

A P A S S A M A Q U O D D Y - M A L I S E E T D I C T I O N A R Y

Peskotomuhkati Wolastoqewi Latuwewakon

A P A S S A M A Q U O D D Y - M A L I S E E T D I C T I O N A R Y

Peskotomuhkati Wolastoqewi Latuwewakon

by David A. Francis and Robert M. Leavitt

Margaret Apt, Community Research Coordinator

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Origins of the Dictionary

A contemporary dictionary of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet was begun by linguist Philip S. LeSourd during the 1970s and prepared at that time in manuscript form by the bilingual education program at Indian Township, Maine, under the direction of Wayne A. Newell. LeSourd's collection of about 3000 words was later edited and modestly expanded by David A. Francis (a fluent, first-language Passamaquoddy speaker) and Robert M. Leavitt and published under the title *Kolusuwakonol* [*Words*]. There are a few other, smaller word collections, the most substantial being that of Laszlo Szabó (1981), the others dating from the 1800s. There are also a number of linguistic descriptions of the language based on recent research (see Bibliography).

Since 1984 Francis and Leavitt have continued expanding the dictionary collection. Their work was assisted in the late 1990s by the receipt of two successive National Science Foundation grants, allowing significant work on the database. They, together with community research coordinator Margaret Apt (also a fluent, first-language Passamaquoddy speaker), have created and edited the present collection for publication. Approximately 16,500 of the more than 18,000 entries in this volume may also be found online.

Authors' Acknowledgements

First and foremost we wish to thank Margaret (Dolly) Apt, of Sipayik, the community research coordinator for the dictionary project since 1996. Margaret maintained and expanded the dictionary database of words and example sentences. Thanks to her expertise in working with elders, the dictionary is broad in scope and linguistically rich. Margaret's contribution is best described in her own words.

I was reared in the ways of our people, and helping with the dictionary was a once in a lifetime opportunity to learn. When I went out into the community and spoke with elders, explaining what I was doing, their response was tremendous. At both Indian Township and Pleasant Point I had the honor of sitting with elders and learning, through storytelling, about the richness of our history and culture, the traditions, the hardships, the beliefs, and the language, especially the language.

I spent the first few years just visiting people and interviewing them, looking for words that weren't already in the database. An elder, Joan Barnes, transcribed and translated most of the interviews. As I added new words, I also put in sentences from the interviews to show how they are used.

It was also my responsibility to bring together the editorial committee, which consisted of elders, to review our work. This learning experience gave me the ability to work more effectively, so that we could create a dictionary to be shared by all who want to learn the language.

During the whole process of visiting and interviewing people for this project, the people who spoke the language always had a positive outlook and helpful suggestions. It was encouraging to find so many who were willing to help. They would come in to see me and give me words they thought we might not have — always with a story. I am forever indebted to these people.

We wish to thank Wayne A. Newell, director of the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program at Indian Township in the 1970s, who continues to teach and advance the language in the school there today. His vision resulted in the creation of this dictionary. We are grateful to him for his support and encouragement and for the many contributions he has made to the dictionary compilation, reflecting his eloquence in both Passamaquoddy and English and his deep native speaker's knowledge of the language. It is with his permission that we incorporate the entries from the first version of the dictionary, prepared under his direction.

Philip S. LeSourd began the dictionary research at Indian Township in 1976. For more than thirty years, he has been generous with his time, expertise, and encouragement in every phase of the dictionary project. It is with his permission that we incorporate in this volume words and examples from the entries published in *Kolusuwakonol* (1984). In the late 1990s LeSourd also provided the dictionary project with a pre-publication draft of his transcription of the stories in *Tales from Maliseet Country* (2007), and permission to add to the dictionary entries example sentences from this draft (see the list of storytellers below). Users will find in the published version of these tales the most extensive and readable Maliseet-language texts available to date, rich in the inventiveness of oral tradition, with English translations on facing pages and markings indicating the stress and pitch contours of the Maliseet. They are a testimony to Philip S. LeSourd's thorough knowledge of the language.

The late Karl V. Teeter, of Harvard University, developed the first writing system for Maliseet based on linguistic principles. With respect for their knowledge and appreciation of their linguistic genius, he recorded the Maliseet storytellers of the 1960s. We thank him for his invaluable insights into the language, and for his support of the work done in Maine in the 1970s. He granted permission to Wayne A. Newell to modify and use the writing system for teaching.

The late Kenneth Hale, of MIT, worked throughout his career to teach native speakers linguistics so that they might study their own languages. We are grateful for his work with his former student Wayne A. Newell and the staff of the bilingual program at Indian Township, including the authors. Kenneth Hale's influence transformed the local study of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet into a challenging and rigorous undertaking.

The late Lloyd Leland, of New Brunswick, generously made available to the dictionary project his large collection of Maliseet words, including many plant names. He interviewed a number of Maliseet and Passamaquoddy elders in the 1970s, principally John Sacobie, of Oromocto, whose knowledge enhances many dictionary entries.

Donald G. Soctomah, currently the Passamaquoddy tribal representative to the Maine State Legislature, generously shared his compilation of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet place names, based on his work with elders at Pleasant Point and Indian Township.

Passamaquoddy and Maliseet Speakers: The men and women who worked with Margaret Apt, including those whose contributions come from recordings and writings, and from the memories of contemporary speakers, are listed below. The initials shown are those used in the dictionary entries to indicate the source of example sentences. The symbol † marks those contributors who have passed away. The authors have made every effort to acknowledge the source of the example sentences in the dictionary entries, where possible.

Passamaquoddy Contributors at Pleasant Point

Frances Allen (FA) †
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Frank Atwin †
Joan Barnes (JB)
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Roseanne Clark (RC)
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Mae Perley (MP)

John Sacobie † (recorded by Lloyd Leland †) (JS/LL)
Christine Saulis (CS) †
(see also *Tales from Maliseet Country*, below)

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John P. Homan

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Roger Paul
Mary Yarmal

Maliseet and Passamaquoddy Contributors to *Kolusuwakonol*. These speakers contributed to the dictionary in the 1970s and were acknowledged as a group in the 1984 publication, rather than by name in individual entries; the symbol * indicates those who also contributed to the present dictionary or to *Tales from Maliseet Country*.

Veronica Atwin †	Anna Harnois †
Audrey Cote	Estelle Neptune
*Albert Dana †	*Wayne A. Newell
Charles Dana †	*Joseph A. Nicholas †
Colleen Dana	*Peter Lewis Paul †
Philomene Dana †	*Clara Polches
Vickey Dana	George Sockabasin
*David A. Francis	*Mary Ellen Stevens (Socobasin) †
Lorraine Gabriel	Eleanor Socoby
Peter Gabriel	Aloysius Sopiél
Simon Gabriel †	Beverly Sopiél
Albert Harnois †	Maxine Tomah

Contributors to *Tales from Maliseet Country* (recorded in 1963). All excerpts from these tales are identified in the entries using the attribution MT, for “Maliseet Tales.” The sentences in dictionary entries were taken from an early pre-publication draft and reviewed by David A. Francis. Consequently they may differ from those found in the published edition (2007). Any errors or omissions are the dictionary authors’ responsibility. The Maliseet storytellers recorded by Karl V. Teeter were the following.

Charles Laporte †	Alexander Sacobie †
Lawrence Paul †	Mathilda Sappier †
Peter Lewis Paul †	William Saulis †
Solomon Polchies †	Madeline Tomah †

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Passamaquoddy storybooks published by the bilingual education program at Indian Township in the 1970s are the source of contributions from several of the Passamaquoddy contributors listed above. Mary Ellen Stevens (Socobasin) collected, recorded, and transcribed these stories.

The New Brunswick Maliseet Language Committee’s *Nihtawewest: I Know How to Speak*, a Maliseet-Passamaquoddy language curriculum guide, contained a number of stories retold from oral tradition. It is the source of sentences from stories told by Christine Saulis, the first teacher of Maliseet in a New Brunswick provincial school, starting in 1975.

Harold R. Hinds' book *Flora of New Brunswick* (second edition) served as a resource for checking plant names. Language consultants to Hinds were Mary Mitchell (Maliseet, Tobique) and David A. Francis (Pleasant Point).

Karen Schaumann, of Eastern Michigan University, generously shared her notes from interviews conducted with David A. Francis in the course of writing his biography.

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Technical Support

Stephen Sloan, at the University of New Brunswick libraries, converted the original dictionary database insightfully and ingeniously so that it could be formatted for publication. He also designs and maintains the dictionary website in the university's Electronic Text Centre. Without his expert assistance, the dictionary would not have its present form.

Bill Howard, working for the Passamaquoddy Tribe at Pleasant Point, provided technical assistance with the dictionary database.

Material Support for the Dictionary Project

The National Science Foundation, in the United States, made two substantial awards to the authors in support of dictionary research. NSF awards 9601540 and 0001949 funded project research between 1996 and 2003, making possible the broad involvement of the Passamaquoddy community and the creation of the database and dictionary website. A third NSF award, 0553791 (2006-2009), under the direction of Ben Levine, has supported the audio-visual documentation of Passamaquoddy through the filming of speakers in conversation; this project has enhanced the dictionary with new words and sentences.

The Passamaquoddy Tribe at Pleasant Point supplemented the first two NSF awards, generously providing personnel and financial and technical support for the project from 1996 to 2006. In particular, the tribe's Waponahki Museum and Resource Center served as the research center for the project.

The Mi'kmaq-Maliseet Institute at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton offered in-kind and personnel support for the dictionary project from 1982 to 2008.

The New Brunswick Department of Intergovernmental and Aboriginal Affairs made a grant in 1997 in support of the dictionary project.

The Indian Township School generously offered meeting space and personnel time for dictionary project meetings in the community there.

The St. Croix International Waterway Commission, in St. Stephen, NB, lent the project a laptop computer. Lee Sochasky, executive director of the Commission, and Meg Scheid, U.S. National Park ranger at the St. Croix Island Historic Site, in Red Beach, Maine, made this loan possible.

FOREWORD

When I was a young boy growing up at Sipayik, everyone in the community spoke Passamaquoddy as their first language. I can even recall people who did not understand English, who used translators when they talked to state bureaucrats about their needs. Since then I have also heard stories from Indian Township of little girls translating between elders and the priest at confession. This kind of language interaction was so very common that I took it for granted that the language would never change. I also thought that everyone in the world spoke Passamaquoddy. People spoke Passamaquoddy fluently because our communities were isolated; and that had always been the key to the next generation's learning the language.

Things, however, started to transition in the early 1950s. The communities at Sipayik and Indian Township started to become more open to outside influences. These included television, telephones and other technologies. The economy of the time forced many Passamaquoddy families to move away from the reservations to distant cities. While these families never totally severed their ties to the communities, the influence of their move on their youngsters laid a linguistic foundation for the years ahead. This outward migration also produced a very sharp rise in intermarriage.

The schools on the reservations began to expand with newer facilities and began to focus on children's achievement in English language arts. While past teaching practices had emphasized this, the fact that children did so poorly in achievement testing produced undue pressure for students to do well. A consequence of this was that the Passamaquoddy language became the villain in explaining why children did so poorly in English. The communities' poverty and perceived lack of economic and social achievement also contributed to the misunderstanding of the Passamaquoddy language and culture. It would be fair to say that even our own schools took up this mantra: If the children weren't speaking Passamaquoddy, there wouldn't be a problem.

In the late 1960s the Maine Department of Education, along with the state's Native communities, formed a taskforce to study Indian education in the state of Maine. This advisory group eventually recommended that inclusion rather than exclusion of Passamaquoddy language and cultural pedagogy would do more to improve achievement in English. Needless to say, this was bold thinking for its time. The recommendation was greatly influenced by the fact that half the advisory group was composed of representatives of the Wabanaki tribes in the state. The new vision saw the possibility of both the preservation of Passamaquoddy and advancement in English achievement.

When I became actively involved in Maine Indian Education in the early 1970s, one of my deep concerns was preservation of the language. I observed children at Indian Township speaking fluent Passamaquoddy in kindergarten, but by the end of the decade the children had only limited understanding and always responded in English. Use of the language had declined more rapidly than I had believed possible. The local school system at Indian Township began developing curriculum that utilized the language in school, community, and church activities, such as Passamaquoddy language instruction in the classroom, adult Passamaquoddy literacy classes, and a Passion play. I began to formulate long term goals: What would help future generations continue learning and speaking the language?

I realized that a comprehensive dictionary should and could be developed to help in the long-term process of enhancement and revitalization. The present dictionary is a vision shared by the many people who have labored on the project over the years. I should note that at the outset, the work was more technologically challenging than today, and the project owes much to the invention of the computer. Technology has also aided in other areas, such as the development of interactive CDs, database storage and access, and video recording. All of these tools make it possible for future Passamaquoddy and Maliseet scholars to continue the work.

A mark of consistency in this collective effort has been the work done by David A. Francis and Robert M. Leavitt. They have served as the coordinators and networkers for essential resource people, both Passamaquoddy and Maliseet, to make this a collaborative effort of Native speakers, many of whom have since passed on. David's and Robert's reliance on an editorial committee of first-language speakers attests to their commitment to the authenticity of this work. Their persistence in expanding the early, shorter version of the dictionary brings us to this major work, which will outlive all of us.

For nearly half a century many individuals, including myself, have been committed to making sure that the next generation has the tools and methodology essential to their own creativity in future endeavors. This dictionary stands as the centerpiece of our commitment.

— Wayne A. Newell
Director of Native Language and Cultural Services
Indian Township School, Maine
June 2008

P R E F A C E

The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary is long overdue! It is an essential publication required for the revival, maintenance, and preservation of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet language. In fact, the dictionary is critical at this time because linguists have reported that our language is in danger of extinction. Passamaquoddy and Maliseet leaders, Elders, language teachers, and linguists agree that Passamaquoddy-Maliseet language may not survive if we do not take immediate steps to reverse language loss. This publication fulfills one of the steps required for language revival and maintenance.

We commend the authors, David Francis and Robert Leavitt, for the commitment, dedication, and perseverance they have demonstrated over the years and ensuring that the dictionary would be available for future generations. David Francis is a highly respected Passamaquoddy Elder who has dedicated his life to the revival, maintenance, and preservation of our ancestral language. Robert Leavitt is a linguist who is held in high esteem by his colleagues as well as Passamaquoddy and Maliseet community members. We sincerely appreciate the authors' efforts in reversing Passamaquoddy-Maliseet language loss and assisting others who have embarked on the path to strengthening our ancestral language.

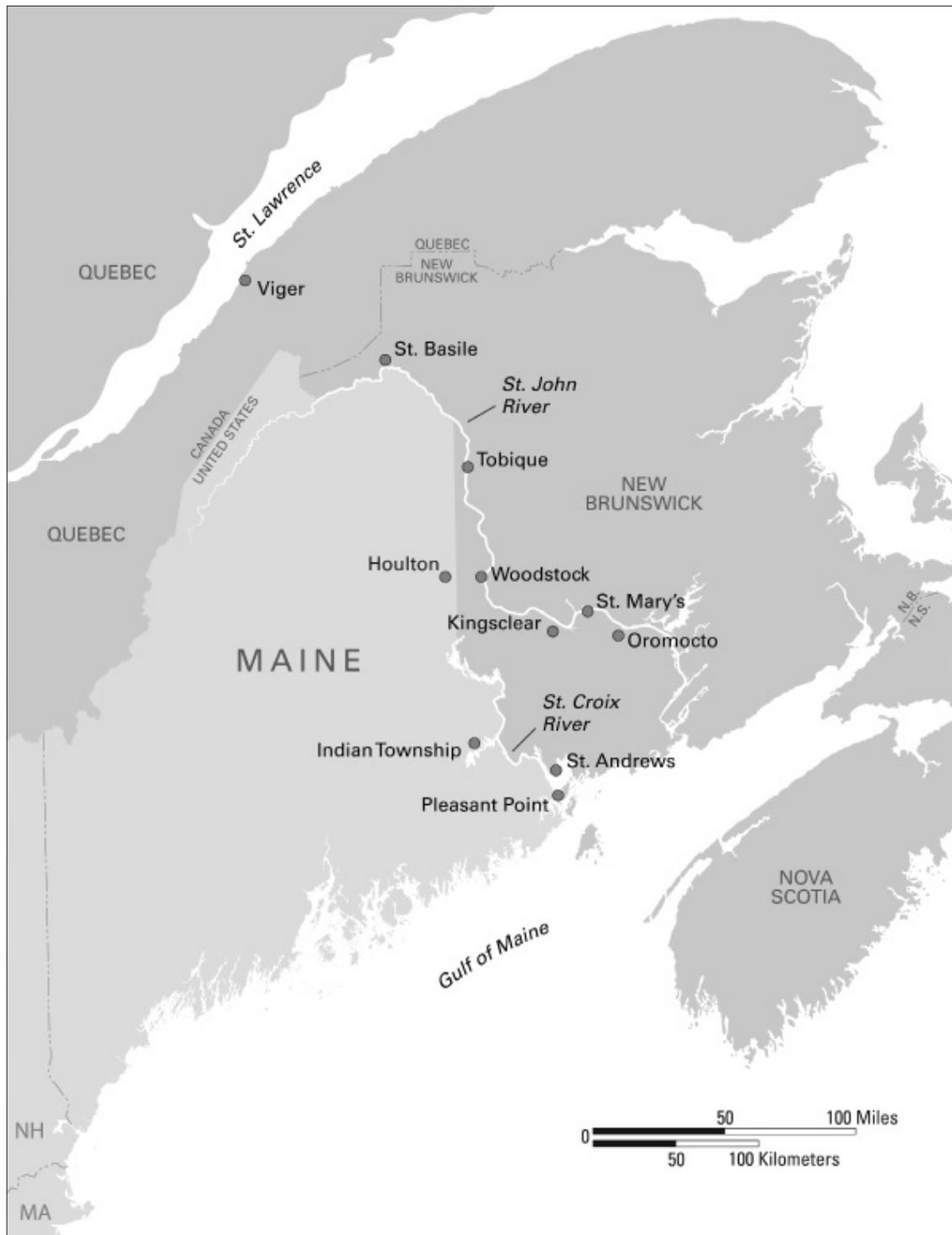
In our view, the dictionary represents a Sacred Bundle containing ancestral teachings, values, beliefs, and worldviews. The dictionary also symbolizes a "language bank" complete with savings, investments and assets for present and future generations. It is our good fortune to witness the gift of generosity from Elder David Francis for his time, language expertise and pure love of his and our treasure, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet language! We continue to be blessed in observing the genius of our esteemed friend and colleague Robert Leavitt for his vision to shield our treasure from extinction. We are forever grateful for their collaboration and their labor of love for the language. Elder David Francis and Robert Leavitt have truly honored the oral tradition by ensuring its continued existence within the written word. Their masterpiece has just saved another language from extinction. All we need now are the carriers of the language!

Woliwon, Tepit naka Lapot!

— Imelda and David Perley
Tobique, New Brunswick
June 2008

A PASSAMAQUODDY-MALISEET DICTIONARY

Peskotomuhkati Wolastoqewi Latuwewakon



CONTEMPORARY PASSAMAQUODDY AND MALISEET COMMUNITIES

The three Passamaquoddy communities are located on the St. Croix River and nearby seacoast; Maliseet communities lie along the St. John River and at Houlton and Viger.

Kulankeyutomoniya latuwewakon, kwinpasultiniya ktokehkimaniya macekulticik, ktopi-tahatomoniya elihc-ona nekomaw cuwi-ihitit. Take good care of the language, make an effort to teach the next generation, think about how they too will need to have it.

– Joseph A. Nicholas, Passamaquoddy Elder

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Passamaquoddy and Maliseet have lived in the region which now includes eastern Maine (United States) and western New Brunswick (Canada) for thousands of years. Among the first Native peoples to have contact with European voyagers to North America, the Passamaquoddy greeted Samuel de Champlain at the mouth of the St. Croix River in 1604. Passamaquoddy territory embraced the watershed of this river, which today forms the easternmost segment of the U.S.-Canadian border. Maliseet territory consisted of the adjacent St. John River watershed, to the east, and extended northward into present-day Quebec. The two peoples' names for themselves indicate their origins in these territories: the Passamaquoddy are *peskotomuhkatiyik* 'people who spear pollock,' a fish abundant in coastal waters; the Maliseet are *wolastoqewiyik* 'people of the St. John River.' Today there are Passamaquoddy and Maliseet communities on both sides of the border. Although they share a common language, the two peoples are distinct political entities.

The Passamaquoddy and Maliseet had close relations with the early colonists and were among the first Native peoples converted to Roman Catholicism by French missionaries. Despite the early, devastating effects of European diseases on their populations — *lahpihkut* 'smallpox' is a word of Acadian French origin, from *la picote noire* — the people of both tribes continued to live throughout the region and were instrumental in helping the earliest European settlers adapt to the local environment. Often, though, they found themselves caught between the competing economic and political interests of the French and English. Though most of the armed conflicts between colonists and Indians took place to the west of their territories, in the mid 1700s the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet did become directly involved in a number of clashes with the English. During the Revolutionary War, in which both peoples sided with the Americans, the Maliseet confronted the English in 1777 on the St. John River, in New Brunswick. Later that same year, the Passamaquoddy, with help from the Maliseet, repelled an attack at Machias, Maine.

During colonial times, the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet, together with the Mi'kmaq, Penobscot, and Abenaki, formed the Wabanaki Confederacy to counter aggression from European colonists and the Iroquois. While the exact dates of its origin are unknown, the Confederacy lasted into the 1860s. Its main achievement appears to have been maintaining peace with the Iroquois, particularly the Mohawks, who in oral history are still spoken of as the traditional enemies of the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet. The protocols of the Confederacy were first written down from Passamaquoddy oral tradition by Lewis Mitchell, the tribe's representative to the Maine legislature, in the 1880s. In his *Wampum Records*,¹ he tells how peace was maintained and offers insight into the traditional

governance of the Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and other nations of the Confederacy. According to Mitchell, for example, the nations helped choose one another's chiefs by sending delegates to a village when the chief there had died. Though their languages were closely related, they would have relied on bilingual or multilingual interpreters in these deliberations.

The remoteness of the region allowed the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet to keep control over most of their territory until after the French and Indian War, 1754-1763, when the English began to expand settlement in the area. By the late 1700s, Massachusetts was administering Passamaquoddy lands; these fell under the jurisdiction of Maine when it gained separate statehood in 1820. Final determination of the border between Maine and New Brunswick, with the signing of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842, divided both Passamaquoddy and Maliseet territory between the United States and Canada.

In Maine, the state continued to run Passamaquoddy affairs, generally without consulting the leaders or members of the tribe, although from 1842 on the tribe had a non-voting representative in the state legislature to express its concerns, and the two state-created reservations elected their own governors and tribal leaders according to the terms of a state statute. Maine was the last state to grant voting rights to reservation Indians, in 1954.² The Passamaquoddy continued under state jurisdiction until they gained federal recognition during the land claim negotiations of the late 1970s. The tribe claimed that the states of Massachusetts and Maine had taken Passamaquoddy lands illegally: the Indian Nonintercourse Act of 1790, still in effect today, stipulates that Indian lands may be acquired only with the consent of the United States Congress. After several court decisions that favored the Passamaquoddy, the claim was settled out of court in 1980.

In Canada, the Maliseet were under the jurisdiction of the colony of New Brunswick until (after Confederation, in 1867) the Indian Act of 1876 placed them, like all other First Nations peoples, under the jurisdiction of the Canadian federal government. The government's policy was one of assimilation. In an attempt to solve what he famously called "the Indian problem," Duncan Campbell Scott, minister of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932, put forward legislation making it mandatory for all Native children to attend residential schools, where they might become "civilized." The residential schools had destructive, long-lasting effects on the children who attended them (not all did) and on their families. Speaking Maliseet was severely punished, and survivors of the schools see this as a major factor in the loss of their language.

From the colonial period onward, the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet were beset by poverty, discrimination, and isolation. Despite increasing pressure to assimilate, the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet kept their communities largely intact on the small parcels of their original territories "reserved" for them by the U.S. and Canadian governments. Like many rural people of the late 1800s and early 1900s they worked hard to keep family and community together. Wood-harvesting, guiding, trapping, making and selling baskets, and construction work supplemented subsistence activities like hunting and fishing.

David A. Francis's account of his experience is typical of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet men and women born in the first half of the 1900s (see narrative on the following page). When he finished the eighth grade at Pleasant Point, he still rarely spoke English. He relied on his ability to read and write in his second language in order to graduate from the high school in Eastport, in 1935. It was only when he joined the U.S. Army in World War II that his English finally became fluent.

Nisokehs Nkisokehkims

Pihce nit tuciw, nit etolokehkimkiyek,
ma nkiseltomakuwonewin ntuwehkanen
ntolatuwewakonon; cuwi ikolisomanatuwewey. Nil
kahk-ote nit tehpu nehtawihitom, skicinuwey.
Ntiyalayawolotipon qocomok, iyey, recessuwimok;
psi-te wen skicinuwatuwe. Kenuk elomikotokil
ahaci-te ikolisomanuwey ksehe; ntuwehkanen,
nkisuwehkanen.

Malom-ote kisi-tutkom yut skicinuwi-
kehkiketuwakon. On neke ntepepin ihik
'somakonossuwihkuk. On ntahcuwi-te tan
eli-kisi-nonom ikolisomanatuwewakon, 'sami
ma nostakew ntolatuwewakon wehkiyan.
Motuweyu. Anqoc ma nihtawihitomuwon
keqsey, ikolisomanuwey wehkiyan. Nit nit
weci-mace-nonom ikolisomanuwey qeni ihik
etolihtonoltimok, ihik 'somakonossuwihkuk. 'Sami
ma kiseltomakuwon ktuwehkan kil ktolatuwewakon
skicinuwey. Ktahcuwi-ikolisomanatu, 'sami psi-
te wen ikolisomanatuwe. Niktok-ona kotokik,
piluwatuwulticik, ma kiseltomuawon wen
'tuwehkan. Skicinuwok tehpu. Polecomonok kotama;
kisewestuwamtultuwok nekomaw. Skicinuwok cuwi
ikolisomanuwey.

Peskuwok-ona eci-koti-nutomuhtit skicinuwey,
peskotomuhkatuwey. Ntoli-skicinuwatu,
nuskicinuwokehkimak. On ntikolisomanokehkimen,
iyey, elewestu. Nil komac... , psi-te npiyemi-
skicinuwatu katok ntikolisomanatuwan. Anqoc
kahk keqsey, awonehe nmace-skicinuwi-kolulak
yukk sergeants. — “What’s that?” — “Oh, that’s my
own language.” — “What is it? Say it! Say it!” On
solahkiw 'koti-nonomoniya.

Apaciyayan nunitahasin ntolatuwewakon.
Motuweyu weskinuwatuwi: “Keq yut liwihtasu?”
Kenoq nulehtun yut, 'sami toqi-te ntuwehkanol toke.

I Learned My Language Twice

Long ago when we were in school they didn’t let us
use our language; it had to be English. But all I knew
was Passamaquoddy. We played outside at recess and
everyone spoke it. But as the years went on, English
came in; we used it — we could use it.

Finally I got through the school in the community
[and high school]. Then I went into the Army. And
I had to learn English any way I could, because
they didn’t understand my language when I used
it. It was hard. Sometimes I didn’t know how to say
something if I used English. That’s why I started to
learn English during the war, in the Army. Because
they didn’t let you use your Native language. You
had to speak English, because everyone spoke it. The
others, those who spoke different languages, weren’t
allowed to use them; that is, Native people only. Not
French speakers; they had one another to talk to.
Native people had to use English.

Some of the non-Natives really wanted to hear
Passamaquoddy. I’d be speaking it, teaching them
in the language. And I’d get taught in English,
learning how to speak it. I really could speak
more Passamaquoddy than English in everything.
Sometimes I’d say something in my language instead;
I’d start speaking it to the sergeants. “What’s that?”
“Oh, that’s my own language.” “What is it? Say it!
Say it!” And suddenly they’d want to know it.

When I came back I had forgotten my language.
It was hard to speak Passamaquoddy: “What is this
thing called?” But I got it back, because now I use
both.

– David A. Francis

Following World War II things began slowly to change, and by the 1950s the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet communities were less isolated. Many ex-servicemen went to work in Boston, Hartford, and other large cities. Family members followed. Employment, marriage, and schooling took people to nearby Maine and New Brunswick communities. Those who moved away returned frequently to visit family and friends at Pleasant Point and Indian Township, Tobique and St. Mary’s, but they now spoke largely in English. Teachers encouraged parents to use English with their children. Even for those who stayed, the language of the community had shifted.

In the 1960s and 1970s the struggles for civil rights and the assertion of cultural identity by minority groups across North America inspired the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet communities to empower themselves. Through conversations with elders and from the study of historical documents, the younger generations learned details of their legal and political relations with the federal governments. Native scholars framed their own accounts of history, adopting a Passamaquoddy or Maliseet perspective. In Maine this research led to the land claim settlement, mentioned above, and to federal recognition of the Houlton Band of Maliseets. In New Brunswick, Sandra Lovelace, a Maliseet from Tobique, successfully challenged, in the United Nations, the Canadian law that denied Indian status to a Native woman who married a non-Native man. The UN held this to be in violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and Canada subsequently changed the law.

This period also saw the growing presence of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet men and women in the broader society, where they are now represented among teachers and professors, judges and cabinet ministers, doctors and attorneys, corporate executives and technology experts, archeologists, artists, writers, and musicians. Their work has expanded public knowledge of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet cultures and has influenced education, health care, and the arts beyond the Native communities.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, when community leaders first recognized the endangered state of the language, they have taken an increasingly assertive stance with government authorities in setting education policy. Educators have moved toward more traditional models of education, establishing school-based programs to keep the language alive and maintain cultural knowledge. Outside the schools, spiritual leaders have reintroduced Passamaquoddy and Maliseet spirituality, teaching ancient beliefs and rituals such as fasting, sweat-lodge ceremonies, and smudging (spiritual cleansing) with the smoke of sweetgrass and other plants. Oral and written literature, art and music — also revived in the 1960s and 1970s — are vital parts of every community’s cultural life today.

All these aspects of culture are deeply embedded in the language of their origin and gather richness from the study of that language. The reclaiming of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet identity, therefore, has produced a renewed commitment to maintaining the language as a key to Passamaquoddy and Maliseet culture.

2 . L A N G U A G E A N D C U L T U R E

When Passamaquoddy-Maliseet speakers say, as they often do, that the language makes them feel “connected with the environment,” or “closer to the land,” they are not romanticizing or idealizing a bygone era, but instead referring to deep cultural understandings rooted in the language. For them, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is a communication system responsive to the immediate social and physical circumstances in which they find themselves. Native Passamaquoddy speaker Margaret Apt’s description of the language as “a unique mindset, in which I feel completely at home,” acknowledges on a very deep level how a people’s cultural history and sense of collective identity are embedded in the words and constructions of their native tongue.

This mindset is distinguished by characteristic ways of structuring words and narratives that suggest a more participatory, interactive relationship with the speaker’s surroundings than do their

English equivalents. We see this in language expressing concepts as fundamental as space, the environment, and relationship itself.

Speakers conceptualize physical space, at whatever scale, in reference to their personal point of view at the moment, that is, in relative terms, not using indicators such as fixed landmarks or latitude and longitude, whose values are independent of human presence. A spatial referent, for example, may be expressed as extending toward or away from the speaker (*ckuwarwtihiw* ‘on the road toward here,’ *elomaskutek* ‘away over the field’) or indicate whether or not an object or event can be seen by the speaker (*sakhahte* ‘it extends into view,’ *akuwahte* ‘it is situated out of sight’). Space is active; the perception of the directionality of movement, extension, and orientation gives the surrounding space its structure. In English, for example, a *field* is usually thought of as a delimited area of open land located in a particular place: a thing, a noun. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet the notion of field is conveyed by a verb root (*-askute-*). The verb indicates how land “fields,” how an open area lies and extends; *field* is experienced as a dynamic phenomenon rather than as a static object. Literal translations of *weckuwaskutek* ‘where it fields toward here’ and *elomaskutek* ‘where it fields away’ suggest the distinctiveness of this way of perceiving. Because all aspects of the physical environment are so constructed, it is unnatural to speak of one’s surroundings as separate from the human being experiencing them; people are integral to the world in which they live.

Other verbs further illustrate the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet speaker’s personal sense of space. *Cicokawse* ‘s/he walks toward land’ and *milawuhse* ‘s/he walks out into the water’ refer to the sun and describe the changing location of sunrise as the days lengthen and shorten, respectively. The initial roots of these verbs (*cicoka* ‘ashore’ and *milawi* ‘offshore’) are two of a large number of spatial determiners used by speakers to indicate their immediate relationship with the environment, in this case as they stand on the south-facing seacoast of Maine or New Brunswick. Many other initial roots have meanings dependent upon the speaker’s or subject’s location, as *wesuwe* ‘going back,’ *api* ‘back from having gone elsewhere,’ and *sakhi* ‘coming into view.’ These initial roots, in combination with the vast number of medial and final roots, make the number of potential “whole” verbs almost limitless and allow accomplished native speakers to convey an extraordinary range of distinctions in expressing their interdependent relationship with the environment.

In like manner, personal space and power are shared by all people, whatever their particular roles. Personal identity is also dynamic, determined by and depending upon shifting relations both with the natural world, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs, and with family and community. This participatory mindset is especially evident in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet oral tradition, which tells in large part how the people came to be who they are today, and how they came to have their present relationship with the natural world.

Creation stories, for example, tell how Koluskap (Glooscap), the “culture hero” of the Wabanaki peoples, made the world habitable for human beings and taught them their place in it. In one of these stories, Koluskap must tame the wind, in the person of Wocawson, a giant white bird, who is making life difficult for the people with an unremitting gale. Koluskap goes to see Wocawson, addresses him as Grandfather, and entreats him to flap his wings less violently. But Wocawson refuses, and Koluskap must exert his power. He ties the bird up so that he cannot move his wings at all. When this proves equally disastrous — no wind is as bad for the natural world as is too much — Koluskap goes back to the north and unties one of the bird’s wings, restoring harmony. In the

story, the wind's name, *Wocawson*, is not a noun, but a verb meaning 'it is windy.' Likewise, the other elements — such as rain, snow, sunshine, cold, heat — are also expressed as verbs, continuing actions or processes rather than independent things or forces, allowing speakers the possibility of interacting with them and affecting them, as *Koluskap* did.

Just as elements of the environment are defined, not as abstract categorical designations, but in reference to the speaker, so is this characteristic perspective reflected in the language of personal relationships. All kinship terms, for example, are “dependent” nouns and occur only as grammatically possessed forms — *nikuwoss* ‘my mother,’ *kmuhsumsuwak* ‘your grandfathers.’ In speakers’ minds these and similar relationships (including ‘friend,’ ‘sweetheart,’ ‘godchild’) are only personal. To speak of them in the abstract requires an indirect expression, such as *wemihtaqsit* ‘one who has a father,’ the word used to translate ‘the Son’ in reciting the Sign of the Cross (see the entry for *niyalic*).

An intimate connection with the world is so important in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet thought that two grammatical features of the language, “absentative” and “dubitative” forms, are called into use when a speaker is not fully connected to his or her environment. The absentative indicates that the speaker is talking about a person or object that no longer exists or whose whereabouts are unknown. It marks the names of people who are no longer living. When David A. Francis says, *Sepsaw-ona nit ’topin* ‘the late Sepsa [Joseph] was sitting there, too’ (see *’kolonikonol*), his use of the absentative form *Sepsaw* shows that he is separated in both time and space from Joseph.

When speakers cannot use personal knowledge to explain an observation or occurrence, they may use a “dubitative” verb form, which indicates doubt. In *possaq-al kmoskeyiness* ‘I guess you must have been sorry’ (see *moskeyin*), the dubitative ending *-ess* shows that the speaker is making a supposition; the particle *possaq-al*, another indicator of doubt, introduces the inference (see also the entry for *alhi*). Hundreds of example sentences in the dictionary contain another particle, *yaq* ‘reportedly,’ that indicates the speaker’s indirect knowledge. The dubitative also expresses the surprise or bewilderment that results from lack of first-hand knowledge: *nit nit eliwisuwiks?* ‘is that what it’s called?’ (see *liwisuwiw*).

Speakers’ use of dependent, absentative, and dubitative forms underscores the personal nature of their connections with the environment and society in which they live. The very nature of the world depends upon speakers’ personal participation and whether their knowledge is direct and certain or based on inference. It is not difficult, then, to imagine how profoundly the shift to using English — even apart from social, spiritual, political, and economic changes — has affected the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet world.

As European colonists settled in the region, the borrowing of French and English words expanded Passamaquoddy-Maliseet vocabulary but did not change the structure of the language or its ways of conceptualizing society and the environment. Only in relatively recent times, for example, has *wocawson* ‘it is windy’ come to be thought of as a noun meaning ‘wind,’ as in English.

The great number of loan-words from French date to the earliest colonial period. Many of these have to do with the church (*muhsilepehk* ‘bishop,’ from monsieur l’évêque), trade (*malsan* ‘shopkeeper,’ from marchand), European-style garments (*mahtolet* ‘blouse,’ from mantelet), and new household items (*maltuhsis* ‘hammer,’ from marteau; *puhtay* ‘bottle,’ from bouteille). The French introduced card-playing: the names of the suits (*piks* ‘spade,’ from pique; *kalus* ‘diamond,’ from

carreau) and words like ‘card’ and ‘trump’ come from French. They also taught people to use new kinds of watercraft (*patus* ‘bateau’). As noted earlier, *lahpiklut* ‘smallpox’ is from a French word.

Most enduring have been the French saints’ names with which priests baptized early converts and their descendants; many of these eventually became surnames that are still known today, including Sappier (St.-Pierre), Tomah (Thomas), Sockabasin (Jacques-Vincent), Lola (Laurent), Atwin (Antoine), Sabattus (Jean-Baptiste), and Mitchell (Michel).

Since later colonial times, the language has also acquired numerous loan-words from English. These include the names of farm animals (*osip* ‘sheep’; *piks* ‘pig’), foods (*ponanas* ‘banana’), devices (*payosihkol* ‘bicycle’), and other commonly used words and phrases (*keckuluwuw* ‘s/he catches cold’). For many of these there are also Passamaquoddy-Maliseet equivalents (a bicycle is also *lipokomasut* or *pomipokomut* ‘something that glides along’), demonstrating the flexibility of the language in adapting to new usage.

The language has developed its own internally based vocabulary by applying existing Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words to activities adopted from Euro-American and Euro-Canadian culture, in particular baseball, card-playing (see for example *mocone* ‘s/he holds a bad hand’), and military service (*nutuwole* ‘infantry soldier,’ literally, someone who carries a load). Such words reveal the importance of these activities to the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet communities. At the local level, specialized terms have developed appropriate to individual communities. For example, at Pleasant Point, a circus train used to pass through each year on the rail line to Eastport. Observing that circus people appear to do things in a haphazard and ad hoc fashion, speakers coined a set of humorous words combining the loan-word *sahkoss* with Passamaquoddy verbs, for example, *sahkossuwi-ekhucuwole* ‘s/he hangs clothes to dry over things every which way and without clothespins.’

Baseball in particular inspired linguistic inventiveness. Of the more than 120 baseball terms in the dictionary (see chart on the following page), only five are English loan-words, and three of these have Passamaquoddy-Maliseet equivalents. The language hid a team’s strategy from English-speaking opponents and put players on a friendly footing in their games in other Passamaquoddy-Maliseet communities. Native teams traveled throughout the region from the late 1800s to the mid 1900s, competing in league play against one another and against rivals from as far away as Bangor and Fort Fairfield, Saint John and Grand Manan.

The art of basketmaking also has its own extensive vocabulary. For hundreds of years, Passamaquoddy and Maliseet artists have woven baskets from splints of black ash wood (*wikp*). They make them in many forms, from delicate, fancily decorated sewing and handkerchief baskets to sturdy, utilitarian baskets for agriculture and the fishery. Each type of basket requires distinct types of equipment, materials, weaving methods, and decoration. Highly specific terminology describes basketmaking procedures, the many types of splints and tools, and the decorative techniques. The making of specialty baskets for sale introduced a few English loan-words, such as *haystins* ‘hoisting basket,’ and *camsis* ‘charm basket,’ a thimble-sized basket developed for the tourist trade.

The church has been an important center of community life since the colonial period. From the earliest times, hymns and prayers were translated into Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. In 1857 the Jesuit priest Eugene Vetromile compiled these, along with Penobscot, Abenaki, and Mi’kmaq translations, in his *Indian Good Book*. Tribal members attended Friday services during Lent

conducted by speakers at the churches in the communities. Men and women sang hymns and recited the rosary and other prayers in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. They used Vetromile's book as a source (see *mehqanokahtek*). A few older speakers still recite the prayers, and benedictions like the Sign of the Cross.³ Today, an ancient burial hymn is still sung at wakes and graveside ceremonies, and prayers and readings in the Native language are part of the mass in many communities.

Cipiyatkuhkan

Wenemanit-te, Wemihtaqsit-te,
Weci-woli-niwesqit. Niyalic.

The Sign of the Cross

In the name of the Father, the Son,
and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

As late as the 1960s and early 1970s, the sound of the language permeated the communities and all the places where people worked and traveled together. Today's speakers, though fewer in number, still retain Passamaquoddy-Maliseet ways of thinking and talking. The few-hundred men and women who speak the language fluently today have struggled to maintain it against powerful social and political forces of linguistic assimilation. The knowledge they retain and their ways of understanding the world inspire the deeply motivated efforts of the younger generations to reclaim and revive the language.

This dictionary is a scholarly tool that will aid in those efforts. Its contents express the living culture of the Passamaquoddy and Maliseet peoples. The words themselves, and the example sentences in the entries offer insights into Passamaquoddy-Maliseet thought. They demonstrate clearly and in great detail not only the profound loss that the death of a language brings but also the remarkable benefits of reclaiming that language and keeping it alive.

3 . ABBREVIATIONS USED AND BRIEF PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Abbreviations: The abbreviation *s/he* ('he or she') is used throughout the dictionary to translate the third person singular pronoun *nekom*, which is not sex-specific. Likewise, *h/* is used for 'him/her' and 'his/her.' Note that *s/he* and *h/* also stand for *any grammatically animate noun*, whether or not it may be called 'he' or 'she' in English (e.g., *epeskomakon* 'ball,' *kisuh* 'sun,' *kuwes* 'white pine'). For a complete list of abbreviations, see section 11 (page 46).

Pronunciation: The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet standard writing system uses 17 letters and an apostrophe to represent the sounds of the language. The brief summary here is intended to help the reader with the examples in the following sections. A more detailed description of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet sounds is found in section 9 (page 38).

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

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

The remaining consonants are *c* (*char-jar*), *k* (*kale-gale*), *p* (*pat-bat*), *q* (*quaver-guava*), *s* (*sip-zip*), and *t* (*toe-doe*). These consonants have the first, “hard” (aspirated or tense) sound when next to any other consonant, or when preceded by an apostrophe (’); otherwise they have the second sound. Note the sounds of *p* and *c* in the following words: *apc* (*ahpch*, ‘again, next’); *peciye* (BEH-jee-yeh, ‘s/he arrives’); *pihce* (BEE-cheh, ‘far away’); *sihpac* (ZEE-pahj, ‘pail’), *kpihtin* (KPEE-teen, ‘your hand’). The exception to this pattern is that when one of these consonants follows the personal prefix *n-* ‘I, we, my, our’ it has the second sound — *npihtin* (NBEE-teen, ‘my hand’). Compare *npisun* (NPEE-zoon, ‘medicine’) in which the *n-* is not a prefix, and consequently the sound of the *p* is “hard.”

Apostrophe is written only at the beginning of a word and only before *c*, *k*, *p*, *q*, *s*, and *t* when one of these precedes a vowel. The apostrophe represents a consonant which is no longer pronounced, but which leaves the aspiration or tenseness of the following consonant as evidence that it once was there. Thus *’pihtin* (PEE-teen, ‘h/ hand’), in which the apostrophe represents the “missing” third person prefix *w-* (*wpihtin*). Other examples of words with apostrophe are *’tomaki* (t’-MAH-gee, ‘poor’; from *ktomaki*), and *’sosahq* (s’-ZAHKW, ‘horsefly’; from *psosahq*).

4 . FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES OF PASSAMAQUODDY-MALISEET : WHAT DICTIONARY USERS SHOULD KNOW

In order to use the dictionary efficiently, it is important that users know something about the structure of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words, how words change as they are used, and the common elements found in related words. This brief sketch of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is a practical guide to finding words in the dictionary and understanding the contents of dictionary entries.

For linguistic analysis of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet and more detailed information about the grammar and the sound-patterns of the language (syntax and phonology), users may wish to consult the works listed in the bibliography, especially those by Bruening (2001), Leavitt (1996), LeSourd (1993a-b), Ng (2002), Sherwood (1986), Teeter (1971), and Teeter and LeSourd (2007).

Nouns and Verbs Incorporate Many Meanings

As in other languages, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet nouns and verbs are independent words. A significant feature of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is that nouns and pronouns may also be “incorporated into” verbs and so do not always appear as separate words in a sentence. For example, in *kinalokosse* ‘s/he has big ears,’ the noun ‘ear’ is a root (*-alokoss-*) within the verb, which also contains a root meaning ‘big’ (*kin-*) and an ending which means ‘s/he’ (*-e*). Another example is *posonutehke* ‘s/he makes baskets,’ a verb derived from the noun *posonut* ‘basket.’ In this way, a sentence in English is sometimes expressed as a single word in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. Similarly, a noun, such as *wolitahasuwakon* ‘happiness,’ may be derived from a verb, in this case *wolitahasu* ‘s/he is happy.’

This incorporating property of the language is also reflected in the fact that the language does not have the adjective among its parts of speech. Almost all English adjectives have equivalents in verb and noun roots, like the *kin-* (‘big’) in *kinalokosse*, above, or the root *wap-* ‘white’ in *wapatpe* ‘s/he has white hair.’

Different types of roots (initial, medial, final) are used in combination to form nouns and verbs, which are then inflected with various prefixes and endings. These prefixes and endings indicate person (I, you, s/he, etc.), number (singular, dual, plural), tense (present, past), mode (Indicative, Imperative, etc.), and whether the verb is positive or negative. For example, the long but not unusual word *ksakolahqiskipepisossultiipa* ‘you little ones have your scarves on tightly’ comprises the following roots and inflections (simplified here).

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

There is no root meaning ‘scarf’ in this word; instead, ‘scarf’ is implied by ‘neck’ and ‘wrap.’ If the body-part classifier were changed to *-ikona-* ‘leg,’ then the meaning of the whole word would change from ‘scarves’ to, perhaps, ‘leg-warmers.’ Many such roots, particularly initials like *kin-*, *wap-*, and *sakol-*, can be discovered by browsing the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet or English side of the dictionary and comparing adjacent words.

The words at the head of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet dictionary entries are given in as simple a form as possible; that is, they have minimal prefixes and endings. Only the singular forms of nouns and certain singular forms of some verbs occur in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet without any prefix or ending. *Sakom* ‘chief’ is a typical noun, composed of a single root, with inflected forms such as *sakomak* ‘chiefs’ or *ksakomam* ‘your chief.’ Noun entries in the dictionary use the singular form whenever possible. Since Passamaquoddy-Maliseet verbs have no uninflected form or infinitive (such as ‘eat’ or ‘to eat’), an inflected form (normally a third-person singular form, such as *mitsu* ‘s/he eats’) is used for the dictionary entry.

Nouns and Verbs Are Animate or Inanimate

A second significant characteristic of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is that all nouns and pronouns are grammatically either *animate* or *inanimate* in gender. As in the case of “masculine” and “feminine” in other languages, gender is a property of the *word* and not of the thing to which the word refers. For example, it is the noun *possesom* that is animate, not the physical ‘star’ which it denotes.

Since it does not always correspond to the natural animateness or inanimateness of the object referred to, the gender of a noun may be difficult for learners to predict. There are, however, a few rules of thumb. Abstract nouns, those which do not refer to something concrete, are almost always inanimate: ‘prayer,’ ‘knowledge,’ ‘the past,’ ‘happiness,’ ‘footstep’ are examples. Exceptions include *kuwyakon* ‘period of sleep’ and a loan-word from English, *mayel* ‘mile,’ which are animate.

All nouns denoting people (‘boy,’ ‘nurse,’ ‘Susan’) are animate, as are all those denoting animals and trees (‘deer,’ ‘spider,’ ‘birch,’ ‘fir’). There are a few other categories of predictably animate nouns, including those denoting containers used for liquid (‘pail,’ ‘bathtub,’ ‘cup,’ ‘spoon,’ ‘pen,’ etc.),

playing cards, bread-like foods, and types of shoes. Some plants, fruits, and vegetables are animate, but not all. The same is true for articles of clothing. Some parts of the body are animate, but not necessarily those one might expect: ‘fingernail’ and ‘knee’ are animate, but ‘heart’ and ‘tongue’ are inanimate. Many other nouns, such as ‘rope,’ ‘fallen snow,’ ‘moon,’ ‘milk,’ and ‘rope,’ are animate.

A few nouns have different meanings according to their gender: *opos* ‘stick’ (inanimate), *opos* ‘tree’ (animate). Also, there may be differences among speakers. For example, for Maliseet speakers *sukolis* ‘candy’ is animate (speakers may think of it in the same way they think of *pokuwis* ‘chewing gum,’ another animate noun), while in Passamaquoddy *sukolis* is inanimate (as is *sukol* ‘sugar,’ the noun from which it is derived).

The distinction between animate and inanimate is all-pervasive in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, as in the other Algonquian languages. Animate and inanimate nouns have different sets of endings. Most important, verbs themselves differ according to the genders of the nouns they are used with; *nomihtun opos* ‘I see the stick (inanimate),’ but *nomiya opos* ‘I see the tree (animate).’

First Person, Second Person, Third Person, Fourth Person

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet makes certain distinctions with regard to grammatical person that are different from those made in European languages. The two meanings of the English word ‘we’ are expressed by separate pronouns, while a single pronoun is used for both ‘he’ and ‘she.’ The personal pronouns are shown below. Note the difference in meaning between *nilun* and *kilun*.

<i>Person</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Pronoun</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1 st	1	<i>nil</i>	‘I’ — ‘me’ — ‘my’ — ‘mine’
2 nd	2	<i>kil</i>	‘you’ — ‘your’ — ‘yours’ (singular)
3 rd	3	<i>nekom</i>	‘s/he (he/she)’ — ‘h/ (him/her; his/her)’ — ‘his/hers’
1 st plural	13	<i>nilun</i>	‘we (s/he & I, they & I)’ — ‘us’ — ‘our’ — ‘ours’
1 st plural	12	<i>kilun</i>	‘we’ (you & I, you & <i>nilun</i>) — ‘us’ — ‘our’ — ‘ours’
2 nd plural	22	<i>kiluwaw</i>	‘you’ — ‘your’ — ‘yours’ (plural)
3 rd plural	33	<i>nekomaw</i>	‘they’ — ‘them’ — ‘their’ — ‘theirs’

“*Fourth*” person: Another characteristic of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is that animate nouns and pronouns (except the personal pronouns listed above) are marked in sentences as either “proximate” (*i.e.*, nearby) or “obviative” (distanced). These categories distinguish grammatically between what is the focus of attention and what is more remote from consideration. Because proximate and obviative are distinct categories, the obviative is sometimes referred to as the “fourth person”; in the dictionary the code “4” is used for obviative singular, and “44” for obviative dual or plural.

<i>Person</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Translations</i>
obviative singular	4	<i>’tusol; skitapiyil</i>	h/ daughter; man (obviative)
obviative plural	44	<i>’tus; skitapiyi</i>	h/ daughters; men (obviative)

Use of the obviative: If two *animate* nouns have the same function in a sentence — ‘Mary and Peter will be there’; ‘I saw a dog *or* a wolf’; ‘She broke the cup *and* the bowl’ — then normally both will be proximate or both will be obviative. Otherwise, when two *animate* nouns or pronouns occur in the same clause, one of them will be proximate (the focus of attention) and the other will be obviative. There are two common situations in which the obviative is used: when one *animate* noun (or third-person pronoun) is the subject of a verb and the other is the object, and when an *animate* noun is possessed by (belongs to) ‘him,’ ‘her,’ or ‘them.’

Obviative direct object: Note the differences in the following two sentences using the word *wasis* ‘child.’ In *nil nkoseloma wasis* ‘I love the child,’ *wasis* is proximate because it is the only third person noun. In *Mali ’koselomal wasisol* ‘Mary loves the child,’ the subject is third person (*Mali*), so the animate direct object is obviative in form (*wasisol*).

Obviative possessed form: In English, in order to show possession, speakers change the word referring to the *possessor*: *Mary* becomes *Mary’s*, *boys* becomes *boys’*, *you* becomes *your*, and *I* becomes *my*. By contrast, in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet it is the word referring to the one *possessed* which is modified: *tomhikon* ‘ax’; *ntomhikon* ‘my ax,’ *ktomhikon* ‘your ax,’ *’tomhikon* ‘h/ ax.’

When one *animate* noun “belongs” to another — that is, to ‘him,’ ‘her,’ or ‘them’ — it must be obviative in form, since the possessor and the possessed cannot both occupy the same grammatical space. In *nil ntemis* ‘my dog’ and *kil ktemis* ‘your dog,’ both *ntemis* and *ktemis* are proximate. In *Piyel ’temisol* ‘Peter’s dog,’ *’temisol* is obviative. Some nouns, like *’temisol*, occur only in possessed forms (a different word, *olomuss*, means ‘a dog’). Such nouns are called “dependent nouns,” and, if they are animate, their entries in the dictionary use an obviative form of the word. Other examples are *’qossol* ‘h/ son’ and *wokosiyil* ‘h/ fingernail.’ Inanimate dependent nouns include *’tul* ‘h/ boat’ and *woniyakon* ‘h/ head.’

Personal Prefixes Mark Verb and Noun Forms

As can be seen in the preceding examples, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet nouns and verbs may be marked with information about first person, second person, third person, and obviative. In the words for ‘ax’ and ‘dog,’ the personal prefix *n-*, *k-*, or apostrophe (’) identifies the possessor of the noun. Another form of the third-person prefix is *w-*. Certain verb forms also use these same prefixes (see the noun charts and verb conjugation charts).

In most cases, when a personal prefix precedes a vowel, a *t* is inserted: *apotuhun* ‘cane’; *ntapotuhun* ‘my cane.’⁴

<i>Pronoun</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Personal Prefix</i>	<i>Prefix before Vowel</i>
<i>nil</i>	‘I’	<i>n-</i>	<i>nt-</i>
<i>kil</i>	‘you’	<i>k-</i>	<i>kt-</i>
<i>nekom</i>	‘he/she’	’ or <i>w-</i>	’ <i>t-</i> (<i>wt-</i>)
<i>nilun</i>	‘we’ (s/he & I, they & I)	<i>n-</i>	<i>nt-</i>
<i>kilun</i>	‘we’ (you & I, you & <i>nilun</i>)	<i>k-</i>	<i>kt-</i>
<i>kiluwaw</i>	‘you’	<i>k-</i>	<i>kt-</i>
<i>nekomaw</i>	‘they’	’ or <i>w-</i>	’ <i>t-</i> (<i>wt-</i>)

Dictionary entries for dependent nouns (those which occur only in possessed forms) use a third person prefix. In addition, nearly all verb entries are third-person forms, and many of these use a personal prefix. The following chart shows how words with a third-person prefix are listed alphabetically in the dictionary.

<i>Prefix</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Alphabetization</i>
'-	' <i>calokoss</i> 'h/ ear' ' <i>katun</i> 's/he hides it' ' <i>peskhal</i> 's/he shoots h/' ' <i>tokotomon</i> 's/he hits it' (<i>moskomon</i> 's/he finds it') (<i>nokkahtun</i> 's/he eats it all')	Personal prefix '-' (apostrophe) is written only before <i>c, k, p, q, s, t</i> . The prefix is not written before the other consonants. All these entries are alphabetized by their first letter. This apostrophe stands for a <i>w-</i> that was formerly pronounced but is now used by only a few speakers.
't-	' <i>t-ahsomal</i> 's/he feeds h/' ' <i>t-iyal</i> 's/he tells h/' ' <i>t-olamhok</i> 'h/ stomach'	In most cases, <i>t</i> is inserted after a personal prefix when the noun or verb begins with a vowel. These entries are alphabetized by the letter following the <i>t</i> .
<i>w-</i>	<i>wikuwossol</i> 'h/ mother' <i>wiloss</i> 'h/ navel' <i>wipitine</i> 's/he has toothache'	In dictionary entries, personal prefix <i>w-</i> appears only in dependent-noun entries and in verbs derived from dependent nouns. These entries are alphabetized in the <i>W</i> section.
<i>wt-</i>		(Not used in dictionary entries, because few if any speakers use this pronunciation today.)

The apostrophe is not written before *h, m, n, or w*, because it does not affect these sounds; nevertheless, the “presence” of a personal prefix (in this case, *w-* that is no longer pronounced) is shown by the shape of the verb stem — as in *moskomon* 's/he finds it' or *nokkahtun* 's/he eats it all,' which use the “prefixed” stem (see sections 6 and 7 for discussion of these verbs). Personal prefixes do not occur before *l* or *y*.

In summary, if a noun or verb entry does not use a personal prefix, or if it begins with apostrophe or *w-*, then it is alphabetized according to its first letter: '*sakolopitun* follows *sakolopite*, *witapiyil* follows *witapehtuwok*.

If the entry form begins with the personal prefix *'t-*, then this prefix is ignored when alphabetizing the word, and the entry will be located according to the *next* letter (*a, e, i, o, or u*). In this way, the word appears in the section of the dictionary where it belongs, according to its “real” first letter. For example, '*t-apenkatomon* 's/he pays for it' is found near *apenke* 's/he pays,' in the *A* section of the dictionary. In the entry word, the prefix *'t-* is separated by a hyphen to show that the letter *t* is not part of the verb itself; this hyphen is not used elsewhere in the entry. Verbs which begin with a “real” *t*, like '*tahqonal* 's/he arrests h/,' are alphabetized in the *T* section.

Preverbs and Prenouns Add Meaning to Verbs and Nouns

Finally, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is characterized by the way in which it adds initial roots to the beginning of a word to modify its meaning. These correspond to English adjectives, adverbs, auxiliary verbs, and prepositional phrases. Preverbs and preouns, which are based on initial roots,

are “semi-independent” words used in the same way. A few examples are listed below; in each case the preverb form is listed first, with the initial root shown in parentheses (*koti* occurs in preverb form only).

<i>wapi</i> (from the root <i>wap-</i>)	‘white’
<i>kakawi</i> (<i>kakaw-</i>)	‘quickly’
<i>olomi</i> (<i>olom-</i>)	‘away’
<i>kotuwī</i> (<i>kotuw-</i>), <i>koti</i>	‘is going to; wants to’
<i>pili</i> (<i>pil-</i>)	‘new’
<i>ckuwi</i> (<i>ckuw-</i> , <i>ckuh-</i>)	‘toward here’
<i>sisse</i> (<i>sissiy-</i>)	‘in all directions, scattering’

Preverbs are “semi-independent” in the sense that, although they form part of a verb, another word may come between the preverb and the rest of the verb. Even so, the preverb remains part of the verb as a whole: personal prefixes and other changes made to the beginning of a verb are applied to the preverb. In *’koti yaq pahtoliyas sukonopalal* ‘the priest, they say, is going to baptize her,’ the words *yaq* ‘reportedly’ and *pahtoliyas* ‘priest’ interrupt the verb *’koti-sukonopalal* ‘s/he is going to baptize h/’; the personal prefix (apostrophe) is at the beginning of the verb. Only the preverb or prenoun form of an initial can be separated in this way.

In spelling a word, a hyphen is used between a preverb or prenoun and the rest of the word, as in *kotuwī-macehe* ‘s/he is going to leave’ or *pili-kisuhs* ‘new moon.’ When an initial is an integral part of a word, as in *kotuwihpu* ‘s/he is going to eat’ or *pilikuwam* ‘new house,’ then no hyphen is used; here, no word can be inserted between the initial root and the rest of the word.

In the dictionary, a large number of entries begin with a preverb. In many cases the “basic” verb, the form without an initial, has its own entry. *Suku* ‘s/he paddles’ is the “basic” verb in entries like *ksoka-suku*, *peci-suku*, and *pomi-suku*.

Some verbs, however, like *kotuwihpu* ‘s/he is going to eat,’ consist of an initial used with a final that cannot stand on its own. For such verbs, the “basic” form is found in the entry which uses the preverb (initial) *oli* (*ol-*) or *li* (*l-*), which means ‘thus’ or ‘there’ (see the entry *oli*). This serves in one sense as a “default” or “general” preverb (initial), in that it often adds no meaning to the translation of the verb; *olotokku* can mean ‘s/he jumps thus’ but also simply ‘s/he jumps.’ In verb entries beginning with the *ol-* and *l-* forms of this initial, the verb final is listed as stem 3. For example, in the entry for *litpiye* ‘it happens thus,’ the final is shown as *-tpiya-*; this is used with other initials to form words like *kisitpiye* ‘it can happen,’ *sesolahkitpiye* ‘it happens suddenly,’ and *tetpitpiye* ‘it happens concurrently.’

Most preverbs and pre-nouns are listed as dictionary entries; users will discover other initials by comparing words that begin alike and share elements of meaning.

5. PASSAMAQUODDY-MALISEET PARTS OF SPEECH

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has words of five types: (1) *nouns*, including personal names, place names, and verb participles used as nouns; (2) *pronouns*, including personal, demonstrative, and

interrogative forms and a “hesitation” pronoun; (3) *verbs*, which are transitive or intransitive, and animate or inanimate; (4) *particles*, the only category of uninflected words in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, including cardinal numbers, conjunctions, and various types of adverbs; and finally (5) *preverbs* and *prenouns*, which “attach” to the beginning of a noun or verb stem to form a new stem.

Nouns

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

Ordinary nouns: Ordinary nouns are animate or inanimate in gender. They have plural, possessed, locative, and diminutive forms (as allowed by the meaning); and many have absentative forms used to indicate, for example, that a person is deceased or that his or her whereabouts is unknown; or that an object is destroyed or missing. Animate nouns also have obviative forms and may have vocative forms (used in direct address; see, for example, the entries for *muhsunsol*, *uhkomossol*, *wasis*, *wikuwossol*). The various forms are shown on pages 638–639.

A subcategory of ordinary nouns is “dependent nouns.” As mentioned above, these are nouns which occur only in possessed form, that is, they must “belong to” someone. Virtually all body parts and kinship terms are dependent nouns. If speakers wish to say something about “a tooth” or “a son,” they will normally say “someone’s tooth” or “someone’s son,” or find an apt verb form to convey the meaning. A few dependent nouns have corresponding, different non-dependent nouns. For example, *psuwis* ‘cat’ corresponds to the dependent noun *’posumol* ‘h/ cat’, *wikuwam* ‘house’ corresponds to *wik* ‘h/ house’; note that *psuwis* and *wikuwam* do not have possessed forms.

Participles: Many nouns are actually verb participles, which are Changed Conjunct forms of transitive or intransitive verbs. Both animate and inanimate participle forms are used as nouns. The following examples are animate.

<i>nutokehkikemit</i> ‘teacher’	literally, ‘one who teaches’
<i>etolokehkimacil</i> ‘h/ pupil’	literally, ‘one whom s/he teaches’
<i>nuci-tqonket</i> ‘police officer’	literally, ‘one who arrests’
<i>ekhucossit</i> ‘uvula’	literally, ‘little one that hangs’
<i>kelonosk</i> ‘your godparent’	literally, ‘one who holds you (<i>ki</i>)’
<i>nisuwiyek</i> ‘my spouse’	literally, ‘one with whom I am a pair’

Most speakers think of these participles as ordinary nouns and add prefixes and endings accordingly, creating forms such as *nkelonosk* ‘my godparent’ (but literally, ‘my one who holds you’) instead of *kelonit* ‘one who holds me,’ which would seem more logical but is not used; or *knisuwiyek* ‘your spouse’ (literally, ‘your one with whom I am a pair’), which is used in place of *nisuwiyeq* ‘one with whom you are a pair.’ Speakers do, however, say *nisuwihcicil* ‘h/ spouse’ (literally, ‘one with whom s/he is a pair’), and *kelonihcil* ‘h/ godparent’ (literally, ‘one [obviative] who holds h/ [proximate]’).

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

<i>siptokehtasik</i> ‘accordion’	literally, ‘one that is stretched’
<i>metessik</i> ‘coins, change’	literally, ‘one that is heard moving’

<i>pesqahsuwehsok</i> ‘flower’	literally, ‘one that blooms’
<i>Pasitamkiyak</i> ‘in Passadumkeag’	literally, ‘where water flows over sand or gravel’
<i>possiyantehsok</i> ‘window’	literally, ‘where light strikes and shines through’
<i>pemsokhasik</i> ‘on the floor’	literally, ‘along where it is covered with boards’
<i>pemskutek</i> ‘in the field’	literally, ‘along where it is a field’

Participles with locative meanings, like the last two examples above, have in many cases been reanalyzed by speakers as ordinary nouns with a locative ending (inanimate participles and locative nouns both end in *-k*). In this way an ordinary noun, *pemsokhas* ‘floor’ has been derived from *pemsokhasik*, as has *pemskut* ‘field,’ from *pemskutek*, by removing the supposed locative ending (*-ik* or *-ek*). There is also a locative form *possiyanteskik* ‘in the window,’ in which *possiyantehsok* has been given the locative ending *-ik*. Even though the original participle already conveys the literal meaning ‘in the window,’ it is not used in that way. It appears that speakers no longer think of these nouns as the verb-forms that they are.

Pronouns

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns; the last two types have both animate and inanimate forms. The word *kotok* ‘other’ is also a pronoun. One of the most interesting pronouns is a hesitator or filler, which in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet is inflected to match the anticipated noun. The seven personal pronouns have already been discussed (see section 4).

Demonstrative Pronouns: Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has three demonstrative pronouns, each with paired animate and inanimate forms. These are, respectively, *wot* and *yut* ‘this, near me the speaker’; *not* and *nit* ‘that, near you the listener’; and *yat* and *yet* ‘yonder, away from you and me but within sight.’ The meaning of each of the three pronouns varies within a range according to the context. The pronouns *not* and *nit* can also be used with reference to someone or something whose exact location is unimportant, or which cannot be seen by either the speaker or the listener, or which is imaginary or is spoken of in the past or future, as in a story or plan. Also, *not* sometimes means ‘she’ or ‘he,’ *nit* can mean ‘it,’ and the plurals are equivalent to ‘they.’ For the forms of these pronouns see the respective entries. Absentative forms of these pronouns are listed separately; for example, see *wakat*, *yeket*.

Other pronouns include two interrogatives, animate and inanimate: *wen* ‘who; someone,’ and *keq* or *keqsey* ‘what; something.’

Finally, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has a “hesitator” pronoun, used much like the filler *uh...* or *er...* in English. This pronoun, *iyey*, is inflected to match the anticipated noun: *nkisewestuwama*, *iyey*, *Mali* ‘I spoke to, uh, Mary’; *kisewestuwamal*, *ihil*, *Maliwol* ‘he spoke to, uh, Mary’ (obviative); *nkisi-puna ntahtuwossomut*, *ihik*, *tuwihputik* ‘I put my cup on the, uh, table’ (locative).

<i>iyey</i>	before singular nouns (except obviative)
<i>ihil</i> , <i>iyol</i>	before inanimate plural nouns and obviative singular nouns
<i>ihik</i> , <i>iyok</i>	before locative nouns and animate plural nouns (except obviative)
<i>ihi</i>	before obviative plural nouns

The hesitator *iyey* is also used before verbs, but in this case it is not inflected.

Verbs

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet verbs are classified according to the final root in their stems, which marks them as transitive or intransitive. Each of these categories is further divided according to the grammatical gender of the subject (intransitive verbs) or direct object (transitive verbs). Some verbs take both a direct and an indirect object. The types of verbs are described briefly in the following sections.

Transitive and intransitive, animate and inanimate: In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, intransitive and transitive verbs have different types of stems. Consider the following pair of sentences.

Piyel tolihpu. ‘Peter is eating’ (*intransitive*).
Piyel ’totolomal opanol. ‘Peter is eating the bread’ (*transitive*).

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

maceku ‘s/he starts to grow’
macekon ‘it starts to grow’

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

Transitive verbs are also differentiated according to gender.

macekonal ‘s/he grows h/’ (*e.g.*, apple, strawberry)
macekonomon ‘s/he grows it’ (*e.g.*, corn)

In this pair, the first verb has an *animate* direct object, indicated by ‘h/’ (‘him or her’); the second verb’s direct object is *inanimate*, ‘it.’ These verbs are called *transitive animate (ta)* and *transitive inanimate (ti)*, respectively. Since the subject of a transitive verb is always animate, these terms refer to the gender of the direct object.

When a transitive verb has an inanimate subject — for example, ‘the rock hit me’ — an “inverse” form of the *ta* verb (see the conjugation charts) must be used: *ponapsq ntokomokun*. In a sentence like ‘the rock hit the car,’ in which both the subject and the direct object are inanimate, a transitive verb cannot be used; a speaker might use an intransitive verb with a locative, *e.g.*, ‘the rock struck on the car.’

It is helpful to remember that nearly all transitive and intransitive verbs come in pairs: there is an animate and an inanimate “version” of each verb.

<i>kinkil (ai)</i> ‘s/he is big’	<i>kinkihqon (ii)</i> ‘it is big’
<i>pittoksu (ai)</i> ‘s/he is long’	<i>pittokot (ii)</i> ‘it is long’
<i>nomiyal (ta)</i> ‘s/he sees h/’	<i>nomihtun (ti)</i> ‘s/he sees it’
<i>moskuwal (ta)</i> ‘s/he finds h/’	<i>moskomon (ti)</i> ‘s/he finds it’

Some *ai-ii* pairs have identical stems, but the inflected forms are the same in the third person singular only. For example, *pqeyu* ‘s/he is red’ and *pqeyu* ‘it is red’ both have the stem *pqeyi-*; although the singular forms are the same, the other forms differ, including the plural: *pqeyuwok*, *pqeyuwol* ‘they are red,’ *ai* and *ii*, respectively. In the dictionary, since the entry form is the same for both verbs, these are listed together as *verb ai & ii*, unless the two forms have different meanings (*askomiye ai* ‘s/he goes away for good’; *askomiye ii* ‘it lasts forever’). In the case of transitive verbs, *ta-ti* pairs are never identical.

For some verbs, logic dictates that only one member of the pair can exist. For example, a person, or perhaps an animal, can laugh — *kiselomu* ‘s/he can laugh’ — but it is hard to think of something inanimate that laughs — unless a speaker meant this figuratively or humorously, in which case he or she could easily invent a verb by following the pattern of other animate-inanimate pairs — perhaps *kiselomuwiw* ‘it can laugh.’ Another example is weather phenomena, which are denoted by *ii* verbs — *komiwon* ‘it rains,’ *psan* ‘it snows,’ *aluhkot* ‘it is cloudy.’ These have no *ai* counterparts.

Animate intransitive verbs with a direct object (ai+obj): Many *ai* verbs can be used with a direct object even though they are grammatically intransitive. When used in this way, they are called *ai+obj* verbs, or *pseudotransitive* verbs. Many express a spatial or personal relationship between the subject and the direct object:

tehsaqopu (ai) ‘s/he sits on top’ *’tehsaqopin (ai+obj)* ‘s/he sits on top of it’
ksinuhka (ai) ‘s/he is sick’ *’kosinuhkanol wipitol (ai+obj)* ‘s/he has a toothache’

Double-Object Verbs (ta+obj): Another common type of verb has two objects, one direct and one indirect.

maceptuwan ‘s/he takes it (inanimate) to h/’
’kisehtuwan ‘s/he makes h/ do it’

The entry forms of double-object verbs are those used with an inanimate indirect object (‘it’), as in *maceptuwan Simu latuwakon* ‘s/he takes the ladder to Simon.’ These verbs can also be used with animate indirect objects, as in *maceptuwanol Simuwol ’temisol* ‘she takes Simon’s dog to him.’ Note that in these sentences the direct object is Simon (the direct object of the *ta* verb), while the indirect object is the ladder or the dog; this is opposite to the sense of direct and indirect as used in English. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, only an animate noun can be the direct object. A speaker finds another way to say something like ‘she gives money to the church,’ where both ‘money’ and ‘church’ are inanimate — for example, ‘she gives money in church.’

Preverbs and Prenouns

Preverb and prenoun entries list the various forms which occur in verb stems, for example, *ehqi* (*ehq-*, *eq-*, *ehk-*) ‘stopping, ceasing.’ The form written without a hyphen is the preverb: *ehqi-wtome* ‘s/he stops smoking,’ *ehqi nit ley!* ‘stop being like that!’ The forms with hyphens are initials: *ehqamkole*, *eqqa*, *ehkuwikhike*.

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Numbers

Cardinal Numbers (Counting Numbers) — Ones, Teens, Tens, Hundreds, Thousands, Millions

1 pesq, neqt	11 'qotanku	10 'qotinsk
2 nis, tapu	12 nisanku	20 nisinsk
3 nihi, 'sis	13 'sanku	30 'sinsk
4 new	14 newanku	40 newinsk
5 nan	15 nananku	50 naninsk
6 kamahcin	16 kamahcin kehsanku	60 kamahcin kehsinsk
7 oluwikonok	17 oluwikonok kehsanku	70 oluwikonok kehsinsk
8 oqomolcin	18 oqomolcin kehsanku	80 oqomolcin kehsinsk
9 esqonatek	19 esqonatek kehsanku	90 esqonatek kehsinsk
100 'qotatq	1,000 'qotamqahk	1,000,000 'qotalokamqahk
200 nisatq	2,000 nisamqahk	2,000,000 nisalokamqahk
300 'satq	3,000 'samqahk	3,000,000 'salokamqahk
400 newatq	4,000 newamqahk	4,000,000 newalokamqahk
500 nanatq	5,000 nanamqahk	5,000,000 nanalokamqahk
600 kamahcin kehsatq	6,000 kamahcin kehsamqahk	6,000,000 kamahcin kehsalokamqahk
700 oluwikonok kehsatq	7,000 oluwikonok kehsamqahk	7,000,000 oluwikonok kehsalokamqahk
800 oqomolcin kehsatq	8,000 oqomolcin kehsamqahk	8,000,000 oqomolcin kehsalokamqahk
900 esqonatek kehsatq	9,000 esqonatek kehsamqahk	9,000,000 esqonatek kehsalokamqahk

Combined Cardinal Numbers

21 nisinsk cel pesq (neqt)	104 'qotatq cel new
22 nisinsk cel nis (tapu)	214 nisatq cel newanku
23 nisinsk cel nihi ('sis)	624 kamahcin kehsatq cel nisinsk cel new
24 nisinsk cel new	784 oluwikonok kehsatq cel oqomolcin kehsinsk cel new
25 nisinsk cel nan	1,014 'qotamqahk cel newanku
26 nisinsk cel kamahcin	2,154 nisamqahk cel 'qotatq cel naninsk cel new
27 nisinsk cel oluwikonok	15,324 nananku kehsamqahk cel 'satq cel nisinsk cel new
28 nisinsk cel oqomolcin	
29 nisinsk cel esqonatek	1954 (year) esqonatek kehsanku kehsatq cel naninsk cel new

Ordinal Numbers

1 st amsqahsewey	11 th 'qotanku kehsewey	24 th nisinsk cel new kehsewey
2 nd nisewey	12 th nisanku kehsewey	30 th 'sinsk kehsewey
3 rd nuhuwewey	13 th 'sanku kehsewey	60 th kamahcin kehsinsk kehsewey
4 th newewey	14 th newanku kehsewey	63 rd kamahcin kehsinsk cel nihi kehsewey
5 th nanewey	15 th nananku kehsewey	
6 th kamahcin kehsewey	16 th kamahcin kehsanku kehsewey	100 th 'qotatq kehsewey
7 th oluwikonok kehsewey	17 th oluwikonok kehsanku kehsewey	605 th kamahcin kehsatq cel nan kehsewey
8 th oqomolcin kehsewey	18 th oqomolcin kehsanku kehsewey	
9 th esqonatek kehsewey	19 th esqonatek kehsanku kehsewey	1,000 th 'qotamqahk kehsewey
10 th 'qotinsk kehsewey	20 th nisinsk kehsewey	6,000 th kamahcin kehsamqahk kehsewey

Frequency Numbers

once	neqt
twice	nisokehs
thrice	nihikehs
four times	newokehs
five times	nanokehs
six times	kamahcin kehs
twenty times	nisinsk kehs
25 times	nisinsk cel nanokehs
26 times	nisinsk cel kamahcin kehs
100 times	'qotatq kehs

Adjective Numbers — Animate, Inanimate

one	pesq, pesqon
two	nisuwok, nisonul
three	nuhuwok, nohonul
four	newwok, newonul
five	nanuwok, nanonul
six	kamahcin kehsuwok/kehsnul
seven	oluwikonok kehsuwok/kehsnul
eight	oqomolcin kehsuwok/kehsnul
nine	esqonatek kehsuwok/kehsnul
ten	'qotinsk*

Numerical Initial Roots, with Examples

½	epahs-	epahsonasu <i>it is divided in half</i>
1	'qoc-, 'qot-	'qoci-tkion <i>it weighs one pound</i>
2	nis-	nisukoniw <i>for two days</i>
3	's-	'sanokahte <i>it has 3 pages</i>
4	new-	newikotone <i>s/he is four years old</i>
5	nan-	nanuhsalqot <i>it is five miles</i>

*For the numbers ten and greater, the adjective form generally is the same as the cardinal number.

Preverbs and pre-nouns may be strung together to allow for combined meanings, although such strings are usually no more than two or three long. For example, the final verb in *cocahtehsin khakon-ok Tuma elomi-koti-naci-wikuwamkomat Maliwol* ‘Thomas ran into the door when he went off to go visit Mary’ has three preverbs — *olomi* ‘away’ (used here in its changed form), *koti* ‘will,’ and *naci* ‘going to there.’ Users of the dictionary will be able to experiment with their own combinations.

Particles

Particles are the uninflected words of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. They are equivalent to English conjunctions, question words, adverbs, interjections, prepositions, and counting numbers. The most commonly used particles add emphasis or suggest the speaker’s attitude toward what is being said; these particles can be combined to create new meanings. Almost every example sentence in the dictionary uses such particles, alone or in combination.

<i>al</i>	(expresses vagueness)	<i>kahk</i>	(emphasizes previous word)
<i>cu</i>	‘certainly’	<i>ehta</i>	(emphasizes previous word — stronger)
<i>olu, lu</i>	‘but, however’	<i>ote, te</i>	(emphasizes previous word — milder)
<i>cess</i>	‘as if’	<i>op</i>	‘potentially’ (also enclitic <i>-hp</i>)
<i>on</i>	‘and then’	<i>kal</i>	‘indeed, in fact’
<i>tan</i>	‘how, where’	<i>na</i>	‘also’
<i>coqahk-al</i>	‘of course’	<i>cu + kahk + al</i>	
<i>cu-al-lu</i>	‘somehow’	<i>cu + al + olu</i>	
<i>nopal</i>	‘if only’	<i>on + op + al</i>	
<i>stehpal</i>	‘somewhat’	<i>cess + te + op + al</i>	
<i>tan kal</i>	‘I don’t know’	<i>tan + kal</i>	

Numbers: The cardinal numbers (counting numbers) are organized in a decimal system, with a further distinction between the numbers 1–5 and 6–9. With the numbers 6–9, speakers insert the particle *kehs* ‘so many’ before adding the suffixes ‘-teen,’ ‘-ty,’ ‘-hundred,’ etc.: *nisatq* ‘200,’ *newatq* ‘400,’ *kamahcin kehsatq* ‘600’ (literally, ‘six many-hundred’). (See number chart, previous page.)

Adjectival numbers (except ‘one’) are verbs: *nisuwok* ‘they are two’ (*ai*); *nisuwok ehpicik* ‘two women’; *knisipa* ‘there are two of you.’ Ordinal numbers are nouns — *nisewey* ‘the second one,’ *nisewey ehpit* ‘the second woman,’ *niseweyak* ‘on second base’ (locative) — or initial roots: *nisukonohom* ‘it is the second day of the month.’ The initials also have adjectival meanings (*nisikotone* ‘s/he is two years old’) and adverbial meanings (*nisuhkak* ‘they are teams of two’). In *nisuwikhikon* ‘deuce (playing card),’ *nis-* is a noun initial.

No and Yes: There are several negative particles, ‘no’ or ‘not,’ each with a specific use. *Katama* is used as the reply ‘no’ (also *nama, ntama*) and sometimes to negate verbs or pronouns; *katekon* ‘not at all’ is another reply; *ma* is used mainly with verbs (and with *ma-te wen* ‘no one’ and *ma-te keq* ‘nothing’); *kat* is used mainly with nouns and pronouns (*kat not muwin* ‘that’s not a bear,’ *kat-te keq* ‘nothing at all’); *skat*, mainly with Conjunct forms to mean ‘when not’ or ‘if not’; and *mus* (*musa*) or *kat-cu* ‘don’t!’ with Imperatives. The conjunction *mesq* ‘before’ also takes negative verb forms; it means ‘not yet’ as a negative reply.

There are three words for ‘yes’ in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. *Aha* and *cu* correspond to French

oui and *si*, respectively. *Cu* is used to say ‘yes’ in answer to a question whose wording implies that the speaker expects the answer to be ‘no.’ *Haw* is mainly Passamaquoddy.

<i>aha</i> ‘yes, it is so’	<i>koti-li Neqotkuk?</i> — <i>aha</i>	‘will you go to Tobique?’ — ‘yes’
<i>cu</i> ‘certainly’	<i>ma-te koti-liyaw?</i> — <i>cu</i>	‘you’re not going to go?’ — ‘yes, I am’
<i>haw</i> ‘yes, OK’	<i>oliyane Neqotkuk</i> — <i>haw</i>	‘let’s go to Tobique’ — ‘yes, let’s do that’

Conjunctions: Conjunctions include *naka* ‘and,’ *kosona* ‘or,’ *on* ‘and then,’ *kenuk* ‘but,’ *apeq* ‘although,’ *sami* ‘because,’ *mesq* ‘before,’ *tokec* or *nehtaw* ‘if.’ Note that ‘and’ is omitted in expressions such as *nilun Mali* ‘Mary and I,’ *kiluwaw Piyel* ‘you and Peter,’ and *kilun kmihtaqs* ‘we and your father’; in these expressions, the personal pronoun is plural and always precedes the noun. *Naka* is also sometimes omitted even when the pronoun is not stated, as in *nit-olu... tutopuwok nmihtaqs qeni-kotunkehtit* ‘that’s where... he and my father were staying while they were hunting,’ in which the verbs refer to two persons but only *nmihtaqs* ‘my father’ is explicitly mentioned (see the entry *okamiw* for the full sentence).

6. LOOKING UP WORDS IN THE DICTIONARY

In the dictionary, words that are closely related are often separated alphabetically because the shape of the first part of the word varies, depending upon the form in which it is used. This section describes some of the patterns users will discover.

Related Words May Begin in Different Ways

Use of apostrophe: The apostrophe used in writing Passamaquoddy-Maliseet stands for a consonant that was spoken aloud in the past but is no longer pronounced. These “missing” consonants are real: they can be seen in old transcriptions, and many are still pronounced by older speakers. Also, the dropped consonants “reappear” in other forms of the word.

’tomakeyu (*ktomakeyu*) ‘s/he is poor’
nkotomakey ‘I am poor’ (*k* is pronounced with personal prefix *n-*)
ketomakeyit ‘when s/he was poor’ (*k* is retained preceding *e* in changed stem)

’pisun (*npisun*) ‘medicine’
skicinuwi-npisun ‘Indian medicine’ (*n* is pronounced after vowel)
knopisun ‘your medicine’ (*n* is pronounced with personal prefix *k-*)

musa ’tomahkoc! (*wtomahkoc*) ‘don’t smoke!’
mace-wtome ‘s/he starts to smoke’ (*w* is pronounced after vowel)
wetomat ‘when s/he smoked’ (*w* is retained preceding *e* in changed stem)

The *w-* in the ‘smoke’ examples above is part of the verb root. A dropped *w-* may also be the prefix that marks the third person; this *w-* does not “reappear” in other forms.

ʔusol (wtusol) ‘h/ daughter’; *ntus* ‘my daughter’; *ktusok* ‘your daughters’
ʔeskhal (wpekhal) ‘s/he shoots h/’; *npekha* ‘I shoot h/’; *pekhuikiyan* ‘if I shoot h/’

Dropping unstressed schwa (syncope): As suggested by the examples above, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words have an underlying structure, called a “stem,” on which spoken forms are built. The stem may take various shapes, and it is this feature that is explained in the examples that follow. For each example shown here, there are many other words which exhibit similar variations in form.

Example 1: ktomakeyu ‘s/he is poor.’ This entry form of this verb does not have a personal prefix. But like most other verbs it has other forms that do use a personal prefix.⁵ A typical pattern for verb stems whose first syllable has the vowel *o* (schwa) is that this *o* drops out in the forms with no prefix. This phenomenon is called “syncope” and may occur in other parts of word stems as well.⁶ The stem of *ktomakeyu* used with a prefix is *-kotomakeyi-*. In the unprefix form *ktomakeyu* the first *o* has dropped out. In *nkotomakeyipon* ‘we are poor,’ the personal prefix *n-* “calls up” the *o* in the first syllable, because only a single consonant can follow a personal prefix. In another form of this verb, *ketomakeyit* ‘when s/he was poor,’ the *o* in the first syllable has changed to *e*, which does not drop out. In the dictionary, entries for verbs and nouns that have the same initial root as *ktomakeyu* will begin with *ktomak-* or *ʔtomak-*. For example, see *ktomakelke*, *ʔtomakitahamal*. These related entries are grouped in separate parts of the K section of the dictionary. Changed forms may also appear as dictionary entries, for example, *ketuhsomimok* and *ketuwahsonotek*, which are related to other entries beginning with *kotuh-* and *kotuw-*.

In some verbs the *o* which drops out of the first syllable is the first letter of that syllable. For example, the prefixed stem of the verb *posonutehke* ‘s/he makes baskets’ is *-oposonutehke-*: *ntoposonutehke* ‘I make baskets,’ *eposonutehket* ‘when s/he makes baskets.’ Similarly, the verb *lintu* ‘s/he sings’ has prefixed forms like *ntolint* ‘I sing’ and changed forms like *elintaq* ‘when s/he sings.’ For verbs like these, related entries will be found O section of the dictionary and under the first consonant of the stem; there may also be related entries in the E section.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>	<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>
<i>ktomakeyu</i> ‘s/he is poor’	w/ prefix	-kotomakeyi-
	w/o prefix	ʔtomakeyi-, ʔtomakeyi-
	changed	ketomakeyi-
<i>leyu</i> ‘s/he is that kind of person’	w/ prefix	-oleyi-
	w/o prefix	leyi-
	changed	eleyi-
		<i>ʔkot-</i> ʔtomakitahamal
		<i>kt-</i> ktomakelke
		<i>ol-</i> oliye, olsawe
		<i>l-</i> lelomoqe, lapu
		<i>el-</i> eleyit, elacimok

Example 2: ʔtome (wtome) ‘s/he smokes.’ The stem of this verb has three forms: *-utoma-* (with personal prefix), *ʔtoma-* (without prefix), and *wetoma-* (changed). When a verb whose unprefix stem begins with *wo-* takes a personal prefix, this *wo-* changes to *u-*; for example, *nutomapon* ‘we smoke’ and *kutomapa* ‘you smoke.’ In third-person forms which take a personal prefix, such as *utoman* ‘and then s/he smokes,’ the resulting *wu-* (from *w-* + *wo-*) is pronounced and written as just *u-*. The form *ʔtome (wtome)* does not have a personal prefix; the stem for such forms is *ʔtoma-*. The

initial *w-* is retained and pronounced only in changed forms such as *wetomay*, ‘when I smoke’ and following a vowel, as when a preverb is added (*mace-wtome*). In the dictionary, entries for verbs and nouns that have the same root as *’tome* will begin with *’tom-* or *utom-*. For example, see *’tomawey*, *utomektun*. These related entries are found in the T and U sections of the dictionary. Changed forms may also appear as dictionary entries. For example, *wetomat* is listed in the W section.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>		<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>	
’tome	w/ prefix	-utoma-	utom-	utomektun
‘s/he smokes’	w/o prefix	’toma-	’tom-	’tomakon
<i>Similar Word</i>	changed	wetoma-	wetom-	wetomat
ckuwye	w/ prefix	-uckuwya-	uckuw-	uckuwyamal
‘s/he comes toward here’	w/o prefix	ckuwya-	ckuw-	ckuwapon
	changed	weckuwya-	weckuw-	weckuwihpuk

Example 3: *’tawewestu* (*ntawewestu*) ‘s/he knows how to speak.’ The prefixed stem of this verb is *-nihtawewestu-*. In *’tawewestu*, the *ih* in the first syllable drops out in the absence of a personal prefix, but it is retained in prefixed forms such as *knihtawewest* ‘you know how to speak.’ A changed form is *nehtawewestaq* ‘one who knows how to speak,’ in which the *ih* changes to *eh*. In the dictionary, entries for verbs that have the same initial root as *nihtawewestu* will begin with *nehtaw-* or *nihtaw-* or *’taw-*. For example, see *nehtawessik*, *nihtawehtuwal*, *’tawokisu*. These related entries are found in the N and T sections of the dictionary.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>		<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>	
’tawewestu	w/ prefix	-nihtawewestu-	nihtaw-	nihtawehtuwal
‘s/he knows how to speak’	w/o prefix	’tawewestu-	’taw-	’tawokisu
	changed	nehtawewestu-	nehtaw-	nehtawessik

Example 4: *nokkahtun* ‘s/he eats all of it.’ This verb stem undergoes changes more complex than those described above. In verbs like *nokkahtun*, the vowel is dropped from *either* the first or the second syllable, depending upon whether a personal prefix is used and whether the stem is “changed”: *knokkahtun* ‘you (*kil*) eat all of it’; *’kihkahtaq* (*nkikhkahtaq*) ‘if s/he eats all of it’; *nekkahataq* ‘when s/he ate all of it.’ Note that the entry form, *nokkahtun*, does have a third-person prefix but that this is not written, because it is not pronounced; the prefixed stem is used in this form. In the dictionary, entries for verbs that have the same initial root as *nokkahtun* will begin with *’kihka-* or *nekk-* or *nokka-*. For example, see *’kihkayaqosu*, *Nekkopahamkek*, *nokkahlal*. These related entries are found in the K and N sections of the dictionary.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>		<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>	
nokkahtun	w/ prefix	-nokkahtu-	nokk-	nokkahlal
‘s/he eats all of it’	w/o prefix	’kihkahtu-	’kihk-	’kihkayaqosu
	changed	nekkahatu-	nekk-	Nekkopahamkek

Example 5: *’potttehmon (wpotttehmon)* ‘s/he hits it accidentally.’ This verb is similar to *nokkahtun*, but with additional change in the consonants of the stem. In the prefixed form *’potttehmon*, the *o* in the first syllable of the stem is maintained. Without a personal prefix, the *o* drops out and the vowel in the second syllable (*ih*) appears; in addition the first *t* becomes *c*: *pcihtehman* ‘if I hit it accidentally.’ This alternation between *c* and *t* is common in many Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words (compare *ehpit* ‘woman,’ *ehpicik* ‘women’). In the dictionary, entries for verbs that have the same initial root as *’potttehmon* will begin with *’pocc-*, *’pot-*, *pc-*, or *pt-*. For example, see *’poccipilal*, *’potsal*, *’pottahal*, *pcihtelhike*, *ptosusu*, in different parts of the P section of the dictionary.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>		<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>	
’potttehmon	w/ prefix	-pottehm-	’pocc-	’poccipilal
‘s/he hits it	w/o prefix	pcihtehm-	’pot-	’potsal, ’pottahal
accidentally’	changed	petteh-	pc-	pcihtelhike
			pt-	ptosusu

Example 6: *’utsomal* ‘s/he feeds h/ from something.’ This verb combines the features of stems beginning with *wo-* (see *’tome*, above) and those having two syllables subject to syncope: *’utsomal olomussisol emqanok* ‘s/he feeds the puppy from a spoon’; *’tahsomat (wtahsomat)* ‘if she feeds h/ from it’; *’wetsomat* ‘when she feeds h/ from it.’ In the dictionary, entries for verbs that have the same initial root as *’utsomal* will begin with *uc-* or *ut-*, *’c-* or *’t-*; certain related words also begin with *wec-* or *wet-*. For example, see *ucihtun*, *uteksal*, *’cihtihike*, *’taptu*, *weceyawit*, *wettuhut*; see also the entry for the preverb *’ci*. These related entries are found in the C, T, U and W sections of the dictionary.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>		<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>	
’utsomal	w/ prefix	-utsom-	uc-	ucihtun
‘s/he feeds h/ from	w/o prefix	’tahsom	ut-	uteksal
something’	changed	wetsom-	’c-	’cihtihike
			’t-	’taptu
			wec-	weceyawit
			wet-	wettuhut

Example 7: *qotoput* ‘chair.’ Syncope also occurs in some nouns. With a personal prefix, the stem changes: *’ntoqtopot* ‘my chair.’ In related verbs, such as *’toqtopin* ‘s/he sits on it,’ some speakers treat the first *t* as if it were the *t* inserted following the personal prefix; others think of it as part of the stem. For this reason, changed forms may vary: *’eqtopit* or *’teqtopot*, ‘when s/he sits on it.’ In the dictionary, entries for words that have the same initial root as *qotoput* will be found in the Q and T sections of the dictionary; users searching for such words in the O section (under *oqc-* or *oqt-*) are referred to the entries beginning with *q* and *t*.

<i>Entry Word</i>	<i>Stems</i>	<i>Related Entries in Dictionary</i>
qotoput (noun) 'chair'	w/ prefix w/o prefix	'toqtoput 'h/ chair' qotoput
		qot- qotoputiyihike 'toqc- 'toqcikapuwin 'toqt- 'toqtomelkin
'toqtopin, 't-oqtopin (ai+obj) 's/he sits on it'	w/ prefix w/o prefix changed	-toqtopi-, -oqtopi- toqtopi-, oqtopi-, qotopi- teqtopi-, eqtopi-

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

Other Changes in Verb Stems

“Changed” forms: Vowel changes to e in the first syllable: As seen in the preceding examples, verbs may have a “changed” stem in which the vowel in the first syllable changes to *e*. This stem is used only in Changed Conjunct modes, chiefly in subordinate clauses and in participles.

Verbs with schwa (*o*) in the first syllable undergo this type of change. There are also some exceptional verbs in which *a* or *i* in the first syllable changes to *e*.

kehkimsu 's/he learns' — *ntokehkims* 'I learn' — *ekehkimsit* 'when s/he learns'
tokotom 's/he hits' — *ntokotom* 'I hit' — *tekotok* 'when s/he hits'
tkahsomu 's/he swims' — *ntahkahsom* 'I swim' — *tehkahsomit* 'when s/he swims'
kcikotone 's/he is old' — *nkihcikoton* 'I am old' — *kehcikotonet* 'when s/he is old'

In all other verbs, the “changed” stem is the same as the “unchanged” stem: *kisacu* 's/he is ready,' *kisacit* 'when s/he is ready'; *tehkepsulu* 's/he hiccups,' *tehkepsulit* 'when s/he hiccups.' There are also a few verbs with an *o* in the first syllable that does not change to *e*. These verbs are derived from nouns, and noun stems do not undergo this type of change. For example, in *mociyehsuhke* 's/he hunts partridge' (from *mociyehs* 'partridge'), the noun is kept intact by speakers: *mociyehsuhket* 'when s/he hunts partridge.'

H between vowels: Within a stem, and also at the point where inflectional endings “attach” to the stem, the vowels immediately preceding and following an *h* are always identical. In the following examples, the verb stem is *-kik_h-* 'heal'; the blank underscore (“_”) indicates that the vowel in this position will match the first vowel in the ending which follows the stem.

nkikaha 'I heal h/'
kikeheq 'when you (plural) heal h/'
kikihi 'you (singular) heal me'
nkikohoq 's/he heals me'
nkikuhukuk 'they heal me'

In contrast, where an initial root “attaches” to a final in forming a stem, and the *h* is at the *beginning* of the final, the vowels do not necessarily match: *macehom* ‘s/he starts to swim’ (from the preverb *mace-* ‘start’ and the root *-hom-* ‘swim’; see *olhom*), *nipahom* ‘s/he swims at night.’ Another example is *pihcehute* ‘it is a long river or lake.’

7. HOW TO USE THE PASSAMAQUODDY-MALISEET ENTRIES

This dictionary uses the format for entries developed by LeSourd in the 1970s and used in *Kolusuwakonol*. Each entry includes the elements needed for productive use of the word.

Noun and Pronoun Entries

Noun entries list the word in its singular form, unless the word occurs only in the plural (e.g., *petakiyik* ‘thunder’). Each entry specifies whether the noun is animate or inanimate and gives its plural form. Entries also include some or all of the following forms, which are not always predictable from the entry form or the plural.

possessed	the form showing possession by him or her: <i>h/ hat, h/ life</i>
locative	the form used to show that the noun is a place: <i>in the box, on the hat, at the store, to the island, on the St. John River</i>
diminutive	little one, cute, darling, etc.: <i>little basket, small dog, lamb, baby</i>
obviative	the form of an animate noun or pronoun used as the object of a third-person verb (listed only if not predictable): <i>s/he sees the woman (ehpilicil; see ehpit)</i>
vocative	form used in addressing a person (listed only if different from the entry form): <i>mom!, grandpa!</i> (see <i>wikuwossol, muhsumsol</i>)

Sample Noun Entry

lakomakon. *noun animate.* round-headed wooden mallet (Ma). *pl* lakomakonok. *poss* ’tolakomakonol. Wolessu lakomakon naka lakonis pessikhomon keq. A wooden mallet and a wedge are handy when you are splitting something. (see also *pokomakon*)

This noun entry indicates that *lakomakon* is a word used mainly in Maliseet communities. The note at the end makes reference to another word, for comparison: *pokomakon*, meaning ‘heavy stick used for pounding.’

Dependent nouns are those which occur only in possessed forms. Dependent noun entries contain the same information as other noun entries, except that the possessed form is not listed, since it is the same as the entry form.

Sample Dependent Noun Entry

ʻcihcin. *noun inanimate (dependent).* h/ thumb. *pl* ʻcihcinol. *loc* ʻcihcinok. *dim* ʻcihcinsis. Messunomuwin kcihcinol. Show me your thumbs. Pokah-koniw nekom ʻcihcin. His thumb is bleeding. Tan etuci-okitom ntolilcakonol, ncihcin nit “pesq.” When I count on my fingers, my thumb is “one.” (see also *kamahcin*)

In this entry, the abbreviation h/ means ‘his or her.’ Here, the translation is ‘his or her thumb’; the plural form is ‘his or her thumbs.’ The locative form is ‘on his or her thumb,’ and the diminutive is ‘his or her little thumb’ (e.g., a baby’s thumb).

Locative nouns are those which occur only in locative forms, including most place names.

Sample Locative Noun Entry

puskonikonihkuk. *noun locative.* in, at, to graveyard or cemetery. (*literally, where there are coffins; see puskonikon, puskonikonihq*)

This word is the locative plural form of the noun *puskonikon* ‘coffin.’

Participle nouns are forms of verbs used as nouns. They may be animate or inanimate. They may often be translated literally as ‘one who...,’ ‘the one that...,’ or ‘where the...’

Sample Participle Noun Entries

milawskuwipit. *noun animate (verb ai participle 1).* (baseball) outfielder. *pl* milawskuwipicik; milawskuwipulticik. Nuhuwok milawskuwipulticik, pahayaskuwipit, tinahkatuwaskuwipit, naka epahsaskuwipit. There are three outfielders, the left-fielder, the right-fielder, and the center-fielder. (verb ai 1) Milawskuwipu. S/he waits out in a field. (*literally, one who waits out in field*)

The two plural forms listed here are, respectively, the “dual” form and the “multi-plural” form. The dual form of *ai* verb participles is normally used as a general plural (see the sample intransitive verb entries, below).

amonopekek. *noun inanimate (verb ii participle 21).* (geography) bay. *pl* amonopekekil. *loc* amonopekek. Yali-suku amonopekek Lula. Lawrence is paddling around in the bay. (see also *oqimut*)

Note that the locative form is the same as the entry form of this noun.

Pronoun entries contain the same information as noun entries, except that pronouns do not have possessed, locative, or vocative forms.

Sample Pronoun Entry

wen. *pronoun animate.* who, whom; someone, anyone; (indefinite person) one. *pl* wenik. *dim* wenosis someone little. *obv* wenil; (plural) wenih, weni. Wen kil? Who are you? Wenosis wot? Who is this little one? Tan tehpu wen. Anyone at all. Wenik nikt? Who are those people? Wen-al wot sakhiyat. Somebody we don't know is coming. Mesq-ote nit kil wen ktoqeci-lehlokuwon? Has anyone ever tried to do that to you? Nomiya wenil pemi-sukilicil. He sees someone paddling along in a canoe. (EN) 'Tahcuwi wen tomikpena nemotah-kapicili epahsiw, weci-kisi-sipomosut. One must bend the standers in half so that they can be tapered by cutting. (PN) Ma ntuwehkawon, kenuk ma nit wen 'koskahtuwon. I don't use it (language), but one can't lose it. (FM) (*see also ma-te wen, wenaw*)

Note that the pronoun *wen* has plural forms, which the English word 'who' does not. The example sentences include common questions as well as sentences spoken by Elizabeth Newell, Patricia Nicholas Sockabasin, and Fred Moore (see the Acknowledgements at the beginning of the dictionary).

Verb Entries

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet has five types of verbs, each with its own set of forms. There is also a sub-type of the *ai* verb, designated *ai+obj* ("ai plus object"). These verbs have the same forms as *ai* verbs, except that the direct object is marked by additional endings in certain instances. In the dictionary, the verb types are designated with the following abbreviations.

ai	animate intransitive	intransitive verb with animate subject: <i>s/he leans</i>
ai+obj	ai plus object	ai verb used with direct object: <i>s/he leans against it</i>
ii	inanimate intransitive	intransitive verb with inanimate subject: <i>it leans</i>
ti	transitive inanimate	transitive verb with inanimate direct object: <i>s/he sees it</i>
ta	transitive animate	transitive verb with animate direct object: <i>s/he sees h/</i>
ta+obj	double-object verb	transitive verb with direct & indirect objects: <i>s/he gives it to h/</i>

Each of these types is further specified according to the way it is conjugated. In the dictionary entries, a number (1-40) following the verb type refers to the verb chart (pages 640-693) that shows the forms of verbs sharing the particular conjugation pattern.

Each verb entry lists the forms of the verb stem used in conjugating the verb. Normally, each form of the stem is listed only once; for many verbs, some or all of the stems are identical (see the sample entries, below).

stem 1	used with and without a personal prefix (listed when stems 1a and 1b are identical, or when all stems are identical)
stem 1a	used only in forms with a personal prefix
stem 1b	used only in forms without a personal prefix
stem 2	used only in "changed" forms: a vowel in the first syllable of the stem changes to <i>e</i> (normally listed only if different from stem 1)
stem 3	used with initial roots (normally listed only if different from stem 1 or 1b)

In addition, for *ai* verbs, plural forms are listed; these are the “multi-plural,” e.g., *lintuhtuwok* ‘they (more than two) sing’ (see *lintu*). Multi-plural forms are distinct from the “dual” forms of *ai* verbs (*lintuwok* ‘they [two] sing’). Many verbs have several alternative multi-plural forms, and users may encounter forms not listed in the entries. Note that many speakers use similar plural forms for *ti* verbs; these are shown in the verb *ti* conjugation charts, but they are not listed in the individual entries.

Verb ai and *verb ii* entries list the word in the third-person singular: *macehe* (*ai*) ‘s/he leaves’; *macehewiw* (*ii*) ‘it leaves.’ Some verbs occur only in dual and/or plural forms, in which case the third-person dual or plural is listed: *ksehkawotuwok* ‘they (two) walk in’; *mawehhik* (*ai*) ‘they assemble.’

Sample Intransitive Verb Entries (ai, ii)

lahqostike. *verb ai* 9. (basketmaking) s/he fits hoop inside basket rim and binds it in place. *pl* lahqostikhotuwok. *stem 1a* -olahqostike-. *1b* lahqostike-. *2* elahqostike-. *3* -ahqostike- (with other initials).

Note that this verb already contains the preverb *oli* (*li*) ‘thus’ (here reduced to *l-*), which also serves as a “default” preverb for verb finals that occur only with an initial root; stem 3 in this case is the stem found with other initial roots, as, for example, in *macyahqostike* ‘s/he starts to bind’ (*mace/ Macy-*) and *tolahqostike* ‘s/he is binding’ (*toli/tol-*).

psikapskiye. *verb ii* 22. (rock) there is a crack or split in it. *stem 1* psikapskiya-. *2* pessikapskiya-. Apayye Pessikapskiyak nican sepay. My child went to play at Split Rock this morning.

In the example sentence here, a form of the entry word is used as a place name.

miwessu. *verb ai & ii* 1, 14. s/he, it goes by at a distance (from something); (pitched baseball) s/he is outside (too far from batter). *pl* miwessultuwok (ai). *stem 1* -miwessi-. Miwessu epeskoma-kon. It is an outside pitch.

This verb is both *ai* and *ii*, with forms listed in charts 1 and 14, respectively. Like *h/*, the abbreviation *s/he* in the dictionary stands for any animate noun (not just a person or animal). In the second translation, only “s/he” is used because a baseball (*epeskoma-kon*) is grammatically animate.

Sample ai+obj Entry

uciptinessin. *verb ai, ai+obj* 1. s/he makes handprint on it; s/he grabs it up (e.g., at sale). *pl* uciptinessultiniya; ‘ciptinessultuwok (ai). *stem 1a* -uciptinessi-. *1b* ‘ciptinessi-. *2* weciptinessi-. ‘Ciptinessu. S/he leaves a handprint. Wasis weciptinessit somentok, nit-te eluwikhasik ‘pihtin. Where the child put his hand on the cement, he left his handprint. Nmetsihkus etoli-wolawotikpon tawelol, kis cel ankuwhoticik uciptinessultiniyaw. I was late getting to the towel sale, and the shoppers had grabbed them all up.

This verb is both *ai* and *ai+obj*. The entry form is *ai+obj*, as can be seen from the translation. The plural form for *ai* is shown in addition to that for *ai+obj*. Also, the first sentence uses an *ai* form. Note that although the translations in *ai+obj* entries use “it” as the direct object, this object can be either animate or inanimate.

Verb ti and *verb ta* entries list the word in the third-person singular with a singular direct object: *nomihtun* ‘s/he sees it’; *nomiyal* ‘s/he sees h/.’ For some verbs, the subject and/or object is always (or almost always) plural, in which case this form is listed: *wehqahkuwawal* ‘they surround h/’; *mawema* ‘s/he calls them together.’

Sample Transitive Verb Entries (ti, ta)

ʔaskihkapekhomon. *verb ti* 28. s/he tightens it. *stem 1a* -askihkapekhom-. *1b* skihkapekhom-. *2* eskihkapekhom-. ʔTaskihkapekhomonol ʔsisqeyal weci skat monaminuhk. She tightens her eyeglasses so they won’t fall off.

In this verb, the personal prefix ʔ*t-* is separated so that the entry may be alphabetized appropriately: the *t* is not part of the verb stem.

ʔacehlal. *verb ta* 31. s/he changes h/, transforms h/; s/he changes h/ diaper. *stem 1* -acehl-. Pihce Koluskap yaq kisi-mili-acehlosu. Long ago, it is said, Koluskap could change himself into many forms. ʔpinuwan! ʔKoti-acehlal olomusol ansa psuwis. Watch him! He’s going to change the dog into a cat. Acehlan wasis; puccokpe. Change the baby; he’s wet. (*verb ai 1*) Pihce Koluskap yaq kisi-mili-acehlosu. Long ago, it is said, Koluskap could change himself into many forms. (*compare ʔatekewhutolal, ʔatekonal*)

In this verb all the stems (1, 2, and 3) are identical. In the final example sentence, the reflexive form of the entry verb (*acehlosu*) is used; like all reflexives, this is an *ai* verb whose forms appear in conjugation chart 1. It is included within this entry because it is formed from the *ta* verb.

Double-object verb (ta+obj) entries list the word in the third-person singular with a singular direct object (animate) and singular indirect object (inanimate): *nomihtuwan* ‘s/he sees something (it) belonging or pertaining to h/’

Sample ta+obj Entries

ʔokitomuwan. *verb ta+obj* 38. s/he reads it to h/. *stem 1* -okitomuw-. *2* ekitomuw-. Makolit ʔtokitomuwan Tepitol nuspehpol. Margaret reads the newspaper to David.

This verb takes both a direct object (David) and an indirect object (the newspaper). Note that in English, the objects are reversed in status — the newspaper would be the direct object and David would be the indirect object.

macceptuwan. *verb ta+obj* 38. s/he takes it to h/; s/he takes something belonging to h/. *stem 1* -macceptuw-. Henolet ʔtapi-macceptuwanol Tepitol sepay ʔsukolopanomol. Henrietta took David his cake this morning. Kmacceptuwan wikhikon pahtoliyas. You take the letter to the priest. Kil koti-macceptuwan micuwakon kuhkomoss? Do you want to take the food to your grandmother? Yuta macceptuwan, macceptuwan yut ktatat. Take this to him, take it to your dad.

Note that although the translation of the entry form in *ta+obj* entries has “it” as the indirect object, this object can be either animate or inanimate.

Preverb and Prenoun Entries

Preverbs are listed in their “free-standing” form (the form that may be separated from the verb by an intervening word) together with, in parentheses, other forms (initials) that occur as part of the verb stem. Nearly all **prenouns** also function as preverbs; when used as pre nouns, they have only the stem 1 or 1a/1b forms.

Sample Preverb-Prenoun Entries

api (ap-). *preverb*. having gone and returned; back from having gone (to do something). *stem 1* -api (-ap-). ʔTapiptun wikhikon. He went and got the book and has returned. He's back from getting the book. Apsoqe. He's back from checking his traps. Api-witimiye. He's back from church. Mec-op-al ntapiskʔ May I go pee (and come back)? (Motahkomikuk)

Note that for some of the example sentences two possible translations are given. The last sentence here shows a usage at *Motahkomikuk* which diverges from the literal meaning.

kci (kc-, kt-). *preverb, prenoun*. big, great; old; pure. *stem 1a* -kihci (-kih-, -kic-, -kiht-). *1b* kci (kc-, kt-). 2 kehci (keh-, kecc-, kec-, keht-). Kci-kcahqi-skicin not. She is Native through and through (culturally). Kci-mus nomiyan sepay. We saw a big moose this morning. Moskuwal ʔkihci-sakomal. He found his great chief. (LM) Kci-tehsahqiw. On the very top. Kcikitone npihtuwi-kolamuksis. My great aunt is old. Kehcikotonet wot ehpit, on yaka nipuwin. This woman got married when she was very old. Kecciyat kci-kansuhs cuwi-woli-ciksotuwa. A genuine elder must be obeyed. Kci-ʔkani-ponapsqahson nkisi-wtomekha. I smoked a large, old stone pipe.

The seventh sentence here contains the changed form of the entry in *kecciyat* (stem 2 *kecc-*), as well as the prenoun form *kci*.

Particle Entries

Particles occur in only one form. They are equivalent in most cases to English adverbs, prepositions, prepositional phrases, conjunctions, or interjections. Counting numbers are particles.

Sample Particle Entries

yaq. *particle*. (reportedly) it is said, they say, people say; (with direct quotation) s/he says (said), they say (said); (in questions) is it true that ...? Wisanaqs yaq. He says to hurry. "Hurry!" he said. Pesq yaq skitap. One, they say, is a man. Laks yaq kisi-te esponsuwelholo su pawatok. It is said that Laks can turn himself into a raccoon if he wants. Kikcokiye yaq Tuma woniyakon. Thomas says his head itches. They say Thomas's head itches. ʔQotatq kehsikotone yaq kmuhsumsʔ Is it true that your grandfather is 100 years old?

Note that the first example sentence has two possible translations in English.

miwiw. *particle*. at a distance. *dim* miwiwoss at a short distance. Wot yaq-olu pesq nit miwiwoss kekesk wiku — wikuwok, nisuwicik. A little ways away lived this one — lived a married couple. (MT)

This particle has a "diminutive" form, which is listed within the entry.

nanatq. *particle*. five-hundred.

Cross-reference Entries

The complexities of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet word stems, especially those of verbs, may confuse the language learner and dictionary user. For example, *moskomon* 's/he finds it' has forms like the following.

<i>moskomon</i>	s/he finds it (Independent Indicative)
<i>pskomuhtit</i>	if they find it (Unchanged Conjunct)
<i>meskomuhtit</i>	when they find it; what they find (Changed Conjunct)
<i>ʔkisi-mskomon</i>	s/he found it, s/he can find it (Independent Indicative)

How can dictionary users who have heard or read the word *pskomuhtit*, *meskomuhtit*, or *'kisi-mskomon* arrive at the entry *moskomon*? Beyond their knowledge of the ways in which verb stems change, users will also find assistance in the many cross-referencing entries in the dictionary. In this case, for example, they may suspect that *meskomuhtit* is a “changed” form, and will (successfully) search the entries beginning with *mosk-*. They might instead look for words beginning with *msk-*, in which case they will find an entry that reads “*msk-* (see entries beginning with *mosk-*, *psk-*).” A similar cross-reference leads from *psk-* to the *mosk-* entries.

Other cross-reference entries refer users who have encountered a variant form of a word to the main entry. For example, *'kosqenal* is a variant listed under the entry *'t-ehkosqenal*.

The dictionary has more than 450 cross-references of these types.

8. HOW TO USE THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY ENTRIES

Note: The Portal uses the English “Keywords” feature in entries to access related words.

The English side of the dictionary serves as a key or index for finding an appropriate word or words in the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet side. Under each English entry is a list of pertinent Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words together with their English translations. In this way, the appropriate word can be located, and the user can refer to that entry for further information.

In addition, users will find other, closely related words near the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet entry they consult. For example, near the entry *nospiptun*, listed in the examples below, users will find *nospi-milan* ‘s/he gives it to h/ by mistake,’ *nospiyan* ‘s/he takes it along,’ and *nospotomon* ‘s/he eats it unintentionally.’

Entry with a Single Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Word

accomplice
wici-komutone s/he steals with others, is accomplice in theft

Wici-komutone is the only word in the dictionary keyed to the meaning ‘accomplice.’ If a different meaning is required, the user might construct a similar word, for example, *wici-nehpahtike* ‘s/he is accomplice in murder,’ based on the entry for *nehpahtike*. This “invented” word can then be checked with a fluent speaker. Note that in this word the preverb *wici* conveys the meaning ‘accomplice’ through its sense of ‘participating in.’

Entry with More than One Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Word (abridged)

accidentally

<i>ahtopi</i>	by luck, by chance, coincidentally; (in this same sense only) accidentally
<i>t-ahtopihtun</i>	s/he makes it correctly by accident or by luck; makes it perfectly by skill alone
<i>'kespakonomuwal</i> <i>kespi</i>	s/he accidentally hits h/ with fist (e.g., when sparring) unintentionally; (in this same sense only) accidentally
<i>'kespi-nehpahtun</i>	s/he accidentally kills it
<i>malomahkonomon</i>	s/he accidentally fires it (gun)
<i>nokkacokonal</i>	s/he accidentally touches h/, s/he takes all of h/ (something soft; e.g., dough)
<i>nospamkolenal</i>	s/he accidentally burns h/ in fire (unintentionally burning h/ with what s/he intended to burn)
<i>nospiptun</i>	s/he takes it along accidentally or intentionally
<i>pci</i>	accidentally, unintentionally
<i>pihtomosu</i>	s/he accidentally bites self (e.g., lip, hand)
<i>'poccihkomon</i>	s/he accidentally steps on it
<i>'pocci-poliptun</i>	s/he accidentally drops it
<i>'pocci-tokomal</i>	s/he accidentally hits h/
<i>'poseqikhomon</i>	s/he accidentally loses it, misplaces it (e.g., while rummaging around for something else or by not keeping track of where it is)
<i>'potkuwal</i>	s/he accidentally steps on h/
<i>'potsomon</i>	s/he accidentally cuts it
<i>'pottelohkuwal</i>	s/he accidentally hits h/ with something; s/he accidentally bumps into h/
<i>'pottelomon</i>	s/he accidentally shoots it
<i>'pottomon</i>	s/he accidentally bites it

This entry includes three preverbs (initials) which convey different senses of ‘accidentally’ — *ahtopi*, *kespi*, *pci* — and verbs which use them as initials — *t-ahtopihtun*, *'kespakonomuwal*, *'potsomon*. Users can choose the desired sense of ‘accidentally’ and find the word they require.

The English entry also includes other words — *malomahkonomon*, *nokkacokonal*, *nospamkolenal*, *pihtomosu* — which have specific meanings.

Entry with Words Sharing the Same Final (abridged)

face

<i>apsasokiqe</i>	s/he has thin or narrow face
<i>apsiqe</i>	s/he has small face
<i>atkiqe</i>	s/he has wrinkles or crow's feet on face
<i>kcitomiqewu</i>	s/he has or makes serious expression (on face)
<i>kossiqensu</i>	s/he washes (own) face
<i>mimiqe</i>	h/ face is shiny (greasy or sweaty)
<i>moccokiqe</i>	s/he has dirty face
<i>mociqetutom</i>	s/he grimaces, has sour face or unpleasant facial expression
<i>noskiqetutom</i>	s/he has sour expression on face
<i>paniqe</i>	h/ face is uncovered or exposed (e.g., baby whose hood has slipped back, bride with veil lifted)
<i>paniqehsin</i>	(corpse, person asleep) s/he lies with face uncovered
<i>pihtasokiqe</i>	s/he has a long face (shape of face)
<i>piyehsuwiqe</i>	s/he has hairy face, has abundant facial hair; (man) he has heavy beard
<i>pqiqehe</i>	s/he blushes, is flushed; h/ face turns red
<i>psuwiswiqewu</i>	s/he has catlike face; h/ face is unexpressive, s/he has poker face
<i>puhpukhomiqe</i>	s/he has freckles on face
<i>puspekiqe</i>	h/ face is wet
<i>˘sisoq</i>	h/ eye; h/ face
<i>sukacokiqe</i>	h/ face droops
<i>tqeswiqewu</i>	s/he makes embarrassed or shy face, s/he blushes
<i>˘tutomuwiqewu</i>	h/ face shows that s/he is begging, s/he looks as if s/he is begging
<i>wapiqe</i>	h/ face is white or pale

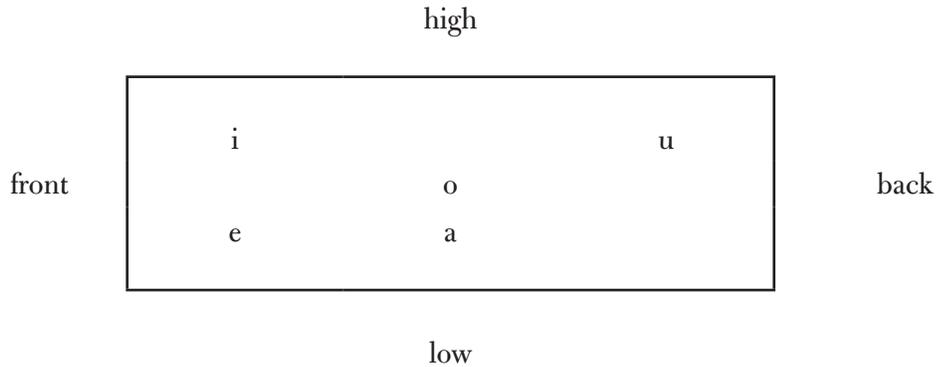
This sample entry has been abridged to show only words ending with *-iqe*, *-iqehe*, *-iqetutom*, or *-iqewu*. These finals are useful in forming other words. Users may note that *-iqe*, *-iqehe*, and *-iqewu* are also used in verbs that denote ‘eye’ instead of face; see, for example, *kinalokiqe*, *mecimalokiqehe*, *piskiqewu*.

9. THE SOUNDS OF PASSAMAQUODDY-MALISEET

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

Vowel sounds: There are five vowels in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, shown below according to the position of their articulation in the mouth. The letter *o* represents a sound like schwa (represented in linguistics by an upside-down *e*).

POSITION OF ARTICULATION IN MOUTH



VOWELS

<i>Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Letter</i>	<i>English Example</i>	<i>Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Example</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<i>a</i>	father	<i>ahahs</i>	‘horse’
<i>e</i>	bed	<i>epit</i>	‘sitting’
<i>eh</i>	tack	<i>ehpit</i>	‘woman’
<i>i</i>	machine	<i>ipis</i>	‘whip’
<i>o</i>	apron	<i>opos</i>	‘tree, stick’
<i>u</i>	dune	<i>uten</i>	‘town’

BLENDS

<i>aw</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>awt</i>	‘road’
<i>ew</i>	<i>Europa</i> (Spanish)	<i>new</i>	‘four’
<i>iw</i>	<i>few</i>	<i>lamiw</i>	‘within’
<i>ay</i>	<i>pie</i>	<i>sepay</i>	‘this morning’
<i>ey</i>	<i>grey</i>	<i>piksey</i>	‘pork’

Consonant sounds: The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet consonants are shown below. The letters *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, and *y* represent sounds much the same as those in English; *h* is pronounced before a vowel, silent or lightly pronounced before a consonant. The sound of *l* is more like that in the English word “feel” than in “leaf.” The sound of *w* is less rounded than in English.⁷

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

The consonant *c* resembles the *ch* of English, while *q* resembles English *kw*. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, the consonant *q* is distinct from the two-consonant combination *kw*-; this pair occurs only at the beginning of words where the personal prefix *k*- ‘you’ comes before an initial *w*-; compare *kwik* (KWEEG) ‘you dwell,’ *qin* (GWEEN) ‘really,’ and *’qasahkan* (kwah-ZAH-kahn) ‘s/he discards it.’

Apostrophe (’) indicates an initial consonant which is no longer pronounced. It is written only at the beginning of a word and only before *c*, *k*, *p*, *q*, *s*, or *t*, when one of these consonants precedes a vowel.

<i>Passamaquoddy- Maliseet Letter</i>	<i>When next to another consonant, except initial n- with the meaning ‘I, we,’ or when next to apostrophe, sounds like English...</i>	<i>When not next to a consonant or apostrophe, or when following the personal prefix n- ‘I, we,’ sounds like English...</i>
<i>c</i>	ch	j
<i>k</i>	k	g
<i>p</i>	p	b
<i>q</i>	kw	gw
<i>s</i>	s	z
<i>t</i>	t	d

The sound changes indicated by the apostrophe are actually more complex than indicated in this chart.⁸ The effect of the apostrophe on the following sound depends upon which consonant has been dropped and which consonant follows. A missing *w* or *n* has become an *h*; this is usually silent, but some older speakers pronounce it as a slight breathiness following a vowel. If there is no preceding vowel — for example, when the word is pronounced in isolation — the following consonant is aspirated, except *s*, which is tense. If the missing consonant is not *w* or *n*, then the

effect on the sound of the following consonant is less noticeable. Still, the apostrophe shows that the dropped consonant is part of the word stem, as outlined in section 6, above.

There are other subtle distinctions. The consonants *s* and *c* are voiced after the personal prefix *n-*; they sound like English *z* and *j*, respectively. Between vowels, however, particularly for older speakers, they are not actually voiced but “lax”; that is, the letter *s* has a sound intermediate between *z* and *s*, while the sound of *c* is between *j* and *ch*. At the beginning of a word and before a vowel, *s* represents a voiceless but lax sound, while *’s* represents a voiceless but tense sound; this distinction is hard to hear. According to LeSourd, the differences among these sounds may be disappearing under the influence of English.

Stress and pitch: Both stress and pitch (or pitch contour) are distinctive in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, but the descriptions of these features are complex. Differences in pitch and pitch contour and differences in vowel length are among the features that distinguish Passamaquoddy from Maliseet. For a comprehensive description and analysis see *Tales from Maliseet Country*.⁹ This work is particularly valuable in that stress and pitch are marked throughout the Maliseet text.

The Standard Writing System as a Reflection of Phonology

The standard writing system used for Passamaquoddy-Maliseet was developed and perfected by a number of linguists and Native speakers who collaborated successively during the 1960s and 1970s. Harvard linguist Karl V. Teeter’s work with Peter Lewis Paul, a Maliseet of Woodstock, New Brunswick, resulted in the first writing system designed for the language using linguistic principles. This was adapted for practical typewriting by Wayne Newell (Passamaquoddy), the director of the bilingual education program at Indian Township, Maine, in collaboration with MIT linguist Kenneth Hale, so that it could be used in storybooks and instructional materials. In particular, the letter *o* in Teeter’s system became *u*, and schwa could then be typed easily as *o*, rather than the cumbersome upside-down *e*.

The teachers and curriculum developers in the bilingual program and a number of linguists working with them made further refinements to account for double consonants (for example, *mattihikon* ‘fireplace poker’ vs. *mahtihikon* ‘lid-lifter’; *sakomakk* ‘the deceased chiefs’ vs. *sakomahk* ‘at the chief’s place’); to standardize the writing of schwa (*o*) as *u* before *w*, where it is rounded (*nutuwak* ‘I hear them’); and to show the unstressed schwas frequently “inaudible” in speech (*matonal* ‘s/he fights h/,’ *pahtoliyas* ‘priest’). Additional contributors during that time were Passamaquoddy language consultant David A. Francis, of Pleasant Point; Passamaquoddy teachers Anna Harnois and Patricia Nicholas Sockabasin; linguist Philip S. LeSourd, then a student of Kenneth Hale’s; and materials and curriculum developers Mary Ellen Stevens (Socobasin) (Passamaquoddy) and Robert M. Leavitt. Laura Knecht, another of Hale’s students, suggested using the apostrophe to represent “missing” initial consonants.

The result of this careful process was a writing system that reflects elegantly the phonemics and the phonology of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. Thanks to its collaborative origins, it is now widely used in Maine and New Brunswick, in both teaching and publication.

10. INTRODUCTION TO THE NOUN CHARTS
AND VERB CONJUGATION CHARTS

Noun Charts

The noun charts on pages 638–639 show the various forms of inanimate and animate nouns. Users will find explanations of obviative, possessed, locative, and diminutive forms in sections 5 and 7; absentative noun forms are discussed in section 1 and in this section, below. The possessed forms are further elaborated in the charts using a set of example nouns. Alternative endings are listed for some forms, and users may encounter additional variations not shown.

Verb Conjugation Charts

The remainder of this section provides a brief explanation of the various forms of verbs found in the conjugation charts on pages 640–693. The charts present the many forms in which verbs occur. While the charts are intended to be comprehensive, users may encounter forms not listed.

Organization of the Charts

The charts are organized according to verb type.

<i>Verb Type</i>	<i>Chart Numbers</i>	<i>Comments</i>
<i>ai</i> <i>ai+obj</i>	Charts 1–13	These conjugations differ according to the final vowel of the verb stem and nature of the final syllable of the stem.
<i>ii</i>	Charts 14–24	These conjugations differ according to the final vowel of the verb stem and nature of the final syllable of the stem.
<i>ti</i>	Charts 25–30	These conjugations differ according to the final vowel of the verb stem and nature of the final syllable of the stem.
<i>ta</i>	Charts 31–37	These conjugations differ according to the stress pattern of the verb stem and also the final consonant of the stem.
<i>ta+obj</i>	Charts 38–40	These conjugations differ according to the nature of the final syllable of the verb stem.

Each chart shows the forms of the verb used in the Independent Indicative, Changed Conjunct, Unchanged Conjunct, Subordinative, and Imperative modes (see descriptions below). For each type of verb, the first chart (1, 14, 25, 31, 38) also shows preterit, dubitative preterit, and absentative forms; these forms are similar for each of the other conjugations in the series. For example, the preterit forms of *ai* verbs 2 through 13 may be inferred by consulting the preterit forms in Chart 1.

Note that the *negative* forms of all verbs have different endings from the positive forms (except in the Conjunct Imperative; see below); negative forms are listed separately for each conjugation.

Modes and Tenses

Verb Modes

Independent Indicative mode: The Independent Indicative mode is used primarily in the main clauses of statements and in yes-no questions. It is also used in questions beginning with *tama* ‘where?’ and *tayuwe, tayuwek* ‘when?’ Personal prefixes are used throughout, with stem 1 or 1a — except that the third-person and obviative forms of *ai* verbs and third-person *ta* unspecified subject forms use stem 1 or 1b without personal prefixes.

Changed Conjunct mode: The Changed Conjunct mode is used mainly in “when” clauses, but also frequently in main clauses. There are two Changed Conjunct modes used in “when” clauses.¹⁰ They differ in accentuation. One has the *-an* ending in the first-person singular (see the verb conjugation charts). This has a perfective meaning: *neke peciyayan* ‘when I had arrived’ vs. *neke peciyay* ‘when I was arriving.’ Outside the first-person singular, the perfective mode has stress on the final syllable.

Verb participles are Changed Conjunct forms. The Changed Conjunct is also used in ‘why?’ questions, and in questions beginning with *tan* meaning ‘where?’ (*tan* meaning ‘how?’ takes the Subordinative mode; see below). Changed Conjunct forms use stem 2 (if different from stem 1), without personal prefixes.

The word *mehsi* (*mehs-*, *mes-*) ‘why?’ is a preverb (initial root). Consequently, ‘why?’ questions use the form of the verb stem that follows an initial. Many speakers say *keq mehsi* or *keq nit mehsi* ‘what is the reason that ...?’ to introduce a ‘why?’ question.

<i>Mehsi nit wikhikon nit otek?</i>	‘Why is that book there?’
<i>Mehsi-liphat wasisol ansa ahahs?</i>	‘Why is she carrying the child as a horse would?’
<i>Keq nit mesotemit wasis?</i>	‘Why is the child crying?’

When the Changed Conjunct is used in main clauses, it may take on a particular meaning for certain verbs.

<i>Independent Indicative</i>	<i>Changed Conjunct</i>
<i>liku</i> ‘s/he has such a form’	<i>elikit</i> ‘s/he is ugly’
<i>linaqot</i> ‘it looks thus’	<i>elinaqahk</i> ‘there is a lot of it, there are a lot of them’
<i>tuciye</i> ‘s/he goes by’	<i>etuciyat</i> ‘s/he goes very fast,’ ‘how fast she goes!’
<i>ckuwe</i> ‘s/he comes, approaches’	<i>weckuwat</i> ‘here s/he comes’ (s/he is in sight)

Unchanged Conjunct mode: The Unchanged Conjunct (also called Unchanged Subjunctive) mode is used in ‘if’ clauses and in sentences beginning with *on-op-al* (*nopal*) ‘if only’. The forms use stem 1 or 1b, without personal prefixes; the endings are the same as those of the Changed Conjunct, except in the first person singular, where only the *-an* ending is used.

Subordinative mode: The Subordinative mode (also called Relative mode) is used mainly in complement clauses and other situations that express subsequent or resulting action. Used alone, in the second person, it can serve as a mild or polite Imperative — *ktankeyasin* ‘take care of yourself’; it is also used for a second command following an Imperative: *ksaha naka ktopin* ‘come in and sit

down.’ Questions beginning with *tan* meaning ‘how?’ use the Subordinative (*tan* meaning ‘where?’ takes the Changed Conjunct mode; see above).

Personal prefixes are used with stem 1 or 1a in all Subordinative forms except third person *ta* unspecified subject forms (stem 1 or 1b) and all *ii* forms. Intransitive inanimate (*ii*) Subordinative forms are not marked for plural number: *tan olocihte?* means ‘what color is it?’ or ‘what color are they?’ (literally, ‘how is it colored?’ ‘how are they colored?’).

Imperative mode: The Imperative mode is used for direct commands. There are Imperative forms for *kil* and *kiluwaw*, positive and negative. There are also Imperative forms for *kilun: opine* ‘let’s sit down,’ *kiluwahune* ‘let’s look for it.’ This ‘let’s’ Imperative has no corresponding negative form. Logically, there are no commands with a first person subject (*nil, nilun*). Passamaquoddy speakers introduce negative commands with *mus* or *musa* ‘don’t,’ while Maliseet speakers use *kat-cu* ‘don’t.’

Indirect commands, those with third person subjects, are in the Conjunct Imperative mode, consisting of modified forms of the Unchanged Conjunct. These have a hortatory force: *wolomuwiqehtulihc Keluwosit* ‘may God smile upon you’; *nit otec* ‘let it be (stay) there’; *nit opihtic* ‘have them sit there.’ Positive and negative forms are the same: *musa nit otec* ‘let it not stay there,’ ‘don’t let it stay there.’ Conjunct Imperative forms are listed together with the other Imperative forms in the charts. All use stem 1 or 1b of the verb, without personal prefixes.

Unspecified Subject forms: These are forms in which the subject of the verb is not specified. In *ai* verbs, such forms are like gerunds or general statements: *wiqhopaltin* ‘feasting, there is a feast’ *matonotin* ‘warring, there is war.’ In *ta* and *ta+obj* verbs, unspecified subject forms have a passive meaning: *ntokomok* ‘I was hit’; *milkiyan* ‘if I am given it.’ Unspecified subject forms occur in all modes.

Verb Tenses

Present tense: The present tense is used in much the same way as the present tense in English, to express current actions, truths, habits, and abilities — *lintu* ‘s/he sings,’ *wapeyu* ‘it is white,’ *’tawoka* ‘s/he knows how to dance.’ The preverb *toli* is used to express progressive or continuous action — *tolintu* ‘s/he is singing,’ *toli-qasku* ‘s/he is running.’

Preterit (past) tense: In narratives and conversation, the present tense generally serves as past also. The preterit is used to specify past complete action. Speakers often use the preterit at the beginning of a story to situate it in the past; after that, the main narrative continues in the present tense. There are preterit forms in the Independent Indicative (*opuhpon* ‘s/he was sitting there’), Changed Conjunct, including participles (*epitpon* ‘when s/he sat, the one who sat’), and Subordinative (*nit-te ’topinehpon* ‘and then s/he sat down’).

Dubitative Preterit: The dubitative preterit expresses “doubt or uncertainty, lack of direct knowledge, or some conclusion on the part of the speaker.”¹¹ There are Independent Indicative, Changed Conjunct, Unchanged Conjunct, and Subordinative forms.

Tama ntopips? ‘Where was I sitting?’ (I don’t remember.) — Independent Indicative
Elkihqaks yut wikuwam. ‘This house is so big!’ (I’m surprised.) — Changed Conjunct
Nit liptaqsopon... ‘If she’d carried it thus...’ (I think she didn’t.) — Unchanged Conjunct
On-al ’kosikiness! ‘And he must have been so homely!’ (I suppose.) — Subordinative

Absentative tense: Verbs may be marked to agree with absentative nouns and pronouns in the Independent Indicative and Subordinative modes. The Subordinative absentative forms are based on the Subordinative and are also used in clauses beginning with *tanehk*, *tanek* ‘ever since’: *tanehk ntopinehk* ‘ever since I sat down.’

Future tense: Unlike its sister language Mi’kmaq, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet does not have future tense endings for verbs. Instead speakers use particles and preverbs to indicate the future.

<i>yaka</i> ‘in the future’	<i>yaka peciyat</i> ‘when s/he arrives (in the future)’
<i>oc</i> ‘in the future’	<i>apc-oc knomiyul</i> ‘I’ll see you again’
<i>-hc, -c</i> ‘in the future’	<i>ma-tehc knomiyulu</i> ‘I won’t see you’
<i>kotuw</i> (<i>kotuw-</i>) ‘will’	<i>’kotuwih</i> tun ‘s/he is going to make it’
<i>koti</i> ‘will’	<i>nkoti-apaci</i> ‘I will come back,’ ‘I am going to come back’
	<i>keti-apaciy</i> anpon ‘when I was going to come back’ (Preterit)

How to Read the Forms in the Conjugation Charts

In the charts, the columns show the various verb modes. The rows show the forms for each grammatical person, as indicated by the number code at the left side (1 for *nil*, 2 for *kil*, etc.). The personal prefixes and the endings used in the forms are shown in boldface type. Alternative forms are separated by a comma.

In the Changed Conjunct column, the form to the right of a forward slash (/) is the participle. For example, in chart 1, *epih*tit ‘when they sit’ and *epic*ik ‘those who sit.’ Depending upon the space available, a participle form may be indicated just by its ending, preceded by a hyphen. In cases where space is restricted, only the last part of the ending is given if this is simply to be added to the ending shown to the left of the slash or if it replaces the last few letters of that ending.

Each chart shows the verb stems used in the forms. In using the chart, substitute the stems of the selected verb. These stems are indicated in the dictionary entry.

ai+obj Verb Forms

Charts 1-13 show the forms of *ai* verbs. When these verbs take a direct object (*ai+obj*), this object is marked in the same way that the indirect object is marked in *ta+obj* verbs (charts 38-40). To form *ai+obj* verbs in the Independent Indicative, use the *ai* Subordinative forms with the object-endings shown in the Independent Indicative column of charts 38-40 (*-ol/-ok*, *-nul/-nuk*, etc.). To form *ai+obj* verbs in the Changed Conjunct, follow the patterns of endings for this mode in charts 38-40. The direct object of *ai+obj* verbs is not marked in the remaining modes.

Passive Forms of ti Verbs

For each type of *ti* verb, there is a corresponding “passive” formed from the verb stem. These passives are *ii* verbs; many are also used with animate subjects and are listed as verb *ai* & *ii* in the dictionary. Note how the formation of *monuwasu* differs from that of *pektahasu* and *nasqahasu*.

<i>verb ti</i>	<i>verb ii 14</i>
25 <i>micin</i> ‘s/he eats it’	<i>micasu</i> ‘it is eaten’
26 <i>’t-ihin</i> ‘s/he has it’	<i>iyasu</i> ‘it is had’
27 <i>’t-olihtun</i> ‘s/he makes it’	<i>lihtasu</i> ‘it is made’
28 <i>’punomon</i> ‘s/he places it’	<i>’punasu</i> ‘it is put there’
29 <i>’pektehmon</i> ‘s/he gets it all’	<i>’pektahasu</i> ‘it is all taken away’
29 <i>nasqahmon</i> ‘s/he combs it’	<i>nasqahasu</i> ‘it is combed’
29 <i>monuhmon</i> ‘s/he buys it’	<i>monuwasu</i> ‘it is bought’
30 <i>’t-uwehkan</i> ‘s/he uses it’	<i>wehkasu</i> ‘it is used’

Reflexive and Reciprocal Forms of ta Verbs

For each type of *ta* verb, a corresponding reflexive (‘do to oneself’) and reciprocal (‘do to each other’) may be formed from the verb stem. Reflexive and reciprocal forms are all *ai* verbs. The reciprocal verbs have dual and plural forms only.

<i>verb ta</i>	<i>Reflexive: verb ai 1</i>
31 <i>’tokomal</i> ‘s/he hits h/’	<i>tokomosu</i> ‘s/he hits self’
32 <i>’cipimal</i> ‘s/he startles h/’	<i>’cipimsu</i> ‘s/he startles self’
33 <i>’peskhal</i> ‘s/he shoots h/’	<i>’peskhusu</i> ‘s/he shoots self’
33 <i>nasqahal</i> ‘s/he combs h/’	<i>naskuhusu</i> ‘s/he combs self’
34 <i>’kikahal</i> ‘s/he heals h/’	<i>’kikuhusu</i> ‘s/he heals self’
35 <i>’t-iyal</i> ‘s/he tells h/’	<i>yuhusu</i> ‘s/he tells self’
36 <i>uleyuwal</i> ‘s/he pleases h/’	<i>woleyasu</i> ‘s/he pleases self’
37 <i>ulluwal</i> ‘s/he praises h/’	<i>wolluwosu</i> ‘s/he praises self’

<i>verb ta</i>	<i>Reciprocal: verb ai 1</i>
31 <i>’tokomal</i> ‘s/he hits h/’	<i>’tokomotuwok</i> ‘they hit each other’
32 <i>’cipimal</i> ‘s/he startles h/’	<i>’cipimtuwok</i> ‘they startle each other’
33 <i>’peskhal</i> ‘s/he shoots h/’	<i>’peskhutuwok</i> ‘they shoot each other’
33 <i>nasqahal</i> ‘s/he combs h/’	<i>’naskuhutuwok</i> ‘they comb each other’
34 <i>’kikahal</i> ‘s/he heals h/’	<i>’kikuhutuwok</i> ‘they heal each other’
35 <i>’t-iyal</i> ‘s/he tells h/’	<i>’yuhutuwok</i> ‘they tell each other’
36 <i>uleyuwal</i> ‘s/he pleases h/’	<i>’woleyawotuwok</i> ‘they please each other’
37 <i>ulluwal</i> ‘s/he praises h/’	<i>’wolluwotuwok</i> ‘they praise each other’

Some *ta+obj* verbs also have reflexive or reciprocal forms. Verbs in chart 38 have forms like those shown here for 36; verbs in charts 39 and 40 have forms like those shown for 32. Examples include *’milsu* ‘s/he gives it to self’ (see *’milan*) and *’tiyali-oltehkoma’wotultiniya* ‘they kick it around to one another’ (from *’t-oltehkomuwan*; see the final example sentence in the entry for *’yaltehkasu*).

11. SUMMARY OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE DICTIONARY ENTRIES

ai	animate intransitive
ai+obj	animate intransitive used with direct object
dim	diminutive
h/	him or her; his or her; any animate noun or pronoun
ii	inanimate intransitive
loc	locative
Ma	Maliseet
obv	obviative
Pa	Passamaquoddy
pl	plural
poss	possessed
s/he	he or she; any animate noun or pronoun
sing	singular
ta	transitive animate
ta+obj	transitive verb with direct and indirect object
ti	transitive inanimate
voc	vocative

Symbol ~: In the noun charts and verb conjugation charts, the symbol ~ stands for the noun or verb stem; this is the stem used in the other forms *in the same column* of the particular chart in which the ~ is found. The symbol is used in order to save space in the charts.

Ordinary Hyphen and Slanted Hyphen: An ordinary hyphen (-) is used to break words at the end of a line of type. A slanted hyphen (/) is used following a preverb (*cuwi-leyu*), or preceding a particle when it is suffixed to another word (*nekom-olu, kil-ona*). The slanted hyphen is used in these circumstances so as to avoid confusion between a meaningful hyphen (-) and an end-of-line hyphen (/), which is used when a word is too long to fit on the line.

NOTES

- 1 Leavitt & Francis, eds., 1990
- 2 At first the Passamaquoddy could vote for the U.S. president only; full franchise came in the mid 1960s (Wayne Newell, pers. comm.).
- 3 See Vetromile, 1857. Interestingly, this version of the Sign of the Cross, as recited today by David A. Francis and others at Pleasant Point, combines wording identified by Vetromile as Penobscot (page 19) and Passamaquoddy (page 31).
- 4 This *t* is not inserted in many dependent nouns — *nik* ‘my house,’ *kik* ‘your house’ — nor before stem-initial *u-* that results from the contraction of *wo-*: *wolitahasu* ‘s/he is happy,’ *nulitahas* ‘I am happy.’
- 5 The only verbs that do not use personal prefixes are the inanimate intransitive (*ii*) verbs.
- 6 See LeSourd, 1993, pages 158ff.
- 7 LeSourd (pers. comm.), 2007.
- 8 The analysis in this and the following paragraph has been supplied by LeSourd (pers. comm.), 2007.
- 9 LeSourd, 2007. See also LeSourd, 1993.
- 10 The remainder of this paragraph is from LeSourd (pers. comm.), 2007.
- 11 Sherwood, 1986, p. 145.

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PESKOTOMUHKATI WOLASTOQEWI LATUWEWAKON

PASSAMAQUODDY-MALISEET

