

APPENDIX

## Appendix

This appendix provides some formalization of the phonological rules described in chapters two and three. Examples of the operation of each rule follow it in the form of a derivation from a base form to a surface representation. In order that the reader may understand more fully the operation of the rules in various dialects, as many applications of rules as possible to each derivation are recorded. The particular dialects to which each rule, or sub-part of a rule, applies is noted to the right of a derivation. Optional rules are noted as such. For cross-reference, the pages on which the rules are discussed are noted following the name of the rule in the appendix.

It must be kept in mind, however, that these are examples only, and are not necessarily valid for every speaker in a given community. A more accurate formulation of the sound changes between communities would need to account for at least two types of variation: firstly, among speakers within a single community and secondly, within both lexical items themselves (phonological environment) and within the lexicon. It is hoped that future studies of these dialects will begin to clarify the amount and nature of the variation which is always present.

I Reflexes of PA \*1 (p 37)

(R1)	*1>	$\left( \begin{array}{c} l \\ n \\ y \\ \text{ɛ} \\ r \end{array} \right)$	<p>Moose, PB, Bets.</p> <p>Swampy, Moisie, LNS, NWR, DI</p> <p>Plains, palatalized-<u>y</u> (East Cree)</p> <p>Woods</p> <p>Atikamekw</p>
------	-----	--	---

(Ex1)	"it is windy"	*lu:tinwi
		lu:tin
		nu:tin
		yu:tin
		ɛu:tin
		ru:tin

(Ex2)	"grouse"	*pilewa
		pile:w
		pine:w
		piye:w
		piɛ:w
		pire:w

II n~y Alternation (p 83)

(R2a) PA \*n > n ~ y

(R2b) PA \*y > y ~ n

(Ex3) "road" \*me: skanawi  
 (2) n ~ y Altern. me:skanaw ~ me:skayaw  
 (34) Assim. to w me:skanu: ~ me:skayu:  
 (19) Raising to y me:skanu: ~ me:skeyu:

(Ex4) "ball" \*[ ]  
 (2) n ~ y Altern. tuwa:n ~ tu:wa:y

(Ex5) "meat" \*weya:si  
 (35) Assim. to w una:si  
 (7) Apocope una:s

(Ex6) "earth, moss" \*askiya  
 (5) Vel. pal. asciya  
 (7) Apocope asciy  
 (20) Assim. to y asci:y  
 (3) n ~ y Altern. asci:n ~ asci:  
 (11) Depalat. assi:n ~ assi:

The exact phonological conditions under which these alternations take place have not yet been precisely defined.

(Ex7) "wolf" \*[ ]  
 mahihkan  
 (28) length. bef.h ma:hi:hkan  
 (29) h > y ma:yi:hkan



- (Ex10) "river" si:pi:  
 "little river" si:pi:-is̥ Mistassini  
 (4b) Dent. pal si:pi:s̥
- (Ex11) "dog" atimw  
 "puppy" atimw-is̥ Mistassini  
 (4a) Dent. Pal. acimus̥

IV Velar Palatalization (p 51)

- (RS)  $k > c / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{i} \\ \underline{i}: \\ \underline{e}: \end{array} \right\}$  all palatalized dialects

- (Ex12) "it is long" kinwa:w  
 (5) Vel. pal. cinwa:w
- (Ex13) "it is pointed:" ki:na:w  
 (5) Vel. pal. ci:na:w
- (Ex14) "thing" ke:kwa:n  
 (5) Vel. pal. ce:kwa:n  
 (1b) a: rounding ce:kwə:n
- (Ex15) "goose" nisk  
 "decoy" nisk-i-ka:n  
 (5) Vel. pal. niscika:n

Several morphemes are marked as exceptions to the rule: misk -"find" -isk- 'TI final, by foot or body; -k- 'TI Conjunct suffix.'

This rule is ordered before the rule of assimilation of ay to i: (19).

(Ex16) "so, then, o.k." kaypa:

(19) Assim. to y kiy:pa:

(20) Assim. to y ki:pa:

V Stress Placement (p 45)

(R6a) Stress > V(:)(C) # palatalized-n & l  
> elsewhere remaining dialects

(Ex17) 'book' masinahikán  
(6a) masinahikán palatalized-n & l  
(23)\*s > š mašinahikán palatalized-n & l  
(30) h-loss mašinaikán Bets, Moisie, LNS, NWR  
(19) Assim. to y mašineikán Bets, Moisie, NWR

(R6b) The assignment of primary stress is not well understood for the palatalized -y dialects. However, primary stress shifts to penultimate with the addition of certain morphemes.

- (Ex18) 'book' masinahikan
- (45) Lengthening masinahi:kan palatalized -y  
 after h
- Stress assignment masinahi:kan (except FC)
- (Ex19) "books" masinahi:kana
- (8) Apocope masinahi:kanh
- (6b) Stress shift masinahi:kanh

VI Apocope (p 119)

- (R7a)  $\frac{a}{i} > \emptyset / \text{-----} \#$  all palatalized
- (Ex20) "goose" \*niska  
 (7) Apocope nisk
- (Ex21) "firewood" \*mihti  
 (7) Apocope miht
- (Ex22) "egg" \*wa:wi  
 (7) Apocope wa:w
- (R7b)  $\frac{w}{\text{nas}} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset / C\text{------} \# \\ \emptyset / C\text{------} \# \end{array} \right\}$  all dialects  
 Plains, Woods,  
 Swampy, Moose
- (Ex23) "he sees it" wa:pahtamw  
 (7b) Apocope of w wa:pahtam



- (Ex24) "he lies down" pimisi<sup>h</sup>inw  
 (7b) Apocope of w pimisin
- (Ex25) "dog" atimw  
 (7b) Apocope of w atim
- (R8a) i > ø / C\_\_\_\_\_ # palatalized-y  
 except FG
- (Ex26) "sit" api  
 (8a) Apocope ap southern pal. -y  
 (36) Neutral. εp northern pal. -y  
 \* \* \* \*
- (38) Neutral. api: FG, DI, NWR, LNS
- (R8b) 
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{h} / C- \_\_\_\_\_\# \\ \quad [-sib] \\ \underline{a} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{h} / (C) VCVC- \_\_\_\_\_\# \\ \underline{h} / \quad VC - \_\_\_\_\_\# \\ \quad [-sib] \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$$
 Mistassini  
 PB  
 PB, Moisie
- (Ex27) "firewood" miht-a  
 mihta PB  
 (8b) Apocope mihth palatalized -y  
 \* \* \* \*
- (28) Lengthening mi:hta FG, DI, NWR, LNS  
 (32) h-loss mi:ta NWR

(Ex28)	"his son"	ukusis-a	
	(9) Syncope	ukussa	pal. <u>n</u> & <u>1</u>
	(3) Neutral	uskusse	Bets
		* * * *	
		ukussa	
	(49) Degem.	ukusa	Mist., FG
	(8b) Apocope	ukus	James Bay pal.- <u>y</u>
(Ex29)	"drumsticks"	te:we:hikana:skw-a	
		te:we:hikana:skwa	PB
	(30) <u>h</u> -loss	tewe:ikana:skw	FG, NWR, DI, LNS
	(35) Neutral.	te:we:ikana:skwe	Bets.
	(8b) Apocope	te:we:ikana:skw	Moisie

VII Syncope (p.125)

(R9) V - ø / C \_\_\_\_ C  
-stress

(Ex30)	"he lies down"	pimišin
	(9) Syncope	pimšin
(Ex31)	"it is windy"	yu:tin
	(9) Syncope	yu:tn
(Ex32)	"it appears so"	isina:kun
	(33) Procope	sina:kun
	(9) Syncope	sna:kun

(Ex33)	"rope"	apis	
	(9) Syncope	aps	Mist.
(Ex34)	"book"	masinahikan	
	(45) Length. after <u>h</u>	masinahi:kan	
	(9) Syncope	masnhi:kn	pal.- <u>y</u>
	(48) Nas. Syll.	masɳhi:kɳ	pal.- <u>y</u>
(Ex35)	"he sees it"	wa:pahtamw	
	(7b) Apocope of <u>w</u>	wa:pahtam	pal.- <u>y</u>
	(9) Syncope	wa:phtam	
		* * * *	
		wa:pahtamw	
	(7b) Apocope	wa:pahtam	all dialects
	(28) Length. bef. <u>h</u>	wa:pa:htam	FC
	(32) Loss of <u>h</u>	wa:pa:tam	NWR, LNS
		* * * *	
		wa:pahtamw	
	(7b) Apocope of <u>w</u>	wa:pahtam	all dialects
	(32) Loss of <u>h C</u>	wa:patam	Bets., Moisie
	(9) Syncope (opt.)	wa:ptam	Moisie

VIII Depalatalization (p.57)

(R10a)	<u>c</u> > <u>ts</u> / _____ #	PB, DI
(R10b)	<u>ts</u> > <u>t</u> / _____ #	Bets., Moisie LNS, NWR

(Ex36)	"man"	na:pe:w	
	"men"	na:pe:w-aki	
(5)	Vel. pal.	na:pe:waci	all palatalized
(7)	Apocope	na:pe:wac	all palatalized
(9)	Syncope	na:pe:wc	all pal.- <u>y</u>
(10a)	Depal.	na:pe:wts	PB, DI
(10b)	Depal.	na:pe:wt	remaining pal.- <u>n</u> & <u>l</u>
(Ex37)	"above"	ispimihki	
(5)	Vel. pal.	ispimihci	all palatalized
(7)	Apocope	ispimihc	all palatalized
(33)	Procope	spimihc	southern pal.- <u>y</u> , Bets., Moisie
(10a)	Depal.	spimihts	PB
(10b)	Depal.	spimiht	Bets., Moisie
(32)	Loss of <u>h</u>	spimit	Bets., Moisie
		* * * *	
		ispimihc	
(28)	Lengthening	ispimi:hc	FC, DI, LNS
(10a)	Depal.	ispimi:hts	DI
(10b)	Depal.	ispimi:ht	LNS
(32)	Loss of <u>h</u>	ispimi:t	NWR
(R11a)	<u>c</u> > <u>ts</u> / _____ <u>s</u> , <u>s</u> _____		
(R11b)	<u>ts</u> > <u>t</u> / _____ <u>s</u> , <u>s</u> _____		

(Ex38)	"earth"	aski:	
	(5) Vel. pal.	asci:	pal.- <u>y</u>
	(11a) Depal.	astsi:	LNS
	(11b) Depal.	assi:	remaining pal.- <u>l</u> & <u>n</u>
(Ex39)	"shoe:"	maskisin	
	(5) Vel. pal	mascisin	
	(9) Syncope	mascsin	all pal.
	(11a) Depal.	mastsin	Mist., LNS
	(11b) Depal.	massin	PB, Moisie, NWR
		* * * *	
		mastsin	
	(25) <u>ṡ</u> > <u>h</u>	mahthin	LNS
	(9) Syncope	mahthn	LNS
	(32) Loss of <u>h</u>	mahtn	LNS
(Ex40)	"tobacco"	cisteima:w	
	(9) Syncope	csteima:w	
	(11b) Depal.	tste:ma:w	Mist.
(R12)	<u>c</u> > <u>s</u> / { <u>      </u> t <u>      </u> k}		most pal. dialects southern pal. -y
(Ex41)	"your (s) coat"	kit-akuhp	
	(5) Vel. pal.	citakuhp	
	(9) Syncope	ctakuhp	pal.- <u>y</u> , PB
	(32) Loss of <u>h</u>	stakup	Bets., Moisie
		* * * *	

(Ex42)	"he will do it"	kika-tu:tamw	
(5)	Vel. pal.	cikatu:tamw	
(7a)	Apocope of <u>w</u>	cikatu:tam	
(9)	Syncope	ckatu:tam	southern pal.- <u>y</u>
(12)	Depal.	skatu:tam	southern pal.- <u>y</u>

IX Merger of e: with a (p.97)

(R13)	<u>e:</u> > <u>a:</u>		northern pal.- <u>y:</u> (FG, GWR, PH, FC (Em))
-------	-----------------------	--	---

(Ex42)	"man"	na:pe:w
(13)	Merger	na:pa:w

(Ex43)	"he plays"	me:tawe:w
(13)	Merger	ma:tawa:w
(14)	<u>a:</u> > <u>ɔ:</u>	ma:tawɔ:w
(15)	<u>ɔ:</u> > <u>o:</u>	ma:tawo:w
(36)	Assim. to <u>w</u>	ma:tuwo:w

X Backing and Rounding of a: (p.101)

(R14)	<u>a:</u> > <u>ɔ:</u> / <u>w</u> _____	most dialects
-------	--	---------------

(Ex44)	"he sees him"	wa:pame:w
(14)	<u>a:</u> > <u>ɔ:</u>	wɔ:pame:w
(9)	Syncope	wɔ:pme:w
(48)	Nas. Syll.	wɔ:pmew



- (9) Syncope                    kwa:pham  
 (14) a: > ɔ:                kwɔ:pham  
 (16) Loss of w                kɔ:pham

- (Ex49)                    "if it is long" kinwa:k+ei  
 (5) Vel. pal.                cinwa:ce:                southern pal.-y  
 (14) a: > ɔ:                cinwɔ:ce:  
 (16) Loss of w                cinɔ:ce:  
 (13) e: > a:                cinɔ:ca:                northern pal.-y

- (Ex50)                    "he lands from    twe:hw  
                                   air"  
 (16) Loss of w                te:hw  
 (34) Assim. to w              te:hu:                southern pal.-y

- (Ex51)                    "he likes it"      miywe:y htamw  
 (7b) Apocope of w            mywe:y htam  
 (9) Syncope                    mywe:yhtam  
 (16) Loss of w                mye:yhtam                southern pal.-y

- (Ex52)                    "what, thing"     ce:kwa:yiw  
 (14) a: > ɔ:                    ce:kwɔ:yiw  
 (15) ɔ: > o:                    ce:ko:yiw  
 (16) Loss of w                ce:ko:yiw  
 (34) Assim. to w              ce:ko:yu:

In the following words, however, post-consonantal w remains.



(Ex53) "what, thing" ke:kwa:n  
 (5) Vel. pal. ce:kwa:n  
 (14) a: > ɔ: ce:kwɔ:n

(Ex54) "really, truly" ta:pwei

XI Assimilation to y (p. 104)

(R17a) a > e / \_\_\_\_\_ y

(R17b) e > i / \_\_\_\_\_ y

(Ex55) "bottle" pu:tay  
 (17a) Assim. to y pu:tey Moisie  
 (17b) pu:tiy  
 (19a) pu:ti:y  
 (19b) pu:ti: southern pal.-y,  
 Bets.

(Ex56) "he has it" aya:w  
 (17) Assim. to y iya:w  
 (19a) Assim. to y i:ya:w northern pal.-y  
 \* \* \* \*  
 aya:w  
 (37) Neutr. a:ya:w LNS  
 (33) Procope ya:w Mist.

(Ex57) "I have it" nit aya:n  
 (17) Assim to y nitiya:n  
 (19) Assim to y niti:ya:n pal.-y

(R18)  $\underline{a} > \underline{i} / \# V:y \text{ \_\_\_}$

(Ex58) "he talks a lot" a:yamiw pal.-y

(18) Assim to y a:ymiw

(34) Assim. to w a:ymu:

(R19a)  $\underline{i} > \underline{i}: / \text{ \_\_\_\_ } \underline{y}$

(R19b)  $\underline{i:y} > \underline{i}: / \text{ \_\_\_\_ } C$   
#

(Ex59) "bottle" pu:tay

(17a) Assim to y pu:t<sup>y</sup>

(17b) Assim. to y pu:ti<sup>y</sup>

(19a) Assim. to y pu:ti:y

(19b) Assim. to y pu:ti:

(Ex60) "straight, correct" kwayaskw

(9) Syncope kwayskw

(19a) Assim. to y kweyskw

(17b) Assim. to y kwiyskw

(19a) Assim. to y kwi:yskw

(19b) Assim. to y kwi:skw

## XII Reflexes of PA \*s and \*s̚ (p 72)

(R20) \*s̚ > s

Plains, Swampy, Woods  
GWR, FG, Mist.

- (Ex61) "duck" \*s̥i:s̥i:pa  
 (20) \*s > s si:si:pa  
 (7a) Apocope si:si:p eastern non-pal.
- (Ex62) "river" si:pyiwa  
 (7a) Apocope si:pyiw  
 (16) Loss of w si:pyi some western dialects  
 (19) Assim. to y si:pi:
- (R21) \*s > s̥ pal. - n & l
- (Ex63) "river" si:pyiwa  
 (21) \*s > s̥ s̥i:pyiwa  
 (7a) Apocope s̥i:pyiw  
 (34) Assim. to w s̥i:pu:
- (Ex64) "duck" s̥i:s̥i:pa  
 (7a) Apocope s̥i:s̥i:p
- (R22) s̥ > h LNS, Bets.
- (Ex65) "river" \*si:pyiwa  
 (21) \*s > s̥ s̥i:pyiwa  
 (7a) Apocope s̥i:pyiw  
 (31) Assim. to w s̥i:pu:  
 (32) s̥ > h hi:pu:



(Ex71) "bear" maškw  
 (24) Fric maxw  
 (3) Neutral. maxw Bets.

(Ex72) "above" išpimiht  
 (24) ifimiht  
 (29) h-loss ifimit  
 (9) Syncope ifmit  
 (30) Procope fmit  
 (35) Neutral. fmat Bets.

(Ex73) "pipe" ušpwa:kan  
 (14) a: > ɔ: ušpwɔ:kan  
 (24) sp > f ufwɔ:kan  
 - Syllable loss ufwɔ:n Bets.

### XIII Lengthening before h (p.111)

(R25)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i > i: \\ a > a: \\ u > u: \end{array} \right\} / \text{---}hC$  FC, DI, NWR, LNS

(Ex74) "caribou" atihkw  
 (25) Length. ati:hkw  
 (28) Fric. ati:xw FC, DI, LNS  
 \* \* \* \*  
 (25) Length. ati:hkw  
 (29) h-loss ati:kw NWR

(Ex75) "firewood" miht  
 (25) Length. mi:ht FC, DI, LNS  
 (29) h-loss mi:t NWR

(Ex76) "coat, dress" akuhp  
 (9) Syncope kuhp  
 (25) Length. ku:hp  
 (28) Fric. ku:f FC, DI, LNS  
 \* \* \* \*  
 (25) Length. ku:hp  
 (29) h-loss ku:p NWR

(Ex77) "coats, dresses" akuhp-a  
 (38) Neutr. a:kuhpa: LNS  
 (25) Length. a:ku:hpa  
 (29) h-loss a:ku:pa LNS

(Ex78) "it is cold" tahka:w  
 (25) Length. ta:hka:w  
 (28) Fric. ta:xa:w FC, DI  
 \* \* \* \*  
 (29) h-loss ta:ka:w NWR, LNS

Evidence for lengthening before intervocalic h comes from Davis Inlet, where h subsequently becomes n.

(Ex79) "wolf" mahihkan

(25)		ma:hi:hkan
(26)	<u>h</u> > <u>y</u>	ma:yi:hkan
(2)	<u>n</u> ~ <u>y</u>	ma:ni:hkay
(17)	Assim. to <u>y</u>	ma:ni:hkey
(28)	Fric.	ma:ni:xey

XIV Loss of h (p.63)

(R26a)     h > y / V<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_\_\_ V<sub>2</sub>                   Bets., LNS, NWR,  
Moisie

(Ex80)            "I close it"     ni:cipahe:n

(26) h > y                    nicipaye:n

(17) Assim. to y                nicipiye:n            Bets.

\* \* \* \*

(26)                                nicipaye:n            NWR, Moisie

- Regularization                nicipeyn

(Ex81)            "he close it"     cipaham

(26) h > y                    cipayam

(17) Assim. to y                cipayam

(18) Assim. to y                cipi:am

(19) Assim. to y                cipi:m                Bets

\* \* \* \*

(26) h > y                    cipayam

(17) Assim. to y                cipeyam

Regularization                cipeym

(R26b)	$\underline{h} > \underline{y} / \underline{a} \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } \underline{i}$		DI
(Ex82)	"book"	masinahikan	
	(25) Length.	masina:hikan	
	(26b) $\underline{h} > \underline{y}$	masina:yikan	
	(2) $y \sim n$	masina:nikan	DI
(R27)	$\underline{h} > \emptyset / V_1 \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } V_2$		FC, DI
(Ex83)	"I close it"	ni-cipahe:n	
	(27) $\underline{h} > \emptyset$	nicipae:n	
	(9) Syncope	nicpe:n	DI
		* * * *	
	(13) $\underline{e}: > \underline{a}:$	ni-cipahe:n	
	(27) $\underline{h} > \emptyset$	nicipaa:n	FG
	(9) Syncope (opt.)	nicipa:n	
(R28a)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{hp} > \underline{f} \\ \underline{hk} > \underline{x} \end{array} \right\} / \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } \#$		LNS
(R28b)	$\begin{array}{l} \underline{hp} > \underline{f} \\ \underline{hk} > \underline{x} \end{array}$		FC, DI
(Ex84)	"coat, dress" (pl.)	akuhp-a	
	(25) Length.	aku:hpa	
	(29) $\underline{h}$ -loss	aku:pa	LNS
		* * * *	



	(25) Length.	aku:hpa	
	(28) Fric.	aku:fa	FC, DI
(Ex85)	"coat, dress" (s)	akuhp	
	(25) Length.	aku:hp	
	(28) Fric.	aku:f	LNS, FC, DI
(Ex86)	"knife"	mukuma:n	
	(25) Length.	muhkuma:n	
	(28) Fric.	mu:xuma:n	FC, DI
(Ex87)	"he laughs"	pa:hpiw	
	(28) Fric.	pa:fiw	
	(31) Assim. to <u>w</u>	pa:fu:	FC, DI
(R29a)	<u>h</u> > ø / _____ C		Bets., Moisie, NWR
(R29b)	<u>h</u> > ø / _____ CV		LNS
(Ex88)	"coat, dress"	akuhp	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	akup	Bets., Moisie
		* * * *	
	(25) Length.	aku:hp	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	aku:p	NWR
(Ex89)	"coat, dress" (pl.)	akuhp-a	

	(25) Length.	aku:hpa	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	aku:pa	LNS
(Ex90)	"firewood"	miht	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	mit	Bets., Moisie
		* * * *	
	(25) Length.	mi:ht	LNS
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	mi:t	NWR
(Ex91)	"firewood" (pl.)	miht-a	
	(25) Length.	mi:hta	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	mi:ta	LNS
(Ex92)	"knife"	muhkuma:n	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	mukuma:n	Bets., Moisie
	(25) Length.	mu:hkuma:n	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	mu:kuma:n	LNS, NWR

XV Procope (p.116)

(R30a)	<u>a</u> > ø		most pal. dialects except LNS
		/ # _____ C	
	<u>i</u> > ø	-stress	most pal. dialects except LNS & northern- <u>y</u>
(Ex93)	"child"	amiskw	
	(30) Procope	miskw	
		* * * *	

	(37) Neutral.	a:miskw	LNS, PB
(Ex94)	"he feeds her"	ašme:w	
	(30) Procope	šme:w	
(Ex95)	"woman"	lskwe:w	
	(30) Procope	skwe:w	
		* * * *	
	(37) Neutral.	i:skwe:w	LNS, northern pal.- <u>y</u>
	<u>i</u> > <u>ni</u>	niskwe:w	DI

XVI Assimilation to w (p.106)

(R31a)	<u>i</u> > <u>uw</u> / _____ #	all pal. Dialects
(R31b)	<u>a</u> > <u>uw</u> _____ # #_____ C	pa.- <u>y</u> , Bets., PB, Moisie, northern pal.- <u>y</u>
(R31c)	<u>uw</u> > <u>u:</u>	
(Ex96)	"he sits"	apiw
	(31a) Assim. to <u>w</u>	apuw
	(31c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	apu:
		* * * *
	(9) Syncope	piw
	(31a) Assim. to <u>w</u>	puw
	(31c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	pu:
		Bets.

(Ex97)	"he eats"	mi:ci <u>s</u> w	
	(9) Syncope	mi:csu <u>w</u>	
	(11) Depal.	mi:tsu <u>w</u>	
	(31c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	mi:tsu:	all pal.
(Ex98)	"road, path"	me:skanaw	
	(31b) Assim. to <u>w</u>	me:skanu <u>w</u>	
	(31c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	me:skanu:	pal. <u>y</u> , Bets., PB, Moisie
(Ex99)	"who"	awe:n	
	(13) <u>e</u> : > <u>a</u> :	awa:n	
	(14) <u>a</u> : > <u>ɔ</u> :	awɔ:n	
	(31b) Assim. to <u>w</u>	uwɔ:n	northern pal.- <u>y</u>
(R32a)	<u>a</u> > <u>u</u> / # <u>w</u> _____ C		northern pal.- <u>y</u>
(R32b)	<u>i</u> > <u>u</u> / <u>w</u> _____ C		
(R32c)	<u>wu</u> > <u>u</u> # _____ C		Moisie
	_____		pal.- <u>y</u> , Moisie
(Ex100)	"muskrat"	waciskw	
	(9) Syncope	waciskw	
	(11) Depal.	watskw	
	(32a) Assim. to <u>w</u>	wutskw	northern pal.- <u>y</u>
	(32c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	utskw	Moisie
(Ex101)	"beaver"	amiskw-ac	

	(32a) Assim. to <u>w</u>	amiskwuc	
	(32c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	amiskuc	pal.- <u>y</u>
	(10a) Depal.	amiskuts	PB
	(10b) Depal.	amiskut	Moisie
(Ex102)	"it is there"	takwan	
	(32a) Assim. to <u>w</u>	takwun	
	(33c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	takun	
(Ex103)	"dish"	wila:kan	
	(1) *l > <u>y</u>	wiya:kan	pal.- <u>y</u>
		* * * *	
	(1) *l > <u>n</u>	wina:kan	
	(32b) Assim. to <u>w</u>	wuna:kan	
	(32c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	una:kan	pal.- <u>n</u>
		* * * *	
	(1) *l > <u>l</u>	wila:kan	
	(32b) Assim. to <u>w</u>	wula:kan	
	(32c) Assim. to <u>w</u>	ula:kan	pal.- <u>l</u>
(R33a)	<u>VwV</u> > <u>u:</u> / C _____ C		(distribution unclear)
(R33b)	<u>V:wV</u> > <u>Vu</u> / C _____ C		northern pal.- <u>y</u>
(R33c)	<u>wV</u> > <u>u</u> / C _____ C		
(Ex102)	"his ear"	wihtawakayi	
	(7) Apocope	wihtawakay	



(Ex106)	"book"	masinahikan	
	(9) Syncope	masinhikan	
	(42) Length.	masinhi:kan	
	(6) Stress	masinhi:kan	
	(34a) Neutr.	misinhi:kɪn	Mist.

(R35b)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i \\ a \\ (u) \end{array} \right\} > \text{ə}$  Bets.

(R35b)  $i > \text{ə} / \text{_____}$   
-stress RH

(Ex107)	"it goes well"	minupaniw	
	(31) Assim. to <u>w</u>	minupanuw	
	(31) Assim. to <u>w</u>	minupanu:	
	(35a) Assim. to <u>w</u>	mənəpənu:	Bets.

(Ex108)	"my foot"	nisit	
	(35a)	nəsət	Bets.
		* * * *	
	(9) Syncope	nsət	
	(35b)	nsət	RH

(R35c)  $\underline{a} > \underline{e} / \text{_____} \#$  Bets.

	"firewood"	miht-a	
	(29) <u>h</u> -loss	mita	
	(35c) Neutr.	mite	

(R36)                     $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{a} / \# \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{+stress} \\ \underline{i} / C \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } C \end{array} \right\}$                     northern pal.y

(Ex109)                "beaver"                amiskw

(9)    Syncope                amskw

(36)                                εmskw

"he takes it                manipitam  
off"

(36)                                minipitim

The vowel retains its quality when following or preceding h.

(Ex110)                "he closes it"        cipaham

(Ex111)                "house"                wa:skahikan

(14) a: > ɔ:                wɔ:skahikan

(4)    Length.                wɔ:skahi:kan

(36) Neutral.                wɔ:skahi:kin

(R37a)                a > a: > # \\_\\_\\_\\_\\_\\_ C                PB, LNS

(R37b)                i > i: > # \\_\\_\\_\\_\\_\\_ C                PB, LNS, northern  
pal.-y

(Ex112)                "beaver"                amiskw

(37) Neutr.                a:miskw                PB, LNS

(Ex113)                "woman"                iskwe:w



	(37) Neutr.	:skwe:u	PB, LNS, northern pal.- <u>y</u>
(R38)	V > V: / _____ #		LNS, NWR, Moisie
(Ex114)	"embark!"	pu:si	
	(38) Neutr.	pu:si:	
(Ex115)	"canoes"	ut-a	
	(38) Neutr.	uta:	
(Ex116)	"eat!"	mi:cisu	
	(9) Syncope	mi:csu	
	(12) Depal.	mi:tsu	
	(38) Neutr.	mi:tsu:	

XVIII Short Vowel Rounding (p.129)

(R39a)	<u>VCw</u> > <u>VwC</u> #		Atik., NWR (var.) La R.
(Ex117)	"dog"	atimw atiwm atum	Atik
(Ex118)	"porcupine"	ka:kw ka:uk	NWR

(Ex119)	"pail"	ascihkw	
	(11) Depal.	assihkw	
	(25) Length.	assi:hkw	
	(28) Fric.	assi:xw	
	(39a) Rounding	assi:wx	La R.
(R39b)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{i} \\ \underline{a} \end{array} \right\} > \underline{u} / C \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } C \left\{ \begin{array}{c} w \\ u \end{array} \right\}$		most pal. dialects, variable
(Ex120)	"tree"	mistikw	
	(39b) Rounding	mistukw	
(Ex121)	"he arrives"	takušin	
	(39b) Rounding	tukušin	
	(9) Syncope	tukšin	Mist
(Ex122)	"dog"	atimw	
	(39b) Rounding	atumw	
	(8) Apocope	atum	
(Ex123)	"pike"	cinuše:w	
	(39b) Rounding	cunuše:w	
	(8) Syncope	cunše:w	
(R40a)	<u>u C V:</u> > <u>u C w V:</u>		NWR, DI, FC
(Ex124)	"his gun"	upa:scisikan	

(9)	Syncope	upa:scsikan	
(11)	Depal.	upa:ssikan	
(40)	Rounding	upwa:ssikan	
(14)	<u>a:</u> > <u>ɔ:</u>	upwɔ:ssikan	NWR

(R40b) vCV > (u) Cu

(Ex125)	"his book:	umašinahikan
(27)	<u>h</u> -loss	umašinaikan
(17)	Assim. to <u>y</u>	umašineikan
(40b)	Rounding	(u)mušineikan

#### XIX Lengthening after h (p.114)

(R41) i > i: / h \_\_\_\_\_ pal.-y

(Ex126)	"book"	masinahikan
(41)	Length.	masinahi:kan
(9)	Syncope	masinhi:kan
(Ex127)	"I help you"	ci-wi:cih-itin
(41)	Length.	ciwi:cihi:tin

#### XX Consonant Voicing (p.86)

(R 42a)  $\begin{matrix} C > C \\ \boxed{\text{stop}} & \boxed{\text{stop}} \\ \boxed{-\text{vce}} & \boxed{+\text{vce}} \end{matrix} \left/ \begin{matrix} \# \text{ --- } V \\ V \text{ --- } V \\ C \text{ --- } V \\ [+nas] \end{matrix} \right\} \text{pal.-}\underline{y}, \text{ Atik.}$

(Ex128)	"really"	taipwe:	
	(42a) Voicing	da:bwe:	pal.- <u>y</u>
(Ex129)	"where"	ta:nite:	
	(9) Syncope	ta:nte:	
	(42a) Voicing	da:nde:	pal.- <u>y</u> , Atik.
(R42b)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{s} \\ \underline{\dot{s}} \end{array} \right\}$	$> z / V \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ } V$	Atik.
		$> \dot{z}$	
(Ex130)	"duck"	̀si: ̀siip	
	(42b)	̀si:zi:p	Atik.

XXI Assimilation of Final Alveolars (p.89)

(R43)	$\underline{t} > \begin{array}{l} \underline{s} \\ \underline{n} \end{array} / \begin{array}{l} \underline{s} \\ \underline{n} \end{array} \text{ \_\_\_\_\_ }$		Bets.
(Ex131)	"animals"	awe:si:sak	
	(5) Vel. pal.	awe:si:sac	
	(10) Depal.	awe:si:sat	
	(9) Syncope	awe:si:st	
	(43) Assim.	awe:si:ss	Bets.
(Ex132)	"on his head"	ustikwa:nihk	
	(5) Vel. pal.	ustikwa:nihc	
	(10) Depal.	ustikwa:niht	
	(14) <u>a:</u> > <u>ɔ:</u>	ustikwɔ:niht	



(Ex136) "as they sleep: e:-nipa:-t-ic  
 (3b) Dental pal. e:nipa:cic  
 (9) Syncope e:nipa:cc  
 (45) Depal. e:nipa:c

XXIV Nasalization (p.141)

(R46) a(:)ni > ã(:)i / C \_\_\_\_\_ š LNS, NWR

(Ex137) "my daughter) nita:niš  
 (9) Syncope nta:niš  
 (44) Syllab. nta:niš  
 (46) Nas. ntã:niš  
 (22) š > h ntã:ih LNS

(Ex138) "he is lost" wanišinuw  
 (33) Assim. to w wanišinu:  
 (46) Nas. waišinu: