Fragments of Piscataway:
A Preliminary Description

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy

Lisa Mackie

d University
hilology, Linguistics and Phonetics
y of Linguistics
nity 2006

Contents

List of Abbreviations

PA	Proto-Algonquian	SG	singular
AI	animate intransitive verb	PL	plural
II	inanimate intransitive verb	1	first person
TA	transitive animate verb	2	second person
TI	transitive inanimate verb	3	third person
NA	animate noun	C	any consonant
NI	inanimate noun	V	any vowel
DIR	direct		
INV	inverse		
OBV	obviative		
IMP	imperative		
LOC	locative		
NEG	negative		
CONJ	conjunction		
PV	preverb		

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Project Goals

The goal of the present project is to provide a preliminary descriptive analysis of the language found in a short manuscript in the Special Collections of the Georgetown University Library. The manuscript is a five-page Catholic catechism written in an Eastern Algonquian language. It is the only extant record of the language which is presumed to be Piscataway (also called Conoy). The identification of the language is based on the attribution of authorship to Father Andrew White, a seventeenth-century English Jesuit missionary. By providing as much of a description as possible through morphological and phonological analysis of the data, I hope to recover some knowledge about this extinct language and add to the sparse data on Eastern Algonquian languages. Because the goal of the project is to uncover the data in the manuscript, no theoretical viewpoint has been adopted regarding morphological entities or processes.

Photographs of the manuscript pages are reproduced in full in Appendix A. My own transcription of the pages is found in Appendix B. I have consulted the original manuscript at Georgetown and have made extensive use of the photographs in order to create the transcription. Please refer to these two appendices to see the data in context.

1.2 Challenges

Numerous challenges are posed by working with this source. Mary Hass notes that "American Indian philology poses all the problems of philology in general plus a few that are rather special to it." These are 1) orthographies 2) interpretation of orthographies 3) theoretical orientation from century to century 4) translation and 5) extinct and unidentified languages (Haas 1975: 92). These problems are all relevant to the present study and to them should be added 6) condition of the document. The five pages are damaged, particularly on the edges, making some words nearly illegible while other phrases have been lost entirely. The writer of the catechism was not a native speaker and seems to have been inconsistent in his spelling. The content of the document is the Catholic catechism, so that the meanings of words and morphemes are obscured by the foreign subject matter. That is, before the arrival of European explorers, missionaries, and colonists, the Algonquian-speaking people would not have had words for many Christian concepts. Missionaries attempting translations of Christian prayers and catechisms would have had to adapt related terms or terms which did not necessarily capture the same meaning.

It is possible that the author did not learn the language well and made errors of simplification or imposed his own English syntactic structure on the language. Or, like other European explorers and missionaries he may not have learned the full language but a simplified or pidginized form.

Some of these problems, like the damaged pages, are unsolvable. However, there are methods of coping with the others. One part of the process of analyzing the text is determining a broad translation of the prayers. The text itself includes some translations

or indications in English and Latin. Seventeenth-century versions of the prayers and religious texts can also be used for comparison.

Other missionaries (particularly Moravians) and travelers made studies of similar languages. There is extensive documentation of the Delaware languages, which are closely related to Piscataway, as well as contemporary documents on Eastern Algonquian languages like Narragansett. The language most closely related to Piscataway is Nanticoke. They may, in fact, be dialects of the same language. A few word lists collected in the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries provide useful translations of words which are very similar to ones in the manuscript. And, of course, a familiarity with Algonquian morphology in general provides a basis for understanding which morphological entities or processes are represented in the text and which are absent.

Those challenges which cannot be overcome, such as the physical damage, mean that the results of the study are necessarily imperfect. Even if the document were whole, it could not provide enough data to provide a complete picture of the language. The data that can be salvaged offers only partial evidence of the phonology and morphology of Piscataway.

1.3 Attribution

The attribution of the manuscript to Andrew White was made by a Georgetown librarian, George Barringer, in 1971 based on comparison with a letter written by Andrew White in 1638 (Barringer et al. 1973). Barringer writes, “I've done a lot of handwriting comparisons and such work in the years since, but rarely have I come across a specimen more instantly obvious” (Barringer [p.c.]). The letter was written to Lord Baltimore on

February 20, 1638, about the same time that the manuscript could have been written. The letter is in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. I have compared the manuscript with the letter to Lord Baltimore as well as with earlier letters found in the Jesuit Archives in London. The manuscript hand and the Baltimore letter are remarkably similar, while the earlier letters are not as evidently written by the same person. However, these early letters are written in secretary hand while the manuscript was probably not intended to be a formal document. To my eye, the attribution of the manuscript to Andrew White seems fairly certain.

There are historical references to another possible author, Jesuit missionary Roger Rigbie, who wrote a catechism while living in Patuxent. James Axtell writes that Rigbie (or Rigby) was making progress in conversation with the Patuxents and had composed the catechism with the help of an interpreter before he died in 1646. However, the evidence of the handwriting points to White. Throughout the paper I refer to the language as Piscataway and the author as Andrew White. These are likely identifications, though not meant to be taken as facts. Neither the author nor the language is identified in the manuscript.

1.4 Previous Work

I have not found any detailed published analysis of the language of this manuscript. William Leap has made a translation of the prayers. When I contacted him, he said he had given the translation to the tribe, a group called the Piscataway Nation.[1] I

[1] They are one of at least two groups who have applied for state and federal recognition as descendents of the Piscataways.

have not yet been able to obtain a copy of his translation but am actively seeking it. I do not know if the translation is based on a close reading or is an approximation of the catechism.

The only scholarly mention of the manuscript is found in an essay by Ives Goddard. He says the prayers "show some pidgin features as well as rudimentary Algonquian inflectional morphology" (Goddard 1996: 18). He does not cite any source for this opinion. Presumably, he examined the manuscript himself. This analysis is discussed in Chapter 6.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is broken into several chapters with additional section headings. Chapter two presents the historical background as well as a description of the manuscript with an introduction to some comparative materials. Chapter three gives an outline of Algonquian morphology in order to place the findings within the framework of the language family. Chapter four presents the data with commentary, making extensive use of comparative materials. Chapter five explores possible phonetic and phonological properties of the language suggested by the data while morphological characteristics are proposed in chapter six. Goddard's claims are discussed in chapters six and seven, which briefly touches on syntax.

Chapter 2 Background

The Piscataway language, a member of the Eastern Algonquian family, is extinct. According to the *The Languages of Native North America*, Piscataway, also known as Conoy (from the Iroquois name for the tribe), was a dialect of Nanticoke. This designation is based on the scant available evidence of both languages. It is related to the group of Delaware languages, and more closely to Powhatan, which was once spoken in the region of present-day Virginia.[2] Among the three divisions of the Algonquian family—Central, Plains, and Eastern—Eastern Algonquian is the least well documented.

The original speakers lived on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay, now part of the state of Maryland. Specifically, they inhabited the area of the lower Potomac and Patuxent River drainages. There were about five distinct "polities" grouped together under the leadership of the Piscataway chief—Anacostan, Piscataway, Mattawoman, Nanjemoys, and Portobacco (Clark and Rountree 1993: 115). By the 1630's there had been thirteen rulers, descended along matrilineal lines. Just across the bay, eastern shore tribes were among the earliest indigenous people to come into contact with foreign explorers and missionaries. In 1608, John Smith traveled along the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay where he recorded encountering tribes who were similar in language and material culture to the Virginia Powhatans. He recorded meeting the Nanticokes, whom he called Cuscarawaoks. These tribes were probably in close contact with the Piscataway-led groups on the western shore (Davidson 1993: 137-47).

[2] There is also not much documentation of Powhatan but the language was recently reconstructed for use in the film "The New World."

Once the English began settling in the region, the Piscataway and neighboring tribes were decimated by disease and displaced by the colonists as well as the invading Susquehannocks. By 1748, those who survived largely drifted away from Maryland and joined other tribes (Mithun 1999: 332).

2.1.1 Maryland Mission

George Calvert (Baron of Baltimore) was a convert to Catholicism who had served in the court of King James I. His first attempt to start a colony, in about 1672, in Newfoundland was called Avalon. Not having had much financial success, he applied to King Charles I for another charter for lands north and east of the Potomac River. He died before the charter was issued in 1632 and it passed to his son Cecil Calvert. Cecil appointed his brother Leonard governor of the new colony. In 1634, Leonard arrived with a group of English colonists, including Jesuit priest Andrew White who was superior of the Catholic mission.

Jesuit missions had been sent to New France in 1611 where work recording the native languages was begun. North America, however, was not a priority for the Jesuits and "Maryland was indeed a very minor enterprise of the London province of the Society of Jesus" (Codignola 1999: 114).

2.1.2 Father Andrew White

Andrew White was born in London about 1579 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. During his lifetime, Catholicism was outlawed in England and many

Catholics looked to Spain and France for support. White began his studies at the Jesuit school in Valladolid, Spain, in 1595. He returned to England while still a novice and was imprisoned during the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, after which he left England, though he frequently returned. He took his vows in London in 1619. During the 1620's he was variously employed as a professor of theology or sacred scripture, prefect of studies, consultor, and confessor at Valladolid and at the Jesuit noviciate at Louvain and later at Liège where it was relocated. He taught scripture, dogmatic theology, Greek, and Hebrew. He had conservative theological beliefs and adhered strictly to the views of Thomas Aquinas, at times coming into conflict with the general of the Jesuit order, which may explain why he was intermittently sent on missions to England in between periods of teaching.[3]

As a Jesuit, White would have spent many years studying Latin grammar. Jesuit education followed highly uniform policies and procedures, providing an indication of the kind of linguistic background White would have had. Students generally started with Latin declensions and conjugations with "a smattering of Greek" leading to Latin syntax and the introduction of Greek morphology (Hanzeli 1969:34). After a "a long and intensive training in Latin and its grammar," Jesuit missionaries "spent years of their early career teaching Latin and various subjects in Latin to youngsters in Europe" (Hanzeli 1969:33). All this preparation probably gave White a familiarity with different language systems enabling him to cope better than some with the wholly unfamiliar Algonquian languages.

White joined Cecil Calvert's voyage to Maryland with one other Jesuit, arriving in 1634. He was about 55 years old, older than most Jesuit missionaries. His description

[3] Historian Thomas Hughes makes this assumption.

of the journey and first few weeks in the new world, "Relatio Itineris in Marilandiam," a sort of advertisement for the colony, is now an important early document in the history of the state of Maryland. This was a letter of the type intended for general publication as opposed to letters written as reports to the authorities in London or Rome. He describes a land rich in resources; he says the Potomac is teeming with fish and compared to the Potomac River, "the Thames seems a mere rivulet" (MHS 1874: 31).

The colonists soon encountered the native population. White records that Calvert realized that "several rulers were subject to the emperor at Piscataway" and approached the chief with an interpreter, a Protestant from Virginia, in order to declare his peaceful intentions. The colonists took over a city inhabited by the Yaocomico, one of the groups subject to the Piscataway. The Yaocomico were willing to give up the land to avoid attacks from the Susquehannocks, an Iroquois group, though some remained among the Europeans.

White describes the appearance and character of the natives and gives a very brief sketch of their religious views. He warns that the description is incomplete because he does not know the language and does not "put much confidence in" the Protestant interpreters (MHS 1874: 41). They acknowledge "one God of Heaven" (or "sky" in other translations) as well as an evil spirit called "Ochre." He reports that they worship corn and fire and they "seem to have some knowledge of the Flood, by which the world was destroyed, on account of the wickedness of mankind" (MHS 1974: 42).[4]

Subsequent yearly reports sent to the Jesuit province in London recount his success at converting the chief of the Piscataway. In 1635, the missionaries had little

[4] Clark and Rountree note that there is no other evidence of a flood myth among related tribes.

success among the Indians because the "language is slowly acquired by our Countrymen, and can hardly be written" (MHS 1874: 54). However, by 1639, all the priests "are in places far distant—thus, doubtless, that so they expect to obtain an earlier acquaintance with the barbarian language, and propagate more widely the sacred faith of the gospel" (MHS 1874: 62). White had made some progress with the Piscataways:

> Father Andrew White is distant still farther, one hundred and twenty miles, to wit: at Kittamaquindi, the metropolis of Pascatoe, having lived in the palace with the king himself of the place, whom they call Tayac, from the month of June, 1639 (MHS 1874: 63).

The letter reports that the Tayac was fond of Father White because White had appeared in dreams and had also cured him of an illness with medicines and bleeding.

In 1640, the annual letter records that White baptized Kittamaquund (also spelled Chitomachen), the chief, and his wife and children in a special ceremony. The Tayac and his wife also had a Christian wedding, began wearing European clothing, and changed their names to Charles and Mary. Their seven-year-old daughter was sent to be educated and live among the English colonists.

After the ceremony White became ill with a fever which he claimed, in a letter to Calvert, damaged his hearing. He noticed "a decay of my hearing when people speake low and I feare in tyme I may loose altogether" (White 1638: 202).

The mission was not very successful compared with similar French Jesuit missions of the time. Disease took two of the first missionaries as well as many settlers and natives. In 1645, during a Protestant revolt, White and another priest, Thomas Copley, were arrested and shipped to England for trial, though they were eventually released. White requested permission to return to the colony, but it was not granted. He

died in 1655 or 1656 in London. Maryland eventually became a Protestant colony under Cromwell.

2.2 The Manuscript

Father William McSherry, one of the presidents of Georgetown University, is credited with discovering White's "Relatio" during his studies in Rome in 1832. He copied the manuscript as well as numerous annual letters, which were later published by the Maryland Historical Society. He also found a catechism in Piscataway authored by White and may have seen a grammar and dictionary.[5] These he did not copy and they were subsequently lost or destroyed, possibly when the Jesuit archives in Rome were confiscated by the Italian government in 1873. Attempts to find them have been unsuccessful (Kenny 1961: 31). I have also contacted the current archivist of the British province of the Society of Jesus, Thomas McCoog, who said he had not encountered any manuscripts by White in the archives in London or Rome. The five-page manuscript at Georgetown is the only remnant of Father White's writings on the Piscataway language.

The pages are bound at the front of a book on the administration of the sacraments, *Manuale sacerdotum hoc est, ritus administrandi sacramenta*. The book was printed in 1610 at Douai and rebound in the nineteenth century, probably at Georgetown. Before 1953, it was kept at the Jesuit residence in Leonardtown, Maryland. The handwritten catechism on the five pages seems to be unfinished. The document was

[5] The earliest source I have found reporting the existence of a grammar, dictionary, and catechism written by Andrew White is the Florus Anglo-Bavaricus printed in 1685: "Quo posteris consuleret, Grammaticam, Dictionarium, & Catechismum barbaro gentis illius idiomate, difficillimo labore conscripsit." (Liège 1685: 56)

probably written between 1634 and 1645, though most likely sometime after 1639 when White was reported to be living with the Tayac. The script style is not typical secretary hand which would have been used for official documents. Letters written in the hand of Andrew White do, however, exhibit secretary hand. It also does not employ many italic elements. Some letters are linked but care has been taken to produce most letters individually. There are a few features which suggest the influence of secretary style, such as the loop of the "p," but on the whole for a seventeenth-century document it is surprisingly legible and without flourish or ornament.

The majority of the catechism is written in Piscataway, with a few lines in Latin and English. The content comprises four prayers, the Ten Commandments, and the Precepts of the Catholic Church. The first prayer—the Sign of the Cross—on page one, is followed by the Latin translation. On the same page is the Pater Noster, indicated by the abbreviation "P~ N~." Below the Piscataway version is a partial English translation which begins, "my f.~ w^{c}h." The bottom of the page is damaged and most of the rest of the translation is missing though a few words from the end can be read on page two.

On page two, the "Ave Maria" is followed by a full translation in English. The next prayer is entitled "The Creede" but is not translated. This prayer is the longest and most difficult to translate. It begins with a false start, four lines which have been crossed out. However, portions of these lines can be deciphered to help transcribe the second beginning of the prayer which begins at the bottom of the page, also damaged and difficult to read. Page three is filled by the greater part of Creed. Page four consists of the "10 Commaund"—Ten Commandments. These are numbered. On the final page is "The five precepts of the Holy Church" though only three are included.

2.3 Other Primary Sources

Discovering the morphological components and the meanings of the Piscataway text is a process of assembling information and clues from a variety of sources. There are lists of a few words of Nanticoke, the Algonquian language most closely related to Piscataway, preserved by the American Philosophical Society. These were assembled by anthropologist Frank G. Speck. Whether or not these are all actually the same language is unclear, although they are all from the Algonquian family. Other, better documented, languages also provide clues. Moravian missionary David Zeisberger extensively documented Lenape/Delaware[6] in the eighteenth century, a language closely related to the one being explored. These sources primarily provide comparative lexical items but also sometimes provide grammatical descriptions. More recent descriptive work by linguists such as Bloomfield, Voegelin, and Goddard provides a fuller picture of specific languages. Following is a chronological list of historical authors and works which provide useful comparative data.

Roger Williams was a clergyman who lived first in the Massachusetts colony, beginning about 1646, and later moved to Rhode Island where he learned Narragansett. While on a voyage to England to obtain a charter for the new colony of Rhode Island, he composed a grammar of the language entitled *A Key into the Language of America*. It is organized as a phrasebook for travelers.

[6] Lenape is also called Unami, which is the name used in more recent publications on the language.

Jonathan Edwards, Jr., son of the celebrated theologian, grew up on the Stockbridge, Massachusetts reservation where his father was pastor. He learned to speak Mohegan (Muhhekaneew) fluently as a child. He published a translation in 1787 of the Pater Noster prayer in that language in an article which traces the similarities among a number of Algonquian languages. He noted that "almost every man who writes Indian words, spells them in a peculiar manner…" (Edwards 1787).

John G. E. Heckewelder collected a list of Nanticoke words in 1785. He was a Moravian missionary who worked with David Zeisberger in Ohio where many of the Lenape/Delaware had settled.

Williams Van Murray collected Nanticoke words in 1792 near the Choptank River in Maryland. He collected these at the request of Thomas Jefferson who provided him with a questionnaire. Of his word list, Frank G. Speck notes that "the letters are poorly formed, it being impossible often to distinguish between t, and l; s, c, e and i; k and h; g and q; c and o, to mention a few cases. The spellings of the same syllable are inconsistent throughout the document. Diacritical marks are arbitrarily used and again without consistency" (Speck 1927: 43).

Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States, in 1817 assembled a list of Nanticoke words from an unknown source. He had a general interest in recording the languages of America.

David Zeisberger was a Moravian missionary who worked with the Lenape/Delaware in Ohio and wrote an extensive grammar of the language, published in 1827. The grammar was translated from German by linguist Peter Stephen DuPonceau.

Frank G. Speck collected all the previous Nanticoke information and added his own in 1914 from his work at the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada. Among those who collected Nanticoke data, his work represents the most modern methods. He uses a system of phonetic transcription. He believed the language he recorded at Six Nations was actually Piscataway/Conoy rather than Nanticoke.

Leonard Bloomfield, in addition to his importance to the history of linguistics, was influential in the study of Algonquian languages and reconstruction. He published a reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian in 1946 and a grammar of Menominee in 1962. The Proto-Algonquian reconstruction is based primarily on four Central Algonquian languages: Cree, Menominee, Ojibwa, and Fox. He used someone else's work on Fox—he never learned the language. Hass argues that "Bloomfield's success is [sic] reconstructing Proto-Algonquian is of great significance in demonstrating that principles of historical linguistics can be applied to unwritten languages" (Hass 1969: 23).

C. F. Voegelin, a contemporary of Bloomfield's composed a grammatical description of Lenape/Delaware published in 1946. He worked primarily with one 74-year-old informant from Oklahoma who spoke a dialect of Unami.

2.4 Conclusion

Although the Andrew White manuscript is only five pages long, it represents the intersection of many historical and linguistic threads. As an object of linguistic study, it presents numerous challenges, from physical defects to conceptual confusion as the author attempted to translate culturally significant concepts into a completely foreign

tongue. However, it may contain a wealth of data on an extinct language. Through careful observation and comparison, some of the information can be recovered.

Through the years, many missionaries of different kinds have attempted translations of Christian texts into Algonquian languages, some producing useful information on the languages. Early work was carried out in near isolation and there was no uniform system of transcription or of grammatical description. In the nineteenth century, these languages began to be studied in their own right rather than as a means to some other end. Often, the work of missionaries and early linguists and anthropologists is all that is left of a language. Though often incomplete, these traces are useful in building a picture of the family. From the mid-twentieth century, there has been a great deal of work on the reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian. Early texts and reconstructed forms provide important sources of comparison for the Piscataway manuscript.

Chapter 3 Outline of Algonquian Morphology

3.1 Overview

The Algonquian language family[7] comprises a large and interesting group of more than thirty polysynthetic, non-configurational[8] languages originating in Canada and the United States. Although many of the languages are no longer spoken or are in danger of extinction, a few still have a significant number of speakers. There is a long history of documentation and research on the family, beginning in the seventeenth century when traders, missionaries, and colonists came into contact with Algonquian speakers.

Algonquian includes three major subdivisions: Plains, Central, and Eastern. These divisions no longer indicate geographical groupings since great numbers of speakers, especially Eastern speakers, migrated away from their original homelands. Plains Algonquian languages include: Blackfoot, Cheyenne, and Arapaho-Atsina-Nawathinehena. Among the Central languages are: Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, Miami-Illinois, and Shawnee. The Eastern languages include: Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Eastern Abenaki (Penobscot), Western Abenaki, Massachusett (Natick), Narragansett, Mohegan-Pequot, Montauk, Quiripi, Unquachog, Mahican, Munsee (Delaware), Unami (Lenape/Delaware), Nanticoke, Powhatan, and Carolina Algonquian. There are or were often several dialects of one language. Reconstructions have been made of Proto-Algonquian and Proto-

[7] The family is also known as Algic with the inclusion of two distantly related languages, Yurok and Wiyot.

[8] Bruening and Rackowski (2002) argue that Algonquian languages may not be non-configurational.

Eastern-Algonquian. Eastern Algonquian is a genetic subgroup of the larger family.[9] At the time of European colonization, Eastern speakers were divided from Central speakers by a number of tribes of Iroquoian speakers. The Eastern languages were originally spoken along the Atlantic coast of North America.

Languages of the Algonquian family share many syntactic and morphological features. Words are built from roots by means of a variety of morphological operations such as affixation, incorporation, and reduplication. Algonquian languages exhibit rich inflectional morphology—grammatical functions, such as subject and object, are not expressed by word order but by verbal inflection.[10] The derivational morphology is also quite complex.

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of Algonquian morphology in order to provide a frame of reference for the morphology that is discoverable in the manuscript. Because there is an extensive Algonquianist literature, certain terms are conventionally used that do not necessarily coincide with terms used in other linguistic contexts. One example is the division of verbal paradigms into "orders."

In the following discussion, examples taken from various texts have not been standardized. I have generally kept the orthographic or phonetic representation of the original. Also, although I do provide examples from specific languages, I have not included discussion of allomorphic alternation. It is an important aspect of the morphology but is quite language specific.

---

[9] Proulx does not accept that Eastern Algonquian forms a genetic subgroup (Proulx 2003).

[10] Dahlstrom suggests that "verbal and nominal inflection is so similar that it may be that inflections do not express grammatical category, only number, person, etc." That is to say that only certain inflections participate in assigning grammatical functions while others, apparently, simply indicate number, for example (Dahlstrom1986: 15).

3.2 Nominal Morphology

Nouns are lexically specified as animate or inanimate. This gender classification often corresponds to the semantic animacy or inanimacy of the noun, though not always. In Potawatami, for example, body parts are inanimate, but the word for "fur" /mʊk:ʊtakʊn/, is animate. An unexpectedly animate noun is /wapʊkʊn/ "clay." Plants are generally inanimate, blackberry (/mʊk:ʊtemʊn/) being an exception. The animate class generally includes people, animals, and some objects (Anderson 1992).

The three types of nouns are simple, compound, and derived. Nouns may be inflected for number, obviation, and possession. Additionally, nouns may be affixed for person and number of possessor.

3.2.1 Number

Table (1) below illustrates a few inflections of animate and inanimate Fox nouns.

1) Fox Nouns			
	Animate		**Inanimate**
		Obviative	
Singular	ineniwa "man"	ineniwani "(other) man"	miišaami "sacred bundle"
Plural	ineniwaki "men"	ineniwahi "(other) men"	miišaamani "sacred bundles"
	(Bloomfield 1946: 95)		

This table shows that animate and inanimate nouns take different plural endings and that the function of the plural morpheme may be combined with other functions such as marking obviation.

3.2.2 Obviative

A notable feature of Algonquian languages is the system of obviation which distinguishes two types of third person. A third person who is the focus of a statement is the proximate, all others are obviative. According to Dahlstrom, "the proximate third person may be the topic of discourse" and is "usually the focus of the speaker's empathy" (Dahlstrom 1984:108). This distinction is indicated by obviative affixes. The proximate subject does not undergo any affixation. Some languages, such as Plains Cree, also distinguish between a nearer and farther obviative. Table (2) illustrates the use of obviative morphology to distinguish the third person who is the focus of the sentence from other third persons. (Note that the distinction is made in noun and verb inflection as well as on demonstrative pronouns.)

2) Plains Cree Obviative				
awa	pe·yak	na·pe·sis	o·hta·wiya	e·h-okima·wiyit,
this	one	boy	his father.OBV	be chief.OBV
misatimwah	ite·h	e·y-aya·yit,	e·kote·h	aya·w;
horse.OBV	LOC	be.OBV	there	be.3
"A certain boy (PROX) whose father (OBV) was chief, where the horses (OBV) were, there he (PROX) was;"				

In Plains Cree, inanimate nouns do not take morphological affixes for obviation. (Other languages, for example, Blackfoot, do mark the obviative for inanimate nouns.) Number is usually ambiguous for obviative nouns. In contrast, table (1) shows plural suffixation for the obviative in Fox.

The proximate/obviative distinction is indicated on nouns, verbs, and demonstrative pronouns. In clauses involving more than one third person, use of the obviative is obligatory. In other cases, it is an optional stylistic device.

3.2.3 Possessive

Possession is indicated on the possessed noun by person and number affixes. In Plains Cree, nouns possessed by a third person are obviative. The obviative marker and the plural marker for the possessed noun follow the suffix which indicates the plural or obviative possessor. In Potawatomi, possessed obviative nouns cannot take the plural suffix and are ambiguous for number. Certain nouns, such as those for kin and body parts, are dependent (or bound) and obligatorily take a possessive affix.

3) Plains Cree Possessive Affix Paradigm		
ni-maskisin	my shoe	
ki-maskisin	your shoe	
o-maskisin	his/her shoe	
ni-maskisin-inan	our (exclusive) shoe	
ki-maskisin-inaw	our (inclusive) shoe	
ki-maskisin-iwaw	your (plural) shoe	
o-maskisin-iwaw	their shoe	
o-maskisin-iyiw	his/her (obviative) shoe	(Dahlstrom 1986: 14)

In table (3), person is indicated by a prefix while suffixes designate number and obviation. This paradigm is very similar to person and number marking for verbs, described below.

3.3 Verbal Morphology

There are four lexical categories of verbs: Animate Intransitive (AI), Inanimate Intransitive (II), Transitive Animate (TA), and Transitive Inanimate (TI). These categories are based on the transitivity of the verb and the animacy of the associated argument. Transitive verbs are categorized according to the animacy of the object while intransitive verbs are categorized by the subject. Verbs often come in pairs of animate and inanimate.

4) Plains Cree Verb Pair		
Animate	**Inanimate**	
mihkosi-w-ak asiniy-ak be red 3 PL rock PL "The rocks are red."	mihkwa-w-a maskisin-a be red 3 PL shoe PL "The shoes are red."	(Dahlstrom 1986: 16)

From table (4), the two intransitive verbs *mihkosi-* and *mihkwa-* have similar meanings but *mihkosi-* is restricted to use with animate subjects while *mihkwa-* may only be used with inanimate subjects. (In fact, these are not two distinct roots but are both built from one root *mihkw-* which is discussed in section 3.5.)

According to Bloomfield (1946), there were historically five orders (an Algonquianist concept), or what might be called inflectional paradigms. These are the

independent, conjunct, imperative, interrogative, and prohibitive.[11] Not all Algonquian languages attest all five orders. The Cree-Montaignais-Naskapi group, for example, includes only the independent, conjunct, and imperative orders (Brittain 2001).

Each order is further divided into modes (another Algonquianist term). In Western Naskapi, the independent order, commonly used for statements, may be conjugated in the indicative, indirect, or dubitative modes. The indicative and dubitative may be neutral or preterit. The indirect can be expressed in the past or present. The conjunct order, often used for subordinate clauses and questions, is divided into the indicative, habitual, and dubitative. The indicative may be neutral or subjunctive and the dubitative may be neutral or preterit.

The modes, as well as the orders, vary across languages. The modes of Menominee are the indicative, quotative, interrogative, present, and preterit. The indicative is used not just for statements, but also for hortative utterances such as "let's go." The quotative is used for hearsay. The interrogative is for yes or no questions and is also used in exclamations expressing wonder (Bloomfield 1962).

3.3.1 Person and Number

Prefixes are used to indicate person in certain paradigms. Suffixes designate the plural. As Dahlstrom notes, these affixes are similar to the nominal possessive markers (Dahlstrom 1986: 15). The first person plural may be inclusive (including the addressee) or exclusive. Third person may be proximate or obviative. No distinction is made for

[11] Some authors combine the imperative and prohibitive orders, cf. Hockett (1948).

male or female in the third person. Table (5) provides the prefixes and suffixes of three Algonquian languages for the Animate Intransitive category.

5) AI Person and Plural Affixes			
	Unami (Delaware)	Plains Cree	Potawatomi
1 SG	n-	ni-	n-
2 SG	k-	ki-	k-
3 SG	-w	-w	Ø
1 PL (exclusive)	n--hməna	ni--nan	n--mən
1 PL (inclusive)	k--hməna	ki--nanaw	k--mən
2 PL	k--hmwa	ki--nawaw	k--m
3 PL	-wak	-wak	-k
3 OBV	-n	-yiwa	-n

Menominee has another prefix used for indefinite persons, *mɛ*-. This prefix may be used with certain bound morphemes. It could be translated as "someone." As can be seen from the table, the affixes are quite similar even between languages from the Central and Eastern branches.

3.3.2 Direct/Inverse

Another interesting aspect of Algonquian languages is the opposition between inverse and direct markers in the Transitive Animate category of verbs. Both subject and object are encoded in the verb. With two animate actors, this poses a problem for prefixation since only one may occupy the prefix slot. It turns out that the prefix is the most prominent argument whether or not it is the subject or object—the position itself does not encode grammatical category. Prominence is determined by a complex animacy

hierarchy. The inverse and direct markers indicate whether the prefix is the subject or object.

In the case of both examples (6a) and (6b), second person is most prominent. When the prominent argument (prefix) is the subject, then the direct morpheme is used. If the prefix is the object, then the inverse is used.

6) Plains Cree TA Theme Signs[12]		
a. Direct	**b. Inverse**	
ki-wa·pam-i-n 2-see-DIR-SG "You.SG see me."	ki-wa·pam-iti-n 2-see-INV-SG "I see you.SG."	(Dahlstrom 1986: 47-49)

In the Plains Cree examples (6a) and (6b), "DIR" indicates direct and "INV" indicates inverse (Algonquianist terms—these are also called the "theme signs" of TA verbs). Example (6b) exhibits the use of the inverse marker *-iti*, which indicates that the second-person marker *ki-* is the subject in this verb.

Traditionally, the inverse and direct morphemes were thought to indicate the grammatical direction of the phrase, however this view is no longer widely held. A number of theories have been proposed to explain or describe the direct/inverse system in Algonquian. One theory, proposed by Brittain (2001) is that the inverse and direct markers do not alter the direction of grammatical functions but are "object agreement morphemes for features" such as [+Animate]. That is, they encode features of the object rather than indicating the grammatical function of the person prefix.

[12] Both examples a and b are in the Transitive Animate independent indicative neutral. While Dahlstrom analyzes the final morpheme *–n* as singular, Brittain glosses it (for Western Naskapi) as a local person agreement marker.

3.3.3 Verbal Template

The construction of verbs is a complex process. Brittain (2001) proposes the following general verbal template:

(pronominal clitic) + (preverb) + ROOT + (medial) + final + inflection
(Items in parentheses are optional.)

Brittain begins with a pronominal clitic or what other analyses designate the person-marking prefix. The medial is a noun-like derivational element. The final either establishes the syntactic category or changes it. Plural and tense suffixation fill the slot of inflection. Because nominal and verbal elements may be derived form the same root, Brittain suggests that roots may be considered affixes without inherent lexical category. Please see below for more on the derivational roles of the medial and final, which also occur in nominal morphology.

The optional preverb appears to behave differently in different languages. In some cases it is used as an inflectional element and in others as an element in a compound. For example, in Fox "compound verbs" are formed from a root and one or more preverbs (Dahlstrom 1997: 7). Although Dahlstrom says the preverb is itself a separate phonological word, the entire compound is inflected as a unit. The class of preverbs includes modals, directionals, and manner-adverbials. (The ambiguous status of preverbs may account for Brittain's designation of the person prefixes as clitics.) Example (7) shows the use of a preverb, *koci* within an inflected verb unit.

7) Fox Preverb	
ne-koci nowi-pena 1-try go out-PL(excl.) "we try to go out"	(Dahlstrom 1997: 210)

Inflections deserve an entire template of their own. Bloomfield (1962) describes ten positions for Menominee suffixes. Dahlstrom (1986: 20) says there is a single prefix slot and eight slots for suffixes in Plains Cree. Goddard's chart for Delaware provides an example of the number of affixes that may be possible in an Algonquian language.

8) Affix Chart for Delaware		
Initial Affix	Prefixes Initial Change	
Basic Theme	Stem 1. Theme Signs (TA, TI)	
Thematic Affixes	2. Diminutive and Pejorative 3. Obviative and Plural 4. Negative and Imperative Modes	
Desinences	5. Central Endings (e.g. Conjunct) 6. Aspect (Preterit and Present) 7. Peripheral Endings (Absentative) 8. Mode (Subjunctive, Prohibitive, Future)	(Goddard 1979)

Goddard's "Basic Theme" is composed of the stem (which may be derivationally complex) and a theme sign. A theme sign might be, for example, a direct or inverse marker. It is unclear why slots two through four are grouped as "thematic affixes" when some, such as the plural, could just as easily be considered inflectional endings. Inflection proper, the group of "Desinences," is reserved for slots five through eight. These include conjunct endings, tense and aspect, and the unusual absentative ending.

Each language has different configurations of affixes but there generally are at least eight suffix positions. In Plains Cree, slot one is filled by the obviative affix while

theme signs follow in slot two. In this case, it would not make sense to designate stem plus position one as the "Basic Theme."

3.3.4 Orders

Of the five orders reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian (independent, conjunct, imperative, interrogative, and prohibitive), the independent indicative, which is used for statements, is the most common form used thoughout the language family. Algonquian languages differ as to which other modes are available in the independent order. These could be the preterit, negative, emphatic, and dubitative modes.

The imperative order always has a second-person subject. A command expressed in the imperative may specify immediate action or delayed action, a future imperative, as in table (9).

9) Severn Ojibway Imperative		
pīntikēn come in!	pīntikēhkan come in later!	(Mithun 1999)

The conjunct order is used less frequently than the independent but has some interesting characteristics. Conjunct verbs are used for subordinate clauses and a variety of other purposes. Hockett (1948: 9) mentions their use, when not subordinate to another verb, to express wishes. He also says that with a preverb, this order is most used for "storytelling and hearsay narratives." Conjunct verbs do not take person prefixes—agreement with arguments is entirely with suffixes. In some languages/paradigms third person is the default case and is not indicated by affixes.

Conjuncts may undergo a process called initial change (Algonquianist term), which includes processes of ablaut in the first syllable, preverb prefixation, and possibly infixation (Costa 1996). In Delaware, independent words may be inserted between preverbs and the rest of the compound. In Blackfoot, initial change is, unusually, also found in the independent order. It is associated with actual rather than hypothetical actions. In Passamaquoddy, the changed conjunct expresses a perfective or imperfective meaning depending on the use of a high or low tone (Bruening 2001: 23).

Example (10) shows a preverb fulfilling the grammatical function of marking the conjunct. However, preverbs may also function more as lexical elements in a compound. In Ojibwa the preverb *e:-* means roughly "while." Costa (1996) also mentions a preverb used with the conjunct which fulfills the function of a tense, the aorist.

10) Plains Cree Conjunct	
e:-pimipahta-ya:n preverb-run-1.sg "I run"	(Dahlstrom 1986: 31)

Each language has a unique set of initial change ablaut transformations. Table (11) shows the initial change paradigm for Ojibwa. Eastern Algonquian languages generally have a smaller inventory of changes. In Delaware, for example, only the two short vowels [a] and [ə] become long [e:], while long vowels do not undergo any change.

11) Ojibwa Initial Change		
Short Vowels	Long Vowels	
a,i → e: o → we:	a: → aya: e: → aye: i: → a: o: → wa:	(Costa 1996)

3.4 Negation

Negation is handled by a number of different processes. In Menominee the inflectional position for the negative morpheme is suffix slot three. In Delaware it occupies slot four. These languages use suffixes for negation whereas others might use prefixes, separate particles, or some combination of the three. While negation is often part of an inflectional paradigm, sentential negation may be indicated by a separate particle requiring agreement on the verb.

There are several particles in Passamaquoddy indicating negation: *ma*, *skat*, *kat*, and other particles that encompass additional meanings (Bruening 2001: 27). These are all preverbs used in conjunction with negative suffixes. Plains Cree uses the negative particle *nama* for independent verbs and *eka* for the conjunct and imperative. The negative exhibits a range of forms across languages. Negative words, particles, and affixes are not necessarily cognate across the Algonquian family.

3.5 Derivation

Goddard (1990) provides a general outline for word construction (based on previous work by Bloomfield). Derivation is divided into primary and secondary types. Primary stems (of verbs or nouns) are formed from components which are either initials, medials, or finals. Every stem has at least an initial and may also have a final or a medial and a final. Initials, medials, and finals may themselves be derived from noun stems or from components. Initials and finals may also be derived from verb stems. The term

"initial" corresponds to root in many respects. Initials may be dependent, requiring prefixation, or independent.

12) Fox Derivation			
a. Initial	**b. Initial + Final**	**c. Initial + Medial + Final**	
mahkwa	wapeškesiwa	wapeškinameškewa	
mahkw-	wapešk-esi-	wapešk-inamešk-e	
	white-be.AI	white-skin-be/have.AI	(Goddard
"bear"	"he is white"	"he has white skin"	1990: 451)

The examples in (12) illustrate three derivations. (12a) *mahkwa* "bear" is an initial formed from the root *mahkw-*. (12b) and (12c) show verbs derived from adjective- and noun-like elements. The final component in each is what determines that they are verbs of the Animate Intransitive category. From example (4) above, the initial *mihkw-* "be red" can be combined with an AI final *-isi-* or an II final *-a-*. The final indicates not only that the word is a verb and which category it belongs to, but also the valence of the verb.

Nouns may be derived from verb roots. In Menominee, for example, this is accomplished with the final *-n*. The verb *ayɛniw*, meaning "he/she laughs," becomes *ayɛnin*, "laughter" (Bloomfield 1962).

In addition to preverbs which have been mentioned before, there is a category of prenoun. This is a phonologically separate word which combines with certain finals. For example, *maceq-* is a prenoun meaning "bad" in Menominee (Bloomfield 1962). Preverbs and prenouns are not completely productive.

13) Derivation from Components: Kickapoo Initial + Medial	
askipakimahkeθene	
ask-ipak-imahkeθen-e	
raw-leaf-shoe-AI green-shoe-AI	
"he is wearing green shoes"	(Goddard 1990: 462)

Example (13) shows derivation from components. In (13) *ask* has an underlying meaning "raw" and *ipak* means "leaf." Together they form the initial meaning "green." This initial is paired with the nominal medial for "shoe" and a final producing an animate intransitive verb.

According to Denny, medials are noun classifiers. He writes, "medials occurring in verbs will function to classify those things which participate in the event described by the verb" (Denny 1978: 154). If there are no participants, then the medial functions like an adverb. Medials occur in four types of verbs: simple intransitive verbs, simple transitive verbs, transitivized intransitives, and intransitives with transitive stem. According to Denny, in only the last type, intransitive verbs built from a transitive stem, is the medial an overt case of noun incorporation. By this description, example (13), formed from an AI final, is an example of incorporation.

Secondary stem derivation differs from primary in that it is less productive. Secondary finals are generally abstract rather than concrete and often change the category of the stem. According to Goddard (1990: 471), they are formed from a stem + final or a theme + final. In secondary derivation, verbs may be derived from nouns yielding intransitive verbs of being and other abstract categories. They may also be derived from

other verbs. For example, causative verbs may be derived from AI stems yielding a change in valence.

3.5.1 Reciprocal and Reflexive

There are derivational morphemes, or finals, representing the reciprocal and reflexive. Reciprocals and reflexives turn TA verbs into AI verbs. -*iso*- is the reflexive final in Plains Cree. When added to a TA verb, -*iso*- reduces the valence of the verb, which no longer requires an object, or goal argument. Similarly, the final -*iwe*- detransitivizes a verb while providing the sense of a generalized goal.

3.5.2 Locative and Others

There is a locative ending for inanimate nouns. Nouns affixed with the locative do not take plural or obviative suffixes. In Passamaquoddy, locative nouns may also take a possessive affix.

14) Locative		
Plains Cree mitos-ihk tree-LOC "in the tree"	**Severn Ojibway** iman-ink canoe-LOC "in the canoe"	(Mithun 1999)

The Delaware languages have an absentative marker. It is used especially to speak of the dead but may also be used to refer to third persons who are asleep, distant, or otherwise inaccessible. It is only used to mark third persons, never first or second.

Additionally, there may be morphemes for the vocative, diminutive, augmentative, and pejorative. Diminutives in Menominee are created by the addition of a final of the form *-hs*, *-h*, or *-qs*. For example, *nemat* "my brother" becomes *nematehsɛh* "my little brother." It is also possible to make double diminutives as in example (15).

15) Menominee Diminutives		
aneɛmohsɛh	puppy	
aneɛmohsak	puppies	
aneɛmohsɛhsɛh	tiny little dog	
aneɛmohsɛhhsak	tiny little dogs	(Bloomfield 1962)

3.6 Reduplication

The meanings of reduplicated forms are generally repetition, plurality, or intensity. Among Bloomfield's data are a few reduplicated roots. From his examples, the reduplicated form seems to be composed of the initial consonant, a long vowel "aa," and the stem. If the word is vowel-initial, the vowel forms the reduplicant. However, there seem to be other patterns among his data. Other forms copy the entire first syllable or substitute different vowels. Reduplicated numbers or quantifiers, as in example (16), indicate distribution.

16) Menominee Reduplication		
niis "two"	naaniis "two each"	(Bloomfield 1946: 122)

Dahlstrom (1997) describes in more detail two distinct reduplicative patterns in Fox, monosyllabic and bisyllabic. Prefixes are attached to the left of reduplicative

prefixes. Reduplication applies most productively to verbs. It also applies to adverbs, numbers, quantifiers, and particles. Monosyllabic reduplication usually indicates habitual or continual aspect; bisyllabic reduplication indicates an iterative action. If a reduplicated verb includes an incorporated noun, reduplication may indicate plurality of the noun. Table (17) shows examples of both mono- and bisyllabic reduplication.

17) Fox Reduplication			
	monosyllabic	bisyllabic	
nowi-wa "s/he goes out"	na-nowi-wa	nowi-nowi-wa	(Dahlstrom 1997: 206)

3.7 Conclusion

Algonquian morphology is complex and rich in the variety of information it encodes. This chapter gives only a glimpse of the interesting inflectional and derivational processes in order to provide a model of the kinds of affixes or processes that could be identified in the Piscataway manuscript. In the description of Piscataway morphology found in Chapter 6, many of these are notably absent. However, those which are (arguably) present—some prefixation, evidence of verbal derivational processes, obviative inflection on nouns, etc.—hint at the richness of the language of which the manuscript is just a trace.

Chapter 4 Catechism Analysis

This chapter presents a discussion of the data. With all of the difficulties presented by the physical condition of the manuscript, its age, and its unverifiable authorship, the following is an attempt to uncover any linguistic information it may yield. Each section of the catechism is presented in the order in which it appears in the manuscript. Each line is presented in a separate table. Wherever possible, words are given a translation and morphological analysis, though the analysis is sometimes only partial. Since many of the indentifications are tentative, those that are fairly definite are printed in bold. The tables are followed by commentary on individual words or phrases presenting the evidence for the identification of each. These are also given in the order in which they appear in the text. Occassionally, I have assigned animate or inanimate gender to some nouns based on cognates in Hewson's and Aubin's Proto-Algonquian dictionaries.[13] These assignments are based primarily on the similarity of nominal endings. Although there is no guarantee that the assignments are correct, gender is usually consistent across languages.

The evidence is varied. While cognates from related languages are an important part of the process of identifying words and morphemes, there are, as often as not, no identifiable cognates (the failure to identify cognates may, of course, be due to my limited knowledge of the family). Some recurring elements suggest their own translations through comparison with English translations of the prayers. Any argument or piece of information which could shed light on the data has been used. Some differences may be

[13] The dictionaries are organized in alphabetical order so I have not included page number references for individual entries.

noted between the data presented in this chapter and the transcription in Appendix B. On the basis of comparison with legible forms found in the manuscript, I have established provisional readings of problematic or partially legible words.

4.1 Sign of the Cross

One author declares that the items in the catechism are the "principal things that it is necessary or notably useful for everyone to know" (Gasparri 1932: xxi). The first section comprises two standard phrases from the Catholic mass. The English translation of this prayer is, "By the Sign of the Cross deliver us from our enemies, Thou who art our God. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (Gasparri 1932: xxi). The Piscataway text is accompanied by a Latin version:[14]

Per signum S.^{te} crucis + ab omni + m[alo]
libera me deus mi..+..[unice]
In nomine P.^{s} et fily et SS.^{t} Amen
Alleluia.

A somewhat earlier (fifteenth-century) version of the Latin first line is "Per signum sancte crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster" (Burnet: Folio 76v). From the same psalter, though not the same prayer, the Latin for the second line is, "In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti" (Burnet: Folio 14r).

As is also found in the Piscataway Pater Noster where a standard version of the text would have a first person plural marker, this one uses the singular. The author has

[14] Anything in square brackets is a tentative transcription because the text is damaged or otherwise difficult to read.

written “libera me” and “deus mi” rather than “libera nos” and “Deus noster.” It is curious that the Latin of the manuscript does not exhibit plural inflection, though it is possible that there were variations on the traditional wording. The recurring sign “+” in the text probably indicates that the priest or speaker should make the sign of the cross while reciting.

Tapaz	zumùnd	sancto	p[e]mitt[a]
		holy	

oazinauxutt:	**xhoxhì**	**mach**	[vny]
o-azi-nauxutt			
3-PV.common-happy/blessed			
happy/blessed	**great**	**evil**	

+ tahammaim	**nummánee**
	nu-mánee
	1-God
free	**my god**

nequuttrane +
n-
1
one who is a god

Oż	oxuttawwòxanz,	coòch	oxuz,
	o-	co-òch	
	3-	-father	
	his commandment		

xoòch	Sańcto	zamwuzzèe
xo-òch		zam-wuzzèe
2-father		honor-
your father	holy	honor

[jee]zèaw.	Amèn.	Alleluiah.
spirit		

Tapaz zumùnd

This phrase also occurs in the Creed as *tapaz zammund* or *Zamùnd*.

p[e]mitt[a]

This fragment, though difficult to decipher, might be the word *pemíttattèh* which occurs in the Creed.

oazinauxutt: common happiness/blessedness

oazinauxutt is quite similar to *nawxut* and *azenawxut* from the Ave Maria (and the Pater Noster). The preliminary *o-* may be a third-person prefix. It seems likely that *azi-* or *aze-* is a preverb meaning common or ordinary. The Proto-Algonquian reconstruction of the preverb is **alehši-* while the daughter languages show a variety of alternate forms: *ayi·si-* in Cree, *aneši-* in Fox, *anɛ·hn-* in Menominee, and *anišši-* in Ojibway. From this root comes the medial *-lenyiw* meaning "human being." (An explanation of the term "medial" is found in section 3.3.3.) Voegelin lists a Delaware noun theme *–ape* meaning "human being."

The primary reason to assign this gloss "happy" to *nauxutt* is that it appears twice in the English version of the Ave Maria prayer and *nawxut* appears twice in the Piscataway text of the prayer. Also in the Ave Maria we find *azenawxut*, though it is unclear whether there is a word space between *aze* and *nawxut*. I include "blessed" as a more modern rendition of "happy" from the English translation. Possible cognates are listed in the table below.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
nawxut	"happy" or "blessed"	*-na·kw	"look good, pretty, beautiful"	PA	Hewson
		ona·nakosi	"be happy"	Ojibwa	Hewson

xhoxhì/xhokhi: great

Variations on this word appear throughout the manuscript. Though the occurrences might be different words, the alternations between the velar <x>[15] and <k> seem to be inconsistencies in the spelling. It is found once in the Sign of the Cross, three times in the Creed, and four times in the Precepts. Two of eight times it is spelled with <x>. Though written as a separate word, it may be a preverb or prenoun. From an Algonquin lexicon there are two words which may be related: *kitci* and *kije* (Cuoq 1886). Among other meanings, *kitci* is used to mean "big" or "right" (as a hand) and *keji* is used in the phrase *kije manito*, translated as "le grand esprit" in the sense of "grandeur morale." The Precepts have a similar pair: *xhoki Manee* which could mean "great god." It is possible to show a relationship between the Proto-Algonquian reconstruction *ke?či* and the form of the Piscataway word. Often where PA reconstructions have <k>, <x> is written in the manuscript. This and other possible correspondences are discussed further in section 5.4.

mach-, mach: bad, evil

The form *mach-* appears throughout the catechism. It is possible that *mach-* and *matt-* are alternate forms with the same meaning. In Lenape/Delaware, glosses for the affix *matt-*

[15] Please see section 5.1 for a discussion of the value of <x>.

include "wickedness" and "sinfulness," whereas the *mach-* affix is merely negative. Some Lenape/Delaware words from Zeisberger's list include:

machtapen	bad, stormy weather
machtatenawagan	discontent, unhappiness
matalogacan	bad, wicked servant
matiauchsuwi	sinful
mattauchsin	to sin

This distinction does not seem to hold for the occurrences of *matt* and *mach* in this manuscript. In fact, the distinction may be that *mach-* is "evil" and *matt-* is negative, though unhappiness may be another association for *mach-*. The contexts in which *mach-* appear generally do merit the translation "evil" or "wicked"—for example, the Pater Noster's final sentence, "free us from Evill." Bloomfield reconstructs *mači* as a PA particle or prenoun meaning "bad" (Bloomfield 1946: 104).

nummánee: my god

This is a first person possessive prefix, *nu-,* affixed to the root for "god" or "spirit." Similar words for "god" or "spirit" are found in other Algonquian languages. As with many words found in these texts, the final syllable or consonant of the Piscataway version does not correspond or is missing altogether. This may be a case of innovation or, as described in Chapter 5, it may be that the author could not clearly hear or identify the sounds.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
manee	"god"	mannitt	"god"	Nanticoke	Forbes
		mann-itt	"god"	Nanticoke	Van Murray
		manít	"god"	Narragansett	Williams

Table (18) gives a number of comparisons for the first-person prefix from other languages. The initial nasal consonant is quite consistent across languages. For reference, I have also included the second and third person prefixes and two probable pronouns which also occur in the catechism.

18) Piscataway Person Prefixes and Pronouns					
Form	**Gloss**	**Comparison**	**Gloss**	**Language**	**Source**
n-	1	n’	1st person	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		ni-	1st person	Western Naskapi	Brittain
		ne-	1st person	Menominee	Bloomfield
x-	2	k’	2nd person	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		chi-	2nd person	Western Naskapi	Brittain
		ke-	2nd person	Menominee	Bloomfield
w-	3	w’	3rd person	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		o-, w-	3rd person	Menominee	Bloomfield
niez	“I”	nee	“I”	Nanticoke	Van Murray
xie	“you”	kee	“you”	Nanticoke	Van Murray

nequuttrane

This word occurs once in the Sign of the Cross and once in the first commandment. From the context, it might mean “one who is a god.”

oxuttaw[w]oxawz: precepts or commandments

This word appears in the title of both the Precepts and the Commandments, and the same word is in the second sentence of the Sign of the Cross. The Commandments version is blurred and has only one <w> where the others have two. In the Sign of the Cross there is an accent above the second <o>. The initial *o-* may be a third person marker.

coòch, xoòch: father

This root for "father" is attested in a number of languages listed in the table below. Although it is usually translated as "father," Trumbull claims that the root *och* actually means "from" or "out of" and expresses filial relation (Trumbull 1872: 30). In this prayer *xoòch* is clearly "your father" but *coòch* is less clear. It may be the same root meaning "father" or "from" but the prefix, if that's what it is, is not identifiable. *xooch*, without a diacritic, appears once in the Ave Maria, twice in the Creed, and once in the Commandments.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
xoòch	"your father"	nooch	"my father"	Lenape/ Delaware	Zeisberger
		nogh kogh	"my father" "thy father"	Mohegan	Edwards
		nó·x kó·x	"my father" "your father"	Southern Unami	Goddard 1992

oxuz

This word only occurs once but *ox(u)-* is frequently part of other words, perhaps a third-person prefix.

zamwuzzèe

zam is a recurrent form meaning something like "honor." *wuzzy* occurs in the Creed as a separate word and *wuzzee* also appears, probably again as part of *zamwuzzee* as *Zam* occurs at the end of the previous line. Interestingly, the verb *Nowuzzamo*, with and without the first person prefix, occurs throughout the Creed where repetition of the phrase "I believe" would be expected. It might be that the inversion of these two forms, *wuzz-*

and *zam-* derives this verb. However, it may also just be a coincidence that the forms are similar. The breakdown of *Nowuzzamo* could instead be no-wu-zamo with a doubled <z>.

[jee] zèaw, ieezeaw: spirit

Although the letters on the previous line are difficult to read and the first looks like a "j" with the word split on two lines, they might form the word *ieezean* which appears twice in the Creed. In the Creed, it occurs in the line numbered "8" with *zamwuzzee.* This word is the most likely candidate for "spirit" or "ghost." Though difficult to read, the phrase *zamwuzzee ieezeaw* is found in the Sign of the Cross and again in the Creed in the seventh section, both of which mention the "Holy Ghost."

4.2 Pater Noster

The Pater Noster has frequently been translated into Algonquian languages. I have only recently discovered an article published in 1872, "Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages," which could provide more comparative material than I have so far been able to find. The author, Trumbull, says that some translators "have been satisfied with giving a very free translation or paraphrase" because of the difficulty of finding the right words to convey the concepts of the prayer (Trumbull 1872: 114). He reports that many basic Christian concepts, such as "sin" or "heaven," have no obvious counterparts in the Algonquian languages.

The Pater Noster is one of the prayers which come directly from the New Testament. Although Jesuits were instructed primarily in Latin, as an English speaker Andrew White could also have been familiar with the current English translation of the Latin Vulgate Bible. It was translated at the English Catholic College at Douai and printed in Rheims in 1582, followed by a translation of the Old Testament in 1609. Following is the full text of the prayer from Mathew 6.9-13:

> Our father which art in heauen sanctified be thy name. Let thy Kingdom come. Thy wil be done, as in heauen, in earth also. Give us to day our supersubstantial bread. And forgiue vs our dettes, as we also forgiue our detters. And leade vs not into tentation. But deliuer vs from euil. Amen.

The text is set apart by an italic font and, at the edge of the page, it is identified as the Pater Noster prayer. There is an additional comment that the Latin version refers to "daily" bread rather than "supersubstantial" bread.

White's text includes an English translation of the Pater Noster, which unfortunately has mostly been destroyed. A few lines do remain:

> my f.~ w^{c}h. [] aboue bee thou allway
> come []
> eart []
> [ ]
> mee. Lead us not
> into w[] triall but free us from Euill. Amén

From these lines we can see a number of areas where this version diverges from the Douai-Rheims. He begins with the first person singular possessive rather than the plural. This is unexpected given that the standard Latin title is also plural. Rather than in

"heaven," the father is "above" (the missing word before "aboue" is too short to be "heaven"). There is also some sort of trial where "tentation" is used in the Douai-Rheims and "free" for deliver.

Nöz	**azpúmmen**	ăp	Sancto	aupechỳ
n-öz	**azp-úmmen**		sanct-o	Ø- aupechỳ
1-	**above**			3-sit there.AI
my-	**heaven/above**		holy	he sits there

xuzzowiǹz;	[p]iàh	muzzy	on[]
xu-zo-winz			
2-?-name			
you- -name	prayer		

(apeito)	wizoz:	**xie**	chuppon	m[]
	w-	**xie**	chupp-on	
	3-	**2**	-NA	
		you(r)		

z[e]n;	**axxint,**	azinauxut	**azpum[men]**
	axx-int	azi-nauxut	**azp-ummen**
	land-LOC	human-happy	**above-**
	on earth/land	human happiness	**heaven/above**

mund.	niez	**hopòn**	pu[]ny	ixeu[j]
	niez	**hop-òn**		
	1	**heat-NA**		
	my	**bread**		

Zuxxò	azzamáim;	**nie**	mà[]
	azza-máim		
	-TI	**1**	
		I	

xie[	]wúnnay	n[u|i]zx[a]zawan
xie		-awan
2		-NI
your		

naùxut	**mach**	niwunnay	[v]n[]
		ni-wunnay	
		1	
happy	**evil**	my	

xizáwan,	mattàh	mattai[n|x]
xiz-áwan	matt-àh	matt-
-NI	NEG-IMP	
	do not	bad-

niez	patahonàh,	**mach**	[]v
	pata-hon-àh		
1	- -IMP		
I/my		**evil**	

hammaimàh.	Amen.
ham-maim-àh	
free.TI-IMP	
free	

Nöz

This word appears here and in the fourth commandment ("Honor thy father and thy mother") along with an Oż in the Sign of the Cross. In this case, it begins with *n-* and in the commandment it begins with *x-*, suggesting that it is the same root with first- and second-person prefixes. There is a *zoz* in the Creed, but this is probably a different word as there is no reason to interpret *z-* as a prefix. It would be expected that the Pater Noster would include a word for "father." However, the fourth commandment has a closer match with *xooch* for "your father" leaving *nöz* and *xöz* untranslated.

azpúmmen: above/heaven

This word occurs twice in the Pater Noster and twice in the Creed. Bloomfield reconstructs the root *ešp-* meaning "high." Hewson offers the reconstruction *ešpemenki*

for “above.” The Heckewelder Nanticoke word list includes *spummend* and *eschpummink* as “heaven” and *schpummend* as “above.” The usage here may be as a preposition but could also be a noun. It is not clear (there’s not enough evidence in the text) whether –*ummen* or some portion of it is a nominal final. The inanimate intransitive verb form, meaning “it is high,” is *ispaw* in Cree and *ašpa* in Ojibwa.

aupechỳ: sit there AI

I am not certain that this is a verb bearing inflection, though in the context it could be an animate intransitive form. In most Algonquian languages, there is no third-person prefix for intransitive verbs.

Trumbull notes that among translations of the Pater Noster made by missionaries, the two verbs most frequently used to convey the sense of being in Heaven are “to sit” meaning “remain” or “to be in (this or that) place” meaning “dwell” (Trumbull 1872: 114). Similar forms, for example *apew* in Menominee, do not end with anything similar to *chỳ* though there are other examples of words ending in *pechy* in this manuscript. *aupechy* occurs once in the Creed (without the grave) and *ùpechy* also appears in the Creed preceded by a smudge where “a” might have been. The table below lists a number of possible cognates.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
aupechy	“sit”	*apiwa	“sit” AI	PA	Hewson
		apiw	“he sits, is there”	Cree	Hewson
		api	“he sits, is there”	Ojibwa	Hewson
		apew	“he sits, is there”	Menominee	Hewson

xuzzowinz: you are named AI

This is a tentative identification. *xu-* can be identified throughout as a second-person prefix. *–winz* resembles the Ojibwa animate intransitive *winso*, "be named." However, another word in the same prayer, *wizoz*, is another candidate for "name." The Menominee word for "he is called by name" is *wehso*, without the nasal consonant present in the Proto-Algonquian reconstruction **winsowa*. Mohegan *ussowesu* means "he is called" (Trumbull 1872: 151). *xuzzowinz* might also occur in the Precepts.

xie: second person

This appears to be a separate word but may be a possessive prefix.

chuppon: NA

This could be an animate noun by comparison with the similar ending of *hopòn*. From the context, it could be the noun representing "will," though that concept may not be represented by a noun at all. The *–on* final could just as easily be a verbal ending. *-o·n* is one of a number of Unami transitive verb endings (Goddard 1997: 70).

muzzy

This word also occurs in the Creed in the section number "8" in a phrase which is meant to express belief in the Catholic Church.

axxint: on earth NI with Locative

If we assume that the orthographic <x> represents a velar consonant (as I argue in section 5.1), then words for "land" in Central Algonquian languages which contain the velar [h] provide reasonable cognates (all of which are inanimate). In Fox, for example, land is *ahki* and in Menominee, *ahkew*. Further, this word probably includes the locative suffix. In Ojibwa, *akky* is the inanimate noun and *akkink* is the root plus locative (Hewson 1993). So *axx-* is the inanimate noun root and *–int* the locative suffix. From the Nanticoke vocabulary lists, the variations are: *ahkee*, *acki*, and *haaki* (Speck 1927).

Also compare with the word *axxawan* elsewhere in the phrase *poquatz-axxawan* which means "church." This is a combination of *axx-* for land and the final *–awan*. There are additional forms *axxomóx* and *axxindamon* in the Creed.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
axxint	"on earth"	ahki	"land"	Fox	Hewson
		ahkew	"land"	Menominee	Hewson
		akkink	"on earth"	Ojibwa	Hewson
		ahkee	"earth"	Nanticoke	Murray
		acki	"earth"	Nanticoke	Heckewelder
		haaki	"earth"	Nanticoke	Jefferson

mund

This word occurs once here and once in the crossed-out section of the Creed in the word *zammund*. It could be that *mund* is a continuation of the incomplete *azpumm* on the previous line (similar to two of the Nanticoke words), but all other occurrences are *azpummen*.

niez: first person

This looks like a freestanding pronoun. In this context it seems to be representing the possessive, though in standard Algonquian morphology, possession should be indicated on the noun. In Cree, the pronoun is *niya* and in Ojibwa, *nin*, though these are used for focus or emphasis (Hewson 1993).

hopòn: bread NA

From the Nanticoke word lists, there are various forms for bread: *app' (pow), ap, apiv, and á'pon* (Speck 1927). A Proto-Algonquian reconstructed form for bread is **apwona*, deriving from the root for "heat" *apw-* (Hewson 1993*)*. It is probably an animate noun.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
hopòn	"bread"	á'pon	"bread"	Nanticoke	Speck
		*apwona	"bread"	PA	Hewson

azzamáim: TI

See *hammaimàh*.

niwúnnay

This word or root appears twice, possibly once with a first-person prefix, *niwunnay,* and once with a second-person prefix. It might represent the concept of "trespass" or "debt."

matt-: negation

matt- is commonly used for negation in Algonquian languages, as shown in the table below. In Delaware, it is specifically a negative conjunct particle. As mentioned before,

matt- and *mach* are semantically related. There are about twelve instances of *matt-* throughout the manuscript with a number of different, possibly inflectional, endings. In the Pater Noster and in the Ten Commandments, the form *mattah* is likely imperative.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
matt-	NEG	matta	negation	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		mattauchsin	"to sin"	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		*mat-	"bad"	Proto-Algonquian	Bloomfield
		mattah!	"no"	Nanticoke	Van Murray
		metta	"no"	Nanticoke	Heckewelder
		mi-	negation	Western Naskapi	Brittain

patahonàh: verb

A word with the same ending, though without an accent, occurs in the Creed: *xitahonah*. The *–àh* is probably an imperative inflection.

hammaimàh: free TI

The word *tahammaim* occurs in the Sign of the Cross prayer followed by the abbreviated Latin translation, "libera me Deus." For the Pater Noster, the English gloss is "free us from Euill." It could be a transitive verb.

It is possible that this occurrence did begin with "ta" as the author occasionally splits words on two lines with a hyphen, but the end of the previous line is damaged. The two occurrences have *hammaim* in common, suggesting that at least the *–àh* is an inflectional ending. The occurrence of another word, *azzamáim*, suggests that *–maim* might be a derivational ending, perhaps forming the transitive inanimate stem (assuming that the words for "evil" or "debt" are inanimate).

4.3 Ave Maria

The Piscataway text of the Ave Maria is followed by a fairly complete English translation:

> Reioyce o Maria, full of beautiful grace
> our god is in thee, happy thou beyond all
> women as happy is the fruit of thy womb
> Jesus. Holy Mary Mother of God pray for
> mee naughty man, heere now and when
> death shall aprouch. Amen.

Part of this prayer comes from the New Testament. In Luke 1.28, an angel says "Haile ful of grace, our lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women" and a little further on in Luke 1.42, Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, addresses Mary, "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruite of thy wombe" (Martin 1582: 135). The primary difference to note is the use of the synonym "happy" in the manuscript where the Bible has "blessed." Perhaps "happy" with its connotations of "fortune" or "luck" is a closer approximation of the Piscataway word.

Tazzaŋ̊giz	O	Maria,	gratia	tixan
Tazz-aŋ̊g-iz				
PV-death-				
rejoice	English Vocative	Maria	grace	

nawxut	pazuttàh,	chumme	naix
	-àh		
	-IMP		
happy/blessed			

Mánee	**azquaen**	ezix	unz	xowà
	az-quaen			x-owà
	PV.common-female			2-
god	**woman**		CONJ	

wizono;	azenawxut	cowatt-o
wi-zon-o	aze-nawxut	
3-birth-OBV	PV.common-happy	
his birth	human happiness	

menez	owà	wizono	Jesus.	Sanct
		w-zon-o		
		3-birth-OBV		
		his birth		holy

zamwing	ezino	Maria	**Mánee**
zam-wing			
honor-good			
honor		Maria	**god**

oxxawiz	**tawsùn**	(Zammach
oxx-aw-iz		zam-mach
-Final.TA-		honor-
	son of the king	

Zonò)	machizappoz	**niez**	**piatamòx,**
zon-o	mach-izappoz	**niez**	**piatam-òx**
birth	wicked/unhappy-	**1**	**prayer-AN.pl**
birth	wicked person	**me**	**prayers**

yoomayan	xundant,	**xoóch**
yoo-mayan	x-	**xo-och**
	2	**2-father**
		your father

űppech	**angez.**	Amen	űppiat.
űpp-ech			űp-piat
end-			end-prayer
end-	**death**	Amen	

Tazzańǵiz: rejoice

Another version of this word occurs in the Creed: *tazzangizzan[],* after which the document is damaged and the line is incomplete. There seems to be another letter on the Creed version but it is not legible. There are at least two distinct suffixes: *-iz* and *–an[]*. If

tazzaṅ̓giz is taken to correspond directly to the first word of the English version of the prayer, then it is translated as "rejoice."

It might be possible to analyze the word further. The Creed is not accompanied by a translation but the section in which *tazzangizzan[]* appears is numbered "12." Though only numbers seven through twelve appear, they seem to indicate that this is the Apostles' Creed, divided into twelve parts. This last section is either about the belief in everlasting life, restoration of the body, or resurrection of the flesh. It is possible that *-aṅ̓g-* or *-ang-* is related to the word for death, *angez*, though it could just be coincidental. If this is the case, then *tazz-* is a distinct root or preverb.

chumme

There is only one occurrence. The sequence *chu-* appears again in *chuppon* in the Pater Noster.

azquaen: woman

This gloss is less certain than others. The translation mentions women, so I assume that something in the passage refers to a woman or plural women. There are similarities between this form and the Nanticoke words translated as woman, *acquahiqui* and *aquahaag*, although these are not entirely convincing. The most convincing evidence for this translation is that the recurring word for "man," *azanáupà*, also begins with *az-*. This form, perhaps a preverb, as discussed previously, or just the first element in a compound, probably indicates "human." Thus, *azquaen* would be roughly "human female." Cognates are listed in the table below.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
azquaen	"woman"	acquahiqui	"woman"	Nanticoke	Van Murray
		aquahaag	"woman"	Nanticoke	Heckewelder
		ikwe	"woman"	Ojibwe	Brittain
		ochquewak	"women"	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		ó'kwä^{v}	"woman"	Nanticoke or Piscataway	Speck

ezix

There is only one occurrence. Words beginning with *e-* could be instances of prefixed conjunct verbs.

unz: and

unz appears once here and five times in the whole document. This gloss is very tentative. In the Creed the sequence *angez unz kik* might represent death and life or the dead and the living. One possibility is that the author may have followed the example of other translators of biblical texts and tried to maintain the syntax of the source. Richards, for example, notes that his sources for Wampanoag from 1689 and 1705 "generally preserve the word order of the English texts" (Richards 2004: 6). John Eliot gives *as* for a conjunction in Massachusett (Eliot 1666: 269).

xowà

In this prayer *owà* precedes *wizono* in two instances. In the first instance it has a second person prefix *x-*.

cowatt-o

There is only one occurrence. The dash between *cowatt* and *o* is strange though it does occur in the precepts in *poquatz-axxawan*. The dash seems to be used to indicate a compound, though one not necessarily native to the language.

wizono: his birth

-zono occurs three times in the Ave Maria and six times throughout the manuscript. There is an additional *–zon* in the Ten Commandments, bringing the total to seven. In the context of the prayer which refers to Mary's womb and motherhood, the most likely meaning for this root is "birth." It might also connote related ideas such as "life," "creation," or "sex" (as glossed in the Ten Commandments). *wizono* occurs twice in the Ave Maria and once as *wawizono* in the twelfth section of the Creed. The initial *w-* is likely a third person prefix. The final *–o* may be an obviative marker, an idea which is explored in section 6.3.2. If *wizono* is taken to be a possessed noun meaning "his birth" (or some third person's birth) then an obviative ending may be obligatory as in Plains Cree. The evidence that the final *–o* is not part of the root comes from the verb *xoníngzon* of the sixth commandment.

-zam-: honor, acknowledge, believe

The root *–zam-* appears about ten times throughout the prayers, not including the crossed-out lines at the beginning of the Creed. In the Ave Maria, *-zam-* occurs twice. In the context of the Creed the repetition of this root (accompanied by a variety of morphological forms), strongly suggests an association with the repeated statements of

belief and acknowledgement. It also is an element of the fourth commandment, to honor one's father and mother, giving the additional connection with "honor."

-wing: good

This form occurs once in the Ave Maria in *zamwing* and once alone in the twelfth numbered section of the Creed. *wing* generally seems to have positive meanings. The following table lists possible cognates in other languages. Piscataway *–wing* maintains the nasal which other languages have lost.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
-wing	"good" or "sweet"	*wi:nk-an-	"sweet"	PA	Aubin
		weekon	"it is sweet"	Natick	Aubin
		wi:kanwi	"it tastes good"	Shawnee	Aubin

oxxawiz

I don't know what this word means but it looks like a verb with an inflectional suffix. It bears some resemblance (*ox*-) to the words meaning commandment or precept: *oxuttarvoxanz* and *oxuttawrooxaw*. Also, there is the form *oxunnoxue* in the first precept. *ox*- may be a separate form.

tawsùn: son of the king

There are two other instances of word-initial *taw*- in the Creed. "Son of the king" is the meaning given for the word *tawzin* in historical documents. This must be the same word

although the original meaning referred to offspring of the chief or "tayac" (Weslager 1948: 35).

machizappoz: unhappy person or sinner

The translation of the prayer uses "unhappy person" which could also be glossed as "sinner." *machizappoz* with the root *mach-* is the most likely word to represent that meaning. In the English version of this prayer, "unhappiness" would have referred to not being blessed.

The sequence *machi-* occurs in the Creed in *machizono.* Since *-zon-* is analyzed as a distinct form, the intermediate *-i-* might be a separate form also. Alternatively, it could be an epenthetic vowel. Every occurrence of *-zon* within a larger word is preceded by *-i-* with the exception of *xoningzon*.

piatamòx: prayer, worship

Versions of this word appear in several places in the manuscript. The root meaning seems to be "prayer" or "worship." In Unami, the root for prayer is *pa·htama·-* while "he prays" is *pá·tama·* (Goddard 1990: 459). Despite the <x> of the Piscataway version, these seem to be cognate and the context certainly warrants this translation.

The word occurs in the first commandment—not to worship other gods—as *piattomòx*. *piattomah,* with the suffix *–ah*, is in the first precept which is a directive to attend mass regularly. Also in the third precept, it is written *piattomax*. The third precept is to receive the sacrament at Easter.

űppiat, perhaps related, appears after Amen at the end of the Ave Maria.

From this data we may analyze *piattom-* separately from *–òx* and *–ah*. If *űppiat* indicates the end of the prayer, we may also further analyze the stem as *piat-* plus *–om* or *–am* and *űp-* as another morpheme (see below for *űp-*). The endings *–om* and *–am* might be distinct.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
piattom-	"prayer" or "worship"	pa·htama	"prayer"	Unami	Goddard
		patamoewigawan	"house of prayer"	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		patamawos	"God" or "lord"	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger

yoo-

This looks like a distinct element. There are three occurrences: *yoomayan* in the Ave Maria, *yoozaix* in the Creed, and *yooxant* in the Precepts. A preliminary guess is that *yoo-* is a root or deictic element having to do with time or place. The phrase *yoomayan xundant* is set apart by commas from the rest of the sentence in which it appears. It might correspond to "heere now" in the English translation.

xundant

The initial sequence *xu-* looks like a second-person prefix, though it could be something else. There are no other occurrences of this word.

űp-: end

The only two clear examples of *űp-* occur in the Ave Maria: *űppech* and *űppiat*. There are two instances of word-initial *up-* (without diacritics) in the Creed but these words are

incomplete. *–pech* appears in the first precept in *xuttappech*. *–pechy* is found in *aupechy* in the Pater Noster and the Creed.

angez: death

This word occurs in the final sentence of the prayer which has the corresponding textual translation, "Holy Mary Mother of God pray for / mee naughty man, heere now and when / death shall approach." Death is, obviously, an element in this sentence.

This form is similar to words for death in a number of Algonquian languages. The Heckewelder Nanticoke list includes the form *angel*. Zeisberger's grammar of Lenape/Delaware glosses *angel* as "to die" and *angellowi* as "mortal."

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
angez	"death"	angel	"death"	Nanticoke	Speck
		angel	"to die"	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		angellowi	"mortal"	Lenape/Delaware	Zeisberger
		ánkel	"he dies, is dying"	Southern Unami	Goddard 1997

4.4 The Creed

The Creed is not accompanied by a translation. The last few sentences are numbered seven through twelve. There are two possible Creeds, the Nicene and the Apostles', which are used at different times in Catholic ceremonies. Normally, the Apostles' Creed comprises twelve numbered sentences, which convey the same general statements of belief as the Nicene Creed but in an abbreviated form.

It is not clear whether the author intended this Creed to be one or the other. Perhaps he failed to number statements one through six. Another option is that it begins as the Nicene Creed and ends as the Apostles'. The Nicene Creed is generally divided into a narrative section describing the events of Jesus' life and an additional paragraph of belief statements. This is the longest section of the manuscript, making translation difficult as there are many possible variations on the text.

The first four lines are crossed out in error. They are difficult to read but help with the reconstruction of the physically damaged "correct" lines which immediately follow. The crossed-out lines are:

Nö[] Z[zam]o Manee wimbezawn Ozzàh xh
xhi [awu]ppazzam axxint xooch[]
[quund] azpummen w[uww]z[awn]
[] tapaz zammund xooch

Nowuzzàmo	**Manee**	wimbezawn	wezixiz
n-wu-zam-o		wimb-aw-n	
1-3-honor		hollow-Final.TA-Final (by hand)	
I believe	**god**	he hollows it by hand	make/create

xhoxhi;	onuppuzzaw	Ozzah	wah quund
	o-nupp-uzzaw		
	-die		
great			bright/day

azpummen	[om - zèn]	**xooch**
azp-ummen		**xo-och**
above		**2-father**
heaven/above		**your father**

axxint	[a Zamùnd]	**nowuzzàmo**
axx-int	tapaz zamùnd	**n-wu-zam-o**
land-LOC	-honor	**1-3-honor**
on earth		**I believe**

vuut	zan[l]

noetazaix,	moneze	[unz	ma]
		conjunction	
		and	

ah	Maria	oungízono	**xòoch**
		oungi-zono	**xò-och**
		-birth	**2-father**
		virgin	**your father**

ieezeaw	onayawaz[p];	mattah	[un]
		matt-ah	
		NEG-IMP	
spirit		do not	

azenáupà	**onuppò,**	wuttappen
azi-náup-	**o-nupp-o**	wutt-appen
PV.common-man	**3-die**	3
man	**he dies or his death**	

zoz	Pontius	Pilat,	xauchinunnò
	Pontius	Pilat	

wazkit	mattux	pemíttattèh	[z|y]oox
	matt-		
	NEG-		
on top/surface dwelling	bad	bury	

wuttǻngez;	wanoxqua	wowazxa[]
wutt-angez		
3-death		

tawwanox:	wunnig[S]	- zohun[i]	wu[tt]

axxomóx	**tund**	owixxèw:	ma'n	cha[]
axx-om-óx				
land-NA-NA.pl				
lands	**fire/hell**			

èp,	uttaxezòm,	**ángez**	unz	**kik**	(up[]
			conjunction		
		death/dead	and	**life/living**	

pauzaqù[i])	oxxo[i]axqùiz;	**azpummen**
		azp-ummen
		above
		heaven/above

wuttaxxòzun	wah-quundàh	ne[h]
wutt-axx-ozun		
3-land-		
	bright/day	

tah	yoozaix	wözat	owawyz[raie]
	yoo-zaix		

[xho]khi --	nuppezan[e]	wuttappezò	taw[w]
	nup- -zan	wutt-	
	die	3-	
great	die/kill		

unz	omen --	itch	(pezang)	guezánum
conjunction				
and				

wawappenùm),	**axxindamon**	**xhokh[i]**
wa-wap-	**axx-ind-amon**	
-see?-	**land-LOC-TI**	
	he puts it in/on earth/land	**great**

azinaẃpa:	wuzzy	omamom	wahquundah:
azi-naúpa			
PV.common-man-			
man			bright/day

machizono	**tund**	aupechy	upp[]
mach-i-zono			
evil/wicked birth	**fire/hell**	he sits there	end

7. xitahonah.	**Nowuzzamo**	Sant	zam
x-	**no-wu-zam-o**		
2	**1-3-honor**		
	I believe	holy	honor

8. wuzzee	[I]eezeaw.	Sanct	muzzy	[un]
	spirit	holy		

Catolico	**poquatz=**	**axxawan**	**Manee**
		axx-awan	
		land-NI	
Catholic	**church**		**god**

9. [o] azinaup	Com	oxo;	wahquundowù
azi-náup-			
PV.common-man			
man			bright/day

wahquundonan[iz]	oun	daza[i|e]oumz
bright/day		

10. zizx	**Nowuzzámo**	Santo	**po[quatz]**
	no-wu-zam-o		
	1-3-honor		
	I believe	holy	

axxawan	**mach**	**xhoki**	g̓[itzes]
axx-awan			
land-NI			
church	**evil**	**great**	lie

11. Nowuzzámo	auzitch	**way[om]**
no-wu-zam-o		**wa-yom**
1-3-honor		**3-body**
I believe		**his body**

g̓ez	unz	oxxo[]axqu[]z	azan[]
	conjunction		
	and		man?

12. [No]wuzzámo	**wing̓**	**a[z]anáupa**	w[]
no-wu-zam-o		**aza-naúpa**	
1-3-honor		**PV.common-man**	
I believe	**good**	**man**	

[a]ùpechy	tazzangizzan[]
he sits there	rejoice/everlasting life

w[]	gyzza[]	wawizonò
		wa-wi-zon-o
		-3-birth-OBV
		his birth

[noz]	[h]	[x]

nowuzzamo: I believe

This word occurs four times in the Creed, usually with an accented *à*. There is also a *wuzzamo*, which could have originally had a first-person prefix on the damaged previous line. The common elements seen before are the prefix *nV*- and the root *zam.* In this case,

the initial element of the verb seems to be the possessive -*wuzzam*- "his honor." The Creed traditionally begins something like, "I believe in God the Father, Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth" (Gasparri 1932: xxi). This is from the Apostles' Creed rather than the Nicene, but the sense is the same for both.

wimbezawn: hollow

In Ojibwa, there is an apparent cognate root: *wi:mb*- "hollow" (Aubin 1975). The PA reconstruction **wi:mpahamwa* "he hollows it" is a TI verb. The meaning of this root may be somewhat different. "Hollow" doesn't make much sense in the first line of the prayer although some creation myths include a hollow log (see, for example, N. Scott Momaday's *Way to Rainy Mountain*).

wezixiz: make, create

Proto-Algonquian **wešihe·wa* is a TA verb meaning "make" and the AI PA reconstruction is **wešike·wa* (Hewson 1993). Cognates from other languages are found in the table below.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
wezixiz	"make" or "create"	*wešihe·wa	"make something" TA	PA	Hewson
		osi·he·w	"make"	Cree	Hewson
		ašihe·wa	"make"	Fox	Hewson
		ose·hɛ·w	"make"	Menominee	Hewson
		oši?	"make"	Ojibwa	Hewson

nupp: die; sleep

The root *nupp-* occurs three times in the Creed and once in the Commandments. It may mean "sleep" or "die" given the cognates in other languages. "Sleep" could be a euphemism for "death" since there is clearly another word filling that semantic function, *angez*.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
-nup-	"sleep" "die"	nupp	"sleep"	Nanticoke	Forbes
		nuppawe	"sleep"	Powhatan	Forbes
		-nip(â)-	"sleep"	Western Naskapi	Brittain
		nup-u-pan-eek die-3-PRET-PL	"they died"	Wampanoag	Richards

wahquund: bright, clear, or day

There are five occurrences in the Creed though some are split on two lines or only partly legible. There are a number of suffixes attached to these instances including: *-ah*, *-owù,* and *–onaniz*. The sequence *wahquundowù wahquundonaniz* appears in the section of the Creed numbered "9" which might correspond to the "communion of saints" section. The table below provides a list of possible cognates though there is not an obvious correspondence with the semantic context of the prayers.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
wahquund	"bright" "clear" or "day"	*wa:xkam-	"bright, clear"	PA	Aubin
		wa:skam-wa:skama:ste:w	"the sunlight spreads abroad"	Cree	Aubin
		wâkami	"the water is clean, clear"	Ojibwa	Aubin
		-āhkamē	"day, sky"	Munsee	Aubin

Ozzah

There is just one occurrence. It may be related to *Oz* in the Sign of the Cross.

oungízono: virgin

This word follows "Maria" and contains the *–zon* root so my best guess is that it means "virgin" or some variation on "birth" although I don't know the meaning of *oungi-*. While it could indicate negation, I have not found any cognates.

azenáupà: man

There are four occurrences in the Creed and one in the Commandments with various spellings. Possible cognates are listed in the table below. *aze-* is probably a prenoun or an initial meaning "common" or "human" as seen also in the words for "woman" and "happiness."

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
-naupà	"man"	naapeewa	"man"	Fox	Bloomfield
		naapeew	"man"	Cree	Bloomfield
		naapeew	"man"	Menominee	Bloomfield
		naapee	"man"	Ojibwe	Bloomfield
		naap	"man"	Nanticoke	Speck
		nâpâw	"man"	Western Naskapi	Brittain

wuttappen

There is one other word containing *wuttap-* in the Creed, *wuttappezo* though *wutt-*, possibly a third-person prefix, occurs twice more.

wazkit: on top

A possible cognate, Proto-Algonquian **waθkit-,* means "on top, surface dwelling" (Aubin 1975).

pemíttattèh: bury

The PA reconstruction of the TA verb for "bury" is **pi·ntahwe·wa* (Hewson 1993). There are interesting similarities between *pemíttattèh* and the reconstruction though they are not close enough to definitively identify this word. The initial sequence of consonants <p> followed by a nasal and then <t> is promising but the similarities end there. The final <wa> is commonly lost in daughter languages but there is no evident relationship between the PA <we> and Piscataway <t>.

kik: life

Southern Unami *kíke* means "he heals, recovers, lives after peril of death" (Goddard 1997: 79). The same word is listed as meaning "life" in the Heckewelder 1785 and Jefferson 1817 Nanticoke vocabularies (Speck 1927). In the Creed, it might be translated as "the living."

wawappenum

**wap-*, the PA root for "see" and for "white" (Aubin 1975), might be part of this word.

poquatz-axxawan: church

This phrase occurs twice in the Precepts and twice in the Creed. It seems likely that it represents the concept "church." This is the most common compound in the text, formed with a hyphen. *axxawan* may contain the root *axx-* meaning earth or land and the final –*awan*. In the title of the Precepts, "church" is meant in the abstract sense rather than the sense of a specific building. However, in the first precept, which is an instruction to attend mass regularly, *poquatz-axxawan* is, arguably, a physical location where people gather for mass. Although a church is conventionally a building, in this case it might have been an outside location. White noted that when he first arrived, the Patuxent Indians conducted ceremonies "round a large fire" (MHS 1874: 42).

g̊itzes: lie, falsehood

This word is difficult to read in the manuscript. It appears in the section numbered "10" which traditionally is a statement of the belief in forgiveness of sins. The phrase *mach xhoki g̊itzes* could mean "evil great lie." Two Nanticoke, words *e-kitt-so* "falsehood" and *gitso* "false" (Speck 1927), may be cognate. Assuming there was no exact concept for "sin" represented in the Piscataway language, "falsehood" would have been a decent approximation. Other missionaries faced with the same translation problems chose to paraphrase. For example, one Wendat (an Iroquoian language) text has for "sin" a word or phrase which may be translated as "to be mistaken in some matter" (Pearson 2005: 2).

wayom: his body

This word is at the end of a damaged line and not entirely legible. Line eleven of the Apostles' Creed refers to the resurrection of the body and *wayom* bears some resemblance to reconstructed PA **wi:yawi* "his body" (Aubin 1975).

wawizono: his birth

wizono occurs also in the Ave Maria, presumably meaning "his birth." The prefix (or prenoun) *wa-* must convey additional information.

4.5 Ten Commandments

There is no English translation of the Ten Commandments in the manuscript. However, the commandments, culled from passages in the Old Testament, are fairly consistent in numbering and basic wording in the Catholic tradition. They are as follows:

1. I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt have no strange Gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.
3. Remember to keep holy the Sabbath.
4. Honor thy father and thy mother.
5. Thou shalt not kill.
6. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
7. Thou shalt not steal.
8. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.

(Gasparri 1932)

10 Commaund[ments]:	**Manee**	oxuttarvoxanz	**metèz**
		oxutarvoxanz	
		3-	
	God	his commandments/ precepts	**ten**

1. Niez	**xummanee**	nequuttrane	mattah	xuppiezi	**piattomòx**
niez	**xu-manee**		matt-ah	x-	**piattom-òx**
1	**2-God**		NEG-IMP	2-	**prayer-AN.pl**
I	**your god**	one who is god	do not	you(r)-	**prayers**

2. Mattàh	xowizxaw	azamô	**Manee**
matt-àh	xo-wizx-aw	a-zam-o	**manee**
NEG-IMP	2- Final.TI	-honor-	**god**
do not		(dis)honor	**god**

3. Chichezàn	xunnawtoxiz	Santo,	**Manee**	osabbatho
chich-ezàn	xu-nawtox-iz		**manee**	o-sabbath-o
	2-		**god**	3-sabbath-OBV
		holy	**god**	his sabbath

4. Xöz	**xooch**	xixxáwiz	**xie**	**xuzz<u>a</u>m**
x-öz	**xo-och**	x-ix-aw-iz or xi-x-aw-iz	**xie**	**xu-z<u>a</u>m**
2-	**2-father**	2- -Final.TI-	**2**	**2-honor**
	your father		**you(r)**	**your honor**

5. Mattiz	**xunnuptrawn**
matt-iz	**xu-nup-tr-aw-n**
NEG-	**2-die- -Final.TI-CAUS**
do not	**you kill (someone)**

6. Mattiz	xonińgzon
matt-iz	xo-ning-zon
NEG-	2- -birth-
do not	commit adultery

7. Mattiz	**xommûtt**
matt-iz	**Ø-xomûtt**
NEG-	**2-steal**
do not	**you steal (something)**

8. Mattiz	xitchaw
matt-iz	x-itch-aw
negative-	2-falshood-Final.TI
do not	you lie

9. Mattiz	**azanáupà**	**wyu**	xunnätöm
matt-iz	**aza-náupà**	**w-yu**	xu-nät-öm
NEG-	**PV.common-man**	**3-wife**	2-be weak-Final.TA
do not	**man**	**his wife**	you covet (someone/thing)

10. Mattiz	xunnätöm	**xiematt**	uttaioumz
matt-iz	xu-nät-öm	**xie-matt**	
NEG-	2-be weak-Final.TA	**2-brother**	
do not	you covet (someone/thing)	**your brother**	goods/things

metèz: ten

A number of possible cognates for this word are listed in the table below. The meaning is clear from the context.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
metèz	"ten"	mittah!	"ten"	Nanticoke	Van Murray
		met-ty	"ten"	Nanticoke	Jefferson
		mAt˙a	"ten"	Nanticoke	Speck
		millah	"ten" or "completed"	Natick	Forbes

azamô: dishonor

This word contains the root *–zam* which is repeated throughout the manuscript. Given the context, it is possible that the initial *a-* is a negation morpheme. However, there is no other evidence to confirm this translation.

itch-: falsehood

This root is found in the verb *xitchaw*. While it bears some resemblance to the Nanticoke words, it is missing the initial velar <k> or <g>. The Creed's *g̊itzes* provides a better cognate. However, the context clearly requires something with the sense of "lie" or "falsehood." It is possible that the initial velar is dropped or assimilated to the velar <x> of the second-person prefix. There are two distinct cases of "itch" as an uninflected word in other prayers in the document without any clear translation.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
-itch-	"falsehood"	e-kitt-so	"falsehood"	Nanticoke	Speck
		gitso	"false"	Nanticoke	Speck

chichezàn

Commandment three is not fully translated. The first word *chichezàn* could be related to the TA root *-chischayim-* "know" in Western Naskapi (Brittain 2001). However, the word in the sentence with fairly clear verbal morphology is *xunnawtoxiz*.

xommûtt: steal

The meaning of this word is clear from the context. There are numerous cognate words in other Algonquian languages, some listed below. This word and *xhoxhi* both exhibit [x] for reconstructed Proto-Algonquian words which begin with [k] as well as [o] for PA [e]. These correspondences are discussed in section 5.4.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
xommûtt	"steal"	*kemo·twiwa	"steal"	PA	Hewson
		kommvvta	"steal"	Pidgin Delaware	Goddard 1997
		kimotiw	"he steals something"	Cree	Hewson
		kemo·twa	"he steals something"	Fox	Hewson
		kemo·tɛw	"he steals something"	Menominee	Hewson
		kimo·ti	"steal something"	Ojibwa	Hewson

wyu: his wife

wyu is a bound form. The Nanticoke sources list *(nee)-ee-wah!* (Van Murrary) and *(n)iu* (Heckewelder) as "wife" but these would be more accurately translated as "my wife"

with the first-person *nee-* or *n-* prefix. There is also a Proto-Algonquian form ***ni·wu*** (Hewson 1993).

xunnätöm: be weak

Commandments nine and ten concern "coveting" someone else's wife or goods (goods may include servants and animate things). While the previous commandments primarily concern actions, these relate to intentions or thoughts. From the observation that the same word is used in both sentences, *xunnätöm* is evidently the verb used for "covet." It seems quite similar to Zeisberger's Delaware verb *wonatom* meaning "be weak" differing in the prefixation. That seems a reasonable translation for "covet."

uttaioumz: goods

This identification is based primarily on a process of elimination; it is the only word which could represent "goods." The word for "his possessions" in Cree is *otaya·na* (Dahlstrom 1986: 98), which is similar though not necessarily cognate.

xiematt: your brother

The form *xiematt* looks like the root for brother *–matt* with a second person prefix, "your brother." *–matt* is one of the bound kindship terms. A few comparisons are listed below.

Root	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
-matt	"brother"	nemat	"my brother"	Powhatan	Forbes
		ne-eemat	"brother"	Nanticoke	Forbes
		weémat	"brother"	Narragansett	Williams

4.6 The Five Precepts of the Holy Church

There are normally five precepts of the church. This catechism includes only three, though the author probably intended to include all five. The number "4" is the last writing on the page. A somewhat modern (though still based on the Council of Trent) version of the precepts follows:

1. To hear Mass and refrain from servile works on Sundays and other feasts of Obligation;
2. To fast and abstain from flesh meat on days appointed by the church;
3. To confess one's sins at least once a year; (Gasparri 1932: xxii)

Poquatz-	**axxawan**	oxuttaw[w]oxawz	**napazanz**
	axx-awan	o-	
	land-NI	3-	
church		his commandment	**five**

1. xhoki	**Manee**	oxùnnoxue	xuppèch
great	**god**		

poquatz	**axxáwan,**	yooxaǹt	[xoe]
	axx-áwan	yoo-xant	
	land-NI		
church			

xuttappech	**xhoki**	**piattomah,**	uzzo
xutt-appech		**piattom-ah**	
2-sit/be somewhere		**prayer-IMP**	
you sit there	**great**	**pray**	

winz	Holy	Masse	or
name			

wingappazamùn:	a	mincha	of	bread.
wing-appazamùn				
		offering (Hebrew)		

2. Akindammon	**xhoki**	mattchaish	Ma
-(d)ammon		matt-chaish	
-TI		NEG-	
	great	bad	

nettótah	kitt[h]chiwan	[]
	eat	

3 Kammámmon	itch	xitazaix	**Manee**
-ammon		xi-tazaix	
-TI		2	
			god

Jesus	**xhokhi**	xattenaio	**piattomax**	
			piattom-ax	
			prayer-AN.pl	
Jesus	**great**		**prayers**	

pazx̀a.

napazanz: five

There are meant to be five precepts and this word resembles words for the number “five” in other languages listed below. It is interesting to note that where this word has <z> for PA *θ, the others have <i>, <y>, and <n>.

Form	Gloss	Comparison	Gloss	Language	Source
napazanz	"five"	nup-pai-a	"five"	Nanticoke	Murray
		nép˙aya˒	"five"	Nanticoke	Speck
		napànna	"five"	Narragansett	Williams
		*nya·θanwi	"five"	PA	Hewson

oxùnnoxue

This word only occurs once but *ox(u)-* is frequently part of other words, perhaps a third-person prefix. This might be an instance of reduplication.

xuttappech: you sit there

Tentatively, this could be the second-person prefix with the word seen earlier for "sit" or "be somewhere," *aupechy*.

uzzo winz: he is named

These might be separate words or one. *xuzzowinz* occurs in the Pater Noster.

wingappazamùn

The last section of the first precept reads "Holy Masse or wingappazamùn: a mincha of bread" which could mean that mass and *wingappazamùn* are synonyms. Cuoq lists *wing-* as a lexical item meaning "agréable, doux, bon, très-bon, excellent" (Cuoq 1886).

Akindammon: TI

While the meaning of this word is not clear, the ending indicates that it is probably a transitive animate verb. See section 6.5 for further discussion.

mattchaish

Here we have again the morpheme *matt-* meaning "bad" or negation. Precept two concerns fasting and not eating meat. It is possibly the word for "sin."

kitt[h]chiwan: eat

The final *–iwan* has been used for inanimate nouns. However, there are verbal finals which are similar in shape. There are two different reconstructed PA words for the transitive "eat" which are reminiscent of this word. These are **ketamwa* (TI) and **mi·čiwa* (TI). In Menominee, these words take the shape *keta·m* and *mi·čwah*, meaning "he eats all of it" and "he eats it," respectively. Neither of these words provides an obvious cognate but given the context, *kitt[h]chiwan* probably means eat.

Kammámmon: TI

As with *Akindammon,* this word appears to have a TI ending.

itch

I previously suggested that *itch-* might be a root meaning "lie" or "falsehood" based on the Ten Commandments. That reading would only make sense in precept three if "falsehood" is being used to mean "sin."

xitazaix

The sequence *-tazaix* Occurs once in the Creed in *noetazaix*. There is also a related form, *yoozaix* These forms indicate that *–ta* and *–zaix* may be distinct morphemes.

Chapter 5 Piscataway Phonetics and Phonology

A number of interesting observations can be made about the phonetic values which could have been associated with the letters of the manuscript and, consequently, about the phonology of Piscataway. If Andrew White is indeed the author of the catechism, we have a brief description of the language from one of his letters:

> ...an office I have as $y^{r}L^{p}$ knowes as allso in lerning the Indian language w^{ch} hath many darke gutturalls, and drowneth often the last syllable or letteth it so softely fall as itt is euen by a good eare harde to bee vnderstood (White 1638: 202).

In the same letter, he mentions "a decay of my hearing" caused by illness. From the mention of his hearing difficulty and the description of the "last syllable," the author has given good reason for current readers of the Piscataway texts to be cautious when analyzing word endings. This description suggests that ends of words, final consonants or syllables, may have been whispered or devoiced. In 1915, anthropologist Frank Speck made a study of the English-speaking, twentieth-century descendants of the Nanticoke tribe. He noticed that "final consonants have a tendency to be dropped, as *mort*, 'mortar,' *orgɑ*, 'organ'" (Speck 1915: 40). Although this observation relates to English, it is possible that there is a connection. It may be that the English spoken by the Nanticoke and related groups was influenced by the Algonquian language it supplanted.

5.1 Consonants

While the consonant inventory of Piscataway cannot be determined with certainty, a few general characteristics of the language family can be described based on the text and comparison with the properties of related Algonquian languages. Following is Bloomfield's reconstructed inventory of Proto-Algonquian phonology.

19) Proto-Algonquian Consonants[16]	
voiceless stops and affricates	p, t, č, k
voiceless fricatives	s, š, θ, h
nasals and liquids	m, n, l
semivowels	w, y

While these reconstructed sounds are all hypothetical, there are a number of particularly difficult unresolved issues such as "the phonetic nature of *θ" (Goddard 1979: 73). PA */θ/ is realized in the daughter languages by a number of different sounds: /θ/, /t/, /c/, /l/, /r/, /n/, and /y/. Bloomfield describes it as an "unvoiced interdental or lateral" (Bloomfield 1946: 87) and later Goddard writes that Siebert describes it as a "voiceless lateral or lateral fricative." The difficulty in providing a definite value is that */θ/ is realized in the daughter languages by such a wide range of sounds. One alternative to the reconstruction *θ is the sound ɬ, which is explored in terms of Piscataway in section 5.4.

Looking just at consonants, the PA inventory is very similar to that of Munsee in table (20).[17] The only differences are that Munsee lacks /θ/ and has added /x/ (although <x> does occur in clusters in some reconstructed PA words).

[16] The PA inventory is not usually represented in this table. I organized it according to Goddard's Munsee inventory. The letter <č> indicates /tʃ/ and <š> indicates /ʃ/.

20) Munsee Consonants	
voiceless stops and affricates	p, t, č, k
voiceless fricatives	s, š, x, h
nasals and liquids	m, n, l
semivowels	w, y

Table (21) is a possible consonantal inventory for Piscataway assuming that the author was an English speaker and would have chosen orthography based on his own associations between sounds and letters. I do not intend to imply that this table is complete, but it is remarkably similar to the inventory of Munsee.

21) Piscataway Consonants						
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t			k	
Affricate			č			
Nasal	m	n				
Fricative		s z	š		x	h
Approximant				j	w	

The text includes <s> in borrowed words and in the word *tawsùn*. <s> does occur in *Wannas*, the name of the first chief mentioned by White and in the word *Piscataway*. I have included /s/ in the inventory based on these words even though there is little evidence in the manuscript for /s/.

The text does includes the letters <b>, <d>, and <g> but these voiced plosives are not present in the Proto-Algonquian inventory nor in the inventory of the related Delaware languages. Although these sounds are represented in the catechism, it seems unlikely that they would have been part of the underlying inventory. In Munsee, these

[17] I have reproduced Goddard's Munsee inventory with the categories that he uses though mine are somewhat different. I have decided to use the symbols č and š as these are used fairly consistently throughout the literature on Algonquian languages.

voiced consonants surface "after a homorganic nasal" (Goddard 1982: 18). In the Piscataway texts, there is one instance of the letter <b>, which occurs after a nasal. Most occurrences of <d> and <g> also occur after nasals, though <g> is used a few times word initially. For example, there is a nasal followed by <g> in *angez* and *oungizono* while initial <g> is found in *guezanum* and *gappazamùn*. It may be the case that the inventory should include /g/. The text also includes the cluster <ing> in *wing* which could indicate a velar nasal ŋ (as in English) but it seems more likely that it is a result of a similar voicing process than a distinctive sound.

Another letter which comes up in the text but is not present in the inventory is <v>. There are about five words which might include <v> but they are all difficult to read or incomplete. Seventeenth-century texts often use <v> word-initially where modern texts would have <u>. The last, probably most convincing reason to think that /v/ was not part of the Piscataway inventory is that the PA and Munsee inventories don't have any labiodentals.

I have also not included in the inventory the letter <r> though it, too, appears in the text. Although the letter <r> varies orthographically, sometimes resembling the letter <e>, it does fairly clearly occur in two Piscataway words: *xunnuptrawn* and *nequttrane*. To associate a phonetic value, the author would likely have been relying on English. However, even though Middle and Modern English /r/ is described as an alveolar liquid, during the seventeenth century, /r/ was undergoing a change. Word-initially it was likely a "trill or tap" but non-initial /r/ was probably an approximant (Lass 2001: 115). The author could have chosen <r> to represent any of these familiar articulations.

Given that the Munsee inventory includes /l/ and that [l] and the various sounds which are written as <r> can be difficult to distinguish, the value of <r> is more obscured by comparison. Interestingly, "seventeenth century Delaware *r* came to be completely replaced by *l* by at least the middle of the eighteenth century" (Goddard 1997: 77). A clue to the value of this letter might be found in Speck's study. "Among the consonants *r* is pronounced with the tongue tip well curved but with no trill" (Speck 1915: 40). He may be describing a retroflex consonant. <r> should be included in the inventory, but the evidence does not provide a clear value. As Goddard notes, "the exact phonetics of PEA **r* are uncertain" (Goddard 1982: 21).

The frequency of the letters <x> and <z> within the text gives enough data to make some suggestions about the sounds these letters were meant to represent. The letter <x> in English usually represents the cluster [ks], which is a possible value for the Piscataway text. However, White mentions "darke gutturals" which more likely correspond to a velar fricative than a plosive (although "guttural" could correspond to a uvular sound he might have been familiar with from Hebrew). Voegelin's 1946 description of Lenape/Delaware includes a velar fricative <x> although it does not occur in the position of the second-person prefix which seems to be the case with Piscataway. Munsee's /x/ is described as "a back velar" with "strong friction" (Goddard 1982: 18).

<z> is used to represent a voiced alveolar fricative in English, which could be the articulation represented by <z> in the manuscript. This letter is very infrequently represented in dictionaries of Algonquian languages. Possibly, [z] is the result of a voicing rule such as those affecting the plosives. The frequency of <z> within the texts and the relative lack of the corresponding unvoiced <s> imply that that is not the case.

However, the word *tawsùn* which presents the one unambiguous instance of <s> in the manuscript is written elsewhere with a <z>: *tawzin* (Archives of Maryland 1932: 403). Another curious detail is that *angez* is written *angel* in the Nanticoke word lists. This is an instance where using the contemporary English value for the letter is not entirely useful as the data indicate another sound may be intended.

5.2 Vowels

The inventory of vowels is difficult to ascertain. The text includes <a>, <e>, <i>, <o>, and <u> as well as instances of doubled <ee>, <oo>, and <uu>. Additionally, the text includes several instances of <y> which might indicate a glide as in the English "reioyce" from the text. Voegelin's and Goddard's inventories of Delaware include "w" and "y" as semi-vowels. Voegelin also describes processes of vowel nasalization. It is not clear from the text whether sequences of a vowel followed by a nasal indicate nasalization, but it is possible.

Bloomfield's Proto-Algonquian reconstruction includes four short and four long vowels: a, e, i, o and aa, ee, ii, oo. According to Goddard, Proto-Eastern-Algonquian recast the PA vowel system as the short vowels *a and *ə and long vowels *ī, *ē, *ā, and *ō (Goddard 1979: 96). The cautious explanation for the occurrence of both <o> and <u> in the manuscript is that the author was inconsistent in transcribing back rounded vowels. The Piscataway vowel system was probably similar to that of the reconstructed Proto-Eastern-Algonquian system.

5.3 Diacritics

The author created a system of meaningful diacritics which modify both vowels and consonants. These diacritics indicate the author's interest in accurately representing the sounds of the language. Since accent marks, breathings, etc. are not part of English orthography, they must have been borrowed from other languages such as Greek or Hebrew. At about the same time that this manuscript was produced, the missionary Roger Williams wrote a description of Narragansett titled, "A Key into the Language of America." In his introduction, he writes, "Because the Life of all Language is in the Pronunciation, I have been at the paines and charges to cause the Accents, Tones, or Sounds to be affixed (which some understand, according to the Greeke Language, Acutes, Graves, Circumflexes)…" (Williams 1643: Intro.). Each recorder of Indian languages invented his own orthography and system of sound correspondences. There was no standard method of writing unfamiliar languages and certainly no widely accepted phonetic alphabet at the time.[18] However, Latin and Greek (and Hebrew for Jesuits) were part of a standard religious education.

One possible use for these diacritics could be to mark tones, or pitch accents. A few Algonquian languages do include tones. Arapaho is one (which also displays vowel harmony), though it is a Plains language (Cowell 2005: 444). The majority of Algonquian languages are not tonal and a missionary who had previously only been familiar with primarily Indo-European languages might not have perceived tones, so this possibility seems remote.

---

[18] *Thomas Harriot did invent a method of phonetic transcription based partly on his knowledge of an Algonquian language gained during a 1584 voyage to North America. His work was not published, however, until more than three centuries later (Salmon 1996).*

The diacritics in the text are acute, grave, circumflex, umlaut, hook, and a dot placed below certain letters. There are also combinations of diacritics. The acute and grave diacritics could indicate word stress. (It is possible that White was familiar with the stress accent marks of Spanish.) For example, *wúnnay* from the Pater Noster could be a two-syllable word with stress on the first syllable. However, there are cases of words which are probably monosyllabic and would not require a stress accent, for example *ạ̈p* which has both an umlaut and a grave diacritic. In these cases, it seems more likely that the diacritics indicate a quality of the vowel or consonant. Undoubtedly there is a great deal of information conveyed by this system of diacritics but it remains a subject for further study.

5.4 PA Sound Reflexes

By looking at a number of words in the manuscript which have cognates in other languages, it is possible to propose reflexes of Proto-Algonquian sounds which could be unique to this language in the family.

22) Proto-Algonquian		**Piscataway**	
*waθkit	"on top, surface-dwelling"	wazkit	"on top, surface-dwelling"
*eθkwe·wa	"woman"	azquaen	"woman"
*wešihe·wa	"make"	wezixiz	"make, create"
*ešpemenki (with Locative)	"up above"	azpummen	"heaven, above"

The data in table (22), though scant, suggest that both *θ and *š are reflected in Piscataway by <z>. Though I have included š as part of the consonantal inventory, there

is only one incidence of <sh> in the text. [z] is a possible reflex for *š given that both are fricatives, though there are two primary differences: place of articulation and voicing. *š is common in PA words which would help explain the frequency of <z> within the texts if it is the Piscataway reflex of *š. The various spellings for the Nanticoke word for "heaven," *spummend*, *eschpummink* and *schpummend* indicate [s] or [š]. Perhaps the actual sound fell somewhere in between [s], [z], and [š], but the primary difference between the PA reconstructions and Piscataway is the indication that this consonant was voiced. A voiced sibilant followed by an unvoiced consonant, as found in the words *azpúmmen* or *wazkit*, is a difficult articulatory context. If <z> does represent a voiced fricative, perhaps the lack of voicing on the following consonants indicates a syllable boundary.

It also appears that [z] is the Piscataway reflex for PA *θ. This would be a correspondence unique to this language. Daughter languages are often identified in terms of the reflex of PA *θ. Other languages reflect a voiced segment for PA *θ, so that is not unusual. As mentioned previously, other historical texts indicate <l> (*angel*) where <z> is found in the manuscript and <z> (*tawzin*) for <s>. While /l/ is found as a reflex for PA *θ, /s/ is not. It is possible that PA *θ and *š fall together, but it may be that the letter <z> is obscuring an important distinction between the Piscataway reflexes for these two sounds.

Picard (1984) argues that PA *ɬ may be a more natural segment for PA *θ. For the Piscataway data, PA *ɬ could clear up some of the confusion caused by the letter <z>. Either /z/ could be the Piscataway reflex of PA *ɬ, or ɬ itself is the intended sound. The lateral fricative is not a part of the English inventory and would have caused a problem

for any English speaker attempting an orthographic representation. It also could easily be confused with š. Both z and ɬ are postalveolar, requiring fewer changes between the Piscataway segment and the Proto-Algonquian segment than a change from /θ/ to /z/.

The word *wezixiz* suggests retention of a PA form where most other languages have changed. Attested forms in other languages are found in table (23).

23) Algonquian "make" or "create"	
PA	*wešihe·wa
Cree	osi·he·w
Fox	ašihe·wa
Menominee	ose·hɛ·w
Ojibwa	oši?

In all of the examples, PA initial *we-* is monophthongized to <o> or <a>. This change is also found in Southern Unami while Northern Unami and Munsee retain the [w] which was probably present in the common Delaware language (Goddard 1997: 45). It is possible that Piscataway, like Northern Unami, retained initial [w].

24) Proto-Algonquian		**Piscataway**	
*kemot	"steal"	xomutt	"steal"
*axki	"earth"	axxint	"on earth"
*ke?či	"great"	xhoxhi	"great"

From table (24), a pattern begins to emerge of a correspondence between PA */k/ and Piscataway /x/, or a similar sound, but very likely a velar fricative, both internally and word initially.

In addition to the change from PA */k/ to Piscataway /x/, there are a number of possible correspondences illustrated by the word *xhoxhi*. (The following suggestions are

not intended to illustrate general rules about Piscataway.) One phonological change observed in Munsee is that "PA **hC* and **?C* fall together to PEA **hC* except for PA *hl and *?l" (Goddard 1982: 26). Conveniently, Goddard gives as the example for this rule Munsee *kíhčĭ* "great" from PA *ke?či.* Hypothetically, *xhoxhi* could be partially derived from ***ke?či* as in table (25).

25) **Piscataway xhoxhi from PA *ke?či**	
a) PA	*ke?či
b) ?č > hC	kehčĭ[19]
c) e > o	kohčĭ
d) k > x	xohčĭ

While Munsee has a vowel change from PA *e to the more front í*,* the Piscataway text indicates a more back or rounded vowel. A correspondence between PA *kemot "steal" and Piscataway *xomutt*, giving support to the correspondence between e and o in (20c). A somewhat specific rule for Munsee is that "before /x/, PEA *ə becomes Munsee /o/ if the /x/ is followed by /kw/, /p/ or a rounded vowel, or if the *ə is preceded by /m/ or /p/" (Goddard 1982: 37). This rule concerns a different context but it does provide an example of a process of vowel rounding from a related language. For (20d), I do not have any examples of PA *č changing to *x,* though Goddard claims that "in all Eastern Algonquian languages PA **čk* falls together with **xk*" (Goddard 1982: 29) so there is at least one cluster in which this change is observed.

[19] *kehčĭ* is the form for the Fox prenoun "great" (Dahlstrom 1997: 214).

5.5 Conclusion

The manuscript offers a number of clues to the inventory of sounds of Piscataway. The inventory of consonants was probably quite similar to that of the Delaware languages, though with a number of interesting variations. In particular, the recurrent letter <z> suggests that ɬ might be a more appropriate reconstruction for the Proto-Algonquian precursor than *θ.

Sound correspondences between related languages and between Piscataway and Proto-Algonquian facilitates cognate identification as well as identification of morphological entities.

Chapter 6 Piscataway Morphology

From the data in Chapter 4, it seems likely that Goddard's assertion is true; the prayers "show some pidgin features as well as rudimentary Algonquian inflectional morphology" (Goddard 1996: 18). But what, specifically, does that mean? The language of the catechism exhibits more morphological complexity than the once relatively widespread Pidgin Delaware, leading me to believe that it does not represent a widely-accepted pidgin, though it is possible that such a pidgin existed. In order to further explore the notion that the language exhibits pidgin features, a comparison with certain aspects of Pidgin Delaware described in Goddard 1997 follows. However, the primary goal of this chapter is to provide a preliminary description of the morphological entities discoverable in the manuscript.

Goddard concludes from a variety of historical documents that it is likely "that there were local forms of Algonquian-based pidgins all along the coast, though in some areas they had developed only to the extent of rudimentary trade jargons" (Goddard 2000: 71) and also that often "Europeans who learned the various forms of pidginized Algonquian believed that they were using the real Indian language" (Goddard 1977: 41). It is entirely possible that a pidgin Piscataway developed. The Calvert colonists were not the first foreigners to come into contact with the tribe. From the time of the arrival of Captain John Smith's exploring party in 1608, the Piscataways had had intermittent contact with Europeans (Merrell 1979: 7) as well as with other tribes who spoke both Algonquian and Iroquoian language varieties. When the Calvert group arrived, they

communicated with the leader, Wannas, through traders such as Henry Fleet and Protestant interpreters who were already familiar with the region.

Once the colonists had established a settlement, Jesuit Andrew White went to live among the tribe and learn the language. Historian James Merrell suggests that the availability of the Piscataways for conversion by the English Jesuits was a political move on the part of Wannas's successor, Kittamaquund. Kittamaquund killed Wannas, his brother, in 1636, usurping his title. Many members of the tribe then and later felt that he was not the legitimate ruler. "Because he had to look to St. Mary's [the seat of the English colony] for support against members of the tribe who opposed his usurpation, he made nonviolent intrusion by another culture possible" (Merrell 1979: 556). In other words, there were numerous opportunities and both economic and political incentive for a pidgin language to develop.

The other possible explanation for the reduced morphological complexity of the language of the manuscript—evident, for example, in the lack of plural inflection on verbs or TA theme signs—is simply that the author was still learning the language. Goddard notes that the "use of uninflected verbs is, of course, both a universal feature of pidgins and a characteristic of the imperfect language-acquisition of nonnative or partial speakers of languages generally" (Goddard 1977: 39).

A closer look at the identifiable morphology of the text should provide some support for one of these hypotheses. A pidgin Piscataway should exhibit features such as those found in Pidgin Delaware texts. Pidgin Delaware sentences are "strings of grammatically invariant words that leave many things unexpressed" (Goddard 1997: 66). In his discussion of Pidgin Delaware, Goddard remarks that "there are traces of many

Unami inflectional morphemes frozen in invariant Pidgin Delaware words" (Goddard 1997: 57) but that no use is made of inflectional morphology. Instead, pidgin grammatical categories are "indicated lexically and syntactically." Attributives, for example, are placed before or after the associated noun, whereas in the parent language, adjectival characteristics are often expressed by verbs. Some specific characteristics of the grammar of Pidgin Delaware are that first-, second-, and third-person pronominal categories are undifferentiated for gender or number and are used as separate words rather than affixes and that negation is indicated by a word derived from one Unami negative particle which is not the most common.

After Nanticoke, the Delaware languages are probably the Algonquian languages most closely related to Piscataway. Unami was the closest geographically to the north while Powhatan bordered the Piscataway/Nanticoke area to the south. Comparison with Unami and Munsee (as well as Pidgin Delaware), on which there is considerable documentation can provide insight into Piscataway morphology.

In the following sections, prefixation is treated separately from other types of inflection because of the resemblances between verbal and nominal prefixation and personal pronouns.There are sections on inflection and derivation although these topics are also covered together in separate sections on the transitive verb orders.

6.1 Prefixation

First, second, and third person prefixes are found in the Piscataway text. They represent both pronominal and possessive categories. There are also orthographically

separate words, representing these same categories, which seem cognate with stand-alone words normally used for emphasis in other Algonquian languages.

The first-person prefix is used in the verb *nowuzzamo* "I believe" found in the Creed. In the Sign of the Cross, *nummánee* "my God" is clearly differentiated from other occurrences of *manee* without the possessive prefix. Thus, the first-person prefix is denoted by both *no-* and *nu-*. The different vowels could represent allomorphic alternants. There are also numerous occurrences of *niez*, also used as the first-person possessive as in the Pater Noster phrase *niez hopòn* "my bread." *Niez* also seems to be used as a pronoun in the first commandment *niez xummanee* "I (am) your god."

This mixed use of prefixes and lexical words for the same functions extends to second person. For example, in commandment five, *xunnuptrawn* "you kill (someone)," can be compared with *onuppò* in the Creed. Both contain the root for "die" *nupp-*, so *xu-* can be identified as the second-person prefix. However, in the fourth commandment, the phrase *xie xuzzam* possibly meaning "your honor" seems to have double person marking. *xu-* is prefixed to the root *–zam* so the word *xie* seems unnecessary unless *xuzzam* is a frozen form. This root *–zam* appears extensively throughout the catechism.

xooch "your father" is very possibly a frozen form. In the Creed, which is a statement of belief, "your father" is not an expected translation. However, relationship terms are normally bound, requiring a prefix. Perhaps second person is being used as the default in this case. There is one other possible occurrence of the root *–och* as *coòch* in the Sign of the Cross which suggests other inflectional marking, though it is unidentifiable.[20]

[20] The phonetic value of this letter is unclear. There are three words beginning with the letter <c>, *coòch, cowatt-o*, and *Com[oxo]*. In all other cases of Piscataway words, <c> always appears in the cluster <ch>.

The third-person possessive prefix is found in the word *wyu* "his wife" in commandment nine. This is another example of a bound relationship term. In the Ave Maria, *wizono* likely means "his birth" as the root *–zon* is used in a variety of combinations. On the other hand, *uttaioumz*, for goods or possessions in the tenth commandment, and *oxuttarvoxanz* for (God's) commandments do not have the *w-* prefix. It may be the case that in certain, possibly vowel-initial, contexts, the prefix is *o-* or *u-*.

In many Algonquian languages, the third-person pronoun is not indicated on verbs by a prefix, though it may take a suffix. In Plains Cree, for example, third person is marked on Animate Intransitive verbs by the suffix *–w* (Dahlstrom 1986: 32). (It should be noted that prefixes are normally present only in the indicative paradigm.) The text most likely to contain numerous instances of the third-person pronoun is the description of the events of the Gospels found in the Creed.

In the Creed, there are four words beginning with *wutt-*: *wuttappen*, *wuttangez*, *wuttaxxozun*, and *wuttappezo*. These possibly provide an example of alternation of the third-person prefix. In Unami, there is an epenthetic "t" between person prefixes and stems beginning with a vowel. For example, compare *a·lu·kwé·pi* "hat" with *kta·lu·kwe·pí·si* "you are wearing a hat" (Voegelin 1946: 142).

In many languages, as Bloomfield notes, Proto-Algonquian word-initial *we-* becomes *o-* (Bloomfield 1946: 87). In Unami Delaware, third person prefix *wə-* (both as pronoun and possessive prefix) is often subject to contraction or metathesis before stems beginning with certain consonants (Voegelin 1946: 140). It is possible that processes

---

The single <c> could represent an unvoiced velar plosive as in the text's Latin words such as *sanct*. However, the value of this letter is ambiguous in English orthography. Thus, it is also unclear whether *coòch* represents a person prefix with the root for "father" or an entirely different word.

such as epenthesis, contraction, or metathesis accompany prefixation in this language. There are not enough data to provide a clear picture.

The use of prefixation, though it is not consistently applied, provides evidence against the hypothesis that the language of the text is a pidgin. On the other hand, some of the prefixes are used in unexpected ways and there is no evidence that suffixes expressing gender and number accompany the person prefixes. In contexts in which the plural could be expected such as the Pater Noster, "our father," there is no plural suffix.

6.2 Negation

In Pidgin Delaware, the negative particle usually precedes the subject, though in prohibitive contexts, it often follows the subject instead. In one text, for example, the seventh commandment is written as follows:

26) Pidgin Delaware Seventh Commandment		
Chijr	mátta	KommWta
2	not	steal
"thou shalt not steal"		
		(Goddard 1997: 62)

Pidgin *mátta* derives from the Unami negative particle *máta*. This particle is used preverbally in Unami, while two other negative particles, *tá·kó* and *káči* are clause-initial. *máta* is the particle used with the conjunct mode which is less frequently used than the indicative. Additionally, Unami verbs require a negative inflectional morpheme (Goddard

1997: 49). For prohibitive commands, the particle *káči* would be used with an inflectional suffix.

Among Algonquian languages, there is a great deal of variation in the negative particles, so that it is not possible to say whether Piscataway *mattiz* is the conjunct negative particle. In Piscataway, there are at least two forms of the negative particle *mattiz* and *mattàh*, suggesting that the particle is here being used with inflectional endings; *–iz* and *àh* are frequent endings throughout the manuscript.

6.3 Inflectional Suffixes

6.3.1 Verbs

Although the Commandments would logically be prohibitive or imperative, *–iz* from *mattiz* does not resemble prohibitive or imperative inflectional endings found in related languages. Aubin's dictionary lists numerous uses for the PA morpheme **-i* including verbal and nominal final, conjunct theme sign, inflectional ending, etc. It can also be used as a "connective" between morphemes (Bloomfield 1946: 90). Thus, the status of the ending *–iz* is ambiguous. It may be one morpheme with a connective or two morphemes.

In the Ave Maria, the inflection *–àh* appears at the end of the word *pazuttàh*. By comparison with *mattah* and *mattàh* in the Ten Commandments (and the Pater Noster), it seems likely that *-àh* is a distinct morpheme. The accented *–àh* occurs word-finally six times throughout the prayers (not always in the context of a preceding "t"). Without the diacritic, *-ah* appears aproximately five times. Without knowing the purpose of the

diacritics, it is unclear whether these are the same endings, though the existence of both accented and unaccented *mattah* suggests that they are. Munsee has a TI singular imperative ending *–ah* for Class 1a and *–ih* for Class 1b … from PEA *-ahr (Goddard 1982: 45). Given the similarity between the Munsee inflection and the Piscataway, it seems reasonable to propose that Piscataway *–ah* is an imperative inflection. Some instances such as *patahonàh* could be TI verbs, though *matt-* followed by an imperative inflection would not likely be a well-formed verb.

6.3.2 Animate Nouns

Aside from prefixation, there is not much evidence of nominal inflection. However, at least two words, *piattomòx* and *axxomóx*, seem to have a plural suffix *-òx*. Bloomfield reconstructs the animate plural suffix as *–aki* (Bloomfield 1946: 95). In Plains Cree and Lenape/Delaware the animate plural is *–ak* as in Cree *na·pe·w-ak* "men" (Dahlstrom 1986: 12, Voegelin 1946: 144). While other words, such as *tawwanox*, might also exhibit plural inflection, the recurrence of the forms *piat-* and *axx-* allows the isolation of the plural morpheme. As discussed before, there is a correspondence between [k] in Proto-Algonquian words and [x] in Piscataway.

There is also some evidence of obviative affixation on nouns. Words such as *wizono*, *osabbatho*, and *onuppò*, seem to be possessed nouns. The final *-o* is apparently not part of the root, indicating some kind of inflection. In other languages, nouns possessed by third persons are obligatorily obviative. Possessed noun *wyu* does not have the *-o* suffix.

6.4 Derivation

A number of forms recur in what seem to be productive ways though some may have been frozen as pidgin-like lexical items. Others resemble category-conferring finals.

Some form of PA *mači-* "bad" (Bloomfield 1946: 104), either a prenoun or particle, surfaces in many Algonquian languages. Its use in the catechism seems productive with the sense of "bad," "sinful," or "evil." Goddard writes that Munsee *măči-* is an initial formed of the root *mat-* and the final *–i* (Goddard 1990: 14), suggesting *matt-* and *mach-* are allomorphs of the same word or root. In most cases in the Piscataway text, *mach* is written as a separate word, but at least two uses provide evidence of combination: *machizappoz* and *machizono*. (I have tentatively translated *machizappoz* as "sinner" and *machizono* as "evil birth".) These might be evidence either of derivational word-forming processes or of the use of prenouns.

Other recurrent forms which may be roots include *zam-* and *wing-*. In the Ave Maria, for example, *zamwing* shows evidence of combination; *zam* and *wing* are identifiable as separate elements. *wing* is found as a separate word elsewhere and *zam* is combined in the word *zamwuzzèe*.

6.4.1 Nouns

The suffix *-awan* appears four times throughout the manuscript. In two instances, the first vowel is accented *á*. The suffix is part of the phrase *poquatz-axxawan* which, from the context and repetition, means "church." It seems to be a nominal derivational

element. It could be a final but since the root *axx-* is likely already a noun, this ending must add some additional information.

6.4.2 Locative

As mentioned in the previous description of Algonquian morphology, inanimate nouns may take a locative suffix. There is an example of the locative suffix *-int* in the word *axxint* "on earth" which occurs in the Pater Noster and the Creed. The locative suffix in Unami is *–ink* (|-ənk|) as in *haki·há·k·anink* "in the field" (Goddard 1997: 48). Aubin's Proto-Algonquian dictionary lists ***enki* as the reconstruction. In this case, the locative is identifiable by comparison with other words which share the same noun root—*axxawan*, for example. There are no other examples of the locative in the text and I have also not found any other examples of a change from PA *k to Piscataway t. It is the semantic context which makes the locative the most logical reading for this suffix.

6.5 TI Verbs

There are a number of recurring elements which may be analyzed as transitive inanimate finals. Looking at *axxindamon*, the word could be analyzed as follows, assuming the default subject:

27) axxindamon Analysis
axxindamon
axx-int-am-on
earth-LOC-Final.TI-3
"he puts it in/on the earth/land"

In Delaware, both Munsee and Unami, for example, TI finals are divided into three general classes. Class 1 stems, which this example probably represents, "are always immediately followed by a theme sign of the shape /-am/ or /-əm/" (Goddard 1979: 71).

The inflectional paradigm for the Unami TI independent indicative follows in table (28):

28) Unami TI Independent Indicative Inflections		
	3	3p
1,2,3	/n-, k-, w—(ə)n/	/n-, k-, w—(ə)na(l)/
1p, 12	/n-, k-, w—(ə)nēn/	/n-, k-, w—(ə)nēnānī(l)/
2p, 3p	/n-, k-, w—(ə)nēwā/	/n-, k-, w—(ə)nēwāwī(l)/
		(Goddard 1979: 179)

This table would give inflected forms such as:

29) Class 1a /pən/ "look at"
1p mpə́namən "I look at it"
3p pwə́namən "he looks at it"

Two other words from the Precepts probably are of the same class: *akindammon* and *kammammon*. It is not clear whether these verbs are actually being used in each context as third-person independent indicative, but the shape reflects the final and inflectional ending found in this paradigm. Like the Commandments, the Precepts are guidelines for behavior, however these do not display second-person prefixation. Perhaps these were written as more general statements employing third-person.

The recurrence of the sequence <zam> throughout the manuscript, while superficially seeming to provide instances of the same root, may in fact reveal a root and

a TI ending. The word *zamwing*, for instance, seems fairly clearly to be two parts: *zam* and *wing*. *Nowuzzamo*, on the other hand, should be a transitive verb, which would make <z> the final consonant of the root *wuz-* and *-am* the derivational ending. This analysis also makes sense of the doubled consonant <z>. In many cases doubled letters seem to indicate a morpheme boundary.

For Class 2, the word *xunnätöm* is a likely candidate. "The stems of Class 2 end in a /t/ followed by a thematic element which may be set up as /ō/ alternating with /aw/" (Goddard 1979: 71). These take the same inflectional endings as Class 1. An Unami example is *mpé·t·o·n* "I brought it." In commandments nine and ten, *xunnätöm* is evidently a transitive verb. However, the object in commandment nine is *wyu* "wife" which is an animate noun in other Algonquian languages.

6.6 TA Verbs

For the Delaware languages, "in the TA there are three very large classes—the stems in /-C/, in /-Cw/, and in /-aw/" (Goddard 1979: 67). There are numerous words which should semantically be transitive animate. In commandment five, for example, the verb for "kill" *xunnuptrawn*, can be broken down at least into the second-person prefix *xu-* and the root *nup-* "die." A TA final *–aw* makes sense for this verb. The final *–n* of *xunnuptrawn* (and of *wimbezawn)* looks like a different TA final. Voegelin mentions an instrumental ending -□*n* for Delaware, meaning "by hand" (Voegelin 1946: 153). The final *–n* in *xunnuptrawn* resembles the Delaware instrumental -□*n*. It does not necessarily

have the same meaning, but “by hand” would make sense in terms of killing and creating, the semantic contexts for these words.

In Goddard’s discussion of derivation, he classifies suffixes such as Voegelin’s instrumental as finals. In Munsee, for example, the final -□*n* is Transitive Inanimate class 1b meaning “act on, render (thus) by hand” (Goddard 1990: 456). There are examples of the same final in other languages such as Menominee and Fox.

6.7 Morpheme Alternants

The frequency of the second-person prefix allows an examination of the distribution of vowels in the text to try to find a pattern of alternation. The most common forms are *xu-* and *xo-*. Both forms occur before nasals <m> and <n> so no contrast is evident there. However, *xu-* is found twice in the context of the letter <z> and *xo-* is found in the context of the letters <w> and a vowel <o>. The form *xi-* is found in the context of <x> and <tch>. It is interesting to note that the first consonant or vowel of the stem is always doubled except in the cases where the following vowel is <i> and in the word *xitchaw*. Table (30) shows the distribution.

There seems to be a rough pattern. The vowel <i> occurs in the context of a following fricative <x> or affricate. Rounded vowels <o> and <u> are used before nasals, vowels, semi-vowels, and the ambiguous <z>. However, there is not enough data to formulate a rule.

30) Second-Person Prefix Alternants		
Vowel	**Context**	**Word**
u	nasal n	xunnawtoxiz xunnupt[r]awn xunnätöm
	nasal m	xummanee
	alveolar fricative or lateral fricative	xuzzam xuzzowinz
o	nasal n	xoníngzon
	nasal m	xommûtt
	approx w	xowizxaw
	vowel o	xooch
i	velar fricative	xixxáwiz
	affricate	xitchaw

6.8 Unidentified Recurrent Elements

The following table lists elements which may be roots, finals, or inflections but which have not yet been identified. These are discussed in the commentary on individual words. They are listed here as additional data even though I cannot yet provide further analysis.

Element	Context
-iz	Tazzańğiz Mattiz
-owu	wahquundowù
-onan	wahquundonan[iz]
-maim	tahammaim azzamáim
oung(i)-	oungizono

6.9 Conclusion

Both inflectional and derivation morphological processes are evident in the catechism. Some, such as prefixation, clearly reflect the paradigm found generally in the

family of languages. The evidence for TI and TA derivational morphemes following the pattern of Delaware suggests close ties between those languages and Piscataway. Moreover, the evidence of any morphological processes, especially the use of plural inflection found on some nouns, undermines the hypothesis that the manuscript represents a pidgin language. On the other hand, there is evidence for some frozen forms such as *xooch*.

Chapter 7 Syntax

While it is not the aim of the present study to describe the syntax of Piscataway, a comparison between some aspects of the syntax of Pidgin Delaware and the syntax observed in the manuscript may shed light on the question of whether or not the catechism provides an example of a pidgin language. A comparison of example (26), the Pidgin Delaware seventh commandment, with the same commandment in Piscataway is a good case to illustrate the differences. The Piscataway commandment in example (31) includes only a particle for negation and the verb.

31) Piscataway Seventh Commandment	
Mattiz	xommûtt
NEG	steal
"thou shalt not steal"	

The verb seems not to include the second-person prefix, but in cases where the prefix and initial syllable of the verb are the same, the prefix may be dropped or merged as in the Munsee example *k□ˋmótke·n* "you stole him" (Goddard 1982: 42). Given that the other commandments include the second-person prefix, this one is probably not an exception. So, we likely have prefixation with evidence of a phonological process where, in the pidgin example, subject and second person are lexically indicated.

Commandments nine and ten show word order variation. The verb *xunnätöm* occurs in the sentences in final position and second position so that both OV and VO word order are used without lexical subjects. In most Algonquian languages, word order is quite free. The "most striking syntactic trait of Cree," for example, is the "remarkable

freedom in the order of the major constituents of a sentence" according to Wolfart (1996: 392). Grammatically acceptable sentences may consist of just the verb with subjects and objects omitted. This variation would be more characteristic of a full Algonquian language than a pidgin. Pidgins "tend to have a fixed, invariable word order, which is characteristically SVO" (McMahon 1994: 260).

Though these examples of Piscataway syntax are brief, they augment the evidence gathered in Chapter 6 that the catechism sentences are not "strings of grammatically invariant words" (Goddard 1997: 66). The use of inflection to indicate subject and varied word order are not typical pidgin features.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

The aim of this project is to provide a preliminary description of the language found in the Father Andrew White manuscript. Given the state of the manuscript, this description is inevitably imperfect. For the most part, the manuscript has been neglected by Algonquian scholars but the data clearly show that the language is of Algonquian origin and, thus, of interest for those seeking to understand the family. In the final analysis, the language might not be Piscataway, but the historical evidence strongly suggests that it is. At least one word, *tund*, is cognate with *tunt* and *tind* found among the lists of Nanticoke words while *tawsun* is found in historical documents relating to the Piscataways.

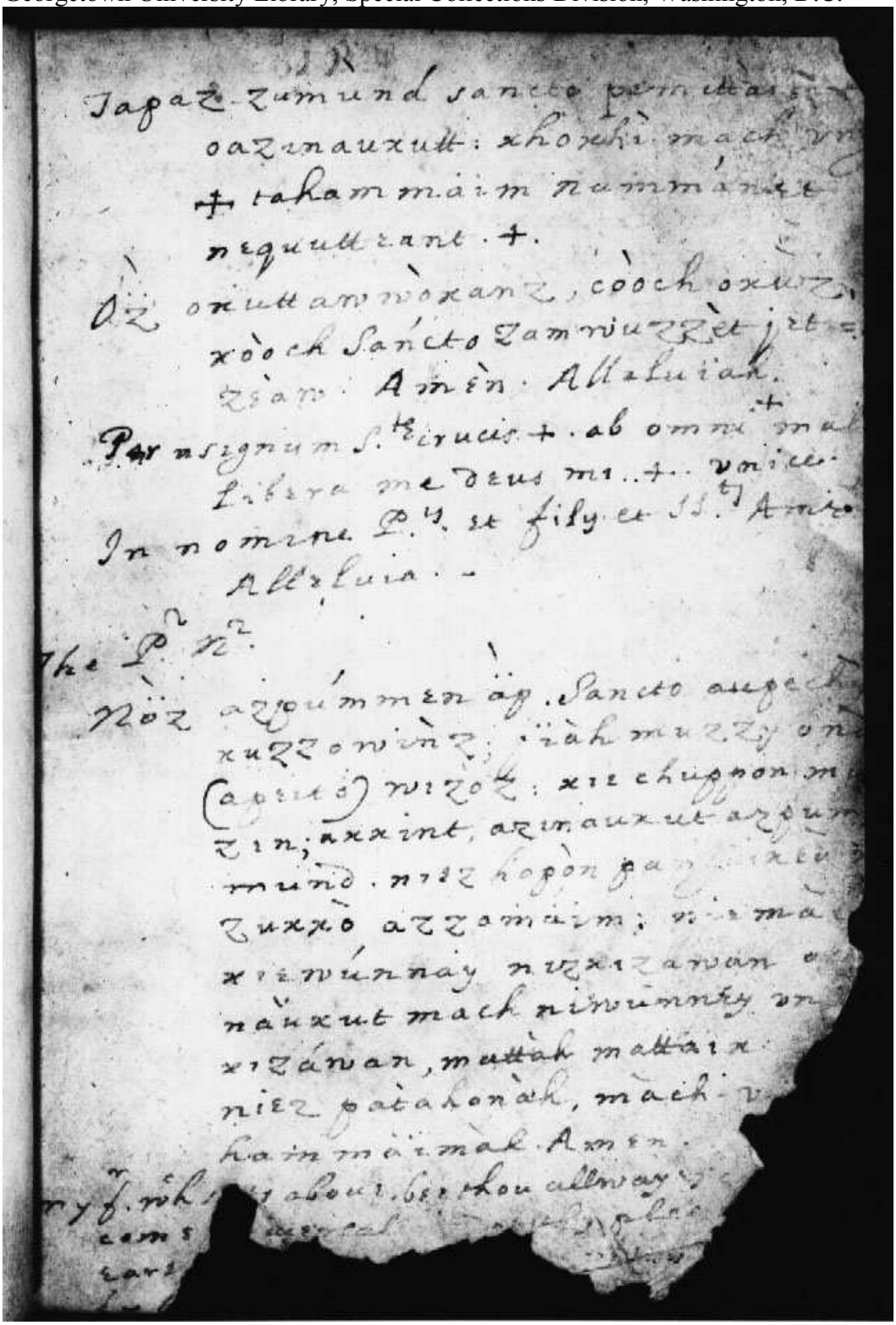
The only previous scholarly mention of the language briefly describes it as displaying pidgin features with rudimentary Algonquian inflection. The manuscript indeed does not present the rich morphological complexity of a typical Algonquian language, but the presence of basic inflectional and derivational elements contrasts with the absolute lack of morphology found in Pidgin Delaware texts. This document may be the product of a language learner, perhaps learning a reduced form of the language, but it does not seem to represent a widely-used pidgin like Pidgin Delaware.

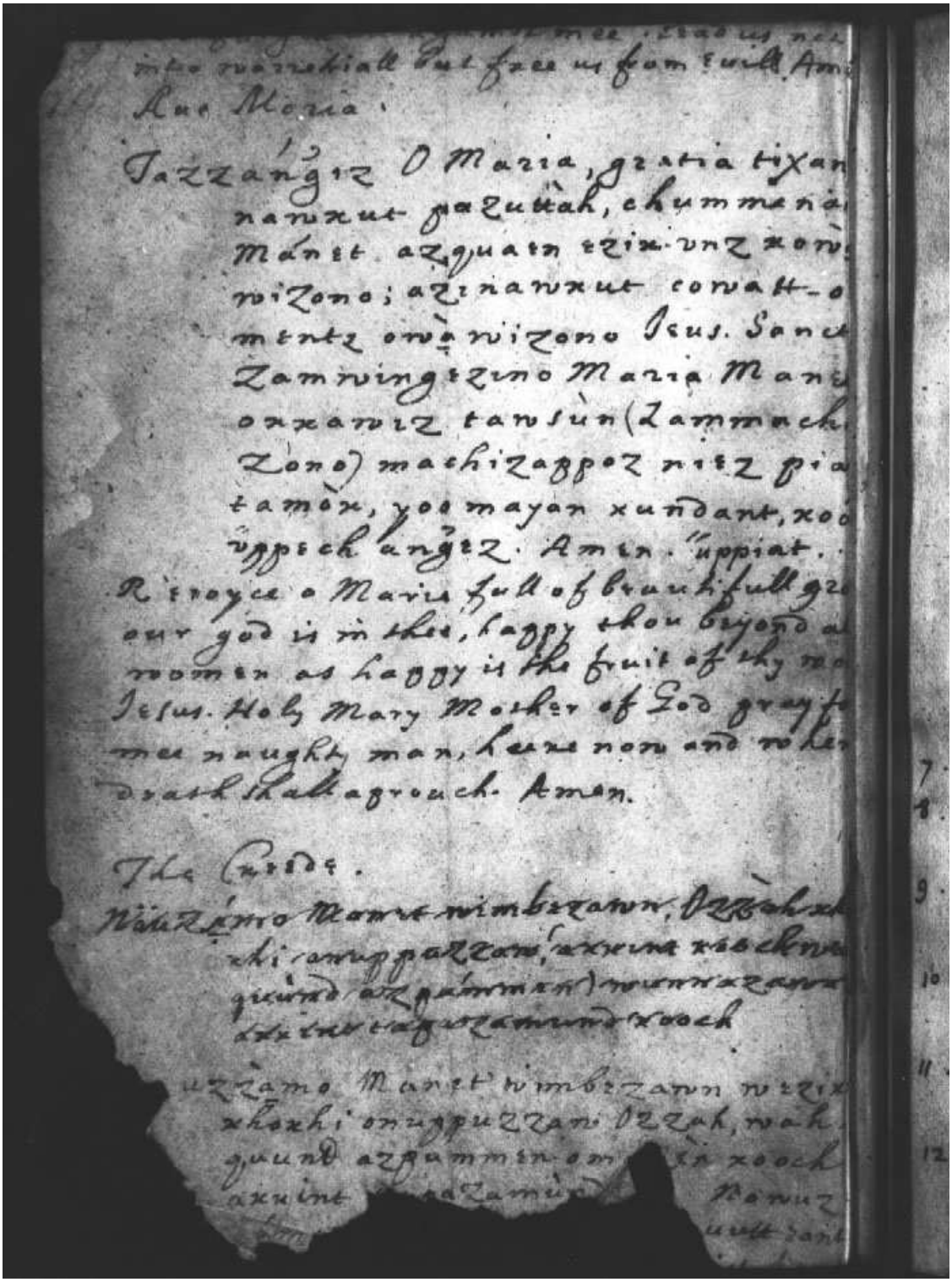
While there are inconsistencies, the author of the manuscript was careful to write in such a way as to indicate the actual sounds of the language. Thus it is possible to propose a phonological inventory of the language as well as a number of interesting correspondences with Proto-Algonquian.

The present study provides a preliminary analysis of the data. There is still much more work to be done. Although the document is short and incomplete, it is the only currently known record of this language and could yield more data with additional study. Further analysis could clarify the system of diacritics, possibly yielding more information about the vowel system or the prosodic properties of the language. Deeper comparison with historical documents of Algonquian languages such as the grammars and dictionaries of French missionaries could help provide a fuller description of the language. In turn, the Piscataway data could help clarify unresolved issues about the nature of the Eastern Algonquian subgroup.

Appendix A: Fr. Andrew White Manuscript in Piscataway

Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Division, Washington, D.C.





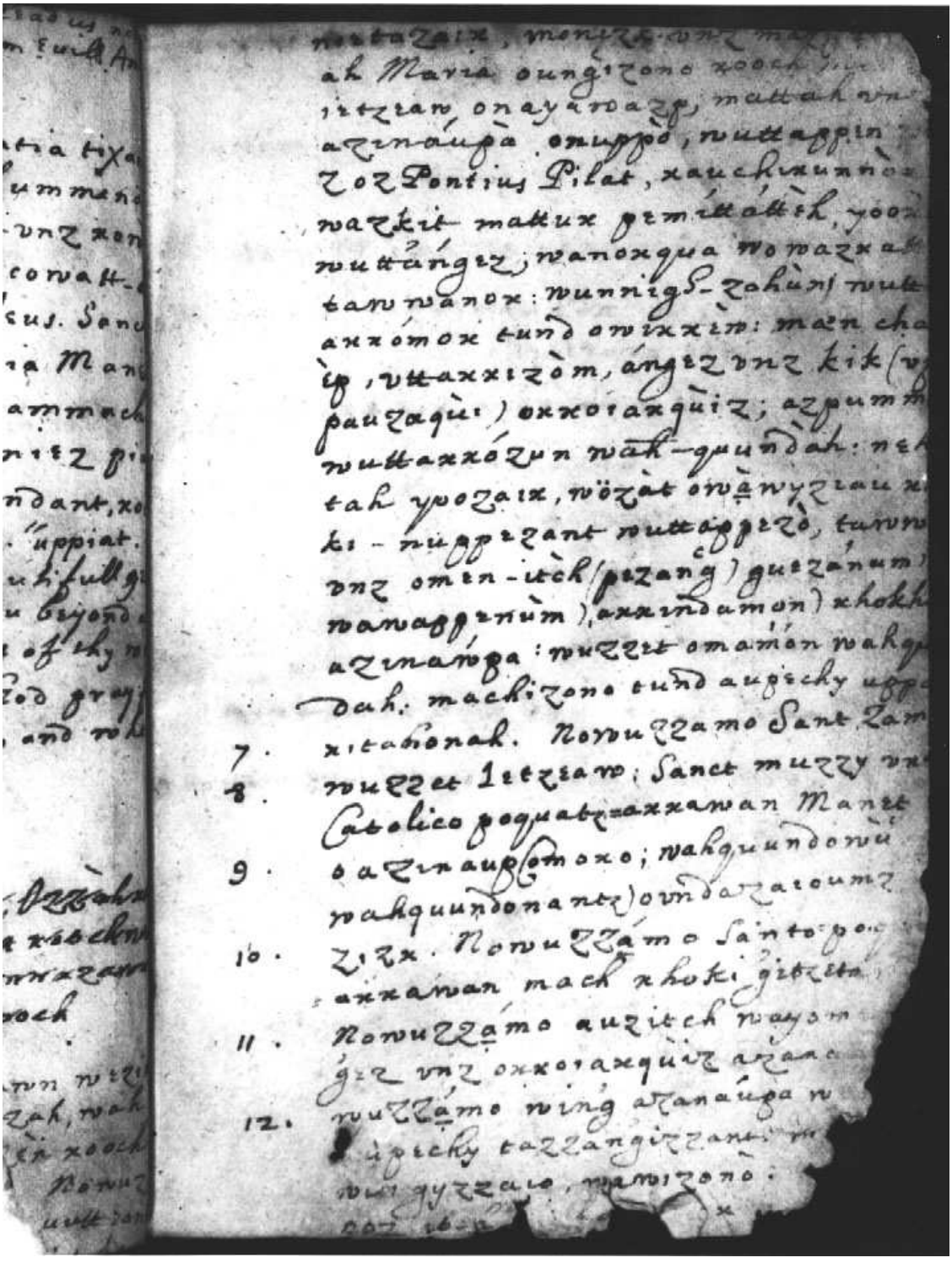
into temptation but free us from evill. Amen
Ave Maria.

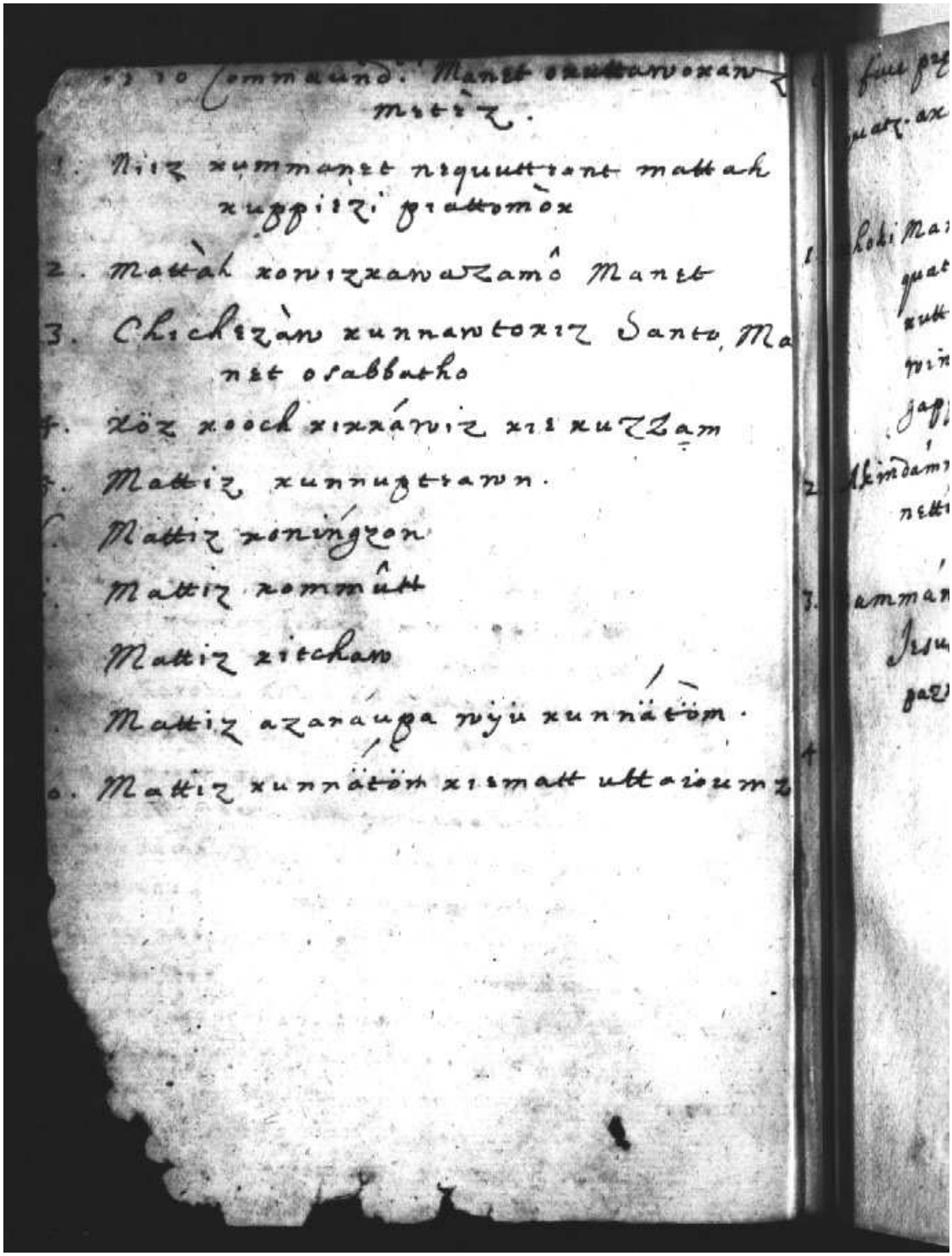
Jazzangiz O Maria, gratia tixan
nanuxut gazuttah, chummena
Manet azguain ezix-unz xonu
nizono; azinanuxut convatt-o
mentz onu nizono Jesus. Sanct
Zamvingizuno Maria Manu
oxxanuz tawsun (Zammach
Zono) machizaggoz nitz gia
tamon, yoo mayan xundant, xoo
uppich angiz. Amen. uppiat.
Rejoyce o Maria full of bountifull gra
our god is in thee, happy thou beyond a
women as happy is the fruit of thy wo
Jesus. Holy Mary Mother of God pray fo
me naught man, here now and whe
drank shall agrouch. Amen.

The Creed.

Nakizimo Manet nimbizann, Uzzah
zhi anuppazzan, axxuna xaachnu
guund azgammin) nunnazann
dzzint tagazzannun xoach

uzzamo Manet nimbizann nizix
xhoxhi onuppuzzan Uzzah, nah
guund azgammin om xoach
axuint azzamin Nanuz
unt zant





10 Commaund. Manet oraculum vocant-
matiz.

1. Niiz xummanzt niquuttiant mattah
xuppiiz pratthomòx

2. Mattàh xoviizxawaZamô Manet

3. Chichizàw xunnawtoxiz Santo, Ma
net osabbatho

4. xöz xooch xixxáviz xii xuZZam

5. Mattiz xunnugtiawn.

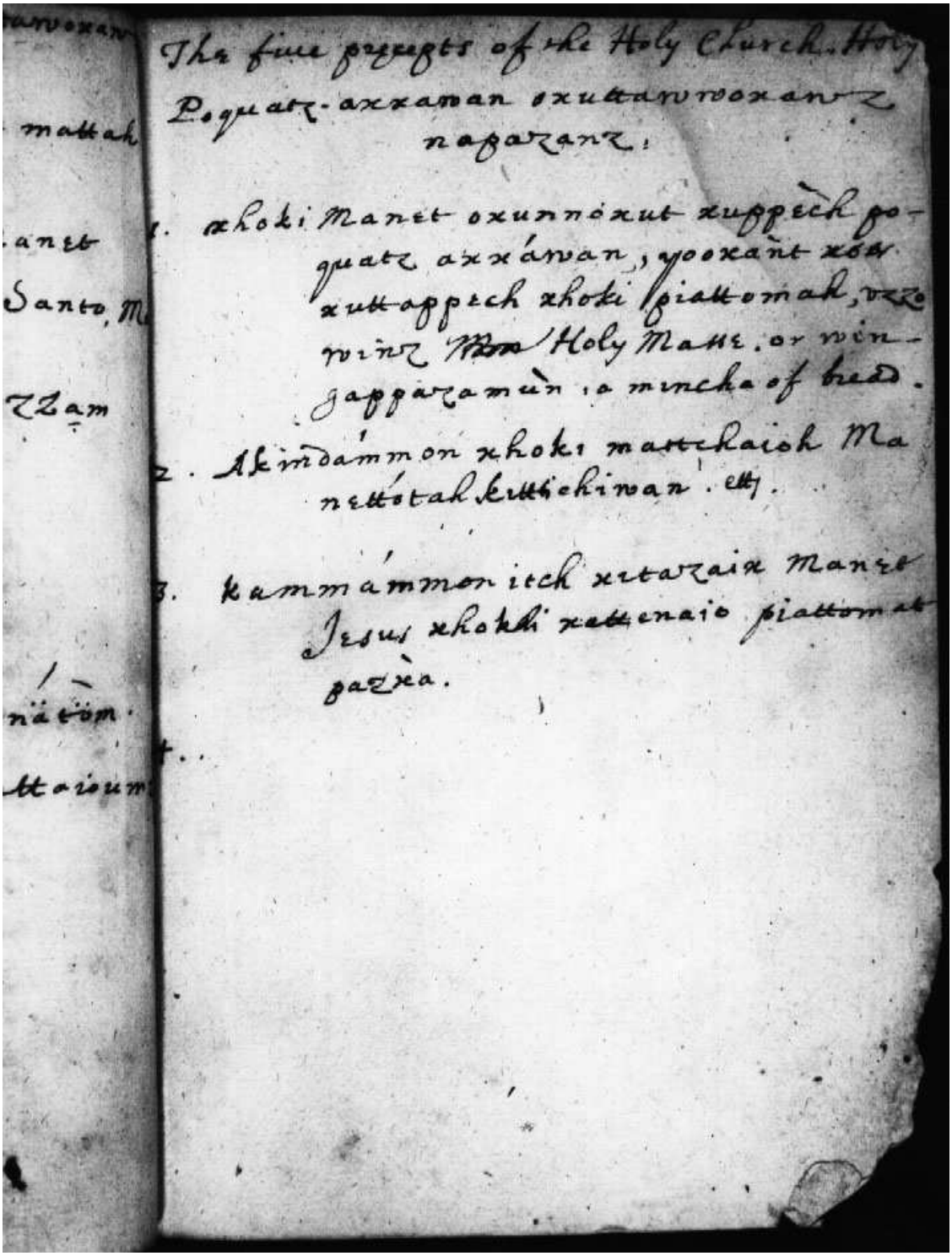
6. Mattiz xiniingzon

7. Mattiz xommûtt

8. Mattiz zitchaw

9. Mattiz azaraupa wiyù xunnätöm.

10. Mattiz xunnätöm xiimatt uttaioumz



The five precepts of the Holy Church. Holy
Poquatz-axxanan oxuttawwoxanwz
nagarant.

1. xhoki Manet oxunnoxut xuppech po-
quatz axxánan, yoxant xoh
xuttappech xhoki piattomah, vzz
wint Holy Matt. or win-
gappazamun : a mincha of bread.

2. Akindammon xhoki matchaioh Ma
nettotah kettichinan. etc.

3. kammammon itch xitazain Manit
Jesus xhokh xattenaio piattomah
pazea.

4.

Appendix B: Transcription

Square brackets indicate missing, illegible, or indefinite material. Where there is a | between square brackets, it indicates two possible letters.

Tapaz zumùnd sancto p[e]mitt[a]
oazinauxutt: xhoxhì mach [vny]
+ tahammaim nummánee
nequuttrane +
Oz̀ oxuttawwòxanz, coòch oxuz,
xoòch Sańcto zamwuzzèe [jee]=
zèaw. Amèn. Alleluiah.
Per signum S.^{te} crucis + ab omni + m[alo]
libera me deus mi..+..[unice]
In nomine P.^{s} et fily et SS.^{t} Amen
Alleluia.

The P~N~

Nöz azpúmmen a̋p Sancto aupechỳ
xuzzowiǹz; [p]iàh muzzy on[̀]
(apeito) wizoz: xie chuppon m[]
z[e]n; axxint, azinauxut azpum[]
mund. niez hopòn pu[]ny ixeu[j]
Zuxxò azzamáim; nie mà[]
xie[ ]wúnnay n[u|i]zx[a]zawan []
naùxut mach niw[u|i]nnay [v]n[]
xizáwan, mattàh mattai[n|x]
niez patahonàh, mach []v
hamma[i|r]màh. Amen.

my f.~ w^{c}h.[] aboue bee thou allway []
come []
eart []

[] mee. Lead us not
into w[] triall but free us from Euill. Amén

Ave Maria.
Tazzańġiz O Maria, gratia tixan
nawxut pazuttàh, chumme naix
Mánee azquaen ezix unz xowà
wizono; az[e|i]nawxut cowatt-o
men[e|t]z owà wizono Je[s]us. Sanct
zamwing ezino Maria Mánee
oxxawiz tawsùn (Zammach
Zonò) machizappoz niez pia[t]
tamòx, yoomayan xundant, xoóch
űppech angez. Amen űppiat.

Reioyce o Maria, full of beautiful grace
our god is in thee, happy thou beyond all
women as happy is the fruit of thy womb
Jesus. Holy Mary Mother of God pray for
mee naughty man, heere now and when
death shall aprouch. Amen.

The Creede.
~~Nö[] Z[zam]o Manee wimbezawn Ozzàh xh~~
~~xhi [awu]ppazzam axxint xooch[]~~
~~[quund] azpummen w[uww]z[awn]~~
~~[] tapaz zammund xooch~~

[Now]uzzàmo Manee wimbezawn wezixiz
xhoxhi on[u]ppuzzaw Ozzah wah
quun[t|d] azpummen [om - zèn] xooch
axxint [] a Zamùnd Nowuz
vuut zan[l]

noetazaix, moneze [unz ma]
ah Maria oungízono xòoch []
ieezeaw onayawaz[p]; mattah [un]
azenáupà onuppò, wuttappen
zoz Pontius Pilat, xauchinunnò
wazkit mattux pemíttattèh [z|y]oox
wuttåńgez; wanoxqua wowazxa[]
tawwanox: wunnig[S] - zohùn[i] wu[tt]
axxómox tund owixxèw: ma'n cha[]
èp, uttaxezòm, ángez unz kik (up[]
pauzaqù[i]) oxxo[i]axqùiz; azpumm[]
wuttaxxózun wah-quundàh ne[h]
tah yoozaix wöza[t] owà̲wyz[raie] x[]
ki -- nuppezan[e] wuttappezò taw[w]
unz omen -- itch̀ (pezangí) guezánum
wawappenùm), axxindamon xhokh[i]
azinaẃpa: wuzzee omamom wahq[]
dah: machizono tund aupechy upp[]

7. xitahonah. Nowuzzamo Sant zam
8. wuzzee [I]eezeaw: Sanct muzzy [un]
Catolico poquatz=axxawan Manee
9. [o]az[i|e]naup Com oxo; wahquundowù
wahquundonan[iz] oun daza[i|e]oumz
10. zizx. Nowuzzámo Santo po[quatz]
=axxawan mach xhoki g̊[itzes]
11. Nowuzzá̲mo auzitch way[om]
g̊ez unz [oxxo[̊]axqù[]z] azan []
12. wuzzá̲mo wing̊ a[z]anáupa w[]
[]ùpechy tazzangizzan[]
w[] gyzza[] wawizonò
[noz] [h] [x]

10 Commaund: Manee oxuttawoxanz
metèz.

1. Niez xummanee nequuttrane mattah
xuppiezi piattomòx

2. Mattàh xowizxaw[ ]azamô Manee

3. Chichezàn xunnawtoxiz Santo, Ma
nee osabbatho

4. Xöz xooch xixxáwiz x[i|r]e xuzza̲m

5. Mattiz xunnupt[r]awn

[6]. Mattiz xonińgzon

[7]. Mattiz xommûtt

[8]. Mattiz xitchaw

[9]. Mattiz azanáupà wyu xunnätöm

[1]0. Mattiz xunnätöm xiematt uttai[o]umz

The five precepts of the Holy Church Holy
Poquatz-axxawan oxuttaw[w]oxanz
napazanz.

1. xhoki Manee oxùnnoxue xuppèch po-
quatz axxáwan, yooxanṭ ~~xo~~[e]
xuttappech xhoki piattomah, [v]zzo
winz ~~Man~~ Holy Masse or win-
gappazamùn: [o|a] mincha of [bread].

2. Akindammon xhoki ma[tt]chaish Ma
nettótah kitt[h]chiwan []

3 Kammámmon itch x[e|i]tazaix Manee
Jesus xhok[h]i xattenaio piattom[ax]
pazxà.

4

Bibliography

Anderson, Stephen. 1992. *A-Morphous Morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archives of Maryland Vol. 3. 1932. *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636-1667*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society.

Aubin, George F. 1975. *A Proto-Algonquian Dictionary*. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 29. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Axtell, James. 1988. *After Columbus: The Jesuit Mission in Maryland*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barringer, George M., Herbert J. Cloke, Emmett Curran, and Jon K. Reynolds. *The American Mission: Maryland Jesuits from Andrew White to John Carroll (An Exhibit in the Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library, 27 September—29 November 1976)*. Washington, D.C.

Beitzell, Edwin Warfield. 1959. *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*. Abell, Md.

Bliss, Heather and Karen Jesney. 2005. "Resolving Hierarchy Conflict: Local Obviation in Blackfoot." *Calgary Papers in Linguistics* 26: 92-116.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1946. "Algonquian," in *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, ed. by Harry Hoijer. New York: The Viking Fund.

— 1962. *The Menomini Language*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Brittain, Julie. 2001. *The Morphosyntax of the Algonquian Conjunct Verb: A Minimalist Approach*. London: Garland.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2001. "Passamaquoddy Syntax," in *Syntax at the Edge: Cross-Clausal Phenomena and the Syntax of Passamaquoddy.* Ph.D. dissertation, MIT. Distributed by MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.

Bruening, Benjamin and Andrea Rackowski. 2002. "Configurationality and Object Shift in Algonquian." *Proceedings of WSCLA 5*, ed. by Suzanne Gessner, Sunyoung Oh, and Kayono Shiobara. Vancouver: UBCWPL: 71-84.

Burnet Psalter. AUL MS 25. University of Aberdeen.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XV. 1912. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

Clark, Wayne E. and Helen C. Rountree. 1993. "The Powhatans and the Maryland Mainland" in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, ed. by Helen C. Rountree. Charlottesville; London: University Press of Virginia.

Codignola, Luca. 1999. "Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in English North America, 1610-58: A Comparative Assessment." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies*, 65:107-124.

Costa, David J. 1996. "Reconstructing Initial Change in Algonquian." *Anthropological Linguistics* 38(1): 39-72.

Cowell, Andrew and Alonzo Moss, Sr (eds.). 2005. *Hinóno'éínoo3ítoono: Arapaho Historical Traditions Told by Paul Moss*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Cuoq, Jean André. 1886. *Lexique de la langue Algonquine.* Montréal: J. Chapleau & fils

Dahlstrom, Amy. 1986. *Plains Cree Morphosyntax*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

— **1997.** "Fox (Mesquakie) Reduplication." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 63(2): 205-226.

Davidson, Thomas E. **1993**. "Relations between the Powhatans and the Eastern Shore," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722,* ed. by Helen C. Rountree. Charlottesville; London: University Press of Virginia.

Denny, J. Peter. 1978. The Semantic Roles of Medials within Algonquian Verbs. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 44(2): 153-155.

Edwards, Jonathan. 1788. *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*. New Haven: Printed by Josiah Meigs.

Eliot, John. 1666. "The Indian Grammar Begun" in *Origins of American Linguistics 1543-1914, V.1*. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1997.

Encyclopedia of North American Indians. **1996**. Hoxie, Frederick E. (ed.). New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Forbes, Jack D. 1972. *Wapanakamikok Language Relationships: An Introductory Study of Mutual Intelligibility among the Powhatan, Lenape, Natick, Nanticoke and Otchipwe Languages*. University of California, Davis.

Gasparri, Pietro. 1932. *The Catholic Catechism*. London: Sheed and Ward.

Goddard, Ives. 1974. "An Outline of the Historical Phonology of Arapaho and Atsina." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 40(2): 102-116.

— **1977.** "Some Examples of American Indian Pidgin English from New England." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 43(1):37-41.

— **1979**. *Delaware Verbal Morphology: A Descriptive and Comparative Study*. New York: Garland.

— 1982. "The Historical Phonology of Munsee." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 48(1):16-48.

— 1990. "Primary and Secondary Stem Derivation in Algonquian." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56(4): 449-83.

— 1996. "The Description of the Native Languages of North America Before Boas" in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages* ed. by Ives Goddard. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution.

— 1997. "Pidgin Delaware," in *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective* ed. by Sarah G. Thomason. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

— 2000. "The Use of Pidgins and Jargons on the East Coast of North America" in *The Language Encounters in the Americas, 1492-1800: A Collection of Essays* ed. by Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering. Oxford: Berghahn.

Hass, Mary. 1969. *The Prehistory of Languages*. The Hague; Paris: Mouton.

— 1975. "Problems of American Indian Philology," in *Language and Texts: The Nature of Linguistic Evidence* ed. by Herbert H. Paper. Ann Arbor: Center for Coördination of Ancient and Modern Studies, University of Michigan.

Hanzeli, Victor. 1969. *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages*. The Hague: Mouton.

Hewson, John. 1993. *A Computer-Generated Dictionary of Proto-Algonquian*. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Hockett, Charles. 1948. "Potawatomi I: Phonemics, Morphophonemics, and Morphological Survey." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 14(1):1-10.

Hughes, Thomas. 1907. *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*. London.

Koerner, E. F. K. 2004. "Notes on Missionary Linguistics in North America" in *Missionary Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lass, Roger. 2001. "Phonology and Morphology," in *Cambridge History of the English Language 1476-1776, Volume 3,* ed. by Norman Blake. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liège. Collegìum Anglorum Societatìs Jesu, etc. 1685. *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus*. Reprinted, Farnborough: Gregg, 1970.

McCoog, Thomas. 1995. *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555-1650, Part 2, G-Z*. London: Catholic Record Society.

— 1992-2000. *Monumenta Angliae: English and Welsh Jesuits / Catalogues, Vol. 2*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

McMahon, April M. S. 1994. *Understanding Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 7 (MHS). 1874. *Relatio itineris in Marylandiam: declaratio coloniae domini baronis de Baltimoro. Excerpta ex diversis litteris missionariorum ab anno 1635, ad annum 1638. Narrative of a voyage to Maryland / by Father Andrew White, S.J.; an account of the colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore; extracts from different letters of missionaries, from*

the year 1635 to the year 1677 ; edited by Rev. E.A. Dalrymple. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society.

Martin, Gregory (trans.). 1582. *The New Testament of Iesus Christ: translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages; with arguments of bookes and chapters, annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the corruptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the controversies in religion, of these daies: in the English College of Rhemes*...Rhemes: By Iohn Fogny.

Merrell, James H. 1979. "Cultural Continuity among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 36(4): 548-570.

Mithun, Marianne. 1999. *The Languages of Native North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pearson, Timothy. 2005. Review of John Steckley, ed., trans, *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois,* H-Canada, H-Net Reviews. Website: http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=283871117819934 [accessed April 2006].

Picard, Marc. 1984. "On the Naturalness of Algonquian ɬ." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 50(4): 424-437.

Proulx, Paul. 2003. "The Evidence on Algonquian Genetic Grouping: A Matter of Relative Chronology." *Anthropological Linguistics* 45:201-225.

— 2005. "Initial Change in Blackfoot." *Calgary Papers in Linguistics* 26:1-26.

Richards, Norvin W. 2004. "The Syntax of the Conjunct and Independent Orders in Wampanoag." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 70(4): 327-386.

Salmon, Vivian. 1996. "Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) and the Origins of Algonkian Linguistics," in *Language and Society in Early Modern England: Selected Essays 1981-1994*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Speck, Frank G. 1915. *The Nanticoke Community of Delaware*. New York: The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

— 1927. *The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians with a Review of Linguistic Material from a Manuscript of Living Sources: An Historical Study.* Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware.

Trumbull, J. Hammond. 1872. "Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages." *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1869-1896) Vol. 3*: 113-218.

Voegelin, C. F. 1946. "Delaware, an Eastern Algonquian Language," in *Linguistic Structures of Native America* ed. by Harry Hoijer. New York: The Viking Fund.

Weslager, Clinton Alfred. 1948. *The Nanticoke Indians.* Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

White, Andrew to Lord Baltimore, 20 February 1638. The Calvert Papers, Manuscript 174. Maryland Historical Society.

Williams, Roger. 1643. "A Key into the Language of America" in *Origins of American Linguistics 1543-1914, V.1*. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1997.

Wolfart, H. C. 1996. "Sketch of Cree, an Algonquian Language," in *Handbook of North American Languages. Volume 17: Languages* ed. by Ives Goddard. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Zeisberger, David. 1827. *Grammar of the Language of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians*, trans. by P.S. Du Ponceau. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.