1 The Menomini language is spoken by some 1700 people in Wisconsin; most, but not all, speak English as a first or second language. Some, especially among the young, have also a speaking knowledge of Ojibwa or Potawatomi. Menomini texts will be found in Publications of the American Ethnological Society, volume 12 (New York, 1928). Menomini belongs to the widespread Algonquian family of languages; see Michelson in the 28th Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1912).

2 Analysis of Menomini speech-forms by formal-semantic resemblances yields a fairly clean division of forms into phrases, compound words, and simple words. The words in a phrase and the members in a compound word differ but little in different combinations; such variations as occur, constitute the external or syntactic sandhi of the language and will not be discussed in this paper. Simple words and the members of compounds, in turn, resolve themselves, under analysis, into morphologic elements which vary greatly in different combinations; the present paper describes these variations, the internal sandhi or morphophonemic of the language.

3 It is necessary to distinguish these morphophonemic alternations from certain others, which we may call morphological variations. In Menomini, as in other Algonquian languages, different words often contain morphological elements of otherwise identical meaning but differing somewhat in form. Thus, the word tābakâmikw it is cold water contains a suffix -kâmy- water, liquid, but this form of the suffix occurs only in a few words; the freely usable form of the suffix is -kâmy-, which may, of course, be described as consisting of -kâmy- and a prefixal element -k-; menâkâmikw it is good liquid, apâkâmikw it is black liquid, maskâkâmikw it is strong liquid, and so on. These morphological variations are quite distinct from internal sandhi; we shall deal with them only to the extent that they appear in the necessary preliminary survey of morphology, §§ 6 to 9.

4 The process of description leads us to set up each morphological element in a theoretical basic form, and then to state the deviations from this basic form which appear when the element is combined with other elements. If one starts with the basic forms and applies our statements (§§ 10 and following) in the order in which we give them, one will arrive finally at the forms of words as they are actually spoken. Our basic forms are not ancient forms, say of the Proto-Algonquian parent language, and our statements of internal sandhi are not historical but descriptive, and appear in a purely descriptive order. However, our basic forms do bear some resemblance to those which would be set up for a description of Proto-Algonquian, some of our statements of alternation (namely, those in §§ 10 to 19) resemble those which would appear in a description of Proto-Algonquian, and the rest (§§ 19 and following), as to content and order, approximate the historical development from Proto-Algonquian to present day Menomini. In our theoretical forms we shall separate morphologic constituents by hyphens. The symbol -- means "is replaced in alternation by." The colon (:) means "appearing in the actual Menomini word"; the word cited after
the colon will generally involve alternations which have not yet been stated at the time of citation, but a reader who has gone through all of our statements will be able, returning to the citation, to account for all of these features.

5 The morphophonemes in our basic forms are:

Syllables (short and long vowels)
front    back
higher   e o u o
lower    a e c a

Non-Syllables
semi-vowels y w
consonants p t k č s h ř m n

In actual speech, a is replaced by e, § 36, and N by n, § 13. On the other hand, the alternations result in two additional phonemes i and ř, § 20, 35 and a semi-phoneme o, § 35. The morphophoneme ř seems to occur in only one suffix, -owing transitive verbs, as pitomr he brings it to him; in the actual language, ř arises also by the alternation of ňš. Hence the actual Menomini phonemes are:

Syllables (short and long vowels)
front    back
high    i y u o
mid     e o o o
low     e c a a

Non-Syllables
semi-vowels y w
consonants p t k č s h ř m n

The clusters in our basic forms are:

č before p, k
š before p, t, k
ř before p, t, k, č, s, ř
h before p, t, k, č, s
ň before p, t, k, č

In the actual language, the basic clusters of n plus consonant are replaced by those with h plus consonant, § 23. In the basic forms, any consonant or cluster may be followed by one or two semi-vowels; in the actual language such combinations are greatly restricted by § 16 and § 201.

A few phonetic indications, while not strictly relevant, may be of interest. The high vowels, i, u, ń, are much as in French mic; mise, doux, blonde.

6 The morphologic features of Algonguin appear in three layers: inflection, secondary derivation, and primary formation. All three can occur chiefly in the use of suffixes, and their bases other than suffixation demand some preliminary comment (§§ 7 to 9).

7 In inflection, suffixes are added to stems of nouns, verbs, and a few particles. Four prefixes are used in inflection: ke- thou, Ne- I, we he, and, occurring only in some dependent sounds (§ 9), me- indefinite personal possessor: kenē thy hand or arm, kentēkenawan our (inclusive) hands, kentēkowawan our (exclusive) hands, onthē his hand (§ 17), onthēkowawan their hands, meoth someone’s hand, a hand.

Before a vowel, the prefixes (in their basic form, hence by morphological variation, § 3), add t: ös canoe, ketōs rhe canoe, otōnōwawan their canoe, and so on.

There are certain irregularities of prefixation, of which we shall mention only one: before dependent noun stems (§ 9) in -e and -o, the prefixes drop their vowel: kēyaw rhe body, rēyaw my body, kōhēn rhe thy

the long mid vowels ř, o much as in German weh, wi; the short mid vowels e, o somewhat as in English seeing; e, ć are even lower than the vowels of American English bad, had: short a range from German har to English hat; ě from French par to English now. The semi-vowels y, w are as English, but after a non-syllabic, ě, w are falling diphthongs: payi, when he urges, kwāsamek he jumps are phonetically (payi, ko-show). Of the consonants, only m, n are voiced; ń is a well-marked glottal stop, often with vocalic echo: p, l, č, s, š are lenes with slow opening. Non-syllables are often strongly palatalized or labialized by the preceding vowel, initial non-syllables by the following vowel: mįp early in the morning (both consonants palatalized); mįskλaa (both consonants labialized); mįkan my son (palatal k); škćPan his son (labiovelar š). In word, compound, or close-knit phrase, a long vowel in the next-to-last syllable and a long vowel fol-

lowed in the next syllable by a short vowel, have a strong stress accent: pakamew he struck him(stress on -kam); pakamew be live(stress on -m). It seems to be the only actualized difference between ow and low: omenwa they dance(stress on me-), madātaw game animals(stress on -taw). Successions of syllables that do not contain such an accent, are varied by less stable ups and downs of stress: pēkšēmōken is it said that they touched it to error will be stressed on the first and third, or on the sec-

ond and fourth syllables, or in other ways.
father, nān? my father, w-ōn?: šān his father (§ 17); cf. owōnēmaw the father, e father.

8 Certain inflectional forms of verbs have initial change: the first vowel of the stem is altered as follows:

- a, e → t: aṭew it is in place, eṭek that which is in place: kēmew-: kēmewah if it rains, kēmew-: kēmewah when it rained; wèn-eť: onet it is prey, wèn-eť-k: wēn that which is pretty.
- o → kòskōset if he wakes up, kòskōset when he woke up.
- y- prefixes a: yèchētok if he renovates it, aṣyèchētok when he renewed it.
- Stems beginning with consonant plus y or w prefix ay to the y or w: pyì if he comes, payyāt when he came; kāwānt when he jumps, kāywānent when he jumped.
- Otherwise, long vowel prefixes a: wāpamak if I look at him, wayāpamak when I looked at him; ādēmit if he narrates, ayādēmit when he narrated; pōnēṭat if he ceases, payōnēṭat when he ceased.
- There are some irregularities, which we shall not here describe.

9 Features of inflection are in some cases retained in secondary derivation. Apart from this, secondary derivation consists in the addition of suffixes to the stems of nouns or verbs, as enēm man, enēmaw he is a man, manly.

In primary formation suffixes are added to a root: root met- bad, suffix -eśnymw- dog, metāšnym man's cur.

Throughout the morphology, zero suffixer must sometimes be set up. It is a striking feature of Algonguan that in certain cases we must set up the root of a word as zero. In a few verb forms the stem is replaced by zero, thus the stem en-say so is replaced by zero before the inflectional suffix -ak: estas he says so to him, ekwāth the other one says so to him, netkewah he says so to me. A large class of noun stems and certain particles contain no root and occur only with the prefixes of § 7. These are dependent nouns and particles, such as -nēk-, -yāw-, -ōn-in § 7, or, say (with two suffixes), -ē-nēmaw- in kētemah thy fellow-curse, wēyāpamahn his fellow-curse. No root begins with a cluster; since every word begins with a root or one of the four prefixes, no Metomimi word begins with a cluster. The vowel e is probably nowhere to be set up in the first syllable of a basic form.

Roots, like suffixes, show morphokoxial variation. Reduplication is the commonest form of this. Normally, it consists in prefixing the first non-syllabic followed by e: pakam-. pakamew he strikes him, pā-pakam: -papam-k: he beats him. There are also irregular types of reduplication, as pōhōkama breaches it across by hand, pōpōhōkama he repeatedly breaks it.

10 When an eлемент ending in non-syllabic precedes an element beginning with a consonant, a connective e- is inserted. Thus, root pōn- cease with suffix -m by speech gives pōn-e-m: pōnemew he stops talking to him. Contrast, on the one hand, pōn-e-Nem-; pōntemaw he stops thinking of him, and on the other hand, kēh-kamew he be-rates him.

11 If an element ending in vowel plus w precedes an element with initial w, the e- is used: kaw-e-wēp: kawēwepenew he flings him prostrate; contrast kaw-eN-: kawēnw he lays him prostrate, and aēk-wēp: aēkēwenew he flings it scattering.

Irregulary, e- is used between consonant and w in a few combinations, as ešp-e-wēp: ešpēwepaw he tosses him aloft by tool on horns.

12 Irregulary, certain combinations do not take connective e-. Root en-thither, thus with suffix -pahit- run, gives en-pahit- eghīthaw he runs thither; cf. en-e-Nem-: enēmewaw he thinks so of him, and wēk-e-pahit-: wake-pahit he runs a crooked course. Verb stem kēnwewaw-, with initial change (§ 8) kēmewaw-, with inflectional suffix -k gives kēmewan-k-: kēmewahkan whenever it rains, kēmewah when it rains; cf. kēmewa it is raining and Ėkken whenever it is in place, Ėkken when it was in place.

In such forms, if the first consonant is other than n, it is replaced by h: šēn-ak-t-k: šēnakakhen whenever it is difficult, šēnakak when it was difficult, Ėt sanak it is difficult: aōt-gaw: aōthwpač table, cf. aštäpiw he sits on something, sakipwak if I hole him.
13 Before c, ē, y, final t - č and n - s. Thus, pyē-t-em - pyēčenm-: pĪčēmew he calls him kāčer; cf. pīyē-henē: pīhōwew he walks kāčer, čn-ēs- - čsēy- - csēyē if he goes thither; cf. čn-ōnēt-: čenētētē if he walks thither or thus. č-ēs- - čsēh-: wēh his head; cf. wēhōwew- wēh his head. čn-ēs- - čsēh-: čnōn cane; pēč-ēs- - pēčēs-: pēčē by error; cf. pēčēnēt he touches or handles it by error.

In a few cases, the mutation is made before the suffix -ah which derives local particles from nouns: wēchē beside wēnēc on his head.

Certain n's are not subject to this alternation; we designate these in our basic forms by N; in actual speech, then, this theoretical N is replaced by n.

14 Irregularly, is certain forms, is replaced by s before t and ā. So always before čhk- by foot or body movement and āp- look: pītā čhk- - pīčēh-: pīčēhk it moves kāčer; wēhē āp-: wēhōwew he looks at him from thee, cf. wēhē čnēt-: wēhōnēm he takes it from there. Other suffixes, less often: wēhē āp-ēh- - wēhēčēnēm he takes it bodily from there.

15 Successive vowels are in every instance modified.

After long, short other than o drops: aśē-tēnē: aśēntēm he pushes it back; rejects it, cf. kāčēnēm he shoves it, nāk-čēnē: nākčēm he stops it by hand, cf. nākčēwaw he stops, comes to a standstill.


ā-ō - ō: aśē-ōnē: aśāhēwaw he walks backwards.

ā-ā - ā: nākčā-āp-ēh- - nākčāpēshow he brings his horses to a stop, cf. matāpēy-ē: matāpēyōwaw he drives badly.

Between other long vowels, y is inserted. akwē-Pēh-: akwēyē-Pēhen it is blown to shore, cf. akwē-čēmē: akwēčēmew he paddles to shore; aśēh-ēnē: aśēyēhēnēmew he blows him back; wēńē-čkñwaw: onyāhkwaw he gets him up from bed, cf. wēńē- čñkñwaw he gets up.

16 After consonant, the first of two semi-vowels is dropped: akhēkh-wyānē-: akhēkhwyānēm earthly, cf. akhēkhō in the kettle (§ 20); aśēNy-wēk- - aśēmwxēk-: aśēnōkō it is hard-woven cloths, cf. aśēnōyak stones, wēpēs-wēk-: wēpēsōkān white linen, wēpēsēkaw he is white, mēkāw-wēk- - mēkāw-: mēkāwanī red flannel, cf. mēkāwiamā red blanket, netākōm my blanket. In some basic forms, we write try instead of it merely to bar § 13; thus, we set up pēń-kōn-āhtwyōw- to give pēńčkōnāb sacred bundle, plural pēńčkōnāhantyān.

17 Initial w-ō- - ō: with kēyaw, nēyaw, wēyaw compare kēhōnē, nēhōnē, wēhōnē - ohōn in § 7.

Initial w-ē- - ē: with the preceding compare the normal forms of the prefixes: kē-, etc., as kētān-kē daughter, ketān my daughter, wē-tēN-: wētān his daughter, wētānēh he has a daughter, but, with initial change, wētēNēnēt the parent of a daughter.

Initial w does not occur before ē; initial y does not occur before short vowels, either in basic forms or in the actual language.

Initial wēy- - i is set up for a few forms like wēyō-ē: wēyō ūtēs iutō illum.

18 When an element in vowel plus w precede a precedes with initial e or a, the combination is normally retained, as kōw-ēnē: nekōwenān I by it is flur. Irregularly, however, in certain forms, a replacement is made. This happens always when the w ends a verb stem and the or a begins an infinitival ending, but there are also other cases. The following rules hold for a as well as for e.


Before k, t, s, however, verb stems in awe- and amōw- have a instead of ō: enaw- - amaw-: esākē the other one resembles him; -amōw-skw- - esākēsamāk he gives me tobacco; enaw- - amaw-: esākēwaw they resemble each other; -amōw- - amōw-: esākēsamaw he helps himself, cf. nāsamōwēh he helps him.

awe, awe - ō: pyēt-ōw-skw- -
pyewák-w: pitwák the other brings it to him, cf. pituwew he brings it to the other; man- wáw-akw: manwák the other takes it from him, cf. manwáwéw he takes it from the other.

ewe, éwe, éwe, ywéwe = yá: wétyéw-akw- ~ wélyak-w: wélyák the other one accompanies him, cf. wélyéwéw he accompanies the other; méNywéw-ehkwéw- ~ menáhkwéw: maskóhkwenyánahkw medicine woman, cf. maskóhkwenménúnw medicine man and píchakwéw he brings a woman; omeNóménosw-ehkwéw ~ omeNóménosw Mézosomin woman, cf. omeNóménosw Menomini; tetw- akw: nyák the other sees him, cf. wétyéwéw he sees the other; kywék-hékom: kywékHenw he is jealous of him, cf. kywékweh he is jealous.

In a few forms, however, éwe, éwe, éwe is replaced by yéwe: wyéwéw-akw ~ íw-akw- ~ íyok: futuwé est ab illó: wyéwéw- ~ íw-íwéw- iyótowak alter alternam futamunt.

19 Irregularly, in a few forms, vowel plus w contracts with other vowels, chiefly aw ~ wá: késaw-akamy ~ késawákamy: késawakmiw it is warm liquid, cf. késawan it is warm.

20 After consonant, y, w plus vowel other than a, are replaced by vowels. yé ~ é: kóNywéw- ~ kóNywéw it is snowly, cf. kóNyw- kón snow, plural kóNy- kinyak lumps or masses of snow, and awétok-éwew he, it is of spirit nature, from awtók spirit, plural awétokak.


ye ~ i: Né- menw-wnént- ~ nenménínt- ~ nenméníntem I am well placed, cf. menw-úp-amnt: menwápaham he sees it well, yet, wé ~ í: menw-ént- nenméníntem he likes it, cf. enéntent: enténtem he thinks so of it: pyewéw: piw he comes, cf. piyé: piyá if he comes, and, for the morphology: variation of á and é, nepéw he sleeps, nepéf ísí sleep, ísí to sleep, which we set up with uyéw (~ 17), the prefixes are added with a and the replacement is made; ketwyéw-áw: báñóna, futuw éam, Similarly, ketwyéw-éew-: keti- cyan (§ 18) te futuw. However, we after consonant is kept in -wap-thnu (~ 7) and in a few words such as malbáw wolf, ñoxwán swawl, yé, yé ~ o: ànapy-chék ~ ànapéhkew he makes nets, cf. ànap net, ànapyak nets, and

wekéwarechew he builds houses, wekéwam houses, plural wekéwamman; ànéNyw-ah ~ ànéNywéw on the stone, cf. ànéNywéw stone, ànéNywak stones, and wekéwamwe in the house; étéNyw- éntw ~ ànéNywak: ànéNywak little stones, cf. wekéwamwéns-awn ~ wekéwamwéns house (§ 22, 34) little houses.

we, wa ~ o: akhékhwé-ékhké: akhékho- kwe he makes kettles, cf. akhékhwé- akhékhwé kettles, akhékhwé-ak: akhékhwók (§ 21) kettles, akhékhwé-ah: akhékhow in the kettle; akhé- kwéns-ak ~ akhéksnkak little pans; sak-é-pw-ent ~ sakpont- sakpókép if he is hit, cf. sak-é-akw-ak ~ sakpéwéw if I bite him, and suffix -ent is in pakám-ent ~ pakamélk if he is struck; sak-é-akw- ~ sakpont- sakpéwéw the other hit him, cf. pakám-akw ~ pakámélk the other struck him. To initial we- the prefixes are added with t and replacement is made: Nét- wéléné: nétotíne- nétotinen I have a daughter, cf. wétání-: étanéw he has a daughter, from we-tání-: étanéw his daughter.

For yó, yo I can cite no cases.

wé ~ o: there seems to be no example in my notes; as I am not a native speaker, I cannot guarantee words which I form, but I should not hesitate to say ékw-ónt-: ékóntah as far as he carried it on his back, cf. ékóntah as far as he went into the water, and panóhtam he dropped it from his back.

wo ~ o: ñów-ohnéh ~ êkhonnt as far as he walked, cf. ñów-ohnéh ~ êhonnet the way he walked.

21 ya, wa, wá, wá are retained: ànényak stones, meítchektew trees, ñyit if he comes, wéktál loin. In actual sound, wá, wá after nor- syllabic are falling diphongs [taa, uaa].

Irregularly, in certain forms, wa after consonant is replaced by o. This occurs when the a begins an inflectional ending in the para- digms of most nouns and verbs: akhékhwé, akhékhwé; akhékhwók kettles; contrast, with wa kept, meítchektew trees; meít-chumak-ak: méchakómk they find it, cf. méch-chumak- méchakómk it finds it, and pitwák they bring it beside pitwó it brings it. In word-formation less often: wáp- osw-skom ~ wápósokom beside wápósowakor rabbit skin, but always ápchós-ós-skom ~ ápchósokom deer skin, cf. wápósosub rabbit, öpvosos deer, with plural wápósok, ápchós- sok.
22 Before n plus consonant, e is replaced by e: pakam-m - pakament: pakameh if he is struck; en-ent - enent: eneš (§ 21) if he is called so; ke-set-rens-an - kesetens-an: kesetëhbash (§ 34) rhy trees; mët-enkwamwe: metëhwanow dorniërs se concacat.

23 Clusters of n plus consonant are replaced by n plus consonant: examples in § 22.

24 Final vowels are dropped: ëset: ëset in return, cf. ëset-ëxem: ësetëxësmew he lays them to overlap, ësetë-ëxlaw: ësetë-hkawew he crosses paths with him; contrast the treatment of final i before ehek- in § 14; ëse-: ëse canoe, etc., § 13.

25 Final non-syllabics are dropped until only one is left: mëcëkew-: mëcëk tree, cf. mëcëkawcaw trees; ahkëkë: ahkëk kettle; aëmaw-n: aëmap net, cf. aëmapay nets.

Exception are the clusters ëk and ës: peëk-ë: peëkë: peëk by error; namës-: namës fish.

26 Irregularly, in certain forms, one of two like consonants together with the intervening vowel, is dropped (haphaslogy): sehëk-akamy: sehëkahamw it is open accessible water, cf. sehëkahcin it lies beached; këhh-ë-kätë: këkkëhtë këacctë my garter, cf. without haphaslogy, këhkë-ë-kätë: këkhëkëhtë garter.

27 Metathesis and distant dissimilation occur in a very few forms: wëskëw-ëse: wëskyëse-: wëksesew he is good, cf. wëskëw-at-w: wëskëkatw it is good, and mat-ese: matësw he is bad, ugly; me-mëwë-yëns: menëth someone's bag, a bag, cf. kemëth thy bag, nemëth my bag, omëth his bag.

28 Alternation of short and long vowels is complex but very regular. In this alternation, the long vowel corresponding to a in é for busic u I have no example. Certain words are excepted from this alternation; we shall call them atomic.\(^7\)

\(^7\)Historically, they are either words which were atomic at a bygone time when the language had a stress accent which produced the present alternation of quantity, or loan words from languages which have not the Mesonimìl alternation. Stress is not distinctive in the present-day language.

29 In monosyllables, short vowels are replaced by long: pëcë-ë: pëcë by error; mw-akwë: mëkë: mëk the other eats him. Contrast anotions: sew as it were.

30 A syllable whose vowel is followed by a cluster is closed; any other syllable is open. After a closed syllable, a long vowel in an open syllable, is replaced by a short vowel: kënh-ëw: kënhew he swallows him, cf. mënhw he gives it to him; metëh-ënw: metëhnew he drives him; nëh-ëw: nëhnew he kills him; këhkk-ëm: këhkamew he bestrades him, cf. këhkë-ëm: këkhkåhtë he bestrates it. Exceptions, e.g., anohkëw he works, maskhëkwen- enw medicine man.

31 If the first two words of a word are short, the second is replaced by a long. Excepted are glottal words, whose first syllable contains a short vowel followed by æ. Ne-pëmët-ëse-: nepëmëtësemem I live, cf. nepëmëtësë he lives; pem-ëom-ënh: pemëomnew he walks along, cf. pitomnew he walks hither; pem-ëom-ënh: pemëomnem I walk along, pem-ënomnet when he walked by; kan-akwë: kënë the other escaped him, cf. pakam-akwë: pakamek the other struck him; en-ent - ent: enët if he is called so, cf. pakam-ent: pakamek if he is struck; Ne-ahkëw-ëkwë: netëkhkëwë he comes next after me, cf. aëkhw-ëkwë - aëkhk his other comes next after him, so also in the compound word nenaw-ahkëw he will come next after me, for内部 sandhi does not carry across the surface of compound words. Further, for instance, meh-ëm-: mehkëm he finds it, Ne-mëtëk-ëm-: nemëskan I have found it; contrast pëm-ëm-: pëmnem he puts it in the pot, repëmnæ I put it in the pot. Glottal words are excepted: neënhew he kills him; when a prefix is added, the resulting form is not a glottal word: Ne-nënheww: nennëh new I killed him; peënëntam he takes it by error. Atomic, for example, nekot one (but nekot at one time); nesek and, also; anokhw he works (but netokhkim I work).

32 If the even (second, fourth, etc.) syllable after the next preceding long vowel or after the beginning of a glottal word, is open and has a long vowel, this long vowel is replaced

33 If the even syllable (as in § 32) is closed and contains a short vowel, this short vowel is replaced by a long; kêkân-ak-Êwâ : kêkân-ak-Êwâ that which he knows, kêkân-ak-Êwâ : kêkân-ak-Êwâ if they know it, lekân-ak-Êwâ : lekân-ak-Êwâ if he knows it, kâkên-ak-Êwâ : kâkên-ak-Êwâ when it rains, cf. kâkên-ak-Êwâ : kâkên-ak-Êwâ when it rains; mëmëtchâ : mëmëtchâ it goes poorly, cf. mëmëtchâ : mëmëtchâ it goes poorly; koÈ-ak-Êwâ : koÈ-ak-Êwâ if they fear it, cf. koÈ-ak-Êwâ if they fear it, and, with initial change (not a glottal word, since the first vowel is long), koÈ-ak-Êwâ : koÈ-ak-Êwâ that which they fear; sâmkêêk-ak-Êwâ : sâmkêêk-ak-Êwâ if they pick it up, cf. sâmkêêk-an-Êwâ : sâmkêêk-an-Êwâ if they pick it up, acê-e-kêkhânân : I shall know it, peÊen-Êw : peÊen ê he touches him by error.

34 Certain forms retain a long vowel against the above habits. So the suffix -wek cloth, as wâpesikan white: learn the worst onomatopoeic known squaw. The diminutive suffix -ke together with its variations, such as -new (§ 20): always emphemizes its vowel: kêtêthâm the goat, amewm-isses - amewm-isses; amewmâhak little dogs. Some alternations of quantity are morphological rather than morphophonemic. Thus, when the abstract noun suffix -N is added to verb stems in -kê-, the result is -keN: kâkênâbân he thinks things through, kâkên-ak-Êwâ.

35 If postconsonantal y, w, or any one of
the high vowels, i, i, u, follows anywhere in the word, the vowels â and â are raised to i and ã, and the vowel a in the first syllable of a glottal word is raised to ã: atâhâwêwâ that which they eat, cf. mayêbêk that which he eats; hë-lehâkâwâwâ he tells him a sacred story, cf. lehâkâwâwâ he tells a sacred story; sêkê-e-hëwâ: sêkê-e-hëwâ.

36 The morphophonemic a is replaced by e: pakâmêw : pakâmêw the other one struck him; wêkêwameh : wêkêwameh in the house.

37 The verb e is replaced by e in the first syllable of words except before a cluster of h or þ plus consonant: pemâmênh : pemâmênh he walks along; nemê- : nemê- my foot. Con- trast Nebêthâ : nebêth my younger brother or sister; Nêthêbâ : Nêthêbâ my elder brother; ppûthâm h he tawans a by error; kêkhânân he knows it.

38 The forms now arrived at are phonemic forms of the actual Menomini language. Me- nomini phonetics, however, allows a great deal of latitude to some of its phonemes, and of some overlapping between phonemes. Thus, phonemic e is rather widely replaced by e, except where h, þ plus consonant follows: we have used the morphophoneme a for the cases where this replacement is universal and there- fore phonemic. Some speakers partially and some quite constantly replace i by e.