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PROTO-ALGONQUIAN VERB INFLECTION

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Abstract: Proto-Algonquian had 6 or 7 orders
(morphological types) of verbs. The potential order
had three modes, the subordinative two, and, by one
interpretation, the conjunct had four. By another,
all conjuncts are participles in the protolanguage.
Evidentials include an attestive, suppositive,
dubitative, and perhaps a recollective. Only a few
obviative and inanimate subject endings are as yet
distinguished from animate proximate ones, but
indefinite subject endings are much better
distinguished from definites in the protolanguage
than in its daughters.

Introduction

Four decades after Bloomfield's sketch of PA (Bloomfield 1946),
we still lack full reconstructions of the verb inflection of the
nonaffirmative, potential, and even the conjunct and imperative.
Moreover - aside from scattered references, discussions, and isolated
reconstructions of some endings - work since 1946 has been limited to
the independent and subordinative orders (Goddard 1967, 1974, and
Proulx 1980b, 1982, 1984b).

The present paper is intended to fill the gaps in the verb
inflection presented in Bloomfield's Sketch. It is based on a large
body of data not considered by Bloomfield (who used only four
languages). Most of the crucial new information comes from my
fieldwork on Micmac, which preserves a great deal of the PA system
otherwise surviving only in Fox and Kickapoo. But other vital evidence
is provided by Goddard's documentation of Delaware, Leman's description
of Cheyenne, and the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet verb paradigms collected by
Leavitt and Francis, and the writings of French missionary linguists
(notably LeBoulanger's Illinois paradigms, Cuoq and Lemoine's grammars
of Algonquin, and Mathevet's notes on Loup).[1]

Time has also provided something else which was unavailable to
Bloomfield: an Algic perspective. In the light of the recent work on
Proto-Algic verbs (Proulx 1985a), we can see Proto-Algonquian not so
much as a beginning point, a uniform system which later becomes
differentiated and more irregular - but as a midpoint in a millennial
evolution, full of its own archaisms and as yet uncompleted
innovations.[2]

Overview

The classification of verbs proposed, with their characteristic inflectional elements, is as follows:

ORDERS   MODES

Type 1 ('we [inc.]' = *-ankw, etc.):

(1) conjunct (*-[y]-)   simple indicative (*-i, *-e:)

changed indicative (*-i, *-e:)

iterative (*-ili, *-e:li)

participle (*-a, etc.)

(2) nonaffirmative (*-w...)   [same as conjunct]

(3) potential (*-[h]k)   neutral (*-a)

prohibitive (*-i, *-e:)

delayed imperative (*-i, *-e:)

(4) imperative [including injunctive] (*-e)

Type 2 ('we [inc.]' = *ke-...-naw, etc.):

(5) independent (*-Hm, *-w)

(6) subordinative (*-nay)   indicative (*-i)

iterative (*-ali)

(7) distant (*-ntay) [?]

The main structural opposition is between type 1 verbs [with suffixes only, and a common set of person suffixes] and type 2 [with prefixes as well as suffixes, and a contrasting set of person suffixes]. These types nevertheless share a number of morphological

features (sometimes with minor distributional or phonological differences). These include THEMATIC ELEMENTS, OBVIATING ELEMENTS, and EVIDENTIALS. In some languages of the Lake-Cheyenne group, a NEGATING element is also shared.

Themes: While thematic elements are shared, they have partly different distributions and uses for the two verb types: in type 1 verbs, themes in *-eł are used with all primary objects including a second person, *-i with first person ones not including a second person, *-a: with third person ones when the subject is more topical than the object, and *-ekw with third person ones when the object is more topical than the subject. That is, the choice of *-a: versus *-ekw depends on discourse considerations, and both are limited to third person primary objects.

In type 2 verbs, however, *-a: 'direct' is used in all forms with first or second person subjects and third person primary objects, *-ekw 'inverse' in all those with third person subjects and first or second person objects. For example, compare the following forms of the conjunct simple inaccessible ('subjunctive') with those of the independent:

TA INVERSE	INAN. SUBJ.	INDEF. SUBJ.	P. OBJ.
conj.			
...-ite:	...-ike:	...-inke:	1
...-ełke:	...-ełke:	...-łenke:	2
...-ekwete:	...-ekwete:	...-ente:	3
indep.			
n-...-ekwa(ki)	n-...-ekwe	n-...-eko:	1
k-...-ekwa(ki)	k-...-ekwe	k-...-eko:	2
...-ekwa	...-ekwa	...-a:wa	3

Thus, one would say *wa:pamite: 'if she sees me' but *newa:pamekwa 'she sees me'.

Obviation: In the conjunct, OBVIATIVE SUBJECTS of intransitive verbs require *-(i)li between the stem and third person *-t (Bloomfield 1946:sec.46). There is some evidence that this pattern may have been followed in 'OBV-1' and 'OBV-FURTHER OBV' forms, though these could be later analogical extensions. Possible reconstructions are:

(1a) *-ilit [?] 'OBV-1': K -init, and optional n-dialect Cree -init.

(1b) *-a:lit [?] 'OBV-FURTHER OBV': F, O -a:nit, Moose Cree -a:lit.

Analogical extension from intransitives to (1a) would be easy, as 1-object themes generally inflect much like intransitive stems. A similar extension to (1b) would follow from the parallel between transitive verbs with inanimate objects (which inflect like intransitives) and those with animate ones.

Fox and Cree use the obviative subject suffix in the independent order, seemingly reflecting *-iliwali 'OBV-1', but Malecite, Menominee, Montagnais, and Ojibwa use only terminal *-ali to mark the obviation [e.g., Mt takushinua 'she (OBV) arrives', O nɨmpwan 'she (OBV) dies']. The latter usage, reflecting the nominal origin of the independent in structural opposition to the conjunct, is surely that of PA.

An OBVIATIVE OBJECT (in first or second person subject forms) is marked by *-em A302 in the conjunct and perhaps the independent as well. Thus, we have conjunct *-emak A305 and independent K ne-...-emaa, C ni-...-ima:wa [with obviative -a], Ch ná-...-amóho [with obviative -ho]) '1-OBV'. This element is the only Algonquian inflectional suffix I know of to precede the thematic element. For example, consider: Ch ná-...-amóne '12-OBV' (beside ná-...-óne '12-3'), mC ne-...-ima:nawa '12-OBV' (beside ne-...-a:naw). In Plains Cree, where some of the conjunct endings are reshaped, this prethematic distribution is introduced into the conjunct: pC -ima:yahk '12-OBV' (with -im before thematic -a:). Similarly in Moose Cree, where *-em is extended to obviative SUBJECT forms, e.g., -imisk 'OBV-2' (beside -isk '3-2'), where -is 'thee' is from *-eɬ.

While the daughter languages insert *-em in the same position (i.e., before the thematic element) in the independent order, the endings are otherwise simply those of the nonobviative direct for the respective language - which differ in part for each language. It is a moot question whether the obviative object endings are parallel analogical innovations in the independent (modeled on the conjunct), or are of PA antiquity and have simply been reshaped along with the direct endings (and in accord with the general treatment of obviation in each language).

The distribution of *-em in PA is uncertain, but it is most widely attested before the conjunct ending *-ent.

(2) *-ement 'X-obv.' (F, K -emet, Algonquin -imintc (Lemoine 1911:tables), Plains and Moose Cree -imiht, M -emeht).

The remaining conjunct endings including *-em are attested only

in Cree and Kickapoo, and could be analogical extensions. They are:

(3) *-emak '1-obv.' (K -emak, pC, mC -imak).

(4) *-emat '2-obv.' (K -emat, mC -imat).

(5) *-emakent '1p-obv.' (K -emaket, mC -imakiht).

(6) *-emankw '12-obv.' (K -emakw, mC -imahkw).

(7) *-eme:kw '2p-obv.' (K -emeekw, mC -ime:kw).

The corresponding independent order endings have *-em in Cree and
Cheyenne, as we have just seen, but it isn't clear if these date back
to PA.

The Pre-PA history of obviative subject *-(i)li is not fully
known. Nevertheless, it is surely somehow related to terminal *-ili
'OBV sg.' (Proto-Algic #217). Obviative object *-em continues the
derivational final *-Vm 'relational' (Proto-Algic #191), which signals
an extra +HUMAN third person involved. The probable path of evolution
is by the narrowing in this context of 'extra third person involved
with object' to 'possessor of object involved', implying 'obviative
possessed object involved' (since a TA verb requires an animate
object). That is, possessor ascension comes to signal obviation. PA
*-em A304 of possessed independent nouns and Cree relational endings in
-Vm are no doubt also related historically.

Evidentials: Independent verbs have 3 or 4 EVIDENTIAL elements
(*-pan, *-sa(pa)n, *-toke:n, *-ĉite: [?]), 2 of which are found in the
conjunct as well. They are similar in their distribution, and both
take animate third person plural terminal *-iki (typical of the
conjunct) rather than *-aki:

	INDEPENDENT	CONJUNCT
attestive	*-paniki	*-paniki
suppositive	*-sa(pa)niki	*-sa(pa)niki
dubitative	*-toke:niki	(nonaffirmative)
recollective	*-ĉite: [?] (no '3p' reconstructed)	

Where the nonaffirmative becomes limited to a negative function,
as in the Eastern languages, suppositive endings may tend to occupy
some nonaffirmative semantic space - such as marking interrogation,
doubt, and the like. For example, Mc nek'msɨp'nax 'was it her
(inacc.)?' beside nek'mtɨp'nax 'it was her (inacc.)'. Nevertheless,

this limitation of the nonaffirmative to a negative function also explains why Micmac, despite its general replacement of the independent by the conjunct participle, has preserved the independent dubitative: it had no other verb with core dubitative meanings.

Ojibwa and some varieties of Cree have (A) replaced *-iki with *-aki in the independent dubitative, in conformity with the regular use of that by-form in the independent indicative (and nouns). In a more interesting development, they (B) replace it with pseudo-PA *-i:ki in the independent attestive. Potawatomi, with -(wi)pininɨk, appears to have reshaped *-toke:niki to *-toke:naki as in (A), *-paniki to *-pani:ki as in (B) - and then to have blended pseudo-PA *i:[ki] and *[e:]naki, for pseudo-PA *-pani:naki. [This revises my earlier reconstruction (Proulx 1982:table 2), in which the Potawatomi ending was considered archaic.]

The origin of the long vowel in *-i:ki may be an example of a morphologically conditioned harmonic vowel lengthening (and shortening in back-formations) which seems to have once operated in these languages. Other examples of this lengthening are: the preterit conjunct AI ending C -a:pa:n = bO -âmbân = Po -apan '1' [from attestive *-a:n-pan] beside Mc -ap'n-, and negative conjunct bO -issinâwân '1-2' [from *-e-hsi-ɬa-w-a:n, see sec.3.1 below]. An example of shortening is C kimotiw 'she steals' [from *kemo:t- 'steal', see Hockett 1957:no.50].

Another instance of long i: in the independent (with a short counterpart in the conjunct) is the Lake-Cheyenne innovation *-hsi: 'indep. neg.' (I -si, O -ssi:, Po -s:i, Ch -hé), beside *-hsi 'conj. neg.' (I -si, O -ssi). Here *i plus nonaffirmative *-w plus connective *-e contracts in the independent (e.g., O -ssi:min from *-hsi-w-e-Hmena '1p'), but no contraction occurs in the conjunct for lack of a connective *-e (e.g., *-hsi-w-ayenki '1p'). Thus, a long vowel in the independent comes to contrast with a short one in the conjunct.

Similar contraction of the sequence stem-vowel plus *-w plus connective *-e (before *-pan) would give rise to a long vowel there (e.g., *i-w-e-pan-iki ---> *i:paniki) in the independent order - in contrast to the conjunct, where *i-t would not contract as *i-w-e does. This would then produce a marking of the third person independent attestive by length which could be extended to other vowels in an ending (such as *-i:ki). The contraction would not take place in the corresponding endings lacking an evidential (e.g., *V-w-aki).

The history of *-sa(pa)n- is as yet unclear. In Micmac, -s'n and -sɨp'n are rhythmic variants, in Menominee they are positional variants. Until we have full accounts of them in all of the languages, we must assume the two morphs are just peculiar by-forms of a single PA morpheme - but this does not explain their origin.

It is also unclear if the h in D -shan- (a nonfinal by-form of -sa) is the regular reflex of *p in this environment, and whether I -sca (always word final, as in independent ninteperinkisca and conjunct teperinkianisca '[si] Je gouvernerois') is related. Similarly, the final elements in the Cheyenne independent interrogative and dubitative (respectively -he and -hé) are good candidates for relationship with *-san. These are matters for Delaware, Illinois, and Cheyenne specialists to comment on as the overall internal histories of these languages gets further clarified.

Present evidence permits the confident reconstruction of evidential endings only in *-pan 'attested' and *-toke:n 'dubitative'. The AI conjunct and AI independent are:

conj:	PA	ILLINOIS	OJIBWA	CREE	MICMAC
1-	-a:pan	-ampa	-âmbân	-a:pa:n	-ap['n-]
2-	-ampan	-ampa	-amban	-apan	-Ap['n-]
3-	-tpan	-ppa	-ban	-span	-p['n-]
	-kepan		-giban	-kepan	-kɨp['n-]
1p-	-ayenkepan	-ankipa	-ângiban	-a:hkepan	-ekp['n]
12-	-ankwepan	-anc8pa	-anguban	-ahkopan	-Akup['n-]
2p-	-e:kwepan	-ec8pa	-eguban	-e:kopan	-oxop['n-]

ind:	PA NEUTRAL	PA ATTESTIVE	PA DUBITATIVE
1-	n-...	n-...-Hmepani	n-...-Hmetoke
2-	k-...	k-...-Hmepani	k-...-Hmetoke
2p-	k-...-Hmwa	k-...-Hmwa:pani	k-...-Hmwa:toke
12-	k-...-Hmena	k-...-Hmenawepani	k-...-Hmenawetoke
1p-	n-...-Hmena	n-...-Hmena:pani	n-...-Hmena:toke
3-	...-wa	...-wepani	...-wetoke
3p-	...-waki	...-wepaniki	...-wetoke:niki
X-	...-na	...-nayepani	...-nayetoke

A Proto-Algic nasal drops in PA between a long vowel and an obstruent (Proulx 1984a:196), though such a loss is not productive in PA: AI *-a:pan '1' (C -a:pa:n, uD -áp, Mc -ap'n-) beside restored I -ampa, O -âmbân, and optional uD -ánɨp. C -apan '2' is presumably analogical, though the reshaping could date back to Proto-Algonquian.

The element *-kw: There is another element found in more than one order of verbs, *-kw. This element comes between a person marker and a following evidential, if any, and is used in forming contrary to fact potentials ('might have, could have'). It is attested in a rather fragmentary way.

The best evidence is from the independent order, where it is found preceding the attestive evidential. Moose Cree has a set of dubitative preterit endings, e.g., -na:wa:kopan '2p' [beside indicative neutral -na:wa:w], with a cognate in Montagnais and a partial one in Unami: Mt tshinipa:na:ua:kupan 'you (pl.) might have been asleep', uD kɨpa:hmwa:kwɨp 'you (pl.) came'. The Unami form is no longer used, having been recorded by early missionaries (Goddard 1969:sec. 5.5.11). Compare also Algonquin -goban, as in sakidjigegoban 'elle aimait autrefois' (Lemoine 1911:12), and ockina8ensigoban 'feu Ockina8ens (que je n'ai pas connus)' [Cuoq 1866:42] – a kind of distant inaccessible (used for remote time and deceased persons the speaker never knew) beside the simple inaccessible -ban (used as a preterit and added to the names of known deceased people).

Unami also has *-kw followed by the suppositive element: kɨpa:hmwa:kwɨsa 'you (pl.) have come'. As in the previous Unami example, it seems to have been a free variant of the ordinary '2p' ending, having lost its original meaning. It also turns up in Unami in a conjunct form, kéko e:li:namá:k:wɨp 'that which I have seen', where the ending -a:kwɨpan is in free variation with -a:n plus -pan (Goddard 1969:sec. 5.5.26). This apparent marriage of *-kw with evidentials perhaps grows out of their use (almost always) for actions in a relatively distant or unknown past.

PA *-kw has a by-form *-a:kw (with link *a:), attested in Montagnais and Micmac. Thus, there is a set of dubitative preterit conjunct endings in Mt -a:kue (*-a:kw plus *-e:li) used in contrary to fact clauses: ninipa:ia:na:kue 'if I had been asleep', nipa:ta:kue 'if she had been asleep', ua:pama:ta:kue 'if she had seen her' (Clarke 1982:93, 118).

In Micmac, beside -s '3' from the PA potential unreal, there is a contrary to fact potential -sox [Pre-Mc *-sa:kw]: wtaywasox 'she would have, or could have frightened him or them', mu s'muli:tisox 'they wouldn't have fed you'. There seems to be no way to tell whether

*-a:kw originated in the conditional (conjunct) clause as in
Montagnais, or in the matching result (potential) one as in Micmac.
Perhaps it should be seen as setting the mood for the whole sentence.

Micmac -ox from *-a:kw is used only in third person forms.
Elsewhere in the potential order, it is supplanted by Mc -p'n (e.g.,
p'mu:piyekap'n 'I'd have carried her on my back'). Although they may
be related historically, in Micmac this element differs from attestive
-p'n in two ways: semantically, and in never dropping its final n. With
the opposite treatment of final *n, compare respectively enclitic
Malecite -ip 'might, would', and preterit -hpin (Teeter 1971:223):
lapo-ip 'she might look, she would look', lapohpin 'she looked'.

While the evidentials and *-(a:)kw nearly always refer to the
past, the Malecite examples (above) and some from Algonquin, Moose
Cree, and Micmac make clear that this is not an essential part of their
semantics:

Cuoq's Algonquin grammar has some paradigms he calls 'futur
hypothétique', with such forms as mi apitc ke sakihakiban 'c'est alors
que je l'aimerais' ['it's then that I'd love her'], ke sakihakiban
'celui que j'aimerais' ['the one I would love', compare ka sakihakiban
'quand je l'eus aimé' ('when I had loved her')].

In Moose Cree, a potential is formed with -pan and a future
preverb: ta-milwa:ŝino:pan 'it would be nice' (Ellis 1983:569),
ta-ki:-wawe:ŝihta:pan 'she could fix it' (ibid., p. 651). Besides the
normal Micmac future, there is one used only with the first person,
e.g., ke: eliyeyap 'I'll go (willingly)' [-ap from *-a:n + -pan].

In all of these verbs, the suffix *-pan is used although the
actions contemplated could only take place in the future. The Cree and
Ojibwa verbs are irrealis, as pointed out by Cote, Ratt, and Klokeid
(1987:54), but the Micmac example has a verb inflected for the future.
Similarly, *-a:kw can have future reference (irrealis in my one clear
example): Mc liyes'n kiskuk, mu eliyewisox sapo:nuk 'if she went today,
she wouldn't go tomorrow' (NB1:25).

Unless, as is possible, we are dealing with two or more suffixes,
it would appear that *-pan originated as an attestive evidential and
became associated with the past because only the past is normally
attested to. As a past, it was then used to mark past irrealis ('if X
had..., Y would have...') in conditional sentences, whether in their
conditional (conjunct) or result (originally potential) clauses. Next,
in some languages it broadened to become a marker of irrealis
(regardless of time).

Use of *-pan in conditional clauses may be secondary, as it is
evidently limited to Algonquin and Saulteaux (Cote, Ratt, and Klokeid
1987:54-56), as in so:hkipo:nkipan 'if it had snowed' and k:iŝpin Mary

takoŝinkipan 'if Mary arrives here', and to Blackfoot (e.g.,
nitsinaayiihtopi 'were I a chief' and nitsitsayooyiihtopi 'if I hadn't
eaten then', Frantz 1971:31). Note that *a gives B i only in nonfinal
position (Proulx 1989:58), showing the loss of the nasal to be late in
that language.

The Conjunct Modes

Most of the Algonquian languages use the terminal suffixes in the
conjunct order to express a system of modes - while in Pre-PA these
suffixes merely agreed with or pronominally replaced a dependent
nominal of the verb. Since it is difficult to be sure to what extent
modes may have begun to emerge by PA times, it seems best to provide
two alternate descriptions. [It does seem clear that initial change
had been grammaticalized by PA times - and to that extent at least
modes did exist.]

The four-mode hypothesis: If PA had conjunct modes they were
SIMPLE INDICATIVE (*-i, *-e:), CHANGED INDICATIVE (*-i, *-e:),
ITERATIVE (*-ili, *-e:li), PARTICIPLE (*-a '3', *-iki '3p', *-i '0',
*-ili '0p', *-ili 'obv.', *-ihi 'obv. pl.', and *-i, *-e: '1(p),
2(p)'.[3]

Within the simple indicative mode, *-e: marks uncertain future
action ('if' clauses, Bloomfield's subjunctive) - and in the changed
indicative past situations that no longer obtain. This accounts for
all but one peculiarity, which Bloomfield (1946:sec. 45) duly noted for
Fox but did not reconstruct: the replacement (in 'when' clauses, i.e.,
those which mark the recent past or present) of *-i by *-e: whenever
the preceding person suffix is *-ayenk '1p', *-ankw '12', or *-e:kw and
*-a:kw '2p' (i.e., all elements expressing plurality and not ending in
*t). However, Unami and Loup agree with Fox, Kickapoo and Shawnee here,
and this synchronically odd pattern must be reconstructed for PA.

	remote past	recent = present	future
simple	---	-i, e:	-e:
changed	-e:	-i, e:	---

Examples of terminal *-e: being used in the changed mode for past
inaccessible as well as in the simple mode for the uncertain future
('subjunctive') are: Loup ask8an pi8iciana 'lorsque j'astois encore
jeune' (where *e: gives L a), kizi kichiai88iana 'quand je serai vieux'
(Mathevet n.d. folio 42); Mc tami e:mas'nek 'where was I?' [having
been interrupted in one's work]. Note that Micmac replaces PA *-e:
with Mc -ek. Compare interrogative order F ona:pe:miwane 'before you

got married' [the interrogative has similar modal inflection to the conjunct].

Terminal *-i (with supplementary *-e:) is used with these modes for present or recent past actions ('that' and 'when' clauses): Loup 8amanlania 'que je ... les aime' (with loss of terminal *n + short vowel), 8amanlanian '[que tu ...]' (with loss of terminal short vowel), 8amanlanieg8a '[que vous ...]' (ibid. folio 30 - with the first two items listed in reverse order, and paradigmatic position as only gloss after the first). Compare Fox: e:h-pi:tike:ya:ni 'while I enter', e:h-aŝamiyani 'that you gave me them to eat', e:h-ketema:kihe:kwe 'that you destroyed them' (Bloomfield 1927:205).

Iterative *-ili has a by-form *-e:li, specialized for clauses of habitual entailing actions ('as soon as, whenever'). This by-form survives in Fox (Goddard 1969:sec. 5.4.3 citing AR 40.615), and in Micmac: Mc te:sekel es'mɨkel, miĉisip 'every time I fed her, she ate'. [In languages where the latter by-form has become associated with the dubitative, the first by-form is sometimes used: Algonquin saiakihakin 'lorsque ou toutes les fois que je l'aime' (Lemoine 1911:12).]

Examples of the use of (*-i, *-e:) in the participle mode are: F ni:na wi:h-ako:si:ya:ni 'it is I who shall climb', ni:na:na wi:h-amwakeĉi 'we are the ones who will eat her' (with *-i after *t, and mutation of the latter to *ĉ), ki:ya:na:n e:ŝisoyakwe 'the body of us who bear this name'; I teperinkiani 'que je gouverne, ou moi qui gouverne'.

Fox and Shawnee disagree as to whether *-e: or a third person marker such as *-a '3' is used to nominalize a third person after the 3 plural suffixes ending in *k(w): F i:na wi:-sanake:nemakwa 'that is the one we shall think hard to obtain', Sh kekkilakwe 'the one who is concealed by us (inc.)'. Since in general the nonabsentative use of *-e: is irregular and archaic looking even in PA, Shawnee probably preserves the older usage here.

The participle hypothesis: The preceding analysis treats terminal conjunct suffixes as distinguishing various modes (as in the daughter languages). It is also possible, however, to regard all conjunct verbs as participles - which better reflects the nominal Proto-Algic origins of these terminals.

By this second analysis terminals making reference to time, place, or action require inanimate endings - inaccessible if the referent is remote in some sense, and singular except when the referents (generally temporal ones) are repeated (i.e., in iteratives).

The peculiar use of *-e: with plural participants (versus *-i for singular ones) is unexplainable within Algonquian - whether as a mode

sign or a nominal suffix. However, it makes good sense in terms of
Proto-Algic, where I reconstructed the following deictic inflection,
optionally stressed: *-o 'restricted', *-i 'extended, static,
punctual', and *-e is 'extended, motile, durative' (Proulx
mss.2:sec.11). Stressed variants of these endings are long vowels in
the daughter languages, and *-e is continued as PA *-e:. If we
interpret 'motile' as 'distributed in space' and 'durative' as
'distributed in time', *-e [and Pre-PA *-e:] are seen to be essentially
distributive endings in contrast with nondistributive *-i.

Mithun (1986) has argued convincingly that grammatical number
often evolves out of distributive suffixes and so, if the terminal
suffixes of the PA conjunct agree with nominal referents [participants,
time or place of action, etc.], it is hardly surprising to see that in
some cases an old Algic distributive archaically agrees with plural
person suffixes (and the corresponding nondistributive with the
singular ones) in Algonquian. [There is a later grammaticalization in
PA, so that only the immediately preceding element counts, and a
preceding *t is always interpreted as *-t '3'.]

Initial change: Initial change, itself a marker of iteration and
emphasis in origin, is of course found in the iterative mode. In
addition, it has been grammaticalized for obligatory use in the
participle mode [Yurok, in contrast, has both punctual and iterative
participles ('the one who X', 'the one who always X')].

Bloomfield's reconstructions: Bloomfield (1946:secs.45-49)
correctly reconstructs the more common nonterminal conjunct suffixes,
except that:

(A) I see no motivation for a final *w in *-eɫakok '1-2p' (I
-erag8k [teperimerag8ki 'que je vous gouverne', fol.39r], C -itakok, M
-Enakok, O -inakok). This ending is reshaped in most of the languages:
pseudo-PA *-ele:kw (D -ele:kw), *-eɫa:kw (Mc -ulox, Ms -unóg), and
*-eɫako:w (F -enako:w, K -enako, Sh -elako, Po -in[in]ɨko, Mh -unãku
[anenawunãku 'dass ich euch sehe = that I see you']). Alternatively,
the Mahican orthography here may just be a variant of -ãäkq '2p'
[amáttamãäkq 'dass ihr fühlet = that you feel'], which would group this
ending with that of the New England languages.

(B) *-ayenk should be substituted for *-a:nk '1p' (see Proulx
1980b:290). This reconstruction accounts for all the daughter languages
without analogical reshaping, except in Menominee (where it is replaced
by the '12' suffix) and Cheyenne (discussed below).

At one point, after correctly reconstructing this element, I was
persuaded by the Cheyenne ending -té '1p' [from *-y plus the ending],
to adopt a proposal that the PA ending was *-e:nk (Proulx 1984c:412)
and that the Central languages analogically reshaped it. However,
Goddard (1986) has explained Ch -sé '2p' as regular from *-ye:kw by

yodation of Pre-Cheyenne *ɨ (from *y) before *e:. I am persuaded that
he is correct, which makes Ch -té from *-ye:nk impossible (since
yodation would take place here too). Of course, Ch -té from *-ya:nk is
also impossible, as *a: gives Ch o except in absolute word final
position.

Deeper analysis of the improved data emerging on Cheyenne (thanks
to Wayne Leman's fieldwork) suggests that first person plural markers
have been extensively reshaped in that language. In possessed nouns
the '1p' suffix is Ch -ané [PA *-ena:nV], in independent TI verbs it is
Ch -ánoné [*-e:nayena:ni], in independent TA direct forms it is Ch -óné
[*-a:na:na], and (as we have just seen) in the conjunct it is generally
Ch -té [*-yayenk]. In each of these cases, the final Cheyenne vowel
should etymologically be ó instead of é.

The source of this Cheyenne innovation is the common AI
independent ending *-Hmyena '1p', which regularly gives Ch -mé
(although the reasons for the underlying stress are not known).
Similarly, Ch -anémé from *-eko:Hmyena 'X-1p' is regular. From this
base, Ch -é spread to all '1p' endings except the local ('you and me')
ones:[4] Ch -emeno from *-iHmyena[:n] '2(p)-1p' and Ch -atemeno from
*-eɬeHmyena[:n] '1p-2(p)' (both with early analogical restoration of
length plus nasal after word shortening). The local endings in the
conjunct order of Cheyenne are a composite of independent and conjunct
endings – and indeed provide the only surviving trace of the latter: Ch
-emenoto '2(p)-1p' and Ch -atemenoto '1p-2(p)' from the above endings
plus Ch -to from *-yayenk.

Of course, Ch -to could also reflect *-ya:nk, and any analogical
reshaping which took place in the Lake languages could have been shared
by Cheyenne (during the Lake-Cheyenne period). However, if so it could
only have spread to Cree much later (during the Central period). This
would be more like borrowing than shared innovation, and strikes me as
unlikely. The sociolinguistic prestige factors that favor a particular
innovation at a particular time and place are not likely to recur
centuries later. The proposed innovation of Central or Lake-Cheyenne
*-a:nk '1p' (and its difficulties) are avoided by the reconstruction
*-ayenk.

The remaining conjunct endings of PA are of less frequent use,
more poorly attested in the literature, more often reshaped, and in
some cases a bit marginal to the system. The patchy evidence shows
that PA had a set of indefinite subject endings (which have survived
poorly in the daughter languages), and partial sets of inanimate
subject and obviation markers of likely recent origin.

Indefinite subjects: Bloomfield (1946:sec.46, 48) reconstructs
two conjunct INDEFINITE SUBJECT endings, intransitive *-nk 'X' and
transitive direct *-ent 'X-3'.[5] Fox and Kickapoo continue the rest of
the PA endings, but Bloomfield's other 3 languages have reshaped on the

model of the independent order. Goddard (1969:sec. 5.5.35), using Delaware and Fox, is able to reconstruct one more ending: *-ink 'X-1'.[6] This set of endings appears to be most stable historically, perhaps due to more frequent usage.

Micmac data permits the reconstruction of a second set:

(8) *-elenk 'X-2' (I -erink, F -enek, Mc -ulk, Ps -ilik).

(9) *-elena:kw 'X-2p' (I -irenag8, F -ena:kw, Mc -ulox).

(10) *-elenankw 'X-12' (I -irenang8, F -enakw, Mc -ulk).

(11) *-iyenamenk 'X-1p' (I -iamink, Fox -i:namek, Mc -inamik).

The *-(e)n between the thematic element and person suffix has been leveled out by analogy with the definite third person endings in the 'X-2p, X-12' endings in Fox and Micmac - and in the 'X-1p' ending in Illinois. The Micmac 'X-1p' ending also seems to reflect a shift of vowel length from the first to second vowel (after contraction of *iye to *i:), i.e., Pre-Mc *-i:namenk ---> *-ina:menk. The model for this may be imperative *-ina:me '2(p)-1p'. Micmac sometimes substitutes the link vowel -u- for *-e- at the beginning of an inflectional ending, probably a generalization of the regular reflex after a stem in Cw.

Inanimate subjects: INANIMATE SUBJECT endings in Pre-PA were generally the same as the corresponding lowest-topicallity (obviative) animate third person subject endings - a state of affairs partly continued in PA. Thus, we reconstruct:

(12) *-elk 'O-2' (K -ehk, Mc -isk).

(13) *-ela:kw 'O-2p' (K -enaakw, Mc -ulox).

(14) *-elankw 'O-12' (K -enakw, Mc -ulk).

(15) *-ekwet 'O-3' (K -ekot, Moose Cree -ikot, O -ikot, M -Ekot). The inverse theme is required here because 'O' is prototypically less topical than '3'.

In intransitives, *-k 'O' (or *-nk, see below) instead of *-t '3' is used, and, as is generally the case, first person sg. objects require post-thematic endings agreeing with those of intransitives. Thus, we have:

(16) *-ik 'O-1' (K -ik, Mc -ik). Or perhaps *-ink (see below).

(17) However, K -iamek 'O-1p' is shown to be an innovation by Mc -inamiĉ - where the *-t is mutated by the terminal *-i 'inan. sg.' in the old participle from which the Micmac independent is drawn. The

proper PA reconstruction is likely thus *-iyament as for the animate third person.

The origin of the PA gender distinction *-t '3' versus *-k '3, 0' lies in their peculiar Pre-PA distribution (as internally reconstructed): Pre-PA *-t is generally supplanted by *-k when the next preceding element ends in a consonant. On the one hand, the stems of most verbs with inanimate subjects happen to end in consonants (especially *n from Proto-Algic *-Vn 'nondeliberate action' #177). On the other, Pre-PA has acquired a large number of abstract finals consisting of a vowel for the stems of its intransitive verbs with animate subjects (AI).

Hence, as PA times approached and animate (and inanimate) gender inflection was developing in pronouns, the distribution of Pre-PA *-t and *-k came to de facto signal a gender distinction in many cases. From there, it was a small step to grammaticalize the latter as an inanimate suffix and extend it to the few inanimate intransitive (II) stems which end in a vowel - and thence to 1-object themes.

History repeats itself in the negative submodes of Micmac, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, and Saulteaux. There the II stem final *n, which so often precedes *-k, is itself grammaticalized as part of the inanimate ending as a sort of thematic element and, at least in Micmac, spreads to all the environments where *-k marks the inanimate. This *n drops before obstruent in Micmac and Passamaquoddy, but is retained when negative *-o intervenes. Thus, beside Mc eliyax 'it goes' [with *k ---> x after *a:] there is mu eliyanuk 'it doesn't go'; beside Ps pileyawik 'it's new' there is pileyawinuhk 'it's not new'; and beside Saulteaux ki:špin so:kipponk 'if it snows' there is ki:špin so:kipponsinok 'if it doesn't snow' (Voorhis 1984b:44-2). Consider also Mc mu ne:pa:yinuk 'it doesn't kill me' (theme ne:pa:yi- 'kill me'), with a first person object. If this innovation dates back to PA, (12) should be *-ink, and the intransitive ending *-nk.

Bloomfield's reconstruction [not spelled out in detail] of *-ek plus something for the conjunct inanimate subject endings is only valid for *-ekwet '0-3' (reconstructed above) - which is the analogical source for the forms in most of the Central languages, as well as independent order themes. Notable innovations are Pseudo-PA *-ekweyan '0-2' (Moose Cree -ikoyan, bO -ikuyan, M -Ekoyan) and the like.

(18) The rare '0-0' ending may have been class 1 TI *-amemakatk (M -amemakahk). Compare Moose Cree -amo:makahk, which may have picked up its rounded vowel from a class 2 TI *-awemakatk [?]. Needless to say, the evidence doesn't warrant firm conclusions.

The conjunct endings: The full set of PA conjunct endings (excluding obviatives), as reconstructed by Bloomfield (1946) and above, is:

PA CONJUNCT ENDINGS

INTRANSITIVES:

	PART.	INDIC.	I.-INACC.	ITER.	ITER.-HABIT.
1-	-a:ni	-a:ni	-a:ne:	-a:nili	-a:ne:li
2-	-ani	-ani	-ane:	-anili	-ane:li
3-	-t-	-ĉi	-te:	-ĉili	-ĉe:li
3/0-	-k-	-ki	-ke:	-kili	-ke:li
X-	-nki	-nki	-nke:	-nkili	-nke:li
1p-	-ayenke:	-ayenke:	-ayenke:	-ayenkili	-ayenke:li
12-	-ankwe:	-ankwe:	-ankwe:	-ankwili	-ankwe:li
2p-	-e:kwe:	-e:kwe:	-e:kwe:	-e:kwili	-e:kwe:li

TRANSITIVES:

	TI (c.1)	ME	THEE	HER	OBV.
1-	-ama:n	--	-eɫa:n	-ak	-emak [?]
2-	-aman	-iyan	--	-at	-emat [?]
3-	-ank	-it	-eɫk	--	-a:t
3'-	-amilit	-ilit [?]	--	-ekwet	-a:lit [?]
0-	-amemakatk [?]	-ik	-eɫk	-ekwet	--
X-	-amenk	-ink	-eɫenk	-ent	-ement
1p-	-amayenk	--	-eɫayenk	-akent	-emakent [?]
12-	-amankw	--	--	-ankw	-emankw [?]
2p-	-ame:kw	-iye:kw	--	-e:kw	-eme:kw [?]

	US (INC.)	US (EXC.)	YOU
1-	--	--	-eɫakok
1p-	--	--	-eɫayenk
2(p)-	--	-iyayenk	--
3/0-	-eɫankw	-iyament	-eɫa:kw
X-	-eɫenankw	-i:namenk	-eɫena:kw

Participle *-t- gives *-ta '3', *-ĉiki '3p'; and *-k- gives *-ka '3', *-kiki '3p', *-ki '0', and *-kili '0p'. PA *-ekwet '0-3, OBV-3' is replaced by reflexes of *-ent 'X-3' in some Micmac forms.

The Nonaffirmative Order

The NONAFFIRMATIVE order is generally formed by adding postvocalic *-w or postconsonantal *-o after a stem or theme, followed by conjunct inflection - triggering the automatic replacement of third person *-t by *-k after consonants and metathesis of *wk to *kw. Examples are *-iwan '2-1' beside conjunct *-iyan, *-eɫok '3-2' beside conjunct *-eɫk, and *-a:kw '3-OBV' beside conjunct *-a:t.

Exceptionally, Ojibwa evidence suggests *-aw rather than *-o in the ending *-eɫawa:n '1-2'. Illinois has innovated in always placing the nonaffirmative suffix after negative *-hsi [before metathesis of wk], making it precede the 2-object theme sign (e.g., I -es8rang8 '3-12' beside conjunct *-eɫankw). In Moose Cree, the mode sign -e: (often preceded by unetymological -w) has come to signal the dubitative by itself, and the nonaffirmative premodal ending is replaced by its conjunct counterpart in some forms. Compare C -a:wate: '2-3' with premodal *-w (versus conjunct -at) and C -iyamihte: '3-1p' without it (versus conjunct -iyamiht).

The uses of the nonaffirmative are harder to reconstruct than their phonology. A PA use reconstructed by Goddard (1969:sec.5.43) is illustrated by some Fox and Unami forms meaning 'before', i.e., unrealized action: F wi:senikwe 'before she ate', uD né:sko e:p:í:k:we 'before she was', uD né:sko a: mi:tsí:yon 'before you eat'. Other uses, attested by some groups of daughter languages, may be secondary.

Subordinate to a negative element - a particle in the Eastern languages, and the suffix *-hsi in Illinois and Ojibwa - it forms NEGATIVE submodes of the conjunct. Examples of conjunct negatives: Mc mu es'mawkw 'we (inc.) don't feed her', mu eliyekw 'she doesn't go'; O no:ntuwa:ssuwak 'if I do not hear her', na:tɨmawɨssiwan 'if thou dost

not help me', I teperinkisi8ani 'que je ne gouverne pas, moi qui ne gouverne pas', and teperinkisig8i [unglossed] 'that she not rule, she who doesn't rule'.

In the Central languages, the iterative terminal *-e:li came to be used with the nonaffirmative. Perhaps at first only in 'whenever it may be' clauses (e.g., F na:hina: e:-ne:tamowe:kwe:ni 'at whatever time ye may see it'). Next in 'clauses centering round an interrogative element' (whenever, whatever, however, when, how); then in 'clauses of questioned occurrence' (whether). Finally it may have been grammaticalized and used in 'sentences of interrogative tone, resembling the dubitative' (Bloomfield 1927:sec.130 describing Fox). The conjunct dubitative in Cree and Ojibwa is similar in its uses: Algonquin saiakihawaken 'si jamais je l'aime; moi qui l'aime peut-être' (Lemoine 1911:11).

In Fox, grammaticalized *-e:li is interpreted as a sequence, and inaccessible *-e: and participle *-a sometimes replace the *-i. Similarly, Algonquin has the likes of dubitative participle -gwenak '3p' (Lemoine 1911:tables) - where the *-i is replaced by *-aki.

This analysis, which establishes an iterative (rather than dubitative) origin for Central *-e:li, does not support relationship with the interrogative particle Y hes. Therefore, the Algonquian evidence for Proto-Algic *e:li, *e:ri (no. 219) is limited to 0 -e:n in interrogative pronouns and the nouns with which they concord (e.g., Algonquin awenen pinenen 'quelle perdix?' (Lemoine 1911:10).

Definite subject endings: Reconstructable DEFINITE SUBJECT endings are attested by negative conjuncts (N) in Illinois, Ojibwa (and Lemoine's Algonquin, abbrev. "1A"), and the Eastern languages; and by dubitatives (D) in *-e:li (called 'interrogatives' in the first two) in Fox (and Kickapoo, abbrev. "K"), Ojibwa, and Cree:

DEFINITE NONAFFIRMATIVE ENDINGS

INTRANSITIVES:

	PA	ILLINOIS (N)	OJIBWA (N)	MASS. (N)	MICMAC (N)
1-	-(o)wa:n	-si8ani	-ssiwân	-8on	-(u/w)[an-]
2-	-(o)wan	-si8ani	-ssiwan	-8an	-(u)wun
3-	-(o)kw	-sig8i	-ssik	-8g	-(u)kw
0-	-nok [?]	--	-ssinok (S)	--	-nuk
1p-	-(o)wayenk	-si8anki	-ssiwâng	--	-(u)wek
12-	-(o)wankw	-si8ang8i	-ssiwang	-8og	-wkw, -(u)k
2p-	-(o)we:kw	-si8ec8i	-ssiweg	-8óg	-(u)wox

	PA	FOX (D)	OJIBWA (D)	CREE (D)	PASS. (N)
1-	-(o)wa:n	-wa:ne:ni	-(o)wânen	-wa:ne:	-w[an]
2-	-(o)wan	-wane:ni	-(o)wanen	-wane:	-wɨn
3-	-(o)kw	-(o)kwe:ni	-(o)gwen	-(o)kwe:	-hkw
0-	-(o)kw [?]	-(o)kwe:ni	-(o)gwen	-(o)kwe:	-nuhk
1p-	-(o)wayenk	-wa:ke:ni	-(o)wângen	-wa:hkwe:	-wehk
12-	-(o)wankw	-wakwe:ni	-(o)wangen	-wahkwe:	-wɨhkw
2p-	-(o)we:kw	-we:kwe:ni	-(o)wegwen	-we:kwe:	-wehkw

TI:

	PA	FOX (D)	OJIBWA (D)	CREE (D)	PASS. (N)
1-	-amowa:n	-amowa:ne:ni	-amowânen	-amowa:ne:	-ɨmu[wan]
2-	-amowan	-amowane:ni	-amowanen	-amowane:	-ɨmuwɨn
3-	-amokw	-amokwe:ni	-amogwen	-amokwe:	-ɨmuhk
0-	-amokw [?]	—	--	-amokwe:	--
1p-	-amowayenk	-amowa:ke:ni	-amowângen	-amowa:hkwe:	-ɨmuwehk
12-	-amowankw	-amowakwe:ni	-amowangen	-amowahkwe:	-ɨmuwɨhkw
2p-	-amowe:kw	-amowe:kwe:ni	-amowegwen	-amowe:kwe:	-ɨmuwehkw

1-OBJECT:

	PA	ILLINOIS (N)	OJIBWA (N)	MASS. (N)	MICMAC (N)
2-1	-iwan	-isi8an	-issiwan	-eean	-iwun
2p-1	-iwe:kw	-isi8eg8	-issiweg	-eeóg	-iwox
2(p)-1p	-iwayenk	-isi8angh	-issiwâng	—	-iwek
3-1	-ikw	-isig8[tch]	-issik	-eegk	-ikw
3-1p	-iwament [?]	-isi8amintch	-isinowâng (1A)	—	-inamɨt
0-1	-inok [?]	--	--	--	-inuk

	PA	FOX (D)	OJIBWA (D)	CREE (D)	PASS. (N)
2-1	-iwan	-iwane:ni	-iwanen	-iwane:	-iwɨn
2p-1	-iwe:kw	-iwe:kwe:ni	-iwegwen	-iwe:kwe:	-iwehkw
2(p)-1p	-iwayenk	-iwa:ke:ni	-iwângen	-iwa:hkwe:	-iwehk
3-1	-ikw	-ikwe:ni	-ikwen	-ikwe:	-ihkw
3-1p	-iwament [?]	-iyamekwe:ni	-inowângiten -iiaminden (1A)	-iyamihte:	--

TA DIRECT/ INVERSE:

	PA	ILLINOIS (N)	OJIBWA (N)	MASS. (N)	MICMAC (N)
1-	-a:wak	-asi8ak	-âssiwag	-oog	-ax
2-	-a:wat	--	-âssiwat	-oadt	-awt
3-	-a:kw	-asig8	-âssig	-unk	-axol
1p-	-a:wakent	-asi8akintch	-âssiwângit	-oogkut	-axat
12-	-a:wankw	-asi8ang8	-âssiwang	--	-awkw
2p-	-a:we:kw	-asi8eg8	-âssiweg	-oóg	-awox
3'-	-ekwekw	-eg8sig8[iki]	-ikussik	-ɨkwɨk (mD)	-kukul

	PA	FOX (D)	OJIBWA (D)	CREE (D)	PASS. (N)
1-	-a:wak	-a:wake:ni	-âwâgen	-a:wak(w)e:	-awan
2-	-a:wat	-a:wate:ni	-âwaten	-a:wate:	-awɨn
3-	-a:kw	-a:kwe:ni	-âgwen	-a:kwe:	-ahkw
1p-	-a:wakent	-a:wakete:ni	-âwângiten	-a:wakihte:	-awehkw
12-	-a:wankw	-a:wakwe:ni	-âwangen	-a:wahkwe:	-awɨhkw
2p-	-a:we:kw	-a:we:kwe:ni	-âwegwen	-e:we:kwe:	-awehkw
3'-	-ekwekw	-ekokwe:ni (?)	-egugwen	-ekokwe:	--

2-OBJECT:

	PA	ILLINOIS (N)	OJIBWA (N)	MASS. (N)	MICMAC (N)
1-2	-eɫawa:n	-es8ran	-issinâwân	-un8on	-ulu
1-2p	-eɫonakok	-es8rag8k	-issinonagok	-un8óg	-uluwox
1p-	-eɫowayenk	-es8rangh	-isinowang (1A)	-un8óg	-uluwek
3-2	-eɫok	-es8k	-issinuk	--	-uluk
3-12	-eɫowankw	-es8rang8	-issinowang	--	-uluk
3-2p	-eɫowa:kw	-es8rag8	-issinoweg	-uk8óg	-uluwox

	PA	FOX (D)	OJIBWA (D)	CREE (D)	PASS. (N)
1-2	-eɫawa:n	-enowa:ne:ni	-inâwânen	-itiwa:ne:	-ɫluwan
1-2p	-eɫonakok	-enowago:we:ni (?)	-inakokwawen	-itakokwa:we:	--
1p-	-eɫowayenk	-enowa:ke:ni	--	-itiwa:hkwe:	-ɫluwehk
3-2	-eɫok	-enokwe:ni	-inukwen	-iskwe:	-ɫluhk
3-12	-eɫowankw	-enowakwe:ni	-inowangen	-itahkwe:	-ɫliniɫhkw
3-2p	-eɫowa:kw	-enowa:kwe:ni	-inowegwen	-ita:kwe:	-ɫlinahkw

Note that Ps <u>in</u> in the last two reconstructions is analogical
from PA indefinite-actor forms.

With regard to the class 1 TI endings, note that negative-order
*-amo is surely the analogical source for A -owu in the Arapaho
negative order (from the PA independent) as recorded by Kroeber - not
*-ami with innovated connective *-i- as had been supposed (cf. Proulx
1980a:sec.2.8, 1984c:sec.2.8). This requires the nonaffirmative suffix
to have spread from the conjunct to the independent in Pre-Arapaho.

The same sort of spread from nonaffirmative to independent (and
thence imperative) verbs is seen in Micmac, with muk s'maw 'do thou not
feed her' (with nonaffirmative -w) beside muk s'map 'do ye not feed
her' (with -p from independent *-Hm). Micmac has recut the sequence of
negative particle (mu) plus second-person prefix (k-) plus verb stem,
so that the erstwhile prefix is enclitic to the negator.

Indefinite subject endings: The reconstructable set 1 INDEFINITE
SUBJECT endings of the nonaffirmative order are:

(19) *-iwenk 'X-1' (F -i:ke:ni, K -iikeeni, uD -i:wɨnk).

(20) *-a:went 'X-3(p)' (K -aateeni, Algonquin -awinden
[dubitative] and -asiwintc [negative] (Lemoine 1911:tables), uD
-a:wɨnt, Mc -at).

(21) In addition, I -si8nki, F -:ke:ni, K -:keeni, and
grammatical patterning suggest that a third (intransitive) member of
the set was *-wenk 'X-'. The Illinois ending is based on a single form,
I teperinkisi8nki, evidently a negative counterpart listed after I
teperinkinki (listed with other forms under 'on gouverne', fol.39r).

Kickapoo endings (Voorhis 1974:chapter 13) and one from Micmac
suggest the following endings for set 2:[7]

(22) *-eɫowenk [?] 'X-2' (K -enookeeni).

(23) *-eɫona:kw [?] 'X-2p' (K -enoaakweeni). The *n is leveled
out as in (9).

(24) *-eɫonankw [?] 'X-12' (K -enóakweeni). The *n is leveled out
as in (10).

(25) *-iwenamenk 'X-1p' (Fox -i:namek, Mc -inamɨk) [identical to
the corresponding ending of the conjunct in the daughter languages].

The nonaffirmative endings: The full set of nonaffirmative
endings is:

SUMMARY OF NONAFFIRMATIVE ENDINGS

	AI	TI	ME	THEE	HER	OBV.
1-	-wa:n	-amowa:n	--	-eɫawa:n	-a:wak	
2-	-wan	-amowan	-iwan	--	-a:wat	
3-	-kw	-amokw	-ikw	-eɫok	--	-a:kw
3'-	-	--	--	--	-ekwekw	
0-	-kw [-nok?]	-amokw [?]	-inok [?]	--	--	
X-	-wenk [?]	-?	-iwenk	-eɫowenk	-a:went	
1p-	-wayenk	-amowayenk	--	-eɫowayenk	-a:wakent	
12-	-wankw	-amowankw	--	--	-a:wankw	
2p-	-we:kw	-amowe:kw	-iwe:kw	--	-a:we:kw	

	US (EXC.)	US (INC.)	YOU
1-	--	--	-eɫonakok
1p-	--	--	-eɫowayenk
2(p)-	-iwayenk	--	--
3-	-iwament [?]	-eɫowankw	-eɫowa:kw
X-	-iwenamenk	-eɫonankw	-eɫona:kw

The Potential Order

PA had a NEUTRAL mode of the POTENTIAL order, with meanings like
'could, would' etc., preserved in Fox and Micmac with some postposed
accretions. Without the accretions and with a different third person
ending, it had a PROHIBITIVE mode with TIMORATIVE and PROHIBITIVE
functions and a DELAYED IMPERATIVE mode – which differs from the
prohibitive only by its uses and by the absence of irregularities.

The neutral mode: The mode sign of the NEUTRAL is *-a. It is
preceded by one of the (originally submodal ?) elements *-S, *-p, and
perhaps *-h [where S = s, hs, h꓿, ns, ?s, or ?꓿]. Fox and Micmac both
have *-S with '3', and Micmac does so with 'X'. Fox has *-p with '2',
Micmac with '12'. Elsewhere Fox has *h and Micmac zero (final *hV would
give Micmac zero). [Fox also has an -hV sequence, with a replaced by e
when the next preceding vowel is a front one, in the conjunct – where
it forms an UNREAL mode.]

The origin of these 3 elements is not known, but Illinois has a
particle 8ha 'plut a dieu' (fol.38r) and, as we have seen in sec.1,
*-pan is widely associated with conditional sentences. Regular
word-shortening (Proulx 1982a:402) would give F -pa from word-final
*-panV.

The NEUTRAL mode has *-k plus a conjunct person ending for the
first two persons. In intransitives (and first person themes, which
morphologically always inflect like intransitives) *h precedes the *-k
– and the resulting cluster has a tendency to be generalized. Micmac
has haplology and compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel in the
sequence *-k-ankw '12'.

The direct theme is *-iye: with subjects of the first two persons
–versus *-a: with third person ones and *-e with indefinite ones – and
there is a tendency to generalize *-a:. The third person ending is
*-Sa, added to a stem or theme [cf. prohibitive *-(h)kiĉi]. In the
following table, Fox forms are supplemented by Kickapoo ones where the
two differ or Fox ones are unavailable.

POTENTIAL NEUTRAL

	PA	Fox	Kickapoo	Micmac
1-	-hka:n	-hka:ha		-k(a-)
2-	-hkan=pa	-hkapa		-k
1p-	-hkayenk	-hka:kehe		-kek
12-	-hkankw=pa	-hkakoha		-:kup
2p-	-hke:kw	-hke:koha		-kox
3-	-Sa	-sa		-s
X-	-ne:	-ne:ha		-nes

	PA	Fox	Kickapoo	Micmac
2-1	-ihkan=pa		-ihkapa	-ik
2p-1	-ihke:kw		-ihkeekoha	-ikox
2(p)-1p	-ihkayenk		-ihkaakeha	-ikek
3-1	-iSa		-iθa	-is
X-1	-ine:=Sa	-ihki:ke (G)	-ineeha	-ines
3-1p	-iyamenSa		-łameθa	-inamɨs
X-1p	-i:namene:=Sa		-iinameneeha	-inam'nes

	PA	Fox	Kickapoo	Micmac
1-2	-ełaka:n	-en(en)aka:ha		-ulik
1p-2(p)	-ełakayenk		-enakaakeha	-ulikek
3-2	-ełeSa		-eneθa	-ulis
X-2	-ełene:=Sa	-enaki:ke (G)	-eneneeha	-ulines
3-12	-ełankweSa		-enakoθa	-ulkus

	PA	Fox	Kickapoo	Micmac
1-3(p)	-iye:ka:n	-iye:ka:ha		-iyek(a-)

2-3(p)	-iye:kan=pa	-iye:kapa		-ax
1p-3(p)	-iye:kayenk	-iye:ka:kehe		-axek
12-3(p)	-iye:kankw=pa	-iye:kakoha		-a:xop
2p-3(p)	-iye:ke:kw	-iye:ke:koha		-axox
3-3(p)	-a:Sa	-a:sa		-as
X-3(p)	-ene:	-ene:ha		-anes
3'-3	-ekweSa	-ekosa		-Ekus
1-0	-anka:n		-akaaha	-Amuk
2p-0	-anke:kw	-ake:koha		-Amukox
3-0	-anSa	-asa		-As
X-0	-ane:=Sa	-ane:ha		-Am'nes

Fox forms marked (G) are from Goddard (1985:419-420). This source
also gives the alternate ending -enaka '1-2' in F okwisemenaka 'you
might be my son'. Examples of the potential neutral: F we:cinowatesa
'it would be easy', Mc wtaywulis 'it or she would frighten you'.

The prohibitive versus the delayed imperative: The mode sign of
the PROHIBITIVE and DELAYED IMPERATIVE is the same as in the indicative
conjunct (*-i, *-e:), judging by the Loup prohibitive. In the Fox
prohibitive, *-e of the imperative and injunctive replaces *-e: (in
plurals) and optionally *-i after third person -ĉ --- perhaps because
in this language the prohibitive (used to prohibit) is simply the
negative counterpart of the imperative and injunctive orders.

This pairing is not found in Loup, which has true negative
imperatives contrasting with its prohibitives. Compare negative
imperative L ak8i missaniss8k8e 'n'ayes pas honte' (fol.2) with
prohibitive ak8i missalissikan 'ne meprise pas' (fol.90). A dialect
difference could possibly account for this particular pair - note the
n/l contrast in the verb stem - but in general there is a semantic
contrast which implies contrasting paradigms: negative imperative
glosses suggest immediacy and prohibitive ones delayed or long term
action. Compare, for example, negative imperative ak8i token 'ne
l'eveille pas' and prohibitive L ak8i t8kinikan 'ne m'eveille pas' in
paradigmatic relation on folio 65 [presumably the command not to wake a
third person is for immediate execution - while 'don't wake me' only
makes sense if there is a delay].

Illinois has the following innovations: -tche for *-ĉi
(generalizing the optional Fox innovation just mentioned) and otherwise
the mode sign of its conjunct subjunctive. This is I -e in -ane '1,2'
- and -i elsewhere (see fol.38r, beside 'Plut a d[ieu] que je
l'aimasse').

This pattern evidently develops when subjunctive -e is generally
leveled out in favor of indicative -i (see fol.38v beside 'que je
gouverne ou moi qui gouverne' for the subjunctive pattern). However,
because the '1,2' endings have been disrupted by word-shortening in the
indicative (Proulx 1984c:417), there is no model for reshaping the
corresponding subjunctive endings. Rather, the indicative '1,2'
endings are eventually restored using the subjunctive endings -
protected from word-shortening by the long final vowel - as the
analogical model.

The prohibitive mode: The PROHIBITIVE mode, perhaps with special
intonation, has a timorative function implying undesired possible
events in Fox (Bloomfield 1927:201) and Illinois: F pana:ĉihihkiĉe 'she
is likely to do me ruin', I teperinkicca 'de peur que je ne gouverne',
nipecca 'de peur que je ne meure', nipeccane 'de peur que tu ne meure',
atsinsiccane 'prends garde d'etre bruller'.

It was also used to prohibit action - generally accompanied by a
negative element - as attested by Fox (with ka:ta), Illinois (with
-s8), Unami Delaware (with káĉi), Potawatomi (with keko),
Massachussett, Loup (with ak8i), and, with reinforced endings, Ojibwa
(with ke:kwa). Ojibwa reinforced its endings with *-en and early
contracted *ane to *e: as in PA [rather than to a: which it would from
the Lake period on (Proulx 1984c:409)]. Its '2(p)-1p' ending is then
reshaped to have terminal -e:n like '2-1'.

It is not clear if the reinforcing element is related to the one
used on imperative endings in Natick, Loup, and Menomini (Proulx
1984c:417). In the following table, Fox forms are supplemented by
Kickapoo (K) ones where the two differ or Fox ones are unavailable.

PROHIBITIVES

	PA	FOX	UNAMI	OJIBWA	MASS.
2-	-hkani	-hkani	-han	-kke:n	-
2p-	-hke:kwe:	-hke:ko	-he:kw	-kke:kon	-
3-	-hkiĉi	-hkiĉi	-hi:ĉ	-	-
2-1	-ihkani	-ihkani	-i:han	-iŝŝikke:n	-ehkon
2p-1	-ihke:kwe:	-ihke:ko	-i:he:kw	-iŝŝikke:kon	-ehteók
2(p)-1p	-ihkayenke:	-ihka:ke	-i:he:nk	-iŝŝikka:nke:n	-
3-1	-ihkiĉi	-ihkiĉi	-	-	-ehkitch
-2-3	-iye:kaĉi	-iye:hkani	-ɨye:kaĉ	-a:kke:n	-uhkon
2p-3	-iye:ke:kwe:	-iye:ke:ko	-ɨye:ke:kw	-a:kke:kon	-uhteók
3-3'	-a:hkiĉi	-aahkici (K)	-	-	-uhkitch
2-0	-ankani	-ahkani	-ankɨhan	-	-uhkon
2p-0	-anke:kwe:	-akeeko	-ankɨhe:kw	-anke:kon	-
3-0	-ankiĉi	-akiĉi (K)	-ankɨhi:ĉ	-	-uhkitch

Goddard (1985:419–420) cites also: F -iye:kani '2-3', -iye:kiĉe '3-OBV', -akani '2-0', and -akiĉe '3-0'.

	PA	ILLINOIS	POTAWATOMI	LOUP	MALECITE
2-	-hkani	-s8cane	-k:ɨn	-kan	-hkɨc
2p-	-hke:kwe:	-s8kic8i	-k:ek	-chag8a	-hkekw
3-	-hkiĉi	-s8kitche	-	-	-hkɨc
2-1	-ihkani	-is8ccane	-ŝ:ik:ɨn	-ikan	-ihkɨc
2p-1	-ihke:kwe:	-is8kic8i	-ŝ:ik:ek	-	-ihkekw
2(p)-1p	-ihkayenke:	-is8ccanghe	-ŝ:ik:ak	-	-ihkek
3-1	-ihkiĉi	-	-	-	-ihkɨc
2-3	-iye:kaĉi	-as8ccane	-ak:ɨn	-ankan	-ahkɨc
2p-3	-iye:ke:kwe:	-as8kic8i	-ak:ek	-	-ahkekw
3-3'	-a:hkiĉi	-as8kitche	-	-	-ahkɨc
2-0	-ankani	-ans8ccane	-	-am8kan	-ɨmuhkɨc
2p-0	-anke:kwe:	-ans8kic8i	-	-am8chag8a	-ɨmuhkekw
3-0	-ankiĉi	-ans8kitche	-	-	---

Malecite forms with second-person subjects are from Leavitt and Francis (1986), those with third-person subjects from Teeter (1971).

Unami ɨh is analogical in the last 2 forms cited (Goddard 1969:sec. 5.4.5). Massachusett has -óhkon = -uhkon '2-3', which suggests that the 3-object forms in u may in fact be TI in origin.

PA *ke: underwent yodation in several languages, with varying results to the consonant and vowel. In Illinois, the vowel merged with *i: to i, e.g., I -kic8i from *-hke:kwe: 'do thou later', I kiconintche 'pourquoi?' (stem *ke:kw-'what?'), cf. Mi lakikwi from *welake:ɨkwi 'tree bark'.

In Loup, the consonant becomes ŝ, e.g., L elelendam8chag8a 'ne pensez pas cela' (fol.10, reshaped *eɫe:lentanke:kwe:, with am8 for an)

beside L <u>elelendam8kan</u> 'ne pense pas cela' (from reshaped
*e~~l~~e:lentankan), L <u>chag8a</u> 'qu'est ce que?' (fol.44, from *<u>ke:kw-</u>
'what?'), L <u>nighitimancheliman</u> 'j'ai pitié de luy' (fol.103, from
*neketema:ke:lema:wa), L <u>makisinichat</u> 'cordonier' (fol.24, from
*<u>mahkesinéhke:ta</u> 'the one who makes shoes').

The replacement of thematic *-<u>iye:</u> by -<u>a:</u> in Ojibwa does not
extend to Algonquin: <u>ka8in a8iia kimotimiieken</u> 'ne dérobe à personne'
(Cuoq 1866:76), and *-<u>an</u> '2' has been replaced by *-<u>at</u> of the same
meaning in Wawenock <u>mozak bácwɨlikkac</u> 'don't cheat me' (Voorhis
1982:197) - unless this is really an archaism. Other examples of the
prohibitive mode: F <u>asa:mi-wa:paŝihto:hka</u> 'I might waste too much of
it', <u>ka:ta wi:ĉe:we:hkani</u> 'do not go along', <u>mya:ŝikehkiĉi</u> 'it might
turn out badly', uD <u>káĉi nhiliyé:k:aĉ</u> 'don't [you sg.] kill her,
them'.

The <u>delayed imperative mode</u>: The DELAYED IMPERATIVE mode is much
like the prohibitive mode without a negative element, but some
irregularities have been leveled out: in direct themes *-<u>iye:</u> --->
*-<u>a:</u>, *-<u>hk</u> everywhere replaces *-<u>k</u>, *-<u>an</u> '2' replaces *-<u>at</u> '2-3', and
TI *-<u>ank</u> ---> *-<u>amo:hk</u>.

DELAYED IMPERATIVES

	PA	ILLINOIS	OJIBWA	CREE	CHEYENNE
2-	-hkani	-ccane	-kkan	-hkan	-o
2p-	-hke:kwe:	-kic8i	-kkek	-hke:k	-hené
12-	-hkankwe:	-[ca8i]	-kkang	---	---
3-	-hkiĉi [?]	-kitche	---	---	---
2-1	-ihkani	-icane	-iŝŝikkan	-i:hkan	-eo
2p-1	-ihke:kwe:	-ikic8i	-iŝŝikkek	-i:hke:k	-ehené
2(p)-1p	-ihkayenke:	-icanki	-icikang (1A)	-i:hka:hk	---
3-1	-ihkiĉi [?]	-ikitche	---	---	---
2-3	-a:hkani	-acane	-âkkan	-a:hkan	-oo
2p-3	-a:hke:kwe:	-akic8i	-âkkek	-a:hke:k	-ohené
12-3	-a:hkankwe:	-[acca8i]	-âkkang	-a:hkahk	---
3-3'	-a:hkiĉi [?]	-akitche	---	---	---
2-0	-amo:hkani	-am8ccane	-amokkan	-amo:hkan	-omeo
2p-0	-amo:hke:kwe:	-am8kic8i	-amokkek	-amo:hke:k	-omáhené
12-0	-amo:hkankwe:	-[am8cca8i]	-amokkang	---	---
3-0	-amo:hkiĉi [?]	-am8kitche	---	---	---

Ojibwa forms are from Baraga, supplemented by one (1A) from Lemoine's Algonquin. Goddard (1985:419-420) cites also: F -hkani '2', -a:hkani '2-3', -a:hke:ko '2p-3', -a:hkakwe '12-3', -a:hkiĉe '3-OBV', and -amo:hkani '2-0'.

The Imperative Order

IMPERATIVE and injunctive forms constitute a same order in PA, with the same mode sign *-e, but their histories are somewhat separate.

The imperative endings: Bloomfield (1946:sec. 43) reconstructed most of the imperative endings. Goddard (1969:sec. 5.5.44-46) replaced its final *os with *wes, no doubt because *w is preserved in Eastern reflexes of *-kwe. I later showed that *-anlo should be *-ahwe (Proulx 1980a:sec. 2.7, 1984c:sec. 2.7), and Goddard (1981:sec. 3.1) replaced *-ina:nke with *-ina:me.

An additional ending *-ta:we 'let's' (with by-form *-ta:ne) can be reconstructed. When both are found in the same language, the n-form is more closely associated with TA verbs:

	AI	TI (class 1)	TA direct
PA	-ta:we	-e:ta:we	-a:ta:ne
K	-tae, -taane	---	-aataane
mC	-ta:w, -ta:(k)	-e:ta:(k)	-a:ta:nik '12-3p'
			-a:ta:k '12-3'
pC	-ta:n	-e:ta:n	-a:ta:n
Mt	-ta:u	-eta:u	-a:ta:u
F	-ta:we	-a:ta:we	-a:ta:we
I	-ta8i	-anta8i	-ata8i
bO	-ta, -tâk	-anda, -andâk	-âta, -âtâk
Mh	-tau	-emotaù	---
Ms	-ttuh	-umuttuh	-ontuh
L	-ten (f.40)	-ameten (f.42)	-anten (f.22)
uD	-tam	-amo:tam	-a:tam

The endings with k are obviously innovations shared by Moose Cree and Ojibwa. The origin of the Unami endings is less certain, and there

is Mc -neĉ and Malicite -ne which appear unrelated to the other endings.

In summary, the imperative endings of PA are as follows:

2-	*-lwe		2-0	*-ahwe (class 1)
2p-	*-(o)kwe		2p-0	*-amokwe (class 1)
12-	*-ta:we		12-0	*-e:ta:we (class 1)
2-1	*-ilwe		2-3	*-i
2p-1	*-ikwe		2p-3	*-ehkwe
2(p)-1p	*-ina:me		12-3	*-a:ta:ne

The injunctive: The injunctive survives at the extremities of the Algonquian homeland – our best evidence is from Illinois, Fox, Kickapoo, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Massachusett – but around its core it is lost and sometimes replaced by the conjunct simple indicative inaccessible (=subjunctive, with mode sign *-e:) plus the future particle *ĉi (cliticized). The particle is depalatalized in Old Ottawa.

Examples of the latter formation are: mD wĉiwpé:ke-ĉ 'let it or her fall' and uD wile:limokwsí:t:e-ĉ 'let her be glorified' (Goddard 1969:sec. 3.38), and Old Ottawa tibelindisoianet 'il faut que je me gouverne' and sakihitet ['she'd better love me'] (Dépéret, cited in Pentland 1984:14-15). Contrast the original use of this formation, preserved in L 8a8antaamanatch 'si je suis sage' (Mathevet 1748:fol.42).

Reconstructable forms of the injunctive are:

	PA	ILLINOIS	KICKAPOO	MICMAC	MASS.	PASS.
intr.	-ĉye	-tche	-ce	-ĉ	-tch	-c
-1	-iĉe	-itche	-ice	-	-itch	-ic
-2	-eɫeĉye	-eritche	-enece	-uliĉ	-	-ɫlihc
-12	-eɫankweĉye	-	-enakoce	-ulkuĉ	-	-ɫliniɫc
-1p	-iyamenĉye (?)	-iamintche	*-íamece	-inamɫĉ	-	--
-3'	-a:ĉe	-atche	-aace	-	-onch	-ac
3'-3	-ekweĉye	-eg8tche	-ekoce	-kuĉ	-	-kulihc

The intransitive ending is also attested in Loup (<u>8a8antamihits</u> 'qu'ils soient sages' [Mathevet 1748:folio 42]), and Mahican (<u>pmawsoeètsch</u> 'let her live' [Schmick 1754, under 'let']. The obviative subject ending in Passamaquoddy adds obviative -<u>li</u>-.

The <u>Independent Order</u>

Independent order verbs are relatively new formations in PA, and are the first Algic verbs to sometimes express the gender and number of third person referents in verbal inflection [apart from conjunct participles, which syntactically are nouns]. I have reconstructed the history of these verbs elsewhere (Proulx 1982a, 1984b). See also sec. 1.2-1.4 above.

Most PA independent verbs are ABSOLUTE, inflecting for the gender and number of third person subjects only. A set of OBJECTIVE independent verbs (boldfaced below) was just beginning to get established when PA broke up into separate languages. In objective verbs, the gender (and often number) of all third persons is indicated. The PA independent order inflects as follows:

INTR. NEUTRAL	ATTESTIVE	DUBITATIVE
1- n-...	n-...-Hmepani	n-...-Hmetoke
2- k-...	k-...-Hmepani	k-...-Hmetoke
2p- k-...-Hmwa	k-...-Hmwa:pani	k-...-Hmwa:toke
12- k-...-Hmena	k-...-Hmenawepani	k-...-Hmenawetoke
1p- n-...-Hmena	n-...-Hmena:pani	n-...-Hmena:toke
3- ...-wa	...-wepani	...-wetoke
3p- ...-waki	...-wepaniki	...-wetoke:niki
X- ...-na	...-nayepani	...-nayetoke

TI (class 1)	INAN. SUBJ.	INDEF. SUBJ.
1 n-...-e:	n-...-ekwe	n-...-eko:
2 k-...-e:	k-...-ekwe	k-...-eko:
2p k-...-e:Hmwa	k-...-ekweHmwa	k-...-eko:Hmwa
12 k-...-e:Hmena	k-...-ekweHmena	k-...-eko:Hmena
1p n-...-e:Hmena	n-...-ekweHmena	n-...-eko:Hmena
3 ...-amwa	...-ekwa	...-a:wa
3p ...-amwaki	...-ekwaki	...-a:waki

	TA DIRECT	TA INVERSE
1	**n-...-a:wa(ki)**	**n-...-ekwa(ki)**
2	**k-...-a:wa(ki)**	**k-...-ekwa(ki)**
2p	k-...-a:Hmwa	k-...-ekwewa:wa
12	k-...-a:Hmena	k-...-ekwenawa
1p	n-...-a:Hmena	n-...-ekwena:na
3	...-e:wa	...-ekwa
3p	...-e:waki	...-ekwaki

LOCAL:

1-2	k-...-ele	2-1	k-...-i
1-2p	k-...-eleHmwa	2p-1	k-...-iHmwa
1-2(p)	k-...-eleHmena	2(p)-1	k-...-iHmena

Independent verbs were used chiefly in main sentences for statements of fact.

The Subordinative Order

The subordinative order of PA (see Proulx 1980b) has Proto-Algic antecedents, but the distribution of its themes is clearly analogical to those of the independent order. It has the following inflection, added to stems and themes:

	NEUTRAL	ITERATIVE
1-	n-...-ni	n-...-nali
2-	k-...-ni	k-...-nali
3-	w-...-ni	w-...-nali
1p-	n-...-nayena	n-...-nayena
12-	k-...-nayenawi	k-...-nayenawali
2p-	k-...-nayewa:wi	k-...-nayewa:wali
3p-	w-...-nayewa:wi	w-...-nayewa:wali

Subordinative verbs were used chiefly as complements in emphatic-relative constructions (Proulx 1980b:296-297), emphatic-iterative ones (Proulx 1984b:407-409), and mental-action ones (Proulx 1980b:298). The PA emphatic-iterative survives only in the Menominee negative order.

Causative constructions, found in at least Micmac and Delaware, may perhaps be of PA antiquity: Mc kisnaxa:lɨkik mu mat'n'tinew = mD nnakɨná:wak màtahke:né:wa 'I stop them from fighting'.

The Distant Order

There is some indication of a third sort of type 2 PA verbs, characterized by the suffixes -Xt and *-ay, which we may tentatively call UNREAL. The evidence for this is from Blackfoot, Cree, and Micmac.

The unreal paradigms of Blackfoot are generally derived from the independent paradigms by the addition of suffix -opi (from *-pan, see sec.4.1), but -Vxt intervenes to separate it from a stem (Frantz 1971:30): nitsinaayiixtopi 'were I a chief', nitsitsayooyiixtopi 'if I hadn't eaten'. That is, -Vxt is found in the '1' and '2' endings (ibid, p.141). There is no trace of *-ay in Blackfoot - but nor is there in the subordinative [e.g., with reshaped -nnaani from *-nayena[:ni] '1p', see Proulx 1980b:table 2].

In Moose Cree, preterit endings in -htay are found in the first and second person endings (sg. and pl.). The terminal '3p' suffix with these endings is -ak, e.g., -a:htayak '1, 2-3p' (Ellis 1971:89).

In Plains Cree, Wolfart (1969:sec.5.322) says of the corresponding paradigms that there may be a tinge of irreality, e.g., S74-14 haw, kime:tawa:hta:naw! 'Oho, we were to have a contest!' [recall that -ay-e contracts to a:]. Another of his examples shows it used to refer to future time: T111p3 nika-papa:-papakwacihikohtayak 'they're going to cause excitement for me all over the place!'

Micmac has a future order, characterized by -te added to stems and themes [recall that *aye gives Mc e]. In the first person only, it stands in contrast with an attestive conjunct which also makes reference to the future: Mc liyetes 'I should go; I'll go; should I go?' but ke: eliyeyap 'I'll go willingly; let me go'. These are the only verbs in Micmac which reflect terminal *-aki '3p': ktukwi:tax 'they'll run' beside ktukwi:tew 'she'll run' [*e:wa contracts to Mc a, and *k gives Mc x after a].

The details of the paradigms in the three languages differ enough to generally make reconstruction of full endings impossible. Still, if we abstract out suppositive evidentials from some Micmac forms, they closely resemble the Cree. For example, Mc -tes '1' [*-Xtay-esan] matches C -htay '1', and Mc -tes'nu '12' [*-Xtay-e-san-naw] Cree -hta:naw '12'.

NOTES

1. Languages, their abbreviations, and the sources from which they are
generally cited are as follows: Abenaki-Ab-Laurent (1884), Day (1964);
Arapaho-A-Goddard (1974), Saltzmann (1960); Blackfoot-B-Taylor
(1969); Cheyenne-Ch-Glenmore and Leman (1984);Plains Cree-C-
Bloomfield (ms.), Wolfart (1969, 1973); Swampy Cree-swC-Voorhis
(1984a); Western Cree-fwC-Faries and Watkins (1938); Moose Cree-mC-
Ellis (1971, 1983); Delaware-D-Goddard (1969)<uD=Unami, mD=Munsee>;
Fox-F-Bloomfield (ms., 1927); Illinois-I-Leboulanger (1725);
Kickapoo-K-Voorhis (1974); Loup-L-Mathevet, see Day (1975);
Mahican-Mh-Schmick, see Mastay (1982); Malecite-Ma-Teeter (1971);
Massachusett-Ms-Eliot (1666), Trumbull (1903); Menominee-M-Bloomfield
(1975); Miami-Mi-Voegelin (1937-40); Micmac-Mc-Proulx (field notes),
DeBlois and Metallic (1984); Narragansett-Nr-Trumbull (1903);
Ojibwa-O-Bloomfield (1957); Central Ojibwa-bO-Barraga (1878); Western
Ojibwa-NiO-Nichols (1979); Central and Eastern Ojibwa-RhO-Rhodes
(1985); various dialects-pgO-Piggott and Grafstein (1983), Manitoba
Ojibwa (Saulteaux)-wO-Voorhis (1984b); Passamaquoddy-Ps-LeSourd
(1984); Penobscot-Pe-Voorhis (1979); Penobscot-SiPe-Siebert (1975);
Potawatomi-Po-Hockett (1948); Proto-Algic-PAc-Proulx (1984, 1985);
Proto-Algonquian-PA-Aubin (1975), Siebert (1975); Shawnee-Sh-
Voegelin (1937-40); Virginia-V-Siebert (1975); Wiyot-W-Teeter (1964);
Yurok-Y-Robins (1958), Proulx (1985b and 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. PA and Proto-Algic reconstructions are cited as
"Algic #" plus the item number [#1-135 in Proulx (1984), #136-138 in
Proulx (1984b), and #139-238 in Proulx (1985)]. Citations from my Yurok
field notes are sometimes accompanied by the notebook number and page.

Emendations to forms cited are made without comment when they
only involve orthography (or when V is written for a vowel). Other
minor emendations are generally mentioned, e.g., 'reconstructed with *o
for *we.' When the emendation is 'of the essence,' the full supporting
evidence is cited.

Transcription generally follows that of Siebert (1975) for
Algonquian, Teeter (1964b) for Wiyot, and Robins (1958) for Yurok.
However, the following changes have been made: PA *ɬ is written for *θ,
PA *s for *c, PA *t for *x, PA *? for *h between vowels, W ? for h
before a consonant, W a for o, W ɨ for a, and Y ɨ for inverted r. For
discussion of the changes, see Proulx (1984:168-169). Orthographic
concessions to my word processor: s wedge is written as ŝ, c wedge as
ĉ, and schwa as ɨ.

2. I think Bloomfield had this latter view in some abstract

sense, but he lacked the concrete details of Proto-Algic structure which have since been learned.

3. Perhaps inaccessible terminal suffixes were used as well in participles. They are *-a: '3', *-e: '0', *-Lnka: '3p', *-Lnle: '0p', *-Lnla: 'obv. sg.', and *-Lnha: 'obv. pl.' (see Proulx 1984:419). Note how they demonstrate that the longer endings are actually sequences.

4. Micmac has a structurally similar reshaping: the TI ending -nen '1p' [PA *-nayena] serves as model for the reshaping of the possessed noun ending PA *-na:n '1p' to Mc -nen, and the personal pronoun *ni:lawena to 4. ninen 'we (exc.)'.

5. Compare Wawenock -am ɨt (Voorhis 1982:193) and negative Mc -'m ɨt 'no one---her'.

6. Goddard (1969:sec. 5.5.33) proposes some more PA endings, but he cites no supporting data (other than Delaware) and most are wrong.

7. Attempts to elicit the other endings for Micmac were unsuccessful. Expected Micmac Forms presented to a Native speaker were taken for homophonous (and much more common) 'she doesn't X thee' [-uluk], and 'I don't X you' [-uluwox].

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