The Morphology of Modern Western Abenaki

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May 17, 2004

Acknowledgements

This project has commanded a considerable amount of my attention and time over the past year. The research has lead me not only into Algonquian linguistics, but has also introduced me to the world of Native American cultures. The history of the Abenaki people fascinated me as much as their language.

I must extnd my fullest appreciate to my advisor David Peterson, who time and again proposed valuable reference suggestions and paths of analysis. The encouragement he offered was indispensable during the research and writing stages of this thesis. He also went meticulously through the initial drafts of this document offering poignant comments on content as well as style.

My appreciation also goes to my secondary advisor Lindsay Whaley whose door is always open for a quick chat. His suggestions helped me broaden the focus of my research.

Although I was ultimately unable to arrange the field research component of this thesis, the generosity of the Dean of Faculty's Office and the Richter Memorial Trust Grant that I received from them assisted me in gaining a richer understanding of the current status of the Abenaki language. With the help of this grant, I was able to travel to Odanak, Quebec to meet the remaining speakers of Abenaki. From these conversations I was able to locate additional materials that aided me tremendously in my analysis.

Many individuals have offered me assistance in one form or another throughout the unfolding of my research. To them I offer a heartfelt thank you for their time: Colin Calloway, Dennis Runnels, George Ducharme, Monique Nolett, Retired Chief Howard F. Knight, and Patricia Forget.

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1 -- Introduction

1.1 The State of the Abenaki Language

The number of Western Abenaki (henceforth referred to as *Abenaki*) speakers has dropped rapidly from an already small number at the turn of the 20th century. Prince (1901:334-45) estimated between 300 to 350 speakers at St. Francis (Odanak), Quebec, Canada while he carried out his field research there. Between 1956 and 1985 Gordon Day worked with 38 native speakers, although he may not have been working with every speaker in Odanak (1994: IV). Warne (1975: 1) estimated "a little more than a dozen" speakers at Odanak while she performed her field research. By 1978 Goddard and Trigger list 22 speakers of Abenaki within their summary of Eastern Algonquian languages. The online Ethnologue entry for Western Abenaki cites 20 speakers in 1991. Twelve years later, I have tried to locate any remaining speakers. I was only able to find four. Three of these live in Odanak today. The fourth lives with family in New York state. They are all elderly. One resident of Odanak, aged in her fifties, described to me a language program begun 10 years ago by a native speaker. The intent was to teach Abenaki to the town residents. Only the resident I spoke with remained in the program for a significant length of time. She has become an able second language speaker. No one in the younger generations is currently learning Abenaki. I am forced to conclude that its extinction is imminent.

1.2 Purpose

Chief Joseph Laurent's grammatical description (1884) is by far the most comprehensive treatment of Abenaki prior to the concerted attention of later non-native researchers. It is replete with examples of vocabulary and phrases. Prince (1901)

established the interest of modern non-native linguistic research into the grammar of Abenaki with the help of the small community of Abenaki speakers at Odanak, Quebec. The last native Abenaki to produce an academic study of his language was Masta (1932). Included in the book are fourteen texts, a succinct treatment of parts of speech, verb structure, and noun structure as well as an appendix of local place names that derive from Abenaki.

These three sources comprise the core group of references for Abenaki grammar that later linguistics researchers (Goddard 1967b, 1974, 1983; Proulx 1984; Dawe 1985, 1987; Warne 1975, 1976) have utilized in pursuing larger comparative goals. Having scrutinized these three sources and compared them to each other, it became apparent to me that one cannot accept the language examples and descriptions as they are presented. For instance, Laurent's verb paradigms are given wholly unanalyzed. It becomes the job of the researcher to separate out the formatives and the roots of morphologically complex forms. Applying this same method of analysis to Masta's texts reveals a slightly different picture of Abenaki. Laurent's examples are presented in what seems to be citation form, whereas the language in the texts is considerably more varied and complex. One of the goals of this study is to expand the current understanding of Abenaki morphology by contrasting and comparing the previous descriptions. Future researchers will no longer need to consult all of these sources in order to gain a complete picture of Abenaki morphology.

Algonquian linguistic researchers employ an idiosyncratic set of terms in their linguistic discussions. Linguists working outside this language family must first comprehend this jargon before any headway can be made into understanding the

languages themselves. Whereas much of the academic work published through the 1960's merely referred to Abenaki structures as evidence for reconstructions of Proto-Algonquian, Dartmouth researcher Gordon Day's work reawakened interest in synchronic Abenaki. Day's dedication to the Abenaki and their language resulted in numerous publications ranging from anthropological papers to pure linguistic studies (1964, 1978, 1985, 1986, 1989a, 1989b). Indispensable to this study has been his Abenaki dictionary that draws from three decades of fieldwork spanning the years 1956 to 1985 (1994: IV). In consultation with Day, Janet Warne published an historical phonology (1975) and a description of matrix clause verbs (1976). She states that her purpose for the phonology is to produce the "first in-depth comparison of Proto-Algonquian with Abenaki" (v), essentially reversing the process that Bloomfield and Goddard had undertaken in establishing Proto-Algonquian forms.

A wealth of knowledge about Abenaki is contained in the work of Day and Warne except that they base their analyses within the framework established by the Algonquianists who preceded them. Thus one must contend with the same set of Algonquian specific terms in order to understand their work. The second goal of this study is to apply contemporary linguistic terms to Abenaki morphological structures. Throughout the following discussion I provide the reader with the equivalent Algonquianist term for the new term I introduce. The first instance of either a new term or an Algonquian term will be written in bolded small caps indicating that one can find it in the glossary (Appendix B). More detailed descriptions of these terms are to be found there. In this way I hope to make this description accessible to both Algonquian linguists and non-Algonquian linguists alike. The larger purpose of laying out the morphology of

Abenaki using contemporary terminology is to make further study of Abenaki a little more accessible.

Bach (http://www-unix.oit.umass.edu/~ebach/papers/alnoprdm.htm and http://www-unix.oit.umass.edu/~ebach/papers/waother.htm) has assembled a valuable reference of Abenaki verb forms. He provides useful segmentations of Laurent's (1884) example verb paradigms as well as tables that prominently display the inflectional affixes. His analysis, unlike mine, operates within the Algonquianist framework, drawing upon their terminology.

The analysis I will use is based on that of Bickel and Nichols (*forthcoming*). In their study they establish a distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology. They define derivational morphology as being independent of the grammatical environment, whereas inflectional morphology is dependent on the grammatical environment. Inflectional morphemes are called *formatives*, and I will use this term throughout this study to refer to morphemes that produce argument agreement, tense and a few Algonquian-specific inflectional categories among others.

This paper shall provide an overview of Abenaki verb structure and noun structure as they existed in the language from the turn of the last century (19^{th} to 20^{th}) to the present. The focus of this investigation is decidedly inward. As Goddard writes, "The comparison of forms in related languages must be based first on an analysis of the morphology of the forms within their respective languages, including both their synchronic structures and any aspects of their historical morphology…" (1983: 351). Although it goes beyond the scope of this project to investigate the historical origins of the morphology, my focus

agrees with Goddard's statement. I shall also at times utilize comparisons to closely related languages such as Delaware and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy to support my analysis.

1.3 Classification of Abenaki

The Abenaki language is a member of the eastern subgroup of the Algonquian language family. The Eastern Algonquian Languages include: Micmac, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (M-P), Etchmin, Eastern Abenaki, Western Abenaki, Loup A and B, Massachusett, Narragansett, Mohegan-Pequot, Montauk, Quiripi, Unquachog, Mahican, Delaware (Munsee and Unami), Nanticoke, Powhatan, and Carolina (Goddard 1978: 70). Western Abenaki speakers historically occupied lands in the Upper Connecticut Valley in Vermont and New Hampshire, north into Quebec as far as the St. Lawrence river and south into northern portions of Massachusetts. Portland, Maine marks the easternmost boundary of this linguistic territory and Lake Champlain the westernmost boundary (Day 1978:148).

1.4 Phonological Inventory

The phonological inventory of Abenaki has fifteen consonants (Figure 1-1) and five vowels (Figure 1-2) (Warne 1975:2).

Figure 1-1 -- Abenaki Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveo-dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p , b		t , d	k , g	
Nasal	m		n		
Fricative			s , z		h
Affricate		c , j			
Approximant	w				
Lateral Approximant			l		

The graphs [p, t, k, s, c] represent *fortis* consonants. The graphs [b, d, g, z, j] represent *lenis* consonants. Warne's description of the lenis/fortis distinction suggests that the contrast between the paired sets surfaces through the phonological processes that these consonants undergo. Specifically, fortis consonants can be (optionally) preaspirated and do not voice between voiced segments. Lenis consonants voice between voiced segments and are never aspirated (63). This suggests that in word-initial and word-final environments, these segments do not contrast unless the fortis consonant is preaspirated.

Another way of approaching the proposed fortis/lenis distinction is to consider fortis consonants as being underlyingly voiceless and the lenis consonants as underlyingly voiced. The lenis consonants would then undergo *devoicing* word-initially and word-finally. They would also devoice by coming into contact with a previously devoiced lenis consonant through affixation or compounding. Laver (1994: 344) contends that the lenis/fortis distinction has not been empirically supported. The difficulty rests in how to phonetically differentiate voiceless consonants from devoiced ones. This distinction is not something I am capable of making without copious spoken examples. I will continue to use the terms fortis and lenis throughout this study adding that these labels do not clearly reflect the phonetic properties of the consonants; rather, they define a contrast that becomes apparent through the lenis group's tendency to remain voiced between segments or devoice in all other environments.

Abenaki has a five vowel system given in Figure 1-2.

Figure 1-2 -- Abenaki Vowel System

	front	central	back	
high	i			
mid	(ɛ)	ə	o	
				ɔ̃
low		a		

The [ɔ̃] is a low back rounded nasalized vowel. The phonetic value of the vowel *i* in speech varies between the high front tense vowel [i] and the mid front lax vowel [ɛ]. Day provides this summary in the introduction to his dictionary:

> "*i* is a lower-high front oral vowel. It is normally pronounced halfway between the vowels of English 'peat' and 'pit'. Some speakers employ at times a lower vowel resembling that in English 'hay' but more lax: *sedi* 'an evergreen bough'. "
>
> Day 1994: XII

I will use the symbol [i] throughout to represent the varied pronunciations of this vowel.

1.5 Textual Sources and their idiosyncrasies

I have primarily drawn examples from and based my analysis on three sources. The most complete of these is a grammar of Abenaki published in 1884 by then-Chief Joseph Laurent. He was a native speaker and a teacher. The grammar is divided into three sections. The first lists the sounds of Abenaki and presents vocabulary items. The second section is titled *Elements of Abenaki Conversation*. It lists more grammar rules, conjunctions, adpositions, interjections and phrases. The third section contains numerous examples of verbal inflection. The examples are given without any attempt to analyze the verbs' internal structures beyond the recognition that the clitics *=ba* 'conditional' and *=ji* 'future' (which I shall later argue are clitics) can be identified and singled out (119). This little brown book is an invaluable source for anyone wishing to study Abenaki.

The second principal source is a small book produced by Henry Lorne Masta (1932). It contains fourteen short texts, a brief description of Abenaki grammar and a section that traces the roots of many New England place names back to their Abenaki origins. His grammatical description is quite technical although it is obvious that he is attempting to impose a Latin grammar model on the Abenaki verbal system. Each of the fourteen Abenaki texts is followed by a loose translation in English.

I have analysed seven of these fourteen texts. Those that I omitted were significantly shorter than the rest and contained subject matter that is similar to other stories in the set. I collected approximately 472 examples of both matrix and subordinate clauses. Whereas many of the verb roots are the same, the inflection of these verbs differs in most cases.

Masta's texts contain a few orthographic inconsistencies. Example (1) below shows that even within the same line, Masta transcribes the same verb stem for the verb meaning 'to please' differently. In example (2), Masta has mislabeled one of the speakers in the story using *Wawa* instead of *Wana*, the name that appears through the rest of the story.

(1) n=id8ba 8nda k=maw8zt-a-wi ta 8nda achi nia k=mawozt-ol-o,
1=friend(AN) NEG 2=please-AI-NEG CO.c NEG also.PT PRO.1 2=please-LINV-NEG
John: My friend you are not pleased with my explanation nor am I with yours…
Masta 1932: 20

(2) wana: kawinawa ni waji liwit-8-zi-k koatekw?
PRO.INTEROG.therefore then SBR call-DIR-IN-SUBR.IN.3 K(IN)
wawa: But why was it called Kaotekwok?
Masta 1932: 21

Due to such inconsistencies, I have adopted a flexible approach to interpreting his transcriptions. A confusing affixal element may be a new and unique formative, a phonological variant of an existing formative, or simply a misspelling.

The third principal reference for the Abenaki language is a short document produced by J. Dyneley Prince (1901). The document moves quickly from one grammar structure to another with minimal examples to support his description. He succinctly describes the state of the language at the turn of the 20th century mentioning phonetics and a bit about its polysynthetic nature (343-347). The rest of his article addresses nominal and verbal inflection. He summarizes a few verb paradigms in chart form at the end of his article.

I list these three works because they are the most accessible and reliable sources of Abenaki language examples. Other documents exist such as translations of Bible verse[1] and prayer books[2], but these texts are somewhat older than the three I have listed and harder to approach without sufficient familiarity with Abenaki.

[1] For example: Wzokhilian, P. P. (1844)

[2] *Adlachemudiguichkek meiaulakwey ; wen kedwi pakabuguet, deli annkidagit ; tchibat'ku'musse*. (1858)

1.6 Orthographies

The data sources for this analysis each employ an orthography that is unique in certain respects. Figure 1-3 lists the correspondences between the orthography I have adopted and those employed in the texts (Masta 1932; Prince 1901; Laurent 1884; Speck 1945) and the dictionary (Day 1994). The orthography I use in this study is listed in the *Standardized* column.

Figure 1-3 -- Orthographies

Phoneme	Allophone	Masta	Laurent	Prince	Speck	Day	Standardized
p	‘p	ph	--	b' / p'	p'/ 'p / ph	--	ph
	p	p	p / pp	p	p	p	p
b	p	p	p	p	p	b	b
	b	p / b	b	b	b	b	b
t	‘t	--	--	d'	't	--	--
	t	t / tt	t	t	t	t	t
d	t	t	t	t	t	d	d
	d	t / d	d	d	d	d	d
k	‘k	kh	--	g' / k'	k'	kh	kh
	k	k / kk	k	k	k	k	k
g	k	k	k	k	k	g	g
	g	k / g	g	g	g	g	g
s	‘s	sh	--	--	--	--	sh
	s	s / ss	s	s	s / s:	s	s
z	s	s	s	s	s	z	z
	z	s / z	z	z	z	z	z
c	‘c	ch	--	--	--	--	ch
	c	c / ts	ch	c	ts	c	c
j	c	c / ts	c	c	ts	j	j
	j	c / j / dz	j	j	dz	j	j
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
w	w	w / u	w / u / '	w	w	w / o	w
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
	‘l	lh	hl	hl	--	hl	lh
i (ɛ)	i (ɛ)	i	i	i	i / i:	i	i
ə	ə	e	e / u	e / ĕ	e	e	e
a	a	a	a	a	a / ê	a	a
ɔ̃	ɔ̃	8	ô	on / o	ô / ê	ô	8
o	o	o / w	o	o	o / u	o	o

The orthographies used by the authors in the data sources for this study exhibit slight variation in the way that they label particular sounds as Figure 1-3 shows. The phonemes listed in the first column are those of the phonological inventory. Their allophones such as preaspirated stops [ʻp, ʻt, ʻk, ʻs, ʻc, ʻl] are given in the second column. Across the row one finds the corresponding graphs employed by each author. Some authors employ multiple graphs for the same phone or use particular graphs in certain spellings. For instance Masta never writes *tsh* for the preaspirated alveolar affricate [ʻc] always opting for *ch*.

The vowel graphs exhibit more variation than the consonant graphs. Speck for example uses both *ê* and *ô* for the low back rounded nasalized vowel [ɔ̃] in addition to occasionally using *ê* for *a*. He also makes a distinction between short and long [i] although Warne (1975) does not include length distinctions in the modern Abenaki vowel inventory. Comparing the sources reveals quite a bit of variation in the vowels chosen to represent the sounds in particular words. A word from Masta's texts that contains the graph *e* may be listed in Day's dictionary with the corresponding vowel written as *a*.

I have decided to base my orthography in this study on Masta's and Day's. The first reason is one of utility. Masta's texts constitute the major source of examples for the analysis presented here. I cannot with certainty translate his orthographic text into phonemic or even phonetic transcription. The vowels especially present a formidable task worthy of further study. In order to avoid making false statements about the phonetic qualities of the sounds in the data, I would rather present the examples as they are written, erring on the side of caution. The only major deviation from standard phonetic symbols is *8*, the low back rounded nasalized vowel. The graphs for the stops,

however, reflect Day's persistent differentiation between lenis and fortis consonants in his orthography. He always uses *b, d, g, z* and *j* for the lenis stops and *p, t, k, s, c* for the fortis stops. His orthography can be considered an approach that favors *devoicing* of the lenis stops rather than predicting that they are underlyingly voiceless and voice between voiced segments. As I explained above in Section 1.4, one can either consider the lenis stops to be underlying voiceless or underlyingly voiced. Masta's examples will be presented as they are written in his texts, but examples from Day, Laurent, Prince and Speck will be first transcribed in the standardized orthography and then analyzed.

An additional reason for using an orthography based on Masta's (with the stops standardized according to Day) is that this is the orthography used today by the Abenaki people. One can find contemporary written examples in the *Aln8bak News*.

2 -- General Morphosyntactic Properties

2.1 Animacy of Nouns

All nouns in Abenaki fall into one of two grammatical gender categories. The gender of a noun affects the agreement inflections of verbs and nouns. It appears that the animacy of the object's referent is the dominant selective feature that determines the categorization of the noun (Spencer 1998: 194). Living things tend to be classified as animate, whereas non-living objects tend to be classified as inanimate. These criteria are not always consistently followed. For example living things like people (*aln8ba* 'Abenaki Indian') and animals (*moz* 'moose') are animate, but so are mountains (*wajo*), the sky (*asokw*), trees (*abazi*), ghosts (*jibai*) and concepts like justice (*sasaginnow8gan*). Inanimate nouns include rivers (*gicitegw* 'St. Lawrence River'), the ocean (*zobagw*), fire (*skweda*) and many others.

Abenaki has a class of nouns that are inalienably possessed (see Section 4.3). These nouns also have an inherent animacy value. Nouns like -*haga* 'body', -*pedin* 'arm', and -*lawôgan* 'heart' are inanimate. Animate possessed nouns include -*mitôgwes* 'father' and -*okem* 'aunt'.

Algonquianists use a notational shorthand to refer to verbs that reference the grammatical gender of one argument. The animacy value of the subject of an intransitive verb yields two types of verbs: *Animate Intransitives* (AI) and *Inanimate Intransitives* (II). The animacy value of the object of a transitive verb determines the form of the verb stem and has further influence on the inflection of a verb. Thus the object of a *Transitive*

Animate (TA) verb is animate and the object of a *Transitive Inanimate* (TI) is inanimate. I will often use the two letter abbreviations to refer to these types of verbs in this study.

2.2 Person Distinctions

Abenaki makes a four-way person distinction: second person, first person, third person proximate and third person obviative. The first and second person constitute the *local* arguments. The third person proximate and obviative are called *non-local* arguments. Within the morphology, some person values take precedence over others. Their relative ranking is given in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-1 -- Person Hierarchy

2 < 1 < 3 < 3'

For instance, certain verbs are associated with a clitic that agrees with the highest ranked participant in the clause according to the Person Hierarchy (Figure 2-1). The second person has the highest ranking in the indexing hierarchy, while the obviative third person ranks the lowest. If a second person participant is acting or being acted upon, the clitic will always be *kd*= (*kd*= surfaces as *k*= before vowel-initial attachment sites), which agrees with the second person. (3) and (4) provide examples of how the hierarchy affects agreement. The use of *kd*= and the other agreement clitics will be explained in more detail later.

(3) kia nawa 8nda k=wawt-am-ow-en
PRO.2 DISC.so NEG 2=understand-TI-NEG-N
Why! Don't you understand that?

Masta 1932: 27

(4) ni nikw8bi k=owaw8-doka-w-l-en ali=ba 8nda mina papi-ww-an
then now.PT 2=know-make-TA-LINV-N MANN=COND NEG again.PT play-NEG-SUBR.AN.2
Now let me tell you that this gambol will not be repeated

Masta 1932: 36

In example (3) the clitic *k*= attaches to the verb *wawt* 'to understand' to indicate that one of its arguments is a second person. The other argument is encoded on the verb with the formative *-en* that indicates a definite, unexpressed object. (4) shows that when the arguments of a verb are first and second person, the second person is marked by the clitic *k*=. In this case, the first person is the Agent and the second person the Patient. The formative *-l* 'Linv' expresses the relationship between the participants (see Section 3.3)--first person acting on second person. Even though the first person is the Agent, the second person still ranks higher than it in the Person Hierarchy, which is why the clitic *kd*= appears on the verb.

The same hierarchy of persons is found in the related language Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. Leavitt also includes a fifth category *inanimate* which ranks lowest in the scale (1996: 10). I am reluctant to include this in the Abenaki hierarchy because animacy does not seem to have the importance that Maliseet-Passamaquoddy places on this feature.

Topicality and the relationship between third person actors determine whether a third person argument is proximate or obviative. Proximate arguments will be the topics of the discourse (possibly signaled by the demonstrative =*ni*). Delaware, a related language, also makes a distinction between proximate and obviative third persons. Goddard states that "in any context, the first mentioned or primary animate third person is proximate; any other third person is obviative, unless it is in conjunction with the first" (1979: 32). This description seems to apply to Abenaki as well. Thus in transitive events, if a third person argument acts upon a third person argument, one must be proximate and the other obviative. A possessed object is also obviative while the possessor is proximate.

The proximate/obviative value of an argument can change from one clause to the next.

(5) Ni 8zida-iwi agm8-w8 wd=eli-wihl-8-n-8 w8banaki-a "Adirondacks"
then in.reply-ADV PRO.3-PL 3=MANN-call.TA-DIR-N-N1PL Abe(AN)-obv Adirondacks
In return they [the Iroquois] called the Abenakis "Adirondacks"

manhak-w8gan-a mowo-j-ik.
pith-NMLZ-OBV eat.AI-SUBR.AN.3-PL
-- bark eaters.

Masta 1932: 32

The first clause of (5) contains the verb root *wihl-* 'to call'. The noun *w8banaki* 'Abenaki' is the Patient of this verb. It is inflected with *-a* to mark it as obviative. The argument *agm8w8* third person plural pronoun is proximate and the Agent. The second clause contains the verb root *mowo-* 'eat'. The Abenakis become the proximate argument of this clause and thereby the Agent. The verb *mowo-j-ik* means 'the ones who eat'. The noun *manhakw8gan* 'pith' is the Patient. *manhakw8gan* is animate and therefore inflected with the obviative formative *-a* because the Abenakis are already the proximate argument in the clause.

The first person plural encodes an inclusive/exclusive distinction. The inclusive refers to both the speaker(s) and the addressee(s). The exclusive does not include the addressee(s)[3].

The Person Hierarchy ranking varies slightly in verbs that have a first and second person argument. The second person is the highest ranked argument in the Person Hierarchy, so one would expect the verbal agreement to encode it over all other person values. The morphology suggests, however, that the agreement formatives will encode the first person plural in lieu of the second person singular or plural. The agreement

[3] In Proto-Algonquian this was reflected in the suffix with the forms *-*ena:n* (excl) and *-*enaw* (incl) (Goddard 1974: 318). This suffixes have collapsed in Abenaki with the proto-form *-*enaw* coming to represent both. The agreement clitics continue the distinction with *n(t)-* used with the exclusive and *k(t)-* used with the inclusive.

clitics still mark the second person over the first person in all cases. Figure 2-2 illustrates the inflection of local argument verbs for all possible combinations of first and second person arguments.

Figure 2-2 -- Person Marking in Local Argument Verbs

Agent - Patient	Agr. Clitic - Formative	Person marked by the Formative
1-2	kd=…	none
1-2PL	kd=...-ba	second person plural
1PL-2	kd=...-bena	first person plural
1PL-2PL	kd=...-bena	first person plural
2-1	kd=…	none
2-1PL	kd=...-bena	first person plural
2PL-1	kd=...-ba	second person plural
2PL-1PL	kd=...-bena	first person plural

Laurent 1884: 179-180

Whereas the agreement clitic *kd=* remains constant and marks the second person in all cases, the formatives encode the first person plural argument over a second person argument -- the agreement formative will be *-bena*. In the case of a second person plural argument and a first person singular argument, the second person plural is marked with the formative *-ba*. When both arguments of a local argument verb are singular, there is no agreement formative.

The Person Hierarchy then applies to agreement clitic selection and participant marking in transitive verbs that involve local and non-local participants, or just non-local participants. For instance, in the case of a transitive verb with a second person and third person argument, the agreement formative will always agree with the second person. The same is true of transitive verbs with a first person and a third person argument-- the agreement formative will agree with the first person argument over the third because the first person is ranked higher than the third on the Person Hierarchy. One would expect

the agreement formatives to always encode the second person argument whenever present because it ranks the highest on the Person Hierarchy, but this is not the way the agreement marking actually surfaces. The strictly local argument verbs mark first person plural over the second person singular and plural in the formative. Delaware also marks the first person plural over the second person plural in local argument verbs (Goddard 1979: 111).

2.3 Word Order

The general word order in matrix clauses and subordinate clauses throughout Masta's texts appears to be SOV. Laurent (1884: 118) suggests that word order is free with the following examples in Figure 2-3.

Figure 2-3 -- Laurent's Examples of Word Order Variation

a.	Az8	waj8nem	*wibguigek*	asolkw8n	SOV
	John	*has*	*gray*	*hat*	
b.	asolkw8n	wibguigek	waj8nem	Az8	OVS
c.	wibguigek	asolkw8n	Az8	waj8nem	OSV
d.	waj8nem	Az8	wibguigek	asolkw8n	VSO
e.	Az8	wibguigek	asolkw8n	waj8nem	SOV
f.	wibguigek	asolkw8n	waj8nem	Az8	OVS
g.	waj8nem	wibguigek	Az8	asolkw8n	VadjSO
h.	asolkw8n	wibguigek	Az8	waj8nem	OSV

Laurent 1884: 118

Az8 'John' occurs before the verb, after the verb and even splits the object noun phrase in sentence (g). The verb *waj8n-em* 'have (it, inanimate) appears clause initially, finally and medially. The object noun phrase has the same distributional possibilities as the subject in relation to the verb. It also has internal flexibility. Sentences (b) and (h) show the

noun head *asolkw8n* ‘hat’ followed the adjective complement *wibguigek* ‘gray’. In sentences (a) and (c)-(g) the adjective precedes the noun.

In order for the word order to be as free as Laurent claims it to be with the examples in Figure 2-3, the semantic roles of the arguments must be made recognizable in some fashion. Abenaki does not employ a case system that would signal which participant is an Agent, a Patient, etc. The following sections will show that Abenaki does employ a system of grammatical role marking. The Person Hierarchy in conjunction with formatives called Scenario Markers encode the grammatical roles that each argument assumes. Thus free word order would be possible because the recognition of the grammatical roles is not dependent on the syntax of a clause. Further analysis will probably reveal a preference for some word orders over others in specific contexts as well as the pragmatic functions of different orderings.

3 -- Verbs

3.1 The Basic Structure of Abenaki Verbs

Abenaki verbs can be reduced to distinct categories of morphology. These categories will be defined in this section and further elaborated below. The first distinction is drawn between verb roots and affixes. Verbs roots may be single lexical items or derivations formed by combining particular verbal morphemes with the root. Morphemes such as *tali-* 'there' or *ali-* 'thus', *manni-* 'slowly', *gimi-* 'secretly, quietly', and *wiwni-* 'around' alter the basic meaning of a verb in predictable and also idiomatic ways. The verb *hl8* 'move' can be combined with *naki-* 'down' to create a verb that means 'move downward'. In an example from Masta, this verb is used to describe the setting sun: *naki-hl8-t kizos* 'down-move-Subordinate.Animate.3 sun.AN; The sun set' (1932: 27). Some Algonquianist authors refer to these morphemes are *preverbs*. Day (1989a: 2; 1989b: 3) briefly mentions their function and behavior in Abenaki. I will not concentrate on this type of verb root formation as it has no effect on the derivational and inflectional morphology.

Affixes include valence specifying formatives, agreement formatives, and formatives that indicate polarity, tense and mood. A clear distinction also exists between the formatives that inflect verbs in matrix clauses and those that inflect verbs in subordinate clauses. These verbs will therefore be addressed separately. This analysis begins with a brief introduction to matrix clause verbs and subordinate clause verbs.

In discussing the structure of Proto-Algonquian verbal inflection, Goddard (1974: 318-319) introduces the terms *Central Participant* and *Peripheral Participant*. A verb

can inflect for up to two arguments. There is a formative for Central Participant agreement and one for Peripheral Participant agreement. Verbs that only agree with one participant will always inflect for the Central Participant. To understand these terms as they apply to Abenaki we require two additional terms: *local* arguments and *non-local* arguments. A *local* argument combination only involves first and second persons. A *non-local* argument combination is any that involves a third person e.g. a third person Agent acting on a second person or a first person acting on a third person Patient. In Abenaki first and second persons are always Central Participants. A proximate third person is central when it acts on an obviative third person which is peripheral. Third persons are always encoded as Peripheral Participants when the verb also encodes a local argument. The pattern that emerges is that the argument highest on the Person Hierarchy becomes the Central Participant; the lower ranked argument of a pair becomes the Peripheral Participant.

3.1.1 Matrix Clause Verbs

The morphology of matrix clause verbs varies with three factors. The first and second factor are the person and number values of the arguments of the verb. The third is the animacy value of those arguments. The positions of the formatives in relation to the verb root for Animate and Inanimate intransitive verbs are presented in Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-1 -- Western Abenaki Intransitive Verb Structure

Animate Subject

(Agreement Clitic)=	**Verb root**	-Valence Specifier	-Negation	-N-Object Marker	-Person Agreement	-Tense

Inanimate Subject

Verb root	-Valence Specifier	-Negation	-Tense

Animate intransitive verbs overtly specify the polarity of the verb, the person and number value of the argument and the tense. The Agreement Clitic and the person agreement formative together agree with the Agent of the verb. This can be either a Central or Peripheral Participant. I have placed the Agreement Clitic in parentheses because AI verbs with a third person argument do not exhibit this formative. The Valence Specifier (Section 3.2) determines the transitivity of the verb stem, in this case making it intransitive. The N-Object Marker (Section 3.6.2) is a formative that generally increases the valence of a verb making an intransitive verb transitive. Finally, the tense marking formative occurs after the person agreement. The only tense marked with a verbal affix is the preterit (Section 3.10.1)

Inanimate intransitive verbs (II) only mark polarity and tense on the verb. II verbs do not take Agreement Clitics. II verbs are generally used to express null-subject events like weather or to refer to the qualities of inanimate referents such as *sibo toji kzit-an* 'river.IN there.PT flows.fast-II; the river flows fast there' (Masta 1932: 28).

The structure of transitive verbs is given in Figure 3-2. The three types of verbs diagrammed are those with local arguments (first and second person), a non-local definite object, and a non-local indefinite object.

Figure 3-2 -- Western Abenaki Transitive Verb Structure

Local Arguments (First Person and Second Person)

Agreement= Clitic	**Verb root**	-Valence Specifier	-Scenario Marker	-Negation	-N-Object Marker	-Central Formative	-Tense

Non-local Definite Object (Third Person Definite Object)

(Agreement= Clitic)	**Verb root**	-Valence Specifier	-Scenario Marker	-Reflexive/ -Negation	-N-Object Marker	-Central Formative	-Tense	-Peripheral Formative
Central Participant								Peripheral Participant

Non-local Indefinite Object (Third Person Indefinite Object)

(Agreement= Clitic)	**Verb root**	-Valence Specifier	-Scenario Marker	-Reflexive/ -Negation	-N-Object Marker	-Central Formative	-Tense
Central Participant							

The Valence Specifier affixed to each verb root makes the verb stem transitive. It also indicates the animacy value of the verb's object. Transitive verbs are capable of encoding an additional argument -- a Peripheral Participant. As the absence of Peripheral Participant marking in the indefinite object diagram shows, the Peripheral Participant only induces agreement inflection on the verb when it is definite. The arguments of a transitive verb each assume a semantic role. Simply stated these are Agent and Patient/Goal. The Scenario Marker formative is unique to the transitive verb stem paradigm (Section 3.3). It reflects how the semantic roles match up with the verb's arguments.

Transitive verbs can also be made reflexive, reducing them to intransitive verbs. I have boxed the reflexive and negation formatives together in the diagrams of Figure 3-2 because I could not find examples of negative reflexive verbs. These formatives occupy the same position when they appear separately, so it is not possible to determine how they are ordered in relation to each other.

Whereas first and second person arguments always trigger the presence of a corresponding Agreement Clitic, they do not always occur when the highest ranked

argument is third person. The Agreement Clitics are listed in parentheses because third person agreement only occurs when the object of the verb is animate. After the Central Formative, we find tense marking and finally a position for Peripheral Participant agreement when this argument is definite.

As I mentioned in the Person Distinctions section (2.2), the Central Formative of local argument verbs does not always agree with the Central Participant of these verbs. The Central Participant is defined as the highest-ranked person in the Person Hierarchy. Local argument verbs do not follow this rule and agree with the first person plural over the second person. The agreement formatives still belong to the Central Formative set which is why I use this label in the diagram.

The diagrams of Figure 3-1 and Figure 3-2 are collapsed in the position chart given in Figure 3-3.

Figure 3-3 -- Abenaki Matrix Clause Verb Formative Positions

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.
Agreement= Clitic	**Verb root**	-Valence Specifier	-Scenario Marker	-Reflex.	-Valence Specifier	-Negation	N-Object Marker	-Central Formative	-Tense	-Peripheral Formative
nd= kd= wd=	nami- 'to see'	-aw , -em -i / -o , -en -reciprocal -causative	-8 -egw -i -ol	-z	-i / -o	-wi	-en	-abenaw -anaw -aba -w8	-abani -ashani	-ak / -ik -al / -il -a / -i

Positions II and III list only a sample of the possible morphemes that occur in these slots. Positions I and IV-XI list all the possible formatives that occur in these positions. The formatives are given in their maximal forms. There are numerous phonological and morphophonological processes that alter them as they affix to the verb stem. Often the formatives cited in text examples will not resemble the ones listed above because of these morphological alternations. A detailed list and explanation of these processes can be

found in Appendix C. Each position category will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

3.1.2 Subordinate Clause Verbs

The morphology of verbs in subordinate clauses differs to some extent from matrix clause verbs. The inflectional morphology contains formatives that are found in matrix clause verbs as well as unique formatives. The formative positions and the morphemes that can occur in them are listed in Figure 3-4.

Figure 3-4 -- Abenaki Subordinate Clause Verb Formative Positions

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.
Verb root	-Valence Specifier	-Scenario Marker	Animacy Agreement	-Central Participant/ Number / Obviative	-Negation	-Person/ Negation	-Tense	-Peripheral Participant / Number	-Subjunctive Mood
nami 'see'	-em -aw	-8 -i -egw -ol	-me -zi -ge	-di -li	-wi	-ok -a -an -t -k -ag -agw -kw	-abani -ashani	-a / -i -ak / -ik	-a

Positions I-III are similar to positions II-IV of Figure 3-3 above. Valence specification and Scenario Marking are carried out the same way in both matrix and subordinate clause verbs. Figure 3-4 also indicates that subordinate verbs never occur with Agreement Clitics.

Positions IV, V, VII and IX comprise the agreement inflection possibilities. Position IV formatives occur with null-subject subordinate verbs and agree with the animacy value of the Agent in intransitive verbs and the Patient in transitive verbs (Section 3.8.4). Unlike matrix clause verbs, number and person are not always marked by a single fusional formative. The formatives in position VII agree with the person value of the Central Participant. They also encode the number value of first and second person plural

arguments. The formative -*di* in position V marks animate plural Central Participants and -*li* marks obviative Central Participants. Negation is listed as a category in position VII because the formative -*kw* marks both negative polarity and third person singular. Some transitive subordinate verbs also agree with a Peripheral Participant which is then marked in position IX. Relative clause verbs may also behave like nouns, inflecting for plural number the formatives for which also appear in position IX.

Subordinate verbs also inflect for polarity. When the negation is marked by -*wi*, this formative occurs in position VI. Tense is marked as in matrix clause verbs, by the formatives -*abani* and -*ashani* which occur in position VIII. Subordinate verbs inflect for the *Subjunctive Mood* with the formative -*a* found in position X on the outside of the suffixal complex.

The following sections examine the inflection of Abenaki verbs in detail.

3.2 Valence Specifiers

A group of formatives referred to as **FINALS** by Algonquianists specify the valence of verb stems. They form verbs from both verb and noun roots (Bloomfield 1946: 104). The formatives can specify a verb as either intransitive or transitive. The verb stems are then inflected to reflect the relevant agreement values of the verbs arguments. I therefore suggest the new label *Valence Specifiers* (VS). The term *final* does not adequately imply their function. The formatives that create transitive verbs are listed below in Figure 3-5.

3.2.1 Transitive Verb Specifiers

Figure 3-5 -- Transitive Verb Specifiers

TA VS	TI VS	Comment
-h	-t	sometimes -h is a genderless transitive marker
-m	-d	correlates to some verbs of speech and thought
-n	-n	"action by hand" and creates both TA and TI verbs
-l	-d	
-w	(-m)	forms verbs of action / (from Warne 1976: 7)
-s	-s	
-z	-z	"to cut with an instrument" and creates both TA and TI verbs
-hl	-t	
(-8m)		(from LeSourd 2001: 4)
(-kh)		causative; attaches to AI verb stems; 'cause to be so'
(-ka)		causative: attaches to AI verb stems; 'made to be so'

Day 1989: 21 - 23

Each row of Figure 3-5 across the first two columns juxtaposes a pair of Valence Specifiers that occur with the same verb root and serve to mark the object as either animate or inanimate. The TA formatives in the last three rows are not associated with corresponding TI formatives. Some VSs form pairs almost without exception like *-m* and *-d*, while others occur only less frequently with the same verb root: *-h* and *-t* for example (Day 1989b: 21). Some VSs have meanings like *-z* 'to cut with an instrument'. Generally though, the VSs lack semantic meaning and function only to mark the transitivity and the animacy of the verb's object.

Four Valence Specifiers have been added to Figure 3-5. The first is *-m* (frequently *-em* when it follows a consonant) from Warne (1976:7). In Masta's texts this VS seems to vary with *-w*. The pair of VSs *-em* and *-w* is also found in Passamaquoddy, a related Algonquian language.

(6) '-ciksotuw-a-l — '-ciksotom-on
3-listen.to.TA-DIR-OBV — 3-listen.to.TI-N
'he/she listens to him/her' — 'he/she listens to it'

Bruening 2001: 43

Bruening does not parse the VSs from the verb roots in (6), but it is easy to see that the verb root in these examples is *ciksot* 'listen to'. That makes the Transitive Animate VS *-uw* and the Transitive Inanimate VS *-om*. These Passamaquoddy VSs are also listed in Leavitt (1996: 33). The similarity between Passamaquoddy and Abenaki leads me to believe that *-em* and *-w* are complementary VSs.

The second addition to Day's list is *-8m* a VS that I have found frequently in Masta's texts. LeSourd also parses this segment as a VS marking transitive verbs with animate objects. The text he uses is one collected by Speck (1919: 54-5 cited in LeSourd 2001: 3).

(7) ni=ka=nawa nəta wəl-itah-ôm-ô-mək, [wə]-pətək-ossa-t-aw-ô-n-ô maksa
then=FOCUS=so not good-mind-TA-DIR-UNSPEC 3=back-walk-TI-TA-DIR-N-33PROX blanket
but if they did not like him they give back the blanket.

LeSourd 2001: 4

LeSourd uses the graph *ô* for the nasalized mid back rounded vowel *8* and = to mark clitic boundaries. I have not been able to establish a TI equivalent for this Transitive Animate VS. Another interesting feature of this example is the verb *ossa* 'walk' that is inflected with two VS markers: *-t* and *-aw*. The formative *-t* specifies for Transitive Inanimate verbs whereas *-aw* specifies for Transitive Animate verbs. In this example it is possible to interpret the verb as having the meaning 'bring back the blanket (*maksa*),' requiring the TI VS and 'return the blanket *to* someone' requiring the TA VS. Multiple Valence Specifier inflection is discussed at the end of this section.

The third and fourth added VSs are *-kh* and *-ka*, which Day (1989b) lists under the intransitive VS section of his analysis. The function of these VSs is to add an argument to the structure of a verb. They create causative constructions. Day gives the following example:

(8) nebazôbi
ne=baz8b-i
1=see-AI
I see, I am able to see.

nebazôbikhô
ne=baz8b-i-kh-8
1=see-AI-CAUS-DIR
I make him able to see.

agwankaôzo
agwan-ka-8z-o
bury-CAUS-PASS-AI.3
He is made hidden by burying.

Day 1989: 13

The addition of the *-kh* formative to the verb stem (because it is already inflected with the Animate Intransitive VS *-i*) adds an argument to the verb. The addition of this argument is made explicit by the Scenario Marker *-8* that indicates an animate object in a transitive clause. The verb *agwan* 'cover, bury' is made transitive by the formative *-ka*. In this case, however, the formative *-ka* is followed by the passivizing formative *-8z* (which is a combination of the Scenario Marker *-8* and the passive formative *-z* that LeSourd has not analyzed separately) and the AI VS *-o*. The function of detransitivizing verb formatives is discussed below.

The semantics of some verb roots exclude the existence of TA/TI pairs. For instance as Day points out, the verb *agagi--*'teach' cannot specify an inanimate object (1989b: 21). The verb *bitkaza-w-a* 'load a gun' has no animate object analog. Alternatively, the formative *-h* when attached to some verb roots does not specify the gender of the object at all. Day lists the verbs *awig-* 'mark', *sezo-* 'paint' and *gadka-* 'dig' as examples (1989b: 22). The formative *-s* never specifies the animacy of the verb's object.
Below are some examples of VSs from the Masta texts. The AI VS *-m* is often used with verbs of speech or thought such as *nadod-* 'to ask' (Day 1989b: 21) shown in (9).

(9) N=ad8gues k=wigi=ba nadod-m-ol kagui.
1=cousin.DN 2=like.AI=COND ask-TA-LINV PRO.INTEROG.INDF
Cousin I would like to ask you something.

Masta 1932: 47

The verb *zakp8w-* 'to fear' is made transitive by the VS *-l*.

(10) w=zakp8w-l-egw-8 nitta tali wib-iwi wd=asko-8-ld-in-8
3=fear-TA-INV-PL then.INTENS.PT there.time.PT just-ADV 3=behave-DIR-INDF.PL-N-N1PL
They both simply remained on their guard

Masta 1932: 31

In (10) the two groups of hunters have encountered each other and it is their mutual fear of the other that keeps them from fighting. Example (11) shows how the same object can induce different VS on different verb roots.

(11) ni w=ba-do-n wios ta agma-tta w=giss-em-en
then 3=approach-TI-N meat(IN) CO.c PRO.3-INTENS 3=cook-TI-N
He brought a piece of meat and fried it himself

Masta 1932: 36

The object of the verb *ba* 'approach' is the inanimate noun *wios* 'meat'. Adding the inanimate VS *-d* (with an epenthetic *o* between it and the following formative *n*) to the verb *ba-* changes the meaning to 'make it approach'-- in other words, to bring something. When the meat is cooked the verb root *giss-* 'to cook' is inflected with the inanimate VS *-em* (with an epenthetic *e*). There are two possible reasons for the variation in VS selection. The first is that the verbs select for these valence specifiers, making the process lexical. The second is that the VSs select for verbs with certain semantics, such as 'movement' or 'change through a process' e.g. cooking. I cannot state definitely where the source of the selection lies, in the verb root or in the suffix. A more detailed study of the semantics and functions of these formatives would hopefully clear up this issue and given the numerous examples of verbs in the texts, this research goal seems plausible.

It appears that multiple Valence Specifiers can attach to the same verb root/stem, even VSs that specify conflicting object animacy values. This system is perhaps a method for dealing with Primary and Secondary Objects (see Section 3.6.1) The following phrase is an example from Masta:

(12) k=wi-tt-am-aw-i-n idamo-wi-k
2=say-TI-TI-TA-LINV-N it.means.II-being-SUBR.IN.3
[can you] tell me the meaning?

Masta 1932: 28

As stated above the formative *-tt* (*-d*) attached to the verb root *wi-* 'say' in (12) is sometimes associated with verbs of speech or thought. Next, the TI specifier *-am* appears, referring to the Secondary Object *idamowik* 'what it means'. The Primary Object of this clause (the Indirect Object in English) is the first person argument who is the recipient of the telling. The first person is animate and thus the verb has the VS *-aw* for animate objects. The direct Scenario Marker for local argument verbs *-i* follows the VSs and finally the N-Object Marker *-n* completes the conjugation of the verb.

(13) is another example of a verb with multiple VSs.

(13) ni=ka=nawa nəta wəl-itah-ôm-ô-mək, [wə]-pətək-ossa-t-aw-ô-n-ô maksa
then=FOCUS=so not good-mind-TA-DIR-UNSPEC 3-back-walk-TI-TA-DIR-N-33PROX blanket
but if they did not like him they give back the blanket.

LeSourd 2001: 4

The verb *pətək-ossa* 'back-walk (return)' is apparently ditransitive with the Primary Object *him* and the inanimate Secondary Object *blanket*. The verb is a TA verb because of the Scenario Marker *-ô* (*-8*) that indicates a direct relationship between the Subject and the Primary Object with further animate object agreement in the VS *-aw* that specifies TA verbs. Before the animate VS formative *-aw*, however, the inanimate VS *-t* (*-d*) appears

to render *maksa* 'blanket' part of the verb's argument structure. From the two examples above, I will venture the following structural schematic for multiple VS suffixation.

Figure 3-6 -- Multiple Valence Specifier Structure

verb root	-TI Valence Specifier	-TA Valence Specifier	-Scenario Marker	-Additional Inflections

Figure 3-6 is a proposal for the structure of multiple VS marking. As (12) and (13) show, the verb stem is first inflected with TI and then TA Valence Specifiers. The VSs are followed by the rest of the inflectional morphology just as a verb stem with a single VS would be. I have found any mention of multiple VS marking in the descriptions of other Algonquian languages or in the Algonquian literature. There are not enough examples of triple VS suffixation to provide solid support to this structure proposal, but it should be considered a possibility given the few examples of it that exist.

3.2.2 Intransitive Verb Specifiers

The intransitive verb specifiers are listed in Figure 3-7.

Figure 3-7 -- Intransitive Verb Specifiers

AI VS	II VS	Comment
-i / -o	-en	-en: the most prevalent final; attaches to roots and stems
		-i for 1st, 2nd person / -o for 3rd person
	-o	forms II verbs of being or identity; paired with AI final -i / -o
-a		forms AI verbs from verb roots
-ig-i/o	-ig-en	verbalizer; derives stative verbs from adjective and noun roots
-iz / -ez	-ad	forms stative verbs from verb roots
	-eda	forms stative verbs from verb roots; pairs with AI final -iz / -ez with 'heat' verbs
	-ig	verbalizer; forms stative verbs; further inflected by -en
-oho (-oo)	-oho	forms ambient verbs from noun stems
-hla	-hla	attaches to roots; forms verbs of 'process' or 'becoming'
-iga		detransitivizes transitive verb stems
-od		forms reciprocal AI verbs; attaches to verbs stems ending in TA finals -h, -d or -t
-(o)z		forms reflexive verbs ending in TA finals; further inflected by -i / -o
-ld		forms AI verbs with an indefinite plural subject
	-ôdi	middle reflexive
-sin	-sen	meaning 'to lie, fall, be prostrate'
-ad-i (aji)	-ad-en	meaning 'by cold'; AI final undergoes palatalization to -aji
-k8lzi		meaning 'to pretend to VERB'
-ika		attaches to noun stems; meaning 'to work in the profession or that location'

Day 1989b: 7-16

Figure 3-7 juxtaposes Animate Intransitive and Inanimate Intransitive VS pairs. If two formatives are listed in adjacent cells it means that they attach to the same verb stems and roots and that they have similar functions or meanings; they differ only in the animacy of the argument that they encode being either animate or inanimate. The verb root *wl-* 'good' is used as an example of VS inflection:

(14) wl-ig-en
good-II-II
It is good.

Masta 1932: 47

(15) oligo
wl-ig-o
good-AI-AI.3
He is good.

Day 1994 V2: 405

When the Agent of the verb *wl-* 'good' is inanimate like in (14), the VSs *-ig* and *-en* occur. In (15) the VSs are *-ig* and *-o*, which specifies an animate third person Agent. The formatives *-en* and *-o* appear to be responsible for differentiating the animacy of the Agent in each example, whereas *-ig* occurs regardless in both. It might be more accurate to simply apply a neutral label to *-ig* such as 'VS', but I shall continue to apply an animacy value to every VS in this study.

If a VS is not associated with one of the other animacy paradigm then no correlating VS exists. The formative *-ld* for example only attaches to AI verbs and not II verbs.

Many VSs distinguish the subject argument as being either animate or inanimate. Other VSs do not encode animacy; instead they simply specify intransitive verbs. In the case of a VS like *-hla*, the third person remains ambiguous.

(16) geda-hla
sink-AI/II
He/it sinks

Day 1989b:12,15

Intransitive verbs do not take the third person Agreement Clitic *w(d)=* as (16) shows. Thus the animacy value of the subject in these clauses must be determined by context unless the subject is overtly stated. In the case of verbs created from noun stems, the animacy value of the Agent will be the same as that of verbalized noun.

(17) gizos-oho
sun(AN)-AI
The sun shines, there is sunshine

Day 1989b: 11

(18) askow-ad
cloud(IN)-II
It is cloudy

Day 1994 V2: 76

(17) and (18) illustrate the effect the animacy value of the verbalized noun has on the animacy value of the Agent of the resultant clause.

The general AI verb Valence Specifiers are *-i* / *-o* and *-a*. The allomorphs *-i* and *-o* vary with the person value of the Agent. First and second persons are marked with *-i*; third persons are marked with *-o*. The functions of many of the VSs are best illustrated through the examples which follow.

(19) N=id8ba Az8 pasgue ta 8toji wli-dbi-n8gw-z-i-an t8ni nawa
1=friend(AN) A. NUM.IN.1 CO.c CONT.PT good-?-appear-AI-AI-SUBR.AN.2 PRO.INTEROG therefore
My friend John! you are looking as well as ever. How

Masta 1932: 20

The verb root in (19) is *n8gw* 'to appear'. The first AI VS is *-z* which occurs with verbs of physical perception (Day 1989b: 11). The formative *-z* is then followed by another VS *-i*. This is one of the most common AI deriving formatives used with first and second person argument intransitive verbs. Had this verb's subject been a third person, the formative would have been *-z-o*, with the third person allomorph of the VS *-o*. Because the verb *n8gw* is located in a subordinate clause and its argument is a second person, it is inflected with the subordinate second person formative *-an*.

There are two instances of verb stems specified with the VS *-a* in (20).

(20) famine river manosa-'i sibo ni=ga a-dali m8j-a
f. r. m.-GEN river(IN) then=FOC SUBR.AG-there begin-AI
Famine river, Manosa'i sibo is where these Indians

manosa-a-di-d-ep aln8ba-k.
starve-AI-PL-SUBR.AN.3-PRET indian(AN)-PL
were starving, hence the name.

Masta 1932: 28

The first is the root *m8j-* 'to begin, start'. There is no agreement inflection on *m8j-a* because it is not the main verb in the clause. The main verb is *manosa* 'to starve' which is also inflected with the VS *-a*. *manosa* is located in a subordinate clause and inflected with subordinate agreement formatives that agree in number (*-di* 'plural') and person (*-d* 'third') with the subject *aln8ba-k* 'the Indians'.

The formative -*ld* is used when the number value of the Agent argument is undefined.

(21) wd=asko8-ld-in-8 ta8lawi=ba nisw-ak pezo-ak
3=behave-DIR-INDF.PL-N-N1PL like.PT=COND two(AN)-PL wildcat(AN)-PL
[They behaved] Like two wildcats…

Masta 1932: 31

The subject of the verb *asko8* 'behave' in (21) is not overtly stated in the clause because it refers to a group of unspecified number-- in this case two groups of hunters. We know the subject is plural because the verb is inflected with non-first plural formative -*8* that marks plural third persons.

Rather than specifying the transitivity of the verb root, a few AI VSs reduce the valence of transitive verbs making them intransitive. They are -*iga*, -*od*, and -*(o)z*. The transitive verb stem *awig-h-* 'to mark, draw' is made intransitive with the suffixation of -*iga*.

(22) awig-h-iga
mark-TA-AI
He/she writes

Day 1989b: 12

The verb *awig* 'to mark' is first inflected with the TA VS -*h*, then the AI VS -*iga* making it intransitive.

The AI VS -*od* creates a reciprocal relationship between the arguments of a TA verb.

(23) n=nami-h-od-i-bena
1=see-TA-RECP-AI-1PL
We (exclusive) see each other

Day 1989b: 12

Like the AI VS -*iga* shown in (22), -*od* 'reciprocal' also attaches to verbs that are first specified as transitive. The formative -*od* in (23) is followed by the AI VS -*i* that occurs with first and second person subjects before it is inflected with an agreement formative.

The formative *-(o)z* creates reflexive verbs and is discussed in detail in the Voice section (3.4). Like *-iga* and *-od*, it also only occurs with verbs that have first been specified as transitive. When *-(o)z* follows a consonant it appears as *-oz* and as *-z* after a vowel.

This section has discussed the instances when verbs are inflected with Valence Specifiers. There are some cases when a verb in not inflected with a VS, but it still inflects for agreement, tense, etc. The lack of a VS does not make a verb incapable of inflection. Some verbs simply do not exhibit them. I am not sure if this is a function of these particular verb roots or a more general phenomenon.

Once a verb's transitivity has been established by the VSs, it is inflected with agreement formatives. In the case of Transitive Animate verbs, the relationship between the arguments must first be made explicit. This is accomplished with the inflection of Scenario Markers discussed in the following section.

3.3 Scenario Markers

The Transitive Animate verb paradigm employs a set of formatives that I label Scenario Markers after Bickel and Nichols (*forthcoming*: 60) that reflect the relationship between the arguments of the verb. In Algonquian linguistics these formatives are called **THEMES**.

The ranking of a person on the Person Hierarchy influences the selection of the Scenario Marker. Higher ranked persons acting on lower ranked persons results in a *direct* relationship between the arguments. The opposite situation, where a lower ranked person acts on a higher ranked, results in an *inverse* relationship. Abenaki makes a further distinction in the morphology between clauses that involve non-local arguments

and those that involve only local arguments. A separate set of Scenario Markers exists for verbs that have only local arguments. Scenario marking in the related language Maliseet-Passamaquoddy is also restricted to the Transitive Animate paradigm and subject to the rankings of a person hierarchy analogous to that in Abenaki (Leavitt 1996: 10).

The Abenaki Scenario Markers are given in Figure 3-8.

Figure 3-8 -- Scenario Markers

Direct Relationship		
	-8	Direct; local on non-local / proximate on obviative
	-i	Local Direct; second person on first person
Inverse Relationship		
	-egw	Inverse; non-local on local / obviative on proximate
	-el	Local Inverse; first person on second person

I have reduced the Scenario Markers to four formatives and grouped them as either reflecting a *direct* relationship or an *inverse* relationship (Figure 3-8). One could also group them as Goddard (1974) does. He separates the local argument Scenario markers (-*i* and -*el*) from the two that inflect verbs with a non-local argument (-*8* and -*egw*). Either method seems descriptively adequate. The approach I have chosen stresses the relative ranking of the verb's arguments over the person values of the verb's arguments.

Referring to Figure 3-8 we see that the formatives -*8* and -*i* create *direct* relationships. The formative -*8* is employed when the verb contains at least one non-local argument -- either a proximate or an obviative third person. The formative -*i* is used with local arguments when a second person Agent acts on a first person Patient. The formatives -*egw* and -*el* are used for *inverse* relationships, or when lower ranked arguments act on

higher ranked arguments. *-egw* occurs when at least one of these arguments is a non-local third person. The formative *-el* occurs with local argument verbs when the first person Agent acts on the second person Patient.

Day (1989b: 17) groups *-em* and *-o* as TI direct markers. I have included these in the VS section above. Warne (1976: 7) includes *-en* and *-em* as Scenario Markers. I have not included *-em* because it does not have a corresponding inverse equivalent. I analyze *-en* as a valence increasing formative (see Section 3.6.2) similar in function to the *-en* suffix described by Goddard (1983).

A few examples of the four Scenario Markers follow. I will begin with *-8* the TA direct Scenario Marker.

(24) nadalowinowak ugwi:ldawônê.
nadalowinow-ak w=gwild-aw-8-n-8
hunter(AN)-PL 3=pursue-TA-DIR-N-N1PL
The (Abenaki) hunters pursued them (Iroquois).

Speck 1945: 45

In most of the stories recorded by Masta, the Abenakis are the main characters. This also gives them proximate status in the majority of instances when they interact with other people, such as the Iroquois or the Penobscots. In (24) the Abenaki hunters are the proximate third person argument and the Iroquois are the obviative third person argument of the verb *gwild* 'to pursue'. This verb is specified as a TA verb by the VS *-aw* and then inflected with the direct Scenario Marker *-8* that reflects the relationship between the Abenaki and the Iroquois. Since the Abenakis are pursuing the Iroquois, the proximate Agent is acting on the obviative Patient, so the relationship is *direct*. The *-n* formative specifies that the Iroquois are definite and the formative *-8* following it agrees with the plural Central Participant, the Abenaki hunters.

(25) unamihon ud-onhgem
w=nami-h-8 wd=8gem
3=see-TA-DIR 3=8gem(AN)
He sees his snow-shoe.

Prince 1901: 351

An object may be animate even if that object is not alive like *8gem* 'snowshoe' in (25). Verbs with animate objects are inflected with Scenario Markers as is *nami* 'to see' in this case. The formative *-8* follows the TA VS *-h*.

A direct relationship with local argument verbs involves a second person Agent acting on a first person Patient.

(26) N=adogues sozi wliwni=ni a-doji wli k=agaki-m-i-an.
1=friend s(AN) thanks=DEM SUBR.AG-then AP.for 2=teach-TA-LINV-SUBR.AN.2
Cousin Sozi, I thank you for the information you have given me.

Masta 1932: 28

Although the first person argument is addressing someone in (26), the verb *agaki-* 'to teach' translates as 'what you have taught me'. So the addressee is acting on the first person speaker. That relationship is a *direct* one inducing the inflection of the local direct Scenario Marker *-i* after the TA VS *-m*. Since the second person is ranked higher in the Person Hierarchy, the formative *-an* for subordinate clauses agrees with the second person argument.

Inverse relationships between arguments involve a lower ranking person acting on a higher ranking person.

(27) pazegwuda wôbanaki:ak uneskêgô magwa
bazegweda wôbanaki-ak w=nesk-eg-ô magwa
once.PT Abenaki(AN)-PL 3=find.TA-INV-N1PL Iro(AN)
Once the Abenaki were attacked and killed by the Mohawk.

Speck 1945: 45

Just as the Abenakis were the proximate argument in (24), they retain that person status in (27). Now, however, instead of pursuing the Mohawk, they are being attacked and killed. Since the lower ranked Iroquois (obviative third person) are acting as the Agent

and the Abenakis are now the Patient of the verb, the relationship between these arguments is *inverse*. Thus we find the formative *-egw* suffixed to the verb *nesk* in (27). The *w* of *-egw* is missing in Speck's transcription. I surmise that the rounded quality of the non-first plural formative *-8* masked the pronunciation of the *w* in *-egw*.

The inverse Scenario Marker *-egw* is used when a third person argument acts on a first or second person argument. In (28) the narrator is describing how one of his elders would tell him stories after supper.

(28) ni attassiwi kizi adl8gui-pi-ag-i
then every.time.ADV PRFV evening-eat-SUBR.AN.1PL-OBV
and every day after supper

nd=8dok-aw-go-n kagui n8ng8niwi ala-k-ep.
1=tell.story-TA-INV-N PRO.INTEROG.INDF very.long.ago.Adv MANN.II-SUBR.IN.3-PRET
he would tell me things of old.

Masta 1932: 47

The verb *8dok* 'to tell a story' is specified as a TA verb and inflected with the inverse Scenario Marker *-egw*[4] because the lower ranked third person Agent-- the elder-- is acting on the higher ranked first person Patient-- the narrator.

The inverse relationship between local arguments involves a first person acting on a second person, as seen in (29).

(29) ni nikw8bi k=owaw8-doka-w-l-en ali=ba 8nda mina papi-ww-an
then now.PT 2=know-make-TA-LINV-N MANN=COND NEG again.PT play-NEG-SUBR.AN.2
Now let me tell you that this gambol will not be repeated, not

Masta 1932: 36

The formative *-el*[5] appears in (29) because the first person narrator of this text is acting on the second person addressee. The verb *owaw8-doka-w* can be translated as 'make a

[4] *-egw* appears as *-go* in this example because of two morphophonological processes. The first is *Vowel Truncation* that deletes the formative initial vowel *-e* because it follows the vowel-final VS *-aw*. The second is *Vocalization* that changes the formative final *w* to *o* because it is reanalyzed as the nucleus of the syllable *gon* created by the suffixation of *-n*. These processes are explained in more detail in Appendix C.

person know'. In this case it is the first person Agent who is making the second person Patient know something.

Transitive Inanimate, intransitive, and subordinate clause verbs are not inflected with Scenario Markers. The Agent of TI verbs is always animate. In the case that an inanimate Agent acts on an animate Patient, the situation would be described by a TA verb with an inverse Scenario Marker. I have not seen any examples of inanimate Agents acting on inanimate Patients and it may be that this combination is not allowed in Abenaki.

3.4 Voice

The formative *-(o)z* reduces the valence of verbs. With verbs that lack Scenario Marking, its addition creates an intransitive reflexive verb. Scenario marked verbs become passivized intransitive verbs.

Examples (30) and (31) present a comparison between the intransitive inflection of *nami-* 'to see' and the reflexive version of this verb.

(30) n8gaiwi kchai w=nami-o-n pasgo-wa,
in.a.moment.ADV old.man.PT 3=see-AI-N NUM.AN.1-OBV
finally the old man saw one of the owls

Masta 1932: 17

(31) nami-h-oz-o
see-TA-PASS-AI
He sees himself.

Day 1989b: 12

The root *nami-* is made intransitive by the VS *-o* in (30) and transitive by the VS *-h* in (31). The VS *-h* is then followed by the valence decreasing formative *-oz* (with the shape *-oz* because it follows the consonant *-h*) which makes the verb stem intransitive and

[5] The *e* of the formative *-el* has been deleted by *Vowel Truncation* just as the *e* of *-egw* was deleted in (28).

reflexive. Since this is now an intransitive verb with a third person subject, the intransitive VS *-o* is necessary just as it is for the intransitive verb *nami-o-n* in (30).

When a verb is inflected with a Scenario Marker and then suffixed with *-(o)z* the result is a passivized verb.

(32) zazam-h-ô
whip-TA-DIR
He whips him.

Day 1994, V1: 446

(33) sazam-h-ô-z-o
whip-TA-DIR-PASS-AI
He is whipped.

Day 1989b: 13

Example (32) presents the verb *zazam* 'to whip' specified as a TA verb and inflected with the direct Scenario Marker *-8*. This same verb, when inflected with *-(o)z* in (33) is reduced to an intransitive verb necessitating the added AI VS *-o* suffixed after the passivizing formative *-z*.

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy employs the formative *-s* (which voices to [z] between sonorants) to create reflexive verbs. The valence of the verb is also reduced in these constructions.

(34) n-papehcim-s
1-ask.TA-REFL.AI
I ask myself

Leavitt 1996: 11

Leavitt explains that the reflexive verbs are originally transitive and then become intransitive with the suffixation of *-s*. His labels are the same as those I employ except that he does not analyze the prefix *n* as a clitic like I do.

In Abenaki when the lower ranked argument of a clause is the Agent it induces an inverse Scenario Marker inflection on the verb. This has an effect similar to

passivization although it does not trigger a decrease in the valence of the verb as in the examples above.

(35) li-wilhl-8m-ge-za achi kennebessinno-ak ali waijiwi sibow-ikok
MANN-call-TA-INV-PRET also.PT K(AN)-PL SBR always.Adv river(IN)-PL.LOC
[The Abenakis] were also called Kanibassinoak because they lived near big rivers
Masta 1932: 20

The scenario marker -*ge* (-e*gw*) in (35) is preceded by the TA VS -*8m* and followed by the preterit marker -*za*. This looks like a passive construction because of the gloss, but the verb's morphology shows that this is simply a case of an inverse relationship between the verb's arguments. Since the Abenakis would be the proximate argument in this clause, the inverse Scenario Marker is necessary to indicate they are the Patient and not the Agent. The English gloss employs a passive construction to translate this phrase although there is no valence reduction apparent in the Abenaki. Leavitt describes a similar construction in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy stating that "direct and inverse forms do some of the 'work' of the active and passive voices in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, which does not have a way of distinguishing 's/he asks them' from 'they are asked by him/her'" (1996: 11).

Day lists the reflexive suffix as -*z* and the passivizing suffix as -*ôz* (1989b: 13-14). Further investigation reveals that the passive suffix -*ôz* is a combination of the direct Scenario Marker and the reflexive formative -*z*. Scenario Markers are employed outside of the Transitive Animate paradigm when the arguments are manipulated by other suffixes. This is true for passivization as well as for subordinate verb constructions which are discussed below. Without the Scenario Markers, -*z* would create reflexive verbs. It quickly becomes apparent though that there is no way to create a TI verb inflected with Scenario Markers because no such formatives exist in this paradigm. Still

we find a TI verb inflected with the Scenario Marker *-8* in (36) where the verb root *wi-* 'name, call' is inflected with *-t* making it a TI verb.

(36) agwa ni wji li-wi-t-8-z-o-sa
it.was.PT then SBR MANN-call-TI-DIR-REFL-AI-PRET
and the Indians called it so

Masta 1932: 28

The direct Scenario Marker *-8* that inflects the verb *wi-t* 'call it (inanimate)' in (36) reflects the relationship between the verb's arguments -- the *Indians* (proximate) call *it* (obviative) such. The gloss does not translate this phrase accurately. A better one would be 'It is called such (by the Indians)'. The formative *-z* passivizes the TI verb *wi-t-8* and the Patient (*it*) seems to be found in the subject position. The evidence for the passivization is the VS *-o* signaling that the verb has become intransitive with a third person singular subject.

If the direct Scenario Marker occurs with passivized verbs, one would expect to find a combination with the inverse Scenario Marker *-egw* and the passive formative as well. Indeed, this does occur.

(37) Enna n8kshwa lli wawal-m-egw-z-o-p ali pita wl-ig-id,
PRO.AN maid(AN) AP.? be.know-TA-INV-PASS-AI-PRET SBR both.PT good-AI-SUBR.AN.3
She was considered

wli-dbin-8[6]-gw-zi-d ta waw8d-a-k
good-look.at-TA-INV-IN-SUBR.AN.3 CO.c know-AI-SUBR.AN.3
very pretty, good-looking and intelligent.

Masta 1932: 35

In order to understand this clause with the verb *wawal* 'be known' the arguments must first be established. The *n8kshwa* 'maiden' is proximate indicated by the localizing demonstrative *enna* that precedes it. The obviative argument is unstated, but may be

[6] This is underlying the TA final *-8m*. The *m* is deleted before the velar stop after syncope deletes the *e* of the inverse Scenario Marker *-egw*: *-8megw → 8mgw→ 8gw*

rendered with the phrase 'the people the maid knows'. With a direct Scenario Marker, the phrase would read *The maiden considered them to be good looking.* The *-z* formative apparently promotes the semantic role Patient to the subject position just like a passive construction. In order for the maid to be the Patient, the relationship between the arguments must be inverse as the inverse Scenario Maker -e*gw* indicates. Thus the maid becomes the subject in the passive construction. The verb is specified as intransitive by the VS *-o*.

Although Scenario Markers do not create the passive voice, they function to install the correct argument in the Patient role so that it can be promoted to the subject of the passivized verb. Laurent's *Passive Verb* examples are excellent to illustrate this point.

(38) N'kezalmegwzi
n=gezal-m-egw-z-i
1=love-TA-INV-PASS-AI
I am loved

Laurent 1884: 177

The direct form of (38) would read 'I love him/her'. The inverse Scenario Marker in (38) reflects a relationship of the semantic roles of lower ranked acting on higher ranked. Thus the meaning of the verb is 'S/he loves me'. The first person argument is the Patient, so the passive formative *-z* promotes it to be subject in the passive construction. The formative *-i* (used for local argument subjects in intransitive clauses) marks the new verb as intransitive. (37) and (38) prove that the inverse Scenario Marker does not create the passive voice. It merely occurs in situations where the higher ranked argument of a transitive verb is promoted to the subject position in passive constructions.

3.5 Matrix Clause Agreement Inflection

Abenaki verbs encode at most two arguments-- the Agent and then either a Patient or a Recipient/Goal. In his 1974 article, Goddard introduces the terms *Central Endings, Central Participant, Peripheral Endings* and *Peripheral Participant* (318). These terms are intended to aid in the description of Algonquian verbs. They apply very well to the current Abenaki system. I will, however, substitute the word *formative* for *ending* in order to keep the terminology of this study consistent. The Central Formatives, in combination with the Agreement Clitic, mark the Central Participant. The highest argument on the Person Hierarchy will always be the Central Participant. The Peripheral Formatives reflect the categorical values of the Peripheral Participant which is always non-local (third person proximate or obviative). The categories encoded by the Central Formative include person, number and the definiteness value of the grammatical object in transitive verbs. Those categories encoded by the Peripheral Formatives are person (proximate or obviative), animacy and number.

Within the *Central Endings*, Goddard establishes two sets (1967b: 71). The first set is called **N-ENDINGS** and they are employed when the object of a clause is definite[7]. Goddard further labels verbs with definite objects **OBJECTIVE** verbs. The **P-ENDING** set is used when the object of a verb is indefinite and these are called **ABSOLUTE** verbs. The distinction will be elaborated in the Central Formative section below. The major terminology change I present in this study is to replace the term *N-ending* with *Fusional Definite Formatives* (FDF) and the term *P-ending* with *Fusional Indefinite Formatives* (FIF). They are fusional in the sense that a single formative agrees with the features of the highest ranked participant and the definiteness value of an object.

[7] See Section 3.6.3 for a discussion of definiteness in Abenaki.

3.5.1 Agreement Clitics

The person value of the Central Participant of a verb is encoded in an agreement clitic. Algonquianists refer to this clitic as the verb's *prefix* possibly because it most often attaches directly before the main verb. I will show, however, that this morpheme acts more like a clitic.

Zwicky and Pullum (1983: 503-504) list six criteria by which to judge a morpheme to be an affix or a clitic. Unfortunately, two of these criteria require intimate familiarity with the syntax and semantics of the language. I do not have the necessary intuitions to make semantic judgments nor have I sufficiently investigated the syntax at this point. In regards to a criterion that relates morphophonological idiosyncrasies more with affixes, the texts and grammars from which I have drawn my examples are already polished materials that present the language in a fairly standardized form. Working with natural language data may reveal the possibility of morphophonological variation associated with affixation. Therefore I cannot compare the agreement clitics to the suffixes on the verb in terms of morphophonology. The agreement clitics also attach to sites in the syntax that never accept other clitics, so I cannot utilize the criterion that identifies clitics as those morphemes that can attach to other clitics. This analysis then falls on the one criterion that defines clitics as morphemes that "exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts" (503). As I will show with the examples below, *Agreement Clitics* attach to verbs, particles, and nouns. I am more confident labeling these agreement morphemes clitics based on this sole criterion than defaulting to calling them affixes for lack of more critical evidence. Further research into the syntax of Abenaki may prove this hypothesis wrong, but I would rather the analysis began from this assumption.

There are three agreement clitics in Abenaki[8]: *n(d)=*, *k(d)=*, and *w(d)=*. Agreement Clitics are not affected by the number of the argument. For instance a singular first person argument and a plural first person argument will each be encoded with the Agreement Clitic *n(d)-*. They always agree with highest ranked argument in a clause as the following two examples show.

(39) Pasgueda=ga n=nossok-am-en al8ptowan, ni k=nami-h-oll-en
one.time=FOC 1=follow-TI-N track(IN) then 2=see-TA-LINV-N
I once followed your tracks and saw you

Masta 1932: 36

(40) Ni=ba=t8ni id-am-8n-a majalmit?
then=COND=if say-TI-SUBR.AN.1-SBJV M.
Would you understand it if I said majalmit?

Masta 1932: 27

In (39) *n=* marks the first person speaker on the verb *nossok* 'to follow' because the Patient in this clause is the third person 'tracks'. The second verb *nami-ho* 'see-TA' is prefixed with *k=* because the second person is ranked higher than the first person in the Person Hierarchy even though it is the object of the clause. No Agreement Clitic appears in (40) to agree with the first person speaker because this verb is in a subordinate clause.

Klavans (1985: 97) establishes three parameters that I will use below to characterize the clitics' distribution and behavior. A few examples will assist in determining their site of attachment both syntactically and phonologically.

In terms of Klavan's *phonological liaison* Parameter 3, Agreement Clitics are *proclitic* meaning that their phonological attachment site is the morpheme that follows them.

[8] The Agreement Clitics have two allomorphs. They surface with the coronal stop *d* before vowel-initial attachment sites. Before consonant-initial attachment sites they surface without the stop as *n*, *k* and *w*.

(41) nia t8baw8z kassinska taba noliwi n=gasi gadema.
PRO.1 NUM.count.7 NUM.mult.10 NUM.and.PT NUM.count.9 1=so.many.PT be.age.AI
I am seventy-nine years old.
Masta 1932: 47

(42) nia kanwa nd=el-sed-am ali k=[mahom-nog]-ak w8banaki-ak
PRO.1 CO.d 1=MANN-hear-TI SBR 2=[grandfather.DN-1PL]-PL abenaki(AN)-PL
But I have heard that our great grandfathers
Masta 1932: 20

Examples (41) and (42) contrast the two forms of the first person agreement clitic. In (41) the clitic attaches to a consonant-initial particle *gasi* 'so many'. When an agreement clitic is followed by a consonant, it surfaces without *d*. With vowel-initial attachment sites, however, the form *nd* surfaces as in (42). Since the initial segment of the attachment site is determining the shape of agreement clitic, I will conclude that they are phonologically attached to the morphemes they precede and thus proclitic.

Agreement Clitics attach to the first element in a phrase, making them *initial* for the *Dominance* Parameter 1. They also attach *before* the first element in terms of the *Precedence* Parameter 2.

(43) ni m8manni w=m8joldi-n-8 kwilaw8-bam-8-di-t
then slowly.PT 3=depart.AI-N-N1PL search-wander-DIR-PL-SUBR.AN.3
And they all went very cautiously looking here and there on the ground and in the trees,
Masta 1932: 17

(44) phanem wd=[achowi kwzilawi-8 ta kita-w-8] w=niswidiji.
woman(AN) 3=must respect.TA-DIR CO.c listen-TA-DIR 3=husband.PT
A woman must respect and obey her husband
Masta 1932: 37

(45) pasgueda wakas-wak w=dali weskok8-go-n-8-zsa Magua,
one.time.PT few.AI-3PL 3=there.PT intercept.TA-INV-N-N1PL-PRET Iro(AN)
For instance a few of them were one day intercepted by a greater number of Iroquois
Masta 1932: 31

The third person agreement clitic *w=* in (43) attaches to the main verb of the clause and agrees with the third person proximate argument. The verbs *kwzilawi* 'respect' and *kita-w* 'obey' in (44) form a conjoined verb phrase. Instead of each verb being inflected for person with the agreement clitic *-wd* or just the first verb in the conjunction, we find the

clitic attached to the auxiliary verb *achowi* ‘must’. The example shows that clitics attach to verb phrases. Also, (44) illustrates that a noun can be an attachment site for an agreement clitic. In this case it is the inalienably possessed noun *-niswidiji* ‘spouse’. The possessed object (dependent) is marked in a possession relationship. Agreement Clitics can also attach to particles such as *dali* as in (45). The range of attachment sites supports analyzing it as a clitic. In all cases, this agreement clitic attaches to the first element in a verb phrase and before it. In Klavan’s term, Agreement Clitics are Type 2 with the following parameter values: P1: *initial*, P2: *before* P3: *proclitic.*

Although it is not my intention to analyze the syntax of Abenaki, (46) presents an interesting example of the complexity of the verb phrase.

(46)	saagat	kanwa	akwi	pal8bald-a	n=gizi=ji	nia	nadial-i
	it.is.such	CO.ad	NEG.JUS	despair-JUS.2	1=be.able=FUT	PRO.1	hunt-AI

“It is too bad, but be not discouraged, I can hunt…

Masta 1932: 35

The main verb is *nadial* ‘to hunt’. The singular first person subject is reflected in the morphology by the Agreement Clitic *n=* attached to *gizi* ‘to be able’. The auxiliary verb is also the site of attachment for the future clitic *=ji*. In addition the verb phrase contains the overt first person subject pronoun *nia* ‘I’. In order to truly appreciate the complexity of the verbs in Abenaki, it is necessary to look beyond the main verbs and consider the verb phrase in (46) shows.

The Transitive Inanimate and Intransitive paradigms lack third person agreement cliticization of *w(d)=* unless they are further inflected with the N-Object Marker (see Section 3.6.2). Agreement clitics also do not occur with subordinate clause verbs.

Adverbials are also included in the verb phrase. (47) shows very well how the agreement formatives flank the verb phrase with the Agreement Clitic attaching to the first element and the plural inflections affixed to the main verb.

(47) n=deli nkawatsi-bna ali=ba
1=there hope.AI-1PL SBR=COND
[I] sincerely hope that…

Masta 1932: 38

Agreement Clitics are one piece of morphology that Abenaki uses to encode Central Participants. Verbs are also inflected with a set of formatives that agree with this argument and the next section looks at these in detail.

3.5.2 Central Participant Agreement Inflections

The Agreement Clitic in combination with the Central Formatives encode the features of the Central Participant on a verb. When the object of a Transitive Animate verb is definite or unexpressed, *Fusional Definite Formatives* (FDF) are used. The TA verb paradigm is also the only paradigm in which the Fusional Definite Formatives occur. *Fusional Indefinite Formatives* (FIF) are used when the object of the verb is indefinite and expressed. FIFs are also used to inflect intransitive verbs. The TI paradigm does not inflect with FDFs. Definite objects are expressed in Transitive Inanimate verbs by means of a formative that I call the N-Object Marker discussed below (Section 3.6.2).

Figure 3-9 below lists the Fusional Indefinite Formatives and Fusional Definite Formatives. They are presented side-by-side to allow one to compare the person and number values that each encodes.

Figure 3-9 -- Central Participant Agreement Formatives

Fusional Indefinite	Person/Number marked	Fusional Definite Formatives	Person/Number marked
--	singular	--	singular
-a	3 / singular (Indef.)		
-obenaw	1PL (incl and excl)	-anaw	1PL (incl and excl)
-oba	2PL	-w8	N1PL (second and third)

Within the FIF set, singular person values are only marked by *-a* when the object of the transitive verb is indefinite. The formative *-a* blocks the Scenario Marker (*-8* and *-egw*) in transitive clauses with animate third person singular and plural indefinite objects i.e TA verbs with indefinite objects. The FIF *-obenaw* is used for both inclusive and exclusive first person plurals. The Agreement Clitic of a verb determines its inclusivity (with *k(d)=*) or exclusivity (with *n(d)=*) value. Second person plural Central Participants are inflected with *-oba*. There is no FIF for third person plural arguments; they take Peripheral Participant agreement formatives discussed in the next section.

Within the Fusional Definite Formative set, the form of the formative for plural participants is dependent on the person value. The plurality of first persons is distinguished from the plurality of non-first persons. The label *1PL* refers to first person plural and *N1PL* refers to non-first person plural arguments. Singular arguments have no FDF agreement inflections.

Some textual examples follow starting with the FIFs.

(48) n=id8ba-m-naw-ag ta n=ijia-naw-ag id-am Salom
1=friend-VS-1PL-3PL CO.c 1=brother-POSS.1PL-3PL say-TI S(AN)
"Friends and brothers," said Salom,

Masta 1932: 38

The verb *id* 'say' in (48) exhibits no Central Participant marking because the Agent (the speaker *Salom*) is singular and the object (*Salom*'s speech) is indefinite. Were the object of this clause definite, the verb would be *idamen* with the N-Object Marker *-en*.

The FIF formative -*a* in (49) indicates that the object of the verb is indefinite.

(49) ni: agwa umautaha tagwa udago'ta
ni agwa w=mauta-h-a tag-w-a wdgot-a
then it.was.PT 3=find-TA-INDF.3 hit-TA-INDF.3 wound-INDF.3
And then he struck him and wounded him.

Speck 1932

Each verb of the three in the series *mauta* 'find', *tag* 'hit', and *wdgot* 'wound' are inflected with the FIF -*a*, whereas the whole verb phrase is inflected by the Agreement Clitic *w*= on *mauta* 'find'.

The Central Participant in example (50) is an exclusive plural first person.

(50) n=deli nkawatsi-bna ali=ba
1=there hope.AI-1PL SBR=COND
[We (exclusive)] sincerely hope that

Masta 1932: 38

It is marked on the verb by the combination of the Agreement Clitic *n*= and the Fusional Indefinite Formative -*bna*. The verb *nkawatsi* is an Animate Intransitive verb.

The first person plural FIF -*obenaw* is shown in (51).

(51) k'namitob'na wigwom
k=nami-to-bna wigwom
2=see-TI-1PL house(IN)
We (inclusive) see a house.

Prince 1901: 356

The shape this formative has differs from its form listed in Figure 3-9. A few phonological and morphophonological processes act to yield the final form -*bna*. They are all listed in detail in Appendix C. *Vowel Truncation* deletes the initial *o*, while *Syncope* deletes the formative medial *e* which was presumably unstressed. The final *w* is deleted by *Final Glide Deletion* that deletes a word final glide. In combination, these three processes result in -*bna* the common surface form of this formative. The verb is

inflected with this formative because the Central Participant is a first person plural and the object of the verb is indefinite.

Examples of FDF inflected verbs follow.

(52) Pol Sozap kalol-8-d wes8gna wd=ihl-8 N=ijia-k
P(AN) S(AN) speak.TA-DIR-SUBR.AN.3 Algonq(AN) 3=say.TA-DIR 1=brother(AN)-PL
He, speaking to the three Algonquians, said: "My friends…
Masta 1932: 38

In (52) the verb *ihl* 'to say' is inflected with the Scenario Marker -*8* which means that the object *wes8gna* 'Algonquian' must be definite. Scenario Markers do not occur when the object of a verb is indefinite. The Central Participant is not marked on the verb because it is singular *Pol Sozap*. If the object of the verb were indefinite, the verb would be inflected with -*a* instead of the -*8* like the one in (49). Something else to note is that the Algonquians are only plural in the gloss, not in the text. If they were plural, the text would read *Wes8gna-k*, with the noun *wes8gna* inflected for plural number by the formative -*k*.

The first person plural FDF -*anaw* inflects the verb *wlilawak* 'to please' in (53).

(53) n=besan-i wlilawak-8-go-n-ana
1=satify-AI please-TA-INV-N-1PL
we are more than satisfied [with the decision]
Masta 1932: 38

Final Glide Deletion has deleted the formative final *w* yielding -*ana* from -*anaw*. The Agreement Clitic *nd*= and the formative -*ana* mark the Central Participant, in this case the people who are professing their satisfaction in the narrative. The FDF is preceded by the formative -*n* which indicates a definite object. The formative -*n* is always followed by FDFs adding further support to the idea that these Central Participant agreement formatives also mark the definite value of the verb's object.

In example (54) the speaker is addressing an audience, telling them that they know *Chila* who is present in the story. The formative *-w8* is the non-first plural FDF.

(54) mziwi k=owawalm-8-w8
all.ADV 2=know.TA-DIR-N1PL
You all know [Chila]…

Masta 1932: 37

As the highest ranked person in the Person Hierarchy, the second person addressees are represented by the Agreement Clitic *k=* and the Fusional Definite Formative *-w8* in (54). The formative *-w8* also indicates the definite value and animate grammatical gender of the object *Chila*.

Example (55) offers an example of the non-first plural FDF that agrees with a plural third person argument.

(55) wz8mi=ga 8nda=ba wawjeskawiwi w=gizi [saka-]-w-8-wi-w8
because.PT=FOC NEG=COND defiantly?.ADV 3=be.able.AUX stand-TA-DIR-NEG-N1PL
They never faced the Abenakis defiantly…

Masta 1932: 17

The gloss in example (55) provided by Masta does not really capture the meaning of the Abenaki phrase. A better gloss would be *They [the Iroquois] were not able to stand up against [the Abenakis]unless….* The formative *-w8* agrees in person and number with the Agent of this clause *the Iroquois*. Normally, the Iroquois would be obviative because an Abenaki person is narrating this story. The Scenario Marker suffixed to the verb *saka* 'stand' suggests that they are the proximate argument in this situation. I surmise that the focusing clitic *=ga* on the participle *wz8mi* serves to make the Iroquois more salient than the Abenaki in this one instance since that narrator is deliberately pointing out their weakness in battle (something that many of the Abenaki narratives point out). The

formative -*w8* also indicates that the grammatical object--the *Abenaki*-- is definite and animate.

3.5.3 Peripheral Participant Agreement Formatives

Peripheral Formatives agree with non-local arguments. These can be either proximate or obviative third persons. Peripheral Formatives never follow Fusional Indefinite Formatives. They are only used after Fusional Definite Formatives and hence the Peripheral Participant must be definite in order to be encoded on the verb. Figure 3-10 lists the formatives and the values they encode.

Figure 3-10 -- Peripheral Participant Agreement Formatives

Peripheral Formatives	Person/Number marked
-ak / -ik	Proximate animate 3PL
-al / -il	Proximate inanimate 3PL
-a / -i	Obviative 3 and 3PL

Referring back to Central Formatives, it was stated that the FIFs lack third person plural agreement. These arguments are instead represented by Peripheral Formatives. Plural proximate participant agreement inflection varies with the animacy value of the argument. Animate plural third persons are marked by -*ak/ik* and inanimate plural third persons are marked by -*al/il*. Obviative arguments are not distinguished for animacy or for number, inducing the formative -*a/-i*. These formatives are also employed to mark a noun as obviative when it is the object of a verb.

The allomorphs of the Peripheral Formatives are given in Figure 3-10. Their distribution seems to based on phonological environment, but no clear phonetic trigger for the variation is present in the modern language. The *i* initial formatives -*ik* / -*il* / -*i* follow the coronal stops *t* / *d* and the velar stops *k* / *g* (Bach website). The allomorphs -*ak*

/ *-al* / *-a* occur in all other environments. Other variants of these allomorphs occur in the example texts, but these can be explained by morphophonemic processes common to the language as a whole. For instance, the formatives often occur without the initial vowel yielding the forms *-k* / *-l*. The rule of *Vowel Truncation* (Appendix C) explains this variation. By this rule the first vowel of a suffix is deleted if it is preceded by a vowel-final suffix.

Occassionally the variants *-ok* / *-ol* occur. These forms are the result of *Coalescence of aw+a*. This process yields the vowel *o* from the combination of *aw+a* when this combination arises due to affixation.

The following are examples of Peripheral Formatives from Masta's texts. The verb *aowak* in (56) is formed from the animate intransitive verb root *aimek* 'to be' and the animate third person plural formative *-ak*.

(56)	ni:belagwa	udli:uzi:nê	talôwi:-ba	muskwas:-ak	nebi:k	aowak
	ni=bela-gwa	odliu-zi-n-8	tal8wi=ba	muskwas-ak	nebi-k	aow-ak
	then=pause.AI-IPFV	transform?-REFL-N-N1PL	be.like=COND	muskrat(AN)-PL	water(IN)-LOC	be.AI-PL
	Then as they [the sorcerers] waited they transformed themselves to be like muskrats.					
						Speck 46

In this example the verb *aow-ak* locates the Agent-- the sorcerers-- in the water--*nebik*. Speck's gloss does not make this distinct.

Example (57) contains an allomorphic variant of the animate third person plural formative-- *ak* -- that has been reduced to *-k* by *Vowel Truncation*.

(57) k=maomnog-ak-ka w8banaki-ak oji-a-o-zhani-k
2=grandfather(AN)-PL-ABS abenaki(AN)-PL from-be-AI-PRET-PL
Our great grandfathers, the Abenakis were originally from

kenebakw-og Maine Waj8-n-azhani-k patlih8z-a kagaki-m-go-di-j[9]-i.
K.river(IN)-LOC M. possess-TA-PRET-PL priest(AN)-OBV learn-TA-INV-PL-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
Maine, on Kenebec River. They had a priest to teach them.

Masta 1932: 27

The formatives follow the preterit formative *-azhani* in both instances. They also both refer to the subject *kmaomnogakka w8banakiak* 'Our grandfathers the Abenakis'. The verbs roots *ao* 'to be' and *waj8n* 'to possess' are both inflected as matrix clause verbs, thus they must be in a conjoined relationship although there is no conjunction between them. The priest *patlih8z* is obviative because the Agent of the sentence (the Abenakis) assumes proximate status.

In example (58) the inanimate third person plural formative *-al* agrees with the unexpressed Peripheral Participant 'names' which is inanimate.

(58) alwa=ga ato mziwi k=wawald-am-n-al
almost.PT=FOC probably.PT all.ADV 2=know-TI-N-PL
I think you know [all the names].

Masta 1932: 28

The presence of the grammatical object 'names' mentioned in the gloss is reflected by the N-Object marking formative *-n* in the verb *wawald* 'to know'.

The allomorphs *-il* and *-al* of the inanimate third person plural Peripheral Formative appear in (59).

[9] The verb *kagakim* at the end of the example is inflected with a Peripheral Formative *-i*. This allomorph occurs after coronal stops *t* / *d*. The high front vowel *i* then causes the stop to palatalize to *j* as the example shows.

(59) mziwi	kass8-badamo-di-t	wawlik-il	ta	mamseguiwk-il	ki-al	
all.ADV	so.much-deprive?-PL-SUBR.AN.3	very.nice.ones.PT-PL	CO.c	very.big.PT-PL	land(IN)-PL	

of their great and beautiful territories.

Masta 1932: 36-37

The formative *-il* is found after the velar stop *k* as expected. Oddly, though, we find *-al* after the vowel final noun *ki* 'field' when *Vowel Truncation* would predict the form *kil*. I presume that this rule only applies to inflectional formatives that follow other formatives and not formatives that attach to noun and verb roots, although Warne's wording of the rule (1976: 6) does not make this explicit.

Having discussed the verbal agreement morphology, I next address the concept of definiteness in Abenaki and and its interaction with a formative that is very difficult to describe succinctly-- the N-Object Marker.

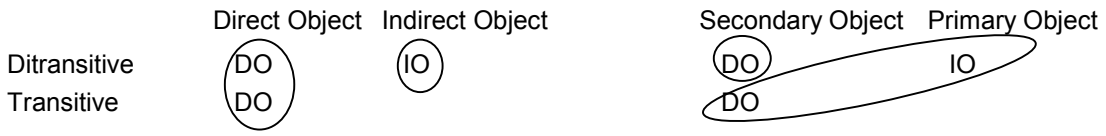
3.6 Objects and Definiteness

3.6.1 Objects

The behavior of object agreement on verbs is best described in terms of a Primary Object/Secondary Object distinction as opposed to a Direct Object/Indirect Object distinction (Dryer 1986). In ditransitive clauses, the Primary Object (PO) in Abenaki is the Goal, Recipient or Beneficiary of a clause; the Secondary Object (SO) is the Patient or Theme. The PO of a monotransitive clause will be the Patient or the Theme. Abenaki verbs only have agreement inflection for two arguments in a clause so this means that the features of a PO are encoded on the verb in lieu of the SO features. Goddard writes of Eastern Algonquian in general that "the Algonquian object of these [ditransitive verbs] [is] the semantic indirect object" (1983 footnote 2) which agrees with the system just described for Abenaki. It is necessary to point out that the Algonquianist term for the Primary Object has been alternatively Secondary Participant (Goddard 1969, 1979a) and

SECONDARY OBJECT (Goddard 1974b). In this study, the term Secondary Object will always refer to the DO in a ditransitive clause as Figure 3-11 illustrates.

Figure 3-11 -- Direct Object System compared to a Primary Object System



Dryer 1986: 814

In Abenaki, the DO of a monotransitive clause and IO of a ditransitive clause will trigger agreement marking on the verb suggesting that a speaker considers them to be a single entity in terms of function. Abenaki verbs only allow agreement inflection for two arguments, so the person/number values of the SO of a ditransitive clause are not represented in the verb's morphology. The presence of the SO is made explicit, however, through the utilization of N-Object Markers.

3.6.2 N-Object Marker

A formative that I call the *N-Object Marker* (N-OM), is sometimes employed to indicate the presence of an extra object in a matrix clause. I believe that these formatives are valence increasing devices as they appear to create monotransitive verbs from intransitives and ditransitive verbs from monotransitives. Also, AI verbs inflect with the third person Agreement Clitic *wd=* when they are also inflected with the N-OM; in this respect they behave like Transitive Animate verbs and this further supports the hypothesis that the N-OM is valence increasing. The simple presence of the N-Object Marker, regardless of the argument it encodes, can associate the verb with a grammatical object. N-OMs do not occur with subordinate verbs, II verbs, or verbs in the imperative mood.

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy offers a comparison to Abenaki in this case. Leavitt uses the Algonquianist term **SUBORDINATIVE** as a label for the *-ən* suffixes in his examples. Their distribution and function is similar to that of Abenaki (1996: 34). An -ə*n* suffix appears in all the listed M-P examples that adopt one more object than would be expected from their morphologically defined transitivity value.

Below is selection from Masta (1932) that illustrates one of these formatives.

(60) nitta kaala w=n8da-dial-in ta
then.INTENS certainly.PT 3=PREV.do.action-hunt.AI-N CO.c
She started immediately and

w=lal-m-ekw. w8wsp8zaki wji wakassogwn-iwi n8da-dial-o
3=wish-TA-INV very.early.II SBR a.few.days-ADV PREV.do.action-hunt-AI.3
was successful. She went out every morning for a few days [hunting]

Masta 1932: 35

The second instance of the compound verb *n8da-dial* 'to go hunting' in (60) is inflected like an intransitive verb without an Agreement Clitic and the further inflected with the intransitive VS *-o*. The first instance of this verb is inflected with *-in* and the Agreement Clitic *w=*. The third person Agreement Clitic *wd=* is only found attached to transitive verb stems in matrix clauses, so the first instance of the verb *n8da-dial*, although intransitive, is inflected like a transitive verb. The gloss offers little clue to determine why the inflection of these two verbs differs, but the answer may be this. In the first sentence, the Agent goes hunting and is successful. In order to be successful, one must hunt something. The *-in* thus agrees with an added object. In the second sentence, the verb describes the Agent's habitual action of getting up early and going hunting, an activity that only requires an intransitive verb.(61) exemplifies the interaction of the N-OM with the Abenaki Primary Object and Secondary Object system.

(61) kawini kizi miji-di-t, ayag8-tta nadodm-8-go-d ni wd=ihl-8-n.
until.PT COMPL eat.TA-PL-SUBR.AN.3 must-INTENS inquire-TA-INV-SUBR.AN.3 then 3=tell.AI-DIR-N
[Kw8gwnas did not tell her what they had eaten]… until she [Soli8n] asked what it was.
Masta 1932: 36

In (61) the verb *ihl* 'to tell' becomes a ditransitive verb with the arguments *Kw8gwnas* (Subject), what the subject says (Secondary Object) and Soli8n (Primary Object). The scenario marker *-8* indicates that this verb agrees with the Primary Object--*Soli8n*--which is animate. The N-Object Marker is employed to refer to Secondary Object since the verb only allows agreement inflections for the Subject and Primary Object. Thus the N-OM is used in ditransitive clauses as a method of inflecting the verb to indicate that a Secondary Object exists in the verb's argument structure.

3.6.3 Definiteness

The N-Object Marker may also signal that the grammatical object is definite. The criteria that categorize a noun as definite or indefinite in Abenaki are not exactly known. Laurent (1884), a native speaker of the language, divided the verb paradigms in his grammar into definite and indefinite conjugations. This would appear to equate the English definition of definiteness with that of Abenaki. I would hesitate to make this convenient equation of the two languages, suggesting instead that the nuances of definiteness in Abenaki be further studied. Lyons (1999) describes some informal characteristics of definiteness that I have found associated with verbs that Laurent describes as having definite objects. These are familiarity, identifiability, and uniqueness.

In (62) the speaker *Wana* asks *Mol* if he knows the river *Koatekw*.

(62) Wana: n=id8ba m8ladakw kia nat8wi milga-kan-8-an
1=friend(AN) m(AN) PRO.2 formerly.PT different-travel-DIR-SUBR.AN.2
Wana: My friend M8ladakw as you are habitually traveling

alakssa ato k=oli oji wawi-to-n[10] Koatekw-ok.
? probably.PT 2=good AP.from remember-TI-N K(IN)-LOC
here and there you are perhaps well acquainted with Koatekwok?

Mol: Koatekwok enni=ga=ni 8nka awanoch-ak ali
K(IN) PRO.IN=FOC=DEM that.is.why.PT white.man-PL SBR
Mol: Koatekwok is the river which is

wit-am-odi-t Coaticook. Niato kala n'=oli wawald-am-en
name-TI-PL-SUBR.IN.3 C. PRO.1.INTENS(myself) certainly.PT 1=good know-TI-N
called Coaticook by the Whites. I indeed know it well.

Masta 1932: 21

The N-OM on the verb *wawi-* 'remember' probably indicates uniqueness in the first instance when *Wana* speaks. Mol answers that he does know the river, again employing an N-OM. The object is unexpressed with the verb *wawald* 'to know (generally)' making it definite. In this case, the definiteness could be associated with familiarity or identifiability.

Example (63) presents another instance of referent identifiability.

(63) n8gaiwi kchai w=nami-o-n pasgo-wa
in.a.moment.ADV old.man.PT 3=see-AI-N NUM.AN.1-OBV
finally the old man saw one of the owls…

Masta 1932: 17

A band of Abenaki hunters is looking for an owl in this narrative when the old man spots one (actually a hiding Iroquois). The verb *nami-* 'to see' is inflected with the AI VS *-o* that agrees with a third person Agent. The object *pasgo-* 'one.AN', however, is inflected with the obviative formative *-wa* (with epenthetic *w* to prevent it from being deleted by *Vowel Truncation*) signaling that it is treated as an argument in the verb's structure. The

[10] The formative is also reduced to *-n* from *-en* by *Vowel Truncation*.

N-Object Marker presumably increases the valence of the verb as well as marking the object as definite.

Goddard states that definiteness is the condition that motivates N-OM verb inflection (1983: 354) in Unami Delaware. Transitive and ditransitive verbs with an indefinite Primary Object are inflected as if that object were not present. The inflections will agree with the Subject and the Secondary Object. If the PO is definite, however, the Peripheral Formative will agree with it and the verb is inflected with a N-OM (*n-ending* according to Goddard). The presence of the PO is indicated by the Peripheral Formatives just as it would be in a ditransitive Abenaki verb. The presence of a PO and the feature definiteness can therefore be seen as co-dependent properties that determine the use of N-OM. The N-OM is necessary when a definite PO is marked on the verb in order to signal that the verb has a third argument--the SO-- and that it is ditransitive.

Laurent (1884) uses the term *finite conjugation* to categorize those verb paradigms that produce definite objects. Teeter neatly defines the relationship between the finite conjugation and the definiteness of an object:

> "Briefly, the objective forms are called FINITE by Chief Joseph Laurent in his description of his native Abenaki in 1884..The finite conjugation is required when the object is unexpressed elsewhere in the sentence and otherwise used, characterizes an expressed noun object as definite"
>
> Teeter 1965: 223

The complementary paradigm to the *finite* is the *indefinite conjugation*. Teeter writes that "The indefinite [conjugation], used only when a noun object is expressed, marks the latter as indefinite" (1965: 223). According to Teeter all indefinite objects must be expressed. Goddard (1967b: 71) defines the relationship as an opposition between *objective* verbs (Laurent's *finite*) and *absolute* verbs (Laurent's *indefinite*). He associates objective verbs with the **N-ENDINGS** and absolute verbs with the **P-ENDINGS**. Goddard

lists two groups of *N-Endings*. The 1974 version can be separated in Abenaki into the N-Object Marker followed by Fusional Definite Formatives (see Appendix B).

Within the category of *Finite Conjugation* Laurent (1884) associates TA verbs with FDFs and TI verbs with N-OMs. This distinction is very tidy. Language usage in Masta's texts, however, suggests that the N-OM is also employed with TA verbs to place an emphasis on the definiteness of an object.

(64) ta azi-tta pasgo w=daga-m-8-n[11] ska8gonn-a spiwi w=demhigan-is
CO.c each-INTENS NUM.AN.1 3=hit-TA-DIR-N post(AN)-OBV AP.with 3=axe(IN)-DIMIN
the Abenakis will blow their horns and each one will hit the post with his tomahawk

Masta 1932: 38

A verb like *wdagam8n* 'he hits it (AN/def)' in (64) does not appear anywhere in Laurent's (1884) grammar. The arguments of the verb include the third person plural proximate *Abenakis* and the third person singular obviative *ska8gonn* 'post', here inflected with the animate singular obviative formative *-a*. The post in this phrase is presumably a specific one possibly placed there for the purpose of hitting it with a tomahawk. Had the verb been *wadam-8,* this would have sufficed to reflect the object's definiteness because it would have contrasted with the Fusional Indefinite Formative for an animate third person object. The FIF would have been *-a* yielding the phrase *wdagama ska8gonna* 'he hit a post'. I speculate that the N-OM adds extra emphasis to the definiteness of the object, although without a speaker to check this form with, I can only describe the contrast as it appears.

[11] Notice that the Primary Object is expressed and is definite. Thus we get *-8n* instead of *-8*.

3.6.4 The Peculiar Behavior of the N-OM

In describing Ojibwa, Goddard (1967b: 71) claims that the local argument forms have no grammatical object (Secondary Object) and always take *P-endings* (FIFs). He adds parenthetically that "The internal structure of the you-and-me forms [local argument forms] is the same in all the languages" (71). I assume that he includes Abenaki in all the languages. Again, the language usage in Masta's texts reveals that local argument verbs are indeed associated with Secondary Objects and that their internal structure varies between affixation with the Fusional Indefinite Formatives (*P-Endings*) and the N-OM. In some instances the N-OM increases the valence of local argument verbs making them ditransitive. In others, it functions to specify an object as definite.

Example (65) presents the prototypical inflection of local argument verbs.

(65) n=ad8gues k=wigi=ba nadod-m-ol kagui.
1=cousin.DN 2=like.AI=COND ask-TA-LINV PRO.INTEROG.INDF
Cousin I would like to ask you something.

Masta 1932: 47

The Scenario Marker *-ol* indicates that a first person is acting on a second person. The Agreement Clitic on the verb marks the second person argument and no further inflection occurs on the verb because both arguments are singular.

Compare (65) to (66) where (65) does not have an N-OM because the object is indefinite, while (66) does because the object is definite.

(66) n=adogues Sozi ni=ba askwa pasguen kawi k=wigi nadod-m-ol-en
1=friend S(AN) then=COND still.PT NUM.IN.1 PRO.Interg 2=like.AUX inquire-TA-LINV-N
Dear cousin, please allow me one more question.

Masta 1932: 29

(67) ni nikw8bi k=owaw8-doka-w-l-en ali=ba 8nda mina papi-ww-an
then now.PT 2=know-make-TA-LINV-N MANN=COND NEG again.PT play-NEG-SUBR.AN.2
Now let me tell you that this gambol will not be repeated, not

Masta 1932: 36

In (66) and (67), the N-OM occurs within the local argument verb paradigm, contrary to Goddard's description. According to his analysis, no inflections other than the *P-endings* (FIFs) inflect local argument verbs, although counterexamples such as (66) and (67) exist in Abenaki.

Even the formatives that mark plurality of the Central Participant in local argument verbs change when the verb is inflected with an N-OM. (68) provides an example.

(68) nikw8bi k=owawiad-ol-n-8 n=id8b-ak wes8gn-ak ta w8banaki-ak
now.PT 2=inform.TA-LINV-N-N1PL 1=friend(AN)-PL Algonq(AN)-PL CO.c Abenaki(AN)-PL
I will now inform you, my friends, the Algonquians and the Abenakis
Masta 1932: 38

Laurent only lists the formatives *-el-ba* as the appropriate agreement marker in this case. The formative *-ba* is the Fusional Indefinite Formative (corresponding to Goddard's *P-ending*) for second person plural. The formative *-8* in (68) is a Fusional Definite Formative that marks non-first person plurals, in this case the addressees. One would not expect to find an FDF inflecting a local argument verb, but this sort of inflection occurs in conjunction with N-OM inflection.

The *-en* formative cannot be so easily described. Although the functions and distributions that I list above hold true in the examples, there are further examples of *-en* inflected verbs that probably do not involve an increase in valence. Goddard suggests that in Unami Delaware, the *Subordinative* (Goddard's term for N-OM inflected verbs) functions to encode a Primary Object for ditransitive verbs. It has other functions too, such as inflecting deictic verb stems. These are verbs that indicate location or motion (1983: 354-357). Verbs of location and motion such as *ihl-* 'go' and *m8jo-* 'depart' often also inflect with *-en* in Abenaki.

(69) ni m8manni w=m8jo-ldi-n-8 kwilaw-8bam-8-di-t kokokhassa
then slowly.PT 3=depart.AI-INDF.PL-N-N1PL search-wander-DIR-PL-SUBR.AN.3 owl(AN)
And they all went very cautiously looking here and there on the ground and in the trees

spemek[12] abazi-kok, ni-tta n8gaiwi kchai w=nami-o-n pasgo-wa
AP.up tree(AN)-LOC.PL then-INTENS in.a.moment.ADV old.man.PT 3=see-AI-N NUM.AN.1-OBV
finally the old man saw one of the owls…

Masta 1932: 17

It is very difficult to ascribe an object to AI verb *m8jo-* in (69) without overstepping the bounds of the gloss. Compare the first instance of -e*n* on *m8jo-* (reduced to -*n* by *Vowel Truncation*) to the -e*n* inflected verb *nami* 'see'. The two distinct functions of this formative become clear. The verb *nami* is unmistakably intransitive with the VS -*o*; yet, it is associated with an object -- *pasgo-wa* 'owl.Obv' -- that is inflected with -*wa* making it obviative, just as the object of a transitive verb with a proximate third person Agent would be. The verb *m8jo* 'to depart' is an AI verb. It does not seem to be associated with an object. The presence of -*en* can only be attributed to the tendency of verbs of motion to inflect with it.

The formative -*en* may have multiple uses and object marking is just one of them. As Goddard goes on to say the distinction between the valence increasing functions of -*en* and the motion/location designation of -*en* may be blurry. Some verb examples in Unami are ambiguous as to whether they are marking a Primary Object or motion/location deixis.

Another function of an -*en* related suffix in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy is to create a mild imperative (Leavitt 1996: 34). The following excerpt from Masta may be an example of this mild imperative in Abenaki.

(70) n=adogues Sozi ni=ba askwa pasguen kawi k=wigi nadod-m-ol-en
1=friend S(AN) then=COND still.PT NUM.IN.1 PRO.Interg 2=like.AUX inquire-TA-LINV-N
Dear cousin, please allow me one more question.

Masta 1932: 28

[12] (Masta 76)

The portion of the gloss 'please allow me' implies a mild imperative which may be the effect of the *-en* formative. On the other hand, the verb *nadod* 'question' is inflected as a TA verb with the VS *-m*. The Scenario Marker *-ol* indicates that the arguments encoded in the verb are first person and second person. If the verbs construction is ditransitive like the English phrase *Can I ask **you** a **question*** with the indirect object *you* and the direct object *question*, then the *-en* formative may refer a Secondary object-- the question being asked. If M-P usage is similar to Abenaki, however, the *-en* could be creating a mild imperative.

One additional function of *-en* is to create a subjunctive mood. Every paradigm that Laurent lists has a Subjunctive Mood portion containing verbs inflected with *-en*.

(71) n'wąjônôn azib-ak
n=waj8n-8-n azib-ak
1=have.TA-DIR-N sheep(AN)-PL
That I may have some sheep.

Laurent 1884: 138

The gloss in (71) leads me to believe that *Subjunctive Mood* may be an appropriate label for these verbs. They suggest a possible or desired reality, but not the current actual reality. The object marking functions of *-en* may be partially responsible for this construction. N-OMs mark objects that seem somewhat separated from the regular argument structure of a verb. Perhaps this separateness can be reanalyzed as a wish for that object or reality. It would be interesting to see if a speaker would accept both the given interpretation in (71) and the N-OM marking definiteness interpretation that this verb presumably can also have: 'I have the sheep.'

The finer functions of the formative *-en* in Abenaki are unfortunately beyond the scope of this study and warrant further investigation. I present these functionality suggestions as a guide for more detailed research in the future.

3.7 Bringing it all together - Matrix Clause Morphology in Summary

3.7.1 Intransitive Verb Morphology

Animate Intransitive (AI) verbs are normally conjugated with Fusional Indefinite Formatives for local participants and Peripheral Formatives for non-local participants. For this reason, they resemble transitive verbs inflected with Fusional Indefinite Formatives when the object of the clause is indefinite. There are two features that distinguish intransitive verbs from indefinite object transitive verbs. The first and most obvious is the Valence Specifiers that create the intransitive verb stems. The second is the absence of the agreement clitic *wd*= in intransitive verbs that marks the third person argument in TA clauses.

Inanimate Intransitive (II) verbs distinctly lack inflection for person and number. They never occur with Agreement Clitics and are otherwise only inflected for tense and mood. The most typical use of II verbs is for null subject predicates and time expressions.

(72)	ni=ga	ato	angi	nizo-gnagad	ala	nso-gnagad
	then=FOC	probably.PT	soon.after.PT	two-day.II	CO.d	three-day.II
	It was only two or three days…					

Masta 1932: 36

The verb *nizognagad* is glossed as 'It was two days' with a null subject translated in English by 'it'. *nizo-gnagad* and *nso-gnagad* exhibit no inflectional morphology.

Inanimate Intransitive verbs are often used in time expressions as adverbial elements in a clause.

An intransitive verb may also be transitivized so that it acquires an additional argument, a Primary Object. The N-Object Marker surfaces when the object is definite and FDFs are employed to encode the Central Participant. If the object is indefinite, an

N-OM is not employed. Transitived AI verbs with indefinite objects are indistinguishable from regular intransitive verbs.

3.7.2 Transitive Verb morphology

Transitive Animate (TA) verbs exhibit the most diverse morphology of the verbal paradigms. All four Scenario Markers only occur in the TA paradigm. The morphology for local and non-local participant interaction is also found in this paradigm. The TI has no agreement formatives for first and second person Patients because these must always be animate.

Transitive Animate verbs with definite objects are inflected with Fusional Definite Formatives. Transitive Inanimate verbs with definite objects are inflected with N-Object Markers. If the object is indefinite both the TA and the TI paradigms inflect with Fusional Indefinite Formatives. Only the Valence Specifiers distinguish them from one another in this case.

Transitive Animate verbs inflected with Fusional Definite Formatives can be further inflected with Peripheral Formatives. TI verbs are never inflected with Peripheral Formatives except the third person plural form. This is probably because an FIF does not exist for this argument, so it is necessary to use the animate third person plural Peripheral Formative *-ak / -ik*.

N-Object Markers are used to raise the valence of transitive verbs to ditransitive adding a Secondary Object to the argument structure.

In the preceding discussion I covered the basics of matrix clause verb inflection. I also explored some new analyses that at times contradict previous analyses of Abenaki, such as positing *prefixes* to be clitics and establishing Primary and Secondary objects

instead of Direct and Indirect Objects. The following sections focus on subordinate verb morphology which shares some characteristics with matrix clause verb inflection, but also exhibits unique types of agreement.

3.8 Subordinate Clause Agreement

The clause structure of Abenaki allows for chains of subordinate clauses before and after a matrix clause. The functions and meanings of subordinate verbs are varied and sometimes difficult to discern from the translations provided and the texts. In certain constructions subordinate verbs seem to make one argument in the verb's argument structure more privileged. Other times they will concentrate on the situation or time in which the action takes place in-- often they perform a combination of these functions. This is not apparent in Laurent's grammar of Abenaki because he only lists simple subordinate verbs. For this reason I begin this section with a caveat to the reader that my conclusions are based on the examples I have found and the descriptions of related Eastern Algonquian languages and Algonquian in general. Without speakers to confirm some of my conjectures, the following analysis is limited in many ways by the glosses of the texts. In many cases, these glosses will deviate from what is stated in the Abenaki version of the story. I am confident, however, that this analysis approaches the reality of Abenaki language usage.

3.8.1 Formatives and Argument Agreement

Subordinate verbs use a unique set of agreement formatives. The notions of Central Participant and Peripheral Participant are still salient in these clauses. The formatives listed in Figure 3-12 are found in subordinate TA verbs. Each cell represents the formatives that inflect a verb for the corresponding Agent and Patient relationship. The

person values of the Agent are listed in the leftmost column and the person values of the Patient are listed across the top row.

Figure 3-12 -- TA Subordinate Verb Formatives

Agent↓| Patient→	1	2	3	3'	1PL	21	2PL	3PL
1		-ol-an	-ok				-ol-akw	-okw
2	-i-an		-8-n		-i-akw			-8-n
3	-ego-wa		-8-d	-egw-d-i	-ego-akw	-ego-akw	-go-an	-8-d
1PL		-ol-akw	-8-akw				-ol-akw	-8-akw
21		-ol-akw	-8-akw				-ol-akw	-8-akw
2PL	-i-akw		-8-akw		-i-akw			-8-akw
3PL	-i-di-d	-ego-akw	-8-di-d	-egw-di-d-i	-ego-akw	-ego-akw	-ego-akw	-8-di-d

Day 1989: 46-47

I have parsed the Scenario Markers in each cell from Day's original examples. Darkened cells indicate a combination of Agent and Patient for which a formative does not occur. It must also be remembered that the formatives are listed in their underlying forms, so whenever any of them occurs word-finally, the stops will not be voiced. One instance where this is not the case is a third person plural Agent acting on a third person singular Patient. The obviative agreement formative *-i* prevents the third person singular agreement formative *-d* from devoicing to *-t*.

The glide *w* will also tend to delete word finally (Warne 1975: 68),. This can create some ambiguity between *-og, eg, ag,* and *-agw* because the authors do not always faithfully transcribe the initial vowel consistently.

Figure 3-12 looks daunting at first glance, but there are actually very few unique formatives. Figure 3-13 includes the isolated person agreement formatives.

Figure 3-13 -- TA Subordinate Person Agreement Formatives

Person	Formative
1	-ok/ -okw
2	-an
3	-d
1p	-akw
21	-akw
2p	-akw / -an
3p	-di-d

The formatives listed in Figure 3-13 agree with the Central Participant of the verb. The first person singular agreement varies in Day's data between *-ok* and *-okw*. Word-final glide deletion would make these formatives homophonous. Perhaps then the formative *-ok* is underlying *-okw*, also. The second person singular formative is *-an* surfacing sometimes as *-n* when it attaches to a vowel final stem. The second person plural has two formatives listed because I believe *-an* to be incorrect. Day lists this for a third person Agent acting of a second person plural Patient. The logical formative would be *-akw* in this case, analogous to all other instances where a second person argument is present. I believe the third person plural Agent / first person singular Patient *-i-di-d* in Figure 3-12 to also be a typo. It should be *-ego-wa* with the inverse Scenario Marker and first person singular agreement.

The third person plural subordinate agreement is a combination of two formatives. *-di* agrees with plural number of animate arguments, while *-d* agrees with the person value. The formatives for the first person and second person plural are fusional in that they encode person and number at once.

Third person plural agreement is exemplified in (73) below. Examples of first person plural and second person plural agreement follow in (74) and (75). The verbs in examples (73) and (74) are intransitive, but the formatives for these person and number

values are the same as those listed in Figure 3-13 as I explain below. The examples are meant to merely display the inflections.

(73) a-doji pay8-di-t Canada waji polwawdamo-di-t sakp8wzow8gan
SUBR.AG-there arrive.AI-PL-SUBR.AN.3 C. SBR escape-PL-SUBR.AN.3 fright(IN)?
[then] They [the Abenakis] came to Canada to escape a terrible blow
Masta 1932: 38

As I will explain below, the subordinators *a-doji* and *waji* introduce the subordinate clauses. The Agent of the verbs *pay8* 'to arrive' and *polwawdamo* 'to escape' (*abenakiak* 'the Abenakis') is located in the matrix clause (not shown) the values of which the formatives reflect. The *-di* marks the plural values of the animate argument *abenakiak* and the *-d* marks the third person value.

In (74) the subordinator *waji* introduces the subordinate clause where the verb *pedgi* 'to return' is located.

(74) Soli8n id-am kaguessa=ba
S(AN) say-TI why.PRO.INTEROG=COND
Soli8n said, "Why

waji pedgi-akw nikw8bi nia=ga-ki yon=wigi ai-n"
SBR return.AI-SUBR.AN.1PL now.PT PRO.1=FOC-? here=like.AUX be-SBJV.1
should we go back now, I like to stay here."
Masta 1932: 35

The speaker in this example is *Soli8n* who is asking her friend why they must return. The formative *-akw* agrees with the plural first person because the speaker includes the addressee in the action of returning as the gloss shows.

In (75) the subordinate verb *nton* 'accept' agrees with a second person plural argument.

(75) n=deli nkawadsi-bna ali=ji wli nton-gu-ag.
1=then hope.AI-1P L SBR=FUT SBR accept.TI-INV-SUBR.AN.2PL
This, therefore, is our request which, we trust, is agreeable to you.
Masta 1932: 38

We might imagine the direct form of this verb would translate to 'You (plural) accept it'. The inverse Scenario Marker signals that the lower ranked argument is the Agent of the clause despite the inanimacy of the object. The formative *-ag* agrees with the Central Participant of the clause, the plural second person addressees. Figure 3-12 lists the second person plural formative for TI verbs as *-agw*. It seems that Masta has not transcribed the final glide *w* in this example, although its presence is suggested by the voiced lenis consonant *g* that would have devoiced to *k* if it was not followed by a voiced segment such as *w*.

I have made one addition to Day's formative examples in Figure 3-13 and that is to include the third person obviative Patient category marked by the formative *-i*. The formative itself is the same found in matrix clause verbs to mark third person Peripheral Participants. In this case, because it always follows the third person Central Formative *-d*, a coronal stop, it always surfaces as the allomorph *-i*. The verb must have a third person proximate Central Participant to induce inflection of a third person obviative Peripheral Participant. The following example exhibits the agreement pattern.

(76) w8banaki-ak oji-ao-zhan-ik kenebakw-og Maine
abenaki(AN)-PL from-be.AI-PRET-PL k.river(IN)-LOC M.
Our great grandfathers, the Abenakis were orginially from

waj8n-azhan-ik patlih8z-a kagaki-m-go-di-j-i.
possess-PRET-PL priest(AN)-OBV learn-TA-INV-PL-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
Maine, on Kenebec River. They had a priest to teach them

Masta 1932: 27

The verb *kagaki* 'to learn' has two arguments. The Central Participant is *w8banakiak* 'the Abenakis' and the Peripheral Participant is *patlih8z-a* 'priest' inflected with *-a* that marks obviative nouns. The formatives *-di-j* (*-di-d*) inflect *kagaki* and agree with the Central Participant which is a plural animate third person. The formative *-i* agrees with

the Peripheral Participant. Because the lower ranked Peripheral Participant is acting upon (teaching in this case) the higher ranked Central Participant, the inverse Scenario Marker -*go* (-*egw*) appears. The verb *kagaki* is relativized in this example. Relativization will be explained in more detail below.

The agreement formatives found in TI and AI subordinate verbs are similar in many ways to TA verbs. TI verbs only refer to third person Patients. Figure 3-14 lists the formatives.

Figure 3-14 -- TI and AI Subordinate Verb Formatives

Agent↓| Patient→	3	3PL
1	-okw / -a (AI)	-ok
2	-an	-an
3	-ok	-okw
3'	-li-d	
1p	-akw	-akw
21	-akw	-akw
2p	-akw	-akw
3p	-Vdi-d	-kw

Day 1989: 45-46

The singular third person Patient column in Figure 3-14 contains the AI formatives which are the same as the TI formatives when the Patient is a third person singular. The only exception is that the first person singular for AI verbs is -*a*. Comparing Figure 3-12 to Figure 3-14 we see that Day here has flip-flopped the first person formatives with -*okw* mark singular for TI verbs and plural for TA verbs; -*ok* marks plural first persons in TI verbs and singular in TA verbs. This variation probably indicates that these formatives are all the same, either -*okw* or -*ok*, it being impossible to tell without speakers to verify them with. The same variation between -*ok* and -*okw* is found with third person Patients when the former is singular and the latter is plural. Further investigation may show a link

between the presence of -*w* and the plurality of one of the arguments, although I have not seen any evidence for this in Masta (1932).

Plural Central Participant agreement inflects with the same -*akw* for first and second persons in all three paradigms: TA, TI, AI (taking into account the possible error in the TA second person plural formative -*an*).

The case of a third person plural Agent acting on a third person plural inanimate Patient produces the formative -*kw*. Although I could not find any examples of this in the texts, I did find a third person singular Agent TI verb with a plural Patient seen in (77).

(77)	sibiwi	wali-to-kw	klibi	ta	ab8n-a
	moreover.ADV	make-TI-SUBR.AN.3.3PL	gravy(IN)	CO.c	bread(AN)-OBV
	He brought a piece of meat and fried it himself; he also				

Masta 1932: 36

wali 'to make' is inflected with the TI VS -*to*. Interestingly the Patient, a conjoined noun phrase, is composed of an inanimate and an animate noun. It seems the inanimate noun is the one that influences the form of the Valence Specifier. Thus we find a subordinate TI verb with a plural third person Patient and the agreement formative -*kw* as Day cites.

I have also made an addition to Day's data in Figure 3-14 by adding the third person obviative Agent category. Obviative Central Participants in AI and TI verbs are marked with two formatives produced by a combination of -*li* and -*d*. The formative -*li* reflects the obviative value while -*d* again encodes the person value of an animate third person.

(78)	Soli8n	kanwa	id-am	ali	[w=niswi diji]	lli-wald-am-li-d
	S(AN)	CO.ad	say-TI	SBR	POSS.3=spouse	MANN-think-TI-OBV-SUBR.AN.3
	Soli8n says that with the consent of her husband…					

Masta 1932: 38

In Abenaki a Possessor is proximate and the thing possessed is obviative. In (78) *Soli8n's* spouse *niswidiji* is obviative. The brackets around *niswidiji* indicate that I

believe this to be one word even though masta has written it *niswi diji*. Because the spouse is the Agent of the verb *lli-wald-am* 'think about it' and also obviative, it is inflected with the obviative agreement formative *-li*. The formative *-d* agrees with *niswidiji* 'spouse', encoding the third person value.

The agreement formative for II subordinate verbs is invariably *-g*. I have not listed this in Figure 3-12. Although there should theoretically be a third person plural form for II verbs, Day notes that he has not been able to locate an example (1989b: 43) and I have not either. It is fairly easy to confuse the AI third person subordinate formative *-k* with the II subordinate formative *-g* (which devoices word-finally to *-k*). (79) is a good example of an II verb in a subordinate position.

(79) ni=ga-ki mziwi agwjata-k wd=igaw8d-am-en
then=FOC-? all.ADV remains.II-SUBR.IN.3 3=deny-TI-N
and denies everything else.

Masta 1932: 38

The clause *mziwi agwjata-k wd=igaw8d-am-en* can be translated as 'everything that remains, that is what she denies'.

This discussion sums up the mechanics of argument agreement in subordinate verbs. The following sections will discuss the two types of subordinate verbs: those found in dependent clauses and relativized verbs.

3.8.2 Dependent Clauses

Subordinate verbs form two types of clauses. The first is a dependent clause introduced by a subordinator particle. Some of these include *ali* 'that', *ni* 'then', *waji* 'in order that' and *adali* 'there'. The second is a relative clause that is headed by the Agent argument of the subordinate verb. Relative clauses shall be discussed after dependent clauses in section 3.8.3 .

Example (80) contains the subordinator *adali*.

(80) Manosa-'i sibo ni=ga a-dali m8j-a manosa-a-di-d-ep aln8b-ak.
M.-GEN river(IN) then=FOC SUBR.AG-there begin-AI starve-AI-PL-SUBR.AN.3-PRET indian(AN)-PL
Famine river, Manosa'i sibo is **where these Indians were starving**, hence the name.
Masta 1932: 28

The verb *manosaa* in (80) agrees with the Central Participant *aln8bak* 'Abenaki Indians' signaled by the agreement formatives *-di* 'plural third person' and *-d* 'animate third person'. It is located in the subordinate clause introduced by *adali* 'where'. *dali* is itself a lexical item that means 'there' or 'at that time'. The prefix *a-* turns it into a subordinator with similar meaning. Combined with the verb *manosa* it creates the meaning of 'where the starving occurred'.

Another example of a depedent clause is given in (81). In this case, there is no matrix clause, but the subordinator *a-negi* 'a little while ago' seems to require a subordinate verb.

(81) Az8: 8h88 ni=ga a-negi waji pay8-a Maine.
yes.PT then=FOC SUBR.AG-a.little.while.ago AP.from come.AI-SUBR.AN.1 M.
John: Yes, I have just come from Maine.
Masta 1932: 20

The subordinator *a-negi* introduces the subordinate clause that contains the verb *pay8* 'to come'. This is an AI verb in this instance, so the formative *-a* agrees with the singular first person argument.

Dependent clauses can also occur without a subordinator. It appears that verbs connected to a matrix clause are inflected with subordinate agreement formatives as (82) shows.

(82) Kw8gwnas 8nda wd=ihl-8-w-n-ap Soli8n-a kizi miji-di-t, ayag8-tta
K(AN) NEG 3=tell-DIR-NEG-N-PRET S(AN)-OBV COMPL eat.TA-PL-SUBR.AN.3 must-INTENS
Kw8gwnas did not tell her what they had eaten

nadod-m-8-go-d
inquire-TI-TA-INV-SUBR.AN.3
until she asked what it was.

Masta 1932: 36

The matrix clause verb in (82) is *ihl* 'to tell'. The formatives *-di-t* (*-di-d*) on the verb *miji* 'to eat' agree with the arguments of the verb *ihl*-- the proximate third person Agent *kw8gwnas* and the obviative third person Patient *Soli8n*. The other verb that is subordinate to the matrix clause is *nadod* 'to ask'. This verb also refers to the arguments of *ihl* even retaining their proximate and obviative values. This is made apparent by the presence of the inverse Scenario Marker *-go* (*-egw*) inflecting *nadod*. In this clause, the obviative argument *Soli8n* acts on the proximate argument *Kw8gwnas*. Presumeably, the formative *-d* agrees with the Central Participant of the verb, the higher ranked argument *Kw8gwnas*.

3.8.3 Relativized Verbs and the Privileged Syntactic Argument

Relative verbs are produced using subordinate verb agreement formatives. The head of the relative is co-referential with the Agent of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb, which Van Valin and LaPolla call the *Privileged Syntactic Argument* (PSA) (1997: 281). Semantic roles are reflected by the presence of Scenario Markers on the verb. Under the direct Scenario Markers, higher ranked arguments are the Agents and under inverse Scenario Markers, lower ranked arguments are the Agents.

First we will look at an intransitive relative verb.

(83) angitta w8bi-gi-j-ik m8ja-ai-di-t Swanton VT.
when.INTENS be.white-AI-SUBR.AN.3-PL PREV.start-be.located-PL-SUBR.AN.3 Swanton VT
when the Whites first settled at Swanton, VT…

Masta 1932: 31

Since the stative verb *w8bi-gi* 'to be white' in (83) is intransitive, its single argument becomes the head of the resulting relative. The third person animate subordinate formative *-d* is difficult to recognize at first because of some phonetic changes it has undergone. Dental stops palatalize to *-c/-j* when they are followed by a high front unrounded vowel-initial formative. The verb in this example is underlyingly *w8bi-gi-d-ik*. The formative *-ik* is inflecting the relative verb *w8bi-gi-d* 'the one who is white' for plural number as if it were a noun. This example illustrates how relativized subordinate verbs are different from dependent clause subordinate verbs. The formative *-ik* never occurs in the dependent clause context. After a verb has been relativized, however, it is then treated like a nominal accepting plural agreement inflection.

(83) shows a relativized verb can be further inflected for number as if it were a noun. Relatives can also be inflected for obviation if they are the Patient of a clause. An example is given in (84)

(84) tabin-aw-8-za ta pamho-l-8-za w8bi-gi-li-j-i
guard?-TA-DIR-PRET CO.c walk-TA-DIR-PRET be.white-AI-OBV-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
[He was elected] the guardian [and guide] of the Frenchmen…

Masta 1932: 27

The stative verb *w8bi-gi-* 'to be white' in (84) is marked twice for obviation-- once with the subordinate third person obviate formative *-li* and then with the third person obviative object formative *-i*. The formatives *-li* and *-j* (*-d*) agree with the Central Participant of the intransitive verb *w8bi-gi-*. The Agent of the stative verb *w8bi-gi-* is the Privileged

Syntactic Argument and thus becomes the head of the resulting relative. This relative is also the object of the matrix clause verbs *tabin-aw-8* 'to guard someone' and *pamho-l-8* 'to guide someone', so it is also inflected as an obviative third person object with *-i*.

When the lower-ranked argument of a clause is the Agent, the inverse Scenario Marker *-egw* inflects the verb as in (85).

(85) ali nig-ik wes8gn-ak kadm8 gida-8m-go-di-za
SBR PRO.OBV.AN-PL Algonq(AN)-PL ? pity-TA-INV-SUBR.PL-PRET
and it was the Algonquians who sympathized with them [the Abenakis]
Masta 1932: 37

In this case the inverse Scenario Marker is *-go* due to the processes of *Vowel Truncation* and *Vocalization* of the glide *w* (see Appendix C). The gloss in (85) suggests that *gida* 'to pity' forms a relative verb that means 'the ones who pitied them'. The head of this relative is *wes8gn-ak* 'Algonquians' which is the obviative argument in the clause. This is made apparent by the pronoun *nig-ik* that precedes *wes8gn-ak* 'Algonquians' which encodes obviative nouns. The argument *wes8gn-ak* is the Agent of the verb *gida* reflected in the presence of the inverse Scenario Marker on the verb. This argument then becomes the head of the resulting relative, reflected in the gloss. In the inverse scenario, lower ranked arguments are capable of becoming the heads of relative clauses because the Agent of a clause is made the Privileged Syntactic Argument.

The morphology of subordinate verbs is similar in many ways to that of matrix clause verbs. There are a few peculiarities in the inflections that make it possible to distinguish two unique systems. The following section details a type of subordinate verb that has a unique pattern of inflection and meaning.

3.8.4 Null-Subject Subordinate Verbs

Day (1989b: 49) describes a subset of subordinate verbs called the *indefinite subject forms*. Laurent (1884: 182-194) treats them as unconjugated infinitives as does Masta (1932: 74-75) who groups them under the *Infinitive Mood*. In order not to involve the concept of definiteness in these forms, I have renamed these verbs *null-subject* verbs. The formatives that one finds associated with null-subject verbs are given in Figure 3-15.

Figure 3-15 -- Additional Subordinate Verb Formatives and their Function

Suffix	Function
-k	Null subject
-me	Animate Agent / Patient
-zi	Inanimate Patient
-ga	Local Argument Agreement

The formative *-k* is the defining element of null-subject constructions indicating that the subject is null. The three formatives following *-k* in Figure 3-15 specify animacy or number. *-me* inflects verbs that have an animate argument in the clause and *-zi* inflects verbs that have an inanimate argument. The formative *-ga* is found when the clause contains a first or second person argument. Figure 3-16 gives the basic structure of the null-subject verbs that I have found.

Figure 3-16 -- Null Subject Inflection

VERB STEM-me-k	one VERBs (AI)
VERB STEM-me-k	one VERBs someone (TA)
VERB STEM-zi-k	one VERBs something (TI)
VERB STEM-ga	one VERBS me *or* you (singular or plural)

Absent from the Figure are II verbs inflected with *-zi-k*. I have found no evidence for such a construction in any of the texts or sources. AI and TA verbs are both inflected with *-me-k*. The distinguishing morphology is the Valence Specifiers that indicate whether the verb is intransitive or transitive and the presence of Scenario Markers on the

transitive verbs. Interestingly we find Scenario Markers with null-subject TI verbs as well; Scenario Markes do not inflect TI matrix clause verbs.

The following examples illustrate the formation of null-subject subordinate verbs.

(86) a. *TA matrix clause verb with an indefinite object*
nadod-em-aw-a
inquire-TA-TA-INDF.3
He asks someone.
Day 1994 V2: 345

b. *TA subordinate clause verb*
nadod-em-aw-ô-d
inquire-TA-TA-DIR-SUBR.AN.3
[that] He asks [someone].
Ibid.

c. *TA subordinate clause verb, Indefinite Subject*
nadod-em-aw-ô-me-k
inquire-TA-TA-DIR-AN-NS
One asks someone.
Ibid.

d. *TI subordinate clause verb, Indefinite Subject*
nadod-ô-zi-k
inquire-DIR-IN-NS
One asks for something.
Ibid.

(86)(a) is provided as a basis of comparison for (b)-(d). It is the TA form of the verb root *nadod-* 'to ask' inflected with the VSs *-em*, *-aw* and the Fusional Indefinite Formative *-a* for singular third person indefinite animate objects. Example (b) is the subordinate form of the TA verb root *nadod-*. It is inflected with the Scenario Marker *-8* and the animate third person subordinate formative *-d*. (79)(c) and (d) are the null-subject forms of the verb root *nadod-*. (c) has an animate Patient while (d) has an inanimate Patient. The glosses of (c) and (d) do not suggest that they are subordinate verbs, but this is just a function of the Day's translation. The entry for these verbs in his dictionary also include the abbreviation *ISC* which stands for *Indefinite Subject Conjunct*. **CONJUNCT** is an Algonquianist term that simply refers to verbs in subordinate clauses.

By comparing (86)(c) and (d), the function of the formatives *-me* and *-zi* becomes apparent. The presence of Valence Specifiers in (c) and their absence in (d) does not affect this comparison. TI VSs do appear in null-subject verbs such as *ali-wi-t-8-zi-k* 'thus one calls it [that]' where the formative *-t* specifies the verb root *wi-* 'call' as a TI verb (Masta 17). The two sequences to compare in (c) and (d) are *-ô-me-k* and *-ô-zi-k* (*-8-me-k* and *-8-zi-k*). The formative *-me* most likley designates an animate object and *-zi* an inanimate object because these are the only variables in meaning of the verb that these formatives could agree with.

When *-me-k* inflects an intransitive verb, it is the subject of the verb that the *-me* formative agrees with. The pattern resembles an ergative/absolutive one where the object of a transitive clause is treated like the subject of an intransitive clause. The lack of examples of II verbs inflected with *-zi-k* makes it impossible to determine if this a property of the formatives *-me* and *-zi* or just of *-me*.

The last agreement formative in Figure 3-16 is different from the others in that it does not occur with the null-subject formative *-k*. The formative *-ga* appears when a first person or second person argument is the object of the clause and signals that the subject is null. Laurent provides the following example:

(87)	N'd-ilhega	ali	môjahlôg	kwaskuai	nônômkipodaga
	nd=ihl-ega	ali	m8ja-hl-8g	kwaskwai	n8n-8mkipoda-g-a
	1=say-NS	SBR	depart-TA-DIR-SUBR.IN.3	exactly.PT	five-sand.falls.II-SUBR.IN.3-SBJV
	I am told that she leaves at five o'clock sharp.				

Laurent 1884: 111

The second line of the interlinearization is the phrase rewritten according to Day's orthography. The formative *-ega* (with an epenthesized reduced vowel *e*), indicates that the Patient of the verb *ihl* 'to say, tell' is a first or second person. The Agreement Clitic *nd=* disambiguates the clause and agrees with a first person argument. The gloss

employs a passive construction to convey the meaning this verb which with a null-subject should be 'one tells me'. It should be possible to rephrase this example with a passive construction utilizing the formative *-z*. The decision to use *-ega* suggests that the meaning of the clause is somewhat different from a passive. Thus, if we assume that the first person argument is the Patient in this clause (the one being told), then the formative *-ega* must somehow reflect this semantic role assignment as well as the null-value of the subject.

(88) below includes another example of the formative *-ga*.

(88) wes8gna ta w8banaki kizi pasgueda wikwalap-8-d kissed8wad-im-ga
Algonq(AN) CO.c Abenaki(AN) able.AUX one.time smoke-DIR-SUBR.AN.3 decide-TI-NS
Algonquian and Abenaki may draw a puff if we come to an agreement.
Masta 1932: 38

The *-ga* formative on the verb *kissed8wad* 'decide' seems out of place at first. It must first be noted that the speaker is addressing a crowd and is using the inclusive first person plural, so the Agreement Clitic on the verb *kissed8wad* would be *k(d=)*. Masta has probably failed to note its presence at least orthographically because the [k] sound of the formative becomes lost in the first [k] sound of the verb. In any case, the arguments of this verb are first plural inclusive and a third person. For the first person participant to be construed as the Patient, the meaning of the verb would need to be something like 'if we are decided (about it)'. There are very few examples of this formative unfortunately and I am not certain that it renders the subject of a verb indefinite like *-me* and *-zi*. More texts need to be examined to clear up the functions of *-ga*.

Although Day groups the null-subject verbs with subordinate verbs, I am not convinced that these verbs are necessarily located in subordinate clauses. The following example highlights the verb *atta-* 'give responsibility to' that is inflected as a null-subject

verb. It is neither preceded by a subordinator particle, nor does it seem to be a relativized verb.

(89) wiwhib[13]-abi-l-8-n sibiwi atta-hl-8-me-k pazgo
PREV.around-tie.so-TA-DIR-N moreover.ADV give.reponsibility-TA-DIR-AN-NS NUM.AN.1

san8ba waji nanaw8b-am-8-t
adult.male(AN) SBR watch-TA-DIR-SUBR.3
He was securely tied hand and feet and left in the care of one man.

Masta 1932: 17

The location of *atta-hl-8-me-k* in the structure of example (89) suggests that this is a matrix clause verb the subject of which happens to be null.

Null-subject verbs are found in subordinate clauses, too, as (90) shows.

(90) nikw8bi ali wi-t-8-zi-k odanak
now.PT SBR name-TI-DIR-IN-NS O.
[thus one now calls it Odanak]

Masta 1932: 47

The verb *wi-t-8-zi-k* follows the subordinator *ali* 'thus'. For this reason it is clearly located in a subordinate clause.

The literature about Abenaki provides very little description of the null-subject constructions stating only that they exist. The examples that I have found in Masta are very few in number making a more sophisticated analysis of them impossible at present. There are, however, a few narratives in Masta that I must still analyze and perhaps they will provide further insight. For the moment, I can only describe the distribution of the null-subject verbs as this section has sought to do.

This sums up the various types of agreement inflection found on Abenaki verbs. The following sections in this chapter focus on the grammatical categories of Polarity, Tense, Aspect and Mood.

[13] I think this is spelled wrong by Masta and should be *wiwnib* with an *n* instead of an *h*.

3.9 Polarity

3.9.1 Negation of Matrix Clause Verbs

Dawe (1985) reconstructs -*w* as the negative formative in Eastern Algonquian. The polarity of matrix clause verbs is marked both periphrastically and morphologically. The negated verb is preceded by the particle *8nda* and is inflected with the formative -*wi*. Here is an example from Masta (1932).

(91) Kw8gwnas 8nda w=gezald-am-ow-n-ap Soli8n al-t8gw-zi-t
K(AN) NEG 3=like-TI-NEG-N-PRET S(AN) MANN-say-IN-SUBR.AN.3
Kw8gnas did not like his wife's expression though

Masta 1932: 35

In this example, *8nda* directly precedes the verb, although adverbial particles may occur between them. When the negative formative -*wi* follows a consonant, a vowel is epenthesized between them. I assume this epenthesized vowel is [ə] then rounded to agree with rounded feature of *w* (Warne 1975: 69). Warne (1976: 17) writes that -*wi* is often reduced to -*we* before the N-Object marker -*en*. It is then expected that the *e* would be eliminated by the syncope rule if it occupied an unstressed syllable. This is probably why the negative formative has the shape -*w* in (91) and not -*wi* or -*we*.

(92) kanwa 8nda amojka[14] pela 8dab-i-wi-ak
CO.ad NEG at.all.PT delay.AI rest-AI-NEG-PL
(But without taking a rest…)

Masta 1932: 28

The above excerpt from Masta exemplifies the possibility of adverbial particles and auxiliary verbs occurring between *8nda* and the main verb *8dab* 'rest'. The negative formative also appears in its underlying form -*wi* because it not followed by the N-OM as in example (91) above.

[14] *amocka* in Day (1994), usually with negative particle *8nda*.

It is interesting to note that in (91) *8nda* is not an acceptable attachment site for the Agreement Clitic *w*= (*wd*=) which would otherwise attach to the first particle or auxiliary verb that preceded the verb. I would conclude from this distribution that *8nda* occurs outside the verb phrase or perhaps somehow governs it, but I cannot be sure this is the correct analysis. For instance, the mood clitic =*ba* can attach to *8nda*.

(93)	wd=id-am-en	8nda=ba	ke=ningall-el-o	kedm8gi	wal8ba,
	3=say-TI-N	NEG=COND	2=forsake-TA.LINV-NEG	pitiful.PT	W(AN)
	I will never forsake you dear child.				

Masta 1932: 36

Agreement Clitics and mood clitics can both attach to particles or auxiliary verbs as example (46) shows. *8nda* then behaves unlike one of these items, allowing attachment of mood clitics, but not of Agreement Clitics. The negative formative -*wi* has vocalizes to -*o* in (93), also, because it is word-final and follows a non-velar consonant (see Warne 1976: 17).

8nda is not the only morpheme that marks negative verb phrases. A few others exist. They also perform other functions such as indicating imperative mood like *akw* in (94).

(94)	kanwa	akwi	pal8bald-a	n=gizi=ji	nia	nadial-i
	CO.d	NEG.JUS	despair-JUS.2	1=be.able.AUX=fUT	PRO.1	hunt-AI
	…but be not discouraged, I can hunt and you stay here.					

Masta 1932: 35

With the negative particle *akwi* the verb does not inflect with -*wi*, but instead for the imperative mood. This might suggest that although *8nda* and -*wi* are always used together, the periphrastic negative morpheme may be the element that carries the negative meaning in the clause, whereas -*w* is just a negative agreement inflection.

Matrix clause verb negation is fairly straightforward. There are, however, a few exceptions to the above analysis. The negative formative -*wi* has fused with the plural

Fusional Indefinite Formatives to produce fusional negative formatives given in Figure 3-17.

Figure 3-17 -- Fusional Negative Formatives

-wi-bena	→	-pena
NEG-INDF.1PL		
-wi-ba	→	-pa
NEG-INDF.2PL		

Dawe 1985: 35

As Dawe (1985) describes, the -*wi* formative assimilated to the following lenis consonant of the FIF. The lengthening of the consonant pair in this way probably facilitated the fortification of the stop yielding the fortis stop-initial fusional formatives -*pena* and *pa* in modern Abenaki. Warne (1976: 17) also describes the same phonological shift from *wi* to fused fortis consonant-initial negative suffixes, but she does not offer an explanation for why fortis consonants should arise in place of the lenis ones. We find the following examples of these fused formatives.

(95) n=ijia-ak nikw8bi 8nda k=m8wiga-pena
1=bother-PL now.PT NEG 2=be.together.AI-NEG.21
Brothers, we are not now so close together personally

Masta 1932: 37

(96) k'okaozemippa
k=kaoz-em-i-ppa
2=cow-VS-AI-NEG.2PL
You have no cow.

Laurent 1884: 133

The examples of these formatives in Masta are scarce, but (95) shows very clearly the fusion of the negative formative -*wi* and the FIF -*bena* which yields -*pena*. (96) presents the second person plural fusional negative formative -*pa*, which Laurent spells *ppa*.

3.9.2 Negation of Subordinate Clause Verbs

In subordinate clauses negative polarity seems to be created somewhat more erratically than in matrix clause verbs. If one were only to read Laurent's grammar (1884) one would think that no negative inflections existed for subordinate verbs. Two methods, however, exist for creating negative verbs. The first involves a periphrastic particle like *walma* that precedes the verb in the syntax and no negative inflection on the verb.

(97) a. walma wajônok ases
walma waj8n-ok ases
NEG.SUBR have.TA-SUBR.AN.1 horse(AN)
Perhaps I have no horse.

b. walma wajonemôza pilaskw
walma waj8n-em-8-za pilaskw
NEG.SUBR have-TI-SUBR.AN.1-PRET paper(IN)
Perhaps I have no paper.

Laurent 1884: 161

The verb *waj8n* 'to have' in the above examples is inflected like any positive subordinate verb. There is nothing in its morphology to suggest negation. The only element that can carry negation in the phrases is *walma*.

The second method of forming the negative is not mentioned by Laurent, but evidence for it is found in Masta (1932). The same formative *-wi* that marks negation in matrix clause verbs also appears in some subordinate verbs.

(98) k=oli nanawalme-zi-n waji 8nda kin8gui chit8iwi almi akwamal-si-w-an.
2=thus take.care.TA-REFL-N SBR NEG ?.PT worse.PT CONT.PT feel.bad-AI-NEG-SUBR.2
you had better take good care of yourself so as to avoid getting worse.

Masta 1932: 36

The verb *akwamlsi* 'to feel bad' is inflected as a second person animate intransitive subordinate verb. Just as in a negated matrix clause verb, the person agreement inflection *-an* is preceded by the negative formative *-wi* (here changed to *-w*). The verb phrase contains a few particles that act like adverbs. The whole verb phrase is preceded by *8nda*

which fails to accept the second person Agreement Clitic *k*= attached instead to the first participle in the verb phrase *in8gui*.

Comparing these two methods to the matrix clause verb negating strategies, it becomes clear that they are the same. The periphrastic negator *walma* is similar in function to *akwi* that causes the verb to inflect for the imperative mood, but not for negation. The question that follows this observation is if *walma* carries any extra meaning or function. Perhaps the particle *walma* indicates uncertainty or a subjunctive mood. Unfortunately the glosses do not allow any clear conclusions to be drawn. The next goal in researching these phrases should be to try to understand better why some verbs are negated with a periphrastic particle plus verbal inflection and why others exhibit no inflection and just the periphrastic negator.

Negated subordinate verbs with third person animate participants present an anomalous negation marking strategy. Some of these verbs inflect with *-kw*. This formative has not been previously identified.

(99) ni w=doji 8zhag-idahozi-n waji 8nda kizi kawi-kw
then 3=there strange-think.AI-N SBR NEG able.AUX sleep-SUBR.NEG.3
was as if a stone was hit; he was so surprised and amazed that he could not sleep that night
Masta 1932: 26

(100) Alma- kanni-di-t lli nopa-iwi kpiwi t8ni=ba 8nda awanihi
PROG-travel-PL-SUBR.AN.3 AP.to far-ADV in.woods. ADV PRO.INTEROG=COND NEG PRO.3.OBV
There were too many young fellows there also

a-dali wanask8-go-di-kw. kw8gwnas askwa sawi wd=amidah8-z-o
SUBR.AG-there meet.s.o-INV-PL-SUBR.NEG.3 K(AN) still.PT ?.PT 3=worry.TA-REFL-AI
so they went on farther into the woods where no one would ever meet them
Masta 1932: 35

The negator *8nda* appears in both (99) and (100) indicating that the following verbs -- *kawi* 'to sleep' and *wanask8* 'to meet someone'-- are negated. The formative *-kw* is the only element of the verb root *kawi-* 'sleep' that could agree with the third person animate

Agent and indicate negation. By comparing it to the verb in (100) it appears that this formative *-kw* occupies the person agreement slot of the subordinate verb formative structure since it follows the third person animate plural marker *-di*.

One might be tempted to analyze *-kw* as *-k-w* ' AI.SUBR.AN.3-NEG', but a problem arises with the verb *wanask8-go-di-kw* that is transitive. One would expect the formative *-d-w* 'TA.SUBR.AN.3-NEG'. This formative never occurs though. Supporting evidence for analyzing this as a fusional negative/subordinate third person agreement formative is found in Dawe (1985: 35). Although she does not cite the formative *-kw* as an Abenaki formative, she does list the AI negative subordinate verb paradigms for Micmac, Maliseet and Delaware.

Figure 3-18 -- AI Negative for Micmac, Maliseet and Delaware

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware
3 singular	-Vkw	-Vhkw	-Vkw
3 plural	-V:kw	-Vhtikw / Vhtihkwik	-Vhti:kw

Dawe 1985: 35

The cognates for the plural formative *-di* are a bit obscured. Mostly, it corresponds to the *hti* sequence in Maliseet and Delaware, perhaps also to the lengthened vowel *V:* in Micmac. The correspondence of Abenaki *-kw* to the *-kw* suffix in the three related languages is unmistakable. Dawe does not provide examples of transitive clauses to see if *-kw* is also found in these like it is in Abenaki.

The third person is often treated unlike the local participant first and second persons. The existence of the formative *-kw* in subordinate verbs may be just another instance of this differentiation. The examples of it are very few and it would be difficult to present a more definite description of its function other than describing its presence in negative

subordinate clauses and the existence of cognates in related Eastern Algonquian languages.

There is one more formative *-ki* that marks negation that I shall discuss in the Imperative mood section (3.12.3). There are two instances of it in Laurent (1884: 148) and no additional examples of it exist in any other grammar or text.

3.10 Tense

As Laurent notes, "The *present* of the *indicative* is often used as the *future*" and "the *past* is often expressed by the *present*." (1884: 204). He offers two examples.

(101) n'kwezoda kedak alemalokam-uk
n=gwezod-a gedak alemalokam-ek
1=move.camp-AI PRO.INTEROG.INDF next.week-SUBR.IN.3
I will remove next week.

Laurent 1884: 204

(102) n'namihô Salemen tagwôgua
n=nami-h-8 Salemen dagwigwa
1=see-TA-DIR Salemen(AN) last.autumn.II
I saw Salomon last fall.

Ibid.

The verb *gwezod* 'to move camp' in (101) is specified as an AI verb by the VS *-a*. It shows no further inflection or formatives attached to it. Similarly, the verb root *nami* 'see' is specified as a TA verb and inflected with the direct Scenario Marker *-8* as one would expect for this verb in the present indicative. Yet Laurent glosses (101) in the future tense and (102) in the preterit tense.

Tense can also be created morphologically. The preterit tense and the future tense have formatives associated with them. Their distribution is quite dissimilar, however. The preterit tense is marked by one of two formatives. The future tense is associated with a clitic. Each tense is described in detail below.

3.10.1 Preterit Tense

The preterit tense contrasts with the "present tense". The present is not a morphologically distinct tense; rather it is the unmarked default. Day describes the present tense as "states existing in, and actions taking place at the time of speaking" (1989b: 25). The preterit tense is used for "states and actions existing in the past time" (1989b: 26) , i.e. not in the present or future.

Warne (1976) analyzes the preterit tense formative for matrix clause verbs as *-abani*. I suggest that the preterit tense formative for subordinate verbs should be the similar formative *-ashani*. These formatives are presented in their maximal form. Numerous morphophonemic processes can alter the shape of *abani* and *-ashani* obscuring the underlying forms of the formatives. These processes are listed and described in detail in Appendix C. *-abani* and *-ashani* react to grammatical environments in different ways. For this reason, I will address general usage of *-abani* first, *-ashani* second and finally I will attempt to sort out their overlapping distributions.

The formative *-abani* inflects matrix clause verbs for the preterit tense. It is sensitive to person values of the arguments of a verb. For transitive verbs that contain at least one local argument (first or second person), the allomorph *-ab* always surfaces. It should be noted here that when a lenis stop occurs word-finally it surfaces as voiceless. So the *b* of *-abani* surfaces as *p* word-finally although Laurent continues to use *b* in his examples.

(103) k'wajônemenab pilaskw
k=wajon-em-en-ab pilaskw
2=have-TI-N-PRET paper(IN)
Thou hadst the paper.

Laurent 1884: 145

(104) n'wajônôb kaoz
n=waj8n-8-b kaoz
1=have.TA-DIR-PRET cow(AN)
I had the cow.

Laurent 1884: 140

The verb *waj8n* 'to have' in example (103) has a second person argument, thus the preterit formative should have the form *-ab* which it does. The preterit formative *-ab* surfaces as *-b* in (104). The *-ab* preterit formative attaches to the direct Scenario Marker *-8* in (104). Since *8* is a vowel, the initial vowel *a* of *-ab* is deleted resulting in the surface form *waj8n8b*.

Transitive verbs that have only Peripheral Participants (third persons, one proximate and the other obviative), form the preterit tense with the allomorph *-abani*. Warne surmises that because no phonological or purely morphological explanation for the *-ab* / *-abani* allomorphy can be distinguished, this variation must be morpholexically determined (1976: 6).

(105) w'wajônôbani kaoz
w=waj8n-8-bani kaoz
3=have.TA-DIR-PRET cow(AN)
He had the cow.

Laurent 1884: 140

(106) W=nibaw-in-8-bani yudali, ntami S8gm8, Llobal wdoz-a
3=marry-TA-DIR-PRET here.PT premier. PT Chief(AN) L(AN) come.from-AI
He married Soli8n, the daughter of Head Chief Llobal.

Masta 1932: 35

(107) Pab8miwi mdala [kassi gadmaa] n=wijaw-8-p Lol8 Tama8da
About.ADV NUM.count.10 be.age.II 1=go.with.so-DIR-PRET L(AN) T(AN)
When I was about ten years of age, I went with Lol8 Ta8mont

Masta 1932: 47

The rule of *Vowel Truncation* explains why the preterit formative surfaces at the allomorph *-bani* instead of *-aban*i in (105)-- the initial *a* is deleted. The same process results in the preterit formative *-bani* suffixed to the verb *nibaw* 'to marry' in (106) and the *-p* formative in (107). The brackets around *kassi gadmaa* are there to indicate that

Masta wrote these two words separately, although I believe they should be considered one word. Example (107) is provided to show that a verb with a local argument-- in this case a first person-- forms the preterit tense with the allomorph *-ab* and not *-abani*.

The main difference between AI and TA verbs is that the preterit formative allomorph *-ab* surfaces instead of *-abani* for third person singular agents of AI verbs. AI verbs with third person plural Agents still employ *-abani* as the preterit formative. An example of a third person singular Agent is given in (108).

(108) W8banaki-ga=ni wd=ai-n-ap ligadin-wa-iwi
abenaki(AN)-ABS=DEM 3=be-N-PRET year-II-ADV
There was an Abenaki who lived there, a few years

Masta 1932: 26

The formative *-ab* follows the consonant *n* in (108) which does not trigger any changes in the suffix.

Even AI verbs that are derived from TA verbs by the passivizing formative *-z* form the preterit tense with *-ab*. The fact that *-ab* occurs instead of *-abani* lends further proof to the valence decreasing action of the formative *-z*.

(109) Soli8n. Enna n8kshwa lli wawal-m-egw-z-o-p
S(AN) PRO.AN maid(AN) AP.? know-TA-INV-PASS-AI-PRET
She was considered [good-looking]…

Masta 1932: 35

The morphophonemic process that creates the affix sequence *-o-p* is *Vowel Truncation* thus yielding *-op* instead of **-oap* as we see in (109).

The distribution of the preterit formative *-abani* in matrix clause verbs can be summed up as the following. The allomorph *-abani* surfaces with transitive verbs that have strictly non-local arguments and with a third person plural Agent in AI verbs. *-ab* occurs in all other environments.

The formative -*ashani* generally marks the preterit tense in subordinate clause verbs and Inanimate Intransitive verbs. The full form allomorph -*ashani* only occurs when the formative is followed by another suffix; either the Peripheral Formative (-*ak* or -*al*) or the subjunctive formative -*a*. Otherwise, the allomorph -*asha* always surfaces. There appears to be more support of a morphologically or morphophonologically defined distribution of -*ashani* and *asha*. The motivating factor would be the presence of proceeding suffixes to prevent the deletion of *ni* from the preterit formative. There is, however, no way to functionally motivate the deletion of *ni* in the case that -*ashani* is word-final, thus we find that Warne's hypothesis that the preterit formative allomorphs are morpholexically motivated is the best one at this point (1976: 6).

I must quickly address spelling before continuing with this analysis. The subordinate preterit formative can be found with the following spellings: -*aza, -azsa, -assa, -azhani,* and -*ashani.* When referring to the short allomorph I will always use -*asha* and for the long allomorph -*ashani*. I cannot be sure if the *s* of -*ashani* is underlying lenis allowing it to voice to *z* intervocalically, or if it is fortis and therefore capable of being preaspirated as *sh*. I will consider the *s* to be underlyingly fortis and preaspirated. Further investigation may prove this assumption false.

The following examples explore the interaction of the preterit tense formative -*ashani* and subordinate agreement morphology.

(110) ni-tta n8gaiwi kchai w=nami-o-n pasgo-wa,
then-INTENS in.a.moment old.man.PT 3=see-AI-N NUM.AN.1-OBV
finally the old man saw one of the owls in the shape of an Iroquois

8lawiki pita wli k8dab-o-zsa wanaskwakwa kchi abazi-k
although.PT ?.PT SBR hide-AI-PRET top.of.tree(AN) big.PT tree(AN)-LOC
whose hiding place was deftly planned and made on the top of a tall tree.

Masta 1932: 17

(111) K=maomnog-ak-ka w8banaki-ak oji-ao-zhani-k
2=grandfather(AN)-PL-ABS abenaki(AN)-PL from-be.AI-PRET-PL
Our great grandfathers, the Abenakis were originally from

kenebakw-og Maine waj8n-azhani-k patlih8z-a kagaki-m-go-di-j-i.
K.River(IN)-LOC M. possess-PRET-PL priest(AN)-OBV learn-TA-INV-PL-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
Maine, on Kenebec River. They had a priest to teach them.

Masta 1932: 27

The preterit formative replaces the person agreement formatives seen in examples (110). The verb *k8dab-o* 'hide' would probably be *k8dab-o-k* with the third person subordinate formative *-k* for AI verbs. The preterit formative allomorph *-asha* seems to occupy the same position as *-k* in this verb. *Vowel Truncation* reduces deletes the initial *a*. It seems that both the person agreement and the preterit tense are expressed by *-asha*.

The maximal form of the subordinate preterit formative is displayed in (111) on the verb *waj8n* 'to have' in the second line. I have not found a previous author who constructs the formative as *-ashani*, but based on preterit formative *-abani*, I have taken the allomorph in this example to be full form by analogy because they seem to have similar form and function.

As another example will show, *-ashani* can also replace the formatives that agree with local arguments.

(112) 8nda ato kd=illald-am-ow-za ali=ji mska-ok 8h!
NEG probably.PT 2=think-TI-NEG-PRET SBR=FUT find.TA-SUBR.AN.1 DISC.hey
You never imagined that I could get at him, hey!

Masta 1932: 36

In the present tense one would expect the Central Argument agreement formative *-an* in the position where *-asha* (here *-za*) is found on the subordinate verb *illald* 'to think, imagine'. Again it seems that the preterit tense and person agreement functions are fused together in the preterit formative.

The following example is of an Inanimate Intransitive verb in the preterit tense.

(113) ta mziwi-kawi w8wlosa-o-zsa li pay8-di-t manosa-i sibo-k
CO.c all-PRO.INTEROG be.alright-II-PRET AP.until come-PL-SUBR.AN.3 starve.AI-GEN river-LOC
…and everything went all right until they reached Famine river.
Masta 1932: 27

Day reports that "a great deal of search…has not uncovered any certain plural formz [sic]" (1989b: 43). The lack of plural forms predicts that *-asha* will be the preterit tense formative throughout the II paradigm because no formatives exist that can attach outside the preterit formative and induce the allomorph *-ashani*.

Having discussed the general distribution of *-abani* and *-ashani*, I will address those instances where the use of the preterit tense formatives seems to overlap. I will attempt to show that in these cases, their usage is complementary resulting is subtle differences in meaning. The last part of this analysis looks at the interaction of N-OMs and the preterit tense.

The best example of overlapping preterit tense formative usage is given in (114). Sentence (a) and (b) present a discussion between two Abenakis. In part (a) the questioner asks what the meaning of the word *N'kebak* 'Quebec' is and why people called it that. Part (b) is the first portion of the response. Besides the verbs *wit-* 'call, name' in both sentences, the other words in the phrases are almost exactly identical offering a near minimal pair comparison opportunity.

(114) (a) kaguessa=ni aln8b-ak ali wit-am-odi-za N'kebak.
INTEROG.INDF=DEM indian(AN)-PL SBR call-TI-PL-PRET N.
What is the meaning of N'kebak

(b) kchi odana=ga=ni aln8b-ak ali wit-am-odi-d-ep. N'kebak
old.PT city=FOC=DEM indian(AN)-PL SBR call-TI-PL-SUBR.AN.3-PRET N.
N'Kebak is the name of a city and the Indians called it so.
Masta 1932: 29

In both sentences in (119) the verb *wit-* is in a subordinate clause. One difference that may distinguish the two is the verb *wit-* is part of an interrogative clause in (a) and an

indicative clause in (b). Although -*ashani* also occurs in indicative clauses as examples (110) through (113) show. Another possible difference would be that the subordinate clauses are slightly different. Unfortunately, the glosses make it impossible to tease out this difference.

Sometimes -*abani* follows the N-OM as in example (108) above and other times it is followed by -*ashani* as example (115) below illustrates. The contrast may help clarify the various meanings of the N-OM if one assumes that the preterit formatives affix to verbs with specific characteristics.

(115) ni kanwa w8wahla w=nai-lh8-n-8-zsa Doaguam, Wallastekw
then CO.ad instead.PT 3=downstream-motion-N-N1PL-PRET D. W.
…instead they went down the Doaquam [river]

Masta 1932: 27-28

At the end of the N-OM Section (3.6.2) I discuss a few alternate functions of the N-OM. One of them is to mark mild imperatives. Another is the inflection of directional verbs, or verbs that involve motion such as *nai-lh8* 'go downstream' in (115). The scarcity of these examples in Masta and the imprecision of the glosses make it difficult to distinguish the nuances of the contrast -*abani* and -*ashani* must create when they suffix after N-OMs.

From example (115), however, I can suggest that when an N-OM refers to an object, the verb is always inflected with -*ashani* for the preterit tense. (116) provides another example of a verb inflected with a N-OM and the preterit formative -*ashani*.

(116) ni agua almi-dbihl-8-k li
then it.seems.II CONT-happen-DIR-SUBR.IN.3 AP.?
and this designation of

taak-wi wilh-8-n-8-zsa agm8-w8 ta w=zibo-m-w8 Kinneb-ak.
thither.II-ADV name.TA-DIR-N1PL-PRET PRO.3-PL CO.c 3=river(IN)-Substan-PL K(AN)-PL
themselves and of their river was afterwards called Kanibak.

Masta 1932: 20

The N-OM suffixed to the verb *wilh* 'to name' in (116) is most likely marking the objects *agm8-w8* 'them' and *w=zibo-m-w8* 'their river' as definite.

Until the function that the N-OM has on directional verbs and its use as a mild imperative is better understood, it will be difficult to determine under what conditions a verb is inflected with *-abani* in the preterit tense or *-ashani*.

3.10.2 Future Tense

The future tense is marked by the clitic *=ji*. From her field work, Warne (1976) elicited examples of this paradigm and confirms that it indicates an event that occurs in the future. Laurent (1884) also includes a future tense in all of the verb paradigms he lists. The glosses lead me to believe that this is a pure tense that has no aspectual associations.

Warne (1976: 22) notes further that *=ji* is not a prototypical verbal suffix. In fact, it always moves to the first syntactic element in a clause. Day makes the same observation stating that it is not like an affix but instead a "sentence clitic" that "attaches to the first word in a sentence" (1989b: 26). Further examination will show that this clitic is a second position enclitic. Referring to Klavans (1985) we find that the same criterion used to establish clitichood of the Agreement Clitics can also be applied to the future clitic. It exhibits a low degree of host selection. In addition, *=ji* attaches to other clitics as example (120) shows.

(117) n'wôbigiji
n=w8bi-gi=ji
1=white-AI=FUT
I shall be white

Laurent 1884: 131

(118) saagat kanwa akwi pal8balda [n=gizi=ji nia nadial-i] ni
it.is.such.II CO.d NEG.JUS despair.AI 1=be.able=FUT PRO.1 hunt-AI then
"It is too bad, but be not discouraged, I can hunt and you stay here."

Masta 1932: 35

(119) 8nda ato kd=illald-am-ow-za [ali=ji mska-ok, 8h]
NEG probably.PT 2=think-TI-NEG-PRET thus=FUT find.TA-SUBR.AN.1 DISC.hey
You never imagined that I could get at him, he!

Masta 1932: 36

(120) [ni=ga=ji w8banaki-ak wd=alkwazo-ldi-n-8]
then=FOC=FUT abenaki(AN)-PL 3=make?-noise-INDF.PL-N-N1PL
the Abenakis will blow their horns

Masta 1932: 38

In each example *=ji* occurs after the initial syntactic element in a clause (the second position). I have bracketed the clauses in the above examples to make them more prominent and to emphasize the clitic's position. I assume that the author includes the clitic *=ji* in the spelling a word because it is pronounced as a part of that word, making it *enclitic* in all the examples. Taking this distribution into account, the clitic *=ji* is *initial* (P1)*, after* (P2) and *enclitic* (P3) according to Klavans' (1985) parameters for defining a clitic.

The future tense clitic *=ji* does not interact phonologically with the sites to which it attaches. It does appear to be incorporated into the prosodic domain of the morpheme to which it attaches, but no variation in the actual pronunciation of the clitic occurs which would need to be mentioned. Its distribution, then, is fairly regular and does not warrant further comment.

3.11 Aspect

Aspectual notions are mostly created through periphrasis. This study will only provide a cursory description of aspect because its realization is not integral to the inflection of verbs or nouns.

Particles produce aspectual meaning such as progressive action shown in (121) by the particle *8mpchi*.

(121) nisw-ak pezo-ak 8mpchi kadawi awdi-di-d-a.
two(AN)-PL wildcat(AN)-PL PROG.PT about.to.be.PT fight.AI-PL-SUBR.AN.3-SBJV
even as two wild cats do when about to fight.

Masta 1932: 31

The particle *8mpchi* is defined by Day (1994 v2) as a *progressive marker*. The particle *kadawi* might also be considered an aspect marker as it describes an action that is about to take place.

A few preverbs exist that have aspectual meanings. Preverbs are bound verbal affixes that delimit the meaning of a verb. They have not been detailed in this study because they result in semantic modifications. The preverb *almi* adds the aspectual meaning *continuative* to a verb.

(122) alma-kanni-di-t lli nopa-iwi kpiwi,
CONT-travel-PL-SUBR.AN.3 AP.to far-ADV in.woods.ADV
… so they went on farther into the woods

Masta 1932: 35

The verb root in (122) is *kanni* 'to travel'. It is joined with the preverb *alma* 'continuative' which modifies its meaning. The resulting verb has the aspect of a continuing action.

Preverbs delimit the direction of the action of the verb or the way that it is performed: *nanab-* 'do something fast, quickly', *manna-* 'do something slowly', *nagw-* 'underneath', *nai-* 'downstream', *wanta-* 'do something wrong', *gimi-* 'secretly, quietly', *papi-* 'do something automatically, for the fun of it'.

3.12 Mood

3.12.1 Indicative

Up to this point, all of the verbs discussed have been in the Indicative mood. This covers both matrix clause verbs and subordinate clause verbs. The Indicative mood contrasts with the Imperative and Subjunctive moods discussed below.

3.12.2 Interrogative

The interrogative mood is not overtly indicated with morphology. Laurent suggests that the indicative and interrogative are distinguished by intonation only. He writes that "any sentence, be it *affirmative* or *negative*, may become *interrogative*, if only you change the usual *affirmative* tune into an *interrogative*…" (1884: 204). I have found no evidence to the contrary in Masta's texts. For this reason, the *Interrogative Mood* will not be addressed further in this study.

3.12.3 Imperative Mood

Abenaki verbs inflect for the imperative mood in the second and third persons, singular and plural, and the first person plural. In general the formatives that form the imperative consist of a Scenario Marker followed by a person/number marking formative. The formatives in the Imperative Mood are sufficiently unique to have caused Algonquianists to establish the *Imperative Order* (Bloomfield 1946: 97) distinct from the **CONJUNCT** and **INDEPENDENT ORDERS**. Without much disruption I will simply refer to the Algonquian *Imperative order* as the *Imperative mood*.

Figure 3-19 -- Imperative Mood Structure

Verb Stem (-Scenario Marker) -3rd Plural -Negation -Person/Number

The structure given in Figure 3-19 is for all the specifications of verb transitivity: AI, II, TA, and TI. The Scenario Markers are placed in parentheses because they only occur with TA verbs. Like subordinate verbs, the number of third person plural animate arguments is encoded with the formative *-di* in the *3rd Plural* position. In the Person/Number position we find formatives that mark just person value and fusional formatives that mark the person and number values of first and second person plural arguments.

Figure 3-20 lists the agreement formatives that inflect TI imperative verbs.

Figure 3-20 -- TI Imperative Mood Agreement Formatives

Person	Formatives	
	Postive	Negative
2	-a	-a
3	-j	-j
21	-da	-da
2PL	-ogw	-ogw
3PL	-di-j	-di-j

Laurent 1884: 143, 153

An interesting point that this paradigm displays is a lack of marked difference between the positive and negative polarities. Negation is indicated through periphrasis by the presence of the auxiliary *agwi* (Laurent 1884: 148).

The TA imperative verb agreement formatives are given in Figure 3-21.

Figure 3-21 -- TA Imperative Mood Agreement Formatives

Person	Scenario Marker	Formatives	
		Postive	Negative
2		-a	-a
3	-8	-j	-ki-j
21	-8	-da	-da
2PL		-ogw	-ogw
3PL	-8	-di-j	-di-ki-j

Laurent 1884: 138, 148

The TI and TA agreement formatives are the same except that in the TA paradigm, negation is marked by the formative *-ki* in the third person singular and plural. This formative does not appear in any other paradigm.

In a study describing the Micmac Imperative mood, Dawe (1987) establishes an *Imperative*/*Jussive* distinction. He labels the first and third person formatives the Jussive and the second person formatives the Imperative. The basis for this distinction is the shape of the morphemes. The first and third person formatives all contain a coronal stop or affricate, whereas the second person formatives do not. This observation may seem like a weak correlation, but when the second person formatives are grouped under the imperative category, it allows us to say that in the TA paradigm, Scenario Markers are only used with jussive forms, not Imperative.

Laurent also translates the second person imperatives differently than the first and third person jussives as (123) through (126) show.

(123) wajôna
waj8n-a
have.TA-IMP.2
Have (thou) [cows]
Laurent 1884: 138

(124) wajônôda
waj8n-8-da
have.TA-DIR-JUS.21
Let us have [cows].
Ibid.

(125) wajônej
waj8n-ej
have.TI-JUS.3
Let him have [provisions].
Laurent 1884: 143

(126) wajônemogw
waj8n-em-ogw
have-TI-IMP.2PL
Have (ye or you) [provisions].
Ibid.

In the two instances of second person agreement ((123) and (126)), Laurent translates the phrase as *have*... using the bare translation of *waj8n* 'to have'. For the first and third person agreement formatives, Laurent translates the phrase as *Let us/him have* ((124) and (125)). According to Palmer (2001: 80-81), the term imperative is used for direct commands to a second person such as (123) and (126); commands given to a first or third person, such as (125) and (126), are often distinct from second person imperatives receiving the label jussive. Laurent's translations in these four examples align with this distinction. For this reason I will recommend that the Imperative/Jussive distinction also be made in Abenaki.

Some examples from Masta are provided below to further illustrate the Imperative/Jussive mood.

(127) N=adogues ni=ba mjessala li wlidaa-8n-a
1=friend then=COND the.last.PT AP.? good.hearted-SBJV.2-IMP.2
Dear Cousin, if you would be so kind…

Masta 1932: 28

The second person imperative formative *-a* attaches to a subjunctive verb in (127). This verb is interesting in that the speaker is using the imperative mood with the subjunctive possibly creating some sort of deferential register.

The first person plural (inclusive) jussive formative *-da* appears in (128).

(128) ali:-kwi:lo-'tê wôbanaki:-a spi:wi:-[-puk-wi:gan.]
ali-gwilo-da w8banaki-a spiwi-[puk-wigan]
thus-go.after.TA-JUS.21 abenaki(AN)-OBV with-short-NMLZ
"Go find and strike the Wabanaki with the shin bone."

Speck 1932

The formative *-da* affixes to the verb *gwilo* 'to go after someone' in (128). The noun *w8banaki-a* is the object of this verb indicated by the formative *-a* that inflects third person animate Primary Objects.

The third person jussive *-j* is a bit more rare. I have found only two instances of it in the texts I analyzed.

(129) askawana kwil-awa-8-n-ach ta migak-8m-8-n-ch
?.PT search-TA-DIR-N-JUS.3 CO.c fight-TA-DIR-N-JUS.3
… let them be searched out and opposed.

Masta 1932: 17

Masta has used different spellings for the two third person jussives formatives in (129): *ach* and *ch*. The third person jussive formative that Laurent lists is *-j*, which presumably devoices in word-final positions yielding *c* or *ch* as Masta has spelled it. The vowel *a* in *-ach*, attached to the verb *kwilawa* 'search for someone' is possibly epenthetic. The formative seems able to attach without this vowel as the second instance on the verb *migak* 'fight' shows.

Examples of the Imperative and Jussive forms are scarce in the texts, so it is possible that their use differs slightly from Laurent's description. The examples that I have found, though, agree with his description.

3.12.4 Subjunctive Mood

Algonquianists categorize the Subjunctive mood with the *Subordinative mode* of the *Independent Order*. Warne (1976: 1, 14) calls this mood the *Subordinate*, possibly related to the Algonquian *Subordinative*. She does not offer an explanation for term, however, but merely lists examples. Laurent calls this paradigm the *Subjunctive mood* and his glosses seem to support this analysis (1884: 144). The realization of the subjunctive mood in Abenaki is brought about through different strategies in matrix clause verbs and subordinate clause verbs.

Matrix clause verbs employ the formative *-n* that has the same distribution as the N-Object Marker. Whether or not these two suffixes are in fact the same formative or related by some other connection I cannot tell. Object animacy is distinguished in the Subjunctive mood by Valence Specifiers and the Scenario Markers, but not by the agreement inflection. The following example refers to an inanimate object.

(130) n'wajônemen
n=waj8n-em-en
1=have-TI-SBJV
That I may have.

Laurent 1884: 144

The inflection of the verb *waj8n* 'to have' looks exactly like that of a verb inflected with the N-OM. The gloss suggests a desired reality, however, hence Laurent categorizes this as Subjunctive.

The Subjunctive mood is also found in a few examples from Masta. These examples are difficult to discern from N-Object Marking, but the formative *-n* in (131) seems to be unambiguously subjunctive.

(131) kagna=ba awani w=dali pay8-n wigw8m-ek, kwani 8nda ai-kw,
lest=COND PRON.INDF 3=there come-SBJV house-LOC SBR NEG be.located-SUBR.NEG.3
lest someone might come to his wigwam while he was

n8da-diali-j-i.
PREV.do.action-hunt-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
out hunting.

Masta 1932: 35

In this narrative, one of the characters is reluctant to leave his house because he fears someone will come while he is away hunting. The verb *pay8* 'to come' is in the Subjunctive mood, indicated by the formative *-n*, to convey the idea that this reality is a possibility, one that the character does not want to occur.

The Subjunctive mood is more straightforward in subordinate clauses. The verbs are inflected with the formative *-a* after the agreement formatives. Laurent lists paradigms for subordinate subjunctive TA and TI verbs (1884: 157, 160). An example of a subjunctive verb in context is given in (132).

(132) ni kanwa angitta=ji paya8-gu-a aw-ao-k ni=ji
then CO.ad soon.after.PT=FUT arrive.AI-SUBR.AN.21-SBJV ?-be-SUBR.IN.3 then=FUT
but as soon as we get out of the woods, [then…]

Masta 1932: 36

The formal aspects of the inflection are simple. The subjunctive formative is invariably *-a* even after vowel-final formatives such as *-gu* in (132). The subjunctive coloring of this sentence is probably a combination of the future clitic *=ji* that makes the result of the verb *paya8* (*pay8*) 'to arrive' something that has not yet happened, plus the inflection of the verb *paya8* with the subjunctive formative *-a*.

The one change that occurs in the agreement inflection of subordinate subjunctive verbs is the first person singular formative for TI verbs *-a* becomes *-ð*n.

(133) Ni=ba=t8ni id-am-8n-a majalmit?
then=COND=if say-TI-SUBR.AN.1-SBJV M.
Would you understand it if I said majalmit?

Masta 1932: 27

The result of this change is the retention of the first person agreement that would otherwise have been lost with the suffixation of two *-a* formatives.

The formal differences between Subjunctive mood inflection in matrix and subordinate clauses suggest that they create different meanings. Because Subjunctive mood often occurs in subordinate clauses, it is natural that there is a unique formative associated with these verbs: *-a*. The overlap between matrix clause Subjunctive mood and N-Object Marking is not something that should not be ignored. This construction with the formative *-n* may be serving a different function that Laurent described with *subjunctive mood* for lack of a more descriptive category. As I stated in the N-Object Marking section, the formative *-n* needs to be studied further to determine definitively what its functions are.

4 -- Nouns

Abenaki nouns inflect for a variety of categories. Many of the formatives that attach to verbs are also employed with nouns. For instance, the number value of Peripheral Participants is indicated on verbs with the formatives *-ak* (animate) and *-al* (inanimate). These formatives are also used to inflect nouns for number. Despite this similarity, the lack of Valence Specifiers on nouns suggests that they should not be analyzed as verbs. Nouns also inflect with formatives that are only used with this part of speech such as the *absentive* formative *-ga*.

The positions of the nominal inflections and the formatives that occur in those positions are given in Figure 4-1.

Figure 4-1 -- Nominal Formative Positions

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
Agreement Clitic=	**Noun**	-Possessor Agreement	-Locative Case	-Number/ Obviative	-Absentive Case
n(d)= k(d)= w(d)=	*gizos* 'sun.AN' *ki* 'land.IN'	-na -w8 -benna -ow8	-ikw	-ak / -il -a / -i / -o	-ga

Position II can be any noun. I have listed an animate and inanimate example. Agreement Clitics occur in position I and are found in possession constructions. Agreement with the possessor of the noun is found in position III. The locative formative *-ikw* occurs in position IV. The number or obviative value of the noun is encoded in position V. The absentive formative *-ga* occurs in position VI.

Very little grammatical description of nominal morphology exists for Abenaki. For this reason, most of the following discussion is based solely on my observations of the nouns in Masta's and other texts.

4.1 Number

Abenaki makes a distinction between singular and plural nouns. Singular is unmarked. Animate plural nouns inflect with an allomorph of the formative *-ak* and inanimate plural nouns inflect with an allomorph of *-al*. The allomorphs *-ik*/*-il* follow stems that end in coronal stops *t*/*d* and velar stops *k*/*g*. (134) gives examples of these formatives in use.

(134) gedag
Indefinite Pronoun

gedag-ik
Indefinite Pronoun Animate-PL

gedag-il
Indefinite Pronoun Inanimate-PL

Day V2: 188

gedag is a pronoun used for indefinite referents and means 'other one, another'. When the referent is animate and plural, the form *gedagik* is used and the plural allomorph is *-ik* following the word-final velar stop *g*. When the referent is inanimate, the allomorph *-il* appears.

When the plural formatives are preceded by the labial glide *w*, the process *Coalescence of aw+a* (Warne 1976) takes place yielding *-ok*/*-ol* as in (135) and (136).

(135) 8lsem-ok
wolf(AN)-PL
wolves

Masta 1932: 57

(136) kl8gan-al mlik-ig-en-ol
door(IN)-PL strong-II-II-PL
The doors are strong.

Masta 1932: 63

Bach (website) suggests that the nasals *m* and *n* which induce the allomorphs *-ok*/*-ol* were once followed by glides--*mw* and *nw*. The *Coalescence of aw+a* rule would then have resulted in the plural allomorphs *-ok*/*-ol* from the sequence *Nw+ak/al*. I assume this rule applies in (135) and (136) because the nasals, like vowels, are sonorants so the environment *aw+a* is equivalent to *Nw+a*. Word final glides were deleted by the historical *Glide Deletion* rule (Warne 1975: 68), but the plural reflexes still remain *-ok*/*-ol* after nasals that were once followed by a glide.

In all other stem-final environments *-ak*/*-al* occur. After vowel-final stems, *Vowel Truncation* (see 0) does not occur as it does in verbs inflected by the Peripheral Participant plural agreement formative.

(137) ta kdak plajm8n kassiwi nig-ik w8banaki-ak
CO.c PRO.INTEROG.INDF frenchman(AN) COM.ADV PRO. AN.OBV-PL abenaki(AN)-PL
… and another Frenchman, the Abenaki Indians

Masta 1932: 27

(138) wawlik-il ta mamseguiwk-il ki-al
very.nice.ones.II-PL CO.c very.big.II-PL land(IN)-PL
of their great and beautiful territories,

Masta 1932: 37

(139) w=nailh8-n-8-zsa Doaguam, Wallastekw ta Saz8-'i sibo-al
3=downstream-motion-N-N1PL-PRET D. W. CO.c St.John-GEN river(IN)-PL
they went down the Doaquam, the Wallastekw and St-John until they reached the Madawaska.

Masta 1932: 27

(140) Ni awanoch-ak agm8w8 wd=eli wi-t-am-en-8 Quebec
then white.man(AN)-PL PRO.3.PL 3=thus call-TI-TI-N-N1PL Q(IN)
The French call it Quebec because it is hard for them

Masta 1932: 29

The plural formative surfaces as the allomorph *-ak* inflecting the animate noun *w8banaki* 'Abenaki' in (137). The inanimate noun *ki-* 'land' in (138) and the inanimate noun *sibo*

'river' are inflected with *-al* in (139). Example (140) shows how the animate plural formative *-ak* surfaces when the noun stem final consonant is not a coronal or a velar stop such as *ch* (*c*) in the word *awanoch* 'white man, stranger'.

4.2 Animate Obviative Objects

When the Primary Object of a verb is an animate third person, it is inflected with an allomorph of the formative *-a*. Prince (1901: 353) notes that this pattern is common to Algonquian languages and calls it both accusative marking and obviative marking. This construction could be analyzed either way because the formative *-a* resembles verbal obviative inflection; however, this construction also resembles accusative object marking. In relationships of possession, however, the possessed object, if it is animate, is inflected for obviation. This shows that obviative inflection is not constrained to verbs and objects of verbs, thus it is probably safer to consider this pattern to be obviative noun inflection and not accusative object marking. An example is given in (141).

(141) w8banaki-ak oji-ao-zhani-k kenebakw-og Maine
abenaki(AN)-PL from-be.AI-PRET-PL k.river(IN)-LOC M.
Well, I'll tell you. Our great grandfathers, the Abenakis were orginially from

waj8n-azhan-ik patlih8z-a kagaki-m-go-di-j-i.
possess-PRET-PL priest(AN)-OBV learn-TA-INV-PL-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
Maine, on Kenebec River. They had a priest to teach them

Masta 1932: 27

The Agent of the clause in (141) is *w8banaki-ak* 'the Abenakis' and the Primary Object is *patlih8z-a* 'priest' inflected with the obviative formative *-a*. That the Priest is obviative is revealed by its effect on the following verb *kagakim-go-di-j-i* 'he (obv) taught them (prox)'. The verb is inflected with the inverse Scenario Marker *-go* (-egw) because the priest is the Agent of the clause and this argument is ranked lower than the Abenakis on the Person Hierarchy.

As I noted in Section 4.1 above, some word-final nasals were historically followed by the glide *w* that caused the formative initial vowel *a* of *-ak*/*-al* to raise and round to *o*. The same coalescence of *Nw+a* changes the obviative formative *-a* to *o* in some instances like example (142).

(142) ni: alowomat:ôwô p'hanemu tawêsi:za.
ni al-owo-mat-8-w8 phanem-o ta aw8siz-a
then MANN-except?-kill.TA-DIR-DEF.N1PL woman(AN)-OBV CO.c child(AN)-OBV
Then it seemed that all were killed except a woman and her children
Speck 1932

The Primary Object of the verb *mat* 'kill' in (142) is the conjoined noun phrase *phanem-o ta aw8siz-a*. I have analyzed Specks' transcription of *tawêsi:za* as *ta aw8siz-a*. He has probably written the conjunction *ta* together with the noun *aw8siz* instead of separating them. This raises the question of whether the conjunction *ta* has affixing qualities, although I have not seen any other examples of this. The noun *aw8siz* is inflected with the obviative formative *-a*. *Phanem* 'woman' is inflected with *-o*, the result of the obviative formative *-a* interacting with the underlying glide *w* that follows the final nasal of *phanem*.

The verbal singular Peripheral Formative *-a* seems to be related to the nominal obviative formative *-a*. One would then expect the allomorph *-i* to appear on animate Primary Objects that end in a coronal stop or a velar stop. I have not found any examples of this, but predict that should be possible.

4.3 Possession

There are two strategies for marking possession in Abenaki. The first employs agreement morphology similar to that used with verbs. The possessed noun is inflected for number, singular or plural. If the possessor is plural, the possessed noun is also

inflected to agree with the person and number value of the possessor. The following charts list the agreement formatives and they values they encode.

Figure 4-2 -- Possessive Agreement Morphology

Person	Agreement Clitc	Possessor Agreement	Plural Possessed Object	
			Animate	Inanimate
1	n=	--	-ak	-al
2	k=	--	-ak	-al
3	w=	-a	--	-al
1PL	n=	-na	-ak	-al
21	k=	-na	-ak	-al
2PL	k=	-w8	-ak	-al
3PL	w=	-w8	--	-al

The person values listed in the left column of Figure 4-2 are those of the possessor. The Agreement Clitics agree with the person value of the possessor as do the Possessor marking formatives listed on the right side of the second column. Singular possessed nouns have no overt suffixation whereas plural possessed nouns indicate plurality with either *-ak* for animate nouns or *-al* for inanimate nouns. The suffixation occurs in the order listed in Figure 4-2 -- possessor agreement followed by possessed agreement. Example (143) illustrates the ordering of the formatives.

(143) n=id8ba-m-naw-ak ta n=ijia-naw-ak
1=friend-TA-POSS.1PL-3PL CO.c 1=brother-POSS.1PL-3PL
[Our] friends and brothers…

Masta 1932: 37

The nouns *id8ba* 'friend' and *ijia* 'brother' are animate. The text comes from a speech wherein the speaker is addressing a group whom he calls 'Our friends and brothers'. Thus the Agreement Clitic is *n=* agreeing with the first person speaker. The formative *-naw* agrees with the first person plural possessors (the group to which the speaker belongs) and the formative *-ak* agrees with the plural nouns 'friends' and 'brothers'.

The order of the formatives very neatly resembles the ordering of the formatives for Central Participant (the possessor) and the Peripheral Participant (the possessed) in verbs. In fact, one might consider possessed object inflection to be a kind of noun verbalization. The inflection of the noun, however, lacks Valence Specifiers that would signal their status as verbs.

In the following example, the animate noun *doz* 'daughter' is the possessed object.

(144) kchi s8gm8 Llobal w=doz-a
great.PT chief(AN) L(AN) 3=daughter(AN)-OBV
daughter of head-chief Lloba

Masta 1932: 37

The noun *doz* 'daughter' is inflected with the obviative marking formative *-a*. This noun is now ranked lower in the Person Hierarchy making the higher ranked juxtaposed noun *s8gm8 Llobal* 'Chief Llobal' the possessor. Notice also that the Agreement Clitic *wd=* is attached to *doz*. This type of possession marking requires that the possessed object be inflected with an Agreement Clitic that agrees with the person value of the possessor. In this case *s8gm8 Llobal* is third person so the clitic is *wd=*.

The analogy to verbs can be taken a step further. The formatives given in Figure 4-2 are for alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns use a different set of formatives that resemble the verbal Fusional Indefinite Formatives.

Figure 4-3 -- Inalienably Possessed Noun Agreement Morphology

Person	Agreement Clitc	Possessor Agreement
1	n=	--
2	k=	--
3	w=	--
1PL	n=	-benna
21	k=	-benna
2PL	k=	-ow8
3PL	w=	-ow8

As with verbs, Peripheral Participants are not encoded on the verb. Since possessed objects are always peripheral, plural possessed nouns cannot be distinguished as they are for alienably possessed nouns. Thus Figure 4-3 only lists formatives for plural possessors. The Agreement Clitics also agree with the possessor as they do with alienably possessed nouns.

The second strategy of indicating possession might best be labeled a genitive case. Possessors can also be designated by the formative *-i*. Masta declines a collection of nouns (1932: 59-62) some examples being *san8ba'i* 'man's', *scotam'i* 'trouts's' and *wl8gan'i* 'dish's'. The animacy value of the noun has no effect on the formative *-i*. Also noteworthy is Masta's orthography in that he includes an apostrophe before the graph *i*. Unfortunately, Masta does not explain in his book what this apostrophe stands for. He might have simply been equating English possessive marking *s* to Abenaki *i*.

Contrary to his lists of nouns inflected with *-i*, Masta uses the formative *-i* only in constructions that designate places in the texts. Example (145) illustrates this observation.

(145) ni=ga 8nka ni waji li-wi-t-8-zi-k manosa-'i sibo.
then=FOC that.is.why.PT then SBR thus-call-TI-DIR-IN-SUBR.IN.3 famine-GEN river(IN)
Hence the name Famine River.

Masta 1932: 26

The phrase *manosa-'i sibo* might be translated as 'river of famine'. It is hard to discern the meaning from the gloss. The texts lack any examples that employ *-i* as a method of indicating possession in the sense of 'having ownership of'.

For phrases that involve animate possessors such as people, Masta utilizes the first method described that employs Agreement Clitics and agreement inflections. The formative *-i* should be not be confused with the locative form inflection as example (145) might suggest. The genitive formative *-i* is probably a competing method of marking

possession or perhaps an older method that has given way to verb-like agreement inflection, although I am not certain about this analysis. The locative form is clearly indicated by the formative -*ik* detailed in Section 4.4.

4.4 Locative Form

The locative form is realized through an allomorph of the formative -*ikw*. This formative usually occurs word-finally where the glide *w* is deleted leaving only -*ik*. Prince cites the locative formative as being either -*ek* or -*k* positing an initial schwa instead of the high front unrounded vowel *i* that I assume (1902: 354). He also makes no mention of a glide in the formative. The effect that -*ikw* has on the plural formative -*ak* in example (146) suggests that it underlyingly ends in a glide.

(146) waijiwi w=bemi nb8-n-8-zsa sibo-iko-k ta
always.ADV 3=by.LOC hide.AI-N-N1PL-PRET river(IN)-LOC.PL CO.c
They always had lurking places along the rivers and

nbess-iko-k pami kiminka-di-t
lake(IN)-LOC-PL where.PT be.secret.AI-PL-SUBR.AN.3
around small lakes and acted

Masta 1932: 17

As I discussed in Section 4.1 above, when the plural number formative is preceded by a glide *w*, coalescence of *aw+a* to *o* occurs. This coalescence can be seen in the words *sibo* 'river' and *nbess* 'lake' which are inflected for the locative form and plural number. The final glide on the locative formative has prompted the initial vowel *a* of the plural formative -*ak* to change to *o*.

Within Masta's texts the locative formative exhibits contradictory surface variation. There are instances where the initial vowel of -*ikw* is deleted by *Vowel Truncation* and similar instances where this does not occur. (147) and (148) illustrate this variation with two instances of -*ikw*.

(147) pab8miwi mail oji Odana-k
around.ADV mile(IN) AP.from village(IN)-LOC
about one mile from the City of the same name.

Masta 1932: 21

(148) achi kdagihi aln8ba wadagui 8nkaw8bag-zi-j-ik wess8gn a-iko-k
also.PT PRO.AN.OBV indian(AN) others?.PT transplant.TI-IN-SUBR.AN.3-PL Algonq(AN)-LOC-PL
and of all the other Indians of the Algonquin stock…

Masta 1932: 17

The formative *-ikw* undergoes *Vowel Truncation* in example (147), shortening to *-k* (the final glide is also deleted). In the same environment where *-ikw* attaches to a noun stem-final *a* of *wess8gna* 'Algonquian Indian', the initial vowel of *-ikw* fails to delete. As the following example of variation will show, this may have something to do with noun stress assignment.

Prince cites the formative *-ek* as an instance of the locative form marker. In Masta's texts there are also cases when *-ikw* surfaces as *-ek*. Interestingly, the examples that Prince gives use the word *wigw8m* 'house' and *-ek* also affixes to this word in Masta as (149) shows.

(149) kagna=ba awani w=dali pay8-n wigw8m-ek, kwani 8nda
lest=COND PRO.INDF 3=there come-SBJV.3 house(IN)-LOC while.PT NEG
lest someone might come to his wigwam while

ai-kw, n8da-diali-j-i.
be.located-SUBR.NEG.3 PREV.do.action-hunt-SUBR.AN.3-OBV
he was out hunting.

Masta 1932: 35

This vowel change might be associated with word stress. If the word stress happens to fall on the initial vowel of *-ikw*, then the vowel *i* should surface. If not, it is perhaps reduced to the schwa *e*. The noun *wigw8m* 'house' may be invariably stressed on the vowel *8* always causing *-ikw* to surface as *-ek*. However, word stress is a topic that has not yet been investigated thoroughly in Abenaki. The effect of affixes on word stress is poorly understood so this analysis I offer can only be considered preliminary.

4.5 Absentive Form

Nouns may be inflected with the formative *-ga* to denote a deceased person or an object that one no longer possesses. In discussing the absentive, Prince also lists the *-a* and *-ban* as markers of this form (Prince 1902: 355). The use of *-a* can simply be described as instances of obviative nouns that are not near the speaker. This concept seems easily confused with an object being absent. The other formative *-ban* is an instance of the preterit formative *-abani* that Prince has analyzed as the absentive. This leaves only the formative *-ga* of which I have found a few examples in Masta.

(150) Ni=ga kd=ilh-em. k=maomnog-ak-ka w8banaki-ak oji-ao-zhan-ik
then=FOC 2=tell-TI 2=grandfather(AN)-PL-ABS abenaki-PL from-be.AI-PRET-PL
Well, I'll tell you. Our great grandfathers, the Abenakis were orginially from

kenebakw-og Maine
k.river-LOC M.
Maine, on Kenebec River

Masta 1932: 27

The absentive is often used to refer to deceased persons as in (150) with the word *maomnog* 'grandfather'. The lenis velar stop of the formative *-ga* has devoiced to *k* because it is located between a fortis consonant *k* and the vowel *a*. Unlike the locative formative *-ikw*, the absentive formative attaches outside the plural formative *-ak*.

The absentive form can also be used to refer to characters in stories that existed in some past time such as in (151) or to objects that one once owned as in (153).

(151) w8banaki-ga=ni wd=ai-n-ap ligadin-wa-iwi
abenaki-ABS=DEM 3=be-N-PRET year-II-ADV
There was an Abenaki who lived there, a few years

Masta 1932: 26

(152) n'pask-higanga
n=baskigan-ga
1=gun(IN)-ABS
The gun I had

Prince 1902: 355

In (151) the narrator of this story begins by introducing the main character who was an Abenaki Indian. The absentive formative *-ga* is used to locate this person in the past. The verb *ai* 'to be' is also inflected for the preterit Tense. The noun *baskigan* 'gun' is inflected with the Agreement Clitic *n=* to denote possession of the gun. The absentive formative indicates that the possessor owned this gun in the past.

Because the absentive formative begins with a consonant, there is very little morphophonological variation that occurs. Thus the description of this formative is fairly simple and straightforward.

5 -- Adjectives and Adverbs

5.1 Adjective Agreement

Most adjectival concepts are expressed with verbs in Abenaki. To say that something or someone is white, one would inflect the root *w8b-* 'white' for either an animate or inanimate Agent. Thus to say 'he is white' the verb *w8b-ig-o* 'white-AI-AI.3' is used. To say 'it is white' the similar verb *w8b-ig-en* 'white-II-II' is used (Day 1994 V2: 506).

Freely occurring adjectives exist, too. They agree with the noun that they modify in animacy and number. Overt agreement morphology only occurs with plural animate and inanimate nouns. The formatives that inflect the adjectives are *-ak* for animates and *-al* for inanimates. They behave exactly like the plural number formatives in terms of morphophonological variation. For example, the noun *ki* 'land' is pluralized in (153). It is followed by two adjectives that also bear inanimate plural agreement formatives.

(153) wawlik-il ta mamseguiwk-il ki-al
very.nice.II.-PL CO.c very.big.II-PL land(IN)-PL
great and beautiful territories

Masta 1932: 36

The adjectives *wawlik* 'very nice' and *mamseguiwk* 'very big' end in the velar consonant *k*. Thus the expected allomorph of the plural formative is *-il*. The adjectives agree in number and animacy with *ki-al* 'lands'.

Animate plural noun adjective agreement works in exactly the same way as seen in (154).

(154) ta8lawi=ba nisw-ak pezo-ak
like.PT=COND two(AN)-PL wildcat(AN)-PL
even as two wild cats do when about to fight.

Masta 1932: 31

The noun *pezo* 'wildcat' is pluralized with *-ak*. The adjective *nisw* 'two' agrees with it in animacy and number.

Adjectival concepts expressed in this way are quite rare in Masta's texts. He seems to prefer using relativized verbs such as *w8bigo* 'he is white' described above. This preference is probably indicative of general use in Abenaki.

5.2 Particles and Adverbs

Many concepts such as place, probability and aspect to name a few are indicated by a group of unbounded and uninflected words. Day refers to these words as *particles* because they lack inflection which differentiates them from inflected nouns and verbs (1986: 4). Their placement in the syntax is always before the verb they modify suggesting that they are perhaps incorporated into the verb phrase somehow.

The majority of particles end in *i*, but numerous others end in *a* or *o*. I hesitate to suggest that these terminations are formatives although particles never end in a consonant. There does not seem to be any phonological or morphophonological trigger for the particle-final vowels such as *i* following coronal and velar stops or *o* following the glide *w*. Whether these vowels also carry semantic value is not immediately retrievable from the text examples. I therefore assume that the particles must end in a vowel, but this vowel is part of the lexical entry for that particle and not a separate morpheme.

Often, particles create aspectual meaning by indicating when an action takes place seen in (155). They also indicate possibility and persistence of a state such as in (156).

(155) Ni=ga ato angi nizo-gnagad ala nso-gnagad
then=FOC probably.PT soon.after.PT two-day.II or three-day.II
It was only two or three days after…

Masta 1932: 36

(156) taagata achi askwa wd=ai-n8.
even.PT also.PT still.PT 3=be.there.AI-N-N1PL
there are some even now.

Masta 1932: 21

Particles are often strung together one after the other before the verb. In (155) the particle *angi* seems to be aspectual because it designates the sequence of events-- one action taking place a few days after another. *ato* is employed to suggest potential or uncertainly. The particle *achi* in (156) is used often and seems very similar to the use of 'also' in English. *askwa* defines persistence of a state of being.

There is also an inflectional method of creating adverbs. The formative that performs this function is -*iwi*, which also occurs as -*wi* due to *Vowel Truncation* when it is affixed to a vowel-final stem. The use of adverbs seems very similar to the particles described above as (157) and (158) show.

(157) amanta waij-iwi wiji-hla-ma-8-n k=nonon.
would.that.PT always.ADV together-VS-VS-DIR-N 2=mother
may you be always with your mother."

Masta 1932: 36

(158) Tali ni s8gdahla Madobalodnitekw-ok
there.PT PRO.DEM.IN flows.out.II St.Maurice-LOC
It falls into the St-Maurice

pabom-iwi n8nni-nska kasta mail oji Mad8balodn-ik.
continue-ADV NUM.5-mult.ten so.many.times.II miles(IN) AP.from St.Lawrence-LOC
about 50 miiles from the St-Lawrence

Masta 1932: 26

The concepts created by adverbs are very similar to those of the particles. Why one is used instead of the other is not immediately obvious from the examples. The formative

-iwi can be seen attach to root *waij-* 'always' in (157). Another word that indicates an continuing action is *pabom-iwi* in (158). Both words occur before the element in the clause that they modify: the verb *wiji-hlama* 'be together with' in (157) and *mail* 'miles' in (158). Many more examples of *-iwi* inflected adverbs are available in Masta's texts.

6 -- Conclusion

This description of Abenaki Morphology pulls together many partial and disparate descriptions of Abenaki and locates them in one document. This will provide researchers with a consolidated source from which to start any future research. But there are still many issues that require additional attention. The function of the formative -*en* (N-Object Marker), for example, or the semantics of the Valence Specifiers. Beyond the morphology, the syntax is another topic that requires investigation. Given the available narratives, this seems like a feasible undertaking.

The interaction between phonology and morphology should also be looked at. There are, in addition to the 50 tapes located in Rauner Library that Day recorded, 50 more tapes recorded by him and 20 more recorded by Warne located in the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. Those produced by Warne are of especially good quality and should allow for phonetic analysis. She also goes through complete paradigms of verbs with her speakers. The speakers on the tapes were all residents of Odanak. A more tedious recording found in the Jones Media Center of Dartmouth College is Stephen Laurent reading Aubrey's dictionary from A to Z. He interjects with comments about the words and adds phrases here and there. The recording quality on many of these tapes is spotty at times. However, the are some portions that might be good enough to allow for phonetic analysis.

As a spoken language, Western Abenaki will soon be consigned to history. It remains, however, an important component in the heritage of the native America and should be documented and studied further so that future generations may know and appreciate it.

Appendices

Appendix A: Abbreviations

Verbal Inflections

AUX	Auxiliary verb
COM	Comitative
COMPL	Completative
COND	Conditional
CONT	Continuative
DEF	Definite Central Formative
INDF	Indefinite Central Formative
DIR	Direct marker
INV	Inverse Marker
LDIR	Local Direct (Second on First)
LINV	Local Inverse (First on Second)
IMP	Imperative
IPFV	Imperfective Aspect
JUS	Jussive
MANN	Manner in which something is done
N	N-Object Marker
NEG	Negative marker
NMLZ	Nominalization
NS	Null Subject
PASS	Passive
PRET	Preterit Tense
PREV.[action]	Preverb and its action
REFL	Reflexive
SBJV	Subjunctive mood
SUBR.xN.x	Subordinate verb form, Animacy, Person Agreement
SUBR.AG	Subordinating Prefix
TA	Transitive Animate
TI	Transitive Inanimate
AI	Animate Intransitive
II	Inanimate Intransitive

Nominal Inflections

AN	Animate
IN	Inanimate
DN	Inalienably possessed noun stem
ABS	Absentive
DIMIN	Diminutive
INTENS	Intensifier
OBV	Obviate
PROX	Proximate
POSS	Possessive marker
PL	Plural

Category markers

CO.	Coordinating conjunctions
c	Copulative (and)

d	Disjunctive (or)
ad	Adversative (but, however)
caus	Causal (for)
SBR	Subordinators
ADV	Adverb marker
AP	Adposition
DEM	Demonstrative
DIMIN	Diminutive
DISC	Discoursive
FOC	Focus
INTEROG	Interogative
NUM.	Number
PT	Particle
PRO	Pronoun
+	A word break that the author did not make but seems necessary
[]	Cominbes smaller text sections that constitute an author's break that should be considered a single word

Terminology Abbreviations

FDF	Fusional Definite Formatives
FIF	Fusional Indefinite Formatives
N-OM	N-Object Marker
VS	Valence Specifier
M-P	Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

Appendix B: Glossary

ABSOLUTE: See **OBJECTIVE**.

CONJUNCT ORDER: (See Goddard (1979a:52-53) for discussion of the Conjunct Order.) Using the term *Conjunct* suggests a polar contrast with a *disjunct*, although no such contrast exists in Abenaki or Algonquian. The person marking system of subordinate verbs does not show any variation or complementary distribution with the person marking of matrix verbs. A conjunct/disjunct system typically sets up a contrast between first persons and non-first persons in statements; in interrogative clauses the second person becomes the conjunct argument and the first and third person become disjunct (Curnow 2002: 613). The disjunct arguments become ambiguous unless otherwise specified with overt referents. Algonquianists use the term *Conjunct* to refer to verbs in subordinate clauses. The term Conjunct does not refer to the formatives that correspond to a specific person value, but rather to an entire paradigm of inflectional formatives. Subordinate clause verbs either have a full argument load or one of the arguments is located in the matrix clause. In either case, the verbal inflections will agree with the person value of the corresponding arguments of the verb. Thus no disjunct contrast exists. Therefore, I suggest changing this term to reflect a more general understanding of the grammatical process at work which is simply *subordination* of verbal clauses.

FINALS: Formatives that specify the transitivity of a verb stem. They may also specify the animacy of the Agent of intransitive verbs and the Patient of a transitive verb. I call these formatives *Valence Specifiers* (Section 3.2). See Bloomfield (1946: 104) and

Goddard (1967b: 66) for a description of the term *final* as it is used in Algonquian linguistics.

N-ENDINGS AND P-ENDINGS: Goddard (1967b: 68, 1974: 319) establishes two historical variants for the Central Formatives that he names *N-endings* (*Fusional Definite Formatives* and *N-OM*) and *P-endings*[15] (*Fusional Indefinite Formatives*). The *P-endings* derive historically from the *N-endings* by Goddard's analysis, although this is irrelevant for the current study. In Abenaki, transitive verbs inflected with *N-endings* now designate a definite object. *P-ending*-inflected verbs have indefinite objects. Goddard has two versions of the Proto-Algonquain *N-endings* that have cognates in modern Abenaki.

	Proto-Algonquian		Abenaki
P-Endings (short)			
1PL	*-pena	→	-bena
12	*-pena	→	-bena
2PL	*-pwa	→	-ba

Goddard 1967b: 69

N-Endings			
1. 1PL	*-enaan-	→	-na
12	*-enaw-	→	(no cognate)
2PL	*-waaw	→	-wɔ̃
3PL	*-waaw	→	-wɔ̃

Goddard 1967b: 68

2. SG	*-ən	→	-ən
1PL	*-əneenaan	→	-ən-ana
21	*-əneenaw	→	(no cognate)
N1PL	*-əneewaaw	→	-ən-ɔ̃

Goddard 1974: 319

The reflexes of the proto-forms are presented to the right of each instance. In Abenaki, the *-ən* of the *N-endings* in the second set (1974) can be neatly isolated and assigned a

[15] In his 1974 article, Goddard changes the *P-endings* to *Hm-endings* in light of new data from Delaware, but the Abenaki reflexes of these historic suffixes remain unchanged.

grammatical function of its own, (see N-Object Marker Section 3.6.2). The first set of *N-endings* (1967) occurs exclusively in the TA paradigm of Abenaki. The second set occurs after the *-ən* suffix in the TA, TI, and AI paradigms.

The 1967 and 1974 *N-ending* sets might be unified with two changes. There is the possibility that the presence of the nasal [n] has caused the deletion of the labial [w] from the non-first plural formative *-wɔ̃*: -ən-wɔ̃ → -ənɔ̃. Also, if a vowel *a* is epenthesized between *-ən* and *-na*→ *-ənana* then the first person plural formative would be *-na*. This unifies the 1967 and 1974 *N-ending* sets in Abenaki yielding *-na* for first person plural Central Participants and *-wɔ̃* for non-first peson plural Central Participants. Warne (1975) does not describe either vowel deletion after nasals or a vowel epenthesis rule, so I cannot be sure if this analysis is correct.

In order to make the function of these formatives more transparent, the *N-endings* shall be referred to in this study as *Fusional Definite Formatives* (FDF). They will refer to the 1967 set that correlate with TA paradigm Central Participant agreement inflection. The *P-endings* will be called *Fusional Indefinite Formatives* (FIF).

OBJECTIVE AND ABSOLUTE: Introduced by Goddard (1967b: 71) to explain the contrast he identified between his *P-ending* (*Fusional Indefinite Formatives*) set and *N-ending* (*Fusional Definite Formative*) sets. *Absolute* originally referred to a verb without a grammatical object and *objective* referred to a verb with a grammatical object. Later, Goddard reworked this distinction and associated definite objects with *objective* verbs and indefinite objects with *absolute* verbs (1974: 317-318).

ORDER: Algonquianists make a distinction between five *Orders*: the *Independent*, the *Interrogative*, the *Prohibitive*, the *Conjunct* and the *Imperative* (Bloomfield 1946: 97).

Each *Order* contains one or more *Modes* such as *Indicative mode* of the *Independent order*. These terms are meant to categorize verbs by their location in the syntax and the affixes that inflect them. The contrast set up by the categories *Independent Order* and *Conjunct Order* becomes one of *Matrix Clause Verbs* versus *Subordinate Clause Verbs* in this study. Abenaki does not have distinct morphology that could correspond to anything like an *Interrogative order* or *Prohibitive order*. The *Imperative Order* shall simply be referred to it as the *Imperative Mood*, thereby eschewing completely the use of the term *Order*.

SUBORDINATIVE: The term *Subordinative Mode* has been used to describe what in Abenaki seems to be *Subjunctive Mood,* valence-increasing suffixation (N-Object Markers), and motion-verb inflection (directional verbs). Subordinative verbs are inflected by the suffix *-ən*. Goddard 1983 provides a description of the *Subordinative Mode* as it applies to Unami Delaware and other Algonquian languages (see also Goddard 1967b: 80; 1974: 320). The term *subordinative* suggests a type of subordination, although in Abenaki at least, one does not find the *-n* suffix in subordinate verbs. Generally, usage of the term *subordinative* is replaced in this study with *N-Object Marker*. See Bruening (2001: 47) for the use of the *Subordinative* in Passamaquoddy.

THEMES: Algonguianists use the term *theme* to define the set of verbal formatives that reflect the relationship between a verb's arguments. This term does not succinctly capture the function of these formatives. A more exact term and the one that I shall use in this study is *Scenario Marker* as defined by Bickel and Nichols (*forthcoming*). The two types of Scenario Markers in Abenaki are the *direct* and *inverse* (see Section 3.3).

Appendix C: Phonological and Morphophonological Processes

Stress Rules

Abenaki follows a fairly simple stress pattern as described by Warne (1975). Stress is assigned initially to the ultimate syllable and then every other syllable from right to left. Stress assignment skips the vowel [ə] and falls on the next syllable to the left *even if* the nucleus of this syllable is also a schwa [ə]. So possible stress assignments might be cv́cvcv́, cv́cəcvcv́, and cə́ccəcvcv́. Figure C-1 provides examples of Abenaki word stress. Warne does not give examples of monosyllabic words, thus it cannot be determined if an Abenaki word has a minimum syllable count in order for that word to be stressed. The Agreement Clitics *nd*=, *kd*=, and *wd*= do not receive stress (64).

Figure C-1 -- Stress Assignment

1.	sikwán	spring
2.	kesossá	he walks quickly
3.	áwasɔ̃n	a piece of firewood
4.	awásɔ̃nál	firewood (pl.)
5.	nepétekwelc̓i	my fist
6.	ketemɔ̃́kippó	he eats poorly
7.	ntákkwamátamén ntép	I have a headache
8.	cipái	ghost
9.	c̓ipaiák	ghosts
10.	mskḱikkoisál	lawn
11.	kḱisikoák	they (an.) are ripe

(Warne 1975)

Syncope

The stress pattern of Abenaki causes an unstressed [ə] to be deleted. Examples are given in Figure C-2.

Figure C-2 -- Syncope

mácikǐsekát	→	mácikǐskát	'it is bad weather'
kǐsekól	→	kǐskól	'days
nótenemḿen	→	nótnemén	'I take it'
nepósicǐketaín	→	npósicǐktaín	'I jump over it'

(Warne 1975: 65)

Considerations of syncope are important because Day (1994) tends to list words in his dictionary phonologically, whereas the texts represent Abenaki words more or less phonetically. One must constantly assume that any sequence of consonants in Masta's texts might have an underlying schwa between them. Some examples from the text include:

Figure C-3 -- Syncope Examples from the Texts

Masta (1932)		Day (1994)	
kanwa	←→	ganewa	'but, however'
kisgadiwi	←→	gizegadiwi	'daytime'
psanbak	←→	besanebad	'it is full'

Morphophonemic processes identified by Warne (1976)

The seven following processes aid in the description of idiosyncratic changes to affixes that occur within specific affix combinations. These variations cannot be explained solely in terms of natural phonetic or phonological processes. The morphological environments motivate the variations in part or sometimes entirely.

Vowel Truncation- A process that applies to suffixes. The initial vowel of a suffix is deleted when it follows a vowel (6).

$$[\ +\text{syll}\ ] \rightarrow \quad \text{ø} \quad / \quad [\ +\text{syll}\ ] + \_\_\_$$

The only exception to *Vowel Truncation* that Warne cites is the negative formative *-wi* followed by Peripheral Formatives (1976: 17). In this case, the initial vowel of is not deleted. She gives the following example:

(159) nemeskaw8wiak
ne+mesk+aw+8+wi+ak
1=find-TA-DIR-NEG-PL
[I do not find them]

Warne 1976: 17

Instead of the expected form *nemeskaw8wik* we find the form cited by Warne where the vowel of the Peripheral Formative does not delete-- *nemeskaw8wiak*.

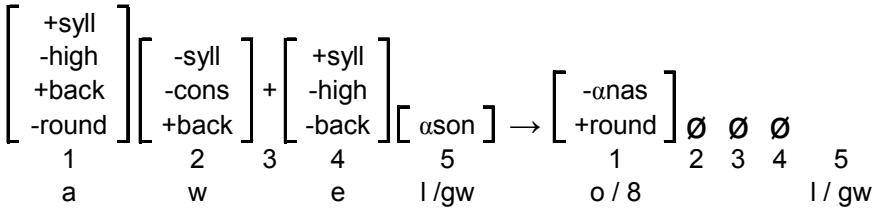
Final Glide Deletion- Deletes a suffix-final glide *w* after a vowel when the suffix is word-final (6).

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-syll} \\ \text{-cons} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \quad \text{ø} \quad / [\ +\text{syll}\ ] \_\_\_ \ \#$$

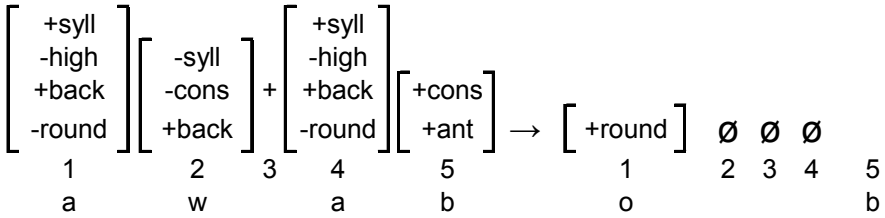
Vocalization- Changes a glide *w* to a vowel *o* when the glide becomes the nucleus of a syllable due to affixation (6).

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-cons} \\ \text{+back} \\ \text{+round} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\ +\text{syll}\ ] \ / \ [\ \text{-syll}\ ] \_\_\_ [\ \text{-syll}\ ]$$

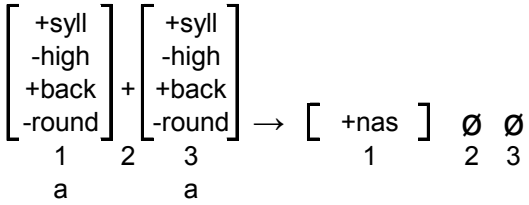
Coalescence of aw+e- The combination of *aw+e* results in a single vowel *o* (*aw+el* 'TA Valence Specifier + local inverse Scenario Marker) or *8* (*aw+egw* 'TA Valence Specifier + inverse Scenario Marker) (5).



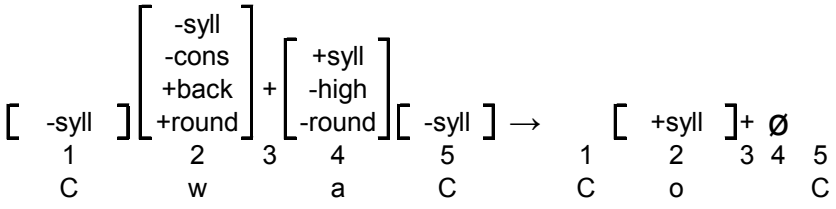
Coalescence of aw+a- Similar to the *Coalescence of aw+e* rule. This process produces the preterit *-ob* from the combination *aw+ab(ani)* 'a suffix final *aw* sequence + preterit formative' (10).



Coalescence of a+a- Proto-Algonquian long **a:* became nasalized *ɔ̃* (*8*) in Abenaki. Warne speculates that this rule must still be productive to some extent in present day Abenaki because it still applies in some instances such as *-ba+ab(ani)* 'second person Fusional Indefinite Formative + preterit formative', yielding *b8b*.



Coalescence of wV- Another *w* coalescence that explains why the plural Peripheral Formative *-ak* occasionally surfaces as *-ok* (6).



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