (KI) -- 282
 (KJ) -- 282, 284
 (KK) -- 287, 290
 (KL) -- 287
 (KM) -- 72, 73, 178, 261, 297, 298, 330
 (KN) -- 301, 302
 (LA) -- 319
 l-deletion -- 288
 (continuant-) lengthening -- v. (AC)
 l/n-alternations -- 293-4, 363, 380
 l-nasalization -- v. (DM)
 (MA) -- 266, 282-3, 284, 303, 304, 308, 312
 marker-movement -- v. (KC)
 (MB) -- 190-1
 (MC) -- 258-259, 270

(MD) -- 181, 186, 291
 m-deletion for nepm -- 155
 (ME) -- 59
 (MF) -- 96, 346
 minor i-deletion -- v. (JB)
 m/p-alternation -- 270-271.
nam-insertion -- v. (KD)
 (post-p final) n-deletion -- v. (MD)
 n-denasalization -- v. (HE)
 n-insertion -- v. (JG)
 No-expansion -- v. (KH)
 Number-expansion -- v. (KJ)
 Num-expansion -- v. (KK)
 obstruent-aspiration -- v. (AB)
 obstruent-devoicing -- v. (IA)
 obstruent-voicing -- v. (AA)
 o-formation -- v. (DC), (KM)
 Person-expansion -- v. (KI)
 Pl.-expansion -- v. (KL)
 plural vowel deletion -- v. (FH)
 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)

s-deletion -- v. (GA)
 (pre-j) s-deletion -- v. (ME)
 s-g-insertion -- v. (KF)
 shwa-deletion -- v. (HD)
 shwa-insertion -- v. (EA)
 s/j alternation -- 42, 60, 345
 sonorant-deletion -- v. (EF)
 sonorant-syllabification -- v. (AD)
 spirantization -- v. (DI)
 s--->t -- v. (DE)
 stress assignment -- v. (DH)
 Sundanese vowel nasalization -- v. [GE]
 t--->g -- v. (FB)
 Theme-expansion -- v. (KG)
 Theme-realization -- v. (KG)
 t-insertion -- v. (CB)
 t--->j -- v. (BI)
 [t, j]-deletion -- v. (HB)
 transitive animate vowel reduction -- v. (MC)
 u-deletion -- v. (KA)
 ū-depletion -- v. (FE)
 (u)gu-insertion -- v. (KE)
 u-insertion -- 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 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{deletion} \\ \text{dropping} \end{array} \right\}$ -- v. (BB)
 (plural) vowel deletion -- v. (FH)
 (unstressed) vowel deletion -- v. (DK)
 vowel-gravifying -- v. (FA)
 vowel-lengthening -- v. (FK), (JD), (JF)
 (contraction) vowel-lengthening -- v. (EB)
 vowel reduction -- v. (DK)
 (transitive animate) vowel reduction -- v. (MC)
 vowel shortening -- v. (FI)
 (final) vowel shortening -- v. (BB)
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 y-insertion -- 363ff.
 w-deletion -- v. (BC), (IB)
 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) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}$ -----> [+syllabic] / { <#>^c } _____ < { <#>^c } >

Glide-formation

(BA) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle_a \end{bmatrix}$ -----> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+voc] \\ [-voc] / \end{array} \right.$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+voc] \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ \langle -\text{cons} \rangle_b \\ \# \\ -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle_b \end{array} \right\} , a \Rightarrow b$

Final vowel shortening

$$(BB) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{long} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \langle -\text{unit} \rangle \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} \#$$

w-deletion

$$(BC) \quad w \dashrightarrow \langle +\text{unit} \rangle / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle \text{---} + [-\text{plural}]$$

a/e-alternation

$$(BD) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a) } [-\text{grave}] / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{long} \\ \langle +\text{noun} \rangle_a \\ \langle -\text{anim} \rangle_b \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \# \\ \text{b) } \text{---} \text{ (u) ti} \\ \text{c) } [+grave] / \langle i \rangle_d \begin{bmatrix} +\text{verb} \\ +\text{plural} \\ \langle -\text{anim} \rangle_c \end{bmatrix} + , \end{array} \right.$$

where $a \Rightarrow b$ and $c \Rightarrow d$.

Geminate Segment agglomeration

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [+segment] & [+segment] & \\ 1 & 2 & \\ \end{array} \Longrightarrow \emptyset \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ +\text{long} \end{bmatrix} ,$$

if $l=2$ with the possible exception of length and continuancy

Glide-insertion

$$(BG) \begin{bmatrix} \langle \leftarrow \text{unit} \rangle \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ \langle \grave{\alpha} \text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \\ \langle \grave{\alpha} \text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \#$$

ā-shortening

$$(BH) \quad a \text{-----} \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / \text{-----} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+obviative] \\ [+plural] \end{array} \right\} +.$$

t-->j

$$(BI) \quad t \text{-----} \rightarrow j / \text{-----} i$$

i-deletion/j_____g

$$(BJ) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ \langle \grave{\alpha} \text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \rightarrow \emptyset / [+voc] j \text{-----} /$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-----} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \#$$

$$\langle \emptyset \text{long} \rangle_b [+unit] \begin{bmatrix} \langle \emptyset \text{long} \rangle_a \\ \text{-----} \end{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} l \\ g \end{array} \right\}, a \Rightarrow b$$

$$i \text{---} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{-----} [u, w]$$

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

t-insertion

$$a) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{anim} \end{bmatrix} + \text{-----} [+seg]_3 \#$$

$$(CB) \quad \emptyset \text{-----} \rightarrow [t] / \quad b) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{seg} \\ \langle \leftarrow \text{nasal} \rangle_c \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} \# \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}_d, c \Rightarrow d$$

u-shortening

$$(CC) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} u \\ \langle -long \rangle \end{array} \right] \dashrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \langle -unit \rangle \\ -long \end{array} \right] / t \text{ — } i$$

i-deletion

$$(CD) \quad i \dashrightarrow \langle {}_3 +unit \rangle_3 / \left\{ \langle {}_1 + \rangle_1^j \right\} \text{ — } a$$

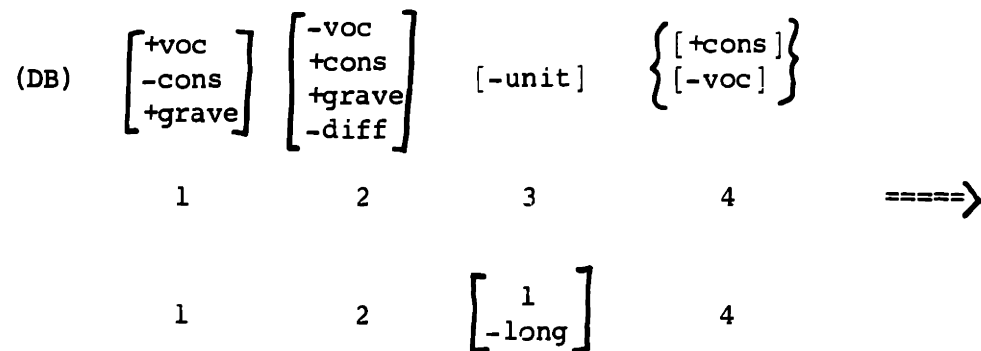
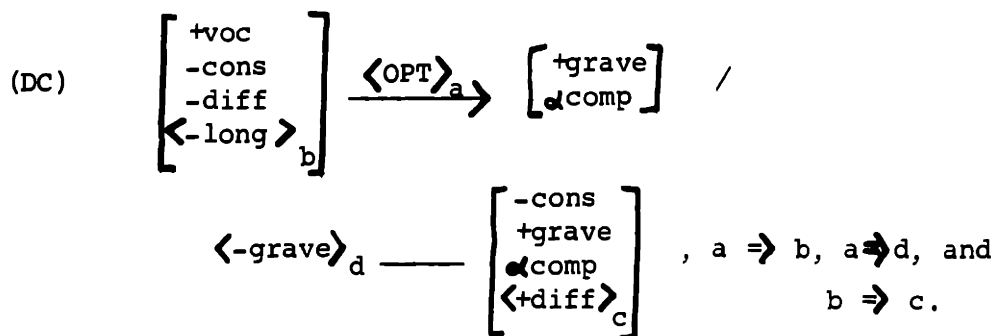
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} -diff \\ +voc \\ -cons \\ \langle {}_1 +long \rangle_1^b \\ \langle {}_2 -grave \rangle_2 \end{array} \right] \langle {}_3 + \rangle_3 \left[\begin{array}{c} -voc \\ +son \end{array} \right]_2, a \Rightarrow b$$

g-insertion

$$(CE) \quad \emptyset \dashrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} -voc \\ +cons \\ -diff \\ +grave \\ +obst \end{array} \right] / \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{c} -cons \\ \langle {}_1 -voc \rangle_1^b \\ \langle {}_2 +long \rangle_2^c \end{array} \right] \right\} \langle + \rangle_a \left[\begin{array}{c} -cons \\ -voc \\ +grave \\ +diff \end{array} \right] \text{ — } \\ / \text{ — } \langle {}_1 + \rangle_1 [+obst], a \Rightarrow b \text{ or } c$$

e-deletion

$$(DA) \quad e \dashrightarrow \emptyset / \text{ — } [a, o]$$

Vowel-copyingO-formationw-devoicing

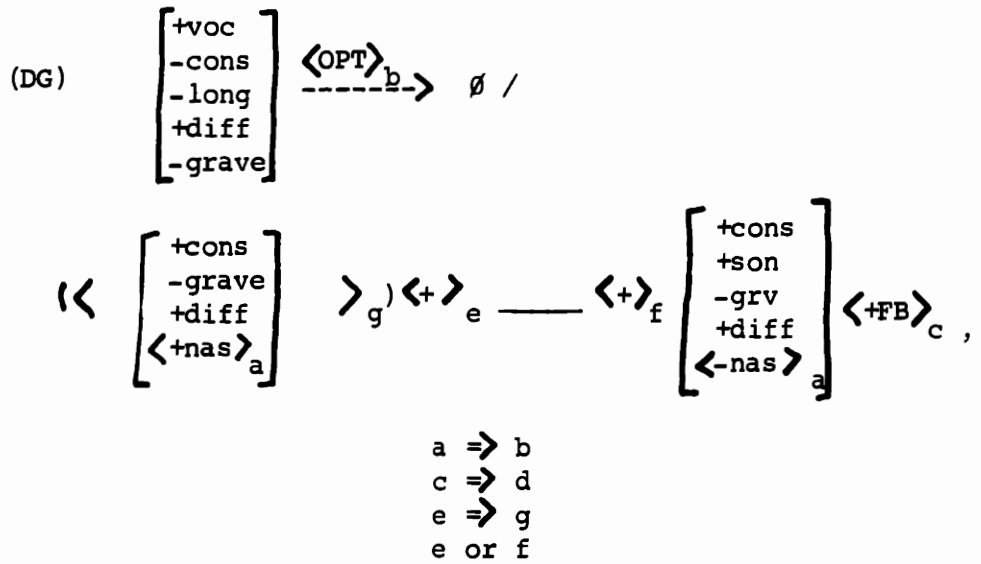
(DD) w -----> [-voice] / g _____ #

s---->t

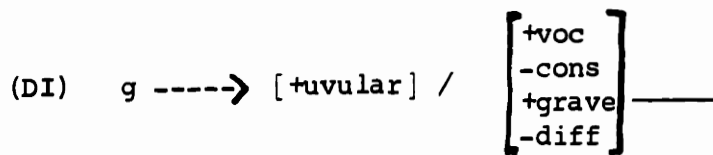
(DE) s -----> t / +V $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \alpha \text{grave} \\ \alpha \text{long} \end{bmatrix}$ _____ i + i + [+segment]

j ----> y

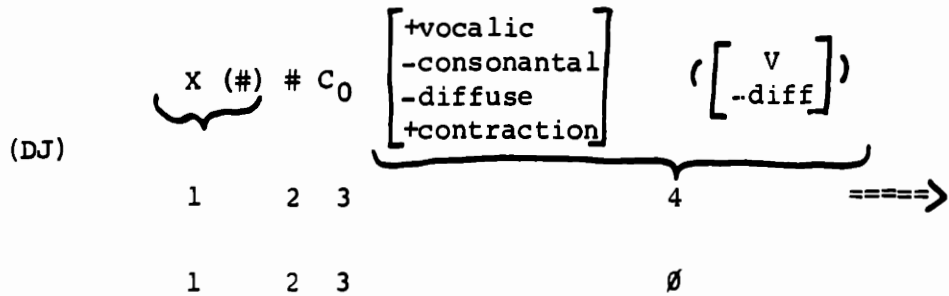
(DF) j -----> y / _____ t



uvularization



Contraction



g-deletion

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{(DL)} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \langle -\text{WB} \rangle_a \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] & [\text{g}] & \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{array} \right] & \langle +\text{obst} \rangle_b, & a \Rightarrow b \\
 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & \text{====} \rightarrow \\
 & 1 & \emptyset & 3 & 4 &
 \end{array}$$

l-nasalization

$$\text{(DM)} \quad 1 \text{ -----} \rightarrow [+nasal] / \begin{array}{c} n \\ + \\ \hline \end{array}$$

w-revocalization

$$\text{(DN)} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle \end{array} \right] \text{-----} [+voc] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ \langle \# \rangle \end{array} \right\} \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

g-deletion

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{(DO)} & \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \langle \text{OBL} \rangle \text{-----} \emptyset / \# & \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \end{array} \right] \\
 & & \hline
 & & \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ \langle +\text{long} \rangle \\ [+cons]_1 \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

Shwa-insertion

$$\text{(EA)} \quad [-\text{unit}] \text{-----} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle_b \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_2 \text{-----} C \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle_a \end{array} \right] \\ \# \text{-----} [+obst]_2 \end{array} \right\}, a \Rightarrow b.$$

Contraction vowel-lengthening

$$(EB) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [+long] / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}_2$$

Sonorant-deletion

$$(EF) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{son} \\ \langle -\text{grave} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

Pre-u u-deletion

$$(EG) \text{ u} \dashrightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} + \text{u}$$

g-rounding

$$(EH) \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{comp} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} & [-\text{unit}] & [\langle \begin{matrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{matrix} \rangle] \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{matrix} \quad \Longrightarrow$$

$$1 \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \langle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \rangle 4.$$

Vowel-gravifying

$$(FA) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{plural} \\ +\text{verb} \end{bmatrix}$$

t -----> g

(FB) t -----> g / $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{son} \\ +\text{diff} \\ [+grave] \\ [-\text{voc}] \\ [+cons] \end{array} \right] + \text{---}$

Morphemic i-deletion

(FC) i -----> \emptyset / + _____ + c

(FD) [i, y] -----> \emptyset / $\frac{[+\text{son}]}{+}$
+
+
+

ū-depletion

(FE) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{long} \\ +\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \text{----->} \left[\begin{array}{l} \langle -\text{unit} \rangle \\ \alpha \text{grave} \\ \emptyset \text{diffuse} \end{array} \right] / \langle + \rangle \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \\ \alpha \text{grave} \\ \emptyset \text{diff} \end{array} \right] + \text{---}$

u-insertion

(FG) [-unit] -----> u $\left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{son} \\ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{cons} \rangle \\ -\text{voc} \end{array} \right] \right\} \text{---} \langle \langle [+voc] \rangle \rangle t ([+\text{seg}]) +$

Plural vowel deletion

(FH) $\left[\begin{array}{l} v \\ -\text{diff} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] \text{----->} \emptyset / \text{---} [+plural]$

Vowel shortening

(FI) v -----> [≠long] / _____ + [-plural]

a-deletion(FJ) a -----> ø / _____ \bar{o} Vowel-lengthening

(FK) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \langle \text{OPT} \rangle \rightarrow [+long] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-long] \\ [+diff] \\ [-voc] \end{array} \right\} \text{---} /$

--- $\left(\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle -\text{voc} \rangle \\ -\text{cons} \\ +diff \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{obst} \\ -\text{grave} \\ \langle -diff \rangle_a \end{array} \right] \langle \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +grave \end{array} \right] \rangle \right) \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{voc} \\ -\text{grave} \\ +diff \\ b \end{array} \right] a \Rightarrow b$

s-deletion

(GA) s -----> ø / + v $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ \langle -long \rangle \\ \langle -grave \rangle \end{array} \right] \text{---} i + \langle [+segment] + \rangle$

post-e i-deletion

(GC) i -----> ø / e _____ +

 \bar{a} -metathesis

(GD) \bar{a} $\underbrace{i + t}_2$ $\underbrace{i +}_3 \Longrightarrow \emptyset \ 2 + 1 + 3$

āsi i-deletion

$$(GF) \quad i \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a) } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{stress} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \\ -\text{stri} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{b) } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{segment} \end{bmatrix}_1^2 \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{c) } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right\} + \text{---} + C$$

i -----> u

$$(GG) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \langle -\text{grave} \rangle /$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{long} \\ \{ +\text{voc} \} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \langle + \rangle$$

i-deletion

$$(HA) \quad \begin{bmatrix} i \\ \langle -\text{long} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \langle -\text{unit} \rangle \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} / j \text{ ---} p$$

[t, j]-deletion

$$(HB) \quad [t, j] \text{ -----} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} p \\ + \\ + \text{---} \end{array}$$

æ-deletion

$$(HC) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{comp} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \text{ -----} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \langle +\text{comp} \rangle \\ \langle +\text{voc} \rangle \\ +\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} / \langle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix} \rangle \text{ ---}$$

Shwa-deletion

(HD)
$$\begin{array}{ccc} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] & \partial & \\ \text{1} & \text{2} & \implies \text{1} \text{1} \end{array}$$

n-denasalization

(HE) n -----> [-nasal] / _____ æ p ni

Glide-deletion

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

Obstruent-devoicing

(IA) [+obst] -----> [-voice] / #

w-deletion

(IB)
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] \langle \text{OPT} \rangle \text{-----} \rightarrow [-\text{unit}] / \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{cont} \\ \langle +\text{grave} \rangle \\ \langle -\text{diff} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

(IC)
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / \text{---} + [y, w] g$$

ig-deletion

(ID)
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{long} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{long} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{diff} \\ -\text{grave} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] & & & \\ \text{1} & & & & \text{2} & \text{3} & \implies & \text{1} \emptyset \emptyset \end{array}$$

(JA) $\left[\begin{array}{c} i \\ \text{-long} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \varnothing / s \text{ ______ } + g$

Minor i-deletion (MINOR)

(JB) $i \text{-----} \rightarrow \varnothing / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-animate} \\ \text{______} \end{array} \right] +$

Continuant-deletion (MINOR)

(JC) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cont} \end{array} \right] \text{-----} \rightarrow \varnothing / \text{______} + [-\text{animate}]$

Vowel-lengthening (MINOR)

(JD) $v \text{-----} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{______} + [-\text{animate}]$

i-deletion (MINOR)

(JE) $i \text{-----} \rightarrow \varnothing / v j \text{ ______ } g$

Pre-ji vowel-lengthening (MINOR)

(JF) $v \text{-----} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{______} ji$

n-insertion

(JG) $\varnothing \text{-----} \rightarrow n / \text{______} u + g$

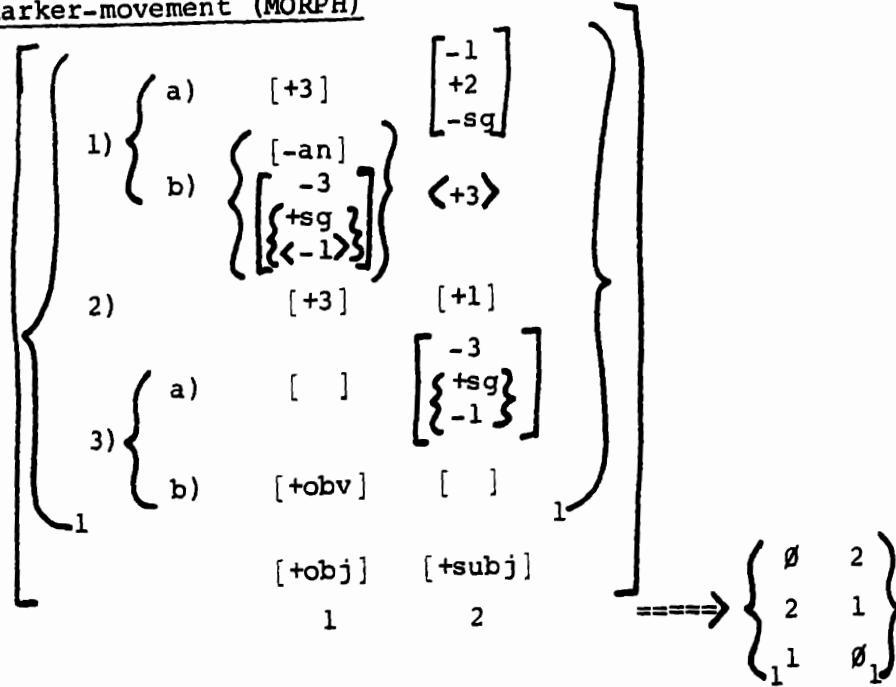
u-deletion

(KA) $u \text{-----} \rightarrow \varnothing / \text{______} a [+cons]$

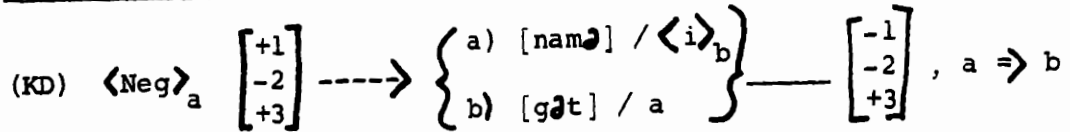
a-deletion

(KB) $a \text{-----} \rightarrow \varnothing / [u, w] \text{ ______ } [+voc]$

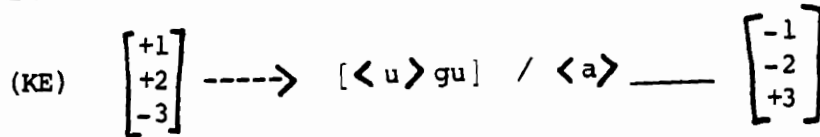
Marker-movement (MORPH)



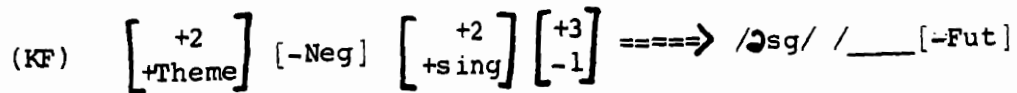
namə/gət-insertion (MORPH)

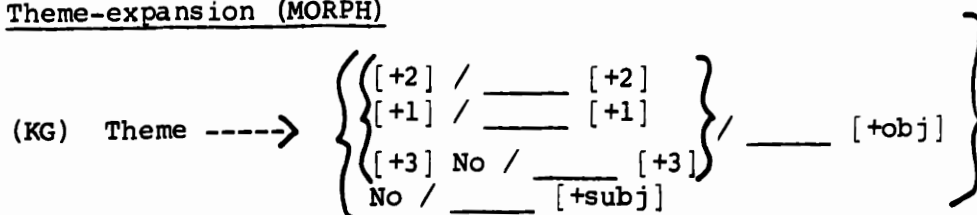
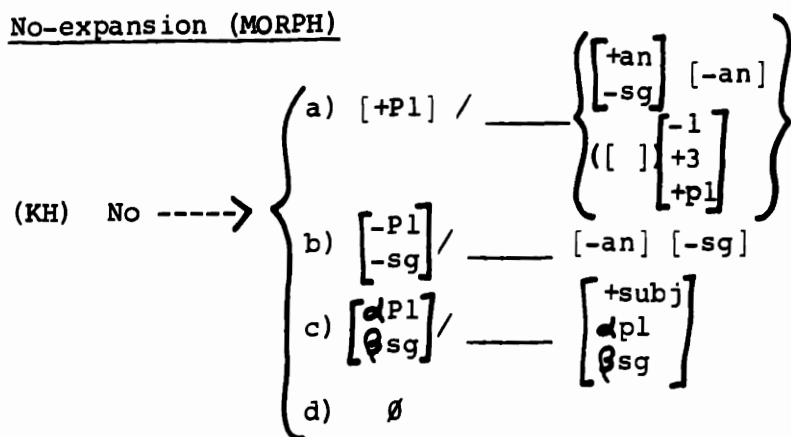
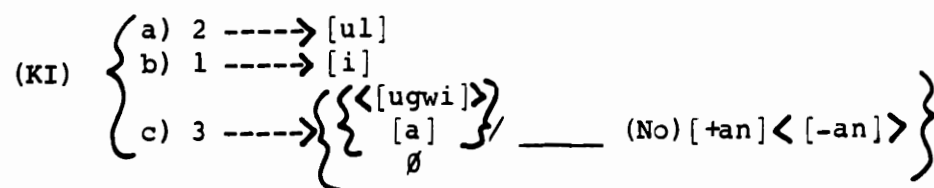
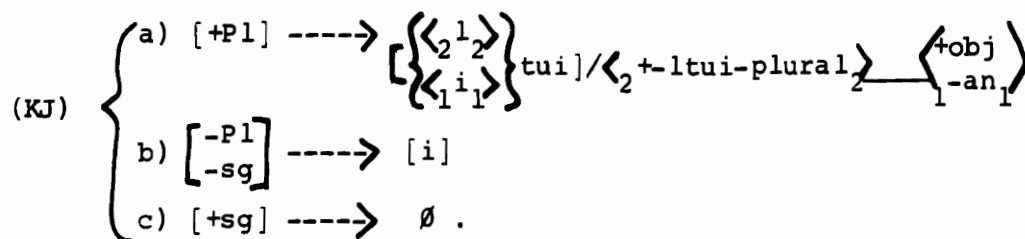


(u)gu-insertion (MORPH)



sg-insertion (MORPH)



Theme-expansion (MORPH)No-expansion (MORPH)Person-expansion (MORPH)Number-expansion (MORPH)

Num-expansion (MORPH)

(KK) Num \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Plu} \\ \langle -\text{an} \rangle \end{array} \right] / ([\text{obj}]) \left[\begin{array}{l} +3 \\ -1 \\ \langle -\text{an} \rangle \end{array} \right] ([+\text{subj}]) \text{ ---} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right.$

Pl-expansion (MORPH)

(KL) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a) } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Plu} \\ -\text{an} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [1] \\ \text{b) } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Plu} \\ +\text{an} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [(i)g] \end{array} \right.$

u ----> 0

(KM) $\left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{long} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----} \rightarrow [-\text{diff}] / [-\text{voc}] \text{ ---} \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{diff} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right]$

i ----> u

(KN) i ----> u / _____ + u

ī ----> ∅

(LA) ī ----> ∅ / _____ + i(n) [?]

u-deletion

(MB) u ----> ∅ / $\left[\begin{array}{l} v \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right] m \text{ ---} + g$

TA Vowel Reduction (MINOR)

(MC) v ----> ∅ / $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{anim} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] [+son] +$

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

- ʔp'saḡtej } (gh) -- stove
 'ep, saḡ'tej }
 gl'oḡo, wej (ḡḡ) -- star
 ,m(ə)la'gej (ḡḡ) } (ḡḡ) -- milk
 ,mə'la, gej }
 glo'ḡonntiej (ḡḡ) -- great blue heron, gulls
 jijig^wa'tej (ḡḡ) -- sandpiper, snipe
 a'pōḡ^wa, tej (ḡḡ) -- woodpecker
 'gapja'gwej (ḡḡ) -- robin
 'aji'put:aḡa, nej (ḡḡ) -- bat
 mu'īn, ej (ḡḡ) -- baby bear
 a'tūtu, ej (ḡḡ) -- squirrel, chipmunk
 'ḡəlu^wmu'ej (ḡḡ) -- mosquito
 mi'jipjamuej (ḡḡ) -- June bug
 mu'lum^wḡwej (ḡḡ) -- marmot, woodchuck
 muss'pēj (g) -- porpoise
 a'pal, ḡaḡa, mej (g) -- groundhog
 ,aḡ'tagwej (ḡḡ) -- Negro
 'pḡa'wej (ḡḡ) -- partridge, grouse
 ti'ā, mēj (ḡḡ) -- baby moose
 ana'ḡ^wēj (ḡḡ) -- vagina, flatfish
 mi'jāḡej (ḡḡ) -- vein
 'gom(ə)ḡgwej (ḡḡ) -- sucker
 'jaḡej -- lobster
 mḡ, gegə'nēj (g) -- hairless bat

 'wenuj (ḡḡ) -- Frenchman

- ap'jijgə, muj(g^h) -- duck
 'gaġa, guj(g) -- raven, crow, blackbird
 , pugə, latə'mūj(g^h) -- little people
 'sg^weşəm^wuj(g^h) -- bitch
 apl'iḡmuj(g^h) -- bay duck
 ej^hguj(g^h) -- pumpkin, watermelon
 mili'tāj(g^h) -- hummingbird
 a'paġtuge'wāj(g^h) -- European [note: -gewaġ]
 'mig^hjig^hj(g) -- turtle
- a'pigjij(g^h) -- mouse
 'gini,gwe'jij(g^h) -- ant, burr, thistle
 jujij(g^h) -- lizard, reptile
 'gōgwe,jij(g^h) -- spider
 n?ju'g^wījij(g^h) -- (my) mother-in-law
 'mijga'mij(gh) -- grandfather
 'gugu'mij(g^h) -- grandmother
 gopsəjij(g^h) -- little cup
 gApjij(g^h) -- cup
 la'połjij(g^h) -- bowl
 'jijgələ'we^wg^h,jij(g^h) -- lamb
 'moġo,le'wīj(g) -- brant
 'jip'jij,jip'jijg^h -- little bird
 'len?tugwjij(g^h) -- little deer
 wasoġo'wīj(g^h) -- firefly
 n?t'g^wejij(g^h) -- (my) little sister
 ,miju'ājij(g^h) -- baby
 aph'ġwan,jij(g^h) -- spoon
 mig^hjig^hjij(g^h) -- little turtle

- nə'mējij(g^h) -- herring
 nu'jij(g^h) -- (my) grandchild
 ele'gēwis, g^wej(g^h or ig) -- princess
 nə'mēj(g^h or ig) -- fish
 l'mūj(g^h or ig) -- dog
 'mīgəmə, wāj^h(g^h) -- Micmac [note plurals: mīgəməġ,
 mīgəməwəġ]
 āij(g^h or ig) -- such (a)
 n?'jilj(g^h or ig) -- father-in-law

 'laggol 'lag:əg^h -- cord (of wood)
 məg^hrəl(g^h or aġ) -- mackerel
 gāl(g^h) -- fourth
 etuēl(g^h or aġ) -- Edward
 ,gapəli'ēl(g^h) -- Gabriel

 apsu'tēgan(g^h)--doll
 'gīgam?'gon(g^h)-- pole
 'nəmtŋ(gh) -- mountain
 'gəmtŋ(gh)
 'gōg{ə}min(g^h) -- wild prune
 'lātaġsun(g^h) -- (water) pail
 ,ŋġa'paġsun(g) -- well pail (permanent)
 'lipġa'mūta,ġan(g) -- (spin-) top
 'm?gə'sŋ(g) -- shoe
 māgŋ(g^h) -- mocassin
 apu'ig'igŋ(g^h) -- picture
 'nəmmo,ġon(g) -- birch
 nan?'gōn, nan, gōn(g^h) -- comb
 nə,galətə'gōn(g^h) -- comb

- 'pītugun(g^h) -- shawl
 pu'īgəŋ(g^h) -- broom
 wen'jūsuga, pun(g^h) -- turnip
 sus'panigəŋ(g^h) -- soap
 'sup:, in(g^h) -- pint
 ə'sstogəŋ(g^h) -- fir tree, var
 'tapə, tan(g^h) -- potato [also occasionally -, taŋ]
 'tūagəŋ(g^h) -- ball
 [cf. ntu'āgəŋ -- my knife]
 'eptagəŋ(g^h) -- plate
 g'lap, tan(g^h) -- blacksmith
 ,sūl'min(g^h) -- beads, rosary
 'tmagəŋ(g^h) -- pipe
 gŋ'g^watigəŋ(g^h) -- letter
 ,sspi'sun(g^h) -- belt
 'naḡhsun(g^h) -- sheet
 'nə^mnoḡəŋ, nə^mno'ḡəŋg^h -- birch
 'tagəwang^h -- young, small salmon
 gapiten(g^h) -- captain
 ,ga'lun(g^h) -- gallon
- 'aḡam(g^h) -- snowshoe
 'nāḡogəŋ(g^h) -- skate
- 'paḡtəsə^m, { 'paḡtə, sə^mg^h -- two } -- wolf
 { 'paḡtəsə^mg^w -- a lot }
- (,n?t)'jigəŋnam(g^h) -- (my) brother
 nə'maḡ, tam(g^h) -- brother-in-law
 'n?'tu, ē(ə)m(g^h) -- cat, horse, dog, cow
 ḡospem(g^h) -- lake

- , lasi'et(^hg^h) -- plate
 [note: , lasi'ejig -- lots of plates]
 'təməlet, 'təmə'letg^h -- glass, tumbler
 'ēpit, { 'ēpitg^h } -- woman
 { 'ēpijig }
 'tepgun'set, { -set^hg^h } -- month, moon
 { -sejig }
 'gopit (g^h or aḡ) -- beaver
 'sigṛet(g^h) -- cigarette
 'aləpət(g^h) -- halibut
- la'pē, lis(g^h) -- one yard
 'uss'guss(g^h) -- weasel, marten
 'gū'gū, g^wes(gh) -- owl
 'pug^wa, les(gh) -- swallow
 'wow?'gwis(gh) -- fox
 ,matu'es(gh) -- porcupine
 wa'pus(gh) -- snowshoe rabbit
 'mimi'ges(gh) -- butterfly, moth
 ,tepi'nēs(gh) -- bedbug
 'ēpitēs(gh) -- girl
 guł'g^wis(gh) -- hog
 mi'tīs(gh) -- tree
 wīsis(gh) -- animal
 'pā'tli,ās(gh) -- priest
 'pipu'g^wes(gh) -- whistler (bird)
 ,n?tus(gh) -- my daughter
 'gəla'mugsis(gh) -- uncle
 n?t'gwis(gh) -- (my) son
 'nīl^h, muss(gh) -- brother-in-law

- sug^wis(g^h) -- aunt
 mass(g^h) -- cunt
 geg:us(g^h) -- godparent
 l'pātūs(g^h) -- young man
 gāss(g^h) -- train
 gə,mutn'ess(g^h) -- thief
 gulg^wis(g^h) -- pig
- 'īap(g^h) -- male animal
 'ginap(g^h or (preferred) aĝ) -- giant
 'sisip(g^h) -- bird
 'saṣṣap(g^h) -- jellyfish
- wow(g^w) -- pot
 gūow(g^h) -- pine [also 'guaĝ -- lots of pines]
 'tēsi,po, 'tēsi'po^wg^w -- horse
 ,lnu'oĝ,tāw, ʔ,tāw^gh- -- statue, totem pole
 tə'moĝ,tāw, -'tāw^gh -- trunk, beam
 'lippe,tāw(g^h) -- ash
 'jī'gāw(g^hw) -- bass
 'al'mānti'ēw(g^w) -- German
 ,mali'gēw(g^h) -- barrel [cf. aligew, -gal]
 aĝalasi'ēw(g^h) -- Englishman
 na'pēw(g^h) -- male bird, rooster
 pigi'lēw(g^h) -- glass lamp globe
 sg^wēw(g^h) -- hen
- 'la,pāi, la'pāig -- (wash)tub
 'pū,tay(g^h) -- bottle
 atlāy(g^h) -- shirt [note also: atl'āyl]

,ga'watg^w, -gugh -- spruce
 wāug^w, wā^wgug -- head louse
 'i,lasgw, i'lasgug -- card
 pi(w)g:w, pi(w)g:ug -- flea

eīsa'pet(aĝ) -- Elizabeth
 essgimo(aĝ) -- Eskimo
 'aīma(haĝ) -- German
 apə'lām(aĝ) -- Abraham
 a'pisstanewgj^h(aĝ) -- martén(?), fisher(?)
 aītle(aĝ) -- Andrew, André
 alili(aĝ) -- Aurelie
 'Atua, 'At,ua-aĝ -- Ottawa
 'atu,en(aĝ) -- Antoine
 at,a,ata'aĝ -- Adam(s)
 a'selig(aĝ) -- Angelique
 'goliat(aĝ) -- Goliath
 'gəspəro(aĝ) -- a sticky fish (?chub)
 məkra:l (aĝ or g^h) -- mackerel
 ləmpəri, { -priaĝ } -- lamprey
 { -prig }
 'gisi'g^wissg^w(aĝ) -- old woman
 nisgam(aĝ) -- god
 'gəpñ'ōl, ,gəpñ'ōlaĝ -- government
 'sunungw('aĝ) -- wild goose)
 lūn(aĝ) -- loon
 ,jigə'ti(aĝ) -- chickadee
 mu'īn(aĝ) -- bear
 'giu'nig(aĝ) -- otter
 'gopit(aĝ or g^h) -- beaver

'putəp(aġ) -- whale
 'wa'pɫɪ, moġ, -, mo, ġwaġ -- porpoise
 , jā'wāli(aġ) -- cricket, grasshopper
 'eli(aġ) -- Eli
 , ɫ'nūsɟw(aġ) -- Indian woman
 'gi, nap, 'gina, paġ (preferred) or 'gi, napɟh -- giant
 'puo, win('aġ) -- sorcerer, witch
 'gā^h(aġ) -- eel
 t'ɫūsus'esɟw(aġ) -- daughter-in-law
 , uɟə, ʃiɟti'ejəməɫ, -'ejəmuəġ -- his, their arse
 ɟə'lusɟap(aġ) -- Glooscup
 'gūow; gūow(ɟ^h)- -- pine; gūāġ -- lots
 etuēɫ(aġ or ɟ) -- Edward
 pəɾj(ig) -- perch
 (ə)'ssġolj(ig) -- toad, frog
 tēplj(ig) -- goal [also pl.: 'tēplaġ]
 , jijɟəlu'ewɟhj(ig) -- sheep
 , ɟaju'ewɟ^hhj(ig) -- cat
 mi'aw(n)j(ig) -- cat
 əŋ'ġotŋ'anj, '(ə)n'ġotŋ'anjig -- bastard
 uɟ:l, uɟ:ig -- his father, his fathers
 wūj (ig or ɟ^h) -- fly

 nulugss, -ɟsig -- (my) nephew
 rāts(ig) -- rat
 ēs, 'ēsig -- clam
 jēgās, jē'gāsɟ -- jackass
 mesɟilɟ(ig) -- big
 'iɟtig, iɟtigig, iɟtigɫ -- other

'gutjewg^h'tāsīt,-i'jig -- crucifix
 wa'jūpet, -pe,jig -- he, they are full

'ēpit, { 'ēpijig, } -- woman
 { 'ēpith_g }

ele'gēwith^h,-wi,jig -- king
 ansa'lēwit,-wi,jig -- angel

,tepgun'set, sejig -- month
 seth^{gh}

el'malgⁱ,gwe'jit,-jijig -- mole [he burrows holes]
 sas'g^oējit,-jijig -- crab louse ("he's flat")
 ,jij:e'mājit,-jijig -- stinkbug ("he stinks")
 'sapue,jit,-eji,jig-- dragonfly
 'en?ge,jit,-,jijig -- inchworm ("he measures")
 me'gwējit,-jijig -- beet ("it's red")
 e'pāgog,sit,-sijig -- pail, tub, kettle
 apussta'lēwit,-wijig -- apostle

jīn(ə)m(ugw) -- man
 'waliss'pām(ug) -- brant (loon) [gavia immer]
 ti'ām(ugw) -- moose
 ,n'tēsgām, 'tēsgāmug^w- -- snake
 m?'tēssgām(ugw) -- snake
 wenjəti'ām(ugw) -- cow

'āpa,pi, -a'pīg -- thread
 'ta,pi, ta'pīg -- bow
 'ga,wi , ,ga'wīg -- porcupine quill
 'gassgu,si,-'sīg -- cedar
 'ni'pi,-'pīg -- leaf, petal
 'pā'gō'si,-'sīg -- lily
 'pi,jo,gō,su,ti -- latch, lock

'sāga,ti,-'tigh -- needle
 ,amu'eşusi,-'sīl -- wasp, bee, etc., nest, hive
 'weti, ,we'tīg -- worm

{'gōti
 ,gō'tīg} -- beam

ən?ti, ən?tīg -- (my) sleigh dog
 'wen'jū'sūn,ag'si,-'sīg -- apple tree
 'āpi, 'āpīg -- net
 læmpəri, {-rīg
 -riag} -- lamprey

ət'gāmu, -ā,mūg -- anow
 ,əp'gu, əp'gūg -- gum
 ,(ə)m'gata'wapu, -awa'pūg -- double-crested cormorant

{'g[^u/ə]lu
 'glu} ,gə'lūg -- eagle

a'pigji'lu,-'lūg -- skunk
 'was'pu, ,was'pūg -- harbor seal
 'amu, ,a'mūg -- wasp, hornet, bee
 a'lāsuinu,-,nūg -- wanderer
 'jenu,je'nūg -- giant
 'l̥nu, ,l̥'nūgw -- Indian
 mi'majui,nu, mi,majui'nūg -- person
 'məñ,tu, -'tūgw -- devil
 ,gi'gwā,ju, 'gi,gwa'jūg -- badger
 'məl'su, ,məl'sūg -- testicle
 'p̥l̥a,mu, ,p̥l̥a'mūg -- salmon
 'gali'pu, gali'pūg -- caribou

n'puinu, ,puinūg -- corpse
 'gisigu, ,gi,sigūg -- old man
 'musspe,ju,-'jūg -- porpoise (black)

{ə̃m'ġatawa'pu, }
 {ə̃m,ġatawa'pūg } -- marsh duck
 ato'ġwāsu,-sūg -- trout
 'peju, pe'jūg -- codfish
 wu'naġpə̃ti,ess'u,-'sūg -- little brown bat
 alaġtegewinu, (-ewinūgw) -- sailor
 alasuinu(ug) -- salesman, traveler
 'ġigwesu,-'sūg -- muskrat
 gisseju,-'jūg- -- someone who's been deceived

'ġə̃li'taw, -'taġ -- strawberry

{,naʃə̃sɣu'aw }
 {,nas:ɣu'aw } -- snowshoe
 as'ġə̃pə̃,law,-,laġ -- board
 ,saġa'maw,-,maġ -- chief
 lat:ə̃law,-laġ -- bull
 'nə̃ġə̃,maw,-,maġ -- kin
 uġh'tlaw,-laġ -- kidney
 'ġaġpe,saw,-'saġ -- smelt
 'lip:e,tāw,-,taġ [cf. lip:etāw^h]

'len?,tug , 'len?t {ūgw }
 {ug:w } -- deer

'muʃə̃ġ, muʃə̃ġ:w -- horsefly
 wa'p̄lmoġ, wa,p̄l'm {ə̃ġ }
 {oġ:} -- porpoise

'p̄lġoġ, 'p̄lġoġ: -- lover
 t̄lūsugw,t̄lūsūg:w -- son-in-law

'ulugw; ulug:w or ulugul -- tonsil
 heml'ag , 'heml,ag: --hemlock
 ,aməla'moġ, -'moġ: -- mackerel
 lġwetugw^h; lġwetug:w^h -- female cow, moose, etc.

'jipijijə'wēg[ə/a],jit, -- hawk (same in plural)
 'geg,gusg, ,n?t'geg,gusg -- godfather

INANIMATE PLURALS

ala'mēs(1) -- mass
 'ni'pit^h, -piṭəl -- tooth
 'nāgweg, -gḷ -- day
 tep^hgig, -gḷ -- night
 espog[^]wasit,-tl -- sword
 ,weli'gisgəg,-gḷ -- nice day
 gə'mūj(əl) -- wood
 wa'tap,seg,wa,tap'segəl -- something whitish
 'ig^htig, 'ig'tigl, 'ig,tigig -- other
 əp'ġāw, əp'ġāwul -- spruce bark
 nəpugwt(ḷ) (nəpugtugḷ) -- woods
 ',atu'omg^h(ḷ) -- sand(s)
 ,m?'paġam -- back
 ugpaġamḷ -- their backs
 gulumgh(ḷ) -- wheat
 aṭlāy(ḷ, usually g) -- shirt
 ,neugtaps'geg,tapuaps'gegḷ -- one, 2 lumps
 neug'tāyg(ḷ) -- one dollar
 pəgij(1) -- package

- n̄?gat(1) -- (my) foot
 ge'jīgas̄g(1) -- corner
 ,jiju'ejg(1) -- bells [note: ,jijuej -- one bell]
 matawēg(1) -- outlet
 magot(1) -- skirt
 'majjis(1) -- match
 saġtēg(i) -- layer
 'sūi,tis(1) -- sweet, candy
 ,wawg 'jīj, { -jījl } -- little egg
 { jītl }
 wun'jīgwom(ə1) --house
 pīj, pījl -- immature sex organ
 gesig(ə1) -- winter
 'mapos, 'ma'po'sl -- pocket
 małtew { małte(w)ul -- 2 kinds } -- blood
 { małt,al -- caked, big pieces }
 'nāgweg(ə1) --day
 nipg^h, nipg^hə1 -- summer
 'sissġon(ə1,n) -- nose
 wayopsg(ə1) --bead
 wigu'am(ə1) -- tepee
 'wigu'om(ə1) -- house
 'wisawow, ,wisa'wowə1 -- loose feces
 wi'sēg(ə1) -- burn scar, scar from a burn
 'wasueg(1) -- flower
 lepyē(1) -- one foot

 awg^hti, -tīl -- road
 'mass,gwi, 'mass'gwīl -- bark
 'muñt,i, 'muñ'tīl -- bag

{,elu'e(w)ut,i}
{,elu'e(w)u,tīl}--sin

sa'pēuti,-u,tīl -- saintness
 'suwo,mu'si,-'wīl -- ash, beech tree
 a,ġānti'euti,-'tīl -- week
 ,an?gu'nōsu,ti,-'tīl -- cover
 pa'tāuti,-'tīl -- table
 ,pusumu'ti,-'tīl -- bedsack
 'gamlamu,ti,-'tīl -- breath
 'gawath'gupi, ga,wathgu'pīl -- beer
 'nutputi,-'tīl -- (my) chair
 'māsusi,-'sīl -- moss
 ,malagajūmi,-,mīl -- butter
 mġigġ'nōti,-tīl -- strength
 'sugu,ni,-'nīl -- tail
 su'nēuti,-tīl -- feast
 'ġosi, ġosīl -- fingernail
 'mussti,-'tīl -- belly
 'unġi, ,un'jīl -- head
 an'mūjua,pi^h, -pīl -- dogwood (a kind of earth vine)
 su'omusi,-'sīl -- American beech
 'tupsi, ,tup'sīl -- alder

m?'sigu,m?'sigūl -- grass

{!}shi'pu, ,si'pūl -- river

'wāw, 'wā(w)ul -- egg

tapətanuapu, -pūl -- potato soup

p'sigu, -gūl -- hay

'sissgu, sissgūl -- mud [cf. ugsisgw, ugsisgūl, below]

'wiñu, 'wiñ'ūl -- tongue

,meɪgigenaġ, -aġal -- strong (taste)
 su, gula'gaġ, -gaġl -- rotten
 ugtɫaminu(al) -- his belly (their bellies)
 moġo'pāġ(al) -- wine

(ə)tġə'poġ, -poġol -- source of fresh water, spring
 'əmʔta'soġ(ol) -- lime rock
 'ni, goġ, -, go'ġol -- spear
 'guɫpoġ, -ġol -- bog
 ġasa'wōġ(ol) -- iron

sewg:wh-sewg:ul -- sweet
 'pug^(h) sug^h, -, su'gul -- firewood
 ,wiga'pūġh, -'pūġul -- yummy
 mɲ'āsɟw } -- slate rock
 mɲ'āsɟul }
 'puġuġh, -gul -- eye
 'əntəpɫ'uɫɟw, -'uɫɟul -- submarine
 'alug^hw, 'alu, gul -- cloud
 ,əɫnaġa'natɟw, -gul -- handle
 ugwsissɟw, -gūɫ -- his face, their faces
 [cf. 'sissɟu, sissɟūɫ -- mud]
 siwg:w, siwɟɟul -- spring
 'ulugw, (-gul, -g:w) -- tonsil
 welāwɟw, we'lāɟul -- night
 gulumġh, gulumɟul -- wheat

,awġ^h'tīj, awɟ'titɫ -- footpath
 ,jiju'ejɟə, jīj, -'jīɫɫ -- little bell
 ,wawɟ jīj, { -jīɫɫ } -- little egg
 { -jījɫ }
 ɟuɫtēj, ɟuɫtētɫ -- pebble

wen'jūsūn(n) -- apple
 wīgatign(n) -- notebook
 'gʷitn(n) -- canoe
 'ulaġan(n) -- vase, dish
 tepaġan(n) -- sleigh, sled
 waso'ġonma'ġan(n) -- candle
 wāġan(n) -- knife
 u'gʷh'jūsūn(n) -- wind
 mas'gʷēsi,man(n) -- wild cherry
 'pugu,ma,ġan(n) -- club, weapon
 t'ə'mīġan, t'ə'mī,ġān -- axe
 'tumaġan, tuma,ġān -- pipe
 ji'goġsign, ji'goġsi,ġn -- ember
 'sitəm, 'sit'ə̄m -- beach
 n?'jiġun, -ġūn -- knee
 'pussgun, ,puss'gun -- breast
 'gʷaji'ġn, -'ġn -- leg
 'wōġwin, ,wō'ġwiñ -- his, their backbone(s)
 a'pōġw(ə)i,ġn,-'ġn -- jink-pole
 ,apus'ġ(ə)īġn,-ġn -- key
 āsūn, āsūn -- blanket
 'pipəna'ġan, -'ġān -- bread
 'n?pi'ġn, 'ġn -- (my) hand
 (ət)p'lut,a,ġan,-'ġān -- law
 'pōġan, 'pōġān -- bed
 't(ə)m,sagay,ġan,-'ġn -- wall
 'əpġu'man,-'mān -- blueberry
 ġlu,sua'ġan,-'ġān -- word
 'tapə,tan,-,tān (usually -,tang^h) -- potato

,laplu'san,-'sañ -- prison
 mʔtawegŋ(n) -- flag
 'sapun, sa'puñ -- hair
 'siŋ, si'gñ -- one sock, pair
 sūn, sūñ -- cranberry
 wenjū, sūn, -ūñ -- apple
 'wiŋa, tiŋ, 'gñ -- book
 'wiŋun, ,wi'guñ -- bean
 'wissŋan, ,wiss'ŋan -- bladder
 ,agə, nutəma'ŋan, -'ŋan -- story
 'āg(w)uŋ, 'āguŋ -- hat
 ,aso'ŋomuta, ŋan(n) -- ferry boat
 ,asoŋo'miŋ(n) -- bridge
 pi,essgə'min,-'miñ -- corn, 2 ears
 ug'tlmaŋan, -,ŋan -- his shoulder
 tə'miŋan,-,gəŋ -- axe
 'tūgweŋə'mun,-'muñ -- pillow
 gtun(n) -- yr. mouth
 əŋji'gan,-'gan -- city
 'gāŋan, -,ŋan -- door
 ,gamla'mun(n) -- heart
 (n)ŋanigəŋ,ŋŋanigəŋ -- scoop
 ,gəgwa'līgigəŋ,-,gəñ -- snow bank
 gə, lā'gə'igəŋ, 'ŋə'igəŋ -- handcuff
 'gənu'an(n) -- artery
 'gutaŋan,-'ŋan -- throat
 'gu,tan, gu'tan -- village
 'guī'pi,sun,-'suñ -- anchor
 'jitaŋan,-'ŋan -- neck
 ləss'ŋə'igəŋ -- casket

- , log^h'pilaḡan -- bandage
- 'luss, gənigon, -, gən̄ -- pan-fried bread, elbow
- 'maḡa'san(n) -- store
- 'majjog^hhteligən(n) -- arrow
- 'møge'gən(n) -- leather
- mījan(n) -- shit
- miwi'jēmaḡan, -, ḡan̄ -- fork
- , n?pi'sun(n) -- medicine
- ni'pisspaḡan, -, ḡan̄ -- switch
- 'nipm'an(n) -- little red berries
- 'nənsi, gwan, -'gwan̄ -- (my) eyebrow
- 'samuḡwan, -'ḡwan̄ -- water
- , se'gīgən(n) -- sail
- 'sissḡon (n or əl??) -- nose
- , siḡə'mōḡon, -, ḡon̄ -- sugar
- 'sutua, ḡan, 'ḡan̄ -- ear
- ugwh^h'jūs(ə)n, -s(ə)n̄ -- wind
- ūn, { $\begin{matrix} \bar{u}\bar{n} \\ \bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{a}l \end{matrix}$ or } -- fog
- 'wisun, wi'sun̄ -- name
- 'wiṅu, gwaḡan, -'ḡan̄ -- blade (of knife, etc.)
- aptūn, aptūn̄ -- cane
- 'msetgun(n) -- knot (of a tree)
- ass'gōtaḡan(n) -- disturbance
- a'mal'gewaḡan(n) -- dance
- 'egsucḡon(n) -- lie
- lḡusuaḡan(n) -- ladder, stairs
- 'nḡatīgən(n) -- pound
- lḡowaḡan(n) -- employment
- 'lutaḡan(n) -- fence

- 'wis:ei, wis:'ēl -- nest
 'niṣaḡ[a,ə]y, ,nisa'ḡēl -- hill
 'ala'wei^h, -wēl -- pea
 'sewg:e ,wei^h,-,wēl -- sweet thing
 'am?g^hwese'wei^h,-'wēl,-'wēg -- first (one)
 'mus^hu'ei, -'ēl -- handkerchief
 'gog^hwei, ,go'ḡwēl -- thing
 pesge'gem[m]ge,wei,-'wēl -- mourning clothes, armband
 for mourning
 ug'tejge,wei,-'wēl,-'wēg -- last
 'pilei, ,pi'lēl, ,pi'lēg -- new
 'sāḡawei, -,wēg,-,wēl -- old
 'pilu,ei, ,pilu'ēg,-'ēl -- other, different
 'mitiei, ,miti'ēg, -'ēl -- of wood (poplar?)
 lnuweyēi,-'ēg,-'ēl -- of an Indian
 'nīnewei -- mine
 'ḡilewei -- yours
 'negəme,wei -- his
 'wino'ḡwei^h, -'ḡwēl -- arse
 a,pan?'gituow,ei -,wēl--payment
 ,pə'te'wei,-'wēl -- tea
 'gu^hl'ḡ^hisuei,-ēl -- bacon
 gal'gunewei,-wēl -- cake, etc. [anything sweet]
 ,ali,gew, ,ali,gel -- clothes
 ,maḡa,mi,gew, -,gel -- land, earth
 gu^hnṭew,-ṭal -- stone
 mu^hl^hsew,-sal -- piece
 wa'ḡāntew,-tal -- bone
 ma^hl^htew { ma^hl^hṭe(w)ul -- 2 kinds
 { ma^hl^hṭ,al -- caked, around, big pieces } -- blood

't(u)m̄awei, tumawēl -- tobacco
 'gulji'ēwei, -wēl -- cross
 malɩ'teʷghjuei, -ēl -- hammer
 an?'gūo,wei,-,wēl -- hide, skin
 m?'jegei,-gēl -- dirt
 walḡwei,-ḡwēg,-ḡwēl -- hollow
 ,wuləs'ḡei,-'gēl -- wing
 poḡwālamʰ?gewēl -- choke cherry
 mal,sɩ'awei,-wēl -- silver maple
 'sna,wey, -'wēl -- sugar maple
 'wāḡay, wā'ḡēl -- body

 wa,ḡante'wat,pajit, -- skull
 ,pal -- " s[dual]
 ,pātijig -- " s[plural]

POSSESSED NOUN CLASSES

ANIMATE

agam

agam

galipu (galipūm-)

gasgusi (gasgusim-)

amu

amu (amūm)

am?gwan(em)

amla 'mog(om)

ansalēwit(em)

'āpapi(m)

apigjij(ḡm)

,gīgam'gōn(m)

antley

antley

epgēnigen (singular only)

gōgolīgwej(m)

gōgwejij(m)

asgōplaw

asgōplaw

atlāy(m)

gāt

gawī

gisīgu(m)

glaptan(m)

saḡalōpi(m)

ēpit

ēpit(em)

ēs(m)

gajuewgj(m)

glitaw (glitam-)

gimuej

glu

gopit(m)

īap(m)

jagej(m)

jignam

gwis

inaĝan(m)

jīgāw(jīgāum-)

jigun (exists, in the singular, only
for singular possessor)

geg:us

geg:us

-ĝon

-gi

-gij

-ijimij

-nġīgw

tmaĝan (-utmaĝan; -otmaĝan if
prefix is g-)

-uj:

-ulugws

-nġan

-nġsigwan

tapi (-utapi)

-ugumij

-ulaĝan

ĝosi

ĝosi(m)

gwējīj(m)

itgu(m)

got(em)

ilasgw (-lasgu(m))

nū

nū

INANIMATE-ā[^]gey-ā[^]gey-ijinuan (plural person forms desunt)āgusn

āgusn

-inog[^]wey(m) (exists only for singular possessor in the singular, and for plural possessor in the plural)alawey

alawey

aligew (aligam)

alugw (alugum)

,ā'sūn(m)

gā[^]gan(m)-gajign (becomes -g[^]wajign for 3rd person possessor forms)

galiputi(m)

gmūj (singular only)

g[^]ospemgul[^]pisungu[^]ntew (gu[^]ntem)

gutan(m)

awgti

awgti

-gat

-gat

-jitagan[^]-ig

-ig

-inū

-ip (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	-un̄ji
sapun (-usapun)	-utapsun
mgign (-m̄ig:n)	tepagan (-st̄opagan)
tmawey (-utmawey; occasionally -st̄mawey if prefix is g-)	tm̄ign (-st̄m̄ign)

POSSESSED NOUN PARADIGMS
ANIMATE POSSESSED NOUN TYPES

agám -- snowshoe

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t agám	my	n?t agám g
əgt agám	your s.	əgt agám g
ugwt agám	his	ugwt agám g
n?t agám inu	our i.	n?t agám inaġ
n?t agám inen	our e.	n?t agám inaġ
əgt agám uow	your pl.	əgt agám uaġ
ugwt agám uow	their	ugwt agám uaġ

amu -- bee

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t amū m	my	n?t amū m g
əgt amū m	your s.	əgt amū m g
ugwt amū m	his	ugwt amū m g
n?t amū m inu	our i.	n?t amū m inaġ
n?t amū m inen	our e.	n?t amū m inaġ
əgt amū m uow	your pl.	əgt amū m uaġ
ugwt amū m uow	their	ugwt amū m uaġ

añtleý -- Andrew

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
(n?t) añtleý əm	my	(n?t) añtleý əm
añtleý əm	your s.	əgtañtleý əm g
añtleý əm l	his	ugwtañtleý əm g

añtley m inu	our i.	(n?t) añtley m inaĝ
añtley m inen	our e.	(n?t) añtley m inaĝ
añtley m uow	your pl.	
añtley m ual	their	

asgōplaw -- board

SINGULAR

n?t asgōpla m	my
əgt asgōpla m	your s.
ugwt asgōplau m l	his
asgōplau m inu	our i.
asgōplau m inen	our e.
asgōplau m uow	your pl.
asgōplau m ual	} their
asgōplau m uow	

PLURAL

n?t as'gōpla m g
as'gōpla m uaĝ

ēpit -- woman

SINGULAR

n?t ēpitem	my
əgt ēpitem	your s.
ugwt ēpitem l	his
n?t ēpitem inu	our i.
n?t ēpitem inen	our e.
gt ēpitem uow	your pl.
ugwt ēpitem ual	their

PLURAL

n?t ēpitem g
əgt ēpitem g
ugwt ēpitem g
n?t ēpitem inaĝ
n?t ēpitem inaĝ
gt ēpitem uaĝ
ugwt ēpitem uaĝ

geg:us -- godfather

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t geg:us	my	n?t geg:us g
əg geg:us	your s.	əg geg:us g
ugw geg:us l	his	ugw geg:us g
geg:us m inu	our i.	geg:us m inag̃
geg:us m inen	our e.	geg:us m inag̃
geg:us m uow	your pl.	geg:us m uag̃
geg:us m ual	their	geg:us m uag̃

-gij -- mother

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n gij	my	n gij g
əg gij	your s.	əg gij g
ug:witl	} his	ug:wijg
ug:wijl		
(əg)gij inu	our i.	n? gij inag̃
(n?)gij inen	our e.	n? gij inag̃
əg gij uow	your pl.	əg gijuaĝ
ug:wij ual	their	ug:wijuaĝ

ĝosi -- fingernail, claw

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t ĝosi	my	n?t ĝosī g
əg ĝosi	your s.	əg ĝosī g
ugw ĝosī l	his	ugw ĝosī g
ĝosi m inu	our i.	n?t ĝosi m inag̃
ĝosi m inen	our e.	n?t ĝosi m inag̃

ġosi m uow	your pl.	əġ ġosi m uaġ
ġosi m ual	their	ugw ġosi m uaġ

ñu -- Indian

SINGULAR

ñu m	my
ñu m	your s.
ñu m l	his
ñu m inu	our i.
ñu m inen	our e.
ñu m uow	your pl.
ñu m ual	their

PLURAL

ñu m g
ñu m g
ñu m g
ñu m inaġ
ñu m inaġ
ñu m uaġ
ñu m uaġ

-ōġmaw -- relative

SINGULAR

n ōġmaw	my
g ōġmaw	your s.
w ōġma l	his
g ōġmaw m inu	our i.
n ōġmaw m inen	our e.
g ōġmaw m uow	your pl.
w ōġmaw m ual	their

PLURAL

n ōġma ġ
g ōġma ġ
w ōġma ġ
g ōġmaw m inaġ
n ōġmaw m inaġ
g ōġmaw m uaġ
w ōġmaw m uaġ

INANIMATE POSSESSED NOUN TYPES

-āgey -- body

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n āgey	my	n āge l
g āgey	your s.	g āge l
w āgey	his	w āge l
g āgey nu	our i.	g āgey nal
n āgey m inen	our e.	n āgey m inal
g āgey wov	your pl.	g āgey wal
w āgey wov	their	w āgey wal

āgusn -- hat

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t āgusn	my	n?t āgusn̄
əgt āgusn	your s.	əgt āgusn̄
ugwt āgusn	his	ugwt āgusn̄
n?t āgusn̄ m inu	our i.	n?t āgusn̄ m inal
n?t āgusn̄ m inen	our e.	n?t āgusn̄ m inal
əgt āgusn̄ m uov	your pl.	əgt āgusn̄ m ual
ugwt āgusn̄ m uov	their	ugwt āgusn̄ m ual

alaway -- pea

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t alaway m	my	n?t alaway m l
əgt alaway m	your s.	əgt alaway m l
ugwt alaway m	his	ugwt alaway m l
n?t alaway m inu	our i.	n?t alaway m inal

n?t alaway m inen	our e.	n?t alaway m inal
g̃t alaway m uow	your pl.	g̃t alaway m ual
ugwt alaway m uow	their	ugwt alaway m ual

awgti -- road

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t awgti	my	n?t awgtī l
g̃t awgti	your s.	
ugwt awgti	his	
n?t awgti nu	our i.	
n?t awgti nen	our e.	
g̃t awgti wow	your pl.	
ugwt awgti wow	their	ugwt awgti wai

-gat -- foot, leg

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n?t gat	my	n? gat l
g̃ gat	your s.	g̃ gat l
ug gwat	his	ug gwat l
n?t gat nu	our i.	nt gat inal
n?t gat nen	our e.	nt gat n̄al
g̃ gat uow	your pl.	g̃ gat ual
ug gwat uow	their	ug gwat ual

-īg -- house

<u>SINGULAR</u>		<u>PLURAL</u>
n īg	my	n īg l
g īg	your s.	g īg l

w īg	his	w īg l
g īg inu	our i.	g īg inal
n īg inen	our e.	n īg inal
g īg uow	your pl.	g īg ual
w īg uow	their	w īg ual

INTRANSITIVE VERB CLASSESaġamīm

aġamīm	aġtugwīm
gesigautu'gwīm	getgwīm
gīg'tōġotōgwīm	minūtugwīm
poġtagamīm	sesagīm

ajiey

ajiey (ajiejig -- nonsingular)

alām

āġusnām	alām
ālōm	an'ġuām
asoġomām	ā'sunām
egnām	elām
ēlōm	maġtawegnām
natawām	nōġām
nōġom	pemām
pēsġeweyām	pusġām
teġn'ām	tēsipowām
wāġanām	nāġanām (exists in singular only)

atġatm

atġatm	etġatġ
etġatm	ewġsitutm

gīgatagnutm
 (jīgali, gwatm)
 maligīgetm
 pegitgātm
 punewenm
 siwātm
 tegōtm
 teḡgātm
 wesgewigwetutm

gīg^τwatg^τatm
 maligetm
 nuīmi'g^τwetutm
 pestunm
 punḡatm
 talagutm
 telagutm
 tet: etlḡatm
 wesgugetm

alitg

alitg
 gesigawam?gitg
 pem?pegitg
 sēsitg

elitg
 pemitg
 pesegitg
 wan?taḡpegitg

aljāy

āgātāy
 aljemāy
 apitāy
 etliluāy
 gesgāy
 jīj:emāy
 mōsimāy
 nēugtipunāy
 nīnagāy
 nutāy

aljāy
 amigsəgāy
 (asəgom) tēsīpunāy
 etlpāy
 getapāy
 melgitāy
 nepapigwāy
 nēupunāy
 nūgway
 pemləgāy

pešūgwāy	pilui māy
pitlōgāy	pūjemāy
sewign'āt	sipitpāy
tmawignāy	wagāmigatāy
sespenāġ	etligjāy
mesta'ġigta'pāġ(eg)	

'almə'getm

'almə'getm	e'uilgm
gāġayem?tm	nā'gwogtesgm
noġtm	telgm
weljinoġtm	welgm

amalgay

amalgay

egnūtmaey

egināmuey	egnūtmaey
elišewey	ge'sāluey
igatn'ewey	ignəmaey
jigpegnewey	jigpegnewey
jin?pegnewey	jipaluey
netawey	{ nussutmalsewey
nutnewey	
pa'ġāluey	pemāluey
pes'gwešewey	taluey
teluey	we'lāluey

eym

eym

eigwi

nagapugui	wejgwisugwi
ajisəgwi	aġpugui
apajipusūlewi	a'tġewi
ejgwi	elīsugwi
epatgwepugui	gisigui
gġusgapewi	letewi
maliēwi	meġgəpugui
pilueyawī	sagāmawī
sapēwi	sitnigwi
smatewi	stupitēwi
sunēwi	tēsipowī
tēt:lēyawī	tġēyawī
wastewi	wesugunewit
wigewi	uljagājewī
uñjewi	wōgumawī

elegey

a'laġtegey	al'gaptegey (not used)
ejiglegey	elāgit:egey
elegey	eulitētegey
gesategey (rare)	gespu'gu'ātegey
getan?tegey	gigtōgṽategey
gisapaġtētegey	gisātegey
gisitegey	gutegey

ilsūtegey	jilōtegey
mat:agātegey	menuegey
minuātegey	nataptegey
nemitegey	nepātegey
nēpategey	nesaptegey
nujigsuāteget	nutaptegey
oplātegey	pāgāpuguātegey
patātegey	pemasum?tegey
peṁtegey	peṁgātegey
peṁgātpātegey	pewitegey
piltuātegey	pugtewātegey
punegey	talātegey
telātegey	temāgit:egey
tepegey	teplutegey
tetapuātegey	tewegey
welātegey	winātegey
wissugwategey	mesitegey

eliey

eliey	pejiliey
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eluwiey

agnimu'ey	aliey
alipuluey	alpegiey
altagāyet	alūnagāyet
amaliey	amasgipney
am?jimogoyey	an?guigwey

apajiey	apajipey
apogōnmuey	apsgwapuguey
apsogoyey	ās isapuguey:
atawgtugwey	'atgn,ewey
awaniey	egitjey
egsuey	ejeliey
ejigliey	elapuguey
elgusuey	eltaganewey
eluewiey	epatgwiey
epipney	epsguniney
esmuey	esgwiey
etawey	etlam?gley
etliey	etlpney
ewigigey	eulitegley
eunasiey	gagayey
gag:wasiey	geg:unewey
ge'lā'g'igey	gemūtney
gesapuguey	gesatigey
gesgijiey	gesgmiey
gesigawiey	gesipiey
gesmiey	gespiaĝ
getapegiey	getgiey
gewiey	giaspiey
gīgajiey	gīgawajiey
gimiey	ginuey
gisigūey	ĝwasiey
jaĝaliey	jajigiey
jigajiey	jipaluey

ma'tawiey	matgwiey
mawieygw	mēgmuey
meṭgauley	meṭgiey
meniey	me'sīwey
miliey	milogwey
minuiey	mṇāsgwiaĝ
musigisgūnagayey	nag:ṇiey
nāḡsiey	nāḡwowiey
napiey	'nāṭaliagĝ
natāpiey	nespiey
nestūey	netuisgey
niganiey	nigatn'ēwey
nisiey	nuīmiey
nutnewey	ogolom?gwiey
ogosgijiguey	pāḡapuguey
paḡasiey	pāḡayey
paḡsip:iey	pajijiey
patgwiey	pawiey
pegwateligey	pegwate luey
pejilasgiey	peman?giey
pemauley	pemīpuluey
pemniey	pemnisiey
pem?pney	pepsiteṭgey
pesgwiey	pesigwey
petapuguey	pewaḡs ṭ'cēgey
piamiey	piesgṇin'ēgey
pig:wiey	eluēwiey

pitsiey	piluiteŧgey
pisgiaĝ	pitamey
pitogoyey	pituley
plamu'ēgey	poĝjiey
poĝjitgiey	poĝgoyey
poĝtaĝayey	poĝtam'giey
poĝtŋigay	puniey
pusgi poĝgoyey	saĝsigwey
sāsēwapuguey	sespapuguey
sisuam'gley	caliaĝ?
taluey	tegiey
telapuguey	telmuey
telgwijiey	telley
telipney	telsigey
teluey	tepiey
tepiĝey	tet:uey
tetujiey	tewapiey
tiamuēgey	tugwiey
wajūey	wa'jupegiey
wapiey	wawēgey
wēgwāmuey	wēgwiey
wējgwiey	wēji'puŧwey
welapsgiey	welley
welmajipney	wenaĝayey
wesgijiey	wesigey
wet:agayey	wiguley
winapuguey	winiey

nemīwey	pegijiey
tagamuey	gegjepey
nulmigwey (exists only in singular and dual)	
nun'mipsigwey	tetapūey
gesmogjīey	pagāip;@g;spney

elugwey

eigwey	elugwey
etlewōgwey	gagalugwey
ilasugwey	natlugwey
papewōgwey	pemasugwey
pesīgigwey	pesīgwey
pet:ōgwey	pipugwey
poḡjlugwey	poḡtlugwey
pusgilugwey	sēsgwey
talugwey	tiāmugwey
weje'wōgwey	wetajigwey
witlugweygw	eļugwey
'euligwey	me'ta'wipugweg

enmigiag

enmigiag

etltogsi

etltogsi	magōgsi
metetogsi	na'tetogsi
pet:ogsi	pitogwsi

pun?toḡsi

teltoḡsi

tetpoḡsit

giaspotoḡsi

pigtoḡsi }
pit:oḡsi }

sespetoḡsi

tetpaḡsi

epetoḡsi

pegoḡsi

sipitpaḡsi }
sipitpaḡ }ewḡpuguāsi

atl'ḡsi

ewḡpuguāsi

matgwāsi

nut:ulpuguāsi

panatḡutḡsi

sipis'ḡsi

wejgupuguāsi

eḡpuguāsi

ḡngutugwāsi

naḡapuguāsi

oḡlom?gwāsi

pempuguāsi

{ tapugwātḡw

{ nesugwetḡjig

eulēji

ēnaḡji

eulje'weji

peḡḡji

(tepesi)

epjēji (exists only in

singular)

apjēji

eu'leji

naḡamaḡji

teḡḡji

apjēji (exists only in

singular)

epjēji

eupniag

,eu'pniag

gaḡapniag

gisapniaĝ

pet:nasĝ

wapniaĝ

nēyapniaĝ

sasēwgtniaĝ

wejgwapniaĝ

gagsi

epsi

gagogsı

gelpisi

gisı

pemposı

pisi

etlogsi

gagsi

gesmogsi

pagtasi

pogjigısi

pogsıjig

getji

getji

gelusi

gelusi

gesnugway

gesnugway

metgway

mej:igway

getguni

getguni

getu

getu

gisgajēy

gisgajēy

igātagu

et̄is̄it̄n̄igu

i'gātagu

'it̄,p̄ilaḡu

((n)īnaḡum)

menātagu

sit̄n̄igu

wasamatejigu

iigpi

ewēgəpi

jigpi

mestapi

mē'sūpi

misilsepi

ōp̄l̄pi

pegitpi

soḡp̄iḡw

{ tep: i
tepteg

wajūpi

wan?taḡpi

welpi

wesgitpi

ētmapi

welaḡapi

getpi

gīḡwatpi

pejilasgəteg (exists only in

inanimate forms)

majāsi

alāsi

apajāsi

majāsi

metpāg

metpāg
wasam?pāg
wejgapāg

petpāg
ewgsam?pāg
wespāg

milāsi

ajāsi
alpegāsi
apsgwāsi
apsogwāsi
astuāsi
eja,ḡān'jāy
elapāsi
epāsi
gaḡamāsi
gesgijāsi
gesigawāsi
getaḡamāsi
getupāsi
gigjāsi
gināsi
jaḡalāsi
jenāsi
megwāsi
menāsi
milāsi
nag:māsi

'ala'pāsi
apa'jigwi'jāsi
apsgūlapāsi
asogomāy
at:ignāsi
ejiglāsi
eismāy
ēt māy
gegwāsi
gesgmāsi
gesmāsi
getapāsi
gīgajāsi
gīgwajāsi
gisogwāsi
jajigāsi
masgwesmāsi
metgignewāsi
men?jāsi
minuāsi
nag:sāsi

nāḡwōwāsi	nan?ḡmāsi
nāpāsi	nātaḡamāsi
natḡāsi	nepsapāsi
nepsot'ḡūlapāsi	nepsāsi
nesuoḡwāsi	niganāsi
nigtuātieg	nisa'ḡāsi
nisa'pāsi	nisāsi
nūāsi	nutāsi
paniḡjāsi	pappāsi
patḡwāsi	pawāsi
peḡjāsi	pejilasḡāsi
pejilāsi	pesigāsəḡ
pisuāsi	pitawāsi
pitlḡḡāy	poḡḡjalāsi
poḡtam?ḡāsi	pugtewāsi
sapāsi	sāsēwāsi
siawāsi	tatuḡjāsi
telāsi	temāsi
tepāsi	tetuḡjāsi
tewapāsi	toḡopmitāyeg
wasoḡwāsəḡ	wēḡwāsi
wejgula'pāsi	wejuowāsi
welāsi	welḡwijāsi
wināsi	{am?jimoḡwāsi
piamāsi	{aḡjimoḡwāsi
pītuāsi	toḡwātḡw (dual only)
wesḡijāsi	

mog[^]pey

getapey

mog[^]peynagan[^]i^ˉgeywasog[^]wey

wetapey

etlig[˙]wey-
jimeynagan[^]napeywaju[˙]peywel[˙]igweywig[˙]peynagan[^]amayaj: 'e^ˉmay

a 'languay

{ am? jimo[^]jay
ag[^]jimo[^]jay

an?gwisgay

aps[˙]igayāsut[˙]may

egwitay

'elā^ˉg[^]amayeliāsut[˙]mayetawag[^]t[˙]maygag[^]amātay

gu 'tātay

jijista[^]ganaymag[^]atpay

mataluat

me[˙]gatpaymenag[^]anay

a 'jignay

alūsay

{ am? jimo[^]g[˙]wiat[˙]nay
ag[^]jimo[^]g[˙]wiat[˙]nay

apsatpay

āsugwet[˙]n[˙]mayawgtug[˙]mayejag[^]anje 'testay

elay

e 'm[˙]isigt[˙]may

ewigay

ginisgusitay

jāwātay

lip: ēmay

mag[^]ta 'w[˙]it[˙]uaymelgag[^]anatpayme[˙]g[˙]ignayme 'sug[^]ta[˙]ganay

mētēmay	metetestay
metgwātay	metūnōmay
mewimay	mit:nātay
naganāmay	nañtuay
nat:awagtmay	nesgway
esunay	netutmay
nīmay	niwipsgunay
nugwaıtugway	nugwigjat
nunay	nutāmay
nutmay	pag̃sip:ātay
pajijignay	pejītāgamay
pemīgay	penat
pestmay	pə'tēumātīg
pitaluat	pit:nātay
pl'ūjāgamay	po'g̃wālay
'putmay	sesupag̃tesgmay
sugulāgay	teligwatmay
te'pistāganay	tetpignay
wegwilay	welay
welnōmay	wessətmay
westay	wissugway
gājijay	

nagasi

ges'gasi	getagasi
tetagasi	nagasi
wisgasi	

nastesin

{ agjimoĝtesin	alag̃sin
{ am?jimoĝtesin	aligjetesin
alinetesg	alipg̃tesg
alisin	alog̃sin
apsgupeĝjin	atu'asgw̃tesin
atuasgūjin	egw̃jin
,eji'g̃lsin	ejinag̃sin
elāg̃atesin	elāg̃wesin
elisin, ēlsin	elūjin
eñm?tesin	epāg̃wesin
epāg̃w̃tesin	epatgw̃tesin
etlalesin	et̄tesin
etog̃watesin	ewg̃jisin
gag̃apijin	gesg̃msin
gesitesin	getapetesin
getgujetesin	gewisin
gig'tog̃otesin	gitag̃atesin
jigtesin	jin?pag̃umtesin
malgujetehin	maligtesin
masgwesin	mataluesg
matgwāgwetehin	matgwetesin
menagwisg	mesg̃anetesin
metetesin	naptesin
nastesin	na'tātehin
nen?g̃ātehin	nin?ja'g̃um?tesin
nissin	nutatesin
ñutesin	og̃olom?gwetehin

pasg^otesin
 pejītagamēytehin
 pemsin
 punsin
 sagatuetesin
 sōg^otesin
 teigwijin
 tetapūtesin
 wan?tagg^owijin
 weigwijin
 wetāgatesin
 ugumējūjin
 win?gwijin
 e^ogwijin

pasgⁱnetesin
 pemag^osin
 piltūtesin
 sagan?gatesin
 sigtesin
 so'g^otpetesin
 tetaputesin
 tetpagatesin
 wan?ta'g^ojin
 wettesin

wett^og
 wetsin
 wessin

nātelamugsi

eulamugsi
 telamugsi
 wigapugsi

neugtamugsi eg
 welamugsi
 gesamugsi

nepm

nepm

pemin?pm

neugtugwalugwey

neugtu'gwalugwey
 sesu'pāl^ougwey
 paga's^oasugwey

pag^osip:esiw^olugwey
 paga's^oalugwey

newgtugumin?gutugum[̄]tijig
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nesūgəgig \\ nesugwgig \end{array} \right.$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} newgtugum \\ newgtugəg(ig) \end{array} \right.$$
ogway

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ogway \\ ogwājig \text{ (nonsingular)} \end{array} \right.$$
pegisin

pegisin

pegwateligey

pegwateligey

pemiey

mēsīpmiey

tewiey

pemiey

pemigi

pemigi

pēməm

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pēməm \\ pēməgig \\ pēmultijig \end{array} \right.$$

pēməm

penogwēy

penogwēy

sogwēy(ugw)

pewigeŷ

eulitelgeŷ

mat:agtegeŷ

nepay

nut:agiŷ

pewigeŷ

pit:ēgeŷ

sogtegeŷ

tem?tegeŷ

pisgwāy

enmipisgwāy

pisgwāy

wejgwipisgwāy

pugwelūgw

pugwel- (ūgw, eg, oĝ, gl, ultioĝ, ultīgw, ultijig,
ultieg; the only singular form is pugwelg)

sēsōpaganēy

amasēy

awanēy

esgēy

espēy

etūpanēg

ewegēy

ewiptēg

eunasēy

eunēy

gag:ēg

gegwēy

gepēg

gepnēy

gesēy

gesgēg

gigjēy

gīgwaŷy

gisēy

istuēy

jajigēy

jigajēy	jilēy
magēy	magtawēy
malēy	mawōltigw
mēgēy	megwēy
mejegēy	metgēy
mem?gēy	mesgāy
mēsuēy	meta lēyn
metēy	metgwēy
metuwēg	natawēy
nanaġēy	nessēg
nestuēy	netagēy
nilajēy	niwēy
nugwēy	nutēg
nutġwēg	oplēy
paġs ip: isiwēy	pajijēy
pasēy	pawēy
pegajēy	pegijēg
pewgjalġēg	pewgjēg
piġtuēy	poġtagēy
punsespēy	saġtēg
sasġēy	sēsāpaġanēy
sesgwēy	sespēy
sēsupēg	si'wēy
talēy	catujēg
tegēg	telēy
tetujēg	waġ: ajēy
wagaġēy	waġēy

waigwēy

wapēy

welēy

wesgewēy

wīguēy

wisawēy

ejeleḡ

gameg

wan?tagēy

wāsamēy

welmajēy

wetmēy

winēy

wisgēy

āsisēy

siptagasi

nena'gasi

sipta'gasi

wena'gasi

nen?gasi

wan?tagasi

tewa'gasi

sisəweyāsəg

{ sisəweyāsəg
 { sisəweyātigi
 { sisəweītāgal

sogoyey

sogoyey

caligsugul

caligsugul

caligsugul

caluegey

caluegey

telapsgəsi

telapsgəsi

telgil

,apsə'gil

atgil

etlatal

gesgul

gesətal

mesgil

piam'gil

pusgatal

siwatal

talgil

telgil

tetpigil

welatal

{welogotal

wetatal

{welogwatal

witatal/eg

religi

religi

pasegi

wejigi

tep: isēy

tep: isēy

'ətgutay

{	ətgutay
	ətgutajig (nonsingular)

toġjuāy

{	pītuāy
	(pītuāsi)

toġjuāy

toġjūgusuey

toġjūgusuey

wan?taġayey

wan?taġayey

wegāy

pāgalāy

pusġig:wāy

wegāy

wejġūey

enmitūet

wejġūey

wejġwitūet

wejley

wejley

welagāpi

āgā'tassi

agġimogwensi

āgusn̄mi

aiji

a'ligasi

alitäsi

{ alsusi

alsusi

{ assumsi

am?gwese 'wājui

amigwensi

an?gitā(s)i

an?gōtasi

an?gunōsi

ani'apsi

'an̄tagwejui

āsutmēwinui

atgi'temi

atlasmi

awanitäsi

awañtāsi	awgti
āujējit	egināmasi
agnūtmasi	elapatasi
elapi	elegēwitewi
elgatāsi	el'gitasi
eliamsi	elietōmi
eligasi	elipgami
e'līpi	elitāsi
eluēwi	eluēwinui
elugwomi	eluitmasi
emegwēyasi	em?tesgi
ēnagjīji	enmālsi
ēnusi	epetoḡsi
epi	ēpitewi
esgipesi	esōḡsi
ētmapi	etlenni
etlesig	etlijuig
etōmi	etūīgasəg
ewagāwi	ewegōsi
ewgsimsi	ewīgasi
ewigi	eulitēlmugsi
eunasitāsi	gagami
gag ^ə isi	gag:isitasəg
gejīsi	gejugwsi
gelāgasi	geṭpilasī
gelusi	gepmitēimugwsi
gesalgusi	gesgelsi

gesigawēnmi	getlamsʔtasi
getuapsi	getugwsi
gewgji	giaspʔtoḡsi
gisitāsi	gistejuj
'gitagāsi	glusgwapewi
gm̄ni'ēwi	gəp̄n̄ōlōmi
gwilasi	gwiluasi
guj:ewgtāsi	guj:ewgtōsi
igasi	igātatiḡw
'ign̄mugsi	ig'tōsi
jagāleñmi	jagāliñsi
jipasi	ḡgusuaḡan̄mi
malīsi	mat:ōgsi
megōtig	metḡgiḡasi
mesguli	mesōtami
mij:i	'milesi
milialigasi	milwīgasi
mimaji	mim'gwasi
mimugwasi	minigwasi
minūnsi	naḡsīsi
nalagi	nan'gōsi
nəgan?təḡōsi	nemitasi
nenāḡatāsi	nesasi
nētātāsi	netuli
neugtigi	neugtugwapi
nijgi	n̄ui
nulmagāpi	nulmapewi
nun̄mapewi	pagātasi

pāgsip:etāsī	papī
pasagāsī	pegisīcasī
pegitgopī	pejilasgmī
pemapegisī	pemawgsī
pengopī	pemīpī
pen?tesgasī	pesaptōsī
pasgātāmī	pet:ōsī
pigtī	pījuī
pipaligesī	{ pigtoōgōgsī
pit:ōgōpagsī	{ pit:ōgōgsī
pituapegī	poḡjīpī
punapegisī	pun?temī
pusgitgismī	pus'temī
putuatāmī	sapag:atōsī
segi	sespe'tāsī
signtāsī	sipī
sipitpagsī	siwajī
sōgōtemī	taluisī
tegi	telgitāsī
telgusī	telīsī
teḡtāsī	tettōgsī
teluisī	temig
tēsīgw	tēsīsgegsījig
tēsīpoumī	tēsūnemīgsīgw
tetapuātāsī	tewalsī
tewapī	tewījuig
togōnasī	wajuinsḡtāsī

wansi	watapsi
wēgwāmasi	wēgwatāsi
wej:elami	wejitasi
welagāpi	welapegsi
welapesi	welmaytāsi
wetajigwapewi	wetapegsi
wetapesi	wetapsuni
wet'gitasi	wetlesig
wetuli	ug:wati
ugwtuli	wīgupsi
wijētīgw	wijigotieg
wilui	winapewi
win?pasi	winsi
wipetigw	witui
uj:i	un̄jani
ūsi	et'gomi
etli'etuli	etītuli
ji'palgusi (no plural forms)	ji'patasi

welialgangusi

welialgangusi

welmətu

etlewistu	etl̄in?tu
gimewistu	gise'wistu
neugtewistu	pegittu
punewistu	telewistu
telin?tu	wele'wistu
welmətu	

weni

weni, wenin, wenit; wenig, wenīgw, wenieg, weniog̃;
 wenultīgw, wenultioĝ, wenultieg, wenultijig

wesgey

wesgey

wesmugway

wesmugway

wetmay

pīmay

wetmay

INTRANSITIVE VERB TYPES AND SUBTYPES

I. lti-Plurals

A. i-Stems

welag[^]api

ejgwi

ge⁺jiwelia⁺gamgusi

na'telamugsi

etlto[^]gsieulē[~]jitelapsg⁺sigag[^]si

jigpi

gelū[~]si

pemigi

teligi

B. Consonant Stems

nastesin

te⁺gwijin

pegisin

telgil

ta'ligsugul

(a)ag[^]am[~]a[~]ltugw[~]

wegāy

getu

sēsāpāgānēy

penogwēy

gisgajēy

tep:isēy

C. a-Stems and e-Stems

aljā

nūgwā

taluegē

esamugwā

amalgā

wesmugwa

toġjūgusue

II. -ti Plurals

A. Short Vowel Stems

mogpe

etligwe

elugwe

neugtugwalugwe

wesge

wetma

gesnugwa

B. Long Vowel Stems

naganānā

eluēwiē

pegwateligē

getgunī

C. Varia

egnūtṃueu

elege

D. Consonant Stems

eym

alām

algatm

almogetm

nepm

E. u-Stems

welmtu

(1)igātagū

(n)īnagum

F. iāsi and iesi Verbs1. iāsi Verbs

milāsi

nagāsi

siptagāsi

majāsi

alāsi

ewgjəpuguāsi

pisgwā(s)

2. iesi Verbs

pemiesi

wejgūesi

wan?tagāyesi

sōgoyesi

wejiesi

eliesi

INTRANSITIVE VERB PARADIGMS

welag^hapi- -- be tipsy(welag^hap-, followed by:); (fut: wlag^hap-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	i	iw	iap	ites
YOU S	in	iwun	īcəp	ites
HE	it	igw	ip	itew
IT	ig	inugw	igəp	itew
WE I DUAL	īgw	ig:w	īgup	itesnugw
WE E DUAL	ieg	iweg	iegəp	itesnen
YOU DUAL	ioĝ	iwoĝ	ioĝop	itog ^s əp
THEY DUAL	ijig	īgw	ipnig	itaĝ
THEY INAN	igl̥	inugl̥	igəp̄	ital
WE I PL	ultīgw	ultig:w	ultīgup	ultitesnugw
WE E PL	ultieg	ultiweg	ultiegəp	ultitesnen
YOU PL	ultioĝ	ultiwoĝ	ultioĝop	ultitog ^s əp
THEY PL	ultijig	ultīgw	ultipnig	ultitaĝ
THEY INAN	ultigl̥	ultnugl̥	igəp̄	(ultital) iatal

ejgwi- -- sneeze

(ejg-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	wi	wiw	wiap	wites
YOU S	win			
HE	wit			
IT	wig			
WE I DUAL	wīgw			
WE E DUAL	wieg			
YOU DUAL	wiog [^]			
THEY DUAL	wijig			
THEY INAN	wigl			
WE I PL	ūltīgw		ūltīgup	
WE E PL	ūltieg			
YOU PL	ūltiog [^]			
THEY PL	ūltijig			
THEY INAN	(ūltigl)			

gelti- -- be frozen
 (get̄-, followed by:) (fut: ḡl-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ji		jiap	jites
YOU S	jin			jites
HE	jit			
IT	təg			
WE I DUAL	jīgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	jijig			
THEY INAN	təg!			
WE I PL	jultīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	jultijig			
THEY INAN	təg!			

welialgamgusi- -- look good

(welialgam-, followed by:) (fut: wlialgam-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	gusi		gusiap	
YOU S	gusin		gusi [̄] təp	
HE	gusit		gusip	
IT	gusi [̄] g gug [̄] w	gusinugw gutnugw	gusi [̄] gəp gug [̄] əp	gusi(gtə)tew gugtə [̄] tew
WE I DUAL	gusi [̄] gw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	gusijig			
THEY INAN	gusi [̄] g! gug [̄] ! gug [̄] !	gusinugul gutnugul	gusi [̄] gəp [̄] gug [̄] əp [̄]	gusi(gtə)tal gugtə [̄] tal
WE I PL	gusultig [̄] w			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	gusultijig			
THEY INAN	gusultig! gug [̄] !	gusultnugl	gusultigəp [̄]	gusulti(gtə)tal

na'telamugsi- -- be that color

(na'telam-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ugsi		ugsiap	
YOU S	ugsin			
HE	ugwsit			
IT	(ugwsig) ūgw			
WE I DUAL	ugsīgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	ugsijig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ugsultīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN				

etltog[^]si- -- be blabbing
 (etlt-, followed by:) (fut.: tlt̄-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	og [^] si		ogsiap	ogsites
YOU S				
HE	og [^] sit			
IT	ag [^]	ag [^] tnugw	ag [^] ap	ag [^] tew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL				
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN				

eulēji- -- be poor
 (eul-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ēji		ējiap	ējites
YOU S				
HE	ējit			ējitew
IT	ejg			ejt@tew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL				
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ējultīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN				

telapsgəsi- -- be that big (of something in lump shape)

(telapsg-, followed by:) (fut.: tlapsg-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	əsi		əsiap	
YOU				
HE	əsit			
IT	eg			etew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	əsijig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	əsultijig			
THEY INAN				

gaḡsi- -- be burnt

(gaḡ-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	si		siap	sites
YOU S	sin			
HE	sit			
IT	teg	tenugw	teg p	tetew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL				
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	sultigw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	sultijig			
THEY INAN				

jigpi- -- be lonesome, dull, calm, alone

(jig-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	pi		piap	pites
YOU S				
HE	pit			
IT	teg			tetew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	pijig			
THEY INAN	tegl			
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	pultijig			
THEY INAN	tegl			

gelūsi- -- be good

(gel-, followed by:) (fut.: gl-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ūsi		ūsiap	ūsites
YOU S	ūsin			
HE	ūsit			
IT	ulg	ultnugw	ulgap	ultatēw
WE I DUAL	ūsīgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL				
THEY INAN	ulgul			
WE I PL	ūsultīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN	ulgul			

pemigi- -- grow

(pemi-, followed by:) (fut.: p̄mi-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	gi		giap	
YOU S	gin			
HE	git			
IT	gweg			
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL	giog [^]			
THEY DUAL				
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL	gultieg			
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN				

telligi- -- one's shape

(teli-, followed by:) (fut.: tli-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	gi		giap	
YOU S	gin			
HE	git			
IT	g:	gt _• nugw	g:əp	gtətew
WE I DUAL	g [̄] igw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	g:l̄			
THEY INAN	gult [̄] igw			
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN				

nastesin- -- be caught

(nastes-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	in	inu	inap	intes
YOU S	iñ	inūn	inūtəp	intes
HE	ing	inugw	ingəp	intew
IT	g	tɲugw	gəp	tətew
WE I DUAL	inūgw	inug:w	inūgup	intesɲugw
WE E DUAL	ineg	inueg	inegəp	intesnen
YOU DUAL	inoĝ	inuoĝ	inoĝop	intoĝsəp
THEY DUAL	ingig	inūgw	ingəpnig	intaĝ
THEY INAN	g!	tɲugul	gəp̄	tətal
WE I PL	ultīgw	ultig:w	ultīgup	ultitesɲugw
WE E PL	ultieg	ultiweg	ultiegəp	ultitesnen
YOU PL	ultioĝ	ultiwoĝ	ultioĝop	ultitoĝsəp
THEY PL	ultijig	ultīgw	ultipnig	ultitaĝ
THEY INAN	ultig!	tɲugul	ultigəp̄	

telgwijin- -- think, believe

(telgwi-, followed by:) (fut.: tlgwi-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	jin		jinap	
YOU S	jin̄			
HE	jing			
IT	tg	t:nugw	tgəp	t:ətew
WE I DUAL	jinūgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL				
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
WE I PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL				
THEY INAN				

pegisin- -- arrive, come (unexpectedly)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	pegisin		pegisinap	əp: isintes əp: isintes
YOU S	pegisīn̄		pegisinūtəp	
HE	pegising			
IT	(pegisg)			
WE I DUAL	pegisinūgw			əp: isintesnugw
WE E DUAL	pegisineg			
YOU DUAL	pegisinoĝ			
THEY DUAL	pegisingig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	peytaygw			peytātesnugw
WE E PL	peytāyeg			pēytātaĝ
YOU PL	peytāyog			
THEY PL	peytājig			
THEY INAN				

telgil- -- be that size

(telg-, followed by:) (fut.: tlg-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	il	ilu	ilap	ilās iltes
YOU S	iñ	ilūn	ilūtāp	iltes
HE	ilg	ilugw	ilgāp	iltesw
IT	īg	īgtñugw	īgāp	īgtātesw
WE I DUAL	ilūgw	ilug:w	ilūgūp	iltesnugw
WE E DUAL	ileg	ilueg	ilegāp	iltesnen
YOU DUAL	iloĝ	iluoĝ	iloĝāp	iltoĝsāp
THEY DUAL	ilgig	ilūgw	ilgāpnig	iltaĝ
THEY INAN	īgl	īgtñugul	īgāpn	īgtātal
WE I PL	ilultīgw	ilultig:w	ilultīgūp	ilultitesnugw
WE E PL	ilultieg	ilultiweg	ilultiegāp	ilultitesnen
YOU PL	ilultioĝ	ilultiwoĝ	ilultioĝāp	
THEY PL	ilultijig	ilultīgw	ilultiipnig	ilultitag
THEY INAN	ilultigl			

ta'ligsugul- -- what does () weigh?; how heavy is?

(ta'ligsu-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	gul		gulas	
YOU S	guñ			
HE	gulg			
IT	g:w	gwtñugw	g:us	gwtštew
WE I DUAL	gulūgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	gulgig			
THEY INAN	g:ul			
WE I PL	gulultigw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	gulultijig			
THEY INAN	g:ul			

(a)agam̄- -- go (around) in snowshoes

((a)agam̄-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	Im̄		Im̄p	Ites
YOU S	Im̄n			
HE	iḡ	Im̄ugw	Iḡp	Itew
IT	ig		iḡp	igt̄ew
WE I DUAL	im̄ugw			
WE E DUAL	imeg			
YOU DUAL	imoḡ			
THEY DUAL	igig		iḡpnig	
THEY INAN	igl̄			
WE I PL	Im̄ut̄igw ult̄igw			
WE E PL	Im̄ut̄ieg ult̄ieg			
YOU PL				
THEY PL	Im̄ut̄ijig ult̄ijig		ult̄ip̄nig	
THEY INAN	Im̄ut̄igl̄ ult̄igl̄			

aītugwīm- -- run all over

(aītu-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	gwīm		gwīməp	gwītes
YOU S	gwīmān			
HE	gwīg			
IT	gwīg			
WE I DUAL	gwīmūgw			
WE E DUAL	gwīmeg			
YOU DUAL	gwīmoĝ			
THEY DUAL	gwīgig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	gūltīgw			
WE E PL	gūltieg			
YOU PL	gūltioĝ			
THEY PL	gūltijig			
THEY INAN				

wegāy- -- get mad

(weg-, followed by:) (fut.: ug:w-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	āy	āyu	āyap	āytes
YOU S	āyn	āyūn	āyūtəp	
HE	āyg	āyugw	āygəp	āytew
IT	āyg	'āynugw	āygəp	
WE I DUAL	ā'yūgw	āyug:w	āyūgup	āytesnugw
WE E DUAL	'āyeg	'āyweg	āyegəp	
YOU DUAL	'āyog̃	'āywog̃	āyog̃əp	
THEY DUAL	āygig	āyugw	āygəpnig	āytaġ
THEY INAN	āygl			
WE I PL	āyultigw			
WE E PL	āyultieg	āyultiweg		
YOU PL	āyultioġ			
THEY PL	āyultijig		āyultipnig	āyultitaġ
THEY INAN	āyultigl			

getū- -- bellow, holler
 (get-, followed by:) (fut.: ɔgt-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	u	u	uap	utes
YOU S	ūn	ūn		
HE	ugw	ugw		utew
IT	ueg			
WE I DUAL	ūgw	ug:w		utesnugw
WE E DUAL	ueg	ueg		
YOU DUAL	uoĝ	uoĝ		
THEY DUAL	ugwig ūgw	ugwig ūgw		
THEY INAN	uegl			
WE I PL	ūltīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	uwultijig			
THEY INAN	uātigl			

sēsəpaganēy- -- be a blabbermouth

(sēsəpagan-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ēy	ēyu	ēyap	ētes
YOU S	ēyn	ēyūn	ētəp	ētes
HE	ēg	ēyugw	ēgəp	ētew
IT	ēg	ēynugw	ēgəp	ētew
WE I DUAL	ēyūgw	ēyug:w	ēyugup	ētesnugw
WE E DUAL	ēyeg	ēyweg	ēyegəp	ētesnən
YOU DUAL	ēyoĝ	ēywoĝ	ēyoĝop	ētoĝsəp
THEY DUAL	ēgig	ēyūgw	ēgəpnig	ētaĝ
THEY INAN	ēg!			
WE I PL	ōltīgw	ōltig:w	ōltīgup	ōltitesnugw
WE E PL	ōltieg	ōltiweg	ōltiegəp	ōltitesnən
YOU PL	ōltioĝ	ōltiwoĝ	ōltioĝop	ōltitoĝsəp
THEY PL	ōltijig	ōltīgw	ōltipnig	ōltitaĝ
THEY INAN	ōltig!			

penogwēy- -- be filthy, bad-mannered

(penog-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	'wēy		wēyap	wētes
YOU S	wēyn			
HE	wēg			
IT	wēg			
WE I DUAL	wēyūgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	wēgig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	'ōltijig			
THEY INAN				

tep:isēy- -- be separated; live separately

(tep:i-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	sēy		sēyap	sētes
YOU S				
HE	sēg			
IT	steg	stenugw		stetew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	sēgig			
THEY INAN	stegl			
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	sōltijig			
THEY INAN	stegl			

tep:isēy- -- be separated; live separately

(tep:i-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	sēy		sēyap	sētes
YOU S				
HE	sēg			
IT	steg	stenugw		stetew
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	sēgig			
THEY INAN	stegl			
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	sōltijig			
THEY INAN	stegl			

aljaā- -- stagger (about); fall around
 (atj-, or alj-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	āy	āw	āyap	ātes
YOU S	ān	āwun	ātāp	
HE	āt	āgw	āp	ātew
IT	āĝ	ānugw	āĝap	ātew
WE I DUAL	aygw	awg:w	ayg:up	
WE E DUAL	āyeg	āweg		
YOU DUAL	āyoĝ	āwoĝ		
THEY DUAL	ājig	āgwig		
THEY INAN	āĝal			
WE I PL	ōltīgw			
WE E PL	ōltieg			
YOU PL	ōltioĝ			
THEY PL	ōltijig	ōltīgw		
THEY INAN	ōltigl			

nūḡwā- -- be burning; burn

(nūḡw-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	āy	āw	āyəp	ātes
YOU S	ān	āwun	ātəp	ātes
HE	āt	āḡw	āp	ātew
IT	āḡ	ānugw	āḡap	ātew
WE I DUAL	aygw	awg:w	ayg:up	ātesnugw
WE E DUAL	āyeg	āweg	āyegəp	ātesnen
YOU DUAL	āyoḡ	āwoḡ	āyoḡop	ātoḡsəp
THEY DUAL	ājig	āḡwig	āpnig	ātaḡ
THEY INAN	āḡal	ānugul	āḡapn̄	ātal
WE I PL	ōltīḡw ātīḡw	ōltig:w	ōltīḡup	ōltitesnugw
WE E PL		ōltiweg	ōltiegəp	ōltitesnen
YOU PL		ōltiwoḡ	ōltioḡop	ōltitoḡsəp
THEY PL	ōltijig ātijig	ōltīḡw	ōltipnig	ōltitaḡ
THEY INAN	ōltig! ātig!	ōltinugul	ōltigəpn̄	ōltital

taluegē- -- what use is?

(talueg-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ey	ew	āp	ās
YOU S	en	ewun	ētp	etes
HE	et	ewgw	ep	etew
IT	eg	enugw	egāp	
WE I DUAL	eygw	ewg:w	eyg:up	etesnugw
WE E DUAL	eyeg	eweg		
YOU DUAL	eyoĝ	ewoĝ		
THEY DUAL	ejig	ēgw		
THEY INAN	eg!		egāp̄	
WE I PL	ōltīgw	ōltig:w	ōltīgup	ōltitesnugw
WE E PL	ōltieg	ōltiweg		
YOU PL	ōltioĝ	ōltiwoĝ		
THEY PL	ōltijig	ōltīgw		
THEY INAN	eg!			

esamug^ā- -- drink

(esamug^ā-, followed by:) (fut.: samug^ā-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	way			
YOU S	wan			
HE	wat			
IT	wag ^ā			
WE I DUAL	waygw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	wajig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ōitīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ōitijig			
THEY INAN				

amalga- -- dance

(amalg-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ay	aw	āp	ās
YOU S	an	awun	ātəp	
HE	at	agw	ap	atew
IT	aġ	anugw	aġap	
WE I DUAL	aygw	awg:w		
WE E DUAL	ayeg			
YOU DUAL	ayoġ			
THEY DUAL	ajig	āwg:w		
THEY INAN	aġal			
WE I PL	aītīgw	aītīg:w		
WE E PL	aītīeg			
YOU PL	aītīoġ			
THEY PL	aītījig	aītīg:w		
THEY INAN	aītīgl			

wesmugwa- -- flee, run away

(wesmu-, followed by:) (fut.: ugwsumu-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	gway	gwaw	gwāp	gwās gwates
YOU S	gwan	gwawun	gwātəp	gwates
HE	gwat	gwawgw	gwap	gwatew
IT	gwaġ	gwanugw	gwaġap	gwatew
WE I DUAL	gwaygw	gwawg:w	gwayg:up	gwatesnugw
WE E DUAL	gwayeg	gwaweg	gwayegəp	gwatesnen
YOU DUAL	gwayoġ	gwawoġ	gwayoġop	gwatoġsəp
THEY DUAL	gwajig	gwāwgw	gwapnig	gwataġ
THEY INAN	gwaġal	gwanugul	gwaġapn̄	gwatal
WE I PL	ltīgw	ltig:w	ltīgup	ltitesnugw
WE E PL	ltieg	ltiweg	ltiegəp	ltitesnen
YOU PL	ltioġ	ltiwoġ	ltioġop	ltitoġsəp
THEY PL	ltijig	ltīgw	ltipnig	ltitaġ
THEY INAN	ltigl	ltnugl	ltigəpn̄	ltital

toġjūgusue- -- climb up
 (toġjūgusu-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ey			
YOU S			ētap	
HE	et			
IT				
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	ejig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ltijig			
THEY INAN				

moḡpe- -- be swollen

(moḡp-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ey	ew	eyap	ās
YOU S	en	ewun	ēcəp	etes
HE	et	ewgw	ep	etew
IT	eg	enugw	egəp	etew
WE I DUAL	eygw	ewg:w	eyg:up	etesnugw
WE E DUAL	eyeg	eweg	eyegəp	etesnen
YOU DUAL	eyoḡ	ewoḡ		etoḡsəp
THEY DUAL	ejig	ēgw	epnig	etaḡ
THEY INAN	eg!	enugul		etal
WE I PL	'l̥t̥ɪgw ət̥ɪgw	'l̥t̥ɪg:w ət̥ɪg:w	'l̥t̥ɪgup ət̥ɪgup	'l̥t̥ɪtesnugw ət̥ɪtesnugw
WE E PL	'l̥t̥ɪeg ət̥ɪeg	'l̥t̥ɪweg ət̥ɪweg	ət̥ɪegəp	'l̥t̥ɪtesnen
YOU PL	'l̥t̥ɪog ət̥ɪoḡ	'l̥t̥ɪwoḡ ət̥ɪwoḡ		
THEY PL	l̥t̥ɪjig ət̥ɪjig	'l̥t̥ɪgw ət̥ɪgw	'l̥t̥ɪpnig	'l̥t̥ɪtaḡ ət̥ɪtaḡ
THEY INAN	'l̥t̥ɪg! ət̥ɪg!	l̥t̥ɪnugul ət̥ɪnugul		

etligwe- -- grow up here; grew up here

(etlig-, followed by:) (fut.: tlig-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	wey		weyap	
YOU S	wen			
HE	wet			
IT	weg			
WE I DUAL	weygw			
WE E DUAL	weyeg			
YOU DUAL	weyog [^]			
THEY DUAL	wejig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ultigw utigw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ultijig utijig			
THEY INAN				

elugwe- -- work

(elug-, followed by:) (fut.: lug-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	wey	wew	wāp weyap	wās
YOU S	wen	wewun	wētōp	wetes
HE	wet	wewgw	wep	wetew
IT	weg	wenugw	wegāp	wetew
WE I DUAL	weygw	wowg:w	weyg:up	wetesnugw
WE E DUAL	weyeg	weweg	weyegāp	wetesnen
YOU DUAL	weyog̃	wewog̃	weyog̃op	wetog̃sāp
THEY DUAL	welij	wēwgw	wepnig	wetag̃
THEY INAN	wegl	wenugul	wegāpñ	wetal
WE I PL	utīgw	utig:w	utīgup	utitesnugw
WE E PL	utieg	utiweg		utitesnen
YOU PL	utioḡ	utiwog̃		utitog̃sāp
THEY PL	utijig	utīgw	utipnig	utitaḡ
THEY INAN	utigl	utnugul	utigāpñ	utital

neugtugwalugwe- -- live alone; be alone

(neugtugwalug-, followed by:) (fut.:n?gutugwalug-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	wey			gwās
YOU S	wen			
HE	wet			
IT	weg			
WE I DUAL	weygw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	wejig			
THEY INAN	wegl			
WE I PL	ūtīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	'ūtījig			
THEY INAN	weg! 'ūtīg!			

wesge- -- fish

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	wesgey	wesgew		ugwsgās
YOU S	wesgen	wesgewun		ugwsgetes
HE	wesget	wesgeg	wesgep	ugwsgetew
IT	wesgeg			
WE I DUAL	wesgeygw	wesgeg:w		ugwsgetesnugw
WE E DUAL	wesgeyeg			
YOU DUAL	wesgeyog̃			
THEY DUAL	wesgejig	wesgēgw	wesgepnig	ugwsgetag̃
THEY INAN	wesgegl̃			
WE I PL	wēsgətīgw			wēsgət:esnugw
WE E PL	wēsgətieg			
YOU PL	wēsgətioḡ			
THEY PL	wēsgətijig	wēsgətīgw	wēsgətīpnig	wēsgət:ag̃
THEY INAN	wēsgətigl̃			

wetma- -- smoke (tobacco)

(wetm-, followed by:) (fut.: ugwtm-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ay	aw	āp	ās
YOU S	an	awun	ātp	ates
HE	at	awgw	ap	atew
IT	aġ	anugw	aġap	atew
WE I DUAL	aygw	awg:w	ayg:up	atesnugw
WE E DUAL	ayeg	aweg	ayegōp	
YOU DUAL	ayoġ	awoġ	ayoġop	
THEY DUAL	ajig	āwg:w		ataġ
THEY INAN	aġal	anugul		
WE I PL	ātīgw	ātīg:w	ātīgup	ātitesnugw
WE E PL	ātieg			
YOU PL	ātioġ			
THEY PL	ātijig	ātīgw		ātitaġ
THEY INAN	ātigl			

gesnugwa- -- be sick

(gesnug-, followed by:) (fut.: əgsnug-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	way	waw	wāp wayap	wās
YOU S	wan	wawun	wātəp	wates
HE	wat	wawgw	wap	watew
IT	wag [^]	wawnugw(?)	wag [^] ap	watew
WE I DUAL	waygw	wawg:w	wayg:up	watesnugw
WE E DUAL	wayeg	waweg		watesnen
YOU DUAL	wayog [^]	wawog [^]		watogsəp
THEY DUAL	wajig	wāw [~] gw		watag [^]
THEY INAN	wagal [^]	wanugul		watal
WE I PL	utigw [~]	utig:w		utitesnugw
WE E PL	utieg	utiweg		utitesnen
YOU PL	utio [^] g	utiwog [^]		utitogsəp
THEY PL	utijig	utigw [~]		utitag [^]
THEY INAN	utigl	utnugul		utital

naġanāmā- -- be drinking (alcohol)
 (naġanām-, followed by:) (fut.: nʔġanām-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ay	aw	ayap	ās
YOU S	an	awun	āʔap	ates
HE	at	awgw	ap	atew
IT	aġ	anugw	aġap	atew
WE I DUAL	aygw	awg:w	ayg:up	atesnugw
WE E DUAL	ayeg	aweg	ayegʔp	atesnen
YOU DUAL	ayoġ	awoġ	ayoġop	atoġsʔp
THEY DUAL	ajig	āwgw	apnig	ataġ
THEY INAN	aġal	anugul	aġapn̄	atal
WE I PL	ātīgw	ātīg:w	ātīgup	ātitesnugw
WE E PL	ātieg		ā'tiegʔp	ātitesnen
YOU PL	ātioġ		ātioġop	ātitoġsʔp
THEY PL	ātijig	ātīgw	ātīpnig	ātitaġ
THEY INAN	ātigl	ātīnugul	ātīgʔpn̄	ātital

eluwēiē- -- be crazy

(eluwēi-, followed by:) (fut.: luēwi-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ey	ew	āp	ās
YOU S	en	ewun	ētōp	etes
HE	et	ewgw	ep	etew
IT	aĝ	anugw	aĝap	atew
WE I DUAL	eygw	ewg:w	eyg:up	etesnugw
WE E DUAL	eyeg	eweg	eyegōp	etesnen
YOU DUAL	eyōĝ	ewōĝ		etōĝsōp
THEY DUAL	ejig	ēwgw	epnig	
THEY INAN	aĝal	anugul		
WE I PL	ātīgw	ātīgw	ātīgup	ātitesnugw
WE E PL	ātieg	ātiweg	ātiegōp	ātitesnen
YOU PL	ātioĝ	ātiwoĝ		ātitoĝsōp
THEY PL	ātijig	ātīgw		
THEY INAN	ātigl	ātīnugul		

,pegwa'teligē- -- be a buyer

(pegwatelig-, followed by:) (fut.: apgwatelig-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ey			ēs
YOU S	en			
HE	et			
IT				
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	ejig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ātīgw ūtīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ātījig ūtījig			
THEY INAN				

getgun^T- -- sleep there; sleep here
 (getgun-, followed by:) (fut.: ʔgtugun-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	i	iw		ites
YOU S	in	iwun		
HE	it			
IT	ig			
WE I DUAL	īgw			
WE E DUAL	ieg			
YOU DUAL	ioĝ			
THEY DUAL	ijig			
THEY INAN	ig!			
WE I PL	ītīgw			ītitesnugw
WE E PL	ītieg			
YOU PL	ītioĝ			
THEY PL	ītijig			
THEY INAN	ītig!			

egnūt_umueu- -- train (people)

(egnūt_um-, followed by:) (fut.: gnūt_um-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ey	ow ew	eyep	ās
YOU S	en	ewun	ētəp	etes
HE	et	ewgw	ep	etew
IT	eg	enugw	egəp	etew
WE I DUAL	eygw	ewg:w	eyg:up	etesnugw
WE E DUAL	eyeg	eweg	eyegəp	
YOU DUAL	eyoĝ	ewoĝ		
THEY DUAL	ejig	ēw _g w	epnig	etaĝ
THEY INAN	eg!			etal
WE I PL	āutīgw			āutitesnugw
WE E PL	āutie _g			
YOU PL	āutioĝ			
THEY PL	āutijig	āutīg:w	āutipnig	āutitaĝ
THEY INAN	eg! āutigl			āutital

elege- -- throw, play a game, run for office

(e1-, followed by:) (fut.:1-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	egey	egew	egāp egeyap	egās
YOU S	egen	egewun	egētāp	egetes
HE	eget	ege(w)gw	egep	egetew
IT	egeg	egenugw	egegāp	egetew
WE I DUAL	egeygw	egewg:w	egeyg:up	egetesnugw
WE E DUAL	egeyeg	egeweg	egeyegāp	egetesnen
YOU DUAL	egeyoĝ	egewoĝ	egeyoĝop	egetoĝsāp
THEY DUAL	egejig	egēwgw	egepnig	egetaĝ
THEY INAN	egegl	egenugul	egegāpn̄	egetal
WE I PL	aĝatīgw	aĝatig:w	aĝatīgup	aĝatitesnugw
WE E PL	aĝatieg	aĝatiweg		
YOU PL	aĝatioĝ	aĝatiwoĝ		aĝatitoĝsāp
THEY PL	aĝatiĵig	aĝatīgw	aĝatīpnig	aĝatitaĝ
THEY INAN	aĝatigl	aĝatnugul	aĝatigāpn̄	

eym- -- be (there)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	eym	eymu	eym ^ə p	it:es
YOU S	eym ^ə n	eym ^u n	eym ^u t ^ə p	it:es
HE	eyg:	eymugw	eyg: ^ə p	it:ew
IT	'eteg	eygt ^u nugw	'eteg ^ə p	it: ^ə tew igt ^ə tew
WE I DUAL	ey'm ^u gw	eymug:w		it:esnugw
WE E DUAL	'eymeg	eymug		it:esnen
YOU DUAL	'eymo ^g	eymuo ^g		it:ogs ^ə p
THEY DUAL	eyg:ig	eym ^u gw	eyg: ^ə p ^u ig	it:ag ^u
THEY INAN	'etegl	eygt ^u nugul	eteg ^ə p ^u	igt ^ə tal it:al, tetal
WE I PL	eym ^u t ^u gw	eym ^u t ^u ig:w		im ^u titesnugw
WE E PL	eym ^u t ^u ieg	eym ^u t ^u iweg		im ^u titesnen
YOU PL	eym ^u t ^u io ^g	eym ^u t ^u io ^g		im ^u tito ^g s ^ə p
THEY PL	eym ^u t ^u ijig	eym ^u t ^u igw	eym ^u t ^u ip ^u ig	im ^u tita ^g
THEY INAN	etegl (eyg:l) (ey'm ^u t ^u igl)	eymut ^u nugul	eym ^u t ^u ig ^ə p ^u	

alām- -- swim around

(alā-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	m	mu	map	tes
YOU S	mən	mūn	mūcəp	tes
HE	ḡ	mugw	ḡap	tew
IT	ḡ			
WE I DUAL	mūḡw	mug:w		tesnugw
WE E DUAL	meg	mueg		
YOU DUAL	moḡ	muoḡ		
THEY DUAL	ḡig	mūḡ:w	ḡapnig	
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	mūtīḡw	mūtīḡ:w		
WE E PL	mūtīeg	mūtīweg		
YOU PL	mūtīoḡ	mūtīwoḡ		
THEY PL	mūtījig			
THEY INAN				

alḡatm- -- stay all around

(alḡat-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ṃ		ṃəp	tes
YOU S	ṃəh		ṃṭəp	tes
HE	g		gəp	tew
IT				
WE I DUAL	ṃḡw		ṃḡup	tesnugw
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	gig		gəpnig	tag̣
THEY INAN				
WE I PL			ṃṭḡup	ṃṭitesnugw
WE E PL	ṃṭieg			
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ṃṭijig		ṃṭipnig	ṃṭitag̣
THEY INAN				

alm~~o~~getm- -- swear, curse

(alm~~o~~get-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	m̄		m̄p	tes tes
YOU S	m̄n			
HE	ḡg g			
IT				
WE I DUAL	m̄ḡw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	ḡḡig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	m̄t̄iḡw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	m̄t̄ij̄ig			
THEY INAN				

nepm- -- die, be dead

(nep-, followed by:) (fut.: n?p-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	m̄	m̄u u	m̄ap	ʔtes
YOU S	m̄ən n̄	m̄n̄n n̄n̄	m̄n̄c̄əp n̄c̄əp	ʔtes
HE	(ə)g	m̄ugw ugw	gəp	ʔtew
IT	g	c̄n̄ugw		
WE I DUAL	m̄n̄gw n̄gw	m̄ug:w ug:w	m̄n̄gup n̄gup	ʔtesnugw
WE E DUAL	m̄eg			
YOU DUAL	m̄oŋ			
THEY DUAL	(ə)gig	m̄n̄g:w n̄g:w	gəpn̄ig	
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	m̄n̄t̄igw n̄t̄igw	m̄n̄tig:w n̄tig:w		m̄n̄t̄itesnugw n̄t̄itesnugw
WE E PL	m̄n̄tieg n̄tieg			
YOU PL	m̄n̄tioŋ n̄tioŋ			
THEY PL	m̄n̄tijig n̄tijig	m̄n̄t̄igw n̄t̄igw		
THEY INAN				

welmətu- -- be good; be generous

(welmət-, followed by:) (fut.:wlmət-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	u	u	ūəp	utes
YOU S	ūn	ūn	ūtəp	utes
HE	oĝ	ugw	oĝop	utew
IT				
WE I DUAL	ūgw	ug:w	ūgup	utesnugw
WE E DUAL	ueg	u(w)eg		
YOU DUAL	uoĝ	u(w)oĝ		
THEY DUAL	oĝig oĝ:w	ūgw	oĝopɲig	
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ūtɪgw	ūtig:w		ūtitesnugw
WE E PL	ūtieg	ūtieweg		
YOU PL	ūtioĝ	ūtioĝ		
THEY PL	ūtijig	ūtɪgw	ūtipɲig	
THEY INAN				

(1)i'gātagu- -- plant

((1)i'gātag-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	u	u	uap	uās
YOU S	ūn	ūn	ūtōp	utes
HE	ugw	ugw	ugup	utew
IT	ugw	uenugw	ugup	
WE I DUAL	ūgw	ug:w	ūgup	utesnugw
WE E DUAL	ueg	ueg	uegōp	
YOU DUAL	uoḡ		uoḡop	
THEY DUAL	ugwig ūgw	ūgw	ugupḡig	
THEY INAN	ugul			
WE I PL	ūtīgw	ūtīg:w	ūtīgup	ūtītesnugw
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ūtījig	ūtīg:w	ūtīpḡig	
THEY INAN				

(n)ina^gum- -- stutter

((n)ina^g-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	um (u)			
YOU S	ūn			
HE	ugw (ut)			
IT				
WE I DUAL	ūgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	ūg:w			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	ūcīgw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	ūlcijig ūcijig			
THEY INAN				

mil+iāsi- -- play
(mil-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ā(s)i	āsīw	āsīp	āsias āsites
YOU S	ā(s)in	āsīwun	āsītāp	āsites
HE	ā(s)it	āsīgw	āsīp	āsītew
IT	āsəg	āsəgtɲugw	āsəgəp	āsəgtətew
WE I DUAL	ātīgw	ātīg:w	ātīgup	ātītesnugw
WE E DUAL	ātieg	ātīweg	ātīegəp	
YOU DUAL	ātīoŋ	ātīwoŋ	ātīoŋop	
THEY DUAL	ātījig	ātīgw	ātīpnig	ātītag
THEY INAN	ātīgl	āsəgtɲugul	āsīgəp̄n	āsəgtətəl
WE I PL	itaygw	itawg:w	itayg:up	itātesnugw
WE E PL	itāyeg	itāweg	itāyegəp	
YOU PL	itāyoŋ	itāwoŋ	itāyoŋop	
THEY PL	itājig	itāgwig	itāpnig	itātag
THEY INAN	itāgal	itānugul	itāgāpn	

na^hgasi- -- stop

(na^hg-, followed by:)(fut.: n^hg- or nn^hg-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ā(s)i	ʔsiw	ā(s)iap	āsites
YOU S	ā(s)in	ʔsiwun	āsītəp	āsites
HE	ā(s)it		ʔəlp	āsitew
IT	ʔsəg: ʔyg	ʔsəʔnugw	ʔsəgəp	
WE I DUAL	ātīgw	ātig:w	ātīgup	ātitesnugw ʔsitesnugw
WE E DUAL	ātieg			
YOU DUAL	ātio ^h			
THEY DUAL	ātijig ʔsijig	ātīgw	ātipnig ʔsipnig	
THEY INAN	ātigl ʔsəgl		ʔsəgəp ^h	
WE I PL	atayg:w	atāwg:w	atayg:up	atātesmugw
WE E PL	atāyeg			
YOU PL	atāyo ^h			
THEY PL	atājig	atā ^h wig	atāpnig	
THEY INAN	atāgal		atā ^h gəp ^h	

siptaḡasi- -- stretch, expand

(siptaḡ-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	āsi		āsīap	
YOU S	āsīn			
HE	āsīc			
IT				
WE I DUAL	ātīḡw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	ātīḡj			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	aytāḡw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	aytāḡj			
THEY INAN				

majāsi- -- go, start moving

(ma-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	jā(s)i			
YOU S	jā(s)in			
HE	jā(s)it			
IT	jāsəg jāyg			
WE I DUAL	jātīgw			
WE E DUAL	jātieg			
YOU DUAL	jātioĝ			
THEY DUAL	jātijig			
THEY INAN	jātig!			
WE I PL	ycayg:w			
WE E PL	ycāyeg			
YOU PL	ycāyoĝ			
THEY PL	ycājig			
THEY INAN	ycāĝal			

alāsi- -- walk around

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	alāsi		alasiap	
YOU S				
HE	alāsit			
IT				
WE I DUAL				
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	alātijig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL				
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	al̄tājig			
THEY INAN				

ewgjəpugue+iāsi- -- step on it

(ewgjəpugu-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ā(s)i		ā(s)lap	āsites
YOU S	āsın			
HE	āsıt			
IT	āsıg			
WE I DUAL	ātīgw			
WE E DUAL	ātieg			
YOU DUAL	ātioĝ			
THEY DUAL	ātijig			
THEY INAN	ātigl			
WE I PL	etaygw			
WE E PL	etāyeg			
YOU PL	etāyoĝ			
THEY PL	etājig			
THEY INAN	etāgal			

pisgwā(s)i- -- come in

(pisgw-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	āy			
YOU S	ān		ātəp	
HE	āt			
IT	āġ			
WE I DUAL	ātīgw			
WE E DUAL	ātieg			
YOU DUAL	ātioġ			
THEY DUAL	ātijig			
THEY INAN	ātig! āġal			
WE I PL	etaygw			
WE E PL	etāyeg			
YOU PL	etāyoġ			
THEY PL	etājig			
THEY INAN	etāġal			

pem+iesi- -- walk, move

(pem-, followed by:) (fut.: pm̄-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	iey			iās
YOU S	ien			
HE	iet			
IT	ia [^] g			
WE I DUAL	ātīgw			
WE E DUAL	ātieg			
YOU DUAL	ātio [^] g			
THEY DUAL	ātijig			
THEY INAN	ātigl			
WE I PL	itaygw			
WE E PL	itāyeg			
YOU PL	itāyo [^] g			
THEY PL	itājig			
THEY INAN	itā [^] gal			

wejg+iesi- -- come (here); come (this way)

(wejg-, followed by:) (fut.: jug-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ūey	'ūow 'ūew	ūeyap	ūās
YOU S	ūen	ūewin	ūētəp	ūetes
HE	ūet	ūewgw	ūep	ūetew
IT	ūaġ	ūanugw	ūaġap	ūatew
WE I DUAL	wātīgw	wātīg:w	wātīgup	wātitesnugw
WE E DUAL	wātieg	wātiweg	wātiegəp	wātitesnen
YOU DUAL		wātiwoġ	wātioġop	wātitoġsəp
THEY DUAL	wātījig	wātīgw	wātīpŋig	wātitaġ
THEY INAN		wātīnugul	ūaġapŋ wātīgəpŋ	wātital
WE I PL	witaygw		witayg:up	witātesnugw
WE E PL	witāyeg		witāyegəp	witātesnen
YOU PL			witāyoġop	witātotoġsəp
THEY PL	witājig	witāġwig	witāpŋig	witātaġ
THEY INAN			witāġapŋ	witātal

wantag[^]+iesi- -- get quiet

(wan?tag[^]-, followed by:)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	ayey			
YOU S	ayen			
HE	ayet			
IT	aya [^] g			
WE I DUAL	āti [̄] gw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL				
THEY DUAL	āti [̄] jig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	aytaygw ʔytaygw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL				
THEY PL	əytāyog [^] ayt [̄] jig yt [̄] jig			
THEY INAN				

segog[^]tiesi- -- go up into the woods

(sōg[^]-, followed by:) (fut.: gsgog[^]-)

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	oyey			oyās
YOU S	oyen			
HE	oyet			
IT	oyag [^]			
WE I DUAL	'wātīgw			
WE E DUAL				
YOU DUAL	'wātioḡ			
THEY DUAL	wātijig			
THEY INAN				
WE I PL	witaygw			
WE E PL				
YOU PL	wi'tāyoḡ			
THEY PL	wi'tājig			
THEY INAN				

wejiesi- -- come from

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	wejiey	wejiew	wejiap	ugwjiā̄s
YOU S	wejien	wejiewun	wejiēt̄p	ugwjiētes
HE	wejiet	wejiewgw	wejiep	ugwjiētew
IT	wejiaĝ	wejianugw	wejiaĝap	ugwjiātew
WE I DUAL	wejātīgw	wejātig:w	wejātīgup	ugwjātitesnugw
WE E DUAL	wejātieg	wejātiweg	wejātieḡp	ugwjātitesnen
YOU DUAL	wejātioġ	wejātiwoġ	wejātioġop	
THEY DUAL	wejātijig	wejātīgw	wejātīp̄nig	ugwjātitaġ
THEY INAN	wejātigl̄	wejāt̄nugul	wejātiḡp̄n̄	ugwjātital
WE I PL	weytayg:w	weytawg:w	weytayg:up	ugwjitātesnugw
WE E PL	weytāyeg	weytāweg	weytāyeḡp	ugwjitātesnen
YOU PL	weytāyoġ	weytāwoġ	weytāyoġop	
THEY PL	weytājig	weytāgwig	weytāp̄nig	ugwjitātaġ
THEY INAN	weytāġal	weytānugul	weytāġap̄n̄	ugwjitātatal

eliesi- -- go

	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
I	eliey	eliew	elieyap eliap	liās
YOU S	elien	eliewun	eliētəp	lietes
HE	eliet	eliewgw	eliep	lietew
IT	eliag̃	elianugw	eliagap	liatew
WE I DUAL	elātīgw	elātig:w		lātitesnugw
WE E DUAL	elātieg			lātitesnen
YOU DUAL	elātiog̃			lātitoḡsəp
THEY DUAL	elātijig	elātīgw	elātīpnig	lātitaḡ
THEY INAN	elātigl	elātṇugul	elātigəp̄n̄	lātital
WE I PL	eltayg:w	el̄tawgw		lātātesnugw
WE E PL	eltāyeg			lātātesnen
YOU PL	eltāyog̃			lātātoḡsəp
THEY PL	eltājig	eltāḡwig	eltāpnig	lātātaḡ
THEY INAN	eltāḡal	eltānugul	eltāḡap̄n̄	lātātal

TRANSITIVE VERB CLASSESāga'tātu

,āgatātu	em?gatuigetū
esmuetū	ewāgeyātu
gasiputū	getguje'testu
igonāmuetu	mat:agātu
menōtū	(?)mim?gwātu
ogōnīpgwātu	panan?gātu
pemuptū	pesogwātu (not used)
{ piptogogwātu (not used)	{ pipto'gwātu (not used)
{ pigtogogwātu	{ pigto'gwātu (not used)
{ pit:ogogwātu	{ pit:o'gwātu (not used)
sāgsiputū	sep:əṣə'gaytestū
sēsōtū	tegistū
temāgit:u	tuopəti'ātu
wasogwēytestū	wetgōluetū

āgimogiemg

āgimogiemg	agning
a'simg	asitemg
eitaḡang	eñmigimg
etang	ewgsimg
ge'mutmg	getuang
ilumg	jaḡalimg
mesimg	mim?gweng
nat:amg	pitsimg
pipalimg	taḡalialgamg

telagumg

teling

tugumg

weling

wetsmg

wigumg

wijigmg

ajipjul/g -- ajipju/tu

ajipjulg

ēlulg

nigamulg

pētulg, pētlg/pētutu

esipulg

mimu'gwalg

mini'gwaṭg

wesmīpulg

wetgāpalg

alamg/alaptm

alamg

{ algamg

awanamg

{ an?gamg

eliamg

gāgamg

gesamg

getōgwamg

miguamg

nēyamg

'pāgalamg

pāgamg

pogtagamg

sapamg

tagalamg

telamg

welamg

wiguamg

ālgwilua-/ālgwilmālgwilag[^]āltesgag[^]apan?gitag[^]āsəgag[^]ati'eugtag[^]eṭgomitag[^]

elgwila ^g	elista ^g
eltesga ^g	e'luta ^g
em̄isigta ^g	etl'enmugta ^g
euls̄ta ^g	gelga ^g
getlams̄ta ^g	gigtōgoga ^g
gigtōgotesga ^g	gwila ^g
jigs̄ta ^g	malgujetesga ^g
matgweta ^g	megta ^g
'mess̄,tesga ^g	nasga ^g
naspluta ^g	nemisga ^g
nenā ^g	nesta ^g
nesuta ^g	nuta ^g
pāgals̄ta ^g	passga ^g
pastesga ^g	pegwatela ^g
pe'm̄tesga ^g	pet:esga ^g
petga ^g	sam?tesga ^g
telga ^g	wegayugta ^g
welga ^g (rare)	wels̄ta ^g
weltesga ^g	wesgewōgta ^g
wes̄mugta ^g	'wīgusta ^g
wins̄ta ^g	wit'pita ^g

aligtesm̄g/aligtestu

aligtesm̄g	mewing
tēsipowgtm̄gantesm̄g	weltesm̄g
wiā ^g tesm̄g	

a'lūpal/g -- alūp/tu

a'lūpalg

amallugwal/g -- amallugwa/tm

amallugwalg	amasg [^] alg
apog [^] jepilg	ātugwalg
a'wañtasualg	elapalg
elugwalg	elūgwalg
e'mit:ugwalg	epto [^] gwalg
esgmalg	galipusitalg
gelulg	gemut [^] alg
gesalg	gispnulg
'igalg (cf. i'gāl ⁰ g)	i'gāt [^] gwalg
jipalg	majulgwalg
milāsualg	mīwalg
mul [^] galg	musg [^] gwalg
musualg	na [^] galg
na [^] galipilg	nass' [^] igwalg
nen? [^] galg	nepilg
nespilg	nunalg
nūse [~] gnigwalg	pestiē [~] walg
pipugwalg	pitu' [~] asualg
{pualg (pref.)	punulgwalg
{pewalg	putualg
talulgwalg	ətgutalg
welp ⁰ asual/it	wet [^] golg
wetn' [~] ūgwalg	wisgu'alg
wissugwalg	

amasgipn̄/əg -- amasgipən/əm

amasgipn̄əg

amigwen-g/amigwen-əm

amigweng	apatnəg
'aptng	astuīsəg
as'tūpil/gig	'atgeng
elasng	epsəg
essəg	etlīsəg
etlog̃səg	etlpəg
ēwug	gag̃ān/əgig
gag̃səg	geg:ung
gelpilg	gen̄əg
gestune 'pilg	gisigweng
gisīsəg	gīsəg
ilpilg	jigpegng
jin?pegng	jitung
maljeng	matnəg
mawgpil/gig	maun/gig
megeng	meg̃ng
melng	melg̃pilg
menw̃gəg	mesn̄əg
mimajūng	musgəg
nañtung	napng
napuīgeg	nesp̃ng
neugtung	'nigweng
og̃onisgwepilg	panu 'ijg̃ang
pegitng	pegwang

pegwīśəg
 penoŋweng
 pēsəgəg
 sepiljeng
 se 'wissəg
 tēpəg
 toŋon/gig
 wejgung
 wētung

pejipng
 pessəg
 sāpəg
 septunepilg
 tem?səg
 tepnəg
 wan?taŋang
 wejipəg
 wijēwug

a 'nappag

a 'nappag^h
 a 'pigsigtag^h
 egnūtma^h
 gegwēya^h
 gesga^h
 getāma^h
 igənamā^h
 pastesgma^h
 pilsēya^h (not used)
 puniemegweya^h
 tewa^htag^h
 wet^hgoluetag^h
 wisgowāta^h

a 'pat:elag^h
 egnuātag^h
 ewīgma^h
 'geleya^h
 gesgu 'tesga^h
 (?)gispnēya^h
 pa 'pēya^h
 pem?ga^h
 punāneugtag^h
 pusūlewtag^h
 welmajēya^h
 winagnutma^h

an?gitēlm-əg/an?gitēt

an?gitēlməg

anitēlməg

eI'tēlməg
 gepmitēlməg
 getgitēlməg
 meIgitēlməg
 nātāItēlməg
 neugtitēlməg
 nulmitēlməg
 penogotēlməg
 pogwaytēlməg
 talieItēlməg
 weItēlməg

euli'tēlməg
 gesitēlməg
 megitēlməg
 miguI'tēlməg
 nenuitēlməg
 nisgamewitēlməg
 pajigepmitēlməg
 pepsitēlməg
 san?gewitēlməg
 tal'tēlməg
 wetmitēlməg

an?gwēyaĝ/an?gōtm

an?gwēyaĝ
 euleyaĝ
 maligēyaĝ
 nujēyaĝ
 pepsēyaĝ
 sespēyaĝ
 telēyaĝ
 welēyaĝ
 wesgwēyaĝ
 winēyaĝ

awanēyaĝ
 gisēyaĝ
 netēyaĝ
 pegajēyaĝ
 punajēyaĝ
 talēyaĝ
 wejēyaĝ
 wesēyaĝ
 wetmēyaĝ
 wisuignēyaĝ

an?gunā-g̃/an?gunā-m

an?gunāĝ
 ap:usgag
 gelāgag

aptesgag
 esag
 nan?gwag

nāpimtm̄'āĝ

pewāĝ

tu'asgāĝ

a,pan?gite'wasseg:w

a,pan?gite'wasseg:w

ātugwōg:w

pipugwōg:w (not used)

apgwep-g/apgwe-tm

apgweg

esgāpg

etlpāg

getmepg

getupg

jigpāg

mawg:ip/gig

men?pāg

peginepg

wasam?pāg

wigpāg

ap'ii(l̄)tu

ap'jiiltu

apogōnmua-/apogōnmatm

agnutmāĝ

apogōnmāĝ

{egināmāĝ

elaḡ

{egināmāĝ

tet:aḡ

'asgayag/asgōtm

asgayaĝ

mun?sayaĝ

wespayaĝ

āsisaġal-g/āsisege-y

āsisaġalg

elagalg

etlagalġg

menuaġalg

pepuaġalġg

elagalġg

elagtagġ

elegey

paġasaġalg

tewagalg

asitēlmġg

asitēlmġg

naġat'gēlmġg

asogomasuatm

asogomasuatm

ewitm

gesigaugitm

jigōtm

naplugwatm

telsigatm

wetuoṭtm

elagutm

gaġamutm

gissutm

menōtm

pitlamutm

telutm

asutmess'ewg:w/asutmessewatm

asutmess'ewg:w

elugwog:w

ewigigewg:w

nussṭmassewg:w

āsutmewg:w

ewigewg:w

gl'utmissewg:w

wisun?gewg:w

atgñēg

atgñēg

em?ġatāġ

esmðg	gisigīg
mesīg	sigtēg
tepiğ	tugtēg
{ wetsāg [^]	wigupēg
{ wejīsāg [^]	

atgnē'walg

aniapsūtīg	atgnē'walg
elulg	nastagōtīg
oğpīg	sepij: 'ōtīg
wetapulg	

atlas mūtīg/atlas@mū-tm

atlas mūtīg	noğtmūtīg
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elapil-əm

elapilm	gasuīg ^m
getmes ^m	gewgsm
'gē-wum	gisagīsm
musgeg ^m	musgōtesg ^m
nut: agām	pesgwes ^m
pesoğops ^g tēm	

elegēwāløg

ajgnāwāløg	as'tūgopil/gig
elegēwāløg	gesāløg
(?)gesnugwāløg	iğwijāløg

lāḡanā1əḡ
 mijuājijuā1əḡ
 pentugū1əḡ
 taḡalā1əḡ
 wis 'gūpəḡ

meta 'ḡə1ḡ'jā1əḡ
 nasta 'ḡā1əḡ
 si 'wā1əḡ
 tugwā1əḡ

elugwāḡ/elugwetu

elugwāḡ
 netuisḡāḡ

napḡāḡ

ēn/əḡ -- en?/tu

ēnəḡ

esḡipē-g/esḡipetu

esḡipēḡ
 pesēḡ

ewegēḡ
 talueḡēḡ

etl'āḡipul-g/etlāḡit-tu

etl'āḡipulḡ

gejīḡ/gejvtu

gejīḡ

gepijoḡ:/gepijoḡom

gepijoḡ:w

gesḡēlm-əḡ/gesḡēl-tm

ges 'ḡēlməḡ
 wesḡa 'ḡalməḡ

masḡēlməḡ

maligm-g/maligu-tm

maligm̄g

mestañmaĝ/mestan-m

mes'tañmaĝ

wasamgigjesmaĝ

tēlmaĝ

wesgituĭmaĝ

metē-g/metē-m

an?gunēg

epatgwetēg

gesm̄atēg

guj:ewgtēg

metēg

naptēg

neugtutēg

nigatnēg

ní'pispagañ'tēg

nugwaltugwēg

pet:ēg

pit:ēg

teitēg

tetaputēg

wastewgtēg

wet:ēg

epatgwēytēg

geltēg

gewgtēg

mat:ēg

nan?gwēg

nesutē/gig

nəgan?tə'gwēg

nigoĝtēg

nugtēg

oĝotgwetēg

pewaĝtēg

sam?tēg

tēsipowgtmaĝantēg

toĝtē/gig

wetāĝatēg

musgwmg/musgwatm

musgwmg

nasōtīg/nasōtu

nasōtīg

nassīgwal-g/nassīgu-m

nassīgwalg

nemīg/nemi-tu

ajīg

}	e'līg
	e'tu

gisīg

mesīg

napīg

pewīg

puñamīg

westawīg

awanīg

etlīg

getan?g

ilīg

najigtan?g

nemīg

punīg

wejīg

nēpāĝ/nēpatu

nēpāĝ

nūg-ĝ/nūgu-m

nūg-ĝ

pegisul-g/pegisi-tu

pegisulg

'pegwatāĝ/pegwatu

pegwatāĝ

signtāĝ

pemāl-əg/pemā-tu

ajgnāḷəg	alāḷəg
alūsāḷəg	amʔjimoġwāḷəg
ap'gwāḷəg	apsāḷəg
apsgwāḷəg	āsogomāḷəg
*atlasṃūḷəg (+ -tm)	egwijāḷəg
ejelāḷəg	ejigḷāḷəg
elāḷəg	elapāḷəg
*elipġamūḷəg	*elōḷəg/gig
elsmāḷəg	eluēwāḷəg
{ engāḷəg	enmāḷəg
{ nengāḷəg	epatgwāḷəg
epatgwepuguāḷəg	esətāḷəg
etmāḷəg	gasāḷəg
egwāḷəg	gelpisg'āḷəg
gepsaġāḷəg	gesāḷəg
gesgāḷəg (2)	gesispāḷəg
gesmāḷəg	gesmoġjāḷəg
gespāḷəg	getalġāḷəg
getapāḷəg	getgāḷəg
gewāḷəg	gigajə'gōġwāḷəg
gig:wajāḷəg	gisāḷəg
gisgajāḷəg	gisipuguāḷəg
gluāḷəg	goġ'wāḷəg
(1)igāḷəg	igātagānāḷəg
ilāḷəg	iljō'gāḷəg
it'tāḷəg	jāwāḷəg

majālāg	mōñtawālāg
masgwālāg	matuālāg
mawāl/āgig	*mawōl/āgig
menālāg	menapālāg
menjālāg	mesālāg
mēsū'ālāg	metaġālāg
meto'ġwālāg	migu'ālāg
mimālāg	minuālāg
mitālāg	mogpālāg
musgālāg	musi'gālāg
{ nagālāg	nagamasālāg
{ nengālāg	nātalālāg
natġaspegālāg	nēyālāg
nēitġālāg	nepālāg
nepsālāg	nepot'ġwālāg
ne'sālāg	nēsuoġwālāg
netagālāg	nigtuālāg
nisālāg	ñuālāg
nugwālāg	oġolom'ġwālāg
oġonis'ġwālāg	oġosgitālāg
opġālāg	opġiwjālāg
paġālāg	panālāg
pan'ġamigālāg	pani'tjālāg
pan'tātu	pegijinēmālāg
pegwālāg	pegwigālāg
*pejōl/āgig	pelālāg
pemālāg	penoġwālāg
nata'wā'ġālāg	natġālāg

pepgālāg	pepgijālāg
pepsālāg	pepgālāg
peŝgālāg	*peŝgōl/āgig
peŝip:ālāg	peŝogopsgālāg
pewgjalgālāg	pewgjālāg
pijālāg	pitsālāg
piptogopsgālāg	piŝgwālāg
*piŝgwōl/āgig	pitapegālāg
piŝogwālāg	pītuālāg
punāl/āgig	pungutālāg
ŝaŝi'gwālāg	samālāg
ŝapālāg	ŝaŝewālāg
ŝeptunālāg	ŝewiŝgālāg
*ŝipelōl/āgig	ŝi'peīpuguāl/āgig
*ŝi'peīpugu'ōl/āgig	talālāg
telālāg	telapālāg
tepālāg	{tepgiŝālāg
*tepōl/āgig	{tep: iŝālāg
tetapuālāg	tētapoŝjālāg
*tewaj: iōl/āgig	tewālāg
tewalgālāg	togopuguālāg
to'gwal/āgig	togwan'gālāg
tuasgālāg	wagjuigālāg
wajuālāg	walgwijālāg
wan?tagālāg	wejālāg
wejgwālāg	wejgupuguālāg
welālāg	welgwijālāg
wesuālāg	wētūālāg

wiagā^ˆlɔgwin?gwi^ˆjālɔg

temālɔg

winālɔg

wisgā^ˆlɔgpēt^ˆl-g/pēt^ˆu-tupēt^ˆlɔg; pēt^ˆuɔgtagam-g/tag^ˆ-tmāl^ˆmingan?gū^ˆgim(ig)

apatgim

etgim

gag:im

ilsung

men?gim

natgim

poḡ^ˆti'gim

teigim

teplumg

welapemg

wegumg

wipemg

{ alsung

{ assung

egim

el'sung

galipusitalg

ma^ˆlgumgminū^ˆgim/gig

petgim

tagam^ˆ

teisung

wejipsemg

welumg

wetgim

wisuignemg

temsag^ˆ:/temsag^ˆmatjag^ˆmatapag^ˆ:'pan?sa^ˆg:am?ja^ˆg:etlapag^ˆ:temsag^ˆ:

witlugwog:w/witlugwa-tm

witlugwog:w

TRANSITIVE PARADIGMS

	peṁtá-	--- carry [<u>peṁá-</u> , followed by:]							
PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	lin	X	X	liog̃	lit	lijig	lig	ligl
YOU S	lu1	X	X	luleg	X	lɔsg	lɔsgig	lɔsg	lɔsgɪ
US I	X	X	X	X	X	lulgw lugsɪgw	lulwig	lulgw	lulgul
US E	X	lieg	X	X	lieg	lugsieg l(i)namət			
YOU PL	luloḡ	X	X	luleg	X	lugsioḡ			
HIM	lɔg	lɔt	lugw	lɔgət	loḡw	latɪ	lătiti	lɔg	lɔjɪ lɔgwɪj
THEM AN	lɔgig	lɔjig	lugwig	lɔgəj(:)ig	loḡwig	lajig	lătijig	lɔgwɪtɪj	lɔgwɪtɪj lɔgwɪtɪtɪ
IT	tu	tɪn	tɪgw	tueg	tuog̃	toḡ	tútɪj	toḡ	tútɪj
THEM INAN	tuañ	tɪn	tɪgul	tuegl	tuogol	toḡol	tútɪtɪ	toḡol	tútɪtɪ
IMP SING	pm̄ali	X	X	pm̄alin	X	pm̄al	pm̄al	pm̄atu	pm̄atu
IMP PL	pm̄aligw	X	X	pm̄alinen	X	pm̄alugw	pm̄alugw	pm̄atugw	pm̄atugw
PASSIVE	limg	lulg lugsin	lugsɪgw	lugsieg	lugsioḡ	lut	lujig	tasəg lugsig	tasəgl

	NEGATIVE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	liwun	X	X	X	liwog ^h	ligw	ligw	linugw	linugul
YOU S	I ^h nu	X	X	lnuweg	X	X	lnugw	lnugw	lnugw	lnugul
US I	X	X	X	X	X	X	lugsiwg:w	lugsiwg:wig	lugsiwg:w lnugw	lugsiwg:ul lnugul
US E	X	liweg	X	X	X	liweg	lugsiweg l(i)namət	lugsiwegig l(i)naməjig	lugsiweg lnamət	lugsiwegl lnamət j(1)
YOU PL	lnuwog ^h	X	X	lnuwog ^h lnuweg	X	X	lugsiwog ^h	lugsiwog ^h ig	lugsiwog ^h	lugsiwog ^h ol
HIM	lag ^h	lawgt	lag:w	lagat:	lagat:	lawog ^h	lagul	lätigul	lugugul(1)	lugugul
THEM AN	lag ^h ig	lawgjjig	lag:wig	lagaj:ig	lagaj:ig	lawog ^h ig	lagwig	lätigwig	logwitiwugw	logwitiwugul
IT	tu	tūn	tug:w	tueg	tueg	tuog ^h	tugw	tūti(w)g:w	tugw	tūtiwugw
THEM INAN	tūañ	tūñ	tug:ul	tuegl	tuegl	tuog ^h ol	tugul	tūtigul	tugul	tūtigul
IMP SING	pmāliw	X	X	pmālin	pmālin	X	pmālaw	pmālaw	pmātu	pmātu
IMP PL	pmālinew	X	X	pmālin	pmālin	X	pmālanew	pmālanew	pmātnew	pmātnew
PASSIVE	limog	lulnəməg luñməg	lugsig:w	lugsiweg	lugsiwog ^h	lugsiwog ^h	lanəg	lanəgig	tasət:nugw	tasət:nugul

PAST	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	litəp	X	X	liogop	lip	lipnig	ligəp	ligəpñ
YOU S	lnap lulap	X	X	lneəp	X	leəəp	leəəpnig	leəəp	leəəpñ
US I	X	X	X	X	X	lulgup lugsigup	lulgupnig lugsigupnig	lulgup lugsigup	lulgupñ lugsigupñ
US E	X	lieəp	X	X	lieəp	lugsieəp	lugsieəpnig	lugsieəp	lugsieəpñ
YOU PL	lnoğop	X	X	luleəp	X	lugsioğop	lugsioğopnig	lugsioğop	lugsioğopñ
HIM	ləəp	lətəp	lug:up	lə, gət:t:əp	loğop	lapñ	lātipñ	l(ə)təpñ	lətəpñ
THEM AN	ləəpnig	lətəpnig	lug:upnig	ləgət:əpnig	loğopnig	lapnig	lātipnig	l(ə)gwitipñ	lgwitipnig
IT	tuap(neg)	tūtəp(neg)	tūgup(neg)	tueəp(neg)	tuogop(neg)	toğop(neg)	tūtip(neg)	toğop(neg)	tūtip(neg)
THEM INAN	tuapnig	tūtəpnig	tūgupnig	tueəpnig	tuogopnig	toğopnig	tūtipnig	toğopnig	tūtipnig
PASSIVE	liməp	luləp				lutəp	lutəpnig		

[pmā-, followed by:]

FUTURE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	lites	X	X	litoġsəp	litew	litaġ	litew	lital
YOU S	lultes	X	X	lultesnen	X	lultew	lultaġ	lultew	lultal
US I	X	X	X	X	X	lulgutew lugsitesnugw	lulgutaġ lugsitesnugw	lulgutew	lulgutal lugsitesnugw
US E	X	litesnen	X	X	litesnen l(i)namətew	lugsitesnen l(i)namətew	lugsitesnen l(i)namətəġ	lugsitesnen l(i)namətew	lugsitesnen l(i)namətal
YOU PL	lultoġsəp	X	X	lultesnen	X	lugsitoġsəp	lugsitoġsəp	lugsitoġsəp	lugsitoġsəp
HIM	lās	lates	latesnugw	latesnen	latoġwsəp	latal	lātital	lgugutew lugutew	lugutaġ lugutal
THEM AN	lās	lates	latesnugw	latesnen	latoġwsəp	lataġ	lātitaġ	l(u)gutaġ	lugutaġ
IT	tutes	tutes	tutesnugw	tutesnen	tutoġsəp	tutew	tutaġ	tutew	tutaġ
THEM INAN	tutes	tutes	tutesnugw	tutesnen	tutoġsəp	tutal	tutaġ	tutal	tutaġ
PASSIVE	liten	lulten	lugwsitesnugw		laten	laten	laten	tasəġtətew	tasəġtətew

tagam- [tagt-] -- hit [tag-, followed by:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	amin	X	X	amio ^g	amit	amijig	amig	
YOU S	amul	X	X	amuleg	X	am ^o g	am ^o sig		
US I	X	X	X	X	X	amulgw amugsigw	amulgwig amugsigwig		
US E	X	amieg	X	X	amieg	amugsig am(i)nam ^{at}	amugsigig am(i)nam ^o jig		
YOU PL	amulo ^g	X	X	amuleg	X	amugsi ^o g	amugsi ^o gwig		
HIM	amg	amt	amug:w	amg ^{at}	amog ^w	amati	am ^{at} titi		
THEM AN	amgig	amjig	amug:wig	amg ^o jig	amog ^w ig	amajig	am ^{at} ijig		
IT	tm	tmu	tmugw	tmeg	tmog	t(^o)g	tm ⁱ tij		
THEM INAN	tman	tmu	tmugul	tmeg1	tmogol	t(^o)gi	tm ⁱ titi		
IMP SING	t ^g ami	X	X	t ^g amin	X	t ^g am	t ^g am		
IMP PL	t ^g amigw	X	X	t ^g amieg	X	t ^g amugw	t ^g amugw		
PASSIVE	aming	amulg	amugsigw	amugwsieg	amugwsio ^g	amut	amujig	tas ^o g	

[the future of ta^hgam- is identical to that of pe^hma-; those forms which begin in pm^hal- add the ending following the l to the stem t^hgam-; those forms which begin in pm^hatu- add the ending following the u to the stem t^hgat-]

[the negative of ta^hgam- is nearly identical to that of pe^hma-; most forms which begin in pe^hmal- add the ending following the l to the stem ta^hgam-; most forms which begin in pe^hnat- add the ending following the t to the stem ta^hgam-; the only exceptions to the foregoing are the following forms:]

NEGATIVE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
YOU S	ta ^h gamulu	X	X	ta ^h gamulnuweg	X	ta ^h gamulnugw			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	ta ^h gamulnugw	ta ^h gamulnugw	ta ^h gamulnugw	ta ^h gamulnugul
IT						ta ^h tm ^h itigw	ta ^h tm ^h itig:w	ta ^h tm ^h itig:w	
THEM INAN						ta ^h tm ^h itigul	ta ^h tm ^h itigul	ta ^h tm ^h itigul	

mētē- -- strike; hit unexpectedly

PRESENT	I	YOU(S.)	WE(I.)	WE(E.)	YOU(PL.)	HE	THEY(AN.)	IT	THEY (INAN.)
ME	X	mētēin	X	X	mētēyoŋ	mētēit	mētēijig	mētēig	mētēijl, mētēigl
YOU(S.)		mētōl	X	mētōleg	X	mētēsg	mētēsgig	mētēsg	mētēsgl
US (I.)	X	X	X	X	X	mētōlgw mētōgsigw	mētōlgw mētōgsigw	mētōlgw mētōgsigw	mētōlgw mētōgsigul
US(E.)	X	mētēyeg	X	X	mētēyeg	mētōgsieg mētēinamot	mētōgsieg mētēinamot	mētōgsieg mētēinamot	mētōgsiegl mētēinamotl
YOU(PL.)		mētōloŋ	X	mētōleg	X	mētōgsioŋ	mētōgsioŋgw	mētōgsioŋ	mētōgsioŋol
HIM		mētēg	mētōgw	mētēgot:	mētōgw	mētātł	mētātłł	mētēj	mētējl mētēgwij
THEM(AN)		mētēgig	mētōgwig	mētēg(ŋ)ig	mētōgwig	mētājig	mētājig	mētēgwitij	mētēgwitij, mētēgwititł
IT		mētēm	mētēmūgw	mētēmeg	mētēmōg	mētēg	mētēmītij	mētēg	mētēmītij
THEM(INAN)		mētēman	mētēmū	mētēmegł	mētēmōgłol	mētēgl	mētēmītitł	mētēgl	mētēmītitł
IMP. SING.		mētēy	X	mētēin	X	mēta	mēta	mētē(h)en	mētē(h)en
IMP. PL.		mētēigw	X	mētēin, mētēyeg	X	mētōgłw	mētōgłw	mētēmuŋw	mētēmuŋw
PASSIVE		mētēimg	mētōgsigw	mētōgsieg	mētōgsioŋ	mētōt	mētōjig	mētōgweg	mētōgwegł

NEGATIVE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mētēywun	X	X	mētēywoḡ	mētēigw	mētēig:w	mētēinugw	mētēinugul
YOU S	mētōlu	X	X	mētōluweg	X	mētōlnugw	mētōlnūgw	mētōlnugw	mētōlnugul
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mētōlnugw mētōggsiwg:w	mētōggsiwg:w(ig)		mētōlnugul mētōggsig:ul
US E	X	mētēyweg	X	X	mētēyweg	mētōggsiweg	mētōggsiweg(ig)		
YOU PL	mētōluoḡ	X	X	mētōluweg	X	mētōggsiwoḡ	mētōggsiwoḡ(ig)		
HIM	mētāḡ	mētāwgt	mētāgw	mētāḡat	mētāwoḡ	mētāgul	mētāḡtigul	mētēgugw	mētēgugul
THEM AN	mētāḡig	mētāwḡjig	mētāḡ:wig	mētāḡaj(:)ig	mētāwōḡ	mētāḡwig	mētāḡtigwig	mētēḡwītig:w	mētēḡwītigul
IT	mētēmu	mētēmūn	mētēmug:w	mētēmueg	mētēmuoḡ	mētēmugw	mētēmītij		
THEM INAN	mētēmuan					mētēmugul			
IMP. S.	mētēiw	X	X	mētēin	X	mētaw	mētaw	mētēmu	mētēmu
IMP PL.	mētēinew	X	X	mētēin	X	mētānew	mētānew	mētēmu	mētēmu
PASSIVE	mētōggsiw mētēymḡ	mētōggsiwun mētōlnḡḡ	mētōggsiwḡ	mētōggsiweg	mētōggsiwoḡ	mētōggsiw	mētōggsiw	mētōggsig:w	

PAST	I	YOU(S)	WE(I)	WE(E)	YOU(PL)	HE	THEY(AN)	IT	THEY(INAN)
ME	X	mētēītəp	X	X	mētēyoŋop	mētēip	mētēipnig	mētēyŋəp	mētēyŋəpñ
YOU(S)		X	X	mētōlēgəp	X	mētēsŋəp	mētēsŋəpnig	mētēsŋəp	mētēsŋəpñ
US(I)	X	X	X	X	X	mētōlgup mētōgsīgup	mētōlgup mētōgsīgupnig		
US(E)	X	mētēyeg p	X	X	mētēyegəp	mētōgsiegəp mētēynamətəp	mētōgsiegəp mētōgsiegəpnig		
YOU(PL)		mētōlōŋop X	X	mētōlēgəp	X	mētōgsiŋop			
HIM		mētēgəp mētētəp	mētog:up	mētēgət:əp	mētōŋop	mētəpñ	mētātīpñ	mētētəp	
THEM(AN)						mētēpnig	mētātīpnig	mētētəpñ	
IT		mētēmap mētēmūtəp				mētēgəp			
THEM(INAN)		mētēmapñ							
PASSIVE	mētēimgəp	mētōlgəp	mētōgsīgup	mētōgsiegəp	mētōgsiŋop	mētōgsip	mētōgsipnig		
						mētōtəp	mētōtəpnig		

FUTURE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT
ME	X	mētētes	X	X	mētēytoḡsəp	mētēytew	mētēytaḡ	
YOU S		X	X	mētōltesnen	X	mētōl ^h tew		
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mētōḡssitesnugw mētōlḡgutew		
US E	X	mētēytesnen	X	X	mētēytesnen	mētōḡssitesnen mētēynamətew		
YOU PL		mētōltoḡsəp	X	mētōltesnen	X	mētōḡwsitoḡsəp		
HIM		mētātes	mētātesnugw	mētātesnen	mētātoḡsəp	mētātal	mētātit ^h al	mētēḡgutew
THEM AN		mētātes	mētātesnugw	mētātesnen	mētātoḡsəp	mētātaḡ	mētātit ^h itaḡ	mētēḡguta ^h l
IT		mētētes	mētētesnugw	mētētesnen	mētētoḡsəp	mētēte ^h w	mētētaḡ	
THEM INAN		mētētes	mētētesnugw	mētētesnen	mētētoḡsəp	mētētal	mētētaḡ	
PASSIVE		mētōliten	mētōḡssitesnugw	mētōḡssitesnen	mētōḡssitoḡsəp	mētāten	mētāten	mētēten

an'gunā- -- cover [an'gu-, followed by:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	nāin	X	X	nāyog	nāit	nāijig	nāig	nāigl
YOU S	nōl	X	X	nōl(n)eg	X	nāsg	nāsgig	nāsg	nāsgig
US I	X	X	X	X	X	nōlgw nōgsgw	nōlgwig nōgsgwig	nōlgw nōgsgw	nōlgul nōgsgul
US E	X	nāyeg	X	X	nāyeg	nāynamət nōgsieg	nāynamətjig nōgsiegig	nāynamət nōgsieg	nāynamət nōgsiegig
YOU PL	nōl(n)og nōlulog	X	X	nōl(n)eg nōluleg	X	nōgsgog	nōgsgogig	nōgsgog	nōgsgogol
HIM	nāg	nāt	nog:w	nāgat	nogw	nāt	nātitl	nāj	nāj
THEM AN	nāgig	nājig	nog:wig	nāgajig	nogwig	nājig	nātijig	nāgwitij	nāgwititl
IT	nām	nām				nāg	nāmītij		
THEM INAN	nāman	nāmī				nāgal	nāmītitl		
IMP SING	nēi	X	X	nēin	X	na	na	nāen	nāen
IMP PL	nēigw	X	X	nēieg	X	nog	nog	nāmugw	nāmugw
PASSIVE	nāimg	nōlg	nōgsgw	nōgsieg	nōgsgog	nōt	nōjig	nōgsig	

<u>NEGATIVE</u>	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	nāywun	X	X	nāywogop	nāygw	nāigw	nāynugw	nāynugul
YOU S	nōlnu	X	X	nōlnueg	X	nōlnugw	nōlnūgw	nōlnugw	nōlnugul
US I	X	X	X	X	X	nōgswg:w nōl(n)ugw	nōgswg nōl(n)ugw	nōgswg:w nōl(n)ugw	nōgswg nōlnugw
US E	X	nāyweg	X	X	nāyweg	nōgsweg nāynamət	nōgswēg nāynaməj(ig)	nōgsweg nāynamət	nōgsweg nāynaməj
YOU PL	nōlnuoḡ	X	X	nōlnueg	X	nōgswoḡ	nōgswogig	nōgswoḡ	nōgswoḡol
HIM	nāḡ	nāwgt	nagw	nāḡat	nāwoḡ	nāgul	nātigul	nēgug	nēgugl
THEM AN	nāḡig	nawg:jig	nag:wig	nāḡajig	nāwoḡig	nāgwig	nātigwig	nēgwitigw	nēgwitigul
IT	nāmu	nāmūn	nāmug:sw			nāmugw	nāmItigw		
THEM INAN	nāmuan	nāmūn							
IMP/SING	nāiw	X	X	nāin	X	naw	naw	nāmu	nāmu
IMP PL	nāinew	X	X	nāin	X	nānew	nānew	nāmḡew	nāmḡew
PASSIVE	nāyməḡ	nōlnəḡ							

PAST	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	nāitəp	X	X	nāyogop	nāip	nāipnig	nāigəp	nāigəpñ
YOU S	nōləp	X	X	nōlegəp	X	nāsgəp	nāsgəpnig	nāsgəp	nāsgəpñ
US I	X	X	X	X	X	nōlgup nōgsigup	nōlgupnig nōgsigupnig	nōlgup nōgsigup	nōlgupñ nōgsigupñ
US E	X	nāyegəp	X	X	nāyegəp	nāynamətəp nōgsiegəp	nāynamətəpnig nōgsiegəpnig	nāynamətəp nōgsiegəp	nāynamətəpñ nōgsiegəpñ
YOU PL	nōlōgop	X	X	nōlegəp	X	nōgsiōgop			
HIM	nāgəp	nātəp	nog:up	nāgətəp	nōgop	nāpñ	nātipñ	nātəpñ	nātəpñ
THEM AN	nāgəpnig	nātəpnig	nog:upnig	nāgətəpnig	nōgəpnig	nāpnig	nātipnig	nāgəpnig	nāgəpnig
IT	nāmapneg	nāmūtəpneg	nāmugupneg	nāmegəpneg	nāmogəpneg	nāgəpneg	nāmītipneg	nāgəpneg	nāmītipneg
THEM INAN	nāmapnig	nāmūtīpnig							nāmītipnig
PASSIVE	nāimgəp								

<u>FUTURE</u>	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	nāites	X	X	nēitoḡsəp	nēitew	nēitaḡ	nēitew	nēital
YOU S	nōltes	X	X	nōltesnen	X	nōltew	nōltaḡ	nōltew	nōltal
US I	X	X	X	X	X	nōlgutew nōḡsitesnugw			
US E	X	nēitesnen	X	X	nēitesnen	nōḡsitesnen nēinamətew			
YOU PL	nōltoḡsəp	X	X	nōltesnen	X	nōḡsitoḡsəp			
HIM	nātes	nātes	nātesnugw	nātesnen	nātoḡsəp	nātal	nātital	nāgutew	nāgutal
THEM AN	nātes	nātes	nātesnugw			nātaḡ	nāitaḡ	nāgutataḡ	nātgutataḡ
IT	nātes	nātes							
THEM INAN	nātes	nātes				nātal			

nemi- -- see [ne-, followed by:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mīn	X	X	mīog [^]	mīt	mījig	mīg	mīgł
YOU S	mūł	X	X	mūleg	X	mīsg	mīsgig	mīsg	mīsgł
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mūlg mugswīgw	mūlgig mugswīgwig	mugsigw	
US E	X	mīeg	X	X	mīeg	mugsig mīnamət	mugsigig mīnaməjig	mugsig	mugsig
YOU PL	mūlog [^]	X	X	mūleg	X	mugsig [^]	mugsig [^] ig	mugsig [^]	mugsig [^]
HIM	mīg	mīt	mūg:w	mīgət	mioğ	miatl	miātitił	mīj	mījł mītł
THEM AN	mīgig	mījig	mūg:wig	mīgəjig	mioğwig	mīajig	miātijig	mītł	mīgłitił
IT	mitu	mitūn	mitūgw	mitueg	mituoğ	mitoğ	mitūtij	mitoğ	
THEM INAN	mitūan	mitūn							
IMP S	mi	X	X	mīn	X	mi	mi	mitu	mitu
IMP PL	mīgw	X	X	mīeg	X	mūgw	mūgw	mitugw	mitugw
PASSIVE	mūgwsı mīng	mūlg	mūgswīgw	mūt	mūjig	mūjig	mūjig	mitasəğ	mitasəğ

	NEGATIVE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mīwun	X	X	X	mīwog	mīg ^w	mīgwig	mīnugw	mīnugul
YOU S		mūlnu	X	X	mūlueg mūlnueg	X	mūlnugw		mūlnugw	
US I	X	X	X	X	X	X	mūgsigw mūlnugw		mūlnug:w	
US E	X	mīweg	mīweg	X	X	mīweg	mūgsiweg mīnamot			
YOU PL	mūl(n)uog	X	X	X	mūl(n)ueg	X	mūgsiwog			
HIM	mīag	mīawgt	mīawgt	mīawg:w	mīagat:	mīawog	mīagul	mī'atigul		
THEM AN				mīawg:wīg	mīagaj:ig		mīagwig	mīatigwig		
IT	mitu	mitūn								
PASSIVE	mīmog	mūlnmog	mugwsig:w				mīamog	mīamogig	mitasot:nugw	

PAST	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mītəp	X	X	mīoŋop	mīp	mīpnig		mīpñ
YOU S	mūlap	X	X	mūlegəp	X	mīsgəp			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mūlgup mūgsīgup			
US E	X	mīegəp	X	X	mīegəp	mūgsiegəp mīnamətəp			
YOU PL	mūloŋop	X	X	mūlegəp	X	mūgsioŋop			
HIM	mīgəp	mītəp	mug:up	mītət:əp	mioŋop	miapñ	miātīpñ		
THEM AN						miapnig	miātīpnig		
IT	mituap	mitūtəp	mitūgup	mituegəp	mituoŋop	mitoŋop	mitūtīp		
THEM INAN									
PASSIVE	mugsiap mīmgəp	mūlgəp				mūtəp			

[no- plus:]

	FUTURE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mītes	X	X	X	mītoḡsəp				
YOU S	mūltes	X	X	mūltesnen	X	mūltes				
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mugsitesnugv mulgutew				
US E	X	mītesnen	X	X	mītesnen	mugsitesnēn mīnamətew				
YOU PL	mūltogṣəp	X	X	mūltesnen	X	mūḡsitoḡsəp				
HIM	mīās	miates	miatesnugv	miatesnen	miatoḡsəp	miatal	miātital	miḡutew	miḡutal	
THEM AN						miataḡ	miātitaḡ	miḡutaḡ	miḡutaḡ	
IT										
THEM INAN										
PASSIVE	mīten	mūlten	mugsitesnugv			miaten	miaten	mit:en		

apoḡonmua- -- help [apoḡon-, followed by:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mui ⁿ	X	X	muioḡ	mu ⁱ t	mu ⁱ jig	mu ⁱ g	mu ⁱ g ^l
YOU S	mu ^l	X	muleg	X	X	ma ^s g	ma ^s g	ma ^s g	ma ^s g ^l
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mu ^l g mug ^s igw	mu ^l g mug ^s igw	mu ^l g mug ^s igw	mu ^l g ^l mug ^s ig ^l
US E	X	mu ⁱ eg	X	X	mu ⁱ eg	mu ^s ieg mu ⁱ na ^m o ^t	mu ^s ieg mu ⁱ 'na ^m o ^t jig	mu ^s ieg mu ⁱ na ^m o ^t	mu ^s ieg ^l mu ⁱ na ^m o ^t ^l
YOU PL	mu ^l oḡ	X	mu ^l eg	X	X	mu ^s ioḡ	mu ^s ioḡig	mu ^s ioḡ	mu ^s ioḡ ^l
HIM	maḡ	ma ^t	muḡw	maḡat	muoḡ	mu ^a t ^l	mu ['] a ^t i ^l	ma ^j	ma ^t ^l
THEM AN	maḡig	ma ^j ig	muḡwig	maḡa ^j ig	muoḡig	mu ^a jig	mu ^a t ⁱ jig	maḡwi ^t i ^j	maḡwi ^t i ^j maḡwi ^t i ^t i ^l
IT	ma ^t _(n)	ma ^t _(mⁿ)	ma ^t ḡw	ma ^t ḡeg (ḡeg)	ma ^t moḡ (moḡ)	ma ^t ḡ	ma ^t _(mⁱtⁱj)	ma ^t ḡ	ma ^t _(mⁱtⁱj)
THEM INAN	ma ^t ma ⁿ (ma ⁿ)	ma ^t m ⁿ (m ⁿ)	ma ^t ḡuḡul (m ^u ḡul)	ma ^t ḡeḡl (ḡeḡl)	ma ^t moḡoḡ ^l (moḡoḡ ^l)	ma ^t ḡ ^l	ma ^t _(mⁱtⁱt^l)	ma ^t ḡ ^l	ma ^t m ⁱ t ⁱ t ^l (m ⁱ t ⁱ t ^l)
IMP SING	mu ⁱ	X	mu ⁱ n	mu ⁱ n	X	mu	mu	ma ^t e ⁿ	ma ^t e ⁿ
IMP PL	mu ⁱ g	X	mu ⁱ n	mu ⁱ n	X	muḡw	muḡw	ma ^t ḡuḡw	ma ^t ḡuḡw
PASSIVE	mu ⁱ mḡ	mu ^t ḡ	muḡw ^s igw			mu ^t	mu ^j ig	muḡsig	

NEGATIVE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	muiwun	X	X	muiwoḡ	muiḡw	muiḡw	muiḡnḡw	muiḡnḡgul
YOU S		X	X	muluweg	X	muluḡw	muluḡw	muluḡw	muluḡgul
US I	X	X	X	X	X	muluḡw mugsigw	muluḡw:w mugsigw	muluḡw mugsigw	muluḡw:w mugsigw
US E	X	muiweg	X	X	muiweg	mugsiweg mulinamət	mugsiweg mulinaməjiḡ	mugsiweg mulinamət	mugsiweg mulinaməji
YOU PL		X	X	muluweg	X	mugsiwoḡ	mugsiwoḡ	mugsiwoḡ	mugsiwoḡgol
HIM		muaḡ	muaḡ:w	muaḡgat	muaḡwoḡw	muaḡgul	mātiḡgul	magaḡw	magaḡgul
THEM AN		muaḡig	muaḡ:wig	muaḡgaj:iḡ	muaḡwoḡwig	muaḡwig	mātiḡwig	magaḡitiḡw	magaḡitiḡgul
IT		m(atm)u	m(atm)un	m(atm)ugw	m(atm)ueḡ	m(atm)uḡḡ	m(atm)itiḡw	m(atm)uḡw	m(atm)itiḡw
THEM INAN		m(atm)uan	m(atm)uḡn	m(atm)ugul	m(atm)ueḡl	m(atm)uḡgol	m(atm)itiḡgul	m(atm)uḡgul	m(atm)itiḡgul
IMP SING		muiw	X	muiḡn	X	muaḡw	muaḡw	matmu	matmu
IMP PL		muiḡnew	X	muiḡn	X	muaḡnew	muaḡnew	matmnew	matmnew

	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
PAST									
ME	X	muItəp	X	X	muoŋop	muip	muipniŋ muItip	muieŋəp	muŋŋəpñ
YOU S		X	X	muŋeŋəp muñeŋəp	X	masŋəp	masŋəpniŋ	masŋəp	masŋəpñ
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mulgup mugsiŋgup			
US E	X	muieŋəp	X	X	muieŋəp	mugsiŋeŋəp muinamətəp			
YOU PL		X	X	muŋeŋəp	X	mugsiŋoŋop			
HIM		maŋəp	mug:up	ma'ŋətəp	muoŋop	muapñ	muətəpñ	matəp	matəpñ
THEM AN		maŋəpniŋ	mugupniŋ	maŋətəpniŋ	muoŋopniŋ	muapniŋ	muətəpniŋ	magwiŋtip	magwiŋtipniŋ
IT		matmupneŋ	matmugupneŋ	matmagəpneŋ	matmoŋopneŋ	matgəpneŋ	matmiŋtipneŋ	matgəpneŋ	matmiŋtipneŋ
THEM INAN		matmupniŋ	matmugupniŋ	matmeŋəpniŋ	matmoŋopniŋ	matgəpniŋ	matmiŋtipniŋ	matgəpniŋ	matmiŋtipniŋ

	FUTURE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	muites	X	X	X	multoḡsəp	multew	multaḡ	multew	multal
YOU S		multes	X	X	multesnen	X	multew			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	X	mulgutew mugwsitesnugw			
US E	X	muitiesnen		X	X	muitiesnen	mugsitesnen muinaməw			
YOU PL		multoḡsəp	X	X	multesnen	X	mugsitoḡsəp			
HIM		muās	muates	muatesnugw	muatesnen	muatoḡwsəp	muatal	muātital	magutew	magutal
THEM AN		muās	muates	muatesnugw	muatesnen	muatoḡwsəp	muataḡ	muātitaḡ	magataḡ	magwītitaḡ
IT		mat:es	mat:es	mat:esnugw	mat:esnen	mat:oḡsəp	mat:ew	mat:aḡ	mat:ew	mat:aḡ
THEM INAN		mat:es	mat:es	mat:esnugw	mat:esnen	mat:oḡsəp	mat:al	mat:aḡ	mat:al	mat:aḡ

wetmēywa- -- annoy [wet-, plus:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	mēywin	X	X	mēywiog	mēywi	mēywiig	mēywig	mēywigl
YOU S	mēyu1 (mō1)	X	X	mēyuleg (mōleg)	X	mēyag			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	mēyulg mēyugsigw			
US E	X	mēywieg	X	X	mēywieg	mēyugsieg mēywinam ət			
YOU PL	mēyuloḡ (mōloḡ)	X	X	mēyuleg (mōleg)	X	mēyugsiog			
HIM	mēyaḡ	mēyat	mēyugw	mēyagat	mēywoḡ	mēywatl	mēywātiti	mēyaj	mēyajl mēyatl
THEM AN						mēywajig	mēywātijig	mēyagwītij	mēyagwītiti
IT	mōtm	mōtmṇ	mōtmṇgw			mōtg	mōtmītij	mōtg	
THEM INAN	mōtman	mōtmṇ					mōtmītitl	mōtgḷ	
IMP SING	ugwtmēywi	X	X	ugwtmēywin	X	ugtmēyu	ugtmēyu	ugtmōtēn	ugtmōtēn
IMP PL	ugwtmēywigw	X	X		X				
PASSIVE	mēywimg	mōlg	mēyugsigw			mēyugsiog	mēyut		

NEGATIVE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	m̄eyiwun	X	X	m̄eyiwog [^]	m̄eywig	m̄eywig	m̄eywinugw	m̄eywinugul
YOU S	m̄eynu (m̄olnu)	X	X	m̄eynueg	X	m̄eynugw	m̄eynūgw		
US I	X	X	X	X	X	m̄eyugsiw:w			
US E	X	m̄eywiweg	X	X	m̄eywiweg	m̄eywugsiweg m̄eynamət			
YOU PL	m̄eynuog [^]	X	X	m̄eynueg	X	m̄eywugsiwog [^]			
HIM	m̄eywag [^]	m̄eywawgt	m̄eywag:w	m̄eywagat [^]	m̄eywawog [^]	m̄eywagul	m̄eywātigul		
THEM AN									
IT	m̄otmu	m̄otmūn	m̄otmug:w	m̄otmueg	m̄otmuog [^]	m̄otmugw	m̄otmūgw m̄otmītigw		
THEM INAN									
IMP SING	ugwtm̄eywiw X	X	X	ugwtm̄eywin	X	ugwtm̄eywaw	ugwtm̄eywaw	ugwtm̄otmu	ugwtm̄otmu
IMP PL	ugwtm̄eywinew X	X	X		X				

tmsaḡ- -- partition off; wall off [tmsa-, followed by:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	ḡin	X	X	ḡioḡ	ḡit	ḡijig	ḡig	ḡigi
YOU S	ḡul	X	X	ḡuleg	X	ḡasg			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	ḡulgw ḡugsigw			
US E	X	ḡayeg	X	X	ḡayeg	ḡugsieg ḡaynaməṭ			
YOU PL	ḡuloḡ	X	X	ḡuleg	X	ḡugsioḡ			
HIM	ḡ:	ḡt	ḡug:w	g:əṭ	ḡoḡ	ḡati	ḡātiti	ḡj	ḡj
THEM AN	ḡ:ig	ḡjig	ḡug:wig	g:əjig	ḡoḡwig	ḡajig	ḡātijig	ḡ:witij	ḡ:wititi
IT	ḡam	ḡamṇ				ḡ:	ḡamitij		
THEM INAN	ḡaman	ḡamṇ				ḡ:i	ḡamititi		
IMP SING	tmsaḡi	X	X	tmsaḡalin	X	tmsaḡ(əl)	tmsaḡ(əl)	tmsaḡen	tmsaḡen
IMP PL	tmsaḡ(əl)igw	X	X	tmsaḡaiieg	X	tmsaḡəlugw	tmsaḡəlugw	tmsaḡamugw	tmsaḡamugw
PASSIVE	ḡimg	ḡulg				ḡut	ḡujig		

PAST	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	ġitəp	X	X	ġioġop	ġip	ġipnig	ġigəp	
YOU S	ġulap	X	X	ġulegəp	X	ġasgəp			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	ġulgup ġugwsigup			
US E	X	ġayegəp	X	X	ġayegəp	ġugwsiegəp ġəynamət:əp, ġanamət:əp			
YOU PL	ġuloġop	X	X	ġulegəp	X	ġugsioġop			
HIM	ġ:əp	ġtəp	ġug:up	ġat:əp ġət:əp	ġoġop	ġapn			
THEM AN									
IT	ġamap	gamūtəp				ġ:əp			

[the negative is the same as pemā- (in the animate object forms) and tagt- (in the inanimate object forms)]

[tmsaġ^ˆ, followed by:]

FUTURE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	aytes	X	X	aytoġsəp	aytew			
YOU S	ultes	X	X	ultesnen	X	ultew			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	ulgutew ugwsitesnugw			
US E	X	aytesnen	X	X	aytesnen	ugwsitesnen anamət:ew			
YOU PL	ultoġsəp		X	ultresnen	X	ugsitogəsəp			
HIM	ās	ates	atesnugw	atesnen	atogəsəp	atal	ātital		
THEM AN						ataġ	ātitaġ		
IT	tes	tes	tesnugw						
THEM INAN									

ewĭgew- -- build a house for [ewĭgew-, followed by:]

PRESENT	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	in	X	X	ioġ	it	ijig	ig	igl
YOU S	ul	X	X	uleg	X	usg			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	ugsigw			
US E	X	ieg	X	X	ieg	ugsieg inamət[ewĭgeūnamət]			
YOU PL	uloġ	X	X	uleg	X	ugsioġ			
HIM	g:w	gwt	ug:w	gwgət	og	at!	ātiti!		
THEM AN	g:iğ	gwiğ	ug:wig	g:əjig	ogw	ajig	ātijig		
IMP SING	wĭgewi	X	X	wĭgewin	X	wĭgew	wĭgew	wĭgatēn	
IMP PL	wĭgewigw	X	X	wĭgewin	X	wĭgewugw	wĭgewugw	wĭgatmugw	
PASSIVE	img	ulg	ugwĭgw						

[ewig-, followed by:]

	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
NEGATIVE									
ME	X	ewiwun	X	X	ewiwog	ewig	ewig	ewinugw	
YOU S	ewulu	X	X	ewulueg	X	ewulugw			
US I	X	X	X	X	X	ewugwsigw			
US E	X	eweg	X	X	eweg	ewugsiweg eunamot			
YOU PL	ewuluog	X	X	ewulueg	X	ewugwsiwog			
HIM	ewag	ewawgt	ewag:w	ewagat	ewawog	ewagul			
THEM AN						ewagwig			
IT	atmu	atmun	atmug:w	atmug	atmuog	atmugw	atmitigw		
THEM INAN									
IMP SING	'wige'u	X	X	wigewin	X	wigewaw		wigatmu	
IMP PL	wigewinew	X	X	wigewin	X	wigewanew		wigatmnew	

[wīg-, followed by:]

FUTURE	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN	IT	THEY INAN
ME	X	ewites	X	X	ewitogs [^] əp	ewitew			
YOU S	ewultes	X	X	ewultesnen	X	ewultew			
US I	X	X	X	X	X				
US E	X	ewitesnen	X	X	ewitesnen				
YOU PL	ewultogs [^] əp	X	X	ewultesnen	X				
HIM	ewās	ewates	ewatesnugw	ewatesnen	ewatogs [^] əp	ewatal			
THEM AN									
IT	at:es					at:ew			

[the past is the same as that for taḡam-; the following forms are of interest, however:]

PAST	I	YOU S	WE I	WE E	YOU PL	HE	THEY AN
HIM	ewīgewg:up	ewīgewgtəp	ewīgewwug:up	ewīgewg:ətəp	ewīgewoḡop	ewīgewapñ	ewīgewātipñ

DICTIONARY FROM PACIFIQUE

This dictionary is compiled from my unpublished English translation of Pacifique's Leçons Grammaticales de la Langue Micmaque. 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 ô; and our j corresponds to his tj. 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 u are not distinguished for purposes of alphabetization, except that of two otherwise identical words, one of which has u and the other w 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.

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 (/aha/) -- ah! interjection of agreement; 9, 14, 15, 18, 238.

ae (/ahó/) -- sigh in song Negawağan; 15.

aġ -- and; than (after ai); 11, 14, 15, 18, 26, 33, 38, 45, 46, 50, 66, 68, 115, 120, 132, 136, 139, 143, 166, 168, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 193, 197, 203, 204, 208, 209, 210, 217, 220, 229, 236, 246, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 306, 307, 309, 310, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322.

-aġ(al) -- v. -o/gsit.

aġai -- alas!; 11, 14, 22, 238.

aġam(g) -- snowshoe(s); 37, 278, 287, 320. nt/aġam(g), gt/-, ugt/- -- my, your, his snowshoe(s).

aġaman, aġamoltigv -- to have snowshoes, to wear snowshoes; 121, 278.

aġamāsi -- v. ġamāsi.

aġami, wetaġami -- to have snowshoes; 278.

aġamin -- to go in snowshoes; 121, 278.
pemaġamin -- to walk in snowshoes, advance.

aġantiéwing, geġantiéwing -- Sunday; 203, 211, 228.

aġantiéuti, aġantiéuti -- week; 203, 317.

aġapijin, ġing, pitg; gaġapijin -- to be suspended, hang; 189, 273.

aġastaleici -- ? = ġastalé; 239 (Rand).

aġatai, in, ig -- half mad, half-wit, idiot; 262.

aġataig, aġati-, aġeti -- half, half-way; 43, 77, 120, 178, 202, 203, 205, 223, 284.
contr.: aġta-.

aġatātu -- to make half; 275.
contr.: ġatātu/i.

aġateġiaġ -- the tide is halfway down; 107.

aġati -- v. aġataig.

n/aġei(l) -- flesh (meats), body, the flesh; 33, 73, 180, 183, 210, 219, 246, 251, 279, 318.
n/aġei, g/-, w/-.

aġentiéuti -- v. aġantiéuti.

aġ esġwiaġ -- and the rest; etc; 236.

aġeti -- v. aġataig.

aġlasiew -- English(man); 24, 27, 35, 36, 278.

aġlasiéwei -- English; 143, 189.

aġlasiewi -- to be English; 278.

aġlasiewisi -- to speak English; 262.

- aġlasiéwisgwéjij -- a small, little Englishwoman; by extension, a little Protestant; 35.
- aġneiaġ -- v. angveiaġ.
- agnimuei -- to confess, cause to know, proclaim; 102, 268.
- agnutaġ, tem, temaġ -- to make know, to inform; 272, 296, 311.
- agnutemaġan -- new, piece of news, 11, 14, 251, 264, 278, 296.
- aġnutemaġani, nig -- there is something new; 278.
- agogaŋaw, agogomegŋw -- herring; v. nomeŋij; 14, 37.
- aġta- -- v. aġtaig.
- aġtafug -- in the middle of winter; 43, 136, 249, 257.
- aġtatpaġ(eg) -- in the middle of the night; (at) midnight; 31, 43, 91, 257.
- agwésen(ol) -- cap, hat, head covering; 40, 240, 278, 320.
n/t/agwésen, g/t/-, ug/t/-, -- my, your, his.
- agwésenan -- to wear a hat, to be covered by one; 278.
- agwésenemi, ning -- to have a hat; 278.
- agwéseni -- to be a hat; 278.
- aig(ol) -- (so many) dollars; 202.
tapuaigol -- two dollars.
- aij, aiéj -- such a, such a thing; interjection of hesitation, umm...; 16, 18, 22, 26, 209, 238, 254, 278, 317.
- aiji -- to be such a; 278.
- ajāsi, -in, -it -- to progress, to advance, to move from place, from position; 16, 76, 229, 260.
- ajéiaġ, otem, temaġ -- to bother; 292, 294.
- ajgenewāleg, tu, taġ -- to be harmful, to put in disorder, disturb. 133, 303.
- aji -- more, movement; 50, 223, 229, 241, 258, 263, 292.
- ajiaġjimin(g) -- blackberries; 37.
- ajiaġ suliewei -- interest; 24, 223.
- aji amaseg -- farther; 229.
- ajiei, ieig/atigw, itaigw -- to advance, increase; to progress (on water/land); 24, 105, 266.
- ajiét -- hour [lit.: it (the sun) advances]; 62, 203, 204.
- ajig, itu, itaġ -- to be occupied in, to push forward; 292.

AJIGENAT

ALASUTMEWINU

- ajigenat -- more strong; 309.
- ajing -- to agitate, to pursue; 301.
- ajipjulg, ūtu -- to hope in, to count on, to hope, to wait for; 135, 188.
- ala -- that, there, over yonder; 15, 18, 52, 53, 208, 229, 257.
- alaəl -- towards there; 229.
- alaḡsin, nen, ng -- to fly; 122, 273.
- alaḡtaḡei, taḡeiḡw, taḡatiḡw -- to sail; 103.
- alaḡtaḡéwīnu, nusḡw -- sailor; 252.
- alāleg, tu, taḡ -- to walk [tr.]; 302.
- alam; alom; alenen, aleg, alultijig -- to swim (in every direction); 120, 272.
- alaməs -- mass; 17, 40, 126, 133, 165, 225, 247, 251, 258, 275.
[< Fr. à la messe]
- alaməsigaḡanigtug -- at the mass; 258.
- alaməsjiḡ -- low mass; 247.
- alamjiḡ -- you're looking around for them; 308.
- alanguai -- to peddle; 264.
- alapāsi, atigw, itaigw -- to look from one side to the other; 260.
- alasi, -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.
- alasuīnu, nusḡw -- voyager (on land), prowler; 252.
- alasung, élasung, utem -- to worship, to honor, to pray, venerate, adore; 184, 189, 217, 272, 296, 299, 312.
- alasuḡmaḡan -- religion, prayer, faith; 49, 87, 143, 165, 197, 245, 251, 294.
- alasuḡmaḡanjiḡ -- short prayer, invocation; 49.
- alasuḡmai, elasuḡmai, ialasuḡmai -- to pray; 13-14, 16, 33, 55, 57, 78-87, 88, 96, 112, 137, 188, 197, 237, 276.
- alasuḡmang -- prayer; 87, 142, 143, 231.
- alasuḡmangéwei, -wəl -- parochial, parishioner; 23, 87.
- alasuḡmangwangéwei, wel -- ceremony; 87.
- alasuḡmelseng -- to pray for someone; 23, 26, 33, 75, 140, 142, 143, 170, 176, 197.
- alasuḡmemuīnu -- Catholic; 27.
- alasuḡmeug -- to make prayer; 23, 175.
- alasuḡméwīnu, nusḡw -- (praying) Christian, Catholic; 127, 209, 252, 278.

ALASUTMEWINUI

ALLELUIA

- alasutmewinui -- to be a Christian; 22, 278.
alasutmogwom -- Church; 49, 143, 258, 285.
alasutmogwomjij -- chapel; 49, 258.
alatijig -- v. alāsi.
(alawei), alawəl -- peas; 40. (Does not appear in sing.)
alem(?), āleg, ālegig, ālultiijig -- to swim here and there (of fish);
121. [cf. alam]
algalg, atem -- to stay with now and then, to remain here and there
[as an ending: someone or something is staying with us] [from
this: Arcadie, Accadie, Acadia]; 305.
algwilaġ -- to search here and there, to seek; 120, 177, 219.
algunāleg, tu, taġ; angunāleg -- to cover, to hide; 302.
ali-, iali- -- to go here and there; 219, 229, 278.
aliaġ -- that spills; 267.
alici, alasi, alitasi -- to go here and there, to walk around, to
wander, to be a vagabond; 229, 267.
aligaw, aligew -- clothes, goods, linen, thing, property; 23, 24, 36,
133, 214, 216 (declension), 257, 278, 321;
nt/aligan, gt/-, ugt/- -- my, your, his property. Pl.: aligal.
aligtesin, tesing, teog -- to vibrate; 273.
aligtestu -- to make vibrate; 273.
alijémai -- to play ball; 264.
Alili -- Aurélie; 246.
alipġanim, neman, mig, multigw -- to glide; 273.
alipteg -- vibrate; 274.
alipuluei -- [ride; ride on horseback]; 290.
alismāsi -- to spread here and there; 68.
alispai, peigw, patigw -- to be wet; 103.
alitāsi -- to be distracted, inattentive; 56, 228, 261.
alitasuagan -- spirit (thought); 177.
alitg -- it flows in different directions; 123.
aljaġaġ, ġam, ġamaġ -- to paint, stain, smear, coat, overload; 273,
298.
aljai, ain, aig -- to be painted, soiled, stained (lit. and fig.)
74, 262.
aljema/n -- [leave an odor wherever one goes]; 276.
alleluia -- hallelujah; 26.

ALMA

AMASGWIPĒLNĒG

- Alma -- German; 36-37. [< Fr. allemand] Pl. - almaġ.
almagetem, neg, almagetem -- to swear, curse; 117, 183, 225, 270, 271.
Almawagig -- Germany; 268.
almagetem -- v. almagetem.
alming, mitem -- to insult, to curse; 183, 271.
alsipisgitai -- extend one's hands; 168, 300.
alsung, utem -- to dominate, to be the master; 184, 272.
alsungusin -- obey; 209.
alsunsi -- to be a free man; 285.
alsusi -- to be a master, command; 209, 224, 262.
alsutgel -- commands; 162, 309.
alt -- some people, those, there are those of them who...; 29,
121, 212.
alt...alt -- some...others, one...the other.
altajig -- v. alġsi; 285.
altasgaġ -- to run after; 295.
altestaġan -- (cf. waltes); 24.
altuġwin, men, ig, ultigw -- to run here and there; 70, 121.
altugulitijig, [?altugultijig] -- v. altugwin.
aluġ(ul) -- cloud(s); 246.
aluġwiġ -- the weather becomes overcast; 107, 267.
Alun -- Aaron; 197.
alūsai, -an, at -- to be thin; 22, 265, 276.
alusang -- emancipation; 265.
amaġeng, ġenġem -- to paint, to stain; 185.
amalġai, gan, gat -- to dance; 32, 88, 89.
amalġawaġan, amalġewaġan -- a dance, diverse leaps; 22, 218.
amali -- variety; 218.
amalġaġaġan -- flower-bed; 218.
amali ntengewel -- diverse songs; 218.
amallugwalġ -- to weave artistically; 261, 305.
amaloġwan -- piece of embroidery; 218.
amaseġ -- far; 143, 204, 229, 232, 249, 251.
amasejijġ -- a little bit far; 229.
amasġalġ, ġaltieġ -- to remain far from him, from one another; 306.
amasġwipġlnġeg, nem -- to torment; 184.

AMASGWIPELNEI

ANGITASUINUI

- amasgwipəlnei, eigw, -atigw; amasgwipenei -- to suffer, torture, suffer from bad treatment; 33, 42, 103, 268.
- amasigéi, éin, èg -- to be miserly; close-fisted; 75.
- amasigéing -- avarice; 75.
- Amen -- amen, tliaj, let it be so; 26, 33, 247.
- anġanjij -- picker; 37.
- anġwan -- soup spoon; 37.
- angwès -- v. angwes.
- angwes elugutingel -- v. angwes...
- angusgawit -- as it is round; 183.
- anlaməgw -- mackerel; 37; anlaməġ - pl.
- ansət -- v. na nsət.
- angwes, angwès -- first, firstly, first time. [cf. təng]; 199, 200, 203, 225, 226, 228.
- angwes elugutingel -- Monday (1st day of work); 203, 226, 228.
- angwésəwaj -- first [designation, rank, grade, etc. of an individual]; 201.
- angwésəwəi -- first (in time); 23, 40, 76, 200, 201, 254, 292.
- angwesəwəi, ein, eit -- to be the first (to have arrived); 201.
- amuiangusi, amuiangug -- passable appearance; 227.
- amui gaegai -- almost lost (entering one house for another); 223.
- amuiw -- almost, partly, mediocre; 205, 223.
- amuj, iamuj, miamuj -- 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. ani-.
- anapow -- to one side; 229.
- anaŋələmeg, -tətəm -- to hate; detest a person, a thing; 218.
- anesg -- an odd number, from which something is lacking; 123.
- anġang, ġaptem -- to look at; 66, 183, 189, 192, 207, 217, 235, 268, 271, 276, 308, 310.
- anġapteġei, eigw, -taġatigw -- to look. [cf. anġang] 103, 192, 221, 223.
- anġəmiw, nanġəmiw -- immediately, 24.
- anġistaġ, təm, təmaġ -- to listen with attention; 168, 296.
- anġiŋāsi, sin, sit -- to think, reflect; 71, 190, 277.
[no contraction]
- angitasuinui -- to be a thinking, reflective being; 190.

ANGITELEMEG

ANSEMA

- angitələmeg, tətəm, teməğ -- to be careful of, to think of; 251, 300, 309.
- angotağan -- custody, care; 271.
- angotasi, sin, sit -- to be protected, looked after; 71.
- angoțem, men, tg -- v. angveiağ.
- angwatgițem -- to multiply; 118.
- angwatuanel -- sell; 223.
- angwiağ; ağneiağ, iul, iwin -- to look after someone, keep take care of; 72, 142, 177, 271, 313. angotem -- keep something.
angotemağ -- keep something belonging to him, or for him.
- angwiei, anguiwei, angūei -- to grow, to augment; 267.
- angwieng -- v. neugt angwieng.
- angwisgai, gan, gat -- my, your, his joints; 88, 217.
- anguj -- v. inguj.
- angujiw -- there are some; 211.
- angunai/tew -- cover, hide; 91.
- angunāleg, nol, nain, noțu -- to cover; 179, 302.
- anguwei, angūei -- v. angwiei.
- ani-, ana- -- abhorrence; 218.
- aniang, 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.
- aniapsing, aniapsingewei, aniapsuti -- penance, act of contrition; 133, 218, 300.
- aniapsuağan/el -- penances; 260.
- aniapsualg, uațem, teməğ -- to expiate, bear the penalty; 305.
- aniapsuinu; nusgw -- penitent one; monk; nun; 46, 236, 252.
- aniapsuțelg, suțem, țeməğ -- to punish; 307.
- aniapsuti -- v. aniapsing.
- aniaptem -- v. aniang.
- Anies -- Agnes; 11, 14, 15, 42.
- Anli -- 270.
- nt/ansalem -- my/angel; 214, 278, 312, 313 [cf. ansalewit].
- ansaléwit. -- angel; 23, 37, 42, 49, 213, 214, 258, 278, 312, 313.
- ansalewitewit -- he acts like an angel; 278.
- ansalewitjij -- baptised child, "little angel," 49, 258.
- ansema, assema -- certainly, assuredly; 44, 103, 205, 220, 233, 234, 282, 290, 295, 317.

- ansuëg -- that is difficult, strange; 25, 106.
- Antle -- André; 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.
apj gogwei, but gogwei ap. [p. 234]
- aþaġogsit, -sijig, lapaġogsit, -- kettle(s); 37.
- aþaġt -- the sea; 28.
- aþaġtug -- on the seas, on the high seas, asea; 229, 235.
- aþaġtugewaġ -- Europeans; 229.
- aþaġtujg -- near the shore; 229.
- aþaġtujgel -- at some distance from the shore; 229.
- apagtui -- marsh bittern (wader) (bird of prey); 37, 254.
pl. - apagtuiag.
- apajai -- to return, after having attained the goal; 229.
- aþajasi, -jaleg, jatu -- v. apajiei.
- apaji -- again; (mental) return, anew; 51, 219, 229.
- apajiei, -jasi, jaleg, jatu -- to come back, bring back, return; 134, 219, 275.
- apajipei, apijipei -- to revive; 219.
- apajitasi, apatgwijsi -- to come back to better feelings; to convert; 219, 229.
- apangitaġ, tem, temaġ -- to pay someone; 48, 118, 197, 257, 271, 296, 308.
- apangitawalseug, ul, win -- to pay for, to be a server, surety; 176, 296.
- aþangituwei -- payment, salary, recompense; pay; 118, 271.
- aþaþi -- thread(s), cord(s); 9, 14, 37 [cf. api].
- aþatgwijsi -- v. apajitasi.
- aþatnemuei, mueigw, muatigw -- to return; 51, 102.
[apaji + ignemuei]
- apattelaġ -- to redeem; 158, 177.
- apengetem -- v. apangitaġ.
- apgu- -- (a) deliverance, (b) treachery; (a) end long, (b) end short; 219.
- apgwalg, atem -- to deliver; to betray, surrender; 187, ?211, 219.
- apgwaleg, atu -- to untie, to deliver, to save (someone), to put back; 133, 186, ?211, 219.

APGWALTINGEWEL

APOGONEMAG

- apgwāltīngewei -- absolution; 186, 219.
apwēgg, apgwetam -- to detach with the teeth; 182.
aḡi, tāḡi(g) -- bow(s); 16, 18, 22, 34, 37, 320, 321.
n/utapi(m), g-, u- -- my, your, his bow(s).
aḡi -- come from; 16.
aḡi alāsi -- I come from walking.
āpi(l) -- net(s); 9, 14, 16, 18, 26, 34, 37, 307, 320.
n/t/āpi, g/t/āpi, ug/t/āpil -- my, your, his net [cf. apapi].
aḡigjij -- mouse; 254.
aḡigjilu -- skunk; 254.
apigsigtag, tem, tamag -- to pardon, forgive; 33, 176, 258, 271, 296.
apijipei -- v. apajipei.
aḡijipeḡewei, aḡijipeḡ, aḡijipei -- resurrection; 141, 219.
aḡijipeḡewei, wēit. -- I am, he is, the resurrection.
aḡijipetal -- to be restored (to life); 33, 73, 141, 219, 246, 251.
apis -- especially, still more, up until, moreover; 26, 33, 223, 225, 249.
apistaneuj -- marten; 50.
apj -- [v. ap].
apjegil, lg; apsegil(g) -- (to be) little (less large); 122, 274.
apjōjg(ol) -- small, little, few; 40, 49, 121, 203, 241, 257.
apjōjijg -- very little, very few; 49, 241.
apjig, ul, in, itu, iḡag -- to do good (to), with the idea of meriting recognition; 174.
apjiig -- 290.
apjijewal/esis -- if he is made quite small; 196.
Apjitingewei -- the Eucharist; 23.
apjiw, iapjiw, apji, iapji, gtapji -- that lasts forever, eternal, always; 24, 33, 73, 77, 103, 154, 165, 178, 212, 219, 224, 225, 265, 269, 270, 272, 305.
apjulgus -- [they made you forever]; 276.
Aplām -- Abraham; 217, 263, 320.
ap me -- etc., and so forth; 223.
āpogonemag, matem -- to help; 177.

APOGONEMUEI

AFSUGAM

- apoḡonemuei, -ən, -ət -- I, you, he help; 15-16, 18, 72, 102, 136, 150, 152, 177.
- Apoḡeulèḡ -- Béauséjour (point); 237.
- apsetpai, pan, pat -- my, your, his small head, to have a small head; 217, 265.
- apsegil(g) -- [v. apieḡilg].
- apḡésit, -apḡèḡ -- (so many) rounded objects; 202.
- āpḡoḡeḡijing, ḡitḡ -- to run up to there backwards; 273.
- apḡwāleg, ḡu, ḡāḡ -- to bring back; to detach; 303.
- apḡwapeḡitḡ, apḡwoḡeḡitḡ -- return of the current, ebb, draw back (Jordan); 123, 229.
- apḡwasi -- to retrace one's steps, before having reached the goal; 229.
- apḡwi -- repetition, return, recession; 225, 229.
- apḡulapasi -- to look back; 229.
- apḡwoḡeḡitḡ -- v. apḡwapeḡitḡ.
- apsigan -- a little residence; 284.
- apsutèḡan(g) -- doll; 37, 143.
- aptaḡalg, aptaḡatem, inaptaḡatem -- to stay with constantly, to have a home, to stay, reside, live there continually; 118, 230, 270, 287, 305 [cf. etlaḡatem].
- aptenem, iaptenem -- to have forever; 24, 270.
- aptesḡam, apusḡam, men, ḡāḡ -- to lock, shut with a key; 120, 179, 262.
- aptugopisoteḡ, teleḡ -- to crown; 188.
- aptun -- staff, scepter, rod; 217, 275, 321.
n/utaptun (e(m)), g/-, utaptunem -- my, your, his staff.
- aḡu -- juice, gravy (in composition); (16) wiusaḡu -- broth (16), viḡiḡenaḡu -- ink (16).
- aḡuḡ, aḡut, aḡuajel, aḡul, aḡuin -- to send, to make an envoy of someone; 158, 175.
- aḡuḡji -- v. aḡuḡji.
- aḡuḡwétu -- to send (things); 134, 175, 275, 309.
- apuneg, epuneg -- below; 14, 189, 229.
- aḡuneg paḡisulsit -- be humble, degrade oneself; 189.
- apusḡam -- v. aptesḡam.

APUSGAPUGUET

ASUGOMAL/IN

- apugapuguet --(he) speaks badly, coarsely; 219.
apugsi, apugji -- disorder; 219.
apusgigen -- key; 320.
 nt/apusgigen, gt-, ugt/-, ay, your, his key.
apustaléwit -- apostle; 187, 198, 276, 311.
aség, asegug -- on the other side; 27, 229, 249, 316.
āség -- overleaf, reverse (of a sheet of paper); 229.
aségag, gem, gemag -- to meet; 229, 295.
asegug -- v. aség.
asélag, at, wajel -- to take vengeance on someone; 294.
Asélig -- Angélique; 11, 314.
asemigwetniag -- the wind is in front of one; 268.
asgaiag, asgeiag, asgaiwajel, iul, iwin -- to disturb, to do injury to; 154, 165, 176, 271.
 asgotem -- disturb a thing.
 asgotemag -- disturb something belonging to or relating to someone.
asgotagan -- disturbance, nuisance; 271.
asgotem, men, tg -- v. asgaiag.
asing -- to push, to tempt in words; 301.
asisepuguei, -guasi, gustatag -- to pass over, step over; 229.
asisé, asiw -- over the top; 229.
asisiw -- v. asisé.
asisolg, setu, tag -- to throw over (the top of); 307.
asitapuguei -- to answer; 219.
asitapuguegewei -- a response; 229.
asité(-) -- response, permission; 219, 229, 233.
asite gelusit -- he answers; 219.
asitálemeg, tãtem, temag -- to permit, consent; 219, 296, 300.
asitemagwitiugsepenel -- he did (not) respond to them; 177.
asitentingewei -- response; 219.
asmag -- on this side, by here, this way; 229, 247, 251.
assem -- v. ansama.
astag -- 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

ATIWI

- asugoméwei -- sixth; 23, 27, 200, 201.
asugomigagan -- bridge; 194.
asugom tésijig, tésigel -- six; 199.
asugom tésisgag -- sixty; 199.
asugom tésisgag -- sixty; 199.
asugom tésipunai -- to be six years old; 90.
asugom tésisgagipunai -- I'm sixty.
asugom tesugumugw -- to go in a boat in sixes; 121.
āsun -- outer garment; blanket, coat, overcoat; 16, 250, 257, 279,
320; nt/asunem, gt/-, ugt/-, my, your, his...
asunām, men, naġ, naltigw -- to be clothed; 120.
asuni(ig) -- there is a covering; 279.
at -- that one, that; 208.
Ata -- Adam; 16, 42, 45, 185, 210, 254, 256, 262, 297, 315.
atal, len, lġ, lultigw -- to eat; 122, 175, 222, 226, 250, 275.
ataleneg -- to eat; 222.
atalulting -- general meal; 226, 275.
atalug, lut, luajel -- to cause to eat; 175.
atapagam -- to wind (a clock); 272.
atel -- about to, from the moment; 225.
ataugtig -- that is more dear, expensive; 223.
ataugtugwei -- to raise the price; 223.
atelg -- more than; 50, 205.
ateljoġo -- since; from the moment of (implies impatience); 225.
ateltaġ [ʔnateltaġ] -- it sounds like that; 224.
atgeneg, nol, nēin -- to do his share, to make participate; 179.
atgenem -- to divide up; 179, 269.
atgenéwagan -- share; 179.
atgenéwalg, watem, temaġ -- to distribute, divide up; 270, 305.
atgenewei, nautigw -- to make shares, to distribute; 268.
atgilg -- be a little bigger; 50.
atgitemi, min, mit -- to weep; 150, 70, 211, 241, 277.
atiew, atiw -- adieu, goodbye; 225.
atiéuġtaġ, tem, temaġ -- to say goodbye; 225, 296.
atiewi -- to say goodbye; 225.
atiw -- v. atiew.

ATIGNAI

AWANTASI

- atignai -- [to work extra hard]; 276.
atlai -- shirt; 279, 321.
 nt/atlai/em, gt/-, ugt/-, ny, your, his shirt.
atlai, ig -- I have a shirt, there is one; 279.
atlasemi -- to rest; 259.
atlasemulg, nuṭem, temaḡ -- to pacify; 308.
atlasemutigisgeg -- Sunday (day of rest); 228.
atlegating -- pace, step; 205.
atniag̃ -- the wind changes; 268.
Atua -- v. Utava.
aṭuasgwotesin, sing, tóg -- to fall backwards; 273.
Atuèn -- Antoine; 252.
 Atuénisgw (his wife), Atuènj, -nisgwèj (his children).
atugopilatiji -- 321.
atugsit -- history; 226.
atugwalg, ṭem -- to tell about a thing; 293.
aṭugwafilg, pilem, lemaḡ -- to stretch; 307.
aṭugwug̃, eut, ewajel -- to recount to someone; 293.
atuomas -- to be covered by sand; 279.
atuomg -- sand (no sing.); 266, 279.
aṭuomgin(g) -- strawberry(ies); 37.
atuomi, ming -- to be, have sand; 279, 286.
atutuej -- squirrel; 189.
aṭutugwej -- squirrel; 50, 189.
awan -- v. awani.
awanang, napter, temaḡ -- to lose sight of; 300.
awanéi, in, -èg; awanitu, tun, toḡ -- to be ignorant of, forget,
 neglect; 22, 134, 218.
awang, awanitu -- to ignore, to consider as a stranger, not to know;
 22, 134, 184, 218.
awani-, awan- -- ignorance, forgetfulness; 218.
awanitāsi -- v. awantāsi.
awanitālemeg, ṭəṭem, ṭəṭemaḡ -- to forget (person, thing); 168,
 211, 299.
awanitū -- v. awang, awanéi.
awantasi, sin, sit -- to forget, make an oversight; 71, 218, 222, 237,
 261, 299. [awanitasi]

- awasēgei, geigw, getigw -- to spoil, 101.
- awasemai, man, mat -- to brag, boast; to fan oneself, use a fan; 264.
- awgsami -- v. awsamiw.
- awgti -- road, way, path; 15, 22, 36, 40, 46, 141, 153, 211, 217, 230, 278, 284, 317.
- awgti, awgtig -- it is expensive; 7231, 259.
- awgtī(tii); awgtig -- to be a road; 7231, 263, 278.
- awgtigemai, man, mat -- to guide; 88.
- awgtij(el) -- (foot)path; 40.
- awī, awiu -- around; 22, 218.
- awia -- final exclamation of Nsgawagan (song); 15, 238.
- awialēg, tu, tag̃ -- to surround; 302.
- awiaḡiālēg -- to intertwine; 302.
- awijējg, awijējit -- it is rare; 22, 27, 70, 225.
- awisiw, awisi -- rarely; 22, 225.
- awiu -- v. awi.
- awīupgōgōsg, sem -- to cense; 182.
awīopgōgōsut -- he has incense burned before him.
- awiu pḡōḡsiḡen -- censer; 218.
- awna -- on the contrary; 22, 218, 257, 272, 310.
- aunaḡaj, auna -- exception, to the contrary; 218.
- awsamiw, awgsami, awsami, wasamiw, wasami, eugsami, ewsami, wésami -- 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.
- eḡel -- from time to time; 225; [jiptuēḡel]
- eḡel -- [v. eim]; 49.
- eggotem, temen, tg -- to retard, to put back; 293.
- eḡiljei, en, et, atigw -- to read, count; 103, 7270, 276, 277.
contr.: giljētēs.
- eḡimḡ, eḡitem -- to read, to count, to recite; 20, 118, 178, 183, 245, 251, 259, 300.
contr.: gim, git/tes

ĒGPETAIG

EJELIEI

- ēgpetaig -- v. ēpġetaig.
- ēgsitponug -- tomorrow morning; 43, 225.
- ēgsitpug, esgitpug -- in the morning; 14, 43, 49, 222, 225.
- ēgŋitpugweg -- yesterday morning; 43, 49.
- ēgsuei, en, et -- to lie (fib); 16, 18, 25.
- ēgsuoġon -- a lie; 119.
gwiłtoġsep ēgsuoġon, quaeritis mendacium.
- ēgwasi, sit, sig -- to set back (a watch); 293.
- ēgug, ēgut, ēgwajel -- to stop, to retard; 293.
- ēgwijatu -- to soak; 275.
- ēgwijin, ng, itg -- to be in (deep) water; 273.
- ēgwitai, tan, taŋ, taġ -- to be attached, suspended, clasped; 265.
- ēgum, nugum -- to pulverize; 121, 289.
- ēgutai, tan, tat, taigw, tatigw -- to be dressed; 265.
- ei, -en, -et; emg -- to say; 9, 16, 22, 29, 101, 103, 189, 210, 212, 266, 276, 310, 189.
[v. teluei; cf. eiog]
- ēiaġ, at, wajel -- to have (little used except for having children); 294.
- eim, eimen, 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.
- ēiog -- Is it possible? You don't say! (mark of distressed surprise); [archaic]; 16, 18, 310.
- ējaġanjétèstai -- to stumble; 265.
- ējaġanjetestangewei guntew -- stumbling block, scandals; 265.
- ējélātu -- I can't do it; it is impossible; 16.
- ejeleg -- it is impossible; 101, 266.
- ējéléi -- to be feeble, incapable; 219, 262. ējéloltijig.
- ējéléiaġ, lotem, temaġ -- to be incapable of helping, to harm, not to have power on or over; 219, 294, 305.
- ējéli -- impotence; 219.
- ējeliei -- to become incapable; 188, 267.
- ējélotem -- v. ējéléiaġ.

- ejgin(e/tut) -- v. jigenam.
ejgólj(eg) -- v. jgólj(eg).
èjgujg -- pumpkin, melon, cucumbers; 31; èjgujgówéi tépáté --
pumpkin pie; 31.
ejigelāleg, tu, taĝ -- to send back, reject, chase, throw out,
remove; 18, 33, 115, 133, 154, 182, 230, 285, 302, 303, 318.
contr.: ĩ
ejigelāsi -- [to go away]; 76.
éjigeleĝei -- to push aside; 230.
ejigeli -- to brush aside; to reject; 230.
ejigelsing, seg(ol) -- stirred by the wind; 273.
ejinaĝsing, naĝseg -- to fly low; 273.
el-, elelemit -- leave, he leaves laughing; 259.
-èl -- toward; 16, 231, 275; alamesèl.
élaĝ, élem -- to resemble; 296.
elaĝa-t- -- v. eléĝei.
elaĝamai, man, mat -- to braid the middle of the snowshoe; 89.
contr.: laĝam-.
elaĝatesg -- the trap falls, closes; 123.
elaĝittéĝei, geigw, getigw -- to file; 101.
contr.: lagittoge-.
elaĝojin, men, ng, ĝotg -- to incline the head to the front; forward;
122, 273.
elaĝtaĝ, tem, temaĝ -- to throw [tr.]; 297.
elaĝtuei -- to throw [intr.] 269.
elaĝuten -- to have a relative; 272.
elai, elan, elat -- resemble, to have a resemblance; 88.
élatigw -- we resemble each other.
élaĵel -- [v. elĝ].
elāleg, tu, taĝ -- to lead, carry somewhere, conduct there; 20,
133, 153, 192, 232, 246, 251, 262, 303.
contr.: ĩ
elaluei, lueigw, lueitigw -- to lead, to conduct, 102, 192.
contr.: lāluās.
elan, elem -- to swim in one direction; 120, 272.
elaĵāleg, ātu -- to sprinkle with water, to baptise privately (in an
emergency); 186. contr.: laĵalitesg.
élaĵāsi -- to look to that side; 260.

ELAPILEM(AG)

ELGUJIN

- elapilem(aġ) -- to carry a liquid (to someone); 269.
contr.: lafilemaġ.
- elapugualg, uatem, tamaġ -- to support, vote for; 305.
- ēlaseniġa -- [v. ēlg].
- ēlasu(aġ) -- v. alasu(aġ).
- elatniāġ -- the wind falls; 268.
- elātu -- v. elāleg.
- elēgei, geigv, elāgatīgw -- to throw dice, to vote, draw lots; 103,
229, 262.
contr.: laġatingēwei - election, legetes.
- ēlēgēwāġi(g) -- kingdom(s); 212, 295.
- ēlēgēwalul -- I make you king; 196.
- ēlēgēwijij -- prince; 35.
- ēlēgēwisgw -- queen; 35, 48, 258, 311.
- ēlēgēwisgwēj -- princess; 35, 48.
- ēlēgēwit -- 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/elegem/inen -- our king.
- elēgēwitewit -- he is king, he reigns; 27, 279.
- ēlēi, ēlēg -- to be important; 262.
- ēlēlemit -- laugh; 183, 211.
- elg -- v. elp.
- elg [defective], ēlajel, ēlaji, ēln, ēlnoġ -- to say to someone; 16,
29, 38, 91, 187, 233, 241, 248, 282.
contr.: la-tal.
- ēlēgalg -- to go encamp with him; 305.
- elġamgug -- on this side of a sound, arm of the sea; 230.
- elġamsipug -- from this side of a river; 230.
- elġing, elūlg; elġimatiji -- to send someone on a mission, to give a
message, command; 44, 45, 175, 188, 237, 258, 301, 308, 309, 312,
313.
- elġitem, taṣig -- to send; 271.
- elġomi, eluġomi -- to send to fetch; 297.
- elġomigtaġ, tem, tamaġ -- to call, invite, to invoke, to pay a visit,
call on; 209, 297.
- elġwetu -- female moose, caribou, ox, or sheep (added to generic noun);
36.
- elġwilaġ -- to go make inquiries; 177.
- elġujin, ng, gutg -- to incline the head to one side; obliquely; 122,
273.

ELGUSUAGAN

ELMEGIAG

- elgusuagān -- ladder, staircase; 89, 279.
- elgusuagānemi, wetelgusuagānemi -- to have a staircase, ladder; 279.
- elgusuai, uan, uat -- to leap, to climb by jerks; 89, 205.
- elgusuagān -- ladder, staircase.
- eli, li -- (prefix) (be) go(ing) to; 17, 18, 33, 42, 69, 91, 104, 106, 189, 205, 212, 217, 219, 229, 231, 235, 238, 260, 265, 267, 275, 276, 280, 302, 305, 318, 322, et passim;
pasi - sit down!; lipasi -- go sit; elipusi -- I'll go to leave by water/I'm going to warm myself.
- Eli -- Eli; 42, 254, 279, 300.
- eliansit -- he gets discouraged; 261.
- eliei, ən, èt, elièigw/elātigw, elitaigw -- to go (on water/on land);
to go there; 16, 18, 24, 30, 33, 53, 104, 105, 210, 220, 229, 232, 233, 237, 241, 251, 276, 309.
contr.: lia, lié.
- elig, elitu, elitaġ (eltaġ) -- to make; ?255, 292; v. elitu.
- eligasi-j -- [(he) depends, relies on; hides behind]; 255.
- eligpema -- to sling (a stone); 264.
- eliġu, ġun, ġug -- to serve the soup, to mix, to drain, to hollow out, to clear away; 136.
- n/élis -- [v. -lis].
- Elisafèt, Saġet -- Elisabeth; 248, 251.
- eliséwei, eigw, saġigw -- to sew; 106.
contr.: lisewéts.
- elisin -- lie down; 112, 122, 273;
contr.: lisiinèn.
- elistaġ, tem, temāġ -- to disobey, resist, refuse a thing; 162, 271, 296.
- elitələmeg, tətəm, temāġ -- 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 -- [?elajel]; 308.
- elluġwei, élлуġwalg -- to go to work; 105, 229, 305.
- èlmāleg, tu, taġ -- to lead away, carry away (to one's home); 134, 242, 276, 303.
- elmegiaġ, ġiaġew -- the tide abates; ebbs; 107.

ELMIERI

ELSETGUG

- elmiei, ieigvātigw, iṭaigw -- to go home (one's own) (by water/by land), go away; 24, 29, 105, 242.
contr.: lmié.
- elmiḡenig -- (in) the future, later; 45, 77, 225.
- ēlmiḡing -- to send back home; 301.
- ēln, ēln ṭana, ēln oḡuj, emṭana -- for, indeed, suppose that, as a matter of fact; 29, 187, 228, 233, 236, 265, 290, 308, 318.
- ēln -- [v. el/g].
- elnaḡoḡom(g) -- runner(s)(of sleigh), skates; 37.
- elnaṭa -- quite certainly, certainly! of course!; 233, 238.
- elnemtesing, tesg -- (to be) driven in; 273.
- el/n(oḡ) -- v. el/g (say).
- elnoḡom -- green wood; 34.
- ēln oḡuj -- v. ēln.
- eln ṭa -- for truly; 233.
- eln ṭana, emṭana -- [v. eln].
- eln teṭeṭug, teṭeṭug -- only, except for, however; 143, 228, 233, 236, 265, 267, 276.
- elnu -- v. lnu.
- elnuāleg, ṭu, ṭaḡ -- to make a man; 196, 303.
- ēlnuāṣi, -in, it -- to become a man; 16, 18, 33, 75, 76, 257.
- ēlnuā -- of an Indian; 41.
- ēlnui, -in, -it -- to be a man, an Indian; [inan:],
there are people; 16, 18, 70, 73, 141, 142, 190, 206, 210, 211,
229, 232, 235, 257, 259, 263, 278, 279, 286, 290.
- elnuoḡtaw, -taḡ -- statue(s); 37, 268.
- elnutesin, tesing, tesg -- to dance in the Indian manner; 122, 273.
- elolg, eloṭu, ṭaḡ -- 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.
- ēlṭa -- truly, really; 16, 18, 89, 222, 233, 251, 310.
- elpatuj, elpatujij, lepatuj -- little boy; 27, 258, 313.
- elṭatus -- boy; 35, 47, 257, 313.
- elṭatusgw(aḡ) -- young girl(s); 35.
- elṭatusui -- to be a boy; 263.
- Elsetgug -- Bear River; 31.

elsung, suten, temag̃ -- to judge, undertake to judge, attribute;
242, 272, 301.

contr.: lsumata.

eltağanewei, neweigw, nautigw -- to spin; 106.

contr.: ltağanewétes.

eltağopen -- 75.

èltu -- v. éltu; 275.

eluéwāleg, -wātu -- to render evil; wicked, harmful, to prevert; 133,
147, 151, 185, 186, 193.

contr.: luéwātutes.

éluéwi, -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.

eluéwiei, wieigw, wiatigw -- to be mad, crazy, insane, to become
insane; 23, 25, 103, 190, 268.

éluéwièt -- a madman; 25.

éluéwinu, nusgw -- a wicked person, a sinner; 25, 73, 252.

éluéwinui; éluéwinusgowi -- to be a sinner, a sinneress; 73, 263.

éluéuti -- 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.

elugomigtag̃, tem, temag̃ -- to employ, to order (dinner, commodities);
297.

elugoug, gout, gowajel; elugweug -- to work for someone, to be employed
by someone, at someone's service; 26, 293, 305.

contr.: lugougultigw.

elugowinu; nusgw -- a workman; working woman; 252.

elugwagan -- work, production; 321; nt-, gt-, ugt/elugwagan(em),
my, your, his work.

elugwalg, -gwater, -temag̃ -- shape, mold, make prepare, accomplish,
work, fabricate; 24, 270, 276, 289, 305.

elugwei, gweigw, gutigw -- to work; 25, 105, 222, 225, 228, 229,
(275), 277.

elugweug -- v. elugoug.

élugutimgel -- day of work; 203, 226, 228.

éluigenèg -- seven; 23, 26, 41, 49, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 228, 317.

éluigenégéwei -- seventh; 23, 200, 201, 228.

- eluienegewei nagweg -- Sunday (7th day); 228.
éluiğenêg têsîğel -- seven of them; 49, 199.
eluiğeneg têsîsgâğ -- seventy; 199.
 e. têsîsgêgsîjig, têsîsgâğal.
eluitemasi -- to swear; 229.
elulğ, lutu, tağ -- to carry, transport by water; 188, 308.
elulğ -- v. elging.
elulsi -- to paddle one's own canoe; 308.
elum, men, elug -- to show; 273.
 contr.: lu/tes.
elumag, mat, muajel -- to point out where, show; 296.
 contr.: lumuloğtew.
élung, utem, temag -- to slander, to tell tales; 301.
elūpeg, pem -- to carry on one's back; 181.
nt/elūsug -- (my)/son-in-law; 30, 214.
 nt/lūsuesgw -- my/daughter-in-law.
elutağ, tem, temag -- to imitate in speech, to mimic; 289, 297.
elutağan -- enclosure, fence; 229.
élutemağan -- piece of slander; tales; 301.
elutmağaniğei, geigw, getigw; elutemağaniğei -- to tell tales, to
 hawk baleful news, to make slander; 101, 301.
 contr.: lutmağanige-
emelsigtağ -- to frighten; 89.
emelsigtemai, man, mat -- to dream, see, hear, to imagine strange
 things, to have bad premonitions; 89.
emelsigtemağewei -- phantasmagoria; 89.
emg -- v. ei.
emğatuig, tul, tuin, tuitu -- to lend to someone; 102, 164, 175,
 '275. 'contr.: mąğatuias.
emğatuigetü -- to borrow; 174.
emgiğen -- v. mgiğen.
émituğwalg, atem, temag; émituğwalg -- to visit; 214, 306, 317.
 contr.: mituğwalas.

EMPIE

EPGEWIEI

- empíé -- one foot (measure); 24, 204-205 [Fr. un pied].
- émtesgi, gin, git -- to be arrogant, proud; 45, 70, 245, 258.
fut.: mtes- or metes-.
- entogwalg, atem -- to praise; 170, 187.
contr.: metogwalanej.
- emutgulþuguāsi -- to kneel down; 76.
contr.: mutgulþuguāsi-
- enagei, geigw, gatigw -- to extend the branches, of the plant; 266.
- èneg, ènet, ènajel; entu -- to lose; 16, 20, 120, 136, 184, 247, 251, 257, 275.
- engag, nengag; gam, gamag, gol, gain -- to stop, to prevent (with force); 298.
- engalaw, -lag -- gallon(s); 205.
- engāleg, tu, tag; nengāleg -- to stop, hinder; 133, 303, 307.
contr.: nagalas.
- engasaiw, ngasaiw, ngasi, ngaseg -- immediately; 22, 76, 133, 224, 225, 227.
- engaten -- to measure; 270.
- engatigen -- pound (wt.), (added to each number); 205.
- enigei -- to carry a burden on the shoulders; 266.
- enntana -- v. eln tana.
- ènoĝ -- I tell it to you [cf. ei]; 248.
- èntu -- v. èneg; 16, 120, 136, 251, 275.
- entugsigtem- -- v. netugsigtemai.
- ènusit -- he is lost; 184.
- Ep -- Eve; 16, 42, 45, 210, 254, 256.
- epāgasg, gasem -- to warm (a stove, iron, hair); 182.
- epāgasigen, epsagtej -- stove; 182.
- epagwesg, gwesem -- to put away by digging, to put aside; 182.
- epāsi -- to be seated, to sit down; 16, 18, 76, 285.
- epewijin, jing, gwitg -- to be in (deep) water on the side; 273.
- épētog̃sut/igtug -- in/moans; 136, 306.
- epgesigen(el) -- a piece of silver, worth about 20 sous; 120.
- epgétaig, ègpetaig, gepetaĝ -- on high; 230, 231.
- epgetesenug -- from the south; 106.
- epgèwèg, pgewèg -- below; 230, 261, 308.
- epgewegel -- on the side below; 230.
- epgewiei -- (I) go down; 33, 42, 230, 235.
contr.: pgewiei.

epgumagan -- v. pgumagan.

epi, epin, epit -- to be (seated); 13, 18, 20, 26, 33, 46, 70, 206, 248, 249, 251, 258, 276, 277, 302.

contr.: ĩ

epipenei -- to make bread, to bake; 268.

épit -- 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/épitom, gt-, ugt/épitomel.

épiťéjij -- little girl; 48, 136, 277.

epitejijui -- to be a little girl; 279.

épités -- girl; 9, 13, 14, 35, 47, 48, 251, 257, 272, 279, 309, 313, 317.

épitésui -- to be a girl; 263, 279.

épitéwi -- to be a woman; 263, 279, 313.

épitgwiei, wieigw, wiatigw -- to genuflect, bend the knee; 103, 267.
contr.: pitgwiatigw!

épitjij -- little woman, dear creature; 48.

epmegwijing, epmegujing; gutg -- to have the head inclined; 122, 273.

epmépigai, gat -- my, . . . his side; 88, 217, 235.

èpmetug -- to the side; 230.

èpmetug awgti -- sidewalk; 230.

epsagtèj(g) -- stove(s); 37, 182; [v. also epépásigen]

Epsèsgèg -- Rivière-du-Loup; 249, 251.

epsetgun -- branches; 189.

èpsgwés- -- v. pèsgwèsen.

epsgwesawe/tew -- v. pssgwesawei.

epsem -- to warm (a thing); 270.

èpsi, -in, it -- have a fever; be warm, hot; 16, 70, 251, 261.

èptağan -- plate; 36, 182, 212, 257, 279; èptağang - pl.

eptàg -- it gets hot, it is hot; 70, 250, 251, 257, 258, 270.

epuneg -- v. apuneg.

ès -- shellfish; clam; 16.

ésag, esam -- to hunt, to chase [someone, something]; 18, 20, 120, 142, 147, 178, 179, 193, 227, 249, 251.

contr.: sa/tes.

eselegei, gen, get -- to (be) give(ing) as food; 187.

eselig, eselem -- to give as food; 187.

esemeg, muetu -- to give to eat, to nourish, furnish food to; 720, 727, 134, 183, 187, 249, 251.

contr.: sem/-as, -ueutu/tes.

- esemiegel -- [you give us those (things to eat)]; 33.
esenel -- 183.
ēsefenel -- v. ei.
ēsġ, ġēsġ -- when, while, although; 30, 33, 140, 202, 219, 225, 236,
257, 284.
esġeg -- raw; 182.
esġemalg, aŋen, tenġ -- to wait for, look after; 187, 276, 277, 306,
308.
contr.: sġemal-.
Esgemaw, maġ -- Eskimo(s); 182.
esġemenāġ, esġumenāġ, ġesġemenāġ, ġesġumenāġ -- before; i.e., when
not yet; 30, 69, 135, 139, 141, 142, 225, 236.
esġemenāġ, esġumenāġ -- observation post; 30, 187, 225; [cf. esġemalg].
esġēpġ, esġotem -- to eat (it) raw; 182.
ēsġenuaŋi -- to keep watch; 259.
esġipāġ, ŋol, ŋēin, ŋeŋu, taġ; pesi; peġei -- to wait for;
71, 134, 147, 180, 219, 288, 310.
esġitponug -- v. esġitponug.
esġitpug -- v. esġitpug.
esġopoġwig -- that has a limit in time or space; 263.
contr.: sġopogwinug.
esġumenāġ -- v. esġemenāġ.
esġwi, ġwin, ġwit -- to sneeze; 73, 263.
esġwi- -- left over, incompletely; 138, 219, 223.
esġwiei, ġwiaġ, ġwiewaġ -- to be left over; 62, 219, 236, 266.
esġiputu -- to sharpen, to put a point on; 135.
esġitġ -- it spills; 123.
esġoġsi -- [v. esġaġ]
esġalajel -- 310.
esġpēi, ēin, ēġ -- to be elevated, of high rank, pretentious, high;
50, 75, 257.
esġoġasiġen -- sword, straight sword; 321.
nt/esġoġasigenem, ġt-, uġt-
esġoġwasġ -- sword; 255.
essem -- to color, to paint; 270.
et -- 317.
ēta -- yes, in truth, that's it, it's me, you, him, etc.; 16, 18, 26,
43, 44, 45, 48, 70, 75, 90, 136, 138, 139, 143, 165, 180, 183,
185, 189, 192, 209, 210, 233, 234, 251, 256, 257, 258, 267, 274,
282, 287, 289, 292, 303, 309, 317, 320.

ETANG

ETLI NAGITANGEL

- etang, etawei -- to ask for, to beseech, to seek, implore, collect;
20, 22, (47), 197, 250, 300, 302, 308, 317.
- étas, étas uèn -- each one; each one in his turn; 212, 291.
etasit, etasig -- who is next.
étaséwei nāwèg -- each day (of the week).
- étasewei -- (marks rank) each; 201.
- étasuāfigw -- walk two by two; 212.
- étas uen -- v. étas.
- étawaġtemai -- to beg for oneself; 264, 300.
contr.: tawaġtematug.
- etawalseug, seut, sewajel -- to pray for, to intervene, to intercede
for someone, to ask for another.
contr.: tawalsewas.
- étawei -- I ask, collect, beggar; [v. etang].
- eġeg -- v. eim.
- étégatiog -- you follow one after another; 212.
- etegsepenigel -- [v. eim.]
- étôlemiġ -- to smile; to laugh; 259.
- eteltasing, tesg -- to beat (heart); 273.
- eteltuli -- to build a canoe there; 70.
- etamai, ain, aig -- to come after; 74, 230.
- eġemaiw -- next, in the following place; 230.
- eġemaġeg, eġemasig, eġemaġit -- who, that comes next, the second; 230.
- etepenegeġerig -- [v. teġnèg.]
- etgesenug -- from the west; 106.
- ètġwim, men, ġwig -- to run; 121, 276, 277.
contr.: tugwiġes; altugwim -- to run here and there;
ġiwġtoġotġwim -- to run around, in a circle.
- etlaġalg, ġaġem, ġaġemaġ; tetlaġaġem -- to stay with someone, some-
where; 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. aptaġaġem]
- etlelemit -- to be busy laughing; 259.
- etlewistu -- to chat, to blab, to gossip, speak; 135, 275, 277.
- etléwoġwei, ġweigw, ġutigw -- to speak, to chat; 105.
- etli -- (progressive); 143, 189, 230, 260, 261, 268, 285, 299, 316.
- etligwei, ġweigw, ġultigw -- to push; 106.
- etli naġiġangel, etli naġeġangel -- stations; 260.

- ètnèg, nol, néin -- to tempt, betray, deceive, scandalize [usu. in comp.]; 298.
- etog, ètuŕijig -- he makes his nest, they make their nest; 136.
- etogwatesing, tesg -- (to be) well supported, deep-rooted; 273.
- etpene/tes -- v. tefmen.
- Ètuèl -- 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.
- ètugemégéweg -- v. etuguteweg.
- ètugjâl -- perhaps, perhaps as well, probably, that should be, maybe; 56, 234, 250, 317.
- ètug suèl -- perhaps, indeed; 56, 234.
- etuguteweg, ètugemégéweg -- scapular; 14, 37, 296.
[singular does not exist]
- ètui -- v. etuiw.
- etuiŕasig -- written inside and outside; 230.
- ètui panuèg, etupanuèg -- open on two sides; 230.
- ètuiw, etui -- on two sides, on both sides; 230, 236.
- ètuiw gamigwomel -- side-aisle (of a church); 236.
- etuli -- to build a canoe; 53, 70, 259, 281.
- etupanuèg -- v. etui panuèg.
- èwagèwasi, sin, sit; ewagèwasi -- to be made flesh; 71, 318.
fut.: wagèw-.
- ewagewatu -- to change something into flesh; 196;
èwagèwatag -- I change it into his flesh.
- ewagèwi -- to be flesh, man; 279.
- ewagèwasisenaĝ -- [v. ewagèwasi]
- ewai, in, it -- have, possess; 23, 74, 294, 302, 312.
- ewasg -- the lightning before the storm; 123.
- ewegasis -- [use oneself]; 292.
- èwégèg -- there is room; 23, 262, 1292.
mu èwégénug -- there is not room; 23.
- eug, eut, ewajel; eum -- to use, to employ; 17, 23, 120, 179, 186, 255, 289, 293, 302.
no contr.
- éug -- v. ei.
- eugjat -- adoptive father; 279.
- eugji -- to have a father; 26, 50, 75, 210, 279, 292, 314.

- éugjimg, ujimg -- to have a father; 215, 216 (declension).
 eugjipuguāsi -- to trample under foot; 260.
 eugjisin, nen, ng -- to be stretched out on; 122.
 contr.: ugjisintes.
 eugsami -- v. awsamiw.
 eugsimg -- to speak too much, exaggerate, deceive in words; 301.
 eugsimsit -- to be mistaken; 301.
 eugul -- v. eug.
 ewigai, gan, gat -- to build; 88.
 contr.: wiga/tes.
 ewigasi -- to be written, painted, described; 193.
 ewigatem, men, tg -- to build; 117, 136.
 contr.: wigattes.
 ewigem, men, geg -- to write, describe, mark, photograph; 119, 147,
 170, 172, 181, 193, 194, 233, 276.
 contr.: ḡ
 ewigi -- to have a residence (in general); 279, 283.
 contr.: ḡ
 éwigigei, -èn, -èt -- to write; 55, 57, 93-100, 101, 137, 222.
 contr.: wigige-
 ewigigenemi -- to have a pencil; 283.
 ewigigenam, naĝ, noltigw -- to use a pencil; 283.
 ewigigéug, ut, uajel -- to write for someone; 175.
 éwigmawi -- to be/have a relative, ally, friend, near kin, relation
 by marriage, neighbor; 55, 313.
 wigmawitès -- I'll have one.
 éwipg -- the sea is clam, it is calm; 30, 274.
 ewipteg -- oscillate; 274.
 éwiteg, tem -- to name, to give a name to; 26, 51, 117, 118, 136,
 142, 147, 151, 182, 250, 251, (262), 310.
 contr.: wite.
 éujgai, gan, gat -- to have an adoptive father; 263.
 contr.: ujgates.
 éulamug -- puny; 136.
 eulamugsi, sin, sit -- to appear miserable; 71.
 éuléi -- to be miserable, worthy of pity; to lie; 190, 191, 197,
 219.
 éuléiaĝ -- to treat someone badly, shamefully; to take badly; to be
 of a bad attitude; 191, 219, 294.

- éuléji, in, it léjg -- to be poor, miserable, a pauper; 23, 40, 43, 55, 70, 197, 211, 219, 260, 288.
- euléjuinu -- pauper; 252.
- eulgutai, éulgem -- to be poorly dressed; 265, 269.
- euli- -- misery, pity; 219, 267, 276.
- euligwei, gweigw, gultigw -- to push badly; 106.
- eulistaĝ, tem, temĝ -- to listen with benevolence; 184, 296.
- eulitèlemeg, tètém -- to have pity, compassion, mercy, to be merciful; 45, 55, 72, 183, 193, 211, 219, 224, 241, 255, 258, 266, 276, 312.
- eulitèlemugusi, sin, sit -- to be an object of pity, of compassion; 72.
- eulitèlgei, eigw, atigw -- to have compassion; 103.
- éuliteteĝei -- (to) have compassion, mercy, pity; to be merciful; 55, 219, 224, 255, 258, 266, 276.
- éuljéwéji -- to be poor, little, miserable, puny, weak; 197. (colloquial language)
- eultesgâĝ -- to meet sadly; 295.
- eum, eumen, eug -- [v. eūg].
- eunasi- -- (mental) disorder; 219.
- éunasiet -- to be attacked, worried by it; deranged, crazy; 23, 219.
- éunasitāsi -- (I) think, (I) am worried by it; 219.
- eunasitelemeg -- (I) think he is worried by it; 219.
- éunéi, nèg -- to be dark, blue, foggy; 254, 262.
- éunéĝéwei -- bluing [for washing]; 262.
- ewoĝemawing -- to be more distant relations, cousins; 313.
- eupeniĝ -- the weather (wind) is calm (after a storm); 107, 268.
- euploĝiĝ -- the wind turns with the sun; 267.
- ewsami -- very, excessively, too; 50. [cf. wasami]
- g -- animate plural ending; 36 et passim.
- g -- locative case ending, abbreviation (?) of -igtug, in, on; 45 et passim.
- gâĝ -- v. gâĝi.
- gâĝas, gâĝaisg(ol), -istetal -- several times; 49, 61, 91, 123, 143, 149, 226, 257.
- gâĝaisi -- [finish talking]; 143.
- gâĝaisugunâĝ -- several days; 91.
- mu gâĝisugunâĝtenug -- not many days.

- gaġaluġwei -- (my) work is finished; 223.
- gaġamatai -- to be patient, agreeable, prepared to render service; 197.
- gaġamaṭawalséwei, weigw, waṭigw -- to be a reconciler, mediator, a bondsman; 102.
- gaġamaṭawalséulgw -- he is our reconciler; our mediator.
- gagamatawalseug -- 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.
- gaġami -- stand up; 17, 70.
- gaġamuṭem -- to endure, be patient, constant; 118, 272.
- gaġan -- door; cloth door of a teepee; 205, 238, 284.
- gaġanneġel -- he knows all; 223, 269.
[< gaġi + nengeġ]
- gaġapenuġ -- 228.
- gaġapijin -- v. agapijin.
- gaġapteġel -- he sees all (things); 223, 269.
[< gaġi + angapteġel]
- gaġġageġ -- v. gaġġageġ.
- gaġġeg -- rough; 267.
- gaġġegeġ, gaġġageġ -- he supports all; 223, 269.
[< gaġi + geġegeġ]
- gaġġim -- recite all; 20, 183, 245.
- gaġġisitasig -- that is achieved; 223.
- gaġġitemeġ -- to read, recite, count all; 223, 261, 318.
[cf. gaġġim]
- gaġi -- completely (pertains to quantity); 20, 32, 75, 76, 221, 223, 245, 261, 269, 303, 308.
- gaġiei -- I am finished, at the end; I know no more of it; 223.
gaġiaġ, gaġiaiaġ -- that is finished.
- gaġientem, temen, teg -- to grieve, moan, bawl; 271.
- gaġoġtèġ -- burnt, consumed; 89, 182, 222, 258.
- gaġseg, sem -- to burn; 182.
- gagsiwg -- [burn oneself]; 89.
- gaġtaloġ -- v. tagtaloġ.
- gaġteġ -- burnt; 182, 267.
- gaġtuġowig -- it thunders; 91, 143.
- gaġtuġwaġ -- it is thundering, there is some thunder, the thunder; 91, 143, 264.

GAIN

GASGEG

- Gain -- Cain; 210, 256.
n/gajigen, g-, ugwajigen -- my, your, his leg; 318.
gaju(g) -- wild pepper(s); 38.
gajuewj, gajuwj -- cat; 14, 24, 29, 37 [cf. miawj].
gal -- one-fourth; 20, 203, 205, 245. [< Fr. quart]
galgié -- one-fourth; 24, 205. [< Fr. quartier]
galgunéwei -- biscuit; 23.
galifu -- caribou; 18.
galipuți -- shovel; 18.
ġamāsi, aġamāsi -- to get up and stand upright, raise oneself; 17,
76, 260.
contr.: ġamāsi.
gamawg -- 258.
ġamawtig -- on the other side of the road; 231.
ġaməg -- on the other side (river valley, etc.); 231, 247, 249, 251.
ġamigwomel -- 236.
ġamituei -- to quarrel, fight, to grab by the hair; 269.
gamlaming(əl) -- respiration(s), breath(s), minute(s), second(s); 203.
m/gamlamun -- heart; n/gamlumun, u/gwamlamun, my, his heart;
28, 29, 89, 118, 179, 180, 189, 193, 219, 235, 257, 274, 318.
ġamsog -- rocks on the other side; Canso; 231, 249.
gamu(g) -- cake with fat; 27, 38, 245.
Ganipewaj -- Abenakis; 37.
ganipewaġ -- pl.
Gantawagi -- Caughnawaga, Canada; 22.
Gapiel -- Gabriel; 245, 251, 258.
gas -- train, wagons; 20, 245.
[< Eng. gas]
gasagag, ġam -- to clean (a gun); 298.
gasātu -- to obliterate; 133, 178.
gasawog -- iron; 22.
gasawogaḃi -- iron wire; 22.
gasawogwei -- iron instrument, of iron; 22, 255.
gasawogwei:awgti -- railroad (road of iron); 22.
gasgəg -- on the shore; 231.

GASGEMTELNAGAN

GEGINUGWATAGANIT

- gasgembōlnagan, ġanijig, ġanel -- one hundred; 41, 199, 200, 205.
gasgembōlnaġanaigel -- 100 dollars; 202, 320.
gasgembōlnaġanipunai -- be 100 years old; 90.
gasgembōlnaganugunit -- this is the 100th day; he's 100 days old; 202.
- gasgew, ġasgo -- wait, stop, listen, hold it! an instant (all pleasant); softly; 23, 27, 194, 209, 226, 238.
- ġasgo -- v. ġasgew.
- gasgusi(g) -- cedar(s); 38, 306.
- gasuigem, mugw, mutigw -- to obliterate; 269.
- m/gat (el) -- foot; 29, 185, 214, 217, 281, 318.
n-, g/gat, ugwat.
- ġāt(aġ) -- eel(s); 20, 181, 184, 205, 245, 254, 258.
- ġatatu/i -- v. ġatātu.
- ġatōġij -- little eel; 254 [v. ġāt].
- Gatlin -- Catherine; 246, 249, 251, 314.
- gatu, sgatu -- 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. mēgatu]
- gawatgu(g) -- spruce(s); 38.
- gawatguġi -- spruce beer, beer; 22, 38.
- gawi(g) -- porcupine quill(s); 38, 305.
- gawigsaw, -saġ -- thorn(s), prickles(s); 38.
- ġé, ġéj, ġéseġ -- 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, 301.
- ġeġentiéwing -- v. ġeġantiéwing.
- ġeġet -- before long, already, about to; 43, 107, 225, 226, 242, 245, 276.
- ġéġināmaġ, mat, muajel -- to show, instruct, form the intelligence; 192, 296.
- ġéġināmasi -- to be instructed (in intellectual endeavor), to be taught, to learn; 35, 143, 151, 192, 225, 235, 268.
contr.: ġināmas-.
- ġéġināmasuti(l) -- lesson(s); 40.
ansġwéséwei ġéġināmasuġi -- first lesson.
- ġéġināmatim(ol) -- doctrine(s); 121, 136, 285.
contr.: ġināmatim.
- ġéġināmuei, eigw, 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.: ġināmue-.
- ġéġinuataġapenig -- I make them know it; 164.

- geginugwataġanit -- it is a sign; 189, 276.
- gėġinuġemaġ -- to make know, to teach how to work; 296.
- gėġinuġemasi -- to be instructed (in non-intellectual endeavor); 268.
- gėġinuġemuei -- to show how to do (a non-intellectual thing, as work); 268.
- gėgtug -- certainly; 245, 251.
- gegwaġw -- the top of a hill; 231.
- gėġwaġug-- on top of a hill; 231.
- geġwanam -- to lie down clothed; 283.
- geġwatutiġel -- they load; 320.
- gėġwėg, gėġwi -- on high, above; upstairs; 25, 231.
- gėġwėġel -- from above; 231.
- gėġwi -- v. gėġwėg.
- geġunaġt -- 38.
- gėj -- v. gė.
- gėj, gėseġ -- for example, let's see, try, it's your turn; 20, 143, 183, 233, 237, 245, 251, 289.
- geġġwėi, geġġwėi -- to have the hiccups; 267.
- gėġi, ġi, geġi, ġi -- great, very many, large, very much, indicates superlative, intensive, or frequentative; 28, 29, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 70, 71, 75, 87, 119, 135, 136, 140, 154, 156, 168, 174, 177, 180, 188, 189, 194, 196, 197, 199, 200, 209, 220, 223, 226, 227, 231, 237, 239, 241, 251, 252, 254, 255, 257, 258, 261, 264, 266, 270, 276, 277, 281, 283, 286, 291, 298, 301, 311, 320, 321.
- geġiġ, ġul, ġin, ġitu -- 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.: ġiġi-.
- geġiġaw -- v. geġiġew.
- geġiġawġel -- quite recently; 226.
- geġiġew, -ġaw, -ġo -- lastly, it is not long since; 63, 226.
- geġiġeugġiġ -- a small moment ago; 226.
- geġiġo -- v. geġiġew.
- geġiġusi, sin, sit -- to be known; 72, 283.
- m/geġinuan -- cheek; 319. ġeġinuan, ġ-, u/geġinuan.
- geġipilem, men, lġ; ġelġilġ -- to attach, to bind, to tie up to the pier; 119, 188, 269.
contr.: ġiġiltes.

- gėjisi, sin, sit -- to know oneself; 72.
gejitu -- [v. gejig]
gəl -- towards; 235.
gelağag, ġam, ġamağ, ġol, ġain -- to put in chains; 298.
gelağasi -- to be in chains; 298.
gelağigei -- to put (people) in chains; 298.
gelağiget -- constable; 298.
n/gėlanugsis, g-, u- -el -- uncle (generic term of respect and consideration); 46, 316.
gelaptarəg -- at the home of/the blacksmith; 46.
gelatgwėtəg -- to nail; 180.
gėlėiağ, otem, temag -- to protect, hold, observe; 295.
gėlen(tes) -- v. gėlnem.
gelğag, ġwajel -- to hold tight under oneself; 296.
gėlgen, men, geg -- to rule, to sustain, to support; 223, 269.
gelitaw, -tağ -- raspberry(ies); 22, 34, 36.
gėlji, gėltəg -- it is frozen; 70, 245.
gėlnəgei -- to be a godfather or godmother; 184.
gėlnem, men, neg -- to hold; 119, 174, 184, 269, 270, 277.
gėlentəs, gėlnėtes.
n/gėlnigen, g-, u-el -- my, your, his godchild; 29, 184, 315.
geloğowəj(i)g -- star(s), heavenly body, sun; 26, 34, 38, 174, 254, 257, 284, 308, 312.
gėloğowejemi -- to have stars; they shine; 174, 284.
geloğowejij(g) -- little star(s); 308.
geloğowejui -- to be a star; 284.
geloğowėjuiag -- the stars appear; 107.
gelpilasit -- to be attached, laced; 261.
gelpilg -- [v. gejipilg]
gelteg -- v. gėlji.
gelujiėwėim -- v. glujiėwei.
gelulg -- v. gelusi.
gelupsgi(ağ) -- falcon(s); 37.
Gelusgap, Glusgap -- Glooscap, hero of the Micmac legends; 179, 245, 253, 285.
gelusgaėwi, glusgaėwi -- to lie, deceive, be a liar, be clever; 220, 263.

- gelusi, sin, sit; gelulg, utem, temaĝ -- to speak to someone; 10, 14, 53, 70, 71, 143, 188, 197, 219, 242, 245, 251, 257, 276, 308, 309.
- gelūsi, -sin, -sit, gelūlg -- 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.
- gelūsiei -- (I) become good; 190.
- Gelūsit -- the Beautiful, the Good(above all), God; 71.
- gelusuāgan -- word; 71, 245, 270, 289.
- gelūsuti -- beauty; 71.
- geluṭem, gwiluṭem -- to ask for, to reclaim, to seek in words, to make inquiries; 197, 272.
contr.: gluttēs.
- geluṭemelseug -- to speak for, to intercede; 294.
- gemeniēwi -- to partake of the sacrament; 263.
- gemeniēuti -- [v. gemniēuti]
- gemetginaĝ -- [your territory]; 276. [v. -metgi]
- gemniēuti; gemeniēuti; gumnieuti -- communion; 26, 222, 235, 246, 251.
piltui gemnieuti -- first communion; 26.
- gemsēnem -- [v. mesneg.]
- gemṭen(g) -- mountain(s); 38, 189, 257, 274, 316.
- gemuj(el) -- wood, tree (standing); 38, 189, 236, 247, 273, 276, 277, 284, 289.
- gemujemi -- to have wood, a tree; 284.
- gemusnuĝwei -- to steal firewood; 267.
- gemuṭemg, ṭem, ṭemaĝ -- to steal his property from someone; 187, 301.
[cf. gemutnalg]
- gemutnalg -- to steal; 187, 301. gemutnei -- to steal; 268.
- gemutnes -- thief; 194.
- gemutnēsuoĝwomin -- den of thieves; 275.
- gèn -- thank you; 20, 174, 238, 245.
- genèg -- far; 153, 231, 309.
- genéjijg -- a little far; 231.
- gensĝitelemeg -- to scorn; 300, 309.
- gèn welālin -- v. welālin, gèn.

GENUG

GESALUEI

- génug, gènuḡuj, gènuḡèj, gènuḡwèj, gunuḡwèj -- although, without doubt; 234, 237.
- gépèg -- bostructed, Quebec; 248.
- gepelno(aḡ) -- governor(s); 37, 74, 252, 284.
- gepelnolemi; nolisgowomi -- to have a governor; a woman governor; 284.
- gepelnolewi -- to be governor; 284.
- gepetaḡ -- [v. epḡetaig]
- gepetaḡèl -- towards the heights, altitudes; 231.
- gépétaig -- that is above; 51, 77, 258;
contr.: pḡétaig.
- gepijoḡtem, temen, teg; gepijoḡom, men ḡoḡ -- to plug up (a hole); to block up (a door); to obstruct; 112, 120, 271.
contr.: gpijoḡ/tes -oèn.
- gèpmèg -- illustrious, worthy, holy; 245, 300.
- gèpmi -- indicates honor, respect; 220.
- gepmiḡèlemeg, ḡèḡem, ḡemaḡ -- to honor internally, to venerate, esteem, revere; 44, 118, 220, 258, 259, 261, 300, 313, 321.
- gepmiḡelemugsit -- revered; 261.
- gepmiḡelemugsit -- Reverend; 261.
- gepsaḡāḡu -- to close with a key, to lock; 133.
- geptiné/tut -- captains (voc); 46.
- ges -- go away!, go lie down! (to a dog); 20, 238, 245, 251.
- gesajiet -- exotic, animal in captivity; 269.
- gesagu, gun, gug -- to be loved; 193.
- gèsāleg, ḡu, ḡaḡ -- to ruin, destroy, lose, burn; 85, 187, 272, 303.
- gésalg, -lit, -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.: ḡ
- gésalgu, gun, gug -- to be amiable; 135.
contr.: peḡiligsalgun -- you are very kind.
- gesalgusi, sin, sit -- to be loved, liked, beloved, preferred; 51, 70, 72, 135, 183, 189, 193, 257, 258.
- gesalsi, sin, sit -- to love oneself; 72, 192.
- gesaltingewei -- charity?; 139.
- gesaluei -- to love (intr.); to be loving; 17, 18, 191, 220, 223, 251, 268.

GESAMG

GESGUTESGAG

- gésang, aptem, temag -- to see shine; 300.
- gesangusit, mugsit -- glorious, to be glorified, appear brilliant;
71, 183, 255, 300.
- gesamogsijig -- brilliant; 257.
- gésamug -- brilliant; 136.
- gesamugsit -- v. gesangusit.
- gésamugsuti -- glory; 180, 255.
- gesapufuwei -- to speak solemnly; to swear (purposely); 267.
- gesategei -- to love (intr.); 191.
- gesatem, gesatg -- [v. gesalg]
- gesatgatemegop -- 277.
- gēsātu -- to burn, to destroy; 133.
- géseğ -- [v. ge]
- géseı, -eiağ -- to be careful; 220.
- géseıağ, otem, temag -- to treat with dignity, to look after; 295.
contr.: gseıug.
- géseıulg, len, lin, lit, lig -- to please; 308.
- géseıuli -- to like, be pleased by; 136, 149, 188, 276.
- gesg -- v. esg.
- [gesgai] -- be lost; contr.: gsegai. [q.v.]
- gesgajig -- [hurt by putting oneself on]; 265, 292.
- gesgātu -- to lose, to demolish; 133, 1265.
- gesgap -- [v. gesgajig]; 292.
- gesgèg -- broad, wide; 245, 251, 257.
- gesgelemagusepenel -- he didn't spare him; 151.
- gèsgèlemeg, gèltem, temag -- to honor, glorify (in action); 299.
- gesgelesi -- to honor, glorify oneself, to be haughty, self-loving;
299.
- gesgemenag -- v. esgemenag.
- gesgemi -- promptly, before time; 226.
- gèsgitèlemeg, tèttem, temag -- to have a great idea, great esteem (fullness); 300.
- gesgul, len, lg -- heavy; 122, (205). [cf. gsug]
contr.: gsugultes.
- gèsgulg, len, lin, lit, lig -- to overload; 308.
- gesgumenag -- v. esgemenag.
- gèsguțesgağ -- to attain exactly; 295.

- gesi -- v. gési.
- gesi mgotig -- dearest, very dear; 241.
- gesi puḡveli -- very, excessively, too; 50.
- gésiei -- to be honored; 220.
- gésig -- (it is) winter; 43, 77, 245, 251, 257, 258.
gsin -- last winter.
gsinug -- next winter.
- gesigaw- -- fast; 259.
gesigawolemit --he laughs fast.
- gesigawangitg -- it flows swiftly; 123.
- gésigawitajig, [gésigawā(s)i] -- go fast; 209.
- gesigawitugwim -- to run fast; 273.
- gesigenatasijel -- 261.
- gésinuḡwai, an, at, aḡ -- to be sick; 24, 84, 90, 197, 220, 254, 276.
- gesinuḡwaji, -jiji -- to be a little sick, to have an indisposition (quite slight); 90, 197, 254.
- gésinuḡwangel -- sickness; 24, 33.
- gesispāleg, -pātu -- to wash, to purify; 133, 186, 230, 318.
contr.: gsispā/t, -l-.
- gèsitlemeg, gèsitètem -- to admire, covet, esteem, appreciate, to have an exalted idea; 51, 118, 193, 270, 300.
contr.: gsiḡtètes.
- gesitesin -- to fall on land; 273.
- gesmenemaḡ -- to offer; 178.
- gesmenematingewei -- sacrifice; 178.
- gèsmi -- to push on, progress, pressure, advance; 220, 231.
- gèsmiei --shove forward, advance, progress; 24.
- gèsmutèg, ṭol, ṭéin, ṭot -- to touch, push (with the elbow); 298.
- gesnugug, gut, gwajel -- to make sick, hurt, to make suffer; 294.
- gèspaḡamig -- the end of the world; 245, 251.
- gèspaleg, tu, ḡaḡ -- to use, spend; 303.
contr.: gsepatoḡ.
- gespèg -- extremity, Gaspé; 245, 248.
- gèspetèg, gétu aḡantiéwing -- Saturday; 89, 203, 225, 228, 251, 258.

GESPI-

GETATGWEG

- gespi- -- the end; 226, 257.
gespiag̃ -- that is the end; 226.
gèspiagawé-i -- I am the last; 76.
gespi atugsit, gespiatugsit, gespiatogsit -- the end of the story; 226, 239, 261.
gèspigisgeg -- the last day; 284.
gespigisgenemi, ming -- to have the last day, to see it; 284.
gèspisotelg, telem, lemag̃ -- to gird, encircle; 307.
contr.: gèpisotelutew.
gespugwatégei, -eigw, -tagatigw -- to deceive; 103, 178, 220, 267, 282, 303, 310.
contr.: gsepugwatégé/tès.
gèstunēpilg, pilem, lemag̃ -- to strangle; 307.
gèstunēpilsu -- to hang oneself; 307.
gétāgama(s)i -- to taste; 264, 307.
gétāgamotelg, telem, lemag̃ -- to give to taste; 307.
getāgamug -- in the rear part of the hut, place of honor; 231.
getalḡigug, gut, gwajel -- to tear the eyes away from someone; 294.
gétāmag̃, matem, temag̃ -- to consent, to give an exemption, a favorable response; 296.
contr.: gtamui.
getamatingewei -- exemption, dispensation; 296.
getan/atita -- to hunt, gather; 32, 39.
getang, getantu -- to detest, to pursue, to hunt, to take (game); 132, 139, 51, 104, 184, 204, 210, 236, 322.
getan/itgig -- [be on the bank of]; 257.
getantegei -- to pursue, to detest, to hunt; 104;
contr.: gtanteḡétés.
gétantingéwei -- 236.
getapai, paḡ -- to be inundated; flood; 92, 179, 265.
contr.: gtapa/ḡig.
getapasi -- to sink (slowly); 122.
gétapēḡiei, eigw, iatigw -- to sing; 103, 135, 197, 276, 294.
contr.: gtapēḡiétés.
getapei, pejig, petijiḡ -- to plunge; 268.
getapetesin, tesg -- to fall under the water, to plunge; 122, 273.
gétapōlg, potu, taḡ -- to push under water, to submerge, immerse; 135, 188, 307.
getatgewèg -- it threatens (death); 107.

GETEL

GETUG

- getel -- in truth, truly; 183, 187, 233, 234, 238, 245, 248.
gètèl étug -- without doubt; in truth; 234, 238.
gétèl oğw, gétèl oğuj -- yes, indeed, truly, in effect, is it possible, is it so? without doubt, in truth, it is unquestionable, nothing truer; 233, 238.
gètèl ƒa -- yes truly, in truth; 233.
getgaleg -- get (someone) drunk;
contr.: gtigalinen (q.v.)
gètgiei -- to become intoxicated, to be drunk (insulting language, even if true); 24, 103, 237, 245.
getgioti -- drunkenness; 220, 276.
contr.: wini gtegioti -- nasty drunkenness.
getgujetesin, ng, sg -- to fall backwards; 273.
getgujitestu -- to reverse; 275.
getguni -- (to) sleep there; 231.
contr.: gtuginin.
getlamsétağ, tem, temağ -- to believe someone; 56-57, 72, 118, 119, 153, 183, 221, 270, 297, 309.
contr.: gtelam-
gétlamsétasi, sin, sit -- to believe (inwardly), to hold as true; 33, 51, 72.
getlamsètem -- [v. getlamsétağ]
getlamsétéwinu -- a believer, a faithful one; 252.
getlèwei, getlèweiwağan -- truth; 23, 143, 189, 264, 284, 297.
getlèweiwağani -- I am truth; 278.
gètméseğ, sem -- to burn completely; 182.
getmesem(ol) pegitnematimgewei, (wel) -- holocaust(s); 182.
getmesimgewéi -- holocaust; 268.
gétpijit -- retailer, small merchant, huckster; 252.
getteg -- v. tepteg.
getu(-) -- want to; 32, 90, 203, 239, 281, 282, 294.
getu, -n, -g -- to cry, to proclaim, to yell; to toll, ring -- 135, 265.
contr.: gtu-j.
gétu ağantiéwimğ -- v. gèspetèg.
getuang -- to want to kill; 184.
gétuapsi -- I want to profit by it; 73.
gétug -- it sounds (e.g., bell), he sings; 226, 254, 268.

- gétugsi -- to want, need to sleep, to be sleepy; 220, 261.
gétugwèl -- at the signal of the bell, when one strikes; 135, 226.
gétui -- (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 aǵantiewingel -- Saturday (last [day] before Sunday);
[cf. gěspetǵ] 228.
getuǵai, ǵultigw -- to drive into (e.g., a nail); 265.
getuǵg, getuǵem -- to want to taste, to eat, to feel the appetite;
182.
gewasg -- a piece of chopped wood; 274.
gěwǵtu -- to knock down, to upset; 133.
gewgji, jin, jit; gewji -- to be cold; 23, 55, 70, 260;
contr.: gujites.
gěwgunawèt, wějig -- godfather, godmother; 315.
gewgunem, nen, ng -- to have, to hold in the hand, to carry in the
arms; 39, 119, 140, 166, 170, 185, 257, 283, 309, 320.
contr.: guǵun-.
gewgunewei, weigw, nautigw -- to hold, to be a godfather or god-
mother; 106. [cf. gewgunawet]
n/gewgunit, g/-, uǵewgunijel -- my, your, his godfather or godmother;
46, 185, 315. [cf. gěwgunawèt]
gewgunsg -- v. gewgusg.
gewgunujig -- [v. gewgunem]
gewgusg (for gewgunsg) -- godmother; 46, 185.
gěwiei -- to become feeble; 133.
gewisin, -nen, -ng -- be hungry; 9, 14, 121, 175, 249, 273.
gewji, -in, -it -- [v. gewgji]
geum, geumon, geug -- to fell trees; 120.
ggwai -- v. wěgai.
giasgiw -- exactly; 220.
giasgiwowej -- exactitude; 220.
gig -- pointed, sharp; 20, 245, 251.
gǵǵajiw, gǵǵaji, gǵǵat -- in resisting, in spite of all, in doing
unceasingly; 210, 220.
gǵǵamgun(g) -- pole(s) (for guiding boat); 38, 248, 257.
gǵǵat -- v. gǵǵajiw.
gǵǵatmetoǵ -- insubordinate conduct; 220.
gigeliǵwěj, goǵoligwěj, gigligwěj -- chicken, cock; 135, 254.

- gigeligwèjij(g) -- [chick(s)]; 255.
gigeligwēmi -- to sing, to crow; 259.
gigjāsing -- to approach; 231.
gigjiw -- near (there); 231, 232, 277.
gigliḡwej -- [v. gigeligwèj]
gigpesaḡ -- it is raining, it rains; 91, 248.
gigpesan -- rain; 284, 309.
gigpesanemi -- to have some rain; 284.
gigpesanig -- there is some rain; 284.
gigpewisg -- dew; 274.
gigtoḡotesin -- to jump in a circle, to whirl around, to fall in turning; 122, 273.
gigtoḡwajijit -- turn; 38, 268.
gigtoḡwapeḡsei -- to turn (the millstone); 231.
gigtoḡwi -- v. giwtaw.
gigtoḡwi alasutnang -- way of the cross (a mass at, e.g., Good Friday); 231.
gigwajātu -- v. goḡwajātu.
gigwajēi -- v. goḡwajēi.
gigwaji(w) -- v. goḡwaji(w).
gigwajiei -- v. goḡwajiei.
gigwatgwejin, ng -- to hold the head upright; 273.
gigwatteḡel -- [upright]; 153.
gigwātu -- v. goḡwātu.
gij -- [v. eging]
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. wégwijing]
gijga, gijgaj -- a little; 27, 50, 223, 227, 245, 290.
gijgajijg -- a small quantity; a dash; 223.
giju -- mother, mommy; you, my mother [voc.]; 17, 18, 46, 215, 251, 314.
gil -- you (s.); 20, 50, 52, 104, 158, 183, 188, 189, 193, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 213, 222, 233, 235, 236, 237, 245, 251, 258, 270, 275, 276, 279, 282, 284, 285, 286, 290, 310.

GILEW, GILOW

GISATALUG

- gîlêw, gîlow -- 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.
- gîlêwei -- your(s); 23, 41, 213.
- gîlowin -- it is you; 207.
- gîlêwewei -- your (pl); 23, 213.
- gîljé/tês -- v. egîljei.
- gîlow -- v. gîlew.
- gîm -- [v. egîmg]
- gîmêwîstu, gîmūtug, gîmtug -- to (speak in a) whisper, speak low, in secret; 188, 221, 238, 261.
- gîmi -- secretly; 221.
- gîmtug, gîmtug -- [v. gîmêwîstu]
- gînamuet, gînamating, gînamasult -- v. gîginam-.
- gînap -- giant, hero, warrior; 37, 44, 252, 254, 271.
- gînapêwamugsi -- to have a war-like countenance; 44.
- gînapîsgw -- Amazon; 44.
- gînāsi -- to advance; to continue, to overstrain one-self, progress, to make the end of; 76, 245, 260.
- gînu -- we (inc.); 17, 51, 52, 134, 144, 187, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 217, 222, 235, 245, 248, 276, 277, 295, 309, 310, 312.
- gînuatui -- [let me know]; 232.
- gînueti -- [brag, boast]; 304.
- gînuowei -- our(s); 26, 189, 213.
- gîpêwat, gîpgwat -- the middle of the afternoon; 264.
- gîpêgwasi, -in, it -- to be inclined, to lean, be disposed to good or evil; 24, 76, 178, 260.
- gîpêgwāsīt -- (the sun) goes down; 260.
- gîpêgwātu -- turn it; 235.
- gîpêgwītangewel -- inclinations, temptations; 260.
- gîs -- already (past indefinite); 20, 27, 52, 53, 62, 63, 71, 75, 107, 110, 126, 131, 136, 138, 151, 166, 175, 182, 226, 228, 233, 241, 245, 251, 268, 269, 270, 275, 308, 312.
- gîsagîsis -- become full; 44.
- tpug gîsagîsis -- this morning or during last night, the moon became full.
- ulonug gîsagîsitew -- this evening it will be full.
- gîsāleg, ātu -- to do, to result, make (implies effort); 52, 68, 135, 170, 187, 309, 312 [cf. gîsītū]
- gîsatalug -- to satisfy; 175, 208.

GISATEGEI

GISIGUSEM

- gisategei -- to make, to result, to end in something; 267.
- gisei, seg -- to be careful, clever, to have a good time; 295.
- giséiag, otem, temag -- to treat cleverly, with care, delicately; 295.
- gis/elegj -- 268.
- gis/elemasenei -- 151.
- gis/ewistu/gw -- [be able to talk]; 52.
- gisgajāleg, ātu, tag -- to accomplish, to establish, prepare, make; 76, 133, 153, 180, 187, 222, 261, 303.
- gisgajéi, éin, èg; gisgatteg -- to be prepared; 75, 232, 265.
- gisgajiei -- to become aware, to finish; 75.
- gisgatteg -- [v. gisgajéi]
- (-)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.
- gisgug -- today, day; 27, 33, 106, 183, 187, (222), (224), 226, 245, 258, 310.
- gisi -- already, after (pluperfect prefix); to be able; 51, 53, 62, 75, 110, 114, 126, 149, 151, 163, 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); 138, 175, 192, 209, 275, 292, 303.
- gisigig, git, gijel -- 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/gisigun, g-, u- -ei -- my, your, his old man.
- gisigū elpaŋus -- bachelor; 35.
- gisigū épiŋes -- spinster; 35.
- gisigugsepenel -- 309.
- gisigūi, in, it -- to be old; 26, 70, 190, 211, 263.
- gisigūiei -- to grow old; 26, 190, 307.
- gisigwisgw -- old woman, aged or married woman; 42, 221, 253, 258, 285.
- (n)gisigūm; -gisigom -- (my) husband; my wife; 29, 253. [cf. gisigū]
- gisigusem -- [he's so old]; 276.

- gisi miaulagweg -- afternoon; 226.
- gisisi -- to develop, to be created oneself; 188, 192, 307, 309.
- giṣitaḡ, tat, tuajel -- to do something to, for someone; make something for someone; give something to someone; 58, 146, 161-172, 174, 176; [gisitu]
- giṣitaḡan -- work, creature; 194, 285, 322.
n/gisitaḡan(əm), g-, u- -- my, your, his work.
- giṣitasi -- to be made; 138, 193, 256, 261, 283.
- giṣiteḡei -- to make, to create (easily); 104, 175, 177, 192, 267, 293.
- giṣitu -- 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.
- gisogwāsi -- 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.
- gispenḡ, nol, nēin, not -- to tire; 298.
- gis saḡ -- 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.
- Gisūlg -- the Creator [lit.: he creates us]; 29, 38, 44, 45, 66, 78, 88, 106, 136, 138, 143, 150, 153, 175, 177, 178, 187, 189, 208, 217, 231, 235, 256, 257, 262, 276, 278, 282, 284, 285, 288, 289, 290, 295, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 310, 311, 318.
n/gisulgum, g/-, u/-, my, your, his God, Creator.
- Gisulgowi -- to be God (creator); 285.
- gisusenig -- created (ones); 210.
- git- -- v. eging, eḡitem.
- gitaḡasi -- to be overpowered; 273.
- gitaḡatesin, ng -- to fall from fatigue; 273.
- gitg -- both; 31, 45, 52, 53, 212.
- gitpu -- eagle; 245, 251.
- giwasgetniaḡ -- (the wind) changes; 268.
- giwatḡatem, siwatḡatem -- to be bored; 118, 277.
- giwésu -- musk-rat; 24.
- giwgtaw, giwgtogwīw, giwgtogwī, gigtogwī -- around; 24, 91, 121, 189, 231.

- giwtoġotgwim -- to run around, in a circle; 121.
contr.: giwtoġotugwi/tes -- I will run (e.g., in baseball).
- giwġw -- earthquake; 24.
- giwtoġwi(w) -- v. giwġtaw.
- giwnaġaj, giwnaġa -- especially, principally; 24, 181, 209, 220, 245.
- giwnig(ig) -- otter(s); 24, 37;
giwnigēwei -- of the otter.
- giwtoġwiw -- 189. [?read giwtoġwiw, v. giwġtaw]
- gji -- v. gēji.
- gji alasutnaġan(ol) -- sacrament(s); 29, 40, 49, 87.
- gji alasutmoġwom -- cathedral; 49, 258.
- gjiansalēwit -- archangel; 49, 258.
- gjiafaġt -- the ocean (lit.: the great sea); 28.
- gjiafaġi -- the equator; 37.
- gjiēlēġēwisġw -- empress; 48.
- gjiēlēġēwit -- emperor, great king; 48, 180, 258.
- gjielueuti -- v. gjielueuti.
- gjigan -- Sydney ("the large city"); 251.
- Gjigelūsit -- the supreme Good, the Most Beautiful and the Most Good;
God; 48, 71, 188, 189, 258.
- Gjigelusuġan -- the Word; 71, 140, 196.
- gjigemuatġw, -tġug --white fir; 38.
- gjigemug, gjigeminug -- 231, 261, 266.
- gjijaġamiġinaġ -- [v. m/jijaġamiġ]
- gjijaġlew -- [you great devil!]; 239, 258.
- gjijitēġēwinu -- a wise person, a doctor; 227, 252, 254, 264, 283,
298, 311.
- gjijitu-tes -- v. gējig.
- gjiluēutil -- capital sins, deadly sins; 29, 49.
- gjimentuit -- that is a great demon, the chief of the demons; 258, 286.
- Gjinisġam -- the great God; 29, 33, 48, 50, 257, 258, 270, 277, 281,
291, 301, 320.
- gjipātliās -- bishop; 29, 46, 48, (209), (254), 258, 321.
- gjipatliasewamugsit, mug -- violet (color of the bishop); 254.
- gjipatliasewi -- to be a bishop; 209.
- gjipatliasġij -- prelate; 48, 258.
- gjipil- -- v. gējifilem.

- gjipitui mtelnaganijig, gjipitui mtelnaganel -- one million (an.,
inan.); 41, 199, 200.
- Gjisaŋmaw -- the supreme Lord; 29, 48, 154, 177, 194, 209, 258, 311.
- Gjisapewit -- the most Holy One; 29, 48, 70, 189, 255, 258.
- gjisapewitil -- the theological virtues; 29, 49.
- gjisamugwamogugig -- 258.
- gjisifu -- large river; 49. (wherefrom Sissiboo, Weymouth)
- gjiwasogonemaŋan -- Easter candle; 255.
- Gjiwsuei -- of the Holy Family; 254.
- gjiwinsit -- the great wicked one; 51, 258.
- gjiulaŋangel -- large vase; 49, 258.
- glapis -- thus far, finally, until, when, up until, as far as; 210,
226, 231, 236, 237, 260, 264, 287, 317. [/ʷapis/]
- Glé -- Gray; 28.
- Glèl -- Claire; 28.
- Glist -- Christ; 285. [not used]
- Glistewin -- (you are) the Christ; 180, 270, 285.
- Glòt -- Claude; 53.
- glujiéwei, guljiéwei, gelujiéwei(əh) -- cross; 24, 180, 187, 231, 236,
257, 277, 294, 322.
n/gelujiéwéim, -wéim, g/-, u/-, my, your, his cross.
- glujiéugtāsīt, -sijig -- crucifix; 38, 262.
- glujiéugtēg, tol, téin; 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.
- glujiéugtōgsi -- to be crucified; 33, 42, 262.
- glujiéugtōgsi, sin, sit -- to make the sign of the cross; 71, 180,
262, 308, 320.
- glultenutugeneg -- [v. gelūsi]; 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.
- gogoligwèj -- v. gigeligwèj.

- goḡomin(g) -- sloe, wild prune(s); 38, 257.
wenjui goḡomin(g) - plum(s), prune(s).
- goḡwajātu, giḡwajātu, goḡwajāleg -- to arrange, regulate; 275,
276, 303.
- goḡwajéi, giḡwajéi -- to be right, accurate, in order; 263.
- goḡwaji, giḡwaji -- correctly; 221.
- goḡwajiei, giḡwajiei; ieigw; iatīgw -- to be appropriate, in order,
correct; 103, 221.
- goḡwāleg, goḡwātu, giḡwātu -- 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.
- goḡwei, goḡwèl, goḡwéièg, goḡwéiègèl -- what, which thing; which
things? thing; 25, 27, 33, 40, 48, 62, 79, 110, 143, 149,
153, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 181, 182, 183, 187, 188, 189,
208, 211, 212, 220, 225, 233, 234, 238, 239, 241, 269, 275, 276,
282, 289, 292, 293, 299, 300, 302, 309, 310.
nat goḡwei -- that thing:
- goḡwei. ugjit -- why? what for?; 25, 211.
- goḡwéjít -- a little thing (now a spider); 25.
- goḡwejuéi, -uel -- a trifle, trifles, a little thing, bagatelle; 25,
48, 310.
- goḡwenugweg -- 139.
- Goliat -- Goliath; 254.
- Gop -- Cope (proper name); 20, 245, 251.
- gopit(aḡ) -- beaver(s); 27, 37, 181, 241, 251, 285.
- gopjij(g), gopsejij(g) -- cup(s); 38. [< Eng. cup]
- goptemeneg -- league [lit.: as far as they eye can see] [measure];
205, 246, 251.
- gospem(g) -- lake(s); 246, 259.
- gpaḡi -- 296.
- gpegiji -- 298.
- gpemi -- 313.
- gpeplitetemenew -- 208.
- gpijoḡo/tes, -en -- v. gepijoḡom.
- gpilsimaw -- bear false witness against; 22, 310; v. gepilsim.
ma wen gpilsimaw -- do not bear false witness against anyone.
- gpuni -- [v. puni]
- gsal- -- v. gesalg.

- gsalgusit -- [v. gesalgu-]
gsamugsin -- [v. gesamgusi]
gsa(s) -- v. saġtem.
gsat-, gsal- -- v. gesalg.
gsegai, gsegalagul -- lost; 223, 310. [< gesgai; cf. gesgatu]
gségèlmugsin -- honorable?; 39.
póġiléwigtug teli gségèlmugsin -- honorable vase.
gseiug -- v. géséiag.
gsématu -- push! (button or bell); advance; 24, 231.
[< gesmatu, v. gesmi]
gsepatoġ -- v. gèspāleg.
gsepisotelultew -- v. gèspisotelg.
gsepugwatégé-, -gwal -- v. gespugwatégei, gespuġwaleg.
gsi -- v. gési.
gsigawasig -- v. gesigawas-.
gsin(ug) -- v. gésig.
gsinuġwa- -- v. gésinuġwa-.
Gsispasuégati -- Purgatory; 133, 186.
gsispāl-, -pāt- -- v. gesispāleg.
gsitētemeg -- [v. gesitelemeg.]
gsug, gsulg, gsog -- it weighs; 205.
gsugul -- v. gesgul.
gsusg(eg) -- black fir(s); 38.
Gtaġangug -- Newfoundland [lit.: on the other side]; 28, 230.
gtaġamsipug -- on the other side of a river; 230.
gtalitasiw -- 282.
gtamui -- v. gétāmag.
gtantégé- -- v. getantégei.
gtanit -- v. getang.
gtanug, gtanugwel -- towards the large sea; 136, 231.
gtapagè- -- v. getantégei.
gtanit -- v. getang.
gtanug, gtanugwel -- towards the large sea; 136, 231.
gtapāgè- -- v. gétaġa(ġ)
gtapegié-tes -- v. gétapeġiei.
gtapji -- v. apjiw.
gtapotu-tes -- v. getapotu.

gt/atgitemi-w -- [v. atgitemi]

gteg, gteǵig, gtegel; gteǵi -- 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.

gteǵiǵwinu -- drunkard; 252.

gteǵi/oti -- v. getgioti.

gteǵinipen -- the summer before last; 43.

gteǵiǵug -- last winter; 43.

gteǵi saǵonug -- the day after tomorrow; 43, 228, 258.

gteǵi siǵun -- the spring before last; 43.

gteǵitǵoǵ -- the autumn before last; 43.

gteǵi ulagu -- the day before yesterday; 226.

gtelamsǵet -- v. getlamsǵetem.

gtelǵisw -- [v. telǵisi]; 263.

gtelataǵatinew -- [v. telatogei]

gtamai -- [v. gwǵetmai]

(mu)gtiǵalinen- -- do not tempt us, induce us [< getǵaleǵ]; 28, 33, 185.

gtu- -- v. getu (cry)

gtuǵunin -- [v. getguni]

gtui -- v. getui (want); 135, 268.

gtui gtug gtuj -- if he wants to yell, let him yell.

guǵǵ -- v. guow.

gwaǵǵ, gwaǵ, gwaǵel -- in the middle, among, close to; 231, 258.
[cf. mǵǵwaǵ]

gwanasǵ -- driftwood; 123.

guasǵam -- to turn the hay; 272.

gwastalǵ -- ah! what a business! nonsense! (expresses complete surprise, astonishment); 30, 239. (ǵRand's agastaleǵei)

gwǵ -- hey! (archaic) call to the door of a hut; 238.

gwegwatasultip -- v. wǵwatǵisi.

gwei -- greetings! hello! [cf. gwǵ]; 25, 51.

gwǵǵǵamǵǵǵǵ -- boil [cf. wǵǵamǵǵǵǵ]; 38, 257.

gwǵǵǵǵǵ, oǵem, ǵemǵ, wǵǵoǵem -- to solicit, strive to obtain, to attempt, try; 272, 295.

contr.: uǵoǵemutǵineǵ, uǵǵoǵ-

n/gwǵǵǵǵ, g-, u/gwǵǵǵǵ/el -- 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.: ugjottes.
- gwéla^hji -- to be modest; 260.
contr.: gula^hjites.
- gwéltam^hsep -- you fasted; 203.
- gwéltam^hulting -- Friday (day of penitence, abstinence); 140, 203,
211, 228, 258.
- gwésawe^hi -- point; 22, 202.
- gwésaps^hgiag -- Causapsca^hl (the point with the pebbled bottom); 202.
- gwéséiag^h, iul, iwin; gwesotem -- to protect, to look after, to take
care of; 177.
- gwesotem -- to be fasting for communion, to keep (Sunday, a fast),
to look after; 50, 177, 272, 276.
contr.: ugsot/tes.
- gwéta^hia^hg -- to frighten (children, animals); 176.
- gwéta^hjigwei, gweigw, gutigw -- to have a dreadful appearance; 106.
- gwéta^hpei, peigw, petigw -- to endure, to be punished; 101.
contr.: gutapetes.
- gwéta^hpet -- the ox (the long-suffering animal); 101.
- gwéta^hpolg, potu, tag -- to drag along; 307.
- Gwéta^hjg -- Iroquois; 31, 106.
- gwétemai -- to smoke; 25, 239, 264, 289, 290.
contr.: ugtem/as, gtema-
- Gug -- Cook (proper noun); 20, 246.
- gu^hwès -- giant; 254.
- gu^hgun-as -- v. gewgunem.
- gwila^hg, lem, lemag -- to look for, to inquire into, search for; 26,
29, 67, 119, 169, 170, 175, 177, 193, 275.
- gwilasi -- to follow (passive); 193.
- gwilj -- [v. gwila^hg]
- u/gwilualin -- 66; [v. gwila^hg]
- gwilutem -- v. gelutem.
- guimu -- 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. wégwising]

GwITEN(N)

GUTASI

- gwiten(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.
- gujemug** -- outside, outside! out of here, out of doors, outdoors; 231, 239, 246, 251, 258.
- guji** -- 158, 178. [? < g + weji]
guji apattelulgunenu -- that he might redeem us.
- u/g/ujipilağan/ual** -- their/bonds; 304.
- guji/tes** -- v. gewgji.
- gujuti** -- the cold, coldness [cf. gewgji]; 285.
- Gul** -- Gould; 20, 246.
- gulaji** -- v. gwélaji.
- gulaman** -- in order that; so that; 237.
- guléin** -- greetings! [lit.: here is hoping you're well, happy]; [cf. welai] 17, 33, 251.
- gulgis** -- pig, pork; 26, 181, 254.
- gulgisuei** -- bacon; (pig) lard; 26, 27, 254.
- gulgisuogwom** -- pigsty; 26.
- guljiéwei** -- [v. glujiéwei]
- gulpisun** -- anchor; 246.
- gulpiw** -- forthwith; immediately; 24, 226.
- guluātu, guluāteng** -- to join, to mix, to mix up, 235, 275, 290.
- gulug** -- with; 14, 235, 246.
- gulungwâgsiel** -- [wheat plants, wheat stalks]; 276.
- gulungul** -- corn, wheat; 182, 276.
- gunnieuti** -- v. gemnieuti.
- guntêj** -- small rock, pebble; 49.
- guntew, guntal** -- stone(s), rock(s), Condo; 23, 36, 49, 114, 135, 136, 141, 169, 202, 246, 265, 270, 275, 285.
- gunteugsen** -- stone pipe; 290.
- gunuğwêj** -- v. gênug.
- guow, guağ** -- fir (tree)(s); pine(s); 26, 38.
- guowâgamitg** -- a grove of pine trees; 26.
- guowipgw** -- fir balm, turpentine; 26.
- gusantemsaw** -- cut too close [? < wasantemsem]; 182.
- gutape-** -- v. gwétapei.
- gutâsi, -âti, -itâ** -- run, pour(out); 217, 235, 318.

GUTEĠEI

IGATAGATIMĠ

- gutġei, geigw, ġetigw -- to pour out, to overturn; 101.
gutputi -- v. utputi.
ġ -- (indicates) frequency, custom; frequentative; intensive; state;
often; 16, 197, 219.
ipusi -- I take many trips by water.
ia -- oh! dear me, oh, dear!; 16, 23.
iaj -- especially, still more; 24, 223.
ialasutmai -- v. alasutmai.
ġalgwiluasi, ġalgwilem -- to seek without respite, to be a seeker,
seek on all sides; 229.
iali- -- [v. ali]
ġali- -- indicates frequency, often inattentive; the grinding of habit;
219, 229, 278.
ialsutgeġ -- [v. alsutgeġ, ġ-]; 309.
ialultiogġ -- [?you used to swim around]; 289.
iamuj -- [v. amuj]
iap(aġ) -- male moose, caribou, ox or sheep (added to generic name);
24, 36, 37.
iap(aġ) ġijgeluwej(eg) -- ram(s); 37.
iapġi, iapġiw -- v. apġiw.
iapġinemgewei -- eternal death; 225.
iapġiwowei -- eternal; 24, 276.
iapġi usġġimuti -- eternal life; 33.
iaptenem -- v. aptenem.
iġn, ig, ij -- [v. ein]
-ġ -- but, at one's home; 20, 25, 27, 48, 62, 75, 89, 117, 118,
206, 217, 245, 247, 251, 272, 275, 285, 312.
n/ġ, g/-, w/- -- my, your, his house.
iġai, ġan, ġat, ġaġ -- to arrive, fall into, knock against, that
happens (suddenly); 17, 22, 83, 84, 88, 180, 226, 245.
iġāleg, iġātu -- to place, put; 133, 147, 159, 180, 187, 236, 320.
igalg, igatem -- to protect; 147, 187, 255.
iġataġan, iġataġun -- (cultivated) field, garden; 187, 213, 236,
247, 251, 258, 276, 279, 308.
iġataġanġij -- garden; 247.
iġataġatimġ -- offertory; 103.
· [iġateġei]

- igatāgw -- we put him; offer to someone; 21, 136, 276.
igatāgū, gūn, gōg -- to be a farmer; 21, 136, 212, 251, 268, 293.
igatāgwalg, gwatem, temag -- to cultivate a thing (a field, plant);
293, 306.
igatēgei, -eigw, -tagatigw -- to set down, to make an offering; 103.
igatnéwei, eigw, nautigw -- to make a race; 106.
igatuowei -- stake (in a game), wager; 133.
g/igenag -- [v. ig]; 272.
igeneneg -- [v. -ig]; 89.
igeug, um, umag -- to seize; 293.
nāgnaj, g-, w/ignaj/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. ewignawing]
ignemag, 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.
ignemagwei, gutigw -- 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.
ignémuei, èn, èt -- to give; 25, 102, 191, 192.
ignemuétu -- to give a thing, to make a gift, to renounce; 134.
ignemugsi -- I am given a present; 193.
igoptemeneg -- 205.
igtem, temen, teg -- to give; 271.
igtosi -- to get used to giving; 271.
-igtug -- with, at the house of, in, on; 13, 14, 38, 45, 46, 70,
106, 110, 139, 143, 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 187, 189, 197,
212, 217, 230, 231, 235, 236, 237, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251,
255, 257, 258, 265, 270, 276, 283, 295, 298, 300, 301, 302,
312, 317, 318, 319, 321.
(w)igwow -- residence; 75, 216-217; [cf. -ig].
n/ijus, g-, w/ijus/el -- my, your, his brother/sister-in-law (of a
married person); 316. [cf. wijusing]
ilagnutemang -- rendering of an account; 296.
ilağung, utem, temag -- to be reconciled, make an alliance; 301.
ilağutağan -- alliance, testament; 258, 280.

- ilāleg, tu, taġ -- to prepare, regulate, arrange; to repair (something easy); 133, 275, 303.
- ilāsgw, -gug -- card(s); 9, 14, 37, 246, 251.
- ilāsugugwei, èn, èt -- 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.
- ilgwiġāleg, tu, taġ -- to console; 303.
- ilitu -- renew, remake; 133.
- iljoġaġtu -- to repair (a difficult thing); 275.
- iljoġwātu -- repair, rectify, to set in order, ratify; 133.
- n/ilnu -- tongue; 153, 188, 302, 319.
n/ilnu, g/-, w/-, my, your, his tongue.
- ilpilaġu, ġun, ġug -- to undo the strap of a burden; 136.
- ilsumg, sutem, temaġ -- to condemn, look for the bad in; 301, 309, 312.
- ilsutaġan -- judgment, right; 321; nt/ilsutaġanem, gt-, ugt/-, my, your, his judgment.
- ilsuteġet -- [to judge]; 310.
- iltātu -- to close; 133.
- ilu, g-, w- -- my, your, his nourishment; 17, 18, 25, 26, 33, 178, 183, 248, 251, 321. [cf. wiluing]
- ilung, uġem, temaġ -- to bless (from afar), to repair, to put in order, correct orally; 118, 301.
- imu/tug, -sepen -- v. eim.
- inaġan, inaġanei -- right(side); 33, 49, 235, 319, 320, 321.
ugt/inaġan/g -- at his right.
- inaġem, ġemen, ġeg (also inaġei, ġein, ġeg) -- to stutter; 262, 272.
- inaptaġatem -- v. aptaġatem.
- İnéwġiġ -- 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.
- İnguġuġwétaġ -- to go one by one, in a line, single file; 204.
- İpaġi -- humbly, urgently; 16, 30, 51, 103, 183.
- ipaġiei, ieigw, iaġiġw -- to be humiliated; 103.
- İpaġiġipmitelmul -- I humbly honor you; 30.
- İpattamg -- to ask for humbly; to beseech; 300.
- n/İpit -- tooth; 40, 201, 249, 294, 319.
n/İpit(el), g/-, w/-, my, your, his tooth (teeth).
- İpusi -- [v. pusi, i-]; 70.

ISAG

JEL MU

- Isāg -- Isaac; 68, 209, 217, 275.
- Isenisgwèg -- at the home of Mrs. Eason; 46.
- isgw -- [v. -sgw].
- Islèl -- Israel; 266.
- Ismaelewag -- Ishmaelites; 301.
- isop -- hyssop; 186.
- istégé, istégèj, istagèj, staga -- as, like; 16, 32, 143, 189, 237, 261, 266, 268, 286, 306, 308, 319.
- istuéi -- to be different; 263.
- i(t)-tes -- v. sim.
- n/itap, g-, w/itapa/l -- my, your, his friend, comrade; 27, 47, 214, 215, 248, 251, 275, 276, 309, 306.
- n/itapèsg -- girlfriend; 316.
- n/itapjij -- [little friend]; 27.
- ī/tāfu/sīgw -- to go two by two, two abreast, in couples; 204.
- g/iteng, witemgu/l -- master (to or of an animal); 322.
- itèpgisi -- [v. tepgisi, -f]; 204.
- Itésitaḡ -- they will be so many pairs; 204.
- n/itgu, g-, w/itgu/l -- my, your, his eyebrow; pl. n/itgu/g, g/itgu/g, w/itgu; 319.
- ītlātu -- (I) have that habit; 134.
- itluet -- v. i-, teluet; 219.
- n/itn(el), g-, w- -- my, your, his nostrils; 319.
- n/itūl, g-, w- -- my, your, his beard, (side-)whiskers (no singular); 40.
- n/iwgsun, g/-, w/- -- my, your, his burden; 322.
- jaḡali -- rapidly, quickly, briskly; with zeal, liveliness; suddenly, swiftly; 18, 222.
- jaḡèj -- lobster; 250.
- jaḡiḡāsi -- to follow the bank, shore; 32, 223.
- jaḡiḡei, -gèg -- to be well, in good health, vigorous; 18, 223.
- jaḡigi -- accurately, completely; 223, 297.
- jat[/šat/] -- go away! (to a cat); 250, 251. [Fr. chatte]
- ḡèl -- 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.
- ḡèl mé -- still more; 224.
- ḡèl mu -- not even so many; (in comparison)than; 224, 238.

- jèl oğuj èlp mé -- and even still more; 233.
jènu -- hero, giant; 9, 18, 254.
jğolj(eg), ejğolj(eg) -- toad(s); 31, 37, 289.
jğoljéwigus -- former name of November; 31.
jigalugum men, gug, gumugw, gumitij -- to go alone in a boat; 121, 204.
jiğaw -- perch (bass); 22.
jiğelātu-, -lāleg -- v. ejjigelāleg.
n/jigenam, g-, u/jigenam/el -- my, your, his (younger) brother; 30, 301, 315, 316.
contr.: ejgine/tut. [cf. wijigeme]
jiğitğatēgei -- to disturb, to cause trouble by striking noisily; 102.
jigjatu -- to upset, to overturn; 250.
jigjawigenej -- [raisin], 143. [cf. jijawigenej]
jiğoğsug -- punk, tinder; 40, 245, 289, 290.
jiğotegei -- to sulk; 104.
jigsétağ, tem, temağ -- to listen to, to pay attention (as when one speaks softly); 119, 188, 233, 271, 297, 298, 303.
jigtağ, tem, temağ -- to listen to; 298.
jigtesing, tesg -- to become calm; 274.
(-)jij -- small; 14, 20, 27, 48, 49, 136, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, 272, 276, 277, 286, 290, 308, 309, 313, 317, 321, et passim.
m/jijağamij -- soul; 29, 30, 70, 175, 184, 189, 215, 226, 263, 283, 295, 302, 303, 304, 312.
n/jijağamij, g-, ug/-, my, your, his soul.
jijemai -- to smell bad, to stink; 265.
jijgawigenèj(g) -- grape(s); 31.
jijgeluew(g)j(eg) -- sheep(s); 37, 224, 291, 316, 319.
jijgeluéwgjij(g) -- lamb(s); 25, 27, 31, 37, 258, 291.
jijigwaga(j), jijuaga -- sometimes; 12, 14, 24, 188, 210, 229, 258, 306.
jiló-i, -in, -èg -- to be wounded; injured; 18, 225, 250.
n/jilj, g/-, ujiljel -- my, your, his father-in-law; 30, 255, 283, 316.
Jim -- Jim; English dim. of James; 20, 250, 251.
jimei, meigw, metigw -- to row, to paddle; 102.

- jimpaguntesing, tesg -- to fall drop by drop; 274.
 jinem(ug) -- man (men); 27, 35, 36, 42, 47, 53, 61, 106, 151, 209,
 240, 242, 247, 257, 258, 291, 292, 293, 296, 302, 317.
 jinemui -- 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.
 jinpegenewei, neweigw, nautigw -- to milk; 106, 266.
 jinpenegéi -- to milk a cow; 266.
 jipalg, ațem -- to fear (someone, something); 29, 45, 135, 170,
 187, 209, 236, 250, 255.
 jipalgu, gun, gug -- to be formidable, dreaded, an object of fear;
 187, 193.
 jipalsgatağ, țem, țemağ -- to obey with reverence; 298, 315.
 jipaluel, lueigw, luatıgw -- to fear, to be fearful, timorous; 103.
 jipjij -- bird [cf. sisip] 14, 249, 261.
 jip̄si -- to be frightened; 261.
 jiptug -- perhaps, than, that, also [takes contraction]; 26, 33, 50,
 56, 225, 229, 234, 238, 250, 289.
 jip̄ujij -- brook; 49, 250; [at Weymouth: sibusis]
 m/jitağan -- nape of the neck, scruff; 319; n/jitağan, g/-, ug/-,
 my, your, his scruff.
 jituègel(?) -- at times, sometimes; 229.
 jițung, nem, nemağ -- to protect, shelter; 185, 189, 270.
 Jo -- Joe; 18.
 joğ -- devilishly; 239.
 getu gtemai -- I want to smoke.
 getu joğtemai -- I want devilishly to smoke.
 getu joğğwai -- I want devilishly to get angry.
 Joj -- George; 20, 250.
 jugūa -- v. wéjgu-; 251.
 jugwapağtetew -- v. wéjwapağ; 92.
 jugwatutes -- [v. wéjgwatu]; 135.
 jugwia, jugwie, jugwit- -- [v. wéjgūa-]; 14.
 n/jugwijij, g/-, u/jugwijij/el -- my, your, his mother-in-law; 30,
 283, 316.
 jugulap̄asi -- to look in this direction; 260.

- jugun- -- v. wèjgunem.
 Jugūwa (gū-ia, gū-ié) -- v. wèjgūa; 14, 18, 179, 217, 303.
 jujiŋa -- [lizard, reptile]; 205.
 jupsulg -- to intimidate; 308.
 -l -- inanimate plural ending; 36 et passim.
 laŋama- -- v. elaŋamai; 89.
 ug/laŋanemel -- (a) wound; 188, 217, 295.
 laŋatingéwei -- election; 103. [< elégei]
 laŋittege- -- v. elaŋittégei; 101.
 laŋlans -- barn; 28. [< Fr. la grange]
 laŋlèm -- cream; 28. [< Fr. la crème]
 laŋlus(g) -- pitcher(s); 38. [< Fr. cruche]
 laŋol(g) -- cord(s) (of wood); 38, 245; [< Fr. cord]
 laŋŋisuti -- apron; 246.
 laŋ, laŋu -- v. elaleg.
 lāŋue -- v. elaluei.
 lamalŋeg -- interior of a grotto, sepulcher; 231.
 lamèg, lami, lamu -- inside; 231.
 lamègel -- below; 231.
 lamelig -- America; 246. [< Fr. l'Amerique]
 lamŋamug -- under the earth, in limbo; 33, 42, 231.
 lamŋwan -- undergarment; 231.
 lami -- v. lamèg.
 lamigwong, lamugwong -- inside the hut; 14, 138, 231, 258.
 lamlutaŋan -- court, enclosure; 231.
 lampoŋ -- water from the depths; bottom of the water; (by ext.)
 pure, clear water; 121, 231, 246, 289.
 lamsog -- under a rock; 231.
 lamu -- v. lamèg.
 lamuaw -- the inside of an egg; 231.
 lamugwong -- v. lamigwong.
 lamuli -- (Fr.) Lamorie; 17.
 laŋaŋogsit -- v. aŋaŋogsit.
 laŋai(g) -- tub, bucket; [< Fr. baille]

- la^hal -- v. elapāleg.
la^haltinewei -- blessed water; 186, 248.
lapélès(g) -- rod(s) [measure; 3 feet]; 38, 205, 246. [< Fr. verge]
lapigot -- smallpox; 246. [< Fr. la picotte]
lapilasg -- flax; 38. (no singular).
lapilem- -- v. elapilem.
Laplalot -- Round Hill; 246, 251. [< Fr. Prée Ronde]
laplus-brush; 246. [< Fr. la brosse]
laplusen, laplisun -- prison; 70, 222, 246. [< Fr. la prison]
lapoljij (g) -- bowl(s), cup(s); 38, 249. [< Fr. bol + jij]
lapuel(g) -- stove; 38. [< Fr. la poile]
Lapuent -- Point? 237.
lasiet(g) -- plate(s); 17, 34, 38, 246, 254, 257. [< Fr. l'assiette]
lasil -- sealing wax; 39, 249; [no plural] [< Fr. la cire]
lāsūp -- soup; 250, 257; [< Fr. la soupe]
lasupjij -- [a little soup] 251, 258.
lataḡsun(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.: latolaḡ.
latusan -- one dozen; 202, 250; [< Fr. la douzaine]
lātu-tes -- v. elātu.
leḡe- -- v. elēgei.
leḡleḡewisi -- to speak Greek; 262 [< Fr. le grec]
Lēmi -- Remi; 9, 14.
Lēn -- diminutive of Helen; 20, 246. [< Fr. Hélène]
Lenate -- Irishman; 37.
Lenateḡ - plural.
lentu -- 298.
lentug -- deer; 246 (?298).
lepatuj -- [v. elpatuj]
lesḡigen -- casket; 164.

LESGEGEN

LNUASIWGSEPEN

- lesgēgen -- chest; 134.
léswip -- Jew; 12, 14, 17 [< Fr. le juif]
lesuipewisi -- to speak Hebrew; 262.
létgamun(g) -- arrow(s); 38, 246, 321, 322.
n/letgamunem, g/-, ug/letgamunem/el, my, your, his arrow.
li -- v. eli.
lia -- [v. eliei]
lié/tes -- v. eliei.
ligasi -- to put; 209.
ligasuti -- refuge, hiding-place; 322; nt/eligasuti(m), gt/-, ugt/-,
mý, your, his hiding-place.
ligpeniġen -- basket; 165, 193, 246.
Lilian -- Lillian; 246.
lipġatamun(g) -- shoe of the virgin, virgin's shoe; (flower); 38,
246.
lipgemutaġan(g) -- (spin-)top; 38, 143, 268, 309.
-lis, -ulis -- aunt (sister of parent of opposite sex); 247, 315.
né/lis, gé/-, u/lis/el; n/ulis, g/-, ulis/el -- my, your, his
aunt.
lisewé/tès -- v. elisewei.
lisin/en -- v. elisin-.
lismasi -- go lie down, stretch out (slowly); 122, (?238).
listu -- disobey; 246.
listuguj -- Restigouche; 246, 270.
litāt -- [v. eliei]
litu -- v. elitu.
lmalanej -- [v. elmalæg]; 276.
lmie- -- v. elmiei.
lmuj -- dog; 29, 274, 276.
lnim -- too, very; 29, 75, 211, 233, 239, 262.
mu lnim -- not too; mu lnim mesgigtenug -- not too seriously.
lnim ta na -- that is truly too much, that is too strong (without
hope or remedy); far too much; 223, 239.
lnu(g) -- man, Indian, person, man in general; 29, 35, 42, 44, 50,
53, 54, 110, 136, 138, 179, 190, 208, 237, 253, 258, 275, 279,
292, 293, 320, 321.
lnuasiwgsepen -- v. elnuasi-.

- lnuigtug -- [in Indian; in the Indian language]; 237.
- lnusgw, lnusgwa -- Indian woman; 35, 253. [< lnu + sgw]
- Log -- Roch; 20, 246.
- loġ -- very, many, too, excessively; 20, 50, 51, 74, 143, 188, 223, 232, 233, 239, 246, 251, 257, 258, 270, 290, 291, 299, 308.
- loġ étug ƒa moġwe -- God forbid, far from it, absit; 233, 239.
- Lola -- Laurent, Laura; 246.
- Lom -- Rome; 20, 246.
- Los -- Rose; 20, 246.
- Lot -- Lot; 20, 246.
- Lsifugtug -- Richibouctou; 29.
- lsum/ata -- v. elsung; 301.
- ltaġanewé-tes -- v. eltaġanewei; 106.
- luéwal-as -- v. eluéwāleg; 185, 186.
- luéwatu-tes -- v. eluéwātu; 133.
- luéwiét -- v. eluwiet.
- luéwit -- [v. eluéwi]
- Lug -- Luke; 20, 246.
- lugoug/tultigw -- v. elugowg; 293.
- lugwatem -- [v. élugwalg]
- u/t/lugwataġan -- task; 275. [cf. elugwei-]
- luġwèg -- between; 236.
- lugwei -- [v. elugwei]
- Lui -- Louis; 17, 42, 258.
- Luis -- Louise; 17.
- Lulop -- Europe; 246.
- lum- -- v. elumaġ; 296.
- nt(e)/lusuesgom, gt(e)/-, ut/lusuesgom/el -- my, your, his daughter-in-law; 30, 316. [cf. ntelūsug]
 lusuesgw -- a daughter-in-law.
- Lutel -- M. Le Loutre; 237, 240. Lutl-oġ - past.
- lu/-tes -- v. elum.
- lutmaġanige- -- v. elutmaġanigei.
- m- -- v. what comes after it [general noun marker]
- ma -- not (with future); 17, 24, 56, 63, 69, 81, 86, 87, 91, 92, 95, 100, 111, 116, 120, 123, 127, 131, 132, 135, 139, 141, 142, 143, 153, 160, 165, 171, 175, 177, 188, 212, 228, 230, 234, 237, 241, 246, 251, 263, 265, 268, 269, 287, 288, 300, 305, 310, 318, 322.

- ma...gisna -- v. mu...gisna; 237.
- maġaġ (al, èg, èġel), maġoġsit -- big; 43, 45.
- maġaj -- severely, hardly; 221.
- maġmiġew (-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.
- maġamigewi -- to be earth; 286.
- magasan -- store; 286. [Fr. magasin]
- maġatġwig -- the sea is bad, agitated, swelling; 77.
[< maġa - big + tġu -- wave]
- maġatpaì, paì, paì -- my, your, his large head; to have a large head; 217, 265.
- maġatui- -- v. maġatuiġ.
- maġèlemeg -- to adore; to treat magnificently; 258, 299.
- maġiġa -- sing; 32.
getumaġiġa -- I want to sing.
- maġiġan -- a large residence; 284.
- maġoġsit -- v. maġaġ.
- ne/maġtam, ge-, u/maġtam/el -- my, your, his sister/brother-in-law (sibling-in-law of the same sex); 315.
- maġtawegen -- black garment; 285.
- maġtawegenemi -- to have a black garment; 285.
- maġtawegenam, namem, maġ, noltigw -- to be clothed in black; 121, 285.
- maġtawegsen, maġtawegsin -- a black pipe, a short clay pipe; 289, 290.
- maġtawei, weg -- to be black; 40, 224, 254, 285.
- maġtawituaì -- he has a black beard; 40.
- maìal -- M. Maillard; 240.
- maìl -- mile; 205. [Eng. mile].
- maġaleġ, tu, taġ -- to move, excite [lit. and fig.]; 212, 268, 304, 320.
- maġāsi -- to move, stir, to depart; 17, 18, 76, 136, 204, 211, 230, 241, 251.
- maġasipseġeneg -- trembled; 257.
- maġatoġ -- [v. maġāleġ]
- maġéġel -- at times, sometimes; 226, 289.
- maġitaġ -- [v. maġāsi]
- maġulġwalġ, waìem, taìmaġ -- to follow, pursue; 51, 257, 306.

MALA

MANAG

- mala -- over yonder, there, yonder; 16, 18, 231.
malaël -- towards (there), in that direction; 16, 17, 18, 231, 275.
 misogw malaël -- right up to there; 17.
maléi, éin, èg -- to be lazy; 75, 246, 257.
maléing, maloḡon -- laziness, sloth; 75, 120, 249, 251.
Malgelit -- Marguerite; 11, 14.
malgojetesing, tesg -- to fall to pieces; 273.
malḡomg, 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.
Māli -- (B.V.) Mary; 11, 14, 44, 45, 314.
maliéwi -- to be married; 263, 302, 317. [Fr. marie]
maligéiag, otem, temaḡ -- to laugh at; 295, 301.
maligéw, geūg -- cask, barrel, drinking mug; 36, 38, 43, 205.
maligéujij -- barrel; 205.
maligigetem -- to be mocking, making fun of (in words); 301.
maliging, item, temaḡ -- to laugh at, to make fun of (in words);
 to poke fun at; 180, 192, 301.
maligingusi -- to be mocked, laughed at; 262.
maligimuei -- to poke fun, to laugh at, to mock; 192, 268.
maligotem, men, tg -- to laugh at, to ridicule (in action); 272.
maligutem, maligwitem -- to laugh at, to ridicule (in words); 272.
Malij -- Mariette; 246.
malipḡanj -- v. pḡanj; 30.
malisi -- to speak Malecite; 262.
maljéwéjui -- to be young; 257, 263.
maloḡon -- v. maléing.
malḡaléwit -- 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.
malsanewogwom -- store; 286.
malḡew -- blood; 23, 230, 235, 318, 322.
 ne/malḡem, ge/-, u/-, my, your, his blood.
Manag -- Mr. Manach; 237.

- mapos -- pocket of a garment; 249.
- masgèlemeg, gèltem, maĝ -- to scorn, renounce; 230, 299.
- masgelemugsultiog -- you evil ones! 230.
- masgwāleg, ŷu, ŷag -- to put away, put in reserve, shelter, put
aside, hide; 24, 303. [Pac. says < masgwi -- bark]
- masgwès -- birch (tree); 256.
- masgwésiman(el) -- wild cherries; 256.
- masgwesing, gwesg -- to cower under the covers; 274.
- masgwi(l) -- bark (of a tree); 24, 256, 275, 303.
- mataĝateĝei -- v. mataĝateĝei.
- mataluat -- he moves his tail; 264, 276.
- matamalié -- 261.
- matansgesing, gesg -- stirred up, agitated by the wind; 274.
- mataweg -- confluent (Matapedia); 221.
- matawi -- to encircle; 221.
- matawiag -- whole; 205, 221. matawiejig.
- matentinej -- [v. matneg]
- matew -- never, no more; 23, 141, 188, 211, 226, 234.
- matgoĝwegeg -- 274.
- matgwetem, matgwasi -- to bow; 270.
- matgwetesin, ng -- to shake the head; 273.
- matneg, nem -- to wrestle against, to struggle against, to fight;
47, 184, 298.
- mataĝateĝei, mataĝateĝei -- to toll (the bell); ring; 104, 250.
- mataĝtèĝei -- to send a telegram; 250.
- mattèg, tol, téin, tot -- to beat; 180, 184, 262, 298.
- mattogsi -- to be beaten; 193.
- mattosi -- to strike oneself; 262.
- matuès -- porcupine; 25.
- maw, mawi -- together, all at once; 22, 223, 231.
- mawatemg -- all joined, all counted; 223.
- mawātu -- to gather, join together; 223, 275, 308.
- mawèn -- no one, nobody; 22, 24, 51, 89, 141, 177, 183, 212, 234,
257, 295, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 321.
- maugitem -- to add up; 118, 223.
- maugitemeg, -gitasig -- additional; 223.

MAUGFILEM

MELGENG

- maugpilem -- to bind together (faggots); 269.
- mawi -- very, much, excessively, too; 22, 50, 51, 69, 87, 106, 187, 194, 241, 257, 258, 261, 302, 317.
- mawi -- [v. maw]
- mawi alasutmang -- public prayer, retreat; 87.
- mawieigw, atigw, itaigw -- to gather together; to be common, reunited; 33, 73, 230, 268.
- mawiomí -- assembly, band; 22, 33, 223, 254, 322. n/mawiomí, g/-, ug/-, my, your, his band.
- mawitamgewei -- assembly; 268.
- maunemaĝ -- to give all together; 178, 205, 231.
- mawoltitij -- let them all be together; 224.
- mawotu -- to gather together a large quantity; 275, 276.
- Maupeltug -- Membertou; 294.
- mé, méj -- 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.
- méĝeng -- to choose; 185.
- méĝitêlemeg, têtém, temag -- to glorify (inwardly); honor one's name; 26, 33, 247, 261, 300.
- méĝopaĝ -- v. moĝopaĝ.
- méĝotig -- dear, expensive; 9, 14, 70, 241.
contr.: ĩ
- mèĝtaĝ, tem, temag -- to doubt, to lack confidence; 297.
- méĝwaig, miawèg, miaw -- in the middle; between, among, around, amidst; 231, 236. [cf. gwaijg]
- Méĝwasag -- Migwasha, red rock; 256.
- megweg -- [red]; 189, 276, 309.
- méj -- v. mé.
- mèj.ogw -- go to the devil! (swear word) 239.
- melaĝej(g), mulaĝejg -- milk, breast(s); 38, 257, 293, 307.
- melgaluei -- to strengthen; 267-268.
- melgatpai -- to have a hard head; 265.
- melgei, gèg -- to be difficult, hard; 49, 189, 221, 257, 262, 267.
- melĝeng -- I hold him strongly; help; 33, 174, 185, 247.

MELIGEPILG

MENGATAIG

- melgepilg -- to attach strongly; 188.
melgi -- strongly; 51, 106, 118, 221, 309.
melgigenai, nan, nat, naĝ -- to be strong, powerful, solid; 37, 40,
50, 194, 265, 293.
u/melgigenoti/m -- his/might; 177, 288, 321.
melgignewasi -- be strong; 189, 280.
melgijinem -- ginat; 106.
mèlgitat -- brave; 222.
melgitèten -- [think hard about it!]; 188.
mèljégwi -- bird without feathers; 37.
 mèljégwiaĝ - pl.
meljoĝom -- dry wood; 34.
mèlmuaŝatégét -- he waters; 136.
meltangit -- 306.
meltami -- v. meltamtug; 226.
mèltamiĝitamg -- first-born; 226.
mèltami pégaĵeg -- immaculate; 75.
 < mèltamtug -- since the beginning.
mèltamtug -- since the beginning; in the beginning; at the origin; 71,
75, 226.
meluiaĝweg -- v. miaulaĝwèg.
mèluij -- rather [as opposed to auna, q.v.] 26, 143, 194, 218, 221,
233, 239, 283, 302.
mèluij oĝw -- especially; how then! 233, 239.
mengèg -- a fallow field; 247.
menaĝ -- no, not yet; 69, 107, 136, 141, 143, 151, 226, 234, 247,
266, 275, 276, 304, 309.
ménagaĵ, menaĝa -- with care; 120, 221, 247, 251.
ménaganat -- feeble; 208, 265.
mé nāĝeg -- v. nāĝeg; 227.
menaĝwesing, gwesg -- tormented, tossed island; 274.
mé nalaiw -- too late, too far; 17. [cf. mé, nalaiw]
ménāleg, tu, taĝ -- to remove, tear out (tooth), pull out; 58,
124-132, 133, 137, 142, 146, 188, 193.
ménāpāleg -- to clean; 304.
ménasgw -- rock; 256.
mèngatalg, atem, temag -- to pity; 306.

- mengatpai -- to have a bald head; 265.
 mengitem -- to subtract; 118.
 meniei, meniag̃ -- to move aside; to draw back, remission of sins; 33, 73.
 menisgaḡ, menisgem -- to go to look for; 119, 177.
 menolg, otem -- to extract (potatoes), to draw out of the ground; 188.
 menoteget, taḡatijig -- those who harvest; 188.
 ménotu -- to gather, to pick, harvest; 276.
 mentemuaseneg -- [he bit it off]; 321.
 mentu(g) -- devil(s); demon; 51, 75, 115, 143, 187, 219, 236, 239,
 247, 254, 258, 286, 294, 299, 305.
 mentuāgi -- the Kingdom of Satan, Hell; 50, 75, 210, 286, 296.
 mentuāḡig -- in Hell; 50, 210.
 mentu gjiḡaplew -- the devil! (swear word, vulgar); 239.
 mentui -- to be a devil; 286.
 mentuiei -- to become a devil; 286.
 mentujijuit -- he is a little devil; 286.
 mentuogwom -- the dwelling of the devil; 286.
 ménuagaḡ, atem, maḡ -- to have need of; 306.
 ménuagaḡasi -- to be needed; 306.
 menuegei -- to need, to wish, to require; 225, 267.
 menuigem, men, geg -- to copy, to paint, to photograph; 119.
 me/nuji -- head; 318; [v. -unji]
 me pugwelg -- more than; 50.
 mésaḡeg, ātu -- to swallow; 29, 187.
 mesèlemeg, sèltem -- to call upon someone, to demand a thing; to
 invoke, to pray to get a thing, to implore; 51, 183, 219, 271, 276.
 contr.: msèltem/mul.
 meset -- [v. mset]
 mesetesgaḡ -- to lack; 295.
 mesḡanatesin, sing, tesg -- to fall, to stretch oneself out, prostrate
 oneself, to let oneself go, to drop; 273, 276, 308, 309.
 mèsgéi, éin, èg -- to regret, to be sad; 75.
 contr.: mséḡé/tes.
 mesgil, len, lg, giḡ -- 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.
 contr.: msegil/tes

- mesgoli -- to drive a splinter into the flesh; 259.
- mesi -- entirely; 221, 224.
- mēsi -- to not be able; 136, 184, 221, 223, 265.
- mesig, itu, itaĝ -- to deliver, to betray; 293.
- mēsīg, itu, itaĝ -- 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.
- mēsīwèn -- you are unshakable; 221.
- mési ugtāgenai -- insatiable; 265.
- mesneg, nem -- to take, to receive, welcome; 24, 152, 184, 269, 280, 299, 321.
contr.: msen-
- mesta -- v. mset.
- Mesta Gisiteĝet -- the Creator; the Author of all things; 104, 175.
- mesta gtapāĝeg -- deluge; 265.
- mesta melgigénat -- the All-powerful; 265.
- mestanemaĝ -- to give all; 177, 295.
- mestang, mestanem -- to have all; 119, 135, 184.
contr.: msetan/tes
- mésuāleg, ātu -- to show; 187.
- mesuang, mesuapteget -- to see completely; 300.
- mesueg, mesui -- overtly, openly; 221, 231, 312.
- mésūteĝ, -tug -- bare, publicly, uncovered; 134, 180, 231.
- meta, muta -- for, because, since; 17, 18, 90, 233, 237, 251, 270, 295, 300.
[mu + ta]
- mé ta gatu -- but evidently; 233.
- métamai, man, mat -- to walk, take a trip; 91.
contr.: mtemas
- metesgi- -- v. emtesgi; 70.
- metesgwaĝan/itug -- pride; 76.
- métetaĝ -- the bell tolls; 266.
- metetesing, tesg -- to smack, to clap (the lips); 273.
- metetoĝsilijel -- buzzing; 302.
- ne/metgi, ge/-, u/- -- my, your, his country, native land; 217, 227, 253, 282, 287, 321.

- mètgwai, gwan, gwat -- to have a bare head; 90.
- métlas -- ten (in composition); 198, 199.
- métlas/aigel -- 10 piastres, 202.
 - métlasapsgesijig, -métlasapsgègel -- spherical, round; 202.
 - métlasipunai -- to be 10 years old; 90, 203.
 - métlasipunèg -- 10 years; 203.
 - métlasog̃sijig -- ten (long, round objects); 201.
 - métlasugumugw -- to go ten in their boat; 121, 204.
 - métlasugunag̃ -- 10 days; 202.
 - métlasugunit -- he's 10 days old; 203.
 - métlasugusalai -- to spend 10 months; 203.
 - métlasunemigsijig -- 10 of a kind; 204.
- metnemai -- to make a campfire and remain close by; 264.
- metog̃wal- -- v. emtoğwalg; 187.
- métuèi, éin, èg -- to be hard, troublesome, sad, difficult; 17, 18, 67, 75, 106, 210, 221, 257.
- contr.: mtuè-
- metug̃unag̃ -- bad weather; 91.
- Maillard: metunag;
 - contr.: mtug̃unag̃tetew.
- metuiḡug̃wèg -- [it can be heard swaying]; 237.
- mé tujiw -- still at present; 226, 228.
- méwimai, matisenig -- to grieve, lament; 264, 271.
- mgesen -- moccasin, slipper, soleless shoe, house slipper, Indian footwear; footwear, shoes, boots; 38-9, 40, 214, 257, 261, 287, 322.
- ne/mgesen, ge-, u-, my, your, his shoe; ne/mugsenḡ, ge-, u/mugsen, my, your, his shoes, boots.
- mgesenām, men, naḡ, noltigw -- to have footwear; 121.
- mgesenemi, nam -- to have some shoes, to be shoed; 287.
- mgiḡen, emigiḡen -- fish-hook; 214, 298, 322; ne/miggen, ge/-, u/-, my, your, his fish-hook.
- mgiḡenatgw -- (fishing) rod; 322.
- mgotig -- v. mégotig; 241.
- mgumi -- ice; 287.
- miamuj -- v. amuj.
- miauw, miawèg -- [v. mégwaig]
- miawiḡan -- the middle of the hut; 236.
- miawiog̃wom -- nave; 236.
- miawj(eg) [miawnj] -- cat(s); 14, 24, 37. [cf. gajuewj]
- miaulag̃wèg, meluiag̃wèg -- noon; 106, 226.

- miggen -- v. mgigen.
- Migmawaj -- Micmac; 22, 35, 37, 46, 247, 286.
migmag̃ - pl. migmatut - voc. pl.
- migmawei -- Micmac; 41.
- migmawi -- to be a Micmac; 206, 251, 286.
- migmawisi -- to speak Micmac; 262.
- Migmawisingewaj -- the Micmac language; 226.
- migmawisgowi -- to be a Micmac lady; 46, 286.
- migmawisgw -- a female Micmac; 35.
- migmawisgwèj -- a young Micmac girl; 35.
- Migmuès -- the nymph of the forest; 25.
- miguang, aptem, temag̃ -- to see, regard with pleasure; 300.
- migwitêlemeg, tetem -- to remember (willingly, easily); 118, 183, 290.
- miji -- v. mijji, mijisi.
- mijijg -- still; 227.
- mijipgai, gan, gat -- to stock up on food; 264.
- mijipjéwei -- food; 23, 27, 140, 293.
- mijisi, sin, sit -- to eat; 69, 71, 227, 276, 277.
[at Restigouche: miji [mijji]].
- mijisotelg -- to take care of, to give to eat, to cause to graze; 187.
- mijji, miji -- v. mijisi; 71, 227, 276, 277.
- mijuãjij(g) -- infant(s); child(ren); 27, 45, 49, 89, 90, 140, 143,
184, 185, 247, 251, 257, 258, 277, 286, 307, 308.
- mijuãjijemi -- to have a child, to give birth to; 286.
- mijuãjijewal/esis -- he made himself into a child; 196.
- mijuãjijewi -- to be a child; 286, 293.
- mil, milal -- mile(s) [not used; nonce borrowing].
- milamūg̃ul -- diverse things; 143, 156, 224.
- milāsi -- 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.
- milésuti -- riches, wealth; 71, 224, 322.
- milgutai -- to be richly dressed; 224, 265.
- mili -- number, quantity; variety; 70, 224.
- Mili -- Emily; 17, 18.

- mil̄isi -- to speak different languages; 71, 262, 276.
 milit̄asi -- to have various kinds of thoughts, to muse; 224.
 miloḡwet -- a chatterer; 224.
 miltawem̄gewel -- various requests, invocations; 224.
 milwigasit -- mottled; parrakeet; 224.
 m̄imai [obs] -- v. n̄imai.
 m̄imaji -- to live; 175, 190, 209, 225, 227, 242, 260, 265.
 u/m̄imajinuma -- [?read u/m̄imajinuma]; 312.
 m̄imajuaḡan -- life; 286, 322;
 'n/m̄imajuaḡanem, g/-, ug/-, my, your, his life.
 m̄imajuaḡanam -- to use, enjoy, make life; 286.
 m̄imajuaḡanemi -- to possess life; 286.
 m̄imajuaḡari -- I am the life; 278.
 m̄imajuānu -- living being; individual; person, someone; pl.:
 the people, nations; 44, 74, 138, 143, 197, 214, 242, 252,
 258, 286, 312, 320.
 m̄imajuinui -- to be a person; 242, 286.
 m̄imajuinuimi, -numi -- to have people dependent on oneself; 286.
 m̄imajung, junem -- to endue with life, to give and maintain life, to
 give life to; 185, 192.
 m̄imajunsi -- to be given life.
 m̄imajunuei -- to give life; 192.
 m̄imalting -- anointment; 226.
 m̄imātu -- to oil; 247.
 m̄imei -- oil; 22, 27, 38, 247.
 m̄imeli -- to be hungry; 259.
 m̄imentet -- rolled up (wound up top); when spinning; 38, 268, 309.
 m̄imgwaḡan(el) -- acorn(s); 189.
 m̄imgwanemusi -- the oak; 189.
 m̄imgwātu -- v. m̄imgwātu; 275.
 m̄imgweng -- to anoint; 185.
 m̄imil -- sugared almond; 40, 143, 247 (no sing.).
 m̄imgwāleg, tu, taḡ -- to hide [lit. and fig.]; 236, 261, 275, 304.
 m̄inijg -- fruit (in general); 31, 188, 256.
 m̄in/ioḡ -- [?you fruits]; 289.
 m̄init(el) -- [minute(s)]; 203.
 m̄inuāleg, tu, taḡ -- to renew, return to life; 192, 304.
 minualesi -- to renew oneself; 192.

- minuatasi -- to be revived, renewed; 261.
- minuategei -- to revive, renew; to do reviving; 192, 221, 267.
- minui -- anew; 73, 180, 221.
- minuiliteg -- revived; 217.
- minui usgijinui, -nuin, -nuit -- to be reborn; 73.
- minunsi -- to revive; be revived; 33, 43, 70, 221, 236, 247, 261.
- né/mis, gé/mis, ymis/el -- my, your, his older sister [or: respectful reference to any person with a sufficient age difference, but not old enough to be called nugumi]; 46, 214, 247, 275, 315-316, 317.
- misègen -- rags; 286. misègenam -- to wear rags; 286.
- Misel -- Michael, Michel; 27, 42, 45, 258.
- misemin(g) -- currant(s); 38.
- misgu/g -- at Miscou; 285.
- misoġw -- as far as; until; thus far; up until; 17, 18, 120, 194, 205, 227, 231, 296, 316.
- mitaġāleg -- to withdraw from him; 304.
- mitaġalg, ațem, țemaġ -- to stay apart, keep apart (from); 306.
- mitāleg, tu, țaġ -- to separate, remove; 304.
- miti -- poplar; 17, 18.
- mitiei, -tièg, -tièl -- of poplar; 40-41.
- mitnalai, mitnemai -- to take snuff; 264.
- mituġwal/as -- v. émituġwalg; 62-63, 276, 306.
- miwalg, miwatem -- v. muiwalg, muiwatem.
- mjige/igtug -- [in/dirt]; 302.
- mjiġaġamiġuèièg -- spiritual; 90. [cf. -jiġaġamiġ]
- moġopaġ, meġopaġ -- wine; 143, 286.
- moġwaj, moġwa, moġweġ, moġwé -- no, not, nothing; 13, 24, 27, 38, 52, 56, 57, 62, 75, 89, 110, 120, 134, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 149, 152, 162, 178, 181, 187, 194, 209, 212, 222, 225, 232, 233, 234, 237, 239, 247, 251, 260, 261, 269, 270, 277, 278, 280, 282, 286, 293, 295, 305, 306, 308, 310.
[< mo goġwei]
- moġwé, moġwa...gisna; 237; v. mu...gisna.
- Mois -- Moses; 17, 279, 298, 316. [< Fr. Moïse]
- motua gațu -- not precisely; perhaps not; 234.
- msaġtaġt -- floor; 29.

- msal, msatu -- [v. mesāleg]
 mségé -- v. nèsgéi; 75.
 msegilg, msegig -- v. mesgil.
 msèl-, msèlt- -- v. mesèlemeg.
 msen- -- [v. mesneg]
 mset, meset, mesta -- all; 27, 29, 33, 54, 70, 74, 75, 90, 92, 104,
 106, 138, 149, 150, 153, 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 187,
 189, 198, 209, 212, 220, 224, 232, 238, 258, 265, 269, 275,
 276, 285, 288, 289, 293, 299, 300, 302, 309, 310, 317, 318.
 msetantes -- v. mestanem.
 mset tami -- everywhere; 232.
 msèt tèsigel -- all things (collectively); 198.
 msèt/uèn -- each and every one, everybody; 212, 224.
 msgigwies -- v. msigwiès.
 msias -- v. mesig.
 ne/msigwang, ge-, u/msigwan -- my, your, his eyelashes; 319.
 msiguégatijg -- [at the little hayfield]; 264.
 msigwiès(g), msigwèj, msgigwies -- sparrow(?); 255.
 msim/as -- v. mesing.
 mtawégen -- flag; 29, 189, 287.
 mtèln tésiijg, tèsigel -- ten; 26, 29, 41, 198, 201, 202, 203, 222, 199.
 mtèlnağan -- [v. mtèln, pitui mtèlnağan-]
 mtèlnéwei -- tenth; 200, 257.
 mtéma -- v. métemai.
 mtésan -- baby, the last child (even an adult); 29.
 mtèsgem -- serpent, snake; 29, 255.
 mtesgi- -- v. emtesgi-.
 mtiagātestağan -- (a) search; 29.
 mtijin -- thumb [finger and measure]; 29, 204.
 mtoğon -- garment, coat; 29, 275.
 mtoğwalawisoğ -- they would not have come down (from the woods); 84,
 180.
 mtuamigwasin -- 289.
 mtué/tew -- v. métuei.
 mtugunag- -- v. metugunag.

- mtunoġt -- bad weather, storm, snow storm; 29, 274.
- mu -- not (present and past); 17, 32, 50, 52, 56-62, 64-67, 69-79, 82-98, 100-106, 108-110, 112-122, 124-134, 138-143, 148-155, 157-171, 174-175, 177-178, 180, 182, 185, 189, 203, 205, 207-212, 217, 220, 223-224, 226, 234, 237, 241, 258-264, 266-273, 276, 278-290, 293-295, 297, 299, 301-309, 320-321.
- mu ansema -- not, in no way; 234.
- mu...gisna, moġwé...gisna, moġwa...gisna -- neither...nor; 52, 237.
- mugsen -- v. mgesen.
- mui -- sea duck; 37. muiag - pl.
- muin -- bear, the Great Bear (constellation); 17, 18, 35, 37, 45, 181, 201, 251, 254.
- muiñej -- young bear; young of an animal; in general; Ursa Minor (little bear); 254.
- muiwalg, ațem (at Rest.; miwalg, miwatem) -- to thank; 14, 187, 208, 220, 276.
- mujaji, jin, jit -- to love; 70, 247, 260.
- mujga, mujgaj -- excellently; 221.
- mujgajéwei -- well done, excellent; pleasant, suitable, agreeable; 49, 221.
- mulagej(g) -- v. melagej(g).
- mulagejg, mulagejumi -- butter; 14, 257 [cf. tepulewei].
- mulġalg, ațem; temaġ -- dig; hollow out, turn the ground over; 179, 247, 306.
- Mulian -- Montreal; 24.
- mulin -- mill, any machine; 247, 268. [< Fr. moulin]
- mu lnim -- not too; 29.
- munengwej(g) -- marmot; 254, 257.
- mu ngutei -- than, it is not the same, not likewise (after mèj, mé); 50.
- munsa -- very remarkable, extraordinary; 221.
- munsaiag, munseiaġ, sotem -- to beset, to flatter, coax, cajole; to strive, to do, to persist; 176, 221.
- munti(1) -- 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.
- musapoġjat -- soft; 39.
- musapunel -- [v. usapun].
- musgātu -- to point out, to show; 38, 133.
- musgwalg, ațem, țemaġ -- to embrace, to lick [vulgar, exc. for dogs, etc.]; 306.
- musgwiaġ -- the weather clears; 107, 267.

- musgun -- the sky; 247.
- musgunamug, mugsit -- blue, the color of the sky; 189, 247, 254.
- musguniġen -- cubit; 204.
- Musi -- Monsieur (obsolete); 240.
- Musiew -- Monsieur; 237.
- musiġātu -- to clean, to clear, to strip; 133.
- musiġisgetug -- up in the air; 289.
- musualg, atem, temaġ -- to lack, to be bored of; to miss; 118, 306.
- musuei -- handkerchief; 40.
- muta -- v. meta.
- mu ta gatu -- is it possible? not possible; nevertheless, no; 237.
- mutgulfuguāsi -- v. emutgulfuguāsi.
- na, nat -- that, this; there is; isn't that so; thus then; now, however, here is, now, therefore; (emphasis particle used superabundantly in Micmac conversation) [cf. ge] 14, 17, 18, 20, 25, 33, 50, 53, 62, 64, 71, 73, 79, 90, 134, 138, 143, 149, 175, 178, 183, 186, 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.
- naġaji -- to delay, neglect; 188, 227, 260.
- naġajiġei, ġemġel -- to neglect, to delay; be in the process of delaying, neglecting; 227, 260.
- naġajijġ(əl(əl)), mə- -- a little later, just now, a little further; 227, 232, 246.
- naġal/as -- v. enġālġeg, 303.
- naġala, naġela -- those/an; 208, 209.
- naġalg, naġtem, temaġ -- to leave, abandon; 271, 288, 302, 306.
contr.: nġalāġiġig.
- naġamaġġejġ -- an easy thing; (it is) easy; easily; 49, 107, 123, 143, 192.
- naġanam, multigw -- to draw w/a vase for drinking; 272, 276.
- naġanāmai -- to drink; 272.
- naġanāpei -- to draw from a well for drinking; 272.
- naġapēmisiġw -- maid; 253.
- naġapet -- servant, server; disciple; apostle; naġapem/el unaġapemġma.
- naġapuguei -- to speak slowly; 227.
- naġāsi/tes -- v. nġāsi; 260.

- naġat -- those (an.); 208.
- naġatgèlemeg, gèltem, temaġ -- to have discomfort, repugnance because of, to be uneasy with (an.); to find difficult, cumbersome (inan.); 271, 299.
- naġati, tin, tit -- to shoot an arrow; 71, 259.
fut.: nġati-.
- naġātu- -- v. engātu; 133.
- nāġeg, mé nāġeg, nāġégélél -- late, later, a tendency to be late; 227.
- naġèġel -- farther, later; 232.
- naġela -- v. naġala.
- naġijji, -jijg -- to be light (an., inan.); 260.
- naġjisi -- to speak fast; 262.
- naġjit -- domestic animal; 308.
- naġjulg -- to domesticate; tame; 308.
- nagoġtèsgem -- to arrive by day; 227.
- nagowāsi -- to travel by day; 260.
- naġowi -- of the day; 227.
- naġowiel, -wiag -- it makes day; 227.
- naġsāsi -- to advance; to prevent, to hurry; 227, 293.
- naġsi -- promptly, fast; 76, 133, 224, 227.
contr.: nġasi.
- naġtem, men, teg -- [v. naġalg].
- nāġweg, -egel -- day(s); 23, 25, 40, 43, 56, 62, 202, 212, 228, 260.
u/naġum -- his/day.
- nāġuset -- the sun star of the day; 34, 183, 227, 247, 251, 260, 287, 309, 312.
u/nagusetem/el
- naġusetéwei -- 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

NAPLUGEUG

- nalagi, ġin, ġit -- to be diligent, fervent; 259.
nalaiw -- late, far; soon, near (place); 17, 18, 227, 232.
 mé nalaiw -- too late, too far; 17.
nalġosi, nuġwaltugosi -- to comb one's hair; 262, 298.
nalgun(g), nugwaltugon(g) -- comb(s); 39, 247.
nalġwaġatoġsepeneg -- he drew it out; 321.
nalġweg, nuġwaltuġweg -- to comb; to comb one's hair; 298.
nalmoġtami -- to skin (eels); 259.
nalsigum, men, gug; nalsiġu, ġun, ġug -- to scratch, to scrape; 121,
 136.
namāsi, sin, sit -- to go in the direction of the wind; 76, 247.
na msèt, nan amsèt -- that is all, it is finished, the end; 212, 224.
nān -- five, five times; 20, 199, 202, 203, 236, 247, 251, 317.
 nānāigel -- 5 dollars; 202.
 nānapsġesijig (an.) -- 5 round objects; 202.
 nānapsġegel (inan.) -- 5 round objects; 202.
 nang -- 5 (wt. or measure); 204.
 nānisġégaigel -- 50 dollars; 202.
 nānoġsit -- 5 long round objects; 201.
 nānāġal -- 5 long, round objects (inan.); 201.
 nānugumugw -- to go 5 in their boat; 204.
 nānugunāġ -- 5 days; 203.
 nānugunit -- he's 5 days old, this is the 5th of the month; 203.
 nānunasiġ -- 5 fathoms; spans of the arms; 205.
 nānunemiġsijig -- 5 of a kind; 203.
 nanutéġig -- to kill 5 of (hunting or fishing) by striking or
 knocking senseless; 204.
nan (amsèt) -- v. na msèt; 212.
nānéwei -- fifth; 23, 27, 200.
nangémi(w) -- [v. angémiw]
nanigw, naniġ, naniġig -- to be five [in no.]; 259.
nānijig, nangel -- five (an., inan.); 41, 181, 199, 247, 279.
nānisġéġsijig, nānisġāġ(al) -- fifty; 41, 181, 199.
nantuai -- v. natuai; 90.
nantuġ, tunem, tunewei -- to seek (with the hand), to feel; 185.
nantêm, nantemi -- always, without cease; 179, 227, 247.
na pa jêla, na ta jêla -- quite certainly; 233.
napewig -- male small animal (otter, fox, etc.); (added to generic
 noun); 36.
napéjij -- little cock; 254.
napelgeug -- v. naplugeug.

- napeltug -- conductor, captain; 294.
napemègw -- male fish; 35, 37.
 napemaĝ -- 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.
napgaĝ, gul, gwin -- to replace, to hold the place, to be curate; 33,
 177, 247, 297.
 napgem -- to depict, to copy.
napgwajel -- vicar [lit.: he replaces him]; 33, 247, 297.
napi -- [do again; quote]; 91.
 napi mtemānèj -- let us walk in his footsteps.
napiag -- male whale, seal, etc. (added to generic noun); 35.
naplugeug, napelgeug, gewatem, temaĝ -- to follow; reproduce, imitate;
 294.
naplutaĝ, tem, temaĝ -- to repeat, respond; 297.
napneg, nem -- to return; 184.
nappuneug, watem, temaĝ -- 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.
napuigeg -- to copy; 180.
napuigiĝen(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.
nasgaĝ, gem, genaĝ -- to clothe; 296.
nasgoṗlaw, -ṗlaĝ; nasguṗlaw -- board(s); 34, 39.
nasgwet, nasgultijig -- virgin, young girl, servant; 25, 33, 51, 106,
 159, 287.
nasogwataĝan -- ring, jeweled ring; 287.
nasotelg, telem, lemaĝ -- to dress, to lay on (scapular, veil at
 baptism); 307.

NASSAM

NA UGJIT

- nassam/g, nassaptem; 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, gwag -- snowshoes; 37, 287.
- nāt -- [v. na, naji].
- nata -- v. nétawi.
- na taa -- without doubt; 233.
- natagamasi -- to go across; 32.
- na ta jèla -- v. na pa jèla.
- natalāleg -- to do something to; to disturb, harm; 305.
- na taliaĝ -- something happens; 222.
- natami -- somewhere around; from somewhere; nearly; 18, 62, 205, 230,
232, 251, 264, 276.
- natawi -- v. nétawi.
- natel -- there; 33, 50, 73, 138, 211, 231, 232, 247, 251, 258, 268,
270.
- natĝaleg, tu, taĝ -- to take out, pull out, deliver; to get out; 133,
304.
- natĝāsi -- to extricate oneself from a difficult spot; 260.
- natĝaspégāleg -- to tear away, pull out; 133, 304.
- nat goĝwei -- something, that thing; 25, 211, 310.
- na tlišip -- then; 257.
- nati- -- v. nei.
- natitij -- 220.
- nat/tam/ultes -- I will come to ask you; 221, 232.
- nattawaĝtemai -- I come to ask for, to seek; 232.
- natuaĝaneg -- Eel Ground; 90.
(< natuai -- to harpoon)
- natuai, an, at -- to harpoon; 90.
also: nenatuai, nantuai.
- nat uen(ig)...toĝw gteg(ig) -- some...then others; someone...then
another; 212.
- na tujiw -- then; 257.
- na ugjit, na ugji -- that is why; 211, 237.

- Nawéi -- Noah; 22, 42, 209, 256. [< Fr. Noé.]
- nawiaġ -- (it is) impossible; a thing which one cannot attain, that one cannot do; 22, 87, 107.
- nausaputaġan -- earring; 287.
- néġapigwai, ġwan, ġwat -- to be blind; 90, 240.
- néġaw -- in continuing, at full length, and so on; right straight ahead; 22, 227, 232. [cf. wéġaw]
- néġela, wéġela -- these, these things, them, those; 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.
- néġela tlišip -- at that time; 208, 228, 238.
- negem -- he, her, him, she; 26, 33, 51, 52, 55, 91, 136, 143, 178, 206, 207, 208, 209, 237, 238, 245, 257, 270, 276, 277, 296, 302, 306, 307, 309, 317.
- nèġeméwei -- his; 23, 41, 213.
- nèġeméwit -- it is he; 207.
- nèġemow -- they; 26, 28, 206, 207, 209, 211, 276, 277, 308, 310, 320.
- nèġemowei -- their; 26, 213.
- néġèt -- [v. nèt]
- negpaġ -- a flood in the house; 91.
- néġu, ġun, ġug -- to bring game; 135.
- néġwaspi-t -- sit quietly (under); 136.
- negusgwei, gweigw, gutigw -- to go look for meat; 105.
- nei, nèn, nèt -- to die; 33, 103, 247. (natigw, natitij)
- néiātu -- to point out; show; 133, 304.
- néiāng, aptem, temaġ -- to go to see; 300.
- neiaġpeniaġ -- dawn; 268.
- néitġālēg, tu, taġ -- to show by sticking out (tongue); 304.
- neliji -- [v. nei]
- némèj(eg) -- fish; 9, 14, 37, 121, 288.
- nemejemi -- to have a fish; 288.
- nemejij, agogomaw, agogomegw -- herring; 14, 37.
- nemejui -- to be a fish; 288.
- nem-ig, nemitu -- to see; 14, 21, 27, 33, 49, 58, 66, 72, 78, 132, 135, 143, 145, 146, 148-160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174, 183, 191, 192, 193, 194, 205, 207, 209, 210, 212, 217, 235, 241, 242, 246, 247, 251, 258, 259, 268, 276, 277, 279, 280, 290, 302, 308, 312, 317.

- 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]
nemiwei -- to see (in general); 191. (intr.)
nemjāleg, tu, taĝ -- to raise; 133, 304.
nemjāsi -- to raise oneself; 154, 260.
nemlapoĝsin -- to be dragged along; 274.
nemul(eg) -- v. nemi-.
nénaĝ, nénat, nenem -- to know (by sight); 119, 138, 178, 217, 223,
269, 270.
nénaĝāsi, itaĝ -- to hurry; 227, 260.
nenaĝei -- to be hurried; 262.
nenaĝitaĝ -- v. nenaĝitasi.
nénaĝitasi, in, it -- to want an object quickly; 17, 18, 70.
nenaĝiw, nenaĝi -- fast; 227, 233.
nenatuai -- v. natuai.
nénépenāleg, tu, taĝ -- to claim one's rights; to avenge oneself; 304.
nenesatgitem -- to divide; 118.
nengāĝ -- v. engāĝ.
nengāleg, nengātu -- v. engāleg, engātu.
nengāsi -- to stop; 260.
nengepitgetesinemgewei -- gnawing; 274.
nengepitgetesing, tesg -- to gnash the teeth; 274.
nengetesin, tesg -- to tremble; 274.
nénuātijel -- v. nénaĝ; 138.
nénuitelēmeg, tētem -- to know it in the mind; to remember (in being
given an account of the thing); 118, 183.
nénustaĝ -- to know by the voice, know his voice, the voice; 178, 297.
nēp, nēpen, nēpg -- to die; contr.: npētēs; 20, 33, 42, 43, 120,
(222)226, 233, 240, 292, 296, 302, 310, 317.
nēpai, pan, pat -- to sleep; 89, 242, 261, 265, 287.
nēpaĝ -- to put to sleep; 179.
nēpaĝ, pol, pain -- to kill; 10, 14, 179, 180, 241, 255, 258, 301,
306.

- népsmāsi -- to lie down; 260.
contr.: npasmāsi/tes.
- nēpategeg -- soporific; 267.
- nēpategeg -- poison; 267.
- nēpategei -- to kill; 267.
- nēpātu -- [v. nēpāg] to get for oneself; to make one's living; 179, 211.
- nepewisg -- moonlight; 123.
- nēpīlg, pītem -- to take care of, to give remedies to, as a doctor;
188, 271.
contr.: npit/tes.
- Nepisigwit -- Bathurst; 286.
- nepotegesenāg -- murderer; 256.
- nēpsāleg, nepsātu -- to elevate; raise; 134, 304.
- nepsapāsi -- to look up; 261. No contr.
- nēpsetgwāleg -- to bring up; 304.
- nepsetgwīlapāsi -- to look up; 261. No contr.
- nēptu -- to juggle; to dream, to reflect, to muse; 275, 310.
- nēputitgiga -- the deceased; 126.
- nēs -- three (in combination); 198, 199, 202.
- nēsisiġig, nēsīsgel, nēsīsiliji, nēsīsgāg.
nēsaiġel -- three dollars; 202.
- nesapsġesiġig -- 3 round objects (an.); 202.
- nesapsġeġel -- 3 round objects (inan.); 202.
- nēsipunāi -- I'm three years old; 90, 203.
- nēsipunġeg -- three years; 203; 285.
- nēsīsgēgaġel -- thirty dollars; 202.
- nesoġsiġig -- 3 (long, round) objects (an.); 201;
(inan.)nēsāgal.
- nesoġteġel -- 3 (contents); 202.
- nesugumugw -- to go 3 in a boat; 121, 204.
- nēsugunāg -- three days; 202.
- nēsugunit -- he's 3 days old; this is the 3rd of the month; 202.
- nēsugusalai -- to spend 3 months; 203.
- nēsuleigw -- there are 3 boats; 204.
- nēsunemiġsiġig -- 3 of a kind; 204.
- nēsutanaji -- he takes 3 of them (game); 204.
- nēsutēġig -- to kill 3 of (fishing, or hunting) by striking,
knocking senseless; 204.
- nēsai, san, sat -- to fear, mistrust, to suspect danger; 90.
contr.: nsas.
- nēsaleg, tu, taġ -- to cure; 115, 304.
- nēsamūġwai, ġwan, ġwat -- to drink; 90, 277.
contr.: nsamūġwās.

- néséi -- to be cured; 263.
 contr.: nsé/tew.
- nesesijig -- [v. nesisijig]
- nsgawei, gaweigw, gautigw -- to sing; with gestures and responses; 106.
 contr.: nsgawé. nsgawağan -- this song.
- nsgwağ -- [it talks back]; 185.
- nésisijig, nésisgal, nesisijig -- three (ani., inan.); 41, 49, 70, 198, 199, 204, 205, 257, 274, 285.
- nésisgègsijig, nésisgağal -- thirty (ani., inan.); 41, 199, 202.
- nesisigw -- we are three; 262.
- nespiei, ieigw, iatigw -- to have with oneself; 103, 136, 276, 283.
 wigatigen nespiet -- he has a book.
- nespiei wigigèmgéwei -- a slate (to write on); 136.
- nespitm --v. nsepitew.
- nestağ, 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.
- nèstemalséwè(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.
- nestuimg -- to recover; to correct, warn, instruct; 192, 301.
 nestuimsi -- to recover oneself, to correct oneself.
- nestuimuei -- to correct (in words), to reprimand [intr.]; 192, 268;
 contr.: nsetuimuetew.
- nestuitāsi -- to have the use of reason; 269.
- nesuna- -- have 3 of them; 185.
- Nesusuti -- Trinity; 204.
- nésutağ, tem, temağ -- to fear, mistrust; 170, 263, 297.
- nesutaji -- he kills three; 298.
- nèt -- this, this one, that one; pl. these; 20, 207, 208, 212, 226, 247, 292, 310. p. néğèt.
- netagei -- to be ashamed; (30), (31), (123), (180), (258), 262.
- nétagēiağ, otem, temağ -- to humiliate, to make ashamed; 295.
 contr.: ntageiwas.

NETAIAG

NETUTULI

- nétaiag -- to frighten; 176.
- netatasultinej -- let's go, take care! 237.
- nétatasuti -- intelligence, wisdom; 221.
- netatugulit -- to be a clever hunter; 70.
- netaw -- v. netawi.
- netawağatoğ -- [he handles it cleverly]; 294.
- netawam -- to know how to swim; 120.
- nétawei -- to call, cry out (appropriately), to sell by auction; 25, 186.
- netawei, wig, woltijig -- scouts; 221.
- netawei -- v. ntautiwg.
- netauğamim -- to be skillful in using snowshoes; 278.
- nétawi, natawi, nata, netaw, ntawi -- signifies capacity, ability; (?115), (?178), 189, 207, 221, 259, 289, 296.
[contrary to mési, q.v.]
- netawselg -- to give willingly as food; 187.
- netna -- that's it, all right; that is to say, precisely; that's what; 20, 33, 178, 207, 233, 238, 247, 257, 290.
- nétopligtağ, tem, temağ -- to wrestle against, to revolt, make war; 297.
contr.: ntopligt/uasene1.
- nétuai, ain, aig -- to be a scout, spy; (?52), 74, (?276).
- netugsigtemai -- to obtain necessities (by hunting); in general, to earn a living; lay in provisions; 80, 264.
contr.: ntugsigtemas, entugsigtem.
- netuguli, lin, lit -- to chase, hunt; 70, 227.
fut.: ntug-.
- nétuisgağ -- to sell for someone; 179.
contr.: ntuisgoltes.
- netuisgei -- to sell; 266.
contr.: ntuisge/wanig
- nétuisgemg, gem, genağ -- to sell; 301.
contr.: ntuisgem/atisnu.
- nétuisgétu -- to sell; 130, 134, 224, 275, 308.
contr.: ntuisgétutês.
- netulg, ult, ulajel -- to be missed by someone; 288-9.
- netupeli -- to make war; 207, 259.
- nétutemai -- to reclaim; 264.
- netutuli -- to be capable; clever (in building a canoe); 70.

- new -- four; 23, 199, 205, 317.
néwaigel -- 4 dollars; 202.
néwapsgesijig (an.), néwapsagègel (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.
néwipunāi -- I'm 4 years old; 203.
néwipunèg -- 4 years; 203.
néwisgègaigel -- 40 dollars; 202.
neunasig -- 4 fathoms, spans of the arms; 205.
néunemigsijig -- 4 of a kind; 204.
newògsijig (an.), néwāgel (inan.) -- 4 (long, round) objects; 201.
néutéig -- to kill 4 of (fishing or hunting) by striking or knocking senseless; 204.
néwugunāg -- 4 days; 202.
- new ajiet -- 4 hours; 24.
- newggul -- [v. newjig].
- neugt -- one, an; once, one time; 28, 29, 135, 178, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 227, 228, 257, 267.
néugtagig, néugtaig -- one dollar; 202.
néugtang -- I take one of them (game); 203.
néugtapsgésit (an.), néugtapsgèg (inan.) -- one round object; 202.
néutég, tèt, tajel -- to kill one by striking, knocking senseless; 204.
neugtipunai -- I'm one year old; 90, 203.
neugtipunèg -- one year; 136, 203, 205, 221, 258.
neugtitpāg -- one night; 203.
néugtoḡsit (an.), néugtāg (inan.) -- one (long, round) object; 43, 201, 266.
neugtoḡteg -- one (contents); 202.
néugtugunāg -- one day; 202.
néugtugunit -- he's one day old; this is the 1st of the month; 203.
néugtusalai -- to spend 1 month; 203.
néugtunasig -- one fathom; span of the arms; 205.
néugtunemig -- multiply by one; 205.
neugtunemigsijig -- one of a type; 204.
ngutunenemigsug -- one single family of that sort; 204.
- neugtamugsitijel -- his equal; 259.
- neugt angwiemg -- a generation; 267.
- neugtapsgutig -- the great French sou, the English penny; 202.
- néugté -- one thing; 90, 199, 202, 224, 279, 317.
- neugtējijig -- a group, a class; 255.
- néugtėjit, -tējg -- one (cardinal) person, thing; 33, 41, 89, 120, 189, 199, 208, 211, 224, 255, 257, 308, 309, 317, 318, 320.
néugtejiyg, néugtējgel -- they are one.
- néugtėwistoḡ -- he speaks alone; soliloquy; 204.
- neugti, nguti, ngutei -- the same, only, the same thing; likewise; uniquely; 14, 27, 149, 204, 209, 221, 224, 227, 258, 309.

- néugtigit -- a single progeny, a unique son; only, unique; 33, 204, 259, 292.
- neutisgeg -- one day; a whole day; 203, 227.
- neugtipug -- one winter; 136, 257.
- neugtisgâgawei -- tenth; 22, 200, 257.
- néugtisgêgsijig, néugtisgâgal -- ten; (ani., inan.); 41, 61, 115, 120, 166, 198-9, 204, 282.
- néugtisgêgaigel -- 10 dollars; 202.
- néugtisgêgugunâg -- 10 days; 202.
- newgtisgêgsiliji jel tapu -- 12 (of them); 115.
- neugtitelemg -- (I) think only of (him); 224.
- neugtitpâg -- all night, a night, one night; 31, 227.
- neugt siniwa -- one last time; 228.
- néugtugwaluet -- to be alone; a bachelor; 204.
- newgtung, tunem -- to have (to hold) one of them; 185, 270.
- néugtupistai, tan, tat -- my, yours, his unique (son), privileged, cherished one; 204.
- neugunâg, neugunit -- 4 days; 23.
- néwijig, néuggul -- 4 (ani., inan.); 41, 199, 257, 258, 267.
- newipunai -- to be 4 years old; 90.
- néwisgêgisijig, néwisgâgal -- forty, (ani., inan.); 41, 199, 236.
- neunaji -- he has four of them; 185.
- néwowej -- fourth; 23, 200, 203.
- néwowej élugutimgel -- Thursday (fourth day of the week); 203, 228.
- nâgal- -- v. nâgalg.
- nâgani -- old, used, inconvenient; 35, 221.
- nâgani épitès -- spinster; 35.
- nâgani lpatus -- bachelor; 35.
- nâganîgan -- an old residence; 284.
- nâganigwom -- old hut; Bethlehem; 221.
- nâganipsemun -- chalice; 29, 39, 300.
- nâganoatiten -- [v. nâganopati]
- nâganopati -- well, shaft; 29, 38, 265.
- nâganuisun -- family name; 29, 221.
- nâgapagsun(g) -- bucket (to draw water); 38.
- nâgasaiw, nâgaseg -- v. enâgasaiw.
- nâgasi -- v. nâgsi, enâgasaiw.
- nâgati -- v. nâgat/-i.

- ngatigen -- mine, talent, large coin; 166.
- ne-, ge-, u-ngigug -- my, your, his parents; 247, 282, 298, 315.
[cf. wəngigwim]
- ge/ngigwinaĝ -- (our first) ancestors; 45,254.
- ngu-(tes) -- v. nəĝu.
- nĝwat -- hey! The devil!; 239.
- ngutapew -- (old) bachelor; 35.
- ngutapəwisgw -- (old) spinster; 35.
- ngutei -- [v. neugti]
- nguteji/tew -- [v. neugtejit]
- ngutunenemigsug -- one single family of that sort; 204.
- nguti -- v. neugti.
- ngutisĝegsuti -- about ten [v. neugtisĝəgs-]; 199, 204.
- ngutiw -- at once; 227.
- ngutuapi -- [stay alone!]; 310.
- ngutun-as -- v. newtung.
- nigamulg, mutu, taĝ -- to fatten; 179, 308.
- nigani, niganiw, nigantug -- before, in front of; in advance; 52, 68, 135, 227, 252, 254, 264, 283, 298, 311.
- nigani ĝjijitegewinu(g) -- prophet(s); 135, 227, 252, 254, 283, 298, 311.
- nigantug -- v. niganiw; 227.
- nigatnəĝ, nol, nəin -- to follow; pursue, to privateer; 299.
- nigatnəwei, eigw, nautigw -- to win a race; 106.
- nigé, nigèj -- now; 14, 25, 26, 33, 139, 227, 238, 242, 247, 263, 276, 312.
- nigejewei, wel, weg -- of the present; 227.
- nigé toĝ, nigèj toĝ -- now, now then (conj.); 233, 238.
- nogoĝ -- harpoon; 247.
- Nisgam -- v. Nisgam.
- nigtualeg, tu, taĝ -- to separate; 304, 305.
- Nigula -- [Nicholas]; 270.
- ne-, ge-, uñijan(el); -njan -- your, his child(ren); young; 46, 227, 248, 255, 277, 312, 314, 316. [cf. wəñijanim]
- ne, ge-, uñijgami(j) -- v. nisgami.
- nijgi, gig -- to be cured; 189, 259.
- nijgulg, ult, ulajel -- to cure; 189.

- nijin/tut -- disciples (voc.); 47, (7211).
- nilajéi -- to be pleasant, nice, affable, sociable; 263.
- nīmai, mīmai [obs.], man, mat -- to lay in stock for a trip, have provisions for a voyage; 89, 248, 264.
- nimaḡamigeḡel -- mountain; 302.
- nīmangéwei -- Last Sacrament; 248.
- nimnoḡon(g) -- birch(es); 39.
- nīn -- I, me, my, to me; 14, 20, 50, 51, 57, 64, 76, 136, 139, 144, 158, 170, 180, 183, 193, 194, 200, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 217, 222, 225, 233, 237, 248, 251, 265, 276, 278, 286, 288, 292, 302, 306, 309, 310, 317, 322, 189.
- ninasung, sunem -- to choose; 185, 214, 312.
- nīnen -- we, us [exc.] -- 33, 50, 52, 158, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 248, 259, 276, 277.
- ninènéwei -- ours; 213.
- ninéwei -- mine, my; 23, 41, 213, 309.
- nīnéwi -- it is me; 207, 309.
- ninjaḡuntesin, tesg -- to disgust; 274.
- nipen -- last summer [v. nipg]; 43, 230, 258.
- nipenug -- next summer; [v. nipg] 43, 258.
- nipg -- (the) summer; 30, 43, 123, 258.
- nipi(g) -- leaf, cabbage(s); 17, 18, 27, 34, 39, 40, 41, 143, 189, 248, 257, 276, 289.
- nipi -- night; 227.
- nipij -- little leaf; 268.
- nipisoḡon(el), nipispāḡan(el) -- switch(es); rod(s); 41, 245, 267.
- nipisoḡontèḡ, tol, téin -- to whip; 180, 192.
- nipisoḡontosi -- to flagellate, whip oneself; 192, 262.
- nipispāḡanel -- v. nipisoḡonel.
- nipugt -- forest; 28.
- nipugtug -- of the forest; in the wood; 189, 235.
- nisaḡasi -- to descend (a slope); 304.
- nisāleg, tu, taḡ -- to descend, go down; lower; 18, 134, 251, 304.
- nisapāsi -- to look down; 260.
- nisāsi -- go down, descend (stairs) -- 18, 76, 134, 251, 261, 268, 304.
- nisegei -- to let fall; 267.

- Nisgam (/nisgam/), Nigsam(g) -- God, the gods; oh God!, my God! (in surprise); 11, 14, 25, 26, 29, 31-32, 33, 45, 46, 48, 50, 66, 75, 138, 139, 143, 162, 164, 168, 174, 180, 183, 188, 189, 214, 215, 217, 239, 247, 248, 249, 257, 262, 265, 276, 277, 279, 281, 282, 283, 288, 291, 292, 299, 300, 302, 309, 310, 311, 314, 316, 320.
- nisgaméwāleg, tu, taĝ -- to make God, make worship(self); 304.
- nisgamewasi -- to become God; 32.
- nisgaméwéi, -in, -èg -- to be pious, consecrated to God, holy, divine, to hold as God; 23, 32.
- nisgaméwi, in, it, ig -- to be God; 23, 32, 70, 229, 279, 288.
- nisgamewigan -- the temple of God, or simply holy, consecrated to God; 284.
- Nisgaméwigia -- Mother of God; 23, 32.
- nisgaméwitāsi, -tələmg, təlgei, tətēm, tətəgei -- to believe (in) God; 32.
- nisgaméuti -- divinity; 23, 32, 139.
- ne-, ge-, u-, nisgami(j)-el, nijgami(j)/el -- my, your, his grandfather; 26, 32, 46, 48, 215, 222, 248, 288, 290, 314, 315.
- nisgamijui -- to be a grandfather; 288.
- nisiei -- to fall (from high up); 143, 267, 268.
- nisimjuateg -- having come down; 189.
- nisiw -- in descending; downwards; 232.
- niwèi, n, t -- to dry up; 107.
- niwéteg -- the sea is low [cf. niwéi]; 107.
- niwiljai -- to have clean hands; 266.
- niwipsgunai, nan, nat, naĝ -- to be haggard, dropsical; 265.
- ne-, ge-, u-, njan, -el -- v. ne, ge, u-, nijan; 315.
- noĝom, men, ĝoĝ, ĝultigw -- to cough; 121, 248.
- npai -- v. nepa-.
- npasamāsi-/ -- v. népasmasi.
- npé -- v. nèp.
- npeg -- death; [cf. nep]; 222, 226.
- npi- -- v. nèp.
- npjipotem -- [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
- npu- -- v. nèp.

NPUAGAN

NTETLI

- npuagan -- agony, death; 265, 268, 301.
npuinu, nusgw -- a dead, deceased person; 253, 257.
nsa- -- v. nésai.
nsamuḡwā-s -- v. nésamuḡwai.
nsa/t/ui, nsal- -- v. nésaleg.
nsé -- v. néséi; 263.
nsepitew -- he'll remain; 225.
nsèt- -- v. nestaḡ.
nsetemalséwèt -- v. nèstemalséwèt.
nsetemalseuti -- interpretation; 197.
nsètnaḡan -- orphan; 29, 288.
nsetnaḡani -- to be an orphan; 288.
nsetueg -- v. nestuei, oltigw.
nsétuim- -- nèstuimg.
nsetuimue--- v. nestuimuei.
nsgāsijel -- [?extending his hand]; 189.
nsgātiegel -- [?who carries his hand]; 212.
Nsgawaḡan -- Micmac song; 30, 32, 106.
Gunato gwanuté éigé ~~ganatuguné~~. Response: aé (/ahé/). Final
sigh: awia! (/hawiha/)!
nsgawé- -- v. nesgawei.
nspètḡ -- at the same time; 30, 227.
nsuḡunaḡ -- v. nès (nèsugunaḡ).
nsut/a- -- nésutaḡ.
ntagei -- v. nétageiaḡ.
ntaḡoḡon -- (sense of) shame; pl.: shameful conduct, shameful things,
pleasures, etc.; 30, 31, 123, 180, 258.
ntaḡoḡonei -- ashamed; 30.
ntawe- -- v. netawei.
ntawi -- v. netawi.
ntautiwḡ -- [if we couldnt talk]; 280.
nteliej -- v. tliaj.
ntemḡ -- 309.
ntemḡewel -- songs; 218.
nteḡlug -- armies; 30, 200, 259, 288.
nteḡlulg -- warship; 259.
ntetli -- [? v. tetli]; 284.

- ntoĝ -- song; 32, 227. (telintoĝ)
- ntoĝo, ntoĝw -- then, next; 227, 238, 290.
- ntoplight- -- v. netoplightaĝ.
- ntu/tew -- [?v. netuai]; 52, 276.
 'ntutesg; ntutoĝsep.
- ntugsigtem- -- v. netugsigtema/i.
- ntuguli- -- v. netuguli. ntuisg- -- v. netuisg-.
- ntuowinu, nusgw; nujintoĝ -- a singer; 253.
- ntupliwèg -- v. netupeli-.
- ntutem- -- v. netutemai.
- nu -- father, daddy, papa, you my father (vocative) [cf. -uj];
 17, 18, 46.
- nuel -- the implication is; 18.
- nuèl -- Christmas; 17, 249. [< Fr. Noël]
- nuelewingewaj -- Christmas (Noel); 143.
- nugtem -- to pulverize; 290.
- nuĝu, nuĝuj -- henceforth, from now on, in the future; 133, 175, 227,
 248, 261, 263, 275, 286.
- nuĝwaltuĝwat -- to have a beautiful head of hair; [cf. nalĝweg]; 264.
- nuĝwaltuĝweg, ĝosi -- (v. nalĝweg, nalĝosi)
- nugwaltugon(g) -- v. nalgun(g).
- nugujewij -- let that be enough for just now; stop; 227.
- nuĝum -- v. eĝum.
- nugumi -- grandmother (vocative); [v. -ugumi]; 46.
- nujeiwaji -- [she guides them; looks after them, teaches them]; 316.
- nuji -- 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.
- nuji apoĝonemuet -- assistant; 102.
- Nuji Gaĝamatawalsèwet -- the intermediary; 102.
- nuji gestunèpilewet -- hanged; 307.
- nuji ginamuet -- a master teacher, instructor; 221.
- nuji ĝjijiteĝet -- a learned man; 135.
- nujigsi eulitètèĝet -- the Very Merciful One; 255.
- nuji gtanit -- adversary; 51.
- nuji maĝatuigetitij -- bankers; 164.

NUJI NEPATEGET

NUTANTEGESENAG

- nuji nepateget -- executioner; butcher; 267.
nuji nsaluet -- doctor; 304.
nujintoĝ -- v. ntuowinu.
Nuji Pgwatawalséwet -- the Redeemer; 102.
nuji sgāĝanet -- doorkeeper, gatekeeper; 284, 288.
nuji tpeletégèt, nuji tpeletégéwinu -- judge.
nuji tpiĝet -- the Indian agent (the distributor); 102, 175, 191.
nuji ugsetawiwet -- the Savior; 22, 175.
nuji ugsuatégèt -- an officer of the police, policeman; 135, 194.
nuji wigiget, wigigewinu -- secretary; 253.
nujotegewinu -- guardian, pastor; 288.
nujotegewinui -- to be a guard, pastor; 288.
nujotemulĝuj -- [let him take care of our property]; 276.
nujotĝ -- protect; 189.
nulmitetem -- know by heart, ponder, ruminate; 221.
nulmiw, nulmi -- by heart, from memory; secretly, in the heart; 221, 248.
nunai, nan, nat -- to suck the breast; be at the breast; 89, 248.
 nunei (Rand)
 nuntijig
 nunetijig (Maillard)
munalg, atem, temaĝ -- to suck the breast, to suck; 307.
nuségen -- to poke, stir; 248.
nusesgw -- female animal (added to generic noun); 35.
nusèsgwalg -- to nourish; to give the breast; 307.
nusetogon -- my salvation; 189.
nusugwai, gwan, gwat -- to follow; 90.
nusugug, gut gwajel -- to follow, come after, imitate; 236, 294.
nusumsgw -- female beaver; 36.
nutaĝ, nutem -- to hear; 14, 118, 178, 200, 226, 242, 274, 275, 280, 297, 309, 312.
nutaĝ -- lack, incomplete; 227.
nutagwei, gutigw-- 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, taĝ -- to lack something, incomplete; 272.
nutamai, man, mat -- to lack to not have enough of, to be short of (something); 88, 248, 274, 289, 290.
nutantégésenaĝ -- murderer; 210.

- nutapteget -- an inspector, supervisor; 221.
- nutasi -- to be knowing, to understand; 261.
- nutatesin, tesg -- to come to lack, to come short; 274.
- nutaugtigemuei -- to conduct, guide, to be the pastor, shepherd; 88, 268.
- nutem -- [v. nutag]
- nutemai -- to learn, hear; hear said; 242, 264.
- nutgwei, éin, èg, g̃woltijig -- 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.
- ogolomgwetesing, tesg -- to fall forward; 273.
- ogomg, tigw, tijig -- to separate; 226, 302, 312, 317.
- ogonipwātu -- to cache, to hide in the ground, to cover with earth, by extension, to inter, to bury; 133.
- ogosi(g) -- (finger)nail, claw; 9, 14, 16, 38, 182.
- ogotai -- intimate friend, companion, husband, wife, close buddy (used only between husband and wife); 16, 22, 27, 47, 258.
- ogotgwètèg -- to attach, fasten; 180, 257, 312.
- og̃sit, -ag̃ -- (so many) long, round objects (ani., inan.); 201.
 neugtõg̃sit -- one long, round object.
 tapuõg̃sijig -- an.
 tapuãg̃ -- inan.
- og̃teg -- (so much) contents; 202, 205.
 neugtõg̃teg -- one.
- og̃w, og̃uj -- for; indeed; 11, 14, 177, 183, 189, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 287, 309, 318.
- og̃wai, an, at, ag̃ -- to land, to arrive by boat, to debark; 11, 14, 16, 24, 89, 251.
- og̃watenug -- from the north; 106.
- og̃watg̃ -- the north, wind from the north; 123.
- og̃watnõg̃éwei -- of the north; 254.
- n/ogumaw, g/ogumaw, w/ogumal; -ogemaw/-ogemal -- my, your, his cousin; 284, 313.
- olipé -- (Garden of) Olives; 16.
- o o o! o Nišgam -- oh God!: 238.
- oo ('oho/) -- oh! call, echo; 238.

- o^{pe}lgwijāleg -- v. oplāleg.
o^{pe}lteg -- [it's in the wrong place]; 276.
o^{pl}āleg, tu, taġ; o^{pe}lgwijāleg -- to offend, profane; 133, 275, 302, 303.
o^{pl}atēġei -- I do evil, bad; 16.
o^{pl}ēi, leg, loltijig -- to be awry; 262.
o ugjit -- oh! for...; 238.
ba -- certainly; 18, 75, 90, 138, 153, 164, 183, 187, 189, 206, 209, 211, 220, 222, 224, 225, 228, 232, 233, 235, 237, 239, 248, 251, 256, 257, 289, 290, 295.
paġalai, ain, aig -- to be astonished, surprised, to admire; 74, 141.
paġalang, paġalapterem -- to see with astonishment, to admire; 53, 271.
paġalasterem, men, teg -- to hear with astonishment, admiration; 271.
paġāleg, tu, taġ -- to bite; 304.
paġaluei -- to bite; 221, 268.
m^{pa}ġam -- back, 226, 274, 320. n^{pa}ġam, g-, uġ -- my, your, his back.
n-, g-, u^{pa}ġam -- behind me, you, him; 231, 236, 320.
paġamġ, aptem, temaġ -- to see clearly, completely; to take complete account of; 271, 301, 312.
paġa^{pe}niaġ -- the full day; 268.
paġapterem -- [v. paġamġ]; 271.
paġa^{pe}fuġoti -- confession; complete confession; 118, 140, 221, 233.
paġa^{pe}pugateġei -- to hear a confession; 267.
pā^{pe}fuġuaterem -- to confess (one's sins); 118.
paġa^{pe}fuġuei, èn, èt -- to confess one's sins; 25, 102, 178, 219, 225, 229, 248, 276.
paġasaluei -- to plunge; to make sink; 268.
contr.: p^{pe}asaluetew.
paġasiāleg, tu, taġ -- to make fall into the water; to immerse; 304.
paġasiei -- to sink (intr.); fall in the water; 55, 268.
paġatasi -- to be bitten; 304.
paġateterem -- to be certain of a thing; 270.
paġēġei, ġeigw, ġetigw -- to throw everything; 101.
paġenatġ, temaġenatġ, tomaġenatġw -- shaft, tube; 256, 289, 290.
paġewimeġeg -- Passover; 236.
paġewimg -- Easter; 142.
paġewimeġeg -- past.

- paġi -- completely (a bit stronger than gaġi, q.v.) (pertains to quality); 180, 221.
- paġosi(g) -- lily; 39.
- paġsi -- to prepare fish, to cut it; 261.
- paġtaġam -- the desert; 248, 251, 316.
- paġtapateg -- the light of the sun; sunshine; 183.
- paġtasi/n -- [glare, radiate]; 183.
- paġtateg -- the sun's light; 269.
- paġtesg, tesem -- to fill with smoke; 182.
- paġtesit -- he is sick of it; 182.
- pagwesing, gwesg -- shoal, shallow; 274.
- pajiji, pėjili, pajijiw -- very, above; 18, 26, 33, 51, 149, 150, 153, 189, 221, 222, 248, 251.
- pajijiei -- to surpass; 54, 221.
- pajijienat -- ht is a great deal stronger than I; 51.
- Palaon -- Pharaon; 309.
- pananġātu -- to open a book; 134.
- panātu -- to open; 134.
- panġamigāleg, tu, taġ -- to deter; 304.
- paniaġ -- spring; 43, 225.
- panianug -- next spring; 43, 258.
- paniljāsi -- to open the hand; 134.
- paniljātu -- to open another's hand; 134.
- pansaġātu -- to open with a key; to unlock; 134.
- pantaġtesing -- new moon; 274.
- pantātu -- to open (a door); 134, 288.
- panueg -- [an opening, clearing]; 230.
- Papėwagi -- where the Pope lives (Rome); 246.
- paġėwit -- Pope; 23, 188, 248, 257.
- pagġāsi -- to go downstream; descend; go down; 76, 232, 248.
- pagġeg -- below, downstream; 27, 232, 248, 251.
- paġi, in, it -- play; 18, 70, 189, 259, 276.
- paġig, itu, itaġ -- to play with something, someone; 143, 293.
- papuaġan -- game; 24, 270.
- paseg -- but [cf. pasig, sig]; 32, 143, 294.

- pasegi -- to have a thick skin; 259.
paséluj -- sparrow; 246, 251, 255.
pasgèsgemuatal -- she'll crush it; 45.
pasginetasing, tesg -- burst; 274.
pasgusi -- to sleep deeply; 262.
pasi -- [v. epāsi]; 18.
pasig -- v. sig; 224.
pastungéwaj, géwisgw -- an American; 253.
patāleg, tu, tag̃ -- to sin against; 304.
pataluti -- table; 208.
patasuti -- iniquity; 51, 182, 310.
patātegei -- to commit sins, to sin; 95, 104, 267.
patategwinu -- sinner; 302.
patatujei -- [left]; 319, 320.
n/patatujeḿ -- my/left hand; 319.
patatujgèl -- on the left side; 235.
pategisg, gisgeg -- the weather gets bad; 123.
patgwi -- [go close to]; 258.
Patis -- Baptist; 249, 251.
pātliās(g) -- priest(s); n/pātliāsem, g-, ug- -el; 29, 35, 46, 48,
165, 178, 207, 232, 237, 248, 251, 258, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288,
311.
pātliasewi -- to be a priest; 187, 288.
pātliāsisgw -- nun; schoolmistress; 29, 35.
patliasjij -- clergyman; 48, 258.
pawéi, pawoltijig -- to be slow; lazy; 228.
pawi -- slowly; 228.
paw/isi -- to speak slowly; 262.
pé -- v. pəl.
péğaj, péğajiw -- entirely, from top to bottom; 89, 222.
péğajéi, éin, èg -- to be right, pure, well conserved; 75, 226.
péğajéiag̃, atem, temağ̃ -- to protect the right, the security of it;
conserve, save; 272, 295.
péğat -- last quarter from the end; 222.
peğenetg -- it gets dark; 123.
peğenitpağ̃ -- v. poğonitpağ̃.

- m/pégig, m/puğug(ul); n/pegigul, n/pugugul; g-; ug- -- eye(s);
280, 300, 319.
- peğijeg, peğiji, peji -- long, a long time; 90, 228, 266, 288, 290,
315.
- peğilew, -lağ -- glass; 39.
peğilewigtug teli gségèlumugsin -- honorable vase.
- pegisin, nen, sing, sultigw, pejitaieg -- to come, arrive; 33, 53,
56, 62, 63, 121, 236, 274, 276, 309, 310, 312.
contr.: pgisintes.
- peğisitu, péjotu -- to bring, to fetch [cf. wèjgwāleg]; 135, 211, 251,
275, 310.
contr.: pgisitutes.
- peğisulg, siṭu; suṭu -- bring, lead to; 189, 229, 242, 308.
contr.: pgisulas.
- peğisutāsi -- to be brought; 261, 309.
- peğitgatem, men, -tg -- to remain for a long time in one spot; 117.
contr.: peğitgattew.
- pegitnem -- to hold a long time; 270, 322.
contr.: ḡ
- pegitnematingewei(-wel) -- sacrifice(s); 182, 258, 268, 308.
- peğitnemuei -- to make an offering, a sacrifice; 268.
- peğitpi- -- to be seated for a long time; 228.
- peğittu, tun, tağ -- to be late in coming; 276.
- peğitualuet -- the Long Beard (former chief of Cape Breton); 40.
- peğwaleg, 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.: ḡ
- pegwang, pegwanem -- to help, to alleviate (a sickness), to move; 184.
contr.: pegwansit.
- pegwatag, tai -- to cause to have, to procure, to be the cause; 165,
197.
contr.: ḡ
- peğwatasi, sin, sit -- to procure, to make for oneself; 72, 295.
- peğwatatingéwei élueṭi -- scandal; 72, 187.
- peğwatawalséwei -- to redeem; 102.
- pegwatawalseug -- to do that for someone, to procure it by intervening
or mediation; 159, 197, 294.
- peğwatélağ, lem -- to buy; 119, 159, 177, 277.
- pegwateligei, geigw, getigw -- to buy, make a purchase; 101, 241.
contr.: pegwateliğetes.

- pegwateluei -- to buy; 268.
- pegwategei -- to make; to be the cause; 267.
- peigwi, peigwiw -- throughout, entirely, everywhere; 224, 232, 300.
- peji -- [accidentally]; 175.
- pejilāsi -- 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.: 𐀀
- pejili, pjili, pejiliw, pjiliw -- more, further, superior, by comparison; prefix of preference [cf. pajiji], 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 apjitingewei -- the highest benefit, the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist; 174.
- pejiligenai -- (to be) stronger; 51, 309.
- pejili Nasgwet -- the holy Virgin; 287.
- pejipug -- the winter close at hand; 43, 276.
- pejipuluei -- to ride on a horse; 290.
- pejitaieg -- [v. pegisin]
- pejotu -- v. pegisitu.
- pejū -- [codfish]; 32.
- pèl, pé -- stop! listen! wait!; 18, 20, 27, 194, 226, 241, 248, 271.
- pelamuegei, -muagatigw; pelamuḡwei, ḡutigw -- to fish for salmon; 105.
- pelātu -- to miss, lack; 133.
- pelemsgw -- male beaver; 36.
- peles -- pigeon; swallow (L. passer), 181, 246, 251, 255.
- pèl ḡasgew -- wait a little; 226.
- peli -- ?fail (to do something); 188.
- Pelnal -- Bernard; 248.
- pemaḡamim, men, mig, multigw -- to walk in snowshoes, advance; 121.
- pemaḡsin, sinen, sing, seg -- to fly; 272.
- pemāleg, tu, taḡ -- to carry; 18, 134, 143, 295, 304, 307.
contr.: pmalas.
- pemaluei -- to carry, transport in a cart; 268.
- pemam, mamen, maḡ, moltigw -- to swim; 120.
- pemangeleg -- the flame burns; 267.
- pemapèg -- hereditary; 222.

PEMAPEGSIT

PEPSEIAG

- pemaþegsit -- to come by generation; 222.
pemaþei, þeg -- to last; 268.
þemaugsuaþan -- life, existence; 286.
þemaugsuinu -- a person, a living person; 253.
þemaulei, latigw -- to carry on the back; 267.
þemguaþi -- [he surpassed them]; 316.
þemie, -iaþ -- to go, advance; 222.
þemig -- to last; 222.
þemigisþeg -- until today; 296.
þemi niþg -- during the summer; 258.
þemþit -- to trot; 222.
þemipug -- during the winter; 43, 249, 258.
þemipuluei -- to ride a horse; 268, 290.
þemi sigw -- during the spring; 258.
þemiteþei -- to make things grow; 136.
þemitg, þemþegitg -- it flows; 123.
þemitþwaþ -- [during the autumn]; 258.
þemlugwei -- continue to work; 222.
þemnigei -- to advance with one's load; 266.
þemnisie/jig -- [they're/falling]; 276.
þemþegitg -- v. þemitg.
þenten(g) -- mountain, chain of mountains; 38, 256, 265, 288, 289.
302.
þemtesgaþ -- to pass beyond [lit. and fig.]; 295.
þemtesgesing, gesg -- agitated, tossed; 274.
þemuigigei -- continue writing; 222.
þemuptu -- to carry on the back; 275.
þenegunemaþ -- to give from on high; 33, 178, 183.
þenesgwit -- a litter of animals (added to generic noun); 35.
þenèt -- she lays (eggs); eggs of fowl; 36, 248.
þeniasgwit -- a litter of whales, seals, etc. (added to generic noun); 35.
þ/penoþitelmau -- [think nasty things about]; 210.
þenoþitèlem atiseniga
þenoþwāleg, tu, taþ -- to disparage, humiliate (by action); 304, 310.
þepsāleg, tu, taþ -- to scorn, disdain, to value little, despise; 248,
304.
þepsēiag, oþem, temaþ -- to have the upper hand; to disdain; 295.

- pépsitèlematiĵi -- to feel scorn toward, to scorn; 210.
- pepsitelgėi -- 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.
- Pėsa -- Vincent; 12, 14.
- pesaĝ -- it is snowing; 91, 248, 309.
contr.: psatew, psaj
- peseg, pesetu -- to feel, sense; to scent, smell; 182, 275, 276, 284.
- pėsėmgėwei, pėsgėmgėwei, wėg -- image, relic of a saint; object of piety; images, medallions; badge; 14, 39, 184, 266, 296.
- pėsgāleg, tu, taĝ -- to divert, move aside; 304.
- pesgāleg -- to remove the skin; 304.
- pesgātami -- to skin (eels) with the teeth; 259.
- pesgategei -- to remove the skin; 267.
- pesgatpategei -- to scalp; 267.
- pėsgeg, pėsgem -- to fire a gun at someone; something; 181, 269.
- pesgengeweg -- v. pesemgeweg.
- pėsgeteg -- the gun goes off; it fires; 107, 181, 291.
- pesgewei -- gun; 34, 107, 181, 248, 288, 291.
- pėsgėwei, in, it -- to have a gun; 288.
- pėsgėweiam -- to use a gun; 288.
- pėsgėweimi -- to carry a gun; 288.
- pėsgitpāleg, tu, taĝ; pėsigpāleg -- to break (bonds); 304.
- pesgwesawei, sautigw -- to harvest, to mow, to reap; 268.
contr.: epsgwesawetew
- pesgwesem, men, sg -- to mow, to harvest, to shear, reap; 119, 182, 262, 275.
contr.: pseĝwestes, əpsĝwės-
- m-, n-, g-, ug/pesgun -- v. m/pusgun.
- pesgunatėg -- nine; 41, 199, 201, 203, 250.
- pėsgunatėgėwei -- ninth; 23, 200.
- pėsgunatėg tėsijig, tėsigel -- nine; 199.
- pėsgunatėg tėsisgaĝ -- ninety; 199.
p. tėsisgėgsijig, -gaĝal.
- pesgitg -- it flows in a fork (windsor); 123.
- pėsigpāleg -- v. pėsgitpāleg.

- pesigwei, pesiŋuŋwei, gweigw, gutigw -- to drive wood down the river; 106.
- peslutaŋanel, peslutegemgewel -- parables; 267.
- peslutegei -- to speak in figures, parables; 267.
- pésogaugtigemai -- to err; 264.
- pésogopsgāleg, tu, taŋ -- to miss (duty, road, train) (being in need of it); to violate (commandments); 134, 304.
- pésogwātu -- to escape, to divert; 134.
- pebsites -- v. epsi.
- pestiéalw, atem -- to celebrate, to keep as a holiday; 187.
[<Fr. fester]
- pèstiéwimg -- feast; 12, 14, 70, 251.
[< Fr. feste]
- pestungei -- to preach; 266.
- pestunm -- preach; 115.
- pésuātu -- to dry up; 134.
- pesūŋwei, gwai, -gweugw, gultigw -- to leap up; to rush headlong; 106.
- pétagan -- tart, pie; 25, 27, 248, 251.
- peŋaŋuŋuei -- to swear, in surprise; 267.
- petelg -- v. pètleŋ.
- pètgimg -- to scold, blame; 211, 301.
- pètleŋ, petelg, let, lajel -- to catch with a line or nets; 307.
- petlugŋit -- caught in the line; the nets; 307.
- petniāŋ -- [v. petteniaŋ]
- pèttegitèm, témaŋ -- to cut accidentally (with an axe), injure with an axe; 299.
- petteniaŋ, petniāŋ -- the wind rises; 107, 268.
- pèttesgāŋ -- to meet by chance; 295.
- pettew -- sauce, soup; 256.
- pettéwei -- tea [no pl.]; 23, 27, 256.
- petteweiog -- teapot, infusion, decoction; 23, 256.
- pèttésumatigw -- to give a tea, to have a tea party; 256, 264.
- pèttogsi -- to be injured accidentally with an axe (by another); 299.
- pèttosi/t -- he/injures himself with an axe accidentally; 299.
- pétulg, pétulgig, pétulujig -- to capture fish in the nets; 308.
- péwai, -wan, -at -- to dream; 23, 89.
- péwalg, 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.

- péwam, wamen, waĝ -- to sweep; 23, 114, 120.
 contr.: 𐄀
- pewasgesetēgei, getijig -- to beat grain; 266.
- peugjalĝēg, ĝol, ĝéin, ĝot -- to pierce; 299.
- péwig, -wul, -win, péwitu -- to dream about someone, something; 134,
 175.
 contr.: puina-
- péwigēi, geigw, getigw -- to sweep; 101.
 contr.: puigétes
- péulg, péutam, péutegei -- to scorch; singe; 308.
- pegajot- -- v. pegajotem.
- pegaluet -- v. pegalueti.
- pegan -- walnut [Fr. noix]; 30.
- peganj, peganjig, malipeganj -- hazel-nuts; 30.
- pegasaluetew -- v. pegasalueti.
- pegasietew -- v. pegasietei.
- pegaw, pegag or pegawag -- spruce bark(s); 39.
- pegawigan(el) -- hut; tepee covered with spruce bark; 39.
- pegetaig -- [v. pegetaig]
- pegewēig -- v. pegewēig.
- pegeweiētāg -- v. pegeweiēi.
- (tali)/pegiji -- [v. pegijig]
- pegisin-tes -- v. pegisin.
- pegisitu -- v. pegisitu.
- pegisul-as -- v. pegisulg.
- pegitĝat- -- v. pegitĝatem; 117.
- pegitnem -- v. pegitnem.
- pegōĝsigen -- awiu pegōĝsigen -- censer; 218.
- pegōĝt -- bump, bruise, hump; 30.
- pegōju -- fugitive; 30.
- pegotnanj -- bastard; 30.
- pegu(g) -- gum(s), resin, incense, wax; 30, 39, 184, 265, 276, 289.
- pegwal-, pegwat- -- v. pegwaleg.
- pegwan- -- v. pegwang.
- pegwataĝutew -- v. pegwataĝ; 165.
- pegwatawalsewet -- v. pegwatawalsewet.

- pgwatawalsew/i- -- v. pgwatawalseug.
- pgwatel- -- v. pégwatélem.
- pgwatelige -- v. pegwateligei.
- pgwatu/an -- v. pégwaleg.
- pguig -- there is some gum; 289.
- pgumagan(él), epgumagan -- weapon, whip, birch-rod; club;
n/pugumagan, g-, ug- -- my, your, his weapon; 30, 256, 268, 289,
323.
- pgwoĝ(ug) -- incense-box(es) -- 30, 39.
- pgutenemi -- to have fire [cf. pugtew]; 289.
- pi -- [v. epi]
- pianĝil -- to be very large; 121.
- piami -- [much more]; 241.
- piël -- Pierre, Peter; 11, 14, 18, 24, 44, 50, 52, 240, 288, 321.
- piesgemin -- ear of corn, maize; 201, 266.
- piesgeminĝei -- 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.
- pigweluĝunaĝ, pugweluĝunaĝ -- a good many days; 91.
- pigun -- feather; 18, 248, 251.
- pij -- [v. epit]
- pijatogol -- [he puts them in]; 319.
- pijoĝosuti(g) -- pin, knob, latch; 39.
- pijoĝosuti(1) -- bud; 249, 251.
- Pilat -- v. Pos Pilat.
- pilei, pilĕg, pilĕl -- new, fresh; 40, 222, 248, 254, 257, 261, 301.
- pilei ilagutaĝan -- New Testament; 301.
- pilĝwan -- new garment; 288.
- pili- new [cf. pilei]; 222.
- piloĝwet -- parakeet; 224.
- pilsĕiaĝ, otem, temaĝ -- to unduly mistreat; 295.
- pilsimg, simul, simin -- to bear false witness; calumniate; 183, 295.
- piltuateget -- strange conduct; 222.
- piltuei, piltueg; piltui -- strange, new, singular, first, peculiar;
26, 222.

- piltug -- new rope; 222.
- piluegwat -- reddens, blushes; 317.
- piluei, pilui -- something else, other, different, another; 25, 40, 168, 180, 212, 222, 287, 300.
- piluimāi -- to smell; 265.
- piluitelgei -- to be jealous; 266.
- pimai, man, mat -- to chase birds; hunt birds; 89, 248.
- Pinueg -- Kentville; 248.
- Pio -- Pius; 18, 24, 257.
(< Fr. Pie)
- pipanim/atiji -- interrogate; 319.
- pipanuijgatem -- to examine, scrutinize; 118.
- pipnaġan(ēl) -- bread; 14, 27, 43, 48, 141, 169, 196, 248, 251, 257, 288, 300.
- pipnaġanégei -- to go look for, to procure, bread; 197.
- pipnaġanemi -- to have bread; 288.
- pipnaganēwalesis -- (to make as) bread; 196.
- pipnaġani -- to be bread; 286, 288.
- pipnaġanjij -- small bread, a little bit of bread; 48.
- pipnaġsigen -- a bread morsel, griddle cake; slice of bread; 48, 248, 251.
- ḡipnaġsigenuj -- little morsel, mouthful of bread; 48, 248-9.
- pipnoġ -- kneading-trough; 248.
- pipnujaġamatil -- [look at oneself in a mirror]; 149.
- piptoġoġwātu, piptoġwātu -- to make round; 134.
- piptoġospsġāleg, tu, taġ -- to fashion (mold) into a circle, a ring; to form, mold; 30, 33, 134, 304.
- pipugwaġanel -- instruments; 135.
- pipugwam/ajel -- [he/toots his horn at/him]; 312.
- pipugweug -- to play for someone; 294.
- pis -- flea; 20, 249.
- pisgataġan -- chain; 249.
- pisgiaġ -- late, dark, black; 107, 220, 267.
- pisgwai, an, at, aġ; pisgwetājig -- to enter; 24, 27, 51, 91, 205, 210, 212, 238, 276, 285, 310.
- pisgwāleg, tu, taġ -- to bring in (various things); 134, 304.
- pisgwĒtagwi -- v. pisgwai.

- piswolġ, gwoṭu, taġ -- to bring in, to introduce a quantity of; 134, 308.
 pisi, sin, sit -- to be inside; contained; 70.
 pisuiw -- in vain, uselessly, (consequently), freely, gratuitously; 26.
 pitaġ, piṭogsit -- long (inan., ani.); 43, 187, 257, 277, 322.
 pitaġawel -- trousers; 43.
 piṭalġeġ -- it is deep, high; 38.
 piṭaluat -- to have a long tail; 264.
 piṭapēgātu -- to lengthen; 134, 275.
 piṭasuim, men, ig, ultigw -- to walk in the snow; 121.
 piṭaw -- higher up, up-river, up-stream; 15, 22, 27, 232.
 piṭawam, wamen, waġ -- to row, swim against the current; 22.
 piṭawāsi, -in, it -- to go up, ascend; to go upstream; 22, 76, 232, 248.
 Pitaṭoġ -- 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/pitenoġom -- arm; 319.
 n/pitenoġom, g-, ug-
 pitgasoġon -- horn; 307.
 pitgematem, men, atg -- to load (a ship, cart); 117.
 pitgwiatiġw -- v. epitgwiei.
 pitlamuṭem -- to make long (syllable, note, etc.); 272.
 pitliġai, ġan, ġat -- to have a long stride; 90.
 pitligan -- a new residence; 284.
 pitligasi, sin, sit -- to take a long stride; 90.
 piṭoġsit -- v. pitaġ.
 pittalu/a -- lion; 305.
 pitteġei -- to put an offering in the collection box; 267.
 pituaġan(el) -- hill(s); 256, 276, 288, 289.
 pituġurġ -- 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 mtêlnaġan -- one thousand; 199, 200, 222.
 pitui mtêlnaġanijġ, pitui mtêlnaġanel -- one thousand (ani., inan.); 41.
 pitui nisgamiġ -- great grandfather; [in past] ancestor; 48, 222, 315.

- pitui ujiji -- great-grandson; great-grandchild; 222, 283, 315.
pjilāsi! -- v. pejilāsi.
pjilgig- -- v. pejilgil.
pjili, pjiliw -- v. pejili.
m/plaḡan -- the front, chest; 320.
n/plaḡaneg, g-, u(g)-; n/usgalug, g-, usgalug -- before, in front of
me, you, him; 231, 236, 308, 320.
Plans -- France; 285.
Plansué, Plansua, Plasua -- François; 12, 14.
Plasit -- Placide; 30.
plasolg -- schooner; 30.
Plasua -- v. Plansué.
plawèj -- partridge; 30, 181.
plegu/l -- nails; 126, 208.
Plisit -- Brigitte; 30.
plos -- brush; 30. [Fr. brosse]
pma/l/as, pma/t- -- v. pemāleg.
pmaule/tew -- v. pemaulei.
pmi- (< pemi) indicates walking, carrying on; 30, 91, 276, 303.
pmiei -- walk; 219, 276, 281.
poḡajitèlemeg, tètè, temāḡ -- to scorn; 300.
poḡji (jit), poḡt -- beginning; 70, 212, 225, 228.
poḡjigiteḡ -- his conception; 225.
poḡjipig -- [it's (suprisingly) starting to run again]; 272.
poḡjit -- he flees; 228, 249.
poḡonitpaḡ, peḡenitpaḡ -- dark night; in general, obscurity, dark-
ness; gloom; gloomy night; 31, 91, 123, 179.
poḡt -- v. poḡji.
poḡtaḡamim -- to leave on showshoes; 278.
poḡtaḡaptegemḡ -- to look at only one object; 224.
poḡtaḡei, in èḡ -- to be alone; 249.
poḡtaḡi -- uniquely; 224.
poḡtaḡitāsimg -- fixed idea; 224.
poḡtamagāsi -- to leave (by land); depart; 61, 76, 228, 241, 242, 249.
poḡtamgiaḡawé-i -- I am the beginning; 76.
poḡtamgiei -- to go by land; 76.
poḡteḡim/aji -- he/ordained them; 115.

POGTELUGWEI

(H)PUGUM

- poġtelugwei -- I begin to work; 228.
poġtenigei -- to set out loaded; 266.
Pol -- Paul; 20, 50, 52, 249.
Pos Pilat -- Pontius Pilate; 20, 33, 42. [< Fr. Ponce Pilate]
Postun -- U.S.A.; 246. [< Boston]
pötlötdög -- Indian island at Cape Breton; 10, 14.
psa- -- v. pesag.
pseġwes- -- pesgwesem.
psigpat- -- v. pèsigitpāleg.
ptéġim- -- v. pētġimġ.
pua- -- v. pəwai, pəwam.
puāgan -- dream; 24.
puat- -- v. pewatem.
puésu, puésuaġ -- bushel(s); 25, 39, 70, 205; [< Fr. boisseau]
(-)pug -- winter; 43, 77, 222, 249, 258.
 wéjġuipug -- (the) winter (that) comes.
 péjipug -- the winter close at hand.
 pémipug -- during the winter.
 gtéġipug -- last winter.
 aġtaġug -- in the middle of winter.
Pugseg -- Charlottetown; 27, 249.
pugsuġ(ul) -- piece(s) of firewood; woods; 30, 40, 249, 277, 288, 308.
pugsugemi, -gumi -- I have some (fire)wood; 288.
pugsuġwi, ġwig -- to be woods; there are woods; 288.
pugtenemai, mang -- to have a fireplace, a place of assembly; 289.
pugtew -- fire; 23, 270, 289.
pugtewéjij, majis(el) -- match; 23.
pugtewi, wig -- to be fire; there is one; 289.
pugtéwġ -- intoxicating beverage (fire water); liquor; 31, 79, 289.
pugtəwəġwom -- (fiery) furnace; 23.
puġwalés(g) -- swallow(s) [bird]; 40.
puġuāsit -- he advances; faces; 231.
puguatutes -- [face (some way)]; 285, 312.
puġwei -- half; 25, 205.
pugwelġ -- v. piġwelġ.

PUGWELUGUG

PUNULGWAL(UL)

- pugwelugug -- there are many people on the shore; 121.
puġwélugunaġ -- v. piġwélugunaġ.
puġwetestaġan -- sieve; 322.
pugwi -- 276.
m/pugug(ul), n-, g-, ug-- v. péig(ul).
(n)puġum, g-, ug- -el -- my, your, his gum, quid of tobacco; 30, 39.
n/pugumaġan, g-, ug- -- [v. pgumaġan]
pui- -- v. péwig.
puigé-tes -- v. péwigei.
puigen(g) -- broom; 39.
puljaġamiatew -- ?gushing; 265.
puljain -- locomotive; 249.
-(i)punāi -- to be (so many) years old; 90, 203.
neugt/ipunāi -- to be one year old.
puna jeiaġ -- to leave alone; 294.
punāné -- v. pusul punāné.
punaneugtaġ -- v. pusul punaneugtaġ.
punaġei, þəg -- to lack, cease; 228, 268.
punatengéwêl -- badges of temperance; 269, 275.
punātu -- to abandon, to renounce; to cease, stop; 51, 134, 220, 249, 275.
punēġei, ġeigw, ġetigw -- to leave, to stop doing something; 101.
punéwénem, men, ng -- to stop talking, crying; shut up!; 119, 228.
punéwistu -- be quiet; to stop talking, speaking; 26, 228, 275.
pungatem/u -- [stop staying there]; 287.
-(i)pungəg -- (so many) years; 203, 224.
puni -- to stop making (beer); 134.
punjiġotéga -- stop sulking!; 104. [jiġotéġei]
punmilasi -- to stop playing; 76, 249.
punnemias -- [stop seeing (someone)]; 317.
punespéièn -- to stop amusing oneself; 249.
punsin -- (I) stop flying; 284.
puntemi -- stop weeping, crying; 70, 249.
puntoġsi -- to stop wailing; 70, 249.
punulgwal(ul) -- I/stop following/you; 51.
[< punātu ma julgwalul]

- puowin -- sorcerer, wizard; (shaman); 26, 40, 46, 253.
- pusg- -- v. pusgi.
- pusgatalemeg -- 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 ugwaing -- anger; 74.
- m/pusgun -- the chest; 249, 320.
n/pusgun, pesgun; g-; 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.
- ƒustemit -- who weeps a lot; 70.
- pusuel -- good evening (obsolete); 228.
[< Fr. bon soir]
- Pusuelg -- a place on the Richibouctou River, where a Frenchman greeted his friends with "bon soir" after a brawl; 228.
[< Fr. bon soir, + -g]
- ƒusul -- good day [archaic]; 183, 228, 250, 296.
[< Fr. bonjour]
- pusuleugtaĝ -- to say good day; 296.
[< Fr. bonjour]
- ƒusul ƒunāné -- good year; 228.
[< Fr. bonne année]
- pusul punaneugtaĝ -- to wish a good year; 296.
- putai(g) -- bottle(s); 39, 43, 201, 208.
[< Fr. bouteille]
- puṭemai, man, mat -- to lack, omit, to get out of doing; 39.
- putep, ƒutup, putap -- whale; 12, 14, 289.
putapesgw -- female whale.
- puṭualg, atem, temagĝ -- to sound the trumpet; 307.
- putusuinu -- orator; 53, 253.
- sa- -- v. esam.
- Sāg -- Jacques; 20, 249, 251.
- sagĝ -- a long time since, long ago; 27, 63, 139, 208, 210, 228, 249, 251, 287, 290, 309.
- Sagalin -- Zacharie; 246, 251.

- saĝamasgw -- [v. saĝamasgw]
saĝantesg(əl) -- to fall softly; 123.
saĝati(g) -- needle(s); 18, 39.
saĝatuetesin -- to fall, to stretch out on the ground; fall full length; 122, 193, 274.
contr.: sĝatuetesin/tes.
saĝawei -- old, ancient, from in the past; former, of former times; 22, 38, 40, 228, 258, 263, 301.
saĝawei ilagutaĝan -- Old Testament; 301.
saĝawèjg -- the ancients; 42, 228.
Sagèj -- v. Sagjij.
saĝentesing, tesg -- to fall slowly and to extend (snow); 274, 309.
Sagjij, Sagèj -- dim. of Jacques [v. Sāg]; 250, 251.
saĝlopi -- hair ribbon; 261.
saĝmasgowi -- to be a lady; 189.
saĝmasgw(aĝ), saĝamasgw -- chief's wife; lady, woman, mistress, Indian woman; 36, 48, 253, 311.
saĝmasgwèj, -gwéjij -- a young lady; 48.
saĝmaw, saĝmaĝ -- chief, lord, master, mister; 15, 22, 29, 30, 33, 36, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 58, 62, 120, 177, 182, 184, 187, 189, 212, 215, 217, 219, 252, 256, 258, 269, 289, 295, 308, 311.
n̄saĝmam; saĝmaj -- son of the chief; little chief.
saĝmawagi -- district, organized territory (with a chief); 22.
saĝmawi -- to be a master, lord, chief; 33, 42, 70, 189, 289.
saĝmauṭi -- authority; 256.
sagop -- Jacob; 217, 263, 280, 312.
saĝpigun -- tear; 217, 257.
saĝsgus/ioĝ -- cedars; 289.
saĝsigwei, gweigw, ĝutigw -- to fish by torch; 106.
saĝsigwesem, men, sg -- to light (by rubbing); 114, 120.
contr.: sĝasigwes-tes.
saĝtaĝ, tem, temaĝ -- to obey, to do something in obedience, to respond to an appeal; replaced by jigsetem, getlamsetem; 30, 33, 50, 119, 223, 297.
sāl -- shawl; 20, 249.
(< Fr. châle)
salawei -- salt; 22, 27.
Saln -- Charles; 29.
(< Fr. Charles)

- Salnot -- Charlotte, Jeanotte; 29.
- samāleg, samātu -- to touch; 134, 189.
- sam- -- [v. ésag̃.]
- samuḡwan -- water; 48, 49, 143, 151, 175, 235, 265, 276, 289.
- samugwanatu -- to change to water; 196.
- samuḡwanij -- frog; 289.
- samuḡwanjij -- a little water; 48.
- samuḡwat -- [he drinks]; 265.
- sān -- John, Jean; 20, 246, 249, 251.
[< Fr. Jean]
- san Nuēl, sanuēl -- Jean-Noel, Samuel; 249.
- sansu -- one piastre (little used today); 202.
[< Fr. cent sous]
- Santé -- holy; 223.
[< Fr. sainté]
- santewei -- (to be) holy, a saint; 22, 33, 159, 254, 311, 313, 322.
(< Fr. santé)
n/santem, g-, ug- -l.
- Santéwi Mawioni -- the Church (holy assembly); 254, 322.
- samuēl -- v. San Nuēl.
- sapāleg, tu, taḡ -- to save, to get out of difficulty; 305.
- sapāmg, sapāptem -- to penetrate; 300.
- sapātegei -- to penetrate all; 300.
- sapāsi -- to be getting people out of difficulty; 305.
- sapātis -- John the Baptist; 249.
[< Fr. Jean-Baptiste]
- sapēt -- v. Elisabēt.
- sapétimègw -- dolphin, grampus; 37. [cf. Read., p. 54.]
sapétimaḡ -- 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.
- sapéwiei -- I become wise, holy; 190.
- sapéwinu -- a saint, wise, holy person; 73, 253, 313.
- sapéwinui -- to be a saint; 263.
- sapéwitelsi/n -- [to think oneself a saint]; 237.

SAPĒUTI(L)

SENEMGW

- sapēuti(l) -- grace(s); courage; virtue; wisdom; 24, 33, 36, 49, 70, 73, 119, 135, 184, 257, 261, 302.
- sapitgwtesing, tesg -- to squint; to look at out of the corner of one's eye; 274.
- sapmitipenn -- v. sāpus; 318.
- sapōnug -- 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. ésaġ.
- saséwāsi -- to change; 261.
- saséwātu -- to change; 11, 14, 18.
(< Fr. changer, formerly /šažewadu/)
- sat (/šat/) -- scat : (to cats); 18.
(< Fr. chatte)
- satai -- Gédéon; 253.
- sèg -- in vain; 20, 179, 210, 222, 232, 249, 317, 321.
- séġeḡen(g), siġapun(g) -- sweet potato; 39.
wenjuisiġapun -- turnips.
- segewali -- to rise; 309, 312.
- séġéwat -- rising of the sun; 264.
- séġéwei, -wel -- from nothing; a trifle, a useless thing; found (sprung from nowhere); 30, 212, 222.
- séġéwinu, nusgw -- a stranger; a pagan; 253.
- ség wisġāleg -- v. séwisġāleg.
- selusalem(g) -- Jerusalem; 91, 261, 302.
- sem -- v. ésemèg.
- n/sem, g/sem, ug/sem/el -- my, your, his niece; 120, 127, 29, 1251, 316.
- semgelapāsi -- to look up; 261.
no cōntr.
- semgw -- wild goose; 37.
semgwāġ - pl.
- semfatiġ -- [cf. smāsi, lismāsi, lsmāsi]; 204, 309.
- semtug -- v. sgemtug.
- n/semu, g/semu, ug/semu/l -- my, your, his horn; 312.
- semuétu/tès -- v. esemuétu.
- semwiming -- v. sulming.
- senemgw -- the bustard; 181.

sengatigen -- raft; 123.

sent, sentel, sensel -- cent(s); 202.
(< Eng. cent)

Sent Ann -- v. Sétan.

senusaġtemug -- from the southwest; 106.

sépai -- v. sépei.

sépai, ain, aig -- to hunt in the morning; 74, 228.

sepangātu -- to close a book; 133.
contr.: spanġātu.

sépei, sépai -- this morning; 43, 63, 228, 258.

sépèsġalæg, tu, taġ -- to lock up; 305.

sépiljeng, jenem -- to hold in the hand (closed); hold tight in the hand; 185, 269, 309.

sépiljotelg, telem, lemaġ -- to put in the hand (wax candle, etc.); 188, 307.

sèptunāleg, tu, taġ -- to close the mouth, the muzzle; 305.

sesaġim, men, ġig, ġultigw -- to be barefoot; 121, 285, 286.

sesgwei, èn, èt -- 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.

sespapuguei -- to speak the wrong way; 222.

sespei, sespeg -- restless; to be inattentive; disturbing, restive; 222, 249, 263, 276.

sespeiaġ, otem, temaġ -- to disturb, trouble, molest; 295.

sèspenaġ -- noise, disorder; 134, 249, 251.

sespetasi -- to be restless; 222.

sèspi -- dissipated, restless; 222.

sēsuaġatēġen -- bell; 250.

Susuguli -- Jesus Christ; 18, 33, 90, 175, 184, 211, 257, 258, 265, 283, 292, 295, 310.

sesupaluġwei, -eigw, ġutigw -- to glide, to slide; 105.

Sésus -- Jesus; 9, 14, 33, 44, 68, 91, 159, 168, 175, 177, 180, 189, 193, 235, 241, 249, 250, 251, 257, 297, 311, 318.
r/sesusem, g/sesusem, u/sesusem/l

Sesusewit -- he is Jesus; 285.

Sétan, Sent Ann -- Saint Anne; 249, 314.

Sétanwei -- of Saint Anne; 254.

SETNUG

SIGENTAG

- Setnug -- Grand-Pré; 249, 251.
m/sétuāgan -- ear; 274, 319, 321.
n/sétuāgan, g/sétuāgan, ug/sétuāgan.
sewg, sewggel, or sewggul -- sweet; 40.
sewgowei, -wèl -- delicacy(ies); 40.
sewigenat -- weakened, listless; 265.
séwisgāleg, ségwisgāleg, tu, taġ -- to break, crack; to break up,
violate; 134, 193, 305, 318.
contr.: ĩ
sgaluen -- v. gesaluei.
sgāsigwes- -- v. saġsigwesem.
sġat -- v. saġtaġ.
sgatu -- v. gatu.
sġatuetesin -- v. saġatuetesin.
sġatulġ -- you are obeyed; 258.
sgemal -- v. esgemalġ.
sgemtug, sentug -- next, then, moreover; immediately after, all
of a sudden, at once; 30, 228.
sginminġij -- [a little seed; a little bit of seed]; 276.
sgġipesi- -- v. esġipesi-.
sgġpġwinug -- v. esġopogwig.
-sgw, -swaġ (pl.), -isgw -- "female person" ending; 34-5; 37, 258.
sgu -- leech; 30.
sgwegwig -- female small animal (otter, fox, etc.) (added to generic
noun); 35.
(-)sgwġj, -sgwġġij -- feminine ending for young; 35, 37.
sgwemġgw -- female fish (added to generic noun); 35, 37.
pl. sgwemāġ.
sgwesem -- female canine, bitch (added to generic noun); 35.
sgwew -- female fowl, hen; 30, 36, 254.
sgus(g) -- weasel; 30, 36.
siawāsi -- to continue, to proceed [lit. and fig.]; 261.
siawġw, siawġi -- often, continually, constantly; 24, 228, 276, 303,
317.
sig, pasig -- only; 20, 139, 180, 209, 211, 224, 249, 256, 266, 277,
279, 286.
sigentaġ, sigġentu -- to baptise; 287, 297, 303.

SIGENTASI

SIPUSIS

- sigentasi -- to be baptized; 203, 209, 258, 278.
sigentasuti, sigentating -- baptism; 297.
sigentasuimu, nusgw -- a Christian; a baptised person; 253, 297.
sigentating -- baptism; [v. sigentasuti] 133, 297.
sigentatingewei -- catechism; 285, 297.
sigentu -- v. sigentaĝ.
sigogus -- March; 202, 246, 251.
sigtêg, tēm, tēmaĝ -- to wound, kill; 254, 299.
sigtesing, tesg -- to fall from one's full height, to collapse; 274.
sigw -- (the) spring; 20, 43, 77, 249, 258.
sigwap -- widower; 253, 289.
sigwapewi -- to be a widower; 263, 289.
sigun -- last spring; 43, 249, 258.
siguniêj -- sparrow; 255.
sigunug -- next spring; 43, 249, 258.
sigusgowi -- to be a widow; 263, 288, 289.
sigusgu/l -- [widow]; 241.
m/sil -- lips; 29, 257, 319.
siniw -- suddenly; all of a sudden; 228.
sipêliw -- often; 18, 24.
sipeliw, sipeli -- in rank, in series; 228.
sipelpuguatuann, -gualegg, -puguotuann, puguolgig -- to arrange them
(ani., inan.) in rank, in series; 228.
sipig -- that is hard, tough; 77.
sipigpaĝ -- flexible; 322.
sipinsĝasi -- to extend the hand; 261, 308.
sipistaĝanosuti -- pin; 249.
sipsulg -- to make tremble; 308.
sipu-- river; 18, 36, 49, 230, 249, 251, 257, 270.
sipuātu -- to change into a river; 135.
sipuês -- fresh water mussel; 255.
sipusis -- v. ipujij.

- n/sis, g/sis, u/sis/əl -- 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/sisgun -- nose; 319.
n/sisgun, g/sisgun, ug/sisgun.
- sisip -- bird [cf. jipij]; 14, 249, 251, 289.
- sispewi -- to be a bird; 289.
- sismoḡon -- sugar; 245, 251, 276.
- sismoḡoni/t -- [he's/a diabetic]; 189.
- sismoḡonimaḡ -- 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.
- sistéwaj -- third (one) [rank, grade, etc]; 201.
- sistéwei -- third, thirdly, third time; 23, 138, 200, 203, 228.
- sistéwé-i -- to be third; 76.
- sistéwei.əlūḡutimḡel -- Wednesday (3rd day of work); 203, 228.
- sisuamḡelḡ -- to blaze; 267.
- sisuei -- [(a) blaze]; 319.
- sitniḡu, ḡun, ḡug -- to blow one's nose; 136.
- m/situn -- throat, neck; also tongue, language, voice; 319.
- siwatḡatem -- v. giwatḡatem.
- siwei, -ein, eḡ -- to be bored, tired; 24.
- smāsi -- lie down! [? v. lismāsi]; 238.
- snawei, snawel -- maple; 30, 189, 276.
- snaweiei -- of maple; 30, 189.
- sog -- 251.
- sogḡwatem -- to be bored somewhere; 270.
- sogopḡetesin -- to strike one's head against something; 274.
- sogotemi -- to vomit; 259.
- sogotesin -- I throw myself, hurl myself against; 274.
- sosep -- Joseph; 42, 45, 46, 249, 258, 275, 301.
- spangātu -- v. sepangātu.

- Spaniol -- Spaniard; 36.
spaniolag̃ - pl. [< Fr. espagnol]
- spisgwotuanel (?) -- v. pisgowolg. [p. 308]
- staga, stage -- v. istegé.
- stoḡon(g) -- fir(s), fir branch(es), branch(es); 39.
- stoḡong gewgunujig -- Palm Sunday; 39.
- stoḡonamug, namugsit -- green; 39, 254, 268, 309.
- suəl -- 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.
- sugulégag̃(al) -- rotten; 40.
- sugulegai -- to rot; 40, 264.
- sugusgw -- widow; 253.
- suisgat -- v. séwisgāleg.
- sul -- Sewell; 20, 250, 251.
- suliéwégei -- to go to procure money; 197.
- suliéwei -- silver, money; 24, 105, 140, 164, 174, 194, 223, 235, 289, 303, 323.
n/sulieweim, sulieweim; g-; ug- -- my, your, his money.
- sulieweiam -- I have some (available) money; 289.
- sulieweiei -- of silver; 24, 120.
- suliewéig -- there is money; 289.
- sulieweimi -- to have some money; 289.
- sulieweiog̃wom -- bank; 24.
- sulnaljij -- ~~small~~ journal; 175, 178, 250, 251.
[< Fr. journal]
- sumalgi -- sou [lit.: piece of copper] [now little used]; 202.
- sun(el) -- berry(ies); cranberry(ies); 40, 250, 257.
- sunati -- knoll; 250, 274.
- sunéwi -- to fast; 263.
- sunming, semwiming -- 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]
- suspaniĝen -- v. sispaniĝen.
- 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, 298, 309, 310, 315.
- tagalij -- goose; 246.
- tagameg, taĝtem, temaĝ; taĝmeg -- to strike, hit; 31, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 115, 119, 182, 264, 271, 299, 310, 321.
contr.: tĝam-as.
- taĝtagatingewei -- a telegram, a message; 104.
- tagtaloĝ, gaĝtaloĝ -- a serpent, a large lizard, crocodile; 255.
- taĝteg -- [v. tagameg]
taĝtegei -- to strike, to pat; by extension, to telegraph; 101, 104, 250.
taĝtĝem -- [v. tagameg]
- talagut/em -- what is your relation; what relation are we? 272.
- (na)talaleg, 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/auĝtiĝel -- what is their price?; 202.
- taléi, -léin, -lĝ -- how is one, in what state; [talĝ:] well! what? Is it so? How is that?; 75, 89, 239, 262.
- taléiaĝ, otem, temaĝ -- how to treat; 295.
- talgiĝ, talgilg -- how big?; 205.
- tali -- how; 18, 45, 75, 90, 184, 188, 204, 205, 208, 222, 232, 234, 267, 270, 278, 280, 284, 289, 301, 309, 320.
- taliaĝ -- what is there?; 267.
- tali amaseg? -- how far?; 232.
- talieltĝtem -- to value it at all; 270.
- taliganig -- what sort of dwelling-place is that?; 284.
- talim/ates -- [what will you tell him?]; 208, 309.
talimsgesenaĝ -- 208.
- talitĝtem -- to value it; 270, 276.
- tallugwei -- to make something, work how?; 222.
- talpesug -- to what distance? what distance?; 204, 232.

TALPITAG

TAN TLISIP

- talpitaḡ -- for what length; 205.
talpitōḡsit -- how tall?; 204.
talsip -- when?; 234, 257.
taluegei, getijig -- to what good?; 266.
taluei, en, et -- what does (one) say?; 18, 310.
taluisi -- what is (one's) name; 26, 70.
tam -- v. étang.
tami -- where; 16, 18, 105, 106, 139, 149, 210, 220, 230, 232, 234, 285, 286.
tamièl -- towards where?; 16, 232.
tami ta -- wherever; 18, 27.
tami sèḡ -- elsewhere; 232.
tan, tāneg, tānug -- when, at the time when [v. tan -- that which]; 43, 228, 250, 257.
tāneg -- past.
tānug -- future.
tān, tānig, tānel; tangig -- that which, those which, that, who, what, of which, where, there where; 20, 22, 26, 31, 33, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 54, 69, 76, 78, 87, 89, 110, 120, 132, 136, 138, 139, 143, 149, 153, 162, 163, 166, 170, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 198, 200, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 234, 236, 238, 250, 251, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 264, 265, 266, 268, 270, 275, 276, 277, 279, 282, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 295, 297, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 317, 318.
tana -- [-that]; 233, 236.
taneg -- v. tan; 228.
tan engāsaiw -- as soon as; 22.
-tang, tanjig -- to take (so many)[fish or game]; 204.
tan gsog -- weight; what it weighs; 205.
tan pasig -- as you wish, it does not matter what; 224.
tan pa tami -- anywhere; 232.
tan pa tujiw -- it does not matter when, any time; 228.
tan teluisi -- one's name; 26. (lit.: that which you are called)
tan tèḡs -- so many times; 198.
tan tèsigel -- all things (distributive); 198.
tan tlèl -- [where they came from]; 257.
tan tlisip -- when; 31.

TAN TUJIW

TAPUCWEI

- tan tujiw -- [when, whenever]; 277.
tān wēn -- 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.
tāpi -- v. āpi.
Tapit -- David; 27, 45, 52, 249, 254, 296, 312, 320.
tāpu -- [cardinal] two, twice, two times; 18, 62, 115, 178, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 227, 250, 257, 266, 317, 320.
tāpuaigl -- 2 dollars; 202.
tāpuapsgesijig (an.), tāpuapsgēgel (inan.) -- two (round) objects; 202.
tāpug -- two [weight or measure]; 204.
tāpugumugw -- to go two in a boat; 121, 204.
tāpugunaġ -- two days; (33), 42, (142), 202, 236.
tāpugunit -- he's two days old, this is the 2nd of the month; 203.
tāpugusalai -- to spend two months; 203.
tāpuipunai -- I'm two years old; 90, 203.
tāpuipunġeg -- two years; 203.
tāpuisgēugunaġ -- 20 days.
tāpuitpaġ -- 2 nights; 203.
tāpuleigw -- there are 2 boats; 204.
tāpunasig -- two fathoms, spans of the arms; 204.
tāpunemig -- multiply by two; 205.
tāpunemigsijig -- two of a kind; 204.
tāpuoġteġl -- two [of contents]; 202.
tāpuoġsijig (an.), tapuāġal (inan.) -- two (long, round) objects; 201.
tāputanjig -- you take two of them (game); 204.
tāputēig -- to kill two of (in fishing or hunting) by striking, knocking senseless; 204.
tāpuēwistōġġ, tāpuēwistutij -- dialogue; 204.
tāpuġul -- v. tāpusijig.
tapugunaġġeg -- two days later; two days being past; 33, 42, 142, (236).
tapuisgaġ(al), tapuinsgaġ(al); tapuisgēgsijig -- twenty; 26, 41, 199, 301.
tāpuisgaġutig -- the twenty pieces (of Joseph); 202.
tapuisgegsuti -- about twenty; 204.
tāpu mtēln -- twenty; 199.
tapunaji -- he has two of them; 185.
tāpuowaj -- second (one) [rank, grade, etc.]; 201.
tapuowei -- second; secondly, the second time; 23, 200, 203, 228.

- tāpuowei elugutینگel -- Tuesday (2nd day of work); 203, 228.
tapuowéi -- to be second; 76.
tāpusijig, tāpūgul -- two persons, things; 41, 51, 61, 90, 183, 198, 199, 208, 210, 211, 237, 250, 256, 257, 258, 276, 309, 313, 317.
tās -- how many times?; 20, 105, 198, 224, 234, 250, 251.
tāsaigel -- how many dollars?; 202.
tās ajiēt -- what hour is it? to how many degrees has the sun advanced?; 203.
tāsipuna/n -- how old are you?; 90, 203.
tāsipungēg -- how many years?; 200, 203, 224.
tāsitpāg -- how many nights?; 203.
tāsōgsit -- how big, long?; 205.
tāsōgsijig (an.), tāsāgal (inan.) -- how many long, round objects?; 201.
tāsugunit, tāsugunāg -- how many days?; 203, 224.
tāsuiğus -- how many months?; 203.
tāsunasig -- what depth?; 205.
tāsunēmig -- how many [of a class]?; 204.
tāsāg -- what capacity?; 205.
tāsēwei, tāsēwaj -- what is his rank?; 201.
tāsēwētēs, -tēsg, -tew -- what will be my, your, his rank?
-tāsi -- [v. tēlemēg].
tāsijig, tāsī -- how many; 70, 198, 225, 250, 282.
tāsīsijig -- 276.
tāsūğusalai -- how many months?; 264.
tātuji -- (to) what extent, what age?, etc.; 90, 224, 232, 234.
tātujiw -- when?; 257.
tawāğtema -- v. ētawāğtemai.
tawālsēwa- -- v. ētawālsēwēi.
tawēi -- former nickname for an Indian [cf. tuēi]; 22, 317.
tawūltenāsi, in, it -- to open the mouth; 22, 76.
tē -- [v. tē gatu]
-tēg, tēğig -- to kill (so many) (hunting or fishing) by striking, knocking senseless; 204.
tē gatu -- oh how much!; 239.
tēğēg -- it is cold, it gets cold; 9, 14, 49, 222, 241, 245, 251, 257, 258.
contr.: tgenug, tgetew.
tēğēğijig -- it is a little cold; 49.
tēğēlamseg -- cold wind; 106.
tēğēğēğijig, lēğgel -- to be few in number; 260.

- téġelugunag -- some days; 91.
- téġèn, téġenig, téġenel, téġeni, téġenèg -- who?, which?, whom?,
what?; 40, 43, 211, 239, 250, 309.
- téġèn oġw -- what then?; 239.
- téġi- -- cold; 222.
- téġig -- it is cold; 77.
- téġiġisgeg -- cold day; 106, 222.
- téġinipg -- cool summer; 123.
- téġipug -- cold winter; 136, 222.
- téġitpaġ -- cold night; 91, 222.
- teġotem, men, tg -- to attend, to be with (mass, assembly); be
present together; 52, 118, 136, 177, 192, 246, 272.
contr.: ħ
- tegseg -- wind from the northwest; northwest; 106, 232.
- tegséġel -- from the northwest side; 232.
- téġwaluat -- to have a short tail; 264.
- téġwélaġ, iul, iwin; teġotem -- to be with, to assist; 30, 31, 33,
177, 188, 220, 296.
contr.: ħ
- tei -- v. oġtei.
- tèj -- either; 20.
- tèj -- [v. sim.]
- tel- -- [v. teli]
- télaġig -- a flat, round piece (of such circumference, or such worth);
202.
- telagutem -- such a one is my relative; 272.
- n/telajel -- [v. télei]
- telāleg, telātu, taġ -- to make thus, to treat thus, to render thus,
to dō this tō; 134, 191, 193, 194, 275.
contr.: ħ
- m/telamilug -- entrails, insides; 28, 30, 33, 259, 318.
n/telamilug, ġtelamilug, uġtelamilug.
- n/telamsei, g/telamsei, ug/telamsei -- my, your, his lap; 320.
- telamug(ul) -- like, similar; 31, 33, 40, 90, 115, 124, 127, 128,
129, 130, 131, 132, 136, 142, 183, 247, 308, 319.
- telamugsi, sin, sit -- to appear such; 71, 276.
- télapsgèg -- [it (a lump) is that big]; 202.

- telaptem -- to look at thus; 269, 271.
- télapuḡuáí, ḡueigw, ḡuatíḡw -- to speak thus; promise; 103, 133.
contr.: 𐀀
- télāsi -- to act thus, do thus; 76, 190, 212, 263.
- ṛtelatagan -- [my] fault; (I'm) responsible for it]; 194.
- tēlastasi -- (to) be treated thus, (to) treat oneself thus; 193.
- telateḡei, teloteḡei -- to do thus, make; to have that attitude, manner
of doing; 104, 191, 208, 267, 279.
contr.: 𐀀
- telatigel -- v. téleí.
- télātu -- v. télāleg.
- télaugtiḡ -- to be worth that much; 202, 208, 320.
- téleí, -léin, lēḡ; -lajel; -latigel -- to be such, in such a state; be
that way, thus; behave thus; 33, 52, 53, 75, 189, 190, 191,
(220), 222, 233, 237, 260, 262, 263, 269, 271, 275, 309.
contr.: 𐀀
- téleíag -- to treat someone thus, to take as such, to be of such an
attitude; 75, 191, 289, 295.
- telem -- to estimate; 753, 269, 7275.
contr.: tle/tes
- telemag -- to instruct, to lay claim to, to make pay a bill; 259, 269.
- tēlemeg, ṭeṭem, ṭetemaḡ [tr.]; [intr.] -tāsi, -tetāsi -- verb
endings expressing thought, desire, mental state, complacency,
intention, wish; 118, 183, 187.
- telemuei -- [charge that much]; 191.
- télewistu -- to speak thus; 135.
- telgei -- 191.
- telgem -- to be thus dressed; 269.
- telgemaigul -- seasons; 258.
- telgil, len, lg, gig -- to be of such height; 122, 138, 159, 189,
197, 270.
- telgimḡ, telgiṭem, ṭasig -- to prescribe, command; 68, 75, 91,
153, 189, 200, 223, 271, 297.
- telgusi -- 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, 276, 277, 280, 286, 289, 290, 295, 296,
297, 299, 302, 306, 309, 319.
contr.: tli.
- téli...téli -- as...as; 50.

- té^hliaĝ -- 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, 267, 280.
- té^hliaĝawei, wèl -- the truth, true things; 23.
- teli amaseg -- such a distance; 232.
- teli^hej -- v. tliaj.
- teliĝanig -- that is that sort of dwelling-place; 284.
- téli^hmai, an, at, aĝ -- to smell of; to have such an odor; 182, 265, 290.
- téli^hmg, mul, min -- to say to, tell to (someone); 31, 45, 68, 142, 154, 159, 168, 184, 189, 199, 212, 309, 311.
contr.: ĥ
- telintu -- to sing; 126, 128, 129, 135, 275.
contr.: ĥ
- telipenei -- to suffer (in general); 268.
- telī^hsi, sin, sit -- to speak thus; 71, 262.
contr.: ĥ
- telitai, tan, tat -- to be of such force, be able to such an extent; '89, 189.
- telitāsi -- to think thus; 190, 210, 257, 309.
- telitasuinui -- to be a thinking, reflecting being; 190.
- telitasuinuiei -- (I) begin to think; become a reflecting man; 190.
- teli^htelemeg, telitetem -- to think it, to believe, to judge thus, to suppose; 33, 143, 192, 193, 194, 262, 270, 282, 308.
- teli^hteteĝei -- that is our attitude, our manner of thinking; 191.
- tellugwei -- I work thus; 222.
- n/telmaĝan -- shoulder; 319, 320. n/teluāgan, g-, ug-.
- tèlmetoĝonel -- his wicked conduct in several things; 95.
- tèlmetu -- to behave thus; 134, 222.
- tèlneg, nem -- to hold thus; 184.
- telotasi (pässive); to be thus treated; 193.
- teloteĝei -- v. telateĝei.
- telotem, men, tg -- to find such, to hold as such, to treat as such; 191, 192, 193, 194, 272.
contr.: ĥ
- telpesug -- such a distance; 232.
- tèlsétemai -- to hear of thus; 264.
- teltam/gej^hel -- [(we) ask of (her) in that way]; 159.

- telanuatigw -- 276.
- teltawei, weigw, watigw -- to ask for thus; 73, 136, 269.
- têltêg, tèm, tēmaĝ -- to strike thus; 299.
- teltēgei -- I work that hard; 250.
- têltêj -- let it stay there; 250.
- teltèm, tēmen, tēg -- to cut, to hack (with an axe); 119, 250.
contr.: tletétes tlétéhên!
- têltogsi -- to be struck; 299.
- têltosi -- to hit oneself thus; beat one's chest; 262, 299.
- têluei, lueigw, luatĝw -- to speak, to talk thus; 16, 18, 29, 91,
103, 143, 189, 212, 219, 226, 251, 257, 276, 317.
contr.: tluetes
- têluigaseg -- that is written; 173.
- n/teluiĝen -- finger; 29, 287, 319, 320, 321.
n/teluiĝen, g-, ug-.
- têluisi, 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.
- teluĝtem -- to name thus; 31, 50, 118, 175, 182, 209, 210, 258, 271.
contr.: ĭ
- telung, utem, tēmaĝ -- to speak about thus; speak to thus; 302.
contr.: ĭ
- nu/, gu/, ug/temaĝan; tomaĝan -- pipe; 214, 256, 289, 290, 323.
- tēmaĝanatg -- v. paĝenatg.
- tēmaĝanei -- [of the pipe, pipe fragments]; 290.
- tēmaĝani -- sheldrake; shell-bird; 37.
tēmaĝaniĝ - pl.
- tēmaĝittêg, tèm, tēmaĝ -- to saw; 299.
- tēmaĝittēgei -- to saw; 101.
- temasig -- it splits; 226.
- temawei, tomawei, -wêl -- tobacco; 22, 202, 256, 289, 290, 323.
n/utomawei, g-, utomawei
- temawei, wetmaweimi -- to have some tobacco; 289.
- temawejiĝ -- [a little tobacco]; 290.
- temg -- firstly, first; at first; 29, 199, 200, 210, 225, 228, 256,
320.

- temg^éwaj -- first [designation rank, grade, etc., of an individual];
201.
- temag^éwei -- first of all, firstly, first (in position); first time;
23, 200, 201, 225, 228.
- temgewei -- to be first (in first place); 201.
- témelêt(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.
- temi^genjij -- hatchet; 256, 290.
- temi^gpias -- fifty cents, half-dollar; 202, 205. [< Fr. demi piastre]
- temog^taw, tag^g -- trunk (of a tree); 34, 39, 257, 285.
- tempu^ésu(a^g) -- half bushel; 205, 255. [< Fr. demi boisseau]
- tensaweg mulin -- mower; 268.
- temseg, sem -- to cut (with a knife, sickle, etc.); to strike;
snuff out; 182, 268, 270.
- temt^égei -- to work hard; 102.
- tepa^ganjij -- little sleight; 272 [v. topagan]
- tépasi -- to go abroad; embark; 68.
- tépaté -- meat or fish pie; paste; 25, 27, 31, 251, 256. [< Fr. pâté]
- tepate^g -- sweet; 256.
- tép^átu -- to set down (an offering); 134.
- tépaw -- near; 232.
- tépawèl -- close enough; also, before long; 232.
- tép^geg -- [v. tepem]
- tép^gegi -- to put into the collection, to deposit an offering; 102.
contr.: tpe^getes
- tép^èlj(èg) -- goat(s); 250.
- tép^èljéjij -- kid; 250.
- tép^èlmaséwei -- cheese; 12, 14. [< Fr. fromage]
- tepem, men, t^épeg -- to deserve; 117, 119, 175, 270, 271.
- tepesg -- an even number; 123.
- tepesgel -- equals; 123.
- tépetug -- v. èln tebetug.

- tepgâtem -- to be married; 185, 208, 270, 276.
- têpgenuset, têpgunsêt, -sejig -- moon, month; (23), 34, 37, 90, 201, 203, 250, 251, (267), 281, 290, 312.
- tepgig, gîgel -- the night, night; (31), 40, 77, 91, (222), 250, 251.
- têpgisawgtig -- different price (bell); 259.
- têpgiséi, gîstêg -- to be separated; 263.
- tepgisi -- separate (things); 204.
- têpgwan -- ashes, dust; 290.
- tepgwanam -- to use dust; 290.
- tepgwanemi -- to have dust; 290.
- tepgwani -- to be dust; 290.
- tepgwaniei -- to become dust; 290.
- têpgunset -- v. têpgenuset.
- tepgunsêtéwei, -wel -- calendar; 23, 267.
- têpi- -- enough; 224.
- têpiaĝ -- that is enough; 18, 107, 224, 250, 251.
- têpîg, ðul, ðin, ðitu -- to make a division, distribution; to give (his) share to; 9, 10, 31, 175, 191, 308.
- têpîgei, ĝên, ĝêt -- to make a distribution; distribute; make shares; 102, 175, 191.
- (n)têpiljâgan -- glove; 30.
- têpinéĝléwei -- vinegar; 12, 14, 23.
- têpiséwei -- pepper, 23.
- têpitêtem -- (I) find that it is enough; that it is just right; 224.
- têplung, utem, temag -- to judge, promise; 44, 302, 308.
- têplutaĝan -- judgment, law, settlement, commandment; 177, 280, 295, 323.
n/, g/, ug/têplutaĝan(em)
- têplutem, men, tg -- to judge, to rule; 118, 269.
contr.: tpehut-tes.
- têpneg, nêm, némag -- to reach, hit; 257, 269, 299.
contr.: none or etpenetes, etepeneg-.
- têpotu -- to set down (a quantity); 134.
- teppultisenig -- [they were on board]; 209, 256.
- têpsétaĝ, tem, temag -- to hear, to hear say; 298.
- tepteg, getteg -- inside a vessel, within; 232.
- têpulewei -- butter [cf. mulagejg]; 14, 23.
- n/, g/, ugtêpun -- my, your, his seat, place; 259, 280, 303, 322.

- tès, tesi -- so many times, each time [answers tās]; 20, 179, 180, 198, 200, 203, 224, 250, 251, 268, 305, 317.
tésaigel -- so many dollars; 202.
tésapsgešijig (an.), téšapsgegel (inan.) -- round objects; 202.
tésig -- so many [wt. or measure]; 204.
tésipunai, nān, nat -- to be so many years old; 90, 203.
tésipunġeg -- so many years; 107, 136, 200, 203, 224.
tésisġegaigel -- so many tens of dollars; 202.
tésogšijig (an.), téšāgal (inan.) -- so many (6, 7, 8, 9 or 10) long round objects; 201.
tésugumugw -- to go so many in their boat; 204.
tésugunaġ -- 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.
tésunasig -- so many fathoms, spans of the arms; 205.
tésunemig (inan.), téšunemisijig (an.) -- so many [of a class, type]; 203.
tésutėgig -- to kill so many of (hunting or fishing) by knocking senseless or striking; 204.
- tėšigėl -- v. tesigw.
- tėšigisġeg -- every, each day; 203, 224, 277.
- tesigw, tesieg, tesioġ, tesijig, tesigel; tesisġegšijig, tesisġaġal, tesinsġ- -- so many [an., inan.]; 27, 33, 41, 46, 49, 143, 151, 153, 183, 198, 199, 200, 204, 209, 211, 224, 250, 258, 261, 267.
- tesijig -- v. tesigw.
- tėšinipġ -- every summer; 123.
- tėšinsġegšijig, tėšinsġaġal -- v. tesigw.
- tesioġ -- v. tesigw.
- tėšipow, tėšipo -- horse; 16, 17, 18, 27, 36, 37, 140, 290.
[< Fr. le chevaux]
- tesipo elġewetu -- mare, female horse; 36.
- tesipoman-[oats]; 182.
- tesipowam, mən, waġ -- to go by horse, use a horse to ride on; 272, 290.
- tėšipowei pġunaġan -- a (horse) whip; 256.
- tesipowi -- to be a horse; 200, 256, 290.
- tesipoumi -- to have a horse; 290.
- tėšisġegšijig, tėšisġaġal -- v. tesigw.

TESITIJ

TETTUEI

- 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.
- tétagāsi -- to hurry; 260.
- ug/tétan -- [? it began]; 202.
- tétafu -- exactly; 222, 228.
- tétafuāleg, tu, tag -- to satisfy, render a service to; do
exactly; 134, 305.
- tétafuatégèt -- he behaves as is necessary; 222.
- tetapuatesin, ng -- to be fortunate; to occur opportunely; 274.
- tetafuiaĝ -- v. tetpiaĝ.
- tétafutèsg -- that arrives on time; it happens deservedly; 123, 143.
- tétasi -- v. télemeg.
- tet asmeg -- on this side; by here; 229.
- tetat -- the rising of the sun or moon, beginning of the month; new
moon; 203, 266.
- tètèl -- this way; in this direction; 232.
- tètem, -tèlemeg, -tetasi, tetemaĝ -- [v. télemeg]
- tetlaĝatem -- v. etlaĝatem.
- tetleiwī, win, wit -- to belong, to be from (there); 31, 70, 232, 263,
287.
- tètli -- in this place; there; 149, 212, 230, 232, (255), 258, (284),
287, 312.
- tetpaĝaĝ -- that which is, that which happens; 91.
- tetpaĝatesin -- to fall accurately; 274.
- tetpi- -- equal, same; equally; 50, 212, 224.
- tetpiaĝ, tetapuiaĝ -- it is time, he arrives right on time, he has
just arrived; the time has arrived; 107, 222, 228, 241.
- tetpiĝenajig -- they're of the same strength; 50.
- tetpiĝil -- to be the same size; 50, 224.
- téttaĝ, tettu -- to owe; 135, 275, 298. [Fr. dette]
- tettejel -- which ought to be; 189, 308.
- tèttuei, tueigw, tuatigw -- to owe, to be in debt; 103. [Fr. dette]

- tettuogon -- debt; 103, 298.
tétujêg -- [be that age]; 236, 293.
tetuji -- such an extent; such an age; etc.; 54, 224, 232.
tetutgig -- [they owed them (past)]; 184.
téwağalg, atem, temag -- to throw outside; 307.
téwağātu -- to throw it outdoors; 134.
téwağtağ, tem, temag -- to draw back; 298.
tewağtuei, eigw, atigw -- to throw outdoors; 134.
téwaleg, tu, tağ -- to take out; 134, 305.
téwalğāleg, tu, tağ -- to tear out; rescue; 30, 134, 289, 305.
 contr.: tualğitātağ
téwalğalg, atem, temag -- to tear out, pull out (souls from
 Purgatory); 307.
téwalğasi -- to be rescued; delivered; 143, 305.
téwalğātu -- v. téwalğāleg.
téwapsgig -- Port-Royal, Annapolis; 30.
téwātu -- v. téwāleg.
téwēgei, geigw, getigw -- to throw out; 101.
tewiei, ieigw/atigw, itaigw -- to go out; set out (on water/land);
 26, 49, 105, 210, 230, 267.
 contr.: ſ; tua!
tgam/as -- v. tagameg.
tgatege- -- v. tagtegei.
tgei -- a cold; the cold; 31, 90, 272.
tgei matnig -- I have a cold; 90.
tgen/ug -- [v. tégég.]
tgepog -- spring; source of fresh water; 30, 256, 265.
tgepogol mesgigel -- falls, the large springs; 265.
tgetew -- [v. tégég.]
tgoğ -- v. toğwağ.
tgoj -- that he should be present, that he attend; 31.
tgojua- -- v. toğjuai-.
tgonasi- -- v. toğonasi-.
tgon/g -- v. toğong.
tgonug -- v. toğwağ.
tgopej -- twin; 31.

TGOPUGUATU-

TLELITA

- têopûguātu- -- v. toêopûguātu.
- tgot/(tes) -- v. tegotem.
- tgu(g) -- wave(s); 31, 77.
- têwat/tes -- v. toêwatem.
- tgwei- -- v. têgwéiâ.
- tguig -- there are waves [cf. tgu]; 77.
- n/, g/, ug/ti/l -- my, your, his dog, cat, any little pleasure animal (pet); 30, 45, 214, 274, 280, 317.
- tiam(ug) -- moose; 15, 18, 24, 37, 181, 251, 291.
- tiamuêgei -- to go look for moose meat; 197.
- tiamuêgen -- moose hide; 291.
- tiamuesem -- dog for a moose hunt; 291.
- tiamugaâgan -- moose hunt; 291.
- tiamui -- to be a moose; 291.
- m/tinin -- the body itself, the individual person himself; 30, 32, 71, 91, 106, 133, 139, 164, 175, 180, 187, 189, 193, 207, 209, 217, 226, 235, 236, 261, 264, 265, 270, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 287, 288, 291, 294, 302, 303, 306, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 317, 318.
n/, g, ugfinin
- tlaâtig -- Tracadie, where one resides; colony, village, settlement; *at our place; 118, 232.
- tlaâtigêjg -- former name of Carleton, little Tracadie, a colony formed from another; 118.
- tlaâpên(g) -- Hellebore(s), hemlock(s), poisonous plant(s); 39.
- tlamug- -- [v. telamug]
- tlantsu -- twenty-five cents; 31, 202. [< OFr. quarante sou]
- tlapte- -- v. telaptem.
- tlapûgué- -- v. têlapûguei.
- tlategé- -- v. telategéi.
- tlātu -- v. têlātu.
- tlé- -- v. têlei, telem.
- tlei, tlêl, tlèg -- to belong, to be from; of, belonging to; to make part of; 31, 236, 254, 255, 257, 270.
- tléianel -- v. têléianel.
- tleigaâpen -- [v. têléi]
- tlél -- v. tlei.
- tlelita -- [v. têléi.]

- tleté -- v. teltêm.
- tli -- v. teli.
- tlia, tliaj, teliej, nteliej -- let it be so; amen; although [cf. teliag]; 14, 24, 26, 33, 107, 140, 175, 222, 238, 266, 267, 280.
- tlia sgatu -- however, nevertheless; yet; 238.
- tlim- v. teling.
- tlintu- -- v. telintu-.
- tlisi- -- v. telisi-.
- tlisip -- then; 31, 32, 43, 120, 142, 143, 208, 228, 237, 238, 257, 317.
- tlitalem, tlitetem- -- v. teliteleleg.
- tloltioĝ -- you behave thus [? telei]; 220.
- tlot- -- v. telotem.
- tlue- -- v. téluei.
- tluit- -- v. teluit-.
- tlut- -- v. telumg.
- tmipias -- 50 sous, 50 cents, half-piastre; 24, 255. [Fr. demi piastre]
- toĝ -- however, therefore, please, now then; 20, 133, 183, 233, 238, 241, 250, 251, 276, 313, 317.
- toĝjunai, juan, juat -- to go up; 91.
contr.: tĝojuas.
- toĝo -- [v. toĝw]
- m/toĝoluagān -- neck; 319; n/, g/, ug/toĝoluagān.
- n/, g/, ug/toĝon -- my, your, his robe, gown, cassock, garment, clothing in general; 276, 322.
- toĝonasi -- to live together, be married; 45, 55, 185.
- toĝong, ĝonem -- to both hold, to hold with another, also to receive from another; to have part of something; 185.
contr.: ģ
- toĝopuĝuāleg, tu, taĝ -- to marry, unite, assort; place together; 134, 305, 313.
- toĝsi -- wailing; 249.
puntoĝsi -- to stop wailing.
- toĝw, toĝo -- then, next; 11, 14, 18, 31, 90, 91, 136, 180, 184, 189, 194, 200, 212, 227, 228, 238, 251, 257, 258, 275, 277, 308, 309, 317, 320.
- toĝwaĝ -- autumn; 31, 43, 91, 257, 258.
tĝoĝ -- last autumn.
tĝonug -- next autumn.

- toġwaġeg -- that was during the autumn; 91.
 toġwangātu -- to join, to put together; 134.
 toġwāleg, tu, taġ -- to unite; join with another; 117, 304, 305.
 contr.: ■
 toġw tlišip -- afterwards, then, next; 31, 228, 238, 257.
 toġw tujiw -- then, next, after; 228, 238, 257.
 Toma -- Thomas; 18. [< Fr. Thomas]
 tomaġan -- v. tomaġan.
 tomaġanatgw -- v. paġentg.
 tomawei, -wēl -- v. tomawei.
 tomaweigaġan -- cigar; 256.
 tomaweigaġanjij -- cigarette; 256.
 topaġan; tepaġan -- sleigh; toboggan; cart; sled; 40, 143, 194, 250,
 272.
 (i)tpaġ -- during the night; (so many) nights; 31, 222. [cf.
tepgig]
 tpēge- -- v. tepēgei.
 tpegig -- 270.
 tpe lum/timgewēi -- v. tēplumg.
 tpe lut- -- v. teplutem.
 u/tpelutaġanin -- v. tēplutaġan.
 tpen- -- v. tēpnēg.
 tpi -- [v. tēpiġ]
 tpige/tes -- v. tepiġgei.
 tponug, tpunug [?] -- during the night which is beginning; 31, 44.
 tpug -- the night (near midnight); this morning; 31, 44.
 tpunug -- v. tponug.
 tūa -- v. tewiei.
 tūaġan(g) -- ball (to play with); 39, 143, 202, 299, 309.
 tuaġjigen -- ounce; 205.
 tuaġt- -- v. tēwaġtaġ.
 tualġal- -- v. tēwalġāleg.
 tualġasi-, tualġita- -- v. tēwalġasi.
 tueġe- -- v. tēwēgei.

tuei, (tawei) -- companion, comrade [cf. etang]; (22), 47, 317.
 [Whites of Maritimes call Indians tawei]

n/, g/tuëm, ugtuëm/el -- my, your, his horse; cow; any beast of burden; any domestic work animal; 30, 281, 317.

tuëwāleg, tu, taġ -- to awaken; 302, 305.

n/tuġwāpəgen -- chin; 29, 319. n/, g/, ug/tuġwāpəgen.

m/tuġwéjan(g) -- forehead, brow; 29, 30, 318, 320.

n/, g/, ugtuġwéjan.

tugwim- -- v. ġtugwim.

tuġumġ, uġem, temāġ -- to awaken; 302.

tuié- -- v. tewiei.

tujiw -- then; 24, 62, 226, 228, 238, 257, 277, 282.

n/, g/, ug/tul(g) -- my, your, his canoe(s), dinghy, open boat; ark (Noah's); 30, 209, 217, 256, 309, 322.

tulgowei -- cannon; 107, 250, 291.

tulijéwèl -- rice; 23.

m/tun -- mouth; 30, 215, 257, 273, 319.

n/, g/, ug/tun.

Tunèl -- Thunder [chief]; 246. [< Fr. tonnerre]

tuogġ -- I don't know, what do I know? nobody knows; (?18), 26, 239.

tuouputiātu -- to frame; 133.

tufi(g), tutufiġ -- root of a pruss (spruce); 39, 184.

tupig(el) -- it falls, flake; 281, 308, 309.

tupigjijel -- [little flakes?]; 308.

n/, g/, ug/tus/el -- my, your, his daughter; 20, 30, 46, 215, 250, 251, 283, 315. [cf. wétusing]

tusjij -- 0 (beloved) daughter; 215.

-tut -- vocative plural ending; 314. [et passim]

n/, g/, ug/tutem/el -- my, your, his neighbor, friend of another nation; 313.

[little used, except for ġtuteminaġ, particularly of the English]
 [cf. wetutémimg]

tutupi(g) -- v. tupi(g).

tuwet -- v. tewiët.

tuuġ -- I do not know [v. tuogġ]; 18.

wāġala -- these; 17, 149, 208, 209, 211.

wāġalusan -- tower; 222.

wāġaméi, éin, èġ -- to be pure; 75, 189.

- Wagametgug -- Bonaventure; pure, clear river; 75.
wagamoti -- purity; 75.
wagan -- knife; 143, 255, 275, 281, 312.
waganam -- to use a knife; 281.
waganemi -- to have a knife; 281.
wagantew, -tal -- bone(s); 49, 276, 318.
wagasit -- wild animal; 24, 70, 308.
wagat -- those (inan.); 208.
wagatesg -- aurora borealis; 274.
wagelaig -- on this side; 230.
wagewasi- -- v. ewagewasi.
waggaj -- barely, hardly, almost impossible; 24, 219, 223.
wagw -- v. wawg.
wai -- his property, wealth [archaic]; 24, 321.
wajj -- imp, object of witchcraft; 24.
wajjuei munti -- medicine bag; 24.
waisis(g) -- v. wisis; animal, beast; 14, 24, 32, 280, 297.
waisiseman -- to use a beast; 280.
waisisemi -- to have a beast; 280.
waisisemogwom -- den, lair; 24.
waisistugulititij -- hunters; 32.
waisisui -- to be a beast; animal; 263, 280.
wajuatu -- to complete, accomplish; 275.
wajui -- [fully]; 310.
wajuei, en, et, ag -- to be full; 143, 264, 267.
wajupegielisena -- [his pail was full]; 300.
wajupet, -pejig -- full; 38.
wajupin -- full; 24, 33, 70.

WALA

WAPEGENA-M

- wala -- here (more removed than ula); 230.
wala -- those (inan.); 208.
walaēl -- on this side; 230.
walangew -- (fishing) hole; 24.
walgog -- [cave; at the hollow]; 264.
walnei -- handle, bay; 24.
walpog -- pool; 24.
waltes -- wooden dish, for the game of dice; 24.
wanpi, wantagpi -- stay tranquil!; 24.
wansit -- domestic (animal); tamed animal; 24, 308.
wantagalg -- to pacify; 184.
wantagang, ganul, ganin -- to keep quiet; 184.
wantagei -- to be peaceful; 104, 219, 291.
wantageiaḡ, otem, temaḡ -- to reassure, to set at rest, tranquilize; 294.
wantagwijin, gwig -- to be in (deep) peace; 273.
wantagi -- tranquillity; 219.
wantagiei -- to be peaceful; 267.
wantagojin, gotg -- to hold the head peaceful; 273.
wantapegitg -- it flows calmly; 123.
wantagpi -- v. wanpi.
wapegen -- white linen; 281.
wapegena-m, -men, naḡ, noltigw -- to be dressed in white, clothed in white; 121, 281.

WAPEGENANGEWI

WASTEWGTEG

- wapegenangewei -- dawn; 281.
- wapei, bein, peg, wapoltiog̃ -- to be white; 186, 189, 190, 210, 229, 254, 281, 308, 319.
- wapen -- v. wap̃g.
- wap̃nāgi -- the land of the sunrise, of the Abenakis, of the dawn; 30, 43.
- wap̃neməgw -- white porpoise; 37. wap̃nemag̃ -- pl.
- wap̃niag̃ -- the day appears; it is dawn; the rise of the dawn; 107, 268.
- wap̃g, wap̃n -- the morning (future sense); dawn, it is daylight, day; 30, 43, 123, 281.
- wap̃g̃eg̃ -- at sunrise; 43.
- wap̃iei -- to whiten; 190, 268.
- wapus -- rabbit; hare; 24.
- wasami -- v. awsamiw.
- wasateg̃ -- that illuminates; 269.
- wasiantəj(g) -- (glass) lamp(s); 37-8.
- wasitpaḡ -- clear night; 81, 91, 143.
- wasog̃ -- heaven, sky; 24, 26, 33, 46, 50, 70, 138, 143, 206, 207, 212, 213, 221, 230, 232, 235, 237, 248, 249, 251, 258, 261, 297, 308, 309, 321.
n/, g/, ugwasogom
- wasog̃asig -- alight, lit; 255.
- wasog̃onemaḡan -- wax candle, candle, light, lamp, lantern; 43, 120, 188, 201, 255, 270, 275, 281.
- wasog̃onemaḡanatgul -- candlemakers; 281.
- wasog̃onemaḡantim̃g -- Candlemas; 255, 281.
- Wasog̃onemaḡantim̃gew̃ei tepgenuset -- February; 281.
- wasog̃ot̃eg̃ -- lightning; 143.
- wasog̃owi, wig -- to be, there is lightning; 281.
- wasog̃watesg̃ -- flash of lightning; 274.
- wasog̃weg̃ -- lightning; 91, 281.
- wasog̃weg̃emi -- to have light; 281.
- waspu -- seal; 24.
- wastew -- snow; 24, 186, 196, 281.
- wastewegatig̃ -- [snow field]; 143.
- wastewgteg̃ -- white frost; 281.

WASTEWI

WEGET

- 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) -- snowflake(s); 281.
- wasteutig -- some snow falls; 281.
- wasuegjij -- [little flower]; 272, 309.
- wat -- these (inan.); [pl. of ut]; 208.
- watapjijit -- yellow (? bird); 261.
- watapsit, ptêg -- yellow; 38, 40, 70, 254, 257, 261, 276.
- waw, wawl -- egg; 9, 14, 25, 36, 40.
- wawêgel, ġen, -get -- to gather eggs; 25.
- wawei -- made of eggs; 25, 27.
- wawg, wagw, wawgug (pl.) -- louse; 25, 254.
- wêgai, in, it -- to get angry, get mad; 15, 17, 18, 54, 57, 73, 74, 76, 226, 239, 251, 258, 276, 303.
contr.: ugwai, ggwai.
- wêgaiġ, 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, 296, 303.
contr.: uggwai/was, ugwai-.
- wêgaiugtaġ, tem,temaġ -- to be annoyed with (person, thing, for him); 297.
- wêgaiuġewi -- to sulk; 263.
- wêgamg, wêgaptem -- to irritate; 183.
- wêgati -- to have feet; 281.
- wêgaw, wêgow -- then, at once; even before, up until; next; in continuing; as far as [cf. nêgaw]; 161, 189, 225, 230, 239.
- wêgwi -- to have room, to be at ease; 262.
- wegela -- v. negela.
- wêġet -- these (things -adj.); 208.

WEGISIGWISGWOMI

WEJGWAPAG

- 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.
wegoḡomiḡḡ -- Green Bay; 237.
wegopegijin, gitg; wegwaḡegitg -- 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 Cobéquid]; 123, 230, 273.
wéḡow -- v. wéḡaw.
wegwag̃ -- that is the end; 230.
wéḡwai, ḡwan, ḡwat -- to burn; 89.
wéḡwamuei, mueigw, muatigw -- to dispute, discuss; 102.
wegwanemai, man, mat -- to be in need, at wit's end; 88.
wegwaḡegitg -- v. wegobeḡitg.
wéḡwatam -- to go on foot; 272.
wéḡwatāsi -- to fear, be afraid; 64, 228.
fut.: gwegwatasultip.
wegwi- -- the end, the completion, the stopping; 230.
wéḡwijgai, gan, gat -- to have as an adoptive mother; to have, regard, treat as a mother; 264, 282.
wéḡwiji, in, it -- to have as a mother; 25, 70, 210, 215, 282, 285, 314.
wéḡwilat -- he barks; 88, 246, 264, 276.
contr.: ḡ
wéḡwisi, -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.
wegumiḡi -- to have a grandmother; 282, 314.
wéḡjateḡemg -- from; 200, 205.
wegjatun -- [buy, get]; (149), 286.
wegḡielijel -- leper; 189.
wéḡḡwāleg, tu, taḡ -- to bring; lead to; 25, 135, 275, 303, 308.
contr.: jugwatu-
wéḡḡwaḡag -- rising tide; 92.
contr.: jugwapaḡtetew

- wejgwatu -- [v. wejgwāleg]
- wèjgwiei, ien, iet, iaḡ -- to come; 14, 87, 267, 285, 309, 317.
- wéjguipug -- winter comes; the winter that comes; 43.
- wèjgulapāsin -- to look to this side; 260.
- wejgunem -- to give, in return or payment; to bring; to pass; 102, 119.
contr.: jugun-
- wejguwei -- v. wejguiei.
- wéji -- 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.
- wejiei, ieigw/atigw, itaigw -- to come from, to have been there (by
sea/land); [inan.] that comes, results from; 17, 18, 27, 33,
105, 143, 170, 210, 220, 230, 232, 251, 258, 266, 285, 317.
contr.: ugjie-
- wéjig, itu, itaḡ -- 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.
[wéjigitisena -- descended]
- wejijaḡamiji -- to have a soul; 283.
- wéjijaḡamijui -- to be a soul; 283.
- wejijgeluewgjimi/t -- (he) has sheep; 291.
- wéjiji -- to have grandchildren; to be a grandfather or grandmother;
283, 315.
- wéjilji -- to have a father-in-law; 283.
- wéjimanit -- 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.
- wéjinemumi -- to have a man, to be married; 317.
- wéjipulgwei, gweigw, gwatḡgw -- to have convulsions; 102.
- wji saḡ -- v. wetsaḡ.
- wéjitu, tun, toḡ -- [v. wéjig].
- wéjiuli -- [v. wejiuli Nisgam]; 25, 26, 33, 50, 136, 164, 283.
- wéjiuli Nisgam -- the Holy Spirit, Holy Ghost; 25, 136, 283.
- wéjotem -- v. gwéjéiaḡ.
- wéjpei, pèg -- to be submersed; 268, 270.
- wéjugwijiji -- to have a mother-in-law; 283.
- ī/wéjuj -- [v. wéjig]

WEJUOW

WELEGISG (EL)

- wejuow -- near, very near, near there; 26, 188, 230, 232, 270.
wéjuowāsi, sin, sit -- to approach; 26, 76, 219, 230, 251.
wéjuowèl -- nearby; 230.
wejuseg -- it is windy; it blows, the wind is blowing; [cf. ujusen]; 106, 255, 268, 283.
wejusenemi -- to have some wind; 283.
wel -- v. weli-.
welagowei -- to sup, to eat dinner; 225.
wélagw, welag -- the evening; 91, 225, 242.
contr.: 𐀀
wélāgwèg- -- last evening, yesterday evening; 43, 44, 225.
contr.: ulāgweg.
welāleg, ātu -- 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, (1269), 296. contr. 𐀀
welālin -- thanks; 174, 238.
gèn welalin, ibid.
welalui -- [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.
wélāpəsi -- to make a success of; 184, 261, contr.: 𐀀
welāpətem -- to profit by it; 270.
wélāpəgəi, ieiḡw, iatḡw -- to get happy (drunk); 103.
[ameliorates getəgəi]
welāptem -- to look at favorably, with pleasure; 210, 271.
contr.: 𐀀
wélāpūgəi, guəḡw, guatḡw -- to speak well; 102.
contr.: ulāpūgətes.
wélasi -- to be well, to become well (health); act well; 142, 195, 260.
wélatalugsisenig -- well-nourished; 175.
welateg -- the sun; 269.
wélategəi, -eiḡw, -taḡatḡw -- to make well, to do good; 103, 191.
contr.: 𐀀
welātu -- [v. welāleg]
welegisg(əl) -- it is nice, pleasant on the sea; 123.
contr.: 𐀀

- wéléi; éin, eg, -loltiog̃ -- 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.: 𐀀
- wéléiag̃, lotem, temag̃ -- 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.
- wéléiwei -- to be beneficent; 156, 191.
- wéléwistu -- to speak well; 183, 275.
- wélġanām -- to be well-clothed; 120.
- wélġem -- to be well-dressed; 269.
- welġil, len, lġ -- to be of good height; 122.
- wélġwijaleg, tu, taġ -- to gladden, give good thoughts to; 183, 303.
- wélġwijāsi -- to rejoice, be content; 64, 183, 260.
contr.: 𐀀
- welġwijn, gwitġ -- to have good thoughts, be joyous; 273, 274.
- welġutai -- 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
- weliei, weliag̃ -- that is good, all right; 74, 143, 190, 241.
contr.: 𐀀
- wéligisġ -- beautiful weather; 143.
- wéligisġeg(el) -- a pretty day; good day; beautiful day; nice day; (it is) nice, pleasant on land; 25, 106, 123, 143, 255, 282.
contr.: 𐀀
- weligisġenemi, miġw -- to have, enjoy, a beautiful day; 282.
- weligwei, gweiġw, gultigw -- to push well, 106.
- wélimai, man, mat, maġ -- to smell good; 265, 275, 276.
- welimanig -- quite elaborate; 259, 309.
- wélimġ -- to speak well to someone, bless him [in his presence]; 220, 284, 285, 289, 290, 301.
contr.: 𐀀
- wélimġuisiġ -- he/is blessed; 301.
- weli Nasġwet -- the Holy Virgin; 106.
- weli ntu -- to sing well; 135.
- wélipug -- a good winter; 136.

WELITASI

wélitasi, sin, sit -- to be content, joyful, happy, have good thoughts;
72, 101, 196, 237, 257, 261, 262, 264.

contr.: 𐀀

welitlemeg, 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.

welitetegesi -- to be agreeable, have benevolence; 191, 266.

contr.: 𐀀

wélitpaĝ -- [nice night]; 143.

weli tpei -- to take pleasure; 270.

wèlmetu -- to be good, to behave well; 124, 134, 208, 276, 277.

contr.: ulmetūtug.

wèlnemai, man, mat -- to be neat; 88.

contr.: 𐀀

welneweg -- it gets cool; cool; 268.

welotasi, sin, sit -- to be blessed; 71.

welotegesi -- to do good works; result, ameliorate one's health; 191,
266.

welotem, welotemaĝ -- v. wéleiaĝ.

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.

wèlsétaĝ -- to hear well; 297.

wèlsètem, sètemen, sètĝ -- to listen with pleasure; 118.

contr.: 𐀀

wèltèĝ -- that is good, well-placed; 74, 262.

wèltéjiĝ(el) -- it is not bad at all; 262.

weltesgaĝ -- to meet with pleasure; 224, 295.

weltesin, nen, ng, tesĝ -- to result; to be lucky, meet success;
122, 273.

contr.: ultesin/tes

wèlung, utem, temaĝ -- to speak well of, to bless (at a distance);
302.

wemaĝamigemi -- to have a planet, a world; 286.

wemtéĝi, in, it -- to have a native land [cf. -metgi]; 25, 282, 287,
321.

wèn; wénig, wénel; wénaġ, wèngig; wéni -- who, someone; 25, 26, 27, 45, 51, 62, 66, 79, 120, 138, 143, 150, 169, 181, 184, 188, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 224, 234, 256, 262, 268, 275, 277, 282, 286, 293, 294, 304, 306, 307, 309, 310, 317, 265.

wénaġapemi, min, mit -- to have as a servant, disciple; 282.

wénaġāsi -- to raise oneself; to get up; climb gradually; rise; 17, 76, 230, 251, 260, 267.
contr.: unāġāsi.

wénaġwijāsi -- to raise one's thoughts; 76, 260.
contr.: ġ

wénaġi -- elevation; 230.

wénaġiei, èn, èt -- to jump, leap, climb, rise; 24, 32, 33, 230, 267.
contr.: ġ

wenasgomiġ (ntinin) -- I am his servant; 106.

wenġajġeg -- that is troublesome, hard, difficult [metueg usually used]; 106.

wèngiwi -- to have parents; as parents; (251), (258), 263, 282, 315.

weni, nin, nit -- to be someone; 143, 282, 310.

wenijangai, gan, gat -- to regard and treat as his (adopted) children; to have for children; 264, 282.
contr.: ġ

wénijani, nin, nit -- to have children; to be parents; 25, 61, 70, 138, 163, 210, 237, 266, 282, 288, 315.

wénisgami, in, it -- to have as God, treat as God; 25, 32, 282, 287.

wénisgamiji, 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.

wenjigwomam -- to occupy a house; 282.

wenjigwomi -- to have a house; 282.

wenjugsenang -- French footwear [lit.: French moccasins]; 38.

wenjui -- to be French; 207, 256, 259, 282.

wenjui goġomin(g) -- prune(s), plum(s); 38.

wenjui masġwésiman -- cherries; 256.

wenjuimi -- to have Frenchman (in one's order); 282.

wenjuisi -- to speak French; 262.

wenjuisigapun -- turnips[lit.: French artichokes]; 39.

wenjuisgowi -- to be a French-woman; 282.

wenjuisgw -- Frenchwoman; 35.

- wenjuisgwēj -- young French girl; 35.
- wēnjusun (-sūnn, sunel) -- apple [lit.: French cranberry]; 25, 40, 213, 282, 284, 309.
- wenjusunāgsi -- apple tree; 136.
- wēnjutiam -- cow, ox [lit.: French moose]; 25, 36, 280.
[< Fr. moose; wēnju + tiam]
- wēnjutiamuei -- beef; 25, 27.
- wēnjutiamuj -- calf; 25, 179, 308.
- wēnmajéi, joltijig -- to suffer; 219, 258, 263, 286, 294, 303, 312.
contr.: 𐄀
- wēnmajéiāg, otem, temag -- to punish, make suffer, torment; 192, 294.
contr.: 𐄀
- wēnmaji- -- arduous movement; 219.
- wēnmajiḡem -- to endure a cruel death; 270, 271.
- wēnmajiḡenei -- to suffer from a sickness; 268.
- wēnmajotegei -- to make suffer, to torment; 192, 266.
- wēn ta -- who is; 26, 27, 45.
- wēnuj(g) -- Frenchman; 25, 35, 36, 38, 39, 208, 282, 309.
- wēḡigwi -- to have eyes; 280.
- wēḡumāganam, wēḡumāganam -- to carry, use a club, whip, etc., 289.
- wēḡumāganemi, wēḡumāganemi -- to have a club, whip, to possess one; 289.
- wēḡumi -- to have some gum; 289.
- wēḡuninei -- I am consumptive; 90.
- wēḡtēni, in, it -- to have hands; 25, 70, 259, 280.
- wēsāgmami -- to have as master, lord, chief, to recognize as such; 25, 33, 170, 280, 289.
- wēsamateḡigu, gun, ḡoḡ -- to be overburdened; 136.
- wēsantem, temen, teg -- to take too much of; 271.
- wēsami -- v. wasami.
- wesamuḡwanam -- to use water; 289.
- wesamuḡwanemi -- to have some water; 289.
- wēsafuni -- to have hair; 280. contr.: usapunultijig.
- wesegeg -- 290.
- wēsemuḡtaḡ, tem, temag -- to flee (person, thing, danger); 194, 271, 277, 297.
- wesemuḡwatem -- to embrace [Maillard]; 306.
- wesgāganemi, nam -- to have a door, to use one, also to be doorkeeper; 284.

WESGAGELEMEG

WESSUGWAI

wèsgagèlemeg, geltem, temag -- to embrace (polite), to greet; 151, 183, 192, 271, 306.

contr.: ḿ

wesgagèlmuei, mueigw, muatigw -- to greet, (also) to embrace; 102, 192.

wesgei, wesget, geigw, getigw -- to fish with a rod and line; 266.

wèsgéwéi, éin, èg -- to laugh; 75, 91, 277, 317.

contr.: usgéwé-

wèsgéwéiag, wotem, temag -- to laugh at, ridicule; to mock; 183, 272, 294.

wesgiji, usgiji, usgit -- on the outside; 230.

wésgijinui -- to be born, to appear, live; 33, 43, 73, 143, 200, 230, 237, 257, 287, 288, 298, 315.

wésgituagani, wessetuagani -- to have ears; 280.

wesgotem, men, tg -- to have, possess; 110, 120, 136, 138, 140, 271-272, 281, 283, 290, 308, 309.

contr.: usgottes

wésgwéiag, wotem, temag -- to have, possess; 286, 295, 298, 309.

wésgugetem -- to speak bad of a neighbor; 270, 271.

wésguḡwai, wan, ḡwat; wessuḡwei [also wessuḡwai, wissuḡwei]; -- to cook, do the cooking; 90, 105, 197, 267.

contr.: usguḡwas.

wésgung, utem, temag -- to speak of (rather unfavorably); mention; 197, 209, 272, 302, 310, 317.

wesgumgei, gatigw -- to speak of a neighbor; 266.

contr.: usgumge/tew.

wésgumtingewei -- conversation, murmurs; gossip; 302.

wesgutem -- v. wesgung.

wesimugt- -- v. wesemugtag.

wésimuḡwai, an, at, ag, wésimuḡwei, en, et, ag -- to flee; 24, 90, 106.

contr.: ḿ

wésimuḡwalg -- to make flee; 306.

wesimuḡulg, utu -- to carry away while fleeing; 188.

wespeḡiei, ḡiag -- the canoe takes in water; 267.

wèspei, péḡ -- to leak; 268, 270.

wessaḡmamultigw -- [v. wessaḡmami]

wessetuagani -- v. wésgituagani.

wéssituni -- to have a throat; 280.

wessuḡwai -- v. wésguḡwai.

- westai, westamg -- to escape, to be saved; 87, 88, 175, 209, 256, 265, 266.
 contr.: ugseta-
- westawig, -witu -- 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-
- westawiwet -- he saves (in general); 22, 26, 175.
 contr.: ugsetawiwe-
- wèstaulg, -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.
- wèstaulgowit -- he is the Savior; 280.
- wèstaulgumi -- to have a Savior; 280.
- wésuāleg, tu, tag̃ -- to take, receive; 18, 43, (135), 166, (194), 217, 276, 303.
 contr.: ugsual-
- wetaġami -- v. aġami.
- wétaġenai -- satisfied; 265.
 contr.: uġtaġenai.
- wetaġlasiewimi, -siewimi -- to have English (in one's order); 278.
- wetagnutemaġanemi -- to have something new; 278.
- wetaligami, gemi -- to have some clothes; to be the owner; 278.
- wetansalemi -- to have an angel, as an angel; 278.
- wetapeġsiog̃ -- you are the race; 263.
- wetapeġsi -- to profit by; 261.
 contr.: uġtapeġsines
- wétapsuni -- to have property, goods, clothes; to be proprietary;
 by extension, to be worth something, to be useful, be of service; 280, 321.
- wetaptaġanam -- to use a plate to eat (as opposed to taking a snack); 279.
- wetaptaġanemi -- to have a plate; 279.
- wetasunemi -- to have, possess a blanket; 279.
- wetatlaimam -- I wear a shirt; 279.
- wetatlaimi -- I have a shirt; 279.
- wetawgtam -- I use a road; 278.
- wetawgtemi -- I have a road; 278.
- wétèg -- v. wetteg.

- wetelegemi -- to have a king, as king; 279.
wetelegewisgwomi -- to have as a queen; 279.
wetelgusuagēnam -- to use a staircase; 279.
wetelgusuagānemi -- v. elgusuagānemi.
wetelnuimi, -numi -- to have men (at one's service, disposal, orders);
279, 280.
wētéjij -- balmy breeze; 255.
wetepitejijemi -- to have a little girl; 279.
wetepitemi -- to have a woman, to be married; 279, 313.
wetepitesemi -- to have a girl; 279.
wētēfuni -- to have a seat; 280.
wetesag̃seg -- it storms; 268.
wētēspogasigenemi -- to have swords; 280.
wētēstemai -- to hear of from somewhere; 264.
wētēwipeneng -- to complain; 143.
wetg̃anigisgeg -- cold day; 267.
wetg̃apalg, atem, temag̃ -- to soak, put in to soak; 118, 306.
contr.:
wēt̃gim̃g, item, temag̃ -- to send from here; 301.
wēt̃gim̃gusit -- to be sent; 301.
wetg̃olg, otem -- to prevent, to forbid; 31, 188.
contr.: ugtoḡol-nugw.
wēt̃ḡolsit -- he does without; 261.
wetg̃oltingeweieg -- forbidden; 31, 256.
wēt̃ḡoluēt̃u -- (to) forbid; 134.
wēt̃ḡwani, ugtoḡoni, ugtoḡonemi -- to have clothes, wear clothes,
be clothed; 283.
wēt̃jiljim̃g -- to have a father-in-law; 316.
wetluigenemi; nam -- to have fingers; to use fingers; 287.
wēt̃i -- worm; 254.
wēt̃ij -- small worm; 254.
wetmaweimi -- v. temawei.
wēt̃méi, -éin, -эг̃ -- to be busy, occupied; 25, 262.

WETMEIAG

- wètmeiaġ, otem, temaġ -- to wish to occupy, to disturb; be occupied in; busy with; 220, 272, 295.
contr.: utmeiw-
- wètmi -- occupation; 220.
- wètmitètem, tg -- to desire; 118, 220.
contr.: ugtemitèttes.
- wetmotem -- v. wetmeiaġ.
- wètpuni -- to have a chair; 259.
- wetsaġ, wejisaġ -- to chase, hunt because of that; 178, 227.
- wètsamugwoltitiseneg -- they drew water out from the rock; 90.
- wetsemeg -- to nourish with; 183.
- wetsesi -- 285.
- wettaġaiei, -èn, -èt-- to be for one side; 22.
- wetteg, wètèg -- the wind comes from; the direction of the wind; 106, 255.
tami wetteg -- where does the wind come from?
- wèttèg, tol, téin -- to strike with; to take, kill; 298.
- wèttéwi -- to have a pleasure animal (dog, cat, etc.); 280.
- wettunatai -- to smell, to sense; 265.
- wétuési -- to have a work animal (horse, cow, beast of burden); 280, 281.
- wétugwaġ, gwem, ġwemaġ -- to test, try; 296.
- wétuli -- to have a canoe, or any other vehicle; 259, 281, 285.
- wetunam -- to use the mouth; 283.
- wetunem/ugw -- (to) feel; 276.
- wétungai -- to use another's mouth or language; 264, 283.
- wétuni -- to have a mouth; 283.
- wetuotem -- to feel, smell; 272, 276.
- wétuþluimit -- he has for armies; 288.
- wétusi, sin, sit -- to have a daughter; 25, 70, 210, 215, 283, 314, 315.
- wétutémimg -- to be a neighbor of another nation; 313.
- uggwai/was -- v. wégaiaġ.
- ugiljenew -- [? v. egiljei]; 270.
- ugji -- why; 71, 170, 182, 183, 186, 211, 212, 255, 292, 320.
[na ugji] -- that is why]

- ugjiaj, ugjiej -- in order to; 159, 237, (266).
ugjianuj -- [v. wejie]; 266.
mu ugjianuj ugtin -- in order that he not be able to say.
ugjie -- v. wejie.
ugjiej -- v. ugjiaj.
ugjipenug -- from the east; 106, 174, 312.
ugjipesg(el) -- root(s); 123, 274.
ugjisagwawilin -- he is the sovereign Lord; 180.
ugjisin -- v. eugjisin.
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.
ugjot- -- v. gwéjéiag.
ugjuag -- v. wajuei.
ugjuatu -- v. wajuatu.
uglağanemel -- [v. ug-lağan/emel].
uglujieugtalin -- 159. [cf. glujieugtēg].
ugmaligimanew -- [v. maligimng].
ugnuji -- 275.
ugogwatun -- [v. gogwāleg]; 309.
ugpatliasemi, min, mit -- to have for a priest; 288.
(mu)ugseḡawis, ugsegelan -- [v. gēsāleg].
ugseḡewéi- -- v. wēsḡewéiag.
ugseta- -- v. westai.
ugsetawi/tu -- v. westawig.
ugsetawīwet -- [v. westawīwet].
ugsitḡamug, usgitḡamug -- on the earth; universe; people; 14, 74, 138, 151, 178, 184, 220, 230, 258, 261, 297, 308.
ugsot- -- v. gwesotem.
ugsual, ugsuat- -- v. wésuāleg.
ugsuatégèt -- [cf. wésuāleg]; 135, 194.
ugsuḡuni -- tail; 17.
ugtaḡenai -- v. wétaḡenai.
ugtalitèt(w)emen -- v. talitètem.
ugtapesi- -- v. wetapesi.

- ugtèjg -- the last time; 226, 302.
 ugtejgèwei, wèg, wèl. -- last; 23, 40, 257, 302.
 ugteli -- [? ug+teli]; 91.
 ugtèmas -- v. gwètèmai.
 ugtèmitèt- v. wètmitètèm.
 ugtèmot -- v. wètmeiag.
 ugtèmotagan -- affair, occupation, cause; [cf. wètmei]; 272, 303,
 322.
 n/utèmotagan, g/utèmotagan, -/utèmotagan.
 ugtèpitem/el -- [cf. tèpitètèm]; 27, 288, 291, 302.
 ugtèpuni/an -- v. tèpun.
 ugtèsolèp -- v. esag.
 ugtètli -- [K tètli]; 255.
 ugtigatagan -- v. igatagan.
 ugtimèn -- [v. eim]; 270.
 ugtinagang -- [v. inagan]
 ugtogol- -- v. wètgoig.
 ugtogonam -- [v. wètgwani]; 283.
 ugtogoni -- v. wètgwani.
 ugtugwaguj -- v. wètugwag.
 ugtutgutaganèm -- [his grave]; 296.
 ugwai- -- v. wègai.
 ugwaiuti -- [offense]; 258.
 ugwila- -- v. wègwila.
 ugwisi -- v. wègwis-.
 uguli -- [? weli]; 50.
 -ugum, ugumugw, meg, moĝ, mitij -- to go (so many) in a boat; 204.
 n/ugumi -- my/grandmother [vocative]; 215, 253.
 n/ugumij, gùgumij, -/ugumij/el -- my, your, his grandmother, ancestress,
 any aged person; 215, 248, 253, 282, 314.
 [cf. wègumi jimg].
 ugumuljin -- eight (card.); 41, 199, 201, 250.
 ugumuljinèwei -- eighth; 23, 200.
 ugumuljin tèsijig, tèsigel -- 8 (ord.); 199.
 ugumuljin tèsisgag -- 80; 199. v. tèsisgègsijig, -gagal.

- ugunag̃ -- (so many) days; 202, 203.
-uguni -- to be (so many) days old; 203.
ugunmajeiwağan/uai, /emual -- [v. wenmajei]
-ugusalai, in, it -- to spend (so many) months; 203.
wi- -- v. wiji.
wiag̃ātu -- to mix, mingle; 133.
wiag̃iw -- pell-mell, mingled, confused; 26, 189.
wig, wiggel, wigèg -- soft, sweet, succulent; 25, 40, 256.
wigapug, wigapugsi -- good-tasting, to taste good, tasty; 25, 27,
37, 40, 70, 254, 257, 276, 284.
wiga-, wigat- -- v. ewigai-, ewigatəm.
wigatigen(əl) -- book, paper, letter; 32, 40, 103, 136, 138, 140,
143, 149, 164, 194, 208, 213, 275, 283.
nt/uigatigen, gt-, ugt-
wigatigenam, naḡ, noltigw -- to make use of books, paper; 283.
wigatigenemi -- to have a book, some paper; 283.
wigatigen/jij -- a little notebook; 136.
wige -- v. ewigem.
wigèg -- v. wig.
wigemui -- v. ewigem.
wigew -- fat, the fat of food; 26, 283.
wigéwi, in, it, ig -- to be fat, in good health; 26, 27, 70, 263,
283.
wigepaleg, palt- -- to give a feast; 211, 230, 232, 270.
wigepalting -- v. wipumtingewei.
wigi -- v. ewigi.
wigige- -- ewigigei.
wigigəmgéwei -- [something to write with]; 136, 275.
wigigenapu -- ink; 16, 251, 283.
wigigéwinu -- v. nuji wigigèt.
wigigenei -- pencil; 283.
wigmawi- -- v. éwigmaw-i.
wigpei, pet -- to drink, to like to drink; chronic drunkenness; 26,
268.
wigpeg, wigtem -- to like (the taste of) -- 27, 118, 181, 254, 258,
284.

WIGUAJEJG(EL)

WIJUSIMG

- wiguajejg(el) -- pleasure, agreeable thing; 25-6, 31, 321.
n/wiguajejgem, g-, ug- -- my, your, his pleasure.
- wiguajimai -- to smell agreeable; 265.
- wiguajulg, jutū, taĝ -- 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.
- wiguiēi, guiatieg -- to die, become feeble; 26, 33, 220, 225.
- wigung, utem, temaĝ -- to call, invite; 302.
- wiguntimgewei -- invitation; 302.
- wiguom -- hut; 25, 277, 279.
- wiguomam -- v. wiguamam.
- wiguomi -- v. wiguami.
- wigupaltimgewei -- v. wipuntimgewei.
- wigupj, wigupjig, wipugjig, upugjig, wipigj, upugj, wigups -- before long; soon; 29, 225, 302.
- wigus -- month (in composition); 203, 264.
- wiĝustaĝ -- to hear with pleasure; 297.
- wigutem, temag, temai -- to ask for; to claim a thing; 197.
- wigutemelseug, sewatem, temaĝ -- to ask in the name of another; 294.
- wij- -- v. wiji.
- wijeg -- a kind of partridge (Rand calls it Spruce partridge); 35.
wijegisgw -- female.
- wijei -- the same thing, just as, also; 18, 26, 212.
- wijeti- -- to go together; 235, 276.
- wijeug, eut, ewajel -- to go with, accompany; 192, 220, 293, 294.
wijetigw -- to go together in a group.
- wiji, wij-, wi- -- with; 220, 255.
- wijigemg, gemgig, gemjig, gemaji -- to have brothers, as brothers;
have sisters, near kin, relatives; 46, 183, 192, 282, 301, 315.
- wijigetigw, tieg, tultigw -- to be brothers, neighbors; 120, 197,
259, 296, 303.
- wijusimg -- to have a brother- or sister-in-law, of a married person; 316.

WILLIOM

WIP

- williom -- William; 52.
- wilui, wiluing -- to have nourishment; to be nourishment; to have food; 284, 288, 321.
- win, wip -- marrow, sap; 26.
- wināleg, tu, taġ -- to profane, corrupt; dirty, spoil, make bad; 133, 303.
- winapuguei, gueigw, guatigw -- to speak bad, say bad things; 61, 102.
- wināsi -- to do badly; to do bad things; 61, 260.
- winategei -- to do bad; 267.
- winātu -- v. wināleg.
- winei, nēg -- to be corrupted; 262.
- winēiaġ, otem, temaġ -- to soil, profane, spoil, dirty; 191, 272, 295.
- winējgel -- bad things; lewdness, evil things [cf. winjig]; 31, 123, 258, 262.
- winēwistu -- to speak badly; 275.
- wingwijāleg, tu, taġ -- to give bad thoughts; to scandalize; 303.
- wingwijin, gwitg -- to have bad thoughts; 273.
- wingutai -- to be badly dressed; 265.
- wini- -- bad, wicked, dirty; 135, 220, 256.
- winiei, ien, iet, iaġ -- to be soiled, wicked; 103, 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.
- winitēlemeg -- to wish evil to; 300.
- winjig(el) -- evil, bad [cf. winējgel]; 33, 77, 211, 250, 299.
- wirmetu -- to be bad, to behave badly; 134.
- winotasi, sin, sit -- to be desecrated; 71.
- winotegei -- to profane; 267.
- winotem -- v. wineiaġ.
- winpasi, sin, sit -- to try, to make efforts; 71.
- winpegitg -- it flows badly; 123.
- winsétaġ -- to hear badly; 297.
- winsit -- the wicked, the fornicator; 261.
- winsutil -- temptations; 33, 185.
- wip -- v. win.

WIPEMG

WISUNGEUGSI

- wipemg -- to sleep with, lie with; 192, 301.
wipetemêgw -- shark; 37.
wipetemaġ -- plural.
wipetigw -- we sleep with each other; 192, 260.
wipiei, ieigw, iatigw -- to be with, accompanying; 103.
wipigj -- v. wigupj.
wipoġom -- trunk; 189.
wipugjig -- v. wigupj.
wipung, utem, temaġ -- to eat with; 192, 302.
wipuntingewei, wigupaltingewei, wigepalting -- a feast with Indians
and whites; place for smoking; 233, 270, 302.
wiputigw, ieg -- to eat together; 260, 272.
wis -- den, lair; 26, 27.
wisawaltugwat -- blond hair; 264.
wisawei, weg -- yellow; 22, 276.
wisawi suliéwei -- gold (yellow silver); 24.
wisausun(əl) -- orange [lit.: yellow cranberry]; 284, 309.
wisġési, sin, sit -- to be sick; 51, 72, 115.
wisġesuaġan -- v. wisġésuti.
wisġesuaġanemi, ġanam -- to have a contagious disease, to suffer from
it, even when there will be not any of it around oneself; 284.
wisġésuaġan -- disease (contagious); 72, 284, 293, 306.
wisġésuti
wisġew, wisġi -- quickly, suddenly, unexpectedly; 26, 143, 220, 226.
wisġoġ -- the ash-tree; 226.
wisġugwateġei -- to make food, to do the cooking; 241, 242, 243.
wisġwi -- astonishingly, with astonishment; 26, 220, 226.
wisġupeġel -- [foods]; 181.
wisġsis -- v. waisis.
wissugoul, gousi -- I cook for you, for myself; 197.
wissugwei -- v. wêsgugwai.
wisuigenéiag, notem, temaġ; netem -- to vanquish, conquer, surpass,
tame; 118, 295.
wisuigenétemui- -- to put into confusion, to rout; 170.
wisun -- name; 51, 164, 168, 213, 299, 300.
n/wisunem, ġġ-, ug- -- my, your, his name.
wisungeug, géwatem, temaġ -- to give a name; 118, 175.
wisungeugsi -- to receive a name; 193.

- wisungeugsi -- to receive a name; 193.
wisupeg, pem -- to cook for someone; 182.
wi-t, wite- -- [v. ewiteg].
witigetultigw -- we are brothers; 316.
witlugouget -- we cooperate with him; 293.
witlugutigw -- (to) work together; 220.
witni, witnuni -- to have nostrils; 284.
witpitaġ -- to be seated with someone; 220.
witui, wituai -- to be bearded; 40, 70.
wituni -- v. witni.
witusi -- to call (name) oneself [cf. ewitem]; 262.
wiugsunel -- [?burdens]; 320.
wius -- meat, flesh; 26, 27, 318.
[u-iws or wi-us in Pacifique] n/, g/, ug/wusem.
wiusaġu -- (meat) broth; 16, 251.
n/uj, g/uj, uj/el [/ujjel/] -- father, priest; 12, 15, 17, 18, 20,
26, 27, 33, 46, (?50), 70, 75, 84, (?187), 206, 215, 216,
217, 246, 248, (?250), 251, (?279), 290, 295, 312, 314, 317.
ujalat -- [v. wejatun]; 149.
uj(eg) -- fly; 17, (?33), (?50), 179, (?187), (?250), 259, (?279), 302,
(?314).
ujga- -- v. éujgai.
n/ujij, g/ujij, ujij/el; ujiji -- my, your, his grandchild [grandson
or granddaughter]; 26, 222, 283, 315.
ujimg -- v. éujimg.
ujotem- -- gwéjéiag.
ujusen -- the wind; 255, 283, 289.
[cf. wejuseg].
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,
265, 281, 285, 287, 293, 294, 295.
ulaël -- in this direction; 230.
ulaġan(n, el) -- vase; 34, 40, 49, 251, 257.
ulagu -- yesterday [cf. wélaġw]; 43, 44, 63, 91, 133, 136, 209, 225,
226, 250, 258, 317.

- ulāweg -- [v. welāweg].
 ulatingéwel -- v. uléimgéwei.
 ulalue- -- v. welāleg.
 ulamugsuti -- beauty; 261.
 [cf. welamugsi]
 ulamul- -- v. welamugsi.
 ulaḡesi- -- v. welapesi.
 ulapt- -- v. welaptem.
 ulaḡuḡé -- v. welaḡuḡei.
 ulategé- -- v. wélategei.
 ula tet -- there, in this place; right here [cf. têt]; 230, 232, 250.
 ulātu- -- v. welāleg.
 ulei- -- v. welei-.
 ulegis- -- v. welegisg.
 ulegisge- -- v. weligisḡeg.
 -uleigw -- to be (so many) boats, there are...; 204.
 uléimgéwei, uloti, ulitasuti, ulaltingéwei -- health, good fortune
 [cf. welei]; 101, 214, 235, 257, 262, 270.
 n/uloti, g/uloti/m, uloti/m.
 ulewistu- -- v. wewistu.
 uleiulangel -- v. wéléiwei.
 ulḡwijasi- v. wélḡwijási.
 uli -- v. weli.
 ulia-, ulie- -- v. weliei.
 uligisḡét -- v. wéligisḡeg.
 ulim- -- v. wélimg.
 ulimati- -- to glorify; 153, 265.
 ulimgusi- -- v. welimgusit.
 uli nimangéwei -- holy Viaticum, holy Last Sacrament; 89, 264.
 ulitas- -- v. wélitasi.
 ulitasuti -- v. uléimgéwei.
 uliteteg- -- v. welitetegei.
 ulitétem -- v. welitétem.
 ulmetu -- v. wélmētu.
 ulonug -- tonight; this evening; 31, 43, 44, 207, 226, 242, 258, 318.
 ulonugwel -- towards the evening; 226.
 ulotemulguj -- [v. wéléiaḡ].

- uloti -- v. uléimgéwei.
ulpij -- v. welpit-.
ulsét -- v. wélsétem.
ultesin- -- v. wéltessin.
n/ulugs/, g/ulugs/, ulugs/el -- my, your, his nephew; 28, 316.
ulufgasig -- [well-written]; 208.
[< wel + ewigasi] [q.v.]
u/maltematasit -- to change into blood; 196.
umgigel -- [? his wounds]; 306.
umgugumin -- (you) hail; 289.
un -- fog; 17.
unağa- -- v. wenağiei.
unağalalin -- [v. nağal-]; 302.
unağanigan -- capital; 17, 251.
unağāsi -- v. wénağāsi.
Unağating -- Ascension; 267.
unağgwiğāsi -- v. wénağgwiğāsi.
unağie- -- v. wénağie-.
unağum -- v. nāweg.
Unamāği -- Cape Breton; 17, 251.
-unasig -- (so many) fathoms, spans of the arms; 205.
-unemigsit, sijig -- (so many) of a kind; 204.
unesgij -- 276.
ungigw -- [v. wengigwi]
uni janga- -- v. wéni jangai.
uni jin -- [? v. ni jintut]; 211.
unjeg -- on his head; 273, 318.
n/unji; g/unji; unji, unuji -- my, your, his head; 45, 90, (273), 276, 318, 319.
unma jei -- v. wenma jei.
unma jei/wata -- v. wénma jéiağ.
unmajitasi -- [v. wénma jéi]; 258, 303.
unmajitasuti -- sorrow; 257, 312.
unpitemuan -- [v. nepitem]; 188.
untawi -- [? v. netawi]; 115, 178.

- unuji -- v. unji.
- wogéjij, wogéjit -- spider; 26, 179.
- wogéjijaŋi -- cobweb, spider's web; 26.
- wow(g) -- pot, boiler, caldron, kettle; vessel; 26, 36, 38.
- wowgis -- fox; 26, 181.
- upestunemelin -- [v. pestunem.]
- upitnei -- sleeve; 17, 251.
- uŋusgewistun -- talkative; 149.
- upugjig, upugj -- v. wigupj.
- usante- -- v. wésantem.
- usan -- deluge (Rand); 265.
usaninug -- there is none.
- m/usapun -- hair, head of hair; 257, 261, 319.
- usapun/i- -- v. wésapuni.
- usegewalin -- v. segewei.
- usési -- nest; 255.
- usgagêlem-, gêlt- -- v. wesgagêlemeg.
- usgagêlmue- -- v. wesgagêlmuei.
- n/usgalug, g/usgalug -- v. -plagâneg.
- usgêwê-, usgêwot- -- v. wesgêwêi, wêsgêwêiaĝ.
- usgiĵi -- v. wesgiĵi.
- usgiĵinu(g) -- person, people, a living person; 73, 253, 286.
- usgiĵinuti -- birth, life, nature; 73, 165, 178, 225, 265, 270, 272, 286.
- usgiĵipenêgw, -gug -- offering(s), victim, hosts (small pieces of bread during mass); 38, 303.
- usgit -- v. wesgiĵi.
- usgitgamug -- v. ugsitgamug.
- usgitgamugêwaĝ -- men, inhabitants of the earth; 230.
- usgitgamugewel -- [earthly things; the world]; 180.
- usgitpaĝtug -- on the waves, on the waters; 235, 265.
- usgittug -- over, outside of; 230.
- usgittugêwêl -- exterior things; 230.
- usgituĝwiĝemui -- write me the address; 181.
- usgos -- 184, 272.

- usgot- -- v. wesgotem.
usgwei- -- v. wesgweiag.
usgugwa- -- v. wesgugwai.
usgumge- -- v. wesgumgei.
usgutem- -- v. wesgumg.
usi, -in, it -- warm oneself; 17, 18, 70, 262.
usimugwa- -- v. wesimugwai.
ussétawiegapen -- [v. westawig]; 170.
ut -- that, this one (before the eyes, can be pointed at); here; 14,
17, 18, 25, 32, 51, 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 -- my, your, his village.
utapsun, g/utapsun, utapsun -- my, your, his property; 24, 275, 280,
301, 321.
Utawa, Atua -- Ottawa; 22.
n/uteg, gûteg, uteg -- behind me, you, him -- 232, 236, 320.
gutenag -- behind us.
n/utemağan, g/utemağan -- v. temağan.
n/utemigen, g/utemigen, utemigen -- v. temigen.
n/utemotağan, g/utemotağan, utemotağan -- v. utemotağan.
utgapat -- v. wetgapatem.
utgutai, tan, tat -- to make an obsequies, to be present at a funeral; 88.
utgûtalg, utgûtatem -- 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. eim; 138.
utmei- -- wetmeiag.
u/tmotağan -- v. utemotağan.
n/utomağan, g/utomağan, utomağan -- v. temağan.
n/utomawei, g/utomawei, utomawei -- v. temawei.
utpelutağanemel -- v. têplutağan.
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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ORDERED LIST OF MICMAC RULES

	NUMBER	RULE
MORPH	(KF)	[+2Theme][-Neg][+2,+sing][+3,-1] =====> /esg/ / _____ [-Fut]
MORPH	(KG)	Theme expansion
MORPH	(KH)	No expansion
MORPH	(KI)	Person expansion
MORPH	(KJ)	Number expansion
MORPH	(KK)	Num expansion
MORPH	(KL)	Plural expansion
MORPH	(KC)	Affix Permutation
MORPH	(KD)	13-lexical-insertion

MORPH	(KL)	Plural expansion
MORPH	(KC)	Affix Permutation
MORPH	(KD)	l3-lexical-insertion
MORPH	(KE)	l2-lexical-insertion
?MORPH	(JG)	Neg-expansion: Neg → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /nu/ \\ /u/ \\ \text{---} [-an] \end{array} \right\}$
?MORPH	(FF)	i-stem/consonant stem AI prediction
(KM)	u/o alternation:	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-long} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \rightarrow [-diff] / [-voc] \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+comp} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right]$
(DC)	[a,e]u → o:	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+VOCs} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{<-long>} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{<OPT>} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+grave} \\ \text{+comp} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{<-grave>} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-cons} \\ \text{+grave} \\ \text{+comp} \\ \text{<+diff>} \end{array} \right]$ a ⇒ b,d;b ⇒ c
(BG)	glide-insertion:	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{<-unit>} \\ \text{-cons} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+voc} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{-long} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \#$
(BA)	glide-formation	
(MA)	ā[theme]-deletion	
(BB)	Final-vowel-shortening	
(DD)	w-devoicing	
(MD)	n → ∅ / p <u> </u> #	
(BC)	v → ∅ / $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-long} \\ v \end{array} \right] \text{---} + [-plural]$	
(DG)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+VOCs} \\ \text{-long} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \text{<OPT>} \text{b} \rightarrow \emptyset / \left(\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{-long} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{>} \right) \text{<e>} \text{---} \text{<v>} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{-long} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{>} \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{-long} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{>} \text{<+FB>} \text{c, e ⇒ q, f, a ⇒ a, b ⇒ b, e ⇒ e or f}$	
(FB)	t → ∅ / c <u> </u>	
(BI)	t → ∅ / j / i <u> </u>	
(CC)	$\left[\begin{array}{l} u \\ \text{-long} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{<-unit>} \\ \text{-long} \end{array} \right] / t \text{---} i$	
(CB)	$\emptyset \text{---} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} t / \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{<-VOCs>} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \# \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+VOCs} \\ \text{-cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{>} \\ i / \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+cons} \\ \text{-diff} \\ \text{-long} \\ \text{+grave} \end{array} \right] \text{>} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+seg} \\ \text{+cons} \end{array} \right] \# \end{array} \right.$	
(KA)	ñ → ∅ / <u> </u> ā [+cons]	
(KB)	ɹ → ∅ / ű <u> </u> [+voc]	

- (CC) $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} u \\ <-long> \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-----} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <-unit> \\ -long \end{smallmatrix} \right] / t \text{---} 1$
- (CB) $\emptyset \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} t / \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <-nas> \\ <-cons> \\ <-anim> \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{---} \# <[-voc]> \\ 1 / \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <-cons> \\ + \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +seg \\ +cons \end{smallmatrix} \right] \# \end{array} \right.$
- (KA) $\check{u} \text{-----} \emptyset / \text{---} \check{a} \left[+cons \right]$
- (KB) $\check{a} \text{-----} \emptyset / \check{u} \text{---} \left[+voc \right]$
- (DE) $s \text{-----} t / +V \left[\check{a}, e \right] \text{---} 1 + i + \left[+seg \right]$
- (GA) $s \text{---} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <OPT> \\ \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right] / +V \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +voc \\ <-grave> \\ <-diff> \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{---} i + <[+segment] + >$
- (HC) $\alpha\text{-deletion: } \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +comp \\ -grave \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-----} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +voc \\ +diff \end{smallmatrix} \right] / < \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +diff \\ +grave \end{smallmatrix} \right] + >$
- (HE) $n \text{-----} t / \text{---} ap$
- (HF) $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} -voc \\ -cons \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-----} \emptyset / \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +voc \\ -comp \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{---} + \left[\begin{smallmatrix} -nas \\ +cons \end{smallmatrix} \right]$
- (FG) u-insertion
- (HD) shwa-deletion: $V \ 1 \ e \ 2 \ \text{====} \rightarrow 1 \ 1$
- (DF) $j \text{-----} y / \text{---} \left[+obst \right]$
- (GC) $i \text{-----} \emptyset / e \text{---} +$
- (CD) $i \text{-----} <_3 +unit>_3 / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} <_1 + > \\ <_2 -grave>_2 \end{array} \right. \left[\begin{smallmatrix} -diff \\ +long \\ <-grave>_2 \end{smallmatrix} \right] <_3 + > <_2 \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +son \\ -voc \end{smallmatrix} \right]_2, a \Rightarrow b$
- (HA) i-shortening / $j \text{---} p$
- (BD) $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \emptyset \text{ grave} \\ \emptyset \text{ comp} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} -grave \\ -comp \end{smallmatrix} \right] / a) \left[\begin{smallmatrix} -long \\ -anim \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[\begin{smallmatrix} -cons \\ +diff \end{smallmatrix} \right] \# , a \Rightarrow b \\ \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +grave \\ +comp \end{smallmatrix} \right] / b) \left[\begin{smallmatrix} (u)ti \\ +prnp \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <-grave> \\ +verb \end{smallmatrix} \right] + , c \Rightarrow d \end{array} \right.$
- (FH) $\left[-long \right] \text{-----} \emptyset \text{---} + \left[+plural \right]$
- (FK) $V \text{---} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <OPT> \\ +long \end{smallmatrix} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} -diff \\ -voc \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{---} \left(\left[\begin{smallmatrix} -voc \\ +diff \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right) \\ \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +obst \\ -diff \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[\begin{smallmatrix} +cons \\ +diff \end{smallmatrix} \right] < \left(\left[\begin{smallmatrix} -voc \\ +cons \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right) \end{array} \right. \left[\begin{smallmatrix} <-diff> \\ <-grave> \end{smallmatrix} \right] \cdot$
- (JF) $V \text{-----} \left[+long \right] / \text{---} ji$

- (DB) vowel-copying: $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{unit} \\ +\text{diff} \end{array} \right]_3 \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \end{array} \right]_4 \Rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{long} \end{array} \right]_4$
- (DH) Stress rule
- (GF) i-deletion: i $\rightarrow \emptyset$ / a) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{diff} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ -\text{stfr} \end{array} \right]$
 b) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{stress} \\ +\text{segment} \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{diff} \end{array} \right]_2 + \text{---} + \text{C}$
- (DI) g-spirantization: g \rightarrow [uvular] / $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{diff} \\ +\text{ve} \end{array} \right]$ ---
- (DJ) contraction
- (EA) shwa-insertion
- (DK) unstressed vowel-deletion; vowel reduction
- (JA) i \rightarrow e / s \rightarrow g
- (MC) V \rightarrow e / $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{anim} \\ +\text{son} \end{array} \right] +$
- (AD) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{son} \\ +\text{cons} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow$ [+syllabic] / $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$
- (GG) i \rightarrow u / C [u,w] --- $\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{long} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right]$
- (KN) i \rightarrow u / --- + \bar{u}
- (FI) V \rightarrow [-long] / --- [-plural]
- (JD) V \rightarrow [+long] / $\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{anim} \end{array} \right] +$
- (DL) initial g-deletion: $\left[\begin{array}{c} <wB> \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right]_1 / \text{g/} \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right]_2 / \text{g/} \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right]_3 <\text{obst}>_4 \Rightarrow 1 \ \emptyset \ 3 \ 4$
- (CE) g-insertion: $\emptyset \rightarrow$ /g/ / $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} <wB> \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right\}_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} <wB> \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right\}_2 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} <wB> \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right\}_3 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{voc} \\ +\text{grave} \\ +\text{diff} \end{array} \right\}_4 <\text{+}>_a \text{---} <_1 \text{+}>_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{obst} \end{array} \right]_4$
 a \Rightarrow b or c
- (CA) i \rightarrow \emptyset / --- [u,w]
- (JB) i \rightarrow \emptyset / $\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{anim} \end{array} \right] +$
- (EB) [u,o] \rightarrow [+long] / $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \end{array} \right]_2$
- (DO) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] <\text{OBL}> \rightarrow \emptyset$ / $\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] <_1 \text{long}> / \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{grave} \\ -\text{diff} \end{array} \right] <_1 \text{long}> \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \end{array} \right]$

MINOR

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- (CA) i -----> \emptyset / _____ [u,w]
 - (JB) i -----> \emptyset / [-anim] +
 - (EB) [u,o] -----> [+long] / _____ [+cons]
[+grave]₂
 - (DO) [+cons]
[+grave] -----> \emptyset / _____ [+cons]
[-diff] <OBL> -----> \emptyset / _____ [+cons]
[-diff] <+long>
 - (DA) e -----> \emptyset / _____ [+voc]
[+grave]
 - (FJ) a -----> \emptyset / _____ δ
 - (AA) C-voicing: [+obst] -----> [+voice] / [+voice] _____ [+voice]
 - (DM) l-nasalization: l -----> n / _____ +
 - (DN) glide-revocalization: [+cons]
[-grave] -----> [+voc] / _____ [-voc]
[-diff] <+grave>
 - (BF) geminate segment agglomeration: [+segment]₁ [+segment]₂ -----> \emptyset [+long]₂ .
where 1 = 2, except possibly
in length and continuity
 - (EH) g-rounding: [-cons]
[+grave] -----> [+cons]
[-diff]₂ [-unit] [+voc]
[-diff]₃ [-cons]
[-diff]₄ -----> 1 [+round]₂ [-voc]
[-diff]₃ <+grave>
 - (IB) w <OPT> -----> \emptyset / [+voc]
[-diff] -----> [+cons]
[-diff]₂ [-unit] [+voc]
[-diff]₃ [-cons]
[-diff]₄ -----> 1 [+round]₂ [-voc]
[-diff]₃ <+grave>
- m/p-alternation
- (IC) [+voc]
[-diff] -----> [-long] / _____ + [-cons]
[-diff] / e/
 - (AC) [+cont] -----> [+long] / _____ c
 - (AB) [+obst] -----> [+aspirated] / _____ { [+obst] }
#
 - (IA) [+obst] -----> [-voice] / _____ #
 - (BH) a -----> [-long] / _____ + { [+obviative] }
[+plural]