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BELAND, JEAN-PIERRE ATIKAMEKW MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICON.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, PH.D., 1

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### Atikamekw Morphology and Lexicon

Ву

Jean Pierre Beland

Grad. (University of Montreal) 1965 Grad. (Laval University) 1970

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Atikamekw Morphology and Lexicon

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### 1. Introduction

This dissertation is intended to be an introductory description of what is now called Atikamekw, a Cree dialect spoken in the interior of southwestern Quebec, Canada. Its immediate purpose is to give a detailed account of the limited corpus of Atikamekw speech material I have collected from various informants during field trips at Manouane, Weymontachie and Obedjiwan, from 1974 to 1977.

The main object of the study to be presented is a synchronic description of the inflectional and derivational categories of Atikamekw. Although it is not meant to be diachronic or comparative, some aspects of this study are concerned with historical developments of forms and comparisons with other Cree dialects.

This dissertation is not meant to be an exhaustive research on the morphological structure of Atikamekw, nor does it pretend to be an urmodifiable linguistic analysis. In fact, since there is almost nothing published yet on this dialect, the present work is intended to be a framework of reference for further studies, and is thus subject to improvement and completion. The presentation of the linguistic data on Atikamekw is organized in terms of Bloomfield's conceptual frame, as illustrated in Algonquian (1946), Eastern Ojibwa (1958) and The Menomini Language (1962).

# 1.1 The designation 'Atikamekw'

There has been considerable variation in the literature regarding the designation of the bands living in the upper St. Maurice region of the Province of Quebec. In the early records (see Sulte 1933, Tessier 1935, Thwaites 1902), the French appellations Gens-des-Terres (People of the Inlands) and Tribus de l'intérieur (Tribes of the Interior) are commonly used to name the 'Attikamègues', also called 'Poissons-Blancs' (White fish) and the 'Tête-de-Boule' (Round Heads).

Up until very recently, many scholars were led to believe that the designation Tête-de-Boule was a word made up by the French Canadians to designate the Atikamekw.

"Après cette dernière date (1680), on ne rencontre plus de mention des Attikamègues, ou Poissons-Blancs, mais il y a des Têtes-de-Boule partout. A mon avis, c'est un changement de nom inventé par les Canadiens du pays" (B. Sulte, 1933).

A close examination of the early records, however, reveals that the Atikamekw and the Têtes-de-Boule may have been two distinct tribes, the latter replacing the former, decimated 'because of smallpox and in

consequence of their numerous wars with the Iroquois' (Burger 1953).

N. Clermont (1977), quoting Kinietz (1940), observes that the name
Têtes-de-Boule, according to the district supervisor Raudot, designates another tribe, the Machatanitibis, culturally distinct from the Atikamekw.

Oral traditions (according to Burger 1953) and archeological evidence (Clermont 1977) seem to concord on keeping the Têtes-de-Bouledistinct from (and successors of) the Atikamekw. The Têtes-de Boule were 'an Algonquian tribe who then roamed through the wilderness north of Lake Superior. The remnant of this tribe migrated, in the 19th century, to the St-Maurice river' (Thwaites 1902). If this is correct, then there is no doubt that the name Atikamekw has been reinstored very recently to designate the Têtes-de-Boule. It should be noticed that, even today, the terms Atikamekw and Têtes-de-Boule are not generally accepted among the Indians, the designation 'Cree' being preferred.

# 1.2 The classification of Atikamekw

The Atikamekw are less than three thousands and live in three villages: Manouane, Weymontachie and Obedjiwan. The surrounding dialects are Cree spoken further north, Montagnais in the east, and

Algonkin in the west. Frequent contacts are made with the Algonkins and the Montagnais; impressionistically, the level of intelligibility is relatively high<sup>1</sup>.

The main features that have led to the classification of all the Cree dialects are the reflexes of Proto-Algonquian \*1 and \*k. PA \*1 remains /1/ in the Montagnais dialects located on the north shore of the St. Lawrence river, up to Sept-Iles, and becomes m/ further north (or m/ in some villages) and on the Labrador Coast. From Mistassini and Waswanipi (a few hundred miles north of Obedjiwan), west to James Bay, are the m/ dialects. Atikamekw has m/ as reflex of PA \*1. PA \*2 remains m/ in Atikamekw as in the western Cree dialects, and becomes m/ before front vowels in Mistassini Cree and in all the Montagnais dialects. A thorough dialect survey is still needed to account for the further subgroupings that are found within the Montagnais and the Cree dialects of Quebec. (For further discussion on Cree dialects, see Wolfart 1971 and 1973, p. 7-10).

The identification of Atikamekw as a Cree dialect was done by Michelson (1933 and 1939) who used Coopers's linguistic material.

Before Cooper, Atikamekw was classified either as a mixture of Chippewa and Christinaux (Quaife 1921) or as an Algonquin-Ojibwa dialect (Davidson 1928)<sup>2</sup>.

Atikamekw displays a large set of relational paradigms, 'a peculiarity of the Cree verb' (Bloomfield 1928, p. 429), and contrasts, with Arapaho and Micmac (Goddard 1967, p. 68) exclusive and inclusive endings. Phonologically, the reflex of PA \* $\theta$  is Atikamekw /t/ as in all the Cree dialects. The Atikamekw phoneme /r/, a trill alveolar which sometimes alternates with /t/ word initially at Obedjiwan, is the reflex of PA \*t, \*nt, \*nt and \*t0 (see no 12.5.05).

PA \*0 distinct from PA \*1 is required only by Cree and Arapaho. Some occurences of Atikamekw /r/, however, point toward pre-Cree \*1. The PA word for 'tongue' is \*-i:0an- (Haas 1958). But pre-Cree \*-i:lan-has to be posited for Cree mita'yune (Watkins), miteyaniy (Lacombe), utelini (Lemoine) and Atikamekw oteriniy. A similar situation exists for 'to hide him'; besides PA \*kyaa0eewa (Bloomfield 1946, no 233) a pre-Cree form with \*1 is needed to account for ka'yao (Watkins), kalew (Lemoine) and Atikamekw ka:rew.

Some transitive animate finals also point toward pre-Cree \*1. For instance, besides PA \*- $p(w)e\theta$ - 'grind, saw' (Hewson 1974), there is pre-Cree \*-po(:)l-; ke'skipooyao (Watkins),  $t\hat{askipuyew}$  (Lacombe),  $t\hat{shimpul}$  (Lemoine) and Atikamekw -po:r-.

#### 1.3 Field work

The present description is based on linguistic data collected on a part-time basis, from 1974 to 1977. Many informants from Manouane, Weymontachie and Obedjiwan contributed to the grammatical analysis to be presented.

Mrs. Suzanne Dubé, from Manouane, is in her early sixties. She provided me with many sacred stories and her knowledge of medicinal plants was a source of many fascinating lexical studies. She is, with Mrs. Joe Saganash from Weymontachie, one of the rare informants not to speak French fluently. All the others were perfectly bilingual.

Mr. Marc Dubé, 32, her son, whose unfailing interest in his native language was an invaluable support to this work, served as a chief informant. Besides providing me with many linguistic forms, he was used to phonological transcription, and his help was highly appreciated in the grammatical analysis of his mother's stories. Mrs. Louise Guérin, Mr. E. Ottawa and J. Boivin were of great help in checking data and providing insightful comments on the Atikamekw word structure.

Mrs Thérèse Boivin and Mr. Edouard Chelton, from Weymontachie, Mrs. C. Mattawa and Mr. S. Awashish, from Obedjiwan, helped greatly in the preparation of the lexicon. All of them are in their early thirties, and bilingual.

# 1.4 Abbreviations and orthography

Technical abbreviations are explained when introduced in this work, but the list is given here for convenience. Many of these are familiar to Algonquianists.

T	A	Transitive Animate verb
Т	I	Transitive Inanimate verb
A	I	Animate Intransitive verb
A	12	Animate Intransitive verb of class 2
I	I	Inanimate Intransitive verb
A	N	Animate Noun
I	N	Inanimate Noun
N		Noun
P		Particle
P	r	Pronoun
R		Root
M		Media1
L		Locative form
d	•	dependent (always followed by AN or IN)
f		final (always preceded by the abbrevia-
		tion of a morphological class; e.g., Nf,
		TAf, AIf)
M		Manouane
W		Weymontachie
0		Obedjiwan

The sound system inventory of a Cree dialect is relatively simple. Thanks to the materials published by many scholars (Bloomfield, Edwards, Ellis, Wolfart, to name by a few), the phonological units essential to the Cree structure are already known. This is also true for the phonological rules, and more specifically, for the partially ordered morphophonemic rules. The symbols used in the underlying representations of Atikamekw words follow Bloomfield's spelling for Cree, with the regular substitutions generally make by Algonquianists, that is, o instead of 'u', and e: for 'a'.

The morphophonemic notation distinguishes /e:/ from /e/, the former yielding e, the latter i. This level of representation adds the symbols  $/\theta/$  and /L/;  $/\theta/$  yields t which is palatalized to  $\hat{s}$  before a high front vowel (see 12.3.01), and /L/ is used to mark the length of a preceding vowel over morpheme boundary in certain environments (12.4.02).

# 2. Grammatical Categories

#### 2.1 Introduction

According to morphology and syntactic function, Atikamekw words are basically classified into four major parts of speech: noun, pronoun, verb and particle. The part of speech of a stem is morphologically determined by the final of this stem. Nouns, pronouns and verbs are distinguished by differing and partly overlapping patterns of inflection. Particles are not inflected.

# 2.2 Major inflectional categories

The major inflectional categories are gender, number, person and obviation. Gender is animate and inanimate. In general, nouns belong to only one gender, but for some of them, there is a sustained oscillation in gender assignment due to semantic differentiation and dialectal dissimilarities (see 3.2.02). Gender is, with transitivity, one of the major dimensions which characterizes the basic classes of verb stems. Indeed, the gender of the goal distinguishes the transitive

animate stems from the transitive inanimate, and the gender of the actor differentiates the animate intransitive verbs from the inanimate intransitive (see 4.1). Thus, gender provides a basic criterion for the general classification of noun stems and for the inflectional and derivational classification of verb stems. All of them must be marked in the lexicon as being animate or inanimate.

Number is singular and plural. Almost all nouns are submitted to the number contrast, but some occur in the singular only. There is no number contrast in the obviative forms of animate and inanimate nouns (see 3.3), and in animate verbs. Only the inanimate intransitive verbs display different sets of forms that distinguish singular obviative from plural obviative (see 4.3).

Persons are: first, second, first and second, third and indefinite. When plural, the first person does not include the addressee and is called 'exclusive', as opposed to the first and second, which is 'inclusive'. The person priority order is second, first and third. In transitive animate verbs, for instance, whenever a second person, actor or goal, is involved, the inflection of the second person has to appear. If the first person, actor or goal, is involved, but not the second, then the inflection of the first person takes precedence over the third. The person priority order combines with the category of direction in transitive animate verbs to determine the direct and inverse paradigms (see 4.4.01).

Obviation is a distinction made between two third persons within a given context; the first third person is proximate, the second is obviative. Within the last category, a distinction is made between a nearer obviative and a further obviative. Animate nouns are inflected for both obviatives, inanimate nouns are marked for the further obviative only. In verbs, this distinction is not morphologically expressed.

All the combinations of these major inflectional categories are abbreviated as shown in table 1, p. 12.

#### 2.3 Inflection

Atikamekw words are inflected in three different ways: by prefixes, by initial change and by endings. The prefixes and the inflectional endings are found in all classes of words, the particles being excluded, and the latter, in a relatively fixed order. Initial change occurs in verbs inflected for the conjunct order.

### 2.3.01 Prefixes

The personal prefixes occur in the independent order of verbs, in the possessive forms of nouns and in the personal pronoun paradigm. There are three mutually exclusive personal prefixes: second person (or addressee)

Table 1

oms		P	ERSONS			GENDER	NUMBER	OB	VIAT	ION
Abbreviations	First	Second	First and Second	Third	Indefinite	Animate Inanimate	Singular Plura1	Proximate	Nearer	Further
1	+					+	+			
1p	+					+	+			
2		+				+	+			
12			+			+	+			
2p		+				+	+			
3				+		+	+	+		
3p				+		+	+	+		
3'				+		+	(+) (+)		+	
3''				+		+	(+) (+)			+
0				+		+	+	+		
0p				+		+	+	+		
0'				+		+	+		+	
0'p				+		+	+		+	
0''				+		+	(+) (+)			+
Indf					+	+	(+) (+)			-

ki-, first person (or speaker) ni-, and third person (neither addressee nor speaker) o- which alternates with  $\phi$ -. The third person prefix o- occurs in possessed nouns, in the personal pronouns and in some secondarily derived intransitive verbs based on possessed nouns.

In nouns, the personal prefixes denote the possessor. In dependent stems, the third person prefix is lengthened; the shorter form simply indicates a general or indefinite possessor (see 3.4). In the plural forms of nouns, the personal prefixes combine with inflectional endings (see 3.7.01).

In transitive animate and in intransitive verbs, the personal prefixes always refer to the actor. And since some inflectional endings are identical (1 and 2 in the singular forms throughout the independent order, 1p and 12 in the dubitative mode), the distinctions of person rest on these prefixes only. In the transitive animate verbs, the personal prefixes are matched with the category of direction (see 4.4.01) and consequently cannot be specific as to actor or goal.

# 2.3.02 Initial change

Certain verbs inflected for conjunct display initial change, that is, a systematic replacement of vowels in the first syllable of the stem.

In compound stems, initial change affects the first member of the compound. It occurs sporadically in the indicative mode, and always in the iterative mode. No examples have been found of verbs inflected in the dubitative mode that did not have initial change.

Initial change is as follows:

/i/ and /a/ are replaced by /e:/; e.g., AI, iterative, 3, mesaka:te

'whenever he arrives by water' (stem misaka:-); II, indicative, 0',

ayeko:terik 'that the other (in.) is hanged everywhere' (stem: ako:te-,

with the reduplicated prefix ay-, untouched by initial change).

/o/ is replaced by /we:/; e.g., AI, iterative, 3, kweskosite 'whenever

he wakes up' (stem: koskosi-).

/e:/ is replaced by /iye:/, and /a:/ by /iya:/; e.g., AI, indicative, 3p, piyesa:kiweparicik 'that they are coming out in vehicle' (preverb pe 'movement toward speaker'; TA, dubitative, 1-3, wiya:pama:waken 'whether I see him' (stem: wa:pam-).

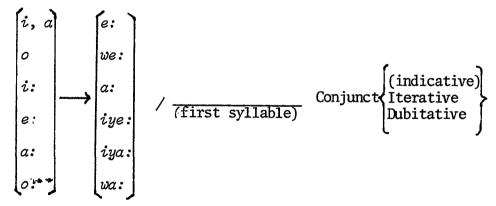
/i:/ is replaced by /a:/; e.g., AI, indicative, indf., ka:ka:skewa:sko-parina:niwakk 'where one takes a short cut in the wood (place name)', (stem: ki:sk-, reduplicated form).

/o:/ is replaced by /wa:/; e.g., TI, indicative, 3, twa:takk 'that he does it' (stem: to:t-).

Preverbs are usually affected by initial change. Exceptions are found, however. In the sample texte given in appendix A (see sentences no 30 and 31), two examples are found where the preverbs -ati- and -pe-

are unaltered when followed by verbs having the reduplication prefix ay. In both cases, initial change operates on the initial vowel of the stem, not on the preverb. E.g., ati-ayerini:ska:ke (iterative), 'whenever men will begin to be' (stem: iriniw); pe-ayeko:terik (indicative), 'the other (in.) is hanging everywhere toward him' (stem: ako:te-).

Initial change resembles a telescoping rule; this process of vowel ablaut looks as if it was a phonological derivation whose at least one intermediate stage had been lost. Synchronically, the best way of expressing initial change would probably be by a rule of morphologization, as in the following:



### 2.3.03 Endings

Inflectional endings of nouns, verbs and pronouns are discussed in chapter 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

# 3. Noun Inflection

### 3.1 Introduction

Noun stems are inflected for gender, number, person and obviation. They are possessed or unpossessed, and among the former, some occur only in possessed forms (dependent stems). Some possessed nouns are alienable and unalienable. All nouns may have a locative form, and some exhibit the preterit ending /epan/.

The noun endings occur in a relatively fixed order. Immediately after the stem, in first position, is the possessive theme sign /em/, homonymous with the obviative theme sign of the transitive animate verbs (see 4.7.03). The occurences of /em/ in possessed nouns is highly irregular (see 3.7.03). The obviative theme sign /eri/, which marks the obviative possessor of both animate and inanimate nouns, and the person endings are mutually exclusive, and thus pertain to the same position class. In position 3, are found the third person endings /(w)a/ for animate nouns, /(w)i/ and /(w)ah/ for inanimate nouns. The locative ending /ehk/, the animate plural /k/ and obviative /h/ are mutually exclusive and occur in last position.

#### 3.2 Gender

The animate and inanimate endings /wa/ and /wi/ occur after stems ending in a vowel, /a/ and /i/ elsewhere. These vowels are subject to apocope, except in a few monosyllabic stems, but by no means in all of them; compare, for instance, ka:kw 'porcupine', mwa:kw 'loon' and niska 'goose', maskwa 'bear'.

The addition of derived suffixes based on transitive and intransitive finals does not alterate the gender of the stem. E.g., from AN okima:w 'chief' are formed AN okima:kka:n 'elected chief' and AN okima:siss 'counsellor, advisor'; from IN akopp 'dress' are formed IN akoppison 'bandage' and IN akoppisoni:ya:py 'cataplasm'.

In compounds, gender is usually determined by the second member; e.g., IN masko-nakwa:kan 'bear-snare' (AN maskwa 'bear', IN nakwa:kan 'snare').

# 3.2.01 Semantic groupings

In Atikamekw, as well as in any other languages, there is no apt correspondences between the extrinsic classification imposed by a language and the intrinsic properties of entities (Hockett, 1966, p. 59). Consequently, any semantic grouping as to gender does not provide sufficient grounds to predict, with a certain amount of certainty, the

proper gender of a noun; and thus, the taxonomic value of the following groups is relatively low.

Nouns and personal pronouns which denote persons, animals, spirits, trees and legendary beings are usually animate. E.g., ki:r 'you (sg)'; na:pew 'man,male, husband'; na:tawew 'Iroquois'; ci:pay 'corpse, squeletton, ghost'; atikkw 'horse, caribou'; ki:ŝikk 'cedar-tree'; atimokka:n 'dog make of plush'. Animal hides and articles of garment made from them are animate; e.g., mo:swaya:n 'moose skin'; wa:poŝwa:n 'rabbit skin'.

A few articles of clothing and of personal adorment are also animate; e.g., pakotehon 'belt'; arakapeŝŝa:kan 'trousers, pants'; ta:pitte-pison 'earring'; mi:kis 'pearl'. Certain body parts (or growths) of humans and animals are animate; e.g., ociccikom 'wart'; mi:kon 'feather'; oŝkiŝiy 'lip'; oŝkittekom 'ear-wax'.

Some plants and their products, and a few parts of plants, are animate. E.g., patak 'potatoe (from French: patate)'; pikiw 'gum, rosin'; paka:n 'hazel-mut, nut'; oŝoŝkweto:w 'mushroom, pine cone'; oŝko:ŝkota:-minaŝkw 'orchid'. Wheat and its products are also animate; e.g., pakkwe-ŝikan 'bannock, flour'; ŝi:pahikan 'fried bannock (with meat)'; na:pa:new 'flour'; ci:paw (0) 'bread'. Tobacco and objects related to it are animate; e.g., ci:ŝtema:w 'tobacco'; ospwa:kan 'pipe'.

A few natural objects are animate; e.g., <code>acakkošš</code> 'star'; <code>ko:n</code> 'snow'; <code>miskomy</code> 'ice'; <code>onimiskiw</code> 'thunder'; <code>pi:ssimw</code> 'month, sun, moon'. Also animate are a few items of personal use, including utensils and artifacts; e.g., <code>apwi</code> 'oar'; <code>arapiy</code> 'net, fishing net'; <code>askikk</code> 'bucket, kettle'; <code>assa:m</code> 'snowshoe'; <code>ato:ss</code> 'arrow head'; <code>namok</code> 'bone used to weave snowshoe'; <code>ota:pa:na:skw</code> 'toboggan'; <code>pakkwekkicišš</code> 'frying pan'; <code>šeštokw</code> 'thread'; <code>šima:kan</code> 'spear, dart'; <code>šo:toro</code> 'cauldron (from French: chaudron)'; <code>tewehikan</code> 'drum'; <code>to:ha:n</code> 'ball'.

Included in the last group are the playing cards which are all animate; e.g., co:kar 'Joker (from English: Joker)'; ka:ka:kiss (M, W) 'club card'; ka:moti:yew 'ace of spade'; ka:ro 'diamond (from French: carreau)'; ni:sosinahikaniss 'deuce'; otehisinahikan 'heart card'; pik 'spade card (from French: pique)'; sima:kaniss 'jack card'.

As to inanimate nouns, no apparent groupings can be advanced, except the inanimate abstract nouns derived from animate intransitive verbs with the noun final /win/; e.g., atoskewin 'hunting' from AI atoske- 'to go hunting'.

### 3.2.02 Gender assignment

Some nouns, mainly selected among those that have been introduced recently in the language, show dialectal differences in gender assignment. Thus, towekan 'motor' is animate at Weymontachie, but inanimate

at Manouane. The words skito 'skidoo' and kisi:pekahikan 'soap' are animate at Weymontachie and at Obedjiwan, but inanimate at Manouane.

A few stems are both animate and inanimate, differing by their meanings. E.g., mistikw is animate in the meaning of 'tree, wood', and inanimate in the meaning of 'stick'; assiniy is animate when meaning 'rock, stone, mine', and inanimate when referring to common rocks or stones to which no importance of any kind is given, and in combination as in mo:sassiniy 'rifle bullet'; cikka:pess is animate when naming the legendary hero and inanimate in the meaning of 'cabbage'; ta:pis=ka:kan 'necktie, scarf' is animate, but inanimate when meaning 'neck-lace, harness'.

In legends, a shift of gender is found among inanimate nouns which become animate within their syntactic environment. The reverse situation, animate nouns becoming inanimate, does not seem to occur. Hence, one may describe the animate gender as 'absorptive':

"The genders of Algonquian are not balanced; the animate gender is, as it were, absorptive (...). Thus, there are routes for a shift of gender from inanimate to animate, but not the opposite'. (Hockett, 1959).

Examples are found in the sample text (see Appendix A, sentence no 5, for instance): ki: itew o:ciškišša 'he said so to him, his ass'. The word ociškišš 'ass, anus, buttocks' is inanimate, but becomes temporarily animate in a situation where a legendary hero talks to it; the

verb is transitive animate, and the animate obviative ending /a-h/, restricted to animate nouns, then shows up. When the object of the verb is plural, the shift of gender is less clear, since /a-h/ is also the ending of the inanimate plural.

### 3.3 Number

The plural of animate nouns is /k/ added to the animate ending; e.g., assa:mak 'snowshoes'; namessak 'fishes'. Inanimate nouns add /ah/ to the stem; e.g., ci:ma:na 'canoes'; masinahikana 'books'. Both suffixes follow the possessive theme sign /em/ and the plural possessor endings, should they be used; e.g., kinapaka:ttikomak 'your boards'; oci:ma:niwa:wa 'their canoes'.

When comparing the relative importance of this category with that of other inflectional categories, one often gets the impression that, in Atikamekw, if not in all Algonquian languages, the number contrast is far from having the importance it shows in Indoeuropean languages. This impression is based not only on the fact that irregularities in number concord are found much more frequently than irregularities in gender concord. More important, examples where the number contrast is neutralized are found in the inflection of obviative possessed and unpossessed animate nouns (see 3.5 below).

Almost all nouns are submitted to number contrast. Some, however, mainly proper nouns, place names, mass nouns denoting liquids or indefinitely divisible substances, occur in the singular only. E.g., A:ni: 'Annie'; Manawa:n 'Manouane'; maskomite 'bear-fat'; na:pa:new 'flour'; ko:n 'snow'; nipiy 'water'.

Some nouns have a collective and a non-collective meaning in the singular form; e.g., <code>iriniw</code> 'man, people'; <code>mitti</code> 'piece of firewood, firewood'; <code>na:tawew</code> 'Iroquois, the Iroquois nation'. When plural, only the non-collective meaning shows up. Thus, for instance, <code>wi:rississ</code> 'hair, (head of) hair, mane' has the plural form <code>wi:rississa</code> meaning 'several (single) hairs' but not 'several manes'.

There is no number contrast in the obviative forms of both animate and inanimate nouns; e.g., AN o:stessa 'his brother or brothers'; AN onapaka:ttikomiriw 'his board or boards'; IN masinahikana:ttikomiriw 'pencil or pencils'. The same is true for the locative forms: assiniyikk 'on a stone or on stones'.

### 3.4 Person

All nouns are basically third person. Anaphoric reference to possessor is made by personal prefixes in the singular forms, and by a combination of prefixes and endings in the plural forms. The person endings

are: first exclusive /ena:n/, first inclusive /enaw/, second and third plural /ewa:w/. These endings also occur in verbs.

The indefinite possessor is marked by the prefix /o/ and the animate noun is not inflected for obviative; e.g., ota:sokan 'someone's bridge'. The third person prefix is lengthened before dependent stems; e.g., AN o:kossissa 'his son or sons'; IN o:ciccy 'his hand'.

#### 3.5 Obviation

Obviation is a distinction made between two third persons within a given context. The first third person is unmarked and called proximate. It is said to be 'in focus' (Wolfart 1973, no 2.21, p. 17) and represents, in Bloomfield's term (1962, p. 38, quoted by Wolfart) 'the topic of discourse, the person nearest the speaker's point of view, or the person earlier spoken of and already known'. The second third person is marked and called obviative.

Within the obviative category, a distinction is made between a nearer obviative and a further obviative. The nearer obviative is marked by the ending /ah/ in animate nouns and by /ø/ in inanimate nouns; e.g., AN o:stessa 'his elder brother'; IN o:ci:ma:n 'his canoe'. The further obviative is marked by the ending /eri/ in both animate and inanimate nouns. E.g., AN Marc o:stessa o:napaka:ttikomiriw 'Marc's brother's board'; IN o:stessa Marc o:ci:ma:niriw 'Marc's brother's canoe'.

The ending /eri/ alternates with /eni/ when added to n-stems. Proper names are freely marked as to nearer obviative, they never take the further obviative ending; e.g., ki:wa:pamew Marc or Marca o:stessiriw 'he saw Marc's brother'.

The chief problem is to determine when a noun should be considered as further obviative. There is a great deal of variation on that matter; things are as if two different spans, within the obviative, were equally possible. For instance, when a verb inflected for third person is followed by possessed nouns, there are two distinct possibilities of expressing obviation. The first shows only one span; one noun will be nearer obviative, all the others will be further obviative. E.g., ki:-wa:pamew Marc(a) o:stessiriw o:napaka:ttikomiriw 'he saw Marc's brother's board'. The second possibility allows the speaker to introduce a new span after the nearer obviative; e.g., ki:wa:pamew Marc(a) o:stessa o:napaka:ttikomiriw 'he saw Marc's brother's board'.

The unpossessed noun related to a double-object verb is regularly inflected for further obviative; e.g., mi:rew masinahikana:ttikoriw o:tatama 'he gives a pencil to his father'. When a possessed noun is related to a double-object verb, the nearer obviative is used when there is pronominal agreement, and the further obviative otherwise; e.g., mi:rew o:stessa o:ci:ma:n 'he gives his (own) canoe to his brother'; mi:rew o:stessa o:ci:ma:niniw 'he gives his (the other) canoe to his brother'.

In general, there is agreement for obviation between actor and verb; e.g., wa:pamew atimwa e ki: miskamirici o:skaniniw 'he is looking at the dog that found his (own) bone'; wa:pamikoriwa o:kossissa o:temiriw 'his son is looking at his (the other) dog'.

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### 3.6 The preterit ending /epan/

Nouns and pronouns that occur with the preterit ending /epan/
'past, absent, no longer alive' are not frequent. The only examples
recorded are some kinship terms and the pronoun awi:n 'who'. E.g.,
o:kkomipana 'my late grandmother'; awi:nipan 'who was it?'

### 3.7 Paradigms

The following paradigms do not take into account the possessive theme sign /em/ which would have to appear before these endings. Both phonological and morphophonological representations are given below.

### 3.7.01 Animate nouns

3 3p ni--ø- /a/ 1 ni- -ak /a-k/ 2 ki- -ø-/a/ ki- -ak /a-k/ 1p ni - -ina:n - /ena:n-a/ni- -ina:nak /ena:n-a-k/ ki- -ino-12 /enaw-a/ ki- -inawak /enaw-a-k/ 2p ki- -iwa:w- /ewa:w-a/ ki- -iwa:wak /ewa:w-a-k/ 3' 3" 1 mi - -a - /a - h/2 *ki*− −*α*−  $/\alpha-h/$ 1p ni - ina:na - /ena:n-a-h/12 ki--inawa- /enaw-a-h/ 2p ki- -iwa:wa- /ewa:w-a-h/ 3 *o*- -α-/a-h/o- -iriw /eri-w/ o- -iwa:wa- /ewa:w-a-h/ 3p

### 3.7.02 Inanimate nouns

3 Зр 1 ni--ø- /i/ ni- -a-/ah/ 2 ki- -ø-/i/ ki- -a-/ah/ 1p ni- -ina:n- /ena:n-i/ ni- -ina:na- /ena:n-ah/ 12 ki--ino- /enaw-i/ ki- -inawa-/enaw-ah/ ki- -iwa:w- /ewa:w-i/ 2p ki--iwa:wa-/ewa:w-ah/ 01

1, 1p 
$$ni - -iriw \cdot /eri - w/$$

The plural possessor is not marked in obviative inanimate nouns. Hence the following sentence *ki: miskam kitastotiniriw* means 'he found your (sg or pl) hat or hats'.

### 3.7.03 The possessive theme sign /em/

The use of the possessive theme sign /em/ is highly irregular in Atikamekw, and there seems to be no simple and satisfactory set of rules, either phonological, morphological or semantic, that can account synchronically for its occurence in possessed themes. The ending /em/ appears to be lexicalized in many dependent stems, any occurence of these nouns without /em/ are ungrammatical; e.g., o:kkoma 'his wife'. In some other dependent stems, /em/ marks the alienable possession; compare, for instance, noŝtikwa:n 'my head (unalienable)' and noŝtikwa:nim 'my head (of an animal)' (notice the occurence of /em/ after n-stems; this does not occur in Plains Cree, see Wolfart 1973, no 3121, p. 28); nosit 'my foot (unalienable)' and nositim 'my foot (of an animal)'; kimi:kon 'your

feather (unalienable)' and <code>kimi:konim</code> 'your feather (alienable)'. In independent stems, the use of <code>/em/</code> follows very closely the rules already given by Ellis (1962, p. 2-16) for James Bay Cree. It is often used after postvocalic and postconsonantal <code>-w-</code>, although some body parts are excluded. Stems in <code>-iy-</code> are irregular; <code>nitacca:pim</code> 'my bow' is found besides <code>ninipiy</code> 'my water'. Stems that have preserved the animate ending <code>/a/</code> always shows <code>/em/</code> in the possessive form; e.g.,<code>o:niskama</code> 'his goose'.

### 3.7.04 The locative ending /ehk/

The locative suffix /ehk/ 'in, on, at' is used with both possessed and unpossessed noun stems. This ending occurs in the same position as the plural endings /k/ and /ah/, and the obviative endings /ah/ and /eri/. E.g., no:cimikk 'in the wood'; sa:ki:kk 'at the outlet of the river'; nostikwa:nikk 'on my head'.

#### 4. Verb Inflection

#### 4.1 Introduction

In Atikamekw as well as in all Algonquian languages, the derivational and the inflectional patterns of verbs are divided into two types according to the dimension of transitivity. Each type, transitive and intransitive, is further subdivided into two classes by the dimension of gender. This grammatical category is applied to the goal of transitive verbs and to the actor of intransitive verbs. The verb classes are thus,

transitive animate (TA); e.g., wa:pamew 'he sees him'
transitive inanimate (TI); e.g., wa:pattam 'he sees it'
animate intransitive (AI); e.g., ma:ca:w 'he is leaving'
inanimate intransitive (II); e.g., ki:sitew 'it is cooked'
The transitive animate (TA) and the animate intransitive (AI) verbs
undergo further subdivisions within the span of their inflectional endings (see 4.4.01 and 4.2.01 respectively).

This classification is mainly based on the first derivational

element to appear in a verb, namely the final. The main functions of this element is to determine transitivity and to characterize the actor and the goal as to gender<sup>2</sup>.

#### 4.1.01 Orders and modes

Verbal inflection is made in three orders: independent, conjunct and imperative. These orders are found throughout the four classes of verbs given above, with the exception of the inanimate intransitive verbs which do not have, for obvious reasons, an imperative order. Each order is essentially defined by the type of sentences or clauses in which they are found, and by different, but sometimes partly overlapping, sets of inflectional affixes. Verbs are inflected by prefixes, initial change and endings; the occurence of these into the orders is as shown in table 2:

	Independent	Conjunct	Imperative
Prefixes	+	-	-
Initial change	-	+	-
Endings	+	+	+

Verbs inflected for independent order appear in declarative sentences and take prefixes (2.3.01); e.g., ni ki: miskwew kinapaka:t-tikoma 'I found your board'. Verbs inflected in the imperative order

occur in command or request sentences; e.g., wa:pamikkok '(you, pl) look at them'. The forms of the conjunct order occur in subordinate clauses as well as in relative and locative nominal clauses; e.g., ni ka wa:pama:w ma:ca:ne 'I will see him when I leave'; ka:kinokama:k 'Long lake (place name)'.

To present a satisfactory scheme of the modal categories that would take into account all the features of the verbal system as a whole is a very difficult task to fulfil as regard to the overall patterning of modes, sub-modes and tenses that proliferate in Atikamekw. Much more work is needed to disentangle the problems, for instance, of the inner system of morphological contrasts that are found within certain modes of the conjunct order<sup>3</sup>. In spite of these difficulties, however, the Ellis's scheme (1971) is here adopted in the presentation of the Atikamekw verbal system<sup>4</sup>.

<u>Order</u>	Mode	Tense	Sub-mode
Independent	Indicative	Neutral and Preterit	
	Dubitative	Neutral and Preterit	
Conjunct	Indicative	Neutral and Preterit	Changed and Unchanged
	Subjonctive	Neutral	Unchanged
	Iterative	Neutral	Changed
	Dubitative	Neutral and Preterit	Changed
Imperative	Immediate		
	Delayed		

The independent order has two modes, the indicative and the dubitative, each in turn having neutral and preterit tenses. The modes of the conjunct order parallel closely those of the independent with the addition of the subjonctive and iterative modes, which do not have preterit forms. Verbs inflected for conjunct are subject to initial change (2.3.02). In the imperative order, there is contrast between immediate and delayed modes; the last one simply indicates that the command or request is to be performed later in time.

#### 4.1.02 Person sets

For the clarity of the discussion in the following chapters, a distinction is made between third and non-third person sets. This does not raise any particular problem in AI, II and TI paradigms, since only one referent is morphologically expressed. In the TA paradigms, the forms are conveniently classified as follows:

- a) third person set: both persons, actor and goal, are third
- b) non-third person set: only one person, actor or goal, is third
- c) you-and-me set: none of the persons involved is third.

  The fact that both third persons are involved in TA verbs does not imply that they are both morphologically expressed. In fact, this distinction reflects the historical formation of the verbs in Cree. It

should be remembered that the actual forms are the result of a tremembous amount of paradigmatic blending. In the third person set of transitive verbs, Cree and Menomini show the reflexes of forms pertaining to the Proto-Algonquian absolute paradigm in which the goal of the verb was not morphologically expressed. In the non-third person set, both languages have the reflexes of the objective paradigm in which both actor and goal were morphologically marked. (See Goddard 1967, no 3.4, p. 74; Wolfart 1973, no 5.614, p. 52).

The Atikamekw person sets simply reflects this situation throughout the TA paradigms, even when the goal is specifically marked as obviative. The endings /eme:w/ and /eme:wak/ (the theme sign /em/ marking an obviative goal in the direct forms of the independent order, see 4.7.03) have not been found in the third person set of Atikamekw TA verbs, although they are reported to occur in Plains and James Bay Cree<sup>5</sup>.

#### 4.2 Animate Intransitive verbs

Only one referent, namely the animate actor, is morphologically expressed in the animate intransitive verbs. All AI verbs are morphologically, but not semantically, intransitive.

#### 4.2.01 Classes

The animate intransitive verbs are subdivided into two classes. The first set is made of the AI verbs that are semantically intransitive. These are the most numerous, and are simply identified as AI into the lexicon. E.g., pimottew 'he is walking'; apiw 'he sits'. Verbs that are semantically transitive belong to the second set. In the lexicon, these are also identified as AI with the exception of a small subset of verbs whose finals, always ending in /a:/ are paired with transitive animate finals (see 10.1.01 and 10.1.04). These are marked as AI2 in the lexicon; they correspond to Bloomfield's 'pseudo-transitive'. E.g., AI apwew 'he is roasting (it)'; AI2 a:pacitta:w 'he uses it' (corresponding to TA a:pacihew 'he uses him').

Some verbs of the first group are sometimes used as semantically transitive verbs. In quoting or in naming, the AI form is often preferred to the transitive stem; e.g., in the sample text, sentence no 32, 'mi:niss' kata itwa:niwan ''blueberry' people will say'.

### 4.2.02 Paradigms

Animate intransitive finals end either in /i, i:, e:, a:, o/ or in /n/. Before the endings of the non-third person set, stems ending in /e:/ replace that vowel by /a:/ in the independent order and whenever

the actor is indefinite. E.g., niminikkwa:n 'I am drinking' (stem: minikkwe-); metawa:niwan 'someone is playing' (stem: metawe-). This vowel replacement does not occur in the diminutive and relational paradigms (see 4.6.01 and 4.6.02).

A /y/ is inserted between stems ending in a vowel and the non-third person set of suffixes in the conjunct indicative, subjonctive and iterative (4.2.07-09). E.g., ma:ea:ya:n 'that I leave'. This /y/ may have played a certain role in the development of the ni-alternant forms of AI n-stems (see Wolfart 1973, no 5.52, p. 50-51). Stems ending in /n/ show the form /n/ in the third person set of the independent and conjunct orders, and the form /ni/ in the non-third person set of the conjunct order. The ni-alternant is supposed throughout the relational paradigms (4.6.02).

The short ending -niwan- for indefinite actor occurs with stems ending in /a:/ or in /e:/, the last one being regularly replaced by /a:/ before this suffix. The longer alternant -na:niwan- occurs elsewhere; n-stems add connective /i/. E.g., ma:ca:niwan 'someone leaves' (stem: ma:ca:-); minikkwa:niwan 'someone drinks' (stem: minikkwa-); takoŝŝini-na:niwan 'someone arrives' (stem: takoŝŝin-).

In the third person forms of the conjunct indicative, subjonctive and iterative (4.2.07-09), and in the second person of the immediate

imperative (4.4.12), the first endings occur with stems ending in a vowel, the second with n-stems; this /n/ is replaced by /h/ before the ending /k/. E.g., ma:ca:t 'that he leaves'; takoššikk 'that he arrives'; ma:ca: 'leave'; ma:skoššini 'lie down'. In the third person plural of n-stems, however, the indicative conjunct -kik- alternates with -cik-(preceded by connective /i/); e.g., takoššikkik, takoššinicik 'that they arrive'.

At Manouane, the third person ending -t- of the indicative conjunct is palatalized in absolute final position; e.g., ma:ea:e 'that he leaves'. The suffix -t- is preserved in this position at Weymontachie and at Obedjiwan.

The obviative ending /eri/ is found with vowel stems; in n-stems, /eri/ alternates with /eni/. E.g., ma:ca:riwa 'the other is leaving'; takoŝŝininiwa, takoŝŝiniriwa 'the other arrives'.

For the suffixes written with a capital L, see 12.4.02.

## 4.2.03 AI, Independent, Indicative, Neutral

1	ni-	-n	/n/
2	ki-	-n	/n/
1p	ni-	-na:n	/ena:n/
12	ki-	-na:no, -no	/ena:naw, enaw/
2p	ki-	-na:wa:w	/ena:wa:w/
3	ø-	-w, -ø	/wa/
3p	ø-	-wak	/wa-k/
31	ø-	-iriwa, -iniwa	/eri-wa-h/
Indf.	Ø-	-(na:)niwan	/(na:)niwan-wa/

## 4.2.04 AI, Independent, Indicative, Preterit

1	ni-	-ttay	/htay/
2.	ki-	-ttay	/htay/
1p	ni-	-tta:n	/hta:n/
12	ki-	-tta:no	/hta:naw/
2p	ki-	-tta:wa:w	/hta:wa:w/
3	ø-	-o(:)pan	/oLpan/
3p	ø-	-o(:)panak	/oLpan <b>-</b> a-k/
31	ø-	-iri:pan(a)	/eri-oLpan-(a-h)/
Indf.	ø-	-(na:)niwano:pan	/(na:)niwan-wa-oLpan/

# 4.2.05 AI, Independent, Dubitative, Neutral

1	ni-	-na:toke	/n-a-oLtoke:/
2	ki-	-na:toke	/n-a-oLtoke:/
1p	ni-	-na:na:toke	/ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
12	ki-	-na:na:toke	/ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
2p	ki-	-na:wa:toke	/ena:wa:w-oLtoke:/
3	ø-	-o(:)toke	/b-oLtoke:/
3p	ø-	-o(:)tokenak	/ø-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
31	ø-	-iri:toke(na)	/eri-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
Indf.	ø-	-(na:)niwano:toke	/(na:)niwan-wa-oLtoke:/

# 4.2.06 AI, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit

1	ni-	-na:kopan	/n-a-oLk-oLpan/
2	ki-	-na:kopan	/n-a-oLk-oLpan/
1p	ni-	-na:na:kopan	/ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan/
12	ki-	-na:na:kopan	/ena:naw-oLk-oLpan/
2p	ki-	-na:wa:kopan	/ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan/
3	ø-	-okopan	/ø-oLk-oLpan/
3p	ø-	-okopanak	/ø-oLk-oLpan-a-k/
31	ø-	-iri:kopan(a)	/eri-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
Indf.	ø-	-(na:)niwanokopan	/(na:)niwan-wa-oLk-oLpan/

# 4.2.07 AI, Conjunct, Indicative, Neutral

1	-(y)a:n	/(y)a:n/
2	-(y)an	/(y)an/
1p	-(y)a:kk	/(y)a:hk/
12	-(y)akkw	/(y)ahkw/
2p	-(y)ekw	/(y)e:kw/
3	-t, -k	/t, k/
3p	-cik, -kik	/t-i-k, k-i-k/
31	-irici	/eri-t-i-h/
Indf.	-(na:)niwakk	/(na:)niwan-k/

### 4.2.08 AI, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit

1	-(y)a:pa:n	/(y)a:n-pa:n/
2	-(y)apan	/(y)an-pan/
1p	-(y)a:kkipan	/(y)a:hk-i-pan/
12	-(y)akkopan	/(y)ahkw-i-pan/
2p	-(y)ekopan	/(y)e:kw-i-pan/
3	-span,-kipan	/t-pan, k-i-pan/
3p	-wa:span, -kwa:pan	/wa:w-t-pan, k-wa:w-pan/
31	-irispan(a)	/eri-t-pan-(a-h)/
Indf.	-(na:)niwakkipan	/(na:)niwan-k-i-pan/

# 4.2.09 AI, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative

1	-(y)a:ne	/(y)a:n-e:h/
2	-(y)ane	/(y)an-e:h/
1p	-(y)a:kke	/(y)a:hk-e:h/
12	-(y)akkwe	/(y)ahkw-e:h/
2p	-(y)ekwe	/(y)e:kw-e:h/
3	-te, -ke	/t-e:h, k-e:h/
3р	-twa:we, -kwa:we	/t-wa:w-e:h, k-wa:w-e:h/
31	-irite(na)	/eri-t-e:-(n-a-h)/
Indf.	-(na:)niwakke	/(na:)niwan-k-e:h/

# 4.2.10 AI, Conjunct, Dubitative, Neutral

1	-wa:nen	/w-a:n-e:n/
2	-wanen	/w-an-e:n/
1p	-wa:kkwen	/w-a:hkw-e:n/
12	-wakkwen	/w-ahkw-e:n/
2p	-wekwen	/w-e:kw-e:n/
3	-okwen	/w-kw-e:n/
3р	-owa:kwen	/w-wa:w-kw-e:n/
31	-irikwen(a)	/eri-kw-e:n-(a-h)/
Indf.	-(na:)niwanokwen	/(na:)newan-wa-kw-e:n/

# 4.2.11 AI, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit

1	-wa:pa:nen	/w-a:n-pa:n-e:n/
2	-vapanen	/w-an-pan-e:n/
1p	-wa:kkopanen	/w-a:hkw-i-pan-e:n/
12	-wakkopanen	/w-ahkw-i-pan-e:n/
2p	-wekopanen	/w-e:kw-i-pan-e:n/
3	-okopanen	/w-kw-i-pan-e:n/
3р	-owa:kopanen	/w-wa:w-kw-i-pan-e:n/
31	-irikopanen(a)	/eri-kw-i-pan-e:n-(a-h)/
Indf.	-(na:)niwanokopanen	/(na:)niwan-wa-kw-i-pan-e:n/

## 4.2.12 AI, Imperative, Immediate

### 4.2.13 AI, Imperative, Delayed

2	-o(:)kkan	/oLhk-an/
12	(missing)	
2p	-o(:)kkek(w)	/oLhk-e:k/

### 4.2.14 Formal differences

The AI endings of the independent and conjunct indicative neutral are identical to those of Plains and James Bay Cree. The only difference is in the obviative form where Plains Cree shows an unpalatalized third person ending /t/ in the indicative conjunct (Wolfart 1973, p. 43).

The third person set of the independent indicative preterit agrees with that of James Bay Cree; in this set, /htay/ is found only in Plains. The endings of the third person plural have been leveled out in Atikamekw, /ak/ being used instead of /i:k/ in James Bay. In the third person plural of the independent preterit, Ellis's form (1971, p. 87) shows the third person plural -wa:=(/wa:w/), while Atikamekw uses the animate third person plural marker /k/, the third person ending /wa:w/ being restricted to the paradigms of the conjunct order, the indicative neutral excepted.

In the 12 forms of the immediate imperative order, Atikamekw /ta:n/ is identical to the Plains Cree form (Wolfart 1973, p. 43), and freely alternates with /ta:/ (cf. the Albany ending /ta:(k)/). E.g., ma:ea:ta:, ma:ea:ta:n 'let us (incl.) leave'. In the 2p form, the general tendency is to retain the final -w- (cf. Bloomfield 1946, p. 100, PA \*-ko), -w- being lost in Plains and James Bay Cree, and among some Atikamekw speakers.

#### 4.3 Inanimate Intransitive verbs

Only one referent, the inanimate actor, is morphologically expressed by the inanimate intransitive endings. As opposed to the inanimate nouns, there is a number contrast in the obviative forms of II verbs. AI stems that do not have inanimate counterpart of their own, and TI stems with inanimate actor add the suffix <code>/oLmakan/</code>; in the latter, this suffix is added to the theme sign <code>/amw/</code> (see 4.5.01).

### 4.3.01 Paradigms

Inanimate intransitive finals end either in /i, e:a:/ or in /n/. In the following paradigms, when one person shows two endings, the first to appear always occurs with wowel stems, the second with n-stems. The obviative ending /eri/ alternates with /eni/ as in the AI verbs. In the indicative, subjonctive and iterative modes of the conjunct order, a preceding /n/ is regularly replaced by /n/ before the endings of 0 and 0p. E.g., pipokk (/pipohk/) 'that it is winter'.

### 4.3.02 II, Independent, Indicative, Neutral

## 4.3.03 II, Independent, Indicative, Preterit

## 4.3.04 II, Independent, Dubitative, Neutral

## 4.3.05 II, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit

## 4.3.06 II, Conjunct, Indicative, Neutral

0 -k /k/
0p -ki /k-ih/
0' -irik /eri-k/
0'p -iriki /eri-k-ih/

## 4.3.07 II, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit

 0
 -kipan
 /k-i-pan/

 0p
 -kipana
 /k-i-pan-ah/

 0'
 -irikipan
 /eri-k-i-pan/

 0'p
 -irikipana
 /eri-k-i-pan-ah/

# 4.3.08 II, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative

0	-ke	/k-e:h/
0p	-kwa:we	/k-wa:w-e:h/
0'	-irike	/eri-k-e:h/
0'p	-irikwa:we	/eri-k-wa:w-e:h/

## 4.3.09 II, Conjunct, Dubitative, Neutral

0	-okwen	/w-kw-e:n/
0p	-okwena	/w-kw-e:n-ah/
0'	-irikwen	/eri-ø-kw-e:n/
0'p	-irikwena	/eri-ø-kw-e:n-ah/

## 4.3.10 II, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit

0	-okopanen	/w-kw-i-pan-e:n/
0p	-okopanena	/w-kw-i-pan-e:n-ah/
0'	-irikopanen	/eri-ø-kw-i-pan-e:n/
0 <b>'</b> p	-irikopanena	/eri-ø-kw-i-pan-e:n-ah/

#### 4.3.11 Formal differences

The endings for Op and O'p have been leveled out in Atikamekw, /ah/ being used throughout the independent and conjunct order. In the independent indicative, these endings are identical to those found by Ellis (1971, p. 83) at Moose Factory.

The third person plural marker /wa:w/ is found only in the subjonctive and iterative modes (4.3.08) in Atikamekw, thus contrasting with James Bay Cree where it appears in the independent dubitative preterit and in the conjunct order, the indicative neutral being excepted.

### 4.4 Transitive Animate verbs

In the non-third person sets, two referents, namely the actor and the goal, are morphologically expressed in the transitive animate verbs, at least in the independent order. In the third person sets, inflectional reference is made for the actor only (see 4.1.03).

#### 4.4.01 Themes

The TA endings are grouped into two themes according to the direction of the action and the person priority order. Each theme displays

more than one theme signs and some of them may occur in both themes (see 4.7.02), although, when doing so, they are not usually found in the same order. The first theme determines the direct forms, and the second, the inverse forms. Whenever they are used, the person prefixes always denote the actor in the direct forms and the goal in the inverse forms.

The direct forms denote action:

- a) by a non-third person on a third person, proximate or obviative; e.g., niwa:pama:w 'I see him'; kiwa:pamima:wa 'you see the other'.
- b) by a proximate third person on an obviative third person, and by an obviative on a further obviative; e.g., wa:pamew 'he sees him'; wa:pamiriwa 'the other sees him (another)'.
- c) by a second person on a first person; e.g., kiwa:pamina:n 'you (sg or pl) see us (excl.)'.

The inverse forms denote action

- a) by a third person, proximate or obviative, inanimate or indefinite, on a non-third person; e.g., niwa:pamikw 'he sees me'; kiwa:pamikawin 'someone sees you(sg)'.
- b) by a third person obviative on a third person proximate, by an inanimate third person on an animate third person, and by a further obviative on an obviative third person; e.g., wa:pamikoriwa 'the other (3") sees him (3')'.

c) by a first person on a second person; e.g., kiwa:pamitina:wa:w
'we(excl) see you(pl)'.

Direct and inverse forms are morphologically marked, in the independent and conjunct orders, by theme signs (see 4.7.02-16). The direct and inverse forms are not totally symmetrical, the main differences coming from the insertion of inanimate and indefinite actors in the whole patterning of the TA verbs (for the direct forms involving an indefinite actor acting on a third person goal, see 4.4.02 below. For the inverse forms with inanimate and indefinite actors, see 4.4.41, B).

### 4.4.02 Paradigms

TA finals end either in a consonant or in a semivowel. Stems in /aw/ followed by morpheme initial /e/ contracts to /a:/. The endings for indefinite actor appear only in the inverse forms of the paradigms given below. In the direct forms, when an indefinite actor acts upon a third person goal, the prefixless verbs with first or second person endings are refused by the Atikamekw, although these forms are found in Plains and in James Bay Cree as well. Instead, the finals (AI) -a:kaniwi-/awekaniwi/, and (II) -a:kaniwan-/awekaniwan/, forming animate and inanimate intransitive verbs of undergoing, are added directly

to the stems. E.g., AI akima:kaniwiw, II akima:kaniwan 'someone numbers him, it; he, it, is numbered'. These endings pattern, in the different modes of the independent and conjunct orders, like those of the indefinite actor in the AI paradigms (4.2.03-13).

### 4.4.03 TA, Independent, Indicative, Direct

	-3	
1-	nia:w	/a:-wa/
2-	kia:w	/a:-wa/
1p-	nia:na:n	/a:-ena:n-a/
12-	kia:no	/a:-enaw-a/
2p-	kia:wa:w	/a:-ewa:w-a/
	-3p	
1-	nia:wak	/a:-wa-k/
2-	kia:wak	/a:-wa-k/
1p-	nia:na:nak	/a:-ena:n-a-k/
12-	kia:nawak	/a:-enaw-a-k/
2p-	kia:wa:wak	/a:-ewa:w-a-k/

-3'

# 4.4.04 TA, Independent, Indicative, Inverse

3-

-1	niikw	/ekw-a/
<b>-</b> 2	kiikw	/ekw-a/
-1p	niikona:n	/ekw-ena:n-a/
-12	kiikono	/ekw-enaw-a/
-2p	kiikowa:w	/ekw-ewa:w-a/

```
3p-
-1
         ni- -ikok
                                  /ekw-a-k/
-2
         ki- -ikok
                                  /ekw-a-k/
-1p
         ni- -ikona:nak
                                  /ekw-ena:n-a-k/
-12
         ki- -ikonawak
                                  /ekw-enaw-a-k/
-2p
         ki- -ikowa:wak
                                  /ekw-ewa:w-a-k/
            3'-
-1
         ni- -ikoriwa
                                  /ekw-eri-w-a-h/
-2
         ki- -ikoriwa
                                  /ekw-eri-w-a-h/
-1p
         ni- -ikona:na
                                  /ekw-ena:n-a-h/
-12
         ki- -ikonawa
                                  /ekw-enaw-a-h/
         ki- -ikowa:wa
-2p
                                  /ekw-ewa:w-a-h/
            0-
-1
         ni- -ikon
                                  /ekw-i-n/
-2
         ki- -ikon
                                  /ekw-i-n/
-1p
         ni- -ikona:n
                                  /ekw-ena:n/
-12
         ki- -ikona:no
                                  /ekw-ena:naw/
-2p
         ki- -ikona:wa:w
```

/ekw-ena:wa:w/

### Indf-

-1	niikawin	/ekawi-n-a/
-2	ki– -ikawin	/ekawi-n-a/
-1p	niikawina:n	/ekawi-ena:n-a/
<b>-1</b> 2	kiikawina:no	/ekawi-ena:naw-a/
-2p	kiikawina:wa:w	/ekawi-ena:wa:w-a/
3'-3	øiko	/ekw-a/ (/ekwiw-a/)
0-3	øiko	/ekw-a/ (/ekwiw-a/)
3'-3p	øikowak	/ekw-a-k/ (/ekwiw-a-k/)
0-3p	∮ikowak	/ekw-a-k/ (/ekwiw-a-k/)
3**-3	(missing)	
3''-3p	(missing)	
3''-3'	øikoriwa	/ekw-eri-wa-h/

# 4.4.05 TA, Independent, Indicative, You-and-Me, Direct

## 4.4.06 TA, Independent, Indicative, You-and-Me, Inverse

## 4.4.07 TA, Independent, Indicative, Preterit, Direct

	-3	
1-	nia:ttay	/a:-htay-a/
2-	kia:ttay	/a:-htay-a/
1p-	nia:tta:n	/a:-hta:n-a/
12-	kia:tta:no	/a:-hta:naw-a/
2p-	kia:tta:wa:w	/a:-hta:wa:w-a/
	-3p	
1-	nia:ttayak	/a:-htay-a-k/
2-	kia:ttayak	/a:-htay-a-k/
1p-	nia:tta:na:nak	/a:-hta:na:n-a-k/
12-	kia:tta:nawak	/a:-hta:naw-a-k/
2p-	kia:tta:wa:wak	/a:-hta:wa:w-a-k/

-31

### 4.4.08 TA, Independent, Indicative, Preterit, Inverse

3-, 0--1 ni- -ikottay /ekw-i-htay-a/ -2 ki- -ikottay /ekw-i-htay-a/ -1p ni- -ikotta:n /ekw-i-hta:n-a/ -12 ki- -ikotta:no /ekw-i-hta:naw-a/ -2p ki- -ikotta:wa:w /ekw-i-hta:wa:w-a/

3p-			
-1	niikottayak	/ekw-i-htay-a-k/	
-2	kiikottayak	/ekw-i-htay-a-k/	
-1p	niikotta:na:nak	/ekw-i-hta:na:n-a-k/	
-12	kiikotta:nawak	/ekw-i-hta:naw-a-k/	
-2p	kiikotta:wa:wak	/ekw-i-hta:wa:w-a-k/	

# The inverse forms with 3' actor are missing

	Indf-	
-1	niikawittay	/ekawi-htay-a/
-2	kiikawittay	/ekawi-htay-a/
<b>-1</b> p	niikawitta:n	/ekavi-hta:n-a/
-12	kiikawitta:no	/ekawi-hta:naw-a/
-2p	kiikawitta:wa:w	/ekawi-hta:wa:w-a/
3 ' -3	ø− -ikopan	/ekw-oLpan-a/
0-3	∮ikopan	/ekw-oLpan-a/
3'-3p	∮ikopanak	/ekw-oLpan-a-k/
0-3p	ø− -ikopanak	/ekw-oLpan-a-k/
3"-3	(missing)	
3'' <b>-</b> 3p	(missing)	
3''-3'	ø− -ikori:pan(a)	/ekw-eri-oLpan-(a-h)/
0-3'	ø− -ikori:pan(a)	/ekw-eri-oLpan-(a-h)/

# 4.4.09 TA, Independent, Indicative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	ki-	-ittay	/i-htay-a/
2p-1	ki-	-itta:wa:w	/i-hta:wa:w-a/
2 <b>-1</b> p	ki-	-itta:n	/i-hta:n-a/
2p-1p	ki-	-itta:n	/i-hta:n-a/

## 4.4.10 TA, Independent, Indicative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Inverse

1-2	kiitittay	/eti-htay-a/
1-2p	kiititta:	wa:w /eti-hta:wa:w-a/
1p-2	kiititta:	n /eti-hta:n-a/
1p-2p	kiititta:	n /eti-hta:n-a/

### 4.4.11 TA, Independent, Dubitative, Direct

	-3	
1-	nia:toke	/a:-oLtoke:/
2-	kia:toke	/a:-oLtoke:/
1p-	nia:na:na:toke	/a:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
12-	kia:na:toke	/a:-enaw-oLtoke:/
2p-	kia:wa:toke	/a:-ewa:w-oLtoke:/

```
-3p
1-
          ni- -a:tokenak
                                  /a:-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
2-
          ki- -a:tokenak
                                  /a:-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
1p-
         ni- -a:na:na:tokenak
                                  /a:=ena:n-a-oLtoke:=n-a-k/
12-
          ki- -a:na:na:tokenak
                                  /a:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
          ki- -a:wa:tokenak
2p-
                                  /a:-ewa:w-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
             -31
1-
         ni- -ima:toke(na)
                                  /em-a:-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
2-
         ki--ima:toke(na)
                                  /em-a:-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
         ni--ima:na:toke(na) /em-a:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
1p-
12-
         ki- -ima:na:toke(na)
                                  /em-a:-enaw-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
2p-
         ki- -ima:wa:toke(na)
                                  /em-a:-ewa:w-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
3-31
         ø-
             -etoke
                                  /e:-oLtoke:/
3p-3'
         ø-
              -etokenak
                                  /e:-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
3-3"
          (missing)
3p-3"
          (missing)
31-311
            -eri:toke(na)
                                  /e:-eri-oLtoke:-n-a-h/
```

# 4.4.12 TA, Independent, Dubitative, Inverse

	3-	
-1	niikotoke	/ekw-oLtoke:/
<b>-</b> 2	kiikotoke	/ekw-oLtoke:/
-1p	niikona:na:toke	/ekw-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
-12	kiikona:na:toke	/ekw-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
-2p	kiikowa:toke	/ekw-ewa:w-oLtoke:/
	3p-	
-1	niikotokenak	/ekw-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
-2	kiikotokenak	/ekw-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
<b>-</b> 1p	niikona:na:token	ak /ekw-ena:n-a-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
-12	kiikona:na:token	ak /ekw-ena:n-a-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
-2p	kiikowa:tokenak	/ekw-ewa:w-oLtoke:-n-a-k/

## The inverse forms with 3' actor are missing

	0-	
-1	niikona:toke	/ekw-i-n-a-oLtoke:/
<b>-</b> 2	kiikona:toke	/ekw-i-n-a-oLtoke:/
<b>-1</b> p	niikona:na:toke	/ekw-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
-12	kiikona:na:toke	/ekw-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
-2p	kiikona:wa:toke	/ekw-ena:wa:w-oLtoke:/

#### Indf-

-1	ni-	-ikawina:toke	/ekawi-n-a-oLtoke:/
-2	ki-	-ikawina:toke	/ekawi-n-a-oLtoke:/
<b>-1</b> p	ni-	-ikawina:na:toke	/ekawi-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
-12	ki-	-ikawina:na:toke	/ekawi-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
<b>-</b> 2p	ki-	-ikawina:wa:toke	/ekawi-ena:wa:w-oLtoke:/
3'-3	ø-	-ikotoke	/ekw-oLtoke:/
0-3	<b>ø</b> -	-ikotoke	/ekw-oLtoke:/
3'-3p	ø-	-ikotokenak	/ekw-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
0-3p	<b>ø</b> -	-ikotokenak	/ekw-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
3''-3	(mis	sing)	
3''-3p	(mis	sing)	
3"-3"	ø-	-ikori:toke(na)	/ekw-eri-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/

## 4.4.13 TA, Independent, Dubitative, You-and-Me, Direct

### 4.4.14 TA, Independent, Dubitative, You-and-Me, Inverse

```
1-2 ki- -itina:toke /eti-n-a-oLtoke:/

1-2p ki- -itina:wa:toke /eti-ena:wa:w-oLtoke:/

1p-2 ki- -itina:na:toke /eti-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/

1p-2p ki- -itina:na:toke /eti-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
```

## 4.4.15 TA, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit, Direct

	<b>-</b> 3	
1-	nia:kopan	/a:-oLk-oLpan-a/
2-	kia:kopan	/a:-oLk-oLpan-a/
1p-	nia:na:na:kopan	/a:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
12-	kia:na:kopan	/a:-enaw-oLk-oLpan-a/
2p-	kia:wa:kopan	/a:-ewa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
	<b>-</b> 3p	
1-	nia:kopanak	/a:-oLk-oIpan-a-k/
2-	kia:kopanak	/a:-oLk-oLpan-a-k/
1p-	nia:na:na:kopanak	/a:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a-k/
12-	kia:na:kopanak	/a:-enaw-oLk-oLpan-a-k/
2p-	kia:wa:kopanak	/a:-ewa:w-oLk-oLpan-a-k/

-31

```
1-
          ni--ima:kopan(a)
                                   /em-a:-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
2-
          ki - -ima:kopan(a)
                                   /em-a:-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
          ni--ima:na:na:kopan(a) / em-a:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
1p-
12-
          ki- -ima:na:kopan(a)
                                   /em-a:-enaw-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
2p-
          ki- -ima:wa:kopan(a)
                                   /em-a:-ewa:w-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
3-3'
          ø-
               -ekopan
                                   /e:-oLk-oLpan-a/
3p-3'
                                   /e:-wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
          6-
               -ewa:kopan
3-3"
          (missing)
3p-3"
          (missing)
31-311
          (missing)
```

### 4.4.16 TA, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit, Inverse

3-

### The inverse forms with 3' actor are missing

	0-	
-1	niikona:kopan	/ekw-i-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
-2	kiikona:kopan	/ekw-i-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>-</b> 1p	niikona:na:kopan	/ekw-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>-1</b> 2	kiikona:na:kopan	/ekw-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>-</b> 2p	kiikona:wa:kopan	/ekw-ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
	Indf-	
-1	ni– -ikawina:kopan	/ekawi-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
-2	kiikawina:kopan	/ekawi-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>-1</b> p	niikawina:na:kopan	n /ekawi-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>-1</b> 2	kiikawina:na:kopan	/ekawi-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>-</b> 2p	kiikawina:wa:kopan	/ekawi-ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/

```
3'-3
       ∮- -iko:kopan
                              /eko-oLk-oLpan-a/
        ∮- -iko:kopan
0-3
                              /eko-oLk-oLpan-a/
3'-3p
        ø- -ikowa:kopan
                              /eko-wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
0-3p
        ∮- -ikowa:kopan
                              /eko-wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
3''-3
         (missing)
3''-3p
       (missing)
3"-3"
        ø- -ikori:kopan(a) /eko-eri-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/
```

### 4.4.17 TA, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	ki-	-ina:kopan	/i-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
2p-1	ki-	-ina:wa:kopan	/i-ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
2 <b>-</b> 1p	ki-	-ina:na:kopan	/i-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
2p-1p	ki-	-ina:na:kopan	/i-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/

### 4.4.18 TA, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Inverse

```
1-2 ki- -itina:kopan /eti-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
1-2p ki- -itina:wa:kopan /eti-ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
1p-2 ki- -itina:na:kopan /eti-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
1p-2p ki- -itina:na:kopan /eti-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
```

### 4.4.19 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, Direct

	<b>-</b> 3	
1-	-ak	/ak/
2-	-at (-ac)	/at/
1p-	-akitt (-akicc)	/akiht/
12-	-akkw	/ahkw/
2p-	-ekw	/e:kw/
Indf	-itt (-ice)	/eht/
	<b>-</b> 3p	
1-	-akik	/ak-i-k/
2-	-acik	/at-i-k/
1p-	-akiccik	/akiht-i-k/
12-	-akkok	/ahkw-i-k/
2 <b>p</b> -	-ekok	/e:kw-i-k/
Indf	-iccik	/eht-i-k/
	-3'	
1-	-imaki	/em-ak-i-h/
2-	-imaci	/em-at-i-h/
1p-	-imakicci	/em-akiht-i-h/
12-	-imakko	/em-ahkw-i-h/
2p-	-imeko	/em-e:kw-i-h/
Indf	-imieci	/em-eht-i-h/

## 4.4.20 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, Inverse

	3-	
-1	-it, (-ic)	/it/
<b>-</b> 2	-isk	/esk/
-1p	-iyamitt, (-iyamicc)	/iyamiht/
-12	-itakkw	/etahkw/
<b>-</b> 2p	-ita:kw	/eta:kw/
	3p-	
-1	-icik	/it-i-k/
-2	-iskik	/esk-i-k/
<b>-1</b> p	-iyamiccik	/iyamiht-i-k/
-12	-itakkok	/etahkw-i-k/
-2p	-ita:kok	/eta:kw-i-k/

	3'-	
-1	-imici	/em-it-i-h/
-2	-imiski	/em-esk-i-h/
<b>-</b> 1p	-imiyamicci	/em-iyamiht-i-h/
<b>-1</b> 2	-imitakko	/em-etahkw-i-h/
-2p	-imi ta:ko	/em-eta:kw-i-h/
	0-	
-1	-ikoya:n	/eko-ya:n
-2	-ikoyan	/eko-yan/
-1p	-ikoya:kk	/eko-ya:hk/
-12	-ikoyakkw	/eko-yahkw/
-2p	-ikoyekw	/eko-ye:kw/
	Indf-	
<b>-1</b>	-ikawiya:n	/ekawi-ya:n/
-2	-ikawiyan	/ekawi-yan/
<b>-</b> 1p	-ikawiya:kk	/ekawi-ya:kk/
-12	-ikawiyakkw	/ekawi-yahkw/
-2p	-ikawiyekw	/ekawi-ye:kw/

### 4.4.21 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	-iyan	/i-yan/
2p-1	-iyekw	/i-ye:kw/
2 <b>-</b> 1p	-iya:kk	/i-ya:hk/
2p-1p	-iya:kk	/i-ua:hk/

### 4.4.22 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, You-and-Me, Inverse

1-2	-ita:n	/et-a:n/
1-2p	-itakok	/et-akw-i-k/
1p-2	-ita:kk	/et-a:hk/
1p-2p	-ita:kk	/et-a:hk/

#### 4.4.23 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit, Direct

```
-3
1-
          -akipan
                                    /ak-epan-a/
2-
          -atipan
                                    /at-epan-a/
1p-
          -akittipan
                                    /akiht-epan-a/
12-
          -akkopan
                                    /ahkw-epan-a/
2p-
          -ekopan
                                    /e:kw-epan-a/
Indf-
          (missing)
             -3p
1-
          -akwa:pan
                                    /ak-wa:w-epan-a/
2-
          -atwa:pan
                                    /at-wa:w-epan-a/
1p-
          -akittwa:pan
                                    /akiht-wa:w-epan-a/
12-
          -akkwa:pan
                                    /ahkw-wa:w-epan-a/
2p-
          -ekwa:pan
                                    /e:kw-wa:w-epan-a/
Indf-
          (missing)
             -31
1-
          -imakipan(a)
                                   /em-ak-epan-(a-h)/
2-
          -imatipan(a)
                                    /em-at-epan-(a-h)/
1p-
          -imakittipan(a)
                                    /em-akiht-epan-(a-h)/
12-
          -imakkopan(a)
                                    /em-ahkw-epan-(a-h)/
2p-
          -imekopan(a)
                                    /em-e:kw-epan-(a-h)/
Indf-
          (missing)
```

3-3'	-a:span	/a:-t-pan-a/
3p-3'	-a:wa:span	/a:-wa:w-t-pan-a/
3-3"	(missing)	
3p-3"	(missing)	
3'-3"	-a:rispan(a)	/a:-eri-t-pan-(a-h)/

# 4.4.24 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit, Inverse

	3-	
-1	-ispan	/it-pan-a/
-2	-iskipan	/esk-epan-a/
<b>-1</b> p	-iyamittipan	/iyamiht-epan-a/
-12	-itakkopan	/etahkw-epan-a/
-2p	-ita:kopan	/eta:kw-epan-a/
	3p	
-1	-iwa:span	/i-wa:w-t-pan-a/
-2	-iskwa:tipan	/esk-wa:w-t-epan-a/
-1p	-iyamittwa:pan	/iyamiht-wa:w-epan-a/
-12	-itakkwa:pan	/etahkw-wa:w-epan-a/
<b>-</b> 2p	-ita:kwa:pan	/eta:kw-wa:w-epan-a/

3'--1 -imispan(a) /em-it-pan-(a-h)/-2 -imiskipan(a) /em-esk-epan-(a-h)/-1p -imiyamittipan(a) /em-iyamiht-epan-(a-h)/-12 -imitakkopan(a) /em-etahkw-epan-(a-h)/-2p -imita:kopan(a) /em-eta:kw-epan-(a-h)/g. 0--1 -ikoya:pa:n /eko-ya:n-pa:n-a/ -2 -ikoyapan /eko-yan-pan-a/ -1p -ikoya:kkipan /eko-ya:hk-epan-a/ -12 -ikoyakkopan /eko-yahkw-epan-a/ -2p -ikoyekopan /eko-ye:kw-epan-a/ Indf -1 -ikawiya:pa:n /ekawi-ya:n-pa:n-a/ -2 -ikawiyapan /ekawi-yan-pan-a/ -1p -ikawiya:kkipan /ekawi-ya:hk-epan-a/ -12 -ikawiyakkopan /ekawi-yahkw-epan-a/ -2p -ikawiyekopan

/ekawi-ye:kw-epan-a/

3'-3	-ikospan	/eko-t-pan-a/
0-3	-ikospan	/eko-t-pan-a/
3'-3p	-ikowa:span	/eko-wa:w-t-pan-a/
0-3p	-ikowa:span	/eko-wa:w-t-pan-a/
3''-3	(missing)	
3''-3p	(missing)	
3''-3'	-ikorispan(a)	/ekw-eri-t-pan-(a-h)/
0-3'	-ikorispan(a)	/ekw-eri-t-pan-(a-h)/

## 4.4.25 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	-iyapan	/i-yan-pan-a/
2p-1	-iye:kopan	/i-ye:kw-epan-a/
2 <b>-</b> 1p	-iya:kkipan	/i-ya:hk-epan-a/
2p-1p	-iya:kkipan	/i-ya:hk-epan-a/

# 4.4.26 TA, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Inverse

1-2	-ita:pa:n	/et-a:n-pa:n-a/
1-2p	-itakokipan	/et-akw-i-k-epan-a/
1p-2	-ita:kkipan	/et-a:hk-epan-a/
1p-2p	-ita:kkipan	/et-a:hk-epan-a/

## 4.4.27 TA, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative, Direct

	-3	
1-	-ake	/ak-e:h/
2-	-ate	/at-e:h/
1p-	-akitte	/akiht-e:h/
12-	-akkwe	/ahkw-e:h/
2p-	-ekwe	/e:kw-e:h/
Indf	(missing)	
	-3p	
1-	-akwa:we	/ak-wa:w-e:h/
2-	-atwa:we	/at-wa:w-e:h/
1p-	-akittwa:we	/akiht-wa:w-e:h/
12-	-akkwa:we	/ahkw-wa:w-e:h/
2p-	-ekwa:we	/e:kw-wa:w-e:h/
Indf	(missing)	
	-3'	
1-	-imake	/em-ak-e:h/
2-	-imate	/em-at-e:h/
1p-	-imakitte	/em-akiht-e:h/
12-	-imakkwe	/em-ahkw-e:h/
2p-	-imekwe	/em-ekw-e:h/
Indf	(missing)	

3-3'	-a:te	/a:-t-e:h/
3p-3'	-a:twa:we	/a:-t-wa:w-e:h/
3-3"	(missing)	
3p-3"	(missing)	
3'-3"	-a:rite(na)	/a:=eri-t-e:h-(n+a-h)/

# 4.4.28 TA, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative, Inverse

	3-	
-1	-ite	/it-e:h/
<b>-</b> 2	-iske	/esk <b>-</b> e:h/
<b>-</b> 1p	-iyamitte	/iyamiht-e:h/
-12	-itakkwe	/etahkw-e:h/
<b>-</b> 2p	-ita:kwe	/eta:kw-e:h/
	3p-	
-1	-itwa:we	/it-wa:w-e:h/
<b>-</b> 2	-iskwa:we	/esk-wa:w-e:h/
<b>-</b> 1p	-iyamittwa:we	/iyamiht-wa:w-e:h/
-12	-itakkwa:we	/etahkw-wa:w-e:h/
-2p	-ita:kwu:we	/eta:kw-wa:w-e:h/

31--1 -imite /em-it-e:h/ -2 -imiske /em-esk-e:h/ -imiyamitte -1p /em-iyamiht-e:h/ -12 -imitakkwe /em-etahkw-e:h/ -2p -imita:kwe /em-eta:kw-e:h/ 0--1 -ikoya:ne /eko-ya:n-e:h/ -2 -ikoyane /eko-yan-e:h/ -1p -ikoya:kke /eko-ya:hk-e:h/ -12 -ikoyakkwe /eko-yahkw-e:h/ -2p -ikoyekwe /eko-ye:kw-e:h/ Indf--1 -ikawiya:ne /ekawi-ya:n-e:h/ -2 -ikawiyane /ekawi-yan-e:h/ **-1**p -ikawiya:kke /ekawi-ya:hk-e:h/ -12 -ikawiyakkwe /ekawi-yahkw-e:h/ -2p -ikawiyekwe /ekawi-ye:kw-e:h/

## 4.4.29 TA, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	-iyane	/i-yan-e:h/
2p-1	-iyekwe	/i-ye:kw-e:h/
2 <b>-</b> 1p	-iya:kke	/i-ya:hk-e:h/
2p-1p	-iya:kke	/i-ya:hk-e:h/

# 4.4.30 TA, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative, You-and-Me, Inverse

1-2	-ita:ne	/et-a:n-e:h/
1-2p	-itakwa:we	/et-akw-wa:w-e:h/
1p-2	-ita:kkwe	/et-a:hkw-e:h/
1p-2p	-ita:kkwe	/et-a:hkw-e:h/

#### 4.4.31 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, Direct

```
-3
1-
          -a:waken
                                    /a:-w-ak-e:n-a/
2-
          -a:waten
                                    /a:-w-at-e:n-a/
1p-
          -a:wakitten
                                    /a:-w-akiht-e:n-a/
12-
          -a:wakkwen
                                    /a:-w-ahkw-e:n-a/
2p-
          -ewekwen
                                    /e:-w-e:kw-e:n-a/
Indf-
          (missing)
              -3p
1-
          -a:wakenak
                                    /a:-w-ak-e:n-a-k/
2-
          -a:watenak
                                    /a:-w-at-e:n-a-k/
1p-
          -a:wakittenak
                                    /a:-w-akiht-e:n-a-k/
12-
          -a:wakkwenak
                                    /a:-w-ahkw-e:n-a-k/
2p-
          ewekwenak
                                    /e:-w-e:kw-e:n-a-k/
Indf-
          (missing)
             -31
1-
          -ima:waken(a)
                                    /em-a:-w-ad-e:n-(a-h)/
2-
          -ima:waten(a)
                                    /em-a:-w-at-e:n-(a-h)/
1p-
          -ima:wakitten(a)
                                    /em-a:-w-akiht-e:n-(a-h)/
12-
          -ima:wakkwen(a)
                                    /em-a:-w-ahkw-e:n-(a-h)/
2p-
          -imewekwen(a)
                                    /em-e:-w-e:kw-e:n-(a-h)/
Indf
          (missing)
```

## 4.4.32 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, Inverse

	3-	
-1	-ikwen	/ikw-e:n/
-2	-iskwen	/eskw-e:n/
-1p	-iyamitten	/iyamiht-e:n-a/
<b>-</b> 12	-itakkwen	/etahkw-e:n-a/
-2p	-ita:kwen	/eta:kw-e:n-a/
	3p	
-1	-iwa:kwen	/i-wa:w-kw-e:n/
-2	-iskwa:kwen	/eskw-wa:w-kw-e:n/
-1p	-iyamittenak	/iyamiht-e:n-a-k/
-12	-itakkwenak	/etahkw-e:n-a-k/
-2p	-ita:kwenak	1-1-1-1-
-P	-i va : kwenak	/eta:kw-e:n-a-k/

31--1 -imikwen(a)/em-ikw-e:n-(a-h)/-2 -imiskwen(a) /em-eskw-e:n-(a-h)/-1p -imiyamitten(a) /em-iyamiht-e:n-(a h)/ -12 -imitakkwen(a) /em-etahkw-e:n-(a-h)/-2p -imita:kwen(a) /em-eta:kw-e:n-(a-h)/0--1 -ikowa:nen /eko-w-a:n-e:n/ -2 -ikowanen /eko-w-an-e:n/ -1p -ikowa:kkwen /eko-w-a:hkw-e:n/-12 -ikowakkwen /eko-w-ahkw-e:n/ -2p -ikowekwen /eko-w-e:kw-e:n/ Indf -1 -ikawiwa:nen /ekawi-w-a:n-e:n/ -2 -ikawiwanen /ekawi-w-an-e:n/ -1p -ikawiwa:kkwen /ekawi-w-a:hkw-e:n/ -12 -ikawiwakkwen /ekawi-w-ahkw-e:n/ -2p -ikawiwekwen /ekawi-w-e:kw-e:n/

3'-3	-ikokwen	/eko-kw-e:n/
0-3	-ikokwen	/eko-kw-e:n/
3'-3p	-ikowa:kwen	/eko-wa:w-kw-e:n/
0-3p	-ikowa:kwen	/eko-wa:w-kw-e:n/
3''-3	(missing)	
3''-3p	(missing)	
3''-3'	-ikorikwen(a)	/ekw-eri-kw-e:n-(a-h)/

## 4.4.33 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	-iwanen	/i-w-an-e:n/
2p-1	-iwekwen	/i-w-e:kw-e:n/
2-1p	-iwa:kkwen	/i-w-a:hkw-e:n/
2p-1p	-iwa:kkwen	/i-w-a:hkw-e:n/

## 4.4.34 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, You-and-Me, Inverse

1-2	-itwa:nen	/et-w-a:n-e:n/
1-2p	-itakokwa:wen	/et-akw-i-k-wa:w-e:n/
1p-2	-itwa:kkwen	/et-w-a:kkw-e:n/
1p-2p	-itwa:kkwen	/et-w-a:hkw-e:n/

#### 4.4.35 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit, Direct

```
-3
1-
          -a:wakipanen
                                   /a:-w-ak-epan-e:n-a/
2-
          -a:watipanen
                                   /a:-w-at-epan-e:n-a/
1p-
          -a:wakittipanen
                                   /a:-w-akiht-epan-e:n-a/
12-
          -a:wakkopanen
                                   /a:-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-a/
2p-
          -ewekopanen
                                   /e:-w-e:kw-epan-e:n-a/
Indf-
          (missing)
             -3p
1-
          -a:wakipanenak
                                   /a:-w-ak-epan-e:n-a-k/
2-
                                   /a:-w-at-epan-e:n-a-k/
          -a:watipanenak
1p-
          -a:wakittipanenak
                                   /a:-w-akiht-epan-e:n-a-k/
12-
          -a:wakkopanenak
                                   /a:-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-a-k/
2p-
          -ewekopanenak
                                   /e:-w-e:kw-epan-e:n-a-k/
Indf-
          (missing)
             -31
1-
          -ima:wakipanen(a)
                                   /em-a:-w-ak-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
2-
          -ima:watipanen(a)
                                   /em-a:-w-at-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
1p-
          -ima:wakittipanen(a)
                                   /em-a:-w-akiht-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
12-
          -ima:wakkopanen(a)
                                   /em-a:-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
2p-
          -imewekopanen(a)
                                   /em-e:-w-e:kw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
Indf-
          (missing)
```

```
3-3' -a:kopanen /a:-kw-epan-e:n/
3p-3' -a:wa:kopanen /a:-wa:w-kw-epan-e:n/
3-3'' (missing)
3p-3'' (missing)
3'-3'' -a:rikopanen(a) /a:-eri-kw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
```

### 4.4.36 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit, Inverse

	3-	
-1	-ikopanen	/ikw-epan-e:n/
<b>-</b> 2	-iskopanen	/eskw-i-kw-epan-e:n/
-1p	-iyamittipanen	/iyamiht-epan-e:n-a/
-12	-itowakkopanen	/eti-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-a/
-2p	-ita:kokopanen	/eta:kw-i-kw-epan-e:n-a/
	3p-	
-1	-iwa:kopanen	/i-wa:w-ikw-epan-e:n/
-2	-iskowa:kopanen	/eskw-wa:w-kw-epan-e:n/
<b>-1</b> p	-iyamittipanenak	/iyamiht-epan-e:n-a-k/
<b>-1</b> 2	-itowakkopanenak	/eti-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-a-k/
-2p	-ita:kokopanenak	/eta:kw-i-kw-epan-e:n-a-k/

31--1 -imikopanen(a) /em-ikw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/-2 -imiskokopanen(a) /em-eskw-i-kw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/-1p -imiyamittipanen(a) /em-iyamiht-epan-e:n-(a-h)/-12 -imitowakkopanen(a) /em-eti-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/-2p -imita:kokopanen(a) /em-eta:kw-i-kw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/0--1 -ikowa:pa:nen /éko-w-a:n-pa:n-e:n-a/ -2 -ikowapanen /eko-w-an-pan-e:n-a/ -1p -ikowa:kkopanen /eko-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n-a/ -12 -ikowakkopanen /eko-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-a/ -2p -ikowekopanen /eko-w-e:kw-epan-e:n-a/ Indf--1 -ikawiwa:pa:nen /ekawi-w-a:n-pa:n-e:n-a/ -2 -ikawiwapanen /ekawi-w-an-pan-e:n-a/ -1p -ikawiwa:kkopanen /ekawi-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n-a/ -12 -ikawiwakkopanen /ekawi-w-ahkw-epan-e:n-a/ -2p -ikawiwekopanen /ekawi-w-e:kw-epan-e:n-a/

For number sequence only

```
3'-3
          -ikokopanen
                                  /eko-kw-epan-e:n-a/
0-3
          -ikokopanen
                                  /eko-kw-epan-e:n-a/
3'-3p
         -ikowa:kopanen
                                  /eko-wa:w-kw-epan-e:n-a/
0-3p
          -ikowa:kopanen
                                  /eko-wa:w-kw-epan-e:n-a/
3''-3
          (missing)
          (missing)
3''-3p
3''-3'
          -ikorikopanen(a)
                                 /ekw-eri-kw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/
```

### 4.4.37 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Direct

2-1	-iwapanen	/i-w-an-pan-e:n-a/
2p-1	-iwekopanen	/i-w-e:kw-epan-e:n-a/
2-1p	-iwa:kkopanen	/i-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n-a/
2p-1p	-iwa:kkopanen	/i-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n-a/

## 4.4.38 TA, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit, You-and-Me, Inverse

1-2	-itiwa:pa:nen	/eti-w-a:n-pa:n-e:n-a/
1-2p	-itakokopanen	/et-akw-i-kw-epan-e:n-a/
1p-2	-itwa:kkopanen	/et-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n-a/
1p-2p	-itwa:kkopanen	/et-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n-a/

### 4.4.39 TA, Imperative, Immediate

2-1	-iŝŝi	/ehŝi/
2p-1	-iŝŝik(w)	/ehŝi-k/
2-1p	-iŝŝina:n	/ehŝi-ena:n/
2p-1p	-iŝŝina:n	/ehŝi-ena:n/
2-3	-ø, -i	/ø, i/
2-3p	-ik	/i-k/
2-3'	-im	/em/
12-3	-a:ta:n	/a:ta:n-a/
12-3p	-a:ta:nak	/a:ta:n-a-k/
12-3'	-ima:ta:n(a)	/em-a:ta:n-(a-h)/
2p-3	-ikkw	/ehkw/
2p-3p	-ikkok	/ehkw-a-k/
2p-3'	-ima:kkw	/em-a:hkw/

### 4.4.40 TA, Imperative, Delayed

2-1	-issi:kkan	/ehŝi-oLhk-an/
2p-1	-issi:kkek(w)	/ehsi-oLhk-e:k/
2-1p	-iŝŝi:kka:kk	/ehsi-oLhk-a:hk/
2p-1p	-issi:kkena:n	/ehsi-oLhk-ena:n/
2-3	-a:kkan	/a:-oLhk-an-a/
2 <b>-</b> 3p	-a:kkanik	/a:-oLhk-an-i-k/
2-3'	-ima:kkan(a)	/em-a:-oLhk-an-(a-h)/
12-3	-a:kkakk	/a:-aLhk-ahk/
12 <b>-</b> 3p	(missing)	
12-3'	(missing)	
2p-3	-a:kkekw	/a:-oLhk-e:kw-a/
2p-3p	-a:kkekok	/a:-oLhk-e:kw-a-k/
2p-3'	(missing)	

#### 4.4.41 Formal differences

A) In the independent indicative, direct and inverse, the endings of the non-third person and of the third person sets are almost identical to those of James Bay and Plains Cree. A slight difference is found in the inverse paradigm of Plains Cree where, in final position /ekw-a/ yields /ek/ for 3-1, 3-2 and 3'-3 endings.

In the you-and-me paradigms, however, the Atikamekw endings show agreement with those of Plains Cree, in all the modes of the independent and conjunct order, by neutralizing the 2-lp and the 2p-lp forms, as well as in the immediate imperative (4.4.39), not the 2p-l and 2p-lp forms as found in James Bay Cree (See Wolfart 1973, no 5.641, p. 55, Ellis 1971, p. 88-93).

B) The forms with inanimate and indefinite actors are here included in the TA inverse paradigms (as did Ellis 1971). These contain the theme sign /ekw/ which is followed by the AI person endings, with the same neutralization of forms whenever 1p and 12 are involved, in the independent dubitative (4.4.12, 16). The inanimate obviative actor forms are based on the same theme sign to which are added the person endings of the relational paradigms preceded by /w/. The Atikamekw forms agree with those of James Bay Cree by not using the theme sign /ekw/ in the plural non-third persons of the conjunct inverse paradigms.

- C) The plural ending -ik-, instead of James Bay Cree -i:k-, is heard in the independent indicative preterit forms for 3p-3' and 3'- 3p; the longer form may be used at Obedjiwan.
- D) The use of the obviative ending -a- (/ah/) has been generalized to all the forms involving a third person obviative at Manouane. Thus, from the independent indicative, -a- has been copied into all the paradigms showing the obviative theme signs /em/ or /eri/, except in the conjunct indicative and in its derived modes. Weymontachie and Obedjiwan did not operate this generalization, and the forms used are those given before the parenthesized obviative -a-.

In the inverse paradigms of the independent indicative preterit (4.4.08) and of the dubitative mode (4.4.12, 16), no forms have been found in the non-third person set with third person obviative actor. People were reluctant to use the theme sign /eri/ (which occurs in James Bay Cree) in these forms. This could be due to the combined action of the facts that these forms are rare, and that there is a tendency, in Atikamekw, to specialize the use of the obviative theme sign /eri/ to the third person sets, and /em/ to the non-third person sets.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that forms of the third person sets (direct, 3-3" and 3p-3"), all of them exhibiting

the obviative ending /em/ in James Bay and in Plains Cree, are systematically missing in Atikamekw. Moreover, in the direct forms of the independent dubitative mode, two endings are expected to show the theme sign /em/ (as in Ellis's paradigms, table 11 and 14); of these two, the first one is reshaped without /em/ in Atikamekw (4.4.11), the other is missing (4.4.15). (See also 4.7.03).

E) In the conjunct order, forms ending in -t-(/t/) or in -tt-(/ht/) are palatalized at Manouane, in absolute final position. E.g., wa:pamae 'that you (sg) see him'.

#### 4.5 Transitive Inanimate verbs

Only one referent, namely the animate actor, is morphologically expressed in the transitive inanimate verbs. The TI endings are made of theme signs followed by person endings that are identical to those of the AI verbs; the only differences are that -k- (not -t-), is used in the third person set of the conjunct order, and that  $-\alpha$ - ( $/\alpha h/$ ) occurs in the 2 ending of the immediate imperative. What is the exact nature and function of the TI theme signs is rather obscure; synchronically, at least, they can hardly be conceived as direction markers.

#### 4.5.01 Paradigms

The transitive inanimate finals end in a consonant. Before the third person ending /k/ of the conjunct order, the preceding theme sign /am/ is replaced by /ah/; e.g., wa:pattakk (/wa:paht-ah-k/) 'that he sees it'.

TI stems with inanimate actor add the ending <code>/oLmakan/</code> to the theme sign <code>/amw/</code>; when the inanimate actor is obviative, the suffixes <code>/eri/</code> and <code>/eri-w-ah/</code> (with number contrast) are simply added to <code>/oLmakan/</code>. E.g., <code>naka:pitamo:makaniriw</code> 'the other (in.) stops it'. TI stems with indefinite actor are secondarily derived with the inanimate intransitive final <code>/ka:te:/</code>; e.g., <code>wa:paccika:tew</code> 'someone sees it, it is seen'.

## 4.5.02 TI, Independent, Indicative, Neutral

1	ni- ÷en	/e:-n/
2	kien	/e:-n/
1p	niena:n	/e:-ena:n/
12	kiena:no	/e:-ena:naw/
2p	kiena:wa:w	/e:-ena:wa:w/
3	∮am	/am-w-a/
3p	∮amwak	/am-w-a-k/
31	øamiriwa	/am-eri-w-a-h/

## 4.5.03 TI, Independent, Preterit

1	niettay	/e:-htay/
2	kiettay	/e:-htay/
<b>1</b> p	nietta:n	/e:-hta:n/
12	kietta:no	/e:-hta:naw/
2p	kietta:wa:w	/e:-hta:wa:w/
3	ø- · -amo:pan	/am-w-a-oLpan-a/
3p	øamo:panik	/am-w-a-oLpan-i-k/
31	øamiri:pana	/am-eri-oLpan-a-h/

## 4.5.04 TI, Independent, Dubitative, Neutral

```
1
         ni- -ena:toke
                                 /e:-n-a-oLtoke:/
         ki- -ena:toke
                                 /e:-n-a-oLtoke:/
1p
         ni- -ena:na:toke
                               /e:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
12
         ki- -ena:na:toke
                                /e:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
2p
         ki- -ena:wa:toke
                                /e:-ena:wa:w-oLtoke:/
3
         ø- -amo:toke
                                /am-w-a-oLtoke:/
         ø- -amo:tokenak
3p
                                /am-w-a-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
31
         \phi- -amiri:toke(na) /am-eri-oLtoke:-(n-a-h)/
```

## 4.5.05 TI, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit

1	ni-	-ena:kopan	/e:-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
2	ki-	-ena:kopan	/e:-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
<b>1</b> p	ni-	-ena:na:kopan	/e:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
12	ki-	-ina:na:kopan	/e:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
2p	ki-	-ena:wa:kopan	/e:-ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
3	ø-	-amokopan	/am-w-oLk-oLpan-a/
3p	ø-	-amwa:kopan	/am-wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
3'	ø-	-amiri:kopan(a)	/am-eri-oLk-oLpan-(a-h)/

# 4.5.06 TI, Conjunct, Indicative, Neutral

1	-ama:n	/am-a:n/
2	-aman	/am-an/
1p	-ama:kk	/am-a:hk/
12	-amakkw	/am-ahkw/
2p	-amekw	/am-e:kw/
3	-akk	/am-k/
3p	-akkik	/am-k-i-k/
31	-amirici	/am-eri-t-i-h/

## 4.5.07 TI, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit

1	-ama:pa:n	/am-a:n-pa:n-a/
2	-amapan	/am-an-pan-a/
1p	-ama:kkipan	/am-a:hk-epan-a/
12	-amakkopan	/am-ahkw-epan-a/
2p	-amekopan	/am-e:kw-epan-a/
3	-akkipan	/am-k-epan-a/
3p	-akkwa:pan	/am-k-wa:w-epan-a/
31	-amirispan(a)	/am-eri-t-pan-(a-h)/

## 4.5.08 TI, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative

1	-ama:ne	/am-a:n-e:h/
2	-amane	/am-an-e:h/
1p	-ama:kke	/am-a:hk-e:h/
12	-amakkwe	/am-ahkw-e:h/
2p	-amekwe	/am-e:kw-e:h/
3	-akke	/am-k-e:h/
3p	-akkwa:we	/am-k-wa:w-e:h/
31	-amirite(na)	/am-eri-t-e:h-(n-a-h)/

## 4.5.09 TI, Conjunct, Dubitative, Neutral

1	-amwa:nen	/am-w-a:n-e:n/
2	-amwanen	/am-w-an-e:n/
1p	-amwa:kkwen	/am-w-a:hkw-e:n/
12	-amokkwen	/am-w-alikw-e:n/
2p	-amwekwen	/am-w-e:kw-e:n/
3	-amokwen	/cm-w-kw-e:n/
3p	-amwa:kwen	/am-wa:w-kw-e:n/
31	-amirikwen(a)	/am-eri-kw-e:n-(a-h)/

## 4.5.10 TI, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit

1	-amwa:pa:nen	/am-w-a:n-pa:n-e:n/
2	-amvapanen	/am-w-an-pan-e:n/
1p	-amwa:kkopanen	/am-w-a:hkw-epan-e:n/
12	-amokkopanen	/am-w-ahkw-epan-e:n/
2p	-amwekopanen	/am-w-e:kw-epan-e:n/
3	-amokopanen	/am-w-kw-pan-e:n/
3p	-amwa:kopanen	/am-wa:w-kw-epan-e:n/
31	-amirikopanen(a)	/am-eri-kw-epan-e:n-(a-h)/

#### 4.5.11 TI, Imperative, Immediate

#### 4.5.12 TI, Imperative, Delayed

2	-amo:kkan	/amw-oLhk-an/
12	(missing)	
2p	-amo:kkekw	/amw-oLhk-e:kw/

#### 4.5.13 Formal differences

As opposed to the Atikamekw AI paradigms and to the TI forms of Plains Cree, no examples were found of the short 12 ending /enaw/ in the transitive inanimate paradigms. The Plains Cree ending /amihk/, indefinite actor in the conjunct order, has no equivalent in Atikamekw (4.5.01). The 12 form of the immediate imperative agrees with that of Plains Cree, showing /e:ta:n/ as compared to /e:ta:(k)/in James Bay Cree.

#### 4.6 Other paradigms

#### 4.6.01 The dinimutive paradigms

The verbs of diminutive action formed in secondary derivation with the animate ending  $-\hat{s}\hat{s}i$ -  $(/h\hat{s}i/)$  and the inanimate  $-\hat{s}\hat{s}in$ - $(/h\hat{s}in/)$  are all ambiguous as to the element of the verb that bears the diminutive meaning. It can be applied to the action itself or to the actor, in intransitive verbs, and to the goal, in transitive verbs. For instance, II  $ki:\hat{s}ice\hat{s}\hat{s}in$  (stem:  $ki:\hat{s}ite$ -) means either 'it is cooked a little' or 'it (the little one) is cooked'; TI  $niwa:pacci\hat{s}\hat{s}in$  (stem: wa:paht-) means 'I see it a little' or 'Isee it (the little one)' or 'I see a little of it'.

The diminutive suffixes are added to the stem in the intransitive verbs; e.g., minikkwessiw 'he drinks a little, or, he (the baby) drinks'; (the first person is niminikkwessin, the replacement of /e:/ by /a:/ does not occur in the diminutive form of e-stems.). In the TI verbs, the ending /hsi/ is added to the theme sign /a/ (4.7.14).

### 4.6.02 The relational paradigms

The relational form of a verb is used to indicate that an unspecified party, other than the actor, is in some way related to the action

of the verb. This party is unspecified morphologically as to gender, person or number; semantically, no indication is given on the kind of participation it takes into the action of the verb. E.g., niminik-kwewa:n oni:pis 'I am drinking this tea', as opposed to niminikkwa:n ni:pis'I am drinking tea'; na:to:pewew osi:pikk 'he fetches water in this river', as opposed to na:to:pew 'he fetches water'.

Relational verbs are formed by the addition of -w-to AI stems and to the theme sign /am/ or /amw/ of TI verbs. Following this -w-, are the transitive animate theme signs /a:/ and /e:/ in the independent order, /a / and /a:/ in the conjunct order<sup>7</sup>, and the AI person endings.

AI stems ending in /e:/ do not replace /e:/ by /a:/ in the relational paradigms, and n-stems show the ni alternant in the third person set.

Throughout the relational paradigms, the forms for Indf. and 3' are missing.

# 4.6.03 Relational, Independent, Indicative, Neutral

1	ni-	-wa:n	/w-a:-n/
2	ki-	-wa:n	/w-a:-n/
1p	ni-	-wa:na:n	/w-a:-ena:n/
12	ki-	-wa:na:no	/w-a:-ena:naw/
2p	ki-	-wa:na:wa:w	/w-a:-ena:wa:w/
3	ø-	-wew	/w-e:-w/
3p	ø-	-wewak	/w-e:-wa-k/

# 4.6.04 Relational, Independent, Indicative, Preterit

1	ni-	-wa:ttay	/w-a:-htay/
2	ki-	-wa:ttay	/w-a:-htay/
1p	ni-	-wa:tta:n	/w-a:-hta:n/
12	ki-	-wa:tta:no	/w-a:-hta:naw/
2p	ki-	-wa:tta:wa:w	/w-a:-hta:wa:w/
3	ø-	-wepan	/w-e:-oLpan-a/
3p	ø-	-wepanak	/w-e:-oLpan-a-k/

# 4.6.05 Relational, Independent, Dubitative, Neutral

```
1
        ni- -wa:na:toke
                              /w-a:-n-a-oLtoke:/
2
        ki- -wa:na:toke
                              /w-a:-n-a-oLtoke:/
1p
        ni- -wa:na:toke
                              /w-a:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
12
        ki- -wa:na:toke
                              /w-a:-ena:n-a-oLtoke:/
2p
        ki- -wa:na:wa:toke
                              /w-a:-ena:wa:w-oLtoke:/
3
        ø- −wetoke
                              /w-e:-oLtoke:/
3p
        ø- −wetokenak
                              /w-e:-oLtoke:-n-a-k/
```

# 4.6.06 Relational, Independent, Dubitative, Preterit

1	niwa:na:kopan	/w-a:-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
2	kiwa:na:kopan	/w-a:-n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
1p	niwa:na:na:kopan	/w-a:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
12	kiwa:na:na:kopan	/w-a:-ena:n-a-oLk-oLpan-a/
2p	kiwa:na:wa:kopan	/w-a:-ena:wa:w-oLk-oLpan-a/
3	øwekopan	/w-e:-oLk-oLpan-a/
3p	∮wekopanak	/w-e:-oLk-oLpan-a-k/

# 4.6.07 Relational, Conjunct, Indicative, Neutral

1	-wak	/w-ak/
2	-wat,-wac	/w-at/
1p	-wakitt,-wakicc	/w-akiht/
12	-wakkw	/w-ahkw/
2p	-wekw	/w-e:kw/
3	-wa:t, -wa:c	/w-a:-t/
3p	-wa:cik	/w-a:-t-i-k/

# 4.6.08 Relational, Conjunct, Indicative, Preterit

1	-wakipan	/w-ak-epan/
2	-watipan	/w-at-epan/
1p	-wakittipan	/w-akiht-epan/
12	-wakkopan	/w-ahkw-epan/
2p	-wekopan	/w-e:kw-epan/
3	-wa:span	/w-a:-t-pan/
3p	-wa:wa:span	/w-a:-wa:w-t-pan/

# 4.6.09 Relational, Conjunct, Subjonctive and Iterative

1	-wake	/w-ak-e:h/
2	-wate	/w-at-e:h/
<b>1</b> p	-wakitte	/w-akiht-e:h/
12	-wakkwe	/w-ahkw-e:h/
2p	-wekwe	/w-e:kw-e:h/
3	-wa:te	/w-a:-t-e:h/
3p	-wa:twa:we	/w-a:-t-wa:w-e:h/

# 4.6.10 Relational, Conjunct, Dubitative, Neutral

1	-wa:waken	/w-a:-w-ak-e:n/
2	-wa:waten	/w-a:-w-at-e:n/
1p	-wa:wakitten	/w-a:-w-akiht-e:n/
12	-wa:wakkwen	/w-a:-w-ahkw-e:n/
2p	-wa:wekwen	/w-a:-w-e:kw-e:n/
3	-wa:kwen	/w-a:-kw-e:n/
3p	-wa:wa:kwen	/w-a:-wa:w-kw-e:n/

# 4.6.11 Relational, Conjunct, Dubitative, Preterit

1	-wa:wakipanen	/w-a:-w-ak-epan-e:n/
2	-wa:watipanen	/w-a:-w-at-epan-e:n/
1p	-wa:wakittipanen	/w-a:-w-akiht-epan-e:n/
12	-wa:wakkopanen	/w-a:-w-ahkw-epan-e:n/
2p	-wewekopanen	/w-e:-w-e:kw-epan-e:n/
3	-wa:kopanen	/w-a:-kw-epan-e:n/
3p	-wa:wa:kopanen	/w-a:-wa:w-kw-epan-e:n/

# 4.6.12 Relational, Imperative, Immediate

2	-wi	/w-i/
12	-wa:ta:(n)	/w-a:-ta:(n)/
2p	-wa:kkw	/w-a:-hkw/

# 4.6.13 Relational, Imperative, Delayed

2	-wa:kkan	/w-a:-oLhk-an/
12	(missing)	
2p	-wa:kkek(w)	/w-a:-oLhk-e:k/

#### 4.6.14 Formal differences

In the third person set of the independent dubitative neutral, the TA theme sign is /e:/ as opposed to /a:/ in James Bay Cree (Ellis 1971, p. 94); the plural ending is /a-k/ in the independent dubitative preterit, while it is /i:k/ in James Bay. The 12 ending of the immediate imperative in /ta:(n)/ as in Plains Cree.

#### 4.7 Endings

The inflectional endings of the verbal paradigms are discussed in this section. First is given a summary of verbal endings listed by position (4.7.01). Then are presented the theme signs (4.7.02-16) followed by the mode signs (4.7.17-25) and the person endings (4.7.26-64).

#### 4.7.01 Position

The verbal endings occur in a relatively fixed order. A few, however, have been found in more than one position. This is particularly the case of the plural ending /wa:w/ which is found after the conjunct third person ending -t- in the subjonctive and iterative modes (-twa:we-, /t-wa:w-e:h/, see 4.2.09 and 4.4.27, for instance), and

before the same ending in the conjunct indicative preterit (-wa:span-, /wa:w-t-pan/, without connective -i-, and -t- being replaced by -s-; see 4.2.08 and 4.4.23). Other examples of order indeterminacies are reported for Cree, but are not confirmed in Atikamekw<sup>8</sup>.

But this does not weaken the claim that the verbal ending positions are the syntagmatic counterpart of the precedence principle that is found among the personal prefixes (see Wolfart 1973, no 5.62, p. 52).

Position 1: the obviative theme sign /em/ (4.7.03)

Position 2: the transitive animate and inanimate theme signs:

TA, direct, /a:/, /e:/,  $/\phi/$  (4.7.04-06)

TA, inverse, /ekw/, /ekawi/, /ø/ (4.7.07-09)

TA, you-and-me, direct, /i/ (4.7.10)

TA, you-and-me, inverse, /eti/, /et/ (4.7.11)

TI, /am/, /amw/, /a/, /e:/ (4.7.12-15)

Position 3: the obviative theme sign /eri/ (4.7.16)

Position 4: the first person object of TA imperative /ehŝi/ (4.7.27)

Position 5: the preterit mode sign /htay/ (4.7.18)

the delayed imperative mode sign /oLhk/ (4.7.19)

Position 6: the non-third person endings

1, /n/, /ø/, /a:n/, /ak/, /it/ (4.7.28-31)

2, /n/, /ø/, /an/, /at/, /esk/, /i/ (4.7.32-35)

1p /ena:n/, /hta:n/, /a:hk/, /akiht/, /iyamiht/ (4.7.36-40)

- 12, /ena:naw/, /hta:naw/, /enaw/, /ahkw/, /etahkw/, /ta:(n)/ (4.7.41-45)
- 2p, /ena:wa:w/, /hta:wa:w/, /ewa:w/, /e:kw/, /akw/, /eta:kw/, /ehkw/, /k/ (4.7.46-52)
  Indf, /(na:)niwanw/ (4.7.53)

Position 7: the third person endings, /t/, /k/, /kw/,  $/\phi/$  (4.7.54-57)

Position 8: the dubitative mode signs, /oLtoke/, /oLk/ (4.7.20-21)

Position 9: the preterit mode signs, /oLpan/, /epan/, /pa:n/, /pan/ (4.7.22-23)

Position 10: the dubitative mode sign, /e:n/ (4.7.24) the third person endings, /wa/, /wi/, /wah/, /k/ (4.7.58-60)

Position 11: the third person plural and obviative endings, /k/, /wa:w/, /ih/, /h/ (4.7.61-64)

Position 12: the subjonctive and iterative mode sign, /e:h/ (4.7.25)

#### 4.7.02 Theme signs

The first three morphological positions are filled by the theme signs. The obviative /em/, when used at Manouane, is always paired with the obviative ending /h/ of position 11. Position 2 is made with the mutually exclusive transitive theme signs. Among those, only /e:/, /a:/ and /ekw/ precede the obviative /eri/ of position 3.

4.7.03 - im - , /em/

The obviative ending -im-, /em/, is homonymous with the possessive theme sign in nouns. It occurs in all the modes of the TA verbs, whenever a third person obviative is involved with a non-third person (see 4.4.41 D), either as actor or goal (TA, 4.4.03, 07, 11, 15, 19-20, 23-24, 27-28, 31-32, 35-36, 39-40).

This agrees with the distributional pattern of /em/ in Swampy and Moose Cree<sup>9</sup>, with the exception of the forms involving further obviative third persons. Endings for 3-3" and 3p-3", or inverse, are missing, but the tendency to restrict the use of /em/ to the non-third person set is seen by the suffix of the independent dubitative direct (4.4.11); e.g., 3'-3", wa:pameri:toke(na) 'he would (probably) see the other' (the James Bay Cree corresponding form shows /em/, cf. Ellis 1971, p. 85, 87). See also 4.7.64 below.

4.7.04 -a:-, /a:/

The direct theme sign /a:/ occurs in the non-third person sets of the independent order (4.4.03, 07, 11, 15), and in the person sets of the conjunct (4.4.19, 23, 27), with the exception of the dubitative mode paradigms. In the latter (4.4.31, 35), the theme sign /a:/ is found throughout, but in the 2p forms where it is replaced by /e:/ (morpheme

specific rule). E.g., Independent, 1-3, niwa:pama:w 'I see him'; conjunct, 3p-3', wa:pama:cik 'that they see him'; conjunct dubitative, 1-3, wiya:pama:wakipanen 'whether I would have seen him'.

The mode sign /a:/ also occurs in the imperative order, which shows only direct forms: in the 12 ending of the immediate mode (4.4. 39) and throughout the non-third person set of the delayed mode (4.4. 40). E.g., 12-3p, wa:pama:ta:nak 'let us (incl) look at them'.

#### 4.7.05 -e-, /e:/

The TA direct theme sign /e:/ is found in the third person set of the independent order (4.4.03, 07, 11, 15) and in the 2p ending of the conjunct dubitative (4.4.31, 35). E.g., 3-3', wa:pamew 'he sees the other'; 2p-3, wiya:pamewekopanen 'whether you (p1) would have seen him'.

## $4.7.06 - \phi - \frac{1}{2} / \phi /$

The non-third person sets of the conjunct order (4.4.19, 23, 27, 31, 35), and of the immediate imperative (12 ending being excluded, see 4.7.04 above), show the direct theme sign  $/\phi/$ , (/a:/ going to  $/\phi/$  is a morpheme specific rule). E.g., 1p-3, wa:pamakiee (M) 'that we see him';

2p-3p, wa:pamikkok 'look at them'.

## 4.7.07 -ikw-, /ekw/

The A inverse theme sign /ekw/ occurs in the third and non-third person sets of the independent order (4.4.04, 08, 12, 16). It is usually followed by the TA person endings, except when used with inanimate actors. E.g., 3-2p, kiwa:pamikowa:w 'he sees you (pl)'; 0-2p, kiwa:pamikowa:w 'it sees you (pl)'.

In the conjunct order, <code>/ekw/</code> occurs in the non-third person set with inanimate actors and in the third person set with either obviative or inanimate actors (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32, 36); in these forms, <code>/ekw/</code> has the allomorph <code>/eko/</code> before the person endings beginning in a vowel. E.g., <code>0-1</code>, <code>wa:pamikoya:n</code> 'that it sees me'; <code>3'-3</code>, <code>wa:pamikoe</code> (M) 'that the other sees him'.

#### 4.7.08 -ikawi-, /ekawi/

The theme sign /ekawi/occurs in the non-third person sets of the inverse paradigms whenever the actor is indefinite. It is found in the independent and conjunct orders (4.4.04, 08, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32, 36). E.g., Indf-1, niwa:pamikawin 'someone sees me'. It is always followed by the AI person endings.

$$4.7.09 - \phi - \frac{1}{2} / \frac{1}{2} / \frac{1}{2}$$

The inverse theme sign /ø/ occurs in the non-third person sets of the conjunct order with 3, 3p and 3' actors (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32, 36). E.g., 3-2, wa:pamisk 'that he sees you (sg)'.

### 4.7.10 - i - i / i /

The theme sign /i/ occurs in all the you-and-me direct forms of the independent and conjunct orders (4.4.05, 09, 13, 17, 25, 29, 33, 37). E.g., 2(p)-1p, kiwa:pamina:n 'you (sg or pl) see us'; 2-1, wa:-pamiya:n 'that you (sg) see me'.

## 4.7.11 -iti-, /eti/; -it-, /et/

The forms of the you-and-me inverse paradigms show the theme sign /eti/ in the independent order (4.4.06, 10, 14, 18), and the allomorph /et/ in the conjunct order (4.4.22, 26, 30, 34). E.g., 1p-2, kiwa:pamitina:n 'we see you (sg)'; 1-2, wa:pamita:n 'that I see you (sg)'.

#### 4.7.12 - cm - /cm/

The TI theme sign /am/ occurs with third person actors in the

independent order and throughout the conjunct order, with regular replacement of -m- by -h- before the third person ending -k- (4.5.02, 07). E.g., 3p, wa:pattamwak 'they see it'; 3, wa:pattakk (wa:paht-ah-k) 'that he sees it'.

#### 4.7.13 -amw-, /amw/

The TI theme sign /amw/ occurs in the 2p forms of the immediate imperative (4.5.11) and in the delayed mode (4.5.12). E.g., 2p, wa:-pattamok '(you, pl) look at it'.

$$4.7.14 - a - \frac{1}{2}$$

The theme sign /a/ occurs in the 2 endings of the immediate imperative (4.5.11) and in the diminutive paradigms (4.6.01). E.g., 2, wa:patta '(you sg) look at it'; 1, niwa:paccassin 'I see it a little, or, I see it (the little one)'.

#### 4.7.15 -e-, /e:/

The Ti theme sign /e:/ occurs in the non-third person forms of the independent order (4.5.02, 05), and in the 12 forms of the immediate imperative. E.g., lp, niwa:pattena:n 'we (excl) see it'; 12, wa:patteta:n 'let us (incl) look at it'.

#### 4.7.16 -iri-, /eri/

The obviative theme sign /eri/ occurs with 0' and 0'p actors in the II paradigms (4.3.02-10), and with 3' actors in the AI and TI paradigms (4.2.03-11, and 4.5.02-10). E.g., II, 0'p, ki:siteriwa 'the others are cooked'; AI, 3', ma:ea:riwa 'the other is leaving'.

In the TA verbs, /eri/ occurs whenever 3", actor or goal, is involved (4.4.03-04, 07-08, 11-12, 16, 19-20, 23-24, 27-28, 31-32, 35-36).

E.g., 3'-3", wa:pameriwa 'he sees the other'.

This suffix is homonymous with the obviative ending /eri/ in nouns which always denotes an obviative possessor (see 3.5). In TA verbs, it refers to the obviative status of the actor, and cannot mark the obviative goal since it also occurs in the intransitive verbs. In Atikamekw, there is evidence that synchronically /eri/ occurs in complementary distribution with /em/ (see 4.4.41 D), thus neutralizing the morphological distinction, within the TA verb, of a nearer and a further obviative. (For further discussion, see Wolfart 1973, no 5.631, p. 53; see also no 4.7.64 below).

#### 4.7.17 Mode signs

The mode signs and the person endings interweave as regard to their positions. The ht-preterit and the delayed imperative mode signs of position 5 precede the non-third person endings. The p-preterit mode signs surround the dubitative mode signs. The subjonctive and iterative mode signs belong to position 12.

### 4.7.18 -ttay-, /htay/

The ht-preterit mode sign /htay/ occurs in the non-third person sets of AI, TA and TI independent indicative preterits (AI, 4.2.04; TA, 4.4.07-10; TI, 4.5.03). Only Plains Cree shows this mode sign in the third person set. In the TA paradigms, /htay/ is also found with indefinite actors. E.g., AI, 1, nima:ca:ttay 'I left'; TA, Indf-2, ki-wa:pamikawittay 'someone saw you (sg)'.

#### $4.7.\ 19 - o(:)kk - , /oLhk/$

The delayed imperative mode sign /oLhk/ occurs in AI (4.2.13) and TI (4.5.12) verbs. E.g., AI, 2, ma:ca:kkan '(you, sg, later) leave'; TI, 2, wa:pattamo:kkan '(you, sg, later) look at it'. In the TA you-and-me set, /oLhk/ is preceded by the first person object /ehŝi/ (4.7.27); e.g., TA, 2-1, wa:pamiŝŝi:kkan '(you, sg, later) look at him'.

### 4.7.20 -o(:)toke-, /oLtoke:/

The mode sign /oLtoke:/ occurs in the independent dubitative neutral of any class of verbs (Ai, 4.2.05; II, 4.3.04; TA, 4.4.11-14; TI, 4.5.04). E.g., AI, Indf, ma:ca:niwano:toke 'someone would (probably) leave'; TI, 3', wa:pattamiri:tokena (M) 'the other would (probably) see it'.

In the first and second person singular and in the third person sets of the TA verbs, the mode sign is directly added to the theme sign. E.g., 1-3, niwa:pama:toke 'I would (probably) see him'; 3'-3, wa:pamikotoke 'the other would (probably) see him'. The 1p person ending adds /a/ before /oLtoke:/; e.g., 1p-3, niwa:pama:na:toke 'we (excl) would (probably) see him'. The postvocalic -w- of the 12 and 2p endings drops before /oLtoke:/, thus yielding /a:toke:/; e.g., 12-3, kiwa:pama:na:toke 'you (pl) would (probably) see him'.

It should be noticed that in the AI and TI paradigms, the underlying /a/ posited before the mode sign /oLtoke:/ is not original, unless it comes from the TI absolute paradigm; but this would contradict the formation of the whole TI paradigm, which shows reflexes of the absolute paradigm (in the independent indicative) only in the non-third person forms. The only possibility left to explain this underlying /a/ is then

the TA first person exclusive. The ending so formed, -a:toke:-, must have been copied into the TI paradigm, and from there, generalized to the AI verbs. This would agree with the general principle of paradigm formation in Cree (see Goddard 1967, no 3.4, p. 74).

#### 4.7.21 - o(:)k-, /oLk/

The mode sign /oLk/ occurs in the independent dubitative preterit of any class of verbs (AI, 4.2.06; II, 4.3.05; TA, 4.4.15-18; TI, 4.5. 05). It always precedes the p-preterit mode sign /oLpan/ (4.7.22). In combination with theme signs and person endings, /oLk/ patterns exactly like the dubitative neutral mode sign /oLtoke:/ (4.7.20), and an underlying short /a/ is posited in the AI and TI paradigms. E.g., TA, 1-3, niwa:pama:kopan 'I would have (probably) seen him'; AI, 1, nima:ca:na:-kopan 'I would have left (probably)'; TI, 2p, kiwa:pattena:wa:kopan 'you (pl) would have seen it (probably)'.

## 4.7.22 -o(:)pan-, /oLpan/

The third person set of the ht-preterit (independent order) in all classes of verbs shows the p-preterit mode sign /oLpan/; (AI, 4.2.04;

II, 4.3.03; TA, 4.4.07-08; TI, 4.5.03). E.g., AI, 3', ma:ca:ri:pana (M) 'the other left'; TA, 3'-3, wa:pamikopan 'the other saw him'. This is not found in Plains Cree (see Wolfart 1973, p. 43).

The mode sign /oLpan/ also occurs in the dubitative preterit of the independent order (AI, 4.2.06; II, 4.3.05; TA, 4.4.15-18; TI, 4.5. 05). E.g., TI, 1, niwa:pattena:kopan 'I would (probably) have seen it'.

## 4.7.23 -ipan-, /epan/; -pa:n-, /pa:n/; -pan-, /pan/

In the conjunct order, the p-preterit mode sign /epan/ alternates with /pa:n/ and /pan/ in all classes of verbs (AI, 4.2.08, 11; II, 4.3. 07, 10; TA, 4.4.23-26, 35-38; TI, 4.5.07, 10). In the first person singular of both preterits (indicative and dubitative), the alternant /pa:n/ appears in AI (4.2.08, 11) and TI (4.5.07, 10) verbs. This ending also occurs in the first person forms of the TA inverse, with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.24, 36), and in the you-and-me inverse paradigms (4.4.26, 38). E.g., TA, Indf-1, wiya:pamikawiya:pa:n '(I wondered) if someone would have seen me'; TA, 1-2,wiya:pamita:pa:n'(I wondered) if I saw you'.

The ending /pan/ occurs in the endings for second and third persons. It is added to the person ending without connective /i/; a preceding -n- drops before /pan/. AI and TA third person -t- is replaced by -s-.

E.g., AI, 2, miya:ca:yapan'(I wondered) whether you (sg) left'; AI, 3, miya:ca:span '(I wondered) whether he left'.

Everywhere else, the ending /epan/ is used; e.g., AI, 1p, miya:-ca:ya:kkipan '(I wondered) whether we (excl) left'.

## 4.7.24 -en-, /e:n/

The ending /e:n/ is the dubitative mode sign of the conjunct order and, in the preterit paradigms, always follows the p-preterit mode sign. It occurs in all classes of verbs (AI, 4.2.10-11; II, 4.3.09-10; TA, 4.4.31-38; TI, 4.5.09-10).

In these modes, the person endings are almost always preceded by -w-, with the exception of a few forms of the conjunct dubitative inverse (4.4.36) and in the third person set. This gives the mode sign /e:n/ the appearance of a discontinuous morpheme of the form -w... en-. This analysis does not prevail here, however, on the basis that -w- is also found in this position throughout the relational paradigms (4.5.03-13) outside the dubitative mode. E.g., AI, lp, miya:ca:wa:kkwen '(I wondered) if we are leaving'; TA, 3-1, wiya:pamikwen '(I wondered) if he saw me'.

## 4.7.25 -e-, /e:h/

The subjonctive and iterative mode sign /e:h/ is added to the endigns of the conjunct indicative neutral, in any class of verbs (AI, 4.2.09; II, 4.3.08; TA, 4.4.27-30; TI, 4.5.08). E.g., AI, 3, miya:ea:te 'whenever he leaves'. In the third person plural, /e:h/ is added to the ending /wa:w/ (see 4.7.62).

#### 4.7.26 Person endings

Person endings occur in position 4, 6, 7, 10 and 11. Only /eh si/ occurs in position 4; the plural ending /wa:w/ is found in both positions 6 and 11, before and after the third person ending in some conjunct forms.

## 4.7.27 -išši-, /ehši/

The ending /ehŝi/ occurs in the TA immediate and delayed imperative (4.4.39-40) whenever the goal is a first person, singular or plural. E.g., 2-lp, wa:pamiŝŝina:n '(you, sg) look at us'. A similar ending occurs in Ojibwa (cf. Bloomfield 1958, no 9.2-4, p. 59-60).

$$4.7.28 - n - , /n/; -\phi - , /\phi/$$

Throughout the independent order, the first and second person endings are identical and show the same distribution. The ending /n/ occurs in the AI (4.2.03, 05-06) and TI (4.5.04-05) verbs, to the exception of the ht-preterit forms, where it is replaced by the zero alternant. E.g., AI, 1, nima:ca:n 'I am leaving'; TI,2, kiwa:patten 'you (sg) see it'; AI, 1, nima:ca:ttay 'I left'.

In the independent order of the TA paradigms, /n/ occurs in the inverse forms with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.04, 12, 16), and in the direct and inverse forms of the you-and-me sets (4.4.05-06, 13-14, 17-18). The zero alternant occurs elsewhere. E.g., Indf-1, niwa:-pamikon 'it sees me'; 2-1, kiwa:pamin 'you (sg) see me'; 1-3, niwa:pam-a:w 'I see him'.

## 4.7.29 -a:n-, /a:n/

The first person ending /a:n/ occurs in all the paradigms of the AI (4.2.07-11) and TI (4.5.06-10) verbs inflected for the conjunct order. E.g., TI, 1, wa:pattama:n 'that I see it'.

In the TA paradigms of the conjunct order, /a:n/ occurs in the inverse forms with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32,

36), and in the you-and-me inverse forms (4.4.22, 26, 30, 34, 38). E.g., Indf-1, wa:pamikawiya:n 'that someone sees me'; 1-2, wa:pam-ita:n 'that I see you (sg)'. Elsewhere, /a:n/ is replaced by the alternants /ak/ and /it/.

#### $4.7.30 - ak - \frac{ak}{ak}$

The first person ending /ak/ occurs in the direct forms of the conjunct order (4.4.19, 23, 27, 31, 35, 39), the you-and-me paradigms being excluded. E.g., 1-3p, wa:pamakik 'that I see them'.

#### 4.7.31 -it-, /it/

The suffix /it/, Manouane -ic-, is the first person ending of the inverse forms with third person actor, in the conjunct order (4.4. 20, 24, 28). Exceptionally, the TA dubitative conjunct (4.4.32, 36) shows the ending -(i)kw-, homonymous with the third person -kw-. E.g., 3-1p, wa:pamicik 'that he sees us'; 3-1, wiya:pamikwen '(I wonder) whether he sees me'. In the indicative preterit, -t- is replaced by -s- before -pan-(4.4.24); e.g., 3-1, wa:pamispan 'that he saw me'.

$$4.7.32 - n-$$
,  $/n/$ ;  $-\phi-$ ,  $/\phi/$ ;  $-\alpha n-$ ,  $/\alpha n/$ 

The second person ending /n/ alternates with  $/\phi/$  and patterns exactly like the first person endings (see 4.7.28). The ending /an/ occurs in AI (4.2.07-11) and TI (4.5.06-10) verbs inflected for the conjunct order. E.g., AI, 2, ma:ea:yan 'that you (sg) leave'.

In the TA conjunct, /an/ is found in the you-and-me direct forms (4.4.21, 25, 29, 33, 37); e.g., 2-1, wa:pamiyan 'that you (sg) see me'. It also appears in the inverse forms with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32, 36); e.g., wa:pamikoyan 'that it sees you (sg)'. It occurs in the delayed imperative (AI, 4.2.13; TA, 4.4.40; TI, 4.5. 12); e.g., TA, 2-1, wa:pamišši:kkan '(you, sg, later) look at me'.

### 4.7.33 - at - , /at/

The second person /at/, Manouane -ac-, occurs in the direct forms of the conjunct order (4.4.19, 23, 27, 31, 35). E.g., 2-3p, wa:pamacik 'that you (sg) see them'.

## 4.7.34 -isk-, /esk/

The second person ending /esk/ occurs in the inverse forms of the conjunct, with third person actor (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32, 36). E.g., 3'-2,

wa:pamimiski 'that the other sees you'.

## 4.7.35 -i-, /i/

The second person ending /i/ occurs in the immediate imperative forms of AI (4.2.12) and TA (4.4.39) verbs(with third person object). In the AI verbs, /i/ occurs with n-stems; it is regularly deleted in vowel-stems. It is preserved after consonants in the TA verbs at Obed-jiwan only. E.g., AI, 2, ma:skoššini 'lie down'; AI, 2, ma:ca: 'leave'; TA, 2-3, wa:pam 'look at him'.

#### 4.7.36 -ina:n-, /ena:n/

In all the paradigms of the independent and imperative orders, to the exception of the ht-preterit paradigms, the first person exclusive is marked by the ending /ena:n/; e.g., AI, lp, nima:ca:na:n 'we (excl) are leaving'. In the independent dubitative inverse of TA paradigms (4.4.12), the ending /ena:n/ is also used for the 12 person.

### 4.7.37 -tta:n-, /hta:n/

The first person exclusive /hta:n/ is the alternant ending of the

preceding (4.7.36) in the ht-preterit. E.g., AI, 1p, nima:ca:tta:n 'we (excl) left'.

## 4.7.38 - a:kk-, /a:hk/

The first person exclusive /a:hk/ occurs in the conjunct order of AI (4.2.07-11) and TI (4.5.06-10) verbs. E.g., TI, 1p, wa:pattam-a:kk 'that we (excl) see it'. The ending /a:hk/ is found in the TA inverse forms of the conjunct with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4. 20, 24, 28, 32, 36), and in the you-and-me sets, direct and inverse, whenever 1p is involved with 2 (4.4.21-22, 25-26, 29-30, 33-34). E.g., Indf-1p, wa:pamikawiya:kk 'that someone sees us (excl)'; 2-1p, wa:pamiya:kk 'that you (sg) see us (excl)'. It also occurs in the TA delayed imperative (4.4.40); e.g., wa:pamissi:kka:kk '(you, sg, later) look at us (excl)'.

# 4.7.39 -akitt-, /akiht/10

The first person exclusive of the TA direct forms, excluding the you-and-me paradigms, is marked by the ending /akiht/ in the conjunct order (4.4.19, 23, 27, 31, 35). E.g., 1p-3, wa:pamakiec (M) 'that we (excl) see him'.

### 4.7.40 -iyamitt-, /iyamiht/

The first person exclusive ending /iyamiht/ occurs in the TA inverse forms of the conjunct with third person actors (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32, 36). E.g., 3-lp, wa:pamiyamica (M) 'that he sees us (excl)'.

### 4.7.41 -ina:no-, /ena:naw/

The ending /ena:naw/, first person inclusive, occurs in the AI (4.2.03, 05-06) and TI (4.5.02, 04-05) verbs of the independent order to the exclusion of the ht-preterit paradigms. E.g., TI, 12, kiwa:pat-tena:no 'we (incl) see it'. In the TA paradigms, /ena:naw/ occurs in the inverse forms (the you-and-me set and the ht-preterit being excluded) with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.04, 16). E.g., Indf-12, kiwa:pamikawina:no 'someone sees us (incl)'.

#### 4.7.42 -tta:no-, /hta:naw/

The ending /hta:naw/ is the first person inclusive suffix occuring in the ht-preterit (AI, 4.2.04; TA, 4.4.07-08; TI, 4.5.03); e.g., AI, 12, kima:ca:tta:no 'we (incl) left'.

## 4.7.43 -ino-, /enaw/

A short alternant of /ena:naw/ (4.7.41), the first person inclusive /enaw/ occurs in the TA direct forms of the independent order (4.4.03, 11, 15). E.g., 12-3, kiwa:pama:no 'we (incl) see him'. In the inverse forms, /enaw/ occurs with third person actors (the independent dubitative, 4.4.12, being excluded) (4.4.04, 16). E.g., 3-12, kiwa:pamikono 'he sees us (incl)'.

## 4.7.44 -akkw-, /ahkw/; -itakkw-, /etahkw/

The first person inclusive /ahkw/ occurs in the conjunct order of AI (4.2.07-11) and TI (4.5.06-10) verbs. E.g., TI, 12, wa:pattamakkw 'that we (incl) see it'. In the TA paradigms, it is found in the direct forms whenever 12 is involved, and in the inverse forms with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.19-20, 23-24, 27-28, 31-32, 35-36). E.g., 12-3, wa:pamakkw 'that we (incl) see him'; Indf-12, wa:pamikawiyakkw 'that someone sees us (incl)'. In the inverse forms with third person actors, the alternant /etahkw/ shows up; the preceding syllable /et/ is homonymous with the you-and-me inverse theme sign (4.7.11). E.g., 3-12, wa:pamitakkw 'that he sees us (incl)'.

# 4.7.45 - ta:(n) -, /ta:(n)/

The first person inclusive /ta:(n)/ occurs in the immediate imperative forms of the non-third person sets in AI (4.2.12), TA (4.4.39) and TI (4.5.11) verbs. In the AI verbs, and in the relational paradigms (4.6.12), -ta: alternates with -ta:n- with no apparent difference in meaning. E.g., 12, ma:ca:ta:(n) 'let us (incl) leave'.

## 4.7.46 -ina:wa:w-, /ena:wa:w/

The second person plural /ena:wa:w/ occurs in the independent order of AI (4.2.03, 05-06) and TI (4.5.02, 04-05) verbs, to the exclusion of the ht-preterit mode. E.g., AI, 2p, kima:ca:na:wa:w 'you (pl) are leaving'. In the TA paradigms, it occurs in the inverse forms (independent order) with inanimate and indefinite actors (4.4.04, 12, 16, the ht-preterit being excluded), and in the you-and-me direct and inverse paradigms (4.4.05-06, 13-14, 17-18). E.g., Indf-2p, kiwa:pamikawina:wa:w 'someone sees you (pl)'; 2p-1, kiwa:pamina:wa:w 'you (pl) see me'.

# 4.7.47 -tta:wa:w-, /hta:wa:w/

The ending /hta:wa:w/ marks the second person plural in the htpreterit of AI (4.2.04), TA (4.4.07-10) and TI (4.5.03) verbs. E.g., 2p-3, kiwa:pama:tta:wa:w 'you (pl) saw him'.

## 4.7.48 -iwa:w-, /ewa:w/

The short alternant /ewa:w/ occurs in the direct forms of the TA verbs inflected in the independent order, and in the inverse paradigms with third person actors (4.4.03-04, 11-12, 15-16). E.g., 12-3p, kiwa:pama:wa:w 'you (pl) see them'.

# 4.7.49 -ekw-, /e:kw/

The second person plural is marked, in the conjunct order, by the ending -ekw- which occurs in AI (4.2.07-11) and TI (4.5.06-10) verbs. E.g., TI, 2p, wa:pattamekw 'that you (pl) see it'. In the TA paradigms, this ending occurs in all the direct forms (the you-and-me sets included), and in the inverse forms with inanimate and indefinite actors (conjunct) (4.4.19-21, 23-25, 27-29, 31-33, 35-37). E.g., 2p-3p, wa:pamekok 'that you (pl) see them'. It is found in the delayed imperative of AI (4.2.13), TA (4.4.40) and TI (4.5.12) verbs. E.g., TI, 2p, wa:pattamo:kkekw '(you, pl, later) look at it'.

# 4.7.50 - akw - , /akw /

The ending /akw/ is an alternant of /e:kw/ which occurs in the 1-2p forms of the inverse sets of the conjunct you-and-me paradigms (4.4.22, 26, 30, 34, 38). E.g., 1-2p, wa:pamitakok 'that I see you (p1)'.

## 4.7.51 -ita:kw-, /eta:kw/

The second person plural ending /eta:kw/ occurs in the TA conjunct inverse paradigms with third person actors (4.4.20, 24, 28, 32, 36).

E.g., 3-2p, wa:pamita:kw 'that he sees you (pl)'.

# 4.7.52 - ikkw, /ehkw/; -k-, /k/

The second person plural /ehkw/ occurs in the non-third person set of the TA immediate imperative (4.4.39); e.g., 2p-3, wa:pamikkw '(you, pl) look at him'. The alternant ending /k/ is found in 2p forms of the AI (4.2.12) and TI (4.5.11) immediate imperative; in the TA verbs, /k/ occurs in the same mode in the 2p-1 forms of the you-and-me sets.

E.g., TI, 2p, wa:pattamok '(you, pl) look at it'; TA, 2p-1, wa:pamissik '(you, pl) look at me'.

## 4.7.53 -(na:)niwan-, /(na:)niwanw/

The indefinite ending /(na:)niwanw/ occurs in AI verbs only (4. 2.03-11). The shorter form occurs with stems ending in -a:- and in -e:- (replaced by -a:-). E.g., minikkwa:niwan 'there is drinking'; nakamona:niwan 'there is singing'. In the conjunct indicative, this ending is followed by the third person suffix /k/ and is thus regularly contracted to /(na:)niwahk/.

### 4.7.54 - t - . /t/

In the conjunct order, the third person /t/ occurs in the indicative, subjonctive and iterative modes of AI verbs ending in a vowel (4.2.07-09), and in TA verbs (4.4.19-20, 23-24, 27-28). In absolute final position, -t- is preserved at Obedjiwan; elsewhere, there is mutation to -c-. E.g., AI, 3, ma:ca:t (0) 'that he leaves'; TA, 3-3', wa:pama:c (M) 'that he sees him'. Michelson (1939, p. 78) identifies the alternation /t/ to /c/ as an Algonkin influence.

In the conjunct indicative preterit of AI (4.2.08) and TA (4.4.23-24) verbs, /t/ is pluralized by /wa:w/ which precedes it, (see 4.7.62). Before the preterit mode sign /pan/, connective /i/ is not inserted, and /t/ is palatalized to /s/.

## $4.7.55 - k - \frac{k}{k}$

The third person ending /k/ occurs in the conjunct indicative, subjonctive and iterative modes of AI n-stems (4.2.07-09), II (4.3.07-08) and TI (4.5.06-10) verbs. A preceding /n/ becomes /h/ before this ending. E.g., AI, 3, takoššikk 'that he arrives'; II, 0, pipo:kk 'that it is winter'; TI, 3, wa:pattakk 'that he sees it'.

$$4.7.56 - kw - , /kw/^{11}$$

In the dubitative mode of the conjunct order, the third person ending is /kw/ in any class of verbs (AI, 4.2.10-11); II, 4.3.09-10; TA, 4.4.31-32, 35-36; TI, 4.5.09-10). The pluralending /wa:w/always occurs before this ending. E.g., AI, 3, miya:ca:kopanen '(I wondered) whether he left'; TA, wiya:pama:kwen '(I wondered) whether he sees the other'.

### 4.7.57 -6-, /6/

The zero alternant of the third person ending occurs in the non-third person set of the TA conjunct (4.4.19-20, 23-24, 27-28, 31-32, 35-36) and throughout the TA imperative with third person actor or goal (4.4.39-40). E.g., 1-3, wa:pamak 'that I see him'.

# 4.7.58 - w - , /wa/

The animate third person ending /wa/ occurs in the independent order of AI (4.2.03-06), TA (4.4.03-04, 07-08, 11-12, 15-16) and TI (4.5.02-05) verbs. In the TA verbs, the alternant form /a/ appears after consonant. E.g., AI, 3p, ma:ca:wak 'they are leaving'; TA, 3p-1p, niwa:pamikona:nak 'they see us (excl)'.

# 4.7.59 -w-, /wi/; -wa-, /wah/

The inanimate third person ending /wi/ occurs in the singular forms of the II independent order (4.3.02). E.g., II, 0, ki:sitew 'it is cooked'. The ending /wah/ is the inanimate plural ending in the independent II paradigms (4.3.02-05), in the indicative preterit and in the dubitative mode of the conjunct order (4.3.07, 09-10). E.g., II, 0p, ki:sitewa 'they are cooked'. The alternant /ah/ occurs after consonant; e.g., II, 0'p, ki:siterikipana 'that the others were cooked'.

#### 4.7.60 - k - . /k/

The inanimate third person /k/ occurs in the conjunct order of II verbs (4.3.06-08), the dubitative mode being excepted (see 4.7.56 above). E.g., II, Op, ki:siteriki 'that they are cooked'.

## 4.7.61 - k-, /k/

The animate plural marker for third person is /k/. It occurs in the independent order and in the indicative neutral of the conjunct order in AI (4.2.03-07) and TI (4.5.02-04, 06) verbs, with the exception of the TI independent dubitative preterit (4.5.05). E.g.,AI, 3p, ma:-ca:wak 'they are leaving'; TI, 3p, wa:pattamwak 'they see it'. In the TA paradigms, /k/ is found in the independent indicative and dubitative modes (4.4.03-04, 07-08, 11-12), and only in the non-third person set of the dubitative preterit (4.4.15-16). E.g., 3p-3, wa:pamewak 'they see him'; 3p-1, niwa:pamiko:kopanak 'they would (probably) have seen him'.

It occurs in the TA indicative of the conjunct order (4.4.19-20) and in the plural forms of the non-third person set of the conjunct dubitative (4.4.31-32, 35-36). It occurs throughout the TA imperative order, with 3p object (4.4.39-40). E.g., 1-3p, wa:pamakik 'that I see them'; 2-3p, wa:pamik '(you, sg) look at them'.

# 4.7.62 -wa:-, -wa:w-, /wa:w/

The ending /wa:w/ is the animate and inanimate plural marker for third persons. -wa:- and -wa:w- are found in two different positions 12.

The alternant -wa:- occurs before the third person endings/kw/ and /t/; -wa:w- is found after the third person endings. Both have been given the underlying representation /wa:w/ with loss of final /w/ before consonants, connective /i/ being never inserted.

The ending /wa:w/ occurs in the TI independent dubitative preterit and throughout the conjunct order (the indicative neutral being excepted) of AI (4.2.08-11), and TI (4.5.07-10). In the II paradigms, it is found only in the subjonctive and iterative modes (4.3.08). E.g., AI, 3p, ma:ca:wa:span 'that they left'; II, 0p, ka:sitekwa:we 'whenever they are cooked'.

In the TA paradigms, /wa:w/ occurs in the third person set of the preterit modes (independent and conjunct) (4.4.15-16, 23-24), in the subjonctive and iterative modes (4.4.27-28) and in the dubitative mode of the conjunct (4.4.31-32, 35-36). E.g., 3p-3, wa:pamewa:kopan 'they would (probably) have seen him'. It occurs in the non-third person set of the conjunct indicative preterit (4.4.23-24) and in the first and second person of the dubitative inverse set (4.4.32). E.g., 1-3p, wa:pamakwa:pan 'that I saw them'; 3p-1, wiya:pamiwa:kwen '(I wonder) whether they see me'.

$$4.7.63 - i - , /ih/$$

The ending /ih/ is the inanimate plural marker of the II conjunct indicative (4.3.06); e.g., Op, ki:siteki 'that they are cooked'.

# 4.7.64 -ø-, /h/

The use of the obviative ending /h/ has been generalized at Manouane to all the forms with the obviative theme signs /em/ and /eri/ (4.7.03, 16). After vowels, -n- is inserted before the animate obviative /a-h/. E.g., E.g., AI, 3', ma:ea:tokena 'the other would (probably) leave'. In the conjunct indicative (4.4.19-20), /h/ is preceded by connective /i/. E.g., 3'-1, wa:pamimaki 'that the other sees me'.

#### 5. Pronoun Inflection

#### 5.1 Introduction

Semantically, pronouns are personal, demonstrative and indefinite. Morphologically, they are further subclassified according to the set of endings they exhibit. The personal pronouns are inflected for person only. The demonstrative pronouns add the semantic distinction of 'distance'. Demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are third person, and show inflectional endings for gender, number and obviation. The neutralization of forms that are found in nouns between the animate obviative and the inanimate plural endings also occurs in the demonstrative pronouns and in some indefinite pronouns.

## 5.2 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are animate; they are not inflected for number and obviation, and there is no form for indefinite person. As opposed to Plains Cree, there is only one set of personal pronouns, based on /i:n-a/ in the first persons, and on /i:r-a/ in the second and third persons.

1	ni:n	/ni:n-a/
2	ki:r	/ki:r-a/
1p	ni:na:n	/ni:n-ana:n/
12	ki:ra:no	/ki:r-ana:naw/
2p	ki:rawa:w	/ki:r-awa:w/
3	wi:r	/wi:r-a/
3p	wi:rawa:w	/wi:r-awa:w/

The 1p and 12 pronouns are contracted forms (see Haas 1967, p. 140-42). The personal pronouns combine with tipirawe 'self' to express insistance; compare, okima:w ki: pe isa:w 'the chief came', and wi:r tipirawe okima:w ki: pe isa:w 'the chief himself came'.

## 5.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are subclassified into three related sets according to the distance involved between the speaker and the denotatum. The pronouns of the first set indicate that the denotatum is in reach, those of the second set that it is far from the speaker, and those of the third set that the denotatum is far away from the speaker.

The first set exhibits the stem /o:/ throughout; the second set is based of /an/ and the short vowel is regularly deleted word initially. The third set has the stem /ne:/ which alternates with /na:/ in the animate singular form. The endings /(h)a/ and /ki/ are animate singular and plural respectively; /hi/ marks the obviative animate and the inanimate plural. The endings /he/ and /heriw/ are inanimate singular and obviative respectively. There is no number contrast in the inanimate obviative form.

3	o:ha	(a)naha	(a)na:ha
3p	o:ki	(a)niki	(a)neki
31	o:hi	(a)nihi	(a)nehi
0	o:he	(a)nihe	(a)nehe
0p	o:hi	(a)nihi	(a)nehi
0'	o:heriw	(a)niheriw	(a)neheriw

The demonstrative pronouns display a large number of phonemic and morphophonological variants, and the above paradigms may well represent a very recent state of affairs. Many speakers replace the ending /h/ by a preaspirated /hw/ and the surrounding vowels are strongly nasalized. Whenever this change occurs, the ending /a/ is replaced by /e:/, and initial /a/ of the second and third set is always used. Hence, o:ha alternates with o:hwe, naha with anahwe (and anohwe), na:ha with anahwe, niheriw with anihweriw, and so on.

To all these forms may also be added the suffix /ima/. Hence, 3, o:ha and o:hama, o:hwe and o:hwema; 3p, o:ki and o:kima; 0', o:heriw and o:heriwima; 0, (a)nihe, (a)nihema. The preceding vowel is sometimes deleted, thus yielding to a neutralization of gender in 3 and 0; e.g., o:ma is both animate (from o:hama) and inanimate (from o:hima); anama (from anahama), and anima (from anihema).

The exact meaning of the suffix /ima/ is not fully known yet.

There is a marked tendency, however, to use the shorter forms (without /ima/) to indicate or point out someone or something, while the pronouns with /ima/ would rather single out one particular objects, animate or inanimate, among others. E.g., ki: wa:pamew nihi iriniwa 'he saw this man'; nihima ki: wa:pamew iriniwa 'it is this man that he saw'.

#### 5.4 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns awi:n 'who' and ta:n 'which' are inflected like the demonstratives, while the others, kotak 'another' and awi:k 'someone' are inflected like nouns. The pronoun kekwa:n 'what, something' shows irregularities as to number and obviation. The pronoun awi:n, ta:n and kekwa:n also function as interrogative pronouns.

#### 5.4.01 awi:n 'who'

The indefinite pronoun /awi:na/ 'who' is animate third person; it is paralleled by the inanimate kekwa:n 'what, something'.

3	awi:n	/awi:n-a/
3p	awi:niki	/awi:n-i-ki/
3' awi:r	awi:nihi	/awi:n-i-hi/
	awi:riw	/avi:n-eri-v/

The usual obviative form at Manouane and Weymontachie is awi:nihi; the form awi:riw, which shows an unusual contraction, has been found among some speakers of Obedjiwan. E.g., (M, W) awi:nihi ka: ki: atama:c niheriw ota:pa:niriw; (O) awi:riw ka: ki: atama:t niheriw ota:pa:niriw 'to whom did he sell this car?'

In relative clauses, awi:n may have two grammatical functions. It can be seen either as the goal of the main verb, in which case the verb must be transitive animate, or as the actor of the subordinate clause, in which case the main verb must be transitive inanimate. Both forms are found; e.g., nama nikiskerima:w or nikiskeritten, awi:n ka: ki: pe natowa:pamie 'I do not know who came to see me'. When the pronoun is followed by /oLtoke:/ 'dubitative', the main verb is always inanimate; e.g., nama nikiskeritten awi:notoke ka: ki: pe natowa:pamie 'I do not know who came to see me'.

The suffixes /oLtoke:/ 'dubitative' and /epan/ 'past' are sometimes added to awi:n, but these occurences are not frequent; e.g., awi:notoke na?'(I wonder) who is it' The dubitative suffix is also found after the obviative ending; e.g., awi:nihitokena ni oci:ma:niniw 'who's canoe is it (I wonder)'.

#### 5.4.02 ta:n 'which'

The indefinite pronoun /ta:n-/ is animate and inanimate third person; there is no gender contrast in the singular forms.

3	ta:n	/ta:ni/
3p	ta:niki	/ta:ni-ki/
3'	ta:nihi	/ta:ni-hi/
0	ta:n	/ta:ni/
0p	ta:nihi	/ta:ni-hi/

In relative clauses, ta:n shares the same functions as awi:n and the main verb may either be transitive animate or inanimate. It is often used as an interrogative pronoun; e.g.,  $ta:niki\ ea:\ ni$  'which ones?'.

### 5.4.03 kotak 'the other, another'

The indefinite pronoun /kotak/ is third person animate and

inanimate. The animate plural *kotakak* has the alternant *kotakihik*; both forms are freely used by the same person, and occur in the three villages. In the paradigm below, the animate obviative and the inanimate plural are not identical, as opposed to the paradigm of *awi:n*.

3	kotak	
3p	kotakak, kotakihik	
31	kotaka, kotakiriw	
0	kotak	
0p	kotakihi	
0'	kotakiriw	

In the animate obviative forms, kotakiriw replaces the expected kotaka in almost all contexts; the pronoun kotaka seems to be rare in the obviative form, and is always replaced by kotakihi in the inanimate plural. E.g., kotakak, or kotakihik iriniwak ki: pe iša:wak 'Other men came'; ki: wa:pattam kotakeriw pa:skisikaniniw 'he saw the other gun'; ki: ota:pinew kotakihi ci:ma:na 'he bought other canoes'.

### 5.4.04 awiyak 'someone'

The indefinite pronoun /awiyak/ is third person animate and inanimate, and inflected like an animate noun.

3	awiyak	/awiyak/
Зр	aviyakak	/awiyak-a-k/
31	awiya	/awiy-a-h/

In many contexts, these pronouns alternate with awi:n; e.g., nama nikiskerima:w awiyak (or awi:n) ka: ki: pe natowa:pamic 'I don't know who came to see me'.

# 5.4.05 kekwa:n 'something'

The pronoun /ke:kwa:n/ is third person inanimate. There is no number contrast in the obviative.

0	kekwa:n	/ke:kwa:n-i/
0p	kekwa:nihi	/ke:kwa:n-i-hi/
0'	kekwa:riw	/ke:kwa:-eri-w/

It is used very frequently as an interrogative pronoun, usually preceding a demonstrative. E.g., kekwa:n ni nihe 'what is that ?'; kekwa:nihi ni nihi 'what are these ?'; kekwa:riw ni neheriw 'what is that (far away) ?'.

#### 6. Word Formation

#### 6.1 Introduction

According to the precesses of word formation, Atikamekw words belong to two different types: they are either unit words or compounds. A unit word, excluding French and English borrowings, is made of two or more elements, providing the postulate that one of these elements may have no actual shape. A compound may be roughly defined as a combination of unit words that shares some of the distinctive features of phrases. Compounds are discussed below (see 6.2).

Unit words are further classified into primary and secondary stems. A stem whose immediate constituents are roots, medials and finals, none of them being a free form, is called a primary stem.

A secondary stem is obtained when further finals are added to a primary stem.

The addition of medials and finals to a root (primary) or to a stem (secondary) accounts for the first type of derivation. The second

type, which has been coined 'deverbal' by Bloomfield, consists of bound morphemes, i.e. roots, medials and finals, that are matched by independent stems from which they are considered to be derived.

## 6.1.01 The first type of derivation

Although there are various derived patterns of the canonical shape of a stem, a primary stem is basically consisting of a root and a final; a medial is an optional element that can be inserted between them. The root may be preceded by a prefix (with or without connective /t/), and the final is followed by inflectional endings. A connective /i/ is sometimes inserted between these elements. The basic shape of a primary stem is thus:

A good example of this would be the transitive inanimate verb ni- $ki: \hat{s}k-a: kone-kah-en$  'I am chopping it (snow, ice) with an axe'. The verb consists of the prefix ni- 'I', the root  $ki: \hat{s}k$ - 'cut, sever', followed by an optional complex medial -a: kone- 'snow' (consisting of medial -a: kon- and postmedial -e-), the transitive inanimate final -kah- 'chop with axe' and the appropriate ending -en, first person, independent, indicative.

That the prefix and the medial are optional elements is seen by the transitive inanimate  $ki:\hat{s}kikaham$  'he hews something through with an axe', consisting of the same root  $ki:\hat{s}k$ -, connective -i-, and the same final -kah- as in the preceding example, followed by the ending -am.

Derived patterns appear when, mainly for reasons of distribution, a basic element is considered to have no actual shape in a stem. Thus zero root and zero final are sometimes posited: e.g., IN akopp 'dress' has zero final; IN o:ska:t 'his leg' has no root nor final, consisting of prefix o:- 'his, her' and medial -ska:t- 'leg'. Dependent noun stems have no root, but many show noun finals.

Stems of secondary derivation follow the same pattern, adding optional medials and finals to the primary stem. For instance, the root a:saw- 'to cross' occurs in the primary verb a:sokew 'he crosses' from which is formed, in secondary derivation, the noun a:sokan 'bridge, wharf, pier'. This secondary stem is also subject to further derivation: the transitive animate -ikkaw-'make for someone' forms a:sokanikkawew 'he makes a bridge for someone', to which may be added the animate intransitive final -ike- 'animate indefinite (implied object)' as in AI a:sokanikka:kew 'he makes a bridge forpeople'.

#### 6.1.02 The second type of derivation

The term 'deverbal' indicates a relation of dependency between a bound morpheme and an independent stem. Some medials and finals are deverbal: e.g., the noun final-irew in AN irinirew 'common partridge' is deverbal of AN pirew 'partridge'; the medial-skw-in AN na:peskw 'male bear' is a deverbal of AN maskwa 'bear'; the animate intransitive final -nike- in AI piminikew 'he carries something on his shoulders' is a deverbal of AI onikew 'he carries on his shoulders'. The transitive animate and inanimate finals -akim-, -akitt- 'count' are deverbal of TA akimew 'he counts him', and of TI akittam 'he counts it'. Many medials and concrete finals, however, are not matched by independent stems; e.g., medial -a:st- 'light'; noun final -ekin- 'cloth, material'; intransitive final -po-'eat'; transitive finals -naw- and -n- 'see, think'.

There is no rule to predict whether a medial or a final is a deverbal or not, as there is no way either as to detect how deverbal suffixes are formed. Some finals are identical to the stems from which they are considered to be derived, see, for instance, -akim- and -akitt-'count' above. Medials and finals sometimes resemble the underlying stem minus the initial sound or the initial syllable; e.g., the noun final -ra:kan is a deverbal of IN ora:kan 'dish, bowl'; the noun final

-kiwa:m- is deverbal of IN mi:kiwa:m 'house'; medial -a:pe- is a deverbal of AN na:pew 'male, man'.

A few medials and finals occur in longer form than the independent stem to which they are related; e.g., medial -a:kon- 'snow' and IN ko:n 'snow'; -astimw- 'dog' and AN atimw 'dog'. Some have change in vowel length, as medial -\$\sin ip-\$ derived from AN \$\sin i \sin ip 'duck'. Certain body part medials show alternant forms; e.g., -skan- and -kkan- 'bone'; -ska:t- and -kka:t- 'leg'; -\$tikwa:n- and -stikwa:n- 'head'; -spiton- and -piton- 'arm'; -a:p- and -ca:p- 'eye'. The kinship medial -a:wass- 'baby, child', as in AI assama:wassow 'she feeds her child', corresponds to the independent stem awa:siss 'child'.

Deverbal roots are rare; at any rate, it would be difficult to determine the order of derivation, and consequently, it is probably more appropriate to speak of alternant forms rather than deverbal formation. Bloomfield (1962, p. 77) considers the root wi:t- 'along', as in TA wi:ci:wew 'he helps him, accompanies him along', to be a deverbal of the dependent root -i:t- 'accompany', which is a unique root (see also Bloomfield 1946, p. 119, and 1962, p. 70).

The immediate constituents of a stem are simple, complex or deverbal. Simple roots, medials and finals, which are usually shorter, are considered here, as did Bloomfield, to be the underlying element of derivation of the more complex constituents:

'Many roots, suffixes, and inflectional endings appear in shorter and longer forms. We describe this by saying that the longer forms are extended forms, derived from the shorter by means of accretive elements. (Bloomfield 1962, p. 74).

Such accretive elements form complex roots, medials and finals; they are the postradicals (6.3.02), the prefinals (10.2), the pre- and the postmedials (no 7.2).

## 6.2 Compounds

There are at least four main types of compound stems, each being characterized by the part of speech of the elements involved. A compound stem is made of:

- a) two nouns, as in IN ci:pay-okamikw 'cemetery';
- b) a particle and a noun, as in IN kicci-si:piy 'the grand River';
- c) a verb and a noun, as in IN a:kkosiw-okamikw 'hospital';
- d) a particle and a verb, as in TA ni ki:-mowa:w 'I ate him'.

  When a compound is made of two nouns, the gender of the stem is usually determined by the second noun, which is then considered as the base of the compound; e.g., IN masko-nakwa:kan 'bear-snare'.

Since a compound stem may show prefixes and suffixes, it is kept

distinct from phrases. A compound stem also differs from simple stems in that the first element does not take inflectional suffixes, although both parts of the compound may show prefixes; e.g., nimasko-ninakwa:kanim 'my bear-snare' (notice the presence of the possession theme sign to a stem ending in -n), and in IN masko-nakwa:kana 'bear-snares'.

#### 6.2.01 Nominal compounds

In noun compounds where the first element is a particle, all prenouns occur with the possessive prefix. Some allow the second element of the compound to take the possessive prefix while others do not. Bloomfield's distinction (1962, p. 202) between loose and stem compounds could probably be applied here. The prenouns kicci- 'big, large',oski- 'new, young', kette- 'old, used', mista- 'big' appear in possessed compounds where both elements take a possessive prefix; e.g.,

- IN nikicci-nimaškikkim 'my great medecine'
- IN noški-nitaštotin 'my new hat'
- IN nikette-nimaskisin 'my old shoe'
- IN nimista-nimi:kiwa:m 'my big house'

This also occurs when the second part of the compound is a dependent noun stem; e.g., AN nikicci-nistess 'my big elder brother'.

Some prenouns are never followed by possessed nouns; e.g., maci-'bad' in IN nimaci-maškikkim 'my bad medecine'; miro- 'good, well' in nimiro-irinim 'my good man'. This also applies to compounds in which the first element is an animate intransitive verb; e.g., IN nitewiskwe-maškikkim 'my aspirin (for headache); IN noštoto:-maškikkim 'my cough syrup'. The relative root -i:t- always occurs in dependent compound stems; e.g., AN wi:c-iriniwa 'his fellow man'.

In spite of these observations, however, more work would be required to elaborate a complete set of rules on possessed compounds; more specifically, a great deal of work has to be done with roots (for instance: a:pittaw 'half', irin- 'ordinary, common, ka:kike- 'permanent', etc.) that sometimes occur as prenouns of possessed compounds.

### 6.2.02 Verbal compounds

Preverbs are particles that combine with verb stems, thus forming verbal compounds. Some particles appear only in the function of preverb, others also occur as independent particle stems. Preverbs have a fixed position as regard to the verb stem, they always precede it, and they may precede other preverbs. On that basis, they are classified into two groups. Preverbs of position 1 always precede preverbs of position 2; they are few in number although very frequent in daily speech; they are

also mutually exclusive. Preverbs of position 2 are much more numerous and most of them occur as independent particles.

The following preverbs are found in position 1:

The preverb -e- has the role of a subordinating conjonction and always occurs with verbs inflected for conjunct order. It is extremely frequent in use. E.g., ... e wa:pama:e e mista miccetirici 'when he saw that they (an) were numerous'; ... kek e ati mo:tee ... 'suddenly as he began to walk'; ni mireritten e nipa:e 'I am glad that he is sleeping'.

### 2. -ka:-, /ka:/

The preverb -ka:- is a subordinator and is also used as a relative with the meaning of 'who, that'. This preverb is always followed by verbs of the conjunct order. E.g., ci:ma:n ka: na:tawerittama:n 'a canoe that I want'; naha iskwew ka: na:tawerimac 'this woman whom you (sg) desire'; taši ka: ottinak 'I get it there'.

The preverbs -ka-, -kata- and -ke- indicate futurity and may

sometimes semantically combine with other elements to denote verbs of irreality equivalent to the conditional mode. The preverb -ke- is the initial change form of -ka- and is thus always followed by verbs of the conjunct order. The futur preverb -ka- occurs when first and second persons, speaker or addressee, are involved in the verb form; the futur preverb -kata- is used elsewhere. E.g., ni ka wa:pama:w 'I will see him'; nama kata nipa:w 'he will not sleep'; niheriw maskisiniw ke na:tawerittakk 'these are the shoes that he will want'. The preverbs -ka- and -kata- often precede the p-preterit (independent order) form of verbs, and thus indicate eventuality, possible events. E.g., beside kata kaškitta:w e ... 'he will be able to ...' there is kata kaškitta:pan e ... 'he would have been able to ...'; beside kata mirerittam e ... 'he will like to ...' there is kata mirerittamo:pan e... 'he would have liked to ...'.

The preverb -ka- when followed by the preverb -ki:- 'past' indicates a small degree of possibility, of doubt, with present or futur meaning; e.g., ni ka ki: mi:cisson 'I could eat'.

# 4. -kicci-, /kihci/

The preverb -kicci- 'that will' is frequently used in place of -ka- and -kata- in subordinate clauses to indicate futur events; e.g.,

ki: itew Mare okima:wa eka: kicci ma:ca:c'Marc told the chief that he will not leave'; ni wa:pamew kicci nipa:c'I see that he will sleep'. In some clauses, the preverb -kicci- occurs with the meaning of 'must' as in astew kicci isa:ya:n'It is set that I must go'.

Preverbs of position 2 are more numerous and always occur after the preverbs of position 1. The priority of occurence of position 1 and position 2 preverbs differs, in Atikamekw, from the one given by Edwards (1954, p. 17-3) in that -ohei- never occurs in first position. It also differs from the order graphed by Ellis (1962, p. 1.7-13) in that -ki:- may occur after the preverbs -ka- and -kata-.

Wolfart (1973, p. 77) observes that 'position 2 preverbs are semantically ranged along a continuous scale from abstract to concrete'; this can be applied to Atikamekw. Moreover, when more than one preverb of position 2 occur in a sentence, the priority of occurence is given to the abstract preverbs which always precede the concrete preverbs.

E.g., nama nikiskerima:w awi:n ka: ki: peci-mo:ta:c 'I don't know who came walking (toward speaker)'.

The abstract preverbs of position 2 are given below.

#### 5. -ati-

The preverb -ati- 'begin gradually'; e.g., a:si ati nipa:w'he is

about to sleep'; ni kin ati:a:kkosin 'I gradually become sick'; a:si
a: ati pa:ppiw 'was he about to laugh?'.

#### 6. -ki:-

The preverb -ki:- 'past' is homonymous with -ki:- 'able to, can' (see no 7 below); it is frequently found in declarative sentences where it is preferred to the preterit forms; e.g., okima:w ki: pe isa:w 'the chief came'. In negative sentences, -ki:- is usually replaced by -occi- as in nama ni occi kiskerima:ttay 'I did not know him'.

### 7. -ki:-

The preverb -ki:- 'able to, can' always occurs with another particle; e.g., kata ki: nipa:w'he can sleep'; nama kata ki: occi nipa:w'he was not able to sleep'.

### 8. -wi:-

The preverb -wi:- 'want to, intend to'; e.g., ni wi: nipa:n 'I want to sleep'; wi: otamiro:pan 'he intended to work'.

Concrete preverbs are based on particles or on relative roots; only a few examples are given below.

- 9. a:cci-'move'; e.g., a:cci-kwa:škottiw'he moves jumping'.
- 10. atim- 'back, away'; e.g., atim-apiw 'he sits turning his back'.
- 11. iši- 'thus, so'; e.g., iši-pe-kapa:cik 'as they so disembark'.
- 12. iškwa:- 'finish, complete'; e.g., e ki:-iškwa:-tepiska:k at the end of the night'.
- 13. kakwe- 'try to'; e.g., kespin e kakwe-ota:pinakik 'when you (sg) try to take them'.
- 14. natawi- 'go to'; e.g., natomiskweškam 'he goes for beaver by foot'.
- 15. po:ni- 'stop'; e.g., po:ni-ma:tisiw 'he ceases to live'.
- 16. nicci- 'down'; e.g., nicci-kwa: škottiw 'he jumps down'.

## 6.2.03 Particle compounds

Periods of time and numeral phrases are often made with compounding particles; e.g., assic-'plus' in mita:tto assic ni:sw 'ten plus two, twelve'; kape-'all' in kape-pi:ssimw 'all month'; tatto-'each' in

tatto-ki:sikwa 'each day', tatto-si:komwa 'each Spring'.

The restrictions of occurrence of a compounding particle, which always occurs as the initial element, depend upon the second member of the compound, numeral, period, etc.. This is not the case of the other particles.

#### 6.3 Roots

Of all the stem forming elements, roots are the most numerous, and usually bear the specific meaning of a word. A stem that is not dependent begins with a root and may be preceded only by personal pronouns or by particles, in compounds. A zero root is sometimes posited for dependent stems and animate intransitive verbs derived from them; whenever the root has no actual shape, the personal prefix has to appear.

#### 6.3.01 Classes

A complete classification of roots is beyond the scope of this grammar. If, indeed, it is possible to tentatively isolate some roots and state their distribution in one stem class, fuller investigation

is required to discover all the distributional criteria of roots within the span of stem classes, and to take into account the lexicomorphemic alternations to which they are subject.

Beside the fact that such a classification would have to rule out the secondary derived stems and isolate only the roots that appear in stems of primary formation, a complete classification would leave open the range of permissible functions of roots, supposing that the meanings of these roots are well stated. But even this is not always possible. If the meaning of roots is clearly established 'especially where derivatives are freely formable (...) in other cases, it would be an idle exercise of ingenuity to seek a formula that would cover the meanings of stems that begin with the same sequence of sounds' (Bloomfield 1962, p. 425).

Following Bloomfield's Algonquian (1946, p. 119) and Menomini (1962, p. 69), two large classes of roots are posited for Atikamekw: 'noun' roots and 'general' roots. Some roots occur as the initial element of primary nouns only; e.g., atimw'dog'; name- 'fish'. General roots occur in verbs and in particles as well as in nouns; e.g., the root irin- 'ordinary, common' appears in AN irinirew 'common partridge' and in AI irinissimow 'he dances'. The root mikkw-'red' occurs in IN mikko 'blood', and in IN mikkwa:py 'vein', and in II mikkwan 'it is covered with blood', AI mikkwa:w 'he is red'. The root ata:m- 'under,

underneath' is found in the particle ata:mittakk'in the cellar, under the house' and in the derived noun ata:mikkani:ya:py 'suspenders'.

#### 6.3.02 Postradicals

A few roots show alternant forms, both roots having identical meanings; e.g., beside kip— there is kipw— 'close' as in TI kipaham 'he closes it by instrument' and in TI kiponam 'he closes it by hand'. Numerous examples are found with the root pim— 'along'; e.g., beside pimipatta:w which is rare, there is a much more frequent AI mi:patta:w both verbs meaning 'he runs by'; beside AI pimirew 'he flies' there is mi:rew; also pimottew and mo:ttew 'he walks by'. In most cases, the postradical extension has no specific meaning; e.g., isp— and ispim— 'high', as in AI ispapiw 'he sits high' and P ispimikk 'up'.

A few postradical extensions, however, are meaningful; e.g., -a:t- added to the root pim- 'along' in AI pima:tisiw 'he lives'; -a:ssw'five' added to numeral roots, as in nikotwa:sso 'six' (root nikotw- 'one'), ni:swa:sso 'seven' (root ni:sw- 'two'), nisswa:sso 'eight' (root nissw- 'three'); -we- 'speak, sound' added to the root tep- 'enough' in P tepwe 'true'.

#### 6.3.03 Reduplication

Prior to any other rule is reduplication which sometimes affects general roots, mainly verbs and particles. Reduplication is the morphological process by which a syllable is prefixed to a root giving this root the additional meaning of intensity, continuity, repetition, and sometimes plurality. This syllable is made of the first consonant of the root followed by -a:- for roots beginning in a consonant, and roots beginning in a vowel add the syllable -ay-. E.g., beside TI ma:konam 'he takes it by hand' there is TI ma:ma:konam 'he takes it continually by hand, he supples, softens, it'; beside AI a:cciw 'he moves' there is AI aya:cciw 'he moves continually'; also AI ka:ki:mow 'he cries secretly all the time'; AI ka:kwa:škottin 'it always jumps from one place to another'.

Some roots occur in reduplicated forms only; e.g., ma:macic 'last'; ma:mawissinak 'they used to go to bed together'. A few roots show other types of reduplication. The word aya:pew 'male moose, buck' seems to be derived from AN na:pew 'male, man' with loss of initial consonant and with the addition of -ay- to the derived deverbal medial -a:pe-'male'.

The root pim- 'along' appears as papa:m- in its reduplicated form; Bloomfield (1946, p. 122) describes it as a 'more remote' form of reduplication; e.g., AI pimassa:mottew 'he walks along in snowshoes', AI

papa:massa:mottew 'he walks about in snowshoes'. The root kinw- 'long' shows the irregular reduplicated form kaka:nw- in AI kaka:nwa:rikkwew 'he has long hair'.

#### 6.3.04 Relative roots.

Relative roots always refer to an antecedent. They are few in number; askw-'so long', e.g., eko ni e askwa:pekak 'this one is so long (linear)'; eko ni e askwa:skokak 'this one is so long (wood)'; eko ni e askwa:piskak 'this one is so long (metal)'; appi:c-, aspi:c- 'so much, so far', e.g., e appi:c missak 'it is so much, of that size'; e aspi:c pi:cak 'it is so far, very far'; it- 'thus', e.g., 'o:ma' itew ''this one' he says so to him'; eko ni e itatoskew 'this one, he works thus'; isi- 'so', e.g., eko ni e isimi:cissoc 'this one, he eats so'; ott- 'from there, thence', e.g., TI ottinam 'he takes it from there'; ekota e ottasi:kkein 'it is there that I live'; tattw- 'so many', e.g., tattwa:w 'each time, so many times'.

#### 7. Medials

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Medials occur in dependent and non-dependent noun stems, in verbs and in particles. They form the stems of dependent nouns; in the binary structure of non-dependent nouns and of verbs, medials usually appear between the root and the final of a primary derived stem. When the final is zero, medials occur as noun and particle finals. In secondary derivation, they are found before intransitive and transitive finals. All medials have concrete meanings.

#### 7.1 Classes

According to their distribution as well as to the semantic area to which they belong, medials are here classified into three groups: kinship medials, body part medials and classificatory medials. It should be noticed that traditionally the first two groups are considered to belong to the same class in spite of the fact that they have partly distinctive distribution. Indeed, both kinship and body part medials occur in dependent stems, but no kinship medial occurs in verb stems

of primary derivation as do the body part medials. All medials are listed alphabetically, below.

# 7.1.01 Kinship medials

Kinship medials appear mostly in dependent nouns of primary derivation. All animate intransitive verbs formed from these dependent nouns are secondary; they are mainly derived with the intransitive finals -i, -iwi-'be', but some occur with other intransitive finals.

No kinship medial has been recorded before a transitive final, but it would be possible, at least theoretically, to conceive that such verbs may very well exist in the language. The transitive final -h- 'causative' (see no 2 of TA finals) may virtually be added to a dependent noun stem and then derive a word that would mean, for instance, 'he makes him have a son'; but such verbs, if they exist, are not frequent.

The medial -a:wass- 'baby, child' does not occur in dependent stems; it has been found only as non-dependent noun and as an animate intransitive verb.

Four medials that are not kinship medials are included in this group (see nos 28 to 31 below) since they show the same distributional

characteristics as the kinship medials.

- 1. -a:wass- 'baby, child'
  - e.g., AI aššama:wassow 'she feeds her baby'; AI no:ššaniha:wassow 'she nurses her child'.
- 2. -ci:pa:ss- 'godfather, godmother'
  - e.g., AN nici:pa:ss 'my godfather (woman speaking), my godmother (man speaking).
- 3. -co:co:- 'mother'
  - e.g., AN nico:co: 'my mother'.
- 4. -i:sta:w- 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law'
  - e.g., AN ni:sta:w 'my brother-in-law (man speaking), my sister-in-law (woman speaking)'.
- 5. -i:timw- 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law'
  - e.g., AN ni:timw 'my brother-n-law (woman speaking), my sister-in-law (man speaking)'.
- 6. -komess- 'friend'
  - e.g., AN nikomess 'my friend'.
- 7. -kosiss- 'son'
  - e.g., AN nikosiss 'my son'.

- 8. -miss- 'elder sister'e.g., AN nimiss 'my elder sister'.
- 9. -misso:mess- 'uncle'
  e.g., AN nimisso:mess 'my uncle'.
- 10. -misso:m- 'grandfather'
  - e.g., AN nimisso:m 'my grandfather'; AN nimisso:misiss 'my grandfather's or grandmother's brother'.
- 11. -na:pem- 'husband' e.g., AN nina:pem 'my husband'.
- 12. -naha:k- 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law'
  e.g., AN o:naha:kissi:ma 'his son-in-law'; AN o:naha:kaniskwema
  'his daughter-in-law'.
- 13. -ni:kihikw- 'parent'
  e.g., AN o:ni:kihikwa 'his parents'.
- 14. -ni:w- 'wife, spouse'
  e.g., AN o:ni:wissa 'his wife'.
- 15. -nica:n- 'baby'
  e.g., AN o:nica:nissa 'her new born child'.
- 16. -o:kkom- 'wife'
  e.g., AN no:kkom 'my wife'.

- 17. -o:kko:- 'grandmother'
  - e.g., AN no:kko: 'my grandmother; AN no:kko:miŝiŝŝ 'my grandfather's or grandmother's sister'.
- 18. -o:ss- 'grandchild'
  - e.g., AN no:ssim 'my grandchild'; AN no:ssimisiss 'my great grand-child'.
- 19. -o:tta:wi- 'father'
  e.g., AN no:tta:wi 'my father'.
- 20. -sikw- 'mother-in-law'
  e.g., AN nisikoss 'my mother-in-law'.
- 21. -sisse- 'father-in-law'
  e.g., AN nisisse 'my father-in-law'.
- 22. -ssi:m- 'younger brother or sister'
  e.g., AN nissi:m 'my younger brother, my younger sister'.
- 23. -stess- 'elder brother'
  e.g., AN nistess 'my elder brother'.
- 24. -ta:niss- 'daughter'
  e.g., AN nita:niss 'my daughter'.
- 25. -tawa:ss- 'nephew, niece'
  e.g., AN nitawa:ssim 'my nephew, my niece'.

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26. -to:kon- 'godchild'
e.g., AN nito:kon a:wasson 'my godchild'.
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27. -to:s- 'aunt'
e.g., AN nito:siss 'my aunt'.

The following medials are not semantically related to the precedings, but they pertain to this group since they do not occur in verb stems of primary derivation.

- 28. -cem- 'dog, puppy'
  e.g., AN nicemisiss 'my little dog, my puppy'.
- 29. -tem- 'dog'
  e.g., AN nitem 'my dog'.
- 30. -cepikk- 'root'
  e.g., AN ocepikk 'external root, trunk (of tree)'.
- 31. -anakw- 'sleeve'
  e.g., AN o:nakwiya 'his sleeve'.

# 7.1.02 Body part medials

Body part medials may be classified into two subcategories

according to whether they appear in dependent noun stems or not.

Medials that are restricted to occur in primary and secondary derived verbs or in secondary derived nouns are closely similar in meaning to those of the other subcategory.

In opposition to the kinship medials, it is very common to find a body part medial in primary derivation, between a root and a final. Wherever a body part medial occurs before a transitive final, it is always followed by postmedial -e-.

- 32. -a:p- 'eye, white, smoke'
  - e.g., AI a:kkosa:piw 'he has pain in his eye'; AI co:ška:piw 'he winks, aims, has an eye shut'. This medial does not occur in dependent noun stems.
- 33. -a:pit- 'tooth'
  - e.g., AI a:kkosa:pitew 'he has a toothache'; AI kinwa:pitew 'he has long teeth'. The medial has the form -i:pit- in the dependent noun; e.g., IN wi:pit 'his tooth'.
- 34. -a:rikkw- 'hair'
  - e.g., AI makkatewa:rikkwew 'he has black hair'; AI mikkwa:rikkwew 'he has red hair; AI atissa:rikkwew 'he dyes his hair'. This medial does not appear in dependent nouns.

- 35. -a:ro- 'tail'
  - e.g., AN amiskwa:row 'beaver's tail'. The dependent stem shows the medial -so:- (see no 90 below).
- 36. -a:wikan- 'back'
  - e.g., AI a:kkosa:wikanew 'he has a backache'; AI ayeskowa:wikanew 'he feels tiredness in his back'. This medial is not found in dependent nouns.
- 37. -ca:p- 'eye'
  - e.g., AI a:kkosica:piw 'he has a bad eyesight'; AI makkica:piw 'he has big eyes'. It does not appear in dependent nouns.
- 38. -*cak* 'penis'
  - e.g., IN nicakissiy 'my penis'; IN nicakamow 'my penis'.
- 39. -cestat- 'bend of knee'
  e.g., IN nicestatay 'my bend of knee'.
- 40. -ci:st- 'sinew'
  e.g., IN oci:steya:py 'nerve, sinew'.
- 41. -cicask- 'groin'
  e.g., IN o:cicaskay 'his groin'.
- 42. -ciccy- 'hand'
  - e.g., IN niciccy 'my hand'; AI a:kkosiciccew 'he has pain in his hand'; AN o:ciccikoma 'his wart'.

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43. -cikkw- 'armpit'
e.g., IN ocikkokan 'armpit'.
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44. -cišk- 'anus, buttocks' e.g., IN ociškišš 'anus, buttocks'.

45. -cissw- 'testicles'
e.g., IN ocissiwiy 'testicles'.

46. -eran- 'tongue'
e.g., IN niteraniy 'my tongue'.

47. -eskan- 'horn' e.g., IN o:teskan 'his horn'.

48. -hok-'scale of fish'
e.g., AN o:hokaya 'its scale (fish)'. (Possibly -hak-and -ahak-).

49. -i:yaw- 'body'
e.g., IN wi:yaw 'his body'.

50. -iccikwa:n- 'knee'

e.g., AI a:piccikwa:new 'he rolls on his knees'. It is not found in dependent nouns.

51. -cicca:kw- 'soul, spirit'
e.g., AN nicicca:košš 'my soul, my spirit'.

- 52. -iskw- 'head, hair'
  - e.g., TA a:cciskwenew 'he moves s.o.'s head by hand'; AI na:miskweriw 'he bows the head'; AI tepiskwew 'he has a headache';

    AI wa:piskwew 'he has white hair'; this medial does not appear in dependent nouns.
- 53. -itt- 'ear'
  - e.g., AI kipittekka:sow 'he pretends to be deaf'; IN ta:pittepison 'ear-ring'. It is not found in dependent nouns.
- 54. -ka:skam- 'nape of neck'
  e.g., IN oka:skama:w 'nape of the neck'.
- 55. -kan- 'bone'
  - This medial is homonymous with the noun final -kan-'instrument, product' and is often found as a noun final in many dependent noun stems; e.g., IN omikkikan 'hammer (of ear)'; IN ocikkokan 'armpit'. As a medial proper, -k- is often inserted; e.g., IN ro:ro:mikkan 'ankle bone'; AI ayeskokkanew 'he feels tiredness in his bones'. The dependent noun shows the alternant -skan- in IN o:skan 'his bone'. After the locative suffix, the longer form -ekan- occurs; e.g., IN ospitonikkekan 'radius'; IN ostikwa:nikkekan 'skull'. The longer alternant -a:kan- is found in the medial -kotta:kan- 'throat'.

- 56. -kitikw- 'knee'
  - e.g., IN okitikw 'knee'; AI a:kkosikitikwew 'he has pain in his knee'.
- 57. -kka:t- 'leg'
  - e.g., AI a:kkosikka:tew 'he has pain in his leg'; AI ci:ttaw-a:skokka:tew 'he has a stiff lef'; the dependent noun stem shows -ska:t- in IN oska:t'leg'.
- 58. -kko:- 'ankle'
  e.g., IN okko:n 'ankle'.
- 60. -kkw- 'face, neck'
  - e.g., IN okkwiw 'face, neck'; AI a:kkosikkwew 'he has pain in his neck'; TA ka:ssi:kkwehwew 'he wipes s.o.'s face by instrument'; AI ci:ttawa:skokkwew 'he has a:stiff neck'.
- 61. -kocciškw- 'larynx'
  - e.g., IN okocciskoy 'larynx'. (Possibly consisting of medial -kott- 'throat' and medial -iskw-'head').
- 62. -kott- 'throat'

A shorter form of medial -kotta:kan- 'throat' (see no 63 below);

it occurs in AN arakaški:kotteššip 'ring-necked duck (literaly large-throated duck); it appears with the abstract postmedial -aw- in IN mišša:škottava:n 'beard'.

63. -kotta:kan- 'throat'

A complex of medial -kott- 'throat' and of medial -a:kan- 'bone' used as noun final; e.g., okotta:kan 'stove-pipe'; IN nikkot-ta:kaneya:py 'my throat', with inserted -k-.

- 64. -missit- 'belly, stomach'
  - e.g., IN omissitay 'belly, stomach'; AI a:kkosimissitew 'he has a stomach ache'; AI makkimissitew 'he has a big belly'.
- 65. -nakkati- 'bird's tail'
  e.g., o:nakkatiya 'his (bird) tail'.
- 66. -nawi- 'fish's gill'
  e.g., AN o:nawiya 'his (fish) gill'.
- 67. -no:wem- 'cheek'
  e.g., IN nino:wem 'my cheek'.
- 68. -oskon- 'elbow'
  e.g., IN nitoskon 'my elbow'.
- 69. -pi:skwa:n-'muscle'
  e.g., IN nipi:skwa:n 'my muscle'.

- 70. -pi:wi- 'hair'
   e.g., IN opi:wiy 'hair'
- 71. -picik- 'hip'
  e.g., IN opicikay 'hip'.
- 72. -piskot- 'stomach'
  e.g., IN opiskotay 'stomach'.
- 73. -piton- 'arm'
  - e.g., AI a:kkosipitonew 'he has pain in his arm'; TA a:ecipitonenew'he moves s.o.'s arm by hand'. The dependent noun shows
    the alternant medial -spiton-; e.g., IN ospiton 'arm',
    is sometimes inserted, as in TA a:ecippitonenew 'he moves
    s.o.'s arm by hand'.
- 74. -ppan- 'lung' e.g., IN nippan 'my lung'.
- 75. -pwa:m-, -po:m- 'thigh'
  e.g., nipwa:m 'my thigh'; AI a:kkosipwa:mew 'he has pain in his
  thigh'.
- 76. -ra:n-'calf of leg'
  - e.g., IN ora:n 'calf of leg'; AI a:kkosira:new 'he has pain in his calf of leg'.

- 77. -rakaskw- 'palate of the mouth'
  e.g., IN orakaskoy 'palate of the mouth'.
- 78. -rakkacc- 'vagina' e.g., IN o:rakkacciy 'her vagina'.
- 79. -ri:ri- 'bladder'
  e.g., AN o:ri:riya 'his bladder'.
- 80. -riskw- 'gland' e.g., IN niriskw 'my gland'.
- 81. -ro:kan- 'hip'
  e.g., IN niro:kan 'my hip (bone)'.
- 82. -row-'waist'
  - e.g., IN ki:skirowekopp'skirt' (cloth cut at the waist line);

    IN misirowekopp'dress'. It does not appear in dependent nouns.
- 83. -sit- 'foot'
  - e.g., IN nisit 'my foot'; AI a:kkosisitew 'he has pain in his foot'; AI makkisitew 'he has big feet'.
- 84. -ska:t- 'leg'
  e.g., IN niska:t 'my leg' (see no 57 above).

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85. -skan- 'bone'
e.g., niskan 'my bone' (see no 55 above).
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86. -skask- 'chest'
e.g., IN niskaskikan 'my chest'.

87. -skattikw-'forehead'
e.g., IN niskattikw 'my forehead'.

88. -ski:wan- 'nose, nostril'

e.g., AI ci:cciski:wanew 'he burns the hair of the nose of an animal'; IN oski:wan 'nose, nostril'; ka: oski:wanatina:k 'name of a mountain (literaly, shaped like a nose)'.

89. -skon- 'liver'
e.g., IN niskon 'my liver'; AI a:kkosiskonew 'he has pain in his liver'.

90. -so:- 'tail'
e.g., IN kiso:w'you (quadruped's) tail'; IN oso:w 'tail'.

91. -spikekan-'rib'
e.g., IN nispikekan 'my rib'.

92. -spiskw- 'back'
e.g., IN nispiskon 'my back'

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93. -spiton- 'arm'
e.g., IN nospiton 'my arm' (see no 73 above).
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94. -\$ak- 'skin'

e.g., IN nišakay 'my skin'; AI ka:wašakew 'he has rough skin';
AI makkatewašaka:w 'he has black skin, he is black'.

95. -se- '?'
e.g., AN kinosew 'pike'

96. -sikon- 'tail and fin (of fish)'
e.g., IN osikonay 'fish's tail and fin'.

97. -skassy- 'nail, claw, hoof' e.g., IN niskassy 'my nail'.

98. -ški:ssikw- 'eye'
e.g., IN niški:ssikw 'my eye'.

99.-ŝkiŝy- 'lip' e.g., AN o:ŝkiŝya 'his lip'.

100. -so:kan- 'hip'

e.g., IN niso:kan 'my hip'; AI a:kkoŝiŝo:kanew 'he has pain in his hip' (see no 81 above).

- 101. -stikwa:n- 'head'
  - e.g., niŝtikwa:n 'my head'; AI a:kkoŝiŝtikwa:new 'he has a headache'.
- 102. -ta:mikkikk- 'jaw'
  - e.e., IN nita:mikkikkekan 'my jaw'.
- 103. -ta:ssinakk- 'thorax'
  - e.g., IN nita:ssinakkew 'my thorax'.
- 104. -tastamikkw- 'face'
  - e.g., IN nitastamikkw 'my face'.
- 105. -takisy- 'intestines'
  - e.g., IN nitakisy 'my intestines'.
- 106. -teh- 'heart'
  - e.g., IN otehi 'heart'; AI a:kkositehew 'he feels squeamish, sick'.
- 107. -tettakw- 'kidney'
  - e.g., IN nitettakossiw 'my kidney'.
- 108. -tipp- 'top of head, brain, hair'
  - e.g., IN wi:ritipp 'brain'; AI makkatewitippew 'he has black hair';
    AI mikkwa:tippew 'he has red hair'.

- 109. -tiry- 'shoulder-blade'
  - e.g., IN nitiry 'my shoulder-blade'; AI a:kkositiryew 'he has pain in his shoulder-blade'.
- 110. -tiss- 'umbilical cord' e.g., IN nitissy 'my umbilical cord'.
- 111. -tittama:n- 'shoulder'
  e.g., IN nitittama:n 'my shoulder'.
- 112. -ti:w- 'buttocks'
  e.g., IN niti:w 'my buttocks'.
- 113. -to:n- 'mouth'
  - e.g., IN oto:n 'mouth'; TA ota:mito:nehwew 'he hits him on the mouth by instrument'.
- 114. -to:ttan- 'heel'
  - e.g., IN nito:ttan 'my heel'; AI a:sikito:ttanew 'he strains his foot'.
- 115. -totakkw- 'wing' e.g., IN o:totakkon 'his wing'.
- 116. -tto:k- 'ear'
  - e.g., IN otto:kay 'ear'; AI a:kkositto:kew 'he has pain in his ear'; AI kipotto:kew 'he closes his ears'.

# 7.1.03 Classificatory medials

The medials of this category usually denote either the specific features of a class of objects (metal, liquid, string, etc.) or a class of items pertaining to the daily life (animal names, plants, objects of intimate possession, geographical characteristics, and so forth). The classificatory medials do not occur in dependent stems.

- 117. -a:kon- 'snow'
  - e.g., TI akona:koneham 'he covers it with snow by instrument'.
- 118. -a:n- 'opening, hole'
  - e.g., L a:sawa:na:nikk 'where one crosses'; L a:mirikka:na:nikk 'where fishes spawn'.
- 119. -a:nak- 'island'
  - e.g., L ka:kinwa:naka:k 'it is a long island (place name)';

    II ministikwa:naka:w 'it is a peninsula'.
- 120. -a:pa:w- 'flood, rinse'
  - e.g., TA kisi:ssa:pa:warew 'he rinses him'; AI2 mana:pa:wata:w 'he washes it, rinses it'.
- 121. -a:pat- 'utility'
  - d.g., IN ira:paciccikan 'tool, instrument'; IN akona:pason 'umbrella'.

- 122. -α:pe- 'male'
  - e.g., AN aya:pew 'buck'; AI kisa:pewiw 'he is adult'.
- 123. -a:pi:k- 'string, rope'
  - e.g., IN a:so:kama:pi:kepicikan 'barge, lighter'; TA, TI
    a:niskwa:pi:ka:t- 'to attach him, it, with a rope'.
- 124. -a:pisk- 'stone, metal'
  - e.g., TI a:sikita:piskinam 'he makes it (stone-like object) fall by hand'; AI akwa:piskaciw'he is sticked to metal by cold'; IN pi:wa:piskw 'iron'; P ni:swa:pisk 'two dollars'.
- 125. -a:pw- 'water, liquid'
  - e.g., AI aspa:pwew 'he seasons, flavors, dresses (salad)';

    IN irina:ttikwa:pow 'maple syrup, maple sap'.
- 126. -a:sk- 'underwood, plant'
  - e.g., II sakwa:ska:w 'it is bushwood'; II pima:ska:w 'it is bushy'.
- 127. -a:skw- 'wood, solid'
  - e.g., AI a:soka:skow 'he crosses on ice'; II asa:tiya:skwea:w 'poplar forest'; IN ci:sta:skwa:n 'nail'.
- 128. -aškek- 'swamp'
  - e.g., II metapeškeka:w 'it is a swampy spring'.

- 129. -a:st- 'light'
  - e.g., II atima:stew 'light that moves away, further off'; AI

    a:kawa:stehow 'he casts a shadow for himself'.
- 130. -a:tt- 'wood, stick, wooden surface'
  - e.g., AI a:sawa:ttawi:w 'he crosses on a wooden surface, on a board'; AI iski:pita:ttew 'he ties animal skins on a wooden rack'; IN iskwa:ttawa:kan 'ladder, stairs'.
- 131. -a:wakk- 'sand'
  - e.g., II arakaška:wakka:w 'it is a large sand mound'; II ma:na:wakka:w 'it is a beach'.
- 132. -askamik- 'space, place'
  e.g., wa:patewaskamikw 'moss, lichen'.
- 133. -aski- 'earth, soil'
  e.g., IN atoskeaskiy 'hunting territory'.
- 134. -askw- 'sky'
  - e.g., II rikoskon 'it is cloudy'; II wa:seskon 'it is a clear sky'.
- 135. -at- 'hill, mountain'
  - e.g., P aka:matin 'on the other side of the hill'.

- 136. -ekk- 'cloth, woven material'
  - e.g., TA acciwekkiswew 'he reduces, lessens him (cloth) by cutting'.
- 137. -i:k- 'cloth, leather'
  - e.g., TA acciwi:kiswew 'he shortens him (leather) by cutting'.
- 138. -ik- 'dwelling, house'
  - e.g., AI ma:nikew 'he builds a house'; TI a:ttikepitam 'he moves it out from his house'.
- 139. -ikamik-'place, house'
  - e.g., IN a:kkosiwikamikw 'hospital'.
- 140. -in- 'wood, board'
  - e.g., AI ako:tina:ssow 'he hangs out the washing (on a wooden rack)'.
- 141. -ipe- 'liquid'
  - e.g., TI kisi:pekinam 'he washes it'; a form -ipekw- is supposed in P ata:mipekokk 'in, under, water'.
- 142. -askin- 'full'
  - e.g., TI acciwaskinam 'he lessens, reduces it'; AI ma:waskinew 'he collects, gathers, stores up'.

- 143. -ittak- 'house, floor'
  - e.g., P ata:mittak 'in the cellar, under the house, at the bottom'.
- 144. -kamy 'water, liquid'
  - e.g., AN akoškamessiw 'eagle'; the longer alternant -a:kamyoccurs in many stems; e.g., AI a:šo:kamepariw 'he crosses
    a stretch of water in vehicle'; TA atea:kamiparittawew'he
    mixes him up, stir him up'.
- 145. -ki:sik- 'sun'
  - e.g., II a:pittaki:sika:w 'it is noon'.
- 146. -kkor- 'robe'
  - e.g., AN makkatekkorew 'priest'.
- 147. -mikkw-'red'
  - e.g., II pwa:ssimikkwa:w 'it is pink'; II pwemikkwew 'it is dark red'.
- 148. -min- 'berry'
  - e.g., AI mo:minew 'he eats berries as he picks them up'.
- 149. -naw- 'mood, spirit'
  - e.g., TA a:nawerimew 'he despises him, holds him in contempt'.
- 150. -pak- 'leaf, bark'
  - e.g., AI pa:pakonew 'he strips off the bark'; IN ka:nistopaka:k 'clover (three leaves)'.

- 151. -ssa:m- 'snowshoe'
  - e.g., AI akossa:mew 'he has snow sticked to his snowshoes';

    AI ayeskossa:mew 'he is tired of walking in snowshoes'.
- 152. -\$\sip- 'duck'
  e.g., TI nato\sipe\skam'he goes duck-hunting by foot'.
- 153. -\$tikw- 'river'
  e.g., II opi:\$tikwea:w 'it is a fast running river'.
- 154. -\$\dots : riy 'metal, money'

  e.g., IN o\dots a: va: \dots o: riya: piskw 'stone with bronze' (possibly

  -a:\dots o: riya: with the prefinal -a:-.
- 155. -tipisk- 'night'
   e.g., II a:pittatipiska:w 'it is midnight'.
- 156. -w- 'sound'
  e.g., AN a:ha:wessiss 'ruddy duck'.
- 157. -wep- 'fling'

  This medial always combines with transitive finals; e.g., TA

  assawepinew 'he throws him over by hand'.
- 158. -wi:kkwa:ss- 'bark'
  e.g., AI natawi:kkwa:ssew 'he fetches bark'.

## 7.2 Pre- and postmedials

Premedials are not frequent. There is -a:- in -a:kamy- 'water, liquid' (see no 144 above). The morpheme -rak- occurs in a few stems; it could have the vague meaning of direction. This premedial is always followed by a body part medial; e.g., AI a:titta:raka:piw 'he squints'. The complex form -rakask-, with possibly the meaning of 'inside', appears in two dependent nouns: IN orakaskicicca:n 'palm (of hand)', and IN orakaskisita:n 'sole (of foot)'.

Postmedial -e- occurs with body part and classificatory medials. This postmedial is homonymous with the animate intransitive final -e- (see no 11 of AI finals for further discussion); e.g., TA ka:ssi:-ciccenew 'he wipes his hands by hand'; IN nita:mikkikkekan 'my jaw'; IN a:so:kama:pi:kepicikan 'barge, lighter'; TI akona:koneham 'he covers it with snow'.

The postmedial -ak— is found after some classificatory medials; after -a:kon— 'snow' in II  $i \ge pa:konaka:w$  'it (snow) is high'; after -itt— in medial -ittak— 'house'.

#### 8. Noun Finals

Noun stems are dependent or non-dependent, and each has its own morphological structure. A non-dependent noun stem consists of a root, nominal or general (see 6.3.01), and a final; between these elements, a medial can optionally be inserted. A dependent stem has no root; it consists basically of a medial and a final. In both dependent and non-dependent noun stems, the final may have no actual shape.

Non-dependent stems are normally derived from a verb stem or from another non-dependent noun stem. In one occurence, however, a non-dependent stem is derived from a dependent stem: this is the case of IN ote-himin 'strawberry', as found in IN otehimin-pi:ssimw 'June', which is formed from the medial -teh- 'heart', as in the dependent stem otehi 'heart'.

The following noun finals are ordered by the last consonant of the suffix, the zero final being first.

#### 1. zero 'abstract'

The noun final zero is sometimes posited for unanalyzable nouns;

e.g., IN ora:kan 'dish, bowl'; AN mahi:kkan 'wolf'; AN

ŝi:ŝŝi:p 'duck'; AN akopp 'dress'; AN minahi:kw 'white spruce';

AN atimw 'dog'.

## 2. -o:sa:- 'bay'

This final is derived from IN wa:sa:w 'bay', with contraction of the first syllable to -o:-. It is found with the locative suffix in the following examples: IN ci:stemo:sa:kk 'Tobacco Bay (near Manouane)'; IN emikkwa:no:sa:kk 'place name near Manouane (spoon-like bay)'.

# 3. -ikk- 'abstract' e.g., AN ki:sikk 'cedar-tree'.

- 4. -m- 'abstract'
  e.g., IN assa:m 'snowshoe'; IN mi:cim 'food'.
- 5. -kom- 'abstract'

  This final is added to the medial -ciccy- 'hand' in IN ocicci-kom 'wart'.
- 6. -wa:m- 'abstract'

  This final occurs after the animate intransitive verb wi:ki'to dwell' in IN wi:kiwa:m 'house'.

#### 7. -kiwa:m- 'house'

The final -kiwa:m- is deverbal of IN mi:kiwa:m 'house'. It is added to noun stems; e.g., IN mistikokiwa:m 'wooden house'; IN assinikiwa:m 'jail, prison'; IN assinikanikiwa:m 'brick house'; IN wi:kkwa:ssikiwa:m 'house made of bark'.

# 8. -a:ttem- 'wood'

This complex final consists of medial -a:tt-'wood' (see no 130 above), postmedial -e- and noun final -m-. E.g., IN iškwa:t-tem 'door'.

#### 9. -n- 'abstract'

All analyzable noun stems in -n- are secondary formation from animate intransitive verbs, and denote action, instrument, product, and the like. The animate intransitive stem final vowel -e- is replaced by -a:— in some stems, and by -a— in some others before -n—. This variation is not predictable from the phonological structure of the animate intransitive stem.

Examples of -a:- alternants: IN ci:ma:n 'canoe' from AI ci:mew

'he canoes'; IN apwa:n 'roast' from AI apwew 'he roasts';

IN a:tisso:kka:n 'tale, story' from AI a:tisso:kkew 'he narrates'; IN ota:pa:n 'car' from AI ota:pew 'he hauls'; IN

appokkwa:n 'roofing felt, tar paper' from AI appokkwew 'he
thatches'.

- Examples of -a- alternants: IN kipahikan 'dam' from AI kipahikew 'he blocks up'; IN masinahikan 'book, letter' from AI masinahikew 'he writes'; IN a:pahikan 'screwdriver' from AI a:pahikew'he unscrews'; IN oni:hikan 'trap, snare' from AI oni:hikew 'he traps'; IN a:sokan 'bridge, pier, wharf' from AI a:sokew 'he crosses'.
- The noun final-n- is added directly to middle reflexive verbs in -o-; some of the underlying stems are not in use; e.g., IN akitta:sson 'number, digit' from AI akitta:ssow 'he is counted, numbered'; IN appissimon 'mattress'; IN nakwi:-kwa:sson 'eiderdown'.

## 10. -a:kan- 'abstract'

- This noun final is added to transitive animate verbs; e.g., from

  TA occirowemew 'he is related to him' is derived IN occirowem
  a:kan 'relationships'; IN tikkina:kan 'cradleboard' from TA

  tikkinew 'he puts him in a cradleboard'.
- It is also found after animate intransitive stems; e.g., from AI

  mi:cissow 'he eats', is derived IN mi:cissowa:kan 'table'.

  The underlying stem is not always known; e.g., IN o:kotta:kan

  'his throat'; IN nipwa:stenima:kan 'night-light'; IN araka
  pessa:kan 'trousers'.

## 11. -an- 'abstract'

This final occurs in AN mi:kon 'feather' and in IN oteskan 'horn'.

## 12. $-\alpha:n-$ 'abstract'

This final occurs in some unanalyzable noun stems; e.g., AN paka:n 'nut'; IN masa:n 'thorn'; AN pakkaha:kkwa:n 'chicken, hen, cock'; IN pa:skinakkwa:n 'lycopod, club-moss'; IN missa:s-kottawa:n 'beard'.

# 13. -a:cikan- 'instrument'

This final consists of transitive animate and inanimate -t- which is added to animate intransitive stems, with replacement of the stem final vowel -e- by -a:- (see no 29 of TA finals) and the noun final -kan- 'instrument' (see no 24 below), with connective -i-.

The underlying transitive verb may occur only as stem of derivation; e.g., IN a:soha:cikan 'ferry-boat' derived from TI a:soh- 'to cross it in canoe'; IN pi:ttoska:cikan 'underwear' from TI pi:ttosk- 'to clothe, dress, it'.

# 14. -a:pina:n- !white!

This final is a deverbal of wa:pan 'white' followed by the noun final -a:n-; e.g., IN o:missa:pina:n 'her eyelash'; IN wa:pa-towa:pina:n 'cornea'.

# 15. -a:siyan- 'breeches'

This final is a deverbal of IN a:siya:n 'diaper' and occurs in
IN pikiwa:na:siya:n 'plastic baby breeches, shorts'.

16. -waya:n-, -wa:n- 'covering, garment, hide'

The noun final -waya:n- is preserved at Obedjiwan; there is a tender to replace it by -wa:n- at Weymontachie and at Manouane where it appears much more frequently. E.g., AN amiskwaya:n and amiskwa:n'beaver-skin garment'; AN wa:poswaya:n and wa:poswa:n 'hare-skin covering'; AN a:kkikwa:n'seal-skin'; IN kapa:ssimowa:n 'bathing suit'; IN ka:po:twa:n 'coat'.

# 17. -cicca:n- 'hand, finger'

This complex noun final consists of medial -ciccy- 'hand, finger' followed by postmedial -e- (or by the animate intransitive final -e-, see no 10 of AI finals) which is replaced by -a:- before the noun final -n-. E.g., IN pi:tto:pekicicca:n 'water blister'; IN orakaskicicca:n 'palm of hand'; IN otis-kwecicca:n 'little finger'; IN opikkicicca:n 'knuckle'.

## 18. -ekin- 'cloth, material'

This final is related to medial -ekk- 'cloth, woven'. E.g., IN

akoppekin 'material (to make dresses)'; IN ki:škiwa:nekin

'material (to make blouses)'.

#### 19. -hon- 'instrument'

This complex final consists of transitive animate -h- and animate intransitive -o- (middle reflexive) followed by noun final -n-. E.g., IN akikwehon 'handle of cradleboard'; IN a:kawa:-stehon 'shelter, lamp-shade, peak (of cap)'.

## 20. -icikan- 'instrument'

This complex final consists of transitive animate and inanimate

-t- and the noun final -kan- with connective -i-. It is sometimes added to inanimate intransitive verbs that do not have transitive correspondent; e.g., IN ako:cicikan 'coat-hanger', from TA, TI ako:t- 'to hang, suspend'; from II ira:patan 'it is used, useful' is formed IN ira:pacicikan 'tool, instrument'.

#### 21. -ikka:n- 'made'

The noun final -ikka:n-, consisting of animate intransitive -ikke
'make, gather, collect' followed by the noun final -n- with

replacement of -e- by -a:-, is used to derive nouns from

nouns; e.g., AN okima:!ka:n 'elected chief' from AN okima:w

'chief'; AN irinikka:n 'dummy, travesti' from AN iriniw 'man';

AN maškikkerinikka:n 'ambulance man' from AN maškikkeriniw;

AN maškokka:n 'teddy bear' from AN maškwa 'bear'.

- 22. -isin- 'abstract'

  This noun final occurs in IN maskisin 'moccasin, shoe'.
- 23. -ista:n- 'abstract'
  This noun final is found in AN wa:pista:n 'marten'.
- 24. -kan- 'instrument, product'
  - The animate intransitive suffix -ke- 'inanimate indefinite' to which is added the noun final -n- with the regular replacement of -e- by  $-\alpha$ -, forms the noun final -kan-. It is mainly used to denote instrument or product.
  - This final, sometimes preceded by connective -i-, derives nouns from transitive inanimate verbs; e.g., IN iskopicikan 'zip-fastener', from TI iskopitam 'he goes up, he climbs it'; from TI a:kawekkaham 'he closes it, draws the curtains' is derived IN a:kawekkahikan 'curtains, drape'.
  - It is also added to animate intransitive verbs; the stem final vowel -i:- is replaced by -a:-. E.g., from AI iskwa:ttawi:w 'he climbs' is formed IN iskwa:ttawa:kan 'ladder, stairs'. In many nouns, the underlying stem does not appear to be used in the language; e.g., IN tewehikan 'drum'; IN sessekan 'hail'; IN ta:ssipita:kan 'wooden stand for drying meat'; IN pi:ssipo:cikan 'sawdust'.

## 25. -kkoma:n- 'knife'

This noun final is a deverbal of IN mokkoma:n 'knife' and occurs in IN pi:ccikkoma:n 'pocket knife'.

## 26. -ma:n- 'abstract'

This noun final is found in IN akossama:n 'pumpkin', and in IN mokkoma:n 'knife'.

## 27. -min- 'berry'

This noun final, deverbal of IN mi:niss 'blueberry', is found in

IN otehimin 'strawberry'; IN mikkomin 'raspberry'; IN wa:pimin
'fruit, apple, pear'; IN miromin 'rice'.

# 28. -picikan- 'instrument'

The noun final -picikan- is made of transitive animate and inanimate -pit- 'pull, handle roughly' and noun final -kan-'instrument, product' (see no 24 above) with connective -i-. E.g., IN a:so:ka:mepicikan'instrument that crosses a stretch of water'; IN a:so:kama:pi:kepicikan 'barge, lighter'.

# 29. -ra:kan- 'dish, bowl'

This final is a deverbal of IN ora:kan 'dish, bowl' and is added to noun stems in IN so:pora:kan 'soup bowl'; IN nipisa:po:-ra:kan 'tea cup'. It is added to a root in IN akoccora:kan 'float (of the fishing net)'.

#### 30. -asinahikan- 'write'

This final is a deverbal formation from IN masinahikan 'book, letter' and occurs after an animate intransitive verb in IN mo: skinesinahikan 'report, form'.

# 31. -askisin-'moccasin, shoe'

A deverbal of IN maskisin 'moccasin, shoe', this final occurs after root and medials; e.g., IN mistikoskisin 'wooden shoe'; IN pakkekineskisin 'leather shoe'. It is always preceded by -w- when occuring after an animate intransitive stem; e.g., nipewaskisin 'slipper'; IN ki:sa:stewaskisin 'sandal'.

## 32. -ta:pa:n- 'haul'

This final may be analyzed either as a deverbal of IN ota:pa:n

'car' or as an animate intransitive ta:pe- 'haul' followed

by noun final -n- with replacement of -e- by -a:-. E.g., IN

a:niskota:pa:n 'knot'; IN iskoteta:pa:n 'locomotive'.

#### 33. -win- 'abstract'

Abstract nouns are freely formed from animate intransitive verbs with the addition of the suffix -win-. E.g., IN a:kkosiwin 'sickness' from AI a:kkosiw 'he is sick'; IN pima:tisiwin 'life' from AI pima:tisiw 'he lives; IN tipa:cimowin'story, news' from AI tipa:cimow 'he tells'. Some nouns derived

with this suffix have concrete meanings; e.g., from AI aspapiw 'he sits on cushions, on saddle' there is IN aspapiwin 'cushion, saddle'; IN oci:kiwin'penis'; IN apwesiwin 'sweat, perspiration'.

# 34. -akopp- 'dress'

This final is a deverbal of IN akopp 'dress' and occurs usually after medials; e.g., IN ki:skirowekopp 'skirt'; IN misirowekopp 'dress'.

## 35. -ssip- 'duck'

A deverbal of AN \$i:\delta\delta\isi:p 'duck', this final may also be analyzed as consisting of medial -\delta\delta\ip p- and noun final zero; it occurs after roots and medials, but is also found in secondary derivation. E.g., AN \$ko:\delta\delt

# 36 -pir- 'abstract'

This final is found in only one stem: AN namepir 'carp, sucker'.

## 37. -iss- 'diminutive'

This final is the corresponding form of the Proto-Algonquian diminutive suffix \*-e?s-; it occurs in fully lexicalized forms and its diminutive meaning, if any, is rather vague. It is found in some kinship terms, in names of animals and of body parts. E.g., AN namess 'fish'; AN nimiss 'my elder sister'; AN nita:niss 'my daughter'; IN wi:rississ 'hair'.

- The suffix -iss- is barely used to mark explicit diminutives. It always occurs after stems ending in -iss-, thus giving the noun the structure of a double diminutive; e.g., from AN namekoss 'trout' there is AN namekossiss 'little trout'; AN awessississ 'young animal' from AN awessiss 'animal'; AN amekkossiss 'flea' from an unused stem.
- But it is also possible to consider that the diminutive suffix used in the examples above is -iss- which is subject to assimilation in that environment. Indeed, -iss- is sometimes added freely to noun stems to mark explicit diminutives (see no 40 below).
- The double diminutive -ississ- occurs in one stem ending in with a specialized meaning; AN emikkwa:nississ 'bug, coccinella', derived from IN emikkwa:n 'spoon' whose regular diminutive is IN emikkwa:niŝiŝŝ 'little spoon, tea spoon'.

#### 38. -amekoss- 'trout'

This final is a deverbal of AN namekoss 'trout' and occurs in

AN ma: samekoss 'rainbow trout'.

### 39. -iskiss- 'pejorative'

This final occurs after noun stems and form pejorative nouns of secondary derivation. Stems in potvocalic -w- and in -y- drop the semi-vowel and the remaining vowel is lengthened before this suffix. E.g., IN a:sokaniskiss 'an old bridge'; AN iskwe-ŝkiss 'a bad woman'; AN irini:ŝkiss 'a bad man'; IN acca:pi:-ŝkiss 'a worn-out bow'.

#### 40. -iss- 'diminutive'

This final corresponds to Proto-Algonquian \*-ehs-, and as -iss(see no 37 above) occurs sometimes in fully lexicalized
forms with a somewhat vague diminutive meaning. It is found
in kinship terms and in names of animals. E.g., AN minoss
'cat'; AN wa:koss 'fox'; AN acicamoss 'squirrel'; AN
nimisso:mess 'my uncle'. The word acakkoss 'star' belongs
to this category.

It is sometimes added greely to noun stems marking explicit diminutives with or without a pejorative meaning; e.g., AN sima:kaniss 'soldier, band councillor'; AN wa:pissipiss 'garrot, goldeneye'; AN ci:ma:niss 'little canoe, worn-out canoe'; IN akoppisoni:ya:piss 'small cataplasm'.

The double diminutive -ississ- is frequent in names of birds,

of young animals and of insects. Noun ending in postvocalic

-w- drop -w- and the vowel is not lengthened before the double

diminutive. E.g., AN piressiss 'little, young, bird' (compare

with AN piresiss 'young partridge'); AN wa:pirekossiss 'lark';

AN sa:sa:wini:pessiss 'swallow'; AN ma:nississ 'young moose';

AN wa:seskocessiss 'firefly, luciola'.

### 41. -isiss- 'diminutive'

Explicit diminutives are formed with -isiss- freely added to noun stems; it is the most productive diminutive suffix. Noun stems ending in postvocalic -w- drop -w- before this final, and the remaining vowel, if short, is lengthened. E.g., AN piresiss 'young partridge'; AN okima:siss 'band councillor'; AN irini:-siss 'little man'; AN pisi:siss 'young lynx'; AN mikkessi:siss (0) 'young fox'.

Post consonantal -w- becomes -o- and is not lengthened; e.g., AN ka:koŝiŝŝ 'young porcupine'; AN ocoŝkoŝiŝŝ 'young muskrat'; AN wa:poŝoŝiŝŝ 'young rabbit, young hare'. This rule is applied to nouns that have preserved the animate suffix -a-after postconsonantal -w-; e.g., from AN maskwa 'bear', AN maskoŝiŝŝ 'young bear'.

Noun stems ending in -iy- drop -y- before this suffix and the remaining vowel combines with the final yielding -i:siss-; e.g., AN acca:pi:siss 'little bow'; AN asa:ti:siss 'little poplar'.

### 42. -iwass- 'container'

This final is added to noun stems; e.g., IN astassoniwass 'wall cupboard', mittiwass 'firewood box'.

#### 43. -a:sitt- 'fir'

This final is found after the root *irin*- 'ordinary' in AN *irina:*
\*\*sitt 'fir'

#### 44. -w- 'abstract'

Many unanalyzable noun stems end in postconsonantal -w-; e.g.,

AN a:rokw 'starling'; AN kiya:skw 'seagull'; AN mwa:kw
'black-throated diver'; AN ka:kw 'porcupine'; IN oskattikw
'forehead'.

Nouns ending in postvocalic -w- are problematic as to the analysis of the stem which may often be set up either with or without the abstract final -w- (for further discussion, see Bloomfield 1962, p. 242, and Wolfart 1973, nos 3.32 and 6. 413); e.g., AN na:pew 'man'; AN piceiw 'american robin'.

This final is also found after inanimate intransitive verbs; e.g.,

IN ro:tinw 'wind'; IN ki:wetinw 'north wind'; IN sa:wanw
'south'; IN pipo:nw 'winter'.

## 45. -ω- 'agent'

This final occurs after animate intransitive stems and forms agent nouns; the third person prefix -o- is added to the stem; e.g., from AI kiskino:hama:kew 'he teaches' is derived AN okiskino:-hama:kew 'teacher'.

#### 46. -a:kw- 'abstract'

Several noun stems denoting animals end with this final; the remainder of the stem is unique; e.g., AN assimwa:kw 'osprey';

AN sika:kw 'skunk'; AN essima:kw 'oyster, shell'; AN mikkina:kw 'turtle'.

#### 47. -a:pew- 'male'

This final is made of medial -a:pe- 'male' and noun final -w-; e.g., AN aya:pew 'buck, male moose'.

## 48. -a:piskw- 'stone, metal'

This final consists of medial -a:pisk- 'stone, metal' followed by noun final -w-; it occurs in both primary and secondary derivation. E.g., IN pi:wa:piskw 'iron'; IN assiniya:piskw 'metallic rock'.

#### 49. -a:po:w- 'liquid'

This final is found after noun stems; e.g., IN co:co:ssa:na:po:w
'milk'; IN apwesiwina:po:w 'sweat, perspiration'; IN
iskotewa:po:w 'alcohol'.

### 50. -a:row- 'tail'

This final consists of medial -a:ro- 'tail' and noun final -w-; it occurs in secondary derivation after noun stems; e.g.,

IN ka:kwa:row 'porcupine's tail'; IN amiskwa:row 'beaver's tail'.

#### 51. -a:skw- 'wood, solid'

This final is homonymous with the medial -a:skw- 'wood, solid'; it occurs in primary derivation in AN a:kima:skw 'ash tree', and after a noun stem in IN ota:pa:na:skw 'toboggan'.

#### 52. -a:ttikw- 'tree, wood'

This complex final consists of medial -a:tt- 'wood, stick, wooden surface' followed by the noun final -ikw- 'wood'. It occurs in both primary and secondary derivation; e.g., AN irina:t-tikw 'maple tree'; AN wi:kkwa:ssa:ttikw 'birch tree'; IN masinahikana:ttikw'pencil'; AN wi:kopiya:ttikw 'basswood tree'.

### 53. -a:w- 'abstract'

This final occurs in a few unanalyzable nouns; e.g., IN ci:stema:w
'tobacco'; AN o:missima:wa 'his elder sister'; this final
is supposed in AN oka:siss 'yellow pike'.

#### 54. -amekw- 'fish'

This final occurs in AN atikkamekw 'white fish, coregonidae'; it is a deverbal of AN namekoss 'trout'. E.g., AN ma:sa-mekoss 'rainbow trout'.

#### 55. -anw- 'abstract'

The abstract final -anw- is found in a few unanalyzable stems; e.g., IN \$a:wanokk 'in the south'; IN wa:panokk 'in the east'; it also occurs after the medial -i:k- to form the complex final yekanw- (see no 83 below).

#### 56. -askamikw- 'space, place'

This complex final is made of medial -askamik-'space, place' followed by the noun final -w-; it is found in IN wa:pate-waskamikw 'moss, lichen'.

#### 57. -askikkw- 'bucket'

A deverbal of IN askikkw 'bucket', this final is found after one animate intransitive stem in IN mi:si:waskikkw 'bucket, toilet'.

- 58. -aškw- 'grass, herb'
  - This final occurs in both primary and secondary derivation; e.g.,

    IN wippaškw 'common elder'; IN wa:pošoškw 'aralia'; IN

    pissekanoškw 'cat's tail'.
- 59. -astimw- 'dog'
  - This complex final is homonymous with medial -astimw- 'dog'; it is paralleled by the independent stem atimw. E.g., AN atoskewastimw 'gun-dog'.
- 60. -aw- 'abstract'

  This final occurs in the unanalyzable noun IN reko 'sand'.
- 61. -ekw- 'abstract'

  This final appears in the unanalyzable noun IN miškekw 'swamp'.
- 62. -ekkw- 'abstract'

  This final occurs in a few nous; e.g., AN mistakekkekkw 'peregrine falcon'; AN kekkekkosiss 'falcon, hawk'.
- 63. -*epi:kw* 'snake'
  - This complex final consists of medial -a:pi:k- 'string'; it is added to the root kinw- 'long' with unusual contraction of -w- in AN kinepi:kw 'snake'.

64. -eto:w- 'abstract'

This final occurs in only one stem: IN ososkweto:w 'mushroom, pine cone'.

#### 65. -ew- 'abstract'

This final occurs in some unanalyzable nouns; e.g., AN omemew 'pigeon'; AN na:tawew 'Iroquois'; AN pa:pastew 'woodpecker'; AN pirew 'partridge'. It is also found in secondary derivation in AN akokkwa:ccimew 'leech'.

66. -ikamikw- 'place, house'

This final consists of medial -ikamik-'place, house! and noun final -w-; e.g., IN a:kkosiwikamikw 'hospital'.

#### 67. -ikw- 'wood'

This final occurs after root in AN, IN mistikw 'tree'. It is also used after the medial -a:tt- 'tree, wood', thus forming the complex noun final -a:ttikw- (see no 52 above).

### 68. -ikkw- 'abstract'

This final occurs in a few unanalyzable nouns; e.g., AN atikkw 'caribou, horse'; IN askikkw 'kettle, bucket'.

#### 69. -ikkwew- 'woman'

This final is a deverbal of AN iskwew 'woman'; e.g., AN ekaressa:k-kwewiss 'english woman'; AN okima:kkwew 'chief's wife'.

#### 70. -imw- 'abstract'

This final occurs in a few stems; e.g., AN atimw 'dog'; AN ni:timw 'my brother-in-law'.

#### 71. -inw- 'abstract'

This abstract final occurs in IN *ki:wetinokk* 'in the north'.

It is also found after the medial -*i:k*- 'cloth' (see no 83 below).

#### 72. -itew- 'heat'

This complex final consists of the inanimate intransitive final

-ite- 'heat' followed by the noun final -w-. It occurs in

a few stems; e.g., AN a:ha:tew 'crow'; IN akwa:pitew 'smoke';

IN iškotew (0) 'fire'.

#### 73. -ittakw- 'board, wood'

This complex noun final consists of medial -ittak- 'house' followed by -w-. It is added to names of trees with the meaning of 'board, dead tree, wood'. E.g., IN irina:sittittakw 'dead fir tree (still standing up)'; IN pikotittakw 'rotten wood'; IN wa:stettakw 'laminated board'.

### 74. -*iw*- 'abstract'

This abstract final is found in a few stems; e.g., IN pimiw 'fat, oil'; AN iriniw 'man'; IN pikiw 'gum, rosin'.

## 75. -oŝw- 'quadruped'

This final occurs after root in AN wa:posw 'rabbit, hare', and in a few unanalyzable nouns; e.g., AN ciwekacosw 'dragonfly'.

#### 76. -o:w- 'abstract'

This final is found in a few unanalyzable nouns; e.g., AN a:mo:w 'bee'; AN to:ro:w 'bull' (from French: taureau); IN oso:w 'tail'.

### 77. -pαkw- 'leaf'

This complex final consists of medial -pak- 'leaf' followed by -w-; it occurs in secondary derivation in IN oškitepakw 'water lily, nenuphar'; IN ša:ša:komina:nipakw 'perpetual flowering plant'.

### 78. -rew- 'partridge'

This final is made of medial -re- 'partridge' and noun final -w-; it occurs after roots in AN *irinirew* 'common partridge'; AN wa:pirew 'ptarmigan'.

#### 79. -riniw- 'man'

This final is a deverbal of AN *iriniw* 'man' and occurs in secondary derivation usually after a noun stem; e.g., AN *iškote-riniw* 'fireman'. It is sometimes found after an animate intransitive stem; e.g., from AI *ma:nikew* 'he builds a house' is derived AN *ma:nikeriniw* 'carpenter'.

#### 80. -skw- 'bear'

This medial occurs as a noun final in AN na:peskw 'male bear';

AN no:sseskw 'she bear'.

#### 81. -ssiw- 'bird'

This final denotes birds; it occurs usually in primary derivation, although in some unanalyzable stems, it looks as if it was added to a noun stem final; e.g., AN a:ha:ssiw 'crow'; AN pipo:nessiw 'buzzard'; AN o:ho:mi:ssiw 'eagle-owl'; AN o:ho:ressiw 'woodcock'; AN akoškamessiw 'kingfisher, eagle'.

### 82. -stikw- 'river'

This final, which sometimes occurs as medial, is found in a few noun stems; e.g., IN pa:wistikw 'rapids, cascade'; IN ministikw 'island'.

#### 83. -yekanw-, -yekinw- 'cloth'

These complex finals consist of medial -i:k- 'cloth, woven' followed by noun finals -anw- (see no 55 above) and -inw- (see no 71 above). The distinction between the two suffixes is no more in used at Manouane where -yekinw- only has been recorded; both suffixes are found at Weymontachie and at Obedjiwan.

Both finals occur after roots and after noun stems; e.g., IN

pakkekinw 'leather'; IN ka:risiwa:nekanw 'flannelette';

IN ki:skiwa:nekinw 'material for smock'.

84. -yekw- 'abstract'

This final occurs in AN ocek 'pecan' with unusual loss of final -w-.

85. -y- 'abstract'

This final occurs in many unanalyzable noun stems; e.g., IN otiry 'shoulder-blade'; IN wa:pikoniy 'flower'; IN wi:sopiy 'gall bladder'.

86. -a:py- 'string'

This final occurs after noun stems; e.g., IN <code>sestokwa:py</code> 'rope';

IN <code>ehepi:kwa:py</code> 'spider web'. A shorter form <code>-py-</code> is found in AN <code>arapy</code> 'net'; this noun also occurs as stem of derivation in the complex noun IN <code>ehepi:korapi:ya:py</code> 'spider's web' which shows the noun final <code>-a:py-</code> preceded by the prefinal <code>-i:y-</code>.

The longer form -i:ya:py- is also found in secondary derivation;
e.g., IN a:nakkama:ni:ya:py 'suspenders'; IN maskisini:ya:py
'shoe lace'; IN ta:piška:kani:ya:py 'necklace'.

87. -askiy- 'territory'

This complex final consists of medial -aski- and noun final -y-.

It occurs in secondary derivation; e.g., IN atoskeaskiy
'hunting territory'; IN kittika:naskiy 'field, garden'.

# 88. -ay- 'abstract'

This abstract final occurs only in some dependent stems, after medials; e.g., IN opiskotay 'bladder'; IN nimissitay 'my belly'; IN osakay 'skin'; IN orakapay 'crutch'.

89. -ey- 'abstract'

This final occurs in the unanalyzable stem IN mey 'excrement'.

### 90. -my- 'abstract'

The final -my is added, in secondary derivation, to the stem (AI) on ike-'to carry on one's back', whose final final vowel -e is replaced by -a- before this suffix; e.g., on ikamy 'porage, place of portage'.

91. -kamy- 'water'

This final occurs after roots; e.g., IN kiccikamy 'sea, ocean'.

# 92. -si:piy- 'river'

This final is a deverbal of IN si:piy 'river' and occurs after roots; e.g., IN irisi:piy 'spring water'; IN aka:misi:piy 'the other side of the river'.

### 9. Intransitive Verb Finals

Animate and inanimate intransitive verbs are formed with intransitive finals, most of them occurring in both primary and secondary derivation. Some intransitive finals come in pair for animate and inanimate subject; when an animate intransitive final has no inanimate counterpart of it's own, the inanimate stem is usually derived from the animate intransitive stem.

Some inanimate verbs are more conveniently labeled 'impersonal' since no 'actor' is involved; e.g., II kimiwan 'it rains; II rikoskon 'it is cloudy'. A few intransitive finals correspond to transitive finals.

All animate and inanimate intransitive stems end in a vowel or in -n-. They are presented below in two categories. The first set includes the animate intransitive finals, with their inanimate counterpart, if any, listed according to the stem final vowel of the animate form, stems in -n- coming last. The second set is made of the inanimate

intransitive finals that do not have animate counterpart.

# 9.1 Animate intransitive finals

# 9.1.01 Stems ending in $-\alpha:$ .

The animate intransitive finals ending in -a: fall into two categories (see 4.2.01): the finals of the first set are listed below (nos 1 to 11); the finals of the second category are matched by transitive animate finals and are thus presented in the next chapter (see chapter 10, TA finals nos 1, 2, 8, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 27, 28).

None of the following animate intransitive finals ending in  $-\alpha:$  has an inanimate counterpart.

#### 1. AI -a: 'abstract'

This final is sometimes added to transitive animate stems to derive animate intransitive stems which resemble stems of indefinite action. E.g., from TA ayamihew 'he speaks to him' is derived AI ayamiha:w 'he is praying'; from TA pakitahwew 'he sets him his fish-nets by tool' is formed AI pakitahwa:w 'he sets his fish-nets'; from TA ma:taka:hew 'he makes him swim' is derived AI ma:taka:ha:w 'he catches sight of (animal) swimming'.

## 2. AI -α:- 'go'

This final is added to a few roots only, forming animate intransitive stems of primary derivation; e.g., AI <code>isa:w</code> 'he is going', root <code>is-'so</code>, thus'; AI <code>ma:ca:w</code> 'he is leaving', root <code>ma:t-'go'</code>; AI <code>kapa:w</code> 'he disembarks, puts ashore'.

### 3. AI -aka:- 'abstract'

This final is added to only one root: AI misaka:w 'he is landing, he arrives by water'.

## 4. AI -aŝaka:- 'skin'

The final -a:-, instead of the expected (postmedial) -e-, is found after this medial (-asak- 'skin') in AI ka:wasaka:w 'he has rough skin'.

### 5. AI -a:ttaha:- 'wooden, solid surface'

In this complex final, the animate intransitive -a:- looks as if it was added to the transitive inanimate final-ah- preceded by the medial -a:tt- 'wooden, solid surface'. It is found after only one root: AI \$0:\$kwa:ttaha:w 'he skates', root \$0:\$kw- 'glide, slide'.

### 6. AI *-a:taka:-* 'swim'

This final is a deverbal of AIma:taka:w 'he swims' (see no 1 above).

It is found after roots; e.g., AI a:sawa:taka:w 'he crosses

by swimming', root a:saw- 'to cross'; AI atima:taka:w 'he

swims away', root atim- 'back'.

### 7. AI *-patta:-* 'run'

This final resembles an animate intransitive final of class 2 and is paralleled by transitive animate -pah- 'run from' (see no 6 of TA finals). It occurs after roots; e.g., AI ispipatta:w 'he is running upward', root isp- 'up, high'; AI pimipatta:w 'he runs along', root pim- 'along'.

It is added to animate intransitive stems; e.g., AI a:sokepatta:w 'he crosses a bridge running', from AI a:sokew 'he crosses'.

### 8. AI -\$ka:- 'by foot or body movement'

This final corresponds to the transitive set -\$kaw-, -\$k- 'by foot or body movement' (see no 42 of TA finals). It is found after roots or medials in primary derivation; e.g., AI a:cci-\$ka:w'he crosses a street, changes his way by foot', root a:tt- 'move'; AI a:wasope\$ka:w 'he carries water by foot', medial -ipy- 'water'; AI pimi\$ka:w 'he paddles along'; AI a:\$ite\$ka:w 'he takes a lead over him by foot'.

It is also found in secondary derivation; e.g., AI ki:weska:w 'he is going back home by foot'.

## 9. AI -asta:- 'set, place'

This final occurs after roots and medials to denote movements or ways of doing something. E.g., AI acicasta:w 'he puts, writes, upside down'; AI orasta:w 'he lays the table'; AI naka:sta:w 'he stops with his body'; AI macikkwesta:w 'he makes faces, grins'; in the last example, the final is added to the medial -kkw-'face'.

### 10. AI -wa:- 'carry something'

The final -wa:- is sometimes added to animate intransitive stems of class 2 to derive animate intransitive verbs of class 1.

The stem so derived adds the meaning of an indefinite object, and resembles a double transitive inanimate verb. The last vowel of the stem drops before this suffix.

E.g., from AI2 iskwa:ttawi:paritta:w 'he makes it (e.g., elevator) go up automatically' is derived AI iskwa:ttawi:parittwa:w 'he makes it (e.g., elevator) go up automatically carrying sth.'; from AI2 mi:patta:w 'he runs along' is formed AI mi:pattwa:w 'he runs along carrying sth.'; from AI2 isparitta:w 'he delivers it in vehicle' is formed AI isparittwa:w 'he delivers it in vehicle carrying sth.'.

#### 9.1.02 Stems ending in -e-.

None of the following animate intransitive finals has an inanimate counterpart. If, for some reasons, an inanimate form is needed, then it is homonymous with the animate final, or derived with the final -makan- (see no 101 below).

#### 11. AI -e- 'abstract'

The animate intransitive final -e- is homonymous with postmedial -e-, both occurring after medials. This makes it difficult sometimes to determine precisely when a stem belongs to a primary or to a secondary derivation.

This situation occurs when a medial, and not necessarily a body part medial, is followed by -e- and a transitive final. For instance, in AI ka:ssi:ciccew 'he wipes his hands', -e- following the medial -ciccy- 'hand' is clearly an animate intransitive final. But in TA ka:ssi:ciccehwew 'he wipes s.o.'s hands by instrument', and in TA ka:ssi:ciccenew 'he wipes s.o.'s hands by hand', -e- preceding the transitive animate final -ahw-'by tool, by instrument' and the final -in- 'by hand' may be analyzed either as a postmedial, in which case the transitive finals form verbs of primary derivation, or as an animate intransitive final, in which case the transitive

- verbs are secondary. (For further discussion, see Wolfart 1973, p. 68).
- The animate intransitive final -e- occurs after roots; e.g., AI wi:tew 'he is joking'; AI ki:wew 'he is going back home'; AI metawew 'he is playing'; AI a:maciwew 'he is climbing a hill'. It also occurs after medials with which it combines, thus forming complex animate intransitive finals. Examples are:
- A) AI -a:pite- 'tooth'; e.g., AI a:kkosa:pitew 'he has a tooth-ache'; AI kinwa:pitew 'he has long teeth'.
- B) AI -askine- 'full'; the inanimate form is homonymous; AI, II, a:pittoskinew 'he, it, is half full'.
- C) AI -ipe- 'water'; AI kosa:pew 'he sinks'; AI i:kkahipew 'he bails out'; AI na:sipew 'he goes down to the water'.
- D) AI -iskanawe- 'road'; AI a:soskanawew 'he crosses the street, the road'; AI a:maciweskanawew 'he is going up the road'.
- E) AI -ike- 'house'; in AI ma:nikew'he builds a house'; AI pi:ttikew 'he enters a house'.
- The animate intransitive final -e- occurs after derived noun stems in secondary derivation; e.g., from IN a:sokan 'bridge, pier, wharf', already derived from AI a:sokew 'he crosses over', is

formed AI a: sokanew 'he crosses a bridge'.

In secondary derivation, it is added to transitive animate and inanimate stems already derived from animate intransitive verbs. E.g., from AI a:niskota:pew 'he makes a knot, attaches, for hauling', there is TA, TI a:niskota:pa:t- 'to attach him, it, for hauling' which occurs only as stem of derivation, from which is formed AI a:niskota:pa:tew 'he attaches for hauling'. From the root a:pot- 'to turn inside out', there is TA, TI a:pocipit- 'to turn him, it, inside out roughly' which occurs only as stem of derivation, and derives AI a:pocipitew 'he turns inside out roughly'.

# 12. AI -ke- 'inanimate indefinite (implied object)'

The animate intransitive -ke- is added to transitive inanimate stems and to animate intransitive stems of class 2, forming verbs of secondary derivation with implied inanimate indefinite object. Connective -i- is often inserted before this final.

Transitive inanimate verbs whose animate counterpart end in -awdo not derive animate intransitive stems with -ke-, but
rather with -a:ke- (see no 15 below). E.g., from TI a:paham
'he unscrews, unknots, detaches it' is derived AI a:pahikew

'he unscrews, unknots, detaches sth.'; from TI ito:ham 'he is pointing at it' is formed AI ito:hikew 'he is pointing at sth.'; AI ma:koccikew 'he bites sth.' from TI ma:kottam 'he bites it'.

- E.g., from AI2 pi:kopo:ta:w 'he breaks it by grinding' is derived AI pi:kopo:cikew 'he breaks sth. by grinding'; from AI2 aŝiwittita:w'he blunts it, makes it blunt' is derived AI aŝiwiccikew 'he blunts sth., makes sth. blunt'.
- Many nouns have an underlying animate intransitive verb with the final -ke- as stem of derivation; e.g., IN a:pahikan 'tool, screwdriver' from AI a:pahikew 'he unscrews sth.'; IN masinahikan 'book' from AI masinahikew 'he writes sth.', both nouns showing the regular replacement of -e- by -a- before the noun final -n-.
- 13. AI -ke- 'inanimate indefinite (implied instrumental object)'

  This final is homonymous with the preceding and occurs after animate intransitive stems, some being formed with -ke- (see no 12 above), thus forming verbs of secondary derivation. The animate intransitive stem final vowel -e- is replaced by -a:-before this final; the verb so formed implies an inanimate indefinite instrumental object.

- E.g., from AI ata:wew 'he sells' is formed AI ata:wa:kew 'he sells with sth.'; from AI metawew 'he plays' is derived AI metawa:kew 'he plays with sth.'.
- This final is supposed in some instrumental noun stems; the animate intransitive stems occurs only as stem of derivation.

  E.g., AI iskwa:ttawa:ke- is supposed by IN iskwa:ttawa:kan 'ladder, stairs'; AI minikkwa:ke-, which is not in used in the language now, underlies IN minikkwa:kan 'cup, glass'.

  Some stems are formed with both animate intransitive finals -ke- (nos 12 and 13, in this order); e.g., AI ki:škišika:kew 'he cuts sth. with sth.'.
- 14. -ike- 'animate indefinite (implied object)'
  - The final -ike- is added, in secondary derivation, to transitive animate stems forming animate intransitive verbs of indefinite action. The verb so formed implies an object, syntactically unexpressed, having the meaning of indefinite person, or people in general.
  - When a stem ends in postvocalic -w-, there is contraction to -a:-, thus yielding -a:ke-. This contracted suffix -a:ke- is kept distinct from the final -a:ke-(see no 15 below) for reasons of semantic adequacy in the processes of derivation.

- E.g., from TA kawinew 'he pushes him, makes him fall' is derived AI kawinikew 'he pushes people, makes people fall'; from TA a:sokanikkawew 'he makes a bridge for s.o.' is formed AI a:sokanikka:kew 'he makes a bridge for people'; from TA isitisahamawew 'he sends it so for s.o.' is formed AI isitisahama:kew 'he sends it so for people'; AI omeci:ska:kew 'he dirties people' from TA omeci:skawew 'he dirties him'.
- 15. AI -a:ke- 'inanimate indefinite (implied object)'
  - The final -a:ke- is posited for reasons of semantic adequacy between transitive inanimate stems and animate intransitive verbs with implied inanimate goal. The final -a:ke- is added, in secondary derivation, to transitive animate stems in -aw- paired by transitive inanimate that do not have this syllable (see class 6 of TA finals).
  - The animate intransitive stem <code>miska:kew</code> 'he finds sth.' may be derived, theorically, either from transitive animate <code>miskawew</code> 'he finds him' with the animate intransitive final <code>-ike-(see no 14 above)</code>, vowel contraction yielding to <code>-a:ke-</code>, or from transitive inanimate <code>miskam</code> 'he finds it', with animate intransitive <code>-a:ke-</code>. The problem raised by the transitive animate underlying stem is that AI <code>miska:kew</code> implies an indefinite

object which is inanimate. For this reason only, it is appropriate to set up -a:ke- distinct from the contracted form -a:ke- (see no 14 above).

E.g., from TI isinam 'he sees it so', corresponding to TA isinawew 'he sees him so', is derived AI isina:kew 'he sees things so'; from TI nissitottam 'he recognizes it', paralleled by TA nissitottawew 'he recognizes him', is formed AI nissitotta:kew 'he recognizes sth.'.

# 16. AI -iwe- 'animate indefinite (implied object)'

The animate intransitive final -iwe- occurs after transitive animate stems forming verbs of secondary derivation. The implied object of the verb so formed denotes an indefinite persons, people in general, or animate things. E.g., from TA akimew 'he counts him' is derived AI akimiwew 'he counts people'; from TA ma:konew 'he takes, catches, him by hand' is formed AI ma:koniwew 'he takes, catches, animate things by hand'; from TA sa:kihew 'he loves him' is derived AI sa:kihiwew 'he loves people'.

# 17. AI -ikke- 'make, gather, collect'

The final -ikke- is added to noun stems and occurs in secondary derivation, thus forming verbs of making, gathering, collecting.

E.g., from IN a:sokan 'bridge, pier, wharf' is derived AT a:sokanikkew 'he makes a bridge'; AI masinahikanikkew 'he makes, collects, books' derived from IN masinahikan 'book'; from IN pakkwesikan 'bannock' is formed AI pakkwesikanikkew 'he makes bannock'.

Noun stems ending in -y- or in postvocalic -w- drop the semivowel and lengthen the vowel before AI -ikke-; e.g., from AN arapy 'net' is derived AI arapi:kkew 'he makes a net'; from AN acca:py 'bow' is formed AI acca:pi:kkew 'he makes a bow'; from IN maŝkikkiw 'medecine' is derived AI maŝkikki:kkew 'he makes medecine'.

## 18. AI *-i:kke-* 'be busy'

This final corresponds to transitive animate -i:kkaw- and transitive inanimate -i:kk- 'be busy'. It is found in primary derivation after only one root: AI taŝi:kkew 'he used to live there, to be busy there'.

#### 19. -awe- 'fire'

Some primary derived animate intransitive stems are formed with this suffix added to roots; e.g., AI a:stawew 'he extinguishes (light, fire)'; AI kotawew 'he makes fire'.

### 20. AI -otte-'walk'

This final is added to roots and to some animate intransitive verbs, thus forming stems of both primary and secondary derivation.E.g., AI *itottew* 'he walks so'; AI *pimottew* 'he walks along'; AI *ma:cewottew* 'he starts walking'; AI *na:si-peciwottew* 'he goes to the lake, walking'.

### 21. AI -pe- 'sleep'

The animate intransitive final -pe-'sleep', related to AI nipa:w
'he sleeps' which shows the form nipe- in some stems (e.g.,
TA nipehew 'he makes him sleep, puts him to bed', and IN
nipewaya:n (0) 'pyjamas') is added to the root wi:t- 'with'
forming the stem of derivation wi:ppem- 'to sleep with s.o.';
e.g., AI wi:ppemitta:w 'he sleeps with it'.

#### 22. AI -we- 'speak, sound'

This final consists of medial -w- 'sound' (see no 156) followed by AI -e-. It occurs after roots and derives: animate intransitive stems of primary derivation. E.g., AI a: sitewew 'he disputes, contradicts'; AI kakeskwew 'he warns, advises, reprimands'; AI kiškwew 'he stops crying'; AI tepwew 'he calls out, shouts'; AI ma:ratwew 'he swears, blasphemes'.

# 23. AI -re- 'fly

This final occurs after roots and medials, forming animate intransitive stems of primary derivation. E.g., AI ispirew 'he

flies high', root isp- 'high'; AI pimirew 'he flies by', root pim- 'along'; AI a:ttikerew 'he moves out by flying', medial -ik- 'house'.

## 24. AI -ta:pe- 'drag, haul, pull'

This final is a deverbal of AI ota:pe- 'to drag, haul'; it is added to roots in AI a:wacita:pew 'he carries by pulling'; AI a:niskota:pew 'he attaches for hauling'.

### 25. AI -nike- 'carry on shoulders'

The final -nike- is a deverbal of AI onikew 'he carries on his shoulders'; it is found in primary derivation in AI piminikew 'he porter a boat, carries (a canoe) on his shoulders'.

#### 9.1.03 Stems ending in -i:.

None of the animate intransitive stems ending in -i:- has an inanimate counterpart.

#### 26. AI -i:- 'abstract'

The final -i:- is added to roots and forms animate intransitive stems of primary derivation; e.g., AI ci:ci:w 'he drinks to the bottle (child language)'; AI ita:pici:w 'he is long to come'; AI ko:ki:w 'he dives'; AI mikkawi:w 'he remembers'.

### 27. AI -ki:- 'grow'

The final -ki:- is added to particle finals and to animate intransitive stems; e.g., AI a:pittawiki:w 'he is half grown'; AI

ma:ceki:w 'he grows (plant, child)'.

# 28. AI -niki:- 'born'

This final occurs in primary derivation after oški- 'young' in AI oškiniki:w 'he is young, unmarried'. From this, is derived AN oškiniki:ššišš 'boy'.

# 29. AI -a:ttawi:- 'board, wooden surface'

This final consists of medial -a:tt- 'wood' followed by AI -awi:
'abstract' which is found after this final only. It occurs
in primary derivation; e.g., AI a:sawa:ttawi:w 'he crosses
on a wooden surface, on a board'; AI iskwa:ttawi:w 'he goes
up, climbs, on a wooden surface'.

#### 9.1. 04 Stems ending in -i.

The animate intransitive finals ending in -i- show a great variety of morphological structures; many have inanimate counterpart and some have homonymous forms for animate and inanimate subject.

30. AI, II, -i-, -iwi- 'be'

These finals are added to nouns and form, in secondary derivation, animate and inanimate intransitive verbs of being. The final -i- is added to nouns that end in postvocalic -w-; e.g., from AN na:pew 'man' is formed AI na:pewiw 'he is a man'; from AN iskwew 'woman' is derived AI iskwewiw 'she is a woman'.

- The final -iwi-is added to all other nominal endings; noun stems ending in postconsonantal -w- and followed by -iwi- show contraction to -o:wi-. Noun stems ending in -y- and followed by -iwi- contract to -i:wi-.
- E.g., AI wa:poso:wiw 'he is a rabbit, a hare' derived from AN wa:posw 'rabbit, hare'; from AN acca:py 'bow' is formed II acca:pi:wiw 'it is a bow'; from IN ko:n 'snow' is formed II ko:niwiw 'it is snow'.
- 31. AI -i, -i:wi, II -an 'have, be covered with'
  - These finals are added to noun stems and form, in secondary derivation, animate and inanimate verbs of possession. The final -i- occurs in possessed nouns with third person prefix o-; e.g., from IN naha:pwa:kan 'glasses' is derived AI onaha:pwa:-kaniw 'he wears glasses'; AI oci:ma:niw 'he has a canoe', from IN ci:ma:n 'canoe'.

Noun stems ending in -y- show contraction to -i:-. E.g., from AN arapy 'net' is formed AI otarapi:w 'he has a fish-net'. Noun stems ending in -o-, from an underlying postconsonantal -w-, add AI -i:wi-; e.g., from AN ikko 'louse' are formed AI ikkwi:wiw and II ikkon (/ikkwan/) 'he, it, has lice, is covered with lice'; from IN mikko 'blood' are derived AI mikkwi:wiw and II mikkon (/mikkwan/) 'he, it, has blood, is covered with blood'.

# 32. AI -i- 'abstract'

Some animate stems, with no paralleled inanimate form, show the final -i- directly added to roots or medials. E.g., AI akaciw 'he is shy, ashamed'; AI ma:skiw 'he swims touching the bottom'; AI po:siw 'he goes in, boards'; AI a:kkosa:piw 'he has pain in his eye'.

The final -i- contracts to -o- when added to roots or medials ending in postconsonantal -w-. E.g., AI  $a:\hat{s}oka:skow$  'he crosses on solid, on the ice', in which -i- is added to the medial -a:skw- 'solid surface'.

### 33. AI -isi-, II -an- 'abstract'

These finals are added to roots, thus forming animate and inanimate intransitive stems of primary derivation. E.g., AI a:rimisiw, II a:riman 'he, it, is difficult, uneasy, intricate': AI

sekisiw 'he is afraid'; AI ma:ratisiw, II ma:ratan 'he, it, is bad, naughty, ugly'; AI a:patisiw, II a:patan 'he, it, is useful'.

## 34. AI -isi-, II -α:- 'abstract'

Animate and inanimate intransitive stems are freely formed by the addition of these finals to roots and medials. E.g., AI ci:t-tawisiw, II ci:ttawa:w 'he, it, is stiff, tight'; AI kakki:-kkesiw, II kakki:kkea:w 'he, it, is square, has corners'; AI kinosiw, II kinwa:w 'he, it, is long'; AI ka:sisiw, II ka:sa:w 'he, it, is sharp' with regressive assimilation of -s-to-s- in the animate form.

### 35. AI -ssi-, II -ssin- 'diminutive'

The animate ending -\$\sisis\$i- is added to the finals of AI stems and to the theme signs of transitive verbs; the inanimate ending -\$\sisin\$- is added to the finals of II stems. Both endings form secondarily verbs of diminutive action, and are not very frequent (see also 4.6.01). E.g., AI niminikkwe\$\sin\$in 'I drink a little, or, I (the little one) drink'; II ki:\sice\sice\sin\$in 'it is cooked a little, or, it (the little one) is cooked'.

#### 36. AI -a:kosi-, II -a:kwan- 'abstract'

These finals are added to transitive stems of sensory perception

and form animate and inanimate intransitive verbs of secondary derivation. The verbs so formed are not middle reflexives since they denote 'single actions' (Bloomfield 1962, p. 299); they are not either equivalent to passive reflexive verbs.

E.g., AI a:naweritta:kosiw, II a:naweritta:kon 'he, it, is object of pity, of despise'; AI kanaweritta:kosiw, II kanaweritta:kon 'he, it, is kept'; AI itakitta:kosiw, II itakitta:kosiw, it, is valued, counted, so'.

## 37. AI -na:kosi-, II -na:kwan- 'appear'

These finals consist of transitive animate and inanimate finals

-na:w-, -n- 'see, think' followed by the animate intransitive

-a:kosi-, and the inanimate intransitive -a:kwan- (see no 36 above). They are added to roots; e.g., AI isina:kosiw, II

isina:kon 'he, it, looks so, has such appearance'; AI kicci
na:kosiw, II kiccina:kon 'he, it, looks big, tall, dignified'.

They also occur in secondary derivation in AI ayeskosina:
kosiw, II ayeskosina:kon 'he, it, is tired to have such appearance, to look that way'.

# 38. AI -api-, II -aste- 'set, sit, place'

These finals are deverbal of AI api- and II aste- 'to sit, set, place', and are added to roots in AI a:ssotapiw, II a:ssotastew 'he, it, is placed on sth.'; AI a:ttapiw 'he changes

his place'; AI ispapiw, II ispastew 'he, it, is placed high'.

# 39. AI -aci-, II -atin- 'by cold'

These finals are added to roots and medials forming animate and inanimate intransitive verbs of primary derivation; e.g., AI akwa:kaciw, II akwa:katin 'he, it, is sticked by cold'; AI akwa:piskaciw, II akwa:piskatin 'he, it, is sticked to metal by cold'; AI ma:škociw, II ma:škotin 'he, it, is frozen'.

# 40. AI -a:pi- 'see'

A deverbal of AI wa:pi- 'to see', this final may also be seen as consisting of medial -a:p- 'see' followed by AI -i- 'abstract' (see no 32 above). It occurs in primary derivation after roots in AI ispa:piw 'he looks upward'; AI a:para:piw 'he looks askance'.

#### 41. AI -ca:pi- 'eyes'

This final, related to AI wa:pi- 'to see', consists of medial -ca:p'eye' followed by AI -i- 'abstract' (see no 32 above). It
is added directly to the root in AI makkica:piw 'he has
big eyes'. It also occurs after an animate intransitive stem
in AI a:kkosica:piw 'he has a bad eyesight'.

#### 42. AI -a:taka:si- 'swim'

This final consists of AI ←a:taka:- 'swim' (see no 6 above) followed by AI -isi- 'abstract'. It is found after the root

a:saw- 'to cross over' in AI a:sawa:taka:siw 'he swims across'.

# 43. AI -a:tisi- 'always'

This final looks as if it was formed of AI -isi- 'abstract' preceded by a prefinal -a:t-. It is found after only one animate intransitive stem: AI a:kkosiwa:tisiw 'he is always sick'.

# 44. AI -ati-, II -an- 'abstract'

These finals are found after the root kosikw- 'heavy' in AI kosi-kotiw, II kosikon 'he, it, is heavy'.

#### 45. AI -ka:pawi- 'stand'

This final occurs in primary derivation after roots and medials;
e.g., AI a:ccika:pawiw 'he moves, changes his places, standing up'; AI ci:ttawa:skoka:pawiw 'he is standing up right as on a solid'.

## 46. AI -kawi-, II -kawin- 'drip'

These finals occur in AI *oecikawiw*, II *oecikawin* 'he, it, leaks, drips'.

# 47. AI -kkwa:mi- 'sleep'

This final is added to roots and forms animate intransitive stems

of primary derivation. E.g., AI a:motekkwa:miw 'he falls off his bed while sleeping'; AI mirokkwa:miw 'he sleeps well'; AI missekkwa:miw 'he sleeps outside, under the stars'. A contracted form -kkossi- occurs in AI a:piccikkossiw 'he is continually sleeping'.

## 48. AI -pari-, II -parin- 'move'

These finals occur after roots and after animate intransitive stems; e.g., AI ispariw 'he goes in a vehicle', the inanimate correspondent shows a specialized meaning, II isparin 'it arrives, happens'; AI a:maciwepariw, II a:maciweparin 'he, it, goes up mechanically'; AI miropariw, II miroparin 'he, it, goes well'; AI a:sikicipariw 'he topples over, upside down, in a vehicle'.

The causative transitive finals -h- and -tta:- (see no 2 of the TA finals) are freely added to these suffixes; e.g., TA a:sikici-parihew, AI2 a:sikiciparitta:w 'he causes him, it, to turn upside down'.

#### 49. AI -ri- 'on or by body part'

This final occurs after postmedial -e- following a body part medial.

It forms animate intransitive verbs of primary derivation denoting actions done on or by a part of the body. E.g., AI

ispikka:teriw 'he raises his leg'; AI ispipitoneriw 'he raises his arm'; AI na:miskweriw 'he bows the head'; AI macikkweriw 'he makes faces, he grins'.

# 50. AI -ssi-, II -ttin- 'abstract'

These finals occur after roots or medials thus forming animate intransitive verbs of primary derivation. E.g., AI akwa:-koŝŝiw, II akwa:kottin 'he, it, is mouldy, rusty'; AI kweŝ-koŝŝiw, II kweŝkottin 'he, it, whistles'.

#### 9.1.05 Stems ending in -o.

A large group of animate intransitive finals ending in -o- are 'middle' and explicit reflexives, as well as reflexives of useful action.

#### 51. AI -o-, II -e- 'abstract'

Added to roots as well as to transitive stems, these finals form animate and inanimate 'middle' reflexive intransitive verbs.

A preceding -t- (from an underlying θ) is palatalized by the animate final; e.g., in primary derivation, after roots: AI ka:sow, II ka:tew 'he, it, hides, is hidden'. In secondary derivation, AI ci:pa:kkosow 'he prepares his own meal' from TA ci:pa:kkotew 'he prepares him a meal'; AI ka:škipa:sow 'he shaves' from TA ka:škipa:tew 'he shaves him'; AI iškwa:sow,

II iskwa:tew 'he, it, burns'. The animate final -o- is added to transitive animate finals in -m-; thus, from TA kwi:ssimew 'he lies him down at full length' is derived AI kwi:ssimow 'he lies down at full length'. The meaning of -ssimo- is specialized in a few occurences (see no 73 below).

## 52. AI -aho- 'with or by water'

This final corresponds to the transitive inanimate final —ah— (see no 49 of TA finals) and shows the specialized meaning of 'with or by water'. E.g., AI kisi:kkwehow 'he washes his face with water'; AI ma:cehow 'he leaves in canoe'.

# 53. AI -ka:so-, II -ka:te- 'abstract'

These finals are added to transitive inanimate verbs and form animate and inanimate intransitive stems of secondary derivation with a passive meaning. E.g., from TI akitt- 'to count sth.' are formed AI akiccika:sow and II akiccika:tew 'he, it, is counted, numbered'; AI masinahika:sow and II masinahika:tew 'he, it, is written, pictured' from TI masinah- 'to write, picture, sth.'.

## 54. AI -so-, II -te- 'abstract'

These suffixes are added to animate intransitive finals; the final

-e- is regularly replaced by -a:- before these suffixes. E.g.,

from AI ma:nikew 'he builds a house' is derived AI ma:nika:sow

'he builds a house for himself, his own house'. The animate final -so- is sometimes added to transitive animate stems in -amaw- 'for someone' (see no 37 of TA finals), thus forming explicit reflexive verbs. The suffixes show contraction yielding to -ama:so-. E.g., AI akostahama:sow 'he is sewing for himself' from TA akostahamawew 'he is sewing for s.o.'; AI kiskerittama:sow 'he knows for himself (e.g., address, phone number)'. The explicit reflexive -itiso- is also found in that environment (see no 57 below).

#### 55. AI -ikka:so- 'pretend'

This complex final consists of transitive animate final -ikkaw'move' (see no 39 of TA finals), followed by the explicit
reflexive suffix -so-(see no 54 above), with the meaning of
'pretend'. It is added to animate intransitive stems forming
explicit reflexive verbs. The stem final vowel is lengthened
before this suffix.

E.g., from AI a:kkosi- 'to be sick' is derived AI a:kkosikka:sow
'he pretends to be sick'; from AI ekaressa:mow 'he speaks
english' is formed AI ekaressa:mokka:sow 'he pretends to speak
english'. Sometimes, the underlying form occurs only as stem
of derivation; it is usually made of a transitive animate
stem to which is added the animate intransitive final -e-

(see no 11 above). E.g., AI ma:konekka:sow 'he pretends to catch s.o. or sth.' derived from TA, TI,ma:kon- 'to catch him, it'; AI sekihikka:sow 'he pretends to scare him' from TA sekihew 'he scares him'.

# 56. AI -ito- 'abstract'

#### 57. AI -itiso- 'abstract'

Explicit reflexive verbs are derived from transitive stems with the final -itiso-. This final is found in all environments including after the transitive final -amaw- 'for someone'.

E.g., AI iskahama:tisow 'he lights a cigarette'; AI kanawe-rittama:tisow 'he is keeping him, it, for himself'. The contraction -ama:tiso- is regular.

Other examples are: AI nipahitisow 'he commits suicide' from TA nipah'to kill him'; AI ma:komitisow 'he bites himself' derived

from TA ma:kom- 'to bite him'; AI assamitisow 'he feeds himself' from TA assam- 'to feed him'; AI cakka:pinitisow 'he puts his finger in his eye' from TA cakka:pin- 'to put one's finger in s.o.'s eye'; from TA a:tisso:kka:t- 'to narrate, speak about s.o.' is derived AI a:tisso:kka:titisow 'he narrates, speaks about himself' which occurs besides AI a:tisso:kka:sow 'he narrates to himself'.

#### 58. AI -iso-, II -ite- 'heated'

These finals correspond to the transitive finals -isw- and -is'by heat' (see no 57 of TA finals), and occur after roots
and medials. E.g., AI akwa:kottisow, II akwa:kottitew 'he, it
is sticked by heat'; II akwa:piskitew 'it is sticked to metal
by heat, it is soldered'; II ca:ka:skitew 'it is completely
burned'.

## 59. AI -a:sso-, II -a:tte- 'heated'

These finals correspond to the transitive finals -a:ssw- and -a:ss'by heat' (see no 58 of TA finals); they are added to roots
and medials, and derive middle reflexive verbs. E.g., AI iskwa:ssow, II iškwa:ttew 'he, it, burns by himself, by itself'.

#### 60. AI -ikka:tiso- 'make for oneself'

This complex final consists of the animate intransitive final -ikke(see no 17 above) to which is added the transitive final -aw'for someone', followed by AI -itiso- (see no 57 above) with

a regular vowel contraction yielding to -ikka:tiso-. E.g.,
AI acca:pi:kka:tisow 'he makes a bow for himself'; AI akoppikka:tisow 'she makes a dress for herself'; AI mi:kiwa:mikka:tisow 'he builds a house for himself'.

#### 61. AI -a:sso- 'abstract'

This suffix occurs after transitive inanimate stems and forms reflexive verbs of useful action. E.g., AI akitta:ssow 'he makes up his account'; AI ako:tina:ssow 'he hangs out the washings'; AI ma:waškina:ssow 'he gathers, collects, puts things together'; AI kanaweritta:ssow 'he keeps things for himself'.

#### 62. AI -kwa:sso-'sew'

The suffix -a:sso- is not added directly to the transitive inanimate final -kwa:t- 'sew' but rather shows an irregular contraction yielding to -kwa:sso-. This final forms reflexive verbs of useful action. E.g., AI ayeskokwa:ssow 'she is tired of sewing'; AI ki:škikwa:ssow 'he sews patches for himself'.

#### 63. AI -ho- 'abstract'

This final corresponds to transitive final -h- (see no 1 of TA finals).

When added to roots and medials, it forms middle reflexive verbs of primary derivation. E.g., AI akawa: \*stehow\* 'he casts a shadow for himself'; AI macihow\* 'he dresses badly'.

It is used after animate intransitive final -pari- 'move' (see no 48 above), thus forming middle reflexives of secondary derivation. E.g., AI ayakkoparihow 'he moves fast when retained by s.o. or sth., he tosses about, struggles'.

## 64. AI -mo- 'by speech, by mouth'

This final corresponds to the transitive final -m- (see no 10 of TA finals). It is added to roots; e.g., AI ayerimow 'he sneezes'; AI nakamow 'he sings'; AI a:sitemow 'he disputes, debates'.

It is used in the meaning of 'speak a language' in AI ekaressa:mow 'he speaks english'; AI emittikossimow 'he speaks french'.

#### 65. AI -a:cimo- 'narrate'

This final corresponds to the transitive animate -a:cim- 'narrate' (see no 12 of TA finals), and is found in AI tipa:cimow 'he tells, declares, narrates'.

# 66. AI -piso-, II -pite- 'tied'

These finals correspond to transitive final -pit- (see no 31 of TA finals) and occur after roots in AI kwa: kwepisow, II kwa: kwepitew 'he, it, is hooked'; AI a:niskopisow, II a:niskopitew 'he, it, is tied, attached'.

67. AI -piso-, II -pite- 'fast'

These finals correspond to the transitive final -pit- (see no 30 of TA finals) and occur in primary derivation in AI ka:ški-pisow 'he scrapes fast'; AI pimipisow, II pimipitew 'he, it speeds along'. It is also found in secondary derivation; e.g., AI pi:ttikepisow 'he moves himself fast inside'.

68. AI -aspiso-, II -aspite- 'tie'

These finals correspond to the transitive final -aspit-'tie' and form middle reflexive verbs of primary derivation. E.g., AI itaspisow, II itaspitew 'he, it, is dressed so'.

69. AI -iporo- 'go down a rapid'

This final is added to the root ni:s- 'down' in AI ni:siporow 'he canoes, floats, down rapids'.

70. AI -na:ko- 'appear'

This final consists of transitive animate -na:w- 'see, think' (see no 41 of TA finals), and corresponds to the animate intransitive final -na:kosi- 'appear' (see no 37 above). It is found in an explicit reflexive stem, AI kiccina:kow 'he looks big, tall, dignified to himself'.

71. AI -nikka:so-, II -nikka:tew-'named'

These finals are found after the root is- 'so, thus' only; they

consist of transitive animate and inanimate final -nikka:t'name' (see no 35 of TA finals) followed by -o- 'abstract'
(see no 51 above) which paratalizes a preceding -t-. E.g.,
AI išinikka:sow, II išinikka:tew 'he, it, is named so'. The
reciprocal reflexive form also appear after this final; AI
išinikka:titisow 'he makes people name him so'.

### 72. AI -po- 'eat'

This final is added to roots, forming animate intransitive stems of primary derivation; e.g., AI askipow 'he eats raw food'; AI ki:spow 'he has a big belly, he is full of eating'; AI no:spow 'he lunches'.

## 73. AI -ssimo- 'step, dance'

This final consists of transitive animate -\$\sim '\drop, lay bring down (see no 16 of TA finals) followed by middle reflexive -o- 'abstract' (no 51 above) with the specialized meaning of 'step, dance'. It is added to roots in AI irini\simow 'he dances'; AI i\sis\simow 'he dances so'.

#### 74. AI -ssimoro- 'bring down'

This final consists of transitive animate -ssim- 'drop, lay, bring down' (no 16 of TA finals) followed by transitive animate -iwir- 'convey' (see no 27 of TA finals), and middle reflexive -o- (no 51 above). It is found in AI a:kawa:stessimorow

'he closes sth., protects himself from light by bringing sth. down'.

## 75. AI -tipisko- 'night'

This final consists of medial -tipisk-'night' and middle reflexive -o-; it is found in AI kapetipiskow 'he stays awake all night'.

#### 76. AI -ta:ecimo- 'crawl'

This final consists of transitive animate -ta:ccim- 'crawl', which occurs only as stem of derivation in the example given below, and of middle reflexive -o-. It is found in secondary derivation after an animate intransitive stem in AI a:soketa:ccimow 'he crosses by crawling' from AI a:soke- 'to cross'.

#### 77. AI -wepahotiso- 'throw down'

This complex final consists of medial -wep- 'fling, throw' followed by transitive animate -ahw- 'by tool, by instrument' and mid-dle reflexive -itiso-. It occurs after roots; e.g., AI a:mote-wepahotisow 'he sinks, he falls by throwing himself down'.

### 9.1.06 Stems ending in -n-.

Animate intransitive finals in -n- come in pair for animate and inanimate subjects.

## 78. AI -ssin-, II -ttin- 'lie, fall, drop, lay'

These finals correspond to transitive animate and inanimate -\$\sim-\$im-, and -ttita:- 'drop, lay, bring down', and are added to roots and medials, in primary derivation. E.g., AI a:\sikici\sim in II a:\sikicittin 'he, it, is turned upside down'; AI a:\kawa:\si-te\sim in, II a:\kawa:\stettin 'he, it, casts a shadow'; AI i\si-\sin, II i\sittin 'he, it, is set so, lies so'. These finals occur in secondary derivation after TA, TI, -pakit- 'fall, let fall' in AI a:\sikicipaki\sisin, II a:\sikicipaki\sisin, II a:\sikicipakittin 'he, it, is fallen upside down'.

# 79. AI -ccin-, II -ttin- 'soak in water'

These finals correspond to transitive animate and inanimate finals -ccim- and -ttita:- 'soak in water', and are added to the root akw- 'adhere, be on' in AI akoccin, II akottin 'he, it, is on water, floats'.

#### 80. AI -akoccin-, II -akottin- 'float'

These finals are deverbal of AI akoccin, II akottin (see no 79 above) 'he, it, floats', and are added to roots in AI a:si-kitakoccin, II a:sikitakottin 'he, it, floats on his, its, back'; AI acitakoccin, II acitakottin 'he, it, is upside down in water'.

## 81. AI -ako:cin-, II -ako:te- 'hang'

These finals are deverbal of AI ako:cin and II ako:tew 'he, it hangs' and are added to roots in AI a:sikitako:cin, II asi - kitako:tew 'he, it, is hooked upside down'; AI ispako:cin, II ispako:tew'he, it, is hanged high'.

### 9.2 Inanimate intransitive finals

Only the inanimate intransitive finals that do not have animate counterpart are given below.

#### 82. II -a:- 'abstract'

This final is sometimes added to roots and forms inanimate intransitive verbs with no animate counterpart. E.g., II wa:sa:w 'it is a bay'; II ki:sika:w 'it is day'; II tipiska:w'it is night'. This final is also found after medials, with or without postmedial -e-, thus forming complex finals with concrete meanings. Whenever postmedial -e- occurs, -y- is optionally inserted before -a:- (see nos 83 to 94 below).

### 83. II -a:ya:- 'abstract'

This final is added to a few roots; e.g., II ki:ska:ya:w 'it is deep, steep'; II takka:ya:w 'it is cold weather'; II opwa:-ya:w 'there is a strait, a pass'.

#### 84. II -a:naka:- 'island'

This complex final consists of medial -a:nak- 'island' followed by -a:-. It has been found in very few stems. E.g., after medial -stikw- 'river' in II ministikwa:naka:w 'it is a peninsula'; it is added to the root kinw- in II kaka:nwa:naka:k 'it is a long island'.

It also occurs in secondary derivation after a noun stem, in II

ka:siko:kko:naka:w 'it is an island coverd with pine trees'.

### 85. II -*a:piska:*- 'rock'

This complex finals consists of medial -a:pisk- 'rock, metal' followed by -a:-. It is found in primary derivation; e.g., II ki:ŝka:piska:w 'there is a cliff'; II niya:piska:w 'there is a rocky point'; II ŝo:ŝkwa:na:piska:w 'it is a polished rock'.

# 86. II -a:ska:- 'underwood'

This complex final consists of medial -a:sk- 'underwood, plant' and -a:-. It is added to roots; e.g., II sakwa:ska:w 'it is bush-wood'; II ato:spi:ska:w 'it is a bush, a shrub'; II pima:ska:w 'it is bushy'.

#### 87. II *-a:skwea:-* 'wood'

The complex final -a:skwea:-, consisting of medial -a:skw- 'wood, solid' with postmedial -e- followed by -a:-, is found after

names of trees; e.g., II wi:kwa:ssa:ttikwa:skwea:w 'there is a birch wood'; II oskiska:skwea:w 'there is a wood of cypress'; II miškekwa:ttikwa:skwea:w 'it is a wood of larch trees'; II asa:tiya:skwea:w 'there is a wood of poplars'.

# 88. II -a:ska:- 'wave'

This final is found in a very few stems; e.g., II peta: ska:w 'there is a wave coming'.

#### 89. II -aškeka:- 'swamp'

This complex final consists of medial -aškek- 'swamp' followed by -a:-. It occurs after roots and medials; e.g., II wa:škeka:w 'there is a swampy bay'; II metapeškeka:w 'there is a swampy spring'.

# 90. II -atina:- 'hill, mountain'

The II final -a:- 'abstract' is preceded by the medial -atin- 'hill, mountain' in this complex final which is found after roots and medials; e.g., II makkatina:w 'there is a big hill'; II pimatina:w 'there is a chain of hills'; II rikwa:skotina:w 'it is a wooden hill'.

### 91. II -a:wakka:- 'sand'

This complex final consists of medial -a:wakk- 'sand' and II -a:-.

It occurs in primary derivation; e.g., II ma:na:wakka:w

'there is a beach'; II ispita:wakka:w 'it is a pile of sand, gravel'; II arakaska:wakka:w 'there is a wide sandhill'.

#### 92. II -kama:- 'water'

This complex final consists of medial -kamy- 'lake, water' and II

-a:-. It is found after roots in II kinokama:w 'it is a long
lake'; II wa:wiyekama:w 'it is a round lake'. It also occurs
in secondary derivation in II ki:ska:piska:kama:w 'it is a
lake surrounded by cliffs' where the II final is preceded by
the prefinal -a:-.

## 93. II -ki:sika:- 'day'

This complex final consists of medial -ki:sik- 'day' and II -a:-.

It occurs after roots; e.g., II miroki:sika:w 'it is a fine day'; II maciki:sika:w 'it is a bad day'.

#### 94. II -stikwea:- 'river'

This complex final consists of medial -\$tikw- 'river' with postmedial -e-, and II -a:-. It is found after roots; e.g., II arakaški\$tikwea:w 'it is a wide river'; II išištikwea:w 'it (river)
runs so'; II pimištikwea:w 'there is a stream'; II opi:\$tikwea:w 'it (river) narrows, runs fast'.

# 95. II -a:patte- 'smoked'

This complex final consists of medial -a:p- 'white, eye, smoke'

followed by II -atte-'abstract'. It is found in primary derivation; e.g., II sa:ka:pattew 'there is smoke coming out'; II akwa:pattew'it is smokey, covered with smoke'.

## 96. II -a:ste- 'sunlight'

This final is probably related to the transitive animate and inanimate finals -a:ssw-, -a:ss- (see no 58 of TA finals), and forms impersonal verbs. E.g., II ki:sa:stew 'it is warm weather';

II ki:so:ka:stew 'it is sunlight'.

### 97. II -rowe- 'wind'

This final is added to secondary derived stems and forms impersonal verbs; e.g., II sa:wanirowew 'it is a south wind'; II wa:pan-irowew 'it is an east wind'; II kweskirowew 'the wind changes direction'.

#### 98. II -n- 'abstract'

This final is added to roots forming impersonal verbs; e.g., II pi-po:n 'it is winter'; II pi:ccipo:n 'it is december'; II si:-kon 'it is Spring (March)'.

#### 99. II -an- 'abstract'

A few impersonal verbs show the inanimate intransitive final -an-; e.g., II kimiwan 'it rains'; II koško:wan 'it is foggy'.

## 100. II -in- 'abstract'

This final occurs after roots and medials and forms impersonal verbs; e.g., II ro:tin 'it is windy'; II ki:wetin 'it is the north wind'; II ni:pin 'it is summer'.

### 101. II -makan- 'abstract'

This final is usually added to animate intransitive stems that do not have inanimate counterpart of their own; but it occurs sometimes besides already available inanimate stems.

E.g., II akitta:ssomakan 'it counts automatically'; II kipahikemakan 'it is closed, locked'; II kitomakan 'it shouts (radio)'; II kwa:škottimakan 'it jumps'; II maškawisimakan, besides II maškawa:w 'it is hard, strong, tough'.

The animate intransitive final vowel -a:- 'go' (see no 2 above) is regularly replaced by -e- before the final -makan-.

E.g., II ma:cemakan 'it leaves, it goes away'.

#### 102. II -ahan- 'flood'

The final -ahan- forms inanimate intransitive verbs of primary derivation; e.g., II mo:skahan 'there is a flood, the water is high'; II mi:cahan 'there is a wave'.

# 103. II -a:pan- 'dawn'

This final is a deverbal of II wa:pan 'it is morning'; it consists of medial -a:p- 'white, eye, smoke' followed by II -an- (see

no 99 above). E.g., II peta:pan 'it is dawn, daybreak'.

104. II -ispon-, -ippon- 'snow'

The final -ispon- is used at Manouane only; -ippon- occurs at

Obedjiwan and at Weymontachie. The only stem where it occurs is II so:kispon and II so:kispon 'it snows'.

105. II -askon- 'sky'

This final is made of medial -askw- and II -an-; it may also be considered as a deverbal of IN wasko 'sky' followed by II -an-. E.g., II rikoskon 'the sky is cloudy'; II wa:-saskon 'it is a clear sky'; II wa:seskon 'it is blue'.

106. II -kamin- 'water, lake'

This complex final consists of medial -kamy- followed by II -n-.

E.g., II wa:sekamin 'it is a clear lake, the water is clear';

II ro:tinikamin 'there is a swell, a singe (of sea), a wave'.

The complex final -o:skamin- is found after the root mirwin II miro:skamin 'it is Spring (May)'.

107. II -ciwan- 'stream'

This final is added to roots and medials, forming impersonal verbs.

E.g., II arakaškiciwan 'it is a wide stream'; II ki:ška:pis-kiciwan 'there is a cascade, a water fall'.

108. II -wepa:ssitan- 'blown away, by wind'

This final is added to an animate intransitive stem in II  $a:\hat{s}ta-wepa:\hat{s}\hat{s}itan$  'it is put out (light, fire) by wind, it is blown out'.

#### 10. Transitive Verb Finals

Transitive verb finals usually occur in pair, for animate and inanimate objects, and may sometimes be related to intransitive finals. The inanimate correspondent of a transitive animate stem is either a regular transitive inanimate stem ending in consonant or an animate intransitive stem of class 2 ending in -a:-. Most transitive finals are found in both primary and secondary derivation, but some, which are used to derive transitive verbs from animate intransitive stems, occur only in secondary derivation.

It is not always possible to determine precisely whether the transitive finals form stems of primary or of secondary derivation; this is the case when a transitive final is preceded by -e- which may be analyzed either as a postmedial or as an animate intransitive final (for further discussion, see no 11 of AI finals above).

A few transitive animate stems, some of which being double-object verbs, have no inanimate counterpart, possibly because of semantic reasons if not of insufficient data.

#### 10.1 Classes

The transitive finals presented below are classified according to the last consonant of the animate stem. There are seven classes of transitive finals.

# 10.1.01 Transitive animate stems ending in -h-.

The transitive finals of this class that have an inanimate counterpart are matched by the animate intransitive finals of class 2 ending in -tta:-. Some transitive animate stems in -h- have no inanimate counterpart; most of them are double-object verbs. E.g., TA awihew 'he lends sth. to s.o.'; TA minihew 'he gives sth. to s.o.'. A few stems are unanalyzable; e.g., TA pehew AI2 petta:w 'he waits for him, it'.

#### 1. TA -h-, AI2 -tta:- 'abstract'

Transitive stems of primary derivation are formed by the addition of these finals to roots, with the insertion of connective -i-; e.g., from the root a:pat- 'use' are formed TA a:pacihew and AI2 a:pacitta:w 'he uses him, it; it is useful to him, it'; from the root kašk- 'able' are formed TA kaškihew and AI2 kaš-kitta:w 'he manages him, it'; from the root kot- 'try', there

are TA kocihew and AI2 kocitta:w 'he tries, tests, him, it'. These finals also occur after medials; e.g., after -ekk-'woven', in TA kinwekkihew AI2 kinwekkitta:w 'he makes him, it (woven) longer'. In secondary derivation, these finals have a causative meaning and are identical to those of the following set.

## 2. TA -h-, AI2 -tta:- 'cause'

Transitive verbs are sometimes formed in primary derivation by the addition of these finals to roots. The verbs so formed have a causative meaning. E.g., from the root sek- 'scare' are derived TA sekihew and AI2 sekitta:w 'he scares him, it'; from the root kitw- 'sound' are formed TA kitohew and AI2 kitotta:w 'he makes him, it, make a sound'. The causative meaning is also found in TA a:kkohew 'he makes him sick, causes him pain', and in TA ayeskohew 'he causes him fatigue' with no AI2 counterpart. The inanimate counterpart is also lacking when the transitive final is added to a body part medial; e.g., TA a:kkosimissitehew 'he causes him a stomach ache'.

These finals are added to animate intransitive stems and form transitive verbs of secondary derivation; e.g., from AI ni:mi'to dance' are formed TA ni:mihew and AI2 ni:mitta:w 'he makes him, it, dance'; from AI ma:taka:- 'to swim', there is TA

ma:taka:hew 'he makes him swim'; from AI maškawisi- 'to be hard, strong' are derived TA maškawisihew and AI2 maškawisi-tta:w 'he makes him, it, hard, strong'; from AI mi:cisso-'to eat' is formed TA mi:cissohew 'he makes him eat'.

The animate intransitive stem final vowel -a:- is replaced by -ein TA nipehew 'he makes him sleep' derived from AI nipa:'to sleep'. The root mawi- 'cry, complain' is relaced by mo:before -h-; e.g., mo:hew 'he makes him cry'.

#### 3. TA -ah-'cause'

A few transitive animate stems are derived from transitive inanimate verbs with the final -ah-. Stems so formed have a causative meaning. E.g., TA wa:pattahew 'he makes him see it' derived from TI wa:patt- 'to see it'; TA pettahew 'he makes him hear it' derived from TI pett- 'to hear it'; TA pi:ttikahew 'he forces him to enter', with no existing TI correspondent, and distinct from TA pi:ttikehew 'he makes (invites) him enter'.

#### 4. TA -amo:h- 'cause'

This final is sometimes added to transitive inanimate stems and forms transitive animate double-object verbs of secondary derivation with a causative meaning. This complex final consists of TA -amaw- 'for someone' (see no 37 below) followed by TA -h- 'cause'.

E.g., TA askamo:hew 'he raises food to his lips to make him eat' derived from an unused TI ask-; from TI pett- 'to hear it' is also derived TA pettamo:hew 'to do sth. and make him hear it'. It is also recorded after TI stems in -eritt- with a meaning similar to TA -amih- (see no 5 below) in TA kiskeritt-amo:hew 'he makes him explain it', from TI kiskeritt- 'to explain it'.

#### 5. TA -amih- 'cause'

This final is added to transitive inanimate stems in -eritt- 'think' only, and forms transitive animate double-object verbs of secondary derivation with a causative meaning. This complex final is made of the transitive inanimate theme sign -am-followed by TA -h- 'cause' with connective -i-. E.g., TA a:nawe-rittamihew 'he dissuades s.o. from doing sth.', from TI a:naweritt- 'to dissuade from it'; TA iterittamihew 'he makes him think so of it' derived from TI iteritt- 'to think so of it'; from TI ka:kweritt- 'to be fealous of it' is derived TA ka:-kwerittamihew 'he makes him jealous of it'.

#### 6. TA -pah- 'run from'

This final occurs in both primary and secondary derivation. It is paralleled by animate intransitive final -patta:- 'run' (see

no 7 of AI finals). In the meaning of 'run from', however, this final has no inanimate correspondent. It is added to the root pim- 'extension in space or in time' with connective -i- in TA pimipahew 'he runs away from him'. This final is added to TA, TI, nakat- 'to abandon him, it' in TA nakacipahew 'he leaves him behind by running away from him'.

## 7. TI -no:h- 'point out'

The transitive inanimate final -no:h- precedes the transitive animate double-object final -amaw-, which is added to transitive inanimate finals (see no 37 below), in the following stem: TA kiskino:- hamawew 'he teaches it to him'.

# 8. TA -a:pacih-, AI2 -a:pacitta:- 'use'

These complex finals consist of a:pat- 'use' followed by TA -h- and AI2 -tta:- 'cause'; both finals are found after the root mirw- 'good, well' in TA mirwa:pacihew and AI2 mirwa:pacitta:w 'he finds him, it, useful, he needs him, it'.

# 10.1.02 Transitive animate stems ending in -m-.

The endings of this class include simple, deverbal and complex finals, all by one (see no 9 below) being found in primary derivation. Only the

complex finals show an inanimate counterpart in -tta:-.

#### 9. TA -m, TI -t- 'in relation to'

Transitive animate and inanimate verbs are formed with these finals from animate intransitive stems. The transitive inanimate -tis not frequent, for obvious semantic reasons. It is found mainly with animate intransitive stems formed with the root wi:t- 'with'. E.g., TA wi:tapimew, TI wi:tapitam 'he sits in relation to s.o., to sth.'; TA wi:pemew , TI wi:ppetam 'he sleeps in relation to s.o., to sth.'; TA wi:tahomew 'he canoes (by pair) in relation to s.o.'; TA occirowemew 'he is parent with him', the TI stem being supposed in AI occirowecike- 'to be parent'.

### 10. TA -m, TI -tt- 'by mouth, by speech'

Transitive animate and inanimate stems are primarily formed by the addition of these finals to roots. Some transitive animate stems have no inanimate counterpart in use. E.g., TA isimew 'he speaks so to him'; TA mirwa:cimew, TI mirwa:ttam 'he speaks well of him, of it'; TA ocemew , TI ocettam 'he kisses him, it'; TA takkomew, TI takkottam 'he holds him, it, with one's mouth'.

The transitive animate final -m- occurs sometimes in secondary derivation after an animate intransitive stem; from AI akaci-

'to be embarrassed, shy' is formed TA akacimew 'he embarrasses him by speech'.

# 11. TA -am-, TI -att- 'bite, eat'

These finals occur after roots or medials to derive transitive stems of primary derivation. E.g., TA ma:komew, TI ma:kottan 'he bites him, it'; TA ki:škikamew, TI ki:škikattam 'he cuts him, it, with his teeth'; TA acciwikamew, TI acciwikattam 'he reduces the quantity of him, it, by eating'.

# 12. TA -a:cim-, TI -a:citt- 'narrate'

These finals form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of primary derivation; e.g., TA tipa:cimew, TI tipa:cittam 'he tells, narrates, him, it'.

# 13. TA -a:pam-, TI -a:patt- 'see, look'

Transitive animate and inanimate verbs are formed by the addition of these finals to roots; they are both deverbal of TA and TI stems wa:pam-, wa:patt- 'to see him, it'. These finals are usually found in primary derivation. E.g., TA assawa:pamew, TI assawa:pattam 'he watches, spies upon s.o., sth.'; TA kana-wa:pamew, TI kanawa:pattam 'he stares at s.o., sth.'; TA kes-ko:wa:pamew, TI kesko:wa:pattam 'he arrives on time to see him, it'. In TA ki:mo:sa:pamew and TI ki:mo:sa:pattam 'he watches him, it, secretly', the preceding -t- of ki:mo:t- has been

replaced by -s- before these finals.

## 14. TA -erim-, TI -eritt- 'think'

Transitive animate and inanimate stems are formed by the addition of these finals to roots, in primary derivation. E.g., TA iterimew, TI iterittam 'he thinks so of him, of it'; TA ka:-kwerimew, TI ka:kwerittam 'he is jealous of him, of it'; TA kanawerimew, TI kanawerittam 'he keeps, cares for, him, it'.

#### 15. TA -akim-, TI -akitt- 'count'

These transitive finals occur after roots and form verbs of primary derivation. Both finals are deverbal of TA akim-, and of TI akitt- 'to count him, it'. E.g., TA asitakimew, TI asitakittam he counts including him, it'.

# 16. TA -ssim-, AI2 -ttita:- 'lie, fall, drop, lay'

Transitive animate and inanimate verbs are formed by the addition of these finals to roots or medials. E.g., TA išiššimew, AI2 išittita:w 'he sets,lays,him, it, so'; TA ma:moššimew, AI2 ma:mottita:w 'he brings him, it, together'; TA pima:skoššimew AI2 pima:skottita:w 'he lays him, it, as on a solid surface'; TA pataskiššimew, AI2 pataskittita:w 'he sticks him, it, upright, he erects him, it'.

17. TA -pakissim-, AI2 -pakittita:- 'throw down'

These complex finals consist of prefinal -pakit- deverbal of

pakit- 'to let fall, drop', followed by TA -ssim- and AI2
-ttita:- 'drop, lay, bring down'. They are found in TA a:sikicipakissimew and in TI a:sikicipakittita:w 'he drops, throws,
him, it, down'.

# 18. TA -ccim-, AI2 -ttita:- 'soak, in water'

Only one root is recorded with this pair of transitive finals; TA

akoccimew and AI2 akottita:w 'he puts him, it, in water'. The

transitive animate final occurs in the stem of derivation from
which is derived the word for 'leech': AN akokkwa:ceimew

# 10.1.03 Transitive animate stems ending in -n-.

All the transitive animate and inanimate finals of this class are homonymous.

# 19. TA -in-, TI -in- 'by hand'

Transitive animate and inanimate verbs are formed by the addition of -in- to roots and medials in primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, ki:škin- 'to cut, divide, him, it, by hand'; TA, TI, a:šikit-a:piskin- 'to turn him, it, (stone-like object) upside down by hand'. They are found in secondary derivation after animate intransitive stems; e.g., TA, TI, a:maciwen- 'to push, lift,

him, it, up by hand', from AI a:maciwe- 'to push, lift, up';
TA, TI, koski:ki:wen- 'to bring him, it, back again, by hand',
from AI koski:ki:we- 'to go back again, do again the same way'.
The transitive final -in- is also part of the stem of derivation
in some nouns; e.g., IN sa:ponikan 'needle'.

# 20. TA -wepin-, TI -wepin- 'throw by hand'

These complex finals consist of medial -wep- 'throw, fling' followed by TA, TI, -in- 'by hand'. The medial -wep- occurs also with other transitive finals (see nos 43 and 50 below). The transitive final -wepin- may also be considered as a deverbal of TA, TI, wepin- 'to throw him, it, by hand'.

It is found mainly in primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, assawepin'to throw him, it, away, by hand'; TA, TI, pakopewepin- 'to
throw him, it, in water, by hand'; TA, TI, ni:cciwepin- 'to
throw him, it, down, by hand'.

# 21. TA -pakitin-, TI -pakitin- 'set, place by hand'

These complex finals are deverbal of the transitive stem pakit'set, place' followed by TA, TI, -in- 'by hand'. They are found in primary derivation in TA, TI, a:sikicipakitin- 'to turn him, it, upside down, by hand'.

## 22. TA -askin-, TI -askin- 'fill'

These transitive finals are added to roots, thus forming verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, a:pittoškin- 'to fill him, it, up half full'; TA, TI, acciwaškin- 'to reduce, diminish, him, it'; TA, TI ma:waškin- 'to assemble, gather, collect, him, it'.

### 10.1.04 Transitive animate stems ending in -r-.

With the exception of two finals (see no 25 and 26 below) which do not have inanimate counterpart, the transitive animate finals of this class are paralleled by animate intransitive finals of class 2 ending in -a:-.

Unanalyzable stems whose transitive animate final is -r- corresponding to Proto-Algonquian \*-nl- are usually matched by transitive inanimate in -tt-. E.g., TA wi:rew, TI wi:ttam 'he names him, it', corresponding to PA \*wi:nl- and \*wi:nt- respectively; TA korew, TI kottam 'to swallow him, it' derived from PA \*kwenl- and \*kwent- respectively.

Transitive animate finals in -r- corresponding to Proto-Algonquian \*-?1- are paralleled by AI2 finals. These suffixes are deverbal of TA ar-, and AI2 asta:- 'to set, place, him, it'. E.g., TA orange, AI2 orasta:w

'he sets, places, him, it, so'; TA tettarew, AI2 tettasta:w 'he sets, places, him, it, upon'. The transitive double-object stem mi:r- 'to give sth. to s.o.', with -r- reflecting PA \*-l-, has no inanimate counterpart. (See also 1.2).

# 23. TA -ar-, AI2 -ata:- 'bring, carry'

Transitive animate and inanimate stems are sometimes formed by the addition of these finals to roots or medials. E.g., TA pi:tti-karew, AI2 pi:ttikata:w 'he brings, carries, him, it, inside'.

# 24. TA -ar-, AI2 -ata:- 'place, set'

These finals are added to roots and form transitive animate and inanimate stems of primary derivation. E.g., TA cimarew, AI2 cimata:w 'he erects, uprights, him, it'; TA kwa:pa:warew 'he drowns him'. In secondary derivation, these finals are added to transitive inanimate stems. E.g., from TI wa:patt- 'to see it' are derived TA wa:pattarew and AI2 wa:pattata:w 'he places, sets, him, it, so that he is seeing him, it'; from TI kanawe-ritt- 'to keep it' are derived TA kanawerittarew and AI2 kanawerittata:w 'he places him, it, so that he is keeping him, it'.

#### 25. TA -amor- 'place to cause to'

Some transitive animate stems are derived from transitive inanimate with the final -amor- with the meaning of 'to place something in order to allow someone to do something'. This complex final

which has no inanimate counterpart, consists of the transitive final -amaw- 'for someone' to which is added TA -ar- 'place, set'. It always occurs in secondary derivation. E.g., from TI pett- 'to hear it' is derived TA pettamorew 'he places it to make him hear it'; from TI kiskeritt- 'to explain it' is derived TA kiskerittamorew 'he places it to make him explain it'.

#### 26. TA -amotar-'place to cause to'

This complex final is sometimes used to derive transitive animate stems from transitive inanimate, with a meaning quite similar to the preceding final -amor. It occurs only in secondary derivation.

E.g., from TI pett- 'to hear it', and besides TA pettamor-there is

TA pettamotarew 'he places it to make him hear it'; from TI

wa:patt- 'to see it', and besides TA wa:pattar-, is derived

wa:pattamotarew 'he places it to make him see it'. Besides TA

kiskerittamorew, there is TA kiskerittamotarew 'he places it

to make him explain it', both stems derived from TI kiskeritt
'to explain it', with no apparent difference in meaning.

# 27. TA -iwir-, AI2 -iwita:- 'bring, convey'

These finals are found in primary derivation. E.g., TA isiwirew,

AI2 isiwita:w 'he brings, conveys, him, it, so'; TA a:ttikewirew, AI2 a:ttikewita:w 'he moves, conveying him, it';

TA pimiwirew, AI2 pimiwita:w 'he caries him, it, along';
TA na:sipewirew, AI2 na:sipewita:w 'he conveys him, it, to
the water, at the beach'.

# 28. TA -po:r-, AI2 -po:ta:- 'grind, saw'

These finals are added to roots and form transitive verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA ki:skipo:rew, AI2 ki:skipo:ta:w 'he cuts him, it, through by sawing'; TA pi:kopo:rew, AI2 pi:kopo:ta:w 'he breaks him, it, by grinding'; TA ta:skipo:rew, AI2 ta:skipo:ta:w 'he saws him, it'.

# 10.1.05 Transitive animate stems ending in -t-.

All the transitive animate and inanimate finals of this class are homonymous.

# 29. TA -t-, TI -t- 'abstract'

Both transitive animate and inanimate verbs are derived from animate intransitive stems to which these finals are added. The stem final vowel -e- is replaced by -a:- before TA, TI, -t-. E.g., from AI atoske- 'to hunt' are derived TA, TI, atoska:t- 'he hunts him, it'; from AI a:tisso:kke- 'to narrate' are formed TA, TI, a:tisso:kka:t- 'to narrate, speak about him, it'; from AI a:niskwa:pi:ke- 'to fasten with rope-like object' are derived

TA, TI, a:niskwa:pi:ka:t- 'to fasten him, it, with rope-like object'; TA, TI, ki:waskwepit- 'to stun him, it, by drinking' from AI ki:waskwepi- 'to be drunk'.

# 30. TA -pit-, TI -pit- 'pull, handle roughly'

These finals occur after roots and medials and form transitive animate and inanimate stems of primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, ra:sipit- 'to lower him, it, fast'; TA, TI, pi:kopit- 'to break him, it, roughly'; TA, TI, ka:skipit- 'to scrape him, it, fast'; TA, TI, a:ccikka:tepit- 'to move s.o.'s leg rapidly'.

They also occur after animate intransitive stems in secondary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, pi:ttikepit- 'to enter him, it, roughly'. They are found as stem of derivation in some nouns; e.g., IN kipopicikan 'zip-fastener'.

#### 31. TA -pit-, TI -pit- 'tie'

These transitive finals occur after roots in primary derivation.

E.g., TA, TI, riwepit- 'to notch, pink out (leather) him, it'.

They are found as stem of derivation in some nouns; e.g., IN

oskisikopicikan 'eyelet-hole (of snowshoe)'; IN papwa:pi:kepicikan 'guitar'.

# 32. TA -aspit-, TI -aspit- 'tie'

These finals are sometimes added to roots and form verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, manaspit- 'to undress him, it'.

33. TA -kkot-, TI -kkot- 'cut'

The transitive finals -kkot- occur after roots and form stems of primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, išikkot- 'to cut him, it, so'; TA, TI, ci:pa:kkot- 'to cook him, it, prepare him, it, as a meal'.

34. TA -kwa:t-, TI -kwa:t- 'sew'

These transitive finals occur in primary derivation. E.g., TA, TI, acciwikwa:t- 'to shorthen him, it, by sewing'; TA, TI, ako:-kwa:t- 'to fix, hang, him, it, by sewing'; TA, TI, ki:ški-kwa:t- 'to sew, parch, him, it'.

35. TA -nikka:t-, TI -nikka:t- 'name'

These transitive finals occur after roots. E.g., TA, TI, isinikka:t'to name him, it, so'.

10.1.06 Transitive animate stems ending in postvocalic -w-.

The transitive animate finals of this class end in  $-W_w$ - and are paralleled by transitive inanimate finals that do not have this syllable.

36. TA  $-\alpha w$ -, TI  $-\alpha tt$ - 'for someone, for something'

These finals are added freely to animate intransitive stems, and thus form verbs of secondary derivation. The animate intransitive long final vowel drops before these finals. E.g.,

from AI a:sokanikke- 'to make a bridge' are derived TA
a:sokanikkawew and TI a:sokanikkattam 'he makes a bridge
for s.o., for sth.'; from AI ana:ske- 'to make a floor with
fir boughs' are formed TA ana:skawew and TI ana:skattam
'he makes a floor with fir boughs for s.o., for sth.'.

#### 37. TA -amaw- 'for someone'

This final occurs after transitive inanimate stems and forms transitive animate verbs of secondary derivation. It consists of the transitive inanimate theme sign -am- followed by transitive animate -aw- 'for someone' (see no 36 above). The stems so formed are double-object transitive verbs, and no transitive inanimate correspondent is in use. E.g., from TI a:wacita:pa:t-'to carry, transport, it, by pulling' is derived TA a:wacita:-pa:tamawew 'he hauls, transports, sth. for s.o.'; from TI iŝitiŝah-'to send it so' is derived TA iŝitiŝahamawew 'to send it so for him'; from TI a:pah- is formed TA a:pahamawew 'he unties, unknots, unscrews, it, for s.o.'.

Sometimes the transitive animate stem is derived from an underlying transitive inanimate ending in -\$t- that occurs only as a stem of derivation, followed by -amaw-. It is as if the transitive animate double-object stem was directly derived from an animate intransitive verb with the complex final -\$tamaw-

(see Wolfart 1973, p. 75 for further discussion). It should be noticed that the animate intransitive final vowel -a:- is replaced by -e- before this complex final; e.g., from AI aya-miha:- 'to pray' is derived TA ayamihestamawew 'he prays him for s.o.'.

## 38. TA -*i:kkaw*-, TI -*i:kk*- 'be busy'

These finals are added to roots and form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA taŝi:kkawew, TI taŝi:kkam 'he is occupied with him, with it'. These finals are found after animate intransitive stems in secondary derivation. E.g., TA oka:ŝikimi:kkawew, TI oka:ŝikimi:kkam 'he eats him, it, greedily, he is busy to eat him, it'.

#### 39. TA $-ikkaw_-$ , TI $-ikk_-$ 'move'

These finals are added to roots and form transitive animate and inanimate stems of primary derivation. E.g., TA ki:sikkawew, TI ki:sikkam 'he pays him, it'; TA ma:skikkawew, TI ma:sikkam 'he beats him, it'.

#### 40. TA -ittaw-, TI -itt- 'hear'

These finals are added to roots and form verbs of primary derivation.

E.g., TA kiskinottawew, TI kiskinottam 'he quotes, cites, reproduces the sound of him, it'; TA kesko:ttawew, TI kesko:ttam 'he arrives on time to hear him, it'; TA nissitottawew, TI

TI nissitottam 'he recognizes the sound of him, it'.

41. TA -naw-, TI -n- 'see, think'

These finals derive transitive animate and inanimate stems from roots. E.g., TA *isinawew*, TI *isinam* 'he sees, dreams of, him it, so'. The transitive animate final occurs as stem of derivation in the animate intransitive *-na:kosi-* (see no 37 of AI finals).

42. TA -skaw-, TI -sk- 'by foot or body movement'

These finals are added to roots and medials and form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA a:siteskawew, TI a:siteskam 'he takes a lead over s.o., sth., by foot'; TA ka:ssi:skawew, TI ka:ssi:skam 'he wipes, erases, him, it, by foot or body movement'; TA ma:cikoskawew, TI ma:cikoskam 'he maintains, retains, him, it, by foot or body movement'; TA naka:skawew, TI naka:skam 'he stops him, it, by foot or body movement'.

43. TA -wepiškaw-, TI -wepišk- 'throw by foot or body movement'

These finals consist of medial -wep- 'throw, fling' and transitive animate and inanimate -škaw- and -šk- (see no 42 above).

They are added to roots and form verbs of primary derivation.

E.g., TA a: šikiciwepiškawew, TI a: šikiciwepiškam 'he turns him, it upside down, by kicking'; TA a: štawepiškawew, TI

a: stawepiskam 'he extinguishes him, it, by throwing sth. on with the foot'; TA orowepiskawew, TI orowepiskam 'he pushes, throws, him, it, outside, by foot'.

# 44. TA -staw-, TI -st- 'for someone, for something'

These finals are added to animate intransitive stems and form secondary transitive animate and inanimate verbs. The animate complex final consists of TI -\$t-'abstract' followed by TA -aw-'for someone'. The animate intransitive stem final vowel is lengthened before these finals. E.g., from AI ni:mi-'to dance' are derived TA ni:mi:\$tawew and TI ni:mi:\$tam 'he dances for s.o., sth.'; from AI nakamo-'to sing' are derived TA nakamo:-\$tawew and TI nakamo: for stawew and TI nakamo: for s.o., for sth.'.

# 45. TA -staw-, TI -st- 'place, set!

Transitive animate and inanimate verbs are derived from animate intransitive stems by the addition of the suffixes -\$taw-and -\$t-. The animate intransitive stem final vowel is lengthened before these finals. E.g., from AI atimapi- 'to sit turning one's back' are derived TA atimapi:\$tawew and TI atimapi:\$tam 'he sits him, it, turning his, its, back'; from AI kweski-'to turn' are derived TA kweski:\$tawew and TI kweski:\$tam 'he turns him, it, down, up, back'.

# 46. TA -totaw-, TI -tot- 'abstract'

These finals are added to animate intransitive stems and form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of secondary derivation.

E.g., from AI asperimo- 'to have confidence' are derived TA asperimototawew and TI asperimototam 'he has confidence in s.o., in sth.'; from AI ki:we- 'to go back home' are derived TA ki:wetotawew and TI ki:wetotam 'he sends him, it, back home'; from AI kwa:škotti- 'to jump' are formed TA kwa:škottitotawew and TI kwa:škottitotam 'he jumps on him, on it'.

## 47. TA -ttaw-, TI -tt- 'in relation to'

Transitive animate and inanimate verbs are formed in secondary derivation from animate intransitive stems to which these finals are added. E.g., from AI ka:so- 'to hide' are derived TA ka:sottawew and TI ka:sottam 'he hides in relation to, from, him, it'; from AI kiccipari- 'to begin, start' are formed TA kicciparittawew and TI kicciparittam 'he begins, starts, him, it'.

#### 48. TA -i:w-'go'

This transitive animate final has no inanimate counterpart and is found after the root wi:t- 'with' only. E.g., TA wi:ci:wew 'he goes with s.o.'.

10.1.07 Transitive animate stems ending in postconsonantal -w-.

The transitive finals of this class have concrete meanings and are paralleled by transitive inanimate which do not have the postconsonantal -w-.

49. TA -ahw-, TI -ah- 'by tool, by instrument'

These finals are added to roots and medials in primary derivation and form transitive animate and inanimate stems. E.g., TA a:kawekkahwew, TI a:kawekkaham 'he covers him, it, with cloth'; TA ka:ccitahwew, TI ka:ccitaham 'he catches him, it, by instrument'; TA ka:ssi:hwew, TI ka:ssi:ham 'he wipes, erases, him, it, by instrument'; TA mo:nahwew, TI mo:naham 'he digs him, it, up, by tool'.

They are added to animate intransitive stems in secondary derivation.

E.g., from AI a:stawe- 'to put out' are derived TA a:stawehwew

and TI a:staweham 'he puts him, it, out, by tool'.

50. TA -wepahw-, TI -wepah- 'throw by instrument'

These complex finals consist of medial -wep- 'throw, fling' followed by TA -ahw- and TI -ah-. They are added to roots and form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA a:motewepahwew, TI a:motewepaham 'he throws him, it, down'; TA kweskiwepahwew, TI kweskiwepaham 'he turns him, it, over, by throwing with instrument'.

- 51. TA -kahw-, TI -kah- 'chop with axe'
  - These finals occur in primary derivation after roots and medials.

    E.g., TA ki: škikahwew and TI ki: škikaham 'he hews him, it,
    through'; TA ki: ška: konekahwew, TI ki: ška: konekaham 'he chops
    snow, ice, with an axe'.
- 52. -stahw-, TI -stah- 'set by instrument'

  These complex finals consist of prefinal -st- deverbal of AI a sta:
  'to place, set' followed by TA -ahw- and TI -ah- 'by tool'.

  They are found in TA a:sko:stahwew and in TI a:sko:staham
- 53. TA -tisahw-, TI -tisah- 'send, chase'

he places, sets, him, it'.

- These complex finals consist of prefinal -tis-'send' followed by

  TA -ahw- and TI -ah-'by tool'. They occur in primary derivation

  after roots and medials. E.g., TA isitisahwew, TI isitisaham

  'he sends him, it, so'.
- They also occur after animate intransitive stems in secondary derivation. E.g., from AI a:ttike- 'to move, change place' are derived TA a:ttiketišahwew and TI a:ttiketišaham 'he chases him, it, out of the house'; from AI ki:we- 'to go back home' are derived TA ki:wetišahwew and TI ki:wetišaham 'he returns him, it, sends him, it, back'.

54. TA -asinahw-, TI -asinah- 'write by instrument'

These complex finals are deverbal of the transitive animate and inanimate verbs masinahw- and masinah- 'to write, take a picture of him, it'. They occur in primary derivation; e.g., TA ka:ssi:sinahwew, TI ka:ssi:sinaham 'he wipes, erases, him, it (written, picture) by instrument'; TA meškotasinahwew, TI meškotasinaham 'he transcribes him, it, by instrument'.

## 55. TA -a:skohw-, TI -a:skoh- 'by stick'

These complex finals consist of medial -a:skw-'wood, stick' followed by TA -ahw- and TI -ah-'by instrument'. They are added to roots and form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA kipa:skohwew, TI kipa:skohwem 'he locks, fastens, strengthens, him, it, with a wooden bar'; TA ma:cikwa:skohwew, TI ma:cikwa:skohwew, Ti ma:cikwa:skohwew, Ti naka:skohwem 'he stops him, it, with a stick'.

# 56. TA -na:kohw-, TI -na:koh- 'appear, look like'

These complex finals consist of transitive animate -naw- 'see, think' (see no 41 above) followed by inflectional -ikw-, forming verbs of undergoing, to which are added TA -ahw- and TI -ah- 'by tool', with the general meaning of 'appear, look like'. They are added to roots in primary derivation; e.g., TA isina:kohwew, TI isina:kohwew 'he gives him, it, that look, that appearence'.

57. TA -isw-, TI -is- 'by heat'

These finals are added to roots and form transitive animate and inanimate verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA apwiswew,

TI apwisam 'he warms him, it, up'; TA ki:siswew, TI ki:sisam 'he cooks him, it, done'.

- 58. TA -a:ssw-, TI -a:ss- 'by heat'
  - These finals occur after roots in primary derivation; e.g., TA iškwa:sswew, TI iškwa:ssam 'he burns him, it'.
- 59. TA -a:pisw-, TI -a:pis- 'smoked'
  - These complex finals consist of medial -a:p- 'white, eye, smoke' followed by TA -isw- and TI -is- 'by heat'. They are added to roots and form transitive verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA akwa:piswew, TI akwa:pisam 'he dries him, it, by smoke'.
- 60. TA -isw-, TI -is- 'cut'
  - These finals are added to roots or medials and form transitive verbs of primary derivation. E.g., TA ma:tiswew, TI ma:tisam 'he incises, cuts, him, it'; TA acciwekkiswew, TI acciwekisam 'he shortens him, it (cloth, woven) by cutting'; TA maniswew, TI manisam 'he takes him, it, off, by cutting'; TA oraswew, TI orasam 'he undoes him, it, by cutting'.

## 61. TA -pw-, TI -st- 'taste'

This irregular pair is found after root. The inanimate final is suppletive. E.g., TA kocipwew, TI kocistam 'he tastes him, it'; TA wi:kkipwew, TI wi:kkistam 'he finds him, it, good, delicious'.

## 10.2 Prefinals

Some transitive and intransitive finals are structured in such a way that they can be analyzed further as complex finals, consisting of a medial and of a final proper. This is the case of some significant finals. E.g.,

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-at-'cold'; AI -aci-, II -atin-.

-eri- 'think'; TA -erim-, TI -eritt-.

-ka:paw- 'stand'; AI -ka:pawi-.

-kwa:- 'sew'; AI -kwa:sso-, TA, TI, -kwa:t-.

-kkwa:-, -kko- 'sleep'; AI -kkwa:mi-.

-nikka:- 'name'; AI -nikka:so-, II -nikka:te-.

-p-, -asp- 'tie'; AI -piso-, TA, TI,-pit-, -aspit-.

-pa- 'run'; AI -patta:-, TA -pah-.

-šk- 'by foot'; AI -ška:-, TA -škaw-, TI -šk-.

-šè- 'lie, fall'; AI -ššin-, TA -ššim-.
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These examples belong to an open-ended list; many other prefinals (mainly abstract) are not easily analyzable. The prefinal -cc- 'in water'

for instance, occurs in TA -ccim- 'soak in water' and in AI -ta:ccimo- 'crawl' with what seems to be a unique abstract prefinal -ta:-.

The complete analysis of abstract accretive elements are beyond the scope of this grammar. Since, even with concrete prefinals, 'no clear line can be drawn between presuffixal elements and post-radicals or postmedials elements' (Bloomfield 1962, p. 416), the morphemic conditions of these accretives are not well known, and the problem of final alternants is left open.

## 11. Particle Finals

A large group of particles are closely linked, in derivation, to the other classes of words. They are formed from roots by the addition of suffixes, including a zero final. E.g., from the root ott- 'from, therefrom' are formed occita 'on purpose, naturally' and occitakoc 'absolutely'. From the extended root ispim- 'high' is formed ispimittak 'on the upper floor'.

Other particles are considered unanalyzable, the root from which they are primarily derived being unique in the data available. Some particle finals resemble noun finals and classificatory medials.

#### 1. P zero

A zero final is posited for many particles, including those ending in medials and in noun finals. E.g., pi:ttikamik 'inside the house'; sekoc 'under'; cikema 'that's why, because (as an absolute answer)'; ekwanima 'be careful! watch out!'.

#### 2. P -c-

The final -c- is often found in unanalyzable particles. E.g.,

appi:e 'until, while'; eppic 'to such an extent, so ...
that'; eroc 'suddenly'; kekoc 'or'; aroccikoc 'no matter
where'; anoc 'now'; anocikwec 'a few minutes ago'. The
final -a:c- occurs in keccina:c 'sure, surely' and in
wi:ka:c'it's a shame'.

#### 3. P -i-

The final -i- occurs in a large number of particles; it is added to roots and form many prenouns and preverbs. E.g., a:cci'move'; i\$i- 'thus, so'; po:ni- 'stop'. The final -i- is kept in a:mi 'almost', eko\$i 'let's go! come on!', ekoni 'over, finished, enough of that', ma:mawi 'altogether'. It is sometimes deleted; e.g., ki:mo:c 'secretly, quietly'.

Many particle finals ending in -c- may be analyzed as having an underlying -i- added to a preceding -t-.

Some particle finals are related (deverbal?) to independent particles. E.g., ekote 'exactly there', awassite 'on the other side' both related to the particle o:te 'there'; ekoŝi 'o.k., go on' related to the particle iŝi- 'thus, so'; ekota 'it is right here', ta:nta 'where' and the particle o:ta 'here'; ta:ntatto 'how much' and the particle tatto 'so many'.

## 4. P -wa:w- 'times'

Roots denoting numbers or plurality (miccet- 'many'; tattw'so many') add the particle final -wa:w- 'times'. E.g.,

ni:swa:w 'two times'; nikotwa:ssowa:w 'six times'; miccetwa:w 'many times'; ta:ttwa:w'each time, so many times'.

#### 5. P -mitana-'decade'

The final -mitana- denoting decade is added to numeral roots.

The root ni:sw- 'two' drops -w- and the particle final shows an alternant form -itana-. E.g., ni:sitana 'twenty'. The root niya:ran appears as niya:ro before this suffix; e.g., niya:romitana 'fifty'. Other examples are nistomitana 'thirty', mita:ttomitana 'one hundred'.

#### 6. P -inwa-

The final -inwa-, whose ending resembles the inanimate intransitive final (third person plural of the independent indicative) is added to numeral roots; the root ni:sw- drops -w- before this final. E.g., ni:sino 'two, there are two'; niya:ranino 'four, there are four'.

Many particle finals with concrete meanings correspond to classificatory medials, noun finals or intransitive finals.

- 7. -a:ciwan- 'stream'
  - E.g., aka:ma:ciwan 'on the other side of the stream'; ni:tta:-ciwan 'downstream'.
- 8. -a:pisk- 'stone, metal'
  E.g., ni:swa:pisk 'two dollars'; niya:ranwa:pisk 'five dollars'.
- 9. -a:ttik- 'wood'

  E.g., aka:ma:ttik 'on the other side of the wood'.
- 11. -ikamik- 'place, house'
  E.g., pi:ttikamik 'inside the house'.
- 12. -ipek- 'water'

  E.g., ci:kipek 'over and near the water'; okicipek 'on the water'.
- 13. -eskano- 'road'

  E.g., aka:meskano 'on the other side of the road'.

Some particle finals are homonymous with the locative suffix -ikk- 'at, on, in'; e.g., aka:mikk 'on the other side of a stretch of water, on the opposite shore'; ata:mikk 'at the bottom'; no:cimikk 'in the wood'.

## 12. Phonology

The underlying representation of words is converted to a phonetic representation by two different sets of phonological rules; the morphophonemic rules, which are partially ordered, and the phonemic rules. The output of the first set of rules is a phonemic representation, which is transformed by the second set of rules to a phonetic representation.

It is useless to say that many of the following rules are not specific to Atikamekw, and that they largely apply toother Cree dialects as well as to other Algonquian languages, thus reflecting the phonological rules of Proto-Algonquian.

# 12.1 Morphophonemics

The partially ordered morphophonemic rules are subdivided into two sets: the morpheme specific rules and the rules that account for variations within classes of morphemes. Most of the rules that account for a unique variation have been presented in the preceding chapters. The inflectional

endings given in chapter 4 show a great deal of rules that apply to a single morpheme. In theme signs, for instance, it has been seen that the direct forms for the non-third person sets display two allomorphs /a: / (4.7.04) and  $/\phi$ / (4.7.06). The inverse forms for the non-third person sets of the conjunct order /ekw/ (4.7.07) and  $/\phi$ / (4.7.09) do the same, not to mention /eti/ and /et/ (4.7.11) of the you-and-me paradigms.

Many mode signs and person endings are also subject to morphemespecific rules (see 4.7.17-64). Morpheme-specific rules are sometimes related to the non-application of a perfectly regular morphophonological rule. A good example of this is provided by the p-preterit allomorphs /epan/ and /pan/ of the conjunct order.

The third person ending, 3-3', is -a:span-. Initial -a:- is the theme sign (4.7.04), -s- is an allomorph of the conjunct third person, and -pan- the p-preterit ending. The third person ending in the conjunct order is -t-, (3-3', -a:t-, 3'-3, -ikot-, see 4.7.54); the insertion of connective -i- would yield the unaceptable ending \*-a:cipan-, and the use of the allomorph /epan/ would give \*-a:tipan-. Two morpheme-specific rules are then needed to account for the non-application of the connective -i- insertion rule; one concerns the allomorphs/epan/ and /pan/, the other concerns the third person /t/ and /s/.

Morpheme-specific rules are also needed whenever two elements are derivationally related in such a way that the general pattern of alternation is not predictable. These rules account for a unique variation that occur between two roots, between two medials, or even between an independent stem and a derived medial or final.

The root mawi- 'cry, complain' whose last vowel is lengthened before the AI final -mo- 'by speech, by mouth' as in mawi:mow 'he cries', alternates with mo:- before the causative TA final -h-, as in mo:hew 'he makes him cry'. Some medials display alternant forms. When the root is zero, the medials for 'tooth', 'bone' and 'leg', for instance, show the forms -i:pit-, -skan- and -ska:t- respectively; otherwise, it is -a:pit-, -kan- or -kkan-, and -kka:t-. Morpheme-specific rules account for the unique

alternation between the independent stems atimw 'dog', mi:n 'berry', ko:n 'snow', for instance (there are many others), and the derived medials -askimw-, -min- and -a:kon-.

## 12.2 Insertion rules

These rules generally precede the palatalization rules, and some are internally ordered. They always occur at morpheme boundaries, some between consonants, other between vowels. They apply to classes of morphemes, although some morphemes have sometimes to be singled out.

## 12.2.01 Connective $\frac{1}{i}$ .

A connective /i/ is usually inserted at a morpheme boundary between non-syllabics and consonants. E.g., between the root  $ki\hat{s}k$ - 'cut, sever' and the TI final -kah- 'chop with axe': TI  $ki\hat{s}kikaham$  'he cuts it with an axe'. The non-syllabics include all the consonants and post-consonantal -w-. E.g., between the inverse theme sign /ekw/ and the preterit ending /htay/; e.g., /ni-wa:p-am-ikw-i-htay-a/ 'he saw me'.

When the morpheme-initial consonant is /w/, connective /i/ is not inserted. The third person plural /wa:w/ is added without connective /i/ to the first person ending /ak/ in the direct form of the subjonctive and iterative modes; e.g., wiya:pamak-wa:w-e 'whenever I see him'. The third

person plural ending /wa:w/ is also added without connective to a preceding morpheme ending in /w/, both w's yielding -w-; e.g., wiya:pam-akkwa:we 'whenever we (incl) see them'.

The chief problem with connective /i/ is that its presence or absence cannot be determined by phonological rules only. In derivation, it occurs quite regularly between consonants. In inflection, it is not automatically inserted, and morphological information is needed to determine whether or not it should be inserted. For instance, connective /i/ is not inserted when the conjunct third person /t/ is followed by the preterit mode sign /pan/ (see 12.1 above). Connective /i/ does not occur between a stem ending in a nasal consonant and the conjunct third person ending /k/; the nasal is regularly replaced by /h/. E.g., TI wa:pattakk (wa:paht-am-k) 'that he sees it'.

#### 12.2.02 Connective /t/.

A connective /t/ is usually inserted between the pronominal prefixes and a stem beginning in a vowel. E.g., ni-t-a:rimon 'I am sneezing'; ni-t-arakapeŝŝa:kan 'my pants'. It is not inserted with certain dependent noun stems beginning in a long vowel; e.g., ni:pit 'my tooth'; no:kkom 'my wife' (see 12.4.03).

## 12.2.03 Connective /n/.

A connective /n/ is regularly inserted between the subjonctive and iterative mode sign /e:h/ (final /h/ drops) and the obviative ending /a-h/. E.g. miya:ca:ritena 'whenever the other leaves'. It also occurs between the dubitative mode sign /oLtoke:/and the obviative inanimate plural ending /ah/, the animate plural ending /a-k/ and the animate obviative /a-h/. E.g., II ki:siteri:tokena 'the others would (probably) be cooked'; TA, 1-3p, niwa:pama:tokenak 'I would (probably) see them'; TA, 1-3', niwa:pamima:tokena (M) 'I would (probably) see the other'.

# 12.2.04 Connective /y/.

In the conjunct order, connective /y/ is inserted before the ending of the non-third person sets in AI verbs (this includes the TA forms with indefinite and inanimate actors); e.g., AI ma:ca:ya:n 'that I leave'; TA, wa:pamikoya:n 'that it sees me'.

Connective /y/ is also inserted at morpheme boundary when one of the vowels involved is a high front vowel; e.g., niwi:ya:sohen 'I want to cross over it'. Otherwise, that is between long vowels, neither one being high front, /y/ is optionally inserted; e.g., II asa:tiya:skwe(y)a:w there is a forest of poplars'.

#### 12.3 Palatalization rules.

Only -t-, corresponding to underlying /t/ or  $/\theta$ / is involved in the palatalization rules. They always apply after the insertion of connective /i/, and precede the deletion of short vowels word finally (apocope).

# 12.3.01 Mutation of -t- to $-\hat{s}$ - and -c-.

Before the high front vowel /i, i:/ or the semivowel /y/, -t-, from  $/\theta/$  and -t- from /t/ are replaced by  $-\hat{s}-$  and by -c- respectively. E.g.,  $/pe:\theta-/$  'to bring',  $pe\hat{s}iwirew$  'he brings him', peta:w 'he brings it'; /ma:t-/ 'to move', ma:cipitam 'he moves it fast', ma:ta:mew'he goes fast'.

At Manouane, the palatalization rule is regularly applied whenever a verbal suffix ends in -t-; e.g., wa:pama:c 'that he sees him'. Both  $/\theta/$  and /t/ yield -t- before -e-. The replacement of -t- by -c- also occurs whenever one of the diminutive suffixes is used. E.g., ki:sicessin 'it is cooked a little, or, the little one is cooked' (stem: ki:site-); acimosiss 'little dog, puppy' (stem: atimw).

## 12.3.02 Mutation of -t- to -s-.

Before the AI ending /o/, -t- is regularly paratalized to -s-; e.g.,

TA ka: skipitew 'he scrapes him fast'; AI, ka: skipisow 'he scrapes fast'. Before the TA finals /a:pam/ and /a:paht/ 'see', is replaced by in TA ki:mo:sa:pamew 'he watches him secretly', stem ki:mo:t-.

## 12.4 Vowel variations

The following set of rules describe the different combination that are found at morpheme boundary between vowels or semivowels. These vowel variations include replacement, deletion, contraction and lengthening rules.

## 12.4.01 Vowel replacement

The AI stem vowel ending /a:/ is sometimes replaced by /e:/ before certain nominal and verbal finals; e.g., AI nipa:- 'to sleep', nipewa:n 'pyjamas', nipehew 'he puts him to bed'.

Before the noun final /n/, AI stems in /e:/ replace this vowel either by /a:/ or by /a/. This replacement is not phonologically predictable.

E.g., a:tisso:kka:n 'tale, story' (stem:axtisso:kke); kipahikan 'dam,
lid' (stem: kipahike-). Before the inanimate indefinite final /ke:/, the
AI stem vowel ending /e:/ is replaced by /a:/; e.g., ata:wa:kew 'he
sells with sth.' (stem: ata:we-). Identical replacement take place before

the intransitive endings /so/ and /te:/; e.g., ma:nika:sow 'he builds a house for himself' (stem: ma:nike-).

# 12.4.02 Semivowel deletion and vowel lengthening

In derivation, TA stems ending in /Vw/ drop the final -w- and the preceding vowel is lengthened before some finals; for instance, before the explicit reflexive /so/ and the animate indefinite /ike:/. E.g., AI kiskerittama:sow 'he knows for himself' (stem: TA kiskerittamaw-); AI iŝitiŝahama:kew 'he sends it so for people' (stem: TA, iŝitiŝahamaw-).

Noun stems ending in postvocalic -w- follow a similar pattern when verbs are derived from them. The semivowel -w- drops and the preceding vowel is lengthened; e.g., maškikki:kkew 'he makes medecine' (stem: maš-kikkiw and AI final /ehke:/); irini:kka:n 'dummy, travesti' (stem: iri-niw). Stems ending in /vy/ drop /y/ and the vowel is lengthened before suffixes; e.g., nitarapi:m 'my fishing-net'; arapi:kkew 'he makes a fishing-net' (stem: arapiy).

A stem beginning in /o/ is lengthened when preceded by a pronominal prefix and connective /t/; e.g., nito:ka:sissim 'my yellow pike' (stem oka:siss).

Short vowels undergo change in length when they precede one of the

inflectional suffixes that has a capital 'L'. The endings /oLpan/, /oLtoke:/and others preserve the initial short vowel /o/ and the lengthening rule is not applied when they are added to a stem ending in a consonant. When added to stems ending in a short vowel, the suffix initial /o/ drops by regular deletion rule (see 12.4.03 below) and the stem-final vowel is lengthened. E.g., takoššinopan 'he arrived' (stem: takoššin); kito:pan 'he screamed' (stem: kito-).

#### 12.4.03 Vowel deletion

At morpheme boundary, a short vowel drops in the environment of a long vowel; e.g., AI, ma:ca:riwa 'the other is leaving' (stem: ma:ca:-, ending /eriwah/); AI, a:kkosa:pitew 'he has a toothache' (stem: a:kkosi-, medial /a:pit/). When two short vowels meet, the second is usually deleted; e.g., AI, a:motekkwa:miriwa 'the other falls off his bed' (stem: a:motekkwa:mi-, ending /eriwah/). Word finally, short vowels are regularly deleted (apocope), but many words are exempt from this rule (see no 12.5.08 below).

#### 12.4.04 Contraction

Sequences of semivowels and short vowels are regularly replaced

by /o/ at morpheme boundary between consonants; e.g., maskonakwa:kan 'bear-snare' (stem: maskwa); kinaka:hon 'you stop me' (stem: naka:hw-ending -in).

#### 12.5 Phonemics

For the consonants /p, t, c, k, s,  $\mathring{s}/$ , Atikamekw systematically maintains a subphonemic double distinction between plain versus preaspirated consonants on the one hand, and voiced versus voiceless consonants on the other hand. Preaspiration seems to be more frequent among the old people, although it is not exclusive to them. Other speakers prefer the use of voiced vs. voiceless oppositions  $^{1}$ , the last being written with geminate consonants here. Hence, hp, ht, he, hk, hs and  $h\mathring{s}$  are found besides pp, tt, ee, kk, ss,  $\mathring{s}\mathring{s}$ , both series being contrasted to p, t, e, k, s,  $\mathring{s}$ , plain (unaspirated), lenis, voiced or voiceless.

The phonemic orthography presented in this grammar illustrates the voiced/voiceless contrast which appears to be more frequently used than the other. Some of these constrasts may be illustrated by minimal pairs: e.g., pirešišš 'young partridge', pireššišš 'young bird'. The remainder are seen in analogous environments; e.g., wa:poš 'rabbit, hare', wa:košš 'fox'.

## 12.5.01 / p, t, c, k/

The stop consonants /p, t, e, k/ are bilabial, alveolar, affricate alveo-palatal and velar respectively. Word medially, between vowels or when preceded by a syllabic nasal, the plain consonants are freely voiced or voiceless; elsewhere they are always voiceless. E.g., nda:niss or nta:niss 'my daughter'; alogew or alokew 'he crosses over'.

Word initially, the voiced/voiceless distinction is always neutralized, and only simple and voiceless consonants are pronounced; e.g., ci:pay 'corpse, ghost'; pa:staham 'he smashes it by tool'. In clusters, the stops are always voiceless. In word final position, they are generally voiceless, but some speakers from Weymontachie, seem to make a regular distinction of voiced and voiceless consonants in this position, thus constrasting phonetically the plural marker /k/ from the locative /ehk/; e.g., atikkog (W) 'caribous' and atikkokk 'on the caribou'.

## 12.5.02 /s, s

The fricative consonants /s, \$/ are alveolar and palato-alveolar respectively. They are voiceless in word initials, and freely voiced between vowels. In absolute final position, they are always voiceless, but not always simple. E.g., wa:po\$ (pl. wa:po\$ok) 'rabbit, hare'; wa:-ko\$\$ (pl. wa:ko\$\$ak) 'fox'.

In contrasting /s/ and /ŝ/, Atikamekw differs from Plains Cree and most dialects of James Bay. Proto-Algonquian \*s and \*ŝ merged to /s/ in Cree (Bloomfield 1946, no 6, p. 87); consequently, Atikamekw contrast must be the result of a secondary development. Such a process is also reported by Ellis (1971, no 1, p. 77) for some dialects of the West Coast of James Bay. Unfortunately, no data are provided by Ellis, and, at this date, there is no way of knowing how this new development was done. In Atikamekw, /s/ and /ŝ/ parallel PA \*s and \*ŝ very closely, much like Ojibwa does. E.g., \*nesekwihsa (Goddard 1974), nisikoss 'my aunt'; \*awa:ŝi (Goddard 1965), awa:ŝiŝŝ (with diminunite) 'child'; \*peŝiwa (Siebert 1967), piŝiw 'lynx'; \*ŝi:?ŝi:pa (Bloomfield 1946), ŝi:ŝŝi:p 'duck' (with /ŝš/ corresponding to \*?ŝ).

In clusters, the parallelism is maintained and Atikamekw shows /\$/
whenever the PA cluster has \*\$. E.g., \*\$p:: \$p, ispimikk 'up, above';

\*\$t:: \$t, o:\$tikwa:n 'his head'; \*\$k:: \$k and \*n\$:: \$\$, o\$ka\$\$i (differs from Ojibwa); \*h\$:: \$\$, o:mi\$\$ama 'his grandfather'. The reflex

of \*ck is Atikamekw /sk/ and thus agrees with the Cree form in Bloomfield's table, no 10 (see Bloomfield 1946, p. 88; the Cree word for 'my

palate', no 31, p. 89, is a misprint; one should read C nayakask).

Examples of /s/ alternating with /s/ are scanty. The root ki:salternates with ki:s- in II ki:sitew 'it is cooked' and AI ki:sisow 'he
is cooked', both roots coming from PA \*ki:s- (Hockett, 1957, no 86, p.
262). But notice that the AI final -o- (see no 51 of intransitive finals)

palatalizes a preceding -t- (from underlying  $\theta$ ) to -s- and that the -s- from the root may be due to regressive assimilation.

The stability of /s/ and /s/, however, could be very recent. Cooper (1945, p. 39) reports that skude matches the Cree spelling; but the only form I have heard of this word is skote (iskote) 'fire, match' from PA \*eskote:wi. Unfortunately, I have not been able to go through Cooper's dictionary (still unpublished) to check this alternation.

#### 12.5.03 / h/

The fricative consonant /h/ is glottal and always voiceless. Word initially (followed by a vowel) and in absolute final position (preceded by a vowel), it is not distinctive, and is more appropriately defined as a glide.

# 12.5.04 / m, n/

The nasals /m, n/ are bilabial and alveolar respectively, voiced, and always homorganic with the following consonants.

#### 12.5.05 /r/

The phonological unit r is a trill alveolar. At Obedjiwan, r

alternates with -1- (lateral alveolar) in almost all positions, but more frequently word initially. /r/ is the reflex of PA \*1, \*n1, \*h1 and \*71. E.g., rerew 'he breathes' (PA \*1e:h1e:wa, and Obedjiwan 1elew or 1erew); wi:rew 'he names him (PA \*wi:n1e:wa); arew 'he places him' (PA \*a71ewa).

# 12.5.06 / $\omega$ , y/

The semivowels /w, y/ are bilabial and palatal respectively. They are usually voiced, but /w/ is voiceless in absolute final position after consonants. After the high front vowel -i:-, -w- alternates with the semivowel -y- and -y- (approximant, labial-palatal); after a back vowel, -y- alternates with -w-.

As opposed to Moose and Plains Cree, Atikamekw retains final post-consonantal /w/ after /k/ and /m/, and sometimes after /ŝ/; e.g., kiya:škw 'seagull'; ni:ŝw 'two'. The semivowel /w/ is subject to metathesis in words whose last syllable end in short -i- followed either by /kw/, /hkw/ or /mw/; e.g., atiwkk (atikkw) 'caribou'; atium (atimw) 'dog'; asiwk (asikw) 'merganser'. In some monosyllabic words with short vowels, post-consonantal /w/ is vocalized to /o/; e.g., mikko 'blood'; ikko 'louse'; -w- is kept in ka:kw 'porcupine', mwa:kw 'loon'.

## 12.5.07 Clusters

The clusters  $/p\omega/$ ,  $/k\omega/$  and  $/s\omega/$  are the only one to occur word initially. All the others are restricted to occur word medially, and only a few in word final position. /r/ and /c/ do not combine with  $/\omega/$ . Most of the consonant clusters are formed with either /s/ or /s/ as the first member, and a stop (/p, t, c, k/) as the second member: /sp/, /st/, /st/, /st/ and /sk/. The lost of an historical vowel (/i/ or /a/) formed the clusters /mp/, /nt/, /nc/ and /nk/. The fricative /h/ combines with all the stops, /s/ and /s/, medially and in final position. The three consonant clusters  $/sk\omega/$  and  $/sk\omega/$  also occur in these positions.

#### 12.5.08 Vowels

Atikamekw displays three short vowels /i, a, o/ and four long /i:, e, a:, o:/. This vowel system is shared by all the Cree dialects as well as other Algonquian languages. /i:/ is a high front unrounded vowel and /i/ varies from high to lower high. /e/ is mid front unrounded, varying from lower mid, as in iskote 'fire, match', to higher mid, as in kwe 'hello'. /a:/ and /a/ are always low and unrounded but vary in position from central, as in wa:pamew 'he sees him', to back, as in kwa:skottiw 'he jumps'. /o:/ is higher-mid back rounded vowel and /o/ varies

from lower mid to high back rounded.

Short /i/, /a/ and /o/ are subject to a certain number of phonemic rules that sometimes neutralize completely their vowel quality. In weak (unstressed) syllables, short vowels are indiscriminantely centralized to  $-\Lambda$ - or  $-\delta$ -; e.g., the vowels /o/ in  $a:\delta okan$  'bridge, pier, wharf' and /i/ in  $a \delta ikan$  'stockings' are phonetically identical. In the same syllable conditions, /a/ and /i/ are lowered to /o/ in the environment of -o-, -w- or -hw-; e.g.  $pa:\delta tohwew$  'he smashes him by tool'. Between the fricatives  $/\delta/$  or after /n/ followed by a stop, /i/ is devoiced; e.g.,  $o:\delta I \delta \delta ewa$  'his father-in-law'; pta:niss 'my daughter'.

In absolute final position, short vowels are usually deleted in polysyllabic words; e.g., /amiskwa/, amiskw 'beaver'. Exceptions are found, however, and not only in monosyllabic words; when occurring in this position, short vowels usually receive a secondary stress. E.g., niska 'goose'; maskwa 'bear'; mikko 'blood'; otehi 'heart'. The short final vowels /i/ and /a/ are kept in many particles; e.g., ekoŝi 'let's go'; ni:ŝitana 'twenty'.

## Appendix A: Text Analysis

The following Atikamekw text was recorded in July 1975. The narrator, Mrs. Suzanne Dubé, from Manouane, is known as a good story teller using sometimes words and forms no more in use among the younger generation. Her story is presented first in orthography; a free translation and a detailed linguistic analysis follow.

This story belongs to the rich tradition of Cree myths. Wissakecakw, the main hero, is a trickster, here involved in the creation of the world; it is said how berries are so, and why they are named so.

Punctuation and division into paragraphs were done in consultation with Mr. Marc Dubé, the narrator's son.

#### Wi:ssakeca:kw

Wi:ssakeca:kw, mi:nawa:c ka: ayesiwikopanen, ki: na:nita-nipahekopan niska. E wa:pama:c e mista miccetirici, peyakw ki: nipahew. Eko ni ka: isi natawi-kotawec ante e wi: ci:pa:kkosoc anihi opirema, oniskama.

Miŝtahi ki: kotawekopan, eko ni e ki: iŝi rika:wakkahwa:c anihi oniskama e ci:pa:kkosoc. Ki: itew:

- Ni wi: nipa:n, kanawerim!

Ki: itew o:ciškišša. Aniheriw ki: e tiyo:takk kicci kanawerima:rici anihi opirema.

-Wi:ttamawašši iriniwak piye-sa:kiweparitwa:we! A:ši ati nipa:kopan Wi:ssakeca:kw. A:ši itikow anihi o:ciškišša.

-Oma! neki iriniwak ka: pe-sa:kiweparicik!

Oniška:pitekopan e ita:pic:

- Namayew! ki: pi:ste ni!

Eko ni mi:na e iši nepa:kopanen. Kek mi:nawa:c itikow anihi o:ciškišša, -Oma! neki iriniwak ka: pe-sa:kiweparicik!

Oniška:pitekopan kiya:pac e ita:pic:

-Namayew ni! akwa:ttikw na!

Eko ni e iši mi:na nepa:kopanen.

Kek iriniwa pe-sa:kiwepaririwa. Nama ki: itikow o:ciškišša, nama wi:ttama:kow. Eko ni e iši pe-kapa:cik aniki iriniwak e wa:pama:cik e itaši-nipa:rici Wi:ssakeca:kwa. Eko ni e iši kimotimima:cik anihi opi-remiriw ka: ki: ci:pa:kkosorici. Eko ni ka: iši mowa:cik niki iriniwak; tepirak o:sitiriw ki: sa:ka:wakkitotawewak e iškwa: kita:nawa:cik e ki:mi:cissocik.

Kweškosic anaha Wi:ssakeca:kw, teššikoc nato-wa:pamew anihi opirema e occipita:c aniheriw o:sitiriw. Nama keko:šišširiw pe-occipitam tepirak o:sitiriw. Iterittam kiya:pac pikiskisiw, iterittam. Eko ni e iši niya:nita-wa:wakkahikekopanen; nama miskawew anihi opirema, e ki: kimo-tima:kaniwic.

Eko ni e iši mišta kwetawekopanen keško. Onoc kata kiskerittam eka:
ka: occi wi:ttamawa:c iriniwa e mišaka:rici, itew anihi o:ciškišša.
Eko ni e iši ca:štahamokopanen aniheriw, e ca: iškwa:sswa:c anihi o:ciškišša. Kek meka: mate-a:skisorikopan a:ši meka: itikopan:

-Sa:ssa! Sa:ssa! Sa:ssa!

Kata itew eka: ka: occi wi:ttamawa:c iriniwa e miŝaka:rici, itew anihi o:ciŝkiŝŝa e iŝkwa:sswa:c.

Eko ni e iši miya:ca:kopanen e miya:ce-a:šo:kamec. Kek, e ati mo:ttec, wa:pattamokopan mištikošširiw e mikkwa:skonik e ati pa:pašta:skoc

aniheriw mistikossiriw. A:si itikopan:

-"mikko-wa:pamašši" kata išinikka:tew e ati ayerini:ska:ke, itikopan aniheriw mištikošširiw e mikkwa:skonik.

Kek mi:nawa:c, e ati pimottec, a:ŝi wa:pattam e pe-ayeko:terik ante o:mi:kiy e mana:skocittakk. A:ŝi mi:nawa:c itikopan:

-"Mi:niŝŝ" kata it**f**wa:niwan, e ati ayerini:ska:ke, itikopan aniheriw o:mi:kiy e ayeko:terik.

Kek nete ati wa:pattamokopan mi:niŝŝiriw e ati pimottec. Eko ni e iŝi papa:mi:ciwokopanen aniheriw mi:niŝŝiriw, a:ŝi pireŝŝiŝŝa pettawew e kitorici e itikoc:

-Wi:ssakeca:kw mi:ciw o:mi:kiy

e itec naha pireššišš e kitoc. Kek kiskerittam eko ni e iši po:nitta:c e mi:cikk aniheriw e iterittakk.

-Nimi:kiy ni ka: mi:ciya:n!

Eko ni e iši mi:nawa:c ma:ca:kopanen kiya:pac ca: e pimottec. Kek meka: nete wa:pattamokopan e mišta miccenik mi:nišširiw. Moštenam kicci mi:cikk. Eko ni e iši mi:ciwokopanen kiya:pac aniheriw mi:nišširiw. Teššikoc mi:nawa:c kitoriwa pireššišša e itikoc:

-Wi:ssakeca:kw mi:ciw o:mi:kiy!

e itikoc anihi pireššišša. Eko ni e iši piyo:nitta:kopanen e mi:cikk aniheriw mi:nišširiw, e kiskerittakk e mi:cikk;

-Nimi:kiy ka: mi:ciya:n

e iterittakk, a:si e ki: itec:

-"Mi:niŝŝ" kata it**k**wa:niwan e ati ayerini:ska:ke e ki: itec, o:mi:kiy e wa:pattakk e ayeko:teriki miŝtikoŝŝikk. Ekoni!

## Free Translation

Once Wissakecakw, to whom so many adventures would have happened, went to kill a goose. When he saw that there were many, he killed one, and looked to make a fire because he wanted to eat it.

He made a big fire after having burried his goose in the sand to cook it. Then, he said to his ass: 'I want to sleep, take care of it'. He made his ass keep his goose; 'tell me if you hear men coming' he said. At once, he was told 'here they come!' Wissakecakw stood up fast and looked: 'No! it is the foam' he said, and went back to sleep. Again he is told by his ass: 'Here they come!' and again he stood up fast to look. 'No!, he said, it is wreck wood!' and went back to sleep.

Suddenly men were coming towards him; nothing was said. The men set ashore and looked at Wissakecakw who is sleeping. They stole the goose he had cooked, ate it, and put the legs back sticking out into the sand.

When Wissakecakw woke up, he went immediately to look at his goose

and pulled the legs out. But since nothing came, he thought that his goose was overcooked. Then he digged in the sand, but he did not find his goose, since it was stolen.

Then he made a big fire. He will know why he was not told that men were coming. He put his legs on each side of the fire and burned his ass; 'fry! fry! he said to his ass because he did not tell him that men set ashore.

Then he left. While walking and stepping over small bushes, he noticed that they were covered with blood. He then said that men would name them 'look-at-the-blood'. He kept on walking and saw his scabies hanging from the boughs. He said that men would name them 'blueberry'.

As he kept on walking, he saw the blueberries and ate them as he was walking along. Soon a young bird sang 'Wissakecakw is eating his scabies'. Wissakecakw stopped eating them. 'I am eating my scabies' he thought, and he kept on walking. Suddenly, he saw many blueberries and he wanted to eat. He ate them again, and soon the young bird came singing 'Wassakecakw is eating his scabies'. He stopped eating, he knew what he was eating; 'I am eating my scabies' he thought; he knew that it was because he had said that men would name 'blueberries' his scabies hanged on these little bushes. It's finished.

## Analysis and Detailed Translation

1. Wi:ssakeca:kw, mi:nawa:c ka: ayesiwikopanen, ki: na:nita-nipahekopan niska.

a) Wi:ssakeca:kw AN, name of the legendary hero.

b) mi:nawa:e P, 'again'

c) ka: Preverb, subordinator used as a relative,

the following verb is always inflected

for conjunct; 'that one'.

d) ayesiwikopanen AI, conjunct, dubitative preterit.

changed, 3, reduplicated form, stem:

isiwi-; 'adventures would have happened

to him many times'.

e) ki: Preverb; 'past'.

f) na:nita- Preverb; 'go to'

g) -nipahekopan TA, independent, dubitative preterit.

direct form, 3-3', compound, stem: nipah-;

'he would have gone to kill him'.

h) niska AN, obviative, (identical in this word

to the proximate form); 'goose'.

Wissakecakw, again that one to whom so many adventures would have happened, would have gone to kill a goose.

2. E wa:pama:c e mista miccetirici, peyakw ki: nipahew. a) e Preverb; subordinator used with conjunct verbs only; 'that, when, if, because, etc.' b) wa:pama:c TA, conjunct, indicative, direct form, unchanged, 3-3', stem: wa:pam-; 'he sees him or them'. c) e See no 2a above. d) mista P; 'a lot, many' e) miccetirici AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, 3', stem: micceti-; they (obv.) are many'. f) peyakw P; 'one' g) ki: See no 1c above. h) nipahew TA, independent, indicative, direct form, 3-3', stem nipah-; 'he kills him'. When he saw that they were numerous, he killed one.

- 3. Eko ni ka: iši natawi-kotawec ante e wi: ci:pa:kkosoc anihi opirema, oniskama.
  - a) eko

P; 'then, so then'.

b) ni

P; sentence marker.

c)	ka:	See 1c above.
d)	iŝi	P; 'thus, so'
e)	natawi-	Preverb; 'to go to'
f)	-kotawec	AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-
		ged, 3, stem: kotawe-; 'he makes a fire
		(outside).
g)	ante	P; 'thither'.
h)	e	See 2a above.
i)	wi:	Preverb; 'want to, intend to'.
j)	ci:pa:kkosoc	AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-
		ged, 3, stem: ci:pa:kkoso-; 'he cooks for
		himself'.
k)	anihi	Demonstrative pronoun, animate, obviative;
		'that one'.
1)	opirema	AN, possessed, obviative, stem: pirew;
		'his bird'.
m)	oniskama	AN, possessed, obviative, stem niska;
		'his goose'.

Then, that one goes so to make a fire thither because he wants to cook for himself this one, his bird, his goose.

4. Mištahi ki: kotawekopan, eko ni e ki: iši rika:wakkahwa:c anihi oniskama e ci:pa:kkosoc.

a) mistahi

P; 'much, big'.

b) ki:

See le above.

c) kotawekopan

AI, independent, dubitative preterit, 3,

stem: kotawe-; 'he would have make a fire

(outside).

d) eko ni

See 3a and 3b above.

e) e ki:

See 2a and 1e above.

f) isi

See 3d above.

g) rika:wakkahwa:c

TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged,

direct form, 3-3', stem: rika:wakkahw-

(rik- 'cover, bury', medial -a:wakk-

'sand', TAf -ahw- 'by tool'); 'he buries

him in the sand by tool'.

h) anihi oniskama

See 3k and 3m above.

i) e ci:pa:kkosoc

See 2a and 3j above.

He would have made a big fire (outside) when he had burried so in the sand by tool this one, his goose, that he cooks for himself.

5. Ki: itew 'ni wi: nipa:n, kanawerim!' ki: itew o:ciškišša.

a) *ki*:

See le above.

b) itew TA, independent, indicative, direct

form, 3-3', stem: it-; 'he says so to him'.

c) ni Personal pronoun, first person; 'I'.

d) wi: See 3i above.

e) nipa:n AI, independent, indicative neutral, 1,

stem: nipa:-; 'I sleep'.

f) kanawerim TA, imperative, immediate, 2-3, stem:

kanawerim-; 'take care of him'.

g) ki: itew See le and 5b above.

h) o:ciškišša AN, by shift of gender, possessed, obvia-

tive, stem: IN ociškišš-; 'his ass'.

He said to him 'I want to sleep, take care of him!' he said to his ass.

6. Aniheriw ki: e tiyo:takk kicci kanawerima:rici anihi opirema.

a) aniheriw Demonstrative pronoun, inanimate, further

obviative; 'that'.

b) ki: e See 1e and 2a above.

c) tiyo:takk TI, conjunct, indicative neutral, changed

form, 3, stem: to:t(aw)-; 'he does it'.

d) kicci Preverb; 'that will'.

e) kanawerima:rici TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ect form, 3'-3", stem: kanawerim-; 'he

(3', his ass) takes care of him (3", his bird)'.

f) anihi opirema

See 3k and 31 above.

That he did it, that he will take care of him, this one, his bird.

7. Wi:ttamawassi iriniwak piye-sa:kiweparitwa:we.

a) wi:ttamawassi

TA, imperative, immediate, 2-1, stem:

wi:ttamaw-; 'tell me'.

b) iriniwak

AN, plural, stem: iriniw; 'men'.

c) piye-

Preverb; changed form, stem: pe-; 'towards

speaker'.

d) -sa:kiweparitwa:we

AI, conjunct, iterative, changed, 3p,

root sa:k- 'to come out'; AIf -iwe- 'anim-

ate indefinite'; AIf -pari- 'move'; ending

-twa:we; 'they are coming out in vehicle'.

'Tell me whenever men will come out in vehicle'.

8. A: si ati nipa:kopan Wi:ssakeca:kw.

a) a:si

P; 'now'.

b) ati

Preverb; 'begin gradually'.

c) nipa:kopan

AI, independent, dubitative preterit, 3,

stem: nipa:-; 'he would have slept'.

d) Wi:ssakeca:kw

See la.

Now, he would have begin to sleep, Wissakecakw.

9. A:ŝi itikow anihi o:ciškišša 'Oma! neki iriniwak ka: pe-sa:kiweparicik.

a) α:ŝi

See 8a.

b) itikow

TA, independent, indicative, inverse form

3'-3, stem: it-; 'he (3') tells him (3)'.

c) anihi o:ciškišša

See 3k and 5h above.

d) oma

P; 'there they are'.

e) neki

Demonstrative pronoun, animate, plural,

far away; 'these ones'.

f) iriniwak ka:

See 7b and 1c above.

g) pe-

Preverb; 'towards speaker'.

h) -sa:kiweparicik

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3p, stem: sa:kiwepari- (see 7d);

'they are coming out in vehicle'.

Now he is told by this one, his ass, 'there they are, these men that are coming out in vehicle'.

10. Oniška: pitekopan e ita: pic 'namayew, ki: pište ni'.

a) oniška:pitekopan

AI, independent, dubitative preterit, 3,

stem: oniška:-'to get up', AIf -pite-

'fast', ending -okopan; 'he would have

raised up fast'.

b) e

See 2a.

c) ita:pic

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3, stem it- 'so', AIf -a:pi- 'see';

'he looks so'.

d) namayew

P; 'it is not that'.

e) ki:

See 1c.

f) piste

IN; 'foam'.

g) ni

See 3b.

He would have raised up fast to look so 'it is not that, it was foam'.

## 11. Eko ni mi:na e iši nepa:kopanen.

a) eko ni

See 3a and 3b.

b) mi:na

P; 'again'.

c) e isi

See 2a and 3d.

d) nepa:kopanen

AI, conjunct, dubitative preterit, chan-

ged, 3, stem: nipa:-, ending -okopanen;

'he would have slept'.

Then, again, he would have slept so.

12. Kek mi:nawa:c itikow anihi o:ciškišša 'Oma! neki iriniwak ka: pesa:kiweparicik'.

a) kek

P; 'suddenly'.

b) mi:nawa:c

See 1b.

c) itikow anihi o:ciškišša See 9b, 3k, and 5h.

d) oma neki iriniwak

See 9d, 9e, and 9f.

e) ka: pe-sa:kiweparicik

See 1c, 7c, and 9h.

Suddenly, again, he is told by this one, his ass, 'there they are, these men that are coming out in vehicle'.

13. Oniška:pitekopan kiya:pac e ita:pic, 'namayew ni, akwa:ttikw na''

a) oniška:pitekopan

See 10a.

b) kiya:pac

P; 'once more, again'.

c) e ita:pic

See 2a and 10c.

d) namayew ni

See 10d and 3b.

e) akwa:ttikw

AN; 'wreck wood'.

f) na

P; sentence marker with AN.

He would have raised up fast once more to look so, 'it is not that, it is wreck wood'.

14. Eko ni e iši mi:na nepa:kopanen

a) eko ni e iši mi:na

See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d and 11b.

b) nepa:kopanen

See 11d above.

Then he would have slept so again.

15. Kek iriniwa pe-sa:kiwepaririwa. Nama ki: itikow o:ciškišša, nama wi:ttama:kow.

a) kek

See 12a.

b) iriniwa

AN, obviative, stem: *iriniw*; 'man or men'.

c) pe-

See 9g.

d) -sa:kiwepaririwa

AI, independent, indicative, 3', stem:

sa:kiwepari-(see 7d), ending -iriwa-;

'he is or they are coming out in vehicle'.

e) nama

P; 'no, not, nothing'.

f) itikow

See le and 9b above.

g) o:ciškišša nama

See 5h and 15e.

h) wi:ttama:kow

TA, independent, indicative, inverse form,

3'-3, stem wi:ttamaw-; 'he says so to him'.

Suddenly, men are coming out in vehicle; he is not told by his ass, nothing is said to him.

16. Eko ni e iŝi pe-kapa:cik aniki iriniwak e wa:pama:cik e itaŝinipa:rici Wi:ssakeca:kwa.

a) eko ni e iši

See 3a, 3b, 2a and 3d.

b) pe-

See 9g.

c) -kapa:cik

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3p, stem: kapa:-, ending -cik;

'they set ashore'.

d) aniki

Demonstrative pronoun, animate, plural.

closer (compare with 9e); 'these ones'.

e) iriniwak e

See 7b and 2a.

f) wa:pama:cik

TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ect form, 3p-3', stem: wa:pam- 'look',

ending -a:cik; 'they look at him (3')'.

g) e

See 2a.

h) itaši-

Preverb; 'be busy'.

i) -nipa:rici

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3', stem: nipa:- 'sleep', ending

-irici; 'he sleeps'.

j) Wi:ssakeca:kw

AN, obviative; 'Wissakecakw'.

Then they set ashore so, these men, they look at him who is busy to sleep, Wissakecakw.

17. Eko ni e iši kimotimima:cik anihi opiremiriw ka: ki: ci:pa:kkosorici.

a) eko ni e iŝi

See 3a, 3b, 2a and 3d.

b) kimotimima:cik

TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ect form, 3p-3", stem kimotim- 'steal', end-

ing -ima:cik; 'they steal him (3")'.

c) anihi

Demonstrative pronoun, animate, obviative,

'this one'.

d) opiremiriw

AN, possessed, further obviative, stem:

pirew; 'his (3') bird (3")'.

e) ka: ki:

See 1c and 1e.

f) ci:pa:kkosorici

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3', stem: ci:pa:kkoso-, ending -irici;

'he cooks for himself'.

Then, they steal him so, this one, his bird, that one that he cooked for himself.

18. Eko ni ka: iši mowa:cik aniki iriniwak; tepirak o:sitiriw ki: sa:ka:wakkitotawewak e iškwa: kita:nawa:cik e ki: mi:cissocik.

a) eko ni ka: iši

See 3a, 3b, 1c and 3d.

b) mowa:cik

TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ect form, 3p-3', stem: mow-; 'they eat him'.

c) aniki iriniwak

See 16d and 7b.

d) tepirak P; 'only'.

e) o:sitiriw IN, possessed, further obviative; 'his

legs'.

f) ki: See 1e.

g) sa:ka:wakkitotawewak TA, independent, indicative, direct form.

3p-3', stem: sa:ka:wakki- , TAf -totaw-

'abstract', ending -ewak; 'they put them

in the sand sticking out'.

h) e See 2a.

i) iškwa: P; 'after, later'.

j) kita:nawa:cik TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ect form, 3p-3', stem kita:n-, TAf -aw-

'for someone', ending -a:cik; 'they push

them in for him'.

k) e ki: See ea and le.

1) mi:cissocik AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, 3p.

stem: mi:cisso- 'eat', ending -cik;

'they eat'.

Then, that one they eat him so, these men; only his legs they put in the sand sticking out and after they push them in for him when they have eaten.

19. Kweškosic anaha Wi:ssakeca:kw, teššikoc nato-wa:pamew anihi opirema e occipita:c aniheriw o:sitiriw.

a) kweškosic

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, chan-

ged, 3, stem: koškosi-; 'he wakes up'.

b) anaha

Demonstrative pronoun, animate, singular;

'this one'.

c) Wi:ssakeca:kw

See la.

d) tessikoc

P; 'immediately'.

e) nato-wa:pamew

TA, independent, indicative, direct form,

3-3', compound with preverb natawi- (see

3f above), stem: wa:pam- 'see'; 'he goes

to look at him'.

f) anihi opirema e

See 3k and 31, 2a.

g) occipita:c

TA, conjunct, indicative, direct form,

3-3', stem occipit- 'pull', ending -a:c;

'he pulls him or them out'.

h) aniheriw o:sitiriw

See 6a and 18e.

When he wakes up, this one, Wissakecakw, immediately he goes to look at him, this one, his bird, he pulls them out, these ones, his 'bird's' legs.

- 20. Nama keko: sissiriw pe-occipitam, tepirak o:sitiriw.
  - a) nama

See 15e.

b) keko: sissiriw Pronoun, diminutive, inanimate, obviative;

'a little something'.

c) pe-occipitam TI, independent, indicative, neutral, 3,

compound with preverb pe- (see 9g), stem:

occipit- 'pull', ending -am; 'he gets it

out'.

d) tepirak o:sitiriw See 18d and 18e.

Not a little something he gets out, only his (bird's) legs.

21. Iterittam kiya:pac pikiskisiw, iterittam.

a) iterittam TI, independent, indicative, neutral, 3,

stem: iteritt-'think', ending -am; 'he

thinks so of it'.

b) kiya:pac See 13b.

c) pikiskisiw AI, independent, indicative neutral, 3,

stem: pikiskisi- 'to be weak, easy to

break'; 'he is overcooked'.

d) iterittam See 21a.

He thinks that again he is overcooked, he thinks so of it.

22. Eko ni e iši niya:nita-wa:wakkahikekopanen; nama miskawew anihi opirema, e ki: kimotima:kaniwic.

a) eko ni e iši

See 3a, 3b, 2a, and 3d.

b) niya:nita-

See 1f; with initial change, cf. below.

c) wa:wakkahikekopanen

AI, conjunct, dubitative preterit, chan-

ged, 3, compound with preverb na:nita-

medial -a:wakk- 'sand, TIf -ah- 'by

tool', AIf -ike- 'animate indefinite',

ending -okopanen; 'he would have look for

him in the sand by tool'.

d) nama

See 15e.

e) miskawew

TA, independent, indicative, direct form,

3-3', stem: miskaw- 'find'; 'he finds him'.

f) anihi opirema, e ki:

See 3k, 31, 2a, and 1e.

g) kimotima:kaniwic

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3, stem: kimotim- 'steal', ending

-a:kaniwic 'someone'; 'someone steals him'.

Then he would have looked so for it in the sand by instrument; he does not find this one, his bird, because it has been stolen.

23. Eko ni e iši mišta kwetawekopanen keško.

a) eko ni e iši mišta

See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d, and 2d

b) kwetawekopanen	AI, conjunct, dubitative preterit, chan-
	ged, 3, stem: kotawe-, ending -okopanen;
	'he would have make a fire (outside).

c) keško P; 'later'.

Then, he would have made a big fire outside, later.

24. Onoc kata kiskerittam eka: ka: occi wi:ttamawa:c iriniwa e misaka:-

b) kata Preverb, futur with 3rd person subject. c) kiskerittam TI, independent, indicative neutral, 3,

P; 'now'.

stem: kiskeritt- 'know', enging -am; 'he

knows it'.

d) eka: P; 'not' in subordinate clause.

e) ka: See 1c.

a) Onoc

f) occi Preverb; 'past' in negative sentences.

g) wi:ttamawa:c TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ect form, 3-3', stem: wi:ttamaw-, ending

-a:c; 'he says to him' (the inverse form

would rather be expected here, cf 15h).

h) iriniwa e See 15b, 2a. i) mišaka:rici AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, un-

changed, 3', stem: misaka:- 'reach land',

ending -irici; 'they arrive by water'.

j) itew anihi o:ciškišša See 5b, 3k and 5h.

Now, he will know it why that one did not tell him that men arrived by water, he says to this one, his ass.

25. Eko ni e iŝi ca:ŝtahamokopanen aniheriv, e ca: iŝkwa:sswa:c anihi o:ciškišša.

a) eko ni e iši

See 3a, 3b, 2a, and 3d.

b) ca:stahamokopanen TI, conjunct, dubitative preterit, chan-

ged, 3, stem: ca:stah- 'to step out', end-

ing -amokopanen; 'he would have set his

legs on each side of it'.

c) aniheriw e See 6a and 2a.

d) ca: P; 'it seems, it looks, it is said'.

e) iškwa:sswa:c

ect form, 3-3', stem: iskwa:ssw-'burn',

TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, dir-

ending -a:c; 'he burns him'.

f) anihi o:ciškišša See 3k and 5h.

Then, he would have set his legs so on each side of this one (fire), he burns him, it is said.

26. Kek meka: mate-a:skisorikopan a:si meka: itikopan: "sa:ssa! sa:ssa! sa:ssa!"

a) kek

See 12a.

b) meka:

P; 'then'

c) mate-a:skisorikopan

AI, independent, dubitative preterit, 3',

stem mate-a:skiso- 'hear burn', ending

-irikopan; 'he (his ass) would have been

heard burning'.

d) a:si meka:

See 8a and 26a.

e) itikopan

TA, independent, indicative preterit, in-

verse form, 3'-3, stem: it- 'say to him'.

ending -okopan; 'he (his ass) would have

been told by him'.

f) sa:ssa

TI, imperative, immediate, 2, stem: sa:ss-

'fry', ending  $-\alpha$ ; 'fry it' (notice the

change in gender with the use of a TI verb).

Suddenly then, he would have been heard burning now, then it would have been told by him: 'fry it! fry it! fry it!'

27. Kata îtew eka: ka: occi wi:ttamawa:c iriniwa e misaka:rici, itew anihi o:ciškissa e iškwa: iškwa:sswa:c.

a) kata itew eka: ka: occi See 24b, 24f, 24d, 1c, and 24f.

b) wi:ttamawa:c iriniwa e See 24g, 15b, 2a.

c) mišaka:rici itew See 24i, 5b.

d) anihi o:ciškišša See 3k, 5h.

e) iškwa: iškwa:sswa:c See 2a, 18i, 25e.

He will tell him, that one, why he did not say to him that men were arriving by water, he says to this one, his ass, after he burned him.

28. Eko ni e iŝi miya:ca:kopanen e miya:ce-a:ŝo:kamec.

a) eko ni e iŝi See 3a, 3b, 2a, and 3d.

b) miya:ca:kopanen AI, conjunct, dubitative preterit, chan-

ged, 3, stem: ma:ca:- 'leave', ending

-okopanen; 'he would have left'.

c) e See 2a.

d) miya:ce-a:so:kamec AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, chan-

ged, 3, compound with preverb ma:ce- 'start'

root a:saw- 'cross', medial -a:kame-

'stretch of water, ending -c; 'he starts

to cross a stretch of water'.

Then, he would have left by starting to cross a stretch of water.

29. Kek e ati mo:ttec, wa:pattamokopan mištikošširiw e mikkwa:skonik e ati pa:pašta:skoc aniheriw mištikošširiw.

a) kek e ati

See 12a, 2a and 8b.

b) mo:ttec

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, contracted form of *pimottee*, root *pim-* 'along', AIf -otte-'walk', ending -c; 'he walks'.

c) wa:pattamokopan

TI, independent, dubitative preterit, 3, stem wa:patt-, 'see', ending -amokopan; 'he would have seen it'.

d) mistikossiriw

IN, diminutive, further obviative, stem mistikw 'stick', wood, bough', diminutive -iss-, obviative -iriw; 'small boughs'.

e) e

See 2a.

f) mikkwa:skonik

II, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, 3', stem: mikko-'blood', medial
-a:skw- 'wood, solid', ending -anik;
'it is bloody'.

g) e ati

See 2a and 8b.

h) pa:pasta:skoc

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, reduplicated form, 3, stem past- 'step over', medial -a:skw- 'wood, solid', ending -c; 'he steps over'.

i) aniheriw mistikossiriw See 6a and 29d.

Suddenly, as he starts to walk, he would have seen small boughs that were bloody, as he starts to step over, these small boughs.

30. A:ŝi itikopan "mikko-wa:pamaŝŝi kata iŝinikka:tew ati ayerini:ska:ke" itikopan aniheriw miŝtikoŝŝiriw e mikkwa:skonik.

a) a:si itikopan

See 8a, 26e.

b) mikko-

IN, in compound, 'blood'.

c) -wa:pamassi

TA, imperative, immediate, 2-1, stem

wa:pam- 'see', ending -assi; 'look at

me'. The compound is the name of a bush

with red berries; 'look-at-my-blood'.

d) kata

See 24b.

e) isinikka:tew

II, independent, indicative neutral, 0,

stem: isinikka:te-'name so', ending -w;

'it is named so'.

f) e ati

See 2a and 8b.

g) ayerini:ska:ke

AI, conjunct, iterative, changed, 3, redu-

plicated form, stem: iriniw; 'whenever

there will be men'.

h) itikopan aniheriw

See 26e and 6a above.

i) mistikossiriw e mikkwa:skonik See 29d, 2a and 29f.

Then it would have been said by him: '"Look-at-my-blood" it will be named so when there will begin to be men' it would have been said by him to these ones, the small boughs that were bloody.

31. Kek mi:nawa:c, e ati pimottec, a:si wa:pattam e pe-ayeko:terik ante o:mi:kiy e mana:skocittakk.

a) kek mi:nawa:c

See 12a and 1b.

b) e ati pimottec

See 2a, 8b, and 29b.

c) a:si

See 8a.

d) wa:pattam

TI, independent, indicative neutral, 3,

stem: wwa:patt- 'see it'; 'he sees it'.

e) e pe-

See 2a and 9g.

f) ayeko:terik

II, conjunct, indicative neutral, 0',

reduplicated form, changed, stem: ako:te-

'hang', ending -irik; 'it is hanged'.

g) ante

See 3g.

h) o:mi:kiu

IN, possessed, obviative (unmarked);

'his scabies'.

i) e

See 2a.

j) mana:skocittakk

TI, conjunct, indicative neutral, 3, root

man- 'remove', medial -a:skw- 'wood, solid',

TIf -acitt-'in relation to', ending -akk;

'he removes it'.

Suddenly, again, as he starts to walk, now he sees it htat is hanged toward him, there, his scabies that is removed (by the boughs).

32. A:ŝi mi:nawa:c itikopan'"mi:niŝŝ" kataitwa:niwan e ati ayerini:ska:ke' itikopan aniheriw o:mi:kiy e ateko:terik.

a) a:si mi:nawa:c itikopan

See 8a, 1b, 26e.

b) mi:niss

IN, singular; 'blueberries'.

c) kata

See 24b.

d) itwa:niwan

AI, independent, indicative neutral, inde-

finite, stem: itwe- 'say', ending -niwan;

'people says so'.

e) e ati ayerini:ska:ke

See 2a, 8b, 30g.

f) itikopan aniheriw

See 26e, 6a.

g) o:mi:kiy e ateko:terik

See 31h, 2a, 31f.

Then, again, it would have been said by him: "blueberries" people will say so when there will begin to be men' it would have been said by him to these ones, his scabies that were hanging.

33. Kek nete ati wa:pattamokopan mi:nissiriw e ati pimottec.

a) kek

See 12a.

b) nete

P; 'yonder'.

c) ati wa:pattamokopan

See 8b and 29c.

d) mi:nissiriw

IN, further obviative; 'blueberries'.

e) e ati pimottec

See 2a, 8b, 29b.

Suddenly, yonder, he would have begin to see them, the blueberries, as he starts walking.

34. Eko ni e iši pepa:mi:ciwokopanen aniheriw mi:niŝŝiriw, a:ŝi pireŝŝiŝŝa pettawew e kitorici e itikoc: 'Wi:ssakeca:kw mi:ciw o:mi:kiy' e itec naha pireŝŝiŝŝ e kitoc.

a) eko ni e iši

See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d.

b) pepa:mi:ciwokopanen

AI, conjunct, dubitative preterit, changed,

3, reduplicated form, stem: papa:m- 'along'

AI mi:ci- 'eat', ending -okopanen; 'he

would have been eating along'

c) aniheriw mi:nissiriw

See 6a and 33d.

d) a:si

See 8a.

e) pireššišša

AN, obviative; 'a young bird'.

f) pettawew

TA, independent, indicative, direct form,

3-3', stem: pettaw- 'hear', ending -ew;

'he hears him'.

g) e

See 2a.

h) kitorici AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, 3', stem: kito- 'send out sounds', ending -irici; 'he is singing'. i) e See 2a. j) itikoc TA, conjunct, indicative, unchanged, inverse form, 3'-3, stem it-'say', ending -ikoc; 'he (the bird) tells him'. k) Wi:ssakeca:kw See la. 1) mi:ciw AI, independent, indicative neutral, 3, stem: mi:ci- 'eat', ending -w; 'he eats' (notice the AI form instead of a TI verb). m) o:mi:kiy e See 31h and 2a. n) itec AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, 3, stem: ite- 'say', ending -c; 'he says'. o) naha Demonstrative pronoun, animate, proximate singular; 'this one'. p) pireššišša AN, 'young bird'. q) e See 2a. r) kitoc AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, 3, stem: kito- 'send out sounds', end-

ing -c; 'he is singing'.

Then, as he would have been eating along so these ones, the blueberries, now he hears a young bird that is singing and saying: 'Wissakecakw is eating his scabies' as he says, this one, the young bird while singing.

35. Kek kiskerittam eko ni e iŝi po:nitta:c e mi:cikk aniheriw e iterit-takk 'nimi:kiy ni ka: mi:ciya:n'.

a) kek kiskerittam

See 12a; 24c.

b) eko ni e isi

See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d.

c) po:nitta:c

AI2, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3, stem: po:nitta:- 'cease activity',

ending -c; 'he stops it'.

d) e

See 2a.

e) mi:cikk

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3, stem: mi:ci- 'eat', endingikk; 'he

eats' (notice the AI verb).

f) aniheriw e

See 6a and 2a.

g) iterittakk

TI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3, stem: iteritt-'think so', ending

-akk; 'he thinks so of it'.

h) nimi:kiy

IN, possessed, inanimate, 1; 'my scabies'.

j) ka:

See 1c.

k) mi:ciya:n

AI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged,

1, stem: mi:ci-, ending -ya:n; 'I am eating'.

Suddenly, he knows it, then he stops eating these ones, he thinks 'it is my scabies that I am eating'.

36. Eko ni e iŝi mi:nawa:c ma:ca:kopanen kiya:pac ca: e pimottec.

a) eko ni e iŝi mi:nawa:c See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d and 1b.

b) ma:ca:kopanen kiya:pac See 28b and 13b.

c) ca: e pimottec See 25d, 2a, 29b.

Then again he would have left so, again, it is said he is walking along.

37. Kek meka: nete wa:pattamokopan e mista miccenik mi:nissiriw.

a) kek meka: nete See 12a, 26b, 33b.

b) wa:pattamokopan e mista See 29c, 2a, 2d.

c) miccenik II, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 0', stem: miccen-'much' ending -k;

'it is much'.

d) mi:niŝŝiriw See 33d.

Suddenly, then, yonder, he would have seen it, that they were numerous, the blueberries.

38. Moŝtenam kicci mi:cikk.

a) mostenam

TI, independent, indicative neutral, 3,

stem: mosten- 'have the taste of it', end-

ing -am; 'he has the taste of it'

b) kicci mi:cikk

See 6d, 35e.

He has the taste of it to eat.

39. Eko ni e iši mi:ciwokopanen kiya:pac aniheriw mi:nišširiw.

a) eko ni e iši

See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d.

b) mi:ciwokopanen

See 34b.

c) kiya:pac aniheriw mi:nissiriw See 13b, 6a, 33d.

Then he would have eaten so again these ones, the blueberries.

40. Teššikoc mi:nawa:c kitoriwa pireššišša e itikoc: 'Wi:ssakeca:kw mi:ciw o:mi:kiy' e itikoc anihi pireššišša.

a) teššikoc

P; 'immediately'.

b) mi:nawa:c

See 1b.

c) kitoriwa

AI, independent, indicative neutral, 3'.

stem: kito- 'send out sounds', ending

-iriwa; 'he sings'.

- d) pireššišša e itikoc See 34e, 2a, 34j.
- e) Wi:ssakeca:kw mi:ciw o:mi:kiy See 1a, 341, 31h.
- f) e itikoc anihi pireššišša See 2a, 34j, 3k, 34e.

Immediately, again, he sings the young bird that says 'Wissakecakw is eating his scabies' that it is said by this one, the young bird.

- 41. Eko ni e iši piyo:nitta:kopanen e mi:cikk aniheriw mi:nišširiw, e kiskerittakk e mi:cikk 'nimi:kiy ka: mi:ciya:n' e iterittakk a:ši e ki: iteč 'mi:nišš kata itwa:niwan e ati ayerini:ska:ke' e ki: itec.
  - a) eko ni e iŝi

See 3a, 3b, 2a, 3d.

- b) piyo:nitta:kopanen
- AI2, conjunct, dubitative preterit, unchanged, 3, stem: po:nitta:- 'cease activity', ending -okopanen; 'he would have stopped'.
- c) e mi:cikk aniheriw mi:nissiriw See 2a, 35e, 6a, 33d.
- d) e .

See 2a.

e) kiskerittakk

TI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchanged, 3, stem: *kiskeritt-* 'know', ending -akk; 'he knows it'.

f) e mi:cikk

See 2a, 35e.

g) nimi:kiy ka: mi:ciya:n

See 35h, 1c, 35k.

h) e iterittakk a:si e ki:

See 2a, 35g, 8a, 2a, 1e.

- i) itec mi:niss kata See 34n, 32b, 24b.
- j) itwa:niwan e ati ayeriniska:ke See 32d, 2a, 8b, 30g.

Then he would have stopped it so that he eats these ones, the blueberries, he knows it want he is eating 'my scabies that I am eating' he thinks so of it now because he said 'blueberries, people will say when there will begin to have men' that he said.

42. O:mi:kiy e wa:pattakk e ayeko:teriki mistikossikk. Ekoni.

a) o:mi:kiy e

See 31h, 2a.

b) wa:pattakk

TI, conjunct, indicative neutral, unchan-

ged, 3, stem: wa:patt- 'see it', ending

-akk; 'he sees it'.

c) e

See 2a.

d) ayeko:teriki

II, conjunct, indicative neutral, changed,

0'p, reduplicated form, stem: ako:te-

'hang', ending -iriki; 'it is hanging'.

e) mistikossikk

IN, locative form, diminutive, stem:

mistikw; 'on the little boughs'.

f) ekoni

P; 'it's over, finished'.

## Appendix B: Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction.

- 1. (no 1.1, p. 4) Tests of intelligibility still await the scholars. It would seem that the old people will understand much more Algonkin and Montagnais than the younger generation does. Clermont (1977, p. 23) reports that many Indians from Weymontachie use prayer books written in Sauteux and in Algonkin. '... il est intéressant de noter d'une part que les Indiens actuels de Weymontachie utilisent couramment à la fois des livres de prières écrits en Sauteux, en algonquin et en 'cri de la Haute-Mauricie' avec la même facilité et, d'autre part, que la plupart des vieux Indiens de Weymontachie peuvent facilement entretenir la conversation avec les Montagnais du Lac St-Jean, les Algonquins de Maniwaki ou les Cris du Lac Mistassini'. (Clermont 1977, p. 23).
- 2. (no 1.1, p. 4) Other erroneous classifications are mentioned by Michelson (1939, footnote no 3).

Chapter 4: Verb Inflection.

- 1. (no 4.1, p.29) On 'the syntactic and semantic properties implied by the label 'transitivity'', see Wolfart 1973, no 5.1, p. 38, and 4.2.01 below.
- 2. (no 4.1, p. 30) The complex problem of predicting the co-occurences of finals and verb bases, either by marking the verbs in the lexicon or by the use of selectional restrictions, is somewhat beyond the scope of this grammar, and is still to be worked out.
- 3. (no 4.1.01,p. 31) Wolfart (1973, p. 41-44) convincingly argues for a clear opposition, within the conjunct order, between the indicative and the subjonctive modes together on the one hand, and the dubitative mode, on the other. This leads him to set up a 'sub-order' category.
- 4. (no 4.1.01, p. 31) For the rationale of the following classification, see Ellis 1961, p. 119-124; for the nomenclature, see Ellis 1971, p. 81, footnote no 4.

- 5. (no 4.1.02, p. 33) The loss of the third person obviative endings /eme:w/ and /eme:wak/ seems to be quite recent. These forms are reported to be 'understandable' but, in fact, never used. It should be noticed that these endings are found only in the direct forms of the third person sets in James Bay Cree (Ellis 1971, p. 88-93), and that there is no corresponding forms for 3 and 3p objects in the inverse paradigms (see 4.4.41 D).
- 6. (no 4.4.01, p. 47) The TA themes are here defined as 'direction markers' (following Wolfart 1973, no 5.62, p. 53), without any consideration of the person sets. And since there is only two directions, so-called direct and inverse, there are only two themes. Traditionally, however, it is customary to present, both at the same time, the themes and the person sets, the latter being subdivided into four sets (Bloomfield 1946, no 36, p. 98), grouped two by two, thence, four themes: theme 1, direct, and theme 2, inverse, whenever a third person (proximate or obviative) was involved; theme 3, direct, and theme 4, inverse, with first and second persons (Goddard 1967, no 1.5, p. 67).
- 7. (no 4.6.02, p. 98) Wolfart (1973, no 5.813, p. 60-61) assumes, quite convincingly 'that the independent order paradigm (of the relational forms) is modeled on the TA paradigm'. Hence, the relational endings

do not pertain to inflection since, when added to a TI stem, they display two mutually exclusive theme signs (see 4.7.01). Wolfart also noticed that the relational forms are not subject to further derivation.

- 8. (no 4.7.01, p. 105) The diminutive suffix is reported to be found after the theme sign in the direct forms of the third and non-third person sets, and in the inverse forms of the you-and-me sets; it occurs before the theme signs in the inverse forms of the third and non-third person sets, and in the direct forms of the you-and-me paradigms (Wolfart 1973, no 5.822, p. 61; Lacombe, p. 125-126).
- 9. (no 4.7.03, 1. 107) In Plains Cree, the TA inverse paradigms show forms with the theme sign /eri/, thus restricting the occurence of /em/ to the direct forms only, that is, when the third person obviative is the goal of the verb (Wolfart 1973, p. 41-42, 56). Forms with the theme sign /eri/ instead of /em/ are reported to be found in the n-dialect, north of Albany, and among some Moose Cree speakers (Ellis, 1971, p. 85).
- 10. (4.7.39, p. 123) At Manouane, children frequently use the ending

/a:hk/ in lieu of /akiht/ in the TA direct forms inflected for conjunct. They are always asked to use the ending /akiht/. At Obedjiwan, the ending /a:hk/ is also frequent in adult speech and often replaces /akiht/.

- 11. (no 4.7.56, p. 130) In Ojibwa, the third person ending -kw- is also found in the independent order (Bloomfield 1958, no 7.8, p. 45).
- 12. (no 4.7.62, P. 132) This characteristics is also found in James Bay Cree (Ellis 1971, p. 87-94) and in Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958, p. 26-27).

### Chapter 12: Phonology.

1. (no 12.5, p. 296) That this double distinction is related to the fact that almost all the Indians of the last generation are bilingual (Atikamekw-French) is rather difficult to demonstrate (although probably not completely irrelevant to this state of things), and much beyond the scope of this grammar. It should be noticed that these contrasts have already been observed by missionaries. Faries, for instance, reports in his preface of the Watkins dictionary that 'the aspirate (before consonants) is not uniformly abserved. In some localities, it will be found that people aspirate their words much more than others of other

localities. It may be found more among the Plain Crees than among the Swampy or Hudson Bay Crees'. This last remark is particularly interesting in terms of areal linguistics.

Sherzer (1973, p. 774-78) identifies the one stop series system as a central areal trait of the Plains, and the voiced stop series as a central areal trait of the Prairies. Similar observation can be done for the s/s opposition (see 12.5.02).

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### Atikamekw - English Lexicon

This lexicon is the first to appear on the Atikamekw language. It represents research work carried out over four years by a whole team of Atikamekw Indians, from Manouane, Weymontachie and Obedjiwan, to whom I am deeply in debt.

The Atikamekw-English lexicon contains approximately five thousands lexical items. It is useless to say that it is not a complete dictionary of the Atikamekw language. Choices have been made, according to different criteria. Some reflect my personal linguistic interest, others meet the general requirements of any bilingual lexicon, that is, to provide convenient and reliable translations of unit words used in the every day life.

The processes of word formation are abundantely illustrated in this lexicon. The first type of derivation, by which medials and finals are added to roots (primary derivation) and to stems (secondary derivation), is shown by the listing of different lexical items based on a same root. For instance, from the root *ki:šk-* 'to cut, sever' is derived a whole

list of primary and secondary stems.

The second type of derivation, called 'deverbal' by Bloomfield, is shown in the lexicon by the two different listings that are sometimes given for a common gloss. The first one shows the unit word considered to be the base of derivation, the second is the deverbal morpheme, medial or final, with its corresponding morphological class. See, for instance, the two different listings of the transitive animate verb a:pacih-and of the corresponding deverbal final -a:pacih-.

The lexicon tends to reflect, up to a certain point, the every day vocabulary of the Atikamekw Indians. That is why many place names, french and english borrowings, and words of the child language have been inserted here. These words are easily retraceable in the lexicon by using the table under the headings: Borrowings, Child language, and Place names.

Dialectal differences are sometimes found in certain words. These are marked by the following abbreviations, under the appropriate entry:

(M) Manouane, (W) Weymontachie, and (O) Obedjiwan.

The Atikamekw-English lexicon is organized into three entries: the Atikamekw lexical items, the morpheme class to which an item belongs, and an English translation. The transcription system used in this lexicon conforms to normal usage among Algonquianists.

Words are presented in alphabetical order. Long vowels precede short vowels, and geminate consonants are treated as two consonants; therefore, -ca- precedes -ce- and -ko- follows -kk-. The following sequence is used:

Transitive verbs and animate intransitive verbs appear at the third person singular of the indicative mode of the independent order, without their inflectional endings. These endings are replaced by a dash in the lexicon. E.g.,

ci:m- TA To canoe

i:kkahipe- AI To bail out liquid

Roots and preverbs are also followed by a dash. E.g.,

Medials and finals always appear preceded and followed by a dash. E.g.,

-m- TAf By mouth, by speech -pwa:m- M Thigh

For reasons of commodity, some transitive and intransitive verbs appear with part of their finals between brackets. This occurs when the transitive finals differ only by -w- or by -aw- (e.g.,-ahw- and -ah-

'by tool, by instrument'). The word

ma:cetisah(w) - TA, TI To send him, it, by mail is a short way of writing the two following verbs:

ma:cetisah- TI To send it by mail

ma:cetisahw- TA To send him by mail

With transitive verbs, it is the transitive animate final that is partly bracketed. When the transitive finals show two completely different forms, the transitive animate and inanimate verbs are listed separately in the lexicon.

The same bracketing is also applied to inanimate verbs. The word ma:cepari(n)- AI, II To cart, convey in vehicle is a short way of writing the two following verbs:

ma:cepari- AI To cart, convey in vehicle
ma:ceparin II To cart, convey in vehicle

With intransitive verbs, it is the inanimate intransitive final that is partly bracketed. Intransitive verbs with completely different sets of finals are listed separately.

The Atikamekw lexical items are determined as to the morphological class to which they belong. Exceptions are the locative forms which are simply given as locative, thus ignoring the morpheme class of the stem from which they are derived. The following abbreviations have been used:

TA	Transitive Animate verb
TI	Transitive Inanimate verb
ΑI	Animate Intransitive verb
AI2	Animate Intransitive verb of class 2
II	Inanimate Intransitive verb
AN	Animate Noun
IN	Inanimate Noun
N	Noun
P	Particle
Pr	Pronoun
R	Root
M	Medial
L	Locative form
d.	dependent (always followed by AN or IN)
f	final (always preceded by the abbreviation of a
	morphological class: e.g., Nf, TAf, AIf, etc.)
(M)	Manouane
(W)	Weymontachie
(0)	Obedjiwan

Each entry contains an approximate English translation. Some finals have no readily statable meaning. Following Bloomfield, the word 'abstract' is used. This simply indicates the word class of a stem and should

not be considered as a traslation of the final.

In addition to the Atikamekw-English lexicon, is provided a table of English glosses that simply indicates the pages where a gloss is used. I have found this table an invaluable research tool, and I hope it proves as useful to other linguists.

*a*:

-a:-	IIf	Abstract
-a:-	AIf	Go
-a: <b>-</b>	AIf	Abstract
a:	P	Interrogative particle
a:cci-	R	Move
a:cci-	AI	To move, change place (reduplication ay-)
a:ccih-	TA	To make s.o. move, change one's clothes
a:ccika:pawi-	AI	To move, change place, standing up
a:ccikka:tepit-	TA	To move s.o.'s leg roughly
a:ccikwa:skotti-	AI	To move jumping, jump from one place to
		another
a:ccipaki:wa:ne-	AI	To change one's shirt
a:ccipari-	AI, II	To move, change place, give a jump, in
		vehicle
a:ccipit-	TA, TI	To move s.o., sth., fast
a:ccipitekka:te-	AI	To move s.o.'s leg roughly
a:ccipitonen-	TA	To move s.o.'s arm by hand
a:ccisi:kin-	TI	To pour liquid into another container
a:cciskwen-	TA	To move s.o.'s head by hand

a:cciŝŝim-	TA	To move s.o. lying down
a:ccišk-	TI	To change clothes
a:cciška:-	AI	To cross a street, change one's way
a:cciššin-	AI	To move, change place, lying down
a:ccitta:-	AI, P	To move, change
a:ccittita:-	AI2	To place sth. somewhere else
a:cciwipari(n)-	AI, II	To limp
a:cciwiška:-	AI	To limp walking
-a:cikan-	N£	Instrument
-a:cim-	TAf	Narrate
-a:cimo-	AIf	Narrate
-a:citt-	TIf	Narrate
-a:ciwan-	Pf	Stream
a:ha:ssi:w	AN	Crow
a:ha:škoc	P	Each one in his turn, alternatively
a:ha:tew	AN	Crow
a:ha:weริริเริริ	AN	Ruddy duck
-a:kan-	Nf	Abstract
a:ka:seh-	TA	To employ s.o., make use of s.o.'s services
		(from french: engager)
a:kawa:stea:k	P	In the shade, in a shelter
a:kawa:ŝteho-	AI	To cast a shadow for oneself

a:kawa:stehon	IN	Shelter, lamp-shade, eye shade, peak
		(of cap)
a:kawa:ŝteŝŝimoro-	AI	To take cover, take shelter
a:kawa:ŝteŝŝin	AI	To cast a shadow
a:kawa:stettin	II	To cast a shadow
a:kawekkah(w)-	TA, TI	To cover s.o., sth., hide, with cloth, pull
		down the blind, draw the curtains
a:kawekkahikan	IN	Curtain, drape
a:kawekkahikana:tti	kw∵ IN	Wooden curtain pole
a:kawekkahikanekin	IN	Curtain material
a:kawekkipicike-	AI	To pull down the blind, draw the curtain,
		cover by pulling
a:kawekkipit-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, down, draw, cover by pull-
		ing
-a:ke-	AIf	Inanimate indefinite (implied object)
a:kima:skw	AN	Ash tree
a:kkikw	AN	Sea1
a:kkikwa:n	AN	Seal-skin
a:kkitem-	TA	To let go one's hold (with teeth)
a:kkitepari-	AI	To feel squeamish, sick
a:kkitett-	TI	To let go one's hold (with teeth)
a:kkoh-	TA	To hurt s.o., make s.o. sick, torture
a:kkohotiso-	AI	To hurt oneself

a:kkosa:pi-	AI	To have pain in one's eyes
a:kkosa:pite-	AI	To have a toothache
a:kkosa:wikane-	AI	To have a backache
a:kkosi-	AI	To be sick, menstruate
a:kkosica:pi-	AI	To have a bad eyesight, have pain in one's
		eyes
a:kkosicicce-	AI	To have pain in one's hand
a:kkosikitikwe-	AI	To have pain in one's knee
a:kkosikka:n	AN	Sick person, invalid
a:kkosikka:so-	AI	To pretend to be sick
a:kkosikka:te-	AI	To have pain in one's leg
a:kkosikkwe-	AI	To have pain in one's neck
a:kkosikottoškwe-	AI	To have a sore throat
a:kkosimissite-	AI	To have a stomach ache
a:kkosimissiteh-	TA	To cause him a stomach ache
a:kkosipitone-	AI	To have pain in one's arm
a:kkosipwa:me-	AI	To have pain in one's thigh
a:kkosira:ne-	AI	To have pain in one's calf of leg
a:kkosisite-	AI	To have pain in one's foot
a:kkosiskone-	AI	To have a liver disease
a:kkositehe-	AI	To feel squeamish, sick
a:kkositiriye-	AI	To have pain in one's shoulder-blade

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a:kkositto:ke-	AI	To have a earache
a:kkosiwa:tisi-	AI	To be always sick, be sick very often
a:kkosiwikamikw	IN	Hospital
a:kkosiwin	IN	Sickness
a:kkoŝiŝkaŝiye-	AI	To have pain in one's nail
a:kkoŝiŝo:kane-	AI	To have pain in one's hip
a:kkoŝiŝtikwa:ne-	AI	To have a headache
-a:kon-	M	Snow
-a:kosi-	AIf	Abstract
-a:kw-	Nf	Abstract
-a:kwan-, -a:kon-	IIf	Abstract
a:maciwe-	AI	To climb, go up, push up, lift up
a:maciwen-	TA, TI	To climb him, it, go, push towards the top
		by hand
a:maciwepari(n)-	AI, II	To climb, go up, lift up, mechanically
a:paciwepatta:-	AI2	To climb it running
a:maciwepit-	TA, TI	To lift s.o., sth., by pulling
a:maciweskanawe-	AI	Trail, tracks, that go up, towards the top
a:maciwetta:-	AI2	To make sth. go up
a:maciweya:w	II	To go up
a:mi-	AI	To spawn
a:mi	P	Almost

a:mipit-	TA, TI	To let s.o., sth., fall suddenly
a:mirikka:na:nikk	L	Name of a lake near Manouane (where fishes
		spawn)
a:mirikke-	AI	To fish where fishes spawn
a:mo:w	AN	Bee
a:mo:-namina:ss	IN	Honey (from french: la mélasse)
a:motekwa:škotti-	ΑI	To jump down
a:motekkwa:mi-	AI	To fall off one's bed while sleeping
a:moten-	TA, TI	To remove, make him, it, fall, by hand
a:motepari(n)-	AI, II	To fall down
a:moteššim-	TA	To make s.o. fall (from a running vehicle)
a:moteššin-	ΑI	To fall down (from a running vehicle)
a:motewepah(w)-	TA, TI	To make s.o., sth., fall by throwing down
a:motewepahotiso-	AI	To fall by throwing oneself on sth., sink
<i>-a:n-</i>	N£	Abstract
-a:n-	M	Opening, hole
-a:nak-	М	Island
-a:naka:-	IIf	Island
a:nakkama:ni:ya:py	IN	Suspenders
a:nawerim-	TA	To despise s.o., hold s.o. in contempt,
		dissuade s.o.
a:nawericcike-	AI	To despise, blame

a:naweritt-	TI	To despise sth., hold sth. in contempt,
		dissuade
a:naweritta:kon	II	To be an object of pity, deserve blame,
		feel useless
a:naweritta:kosi-	AI	To be an object of pity, deserve blame,
		feel useless
a:nawerittamih-	TA	To dissuade s.o. to do sth.
a:nawett-	TI	To doubt of sth., disbelieve what is heard
a:nawettaw-	TA	To doubt of s.o., disbelieve what s.o. says
a:niskeh-	TA	To pass on sth. to s.o., convey sth. to s.o.
a:niskoh-	TA	To lengthen him by joining him to another
a:niskopiso-	AI	To be attached to s.o., be tied together
a:niskoššin-	AI	To be attached, tied, joined
a:niskopit-	TA, TI	To attach s.o., sth.,
a:niskopite-	AI	To be attached, tied
a:niskota:pa:n	IN	Knot for hauling
a:niskota:pa:te-	AI	To attach, tie, for hauling
a:niskota:pe-	AI	To tie, make a knot, for hauling
a:niskott-	TI	To lengthen it by joining it to another
a:niskottin	II	To be attached, tied, joined
a:niskwa:pi:ka:t-	TA, TI	To attach, tie, with a rope
a:niskwa:pi:ka:tew	II	To be attached, tied, with a rope

a:niskwa:pi:ke-	AI	To attach, tie, fasten with a rope
-a:p-	M	Eye, white, smoke
-a:pa:w-	M	Flood, rinse
a:pacih-	TA	To use him, be useful to him
-a:pacih-	TAf	Use
a:pacihiwe-	AI	To use, be useful
a:pacitta:-	AI2	To use it, be useful to it
-a:pacitta:-	AI2f	Use
a:pah(w)-	TA, TI	To untie, unknot, unscrew, him, it, by tool
a:pahama:ke-	AI	To untie, unknot, unscrew
a:pahamaw-	TA	To untie, unknot, unscrew for s.o.
a:pahikan	IN	Screwdriver
a:pahike-	AI	To untie, unknot, unscrew
-a:pam-	TAf	See, look
-a:pan-	IIf	Dawn
a:para:pam-	TA	To look at s.o. out of the corner of one's
		eye
a:para:pamiwe-	AI	To look out of the corner of one's eye
a:para:patt-	TI	To look at sth. out of the corner of one's
		eye
a:para:pi-	AI	To look askance
-a:pat-	<b>M</b> .	Utility

a:patan	II	To be used, useful
a:patisi-	AI	To be used, useful
-a:patt-	TIf	See, look
-a:patte-	II£	Smoked
-a:pe-	M	Male
-a:pew-	N£	Male
-a:pi:k-	M	String, rope
a:pi:kom-	TA	To untie, unknot, s.o. with one's teeth
a:pi:kon-	TA, TI	To untie, unknot, s.o., sth., by hand
a:pi:konike-	ΑI	To untie, unknot, by hand
a:pi:kopit-	TA, TI	To untie, unknot, s.o., sth., roughly
a:pi:kott-	TI	To untie, unknot, sth. with one's teeth
-a:pi-	AIf	See, look
a:picci-	P	Continually, steadily
a:piccikkoŝŝi-	AI	To be continually sleeping, be always in
		bed
a:piccikwa:ne-	AI	To roll, turn a somersault
a:piccikwa:neh-	TA	To cause s.o. to roll, turn a somersault
a:piccipa:-	AI	To restore to life
a:piccissim-	TA	To let him fall and kill him
a:piccissin-	AI	To fall and die
-a:pina:n-	N£	White

-a:pisk-	M, Pf	Stone, metal
-a:piska:-	IIf	Stone, metal
-a:piskw-	N£	Stone, metal
-a:pis-	TIf	Smoked
-a:pisw-	TAf	Smoked
-a:pit-	M	Tooth
-a:pite-	AIf	Tooth
a:pitta:pi-	ΑI	To have a black eye
a:pittaw	P	Half
a:pittaviki:-	ΑI	Half moon (be half brown)
a:pittaki:sika:w	II	Noon
a:pittatipiska:w	II	Midnight
a:pittope-	AI	To be half-way full of liquid
a:pittopit-	TA, TI	To tear him, it, asunder
a:pittoškin-	TA, TI	To fill him, it, up, half-way
-a:po:w-	N£	Liquid
a:pocipite-	AI	To turn inside out roughly
a:pokoŝiŝŝ	AN	Mouse
a:pokwa:ra:ciŝŝ	AN	Bat
a:pot-	R	To turn inside out
a:potin-	TA, TI	To turn him, it, inside out, by hand
-a:pw-	M	Water, liquid

-a:py-	N£	String, rope
-a:rikkw-	M	Hair
a:riman	II	To be difficult, uneasy, intricate
a:rimerim-	TA	To exasperate, irritate, s.o.
a:rimeritt-	TI	To exasperate, irritate, sth.
a:rimih-	TA	To make it difficult, uneasy, intricate to
		S.O.
a:rimihiwe-	TA	To make difficult, uneasy, intricate to
		people
a:rimikke-	AI	To have much work
a:rimina:kon	II	To seem impossible to do
a:riminikka:t-	TA, TI	To give him, it, a hard name
a:rimisi-	AI	To be difficult, uneasy, intricate
a:rimisiwin	IN	Difficulty
a:rimo-	AI	To sneeze
a:rimoh-	TA	To make s.o. sneeze
-a:ro-	M	Tail
-a:row-	N£	Tail
a:rokw	AN	Starling
a:siya:n	AN	Pamper, underwear, diaper
-a:siya:n-		
are ogain	Nf	Breeches

-a:ska:-	IIf	Underwood, plant
a:ska:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To lean him, it, against sth. by tool
a:skawi:n	P	Sometimes, from time to time, one by one
a:skawi:skata	P	Sometimes, from time to time
-a:skoh-	TIf	By stick
-a:skohw-	TA£	By stick
a:skoššim-	TA	To lean him against sth.
a:skoššimo-	AI	To lean oneself against sth.
a:skoššin-	AI	To lean against sth.
a:skoštah(w)-	TA, TI	To place, set, put, him, it, in place
a:skoštotaw-	TA	To place, set, put, him in place
-a:skw-	M, Nf	Wood, solid
-a:skw- -a:ss-	M, Nf TIf	Wood, solid By heat
		·
-a:ss-	TIf	By heat
-a:ss- -a:sso-	TIf AIf	By heat By heat
-a:ss- -a:sso- -a:sso-	TIf AIf	By heat By heat Abstract
-a:ss- -a:sso- -a:sso- -a:ssw-	TIf AIf AIf	By heat By heat Abstract (postradical extension); five
-a:ss- -a:sso- -a:sso- -a:ssw- -a:ssw-	TIf AIf AIf TAf	By heat By heat Abstract (postradical extension); five By heat
-a:ssa:ssoa:ssoa:sswa:ssw- a:saw-, a:so-	TIf AIf AIf TAf R	By heat  By heat  Abstract  (postradical extension); five  By heat  To cross
-a:ssa:ssoa:ssoa:sswa:ssw- a:saw-, a:so-	TIf AIf AIf TAf R	By heat  Abstract (postradical extension); five  By heat  To cross  Place name near Obedjiwan (where one

a:sawa:ttawi:-	AI	To cross on wooden surface, on board
a:šeriw	AN	Angel (from english: angel)
a: <b>š</b> i	P	Ready, finished, now, o.k.
a:sikicipari(n)-	AI, II	To fall down, turn upside down
a:sikicipakissin-	AI	To fall, be upside down
a:sikicipakittin	II	To fall, be upside down
a:sikiciparih-	TA	To make him topple over, turn upside down
a:sikiciparitta:-	AI2	To make it topple over, turn upside down
a:sikicipit-	TA, TI	To make him, it, fall upside down
a:sikicissim-	TA	To lay, turn, him, upside down
a:sikicissin-	AI	To place, turn, upside down
a:sikicistikwa:ne-	AI	To turn one's head back
a:sikicipakissim-	TA	To drop, turn, throw, him, down, upside
		down
a:sikicipakissin-	AI	To fall down on one's back, drop, throw
		down, turn upside down
a:sikicipakitin-	TA, TI	To turn him, it, upside down, knock, set,
		drop, him, it, down, by hand
a:sikicipakittin	II	To be fallen on it's back, be turned upside
		down
a: sikicipakittita:-	AI2	To drop, turn, throw, it, down, upside down

a:sikicittin	II	To be placed, turned, upside down
a:sikicittita:-	AI2	To drop, turn, throw, it, down, upside
		down
a:sikiciwepah(w)-	TA, TI	To turn him, it, upside down, throwing by
		tool
a:sikiciwepin-	TA, TI	To turn him, it, upside down, throwing by
		hand
a:sikiciwepisk(aw)-	TA, TI	To turn him, it, upside down, throwing by
		foot
a:sikita:piskin-	TA, TI	To trun him, it, upside down (stone-like
		object) by hand
a:sikitako:cin-	AI	To hook, hang, upside down
a:sikitako:tew	II	To be hooked, hanged, upside down
a:sikitakoccin-	AI	To float on one's back
a:sikitakottin	II	To float upside down
a:sikitin-	TA, TI	To turn, tip over, topple over, him, it,
		by hand
a:sikito:ttane-	AI	To strain one's foot
a:sikoc	P	Now, already
a:siteccike-	AI	To take a lead over by eating
a:sitem-	TA	To contradict, dispute, him, debate with
		him, retort, answer back to him

a:sitemiwe-	AI	To contradict, dispute, debate, with
		people
a:sitemo-	AI	To contradict oneself
a:siteska:-	AI	To take a lead over by walking
a:sitesk(aw)-	TA, TI	To take a lead over s.o., sth., by foot
a:sitewe-	AI	To contradict, dispute, debate, retort,
		answer back
-a:sitt-	Nf	Fir
-a:ška:-	IIf	Wave
a:ško:štah(w)-	TA, TI	To place, set, him, it, by instrument
a:ŝkocipo:si-	AI	To move, transfer, from one vehicle to
		another
a:skocipo:sih-	TA	To make s.o. transfer
a:škocipo:sitta:-	AI2	To make sth. transfer
a:§kocipo:sitta:ssc	AI	To move one's belongings, transfer them
a:škocisi:kin-	TI	To pour liquid into another container
a:ŝo:kama:pi:kepici	kan IN	Barge, lighter
a:ŝo:kamepari-	AI	To cross a stretch of water in vehicle
a:ŝo:kamepicikan	IN	Anything (canoe, barge, boat) that crosses
		a stretch of water
a:soh-	TI	To cross in canoe
a:soha:cikan	IN	Ferry-boat

a:ŝoka:sko-	ΑI	To cross on solid surface, on ice
a:soka:skopari-	ΑI	To cross on solid surface, on ice, by
		vehicle
a:soka:skopatta:-	ΑI	To cross on solid surface, on ice, by run-
		ning
a:sokan	AN	Bridge, pier, wharf
a:sokane-	AI	To cross a bridge
a:sokanikka:ke-	AI	To make a bridge for people
a:sokanikka:tiso-	AI	To make a bridge for oneself
a:sokanikkatt-	TI	To make a bridge for sth.
a:sokanikkaw-	TA	To make a bridge for s.o.
a:sokanikke-	AI	To make a bridge
a:sokaniskiss	IN	Old bridge
a:soke-	AI	To cross over
a:sokeka:pawi-	AI	To make a bridge with one's leg, standing
		up
a:sokepatta:-	AI	To cross over running
a:soketa:ccimo-	AI	To cross by crawling
a:soskanawe-	AI	To cross the street, a road, a path
a:§§imwa:kw	AN	Black-throated diver, osprey
a:ssotapi-	AI	To sit on sth.
a:ssotastew	II	To be set, placed, on sth.

-a:st-	M	Light
a:stamikk	P, L	Near, close to, on this side
a:stawa:pwacikerini	$\omega$ AN	Fireman
a:stawa:pwar-	TA	To extinguish him with water
a:stawa:pwata:-	AI2	To extinguish it with water
a:stawe-	AI	To go out, put out (fire, light)
a:staweh(w)-	TA, TI	To extinguish him, it, by tool
a:stawehika:niwan	II	People, one extinguishes
a:stawen-	TA, TI	To put out (fire, light), turn him, it,
		off by hand
a:stawepa:ssitan	II	To be extinguished by wind, be blown out
a:stawepa:ssitata:-	· AI	To be extinguished by wind, be blown out
a:stawepisk(aw)-	TA, TI	To stamp him, it, out
a:stawesk(aw)-	TA, TI	To extinguish him, it, by foot
a:stawessim-	TA	To extinguish him (in an ashtray)
-a:ste-	IIf	Sunlight
-a:t-		Postradical extension
a:ta:konessin-	AI	Not to be able to go further in the snow
a:ta:wakkaŝŝin-	AI	Not to be able to go further in the sand
a:ta	P	Although, even though
-a:taka:	AIf	Swim
-a:taka:si-	AIf	Swim

a:tawericcike-	AI	To want
a:tawerim-	TA	To want him
a:taweritt-	TI	To want it
a:taya	P	Question marker; is that?
a:taya wi:ra:ta	P	Is it done?
-a:tisi-	AIf	Always
a:tisso:kka:n	IN	Legend, story, tale
a:tisso:kka:so-	AI	To tell a story to oneself
a:tisso:kka:t-	TA, TI	To narrate, speak about, s.o., sth.
a:tisso:kka:titiso-	- AI	To narrate one's own story, speak about
		oneself
a:tisso:kkaw-	TA	To narrate for s.o.'s benefit
a:tissokke-	AI	To narrate
a:titta	P	Few, a few, little, a little
a:titta:raka:pi-	AI	To squint, be cross-eyed
a:tt-	R	To move, change place
-a:tt-	M	Wood, stick, wooden surface
-a:ttaha:-	AIf	Wooden, solid surface
a:ttapite-	AI	To lose one's milkteeth
a:ttapi-	ΑI	To change place
a:ttapit-	TA, TI	To change one's, its, place

AIf	Wooden surface, board
IIf	By heat
Nf	Wood
Pf	Wood
AI	To move out, change place
TA, TI	To move s.o., sth., out from one's house
AI	To move out by flying
TA, TI	To chase s.o., sth., out of the house
TA	To move s.o. out, change his place, con-
	veying him
AI	To move out, carring one's own belongings
AI2	To move sth. out, change its place, con-
	veying it
N£	Tree, wood
TA, TI	To change his, its, place, by hand
N£	Abstract
TA, TI	To carry, transport, him, it, by pulling
TA	To carry, transport, him, by pulling for
	s.o.
AI	To carry, transport, by pulling
AI, II	To carry, transport, being pulled by vehicle
	IIf Nf Pf AI TA, TI AI TA, TI TA  AI AI2  Nf TA, TI Nf TA, TI TA  AI

-a:wakk-	M	Sand
-a:wakka:-	IIf	Sand
a:wasope-	AI	To carry water
a:wasopeh-	TI	To carry water by canoe
a:wasopeška:-	AI	To carry water by foot
-a:wass-	M	Baby, child
a:wato:ssiw	AN	Common white sucker
a:wira	P	Nonetheless, anyway, although, even though
-a:wikan-	M	Back
a:wokka:n	AN	Slave, who is tame
a:wokka:t-	TA	To capture s.o., hold him in captivity,
		tame him
a:wokke-	AI	To capture, hold in captivity, tame
-a:ya:-	IIf	Abstract
a:yirika:h-	TA	To provoke s.o., play s.o. a trick, make
		him laugh
a:yirika:m-	TA	To provoke s.o., play s.o. a trick, make
		him laugh by speech
a:yirika:si-	AI	To provoke, play tricks, make laugh
a:yi:to	P	On each side, at both ends

α

acakkošš	AN	Star
acca:pi:siss	AN	Little bow
acca:pi:škišš	AN	Worn-out bow
acca:pi:kka:tiso-	AI	To make a bow for oneself
acca:pi:kkaw-	TA	To make a bow for s.o.
acca:pi:kke-	AI	To make a bow
acca:pi:wi-	AI	To be a bow
acca:piy	AN	Bow, spring
acciwah(w)-	TA, TI	To lessen, shorten, reduce, him, it, by
		tool
acciwaskin-	TA, TI	To reduce, diminish (of volume) him, it
acciwekkiš(w)-	TA, TI	To lessen, shorten, reduce him, it, (cloth)
		by cutting
acciwi:kin-	TA, TI	To lessen, shorten, reduce, him, it,(cloth)
		by hand
acciwi:kiš(w)-	TA, TI	To lessen, shorten, reduce him, it, (cloth)
		by cutting
acciwikam-	TA	To reduce the quantity of him by eating

acciwikatt-	TI	To reduce the quantity of it by eating
acciwikwa:t-	TA, TI	To lessen, shorten, reduce, him, it, by
		sewing
acciwin-	TA, TI	To lessen, shorten, reduce, him, it, by
		hand
acciwiparin	II	It diminishes by itself
-aci-	AIf	By cold
acicamoŝŝ (M)	AN	Squirrel
acicasta:-	AI	To put upside down, write upside down
acicika:pawi-	AI	To stand up upside down, be head downwards
aciciškinah(w)-	TA, TI	To put him, it, upside down by tool
aciciškinen-	TA, TI	To put him, it, upside down by hand
aciciškinepit-	TA, TI	To empty (container) by turning him, it,
		upside down
acicissin-	AI	To be lying with head lower than feet
acimoŝiŝŝ	AN	Pet dog, little dog
acita:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To put him, it (wood, handle) upside down,
		fix him, it, upside down
acita:skoššin-	AI	To be lying with head lower than feet
acitakoccin-	AI	To be upside down in water
acitakottin	II	To be upside down in water
acitin-	TA, TI	To hold him, it, upside down by hand

-ah-	TIf	By tool, by instrument
-ah-	TA£	Cause
-ahan-	IIf	Flood
-aho-	AIf	With or by water
-ahw-	TAf	By tool, by instrument
-aka:-	AIf	Abstract
aka:m-	R	Space, intervening space
aka:ma:ciwan	P	On the other side of the stream
aka:ma:ttik	P	On the other side of the wood
aka:matin	P	On the other side of the hill
aka:meh-	TI	To go on the other side of a stretch of
		water
aka:mepari-	AI	water To go on the other side in vehicle
aka:mepari- aka:meskano	AI P	
-		To go on the other side in vehicle
aka:meskano	P	To go on the other side in vehicle On the other side of the road
aka:meskano aka:mikk	P P	To go on the other side in vehicle On the other side of the road On the other side of a stretch of water
aka:meskano aka:mikk aka:misi:piy	P P IN	To go on the other side in vehicle On the other side of the road On the other side of a stretch of water The other side of the river
aka:meskano aka:mikk aka:misi:piy akaci-	P P IN AI	To go on the other side in vehicle On the other side of the road On the other side of a stretch of water The other side of the river To be shy, ashamed
aka:meskano aka:mikk aka:misi:piy akaci- akacih-	P IN AI TA	To go on the other side in vehicle  On the other side of the road  On the other side of a stretch of water  The other side of the river  To be shy, ashamed  To embarass s.o., by shy of s.o.
aka:meskano aka:mikk aka:misi:piy akaci- akacih- akacikka:so-	P IN AI TA AI	To go on the other side in vehicle  On the other side of the road  On the other side of a stretch of water  The other side of the river  To be shy, ashamed  To embarass s.o., by shy of s.o.  To pretend to be shy

akiccika: tew II To be counted, valued

akiccike- AI To count things

akikw AN Nasal mucus, cold

akikwehon IN Handle of the cradleboard

akima:kan IN Number

akima:kaniwi- AI To be numbered, a number

akim- TA To count, value, him

-akim- TAf Count, value

akimiwe- AI To count people

akiskw AN Pheasant

akitt- TI To count, value, it

-akitt- TIf Count, value

akitta:sso- AI To count, make up one's account

akitta:ssomakan II To count automatically

akitta:sson IN Number, digit

akitta:ssowin IN Calculation

ako:cicikan IN Coat-hanger

ako:cikwi:ssikan IN Glue

ako:cin- AI To hang, be hanging

-ako:cin- AIf Hang

ako:kassikan IN Glue

ako:kata:- AI2 To hang, glue, puin, fix, it

ako:kew	II	To be hanged, glued, pinned, fixed
ako:kwa:cikan	IN	Piece of material fixed by sewing, patch
ako:kwa:t-	TA, TI	To hang, fix, him, it, by sewing
ako:kwekwa:son	IN	Piece of material to be sewed on, collar
ako:r-	TA	(rare). To hang him, hang him up
ako:rea:w	II	It is in suspension (said of the air bet-
		ween the water and the ice, where beavers
		breathe in winter)
ako:si-	AI	To be hanging
ako:t-	TA, TI	To hang him, it, hang him, it, up
ako:ta:-	AI2	To hang it, hang it up, snare it
ako:taw-	TA	To snare for s.o.
ako:tew	II	To hang, be hanging
-ako:te-	IIf	Hang
ako:tina:sso-	AI	To hang out the washing
ako-	R	To be on, adhere (see $\alpha kw$ -)
akoccicike-	AI	To put in water
akoccim-	TA	To immerse, wet, soak, him, put him in
		water
akoccimiwe-	AI	To float
akoccin-	AI	To float
-akoccin-	AIf	Float

akoccora:kan	IN	Float (of the fishing net)
akoh(w)-	TA, TI	To cover him, it, hide from sight by tool
akokkacišš	AN	Woodchuck
akokkacišš-pi:ssimw	IN	February
akokkacišš-wa:šš	IN	Den of woodchuck
akokkwa:ccimew	AN	Leech
akomo-	AI	To float on the same spot
akona:koneh(w)-	TA, TI	To cover him, it, with snow
akona:pason	IN	Umbrella
akona:pweh(w)-	TA, TI	To close him, it, with a lid
akona:pwehikan	IN	Lid, cover
akonah(w)-	TA, TI	To cover s.o., sth., by tool
akonahikan	IN	Bedspread
akonahiwe-	AI	To cover
akonapokkwa:t-	TI	To cover it with a roof
akonapokkwa:tew	II	To be covered with a roof
akoni-	AI	To cover oneself
akoniššin-	AI	To be covered
akonittin	II	To be covered
akopiššivak	AI	Group of children packed, compressed, sit
akopiwak	AI	Group of people packed, compressed, sit
akopp	IN	Dress

-akopp-	N£	Dress
akoppekin	IN	Woven, material (to make dresses)
akoppikka:tiso-	AI	To make a dress for oneself
akoppikkaw-	TA	To make a dress for s.o.
akoppiso-	AI	To have a bandage
akoppison	IN	Bandage
akoppisoni:ya:py	IN	Cataplasm
akoppišoni:ya:pišš	IN	Small cataplasm
akoppit-	TA, TI	To dress a wound
akoppitew	II	To have a bandage
akoppititiso-	AI	To dress a wound for oneself
akoskašt-	TI	To fix, glue, it
akossa:me-	AI	To have wet snow on one's snowshoe
akossama:n	AN	Pumpkin
akošceššin	II	To be piled up
akošk(aw)-	TA, TI	To lean him, it, against
akoškamessiw	AN	Osprey, eagle, kingfisher
akoškišši-	AI	To be sticky
akostah(w)-	TA, TI	To sew, adding a piece of material, by
		tool
akoŝtahama:so-	AI	To sew for oneself, adding a pice of mat-
		erial

akostahamaw-	TA	To sew for s.o.
akottin	II	To float
-akottin-	IIf	Float
akottita:-	AI2	To immerse, wet, soak, it, put it in
		water
akw-	R	To be on, adhere
akwa:ccicikan	IN	Boathook, gaff
akwa:h(w)-	TA, TI	To moor him, it, pull him, it, out of
		water by tool
akwa:kaci-	AI	To be sticked by cold
akwa:katin	II	To be sticked by cold
akwa:koŝŝi-	AI	To be mouldy, rusty
akwa:kottin	II	To be mouldy, rusty
akwa:kottiso-	AI	To be sticked by heat
akwa:kottite-	II	To be sticked by heat
akwa:n-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, out of water by hand
akwa:ni-	AI	To unstick, loosen, detach (birch bark)
		easily
akwa:pah-	TI	To screw it by tool
akwa:pahamaw-	TA	To screw it by tool for s.o.
akwa:pattew	II	To be smokey, covered with smoke
akwa:pea:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, out of water by stick

akwa:peh(w)-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, out of water by tool
akwa:pekin-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, (cloth) out of water
		by hand
akwa:pis(w)-	TA, TI	To dry him, it, by heat, smoke him, it
akwa:piskaci-	AI	To be sticked to metal by cold
akwa:piskatin	II	To be sticked to metal by cold
akwa:piskitew	II	To be sticked to metal by heat, soldered
akwa:pit-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, out of water
akwa:pitew	IN	Smoke
akwa:spitarapa:ni:	ya:py IN	Rope used to hang the fishing net
akwa:spitarape-	AI	To thread the rope used to hang the fish-
		ing net
akwa:ŝŝim-	TA	To pull him out of water
akwa:ta:pa:t-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, out of water by hauling
akwa:ttita:-	AI2	To pull it out of water
akwettoskisina:n	IN	Overshoe
-am-	TAf	Bite, eat
-ama:so-	AIf	For oneself
ama:t-	TA, TI	To disturb s.o., sth., arouse s.o.
-amaw-	TAf	For someone
-amekoss-	Nf	Trout
amekkossiss		

-amekw-	N£	Fish
-amih-	TAf	Cause
amiskw	AN	Beaver
amiskwa:n	AN	Beaver skin, beaver-skin garment
amiskwaya:n (0)	AN	Beaver skin, beaver-skin garment
amiskwa:row	IN	Beaver's tail
amiskwi-	AI	To be a beaver
-amo:h-	TAf	Cause
-amor-	TAf	Set to cause
-amotar-	TAf	Set to cause
-an-	N£	Abstract
-an-	IIf	Have, be covered with
-an-	IIf	Abstract
ana:skaw-	TA	To make a floor of fir boughs for s.o.
ana:skatt-	TI	To make a floor of fir boughs for sth.
ana:ske-	AI	To make a floor of fir boughs
-anakw-	M	Sleeve
anihi	Pr	Demonstrative, animate obviative, inanim-
		ate plural; those ones
aniki	Pr	Demonstrative, animate plural; those ones
anikoca:ŝŝ	AN	Squirrel

anima	Pr	Demonstrative, inanimate singular; this
		one, that one
anoc	P	Now
anocikwec	P	Just now (past), a few minutes ago
-anw-	N£	Abstract
api-	AI	To sit
-api-	AIf	Sit, set, place
apiha:wasson	IN	Placenta
apikka:t-	TI	To braid its hair
apikka:tama:-	AI	To have braids
apikka:tamaw-	TA	To plait s.o.'s hair
apišša:pi:kiššin	II	To be (string-like objects) small
apišša:piška:ššin	II	To be (stone-like objects) small
apišša:piškišši-	AI	To be (stone-like objects) small
apišša:ššin	II	To be small
apišši:šši-	AI	To be small
apišši:šših-	TA	To make him small
apišši:ššitta:-	AI2	To make it small
apištiriniššak	AN	Gnomes, elfs
apittisi-	AI	To be all black and blue, get a bruise
apokkaw-	TA	To make a paddle for s.o.
apokke-	AI	To make a paddle

appi:c	R	So much, so far
appic	P	Until, while
appikkan	IN	Wooden rod (in the middle of a canoe)
appikkweššimo-	AI	To lay one's head on sth.
appikkweššimon	AN	Pillow Pillow
appikkwessimonekin	IN	Woven (to make pillow), pillowcase
appikkweššimonikka:	tiso- AI	To make oneself a pillow
appirokoray	AN	Mattress made of rabbit skins
appisita:kan	IN	Floor of a canoe
appiša:n	IN	Pamper
appissimon	AN	Mattress
appissimona:niwan	AI	People are lying down
appiššimonekin (W)	IN	Bedspread, carpet
appokkwa:n	IN	Roofing felt, tar paper
appokkwa:taw-	TA	To thatch for s.o.
appokkwe-	AI	To thatch
appokkwekwa:cikan	IN	Hem, piece of material sewed at the lower
		part of the tent
apwa:n	IN	Roast (meat)
apwa:na:skokke-	AI	To make a stick to roast

To roast

To be hot, sweat

ΑI

ΑI

apwe-

apwesi-

apwesih-	TA	To make s.o. sweat
apwesiteso-	AI	To have one's feet perspiring, warm one's
		feet
apwesiwin	IN	Perspiration, sweat
apwesiwina:pow	IN	Sweat
apwi	AN	Oar, (canoe) paddle
apwikkaw-	TA	To make a paddle for s.o.
apwis(w)-	TA, TI	To melt him, it, warm, him, it
apwiso-	AI	To get warm
apwitew	II	To be melting
ar-	TA	To place, set, him
-ar-	TAf	Place, set
-ar-	TAf	Bring, carry
arakapessa:kan	AN	Trousers
arakapessa:kanikka	tiso- AI	To make oneself a pair of trousers
arakapessa:kani:ya	epy IN	Suspenders
arakaška:piska:w	II	To be (stone-like objects) large, wide
arakaška:piskisi-	AI	To be (stone-like objects) large, wide
arakaška:w	II	To be wide
arakaska:wakka:w	II	To be (dune, sandhill) large, wide
arakaskah-	TA	To make him larger, wider
arakaškekiš(w)-	TA, TI	To widen him, it, by cutting

arakaški:kotteššip	AN	Ring-necked duck
arakaškisi-	AI	To be wide
arakaškištikwea:w	II	To be (river) wide
arakaškiciwan	II	To be (stream) wide
arakaški:šimotta:-	AI	To widen a path, a road
arameska:t-	TA, TI	To celebrate mass, bless him, it
arameska:taw-	TA	To celebrate mass for s.o. (from french:
		à la messe)
aramih÷	TA	To speak to him
aramihitowak	AI	They speak to each other
aramikkaw-	TA	To greet, say farewell to, him
aramitta:kosi-	AI	To speak in court of justice
aramitta:kosiriniw	AN	Lawyer, judge
aramowe-	AI	To speak
arapehocikan	IN	Lace (embroidered), fringe
arapi:kka:tiso-	AI	To make oneself a net
arapi:kkaw-	TA	To make a net for s.o.
arapi:kke-	ΑI	To make a net
arapiy	AN	Net, fishing net
arapoŝŝ	IN	Pocket (from french: à la poche)
araššap	IN	Bedroom (from french: à la chambre)
ari:ci:min	AN	Pea
ari:kišš	AN	Toad

ari:tiso-ΑI To participate, have oneself registred. do in s.o. stead aripass IN Barge (from french: à la barge) aris P But, however arittetta:mina:ttikwIN Guelder rose, viburnum Р aroccikoc No matter where arota:kan AN Servant arota:kaniwi-ΑI To be a servant arwastan II To be (weather) calm arwepi-ΑI To rest arwepih-TA To make s.o. rest asa:ti:siss AN Little poplar asa:tiy AN Poplar asa:tiya:skwea:w To be a forest of poplars II asa:tiy-ministikw Poplar island IN asikw AN Merganser -asinah-TIf Write by tool -asinahikan Nf Write -asinahw-TAf Write by tool -askamik-M Space, place

Space, place

To watch, spy upon, s.o.

Nf

TA

-askamikw

askamw-

askatt-	TI	To watch, spy upon, sth.
-aski-	M	Earth, soil
aski:wi-	AI	To be made of clay
aski:wan	II	To be made of clay
askikkw	AN	Bucket, kettle
-askikkw-	Nf	Bucket
askikkwa:ttikw	IN	Peg, wooden tent peg
askikkwass	IN	Kitchen cupboard
-askisin-	Nf	Moccasin, shoe
askiwa:sitt	AN	Yew-tree
askiy, -askiy-	IN, Nf	Earth, country, land, territory, reserve
: .:1		moss
-askon-	IIf	moss Sky
	IIf R	
-askon-		Sky
-askon- -askw-	R	Sky So long
-askon- -askw- -askw-	R M	Sky So long Sky
-askon- -askw- -askw- -askwea:-	R M IIf	Sky So long Sky Wood
-askonaskwaskwaskwea:- aspa:pwa:cike-	R M IIf AI	Sky So long Sky Wood To season, flavor
-askonaskwaskwaskwea:- aspa:pwa:cike- aspa:pwe-	R M III AI AI	Sky So long Sky Wood To season, flavor To season, flavor, dress (salad)
-askonaskwaskwaskwea:- aspa:pwa:cike- aspa:pwe- aspah-	R M IIf AI AI TA	Sky So long Sky Wood To season, flavor To season, flavor, dress (salad) To cover, put over, him

aspapiwin	AN	Cushion, saddle
aspaste-	AI	To cover, put over
asperim-	TA	To put trust in s.o.
asperimitiso-	ΑI	To have self-assurance
asperimo-	AI	To have self-assurance
asperimo:sta:ke-	AI	To put trust in people
asperimotot(aw)-	TA, TI	To put trust, have confidence, in s.o.,
		in sth.
asperimowin	IN	Confidence, faith, trust
asperitt-	TI G	To put trust in sth.
aspi:c	R	So much, so far
aspin	P	Since
-aspiso-	AIf	Tied
aspisteššimon	IN	Carpet
aspišiteššimowin (M	() IN	Carpet
-aspit-	TAf, TIf	Tie
-aspite-	IIf	Tied
aspitonestihikan	IN	Piece of leather on snowshoe
assa:m	AN	Snowshoe
assa:ma:ttikw	AN	Wooden shaft of snowshoe
assa:mikkav-	TA	To make snowshoe for s.o.
assa:wew	AN	Crawfish, lobster
assekke-	AI	To tan (animal skin)

assekka:t-	TA, TI	10	tan him,	it

assinikanikiwa:m IN Brick house

assinikiwa:m IN Jai1

assiniy AN, IN Stone, rock, mine

assiniya:piskw IN Stone with metal in it

assissašikan IN Woollen stockings

assosswemina:ttikw AN Elder

astis AN Gloves

-asaka:- AIf Skin

ase- R Back, reverse direction

aseh- TI To move it back by tool

asen- TA, TI To move him, it, back, by hand

asepwe- AI To row backwards

ašeška:- AI To step back

ašešta:- AI To draw, move, back

asewepah- TI To move it back in canoe

asewott- TA To step him back

asikan IN Stockings

ašikanikka:ke- AI To make stockings for people

asikani:ya:py IN Wool for stockings

ašikani:ya:piskw IN Knitting needle

asiski:win- TA, TI To cover, plaster, him, it, with mud, by

hand

ašiški:wekin-	TA, TI	To cover, plaster, him, it, (woven) with
		mud
ašiški:wan	II	To be muddy, covered with mud
ašiški:wi-	AI	To be muddy, covered with mud
ašiškiy	IN	Mud
ašitakim-	TA	To count including s.o.
aŝitakitt-	TI	To count including sth.
ašiva:-	AI	To blunt (edge, point)
aŝiviccike-	AI	To blunt sth., make sth. blunt
asivittin	II	To blunt
asiwittita:-	AI2	To blunt it, make it blunt
aška:ttikw	AN	Green wood
aškamo:h-	TA	To raise food to his lips to make him eat
-aškek-	M	Swamp
-aškeka:-	IIf	Swamp
aškekin	IN	Untanned skin
aškimew	AN	Innuit
-aškin-	M	Ful1
-aškin-	TAf, TIf	Fill by hand
-aškine-	AIf	Ful1
aškipo-	AI	To eat raw food
aškitin	II	To be raw, not cooked, unripen

aškoccike-	AI	To have left-overs of food
aškoccikan	IN	Left-overs (of food)
aškom-	TA	To have left-overs of food
aškopari(n)-	AI, II	To have left-overs
aškott-	TI	To have left-overs of food
-aškw-	Nf	Grass, herb
aŝŝakke-	AI	To feed
αຮີຣີα <b>т−</b>	TA	To feed s.o.
aŝŝama:wasso-	AI	To feed one's own child
aŝŝamitiso-	AI	To feed oneself
assawa:paccike-	AI	To watch things by looking at them
aŝŝawa:pam-	TA	To watch him, spy upon him, by looking
aŝŝawa:patt-	TI	To watch it, spy upon it, by looking
assawepin-	TA, TI	To fling, throw, him, it, away by hand
aššic	P	With, adding to
aŝŝo:tin-	TA, TI	To hold several objects in one's hand
aššoh(w)-	TA, TI	To watch s.o., sth. (in order to hit)
aššweša:ponikan	IN	Needle (for leather)
ašta:-	AI2	To put, place, set, it
-aŝta:-	AI2f	Set, place
ašta:ssokiwa:m	IN	Shed, goods depot
ašta:ssoniwašš	IN	Wall cupboard

asta-	P	From one place to another, from place
		to place
aštama:štepi-	AI	To sit and warm oneself in the sun
astaposi-	AI	To get into sth.
astaposih-	TA	To get him into sth.
aŝtapositta:-	AI2	To get it into sth.
astasi:kin-	TA, TI	To pour him, it, in another container
astaw-	TA	To put, place, set, sth. for s.o.
astew	II	To be set, placed, arranged
-aste-	IIf	Set, place, sit
-astimw-	N£	Dog
astori-	AI	To make a canoe
astotin	IN	Hat, cap
astotinikka:so-	AI	To make oneself a hat
-at-	M	Hill, mountain
-ata:-	AI2f	Bring, carry
-ata:-	AI2£	Place, set
ata:m-	R	Under, underneath
ata:m-	TA	To sell sth. to s.o.
ata:mericcike-	AI	To accuse, suspect
ata:merim-	TA	To accuse, suspect, s.o.
ata:meriwe-	AI	To accuse, suspect, people

ata:meritt- TI To accuse sth.

ata:mikk P At the bottom, under

ata:mikkani:ya:py IN Suspenders

ata:mipekokk P In, under, water

ata:mittak P In the cellar, under the house

ata:skociccikana:ttikw IN Padlock, latch

ata:wa:ke- AI To sell with sth.

ata:we- AI To sell, bargain

ata:weriniw AN Clerk, helper, agent, salesman

ata:wewikamikw IN Store

ata:wira P No matter, although

atewa:kamiparittaw- TA To mix him, stir him up

atewakine- AI To brew, mix, stir up

atewakinikan IN Mixing powder

-ati- P Begin gradually

-ati- IIf Abstract

atikkamekora:na:nikk L Name of a bay near Obedjiwan (where the

white fish spawns)

atikkamekw AN Coregonidae, white fish; name of the Ind-

ians living at Manouane, Weymontachie and

Obedjiwan

atikkamekw-pi:ssimw IN November

atikkokacci	IN	Stable litter, dung
atikkokacci-pireššišš∷ AN		Brown headed cowbird
atikkokiwa:m	IN	Stable
atikkokka:n	AN	Wooden horse
atikkw	AN	Horse, caribou
atikkw-ka:-pima:ta	ka:skocL	Place name near Obedjiwan (where horses
		cross walking on solid surface, on ice)
atim-	R	Back, away
atima:stew	II	To fade out
atima:taka:-	ΑI	To swim away
atiman	IN	Piece of leather used to tie the foot to
		the harness of the snowshoe
atimani:ya:py	IN	Harness of the snowshoe
atimapi:sta:ke-	AI	To sit, set, place, people back to back
atimapi:st(aw)-	TA, TI	To sit him, it, turning one's back
atimapi-	AI	To sit turning one's back
atimika:pawi-	AI	To turn one's back to s.o., standing up
atimikkessim-	TA	To set him facing the other way, turn him
		inside out
atimikkeste-	AI	To be set facing the other way, turned
atimikkettita:-	AI2	To set it facing the other way, turn it
		inside out

atimineh(w)-	TA, TI	To send him, it, away, catch him, it, up
atimipari-	AI	To go away in vehicle
atimipatta:-	AI	To run away, catch s.o. up in running
atimire-	AI	To fly away
atimiskanawe-	AI	To leave tracks when going away
atimiška:-	AI	To paddle away
atimotte-	AI.	To go, walk, away
atimokiwa:m	IN	Dog-kennel
atimokka:n	AN	Dog made of plush
atimokka:nissiw	AN	Bud
atimw	AN	Dog
-atin-	Pf	Hill, mountain
-atin-	IIf	By cold
-atina:-	IIf	Hill, mountain
atipis	IN	Leather lace (used to form the tight
		weaving at both ends of a snowshoe)
atiss(w)-	TA, TI	To dye him, it
atissa:rikkwe-	AI	To dye one's hair
atissekahikana:pisk	ω IN	Padlock
atissekahikana:ttikw IN		Latch
atissikan	IN	Dye
atisso-	AI	To be dyed, ripen

atittew II To be dyed, ripen

ato:spi:ska:w IN Alder grove

ato:spiya:ttikw AN Alder

ato:ss AN Arrow head

atoho- AI To choke, suffocate

atoska:t- TA, TI To go hunting for him, it

atoskaw- TA To go hunting for s.o.

atoske- AI To go hunting

atoske-askiy IN Hunting territory

atoskewastimw AN Hunting dog, gun-dog

atoskem- TA To make s.o. do an errand

atoskemo- AI To make s.o. do an errand for oneself

atoskeriniw AN Hunter

atoskešta: tiso- AI To hunt, work, for oneself

atoskestaw- TA To hunt, work, for s.o.

atoskewin IN Hunting

atossime- AI To make s.o. do an errand

-att- TIf Bite, eat

-att- TIf For something

-aw- Nf Abstract

-aw- TAf For someone

awa:siss AN Child

awassatin P On the other side of the hill

awassite	P	On the other side
awassiteka:pawi-	AI	To be standing up on the other side
awasta:koŝŝik	P	Before yesterday, ago, in the past
awaŝŝamiŝŝa:pitta	P	More than half
-awe-	AIf	Fire
aweci:ŝiŝŝ	AN	One year old beaver, new-born beaver
awessiss	AN	Animal
awessississ	AN	Young animal
awi:n	Pr	Who
awih-	TA	To lend sth. to s.o.
awiha:so-	AI	To borrow
awiha:som-	TA	To borrow from s.o.
awika:w	IN	Twilight
-ay-	N£	Abstract
aya:cci-	AI	To move continually
aya:kwa:misi-	AI	To pay attention, be attentive to, be care-
		ful
aya:pešišš	AN	Young male animal
aya:pew	AN	Male moose, buck
aya:ppic	P	While
ayakkopariho-	AI	To toss about, struggle
ayamih-	TA	To speak to s.o.

ayamiha:-	AI	To pray
ayamiha:tiso-	AI	To be pious, devoted
ayamihe-mi:kiwa:m	IN	Church, chapel
ayamihemin	AN	Chaplet, string of beads
ayamihestamaw-	TA	To pray for s.o.
ayamihewin	IN	Prayer
ayamitta:kosi-	AI	To speak, narrate
ayamihitowa:t-	TA, TI	To bless s.o., sth.
ayerimo-	AI	To sneeze
ayeskoca:pi-	AI	To have eyestrain
ayeskocicce-	AI	To have tired hands
ayeskoh-	TA	To cause tiredness to s.o.
ayeskoka:pawi-	AI	To be tired of standing up
ayeskokka:te-	AI	To have tired legs
ayeskokkane-	AI	To be tired (have tiredness in one's
		bones)
ayeskokkwe-	AI	To have fatigue in one's neck
ayeskokwa:sso-	AI	To be tired of sewing
ayeskopatta:-	AI	To be tired of running
ayeskopi-	AI	To be tired of being sit
ayeskopitone-	AI	To have fatigue in one's arm
ayeskopo:me-	AI	To have fatigue in one's thigh

ayeskorå:ne-	AI	To have fatigue in one's calf of leg
ayeskosi-	AI	To be tired
ayeskosina:kosi-	AI	To be tired of having such appearance,
		look tired
ayeskosiwin	IN	Fatigue, tiredness
ayeskossa:me-	AI	To be tired of walking in snowshoe
ayeskoššin-	AI	To be tired of lying down
ayeskowa:wikane-	ΑI	To feel tiredness in one's back
ayeskowerim-	TA	To be tired of thinking to s.o.

c

ca:ci:	P	How nice! It's beautiful! (child language)
ca:ci:- (0)	AI	To play (child language)
ca:ciwi-	AI	To be nice, beautiful (child language)
ca:ka:pwa:ta:-	AI	To spend everything in drinking, to melt,
		decompose in water
ca:ka:skis-	TI	To burn sth. under the sun
ca:ka:skiso-	AI	To be completely burned
ca:ka:skitew	II	To be completely burned
ca:kah-	TI	To use up sth., do nothing, have nothing
		left
ca:kahiwe-	AI	To leave nothing, exterminate
ca:kah(w)-	TA, TI	To use him, it, up, do nothing, have
		nothing left for him, it
ca:kahamaw-	TA	To spend everything, do nothing, have
		nothing left for s.o.
ca:kan	AN	Short trousers (child language)
ca:ki-	P	Completely
ca:kin-	TA, TI	To spend everything, use him, it, up, by
		hand

ca:kıparın	11	There	15	no	more,	nothing	left

-ca:pi- AIf Eyes

ca:riman AN German (from english: German)

-cak- M Penis

cakka:pin- TA, TI To put one's finger in s.o.'s eye

cakka:pinitiso- AI To put one's finger in one's eye

cakka:ssikew II The sun shines

cakkah(w)- TA, TI To prick him, it, by tool

cakkarow AN Red-headed woodpecker

cakkissim- TA To fall straight, on the point

cakkoho:me- AI To toddle, walk with mincing steps

*-ca:p-* M Eye

capassiss P Low, below

cariy AN Pine grosbeak

-ccim- TAf Soak, in water

-ccin- AIf Soak, in water

-cem- M Dog, puppy

-cepikk- M Root

-cestat- M Bend of the knee

ci:cci:kah(w)- TA, TI To scrape, scratch, him, it, by tool

ci:cci:ki- AI To scrape, scratch

ci:cci:kin- TA, TI To scrape, scratch, him, it, by hand

ci:cci:ko:cike-	AI	To gnaw, nibble
ci:cci:kom-	TA	To gnaw him
ci:cci:kott-	TI	To gnaw it
ci:cci:pa:pi-	AI	To have an eye twitching (omen)
ci:cci:s(w)-	TA, TI	To burn hairy, shaggy, things, feathers
		of birds
ci:cci:ski:wane-	AI	To burn the hair of a moose's muzzle
ci:cci:ŝkirika:ceŝŝ	iss an	Virginia rail
ci:ci:-	AI	To drink from the bottle (child language)
ci:ci:§§	AN	Breast, comforter, pacifier
ci:ci:ška:hon	IN	Bra
ci:karỳow	IN	Gruel, wheat flour (from french: du gruau)
ci:kah(w)-	TA, TI	To cut, chop, taper, make him, it, into
		a point
ci:kiciwepah(w)-	TA, TI	To push, throw, him, it, forward, make
		him, it, fall forward
ci:kiciwepin-	TA, TI	To push, throw, him, it, forward, make
		him, it, fall forward by hand
ci:kipek	P	Over and near the water
ci:kit	P	Near
ci:m-	TA	To canoe, go for hunting with s.o.
ei:ma:n	IN	Canoe
ci:ma:nikke-	AI	To make a canoe

ci:ma:niŝŝ	IN	Little canoe, worn-out canoe
ci:ma:ni:ya:py	IN	Strap (to carry a canoe)
ci:me-	AI	To canoe
ci:pa: (M, W)	AN	Bread
ci:pa:w (0)	AN	Bread
ci:pa:kkoso-	AI	To do the cooking for oneself, prepare
	•	one's meal
ci:pa:kkot-	TA	To cook, do the cooking, prepare meals
		for s.o.
ci:pa:kkwe-	AI	To cook, do the cooking, prepare meals
ci:pa:kkweriniw	AN	Cook
ci:parapet	IN	Elastic
ci:parikka:ni:ya:py	(W) IN	Suspenders
-ci:pa:ss-	M	Godfather (woman speaking), godmother (man
		speaking)
ci:pay	AN	Corpse, squeleton, ghost
ci:paya:ttikoki:sik	a:w IN	Friday
ci:paya:ttikw	IN	Cross
ci:pay-okamikw	IN	Cemetery, grave
ci:sta:skoh-	TI	To nail it
ci:sta:skwa:n	IN	Nail
ci:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To graze him, it, touch him, it, lightly

ci:ŝŝa:skohike-	AI	(W) To cut away the branches from a tree
		(M) To take off hair from skin by tool
ci:ŝŝa:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	(W) To cut him, it, away from a tree
		(M) To take him, it, off from skin
ci:ssa:skohikana:tt	ikw IN	Scraper to take off hair from skin, wood-
		en stand
ci:ssa:skohikekan	IN	Bone used to take off hair from skin
-ci:st-	M	Sinew
ci:stema:w	AN	Tobacco
ci:stemo:sa:kk	L	Place name near Manouane (Tobacco Bay)
ci:ttawa:skoka:pawi	- AI	To stand up straight on a solid surface
ci:ttawa:skokka:te-	AI	To have a stiff leg
ci:ttawa:skokkwe-	AI	To have a stiff neck, maintain an unbend-
		ing attitude
ci:ttawa:skopitone-	AI	To have a stiff arm
ci:ttawa:skon	II	To be stiff
ci:ttawa:skosi-	AI	To be stiff
ci:ttawa:w	II	To be stiff, tense, tight
ci:ttawekin	IN	Stiff material
ci:ttawin-	TA, TI	To stiffen, tighten, him, it, by hand
ci:ttawisi-	AI	To be stiff, tense, tight
-cicask-	M	Groin
-cicca:kw-	M	Soul, spirit

-cicca:n-	Nf	Hand, finger
-ciccikom-	M	Wart
-ciccy-	M	Hand, finger
cikema	P	Of course, without any doubt
cikicikwa:neŝŝiŝŝ	AN	Black-capped chickadee
cikina:kw	AN	Nit
cikka:pešš	AN, IN	Cabbage (from english: cabbage); name of a
		legendary hero
-cikkw-	M	Armpit
cimar-	TA	To erect, plant, him, set him upright
cimaso-	AI	To stand erect, be set up
cimata:-	AI2	To erect, plant, it, set it upright
cincare	IN	Ginger ale (from english: ginger ale)
cipahikanisiss	IN	Minute
-cišk-	M	Anus, buttocks
-ciŝŝiw-	M	Testicles
-civan-	IIf	Stream
ciwekacośw (0)	AN	Dragonfly
ciwekana:kkaŝŝiŝŝ (	(M) AN	Dragonfly
ciwekaŝŝiŝŝ (W)	AN	Dragonfly, candle
ciwekisiss-astotin	(0) IN	Tuque, pompom hat
co:ci:cakana:ss	AN	Purple finch

co:cin	IN	Hat (child language)
-co:co:-	M	Mother, mom (child language)
co:co:s̀sa:na:pow	IN	Milk
co:co:ŝŝimite	IN	Butter
eò:ška:m-	TA	To give s.o. a wink, look at s.o. with
		binoculars
co:ška:pi-	AI	To give a wink, look with binoculars, aim
		have an eye shut
co:ška:picikan	IN	Binoculars

e

-e-	AIf	Abstract
-e <b>-</b>		Postmedial
e	P	Subordinator
-e-	IIf	Abstract
ehe	P	Yes
ehepi:korapi:ya:py	IN	Spider web
ehepi:kw	AN	Web making spider
ehepi:kwa:py	IN	Spider web
eka:	P	Negation
ekarešša:kkwewišš	AN	English woman (from english: english)
ekareŝŝa:mo-	AI	To speak english
ekarešša:mokka:so-	AI	To pretend to speak english
ekareŝŝa:mowin	IN	English language
ekarešša:w	AN	English man
ekarešša:wištisi-	AI	To speak with an english accent
-ekin-	Nf	Cloth, material
-ekk-	M	Cloth, woven, material
-ekkw-	N£	Abstract

ıy)
.,,,
a

erikkam	P	More and more
eriko:ŝŝ	AN	Ant
eriko:stikwa:ni:ya:	py IN	Vine
-erim-	TA£	Think
-eritt-	TIf	Think
eriwek	P	Yes, good! o.k.
eroc	P	Suddenly
esko:ššimok	P	Blind street
essima:kw	AN	Oyster, shell
essipan	AN	Raccoon
esikkam (W)	P	More and more
-eškan-	M	Horn
essikka:t-	TI	To go beaver hunting
essikkan	IN	Tool to make holes in the ice (beaver
		hunting)
essikkaw-	TA	To go beaver hunting for s.o.
essikke-	AI	To make a hole in the ice
-etow-	Nf	Abstract
-ew-	Nf	Abstract
-ey-	Nf	Abstract

h

-h-	TAf	Cause
-h-	TAf	Abstract
-ho-	AIf	Abstract
-hok-	M	Scale of fish
-hon-	N£	Instrument

i:

-i:-	AIf	Abstract
i:ha:ma (M)	P	Nobody, I-don't-know-who
i:ha:w	AN	Nobody
i:ha:wama (0)	P	Nobody, I-don't-know-who
-i:k-	M	Cloth, leather
-i:kk-	TIf	Be busy
i:kka:piskite-	AI	To burn (when the water is evaporated)
i:kkaciwite-	AI	To empty by boiling
i:kkah(w)-	TA, TI	To bail him, it, out, empty him, it by
		too1
i:kkahika:t-	TA, TI	To lessen, reduce, diminish, him, it
i:kkahipe-	AI	To bail out liquid
i:kkašte-	II	To be lowered, reduced (water level)
-i:kkaw-	TAf	Be busy
-i:kke-	AIf	Be busy
i:kkin-	TA, TI	To lessen, reduce, him, it, by hand
i:kkiparin	II	To be lessen, reduced
-i:pit-	M	Tooth

-i:sta:w-	M	Brother-in-law (man speaking), sister-
		in-law (woman speaking)
-i:t-	R	Accompany
-i:timw-	M	Brother-in-law (woman speaking), sister-
		in-law (man speaking)
-i:w-	TAf	Go
-i:wi-	AIf	Have, be covered with
-i:ya:py-	Nf	String
-i:yaw-	M	Body

-i-	AIf	Be, have, be covered with
-i-	AIf	Abstract
-iccikwa:n-	M	Knee
-icikan-	Nf	Instrument
-ik-	M	Dwelling, house
-ikamik-	M, Pf	Place, house
-ikamikw∙	Nf	Place, house
-ike-	AIf	House
-ike-	AIf	Animate indefinite (implied object)
-ikk-	Nf	Abstract
-ikk-		Locative suffix
-ikk-	TIf	Move
-ikka:n-	Nf	Made
-ikka:so-	AIf	Pretend
-ikka:tiso-	AIf	Make for oneself
-ikkaw-	TAf	Move
-ikke-	AIf	Make, gather, collect
ikko	AN	Louse

ikkon	II	To be covered with lice
-ikkw-	Nf	Abstract
-ikkw-	Nf	Wood
-ikkwew-	Nf	Woman
ikkwi:wi-	AI	To be covered with lice
-im-		Possessive theme sign
−imv−	Nf	Abstract
-in-	M	Wood, board
-in-	IIf	Abstract
-in-	TAf, TIf	By hand
-inw-	Nf	Abstract
-ipe-	M, AIf	Liquid, water
-ipe- -ipek-	M, AIf	Liquid, water Liquid, water
-	-	-
-ipek-	Pf	Liquid, water
-ipek- -iporo-	Pf AIf	Liquid, water  Go down a rapid
-ipek- -iporo- -ippon-	Pf AIf IIf	Liquid, water  Go down a rapid  Snow
-ipek- -iporo- -ippon- ira:pacicikan	Pf AIf IIf IN	Liquid, water  Go down a rapid  Snow  Tool, instrument
-ipek- -iporo- -ippon- ira:pacicikan ira:patan	Pf AIf IIf IN II	Liquid, water  Go down a rapid  Snow  Tool, instrument  To be used so, useful
-ipekiporoippon- ira:pacicikan ira:patan irikokk	Pf AIf IIf IN II	Liquid, water  Go down a rapid  Snow  Tool, instrument  To be used so, useful  As much, until, up to
-ipekiporoippon- ira:pacicikan ira:patan irikokk irikokkwa:w	Pf AIf IIf IN II P	Liquid, water  Go down a rapid  Snow  Tool, instrument  To be used so, useful  As much, until, up to  To be so tall, so big

irina:Sittittakw	IN	Dead fir tree (still standing up)
irina:ttiko-namina:ss AN		Maple syrup (from french: la mélasse)
irina:ttikw	AN	Maple
irina:ttikwa:pow	IN	Maple sap
irini:ŝiŝŝ	AN	Little man
irini:škišš	AN	Bad man
irinikka:n	AN	Doll, statue, dummy, travesti
irinirew	AN	Common partridge
irinissimo-	AI	To dance
irinissimoh-	TA	To make people dance
iriniw	AN	Man, people
irisi:piy	IN	Spring water
-is-	TIf	By heat
-isi-	AIf	Abstract
-isin-	Nf	Abstract
iskah-	TI	To light up a camp fire
iskahama:ke-	AI	To offer a cigarette, light it up
iskahama:tiso-	AI	To light up a cigarette for oneself
iskahamaw-	TA	To light up a fire
iskamoh-	TA	To raise him to his lips to make him eat
		(see TA aškamo:h-)
iskamotir-	TA	To raise him to his lips to make him eat

-iskanawe-	AIf	Road
-iskano-	Pf	Road
isko:ta:mo-	AI	To aspire, inhale, suck up
isko-	AI	To spit
iskowin	IN	Spittle
iskopicikan	IN	Zip-fastener
iskopit-	TA, TI	To make him, it, climb, go up, by pulling
iskw-	P	Towards the top, up to
-iskw-	M	Head, hair
iskwa:ttawa:kan	IN	Ladder, stairs
iskwa:ttawi:-	AI	To climb, go up
iskwa:ttawi:h-	TA	To make s.o. climb, go up
iskwa:ttawi:pari-	AI	To go up by elevator
iskwa:ttawi:parih-	TA	To make s.o. climb, go up, by elevator
iskwa:ttawi:paritta	a:- AI2	To make sth. climb, go up, by elevator
iskwa:ttawi:parittwa:- AI		To make sth. (elevator) go up carrying sth.
iskwa:ttawi:r-	TA	To climb up, go up, conveying him
iskwa:ttawi:ta:-	AI2	To climb up, go up, conveying it
iskweškišš	AN	Bad woman
iskwew	AN	Woman, female
iskwewi-	AI	To be a woman, a female
-iso-	AIf	By heat

ispakosi-	AI	To taste so
ispakon	II	To taste so
ispakwa:t-	TA, TI	To close him, it, by sewing
ispapicikan	IN	Zip-fastener, rope used to close a bag
ispari-	AI	To go so in vehicle
isparih-	TA	To deliver him, take s.o. to
isparin	II	To be brought, delivered, to happen
isparitta:-	AI2	To make it deliver by vehicle
isparittwa:-	AI	To make it deliver by vehicle, carrying it
ispi-	P	So much (quantity, length)
ispineh(w)-	TA, TI	To value him, it, so much, pay him, it,
		so much
-ispon-	IIf	Snow
-iss-	Nf	Diminutive
-istan-	Nf	Abstract
-isw-	TAf	By heat
-i ŝ-	TIf	Cut
iša:-	AI	To go
iŝi-	R, P	Thus, so
isikama:w	IN	Stretch of water running in such direction
išikkot-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, so

isim-	TA	To speak so to him
išimi:cisso-	AI	To eat so
išimiwe-	AI	To speak so
išina:ke-	AI	To see things so
išina:koh(w)-	TI	To give him, it, that look, that appear-
		ance
išina:kon	II	To have such appearance, look so
išina:kosi-	AI	To have such appearance, look so
išin(aw)-	TA, TI	To see him, it, so, dream of him, it, so
isinikka:so-	AI	To be named so
išinikka:t-	TA, TI	To name him, it, so
išinikka:te-	II	To be named so
išinikka:titiso-	AI	To make people name s.o. so, to be named
		so
išipo:r-	TA	To saw, grind, him, so
iŝipo:ta:-	AI2	To saw, grind, it, so
-เริเริริ-	Nf	Diminutive
išiššim–	TA	To set, lay, him, so, bring him down so
išiššimiwe-	AI	To set, lay, so
išiššimo-	AI	To dance so
išiššin-	AI	To be set so, laid so, brought down so

išištikwea:w	II	To run so, in such direction (river)
išitišah(w)-	TA, TI	To send, mail, him, it, so
išitišahama:ke-	AI	To send, mail, so, for people
išitišahamaw-	TA	To send, mail, so, for s.o.
išittin	II	To be set so, laid so, brought down so
išittita:-	AI2	To set, lay, it, so, bring it down so
išiwir-	TA	To bring, convey, him, so
išiwita:-	AI2	To bring, convey, it, so
iški:pit-	TA	To fix him (skin) on a rack
iški:pita:tte-	AI	To fix (skin) on a wooden rack
iški:pita:tta:na:t	tikw IN	Wooden rack (for drying of skins)
-iškišš-	Nf	Pejorative suffix
iškorka:naniwan	IN	Monday
iškote (M, W)	IN	Fire, match
iškotea:po:w	IN	Alcohol
iškoterew	AN	Spruce grouse
iškoteriniw	AN	Fireman
iškoteta:pa:n	IN	Locomotive, engine
iškotew (0)	IN	Fire, match
iškw-	R	Fire
iškwa:	P	Finished, completed, at the end
iškwa:wiša:n	AN	Younger, junior
iškwa:skitepireššiš	ēē AN	American redstart

iškwa:so-	AI	To burn
iškwa:ss(w)-	TA, TI	To burn him, it
iškwa:ssike-	AI	To burn things
iškwa:sso-	AI	To burn
iškwa:ttew	II	To burn by itself
iškwa:ttem	IN	Door
iškwemok	P	Made of paper, cardboard
<i>น</i> ์รัkweรัเริรั	AN	Girl, unmarried woman
išp-	R	High
ispa:konaka:w	II	To be high (snow)
išpa:pi-	AI	To look upwards
išpaštan	II	To be blown away, go up by wind
ispako:cin-	AI	To hang, be hanging high
ispako:si-	AI	To be hanged high
ispako:tew	II	To hang, be hanging, high
ispapi-	AI	To be set, sit, placed, high
ispastew	II	To be set, sit, placed, high
išpikka:teri-	AI	To raise one's leg
ispim-	R	High
ispimikk	P	High, upwards, up, above
ispimittak	P	Upper floor
ispimittakokk	L	On the upper floor of a house

ispipari-	AI	To run upwards, go up in vehicle
išpipatta:-	AI	To run upwards
ispipitoneri-	AI	To raise one's arm
išpire-	AI	To fly high
išpištikwa:neri-	AΦ	To raise one's head
ispita:wakka:w	II	Pile of sand, gravel
-iŝŝ-	N£	Diminutive
-iŝŝi-	AIf	Diminutive
-iššin-	IIf	Diminutive
-i <i>š</i> w-	TA£	Cut
it-	TA, TI	To say to him, to it, mean him, it
it-	R	So, thus, thither
ita:pici:-	AI	To be far away, make s.o. wait, be long
		to come
ita:pah-	TI	To unscrew so
ita:skon-	TA, TI	To point him, it, aim at him, it, in
		such direction
ita:skonama:ke-	AI	To point, aim, in such direction
ita:skonama:tiso-	AI	To point, aim, at oneself
ita:skonamawe-	TA	To point, aim, for s.o.
ita:skonike-	AI.	To fix, set, wood in such a way
ita:skottin	II	To be pointed, aimed at
ita:ŝtamapi-	AI	To face s.o. sitting down

ita:§tamika:pawi-	AI	To face s.o. standing up
ita:stamissin-	AI	To face s.o. lying
itakitta:kon	II	To value, count, cost so much
itakitta:kosi-	AI	To value, count, cost so much
itaspiso-	AI	To be dressed so
itaspisowin	IN	Dress, clothes, costumes
itaspitew	II	To be dressed so
itatoske-	AI	To work so
-ite-	IIf	By heat
iterim-	TA	To think so of him
iteritt-	TI	To think so of it
iterittamih-	TA	To make him think so of it
itestama:ke-	AI	To interpret
itestamaw-	TA	To interpret for s.o.
-itew-	Nf	Heat
itikiti-	AI	To be of such size
-itiso-	AIf	Abstract
ito:h(w)-	TA, TI	To point the finger at s.o., at sth.
ito:hikan-ociccy	IN	Forefinger
ito:hike-	AI	To point the finger at sth.
-ito-	AIf	Abstract (reciprocal)
itotte-	AI	To walk so, go, come by foot, so

itottaho-	AI	To go, come, leave, so, by water
-itt-	M	Ear
-itt-	TIf	Hear
itta:-	AI	To be, exist, there is
-ittak-	M, Nf, Pf	House, floor
ittakon	II	To be, exist, there is
-ittaw-	TAf	Hear
-iw-	Nf	Abstract
-iwašš-	Nf	Container
-iwe-	AIf	Animate indefinite (implied object)
-iwi-	AIf	Ве
-iwir-	TAf	Bring, convey
-iwita:-	AI2f	Bring, convey

k

-ka:-	P	Subordinator, relative, who, that
ka:-arakapessa:kani	kama:k L	Place name near Weymontachie (lake shaped
		like pants)
ka:ccita(w)-	TA, TI	To take hold of s.o., sth., catch, reach
		him, it, by tool
ka:ccitin-	TA, TI	To take hold of s.o., sth., catch, reach
		him, it, by hand
ka:ciwepin-	TA, TI	To hide by throwing him, it, by hand
ka:-co:co:ssi:watir	ua:k L	Place name near Manouane (Hill shaped
		like a breast)
ka:-iskwa:ttawi:par	rik IN	Elevator (that goes up)
ka:ka:kešš (0)	IN	Club (card)
ka:ka:keššip	AN	Double-crested cormorant
ka:ka:kišš (M, W)	AN	Club (card)
ka:ka:ki:w	AN	Crow
ka:ka:ki:w-ostikwa:	nAN	Crow's head (name of a maleficient ghost)
ka:kapeka:pawi-	AI	To spread one's legs standing up
ka:kapen-	TA, TI	To spread, part, separate, him, it, by
		hand

ka:kapepatta:- AI To run having one's legs spread out

ka:kaperi- AI To have one's legs spread out

ka:-ka:ska:piskitek L Place name near Obedjiwan (where stones

are broken by heat)

ka:ka:skewa:skoparina:niwak L Place name near Obedjiwan (where people

take a short cut in the woods)

ka:katara:koŝiŝŝ AN Lizard

ka:katara:kw IN Tractor

ka:katara:kw AN Crocodile

ka:ki:cih- TA To appease, calm, pacify, sooth, s.o.

ka:ki:cihitiso- AI To appease, calm, pacify, sooth, oneseIf

ka:ki:cimo- AI To sob

ka:ki:cimoh- TA To make s.o. sob

ka:ki:mo- AI To murmur, grumble, mutter, cry, secretly

ka:ki:nikkwa:niciwak L Place name near Obedjiwan (eddy current)

ka:ki:piciparihon IN Rocking chair

ka:-ki:ska:piskaciwak L Place name near Weymontachie (where

stones are cut open by cold)

ka:ki:ška:piška:šik L Place name near Obedjiwan (where there is

a cliff)

ka:kike- R Permanent

ka:-kinokamak	L	Place name near Manouane (where there is
		a long lake)
ka:kinošeššiwak	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (where there
		are small pikes)
ka:kinwa:naka:k	L	Long island (place name)
ka:kow	IN	Shoe (child language)
ka:kone-pi:ssimw	IN	September
ka:koŝiŝŝ	AN	Young porcupine
ka:kw	AN	Porcupine
ka:kwa:-	AI	To drink from the cup (child language)
ka:kwa:row	IN	Porcupine's tail
ka:kwa:škottin	II	To jump continually from one place to
		another
ka:kweżim-	TA	To be jealous of s.o.
ka:kweritt-	TI	To be fealous of sth.
ka:kwerittamih-	TA	To make him jealous of sth.
ka:-macikama:k	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (where the lake
		is bad)
ka:-maciškoted	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (where the
		ground is bad)
ka:ma:ciwepi:kepari	k IN	Teleferic

ka:masina:steparik IN Television

ka:-maškoššiya:kama:k L Place name near Obedjiwan (where there

is grass in the lake)

ka:mikkwa:stek L Place name near Obedjiwan (red light

river)

ka:-ministikwak L Place name near Manouane (island lake)

ka:-mi:parėmakak (0) IN Airplane

ka:-mi:pariccikeriniw AN Pilot, driver

ka:-mi:paritta:c AN Pilot, driver

ka:-mi:remakak (MW) IN Airplane

ka:-mi:ta:skokama:k L Place name near Obedjiwan (crosswise

lake)

ka:na:pa:tea:piskitea:kama:kL Place name near Obedjiwan (where half of

the lake is surrounded by stones)

ka:-na:pa:tepo:meciwak L Place name near Weymontachie (where the

river is shaped like half of a thigh)

ka:newi- AI To win (from french: gagner)

ka:ni:pawic AN Married (who is standing up)

ka:-ni:sokama:sik L Place name near Manouane (where there

are two small lakes)

ka:nistopaka:k IN Clover

ka:-opiciwana:sik L		Place name near Weymontachie (where the
		current narrows)
ka:-opwa:ya:k L		Place name near Obedjiwan (where there is
		a pass, a strait)
ka:-osa:wa:kamik IN		Oi1
ka:-osa:wa:ka:k IN		Brown sugar
ka:=oski:wanatina:k	L	Place name near Manouane (hill shaped
		like a nose)
ka:oskiska:kama:k	L	Place name near Manouane (cypress lake)
ka:-oškini:pawi:cik	AN	Newly married people
ka:-oŝtoŝtoparik IN		Jello
ka:-paštek co:co:šša:na:į	po:w	IN Powdered milk
ka:-paštek wi:ya:ss	IN	Dried meat
ka:-passoc kardona:w	IN	Soda cracker
-ka:pawi- AIf		Stand up
ka:-pi:ttokama:k L		Place name near Weymontachie (where
		there are lakes inland)
ka:-pittawikama:k	L	Place name near Manouane (lake formed of
		two halves)
ka:po:twa:n IN		Coat, cloak (from french: capot)
ka:po:twa:niŝiŝŝ IN		Jacket
ka:r- TA		To hide s.o.
ka:-ri:ri:kisic micikka:	win	AN Gloves

ka:risiwa:nekanw	IN	Flannelette
ka:ro:ke-	AI	To play cards (from french: carreau)
ka:-ro:ska:k tettap	owa:kanIN	Armchair
ka:sisi-	AI	To be sharp
ka:so-	AI	To hide oneself, be hidden
ka:ssi:-	R	To wipe, wash
ka:ssi:cicce-	AI	To wipe, wash, one's hand
ka:ssi:cicceh-	TA	To make s.o. wipe, wash, his hands
ka:ssi:ciccehw-	TA	To wipe, wash, s.o.'s hand by tool
ka:ssi:ċiccen-	TA	To wipe, wash, s.o.'s hand by hand
ka:ssi:h(w)-	TA, TI	To wipe, wash, erase, delete, him, it,
		by tool
ka:ssi:kkwehw-	TA	To wipe, wash, s.o.'s face by tool
ka:ssi:kkwen-	TA	To wipe, wash, s.o.'s face by hand
ka:ssi:n-	TA, TI	To wipe, wash, erase, delete, him, it,
		by hand
ka:ssi:sinah(w)-	TA, TI	To wipe, erase, him, it (writings, pic-
		tures) by tool
ka:ssi:sinahikan	AN	Eraser
ka:ssi:sinahike-	AI	To wipe, wash, erase, delete
ka:ssi:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To wipe, erase, him, it, by foot
ka:sa:- (M, W)	AI .	To be sharp
ka:Bikko:kko:naka:w	II	Island covered of cedar trees

ka:ška:w (0)	II	To be sharp
ka:škaha:cikweššišš	AN AN	Red-breasted nuthatch
ka:škah(w)-	TA, TI	To scrape, scratch, him, it
-ka:škam-	M	Nape of the neck
ka:škamešk(áw)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, take a short cut, by
		foot
ka:skipa:cikan	IN	Razor
ka:škipa:so-	AI	To shave
ka:skipa:t-	TA	To shave s.o.
ka:škipiso-	AI	To scrape roughly, fast
ka:ŝkipit-	TA; TI	To scrape, scratch, him, it, roughly
ka:škipitew	II	To scratch
ka:škipititiso-	AI	To scratch oneself
ka:-ŝo:ŝkwa:niparik	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (where it is
		slippery)
ka:ta:-	AI2	To hide sth.
ka:taw-	TA	To hide sth. for s.o.
ka:tew	II	To be hidden
-ka:te-	IIf	Abstract
ka:tin-	TA, TI	To hide s.o., sth., by hand
ka:-tipirittak	AN	Boss, foreman, director
ka:-wa:pa:k pa:wist	ikw L	Place name near Weymontachie (white
		rapid)

ka:-wa:pa:piška:šik L Place name near Obedjiwan (where there

is a white stone)

ka:-wa:ssikatoc pi:ssimw IN April

ka:-wa:sekama:sik L Place name near Weymontachie (clear lake)

ka:-wa:skahikec IN Grader

ka:wa:w II To be rough, uneven

ka:wasaka:- AI To have a rough skin

ka:-wepaha:konec II Snow-blower

ka:-wepaha:konemakak ota:pa:n IN Truck, snow-blower

ka:-wirississiwec AN Insect shaped like hair

ka:wisi- AI To be rough, uneven

ka:yamiha:e AN Catholic

-ka- P Futur tense marker (with first and

second persons)

-kah- TIf Chop with axe

-kahw- TAf Chop with axe

kaka:nw- R Reduplicated form of kinw- 'long'

kaka:nwa:naka:kk L Long island (place name)

kaka:nwa:pitone- AI To have long arms

kaka:nwa:rikkwe- AI To have long hair

kaka:nwa:skokka:te- AI To have long legs

kaka:nwa:skokka:tea:w II To have long legs

TA	To warn, advise, reprimand, s.o.
AI	To warn, advise, reprimand people
AI	To warn, advise, reprimand
TI	To be careful, clever, prudent in doing
	sth.
AI	To be prudent, impressionable, respons-
	ive
AI	To be square, have several corners, sinuo-
	sities
II	To be square, have several corners, sinuo-
	sities
II	To wind, curve, meander
P	To try to
TA	To try him in vain, practise him
AI	To ask, question
TA	To ask s.o.
AI2	To try is in vain, practise it
TA	To make him try, practise
TA, TI	To try him, it, grope, fumble about for
	s.o., for sth.
II£	Water, liquid
	AI AI TI  AI  II  II P TA AI TA AI2 TA TA, TI

-kan-	M	Bone
-kan-	Nf	Instrument, product
kanawa:pam-	TA	To look, stare, at s.o.
kanawa:patt-	TI	To look, stare, at sth.
kanawerim-	TA	To keep, care for, s.o.
kanaweritt-	TI	To keep, care for, sth.
kanaweritta:h-	TA	To make him keep, care for, sth.
kanaweritta:kon	II	To be kept, cared for
kanaweritta:kosi-	AI	To be kept, cared for
kanaweritta:sso-	AI	To keep for oneself
kanawerittama:tiso-	AI	To keep for oneself
kanawerittar-	TA	To place him so that he is keeping him
kanawerittata:-	AI2	To place it so that he is keeping it
kaniss	IN	Canister (from english: can)
kapa:-	AI	To disembark, set ashore

To boil

Bath, tub

To boil

Bathing suit

IN Bathing suit

Water, liquid

M, Nf

-kamy-

kapa:so-

kapa:ssimora:kan

kapa:ssimowa:n

kapa:ta:-

ΑI

IN

IN

ΑI

kapa:ssimo-arakapessa:kan (0)

kapan–	TA, TI	To unload him, it, put him, it, ashore
		by hand
kapata:-	AI	To portage, convey
kapatawin	IN	Portage, setting ashore
kape-	P	A11
kape-ki:sikwa	P	All day
kape-nipinwa	P	All summer
kape-pipo:na	P	All winter
kape-pi:ssimwa	P	All month
kape-tipiskwa	P	All night
kape-tipisko-	AI	To stay awake all night
kapešši-	AI	To camp
kapessiwin	IN	Camp
kappiy	IN	Coffee
karake	P	At least
kassirin	IN	Gas (from english: gasoline)
kaskin	P	A11
kaskina:	P	A11
kaskina:wiyess	P	Everywhere
kaških-	TA	To control, manage, him
kaškin-	TA, TI	To be able to raise him, it, by hand
kaškitta:-	AI2	To be able to, manage, can

## kaškita:ssepisoni:ya:py (M) IN Garter

	)EU 1	
-kata-	P	Futur tense marker (with third person)
kattahi:kwa:sson	IN	Thimble
kaw-	R	Down, prostrate
kawakkate-	AI	To starve
kawakkateh-	TA	To make him starve
kawakkatekka:so-	AI	To pretend to be starving
-kawi-	AIf	Drip
kawih(w)-	TA, TI	To break down, dismantle, throw down
kawiha:skw-	TA	To throw down (a tree)
-kawin-	IIf	Drip
kawin-	TA, TI	To break him, it, down, dismantle, throw
		him, it, down by hand
kawinike-	AI	To push and make people fall
kawipari-	AI	To fall down
kaye	P	And, with
-ke-	P	Changed form of ka-, futur tense marker
-ke-	AI£	Inanimate indefinite (implied object)
-ke-	AIf	Inanimate indefinite (implied instrumental
1 w		object)
keccinac	P	Sure, surely
keci-	AI	To undress

10 a a 2 70 au com a a de ade e e e	ΑТ	Ma. 4-1 CC 1
kecika:po:twa:ne-	AI	To take off one's coat
kek	P	Suddenly
keka:t	P	Almost, nearly
kekišep	P	This morning
keki:sika:w	II	Today
kekkekkoŝiŝŝ	AN	Hawk, falcon
kekoc	P	Or
kekwa :n	IN	Thing, something
kekwa:n	P	What?
kekwa:riw	IN	Thing, something (obviative)
kekwa:riw	P	What?
kenosic-pi:ssimw	IN	January
ke-ota:koŝikk	II	Late afternoon, evening
kesko:n-	TA, TI	To catch him, it, on time, by hand
kesko:pit-	TA, TI	To arrive on time to do sth.
kesko:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To arrive on time, come upon him, it
		unexpectedly
kesko:ška:ke-	AI	To come upon people unexpectedly
kesko:tt(aw)-	TA, TI	To arrive on time to hear him, it
kesko:wa:pam-	TA	To arrive on time to see him
kesko:wa:patt-	TI	To arrive on time to see it

keskonotta:ke-	AI	To repeat what has been heard
keškoc	P	Later
keško-pa:tama	P	Soon, in a moment
kespin	P	If
kesta:piskin-	TA, TI	To take off, away, remove, him, it,
		from an iron snare
kesta:skon-	TA, TI	To take off, away, remove, him, it,
		from a wooden trap
kestakoppe-	AI	To take off one's dress
kestotine-	AI	To take off one's hat
kestotinessin-	AI	To lose one's hat by accident
ket-	P	To remove, undo, take off
ketiskisine-	AI	To take off one's shoes
ketiskisinepari-	AI	To lose one's shoes by accident
kette-	P	Old, used
ki:-	P	Past, completed (in affirmative sentences)
ki:-	P	Can, to be able to
-ki:-	AIf	Grow
ki:ccikka:ten-	TA	To hurt s.o.'s leg by hand
ki:ccikka:teškaw-	TA	To hurt s.o.'s leg by foot
ki:ccipitonen-	TA	To hurt s.o.'s arm by hand
ki:ka:c	P	Near, close to

ki:kenita:c	II	Ancient name of Obedjiwan
ki:ki:	IN	Pain, hurt, bruise (child language)
ki:kkea:w	II	To be square
ki:kken-	TA, TI	To make him, it, square, by hand
ki:kkeŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, square
ki:kkettaka:-	AI	To make a square
ki:mo:c	P	Secretly, quietly
ki:mo:sa:pam-	TA	To spy upon s.o.
ki:mo:sa:patt-	TI	To spy upon it
ki:mô:sa:pike-	AI	To spy upon people
ki:niko:reŝŝip	AN	Tufted duck
ki:nikosi-	AI	To be sharp-pointed
ki:nikott-	TI	To make it sharp-pointed by mouth
ki:nikwa:niciwan	IN	Eddy water
ki:nikwa:pita:-	AI	To have sharp-pointed teeth
ki:nikwa:w	II	To be sharp-pointed
ki:r	Pr	Personal, 2nd person, singular
ki:rawa:w	Pr	Personal, 2nd person, plural
ki:s-	R	Complete
ki:sis(w)-	TA, TI	To cook him, it, done
ki:siso-	AI	To be cooked
ki:skika:tehw-	TA	To cut s.o.'s leg

ki:skika:teska:- AI To have one's leg cut off
ki:sa:kamitea:po:w IN Hot water

ki:sa:kamite-askikw AN Kettle

ki:sa:stew II To be warm (weather), sunny

ki:sa:tewaskisin IN Sandal

ki:sericcike- AI To create

ki:serim- TA To create him

ki:seritt- TI To create it

ki:sikk(aw)- TA, TI To pay him, it

ki:sikka:so- AI To pay

ki:sih- TA To complete, finish, him

-ki:sik- M Sun

-ki:sika:- IIf Day

ki:sika:w IN Day

ki:sikipi:ssimw AN Sun

ki:sikk AN Cedar-tree

ki:sikw IN Space, sky

ki:sikwa:t- TA, TI To finish sewing him, it

ki:sitew II To be cooked

ki:sitta:- AI2 To complete, finish, it

ki:šk- R To cut, sever

ki:ska:konekah(w)- TA, TI To chop him, it, (snow, ice) with an axe

ki:ška:piska:kama:w	, II	Stretch of water surrounded by cliffs
ki:ška:piska:w	II ·	Rock cliff
ki:ska:piskiciwan	II	Falls, cascade
ki:ška:pite-	AI	To have broken, uneven, teeth
ki:ška:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, by tool
ki:ška:ya:w	II	To be steep, abrupt
ki:škaha:skwe-	AI	To rough-hew
ki:škaha:skweriniw	AN	Woodcutter, lumberjack
ki:skatina:w	II	Cliff (of mountain)
ki:ŝkikah(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, with an axe
ki:§kikahikan	IN	Stump (of tree)
ki:ŝkikam-	TA	To cut him by teeth
ki:škikatt-	TI	To cut it by teeth
ki:škikwa:sso-	AI	To cut by sewing, sew, patch
ki:skikwa:sso:picik	an IN	Sewing machine
ki:§kikwa:t-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, by sewing, sew, patch
		him, it
ki:§kikwa:tew	II	To be sewn, patched
ki:škime-	AI	To finish to lace up snowshoes
ki:škin-	TA, TI	To cut, divide, him, it, by hand
ki:skipo:cike-	AI	To saw
ki:ŝkipo:r-	TA	To saw him

ki:skipo:ta:-	AI2	To saw it
ki:§kirowekopp	IN	Skirt
ki:ŝkiŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, through
ki:ŝkiŝama:-	AI	To have a hair cut
ki:ŝkiŝika:ke-	AI	To cut sth. with sth.
ki:ŝkiŝika:te-	AI	To cut
ki:ŝkiŝotiso-	AI	To cut oneself
ki:skiwa:n	IN	Tuck-in blouse
ki:skiwa:nekinw	IN	Material (to make blouse)
ki:so:ka:stew	II	Sunlight
ki:30:n-	TA, TI	To keep him, it, warm
ki:spo-	ΑI	To have a big belly, be fat, big, full,
		obese
ki:spona:kosi-	AI	To look fat, big, full, obese
ki:spwa:n	IN	Maternity blouse
ki:ttin-	TA	To hurt s.o. by hand
ki:waskwe-	AI	To be crazy, scatter-brained, dizzy
ki:waskwewikamikw	IN	Mental hospital
ki:waskweh-	TA	To make him act irrationally
ki:waskwehw-	TA	To stun, brain, s.o.
ki:waskwekka:so-	AI	To pretend to be crazy
ki:waskwepari-	AI	To feel giddy

ki:waskwepi-	AI	To be drunk
ki:waskwepikka:so-	AI	To pretend to be drunk
ki:waskwepit-	TA, TI	To stun him, it, by drinking
ki:waškwepitiso-	AI	To drown one's sorrows
ki:waskwepwar-	TA	To make s.o. drunk
ki:waškweritt-	TI	To be obsessed by it
ki:we-	R	To go home
ki:we-	AI	To go back home
ki:wea:toho-	AI	To go back home in canoe
ki:weh-	TA	To make him go home
ki:wepari-	AI	To go back home in vehicle
ki:wepit-	TA, TI	To go back home
ki:weška:-	AI	To walk back home
ki:wetin(w)-	IN, II	North wind
ki:wetinokk	P	North
ki:wetišah(w)-	TA, TI	To send him, it, back
ki:wetot(aw)-	TA, TI	To send him, it, back home
ki:wotam-	TA	To visit s.o.
ki:wote-	AI	To visit
ki-	Pr	Personal, 2nd person, singular
-kicci-	P	Futur marker in subordinate clause,
		that will, must

kicci-	P	Great, large, big
kicci-a:mikwa:na:t	tikw IN	Piece of wood at both ends of the canoe
kicciciwan	II	The beginning of a stream
kiccikamy	IN	Sea, ocean
kiccina:ko(n)-	AI, II	To look big, large, dignified
kiccina:kosi-	AI	To look big, large, dignified
kiccipari(n)-	AI, II	To begin, start
kicciparih-	TA	To make him begin, start
kicciparitt(aw)-	TA, TI	To begin, start, in relation to him, it
kicciparittwa:-	AI	To make it start, conveying sth.
kicci-si:piy	IN	The big river
kikimo-	AI	To be winded, sniff
kimisa:ha:wasso-	AI	To change one's baby's pamper
kimiwa:n (W)	IN	Rain suit
kimiwan	II	To rain
kimiwana:po:w	IN	Rain-water
kimiwani-arakapess	a:kan AN	Rain trousers
kimoti-	AI	To steal, rub
kimotih-	TA	To make him steal
kinepi:kw	AN	Snake, grass snake
kinešš	P	Long, a long time
kino:rikkwe-	AI	To have long hair
kino:pekisi-	AI	To be long, tall, stretched

kino:pekiš(w)-	TA, TI	To lengthen him, it, by cutting
kino:pite-	AI	To have long teeth
kinoh-	TA	To lengthen him
kinokama:w	II	Long lake
kinosi-	AI	To be long, tall
kinoskokka:te-	AI	To have long legs
kinoskokka:tea:w	II	To have long legs
kinoskopitone-	AI	To have long arms
kinoskosi-	AI	To be tall
kinošew	AN	Pike
kinoškošišši-	AI	To be, become, tall
kinoŝta:-	AI	To lengthen
kinostikwea:w	II	Large river
kinotta:-	AI2	To lengthen it
kino:w, kinwa:w	ΙΊ	To be long, tall
kinw-	R	Long
kinwa:pite-	AI	To have long teeth
kinwekkih-	TA	To lengthen him (cloth)
kinwekkiŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To lengthen him, it, (cloth) by cutting
kinwekkitta:-	AI2	To lengthen it
kinwekwa:t-	TA, TI	To lengthen him, it, by sewing
kip-, kipw-	R	Close, cover
kipa:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To bar, strengthen him, it, with a wooden
		bar

kipa:skohikan	IN	Barrier, gate, instrument used to bar
kipa:skohikanikke-	AI	To make a fence, a dam, a gate
kipa:skohiwe-	AI	To lock, fence, bar, obstruct, block up
kipah(w)-	TA, TI	To close, block up, plug (a hole)
kipahikan	IN	Stopper, fence, dam, closing
kipahikanikke-	AI	To make a stopper, a fence, a dam, a lid
kipahike-	AI	To block up, close, lock
kipahikemakan	II	To be closed, locked, fenced
kipapah(w)-	TA, TI	To close him, it, (screwing)
kipikkwe-	AI	To stop bleeding
kipikkwes-	TI	To stop it (blood)
kipisakaci-	AI	To be constipated
kipisk(aw)-	TA, TI	To pass beyond, overtake, him, it
kipiska:ke-	AI	To pass beyond, overtake
kipišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To embarrass, encumber, obstruct, him, it
kipiška:ke-	AI	To embarrass, encumber, obstruct
kipitte-	AI	To be deaf
kipittekka:so-	AI	To pretend to be deaf
kipon-	TA, TI	To block, obstruct, by hand
kipopicikan	IN	Zip-fastener
kipotto:ke-	AI	To have one's ears blocked
kirakin-	TA	To tickle him

kiraski-ΑI To tell lies, lie kiraskim-TA To lie to him by speech kirika P And, also kiripewa:pi:kka:so- AI To strangle, throttle, oneself kiripewen-TA To strangle, throttle, s.o. kiripeweskaw-TA To strangle, throttle, him with one's feet kiripi-ΑI To be fast, hurry kirowe P More kisa:pikisikan AN Stove, furnace kisi:-R To move, agitate kisi:hikan Wiper (of car), instrument used to wipe IN kisi:kkwa:nekin IN Towe1 kisi:kkwa:nekinosiss IN Face cloth kisi:kkweho-ΑI To wash one's face kisi:n-TA, TI To wash, clean, him, it, by hand kisi:pekahikan AN (W, O) Soap

To tickle oneself

kirakinitiso-

kisi:pekahikan

kisi:ssa:pa:war-

kisi:ssa:pa:wata:- AI2

kisi:pekin-

ΑI

IN (M)

TA, TI

TA

Soap

To wash, soap, him, it

To wash, rinse, him

To wash, rinse, it

kisi:ssa:piteho- AI To brush one's teeth

kisi:ssipacikana:ttikw IN Washboard

kisi:ssipacike- AI To do the washing

kisi:ssipacira:kana:po:wIN Dish-water

kisi:ssipacira:kane-AI To wash up

kisi:ssipacira:kanekin IN Dish-cloth

kisi:ttakanike- AI To wash the walls

kisiso- AI To be hot

kisisowa:pine- AI To have a fever

kiskericcike- AI To know

kiskerim- TA To know him

kiskeritt- TI To know it

kiskeritta:kon II To be known

kiskerittama:so- AI To know for oneself (address, phone num-

ber)

kiskerittamo:h- TA To make him explain it

kiskerittamokka:so- AI To pretend to know

kiskerittamor- TA To place it to make him explain it

kiskerittamotar- TA To place it to make him explain it

kiskim- TA To warn, advise, reprimand, s.o.

kiskinawa:pam- TA To imitate him

kiskinawa:patt- TI To imitate it

kiskino:hama:ke-	AI	To teach
kiskino:hama:tokama	ikw IN	School School
kiskino:hamaw-	TA	To teach sth. to s.o.
kiskinotta:ke-	AI	To repeat (what has been heard)
kiskinott(aw)-	TA, TI	To cite, quote, reproduce the sound of him,
		of it
kispa:skotin (W)	II	Thick ice
kispaka:w	II	To be thick
kispakatin (M)	II	Thick ice
kispakisi-	AI	To be thick
kispakiš(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, thick
kispewa:t-	TA, TI	To defend, stand up for, him, it
kispewa:ta:wasso-	AI	To defend one's child
kispewa:titiso-	AI	To defend oneself
kissina:w	II	To be cold
kissinipea:w	II	To be cold (by rain)
kisterim-	TA	To respect, esteem, him
kisteritt-	TI	To respect, esteem, it
kiš-	R	Hot
kiša:pewi-	<b>AI</b>	To be adult
kisa:piskisikan	IN	Heated metal
kiše-	P	Old, great, honorable

kiše-ataweriniw	AN	Manager
kise-ma:tawa:naka:k	ck L	Place name near Obedjiwan (the big
		affluent)
kišemiskw	AN	Old beaver
kišemo:s	AN	Old moose
kiše-nacama:keššišš	an An	Sparrow
kiše-okima:w	AN	Government
kiše-okima:w-a:roto	a:kan AN	Government agent
kišepa:	P	Tomorrow morning
kišepa:nekkaw-	TA	To prepare breakfast for s.o.
kisepa:nekkawa:n	IN	Food make in the morning
kisepa:nekkawewin	IN	Breakfast
kisepa:wan	II	Morning
kišepa:wiššin	II	Early in the morning
kišepa:ya:w	II	Morning
kišeriniv	AN	Old man
kiši:pari(n)-	AI, II	To go fast in vehicle
kiši:patta:-	AI	To run fast
kišitew	II	To be hot
kiŝiwa:h-	TA	To make s.o. angry
kisiwa:koce-	AI	To have an erection
kišiwa:kocepititis	o- AI	To masturbate

kiŝiwa:si-	AI	To get angry
kiŝiwoŝkate-	AI	To have a stomach ache
kiškwe-	AI	To stop crying
kissawa:cih-	TA	To signal, mark, indicate, him, set land-
		marks for him
kiŝŝawa:cihonekin	IN	Flag
kissawa:citta:-	AI2	To signal, mark, indicate, it, set land-
		marks for it
kiŝŝawa:sa:pam-	TA	To signal, mark, indicate to see him
kissawa:sa:patt-	TI	To signal, mark, indicate to see it
kisterim-	TA	To respect, esteem, him (see: kisterim-)
kisterimo-	AI	To respect, be smart (cold shoulder)
kisteritt-	TI	To respect, esteem it
kita:n-	TA, TI	To dip, drench, him, it, by hand
kita:pekin-	TA, TI	To steep him, it, (linen)
kita:ŝk(aw)-	TA, TI	To sink him, it, by body movement
kita:ttita:-	AI2	To dip, soak, it
-kitikw-	M	Knee
kitima:k-	R	Pitiable, poor
kitima:kerim-	TA	To have pity on s.o.
kitima:kina:kon	II	To look poor, pitiable
kitima:kina:kosi-	AI	To arouse pity, look pitiable, poor

kitima:kisi-	AI	To arouse pity, be poor, pitiable
kitimi-	AI	To be lazy
kitin-	TA	To prevent s.o. to fight, to get angry
		at s.o.
kitiška:sko-	AI	To release, let go, lose one's hold
kitiškin-	TA, TI	To drop him, it, by hand
kito-	AI	To scream, call out, send out sounds
kitoh-	TA	To make him send out sounds, speak
kitoho:swe-	AI	To call for moose
kitoho:swa:n-iškwem	ok IN	Hunting-horn
kitomakan	II	To scream, shout (e.g., radio)
kitošye-	AI	To reprimand, shout at
kitot-	TA	To reprimand, shout at him
kitota:wasso-	AI	To reprimand, shout at, one's child
kitotta:-	AI2	To make it send out sounds, make listen
		to it
kitotta:kan	IN	Radio, record player
kitotta:kana:ttikw	IN	Antenna
kitotta:ke-	AI	To play music, send out sounds
kittika:naskiy	IN	Garden, field
kittike-	AI	To sow
kittikeriniwikiwa:m	ı IN	Farm

kitw-	R	Sound
kitwa:pi:kahikan	IN	Violin
kitwa:pi:kahikana:t	tikw IN	Violin bow
-kiwa:m-	Nf	House
kiya:pac	P	More, still, again
kiya:škw	AN	Seagul1
-kka:t-	M	Leg
-kko:-	M	Ankle
-kkoma:n-	Nf	Knife
-kkor-	M	Robe
-kkošši-	AIf	Sleep
-kkot-	M	Nose
-kkot-	TAf, TIf	Cut
-kkw-	M	Face, neck
-kkwa:mi-	AIf	S1eep
ko:kate-	AI	To starve
ko:ki:-	AI	To dive
ko:kko:ce	AN	Devil, sandman
ko:kko:ka:ÈÈ	L	Ancient name of Weymontachie
ko:kko:kohow	AN	Ow1

AN

AN

Old woman

Pig, bacon

ko:kko:mina:ss

ko:kko:ŝŝ

ko:kko:ŝŝimikkow	IN	Chocolate
ko:kko:ŝŝip	AN	Mallard
ko:kkwa:	IN	Cocoa
ko:n	AN	Snow
ko:niwi-	AI	To be made of snow, be snow
ko:pesseh-	TA	To confess to s.o. (from french: confes-
		ser)
ko:pessewin	IN	Confession
ko:waci-	AI	To die of cold
ko	P	Emphatic particle, more
-kocciškw-	M	Larynx
kocici:kk	IN	Spring (origin of a river in a lake)
kocih-	TA	To try, test, him
kocike-	AI	To swallow, eat up greadily
kocipari-	AI	To try, test
kociparitta:-	AI2	To try it, test it
kocipw-	TA	To try him by mouth, taste him
kocišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To try him, it, on (cloth) by body move-
		ment
kocišt-	TI	To try it by mouth, taste it
kocitta:-	AI2	To try, test, it

kokkoh(w)-	TA, TI	To push him, it, and make fall, by tool
kokkon-	TA, TI	To push him, it, and make fall, by hand
kokkošk(aw)-	TA, TI	To push him, it, and make fall, by foot
kokkwepišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To push him, it, and make fall, by foot
-kom-	Nf	Abstract
-komess-	M	Friend
kor-	TA	To swallow him, eat him greadily
kosa:pe-	AI, II	To sink
kosa:pen-	TA, TI	To sink him, it, to the bottom, by hand
kosa:peškocikan	IN	Lead weighing
kosikon	II	To be heavy
kosikoti-	AI	To be heavy
kosikw-	R	Heavy
-kosiss-	M	Son
koskew	IN	Bait
koskewe-	AI	To lure (fish)
koski:-	P	Again
koski:ki:we-	AI	To go back again, do again the same way
koski:ki:wen-	TA, TI	To bring him, it, back again, by hand
koski:ki:wepari-	AI	To go back again, do again the same way
		in vehicle
koski:ma:ca:-	AI	To leave again

koski:ma:cekk-	TI	To begin sth. again, start it again
kospi-	AI	To go up (from the water-level)
kospipari-	AI	To go up (from the water-level) in vehicle
kospipatta:-	AI	To go up (from the water-level) running
kospipit-	TA, TI	To haul towards the wood
kospiwita:-	AI2	To bring it along in the wood
kossa:picike-	AI	To make witchcraft (in a sorcerer's tent)
kossa:picikoniw min	ištikw IN	Name of an island near Obedjiwan (sorcer-
		er's island)
koško:wan	II	To be misty (weather), foggy
koškom-	TA	To astonish, surprise, him, by mouth
koškon-	TA	To awake s.o.
koškopari-	AI, II	To astonish, surprise
koškossi-	AI	To wake up, be aroused
koškoškopari-	AI, II	To shake, shiver
košt-	TA, TI	To frighten him, it
koŝta:ci-	AI	To be afraid, frightened
košta:cikka:so-	AI	To pretend to be scared
koŝta:tikon	II	To be scaring, dangerous
košta:tikosi-	AI	To be scaring, dangerous
kotapiška:-	AI 🧠	To capsize by body movement
kotawa:ke-	AI	To make a fire, heat

kotawa:n	IN	Fire camp
kotawe-	AI	To make a fire (outside)
kotawekatt(aw	)- TA, TI	To heat in relation to him, it
kotin-	TA, TI	To try, test, him, it, by hand
kott-	TI	To swallow it, eat it up greadily
-kott-	M	Throat
-kotta:kan-	M	Throat
kwa:kwa:piŝŝi	èè an	Butterfly
kwa:pa:war-	TA	To drown s.o.
kwa:pa:we-	AI	To drown
kwa:pa:wiriti	so- AI	To drown oneself
kwa:pah(w)-	TA, TI	To draw him, it, from, serve him, it, by
		tool
kwa:pahikan	IN	Ladle, bailer
kwa:pahike-	AI	To bail out
kwa:pin-	TA, TI	To take, draw him, it, from, by hand
-kwa:sso-	AIf	Sew
kwa:šk-	R	To jump
kwa:škocihimar	na:keššišš AN	Grasshopper
kwa:ŝkotti-	AI	To jump
kwa:ŝkottih-	TA	To make him jump
kwa:škottimako	an II	To jump

kwa: skottitot(aw) - TA, TI To jump on him, it

kwa:škwa:pekiššim- TA To make him bounce twice on water

kwa:skwa:pekittita:-AI2 To make it bounce twice on water

kwa:škwa:škocipeššišš AN Insect that jumps on water

kwa:škwa:škotti- AI To jump from one place to another several

times

kwa:škwa:škwa:pekiššin- AI To bounce several times on water

kwa:skwa:skwa:pekittin II To bounce several times on water

kwa:škwa:škweššim- TA To make him bounce several times

kwa: škwena: pa:t- TA, TI To fish for, catch (fish), angle with

rod and line

kwa: skwena: pe- AI To fish for, catch (fish), angle with rod

and line

kea: skwena: pewikamikw IN Chalet, country cottage

kwa: škwepišiwe- AI To hook, catch by hooking accidentally

kwa: skwepiso- AI To hook oneself accidentally to the fish-

hook

kwa: skwepit- TA, TI To catch fish with rod and line

kwa: skwepitew II To be hooked

kwa:škwepititiso- AI To hook oneself accidentally

kwa: skwessim- TA To make him bounce once

kwa: škweššin- AI To bounce once

-kwa:t-	TAf, TIf	Sew
kwe	P	Hello, bye
kwecira:h-	TA	To try to finsh it before him
kwecira:ho-	AI	To try to finish before somebody
kwekoha:kew	AN	Carcajou, wolverine
kwekon	II	Earthquake
kwekwessiw	AN	Magpie
kwesk-	R	To turn, change
kweska:tisi-	AI	To change one's religion
kweskah(w)-	TA, TI	To change, turn him, it, up, down, back
		by tool
lweski:st(aw)-	TA, TI	To change, turn him, it, up, down, back
		by foot
kweski-	AI	To change, turn
kweskin-	TA, TI	To change, turn him, it, up, down, back
		by hand
kweskipit-	TA, TI	To change, turn him, it, up, down, back
		fast
kweskirowew	II	The wind changes
kweski <b>ss</b> in-	AI	To turn over once
kweskitin-	TA, TI	To change, turn him, it, by hand

kweskiwepah(w)-	TA, TI	To change, turn him, it, by throwing
		by tool
kweskweskiššin-	AI	To change, turn over, several times
kwesa:n	P	Perhaps, in case of
kweškošši-	AI	To whistle
kweškoššim-	TA	To whistle at s.o.
kweškoššippa:tamow	AN	Scoter-duck
kweškweškoššinakamo	-AI	To whistle a song
kweškottin-	II	To whistle
kwetipipari-	TA, TI	To capsize
kwetipiwepisk(aw)-	TA, TI	To knock him, it, down by foot
kweton-	TA, TI	To hesitate, look for him, it, hesitating-
		ly
kwetwi-	P	Hesitatingly
kwetwi:sa:-	AI	Not to know where to go
kwetwi:te-	AI	Not to know what to say
kwetwi:tot-	TI	Not to know what to do with it
kwi:skw	P	Correctly, rightly, properly
kwi:ssim-	TA	To lie him down at full length
kwi:ssimo-	AI	To lie oneself down at full length
kwi:ttita:-	AI2	To lie it down at full length

m

-m	TAf	In relation to
-m-	TAf	By mouth, by speech
-m-	N£	Abstract
ma:ca:-	ΑI	To go, leave
ma:ca:makan	II	To go, leave
ma:ca:ŝŝi	P	Bye, goodbye
ma:ce-	P	Begin
ma:cea:toho-	AI	To go camping in canoe
ma:ceho-	AI	To go, leave, by canoe
ma:ceki:-	AI	To grow (plant, child)
ma:cemakan	II	To leave, go away
ma:cepari(n)-	AI, II	To cart, convey in vehicle
ma:cepatta:-	AI	To start running
ma:cetišah(w)-	TA, TI	To send him, it, by mail
ma:cewakkotte-	AI	To leave, walking in the sand
ma:cewotte-	AI	To start walking, leave walking, carrying
	•	sth.
ma:ci-	AI	To move, start leaving

ma:cih-	TA	To make him live (see: ma:tisih-)
ma:cikoh(w)-	TA, TI	To hold, retain, him, it, by tool
ma:cikom-	TA	To hold, retain, him, by mouth
ma:cikon-	TA, TI	To hold, retain, him, it, by hand
ma:cikošk(aw)-	TA, TI	To hold, retain, him, it, by body move-
		ment
ma:cikott-	TI	To hold, retain, it by mouth
ma:cikwa:pi:ka:t-	TA, TI	To hold, retain, him, it, with a rope
ma:cikwa:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To hold, retain, him, it, with a stick
ma:cipari(n)-	AI, II	To move
ma:cipit-	TA, TI	To displace, change the place of him, it
ma:citta:-	AI2	To keep it alive, save it
ma:ha:pocike-	AI	To float, drive, logs
ma:ha:pocikeriniw	AN	Raftsman
ma:koccike-	AI	To bite
ma:kom-	TA	To bite him
ma:komitiso-	AI	To bite oneself
ma:kon-	TA, TI	To catch, take hold of, him, it, by hand
ma:konamaw-	TA	To catch, take hold of him, it, for s.o.
ma:konekka:so-	AI	To pretend to catch him, it
ma:konitiso-	AI	To catch, take hold of one's body part
ma:koniwe-	AI	To catch, take hold of people by hand

ma:košk(aw)-	TA, TI	To catch, take hold of him, it, by foot
ma:kott-	TI	To bite it
ma:kw-	R	To press
ma:ma:kon-	TA, TI	To handle, soften, supple, him, it
ma:macic	P	Last
ma:maska:c	P	Extraordinary, strange
ma:maska:terim-	TA	To find him strange
ma:maska:teritt-	TI	To find it strange
ma:mawi	P	Altogether
ma:mawin-	TA, TI	To pile him, it, up, by hand
ma:mawiŝŝin-	AI	To lie down altogether, piled up
ma:meškoc	P	Alternatively, one by one, one after the
		other
ma:mih(w)-	TA, TI	To direct, conduct, control, him, it
ma:mikk	P	Down-river
ma:mitonerim-	TA	To think about him, wonder, ponder
ma:mitoneritt-	TI	To think about it, wonder, ponder
ma:mo	P	Altogether, collectively
ma:moh(w)-	TA, TI	To put together, pile them up
ma:moška:cike-	<b>AI</b>	To pick up left-overs of food to eat
		(dog)
ma:moŝkin-	TA, TI	To assemble, collect, gather, him, it by
		hand

ma:moššim-	TA	To put him with the other, assemble them
ma:mottita:-	AI2	To put it with the other, assemble them
-ma:n-	Nf	Abstract
ma:na:wakka:w	II	There is a beach
ma:nika:so-	AI	To build a house for oneself
ma:nikaw-	TA	To build a house for s.o.
ma:nike-	AI	To build a house
ma:nikeriniw	AN	Carpenter
ma:niŝŝiŝŝ	AN	Young moose
ma:pi:keššim-	TA	To bend him (string-like object)
ma:pi:kettin	II	To be bent (string-like object)
ma:pi:kettita:-	AI2	To bend it (string-like object)
ma:poko-	AI	To break up, come undone, in water
ma:pote-	AI	To break up, come undone, in water
ma:rat-	R	Bad, naughty
ma:ratan	II	To be bad, naughty, ugly
ma:ratisi-	AI	To be bad, naughty, ugly
ma:ratwe-	AI	To swear, blaspheme
ma:ri-ki:sika:w	IN	Saturday
ma:riceniŝŝ	AN	Lamb
ma:risi-	AI	To be avaricious, stingy

ma:ski-	AI	To swim touching the bottom
ma:skinošew	AN	Maskilonge
ma:skisi-	AI	To be crippled
ma:skoššim-	TA	To lay him down on a solid surface
ma:skoššin-	AI	To lie down on a solid surface
ma:skottin	II	To lie down on a solid surface
ma:skottita:-	AI2	To lay it on a solid surface
ma:skwea:w	II	There is a wood, a forest
ma:šamekoss	AN	Rainbow trout
ma:ຮັamekoຮີຮີເຮີຮີ (0)	AN	Trout
ma:si:h-	TA	To make him fail, disorganize him
ma:sikka:tiso-	AI	To fight, beat, oneself
ma:sikk(aw)-	TA, TI	To fight, beat, him, it
ma:sikkawa:kaniwi-	AI	To fight, beat, be beaten
ma:škikkawa:kka:so-	· AI	To pretend to fight
ma:sikkota:towak	AI	They are fighting each other
ma:škoci-	AI	To freeze, be frozen
ma:ŝkotin	II	To freeze, be frozen
ma:§§i-	AI	To sail, set sail
ma:t-	R	To move, go, leave
ma:ta:h-	TA	To see, cross, tracks, trails
ma:ta:me-	AI	To go to the road, to the path

ma:tah(w)-	TA, TI	To scrape him, it, by tool
ma:tahike-	AI	To scrape a hide
ma:taka:-	AI	To swim
ma:taka:h-	TA	To make him swim
ma:taka:ha:-	AI	To catch sight of (animal) swimming
ma:taka:hota:-	AI2	To pull, haul, it, in water
ma:tawa:kk	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (tributary
		stream)
ma:tawa:pi:kenikan	IN	String trick, string play
ma:tawa:skoccicikan	IN	Puzzle
ma:tikoniccike-	AI	To throw, fling, catch, cast
ma:tikonih-	TA	To throw, fling, catch, cast, to s.o.
ma:tikonitta:-	AI2	To throw, fling, catch, cast, sth.
ma:tinike-	AI	To distribute, deliver
ma:tiniwen-	TA, TI	To distribute, deliver, him, it, by hand
ma:tiniweška:-	AI	To distribute, deliver, by foot
ma:tisi-	AI	To live
ma:tisih-	TA	To make him live (see: ma:cih-)
ma:tiš(w)-	TA, TI	To incise him, it, cut him, it, open
ma:to-	AI	То сту
ma:towina:po:w	IN	Tear
ma:waci	P	The most, more than

ma:wacihitona:niwak	c IN	General assembly
ma:wacih-	TA	To assemble, gather, collect, him
ma:wacihomakan	II	To be assembled, gathered, collected
ma:wacitta:-	AI2	To assemble, gather, collect it
ma:wacittama:tiso-	AI	To assemble, gather, collect, for oneself
ma:wakkotte-	AI	To walk in the sand
ma:waškin-	TA, TI	To assemble, gather, collect, him, it,
		by hand
ma:waškina:sso-	AI	To assemble, gather, put together
ma:waton-	TA, TI	To pile him, it, assemble, stack (cases)
		by hand
macaspiso-	AI	To dress badly, be badly dressed
maci-	P	Bad
maciho-	AI	To dress badly, put one's clothes badly
maeihw-	TA	To dress s.o. badly
maciki:sika:w	II	Bad day, stormy weather
macikkwa:mi-	AI	To sleep badly
macikkweri-	AI	To make faces, grin
macikkwesta:-	AI	To make faces, grin
macina:tawe-matinak	kkL	Place name near Weymontachie (Bad Iroquois
		hi11)
macinamekoss	L	Place name near Weymontachie (Bad Trout
		lake)

macipari(n)-	AI, II	To disagree, be at variance with s.o.
		about sth.
macipo:tew	II	To be jagged (knife), not sharp
macitea:piska:w	II	Rocky point
macitea:w	II	Point
macittak	P	On the floor
mahi:kkan	AN	Wolf
-makan-	IIf	Abstract
makka:ripa:kan	IN	Shovel
makkate-asike-	AI	To wear black stockings
makkatekkorew	AN	Priest
makkaten-	TA, TI	To blacken him, it, by hand
makkate-osake-	ΑI	To have black skin, be a black person
	ΥT	porton
makkaterew	AN	Spruce grouse
makkaterew makkateriniw		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	AN	Spruce grouse
makkateriniw	AN AN	Spruce grouse Black, African
makkateriniw makkatesi-	AN AN AI	Spruce grouse Black, African To be black
makkateriniw makkatesi- makkatessip	AN AN AI AN	Spruce grouse Black, African To be black Black duck
makkateriniw makkatesi- makkatessip makkatewa:-	AN AI AI	Spruce grouse Black, African To be black Black duck To be black
makkateriniw  makkatesi-  makkatessip  makkatewa:-  makkatewa:piso-	AN AI AN AI AI	Spruce grouse Black, African To be black Black duck To be black To tan

makkatewitippe-	AI	To have black hair
makkatina:w	II	To be a big hill, big mountain
makkica:pi-	AI	To have big eyes
makkikkote-	AI	To have a big nose
makkimissite-	AI	To have a big belly
makkisite-	AI	To have long feet
man-	R	To take, get
mana:pa:war-	TA	To wash, remove, him, take him off, with
		water
mana:pa:wata:-	AI2	To wash, remove, it, take it off, with
		water
mana:pokon-	TA, TI	To remove him, it, with water
mana:pokonike-	AI	To remove it, with water
manah(w)-	TA, TI	To remove, take him, it, off, by tool
manakamikkwen-	TA	To wash, remove, him (blood)
manaspiso-	AI	To undress, take off, remove
manaspit-	TA, TI	To undress, take him, it, off, remove him,
		it
manawa:n	L	Place name, Manouane (where one picks up
		gull's eggs)
manawe-	AI	To pick up eggs
manco:§§	AN	Insect

	manico:ŝŝ	AN	Little monster
	manikanesw-	TA	To remove the bones from the meat by knife
	manin-	TA, TI	To remove him, it, by hand
	maninokkwe-	AI	To remove one's snares
	manipit-	TA, TI	To remove him, it, roughly
	manisikoh-	TI	To remove him, it, (ice) by tool
	manisikohike-	AI	To remove the ice
	maniŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To take off a part of him, it, by cutting
	manite-	AI	To cut firewood
	maniwi:ya:sses(w)-	TA, TI	To remove him, it, (meat) by knife
	mantew	AN	Stranger, visitor
	marasa:tiy	AN	Aspen, poplar
	marasa:ttikw	AN	Aspen, poplar
	marericcike-	AI	To slander, libel
	marerim-	TA	To run s.o. down, libel s.o.
	mareritt-	TI	To libel sth.
	masa:n	IN	Thorn
	masa:na:ttikw	AN	Hawthorn
	masina:šcike-	AI	To take pictures, photograph
masina: steccicikewikiwa:m IN		kiwa:m IN	Movies, theater
	masina: Stettin	II	To cast a shadow
	masihah(w)-	TI	To write, picture, him, it, by tool

masinahika:so- AI To be written, pictured

masinahika:tew II To be written, pictured

masinahikan IN Book, note

masinahikana:ttikw IN Pencil, pen

masinahikana: ttikwass IN Pencil-case

masinahikanikke- AI To collect books

masinahike- AI To write

masinahikeriniw AN Secretary, writer

masinahikewikamikw IN Post office, office

masinahikke- AI To make, gather, collect writings, pictures

masinikwa:sso- AI To embroider (moose skin)

masinikwa:ssokka:so-AI To pretend to embroider

masinikwa:sson IN Piece of embroidery

masiniskwemissikan IN Stencil

maskam- TA To remove, take him off

maskisin IN Shoe, moccasin

maskisini:ya:py IN Shoe-lace

maskokka:n AN Teddy-bear

maskomite IN Bear-fat

masko-nakwa:kan IN Bear-snare

maskošišš AN Young bear

maskwa AN Bear

maškawisi- maškawisih- maškawisikka:so- maškawisimakanAITo make him hard, strongmaškawisimakan maškawisiwinIITo pretend to be hard, strongmaškawisimakanIITo be hard, strongmaškawisiwinINStrengthmaškikki:kke- maškikki:rinika:nAITo make medecinemaškikki:rinikwešiššANAmbulance manmaškikki:riniw maškikki:riniwANDoctormaškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikki:wikiwa:mINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci- maškowa:koci- mata- <th>maškawa:w</th> <th>II</th> <th>To be hard, strong</th>	maškawa:w	II	To be hard, strong
maškawisikka:so- AI To pretend to be hard, strong maškawisimakan II To be hard, strong maškawisitta:- AI2 To make it hard, strong maškawisiwin IN Strength maškikki:kke- AI To make medecine maškikkerinikka:n AN Ambulance man maškikki:rinikkwešišš AN Nurse maškikki:riniw AN Doctor maškikki:wikiwa:m IN Drugstore maškikki:wikiwa:m IN Medecine maškoššiy IN Grass, hay maškowa:koci- AI To be coagulated (by cold) mat- R Bad mata:pe- AI To come out of the wood mataka:n IN Old Indian camp matekamah(w)- TA, TI To bang him, it, on water matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškavisi-	AI	To be hard, strong
maškawisimakanIITo be hard, strongmaškawisitta:-AI2To make it hard, strongmaškawisiwinINStrengthmaškikki:kke-AITo make medecinemaškikkerinikka:nANAmbulance manmaškikki:rinikkwešiššANNursemaškikki:riniwANDoctormaškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikki:wikiwa:mINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškawisih-	TA	To make him hard, strong
maškawisitta:-AI2To make it hard, strongmaškawisiwinINStrengthmaškikki:kke-AITo make medecinemaškikkerinikka:nANAmbulance manmaškikki:rinikkwešiššANNursemaškikki:riniwANDoctormaškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikki:wikiwa:mINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškawisikka:so-	AI	To pretend to be hard, strong
maškawisiwin IN Strength  maškikki:kke- AI To make medecine  maškikkerinikka:n AN Ambulance man  maškikki:rinikwešišš AN Nurse  maškikki:riniw AN Doctor  maškikki:wikiwa:m IN Drugstore  maškikkiw IN Medecine  maškoššiy IN Grass, hay  maškowa:koci- AI To be coagulated (by cold)  mat- R Bad  mata:pe- AI To come out of the wood  mataka:n IN Old Indian camp  matekamah(w)- TA, TI To bang him, it, on water  matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	maskawisimakan	II	To be hard, strong
maškikki:kke- AI To make medecine  maškikkerinikka:n AN Ambulance man  maškikki:rinikkwešišš AN Nurse  maškikki:riniw AN Doctor  maškikki:wikiwa:m IN Drugstore  maškikkiw IN Medecine  maškoššiy IN Grass, hay  maškowa:koci- AI To be coagulated (by cold)  mat- R Bad  mata:pe- AI To come out of the wood  mataka:n IN Old Indian camp  matekamah(w)- TA, TI To bang him, it, on water  matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškawisitta:-	AI2	To make it hard, strong
maškikkerinikka:nANAmbulance manmaškikki:rinikkwešiššANNursemaškikki:riniwANDoctormaškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikkiwINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)maškwa:kotinIITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškawisiwin	IN	Strength
maškikki:rinikkwešiššANNursemaškikki:riniwANDoctormaškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikkiwINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)mažkwa:kotinIITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškikki:kke-	AI	To make medecine
maškikki:riniwANDoctormaškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikkiwINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)maškwa:kotinIITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškikkerinikka:n	AN	Ambulance man
maškikki:wikiwa:mINDrugstoremaškikkiwINMedecinemaškoššiyINGrass, haymaškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)maškwa:kotinIITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškikki:rinikkweš	išš AN	Nurse
maškikkiw IN Medecine  maškoššiy IN Grass, hay  maškowa:koci- AI To be coagulated (by cold)  maškwa:kotin II To be coagulated (by cold)  mat- R Bad  mata:pe- AI To come out of the wood  mataka:n IN Old Indian camp  matekamah(w)- TA, TI To bang him, it, on water  matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškikki:riniw	AN	Doctor
maškoššiy IN Grass, hay  maškowa:koci- AI To be coagulated (by cold)  maškwa:kotin II To be coagulated (by cold)  mat- R Bad  mata:pe- AI To come out of the wood  mataka:n IN Old Indian camp  matekamah(w)- TA, TI To bang him, it, on water  matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškikki:wikiwa:m	IN	Drugstore
maškowa:koci-AITo be coagulated (by cold)maškwa:kotinIITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškikkiv	IN	Medecine
maškwa:kotinIITo be coagulated (by cold)mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškoššiy	IN	Grass, hay
mat-RBadmata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškowa:koci-	AI	To be coagulated (by cold)
mata:pe-AITo come out of the woodmataka:nINOld Indian campmatekamah(w)-TA, TITo bang him, it, on watermatekamittwe-TATo hear him bang on water (beaver)	maškwa:kotin	II	To be coagulated (by cold)
mataka:n IN Old Indian camp  matekamah(w) - TA, TI To bang him, it, on water  matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	mat-	R	Bad
matekamah(w) - TA, TI To bang him, it, on water matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	mata:pe-	AI	To come out of the wood
matekamittwe- TA To hear him bang on water (beaver)	mataka:n	IN	Old Indian camp
to the built of mater (beaver)	matekamah(w)-	TA, TI	To bang him, it, on water
matekore- AI To crackle (fire)	matekamittwe-	TA	To hear him bang on water (beaver)
	matekore-	AI	To crackle (fire)

matettin	II	To ring
matettita:-	AI	To ring
matina	IN	Hill, mountain
matina:w	II	Chain, range, of mountains
mawi:mo-	AI	To groan, moan, complain, cry
maya	P	Exactly
mekwa:tta	P	Actually
mekwa:c	P	Actually, while
memaniciss	P	A little
meskana:ke-	AI	To leave tracks, footprints
meskanaw-	TA	To mark, leave tracks, footprints, for s.o.
meskanikke-	AI	To make a road, a path
meskano	IN	Road, path
meškoc	P	In exchange
meškocih-	TA	To exchange him
meškocisikin-	TA, TI	To decant him, it
meškocitta:-	AI2	To exchange it
meškotapi-	AI	To change one's place, exchange one's seat
meškotasinah(w)-	TA, TI	To transcribe him, it
meškotaspiso-	AI	To change one's clothes
meškoto:n-	TA, TI	To exchange him, it, by hand

meškoto:nike-	AI	To exchange sth. for sth.
meškoto:namaw-	TA	To exchange sth. for s.o.
metapeškeka:kew	II	Swampy spring
metawa:ke-	AI	To play with sth.
metawa:niwan	II	People play
metawe-	AI	To play
metaweh-	TA	To make him play, amuse him
metawehiwe-	AI	To play, amuse people
metawewikamikw	IN	Gaming-house
mey	IN	Excrement
mi:cahan	II	There is a wave
mi:ci-	AI	To eat
mi:cim	IN	Food
mi:cimiwašš	IN	Cupboard
mi:cisso-	AI	To eat
mi:cissoh-	TA	To make him eat
mi:cissokamikw	IN	Restaurant
mi:cissokkoma:n	IN	Table-knife
mi:cissowa:kan	IN	Table
mi:cissowa:kana:tti	kw IN	Wooden table
mi:cissowa:kanekin	IN	Table-cloth
mi:ciwan	II	Stream

mi:ha:wasso-ΑI To raise children mi:kar-TA To fight (rare) mi:ka:so-ΑI To fight mi:ka:somakan II To fight mi:ka:sowin IN Fight, battle mi:kat-TA To fight him mi:kis AN Pear1 mi:kiwa:m IN House, wigwam, tent mi:kiwa:mikka:tiso-ΑI To build a house for oneself mi:kiwa:mikka:tisokka:so-AI To pretend to build a house for oneself mi:kiwa:mikke-ΑI To build a house mi:kiwa:miŝiŝŝ IN Shed mi:kkwa:tisi-ΑI To be in good shape, hard-working, fast mi:kon AN Feather mi:koniwa:powa:n IN Eider-down mi:kwec P Thank you mi:n-R Berry mi:na:ttikw IN Wood of a fruit-tree mi:na Ρ Again mi:nawa:c P Again

To carry, convey, him, on one's back

TA

mi:nika:m-

mi:nika:miwe-	AI	To carry, convey, people, on one's back
mi:nika:t-	TI	To carry, convey, it, on one's back
mi:nike-	AI	To carry, convey, on one's back
mi:nikka:na:nikk	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (where one picks
		up berries)
mi:niŝŝ	IN	Blueberry
mi:niŝŝa:po:w	IN	Wine
mi:niŝŝa:ttikw	AN	Blueberry bush
mi:niŝŝiwan	II	To be purple, mauve
mi:no:h(w) -	TA, TI	To conduct, drive, him, it, put him, it,
		back in the good direction by tool
mi:no:hiwe-	AI .	To conduct, drive, people, put people
		back in the good direction
mi:no:n-	TA, TI	To redress, straighten him, it, by hand
mi:nwa:pi:ken-	TA, TI	To straighten him, it (linear object) by
		hand
mi:nwa:piskin-	TA, TI	To straighten him, it (metallic) by hand
mi:pacca:§§i-	AI	To run a little
mi:pah-	TA	To run from him
mi:pari-	AI	To travel, go about, drive
mi:pariccike-	AI	To travel, go about, drive
mi:parih-	TA	To make him travel, drive

mi:parittwa:-	ΑI	To travel, go about, drive, carrying sth.
mi:patta:-	AI	To run along
mi:pattwa:-	AI	To run along carrying sth.
mi:pea:w	II	Swelling (of river), flood, river in spate
mi:piso-	AI	To speed along
mi:pitew	II	To speed along
mi:r-	TA	To give
mi:re-	AI	To fly
mi:riwe-	AI	To give to people
mi:s-	R	To defecate
mi:si-	AI	To defecate
mi:si:skiwoca:kw	AN	Ow1
mi:si:waskikw	IN	Bucket, toilet
mi:si:wikiwa:m	IN	Toilet, rest room
mi:sakātta:-	AI	To be rich, wealthy
mi:ŝim- (0)	TA	To place them one after the other
mi:ška:-	AI	To travel
mi:ŝte-	AI	To place them one after the other
mi:stiwea:w	II	Stream of falls, rapid, cascade
mi:ta:ccimo-	AI	To creep, crawl
mi:ta:ccimoh-	TA	To make him creep, crawl
mi:ta:pa:t-	TA, TI	To pull, haul, him, it

mi:ta:pe-	AI	To pull, haul
mi:tisah(w)-	TA, TI	To send him, it, by mail
mi:wah-	TA	To prevent him from doing sth.
mi:wahiwe-	AI	To prevent people from doing sth.
mi:wir-	TA	To carry him along
mi:wita:-	AI2	To carry it along
mi:wita:m-	TA	To carry him on one's back
miccen	P	Many, a good many, in large quantity or
1.25		number
miccet	P	Many, a good many, in large quantity or
		number
miccetina:niwan	AI	Crowd
micceti- (plural)	ΑI	To be many
micceto:n-	TA, TI	To have many objects in one's hand
micceta:w	P	Many times
miccetwa:w	P	Many times
miecikka:win	IN	Gloves, mitten
miccittak	P	On the bare floor
mikikkan	IN	Bait
mikikkana:ttikw	IN	Fishing-rod
mikisa:kw	AN	Horse-fly
mikisiv	AN	Imperial eagle

mikkawi:-	AI	To remember
mikkawi:tot(aw)-	TA, TI	To remember s.o., sth.
mikkešši:šišš (0)	AN	Young fox
mikkeššiw (0)	AN	Fox
mikkina:kw	AN	Turtle
mikkina:kwa:piskokk	L	Place name near Manouane (where there is
		a turtle-like stone)
mikko	IN	Blood
mikkoccakkarow	AN	Cowbird
mikkohoša:n	AN	Red carp
mikkomina:n	IN	Raspberry
mikkomin	IN	Raspberry
mikkomina:na:ttikw	AN	Raspberry cane

July

Nail polish

To be covered with blood

To bark at s.o., sth.

TA, TI

mikkw- R Red

-mikkw- M Red

mikkomini-pi:ssimw IN

mikkoškaššyehon

mikkon

mikit-

mikkwa:- AI To be red

II

IN

mikkwan II To be covered with blood

mikkwa:pemissya:ttikw AN Dogwood

mikkwa:py	IN	Vein
mikkwa:rikkwe-	AI	To have red hair
mikkwa:ŝŝin	II	To be pale red
mikkwa:tippe-	AI	To have red hair
mikkwan	II	To have blood, be covered with blood
mikkwi:h-	TA	To stain him with blood
mikkwwi:tta:-	AI2	To stain it with blood
mikkwi:wi-	AI	To be covered with blood
-min-	M, Nf	Berry
mina:kkwa:n	IN	Comb
mina:kkweho-	AI	To comb one's hair
mina:kkwepicikan	IN	Rake
mina:skin	II	To fall (autumn leaves)
minahi:kw	AN	White spruce
minahi:kwa:skwea:w	II	Spruce forest
minih-	TA	To give sth. to s.o.
minihiwe-	AI	To give people a drink
minikkwa:kan	IN	Glass, cup
minikkwa:niwan	AI	People drink
minikkwe-	AI	To drink
minišcikošišš	IN	Small island
ministika:wakka:w	II	Sand-hill, dune, sand reef

	ministikw	IN	Island
	ministikwa:naka:w	II	Peninsula
	miništikwa:piskw	IN	Reef, rock island
4	minoss	AN	Cat
	mira:cike-	AI	To swell
	mira:kkoco:ss	AN	Loach
	mira:m-	TA	To swell him
	mira:t-	TI	To swell it
	mirerim-	TA	To be pleased with s.o., like s.o.
	mireritt-	TI	To be pleased with sth., like sth.
	mireritta:kon	II	To be amusing, funny
	mireritta:kosi-	AI	To be pleased, amusing, funny
	mirikossi:ra:kan	IN.	Dust tray
	mirikossi:yekin	IN	Dusty material
	mirikossi:wan	II	To be dusty
	mirikossi:	IN	Dust
	miro:skamin	II	Springtime (May)
	miro-	P	Good, nice, fine, beautiful
	miroh-	TA	To make s.o. nice, dress s.o. nicely
	miroki:sika:w	II	Nice weather
	mirokkwa:mi-	AI	To sleep well

miromin	IN	Rice
miropari(n)-	AI, II	To go, feel, well
miropo:tew	II	To cut well
mirosi-	AI	To be nice, beautiful, handsome
miroššin	II	To be good, fine
mirw-	R	Good
mirwa:cim-	TA	To speak well of s.o.
mirwa:cimitiso-	AI	To speak well of oneself
mirwa:kamin	II	Good water, drinkable water
mirwa:pacih-	TA	To need s.o., find him useful
mirwa:pacitta:-	AI2	To need sth., find sth. useful
mirwa:tisi-	AI	To be, feel, well, to cure
mirwa:tt-	TI	To speak well of sth.
misa:ttikokiwa:m	IN	Wooden house, log house
misaspison	II	Baby sleeping bag
misirowekopp	IN	Dress
misisa:kw	AN	Cicada
misiwe-	P	A11
misk(aw)-	TA, TI	To find, discover, him, it
miska:ke-	AI .	To find, discover, sth.
miskoh(w)-	TA, TI	To find, discover, him, it, by tool
miskomiwi-	AI	To be icy

miskomina:na:ttikw	AN	Service-tree
miskomiskwe-	AI	To find a beaver in his den
miskomita:n	IN	Hail
miskomiwan	II	To be icy, frozen
miskomiwašš	IN	Refrigerator
miskomiwikiwa:m	IN	Igloo
miskomiya:kamin	II	Iced water
miskomy	AN	Ice
miskon-	TA, TI	To find, discover, by feeling him, it,
		by hand
miskw-	R	To find
miskwa:pošwe-	AI	To find a rabbit yard
-miss-	M	Sister
missakitta:kon	II	To be expensive
missakitta:kosi-	AI	To be expensive
missawa:c	P	Anyway, anyhow
-missit-	M	Belly, stomach
mista:pew	AN	Name of a legendary hero (big man)
mistamikisiw	AN	Eagle
mistapaka:n	AN	Coconut
mistarittettamina:t	tikw AN	Viburnum
mistassikw	AN	American merganser

miška:-	AI	To reach land, arrive by water
misim-	TA	To betray s.o.
miška:-	AI	To row
miška:h-	TA	To make him row
miškekw	IN	Swamp
miškekwa:ttikw	AN	Larch
miškekwa:ttikwa:skw	ea:w IN	Larch forest
miškimo:tay	IN	Bag, pouch
mišša:pišiw	AN	Lion, tiger
miŝŝa:poŝŝ	AN	Camel, donkey
miŝŝa:ŝkoŝtowa:n	IN	Beard, moustache
mišša:škottowa:n	IN	Beard, moustache
miššekanaštikwa:ne-	AI	To be bald
miŝŝekkan	II	To be tall, large (woven)
miššekkwa:miw	AI	To sleep under the stars, outside
miššessi-	AI	To graze, rub off (skin)
miššeškate-	AI	To be naked
miššeta:wakka:w	II	Mound of sand
mišši:rew	AN	Turkey
miššikicišši-	AI	To be tall, large, big
miššipo:r-	TA	To sharpen, grind, him
miššipo:ta:-	AI2	To sharpen, grind, it

-miŝŝo:m-	M	Grandfather
-ฑเริธิอ:meริธิ-	M	Uncle
mist-	R	Big, much
mista:pew	AN	Giant
miŝta	P	Much, a lot, big
mistaci:ma:n	IN	Boat, ship
mistahi	P	Much
mistakekkekkw	AN	Peregrine falcon
miŝtako:kko:ŝŝ	AN q	Elephant
mištiko:wi-	AI	To be made of wood, be wood
mištikoci:ma:n	IN	Wooden canoe
mištikoke-aštotin	IN	Helmet
mištikokiwa:m	IN	Wooden house
mištikoskisin	IN	Evening shoe, wooden shoe, sabot
mištikw	AN	Tree, wood
mištikw	IN	Stick
mistikwan	II	To be made of wood, be wood
mita:na	P	Tens
mita:tto	P	Ten
mita:tto assic ni:s	$\omega$ P	Twelve .
mita:tto-mitana	P	One hundred
-mitana-	Pf	Decade (of numerals)

mite	IN		Oil, fat, grease
miteh(w) –	TA,	TI	To grease, lubricate, him, it, by tool
miten-	TA,	TI	To grease, lubricate, him, it, by hand
mitime-	ΑI		To follow a path
mitimea:piskipari(n	) _ A	AI, II	To follow railways
mitonericcikan	IN		Intelligence, memory
mitta:ke-	ΑI		To burn fur
mitta:kekwa:nikk	L		Place name near Obedjiwan (where one
			burns otter's furs)
mitta:min	IN		Corn
mitta:t-	TA,	TI	To regret him, it
mittiy	IN		Firewood
mittiwass	IN		Firewood box
mo:cešši-	ΑI		To walk a little
mo:cewatikkokiwa:m		IN	Cow-shed
mo:cewatikkw	AN		Cow
mo:h-	TA		To make him groan, moan, complain, cry
mo:hor-	TA		To take s.o. out in canoe
mo:horiwe-	ΑI		To take people out in canoe
mo:mine-	ΑI		To eat berries as they are picked up
mo:nah(w)-	TA,	TI	To dig him, it, up, unearth him, it

mo:pakwessiv	AN	Larva
mo:skoci-	AI	To cry of cold
mo:skom-	TA	To cry of scolding, make him cry
mo:skoro-	AI	To cry of anger
mo:skwa:skiso-	AI	To cry of heat
mo:skwa:so-	AI	To cry
mo:skwa:t-	TA, TI	To cry because of him, it
mo:s	AN	Moose
mo:sassiniy	IN	Rifle bullet
mo:sa:kamin	II	Liquid
mo:sak	P	Often, always
mo:skahan	II	Swelling (of river), flood
mo:skamy	IN	Sauce
mo:skinah(w)-	TA, TI	To fill him, it, up
mo:skine-	AI	To be filled up, full
mo:skinepew	II	To be filled up, full of liquid
mo:skinessinahikan	IN	Report, form

To walk

To make him walk

To throw an arrow

To throw an arrow to s.o., to sth.

mo:nahamaw-

mo:tte-

mo:tteh-

mo:ttokwe-

mo:ttokwa:t-

TA

To dig up for s.o.

ΑI

TA

ΑI

TA, TI

-mo-	AIf	By speech, by mouth
moccik	P	On the floor, on the ground
moccittak	IN	On the floor (of a house)
mokkohossiw	AN	Heron
mokkoma:n	IN	Knife
mokkoma:niŝiŝŝ	IN	Penknife
mokoška:cih-	TA	To set him on edge, jar upon, irritate him
mokoška:citta:-	AI2	To play nervously with sth., irritate
morisi-	AI	To have presentiment
moska:koneh(w)-	TA, TI	To bring him, it, to light by removing
		snow
moska:skoh-	TI	To come out of the wood
moskata:wakkah(w)-	TA, TI	To bring him, it, to light by removing
		sand
moskin-	TA, TI	To make him, it, emerge by hand
moskociwanipekw	IN	Source, spring-head
mosso:werim-	TA	To hope, trust, him
mosso:weritt-	TI	To hope, trust, it
moŝŝwe (M, W)	IN	Handkerchief (from french: mouchoir)
moริรัพยพ (O)	IN	Handkerchief
mow-	TA	To eat him
mwa:kw	AN	Black-throated diver, loon
mwir	P	No

n

-n-	TIf	See, think
-n-	N£	Abstract
-n-	IIf	Abstract
na:cikoske-	AI	To go and look at one's fishing lines
na:cikoskeh-	TA	To make him go and look at one's fish-
		ing lines
na:cipah-	TA	To fetch him
na:ha	Pr	Demonstrative, animate, singular; this,
		that
na:ka:kate-	AI	To be in a hurry to eat
na:ka:si-	AI	To be in a hurry
-na:ko-	AIf	Appear, look like
-na:koh-	TIf	Appear, look like
-na:kohw-	TA£	Appear, look like
-na:kosi-	AIf	Appear, look like
-na:kwan-	IIf	Appear, look like
na:mina:n	IN	Candy
na:miskweri-	AI	To bow the head

na:miskwesta:-	AI	To make a sign with the head
na:na:ke	P	Later, in a moment, later on
na:naka:stahikan	IN	Anything, any instrument, that stops
na:naka:§tahike-	AI	To stop
na:nakko tin	P	Sometimes, from time to time
na:naperá	P	Too bad
na:nipa:wi-	AI	To yawn
na:nitaw-	R	To look for, search, seek, go to do
na:nitawa:kone(w)-	TA	To look for him, it, in the snow by tool
na:nitawa:pakke-	AI	To look for s.o. in a crowd
na:nitawa:pam-	TA	To look for him
na:nitawa:patt-	TI	To look for it
na:nitawerim-	TA	To seek, want, ask for, him
na:nitawerimiwe-	AI	To seek, want, ask for, people
na:nitaweritt-	TI	To seek, want, ask for, it
na:nitawerittama:ke	-AI	To seek, want, ask for
na:nitawiskiwe-	AI	To ask for, look for, chewing gum
na:nito:swe-	AI	To look for moose, go moose hunting
na:nito:sweh-	TI	To look for moose, go moose hunting in
		canoe
na:nito:swešk-	TI	To look for moose, go moose hunting by
		foot

na:niton-	TA, TI	To look for him, it, by hand
na:nitonike-	AI	To look for (e.g., in a bag)
na:nitoskwe-	AI	To look for bear, go bear hunting
na:nitoskweh-	TI	To look for bear, go bear hunting in
		canoe
na:nitošk(aw)-	TA, TI	To look for him, it, by foot
na:nitoŝŝipeh-	TI	To look for, go duck shooting in canoe
na:nitott(aw)-	TA, TI	To hear, listen to him, to it
-na:niwan-	IIf	Indefinite actor
na:pa:new	AN	Flour
na:pa:newa:po:w	IN	Soup (made of flour and meat)
na:pa:tinikkessiw	AN	Mole
-na:pem-	M	Husband
-na:pem- na:pemiskw	M AN	Husband Male beaver
- -		
na:pemiskw	AN	Male beaver
na:pemiskw na:perew	AN AN	Male beaver Male partridge
na:pemiskw na:perew na:peskw	AN AN AN	Male beaver Male partridge Male bear
na:pemiskw na:perew na:peskw na:pessip	AN AN AN	Male beaver  Male partridge  Male bear  Male duck
na:pemiskw na:perew na:peskw na:pessip na:pestimw	AN AN AN AN	Male beaver  Male partridge  Male bear  Male duck  Male dog
na:pemiskw na:perew na:peskw na:pessip na:pestimw na:petikkw	AN AN AN AN AN AN	Male beaver  Male partridge  Male bear  Male duck  Male dog  Male horse, caribou

na:sipe-	AI	To go to the lake
na:sipeciwotte-	AI	To go to the lake walking
na:sipepatta:-	AI	To go to the lake running
na:sipere-	AI	To go to the lake flying
na:sipetimikk	P	On the shore, near the lake
na:sipewir-	TA	To carry him to the lake
na:sipewita:-	AI2	To carry it to the lake
na:ska:ke-	AI	To go on fighting, defend
na:skaw=	TA	To go on fighting him, defend him
na:skom-	TA	To thank s.o.
na:t-	R	To fetch
na:tarape-	ΑI	To bring one's fish-net out of the water
na:tarapeh-	TA	To make s.o. bring his fish-net out of
		the water
na:tawew	AN	Iroquois, the Iroquois nation
na:to:pe-	AI	To fetch water
na:to:peh-	TA	To make s.o. fetch water
na:tisso:ra:kane-	AI	To go and see one's snares
na:tisso:ra:kaneh-	TA	To make s.o. go and see his snares
na:tokkwe-	AI	To go and see one's snares
na:wis	P	Almost not
na	P	Question marker, animate

naha:pwa:kan	IN	Glasses
naha:sta:sso-	AI	To clean the house, do the house work
naha	Pr	Demonstrative, animate, singular, proxim-
		ate; this, that
nahi:kk(w)-	TA, TI	To put him, it, in place, set him, it
nahi:kka:sso-	AI	To put in place, set
nahi-	AI	To be skilful
naka:-	R	To stop
naka:h(w)-	TA, TI	To stop him, it, by tool
naka:hikan	IN	Brake
naka:hike-	AI	To stop
naka:ho-	AI	To stop one's canoe
naka:n-	TA, TI	To stop him, it, by hand
naka:pari(n)-	AI, II	To stop
naka:pehanirowew	II	To blow (wind) from the west, west wind
naka:pehanokk	P	From the west
naka:pi:keŝŝin-	AI	To be stopped by a rope
naka:pi:kettin	II	To be stopped by a rope
naka:piskiššin-	AI	To be stopped by a stone
naka:piskittin	II	To be stopped by a stone
naka:pit-	TA, TI	To stop him, it, fast

naka:si-	AI	To stop (when pushed)
naka:sitehon	IN	Piece of the cradleboard (that stops the
		feet)
naka:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To stop him, it, by stick
naka:skoho-	AI	To stop oneself by stick
naka:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To stop him, it, by body movement
naka:sta:-	AI	To stop by setting it in place
nakacipah-	TA	To leave him behind by running from him
nakacipatta:-	ΑI	To leave it behind by running from it
nakahw-	TA	To meet him in canoe
nakamo-	AI	To sing
nakamohitiso-	AI	To sing for oneself
nakamona:niwan	AI	People sing, there is singing
nakamo:st(aw)-	TA, TI	To sing for s.o., sth.
nakamowin	IN	Song
nakar-	TA	To leave him (rare)
nakat-	TA, TI	To leave, abandon, him, it
nakišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To meet him, it, by foot
-nakkati-	M	Bird's tail
nakwa:kan	IN	Snare
nakwa:so-	AI	To walk, fall, into a trap
nakwa:t-	TA, TI	To set a trap for him, for it

TWO NOW TO DO COMPTIL THE A SHALL	nakwa:titiso-	AI	To be caught in a snare
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nakwen- TA, TI To catch, snare, him, it, by hand

nakwepite- AI To catch, snare

nakwi:kwa:sson IN Eiderdown

nama P Not, no

nama:wik P Nobody is there

nama:wiska:t P Never

namaci- AI To be left-handed

name- R Fish

namekoss AN Trout

namekossiss AN Little trout

namekossi-pi:ssimw IN October

namepir AN Carp

namess AN Fish

namessiss AN Pilchard

namew AN Sturgeon

namohw- TA To threaten him

namok AN Bone (used to weave snowshoes)

nana: kacih- TA To take care of him, watch him

nana:kacitta:- TI To take care of it, watch it

napaka:w II To be flat

napakin-	TA, TI	To flatten him, it, by hand
napakisi-	AI	To be flat
napakita:pa:na:skw	AN	Toboggan
napate	P	On one side
napatera	P	On one side
napwekahike-	AI	To fold, bend, by tool
napwekin-	TA, TI	To fold, bend, him, it, by hand
napyer	IN	Beer (from french: la bière)
natawi:kkwa:sse-	AI	To fetch bark
natawi:kkwa:sseh-	TI	To fetch bark in canoe
natawi-	P	To go to
natavire-	AI	To go for partridges
natavireh-	TI	To go for partridges in canoe
natawirešk-	TI	To go for partridges by foot
natokoh-	TA	To nurse him, (of doctor) to attend him
natokohitiso-	AI	To take care of oneself
natokohiwe-	AI	To attend people, take care of people
natokonamiskwe-	AI	To catch a beaver by hand
natomiskwe-	AI	To go for beaver
natomiškwešk-	TI	To go for beaver by foot
naton-	TA, TI	To look for him, it, by hand
natonike-	AI	To look for (e.g., in a bag)

natoššipešk-	TI	To go for duck shooting by foot
-naw-	M	Mood, spirit
-naw-	TA£	See, think
nawaswe-	R	See nosw-
-nawi-	M	Fish's gill
nehe	${\tt Pr}$	Demonstrative, inanimate, singular, pro-
		ximate; this, that
nehira:mo-	AI	To speak indian
nehira:mowin	IN	Indian language
nehiravisinahike-	AI	To write in indian
nehiravisiv	AN	Indian
nehirawisiwi-	AI	To be indian
nehiraviskwe-	AN	Indian woman
nehirawista:w	II	To be written in indian
nesitekea:w	II	To have two objects of the same side (as
		two left shoes)
nesitekesi-	AI	To have two objects of the same side (as
		two mittens of the same hands)
nesiteteskisine-	AI	To have two shoes of the same foot
nespic	P	For ever
nesto:n-	TA, TI	To take several objects in one's hands

nesto:wa:kin-	TA, TI	To take (granulated objects) in one's
		hands
nesto:wakka:w	II	Sand cake, conglomerate
neta	P	There, yonder
nete	P	Overthere, yonder
new	P	Four
new-ki:sika:w	IN	Thursday
ni:cc-, ni:cci-	P	Down, below, bottom
ni:ccikwa:škotti-	AI	To jump down
ni:ccinike-	AI	To go down
ni:ccipari(n)-	AI, II	To go down automatically
ni:ccipit-	TA, TI	To go down fast
ni:ccittak	P	Lower floor
ni:cciwepin-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, down
ni:ka:ni:kk	P	First, ahead
ni:ka:ni:patta:-	AI	To run ahead
-ni:kihikw-	M	Parent
ni:kkikanewaci-	AI	To shiver with cold
ni:kkipari(n)-	AI, II	To shake, tremble
ni:mi:st(aw)-	TA	To dance for s.o., for sth.
ni:mi-	AI	To dance
ni:mih-	TA	To make him dance

ni:mihiwe-	AI	To dance
ni:mina:niwan	AI	People dance, there is dancing
ni:pa:sko-	AI	To kneel down
ni:pa:skon-	TA 💂	To help s.o. to kneel down
ni:n	Pr	Personal, animate, singular; I, me
ni:pa:ho-	AI	To canoe all night
ni:pa:pari-	AI	To ride all night
ni:pa:wotte-	AI	To walk all night
ni:pawi-	AI	To marry, get married, stand
ni:pawina:niwan	AI	There is a marriage
ni:pawiwin	IN	Marriage
ni:pekkwe-	AI	To have supper
ni:pepi-	AI	To stay awake all night
ni:pi:ŝ	IN	Tea, leaf
ni:pi:swa:po:ra:kan	IN	Tea cup
ni:pi:swa:po:w	IN	Boiled tea
ni:pi:škeriniw	AI	Chinese
ni:pin	II	Summer
ni:ŝ-	R	Down
ni:sino	P	Two, there are two
ni:ŝipora:ke-	AI	To go down hauling sth.
ni:siporo-	AI	To go down rapids

ni:sitana	P	Twenty
ni:soki:sika:w	IN	Tuesday
ni:so:n-	TA, TI	To hold two objects in one's hands
ni:30:skiniske-	AI	To do sth. (e.g., to row) with both hands
ni:so:sa:n	AN	Twins
กเ๋:ริพ-	R .	Two
ni:swa:pisk	P	Two dollars
ni:swa:sso	P	Seven
ni:ŝwa:w	P	Two times
ni:tta:ciwan	IN	Downstream
ni:tta:ttwi-	AI	To go down
ni:tta:ttwimakan	II	To go down
ni:tta:ttwipari(n)-	- AI, II	To go down fast
ni:ttatin	IN	Downhill, bottom of the hill
ni:ttin-	TA, TI	To put him, it, down by hand
-ni:w-	M	Wife, spouse
ni	P	Question marker, inanimate
-nica:n-	M	Baby
nihi	Pr	Demonstrative, proximate, plural, inanim-
		ate; these ones
-nike-	AIf	Carry on shoulders

-niki:-	AIf	Born
niki	Pr	Demonstrative, proximate, plural, animate;
		these ones
niki-pi:ssimw	IN	March
nikikw	AN	Otter
-nikka:so-	AIf	Named
-nikka:t-	TAf, TIf	Name
-nikka:te-	IIf	Named
nikkociwa:rikkwe-	AI	To have curled hair
nikotiso-	AI	To go in the wood fetch some meat
nikotw-	R	One
nikotwa:sso	P	Six
nikotwa:ssowa:w	P	Six times
nimici:ma:ne-	AI	To bring a canoe
nimita:waho-	AI	To put to sea
nimiwasita:skwe-	AI	To bring an axe
nipa:-	AI	To sleep
nipa:	P .	Nightly, at night
nipa:ho-	AI	To canoe at night
nipa:kana:ttikw	IN	Bed
nipa:kotawe-	AI	To keep the fire alive at night
nipa:ska:-	AI	To walk at night

nipa:toske-	AI	To go hunting at night
nipa:wa:stenama:kan	IN	Night-light
nipah-	TA	To kill s.o.
nipahitiso-	AI	To commit suicide
nipahiwe-	AI	To kill people
nipatta:-	AI2	To kill it
nipeh-	TA	To make him sleep, put him to bed
nipehiwe-	AI	To make people sleep
nipewa:n	IN	Pyjamas, night-clothes
nipewaskisin	IN	Slipper
nipewaya:n (0)	IN	Pyjamas, night clothes
nipi:hitiso-	AI	To get wet
nipi:kitt(aw)-	TA, TI	To wet s.o., sth.
nipi:n-	TA, TI	To wet s.o., sth., by hand
nipi:wan	II	To be wet
nipi:waskamika:w	II	To be damp, moist, muddy
nipi:wi-	AI	To be wet
nipi:wih-	TA	To make him wet
nipišš	IN	Tea
nipissa:po:ra:kan	IN	Tea cup
nipiy	IN	Water, liquid
nipiy nipo-	AI	To die

nipokka:so-	AI	To pretend to be dead
nipokkwa:mi-	AI	To die while sleeping
niska	AN	Goose
nikamw-	TA	To answer, listen to, understand him
nissitaw-	R	To recognize
nissitawin-	TA, TI	To recognize, understand s.o., sth.
nissitott(aw)-	TA, TI	To recognize, understand, the sound of
		s.o., of sth.
nissitotta:ke-	AI	To recognize, understand, the sound of sth.
nissitotta:ko(n)-	AI, II	To be understood, comprehensible
nissitotta:towak	AI	They recognize, understand, each other
ทเ๋ริริพ-	R	There
niškica:pi-	AI	To have tears in one's eyes
niŝŝwa:sso	P	Eight
nistam	P	First, ahead
nistamikke-	AI	To row at the prow
niŝtawic	P	In the middle, for and against
niŝtawicikke-	AI	To be in the middle, be for and against
nisto	P	Three
ništo-ki:šika:w	P	Wednesday
nistomitana	P	Thirty
nisto:n-	TA, TI	To hold three objects in one's hands

nita:wiki:-	AI	To be born, raise, produce
nita:wiki:h-	TA	To make him raise, produce
nita:wiki:tta:-	AI2	To make it raise, produce
nitaw-	R	See na:nitaw-
nitina:sso-	AI	To take down from clothes-line
nittawerim-	TA	To complain, protest against, s.o.
nittaweritt-	TI	To complain, protest against, sth
-niwan-	IIf	Indefinite actor
niya:piska:w	II	Rocky point of land
niya:ran	R	Five
niya:ranino	P	Five, there are five
niya:ranwa:pisk	P	Five dollars
niya:romitana	P	Fifty
no:ci-	AI	To eat in the wood
no:cikinepi:kossiw	AN	Harrier
no:cimikk	IN	In the wood
-no:h-	TAf	Point out
no:kika:pawi-	AI	To stop walking and stand still
no:kipari-	AI	To stop one's vehicle
no:kipit-	TA, TI	To stop him, it, fast
no:kiška:-	AI	To stop walking
no:kiška:makan	II	To stop working
no:sipe-	AI	To play in the water

no:spo-	AI	To bring one's lunch
no:spor-	TA	To make s.o. bring one's lunch
no:ssa:nih-	TA	To feed (child) at the breast
no:§§a:niha:wasso-	AI	To feed one's child at the breast
no:ริริe-	P	Female (animals only)
no:sseskw	AN	She-bear
no:ssestimw	AN	Female dog
no:ta:pwe-	AI	To dip in
no:tippe-	AI	To eat (animal's) brain
no:tta:koh(w)-	TA, TI	To make him, it, shout, squeak
no:tta:kosi-	AI	To shout, squeak
-no:wem-	M	Cheek
no:tte-	P	Before
no:tte-a:kkosi-	AI	To give birth before time
no:ttessin-	AI	To be unable to walk, be exhausted
nokkwa:t-	TA, TI	To lick him, it
nokkwa:titiso-	AI	To lick one's finger
noskattaw-	TA	To follw (moose tracks)
nossohw-	TA	To follow, go after, him
nossoneh(w)-	TA, TI	To follow, go after, him, it
nossonetta:-	AI	To follow, go after

nossw-	R	To pursue
nosswa:pam-	TA	To follow him with one's eyes
nosswa:patt-	TI	To follow it with one's eyes
notta	P	Less

0:

o:-	Pr	Personal, 3rd person; indefinite posses-
		sor (with dependent stems only). See $o-$
o:cemišišša	dan	His little dog, his puppy
o:cew	AN	Domestic fly
o:ci:pa:ssa	dAN	Her godfather (woman speaking), his god-
		mother (man speaking)
o:cicca:koŝŝa	dan	His soul, his spirit
o:ciccikoma	dan	His wart
o:co:co:wa	đAN	His mother
o:ho:mi:ssiw	AN	Eagle-owl
o:ho:ressiw	AN	American night-hawk, wookcock
o:hokaya	dan	Its scale (fish)
o:komessa	dAN	His friend
o:kosissa	dan	His son
-o:kko:-	M	Grandmother
o:kko:ma	dAN	His grandmother
o:kko:mišišša	dAN	His grandfather's or grandmother's sister

-o:kkom-	M	Wife
o:kkoma	dan	His wife
o:ma	Pr	Demonstrative, inanimate, singular; this
		one, that one
o:missa	dan	His elder sister
o:missima:wa	dan	His elder sister, nun
o:miŝŝo:ma	dan	His grandfather
o:miŝŝo:meŝŝ	đAN	His uncle
o:miššo:mišišša	dAN	His grandfather's or grandmother's bro-
		ther
o:na:pema	dan	Her husband
o:naha:kaniskwema	dan	His daughter-in-law
o:naha:kišši:ma	dan	His son-in-law
o:nakkatiya	dan	His tail (bird)
o:nakwiya	đAN	His sleeve
o:nawiya	dan	His gill (fish)
o:ni:kihikwa	đAN	His parent
o:ni:wissa	dan	His wife
o:nica:niŝŝa	dan	Her new born child
o:nitt-	TI	To lose the power of speech
o:nitta:-	AI	To lose sth.
o:ro-	AI	To howl (animal)

-0:88-	M	Grandchild

o:sikossa dAN His mother-in-law

o:ssima dAN His grandchild

o:ssimisissa dAN His great grandchild

*-o:sa:-* Nf Bay

o:sissewa dAN His father-in-law

o:škišiya dAN His lip

o:ssi:ma dAN His younger brother or sister

o:stessa dAN His elder brother

o:ta:nissa dAN His daughter

o:ta P Here

o:tawa:ssima dAN His nephew, his niece

o:te P There

o:tema dAN His dog

o:tenawan II It's a town, a city

o:tenapiressiss AN Scarlet tanagar

o:teno IN Town, city

o:to:kona dAN His godchild

o:to:sisissa dAN His aunt

-o:tta:wi- M Father

o:tta:wiya dAN His father

-o:w- Nf Abstract

0

o- ·	Pr	Personal, 3rd person, singular and plural;
		his, her, their, he, she, it, they
-0-	AIf	Abstract
ocakamow	dIN	Penis
ocakiššiy	dIN	Penis
ocaškošišš	AN	Young muskrat
ocaškw	AN	Muskrat
ocaškwa:row	IN	Muskrat's tail
occi-	P	Past in negative sentences
occikawi(n)-	AI, II	To drip, leak
occikawih-	TA	To make him drip, leak
occikawitta:-	AI2	To make it drip, leak
occineh(w)-	TA, TI	To prevent, hinder, him, it, by tool
occinehiwe-	AI	To prevent, hinder, by tool
occinen-	TA, TI	To prevent, hinder, him, it, by hand
occinewa:kericcike-	- AI	To envy
occinewa:kerim-	TA	To envy s.o.
occinewa:kerimiwe-	AI	To envy people

occinewa:keritt-	TI	To envy sth.
occipicike-	AI	To pull sth. from
occipit-	TA, TI	To pull him, it, from
occipitamaw-	TA	To pull, carry by pulling, him, it, for
		s.o.
occirowecike-	AI	To be parent with

occirowem- TA To be related to him

occirowema:kan IN Relationships

occita (0) P On purpose, naturally

occitakoc P Absolutely

ocek AN Pecan

ocem- TA To kiss s.o.

ocepikk IN Trunk (of tree), external root

ocestatay dIN Bend of the knee

ocett- TI To kiss sth.

oci:kiwin dIN Penis

oci:ma:ni- AI To have a canoe

oci:steya:py dIN Nerve, sinew

ocicaskay dIN Groin

ociccy dIN Hand, finger

ocicikonapi- AI To sit on one's knee

ocikkohacikan IN Winch

ocikkokan	dIN	Armpit
ocikkomiššiw	AN	Redpoll, (cock or hen) linnet
ociškišš	dIN	Anus, buttocks
ociššiwiy	dIN	Testicles
ociston	IN	Nest, tower
oka:ŝiŝŝ	AN	Yellow pike
oka:sikimi:-	<b>AI</b> :	To be glutton, fond of sweet things
oka:ŝikimi:kk(aw)-	TA, TI	To eat him, it, greadily
oka:škama:w	dIN	Nape of the neck
okic	P	On, on top, over, surface, upon
okicikwa:ŝkotti-	AI	To jump upon
okicipek	P	On the water
okicipekottin	II	To be at the surface of the water
okima:kka:n	AN	Elected chief
okima:kke-	AI	To elect s.o. chief
okima:kkwew	AN	Chief's wife
okima:ŝiŝŝ	AN	Counsellor, adviser
okima:w	AN	Chief
okiskino:hama:kew	AN	School teacher (man)
okiškimani:ssiv	AN	Kingfisher
okita:ciwan	P	On the top of the stream
okitatin	P	On the top of the hill

okitikw	dIN	Knee
okka:tea:py (M)	IN	Turnip
okka:tea:py (W, O)	IN	Carrot
okka:wissikw	AN	Flycatcher
okko:n	dIN	Ankle
okkot	dIN	Nose
okkwew	AN	Worm, insect
okkwewan	II	To be rotten
okkwewi-	AI	To be rotten
okkwiw	dIN	Face, neck
okocciškoy	dIN	Larynx
okotta:kan	dIN	Throat, stove-pipe
okotta:kaneya:py	dIN	Throat
omeci:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To dirty, soil, him, it
omeci:ška:ke-	AI	To dirty, soil, people
omeci:wah(w)-	TA, TI	To dirty, soil, him, it, by tool
omeci:wan	II	To be dirty
omeci:wi-	AI	To be dirty
omeci:win-	TA, TI	To dirty him, it, by hand
omeci:witta:-	AI2	To make it dirty
omemew	AN	Pidgeon (see: omimiw)
omi:ki:-	AI	To have scabies

omi:ki:h-	TA	To make him have scabies
omi:ki:kkwe-	AI	To have scabies in the neck
omi:kiwa:miw	AI	He has a house
omikkikan	dIN	Hammer (of the ear)
omimiw	AN	Pidgeon (see: omemew)
omissitay	dIN	Belly, stomach
omišša:pina:n	dIN	Eyelash
omokkoma:niw	AI	He has a knife
on-	R	To disappear
ona:pam-	TA	To lose s.o. from sight
ona:patt-	TI	To lose sth. from sight
ona:pattama:-	AI	To lose consciousness
ona:ta:kamittin	II	To turn sour
ona:tan	II	To be sour
onaha:pwa:kaniw	AI	He wears glasses
oni:ca:niŝŝi-	AI	To give birth
oni:ca:niw	AN	Female moose
oni:hamaw-	TA	To set a trap for s.o.
oni:hikan	IN	Trap, snare
oni:hike-	AI	To set a trap
onih-	TA	To lose him

onika:m-	TA	To carry on one's back
onikam	IN	Porterage, portage, place of portage
onikamikk	L	Portage (place)
onike-	AI	To carry on one's back
onikka:t-	TA, TI	To forget him, it
onikke-	AI	To forget
onimiski:ska:w	II	There is thunder
onimiski:skotea:py	IN	Electrical wire
onimiski:ška:-	AI	To walk during a thunder-storm
onimiskiw	AN	Thunder
oniška:-	AI	To get up
oniška:n-	TA	To rise him up
oniška:pit-	TA	To rise him up fast
oniŝŝim-	TA	To cause, bring about, disaster, ruin to
		S.O.
oniŝŝin-	AI	To lose one's way
onitta:-	AI2	To lose sth.
ono:wem	dIN	Cheek
onoho-	AI	To lose one's way in canoe
onoskoc	P	At the bottom, at the end of sth. vertical
onoskwa:ttikw	IN	End, top, of a tree
opi:ciwan	II	Obedjiwan (where the stream goes back)

opi:ko:cca:n	AN	Bulb
opi:pari(n)-	AI, II	To go back, go up again
opi:škwa:n	dIN	Muscle
opi:stikwea:kk	L	Quebec
opi:stikwea:w	II	Fast running river
opi:ta:wakka:kk	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (sandy cliffs)
opi:wiy	dIN	Hair
opicikay	dIN	Hip
opikkicicca:n	đIN	Knuckle
opiskotay	dIN	Bladder
opo:m	dIN	Thigh
opo:mikekan	IN	Femur
oppa:ssi-	AI	To be blown upwards
oppa:stacikan	IN	Kite
oppa:stan	II	To be blown upwards
oppan	dIN	Lung
oppime	P	On the side, sideways
oppimera	P	Beside, to one side, by the side of
oppiriko-	AI	To convulse, feel cramps, gnawing pain
oppirikone-	AI .	To convulse, be sick of cramps
oppirikowa:pinew	IN	Epilepsy
oppisikan	IN	Baking-powder

opwa:ya:w	IN	Straight, pass
ora:kan	IN	Plate, dish, basin
ora:kaniwass	IN	Cupboard
ora:kaniwaskopakw	IN	Bracken (fern)
ora:katin	II	To materialize (ice on the surface of a
		lake)
ora:n	dIN	Calf of leg
oracike-	AI	To cut up, carve
orah-	TI	To undo it
oraho-	AI	(W) To hurry to do sth. before s.o. else
		(M) To part with, give up one's belongings
		in a short time
orakapay	dIN	Crutch
orakaskicicca:n	dIN	Palm (of hand)
orakaskisita:n	dIN	Sole (of foot)
orakaskoy	dIN	Palate of the mouth

Bark

Law

Vagina

To legislate on

To make s.o. sit

Thigh

opwa:m

orakeskw

orakkacciy

orakonike-

orapih-

orakonikewin

dIN

AN

dIN

ΑI

IN

TA

orar-	TA	To set, place, him
oraŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To undo him, it, by cutting
orašta:-	AI2	To set, place, it, lay the table
orekahike-	AI	To pitch the tent
orekanike-	AI	To unfold, strike the tent
orekin-	TA, TI	To fold up (clothes, woven)
orekina:wasso-	.AI	To fold up one's household washing
orikahike-	AI	To notch (maple tree)
oriskw	dIN	Gland
oro:kan	dIN	Hip
orowepin-	TA, TI	To get, push, throw, him, it, out by hand
orowepišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To get, push, throw, him, it, out by foot
orowi:-	AI	To get out
orowi:timik	P	Outside
osa:mipe-	AI	To overflow, run over
osa:mipor-	TA	To make him overflow, run over
osa:mipota:-	AI2	To make it overflow, run over
osa:m-mistahi	P	Too, too much
osa:m-wi:pac	P	Too soon
osa:wa:rikkwe-	AI	To have brown hair
osa:wa:so:riya:pis	kω IN	Stone with bronze
osa:wa:w	II	To be brown, yellow

	A T		
osa:watippe-	A1	To have brown hair	

osa:wisi- AI To be brownish, yellowish

osit dIN Foot

oska:t dIN Leg

oska:tikekan IN Tibia

-o:skamin- IIf Water

oskan IN Bone

oskaskikan dIN Chest

oskattikw dIN Forehead

oski:wan dIN Nose, nostril

oskic P Over, on top, at the surface

oskisk AN Spruce, tamarack

oskiska:ttikw IN Wooden rod (of snowshoe)

oskiska:skwea:w II Spruce forest

osko IN Cloud

-oskon- M Elbow

oskon dIN Elbow

ositea:py IN Weaving (of snowshoe), band of carter-

pillar skidoo

oso:w dIN Tail

oso:ra:kan IN Saucepan, stewpan

oso:skikw IN Pan

ospa:pi-	AI	To look through
ospikekan	dIN	Rib
ospiskon	dIN	Back
ospiton	dIN	Arm
ospitonikkekan	dIN	Radius
ospwa:kan	AN	Pipe
oss(w) <b>-</b>	TA, TI	To boil him, it
ossa:pam-	TA	To look at him through sth.
ossa:patt-	TI	To look at it through sth.
ossa:pi-	AI	To look through
ossa:pwa:kan	IN	Window
ossa:pwa:kana:piskw	, IN	Window-pane
ossekkwe-	AI	To boil fruits
osso-	AI	To boil
osswa:pakke	P	After tomorrow
ostot-	TI	To cough
ostotamoh-	TA	To make him cough
osa:ssa:w	II	To be slippery
oša:ššin-	AI	To be slippery
oša:waškwa:-	AI	To be green, blue-green
oša:waššin	II	To be yellow, pale brown
oŝahama:-	AI	To put to flight

ošakay	dIN	Skin
ošakevašš	IN	Suitcase
oŝeto	IN	Bottom part of the snowshoe
osih-	TA	To make him, arrange, set, him, in order
osikonay	dIN	Tail, fin, (of fish)
osim-	TA	To run away from him
oŝimo-	AI	To run away
osimoh-	TA	To put him to flight
oŝimotta:-	AI2	To put it to flight
osimottaw-	TA	To run away for s.o.
ositta:-	AI2	To make it, arrange, set, it, in order
oškaššiy	dIN	Nail, claw, hoof
oški:ššikw	dIN	Eye
oški:ššikopicikan	IN	Eyelet-hole (of snowshoe)
oški-	P	Young, new
oškiho-	AI	To be newly dressed, put new clothes on
oškimani:ya:py	IN	Rope (used to weave snowshoes)
oškime-	AI	To weave snowshoes
oškišikopicikan	IN	Eyelet of snowshoe
oškina:kon	II	To look new
oškina:kosi-	AI	To look new
oškiniki:ššišš	AN	Воу

oškiniki:w	AN	Young man, bachelor
oškissiw	II	To be new, shiny
oškitepakw	IN	Nenuphar, water-lily
oškittekom	AN	Ear-wax
oškiwa: šišš	.AN	Newborn child
ošo:kan	dIN	Hip
ošo:rya:miw	AI	He has money
oško:škota:minaškw	AN	Orchid
ošoškwecošš	AN	Pine cone
ošoškweto:w	AN	Mushroom, pine cone
ošpita:wakka:w	II	Heap of sand
ošša:šša:komina:n	IN	Berry
ošša:šša:komina:nip	akw IN	Perpetual fruiting shrub
ostessiv	AI	77. 7
	111	He has a brother
ostessima:w	AN	Friar, eldest brother
ostessima:w ostikwa:n		
	AN	Friar, eldest brother
ostikwa:n	AN dIN	Friar, eldest brother Head
ostikwa:n ostikwa:niw	AN dIN AI	Friar, eldest brother Head He has a head
ostikwa:n ostikwa:niw ostikwa:ni:ya:py	AN dIN AI IN	Friar, eldest brother Head He has a head Head band
ostikwa:n ostikwa:niw ostikwa:ni:ya:py ostikwa:nikkekan	AN dIN AI IN	Friar, eldest brother Head He has a head Head band Skull

ota:cikoske-	AI	To angle with rod and line
ota:kke-	AI	To row at the stern
ota:koh-	TI	To lie in wait for it in canoe
ota:kohešk(aw)-	TA, TI	To lie in wait for him, it, by foot
ota:koŝŝi:kk	P	Yesterday
ota:koššin	II	To be evening
ota:ma:piska(w)-	TA, TI	To hit him, it (stone, metal)
ota:ma:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To hit him, it with a stick
ota:mah(w)-	TA, TI	To hit him, it by tool
ota:mikah(w)-	TA, TI	To hit him, it, with an axe
ota:mikkikkekan	dIN	Jaw
ota:mikkwehw-	TA	To hit him, it, at the face
ota:mipekah-	TI	To hit water
ota:mipekahike-	AI	To hit water
ota:mipekiššin-	AI	To hit oneself on water
ota:mipekittita:-	AI2	To hit it on water
ota:mišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To hit him, it, by foot
ota:miŝŝim-	TA	To hit and make him fall
ota:miŝŝin-	AI	To hit and make fall
ota:mistikwa:nehw-	TA	To hit s.o. on the head
ota:mištikwa:neššir	a- AI	To hurt, bump, one's head

ota:mittin	II	To be hit and fall down
ota:mittita:-	AI	To be hit and fall down
ota:na:nikk	P	Back, backwards, last, behind
ota:pa:n	IN	Car, toboggan
ota:pa:na:skokke-	AI	To make a toboggan
ota:pa:na:skw	AN	Toboggan
ota:pa:nikiwa:m	IN	Garage, parking
ota:pa:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To pull, draw, him, it, out with a stick
ota:pa:t-	TA, TI	To haul him, it
ota:pa:wakin-	TA, TI	To take (powder-like objects) in one's
		hands
ota:pah-	TA	To make a toboggan
ota:pe-	AI	To pull, haul
ota:pin-	TA, TI	To take, buy, him, it
ota:pina:ssoh-	TA	To make him buy sth. for oneself
ota:pina:ssokka:so-	AI	To pretend to buy for oneself
ota:pinamaw-	TA	To take, buy, sth. for s.o.
ota:pwe-	AI	To shrink
ota:ssinakkew	dIN	Thorax
ota:stamikkw	dIN	Face
otahipa:n	IN	Well, source
otakišiy	dIN	Intestines
otamih-	TA	To disturb him

otamihitiso-	ΔΤ	To disturb oneself
<i>บนิสสนาแนนนธ</i> อ-	Aı	10 alsturn oneseit

otamiro- AI To work

otamiroh- TA To make him work

otamirotta:- AI2 To make it work

otamirowin IN Work

otamitta:- AI2 To disturb it

otamitta:sso- AI To disturb

otapiy AN Root

otarapi:- AI To have a fish-net

otata:ma(w) - TA, TI To pat him, it

otata:mattita:- AI2 To pat it, drum on it

otata:mitessiw AN Foetus (animal)

otataspisowin IN Dress, costume, clothes

otattakkon-pi:ssimw IN August

otawe- AI To have the hiccups

oteha:po:w IN Soup (made with the heart of a moose)

otehi dIN Heart

otehimin-pi:ssimw IN June

otehimina:n IN Strawberry

otehimin IN Strawberry

otehimina:na:ttikw AN Strawberry bush

otehisinahikan AN Heart (card)

oteraniy	dIN	Tongue

oteškan dIN Horn

otetikossiw AN Loins (of moose)

otetipissiw AN Heron

otettakossiw dIN Kidney

otikkon IN Bough (of tree)

otiriy dIN Shoulder-blade

otissiy dIN Umbelical cord

otiškwecicca:n dIN Little finger

otittama:n dIN Shoulder

oti:w dIN Buttocks

oto:n dIN Mouth

oto:ttan dIN Heel

oto IN Congeal blood, clot

ototakkon dIN Wing

ott- R Therefore, thence

-otte- Alf Walk

ottaši:kke- AI To live there

ottew II To be boiling

ottewa:po:w IN Boiling water

ottin- TA, TI To take, get, buy, him, it, from there

otto:kay dIN Ear

р

pa:ka:n-	TA, TI	To burst him, it
pa:kaso-	AI	To eat marrow (of bone)
pa:kin-	TA	To cause him to swell
pa:kiŝŝi-	AI	To be swollen
pa:kowemicikoŝiŝŝ	AN	French man (from France)
pa:kkwa:ccima:ssin	II	To be shallow
pa:kkwa:niŝŝin	II	To be shallow
pa:na:n	AN	Banana (from french: banane)
pa:pa:	IN	Bedtime (child language)
pa:pakki:kwin	II	To drain off the water (in clothes)
pa:pakon-	TA, TI	To bark (tree) him, it
pa:pakoniškwewe-	AI	To bark birch-tree
pa:parakissiv	AN	Saw-whet owl
pa:pastew	AN	Woodpecker
pa:pekwa:w	P	Each time
pa:ppi:h-	TA	To make him laugh
pa:ppi-	AI	To laugh
pa:ppih-	TA	To laugh at him

pa:ppikka:so-	AI	To pretend to laugh
pa:ppikkweri-	AI	To smile
pa:po:w	IN	Milk (child language)
pa:skisikan	IN	Gun
pa:skisikanikke-	AI	To make a gun
pa:skisike-	AI	To shoot
pa:skis(w)-	TA, TI	To shoot him, it
pa:ss(w) -	TA, TI	To dry him, it, out
pa:sso-	AI	To dry out
pa:ssonowa:n	IN	Dried meat
pa:stonew	AN	Tourist, american, drugs (from english:
		Boston)
pa:stonewikiwa:m	IN	Chalet, country cottage
pa:satina:w	II	To be on the other side of a hill
pa:sicikwa:skotti-	AI	To jump over
pa:sicikwa:škottot(	αώ). ΤΑ,ΤΙ	To jump over him, it
pa:sita:h(w)-	TA, TI	To miss him, it, go over him, it
pa:ŝita:sko-	AI	To go over
pa:sitin-	TA, TI	To put him, it, on the other side of sth.
pa:sitinamaw-	TA	To give sth. to s.o. over sth. else
pa:šk-	R	To burst
pa:skicen-	TA, TI	To crush him, it, by hand

pa:škin-	TA, TI	To burst him, it, by hand
pa:škinakkwa:n	AN	Club-moss, lycopod
pa:ŝkiw	AN	Ring-necked spruce-grouse
pa:sko:ceh(w)-	TA, TI	To break open, uncork, him, it
pa:st-	R	To break
pa:sta:towin	IN	Sin
pa:stah(w)-	TA, TI	To break, smash, him, it, by tool
pa:stemitti	IN	Firewood
pa:stew	II	To dry out
pa:stin-	TA, TI	To break, smash, him, it, by hand
pa:stipari(n)-	AI, II	To burst, explode
pa:tima	P	Bye-and-bye, not right now
pa:wistikw	IN	Falls, cascade, rapid
pacakahama:kan	IN	Fork
-pah-	TA£	Run from
-pak-	M	Leaf, bark
paka:ho:missiw	AN	Yellow-bellied sapsucker
4		
paka:n	AN	Hazel-nut, nut
paka:n paka:na:ttikw	AN IN	Hazel-nut, nut Hazel-tree
•		·
- paka:na:ttikw	IN	Hazel-tree

pakita:skoh-	TA	To make s.o. let go, release, him
pakita:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To pull, set, him, it, down, let him, it
		down
pakitaccike-	AI	To release, let go one's hold with teeth
pakitam-	TA	To release him, let him go, with teeth
pakitin-	TA, TI	To release him, it, let him, it, go by
		hand
-pakitin-	TAf, TIf	Set, place, by hand
pakitinamwekka:so-	AI	To pretend to give alms (at church)
pakitinike-	AI	To give alms, give sth. out of charity
pakittin	II .	To be pulled, set, down, fallen down
pakittita:-	AI2	To let it fall down, release, drop, it
-pakittita:-	AI2f	Throw down
pakitahw-	TA	To let him go, set one's fish-net
pakitahwa:-	AI	To set fish-nets
pakkace <b>š</b> ši-	AI .	To be hungry, skinny, lean
pakkaha:kkwa:n	AN	Hen, chicken
pakkaha:kkwa:niŝiŝŝ	AN .	Chick
pakkate-	AI	To be hungry, skinny
pakkekista:hikan	IN	Selvedge, list (of cloth)
pakkekinw	AN	Leather
pakkekineskisin	IN	Moccasin, leather shoe

pakkocen-	TA	To eviscerate (animal) him
pakkocepari(n)-	AI, II	To rip open, tear open
pakkon-	TA	To take him (animal skin) off
pakkopepari(n)-	AI, II	To fall in the water
pakkopeška:-	AI	To fall in the water, walking
pakkopewepin-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, in the water
pakkwe-	R	To break, divide
pakkwekkiciss	AN	Tray to cook bannock, frying pan
pakkwen-	TA, TI	To divide him, it, take some of sth. by
		hand
pakkweniwe-	AI	To divide, take some of sth.
pakkwepisiwe-	AI	To divide
pakkwepit-	TA, TI	To divide by knocking him, it, roughly
pakkweŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To cut a piece of him, of it
pakkwesikan	.AN	Bannock, flour
pakkwesikanikke-	AI	To make bannock
pakkwesikanisiss	AN	Doughnut, cake
pakotehon	AN	Belt
-pakw-	Nf	Leaf
panokkwa:w	II	To be loose
papa:massa:motte-	AI	To walk about in snowshoe
papa:mo:horiwe-	AI	To guide, lead, people

papa:motte-	AI	To go for a walk (every day)
paparama:n	IN	Candy (from english: peppermint)
papwa:pi:kepicikan	IN	Guitar
parakoskwa:cikan	IN	Sling
parakoskwa:cikani:y	a:py IN	Sling rubber
parawitta:-	AI	To be miserable
parawitta:h-	TA	To make him miserable
-pari-	AIf	Move
-parin-	IIf	Move
paroskoh(w)-	TA, TI	To knock the bottom of him, it, smash in
•••		by tool
paroskokah(w)-	TA, TI	To knock the bottom of him, it, smash in
		by axe
paroskon-	TA, TI	To knock the bottom of him, it, smash in
		by hand
paroskopo:r-	TA	To knock the bottom of him, smash in by
		saw
paroskopo:ta:-	AI2	To knock the bottom of it, smash in by
		saw
paroskošk(aw)–	TA, TI	To knock the bottom of him, it, smash in
		by foot

TA, TI	To knock the bottom of him, it, smash in
	by throwing
TA, TI	To stick him, it, have sticky hands
II	To be sticky
TA	To surprise him, catch him unexpectedly
AI	To surprise oneself
AI2	To surprise it, catch it unexpectedly
AI	To surprise each other
R	To clear, clean, remove
AI	To pluck (chicken), peel off
TA, TI	To pluck him, it, peel him, it, off
AI	To take off the hair (animal)
TA, TI	To take off the skin (animal)
TA, TI	To peel him, it, with a knife
TA	To whip him
TA, TI	To miss the target by tool
AI	To miss the target
AN	Potatoe (from french: patate)
IN	Needle
AN	Coccinella (cf. french: (bête à) patate)
TA, TI	To stick, spear, prick, sting, him, it
TA, TI	To pinch him, it
AI	To pinch oneself
	TA, TI II TA AI AI2 AI R AI TA, TI TA, TI TA, TI TA TA TA, TI TA TA TA, TI TA TA TA, TI TA TA TA, TI

pataskiniwe-	AI	To pinch people
pataskiššim-	TA	To stick, erect, set, him, it, up
pataskiššin-	AI	To stick, erect, set, him, it, up
pataskittin	II	To be sticked, erected, set up
pataskittita:-	AI2	To stick, erect, it
pataskohotiso-	AI	To prick oneself
-patta:-	AIf	Run
pattari	AN	Battery (from english: battery)
pe-	P	Movement towards speaker
-pe-	AIf	Sleep
peci-	P	Movement towards speaker
pecimiška:-	AI	To come, arrive, by water
pecimo:tte-	AI -	To come, arrive walking
pecinike-	AI	To come, arrive, carrying on one's back
pecipari(n)-	AI, II	To come, arrive, in vehicle
pecipatta:-	AI	To come, arrive, running
pecire-	ΑI	To come, arrive flying
peciskanawe-	AI	To leave tracks when coming
peciŝŝi:mo:tte-	AI	To make the way, lead
peh-	TA	To wait for him
peho:kamikw	IN	(Railway, bus) station
peho-	AI	To wait

pe-isa:-	AI	To come
pe-kapa:-	AI	To disembark, set ashore
pekate-	AI	To belch
pekateh-	TA	To make him belch
pekka:c	P	Slowly, carefully, silently
pekka:tisi- (0)	AI	To be still, quiet, silent, calm
pekkocira:nekin	IN	Household linen
pekkon-	TA, TI	To wipe, dry, him, it, by hand
pekkope-	AI	To get out of water
pekkorira:kanekin	IN	Dishwashing cloth
pekkopewa:n	IN	Sweater
pekkotakkahikana:t	tikw IN	Мор
pekkotakkahikana:t pekwa:kamiriniw	<i>tikw</i> IN AN	Mop Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue)
-		•
- pekwa:kamiriniw	AN	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue)
pekwa:kamiriniw pekwa:kamikk	AN L	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue) Pointe-Bleue (place name)
pekwa:kamiriniw pekwa:kamikk pemohoka:tepi-	AN L AI	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue) Pointe-Bleue (place name) To sit and cross one's legs
pekwa:kamiriniw pekwa:kamikk pemohoka:tepi- pesiw-	AN L AI TA	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue) Pointe-Bleue (place name) To sit and cross one's legs To bring him
pekwa:kamiriniw  pekwa:kamikk  pemohoka:tepi-  pesiw-  pesiwir-	AN L AI TA TA	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue) Pointe-Bleue (place name) To sit and cross one's legs To bring him To bring him, carrying him
pekwa:kamiriniw  pekwa:kamikk  pemohoka:tepi-  pesiw-  pesiwir-  pesiwita:-	AN L AI TA TA AI2	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue)  Pointe-Bleue (place name)  To sit and cross one's legs  To bring him  To bring him, carrying him  To bring it, carrying it
pekwa:kamiriniw  pekwa:kamikk  pemohoka:tepi-  pesiw-  pesiwir-  pesiwita:-  pesiwiwe-	AN L AI TA TA AI2 AI	Montagnais (from Pointe-Bleue)  Pointe-Bleue (place name)  To sit and cross one's legs  To bring him  To bring him, carrying him  To bring it, carrying it  To bring

peta:-	AI2	To bring it
peta:pan	II	Dawn, daybreak
peta:ška:w	II	There is a wave coming
peta:taka:-	AI	To come, swimming
peta:wakkotte-	AI	To come walking in the sand
peto:pe-	AI	To bring water
pett(aw)-	TA, TI	To hear him, it
petta:-	AI2	To wait for it
petta:ke-	AI	To hear it said
petta:tiso-	AI	To hear oneself
pettah-	TA	To make him hear
pettamo:h-	TA	To make him hear
pettamor-	TA	To place it to make him hear it
pettamotar-	TA	To place it to make him hear it
peyakw	P	One
peyakwa:pisk	P	One dollar
pi:cc-	P	In, inside
pi:ccikkoma:n	IN	Knife, pocket knife
pi:ccipo:n	IN	December
pi:ccipo-	AI	To take poison
pi:ccipoh-	TA	To poison him
pi:koh(w)-	TA, TI	To break him, it, by tool

pi:kokah(w)	TA, TI	To break him, it, with an axe
pi:kokatt-	TI	To break it with one's teeth
pi:kom-	TA	To break him with one's teeth
pi:kon-	TA, TI	To break him, it, by hand
pi:kopit-	TA, TI	To break him, it, roughly
pi:kopo:cike-	AI	To break things by grinding
pi:kopo:r-	TA	To break him with a saw
pi:kopo:ta:-	AI2	To break it with a saw
pi:koš(w)-	TA, TI	To break him, it, with a knife
pi:košk(aw)-	TA, TI	To break him, it, by foot
pi:koškweiki:po:ci	kan IN	Hashed meat, chopper
pi:koškipit-	TA, TI	To tear him, it, up
pi:koškwemoka:w	II	Torn paper
pi:koššim-	TA	To break him by dropping
pi:kota:-	AI	To be broken
pi:kott-	TI	To break it with one's teeth
pi:kottita:-	AI2	To break it by dropping
pi:kwa:pa:war-	TA	To break him with water
pi:kwa:pa:wata:-	AI2	To break it with water
pi:kwepah(w)-	TA, TI	To break him, it, by throwing
pi:min-	TA, TI	To twist, wring, him, it, by hand

pi:mirokoškwa:cišš	AN	Snail
pi:miška:-	AI	To turn
pi:miŝten-	TA, TI	To twist, wring, him, it, by hand
pi:sk(aw)-	TA, TI	To clothe him, it, by body movement
pi:skoto:sse-	AI	To clothe
pi:skota:wasso-	AI	To clothe one's child
pi:skotar-	TA	To put (one's coat) on
pi:ssi-	AI	To emerge (air in water)
pi:ssimakan	II	To emerge (air in water)
pi:ssimw	AN	Month, sun, moon
pi:ssimwa:py	IN	Rainbow
pi:ssin-	TI	To change money, put in small pieces
pi:ssinew	II	To be in small pieces
pi:ssipo:cikan	IN	Sawdust
pi:ssitossiw	AN	Eddy, Name of a legendary hero
-pi:skwa:n-	M	Muscle
pi:škoc (0)	IN	Suitcase
pi:ste	IN	Froth, foam
pi:stewa:piskw	AN	Alumina
pi:toŝ	P	Differently
pi:tos-ante	P	Somewhere else
pi:tt-	R	Inside, enclose

pi:ttaha:sson	IN	Container
pi:ttah(w)-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, by tool
pi:ttikah-	TA	To force him to enter
pi:ttikamik	P	Inside the house
pi:ttikar-	TA	To bring, carry, him, inside
pi:ttikata:-	AI2	To bring, carry, it, inside
pi:ttike-	AI	To enter
pi:ttikeh-	TA	To invite him to enter
pi:ttiken-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, by hand
pi:ttikepiso-	AI	To move oneself fast inside
pi:ttikepit-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, fast
pi:ttikere-	AI	To enter flying
pi:ttikešk(aw)-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, by foot
pi:ttikewepin-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, by throwing by hand
pi:ttikewepišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, by throwing by foot
pi:tto:hacikan	IN	Gun case
pi:tto:koppa:n	IN	Petticoat, undershirt
pi:tto:pakiwa:na:n	IN	Undershirt
pi:tto:pedicicca:n	IN	Water blister
pi:tto:pekokk	L	Place name near Weymontachie (where the
		water goes inland)
pi:tto:rakapessa:ka	2AN	Man's underpants

pi:tto:ŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, between
pi:tto:sikan	IN	Lining (of garment)
pi:tto:ŝk(aw)-	TA, TI	To clothe him, it, by body movement
pi:tto:ška:cikan	AN	Underwear
pi:tto:tte-	AI	To walk between
pi:tto:wa:w	II	To be in between, in the center
pi:tto:wakk	P	Between, in the center
pi:wa:piskokkeriniw	AN	Mechanic
pi:wa:piskora:kan	IN	Metallic plate
pi:wa:piskw	IN	Iron, metal, motor
pi:wa:piskwa:py	IN	Chain, wire
-pi:wi-	M	Hair
-picik-	M	Hip
-picikan-	Nf	Instrument
picciw	AN	American robin
pik	AN	Spade (card)
pikisikan	IN	Molasses candy
pikiskwe-	AI	To slaver, drivel
pikiskwewa:n	IN	Bib
pikiškwemok	IN	Waxed paper, gum wrapping
pikiw	AN	Gum, rosin
pik <b>iwa:n</b>	IN	Rain coat (plastic)

pikiwa:na:siya:n	IN	Plastic baby breeches, short
pikiwa:niŝŝ	IN	Old rag, material
pikiwaya:n (0)	IN	Baby covering, sleeper (blanket)
pikkin-	TA, TI	To fold him, it, up
pikkokw	AN	Arrow
pikokka:n	IN	Indian tent
pikota:wakw	IN	Pond
pikotittakw	IN	Rotten wood
pim-	R	Along, extension in time or in space
pima:cetišah(w)-	TA, TI	See ma:cetisah(w)-
pima:cipit-	TA, TI	See ma:cipit-
pima:citta:-	AI2	See ma:citta:-
pima:poko-	AI	See ma:poko-
pima:skoššim-	TA	See ma:skossim- and corresponding deverb-
		als
pima:skwea:w	II	See ma:skwea:w
pima:ŝŝi-	AI	See ma:ssi-
pima:taka:-	AI	See ma:taka:- and corresponding deverbals
pima:tikonih-	TA	See ma:tikonih-
pima:tisi-	AI	See ma:tisi-
pima:tisiwin	IN	Life
pima:hor-	TA	See mo:hor-

pima:ska:skoh-	TI	See moska:skoh-
pima:ska:w	II	To be bushy
pimassa:motte-	AI	To walk along in snowshoe
pimatina:w	II	See ma:tina:w
pimicišah(w)-	TA, TI	See mi:tisah(w)-
pimiciwan	II	See mi:ciwan
piminika:m-	TA	See mi:nika:m-
pimipaccašši-	AI	See mi:pacca:ssi-
pimipah-	TA	See mi:pah-
pimipea:w	II	See mi:pea:w
pimire-	AI	See mi:re-
pimiška:-	AI	See mi:ška:-
pimištikwea:w	II	Se∈ mi:§tikwea:w
pimita:ccimo-	AI	See mi:ta:ccimo-
pimita:pe-	AI	See mi:ta:pe-
pimiw	IN	Fat, oil
pimiwir-	TA	See mi:wir-
pimiwita:-	AI2	See mi:wita:-
pimocešši-	AI	See mo:cešši-
pimottokwe-	AI	See mo:ttokwe-
pimotte-	AI	See mo:tte-
pipo:nessiw	AN	Broad-winged hawk, buzzard

pipo:nw	II	Winter, year
-pir-	N£	Abstract
piresiw	AN	Bird
pirešišš	AN	Young partridge
pireššišš	AN	Young bird
pirew	AN	Partridge
pirewimina:n	IN	Twin flower
pisikon-	TA, TI	To awake, make him, it, stand up
piskare-	AI	To have matches (fire)
piskarepari-	AI	To have fire on oneself, be burning up
piskarepicikan	IN	Flint, gas-lighter
piskaretta:-	AI	To stir up (fire)
piskosi-	AI	To have a hump, a bump
-piskot-	M	Stomach
piskwa:w	II	To have a hump, a bump
-piso-	AIf	Tied
-piso-	AIf	Fast, handled roughly
pissa	P	Manifestation of repugnance, dislike
pissama:n	IN	Smoke
pissama:nikke-	AI	To make smoke
pissekan	IN	Cat's tail, bulrush
pissekanoškw	IN	Cat's tail, bulrush

pissweššin	AI	To resound, re-echo
pisswettin	II	To resound, re-echo
pišašteššim-	TA	To trip s.o. up
pišašteššimekka:so-	AI	To pretend to trip s.o. up
pišašteššine-	AI	To trip
pišcipo:r-	TA	To saw him accidentally
piši:šišš	AN	Young lynx
pišiw	AN	Lynx
pišiwokkota:-	AI	To snare
piškw	AN	Common Righthawk
piššiššikw	P	All the time
pišt-	R	Accidentally
pistah(w)-	TA, TI	To hit s.o., sth., by tool, accidentally
pistam-	TA	To eat him accidentally
pištatt-	TI	To eat it accidentally
pištin-	TA, TI	To hit, s.o., sth., by hand accidentally
pištiš(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, accidentally
pištišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To hit him, it, by foot accidentally
-pit-	TAf, TIf	Pull, handle roughly
-pit-	TAf, TIf	Tie
pitah-	TI ·	To be caught in the net (fish)
pitahike-	AI	To smash a beaver's dam

-pite-	IIf	Tied
-pite-	IIf	Fast, handled roughly
pitikosi-	AI	To be stocky (man)
-piton-	M	Arm
po:co:ŝŝ	AN	Tadpole
po:n-, po:ni-	R	To stop, cease
po:na:kkošš	AN	One-year-old moose
po:na:pa:n	IN	Fishing-line (sleeping line)
po:nih-	TA	To cease activity, abandon, resign
po:nihiwe-	AI	To cease activity, abandon, resign
po:nima:tisi-	AI	To die
po:niskiwan	II	The end of the world
po:nitta:-	AI2	To cease activity, abandon, resign
-po:r-	TAf	Grind, saw
po:si-	AI	To go in a vehicle, board
po:sih-	TA	To ship, take him aboard
po:sipari(n)-	AI, II	To go away in vehicle
po:sitta:-	AI2	To ship, take it aboard
po:swa:ttikw	IN	Triangular roof (of house)
-po:ta:-	AI2f	Grind, saw
po:ta:cikan	IN	Harmonica

•		
po:ta:cike-	AI	To blow, play harmonica
po:ta:t-	TA, TI	To blow on him, on it
po:tawekaŝŝi-	AI	To be blown up
po:tawekastan	II	To be blown up
po:wiyew	AN	One-year-old beaver
-po-	AIf	Eat
pokona:wakka:w	II	Hole in the sand
pokoneh(w)-	TA, TI	To pierce, make a hole, perforate, him, it
pokonesikohike-	AI	To make a hole in the ice
pokonettaka:w	II	Hole in a board
pokope-	AI	To go in water
pokošta:-	AI	To beg, solicit
posa:pam-	TA	To look at him askance
posa:patt-	TI	To look at it askance
postastotine-	AI	To put one's hat on
pošcipakiwa:ne-	AI	To put one's shirt on
postakoppe-	AI	To put one's dress on
poštarakapešša:kan	e- AI	To put one's pants on
-ppan-	M	Lung
-pw-	TAf	Taste
pwa:koneh(w) –	TA, TI	To remove the snow on one's clothes

-pwa:m-	M	Thigh
pwa:ssimikkwa:w	II	To be pink
pwa:sta	P	Late
pwehekah(w)-	TA, TI	To shake, beat, him, it, by tool
		(for cleaning)
pwehimina:na:ttikw	AN	Cherry-tree
pwekah(w)-	TA, TI	To fold him, it, in two, by tool
pwemikkwe-	II	To be dark red
pwete	IN	Box (from french: boîte)

r

-ra:kan-	N£	Dish, bowl
ra:kicišši-	AI	To be light (in weight)
ra:kiššin	II	To be light (in weight)
ra:kišta:-	AI	To be light (in weight)
ra:kišta:šši-	AI	To make oneself light (in weight)
ra:kka:ssimon	IN	Linen, cloth, tent
ra:kka:ssimonekin	IN	Linen, cloth
ra:kka:ssimoneskisi	n IN	Running shoe
-ra:n-	M	Calf of leg
ra:rea:k	L	On the bank, on the shore
ra:rea:ša:kame-	AI	To walk on the shore
ra:rewe-	AI	To pass, run, along the shore
ra:rokwe-	AI	To unfasten, break loose
ra:rokwa:skocih-	TA	To unfasten him
ra:rokwa:skocitta:-	AI2	To unfasten it
ra:rokwa:skottin	II	To become loose
ra:sin-	TA, TI	To lower him, it, by hand

....

To come down automatically (e.g., elevator)

ra:sipit-TA, TI To lower him, it, fast -rakask-M Palate (of the mouth) -rakkacc-M Vagina rakkih(w)-TA, TI To increase him, it, by tool rakkipota:-ΑI To add water rakkitta:-AI2 To increase it AIf -re-F<sub>1</sub>y recyo IN Radio reka:wan II To be sandy rekim-TA To growl after him rekimo-ΑI To grow1 reko IN Sand rere-ΑI To breathe

To make him breathe

-ri:ri- M Bladder

TA

N£

ra: sipari(n) -

rereh-

-rew-

AI, II

-ri- Alf On or by body movement

riccik IN Pompom hat (from french: les tuques)

Partridge

rika:wakkah(w) - TA, TI To bury, cover, him, it, with sand

rikka:rat IN Carrot (from french: les carottes)

rikkirak	IN	Overshoe, snow-boot (from french: les
		claques)
riko:skamikin-	TA, TI	To cover him, it, with moss
rikoskon	II	To be cloudy
rikotin	II	To be (lake) covered with thin ice
rikwa:kone(w)-	TA, TI	To cover him, it, with snow
rikwa:konen-	TA, TI	To cover him, it, with snow by hand
rikwa:patte-	ΑI	To be covered with smoke
rikwa:ska:n	IN	Cemetery, grave yard
rikwa:skotina:w	II	Well-timbered hill
-riniw-	Nf	Man
ripa:ccista:sso-	AI	To be encumbered, littered, in disorder
ripa:ccistew	II	To be encumbered, littered, in disorder
ripira:ma:ŝŝ	IN	Cheese (from french: du fromage)
ripot	IN	Boot (from french: les bottes)
ririkicicca:n	IN	Finger
ririkastiss	IN	Glove
riskosso-	AI	To fast
riskossoh-	TA	To make him fast
-riskw-	M	Gland
rissossokke-	AI	To knit

rissossowea:py	IN	Woo1
ritta:ttora:kan	IN	
room, otoraran	TIA	Tray (for pie), (from french: les tartes)
riwepit-	TA, TI	To notch, pink out (leather), him, it
riwo:hikan	IN	Dried meat with sauce
riyepison	IN	Rags, clothes in rags, fringe
riyepit-	TA, TI	To make fringe
riyepitassa:ma:n	IN	Snowshoe embellishment
riyeška:-	AI	To be torn to shreds, be in rags (clothes)
-ro:kan-	M	Hip
ro:ro:kka:ssiw	AN	Humming-bird
ro:ro:mikkan	IN	Ankle bone
ro:ska:w	II	To be soft, flabby
ro:skah(w)-	TA, TI	To supple him, it, by tool
ro:skisi-	AI	To be soft, weak
ro:tin	II	To be windy
ro:tinw	IN	Wind
ro:tiššin	II	To blow a little (wind)
ro:tinikamin	II	Wave, breeze, swell, singe (of sea)
-row-	M	Waist
-rowe-	IIf	Wind

S

sa:k-	R	To be in view, come out of sth., emerge
sa:ka:pattew	II	To come out (smoke)
sa:ka:pite-	AI	To have protruding teeth
sa:ka:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To come out of the wood, come out of him,
		of it
sa:ka:skottin	II	To come out into view
sa:kahikan	IN	Lake
sa:ki:y	IN	Outlet (of river, lake)
sa:kih-	TA	To like, love, s.o.
sa:kihiwe-	AI	To like, love, people
sa:kitt-	TI	To like, love, sth.
sa:kitta:-	AI2	To like, love, sth.
sa:pitt-	TI	To obey sth.
sa:pittaw-	TA	To obey s.o.
sa:kiskweri-	AI	To stick one's head out
sa:ss-	TI	To fry it
sa:ssamekwe-	AI	To fry fish
sa:ssekkwa:n	IN	Frying pan

sa:ssewikkwa:n	IN	Fried meat, steak
sa:ssewikkwe-	AI	To fry meat
sa:ssirewe-	AI	To fry partridge
sa:sswe-	AI	To fry
sak-	R	To hold, seize
saka:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To tie, tether, him, it
saka:skwa:w	II	To be bushy, covered with bushes (See
		sakwa:ska:w)
sakahikan	IN	Screw
sakappiso-	AI	To be tied up
sakappit-	TA, TI	To tie, tether, him, it
sakkapwa :n	IN	Broiled beaver (skewered)
sakwa:ska:w	II	Bushwood (See saka:skwa:w)
sek-	R	To scare
sekih-	TA	To scare s.o.
sekihikka:so-	AI	To pretend to scare s.o.
sekisi-	AI	To be afraid, scared
sekitta:-	AI2	To scare it
seska:civan	II	Down the rapid
seska:ciwana:k	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (down the rapid)
seska:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To enter him, it, in the wood by tool

sesseka:ttikominišt	ikw IN	Black spruce island
sesseka:ttikw	AN	Black spruce
sesseka:ttikwa:skwe	a:w II	Black spruce forest
sessekan	IN	Hail
si:kacci:wotta:-	AI	To overflow
si:kacci:wottew	II	To overflow
si:kahatt-	TI	To water, sprinkel, it
si:kahatta:so-	AI	To be watered, baptized
si:kahatta:sowin	IN	Baptism
si:kahatta:tiso-	AI	To water oneself
si:kahattaw-	TA	To water, sprinkle, him, baptize him
si:kin-	TA, TI	To pour him, it
si:kinamaw-	TA	To pour for s.o.
si:kinipewikamikw	IN	Hotel
si:kiwepin-	TA, TI	To throw liquid at him, it
si:kon	IN	Springtime (March)
si:n-	TA, TI	To twist, wring, him, it
si:nike-	AI	To twist, wring
si:nipekin-	TA, TI	To wring (clothes, material)
si:niski:koma:nekin	IN	Paper handkerchief
si:niski:kome-	AI	To blow one's nose
si:niski:komeh(w)-	TA, TI	To wipe one's nose

si:pi:siss	IN	Small river
si:pikka:nikk	L	Place name near Obedjiwan (artificial
		river)
si:piy	IN	River
si:seka:-	AI	To be proud
si:ssipa:skotw	IN	Sugar, sugarcane
si:ssipa:skotwa:kan	nin II	Unmelted sugar
si:ta:pah(w)-	TA, TI	To tighten, screw, him, it, by tool
si: tah(w)-	TA, TI	To tighten, screw, him, it, by tool
si:taspison	IN	Corset
si:tin-	TA, TI	To tighten him, it, by hand
sikacirowepari-	AI	To shiver, shudder
sidaret-ora:kan	IN	Ashtray
sikimew	AN	Mosquito
sikimew-arapiy	AN	Mosquito-net
-sikw-	M	Mother-in-law
sikkossiw	AN	Wease1
sikkowa:t-	TA, TI	To spit on him, it
sikkowina:po:w	IN	Saliva
sirikoh(w)-	TA, TI	To rub him, it, by tool
sirikottakah(w)-	TA, TI	To rub him, it, (wood, floor) by tool
sirikottakahikan	IN	Scrubbing-brush

-sit-	M	Foot
-ska:t-	M	Leg
-skan-	M	Bone
-skask-	M	Chest
-skattikw-	M	Forehead
-ski:wan-	M	Nose, nostril
skito	IN (M)	Skidoo
skito	AN (W, O)	Skidoo
skitowa:n	IN	Skidoo-suit
-skon-	M	Liver
-skw-	N£	Bear
-so:-	M	Tail (quadruped)
-80-	AIf	Abstract
so:kippon (W, O)	II	It snows
so:kispon (M)	II	It snows
so:pora:kan	IN	Soup-bowl
so:sep-ki:sika:w	IN	Wednesday (from french: Joseph)
-spikekan-	M	Rib
-spiskw-	M	Neck
-spiton-	M	Arm
-ssa:m-	M	Snowshoe
-ssiw-	Nf	Bird

Š

sa:kahikanisiss	IN	Small lake
s:kicicikanisiss	IN	Sock, slipper
ŝa:kita:tto	P	Nine
sa:ko:ccim-	TA	To row faster than s.o.
ša:kocih-	TA	To beat, defeat, him
ša:kosom-	TA	To beat, defeat him, by speech
ŝa:koterim-	TA	To beat, defeat, him, by thought
ša:ko:tah(w)-	TA, TI	To win, beat, defeat, him, it, by tool
ša:ko:tin-	TA, TI	To win, beat, defeat, him, it, by hand
sa:koc	P	Sure
sa:kwessiw	AN	American mink
sa:kwessiwa:n (M, V	) AN	Mink skin
sa:kwessiwaya:n (0,	AN .	Mink skin
sa:pa:we-	AI	To be wet
sa:po-	R	Through
sa:ponikan	IN	Needle, sewing needle
sa:poniwass	IN	Sewing box

sa:pope-	AI	To go through a liquid, be wet
sa:posk(aw)-	TA, TI	To go through him, it, by foot
sa:sa:kwi:nikoca:ss	AN	Chipmunk
sa:sa:wini:pessiss	AN	Swallow
ša:ša:komina:nipaku	) IN	Perpetual flowering plant
ŝa:ŝi:pi-	AI	To stretch oneself
ša:ši:pištepicikan	IN	Accordeon
ša:šiki:-	AI	To urinate everywhere
ša:šikin-	TA, TI	To twist, fold, him, it, in a contrary
		direction
sa: sikissin-	AI	To be twisted, folded, in a contrary
		direction
sa:sikittin	II	To be twisted, folded, in a contrary
		direction
ša: ššakoccike-	AI	To chew, champ
sa: ssakom-	TA	To chew him
ša: ššakomiskiwe-	AI	To chew gum
sa:ssakott-	TI	To chew it
ŝa:wanirowe-	II	To blow (wind) from the south, south wind
ša:wanokk	L	In the south
sa:wanw	IN	South

- <i>s</i> ak-	M	Skin
sakiw	AN	Egret
šanaškatwew	AN	Flying squirrel
-ŝe-	M	Body (?)
šeh(w) –	TA, TI	To open, clear, uncork, him, it, by tool
šeha:mo	AN	Tufted duck
seha:pah(w)-	TA, TI	To open, unscrew, him, it
sehikan	IN	Key
sekiporowa:ciss	AN	Fly-catcher
šekoc	P	Under, beneath (closed space)
šekohota:-	AI	To open, unscrew, it
šekon-	TA, TI	To push him, it, under
sekoten-	TA, TI	To put him, it, under
šen-	TA, TI	To open him, it, by hand
šepit-	TA, TI	To open him, it, roughly
ร้อร้อร้รับพ	AN	Sandpiper
šešikokwa:n	IN	Vomit
šešikokwa:t-	TA, TI	To vomit him, it
šešikokwa:titiso-	AI	To vomit on oneself
šešikokwe-	AI	To vomit
šeškwa:t	P	Needlessly
sestokw	AN	Thread

anatalma mi adi ad	IN	Twine
sestokwa:pi:siss	TIA	IMILIE
šeštokwa:py	IN	Rope
šeštokwa:ttikw	AN	Reel, drum
šewepa:šši-	AI	To open
sewepa:stan	II	To open
ŝi:ka:w	AN	Widowed (man or woman)
ši:ka:wi-	AI	To become, be, a widow
ŝi:kericcike-	AI	To hate
ŝi:kerim-	TA	To hate him
ši:kerimekka:so-	AI	To pretend to hate him
ŝi:kerimitiso-	AI	To hate oneself
ŝi:keritt-	TI	To hate it
ŝi:keritta:kosi-	AI	To be detestable, hateful, execrable
ši:kerittamokka:so-	AI	To pretend to hate it
ŝi:kon-	TA, TI	To empty him, it
ši:konamokka:so-	AI	To pretend to empty it
ŝi:kwiŝŝ	AN	Wren
ši:pa:	P	Under, below (wide open space)
ši:pa:n-	TA, TI	To put, push, him, it, under, by hand
ši:pa:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To go under him, it, by foot
ši:pa:wa:ške-	AI	To dig a tunnel under

si:pa:si- AI To go under

si:pah(w)- TA, TI To stretch, brace, him, it (skin)

si:pahatta:na:ttikw IN Wooden rack for drying skins

si:pahatte- AI To stretch, brace (skin)

si:pahikan AN Fried bannock (with meat)

si:pastewa:n (M, W) IN Sweater

si:pastewaya:n (0) IN Sweater

si:pea:w II Clearing

ši:pi:siss IN Brook

si:pin- TA To be insensible, insensitive (to pain)

si:ssi:pikka:n AN Rubber-duck

si:ssi:p AN Duck

si:ssi:passiniy IN Gun shot, bird-shot

si:ssi:pisiss AN Young duck

si:wa:kamin II Sweet liquid

si:wa:kaminike- AI To sweeten

si:wa:w II To be sweet

si:witta:ka:t- TA, TI To salt him, it

si:witta:kan IN Salt

si:witta:kana:po:w
IN
Salted water

si:witta:ke- AI To salt

sika:komisiy IN Onion

sika:kw	AN	Skunk
sikatericcike-	AI	To be tired, annoyed, irritated
sikatericcikewin	IN	Tiredness, annoyance, irritation
šikaterim-	TA	To find s.o. annoying, irritating
sikateritta:kon	II	To be annoying, irritating
šiki:-	AI	To urinate
siki:kkwa:mi-	AI "	To wet one's bed
siki:na:po:w	IN	Urine
sikimesiss	AN	Kind of gnat (see sikimew)
siko:h-	TI	To ground (potatoe)
sikko:kw	AN	White pine
sikokwe-	AI	To vomit
-sikon-	M	Tail and fin (of fish)
sikopiy	.AN	Fir-tree
sikopiyokiwa:m	IN	House made of fir wood
sima:kan	AN	Spear, dart, sting (of insect)
sima:kaniss	AN	Soldier, counsellor, Jack card
$\ddot{s}i\dot{s}o:h(w)-$	TA, TI	To paint, rub, spread, him, it, by tool
šišo:n-	TA, TI	To paint, rub, spread, him, it, by hand
šišo:pekah(w)-	TA, TI	To paint him, it
siso:pekahikan	IN	Paint

siso:pekahike-	AI	To paint
sipwa:stew	II	To be transparent
sipwa:stera:kan	IN	Glass
-ŝiŝŝe-	M	Father-in-law
siwo:skicicikan	IN	Yeast
-šk-	TIf	By foot or body movement
-ška:-	AIf	By foot or body movement
-škasšy-	M	Nail, claw, hoof
-škaw-	TAf	By foot or body movement
-ški:ssikw-	M	Eye
-škisy-	M	Lip
-so:kan-	M	Hip
šo:riya:	IN	Money, cent, dollar
šo:riya:kaw-	TA	To make money
šo:riya:ke-	AI	To make money
so:riya:piskw	IN	Money, metal
so:riya:ta:-	AI	To make money
so:riya:wass	IN	Wallet, piggy-bank
šo:riya:wikamikw	IN	Bank
ŝo:skopecicike-	AI	To rebound (on water)
<i>ŝo:škw−</i>	R	Glide, slide
so:skwa:na:piska:w	II	Polished rock

šò:škwa:ttaha:-	AI	To skate
so:skwa:ttaha:kan	IN	Skate
so:skwekah(w)-	TA, TI	To iron him, it, by tool
so:skwekahikana:pi	skw IN	Iron
so:skwekahikana:tt	ikw IN	Ironing board
so:skwekahike-	AI	To iron
so:sso:kkwe=	AI	To slip, skid, glide
so:sso:kkwemakan	II	To be slippery
so:sso:kkwessam	AN	Ski
so: to ro	AN	Cauldron (from french: chaudron)
sopeste	IN	Tepidity
sopestea:kamin	II	Tepid water
sopestew	II	To be tepid
- <i>:</i>	AIf	Abstract
-ssim-	M	Younger brother or sister
- <i>ŝŝim</i> -	TAf	Lie, fall, drop, lay
-sèimo-	AIf	Step, dance
-ssimoro-	AIf	Bring down
-ssin-	AIf	Lie, fall, drop, lay
-s̀̀̀si̇̀p-	M, Nf	Duck
-ŝt-	TI£	Taste
-st- -st-	TIf	Place, set
-st-	TIf	For something

-stah- TIf Set by instrument

-stahw- TAf Set by instrument

-stamaw- TAf For someone

-staw- TAf For someone

-staw- TAf Place, set

-stess- M Elder brother

-stikw- M, Nf River

-stikwa:n- M Head

-stikwea:- IIf River

swemin AN Raisin

swericcikan IN Gift

swerim- TA To caress s.o.

swerimekka:soAI To pretend to caress s.o.

swerimiwe- AI To make a gift

sweritt- TI To caress sth.

+

-t-	TAf, TIf	Abstract						
-t-	TIf	In relation to						
-ta:ccimo-	AIf	Crawl						
ta:kka:pi:kenanaw-	TA	To phone to s.o.						
ta:kka:pi:kenikan	IN	Phone						
ta:kka:pi:kenikani:	ya:py IN	Phone wire						
ta:kka:pi:kenike-	AI	To phone						
ta:kkin-	TA, TI	To touch him, it, by hand						
ta:kkišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To touch him, it, with one's body						
ta:ma:t	IN	Tomatoe (from french: tomate)						
-ta:mikkikk-	M	Jaw						
ta:n	P	How?						
ta:n esparik	P	What's happening?						
ta:n etik	P	How is he?						
ta:nika	P	Would that, I hope						
ta:nirikik	P	How much?						
-ta:niss-	M	Daughter						
ta:n pic	P	When?, Since when?						

ta:nta	P	Where?				
ta:nte	P	Where?				
-ta:pa:n-	Nf	Drag, haul, pull				
-ta:pe-	AIf	Drag, haul, pull				
ta:piciccepison	AN (W, O)	Ring				
ta:piciccepison	IN (M)	Ring				
ta:pikwa:so-	AI	To thread, string				
ta:piskwe-	AI	To thread (needle)				
ta:piška:kan	AN	Necktie, scarf				
ta:piška:kan	IN	Naclace, harness				
ta:piška:kani:ya:py	IN	Neck1ace				
ta:piško:c	P	Like, as, similar to				
ta:pittepison	AN	Earring				
ta:poha:n	IN	Play (threading of rings in a stick)				
ta:poko:h(w)-	TA, TI	To lasso him, it, by tool				
ta:pokwa:ta:-	AI2	To lasso it				
ta:pokwepin-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, a lasso				
ta:poŝta:-	AI	To repay, refund				
ta:postaw-	TA	To repay, refund, him				
ta:pwa:cike-	AI ·	To read				
ta:pwa:t-	TI	To read it				

ta:pwe	P	True, really, certainly
ta:pwe-	AI	To speak truth, be right
ta:pwett(aw)-	TA, TI	To believe him, it
-ta:ssinakk-	M	Thorax
ta:ska:koci-	AI	To split by cold
ta:ška:kotin	II	To be split by cold
ta:ška:kotiso-	AI	To split by heat
ta:ška:kotitew	II	To be split by heat
ta:ška:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To split him, it, by stick
ta:škah(w)-	TA, TI	To split him, it, by tool
ta:škam-	TA	To split him by teeth
ta:škatt-	TI	To split it by teeth
ta:škikah(w)-	TA, TI	To split him, it, with an axe
ta:škin-	TA, TI	To split him, it, by hand
ta:skipo:r-	TA,	To split him by sawing
ta:skipo:ta:-	AI2	To split it by sawing
ta:škiš(w)-	TA, TI	To split him, it, by knife
ta:škišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To split him, it, by foot
ta:škiššim-	TA	To split him by throwing him down
ta:škittita:-	AI2	To split it by throwing it down
ta:staka:t-	TA, TI	To exasperate, tire, him, it

ta:takiška:cikan	(0) IN	Bike
ta:ssipita:kan	IN	Wooden stand for drying meat
ta:takkin-	TA, TI	To feel, handle, him, it, by hand
ta:ttoŝ(w)-	TA, TI	To split, cut, tear, him, it, by knife
ta:wah(w)-	TA, TI	To touch, reach, him, it, by tool
ta:wicikk	L	At sea, out at sea
taka:pa:wata:-	AI2	To dissolve it in water
-takisy-	M	Intestines
takiška:cike-	AI	To kick, pedal
takiška:siwe-	AI .	To kick
takiška:t-	TA, TI	To kick him, it, pedal
takk-	R	Cold
takka:ya:w	II	To be cold (weather)
takka:w	II	To be, grow, cold, cool
takkikama:po:w	IN	Cold water
takkikamin	II	To be cold (lake)
takkin-	TA, TI	To cool him, it, by hand
takkipekisi-	AI	To be cold and wet
takkisi-	AI	To be cool, chilled
takko:kkoma:n	IN	Cisors
takkoka:t-	TA, TI	To run over s.o., sth., walk on s.o., sth

takkom-	TA	To hold him with one's teeth, bite him
takkon-	TA, TI	To hold him, it, by hand
takkonikeriniw (M)	AN	Policeman
takkoniweriniw (0)	AN	Policeman
takott-	TI	To hold it with one's teeth, bite it
takkwa:skokane-	AI	To have short bones
takkwa:skoka:te-	AI	To have short legs
takkwa:skosi-	AI	To be small, short (as a piece of wood)
takkwa:skosissi-	AI	To be a little small
takkwa:skosissin	II	To be a little small
takon	II	There is some of it
takoŝŝa:maciwe-	AI	To arrive at the top
takoŝŝin-	AI	To arrive
takwa:kin	II	Autumn
takwa:kissip	AN	White-winged scoter-duck
tar-	TA	To have, possess, him
tariwa	P	(Obviative form) There is some of him
taretew	AN	Toad (wawaron)
taši:kk(aw)-	TA, TI	To be busy, occupied, with him, it
ta <b>si:</b> kke-	AI	To live, stay, dwell, there
tašši:wak	II	To be so many, so much, of such quantity

tassiwa:kin-	TA, TI	To unfold, straighten, him, it, by hand
tassiwa:pi:ke	ettita:-AI2	To pull and lenghten it (string-like ob-
		ject)
tassiwa:piski	in- TA, TI	To straighten him, it, (metal-like object)
tassiwa:skon	II	To be straight, stiff
taššiva:skosi	- AI	To be straight, stiff
tassiwekin-	TA, TI	To unfold, straighten, him, it, by hand
taššiwekkišši	m- TA	To hang him out (the washing), unfold him
taššiwekkitti	Eta:- AI2	To hang it out (the washing), unfold it
tasso:pitte-	AI	To unfold, unroll, a skin
tat-	TI	To have, possess, it
tattakwa:w	II	Plains
tatto-	P	Each, so many
tatto-ki:sika	<i>∷w</i> P	Each day
tatto-si:kona	P ·	Each spring
tattw-	P	So many
tattwa:w	P	Each time, so many times
-tawa:ss-	M	Nephew, niece
-te-	IIf	Abstract
-teh-	M	Heart
tekarep	IN	Pancake, record (from french: des crêpes)
tekarep-astot	in IN	Beret
tek <b>are</b> p-kitot	ta:kan IN	Record player

tekassi	P	Entirely, completly			
tekora:pwe-	TA	To choke with liquid			
tekott-	TI	To choke with food			
-tem-	M	Dog			
tep-	R	Enough			
tepa:ttew	AN	Pie, pate (from french: pâté)			
tepisi-	AI	To have troubles of digestion			
tepiškoro-	AI	To have enough			
tepiskwe-	AI	To have a headache			
tepwa:t-	TA, TI	To call him, it			
tepwe	P	True			
tepwe-	AI	To call, shout, proclaim			
tepwemakan	II	To shout			
taššikoc	P	Right now, immediately			
tessipita:kan	IN	Rack for drying meat			
tetta:skoha:son	IN	Rack			
tetta:w	P	Middle			
tetta:wic	P	Between, in the middle of, amidst			
-tettakw-	М	Kidney			
tetta:wis(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, in the middle, in two			
		parts			
tettapowa:kan	IN	Chair, bench, seat			

tettar-	TA	To place, sit, him, upon sth.
tettasta:-	AI2	To place, sit, it, upon sth.
tettepi:yepiška:cik	an (W) IN	Bike
tettipa:n-	TA, TI	To wind, round, him, it
tettipa:pari(n)-	AI, II	To whirl (round), wind, round by vehicle
tettipa:parih-	TA	To make him whirl, round
tettipa:paritta:-	AI2	To make it whirl, round
tettipa:parittwa:-	AI	To swing sth. around
tettipa:rikkwe-	AI	To have curly hair
tettipa:sk(aw)-	TA, TI	To walk around him, it
tewehikan	AN	Drum
tewika:ta:-	AI	To have rheumatism, shooting pain, in one's
		leg
tewikane-	AI	To have rheumatism, shooting pain in one's
		bones
tewipitone-	AI	To have rheumatism, shooting pain, in one's
		arm
tewiskwe-	AI	To have a headache
tewiskwe-maškikkiw	IN	Aspirin
tewistikwa:ne-	AI	To have shooting pain in one's head
tewotto:ke-	AI	To have shooting pain in one's ear
-ti:w-	M	Buttocks

tikkina:kan	IN	Cradleboard
tikkina:kanikke-	AI	To make a cradleboard
tikkin-	TA	To put him in a cradleboard
tipa:cim-	TA	To tell, declare, speak about, him
tipa:cimiwe-	AI	To tell, declare, speak about people
tipa:cimo-	AI	To tell, declare, speak about oneself
tipa:cimowin	IN	Story, news
tipa:citt-	TI	To tell, narrate, sth.
tipa:ska:n	AN	Limits (of fields, of a plot of land)
tipa:ske-	AI	To limit, measure (land)
tipa:tot(aw)-	TA, TI	To speak about s.o., sth.
tipah(w)-	TA, TI	To measure, be able to pay, him, it
tipahikan	IN	Measure, hour, gallon, yard
tipahikana:ttikw	IN	Ruler
tipahikani:ya:py	IN	Gallon (ribbon)
tipahike-	AI	To measure
tipahi-pi:ssimwa:n	AN	Watch, clock
tipapa:cikan	IN	Balance, scales
tipapa:so-	AI	To weigh in
tipata:t-	TA, TI	To weigh him, it
tipaskeriniw	AN	Land-surveyor

tipaskonikan	IN	Judgement, trial, yard goods					
tipaskonike-	AI	To judge, measure					
tipaskonike riniw	AN	Judge, lawyer, salesman of yard goods					
tipericcike-	AI	To own					
tipericcikeriniw	AN	Chairman					
tiperim-	TA	To own him, be his boss					
tiperitt-	TI	To own it					
tipi-	P	Enough					
tipipari-	AI	To have enough					
tipiciškwikahikan	IN	Rolling pin					
tipiciškwikahike-	AI	To make dough					
tipinowessimoro-	AI	To take cover					
tipirwe	Pr	Oneself					
-tipisk-	M	Night					
tipiska:w	II	Night					
tipiski-pi:ssimw	AN	Moon					
-tipisko-	AIf	Night					

Button-hole

Blood sausage (from french: du boudin)

Button (from french: (pe)tit bouton)

To judge, try him

tipaskon-

tipote

tipotto

topottokwa:cikan

TA

IN

IN

IN

-tipp-	M	Ton	of	the	head	brain,	hair
- <i>upp</i> -	147	TOb	OT	mie	neau,	prain.	narr

tipwepar IN Pepper

tiripa:n AN Ribbon (from french: du ruban)

-tiry- M Shoulder-blade

-tiss- M Umbelical cord

tisso:r- TA To trap him

tisso: ra:kan IN Snare

tisso:sso- AI To trap oneself

tisso:ta:- AI2 To trap it

-tisah- TIf Send, chase

-tisahw- TAf Send, chase

tisswepahikan AN Broom

-tittama:n- M Shoulder

to:ha:n, to:hwa:n AN Ball

-to:kon- M Godchild

-to:n- M Mouth

to:ro:w AN Bull (from french: taureau)

to:ro:w IN Wheel (from french: roue)

-to:s- M Aunt

to:t(aw) - TA, TI To do him, it

-to:ttan- M Heel

to:wekan	IN (M)	Motor
to:wekan	AN (W)	Motor
-totakkw-	M	Wing
-tot(aw)-	TAf, TIf	Abstract
-tt-	TIf	By mouth, by speech
-tt-	TIf	In relation to
-tta:-	AI2f	Abstract
-tta:-	AI2f	Cause
-ttaw-	TA£	Intrelation to
-ttin-	IIf	Soak, in water
-ttin-	IIf	Abstract
-ttin-	IIf	Lie, fall, drop, lay
-ttita:-	AI2f	Lie, fall, drop, lay
-ttita:-	AI2f	Soak, in water
-tto:k-	M	Ear

 $\omega$ 

<i>-w-</i>	Nf	Agent
<i>-ω-</i>	N£	Abstract
-w-	M	Sound
<i>-wa:-</i>	AIf	Carry something
wa:kin-	TA, TI	To bend him, it
wa:koŝŝ	AN	Fox
wa:koŝŝiŝiŝŝ	AN	Young fox
wa:koŝŝokkota:-	AI	To trap, snare, foxes
wa:kw	IN	Fish egg
-wa:m-	N£	Abstract
-wa:n- (M, W)	Nf	Covering, garment, hide
wa:naniss	AN	Ouananiche (fish)
wa:nerim-	TA	To ignore what to do with him, be ashamed
		of him
wa:neritt-	TI	To ignore what to do with it, be ashamed
		of it
wa:nim-	TA	To ignore what to say to him

wa:p-	R	White, eye, smoke
wa:pa:-	AI	To be white
wa:pa:pattew	II	There is smoke
wa:pake (0)	P	Tomorrow
wa:pam-	TA	To see him
wa:pamitowak	AI	They look at each other
wa:pamowin	IN	Mirror
wa:pan	II	It is morning
wa:panakkiriniw	AN	Abenaquis
wa:panirowew	II	To blow (wind) from the east, east wind
wa:paniska:-	AI	To walk till dawn
wa:panoho-	AI	To canoe till dawn
wa:panokk	L	East
wa:passaha:-	AI	To be grey
wa:patewaskamikw	IN	Moss, lichen
wa:patowa:pina:n	IN	Cornea
wa:patt-	TI	To see it
wa:pattah-	TA	To make him see it
wa:pattahiwe-	AI	To show
wa:pattamotar-	TA	To place it to make him see it
wa:pattar-	TA	To set him so to make s.o. see him
wa:pattariwe-	AI	To set people so to make s.o. see them

wa:pattastaw-	TA	To place it to show to him
wa:pattata:-	AI2	To set it so to make s.o. see it
wa:pikarow	AN	Cooper's hawk
wa:pikoniy	IN	Flower
wa:pikon-pi:ssimw	IN	May
wa:pi-mahikkan	AN	White wolf
wa:pi-makkatessip	AN	Pintai1
wa:pi-maskwa	AN	White bear
wa:pimin	AN	Fruit, apple, pear, orange
wa:pimina:po:w	IN	Apple juice
wa:pimina:ttikw	AN	Apple tree
wa:pi-niska	AN	White goose
wa:pirekossiss	AN	Horned-lark
wa:pirew	AN	Willow ptarmigan
wa:piskwe-	AI	To have white hair
wa:pišca:nišišš	AN	Young marten
wa:piŝŝipiŝŝ	AN	Common goldeneye, garrot
wa:pista:n	AN	Marten
wa:pitippe-	AI	To have white hair
wa:poŝo:wi-	AI	To be a rabbit, a hare
wa:posokkota:-	AI	To trap, snare, rabbits, hares

wa:pososiss	AN	Young rabbit, young hare
wa:posw	AN	Rabbit, hare
wa:pososkw	IN	Aralia
wa:poswa:niŝŝ	AN	Small rabbit skin
wa:pwa:n	IN	Blanket
wa:pwaya:n (0)	IN	Blanket
wa:ra:w	II	To be deep
wa:ratina:w	II	Valley
wa:rawikk	L	Far, far away
wa:rikka:n	IN	Pit, hole
wa:rikkah-	TI	To make a pit for it
wa:rikke-	AI	To make a hole
wa:risi-	AI	To be deep
wa:riškipea:w	IN	Puddle
wa:skakwa:cikan	IN	Piece of linen surrounding the base of
		a tent
wa:skamiko-iriniw	AN	Name of a ghost (man that lives in the
		sky)
wa:sa:piskiso-	AI	To shine, glitter
wa:sa:piskitew	II	To shine, glitter
wa:saskon	II	To be clear sky

wa:sea:w	II	To be clear
wa:sekamin	II	Clear lake
wa:seskocessiss	AN	Luciola, fire-fly
wa:seskon	II	To be blue
wa:seskona:-	AI	To be blue
wa:seskonekisiw	II	To be blue (material)
wa:seskonisi-	AI	To be blue
wa:sikanikan	IN	Veneered wood
wa:simikkwa:w	II	To be pink
wa:skaspison	IN	Baby's covering
wa:sko	IN	Sky
wa:skoreh-	TI	To light (lamp)
wa:skoreh-	TA	To light him, throw a light at him
wa:skoren-	TA, TI	To light him, it, by hand
wa:skorenitama:kan	IN	Flashlight, candle, lantern, light
wa:skorenitama:kana	:po:w IN	Lamp oil
wa:skorepari(n)-	AI, II	To flash lightning
wa:skoretta:-	AI2	To light it, throw a light at it
wa:skorew	II	To be lighted
wa:sa:pa:n	IN	Leather lace, strip
wa:sa:pe-	AI	To make leather strip (for weaving)

ພa:ຣີລ:ພ	II	Bay
wa:saka:me-	AI	To walk the shore
wa:skeka:w	II	Swampy bay
wa:skessiw	AN	Deer, roe-deer
wa:s̀s	IN	Hole, den, tunnel
wa:stahike-	AI	To wave one's hand
wa:sten-	TI	To light it
wa:stettakw	IN	Laminated board, wood
wa:tta:kan	IN	Barrel, drum (see: wa:yetta:kan)
wa:w	IN	Egg
-wa:w-	Pf	Times
wa:wa:c	P	Even
wa:wa:kissimon	II	To wind, curve, meander
wa:wa:paccike-	II	To look at sth., finger (papers)
wa:wiyekama:w	II	Round lake
wa:wiyesinah(w)-	TA, TI	To encircle (writing) him, it
wa:wiyea:w	II	To be round, circular
wa:yes(w)-	TA, TI	To cut him, it, round
-waya:n-	N£	Covering, garment, hide
wayes	P	Approximately, around
wayes ante	P	Somewhere

wa:yetta:kan	IN	Barrel, drum
-we-	AIf	Speak, sound
-wep-	M	Throw, fling
wepa:piken-	TA, TI	To swing, rock, him, it
wepa:riwe-	AI	To wag
wepa:skoh(w)-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, by stick
wepah(w)-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, by tool
-wepah-	TIf	Throw by tool
-wepahw-	TAf	Throw by tool
wepaha:pa:t-	TA, TI	To fish him, it (throw and haul)
wepaha:pe-	AI	To fish
wepaha:pa:na:ttikw	IN	Fishing-line
wepaha:skwa:n	IN	Sling
wepaha:ttikw	AN	Dwarf maple-tree
wepahikan	IN	Broom
wepahikana:piskw	IN	Dustpan
-wepahotiso-	AIf	Throw down
wepahike-	AI	To sweep
wepapor-	TA	To throw water at him
wepapota:-	AI2	To throw water at him
wepin-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, by hand

-wepin-	TAf, TIf	Throw by hand
wepina:sso-	AI	To empty, drain
wepina:sson	IN	Emptying, draining, waste, refuse
wepina:ssoniwass	IN	Garbage can
wepišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To throw him, it, by foot
-wepišk-	TIf	Throw by foot or body movement
-wepiškaw-	TAf	Throw by foot of body movement
werapi-	AI	To get ready to sit
weri-	AI	To get ready to leave
we rimosse ssi-	AI	To be in love
wesa:	P	Too much! It doesn't make sense!
wesa:mistahi	P	Too, too much
wesa:wirini	P	Too
wespiso-	AI	To dress
wespit-	TA, TI	To dress him, it
westh-	TA	To dress him properly
wesiho-	AI	To dress properly
wesikke-	AI	To cheat
wesim-	TA	To cheat him
wesimiwe-	AI	To cheat people
wesipa:paccike-	ΑI	To dream

wesipa:pam-	TA	To dream of him
wesipa:patt-	TI	To dream of it
wesitta:-	AI2	To dress it properly
wesitta:sso-	AI	To arrange, set things right
weskac	P	Ago, before, a long time ago, in the old
		days
wettakitta:kon	II	To be cheap
wettakitta:kosi-	AI	To be cheap
wettan	II	To be easy
wettisi-	AI	To be easy
weweparih-	TA	To rock a baby in a cradle
wewepim-	TA	To hurry, push s.o. on
wewepiso-	AI	To swing, rock
wewepison	IN	See-saw, swing
wewepitwa:-	AI	To hurry, push on
wewepiwa:makan	II	To hurry, push on
-wi:-	P	Want to, intend to
wi:ccekan	II	To stink, be disgusting, nauseous
wi:ccekima:ko-	AI	To stink, be disgusting, nauseous
wi:ccekina:kosi-	AI	To look disgusting, nauseous
wi:ccekisi-	AI	To stink

wi:c	R	See wi:t-
wi:ci:w	TA	To help, accompany, go with, s.o.
wi:cih-	TA	To help him
wi:cihiwe-	AI	To help people
wi:c-iriniw	AN	Fellow man
wi:citta:-	AI2	To help it
wi:ka:c	P	What a shame! It's a shame!
wi:kassiy	IN	Clothes
wi:kiwa:m	IN	House
wi:kkacissi-	AI	To be delicious, taste good
wi:kkassin	11	To be delicious, taste good
wi:kkipw-	TA	To find him good, delicious
wi:kkišt-	TI	To find it good, delicious
wi:kkwa:pit	IN	Molar tooth
wi:kkwa:ss	IN, M	Birch bark
wi:kkwa:ssa:ttikw	AN	Birch
wi:kkwa:ssa:ttikwa:	skwea:w II	Birch forest
wi:kkwa:ssikiwa:m	IN	Birch house
wi:kkweki-	AI	To wrap oneself up
wi:kkwekin-	TA, TI	To wrap s.o., sth., up
wi:kkwekiniwe-	AI	To wrap

wi:kkwestikwa:ne-	AI	To wrap around the head
wi:kkwepistikwa:nep	oiso- AI	To wrap around one's head
wi:kkweskwemokin-	TA, TI	To wrap him, it, in paper
wi:kopiya:ttikw	AN	Basswood bark
wi:ma:šk(aw)-	TA, TI	To pass him, it, round, skirt, by foot
wi:n	IN	Marrow (of bone)
wi:na:pite-	AI	To have bad teeth
wi:nikissa:ttikw	AN	Wild cherry-tree
wi:pac	P	Soon, hurry
wi:pit	IN	Tooth, his tooth
wi:ppem-	TA	To sleep with s.o., in relation to s.o.
wi:ppemitta:-	AI	To sleep with sth., in relation to sth.
wi:ppet-	TI	To sleep with sth., in relation to sth.
wi:r	Pr	Personal, 3rd person, animate, singular;
		he, she, him, her, his
wi:r-	TA	To name, say him
wi:ra:ta	P	Nevertheless, by chance
wi:ricipo-	AI	To dirty one's mouth by eating
wi:rin	IN	Fat
wi:rina:piskw	IN	Kind of rock
wi:rino-	AI	To fatten oneself up

wi:rissikke	P	Alone
wi:rissikkew (0)	P	Alone
wi:rississ	IN	Hair, (head of) hair, mane
wi:ritipp	IN	Brain, his brain, hair, his hair
wi:sa:skopew	II	To be dying (said of trees surrounding a
		lake where beavers live)
wi:sa:tew	AN	Standing up fir
wi:ss	IN	Fat (animal)
wi:sopiy	IN	Gall-bladder
wi:ssaka:ttikw	AN	Cherry-tree
wi:ssakeca:kw	AN	Name of a legendary hero
wi:ssakerim-	TA	To injure him
wi:ssakeritt-	TI	To injure it
wi:ssakin-	TA, TI	To injure him, it, by hand
wi:ssakisi-	AI	To be bitter, sour
wi:ssakišk(aw)-	TA, TI	To injure him, it, by foot
wi:ssakiššim-	TA	To injure him by making him fall
wi:ssakiššimitiso-	AI	To injure oneself by falling
wi:ssakissin-	AI	To have an accident, be injured by fal-
		ling
wi:sa:kemo-	AI	To invite

wi:sa:m-	TA	To invite him
wi:sa:miwe-	AI	To invite people
wi:sina:w	AN	Beaver's kidney
พ่า: เริ่ร์	IN	Beaver's den
wi:sta:wa	AN	His brother-in-law (man speaking), her
		sister-in-law (woman speaking)
wi:t-	R	With, along
wi:tahom-	TA	To canoe in relation to s.o.
wi:tapim-	TA	To sit in relation to s.o.
wi:tapit-	TI	To sit in relation to sth.
wi:te-	AI	To joke, make fun
wi:teritta:kon	II	To be funny
wi:teritta:kosi-	AI	To be funny
wi:timwa	AN	Her brother-in-law (woman speaking), his
		sister-in-law (man speaking)
wi:tisi-	AI	It's a shame for him
wi:tisikke-	AI	To make fun, joke
wi:tt-	TI	To name, say, it
wi:ttamaw-	TA	To say sth. to s.o.
wi:ya:ss	IN	Meat
wi:yaw	IN	Body

-win- Nf Abstract

wippaskw IN Common elder

y

-y-	N£	Abstract
-yekanw-	N£	Cloth
-yekinw-	N£	Cloth
-uekw-	Nf	Abstract

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