

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPERS

NUMBER 24

GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON THE PENOBSCOT LANGUAGE
FROM FRANK SPECK'S PENOBSCOT TRANSFORMER TALES

PAUL VOORHIS

OCTOBER 1979

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA
CANADA R3T 2N2

This series consists of research reports which are distributed in preliminary or pre-publication versions. Circulation is strictly limited prior to the revision of the text for normal publication.

Comments are invited.

Copyright is reserved by the author(s). Responsibility for the content of each paper also rests with the author(s).

PAUL VOORHIS

GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON THE PENOBSCOT LANGUAGE
FROM FRANK SPECK'S PENOBSCOT TRANSFORMER TALES

OCTOBER 1979

Grammatical Notes on the Penobscot Language
from Frank Speck's Penobscot Transformer Tales

by Paul Voorhis

Brandon University

CONTENTS

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Introduction..... | 2 |
| 2. Phonology..... | 3 |
| 3. Personal prefixes..... | 13 |
| 4. Noun inflexion..... | 16 |
| 5. Pronouns..... | 22 |
| 6. Verb inflexion..... | 24 |
| 7. Indicative indefinite mode..... | 25 |
| 8. Indicative definite mode..... | 32 |
| 9. Conjunct modes..... | 37 |
| 10. Imperative mode..... | 45 |
| 11. Negative modes..... | 47 |
| 12. Preterite modes..... | 52 |
| 13. Plural stems..... | 54 |
| 14. Notes on syntax..... | 55 |
| 15. Vocabulary..... | 61 |
| 16. Concluding remarks..... | 76 |
| 17. Bibliography..... | 78 |
| Appendix..... | 80 |

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper consists mainly of a list of Penobscot inflexional affixes occurring in Frank Speck's Penobscot Transformer Tales (Speck, 1918). Citations of the form (3.5) and (C.50) specify text numbers 3 and C, and lines 5 and 50 respectively in Speck's paper; the secondary hero-transformer tales (pp. 221-244) are renumbered: A, B, C, D, E for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 respectively.

All data for this paper are from Speck's Penobscot Transformer Tales. But the influences of both my own studies of related languages and the writings of others on Algonquian have been invaluable in the identification and analysis of the Penobscot forms. The listings in the bibliography are an attempt to characterize these influences.

Speck's paper has not been exhaustively catalogued; most of the inflexional affixes occurring in the paper have surely been listed here, but unquestionably other affixes can still be found too. In particular, many a noun or verb whose analysis is uncertain or ambiguous has been passed over without mention in this paper.

I am extremely grateful to the Brandon University Research Committee for a grant providing funds for the printing of this paper, and to my wife, Ruth, for preparing the typescript for offset.

2. PHONOLOGY

Penobscot phonemes are assumed to be the following:

Consonants: p, t, k, c, s, h, m, n, l, w, y

Vowels: i, e, ə, ɣ, a, o

Accent: ˈ

Clusters of two vowels occur. The most frequent appear to have i or a as the first vowel.

Consonant clusters consist of the following:

h plus a stop, s, or l;

s plus a stop;

lk;

all or most of the above, and all or most single consonants, plus w.

All forms in this paper are cited in phonemic transcription with a few exceptions noted below.

Speck uses all of the above letters and symbols except y, and he also uses the following:

Consonants: b, d, g, j, z, ʔ, ŋ, ʃ, w

Vowels: ɛ, ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ̄, u

Length: ː

Accent: ˈ

j and c in Speck's transcription occur only in the clusters dj and tc. Besides these two, Speck writes many other consonant clusters in addition to those assumed to be phonemic.

Speck very occasionally uses still other letters. These either occur so infrequently that they are unanalyzable, or they are found in forms that are usually written more conventionally, and so they can be assumed to be abnormal variants.

First of all, Speck's letters α and α are replaced by v and y respectively throughout this paper. This change is made merely for greater clarity in reading, writing, and typing. All other changes in Speck's transcription are intended to achieve the phonemic transcription. These changes are described in a set of ordered rules below.

Abbreviations for use in the rules:

V = any vowel

A = any central vowel, namely, a, v, y, or a

C = any consonant

N = any nasal consonant homorganic with a following stop, namely, m before p or b, n before t or d, ŋ before k or g

T = any voiceless stop, namely, p, t, or k

S = any spirant, namely s, h, ', or ʃ

The rules are now listed below.

ANC → yC

A central vowel plus a nasal consonant is retranscribed y before a stop homorganic with the nasal:

nəsvnykwátonok 'they are dangerous'-(1.29)

sykətéh̄təkwek 'at the river mouth' (3.8)

tʃpi 'bow' (1.9)

ŋ occurs only in this context, with Aŋ sometimes in alternation with other transcriptions of y:

nŷkàskwak 'girls' (12.14); cf. nŷkàskwe
'girl' (E.1)

CT → ChT where C ≠ S

A voiceless stop after a consonant other than a spirant is retranscribed with preceding h (and the h in turn is retranscribed with preceding ə by the next rule below):

kəhci- 'great' (1.20)
monɪməhkweſso 'woodchuck' (1.2)

C₁C₂ → C₁əC₂ where C₁C₂ ≠ ST, 's, Cw, C(°)^w

ə is assumed to intervene in all consonant clusters other than spirant plus voiceless stop, 's, and consonant plus w, ^w, or ^w, and consonant clusters are retranscribed accordingly. If not strictly phonemic for all forms, such a transcription is probably valid morphophonemically. Speck sometimes records a form with ə in alternation with zero, usually after different consonants, but occasionally between the same consonants:

-əkək 'they' in nɪhləkək 'they killed me'
(10.31) and kātonāləkək 'they seek your life'
(B.96)

-pəna 'we' in kəpəməŋosipəna 'we are living'
(A.52) and kəmvceŋotepəna 'we will move'
(E.227)

C° → CC / V__V

Long consonants are retained, written as double consonants (without intervening ə), when they occur

between vowels:

awássvk 'animals' (2.18)

mánitte 'immediately' (E.210)

Long consonants are especially frequent after ǎ, sometimes in alternation with short consonants:

tǎmmǎse 'cut it off' (15.13); cf. wǎtǎmǎsǎmǎn
'he cut it off' (15.16)

kǎtǎllihǎlowvn 'I will not do it to you'
(10.54); cf. wǎtǎlǎhton 'he made it' (5.20)

Possibly there is a tendency in the language to lengthen consonants after ǎ.

C' → CC / V__#

Long consonants are retained, written as double consonants (without intervening ǎ), after a vowel at the end of a word. The principal example is awáss 'beast' (E.90). A number of other words with ss before a suffix shorten the ss to s in final position:

kikǎwǎs 'your mother' (E.250); cf. wikǎwǎssal
'her mother' (E.4)

kwǎkwǎsǎs 'fox' (10.3); cf. kwǎkwǎsǎssvk
'foxes' (10.31)

And even kǎhciawǎs 'great beast' (1.20) and awǎs itself (2.27).

C' → C / C__

Long consonants are rewritten as single short consonants after a consonant. In this context, long consonants vary freely with short:

awáhsi 'across' (E.107, E.137)

' → 0 / #, _____^w

' is dropped at the end of a word, for it varies freely with zero there:

awássisal 'little beast' (obviative) (E.179, E.185)

kohsásanawa 'our descendants' (obviative) (2.31, 2.34)

' is dropped before _____^w for it appears to be an alternant of zero after voiceless consonants:

kámíhtykwàs 'your father' (11.23)

amíhtakwàsal 'her father' (E.31)

', h, 'h → h

' (except for final ', see above), h, and 'h, are all rewritten as h. Speck writes ' before consonants, h before vowels, with 'h occasionally after consonants:

wánámíhton 'he saw it' (E.145)

kehélla 'accordingly' (E.85)

wápótàhywia 'she did not catch them' (3.4)

χk → lk

χ → hl

l → l

χ is rewritten l before k. Elsewhere χ is rewritten hl. l is retained unchanged from Speck's transcription. Accordingly, we can say that the phoneme l is voiceless before k and after h; otherwise it is voiced.

dj, tc → c

b, p → p

d, t → t

g, k → k

z, s → s

Voiced stops and spirants are rewritten as voiceless, with plain c replacing tc. The identity of voiced and voiceless stops, affricates, and spirants is indicated by Speck himself (p. 189). As a rule, he writes the voiced sounds between vowels and next to voiced consonants, and the voiceless sounds next to voiceless consonants. At the end of a word he writes the voiceless sounds, but at the beginning there is random variation.

m → m

n → n

m and n are retained unchanged from Speck's transcription.

w, ^w → w

w and ^w are both rewritten w. ^w occurs finally and between consonants; w occurs elsewhere:

welʔkwɪwɪk 'at evening' (16.10)

wəsɪsokw 'his eye' (12.62)

wɪsʋnɪkwəsɪt 'he hurrying' (15.37)

y → 0 / i(·)__

y is dropped after i or i·, for in this context it varies freely with zero:

átio 'goodbye' (E.232, cf. E.231)

wecipetv̄pvsiek 'the reason why we came' (E.248)

kāti á[y]iekwe 'if you are to stay' (E.72)

y → y

Except after i or i', y is retained:

áyo 'it will exist' (3.18)

v → v

Length after vowels is dropped, for long and short vowels vary freely, though i is most frequently written long and the other vowels are more frequently short:

kàhcikikilāhsis, kàhcikikilāhsis 'chickadee' (E.193, E.230)

kwé̄nvssal 'his/her grandson' (1.14, E.256)

salāhki 'at last' (E.6, E.30)

i → i

i is retained unchanged.

e, ε → e

e and ε are both rewritten as e, for they vary freely though e occurs much more frequently than ε:

épit 'he sitting there' (12.72, 14.33)

y → y

v ~ y → y

v ~ ə → ə

v ~ a → a

v → v

ə → ə

a ~ y → y

a → a

It is apparent that the three central vowels of Penobscot are greatly confused among four different vowel letters:

y is written y, a, or v;

ə is written ə or v (or, of course, zero);

a is written a or y.

Non-alternating y, ə, and a are retained in the phonemic transcription. y varying with y, ə, or a is retranscribed as y, ə, or a respectively, and a varying with y is retranscribed as y. There remains a number of forms in which y is never recorded varying with any of the other three vowels. In such forms the vowel y is retained in this paper. Moreover, in the words used to exemplify sounds, affixes, and syntax in sections 2 - 14, the central vowels are written here exactly as recorded by Speck (except that ə is inserted in consonant clusters as described above)! This is done to show the extent of the evidence for the central vowel phonemes in the affixes.

Examples of varying central vowels:

wətalənyəpəmv, wətalənvəpəma 'his relatives'
(E.245, E.247)

cəvlvs 'grasshopper' (5.36) and cəvləsəl
'grasshopper' (obviative) (5.39)

For other examples see affixes containing central vowels.

ʒ → y

ʒ is rewritten as y. It is apparently an infrequent variant of y after w, especially before a labial consonant:

wypakwəssən 'it was shrivelled' (15.35)

o → o

u → wə / #__

u → ə / w__

u → o

u is rewritten as wə at the beginning of a word, as ə after w, and as o elsewhere.

u and wə vary freely initially, and contrast with o:

wəlīkan 'it is good' (E.95, E.209)

ətene 'village' (E.63)

After consonants other than w, u and o are in alternation, with o usual in open syllables, and u in closed:

mos 'moose' (8.6)

mōsol 'moose' (obviative) (8.12)

nəsiṑom 'my river' (3.19)

nəsiṑomok 'in my river' (3.17)

o hardly occurs after w except in the word wīkwom 'house' (9.30). The evidence from other Algonquian languages suggests that this should be wīkwym, and that wu represents wə:

pēsək̀wə̀n 'one' (6.15)

́, ̀ → ́

The grave accent is rewritten as acute, fōr the two are complementarily distributed. Speck generally writes the first or only accent in a word with the acute accent, and all other accents with the grave:

pohkätēsa 'bubbles' (obv.) (E.8)
pohkätēsipīhtes 'Bubble-Froth' (E.102)
kāwaco 'it was cold' (9.26)
wāsākikāwaco 'it was terribly cold' (9.29)

There is frequent variation in the place of accent; the few discernable patterns are subject to many exceptions:

ēlāmihlvt 'he going along' (E.184)
elāmīhlvt 'he going along' (E.143)
nəkawāci 'I am cold' (9.39)
kāwaco 'it (for 'he'?) was cold' (9.26)
wāsākikāwaco 'it (for 'he'?) was terribly cold' (9.29)
etōci kawācit 'he being so cold' (9.38)

Many stems seem to have a basic accent on a certain syllable, and the accent tends to remain on that syllable throughout inflexion:

awās 'beast' (2.27)
awāssvk 'animals' (2.18)
awāssətok 'animals' (vocative) (2.16)
kwŷkwəsəs 'fox' (10.3)
kwŷkwəsəssvk 'foxes' (10.31)
nolftāhasi 'I am glad' (E.58)
wālfthyo 'she rejoiced' (E.107)
ētociwālfthasit 'she feeling so glad' (E.216)

Certain suffixes, however, cause the accent to change; for example, in noun inflexion, the accent often shifts to the syllable preceding -m-, -ānaw-, and -owy-, see below.

In citations, phonemes assumed to have been omitted are enclosed in square brackets.

3. PERSONAL PREFIXES

The personal prefixes are n- 'first person', k- 'second person', and w- 'third person'. They occur in the inflexion of both nouns and verbs.

Before a consonant, ə is inserted after the personal prefixes:

nəm̩f̩kə̀n̩vkwek 'in my bag' (2.19)

Cf. m̩f̩kə̀nakwe 'bag' (2.5)

kə̀sen̩f̩pemak 'your men' (E.94)

wə̀sen̩f̩pemv 'his men' (E.88)

Cf. s̩en̩ype 'man' (E.106)

But n- is dropped before n, k- is dropped before k, and w- is dropped before w:

n̩əm̩ihvn 'I will see them' (E.146)

wə̀n̩əm̩ihvn 'she saw them' (E.8)

n̩ək̩is̩f̩ci 'I will be ready' (E.165)

k̩is̩f̩ci 'you will be ready' (E.79)

k[ə̀]wew̩ɛl̩ətam̩ən 'you know it' (12.8)

w̩ew̩in̩āwv 'he knew of them' (11.39)

Personal prefixes are infrequently but freely dropped elsewhere:

niɔ̀na s̩f̩kə̀m̩ə̀m̩ə̀na 'our chief' (E.75)

Before a labial consonant other than w, wə̀- and a- vary freely:

am̩ɔ̀hsom̩ə̀sal, wə̀m̩ɔ̀hsom̩ə̀sal 'his grandfather' (E.245, E.247)

ap̩ə̀m̩ə̀osw̩in̩oma, wə̀p̩ə̀maosw̩in̩oma 'his people' (E.60, E.69)

t is prefixed to a vowel, and the personal prefixes are then added as before a consonant:

nətaləny̆pemak 'my people' (E.142)

kətaləny̆pemak 'your people' (E.137)

wətaləny̆pemv 'his relatives' (E.245)

Cf. ələnype 'person' (E.160)

nətotēnenv 'our village' (8.5)

Cf. ətene 'village' (E.63)

But dependent nouns beginning with a vowel prefix n-, k-, and w- directly to the vowel; w- is dropped before o:

nfcie 'my brother' (11.49)

wfcial 'his brother' (11.53)

kikāwəs 'your mother' (E.250)

wikāwəssal 'his mother' (E.241)

kāte 'your belly' (E.25)

wāte 'her belly' (E.20)

nōhkəmvs 'my grandmother' (3.6)

kōhkəmvs 'your grandmother' (E.124)

ōhkəmvssal 'his grandmother' (1.8)

Initial wə is replaced by o which is treated like initial o in dependent nouns:

wətāmykan 'pipe' (11.48)

kotvmykan 'your pipe' (11.49)

wəlīkan 'it is good' (E.95, E.209)

olinenāweləmvn 'she took good care of them' (E.109)

al- 'thus, so; to that place; (zero)' and aləm- 'along; away; for so long' replace a with ə after personal prefixes:

nətáhcwi alíhlv̄n 'I must go' (11.12)

wətəlíhton 'he made it' (5.20)

elámāosian (with initial change) 'as long as you live'
(E.233)

nánəkwəc wətəl̄l̄m̄i pawáskahásin 'some went off shaking
themselves' (C.46)

4. NOUN INFLEXION

There are two classes, called genders, of noun stems, namely, animate stems and inanimate stems.

The following suffixes occur with animate noun stems:

zero 'proximate/vocative singular'
-al 'obviative singular'
-ak 'proximate plural'
-a 'obviative plural'
-ətok 'vocative plural'
-əke, -əhke, -əkke 'locative, at the house of'
(Distribution of variants uncertain.)

The following suffixes occur with inanimate noun stems:

zero 'singular'
-al 'plural'

Remaining suffixes probably occur with noun stems of either gender:

-ok 'locative, at, in, on'
-i 'attributive'

These suffixes follow many stems without sandhi changes:

sipəs 'bird' (prox.) (4.19)
kəhçisipəsəl 'great bird' (4.20)
sipəsvk 'ducks' (1.32)
sipəsa 'ducks' (1.37)
māskikwəsi, maskikwəsi a name (prox.) (E.99, E.230)
maskikwəsial (E.121)
nəsipom 'my river' (3.19)
nəsipomok 'in my river' (3.17)

wəlēwykan 'his heart' (E.202)
wəlēwykanok 'in his heart' (E.203)
pohkətēsa 'bubbles' (obv.) (E.8)
pohkətēsipīhtes 'Bubble-Froth' (E.102)
wikāwəssal 'his/her mother' (E.4, E.241)
wikāwəssəke 'at his mother's' (E.225)

Long consonants are usually shortened finally:

awās, awāss 'beast' (prox.) (2.27, E.90)
awāssvk 'animals' (2.18)
awāssa 'beasts' (1.27)
awāssətok 'animals' (2.16)
kəhciawās 'great beast' (prox.) (1.20)
kwŷkwəsəs 'fox' (prox.) (10.3) and (voc.) (10.19)
kwŷkwəsəssal 'fox' (10.50)
kwŷkwəsəssvk 'foxes' (10.31)
kwŷkwəsəssa 'foxes' (10.42)

Some stems ending in e drop the e before a:

ālənype 'person' (prox.) (E.160)
ālənypak 'people' (E.64)
ālənypa 'people' (E.67)
apāhkwe 'his arrow' (E.191)
apāhkwal 'his arrows' (E.190)

But:

wətamŷwe 'tobacco' (prox.) (5.2)
wətamŷweal 'tobacco' (5.6)

a is probably dropped after y as in the indicative indefinite mode of verbs:

A possible example is:

sŷkəm 'chief' (prox.) (E.84)
kəhcisŷkəma 'great chief' (prox.) (E.60)

sŷkəmal 'chief' (E.82)

w precedes a after o:

sŷpo 'river' (3.8)

sŷpowal 'rivers' (1.28), written sŷpoal (6.6)

mətŷolinə 'conjurer' (p.216, footnote)

kəhɕimətŷolinəwə 'great conjurers' (14.4)

After certain stems a is replaced by o:

mos 'moose' (prox.) (8.6)

mŷsol 'moose' (8.12)

pəhŷnvm 'woman' (prox.) (14.10)

pəhŷnvmə 'women' (15.6)

-ok 'locative' drops o after a vowel. w is dropped before -ok:

nəpŷ 'water' (7.3)

nəpŷk 'in water' (E.103)

mŷkənakwe 'bag' (2.5)

mŷkənvkwək 'in the bag' (2.22)

sŷpo 'river' (3.8)

sŷpok 'at the river' (8.28)

sŷpəkw 'ocean' (3.13)

sŷpəkək 'on the ocean' (3.11)

-ə(h/k)ke 'locative' drops a after a vowel:

monŷməhkwŷssəhke 'at Woodchuck's' (E.213, E.242)

sŷkəməŷkəkke 'at the chief's' (E.81)

e is replaced by a before -i:

ələnypə 'person' (E.160)

ələnypai ŷtənə 'a village of people' (16.1)

-vk is occasionally recorded in place of -ok 'locative':

awīkwomwvk 'at his house' (3.24), cf. wàwīkwomok
'at his house' (4.39)
wǎtvpvk 'on his head' (12.51)

Possessive affixes occur with a noun to denote personal pronouns as possessors of the noun:

n- 'my'
k- 'your (singular)'
w- 'his, her'
n--ə̀naw- 'our (exclusive)'
k--ə̀naw- 'our (inclusive)'
k--ow̄- 'your (plural)'
w--ow̄- 'their'

These are followed in turn by the suffixes cited previously, but animate nouns with w- or w--ow̄- may not be proximate:

nǒhsəs 'my grandchild' (voc.) (4.23)
nə̀talə̀n̄p̄emak 'my people' (E.142)
nə̀m̄f̄kə̀nv̄kwek 'in my bag' (2.19)
kikāwəs 'your mother' (E.250)
kə̀talə̀n̄p̄emak 'your people' (E.137)
kə̀m̄ǒhsoməsəl 'your grandfather' (obv.) (A.36)
wikāwə̀ssəl 'his/her mother' (E.4, E.241)
ǒhsə̀ssa 'his descendants' (6.13)
wələ̀w̄ykan 'his heart' (E.202)
wələ̀w̄ykanok 'in his heart' (E.203)

-ə̀naw- drops ə̀ after a vowel and drops w finally:

kə̀tǒhkan̄f̄m̄isə̀na 'our younger brother' (11.63)
kǒhkeməsə̀na, for kǒhkə̀m̄əsə̀na?, 'our grandmother' (E.47)
nə̀totēnena 'our village' (B.92)

nohsδsənwaw 'our descendants' (obv.) (1.25)

kohsδsənwak 'our descendants' (2.32)

kohsδsənwaw 'our descendants' (obv.) (2.34)

(These examples seem to indicate that a long consonant is shortened except before the last vowel of a word.)

a is probably dropped after -owy- as in the indicative indefinite mode of verbs:

kətōhkanfimisowy 'your younger brother' (11.69)

wətōhkanfimisowal 'their younger brother'

(11.73)

wənicānowv 'their children' (B.133)

wənfimawānowəl (for -al?) 'their lunches'

(13.18)

Many stems, when they have a personal prefix, require -m- (recorded only after vowels; perhaps -əm- follows consonants) before all other suffixes:

ālənype 'person' (E.160)

nətālənŷpemak 'my people' (E.142)

kətālənŷpēmānawvk 'our people' (E.228)

Some stems require a change of shape when they occur with personal prefixes:

ālamos 'dog' (8.33), kəhcfāləmossal 'big dog' (obv.)
(8.39)

wətēmisal 'his dog' (8.31)

tŷpi 'bow' (1.9)

wətāhtypial 'his bow' (E.168)

wətamŷwe 'tobacco' (5.2)

notamvweim 'my tobacco' (5.37)

akwītàn 'canoe' (5.11)

wətǒl 'his canoe' (4.2)

wətǒlok 'in his canoe' (4.3)

Certain nouns have irregular forms for vocative singular with first person singular possessor:

mĩhtykwi 'father' (11.36), cf. kàmĩhtykwàs 'your father' (11.23), amĩhtakwàs 'her father' (E.31)
nàmǒhsomi 'grandfather' (4.21), cf. amǒhsomàs 'his grandfather' (E.245)

nĩka 'mother' (E.26), cf. wikāwàs 'his mother' (E.241)

nǒhkàmi 'grandmother' (E.58), cf. ǒhkàmvssal 'his grandmother' (1.8)

Cf. regular němvr 'son' (11.37), cf. wàněmanal 'her son' (E.109)

A number of noun stems, most of them kinship terms or names of body parts, probably fail to occur without possessive affixes. Such stems are called dependent nouns. Other noun stems are called independent nouns.

5. PRONOUNS

The following independent personal pronouns are recorded.

nĭa, niǎ 'I' (E.27, E.56, E.237)

nĭona, niǒna 'we' (exclusive) (E.74, E.154)

kiǒna 'we' (inclusive) (3.37)

kĭa, kiǎ 'you' (singular) (2.31, D.71)

kĭlawa 'you' (plural) (3.14)

nĕkàma 'he, she, they' (5.41, 12.9)

The following demonstrative pronouns are recorded.

kətǎk- 'other':

Animate:

kətǎk 'proximate singular' (11.65)

kətǎkil 'obviative singular' (11.60)

kətǎkik 'proximate plural' (E.125)

kətǎkihi 'obviative plural' (E.246)

Inanimate:

kətǎk 'singular' (E.147)

n- 'that':

Animate:

na, wa 'proximate singular' (A.40, C.51)

nĭlil 'obviative singular' (A.9, D.17)

nĭkik 'proximate plural' (C.55)

Inanimate:

nə 'singular' (B.23)

nĭlil 'plural' (A.65)

yo- 'this':

Animate:

owá 'proximate singular' (1.17, 3.29)

yol 'obviative singular' (E.122)

yok, yókik 'proximate plural' (E.87, B.26)

yóhi 'obviative plural' (E.66)

Inanimate:

yo 'singular' (3.22)

Interrogative and indefinite pronouns are the following.

awen- 'who?, someone, anyone':

awén 'proximate singular' (1.17, E.211, E.223)

áwenil 'obviative singular' (E.54)

kékwəs- 'what?, something, anything':

kékwəs 'singular' (E.55, E.101, E.196)

6. VERB INFLEXION

Personal affixes occur with a verb to denote personal pronouns as subjects and objects of the verb.

There are three classes of verb stems, namely animate intransitive stems, inanimate intransitive stems, and transitive animate stems.

Animate intransitive stems take personal affixes denoting animate subjects, inanimate intransitive stems take personal affixes denoting inanimate subjects, and transitive animate stems take personal affixes denoting animate objects with subjects of either gender.

Among the animate intransitive stems are many with an implicit inanimate personal pronoun as object. Among the transitive animate stems are many with an implicit personal pronoun of either gender as direct object; the animate object represented in the personal affixes denotes the indirect object with such stems.

Affixes glossed 'he' or 'him' may equally well be glossed 'she' or 'her'.

Affixes inferred but not actually recorded are indicated by a preceding asterisk.

7. INDICATIVE INDEFINITE MODE

The indicative indefinite is formed with a set of personal affixes which include the personal prefixes. The following forms are recorded.

ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

n- 'I':

nolítàhasi 'I am glad' (E.58)

nəsáwahto 'I am tired' (D.33)

k- 'you' (singular):

kàwíci awáhkvni 'you will be a slave with another/
others' (E.157)

kàtáhewic mikáhke 'you must also fight' (E.72)

kàmémàhlawikísihato 'you have done a great thing
(E.217)

(-zero) 'he':

pécohse 'he came' (E.71)

sawáhto 'he got tired' (14.32)

ítam 'she said' (4.10)

pákàssin 'he alighted' (E.193)

Final i is replaced by o:

wàlítàhyso 'she rejoiced' (E.107)

w is dropped before o here as elsewhere:

káo 'he slept' (C.8)

kaólàtowak 'they slept' (B.37);

cf. wàkáwin 'he fell asleep' (D.37)

-al 'he' (obv.):

i is replaced by ow before -al:

pfosəss[o]wal 'it was small' (11.51);

cf. -ak 'they' below.

w is inserted after o before -al:

katāweləmo[w]al 'he began to smile' (11.55);

cf. the treatment of i above.

After other phonemes -al is probably treated like -ak 'they' below.

n--pəna 'we' (exclusive):

nətāwahkʷnwi-pəna 'we will be slaves' (E.94)

nəpētδotepəna 'we will move here' (C.29)

k--pəna 'we' (inclusive):

kəpəmāosipəna 'we are living' (A.52)

kətāhcwic mikāhkepəna 'we must fight' (E.69)

kəmvceōotepəna 'we will move (i.e., change residence)' (E.227)

k--pa 'you' (plural):

kətāhcwic alipəmāosipa 'you must live' (E.77)

-ak 'they':

i is replaced by ow before -ak:

pətəkʷpvsowak 'they walked back' (E.211)

e is dropped before -ak:

pēcōhsak 'they came there' (D.75, E.241)

w is probably inserted after o before -ak, cf. -al 'he' (obv.) above.

-ak is replaced by -ok after consonants:

pəsēlok 'they are many' (E.129)

-a 'they' (obv.):

i is replaced by ow before -a:

mīlikowa 'they will be various' (1.27)

After other phonemes -a is probably treated like -ak 'they' above.

INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

(-zero) 'it':

pānīhle 'it melted off' (12.86)

cīkāhte 'it was quiet' (E.147)

mvcēkvn 'it began to grow' (E.20)

mecīmālv̄māhsān 'it is always windy' (4.87)

s̄v̄nvkwat 'it is dangerous' (B.7)

-al 'they':

e is dropped before -al:

pānīhlal 'they melted off' (12.87)

TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERBS:

n--y 'I - him':

nākwilāohy 'I will search for him' (8.8)

n--yk 'I - them':

nākatikwilaohyk 'I am going to search for them'
(E.129)

nāmāskāwyk 'I have found them' (E.227)

nātāhcwi alōhkewyk 'I must work for them' (obv.)
(11.4)

k--y 'you (singular) - him':

cāhkāpa kwilāohy 'you ought to search for him'
(E.124)

k--yk 'you (singular) - them':

kənʋcipəhv̄k 'you will go and get them' (3.27)

w--yl 'he (prox.) - him (obv.)':

wənāmihvl 'he saw him' (4.18)

w--y 'he (prox.) - them (obv.)':

wənotāwy 'he heard them' (12.38)

-y 'indefinite - him':

aliwfhlv 'he is called' (15.42)

*n--yna 'we (exclusive) - him'

n--ynawak 'we (exclusive) - them':

nəkwihtēləmvnawan (for -ak) 'we are afraid of them' (B.93)

k--yna 'we (inclusive) - him':

kənʋci katonālvnv 'we are going to kill him' (B.14)

kəmōtənanv 'we will attack him' (B.24)

k--ynawak 'we (inclusive) - them':

kətālohkewanāwak 'we will work for them' (13.8)

*k--ywy 'you (plural) - him'

*k--ywyk 'you (plural) - them'

w--ywl 'they (prox.) - him (obv.)':

wənotāwywal 'they heard him' (12.31)

w--ywy 'they (prox.) - them (obv.)':

wəkākəhikhīhawa 'they were tormenting them' (B.87, B.89)

wəmʋcekātonālawy 'they began to be hostile to them' (E.66)

n--əkw 'he - me':

nətíhlvkw 'he told me' (E.127)

n--əkok 'they - me':

níhləkok 'they killed me' (10.31)

k--əkw 'he - you (singular)':

kəmácipécipəhvkw 'he will get you in trouble' (E.5)

k--əkok 'they - you (singular)':

kātonáɫəkok 'they seek your life' (B.96)

w--əkol 'he (obv.) - him (prox.)':

wətíhləkol 'he told him' (12.7)

w--əko 'they (obv.) - him (prox.)':

wəkātonáɫəko 'they sought his life' (11.40)

n--əkona 'he - us (excl.)':

kékv nəkāhtəhokov 'he has almost killed us' (7.8)

n--əkonawak 'they - us (excl.)':

nəkštəmvkihðkonawak 'they abuse us' (B.92)

*k--əkona 'he - us (incl.)'

*k--əkonawak 'they - us (incl.)'

k--əkow 'he - you (plural)':

kəsehkykowa '(lest) he overcome you' (11.70)

*k--əkow 'they - you (plural)'

*w--əkow 'he (obv.) - them (prox.)'

w--əkaw 'they (obv.) - them (prox.)', probably in error for w--əkow, cf. k--əkow above:

akwĩhteləmǝkawy 'they were afraid of them' (B.90)

k--i 'you (singular) - me':

kənǎmihi 'you will see me' (10.36)

k--ipǎna 'you - us':

kistǎhipǎna 'you have conquered us' (E.93)

kǎtǎhcwic sehkǎwipena for -pǎna 'you must conquer us' (E.76)

k--ipa 'you (plural) - me':

kǎnfhlipa 'you have killed me' (10.20)

k--ǎl 'I - you (singular)':

kǎtakǎhkimvl 'I will teach you' (1.34)

k--ǎlǎpǎna 'we - you':

kǎtǎlamiswǎmǎlǎpǎna 'we thank you very much' (8.67)

*k--ǎlǎpa 'I - you (plural)'

n--ǎke 'indefinite - me':

nǎkǎ[h]tǎhokǎ 'I am abandoned' (D.46)

k--ǎke 'indefinite - you (singular)':

kǎpǎcinǎcǎpǎhoke 'they (indefinite) will come to get you' (B.10)

*n--ǎkepǎna 'indefinite - us (excl.)'

*k--ǎkepǎna 'indefinite - us (incl.)'

*k--ǎkepa 'indefinite - you (plural)'

Sandhi:

ǎ is replaced by o after h; examples above under n--ǎkona, n--ǎkonawak, n--ǎke, k--ǎke.

-əkw seems to be excepted from the rule above;
example above under k--əkw.

-awəkw is replaced by -ykw.

-awək- is replaced by -yk-.

-awəl is replaced by -ol.

-awəl- is replaced by -ol-:

kīsi pēhsotəhkykw 'he has been near you already'
(E.26)

kənīhkvlotykok 'they have confidence in you' (?)
(2.32)

Another example above under k--əkowy.

Indicative definite forms (described below):

amyhtēhkykon 'she came into contact with him'
(E.16).

kolihtōlən 'I will heal it for you' (4.63), cf.
olihtāwvn 'he healed it for him' (4.68) (writ-
ten wəlihtāwvn).

y before l is frequently represented as ə (written u)
after stems ending in aw:

wəkātikəlāhamāwəl 'he tried to stop him' (14.24)

8. INDICATIVE DEFINITE MODE

The indicative definite is formed with a set of personal affixes which include the personal prefixes, but which have suffixes different from those of the indefinite. All forms include the definite suffix -ən (replaced by -n after vowels).

ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

n--ən 'I':

nəpəmāosin 'I will live' (E.49)

nəkāti kwilawāhton 'I am going to search for it'
(4.8)

nətahcēlētāmən 'I want it' (1.31, E.248)

nəsiwāssinən 'I am tired of lying' (4.66)

k--ən 'you' (singular):

kənamihnton 'you see it' (E.135)

k[ə]wewēlētāmən 'you know it' (12.8)

w--ən 'he':

wəmficin 'he ate it' (14.34)

wənāmihton 'he saw it' (E.145)

nokōtānāmən 'then he took it off' (E.255)

(nə 'then' combines with wə- to yield no-:

wətīhləkon 'she said to her' (E.28), notīhləkon

'then she said to her' (E.20).)

w--lin 'he' (obv.):

wənatiēlilin 'him to hunt' (E.115)

*n--ənena 'we' (exclusive)

k--ə́nena 'we' (inclusive):

kólaosí́nenv 'we will live well' (1.21)

k--ə́ny 'you' (plural):

kə́namíhtonv 'you will see it' (2.20)

w--ə́ny 'they':

apetyp̄́sinv 'they came' (E.244)

wəkisíhtonv 'they finished making it' (1.35)

wətétakwapihtámə́na 'they inhabit the length of it'
(7.36)

wə́nisoḥsínv (for -nə́ny?) 'they lay together'
(16.39)

Stem-final e is replaced by y:

notá́li wə́cífhihiwynv 'then they came there as visitors' (16.2);

cf. etá́li wə́cihcfhiwet 'he was a guest there'
(C.21)

nətə́lɪ́hlan 'I will go' (B.102)

kə́pecḥsvn 'you have come' (D.76)

wə́pɪ́tikan 'he entered' (E.151)

apə́mḥsan 'he walked along' (E.139)

kətə́lḥsṽnenv 'we will go' (D.80)

wə́mvcēotanv 'they started off (changing residence)'
(E.229)

wə́pecíhlvlin 'he will run' (10.16)

Verbs with implicit reference to an inanimate object sometimes take -al when the object is plural:

nətə́pənáwíhton 'I will inspect them' (6.5)

wətə́pənawíhtonal 'he inspected them' (6.10)

TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERBS:

n--yn 'I - him/them':

nəkātikatonālvn 'I want to hunt him' (1.10)

nāmihvn 'I will see them' (E.146)

k--yn 'you (singular) - him/them':

kəsēhkawvn 'you have conquered him' (E.218)

w--yn 'he (prox.) - him/them (obv.)':

wətīhlvn 'he said to him/them' (1.33, E.96)

notīhlyvn 'then he told them' (B.73)

wāmīlan 'he gave it to him' (11.53)

wəkəḷḷolan 'he spoke to them' (12.15)

wəkwiḷāohan 'he searched for them' (C.38)

-yn 'indefinite - him/them':

sehkāwən 'he was conquered' (14.35)

*n--ynena 'we (excl.) - him/them'

k--ynena 'we (incl.) - him/them':

kāmāssənvnena 'we will take them unawares' (D.81)

*k--yny 'you (plural) - him/them'

w--yny 'they (prox.) - him/them (obv.)'

wətīhlvnv 'they said to him' (8.65)

n--əkon 'he/they - me':

nətīhləkon 'he told me' (4.57)

*k--əkon 'he/they - you (singular)'

w--əkon 'he/they (obv.) - him (prox.)':

wətīhləkon 'she said to her' (E.23)

notīhləkon 'then they told him' (B.22)

n--əkonena 'he/they - us (excl.)':

nəkv̄ləhamokonenv (for -əkonena?) 'he forbids us to have it' (7.9)

*k--əkonena 'he/they - us (incl.)'

k--əkony 'he/they - you (plural)':

kəmf̄ləkona 'he will give it to you' (7.12)

w--əkony 'he/they (obv.) - them (prox.)':

apētəhp̄ləkona 'it drove them' (B.129)

The forms with -əko- are also used for inanimate subjects:

apētəhp̄ləkona above.

k--in 'you (singular) - me':

kətək̄hkimin 'you to teach me' (1.31)

k--inena 'you - us':

kət̄vn̄hələtam̄winena 'you to forgive us' (E.249)

*k--iny 'you (plural) - me'

k--ələn 'I - you (singular)':

kəmv̄cewāmələn 'I will carry you' (4.58)

kəmf̄lv̄n, kəmf̄llv̄n 'I give it to you' (for kəmf̄lələn?) (5.49, 5.51). Perhaps -əl- is dropped after l, at least optionally.

kis̄htolv̄n 'I have made them for you' (5.57)

k--ələna 'we - you':

k[ə]w̄f̄cihlēmələn̄ 'we will stay with you' (C.30)

k--ələny 'I - you (plural)':

kənf̄htam̄lən̄v 'I will destroy him for you' (8.8)

kàtʔpəkwhǎlǎna 'I will give you your share of
it' (E.208)

n--ǎken 'indefinite - me':

nǎtǎlǎhǎlǎken 'someone to paddle me thither'
(D.27)

*k--ǎken 'indefinite - you (singular)'

*n--ǎkenena 'indefinite - us (excl.)'

*k--ǎkenena 'indefinite - us (incl.)'

*k--ǎkeny 'indefinite - you (plural)'

Definite verbs sometimes take -al 'them' (inanimate), -al
'him' (obv.), and probably -ak 'them' (prox.) and -a
'them' (obv.) in agreement with the object:

wǎtʔhlvny 'they said to him' (8.65)

wǎnǎpahkatǎwvna 'they deceived her' (10.2)

kǎmʔlowvna 'I will not give them to you' (negative
form, described below) (5.48)

Sandhi is the same as in the indicative indefinite above:

Examples of stems ending in aw are under the indicative
indefinite and under k--ǎlǎny above.

Example of a stem ending in h is under k--ǎlǎny above.

y before n is frequently represented as ǎ (written u)
after stems ending in aw:

notǎpinǎwǎn 'then she watched it' (B.64);

cf. kǎtǎpinǎwvn 'you watch it' (A.80)

Another example above under -yn.

9. CONJUNCT MODES

The conjunct modes are formed with a set of personal affixes, all suffixes, wholly different from the affixes listed above. The various conjunct modes are distinguished as follows.

In the conjunctive mode, stems whose first vowel is a or ə take initial change: the vowel is replaced by e. Other stems take no conjunctive mode sign.

Stems beginning with tal- 'at that place' prefix e to form initial change:

etalipəmapəskwihlvk 'where it turned to stone'
(6.17)

In the subjunctive mode, -e is suffixed to the personal suffixes.

Participles take the following suffixes.

Animate:

(-zero)'proximate singular'

-il'obviative singular'

-ik'proximate plural'

-ihi'obviative plural'

Inanimate:

(-zero)'singular'

-il'plural'

t is replaced by c before i in these suffixes.

Each of these suffixes can follow any third person conjunct personal suffix of the same gender, number, and obviation with the exception that -ik follows singular instead of plural suffixes.

Verbs which take initial change in the conjunctive mode take it also in participles.

ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

-a 'I':

épia 'I have sat' (4.28)

-a is replaced by -vn- before suffixes:

aláhkvne 'when I throw it' (11.94)

-an 'you' (singular):

eləməosian 'as long as you live' (E.233)

alisákimihkohkāmāne 'when/if you meet with difficulty' (E.234, E.237)

kėkwəs notāmāne 'whatever you may hear' (D.53)

-t 'he':

elītəhvsit 'he thinking' (1.41)

kisfhpit 'when he finished eating' (E.167)

ekfikit 'he of all kinds' (2.26)

kisypāite 'after he becomes a man' (E.105)

wikfik 'they living' (1.1)

ekikfik 'they of all kinds' (2.18)

e is optionally replaced by y before t:

kfohset 'he roaming' (1.15)

pecōhset 'he coming' (1.15)

pēcōhsat 'he coming' (E.125)

sykəhfhlāt 'he coming up' (E.90) -

alōhsete 'if he goes there' (9.11)

moskfhlȳcik 'they coming up' (E.9)

etālotēnecik 'those who inhabited the village' (E.65)

-t is replaced by -kw after o, and the o is replaced by y:

kisfhtykw 'when he made it, he who makes it'
(2.5, 4.13, 5.11)

-t is replaced by -k after m and n, and the m and n are dropped:

ftak 'he said' (4.11)
éhcwélàtak 'he wishing for it' (2.2)
elšssik 'he lying' (E.207)

-lit 'he/they' (obv.):

é[y]ilit 'where he was' (4.20)
pitfkapásilit 'when they entered' (2.21), written pikft- in error.
kéhsilit 'as many as there were of them' (11.66)
sykəhapflite 'when she looked out' (10.5)
ékikikilfcihi 'those who are of all kinds' (E.111)
etalymélicil 'she fishing there' (3.3)
kétəwinəhtólicil 'he who sings' (D.55)

e is optionally replaced by y before -lit as before -t:

eləmihlvlicil 'he going along' (8.30)

-ek 'we' (exclusive):

wecipetvpsfek 'the reason why we came' (E.248)

-akw 'we' (inclusive):

kātiā[y]iakwe 'if we want to stay' (E.70)

-ekw 'you' (plural):

wécic pəmaosólàtiekw 'so that you will all live'
(3.15)

kāti ā[y]iekwe 'if you are to stay' (E.72)

-hVtit 'they'; the vowel following h is identical with the vowel preceding h:

ēihitit 'where they are' (E.131)

etalətōnəhkehetit 'when they were talking there'
(5.35)

namīhtohōtit 'when they saw it' (12.58)

e is sometimes replaced by y before -hVtit as before -t:

n ēlāmi wiwənōkahātīt 'while they circled around dancing' (12.18)

o precedes -hVtit after a consonant:

itāmohotit 'they said' (12.35)

kīsāsīnohotit 'when they had lain down' (16.41)

-hVtit is sometimes replaced by -hVt or -tit:

ēolətītīt 'where they are' (E.133)

eōlātīhit 'where they are' (E.142)

pecīhlātīt 'when they came there' (D.32)

ewēhkētīcīl 'those which they will use' (13.14)

-mok 'indefinite':

elinatiēlimok 'how to hunt' (E.117)

e is replaced by y before -mok as before -t:

etālōkamok 'where they (indefinite) were dancing' (12.1)

-mon 'indefinite', for -mok? If so, then the replacement of e by y is optional:

elikatōnəhkemon 'how to hunt' (1.4)

-sik 'indefinite'; o is replaced by y before -sik:

elíhtysik 'how to make it' (1.31)

Stem-final e is dropped before vowels:

pécihla 'I will come' (A.74)

elipecíhlan 'when you come to' (E.35)

pécihláne 'when you arrive' (11.22)

Stem-final o is replaced by aw before vowels:

etálihtáwv 'for me to make them' (13.12)

INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

-k 'it':

welŷkwiwik 'when it was evening' (E.51)

cíkàhtek 'that which was quiet' (E.151)

sípo[w]al sŷkàtetàkwekil sópekòk 'rivers which empty into the ocean' (6.9)

n is dropped and t is replaced by h before k:

kékeméhsi mvcékak 'why does it grow' (E.25)

sŷnykwahk 'danger' (A.81)

TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERBS:

-ok 'I - him/them':

wécic kátonálok 'so that I may hunt them' (1.32)

méwia wicohkémoke 'I had better help her' (3.5)

-at 'you (singular) - him/them':

sehkáwat 'when you conquered him' (E.251)

nehkáhtahat 'you annihilating them' (3.35)

námiháte 'if you see him' (A.79)

-yt 'he (prox.) - him/them (obv.)':

n étoci nōhsohkāwyt 'then she followed him' (8.22)

etōci kwīlomyt 'when she was so anxious for him
(10.13)

nīlil ehcwēlāmycil 'the one he wants' (D.18)

nōlka nehlfcihi 'the deer which he killed' (A.44)

*-ek 'we (exclusive) - him/them':

-akw 'we (inclusive) - him/them':

tan kēhsicowēlāmakw 'as many of them (obv.) as we
wish' (#.38)

*-ekw 'you (plural) - him/them'

-yhytit 'they (prox.) - him/them (obv.)':

tēpenāwi[h]ahatit 'they examined it' (12.32)

-ot 'indefinite - him/them':

etalinākalot 'when she was left there' (E.39)

-it 'he - me':

tvn notāwit 'he who hears me' (3.20)

-ihitit 'they - me':

wihkwōtamawīhitite 'whenever they call for me'
(13.10)

-āsk 'he/they - you (singular)':

nāmi[h]oske 'when they see you' (A.63)

sēhkask 'he who will conquer you' (14.8)

-ākoht 'he (obv.) - him (prox.)':

kēti pāhpimākoht 'when she joked with him' (8.19)

nēmihōkoht 'when he saw her' (E.31)

ēlykwāhlākocihl 'she who will cook for him (D.10),
for -ākohcil?

-əkohotit 'they (obv.) - them (prox.)':

elikatonā́ləkohotit 'how they were after their lives
(E.68)

ketonā́ləkohotícihi 'they who will seek their lives
(1.27)

The forms with -əko- are also used for inanimate subjects:

nesvnykwá[h]k ketonā́ləkohótit 'danger which
will seek to destroy them' (1.26)

-ian 'you (singular) - me':

wicōhkemiane 'if you help me' (4.32)

*-iekw 'you - us' (for -iek?), cf. -iwekw, negative,
below.

-iekw 'you (plural) - me':

kēhswi səkfliekw 'when you urinated on me so many
times' (10.20)

-əlek 'we - you':

etalinəkātōtvməlek 'where we are going to leave
you' (E.36)

-əlekw 'we - you' (for -əlek?):

nēmiholekw 'when we see you' (B.49)

-əlekw 'I - you (plural)':

pēci nātotékolekw 'I coming to visit you' (B.135)
nōcinā́mihyōlekw (for -iholekw) 'in order for me to
see you' (B.136)

Sandhi:

-awo- → -ao-:

sehkaot 'when he was defeated' (11.96)

-awask → -ask;

example under -ask above.

Otherwise sandhi is the same as in the indicative above;

examples of stems ending in h are under -ask,

-akoht, -alekw, -alek above.

10. IMPERATIVE MODE

The imperative is formed with a set of personal affixes, all suffixes, wholly different from the affixes listed above.

ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

(-zero) 'you' (singular):

apí 'sit' (8.32)

wəl̥ɣci 'be well prepared' (E.226)

nihkʷnnohse 'go ahead' (D.84)

kəl̥ámoto 'attach it' (15.37)

Final m is dropped, and preceding ə is replaced by e:

ehkwí fta 'don't say' (10.35)

tómməse 'cut it off' (15.13)

Irregularly, wətám- 'smoke' takes a suffix -a:

wətáma 'smoke' (11.43), cf. otámən 'he smoked' (11.64)

-nne 'we' (inclusive):

ápinne 'let's sit' (D.35)

ə is inserted before -nne after a consonant:

nisohsínonne 'we will lie together' (16.38)

-kw 'you' (plural):

pisvp̥ɣsikw 'get inside' (2.19)

TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERBS:

-e 'you (singular) - him/them':

skōhyle 'watch for her' (8.32)

kəlāhamāwe 'stop them' (E.93)

-ynne 'we (inclusive) - him/them':

naosʋmanne 'let us chase him' (E.173)

-ohk 'you (plural) - him/them':

ēhkwi katonālohk 'don't seek his life' (11.69)

-i 'you (singular) - me':

mīli 'give them to me' (5.45)

alypēsəmawi 'cut them up for me' (11.13)

Third person personal affixes for the imperative mode are probably derived from those of the conjunct modes by changing the final t or k to ç:

pitəhʃhlvc 'let him enter' (3.17)

11. NEGATIVE MODES

Negative indicative and conjunct modes are formed with a negative suffix, variously -o, -w, and -wi. A negative imperative mode is formed with a suffix -hkac.

Negative indicative indefinite:

n--o 'I':

nəsɪpəhkoɦseo 'I will not stay away long' (11.3)

k--o 'you' (singular):

kɪsɪkʷləsio 'you cannot hide yourself' (E.29)

kolálohkeo 'you did not work well' (2.29)

zero after vowels, -o after consonants 'he'; final i is not replaced by o:

kəlɔsi 'he did not speak' (E.211)

kɪsɪamilipie 'he did not paddle out' (1.39)

canɪnəɦto 'he did not cease singing' (2.7)

cikəsətámo 'she did not obey' (E.5)

-wiak 'they':

mɪvceotátiwiak 'they will not leave (to change residence)' (E.82)

zero after vowels, -o after consonants 'it':

kəsɪhkwɪɦle 'it does not go fast' (5.15)

mecɪmələvməɦsəno 'it will not always be windy'
(4.88)

k--o 'you (singular) - him':

kəməskáo 'you cannot find her' (D.71)

w--ywial 'he (prox.) - him (obv.)':

nāmihywial 'she didn't see him' (8.25, 8.26)

w--ywia 'he (prox.) - them (obv.)':

wəpǝtəhywia 'she did not catch them' (3.4)

w--ywiwy 'they (prox.) - them (obv.)':

olitəhamāwiwy 'they were not pleased with them'
(E.65)

n--əko 'he - me':

nəpǝhsotəhkʷko 'he did not come near me' (E.28)

k--əko 'he - you (singular)':

kəpǝləko 'he will not escape you' (A.42)

w--əkowial 'he (obv.) - him (prox.)':

wewinəkōwiāl 'he did not recognize him' (4.50)

w--əkowia 'they (obv.) - him (prox.)':

wətʷsitēməkowia 'they did not answer him' (12.15)

k--əkowina 'he - us (inclusive)':

kənātāwihokowina 'it (tobacco) will not be scarce
for us' (5.34)

k--əkowiwy 'he - you (plural)':

kōtamihokōwiwy 'he will not bother you' (8.64)

k--əlo 'I - you (singular)':

kənāmihōlo 'I do not see you' (10.33, 10.34)

Negative indicative definite:

n--wən 'I':

nəsākipapəmikiōhsewvn 'I will not have a hard time
wandering' (2.25)

w--wàn 'he':

otʔosiwàn 'he cannot live' (9.11)

w--wàny 'they':

wàkʔizi cànəhtekamɔ̃nv (for -amowànv?) 'they could not kick it away' (B.127)

o is inserted after a stem-final consonant before w:

wàkiselətámowvn 'he would not give it up'
(7.20)

[wə] màskāmowàn 'he did not find it' (12.63)

Another example above under w--wàny.

k--ywàn 'you (singular) - him/them':

kěhsawehkvhāwvn 'you do not enjoy him so much'
(5.44)

k--əlowàn 'I - you (singular)':

kəmʔlowvnaɪ 'I will not give them to you' (for
kəmʔləlowvnaɪ?) (5.48)

kətəllihəlowvn 'I will not do it to you' (10.54)

Negative conjunct:

-kw 'he':

wěci sakiymekw 'so that she will not have a hard time fishing' (3.6)

-hVtikw 'they' (V as in affirmative -hVtit):

wěci atəci sakkāhetihitikw 'so that they would not have such hard times' (6.12)

měhsəma wiwànəkahātikw 'before they circled about dancing' (12.20)

-ykw 'he (prox.) - him (obv.)':

wéci ḱf́sisám̀̀nvkw 'so that he could not touch him'
(12.26)

-iwekw 'you - us':

sehkawíwekwe 'if you do not conquer us' (E.76)

Negative imperative:

-hkac 'you (singular)':

atóci talel̀̀kwánewihkac 'don't use your wings so
steadily' (4.75)

n alal̀̀hkekac for -ehkac 'don't do that' (2.33)

o is inserted before -hkac after a consonant:

péhsotáhkámohkac 'don't approach near it'
(10.61)

-ahkac 'you (singular) - him':

sapəhtaháhkac 'don't spear him' (15.28)

winináwahkvc 'don't look down upon her, don't
scorn her' (10.58)

The examples suggest the following rules for the occurrence of the negative-suffix variants -o, -w, and -wi.

The negative suffix follows the stem of intransitive verbs.

The negative suffix follows the -y, -əkw, -əko, -i, or -əl which follow the stem of transitive verbs.

In exception to the rules above, the negative suffix follows conjunct personal suffixes of the third person 'he, it, they, he/they - him/them'.

The negative suffix is -o finally, but the o is dropped

after a vowel in the third-person forms of intransitive verbs, cf. n--o, k--o, zero, -o, k--əlo, above.

y is dropped before -o, cf. k--o.

w is dropped before -o, cf. k--o, n--əko, k--əko.

The negative suffix plus a following -(a)k 'they/them (prox.)', -(a)l 'he/him (obv.)', they/them (inanimate)', -(a) 'they/them (obv.)' yields -wiak, -wial, and -wia respectively, cf. -wiak, w--ywiak, w--ywia, w--əkwial, w--əkwia.

The negative suffix is -wi- before -na(w)- 'we, us' and before -wy- 'you (plural), they, them', cf. w--ywiwy, k--əkwina, k--əkwowy.

The negative suffix plus the following -(ə)n- in definite forms yields -wən-, cf. n--wən, w--wən, k--ywən.

The negative suffix is -w- before conjunct personal suffixes beginning with a vowel, cf. -iwekw.

The negative suffix is -w after conjunct personal suffixes of the third person; t is replaced by k before -w, cf. -kw, -hVtikw, -ykw.

Elsewhere o is inserted before -w(i)- after a consonant, cf. w--owən, k--əlowən.

e at the end of intransitive stems remains unchanged before the negative suffix, cf. n--wən.

12. PRETERITE MODES

Preterite indicative and conjunct modes are formed with the suffixes -pa(n) and -sa.

The following are recorded with -pa(n).

Preterite indicative indefinite:

-pa 'he'; i is replaced by o before -pa:

kwáskwacópa 'he would freeze to death' (9.12)

-panik 'they'; i is replaced by o before -panik:

álámotàhátópánik 'they moved away' (A.53)

k--àlòpa 'I - you (singular)':

ṽnòsyapa kwáskwàhtahólòpa 'I have a notion to strike you dead' (E.33)

Preterite conjunct:

-anòpan 'you' (singular):

épiànòpan 'where you would sit' (4.63)

-litòpan 'he' (obviative):

epflitòpvn 'where he would sit' (4.68)

-akopan 'he/they - us (inclusive)':

etálinòkálònakopan 'where they abandoned us'
(A.51)

The following are recorded with -sa.

Preterite indicative definite:

n--ànessa 'I':

nàkawfnessa 'I have been asleep' (9.51)

-ənessa 'it':

tāyinéssa 'it is present' (A.81)

Preterite conjunct:

-sa 'he':

wíkisa 'he lived there' (A.3)

-kəsa 'it':

éikəsa 'where it was' (A.2)

-wisa 'he' (negative):

mvcíhlewisa 'she did not leave' (D.94)

13. PLURAL STEMS

Animate intransitive verbs are generally differentiated as singular and plural stems. Plural personal affixes have dual meaning with singular stems, and plural meaning with plural stems; plural stems do not occur with singular personal affixes other than -t before participial -ik. Plural stems are usually formed from singular stems by means of certain suffixes:

-hVti-; e is replaced by y before this suffix:

pǝmǝke 'she danced' (A.32)

pǝmǝkǝhatowak 'they were dancing' (E.150)

etalǝtǝnǝhkehetit 'they were talking there' (5.35)

pepǝmi kikǝmǝtonǝhkǝhatǝcik 'they going about talking low' (12.3)

-lǝti-; i is replaced by o, and e is replaced by y before this suffix:

ǝyi 'he was not there' (5.27)

ayǝlǝtowak 'they are there' (2.27)

elypit 'he looking' (E.201)

elypǝlǝtihitit 'when they looked' (E.206)

sǝhket 'he standing' (E.186)

sehǝlǝticik 'they standing' (E.170)

-ti-; e is replaced by y before this suffix:

kǝmǝvcǝotepǝna 'we will move' (E.227)

nomǝvcǝotǝtinǝ 'then they moved away' (E.38)

14. NOTES ON SYNTAX

These remarks are confined to the proximate and obviative (which are hardly encountered outside the Algonquian languages), and to the modes of verbs. Other forms, such as vocative and locative nouns, pronouns, adverbs, etc. are treated in syntax much like their Indo-European namesakes.

Proximate and obviative nouns occur as subjects and objects of verbs, and as possessors of nouns. Within a phrase, sentence, or sequence of sentences, the first mentioned or more important such noun is proximate, and other nouns are obviative:

nə kəloskʷpe wəkátonálvn kwʷkwəsəssa 'then Gluskambe went hunting the foxes' (10.42)

wətʃhlvn ɔhkəmvssal nətáhcwi alɔhkewyk kohsəsanawa
'he said to his grandmother, "I must work for our descendants" (11.3)

A verb takes the third person subject and object affixes of the same gender, number, and obviation as the subject and object nouns:

wikáwəssal wətʃhləkon 'her mother said to her' (E.23)

Cf. the examples above also.

A possessed noun takes the third person possessive affixes of the same number as the possessor noun:

pəlɔssəssis wɪhtan 'the old man's nose' (12.86)

kəməhsoməsal wətáhtypial 'your grandfather's bow'
(A.36)

kohsəsanawak wənfimawánowəl 'our descendants' lunches'
(13.17)

Nouns in apposition agree in gender, number and obviation (proximate or obviative):

wətíhlvn sətáwysəmal kəloskʷpal 'he said to his nephew Gluskambe' (16.4)

Demonstrative pronouns are common in this construction:

na áləmos 'that dog' (C.51)

owá mɪhkwe 'this squirrel' (C.60)

yo ətene 'this village' (B.85)

kətákihi awássa 'the other beasts' (obviative) (C.58)

yohí kətákihi álənypa 'these other people' (obviative) (B.88)

Indicative and imperative verbs form independent clauses. Indicative verbs form statements, and imperative verbs form commands:

nəsáwahto 'I am tired' (D.33)

kis kámvc fo nəsiwəssinən 'I am already very tired of lying here' (4.66)

wəlītəhásə monɪməhkweesso 'Woodchuck rejoiced' (1.13)

kisykwásihítit wəmfətəsinv 'after they had cooked, they ate' (15.3)

wənotáwy nohsəhkykocfcihí məhkásesa 'he heard the big crows chasing after him' (12.38)

wəkisfhtonv akwítən 'they finished making the canoe' (1.35)

nəpətətepəna 'we will move here' (C.29) -

kəlaosɪnenv 'we will live well' (1.21)

yə kia apí 'you sit here' (8.32)

alihtáwi tʷpi náka pəhkwəl 'make me a bow and arrows' (1.9)

A difference in the meanings or occurrences of indefinite and definite verbs in independent clauses has not been determined; examples above.

Definite verbs form object clauses with certain verbs:

nàtāhcwēlātamən kətakēhkimin elfhtysik ākwitən 'I want you to teach me how to make a canoe' (1.31)

Conjunctive verbs form subordinate clauses 'when (in the past)...':

nēmihōkoht amfhtakwəsal wətīhləkon 'when her father saw her, he said to her' (E.31)

kisykwāsīhītīt wəmītəsinv 'after they had cooked, they ate', literally 'when they finished cooking, they ate' (15.3)

Certain morphemes in verb stems yield conjunctive verbs of different meanings in certain contexts:

al- 'thus, so, in that way', conjunctive: 'how...':

mōsahk n alalōhke[h]kac 'don't do that', literally 'don't work that way' (2.33)

kisakēhkimvn elinatiēlimok 'she taught him how to hunt' (E.118)

aləm- 'for so long?', conjunctive: 'as long as...':

eləmāosian kēkwəs alisākimihkohkāmāne 'as long as you live if you meet with any great danger' (E.233)

kehs- 'so much, so many', conjunctive: 'as much as..., as many as...':

kēhsilit awīcia pāhtasōlātowak 'as many of his brothers as there were sickened with smoke'

(11.66)

tal- 'at that place', conjunctive: 'where...':

talikisítàpíhle nàpík 'he was conceived in water' (E.102)

wàtəlòhsvn etáìlákamok 'he went to where they were dancing' (12.1)

yótte etalinðkatótv̄màlek 'here (is) where we are going to leave you' (E.35)

wàt- 'for that reason', conjunctive: 'the reason why..., in order that...':

wecipetv̄pvsíek niòna nətahcwéìlètamàn

kàtv̄nðhelètamáwinena 'the reason why we came, I wish you to forgive us' (E.248)

nəkísihton wécic pəmaosólətiekw 'I have made it so that you will all live' (3.15)

In several stems tal- is implicit:

ayi- 'be/stay at that place':

káti ío á[y]iekwe 'if you are to stay here' (E.71)

mvpécohse awáhkvc é[y]ilit kəhçf̄sipəsal 'he came there with difficulty where the great bird was' (4.20)

api- 'sit at that place':

kəp̄təkohsálvl épianəpan 'I will carry you back to where you would sit' (4.62)

Subjunctive verbs form subordinate clauses 'if/when (in the future)...':

kətáhcwic mikáhkepəna kátiá[y]iakwe 'we must fight if

we want to stay' (E.70)

aláhkvne nàsókàskwàhtéhsimv 'when I throw it I will
break it in pieces' (11.94)

Subjunctive verbs with méwia form independent clauses
'one had better...':

méwia wicohkémoke nòhkàmv 'I had better help my
grandmother' (3.5)

Participles, like proximate and obviative nouns, occur as
subjects and objects of verbs, and probably as possessors
of nouns. Such participles typically take pronouns in ap-
position:

kwànnáwvs amóssànáwial nílil ehcwélàmvcil 'Long-Hair
will not get the one he wants' (D.17)

áyo áwen séhkask 'there is one who will conquer you'
(14.8)

nàkàti námihv awén kisíhtvkw kàsàlvmàhsàn 'I am going
to see who makes the wind' (4.12)

mèsf tvn notáwit pitàhíhlc 'every one who hears me
will enter' (3.19)

mflíkv nésvnykwa[h]k 'the danger will be various'
(1.25)

Participles occur in apposition with nouns:

mflíkowa awássa ketonálàkohotícihi 'there will be
various beasts who seek their lives' (1.27)

awássak wàsvkàhvpv̄sinv ekíkíci 'animals (which
were) of all kinds came forth' (2.18)

Such phrases are frequently objects of verbs of seeing
and hearing, which do not evidently regularly take
object clauses:

wànámihvn ðhkðmvssal etalymélicil 'he saw his grandmother fishing there' (3.2)

wànotáwy nohsðhkykocícihf mðhkásesa 'he heard the big crows chasing after him' (12.38)

Negative verbs require a negative particle:

áhtama kolálohkeo 'you did not work well' (2.29)

áhtvmv kànámihólo 'I do not see you' (10.32)

ýta kfsikýlðsio 'you cannot hide yourself' (E.29)

ýta atðci mecímðlvmðhsàno 'there will not be such a steady wind' (4.88)

ésðma niá sénype nðpéhsotðhkýko 'a man never came near me' (E.28)

nðtáhapa kiá kðmðskáo 'it is impossible for you to find her' (D.71)

áhtvmv mðskámowðn 'he did not find it' (12.62)

ýta nðsákipapðmikiohsewn 'I will not have a hard time wandering' (2.25)

wéci ýta sákiymekw 'so that she will not have a hard time fishing' (3.6)

ýta sehkawíwekwe 'if you do not conquer us' (E.76)

15. VOCABULARY

An assortment of stems is inevitably flushed out in an investigation of the sort on which this paper is based. Some of these stems are listed here to provide a sampling of Penobscot vocabulary, and to provide the basic forms of some of the stems which occur in the examples in the rest of this paper.

Abbreviations are the following:

- nai: animate independent noun
- nii: inanimate independent noun
- nad: animate dependent noun
- nid: inanimate dependent noun
- ai: animate intransitive verb
- ii: inanimate intransitive verb
- ta: transitive animate verb

Nouns:

Kinship terms:

- fcie- nad 'brother' (11.49, 11.53)
- ikāwəss- nad 'mother' (E.241, E.250)
- fitye- nad 'friend' (B.108)
- mfhtykwəss- nad 'father' (11.23)
- mōhsoməss- nad 'grandfather' (E.124, E.245)
- nēman- nad 'son' (E.109)
- nicān- nad 'children' (B.133)
- ōhkəməss- nad 'grandmother' (1.8, E.47)
- ōhsəss- nad 'grandchild, descendant' (1.25, 4.23, 6.13)
- sāhsis- nad 'mother's brother' (15.2)

-síləhos- nad 'father-in-law' (16.17)
-sókʷəss- nad 'mother-in-law' (A.11)
-táwysəm- nad 'sister's son' (15.9)
-təhkanfimis- nad 'younger brother' (11.63, 11.69,
11.73)
-tós- nad 'daughter' (E.98)

Persons:

álənype- nai 'person' (E.64, E.70, E.128, E.131)
awáhkvn- nai 'slave' (E.155)
mətəolino- nai 'conjurer' (page 216, footnote)
nŷkəskwe- nai 'girl' (12.14, E.1)
pəhénvm- nai 'woman' (14.10, 15.6)
pəlósəssis- nai 'old man' (12.72, 12.75, 12.86)
pəmaoswino- nai 'person' (E.60)
sŷkəma- nai 'chief' (E.60, E.75, E.82, E.84)
sénype- nai 'man' (E.88, E.106, E.170)
skinəhsis- nai 'boy' (E.99, E.113)
winəhsəhsis- nai 'old woman' (E.52)

Animals:

áləmos- nai 'dog' (8.33, 8.39)
awáss- nai 'animal' (1.20, 2.18, E.90)
awássis- nai 'little animal' (E.161, E.179)
awéhsos- nai 'bear' (1.15, 1.20)
cʷləs- nai 'grasshopper' (5.36, 5.39)
kəllə- nai 'auk' (16.3)
kwŷkwəsəss- nai 'fox' (10.3, 10.31)
má(h)təkʷesso- nai 'rabbit' (A.19, A.23)-
mŷhkwe- nai 'squirrel' (E.67, C.68)
monfəmhkwesso- nai 'woodchuck' (1.17)
mós- nai 'moose' (7.6, 7.12)
námehs- nai 'fish' (1.5)
nólke- nai 'deer' (1.10, 1.12)

sípwəs- nai 'bird, duck' (1.32, 4.19)
tvmáhkwe- nai 'beaver' (B.15)
-témis- nad 'dog' (8.31)
tóllòpe- nai 'turtle' (15.2, 15.8)

Body parts:

-áte- nid 'belly' (E.20, E.25)
-fhtan- nid 'nose' (12.86)
-léwykan- nid 'heart' (E.202)
-lòkwán- nad 'wing' (4.61, 4.68)
-ohkási- nad 'finger-nail' (11.96)
pakáhkan- nii 'blood' (B.62)
pəmí- n?i 'fat' (1.21)
-pəskwan- nid 'back' (16.30)
-piésom- nid 'hair' (2.11, 4.18, 4.51)
-sísòkw nid 'eye' (10.6), usually written -sísokw
(11.31, 12.62)
-təp- nid 'head' (12.46, D.38)
-tón- nid 'mouth' (5.53)
wiòhs- nii 'meat' (8.53)

Plants and plant parts:

apási- nai 'tree' (7.22, 9.7), nii 'stick' (15.16)
skanfimin- nii 'seed' (5.45)
wətamvwe- nai 'tobacco' (5.2, 5.6, 5.37)

Material culture:

ahkihkvñ- n?i 'garden' (5.29)
akwítòn- nii 'canoe' (5.11)
kòlŷkan- nii 'door' (9.31, 9.33)
míkònakwe- nii 'bag' (2.5, 2.19)
nísekwakw- nii 'knife' (16.48)
òtene- nii 'village' (8.5, E.63)

pāhkwe- nii 'arrow' (1.9, E.191)
tŷpi- nai 'bow' (1.9, E.168)
tǎmāhikan- nii 'axe' (7.21)
-tǎl- nid 'canoe' (4.2, 4.3)
walāte- nai 'dish' (11.75, 11.87)
wātāmykan- nai 'pipe' (11.44, 11.49)
wīkwom- nii 'house' (9.30)

Numerals:

pēsəko- nai 'one' (11.40, 12.7)
pēsəkwən- nii 'one' (6.15)
nīsw- nai 'two' (12.14, 12.22)

Other nouns:

kəsəlv̄māhsən- nai 'wind' (14.5)
kīsohs- nai 'sun' (A.54)
mānāhan- nii 'island' (5.5)
nəkwāsəpēm- nii 'lake' (6.5, 8.3)
nəpī- nii 'water' (7.3)
nīpən- nai 'summer' (12.26, 12.34)
sīkwan- n?i 'spring (season)' (9.50)
pəpōn- nai 'winter' (9.14)
pīhtes- n?i 'froth' (E.17, E.156)
pohkətēs- nai 'bubble' (E.8, E.102)
sīpo- nii 'river' (1.28, 3.8, 3.17, 3.19)
skwətē- nii 'fire' (16.28)
sōpek-w- nii 'ocean' (3.13)
wāco- nai 'mountain' (8.60)
wāsali- nii 'snow' (12.55)
wāssisse- n?i 'nest' (B.23)

Verbs:

(The basic accents of verb stems, if there are any, are

too uncertain to be indicated.)

ai stems:

- ahkwamaləsi- 'be sick' (D.6)
- aləssin- 'lie, recline' (E.206)
- aliki- 'be so' (12.8)
- aliwisi- 'be named so' (8.61)
- apamaləsi- 'be hot' (12.76)
- apəteləmo- 'laugh' (5.23, B.30, B.33)
- api- 'sit' (8.51)
- ayi- 'stay; be at that place' (5.27, 14.8, E.72, E.131)
- itam- 'say' (4.10)
- kawaci- 'be cold' (9.26, 9.38, 9.39)
- kawi- 'sleep, fall asleep' (C.8, D.37)
- kataweləmo- 'smile' (11.89)
- kəlosi- 'speak' (E.211)
- maciki- 'be bad' (C.61)
- mvci- 'leave' (E.81)
- mehcine- 'die' (D.95)
- mikahke- 'fight' (E.69, E.72)
- miliki- 'be various' (1.27)
- mitəsi- 'eat' (8.56)
- moskwelətam- 'be angry' (8.20, 14.19, 14.20)
- natieli- 'hunt' (E.115, E.119)
- nəsvnykwəsi- 'be dangerous' (5.8)
- pakəssin- 'alight' (E.193)
- pəsel- (for məsel- ?) 'be many' (9.5, cf. 1.21)
- piosəssi- 'be small' (C.65)
- pitike- 'enter' (E.52, E.151)
- posi- 'embark' (1.36, D.40)
- sawahto- 'be tired' (D.33)
- sehke- 'stand' (E.186)

sekəsi- 'be afraid' (B.74)
tohkihle- 'wake up' (D.41)
wahkesi- 'be few' (7.33)
wəlapi- 'sit down' (2.4)
wələssin- 'lie down' (2.1)
wəliki- 'be pretty/handsome' (12.14)
wətam- 'smoke tobacco' (11.64)
wiki- 'dwell' (1.1)

ai final suffixes

-alohke- 'work':

alalohke- 'work, work so' (2.33, 2.34)
canalohke- 'cease working' (13.20)
wəlalohke- 'work well' (2.29)

-aosi- 'live':

aləmaosi- 'live for so long' (E.233)
pəmaosi- 'live' (E.49)
wəlaosi- 'live well' (1.21)

-ykwasi- 'cook':

kisykwasi- 'finish cooking' (8.56)
talykwasi- 'cook at that place' (8.55)

-ypysi- 'walk, go (plural)':

mvcvpasi- 'start going' (2.39)
notapvsi- 'go out' (2.38)
petypvsi- 'come' (E.244)
pətəkyvpvsi- 'walk back' (E.211)
pisvpysi- 'go in' (2.19)
pitikapasi- 'go in' (2.21)
svkəhvvpvsi- 'go/come forth' (2.18)

-ekətahi- 'jump':

notekətahi- 'jump out' (12.30)

-əke- 'dance':

pəməke- 'dance' (A.32)

taləke- 'dance at that place' (12.1)

witəke- 'dance with someone' (12.1)

-ətonəhke- 'talk':

kikimətonəhke- 'talk low' (12.3)

talətonəhke- 'talk at that place' (5.35, E.153)

-i- after vowels, -wi- after consonants, suffixed to nouns 'be a': awahkvnwi- 'be a slave' (E.94, E.158), talikəhcsisykəmai- 'be a great chief at that place' (E.257).

-ihle- 'go':

aləmhle- 'go along' (E.143)

alihle- 'go to that place' (E.200)

kykawihle- 'go fast' (8.27)

kiwihle- 'go about' (A.43)

mvcehle- 'leave' (D.89, D.94)

papymihle- 'go around aimlessly' (3.1)

pecihle- 'come' (E.133)

-ihpi- 'eat':

kisihpi- 'finish eating' (E.167)

-inəhto- 'sing':

caninəhto- 'cease singing' (2.8)

mvcenəhto- 'begin to sing' (2.1)

-itəhysi- 'think':

alitəhysi- 'think so' (1.41, 15.24, E.41)

təpitəhysi- 'ponder' (A.47)

wəlitəhysi- 'rejoice, be glad' (1.13, E.58, E.107)

-itəwihle- 'fly':

pecitəwihle- 'come flying' (12.66)

-ohse- 'walk':

alohse- 'go to that place' (E.134)

kisohse- 'manage to walk' (4.16)

ki(w)ohse- 'roam' (1.12, 1.15)

nihkvnohse- 'go on ahead' (D.84)

pecohse- 'come' (E.71)

pəmhohse- 'walk along' (E.139)

ai stems (with implicit object):

ahcwelətam- 'want it' (1.31, E.248)

awehke- 'use it' (11.7)

katonato- 'hunt for it' (15.15)

kəlolətam- 'speak to it' (A.70)

kətənəm- 'take it off, doff it' (E.254, E.255)

kwihtelətam- 'fear it' (A.60)

kwilawahto- 'search for it' (12.62)

məskam- 'find it' (12.53)

məssənəm- 'acquire it' (15.25)

mici- 'eat it' (14.34)

mihkawitəhvtam- 'remember it' (D.86)

namihto- 'see it' (E.145)

nasto- 'put it on, don it' (12.68)

notam- 'hear it' (11.33)

ponvm- 'put it down' (6.16)

təm(m)əsəm- 'cut it off' (15.13, 15.16)

wewelətam- 'know it' (12.8)

wihkwənəm- 'take it, pick it up' (7.21, 16.48)

ai final suffixes (with implicit object):

-ahke- 'throw him/it':

alahke- 'throw him/it' (11.83, 11.94)

notahke- 'throw him/it out' (12.22)

-ihto- 'make it':

alihto- 'make it' (5.20)

kisihto- 'finish making it' (1.35)

wəcihto- 'make it from' (4.2)

ipəhto- 'carry it, take it':

pəmiipəhto- 'carry it along' (12.46)

ii stems:

ahte- 'sit' (12.70)

ayi- 'be at that place' (12.56)

milikvn- 'be various' (1.25)

(nə)svnykwat- 'be dangerous' (1.25, A.81, B.7)

wəlikan- 'be good' (E.95, E.209)

ii final suffixes:

-əlvməhsən- 'be windy weather':

atotəlvməhsən- 'be so windy' (4.17)

kəsəlvməhsən- 'be windy weather' (4.4)

meciməlvməhsən- 'be always windy' (4.7)

wətəlvməhsən- 'be windy from that place' (4.9)

-ihle- 'go':

kəsihkawihle- 'go fast' (5.15)

pəmihle- 'go past' (2.38)

ta stems:

ahcweləm- 'want' (9.15)

akehkim- 'teach' (1.34)

ihl- 'say to' (1.33)

katonal- 'hunt' (1.32)

kəlol- 'speak to' (12.15)

kətəmykih- 'abuse' (11.6)
kwih̄teləm- 'fear' (C.57, C.59)
kwilaoh- 'search for' (8.8)
məskaw- 'find' (E.227)
məssən- 'acquire' (D.17)
mihkawitəham- 'remember' (13.22)
mil- 'give it to' (5.45)
namih- 'see' (E.8)
nasəl- 'put on, don' (12.61)
nihl- 'kill' (1.12)
nohsohkaw- 'chase after' (12.36, 12.38)
notaw- 'hear' (12.38)
pon- 'put down' (12.74)
sehkaw- 'conquer, defeat' (E.76)
wewinaw- 'know' (11.22, 11.39)
wewitəham- 'know' (16.32, 16.40)
wicohkem- 'help' (4.32)
wihkwən- 'take, pick up' (11.82)

ta final suffixes:

-ahkvl- 'throw':

notahkvl- 'throw out' (9.49)

-aw- suffix to animate intransitive verbs with implicit object 'to, for'; o is dropped before this suffix but a of the suffix is dropped after e:

alahkew- 'throw it to' (8.42)

kətənəmaw- 'take it off of' (12.67)

kisihtaw- 'finish making it for' (5.57)

nastaw- 'put it on' (12.68)

-ipəh- 'carry, take':

nvcipəh- 'go and get' (3.27)

pecipəh- 'bring' (2.24)

Roots used with final suffixes:

t is replaced by c before i, cf. wət- with -əlv̄m̄əhsən- ii, -ihtō- ai.

i is dropped after a vowel; otherwise a vowel is dropped before a vowel, cf. mvce- with -ypysi- ai, -ihle- ai.

al- 'thus, so; to that place; (zero)'
aləm- 'along; away; for so long'
atot- 'so much, to such an extent'
can- 'cease -ing'
kis- 'finish -ing; manage to'
mvce- 'begin to'
nihkvnn- 'in front, ahead'
not- 'out'
papym- 'around aimlessly'
pet- 'hither'
pəm- 'past, along'
pətək- 'back'
pis- 'in'
pitik- 'indoors'
svkəh- 'forth'
tal- 'at that place'
wəl- 'well'
wət- 'for that reason; from that place'
wit- 'with another/others'

Particles:

Adverbs of place:

am̄li 'on the water' (5.5)
io 'here' (E.72)
kəhpi 'in the woods' (2.14)
kwāhli 'near' (12.57)

natáhk 'there' (E.206)
nawátoke 'far away' (9.10)
nihkvñni 'ahead' (8.14)
põtòki 'back' (8.52)
watáhk 'there' (E.175)

Adverbs of quantity and degree:

kámac 'very' (1.13)
kéka 'almost' (9.43)
màsí 'all' (F.55)
nánðkwac 'some (not all)' (C.45)
píhta 'extremely' (C.12)
tépi 'enough' (5.14)
wàsími 'too, excessively' (4.86)

Adverbs of time:

éskwa 'still, yet' (A.52)
kis 'already' (1.10)
máhkaéwvs 'for a short while' (D.34)
mánitte 'immediately' (E.210)
mecími 'always' (E.2)
mína 'again' (5.29)
náste 'soon' (E.107, E.198)
nýwat 'long ago' (A.2)
níhkvñni 'in the future' (1.26)
níhkwəp 'now' (1.21)
nipýi 'at night' (11.11)
pemðkísəka 'today' (13.19)
pésəkwən 'still, yet' (12.24)
sépa 'tomorrow' (E.227)
sípəhki 'for long while' (E.61)
spətáhi 'in daytime' (11.11)
tépəne 'soon' (E.145)

Connectives:

álla 'or' (4.87)

kénok 'but' (E.132)

náka 'and' (1.2)

nálao 'then, next' (4.43)

nə 'then, next' (1.33)

nə → n before a vowel in close juncture (4.72);

nə wə- → no- (B.73, E.20)

Numerals:

nǝkwətvs 'six' (A.7)

typáwəs 'seven' (11.16)

Numerical adverbs of time:

pésəkwəta 'once' (5.13)

nísəta 'twice'

nəsǝta 'thrice' (5.22)

Particles of negation:

áhtama 'not (in the present or past)' (2.29)

ŷta 'not (in the future)' (E.76)

mosahk 'don't' (E.55, E.169)

nətáhapa 'it is impossible that' (D.71)

Other particles:

ahc 'also' (E.236)

áhci 'besides' (5.8)

ákwa 'it is said' (E.163)

átio 'goodbye' (E.231, E.232)

awáhkvc 'hardly, with difficulty' (4.16, 4.20)

ŷha 'yes' (14.14)

ŷskwe emphatic (E.102)

c 'also; in the future' (1.5, 3.18, 3.26)

- cipátok 'perhaps' (13.12)
élàwe 'seemingly' (4.45)
épākwa 'therefore' (E.23, E.205)
ípi 'only' (4.61)
kékàméhsí 'why' (7.13, E.24)
kwe 'hello' (9.35)
kwína 'really' (E.123)
málam 'finally, at last' (E.241)
méwia 'one had better' (12.77)
saláhki 'suddenly; finally, at last' (E.70, E.86)
tan 'where?, which?' (3.20, 4.9, 4.52, 12.64, D.20)
-tte emphatic:
 eskwatte 'still, yet' (8.48, 8.51)
 màsítte 'all' (B.76)
 nótte 'right then' (1.36)
 saláhkítte 'suddenly' (E.20)
 tépànette 'soon' (E.141)
 yótte 'here' (E.134)
 malámàhte (for malamttte?) 'finally, at last'
 (E.225)
wàsam 'because' (1.25)

Prefixes to nouns:

- kàhci- 'large' (1.20)
máci- 'bad' (B.8, E.32)
wàli- 'good' (C.23)

Prefixes to verbs:

- áhwi- 'have to' (C.33) -
ákwéci- 'try to' (A.73)
ali- 'thus, so; to that place' (E.21, E.118)
alàmi- 'along; away; for so long' (12.18, C.46)
atóci- 'so much, to such an extent' (1.19, 4.75)
káti- 'will, want to, try to' (1.23, E.28, E.71)

- kísi- 'already' (E.25)
mŵce- 'begin to' (D.36)
nyci- 'go and, go to' (3.40)
péci- 'come and, come to, come -ing' (1.38, E.231)
tali- 'at that place' (E.39, E.102)
wàci- 'for that reason; from that place' (A.38, E.248), weci- 'in order that' (1.29, 1.32)
wàli- 'well' (E.108)
wíci- 'with another/others' (E.157)

16. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the days when Frank Speck wrote down the Penobscot Transformer Tales, there was special emphasis on the publication of dictated Indian-language texts in phonetic transcription with English translation. Such texts were evidently considered to be the ideal initial documentation of a language, for a grammar, lexicon, and any other linguistic research had to be based on them. But the grammars, lexicons, and other research sometimes failed to occur. Indeed, Speck published texts in several languages besides Penobscot with only infrequent comments on the structure or vocabulary of any of them. Perhaps this paper contains some of the material Speck would have put in a grammatical sketch, though hardly in the way he would have presented it.

With the phoneme came an implicit suggestion that phonetic transcription might be inadequate representation. But a phonemic transcription requires considerable preliminary analysis. This must be partly responsible for the fact that analyses with few or no texts are now the more prevalent pattern of language documentation by Americanists.

The present paper was undertaken, at least in part, to gain some idea of the extent to which grammatical and lexical information can be extracted from this type of texts. The specific details of the Penobscot language are of secondary importance since Frank T. Siebert Jr. has been for some time engaged in a modern linguistic investigation of Penobscot. Moreover, while this paper by itself may give some indication of the material available in Speck's work, only the publication of the results of Sie-

bert's research will permit appraisal of the accuracy and completeness of that material.

17. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bloomfield, Leonard, 1962, *The Menomini Language*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

_____ 1946, *Algonquian*, VFPA 6:85-129.

_____ 1925-27, *Notes on the Fox Language*, IJAL 3:219-232, IJAL 4:181-219.

_____ n.d., *Eastern Ojibwa*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Day, Gordon M., 1964, *A St. Francis Abenaki Vocabulary*, IJAL 30:371-392.

Edwards, Mary, 1961, *Cree: An Intensive Language Course*, 2nd edition, Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, Inc., Prince Albert.

Eliot, John, 1666, *Indian Grammar Begun*, Marmaduke Johnson, Cambridge, reprinted 1822, Phelps and Farnham, Boston.

Ellis, C. Douglas, n.d. *Spoken Cree*, The Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto.

Goddard, R.H. Ives III, 1969, *Delaware Verbal Morphology: A Descriptive and Comparative Study*, Harvard University doctoral dissertation, Cambridge.

_____ 1967, *The Algonquian Independent Indicative*, BNMC 214:66-106.

Jones, William, 1911, *Algonquian (Fox)*, BBAE 40.1:735-873.

Laurent, Joseph, 1884, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues*, Leger Brousseau, Quebec.

Masta, Henry Lorne, 1932, *Abenaki Indian Legends, Grammar and Place Names*, *La Voix des Bois-Francs*, Victoriaville.

- Rogers, Jean H., 1964, Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology, BNMC 194:94-154.
- Speck, Frank G., 1945, Abnaki Text, IJAL 11:45-46.
- _____ 1928, Wawenock Myth Texts from Maine, ARBAE 43:168-197.
- _____ 1918, Penobscot Transformer Tales, IJAL 1:187-244.
- Teeter, Karl V., 1967, Preliminary Report on Malecite-Passamaquoddy, BNMC 214:157-162.
- Todd, Evelyn Mary, 1970, A Grammar of the Ojibwa Language: The Severn Dialect, University of North Carolina doctoral dissertation.
- Trumbull, James Hammond, 1903, Natick Dictionary, BBAE 25.
- Voegelin, Charles F., 1946, Delaware, An Eastern Algonquian Language, VFPA 6:130-157.
- Voorhis, Paul H., 1971, New Notes on the Mesquakie (Fox) Language, IJAL 37:63-75.
- _____ 1974, Introduction to the Kickapoo Language, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Wolfart, H. Christoph, 1973, Plains Cree: A Grammatical Study, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Abbreviations:

- ARBAE: Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology.
- BBAE: Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology.
- BNMC: Bulletins of the National Museum of Canada.
- IJAL: International Journal of American Linguistics
- VFPA: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Affirmative verb inflexion

Abbreviations:

| | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | first person singular |
| 2 | second person singular |
| 3 | third personal proximate singular |
| 4 | third person obviative singular |
| 11 | first personal plural exclusive |
| 12 | first person plural inclusive |
| 22 | second person plural |
| 33 | third person proximate plural |
| 44 | third person obviative plural |
| 0 | impersonal |
| i | inanimate |
| ind. | indicative |
| indef. | indefinite |
| def. | definite |
| conj. | conjunct |
| imp. | imperative |

An asterisk preceding a form indicates that it is unattested.

An asterisk following a form indicates that it is unattested in one of the two numbers.

Appendix

| number & person | ind indef | ind def | conj | imp |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------|
| | (to animate intransitives) | | | |
| 1 | n- | n--ðn | -a, -vn- | |
| 2 | k- | k--ðn | -an | - |
| 3 | - | w--ðn | -t | -c |
| 4 | -al | w--lin | -lit | |
| 11 | n--pəna | *n--ðnena | -ek | |
| 12 | k--pəna | k--ðnena | -akw | -nne |
| 22 | k--pa | k--ðny | -ekw | -kw |
| 33 | -ak | w--ðny | -hVtit | |
| 44 | -a | | -lit | |
| 0 | | | -mok/n, -sik | |
| | (to animate intransitives) | | | |
| i3 | - | | -k | |
| i33 | -al | | | |
| | (to transitive animates) | | | |
| 1-3 | n--y | } n--yn | } -ok | |
| 1-33 | n--yk | | | |
| 2-3 | k--y | } k--yn* | } -at | } -e |
| 2-33 | k--yk | | | |
| 3-4 | w--yl | } w--yn | } -yt | } *-yc |
| 3-44 | w--y | | | |
| 11-3 | *n--yna | } *n--ynena | } *-ek | - |
| 11-33 | n--ynawak | | | |

Appendix

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| 12-3 | k--yna | }k--ynena* | -akw* | }-ynne* |
| 12-33 | k--ynawak | | | |
| 22-3 | *k--ywy | }*k--yny | *-ekw | }-ohk* |
| 22-33 | *k--ywyk | | | |
| 33-4 | w--ywył | }w--yny* | -yhytit* | |
| 33-44 | w--ywy | | | |
| 0-3 | -y | -yn | }-ot | |
| 0-33 | | | | |
| 3-1 | n--ðkw | }n--ðkon* | -it | *-ic |
| 33-1 | n--ðkok | | -ihitit | |
| 3-2 | k--ðkw | }*k--ðkon | -ðsk | |
| 33-2 | k--ðkok | | | |
| 4-3 | w--ðkol | }w--ðkon | -ðkoht* | *-ðkohe |
| 44-3 | w--ðko | | | |
| 3-11 | n--ðkona | }n--ðkonena* | | |
| 33-11 | n--ðkonawak | | | |
| 3-12 | *k--ðkona | }*k--ðkonena | | |
| 33-12 | *k--ðkonawak | | | |
| 3-22 | k--ðkowý | }k--ðkony* | | |
| 33-22 | *k--ðkowýk | | | |
| 4-33 | *w--ðkowýł | }w--ðkony* | -ðkohotit | |
| 44-33 | w--ðkowý (?) | | | |

Appendix

| | | | | |
|---------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----|
| 2-1 | k--i | k--in | -ian | -i |
| 2(2)-11 | k--ipəna | k--inena | *-iekw | |
| 22-1 | k--ipa | *k--iny | -iekw | |
| 1-2 | k--əl | k--ələn | | |
| 11-2(2) | k--ələpəna | k--ələna | -ələk,-ələkw | |
| 1-22 | *k--ələpa | k--ələnɣ | -ələkw | |
| 0-1 | n--əke | n--əken | | |
| 0-2 | k--əke | *k--əken | | |
| 0-11 | *n--əkepəna | *n--əkenena | | |
| 0-12 | *k--əkepəna | *k--əkenena | | |
| 0-22 | *k--əkepa | *k--əkenɣ | | |

Table 2: Conjunct-mode affixes

Conjunctive: V → e

Subjunctive: -e

Participles:

| | |
|-----|------|
| 3 | - |
| 33 | -ik |
| 4 | -il |
| 44 | -ihi |
| i3 | - |
| i33 | -il |