

Listuguj Mi'gmaq: variation and distinctive dialectal features¹

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1. Introduction

Dialectal variation in Mi'gmaq has so far seen little published discussion. In this report we describe phonological and morphological features distinctive to the Listuguj dialect, and also examine several noteworthy points of inter-speaker variation. This study being limited to Listuguj, we avoid attributing these features strictly to the Listuguj speech community alone, as they are likely largely shared with nearby communities not yet visited. Instead we focus on features either absent from or evidently minimally represented in major works derived largely from other dialects (e.g. Inglis 2002, Hewson and Francis 1990, Bragg 1976, Fidelholtz 1968).

We divide the discussion into the phonetic-phonological (§2) and the morphosyntactic (§3), and so offer two basic sets of observations.²

A characteristic though not exclusive phonological feature of Listuguj Mi'gmaq is the morphologically conditioned assimilation of the (lateral) liquid to an adjacent nasal. We relate to this the innovative verbal obviative in *-nni* (compare other dialects' direct PA reflex *-li*), proposing its origin as a recutting of the sequence of the earlier *-li* when assimilated to a preceding nasal. Another distinctive phenomenon is palatoalveolar obstruent lenition (/č/ to /j/ or ø), to which a variant reduction of the AI Final *-a:si* 'move' to *-a:i* may be related. Other observed interspeaker (and possibly dialectal) variations include: cluster assimilation to geminates; a rich range of realizations of singleton/lenis uvular obstruents (most notably as pharyngeal glides or pharyngealized glottal stops/fricatives); and a systematic shortening of derived /V:CC/ sequences to /VCC/.

Departing from the other dialects' more direct PA reflexes based on local person theme signs, Listuguj Mi'gmaq rebuilds TA morphology for 3rd person agent on 1st/2nd person plural patients using a collocation of Inverse + Reflexive (*-ug-si*) comparable but only partially cognate to dialectal Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001) and Wampanoag (Goddard and Bragdon 1988). It also shows an innovative reshaping of the collocation of TAs in final *-i* with following 1s patient theme sign *-i*.

These observations have been made by a very beginning student of Mi'gmaq over little more than three months in summer 2012, making this a very preliminary survey at best. What we hope to accomplish here, then, is simply to highlight the richness of inter- and intra-dialectal diversity within the broader Mi'gmaq speech community, and in so doing encourage more dialectological research within Mi'gmaq and other Algonquian languages.

2. Phonetic and phonological features

2.1 Morphologically conditioned assimilation of the (lateral) liquid to an adjacent nasal

Listuguj Mi'gmaq exhibits a morphologically conditioned assimilation of the (lateral) liquid to an adjacent nasal. This is most commonly seen in the assimilation of inanimate plural (1a) and obviative singular (1b) endings, both homophonous as *-l* (cf. (1c-d)), to stems ending in *-n/*.

(1) Morphologically conditioned assimilation of the (lateral) liquid to an adjacent nasal

a. *su'n* 'cranberry' [su:n] *su'nn* 'cranberries' [su:n]

- b. *nmisinen* 'our older sister' [nmisinen] *nmisinenn* 'our older sister (obv)' [nmisinen:]
 cf.
 c. *wa'w* 'egg' [wa:w] *wa'wl* 'eggs' [wa:w!]
 d. *jagej* 'lobster' [dʒagɛdʒ] *jagejl* 'lobster (obv)' [dʒagɛdʒ!]

This pattern so far appears to be uniformly characteristic the Listuguj speech community, but is not exclusive to it. In (2a) we see it absent in the Hewson and Francis 1990 dialect; same again in (2b) from one speaker in DeBlois 1990; but the latter source also offers at least one other speaker using the pattern (2c), a speaker whose birth and residence are evidently much farther east than Listuguj.

(2) (Lateral) liquid assimilation to adjacent nasal in non-Listuguj dialects

- a. *a'kwesnl* 'headgear [pl.]' (Hewson and Francis 1990:28; ed./spkr Membertou, N.S.)
 b. *wkwajikn'l* 'his legs' (DeBlois 1990:71:(2); spkr residing Bear River, N.S.)
 c. *pkwimann* 'blueberries' (DeBlois 1990:3:(5); spkr b. Whycocomogh, N.S., residing Eskasoni, N.S.)
 cf.
 d. *'pgwimann* 'blueberries' (Listuguj)

Several Listuguj speakers have explicitly pointed out to me the difference of their speech with dialects that do not assimilate this /l/. Much of the (primarily liturgical) written Mi'gmaq literature uses non-assimilating forms, and I have gotten a preliminary sense that for some, these conservative forms may be a preferred written norm.

We see the pattern both at morphologically active domains like the noun stem - plural/obv boundary, as seen in (1) above, and also within presumably unanalyzable stem and root components (3).

(3) Assimilation within stems and roots

- a. *'nnu* 'Native person' (Listuguj)
 b. *'lnu* 'the true man [= Native]' (DeBlois 1990:33:(192))
 c. *enmiei* 'I am going home' (Listuguj)
 d. *elmiyey* 'I am going home' (DeBlois 1990:48:(50))

In (3c,d), nasal /m/ triggers morpheme-internal nasal assimilation; cp. Listuguj *'nmu'j* 'dog' vs. *'lmu'j* 'dog' (after Rand 1888:88 <ülūmooch> 'A dog'). Complete assimilation to /m/ in a plural, i.e. *qospemm~qospeml* 'lakes' (transcription normalized, cf. *qospem* 'lake'), is also reported by Fidelholtz 1968:35 from a Listuguj speaker. This has so far not been encountered among the Listuguj speakers I have worked with: hence only forms like *'npitnoqoml* 'my arms'. As well, stem/root-internal /ml/ sequences are certainly common: *mlagejg* 'milk', *'ngamlamun* 'my heart'.

And even /n/-based assimilation is not across the board: adjacent /ln/ is found, among other places, as the non-final version of the common element *-ul* '2nd person patient' in verbal forms like (4a).

(4) Adjacent /ln/

- a. *mu nestulnu* 'I don't understand you' *mu n{e}st-uln-u-(an)* not {IC}-u'st'nd_TA-2.pat-NEG-(1s.Cj)
 b. *mu gesalulnu* 'I don't love you' *mu g{e}sal-uln-u-(an)* not {IC}-love-2.pat-NEG-(1s.Cj)
 cf.
 c. *nestul* 'I understand you' *n{e}st-ul-(an)* {IC}-understand_TA-2.pat-(1s.Cj)

d. *gesalul* 'I love you' *g{e}sal-ul-(an)* {IC}-love-2.pat-(1s.Cj)

So we clearly must treat this particular phonological process as not simply across-the-board, but rather, morphologically conditioned/constrained.

2.2 The verbal obviative in *-nni*

Closely related to the above is the innovation of a verbal obviative in *-nni*, as compared to other dialects' direct PA reflex *-li*. We suggest that this *-nni* originates as a recutting of the sequence of the earlier *-li* when assimilated to a preceding nasal. The geminated forms found in (5a), directly reflect earlier (and presumably still extant in other dialects) */*pegisinlitl*/, but then serve as the model for generalizing *-nni* to vowel-final stems (such as *newte'ji*- 'AN be one'), resulting in forms like (5b).

(5) Recutting

- a. *pegisinnitl* 's/he (obv.) arrives' *p{e}gisin-ni-t-l* {IC}-arrive_AI-obv-ANcj-obv
 b. *newte'jinnitl* 's/he (obv.) is one; one AN (obv.)' *n{e}wte'ji-nni-t-l* {IC}-be.one_AI-obv-ANcj-obv
 cf.
 c.. *newte'jit* 's/he is one; one AN' *n{e}wte'ji-t* {IC}-be.one_AI-ANcj

A relevant factor in this recutting may be the fact that verbal stems in *-in* can in some cases at least actually fall together with those in *-i* (significantly, these are each a distinct morphological element: see Quinn 2006, and Rhodes 2012). In (6), both stems in *-in* (6a, b) and in *-i* (6c, d) collapse together in taking the Extended Plural formant *-ulti*.

(6) Pseudo-leveling between stems in *-i* and *-in* in the Extended Plural

- a. *alaqsing* 'AN flies around' *al-aqsin-g* {IC}-around-fly_AI-ANcj
 b. *alaqsultijig* 'AN (ExtPl) fly around' *al-aqs-ulti-j-ig* {IC}-around-fly_AI-ExtPl-ANcj-ANp
 c. *al'temit* 'AN goes around crying' *al-'temi-t* {IC}-around-cry_AI-ANcj
 d. *al'temultijig* 'AN (ExtPl...) go around crying' *al-'tem-ulti-j-ig* {IC}-around-cry_AI-ExtPl-ANcj-ANp

This surface alternation could more readily lead to the nasal component being reanalyzed as part of the obviative morpheme rather than the stem complex.

2.3 Palatoalveolar obstruent lenition

Lenition of the singleton palatoalveolar obstruent *j* (/č/) to *y* (/j/) or \emptyset is characteristic of Listuguj Mi'gmaq. Speakers are particularly familiar with the alternation in (7a): the first what I have heard almost exclusively in spontaneous speech, but several speakers give the second as a variant they have heard elsewhere. Similarly, pure morphological concatenation would predict from *maja'si*- 'leave, head off' an extended plural stem **majita*'-, but I have only ever heard forms like (7b) with the same lenition/loss of *j* /č/.

(7) Palatoalveolar obstruent lenition

- a. *geitu* ~ *gejitu* 'I know'
 b. *maita'igw* 'we (incl.) leave, head off' expected: *majita'igw*

c. *peita'ieg* 'we (excl.) arrive here, get here' expected: *pejita'ieg*

This process also appears to be morphologically constrained: *geitu-*, *maita'-*, *peita'-* (and also, in passing, *apaita'-* 'have returned (ExtPl)') are in fact the only stems encountered so far that exhibit this reduction. It is perhaps noteworthy that this reduction evidently occurs at the boundary of the Initial and the remaining, prosodically suffixal component of the stem (cf. Kaye and Piggott 1973, Brittain 2002, Lochbihler 2012).

Another coronal lenition phenomenon may be related: a variant reduction of the AI Final *-a:si* 'move' (8a) to *-a:i* (8b).³

(8) Reducing AI Final *-a:si* 'move' to *-a:i*

a.	<i>maja'si</i>	'I go, leave'	[maɖʒas:i]
b.	<i>maja'i</i>	'[variant]'	[maɖʒa:i]

I have only heard this reduction a few times in passing; and no comparable lenition/loss of /s/ occurs elsewhere as far as I know, making this a morpheme-specific reshaping.

2.3 Other interspeaker phonological variation: cluster assimilation to geminates

One salient type of interspeaker phonological variation is cluster assimilation to geminates.

(9) Cluster assimilation to geminates

a.	<i>egijjei</i> ~ <i>egiljei</i>	'I read'
b.	<i>nijjapluattugwat</i> ~ <i>nijjaplualtugwat</i>	'AN has curly hair'
c.	<i>maqgutm</i> ~ <i>malqutm</i>	'I eat IN'
d.	<i>aqqam</i> ~ <i>aṅgam</i>	'look at AN!'

As evident in (9), at least certain sequence of /l/ followed by obstruents are subject to regressive cluster assimilation. Occasional examples are also found with /n/, as in (9d), where the /agg/ sequence secondarily backs to /aqq/.

We also see some instances of isochrony applying to the preceding vowel instead of the consonant. Hence the alternation *a'sutuo'guom* ~ *alsutuo'guom* 'church', with the latter form explicitly noted as an older, more correct form. As with nasal assimilation, the fact that most of the older written literature uses unassimilated forms may be a contributing factor to this view. This cannot be attributed to a consistently different treatment of /s/, though, since we also find *assusit* ~ *alsusit* 'boss, one in charge'.

2.4 Other interspeaker phonological variation: /V:CC/ to /VCC/

A few speakers also systematically shorten at least some derived /V:CC/ sequences to /VCC/, while others retain them.

(10) Shortening /V:CC/ sequences to /VCC/

a.	<i>mijua'ji'jg</i> ~ <i>mijua'jijg</i>	'children'
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b. *mijua'ji'j* 'child' (all speakers)

The data is still somewhat uncertain (cf. also vowel length in *-o'qq* in (14c) below), and needs stricter phonetic work to confirm which speakers do indeed maintain length in this context, and which do not. The written norm of maintaining length may be a complicating factor.

2.5 Realization of lenis /q/

One striking feature of Listuguj phonology is the rich range of realizations of singleton/lenis uvular obstruent, commonly represented orthographically and phonologically as /q/. Initially it realizes as either uvular fricative [χ] or unaspirated uvular stop [q] (cf. Bragg 1976:11). The first is perhaps more commonly heard, and may in some way reflect the fact that most initial /q/ is originally postvocalic (and so has assimilated continuancy), with the earlier preceding weak vowel now dropped. Hence *qalipu* 'caribou' after PsmMl /məkəlɪp/, Pb /makólipo/ 'caribou', presumably via the (approximate) intermediary pre-Mq form */məkəlɪpu/ (with early or late loss of /m/); and *qame'g* 'across, on the other side (esp. of the water)' cf. Psm /əkamìw/, Pb /akómi/ 'across, on the other side (esp. of the water)'.

(11) Initial lenis /q/

- a. *qalipu* 'caribou' [χalibu, qalibu, ʒalibu]
b. *qame'g* 'on the other side (of the water); Campbellton, N.B.' [χame:g]

This [χ] is also its realization in most clusters (though /q/ is also heard), be it pre- or post-vocalic.

(12) Singleton /q/ in clusters

- a. *'tqopata* 's/he'll eat both of them (obv)' [ətχɔpada]
b. *gaqtugwewig* 'there is thunder' [gaxtugwewig]

Intervocally, however, it realizes either as a voiced uvular continuant (occasionally also voiceless) that can range from substantial frication (i.e. [ʁ]; cf. Fidelholtz 1968:12, Bragg 1976:11) to pure glide [ʁ~ʁ̥]; but a robustly common realization for certain other speakers is a pharyngeal glide [ʕ].

(13) Intervocalic singleton /q/

- a. *aqataig* 'half' [aχadajk]
a. *tetaqa'tega* 'hurry up!' [dɛdaʕa:dɛga]

From some speakers I have also occasionally heard intervocalic singleton /q/ as a pharyngealized glottal stop [ʔ^ʕ] or even voiceless glottal fricative with some associated vowel pharyngealization [h^ʕ] (cf. [h] in Bragg 1976:12)---but so far, never yet a strict voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ]. These realizations have only been noticed in passing, however, and will require further work to confirm.

These realizations are worth noting, because while uvular fricatives are found in other Algonquian languages---e.g. [χ] in Munsee (Goddard 1982:18), and for Blackfoot /x/ when following /a/ (Ryan Denzer-King, p.c.)---to the best of my knowledge, substantial uses of pharyngeals, even as non-contrastive phonetic realization, are not attested elsewhere in the Algonquian family. The relationship between uvulars and pharyngeals is well established (cf. Carlson and Esling 2003), so

this in itself is not remarkable. But Listuguj Mi'gmaq remains interesting in its relatively recent (and, phonologically speaking, still not 100% unambiguous) development of a velar vs. uvular contrast from the backing effect of /a/; in most pharyngeal-using languages, the uvular contrast reconstructs back to the protolanguage.

The corresponding geminate/fortis /qq/ is realized either as a stop-fricative sequence [qχ] or a simple long stop [q:] or long fricative [χ:]. Of these, the [q:] realization seems noticeably less common in all but postvocalic positions.

(14) Geminate or fortis /qq/

a.	<i>qgami</i>	'stand!'	[qχami ~ χ:ami]
c.	<i>maqquṭm</i>	'I eat it'	[maq:udṃ, maq:udṃ]
c.	<i>sam'qwano'qq</i>	'water bottles'	[samṃwanɔ:qχ]

I have not actually heard velar [x] as a realization of /q/, as Barkhouse 1998:2 suggests, though this may simply be a notational convenience for actual uvular [χ]. Velar /x/ is however not infrequent as a preconsonantal coda variant of /g/ (= /k/): e.g. *gun'tewigtug* 'on the stone, rock' as [gɔndɛwixtɔk].

3. Morphosyntactic features

3.1 Inverse + Reflexive strategy in TA 3s>1/2p

Turning now to morphology/morphosyntax, Listuguj Mi'gmaq is distinctive in that it rebuilds TA morphology for 3rd person agent acting on 1st/2nd person plural patients using a complex of Inverse+ Reflexive (-*ug-si*). For these configurations, available documentation of other dialects show essentially direct PA reflexes, instead based on local person theme signs -*ul* '2nd person patient' and -*i* '1st person patient'.

(15) Variation in realization of TA 3>1/2p

<i>other dialects</i> (after Hewson and Francis 1990:133,146)			<i>Listuguj</i>	
3s>1p.excl	- <i>i-nam't</i>	-1.pat-ANcj{1px}	- <i>ugsi-eg</i>	-InvRflx-1pxCj
3s>1p.incl	- <i>ul-gw</i>	-2.pat-1piCj	- <i>ugsi-'gw</i>	-InvRflx-1piCj
3s>2p	- <i>ul-oq</i>	-2.pat-2pCj	- <i>ugsi-oq</i>	-InvRflx-2pCj
3s>1s	- <i>i-t</i>	-1.pat-ANcj	- <i>i-t</i>	-1.pat-ANcj
3s>2s	- <i>'s-g⁴</i>	-2.pat-ANcj	- <i>'s-g</i>	-2.pat-ANcj

TA Conjunct morphology essentially works from two components: the theme sign, and an outer element that can simply be the regular reflex of the external argument alone, a contextual allomorph thereof, or a combination/competition-output of either or both the internal and external arguments.

What these dialects show, then, are two distinct logical possibilities afforded by the system. One is to start with the theme signs simply directly indexing solely the 1/2 (local Person) feature of the patient/ internal argument---again, -*ul* '2nd person patient' and -*i* '1st person patient'---and then have the outer element reflecting the external argument or some combined/competition outcome of both

In fact, some otherwise identical *-ugsi* collocations are attested with singular uses having passive/ impersonal glosses, even as the 1/2 plurals double as the only way to express a 3s agent.

(20) Double function of *-ugsi* collocation

- a. *gesalugsi* 'I am liked, loved' *g{e}sal-ug.si-(an)* {IC}-love_TA-Inv.Rflx_AI-(1sCj)
 b. *gesalugsieg* 'AN loves us (excl.)' *g{e}sal-ug.si-eg* {IC}-love_TA-Inv.Rflx_AI-1pxCj

This highlights a very important feature of Algonquian argument structure morphology overall: what we commonly think of as inflection for argument structure may well be better understood as stem derivation (Quinn 2006).

This specific dialectal variation is not unique to Mi'gmaq, nor is the construction wholly unique to Listuguj. Comparable though not exactly cognate Inverse-derived forms also alternate dialectally with the (PA-reflex) local patient theme sign forms in Nishnaabemwin and Wampanoag.

(20) Alternation with Inverse-derived forms in Nishnaabemwin and Wampanoag

- a. Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:295)

3s>1s	<i>-i-d</i>	-1.pat-ANcj	<i>-ig(w)-o-yaanh</i>	-Inv-X-1sCj
3s>2s	<i>-ø-k</i>	-2.pat-ANcj	<i>-ig(w)-o-yan</i>	-Inv-X-2sCj

- b. Wampanoag (Goddard and Bragdon 1988:556)

3s>1s	<i>-i-t</i>	-1.pat-ANcj	<i>-ukw-ē-y(ōn)</i>	-Inv-X-1sCj
3s>2s	<i>(not attested)</i>		<i>-ukw-ē-yan</i>	-Inv-X-2sCj

Note the important fact that each of these constructions involves an intermediate element (*-o-* in Nishnaabemwin, *-ē-* in Wampanoag), corresponding to the Reflexive element in Listuguj Mi'gmaq *-ug-si*. Why this element is necessary is an interesting and open question, and is likely tied to the still speculative possibility that the Nishnaabemwin and Wampanoag elements are reflexes of the bare mediopassives in PA *-(w)-i* seen, for example, elsewhere in Nishnaabemwin AIs in *-o* (Valentine 2001:374,407).

Penobscot attests a comparable set of variants for Conjunct forms of the TA Impersonal agent (S:72). There too, the main alternation appears to be between an Inverse (or Inverse-like) -based strategy vs. using theme signs directly indexing the patient argument. And diachronic expansion of Inverse-based strategies are also seen in reflexes of other parts of the PA paradigm, be it elsewhere in the Independent, as in Blackfoot *-oki '2>1'* (Frantz 1991:60; Bliss and Jesney 2005) or in the leveled use of the Inverse across all 3>1/2 configurations---and even 2sp>1px---in the Conjunct reflexes of Arapaho (Cowell and Moss 2008:79).

3.2 Reshaping of the collocation of TA in final *-i* and 1.pat theme sign *-i*

Listuguj Mi'gmaq also shows an innovational treatment of the 1.pat element *-i* after TA stems themselves ending in *-i*, such as *nmi-* 'see AN'. While the dialect represented by Hewson and Francis 1990 resolves the */-i-i-/* sequence as long */-i:/* (and so directly reflects the PA pattern), Listuguj

speakers reshape the collocation as *-i'li-* (21).

(21) Reshaping *TA-1s.pat* /-i-i-/ (Hewson and Francis 1990:133, Coon 2012, mod. for clarity)

<i>Hewson and Francis 1990</i>		<i>Listuguj (Coon 2012)</i>	
a.	<i>nemi'n</i> 'you see me'	<i>-i'lin</i>	'2s>1s'
b.	<i>nemiek</i> 'you [s/p] see us' [CQ: possibly /nemi'ek/?]	<i>-i'lieg</i>	'2sp>1px'
c.	<i>nemi't</i> 'he sees me'	<i>-i'lit</i>	'3s>1s'
d.	<i>nemi'jik</i> 'they see me'	<i>-i'lijig</i>	'3p>1s'

This rebuilding appears to preserve the historical /-i'-/ and then reapply the 1.pat *-i*. The source of the intervening /-l-/ is obscure, but may be relatable either to the common and semantically rather bleached TA abstract Final in *-l* (cf. *gesalin* 'you love me', TA stem *g'sal-*), or perhaps some leveled paradigmatic reuse of the /l/ found in 2.pat *-ul*.

4. Conclusion

Needless to say, these few and very limited observations only scratch the surface of dialectal, famililectal, and idiolectal diversity in Mi'gmaq, and only show just how much more work is needed for a full picture of that diversity. Even so, we can see that many of these microvariations, be they phonetic-phonological or morphosyntactic, tie into a rich and both empirically and theoretically interesting range of linguistic phenomena.

This is a time of challenges to the very survival of Mi'gmaq and many other Algonquian speech communities. Here internally and externally-imposed normative pressures to uniformity may sometimes make interspeaker variation seem like yet another burden on teachers and learners. It is hoped, then, that demonstrating how such differences can help shed light on the underlying patterns of the language system, we can show just how valuable even small variations are. In so doing, it may further highlight the wisdom of that distinct quality of respect for individual and family differences that has, in this outsider's experience at least, been characteristic of the Northeastern peoples he has been lucky enough to live and work with.

5. Notes

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²Except where phonetic detail requires it, all forms are transcribed in the standard orthography used at Listuguj, which is most distinguished by dual use of apostrophe (<C'> = /Cə/, <V'> = /V:/), and of <g> and for the velar and labial plosives. Obstruent phonation being non-contrastive, other systems often use <k> and <p>. <q> represents a basically uvular obstruent, though its precise realization is the subject of §2.6. <j> represents a palatoalveolar affricate. As characteristic of Northeastern-area languages, the secondary voicing in lenis/singleton obstruents is evidently not a direct phonetic target, and so what are transcribed here with voiced symbols, even in phonetic transcription, are often minimally or not voiced at all. These still remain phonetically distinct from anything transcribed as a voiceless obstruent, as the

latter is reliably longer in closure and (so also) reliably voiceless. It is also worth noting that unlike in Penobscot and Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, lenis/singleton /s/ is rarely if ever realized as anything even approaching [z] in the Listiguj speech I have observed.

³This element is characteristic of a number of northeastern-area Algonquian languages (Western Abenaki *-(h)azi*, Penobscot *-hasi/-ahəsi*, PsmMI *-essi/-assi*), and in each has distinctively quirky morphophonology. Closely related is the Final realizing as *-a'* after (and fusing with) elements ending in /a, e/, and elsewhere as as AI *-ie* and II *-ia*. (cf. cognate Passamaquoddy *-ha, -(i)ya*, Penobscot *-hla*, Western Abenaki *-hlô*). Glossable as 'move, go; change, become', it goes back to PA **-ʔle-* and plays an important role in motion and change-of-state stem derivation across many Algonquian languages. Mi'gmaq *-a'si* and its areal equivalents appear to be a collocation of this element with the AI Reflexive element in PEA **-əsɪ*. Among languages of the region, Mi'gmaq is distinctive in substantially expanding the use of *-a:si* where others simply use the non-reflexive 'move'. Also distinctive is the fact that *-a'si* and *-ie/-a'* paradigmatically level out in the non-singular, sharing the suppletive nonsingular (typically dual) *-a'ti*, and Extended Plural *-ta'*, a feature not seen in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, Penobscot, or Western Abenaki.

⁴One might argue that 3>2s *-s-g* (< PA **-eθ-k*) is synchronically opaque, but the baseline *-ul* does resurface in the corresponding negative *-ul-u-g* (= -2.pat-NEG-ANCj), suggesting that the underlying morphosyntax is as claimed, with only a late-level synchronic irregularity in surface form. And while the dialect represented in Hewson and Francis 1990 treats 3>2p and 2p>1 both with *-ul-oq* (-2.pat-2pCj)---with Penobscot and Passamaquoddy-Maliseet showing exactly cognate patterns---Dawe-Sheppard 1988:32-36 gives forms (glossed only for their argument structure) that are distinct: *pema'lnoq* '23 < 3' vs. *pema'luloq* '23 < 1', and furthermore later cites *-u:loq* (without full example form) as the '23 < 3' (= 3s>2p) ending. Needless to say, this variation will require further research.

6. Abbreviations

REF; conference comments from Bernie [Bernard?] Francis

7. References

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