

*Passamaquoddy-Maliseet* is an eastern Algonquian language, with about 500 speakers today in Maine (USA) and New Brunswick (Canada). This sketch outlines the fundamental features of the language. Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has five vowel sounds and twelve consonants, with pitch and stress also distinctive. Words are composed of roots; a typical verb, for example, contains verbal, nominal, adjectival, and adverbial roots, as well as number, tense, and other grammatical markings. The stems and inflections of transitive verbs are differentiated by grammatical gender, animate or inanimate, according to that of the direct object, while intransitive verbs agree in gender with the subject. Other words include nouns, pronouns and uninflected particles. Particular features of the language include the regular syncope of syllables containing unstressed schwa, the use of absentative forms of nouns and verbs, the division of third persons into two grammatical categories to indicate narrative focus, the reanalysis of many participles as nouns, the marking of intransitive verbs for use with direct objects, and speaker-centred construction of space and time.

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# *Passamaquoddy- Maliseet*

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## 1. Introduction to Passamaquoddy-Maliseet

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is the language of the Native people of the St. Croix and St. John River valleys, in the region along the border between the state of Maine, USA, and the province of New Brunswick, Canada. Passamaquoddy and Maliseet are dialects of a single language; they differ slightly only in "accent" and usage, much like American and Canadian English. In general, the language is called Passamaquoddy in the St. Croix valley (the easternmost part of Maine), and Maliseet in the St. John valley (western New Brunswick and northern Maine). There is also a band of Maliseets in the Gaspé region of Quebec, with two small reserves situated near Rivière-du-Loup, but almost all members of this band live elsewhere in the province.

Penobscot and Abenaki, to the west, are the languages closest to Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, but there are now only a handful of speakers of Abenaki and none of Penobscot. Micmac, the other Native language of the region, is spoken in northern and eastern New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and the Gaspé. It is also closely related to Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, and many words are virtually the same, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible.

This group of languages — called Eastern Algonquian — forms a sub-family of the Algonquian languages, which at the time of European contact were spoken on the Atlantic coast from Labrador to the Carolinas, across Quebec, Ontario, and the Prairie provinces to the Rocky Mountains, and southward into the Mississippi River drainage. The most widely spoken Algonquian language is Cree; others include Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Blackfoot, and Montagnais.

### 1.1. An Endangered Language

There are approximately 500 fluent speakers of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, those in Maine living principally in the two Passamaquoddy communities at Pleasant Point, near Eastport, and Indian Township, near Princeton, with an additional small number in the Houlton Band of Maliseets. In New Brunswick, Maliseet is no longer heard at St.-Basile, near Edmundston, but there are speakers at Tobique, Woodstock, Kingsclear, St. Mary's, and Oromocto. There are no speakers among the Maliseets of Quebec.

Those who speak the language today are almost without exception forty years of age or older; few if any children speak Passamaquoddy-Maliseet as a first language. In the communities, the speakers considered truly "fluent" are usually those in their late fifties and older. By the Passamaquoddy tribe's own count, there are about 55 fluent speakers at Pleasant Point, and somewhat fewer at Indian Township (Nicholas, 1995). The most recent Canadian census data identify 355 Maliseet-



speakers in New Brunswick, with some 40 living elsewhere in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1992).

In the early years after contact, Europeans heard the Native languages of the region every day. They borrowed words from Eastern Algonquian languages to expand their own vocabularies — toboggan (*tapakon* in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet), sachem (*sakom* ‘chief’), wigwam (*wikuwam*), tomahawk (*tomhikon*), and many others. Native speakers borrowed in turn, at first from French (*lahkap* ‘cellar’, from *la cave*; *tehpisewey* ‘black pepper’, from *d’épices*; *muhsilepehk* ‘bishop’, from *monsieur l’évêque*; *piks* ‘spade’ [in cards], from *pique*) and later from English (*piks* ‘pig’; *leptanet* ‘lieutenant’; *polecomon* ‘Frenchman’; *kincemoss* ‘king’, from *King James*).

Until the middle years of this century Passamaquoddy-Maliseet remained vital, productive and widely spoken, and storytellers born in the 1930s and earlier maintain the eloquence of the oral tradition today. At the time of the 1981 census, in eastern Canada overall, indigenous language maintenance was lowest among those speakers between 35 and 44 years of age (Burnaby & Beaujot, 1986); *i.e.*, those who were young children during and just after World War II.

Several factors have contributed to the gradual decline in the use of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. Changes in the education system — especially the establishment of the residential schools in Canada, and later the integration of Native students into provincial and state schools — put children in environments where they did not speak their mother tongue or, in the worst cases, were severely punished for doing so. Teachers, moreover, routinely encouraged parents to speak to their children in English so that they might do better in school. With the new mobility that accompanied World War II came increased intermarriage and lopsided cultural interchange — sports leagues, television, higher education — between non-Native and Native communities. English began to displace Passamaquoddy-Maliseet as the language of the home and community.

What is being lost? Passamaquoddy-Maliseet reveals a “way of knowing” markedly different from that expressed in English or French. It structures physical and social environments not with absolutes, but in relative terms dependent upon speakers’ particular points of view and their participation (Leavitt, 1995). For example, speakers normally locate objects and events in relation to themselves and the people they are speaking with — Maliseet *elom-askut-ek* (hence-field.II-0.sg.ChC)<sup>1</sup> ‘where a field extends away from here’ or *weckuw-askut-ek* (hither-field.II-0.sg.ChC) ‘where a field extends toward here’. People do not ordinarily speak of the environment without situating themselves within it; they are an integral part of the world they live in (see also Section 2.5). The language thus reveals ways in which personal identity is dynamic, described, perhaps even determined (*cf.* Wenzel & Stairs, 1992), according to changing relations with the world and with family and community.

<sup>1</sup>The raised dot (·) separates morphemes in a Passamaquoddy-Maliseet word. See the end of Section 5 for a list of the abbreviations used in morpheme glosses.

For the speakers of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, survival of the language is an important factor in the maintenance of cultural integrity and a distinctive identity. One speaker says that “you can hear the sharing in the language.” In response to the threat that the language may disappear, concerned speakers have initiated a variety of programs for teaching Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, most notably through school and community-based classes, and in “language nests,” where speakers and non-speakers of all ages gather regularly to share stories, songs, and oral history in an informal setting. These efforts rely upon a spirit of collaboration between teachers and learners to keep alive the oldest traditions of the region (see also Leavitt, *in press*).

## 1.2. Pronouncing Passamaquoddy-Maliseet

The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet standard orthography uses 17 letters and an apostrophe to represent the sounds of the language. The brief summary in this section is intended to help the reader with the examples in the following sections. A more detailed description of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet phonemics and phonology will be found in Section 3.

The five vowel-sounds of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet are *a* (*father*), *e* (*bed*), *i* (*ski*), *o* (*apron* — the schwa sound), and *u* (*sue*); the combination *eh* sounds like the vowel in *tack*. Vowel-blends are *aw* (as in English *how*), *iw* (*few*), *ew* (as in Spanish *Europa*), *ay* (*tie*), and *ey* (*grey*).

The twelve consonants fall into two groups. The first set — *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, *y* — have sounds like those in English. The letter *h* is pronounced before a vowel; before a consonant it is silent or lightly pronounced.

The remaining consonants are *c* (*char-jar*), *k* (*kale-gale*), *p* (*pat-bat*), *q* (*quaver-guava*), *s* (*sip-zip*), and *t* (*toe-doe*). In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, these consonants have the first, *unvoiced* sound when next to any other consonant; otherwise they have the second, *voiced* sound, as illustrated by the sounds of *p* and *c* in the following words: *apc* (AHPCH, ‘again, next’); *peciye* (beh-JEE-yeh, ‘s/he arrives’)<sup>2</sup>; *pihce* (BEE-cheh, ‘far away’); *sihpac* (ZEE-pahj, ‘pail’), *kpihtin* (KPEE-teen, ‘your hand’). The sole exception to this pattern is that when a consonant follows the first person prefix *n-* ‘I, we’ it remains voiced — *npihtin* (NBEE-teen, ‘my hand’). Compare *npisun* (NPEE-zoon, ‘medicine’) in which the *n-* is not a prefix, and consequently the *p* remains unvoiced.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The abbreviation ‘s/he’ will be used throughout to translate the third person singular pronoun *nekom*, which is not sex-specific. Likewise, ‘h/h’ is used for ‘his/her’ or ‘him/her’. ‘S/he’ and ‘h/h’ also represent *any* grammatically animate noun or pronoun.

<sup>3</sup>Such a contrast would seem to indicate that “voicing has a marginally distinctive status in these consonants” (LeSourd, 1993, p. 37), but because this is the only exception, the standard orthography uses a single letter to represent each “pair” of sounds. This feature of the orthography allows words that are clearly the same to be spelled the same — *npihtin*, *kpihtin*, *pihtin*.



Apostrophe is written only at the beginning of a word before prevocalic *c, k, p, q, s, or t*. It represents a consonant which is no longer pronounced, but which leaves the devoicing and preaspiration of the following consonant as evidence that it once was there. Thus *'pihtin* (PEE-teen, 'h/h hand'), in which the apostrophe represents the "missing" third person prefix *w-* (*wpihtin*). Other examples of words with apostrophe are *'tomaki* (*ktomaki*) (t'-MAH-gee, 'poor'), and *'sosahq* (*psosahq*) (s'-ZAHKW, 'horsefly').

## 2. Fundamental Features of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet

What does one need to know about Passamaquoddy-Maliseet in order to be able to understand and speak the language? What are its underlying principles and fundamental features?

### 2.1. Noun and Verb Roots

Like the other Algonquian languages, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet forms words by chaining together verb and noun roots (abundant examples may be found in LeSourd, 1984, and in other works cited in the present volume). These meaningful units of speech are not usually words in themselves but occur only in combination with other roots and inflectional prefixes and endings. Speakers routinely "invent" words as they talk by combining the roots required for the meaning and feeling they want to express. For example, *ksakolahqiskipepisossultiipa* 'you little ones have your scarves on tight', which is not an unusual word, conveys both a precise description and an affectionate tone. It comprises the following roots and inflections.

*k-sakol-ahq-iskipe-pis-oss-ult-ipa*

<i>k-</i>	'you (second person)' (an inflectional prefix)
<i>-sakol-</i>	'tight, hard': a preverb (initial root)
<i>-ahq-</i>	'stick-like': a shape classifier (medial root)
<i>-iskipe-</i>	'neck, nape': a body-part classifier (medial root)
<i>-pis-</i>	'be wrapped': the verb (final root)
<i>-oss-</i>	'diminutive' (a theme marker, final)
<i>-ult-</i>	'plural (more than two)' (a theme marker, final)
<i>-ipa</i>	'you dual/plural' (an inflectional ending)

*n-sakol-ahq-iskipe-pis-oss-ult-ipon* 'we (excl.) little ones have our scarves on tight'

*k-sakol-ahq-iskipe-pis-ipon* 'we (you and I) have our scarves on tight'

*k-sakol-ahq-ikone-pis-ipon* 'we (you and I) have our leg-warmers on tight'

If the inflectional prefix is changed to *n-* 'I, we (first person)' and the ending to *-ipon* 'we', then the meaning of the word changes from 'you' to 'we (others and I)'. If *k-* 'you' is restored and *-oss-* and *-ult-* omitted, then the word refers to 'two of us (you and I)', who are not diminutive. If the body-part classifier is changed to *-ikone-* 'leg', then the meaning of the whole word changes from 'scarves' to, perhaps, 'leg-warmers'. There is no noun 'scarf' in these words, but 'scarf' is implied by the roots

'neck' and 'wrap'. Many meanings which are nouns in English are expressed as verbs in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet.

Some roots stand on their own as words. *Sakom* 'chief' is a typical noun, composed of a single root, with inflected forms such as *sakom-ak* 'chiefs' or *'sakom-am-uwa-l* (3-chief-poss-non1.pl-obv.sg) 'their chief'. Some verbs, for example *qask-u* (run-3.sg.Ind) 's/he runs', have an imperative form which consists of a single root with no inflectional prefixes or endings: *qasq!* '(you, singular) run!' Almost always, however, verbs occur with at least one inflectional affix. Also, there is no infinitive form ('to run'), and so an inflected form (usually 's/he runs') must be used for such purposes as a dictionary entry.

### 2.2. Animate and Inanimate

A second characteristic of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is that all nouns and pronouns are either *animate* or *inanimate*, a feature identical to grammatical gender. As in the case of masculine and feminine in other languages, the gender of a noun in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet may not correspond to the natural animateness or inanimateness of the referent — at least, not in the perception of a non-speaker. It is difficult for people learning the language to predict the gender of a noun.

Abstract nouns, those which do not refer to something concrete, are invariably inanimate: prayer, the past, happiness, footstep are examples. People, including 'soul' and nouns which denote personal roles or occupations, are animate, as are all animals and trees. Beyond this there is only one extensive set of objects — containers used for liquid (cup, spoon, pen, bathtub, etc.) — that is predictably animate. Some plants, fruits, and vegetables are animate, but not all. The same is true for articles of clothing. Some parts of the body are animate, but not necessarily those one might expect; fingernail and knee are animate, but heart and tongue are inanimate. Many other nouns, such as rope, fallen snow, star, milk, and playing-card suits, are animate. A few nouns have different meanings according to gender: *opos* 'stick' (inanimate), *opos* 'tree' (animate). Speakers will agree on the gender of newly created words or words borrowed from other languages; they "know", for example, that a tape-recorder is inanimate and that the tape in the cassette is animate.<sup>4</sup> It is important to remember, however, that, although they have a certain reality for speakers of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, the designations *animate* and *inanimate* were originally coined by linguists who were not native speakers of the language.

The gender distinction is all-pervasive in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet and the other Algonquian languages. Animate and inanimate nouns have different inflections, and the shape of verb stems and inflections depends upon the genders of actor and goal.

<sup>4</sup>Speakers asked by the author to use these English words in a Passamaquoddy-Maliseet sentence uniformly "assigned" them the genders reported here. Still, there are a few differences between Passamaquoddy and Maliseet; for example, in Maliseet *sukolis* 'candy' is animate (speakers think of it like *pokuwis* 'chewing gum'), but in Passamaquoddy it is inanimate (as is *sukol* 'sugar', from French *sucre*).



In addition, an animate noun or demonstrative pronoun is obligatorily marked as either central to the discourse or “distanced” from the speaker’s focus (Section 2.3). An inanimate noun cannot be the indirect object of a transitive verb (Section 4.3.3).

Those learning the language will need to hear words used in context in order to tell whether they are animate or inanimate. There are two quick ways for a beginner to distinguish the gender of a noun or pronoun heard in speech. The first is to listen for the plural form, which ends in *-k* if the noun is animate, *-l* if it is inanimate. The second is to listen for the verb used with the noun: in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (as in the other Algonquian languages), the stems and inflections of the verbs used with animate nouns and pronouns differ from those of the verbs used with inanimates.

*nit el-taqs-it psuw-is* ‘that is how a cat sounds’ (animate)  
that thus-sound.AI-3.sg.ChC bobcat-dim(=housecat)

*nit el-taq-ahk suw-ahq-ihikon* ‘that is how a bell sounds’ (inanimate)  
that thus-sound.II-0.sg.ChC reverberate-sticklike-implement  
but not \**nit eltaqahk psuwis* (inanimate verb with animate subject)

[*n*]-*nutuw-a<sup>5</sup> psu-wis* ‘I hear a cat’ (animate)  
[1]-hear.TA-dir:3.Ind cat

[*n*]-*nutom-on suwahqihikon* ‘I hear a bell’ (inanimate)  
[1]-hear.TI-Sub/Ind bell

but not \**nutuwa suwahqihikon* (animate verb with inanimate direct object)

These distinctions are discussed in greater detail in Section 4.3.

### 2.3. Third Person, Proximate and Obviative

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet makes certain distinctions with regard to *person* that are different from those made in European languages. As shown in Table I, the two meanings of ‘we’ are distinguished, while one word means ‘he or she’.

Table I. Personal Pronouns

Singular	Dual or Plural
<i>nil, nilá<sup>6</sup></i> ‘I, me’	<i>nilùn</i> ‘we, us’ ( <i>nil</i> + [ <i>nékom</i> or <i>nekomâw</i> ]) <i>kilùn</i> ‘we, us’ ([ <i>nil</i> or <i>nilùn</i> ] + [ <i>kil</i> or <i>kiluwâw</i> ])
<i>kil, kilá</i> ‘you’	<i>kiluwâw</i> ‘you’
<i>nekóm</i> ‘he/she, him/her’	<i>nekomâw</i> ‘they, them’

Another characteristic of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is that *animate* nouns and pronouns (except ‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’), are marked in sentences as either *proximate* (i.e.,

<sup>5</sup>The personal prefix *n-* is not pronounced — and therefore is not normally written — before stem-initial *-n-*.

<sup>6</sup>*Nilá* and *kilá* are emphatic forms.

‘nearby’) or *obviative* (‘distanced’). It is helpful to think of these categories in spatial terms because they are used by speakers to distinguish — grammatically — between what is the focus of attention and what is more remote from consideration. Two animate nouns or pronouns can occupy the same grammatical “space” at the same time only when they are conjoined — ‘Mary *and* Peter will be there’, ‘I saw a dog or a wolf’, ‘She *and* they are cousins’ — or when one of them is locative — ‘John is at Mary’s’, ‘the milk is in the bottle.’

In all other cases when two animate nouns or pronouns (except ‘I’, ‘we’, ‘you’) occur in the same clause, one of them will be proximate (the focus of attention) and the other will be obviative. Obviation also operates at the level of extended discourse, for example in storytelling, where a storyteller may indicate shifts in focus by changing a character from obviative to proximate, or vice-versa. Because proximate and obviative are complementary categories, the obviative is sometimes referred to as the “fourth person”.

There are two common situations in which the obviative occurs: when one noun is the subject of a verb and the other is the object (Section 2.3.1) and when an animate noun is possessed by (belongs to) ‘him’, ‘her’, or ‘them’ (Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3).

#### 2.3.1. Obviative Forms with Transitive Verbs

Note the differences in the following pair of sentences using the word *wásis* ‘child’.<sup>7</sup>

*nil n-kosélom-a wásis* ‘I love the child (proximate)’  
I 1-love.TA-dir:3.Ind child

*Máli ’-kosélom-a-l wásis-ol* ‘Mary (proximate) loves the child (obviative)’  
Mary 3-love.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg child-obv.sg  
but not \**nil nkosélomal wásisol* (first person with obviative)

In the first sentence, *wásis* is proximate because it is the only third person noun. In the second sentence, the subject is third person proximate (*Máli*), so an animate direct object must be obviative. Obviative singular nouns are marked by an *-l-* in the ending, which is usually word-final, as in *wásisol*; the verb also ends in this *-l-*. Obviative plural forms are somewhat different.

*nil n-kosélom-a-k wásis-ok* ‘I love the children (proximate)’  
I 1-love.TA-dir:3.Ind-3.pl child-3.pl

*Máli ’-kosélom-à wásis* ‘Mary (proximate) loves the children (obviative)’  
Mary 3-love.TA-dir:3.Ind-[obv.pl] child-[obv.pl]

<sup>7</sup>LeSourd (1993a) uses an acute accent to mark a relatively high-pitched stressed syllable. A grave accent indicates a relatively low-pitched stressed syllable. A circumflex (*nátokehkímâ* ‘s/he goes there to be taught’) marks distinctively low-pitched final unstressed syllables, which occur in only a few forms. These marks have not been used in most texts published to date in the standard orthography. In this volume, the accent markings are used only when stress and pitch are under discussion and in comparing words which are spelled alike.



but not \**Máli 'kosélamak wasísok* (both nouns proximate)

Here, in the first sentence we see the *-k* which marks the animate proximate plural. In the second sentence, however, both the verb and the obviative noun lack this *-k*. The marker for the obviative plural in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is — no marker (i.e., a “zero” marker<sup>8</sup>). The word, however, does acquire a falling intonation: thus *wásis* proximate singular and *wásis* obviative plural do not sound quite the same. (See also the final examples in the next section.)

### 2.3.2. Third Person “Possessed” Forms

In English, in order to show possession, speakers change the word referring to the possessor: *Mary* becomes *Mary’s*, *boys* becomes *boys’*, *you* becomes *your*, and *I* becomes *my*. By contrast, in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet it is the word referring to the one possessed which is modified: *npihtin*, *kpihtin*, *pihtin* (Section 1.2).

In addition, when one animate noun “belongs” to another — i.e., to ‘him’, ‘her,’ or ‘them’ — it is obviative; the possessor and the possessed cannot both occupy the same grammatical space. (In the examples below, the second form of the obviative plural is more frequently used by Maliseet speakers.)

*n-itap* (1-friend.dep<sup>9</sup>) ‘my friend’, *k-itap-iyik* (2-friend.dep-3.pl) ‘your friends’ (prox.)  
*Piyel w-itap-iyil* (Peter 3-friend.dep-obv.sg) ‘Peter’s friend’ (obviative)  
*Piyel w-itap-iyi* (*w-itap-i*) (Peter 3-friend.dep-[obv.pl]) ‘Peter’s friends’ (obviative pl.)  
*Piyel ‘-tul* (*w-tul*) (Peter 3-boat.dep) ‘Peter’s boat’ (inanimate, thus not obviative)  
 but not *Piyel \*witap* (proximate and possessed by a third person noun)

In *witapiyil*, the possessor (Peter) is proximate, and the “possessed” (his friend) is obviative; the ending *-iyil* marks the obviative. When such a possessed form (obviative) is used with a transitive verb, the verb form indicates who loves whom, as in the following sentences.

*Mali ‘-koselom-a-l witapiyil* (3-love-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg) ‘Mary loves her friend’  
*Mali ‘-koselom-ok-u-l witapiyil* (3-love-inv:3.Ind-obv.sg) ‘Mary’s friend loves her’ or  
 ‘Mary is loved by her friend’

<sup>8</sup>Although “zero”, this marker nevertheless occupies a word-final position in the inflectional ending, as can be seen by comparing *possésom* ‘star’ and *possésomuk* ‘stars’ (proximate) with *possésomù* (obviative plural): the stem vowel *u* is dropped when there is no ending, but is retained preceding the zero obviative plural ending. Schwa (*o*) cannot be word-final, and so it is dropped even when the zero ending follows, as in *wásis*. See also the note in Section 4.4.1 about the inverse marker *-oku-*.

<sup>9</sup>The root ‘friend’ is actually *-wit-ap-* (accompanying-male), but in this, as in other “dependent” nouns, the initial *w-* is replaced by the personal prefixes *n-* and *k-* in first and second person forms (see also Sections 4.1.4 and 4.1.8, and the footnote at the end of Section 3.4.2).

The difference in the second sentence is in the verb. The “inverse” marker *-oku-* redirects the verb so that the obviative noun is the actor, and the proximate noun the goal — as opposed to the “direct” form with proximate actor and obviative goal, marked by *-a-*. It is open to debate which noun in the second sentence is the “subject” and which the “object”; the two translations given are equally acceptable to speakers. (See also Table II, in Section 2.4, and the discussion which follows it.) Word order in most Passamaquoddy-Maliseet sentences is quite free, the inflectional markings showing the words’ relationship to one another.

### 2.3.3. Obviative Subject of an Intransitive Verb

When an obviative noun is the subject of an intransitive verb, the verb also has an obviative inflection.

*wasis ksinuhk-a* ‘the child (proximate) is sick’  
*Piyel witap-iyil ksinuhk-iyil* ‘Peter’s friend (obviative) is sick’  
*wasis-ok ksinuhk-iyik* ‘the children (proximate) are sick’  
*Piyel witap-iyi (witap-i) ksinuhk-iyi (ksinuhk-i)* ‘Peter’s friends (obviative) are sick’

This particular obviative agreement is not obligatory for all speakers; some might say, for example, *Piyel witapiyil ksinuhka*, in which the verb has a proximate ending.

## 2.4. A Hierarchy of Persons: ‘You’ Always Come(s) before ‘Me’

Depending upon the syntax, nouns and verbs may be marked with information about grammatical person — that is, first person, second person, etc. For example, when nouns are inflected to show possession, the personal prefixes *n-*, *k-*, and *w-* (or ‘-’) identify the possessor of the noun.

<i>ntúl</i>	‘my boat’ ( <i>nil</i> )	<i>ntúlòn</i>	‘our boat’ ( <i>nilun</i> )
		<i>ktúlòn</i>	‘our boat’ ( <i>kilun</i> )
<i>ktúl</i>	‘your boat’ ( <i>kil</i> )	<i>ktúluwa</i>	‘your boat’ ( <i>kiluwaw</i> )
<i>‘túl</i> ( <i>wtúl</i> )	‘h/h boat’ ( <i>nekom</i> )	<i>‘túluwa</i> ( <i>wtúluwa</i> )	‘their boat’ ( <i>nekomaw</i> )

The Independent Indicative forms of transitive inanimate verbs (Section 4.4.4) have similar prefixes and suffixes. In these forms, the singular direct object (inanimate) is not marked.

<i>ntíhin</i>	‘I have it’	<i>ntíhinèn</i>	‘we have it’
		<i>ktíhinèn</i>	‘we have it’
<i>ktíhin</i>	‘you have it’	<i>ktíhíniya</i>	‘you have it’
<i>‘tíhin</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	‘s/he has it’	<i>‘tíhíniya</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	‘they have it’

It is evident from these forms what the prefixes and suffixes mean:



<i>k-</i>	'you'	<i>-on, -en</i> <sup>10</sup>	'plural — including "I" ' (1.pl)
<i>n-</i>	'I, we — excluding "you" '	<i>-uwa, -iya</i>	'plural — excluding "I" ' (non1.pl)
<i>w-</i> (-)	's/he, they'		

Such data suggest a "hierarchy of persons", an ordered list which shows how 'you', 'I', and 's/he', as well as obviative and inanimate, take precedence in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words and sentences (Table II).

Table II. Hierarchy of Persons

Rank	Noun or Pronoun	Notes
1	<i>kil, kiluwaw, kilun</i> 'you (sg/pl)', 'you and I'	marked whenever meaning includes 'you'
2	<i>nil, nilun</i> 'I, 'other(s) and I'	marked only when meaning includes 'I' but not 'you'
3	<i>nekom, nekomaw</i> 's/he', 'they' (proximate)	marked only when neither 'you' nor 'I' is part of the meaning
4	obviative	(see Section 2.3)
5	inanimate	not marked for person

Other evidence for this hierarchy comes from transitive animate verb forms. These use prefixes and endings similar to those shown on the previous page, and carry additional markers which show whether the subject is above the object on the hierarchy (direct forms) or below it (inverse forms). Some studies (e.g., LeSourd, 1993a) consider first and second person as occupying a single level of the hierarchy; they are separated here to account for the use of the personal prefixes in verb and possessed noun forms. Switching the relationship from direct to inverse changes the verb, as shown in the following examples. (See also the final examples in Section 2.3.2, and see Section 4.4 for more information about the forms themselves.)

*n-papehci-m-a-k* 'I ask them' — *n-papehci-m-ku-k* 'they ask me'<sup>11</sup>

1-exactly-by.speech.TA-dir:3.Ind-3.pl — 1-exactly-by.speech.TA-inv:3.Ind-3.pl

*k-papehchim-ol* 'I ask you' — *k-papehchim-i* 'you ask me' — *papehchim-i-t* 'if s/he asks me'

2-ask.TA-2inv:1.Ind — 2-ask.TA-2dir:1.Ind — ask.TA-1inv:3-3.sg.UnC

*wasís-ok* 'papehchim-a-wà· 'the children (proximate) ask them (obviative)  
child-3.pl 3-ask.TA-dir:3-non1.pl-[obv.pl]

*wasís-ok* 'papehchim-ku-wà· 'they (obviative) ask the children (proximate)  
child-3.pl 3-ask.TA-inv:3-non1.pl-[obv.pl]

<sup>10</sup>The full form of these suffixes is *-onu-* and *-ennu-* when further endings follow, as in the *nilun* forms *ntihinénnul* 'we have them (inanimate)', *ntúlonúl* 'our boats', and *[n]nicannuk* 'our children' (*[n]nican-* + *-onu-* + *-k*; some speakers reduplicate the *-onu-* to form *[n]nicanonnu-k* — *[n]nican-* + *-onu-* + *-onu-* + *-k*).

<sup>11</sup>This verb represents Maliseet usage. Passamaquoddy speakers say *ntoqecimulak* 'I ask them', *ntoqecimulkuk*, etc., and use *npapechimak* to say 'I find out the truth from them'.

Direct and especially inverse verb forms do some of the "work" of the active and passive voices in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, which does not have a way of distinguishing 's/he asks them' from 'they are asked by h/h'. Transitive verbs do have forms for passives with indefinite (unspecified) subjects — 'it is heard', 'I am asked' (see Section 4.4).

Reflexive ('you ask yourself') and reciprocal ('you ask each other') verbs are no longer transitive, but become intransitive. The action is "self-contained" with respect to grammatical person and rank on the hierarchy, whether the subject and object are the same individual(s) — 'self' (marked by *-s-*) — or different — 'each other', 'one another' (marked by *-t-*).

*n-papehchim-s* 'I ask myself'

1-ask.TA-refl.AI

*k-papehchim-t-ipa* 'you (dual) ask each other'

2-ask.TA-recip.AI-2.du.Ind

*k-papehchim-s-ipa* 'you (dual) ask selves'

2-ask.TA-refl.AI-2.du.Ind

*papehchim-t-ult-uwook* 'they ask one another'

ask.TA-recip.AI-pl.AI-3.pl.Ind

Certain of the first and second person pronouns overlap in meaning — for example, *kilun* includes *nil*. None of these overlapping pairs can be subject-and-object of a transitive verb (Table III). Speakers thus find it impossible to translate literally sentences such as 'Look, Mary! I can see us in the mirror' (*nil-kilun*, shaded in Table III).

Table III. First and Second Person Subject-Object Pairs (Transitive Verbs)

		obj: <i>nil</i>	<i>kil</i>	<i>nilun</i>	<i>kilun</i>	<i>kiluwaw</i>
subj:	<i>nil</i>	R	✓	—	—	✓
	<i>kil</i>	✓	R	✓	—	—
	<i>nilun</i>	—	✓	R	—	✓
	<i>kilun</i>	—	—	—	R	—
	<i>kiluwaw</i>	✓	—	✓	—	R

✓ allowed R refl/recip forms (intransitive) — not allowed

## 2.5. Time and Physical Space: The Speaker's Personal Point of View

Finally, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is characterized by the way in which space and time are organized from the speaker's personal point of view. Space is always described in relative terms. Speakers do not use arbitrary, permanent descriptors, such as latitude-and-longitude, distances measured in kilometres, or street addresses, to describe locations, directions, or orientations. They construe time in a parallel way, relative to 'now', without naming fixed points, such as '1 January 2000', or using arbitrary units like hours and centuries.

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet distinguishes three "places" where things are located and events occur — *yut* 'here, near me the speaker', *nit* 'there, near you the listener', and *yot* 'yonder'. *Nit* is the "default" location, used to refer to space that is out of view or situated in a story or an historical account. The demonstrative pronouns (Section



4.2.1) are organized in the same way as these spatial locations. Although *yut* and *yet* are not used with respect to time, *nit* is equivalent to ‘then’; *neke* ‘in the past’ and *yaka* ‘in the future’ are absentative forms of demonstrative pronouns.

*mehsi skat na nekom yut ih-ihq?* ‘and why isn’t s/he here?’  
why that.not also s/he here be.located-3.sg.ChC.neg

*spasuwi-w Susehp cuwi nit ol-hom* ‘in the morning Joseph had to swim there’  
early.particle Joseph must there to.there-swim.AI

*yet n-kisi punom-on suwahqihikon* ‘I placed the bell over there’  
yonder 1-past-put.TI-Sub/Ind bell

More than the word *yut* ‘here’ orients the speaker and listener in the environment. A particular subset of the initial roots called preverbs (see Section 4.6) — systematically specifies location, direction, and orientation in verbs. Two of the most commonly used are *ckuwi-* (*weckuwi-*) ‘toward here’ and *olomi-* (*elomi-*) ‘away from here’. Geographical features and the passage of time are ordinarily described using such preverbs.

*ckuwi qasku* ‘s/he runs toward here’, *ckuhqepu* ‘s/he sits facing toward here’  
*weckuwakomek* ‘where a lake extends toward here’  
*weckuwikotok* ‘as the year(s) come toward now’ (i.e., ‘in the coming year[s]’)

*olomi qasku* ‘s/he runs away from here’, *olomuhqepu* ‘s/he sits facing away from here’  
*elomakomek* ‘where a lake extends away from here, down the lake’  
*elomikotok* ‘as the year(s) go away from now’ (i.e., ‘in the year[s] beginning now’)

Compare these preverbs with *peci-* ‘toward’ and *mace-* ‘away, beginning’, which indicate direction or orientation relative to *any* location, not just ‘here’, or any point in time, not just ‘now’.

*peci qasku* ‘s/he runs toward, arrives running’  
*pecikotok* ‘as the year(s) arrive’ (i.e., ‘in the following year[s]’)

*mace qasku* ‘s/he runs away, sets off running’  
*macekotok* ‘as the year(s) begin’

Two “place-holder” preverbs — *oli-* ‘thus; to there’ and *oloqi-* ‘in that direction’ — signal location, direction, or orientation that cannot be specified in a preverb. These depend upon other words in the clause or sentence to complete their meaning. In the second example below, the particle *oloqiw* ‘in the direction of’ echoes the preverb.

*oli-y-e uten-ek* ‘s/he goes to town’  
to.there-go.AI-3.sg.Ind town-loc

*t-oloq-aph-a-l oloqi-w qospem-ok* ‘she tracked him toward the lake’  
3-that.way-track.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg that.way-particle lake-loc

The few examples here only suggest the complex ways in which space and time are continually reconceived and reconstructed according to the speaker’s location, so that personal identity is integrally tied to the space and time — both physical and social — in which the speaker moves. A language like English allows the construction of space and time without reference to a human presence. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet an impersonal point of view is difficult to adopt.

## 2.6. In Summary: The Nature of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Words

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words are composed of roots, each of which contributes different information to the complete meaning, so that a single word may indeed equate to an “entire sentence”, as speakers are fond of saying. Nouns, pronouns, and verbs are animate or inanimate in gender. First, second, and third person are ordered according a hierarchy which places *kil* and *kiluwaw* ‘you’ at the top, so that marking for ‘you’ takes precedence over marking for ‘I’, which in turn ranks higher than third person. Third persons animates are divided into two grammatical categories: proximate (the focus of attention), and obviative (backgrounded), which ranks lower on the person hierarchy. Inanimate nouns occupy the lowest level.

In addition to verbal, adjectival, adverbial and even nominal meanings, the roots and inflections of verbs encode grammatical information (Table IV). Gender, transitivity, person, and hierarchical relationship have already been mentioned. These and the remaining items in Table IV are discussed in detail in Section 4, with further examples in Section 5.

Table IV. Information Encoded in Verbs

<i>gender</i>	animate, inanimate (final roots; inflectional endings)	see Section 2.2
<i>transitivity</i>	transitive, intransitive (final roots; inflectional endings)	4.3
<i>person</i>	<i>kil, kiluwaw, kilun; nil, nilun; nekom, nekomaw</i> ; obviative (inflections)	2.3
<i>number</i>	singular, dual, plural (inflectional endings; theme markers in <i>ai</i> )	4.4
<i>hierarchy</i>	direct, inverse; reflexive, reciprocal (prefixes; theme markers in <i>ta</i> )	2.4; 4.4
<i>aspect</i>	positive, negative (two separate endings for nearly all forms)	4.4; 5
<i>mode</i>	Indicative, Conjunct, Subordinative, Imperative (stem shape, inflect.)	4.4; 5
<i>tense</i>	present, absentative, dubitative, preterit (inflectional endings)	4.4; 5

## 3. The Sounds of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet

LeSourd (1993a) and Sherwood (1986) provide full, detailed descriptions of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet phonology. This section summarizes some of the main features.

### 3.1. Vowel Sounds

There are five vowels in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (Table V). In most linguistic studies the vowel represented by *u* in the standard orthography is written as *o*, and the vowel *o* (schwa) is written as *ə*.



Table V. Vowels (in Standard Orthography)

i	u
	o
e	a

Maliseet Letter	English Example	Maliseet Example	Translation
a	father	ahahs	'horse'
e	bed	epit	'sitting'
eh	tack	ehpit	'woman'
i	machine	imi	'(kil) pray!'
o	apron*	opos	'tree, stick'
u	dune	uten	'town'

\*The letter *o* represents a sound like schwa (ə).

## BLENDS

aw	how	awt	'road'
ew	Europa (Sp.)	new	'four'
iw	few	lamiw	'within'
ay	pie	sepay	'this morning'
ey	grey	piksey	'pork'

## 3.2. Consonant Sounds

The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet consonants are shown in Table VI. The letters *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, and *y* represent sounds much the same as those in English; *h* is pronounced before a vowel, silent or just barely heard before a consonant. The sound of *l* is velarized in all positions, and *w* is less rounded than in English (LeSourd, 1993a).

Two letters in the standard orthography, *c* and *q*, appear to represent a combination of sounds but can be shown to be unit phonemes just like the other obstruents, *k*, *p*, *s*, and *t* (see, e.g., LeSourd, 1993a, pp. 36-37), since they vary in exactly the same way. The consonant *c* is an alveopalatal affricate (tʃ), as in Italian *cello*. The consonant *q*, sometimes written *k<sup>w</sup>* — *k* with lip-rounding — is distinct from the combination *k<sup>w</sup>*; this consonant pair occurs only at the beginning of words where *k*- 'you' comes before an initial *w*-; compare *k-wik* (KWEEG) 'you (kil) dwell', and *qin* (GWEEN) 'really'.

Table VI. Consonants (in Standard Orthography)

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

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Letter	When adjacent to another consonant or following apostrophe, has unvoiced sound, like English...	When adjacent only to vowels, or when adjacent to prefix <i>n</i> -,* has voiced sound, like English...
c	ch	j
k	k	g
p	p	b
q	k <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>
s	s	z
t	t	d

\*First person: *n-sip-um* (1-river-poss) ('n-ZEEB-oom) 'my private spot'.

As noted in Section 1.4, apostrophe (') indicates a missing initial consonant which is no longer pronounced. It is written only word initially and only before *c*, *k*, *p*, *q*, *s*, or *t*, when one of these precedes a vowel. The apostrophe shows that the consonant is preaspirated and devoiced, the residual effects of the dropped consonant.

## 3.3. Stress and Pitch

Both stress and pitch (or pitch contour) are distinctive in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, but the descriptions of these features are complex. Differences in pitch and pitch contour and differences in vowel length are among the features that distinguish Passamaquoddy from Maliseet. The reader is referred to Philip S. LeSourd's *Accent and Syllable Structure in Passamaquoddy* (1993a) for a comprehensive description and analysis.

## 3.4. The Standard Orthography as a Reflection of Phonology

The standard orthography used for Passamaquoddy-Maliseet was developed and perfected by a number of linguists and Native speakers who collaborated successively during the 1960s and 1970s. Harvard linguist Karl Teeter's work (e.g., Teeter, 1971) with Peter Lewis Paul, a Maliseet of Woodstock, New Brunswick, resulted in the first writing system designed for the language. This was adapted for practical typewriting by Wayne Newell (Passamaquoddy), the director of the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program at Indian Township, Maine, then working with MIT linguist Kenneth Hale, so that it could be used in storybooks and instructional materials. In particular, *u* replaced *o*, and *o* could then be used in place of *ə* to represent schwa.

The teachers and curriculum developers in the bilingual program and a number of linguists working with them made further refinements to account for double consonants (*mattihikon* 'whip, prod, poker [for fire]' vs. *mahtihikon* 'lid-lifter [for woodstove]'; Section 3.5.2); to standardize the writing of schwa (*o*) as *u* before *w*, where it is always rounded (*nutuwak* 'I hear them'); and to show the unstressed schwas frequently "inaudible" in speech (*welomahtaq* 'who has a good disposition', *pahtoliyas* 'priest'; Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.3). Additional contributors during that time were



Passamaquoddy language consultant David Francis, of Pleasant Point; teachers Anna Harnois and Mary Ellen (Stevens) Socobasin, of Indian Township; linguist Philip LeSourd, then a student of Kenneth Hale's; and materials and curriculum developer Robert Leavitt. Laura Knecht, another of Hale's students, suggested using apostrophe to represent "missing" initial consonants.

The result of this long process was a writing system that reflects elegantly the phonemics and the phonology of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 illustrate both the orthography and sound patterns in the language.

### 3.4.1. Use of Apostrophe

The "missing" consonants which apostrophes represent are real: they were once pronounced, as we know from old transcriptions and from the fact that many are still pronounced by older speakers. Also, these dropped consonants are present in other forms of the word.

'*tomakéy-u* (*ktomakéy-u*) (-3.sg.Ind) 's/he is poor'  
*n-kótomakey* (1-) 'I am poor'; *ketomákey-it* (-3.sg.ChC) 'when s/he was poor'  
 but not \**n-tomakey* 'I am poor' (personal prefix without stem-initial *k*-)

'*pisun* (*npisun*) 'medicine'  
*skicinuwi npisun* 'Indian medicine'<sup>12</sup>; *k-nopisun* (2-) 'your (*kil*) medicine'

*musa* 'tom-*ahkoc!* (*wtom-ahkoc*) (-2.sg.Imp.neg) 'don't (*kil*) smoke!'  
*mace wtom-e* (-3.sg.Ind) 's/he starts to smoke'  
*wetom-at* (-3.sg.ChC) 'when s/he smoked'

Many older speakers retain a dropped *w*- as a soundless lip-rounding before the following consonant; it may be pronounced more distinctly when the preceding word ends in a vowel. The *w*- in these examples is part of the verb root. A dropped *w*- may also be the prefix that marks the third person; this *w*- does not "reappear" in other forms.

'*tus-ol* (*wtus-ol*) 'h/h daughter' — *n-tus* 'my daughter' — *tus* 'daughter' (vocative)  
 3-daughter.dep-obv.sg — 1-daughter.dep — daughter.dep

'*peskh-a-l* 's/he shoots h/h' — *n-peskh-a* 'I shoot h/h' — *peskh-us-u* 's/he shoots self'  
 3-shoot.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg — 1-shoot.TA-dir:3.Ind — shoot.TA-refl.AI-3.sg.Ind

<sup>12</sup>Most younger speakers say *skicinuwi 'pisun*. *Skicinuwi npisun* is a single word and is pronounced as a single word (*skicinuwinpisun*), but in the standard orthography it is written with a space since the prenoun *skicinuwi* and the noun *npisun* can each stand on its own. This is simply a convention which serves to make reading easier. (Also true of *mace wtom* in the following example.)

### 3.4.2. Dropping Unstressed Schwa (Syncope)

As suggested by the examples in Section 3.4.1, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words have an underlying structure — called a "stem" — on which the spoken forms are built. The stem itself may take various shapes, and it is this feature that is examined here.

The stem of the verb '*tomakeyu* (*ktomakeyu*) 's/he is poor' is *-kotomakey-*,<sup>13</sup> to which endings and personal prefixes are added. (The hyphens at each end indicate that such attachments are possible.) In this particular word, as in most verbs and many nouns, the stem cannot be used without at least one prefix or ending. A typical pattern for verb stems whose first syllable has the vowel *o* is that this *o* "drops out" when no prefix is used in the form required. This phenomenon is called "syncope" and may occur in other parts of the stem as well (see LeSourd, 1993a, pp. 158ff.). Thus *ktomakeyu* — and *ktomakeyit* ('*tomakeyit*) 'if s/he is poor', in which both the *k* and the *t* (or '*t*-') are unvoiced; there is no vowel between them. In *nkotomakey* 'I am poor', the personal prefix *n*- "calls up" the vowel in the first syllable because personal prefixes cannot be affixed to consonant clusters<sup>14</sup>; the *k* and the *t*, now separated by a vowel, are voiced (recall that the personal prefix *n*- does not "devoice" a following consonant). They are also voiced in *ketomakeyit* 'when s/he was poor', the "changed" form (Section 3.4.3).

The stem of the verb '*tome* (*wtome*) 's/he smokes' is *-wotom-*. When a verb whose stem begins with *-wo-* takes a personal prefix, this *-wo-* changes to *-u-*: *nutom* 'I smoke' and *kutom* 'you (*kil*) smoke'. The form '*tome* (*wtome*) does not have a personal prefix, but in third person forms which do take a personal prefix, such as *utoman* '[and then] s/he smokes', the resulting *wu-* (from *w-* + *-wo-*) is realized as *u-*.

A common preverb whose stem begins with *-wo-* is *woli-* 'good'. In stems beginning with *-wol-* and *-won-*, the *o* is maintained when there is no personal prefix, but the *-wo-* still changes to *-u-* following a personal prefix.

*woli-tahas-u* 's/he is happy'; *wolitahas-it* 'if s/he is happy' (no personal prefix)  
 good-think.AI-3.sg.Ind — be.happy.AI-3.sg.ChC

*n-ulitahas* 'I am happy'; *nit-te na [w]ulitahas-in* 'and then s/he is happy' (pers. prefix)  
 1-be.happy.AI — then-emph also [3]-be.happy.AI-3.sg.Sub

compare '*tom-at* (*wtom-at*) (-3.sg.UnC) 'if s/he smokes' (no personal prefix)

<sup>13</sup>The full form of the stem is *-kotomakey(i)-*, where *i* is the stem vowel. This vowel determines the shape of inflectional endings (Section 4); for simplicity, it is omitted here and in the following examples.

<sup>14</sup>Younger speakers may appear to "violate" this rule. One hears, for example, such forms as *npsqihuhus* 'I shave (myself)' instead of *nposqihuhus*. (Actually, most younger speakers omit the *n-*, too. They may no longer be aware of the first syllable in the underlying stem — in this case *-posqihuhus-* — as can be seen from the fact that they also omit the *e* in the "changed" stem *pesqihuhus-* [Section 3.4.3], saying *psqihuhusit* 'when he shaved', instead of *pesqihuhusit*.)



The stem of the verb *'tawewestu* (*ntawewestu*) 's/he knows how to speak' is *-nihtawewest-*. In this verb the *i* in the first syllable<sup>15</sup> drops out in the absence of a personal prefix, but it is retained in prefixed forms such as *knihtawewest* 'you (*kil*) know how to speak'.

Other verb stems undergo changes more complex than those described above. The stem of [*w*]-*nokka-ht-un* (3-to.completion-do.to.TI-Sub/Ind) 's/he eats all of it' is *-nokihkaht-*. Here the vowel is dropped from either the first or the second syllable, depending upon whether a personal prefix is used. There is no form in which both vowels are maintained.

*k-nokkahtun* 'you (*kil*) eat all of it'; *'kihkaht!* (*nkihkaht*) '(*kil*) eat all of it!'

Another verb of this type is *'pottehmon* (*wpottehmon*) 's/he hits it accidentally', whose stem is *-pocihtehm-*. When the second vowel drops out, the *c* reverts to *t*. This alternation is common in many Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words (compare *ehpit* 'woman', *ehpicik* 'women').

*npottehmon* 'I hit it accidentally'; *pcihtehman* 'if I hit it accidentally'

The stem *-wotahsom-* 'feed another from something' combines the features of stems beginning with *-wo-* and those having two syllables subject to syncope.

*ut-som-a-l* [*w*]-*nican-ol emqan-sis-ok* 's/he feeds h/h child from a little spoon' originating from feed.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg [3]-child.dep-obv.sg spoon-dim-loc  
'*tahsomat...* 'if she feeds...'; *wetsomat...* 'when she fed...'

Syncope occurs in some nouns: *qotoput* (also pronounced *kutoput*) 'chair', *nt-oqtoput* (1-) 'my chair'. Here the stem is *-oqtoput-*. (The first *t* in *ntoqtoput* is inserted following the personal prefix before stems beginning with a vowel<sup>16</sup>; compare the similar prevocalic *t* used in French: *a-t-il*.)

The examples in this section are by no means exhaustive, and the variety of shapes which a single verb can take may seem astounding, if not confusing. The changes are usually predictable, however, and once patterns like those described here are discovered, they can be applied to newly encountered verbs.

<sup>15</sup>This *i* is the "surface realization" of an underlying *o*. The deeper-level phonology is more fully described by LeSourd, Sherwood, Teeter, and others, *q.v.*

<sup>16</sup>This *-t-* is not used in dependent nouns (*nik, kik, wik* 'my, your, h/h house'; Section 4.1.4), whose stems are based on the third person form (compare *nwik, kwik, wiku* 'I, you, s/he dwells'), nor before the *-u-* which results when a personal prefix is combined with stem-initial *-wo-* (Section 3.4.2): *nulitahas*, from the stem *-wolitahas-* — not *\*ntulitahas*, with *-t-* inserted. Some verb stems begin with a "real" *-u-*: for example, *ntutenehk* 'I go shopping', stem *-uten-ehk-* (town-do.AI).

### 3.4.3. "Changed" Forms: Vowel *-e-* in the First Syllable

Verbs with schwa (*o*) or underlying schwa in the *first* syllable of the stem have a "changed" stem in which the schwa changes to *e*. This stem is used only in the Changed Conjunct mode, so called to distinguish it from the Unchanged Conjunct (Section 4.4.3), which is used in 'if' clauses.

Changed Conjunct forms are used chiefly in subordinate clauses and as participles, as illustrated in Sections 4 and 5. They are used with the particle *neke* 'in the past', and consequently are often translated using the past tense. The following examples use the verbs mentioned in Section 3.4.2.

*ketomákeyit* 'when s/he was poor'; *ketomakéyit* '(the one) who is poor'<sup>17</sup>  
*wetomat* 'when s/he smoked'  
*welitahasit* 'when s/he was happy'  
*nehtawewestaq* '(the one) who knows how to speak'  
*nekkahatq* 'when s/he ate all of it'  
*pettohok* 'when s/he hit it accidentally'<sup>18</sup>  
*wetsomat* 'when s/he fed h/h from it'  
*eqtopit* 'when s/he sat on top (of it)'

The last example shows the verb from which *qotoput* 'chair' is derived, stem *-oqtop-*.

If a verb stem does not have a schwa (*o*) or underlying schwa in the first syllable, then the "changed" stem is the same as the "unchanged". Thus *papehcimsu* 's/he asks self', *papehcimsit* 'when (or if) s/he asks self'; *tehkepsulu* 's/he hiccups', *tehkepsulit* 'when (or if) s/he hiccups'.

There are also a few verbs with an *o* in the first syllable that does not change to *e*. These are verbs derived from nouns, and noun stems do not undergo this type of change. For example, in *mociyehsuhke* 's/he hunts partridge' (from *mociyehs* 'partridge') the noun is kept intact by speakers: *neke mociyehsuhket* 'when s/he hunted partridge' (*\*meciyehsuhket*).

<sup>17</sup>Stress and pitch contour are distinctive here; the same contrast distinguishes other *neke* and Changed Conjunct participle forms.

<sup>18</sup>The underlying stem of this verb is actually somewhat more complex than *-pocihtehm-*; the full form is *-pocihtohom-*, with the final "unstressable" *-o-* dropping in most forms, and the preceding *-o-* changing to *-e-* (for further details, see LeSourd, 1993, pp. 420ff.). In *pettohok*, the schwas are restored and a form of the stem is used, *pettohom-*, in which the final *-om-* is dropped before adding the third person singular ending *-ok*. The *-om-* is also dropped in forming the passive stem: *-pocihtohom-* + *-as-* becomes *-pocihtahas-* (intransitive): *pcihtahasu* 'it is hit accidentally' (compare Section 3.5.4).



## 3.5. Additional Notes on Phonology

In the standard orthography, an unstressed schwa (*o*) is written whenever it has not been dropped by syncope. This schwa can be heard in careful (*i.e.*, slow) pronunciation, but is usually inaudible, or just barely audible, in ordinary conversation. (Recall that schwa is written as *u* before *w*.)

3.5.1. Sonorants (*l, m, n, w*<sup>19</sup>) Separated by Unstressed Schwa (*o*)

It is often difficult to hear an unstressed schwa between sonorants. LeSourd, however, has shown (1993a, pp. 276 ff.) that an unstressed schwa (*o*) is dropped between sonorants (*l, m, n, w*) only when the two sonorants are identical and neither is adjacent to another consonant — [k]-kal-l-*opa*<sup>20</sup> ([2]-hide.TA-2inv:1-2.pl) 'I hide you (*kiluwaw*)'. Compare *kt-ol-ehl-ol-on* (2-thus-do.to.TA-2inv:1-sg.Sub) '(and then) I do thus to you (*kil*)', where schwa is not deleted following the consonant cluster *-hl-*. The exception is that unstressed schwa is not deleted between equal sonorants in word-final syllables — *wilol* 'h/h tongue', *nicanon* 'our (*nilun*) child'. In words like *minuw-wikhik-e* (over.again-write.AI-3.sg.Ind) 's/he rewrites it', the schwa (*u*) between the two *w*'s is not unstressed.

The presence of these unstressed schwas is reflected in the standard orthography in the form of a spelling rule: always write a schwa (*o* or *u*, as appropriate) between unequal sonorants.

*olomuhse* 's/he walks away'  
*wiwoniye* 's/he goes around (circumferentially)'  
*pamolamson* 'wind blows along'  
*oluwikonok* 'seven'  
*amuwes* 'bee'

## 3.5.2. Double Consonants

Under the proper conditions (see LeSourd, 1993a), syncope can occur between any pair of identical consonants, resulting in a double (or "long") consonant. When word-medial, the twin consonants can each be heard.

*accihite* 'it changes colour' (-*ac-* 'changing' + *-ociht-* 'be of a colour')  
*tolahhik* 'they (dual) are playing'<sup>21</sup> (-*otolay-* 'be playing' + *-ihik* 'they [dual]')  
*nekkapit* 'who is blind' (-*nokihka-* 'to completion' + [?])  
*olluhke* 's/he works thus' (-*ol-* 'thus' + *-oluhk-* 'work')

<sup>19</sup>The sonorant *y* is not included in this list because schwa is realized as *i* before *y*, so that *-oy-* does not occur. When *y* is (rarely) followed by a sonorant the rule stated in this section applies, except in '*tiywal* 's/he has h/h' and related words, where the schwa is omitted following the long *i* sound of *-iy-* (compare a changed form, *eyuwat* 'when s/he has h/h').

<sup>20</sup>The personal prefix *k-* is not written before stem-initial *-k-* or *-q-*.

<sup>21</sup>Also pronounced *tolahyik*, *tolayyik*, depending upon the speaker.

*'tommal* 's/he bites h/h in two' (-*tom-* 'apart' + *-om-* 'bite')  
*nicannuk* 'our (*nilun*) children' (-*nican-* 'child' + *-onu-* 'we' + *-ok* [plural])  
*teppu* 's/he sits in something' (-*tep-* 'in' + *-op-* 'sit')  
*eqqa* 's/he stops dancing' (-*ehq-* 'stop' + *-ok-* 'dance')  
*kissonte* 'it is Monday' (-*kis-* 'past' + *-osont-* 'be Sunday')  
*pettemu* 's/he arrives crying' (-*pec-* 'toward' + *-otem-* 'cry')  
*nihtawwikhik* 'I know how to write' (-*nihtaw-* 'know how to' + *-uwikhik-* 'write')  
*eyyin* 'where you (*kil*) are' (-*iy-* 'be in a place' [changed: *ey-*] + *-iyin* 'kil')

Double obstruents, except *-cc*, also occur in word-final position: *pocokk* 'splat!', *ntepp* 'I sit in something', *ktewepotoqq* 'you (*kil*) jump up', *ess* 'clam', *tett* 'in that direction'.

3.5.3. Unstressed Schwa and a Sonorant (*l, m, n, w*) following *hc, hk, hp, hq, hs, ht*

Another situation in which unstressed schwa may be difficult to hear is in words where a sonorant (*l, m, n, w*) follows an unvoiced obstruent (*hc, hk, hp, hq, hs, ht*<sup>22</sup>). The schwa (*o*) is always written in these syllables.

*'cehcoloqs* 'gland' (compare *cehcis* 'vein')  
*tolotehkomon* 's/he kicks it to there' (-*ol-* 'to there' + *-otehkomo-* 'kick')  
*'totolihponolal* 's/he is fighting h/h' (-*otol-* [progressive] + *-hponol-* 'fight against')  
*wihqonomon* 's/he pulls it' (-*wihq-* 'pulling' + *-on-* '[do] by hand')  
*pahtoliyas* 'priest' (from French, *patriarche*)  
*'cikihtuwal* 's/he lets go of h/h' (-*cikihtuw-* 'let go of; stop bothering')

When schwa (*o*) occurs between *-hq-* and *-w-*, the resulting sound (and spelling) is *-hkuw-*: [*w*]-*nute-hkuw-a-l* ([3]-out-push.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg) 's/he pushes h/h out'. Because the schwa (here *u*) is barely pronounced, it may seem that this word should be spelled "*nutehqal*", but others forms of the verb, and those like it, show typical modifications of the final *-uw-*: it is reduced to *-u-* in *knutehkul* 'I push you (*kil*) out' (from *k-* + *-nutehkuw-* + *-ol*); and it becomes *-a-* when followed by the *-o-* in the inverse markers *-oku-* (*nutehkakuk* 'they push me out', from *n-* + *-nutehkuw-* + *-oku-* + *-k* and *-oke-* (*nutehkakepon* 'we [*nilun*] are pushed out', from *n-* + *-nutehkuw-* + *-oke-* + *-pon*).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Note that *hc* rarely occurs before schwa, but is usually realized as *ht* — as for example in *mehtoluhke* 's/he finishes working', from *mehci* (preverb) 'finish' and the root *-oluhk-* 'work'.

<sup>23</sup>The final *-uw-* is actually *-ow-*. In a few verbs, however, the vowel is really a *u* and it can be stressed. In these verbs, the reduction to *-a-* does not take place. Compare *nóstuwal* (*-ow-*) 's/he knows h/h' and *nóstuwal* (*-uw-*) 's/he mentions h/h': *nóstâq* 's/he knows me', but *nóstúwoq* 's/he mentions me' (also note the finals in the corresponding transitive inanimate verbs *nóstomon* and *nóstuhmon*). Other "*-u-*" verbs are *mónuwal* 's/he buys h/h' (*monúhmon*) and *núnuwal* 'she suckles h/h'.



3.5.4. *h* between Vowels

Root internally and at the point where inflectional endings “attach” to the stem, the vowels immediately preceding and following an *h* are always identical. In the following examples, the verb stem is *-nehp\_h-* ‘kill’; the blank underscore (“\_”) represents a vowel identical to the first vowel in the inflectional ending which follows the stem.

[n]nehpah-a ‘I kill h/h’	(-dir:3.Ind)
nehpeh-eq ‘when you (kiluwaw) killed h/h’	(-2.pl.dir:3.ChC)
knehpih-i ‘you (kil) kill me’	(-2dir:1.sg.Ind)
[n]nehpoh-oq ‘s/he kills me’	(-inv:3.sg.Ind)
[n]nehpuh-uku-k ‘they kill me’	(-inv:3.Ind-3.pl)

Where a preverb “attaches” to a verb root in forming a stem, and the *h* is part of the verb root, the vowels do not necessarily match: *macehom* ‘s/he starts to swim’ (from the preverb *mace-* ‘start’ and the root *-hom-* ‘swim’), *nipahom* ‘s/he swims at night’, ‘qotuhkahom ‘s/he swims alone’.

## 4. Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Words

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has words of four types: *nouns*, including personal names, place names, and participles used as nouns; *pronouns*, including personal, demonstrative, and interrogative forms and a “hesitation” pronoun; *verbs*, which are transitive or intransitive, and animate or inanimate; and *particles*, the only category of uninflected words, including cardinal numbers, conjunctions, and adverbs. Nouns and pronouns are described in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, below. Sections 4.3 through 4.7 describe verbs, with attention to how verb stems are composed from various types of roots and how they are inflected. Finally, Section 4.8 describes particles. (For Passamaquoddy-Maliseet names of the parts of speech, see Leavitt & Francis, 1984.)

## 4.1. Nouns

There are two types of nouns in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, ordinary substantives and participial nouns — nouns which are really verb forms.

## 4.1.1. Animate and Inanimate Nouns

The plural forms of *animate nouns* end with *-k*. This *-k* is preceded by various combinations of vowels and glides according to the final vowel of the noun stem — the “stem vowel”.

<i>cihkonaqç</i> ‘turtle’	<i>cihkonaqçok</i> ‘turtles’	stem vowel <i>-o</i>
<i>cipiyahtoq</i> ‘crucifix’	<i>cipiyatkuk</i> ‘crucifixes’	stem vowel <i>-o</i>
<i>mahtoqehs</i> ‘hare’	<i>mahtoqehsuwok</i> ‘hares’	stem vowel <i>-u</i>
<i>possesom</i> ‘star’	<i>possesomuk</i> ‘stars’	stem vowel <i>-u</i>
<i>sakom</i> ‘chief’	<i>sakomak</i> ‘chiefs’	stem vowel <i>-a</i>

<i>skitap</i> ‘man’	<i>skitapiyik</i> ‘men’	stem vowel <i>-e</i>
<i>tuwossomut</i> ‘cup’	<i>tuwossomutiyik</i> ‘cups’	stem vowel <i>-i</i>

In *cipiyatkuk*, note the syncope: *-ahtoq-* becomes *-atq-*, and then the *-q-* plus the plural ending *-ok* becomes *-kuk*. In syncope, *h* before an obstruent drops along with the following vowel.

The plural forms of *inanimate nouns* end with *-l*. This *-l* is also preceded by various combinations of vowels and glides according to the stem vowel of the noun.

<i>khakon</i> ‘door’	<i>khakonol</i> ‘doors’	stem vowel <i>-o</i>
<i>pilasq</i> ‘paper’	<i>pilaskul</i> ‘papers’	stem vowel <i>-o</i>
<i>oqiton</i> ‘canoe’	<i>oqitonul</i> ‘canoes’	stem vowel <i>-u</i>
<i>piley</i> ‘new one’	<i>pileyal</i> ‘new ones’	stem vowel <i>-a</i>
<i>sqot</i> ‘fire’	<i>sqotiyil</i> ‘fires’	stem vowel <i>-e</i>
<i>mahsus</i> ‘fiddlehead’ (fern)	<i>mahsusiyil</i> ‘fiddleheads’	stem vowel <i>-i</i>

Personal names are animate nouns. Those which are distinctively Passamaquoddy-Maliseet usually have French origins, even though they are now paired with English names. *Piyel* and *Mali* derive from Pierre and Marie (*r*’s obligatorily becoming *l*’s). Other names include *Lula* Laurent/Lawrence, *Teles* Thérèse/Theresa, *Aselihk* Angélique/Angela, and *Ehtiyan* Étienne/Stephen. Like all borrowings, these conform to the phonology of the language, so that Louis becomes *Óluwi* and not *\*Lúwi*, to accommodate Passamaquoddy-Maliseet syllable and stress patterns, and François becomes *Polansuwe*, not *\*Plansuwe*, since words do not begin with consonant-*l*. Many current surnames go back to christenings by French-speaking priests, including Sockabasin, from Jacques-Vincent; Sopiél and Sappier, from St.-Pierre; Sabattis, from Jean-Baptiste. Polchies, a common Maliseet surname, is derived from Paul, with the diminutive suffix *-sis*: ‘little Paul, son of Paul’.

## 4.1.2. Participial Nouns

Many nouns are actually participles. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, participles are relative clauses consisting of Changed Conjunct forms (Section 4.4.2) of transitive or intransitive or intransitive verbs. Both animate and inanimate participle forms are used as nouns; plural forms end in *-ik* (except obviative) and *-il*, respectively, which marks the number of the subject or the object of the participle. Ordinary substantives do not use these particular endings.

<i>nut-okehk-ikem-it</i> ‘teacher’ (lit., ‘who teaches’)	<i>nutokehkikem-ic-ik</i> ‘teachers’
as.occupation-know-do.AI-3.sg.ChC	be.teacher.AI-3.sg.ChC-3.pl
<i>etol-okehk-im-a-cil</i> ‘h/h pupil’	<i>etolokehkim-a-cih</i> ‘h/h pupils’
prog-know-by.speech.TA.dir:3-obv.sg.ChC	be.teaching.TA-dir:3-obv.pl.ChC
(‘whom s/he teaches’)	
<i>nuci tqon-k-et</i> ‘police officer’ (‘who arrests’)	<i>nuci tqonk-ec-ik</i> ‘police’
occup-arrest-do.AI-3.sg.ChC	be.arrester.AI-3.sg.ChC-3.pl



<i>nomocin-uhse-hs-it</i> 'crab' <sup>24</sup> ('who walks sideways') side-walk.AI-dim.AI-3.sg.ChC	<i>nomocinuhsehs-ic-ik</i> 'crabs' walk.sideways.AI-3.sg.ChC-3.pl
<i>kel-on-osk</i> 'your godparent' ('who holds you [ki])' hold-with.hand.TA-2inv:3.ChC	<i>kelonosk-ik</i> 'your godparents' who.holds.you.TA-3.pl.ChC
<i>nisuw-iyek</i> 'my spouse' ('with whom I am a pair') be.pair-13.du.ChC	

Most speakers have reanalysed participial nouns as ordinary nouns and add prefixes and endings accordingly, creating forms such as *n-kelon-osk* (1-hold.TA-2inv:3.sg.ChC) 'my godparent' (but literally, 'my one who holds you!') instead of *kelon-it* (hold.TA-1inv:3.ChC) 'who holds me', which would seem more logical; or *k-nisuw-iyek* (2-be.pair-13.ChC) 'your spouse' (literally, 'your one with whom I am a pair!'), which is used in place of *nisuw-iyeq* (be.pair-2.pl.ChC) 'with whom you are a pair'. These reanalysed forms often become standard: a speaker might say *kelonosk* 'your godparents', using a noun plural, instead of *kelonoskik*, which uses the participial plural. Speakers do, however, say *nisuw-ihc-il* (be.pair-3.du.ChC-obv.sg) 'h/h spouse' (literally, 'with whom s/he is a pair'), and *kelon-ihc-il* (hold.TA-1inv:3.ChC-obv.sg) 'h/h godparent' (literally, 'who [obviative] holds h/h [proximate]').

The noun *ehpit* 'woman' (plural *ehpicik*) is participial, but the original verb is no longer used in this form. It seems to be related to the verb *opu* 's/he sits' (participle *epit*; compare the inanimate counterpart, *ote* 'it sits', participle *ehtek*).

Inanimate verb participles are also used as nouns. Many have a locative meaning.

<i>sip-tok-eh-as-ik</i> 'accordion' ('which is stretched') long-stringlike-do.to.TI-passive.II-0.sg.ChC	<i>siptokehtasik-il</i> 'accordions' stretched.II.ChC-0.pl
<i>mete-ss-ik</i> 'coins, change' ('which is heard moving') heard.not.seen-move.suddenly.II-0.sg.ChC	
<i>pesq-ahsuwe-hs-ok</i> 'flower' ('which blooms') starting.suddenly-shine.II-dim.II-0.sg.ChC	<i>pesqahsuwesik-il</i> 'flowers' little.start.to.shine.II.ChC-0.pl
<i>possiy-an-tehs-ok</i> 'window' shine-transparent-strike.II-0.sg.ChC (where light strikes and shines through')	<i>possiyantesk-il</i> 'windows' strike.shine.through.II.ChC-0.pl

<sup>24</sup>Although participles use the changed stem of the verb (Section 3.4.3), the *-o-* in the first syllable of this word is preserved, as it is in *possiyantehsok*, below (originally *peššiyantehsok*). Most likely, in reanalysing the original participle, *nemocinuhsehsit*, as a noun, speakers have eliminated the initial change, though they preserve the change when using *nemocinuhsehsit* as a verb — 'when the little one walked sideways'. (Compare *mociyehsuhke*, Section 3.4.3.) Some nouns, like *kelonosk*, retain the initial change of the participle even with personal prefixes, as noted below, even though changed stems are never prefixed when used as verbs.

<i>pem-sok-h-as-ik</i> 'on the floor' ('along where it is covered with boards') along-with.boards-do.with.implement.TI(-om-)-passive.II-0.sg.ChC <sup>25</sup>
<i>pem-skut-ek</i> 'in the field' ('along where it is a field') along-field(<sqot 'fire?')-3.sg.ChC

Participial nouns with locative meanings, as in the last two examples above, all have the form "verb stem + participial ending", but are reanalysed by many speakers as "noun stem + locative ending". Coincidentally, in the singular, both the inanimate participial (Changed Conjunct) endings of verbs and the locative endings of nouns terminate in *-k*; compare the noun *posonut* 'basket', locative *posonutek* 'in or on the basket' (see Section 4.1.5). Thus a noun *pem-sok-h-as* (along-with.boards-do.with.tool-[TI]-passive.II-) 'floor' is a back-formation from *pemsokhasik*, as is *pemskut* 'field', from *pemskutek*. There is also a locative form *possiyanteskik* 'in the window' (*possiyantehsok* + *-ik* locative). Even though the original participle already conveys the meaning 'in the window', it is not used in that way. Apparently, speakers no longer think of these nouns as the verb-forms that they are.

#### 4.1.3. Obviative Inflection

Obviative forms of nouns have endings whose exact form, like that of the plural, depends upon the final vowel of the stem. Singular forms always end in *-l*, while plural forms are characterized by the absence of the final *-k*. The reader will note that in the obviative plural *cihqonàqç*, the final schwa (*o*) is also dropped. Also, since obviative plurals have a characteristic low pitch in the final syllable, *cihqonàqç* proximate singular is distinct from *cihqonàqç* obviative plural.

<i>cihqonaqçol</i> 'turtle' (obviative singular)	<i>cihqonàqç</i> 'turtles' (obviative plural)
<i>cipiyatkul</i> 'crucifix'	<i>çipiyatkù</i> 'crucifixes'
<i>mahtoqehsuwol</i> 'hare'	<i>màhtoqehsù</i> 'hares'
<i>possesomul</i> 'star'	<i>possésomù</i> 'stars'
<i>sakomal</i> 'chief'	<i>sàkomà</i> 'chiefs'
<i>skitapiyil</i> 'man'	<i>skitapiyì, skitapi</i> 'men'
<i>tuwossomutiyl</i> 'cup'	<i>tuwóssomutiyì, tuwóssomuti</i> 'cups'
<i>nutokehkikemilicil</i> 'teacher'	<i>nútokehkikém-ilicìhì, -ilicì</i> 'teachers'
<i>nuci tqonkelicil</i> 'police officer'	<i>núci tqonk-élicìhì, -elicì</i> 'police'
<i>nomocinuhsehsilicil</i> 'crab'	<i>nomocinúhsehs-ilicìhì, -ilicì</i> 'crabs'

#### 4.1.4. Possessed Inflection

See Section 2.4 for an example of the singular possessed forms of an inanimate noun, 'tul' 'h/h boat'. The corresponding plural forms — someone's boats — appear below. Again the shape of a particular ending will depend upon the stem vowel; here it is *-o-*.

<sup>25</sup>Compare 'pomsokhomon or 'pomasokahmon (two choices for syncope) 's/he covers it with boards'; passive *pomsokhasu*.



<i>ntulol</i>	'my boats'	<i>ntulonul</i>	'our boats ( <i>nilun</i> )'
		<i>ktulonul</i>	'our boats ( <i>kilun</i> )'
<i>ktulol</i>	'your boats'	<i>ktuluwal</i>	'your boats'
' <i>tulol</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	'h/h boats'	' <i>tuluwal</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	'their boats'

Animate possessed forms are similar, with additional marking for the obviative in third person forms. Possessed forms of 'daughter' appear below.

<i>ntús</i>	'my daughter'	<i>ntúsòn</i>	'our daughter ( <i>nilun</i> )'
		<i>ktúsòn</i>	'our daughter ( <i>kilun</i> )'
<i>ktús</i>	'your daughter'	<i>ktúsuwa</i>	'your daughter'
' <i>túsol</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	'h/h daughter'	' <i>túsuwal</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	'their daughter'

The corresponding plural forms are as follows.

<i>ntúsok</i>	'my daughters'	<i>ntúsonúk</i>	'our daughters ( <i>nilun</i> )'
		<i>ktúsonúk</i>	'our daughters ( <i>kilun</i> )'
<i>ktúsok</i>	'your daughters'	<i>ktúsuwak</i>	'your daughters'
' <i>tùs</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	'h/h daughters'	' <i>túsuwà</i> ( <i>wt-</i> )	'their daughters'

'*Tul* and '*tusol* are called *dependent nouns* because they exist only in possessed forms; there is no unpossessed form \**tul* 'a boat' or \**tus* 'a daughter' (*tus* occurs as a term of address only). This grammatical dependence is sometimes termed *inalienable possession*. Dependent nouns include all body parts and kinship terms, along with a small set of other nouns denoting personal items — including '*tul* and '*wik* 'h/h house', '*topun* 'h/h bed', '*temisol* 'h/h dog', '*posumol* 'h/h cat'. For each of these there is a corresponding non-dependent noun ordinarily not inflected for possession — *oqiton* 'canoe', *wikuwam* 'house', *kuhut* 'bed', *olomuss* 'dog', *psuwis* 'cat'. *Wasis* 'child' is the non-dependent counterpart of *nicanol* 'h/h child'.

unacceptable to older (fluent) speakers: \**pihtin* 'a hand' (unpossessed), \**nwasis* 'my child', \**tolomussol* 'h/h dog' (possessed)

Most non-dependent nouns, but not all, have a special "possessed stem" formed by inserting *-m-* after the noun stem, where "*\_*" represents the stem vowel. This stem is then inflected like an ordinary noun stem — for example, *n-sakom-am-onu-k* (1-chief-poss-1.pl-3.pl) 'our (*nilun*) chiefs', '*cipiyatku-m-ol* ([3]-crucifix-poss-obv.sg) 'h/h crucifix', *n-pilasku-m* 'my paper'. Loan-words are almost always given this *-m-* when inflected for possession, even if they are used as dependent nouns: *n-polatal-om* 'my brother', *n-sistal-om* 'my sister'; but not *n-tatat* 'my dad'.

Like verbs (see Section 3.4.2), nouns, too, have an underlying stem which is affected by the addition of endings and personal prefixes. The stem of *skitap* 'man' is *-woskitape-* (no apostrophe is written before the consonant cluster at the beginning of *skitap* [*wskitap*]), and the "possessed stem" is *-woskitapem-*; thus *n-uskitap-em* 'my man, my husband', *k-uskitap-em-uwa-k* 'your (*kiluwaw*) men', *uskitap-èm* 'h/h men (obvia-

tive)'. Similarly, *ntehpitem* 'my wife', more common among Maliseet speakers than *nisuwiyeq*.

The possessed stem of some nouns has an additional syllable at the beginning which consists of the vowel *a* or *ah*; this syllable disappears without a trace, however, in unprefix forms. Thus *nt-ah-tuwossomut* 'my cup', from *tuwossomut*, and *nt-ah-tap-im* 'my bow (weapon)', from *tap*.

#### 4.1.5. Locative Inflection

Locative endings follow the pattern of plural, obviative, and possessed forms in making use of the stem vowel. All locatives, whether animate or inanimate, singular or plural, end in *-k*. The singular ending is *-\_k*, and the plural ending *-ihkuk* (for stem vowel *o* or *i*) or *-\_wihkuk*. These endings can be added to any noun, although one suspects that locative abstract nouns — *pom-aws-uwakon-ok* (2-along-live-noun-loc) 'in life' — are influenced by English, and replace an indefinite subject verb form such as *pem-aws-imk* (along-live-indef.ChC) or *qen-awsimk* (while-) 'while living' (see also Section 4.8).

<i>wikuwamok</i> 'in, on, at the house'	<i>wikuwamihkuk</i> 'in, on, among the houses'
<i>sqotek</i> 'in the fire'	<i>sqotewihkuk</i> 'in the fires, where there are fires'
<i>puskonikonok</i> 'in the coffin'	<i>puskonikonihkuk</i> 'in the coffins, in the graveyard'

Possessed nouns can be marked locative, too. Typical forms are *ntahtuwossomutik* 'in my cup', *kpilaskumok* 'on your (*kil*) paper', and '*tulihkuwak* or '*tuluwawihkuk* or even '*tuluwawihkuwak* 'in their boats'. It is interesting to note how the endings *-uwa* and *-ihkuk* are combined here, with *-uwa-* 'their' repeated in the last example, which actually means 'each of them in h/h own boat'. Obviation is not marked in locative forms: *tahtuwossomut-ik* 'in h/h cup'.

The locative forms of personal names end in *\_hk* and mean 'at the home of' — *Malihk* 'at Mary's', *Piyelk* 'at Peter's' (with syncope); also, *sakomahk* 'at the chief's'; *Sitansisk* 'at Fredericton, NB' — *i.e.*, 'at little St. Ann's'. Locative forms of nouns denoting animals and people are used only in the plural — *ahahsuwihkuk* 'where the horses are, in the stable'; *sistossuwihkuk*<sup>26</sup> 'among the nuns, at the convent'. To say something like 'a fly is on the horse' a different construction must be used, in which 'horse' (obviative) is the direct object of the ordinarily intransitive verb 'sit on top' (see Section 4.3.2).

*amucalu* '*tehsaq-op-in-ol ahahs-uwol* 'a fly is sitting on top of the horse'  
fly 3-on.top.of-sit.AI-sg.Sub-obv.sg horse-obv.sg

*nt-apote-hsin-on opos* — *nt-apotehsin-n-ok opos-iyik* 'I lean against the tree' — '...trees'  
1-leaning-lie.AI-sg.Sub.AI+O tree — 1-lean.AI-sg.Sub.AI+O-3.pl tree-3.pl

<sup>26</sup>*Sistoss* 'sister, nun' is borrowed from English; but compare *nsistalom* 'my sister (sibling)', in which *-sistal-* comes from the same English word.



All Passamaquoddy-Maliseet place-names are either nouns with a locative ending or (more often) participles with a locative meaning (Section 4.1.2). They are best translated using a preposition like 'at' or 'in'.

*Kapskuk* 'in Cobscook Bay, Maine' — *kapsq* 'waterfall' (in this case, tidal falls)  
*Pilick* 'in Kingsclear, New Brunswick' — *Pilic* 'village' (English loan-word)

*Meq-toq-ek* 'at Mactaquac, NB' ('where the river is red', a reference to red soil)  
 red-river.II-0.sg.ChC

*Keqc-icuw-ok* 'at the narrows (Indian Township, Maine)  
 closing-flow.II-0.sg.ChC

*Mataw-amki-y-ak* 'at Mattawamkeag, Maine' ('where a sand-bar emerges')  
 emerging-granular-go.II-0.sg.ChC

#### 4.1.6. Absentative Inflection

Nouns and demonstrative pronouns have *absentative* forms, using various markers, including changes in pitch contour. These forms are a further indication of the way in which space and time are structured from the speaker's particular perspective. They indicate the absence — in time or space, or in personal knowledge — of the noun they refer to. Someone or something may be missing, lost, dead, or just unexpectedly absent: *Piyel mihtaqsokòl* 'Peter's late father'; compare *Piyel mihtaqsol* 'Peter's father (who is alive)'. Plural forms are not marked for obviation: *nil nmùlcessòkk* 'my lost mittens', *Piyel [w]mùlcessòkk* 'Peter's lost mittens' (non-absentative plural *nil nmùlcessòk*, *Piyel mùlcess*).

*tan olu Malìw?* 'where is Mary (absentative)?' (the focus is on her absence)  
 compare *tama iyu Malì?* 'where is Mary?' (an information question)

*n-koska-ht-ún-ek-òl nt-apq-ások-ihíkon-ok-òl* 'I lost my keys' (they were just now here)  
 1-losing-do.to.TI-Sub/Ind-abs-0.pl 1-opening-with.boards-tool-abs-0.pl

*Skitap usami malikimal witapiyil, on wehketkikòl nokolokun.*  
 'The man made fun of his friend too much, and so he (the friend) left him.'  
*wehketkikòl* 'this one (absentative, obviation)'; *[w]nokol-oku-n* ([3]-leave.TA-inv:3-Sub)

#### 4.1.7. Vocative Inflection

A small number of nouns, including kinship terms (see Section 4.1.4), have vocative forms. These include *tús* 'daughter' and *qóss* 'son', common endearments used as terms of address for children and close friends, and *mùhsumí* 'grandpa' (*mùhsumsol* 'h/h grandfather') and *ùhkomí* 'grandma' (*ùhkomossol* 'h/h grandmother'). LeSourd (1993a, p. 21) notes that words without special vocative forms still show vocative stress and intonation: *èhpít* 'woman!' (compare *èhpit* 'woman'). Plural vocatives end in *-túk*; examples are *wásistúk* 'children!', *nsíwestúk* 'my brothers!' (compare *nsiwehsok* 'my brothers'), and *ckíntúk* 'men!' (singular *ckín* 'man!'), an archaic word with vocative forms only.

#### 4.1.8. Diminutive and Feminine Suffixes

Diminutive nouns use a diminutive suffix, variously *-hsis*, *-sis*, *-is*, *-ossis* — for example, *mahtoqehsis* 'little hare', *skitapehsis* 'little man', *khakonossis* 'little door', *pilasqis* or *pilaskuhsis* 'piece of paper', *pileyahsis* 'new little one, baby'. The diminutive endings may be combined and reduplicated to indicate that something or someone is even tinier or cuter: *was* 'child' (archaic); diminutives: *wasis* 'child', *wasossis*, *wasisossis*, *wasissississis*, etc.

Diminutive verbs use a theme marker similar to the noun suffixes listed above: *-oss-*, *-hs-*, *-s-*, etc. The diminutive referent is either the subject or the object: *wolikossu* 'she is pretty' (said of girls and women only, from *woliku* 's/he is good looking'); *milahsan!* '(kil) give it to the little one' (from *milan!* 'give it to h/h').

Feminine forms use the suffix *-sq-*: *sakomasq* 'female chief, chief's wife', *kincemossisq* or *kincemossusq* 'queen' ('female King James'), *muwinesq* 'she-bear', *witapesqiyil* 'h/h female friend' (*witapiyil* is inherently masculine; *wit-* 'accompanying' + *-ap-* 'male'). The feminine suffix is used only on nouns which are logically masculine or neutral, to make explicit reference to femaleness.

The feminine suffix precedes a diminutive, which precedes a locative ending or other inflection: *pil-sq-ehsis-uwiwkuk* (new-fem-dim-loc.pl) 'among the girls', *pilsqehsisòkk* (absentative plural), *pilsqehsisstuk* 'girls!' (vocative).

#### 4.2. Pronouns

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has personal, demonstrative, interrogative pronouns, the last two with animate and inanimate forms. The word 'other' is also a pronoun. One of the most interesting pronouns is a hesitator or filler, which in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is inflected to match the anticipated noun.

Personal pronouns differ from other nouns and pronouns in that each form is unique; no plural endings are used. The seven personal pronouns are listed in Table I, Section 2.3.

##### 4.2.1. Demonstrative Pronouns

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has three demonstrative pronouns, each with paired animate and inanimate forms. These are, respectively, *wot-yut* 'this, near me the speaker'; *not-nit* 'that, near you the listener'; and *yat-yet* 'yonder, away from you and me, but within sight'. These meanings of these three pairs correspond with those of the locative particles *yut*, *nit*, and *yet*, mentioned in section 2.5. The meaning of each of the three pronouns varies within a range according to the context. The forms of animate demonstrative pronouns are as follows.



<i>wòt</i> 'this' (animate)	<i>yúktok</i> 'these' <sup>27</sup>	<i>yúhtol</i> (obv. sing.)	<i>yuhùht</i> (obv. pl.)
<i>wòt</i> 'that'	<i>níktok</i> 'those'	<i>níhtol</i>	<i>nihùht</i>
<i>yàt</i> 'yonder'	<i>yéktok</i> 'yonder'	<i>yéhtol</i>	<i>yehèht</i>

The inanimate demonstrative pronouns are listed below. Note that the plurals are the same as the obviative singular forms of the animate pronouns.

<i>yùt</i> 'this' (inanimate)	<i>yúhtol</i> 'these' (inanimate)
<i>nít</i> 'that'	<i>níhtol</i> 'those'
<i>yèt</i> 'yonder'	<i>yéhtol</i> 'yonder'

The singular pronouns have emphatic forms: animate *wotta*, *notta*, and *yata*; inanimate *yuta*, *nita*, and *yeta*. The pronouns *not* and *nit* can also be used with reference to someone or something whose exact location is unimportant, or which cannot be seen by either the speaker or the listener or which are imaginary or are spoken of in the past or future (as in a story or plan). In these senses, *not* sometimes means 's/he, him/her', *nit* can mean 'it', and the plurals, *níktok* and *níhtol*, are equivalent to 'they'.

The demonstrative pronouns also have absentative forms, which vary somewhat from speaker to speaker (see LeSourd, 1993b). One possible set is shown here, animate forms first, then inanimate. (A variation on the singular forms replaces the optional final *-w* with *-t*.)

<i>wakà(w)</i> 'this'	<i>wehketkikk</i> 'these' (prox. & obv.)	<i>wehketkicol</i> (obv. sing.)
<i>nakà(w)</i> 'that'	<i>nehketkikk</i> 'those'	<i>nehketkicol</i>
<i>yakà(w)</i> 'yonder'	<i>yehketkikk</i> 'yonder'	<i>yehketkicol</i>

<i>wekè(w)</i> (inanimate)	<i>wehketkikòl</i> (inanimate plural)
<i>nekè(w)</i>	<i>nehketkikòl</i>
<i>yekè(w)</i>	<i>yehketkikòl</i>

It is interesting to note the related temporal particles *neke* 'in the past' and *yakà* 'in the future' (Section 2.5).

#### 4.2.2. Other Pronouns

Other pronouns include two interrogatives, one animate and one inanimate.

<i>wèn</i> 'who; someone'	<i>wénik</i> 'who (plural); some people'
<i>wèn nòt?</i> 'who's that?'	<i>wénik níktok?</i> 'who are they?'
<i>psí te wèn</i> 'everyone'	<i>not *wèn níktok?</i> (singular with plural)
<i>ckúwye wèn</i> 'someone's coming'	

<sup>27</sup>The animate demonstrative pronouns have contracted plural forms as follows: *yùkt*, *yùkk* 'these'; *níkt*, *níkk* 'those'; *yèkt*, *yèkk* 'yonder'.

<i>wénil</i> (obviative singular)	<i>wénihi</i> , <i>wéni</i> (obviative plural)
<i>wenáw</i> (abs.), <i>weníkol</i> (abs. & obv.)	<i>wénikk</i> (abs. plural, prox. & obv.)
<i>wénoosis</i> (diminutive)	
<i>wénoosis kil?</i> 'who are you?' (said to a child)	

<i>kèq</i> ( <i>keqsèy</i> ) 'what; something'	<i>keqséyal</i> 'what (plural); some things'
<i>kèq níit?</i> 'what's that?'	<i>keqséyal níhtol?</i> 'what are those?'
<i>psí te kèq</i> 'everything'	also acceptable: <i>kèq níhtol?</i>
<i>ntémis alikháhsu kèq</i> 'my dog is looking around for something' <sup>28</sup>	

The word *kotok* 'other' is a pronoun. Its absentative forms are like those of the other pronouns.

animate: <i>kotók</i> 'another'	<i>kotokik</i> 'others'	<i>kótokil</i> (obv. sing.)
	<i>kotokihí</i> (obv. pl.)	
inanimate: <i>kotók</i> 'another'	<i>kótokil</i> 'others'	

Finally, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has a "hesitator" pronoun, used before nouns in much the same way as the filler *uh...* or *er...* in English. Interestingly, this pronoun, *iyey*, is always inflected to match the anticipated word: *nkisewestuwama iyey... Mali* 'I spoke to uh... Mary'; *nkisi puna ntahtuwossomut ihik... tuwihputik* 'I put my cup on the uh... table'.

<i>iyèy</i>	before proximate singular and inanimate singular nouns
<i>ihíl</i>	before inanimate plurals and obviative singulars
<i>ihík</i>	before locatives and proximate plurals
<i>ihì</i>	before obviative plurals

A common filler before verbs is a drawn out *í...* or *á...*

### 4.3. Types of Verbs

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet verbs are classified according to the final root in their stems, which marks them as transitive or intransitive. Each of these categories is further divided according to the grammatical gender of the subject (intransitive verbs) or direct object (transitive verbs). The major types of verbs and the variations are explained in the following sections.

#### 4.3.1. Transitivity and Gender

In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, intransitive and transitive verbs have different types of stems, as can be seen in the following pair of sentences.

<sup>28</sup>Note the use here of an intransitive verb with the indefinite pronoun *keq* as direct object. Compare *keq ktotoli oluhk?* 'what are you doing?', also with an intransitive verb. If the object of the dog's search is overt, the verb must be modified (see Section 4.3.2): *'talikhahsin skonis* 's/he is looking around for a bone' (see Section 4.3.2).



*Piyel tolahqe* 'Peter is cooking' (intransitive)

*Piyel 'tolaqosal opanol* 'Peter is cooking bread' (transitive)

At the same time, in addition to being transitive or intransitive, all verbs in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet are either animate or inanimate, as in the following pair of intransitive verbs.

*tomhuwe* 's/he wins, is a winner'

*tomhuwewiw* 'it wins'

The first verb is *animate*: the subject — 's/he' — is animate. The second verb is *inanimate*: the subject — a slot machine, perhaps — is inanimate. These verbs are called *animate intransitive (ai)* and *inanimate intransitive (ii)*, respectively, according to the grammatical gender of the subject.

*'tomhal* 's/he overcomes h/h, she beats h/h' (in a contest)

*'tomhomon* 's/he beats it' (a slot-machine)

In this pair, the first verb has an *animate* object — 'him or her' — while the second verb's object is *inanimate* — the slot-machine. These verbs are called *transitive animate (ta)* and *transitive inanimate (ti)*, respectively. The subject of a transitive verb is always animate, so that these terms refer to the gender of the object. In the case of a transitive verb's having an inanimate subject — 'the rocks hit me' — an "inverse" form (Section 2.4) of the *ta* verb must be used: *ponapsku-l n-tokom-oku-n-ol* (1-hit.TA-inv:0-Sub/Ind-0.pl), with marking of the number of the inanimate subject.

Some intransitive verbs have a direct object in an English translation, but nevertheless are truly intransitive in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet — for example, *posonut-ehk-e* (basket-do.AI-3.sg) 's/he makes baskets', *kini-ptin-e* (big-hand.AI-3.sg) 's/he has big hands', and *kos-tok-on-ik-e* (washing-stringlike-with.hand.TA-do.AI-3.sg) 's/he washes clothes'. The direct object noun is "incorporated" into the verb, sometimes directly, sometimes in a special form used only as a verb root: *posonut* 'basket'; *-ptin-* 'hand' (compare *'pihtin* 'h/h hand'); *-tok-* 'stringlike (item)', in reference to the shape of wet clothing.

It is helpful to remember that both transitive and intransitive verbs come in pairs, an animate and an inanimate "version" of each verb.

*kin-kil (ai)* 's/he is big'  
big-be.size.AI<sup>29</sup>

*kin-kihqon (ii)* 'it is big'  
big-be.size.II

*pit-toks-u (ai)* 's/he is long'  
long-be.stringlike.AI-3.sg.Ind

*pit-tokot- (ii)* 'it is long'  
long-be.stringlike.II

<sup>29</sup>Animate and inanimate intransitive verbs with stem vowel schwa (o) have no inflectional ending in the third person singular, Independent Indicative.

*[w]-nomiy-a-l (ta)* 's/he sees h/h'  
[3]-see.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg

*[w]-nomiht-un (ti)* 's/he sees it'  
[3]-see.TI-Sub/Ind

*[w]-moskuw-a-l (ta)* 's/he finds h/h'  
[3]-find.TA-dir:3.Ind-obv.sg

*[w]-moskom-on (ti)* 's/he finds it'  
[3]-find.TI-Sub/Ind

Note that in the transitive pairs it is the stem-final root that distinguishes animate from inanimate. There are a number of these abstract finals; those seen in the examples above are *-y-* and *-uw-* (*ta*), and their respective counterparts *-ht-* and *-om-* (*ti*). In each pair, the part of the stem preceding these finals is the same. As in any language, two or more distinct roots may have the same surface realization.

<i>-om-</i> ( <i>ta</i> ) 'eat, bite'	<i>'t-otol-om-al</i> 's/he is eating h/h'	<i>'t-otol-otom-on</i> '...is eating it'
<i>-om-</i> ( <i>ta</i> , abstract)	<i>'kosel-om-al</i> 's/he loves h/h'	<i>'kosel-tom-on</i> 's/he loves it'
<i>-om-</i> ( <i>ti</i> , abstract)	<i>nut-uw-al</i> 's/he hears h/h'	<i>nut-om-on</i> 's/he hears it'

Intransitive stems have similar gender-specific finals. Some *ai-ii* pairs have identical stems, but the inflected forms are identical in the third person singular only. For example, *pqeyu* 's/he is red' and *pqeyu* 'it is red' both have the stem *pqeyu-*; although the singular forms are the same, the plural forms differ: *pqeyuwok*, *pqeyuwol* 'they are red', *ai* and *ii*, respectively. In the case of transitive verbs, the pair of stems is always distinct.

Of course, logic dictates that for some verbs only one member of the pair can exist. For example, a person, or perhaps an animal, can laugh — *kiselomu* 's/he can laugh' — but it would be hard to think of something inanimate that could laugh — unless a speaker meant this figuratively or humorously, in which case he or she could easily invent just such a word by following the pattern of other animate-inanimate pairs — perhaps *kiselomuwiw* 'it can laugh'. Another example is weather phenomena, which are denoted by *ii* verbs — *komiwon* 'it rains', *psan* 'it snows', *aluhkot* 'it is cloudy'. These have no animate intransitive counterparts. Of course, they do not have subjects either.

In summary, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has four types of verbs, as shown in the following chart.

	<i>animate</i>	<i>inanimate</i>
<i>intransitive</i>	animate intransitive <i>verb ai</i>	inanimate intransitive <i>verb ii</i>
<i>transitive</i>	transitive animate <i>verb ta</i>	transitive inanimate <i>verb ti</i>

The set has a two additional variations, which are described below.



### 4.3.2. Animate Intransitive Verbs with a Direct Object (*ai* + *object*)

Many *ai* verbs can be used with a direct object even though they are morphologically intransitive. When used in this way, they are called *ai* + *object* verbs or *pseudotransitive* verbs. Many express a spatial or personal relationship between the actor and the goal:

<i>ksinuhk-a</i> 's/he is sick' ( <i>ai</i> ) sick.AI-3.sg.Ind	<i>'kosinuhk-an-ol w-ipit-ol</i> 'h/h teeth hurt' ( <i>ai</i> + <i>object</i> ) 3-sick.AI-Sub.AI+O-0.pl 3-tooth-0.pl
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The verb used in *amucalu 'tehsaqopinol ahahsuwol* (Section 4.1.5) has forms like the following.

<i>tehsaqopu</i> ( <i>ai</i> ) 's/he sits on top'; 'tehsaqopin ( <i>ai</i> + <i>obj</i> ) 's/he sits on top of it (inanimate) 'tehsaqopinol 's/he sits on top of h/h (obviative) or '...on top of them (inanimate) <i>k-tehsaq-op-in-iya-k</i> 'you ( <i>kiluwaw</i> ) sit on top of them (animate) 2-on.top.of-sit.AI-Sub.AI+O-non1.pl-3.pl
--

The *ai* + *object* verbs use the Subordinative mode (Section 4.4.4) in place of the Independent Indicative. This mode uses the same set of inflectional endings in all *ta*, *ti*, and *ai* verbs, endings which allow further inflection to mark the number and obviation of a direct object. (The Independent Indicative endings of *ai* verbs are augmented only to indicate tense, as shown in Sections 4.4.6–4.4.9). Subordinative forms are used in the Independent Indicative of *ti* verbs in just the same way, and in *ta* inverse forms with an inanimate actor (to mark the actor). These Subordinative-Indicative endings (for meanings see Section 2.4) are shown below with their optional "add-ons" (third person forms also take the "zero" obviative plural ending).

<i>nil</i>	<i>-_n-</i> (+ <i>-ok</i> , <i>-ol</i> )	<i>nilun</i>	<i>-_n-en-</i> (+ <i>-nuk</i> , <i>-nul</i> )
<i>kil</i>	<i>-_n-</i> (+ <i>-ok</i> , <i>-ol</i> )	<i>kilun</i>	<i>-_n-en-</i> (+ <i>-nuk</i> , <i>-nul</i> )
<i>nekom</i>	<i>-_n-</i> (+ <i>-ok</i> , <i>-ol</i> )	<i>kiluwaw</i>	<i>-_n-iya-</i> (+ <i>-k</i> , <i>-l</i> )
		<i>nekomaw</i>	<i>-_n-iya-</i> (+ <i>-k</i> , <i>-l</i> )

In the Conjunct and Imperative modes, *ai* + *object* verbs (like *ta* and *ti* verbs) do not mark the direct object — except (again like *ta* and *ti* verbs) in Changed Conjunct participle forms which refer to the direct object, as shown below (see Section 4.4.2, Tables VIII and IX).

<i>neke</i> <i>téhsaqopit ahahsuwol</i> 'when s/he sat on top of the horse' (Changed Conjunct)
<i>not</i> <i>tehsáqopit ahahsuwol</i> 's/he who sits on top of the horse' (participle)
<i>nihtol</i> <i>ahahsuwol tehsáqopical</i> 'that horse (obv.) which s/he sits on top of' (participle)

When an *ai* + *object* verb is actually used in the Subordinative mode, the direct object is not marked for obviative or plural (the same is true in *ta* and *ti* verbs): *tan 'tolahkan epeskomakonol?* 'how does s/he throw a ball?' (Subordinative), but *'tolahkanol epeskomakonol* 's/he throws a ball thus' (Independent Indicative).

Transitive inanimate (*ti*) verbs are exactly like *ai* + *object* verbs in their inflection, and in fact it is impossible to distinguish the two types of verbs, except in one respect: *ti* verbs have passive forms while *ai* + *object* verbs do not: *nomihtasu* (*ii*) 'it is seen', but not *\*tehsaqopasu* 'it is sat upon'. Otherwise, it would be accurate to say that *ti* verbs are a kind of *ai* + *object* verb. Most if not all so-called *ti* stems are also used in *ai* verbs: *nomiht* (*ai*) 's/he sees, has the power of sight' has the same stem as *nomihtun* (*ti*). In addition, many speakers use *ai* plural markers in *ti* forms: *[w]·nomiht-un-iya* ([3]-see.TI-Sub/Ind-non1.pl) or *[w]·nomiht-uh-in-iya* ([3]-see.TI-pl.AI-Sub/Ind.-non1.pl) 'they see it'.

Some *ai* + *object* verbs have forms which refer to more than one actor even though (in the English translation) only one person is acting. These are verbs whose stems refer to both the actor and the goal — for example, the verb in *Mali nisiniyal Piyelol* 'Mary lives with Peter'.

*nisi-n-uwok* (*ai*) 'they (du) live together'  
two-dwell.AI-3.du

*[w]·nisi-n-in-iya-l* (*ai* + *object*) 's/he lives with h/h'  
[3]-two-dwell.AI-Sub.AI+O-non1.pl-obv.sg

*nisi-n-u* 's/he is living with someone' but not *\*[w]·nisi-n-in-ol* (singular subject)

The object of an *ai* + *object* verb cannot be 'I', 'you', or 'us'. Consequently, to say 'she lives with me' or 'he lives with you' a speaker would use an intransitive form — *[n]nisinipon* 'we (*nilun*) live together' or *knisinipa* 'you (*kiluwaw*) live together'.

Finally, it should be noted that when the direct object is an indefinite pronoun, speakers use a regular *ai* form.

*nt-ali-khahs keq* 'I'm looking around for something'  
1-vague-look.for.AI something

*alikhahs-u wen-il* 's/he is looking around for someone'  
look.around.for.AI-3.sg.Ind someone-obv.sg

not *\*ntalikhahsin keq* or *\*'talikhahsinol wenil* (using *ai* + *object*)

not *\*ntalikhahs ntul* 'I'm looking around for my boat' (using *ai* instead of *ai* + *object*)

### 4.3.3. Double-Object Verbs (*ta* + *object*)

Another common type of verb has two objects, one direct and one indirect. These are called *double-object verbs* or *ta* + *object* verbs. They include causatives.

*'komutonomuwan* 's/he steals it (inanimate) from h/h'  
derived from *'komutonomon* (*ti*) 's/he steals it'

*Mali 'komut-on-om-uw-an Piyel-ol 't-ahsusuwon* 'Mary steals Peter's hat'  
Mary 3-secretly-with.hand-TI-benef.TA-Sub/Ind Peter-obv.sg 3-hat

*Mali 'komutonom-uw-an-ol Piyel-ol 't-ahahs-um-ol* 'Mary steals Peter's horse'  
Mary 3-steal.TI-benef.TA-Sub/Ind-obv.sg Peter-obv.sg 3-horse-poss-obv.sg



'*kisehtuwan* 's/he makes h/h do it, s/he made h/h do it'  
derived from '*kisehtun* (*ti*) 's/he did it'

Mali '*kis-eh-t-uw-an-ol Piyel-ol 'cihkihik-alin* 'Mary made Peter sweep'

M. 3-past-do.to.TI-benef.TA-Sub/Ind-obv.sg P.-obv.sg 3-sweep-obv.sg.Sub

*n-qoss-ok n-kiseht-aku-n-ok n-cihkihik-an* 'my sons made me sweep'

1-son-3.pl 1-do.to.TI-benef.TA+inv:3(-uw- + -oku-)-Sub/Ind-3.pl 1-sweep-Sub

Double-object verbs are built on a *verb ti* stem with the addition of a marker *-uw-*, called a *benefactive*, which marks the relationship among the subject, direct object, and indirect object.<sup>30</sup> This complete *ta* + *object* stem is in effect a *ta* stem: it takes endings like those of *ta* verbs, using the Subordinative mode in lieu of the Independent Indicative in much the same way as *ai* + *object* verbs, with additional endings, as required, to mark the number and obviation of the direct object. The comments in the previous section about the Conjunct, Subordinative, and Imperative forms of *ai* + *object* verbs also apply to *ta* + *object* verbs.

Double object verbs have passive, reflexive, and reciprocal forms.

*nkomutonaken* (*ta* + *object*) 'I have been stolen from' (passive)

*nkomutonaken ntahahsum* (*ta* + *object*) 'my horse has been stolen from me'

1-steal.TI-passive.ai-Sub/Ind 1-horse-poss

*nkomutonas* (*ai*) 'I steal from myself' (reflexive)

*nkomutonasin ntahsusuwon* (*ai* + *object*) 'I stole my hat from myself'

1-steal.TI-refl.AI-Sub.AI+O 1-hat

*nkomutonawotipon* (*ai*) 'we steal from each other' (reciprocal)

*n-komuton-awot-in-enu-l n-tul-onu-l* (*ai* + *object*) 'we (*nilun*) stole each other's boat(s)'

1-steal.TI-recip.AI-Sub.AI+O-1.pl-0.pl 1-boat-1.pl-0.pl

As in the case of *ai* + *object* verbs, there are some restrictions on who — and what — can be the object of a *ta* + *object* verb. The direct object cannot be 'I', 'you', or 'us'. The indirect object can be any grammatical person (first, second, third, obviative), but it cannot be inanimate. Speakers find another way to translate 'they stole me from my mother' (first person direct object) or 'I stole money from the church' (inanimate indirect object).

#### 4.4. Verb Endings and Prefixes (Modes and Tenses)

This section describes the various modes and tenses of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet verbs. Because the paradigms (conjugations) of the verbs are complex and lengthy (see Francis & Leavitt 1992), especially those of the *ta* verbs, only sample forms, mostly singular, are given in Sections 4.4.1 through 4.4.8 (Tables VII through XV). The following chart shows the forms that will be illustrated in each table.

verb ai: <i>opu</i> 's/he sits, sits down'		verb ii: <i>ote</i> 'it sits'		verb ti: <i>toliptun</i> 's/he carries it thus'	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>nit</i>	<i>nit</i> 'it'	(with singular direct object)	
<i>kil</i>	<i>kil</i>	<i>nihtol</i>	<i>nihtol</i>	'they	<i>nil</i>
<i>nekom</i>	<i>nekom</i>	( <i>inan.</i> )		<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>
' <i>tusol</i>	' <i>tusol</i> ( <i>obv</i> )			<i>kil</i>	<i>kil</i>
<i>nekomaw</i>	<i>nekomaw</i> ( <i>du</i> )			<i>nekom</i>	<i>nekom</i>
<i>nekomaw</i>	<i>nekomaw</i> ( <i>pl</i> )			passive	
				positive: <i>nit</i> , <i>nihtol</i>	
				negative: <i>nit</i> , <i>nihtol</i>	
verb ta: 'toliphal' 's/he carries h/h thus'			verb ta: 'toliphal' 's/he carries h/h thus'		
positive		negative		positive	negative
direct (subj-obj)	inverse (subj-obj)	direct (subj-obj)	inverse (subj-obj)		
<i>nil-nekom</i>	<i>nekom-nil</i>	<i>nil-nekom</i>	<i>nekom-nil</i>		
<i>kil-nekom</i>	<i>nekom-kil</i>	<i>kil-nekom</i>	<i>nekom-kil</i>		
<i>nekom-tusol</i>	' <i>tusol-nekom</i>	<i>nekom-tusol</i>	' <i>tusol-nekom</i>		
<i>kil-nil</i>	<i>nil-kil</i>	<i>kil-nil</i>	<i>nil-kil</i>		
<i>kiluwaw-nil</i>	<i>nil-kiluwaw</i>	<i>kiluwaw-nil</i>	<i>nil-kiluwaw</i>		
<i>kil / kiluwaw-nilun</i>	<i>nilun-kil / kiluwaw</i>	<i>kil / kiluwaw-nilun</i>	<i>nilun-kil / kiluwaw</i>		
passive: <i>nil</i> , <i>kil</i> , <i>nekom/obviative</i>		passive: <i>nil</i> , <i>kil</i> , <i>nekom/obviative</i>			

In the lists for *ai*, *ii*, and *ti* verbs, the pronoun shown represents the subject of the given form; '*tusol* 'h/h daughter' represents the obviative singular. The *ti* forms shown are for a singular direct object. In the *ta* forms, the paired pronouns represent subject and object, respectively, with direct forms in the left column of each list and inverse forms in the right column (forms for *kil-nilun* and *kiluwaw-nilun* are identical, as are the inverse forms in the same line).

"Passive" forms are those in which the actor is not specified or marked: 'it is carried thus' (*ti*), 'I am carried thus' (*ta*). The *ti* passives are actually *ii* verbs; all have stem-final *-as(i)-* which marks them as passive. The passive forms of *ta* verbs are marked by *-oke-* in the first and second person; third person forms are like *ai* verbs in that they do not have a personal prefix, and they use some endings from the *ai* paradigms.<sup>31</sup> In the *ta* passive, the third person form serves for both proximate and obviative.

The vowel shown in parentheses at the end of the *ai*, *ii*, and *ti* stems in Tables VII through XV is the stem vowel, which, like that in nouns (Section 4.1.1), determines the shape of the endings. The sample verbs here illustrate only one of the possible stem vowels for each type of verb. Although as a rule each verb has only one stem vowel, there are a few verbs whose stem vowel varies, usually in particular forms. For example, *lossin* 's/he is lying down thus' has the stem *-lossin(o)-*, but some speakers (or the same speaker at different times) treat the stem as if it were *-loss(i)-* especially in Conjunct forms, *lossinok* or *lossit*, respectively, 'when s/he was lying down thus'.

<sup>31</sup>The *ai* verbs also have "indefinite subject" forms; for example, *luhk-an* 'working; there is work' (Independent Indicative) and *skat eluk-hot-imuhk* (that.not work.AI-pl-indef.ChC.neg) 'when not working; when there isn't work' (from *luhke* 's/he works'). Compare the ending *-imuhk* with that on the third person negative *ta* passive *eliphamuhk* (Table VIII).

<sup>30</sup>The only exception appears to be *milan* 's/he gives it to h/h', whose forms are built on the Subordinative mode (Section 4.4.4) of *milal* 's/he gives to h/h' (*ta*).



Transitive animate (*ta*) verb stems do not have stem vowels. All end in a consonant, and all take the same set of endings, though for a given verb the shape of the endings will vary from the "norm" in certain forms, depending upon the final syllable of the stem — whether or not it is stressed and what consonant it ends with.

In *ai* and *ai + object* verbs, there are distinct forms for dual (two actors only) and plural (more than two) subjects. Data from old transcriptions and older speakers suggest that the dual may once have been a collective plural (actors acting in unison), while the "plural" was a distributive or multi-plural (actors acting severally). Dual endings are added directly to the verb stem. The plural is formed by inserting a marker between the stem and the ending — *-ult-*, *-uht-*, *-hot-*, *-aht-*, *-awolot-*, or *-olot-*, depending upon the stem. All these markers have stem vowel *-i-*, and consequently the endings which follow them are the same for all verbs, regardless of the verb's "own" stem vowel.<sup>32</sup> Some speakers use plural markers in *ti* verbs as well (Section 4.3.2).

At the head of each list of forms in Tables VII through XV, the verb stem used in those forms is shown. This is the unchanged stem (prefixed or unprefixed) or the changed stem (unprefixed, in which schwa becomes *e* in the first syllable. In *'toliptun* and *'toliph'al*, the initial *-o-* of the prefixed stem is dropped in the unprefixed stem, giving *lipt(u)-* and *liph-*, respectively. Intransitive inanimate (*ii*) verbs have only unprefixed stems, since no personal prefixes are used. Unprefixed stems are written without an initial hyphen (*liph-*). The four verbs illustrated in the tables show the different stems clearly.

The forms shown in Tables VII through XII are all present tense, but this tense also serves as past (for example, in relating past events or in stories) and future (with preverbs or particles to indicate future time). Only the preterit is truly a past tense; it is used mainly to establish past time definitively.

#### 4.4.1. Independent Indicative Mode

The Independent Indicative mode (Table VII) is used primarily in the main clauses of statements and yes-no questions (see Section 5 for examples). It is also used in information questions beginning with *tama* 'where?' and *tayuwe*, *tayuwek* 'when?'. Personal prefixes are used throughout, except in third person and obviative forms of the *ai* verbs, the *ta* passive, and *ii* forms. The negative is marked by a *-w-* in the inflectional ending, as can be seen in most of the forms listed; this *-w-* is realized as

an *-h-* in *ktoliphuluhpa* and *ktoliphuluhpon* and in certain other forms not shown in the table.

In the Independent Indicative of *ta* verbs, *direct* forms are marked by *-a-* before the ending when the goal is third person, and by *-i-* when the goal is first person. Inverse forms are marked by *-oku-* when the actor is third person (*-uku-* following stem-final *-h-*, *-s-*, or *-y-*; *-aku-* in combination with stem-final *-uw-*), and by *-ol-* when the actor is first person and the goal is second person (*-ul-* after *-h-*, *-s-*, or *-y-*, and in combination with stem-final *-uw-*). The marker *-oku-* becomes *-oq*, regardless of the stem-final consonant, when no ending follows (*-aq* in combination with stem-final *-uw-*).<sup>33</sup>

Table VII. Independent Indicative Forms

verb ai — stem <i>-op(i)-</i>		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)-</i>		verb ti — <i>-olipt(u)-</i> , <i>liptas(i)-</i>	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>ntop</i>	<i>ntopiw</i>	<i>ote</i>	<i>otew</i>	<i>ntoliptun</i>	<i>ntoliptuwon</i>
<i>ktop</i>	<i>ktopiw</i>	<i>otetul</i>	<i>otewiyil</i>	<i>ktoliptun</i>	<i>ktoliptuwon</i>
<i>opu</i>	<i>opiw</i>			<i>'toliptun</i>	<i>'toliptuwon</i>
<i>opuwol</i>	<i>opiwiyil</i>				
<i>opuwok</i>	<i>opiwiyik</i>			pos.: <i>liptasu</i> , <i>liptasuwool</i>	
<i>opultuwok</i>	<i>opultiwiyik</i>			neg.: <i>liptasiw</i> , <i>liptasiwiyil</i>	
verb ta — stem <i>-oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — positive			verb ta — stem <i>-oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — negative		
<i>ntolipha</i>	<i>ntoliphog</i>	<i>ntoliphaw</i>	<i>ntoliphuku</i>		
<i>ktolipha</i>	<i>ktoliphog</i>	<i>ktoliphaw</i>	<i>ktoliphuku</i>		
<i>'toliphal</i>	<i>'toliphukul</i>	<i>'toliphawiyil</i>	<i>'toliphukuwiyil</i>		
<i>ktoliphi</i>	<i>ktoliphul</i>	<i>ktoliphaw</i>	<i>ktoliphulu</i>		
<i>ktoliphipa</i>	<i>ktoliphulpa</i>	<i>ktoliphihpa</i>	<i>ktoliphuluhpa</i>		
<i>ktoliphipon</i>	<i>ktoliphulpon</i>	<i>ktoliphihpon</i>	<i>ktoliphuluhpon</i>		
		<i>ntoliphukew</i> , <i>ktoliphukew</i> , <i>liphaw</i>			

#### 4.4.2. Changed Conjoint Mode

The Changed Conjoint mode (Table VIII) is used mainly in adverbial clauses, where it indicates temporal subordination (Sherwood, 1986), but also frequently in main clauses. It is also used in 'who', 'what', and 'why' questions, and in questions beginning with *tan* meaning 'where?' (see Section 5 for examples). The forms use the changed stem (hence the name of the mode), which is unprefixed. The negative endings are more variable than in the Independent Indicative, and the direct and inverse markers *-a-* and *-oku-* are used in only a few Conjoint forms, such as *eliphat* in the Table (see Sherwood, 1986, for a full discussion of the morphology). Plural number of direct objects and *ii* subjects is marked in Conjoint forms only in the participles (Table IX).

Changed Conjoint forms in subordinate clauses include the relative pronouns and conjunctions found in English.

<sup>33</sup>Note that *-oku-* or *-uku-* does not change to *-oq* before the zero obviative plural marker: *'toliphuku* 'they (obviative) carry h/h thus'; *nutaku* 'they (obviative) hear h/h', stem *-nutuw-*.

<sup>32</sup>An exception is the plural marker *-iy(a)-*, but this seems to be used only as an optional alternate with verbs meaning 'sit' whose stems end in *-op-* or *-hgep-*. Thus, in the examples which follow, instead of *opultuwok* one could say *opiyiyik* (Independent Indicative), *epiyahitit* instead of *epultihtit* (Changed Conjoint), etc. A translation of the Christmas carol "O Holy Night" includes the word *petkupiyaa!* '(kiluwaw) fall on your knees!' (a more common form of this word is *petkupultiq!* 'kneel!').



*akiy-a-n yat sips-is ep-it olonahq-ap-ik* 'look at that bird which is sitting on the wire'  
look.at.TA-dir:3.Imp-2.sg yonder bird-dim sit-3.sg.ChC iron-cord-loc  
*cipalokiqewu wehkayuwut Piyel* 'Peter has scary looking eyes when he is angered'  
frightening-hole-eye-be.so.AI-3.sg.Ind anger.TA-passive.3.sg.ChC Peter

The word *mehsi-* (*mes-*) 'why?' is actually a preverb, whose first syllable bears the "change" in the stem. Consequently, 'why' questions may appear to use an unchanged stem; this is actually the form of the stem used following a preverb. Many speakers say *keq mehsi* or *keq nit mehsi* 'what is the reason that ...?' to introduce a why question.

*Mehsi nit wikhikon nit otek?* 'why is that book there? (*mehsi ot[e]-*)  
*Mehsi nihtol liphat wasisol?* 'why is she carrying that child? (*mehsi liph-*)  
*Keq nit mesotemit wasis?* 'Why is the child crying? (*mesotem[i]-*)

When used in the Changed Conjunct in main clauses, certain verbs take on a different meaning.

Independent Indicative	Changed Conjunct
<i>liku</i> 's/he has such a form' ( <i>ai</i> )	<i>elikit</i> 's/he is ugly'
<i>likon</i> 'it has such a form' ( <i>ii</i> )	<i>elikok</i> 'it is ugly'
<i>linaqsu</i> 's/he looks thus' ( <i>ai</i> )	<i>elinaqsit</i> 'there is/are a lot of...'
<i>linaqot</i> 'it looks thus' ( <i>ii</i> )	<i>elinaqahk</i> 'there is/are a lot of...'
<i>tuciye</i> 's/he goes by' ( <i>ai</i> )	<i>etuciyat</i> 's/he goes very fast'
<i>ckuhye</i> 's/he comes, approaches' ( <i>ai</i> )	<i>weckuhyat</i> 'here s/he comes' (is within sight)

Table VIII. Changed Conjunct Forms

verb ai — stem <i>ep(i)-</i>		verb ii — stem <i>eht(e)-</i>		verb ti — <i>elipt(u)-, eliptas(i)-</i>	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>epiyan</i>	<i>epiwan</i>	<i>ehtek</i>	<i>ehtenuhk</i>	<i>eliptuwan</i>	<i>eliptuwan</i>
<i>epiyin</i>	<i>epiwon</i>	<i>ehtek</i>	<i>ehtenuhk</i>	<i>eliptuwon</i>	<i>eliptuwon</i>
<i>epit</i>	<i>epihq</i>			<i>eliptaq</i>	<i>eliptuhk</i>
<i>epilit</i>	<i>epilihq</i>				
<i>epihtit</i>	<i>epihtihq</i>				pos.: <i>eliptasik, eliptasik</i>
<i>epultihtit</i>	<i>epultihtihq</i>				neg.: <i>eliptasinuhk, eliptasinuhk</i>
verb ta — stem <i>eliph-</i> — positive			verb ta — stem <i>eliph-</i> — negative		
<i>eliphuk</i>	<i>eliphit</i>	<i>eliphawan</i>	<i>eliphihq</i>	<i>eliphawan</i>	<i>eliphuhk</i>
<i>eliphot</i>	<i>eliphusk</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuhk</i>	<i>eliphahq</i>	<i>eliphihq</i>
<i>eliphathat</i>	<i>eliphihit</i>	<i>eliphahq</i>	<i>eliphihq</i>		
<i>eliphiyin</i>	<i>eliphulan</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuluwan</i>		
<i>eliphieq</i>	<i>eliphuleq</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuluwehq</i>		
<i>eliphiek</i>	<i>eliphulek</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuluwehk</i>		
<i>eliphukiyan, eliphukiyan, eliphut</i>		<i>eliphukewan, eliphukewan, eliphamuhk</i>			

Table IX shows the forms of the Changed Conjunct which are used as participles: *skat epihq* 'the one that doesn't sit', *eliphul* 'I who carry you thus; you whom I carry', etc.

Most forms are the same as those in Table VIII, the differences being confined to the first and third persons, and inanimates. In addition, verbal and participial forms have different intonations (Section 3.4.3). The two forms listed for the *ta* third person differ in that the first focuses on the proximate member of the subject-object pair, the second on the obviative: for example, *eliphihit* 'the one (proximate) whom s/he (obviative) carries'; *eliphihcil* 'the one (obviative) who carries h/h (proximate)'.

Table IX. Changed Conjunct Participle Forms

verb ai — stem <i>ep(i)-</i>		verb ii — stem <i>eht(e)-</i>		verb ti — <i>elipt(u)-, eliptas(i)-</i>	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>epi</i>	<i>epiw</i>	<i>ehtek</i>	<i>ehtenuhk</i>	<i>eliptu</i>	<i>eliptu</i>
<i>epiyin</i>	<i>epiwon</i>	<i>ehtekil</i>	<i>ehtenuhkil</i>	<i>eliptuwan</i>	<i>eliptuwan</i>
<i>epit</i>	<i>epihq</i>			<i>eliptaq</i>	<i>eliptuhk</i>
<i>epilicil</i>	<i>epilihqil</i>				pos.: <i>eliptasik, eliptasikil</i>
<i>epicik</i>	<i>epihtihqik</i>				neg.: <i>eliptasinuhk, eliptasinuhkil</i>
<i>epulticik</i>	<i>epultihtihqik</i>				
verb ta — stem <i>eliph-</i> — positive			verb ta — stem <i>eliph-</i> — negative		
<i>eliphuk</i>	<i>eliphit</i>	<i>eliphawan</i>	<i>eliphihq</i>	<i>eliphawan</i>	<i>eliphuhk</i>
<i>eliphot</i>	<i>eliphusk</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuhk</i>	<i>eliphahq, eliphahqil</i>	<i>eliphihq, eliphihqil</i>
<i>eliphathat</i>	<i>eliphihit</i>	<i>eliphahq</i>	<i>eliphihq</i>		
<i>eliphiyin</i>	<i>eliphul</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphulu</i>		
<i>eliphieq</i>	<i>eliphuleq</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuluwehq</i>		
<i>eliphiek</i>	<i>eliphulek</i>	<i>eliphawon</i>	<i>eliphuluwehk</i>		
<i>eliphuki, eliphukiyan, eliphut</i>		<i>eliphukewan, eliphukewan, eliphamuhk</i>			

## 4.4.3. Unchanged Conjunct Mode

The Unchanged Conjunct mode (Table X) is used in 'if' clauses and in sentences beginning with *on op al* (*napal*) 'if only' (see Section 5 for examples). Sherwood (1986) refers to this mode as the Conjunct Subjunctive. It uses the unchanged, unprefix stem; otherwise, the endings are the same as those of the Changed Conjunct, as shown in Table VIII.

Table X. Unchanged Conjunct Forms

verb ai — stem <i>op(i)-</i>		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)-</i>		verb ti — <i>lipt(u)-, liptas(i)-</i>	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>opiyan</i>	<i>opiwan</i>	<i>otek</i>	<i>otenuhk</i>	<i>liptuwan</i>	<i>liptuwan</i>
<i>opiyin</i>	<i>opiwon</i>	<i>otek</i>	<i>otenuhk</i>	<i>liptuwan</i>	<i>liptuwan</i>
<i>opit</i>	<i>opihq</i>			<i>liptaq</i>	<i>liptuhk</i>
<i>opilit</i>	<i>opilihq</i>				
<i>opihit</i>	<i>opihitihq</i>				pos.: <i>liptasik, liptasik</i>
<i>opultihtit</i>	<i>opultihtihq</i>				neg.: <i>liptasinuhk, liptasinuhk</i>



verb ta — stem <i>liph-</i> — positive		verb ta — stem <i>liph-</i> — negative	
<i>liphuk</i>	<i>liphit</i>	<i>liphawan</i>	<i>liphihq</i>
<i>liphot</i>	<i>liphusk</i>	<i>liphawon</i>	<i>liphuluhk</i>
<i>liphat</i>	<i>liphuht</i>	<i>liphahq</i>	<i>liphihq</i>
<i>liphiyin</i>	<i>liphulan</i>	<i>liphiwon</i>	<i>liphuluwan</i>
<i>liphieq</i>	<i>liphuleq</i>	<i>liphuwehq</i>	<i>liphuluwehq</i>
<i>liphiek</i>	<i>liphulek</i>	<i>liphuwehk</i>	<i>liphuluwehk</i>
<i>liphukiyan, liphukiyan, liphut</i>		<i>liphukewan, liphukewon, liphamuhk</i>	

#### 4.4.4. Subordinative Mode

The Subordinative mode<sup>34</sup> (Table XI) is used mainly in complement clauses and other situations to express subsequent or resulting action. Used alone, in the second person, it can serve as a mild or “polite” imperative — *kt-ankey-as-in* (2-take.care.of.TA-refl.AI-Sub) ‘(kil) take care of yourself’ — and it is used for a second command following an Imperative: *ksaha naka ktopin* ‘come in and sit down’. Questions beginning with *tan* ‘how?’ also use the Subordinative. (See Section 5 for examples.)

Personal prefixes are used in all forms except third person *ta* passive and *ii* forms. Subordinative forms use the same markers as the Independent Indicative for direct and inverse subject-object pairs. Intransitive inanimate (*ii*) forms are not marked for plural number: *tan olocihtē?* ‘what colour is it?’ or ‘what colour are they?’

Table XI. Subordinative Forms

verb ai — stem <i>-op(i)-</i>		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)-</i>		verb ti — <i>-olipt(u)-, liptas(i)-</i>	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>ntopin</i>	<i>ntopiwon</i>	<i>ote</i>	<i>otew</i>	<i>ntoliptun</i>	<i>ntoliptuwon</i>
<i>ktopin</i>	<i>ktopiwon</i>	<i>ote</i>	<i>otew</i>	<i>ktoliptun</i>	<i>ktoliptuwon</i>
<i>'topin</i>	<i>'topiwon</i>			<i>'toliptun</i>	<i>'toliptuwon</i>
<i>'topilin</i>	<i>'topiliwon</i>				
<i>'topiniya</i>	<i>'topiwoniya</i>			pos.: <i>liptasu, liptasu</i>	
<i>'topultiniya</i>	<i>'topultiwoniya</i>			neg.: <i>liptasiw, liptasiw</i>	

verb ta — stem <i>-oliph-, liph-</i> — positive		verb ta — stem <i>-oliph-, liph-</i> — negative	
<i>ntoliphan</i>	<i>ntoliphukun</i>	<i>ntoliphawon</i>	<i>ntoliphukuwon</i>
<i>ktoliphan</i>	<i>ktoliphukun</i>	<i>ktoliphawon</i>	<i>ktoliphukuwon</i>
<i>'toliphan</i>	<i>'toliphukun</i>	<i>'toliphawon</i>	<i>'toliphukuwon</i>
<i>ktoliphin</i>	<i>ktoliphulon</i>	<i>ktoliphawon</i>	<i>ktoliphuluwon</i>
<i>ktoliphiniya</i>	<i>ktoliphuloniya</i>	<i>ktoliphawon</i>	<i>ktoliphuluwoniya</i>
<i>ktoliphinen</i>	<i>ktoliphulonon</i>	<i>ktoliphawonewin</i>	<i>ktoliphuluwonewin</i>
<i>ntoliphuken, ktoliphuken, liphan</i>		<i>ntoliphukewon, ktoliphukewon, liphawon</i>	

#### 4.4.5. Imperative and Conjunct Imperative Modes

The Imperative mode is used for direct commands (forms shown with an exclamation point in Table XII). There are Imperative forms for *kil* and *kiluwaw*, positive and

negative, and for *kilun*: *opine* ‘let’s sit down’, *liptune* ‘let’s carry it thus’, *liphane* ‘let’s carry h/h thus’. The ‘let’s’ Imperative is the only verb form which has no corresponding negative. There are logically no commands with a first person subject (*nil, nilun*).

Indirect commands, those with third person subjects, are in the Conjunct Imperative mode, consisting of modified forms of the Unchanged Conjunct (Table XII). These have a hortatory force: *opihtic* ‘may they sit down’, *nit otec* ‘let it be (stay) there’, *li-phulihc* ‘have h/h carry you thus’. Positive and negative forms are the same. (See Section 5 for additional examples.) The Conjunct Imperative can be used in subordinate clauses: *yahan ksahac* ‘(kil) tell h/h to come in’.

Passamaquoddy speakers introduce negative commands, both Imperative and Conjunct Imperative, with *musa* (*musahk*) ‘don’t’, while Maliseet speakers use *katcu* (*kaccu*) ‘don’t’ (*kat* ‘not’ + *cu* ‘certainly’)

Table XII. Imperative (!) and Conjunct Imperative Forms

verb ai — stem <i>op(i)-</i>		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)-</i>		verb ti — <i>lipt(u)-, liptas(i)-</i>	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
—	—	<i>otec</i>	<i>otec</i>	—	—
<i>opin!</i>	<i>opihtic!</i>	<i>otec</i>	<i>otec</i>	<i>lipt!</i>	<i>liptuhkoc!</i>
<i>opic</i>	<i>opihc</i>			<i>liptuc</i>	<i>liptuc</i>
<i>opihc</i>	<i>opihc</i>			pos.: <i>liptasic, liptasic</i>	
<i>opulihc</i>	<i>opulihc</i>			neg.: <i>liptasic, liptasic</i>	

verb ta — stem <i>liph-</i> — positive		verb ta — stem <i>liph-</i> — negative	
—	—	—	—
<i>liphan!</i>	<i>liphulihc</i>	<i>liphahkoc!</i>	<i>liphulihc</i>
<i>liphac</i>	<i>liphukulihc</i>	<i>liphac</i>	<i>liphukulihc</i>
<i>liphin!</i>	—	<i>liphihkoc!</i>	—
<i>liphic!</i>	—	<i>liphihkeq!</i>	—
<i>liphine!</i>	—	<i>liphihkek!</i>	—
—, <i>liphuk!, liphuc</i>		—, <i>liphukehkoc!, liphuc</i>	

#### 4.4.6. Absentative Tense (Independent Indicative)

Verbs may be marked to agree with absentative nouns in the Independent Indicative and Subordinative modes. Table XIII shows Indicative forms only. In intransitive verbs, the subject is an absentative noun or pronoun; *ai verbs* have only third person forms. In transitive forms, the object is absentative.

The Subordinative Absentative forms are based on the Subordinative (Table XI) and are used in clauses beginning with *tanehk, tanek* ‘ever since’: *tanehk ntopinehk* (1-sit.AI-Sub-abs) ‘ever since I sat down’. There are Subordinative Absentative forms for all persons in *ai verbs*.

<sup>34</sup>Other writers have referred to this mode as the Relative.



Table XIII. Absentative Forms (Indicative)

verb ai — stem - <i>op(i)</i> -		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)</i> -		verb ti — - <i>olipt(u)-</i> , <i>liptas(i)</i> -	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
—	—	<i>otete</i>	<i>otewye</i>	<i>ntoliptune</i>	<i>ntoliptuwone</i>
—	—	<i>otekol</i>	<i>otewikol</i> , <i>otewikkol</i>	<i>ktoliptune</i>	<i>ktoliptuwone</i>
<i>opuwa</i>	<i>opiuya</i>			<i>'tolitune</i>	<i>'toliptuwone</i>
<i>opukol</i>	<i>opiwickol</i>			pos.: <i>liptasuwe</i> , <i>liptasukol</i>	
<i>opukk</i>	<i>opiwick</i>			neg.: <i>liptasiwe</i> , <i>liptasiwik(k)ol</i>	
<i>opultukk</i>	<i>opultiwikk</i>				
verb ta — stem - <i>oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — positive			verb ta — stem - <i>oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — negative		
<i>ntoliphane</i>	<i>ntoliphukune</i>	<i>ntoliphawone</i>	<i>ntoliphukuwone</i>		
<i>ktoliphane</i>	<i>ktoliphukune</i>	<i>ktoliphawone</i>	<i>ktoliphukuwone</i>		
<i>'toliphakol</i>	<i>'toliphukukol</i>	<i>'toliphawikol</i>	<i>'toliphukuwikol</i>		
<i>ktoliphine</i>	<i>ktoliphulone</i>	<i>ktoliphiwone</i>	<i>ktoliphuluwone</i>		
<i>ktoliphiniya</i>	<i>ktoliphuloniya</i>	<i>ktoliphiwoniyaw</i>	<i>ktoliphuluwoniyaw</i>		
<i>ktoliphinennu</i>	<i>ktoliphulonennu</i>	<i>ktoliphiwonewinu</i>	<i>ktoliphuluwonewinnu</i>		
<i>ntoliphukene</i> , <i>ktoliphukene</i> , <i>liphaw</i>		<i>ntoliphukewone</i> , <i>ktoliphukewone</i> , <i>liphawya</i>			

## 4.4.7. Preterit Tense (Independent Indicative)

In narratives and conversation, the present tense generally serves as past also. The preterit is used to specify past complete action. Speakers often use the preterit in a story to situate it in the past, while the main narrative continues in the “present” tense. There are preterit forms in the Independent Indicative (Table XIV), Changed Conunct (including participles) — *epitpon* ‘when s/he sat, the one who sat’ — and Subordinative — *'topinehpon* [and then] s/he sat down’. (See Section 5 for further examples).

Table XIV. Preterit Forms (Indicative)

verb ai — stem - <i>op(i)</i> -		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)</i> -		verb ti — - <i>olipt(u)-</i> , <i>liptas(i)</i> -	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>ntopihpon</i>	<i>ntopihqopon</i>	<i>otehpon</i>	<i>otewihpon</i>	<i>ntolipt-unehpon</i>	<i>-uwonewihpon</i>
<i>ktopihpon</i>	<i>ktopihqopon</i>	<i>oteponil</i>	<i>otewiponil</i>	<i>ktolipt-unehpon</i>	<i>-uwonewihpon</i>
<i>opuhpon</i>	<i>opiwihpon</i>			<i>'tolipt-unehpon</i>	<i>-uwonewihpon</i>
<i>opuponil</i>	<i>opiwiponil</i>			pos.: <i>liptasuhpon</i> , <i>liptasuponil</i>	
<i>opuponik</i>	<i>opiwiponik</i>			neg.: <i>liptasiwihpon</i> ,	
<i>opultuponik</i>	<i>opultiwiponik</i>			<i>liptasiwiponil</i>	
verb ta — stem - <i>oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — positive			verb ta — stem - <i>oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — negative		
<i>ntoliphahpon</i>	<i>ntoliphukuhpon</i>	<i>ntoliphawihpon</i>	<i>ntoliphukuwihpon</i>		
<i>ktoliphahpon</i>	<i>ktoliphukuhpon</i>	<i>ktoliphawihpon</i>	<i>ktoliphukuwihpon</i>		
<i>'toliphaponil</i>	<i>'toliphukuponil</i>	<i>'toliphawiponil</i>	<i>'toliphukuwiponil</i>		
<i>ktoliphihpon</i>	<i>ktoliphuluhpon</i>	<i>ktoliphihqopon</i>	<i>ktoliphuluhqopon</i>		
<i>ktoliphipahpon</i>	<i>ktoliphulpahpon</i>	<i>ktoliphipahqopon</i>	<i>ktoliphulpahqopon</i>		
<i>ktoliphiponuhpon</i>	<i>ktoliphulponuhpon</i>	<i>ktoliphiponuhqopon</i>	<i>ktoliphulponuhqopon</i>		
<i>ntoliphukehpon</i> , <i>ktoliphukehpon</i> , <i>liphahpon</i>		<i>ntoliphukehqopon</i> , <i>ktoliphukehqopon</i> , <i>liphawihpon</i>			

## 4.4.8. Dubitative Preterit (Indicative)

The dubitative preterit expresses “doubt or uncertainty, lack of direct knowledge, or some conclusion on the part of the speaker” (Sherwood, 1986, p. 145). In the Independent Indicative and Unchanged Conunct dubitative forms are marked for the preterit as well; hence the name of the tense. Table XV shows Independent Indicative forms; there are also Changed Conunct, Unchanged Conunct, and Subordinative forms.

*tama ntopips?* ‘where was I sitting?’ (I don’t remember) — Independent Indicative  
*el-kihq-ak-s yut wikuwam* ‘this house is so big!’ (it surprises me) — Changed Conunct  
 thus-be.size.II-0.sg.ChC-dub this house

*nit liptaqsopon...* ‘if he’d carried it thus...’ (I think he didn’t) — Unchanged Conunct  
 on al ‘*kosi-k-in-ess!* ‘s/he must have been very homely!’ (I suppose) — Subordinative  
 and.then vague 3-very.much-have.form.AI-Sub-dub

Table XV. Dubitative Preterit Forms (Indicative)

verb ai — stem - <i>op(i)</i> -		verb ii — stem <i>ot(e)</i> -		verb ti — - <i>olipt(u)-</i> , <i>liptas(i)</i> -	
positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>ntopips</i>	<i>ntopihposs</i>	<i>otess</i>	<i>otewiss</i>	<i>ntoliptuness</i>	<i>ntoliptuwonewiss</i>
<i>ktopips</i>	<i>ktopihposs</i>	<i>otesoponil</i>	<i>otewisoponil</i>	<i>ktoliptuness</i>	<i>ktoliptuwonewiss</i>
<i>opuss</i>	<i>opiwiss</i>			<i>'toliptuness</i>	<i>'toliptuwonewiss</i>
<i>opusoponil</i>	<i>opiwisoponil</i>			pos.: <i>liptasuss</i> , <i>liptasuponil</i>	
<i>opusoponik</i>	<i>opiwisoponik</i>			neg.: <i>liptasiwiss</i> , <i>liptasiwisoponil</i>	
<i>opultusoponik</i>	<i>opultiwisoponik</i>				
verb ta — stem - <i>oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — positive			verb ta — stem - <i>oliph-</i> , <i>liph-</i> — negative		
<i>ntoliphass</i>	<i>ntoliphukuss</i>	<i>ntoliphawiss</i>	<i>ntoliphukuwiss</i>		
<i>ktoliphass</i>	<i>ktoliphukuss</i>	<i>ktoliphawiss</i>	<i>ktoliphukuwiss</i>		
<i>'toliphasoponil</i>	<i>'toliphukusoponil</i>	<i>'toliphawisoponil</i>	<i>'toliphukuwisoponil</i>		
<i>ktoliphips</i>	<i>ktoliphulups</i>	<i>ktoliphihposs</i>	<i>ktoliphuluhposs</i>		
<i>ktoliphipass</i>	<i>ktoliphulpass</i>	<i>ktoliphipahposs</i>	<i>ktoliphulpahposs</i>		
<i>ktoliphiponuss</i>	<i>ktoliphulponuss</i>	<i>ktoliphiponuhposs</i>	<i>ktoliphulponuhposs</i>		
<i>ntoliphukeps</i> , <i>ktoliphukeps</i> , <i>liphass</i>		<i>ntoliphukehposs</i> , <i>ktoliphukehposs</i> , <i>liphawiss</i>			

## 4.4.9. Future Tense

Unlike its sister language Micmac, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet does not have future tense endings for verbs. Instead speakers use particles and preverbs with present tense forms to indicate the future.

*yaka* ‘in the future’ ...*yaka peciyat* ‘...when s/he arrives (in the future)’  
*oc* ‘in the future’ *apc oc knomiyul* ‘I’ll see you again’  
 -*hc*, -*c* ‘in the future’ *ma tehc knomiyulu* ‘I won’t see you (kil)’  
*nit otehc* ‘it will be there’



<i>koti</i> 'will' <sup>35</sup>	<i>nkoti apaci</i> 'I will come back.'
	<i>keti apaciyonpon</i> 'when I was going to come back' (preterit)
<i>kotuwi-</i> 'will'	<i>ketuwahsontek</i> 'on Saturday' ('when it will be Sunday')

#### 4.5. Putting Ideas into Verbs: Initial, Medial, and Final Roots

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet verbs, more than any other words, are the domain of the eloquent speaker. Speakers construct verbs by combining preverbs and initial, medial, and final verb roots to express the meanings they require. Eloquent speakers combine them inventively, even playfully or outrageously when the occasion demands. Lewis Mitchell, for example, a Passamaquoddy who wrote down many stories from the oral tradition in the late 1800s, used *mehqahtuwehpusossit* 'the little red twinkling one', *seskahtuwet* 'the one that shines fiercely', and *mehqahtuwessit* 'the flickering red one' to describe stars, while at the same time indicating their personalities as husbands-to-be, from the point of view of two star-gazing sisters (Prince, 1921; Francis & Leavitt, 1994, 1995). To do this, he selected from and combined the following roots.

<i>-moqq-</i> (unprefixed: <i>pq-</i> ; changed: <i>mehq-</i> ) 'red'	initial
<i>seski-</i> 'fierce'	initial (preverb)
<i>-ahtuw(e)-</i> 'shine'	<i>ai</i> final
<i>-hpus(i)-</i> 'shake'	<i>ai</i> final
<i>-ss(i)-</i> 'move suddenly, unexpectedly'	<i>ai</i> final
<i>-oss-</i> 'diminutive'	theme marker (final)

Roots are termed initial, medial, or final according to the position they invariably occupy in the complete stem. (Preverbs, a special type of initial root, are described in Section 4.6.) Initial roots, like *-moqq-* 'red', are usually adjectival or adverbial — for example, *puskosone* 's/he has wet shoes', from *pus-* 'wet' and the medial/final *-ahkoson-* 'shoe' (compare *nmakson* 'my shoe'). Another initial root is *-koss-* 'washing': *koss-atpe-n-s-u* (washing-top.of.head-with.hand.TA-self.AI-3.sg.Ind) 's/he washes own hair'.

Medial roots may be nominal, adjectival, or adverbial. They denote such things as body parts and geographical features, shapes and arrangements, which are thus incorporated into verbs. Medials become finals when the whole verb describes the noun which the medial names.

<i>-ptin(e)-</i> 'hand, arm'
<i>tomiptinessu</i> 's/he breaks own arm' — <i>tomi</i> 'apart'; final <i>-ss(i)-</i> 'move suddenly'
<i>kiniptine</i> 's/he has big hands' — <i>kini</i> 'big' ( <i>-ptin[e]-</i> is final here)
<i>-ek-</i> 'sheet-like in shape; two-dimensional and flexible'
<i>wolekte</i> 'it (e.g., a cloth) is nicely placed' — <i>woli</i> 'good' + <i>-ek-</i> + final <i>-aht(e)-</i> 'sit'

*spekopu* 's/he has a high rank' — *spi* 'high' + *-ek-* (e.g., flag or uniform) + final *-op(i)-* 'sit'

*-anok-* 'consisting of or arranged in layers'

*spanokahte* 'it (e.g., a book) is thick' — *spi* + *-anok-* + *-aht(e)-*

Medial roots for body-parts and geographical features are often similar to their "stand-alone" counterparts: *-ptin-* is clearly a reduction of *-pihtin-*, and *-tun-* has the same form as either a verb root (*kin-tun-at* [big-mouth-3.sg.ChC] 'who has a big mouth') or a noun ('*tun* 'h/h mouth). In contrast, the medial root *-aluw-* 'tail' bears no resemblance to the noun *'soqon* 'h/h tail', nor is *-akom-* (*elomakomek* 'down the lake') related to the noun *qospem* 'lake'. Speakers have at their disposal both incorporated and unincorporated noun roots, though not all referents will be found in both lists. In recent years the tendency among speakers has been toward the use of more unincorporated nouns with simpler verbs, undoubtedly an influence of English.

Final roots are verbal; they denote an action, emotion, state, etc. Some are specific, like the *ai* finals *-hp(i)-* 'eat', *-ossin(o)-* 'lie down'. But many are abstract, like the *ta* final *-ehl-* 'do to h/h', whose *ti* equivalent is *-eht(u)-* 'do it, do X to it': *nulehla* 'I fix h/h (e.g., a bicycle)', *nulehtun* 'I fix it' — *woli* 'good'

*nmemihp* 'I have had enough to eat' — *memi* 'reaching a limit' + final *-hp(i)-* 'eat, eat a meal' (*ai*)

*ncuwahpossin* 'I am lying down, partway into the water' — *cuwahpi* 'into the water' + final *-ossin(o)-* 'lie, lie down' (*ai*)

*nsusqihata* 'I knock h/h flat on back' — *susqi* 'supine' + *-ht\_h-* 'strike, hit' (*ta*)

Some finals "stand alone" as verbs (provided they are inflected): *qasku* 's/he runs', root *-qasq(i)-*; *ame* 's/he fishes', root *-am(e)-*; [*w*] *micin* 's/he eats it', root *-mic-* (*ti*). There are also a few verb forms which appear to have no final: *ntoli* 'I go there' is formed from the stem *-oliy(a)-*, which consists of *oli-* 'thus; to there' and the final *-y(a)-* 'go'. In the first person singular, Independent Indicative, no ending is used. This would result in "*ntoliy*"; but words do not end with *-iy* (long *i*), and the *y* is dropped, leaving *ntoli*, — the personal prefix and the preverb only (also *ktoli* 'you [kil] go there'). A few other verbs have such apparently rootless forms.

#### 4.6. Preverbs and Prenouns

Preverbs, and their counterparts pre-nouns, are initial roots which add an adverbial or adjectival component to the meaning of a word. For example, the preverb *mace-* 'away, setting out, starting' is used in *macewise* 's/he walks away' and *mace ikotohom* 's/he starts yawning'; and the pre-noun *kci-* (*kt-*) 'big' is used in *kci emqan* 'big spoon' and in *ktoton* 'big mountain', the original name of Mt. Katahdin, Maine. Some roots are used as both preverb and pre-noun, as *wapi-* 'white': *wapiqehe* 'h/h face turns white' and *wapap* 'wampum' (literally, 'white cord').

<sup>35</sup>The preverbs *koti* and *kotuwi-* also mean 'want to'. *Koti* cannot "attach" to a verb.



In part to reflect phonology and in part as a spelling convention, a preverb or prenoun may be separated by a space from the rest of the word when both can stand alone. Nevertheless, the preverb or prenoun is a part of the word, because (1) personal prefixes are placed ahead of it — *nmace ikotohom* ‘I start yawning’,<sup>36</sup> *nkihci emqanom* ‘my big spoon’ — and (2) it is the first syllable of the preverb which undergoes change in the Changed Conjoint — *mete ikotohok* ‘when s/he is heard yawning’, unchanged stem *-mote ikotohom(o)-*. Whether preverbs and pre nouns are independent words may be debated; at least one preverb, *ehqi-* ‘stop’ (*ehqewestu* ‘s/he stops talking’), may be used by itself as a sentence — *Ehqi!* ‘Stop!’ (i.e., ‘Stop doing that!’), and not infrequently another word appears between a preverb and the rest of the verb stem, as in the example below (see Leavitt, 1985, for a fuller discussion).

*olomi yaq qolop-at-op-u-wa* ‘it is said that he turned away’  
away.PV it.is.said turning-changing-sit.AI-3.sg.Ind-abs

Many preverbs reveal the spatial and temporal conceptualizations of speakers (recall the examples in Section 2.5). Indeed, preverbs may denote complex or highly specific spatial and temporal conditions, as those in *ap-ame* ‘s/he is back from having gone fishing’; *mote-ssu* ‘it is heard but not seen moving’; or *cuwahpi-ye* ‘s/he falls into the water’. A few other examples of preverbs are listed here.

<i>naci-</i> ‘going there to do X’	<i>nacipha</i> ‘I go get h/h’ — <i>naciphoq</i> ‘s/he comes to get me’
<i>nuci-</i> ‘doing X as occup’	<i>nuci nseqehmat</i> ‘boxer’
<i>sesolahki-</i> ‘suddenly’	<i>‘sesolaktehkuwal</i> ‘s/he encounters h/h suddenly’
<i>mawi-</i> ‘together’	<i>mawi putuwosuwok</i> ‘they hold a council together’
<i>mawe-</i> ‘coming together’	<i>mawe putuwosuwok</i> ‘they come together to hold a council’
<i>ehetuwi-</i> ‘on either side of’	<i>ehetuwoqone</i> ‘s/he is ambidextrous’ ( <i>-osqon-</i> ‘elbow’)
<i>aluwi-</i> ‘without success’	<i>‘taluwiihtomon</i> ‘s/he tries in vain to say it’
<i>kapi-</i> ‘regardless’	<i>psi te wenil</i> ‘kapehhal’ ‘s/he blames everyone, regardless’
<i>sisse-</i> ‘scattering’	<i>psi te keq sisse-ss-oss-u-ss</i> ‘every little thing scattered’ scattering-move.suddenly.II-dim-0.sg.Ind-dub

Preverbs may be strung together to allow for combined meanings, although such strings are usually no more than two or three roots long. In *yut koti toli peciye* ‘s/he is going to arrive here’ (emphasis on ‘here’), there are three preverbs — *koti-* ‘will’, *toli-* ‘to there’, and *peci-* ‘toward’ — affixed to the final final root *-iy(a)-* ‘go’.

A preverb is obligatory with most *ta* and *ti* finals. The most “general” preverb is *oli-* ‘thus; to there’, prefixed form *-toli-* (with *t*-insertion), changed form *eli-*. Another preverb has similar forms, *-otoli-* (progressive), unprefixed form *toli-*, prefixed form *-totoli-*, changed form *etoli*. In both cases, the prefixed form may be reanalysed as an unprefixed form: *toli-* ‘thus; to there’ and *totoli-* (progressive). This results in two pos-

<sup>36</sup>In the case of this word, *-ikotohom(o)-* is a stem which does not “accept” the attachment of preverbs. Since all preverbs end with a vowel (*-i*, *-e*, or *-a*) in their full forms and all stems of this type begin with a vowel (*a-*, *e-*, *i-*, or *u-*), there is an audible break between preverb and verb stem, where both vowels are preserved. (See also the note in Section 3.4.1.)

sible unprefixed forms, such as *oli qasku*, *toli qasku* ‘s/he runs thus; runs to there’; *toli qasku*, *totoli qasku* ‘s/he is running’. Prefixed examples are *ntoli qasq* ‘I run thus, I run to there, I am running’ and *ntotoli qasq* ‘I am running’.

There are no true adjectives in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet; instead, preverbs, pre nouns, or other initial roots carry such meanings: *wisawi-* ‘yellow’, as in *wisawahq* ‘brass’. ‘Yellow chair’ would be translated using a verb: *wisaweyik qotoput* ‘chair which is yellow’.

For most preverbs there exists a corresponding particle (Section 4.8) with an identical or closely related meaning. For example, the preverb *‘ci-* ‘from’ corresponds to the particle *‘ciw*, which is used like a preposition — *‘ciw imiyewikuwamok* ‘from or concerning the church’, *‘ciw luhkewakon* ‘about work’. The preverb *lami-* ‘within, underneath’ corresponds to *lamiw* — *wolopote lamiw* ‘it is warm inside’; *lamiw tuwihputik* ‘under the table’. Sometimes the meaning of a particle is less directly connected to that of the preverb: *tuci-* ‘passing by; to such an extent’ (changed form *etuci* ‘very’, Section 4.4.2) corresponds to *tuciw* ‘moreover, besides; right away’.

#### 4.7. Derivations: Making Verbs from Nouns and Nouns from Verbs

Verbs may be derived from nouns, or from other verbs, by adding an appropriate final.

*mahkuthom* ‘s/he is wearing a dress’ (*ai*) — *mahkut* ‘dress’  
*wasisuwomtu* ‘s/he behaves like a child’ (*ai*) — *wasis* ‘child’  
*skitapewiw* ‘s/he is a man’ (*ai*) — *skitap* ‘man’  
*skitapehkalsu* ‘s/he pretends to be a man’ (*ai*)

The verbs *nicaniw* ‘s/he has a child’ and *mihtaqsiw* ‘s/he has a father’ (stems *-wonican[i]-* and *-womihtaqs[i]-*)<sup>37</sup> are derived from the dependent nouns *nicanol* ‘h/h child’ and *mihtaqsol* ‘h/h father’. Their Changed Conjoint participles *wenicanit* ‘who has a child’ and *wemihtaqsit* ‘who has a father’ provide translations for ‘the Father’ and ‘the Son’, respectively, in the Sign of the Cross.

*wolitahasikhal* ‘s/he makes h/h happy’ (*ta*) — *wolitahasu* ‘s/he is happy’ (*ai*)  
*koluskesku* ‘s/he lies habitually’ (*ai*) — *kolusku* ‘s/he lies’ (*ai*)  
*ksinuhkehkalsu* ‘s/he pretends to be sick’ (*ai*) — *ksinuhka* ‘s/he is sick’ (*ai*)

A versatile final which makes *ai* verbs from nouns is *-hk(e)-* ‘do X’ — for example, ‘hunt, harvest, or pick X; do any or all of the steps of processing X; go to X to do errands’, where X is the noun to which the final is attached: *otuk-k-e* ‘s/he hunts deer’

<sup>37</sup>In the unprefixed forms cited, the first syllable is reduced by syncope, and the initial *w* (*wnicaniw*, *wmihtaqsiw*) is no longer pronounced. Note that words like *nicaniw* are an exception to the rule stated in Section 3.4.2 about *not* dropping schwa (*o*) in the first syllable of verb stems beginning with *-won-*. Here the *-wo-* is derivational, and this may account for the exception.



(*otuhk*); '*pisun-k-e* 's/he harvests medicine'; *man-ihk-e* 's/he earns money'; *pskihq-ihk-e* 's/he looks for hay, harvests hay, loads hay, etc.'; *uten-ehk-e* 's/he goes shopping' (*uten* 'town'); *Kelis-uhk-e* 's/he goes to Calais, Maine, to do errands'.

Nouns may be derived from verbs, or from other nouns. There are also a few compound nouns.

*wolitahasuwakon* 'happiness' — *wolitahasu* 's/he is happy' (*ai*)

*luhkewakon* 'work' — *luhke* 's/he works' (*ai*)

*wikhikon* 'book' — *wikhike* 's/he writes' (*ai*)

*kotunkewin* 'hunter' — *kotunke* 's/he hunts' (*ai*)

*otuhkey* 'venison', *otuhkiyey* 'deerskin' — *otuhk* 'deer'

*Waponahkik* 'Maine and the Maritime Provinces' — *wapon* 'dawn' + *-ahkik* 'in the land'

*olonahqakom* 'iceskate' — *olonahq* 'iron' + *akom* 'snowshoe'

*lellutawt* 'railroad track' — *lellut* 'railroad (English)' + *awt* 'road'

#### 4.8. Particles

Particles are those words in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet which are not inflected. They include cardinal numbers, interjections, conjunctions, adverbs, and others. (See also the final paragraph in Section 4.6.)

##### 4.8.1. Numbers

The cardinal numbers are organized in a decimal system, with a further distinction between the numbers 1–5 and 6–9. *Pesq*, *nis*, *nihi*, *new*, *nan* are unanalysable, but 6–9 appear to refer to fingers: *kamahcin* 'across to the thumb', *oluwikonok* 'on the pointer', *ukomolcin* 'middle(?) finger', *esqonatek* 'one left (?)'. In addition, with the numbers 6–9, speakers insert the particle *kehs* 'many' before adding the suffixes '-teen', '-ty', '-hundred', etc.: *newatq* '400', *kamahcin kehsatq* '600' (literally, 'six many-hundred').

Ordinal numbers are nouns: *nisewey* 'the second one', *nisewey ehpit* 'the second woman', *niseweyak* 'on second base' (locative) — or they are preverbs: *nisukonohom* 'it is the second day of the month'. Adjectival numbers are verbs: *nisuwok* 'they are two' (*ai*); *nisuwok ehpicik* 'two women'; *knisipa* 'there are two of you (*kiluwaw*)'. The numerical preverbs can also be adjectival (*nisikotone* 's/he is two years old') or adverbial (*nisuhkak* 'they are teams of two'). In *nisuwikhikon* 'deuce' (playing card), *nisi-* is a prenoun.

##### 4.8.2. 'No' and 'Yes'

There are several negative particles, 'no' or 'not', each with a specific use. These include *katama* 'no, not'; *ma* (emphatic *ma te*, *ma tehk*, *ma kahk*) 'not'; *kat* (*katte*, *kat kahk*) 'not'; *skat* 'when not, that not'; *musa*, *katcu* 'don't!'. These are distinguished by usage (see Section 5) — *katama* is the reply 'no' (also *nama*, *ntama*) and may be used to

negate verbs or pronouns; *katekon* 'not at all' is another reply; *ma* is used mainly with verbs (and in *ma te wen* 'no one' and *ma te keq* 'nothing'); *kat* is used mainly with nouns and pronouns (*katte keq* 'nothing at all', *katte wen* 'no one at all'); *skat*, mainly with Conjunction forms; and *musa* (*musahk*) or *katcu*, with Imperatives. The conjunction *mesq* 'before' also takes negative verb forms (Section 5.3); it means 'not yet' as a negative reply.

*ktihin man?* — *katama* 'do you have money?' — 'no'

*kil yaq na kisossom welaqik?* — *ma te!* '[is it true] what they say, that you were drinking last night?' — 'no, that's not true!'

*kis kisihp kil?* — *mesq* (*mesqá*) 'have you eaten already?' — 'not yet'  
*mits!* — *katekon* 'eat!' — 'no, I couldn't possibly'

There are three words for 'yes' in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. *Aha* and *cu* correspond to French *oui* and *si*, respectively. *Haw* is chiefly Passamaquoddy.

<i>aha</i> 'yes, it is so'	<i>koti li Neqotkuk?</i> — <i>aha</i>	'will you go to Tobique, NB? — yes'
<i>cu</i> 'certainly'	<i>ma te koti liyaw?</i> — <i>cu</i>	'you're not going to go? — yes, I am'
<i>haw</i> 'yes, OK'	<i>mecopal nkisi li Neqotkuk?</i>	'please, may I go to Tobique?'
	— <i>haw</i>	— yes, you may'

##### 4.8.3. Other Particles

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has its own set of interjections, including *okocu* 'ouch! (in response to sudden cold or hot contact)', *coke* 'let me see it, let me think about it', *pocokk* 'splat!', *ipa* 'listen!', *cokahk* 'yuck!', and *na* 'here, take it'.

Conjunctions include *naka* 'and', *kosona* 'or', *on* 'and then', *kenuk* 'but', *apeq* 'although', *sami* 'because', *mesq* 'before', *tokek* or *nehtaw* 'if'. The conjunction 'and' is omitted in expressions such as *nilun Mali* 'Mary and I', *kiluwaw Piyel* 'you and Peter', and *kilun kmihraqs* 'we and your father' (the personal pronoun always precedes the noun).

The most commonly used particles add emphasis or suggest the speaker's attitude toward what is being said. They can be combined to create new meanings.

<i>al</i>	(expresses vagueness)	<i>kahk</i>	(emphasizes previous word)
<i>cu</i>	'certainly'	<i>ehta</i>	(emphasizes previous word — stronger)
<i>olu, lu</i>	'but, however'	<i>ote, te</i>	(emphasizes previous word — milder)
<i>on</i>	'and then'	<i>oc</i>	'in the future' (also enclitic <i>-hc</i> , <i>-c</i> )
<i>cess</i>	'as if'	<i>op</i>	'potentially' (also enclitic <i>-hp</i> )
<i>na</i>	'also'	<i>mec</i>	'still'
<i>tan</i>	'how'	<i>kal</i>	'indeed, in fact'

<i>coqahkal</i> 'of course'	<i>cu + kahk + al</i>
<i>cu tehlu!</i> 'yes it is!' (insistent)	<i>cu + te + olu</i>
<i>cuwallu</i> 'somehow', 'I suppose'	<i>cu + al + olu</i>
<i>mecopal</i> 'please'	<i>mec + op + al</i>



<i>nopal</i> 'if only'	<i>on + op + al</i>
<i>stehpal</i> 'somewhat'	<i>cess + te + -hp + al</i>
<i>tan kal!</i> , <i>tanokal!</i> 'I don't know'	<i>tan + kal</i>

Other examples are *nit kal tehlu* 'indeed, that *must* be true'; *kil kal!* 'you mean *you*, not me!'

## 5. Building Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Sentences

This section presents a few simplified examples of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet sentences. The list is not intended to be exhaustive, not is the word order meant to be definitive, unless otherwise indicated. Refer to Sections 1–4 for additional information about the forms of the verbs and nouns used.

### 5.1. Sentences without Verbs

Since there is no verb 'to be' in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, identity sentences consist of nouns and pronouns only. Word order in identities is somewhat less free (it is fixed in negative identities) than in sentences with verbs. *Kat* is the negative particle for identity sentences.

<i>Piyel wot</i> 'this is Peter'	<i>kat wot Piyel</i> 'this isn't Peter'
<i>P. yuhtol 'qossol</i> 'this is Peter's son'	<i>kat yuhtol P. 'qossol</i> 'this isn't Peter's son'
<i>Piyel not skitap</i> 'Peter is a man'	<i>kat not Piyel skitap</i> 'Peter isn't a man'
<i>skitap nil</i> 'I am a man'	<i>kat nil skitap</i> 'I am not a man'
<i>not nit</i> 'that's the one' (animate)	<i>kat kahk not</i> 'that's not the one; not that one!'
<i>nit nit</i> 'that's the one' (inanimate)	<i>kat kahk nit</i> 'that's not the one'
<i>on te pesq cikon</i> 'there's only one apple'	<i>ma te cikon</i> 'there's no apple'
	<i>ma te tama cikon</i> 'there's no apple anywhere'

<i>wen not Mali?</i> 'who is Mary?'	
<i>wen not 'tusol?</i> 'who is h/h daughter?'	
<i>wen nihtol 'tusol?</i> 'whose daughter is that?'	
<i>tan wot Mali?</i> 'which of these is Mary?'	<i>tan wot nit skat Mali?</i> 'which... isn't Mary?'
<i>tan yuhtol Mali 'tusol?</i> 'which is M.'s dau.?'	
<i>tan olu Maliw?</i> 'where is Mary?' (abs.)	

### 5.2. Sentences with One Verb

Statements and questions with one verb occur using all verb modes. Word order is quite free (the negative particle always precedes the verb, but other words may intervene: *ma te Piyel wolitahasiw*).

#### 5.2.1. Independent Indicative

<i>komiwon</i> or <i>tollan</i> 'it's raining'	<i>ma te komiwonu, tollanu</i> 'it isn't raining'
<i>wolitahasu Piyel</i> 'Peter is happy'	<i>ma te wolitahasiw P. 'P. isn't happy'</i>

<i>Piyel luhke</i> 'Peter works'	<i>ma te luhkew P. 'P. doesn't work'</i>
<i>Piyel tolluhke</i> 'Peter is working'	<i>ma te tolluhkew P. 'P. isn't working'</i>
<i>kakawoluhke Piyel</i> 'Peter works fast'	<i>ma te kakawoluhkew P. 'P. doesn't...'</i>
<i>Piyel iyu Sipayik</i> 'Peter is at Sipayik'	<i>P. ma te ihiw Sipayik P. isn't ...'</i>
<i>Piyel 'koselomal</i> 'Peter loves her'	<i>ma te P. 'koselomawiyil 'P. doesn't...'</i>
<i>[k]koselomol</i> 'I love you'	<i>ma te [k]koselomolu 'I don't love you'</i>
(abs) <i>Piyel maceyya</i> 'Peter left'	<i>ma te P. 'tomewya 'P. no longer smokes'</i>
(prt) <i>nit opuhpon</i> 's/he was sitting there'	<i>ma te P. nit opiwihpon 'P. wasn't ...'</i>
(dub) <i>curwallu 'koselomasoponil Maliwol</i>	<i>curwallu skat 'koselomawisoponil Maliwol</i>
'he must have loved Mary'	'he must not have loved Mary'
<i>P. yaq yet opuss</i> 'they say P. was sitting there'	
<i>[k]koselomi?</i> 'do you love me?'	<i>ma te [k]koselomiw?</i> 'don't you love me?'
<i>tama ktotoli oluhk?</i> 'where are you working?'	
<i>keq ktotoli oluhk?</i> 'what are you doing?'	
<i>tayuwek peciye?</i> 'when is she arriving?'	
<i>tayuwek peciyess?</i> 'when did she arrive?'	
<i>tama iyu? tama ote?</i> 'where is s/he?' '...it'	
<i>tama toli koti peciye?</i> 'where will she arrive?'	

#### 5.2.2. Changed Conjunct

<i>waht Mali etolamet</i> 'there's M. fishing'	
(participle) <i>wot nit kisintaq</i>	<i>wot nit skat kisintuhk</i>
'this is the one who sang'	'this is the one who can't sing'
(pret) <i>nit eleyikpon</i> 'that's the way it was'	
<i>elikossit Mali</i> 'Mary is so cute'	<i>ma te wolikossiw Mali</i> 'Mary isn't cute' (Ind)
<i>etuci qasqit Mali</i> 'Mary runs very fast'	<i>ma te nit tuci qasqiw M. '...not so fast' (Ind)</i>
<i>wen not etolamet sipuhsisok?</i>	<i>wen not skat etolamehq?</i>
'who's that fishing in the brook?'	'who's that not fishing?'
<i>keq nit eyyin?</i> 'what is it that you have?'	
<i>tan yut nit wikhikon eyyin?</i>	<i>tan yut nit wikhikon skat eyiwon?</i>
'which of these books do you have?'	'which of these books don't you have?'
<i>keq nit mehsi Mali macahat?</i>	<i>keq nit mehsi skat Mali macahahq?</i>
'why did Mary leave?'	'why didn't Mary leave?'
<i>keq yut mehsi maceptaq?</i>	<i>keq yut mehsi skat maceptuhk?</i>
'why did she take this one?'	'why didn't s/he take this one?'
(dub) <i>keq wot mehsi macephuks?</i>	<i>keq wot mehsi skat macephawans?</i>
'why did I take this one?' (I wonder)	'why didn't I take this one?'
<i>tan not eloqiyat Maliw?</i>	
which way did Mary go?	

#### 5.2.3. Unchanged Conjunct

<i>nopal komiwok</i> 'if only it would rain'	<i>nopal skat komiwonunuhk</i> '...it wouldn't...'
(dub) <i>nopal komiwoksopon</i>	<i>nopal skat komiwonunuksopon</i>
'if only it had rained'	'if only it hadn't rained'
<i>nopal nomiyat</i> 'if only s/he'd see h/h'	<i>nopal skat nomiyahq</i> 'if only ...not see h/h'



## 5.2.4. Subordinative

<i>[k]kossahan</i> 'please come in.'	
<i>kamot op [k]kossahan</i>	<i>kamotop skat [k]kossahawon</i>
'you'd better come in'	'you'd better not come in'
<i>nitte na 'kossahan Piyel</i>	<i>nitte ma 'kossahawon Piyel</i>
'and then Peter comes in'	'then Peter doesn't come in'
' <i>sakhi ksahan</i> '[and then] she comes in'	<i>ma 'sakhi ksahawon</i> '[and then] he doesn't...'
<i>tan 'tolikin?</i> 'what does she look like?'	
literally, 'how is she formed?'	
<i>tan likon?</i> 'what does it/they look like?'	
literally, 'how...?'	

## 5.2.5. Imperative

<i>ksaha!</i> 'come in!'	<i>musa (katcu) ksahahkoc!</i> 'don't come in!'
<i>psi te wen lintuc</i> '[may] everyone sing'	<i>musa wen lintuc</i> '[may] nobody sing'
<i>wicuhkemolihc Piyel</i> 'have P. help you'	<i>musa wicuhkemolihc Piyel</i> 'don't have...'

## 5.3. Sentences with Two or More Verbs

Combinations of sentences like those in Section 5.2 are structured like the examples in this section.

## 5.3.1. Conjunctions

Both Verbs Independent Indicative (Conjunctions)

<i>nkoti natam kosona nkoti naci kotunk</i> 'I am going to go fishing or go hunting'
<i>Mali wolitahasu 'sami peciye Piyel</i> 'Mary was happy because Peter arrived'
<i>Mali macehe, naka apc apaciye</i> 'Mary leaves, and she returns again'
<i>Mali macehe, kenuk ma te apc apaciye</i> 'Mary leaves, but she doesn't return again'
<i>apeq Piyel macehe, kenuk olu Mali natame</i>
'although Peter is leaving, nevertheless Mary is going fishing'
<i>Mali natame, apeq kahk Piyel macehe</i> 'Mary is going fishing, although Peter is leaving'

Independent Indicative and Subordinative (Sequence, Causation)

<i>kse-h-e naka 't-oli-nt-un</i> 'she comes in and she sings'
entering-go.AI-3.sg and 3-thus-sing.AI-Sub
<i>aqami te-hp wol-ess-u Piyel [w]-maca-h-an</i> 'it would be better for Peter to leave'
more emph-potential good-happen.II-0.sg.Ind Peter [3]-away-go.AI-Sub
<i>n-koti nat-am naka n-koti naci kotunk-an</i> 'I am going to go fishing and go hunting'
1-will-going.there.to-fish.AI and 1-will-going.there.to-hunt.AI-Sub
<i>n-kis-eh-t-uw-an-ok n-qoss-ok 'cihkikih-an-iya</i> 'I made my sons sweep'
1-past-do.to.TI-benef.TA-Sub-3.pl 1-son-3.pl 3-sweep.AI-Sub-non1.pl

## 5.3.2. Embedded Clauses with Changed Conjunct

<i>Piyel ma te kisi sankewi-kapuw-iw qeni-nt-aq</i> 'when Peter sings, he can't stand still'
Peter not emph be.able-calm-stand.AI-3.sg.Ind.neg while-sing.AI-3.sg.ChC
<i>kisi-nt-aq Piyel, on 'kotu-hp-in</i> 'after Peter sings, he is hungry'
past-sing.AI-3.sg.ChC Peter and.then 3-will-eat.meal.AI-Sub
<i>[n]-nonuw-a not ehpit kisintaq Sitan-sis-k</i> 'I know the woman who sang in Frederickton'
1-know.TA-dir:3.Ind that woman who.sang.AI St.Ann-dim-loc
<i>aci-cuwon su-peq weckuh-pah-ak kosona wiq-q-ahk</i>
'the flow changes direction when the tide is coming in or going out'
changing-flow.II sour-water hither-flow.II-0.sg.ChC or pulling-ebb.II-0.sg.ChC
<i>on te nuh-uwok epeskom-akon-ok meskuw-uk-ik</i> 'I found only three balls' (disappointed)
and.then emph three.AI-3.du <sup>38</sup> play.ball.AI-noun-3.pl find.TA-1dir:3.ChC-3.pl

## 5.3.3. Conditionals ('If...') with Unchanged Conjunct

<i>tokec li-nt-aq Piyel, ma te-hc n-kisi sankew-op-iw</i> 'if Peter sings, I won't be able to sit still'
if thus-sing.AI-3.sg.ChC P. not emph-fut 1-being.able-calm-sit.AI-1.sg.Ind.neg
<i>tokec li-nt-aq Piyel, cu oc n-uli-tahas</i> 'if Peter sings, then I'll be happy'
if thus-sing.AI-3.sg.ChC Peter certainly future 1-good-think.AI.Ind

## 5.3.4. Sequential Commands

Imperative and Subordinative

*Ksaha[!] naka ktopin.* 'Come in[!], and sit down.'

## 5.4. A Sample Text

The following excerpt is taken from *Wapapi Akonutomakonol: The Wampum Records* (Prince, 1921; Leavitt & Francis, 1990). It gives an indication of the richness of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet narrative.

*Wapap-i akonutom-akon-ol: The Wampum Records*  
white-string-PN-report.AI-noun-0.pl

<i>Pihce,</i>	<i>mecimi-hponol-t-ult-uwok</i>	<i>skicin-uwok.</i>
long.ago,	always-fight.TA- recip.AI-pl.AI-3.pl.Ind	person-3.pl
Long ago,	they were always fighting one another	the people. <sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup>This is a dual ending! The plural form, *nuhultuwok*, would mean 'they are (in) groups of three'.

<sup>39</sup>*Skicin* is commonly translated 'Indian' by speakers of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. Literally, *skic-in* seems to mean 'surface-dweller' (compare the proverb *skici-* 'on the surface'; i.e., an



*Pokahkoni-htuh-ut-ult-uwok.*  
bloody-strike.TA-recipe.AI-pl.AI-3.pl.Ind  
They struck one another bloodily.

*Kceyaw-iwok*  
great.many.AI-3.du.Ind<sup>40</sup>  
A great many

*skit-ap-ihik,*  
on.surface-male-3.pl  
men,

*ehpic-ik, naka wasis-ok nespí wsiki-y-uc-ik*  
woman-3.pl and child-3.pl to.weariness-tormented-make.TA-3.passive.ChC-3.pl  
women, and children they were weary of being tormented [by]

*yuhtol mecimihponolt-imk-il.*  
this.0.pl always.fight.recipe.AI-indef.ChC-0.pl  
these constant battles.

*Nit etuci*  
then at.time.that.PV<sup>41</sup>  
Then at that time

*ali-tahas-uwin-uwok, nekomaw tepi-tahatom-uhitit*  
vague-think.AI-doer-3.pl they attentively-think.about.TI-3.pl.ChC  
the wise men, they they decided [that]

*cuwi keq ley-u. Keq-oss oc eley-ik,*  
must.PV something happen.II-0.sg.Ind sthg.dim future happen.II-0.sg.ChC  
something must happen. Whatever would happen,

*cuwi ley-u te-hc na nokosay-iw. Nit etuci*  
must-happen.II-0.sg.Ind emph-fut also soon.PV-participle Then at.time.that  
must also happen soon. Then at that time

*msiw sisse pcitahk-ehitit kinuw-ehit-ahs-uwin-u*  
all scattering-send.AI+O-3.du.ChC particular-do.to.TI-do.habitually.AI-doer-obv.pl  
all in different directions they sent messengers (announcers)

*msi te el-op-it skicin.... Nit te tama peci-y-ahtit,*  
all emph thus-sit.AI-3sg.ChC person there emph where twd-go.AI.3.du.ChC  
everywhere that a person was situated.... Wherever they arrived,

*'t-iy-a-wa skicin-u, "K-peci-pt-ul-on-en*  
3-tell.TA.dir:3.Ind-non1.pl person-obv.pl 2-twd-carry.TI-[benef.TA]-2inv:1-Sub-1.pl  
they said to the people, "We bring you

aboriginal translation may have been simply 'person' or, in the plural, 'the people'. Nowadays, 'person' is *pom-aws-uwin* (along-live.AI-doer).

<sup>40</sup>All "dual" forms in this excerpt should be interpreted as collective plurals, while the true plurals, like the previous word, are "multi-plurals" (see Section 4.4).

<sup>41</sup>This preverb theoretically belongs to the verb *tepitahatomuhitit*, in the next line. The speaker, Lewis Mitchell, may have been using it as a particle, because both *etuci* and *tepitahatomuhitit* show initial change; or he may have applied initial change again to the main verb because he had interposed a digression — *alitahasuwinuwok, nekomaw* — since the preverb was introduced. Modern speakers sometimes do this as well.

*woli akonutomakon."* Nit te *wolasihk-awot-in,*  
good-report." then emph greet.TA-recipe.AI-indef.Ind  
good news." Then they greeted one another,

*kisi putuwos-in li kis-olutom-uk. Msi te*  
past-meet.in.council.AI-indef.Ind thus-past-discuss.AI-3.du all emph  
they met in council [about] how they [would] decide. Every[where]

*tekk-op-it skicin kinuweht-uw-a*  
until-be.situated.AI-3.sg.ChC person announce.TI-benef.TA-3.sg.passive.Ind  
as far off as [s/he] was located a person was notified [that]

*nit kci lakut-uwakon kotuwi-ht-as-u. Msiw skicin*  
that great be.kin.recipe.AI-noun will-make.TI-passive.II-0.sg.Ind all person  
that great Confederacy was going to be made. Every person

*nut-ok akonutomakon, msiw woli-tahas-u. Msiw*  
hear.TI-3.sg.ChC report all good-think.AI-3.sg.Ind all  
who heard the news, every one was happy. Everyone

*'siwaci-y-uku-n-iyá skat keq*  
3-tiring-make.TA-inv:3-Sub-non1.pl that.not anything  
it made them weary [of the fact] that nothing

*kisi l-ehit-uhitihq aqamok maton-of-imok.*  
be.able-thus-do.to.TI-3.du.ChC.neg more fight.TA-recipe.AI-indef.ChC  
could they do about it [any]more the fighting.

*Nit msiw kehs-uhkomiks-it 'pocitahk-an-*  
then all many-be.related.groupAI-3.sg.ChC 3-send.AI-Sub.AI+O-[obv.pl]  
Then every tribe sent them,

*'putuwos-uwin-um, nis-u kosona aqamok, naci*  
3-meet.in.council.AI-doer-poss.-[obv.pl] two-obv.pl or more go.there.PV-  
their councillors, two or more, to go and

*wici-ht-aq-ik kci lakutuwakon, kci mawe*  
accompanying-make.TI-3.sg.ChC-3.pl great.kinship great-joint.PN-  
make jointly a great Confederacy, a great joint

*putuwosuwakon. Nit msiw kisi mawe-ws-ehitit, nit*  
council.meeting then all past-gathering-walk.AI-3.du.ChC then  
council meeting. Then all when they had gathered together, then

*[w]-mace tpi-tahatom-on-iyá tan op al te*  
[3]-beginning-attentively-think.about.TI-Sub-non1.pl how potential vague emph  
they began to think about it how [they] would



' <i>t-ol-luk-hot-in-iyā...</i> 3-thus-do.AI-pl.AI-Sub-non1.pl do it.	<i>Yukt kci sakom-ak</i> these great-chief-3.pl These great chiefs	<i>'-tiy-aniya</i> 3-say.to.TA-Sub-non1.pl say to
<i>kotok-ihī,</i> other-obv.pl the others, here,	<i>"Yut el-ap-imok</i> thus-look.AI-indef.ChC in looking	<i>asit weckuh-uhs-ihīq,</i> in.back hither-walk.AI-12.du.ChC back [where] we've walked to
<i>k-nomiht-un-en</i> 2-see.TI-Sub/Ind-1.pl we see	<i>eli pokahkon-apt-uwoq.</i> thus-bloody-leave.tracks.AI-12.du.ChC how we have left bloody tracks.	
<i>K-nomiht-un-ennu-l</i> 2-see.TI-Sub/Ind-1.pl-0.sg We see	<i>kehs-ok</i> be.many.II-0.sg.ChC <sup>42</sup> many	<i>ewapoli-k-k-il.</i> wrongly-have.form.II-3.sg.ChC-0.pl wrongs.
<i>Yuhtol</i> these.0.pl These	<i>pekahkon-ik-il</i> be.bloody.II-3.sg.ChC-0.pl bloody	<i>tom-hikon-ossis-ol</i> apart-tool-dim-0.pl hatchets,
		<i>olu,</i> however however,
<i>naka</i> and and	<i>tap-ihik, pahq-ihil,</i> bow-3.pl arrow-0.pl bows, arrows,	<i>cuwi puskon-as-uwol</i> must-bury.TI-passive.II-0.pl must be buried
		<i>askomiw."</i> forever forever."
<i>Nit</i> then Then	<i>te msiw</i> emph all all	<i>'t-oli kis-olutom-on-iyā</i> 3-thus-past-discuss.AI+O-Sub-non1.pl decided to
		<i>'t-olakut-in-iyā.</i> 3-be.kin.recip.AI-Sub-non1.pl form a confederacy.

## Abbreviations Used in the Morpheme Glosses

· raised dot	separates morphemes in the words	du	dual
- hyphen	separates morphemes in the glosses	dub	dubitative preterit
· period	joins multiple words in the translation of a single morpheme	emph	emphatic
[ ]	(1) in words: enclose a morpheme not written in standard orthography and usually not pronounced; (2) in glosses: enclose a zero morpheme	fut	future
( )	enclose dropped or reduced morpheme(s)	II	inanimate intransitive
<	derived from	Imp	Imperative mode
(?)	speculative translation or unknown	Ind	Independent Indicative mode
0	inanimate	indef	actor is indefinite (person and number unstated)
1	first person ( <i>nil, nilun</i> )	inv:0	inverse, actor is 0; i.e., TA with inanimate subject
12	first pers. inclusive ( <i>kilun</i> )	inv:3	inverse, actor is 3
13	first pers. exclusive ( <i>nilun</i> )	2inv:1	inverse, actor is 1 and goal is 2 (also 2inv:3, etc.)
1.pl	'we' ( <i>nilun</i> or <i>kilun</i> )	loc	locative
2, 2.pl	second pers. ( <i>kil, kiluwaw</i> )	neg	negative
3, 3.pl	third person (animate; <i>nekom, nekomaw</i> )	non1	excluding first person
abs	absentative	noun	noun suffix
AI	animate intransitive	obv	obviative
AI+O	AI with direct object	particle	particle suffix
benef	benefactive	passive	passive voice
ChC	Changed Conjunct mode	pl	plural
dep	dependent noun	PN	prenoun
dim	diminutive	poss	possessive
dir:3	direct, goal is 3	prog	progressive
1dir:3	direct, actor is 1 and goal is 3 (also 2dir:1, etc.)	PV	preverb
		recip	reciprocal
		refl	reflexive
		sg	singular
		Sub	Subordinative mode
		TA	transitive animate
		TA+O	double object verb
		TI	transitive inanimate
		UnC	Unchanged Conjunct mode

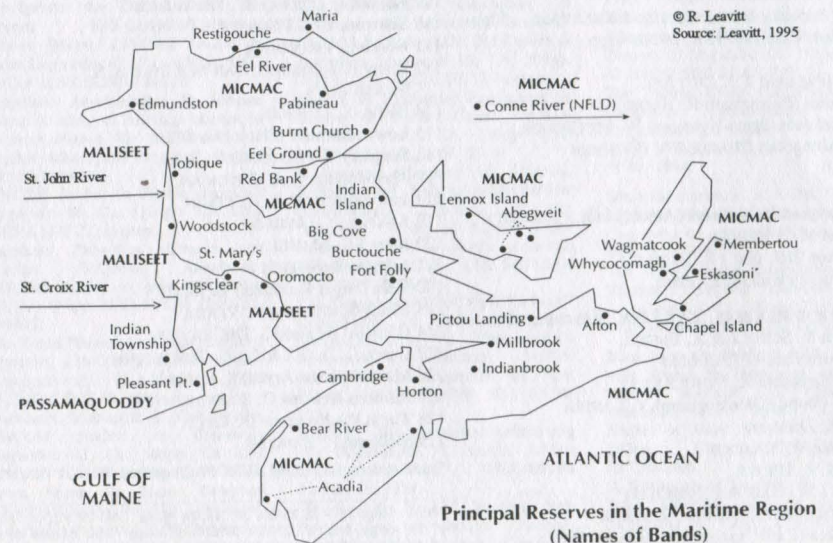
<sup>42</sup>This *ii* Changed Conjunct form is both singular and plural.



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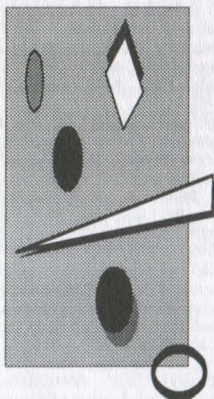
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