

Mohegan, a dialect of the Mohegan-Pequot language of Southern New England, was one of the major Algonquian languages of Connecticut, spoken from the Connecticut River in the west to the Thames River in the east and from central Connecticut south to Long Island Sound from at least the 13th century through the 1800s. Its last speaker, Mrs. Fidelia A.H. Fielding, died in 1908.

From detailed professional phonetic recordings of lengthy texts in Mrs. Fielding's speech we have adequate data to effect a reconstruction of the language as it was spoken in the early 1900s. The present volume gives the reader an account of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures of the language, as well as a summary of the position and development of Mohegan and the other Mohegan-Pequot dialects (Pequot, Shinnecock, and Montauk) within the Eastern Branch of the Algonquian language family. Lexical data and sample texts are provided.

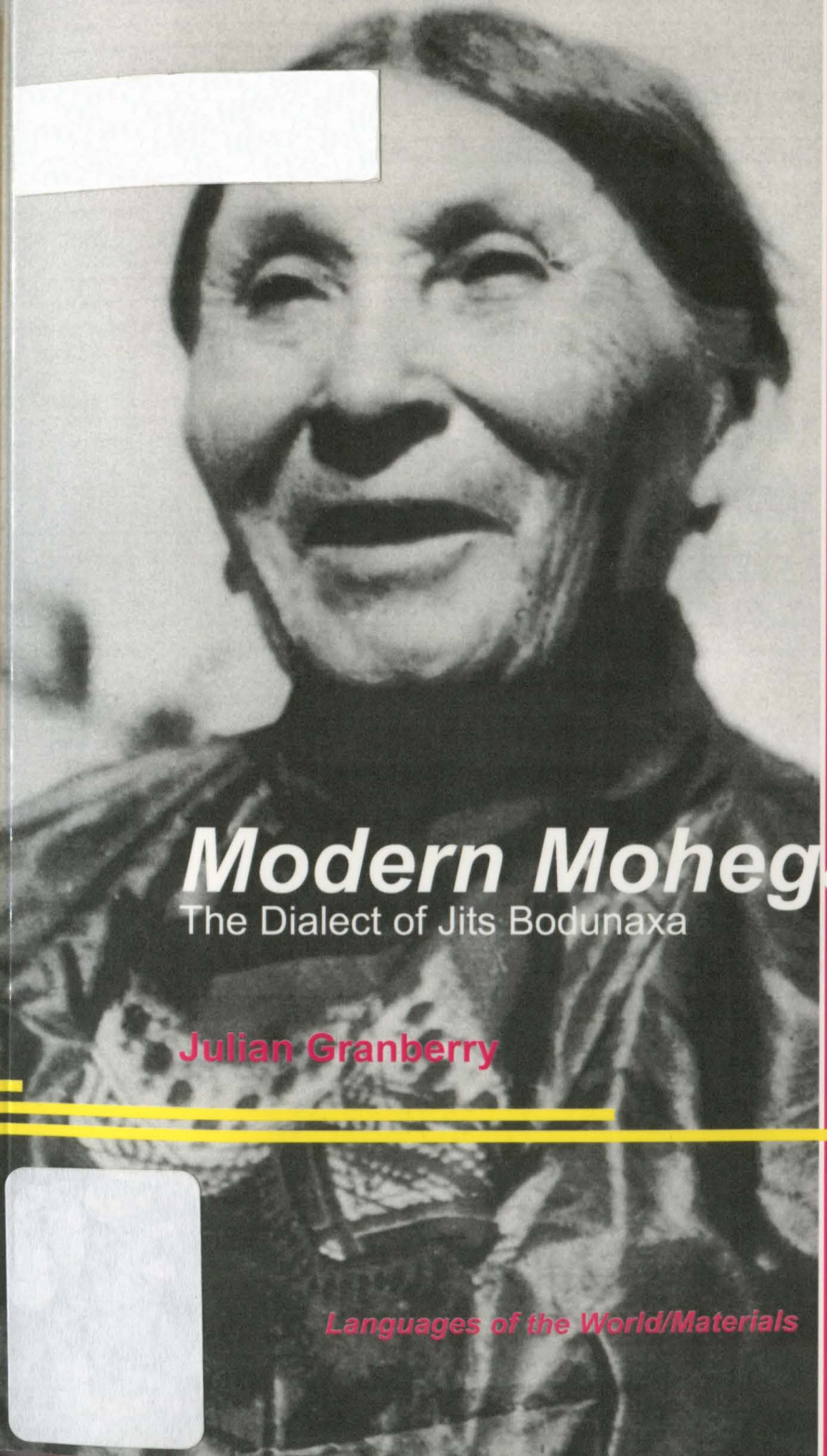
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The Dialect of Jits Bodunaxa

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Modern Mohegan

The Dialect of Jits Bodunaxa

Julian Granberry

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INTRODUCTION

0.1. The Current Status of Mohegan. At its widest extent, during the 1600s and early 1700s, Mohegan was spoken in southeastern Connecticut from approximately the eastern shore of the Connecticut River to the west bank of the Thames River and from approximately the location of modern Hartford and Willimantic in the north to Long Island Sound in the south. With Pequot to the east, Niantic sporadically along the coast at difficult to pinpoint locations, and Montauk and Shinnecock on the eastern end and southeastern coast of Long Island respectively, these speech varieties formed a continuum of distinct yet mutually intelligible dialects, together known as the Mohegan-Pequot language. While largely identical in grammar, the differences between the five dialects in phonology and lexicon has been likened by the linguist most familiar with them, Frank Speck, to that between American and British English (Speck 1928:208).

The geographical range in which the dialects of Mohegan-Pequot were spoken became increasingly smaller over the years of European encroachment, and by the late 1700s to mid-1800s Pequot, Niantic, Montauk, and Shinnecock had lost their last speakers. For reasons not entirely clear, Mohegan speech survived until 1908, when its last speaker, Mrs. Fidelia A. Hoscott Fielding (1827-1908), known by her Mohegan name of Jits Bodunaxa (*Flying Bird*), died. It is her speech as phoneticized by Frank Speck which forms the basis of the present analysis.

In April of 1998 the Council of Mohegan Tribal Elders resolved to use Jits Bodunaxa's speech as the basis for a restored Modern Mohegan. Two years later, however, a change in the chairmanship and membership of both the Mohegan Tribal Council and the Council of Mohegan Elders altered this direction of language restoration. The new Councils chose instead to create

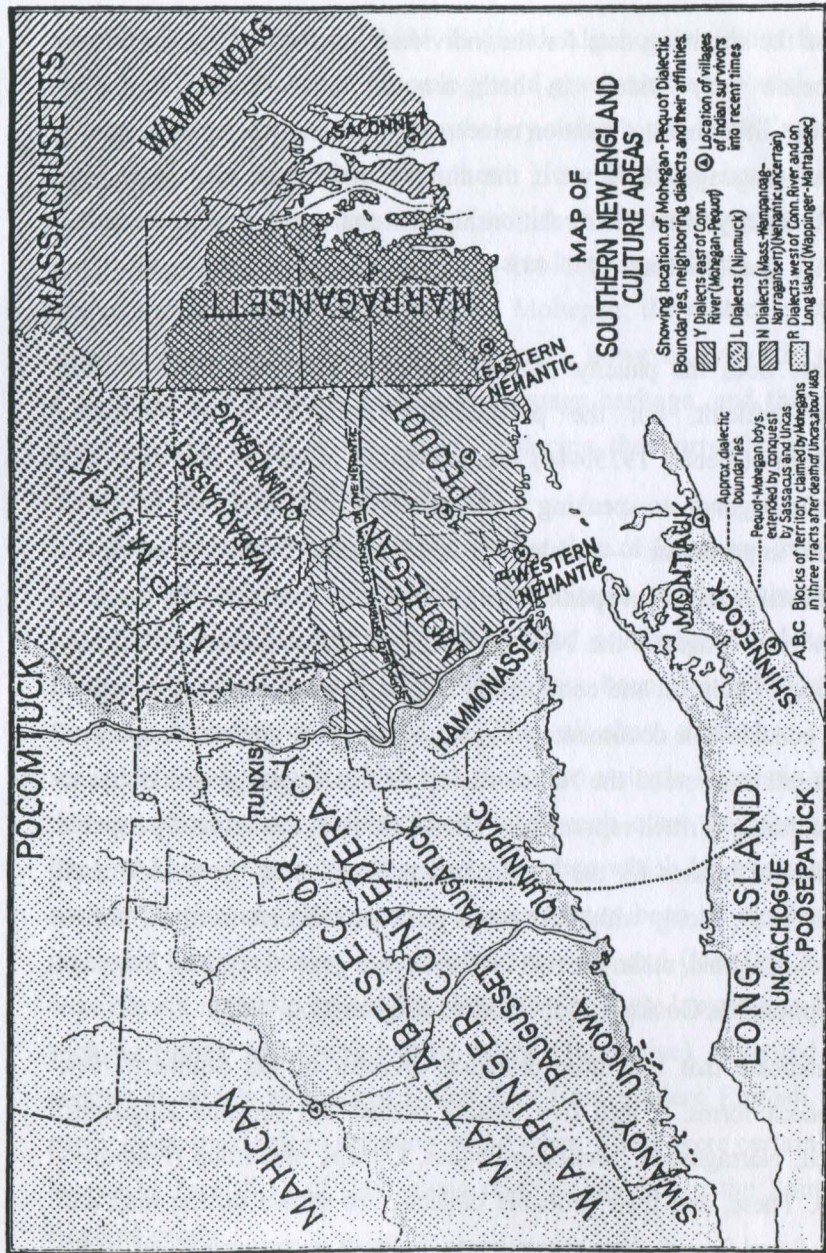
a newly invented general New England Algonquian idiom from wholecloth, using Massachusetts phonology and grammar from Natick (Eliot) and Wampanoag sources, and for vocabulary using a pan-New England lexical input from all the related Southern New England languages without discrimination of language, time of origin, or the known phonological and morphological differences separating the languages. Thus at present there are no speakers of a restored Modern Mohegan; the dialect is still extinct. There are those within the tribal community, however, who still wish to see a restoration of the tribe's genuine language heritage, and that restoration may yet take place in the future, replacing the currently non-Mohegan pidgin being taught to tribal members.

0.2. Genetic Classification. At the time of European intervention in the early 1600s the native American inhabitants of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Long Island used a number of closely related Eastern Algonquian speech forms which have been grouped together as the *Southern New England Languages*. They all share a number of common structural characteristics which link them into a single linguistic unit and, at the same time, separate them both from each other and from the other Eastern Algonquian languages. From the data which have survived, some, such as Natick and Wampanoag, seem to have been as similar in sound, grammar, and vocabulary as modern American and Canadian English and were clearly mutually intelligible dialects of a single language, while others, such as Natick and Quiripi (also called Quinnipiac), diverged from one another as widely as modern Dutch does from modern English, each only partly understandable to speakers of the other. These were certainly separate languages regardless of their close relationship within the Southern New England group.

Because the surviving data for the individual varieties of Southern New England speech vary widely in both amount and content, there are understandable differences of opinion concerning how many separate Southern New England languages there were, the number and nature of their various dialects, and exactly what their relationships to one another were in earlier historic times (see Siebert 1975:445-446; Goddard 1978:70-71; Goddard 1996:5).

Not only does the paucity of data render a final definition of such relationships difficult, but the phenomenon referred to as "adaptive multilingualism" (Siebert 1975:444) was pervasive in earlier centuries both throughout the Algonquian-speaking world generally and throughout Southern New England in particular — speakers of one language frequently learned at least to understand and often speak other closely related neighboring tongues. In Southern New England the Natick dialect of Massachusetts specifically became a kind of political and commercial *lingua franca* for the entire region, and there is considerable documentary evidence that many non-native speakers of Massachusetts understood the Natick dialect of that language in addition to their own language. Written reports from Daniel Gookin, the unusually capable Superintendent of Indians for the Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1656 until his death in 1687, along with documents in Massachusetts from all across Southern New England, make the role of Natick as a general regional language clear and explicit (see Gookin 1836; Goddard and Bragdon 1988).

Data indicate that the most probable division of the Southern New England speech forms is into five closely related but separate languages: Massachusetts, Narragansett, Mohegan-Pequot, Quiripi, and Loup (Nipmuck-Pocomtuck). These, and their probable dialects, are shown on the map and table on pp. 8 and 9, with their approximate limits of occurrence so far as we



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES AND DIALECTS IN CONNECTICUT AND ADJOINING REGIONS. (BASED ON CLASSIFICATION OF EASTERN ALGONKIAN DIALECTS BY JOHN R. SWANTON AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, TWENTY-EIGHTH ANN. REPT. BUR. AMER. ETHN., 1913)

LANGUAGE	DIALECT	GENERAL AREA	DIALECT TYPE		
1. Massachusett	<i>Saugus</i>	North Coastal Massachusetts	EASTERN DIALECTS	N-Dialects	
	<i>Natick</i>	Central Coastal Massachusetts			
	<i>Wampanoag</i>	Southern coastal Massachusetts & western Cape Cod			
	<i>Nauset</i>	Eastern Cape Cod & Nantucket			
	<i>Aquinnah</i>	Martha's Vineyard			
	<i>Cowesit</i>	Northern Rhode Island			
2. Narragansett	<i>Narragansett</i>	Central & Southern Rhode Island	WESTERN DIALECTS	N : Y	
3. Mohegan-Pequot	<i>Mohegan</i>	South-central Connecticut between the Connecticut and Thames Rivers		Y-Dialects	
	<i>Pequot</i>	Southeastern Connecticut east of the Thames River			
	<i>Niantic</i> (?)	Southeastern coastal Connecticut & southwestern coastal Rhode Island			
	<i>Montauk</i>	Eastern end of Long Island			
	<i>Shinnecock</i>	Southeastern coast of Long Island			
4. Quiripi (Wampano)	<i>Quiripi</i> (<i>Quinnipiac</i>)	Lower Housitonic & Lower Quinnipiac River region of southwestern Connecticut		R-Dialects	
	<i>Naugatuck</i>	Lower & Central Naugatuck River region of southwestern Connecticut			
	<i>Schaghticoke</i>	Northern Housitonic River region of western Connecticut			
	<i>Tunxis</i>	North-central Connecticut			
	<i>Mattabesec</i> (?)	Far western inland Connecticut			
	<i>Siwanoy</i>	Far western coastal Connecticut			
	<i>Poosepatuck</i> (<i>Unquachog</i>)	Central Long Island			
5. Loup (Nipmuck-Pocomtuck)	<i>Nipmuck</i>	Northeastern Connecticut east of the Connecticut River; south-central Massachusetts	L-Dialects		
	<i>Pocomtuck</i>	Northwestern Massachusetts			

can reconstruct them from the available data.

On the basis of differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structure, these speech forms can be separated both into two geographical dialect types: Eastern (the Massachusetts dialects alone) and Western (the other four languages), as well as a number of sound-correspondence groups — the *n*, *y*, *r*, and *l*-Dialect groups, based on the cross-language correspondence of these sounds in specific, definable sound environments in language forms of identical etymological origin.

0.3. The Mohegan Data. We are fortunate that Jits Bodunaxa, who steadfastly insisted that she spoke the Mohegan variety of the language, not the dialect of her Pequot neighbors across the river, left us three full Mohegan texts — a short *Tale* (Speck 1904), a short *Sermon* (Prince and Speck 1903) and a long 4-notebook *Diary* (Speck 1928). A fourth text, another *Diary*, shorter than the surviving one, was lost in an office fire at Columbia University sometime about the year 1906. The *Tale* was taken down in phonetic notation by Frank Speck as Jits Bodunaxa narrated it to him in Mohegan. The other two, the *Sermon* and the surviving *Diary*, were carefully written by Jits Bodunaxa in her own Mohegan orthography.

Without such data the Mohegan dialect of Mohegan-Pequot would have vanished forever with Jits Bodunaxa's death. Fortunately, the major structural categories of general Algonquian grammar are represented in her writings, and we may, it is suggested, rely on her fluency as a sure key to the nature of the language she was speaking. This is particularly the case inasmuch as she was a member of a family which traced its ancestry through her grandmother, Martha Uncas Shantup (1761-1859), back to the line of Uncas, and it was with Martha Uncas that Jits Bodunaxa learned and used

Mohegan as her home language for the first 32 years of her life, mirroring generations of prior users of the Mohegan dialect of Mohegan-Pequot.

Additional sources which might contribute to the reconstruction of the Mohegan dialect are few. We have a three-sentence Death Song recorded by Frank Speck from an unnamed member of the Mohegan tribe at the time he was working with Jits Bodunaxa in 1902-05 (Prince & Speck 1903:210). We also have a list of the numbers from one through ten dictated to Dr. Speck at that time by James H. Rogers, another member of the tribe (Prince & Speck 1904:20). Lastly, we have a short written word-list from Emma Baker (1828-1916), who was also a granddaughter of Martha Uncas. The data provided by these three additional tribal members do not differ from Jits Bodunaxa's data and provide no new lexicon or grammatical usages.

The remaining data on other dialects of the Mohegan-Pequot language — excellent word-lists and less than satisfactory renditions of the Lord's Prayer — are, with the exception of a very short late 18th century Montauk word-list and an early 20th century Shinnecock word-list, all specifically in the Pequot dialect and date from the 1660s & 1760s. The Pequot manuscripts are at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and the other lists in the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

0.4. History of Mohegan Studies. Data from Jits Bodunaxa were gathered between 1902 and 1905 by the well-known anthropologist and linguist Frank G. Speck (1881-1950) and published in a series of articles: *The Modern Pequots and Their Language*, written with Dr. J. Dyneley Prince, his major linguistics professor at Columbia University, where Speck was completing his doctoral degree in anthropology and linguistics under Franz Boas (in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 5, pp. 193-212; 1903); a

Glossary of the Mohegan Language, also with Dr. Prince (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 6, pp. 18-45; 1904); *A Modern Mohegan Text* (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 6, pp. 469-476; 1904); and *Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut: A Mohegan Diary* (in the Bureau of American Ethnology *43rd Annual Report*, pp. 199-289; 1928). In the hundred-some years between the first decade of the 20th century and the present, only one other linguist, William Cowan, has worked with Mohegan materials, publishing a single short paper on a comparison of the Pequot and Mohegan dialects, though he mistakenly thought the two dialects to be no more than time-variants of a single dialect (Cowan 1973).

0.5. Grammatical Overview. In its basic structure Mohegan is a typical Algonquian language. Its phonology is straightforward, and its inflectional morphology is characterized by the typical complexities seen in all Algonquian languages. There are, however, a number of phonological and morphological innovations unique to Mohegan alone. None of the eastern dialects of the Mohegan-Pequot language — Pequot, Montauk, and Shinnecock — share these innovations, nor, for that matter, do they occur in any dialects of the other Southern New England languages.

Specifically, while all of the Southern New England languages have pairs of phonetically voiceless and voiced or lenis stops, affricates, and sibilants which act as single two-allophone phonemes, in Mohegan each stop, affricate, and sibilant phone has separate, contrasting phonemic status.

Morphologically Mohegan nouns, pronouns, and particles are unremarkable; they fit the expected norm both for the Mohegan-Pequot language and for Eastern Algonquian in general. Verbal morphology, however, normally quite complex in the majority of Algonquian languages,

has been greatly simplified in Mohegan, without sacrificing the basic grammatical distinctions which Algonquian verbs normally make.

What led to these innovations is not known. We know of no drastic social or political upheaval in Southern New England prehistory or early colonial period history which might have set such language change in motion. There was no Norman Invasion of 1066 to accelerate the language changes which English saw between 1066 and 1250, for example, but there is no question that Mohegan was by far and away the most innovative of all the Southern New England speech forms.

0.6. The Present Sketch. The work underlying the materials discussed in the present volume was begun in the autumn of 1947 and completed during the autumn of 2002, a period during which all surviving data in the dialects of Mohegan-Pequot was examined and re-examined many times until it was felt that a realistic and linguistically accurate resolution of the problems inherent in the interpretation of such documentary data had been reached. During the period from April 1998 through January 2001 I also served as Tribal Linguist for the Mohegan Tribe, working with a number of tribal members who consistently afforded me assistance and support — Melissa Jayne Fawcett-Tantaquidgeon and Sandra J. Pineault of The Mohegan Museum; Faith Davison and Sr. Betty Jean Codere of the tribal Archives Department; Carlton Eichelberg, former Chairman of the Council of Mohegan Tribal Elders and all the members of that Council during his tenure of office; and the members of the Mohegan Language Committee, a dedicated consultative body formed in 1998 consisting of tribal members concerned with the accurate restoration of the Mohegan dialect as it was spoken by Jits Bodunaxa.

The present linguistic analysis is based on the phonetic transcriptions of Jits Bodunaxa's speech and writings prepared by Frank Speck and his colleague at Columbia University, J. Dyneley Prince. Prince, Speck's major professor during the pursuit of his doctoral work at Columbia, specialized in the analysis of Algonquian languages and was one of the leading professional phoneticians in the United States during the late years of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. Speck, a consequently well-trained and experienced linguist and phonetician, heard Jits Bodunaxa speak Mohegan on many occasions between 1902 and 1905 and had been taught by her what each symbol in her orthography and spelling system indicated. It is therefore probable that his phonetic transcriptions mirror her pronunciation very accurately.

The texts on which Speck's phonological analysis were based may be found in Speck (1904, 1928) and Prince and Speck (1903).

1. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

1.1. Reconstituted Phones and Phonemes of Modern Mohegan. In analyzing the phonology of a no longer spoken language from documentary materials, even materials which have, as in the case of Mohegan, been meticulously re-transcribed by a trained phonetician who knew the phonetic values of each orthographic symbol, one can not call such putative sound units 'phones' or 'phonemes' in the technical sense, for there is always some ambiguity in such an analysis. Consequently, the phonological units described here for Mohegan will be referred to as *reconstituted phonetic units*, a term coined and used by Mary Haas many years ago (Haas 1954).

Phonological reconstitution is based on one's knowledge of the sound values for which the same orthographic units were used in other languages.

This enables us to postulate the most probable phonological unit to which each symbol refers in the language under investigation. Accordingly, while one may apply the phonemic method to such reconstituted phonetic units, one must always be aware that the analysis may not fully mirror past phonemic reality.

With these limitations in mind, Speck's and Prince's meticulous phonetic transcriptions of Jits Bodunaxa's speech and writings (Speck 1904, 1928; Prince and Speck 1903) enable us to define 23 reconstituted phonetic units, which are assignable to 21 individual reconstituted phonemes using the standard phonemic method of checking for phonetic isomorphism, orthogonality, homeomorphism, and isomerism amongst the phones of a language in order to group them into auditorily perceived phonemic units. Both the phonetic and putative phonemic units of Modern Mohegan are listed in the following table, along with the orthographic symbols used by Jits Bodunaxa to express them and the practical orthography agreed upon by the Mohegan tribal Language Committee and the Council of Mohegan Elders in 1998.

Phonetic & Phonemic Symbols		Description	Source Spellings	Practical Orthography
Phones	Phonemes			
VOWELS				
[i·]	/i/	Medium-long tense unrounded high front vowel. As in <i>machine</i> , [i]	e, ee, ea, i (rarely), eCe	i
[ə]	/ə/	Short lax unrounded mid to high central vowel. As in <i>but</i> or <i>fir</i> , [ə] or [i]	u, er, a (rarely)	u
[a]	/a/	Short tense unrounded higher-low central vowel. As in <i>palm</i> , [ə]	a, ah, o (rarely), or (rarely)	a

Phonetic & Phonemic Symbols		Description	Source Spellings	Practical Orthography
Phones	Phonemes			
[u·]	/o/	Medium-long tense rounded mid-to-high back vowel. As in <i>pool</i> . [u·]	o, oh, u (rarely)	o
[o·]		Medium-long tense rounded mid back vowel. As in <i>so</i> . [o·]		
[o·]	/á/	Medium-long lax rounded low back vowel. As in <i>awful</i> . [o·]	or, o (rarely)	á
STOPS				
[p]	/p/	Voiceless fortis bilabial stop. Fortis [p]; As in <i>put</i>	p, pp	p
[B]	/b/	Voiceless lenis bilabial stop. Lenis [B]; As in <i>copper</i>	b	b
[t]	/t/	Voiceless fortis dental stop. Fortis [t]; As in <i>top</i>	t, tt	t
[D]	/d/	Voiceless lenis dental stop. Lenis [D]; As in <i>matter</i>	d	d
[k]	/k/	Voiceless fortis velar stop. Fortis [k]; As in <i>cat</i>	c, k, ck	k
[G]	/g/	Voiceless lenis velar stop. Lenis [G]; As in <i>packer</i>	g	g
[kʷ]	/kw/	Combination of /k/ + /w/, as in <i>quick</i> .	q, qu	qu-, -q
[Gʷ]	/gw/	Combination of /g/ + /w/, as in <i>linguist</i> .	gw	gw
AFFRICATES				
[č]	/č/	Voiceless fortis palatal affricate. Fortis [č]; As in <i>church</i>	ch, tch	c
[j]	/j/	Voiceless lenis palatal affricate. Lenis [J]; As in <i>judge</i>	j, dge, ge	j
SPIRANTS				
[s]	/s/	Voiceless fortis dental spirant. Fortis long [s·]; As in <i>see</i>	s	s
[z]	/z/	Voiceless lenis dental spirant. Lenis [Z]; As in <i>rose</i>	z	z
[š]	/š/	Voiceless fortis palatal spirant. Fortis [š]; As in <i>she</i>	sh	x
[h]	/h/	Voiceless glottal spirant. Fortis [h]; As in <i>he</i>	h	h

Phonetic & Phonemic Symbols		Description	Source Spellings	Practical Orthography
Phones	Phonemes			
NASALS				
[m]	/m/	Voiced bilabial nasal. English <i>me</i>	m, mm	m
[n]	/n/	Voiced dental nasal. As in <i>new</i>	n, nn	n
[ŋ]		Voiced velar nasal. As in <i>singer</i>	n (before k)	n
SEMIVOWELS				
[w]	/w/	Voiced bilabial semivowel. As in <i>we</i>	w, u	w
[y]	/y/	Voiced palatal semivowel. As in <i>yes</i>	y, i	y
DIPHTHONGS				
[ai]	/ay/	English <i>fly</i>	i	ay
[au]	/aw/	English <i>cow</i>	au, ou	aw
[oi]	/oy/	English <i>boy</i>	oi, oy	oy

1.2. Allophonic Variation. As the above table indicates, all phonemic units in Mohegan have a single allophonic realization except /o/ and /n/, both of which may be realized by one of two allophonic varieties.

1.2.1. *The Vowel o.* The vowel /o/ has the positionally-defined allophones [o·], as in English *so*, without its glide offset, and [u·], as in English *rule*. Allophone [o·] occurs: (1) when form-initial in a root-form, (2) when between form-initial consonants /d/, /m/, or /w/ and any other single consonant, and (3) when preceded or followed by /g/, /m/, or /w/ in root-form non-initial syllables; e.g. *očami*, *doday*, *mowi*, *woči*, *yombowi*, *wimo*.

Allophone [u·] occurs: (1) when between any single root-form form-initial consonant and any following consonant other than /d/, /m/, or /w/, (2) when

followed by a consonant cluster regardless of what precedes it, and (3) when between any combination of single consonants or consonant clusters in a non-initial root-form syllable; e.g. *yogisk* phonetic [yugisk] ‘today’, *somi* phonetic [sumi], ‘because’, *gon* phonetic [gun] ‘snow’, *woskwig* phonetic [wuskwig], ‘book’, *gopkwad* phonetic [gupkwad] ‘cloudy’, *zoguyon* phonetic [zugəyɔn] ‘rain’.

1.2.2. *The Consonant n*. The consonant /n/ also has two positionally-defined allophones: [n], as in English *now*, and [ŋ], as in English *going*. Allophone [ŋ] only occurs before phonemes /k/ and /g/; allophone [n] occurs elsewhere; e.g., *gon* phonetic [gon] ‘snow’, *wang* phonetic [waŋg] ‘also’.

1.3. *Mohegan Stops, Affricates, and Spirants*. In Proto-Eastern Algonquian, the parent language from which all Eastern Algonquian tongues including the Southern New England languages sprang, as well as in the majority of other Algonquian languages, stop, affricate, and sibilant spirant phonemes form a single series, usually written as /p/, /t/, /k/, /č/, and /s/, each member of the series having two allophonic varieties, one fortis, voiceless, and usually pre- or post-aspirated — *p*, *t*, *k*, *č*, and *s*, the other lenis, unaspirated, and either voiceless or voiced — *b* or [B], *d* or [D], *g* or [G], *j* or [J], and *z* or [Z]. It is the norm that the voiced or lenis allophones occur intervocalically or in the environment of a nasal or other voiced consonant, while the fortis varieties occur elsewhere.

As the above table of phonetic and phonemic units indicates, however, this was not the case in Modern Mohegan, for while both lenis and fortis stops, affricates, and sibilant spirants occur, they contrast with one another, as, for example, in the word-pairs *bapos* ‘cat’ and *papos* ‘baby’ or *ta* ‘heart’ and *da* ‘and’, and thus are members of separate phonemes. This phenomenon was noticed by Speck and has been the subject of an article by William Cowan

(1973). The equations between these sounds in Proto-Eastern Algonquian and their reflexes in Pequot, Montauk, Shinnecock and Mohegan are shown in the following table.

Reflexes of Proto-Eastern Algonquian p, t, k, č, s in Mohegan-Pequot:			
	Proto-Eastern Algonquian	Pequot (1600-1700s) Montauk (1700s) Shinnecock (1800s)	Mohegan (1800-1900s)
Initial h + stop or s:	^h p, ^h t, ^h k, ^h č, ^h s	^h p, ^h t, ^h k, ^h č, ^h s	p, t, k, č, s
Medial h + stop:	^h p, ^h t, ^h k, ^h č, ^h s	pp, tt, kk, čč, ss	
s, š + stop or stop + any other consonant:	p, t, k, č, s	p, t, k, č, s	
Initial:	p, t, k, č, s	p, t, k, č, s	B, D, G, J, Z
Final:			
Between vowels:	B, D, G, J, Z	B, D, G, J, Z	B, D, G, J, Z
m or n + stop (but not the reverse):			

While our documentary data for Montauk (Gardiner 1798) and Shinnecock (Harrington 1903) are scanty, it is important to note that they, along with the data for Pequot (primarily Noyes 1669 and Stiles 1762) — the three eastern dialects of Mohegan-Pequot — show a single stop/affricate/spirant reflex pattern from Proto-Eastern Algonquian and that, from the same documentary evidence, this pattern spans a time-period from the mid-1600s to the mid-1800s. The more westerly Mohegan dialect, by contrast, exhibits a significantly different pattern. Most importantly, in both

form-initial and form-final position Mohegan uses *B, D, G, J,* and *Z* in contrast to the easterly dialects *p, t, k, č,* and *s*. Examples, in the original orthographies, are: Peq. *pasacogun*, Montauk *passecucund*, Moh. *bazokoquang* ‘nine’; Peq. *kizuk*, Moh. *gisk* ‘day’; Peq. *sogiyun*, Moh. *zoguyun* ‘rain’; Peq. *punnéedunk*, Moh. *bunnedwong* ‘knife’. Only in form-medial position between vowels and after nasals do all four dialects agree on use of *B, D, G, J,* and *Z*. Examples are: Peq. *punnéedunk*, Moh. *bunnedwong* ‘knife’; Peq. *wumbiyó*, Moh. *wambeyoh* ‘white’.

Where Mohegan shows form-initial *p, t, k, č,* or *s*, as in Moh. *papos*, the other dialects do as well, as in Peq. *poppo* ‘baby’, all reflexes of Proto-Eastern Algonquian *h + stop*. Form-medially, Proto-Eastern Algonquian *h + stop* has a doubled consonant reflex in the eastern dialects where Mohegan shows a single consonant, as in Montauk *mattadeaio*, Moh. *mutudayo* ‘bad’, Peq. *wuttun*, Mohegan *wetun* ‘wind’. The latter two forms derive from Proto-Eastern Algonquian *wehtun* (Cowan 1973:169-170) The majority of other forms with this difference in patterning also can be demonstrated to derive from a Proto-Eastern Algonquian *h + stop* cluster.

The result of this series of developments through time was the separation of the Mohegan or Western Dialect from the Eastern Dialects of Pequot, Montauk, and Shinnecock, certainly mirrored in early historical times by known animosities between the Mohegan and Pequot peoples. While sharing the same phonetic inventory of sounds, the Western Dialect, at some point in time as yet impossible to define, began to use the lenis varieties of stops, affricates, and spirants in environments in which the Eastern Dialects kept to the fortis norm of Proto-Eastern Algonquian. The Mohegan Western Dialect was, in other words, as indicated earlier,

linguistically less conservative and considerably more innovative than the Eastern Dialects.

These sound correspondences were first noticed by William Cowan (1973:169-172), who considered them a time-related phenomenon resulting from sound-changes during the 142-year period between the Stiles documentary data of 1762 and Jits Bodunaxa’s data of 1904. This, however, assumes that Jits Bodunaxa’s dialect of Mohegan-Pequot and that represented by the Stiles document were the same, while in fact the two sets of data represent different dialects — Stiles specifically from a Pequot speaker who lived in Groton, Connecticut, in the heart of Pequot territory, while Jits Bodunaxa, who lived across the Thames River to the west in Uncasville, in the heart of Mohegan territory, specifically and adamantly states that she spoke the Mohegan dialect, not the Pequot dialect.

This suggests that the differences in the use of the *p, b, t, d, k, g, ch, j, s,* and *z* symbols seen in the documents may reflect sound correspondences between dialects rather than time-based sound changes operating in all dialects of the language. The question can fortunately be answered from Montauk and Shinnecock data, which Cowan did not consider in his analysis. The Shinnecock data was recorded by Mark Harrington, a professional linguist, in 1903, the same year in which Frank Speck was gathering Mohegan data from Jits Bodunaxa. Both sets of data are, in other words, contemporaneous. The Shinnecock data, meager though it is, and the Montauk data, from 1798, make it unequivocally clear that the same distributional and use patterns of the above symbols in 17th and 18th century Pequot also occurred both in late 18th century Montauk and, importantly, in 20th century Shinnecock, at the same time during which Jits Bodunaxa was using the Mohegan distributional patterns. Thus the sound

correspondences described in the table above are not a reflection of a time differential within the Mohegan-Pequot language, as Cowan had thought, but, rather, a reflection of sound differences between the dialects of the language.

It is worth noting that exactly the same inventory and distribution of stop, affricate, and sibilant spirant phones and phonemes occurs in the dialects of the distantly related though also Algonquian Ojibwa (Chippewa) language (see Rhodes and Todd 1981:56-58). Spoken from Saskatchewan in the west through Quebec in the east and from just south of Hudson and James Bays in the north through Michigan in the south, there are eight distinct dialects of Ojibwa. Their inventory of stops, affricates, and sibilant spirants is the same as that of Mohegan-Pequot. As in Mohegan-Pequot one dialect shows a distributional patterning identical to that of Mohegan, while the other seven show the Pequot-Montauk-Shinnecock type of distributional patterning.

While this is, of course, simply a matter of two languages following the same course quite independently, both kinds of sound patterning represent a phonological norm for the Algonquian languages in general. The presence of the same dual sound patterning, identical in every respect, in two different branches of the Algonquian languages would lend credence to the analysis of the sound patterns of the Mohegan-Pequot dialects given here.

1.4. Nasalized Vowels: Speck (1928:226) points out that, unlike the Massachusetts language, in which nasalized vowels were frequent, nasalized vowels occur in Mohegan-Pequot only when a vowel comes immediately before a consonant cluster of which nasal consonant *m* or *n* is the first member, as in *gupunš* 'Close it!'. The nasal *a* vowel of the Natick dialect of Massachusetts, usually symbolized by *ô* in Eliot's orthography, specifically does not occur in any of the dialects of Mohegan-Pequot.

1.5. Syllables. A syllable in Jits Bodunaxa's Mohegan consists of a single vowel or diphthong preceded and/or followed by one or more consonants. There are consequently as many syllables in a Mohegan word as there are vowels. Thus *mud* 'not', *gon* 'snow', and *wang* 'too, also' are one-syllable words, while *unday* 'then', and *gunči* 'it is big' are two-syllable word. Words of six, seven, or more syllables are not uncommon.

In dividing words into their constituent syllables a single consonant between vowels will go with the second vowel, while when more than one consonant separates two vowels, the first will go with the first vowel and the remaining consonant(s) with the second vowel, as in *un-day* 'then', *gun-či* 'it is big'.

1.6. Stress. While each syllable of a word in Jits Bodunaxa's Mohegan carried approximately equal stress, one syllable was pronounced with slightly more emphasis than the others. Fortunately, Speck marked such syllables on each word he recorded from Jits Bodunaxa, and it is therefore possible to define four regular rules of stress placement, which define stress as automatic and therefore non-phonemic in the Mohegan dialect:

1.6.1. *Diphthongs.* If, regardless of the number of syllables it contains, a word has one and only one diphthong (*ay*, *oy*, *aw*) in any syllable, that syllable will carry the strong stress of the word, as in *yoda'y* 'here', *giya'w* 'you all', *nipa'w* 'five'.

1.6.2. *Nasals.* If a word of 3 or more syllables contains no diphthongs but does contain one or more nasals (*m* or *n*), then the syllable two before the last nasal syllable will carry the strong stress, as in *wi'zuwang* 'name', *ya'sawang* 'breath', *gumo'duwang* 'theft'.

1.6.3. *Long Vowels.* If a two-syllable word not containing a diphthong contains one or more long vowels (*á*, *i*, or *o*) in a closed syllable, the last

syllable in the word which contains a long vowel will carry strong stress, as in *yogi'sk* 'today', *kundi's* 'legs'; if the word contains three or more syllables, strong stress will fall on the first long vowel, as in *wi'yango* 'yesterday', *mi'kigo* 'he is strong'.

1.6.4. *Position*. If none of the above rules apply, then strong stress falls on the following syllable of the word —

# of Syllables	Stressed Syllable
2	1st
3	2nd
4	2nd
5	3rd
6	4th

1.7. **The Orthography Used in the Present Study.** In the remainder of the present volume, the practical orthography shown in the far right column of the table in section 1.1, established by the Language Committee of the Council of Mohegan Elders in 1998, will be used rather than the phonemic orthography shown in the same table.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. **Morpheme Classes.** There are two classes of morphemes in Modern Mohegan: bases and affixes.

2.1.1. *Bases*. Bases in Modern Mohegan are either free or bound. Some, such as *jaxi* 'so much', may function freely by themselves as full words, but most Mohegan bases — such as *-xá* 'move' (either 'come' or 'go') — occur only in bound form and are never used by themselves as full words.

2.1.2. *Affixes*. Both prefixes and suffixes occur in Modern Mohegan. Examples of prefixes are *nu-* '1st person', *wu-* '3rd person'; examples of

suffixes are *-x* 'inanimate plural', *-ug* 'animate plural'. Affixes are, by definition, always bound forms and often occur in combinations, as in *-um* 'possessed noun indicator' + *-unán* '1st person plural possessor' + *-ug* 'animate plural noun' = *-umunánug* 'our Xs'. The use of affixes and affix combinations is one of the major ways in which words are built in Mohegan, a characteristic it shares with all of the other Algonquian languages.

2.2. **Word Classes and Word Derivation.** One of the particular geniuses of the Algonquian languages is their ability to create a wide variety of new forms through the techniques of compounding (primary derivation) and affixation (secondary derivation). Word classes and their derivation are discussed in separate sections below.

2.2.1. *Word Classes*. Words which consist of a single free base alone or a free or bound base plus one or more affixes are called *simple words*, since they contain only one base. Examples are: free base *jaxi* 'so much'; free base *jits* 'bird' + animate plural suffix *-ug* = *jitsug* 'birds'; prefix *nu-* 'I' + bound base *-wajan-* 'have' + suffix *-um* 'indicative mood' = *nuwajanum* 'I have'.

Words containing more than one base form are called *compound words*, and their meaning is a combination of the meanings of their bases. Compound words are made by the process called *primary derivation*, discussed in section 2.2.3.

2.2.2. *Morphological Parts of Speech*. Bases and affixes combine with each other to form what may be called morphological parts of speech or parts of speech by form. In Mohegan there are only four such morphologically defined parts of speech — verbs, nouns, pronouns, and particles. Most particles and a small number of nouns are free bases, but the majority of verbs, nouns, and pronouns consist of various combinations of

bound and free bases and affixes. Particles, which have single, invariable forms, are rarely inflected, but all of the other parts of speech by form use inflection to define their form and overall meaning and function as demanded by their use in words, phrases, and sentences.

While verbs always indicate some kind of action or condition, and nouns indicate the subject and object of the action or condition, particles may function in sentences in many different modifying ways. What we call adjectives and adverbs in English are usually particles in Mohegan. Many Mohegan particles function like the prepositions and conjunctions of English. Pronouns are also inflected forms, though they use a much smaller number of affixes than verbs and nouns.

Each of the four morphological parts of speech is discussed in a separate section below.

2.2.3. *Primary Derivation.* The formation of new word-stems through the compounding of base roots is a highly formalized system in Modern Mohegan, as it is in all of the Algonquian languages. Specific roots occur only in defined positions relative to one another and may be classified on that basis as *initials*, *medials*, or *finals*. Thus the root *wáw-* ‘something known’, an *initial*, always occurs as the first member of a compound; *-mbo-* ‘morning’, a *medial*, occurs only in the middle of a compound; and *-á*, a *final* indicating that the compound form is an intransitive verb, occurs only as the last member of a compound.

Examples of such root compounding are: *pi* ‘little’ (an *initial*) + *umug* ‘fish’ (a *final*) = *piumug* ‘small fish’; *quinu* ‘long’ (an *initial*) + *bág* ‘pond’ (a *final*) = *quinubág* ‘long pond’; *yo* ‘this’ (an *initial*) + *-mbo-* ‘morning’ (a *medial*) + *-wi* a *final* of unknown meaning = *yombowi* ‘early morning’; *gop* ‘cloudy’ (an *initial*) + *-quad* ‘day’ = *gopquad* ‘cloudy day’.

Such compound stems may take any of the normal affixes which occur on simple stems to turn them into freely occurring words: e.g. *gupiumugunámug* (*gu-*; 2nd person; + *piumug* ‘small fish’ + *-unán* ‘1st person plural possessor’ + *-ug* ‘animate plural’ = ‘our (yours and mine) small fish (plural)’).

The majority of compound stems are essentially set forms in the Algonquian languages, and primary derivation, while still a productive word-forming technique, is not widely used in most Algonquian languages today.

2.2.4. *Secondary Derivation.* On the other hand, the formation of new words from both simple and compound stems through the use of affixation is a highly productive method of forming new words, and it may be freely used with any appropriate form in all of the Algonquian languages. Jits Bodunaxa’s Mohegan was no exception. This process is referred to as *secondary derivation*.

When word-deriving affixes, usually suffixes, are added to a stem, they are sometimes added to the full stem of the form. Many full stems, particularly but not restricted to those of transitive inanimate verbs, are first turned into transitive stems by the addition of the suffix *-uw*, or *-amw(á)*, and the desired derivational suffix is then added to the resulting expanded stem. Thus from the full noun-stem *zib* ‘river’, a transitive stem *zibuw-* is first made, and then the diminutive suffix *-is* is added, yielding *zibuwis* (‘it is a) brook/small river’. One would not say *zibis*, without the intervening transitive stem suffix *-uw*. As a general rule of thumb, one should add the transitive suffix to the stem you are using, if it is not already a transitive verb stem.

The suffixes used in the process of secondary derivation are used to derive one part of speech from another or to give a part of speech an added dimension of meaning and function. The major derivational suffixes used by Jits Bodunaxa are those listed below.

Nouns from Nouns:

1. *-is* diminutive *bapoquat* 'quail' + *-is* = *bapoquatis* 'little quail'
2. *-imis* diminutive *zib* 'river' + *-uw* + *-imis* = *zibuwimis* 'small brook, small stream'
3. *wu- -iw* 'person from' *wu-* + *-t-* connector + *odanay* 'town' + *-iw* = *wutodanayiw* 'townsperson'

Nouns from Verbs:

1. *-ig(an)* noun of instrument *buxk-* 'shoot' + *-ig* = *buxkig* 'gun'
2. *-ang(an)* noun of instrument *wu-* '3rd person' + *squo(s)-* 'write' + *-uw* + *-ang* = *wusquosuwang* 'writing'
3. *-ang(an)* abstract noun (requires a transitive stem suffix) *nup-* 'die' + *-uw* + *-ang* = *nupuwang* 'death'
4. *-inuno* agent noun (requires a transitive stem suffix) *wu-* '3rd person' + *squo(s)-* 'write' + *-amw* + *-imun* = *wusquamwinun* 'writer'

Verbs from Nouns:

1. *-uw(i)* verb of being *sunjum* 'sachem' + *-uw* = *sunjumuw* 'he is sachem'
2. *wu- -(w)i* verb of possession *wu-* + *mundo* 'God' + *-wi* = *umundowi* 'he has him as God'

Verbs from Verbs:

1. *-mo* inanimate intransitive verb *yundum* 'he is hungry' + *-mo* = *yundumo* 'being hungry'

Particles from Nouns and Verbs:

1. *-(w)i* particle *womon* 'to love' + *-i* = *womoni* 'loving'
2. *-quiyo* directional particle *dowakumug* 'woods' + *-quiyo* = *dowakumugquiyo* 'towards the woods'

There are other derivational suffixes, but those listed above are the most frequently used.

2.3. Mohegan Particles. As used with reference to Mohegan, the term 'particle' refers to any form which is not inflected, which does not, that is, use prefixes and/or suffixes to modify or alter its basic meaning and function. Mohegan particles function like the prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, and adjectives of English.

2.3.1. *Prepositional Particles.* Those particles which are like English prepositions in both position, meaning, and function can be listed as follows:

about	<i>babámi</i>	by means of	<i>naxpi</i>
above, over	<i>wabi</i>	for, from	<i>woci</i>
across	<i>nowi</i>	near	<i>bazo, gixki</i>
among	<i>ginuki</i>	next to	<i>gixki</i>
around	<i>wayinu</i>	on both sides of	<i>aydáwi</i>
because of	<i>niwocay</i>	outside	<i>quajug</i>
beside	<i>gixki</i>	part/some of	<i>nawuji</i>
between	<i>(na)naxáwi</i>	(together) with	<i>wiji</i>
beyond	<i>angwi</i>	toward	<i>naqui</i>

2.3.2. *Coordinating Particles.* These particles which are similar in function to English coordinating conjunctions:

and	dá, daka
but	kut
or	azu

2.3.3. *Adverbial Particles*. The following Mohegan particles act largely as verbal modifiers, much as English adverbs:

a little bit	<i>báwisa</i>	here	<i>yoday</i>
accordingly	<i>niga</i>	instead	<i>nambi</i>
afterwards	<i>nimaci</i>	jointly	<i>mayo, wiji</i>
again, also, too	<i>wang</i>	later	<i>gi</i>
almost, nearly	<i>ciwi</i>	more	<i>anwi</i>
already	<i>kuji</i>	never	<i>niniquudu</i>
always, forever	<i>cimi</i>	no	<i>mudu</i>
approximately	<i>babámi</i>	not	<i>mud(u)(m)</i>
as far as	<i>nabaji</i>	not yet	<i>asquam</i>
away	<i>bani</i>	now	<i>yo</i>
clearly	<i>baki</i>	on both sides	<i>aydáwi</i>
completely	<i>baxani</i>	only	<i>janaw, wibi</i>
earlier	<i>nawad</i>	outside	<i>quajug</i>
enough	<i>tábi</i>	so	<i>niyani</i>
further on	<i>wami</i>	soon	<i>gidumay</i>
so much	<i>jaxi</i>	upward	<i>bámi</i>
subsequently	<i>gi</i>	very	<i>aji, mutáwi, winu</i>

so much	<i>jaxi</i>	upward	<i>bámi</i>
subsequently	<i>gi</i>	very	<i>aji, mutáwi, winu</i>
then	<i>unday</i>	where	<i>doday</i>
there	<i>niday</i>	yonder	<i>yukcawi</i>
truly	<i>wunamo</i>		

2.3.4. *Adjectival Particles*. The following are among a long list of particles which often function like English adjectives. Those in the following list will precede the noun they modify, while most other adjectival particles — *wigo* ‘good’, *muci* ‘bad’, *ziwambayo* ‘blue’, for example — follow the noun they modify. See section 3.2.1.3 for a detailed discussion.

all	<i>wami</i>	same	<i>nan</i>
any	<i>nani</i>	straight	<i>zambwi</i>
little	<i>bwaco</i>	too much	<i>somi</i>
much, many	<i>mutiwawag</i>	yon	<i>yukcawi</i>
not(hing)	<i>majag</i>		

2.3.5. *Conjunctive Particles*. Yet other particles fill functions similar to those of English subordinating conjunctions:

because	<i>somi</i>
if	<i>gi</i>
perhaps, maybe	<i>bákidu</i>
since	<i>somi</i>
so that, in order to	<i>waji</i>

when

mus

2.3.6. *Prenoun and Preverb Particles.* A significant number of particles are routinely used immediately before either nouns or verbs to specify details of the meaning and function of the noun or verb they precede. These are referred to as prenouns and preverbs in the terminology of Algonquian grammar. Some of these special particles are:

<u>Form</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
<i>áqui</i>	prv	don't	<i>ma</i>	prv	preterite particle
<i>ayi</i>	prv	as long as	<i>gunci</i>	prn	great (pl.)
<i>cunci</i>	prv	must, is necessary	<i>muci</i>	prn	bad
<i>dabi</i>	prv	can, be able	<i>micimi</i>	prn	eternal
<i>daxi</i>	prn	so many	<i>mowi</i>	prv	about to
<i>daxi</i>	prv	so many	<i>mud</i>	prv	negative particle
<i>gad</i>	prv	be going to	<i>mus</i>	prv	future particle
<i>gitawi</i>	prv	about to	<i>naxpi</i>	prv	by means of
<i>gizi</i>	prv	has, finished	<i>baji</i>	prv	until
<i>gudumangi</i>	prn, prv	poor, pitiful	<i>zambwi</i>	prn, prv	straight
<i>boquisu</i>	prn	half			

2.3.7. *Quantitative Particles.* In the Massachusetts dialects of Southern New England as well as in the majority of the other Algonquian languages,

cardinal numbers and other quantifiers are inflected forms, altering their shape according to gender, number, and case. In Mohegan, however, quantifiers have lost their inflections and have become invariable particles by form.

We do not have attested examples of all of the cardinal numbers in Mohegan, but the pattern of number formation is clear from the examples we do have. The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10 are:

1	<i>niquut</i>	6	<i>kudusk</i>
2	<i>nis</i>	7	<i>nizux</i>
3	<i>ciwi</i>	8	<i>ciwiosk</i>
4	<i>yaw</i>	9	<i>bazokoquang</i>
5	<i>nipaw</i>	10	<i>bayag</i>

Additional attested cardinal numbers are:

11	<i>nabniquut</i>
12	<i>nabninis</i>
13	<i>nabniciwi</i>
14	<i>nabniyaw</i>
15	<i>nabninipaw</i>
16	<i>nabnikudusk</i>
17	<i>nabninizux</i>
18	<i>nabniciwiosk</i>
19	<i>nabnibazokoquang</i>
20	<i>nabnibayag</i>

19 *nabnibazokokwang*

20 *nabnibayag*

2.4. Nouns in Mohegan. Mohegan nouns are, like nouns in most other languages, the names of persons, places, things, and ideas. As in English, nouns in Mohegan serve as the subjects and objects of verbs or the objects of prepositional particles.

2.4.1. *Noun Stems.* The stems of Mohegan nouns may be simple (a single free base), which is rare, or compound (a combination of bases, free and/or bound). While most noun stems have the same form when they occur by themselves or when they occur with suffixes after them, some use a special long form, which we shall call the full stem, when suffixes are added, and a shorter form, which we shall call the short stem, when no suffixes are added. In these cases the short stem is the same as the full stem except that the final syllable of the full stem, usually the vowel *u* + consonant, is lost; for example, full stem *gaxun-* in the plural form *gaxunug* 'cows' (plural suffix *-ug*), but short stem *gax* 'cow' in the singular.

2.4.2. *Noun Types.* Mohegan nouns may be classified by their form as either possessed nouns or unpossessed nouns. Possessed nouns are, as the name implies, those entities labeled as belonging to a person or thing, while unpossessed nouns do not. Possessed nouns may, in turn, be sub-divided into two sub-types: (1) those which must, by the nature of Mohegan (and general Algonquian) logic, always be possessed, which includes the names of body parts, kin terms, and other nouns referring to entities which may be intimately possessed; and (2) those nouns which may or may not be possessed by someone or thing, but are not necessarily subject to possession. Nouns belonging to the first sub-type are referred to as dependent nouns.

2.4.3. *Noun Inflection.* Mohegan nouns, regardless of their stem type, are inflected for gender, number, case, and possession.

2.4.3.1. *Gender.* Mohegan nouns are inherently either animate or inanimate by gender. Since English usually equates the term gender with physiological differences between the sexes, and consequently labels all nouns referring to males as masculine, all nouns referring to females as feminine, and all nouns referring to inanimate objects as neuter, we tend to think of gender as a natural category. This is not, however, always the case in other languages, and Mohegan, along with the other Algonquian languages, handles gender in a somewhat different manner than English.

The category of animate in Mohegan includes nouns which refer to human beings (male or female), animals, and spirits, as well as some but not all types of plants, such as *táduš* 'potato', and certain other entities. All other nouns are inanimate, such as *wiwácuš* 'corn plant'. As you can see from the two plant examples above, one can not automatically count on determining the gender of a Mohegan noun on the basis of its natural gender. The above categories provide only a general 'rule of thumb' which works in most but not all instances. Gender must be learned, noun by noun.

2.4.3.2. *Number:* As in English, the singular number of Mohegan nouns has no special inflectional marker. The plural of animate nouns is indicated by addition of the suffix *-ug* (with the variant *-ag*) to the noun stem, as in *táduš* 'potato', *tádušug* 'potatoes'; *jits* 'bird', *jitsug* 'birds'; *gax* 'cow', *gaxunug* 'cows'.

The plural of inanimate nouns is indicated by addition of the suffix *-x* to the noun stem, as in *yo* 'this', *yox* 'these'; *mukusun* 'shoe', *mukusunx* 'shoes'. Like animate stems, some inanimate stems have special long forms,

as in *wiwácum* ‘corn plant’ (singular), but *wiwácumun-* + *-x* = *wiwácumunx* ‘corn plants’ (plural).

2.4.3.3. *Case.* Noun case constructions in Mohegan and the other Algonquian languages differ considerably from such constructions in English. In English we do not make case distinctions by form in nouns. Only in pronouns and a few other forms do we indicate that, for example, a word is the object of a verb or a preposition, as in ‘I see him’, in which ‘him’ is marked by the *-m* as the objective case of ‘he’; or ‘I went to them’, in which them is also marked by the *-m* as the objective case of ‘they’.

There are four noun cases in Mohegan: the proximate, the obviative, the locative, and the absentative. The first two — proximate and obviative — occur only with animate nouns.

2.4.3.3.1. *The Proximate and Obviative Cases.* The proximate case, like the singular number, is not marked in Mohegan. The obviative case, however, is marked, though only on animate forms. The obviative is an inflectional category not present in European languages — if a phrase or clause contains more than one animate third person (‘he’, ‘she’, but not inanimate ‘it’), one of these, the primary third person, remains unmarked and is said to be in the proximate case; the other, the secondary third person, is in the obviative case. In the English example ‘I spoke to the man’s wife’, for instance, ‘man’ would be in the unmarked proximate case, but ‘wife’, the second third person form in the clause, would be in the obviative case. Notice that the proximate case does not necessarily indicate the subject of the clause; in this instance the subject is the first person word ‘I’.

In Mohegan the obviative case is indicated by use of the suffix *-u*, which is added to the full stem of the noun, as in *wohugu* ‘himself’. The obviative ending is the same for both singular and plural forms. Thus the

2.4.3.3.2. *The Locative Case.* Both animate and inanimate nouns in Mohegan use the locative case suffix *-ug* to indicate either the position of the noun (‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’, ‘during’) or movement toward or away from (‘to’, ‘from’) the noun.

The locative suffix is used for both singular and plural nouns, and the plural form does not take the *-ug* or *-x* ending. Examples are: *mundonug* ‘in heaven’, *wunununtuksug* ‘to the cove’, *dupkug* ‘in (or during) the night’, *wusquigug* ‘in the book’, *nubidug* ‘from my bed’.

2.4.3.3.3. *The Absentative Case.* With animate nouns the absentative case indicates that the individual is deceased. With inanimate nouns which are possessed it indicates former but not present ownership. Both animate and inanimate use the same suffixes: *-i* for the singular proximate, *-ug* for the plural proximate, and *-ugu* for the obviative singular and plural. Its use is rare, an example being *noxi* ‘my late father’ (*nu-* ‘my’ + *ox* ‘father’ + *-i* absentative singular).

2.4.4. *Possessed Nouns.* Noun possession, for both dependent and other noun sub-types, is indicated by the use of affixes. Pronominal prefixes indicate the person of the possessor (1st, 2nd, 3rd), and plural possessors are shown by suffixes attached to the full stem of the noun. As indicated earlier, dependent nouns (names of body parts, kinship terms, and a few other nouns) must take these possession markers, while non-dependent nouns take them only if actually possessed.

The pronominal prefixes, which indicate person, and the plural possessor suffixes, which indicate number, are given in the following table. You should also note the following points:

- (1) Three persons are distinguished — 1st ('I', 'me', 'my', 'we', 'us', 'our'), 2nd ('you', 'your'), and 3rd ('he/she/it', 'him/her', 'his/her/its', 'they', 'them', 'their');
- (2) Pronominal prefixes do not indicate a difference between singular and plural;
- (3) Pronominal prefixes do not distinguish between use as subject ('I', 'you', 'he/she/it', 'we', 'they'), object ('me', 'you', 'him/her/it', 'us', 'them'), or possessive function ('my', 'your', 'his/her/its', 'our', 'their');
- (4) The 3rd person does not distinguish gender — no distinction is made between 'he', 'she', and 'it';
- (5) If the possessor is plural, a plural possessor suffix must be added immediately after the full noun stem;
- (6) In the 1st person plural a distinction is made between 1st person plural exclusive and 1st person plural inclusive. The exclusive refers to the speaker and some other person or persons ('he/she' + 'I'), but not the person addressed, while the inclusive refers to the speaker and the person addressed ('you + I').

Person	Person Prefix	Plural Possessor Suffix	Meaning
1st singular	<i>nu-</i>		my
2nd singular	<i>gu-</i>		your
3rd singular	<i>wu-</i>		his/her/its
1st plural excl.	<i>nu-</i>	<i>-un(án)</i>	our (=his & mine)
1st plural incl.	<i>gu-</i>	<i>un(án)</i>	our (=yours & mine)

2nd plural	<i>gu-</i>	<i>-uw(áw)</i>	your
3rd plural	<i>wu-</i>	<i>-uw(áw)</i>	their

A number of sound changes affect the combination of the pronominal prefixes with specific kinds of noun stems:

- (1) If the stem of a dependent noun (body parts, kinship terms, etc.) begins with a vowel, the *u* of the pronominal prefixes will be dropped, as in *nu-* + *ox* 'father' = *n-* + *ox* = *nox* 'my father', rather than *nuox*.
- (2) If the stem of a non-dependent noun begins with a vowel, a *-t* will be inserted between the pronominal prefix and the noun stem, as in *wu-* + *apunihug* 'oyster' = *wu-* + *-t-* + *apunihug* = *wutapunihug* 'his oyster'.
- (3) If any noun stem begins in *b*, *g*, *k*, *m*, *p*, or *w*, the *w* of the 3rd person prefix *wu-* will be dropped, as in *wu-* + *mikigwang* 'strength' = *u-* + *mikigwang* = *umikigwang* 'his strength'.
- (4) If a noun stem begins with the syllable *wu-*, as in the noun stem *wunks* 'fox', the *u* of the pronominal prefixes + the syllable *wu-* will contract to *o*, as in *nu-* + *wunks* = *nonks* 'my fox'. The 3rd person pronominal prefix *wu-* will follow both sound change rules (3) and (4), as in *wu-* + *wunks* = *onks* 'his fox'.

The plural possessor suffixes also show sound change variation. The final *-á-* syllable of *-un(án)* and *-uw(áw)* is dropped if no other suffixes follow it; the syllable appearing only if a plural or other suffix is added to the noun form. For example: *gu-* + *ox* 'father' + *-un(án)* = *g-* (by Rule 1 above) + *ox*

+ *-un* = *goxun* 'our (= yours and mine) father', or *gu-* + *ox* + *-uw(áw)* = *g-* (by Rule 1 above) + *ox* 'father' + *-uw* = *goxuw* 'your (plural) father'. If the animate plural suffix *-ug* is added, however, these forms then become *goxunánug* 'our (= yours and mine) fathers' and *goxuwáwug* 'your (plural) fathers' respectively.

As shown in the last examples, any suffixes indicating plurality or case of the possessed noun are added after the plural possessor suffixes.

2.5. Mohegan Pronouns. There are four inflected pronoun sets in Mohegan: (1) the independent personal pronouns, (2) the objective personal pronouns, (3) the demonstrative pronouns, and (4) the interrogative-indefinite pronouns. Each type is described below.

2.5.1. Independent Personal Pronouns. Independent personal pronouns are not widely used in Mohegan. In their place the personal pronominal prefixes and suffixes are normally used. For emphasis, however, it is always possible to use the independent personal pronoun forms with both nouns, as possessive pronouns; with verbs, as subjects and occasionally objects; and, sometimes, as the objects of prepositional particles. Their forms are:

Person	Form	With Verbs	With Nouns	With Prepositions
1st sg.	<i>ni</i>	I	my	me
2nd sg.	<i>gi</i>	you, thou	your, thy	you, thee
3rd sg.	<i>nagum</i>	he, she	his, her	him, her
1st pl. excl.	<i>niyawun</i>	we (he & I)	our	us
1st pl. incl.	<i>giyawun</i>	we (you & I)	our	us

2nd pl.	<i>giyaw</i>	you	your	you
3rd pl.	<i>nagumaw</i>	they	their	them

Examples of these usages are rare, but the learner should feel free to use such forms when he wishes to emphasize a specific *pronoun*.

2.5.2 Objective Personal Pronouns. Objective personal pronouns, like independent personal pronouns, occur as separate words by themselves. They consist of the word for 'body', *uhug*, and the personal pronominal prefixes. The forms are used as the reflexive object of verbs, as the objects of prepositional particles, and, occasionally, in the first and second person, as the direct object of a verb. The forms are:

Person	Form	Reflexive Object	With Prepositions	As Direct Object
1st sg.	<i>nuhug</i>	myself	me	me
2nd sg.	<i>guhug</i>	yourself	you, thee	you, thee
3rd sg.	<i>wohug</i>	himself, herself	him, her	him, her
1st pl. excl.	<i>nuhugun</i>	ourselves	us	us (but not you)
1st pl. incl.	<i>guhugun</i>	ourselves	us	us (you and I)
2nd pl.	<i>guhuguw</i>	yourselves	you	you
3rd pl.	<i>wohuguw</i>	themselves	them	them

Examples are *Mud dabi wutaynumowuw wohugu* 'He can not help him (someone else)' (*wohugu* is in the obviative case, indicated by the word-final suffix *-u*); *Ni dabi taynumowuw nuhug* 'I can help myself' (*ni* is an example of use of the independent personal pronoun for emphasis).

2.5.3. *Demonstrative Pronouns.* The demonstrative pronouns — *this, that, these, those*, which are also used as *demonstrative adjectives*, have the following forms:

Gender/Number	Form	Meaning
Animate singular	<i>yo</i>	this
Inanimate singular	<i>yow</i>	this
Animate plural	<i>yog</i>	these
Inanimate plural	<i>yox</i>	these
Animate Obviative	<i>yoh</i>	this, these
Animate singular	<i>no</i>	that
Inanimate singular	<i>ni</i>	that
Animate plural	<i>nig</i>	those
Inanimate plural	<i>nix</i>	those

Examples are: *yo yombowi* ‘this morning early’; *ni yayo* ‘that is so’; *micowuk yox Mundo mizá* ‘they eat these things which Mundo gives’.

2.5.4. *Interrogative-Indefinite Pronouns.* The Mohegan equivalents of ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘which’, ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, ‘something’, ‘anything’ have the following forms:

Gender/Number	Form	Meaning
Animate singular	<i>áwan</i>	who, someone, anyone
Inanimate singular	<i>jagwan</i>	what, which, something, anything

	<i>to</i>	what, how, where
Animate plural	<i>wanjug</i>	everyone, all those (who)
Inanimate plural	<i>jagwanx</i>	everything, all those (which)

Examples are: *mudom áwan nutaynumung* ‘never does anyone help me’; *mud ni dabi wajunum jagwan* ‘I couldn’t have anything’; *wanjug mucu aywag* ‘those who are evil’; *jagwanx waxumox* ‘all those which feed’.

2.6. *Verbs in Mohegan.* Of the three morphological parts of speech in Mohegan the verb is the most highly inflected. While its categories of inflection are quite different from those of English, as used by Jits Bodunaxa they are both logical and very regular. Each of these categories of inflection is discussed below separately.

2.6.1. *Verbal Affixation Choices.*

2.6.1.1. *Transitivity.* The overriding criterion for determining the inflectional affixes a verb form will take is transitivity. A transitive verb is one capable of taking an object — for example, *kinun* ‘carry’ is a transitive verb, because one can carry ‘something’ (direct object) to ‘someone’ or ‘something’ (indirect object). On the other hand, an intransitive verb can not take an object — for example, *abu* ‘remain’ is an intransitive verb, because one can not ‘remain something’. Each of these categories will utilize different sets of inflectional affixes, as discussed later in this section on verb morphology.

2.6.1.2. *Animate-Inanimate.* Mohegan verb forms also differ according to whether their subjects and objects are animate or inanimate, essentially a distinction between living animals and other things. Animate nouns will use animate verb forms, and inanimate nouns will use inanimate verb forms.

It is helpful to remember in this regard that the animate vs. inanimate distinction does not, of course, apply to the 1st and 2nd persons of verb forms, since these — ‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’, and ‘you all’ — are by nature always animate. It is in the 3rd person — ‘he/she/it’, ‘they’, that the distinction importantly affects the choice of verb form used.

2.6.1.3. *Categories of Verbal Inflection.* Combining the criteria of transitivity and animate-inanimate, it is thus possible to have four different kinds of verb inflection in Mohegan. There are two intransitive forms, which have animate and inanimate subjects respectively but which never take direct or indirect objects — (1) animate intransitive (abbreviated as AI), and (2) inanimate intransitive (abbreviated as II). There are also two transitive forms, which have animate and inanimate objects respectively and whose subjects may be animate or inanimate — (3) transitive animate (abbreviated as TA), and (4) transitive inanimate (abbreviated as TI).

Most simple Mohegan verb forms may be translated by the English present tense (‘I eat’ or ‘I am eating’, for example), and while it is possible to make past-present-future time distinctions in the Mohegan verb, discussed later in this section, such tense differences are both rare and not important in Mohegan, which relies on context to define such niceties. It is instead important to indicate how an action is performed, the manner in which something is done. This distinction is referred to as mode, and the forms of each of the four Mohegan verb types — animate intransitive (AI), inanimate intransitive (II), transitive animate (TA), transitive inanimate (TI) — occur in a number of modes, each of which defines a specific kind of verbal action or state.

2.6.2. *Verb Orders.* The modes of the Mohegan verb are grouped into three broad groups called orders — the *Independent Order*, the *Conjunct*

Order, and the *Imperative Order*. Each order includes modes of the four verb types defining a specific class of verbal action or state:

2.6.2.1. *The Independent Order.* In Mohegan verb forms using *Independent Order* affixes define actual realized, demonstrable events. Mohegan uses only one mode in this order, the Indicative Mode. This mode occurs only in independent, main clauses.

2.6.2.2. *The Conjunct Order.* Verb forms using *Conjunct Order* affixes, on the other hand, describe probable events, events contingent upon something else happening first, and contrary to fact events. Such forms are used only in dependent clauses and express two different modal concepts — the Subjunctive Mode is used to express ‘if’ or ‘when’ unrealized conditions, and the Participial Mode is used in ‘who’, ‘what’, or ‘which’ dependent clauses.

2.6.2.3. *The Imperative Order.* Verb forms using *Imperative Order* affixes are, of course, commands, and there is only a single mode in this order, the Imperative Mode, used for commands and requests.

Algonquian languages in general, specifically including the Massachusetts language in the Southern New England group, usually have a larger number of modes than are found in Jits Bodunaxa’s Mohegan. This could be taken to imply that the language data we have from her are incomplete, that we simply do not have examples which would demand the usage of other modes. However, there are many examples in her *Diary* in which one would expect the occurrence of paralleling mode use in Massachusetts, the best attested of the Southern New England languages, but such usage does not occur. Instead Jits Bodunaxa will use one of the modes listed and described above. It is largely for this reason that Modern Mohegan is seen as morphologically innovative in contrast with the

Massachusetts dialects and with other Eastern and Central Algonquian languages.

On the following pages forms are given for each of the four modes described above.

2.6.3. *Independent Order Indicative Mode*. Independent Order verb forms express realized, demonstrable facts, never probable events, events contingent upon something else happening first, or with contrary to fact events. The only mode in this order is the Indicative Mode.

In all verb forms in the Indicative Mode the subject of the verb is indicated by use of the same person prefixes and, for plural forms, plural possessor suffixes which are used with nouns (see section 2.4). These affixes are subject to the same sound changes which occur in nouns, except that 3rd person pronominal prefix *wu-*, when it occurs, usually does not lose its *w* as it does with nouns.

The forms of verbs in the Indicative Mode are largely identical for all four verb types: animate intransitive (AI), inanimate intransitive (II), transitive animate (TA), and transitive inanimate (TI). They are shown in the following table. The \emptyset symbol indicates that no prefix, or suffix, as the case may be, is used in the position shown. Notice that a *-t-* connector infix is inserted between the subject pronoun prefix and the stem of a verb which begins in a vowel. With verb stems which end in a consonant a *-u-* is infixed between the final stem consonant and any verb suffixes. Infixes are shown in parentheses below.

<u>Subject</u>		<u>Prefix + Suffix</u>
Animate	1 sg. I	<i>nu(t)-</i> \emptyset or <i>-(u)m</i>
	2 sg. you	<i>gu(t)-</i> \emptyset or <i>-(u)m</i>

	3 sg.	he/she	\emptyset	<i>-(u)w</i> or \emptyset
Inanimate	3 sg.	it	\emptyset	<i>-(u)w</i> or \emptyset
Animate	1+3 pl.	we (he & I)	<i>nu(t)-</i>	<i>-(u)mun</i>
	1+2 pl.	we (you & I)	<i>gu(t)-</i>	<i>-(u)mun</i>
	2 pl.	you all	<i>gu(t)-</i>	<i>-(u)muw</i>
	3 pl.	they	\emptyset	<i>-(u)wak</i>
Inanimate	3 pl.	they	\emptyset	<i>-(u)wax</i>

2.6.3.1. *Intransitive Verbs*. As indicated in the table above, the 1st and 2nd person forms of intransitive verb subjects, both singular and plural ('I', 'you', 'we [he/she & I]', 'we [you & I]', and 'you all') are, by nature, always animate. In the 3rd person singular and plural, however, both animate ('he/she', 'they') and inanimate ('it', 'they') forms may occur. All sets of forms are given in the following tables. Connective infixes are underlined.

2.6.3.1.1. *Intransitive -á or -o stems*.

Stem *má-* 'weep':

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
<i>numám</i>	I am weeping	<i>numámun</i>	we (he & I) are weeping
		<i>gumámun</i>	we (you & I) are weeping
<i>gumám</i>	you are weeping	<i>gumámuw</i>	you all are weeping
<i>máw</i>	he/she is weeping	<i>máwak</i>	they (people) are weeping
<i>máw</i>	it is weeping	<i>máwax</i>	they (things) are weeping

Stem *bamozo-* 'swim':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nubamozom</i>	I swim	<i>nubamozomun</i>	we (he & I) swim
		<i>gubamozomun</i>	we (you & I) swim
<i>gubamozom</i>	you swim	<i>gubamozomuw</i>	you all swim
<i>bamozow</i>	he/she swims	<i>bamozowak</i>	they (people) swim
<i>bamozow</i>	it swims	<i>bamozowax</i>	they (things) swim

2.6.3.1.2. *Intransitive -i stems.*

Stem *gaji-* 'leave':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nugaj</i>	I leave	<i>nugajimun</i>	we (he & I) leave
		<i>gugajimun</i>	we (you & I) leave
<i>gugaj</i>	you leave	<i>gugajimuw</i>	you all leave
<i>gajuw</i>	he/she leaves	<i>gajiwak</i>	they (people) leave
<i>gajuw</i>	it leaves	<i>gajiwax</i>	they (things) leave

2.6.3.1.3. *Intransitive -a or -u stems.*

Stem *maca-* 'be through, finished'

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>numaca</i>	I am through	<i>numacamun</i>	we (he & I) are through
		<i>gumacamun</i>	we (you & I) are through
<i>gumaca</i>	you are through	<i>gumacamuw</i>	you all are through

<i>macaw</i>	he/she is through	<i>macawak</i>	they (people) are through
<i>macaw</i>	it is through	<i>macawax</i>	they (things) are through

Stem *abu-* 'remain, stay'

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nu^habu</i>	I stay	<i>nu^habumun</i>	we (he & I) stay
		<i>gu^habumun</i>	we (you & I) stay
<i>gu^habu</i>	you stay	<i>gu^habumuw</i>	you all stay
<i>abuw</i>	he/she stays	<i>abuwak</i>	they (people) stay
<i>abuw</i>	it stays	<i>abuwax</i>	they (things) stay

2.6.3.1.4. *Intransitive consonant-stems.*

Stem *anos-* 'hope':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nu^hanosum</i>	I hope	<i>nu^hanosumun</i>	we (he & I) hope
		<i>gu^hanosumun</i>	we (you & I) hope
<i>gu^hanosum</i>	you hope	<i>gu^hanosumuw</i>	you all hope
<i>anosuw</i>	he/she hopes	<i>anosuwak</i>	they (people) hope
<i>anos</i>	it hopes	<i>anosax</i>	they (things) hope

Stem *kuduk-* 'be sleepy'

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nukudukum</i>	I am sleepy	<i>nukudukumun</i>	he & I are sleepy

		<i>gukudukumun</i>	you & I are sleepy
<i>gukudukum</i>	you are sleepy	<i>gukudukumuw</i>	you all are sleepy
<i>kudukuw</i>	he/she is sleepy	<i>kudukuwak</i>	they (people) are sleepy
<i>kuduk</i>	it is sleepy	<i>kudukax</i>	they (things) are sleepy

2.6.3.2. Transitive Verbs.

As indicated in the table above, the 1st and 2nd person forms of intransitive verbs, both singular and plural ('I', 'you', 'we (he/she & I)', 'we (you & I)', and 'you all') are always animate. In the 3rd person, both singular and plural, however, either animate ('he/she', 'they') or inanimate ('it', 'they') forms may occur. All sets of forms are given in the following tables. Transitive animate forms should be thought of as having a direct or indirect object meaning 'someone' (direct object) or 'to someone' (indirect object). Transitive inanimate forms should be thought of as having a direct or indirect object meaning 'something' (direct object) or 'to something' (indirect object).

2.6.3.2.1. Transitive animate consonant-stems.

Stem *kan-* 'see':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nukan</i>	I see	<i>nukanumun</i>	we (he & I) see
		<i>gukanumun</i>	we (you & I) see
<i>gukan</i>	you see	<i>gukanumuw</i>	you all see
<i>kanuw</i>	he/she sees	<i>kanuwak</i>	they (people) see

<i>kan</i>	it sees	<i>kanuwax</i>	they (things) see
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Stem *iw-* 'say':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nutiw</i>	I say	<i>nutiwumun</i>	we (he & I) say
		<i>gutiwumun</i>	we (you & I) say
<i>gutiw</i>	you say	<i>gutiwumuw</i>	you all say
<i>iwuw</i>	he/she says	<i>iwak</i>	they (people) say
<i>iw</i>	it says	<i>iwax</i>	they (things) say

2.6.3.2.2. Transitive animate vowel-stems.

Stem *tiku-* 'hit, strike':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nutiku</i>	I strike	<i>nutikumun</i>	we (he & I) strike
		<i>gutikumun</i>	we (you & I) strike
<i>gutiku</i>	you strike	<i>gutikumuw</i>	you all strike
<i>tikuw</i>	he/she strikes	<i>tikuwak</i>	they (people) strike
<i>tikuw</i>	it strikes	<i>tikuwax</i>	they (things) strike

Stem *asamá-* 'feed':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nuřasamá</i>	I feed	<i>nuřasámámun</i>	we (he & I) feed
		<i>guřasámámun</i>	we (you & I) feed
<i>guřasamá</i>	you feed	<i>guřasámámuw</i>	you all feed

<i>asamáw</i>	he/she feeds	<i>asamáwak</i>	they (people) feed
<i>asamáw</i>	it feeds	<i>asamáwax</i>	they (things) feed

2.6.3.2.3. Transitive inanimate consonant-stems.

Stem *miz-* 'give':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>numizum</i>	I give	<i>numizumun</i>	we (he & I) give
		<i>gumizumun</i>	we (you & I) give
<i>gumizum</i>	you give	<i>gumizumuw</i>	you all give
<i>mizuw</i>	he/she gives	<i>mizuwak</i>	they (people) give
<i>miz</i>	it gives	<i>mizuwax</i>	they (things) give

Stem *anon-* 'send':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nutanonum</i>	I send	<i>nutanonumun</i>	we (he & I) send
		<i>gutanonumun</i>	we (you & I) send
<i>gutanonum</i>	you send	<i>gutanonumuw</i>	you all send
<i>anonuw</i>	he/she sends	<i>anonuwak</i>	they (people) send
<i>anon</i>	it sends	<i>anonuwax</i>	they (things) send

2.6.3.2.4. Transitive inanimate vowel-stems.

Stem *co-* 'want':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nucom</i>	I want	<i>nucomun</i>	we (he & I) want

		<i>gucomun</i>	we (you & I) want
<i>gucom</i>	you want	<i>gucomuw</i>	you all want
<i>cow</i>	he/she wants	<i>cowak</i>	they (people) want
<i>co</i>	it wants	<i>cowax</i>	they (things) want

Stem *ácá-* 'hunt':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>nutácám</i>	I hunt	<i>nutácámun</i>	we (he & I) hunt
		<i>gutácámun</i>	we (you & I) hunt
<i>gutácám</i>	you hunt	<i>gutácámuw</i>	you all hunt
<i>ácáw</i>	he/she hunts	<i>ácáwak</i>	they (people) hunt
<i>ácá</i>	it hunts	<i>ácáwax</i>	they (things) hunt

2.6.4. *Conjunct Order Modes*. While the Independent Order occurs only in the Indicative Mode, in Mohegan there are two modes in the Conjunct Order, the Subjunctive Mode and the Participial Mode. Both are used only in dependent clauses and express either unrealized actions or states or ones whose existence is or was contingent on some other event.

Unlike the subjects of Independent Order verbs, which are shown through the use of pronoun prefixes and plural suffixes, the subjects of Conjunct Order forms are expressed only by suffixes, as shown in the tables below. There are two sets of suffixes, used for both modes: a primary set of suffixes used for transitive inanimate, animate intransitive, and inanimate intransitive forms, and a secondary set used for transitive animate forms only. The following special rules apply to both conjunct order modes:

1. Between a stem-final vowel and the initial vowel of any suffix the letter *-y-* is inserted as a connector vowel;
2. In inanimate intransitive forms stem-final *-n* is dropped and stem-final *-t* becomes *-h*;
3. Participle forms add the suffix *-ix* to the 1st and 2nd person plural subject pronoun suffixes;
4. Participial Mode forms may add a noun suffix at the end of the form to identify the person, number, and gender of the head-word of the clause.

The two sets of subject suffixes used in the modes of the Conjunct Order are as follows:

2.6.4.1. *Primary Conjunct Order Suffixes*. These are used with the animate intransitive, inanimate intransitive, and transitive inanimate.

<u>Subject</u>			<u>Subject Suffix</u>
Animate	1 sg.	I	<i>-on</i>
	2 sg.	you	<i>-un</i>
	3 sg.	he/she	<i>-d</i>
Inanimate	3 sg.	it	<i>-d</i>
Animate	1+3 pl.	we (he/she & I)	<i>-uk</i>
	1+2 pl.	we (you & I)	<i>-uk</i>
	2pl.	you all	<i>-ák</i>
	3pl.	they	<i>-cuk</i>
Inanimate	3pl.	they	<i>-cuk</i>

2.6.4.2. *Secondary Conjunct Order Suffixes*. These are used with the transitive animate only.

<u>Subject</u>			<u>Subject Suffix</u>
Animate	1 sg.	I	<i>-uk</i>
	2 sg.	you	<i>-ud</i>
	3 sg.	he/she	<i>-d</i>
Inanimate	3 sg.	it	<i>-d</i>
Animate	1+3 pl.	we (he/she & I)	<i>-ukud</i>
	1+2 pl.	we (you & I)	<i>-ukud</i>
	2pl.	you all	<i>-ák</i>
	3pl.	they	<i>-cuk</i>
Inanimate	3pl.	they	<i>-cuk</i>

2.6.4.3. *The Subjunctive Mode*. The Subjunctive Mode is used in 'if' and 'when' dependent clauses defining uncertainty of state or action or contrary to fact states or actions, such as 'If he comes, I shall go' or 'When he arrived, I left'.

2.6.4.3.1. *Animate and inanimate intransitive*.

Stem *má-* 'weep':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>máyon</i>	if/when I weep	<i>máyukud</i>	if/when we weep
<i>máyun</i>	if/when you weep	<i>máyák</i>	if/when you all weep
<i>mád</i>	if/when he weeps	<i>mácuk</i>	if/when they weep

mád if/when it weeps *mácuk* if/when they weep

2.6.4.3.2 Transitive inanimate.

Stem *miz-* 'give':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>mizon</i>	if/when I give it	<i>mizukud</i>	if/when we give it
<i>mizun</i>	if/when you give it	<i>mizák</i>	if/when you all give it
<i>mizud</i>	if/when he give its	<i>mizcuk</i>	if/when they give it
<i>mizud</i>	if/when it gives it	<i>mizcuk</i>	if/when they give it

2.6.4.3.3 Transitive Animate.

Stem *kan-* 'see':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>kanuk</i>	if/when I see someone	<i>kanukud</i>	if/when we see someone
<i>kanud</i>	if/when you see someone	<i>kanák</i>	if/when you all see someone
<i>kanud</i>	if/when he sees someone	<i>kancuk</i>	if/when they see someone
<i>kanud</i>	if/when it sees someone	<i>kancuk</i>	if/when they see someone

2.6.5. *Participial Mode Forms*. The Participial Mode is used in relative clauses, such as 'The man who came was my uncle' or 'It didn't matter what it was' or 'The boat which was in the water sank'.

2.6.5.1 Animate and inanimate intransitive:

Stem *má-* 'weep':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>máyon</i>	I who weep	<i>máyukudix</i>	we who weep
<i>máyun</i>	you who weeps	<i>máyákix</i>	you all who weep
<i>mád</i>	he who weeps	<i>mácuk</i>	they who weep
<i>mád</i>	that which weeps	<i>mácuk</i>	those which weep

2.6.4.2 Transitive inanimate.

Stem *miz-* 'give':

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>mizon</i>	I who give it	<i>mizukudix</i>	we who give it
<i>mizun</i>	you who gives it	<i>mizákix</i>	you all who give it
<i>mizud</i>	he who gives it	<i>mizcuk</i>	they who give it
<i>mizud</i>	that which gives it	<i>mizcuk</i>	those which give it

2.6.5.3 Transitive Animate.

Stem *kan-* 'see':

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
<i>kanuk</i>	I who see someone	<i>kanukudix</i>	we who see someone
<i>kanud</i>	you who sees someone	<i>kanákix</i>	you all who see someone
<i>kanud</i>	he who sees someone	<i>kancuk</i>	they who see someone
<i>kanud</i>	that which sees someone	<i>kancuk</i>	those which see someone

2.6.6. *The Imperative Order.* The Imperative or Command Order has only a single mode, which is called the Imperative Mode. It is used to express direct commands as well as requests and indirect commands such as 'Let's do it', 'Let me do it', 'Let him go', etc. As in the modes of the Conjunct Order, the subject of the command is indicated by subject suffixes, which are indicated in the following tables:

2.6.5.1. *Animate and inanimate intransitive.*

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Subject Suffix</u>
Animate	1 sg. I	-ti
	2 sg. you	-x
	3 sg. he/she	-c
Inanimate	3 sg. it	-c
Animate	1+3 pl. we (he/she & I)	-duh
	1+2 pl. we (you & I)	-duh

	2pl. you all	-kw
	3pl. they	-hudic
Inanimate	3pl. they	-hudic

Examples are: *abuti* 'Let me stay', *abux* 'Stay!', *abuc* 'Let him/her/it stay', *abuduh* 'Let's stay', *abukw* 'You all stay!', *abuhudic* 'Let them stay'.

2.6.6.2. *Transitive animate.*

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Subject Suffix</u>
Animate	1 sg. I	-undi
	2 sg. you	-ø
	3 sg. he/she	-unc
Inanimate	3 sg. it	-unc
Animate	1+3 pl. we (he/she & I)	-unduh
	1+2 pl. we (you & I)	-unduh
	2pl. you all	-uk
	3pl. they	-áhudic
Inanimate	3pl. they	-áhudic

Examples are: *kinununti* 'Let me carry (someone)', *kinun* 'You carry (someone)!', *kinununc* 'Let him/her/it carry (someone)', *kinununduh* 'Let's carry (someone)', *kinumuk* 'You all carry (someone)!', *kinunáhudic* 'Let them carry (someone)'.

2.6.5.3. *Transitive inanimate.*

<u>Subject</u>		<u>Subject Suffix</u>
Animate	1 sg. I	-ø
	2 sg. you	-unx
	3 sg. he/she	-ac
Inanimate	3 sg. it	-ac
Animate	1+3 pl. we (he/she & I)	-umuduh
	1+2 pl. we (you & I)	-umuduh
	2pl. you all	-umuk
	3pl. they	-umohudic
Inanimate	3pl. they	-umohudic

Examples are: *kinun* 'Let me carry it', *kinununx* 'You carry it!', *kinunac* 'Let him/her/it carry it', *kinunumuduh* 'Let's carry it', *kinunumuk* 'You all carry it!', *kinunumohudic* 'Let them carry it'.

2.6.7. *Tense Forms and Negative Verbs.* Any of the verb form given in the preceding tables may be made into its negative equivalent by the addition of the preverb *mud* 'not'. The majority of the Southern New England languages, as well as most Algonquian languages in general, have special suffixes which give the verb a negative meaning. Mohegan, however, has abandoned this suffixation process for the use of the negative preverb.

In the same manner, the special past and future tense suffixes common in other Algonquian tongues are not found in Mohegan. Any verb form may be

specified as having taken place in the past by adding the preverb *ma* before it, and any form may be specified as future by addition of the preverb *mus*.

3. MOHEGAN SYNTAX.

The syntax of most Algonquian languages is relatively flexible, and this is true of Modern Mohegan. It is possible to use a variety of word-orders to represent the same concept. Variation in word-order seems largely determined by the language style the speaker wishes to impart for a particular utterance. This is possible in Mohegan and the other Algonquian languages because the nuances of meaning of each verb and noun are inherent in their inflected form, which can be highly complex. The simplicity of syntax is countered, in short, by the complexity of word-formation.

3.1. *Sentence and Clause Syntax.* The majority of Mohegan sentences have a subject + verb + object word-order, with complements coming before or, as frequently, after the word or element they modify. If, however, one wishes to emphasize a particular element, it is often placed at the beginning of the sentence.

An equational clause, one in which subject and object are one and the same thing joined by the verb 'to be' or a similar verb, is expressed by putting subject and object in sequence, in that order. There is no expressed verb 'to be'.

Examples are: (1) *Nukamum ankatag gizaxk* — *nukanum* 'I see' (verb with pronominal subject) + *ankatag* 'another' (complement modifying object) + *gizaxk* 'sun, day' (object) = 'I see another sun (or) day'; (2) *Yo yombowi gizaxk nukamum* — *yo* 'this' (complement modifying following word) + *yombowi* 'early morning' (complement modifying verb) + *gizaxk* 'sun, day'

(object) + *nukanum* 'I see' (verb with pronominal subject) = 'This early morning I see the sun'; (3) *Ni sunjum* — *ni* 'I' (subject) + *sunjum* 'sachem' (object) = 'I am sachem'.

3.2. *Phrase Syntax*. Morphemic parts of speech in Mohegan may be ranked in the order of their importance in phrases. That order is: verb, noun, pronoun, and particle. In two-element or binary phrases the head-word of the phrase will always be its highest rank constituent morphemic part of speech. If a phrase contains two words of the same morphemic rank, the second word is the head-word. Defined from the point of view of the head-word,, Mohegan has verbal phrases, nominal phrases, pronominal phrases, and particle phrases. Each of these, and their sub-types are considered below.

3.2.1. *Verbal Phrases*. Mohegan verbal forms occur primarily as isolated forms in a clause. They do on occasion, however, occur in-phrase with a pre-posed particle referred to as a preverb, listed in section 2.3.6, or with the adverbial particles listed in section 2.3.3. Examples are: *dabi nawu* '(I am) able to see' — *dabi* 'can, able to' + *nawu-* 'see'; *ma nunawu* 'I saw' *ma* 'preterite particle' + *nu-* 'I' + *nawu-* 'see'; *mus wumijuwak* 'they will eat' — *mus* 'future particle' + *wu-* '3rd person subject' + *mic-* > *mij-* (intervocalically) 'eat' + *-uwak* 'plural suffix'; *kuji nuwombonsiyon* 'already I may live' — *kuji* 'already' + *nu-* 'I' + *wombonsi-* 'live' + *-yon* '1st person participial mode'.

3.2.2. *Nominal Phrases*. Phrases with a noun as the head-word may contain another noun, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or a particle as the modifying non-head element. The following types of nominal phrase are found in Jits Bodunaxa's data.

3.2.2.1. *Noun and Personal Pronoun Noun Modifiers*. In noun phrases containing two nouns or a personal pronoun and a noun, the two coordinately ranked nouns or the noun head-word and pronoun function as an English [subject + implied 'to be' verb + predicate nominative] full clause. In the case of the personal pronoun modifier, it will always precede the noun in the phrase. Examples are: *in sunjum* 'the man (is) chief'; *ni sunjum* 'I am chief'.

3.2.2.2. *The Possessive Phrase*. Possessive phrases consisting of two nouns may be formed in two ways in Mohegan. In both types the possessed noun must be inflected for the possessor, even if that possessor is named. The name of the possessor usually comes after the possessed noun, but it may come before. For example: *umikigwang ox* 'the man's strength' — *wu-* 'his' + *mikigwang* 'strength' = *umikigwang* 'his strength' + *ox* 'the man'. This might also occur as *ox umikigwang* 'the man, his strength' = 'the man's strength'. The first arrangement of elements is more the frequent.

3.2.2.3. *Demonstrative Noun Modifiers*. Demonstrative pronouns used as modifiers are uniformly placed before the noun head-word, as in *yo wusquig* 'this book'.

3.2.2.4. *Particle Noun Modifiers*. Adjectival particle modifiers are most usually placed after the noun head-word, as in *mundo wigo* 'the good Lord', but they may occur before the noun, as in *kayo yombowi* 'a cold morning'. Those listed in section 2.3.4 as well as the prenoun particles listed in section 2.3.6, always precede the noun head-word, as in *wami inug* 'all the men', *daxi inug* 'so many men', *micimi mundo* 'eternal god'. Prepositional particle modifiers (see section 2.3.1), however, normally precede the noun head-word, as in *woci inug* 'for the men', *waji wiyamowung* 'toward health'.

3.2.2.5. *The Locative Noun Phrase*. To express the concept of 'in', 'at', 'on', or 'to' Modern Mohegan uses the locative suffix *-ug*, as in *mundonug* 'in heaven'. There are many instances in which both a prepositional particle and the locative suffix are used; as in *woci boatug* 'from the boat', *gixki zibug* 'near the river'.

3.2.3. *Pronominal Phrases*. Phrases in which a demonstrative pronoun is the head-word occur frequently with prepositional particles, the pronoun normally coming after the preposition, as in *yo woci* 'from this'.

3.2.4. *Particle Phrases*. In phrases consisting of two particles, the order of the two coordinate elements may vary — *wigo mutáwi* or *mutáwi wigo* both occur for 'very good', for example, as do *oxumi wigo* and *wigo oxumi* 'so very good'.

3.2.5. *Compound Phrases*. As in most languages, it is possible to embed a binary phrase within another phrase, as its head element or its subordinate element. Examples are: *woci yo wusquig* 'from this book', consisting of the nominal phrase *yo wusquig* 'this book', in which the demonstrative pronoun predictably comes before the noun head-word, embedded as the nominal-phrase object of the prepositional particle *woci* 'from, for, with'; or *woci wami guta* 'with all your heart', consisting of the nominal phrase *wami guta* 'all your heart', with the adjectival particle *wami* predictably before the noun, embedded as the nominal-phrase object of the prepositional particle *woci* 'from, for, with'.

5. SAMPLE TEXT.

The following short text comes from Jits Bodunaxa's *Diary* entry for May 29, 1904 (Speck 1928:114-115).

1. Gizaxk badanta wimo. 2. Kuji busqua. 3. Numij nudinay janaw waji nuyundum. 4. Áwan yundumud mud wiyamumo. 5. Áwan mud wiyamumod mud dabi aykikuzo. 6. Áwan mud dabi aykikuzod cunci wamáwan wutaynumowu waji wajunu jagwan, somi baki mus nupayandum. 7. Niyayo.

1. The sun rises clear. 2. It is already noon. 3. I am eating my dinner since I am hungry. 4. Whoever is hungry doesn't feel well. 5. Whoever doesn't feel well isn't able to work. 6. Whoever can't work needs a lot of help from everyone, since he will die from hunger. 7. That is so.

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Jits Bodunaxa
Flying Bird
 Fidelia A. H. Fielding
 (1827-1908)

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