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PROTO-ALGIC IV: Nouns

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Abstract: In Proto-Algic, a primary noun stem often ends in a derivational final, a secondary one in a nominalizer. Both usually resemble demonstrative pronouns in shape. A dependent noun stem lacks a root, and generally begins in **Ca, **D; or in a consonant other than **S or **Q). In those cases where it is paired with a medial beginning in **a or **k(w), a prefix receptor (**E, **L, **R, **S, or **I) is prefixed. Inflection for allocation differs for kin, human body parts, parts of nonhumans, and general nouns.

0. Introduction

This paper completes a sketch of Proto-Algic morphology which I began with a description of the verb (Proulx 1985a, reconstructions 139-238) and of pronouns (Proulx 1991, reconstructions 239-271). It’s for the most part a straightforward description of Proto-Algic noun structure and inflection. In addition, however, it includes a more detailed reconstruction of the endings of third-person singular verbs — which show a striking resemblance to those of some classes of nouns (a similarity of the sort already well-known in Algonquian). The possible glottogenic origins of these endings is then discussed. First, however, we need to update the phonology of the protolanguage.

1. Phonological Notes

The main correspondences in this paper have been described in my sketch of Proto-Algic morphology (Proulx 1984). In addition, I have shown (Proulx 1985a:sec.12) that **my gives y, that PA A from **x and **th (as well as from **s) alternate to PA *h before a morpheme boundary (except before PA *x and **Q), that **? remains as glottal *ch before a vowel in Wiyot and PA. I have also adjusted the reflexes of vowels in monosyllables, and of prevocalic **l and **s (Proulx 1991:sec.1.1, 3.1). To summarize briefly the updates to the original sketch:

- The length of final vowels in syntactically independent monosyllabic Proto-Algic words is noncontrastive: the phonetic length of such vowels is determined chiefly by the presence or absence of stress. Generally, their reflexes coincide with those

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of short vowels in Ngongwian, and with those of long vowels in Wyot and Yuruk. The reflexes of **₁ and **₂ are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{PAc} & \text{PA} & \text{W} & \text{Y} \\
*₁ & *₁ & \text{k}(r) & \text{r}(1) \\
*₄ & *₂(1-₄) & \text{R}(a) & \text{s} \\
\end{array}
\]

By this account, Proto-Algic *₄ continues to give Pre-PA **₄ (with a regular secondary alternation of Pre-PA *₂ to *₂ before morpheme boundaries), but before vowels it also gives Wyot *₂ (or *₂ - the two alternate synchronically), and Y s - reflexes already identified in consonant clusters (see Proulx 1984:195). Before vowels, Proto-Algic *₁ continues to give PA *₁ and W ₁, but it gives Y r rather than ₁ (see Proulx 1984:195 for its reflexes in consonant clusters). The ₁/r alternations in the Bituan Sprachbund are now seen to be secondary from *₁ alone.

Besides these already-established correspondences, a number of the reconstructions in this paper involve new ones which fall in two groups: (1) **₂ plus apical clusters, and (2) a new phoneme **₅.

1.1. New Clusters. One of the main gaps in the sketch is the series of consonant clusters (other than **₁₄) consisting of two apicals. The first member of these clusters is always **₂ or **₅ (where **₁₅ = ₀ or ₁):
Examples of S-clusters:

(272) **keSt-, **keSc- 'big, much'; PA *kēt/- 'big' A769 (and 'old', as in *kētēswa 'old person' A769), PA *kētēl- 'much, greatly' A769; W kēc- 'a lot', as in ta-kēc-lwet 'one gets a lot' (transcribed with aspirated ch) with several medial **-ēz-w, 'catch, kill' (see **ēt-w- #345). More common is W kēc-w- with **-w- 'postradical extension'; kātn kēc-witi 'she's going to build a big fire' (with **-t-w- 'hurt' #185). Kēcw- 'I cook it too much', kēcw-y dul-wi 'she's packing a big load'.

With intensive change, this stem generally means 'old': PA *kē:tei- (with link **-e; incorporated in the stem) 'old' A659 (reconstructed with **e; but compare M kē:ce- 'big, old'); W kēn-w- 'it got old' (with **-w- 'be'). Note that even in this archaic use of intensive change, Algonquian has its productive ablaut of *e to *i rather than the usual infixing characteristic of Proto-Algonkian and seen in the Wyot stem (with contraction of **e to W i). Compare also C kētī:niw and kētī:shēniw 'old man', M kēc- and kē-ts- 'big, old', and perhaps F bekna 'formerly' and K kēhta 'previously'. It has always seemed odd synchronically that W kēc- 'a lot' should have e rather than
grade-2 as the meaning would suggest. However, grade-3 does make sense, and the very uncommonness of the root would have made leveling out of regular sound change unlikely. Evidently then, the Algonquian one a preverb and adverbial root.

PA *mawt-: 'bare, without anything'; PA *mawt-: 'bare, without anything', T mawl 'without anything'; PA *mawt-: 'bare, without anything' (C mons?takok awi 'she sleeps with bare buttocks'). The Yurok word is a free adverbial, the Algonquian one a preverb and adverbial root.

PA *mawt-: 'bare, without anything'; C mons?takokaw: 'she goes naked', mons?takokaw 'she sleeps alone on the bare ground', mons?takokaw 'bare ground', mons?takokaw 'she speaks without effect', W mon.setakw 'she is bare-skinned, naked', mon.setakokaw 'she lies with her back exposed', mon.setakokaw 'having nothing, empty handed'. PA *maw?takokaw 'she walks (having no mount or vehicle)'; C monsetakokaw 'she walks', W mon.setakokaw.

The Lake languages have dissimilation of labials in this item, for PA-PA *mawt- (cf. O monak, Mi monak 'loom' from PA *awal?kwa A1334).

(276) NeeST- 'exhausted, to exhaustion', NeeST- 'weak, inadequate'; PA *naw?taw- 'exhausted', Y neet- 'pushing one's body to its limits'; PA *naw?taw- 'weak, weary', Y nase- (and na- and na- 'inadequate'. PA incorporates postmedial **-aw, and the last Yurok by-form has ablaut. Examples: C nesstakokaw 'she lies tired', nesstakokaw 'she bleeds to exhaustion or death', nesstakokaw 'she's tired from running in snow', Y nesstakokaw 'she runs fast', nesstakokaw 'I've been badly hurt in my flesh', nesstakokaw 'I reach the other shore'; C nesstakokaw 'it's weak', nesstakokaw 'she's weary', Y nesstakokaw 'I don't think I can do it' nesstokaw 'I feel inadequate at a task').

(275) NosCN 'last night'; 'last night', Y nahasch 'last night'.

(276) NosCN, NosCN- 'night; dark, lonely, awful'; PA *naw?taw- 'dark, alone, awful', changed, infixed, and reduplicated *naw?taw- 'lonely, night', Y nahasch- (in nahaschen 'night', and nahaschen 'last night'), W dicas? 'night' incorporates postmedial **-aw (in dicas? t? 'nighttime'), dicas? 'last night', and dicas?tawal 'I'm going out at night', with *-tawal (go).

This item shows PA *e = W i = Y ah in a first syllable. Y ah and e sometimes are in free or conditioned variation in this environment (Y gahokoh 'linen cloth' and gahokoh 'shirt', and compare Y *ahokoh 'hand' beside more common *etaw). This correspondence contrasts with PA *e = W i = Y ah in a first syllable (see #32, 46, 47, 111), for which **P is reconstructed.
I reconstruct **e for it, allowing that it split into Y e (generally) and a plus automatic h where needed in rarer and as yet undetermined environments. Possibly, an adjacent **y and Pre-Yurok *y was one such environment.

PA *numa'- 'dark, alone, awful'; M na*nek- 'dark' (in na*neknapew 'she sits in the dark'), k neyi- (in neyihee- 'live alone'), k neyiheki- 'be awful around'). PA *nanya:*t?-'lonely, night'; M nani?tak* (in nani?takew 'she's lonely'), nani?tak*nakwet 'night is falling'). The two Monominee stems incorporate postmedial *-sk.

The pattern of reduplication in this and in a few other Algonquian nouns is complex, involving ablaut (archaic or not), sometimes infixing (as in DARK and CLOSED), as well as the prefixed syllable itself. For example: PA *akyejig-'closed (of senses)' A376, beside *kog- 'cover, close, block' A728-757.

(277) **SiSi1-, **SiSi1-, **SiseSc, **SiseSc, **SiSeSi1- 'divide': (a) PA *le7law- 'fork', Y nlakh- 'separate, apart' (b) PA *na*law- 'fork', (c) Y nighskiok? 'I parted from them' (VC 'go'), (d) PA *na*law- 'fork' (M na*maw- 'fork'). This stem shows that **Si1 gives PA *n in word-initial position (beside *y mediately), and Y n after h, while **Sc gives PA *a (or *a) in this position. See 276 above on the alternation of Y ah and c.

PA *le7law- *nawlaw- 'fork': K nea*saahi 'forked pole', Sh l葛e7law- 'forked' (Iw*na*lawyanu? 'first-hawk = forked tail feathers', Iw*na*lawati 'it's forked'), M neawahkiwani 'I divide it' p.381. Y na*lawna backed 'she forks at the opening', changed neaxawathi 'the forked support of the booth', B0 naawahdekwam 'fork'. Monominee examples (reflecting PA *nawlaw-): sa*nawahkwaw, it's fork as wood, solid', sa*nawapara 'the road fork(s)', sa*navamoriny 'split-tailed eagle', sa*nawahkew 'it (esp. stream) lies forking'. Yurok examples: synhikok? 'I separate from someone, as at the fork in a trail', synhiekewak? 'I left the group', synhiekopek? 'I build my own fire apart', synhiekopek? 'I separate things'.

(278) **SiseSi1, **SiseSi1- 'singe': (a) W *espat 'sing (duck)' (with -at 'cook, fire'); same in kwe*tat 'I cook it too much'), (b) PA *liipig- (C ceipatahan 'she puts ti on a spit'), (c) Y seyep?C- 'singe'. Generally PA *a alternates to *e before *li, but evidently the development of *-n initial **Si1 into PA *a postdates this rule and is exempted from it. Instead, **Si1 gives *a, which in turn gives C i and secondarily C g. After the loss of the *-n separating them, a simple affricate is glottalized after a glottalized stop in Yurok (p?C ----> p?C). In Wiyot, 'aspirated stops... do not participate in clusters' (Teeter 1964:10), so presumably Pre-Wiyot *a from **a was simplified in
that environment (pht \rightarrow pt).

(279) **wa:slav.-**wa:slav. 'far away'; W liwík 'it's far away' (with -ik as in kiliż) ('it's' hot) from **wa:slav.-hot.'
#\d3\), PA *wa:slav.-'distant' ('it's' hot). W wa:slav.'distant, long time', O wa:ssma 'far'). This stem evidently contains the postradical extension -w added to a root **wa:sl- or, with archaic ablaut, **wa:sl-. Thus, compare F wa:slahákamorákah 'person of a distant land' (with medial PA *-ahsákamí 'space') #\d1\). The loss of initial **w is regular in Wyot.

(280) **wa:slak.-**wa:slak.-medial **-orek- and **-orek- 'skin' (mostry reinforced with the final **aw 'skin' no.53): (a) PA *wa:lakavya 'skin, scale' (C wa:hýakay 'scale', Mc wa:lpa 'skin'), (b) Y akrawok 'linen cloth', a:lekwo 'shirt' and a:le:kweo 'clothes', (c) PA *wa:la:kkay (C wa:hýakay, R10 wa:híakay); (d) PA *-ákkay (in *-la:kkay-a 'inner skin, membrane') #\d7\), W wítíw 'skin' (incorporation the third-person prefix), Y skor 'strip of buckskin'.

(281) **wít. **wít '1-dimensional' (and usually some final): (a) PA  *-ak'tow 'tree, stick, wood' A13, W -á:ktí 'tree, wood' (ak: 'wood', wiktí 'pine or fir tree'); (b) PA *-wëtko'y in *wëtko'y- 'tree, wood, stick' A1229-1235, Y -ó:tek? in *grootek? 'small fir tree'. See Bloomfield (Mi:262) for the PA noun-final *-ëwö. This abstract final is in turn composed of noun-final *-ëwö (Bloomfield 1946:sec.60) and a residue *-ëk perhaps cognate to Y ëk? 'long and pliable' (Robins 1958:88). Wyot -i¿ is cognate to Y -ó:te 'tree' (reflecting **wít 'tree'). See Denny (1980:149) on the classifiers of manipulable objects in Dybwa, notably 0-átiit '1D-rigid'.

Examples: M gëtëtëk 'that kind of tree, stick', O posta-kënaitak 'pestle stick', O sulnaitrik 'hard maple', W wítkëtik 'bone' from **wëkëñaw #\d2\, W -wëtik 'plant' from **-stw. **semairi- 'bow' (#\d2\ below) beside **semairi: 'shoot' (with postradical **-ëw), and perhaps W wíttik 'head' from **netiitki #\d90\.

(282) **semairi-., **semairi- 'bow'; W shást-, Y smokàr'r (with -a'ir 'stick'), thenomor 'my bow' (with metathesis of the last two vowels) N\d 12\2. Includes the medial **-ëwö '1D' #\d2\1. Cf. Proto-Pomo *xihbù 'or xí(t)ים' 'bow', whose ñ\d -> \d in some languages. The Proto-Algonics didn't have bows, so perhaps the term was transferred from dart-thrower.

1.2. A New Phoneme. Another set of correspondences leads me to posit an additional phoneme, **aw (which fits nicely into the phonemic system postulated earlier, Proot 1984:202). This phoneme is hard to recognize, as its reflexes drop in some phonological environments. Correspondences are:
Recall that (as in A, B) **g** drops between a consonant and 
*w* in PA, that (as in B, C) **eg** drops in /wɔt/ except in a first
syllable (Proulx 1984:192) and (as in E) **g** gives *w* before
**tv** #30-31 (hence likely before **ge**), and that **g** is
glottalized when the next preceding consonant is an initial
.glottalized one in Yurok. Examples are:

**(283)** **tə:a:gw.** **tə:a:gw** 'belly': several PA *-stary
'stomach' (to Sâ hope=kwâ:tâ:wi:loke 'she has a stomach ache', with
PA *pe:kûw. 'lump, sphere' (see *pne:wâ- #346), W ṭâ:ntâ:li 'her
belly' (with incorporation of the abstract verbal final **tu
#177).

**(284)** **pe:pi:gw- 'be male', **na:pe:jo:jwa 'male': *pe:lo:j 'male
animal', *pe:kâ: 'man' (with the regular loss of initial **ne-
before single obstruent [Proulx 1984:197], and added
nominalizers), PA *na:pe:jo:jwa 'male, man' A1352 (with archaic

**(285)** **pele:gwâ 'large bird': PA *pele:wa 'Turkey' A1814,
'large fowl, edible game bird' (Siebert 1967:10), PA *pele:hai:jwa
'big bird', Y *pënë:ti: 'boar', *ple:lo:j 'type of owl' (cf. *plepok
'head of woodpecker scalps'). There are two sources of Y *g
**ag** and **eg** (Proulx 1984:181). Since **g** gives Pre-*y* in
rounding environments (Proulx 1984:170, n.3), the Y *g* following
these stems must be from **ag**. In contrast, in Y *prenô:li 'screach
owl' it must be from **eg**.

This item begins in a root **pel-.** Compare PA *pel:ehai:jwa 'big
bird' (C pi:le:siw 'Thunderbird', N pe:ne:ksiw 'eagle', U pi:ne:jegi
'big bird') and "niy:ñevia 'bird' (Ab ofthen, A nil?ebi). For another example of the ending, compare PA *munkabhravya 'mink' A1968 (with archaic ablaut, reconstructed without the *p) with *munkhesa 'weasel' A1983 (with diminutive -eh).

(285) **ñev-... 'madrone': W Sgrig'nu, Y g?eb?'oh 'madrone tree'.

(287) **ñev-, **ñev-, **ñev- 'be tired of': (a) Y crg- 'be tired': (in ceg'etonep? 'I'm annoyed' NB.1:61), ceg?roy- 'hear with distaste' and ceg'oyok? 'I'm tired of hearing it'; (b) PA *ñaw- 'be tired' (Pe naxhrar- [Voornis 1979:65], Hn annun 'she is tired, weary, faint'; Kr nisqokus 'I'm weary', cf. Me nivik'naat 'she's ill, listless'), (c) PA *ñiw- 'he's frustrated, bored', Me nivik'at 'I'm tired of hearing her', Pe ñw-, Pe ñivik'atam 'I'm weary of mind' [Seebor 1983:301], Mah ñia n'chewochomnand 'I'm tired', Y sweget- 'be tired of' (with the transitive unpersoneal final -Y, see #178).

As two of the examples show, Y ceg- generally has the postradical extension **ñy-. The Y w from **ñw in Y sweg- is not unexpected: underlying Y ese dissimilates to Pre-Y *sweg (and thence contracts to Y w) before a labiovelar (see Proulx 1986:170, fn.3). Here contraction is not possible because of early loss of the initial weak **ñw, regular in a first syllable between an obstruent and a consonant other than o (see Proulx 1984:186).

Y sweg- is always replaced by saw- in my fieldnotes before an element beginning in Y o, typically the postradical extension Y -on. Since the Yurok sequences aq-o and oq-o both contract to o, and there are many anotological restorations of the underlying sequences (Proulx 1985b:137), the sequence eyo here is probably just an unmetrical restoration from o. Alternatively, we may suspect a dissimilation of the feature [+back] such as seen in Algonquian yo: from underlying w: (compare A payo- 'use it' and aw- 'use her'). Also, o esw- gives eyo (Kleenfield 1957:21). The stem Robins cites as sweget- above appears as sawe- in my fieldnotes (No. 4:47) - suggesting assimilation of o to w for some speakers.

(288) **taw-, **taw-, **taw- 'through an opening, passage, space, or door; out': (a) Y tecwe?екwey- 'stick out'; (b) PA *cav-; (c) W thi?- 'out' (e.g., thi?et 'go out'). Y tecwe?екwey- 'stick out' consists of -p?ay- 'face' and postradical -ek- as in cell?ek- 'dry', gekeqiy?ek- 'well', nemkh?ek- 'annoying', nohyq?ek- 'into', sok?ek- 'fast', and wehyq?ek- 'across'. Evidently, the **ay gives Y w under influence of the following o (from **?ay?) and/or the w in the next element.

PA *taw- 'through an opening, passage, space, or door; out': C
tawapíwak 'they sit leaving a passage between', tawatstawiw 'she makes room for her, open the tent for her', híow dwaashaing 'she falls through the ice' and dwaahbán 'a water hole in the ice', Mc tawapí 'she sticks out', tawat 'she or it has a hole'; Mc tawat 'she goes out' (with initial change and the final -ije 'motion'), wet-tawat 'she comes out of there'. Also PA *tawatwi *there's an opening, it's an opening': F tawatwi 'it's an opening', C tawatwi 'it's an opening, there's room, come in', Níí touram 'there's room'.

(289) **sani:pi:síwi, **sani:li:pi:síwi 'coals, charcoal': (a) deverbal PA *-sani:pi:síwi (in *matkonbi:síwi 'charcoal' SS2 beside *matkonbi: 'black', and in PA *matkanbyiwí 'charcoal' SS2 beside C kankité:wa:níw 'it's black'); (b) W wirí: 'coals' (grade 2-3), Y la:wog, cf. mecwo:lo 'live embers, coals'. PA *eí rather than expected *eí. In this word is probably analogical reshaping modeled on the many verb endings where apparently *eí alternates to *eí before *eí (*nompe:í 'I sleep') A1444 [reconstructed with short *eí beside *nompe:í 'she sleeps'] A1462).

2. Types of Stems

Algic languages have two types of stems, independent and dependent. Dependent noun stems begin in **i:í: **eí: in a consonant other than **eí or **eí(ê), or, in one isolated Algonquian case, in **eí. Independent nouns have no special phonological characteristics.

In those cases where a dependent noun stem is paired with a medial beginning in **eí or **eí(e), a prefix receptor (**eí, **eí and **eí, **eí, or **eí) is added between them. (This pattern is partly obscured by the tendency to analogically add the prefix receptor to the medial as well in some cases.) In the following examples, parentheses enclose optional analogical consonants attested by some languages:

**-čítten- **-čítten- 'throat' #152, medial **-Y(e)číti-
**-Y(e)číti #152.

**-skwítkan 'neck' #267, medial **-Y(e)skw #165.

**-čk **-čk: 'leg' #10, medial **-čkí: 'leg' #143, **-Y(e)čkí: 'foot' #167, **-Y(e)čkí: and **-Y(e)čkí: 'body, leg, foot' #168.

**-čkančeg **-čkančeg 'fingernail' #134, medial **-čkančeg #141. Compare **-čkáčkáčeg, **-čkáčkáčeg 'hoof, claw' #39.

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Although synchronic evidence is ambiguous, 'chest (body part)' #343 probably also follows the same pattern. For an example with **-l, see 'skin' (sec. 3.4 #280). If the final Y -gl is Y -geres 'tooth' is a nominalizer (see sec. 3.2 below), then medial **-l is also a prefix receptor.

3. Secondary Noun Stems

Secondary noun stems consist of (A) a primary stem plus diminutive (melliorative) suffix, or (B) a verb stem plus a nominalizing suffix. There is an augmentative (pejorative) suffix as well as a diminutive one, but it requires a following nominalizing suffix when used in nouns. See Proulx (1984:sec.2) for matching (diminutive and augmentative) sound symbolism.

3.1. Diminutives and Augmentative Suffixes. They are:

(290) **-k, secondary final 'diminutive' #137, 109: PA *-kas, W -ag, and -g. Examples in nouns: PA *raparaparaph 'little cord' beside PA *rapaprap 'cord' and W siemewa 'little dog' beside W siemew 'dog', W siemew 'young opossum' (tok- 'opossum'). Examples in verbs: Mc waumapoka 'she's a little bit sick' beside keinaum 'she's sick', W tabatibatifew 'it's a bit cold', beside tabat 'it's cold', and W rariwak 'hum' beside iaiaiaiaiai 'sing'.

Diminutives are also used with the specialized meaning 'person': PA *-kas (Si -nka in etekwapi:la) 'beware of person', r.356, wipasminenaw 'corn-chops person' p.413, sopilis 'water person' [cf. W sopili 'dwell in water'], Si keitarph 'fire person', ka?aloka 'rough person', and kipokok:it 'person of the kiipaoko division'; cf. Mc waumawa 'eggman', naowarwai 'fifth person' - with diminutive shift of g to ?; PA *-kas in F waiswanokina 'person of a distant land'. W kikwakewi 'female human' beside kibubiku? 'dog' shows diminutive versus augmentative consonant symbolism associated with the notion of 'human being'. Berona (1986:419) suggests that Y -k is a diminutive suffix, so compare also Y pameyene 'person groaning in sleep', kamek 'mythical water monster', cf. productive Y -lon 'person' (with accretion of on and automatic shift of g to ? after k).

(292) **-mak, **-tk 'augmentative pejorative'; PA *-mak 'pejorative; habitual action' (O -mak), W -mak 'augmentative-pejorative' 169, W; PA *-tk 'pejorative; habitual action' (M -mak). Nominalize also has -tk, a showing secondary
consonant-grade alternation from Proto-Menominee *-tk (Pontland 1983:139). This element is chiefly found in verbs in Algonquian, but also in verbal nouns (e.g., M keno:tken 'a lie')—where it is followed by a nominalizing suffix such as **-ya-. The line between the two elements is not always as in M keno:tken. Compare, e.g., PA *spitkan 'pack strap (lit. 'what one habitually uses for tying')? M ape:tken, Rhu bikan (with root **aph- 'tie, cord') #247. See sec.4.1 for the evolution of this sequence.

Examples: O kettimsk'i 'she's lazy', kinnwii 'she tells a lie', kikarwennekirksk'i 'she's envious of disposition' e0-72; M ta?takacewk'i 'she's lazy' beside ta?takacew 'she's unwilling', akee:nkew 'she's easily frightened' beside ake:n 'she's frightened', keno:tkewk 'she's a thief' beside keno:tkew 'she steals it'. ML 227-31; W laptap'te: 'store cloud, large cloud' (stem laptap't- 'cloud' T69), himi pičëkadik 'our grandfather' (cf. W pičëk 'my great-grandfather', with a different suffix). My Wiyot examples all involve nouns, but the -e- in the last suggests that it too may be followed by **-nu (which drops in wordfinal position).

3.2. Nominalizers. It is well known that in Proto-Algonquian the 2 main suffixes marking the third-person in verbs are homophonous with nominalizing ones. Thus, PA independent **-a,
'definite third-person subject' (Bloomsfield 1946:sec.34) beside PA **-ya- 'agent noun' A2074 give the likes of M manokikw 'she works; worker' and M manon 'she is invited, someone invites her; invited guest'. Less significantly, since all conjunct verbs produce participles, PA conjunct **-e- 'definite third-person subject' A2000 form third-person participles (e.g., F Pitk'itnet 'she who built them', Bloomsfield 1927:213) as well as subordinate verbs (e.g., F pitikëch 'when she had entered' Bloomsfield 1927:204 [with mutation of -e- to -ë-]). See also **-nu below for indefinite-subject second-person abstract -n-

In Wiyot, an example of the same pattern is -li 'agent; third-person subject': kakwil 'old man, he is old'.

There are traces of a similar pattern in Yurok. Thus, beside Y -Ye 'nominalizer' there is also the third-person ending Y -ol, a free variant of Y -ylw in some verbs: hegpyl = hegpyw 'she goes'; E34. (Ye and a are grade variants of one another.) Examples of the nominalizing function are: rorik 'snow' beside rorik- 'to snow'), wewalik 'strap' from **werik- 'strap with a bundle-strap' #37.

Proto-Algonic too had nominalizing suffixes homophonous with those of third-person subjects of verbs. In the list that follows, the endings of each pair are reconstructed separately where evidence permits such separate reconstruction. Otherwise
the reconstructible ending of the presumed pair is given, together with the evidence that it may have also had a counterpart.

(292) **-Yk 'nominalizer': PA *-ikan 'undergoer' (Bloomfield 1946:sec.62), PA *-ikan (M -eken [Bloomfield 1962:sec.14,66]), W -ik and -ik, -ik in cinikiki 'sayings, language' (beside cinikip 'say', with mediopassive -np), Y pekoyek 'blood' (pekoy- 'be red'). Alego-quian reinforces the ending with the nominalizer **-Yk.

Examples are: C oyosikan 'person placed', M aik?noi?kakan 'sacred story' (with animate gender), oisekan 'unwashed person or thing' (cf. oitan 'she uses something on it'), and mattsinoximpeke 'my grandchild' (Nj. p.230); N papasukihikekan 'boar', W balik 'salmon' (root 'to feast'), qurik 'tradition' (root 'tell traditions'), ciiyiriwak 'violin playing' (ciyiriwatis 'violin bow'), Yc.

(292) **-Yk 'third-person subject': PA *-ik A499-500, N -ik. Examples are: PA *Komisani 'when it rains' A06A; Wiyot kitiik 'it's hot, have a fever', ta kitiik 'at a hot place', ouna kambwak 'how far is it?', tu takwak 'where it's shady', tu thiqFKik 'where one goes out', tu danaytikspik 'where there's a big bunch', kitiik 'it's cold', and abawi akwak 'it's far away'.

(294) **-Yk 'nominalizer': PA *-m 'agent of a stative verb', e.g., *-atem 'house' beside *kentem 'be a long house' (Proulx 1982:fn.5), W *-om (tali?n 'what lies there') T26, with secondary laryngealization to help distinguish it from otherwise homophonous taliik 'it lies there', with third-person -it T26. Apparently reinforced with **-Yk in PA *emishkakama 'knife' (G: mokshkama, Ni: mookmakom) - compare G piintshkakam 'knife sheath', and Bo ninkiskam 'my snot' beside K oshikom 'her snot'. This ending is not particularly common, and neither is the corresponding verb inflection (**-Yk 'third-person subject').

(295) **-Yk 'third-person subject': PA *-m (unw) in a few 1st-regular AI verbs of state or motion, W -ib (in class 2 o-stative verbs), Y -om (in class 2 o-stative verbs). W -ib (in class 2 o-stative verbs). Y -om (in class 2 o-stative verbs), always reinforced with the regular -om (o-class ending). Examples are: B sippina 'she enters' beside *mitsipiti 'she enter' (Franz 1971:18), Bo sikkam 'she's afraid' beside *mitaikom 'I'm afraid'; W jatipiti 'she's burned' beside *jitiif 'I'm burned'; Y kwacoo 'she goes slowly' beside kwocok 'go slowly', kcohokalom 'she hits' beside kcohokohom 'hit' R59. Examples with implied objector Y jih 'she takes (something)', Jik? 'I take (something)'; Yowom 'she sees (something)', Jowom 'I see (something).'

(296) **-Yk 'nominalizer': PA *-m (often with extensions)
'action, product, instrument' (Bloomfield 1946:sec.62); Y -in 'third person attributive' R59 (ku kepoyarin 'swimmer' R55, beside Y kepoyar 'swim'). Compare W -id 'third-person subject' T76 (1964a 'she's heavy' beside liādwi 'I'm heavy'), W -nd 'datiild 'it's a large building; a large building' T77, 66).

(297) **-yî or **-yâa 'indefinite subject' #214. The possible role of **-yî 'intermediate' #203 in preserving the loss of final sonorants by word-shortening in verb inflection is not clear, despite my earlier conclusions on the matter (Proulx 1982:406). Whatever the reason, of the verb endings only **-yî 'I' #211 is so shortened. If **-yî is not involved here, its reconstruction in the indefinite subject ending (#214) may not be required for Prot-Altic (though it was surely present in PA).

(298) **-â 'nominalizer'; W -â 'agent', -â 'instrument'; Y -â.

Examples are: W kekwhî 'old man, he is old', tsâbâsiwâl 'pottage' (root **-sâsilâ: 'pound' #120); Y ma?ahakak 'a spear' (ma?ahak- 'to spear'), teloyâik 'a lie' (with regular contraction of ow- to wi, cf. teloy- 'tell; lie'), püwe?ômek 'a place with an animal smell' beside püwe?ômek? 'I smell of skunk or cat', Y cek?çërik 'a place of meditation' beside cek?çërik? 'I sit' Nb:3:3, and Y kitkî 'trout-fishing pole' (root *kwetâ- 'angle' #342).

**-â 'third-person subject' #201.

(299) **-â-ì 'nominalizer'; W -â-ì, Y -â-ì. This element laryngealizes the preceding element as follows: in Wiyot, glottal catch follows the next preceding vowel in Yurok, a final obstruent is glottalized and glottal catch precedes a final sonorant. Examples are: W püwotukâ 'cooking utensils, lit. what someone cooks with' (püw- 'cook', -ukâ 'with something', -â 'someone'), kitunâ 'last row in a basket' (kitunâhì 'she gets through waving it'); Y rowo?â 'a pipe' (ro:won- 'smoke a pipe'), curpûki 'a comb' (curpûky 'comb' (uninflected verb)). It is commonly used to strengthen other nominalizing suffixes in Wiyot (e.g., **-yî, **-yâ, **-yî), and, more rarely, in Yurok. In at least one case, this produces a minimally contrastive pair: Y ameyu?âko 'a mean face; a row, windy day' beside ameyu?âko? 'a person with a mean face'. Here, the laryngealization seems to mean 'a person having X'.

**-â-ì 'third-person subject' #218.

(300) **-â-ì 'third-person subject subject of relative clause' (ka:bbikân 'how long it cooked', with -â 'cooked heart'; liâkâwî 'how they make it'), Y -â-ì? 'she gathers acorns', sakitkî? 'she's strong' R35). Compare W -â' goal
noun' (bəxə? 'food' 764, səxmin bəv- 'eat it' T59; khalawəlo? 'pack basket').

(301) **-ə' nominalizer': W -əl (jualan 'a leak', with secondary laryngealization — see **-ul #399), Y -əl 'third person attributive' (kuhočišło? 'she who hits' R59). Compare W -l 'third person staticive' (təli 'she's wet').

(302) **-vl, **-vr 'nominalizer': (a) Y -Vr (zwinkor 'word, lit., that which is said' beside cwikwuk 'sayings, language', rərrt 'snow' beside rər- 'to snow'), tekwənər 'namer' (**tekw- 'pound' #18 and **-vr 'pastralgal increment' — see appendix B); (b) W -vl T107 (kuwu? 'person', root kəwu- 'be alive'); (b) W -əl (kirachəkwə? 'pubescent girls' beside hu-ta-kirachəkwə? 'girls' pubescent cornuaries' T23); Y -Vr (punonkənə? 'a person growing in her sleep' beside punonkerkə: 'I grow in my sleep', with -ə 'sound'; kíma 'mythical water monster', with root kəm- 'bad'). See Serman (1986) for further Yuruk examples. There is also the third-person ending Y -əl, a free variant of Y -əw in some verbs: heego?l = heego?w 'she goes' R34, sərot'əlin = sərot'əkwin 'she who goes' R60.

(304) **-wə 'nominalizer': PA -wə 'agent noun' A2074, PA -wə 'active subject' A68, W -əwu 'product' (in phůdiwu 'bruises', from **dwahdi- 'to bruise' #339). Compare Y -wə in metewo 'ointment' beside mesi-ponovək? 'I'm massaged' and metëpono?k? 'I rub or massage something round' (see **-əli? #344). Compare PA **-w 'third person subject' (Brownfield 1946:sec.34).

(305) **-yə 'indeterminate subject': PA -yə 'Potaatmani wənəmətə 'she's seen' (Hockett 1946:7), W -Vy (e.g., kəmərə 'someone steals food', biksəpər 'someone bites a piece'). Note that Potawatomi -yə is used only with a third-person undergoer.

Proto-Algon had the same zero for nonlocal objects (see #198), and action on a third person takes intransitive inflection, i.e. 'someone' = 'someone-her'. This element also turns up as a mediopassive derivational suffix ('someone-her' -> 'she [mediopassive]'), extending analogically to first and second person patients ('I/thou (mediopassive)').

3.3. Origlas. It may initially seem surprising that Proto-Algon should have had such a large number of non-allocational suffixes, and that most of not all should be homophonous with third-person verbal endings. But the reason is not long in seeking.

On the other hand, Greenberg (1978:73) has pointed out that demonstrative pronouns frequently get incorporated into the nouns they modify — where they will become gender markers in a language with gender, and otherwise simply markers of non-allocative.
markers of nominality then tend to be used to nominalize verb stems. On the other hand, he (ibid., p. 75) also finds that demonstratives commonly replace third-person pronouns, and it has long been known that personal pronouns are a source for verb affixes marking person. In addition, I have argued (Proulx 1982: sec. 1.2-1.3) that Algic syntax makes likely the evolution of nouns derived from verb stems into independent verbs (via their use as predicative).

It is not always clear which of these routes has been taken in a particular case, but there can be little doubt that demonstratives and other pronouns are the ultimate source for the nominalizers and third-person verb endings we have been considering. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>NOMINALIZER</th>
<th>3-P SUB. OF VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'proximal locative' #244</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'distal locative' #245-246</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
<td>**-Vn(og)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'this' #239-241</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
<td>(PA *-w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'that' #242-243</td>
<td>(W -Vy)</td>
<td>**-Vy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'like that' #255</td>
<td>**-Vy/r</td>
<td>(Y -ol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'the one (first mention)' #253</td>
<td>(PA *-t)</td>
<td>(PA *-l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'the one (later mention)' #251</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** — 'relative pronoun' #259</td>
<td>**...-I</td>
<td>**...-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(W l- 'interrogative')</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
<td>**-Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Y l- 'to')</td>
<td>(W -l)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pronominal elements were evidently followed by inflectional vowels in Proto-Algonkian, but it is a moot point whether any of these marked gender in the proto-language itself. However, they clearly do in Algonkian, and there is the incorporation of pronominal elements into nouns and verbs is no doubt the main route by which gender comes to be expressed.

In any case, Greenberg's hypothesis can be refined a bit at this point: it is not that demonstrative pronouns always became...
gender markers in a language with gender, and simply markers of nominality in those lacking it. Where the pronouns in question inflect for gender, and both the pronominal root and its inflection are incorporated into nouns or verbs, the former is likely to become a marker of nominality even as the latter comes to express gender.

Five of what appear to be the same pronominal elements (the first four and **k-) are also used as postradical extensions of verb roots (see appendix B). Evidently, their tendency to become incorporated into other words is ancient — dating to a time when verb roots could function as independent verbs. It is not clear whether they were used as nominalizers at that time.

4. Primary Noun Stems

Primary stems consist of a general root, optionally a medial, and nearly always a final (or rarely two). Medials are always relatively concrete in meaning, finals usually abstract.

4.1. Finals. A few nouns end in an abstract final resembling one of the nominalizers or third-person endings described in sec. 3.2 above. A good example of a noun attested with more than one such final is **mtk-, **qtk- 'earth, land' #349, medial **-tqk. It is found primarily with **-cy, as in PA *akttri 'land' A2Z0 and Y tkeyom) 'clay' and tkeyom? 'it's dirty', but compare Y tkeyom 'land' and tkeyom? 'mud' (with **-Vl), and Y skolonyek? 'I'm covered with dirt' Xb. 4:10 (with **-Vl). The last Yurok form shows the productive Y to a alteration initially. The bare root is seen with locative **-cy in Y heekw 'a place toward the mountains', while the medial is seen in W -tqk 'land' (bic-twetke 'on dry land'). Cf. PA *aktsoq 'mud' (F aktsoi, C asiaky, Nc asiku), perhaps with **-aq- 'so, such' #255 prefixed, and final **-Vl.

Other words, which I earlier interpreted as showing regular phonological correspondences (Proulx 1984:11/), match **-Vl, **-Vl, and **-Vl. A good example of this type in PA *-toqk 'mouth' with final **-Vl, W -*l1 with final **-Vl, and Y -l2 with final **-Vl. The dependent medial is **-tloq or **-tloq 'mouth', medial **-cy (Y -ew as in *takmetek? 'I hold it in my mouth'). Another of this type is PA *-tqani (Sh -tqani), Y -tqok 'valva' (dependent stems **-tq). Finally, *caswot 'fishnet' #341 has a final **-Vl, cf. Pa avachpamik 'net sinker' (Seeger 1983:301).

Two longer abstract finals are reconstructible:

(306) **-tkan 'abstract final'. This ending probably consists of **-tqk, **-tk 'augmentative-pejorative' (see #291)
plus the nominalizer **-Vn. Found in **-skv'tkani 'neck' #267 beside medial **-Vsok #165. PA (with *-kwer:kani) shows a loss of *t between a long vowel and obstruent. Note the same loss in Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1957:53) and compare losses of *n in the same environment (Proulx 1984:196). This final regularly gives PA **-kan (with analogical loss of **g in environments where it would not drop by sound change), but the archaic form is also preserved in PA *spitiken 'pack strap' (M apostikam, M0 hiko). This may be the source of the noun final PA *-kan, used 'to generalize a meaning and hence reverse semantic specialization' (Proulx 1984:199), i.e., to include a larger area in a body-part term (compare C -tipicikan 'gums' with -iptik 'teeth', and -sokkan 'buttocks' with -sug 'quadruped's tail'). An augmentative nominalizer is appropriate here since its function is to expand a semantic field. (Pre-PA long closed vowels are shortened in PA, except in the first syllable of a stem [Proulx 1984:193].) If **-kan is in fact the source for this PA *-kan, the use of this suffix in Algonquian is not altogether different from its use in Miyot to mark kin terms of the second ascending generation: in both cases the referent is marked as being displaced from the center of a semantic field (counting EGO as the center of kin terminology). This would then be a basic sense of 'augmentative' in Algic.

Frequently, the extended has simply replaced the simple form. Examples are: PA *-tpikan:ti 'rib' A1598 (from **-peyehk-h-tkan:ni) beside PA *-tpikan:ni 'rib' #91 (from **-peyehk-h-ni, with archaic replacement of **p: by n, see Goddard 1974); Ma ahpanex and mhph:nexnex 'breast', Wr wohnapanex 'breasts' from PA *-npal:ni-wkan:ni (see **-npal:ni 'in front' #312); Mc usik:nik: from PA *wakkan:kan 'olbow' (see **weckwani #322). Note that *-eW contracts in Massachusett and Narragansett. PA *-kan, with various link vowels, comes to be widely used as an equivalent of simple *-n.

(307) **-kan, **-ken 'abstract final'. Found in two cases of dependent: noun stems derived from medial: Y -kwan, and Y -kwen from **-k medial 'chest (body part)' #140; and PA *-ikutwenti from medial **-Ykit, **-Ykit 'throat' #152. In one case, addition is to a dependent noun stem: PA *-hwanisi 'chest' from **-h dependent noun 'chest (body part)'.

Rarely, a noun final is concrete in meaning. The only examples are **-ny 'skin' and **-ny 'tree, stem'. Both also occur as medial, and, as finals, follow medials similar to themselves in meaning (to the extent that the meaning of the preceding element can be ascertained). Perhaps these sequences should be thought of as compound medials, rather than as genuine medial-plus-final combinations. They are exemplified in the
following:

**wa³ak/-, **wa³-lek/-, **wa³-rak/- medial **-orık/- and **-ark- 'skin' #250, mostly reinforced with the final **-ny- 'skin' #53; (a) PA *wa³akaka 'skin, scale' (C wa³rak 'scale', M C wa³ak 'skin'), (b) Y sa³rokkweh 'loincloth', lekwoh 'shirt' and sliyakwokev 'clothes', (c) PA *sa³kakay (C wakakay, RI 10 wa³akar); (d) PA *sa³kaya (in *-umakaya 'inner skin, membrane' #170), W wi³kay 'skin' (incorporation the third-person prefix), Y akok 'strip of buckskin'.

(308) **/-y 'tree, stem'; W -a³ti? 'tree, wood' (¿a³ti? 'wood', wi³kwi³? 'pine or fir trees'), Y -o³? 'tree, stem' (tó-pi³? 'fir tree' beside te³po 'tree' and te³po³o⁵ 'in a forest'), se³kwì³? 'Indian asparagus' from **se³kwana- #69, ¿e³ko³-lo³? 'maple' (cf. ¿e³ko³- 'emerge through a barrier', perhaps a reference to its sap). Also found in **øthi³mo³?i 'elderberry (bush)' #60. Cf. **-vìt '1-dimensional'.

4.2. Medials. Noun medials are often followed by what Bloomfield (1946:sec.59) calls 'a final of the form -porg'. However, these often end in one of the sequences described in sec. 4.3 below. Moreover, in the case of **-aw 'plant' we can probably segment **-aw 'abstract final': W -a³lat beside -i³watt 'plant' must result from an optional lack of the final before the secondary final W -at. Reconstructible noun medials are:

(309) **-aw 'plant': PA *-a³kà (Sh -a³kì in a³kikawai 'lake plant' beside a³kì-kawai 'lakes'), W +i³watt and -i³lat 'plant' #268 (e.g., in³l-watt 'strawberry vine' beside in³l-
'the river'), kàwì³lìfìwatt 'salalberry bush' beside kàwì³lì 'salal berry', wì³kì³lìat 'pepperwood tree' with haploglote beside wì³kì³lì-poperattsì). Yiwot adds **-vìt '1-dimensional'.

(310) **-ævà 'liquid': W -à (e.g., hatà³kayává 'nucky water' beside hatà³ka-w 'mud', øawà³ti? 'coffee' beside øi²w 'dark'), Y -sì³(e) (e.g., le³sì³há 'dark bracken water' beside le³sì³ 'coal', ì³hì³yà³ 'saliva, spittle' beside ì³bo³ 'come in lumps').

(311) **-vìkì 'kind, sort, was, place, time'; PA *-vìkì (F nekotyávì 'one group or set', øi³jì³wà³kì 'two kinds', C peryakwayak 'one way, kind, place', nìtìyà³kì 'in three ways, kinds, places', nìtìyà³vì in'four ways, fourfold'), PA *-vìkì (in *-jìkìyàkì 'someone, anyone' #220, H we³pìkì 'all sorts, any sort, some sort'), Y so³kì 'that sort (root **-wìjì 'like that') #255. A contraction of Proto-Algonquian *kìyà to Y øi seems plausible, as this is the established reflex of *kìya (Frantz 1984:186).

Others, part of larger reconstructions, are: **-yì 'foot'
**kelarti** 'leg' §10. **-e**-(er)- 'skin' in **wasi** 'skin' §28. **-it** '1-dimensional' §28 in **semiit** 'bow' §22, **-e^-dit?e'** by ear' in **dehrit?e'** ear' §92.

4.3. Unanalyzable Nouns. Most nouns in this category end in a sequence resembling one of the nominalizers or third-person endings described in sec. 3.2 above. Apart from this resemblance, however, there is no basis for segmentation. A some nouns end in sequences that lack even this resemblance (sec.4.4).

**NOUNS ENDING IN **-y** ARE:**

**kelarti** 'goose, green' §106. **kenlegewe 'hawk species (brownish)' §75.

**leik?ewe 'sand' §72.

**wasi?lewe 'egg' §3.

**-tak?ewe, **-co?we 'blood' §126 belongs here too, if the glottal catch is secondary in Wiyot (as it often is).

(312) **-spaliwe 'front part': PA **-spali:xi 'chest (body part)' (Sh ko:po:li:vi 'their chests' and nim?spaliwe 'I have a big chest', M palai 'chest', N h-palai 'thorax, chest', compare N mohonap and mohonap 'breast'. N mohonap 'breast'. M a-chupu 'chest, side'); Y -pew 'head, in front of' (e.g., peku nepewi 'in front of us', Robbins 1958:136). An extension **-kan is added in Massachuset and Narragansett, which later looses a final PA **y, compare Y kevom- (in free variation with kelom-) from **kelom- 'turn' §49.

(313) **-wi:wa 'wife': PA **-wi:wa (n0 ni:wi:wi: 'my wife'), W d:wi:wi: 'my wife'. **-ji:wali 'his wife' (with obliques **-a-xi): PA **-wi:jawi: §257; W wi:jawi: §152. Also **wi:jawi: 'take or have as wife, luck': PA **wi:jawi: §243 (also pseudo-realative, see Wofott 1986:386-389), PA **wi:jawi: 'have or take someone as one's wife' (so ni: wi:jawi: 'I take her for a wife', C wi:jawi: — (ibid., p.387)), W ta:j-wi:jawi: 'he's fucking her' (pa: 'durative' T56, automatic -ia T27, -am T3-obj. theme' T74). While the Algonquian stems are usually glossed to reflect the social rather than sexual relationship, both are implied: C d, -k1-ka-je:phkot A-k1-wi:jawi:,..., 'Now, when the other had had enough of copulating with him,...' (ibid., p.389). Cf. W wi:jawi: 'she's pregnant and married'.

(314) **-oitakohcifriw, **-oitakohcifriw (T = k, l, t) 'kidney': PA **-oitakohcifriw (H = k, h, t) (60 of dikosriw 'her
kidney'). W wafekwe[t]iwi? 'her kidney' (grade 2). Note: O utonankossuvan is contaminated by PA *-i-taka 'kidney' (Y netonenehosk 'my kidneys', Ab adolìë 'her kidney', A bari:gi, Ch nahahtna'tsete 'my kidney').

(31a) **ansew 'projectile point': PA *akwi 'arrow' A214, W ñhe 'harpoon head'. There is also a verb, **ansew-. **ansew- 'to throw' (a) PA *akoeq- (F anohiq-), (b) PA *akoth (C itoth-, M sôoch-) 'point' (with final -h 'by tool' 380), (c) W ñuri- (with ri of unknown origin, as in ra-ñuri 'she's pointing' and ra-ñuriñi 'she's pointing at it'), (d) Y cawwa- (with final -h).

Compare C itwashikanichikan 'index finger' (Wolffart 1987:37), and PA *ñoñika 77 (F moñika, M noñikan, Pe ñoñikisk, Mc oñik[ñik]-) - from Pre-PA *ñoñikimi 'pointer' with regular word-stemming, and loss of initial **ñ before a sonorant. Mc atñoñikim 'my finger' shows retention of this **ñ after a prefix, and it is analogically restored in verbs from their changed forms (as well as in the Micmac and Passamaquoddy words). Micmac and Passamaquoddy also add the number suffix -iyska (Sibert 1975:303).

(31b) Somehow associated with this root is **ñalawew, attested by Y porow 'something with a pointed end like an arrow' (Berman) and W ñeñow '7'. Possibly, **ñalawew gave **ñalawew by archaic ablaut and a shift of consonant grade; and all the other forms by shifts of vowel grade, a secondary change in consonant grade in Pre-Yurok (*ñ to ñ), and reanalysis of **ñar as *ñar- 'chitter' #255 in Algonquian."

(316) **petekwe, final **Vetekwe 'rock': W ñilik 'rock', phawýk[ç] 'pebbles', phitkaw 'on the rock', Y pêñik 'gravel' (Gensler 1987:13.3-4.1), PA *-epetek 'rock, stone' A53 ad medial *-epak 'stone, metal' A51, and compare Pe ñabahitshaw 'fint' S57. Both Yurok and PA show haplology (unless Wiyot has a different initial, such as *-pel- 'big'). For segmentation of Y ñ-1, compare ñok 'mud' (**ntak-, **ntak 'earth, land' 349).

(317) **petekwe, medial **-tew 'quadruped-tail': (a) PA *-ñe(.li)w (F -ñawinikw, C -ñox (but C nagawinikisk 'horse-tail hairs'), M -ñaw, 0 -ñawinik, Sh -dañawo, Mi ñawoy); (b) W ñu[t] [ñ]iwi? 'her tail' (grade 1). Evidently *ñu drops in Wiyot after a consonant. Compare PA *-tewew, medial 'tail' A963 (possibly adding link **ñi, productive body-part *-ñi, and automatic -*ñi).

(318) **petekwe, **Vetekwe 'maggot': (a) PA *antekwe:wá S24B, W yatw. (b) Y trokk 'maggot' (with metathesis). See 'elbow' #322 and 'fish-tail' #74 for another case of W y from **ñ
before **tkw.

NOUNS ENDING IN **wy ARE:

**pe?meye 'grace' #24.

**vareye, **wegeleya 'navel' #110.

(319) **rey?(-), **ley?-'ropeline'; PA **gei- 'cordage' (incorporating link *-gi), Y le(?y)(es) 'snake', where Y -es is a suffix (cf. Derman 1986:420).

PA **gei- 'cordage' (Goddard 1986:fn. 30), e.g., C seatak 'yarn, twine, thread', asketapwam 'braid of hair', xinapapain 'ribbon', masekapiyam 'garth'; Y xinap(rak) AN 'heap, cord of dogbane, spreading dogbane', xinapapain 'Ribbon, silk, satin', xinapoktor 'it (as hair) hangs loose'.

NOUNS ENDING IN **we ARE:

(320) **elkayome, **erkayome 'bat (animal)'; W elkayom(?) (grade 3, with **-ve #302), Y akovom.

NOUNS ENDING IN **we ARE:

**-liime 'eye' #45.

**-ene, **nesene 'berry, berries' #73.

**-pokwane- 'rhubarb, Indian ...' #69.

**-gene 'breast' #2.

**-tpeyokwane 'rib' #91.

**-welekelkawane, **welekekawane 'fish-tail' #74

**-welekelkwane, **welekelkwane, **welekelkwane 'branch' #38.

**-weelkane 'bone' #26.

**-weelkwe, **welekelkwe 'liver' #35.

(321) **pipo? 'winter'; PA **poporoi (P, Sh peporni, M peporn, O peporn), cf. C piper, with short o); t kipon. Also **pipo- 'be winter'; PA **popor- A244, Y kipon-. The initial **p is dissimilated to initial Y & by analogy with Y kisem- 'be summer', kyah 'spring', and kenonek 'autumn'.

(322) **weelkwe, **weelkwe, **weelkwe 'elbow'; PA
Nouns ending in **wiARE:

**foila 'aunt, maternal ...' #48.

**gerekkhwele, **gerekkhwele 'weep, mourn; tear' #89.

**pitekwale, **pitekwale, **pičekwe 'basket' #111.

**wakilele 'peppersnaps' #101.

(323) **phola 'flint': W phel. Y p̄ara(k) (with Y -i7 infixed).

(324) **wel-, **weliku-, **wegel-, **wegera 'fat': PA

**welweke (Sh holake, N omunkw, X amakw and F snekwira 'she is fat').

**welwe 'be fat' (with **en 'II final') A201, Ywelisi (L: wi:sh 'bony fat'); W dweiskwezi 'my (animal's) fat'; Y weli, wēloko: 'fat'.

Nouns ending in **ViARE:

**metselwe 'nettle' #62.

(325) **cep:et-., **cep:elj., **sip:et 'eyelash': (b)

W cajp. (c) Y -ipljā.

Nouns ending in **VIARE:

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'fingernail' #134, medial

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'fingernail' #134, medial

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'fingernail' #134, medial

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'fingernail' #134, medial

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'fingernail' #134, medial

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'root, fine ... used as cordage' #102.

Nouns ending in **VIARE:

**-ikanēgo, **-ikanēgo 'fingernail' #134, medial
**wəʔaləpəpikə'təkə 'pigeon' #121.
**wəʔat'loqəpiːtəko, **wəʔat'ləpəpikə'take 'root' #94, 332). Or alternatively, **wət'leləvəpəteko.

(326) **-təpiːtəke, **-təpiːteko 'backbone': PA *
-təʔakəw(ik)ənə, W ʔəpələk 'salmon backbone dried with some flesh on it'. PA haplographically drops **tə: before **tə, and compounds this stem with PA *-awi(kə)ni of the same meaning. PA *-təʔakəw(ik)ənə 'backbone': F tohtəkəkəni (wk —→ kw), O *-təʔakəwəkənə, Ch -estaheko PA *-əwi(kə)ni 'backbone': C *-əwi(kə)nə, Mc -əvi(k)ənə, cf. Pu wəvəki, and Sh wəkəwəkəni 'she has a crooked back'.

(327) **-teko:kə, **-teko:teko 'buttocks': (a) Y -tək 'bird's tail' (with analogical loss of initial **tə - see Proulx 1984:169), (b) PA *-təpəkə 5292. With metathesis, the Lake-Eastern languages have *-əkəvi (grade 2). Compare also PA *-əvəkəni 'runp' S169 (as if from **-teko:teko:kə).

Nouns whose endings resemble diminutives are:

**wəxənece 'shell, bivalve ...' #84. Cf. **-əxəc 'diminutive'.

**mekəxənece, **mekəxənece 'snail' #33. Cf. PA *-əkəna 'diminutive'.

(328) **wəxece OR **wəxece 'dog': W wəxəcə, Y wyəcə(ʔəks), with -wəx 'child' as in carnəxə 'baby'. Compare PA *-əxə 'dog', diminutive *-əxəna.

No nouns reconstructed thus far end in sequences resembling the remaining nominalizers **-nə, **-nə- or W *-ya - unless it be **nəpələtə or **nəpələtə 'water' #07.

4.4. Nouns Ending in Anything Else. There is some hint that a final postconsonantal **ə in some nouns is a separate element in origin, comparable to a final **əw (see sec.4.31). For example, there is a PA *-əkw beside *-əkwə 'brush, grass, herb' #329 below). This should perhaps not be surprising, as there are signs of Pre-Proto-Algonian **ə being lost in Proto-Algon - at least as reconstructed (Proulx 1984:202). This is seen when **ə (grade 2-3), which normally alternates with *-ə (grade 1), instead alternates with zero as in 'root' #94. Thus, compare **ərək and **ək in Y *wəkəpikətəkə'root'. Similarly, if **wə is an a-grade by-form of the prefix **wə- (see sec.3.2 below), and **ə is a prefix receptor (see sec.2 above), then medial **-arek-
(grade 2-3) 'skin' suggests that an initial **ke in **elek
(grade 1) was lost from **asleke- 'skin' #280. Possibly, the same
could be true in some cases of postconsonantal **k and **l.

Nouns with these possibilities are:

**op:igwe- medial **ap:igwe 'male' #284.

**atkekwe 'pot' #28.

**jikwe 'louse' #9.

**kogar:ikwe, **kogar:ikwe, **kogar:ikwe 'gull' #135.

**nepl:te or **nepl:ti 'water' #67.

**peleigwe 'large bird' #285.

**peneke 'powder' #83.

**p:erigw... 'madrone' #286.

**tokele. **otokwe 'heart' #112.

**walenye 'toil' #22.

**wenili?igwe 'coals, charcoal' #289.

(329) **marikwe, medial **ework 'head': (a) PA *-othwe:
(with postmedial **-or, in **-otkwe [Hewson 1974: item 71], and Sh
nikiwikweina 'I wash her head' and C tapatat:awepiw 'she sits
with lowered head'), (b) Y mekwtoh 'head' (not 'round thing').

(330) **nerkwe, **marikwe 'grass, herb, medicine': (a) Y
mekwtoh 'medicine', cf. mekwtoh 'I've been given medicine or
medical aid' #8.5:39; (b) PA *mekw- 'plants, herb, grass' #160;

*alkw (P inakwe 'such an herb'; C witzakwok 'sweet grasses';
M -alkw, O -alkw, Ko katuakal 'oolgrass [pl.]'). Compare also PA
*alk (F -alk 'brush', M -alkw 'grass, herb').

(331) **weski?te OR **weksity?e 'hollow tube used in
smoking': PA *weski?i? pipettes' (C okisiy, O okiki). Y aka?
'pipe scabbard' (with initial **we dropped as if a third-person
okisiibhayin 'stovepipe'. The semantics casts doubt on this
reconstruction.

The remaining reconstructed nouns are:

**popenipi?e 'knife, stone ...' #114.
wetempe 'head' #90.

yorōhče, yorōnèčh- 'boat' #118, medial yorōnèh #151.

(332) **mehde 'fire': PA *mehdi 'firewood' S247, W big (grade 1), Y sec.

(333) **rente (OR **sentr, **sente) 'evergreen tree, brush, or bough': PA *renta A1986, Y steentk? 'small fir tree'.

5. Inflection

The most elaborate inflectional machinery reconstructible for Proto-Alincic nouns is that used for allocation. In addition, there are 3 locative suffixes, and 2 that may have reflected gender.

5.1. Allocation. Proto-Alincic inflection for possession differs somewhat in independent and dependent nouns, and the latter class has subcategories with further differences. Since the subclasses are based on somewhat subtle semantic distinctions, which may be cultural and hence more or less valid for a given group, the same noun is often treated differently from language to language. In addition, however, it seems likely that some of the rarer variants may sometimes simply have escaped recording.

Dependent nouns typically specify entities whose very definition implies allocation, such as kin, personal property, and parts of prototypically-human wholes. They take PERSONAL inflection for a first, second, or definite third person owner. Some of them, notably those naming body parts, also inflect for an indefinite third-person owner. This last type of inflection is sometimes incorporated into a root (see Bloomfield 1946:sec.103). Independent nouns take optional personal inflection (for definite persons only).

An example of personal inflection in dependent **nèkarte 'my leg', **nèkarte 'your leg', **nèkarte 'her leg';

**amèktarte 'an animal's' leg (after slaughter)'. An example of possible incorporation into a root is Y mekainop 'tansy' (cf. tainop- 'freshly green, as the new leaves in spring'). Another is **senth 'fire' #332 (see Teeter 1964:sec.4.12). These stems are often hard to distinguish from ordinary stems in initial **n.

Dependent nouns specifying parts of nonhuman wholes take NONPERSONAL inflection for a definite third-person owner, and, optionally, secondary personal inflection for a human owner. An
example is **wetl?ምሥትдержан, **wetl?的身份: 'root' #94. One 
from Yurok, which shows the part-of-whole semantics nicely, is 
kohtoh ṭencias? 'one flower' beside ṭashtok?wa?n ʧąsq?n? 'one
flower-bush with flowers' (Burn 1967:39). Here, the prefix marks
the flower as part of the flower bush.

In many cases a noun which commonly specifies a part of a
nonhuman whole, is also used for a human body part. An example of
this is **wetempa 'head' #90. Presumably the prototypical referent
here is the animal head (a choice food item). However, Algonquian
has a structurally-contrasting dependent counterpart of this noun
(without the initial **w-), e.g., ah ṭéitəqpi 'her brain' beside C
otiphpi 'a brain' -- the dependent stem taking inflection for an
indefinite owner (ab metep ʰête'). (See #40 for a discussion of
the semantic shifts in this item in some languages.) Wyot
alternates has secondary inflection for allocation (go?b?qay: 'her
head'). It is not clear if synchronically the Wyot reference can
be to the human's own head as well as her animal's head -- if so
this is probably a secondary simplification of the inflectional
machinery, the Proto-Algonic situation being preserved in
Algonquian. Another example is personal **-tkandepa,
**-kandepa (langemall #134) beside nonpersonal
**-kutkiopherpa, **-kqehkandepa 'hook, claw' #90.

Notice how personal inflection for an indefinite owner and
impersonal inflection both produce forms glossed 'a head'. It may
be that even for native speakers the two forms are synonymous,
which would explain why both are rarely if ever attested for the
same language. More likely, though, there is a difference in the
flavor of the two terms: the former emphasizing that the head once
had an owner (hence, personal inflection), the latter regarding it
simply as a part of some whole.

5.2. Prefixes. There are only 4 prefixes: **y?k- 'first person',
**y?k?e- 'second person', **y?k?e- 'third person', and **y?k-
'indefinite person' #128-131. In a few cases, **y in these
prefixes is absent before a vowel (or is replaced by a vowel).
The status of the glottalization in these items (as in several
others) is uncertain. The second-person prefix is regular in
noun, but Yurok has simple k in the second-person personal
pronoun. In the case of the third-person prefix, Yurok (the only
language that would attest it) lacks the glottalization in some
cases of nonpersonal inflection, and thus it is not reconstructed:
Eskirian with **y. **wetaphepa, **wetaiphewe 'root, fine ... used as cordage' #102.
**wecop?ohkwe, **wetahp?ohkwe 'backbone' #312.
**wecokwe, **weteqeqewa 'fish-tail' #74.
**wáchebow, sedial *-techow 'quadruped-tail' #313.

**wáchebow, sedial *-techelkwe. **wáte telkwe, *-tehterkywe 'branch' #38.

**wátekkwe 'bone' #26.

**wátekkwe, **wátekkwe 'liver' #35.

**wátekkwe, **wátekkwe 'bundle-strap' #37.

**wátekkwe, **wátekkwe 'hoof, claw' #39.

**wátekkwe, **wátekkwe 'root' #94.

EXAMPPLES WITH **wá.

**wákele 'poppornuts' #101.

**wáka, **wáka 'egg' #3.

**wáka, **wáka 'tall' #22.

**wákay, **wákay, **wákay 'navel' #110.

**wáka, **wáka 'elbow' #327.

**wákay, **wákay, **wákay 'fat' #324.

**wákay, **wákay, **wákay 'coal, charcoal' #335.

**wákay 'hand' #90.

5.3. Subordinate Themes. Some allocated verbs require suffixes for their SUBORDINATIVE THEMES when a further suffix follows. Commonly this further suffix is the oblique **-yi #257, which signals a third-person possessor. Two subordinate theme suffixes are reconstructable:

(334) **-yi, **-yí 'subordinative theme': PA *-yí and *-i (Prootx 1982:sec.2.3), Ñ-êê T06. Examples: M náma: *náma: 'my testicle' (beside F néníbaya), F néníbaya 'my daughter-in-law' (beside C nístíbí). W náma: *náma: 'on her nails' T02, stem within *náma: T06. This reconstruction replaces **-yi 'nonimmediate' #203. Compare also **-yí in **wákebow *'cordage root' #102.

It seems likely that W -yí- and -yí: 'nonimmediate' (always laryngealized T08, 58) originate in subordinative themes as well. They are chiefly used in subordinating a possessed to a possessing
entity (in some dependent nouns, probably of verbal origin), and a dependent verb to a superordinate verb or predicative. Examples: W \( \text{wapple} \) 'my tooth' (cardiacized, with dependent root \(-\text{lt}\) 'tooth' and the first-person ending \(-\text{lik} \#209\), \( \text{kiar\text{-l\text{-lik}} as 'if I steal' (root \#201) 'steal' \#21\). They are also used on some kin terms referring to the deceased (such as inaccessible inflection is in Algonquian). Thus, for example, W \( \text{ko\text{-kedi\text{-yam}} as 'your deceased grandmother' T40 \#62\) as 'her grandmother' T146).

(335) **-ng 'subordinate theme'; PA *-ng 'possessive theme' T304 (e.g., \( \text{wetekwemani} as 'her loose' T304 with obviative *-ali beside \( \text{chken} as 'louse' T284), W *-b **subordinate theme' T66 (e.g., \( \text{kif\text{-wam} as 'her hat' beside \( \text{kif} as 'basketry cap' T19)). **Wiyot subordinate themes are used in locatives as well as possessed nouns, but are absent from word-final position - and thus from nouns with local possessors. In PA, they derive dependent from independent nouns.

Wiyot has some additional subordinate themes (Tetter 1964:sec.4.57): -(\#)-ng, -(\#)-q, -(\#)-t. See **-ng 'belly' T283 for an example after a stem with an Algonic etymology.

5.4. Obviation. When an animate noun in Algonquian, or any noun in Wiyot, inflects for a third-person possessor, a tonic obviative suffix is added. **-\( \text{vi} \) 'obviative' T257 is used with singular nouns in Algonquian, and, laryngealized, with all nouns in Wiyot. It is not clear whether or not PA *-\( \text{vi} \) obviative plural' is related to the laryngealization found in Wiyot.

5.5. Locatives. Proto-Algonic has at least 3 locatives:
**-\( \text{ml} \) 'temporal translocative (during)' T260-269.

(336) **-\( \text{v} \)\( \text{m} \) 'punctual spacial locative (in, at)' T344: PA *-\( \text{v}\)\( \text{m} \) T312, *-\( \text{v}\)\( \text{m} \) (M \( \text{a\text{-}i\text{m}\text{\text{-l}\text{\text{-m}}} as 'by the sea', G *-\( \text{\text{-m}} \) T22, Y -\( \text{v}\) (e.g., \( \text{v\text{-wemk}\ as 'in her eye').}

(337) **-\( \text{s} \)\( \text{v} \)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{w} \)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{i} \) 'spacial adlocative (toward)'; PA *-\( \text{v}\)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{w} \)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{i} \) (o\( \text{\text{-m}}\)\( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} as \( \text{\text{-m}} \)\( \text{\text{-m}}\) 'towards the east', cf. n\( \text{\text{-m}}\)\( \text{\text{-m}}\)\( \text{\text{-m}}\)\( \text{\text{-m}}} as 'towards the east'). Y -\( \text{v} \)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{w} \)\( \text{r} \)\( \text{i} \) PA *-\( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} (P\( \text{-\text{-m}}} as \( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \)\( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \) 'upriver beside \( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \)\( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \) \( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \) \( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \). Cf. Y -\( \text{\text{-m}} \) in \( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \) beside peck 'upriver'.

5.6. Gender. There are traces of what appear to be inflection for personal gender (**-\( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \) in T84) and nonpersonal gender (**-\( \text{\text{-\text{-m}}} \) in T95). Such a gender distinction is also implied by the division of verbs into UNIPERSONAL (PA in Algonquian), and DIPERSONAL (nonTA in Algonquian). More importantly, the abstract finals of many nouns resemble erstwhile pronouns, which certainly did have gender
3.7. Vocatives and Plurals. PA and Wyot have (noncognate) vocative inflection, and PA and Yurok have cognate means of pluralizing some verbal nouns:

(33) *-eq- 'plurals': PA *fik- 'so (plur.)' beside *kal- 'so' A369 (with contraction of *geeq to PA *gi); Y -eq-. Examples: N ayinek<netaw? 'ones who are so big' beside kinek<get 'one so big', Y cerykent 'ones who are small' beside cerykent 'one who is small' 1612. In Yurok, this extends to some nouns whose verbal origins are no longer evident, e.g., puyrey 'old woman' beside perey 'old man'. In Yurok, this element is also used to nominalize a verb stem: neqal 'surf-fish net' (naqal- 'catch surf fish'), neqent 'gunshot' (neqent- 'burst').

Reduplication, sometimes combined with archaic ablaut, is similarly used. Citable examples are mostly verbs, but they presumably have unrecorded nominal counterparts (particples, etc.): N maamtkiwan 'they (inanimate) are big' beside maamtkiwan 'she is big of body', Y poyel 'they're big' (attributive pegolol 'large round things'). Archaic ablaut, found in some nouns, may have had a similar function.5

NOTES

1. Languages, their abbreviations, and the sources from which they are generally cited are as follows: Abenaki-Ab-Laurens (1964); Day (1964); Plains Cree-C-Bloomfield (ms.); Swampy Cree-C-Voegelin (1984a); Western Cree-FwC-Faries and Watling (1938); Delaware-B-Goddard (1969); Ojibwa-I-Ami, MDawasee; Fox-F-Bloomfield (ms.); Kickapooy-K-Voehris (1974); Lopat-L-Day (1973); Islamic-R-Voehris (1952); Mandan-M-Bloomfield (1975); Miami-A-Voegelin (1937-40); Micmac-M-Proulx (field notes), DeBlasis and Metallic (1984); Nativich-N-Trimball (1903); Ojibwa-O-Bloomfield (1957); Central Ojibwa-BO-Barraga (1879); Eastern Ojibwa-NIC-Nichols (1975); Central and Eastern Ojibwa-Bulshades (1965); Passamaquoddy-P-LeSourd (1984); Penobscot-P-Voehris (1979); Proto-Algonquian-P-Proulx (1984); Proto-Algonquian-P-Aubin (1972); Siebert (1972); Soulestein-V-Voehris (1945a); Shawnee-Sh-Voegelin (1937-40); Wyot-M-Voehris (1964); Yurok-Y-Aubin (1964); Proulx (field notes).
PA reconstructions found in Aubin (1975), Bloomfield (1946), and Siebert (1975) are respectively identified with the letters A, B, and S plus the item number. AL = The Memphite Language (Bloomfield, 1962), E = Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield, 1957).

Transcription generally follows that of Siebert (1975) for Algonquin, Tester (1964b) for Wyot, and Robbins (1958) for Yurok. However, the following changes have been made: PA *A is written for *a, PA *e for *e, PA *i for *i, PA *u for *u, for *h between vowels, *h for h before a consonant, *a for o, *h for o, and *y for inverted *h. For discussion of the changes, see Proulx (1984:158-169).

Orthographic concessions to my word processor: a wedge is written as a, e wedge as a, schwa as *æ, and Homonymee epotion as a.

2. In Yurok, *A not only is sensitive to a following consonant (going to y before a labiovelar and y before a simple velar), but to a preceding one as well: it is glottalized when the next preceding consonant is glottal. For example, Y *pb jotmar 'write a lot' (jabtomar 'write', with infix *p-). (Further infixing leads to yodation and the replacement of *yjke by *yj, e.g., Y *yjma jotmar also 'write a lot'.) Evidently, these developments follow the merger of *Ay with *Ay in Yurok.

3. One Yurok example of this nominal ending is laryngealized: *pbepesno 'soup' (lit. 'that which is drunk'), with root *pbep- 'drink' and *es- 'passive'. This appears to be secondary, as laryngealization itself is reconstructable as a nominalizing element (see **-e- below). In Wyot, such presumably-secondary laryngealization of nominals is universal whenever the nominal ends in a voiced consonant. For example, W *my 'e.g., *mywa 'cooking utensils', with *my- 'cook'. *myn 'with something', -my 'someone') beside -my (as in mimmy 'someone steals food', and miskimy 'someone bites a piece').

4. The opposition between PA *A and PA *A is neutralized before a morpheme boundary (with *A before *[(i)] and *A, and *A elsewhere) - but in this environment the Proto-Algonian grade variation (**[i,r]) is still indirectly attested by the PA doubling of *A and *A, as in PA *maj- 'windward' versus *maj- 'upriver' (Farien C numin 'windward', numink 'up the river', and compare Farien C numfrin 'she walks up the river' for segmentation).

5. In a letter dated June 5, 1991, Ives Goddard has drawn my attention to the fact that, contrary to my statement in fn.6 of my paper on Proto-Algonian verbs (Proulx 1990:140), we are in fact in extensive agreement on the indefinite subject endings of PA. I apologize for any confusion caused by my error. Evidently in a moment of distraction I confused his (animate) subject endings with his (indefinite) subjects
On another point it seems we are not quite in agreement. By 'citing data' I mean actually presenting supporting forms from two or more daughter languages - which I consider to be a minimum requirement for a new reconstruction. Merely mentioning that the endings in question are very largely preserved in Kickapoo and referring to Paul Voorhis's doctoral dissertation, gives the reader a very poor choice between a long and time-consuming paper chase to find nine suffixes or simply remaining in doubt. His vague reference (ibid., p.85) to some other languages preserving the conjunct endings well is totally unhelpful.

**...** 'nominalizer' #299
**-ng, **-ŋə **-subordinative theme' #334
**-qewi, **-qewi 'spatial adlocative (toward)' #337
**-ŋyew 'liquid' #310
**-ŋiw 'plant' #309
**-ŋê 'plural' #338
**-en 'subordinative theme' #335
**-ŋarlewe 'front part' #312
**-ŋk, **-ŋk 'chest (body part)' #343
**-ŋetkohc+ríw-, **-ŋetkohc+tíw- 'kidney' #314
** -rapːiːteke, **-rapːiːteke 'backbone' #320
**-rocake, **-tekenke 'buttocks' #327
**-tan 'abstract final' #306
**-ŋek, **-ŋek 'augmentative-pejorative' #291
**-V3 'third-person subject' #300
**-V1 'tree, stem' #308
**-Vh, **-Vhr 'lie, fall' #340
**-Vr 'nominalizer' #292
**-Vh 'postradical extension' #354
**-Vr 'third-person subject' #293
**-Vl, **-Vl 'nominalizer' #302
**-Vlt, **-Vrt '1-dimensional' #281
**-Vn 'nominalizer' #294
**-Vr 'postradical extension' #355
**-Vn 'third-person subject' #295
**-Vn 'nominalizer' #296
**-Vn 'postradical extension' #356
**-Vn or **-Vmaa 'indefinite subject' #297
**-Vka 'pointual spacial locative (in, ac)' #333
**-Vr 'nominalizer' #304
**-Vh 'postradical extension' #357
**-Vh 'indefinite subject' #305
**-Vaki 'kind, war, way, place, time' #311
**-Vh 'nominalizer' #298
**-Vnn, **-Vnn 'abstract final' #307
**-Vlaa 'wife' #313
**-V 'nominalizer' #301
**-Vc 'diminutive' #290
**as'llewe 'projectile point' #315b
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APPENDIX A: ADDITIONAL RECONSTRUCTIONS CITED

New reconstructions cited incidentally in this paper are:

(339) **shp-, **shp- **shpik- **shpik- 'press down on, bruise': (a) PA **shp- 'down onto something', PA **shp- **shpik- 'bruise from a blow or fall' (incorporating proflnal **Vhr
'lie, fall' #341, (b) W phastal 'ladder' (with -at 'foot') and V shawatok 'step on it' (with postradical -oW?), (c) PA *ahbi- (K ahbi- 'presse, hold down', e.g., K aphskyama 'she puts her foot on it', aphpikawa 'she hold it down [by tool]'), PA *ahpibh- 'bruise from a blow or fall' (C ahpibilew 'she bruises him', (d) W phigw 'bruises'. **a given PA *y, which would be interpreted as Empty-y (see Proulx 1965:62) and deleted except before an element beginning in a vowel. Probably aspiration of *=n in Wyot is secondary after the loss of the initial *=n (i.e., **h- --> W ph in initial position). Compare secondary aspiration of an initial obstruent as a reflex of the prefix **h- in some dependent nouns (see Teeter 1964:79, Goddard 1966:402 n.11, and Proulx 1984:196). Alternatively, the reconstructions may be **ahph-, etc.

PA *ahp- 'down onto something': Sh Tpal?lukka 'ladder' and no?i-Tpal?kki 'she finished stepping on it' (with -ylk 'foot or body motion', as in jihedkwe?ki 'I slipped and fell off', nikil?kk 'I stepped on it' p.327, hortal?kki 'she took a step over' p.429 [with root hort- 'moving'], Ni0 apikan 'strap, harness' (holds something down), M ahpiak- in abpakqww 'she throws herself onto something (especially the ground)', abpakqwes 'she lies down and relaxes', abpakqat;'men 'it is blown onto something'). PA *ahpibh- 'bruise from a blow or fall' (incorporating prefinal **-h- 'lie, fall' #341): M spumh 'it's dark blue' (with dissimilation of the first H), bo nindapisingiwe 'I have a dark blue face from a blow or fall', Rho pisa 'it's bruised', cf. Mi hihihiihkaka 'I bruise her', and anopiant 'I fall into (a hole).

(340) **-Vhl. **-Vhr 'lie, fall' replaces **-Vhl #153 in order to account for some Wyot forms I had not spotted when I made the earlier reconstruction, e.g., Lpilib 'it lies there' T26, tikwe?lumar- 'break arm by falling' T53.

(341) **caqonq 'fishnet's W cawad 'dip net' (dim. pej.), Y cacon 'fine net'. Compare Pa cadawabikan 'net sinker' (Seeber 1983:301).

(342) **kwert- 'angle (for fish)': PA *kwater- 585 (with *=n for *=n, and final *=j), Y kstk- 'go trout fishing'. **kwateri, **kweceti 'angling tool': PA *kwetani:rapyyi 'fishing line' (with *=rapyi 'string, line') 585; **kweceti 'fishing hook' 583 (with indefinite possessor *=n incorporated, and with dissimilation of labials), and **kweceti (M kohkan) 'fishinghook', Y kstk- 'trout-fishing pole'. Note: *=n in the verb is analogical to the noun, where it is the result of vowel harmony.
**-ak dependent noun stem, medial **-ak 'chest (body part)'. The dependent stem and medial have often been substituted for one another in the daughter languages, and they have frequently been combined. The original distribution of allomorphs here is reconstructed by rule, i.e., in every other reconstructible dependent stem beginning with a k-cluster the corresponding medial archaisically begins in a single **-ak (although medials analogical to the dependent stem are common). The abstract finals **-wau, **-wen, and **-takan have also often been added.

**-ik dependent noun 'chest (body part)'; PA *-ik-sikki (K -ikshahi), *-ik-akikani (i.e. c -sknshiki, and probably Lemning's a0 -akakiki [with transcription underdiffereniated as to voicing]), PA *-ikanni 'chest' (Pw -ikwau, Hc -pukun [with initial shift of **w to MC g, and its incorporation into the stem]), W -ikishedi (deverbal in ta-tikwad- 'chest' TS3). The Wiyot form has incorporated medial **-g, and both daughter languages a final **-wau. The two other PA stems have this element twice (with link vowel **ai), and one of them the final PA *-ikan. Used secondarily as a medial in PA *-atikkan (10 pkanakikanhesmuw 'elle me frappe la poitrine', a0 micikikkan 'avoir la poitrine polie'). Coming a full circle, this PA medial again serves as a dependent stem in G -iskikkan. It is no doubt this medial which is the source of the accretions to the two dependent stems with PA *-atik above.

**-k medial 'chest (body part)'; fl40). Used secondarily as a dependent noun stem in W -kwhi, Y -kevi, PA *-ik-ikan (Pw -ikkip, if the first i is harmonic with the second), PA *-ik-siki (Y -kshiki), and PA *-ik-sikani (S0 -pakwi).

(344) **meli?- **mer- 'rub hard': (a) in PA *melok- 'rub hides' (with PA *-ok 'natural outer covering'), Y m!lo?kipihe? 'you smear it' (with -gp 'liqwi?'), m!lo?kipihe? 'I rub or massage something round', me?topa?y 'a file'; (b) Y mesev 'ointment' (with **-ve 'nominalizer' #304), cf. mesigono? 'I'm massaged'.

PA *melok-, *mehk- 'rub hides'; (a) Sh melikhe 'she rubs skin dry', pime?kikari 'I rub her (deer'skin) dry'; (b) C nikhiv 'she scrapes hides'. The second Pre-PA *-g evidently dropped under some conditions, and **-ik gives PA *-hk (see Proulx 1984:200).

PA *-ak, *-gk 'natural outer covering (skin, bark, and the like)'; (a) in PA *pelak- 'peel, husk' SF08 (root PA *pol-
'strip, remove surface, tear off' (S208), and in PA *pehēk- 'remove peel, skin' (Sh nipākina 'I peel it', Mc pekālāk 'I skin an animal') with root PA *peh- 'peel, husk' S133; (b) in M pesēkha 'she husks him (Intrian corn)' (reflecting PA *pehēk-, with root *peh- from Pre-PA *speh-, grade 2-3 of *speh-). Further example of the roots are: k penēna 'she takes it off or apart or loosens it by hand', k penēma 'she skin's him', Sh nīpel 'I got loose'.

(345) "peh-", medial -go- 'catch, kill'. W mūrak 'I kill it (one)' (with -Ve '3-obj.'). Y -saw (in tānswek) 'I catch or kill a lot', ćenwek 'someone catches a few' (with ten- 'a lot', cken- 'a few'). ~go- deverb medial 'catch, kill'. W -tō (in ē̄n taili) 'they catch those', ta-kāci (wēd 'one gets a lot', sēki 'I caught a lot' (with -Ve '3-obj.')). Y -ELLOW (in na-nōwok) 'I kill two', pakōswetek 'I get or kill three', sōnōwetek 'I get or kill four'. (With unipersonal transitive -et). "sikhar- 'catch or kill three'. W dūken 'I killed three' (with -Ve '3-obj.'). Y nakōnewok and pakōswetek 'I get or kill three'. The root could also be reconstructed as *go- 'catch, kill', but the deverbal medial points to an initial sonant.

(346) *peḥehk-, *peḥehk- 'tie into a round shape, i.e., a bunch or bundle'. PA *peṭkew-, medial *a-polēk 'lump, sphere, knot'; *pehpēk- 'tie roundish objects' T53 (e.g., tu-tāphetikāl 'they tie in bunches', ṭāphēk [grade 3] 'bundle'). Semantically, PA *petew- and medial *a-polēk have generally lost the meaning 'tie', retaining only that of roundness - the exception being M pe hakkında 'she unties her'. This loss is facilitated by the addition of the final "yph 'tie, string, root' #162 to those stems that retain the meaning 'tie'.

PA *petew-, medial *a-polēk 'lump, sphere, knot': F pehēwāpowedi 'it's blown into a lump', pekāwotepe:wan 'she's a lump-headed', K pehkāwā 'it's spherical, globular', pehēwākhi 'ball', RIO pēk̪wek̪ 'ball', M pehk̪wākhi 'solid roundish lump, oak-ball', pehk̪wākhi 'she lies as a lump on a tree or solid', pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'small round elevation in the land', pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'small mound', pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'she knits it', pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'saddle', pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'she ties it in a bundle', M pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'she knits it' and pehk̪w̪̯̱ākī 'she unties her', C pēk̪w̪̱̯̱ k̪w̪̱̯̱ 'range of mountains', RIO bōp̪̱ sēl̪ 'it's a hump in the floor', bo̪̱ k̪w̪̱ sēl̪ 'it hangs in a bunch', bo̪̱ k̪w̪̱ sēl̪ 'pill', bōp̪̱ k̪w̪̱ sēl̪ 'ball', K pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'she knits it', pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'she ties it in a bundle', M pehk̪w̪̯ākhi 'she knits it' and pehk̪w̪̯̱ākī 'she unties her', C pēk̪w̪̱̯̱ k̪w̪̱̯̱ 'she has hair tied in a knot', Mc pēk̪w̪̱̯̱ k̪w̪̱̯̱ 'hoofed, excrescence d'arbre'. Mc proxt 'knit
on a tree" (with medial *-atk- 'wood'), medial *-apok-
(e.g., napapokok) 'they are four round inanimate objects',
*to邦kisit' she's short and round').

(341) *-aph-, *-ap- 'tie, cord'. In W *-hiph- 'tie', and in
*aphet-, *-aphet- 'tie into a round shape', i.e., a bunch
or bundle #346 and *-apexh- *-aphexh 'cord' #346.

(342) *-aphexh-, **-apheth 'cord': Y pektek [diminutive?]
'thread, string, rope', dependent *-pek; medial PA *-apexek
'string' #59. Compare on #346 and #346. PA generally incorporates the
subordinators **-ag [see **-ag #346] from pseudodependent
**Wapotipegha 'sewing root' #102 onto ita **-Vpeh #347.

(343) **-atk-, **-atkeyi, **-akey, medial **-atk 'earth, land': PA
*atki 'land' #226; Y *kik 'land', skok 'mud', *kexoyoni
'clay'; keroni? 'it's dirty' (with -apok 'covered with');
W -atk 'land' (Bakaattok 'on dry land'). Cf. Y halok
'a place toward the mountains', and skelumok? 'it's covered with dirt'. Nk 4:10. The last Yoruk form shows the
productive Y to a alternation.

(350) **kec-, **-gec- 'wipe': PA *keoti- 'wipe', rub, wash (with
incorporated link vowel) #774, *kei- 'wipe', rub, wash (in Sh pikexem 'I wipe it clean', pikoxem 'I wash her
head') and *keiti (with incorporated link vowel) AS20-520;
W kotr 'grade 1, in hj-kotr' 'she wiped it',
ta-kotr 'I'm drying my face'. Note: Kiyot
incorporates the root extension **-Vt #355. Compare W
hu-kotr 'go wash your hands', and to-kotr 'she was washing
it'.

(351) *kowm- 'back 180 degrees': W *kum- (e.g., k87metal 'go
back', with *-ta- 'go as in kottal - finish going'). Y
kwoon in kwonane 'you take something back', otherwise
kum-. Cf. PA *kwi- 'return home' A1002.

(352) *pev- 'put on the fire': PA *pev- 'put in medium (fire,
pot)' (Sh ma?/pevtaw 'she finishes putting wood on the
fire', C povan 'she puts it as fuel on the fire', N pova
'she puts it in the pot'); W peve 'cook' (incorporating
intensive change ?); Y peven 'cook' with **-Vt 'postradical
extension' #355. Cf. PA *peve 'coast' (as in *apenvuk 'a
coast') #136, G apene 'she makes a raft', and W kit
'it's cooked' #358.

(353) *wep- 'overnight': W wep(Ad) 'all night', Y wep- (in
wopeim 'it's in water overnight', wokwek 'it floats
overnight', wokoc wokoc 'I stay overnight',
APPENDIX B: ROOT EXTENSIONS

There are several postradical extensions used after verb roots, and thus at times in nouns from nominalized verbs:

(354) **-Ve 'postradical extension': PA *-ok, *-uk (see ML 21.39, and Proulx 1985a:79), W kikuki 'one head' (with **-nekwet- 'one' #63 and **-Ve 'head' #166), Y -ok in moley(=) 'tide', gikiki 'high point, apex', and wok(=) 'overnight'. Algonquian examples: M mojeketikihpete 'he's bald-headed' (emp't. 'bare'), PA *-temp 'head' #90), PA *kokweri'ilik 'frightful' A560 beside unreduplicated *kwet-i-A560, haplogonic from *kwele?il- 'fear' (reconstructed with *-it, see Proulx 1985a:79). See also M akhekii 'down onto something' (from PA *huppy-) under #390, and M nesk- 'dark' (PA *neki?- 'dark, alone, avful') under **nesi- #270. Compare Y hojotohokok? 'I hurt someone' (cf. hojotohttooyok? 'someone hurts me' where passive -or replaces -ok).

(355) **-Ve 'postradical extension': W -b in badh- (grade 1, in hi-kabii 'she wiped it', te-hatikakkom 'I'm drying my face') from **-vec-, **-wec- 'wipe' #35; Y -en synchronically in no-won, yew-ne, and historically in p-nwon- 'cook' (from **-now- 'put on the fire' #352) and nekom- 'skillful' (from **-nak- #229).

(356) **-Ve 'postradical extension': W tali-watadati?i 'they dance all night' (with **-aw- 'overnight' #555 and **-Ve 'foot' #167). Y -em in humongeo? 'I get warm' (beside umongapok? 'I warm liquid' - with hevom- or hve- (free variants), -ep 'mediopassive', and -ep 'liquid'), k'amongeo? or k'ongapok? 'it's bad weather', k'orongeo? 'I run to quarrel', and possibly cgepo?entr(y)plu? 'I race someone' (-em 'run', -ep 'mediopassive'). Perhaps the same element becomes premedial in **-em-emk 'sleep, dream' #46 (beside **-i-ik of the same meaning).

(357) **-Ve 'postradical extension': PA -w, -uw (Bloomfield 1946:sec. 104-5, Proulx 1985a:163), Y -uw in akew('well' and perhaps any 'stick in, submerge' beside -ew 'push, surge, rise', and cf. W pawatsi 'step on it' beside w
photëlë 'ladder' (with -lë 'foot'). See also PA *le?law- 'fork', beside PA *li:zi- 'fork', and Y sibhi- 'separate, apart' under "slesl- #277.

(358) **-Lë 'pastradical extension'; W -ën (in balvapāthik 'she goes back and forth by boat', with root **kowëm- 'back 180 degrees' #351 and medial **-mësth 'by boat' #151; also in da?tyšāvādja- 'she's got big shoulders', katbhpāvāyālia- 'broom', and Thābyāsāvi- 'scythe'); Y cell(ov)- 'dry', nekom(ov)- 'well', sesk(ov)- 'annoying', nehsph(ov)- 'into', seek(ov)- 'fast', and wooh(ov)- 'across' (Proulx 1985b:100-112).