

A GRAMMAR OF THE NIPMUCK LANGUAGE

BY

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Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
For the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

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University of Manitoba
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Holly Suzanne Gustafson

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
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Master of Arts**

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a grammatical sketch of Loup A, a long-extinct Eastern Algonquian language surviving primarily in the field notes of the Sulpician missionary Jean-Claude Mathevet. These field notes were edited and annotated by Gordon Day (1975); this edition provides the sole source of original linguistic data. This grammatical sketch includes a chapter on phonetics and phonology, from a decidedly historical point of view, as well as brief sections on syntax and derivation, although the main focus is to attempt to account for all inflected forms found in the field notes. As well, this thesis identifies the Loup of Mathevet's field notes as the Nipmuck tribe of central Massachusetts. The above areas of study provide as complete a grammatical sketch as one could expect given the limited data available, but one that is more than adequate as a concise reference to the structure of an Algonquian language that has until now been almost entirely unexplored.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS AUTHOR

There is an entry listed in *Relevé des écrits indiens aux Archives de S. Sulpice* (Marinier 1973), an inventory of native North American manuscripts found in the Sulpician archives of Montréal, that is simply titled “Mots Loups”. This entry refers to an undated and anonymous notebook, containing 124 unnumbered pages without statement of either the place of its composition or the language it attempts to record (Day 1975:18). The title *Mots Loups*, literally “Wolf words” (Day 1975:11), makes reference to the name applied to several Algonquian tribes by the French; for two of these tribes, no name besides “Loup” is known (Goddard 1978:71).

The manuscript itself consists of three notebooks. The first forty pages appear to be Mathevet’s initial attempt at recording the language, containing a multitude of corrections, additions, and crossed out words. Page 41 seems to signal “a new effort” or first revision of the earlier work, and exhibits very few corrections and little physical wear. A second (and final) revision begins on page 100, and appears simply to be a neat recopying of the first sixteen pages. Also recopied in this section are two pages that do not fit into the natural order of the notebooks. The first, tucked between pages 50 and 51, is referred to as *folio 50a* and *50a verso*, abbreviated as *50a* and *50av* in this thesis. The other is the second sheet of the notebook, containing words that appear to have been randomly jotted down. This page Day calls *antefolio recto* and *antefolio verso*, abbreviated as *AR* and *AV* in this thesis. All other pages of the manuscript are organized into two columns, which will be referred to as *a* (left column) and *b* (right column). Thus, any entry or part of an entry will be listed with the page

number (as assigned by Day) and column, followed by the number of the line on which it appears.

In 1942, J.O. Lesieur found the *Mots Loups* manuscript at Oka, after it had apparently survived a fire at the mission in 1877 believed by Jean-André Cuoq to have destroyed Mathevet's notebooks on the Loup language (Day 1975:21). Lesieur shipped this and two other manuscripts to the Sulpician archives in Montréal (Lesieur 1942), where it was microfilmed and identified as Algonquian by Hanzeli (1961:237). In 1975, the manuscript was published as *The Mots Loups of Father Mathevet*, edited by Gordon Day. Along with a comprehensive introduction including a biography of Mathevet and an attempt to identify the "Loup" language, *The Mots Loups of Father Mathevet* contains a facsimile of the original manuscript printed alongside Day's edition. Also included are detailed footnotes and several word indices providing the page numbers on which the Abenaki, Algonquin, Mohawk, Loup, and French words in the manuscript can be found.

Cuoq attributed the *Mots Loups* manuscript to Jean-Claude Mathevet, which was confirmed by Day with the aid of paleographer Thomas-Marie Charland (Day 1975:23). Born March 20, 1717, in the department of Ardèche, France, Mathevet left at the age of 23 for Montréal, where he taught Latin while assisting in the parish church of Notre-Dame, and was ordained a priest in 1747. Beginning in 1746 at the mission of Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (present-day Oka), Mathevet spent the rest of his life amongst the Algonquin and Iroquois (Harel 1979:521).

A specialist in the Ojibwe language, Mathevet wrote an Algonquin grammar, sermons, a sacred history, and a life of Christ. Accompanying these are eleven notebooks of sermons written in Mohawk, of which Mathevet also had a good knowledge, as well as the *Mots Loups* notebook. Mathevet retired to the seminary in March 1778, after being stricken with paralysis, and died in August 1781. Through his efforts combating the illegal sale of

alcohol by the Europeans to the Indians, Mathevet gained great respect from the tribes with whom he worked (Harel 1979:521).

THE LANGUAGE AND ITS LOCATION

Although the language of the *Mots Loups* notebook has not been positively identified, it is generally accepted to be the language of one of the central Massachusetts tribes, either Pocumtuck or Nipmuck (Goddard 1978:174). As Day (1975:44) explains, speakers of the “Loup” language appear to have originated in New England, but the language of the manuscript differs from all recorded New England languages. In order to determine the precise location of origin of Mathevet’s “Loups”, Day uses two basic sets of clues: references found in the manuscript, and morphological analysis of the Loups’ word for themselves.

The most helpful clue in the manuscript to the location of the Loups, Day suggests, is found in the juxtaposition of two entries, the word <ta δ aangan> ‘the sawmill’, and < δ miskan δ ag δ iak> ‘the Loup nation’. Day goes on to propose that “the sawmill” is probably the French sawmill located on the Missisquoi River at Swanton, Vermont. The fact that this word is followed by <ma δ sem>, the word for ‘wolf’ (which Mathevet understood as the name of the Loup nation) suggests that “either he was writing at Missisquoi, or that his Loups had recently come from Missisquoi and he therefore identified them with the village” (Day 1975:51).

From the above references and from the word < δ miskan δ ag δ iak>, apparently the real word for the Loup nation, Day concludes that the Loups were indeed the Pocumtuck tribe. However, there are several problems with this hypothesis. First, the word < δ miskan δ ag δ iak> is morphologically analyzed by Day to mean ‘beaver-tail-hill people’, and since the Pocumtuck range, according to legend, is said to be the petrified body of a huge beaver, it might be reasonable to make the tentative connection between the Loups and the Pocumtuck. However, Day’s morphological analysis is quite tenuous, and he dismisses three major

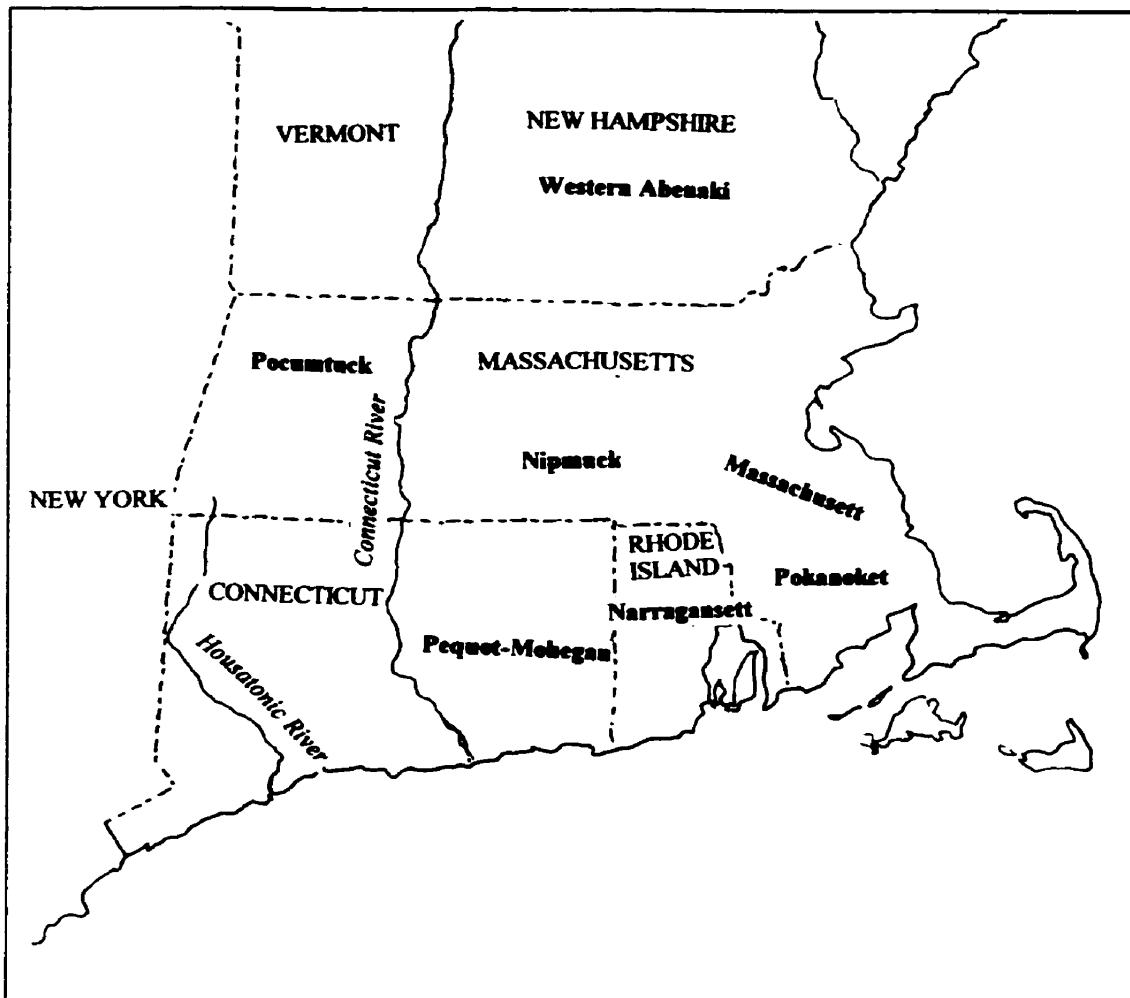
problems with this analysis as “mishearings” or “mis-spellings” by Mathevet. Comparing the Loup word with St. Francis Abenaki *amiskw-ōlo-ōko-i-ak*, Day suggests that Loup *-<ag8>* is a mis-spelling of *-<ang8>*, cognate of St. Francis Abenaki *-ōko-* ‘bank, hill’. The second problem is Loup *-<an8>* which, if it is to correspond to St. Francis Abenaki *-ōlo-* ‘tail’, should contain an *l*, rather than the *n* recorded. Day suggests that Mathevet mistakenly heard the morpheme as *-ōno-*, and recorded it as such. The third problem involves the initial *<8>* of the stem. The Loup medial meaning ‘beaver’ is *-ameskw-*, as in *<napémésk8^o>*¹ ‘male beaver’ and *<esk8ámésk8^o>* ‘female beaver’. Hence, third person inflection should be *wetameskw-*, not *wemeskw-* as it appears. Once again, Day explains that it is probably mishearing or force of habit that caused Mathevet to record such a mistake. Taken individually, each one of these explanations seems perfectly reasonable and supports Day’s interpretation of the Loups’ name for themselves. However, together they bring into question all three of the morphemes in the word. While Day’s analysis may be correct, it would be unacceptable to use this argument to identify the Loup as Pocumtuck, given the many mistakes that would have to be ignored if the hypothesis were to be adopted.

Another major problem with considering the Loup to be the Pocumtuck is a phonological one. Using present-day place names and those recorded centuries ago, Goddard (1977) manages to “establish or confirm the locations of the phonological isoglosses that separated the rather poorly known languages of Connecticut.” According to Goddard, Proto Eastern Algonquian (PEA) **l* became *r* in the area of the Housatonic Valley, became *y* in the Mohegan-Pequot region of southeastern Connecticut, became *n* to the east of this area (present-day Rhode Island and eastern Massachusetts), and remained *l* to the north, in central Massachusetts. Goddard points out that no place names containing the *l* reflex occur west of the Connecticut River. This finding immediately rules out Pocumtuck as a possible candidate for the Loup language. As seen in figure 1 below, the Pocumtuck region clearly occupies an

¹ The ^o after the *<8>* in this thesis replaces a breve mark in Mathevet’s orthography.

area west of the Connecticut River, where an *r*-dialect was spoken. However, Mathevet's manuscript contains no *r*'s in Loup words, instead displaying a consistent *l* reflex. This eliminates all languages west of the Connecticut River, including Pocumtuck, as well as all languages south of the state of Massachusetts. Thus there is only one possible candidate, the only language yet to be accounted for east of the Connecticut River and north of the Pequot-Mohegan region — Nipmuck.

Figure 1



Little is known about the Nipmuck tribe, one of the “least defined of the Indian tribes of southern New England” (Shepherd 1998:184), apart from what can be gleaned from Mathevet’s manuscript. With an original population of only about 500 in the year 1600, the time of the first substantial contact with Europeans, the epidemic of 1634 drastically reduced this number (Shepherd 1998:184). Until this time, the Nipmuck had remained relatively isolated from European influence, a major reason for the lack of cultural information available about them. It can be assumed, however, that the Nipmuck were very much like their southern New England neighbours, planting crops and harvesting wild plants, as well as fishing and hunting deer and small game. One thing that is known about the Nipmuck culture is their particular talent for wood-carving (Shepherd 1998: 186). Beyond this, it might be said that Mathevet’s manuscript contains the only substantial information still available about the Nipmuck language and culture.

By 1674, many of the Nipmuck had been converted to Christianity by European missionaries. At the start of King Philip’s War in 1675, most of the Nipmuck were scattered and left the territory until the war was over, while a few joined Philip, a Wampanoag, in his fight against the English. While more than 3000 Nipmuck, Wampanoag, and Narragansett died in the war, most of the survivors fled to New York and Canada. Those that remained in New England became “virtually landless” (Shepherd 1998:185).

Despite their sudden decrease in number in the 1600s, the Nipmuck tribe remains intact today. Beginning to reemerge in the 1920s, the tribe now consists of 1400 members who are petitioning the U.S. government for federal recognition and support (Shepherd 1998:185-6). The Nipmuc Tribal Acknowledgement Project, funded by grants and private support, hopes to acquire land as well as publish information on Nipmuck history and culture, attempting to keep the tribal history and traditional philosophy alive (McMullen 1994:391).

OTHER LANGUAGES ATTESTED IN THE MANUSCRIPT

Not only is the manuscript the only substantial record of the Nipmuck language, it also contains many words, phrases, and short texts of a variety of other languages in the midst of the Nipmuck records. These insertions of Abenaki, Algonquin, and Mohawk are often labelled as such by Mathevet, although some were identified by Day. The appearance of these other languages interspersed among the Nipmuck suggests a diversity of peoples at the location where Mathevet collected his Loup data, supporting the idea that the Nipmuck may have already been displaced at the time the manuscript was composed (Day 1975:48). It also suggests that the Nipmuck language may be highly influenced by these other Algonquian languages, having borrowed words and even phonological, morphological, and syntactic processes that may not have originally been present before extensive contact between the tribes occurred.

Apparent interference from Ojibwe appears throughout the text, often within otherwise Nipmuck words. Most obvious is the occurrence of *-e:lɪnt-* as a reflex of PA **-e:lent-* 'think' rather than the expected Nipmuck reflex *-a:let-*. Many words with this final are recorded with the Ojibwe form *⟨-elɪnd-⟩*:

⟨ni8ik8elɪndam⟩ 'I laugh'
 ⟨ketilelɪndam⟩ 'you believe s.t.'

This interference could suggest close contact between speakers of Ojibwe and of Nipmuck at the time the manuscript was composed, as does the appearance of Ojibwe words throughout the text. However, it is more likely that Mathevet, who would have had extensive training in Ojibwe, was influenced by his knowledge of the language and subsequently made mistakes in the recording of certain prominent morphemes common to both Ojibwe and Nipmuck. This Ojibwe influence will be discussed in more detail below as a possible solution to certain problems in the data.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES

There are many basic features common to all languages of the Algonquian family. The languages are usually treated as having five main parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, verbs, preverbs, and particles, the last of which encompasses all uninflected words of the language.

In Algonquian languages, there are two genders: animate and inanimate. In general, the grammatical gender of a noun is predictable from whether or not it is a living organism; thus, all nouns referring to humans, animals, and spirits are animate nouns (NA). Nouns referring to all other entities (those that are lifeless) are grammatically inanimate nouns (NI). However, while all nouns that represent living organisms are grammatically animate, some lifeless nouns may be unexpectedly inflected as animate. For example, heavenly bodies and large trees are almost always animate, as are important cultural items, such as tobacco and snowshoes (Bloomfield 1946:94). The grammatical animacy of these lifeless nouns is for the most part unpredictable, and varies across all Algonquian languages.

Verbs may be either transitive or intransitive. Intransitive verbs are animate or inanimate depending on the animacy of the subject, while transitive verbs take their animacy from their object. Thus, there are four possible verb classes: animate intransitive (AI), inanimate intransitive (II), transitive animate (TA), and transitive inanimate (TI). AI verbs are those with animate subjects (and no objects):

⟨nitantab⟩ ‘I rest’

On the other hand, II verbs have inanimate subjects:

⟨sang8sau⟩ ‘it is cold’

TA verbs have animate objects:

⟨ni8ikeman⟩ ‘I call **him**’

TI verbs have inanimate objects:

⟨nikenkatam⟩ ‘I thirst for **it**’

There is also a subset of verbs that take TI inflection, but do not have an object. These verbs are generally labelled TI-O:

⟨ni8ik8elindam⟩ ‘I laugh’
 ⟨nipiantam⟩ ‘I pray’

Number inflection on nouns in Algonquian languages is singular and plural, taking different endings depending on the gender of the noun:

⟨attek8alo⟩ ‘deer’ (with animate plural ending)
 ⟨chita8anēs⟩ ‘sticks’ (with inanimate plural inflection)

In many Algonquian languages, nouns may also be inflected for the vocative, or address form:

⟨n8ssen⟩ ‘father!’

Nouns may also be inflected for accessibility, with nouns representing items no longer accessible or in existence being marked for the inaccessible. This inflection is particularly prevalent in discussing deceased individuals:

⟨n8kassen⟩ ‘my late mother’

Person in Algonquian languages is first, second, or third. First person plural can be either exclusive (“we, but not you”) or inclusive (“I/we and you”), as in the following examples:

⟨nilantamimin⟩ ‘we (excl) are hungry’
 ⟨kilantamimin⟩ ‘we (incl) are hungry’

⟨n8ssinen⟩ ‘our (excl) father’
 ⟨k8ssinen⟩ ‘our (incl) father’

The first example refers to the fact that the speaker – but not the one spoken to – is hungry, while in the second example, both the speaker and the person to whom he is speaking are hungry. The third example refers only to the speaker’s father, while the fourth example refers to the father shared by both the speaker and the one spoken to.

There are three regular inflection prefixes representing person:

1	<i>ne-</i>	<i>netep</i>	‘my head’
2	<i>ke-</i>	<i>ketep</i>	‘your head’
3	<i>we-</i>	<i>wetep</i>	‘his head’

The above examples represent regular possessive nominal inflection; in fact, a certain group of nouns, called dependent nouns, *require* possessive inflection, and thus cannot occur “unpossessed”. Generally, these nouns are inalienably possessed, referring mostly to relatives and body parts, which may be animate (NDA) or inanimate dependent nouns (NDI):

⟨nites⟩ ‘my son’ (NDA)
 ⟨nisit⟩ ‘my foot’ (NDI)

A further distinction regarding person is obviation. Obviative inflection is best described as the “subordinate third person” of a phrase, having less importance than or appearing after another (proximate) third person in the discourse. For example, a third person possessor is proximate (with zero inflection), while the possessed third person will have obviative inflection:

⟨8sse⟩ ‘his **father**’

In this example, father is the subordinate third person, and takes obviative inflection, here spelled ⟨e⟩. Obviative inflection also often appears on the third person object of a noun when there is a third person (proximate) subject:

⟨8amanlan8a⟩ ‘he loves **him**’

The object is the subordinate third person, and thus the verb takes obviative inflection, spelled ⟨an8a⟩.

It is necessary to understand the “person hierarchy” that exists in Algonquian languages, as noun and verb person inflection depends upon it. The person hierarchy is as follows:

$$1,2 > 3 > 3' > 0 > 0'$$

Thus, first and second persons rank higher on the hierarchy than animate third persons (3), which rank higher than obviative third persons (3'), with inanimate proximate (0) and finally inanimate obviative (0') ranking lowest. The Algonquian person hierarchy defines which participants take precedence over others, and thus which form a verb will take, direct or

inverse. Direct inflection is used on verbs in which the actor holds precedence over the goal, while inverse inflection appears when the goal ranks higher on the hierarchy than the actor (Hockett 1966:65). According to the hierarchy, then, verbs with first and second person actors or subjects and third person goals or objects are direct, along with those verbs with third person subjects acting on third person obviative objects. On the other hand, third person subjects acting on first and second person objects, and obviative and inanimate subjects acting on proximate objects, are inverse.

The person hierarchy also applies to possessed nouns. In Algonquian languages, the possessor must be higher on the hierarchy than the possessed noun (Hockett 1966:64). Thus, any animate noun possessed by a third person will be lower on the hierarchy than its possessor, and will therefore be marked for obviative, as mentioned, while the possessor may be third person proximate or obviative.

Generally, there are three verbal orders, the independent, conjunct, and imperative, each containing one or more modes (Bloomfield 1946).

The independent order is used for main clauses and is the only order that uses prefixes to indicate person in inflection. The most common mode for the independent order is the indicative, used in “ordinary statements” (Bloomfield 1946:97):

⟨nip8ssi⟩ ‘I embark’

Another mode of the independent order is the present:

⟨ki8amanlimis⟩ ‘you love me’

Also found in the independent order is the preterite mode, which denotes past tense meaning:

⟨nikizi pibin8b⟩ ‘I had eaten’

Verbs may also appear in the imperative order, for commands. This order has no variation in mode and, by definition, only has forms for second person actors:

⟨passik8is⟩ ‘get up!’

⟨ket8h8manten⟩ ‘let’s sing’

⟨ak8ta8eg8a⟩ ‘stop!’ (pl)

The conjunct order is generally used in subordinate clauses. Again, the indicative is the most common of the conjunct modes, used for ordinary subordinate statements:

⟨mantchian⟩ ‘that I leave’

The changed mode takes conjunct inflection identical to the indicative, except that it also takes initial change, a modification of the first vowel of the verb stem. This mode generally denotes ‘when’-clauses and relative clauses (Bloomfield 1946:100):

⟨al8aian⟩ ‘when I say thus’

Another common mode found in the conjunct order is the subjunctive, generally denoting events that have not yet occurred (Bloomfield 1946:101):

⟨nipiana⟩ ‘when I die’

The optative mode of the conjunct order is prohibitive in meaning:

⟨ak8i piankan⟩ ‘do not come’

The preterite and present modes also occur in the conjunct order.

Any mode in the independent or conjunct order may appear with negative inflection:

⟨mat nimigai8⟩ ‘I am not a coward’ (independent indicative negative)

⟨mat 8a8antam8ana⟩ ‘if you are not wise’ (conjunct subjunctive negative)

The distinction between absolute and objective inflection also occurs in a number of Algonquian languages. While these languages differ on where these two types of inflection occur, objective inflection generally denotes a subordination.

Most Algonquian languages have a set of personal pronouns based on a common stem and taking personal prefixes (Bloomfield 1946). While the languages also have demonstrative, indefinite, and interrogative pronouns, there is great variation among them (Bloomfield 1946), and for this reason, they will be discussed in detail only as they apply to Nipmuck.

Preverbs are uninflected clitics that appear before any part of speech. Particles include “everything else” in the language, that is, all the freestanding uninflected forms.

Many particles, like preverbs, express adverbial meanings such as locatives (“particles of place”), although numerals and particles of negation also fall into this category (Bloomfield 1946).

Word derivation in Algonquian languages is extremely productive and complex. There are two basic types of derivation: primary and secondary. Primary derivation involves suffixes being added to an initial element, creating a stem. Secondary derivation occurs when suffixes are added to a stem, resulting in a word. The most productive suffixes in derivation are finals. In secondary derivation, they appear at the end of the stem, and may be abstract (merely determining the word class or verb type) or concrete, adding more “palpable” meaning to a word, such as a movement executed “without obstruction” or “with a body part”. In primary derivation, the final may be preceded by a medial suffix, which always holds concrete meaning, such as “hand” or “noise” (Bloomfield 1946:104).

Although most derivation involves verbs and nouns in Algonquian, any stem can be made into a particle. Suffixing **-i* to an initial creates a free-standing particle; suffixing **(e)nki* creates a locative. Word derivation will be discussed in more detail and with particular relevance to Nipmuck in chapter 6.

METHODOLOGY

There are three methods to determine the phonology of a language. First, and ideally, one would hear the language, and describe the phonological system of the language based on these data. Second, the orthography used to record the language (French, in the case of Nipmuck) provides a fairly good idea of what the language might have sounded like, providing the orthography is entirely accurate. Comparison to cognate languages is the last technique, but they too may be written in an orthography that is less than accurate. Of course, in the case of Nipmuck, it is impossible to know exactly how the recorded words were pronounced beyond what can be learned from historical and comparative methods. The

closest attested language to Nipmuck is Massachusett, recorded in an English-based orthography, thus Goddard's historical phonology of Massachusett (1981) and Goddard and Bragdon's *Native Writings in Massachusett* (1988) prove invaluable in the study of the Nipmuck phonological system. Therefore, the basic outline of Nipmuck orthography is determined using the comparative method, while the French orthography is used as a control, and as the sole guide where reconstruction is unavailable.

Also of great use in analyzing Nipmuck forms is Pentland's Proto-Algonquian (PA) dictionary (1998). This dictionary contains reconstructions of words using comparison amongst known Algonquian languages; the result is a list of forms that likely existed in Proto-Algonquian, from which all Algonquian languages originate. PA forms appear in this thesis as a phonemic (italicized) orthography preceded by an asterisk to indicate that the original language is unattested.

In examining the morphology of Nipmuck, I have attempted to account for every inflected form within the manuscript, and to place it in a category that seems most appropriate. This is done on the basis of Mathevet's French translations (here presented in my English translation, unless otherwise specified) and reconstruction of the likely stem endings.

The paradigms provided throughout this paper appear in both an italicized phonemic orthography (in the left-hand column) as well as Mathevet's orthography in roman text (in the right-hand column). Where there is a gap in the paradigm, a possible form is suggested using comparative evidence from inflectional endings both in similar languages, and within Nipmuck itself. An asterisk follows these suggested forms.

Within the text of the paper, Mathevet's orthography appears in roman text within angle brackets, while my phonemic interpretation of this orthography appears in italics. In paradigms and lengthy lists of examples, Mathevet's orthography appears simply in roman text for better readability.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography Mathevet uses to describe the sounds of Nipmuck is one that is influenced by French, so the Nipmuck words, for the most part, should be pronounced as though they were French. However, in many respects, Mathevet's French orthography did not possess the conventions to transcribe the unfamiliar Nipmuck sounds appropriately, leading to serious inconsistencies in his writing system. For example, Mathevet often represented *s* as <ch>, as in <choup>, a borrowing of English 'soap'. In fact, the same word may be spelled with either <s> or <ch> to represent the phoneme *s*:

<nitachemig8^a> 'he feeds me' 54
 <assamian> 'that you feed me' 55

<chibakama8ok> 'they sail' 24
 <nisibakkaman> 'I sail' 76

<sanban> 'soup, sagamité' (66) ~ <chanban> (112)

<chinebat> 'silver' (112) ~ <sinibat> (112)

This creates ambiguity, especially since many of the Algonquian languages have retained an original \bar{s} phoneme found in Proto-Algonquian (PA), while Nipmuck and others have merged this sound with *s*. Mathevet's failure to transcribe the Nipmuck *s* consistently suggests that the phoneme may have had a different quality than the *s* found in Mathevet's own French dialect. This and other spelling variations are listed below.

It should also be noted that what appears as <8> in Nipmuck words represents a common orthographic device of the 18th century. The <8> in fact represents an omicron with an upsilon above it, a symbol often used by missionaries to represent the French sound spelled <ou> and pronounced as *u*.

CONSONANTS

As mentioned above, one of the few valid methods of analyzing the sounds of an extinct language of which there is no direct record is the historical approach. This involves the comparison of PA sounds with their Nipmuck reflexes. A list of PA consonants and the Nipmuck reflexes is provided below, accompanied by examples illustrating the variety of spellings Mathevet used to represent each sound. Each Nipmuck word appears in both Mathevet's spelling (in angle brackets) and in a consistent phonemic orthography (in italics). All reconstructions and the Nipmuck phonemic orthography come from a draft of Pentland's PA dictionary (Pentland 1998).

Nipmuck likely contained the following twelve phonemic consonants:²

p	t	tʲ	c	k	(kʷ)
	s			h	
	l				
m	n				
w				y	

As in most Algonquian languages, voicing was not distinctive in Nipmuck, and Mathevet thus represented obstruent consonants as both voiceless and voiced.

Consonant Correspondences

PA oral stops **p*, **t*, and **k* remain unchanged in Nipmuck. Thus **p* remains as *p* (written as ⟨*p*⟩ or ⟨*b*⟩):

**papikʷaki* > *papikwak* ⟨*papikʰak*⟩ 'fleas' 7

**kelepi* > *kelepi* ⟨*kilipi*⟩ 'fast, quickly' 77

**ti:paya:htekwa* > *ci:payāhtekw* ⟨*tchipahiatikʰa*⟩ 'crucifix, cross' 20

**wa:panwi* > *wāpan* ⟨*ʰamban*⟩ 'tomorrow' 101

**ni:piti* > *ni:pit* ⟨*nibit*⟩ 'tooth' 35

**elena:pyi* > *el(e)nāpiy*³ ⟨*alnambi*⟩ 'bracelet of beads' 106

² The symbol *c* represents a voiceless palatal affricate in all phonemic transcriptions in this paper.

³ All vowels that appear to drop are shown in parentheses: see "Vowel Syncope" for further discussion.

PA *t remains t (written as ⟨t⟩, ⟨tt⟩, or ⟨d⟩):

- *no:tama:kanaki > no:tamākanak ⟨n8tamanganak⟩ ‘my pipes’ 2
- *lo:te:wi > lo:ta: ⟨l8teh⟩ ‘fire’ 44
- *tema:xk^e:wa > temāhkw ⟨temank8e⟩ ‘beaver’ 106
- *atehk^a > atehkw ⟨attek8e⟩ ‘deer’ 103
- *apete:wi > apeta:w ⟨abittau⟩ ‘it is warm’ 94
- *tepi > tepi ⟨debi⟩ ‘enough’ 66

PA *k remains k (written as ⟨k⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨gh⟩ (before ⟨i⟩), or ⟨c⟩):

- *kaha:nka > k(a)hāk ⟨kank⟩ ‘bustard’ 46
- *ka:ka:kiwa > kākāⁱw ⟨kankanch8⟩ ‘crow’ 84
- *keto:hke:wa > keketo:hka:w (redup.) ⟨kikit8kau⟩ ‘he babbles’ 102
- *takaha:kanali > tak(a)hākanas ⟨taganganēs⟩ ‘axes’ 19
- *paka:na > pakān ⟨pagan⟩ ‘large nut’ 37
- *ketema:ki > ketemāki ⟨ghitimaki⟩ ‘poor’ 98
- *aθko:ka > (a)sko:k ⟨sc8g⟩ ‘snake’ 53

PA *t palatalizes to *[c] before i, i:, and y. The reflex in Nipmuck is c (written as ⟨tch⟩, ⟨ch⟩, ⟨j⟩, or ⟨ts⟩):

- *mati > maci ⟨matchi⟩ ‘bad’ 37
- *kama:ti > kamāci ⟨kamantchi⟩ ‘not anymore’ 95
- *awahka:ti > aw(a)hkāci ⟨au8kentchi⟩ ‘hardly, scarcely’ 112
- *metimi > mecimi ⟨michimi⟩ ‘always’ 110
- *ti:nkanwi > ci:kan ⟨chigan⟩ ‘it is calm out’ 100
- *mo:ti > mo:ci ⟨m8tsi⟩ ‘certainly’ 111
- *ni:ti-aya > ni:ci-ay ⟨nitsiai⟩ ‘my brother’ 92

Like oral stops, PA nasal stops remain unchanged in Nipmuck. Thus *m remains m

(always written as ⟨m⟩):

- *malo:mina > malo:min ⟨mal8min⟩ ‘wheat’ 89
- *we:mi > wa:mi ⟨8ami⟩ ‘all’ 100
- *me?tekⁱ > mehtekw ⟨mettek8^e⟩ ‘firewood’ 16

PA *n remains n (always written as ⟨n⟩):

- *ni:tya:na > ni:cān ⟨nitjan⟩ ‘child’ 69
- *weθkaniminaki > weskaniminak ⟨oskanimenak⟩ ‘seed’ 76
- *menenakwi > menenakw ⟨menaneg⟩ ‘island’ 99

PA *s and *ʃ fall together to Nipmuck s. Thus *s remains s (written as ⟨s⟩, ⟨ss⟩, ⟨x⟩,

⟨c⟩, ⟨z⟩, or ⟨ch⟩):

*sa:kima:wa > sā'imā ⟨sancheman⟩ 'chief' 23

*si:pyiwi > si:piw ⟨sip8⟩ 'river' 11

*nesiti > nesit ⟨nisit⟩ 'foot' 66

*maxkesenye:kerwi > mahkesena:k ⟨makissinag⟩ 'shoe leather' 51

*mekesiwa > mekesiw ⟨mekess8⟩ 'eagle' 46

*pesak⁹ani > pesakw ⟨pissag8^a⟩ 'mud' 98

*wi:si > wi:s ⟨8iaux⟩ 'fat' 25

English cheese > ci:s ⟨chix⟩ 'cheese' 93

*pi:wesiw(ehsi)wa > pi:wesi:hsiw ⟨pi8icis8⟩ 'he is small' 71

*mya:θesiwa > mamāli:siw (redup.) ⟨mamanliz8⟩ 'he is multi-coloured' 33

*so:keθa:nwi > so:kelān ⟨ch8glan⟩ 'it rains' 106

PA *ʃ becomes s (written as ⟨s⟩, ⟨ss⟩, ⟨ch⟩, or ⟨z⟩):

*nešihsa > nesihš ⟨nisis⟩ 'my mother's brother' 86

*ša:kwikamikatwi > sākwikamikat ⟨sang8igamigat⟩ 'it is a cold dwelling' 93

*wešek⁹enayi > wesekwena: ⟨8ssig8na⟩ 'his tail' 35

*ši:ʔši:kwe:wa > si:hsi:kw ⟨chichik8e⟩ 'rattlesnake' 53

*ki:ši > ki:si ⟨kizi⟩ 'after; past tense; can, be able to'⁴ 73

PA *l and *θ fall together to give Nipmuck l. Thus *l remains l (always written as

⟨l⟩):

*elenyiwa > eleniw ⟨ilin8⟩ 'man' 16

*ale:has > ala:hs ⟨alas⟩ 'oyster' 98

*lo:te:wi > lo:ta:w ⟨louteau⟩ 'it burns' 38

PA *θ becomes l (written as ⟨l⟩ or ⟨ll⟩):

*weθa:kwi > welākw ⟨8lang8⟩ 'evening' 5

*ni:θemwa > ni:lem ⟨nilim⟩ 'my sister-in-law(of male); my brother-in-law(of female)' 86

*aθetwi > alet ⟨alet⟩ 'it is rotten' 23

⁴ The preverb *ki:si* may add one of two different meanings to the verb it precedes, either past tense or 'can, be able to'.

**θa:piθentye:pyi* > *lāpeleca:p* <lambellichab> ‘ring (on finger)’ 102

PA glides **w* and **y* remain unchanged in Nipmuck. Thus PA **w* remains *w* (written as <8> or <u>):

**wi:naya* > *wi:nay* <8inai> ‘woman’ 16

**wi:kiwa:ʔmi* > *wi:ʔiwām* <8ichi8am> ‘house’ 20

**awasowa* > *awasew* <a8as8> ‘he warms himself by the fire’ 23

**ma:wa* > *maw* <maue> ‘he cries’ 35

When *w* appears word-finally after *k*, it is generally written as <8>, followed by <a> or superscript <e>, likely Mathevet’s attempt at representing the slight release of the glide at the end of the word:

**netye?tya:kʷa* > *necehcākw* <nitchichank8^a> ‘my soul’ 102

**na:pe:meθkʷa* > *nāpa:meskw* <napémésk8^e> ‘male beaver’ 44

The <8> may also be followed by an <e>, which may again be Mathevet’s attempt to represent a slight release at the end of the word-final glide, or could possibly be a “silent e”, a feature common in French orthography:

**me?θanyikʷa* > *mehsanikw* <misanig8e> ‘squirrel’ 106

Either way, it is impossible to know the true nature of these word-final vowels. The *w* may also be written simply as <8> or may not be written at all :

**takwa:kwi* > *takwākw* <tag8ang8> ‘autumn’ 19

**ke?toθakwi* > *kehtolakw* <kit8lag> ‘big canoe, ship’ 105

PA **y* remains *y* (written as <i>, <hi>, or not written when following an <i>):

**eyo* > (*e*)*yoyo* (redup.) <ioio> ‘today’ 61

**aya:pewa* > *ayāp* <aianpe> ‘male deer’ 103

**pe:yakʷi* > *pa:yakw* <paiak8^e> ‘ten’ 4

**ti:paya:htekwa* > *ci:payāhtekw* <tchipahiatik8^a> ‘crucifix’ 20

**sanakina:kʷesiwa* > *sayakinākwesiw* <sahiaginang8s8> ‘he appears to be difficult’

100

**wi:yo:hsi* > *wi:yawehs* <8iaux> ‘meat’ 15

**awiya* > *awiya* <a8ia> ‘something’ 84

PA **h* remains *h* (written as ⟨*h*⟩, or not written):

**nahakayi* > *nahaka*: ⟨*nahāga*⟩ ‘my body’ 108

**nete:hyi* > *neta:h* ⟨*niteh*⟩ ‘my heart’⁵ 69

**nahame:wa* > *nahama*: ⟨*nahame*⟩ ‘wild turkey’ 78

**a:ha:nsiwa* > *āhāsiw* ⟨*aans8*⟩ ‘cow’ 84

**kaha:nka* > *k(a)hāk* ⟨*kank*⟩ ‘bustard’ 46

**wetaha:kani* > *wet(a)hāk* ⟨*8tang*⟩ ‘paddle’ 24

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Determining consonant clusters proves far more challenging than single consonants due to the fact that Mathevet’s orthography did not possess the devices necessary to transcribe the clusters adequately. Here, we must rely on two other elements: comparative evidence from geographically and historically related languages (other Southern New England languages) and “Sturtevant’s Law”. This basic rule, developed by E.H. Sturtevant for the interpretation of Hittite orthography but easily adaptable to Algonquian, suggests that sounds that are consistently spelled with a voiceless consonant are most likely fortis, or preaspirated. On the other hand, sounds whose spelling varies between voiced and voiceless consonants, or are spelled with both a voiced and voiceless consonant, as in ⟨*sankganban*⟩ for *sākāpan*, ‘it is dawn’ (95), are more likely to be lenis, or not preaspirated. Since Mathevet does not use ⟨*h*⟩ to signal preaspiration, we must use Sturtevant’s Law, as well as historical and comparative evidence, to identify the following system of consonant clusters (the consonants running along the left side of the chart are the initial consonants, while the consonants along the top of the chart represent the second consonants of the clusters):⁶

⁵ Since *h* is rarely written by Mathevet, it is remarkable that he would record its occurrence at the end of the word, where it would be most difficult to detect.

⁶ Note that this method is not without error. For example, the word *awa:hso:hs* ‘bear’ is a clear descendent of PA **awe:hsiwa*, thus the first *hs* cluster is almost unquestionable. However, Mathevet spells this word both as ⟨*a8ass8s*⟩ (106) and ⟨*a8az8s*⟩ (114), a variation which would normally indicate a lenis or non-aspirated consonant.

	*p	*k	*t	*s	*ʃ	*θ	*l	*m
*n/m	p	k	t	s	s	(hs)	(hs)	
*h	(hp)	hk	ht	hs	hs	hs	(hs)	
*ʔ	---	---	ht	hs	hs	hs	hs	m
*x	hp	hk	---	---	---	---	---	
*θ	(sp)	sk	---	---	---	---	---	
*ʃ	sp	sk	---	---	---	---	---	
*s	---	sk	---	---	---	---	---	

Consonant Cluster Correspondences

PA nasals in the clusters **mp*, **nk*, **nt*, **ns*, **nʃ* are deleted in Loup. Thus PA **mp* becomes *p* (written as ⟨p⟩ or ⟨b⟩):

**wetempyi* > *wetep* ⟨8tep⟩ ‘his head’ 102

**tetepampisowa* > *tepapisew* ⟨tepabis8⟩ ‘swaddled’ 88

PA **nk* becomes *k* (written as ⟨k⟩ or ⟨g⟩, or as ⟨gu⟩ before a front vowel):

**lo:te:nki* > *lo:ta:k* ⟨l8tak⟩ ‘at the fire’ 93

**wi:nkanwi* > *wi:kan* ⟨8igan⟩ ‘it is sweet, good tasting, delicious’ 39

**la:nkeθkwe:wa* > *lākeskw* ⟨languisk⟩ ‘young woman’ 16

PA **nt* becomes *t* (written as ⟨t⟩):

**no:nte:ʔle:wa* > *no:ta:hsa:w* ⟨n8tassau⟩ ‘it runs short’ 78

**kenteke:wa* > *keteka:w* ⟨ketegau⟩ ‘he dances’ 93

**la:watenki* > *lāwatek* ⟨lan8atec⟩ ‘far off, too far off; long ago’ 40

Before **i*, *i:*, and *y*, **nt* becomes *c* (written as ⟨tch⟩, ⟨j⟩, ⟨ch⟩, ⟨ts⟩, or ⟨g⟩)

**pakanti* > *pakaci* ⟨pagatchi⟩ ‘completely, to the end’ 71

**netex^we:θentyi* > *netekwa:leciy* ⟨nitek8alitchi⟩ ‘my thumb’ 89

**pi:nti?le:wa* > *pi:cihsa:w* ⟨pitchichau⟩ ‘he goes inside’ 112

**nekesi:θentya:ʔmi* > *nekesi:leca:* ⟨nikisilja⟩ ‘I wipe my hands’ 66

**meθentye:hsa* > *meleca:hs* ⟨melejas⟩ ‘mitten’ 53

**θa:piθentye:pyi* > *lāpeleca:p* ⟨lambellichab⟩ ‘ring’ 102

**we:nti* > *wa:ci* ⟨8atsi⟩ (105) ⟨8agi⟩ (85) ‘wherefore’

PA **ns* becomes *s* (written as ⟨s⟩):

**no:hšyeme:nsa* > *no:hsimi:s* ⟨n8simis⟩ ‘my grandchild’ 85

PA **nš* becomes *s* (written as ⟨s⟩):

**ma:nšipeθkw* > *māsip(e)skw* ⟨mansibsk8e⟩ ‘gunflint’ 106

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, the PA clusters **nθ* and **nl* are not attested in the manuscript. Because of the small number of reconstructions available, the reflexes of these consonant clusters which, in a number of languages, behave differently from other nasal clusters, are often unpredictable or uncertain (Pentland 1979:365).

In Nipmuck, PA **?t* and **ht* fall together to *ht*, although the *h* of this and other *hC* clusters is never written by Mathevet. However, these clusters are distinguishable from plain consonants in that they are never spelled with voiced symbols (cf. Sturtevant’s Law above). As well, in Massachusett, these clusters also fall together to *ht*, where they are written ⟨ht⟩ (Goddard 1981:65). Thus PA **?t* becomes *ht* (written as ⟨t⟩ or ⟨tt⟩):

**ke?taneto:wa* > *kehtaneto:w* ⟨ketanet8⟩ ‘great god’ 102

**me?tekʷi* > *mehtekw* ⟨mettek8°e⟩ ‘firewood’ 16

PA **ht* remains *ht* (written as ⟨t⟩):

**eθhta:kʷatwi* > *elehtākwat* ⟨aliteng8at⟩ ‘it is heard thus, it sounds thus’ 101

**ahtemanali* > *htemanas* ⟨temanēs⟩ ‘snowshoe netting’ 78

Palatalization of *t* before *i*, *i:*, and *y* occurs with **?t* and **ht* clusters in the same way it occurs with non-cluster environments. The resulting *hc* reflex is written ⟨tch⟩ or ⟨ch⟩. Thus **?t* becomes *hc* before *i*, *i:*, and *y*:

**netye?tya:kʷa* > *necehcākw* ⟨nitchichank8°a⟩ ‘my soul’ 102

**ke?ti-aya* > *kehci-ay* ⟨kichiai⟩ ‘chief’ 92

Likewise, **ht* becomes *hc*:

**nehtiwa* > *nehciw* ⟨nech8⟩ ‘my fat part of arm/leg’ 95

PA **?s*, **?š*, **hs*, and **hš* all fall together as Nipmuck *hs* (although, once again, the preaspiration is never written). However, these clusters are never spelled with a voiced

consonant, and have an identical *hs* reflex in Massachusetts (Goddard 1981: 65). Thus **ʔs* becomes *hs* (written as ⟨s⟩):

**pa:kwa:ʔsamwa* > *pākwāhsam* ⟨pangʂansem⟩ ‘he (moon) shines’ 47

Likewise, **ʔʂ* becomes *hs* (written as ⟨ss⟩ or ⟨ch⟩):

**me?ʂye:θetwi* > *mehsa:let* ⟨missalit⟩ ‘it is much, many’ 57

**ʂi:ʔʂi:kʷe:wa* > *si:hsi:kw* ⟨chichikʂe⟩ ‘snake’ 53

PA **hs* remains *hs* (written as ⟨s⟩, ⟨ss⟩, ⟨ch⟩ or ⟨x⟩):

**ale:hsa* > *ala:hs* ⟨alas⟩ ‘oyster’ 98

**mekwehsi* > *mekw(e)hs* ⟨mekʂs⟩ ‘awl’ 102

**mi:tyehsowaki* > *mi:cehsowak* ⟨mitchisiʂok⟩ ‘they eat’ 114

**awahsi* > *awahsi* ⟨aʂssi⟩ ‘more’ 90

**e:hsepana* > *a:hsep* ⟨asseb⟩ ‘raccoon’ 24

**nehsa:pya:ni* > *(ne)hsāpān* ⟨chanban⟩ ‘soup, sagemite’ 112

**wi:yo:hsi* > *wiyawehs* ⟨ʂiaux⟩ ‘meat’ 15

PA **hʂ* becomes *hs* (written as ⟨s⟩, ⟨ss⟩ or ⟨ch⟩):

**no:hʂyehsa* > *no:hsemehs* ⟨nʂsimis⟩ ‘my grandson’ 86

**ke:hʂiwaki* > *ʔa:hsiwak⁷* ⟨chassʂak⟩ ‘how many are they?’ 40

**kakyē:pehʂe:wa* > *kaka:pehsa:w* ⟨kakapichau⟩ ‘he is deaf’ 112

The cluster **hl* appears in only one PA word, **le:hle:wa* ‘he breathes’, which unfortunately does not occur in the *Mots Loups* manuscript. However, from analogy with other Nipmuck cluster reflexes, and with Massachusetts (Goddard 1981), we may assume the reflex to be *hs*. PA **hθ* is attested, and becomes *hs*, written as ⟨s⟩ or ⟨ss⟩:

**no:hθa* > *no:hs* ⟨nʂs⟩ ‘my father’ 102

**w:inkehθakatwi* > *wi:kehsakat* ⟨ʂighisagat⟩ ‘it is nice wood’ 45

**ke:hθo:xkamw-aki* > *ʔa:hso:hkamak* ⟨chessʂkamak⟩ ‘how many are they in the canoe?’ 45

⁷ The appearance of Nipmuck reflex *ʔ* for PA **k* is an example of k-palatalization, discussed further in this chapter.

PA **ʔ* and **ʔl* fall together with **hl* to Nipmuck *hs*. Thus **ʔ* becomes *hs* (written as ⟨s⟩ or ⟨ss⟩):

**ki:ʃyeʔθwa* > *ki:sohs* ⟨kiz8s⟩ ‘sun; moon, month’ 109

**θaʔθawi* > *lalahsawi* (redup) ⟨lallsa8i⟩ ‘between’ 79

**pa:ʔθaxkʷe:wa* > *pāhs(a)hkwa:w* ⟨pansk8au⟩ ‘he(sun) is at the midday, noon position’ 105

**meʔθa:ɣkʷatwi* > *mehsāhkwat* ⟨missank8at⟩ ‘it is large as wood or solid’ 79

PA **ʔl* becomes *hs* (written as ⟨ss⟩ or ⟨ch⟩):

**no:nte:ʔle:wa* > *no:ta:hsa:w* ⟨n8tassau⟩ ‘it runs short’ 78

**pi:ntiʔle:wa* > *pi:cihsa:w* ⟨pitchichau⟩ ‘he goes inside’ 112

It is reasonable to assume that PA **hp* and **xp* fall together to Nipmuck *hp*, just as **hk* and **xk* both become Nipmuck *hk*. However, the cluster **hp* appears only in the word **pa:hpiwa* ‘he laughs, plays’, a word which does not occur in the manuscript. However, upon comparison with the similar clusters mentioned above, as well as with Massachusett, which has *hp* (Goddard 1981:64) we can assume an identical reflex in Nipmuck. PA **xp* becomes *hp* (always written ⟨p⟩):

**wexpeθkʷani* > *wehpeskʷ* ⟨8pesk8e⟩ ‘his back’ 95

**kwexpi* > *kehpi* ⟨kepi⟩ ‘from the forest’ 107

PA **hk* and **xk* fall together to Nipmuck *hk*.⁸ Thus **hk* remains *hk* (written as ⟨k⟩):

**e:mehkwa:na* > *a:mehkwān* ⟨amek8an⟩ ‘spoon’ 106

**awahka:ti* > *aw(a)hkāci* ⟨au8kentchi⟩ ‘hardly, scarcely’ 112

PA **xk* becomes *hk* (written as ⟨k⟩):

**maxkesenaki* > *mahkesenak* ⟨makissinag⟩ ‘shoes’ 51

**θa:witepexkatwi* > *lāwitepehkat* ⟨lan8i tepikat⟩ ‘it is midnight’ 105

While there are no examples of PA **θp* in Nipmuck reconstructions, we can assume that the Nipmuck reflex is *sp*, by analogy with Massachusett, in which **θp* also becomes *sp*

⁸ PA **kʷ* acts identically to *kw* in consonant clusters, thus **e:xkʷi* > *a:hkwi* ⟨ak8i⟩ ‘stop, cease’ 98, etc.

(Goddard 1981:64). There are, however, examples of PA *ʃp, which becomes Nipmuck *sp*, written ⟨sp⟩:

*eʃpemenki > *spemek* ⟨spemik⟩ ‘up above, on high’ 90

Similarly, PA *ʃk, *ʃk, and *sk all fall together to *sk*. Thus *ʃk becomes *sk*, written ⟨sk⟩:

*wexpeʃkʷani > *wehpeskw* ⟨ʃpeskʃe⟩ ‘his back’ 95

*ni:tekeʃkwa > *ni:tekskw* ⟨nitekskʃe⟩ ‘my sister (of female)’ 86

*keʃa:peʃk(w)e:pelikani > *kelāpskwa:pelik* ⟨kelammeskʃabelig⟩ ‘anchor’ 98

PA *ʃk becomes *sk*, written ⟨sk⟩:

*aʃkaʃk(w)e:wi > *skaskwa:y* ⟨skaskʃai⟩ ‘it is blue-green’ 33

*meʃko:hta:kʷatwi > *meskawehtākwat* ⟨miskaʃatengʃat⟩ ‘it is heard with pleasure’ 38

PA *sk remains *sk*, written ⟨sk⟩:

*meskʷye:wi > *meskwa:y* ⟨miskʃai⟩ ‘it is red’ 33

PA *ʔm becomes *m*:

*wi:kiwa:ʔmi > *wi:ʔiwām* ⟨ʃichiʃam⟩ ‘house’ 20

*nemi:tyehseʔmena:ni > *mi:cehsemenā* ⟨nimitchisemenen⟩ ‘we (excl) eat’ 61

*kepo:siʔmena:ni > *kepo:simenā* ⟨kipʃssimenem⟩ ‘we (incl) embark’ 31

VOWELS

Because vowel quality is often more difficult to transcribe than that of consonants, the orthography Mathevet used to represent Nipmuck vowels is highly inconsistent, leading to serious ambiguity. Thus comparing Nipmuck words to reflexes in other SNE languages is the most accurate method of guessing at the vowel system of the language, which is likely as follows:

	front	central	back
high	i:	i	
mid	e	o	a o:
low			a: ā

The vowels likely have the same phonetic quality as other southern New England Algonquian languages. Thus, short vowels *i*, *o*, *e* and *a* represent the sounds [i], [ʊ], [ɛ,ə] and [ʌ] respectively, while long vowels *i:*, *o:* and *ā* correspond to [i], [o] and [ã] (Aubin 1980).

Vowel Correspondences

PA short vowels remain unchanged in Nipmuck. Thus **i* remains *i*, usually written

⟨i⟩:

**wəxpik⁹ana* > *wehpikw* ⟨8pik8e⟩ ‘his shoulder’ 95

**e:xk⁹i* > *a:hkwi* ⟨ak8i⟩ ‘stop’ 98

**waθkati* > *waskici* ⟨8skichi⟩ ‘on the surface’ 5

PA **e* remains *e* (written as ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, or ⟨ī⟩):

**ešpemenki* > *(e)spemek* ⟨spemik⟩ ‘above’ 90

**pekiwa* > *pe⁹iw* ⟨pech8⟩ ‘gum’ 22

**pekesowa* > *pekesew* ⟨peghes8⟩ ‘he is in the smoke’ 56

**pepo:nwi* > *pepo:n* ⟨pipon⟩ ‘winter’ 94

**ki:šyekatwi* > *ki:sekat* ⟨kizigat⟩ ‘it is day’ 106

**nehsi:mehs* > *nihsemehs* ⟨niseम्मis⟩ ‘my younger brother or sister’ 37

PA **a* remains *a* (written ⟨a⟩ or ⟨e⟩):

**pakanti* > *pakaci* ⟨pagatchi⟩ ‘finally’ 71

**nalawi* > *nalawi* ⟨nala8i⟩ ‘in vain’ 110

**wašapye:wi* > *wasapa:y* ⟨8asabai⟩ ‘it is thin’ 18

**paxkenemwi* > *pahkenem* ⟨pekennen⁹⟩ ‘it is dark (as night)’ 17

**tahkeθa:mwe?θenwi* > *tahkelāmwehsen* ⟨tekelam8sin⟩ ‘it is a cold wind’ 93

The spelling of *a* as ⟨e⟩ often appears in inflectional affixes, such as the animate and inanimate plural suffixes *-ak* and *-as*, represented in bold face:

neska8anes ‘sticks’ 65; *n8tamag8iganes* ‘fishing spears’ 25; *pendikensines* ‘hats’ 77

The short *a* also appears as ⟨o⟩ when preceded by ⟨8⟩, though this is only attested in the animate plural suffix:

⁹ ⟨pekennen⟩ is likely a misprint by Mathevet for ⟨pekennem⟩.

pakes8ok ‘partridges’ 24; **k8k8kan8ok** ‘owls’ 54; **8a8ilam8ok** ‘bees’ 41; **nichissita8an8oc** ‘I listen to them with sorrow’ 83; **kikilahama8an8ok** ‘you stop/forbid it to them’ 83

PA **o* remains Nipmuck *o* (written as ⟨8⟩, ⟨au⟩, or ⟨o⟩)

**neka:hketorwa* > *nekāhketon* ⟨nekenketon⟩ ‘I am dry at the mouth’ 115

**wexkoθayi* > *wehkola*: ⟨8k8lha⟩ ‘a skin’ 106

**eyo* > (e)*yoyo* ⟨iauiau⟩, ⟨ioio⟩ ‘today, now’ 105, 61

PA **i*: remains *i*: (always written ⟨i⟩)

**wi:si* > *wi:s* ⟨8ix⟩ ‘fat’ 25

**si:kʷanwi* > *si:kwan* ⟨sig8an⟩ ‘it is spring’ 19

**ni:lawi* > *n:il* ⟨nil⟩ ‘I’ 111

Note that *i* and *i*: are not distinct in Mathevet’s orthography, as both are written as ⟨i⟩. This distinction is thus inferrable in relation to *k*-palatalization, which applies to *i*, but not to *i*: (discussed later in this chapter).

PA **e*: becomes *a*: (written as ⟨a⟩ or ⟨e⟩):

**e:hsepanaki* > *a:hsepanak* ⟨assebanak⟩ ‘wild cat’ 24

**ka:hkye:wakwi* > *kāhka:wakw* ⟨kenka8ag8a⟩ ‘dried meat’ 95

**eθkʷe:meθkʷa* > *eskwa:meskw* ⟨ask8áměsk8^{oc}⟩ ‘female beaver’ 44

**awe:na* > *awa:n* ⟨a8en⟩ ‘someone, who?’ 43

**nete:hyi* > *neta:h* ⟨niteh⟩ ‘my heart’ 69

PA **a*: becomes *ā* (written ⟨an⟩ or ⟨en⟩):

**ne:kema:wa:wa* > *na:kemāwā* ⟨nekman8an⟩ ‘them’ 111

**ma:ša:pyi* > *māsāpi:s* ⟨mansanbis⟩ ‘string of beads, wampum’ 16

**nata:nkʷa* > *natākw* ⟨atang8^{oa}⟩ ‘my sister-in-law (of woman)’ 86

**matehta:kʷatwi* > *macehtākwat* ⟨matchiteng8at⟩ ‘it is bad news’ 101

**awahka:ti* > *aw(a)hkāci* ⟨au8kentchi⟩ ‘hardly, scarcely’ 112

On occasion, nasalization is simply not written, and since these environments are not predictable, we must assume that Mathevet sometimes failed either to hear or to record the nasalized vowels. Direct evidence for this conclusion is found in the manuscript: often an ⟨n⟩ is inserted above the line after a vowel, suggesting that Mathevet failed to hear the nasalization the first time he recorded the word:

*wa:panwi 'it dawns, becomes visible' > wāpan <8a[n]ban> 'it is day' 1
 *wi:kiwa:ʔmi 'dwelling, house, wigwam' > wi:ʔiwām <ni8ichi8a[n]men8anx> 'our houses' 20

PA *o: remains o: (written as <8>, <au>, <o>, or <ou>)

*keʔtaneto:wa > kehtaneto:w <kitanet8> 'great god' 81
 *no:hθa > no:hs <n8s> 'my father' 102
 *no:tyemwesiwa > no:cemi:siw <n8chimis8> 'he is weak' 85

*pepo:nwi > pepo:n <pipon> 'winter' 94
 *o:te:nayi > o:ta:n <8ten> 'village, town' 98

*lo:te:wi > lo:ta:w <louteau> 'it burns' 38
 English bull > po:l <poul> 'bull' 108
 Dutch boter > po:tel <boutel> 'butter' 93

Again, the difference between *o:* and *o* is not marked in Mathevet's orthography. However, on the basis of positive proof distinguishing a certain subset of cases of *i:* and *i* (*k*-palatalization), we may assume a regular vowel chart for Nipmuck, in which each long vowel (*i:*, *a:*, and *o:*) has a corresponding short vowel (*i*, *a* and *o*).

As mentioned above, the symbol <8> may represent *o* or *o:*. However, it may also represent *we*, as in the following examples:

*elena:kʰehsa > elenākwehs <ilinanʰk8sʰ> 'red fox' (102)
 *kwetaka > kwetak <k8tag> 'the other, another' (102)
 *mekwehsi > mekwehs <mek8s> 'awl' (102)

PHONOLOGICAL RULES

Unfortunately, an exhaustive description of the sound rules at work in the Nipmuck language at the time it was recorded is made impossible by the small number of data available. However, although inconsistencies in spelling and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of many transcriptions make the task even more difficult, certain phonological rules can be inferred from the *Mots Loups* manuscript. Of these rules, palatalization is probably the most important, within and across Algonquian languages.

Palatalization

Two Proto-Algonquian palatalization processes are normally distinguished, labelled by Pentland (1979) as Palatalization II and III¹⁰.

Type II involves the palatalization of *θ to *ʃ before *i, *i:, and *y. For example, the morpheme *eθ- ‘thus’ palatalizes to *eši-, becoming esi- in Nipmuck (note that in the following examples, the *i* was subsequently changed to *e*):

*eši-wi:nsowa > esewi:sew <s88is8> ‘he is named thus’ (46)

This contrasts with examples of non-palatalizing *θ, appearing before vowels other than the palatalizing *i:, *i, and *y, where the reflex of *eθ ‘thus’ is *el*:

*neteθaxkamikesiwa:?mi > netelahkamikesiwā <netalakamikis88an> ‘I carry on thus’ (109)

*neteθe:lemeso?mi > netela:lemes <nitilelimis> ‘I think thus of myself’ (72)

*eθa:towe:wa > elātowa:w <lant8au> ‘he speaks such a language’ (103)

However, this rule of palatalization is by no means a natural process in most other Algonquian languages (Pentland 1979:392), and only traces seem to remain in Nipmuck.

Making the process even less regular, unpalatalized *θ is often restored: *weθkiwa > *wešikiwa → welikiw ‘he is good’, *eθ > *eši → eli ‘thither, thus’. In addition to this, *ʃ is leveled out word-finally in Nipmuck, always appearing unpalatalized. Thus, where *θ appears stem-finally before the PA inanimate suffix *-i, it would have regularly palatalized to *ʃ. However, in Nipmuck, which has lost all final short vowels, including the suffix *-i, the palatalized *θ (*ʃ) would appear in an inappropriate environment, namely, word-finally:

	*mehθθi ‘wooden canoe, boat’
Palatalization	*mehθši
Expected Nipmuck	[amehso:s]
Leveled out	amehso:l <amiz8l> (105)

As a result, word-final instances of *θ appear unpalatalized in Nipmuck.

¹⁰ “Palatalization I” is Pentland’s term for the replacement of *t* with *s* under morphological conditions, which does not seem to appear in Nipmuck.

The third type of palatalization is conditioned by a phonetic environment identical to that of type II. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, **t* palatalizes to phonetic **[c]* before **i*, **i:*, and **y*, as in the following examples :

- *watywi* > *waciw* <8ach8> 'hill, mountainside' (78)
**pi:nti?le:wa* > *pi:cihsa:w* <pitchichau> 'he goes inside' (112)
**neti:me:* > *neci:ma:* <nichime> 'I proceed by water, paddle: a canoe' (22)

As in type II palatalization, the palatalization of **t* to **[c]* is leveled out word-finally:

- *ni:piti* > *ni:pit* <nibit> 'my tooth' (35)
**la:wati* > *lāwat* <lan8at> 'far off, too far off; long ago' (40)

Another type of palatalization, related to Palatalization III, is diminutive consonant symbolism. This process involves the replacement of certain consonants in a word by other consonants, effecting a diminutive meaning (Sapir 1915). In Algonquian languages, this commonly involves the palatalization of **t* to phonetic **[c]*, a process which may or may not be accompanied by a diminutive suffix, as in the following Cree example (Pentland 1975:241):

atihk 'caribou' : *acihk, acihkošiš* 'little caribou'

An example of this in Nipmuck may be found in the morpheme **mat-* 'bad', which appears as *mac-* in all Nipmuck words, regardless of the following vowel:

- *mataxkamikesiwa* > *macahkamikesiw* <machamikiss8> 'he behaves badly' (81)
**matehta:k^watwi* > *macehtākwat* <matchiteng8at> 'it is heard to be bad, it is bad news' (101)

Because **t* to **[c]* palatalization often connotes pejorative meaning (Pentland 1979:395) it is likely that this is an example of diminutive consonant symbolism, rather than simply a generalization from those forms in which the palatalization of **mat-* is a phonologically regular process.

Clearer examples of diminutive consonant symbolism exhibit **t* to **[c]* palatalization, imparting a diminutive meaning in Nipmuck:

- **tekʷala* > *cekwal* <chig8al> ‘frog’ (106)
 **to:kalyiwa* > *aco:kal* <ach8kali> ‘red-winged blackbird’ (84)
 English goat > *ako:hcahs*¹¹ <ag8tchas> ‘goat’ (93)

A fourth type of palatalization, one which occurs only in southern New England languages, involves *k* palatalizing to *ʃ*. This process generally occurs before **e*: (Goddard 1981:76), Nipmuck *a*:, and the reflex is written as <ch> or <tch> in Mathevet’s orthography:

- ke:hšiwaki* > *ʃa:hsiwak* <chass8oko> ‘how many are they?’ (7)
ke:kwi > *ʃa:kwa* <chag8a> ‘what?; something, anything’ (107)
ketema:ke:leme:wa > *ketemāʃa:lema:w* <nighitimancheliman> ‘I think him poor, pitiful; I pity him’ (103)

However, in a few words, the *k* appears unpalatalized, likely having been restored or possibly left unpalatalized:

- **kenteke:wa* > *keteka:w* ‘he dances’ <ketegau> (3)
 **nayo:nke:wa* > *na:nayo:ka:hs* ‘horse’ (redup.) <nanai8ghets> (44)

The palatalization of *k* to *ʃ* also occurs before *i* when this vowel is followed by a labial (*m*, *p*, *hp*, or *w*) or a velar (*k*, or *hk*). In the available data, the only examples of this type of palatalization occur before *im* and *iw*:

- **pya:kiminali* > *pāʃimenas* <pachimaneš> ‘cranberries’ (39)
 **sa:kima:wa* > *sāʃimā* <sancheman> ‘chief’ (108)
 **wi:nkimya:kʷatwi* > *wi:ʃimākwat* <8itchimang8at> ‘it smells good’ (23)
 **wi:wye:kimini* > *wi:wa:ʃim* <8iachmanēš> ‘grain of maize, corn’ (112)
- **ka:ka:kiwa* > *kākāʃiw* <kankanch8> ‘crow’ (84)
 **pekiwa* > *peʃiw* <pech8> ‘gum, pitch’ (22)
 **wi:kiwa:?mi* > *wi:ʃiwām* ‘dwelling, house, wigwam’ (109)

According to Goddard (1981:78), “[t]he PA clusters that would give Mass /sk/ are palatalized to Mass /hc/ in the same environments in which **k* is otherwise palatalized to /ʃ/. An identical process occurs with Nipmuck *sk* clusters:

- **ana:8kiminali* > *anāhcimenas* <anechemanēš> ‘acorns’ 37
 **nyi:šwine8ke:kani* > *ni:sin(e)hʃa:k* <ningin chak> ‘twenty’ 104

¹¹ It is possible that the initial <a> of the words for ‘goat’ and ‘red-winged blackbird’ may be related to diminutive symbolism, although the <a> should then also appear on the word for ‘frog’, which it does not.

The consonant *k* followed by *i* remains unpalatalized in all other environments:

**kepakiθa:ʔmi* > *kepakilā* ⟨*kepakilan*⟩ ‘you cast him off, away’ (39)

**sanakina:kʷesiwa* > *sayakinākwesiw* ⟨*sahiaginang8s8*⟩ ‘he appears to be difficult’
(100)

Infection

Infection, as described by Goddard and Bragdon (1988:476), is a phonological process that seems to occur when a vowel undergoes reduction or syncope. Although the vowel has been reduced or deleted, the quality of that vowel seems to remain, leaving an effect on the following syllable. Although the interpretation of infection is uncertain (it is impossible to tell from written records exactly what effect the reduced vowel may have had), Goddard and Bragdon (1988:476) suggest that it represents “some sort of palatalization on the following consonant”. Infection appears in the Massachusetts orthography as an orthographic ⟨*e*⟩ between the consonants *t*, *h*, *n*, or *ht*, and a following vowel. For example, the *i* in the TI stem *wamin-* ‘be satisfied with (it)’ is systematically weakened, so that the stem appears as ⟨*wamn*⟩ in the Massachusetts orthography. Without the traces of infection, this appears as ⟨*noowamnamun*⟩ ‘I am pleased with it’, where the weakened vowel seems to have no effect on the following syllable. However, in another, more reliable orthography, the same word appears as ⟨*n8wamunneamun*⟩, demonstrating infection.

Even with the most reliable data, infection is difficult to detect. The fact that the orthography used in the Nipmuck manuscript is neither consistent nor entirely accurate makes it even more difficult to prove or disprove the existence of such an uncertain phonological process in the language. However, Nipmuck does not appear to display any signs of infection.

Loss of /w/

In Nipmuck, as in many other Algonquian languages, *w is lost word-finally after all consonants except *k*, as in the following examples:

- **ni:θemwa* > *ni:lem* ⟨nilim⟩ ‘my sister-in-law (of male); my brother-in-law (of female)’ (86)
la:nkanwi > *lālākan* ⟨lanlangan⟩ ‘it is light-weight’

In addition to this, *w also deletes after a consonant when followed by *e* and a labial consonant. Thus, *w deletes when the following vowel *e* is followed by *m*, (*h*)*p*, (*h*)*kw*, or *w*:

- **ehk^w(em)a* > *hkem* ⟨kem⟩ ‘body louse’ (104)
 **a:hk^wepyi* > *āhkepiy* ⟨ankepi⟩ ‘liquor’ (115)
 **kwexpi* > *kehpi* ⟨kepi⟩ ‘away from the water, inland’ (107)
 **tahθwekweni* > *tya:hsekweni*¹² ⟨chassigoni⟩ ‘so many days’ (22)

Loss of /y/

In Nipmuck, *y is also generally deleted after all consonants, as in the following examples:

- **ašye* > *ase* ⟨asse⟩ ‘perhaps’ 63
 **ni:θanyiw* > *ni:laniw* ⟨nilan8⟩ ‘my tongue’ 113
 **ka:hkye:wakwi* > *kāhka:wakw* ⟨kenka8ag8a⟩ ‘smoke-dried meat’ 95

However, as Goddard (1981:62) mentions, evidence of “indirect continuations of post-consonantal PA *y” may be found in the reshaping of noun stems ending in a consonant plus *y*. Instead of dropping the post-consonantal *y, the *-*Cy* ending becomes *-*Ciy*, as in the following examples:

- **netexk^we:θentyi* > *netehkwa:leciy* ⟨nitek8alitchi⟩ ‘my thumb’ (89)
 **elena:pyi* > *el(e)nāpiy* ⟨alnambi⟩ ‘bracelet of beads’ (106)
 **a:hk^wepyi* > *āhkepiy* ⟨ankepi⟩ ‘liquor’ (115)
 **mata:pyi* > *matāpiy* ⟨matanpi⟩ ‘tumpline, portage strap’ (40)

However, this is not a consistent phonological rule, since in some word-final -*Cy* combinations, the *y* is deleted, as occurs in word-internal combinations:

¹² PA **tahθ* is replaced by **ke:hθ* ‘how many?’.

- **ne?θemya* > *nehsem* <nisim> ‘my daughter-in-law’ (86)
 **nete:hyi* > *neta:h* <niteh> ‘my heart’ (69)
 **netempyi* > *netep* <netip> ‘my brain’ (1)
 **wexpenya* > *hpen* <pen(ak)> ‘groundnut, Indian potato’ (26)

Final Syllable Loss

Words that end in *-iy* are exceptional in the sense that they all retain a final syllable consisting of a vowel and a sonorant. In fact, more common for Eastern Algonquian languages is final syllable dropping. According to this rule, after the loss of final vowels, syllables ending in a sonorant (**m*, **n*, **w*, **y*) are dropped.

- **wexpikʷana* > *wehpikw* <8pik8e> ‘his shoulder’ (95)
 **e:hsepanaki* > *a:hsepanak* <assebanak> ‘raccoons’ (24)
 **aya:pe:wa* > *ayāp* <aianpe> ‘male of moose, deer, elk, caribou; buck, bull, stag’ (103)
 **kenwi:nkʷe:wa* > *kweni:kw* <g8neg8e> ‘doe’ (103)

The most regular dropping seems to appear in words ending in a vowel plus *n*. This includes words ending in the noun finals *-ikan* and *-wākan*, though both have several exceptions showing what looks like final syllable restoration or retention (see chapter 3). In fact, many nouns appear to restore the final sonorant syllable when it would normally delete:

- **ni:θanyiwī* > *ni:laniw* <nilan8> ‘my tongue’ (113)
 **ke?taneto:wa* > *kehtaneto:w* <ketanet8> ‘big god, great god’ (102)
 **ketakehsyiwa* > *ketakehsiw* <ketakes8> ‘spotted fawn’ (103)
 **nehsa:pya:ni* > *nhsāpān* <sanban> ‘corn-soup, samp, sagamité’ (112)
 **sa:kima:wa* > *sāʹimā(w)* <sancheman> ‘chief’ (45)
 **a:ha:nsiwa* > *āhāsiw* <aans8> ‘crow’ (84)
 **elenyiwa* > *eleniw* <ilin8> ‘man, adult male’ (115)
 **mekesiwa* > *mekesiw* <mekess8> ‘bald eagle’ (46)
 **mo:θkwe:lentamowa:kani* > *mo:skwa:letamewākan* <m8sk8elendam88angan> ‘anger’ (90)
 **paxkehsyiwa* > *pahkehsiw* <pakess8> ‘ruffed grouse, partridge’ (103)
 **si:pyiwi* > *si:piw* <sip8> ‘river’ (111)

Goddard (1981:66) suggests some reasons (beyond analogical restoration) why certain syllables do not drop: stressed syllables, those of monosyllabic words, and those following a single short-vowel syllable are exempt from the final syllable dropping rule in Massachusetts. Of these explanations, only the first applies to the above data, excepting the

first five examples from the syllable-dropping rule. However, long vowels are always stressed, and are quite often dropped, making this rule ineffective at explaining the retention of final syllables. As well, for the remaining six words, none of the explanations that Goddard suggests apply, and we must assume that final syllables are restored by analogy with noun forms containing suffixes that protect the syllable from dropping. As Goddard (1981:67) assumes, this is a case of analogical restoration of the final syllable with forms with an inflectional suffix (e.g. the plural and locative), which would protect the final syllable. This explains appearances of noun forms with and without the final syllable, demonstrating that the process of restoring deleted syllables was current in Nipmuck at the time the language was recorded:

**maxkesenye:kenwi* > ⟨makissinag⟩ ~ ⟨makissin agin⟩ ‘moccasin skin’ (57)
**petek^wenikani* > ⟨pitig8nig⟩ (25) ~ ⟨pitig8nigan⟩ (79) ‘bread’

While final syllable dropping can occur in verbs, Goddard (1981:67) mentions that in Massachusetts, the “restoration or retention of word-final syllables by analogy is common in inflectional endings”, and this seems to be equally true for Nipmuck verb endings. For example, the TI theme sign *-am* should get deleted in verbs with a singular subject, as should the second person singular conjunct ending *-an*. However, it is not surprising that more verb suffixes are restored or retained than are dropped; a single syllable in an inflectional ending often carries enough significant meaning to render it absolutely necessary, thus causing it to be restored or retained.

The ambiguity of Mathevet’s orthography presents problems when determining whether a final syllable has been restored. Many words that would normally drop the final syllable show a vowel at the end, which could indicate that the syllable has been partially restored or retained:

**aya:pe:wa* > *ayāp* ⟨aianpe⟩ ‘male of moose, deer, elk, caribou; buck, bull, stag’
 (103)
**ši:ko:θk^we:wa* > *si:kawesk^w* ⟨chika’8sk8e⟩ ‘widow’ (35)

Pentland (personal communication) suggests that this final vowel does not represent a restored syllable, but is instead an “*e-muet*”, common in French orthography. This is a viable solution, considering that this unexplained final vowel also appears on words that do not have sonorant final syllables. In this case, the “*e-muet*”, or silent vowel, appears in the position of a deleted word-final short vowel, a segment unlikely to be restored:

- **ʁa:wa:ntepi* > *lāwātep* <lam 8antepe> ‘at the middle of the head’ (94)
 **pa:wi?tekʷi* > *pāwehtekw* <pan8fiḡ8°a> ‘rapids (in river)’ (24)

Vowel-Semivowel Contraction

Vowel-semivowel combinations found in PA often contract to single long vowels in the daughter languages (Pentland 1979:407), and Nipmuck is no exception. A good source of contractions can be found in locative particles: when the locative suffix *-ek* is added to a noun ending in a vowel plus semi-vowel combination, a contraction is generally the result:

- lo:taw + ek* → *lo:ta:k* <l8tak> ‘in the fire’ (35)
alāmhkiy + ek → *alāmhki:k* <alamkik> ‘in/of hell’ (44)
o:ta:nay + ek → *o:ta:na:k* <8tenag> ‘to/from town’ (21)

However, due to Mathevet’s orthography, it is often difficult to determine if this contraction has been restored (or retained). For example, the word **wi:yo:hsi* ‘meat’ comes from a combination of **wi:yaw-* ‘body’ plus *-(e)hs-*, a diminutive ending, and contraction of **-awe-* to **o:*. However, Mathevet spells this word <8iaux>, in which the <au> combination could represent either **o:* or **awe*, making it difficult to know whether or not semivowel contraction is at work. Other examples clearly show the restoration of **awe*:

- **meško:hta:kʷatwi* > *meskawehtā:kwat* <miska8ateng8at> ‘it is heard with pleasure’ (38)
 **ni:lo:na:ni* > *ni:lawenān* <nila8inan> ‘we (exclusive)’ (59)

By analogy with such restored or retained combinations, speakers may falsely reconstruct a vowel-semivowel combination from a PA long vowel that derived from some other source:

- **ši:ko:ʁe:wa* > *si:kawestw* <chika’8sk8e> ‘widow’ (35)

Stress

Since Mathevet did not mark stress, we must turn to other sources, one external and one internal, to determine the stress pattern of Nipmuck. The PA Alternating Stress Rule provides the external source, and a basis from which to begin the analysis of Nipmuck. In PA, every long vowel, and every other short vowel (starting from the left of the word) receives stress (Aubin 1980). For the most part, Ojibwe retains this stress pattern, as in the following examples, in which the stressed vowels are underlined:

*masenahikanali > Oj. mazina?iganan ‘books’

*kene?šiwanaadakamigizimwaa > Oj. ginishiwanaadakamigizimwaa ‘you (pl) foul things up’

In the first word, every other vowel is stressed in both Ojibwe and PA, since all the vowels are short. In the second word, every long vowel and every short vowel (starting at the beginning of the word, and then restarting after a long vowel) is stressed.

Vowel Syncope

Closely related to the issue of stress is the process of vowel syncope. In the Ottawa dialect of Ojibwe, all of the unstressed vowels have been lost, giving the following counterparts to the above words (Pentland 1992):

Oj. mazina?iganan > Ot. mzin?ignan ‘books’

Oj. ginishiwanaadakamigizimwaa > Ot. gnishwanaadkamgizmwaa ‘you (pl) foul things up’

Nipmuck seems to possess a similar trait of dropping unstressed vowels, which provides internal evidence of its stress pattern, seemingly identical to that of PA:

*aka:meno:xkinki > akām(e)no:hkik <agam n8kik> ‘land across the sea, Europe’ (96)

*aθa:maxkinki > alām(a)hkik <alamkik> ‘Hell’ (103)

Perhaps even more interesting is the evidence that Nipmuck may possess a vowel-dropping trait resembling Abenaki Syncope. Abenaki Syncope is a pattern of vowel loss in

which original short vowels (vowels which were short in Proto-Algonquian) that are unstressed are lost before a consonant cluster¹³:

- **ešpemenki* > Ab. <spemek> ‘above (outdoors)’
- **aŋko:ka* > Ab. <skog> ‘a snake, worm’
- **ehkʷ(em)a* > Ab. <kemô> ‘a louse’
- **axkehkʷa* > Ab. <kokw> ‘kettle, a whirlpool’

Nipmuck seems to possess a similar trait of dropping unstressed vowels, particularly in the first syllable, possibly because the syncope would be most noticeable in this position:

- **ešpemenki* > *spemek* <spemiko> ‘up above, up high’ (90)
- **aŋko:ka* > *sko:k* <sc8g> ‘snake’ (53)
- **ahtemanali* > *htemanas* <temanes> ‘snowshoe harness, lace’ (78)
- **ehkʷ(em)a* > *hkem* <kem> ‘body louse’ (104)
- **axkehkʷa* > *hkohkw* <k8kʷ> ‘kettle, pot’ (57)
- **aška:xtwi* > *skāhkwa:m* <skank8am> ‘green wood’ (45)

Similarly, Proto-Algonquian short **e* is deleted between a consonant and a consonant cluster at the beginning of a word. This is recognizable in the manuscript by the lack of both the **e* and the preceding consonant, which Mathevet possibly did not hear, and therefore did not record:

- **mexkʷamya* > *mhkwamiy* <k8ami> ‘ice, piece of ice’ (107)
- **nehsa:pya:ni* > *nhsāpān* <sanban> ‘corn-soup, samp, sagamité’ (66)
- **ne?θo:xtamw-aki* > *nhsō:hkamak* <ch8kamak> ‘they travel three to a canoe’ (45)
- **ne?θwi* > *nhswi* <ch8i> ‘three’ (104)
- **mexpowi* > *mhpew* <p8cha> (subj.) ‘it snows’ (96)
- **wexpeny-aki* > *hpenak* <penak> ‘potatoes’ (26)

Note that the deletion of **e* in this environment is not as regular as the deletion of an initial short vowel, and in fact may be optional. Several words with similar environments are recorded with both the **e* and the initial consonant:

- **me?tekwa* > *mehtekw* <mettek8e> ‘firewood’ (16)
- **nehta:wi* > *nehtāwi* <natan8i> ‘be good at, be accustomed to’ (84)

Since other Southern New England languages treat *e* plus a single consonant and *e* plus a consonant cluster alike for the most part, we assume these cases of Nipmuck vowel

¹³ All Abenaki forms here and elsewhere in this thesis come from Day’s Western Abenaki dictionary (1994), and appear in that orthography.

syncope to be borrowed from Abenaki. It is not clear, however, whether Nipmuck borrowed the entire Abenaki Syncope rule, which was therefore at work within Nipmuck, or if the language simply borrowed Abenaki forms which had undergone this type of change.

CHAPTER 3

NOMINAL INFLECTION

Nouns in Nipmuck, as in all Algonquian languages, are subject to a variety of inflections. These include possessive and number inflection, both of which make a distinction for gender and accessibility, as well as vocative inflection.

As mentioned in chapter 1, nominal inflection of the Nipmuck noun is dependent upon its gender: animate or inanimate. Animate nouns include words for humans, animals and spirits:

⟨sancheman⟩	‘chief’	23.b10
⟨matteg8as⟩	‘hare’	14.a19
⟨mattanet8⟩	‘Devil’	102.a18

However, several nouns are unpredictably animate: although they are lifeless objects, they take animate nominal inflection. This is particularly evident from the animate plural marker *-ak*:

athonak ‘breechcloths’ 77.a12; 8a8ambagēsak ‘shirts’ 77.a8; penak ‘truffles, potatoes’ 26.a5; 39.a1; 8tanganak ‘paddles’ 100.a24; 24.b16; AR.a10; chahag8ankernak ‘skates’ 17.a14; t8t8cha8asak ‘bells (spherical)’ 108.b13-14; (8.a21); n8tamanganak ‘my pipes’ 102.b17-18; 2.a15-16; nask8ah8hanak ‘combs’ 102.b14-15; 2.a12-13; mek8sak ‘awls’ 102.b13; (2.a11); melajasak ‘mittens’ 53.b2; p8ta8esiganak ‘bellows’ 45.b26-27; k8alesk8tauak ‘sumach shrubs’ 46.b1-2; tau8tauak ‘bells’ 108.b15; makissinaganak ‘moccasin skins’ 51.a3-4; segahak ‘black beads’ 52.b4; k8lhaiak ‘animal skins’ 5.b14-15; (106.a6.7); aasiniganak ‘needles’ 35.a2; sibakiganak ‘sails’ 33.b9; 8sk8iganæ¹⁴ ‘paper, books’ 1.b6-8; (102.a3-5); patk8iak ‘thunder’ 94.a18; nimaman8anak ‘my eyebrows’ 87.b19

Although some items of importance in daily life, such as tools (‘paddle’, ‘awl’, ‘needle’, etc.), or those which have cultural significance, such as ‘pipe’ or ‘bead’, take animate inflection, despite their lifeless nature, there are an equal number of such items in Nipmuck that are grammatically inanimate, such as ⟨sib8tig⟩ ‘file’, and ⟨n8tamag8ig⟩ ‘spear’.

Thus, there seems no way to predict which lifeless items would be considered grammatically animate.

However, there are two sets of lifeless nouns whose grammatical animacy seems predictable. As mentioned in chapter 1, generally heavenly bodies such as <kiz8s> ‘sun, moon’, <nipan8sat> kiz8s ‘moon’ (with AI participle¹⁵), and <alag8s> ‘star’ always appear with animate inflection.

As well, in Nipmuck, almost all terms for items of European origin take animate inflection:

tlapsak ‘beaver trap’ 18.b15; chalnabisak ‘turnip’ 76.b11-12; (41.a17; 34.a19); pilissak ‘pin’ 35.a1; chixak ‘cheese’ 93.b7; abelak ‘apple, pear’ 6.a20; (106.b12); paneg8gak ‘pancake’ 99.b17

Only one borrowed term contradicts this generalization: the word <pat8l> ‘boat’ is inanimate, with inanimate plural suffix *-as* <pat8lɔ>. However, this word itself stands apart from the grammatically animate nouns above in the fact that it contains the Nipmuck suffix *-o:l* ‘canoe’ at the end of the French borrowing <pat8-> from bateau ‘boat’, and since all boats are inanimate in Nipmuck, this would account for its inanimate gender.

The arbitrariness of grammatical gender is best exhibited in words that show both animate and inanimate inflection. For instance, the word for ‘seed’ is generally inanimate, but appears with animate inflection when accompanied by the word ‘turnip’:

<8skanimenɛs> ‘seed’ (with inanimate plural ending)
<oskanimenak chalnabisalo> ‘turnip seed’ (with animate plural ending)

Pentland (personal communication) suggests that Nipmuck may resemble Massachusetts in that the seed itself is always inanimate, while the product is animate.

¹⁴ The use of <c> or <g> in the animate plural suffix is rare in the manuscript (cf. *chichik8e8oc* ‘rattlesnakes’ 53.b6-7, and no other example of <g>) and therefore may represent an orthographic error. Note that the same word appears with clear inanimate plural inflection (*osk8igane~s* 107.b13).

¹⁵ A participle is inflected with conjunct endings and indicates an actor or a goal (Bloomfield 1946: 101).

POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

Possessive nouns are inflected for person (with prefixes) and number (with suffixes) of the possessor. Possessed nouns may be independent or dependent; the latter category is comprised of stems that generally designate kinship types and body parts.

Besides regular inflection, possessed forms may include the possessive suffix *-em*, which appears after the stem and before the personal suffixes:

nitaioṃ ‘my son/child’ 9.b20-21; 109.b12-13; *nitaiṣmak* ‘my sons/children’ 9.b20-21; 109.b12-13; *nitṣtem* ‘my family relation’ 86.b20; *kikizigoṃ* ‘your day’ 48.a10-11; *kikizikṣmenen* ‘your (pl) day’ 48.a2-3,(12-14); *kikichiaimnen* ‘our (incl) chief’ 92.b11; *nipetṣemenen* ‘our (excl) boat’ AV.a10

Note that historically the **-em* suffix is not commonly seen on inanimate stems, nor is it common on dependent nouns. This possessive suffix *-em* also appeared on a single unpossessed form (probably fossilized from the possessed form or misanalyzed by Mathevet):

⟨kem⟩ ‘body louse’ 104.a10

First and second person possessive inflection does not distinguish between animate and inanimate objects. The paradigms for first and second person possessors are as follows:

1s	<i>ne(t)-</i> __	1s	<i>ne(t)-</i> __
2s	<i>ke(t)-</i> __	2s	<i>ke(t)-</i> __
1p	<i>ne(t)-</i> __- <i>enā</i>	1p	<i>ne(t)-</i> __- <i>inen/inan/anan/enan</i>
21	<i>ke(t)-</i> __- <i>enā</i>	21	<i>ke(t)-</i> __- <i>inen/anen/enen</i>
2p	<i>ke(t)-</i> __- <i>ewā</i>	2p	<i>ke(t)-</i> __- <i>iṣan/eṣan</i>

When the noun is vowel-initial, an epenthetic *t* appears after the personal prefix:

⟨nitṣl⟩ ‘my canoe’ (cf. ⟨amisṣl⟩ ‘wood canoe’ 5.b7)
 ⟨nitelṣissṣan⟩ ‘my name’ (cf. PA **eθ-i-wi:nsoweni*)

However, dependent nouns do not generally take epenthetic *-t-*:

⟨nṣs⟩ ‘my father’
 ⟨nṣsimis⟩ ‘my grandchild’
 ⟨nṣkas⟩ ‘my mother’

1s

gender uncertain

nichitaon 'my stick' 51.b15; ni8is8ank8t8nen 'my beard' 34.a1; nelaligam 'my mucous' 71.b14

animate

n8s 'my father' 20.b1; 49.b1-2; 86.b1; 102.b6; 92.b12; n8kas 'my mother' 20.a1; 86.b2; 102.b7-8; 113.b18-19; 92.b13; nitai 'my dog' 68.a17-18; nitchichank8^a 'my soul' 102.a10; 1.b13; nitchichang8a 66.b10-13; nites 'my son' 109.a4-5; 109.a12-13; nitch 9.a10-13; 9.a19-21; nise8s 'my mother-in-law' 86.b16; nijil8s 'my father-in-law' 86.b15; natang8^a 'my sister-in-law (of woman)' 86.b19; nilim 'my sister-in-law (of man)' 86.b10; natang8^a 'my brother-in-law' 86.b11; nisim 'my daughter-in-law' 86.b13; nitang8sisk8e 'my male cousin (of female)' 86.b18; nitan8s 'my female cousin (of female)' 86.b17; nitambas 'my sibling of opposite sex' 86.b5-6; niteksk8e 'my sister' 86.b4; nise8m8is 'my little sister' 37.a2; nise8mis 92.b17; nimeis 'my older sister' 92.b16; nit8tem 'my family relation' 86.b20; nisis 'my uncle (mother's brother)' 86.b7; ninanchik8^a 'my uncle (father's brother)' 86.b8; ninijan 'my child' 44.b18-19; ninitjan 69.15-20; nitaiom 'my son, child' 9.b20-21; 109.b12-13; netenleg8se 'my brother' 37.a1; nit8kan 'my brother' 92.b14-15; nitsiai 'my fellow male' 92.b14-15; natang8s 'my cousin' 75.b14-15; nhak 'my body' 11.a5-6; [n] hag 103.b23; [n] 'hag 3.a15; [n] hak 110.b22; 11.a16-17; nhaga 109.a8-9; 74.a6,7-8; 92.a3-4; nahāga 108.b18; nahga 66.b8-9; [n]'aga 9.a14-15; naāga 9.a1; [n]'haga 103.b19; [n] haga 103.b25-26,21; n8simis 'my grandchild' 8.b9

inanimate

nit8l 'my canoe' 50.a5-6; ni8ik8ai8l 'my birchbark canoe' 22.b2-3; ni8igen 'my house' 72.a15; ni8ichi8am 'my house' 20.a13; niniman 'my provisions' 41.b18-19; nitel8iss8an 'my name' 23.b1; nisit 'my foot' 66.b6; nim8sselitchi 'my index finger' 89.b18; 5.a8; nisan8t 'my stomach'¹⁶ 100.a9; 50a.v3; netip 'my head' 1.b14; [ne]ntep 102.a11; nech8 'my fat of leg, arm' 95.a6; nilan8 'my tongue' 63.a22; 113.b16; 14.a2; nipemanem8ang 'my life' 74.a2-4; nep8k8^ak8^e 'my hair' 1.b10; nite 'my heart' 85.b10-12; niteh 69.b1-2; nitek8alitchi 'my thumb' 89.b17; ni8it 'my tooth' 35.a11; nichahag8a 'my knife' 44.b5-6; nichahag8^a 44.b3-4

2s

animate

k8s 'your father' 20.b2; k8kas 'your mother' 21.a9; 20.a2; kitchichang8a 'your soul' 66.b14-18; kitchichank8a 48.b12-14-49.a1-3; kinitjan 'your child' 44.a14-16; kaga 'your body' 109.a4-5,16-17; 103.b15-17; 9.b61; 9.a10-13; 100.a11; kahāga 108.b19; kaāga 9.a2; kaaga 3.a10-12

inanimate

ki8ichi8am 'your house' 20.a14; ketep 'your head' 102.a11; 1.b14; kete 'your heart' 51.a1-2; kepe8mentam8igan 'your life' 105.a1-5; kilintchis¹⁷ 'your hand' 17.a17-18; 57.b10; kita8ag8s 'your ear' 99.b11-13; kisit 'your foot' 57.b11; 17.a18

¹⁶ <nisan8t> is glossed by Mathevet as 'mon ventre', but Day (1975:352) suggests it is more likely the word for 'vulva' based both on context and the Malecite word *maninot*.

¹⁷ The presence of <-nc-> probably indicates Ojibwe influence.

1p

animate

n8ssinen 'our (excl) father' 20.b4; n8ssinan 'our (excl) father' AR.a1; n8kassinen 'our (excl) mother' 20.a4; naġanan 'our (excl) body' 9.a4; nahaganan 108.b21

inanimate

ni8ichi8anmenan 'our (excl) house' 20.a16; nipemantam8anganenan 'our (excl) life' 74.a4-5; nepementam8ik (?) 'our (excl) life (?)' 23.b14-15

21

animate

ki8itchi ilini8aiteman (error?) 'our (incl) fellow man' 86.a15; k8ssinen 'our (incl) father' 20.b5; kikichiaimenen 'our (incl) chief' 92.b11; kimai8menen 'our (incl) ancestor' 86.a16-17; kima8menen 'our (incl) grandfather' 46.a1-6; k8kassinen 'our (incl) mother' 20.a5

inanimate

kipemantam8iganen 'our (incl) life' 66.a7; kepementam8ik (?) 'our (incl) life' 23.b19-21; ki8ichi8anmenan 'our (incl) house' 20.a17; kiteinen 'our (incl) heart' 66.a2-6

2p

animate

k8ssi8an 'your (pl) father' 20.b6; k8kassi8an 'your (pl) mother' 20.a6; ketoskeleni8an 'your (pl) daughter' 9.b23

inanimate

ki8ichi8anme8an 'your (pl) house' 20.a18

With third person possessors, a further distinction is made between animate and inanimate possessed objects: animate objects are marked for obviation, while inanimate objects are not:

3s-0	we-__	3s-0	8-__
3p-0	we-__-ewā	3p-0	8-__-e8an
3s-3'	we-__-a	3s-3'	8-__-e/a
3p-3'	we-__-ewāwa	3p-3'	8-__-8an8a

3s

animate

8sse 'his father' 20.b3; 8isemmisa 'his younger sister' 37.a3; 8tchichang8ë 'his soul' 49.a11-16; 8kassa 'his mother' 20.a3; 8agai 'his body' 50a.v1-2; 100.a8; 8aga 9.a3; 108.b20

inanimate

8niman 'his provisions' 41.b18-19; 8igen 'his house' 72.a15; 8ichi8am 'his house' 20.a15; 8ilan8 'his tongue' 113.b16; 63.a22; 14.a1; 8ilitiban 'his brain' AV.a13; 8tep 'his head' 102.a11; 1.b14; 8'ch8 'his fatty part of leg, arm' 95.a5; 8sik 'his rump'

95.b6; 8sk8aian 'his elbow' 95.b4; 8ssig8na 'his tail (of mammal or fish)' 35.b23-25; 8pesk8e¹⁸ 'his back' 95.b2; 8pik8e 'his shoulder' 95.b3; 8tagang8e 'his spine' 95.b5; 8lip'8ig8na 'his wing' 35.b21

3p

animate

8ssi8an8^oa 'their father' 20.b7; 8kassi8an8a 'their mother' 20.a11,7

inanimate

8ichi8anme8an 'their house' 20.a19; 8telant8an8angan8¹⁹ (?) 'their language' 13.a12-13; 112.b19-20; 8igenau 'their house' 72.a15

Note that the obviative does not distinguish between singular and plural objects; thus, the form given for for 'their fathers', <8ssi8an8a> (20.b11), is identical to that given above for 'their father'.

When a noun that is usually possessed (a dependent noun) is used in an indefinite sense, the indefinite possessive prefix *me-* is present, as in <melajas(ak)> 'mitten(s)' (53.b2).

It is not known whether the indefinite prefix *me-* was productive in Nipmuck, or if <melajas(ak)> is a fossilized form.²⁰

Following possessive inflections, many other morphemes may be suffixed to the noun, including the plural and vocative. These suffixes may be added either to the end of a bare noun stem, or to a noun already inflected for possession.

NUMBER INFLECTION

Plural

It must be noted that the plural suffix makes a distinction of both gender and accessibility. Nipmuck number inflection is likely as follows:

¹⁸ <8pesk8e> 'his back' and <8pik8e> 'his shoulder' are inanimate nouns in PA, and may be assumed to be the same in Nipmuck. Thus the final <e> of both these words is likely an "e-muet" or the restoration of the deleted final syllable. Note that the gender of <8lip'8ig8na> 'wing' and <8tagang8e> 'spine' is not clear, thus the final vowels may represent vowels present in the stem, silent vowels, or restored vowels.

¹⁹ This word and the next appear to be missing final *ā*.

²⁰ A similar fossilized form occurs in Abenaki <meljas> 'mitten'.

	inanimate		inanimate	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
accessible	-∅	-as	-∅	-as/es/s
inaccessible	-a:*	-ekas*		
	animate		animate	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
accessible	-∅	-ak	-∅	-ak
inaccessible	-ā	-ekak*	-en	

Only the animate singular inaccessible suffix is attested among the inaccessible endings, appearing on words designating deceased individuals. The following are examples of all plural nouns attested in the manuscript.

**inanimate nouns
(accessible)**

8angskaig(anēs) ‘pick(s)’ 36.a14; 8ankskaig(ganēs) 95.a1-2; katachapkaig(anēs) ‘pick(s) (straight)’ 95.a3-4; osk8ig(anēs) ‘paper, book(s)’ 107.b13; osk8ik(an/n/ēs) 7.b8; chag8anis ‘things’ 38.b4; 38.a2-3; chag8ahanēs 74.b3-4; n’esk8(anes) ‘stick(s)’ 65.a12; chitaon(ēs) ‘stick(s)’ 106.a14; sib8tig(anēs) ‘file(s)’ 2.a10; sibtig(anēs) 102.b12; n8tamag8ig(anēs) ‘spear(s)/dart(s)’ 40.a16; n8tamag8ig(anes) ‘spear(s)/dart(s)’ 25.a16; n8tamag8ang(anēs) 78.b6; saskib(s) ‘elder tree’ 107.a11; 7.a1; eich8(x) ‘plate(s), trough(s)’ 54.b12-14; pachemanēs ‘cranberries’ 39.a21; pachimanēs 37.a15; matchililai8anganēs ‘sins’ 112.a20-21; 12.b13-14; matchiaant8a8anganēs 12.b10-12; 112.a17-19; matchiaiat8a8anes 66.b1-2; katamskaig(anēs) ‘wad-extractor(s)’ 94.b19; pisk8a8a atig(anēs) ‘spiral-shaped scraper resembling the was remover on a ramrod’ 94.b20-21; piminig(anēs) ‘drill(s)’ 93.b3; atalamkesen(ēs) ‘clock(s), watch(es)’ 88.b14-15; tagang(anēs) ‘axe(s)’ 19.b8; 8tena(ix) ‘village(s)’ 19.b14; paganēs ‘large nuts’ 37.a17; anechemanēs ‘acorns’ 37.a16; santa8igan(es) ‘church(es)’ 19.b15; kagakig(anes) ‘measurements, steps (?)’ 87.b20; 8skanimenēs ‘seeds’ 76.b13; kepalinik(anes) ‘scissors’ 92.a15; kemegom(es) ‘cucumber(s)’ 76.b15; pemal8tig(anēs) ‘enclosure(s), park(s)’ 76.b19; pendikens(ines) ‘hat(s)’ 77.a9; tebik8a ataiganēs ‘the pieces of metal pots that the Indians attach to their garters’ 36.b19-20; 8am(anēs) ‘egg(s)’ 23.a5; chahakessinits ‘French shoes’ 84.b10; mek8akisinits ‘Iroquoian shoes’ 84.b12; ilinikissinits ‘Loup shoes (with three pieces)’ 84.b11; makisinits ‘shoes’ 77.a15-16; 8aukig(anes) ‘hook(s)’ 23.a17; kessa8an(ganes) ‘skirt(s)’ 77.a17-18; ans8lk8an(8anes) ‘hat(s)’ 77.a19-20; nep8k8k8(as) ‘my hair’ 102.a7; amis8l(s) ‘wood canoe(s)’ 5.b7; 8ik8ai8l(x) ‘bark canoe(s)’ 105.b20; pekenlaganig(anes) ‘crooked knife’ 73.b19-10; pita8n8t(ais) ‘tobacco pouch’ 77.a21-22; kelammesk8abelig(anēs) ‘anchor(s)’ 98.a2-3; 8tena(ix) ‘village(s)’ 21.a1,2; mansin8t(ais) ‘wool coverlet’ 77.a10; 8atelam8(nēs) ‘melon(s)’ 76.b14; men’han(ēs) ‘island(s)’ 22.b21; 8iatchimanēs ‘Indian wheat’ 12.b21; tag8n8ta(is) ‘cloth coverlet’ 77.a11; pat8l(x) ‘boat(s)’ 5.b6; 105.b21; kichi kantabis ‘garters’ 24.b1-2; m8agann8(s) ‘dirty thing(s)’ 66.b5

**possessed inanimate nouns
(accessible)**

1s

nep8k8k8as 'my hair' 1.b10; nitepek8anēs 'the hair of my head' 34.a3; nipepek8anēs 'my hair' 34.a2; nimakits(inits) 'my shoe(s)' 77.a13-14

2s

kimatchiaant8a8anganēs 'your sins' 67.a1-3

1p

ni8ichi8anmenenx^c 'our (excl) houses' 20.b12; ni8ichi8anmen8anx²¹ 20.a20

21

ki8ichi8anmenas 'our (incl) houses' 20.b13; kitehenanix 'our (incl) hearts' 69.b2

3p

8ichi8anme8anx 'their houses' 20.b14

**animate nouns
(accessible)**

ilini8aiak 'men, people' 7.b11-13; 17.b11-15; 32.4-5; 13.a13-14; 57.b17-18; 107.b16-17; 72.b7; iliniaiak 29.b6; ilini8ek 89.b10-11; atho(nak) 'breechclout(s)' 77.a12; tchimaganis(ak) 'soldier(s)' 103.a15; 2.b2; oskiln8ak 'soldiers (young people)' 9.b13; 8a8anbiz(ak) 'soldier(s) (always drilling person)' 56.a3; attek8(ak) 'deer' 103.a16; 8a8ambagēs(ak) 'shirt(s)' 77.a8; 8inaiak 'women' 17.b11-15; 57.b19; 37.a9; tlaps(ak) 'beaver trap(s)' 18.b15; penak 'truffles/potatoes' 26.a5; 39.a1; temank8a(8ak) 'beaver(s)' 103.a20; 2.b7; nissen(8ak) 'eel(s)' 103.a21; 8nagik8^a(k) 'eel(s)' 2.b8-9; mak8sem(ak) 'wolf (wolves)' 25.a2-3; 40.a2-3; kem(ak) 'louse (lice)' 104.a10; 30.b10; oskanimenak chalnabisak 'turnip seeds' 76.b11-12; 8sanguena(8ak) '[Saguenay] Indian(s)' 31.a1; papik8ak 'fleas' 7.a9-10; 107.a14-15; chahag8s(ak) 'Frenchman (Frenchmen)' 15.b15; 60.b2; pakes8ok 'partridges' 24.a2-3; 8tang(anak) 'paddle(s)' 100.a24; 24.b16; AR.a10; kipkip(ak) 'chicken(s)' 12.b20; 112.b5; alas(ak) 'oyster(s)' 98.b6; sips(ak) 'sheep' 97.b8; langanbasis(ak) 'young boy(s)' 12.a5; chilitens(ak) 'heron(s)' 90.b9; pitig8niganak 'bread' 87.a3-4,1-2; 6.b11-12; chahag8ankemak 'skates' 17.a14; t8t8csa8as(ak) 'bell(s)' 8.a21; asseb(anak) 'raccoon(s)' 24.a1; n8tamang(anak) 'pipe(s)' 102.b17-18; 2.a15-16; pegik k8issa(iak) 'horned animal(s)' 8.a9; p8sp8s(ak) 'cat(s)' 103.a14; nahame(k) 'turkey(s), rooster(s)' 78.a7, b14; namens(ak) 'fish' 14.a15; 102.b16; 2.a14; 114.a17; 35.b20; tau8tau(8ok) 'bell(s)' 8.a22; 108.b15; t8t8cha8as(ak) 'bell(s) (spherical)' 108.b13-14; 8lanig8a(k) 'fisher(s)' 25.a19; nask8ah8(hanak) 'comb(s)' 102.b14-15; 2.a12-13; mek8s(ak) 'awl(s)' 102.b13; k8n8h8bis(ak) 'long dress-wearer(s)' 94.a7-8; k8ik8ikem(ak) 'duck(s)' 24.a14-15; kebalam(ak) 'bullfrog(s)' 53.b8-9; k8k8kan(8ok) 'owl(s)' 54.a5-6; poul(ak) 'bull(s)' 108.a12; 8.a10; a8ass8s(ak) 'bear(s)' 6.b4; 106.b17; sc8g(ak) 'snake(s)' 53.b4; mask'chas(ak) 'toad(s)' 106.b23; chig8al(ak) 'frog(s)' 106.b22; 6.b9; 8a'n/lchas(ak) '(type of fish)' 38.a1; pok8anag8s(ak) 'German(s)' 45.b24; chalnabes(ak) 'turnip(s)' 41.a17; chalinabis(ak) 34.a19; 8a8ilam8(ok) 'bee(s)' 41.a20; aian(ak) 'what's-his-name, whachamacallit(s)' 41.b3-5; chichik8e(8oc) 'rattlesnake(s)' 53.b6-7; p8ta8esig(anak) 'bellows' 45.b26-27; 8ik8asa(8ok) 'swan(s)' 46.a7; kank(ak) 'bustard(s)' 46.a8; mekess8(ok) 'eagle(s)'

²¹ This word appears in a paradigm, possibly explaining the error of <8> in the possessive suffix.

46.a9; k8alesk8tau(8ak) 'sumach shrub(s)' 46.b1-2; makissinag, makissinagan(ak) 'moccasin skin(s)' 51.a3-4; sega(hak) 'black bead(s)' 52.b4; k8lha(ɪak) 'animal skin' 106.a6-7; tmesk8as(ak) 'muskrat(s)' 6.b3; pauham(ak) 'passenger pigeon(s)' 5.b1; 105.b18; pils^c, pilissak 'pin(s)' 35.a1; manikipask8a8ak 'women (mythological)' 71.b5-7; aasinik(anak) 'needle(s)' 5.a2; kank8a(k) 'pocupine(s)' 106.b13; sibakiganak 'saii(s)' 33.b9; misanig8(ak) 'black squirrel(s)' 106.b21; 8miskan8ag8iak 'Loups' 97.a9; ag8tchas(ak) 'goat(s)' 93.b8,5; chix(ak) 'cheese' 93.b7; abel(ak) 'apple(s), pear(s)' 106.b12; p8sp8s(ak) 'cat(s)' 2.b1; 8skantam(ak) 'girl(s)' 12.a4; 8sk8iganac 'paper, book(s)' 1.b6-8; patk8i(ak) 'thunder' 94.a18; paneg8g(ak) 'pancake(s)' 99.b17

**possessed animate nouns
accessible**

1s

nimaman8anak 'my eyebrows' 87.b19; nisis(ak) 'my uncle(s) (mother's brother(s))' 86.b7; ninanchik8^a(k) 'my uncle(s) (father's brother(s))' 86.b8; nit8kan(ak) 'my elder brother(s)' 92.b14-15; nitsiai(ak) 'my elder brother(s)' 92.b14-15; nitaio(m)(ak) 'my son(s), my child(ren)' 9.20-21; 109.b12-13

2s

kinitjanak 'your children' 67.b13-14; 4.a1-2; 3.b18-19; 104.a17-18

1p

n8ssinanak 'our (excl) fathers' 20.b8; n8kassinanak 'our (excl) mothers' 20.a8

21

k8kassinanak 'our (incl) mothers' 20.a9; k8ssinanak 'our (incl) fathers' 20.b9

2p

k8ssi8an8ak 'your (pl) fathers' 20.b10; kitai8an8ak 'your (pl) animals' 104.a21-23; 4.a2-7; kitach88an8ak 'your (pl) animals' 104.a21-23; 4.a2-7; kinitjani8an8ak 'your (pl) children' 104.a21-23,19-20; 4.a2-7; kinijatni8an8ak²² 3.b20-21; k8kassi8a8ak 'your (pl) mothers' 20.a10; ket8sakelennen8ak²³ 'your (pl) daughters' 9.b24

inaccessible

1s

n8ssen 'my late father' 102.b7; 2.a6; n8kassen 'my late mother' 102.b8-9

Some forms seem to show reduplication of the first syllable of the noun in the plural form. Because there are so few examples of attested, reduplication is probably not a productive process of pluralization in Nipmuck, but simply the retention of archaic forms.

²² This word seems to be an error for < kinitjani8an8ak > above.

²³ This word appears to have the 21 suffix <ennen>, and is not glossed. However, note the <8> before the plural suffix, which should appear after the 2p suffix, not the 21. It therefore appears to be a blend between the appropriate 2p suffix <-naw> and the 21 suffix <-nd>.

⟨sankecem8⟩ (pl) ⟨sasankecem8ek⟩	‘good hunting dog’	18.b19-20
⟨8ik8an⟩ (pl) ⟨8a8ik8anēs⟩	‘dull thing’	39.a3
⟨8ik8an⟩ (pl) ⟨8a8ik8anes⟩	‘dull thing’	26.a9
⟨8sk8an⟩ (pl) ⟨8a8amk8anēs⟩ ²⁴	‘sharp thing’	39.a4; 26.a10

One verbal form also shows plurality marked by both the *-wak* suffix as well as reduplication of the first syllable. However, because of its rare occurrence in verbal and nominal inflection, reduplication is clearly non-productive:

⟨8a8igel8ak⟩ ‘they are good-tasting’ 39.a22-23

Singular

As shown in the above paradigm, the singular accessible noun has no suffix, and is generally identical to its bare stem:

⟨men’han⟩ ‘island’ (22)
 ⟨chita’on⟩ ‘stick’ (5)
 ⟨nitjan⟩ ‘child’ (69)

However, as mentioned in chapter 2, the final syllable of a stem may delete word-finally. Therefore, the final syllable of this accessible noun stem is often deleted word-finally, but retained when followed by further inflection, such as the plural suffix *-as/ak*.

8tang(anak) ‘paddle(s)’ 100.a24; 24.b16; AR.a10; pitig8nig(anak) ‘bread’ 87.a3-4, 1-2; 6.b11-12; asseb(anak) ‘wild cat(s)’ 24.a1; n8tamang(anak) ‘pipe(s)’ 102.b17-18; 2.a15-16; nask8ah8(hanak) ‘comb(s)’ 102.b14-15; p8ta8esig(anak) ‘bellows’ 45.b26-27; aasinig(anak) ‘needle(s)’ 35.a2; sibakig(anak) ‘sail(s)’ 33.b9, 8; osk8iganēs ‘paper, book(s)’ 107.b13; (7.b8); 8sk8ig(anac) ‘paper, book(s)’ 1.b6-8; 8ankskaig(anēs) ‘pick’ 36.a14; (95.a1-2); chag8a(hanes) ‘thing(s)’ 74.b3-4; (38.b4; 38.a2-3); neska8(anes) ‘stick(s)’ 65.a12; sib8tig(anēs) ‘file’ 2.a10; n8tamag8ig(anēs) ‘spear(s)/dart(s)’ 40.a16; 25.a16; katamskaig(anēs) ‘wad-extractor(s)’ 94.b19; pisk8a8a atig(anēs) ‘spiral-shaped scraper resembling the wad-remover on a ramrod’ 94.b20-21; piminig(anēs) ‘drill(s)’ 93.b3; tagang(anēs) ‘axe(s)’ 19.b8; kagakig(anes) ‘measurement(s), step(s)?’ 87.b20; pemal8tig(anēs) ‘enclosure(s), park(s)’ 76.b19; pendikens(ines) ‘hat(s)’ 77.a9; katachapkaig(anēs) ‘pick(s)’ 95.a3-4; 8am(anēs) ‘egg(s)’ 23.a5; 8aukig(anes) ‘hook(s)’ 23.a17; kessa8ang(anes) ‘skirt(s)’ 77.a17-18; ans8lk8an8(anes) ‘hat(s)’ 77.a19-20; pekenlaganig(anes) ‘crooked knife’ 73.b19-10; n8tamag8ang(anēs) ‘dart’ 78.b6; sib8tig(anēs) ‘file(s)’ 102.b12; kelammesk8abelig(anēs) ‘anchor(s)’ 98.a2-3; 8atelam8(nēs) ‘melon(s)’ 76.b14

²⁴ It is not clear why ⟨s⟩ in the singular form alternates with ⟨m⟩ in the plural.

VOCATIVE

The vocative is marked by the suffix *-ā* in the singular, and *-etok* in the plural.

singular

n8ssen 'father!' 92.b12; n8ken²⁵ 'mother!' 92.b13; nimeisen 'sister!' 92.b16;
8askantamen 'girl!' 85.a11

plural

nijanit8k 'children!' 64.a1

²⁵ Note that ⟨n8kas⟩ has been shortened to ⟨n8k-⟩ when the vocative suffix is added. It is not clear if this shortened form is acceptable in Nipmuck, or an error of Mathevet. As in other Algonquian languages, the vocative does not take diminutive endings.

CHAPTER 4

PRONOUNS AND QUANTIFIERS

PRONOUNS

There are several types of pronouns attested in the manuscript, including personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative/indefinite pronouns. As in Massachusetts, the word for ‘other, another’ also behaves like a to pronoun (Goddard and Bragdon 1988:507).

Personal Pronouns

There are two types of personal pronouns attested in Nipmuck: independent and objective. The independent personal pronouns for first and second person are formed on *-i:l(aw)-*, with prefixes and suffixes resembling possessive inflection (found on page 59 of the manuscript):

‘me’	ni:l	⟨nil⟩
‘you’	ki:l	⟨kil⟩
‘us (excl)’	ni:lawenān	⟨nilaʂinan⟩
‘us (incl)’	ki:lawenān	⟨kilaʂinan⟩
‘you (pl)’	ki:lawā	⟨kilaʂan⟩
‘him’	na:kemā	⟨negkeman⟩
‘them’	na:kemāwā	⟨neckemanʂan⟩

These pronouns have several functions throughout the manuscript. Often, they occur alone, or accompanied simply by a particle:

⟨nil ʂipi⟩	‘only me’ (16)
⟨kil autch⟩	‘you too’ (21)

In one case, the independent personal pronoun is followed by a noun, probably a form of emphasis (Goddard and Bragdon 1988:507). Note that the noun ⟨niman⟩ ‘my provisions’ is already inflected for first person:

⟨nil niniman⟩ ‘my provisions’ (41)

The independent personal pronouns often occur with fully inflected verbs, emphasizing the subject of the verb phrase:

nil nimatchi ‘I am leaving.’ (34)

nil nitelen8 ‘I am a man.’ (64)

mat nil kitilikall8an 8atsi ghimanghisian ‘I am not the cause of your misery.’ (75)

nil nitiliten 8atsi sasamecha8chaian ‘I cause you to mistreat me.’ (76)

kil ka kitiliten ‘Are you the cause of it?’ (7)

kil nigan^f kimatchil8 ‘Did you speak badly first?’ (83)

kila8an 8a8antamag8a, kighetimanchelimig8an ‘If you(pl) are wise, he will have pity on you(pl).’ (22)

kila8an chag8a 8achannamag8a ioskesi kimitchina8an ‘If you(pl) have something, soon you(pl) will eat.’ (99)

In two more examples, the independent personal pronoun is the object of the verb phrase:

⟨kil 8ipi k8amanles⟩ ‘I love only you.’ (72)

⟨kil kenachikaux⟩ ‘I look for you.’ (99)

Besides this set of independent personal pronouns, the third person inaccessible pronoun *wā* is attested:

⟨ten 8an s88is8⟩ ‘What is he named?’ (100)

The objective personal pronouns appear as reflexive objects of TA verbs in Nipmuck.

They are formed by adding possessive nominal inflection to one of two words: *(n)ehak*

‘(my)self’ or *(n)ahaka*: ‘(my) body’. Only the singular forms are attested:

1	nehak	nahaka:
2	kehak	kehaka:
3	wehaka	wahaka:

Both of these sets of pronouns are dependent animate nouns and appear to be used interchangeably:

n8amanlan’hag (3) ~ n8amanlan’haga (103) ‘I love myself.’

nitatagaman’hag (3) ~ nitatagaman haga (103) ‘I beat myself.’

nighitimanchelimenhag (3) ~ nighitimancheliman haga (103) ‘I pity myself’

These personal pronouns are only attested in their reflexive function in the singular (the 1p form ⟨nahaganan⟩ appears on its own on page 108):

1s

ninissen hag ‘I kill myself.’ (103)
 nitannatahaman hak ‘I repent.’ (110)
 nitalkansitaŝan haga ‘I work for myself’ (98)
 kizi t annatahan nhaga ‘I have converted.’ (109)

2s

mat kighitimanchelima kaga ‘You do not pity yourself.’ (103)
 ghitimanchelim kaga ‘Have pity for yourself!’ (109)
 annatahan kaga ‘Convert!’ (109)
 sakagan kaga ‘Cover yourself!’ (100)

The third person objective personal pronoun, while attested, acts more like a regular possessed object ‘his body’. While the first and second person objective personal pronouns are translated by Mathevet with the reflexive pronoun ‘*me*’ and ‘*te*’ respectively, the third person pronoun is translated as ‘*son corps*’, and appears in a conversation that contains an admonition against immodesty, the Nipmuck word for ‘vulva’, and a command to ‘cover yourself’.

⟨sasankŝaliman ŝagai⟩ ‘He despises **his body**.’ (50a.v)

Besides its reflexive function, the objective personal pronoun also appears in one verbless sentence, carrying the same function of emphasis as the independent personal pronouns:

pangŝi nipi n-haga
 completely water my-body
 ‘I am all wet’ (92)

While it is stated above that both *nehak* and *nahaka:* are NDA, this is not entirely true. It appears that in its reflexive function, *nahaka:*, a historically inanimate noun from **nahakayi* ‘my skin, my scale (of fish)’, takes animate inflection on the verb. However, when *nehak*, which also originates from **nahakayi*, appears as the subject of a verb, it is, curiously, inanimate:

⟨mat ŝligan nhak⟩ ‘I am not good (my body is not good).’ (11)

Note that ⟨ŝligan⟩ is the third person positive II verb ‘it is good’.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Of the many demonstrative pronouns attested in other Algonquian languages, only three are clearly identifiable in the manuscript. Goddard and Bragdon (1988:508) divide these pronouns into nearer deictic, farther deictic, and deictic anaphora pronouns, the last of which is unattested in Nipmuck.

One nearer deictic pronoun is attested: *yo* ‘this (inan.)’. However, *yo* appears more frequently as a particle meaning ‘here, now’:

⟨*ian 8ten*⟩ ‘**Here**, take it!’ (96)
 ⟨*m8tchit ki tepkat io alang8k*⟩ ‘It is a very cold night.’ (49)

As a particle, *yo* also appears reduplicated as *yoyo* meaning ‘now, today’:

⟨*santa ianuan*⟩ ‘**Today** is Sunday.’ (13)
 ⟨*tekai iolo*⟩ ‘It is cold **today**.’ (61)

Two farther deictic pronouns are attested in the manuscript: *ni* and *nik*. The first pronoun *ni* means ‘that (inan.)’:

⟨*ni saiagat*⟩ ‘It is worth **that**.’ (38)

The second is *nik* ‘those (anim.)’:

⟨*nik m8tchi maian8i ali ch8entak kitanet8 8nitan8i ghitimanchelim8an*⟩
 ‘The Lord loves **those** who are charitable, they are merciful.’ (45)

Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

These pronouns can be used as interrogatives, translated as ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ (see chapter 7), or in an indefinite sense as ‘someone, anyone’ and ‘something, anything’. The plural form is attested only for the inanimate pronoun:

	singular	
animate	<i>awa:n</i>	⟨ <i>a8an/a8en</i> ⟩
inanimate	<i>ʔakwa</i>	⟨ <i>chag8a</i> ⟩
	plural	
animate	<i>awa:nak*</i>	
inanimate	<i>ʔakwanas</i>	⟨ <i>chag8ahan8s/chag8anis</i> ⟩

For examples of these pronouns with interrogative function, see chapter 7. Examples of *awa:n* and *t'akwa* as indefinite pronouns are plentiful throughout the manuscript.

awa:n 'someone'

mat kaki8at a8an 8lig8, a8an kaki8ata nen matissin
 'Someone who is good does not get drunk; someone who gets drunk does badly.'
 (10)

mat 8liganen8 a8an 8ipi oski 8t8nec piantacha mat 8tehec
 'It's not good when someone prays only from his lips and not from his heart.' (50)

sp8k8a8i ketelelima ga a8an mat8a8antam8
 'What do you think of someone who is not wise?' (84)

saiagat a8an kaki8atan
 'It is of value that one gets drunk.' (110)

ten 8telen a8en tebeldac ki 8ami
 'What use is it for someone to rule all?' (49)

kepahas kita8ag8s a8en match l8ata
 'Cover your ears if someone speaks badly!' (99)

t'akwa 'something'

ak8i elelindam8 chag8a
 'Do not think that!' (10)

chag8a elisitamana kitanchim8ka8lemen
 'If I hear something, I will tell you (pl).' (20)

kila8an chag8a 8achannamag8a ioskesi kimitchina8an
 'If you (pl) have something, soon you will eat.' (99)

t'akwanas 'things'

8ami chag8akan8s 'all sorts of things' (74)
 8amichen chag8anis (tau) 'It is full of all sorts of things.' (38)

A second inanimate pronoun *awiya* appears once in the manuscript:

a8ia 'something' (84)

'Other, another'

The word for 'other, another' in Nipmuck is *kwetak*, appearing as <k8tak> (1) or <k8tag> (102). It also appears in plural form as <ketaganac> (note that both this and the following word for 'paper' appear with animate plural inflection):

8tag n8sk8ahaman ketaganac 8sk8iganac
 'Next I will write on another piece of paper.' (1, 102)

QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers in Nipmuck include the cardinal numbers and the words for 'much, many', 'few', 'half', 'the most', 'some', and 'too much'.

Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers are well-attested in the manuscript, probably because numbers are generally easy to elicit. These numbers can be found on page 4, unless otherwise stated:

1	neng8t
2	ninz; ningi (99)
3	ch8i
4	iau
5	nepale
6	neg8tensik; nig8tenzin (22)
7	ninzensik
8	ch8ensik
9	pesk8ghin
10	paiak8 ^c
11	nig8tinkau
20	ningin chak; ninzinchak (101)
21	ningin chak 8ank ^c neg8t
22	[ningin] chak 8ank ^c ninz
30	ch8in chak
40	ia8en chak
50	napella chassin chak
60	ning8tensik chassin chak
70	ninzgensik chassin chak
80	ch8ensik chassin chak
90	pesk8ghin chassin chak; pezik8gan sin chak (104)
100	ning8tensik chassin chak; nig8ti pezik8 ²⁶ (104)
1000	nig8ti teg8 ^a (104)

Mathevet also gives the terms for 'once', 'twice', etc., formed by adding the word

ʔa:hsētā <chasseten> 'how many' after the number. Note that for the numbers 1-4, 10-12, and

20, <chasseten> is shortened to clitic-like <ten>. On the number 12, <ten> appears on both components, the word for ‘10’ and the word for ‘2’. The word ‘eleven times’ is the only one that differs from its corresponding cardinal form. Again, these forms are found on page 4, unless otherwise stated:

1 time	nig8ti; nig8tin (7)
2 times	ninzten
3 times	ch8ten
4 times	iau8ten
5 times	nepāle chasseten
6 times	ning8tensik chasseten
7 times	ningensik chasseten
8 times	ch8ensik chasseten
9 times	pask8gān chasseten
10 times	paiag8ten
11 times	paiag8ten nabang8t
12 times	paiag8ten 8ank ninzten
20 times	ningin chakten

Non-Numerical Quantifiers

As mentioned, there are several non-numerical quantifiers attested in the manuscript that appear, like the numbers, as particles:

‘much, many’

missale ten kenessen ‘Did you kill **many**?’ (8)

mat 8liganan8 missali mitchicin ‘It’s not good to eat **a lot**.’ (17)

‘few’

tagassisi ~ tagassi8issi ‘few, a little’ (58)

‘half’

bazin kible ‘**a half** bushel(?)’ (84)

‘some’

nen8tchi 8lig8ok, nen8tchi matchililai8ok ‘**Some** are good, **some** are bad.’ (110)

‘too much’

8ssammi michel8ok papik8ak ‘There are **too many** lice.’ (7)

8ssammi tekai ‘It is **too cold**.’ (15)

²⁶ The word for ‘100’ is listed as <ning8tensik chassin chak>, identical to the word for ‘60’. In the revision, this mistake is corrected.

CHAPTER 5

VERBAL INFLECTION

Verbal inflection in Algonquian languages is highly complex, and scholars do not always agree on the organization and labelling of verb forms. According to Bloomfield (1946:97), there are five orders of verb forms, each order consisting of one or more modes.

The independent order is the most basic of verb forms; its main mode is the indicative, used in ordinary statements. In Nipmuck, the independent order also has a preterite mode, which indicates past tense, and a present mode.

The second order attested in Nipmuck is the imperative order, for which there are no modal variations. The conjunct order, however, does take a variety of different modes. Perhaps the most common of these is the indicative mode, used in ordinary subordinate clauses (Bloomfield 1946:100). The “changed” conjunct, which Bloomfield considers a separate mode, uses the same endings as the indicative, but exhibits initial change, an alternation of the initial vowel. As Bloomfield (1946:101) suggests, the changed conjunct is used as a “relative conjunct”. The subjunctive mode is described by Bloomfield (1946:101) as being used in “clauses of events which have not yet occurred”. However, Mathevet’s translations are rarely semantically explicit, so it is nearly impossible to identify this and many other forms semantically; rather, all verb forms are recognized solely by their inflectional affixes. The participle of the conjunct order is another attested mode, denoting “an actor, a goal, or an implied goal” (Bloomfield 1946:101). The present and preterite are also attested for the conjunct order.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the negative may be added to any mode in the conjunct or independent order.

Bloomfield (1946:100) also identifies a “prohibitive” order for negative commands. This is more appropriately considered the optative mode of the conjunct order, since the inflection clearly fits into the conjunct paradigm:

	plain	negative	optative
conjunct	Ø + <i>-an</i>	<i>-w</i> + <i>-an</i>	<i>-hk</i> + <i>-an</i>

Working within the independent and conjunct orders is the distinction between absolute and objective inflection. While Mathevet’s translations are not accurate to provide a clear picture of the semantic nature of the two, objective inflection generally denotes a subordinate function.

AI INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE

AI independent indicative verbs are those with animate subjects, appearing as ordinary independent clauses. Inflection for AI verbs relies heavily on the type of stem to which it is applied. AI verb stems are divided into three basic shapes, those that end in long vowels, short vowels, and consonants.

Long vowel stems may end in *i:*, *a:*, or *ā* (PA had no verb stems ending in **o:*). However, several phonological processes occurring within PA itself make the discussion of long vowel stems more complicated. In verbal inflection, PA **e:* remains **e:* before the third person suffix **-wa*, but umlauts to **a:* before first and second person suffixes. This means that verb stems ending in **e:* appear in Nipmuck as *ā*-stems (with final *ā*) in first and second person, but as *a:*-stems (ending in final *a:*) in third person forms. Thus stems that end in ⟨an⟩ in first or second person forms and ⟨a⟩ in third person almost certainly originated as PA **e:*, as in the following examples:

**melwite:he:wa* > ⟨8litehau⟩ ‘he has a good heart’ (92)
 ⟨n8liteham⟩ ‘I have a good heart’ (92)

**eθwe:wa* > ⟨l8au⟩ ‘he says so’ (13)
 ⟨kimamatchi l8am⟩ ‘you speak too badly’ (21)

However, stems that appear nasalized in both third and first and second person generally originate from PA **a:*, as in ⟨*agena8am*⟩ ‘he distributes provisions’ (91) and ⟨*netagena8am*⟩ ‘I distribute provisions’ (91).

Short vowel stems may end in *i* or *o*, from PA **-i* and **-o* (there are no stems ending in **a* or **e*). Note that the combination **Cwe* in PA becomes Nipmuck *Ce* before labials. Since PA **o*-stems become *we*-stems in Nipmuck, these **o*-stems will appear as *-Ce* before endings beginning with *w* or *m* (plural inflection).

Consonant stems other than nasals are fairly rare in AI verbs; while *-m* and *-n* stems are widely attested, only two examples each of *-p* and *-l* stems are attested.

Third Person Forms

For independent indicative third person forms, the absolute suffixes are as follows:

3s	___-w	3s	___-8/u
3p	___-wak	3p	___-8ak/8ok

A second set of inflectional endings is that of the objective, or subordinate:

3s	<i>we(t)</i> -___-en	3s	___-en/an/in
3p	<i>we(t)</i> -___-enā	3p	___-enan

Because objective forms in the third person are rare, all examples should be assumed to be absolute unless otherwise noted.

Because of the orthography, the stem-final vowel is not immediately recognizable in the third person forms, as nearly all final short vowel + *w* combinations are written as ⟨8⟩ by Mathevet. However, by comparison with other languages, such as Massachusett, we may assume the following stem shapes.

Long Vowel Stems

i:-stems

3s

papami8 'he goes for a walk' 76.a4; kam8g8i8 'he dives' 76.a9; ka8i8 'he sleeps' 49.b10,10-11; 7.a11-12; pakki8 'he swims' 76.a2; san8sani8 'he is tired' 41.a3-4

3p

ka8i8ok 'they sleep' 7.a11-12, ka8i8oc 107.a16-17

a:-stems

3s

8litehau 'he has a good heart' 92.a10-11, 8litahau 88.b18; p8ssebau 'he is wet' 73.b10; nateb8kau 'he feasts' 84.a8; nanatan8au 'he hears a little' 97.a7-8; liskan8au 'he sings of war' 78.a10-11; pitchichau 'he enters' 112.b2; aginsau 'he goes to cut wood' 84.b13; sasank8apau 'he sells drink for too much' 84.a19-20; 8anisau 'he is lost' 44.b9-10²⁷; pil8ant8au 'he speaks another language' 102.b21-22; lant8au 'he speaks the same language' 103.a1-2; pita8t8nau 'he foams at the mouth' 51.b8; pan8chau 'he laughs' 35.b4; pansk8au 'it is noon' 95.b12; 105.a18; kakapichau 'he is deaf' 112.b8-9; 12.b23-24; ketegau 'he dances' 93.b9; kikit8kau 'he babbles' 102.a1-2; l8au 'he says so' 13.b22, louau 63.a20; mamantau 'he complains' 87.a17; 8tenlainau 'he arrives' 35.a17; nitan 8i' ghitimanchelim8au 'he knows how to be merciful' 45.a15-19; na8akau 'he (sun) is halfway' 95.b14; piantamancha 'he prays' 83.b8-10; maue 'he cries' 35.b7;

objective

8tel8an 'he says so' 113.b2; 13.b19; 8nitan8i ghitimanchelim8an 'he knows how to be merciful' 45.a22-25

Some forms appear to have an ending <a>, representing either a long or short *a*. This may be influence from Massachusett, which often deletes the <w> after a long *a*: or nasalized \tilde{a} (Goddard 1981:73):

kisilja 'he washes his hands' 66.b4
pek8ala8^a 'he makes notes' 34.a3
8t8p8t8na8a 'they has a frosty mouth' 51.b1-2²⁸

Some presumed <a>: stems have <8>; however, the small number of examples of this inconsistency probably indicates an error by Mathevet:

8tah8 'he has heart' 70.a13
na8ak8as8²⁹ 'he walks at noon' 95.b15

²⁷ <8anisa8an> 'he is lost (as a knife)' also appears on the same page. While the ending resembles objective inflection, it has no prefix.

²⁸ This word seems to have an extra <8> before the extra <a>.

²⁹ This word may be a loan from Abenaki, since it has initial *n* from PA *θ.

3p

n8pa8ssa8ak 'they go to war' 9.b11-12; 109.b5-6; pitchia8ak³⁰ 'they enter' 12.b16; chibakama8ok 'they come/go by sail' 24.a12-13; l8aua8ak 'they say so' 13.b23-24, loua8ak 63.a21; kaki8a8oc 'they are/get drunk' 84.a11-13; iau8oc 'they are four' 108.a15; iau8ok 8.a14

Stems ending in *-ā* take third person inflection *-āw(ak)*, written ⟨an8(ak)⟩ or ⟨am8(ak)⟩.

However, because they end in the long vowel *-ā*, the final *-w* is often dropped in the singular third person, a process likely borrowed from Massachusetts, which drops the *w* after all long vowels (Goddard 1981:73).

ā-stems

3s

8anisa8an 'he is lost (as a knife)' 44.b3-4; pian 'he comes' 24.b6; ponpian 'he comes' 27; ponpit8an 'he lies' 23.b8; ket88man 'he sings' 55.a5; agena8an 'he distributes provisions (at feast)' 91.a12-14; 8anbanama8san 'he sits/stays up' 56.a5; nekessan 'he (sun) sets' 95.b16; 51.a22; l8an 'he says so' 18.b12-13³¹; sanguig8asan 'he (sun) rises' 95.b7-8

objective

8taban 'he cooks bread over ashes' 53.b13-14

3p

pia8oc 'they come' 65.a9-11

Short Vowel Stems*o*-stems

In *o*-stems, final *o+w* likely produces *-ew* in Nipmuck, as in Massachusetts (Goddard 1981:74), and is written as ⟨-8⟩.

3s

tak8ans8 'he crushes s.t. in a pestle' 93.b16; 90.b13; chiks8 'he is burnt' 18.b6; m8k8amam8 'he is sick' 17.b17; mamisip8 'he eats much' 79.b3; maska8tchin8 'he is sick from drinking' 110.b2; 10.b8-9; kata8i 8igam8 'he wants to feast' 8.b11-12; kelabes8 'he is tied up' 88.b8-10; tepabis8 'he is bound (swaddled)' 88.b4-5; 8ibabis8 'he is bound (as prisoner)' 88.b6-7; papam'h8ss8 'he swims (as fish)' 76.a1; pemh8ss8 'he swims (as snake, duck), goes by canoe' 76.a5-6; s88is8 'he is named thus' AR.a2; 24.b9-10; tibelimis8 'he rules himself' 74.a9-10, tebelimit8³² 98.a11-13; 8amanlis8 'he loves himself' 74.a11-12; a8as8 'he warms himself'

³⁰ cf. 3s pitchichau

³¹ cf. l8am 13.b22

³² Note that this word contains ⟨t⟩ instead of the expected ⟨s⟩ which appears in the previous word. It is likely the reciprocal form 'he is ruled', discussed further in chapter 7.

23.b23; kintang8s8 'he looks terrible' 41.a13-14; sahiaginang8s8 'he looks terrible' AR.a15; apimis8 'he roasts wheat over ashes' 53.b11-12; kaki8akans8 'he pretends to be drunk' 56.b8-9; mamanskepans8³³ 'he pretends to cry' 56.b6-7; ninzikatem8 'he is two years old' 73.a11; pekatah8 'he smokes' 91.b1; mata8anhans8 'he does evil' 87.b11; k8sk8alam8 'he dies of hunger' 91.b15; lakans8 'he removes hair from skin' 98.a9-10; 8ikesem8 'he is fond of drink' 79.b5; pepikas8 'he is pierced' 38.a21-22; pik8ai8s8 'he is pierced' 38.a21-22; (t)epitahans8 'he thinks thus of s.t.' 49.b7; na8attkess8 'he burns (in purgatory)' 50a.5-6; 8ilans8 'he is smoked' 95.a12; kelabelans8 'he is tied' 88.b9, nebelans8 'he is tied (tightly)'; k8sk8ekes8 'he dies of heat' 91.b17-18; 8litehans8 'he thinks in the right way' 88.b17; ak8ham8 'he sneezes' 92.a16; aak8am8 34.a19

objective

8imamisipin 'he eats much' 79.b8-9; 8atelen8aten 'he is worth s.t.' 3.b11-12, 8telen8aten 82.b1

3p

tek8asem8ok 'they are tipsy after having drunk' 80.16-17; chiks8ak 'they are burnt' 18.b7

objective

8atelen8atenan 'they are worth s.t.' 3.b13-14

One exception is the *o*-stem verb 'to eat', which shows no final third person *-w* in any recorded forms. It also appears with a final *-<i>* in both singular and plural forms, perhaps having been reanalyzed as an *i*:-stem.

3s	
mitchix ^c	114.a15
mitchitx ^c	61.a14; 14.b4
mitsisi	79.a18-19
3p	
mitisis8ak	79.a23
mitchisi8ak	114.a19
mitchisi8ok	14.b8
mitchisi8ek	61.a18

One other likely *o*-stem also appears to be analyzed as an *i*:-stem, containing *<i>* in both the singular and plural inflections:

tou8iou 'he flies' 76.a11
 188i8ak 'they fly' 76.a12

Two likely *o*-final stems appeared with no third person marking at all, probably an erroneous omission of *-<8>* by Mathevet:

³³ It is not clear why PA **-hka:sowa* 'pretend' appears as *-<pans8>* in this word.

p8ta8anb 'he whistles' 99.a4-5
 ilini8ai8ansitis 'he becomes a man' 98.a6

i-stems (singular *-iw* written *-<8>*; plural *-iwak* written *-<8ak>*):

3s

chechipis8 'he is shy' 75.b16-17; 2.a17-18; missaniss8 'he is ashamed' 102.b19-20; misalis8 'he is proud' 75.b12-13; 8sk8ans8 'he writes' 74.b1; linsk8ans8 'he writes' 74.b5-6; 8laligam8 'he is mucousy' 71.b15; machakamikiss8 'he behaves badly' 81.a21-22; nananbalis8 'he is lazy/careless' 87.a11; kelach8 'he is frozen' 71.a1; 84.b2; selekach8 'he freezes' 91.b13-14; 8lig8 'he is good' 110.b13,a.17-18; 23.a8; antab8 'he rests' 100.b8; AR.a19, entap8 41.a5; maches8 'he is bad, ugly' 79.b14, matchiz8 23.a7; p8s8 'he embarks' 31.a4, p8ss8 31.b4; pi8icis8 'he is small' 71.a3; ilin8 'he is a man' 16.a4; 8han'g8tang8ss8 'he is terrible' 102.a1-2; seghis8 'he is black' 33.a15; mamanliz8 'he is multi-coloured' 33.a17-18; nipi8 'he is wet' 77.a6; kengentemanghes8 'he is pitiful, empty' 50.b4; miska8inang8s8 'he is beautiful (perceived to be pleasing)' 79.b13; 8apis8 'he is afraid' 41.a6; kichapin akiss8³⁴ 'he suffers much' 35.a8-9; n8chimis8 'he is weak (in health)' 85.b13-14; 8iss8h8 'he is fat' 100.b3, 8is88 24.b19; AR.a14; kenchikanis8 'he is lean' 70.b5; k8n8s8 'he is long' 47.b16; saighis8 'he is valuable' 87.a20-21

3p

8lig8ak 'they are good' 11.a1-2, 8lig8ok 110.b10-12; nipi8ak 'they are wet' 77.a6; p8ss8hok 'they embark' 31.b8; chess8ok 'they are how many' 107.b16-17; chass8ok 7.b11-12; chess8ak 25.a10-11, 40.a12, 107.b16-17; 8iss8h8oc 'they are fat' 100.b3, 8is8ok 24.b19, 8is88ac AR.a14; missen8at8ak 'they are expensive (as markets)' 101.a8-9; AV.a19-20

Although *po:si* 'embark' is historically an *i*-stem verb, and appears as such in 3s (p8s8), it seems to be reanalyzed as an *-i:* stem verb in all other inflections, including first and second person, and third person plural (p8ssi8ek). As mentioned, the expected spelling of *-iwak* is *-<8ak>*, and the appearance of *<i>* should indicate a long *i:*-stem. The word (nipi8ak) 'they are wet' (above) is not an exception, since *<i8ak>* likely represents *-iwiwak*, not *-iwak*.

objective

8tapin 'he sits/is there' 18.a9,5; 102.b4; 8telen 'he uses/does it' 49.a11-16; 8telain 98.a14-15
 8tapinan 'they sit/are there' 18.a13

A subset of *i*-stems contains those stems which end in the AI final *-ayi(w)*. For this stem, the 3s inflection of *-(i)w* is optional.

3s

matchi ilini8ai 'he is a bad man' 83.b17-18; ai 'he is there' 102.b2; 2.a2

³⁴ This word apparently comes from the PA stem **a:hk^wesiwa* 'suffer', although the raised *w* is not represented in the spelling of *akiss8*.

with optional *-iw*:

8lililai8 'he is good' 110.b16; 41.b20; 45.a15-19, 8lilai8³⁵ 'he is good'
11.a11; aiantagai8 'he lies' 75.a4-6; sasank8ai8 'he is greedy' 23.b10;
panlai8 'he is superb' 25.b11; 40.b18; matchililai8 'he is bad' 77.b9-11; 11.a13;
tsilai8³⁶ 'he is bad' 42.a1; chilai8 44.a9; 21.b3

3p

matchililai8ak 'they are bad' 11.a15, matchililai8ok 11.a1-2; 110.b10-12

Consonant Stems

After a consonant, the third person marker *-w* is generally deleted. However, after *n*- and *l*-final stems, the *-w* may be deleted, or an epenthetic *-e-* may optionally be added between the consonant and the third person marker, giving *-ew*.

3s with *-Ø*

n-stems

matissin 'he does badly' 10.b4-5; 110.a17-18; nikan 'he is evil' 53.a15; matelisin 'he despises someone' 86.a13

m-stems³⁷

chassisantam 'he is lazy' 23.a9; 87.a8; 8m 'he comes from there' 18.a16; kessitenam 'he sweats' 73.b11-13; lantam 'he is hungry' 15.a11; 60.a4; 115.a6

objective

oumen 'he comes from there' 15.b19, 8men 60.b7

p-stems

an8anba 'he is alert, well' 56.a14; nep 'he is dead' 11.b5-6

3s with *-ew*

n-stems

k8sk8ikanket8n8 'he dies from thirst' 91.b16; kepkitasin8 'he falls' 44.a12-13; sibsins8 'he lies down' 70.b13

l-stems

missakil8 'he is big' 8.a11; 108.a13; 8ig^u/el8 'he is good-tasting (as bread)' 23.a3, 8igel8 39.a22-23

³⁵ Like the previous word <8lililai8>, all other forms of the verb 'be good' contain the stem <-8lililai>-. The haplogy that occurs in <8lilai8> is probably an error, as Mathevet made identical mistakes in recording other inflectional forms, but corrected all of these.

³⁶ This word and the next are obviously shortened versions of <matchililai8> above. Note the haplogy of <-li-> again.

³⁷ Note that it is often difficult to distinguish between Nipmuck AI verbs that end in *-am*, and TI-O *-am* verbs.

3p*l*-stems

michel8ok 'they are much, many' 7.a9-10, missal8ak 57.b19,17-18, missal8oc 105.a6-7; 107.a14-15; 102.b10-11; 83.a16-16

m-stems

ch8kamak 'they are three' 45.b14; 8mak 'they come from there' 18.a20; lantamak 'they are hungry' 15.a15; 60.a8; 115.a9

For several verbs, it was impossible to determine the stem-final segment, either by comparing the endings to those in similar words in other languages, or by comparing them to other morphologically similar forms in Nipmuck:

3s

8a8it88ig8 'he is diligent' 77.a3-4; 8ančnčk8 'he is crazy' 47.a18; keleg8a'g8 'he is crushed by a tree' 67.a17-18; kanch kiz8 'he has trouble walking'³⁸ 65.a13-14; ans8il8 'he swims (of a 4-legged animal)' 76.a7-8; 8a8anbages8lta8 'he makes shirts' 24.a21-22; kicheai8h8 'he is old' 105.b12-13; 5.a19-20; 103.b9-10; silictahg8 'he is crushed' 49.a17-18; 8anbah8 'he is strong, victorious' 54.a8; kixsas8 'he is dry' 77.a7, kixsa's8 45.b12; taik8as8 'he is short' 47.b15; ank8l8 'he is pure' 74.b9-10; 8linan iap8 'he is well/satisfied' 70.a16-17; matel8tem8 'he is scornful' 83.b21

objective

8tetipis8en 'he is equal' 66.a11-12; 8a8k8atasan 'he is virtuous, he has spirit' 43.a8-9; 8a8k8atoian 'he is virtuous, has spirit' 16.a18; 8matellisinen 'he is scornful' 86.a7; 8matel8temen 'he is scornful' 83.a19-20; [8]8ikesemin 'he is fond of drink' 79.b6-7

3p

k8ak8neman8ok 'they play checkers' 67.b3; l88sem8ak / 'they try to get drunk after having a bit to drink' 80.19-20; ans8anman8at8ak 'they trade' 97.b13-14; kakich8m8oc 'they babble much' 84.a11-13; kixsas8oc 'they are dry' 77.a7; la8a8ok 'they fight' 24.a4; pan'8cha8ak 'they only try' 88.a15-17; 8mi8ka8au8ak 'they sleep together' 37.a9; 8tenasac³⁹ 'they leave' 65.a9-11

Indefinite Subject Forms

The indefinite subject takes the objective suffix *-en* and no prefix, and is generally translated as 'someone'.

X __-en X __-in/an

³⁸ <kanch> is probably a separate word meaning 'to have trouble doing s.t.' Cf. <au8kentchi> 'a peine' 12, 112, and a8kentchi nikizisc8ams 'I have trouble writing', where <a8kentchi> is clearly outside of the verb.

³⁹ cf. 8tenlainau 'he arrives' 35.a17

i-stems

[mat 8liganen8] nananbalisin ‘[it is not good] to be lazy’ 77.a1-2; [mat 8liganen8] panlalisin ‘[it is not good] to be proud’ 94.b14-16

o-stems

[mat 8liganan8] missali mitchicin ‘[it is not good] to eat much’ 17.b20-22; n8tan8elimisin ‘he scorns himself’ 94.b14-16

uncertain stems

[mat a8an tetipi ili] tebissi8an ‘no one is equal to him’ 80.1-2; [mat a8an 8tet8chi] tebissi8in [nia alikaian] ‘no one is equal to me’ 89.b3-4

Non-Third Person Forms

First and second person singular forms of the independent indicative absolute paradigm inflect only with prefixes. Epenthetic *t* appears before vowel-initial stems, as it does in possessive inflection:

absolute			
1	<i>ne(t)</i> -__	1	<i>ne(t)</i> -__
2	<i>ke(t)</i> -__	2	<i>ke(t)</i> -__
objective			
1	<i>ne(t)</i> -__-(<i>e</i>) <i>n</i>	1	<i>ne(t)</i> -__-an/in/en
2	<i>ke(t)</i> -__-(<i>e</i>) <i>n</i>	2	<i>ke(t)</i> -__-an/in/en

Because the verb stem appears word-finally in first and second person, unprotected by inflectional suffixes, it is therefore vulnerable to phonetic change. Thus, vowel stems that end in short vowels lose that final vowel. In the case of both the long vowel stems and consonant stems, the first and second person singular forms are identical to the stem except for the personal prefixes (and objective suffixes).

Long Vowel Stems*i*:-stems**1s**

nimatchi ‘I leave, go off’ 34.a7; 36.a12; nimantchi 73.a3-6; nipakki ‘I swim’ 76.a2; nipapami ‘I go for a walk’ 76.a4; ni8an8lika8i ‘I sleep well’ 1.a13-14; 101.b7; nisan8sani ‘I am tired’ 41.a3-4; 52.a3; nekam8g8i ‘I dive’ 76.a9; n8tami ‘I am busy’ 24.b1; nimiskan8ag8i ‘I am a Loup’ 97.a10-13; nipamba’pētēghi ‘I walk making s’s,

not straight' 12.a17-19; nipanba'pētēghi 112.a1-2; nitanla8i k8ak8achi 'I try my best' 47.a11-12; nikisini nensi 'I dislike s.t.(?)' 81.b13-14

2s

keka8i 'you sleep' 107.a12; kika8i 7.a7; kimantchi 'you leave' 7.a13-14; 107.a18; kit8'ki 'you are awake' 1.a15-16; 101.b8-9; k8ssammi matchakami kissi 'you lead a life that is too bad' 93.a1-4; k8a8ta8i 'you hear it' 101.b5-6; 1.a11-12

a:-stems

1s

nipissibe 'I sweat' 101.a4; nen8pa8ssa 'I go to war' 9.b11-12; 109.b4; netkekha 'I plant a field, sow' 37.b2; n8techa 'I guard the dwelling' 91.a1-2; nich8gatcha 'I make sugar' 92.a6; nikisilja 'I wash my hands' 66.b4; nip8sseba 'I am wet' 73.b10; nimasta8cha 'I am shot' 10.b12-13; 110.b4-5; nipi8iciziant8a 'I speak quietly' 53.a4-5; nitaginse 'I go to cut wood' 84.b9; niliskan8a 'I sing of war' 78.a10-11; nenanatanh8 'I hear a little' 97.a7-8; nigata8i atan8a 'I want to buy s.t.' 6.a12-13; nikata8i atan8a 106.b6-7; nimissahan8che 'I cut/prepare meat for smoking' 95.a17-18; nitchime 'I paddle' 22.b10; nipombe petig8sse 'I walk not straight' 58.a14

2s

kineten 8aiamiaü 'you know how to pray' 36.a4; kikaki8e 'you are/get drunk' 7.b9-10; 107.b14-15; kikaki8a 4.a11; 54.b1-3; ketel8a 'you say thus' 13.b20; 63.a18; k8lant8a 'you speak well' 75.b6; kesasank8apa 'you sell drink for too much' 84.a15-16; kes8k khepa 'you sell drink' 84.a14; kes8kap 82.b12-13; kes8k[e] 'you sell/pour liquid' 80.21; k8ssami' missant8a 'you speak too loudly' 26.a1-2; kiniten8i guitimanchelim8a 'you know how to be merciful' 45.a20-21; kikike 'you heal, recover' 78.a8-9

Two forms do not show final -a:, while one likely a:-stem was written with final ⟨o⟩:

nikesseng8^e 'I wash my face' 66.b7
 nikaki8 'I am/get drunk' 10.a19; 85.b16-18; 110.a11
 nipissibo 'I sweat' AV.a11

One stem exhibits forms with both final long vowel and final vowel deletion.

kimatchil8a 'you speak bad' 83.a13-14; 83.a11-12
 kimatchil8 'you speak bad' 83.a17-18

-ã stems

1s

nipian 'I come' AR.a8; AV.a9; 99.a9-10; 100.a22; nepian AV.a18; 24.b14; 101.a1-2; 101.a7; 114.b1-3; niten 'I go' AR.a9; 13.b4-6; 21.a4; 24.b15; 26.b4; 63.b8-9; 100.a23; 109.b10; 113.a11-12; 9.b17-18; neten 'I go' 115.b13; ntam 'I go' 15.b17; 60.b5; nikitchitchēn 'I have a big heart' 3.b6; nikitchitehen 104.a6; n8litehan 'I have a good heart' 92.a10-11; nimatchitehan 'I have an evil heart' 92.a12-13; netel8an 'I say thus' 13.b18; 63.a16; 113.b1; nisibakkaman 'I come/go by sail' 76.a10; neketegan 'I dance' 93.b9; nikakapichen 'I am deaf' 12.b23-24; 112.b8-9; nikizi conpessean 'I have confessed' 66.b10-13; nikikit8ken 'I say s.t.' 36.a10; n8lamma 'I

speak true, am right' 37.a19; neket88ma 'I sing' 55.a5; nicket8h8ma 55.a14-15; nimaten8a 'I win' 68.a1; nemattenen 'I lose' 68.a11; nimamantan 'I complain' 87.a17; netagena8an 'I distribute provisions (at feast)' 91.a12-14; nikaten 'I want that...' 56.b1, 2-3; nikata8i ak8t8han 'I want to finish' 77.b16-18; nikata8ian 'I go' 21.a11-12

objective

nitaban 'I bake bread over ashes' 53.b13-14

Two likely *-ã* stem forms show final vowel deletion:

nimak8isit 'I have a swollen foot' 92.b1
nisan8sitanx 'I am tired of walking (with bare feet)' 97.b5-6

2s

kipian 'you come' 58.a17; 58.a15; kepiam 51.b19-20; 24.b4-5; 114.b1-3; 77.b8; kepiam 26.a7-8; kipiam 39.a2; keten 'you go' 60.b6; 21.a3; 54.b1-3; 15.b18; 114.a4-5; 115.b13; 107.b3; 9.b16; ke'ten 7.a20; kiten 38.a11; kketen 109.b9; kimamatchi l8an 'you speak too bad' 21.b4-5; kimatchi l8am 8.b9; k8ssam al8m 'you make too much noise' 46.b8-12; ki8initechen 'you have no heart' 3.b8; ki8inite'hen 104.a8; k8lama 'you speak true, are right' 32.3; 79.b22-24; k8salaman 24.b13; kineten 8aiamian 'you know how to pray' 36.a4; ketelen 'you use it' 48.b8-9

Short Vowel Stems

Short vowel stems differ from their first and second singular forms in that the stem-final short vowel deletes when it appears word-finally.

o-stems

1s

nepakes 'I smoke' 91.a17; niguitimankelimis 'I believe myself pitiful' 25.b13-14; nightimankelim[is] 40.b20; nitapimis 'I bake wheat over ashes' 53.b11-12; 84.b16-17; ni8isaguis 'I burn myself' 18.b4; nitilelimis 'I think thus of myself' 22.3-4; nitelilelimis 68.b9; nita8as 'I warm myself' 23.b23; nisikagenes 'I cover myself' 50a.v5; 100.a12; nich8s 'I burn myself' 51.a15; nichiks 'I am burnt' 18.b5; né8apis 'I am afraid' 41.a6; nitibelimis 'I rule myself' 74.a9-10; n8amanlis 'I love myself' 74.a11-12; nin8tan8elimis 'I believe myself incapable/unworthy' 94.b11-13; nekelammesk8abes 'I drop anchor' 98.a1; nimi8i peghes 'I am chased off by the smoke' 56.b14-15; nidab8p 'I eat enough' 15.a17; 115.a18; nimatchep 'I eat s.t. up' 70.b8; nikata8seme 'I am thirsty' 79.a16; nikata8i 8igam 'I want to feast' 108.b7-8; nitank8amam 'I am sick' 10.a5-7; nitank8aman⁴⁰ 'I am sick' 109.b22; nimaska8tim⁴¹ 'I am sick from drinking' 10.b10-11; 110.b3; n8tamal'kans 'I am busy working' 3.a8-9; n8tamalkans 'I am busy working' 103.b13-14; nikaki8abisem 'I am/get drunk' 80.8; nitak8ans 'I crush s.t. (in a pestle)' 90.b13; 93.b16; nisanata8anb 'I am tired of looking there' 97.a18-19; ninantchim8a 'I speak bad of s.o.' 83.a9-10; nik8sk8kes 'I die of heat' 91.b19; nitaak8am 'I sneeze' 34.a19; nitak8ham 92.a16;

⁴⁰ cf. <nitank8amam> above

⁴¹ cf. maska8tchim8 'he is sick from drinking' 110.b2

kikaki8akabesem 'you get him drunk' 80.11-12; mat ni8iguesebam8 'I do not find it good to drink' 103.a10-11

objective

n8n8lilanlalkansin 'I am unable to work' 89.a7-8

2s

ketes88is 'you are named thus' 40.a17; 25.a17-18; kiguitimakis 'you are pitiful' 13.b1-2; ketalekans 'you work' 8.b1-2; ketalekan's 8.a18-19; ketalkans 108.a18-19,21-22; kitalkans 82.a9-10; kimamag8alkans 'you work carelessly' 97.b10; kes8ghenebans 'you are baptized' 43.b8; kikata8i s8ghenebans 'you want to be baptized' 43.b6-7

Unexpectedly, some *o*-stem forms exhibit a final *-i* in first or second person forms. It is possible that these stems are either reanalyzed as having a final *-i*:, or mistakenly treated by Mathevet as *i*:-stem verbs. For example, the verb stem *wi:hkamo-* 'to feast' appears as an *o*-stem, as expected, with final *-o* deleted, as in <nikata8i 8igam> 'I want to feast' (108).

However, it also appears as a reanalyzed, or generalized, *i*:-stem *wi:hkami*: as in <nikata8i 8igami> (8). Other examples are as follows:

nit8hi 'I fly' 76.a11
 nimitchisi 'I eat' 79.a18
 nitatagansipi⁴² 'I eat little' 79.b4
 nimissalipi 'I eat much' 79.b1
 kimitsisi 'you eat' 79.a18-19⁴³

i-stems

1s

nitantab 'I rest' AR.a19; 100.b8; nitentap 41.a5; nitaniap 'I stay sitting' 48.b5-7; ni8anbanata8anb 'I sit/stay up' 56.a6; n8sk8ans 'I write' 74.b1; nikizi sc8ams 'I am able to write' 51.b16-17; niguitimanguis 'I am pitiful, empty' 9.a6-7; nighetimankis 109.a2-3; nighetimankis 50.b7; n8lik 'I am good' 11.a4; n'8lig 110.b13; nitap 'I am there' 18.a7; nimisk8is 'I am red' 33.a11; n8lan8is 'I am green' 33.a12; n8anbis 'I am white' 33.a13; n8isan8is 'I am yellow' 33.a14; nisequis 'I am black' 33.a15; nimaches 'I am bad/ugly' 79.b14; niselekach 'I freeze (die of cold)' 91.b13-14; nik8sk8ssita8ach 'I have cold feet' 97.b7; netennalix 'I am converted' 39.a14-15; nisan8chap 'I am tired of sitting' 52.a4; nipi ilin8 'I am unimportant (a little man)' 40.b24; n8skil8n8 'I am young' 3.b1-2; 104.a1-2; nimissanis 'I am ashamed' 2.a17-18; 102.b19-20; n8k8sk8atch 'I am cold' 15.a2; 114.b18; 61.b20; nimemek8anbau 'I am important (a big man)' 25.b1-2; nimemec8anbau 40.b1; n8laligam 'I am mucousy' 71.b15; nimisalis 'I am proud' 75.b12-13; nichechipis 'I am shy' 75.b16-17; nikimikig8s 'I go off secretly' 36.a12; nep8s 'I embark' 73.a12-14,15-16; nimatchililai 'I am bad' 110.b18; nitsilai 'I am bad' 42.a1; nipanlai 'I am proud' 75.b12-13; n8lililai 'I am good' 41.b20; 110.b16

⁴² cf. mamisip8 'he eats much' 79.b3

⁴³ The last four may actually be loans from Abenaki.

objective

niteniapān 'I stay sitting' 5.a21-23; 105.b14-15

2s

kitap 'you are there' 18.a8; kiliskitang8s 'you are detestable' 38.a9; kinaniskitang8s 'you speak boringly' 53.a11-12; kikinitang8s 'you sound terrible' 41.a14; 41.a13-14; kinissitang8s 'you talk obscenely' 18.b1-2; kinananbalis 'you are lazy/careless' 78.a3-4; kip8s 'you embark' 31.a3; kematchililāi 'you are bad' 10.b6-7; kimatchililai 110.b1; k8lililai 'you are good' 11.a10; kinatan8i 8lililai 'you know how to be good' 72.b4; kitaiantagai 'you lie' 75.a4-6; kimigai 'you are a coward' 3.b3; 104.a3-4; ketelai (?) 33.b1-2

However, note that for the words ⟨nep8s⟩ 'I embark' and ⟨kip8s⟩ 'you embark', the alternatives ⟨nip8ssi⟩ (89.a1-2) and ⟨kip8ssi⟩ (31.b10) are also found (see also ⟨p8ssi8ek⟩ 'they embark'). This may be due to a reanalysis of the stem-final *-i* as a long vowel *-i:*, which would then be retained in the first and second person singular forms, possibly due to influence from the morpheme **-i:* 'go', as suggested by Goddard (1981:93). Thus the stem has been reshaped from *po:si* to *po:si:*, explaining the appearance of the final *-i*. Other examples are *makwi:si*, which may have been reanalyzed as *makwi:si:*, and *macahkamikesi*, reanalyzed as *macahkamikesi:*, as in the following examples:

nimak8isi 'I am swollen' 92.b2-3,4-5,6-7,8-9
k8ssammi matchakami kissi 'you behave too badly' 93.a1-4

Consonant Stems*m*-stems

1s

negateg8am 'I am sleepy' 5.b13-14; 106.a5; nisan8g8am 'I am tired of sleeping' 52.a5; nematteg8am 'I dream' 52.a11; neteleg8am 'I dream thus' 52.a12-13; nom 'I come from there' 7.a24; 97.b3-4; n8m 21.a5; 107.b7; 18.a4; nilantam 'I am hungry' 15.a9; 22.a22-23; 60.a2,9,10; 60.b3-4; 115.a6; nichassisantam 'I am lazy' 23.a10; nimamachesebam '*je suis malin dans la boisson*' 95.a9-10; nidabessëbam 'I drink enough' 15.a18; 115.a17; nidebissibami⁴⁴ 34.a22

2s

k8m 'you come from there' 18.a15; kichisantam⁴⁵ 'you are lazy' 23.a9; k8ssami 8ikesebam 'you are too drunk' 60.a14; k8ssammi 8ikesebam 15.b1-2; kelantam 'you are hungry' 60.a3; 15.a10; 115.b1

⁴⁴ final ⟨i⟩ is unexplained.

⁴⁵ cf. nichassisantam 'I am lazy' 23.a10

objective

g88man 'you come from there' 7.a22; g88men 107.b5; k8men 8.b13; 108.b9

*n-stems***1s**

nekenketon 'I am thirsty' 15.a8; 115.a5; 60.a1; nipkitasin⁴⁶ 'I fall' 44.a12-13; nisibsin 'I lie down' 70.b13

2s

kimatcheton 'you have a bad mouth' 52.a8-10

*p-stems***1s**

nenep 'I die, am dead' 47.b10-12,13-14; 70.a5-6; nikata8i nip 'I will/may die' 10.a5-7; 110.b22

Uncertain Stems**1s**

nenateb8ke 'I feast' 84.a8; n8aauk8at 'I have a spirit/am virtuous' 16.a16; n8au8k8at 71.a9-13; n8a8kat 64.b6-7; n8a8k8ata 67.a10-12; nichankit 'I come' 18.b14; netelek8a8I 'I look there' 21.b18-20; nimambiteng8a 'I have a toothache' 35.a10; niki8anahg8'a 'I lose my way' 36.b5; niki8anehg8e 68.b1; nikitchapine 'I am sad' 38.a4; nitanla8iten 'I despair of trying' 47.a9-10; nitanla8I 'I try' 47.a11-12; ni8an8nek8'e 'I am crazy' 47.a18; n8lsani 'I am defeated' 54.a7; n8lsani8' 54.a9-10; n8ln8au 'I am defeated' 54.a9-10; nitan8anbau 'I am well' 56.a15; 75.b11; nimissita8an 'I am caught' 70.a7-8; nimattantan⁴⁷ 'I am aged, decrepid' 71.a5; nimatah8ahans 'I do evil' 76.b4; ni8a8it8ig 'I am diligent' 77.a3-4; nitag8ah8s 'I disembark' 78.b9; nipanpit8asita8an⁴⁸ 'I doubt s.t., speak against s.t., lie' 81.b21; ni8ila8iki 'I am lucky' 89.b8; nimatenk8i 'I am unlucky' 89.b9; nit8l8k8am 'I slide along' 92.a9; nisanipim8h8s 'I am tired of paddling' 97.a16-17; nisan8skingigau 'I am tired of looking there' 97.a18-19; nimalini 8taken 'I visit peacefully' 21.a23; nitepitahans 'I think thus of s.o.' 49.b7; nim8satan 'I like to eat' 35.a22; nimatchilets 'I speak bad of s.o.' 83.a9-10; nin8tan8alis 'I'm afraid I won't be able to get to the end of it/through it' 94.b8-10; nin8lnem 'I am no longer able to do s.t.' 71.a6-7; n8lang8chin 'I see the evening (greeting)' 17.a8, a5-6; n8anbanchin 'I see the morning (greeting)' 17.a7

objective

netetepisen 'I am equal to s.o.' 66.a10; nes8ghenebansin 'I am baptised' 67.a4-9; ni8a8k8atasen 'I have spirit' 43.a10-13, 17-18; ninateb8kan 'I feast' 14.b15; 114.b10; ninatb8kan 61.b12

⁴⁶ cf. kepkitasin8 'he falls' 44.a12-13

⁴⁷ Natick and Narragansett have final *-am*. This may be another miscopying of *-(am)* as *-(an)*.

⁴⁸ cf. mat nipanpit8a 'I do not lie' 37.a9. Final *-(sita8an)* is unexplained.

2s

kemissalits s8k8paman 'your drinking costs you a lot' 81.a1-2; kinantchem8'au 'you meditate' 8.a15-16; kinantchem8au 'you meditate' 8.b8; kenantchem8'au 'you meditate' 108.a16; kemache se8ans 'you sing badly' 84.a7; kichiai88i⁴⁹ 'you are old' 93.a7-9; kimanikipask8au 'you are a Fury (evil mythological woman)' 71.b8-11; ki8a8k8ata 'you are wise' 33.a8; ke8au8k8ata 'you are wise' 93.a5-6; kichamai8 'you have no spirit' 9.b22; kipanpit8 'you lie' 37.a18; kipanpit8an 'you lie' 75.a4-6; ketel8h8man 'you are worth s.t.' 3.b15-16; kekemanitje 'you kill domestic animals' 82.b2-3; k8lang8chin 'you see the evening (greeting)' 17.a5-6; 57.b3; k8anbanchin 'you see the morning (greeting)' 17.a3-4; kinateb8k^e 'you feast' 14.b16-17; 61.b13-14; ketank8amatan 'you are sick' 78.a8-9; k8tena⁵⁰ 'you leave (?)' 87.a20-21; k8liamp 'you are burnt' 3.a1-3; ketau 'you do s.t. about it' 82.b9; ki8ighisitau 'you listen with pleasure' 83.a19-21

objective

kitiliten 'you are the cause' 7.b14-15; 8.1-3; 72.b12,7; 75.b7-8; 37.b7; 108.a4-5; 8.a1-3; 107.b18; 67.a4-9; 82.a15-17; k8au8k8atan 'you are wise, have spirit' 18.a3-4

The plural inflection of non-third person subjects is as follows:

	absolute		
1p	ne(t)-__-emen/emenā	1p	ne(t)-__-emen, imen, amen/ -emenen, amenen, imenen
21	ke(t)-__-emen/emenā	21	ke(t)-__-emen, imen, amen/ -emenen, imenen
2p	ke(t)-__-em/emā	2p	ke(t)-__-im, em/ -ema, emen, aman, imen
	objective		
21	ke(t)-__-enemen	21	ke(t)-__-enemen
2p	ke(t)-__-enawā	2p	ke(t)-__-na8an

Note that Mathevet's orthography leads to a high degree of ambiguity in this

particular paradigm. Both the 21 suffix *-emen* and the 2p suffix *-emā* are spelled *-emen* in the manuscript, and since these forms often appear in paradigms, it is often only by the order in which the words appear within a paradigm that we can determine which translation was intended.

1p

-emen

n8ligemen 'we (excl) are good' 110.b14; n8ligemen 11.a6; nimemek8anba8men 'we (excl) are important' 25.b3-4; nimemek8ambe8men 40.b4; nimitchisemen 'we (excl) eat' 61.a15; 14.b5; 114.a16; nilantamimin 'we (excl) are hungry' 60.a5; nilantamemen 15.a12; nelantamemen 115.a7; nip8ssihemen 'we (excl) embark' 31.b9; nip8ssiheman 31.a2; n8lililaioimmen 'we (excl) are good' 110.b17;

⁴⁹ cf. kicheai8h8 'he is old' 105.b12-13, etc.

⁵⁰ cf. 8tenasac 'they leave; 65.a9-11, 8tenlainau 'he arrives' 35.a17

n8lililai8mmen 11.a12; nimatchililaiemen 'we (excl) are bad' 110.b19-20; 11.a14; nitapemen 'we (excl) are there' 18.a10; nenanatan8amen 'we (excl) hear a little' 97.a8; nichassisantamen⁵¹ 'we (excl) are lazy' 23.a11; nimatamamen 'we (excl) seat ourselves(?)' 31.a21; n8m8min⁵² 'we (excl) come from there' 18.a17; nan8memen 'we (excl) come along' 77.b1-2; mat nikizi p8ssimena⁵³ 'we (excl) did not embark' 31.a21

-emenā

nimitchisemenen 'we (excl) eat' 61.a17; niki8anahg8amenen 'we (excl) lose our way' 36.b5; nip8ssimemenen 'we (excl) embark' 31.a5; nitemenen 'we (excl) go' 21.a13; nich8kamenen⁵⁴ 'we (excl) are three' 45.b19; nikata8iamenen 'we (excl) will/want to go' 21.a14; nin8ln8amenen 'we (excl) are defeated' 54.a11-12

21

-emen

kipianmen 'we (incl) come' 22.a12; k8m8min 'we (incl) come from there' 18.a18; kilantamimin 'we (incl) are hungry' 60.a6; kimitchisemen 'we (incl) eat' 61.a16; 114.a17; 14.b6; kitapemen 'we (incl) are there' 18.a11; kesaiagapemen 'we (incl) are miserable/in a difficult situation' 70.a9-12; kitaik8i pemantam8men⁵⁵ 'we (incl) have a short life' 48.a8-9; kititali 8lipementamemen 'we (incl) have a happy life' 38.a14-15; kilantamemen 'we (incl) are hungry' 15.a13; kikata8i keta8lemen 'we (incl) want to listen for it' 36.a7; ki8an8li 8an8aban nechenemen 'we (incl) are well' 100.a19-20; AR.a3-4; kit8gik8amen 'we (incl) sleep' 100.b14-17

objective

kepakesenemen⁵⁶ 'we (incl) are smoked' 91.a18-19

-emenā

kikizi p8ssimenem⁵⁷ 'we (incl) embarked' 31.b6; kip8ssimemenen 'we (incl) embark' 31.a6; k8imatetemenen 'we (incl) are brothers' 86.a19; kimitchisemenen 'we (incl) eat' 14.b7; 114.a18; kitelangotemenen 'we (incl) are parents' 46.a1-6; kima8memenen 'we (incl) are grandchildren' 46.a1-6; g8menan⁵⁸ 'we (incl) come from there' 8.b14; k8menan 'we (incl) come from there' 108.b10; g88menan 'we (incl) come' 7.a23; 107.b6

⁵¹ This word is missing *-em* (should be <amemen>), probably due to simple haplology.

⁵² This inflectional suffix *-emen* is written here as *-&min*, possibly the result of vowel harmony of the stem.

⁵³ Sometimes, verbs accompanied by *mat* and translated as negative lack the negative suffix, as this word does. On the other hand, a few words exhibit negative inflection, but lack the *mat* morpheme. In either case, the words will be categorized according to inflection, not meaning. This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

⁵⁴ This word is also missing *-em* (should be <amemenen>).

⁵⁵ It is not clear why <8> appears after *pemantam* 'live' (cf. following word).

⁵⁶ The expected inflection for this word is <-emenen>, not the attested <-emenen>. This is probably simply a case of orthographic metathesis.

⁵⁷ Final <m> probably an error for <n>.

⁵⁸ This word and the next two have no epenthetic <e> between the <m> of the stem and the <m> of the ending (*kom'menā* as opposed to *komemendā*).

2p

-em

kilantamim 'you (pl) are hungry' 60.a7; kelantamem 115.a8; kinissitang8ssem 'you (pl) talk obscenely' 18.b3

-emā

k8mema 'you (pl) come from there' 18.a19; kikizi p8ssihemen 'you (pl) did embark' 31.b7; kip8ssimen 'you (pl) embark' 31.a7; ketel8aman 'you (pl) say so' 13.b21; kechass8kamen 'you (pl) are how many' 45.b17-18; kineten 8aiamiamen 'you (pl) know how to pray' 36.a4; k8lang8chinnema 'you(pl) see the evening (greeting)' 17.a11; 57.b5; k8anbanchinnema 'you(pl) see the morning (greeting)' 17.a10; 57.b5; tetipi s8isemen⁵⁹ 'you (pl) have the same name' 72.a9-12; ketelaiman (?) 33.b3-4

objective

kilantame8a⁶⁰ 'you (pl) are hungry' 15.a14; ketenna8an 'you (pl) go' 7.a21; 107.b4; ketenau⁶¹ 'you (pl) go' 60.b8; 15.b20; 115.b14; kitapina8an 'you (pl) are there' 18.a12

II INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE

The independent indicative II verb takes an inanimate subject and represents ordinary independent statements. This inflection takes final *-w* in the singular form, identical to the AI verb. This is visible most commonly as ⟨au⟩ after a long vowel and ⟨8⟩ at the end of short vowel stems.

Long Vowel Stems

debessau 'it is enough' 78.b2; 8a8ighelau 'it burns well' 45.b3; 8nibac8sau 'it has sprouted leaves' 19.a5; kizi bacsau 'it has full-grown leaves' 19.a7; n8tassau 'it runs short (as food)' 78.b1; 55.b1-7; n8tasau 55.a16-17; kixsatau 'it is dry (as wood)' 45.b11; 8anisau 'it is lost (as meat)' 44.b7-8; machekelau 'it burns (as wood)' 96.a8; kichelendau 'it is hot out' 106.b3; kichelendau^e 6.a9; kichabitau 'it is hot' 66.a9; iautan 'it is there' 111.b22; p8k8'sau 'it is broken (as a wood canoe)' 22.b2-3; 8achoutau 'it is filled (?)' 38.b1; kissiteau 'it is cooked' 39.a1; 26.a6; sang8sau 'it is cold (as soup)' 66.a8-9; peskensan 'it is torn, broken' 53.b10; chag8anis tau 'there are things' 38.b4; tsil8au 'it fires (as a gun)' 46.b3-4; ki8au 'it has left (?)' 53.b15-16

After long vowels, the final *-w* may optionally be deleted:

⁵⁹ This word lacks the *ke-* prefix.

⁶⁰ It appears that Mathevet either did not hear or mistakenly did not record the initial *-n* of *-nawā* after *m*-stems.

⁶¹ Lack of final *-ā* unexplained.

kessenta 'it is hot out' 96.b10; nantan 'it drifts (as a boat)' 50.a5-6; k8ssitan 'it drifts (as a boat)' 50.a5-6; antan 'it is extinguished (as fire or candle)' 50.a7,8-9; pëgësk8s sachag8a 'it is rotten (as wood)' 45.b8; mlanta 'it is warm out' 89.a6; sankebag8°a 'it is weak (as fire)' 89.a9-10; kichabelada 'it is a good fire' 93.a10; 8ikchanang8a 'it is wonderful (?)' 100.a3-6; 50.a7-9; ank8an 'it is pure' 74.b11-14; tag8ala8san 'the snow bears weight (?)' 99.b10

Short Vowel Stems

misantek8 'it is wavy (as water)' 41.b6-7; papetep8 'it snows a bit' 79.a8; m8tchip8 'it snows much' 79.a9; t8p8 'it is white frost' 51.b3; 8is8m8 'it is fatty (as meat)' 70.b2; kizi sasan8 'it is dry (as meat)' 78.b10; chilpans8 'it rains far away' 35.b7; massek8n8 'there is much snow' 90.b8; missen8at8 'it is expensive (as market or wheat)' 101.a8-9; AV.a19-20; pissan8an8h8 'it is muddy (as a path)' 98.b8; 8lang8 'it is night' 40.a15; 25.a15; nipsh8 'it is smoke-like clouds' 93.a19; missahalig8 'it drifts (as ice)' 50.a2-4; pim8ssalig8 'it drifts (as ice)' 50.a2-4; lan8at8 'it is worth s.t.' 7.b22-23; 23.b18; 73.a1-2; man8at8 'it is expensive (as food)' 105.a15-16; piam8 'it runs (as water)' 113.b9-11; tepec8 'it is night' 22.b11; debi 8likatens8 'it is happy (as one's heart)' 66.a2-6; mamansantk8 'there are big waves' 40.b12; ningi katem8 'it is two winters' 99.a18-20; sanis8 'it is heavy (as sleep)' 53.b17-19; 8li8kag8 'it is well-faded (as hide)' 88.b1-2

a:yi-stems:

There is a large number of verbs that end in the II final *-a:y(i)*. In the singular, this appears as *-a:y*, while the plural inflection is *-ay:iwas*.

tekai 'it is cold out' 61.b22; 61.b23; 49.b14; 17; 115.a2-4,1; 15.a5-7,4; 106.a22; 6.a6; tenkai 98.b2; teka 93.a15; pagai 'it is thick' 18.a8; k8nai 'it is long (as paper)' 47.b17; mamanlai 'it is multi-coloured' 33.a17-18; misk8ai 'it is red' 33.a11; skask8ai 'it is blue-green' 33.a16; 8lan8ai 'it is green' 33.a12; 8isan8ai 'it is yellow' 33.a14; 8anbai 'it is white' 33.a13; segai 'it is black' 33.a15; m8tchi lai 'it is fair, true' 68.b10; 11.b12; motsi lai 111.b8; m8chilay 59.a30; milag8ai 'it is weak (as ice)' 107.b9-10,8; 7.b2-3,1; katiniai 'it is old' 107.b12; 7.b6; katini'8ai 3.a7; oski8ai 'it is new' 107.b11; oskiai 7.b5; aski'8ai 3.a6; ch8ai 'it is warm' 13.b14-15; pansi'8ai 'it is half' 12.a20, 21-22; pansi8ai 74.b11-14; 112.a3, 4-5; seng8ai 'it is chilly out' 35.a4; missipaī 'it is unpierced' 38.a23; n8chimai 'it is fragile (as glass, one's life)' 85.b14-15; sanai 'it is strong, hard' 7.b4; lai 'it is true/there/happens' 111.b13; 78.a5-6, 18-20, b.11-12; 12.a1,9; la 81.b17-20; 8asabai 'it is thin' 18.a8; tag8alahai 'the snow bears weight (?)' 98.a5

Consonant Stems

After consonants, the final *-w* is deleted:

n-stems:

kelaten 'it is frozen' 71.a2; kelatin 'it is frozen' 84.b3; 8ligan 'it is good, necessary' 77.b3-5; 75.b14-15; 78.b16-17; 72.a5-6; 82.b1; 83.a1-6; 85.a14-15; 64.b21-22; 42.b5,6-7; 109.a12-13; 16.b2-3; 37.b3-4; 92.b18-20; 94.b17-18,14-16; 103.a25-26; 9.a19-21,11-12; 2.b14-15; 67.b13-14; mat 8ligen 'it is not good' 11.a5-6; pi8acin 'it is small' 71.a4; chigan 'it is calm out' 41.b10; 100.b5; chi'gan AR.a16-7; lanlangan 'it is light (in weight)' 22.b4-5; ch8gjan 'it rains' 106.a21; 6.a5; 98.b3; sen8asin 'it is a south wind' 34.a18; 8itchipassin 'it is a north-east wind' 34.a16-17; tekclam8sin 'it is a cold wind' 93.a13-14; 8tagan 'it is warm/mild out' 106.b2; 6.a8; 93.a16-17; 16.a1; 53.a19; ka8akiman 'it is unfortunate' 32.11; 8ach8apin 'it is full' 79.a16-17

t-stems

chisteng8at 'it sounds bad' 38.a8; matchiteng8at 'it sounds bad' 101.b2; 1.a8; miska8ateng8at 'it sounds good'; miska8inang8at 'it is beautiful' 79.b13; 38.a10; 8liteng8at 'it sounds good' 101.b1; 1.a7; saiak'teng8at 'it sounds valuable/difficult' 1.a3-4; leteng8at 'it sounds thus' 1.a5-6; tetipiteng8at 'it sounds the same' 101.a22; chacipteng8at 'it sounds frightful' 1.a2; alet 'it is rotten' 23.a23; kep8k8at 'it is overcast' 106.a2; 5.b10; kizigat 'it is day' 5.b12; 106.a4; k8ni kizigat 'it is a long day' 47.b18; liskikizigat 'it is a cold day' 73.b14-15; machet 'it is ugly, bad' 79.b15; monsk8at 'it is mild out' 106.a1; 5.b9; pinipagat 'it falls (as leaf)' 19.a8; sahatat 'it is difficult' 13.b15; 63.a13; saingat 110.a15-16; AV.a21-22; 10.b1-3; 101.a10-12; 54.a13-15; nisaigat 'it is two of a kind' 38.a17-18; chissimang8at 'it smells bad' 23.a2; 8itchimang8at 'it smells good' 23.a1; sang8igamigat 'it is a poor fire' 93.a11-12; 8lanbam8g8at 'it is advantageous' 87.a12-13; chabagat 'there is no ice (has melted)' 90.b11-12; missalit 'it is much' 57.b21; 17.b4-5; 77.a15-16; 82.b12-13; missalitch 102.b10-11; lan8at 'it is a long time' 15.a19; 12.a23; 1.a17-18, 19-20; 5.a14-16; 35.a6-7; 58.a17; 60.a10; 71.a9-13; 78.a5-6, b11-12; 101.b10-11, 12-13, 14; 105.b8-9; 112.a6; 113.b9-11; 115.a19; sāni'sagat 'it is a strong wood' 45.b5; 8ighi'sâgat 'it is good wood' 45.b4; metag8'sagat 'it is weak wood' 45.b6; tebikat 'it is night' 22.b12-13; 5.a5,b11; 105.a21,b8-9; tepkat 49.b12-13; tebicat 94.a5; motchit ki tepkat 'it is a very cold out' 49.b12-13; skipagat 'it has green leaves' 19.a6; michikat 'it is melted snow' 98.a4

One word, <ma8mis> (53.a14) translated as '*vieux*' may be an II verb, but does not fit in with the normal II endings.

Two forms exhibit the expected plural ending *-was*. This inflection is found on *a:yi*-stems, with the final *-i-* being preserved by the following plural marking:

lai8es 'they are there' 78.b11-12; aix^e 'they are there' 2.a3; aix 102.b3

TA INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE

As mentioned, a transitive animate verb has an animate noun as its object. Inflection on TA verbs generally includes affixes marking argument and direction. The direction marker, commonly referred to as the theme sign, is subject to the Algonquian person hierarchy:

$$2/1 > X > 3 > 3'$$

Theme 1 (direct) involves a subject with higher status on the hierarchy than the object, and is marked by *-ā-*. The paradigms for a non-third person acting on a third person are as follows:

1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-ā</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-an</i>
2s-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-ā</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-an</i>
1p-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-āwenā/ānā</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-an8nen/annan</i>
21-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-āwenā/ānā</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-an8nen</i>
2p-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-āwā</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-an8an</i>
X-3	<i>__-ā</i>	<i>__-an</i>
1s-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-āwak</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-an8ak</i>
2s-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-āwak</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-an8ak</i>
1p-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-ānawak/āwenānak</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-anna8ak/an8nanak</i>
21-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-ānawak/āwenānak*</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-anna8ak</i>
2p-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-āwāwak*</i>	
X-3p	<i>__-āwak*</i>	

Note that the variation that occurs in the forms for 'we' inclusive and exclusive acting on third person comes from the regularization of the PA paradigm. While in Nipmuck these forms are distinguishable only by the personal prefixes, the suffixes in PA are also distinct. The 1p forms, both contracted and non-contracted, are generalized to the 21 forms, leaving the prefix as the only distinctive morpheme between the two. Both the contracted and non-contracted suffixes appear in free variation:

1p-3(p)	<i>*ne(t)-__-a:wena:(nak) > Np. -āwenā(nak)</i>
21-3(p)	<i>*ke(t)-__-a:wena(wak) > Np. -āwena(wak)** → -āwenā(nak)</i>
1p-3(p)	<i>*ne(t)-__-a:na:(nak) > Np. -ānā(nak)**</i>
21-3(p)	<i>*ke(t)-__-a:na(wak) > Np. -āna(wak) → ānā(wak)</i>

1s-3s

ni8ikeman 'I call him' 76.b5; nepesk8a8aalan 'I pull out his hair' 45.b21-22; nimik8elimen 'I remember him' 49.b1-2; nit8kta8an 'I wake him' 65.a1; nitanhian 'I lose him' 68.a17-18; ni8an'ian⁶² 'I lose him (as a dog)' 68.a17-18; nitamachian 'I anger him' 73.a7; niki8ka8an 'I exhort him' 71.a15; n8amanlan 'I love him' 59.a5; 11.b4; 103.b18; 111.b1; 29.a4; 19.a10; 3.a13-14; 30.a8; 79.b18-21; 29.a19; ni8amanlan 9.b2-4; 109.a18-20; n8amanla 3.a15; mat a8an n8amanlan 'I love no one' 72.b2; nitili8amanlan 'I love him more' 44.a10-11; n8in8aman 'I hire him' 99a.1-2; nital8kanlan 'I hire him' 99a.1-2; nitem8g8ata'8an 'I cut off his head' 100.a13-14; 50a.v7; n8a8ian8an 'I knew him' 8.b15-16; 108.b11; nichissichata8an 'I listen to him with sorrow, hatred' 103.a12-13; ni8ihim8a 'I feast on him' 76.b9; ni8ihiman 'I invite him to feast' 76.b10; nightimancheliman 'I pity him' 103.b24; 3.a21-22; nightimanchelimen 3.a23-24; nightimanchelime 3.a23-24; nitelelan'han 'I ring him (as a bell)' 8.b19-20; 108.b16-17; nimilan 'I give s.t. to him' 112.b3; 12.b18; nikakekiman 'I teach him' 29.a2; nikik8tama8an 'I teach him' 23.a14; nine8ine8aman 'I ask him' 78.a13; ni8ik8tema8an 'I ask him' 22.a16; nitank8elima 'I hate him' 80.3; nitank8eliman 85.a4; n88a8ang8°man 'I thank him' 64.a18; nisaman⁶³ 'I feed him' 22.a21; ninachka8an 'I look for him' 44.b11; nimateliman 'I scorn him' 86.a10; nikiket8ka8an 'I speak to him' 18.b18; ninam'kahi8an 'I lend s.t. to him' 113.b12; nenescha 'I kill him' 67.a13-15; ninissen 3.a19; 103.b22; 3.a20; ninissan 41.a15-16; ninisse 3.a20; nensen 7.a2-3; ni8ichai8ma 'I accompany him' 37.a12; nikizi ketesema 'I washed him (as one's soul)' 66.b10-13; nipisinin 'I skin him (as a beaver)' 44.a4-5; nikenkatebam⁶⁴ 'I hunger for him (as bread)' 25.a6-7; nikenkateban 40.a6; nikatepan 'I hunger for him (as bread)' 79.a13-14, 15; nekateban 15.a11; nim8han 'I eat him (as bread)' 79.a5; 114.b8; 61.a23; 14.b13-14; nich8eliman 'I like him' 19.a14-15; nich8elima 19.a16-17; mat nikizi miska8an 'I am unable to find him' 44.b17; nina8a 'I know/see him' 21.b12-13; nena8a 40.a13; 25.a12-13; nina8n⁶⁵ 11.b11; na8a⁶⁶ 11.a18; nikata8i na8an⁶⁷ 45.a3-4; ninana8nen 'I guard him' 91.a3; nana8anbamen⁶⁸ 'I guard him' 91.a4; n8taman 'I smoke him' 17.a16; 57.b9; n8tenen 'I take him' 96.b2; nek8ansi m8ta8an 'I hide from him' 65.a15-16; nitatagan 'I fight/beat him' 85.a1; nitatagaman 'I fight/beat him' 103.b20; 3.a17,18; nitatagama 3.a18; nitakaman 'I fight/beat him (with fists)' 68.b5-6; nisemecha8an 'I fight/beat him (with instrument)' 68.b7-8; nitalkansita8a 'I work for him' 98.b4-5; nitalkanssita8an 'I work for him' 8.b10; ninata8ahan 'I scout for him' 2.b10; 103.a22; nit8taken 'I visit him' 13.b7; 113.a13; 63.a8; nig8ssaü 'I fear him' 34.a9; nemiskan 'I find him' 82.b7-8; nitannatahahan⁶⁹ 'I repent' 11.a16-17; ntannatahan 9.a14-15; nipebalanha 'I miss him (as with shot)' 89.b14-15; nichinkelima (unglossed) 33.a2; nitilikalan 'I cause s.t. to happen to him' 75.a10-12

⁶² This word and the one above appear to come from two variations of a single word: *wanihe:wa and *anihe:wa.

⁶³ Recall that the in verb (a)hsama:w 'he feeds him, gives him food' the first *a* is deleted when it appears in word-initial position (in accordance with to Abenaki Syncope). In this word, (a)hsama:w appears as hsama:w, even when preceded by another syllable. This is probably an error by Mathevet.

⁶⁴ Final -<am> seems to represent theme marker -ã (see following three words).

⁶⁵ The absence of <a> before final <n> to represent the theme marker -ã is suspicious, but may simply be a mistake.

⁶⁶ This word is translated as 'I know him', but lacks the first person prefix. Mathevet corrects this error to <nina8n> above.

⁶⁷ This word is translated as 'I live with him'.

⁶⁸ This word lacks the *ne-* prefix (cf. ninana8nen 'I guard him' above), but it may simply be a case of haplology.

⁶⁹ This verb is transitive in Nipmuck, taking the animate object <nehak> 'my body'

2s-3s

kimiska8an 'you find him' 44.b15-16; keket'tcheman 'you wash him' 100.a17; kekettcheman 50a.v10; kikizi ketesema 'you washed him (as one's soul)' 66.b14-18; kepanpanskena 'you uncover him' 100.a10; 50a.v4; k8amanlan 'you love him' 59.a6; 111.b2; 11.b5; 29.a5; kipakilan 'you renounce him (as the devil)' 12.8-9; 112.a15-16; 58.a30; ketan8tetah8an 'you mistreat him (for no reason)' 76.a13-15; kikakekiman 'you teach him' 29.a3; kikaki8k8au 'you get him drunk' 82.a8; ketelelima 'you think thus of him' 84.a4-6

1p-3s**-āwenā**

nī8amanlan8'nen 'we (excl) love him' 111.b4; 11.b7; 59.a8; nin8īsanita8an8nen 'we (excl) are defeated by him' 54.a11-12

-ānā

n8amanlan'nan 'we (excl) love him' 29.a8

21-3s**-āwenā**

ki8amanlan'8nen 'we (incl) love him' 29.a9; 111.b5; 11.b8; k8l8mi sata8anna 'we (incl) believe in him (as God)' 58.a27

-ānā

k8amanlan'nan 'we (incl) love him' 29.a9

2p-3s

ki8amanlan8an 'you (pl) love him' 59.a10; k8amanlan8an 29.a10; ki8amanlan'8an 11.b9; 111.b6

Examples of 1/2-3p:**1s-3p**

nichissita8an8oc⁷⁰ 'I listen to them with sorrow' 83.b4-5; n8amanlan8ak 'I love them' 19.a11; 72.b6; nepalita'h8an8ak 'I miss them' 89.b20; niki8ka8an8ak 'I exhort them' 71.a16

2s-3p

kikilahama8an8ok 'you stop/forbid it to them' 83.b11-13,17-18; kikiauman8ak 'you send them there' 83.b8-10; kisasamecha8an8ak 'you punish them' 83.b14-15

1p-3p**-ānāwak**

n8amanlanna8ak 'we (excl) love them' 29.b16; 29.b4

-āwenānak

ninant8lan8nanak 'we (excl) go to search for them' 24.a10-11

⁷⁰ cf. nichissichata8an 'I listen to him' 103.a12-13.

21-3p

-ānāwak

k8amanlan8ak 'we (incl) love them' 29.b5

X-3

m8han 's.o. eats him (as fish)' 35.b20; kizian 's.o. is able to do/finish him' 18.b10;
8amanlan 'he loves him' 29.a6

Paradigms for proximate third person acting on obviative third person are as follows:

	objective	
3s-3's	we(t)-__-āwah	we(t)-__-an8a
3s-3'p	we(t)-__-āwah*	
3p-3's	we(t)-__-āwāwah	we(t)-__-an8an8a
3p-3'p	we(t)-__-āwāwah*	
	absolute	
3s-3's	we(t)-__-a:w	we(t)-__-au
3p-3's	we(t)-__-a:wak*	

3s-3's

8amanlan8a 'he loves him' 11.b6; 59.a7; 111.b3

absolute

8tenau 'he takes him' 96.b2; 8nissau⁷¹ 'he kills him' 87.b5-10

3s-3'p

8ki8ka8anh8⁷² 'he exhorts them' 71.a14

3p-3's

8amanlan8an'8a 'they love him' 111.b7; 8amanlan8an8a 59.a11; 11.b10

There are several anomalies in the direct paradigm. For example, a few forms show

contraction of *-āwāk* to *-āk*:

nikik8tama8ang⁷³ 'I teach them' 23.a15; n8amanlank 'I love them' 29.b1;
n8amanlang 29.b15; k8amanlank 'you love them' 29.b2; k8amanlan8ank 'you (pl)
love them' 29.b6

The contraction of *-āwāk* to *-āk* may be a valid process in Nipmuck, however, it is important to note that four of the five examples come from the same page. This may illustrate

⁷¹ This word appears to have an erroneous <8> prefix.

⁷² It is not clear whether or not <anh8> represents the expected *-āwah*.

⁷³ cf. nikik8tama8an 'I teach him' 23.a14

Mathevet's attempt—which seems to have been unsuccessful—to elicit an entire paradigm from a single speaker.

In addition to these forms, one form is given exhibiting the 2p-3p contracted suffix *-āwāk* (8amanlan8ank 'he loves them', 29.b3) and two forms do not possess the obviate marker *-ah*:

8amanlan8an 'they love him (?)' 29.a11; 8amanlan8an 'they love them (?)' 29.b7

Note that all of these contradictory forms again come from page 29, and are not glossed; they may be indefinite subject forms or a mistake.

Theme 2 (inverse) indicates the opposite relationship, that of a subject with lower status than the object, marked by *-ekw-*. The paradigms for third person acting on first and second person are as follows:

3s-1s	<i>ne(t)-__-ekw</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-g8(a)</i>
3s-2s	<i>ke(t)-__-ekw</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-g8(a)</i>
3p-1s	<i>ne(t)-__-ekwak*</i>	
3p-2s	<i>ke(t)-__-ekwak</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-g8ak</i>
3s-1p	<i>ne(t)-__-ekwenā</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-g8nen</i>
3s-21	<i>ke(t)-__-ekwenā</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-g8nan</i>
3s-2p	<i>ke(t)-__-ekowā</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-g8an</i>
3p-1p	<i>ne(t)-__-ekwenānak*</i>	
3p-21	<i>ke(t)-__-ekwenāwak* or ekwenānak*</i>	
3p-2p	<i>ke(t)-__-ekowāwak*</i>	

3s-1s

netal8kenleg8°a 'he hires me' 67.a13-15; *nitamachih8g8°a* 'he angers me' 80.4; *nitamachihig8* 'he angers me' 85.a7-8; *nig8ssig8°a* 'he fears me' 34.a3; *n8lilholhiog8°a* 'he makes me happy' 21.b22; *nitachemig8°a* 'he feeds me' 54.b4-6; *n8amanleg8°a* 'he loves me' 42.b13-14; *n8li 8temang8⁷⁴* 'he well-instructs me' 53.a1-3; *n8lanmah8g8* 'he makes me change my mind' 81.b17-20; 25.a12-13; *nipahameg8a* 'he pays me' 67.b6-8; *ni8i8ibabel8g8°a* 'he binds me' 53.b20-21

3s-1p

nikimotim8g8nan 'he robs us (excl)' 23.b5; *nikilhamang8nan* 'he forbids s.t. to us (excl)' 65.b6; *nipanchi8lig8nan* 'he fools us (excl)' 23.b4; *ne8amanleg8nan* 'he loves us (excl)' 43.a1-2

⁷⁴ cf. *nikik8tama8an* 'I teach him' 23.a14

3s-2s

k8amanleg8°a 'he loves you' 42.b15-16; ke8ine8ameg8⁷⁵ 'he asks you' 78.a12;
ketal8kenleg8a 'he hires you' 67.a16; kepahameg8a 'he pays you' 67.b6-8

One form appears to lack final -w:

kightimanchelimik 'he pities you' 21.b24

3s-2i

kikichihig8nen 'he makes us (incl)' 66.a13-14; ketalnemang8nan 'he helps us (incl)'
56.a2; kikilahamag8nan 'he forbids it to us (incl)' 66.b1-2; 87.b3-4; kitilihig8nan 'he
caused it to happen to us (incl)' 46.b13-14; kidebi 8lil'elgaleg8nan 'he pleases us
(incl)' 65.b19

3s-2p

kighetimanchelimig8an 'he pities you (pl)' 22.a1-3; kitak8antamang8an 'he forgives
you (pl)' 85.b1-8, a16-17; kepetang8a⁷⁶ 'he listens to you (pl)' 83.a15-16

The paradigms for obviative third person acting on third person are as follows:

3's-3s	___-ekw	___-eg8a
3's-3p	___-ekw	___-eg8a
3'p-3s	___-ekw*	
3'p-3s	___-ekw*	

3's-3s

8amanleg8°a 'he (obv) loves him' 42.b17-18

3's-3p

8amanleg8°a 'he (obv) loves them' 43.a6-7

Theme three is marked by -i-, and indicates a second person acting on a first person.

The paradigms for second person acting on first person are as follows:

2s-1s	ki-___-i	ki-___-i
2p-1s	ki-___-im*	
2-1p	ki-___-imā*	

2s-1s

kitagami 'you hit me' 96.b18-19; kepa'mi 'you pay me' 6.b13; kepami 'you pay me'
107.a3-4; kidebi 8li'hi 'you please me' 65.b16; ke8ap8li 'you scare me' 41.a10;
ten8agi sasamecha8anian ketan8teta8i 'you punish me (with a whip?)' 76.a16-19

Theme 4 paradigms for first person acting on second person are as follows:

⁷⁵ cf. nine8ine8aman 'I ask him' 78.a13

⁷⁶ This word is translated as 3p-2s 'they listen to you'.

	absolute	
1s-2s	ke(t)-__-es	ke(t)-__-es/-is/-x/-s
1s-2p	ke(t)-__-elemā	ke(t)-__-lemen/-limin-ilimen

1p-2(p) ke(t)-__-elemenā*

	objective	
1s-2s	ke(t)-__-elen	ke(t)-__-elen/-ilen

1s-2s

ket8takaux 'I visit you' 13.b8; 113.a14; ket8takaoux 63.a9; kemissitaux 'I trap you' 89.b21-22; kichissisitaux 'I listen to you with sorrow' 97.b2; kisanissitaux 'I am tired of hearing you' 97.b1; kesan8ipetaux 'I am tired of hearing you' 52.a7; ke8amanlis 'I love you' 88.b13; 105.b3-6; 5.a8; k8amanlis 64.b9-10; ki8amanlis 113.a2; 13.a15-16; k8amanles 72.b3; kepahamis 'I pay you' 23.a12; kenanlis 'I go/come looking for you' 114.b14; 14.b19; kenanlis 61.b15; kenachikaux 'I look for you' 99.b3; kiki8kaux 'I exhort you' 71.a17; ki8ichiaux⁷⁷ 'I accompany you' 21.a15; kema8ikehtaux 'I come to listen to you' 97.b18-19; kema8ipetaux 'I come to hear you' 97.b18-19; kepetaux 'I hear you' 55.a12-13; kipampetaux 'I hear you' 26.a14; kipampeta8s 67.a4-9; kich8elemis 'I like you' 17.b1; kesames 'I feed you' 54.b8-11; kitanla8i kilahamaux 'I forbid it to you' 97.a4-6; kikilahamaux 'I forbid it to you' 97.a2-3; ketelēs 'I say thus to you' 67.a4-9; mat kika8i na8imis 'I do not want to stay with you' 45.a1-2

objective

kitilikallem⁷⁸ 'I cause s.t. to happen to you' 75.a16; kipaki tinama8elen 'I dedicate s.t. to you' 74.a6; kimililen 'I give s.t. to you' 74.a7-8; kimililin 107.a10

1s-2p

kitalamika8lemen 'I greet you (pl)' AV.a14; 94.b5; kitalamikaoulimin 'I greet you (pl)' 36.a5; k8amanlilimen 'I love you (pl)' 36.a6

TI INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE

Transitive inanimate verbs, taking inanimate objects, are divided into three categories based on their stem final: TI₁, TI₂, and TI₃. TI₁ verbs may take the final *-am* (spelled *-am*) or *-em* (spelled *-em*) due to a morphological rule that changes *-eCam-* to *-eCem*, a change also present in Massachusetts (Goddard and Bragdon 1981:523). These are called TI_{1a} and TI_{1b} respectively. TI₂ verbs take *-ā* (spelled *-an* or *-en*⁷⁹), and TI₃ verbs take no final.

TI verbs are also divided further into objective and absolute inflection, a distinction best attested and most easily identifiable in this particular verb class. The absolute inflection

⁷⁷ ni8ichai8ma 'I accompany him' 37.a12

⁷⁸ *-allem* probably misprint for *-elen*

is generally used on TI-O verbs (TI verbs that have no semantic object, for example 'I laugh') and TI verbs with an overt nominal object. Objective inflection, on the other hand, is used on TI verbs with no overt nominal object.

Absolute Inflection

The general absolute inflections are as follows (orthography is provided with each individual stem class):

	absolute
1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__</i>
2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__</i>
3s-0	<i>__-(w)</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-emenā</i>
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-emenā</i>
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-emā</i>
3p-0	<i>__-(w)ak</i>

These endings are then preceded by the appropriate stem final.

TI Class 1(a)

	absolute		
1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-am</i>	1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-am</i>
2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-am</i>	2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-am</i>
3s-0	<i>__-am</i>	3s-0	<i>__-am</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amemenā</i>	1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amemenen</i>
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-emenā</i>		
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amemā</i>	2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amemen</i>
3p-0	<i>__-amak</i>	3p-0	<i>__-amak</i>

1s-0

ni8iguetam 'I find it good-tasting (as meat)' 103.a3-4; *nikenkatam* 'I thirst for it' 40.a7; 25.a8-9; *nich8endam*⁸⁰ 'I like/want it' 19.b3-4; 3.b9; *nich8hantam* 15.a21-22; 60.a12; *nich8antam* 115.a21-23; *nitich8endam* 'I like/want it' AV.b2-5; *nipaiami ch8hantam* 'I prefer it' 60.a13; *nipaiami ch8antam* 115.a21-23; *niponpetam* 'I hear it (as news)' 101.b3-4; 1.a9-10; *n8amandam* 'I love it' 19.a12; *nitilisitam* 'I hear it said thus' 93.b10; 20.b15-16; *ni8anelendam* 'I forget it' 12.a24; *n8tatam* 'I drink' 15.a16;

⁷⁹ Because of Mathevet's orthography, it is impossible to tell whether the stem final is in fact *-ā* or *-am*.

⁸⁰ This, and other verbs that end in *-endam* or *-endan*, as opposed to expected Nipmuck *-eldam*, seem to be victim to Ojibwe influence, either borrowed from the language into Nipmuck, or recorded erroneously by Mathevet.

15.b17; 18.a1-2; 60.b16; 115.b6; *nim8sk8elendam* 'I am angry' 18.b16; *ni8ik8elindam* 'I laugh' 23.a12; *ni8au8elelendam* 'I laugh' 23.a18; *nimateldam* 'I have an evil heart' 88.b20-21; *nimemelatam* 'I vomit it up' 17.b18; *ni8ikantam* 'I am happy, relieved, pleased' 38.a6; 50a.16; *nikessetenam* 'I sweat' 92.a2; *nipiantam* 'I pray' 59.b32-33; 111.b10; *niten8i piantam* 'I go to pray' 11.b19; 111.b11; *nina8angam* 'I know it' 11.b9; *ni8a8antam* 'I am wise' 42.a5; *nimissam* 'I announce it (?)' 29.a5; *n8lk8aham* 'I steer it (as canoe)' 24.a6; *nipaskam* 'I fire it (as gun)' 24.a9

1p-0

n8amandamemmena 'we (excl) love it' 19.a13; *ni8a8antamé-menen* 'we (excl) are wise' 42.a6

2s-0

k8sk8am 'you write it' 74.b2; *kenachikam* 'you look for it' 99.b2; *kenachkam* 92.a14; *kititali 8lipemenatam* 'you have a good life' 38.a12-13; *ketilelendam* 'you believe it' 60.a15-16; *kiki8i 8statam* 'you always drink' 103.b15-17; *kimamag8ipiantam* 'you pray carelessly' 97.b11; *kipiantam* 'you pray' 8.b5-6; 82.a2-5; *ke8au8tam* 'you are wise' 11.a19; 111.a2-3

21-0

ki8a8antamemenen 'you (incl) are wise' 42.a7

2p-0

ki8a8antamemen 'you (pl) are wise' 42.a8

3s-0

8an8antam 'he (lightning) flashes' 94.a16-17; *8au8elendam*⁸¹ 'he laughs' 23.a19; *matentam* 'he is old' 103.b9-10; *8a8antam* 'he is wise' 33.a7; 42.a5; *mateldam* 'he has an evil heart' 88.b20-21; *melatam* 'he vomits it up' 17.b19

3p-0

miska8elindam8k 'they are happy' 80.18; *miska8elindamak* 34.a11-12; *8a8antamak* 'they are wise' 42.a9; *8a8antamok* 42.a9; *chess8kamak* 'they are how many in a canoe' 45.b13

Inexplicably, many T1_a verbs which normally end in the final *-am* instead end in

-an, as in the following examples in which the same verb stem takes both finals:

<i>nipaiami ch8antam</i>	I prefer it	115.a21-23
<i>neche8entan</i>	I like it	17.b7-8
<i>nipiantam</i>	I pray	59.b32-33; 111.b10
<i>nipiantan</i>	I pray	11.b15,16-18; 59.b31
<i>kiki8i 8statam</i>	you always drink	103.b15-17
<i>kiki8i 8statan</i>	you always drink	3.a10-12

⁸¹ cf. *ni8au8elelendam* 'I laugh' 23.a12

The final *-an* occurs far too often and too regularly to be dismissed as a misprint. The most likely explanation for its appearance is influence from the Ojibwe TI final *-a:n*. Further examples are as follows:

1s-0

n8tatan 'I drink' 115.a16; 82.b10-11; n8an8tatan 'I drink' 80.13-15; nichienchan 'I am unhappy about it' 10.b16; 110.b8; nichieldan⁸² 'I am unhappy about it' 10.b17; 110.b8; 48.b5-6; 32.17-18; nichieldan 'I like/want it' 59.a5; nichieldan 19.a18-19; nichendan 'I like/want it' 19.a20-21; ni'enchentan 57.b22-23; neche8entan 17.b7-8; nichisendan 'I prefer it' 51.a11-14; n8a8antan 'I am wise, know how to do it' 81.b10-12; nimiska8elendan 'I am happier about it' 34.a10; 38.a6; 99a13-14,15-17; nitilimiska8elendan 'I am happy about it' 99.a15-17; ni8ikentan 'I am happy, relieved, pleased' 9.a19-21; ni8ikantan 109.a12-13; 51.a11-14; nipiantan 'I pray' 11.b15,16-18; 59.b31; nikessitenan 'I sweat' 73.b11-13; nichisselendan 'I am unhappy/displeased with it' 38.a7; ni8an8li pemantan 'I have a good life' 50.b1-2

2s-0

k8tatan 'you drink' 97.a2-3; kiki8i 8tatan 'you always drink' 3.a10-12; kikaghelen8alendan 'you anger easily' 81.b15-16; kipiantan 'you pray' 108.b4-5; natahon pataman⁸³ 'you scout for it' 16.a2-3; 115.b17-19

TI Class 1(b)

In TI_{1b}, the forms have *-em* instead of *-am*:

	absolute		
1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-em</i>	1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-em</i>
2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-em</i>	2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-em</i>
3s-0	<i>__-em</i>	3s-0	<i>__-em</i>

1s-0

nisaunem 'I am tired of it' 97.b3-4

2s-0

kenentem (?) 14.a7

3s-0

pang8ansem 'he (moon) shines' 47.a5-6

TI Class 2

For TI Class 2, only verbs with singular subjects are attested with absolute inflection.

⁸² Note that this word is the same word as *nich8endam* above, with optional *-an* final and the expected Nipmuck ending *-eldan*. However, above it has a completely opposite gloss.

⁸³ This word seems to lack the *ke-* prefix.

	absolute		absolute
1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ã</i>	1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-an/en</i>
2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ã</i>	2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-an/en</i>
3-0	<i>__-ã</i>	3-0	<i>__-an/en</i>

1s-0

niketseten 'I wash it' 66.b8-9, b6; *nikat8tan* 'I thirst for it' 79.a17; *nematenen* 'I lose it (as money)' 68.a13-14; *nitanten* 'I look for it (as s.t. lost)' 44.b7-8, 5-6; *n8lagesen* 'I make/carve it (as an axe handle)' 91.a10-11; *nitank8amatan* 'I ache' 35.a11; *nikatetan* 'I hunger for it' 15.a13; *nipankaichan* 'I borrow it' 17.a1; *ni8aniten* 'I lose it' 34.a21; 68.a15; *nichouten* 'I try my best at it' 47.a13; *n8lagesen* 'I whittle it with a crooked knife' 91.a8-9; *nigata8i atan8a* 'I want to buy it' 6.a12-13; *nikata8i atan8a* 106.b6-7; *ne8au8ten* 'I am able to do it' 21.a18; *nitent8en* 'I know how to do it' 5.a13; 105.b7

2s-0

k8k8siten 'you observe it (as the Sabbath)' 48.b1-2; *kenans8chiten* 'you waste it (as the day)' 48.a4-5 *ki8a8iton* 'you know how to do it' 81.a3-4; *kentent8an* 'you know how to do it' 63.b16-17; *gan tentem* 14.a11-12

3s-0

8kichiten 'he creates it (as brandy)' 99.b9; *chaten* 'he makes it (as sugar)' 92.a5; *mattenan* 'he loses it' 68.a9; *matten8han*⁸⁴ 'he wins it' 68.a10; *8ansank8lan* 'he (fire) blazes' 47.a7; *lematk8ssan* 'it is morning (about 9:00-10:00)' 92.b10-11; *8au8ten* 'he knows it, knows how to do it' 51.a1-2; 21.a19; *8amamisaniton* 'he neglects/abandons it' 81.a8-9; *8tani8antekaten* 'he neglects/abandons it' 81.a8-9

TI Class 3

TI Class 3 has no stem final, and is attested with absolute inflection only with singular first and second subjects.

	absolute		
1-0	<i>ne(t)-__</i>	1-0	<i>ne(t)-__</i>
2-0	<i>ke(t)-__</i>	2-0	<i>ke(t)-__</i>

1s-0

nimitch 'I eat it' 5.b4; 14.b2, b10-11; 105.b19; 114.a1, b9, b4-5; 61.a12,10,21; 61.b19; 61.a21;
nisan8mits 'I tired of eating it' 52.a6; *nima8i kem8t* 'I am going to steal it' 97.b16

2s-0

kekem8t 'you steal it' 107.b20; *kikim8t* 7.b18-19, b16-17; *kekim8t* 107.b19; *kimitch* 'you eat it' 61.a13; 114.a14; 14.b3; *kikizi mitch* 'you ate it' 64.b12; 16.a19

⁸⁴ Note that the word *matten8han* 'win' resembles the word *mattenan* 'lose'. It is possible that -<8h> represents a word-internal negative morpheme.

Objective Inflection

The objective inflections are as follows (orthography is provided with each individual stem class):

objective singular			
1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-en</i>	1-0p	<i>ne(t)-__-enās</i>
2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-en</i>	2-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-enās</i>
3-0	<i>we(t)-__-en</i>	3-0p	<i>we(t)-__-enās*</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ena:nā*</i>	1p-0p	<i>ne(t)-__-ena:nānas*</i>
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:nā</i>	21-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:nānas*</i>
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:wā*</i>	2p-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:wāwas*</i>
3p-0	<i>we(t)-__-ena:wā*</i>	3p-0p	<i>we(t)-__-ena:wāwas*</i>

TI Class 1(a)

objective singular			
1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amen</i>	1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amen/aman</i>
2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amen</i>	2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amen/aman</i>
3-0	<i>we(t)-__-amen</i>	3-0	<i>we(t)-__-amen</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amena:nā*</i>	21-0	<i>ke-__-amenanen</i>
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amena:nā</i>		
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amena:wā*</i>		
3p-0	<i>we(t)-__-amena:wā*</i>		
objective plural			
1-0p	<i>ne(t)-__-amenās</i>	1-0p	<i>ne(t)-__-aminous</i>
2-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-amenās</i>	2-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-amenenz/amenets</i>
3-0p	<i>we(t)-__-enās*</i>		
1p-0p	<i>ne(t)-__-ena:nānas*</i>		
21-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:nānas*</i>		
2p-0p	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:wāwas*</i>		
3p-0p	<i>we(t)-__-ena:wāwas*</i>		

1-0

nipetamen 'I hear it' 46.b6-7; nikaten 8achannaman 'I want to have it' 90.b3; n8achannamen 'I have it' 99.a18-20; n8like8anemen 'I prepare it' 22.b7; nitilelendaman 'I decide it' 73.a3-6; n8sk8ahaman 'I write it' 1.b6-8; 102.a3-5; nicket8naman 'I thirst for it' 15.a10-11; ninamen 'I know it' 111.a14; 11.b10; ninata8an patamen 'I scout for it' 44.b22; nipapask8ahaman 'I play lacrosse' 10.b14-15; 110.b6-7; ne8a8itahantamen 'I know how to do it all' 81.b10-12; nesaniskahaman 'I make unseasoned soup' 13.a3-4; nisaniskahaman 'I make unseasoned soup' 112.b12-13; n8lanbatamen 'I am happy (as when soothed by medicine)' 88.a18-19; niponen 'I put it in/on s.t. (wear it?)' 22.a19

1-0p

nichisendaminous⁸⁵ 'I like them' 72.b9

2-0

ch8entaman⁸⁶ 'you like/want it' 44.b1-2; che8antaman 91.a15-16; nataon pataman 'you scout for it' 64.a17; ketach8entaman 'you desire it' 81.a7; kenaman 'you know/see it' 21.b14-16; ketes8itamen 'you name it' 109.a21-22; ketel8aman 'you say thus of it' 63.a19; ketebelindamen 'you rule it' 48.b12-14; kipanpit8anamen 'you speak against it (as religion)' 81.a13-14; kipanpit88asitamen 'you doubt it (as religion)' 81.a5-6; k8lambatamen 'you are lucky' 99.b1

21-0s

ketebelindamenanen⁸⁷ 'we (incl) rule it' 49.a1-6; ki8a8antamemenen 'we (incl) are wise' 42.a7

2p-0

kipiantamemenan 'you (pl) pray' 22.a13-14; k8lanbatamenan⁸⁸ 'you (pl) are happy' 88.a11-14

2-0p

kipakitamenenz 'you renounce them (as sins)' 12.b10-12; 112.a17-19; k8lambatamenets 'you are happy' 88a.4-6

3-0

8tibelindamen 'he rules it (as one's life)' 23.b19-21; 8a8igalendamen⁸⁹ 'he rejoices' 90.a1-2

TI Class 1(b)**3-0**

8mistel8temen 'he sells it at a high price' 84.a3

TI Class 2

For TI₂ stems, which take the final *-ā*, only singular objects are attested in the manuscript:

	objective singular		
1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-āwen</i>	1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-8nen</i>
2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-āwen</i> ⁸⁷		
3-0	<i>we(t)-__-āwen</i>	3-0	<i>we(t)-__-8an/-a8an</i>

⁸⁵ The final *-s* may also be the present suffix *-s(an)*.

⁸⁶ This and the next two words lack the *ke-* prefix.

⁸⁷ Expected *amemenen* appears as *amemenan*, probably in error.

⁸⁸ This word lacks *-em-*, probably due to orthographic haplology.

⁸⁹ cf. *ni8ik8elindam* 'I laugh' 23.a12

1-0 nitec8nen 'I take it' 36.b7

3s-0 8matin8an 'he wins it' 90.a1-2; 8anita8än 'he loses it' 68.a16-17; 8tent8on 'he knows how to do it' 5.a17-19

TI Class 3

TI₃ stems take no final, and is attested only with singular objects in the manuscript:

objective singular			
1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-en</i>	1-0	<i>ne(t)-__-in/en/an</i>
2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-en</i>	2-0	<i>ke(t)-__-in</i>
3-0	<i>we(t)-__-en</i>	3-0	<i>we(t)-__-in</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ena:nā*</i>		
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:nā</i>	21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-inanen</i>
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ena:wā</i>	2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ina8an</i>
3p-0	<i>we(t)-__-ena:wā*</i>		

1s-0 nikim8tin 'I steal it' 78.a1-2; nitilain 'I do it' 87.a7; nelaiten⁹⁰ 'I do it' 98.a16-17; mat nam88an 'I do not see it' 7.a6

2s-0 kimitchin 'you eat it' 82.b4-5

21-0 kiteli8inanen 'we(incl) make use of it' 49.a6

2p-0 kimitchina8an 'you (pl) eat it' 99.a21-23

INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE NEGATIVE

The independent indicative negative is used for ordinary negative statements, and is signalled by both the negative particle *matam* or shortened *mat* 'no, not', or *a:skwam* 'not yet, no longer', as well as the negative inflection accompanying regular independent prefixes and suffixes.

⁹⁰ Probably an error for the preceding form.

AI Independent Negative

Negative inflection for AI verbs consists of the suffix *-w-*, which appears before the personal suffixes. After a long vowel stem this suffix is deleted, and after a consonant stem it becomes *-ow*, as in Massachusett (Goddard and Bragdon 1981: 533). Thus, the independent negative paradigm for AI verbs with first and second person subjects is as follows:

	absolute	
1	<i>ne(t)-__-(o)w</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-8</i>
2	<i>ke(t)-__-(o)w</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-8</i>
1p	<i>ne(t)-__-(o)wemen(ā)</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-8men</i>
21	<i>ke(t)-__-(o)wemen(ā)</i>	<i>ke(t)-__-8menen</i>
2p	<i>ke(t)-__-(o)wem(ā)*</i>	
	objective	
1	<i>ne(t)-__-(o)wen</i>	<i>ne(t)-__-8an</i>
2	<i>ke(t)-__-(o)wen*</i>	

1s

Consonant and Short Vowel Stems

matam⁸ 8ank nimissaniss8 'I am never ashamed' 2.a22-23; *mat nimigai8* 'I am not a coward' 3.b4-5; 104.a4-5; *mat n8lililai8* 'I am not good' 11.a9; *mat nimemek8anba8* 'I am not important' 40.b24; *mat nip8s8* 'I do not embark' 41.b8-9; *mat niten8a18m8⁹¹* 'I am not able to speak (as infant)' 78.b7-9; *matam nitamai8* 'I do not want to retire' 94.a12-13; *ask8am nitapeg8am8* 'I have not yet slept enough' 65.a4-5; *mat iauten nitilanbah8* 'I do not use it' 48.a15-16; *mat iauten netela8ahans8* 'I do nothing' 76.a16-19; *mat iauten netelai8* 'I have nothing' 33.b5

Long Vowel Stems

mat nimantchi 'I do not go' 5.a21-23; 105.b14-15; *mat n8au8k8ata* 'I do not have a spirit' 9.a6-7; 71.a9-13; 109.a2-3; *mat [kessi tagensi] ne8a8ik8ata* 'I do not have a spirit' 80.9-10; *mat niten8i ketah8mā* 'I do not know how to sing' 40.a9; *mat nitenh8mā⁹²* 'I do not know how to sing' 55.a10-11; *mat nipanpit8a* 'I do not (tell a) lie' 37.a19; *mat nika8i* 'I do not sleep' 56.a7; *mat nikata8i elek8a8i8an* 'I do not want to look there' 65.b5; *mat nitelek8a8i8an* 'I do not look there' 65.a18-19; *mat nipan8antam8an* 'I don't trouble myself with s.t.' 67.b9-10; *mat netens8lk8a* 'I do not wear a hat' 68.b12-13; *mat nikata8i g8achikken* 'I do not want to go outside' 94.a21-22; *matam 8ank netala kamikis88an* 'I will never do the same again' 9.a16-18

⁹¹ cf. *k8alaman* 'you speak true' 24.b15. Unexpected ⟨8⟩ may be the result of anticipatory assimilation or vowel harmony, or a mistake by Mathevet.

⁹² This word appears to be a shortened form of the previous word.

objective

[mat] netalkans8an 'I do not work' 108.b1-2; [mat] nitalekans8an 8.b3-4; matam 8ank netala kamiki88an 'I will never again do the same' 9.a16-18

2s**Consonant and Short Vowel Stems**

mat kikizi deb8p8 'you did not eat enough' 35.a23-26; mat k8lig8 'you are not good' 11.a7-8; 110.b21; mat kitelen8 'you are not a man' 16.a8-10; mat kitilin8 116.1-2; mat kkizi debisibam8 'you did not drink enough' 34.a22; mat kikizi deb8p8 'you did not drink enough' 35.a23-26; mat iauteu ketelan8at8 'you are not worth s.t.' 51.a7-8

Long Vowel Stems

mat k8alaman 'you do not speak true' AR.a7; mat k8au8k8ata 'you do not have a spirit' 9.a8-9; mat k8a8k8ata 64.b1-4; 16.a12-15; matam kikizi amki 'you were not able to leave' 50.a15-16; mat kikichiteha 'you do not have a big heart' 104.a7; mat kikitchiteha 3.b7-8; mat ten k8tah8⁹³ 'you do not have a heart' 70.a14-15; mat manakepia 'you do not come' 47.b1-3

1p

mat [chipki] nikata8i ponpementam8mena 'we (excl) do not want to live [long]' 47.b6-9

21

mat kek8ni pemantam8menen 'we (incl) do not live long' 48.a6-7; mat mana kepiamena 'we (incl) do not come' 47.b4-5

Third person negative AI inflection is as follows:

3	___-w	3	___-8
3p	___-wak	3p	___-8oc/8k

Objective inflection is attested, indicated by the objective suffix *-en*.

3	___-wen	3	___-8an
3p	___-wenak*		

3s**Short Vowel and Consonant Stems**

mat ap8 'he is not there' 22.a9; mat [m8tchi] tchilai8 'he is not [at all] evil' 42.a2-3; mat k8at8h8 'he is not well' 56.a13; mat chepam8 'he's nasty when he drinks (?)' 95.a7-8; mat 8litep8 'he is not mentally well (does not have a good head)' 72.a7; man kepthasin8⁹⁴ 'he does not fall' 44.a14-16; mat tibelimis8 'he does not rule himself'

⁹³ cf. n8litcham 'I have a good heart' 92.a10-11. It is not clear why it appears here with final ⟨8⟩.

⁹⁴ The sentence from which this form comes 'Watch that your child does not fall in the fire' is suspicious in that *l8teh* 'fire' is not locative, and *mat* is misspelled as ⟨man⟩, which may instead be the future clitic *mā*.

98.a11-13; ask8am tapeg8am8 'he has not yet slept enough' 65.a6-8; mat iauten la8ahans8 'he does not do thus' 76.a13-15

objective

mat 8tapohon 'that he is not there' 18.a6

Long Vowel Stems

matec kaki8a 'he is not drunk' 56.b8-9; ask8an pamipian 'he has not yet arrived' 35.a19-21

objective

matam chine 8tak8t8an 'he never stops' 77.b9-11; mat 8telen8at8an 'he is not worth s.t.' 23.b9; mat onka8an 8lila8an 'he is not good' 72.b6

3p

mat ai8t8oc 'they do not fight' 88.a15-17; ask8an la8a8k 'they no longer fight' 24.a2-3

Note that the negative marker is identical in shape to the positive third person marker; however, the third person is not double-marked in the negative mood. Instead, due to either phonological or morphological rules, the inflection on the third person independent negative AI verb is identical to that of the positive. Therefore, the presence of the negative particle *mat(am)* is the only distinguishable feature between negative and positive inflection in third person, as in the following examples:

mat [m8tchi] tchilai8 'he is not [at all] evil' (42) ~ chilai8 'he is evil' (21)
ask8an la8a8k 'they no longer fight' (24) ~ la8a8ok 'they fight' (24)

However, one form did exhibit what looks like double-marking of both the third person suffix -w- and the negative suffix -w-:

mat mima8h8 'he does not cry' 50a.v8-9; mat mi ma8h8 'he does not cry' 100.a15-16

Compare these forms to their positive counterpart (maue) 'he cries' (35).

X

The indefinite subject, meaning ‘someone’, appears to form the negative indicative by adding the negative suffix *-(o)w* to the stem, and then adding the indefinite (objective) inflection *-en*.

mat k8sk8ach88en ‘no one is cold’ 55.b10; mat lantam88en ‘no one is hungry’ 55.b9; mat kichabis88en ‘no one is hot’ 55.b11; mat ank8amam88en ‘no one is sick’ 55.b12-13; mat mah88en ‘no one cries’ 55.b8

II Independent Negative

The independent negative form of II verbs requires both the negative particle *mat(am)* and the negative suffix *-enow*, spelled ⟨en8,an8,in8⟩. Plural forms are unattested.

0s

mat 8is8men8 ‘it is not fatty’ 70.b3-4; mat missahanang8aten8 (?) 104.a16; mat k8ni kizigatten8 ‘it is not a long day’ 47.b19-20; mat 8liganen8 ‘it is not good’ 50.b12-17; 87.b1-2; 94.b14-16; 23.a20; 77.a1-2; 86.a13-14; 75.a8-9; mat 8liganan8 17.b20-22; mat 8ligan8n8⁹⁵ 7.b7; mat 8ligen nenn8 110.b14-15; mat 8ligen nenn8 11.a7-8; mat 8ligannen8 21.b8-9; mat namesinen8 ‘there are no fish’ 17.a21-22; mat namesin8⁹⁶ 57.b15-16; mat sanan8 ‘it is not strong (as ice)’ 107.b9-10; 7.b2-3; mat chag8a saiaaten8 ‘nothing is difficult, worthwhile, valuable’ AV.a21-22; mat chag8a saiaagatten8 101.a10-12; mat saiaaten8 ‘it is not difficult, worthwhile, valuable’ 47.b13-14; mat kichalam8sinen8 ‘it is not windy’ 100.b6-7; AR.a16-17; mat pitig8niganen8⁹⁷ ‘there is no bread’ 17.a23; matiauten letapaten8 ‘it is not a long time/it is nothing’ AR.b7-10; mat iauten letepaten8 100.b14-17; mat 8anbannen8 ‘it is not tomorrow’ 11.a26; mat 8ambanen8 111.a7-8; mat nipiin8 ‘there is no water’ 17.b2-3; 57.b20; mat nipi sagaten8 ‘there is no water’ 45.b10; mat ankepiin8 ‘there is no brandy’ 17.b5-6; mat 8lang8n8 ‘it is not yesterday’ 11.a24; 111.a5-6; mat a8aian kenin8 ‘there are no animals’ 57.b13-14; 17.a19-20; mat loutau8n8 ‘there is no fire’ 38.b8-9,5; mat maiin8 ‘there is no path’ 37.b18; mat ten’ten alteng8aten8 ‘there is no news’ 1.b22; mat tenten alten8atten8 102.a19-20; mat pansk8anen8 ‘it is not noon’ 105.a19; ask8an pansk8anen8 ‘it is not yet noon’ 5.a1; mat k8ssi k8anen8 ‘it is not heavy’ 22.b4-5; mat chag8a n8tasan8 ‘nothing runs short’ 98.b16; 55.a18-19; mat iauten chag8a n8tasan8 55.b1-7; mat piamen8 ‘it does not run (as water)’ 113.b9-11; askam kissiten8 ‘it is not yet cooked’ 26.a6; askam kiziten8 39.b1; mat tekan8 ‘it isn’t cold out’ 25.b18; matam chine kizi antan8 ‘it is not possible to extinguish’ 50.a10-12; mat chag8atan8 ‘there is nothing’ 38.b5; mat debi 8lilkatensin8 ‘it is not happy (as one’s heart)’ 66.a2-6; mat 8tenansan8 ‘it was not worked for’ 8.b3-4; 108.b1-2

⁹⁵ ⟨8n8⟩ for *-enow* is possibly vowel harmony, or more likely a misprint.

⁹⁶ cf. *namesinen8* above.

⁹⁷ Note that ⟨pitig8nig(an)⟩ ‘bread’ is an animate noun.

The II final *-a:yi* becomes *-a:* before the negative suffix, spelled *-<an8>* or *<au>*:

mat [man] tekan8 'it is [maybe] not cold out' 49.b14-17; mat tekan8 106.a23; mat teca'n8 6.a7; mat iauten lan8 'there is nothing' 111.b13; mat tiotenlan8 12.a10; mat lan8 'it is not true/fair' 68.b11; 11.b13; mat motchi lan8 'it is not true/fair' 11.b13; mat m8chilan8 59.a31-32; mat m8tsi lan8 111.b9; mat tau 'it is not open (as one's heart)' 85.b10-12; machau 'there is no water (it is dry?)' 34.a20

One word appears to take negative inflection *-<(8)8i>*: *<mat 8ligan88i>* 'it is not good' (79.b11-12,8-9,6-7). The same suffix also appears on one TA negative form: *<mat nena8an8i>* 'I do not know him' (11.b14).

TA Independent Negative

The independent negative for TA verbs requires both the negative particle *mat(am)* and the suffix *-w*, which comes after the theme sign.

For the direct paradigm, inflection for first person and second person on third person is as follows:

	absolute		
1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-ã(w)</i>	1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-a</i>
1s-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-ã(w)ak</i>	1s-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-an8ak</i>
1p-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-ãwenã*</i>		
1p-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-ãwenãnak*</i>		
2s-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-ã(w)</i>	2s-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-a</i>
2s-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-ã(w)ak*</i>		
2p-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-ãwã*</i>		
2p-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-ãwã(w)ak*</i>		
	objective		
1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-ãwen</i>	1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-an'8an/88an</i>

1s-3s

mat n8achanna 'I do not have him' 40.a22,23; 25.a23-24; mat nena8an8i⁹⁸ 'I do not know him' 11.b14; mat n8au8ia 'I do not know him' AV.b6-8; 101.a16-17; mat a8an n8amanlan 'I love no one' 72.b2

objective

matamchine nitak8antama8an'8an 'I will never forgive him' 80.5-7

1s-3p

mat nimisita'h8an8ak 'I don't trap them' 89.b19

⁹⁸ As mentioned above, the suffix *-<8i>* appeared in a single instance.

2s-3s

mat k8achanna ‘you do not have him (as bread)’ 25.a25-26; mat kighitemanchelima ‘you do not pity him’ 3.a10-12; 103.b15-17

2p-3p

mat 8linana\ nan/8ag8a⁹⁹ ‘you (pl) do not take care of them’ 104.a21-23; 4.a2-7

Third person inflection for theme 1 is attested in one word, translated as 3-3’, and is once again identical to the respective positive inflection, in this case, *-āwah*: mat onka8an 8lila8an ‘he does not continue to please him (?)’ (72.b5).

The negative paradigms for third person on first and second person (theme 2) appear to be the same as those for the positive, due to Mathevet’s orthography. Third person plural subject is not attested. However, 3s-1s is always written *-<eg8>*, as opposed to the positive inflection, which varies between *-<eg8>* and *-<eg8a>*.

3s-1s	<i>ne(t)-__-ekow</i>	3s-1s	<i>ne(t)-__(i)g8</i>
3s-2s	<i>ke(t)-__-ekow*</i>		
3s-1p	<i>ne(t)-__-ekowenā*</i>		
3s-21	<i>ke(t)-__-ekowenā*</i>		
3s-2p	<i>ke(t)-__-ekowā</i>	3s-2p	<i>ke(t)-__-g8an</i>
3’-3	<i>__-ekow</i>	3’-3	<i>__-g8</i>

3s-1s

mat nighitimankelimig8 ‘he does not pity me’ 81.b5-7; mat n8lipam8g8¹⁰⁰ ‘he does not pay me well’ 23.b6

3s-2p

matam ketak8antamang8an ‘he does not forgive you (pl)’ 85.b1-8

3’-3

mat na8g8 ‘he does not see him’ 40.a11

Theme 3 independent negative inflection varies according to stem shape. Stems ending in vowels take the suffix *-wi*, while consonant-final stems take *-owi*. Only the 2s-1s form is attested; the others are not easily reconstructable:

2s-1s	<i>ke(t)-__(o)wi</i>	2s-1s	<i>ke(t)-__-8i</i>
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⁹⁹ Final ⟨8a⟩ unexplainable.

¹⁰⁰ The appearance of *-<8>* before the suffix probably represents vowel harmony.

2s-1s

mat keketa8i 'you do not listen to me' 67.a4-9; mat kikizi peta8i 'you do not listen to me' 97.a4-6

Paradigms for first person on second person (theme 4) are as follows:

absolute			
1s-2s	ke(t)-__-elow	1s-2s	ke(t)-__-(e/i/8)l8
1s-2p	ke(t)-__-elowemā or -elo:mā	2s-2p	ke(t)-__-(8)l8ma
1p-2	ke(t)-__-elowemenā*		

1s-2s

mat kepalitah8l8 'I do not miss you (as with bullet)' 89.b21-22; mat ki8ighi petah8l8 'I do not hear you with pleasure' 46.b8-12; mat iauteu ketelekalel8 'I do not cause s.t. to happen to you' 96.b13-17; mat kekata8i kena8l8 'I do not want to see/know you' 45.a7-8; mat iauteu ketilel8 'I do not say thus to you' 105.a12-14; matam 8ank kitamachil8 'I will never again offend you' 73.a8-10; mat k8amanl8¹⁰¹ 'I do not love you' 110.a8-10; 64.b1-4; 10.a16-18; 16.a12-15; maten k8amam8¹⁰² 16.a12-15; mat kenen8l8 'I do not know you' 111.a17; 11.b15; mat kem8h8l8 'I do not eat you' 41.a11-12; mat kikata8i nam'kah8l8 'I do not want to lend to you' 35.b2-3; mat kikata8i natemih8l8 'I do not want to lend to you' 89.b6-7; mat kikata8i 8ichai8mēlo 'I do not want to accompany you' 37.a14; mat kikata8i alnema8l8 'I do not want to help you' 36.a9; matamchine chag8a kimilil8 'I never give you anything' 113.a8-9; 13.a23-25; mat kikata8i nai8mel8 'I do not want to stay with you' 45.a25-26; matamchine kidebi 8li'hil8 'I never please you' 65.b17-18

1s-2p

mat kekata8i kena'8'l8ma 'I do not want to see you (pl)' 45.a9-12

TI Independent Negative

Negative forms of the TI verb consist of the negative suffix *-w* (appearing after the TI class final) followed by regular TI personal suffixes. TI Class 1b and Class 2 verbs are not attested with negative inflection.

TI₁

absolute			
1s-0	ne-__-amew	1s-0	ne(t)-__-am8
1p-0	ne-__-amew	1p-0	ne(t)-__-am8
2s-0	ke-__-amew	2s-0	ke(t)-__-am8
2l-0	ke-__-amewemenā	2l-0	ke(t)-__-am8mena/am8menen
2p-0	ke-__-amewemā*		

¹⁰¹ The expected form is <k8amanlel8>.

¹⁰² This word is probably an error, corrected to <k8amanl8> in the same line.

3s-0 __-amew 3s-0 __-am8
3p-0 __-amewak*

objective

1-0s *ne(t)-*__-amewen 1-0s *ne(t)-*__-am8an/am8on
2-0s *ke(t)-*__-amewen 2-0s *ke(t)-*__-am8'8an

1s-0

mat niten paskam8 'I do not know how to fire it' 48.a15-16; mat iauten nitilelendam8 'I do not think of it' 49.b8-9; mat n'8achann8m8¹⁰³ 'I do not have it' 6.a10-11; mat n'8achannam8 'I do not have it' 106.b4-5; mat ni8achanem8 'I do not have it' 37.a5-6; mat chag8a n8achanam8 'I do not have [s.t.]' 107.a5-6; mat chag8a ni8achanam8 13.a10-11,6-8; mat chag8a n8achanem8 6.b14-15; mat chag8a n8achani8m8¹⁰⁴ 60.b3-4; 61.a21; mat chag8a ne8achannam8 112.b14-16; mat nech8andam8 'I do not like/want it' 19.b1; mat nich8andam8 25.b9-10; 40.b17; mat nich8endam8^e AV.b2-5; mat chag8a n8amantam8 'I do not love [s.t.]' 72.b1; mat iauten nitilisitam8 'I do not hear anything said' 93.b11-12; matamchine ni8anelendam8 'I never forget it' 12.a25; mat nikata8i 8tatam8 'I do not want to drink' 99.b7; mat ne8au8tam8 'I do not understand it' 11.a22; 111.a4; mat niten8lk8aham8 'I do not know how to steer it (as canoe)' 24.a7-8

objective

mat nitibelindam8an 'I do not rule it' 74.a2-4; mat n8lanbatam8on 'I do not use/need it (?)' 88.a21-21; mat iauten netelentam8an 'I do not want anything' 50a.15

2s-0

mat chag8a kimiskam8 'you do not find [s.t.]' 82.b6-7; mat chag8a keteleg8am8 'you are not good at [s.t.]' 9.a22-23; 109.a14-15; k8achann8m8 'you do not have it (as money)' 6.a14-15; 106.b8-9; mat k8a8antam8 'you are not wise/virtuous' 43.b11-14

objective

ketebelindam8'8an 'you do not rule it' 105.a1-5

21-0

mat k8achannam8mena¹⁰⁵ 'we (incl) have them' 37.b5-6; mat kek8ni pemantam8menen 'we (incl) do not live long' 48.a6-7

3s-0

mat [el8is8an] 8achannam8 'he does not have [a name]' 23.b2-3; mat [negman] 8achannem8 'he does not have it' 37.a6-8; matam 8ikantam8 'he does not want it' 38.a5; mat 8a8antam8 'he is not wise' 84.a4-6

¹⁰³ -<8m8> represents vowel harmony.

¹⁰⁴ In this word, <ani> appears to be an error for -&n-; the following <8m8> is another example of vowel harmony.

¹⁰⁵ This word is translated as 2p.

TI₃

	absolute		
1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ew</i>	1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-8</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ewemenā</i>	1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-8mena</i>
2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ew</i>	2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-8</i>
2i-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ewemenā*</i>		
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ewemā*</i>		
3s-0	<i>__-ew</i>	3s-0	<i>__-8</i>
	objective		
1-0s	<i>ne-__-ewen</i>	1-0s	<i>ne-__-8an/-8on</i>
2-0s	<i>ke-__-ewen</i>	2-0s	<i>ke-__-8'8an</i>
3-0s	<i>we-__-ewen</i>	3-0s	<i>8-__-8en/-8on</i>

1s-0

mat chag8a ni8a8t8 'I do not know it, am not wise' 85.b16-18; mat nig8tin nikim8t8 'I did not steal once' 7.b19; mat nig8ten nikim8t8 107.b21-22;

objective

mat n8a8t8an 'I do not know it, am not wise' 107.a19-20; mat n8au8t8an 21.a10; 7.a15-17; mat ne8au8t8an 21.a17; mat netant8°an 'I do not know how to do it' 63.b15; mat nitent88an 114.a2-3; 4.a9-10; mat nitent8an 24.b12; AR.a6; mat nitent88en 40.a10; matam 8ank nitelai8an 'I will never return' 39.a14-15; mat nikata8i kenchit8an 'I don't want to hide it' 77.b20

2s-0

mat iauten ketenlata8an'p8 'you do not see it' 21.b10-11

objective

askam [pami8] k8ata8an 'you still do not know it, are not wise' 93.a7-9; mat [iauten] kateli8en 'you do not use [it]' 48.b10-11; mat kitilit8en 'you are not the cause of it' 37.b8

1p-0

mat netelai8mena 'we do not have it' 33.b6-7

3s-0

mat iauten la8ahans8 'he does nothing' 76.a14-15

objective

8tent8on 'he does not know how to do s.t.' 5.a17-18; 105.b10-11; mat iauten 8teli8en 'he does not use it' 49.b12-13

INDEPENDENT PRESENT

The present suffix *-san*, appearing word-finally as *-s* (in accordance with the Nipmuck final syllable dropping rule), affixes after the theme marker and personal

inflections, and is followed by third person pluralizer *-ak*. Only the transitive animate forms are clearly attested:

2s-1s *ke(t)-__-imes* 2s-1s *ki(t)-__-imis*

[mat motsi] *ki8amanlimis* ‘you love me [not much]’ 113.a3-4; [mat m8tchi] *ki8amanlimis* 13.a17-18; mat *kikata8i na8imis* ‘you do not want to stay with me’ 45.a1-2

3s-2s *ke(t)-__-ekwes* 3s-2s *ke(t)-__-eg8s*

kes8ghenebanleg8s ‘he has baptised you’ 43.b9-10

INDEPENDENT PRETERITE

The preterite suffix *-pan*, denoting past tense, appears after the theme marker and personal inflections, but before the third person plural suffix. At the end of the word, the final *-an* is always deleted, in accordance with the Nipmuck final syllable dropping rule. Only animate verbs are attested with preterite inflection.

AI Independent Preterite

As mentioned, the preterite suffix *-p(an)* appears after personal inflection and before the third person plural *-i:k*.

1s	<i>ne(t)-__-p</i>	1s	<i>ne(t)-__-p/b</i>
2s	<i>ke(t)-__-p*</i>		
1p	<i>ne(t)-__-emenāp*</i>		
21	<i>ke(t)-__-emenāp*</i>		
2p	<i>ke(t)-__-emāp*</i>		
3	<i>__-p</i>	3s	<i>__-b</i>
3p	<i>__-pani:k*</i>		

1s

nikizi pibin8b ‘I had eaten’ 27; *nikaki8ap* ‘I was drunk’ 43.a10-13; *nep8ta8anb* ‘I whistled’ 99.a4-5; *nikichapenab*¹⁰⁶ ‘I suffered much’ 35.a5

3s

kichapenab ‘he suffered much’ 35.a6-7

¹⁰⁶ This and the previous form are glossed as present tense.

The verb *po:si* ‘embark’ does not fit the above preterite paradigm, exhibiting instead an element *-ho:-* before the *-p(an)* suffix. The following examples appear on page 31 of the manuscript:

1s	nip8ssih8b	1p	nip8ssiminah8b
		2l	kip8ssiminah8b
2s	kip8ssih8b		
3s	p8ssih8b	3p	p8ssih8banik

Although this element appears most consistently on *po:si-*, it also may be found on several other words. An identical morpheme is found in Abenaki, recorded by Laurent (1884) in what he called the “present”, “past”, and “future” conjugation (see chapter 7).

an8anbah8 ‘he is well/vigorous’ 75.b10 (cf. an8anba 56.a14)
 kicheai8h8 ‘he is old’ 105.b12-13; 5.a19-20; 103.b9-10 (cf. kichiai88i ‘you are old’
 93.a7-9)
 nikizi p8ssih8b ‘I had embarked’ 31.ab12
 kikizi p8ssih8b ‘you had embarked’ 31.b3
 kikizi p8ssih8men ‘you (pl) embarked’ 31.b7

The *-ho:-* segment also appears on one word which seems to have the future clitic *mā:*

⟨p8ss8h8man⟩ ‘he shall embark’ 30.a18

TA Independent Preterite

Preterite inflection for the TA verb (of which only the direct theme is attested) consists of the suffix *-pan*, which appears after the theme markers and personal suffixes and before the third person plural suffix *-i:k*. Only the direct theme is attested.

Paradigms for first and second person on third person (theme 1) are as follows:

1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-āp</i>	1s-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-anb</i>
2s-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-āp</i>	2s-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-anb</i>
1p-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-ānawep or āno:p</i>	1p-3s	<i>ne(t)-__-ann8b</i>
21-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-ānawep or āno:p</i>	21-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-ann8b</i>
2p-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-āwāp</i>	2p-3s	<i>ke(t)-__-an8anb</i>
1s-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-āpani:k</i>	1s-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-anbanik</i>
2s-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-āpani:k</i>	2s-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-anbanik</i>
1p-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-ānawepani:k</i>	1p-3p	<i>ne(t)-__-ann8banik</i>
21-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-ānawepani:k</i>	21-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-ann8banik</i>
2p-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-āwāpani:k</i>	2p-3p	<i>ke(t)-__-an8anbanik</i>

1s-3s

n8amanlanb 'I loved him' 29.a20,21

1s-3p

n8amanlanbanik 'I loved them' 29.b8, b17

1p-3s

n8amanlann8b 'we (excl) loved him' 29.a15

1p-3p

n8amanlann8banik 'I loved them' 29.b11

2s-3s

k8amanlanb 'you loved him' 29.a13

2s-3p

k8amanlanbanik 'you loved them' 29.b9

21-3s

k8amanlann8b 'we (incl) loved him' 29.a16

21-3p

k8amanlannobanik 'we (incl) loved them' 29.b12

2p-3s

k8amanlan8anb 'you (pl) loved him' 29.a17

2p-3p

k8amanlan8anbanik 'you (pl) loved them' 29.b12

Paradigms for third person on obviative third person are as follows:

3s-3's	<i>we(t)-__-āp</i>	3s-3's	<i>8(t)-__-anb</i>
3s-3'p	<i>we(t)-__-āpanih</i>	3s-3'p	<i>8(t)-__-anbani</i>
3p-3's	<i>we(t)-__-āwāp</i>	3p-3s'	<i>8(t)-__-an8anb</i>
3p-3'p	<i>we(t)-__-āwāpanih</i>	3p-3'p'	<i>8(t)-__-an8anbani</i>

Unfortunately, only the word <8amanlan> ‘love’ is attested for third person obviative objects, and thus the third person prefix *we-* is not visible in the orthography:

3s-3’s

8amanlanb ‘he loves him’ 29.a14

3s-3’p

8amanlanbani ‘he loves them’ 29.b10

3p-3’s

8amanlan8anb ‘they love him’ 29.a18

3p-3’p

8amanlan8anbani ‘they love them’ 29.b14

TI Independent Preterite

The preterite suffix appears after the verb final and personal endings on TI verbs, of which both TI Class 1 and TI Class 2 are attested in the manuscript. Note the presence of the segment *-ho:-* in the TI₁ verbs.

TI Class 1

absolute			
1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ame(ho:)p</i>	1s-0	<i>ne(t)-__-am8h8b</i>
2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ame(ho:)p</i>	2s-0	<i>ke(t)-__-am8h8b</i>
3s-0	<i>__-amep</i>	3s-0	<i>__-am8b</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amemenā(ho:)p</i>	1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-amen8h8b</i>
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amemenā(ho:)p</i>	21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amemen8h8b</i>
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-amemā(ho:)p*</i>		
3p-0	<i>__-ame(ho:)pani:k</i>	3p-0	<i>__-am8banik</i>

1s

ni8i8amantam8h8b ‘I was wise’ 42.a10-12

2s

ki8i8amantam8h8b ‘you were wise’ 42.a13

3s

8a8antam8b ‘he was wise’ 42.a14

- 1p ni8a8amantamen8h8b 'we (excl) were wise' 42.a15-16
- 21 ki8i8amentamemen8h8b 'you (pl) were wise' 42.a15-16
- 3p 8a8antam8banik 'they were wise' 42.b1-2

TI Class 2

Only objective forms are attested for TI Class 2:

objective singular			
1-0s	<i>ne(t)-__-ānep</i>	1-0s	<i>ne(t)-__-enab</i>
2-0s	<i>ke(t)-__-ānep*</i>	3-0s	<i>we(t)-__-enab</i>
3-0s	<i>we(t)-__-ānep</i>	1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-enenanb</i>
1p-0	<i>ne(t)-__-ānenāp</i>		
21-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ānenāp*</i>		
2p-0	<i>ke(t)-__-ānāp*</i>		
3p-0	<i>we(t)-__-ānepani:k*</i>		

- 1-0s nitentenab 'I knew how to do it' 5.a14-16; 105.b8-9
- 1p-0 nititenenanb 'we (excl) knew how to do it' 105.b8-9; 5.a14-16
- 3-0s 8tentenab 'he knew how to do it' 105.b8-9; 5.a14-16

CONJUNCT INDICATIVE

Conjunct indicative is used for ordinary subordinate clauses. Of this mode, all verb types are attested. Because inflection for the changed conjunct (generally denoting 'when'-clauses) is identical to conjunct indicative inflection except for the added process of initial change (modification of the first vowel of the verb stem), it is listed here. Participle inflection, which denotes an actor or goal, also resembles the conjunct indicative, so will be mentioned here as well.

AI Conjunct Indicative

The conjunct inflectional endings for AI stems depend on whether the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. Vowel-final stems insert a *-y-* before the first and second person conjunct endings. The paradigms for first and second person are as follows (when the stem ends in a vowel, an epenthetic *-y-* appears before the conjunct ending):

1s	__-(y)ã	1s	__-(i)an
2s	__-(y)an	2s	__-(i)an
1p	__-(y)ãk*	2l	__-(i)ag8a
2l	__-(y)akw	2p	__-(i)ag8a
2p	__-(y)a:kw		

1s

Vowel Stems

mantchian ‘that I leave’ 7.a15-17; 107.a19-20; p8ssian ‘that I embark’ 73.b16-18; elinant8aian ‘that I speak Indian’ 75.b7-8; plachemanant8aian ‘that I speak French’ 75.b9; 8nk8amamian ‘that I am sick’ 81.b8; nipian¹⁰⁷ ‘that I die’ 69.a7-12

Changed Conjunct

al8aian ‘when I say thus’ 81.b17-20; ali 8sk8ansian ‘when I write thus’ 77.b16-18

2s

Vowel Stems

an8anba8ian¹⁰⁸ ‘that you are well’ 56.b1; pianian ‘that you come’ 71.b16; aianian ‘that you go’ 40.a14; 25.a14; aiantagaiian ‘that you lie’ 75.a8-9; ma8ian ‘that you cry’ 33.b1-2; 8apisian ‘that you are afraid’ 41.a8-9; 8tansamian ‘that you come here’ 105.a8-9; kat8manian ‘that you sing’ 55.a12-13; kina8i elkansian ‘that you work like me’ 72.a13-14; alkamikisian ‘that you behave badly’ 109.a6-7

Changed Conjunct

ali matchililaian ‘when you are bad’ 77.b12-13; alitch chanai8ian ‘when you thus cease/stop (?)’ 39.a17; ali s8ghenebansian ‘when you are thus baptized’ 43.b18,11-14; ali alkansian ‘when you work thus’ 68.a4-6; ali8a8ian ‘when you know thus’ 21.b14-16

2l

Vowel Stems

ghetemanghisiag8a ‘that we (incl) are pitiful’ 46.b13-15

¹⁰⁷ The stem *nep-* ‘die’ appears to have been reanalyzed as a vowel stem (*nepi-*).

¹⁰⁸ Second *-<8>*- unexplained (cf. an8anba ‘he is well’ 56.a14)

Consonant Stems (Changed)

alit8ag8a ‘what we (incl) do’ 50.a2-4

2p

Vowel Stems

pi8iciziag8a ‘that you (pl) are young’ 42.a17-20; ketchaiag8a¹⁰⁹ ‘that you (pl) sow’ 37.b3-4; an8anban8iag8a ‘that you (pl) are well’ 56.b2-3; 8ikese Mihag8a ‘that you (pl) drink much’ 79.b11-12; m8sk8elimitiag8a ‘that you (pl) are angry at each other’ 82.15-17; ma8iag8e ‘that you (pl) cry’ 33.b3-4; ak8antama8atiag8a ‘that you (pl) forgive one another’ 85.b1-8

Changed Conjunct

alitch chanai88iag8e ‘when you (pl) thus cease/stop (?)’ 39.a17; ali kizi nipa8iag8a ‘when you (pl) dissolve your marriage’ 44.a1-3

Consonant Stems

na8mag8a ‘that you (pl) leave/journey back’ 77.b3-5; 8lipemantamag8a ‘that you (pl) are well’ 92.b18-20

Like first and second person conjunct inflection, third person inflection depends on the shape of the verb stem. However, instead of an epenthetic *-y-*, vowel stems with third person take an entirely different paradigm than consonant stems:

Vowel Stems

3s	__-t	3s	__-t
3p	__-hetit*		
X	__-mek	X	__-mik

3s

Vowel Stems

kait¹¹⁰ ‘who is there’ 103.b2; ka it ‘who is there’ 2.b16-17; ka apit ‘who sits’ AR.a1; nepit¹¹¹ ‘that he dies’ 75.a18; pahag8ahans8t ‘that he shells s.t. (as wheat)’ 99.a7-8; matten8hat ‘that he wins’ 68.a7-8; alizit ‘that it happens to him’ 88.b2; mat kaki8at ‘that he does not get drunk’ 110.a17-18; 10.b4-5; aiautit ‘that they fight’ 82.a17

Changed Conjunct

alinipit ‘when he thus dies’ 34.a9; ali s8ghenebansit ‘when he is thus baptized’ 43.b15-17

¹⁰⁹ Cf. netkekha ‘I sow’ 37.b2

¹¹⁰ Stem unknown

¹¹¹ *nep-* reanalyzed as *nepi-*

3p

The expected form for 3p conjunct indicative is *-hetit*, from PA **-hetwiti*. However, the only forms translated as 3p do not show the expected inflection:

chanai8it 'that they are bad' 83.b14-15; matchil8ait 'that they speak evil' 83.b11-13

X

matchik el8amek 'that s.o. says evil' 26.a16-18; matchik el8amek 'that s.o. says evil' 39.a9

Consonant stems take 3s *-k* instead of *-t*. Note that stems ending in *-n*, like the examples below, will exhibit *-k* as opposed to *-nk*, due to the fact that Nipmuck nasals are always deleted before consonants.

3s	___-k	3s	___-k/c
3p	___-hetit*		
X	___-k*		

3s

tebeldak 'that he rules' 79.b22-24; tebeldac 49.a11-16

Participles of AI verbs, which generally denote an animate actor in Nipmuck, take inflections similar to the conjunct indicative:

Vowel Stems

3s	___-t	3s	___-t
3p	___-cik		

3s

8atankepimit 'he who owns this brandy' 82.b16-17; 83.a1-6

Consonant Stems

3s	___-k	3p	___-agik/eguk
3p	___-ekik		

3p

naten panpit8agik 'those who lie' 37.a22; nipeguik 'those who die' 105.a6

II Conjunct Indicative

The VII conjunct indicative inflection, used for ordinary subordinate statements, is as follows:

0	__-k	0	__-k
0p	__-kis*		

Vowel Stems

atalentak 'that sunlight appears' 47.a1-2; atalelak 'that candlelight appears' 47.a3-4

Consonant Stems

As mentioned, *nk* consonant clusters are reduced to *k* in Nipmuck. Therefore, *n*-final stems drop the nasal when it is followed by the 0s *-k* suffix (the following is an example of changed conjunct):

ali 8ligak 'that it is good' 39.a10; 26.a19-21; ali 8ligec 49.b5-6

The combination of stem-final *-t* and the *-k* suffix results in *-hk*, written by Mathevet as ⟨k⟩:

kizigak 'that it is day' 83.a11-12; kizigag 49.b14-17; sahiak kizigak 'that it is a difficult day' 63.b14; 14.a8; saiak kizigak 114.a1; sahaguik 'that it is difficult' 113.a20; saiaiguik 63.a14; machak 'that it is bad' 49.b3-4; matchik 39.a11; 26.b1-3; machek 54.b15-16; 8ambake 'every day' 81.a18-20

There was one example of an II participle, which is indistinguishable in form from the changed conjunct, taking ending *-k*, written ⟨g⟩. This particular example also takes reduplication and, untranslated in the manuscript, likely means 'what is repeatedly bad':

mamachekeg (72.b11)

TA Conjunct Indicative

In the TA conjunct, the conjunct suffixes follow the theme sign. Paradigms for first and second person acting on third person (theme 1), which take theme sign *ā* are as follows. Note that Mathevet's orthography makes for a great deal of ambiguity, with both singular and plural subjects:

1s-3	__-āyā	1s-3	__-anian
2s-3	__-āyan	2s-3	__-anian
1p-3	__-āyākw	1p-3	__-aniag8a
21-3	__-āyakw	21-3	__-aniag8a
2p-3	__-āya:kw	2p-3	__-aniag8a

1s-3*singular object*

nan8aian 'that I see him' 69.a7-12; na8anian 69.15-20; nikechaian 'that I kill him' 67.a4-9; nisanian 'that I kill him' 87.b5-10; nisenchaian 'that I kill him' 67.a13-15; missinan'ian¹¹² 'that I find him' 44.b18-19; 8amanlanian 'that I love him' 30.a9-10; 72.b8

changed

ali 8tamanian 'when I smoke him' 8.b3-4; 108.b1-2

1p-3*singular object*

8amanlaniag8a 'would that we (excl) love him' 30.a4; n8lsamita8aniag8a 'that we are defeated by him' 54.a13-15

plural object

8amanlaniag8a 'that we (excl) love them' 30.a12

2s-3*singular object*

ank8alimanian 'why you hate him' 85.a5-6; kikaki8aian 'that you get him drunk' 84.a9-10; tatagamanian 'why you fight him' 85.a2-3

changed

nasenian 'when you kill him' 108.a8-9; 8.a6-7

plural object

8amanlanian 'would that you love them' 30.a2, a10

21-3*singular object*

8amanlaniag8a 'would that we (incl) love him' 30.a13, a5

2p-3*singular object*

keta8aniag8a 'that you (pl) listen to him' 87.a15

¹¹² Cf. kimiska8an 'you find him' 44.b15-16

plural object

8amanlanieg8a ‘would that you (pl) love them’ 30.a6; 8amanlaniog8a 30.a14;
ak8antam8aniag8a ‘that you (pl) forgive them’ 85.a16-17; gal8laniag8a ‘that you (pl)
speak to them’ 30.b1

Paradigms for third person acting on obviative third person are as follows:

3s-3’	___- <i>āt</i>	3s-3’	___-ant
3p-3’	___- <i>āhetit</i>	3p-3’	___-anatit

3s-3’

8amanlant ‘would that he loves him’ 30.a3, a11

3p-3’

8amanlanatit ‘would that they love him’ 30.a15; 8amanlaniatit 30.a7

Theme 2 has the theme marker *-eko-* plus regular conjunct endings:

3-1s	___- <i>ekoyā</i>	1s-3	___-8g8ian
3-2s	___- <i>ekoyan*</i>		
3-1p	___- <i>ekoyākw*</i>		
3-21	___- <i>ekoyakw*</i>		
3-2p	___- <i>ekoya:kw</i>	2p-3	___-8g8iag8a

3s-1s

ali ghitimangalim8g8ian ‘would that he pity me’ 64.a18-19

3s-2p

guitimanchem8g8iag8a ‘would that he pity you (pl)’ 56.b4-5

Paradigms for first person singular acting on second person (theme 3), with theme sign *el*, are as follows (plural subject is not attested):

1s-2s	___- <i>elā</i>	1s-2s	___-lan
1s-2p	___- <i>elān*</i>		

All examples are changed conjunct:

ali na8lan ‘when I see you thus’ 99.a13-14,15-17; ali8in8amelan ‘when I thus give you s.t.’ 13.a19-22; 113.a5-7

In Theme 4, only 2s-1s is attested:

2s-1s	___- <i>iyan</i>	2s-1s	___-ian
-------	------------------	-------	---------

m8skelimian ‘why you are mad at me’ 96.b13-17; nachika8ian ‘why you look for me’ 99.b4-5; 8ik8imian ‘why you call me’ 105.a10-11; k8tema8ian ‘that you teach me’ 55.a1-2; assamian ‘that you feed me’ 55.a3-4; manchalimian ‘that you give s.t. to me’ 64.a20

TI Conjunct Indicative

The conjunct indicative for TI verbs consists of conjunct inflection following the TI stem final, *-am* for TI₁, *-ā* for TI₂, and no stem final for TI₃.

TI₁

1s-0	___-amā/emā	1s-0	___-aman/eman
2s-0	___-aman	2s-0	___-aman
1p-0	___-amāk	1p-0	___-amag
21-0	___-amakw	21-0	___-amag8a
2p-0	___-ama:kw	2p-0	___-amag8a/ame'g8a
3s-0	___-ak	3s-0	___-ak
3p-0	___-		

1s-0

8achanneman 'that I have it' 107.a9-10; 8achaneman 6.b17; 8stataman 'that I drink it' 51.a11-14; 8a8antama 'that I am wise' 46.a14; piantaman 'that I pray' 47.b10-12

Changed Conjunct

ali pemantaman 'when I live thus' 47.b13-14

2s-0

8a8antaman 'that you are wise' 46.a15; 8lipemantaman 'that you live well' 92.b18-20; panpemantaman 'that you are alive/well' 75.b14-15

1p-0

8a8antamag 'that we (excl) are wise' 46.a17

21-0

8atatamag8^a 'that we(incl) drink it' 22.a8; 8a8antamag8a 'that we (incl) are wise' 46.a18; 43.a3; eieldamag8a 'what we (incl) want' 98.a16-17

2p-0

8achannamag8a 'that you(pl) have it' 99.a21-23; 8lipemantamag8a 'that you (pl) live well' 92.b18-20; 8a8antamag8s¹¹³ 'that you (pl) are wise' 46.a19; 8a8antame'g8a 38.a14-15; 8a8antamag8a 42.b6-7; 88.a11-14; 22.a1-3; 43.a4-5; 8skantamag8a 'that you (pl) are young girls' 85.a9-10

3s-0

eieldak 'what he wants' 98.a14-15; 8a8antak 'when he is wise' 46.a16; 42.b9

Changed Conjunct

ali ch8entak 'when he thus loves them' 45.a22-24; ali 8a8antak 'when he is thus wise' 50.b3

TI participles are attested for 3s, with the final *-ak* suffix written <-aghe>:

eh8li pemantaghe 'he who lives well' 50a.10-12; 8lipemantaghe 100.a7

¹¹³ Final <s> probably a misprint for <a>

TI₂

For TI Class 2, only the second person singular subject is attested:

2s-0 ___-*āyan* 2s-0 ___-*enian*

2s-0

mattenian ‘when/that you lose it’ 68.a12-13

TI₃

Consonant Stems

1s-0 ___-(y)*ā* 1s-0 ___-(i)*an*
2s-0 ___-(y)*an* 2s-0 ___-(i)*an*

1p-0 ___-(y)*āk**
21-0 ___-(y)*akwa**
2p-0 ___-(y)*a:kwa**

X ___-*mek* X ___-*mik*

1s-0

Consonant Stem

naman ‘that I see it’ 69.a5-6

Changed Conjunct

ali naman ‘when I thus see it’ 99.a15-17

2s-0

Consonant Stem

tanta8anan¹¹⁴ ‘that you know it’ 64.b21-22; kem8t8an ‘that which you steal’ 82.b4-5;
kam8tian¹¹⁵ ‘that which you steal’ 108.a1-2; 7.b20-21; kim8tian ‘that you steal’
87.b5-10

Vowel Stem

maten8aian ‘that you win it’ 68.a4-6; mate’n8aian 68.a2-3; mitchian ‘that you eat it’
46.a12-13; 64.b13

X-0

kim8timik ‘that s.o. steals’ 8.a1-3; 108.a4-5

¹¹⁴ cf. nitenten ‘I know it’ 5.a13; 105.b7

¹¹⁵ This word looks as though it has been reanalyzed as a vowel stem, but appears immediately above as a consonant stem.

CONJUNCT INDICATIVE NEGATIVE

There is only one verb inflected for the conjunct indicative negative, representing a negative ordinary subordinate clause. This TI₁ verb takes the negative suffix *-w* after the verb final *-am*, followed by regular conjunct endings, in this case, *ā*:

mat 8a8antam8an ‘that you are not wise’ 47.a19-21

CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIVE

The conjunct subjunctive generally denotes subordinate events that have not yet occurred. All four verb types are attested for the conjunct subjunctive.

AI Conjunct Subjunctive

The subjunctive of the conjunct for AI verbs adds *-a:* after the regular conjunct endings. Note that the addition of *-a:* changes the appearance of the conjunct endings: *-a:* both protects the final vowel+sonorant syllable from regular apocope, as well as causing *k*-palatalization in the 1p and 3s endings.

1s	__-(y)āna:	1s	__-(i)ana
2s	__-(y)ana:	2s	__-(i)ana
1p	__-(y)ā ^ʎ a:	1p	__-(i)aja/(i)acha
2l	__-(y)akwa:*		
2p	__-(y)a:kwa:	2p	__-(i)ag8a

Vowel Stem

3s	__-ta:	3s	__-ta
3p	__-		

Consonant Stem

3s	__-e ^ʎ a:	3s	__-(t)cha
3p	__-		

1s

Vowel Stems

pi8iciana¹¹⁶ ‘when I am young’ 42.a10-12; kizi kichiai88iana ‘when I am old’ 42.b3-4; s8ghenebansianna ‘when I am baptized’ 67.a10-12; 43.a14-16; nipiana¹¹⁷ ‘when I die’ 51.a11-14

Consonant Stem

na8mana¹¹⁸ ‘when I come along’ 77.b6

2s

Vowel Stems

pi8iciana ‘when you are young’ 42.a13,10-12; 8lilaiana ‘when you are well/good’ 72.a5-6,9-12; pianiana ‘when you come’ 99.a11-12; piimiana ‘when you come’ 54.b8-11; gal8laniana ‘when you speak’ 30.a17,16; ambkiana ‘when you wake up’ 82.a2-5; ka8iiana ‘when you sleep’ 82.a2-5; 8ik8ai8liana ‘when you are a birch canoe(?)’ 26.b5 alkansiana ‘when you work’ 51.b19-20; k8au8k8ataianna¹¹⁹ ‘when you are wise’ 21.b24; analsiana ‘when you are converted’ 105.a1-5; pem8schiana ‘when you walk’ 78.a8-9

Consonant Stems

ak8ita8ana ‘when you stop’ 93.a1-4; mat alkans8ana ‘when you don’t work’ 51.b19-20; mat k8au8k8ataana¹²⁰ ‘when you are not wise/virtuous’ 10.a16-18; 110.a8-10

3s

Vowel Stems

pi8icizita ‘when he is young’ 42.a14; papi8isisitita 42.b1-2; kaki8ata ‘when he gets drunk’ 110.a17-18; 10.b4-5; gal8lanta ‘when he speaks’ 30.a18; pansk8ata ‘when he (sun) walks at noon’ 105.a20; s8ghenebanzita ‘when he is baptised’ 43.b1-2; s8ghenebansichta 43.b3-4; 8anisanta ‘when he is lost’ 48.b12-14; 49.a4-10,11-16; ; 8anisanta 49.a7; aiautita ‘when he fights’ 83.b11-13; gal8lantita ‘when he will have spoken’ 30.b2-3

Consonant Stems

na8cha ‘when he goes/comes along’ 77.b7; n8entcha 63.b12; 113.b20; 14.a5-6

1p

Vowel Stem

pi8iciziaja ‘when we(excl) are young’ 42.a15-16; s8ghenebanciacha ‘when we (excl) are baptised’ 43.b5

¹¹⁶ cf. pi8icis8 ‘he is small’ 71.a3

¹¹⁷ *nep-* once again reanalyzed as vowel-final *nepi-*.

¹¹⁸ cf. na8cha ‘he comes along’ 77.b7

¹¹⁹ The appearance of the *ke-* prefix is probably Mathevet’s error.

¹²⁰ This word contains both no negative inflection and an unexpected prefix.

2p

Consonant Stem

mat ak8antaman8at8ag8a¹²¹ 'when you(pl) don't forgive one another' 85.b1-8

II Conjunct Subjunctive

The II conjunct subjunctive generally denotes subordinate events that have not yet occurred. The paradigm is as follows, of which only the singular inanimate subject is attested.

0s	___- <i>ʔ</i> a:	___-cha/che
0p	___-	

0s

Vowel stems

p8cha 'when it snows' 96.b7; kesselantacha 'when it is calm out' 96.b11;
misantek8cha 'when there are waves' 41.b8-9; 8lang8che 'when it is evening' 82.a2-5;
AV.a16; 101.a5; santatcha 'after Sunday' 51.a17-18; santa'cha 73.a12-14

t-stems

monsk8acha 'when it is nice out' 73.b16-18; monsk8atcha 'when it is clear out'
96.b4-5; kepek8atcha 'when it is overcast' 96.b6; chess8g8nakecha 'when it is how
many days' 24.b4-5

One *t*-final stem does not exhibit the regular *-ʔ*a: suffix:

⟨8likiziga-ka⟩ 'when it is nice out' 89.a1-2

It appears that the original *-k*, which has undergone *k*-palatalization (as discussed in chapter 2) in all other examples, has been restored in this single word.

n-stems

kessencha¹²² 'when it is warm out' 96.b10; kessalam8sencha 'when it is windy'
96.b8; ch8glancha 'when it rains' 96.b6; chigacha 'when it is warm out' 96.b9;
chigacha 'when it is calm out' 41.b11; 8ambache 'when it is tomorrow' 111.a7;
11.a25; 21.a11-12; 25.b20-21; 51.b19-20; 73.a3-6; 94.b3-4; 105.a24; 115.a2-4;
114.b1-3; 8ambeche 59.a22; 8anba'che 5.b3; 8ambacha 15.a5-7; 8anbache 61.b19;
8anbacha 61.b23; sig8a'cha 'when it is spring' 6.a16

ay-stems

tekacha 'when it is cold out' 96.b12; kichiktacha 'when it is burnt' 73.b6-9

¹²¹ This word contains no negative suffix, but does contain the reciprocal suffix ⟨-t8⟩.

¹²² The stem of this word is not clear, and if it ends in *n* as it appears to, it should drop that nasal.

Uncertain stem

8assank8lan mamecha ‘after the feast of Candlemas’ 68.b14-15

TA Conjunct Subjunctive

The conjunctive subjunctive for TA verbs denotes subordinate events that have not yet occurred. Paradigms for first and second person acting on third person (theme 1, and the only theme attested), which take the *ā* theme sign, are as follows:

1s-3s	___- <i>āyāna</i> :	1s-3s	___- <i>aniana</i>
2s-3s	___- <i>āyana</i> :	2s-3s	___- <i>aniana</i>
3s-3’	___- <i>āta</i> :	3p-3’	___- <i>anta</i>
3p-3’	___- <i>āhetita</i> :		

1s-3s

na’8aniana ‘when I see him’ 69.a13-14

2s-3s

pam88aiana ‘when you pay him’ 83.a1-6; 8a8ianiana ‘when you know him’ 83.a1-6; ak8antama8iana¹²³ ‘when you forgive him’ 85.a14-15; keta8aniana ‘when you listen to him’ 87.a14; milaniana ‘when you give it to him’ 83.a1-6

3s-3’

8ichi8anta¹²⁴ ‘when he accompanies him’ 83.b17-18

TI Conjunct Subjunctive

The conjunct subjunctive denotes subordinate events that have not yet occurred. For TI verbs, this inflection follows the verb final, *-am* for TI₁ verbs, *-ā* for TI₂ verbs, and no final for TI₃ verbs.

¹²³ cf. kitak8antamang8an ‘he forgives you(pl)’ 85.b1-8

¹²⁴ This word is translated with a plural subject, but exhibits singular inflection.

TI₁

1s-0s	___-amāna:	1s-0s	___-amana
2s-0s	___-amana:	2s-0s	___-amana/ame'na
3s-0s	___-a'ʔa:	3s-0s	___-acha/enscha/itcha/atcha
1p-0	___-amā'ʔa:	1p-0s	___-amacha
2l-0	___-		
2p-0	___-		
3p-0	___-		

1s-0

elisitamana 'when I tell it' 20.b17

2s-0

8a8antamana 'when you are wise' 42.b5; 8a8antame'na 38.a12-13

1p-0

8a8antamacha 'when we (excl) are wise' 43.a1-2

3s-0s

8a8antacha 'when he is wise' 42.b17-18; piantacha 'when he prays' 50.b12-17; patekatenscha 'when he brings it in' 73.a17-19, 20; patkatansitcha 'before he brings it in' 69.a3-4; elelindatcha 'if he wants to' 87.b5-10; elelendacha 87.b5-10

TI₂

There do not appear to be any examples of TI Class 2 verbs with conjunct subjunctive inflection. However, it is likely that the paradigm would be as follows:

1s-0	___-āyā*
2s-0	___-āyana:*
3s-0	___-āta: * or -ākwa: *

TI₃

There is only one example of a TI Class 3 verb with conjunct subjunctive inflection, with second person singular suffix subject inflection *-ana:*, spelled ⟨ana⟩:

2s-0

namana 'what you see' 90.b2

CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIVE NEGATIVE

The negative of the conjunct subjunctive, denoting subordinate events that have not yet occurred, is attested only in the TI verbs, and is expressed with the negative particle *mat(am)* as well as both negative and conjunct inflections. The negative morpheme *-(e)w-* is attached to the verb stem (after the theme marker for TA verbs and the verb final for TI verbs), followed by regular conjunct subjunctive inflections. For the TI₁ 2s-0 form (the only one attested) this means the *-am* final will be followed by the negative morpheme *-w*, plus the conjunct subjunctive inflectional suffix *-āna:*, giving *amewāna:*, spelled ⟨am8ana⟩:

mat 8a8antam8ana ‘if you are not wise’ 88.a7-10

CONJUNCT PRETERITE

The preterite mode of the conjunct order, found only in one word, involves suffixation of the indicative conjunct inflection *-hetit* followed by the preterite morpheme *-p(an)*, and denotes a present tense subordinate event. The stop cluster *tp* results in a pre-aspirated *hp* by PA phonological rules, giving Nipmuck *-hetihp(an)*, spelled by Mathevet as ⟨-hitib⟩. This suffix is found with only one AI verb:

⟨mantchihitib⟩ ‘that they left’ 39.b4-5

CONJUNCT PRESENT

The conjunct present denotes subordinate events occurring in the present tense, and may be attested in a single word, with the present suffix *-san* appearing after the conjunct 2s-1s ending *-iyan*, giving *-iyanesan*, spelled ⟨iannisan⟩:

⟨8amanliannisan⟩ ‘when/that you love me’ 113.a5-7; 13.a19-22.

CONJUNCT OPTATIVE

The conjunct optative is prohibitive in meaning, and requires both the particle *a:hkwi* and conjunct optative suffixes which may vary depending on whether the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel.

AI Conjunct Optative

For the conjunct optative (prohibitive) inflection in AI verbs, the paradigms are as follows:

	Vowel Stems		
2s	___-hkan	2s	___-kan
2p	___-hʔa:kw	2p	___-chag8a/chak8a
	Consonant Stems		
2s	___-ehkan	2s	___-8kan
2p	___-(e)hʔa:kw	2p	___-chag8a/chak8a

2s

Vowel Stems

ak8i l8akan 'do not say thus' 52.a8-10; ak8i machek l8mankan 'do not sing bad' 54.b15-16; ak8i 8ank pitschakan 'never return' 109.b16-17; ak8i 8ank pitchchakan 'never return' 10.a1-4; ak8i kaki8akan 'do not get drunk' 110.a12; 24.a16-17; 10.a20-21; ak8i tchilaikan 'do not be bad' 90.a17; ak8i 8ank piangkan 'never come again' 45.a13-14; ak8i piangkan 'do not come' 51.b19-20; ak8i apis8kan 'do not be afraid' 41.a7; ak8i panlai8kan 'do not be superb' 40.b19-10; 25.b11-12; ak8i ki8aneg8kan 'do not lose your way' 68.b2; ak8i panpit8akan 'do not lie' 37.a20; ak8i kimig8ss8kan 'do not leave secretly' 36.a13; ak8i missalissikan 'do not despise?' chk trans (meprise) 90.a13-14; ak8i a8an matelis8kan 'do not be scornful' 86.a8-9; ak8i a8an matelim8kan 'do not be scornful' 86.a11-12; p8ssikan¹²⁵ 'do not embark' 31.a20

Consonant Stems

ak8i chine mata8aans8kan 'never do evil' 87.b12-13; ak8i chassisantam8kan 'do not be lazy' 87.a9-10; ak8i alan8it8kan 'do not despair' 81.b1-2; ak8i kiptasin8kan 'do not fall' 44.a17-19; ak8i kipisankan 'do not fall' 50.a13-14; ak8i lethasin8kan 'do not fall' 44.a17-19; ak8i eska8akan 'do not be jealous' 90.b1

¹²⁵ Day (1975) suggests that this word, untranslated in the manuscript, may mean "embarking", combining the AI stem with the optative suffix, as occurs in Massachusetts (Goddard & Bragdon 1981:574).

2p

ak8i ki8aneg8chag8a 'do not lose your(pl) way' 68.b3-4; ak8i ki8anig8chag8a 'do not lose your(pl) way' 36.b5; ak8i panpit8achag8a 'do not lie' 37.a20; ak8i kaki8achag8a 'do not get drunk' 10.a21-22; 110.a13-14; ak8i 8ank pitchchachak8a 'never return again' 109.b19-21; 10.a1-4

TA Conjunct Optative

The conjunct optative (prohibitive) is formed using the negative particle *a:hkwi*, spelled <ak8i>, plus negative inflection, which includes the theme marker followed by optative *-hk* and the appropriate conjunct ending.

Theme 1 is attested only in forms with a second person singular subject and a third person singular object, taking the suffix *-āhkan*:

ak8i 8ikena8ankan 'do not look at him' 87.b14-15; ak8i aniantekalankan 'do not hurt him' 81.a16-17; ak8i matchililankan¹²⁶ 'do not speak bad of him' 51.a11-12

The only other form attested is in theme 4 involving second person singular acting on first person singular, with the negative suffix *-ihkan*:

ak8i t8kinikan 'do not wake me' 65.a2-3

TI Conjunct Optative

In the conjunct optative (prohibitive) the TI final is followed by *-(o)hk* and the usual conjunct endings, as in the following paradigms:

TI₁

2s-0	___-amohkan	2s-0	___-am8kan
21-0	___-amohkakw*		
2p-0	___-amoh ^l a:kw	2p-0	___-am8chag8a

2s-0

ak8i elelendam8kan 'do not think thus of it' 10.a8-9; ak8i elelindam8kan 'do not think thus of it' 90.b2; ak8i eledam8kan 'do not think thus of it' 110.a1; ak8i kenam8k8an 'do not look at it' 21.b8-9; ak8i missantam8kan 'do not be proud of it'

¹²⁶ based on the AI stem *matchililai* 'be bad'

90.a15-16; ak8i matellendam8kan 'do not think evil' 51.b18-19; ak8i 8ank m8sk8elendam8kan 'never get angry again' 21.b6-7

2p-0

ak8i eleldam8chag8a 'do not think thus of it' 110.a2; ak8i elelindam8 chag8a 'do not think thus of it' 10.a10-11

TI₂

2s-0	___-āhkan	2s-0	___-ankan
21-0	___-āhkakw*		
2p-0	___-āh ^y a:kw*		

2s-0

ak8i [machek] l8mankan 'do not sing [that which is bad]' 54.b15-16; ak8i n8n8l8lilankan 'do not postpone it' 105.a1-5

IMPERATIVE

The imperative inflection produces commands, and involves the addition of a suffix that varies depending on whether the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. Nipmuck words also appear to lose one mora before the imperative positive *-s* morpheme, as in Narragansett (Pentland, personal communication 1998). This means that long vowels become short (a change which is almost impossible to see in Mathevet's orthography) and short vowels delete. This is evident in words like <eniaps> 'stay!' (5.a23; 105.b16) and <k8liaps> 'sit still!' (82.a6-7), although in a similar word <chipapis> 'sit still!' (53.a8-10), the short *-i* appears to stay.

AI Imperative

The imperative paradigm for AI verbs is as follows:

Vowel Stems

2s	___-s	2s	___-s/x
21	___-tā	21	___-ten
2p	___-kw	2p	___-k8a/g8a/k8e

2s

passik8is 'get up' 14.b1; 62; 114.a12; 8iska8ase 'warm yourself' 15.a3; 114.b19; 8iska8as¹²⁷ 61.b21; a8as 'warm yourself' 23.b24; ponsax 'put wood on the fire' 14.b18; 61.b14; 63.a15; 114.b13; 113.a21-22; 13.b17; tahens 'go' 15.b21; 60.b11; 115.b15; tahonnix 'open the door' 13.b11; 63.a12; 113.a16; eniaps 'stay' 5.a23; 105.b16; kilipis mantsis 'go fast' 47.b1-3; kilipis matchis 107.a22; kilipi mantchis¹²⁷ 7.a18-19; matchis 'leave' 34.a8; agatanetz 'have courage' 15.b9-10; 60.a19-20; 115.b7; chipapis 'sit still' 53.a8-10; ketax 'listen' 59.b30; 11.b14; kakapicha8is 'close your ears' 99.b14; kenkakabicha8is 26.b1-3; ennalix 'convert' 39.a13; conpesseanx 'confess' 66.b14-18; elek8a8is 'look there' 65.b4; ket8h8mans 'sing' 55.a6; pi8ant8as 'speak quietly' 53.a6; sanis 'try your best' 22.b14; palians 'retire' 45.a7-8; misant8as 'speak loudly' 53.a7; 8im8as 'feast' 35.a15; louas 'speak' 26.a3; l8as 53.a8-10; makissinchas 'make shoes' 24.a24-25; n8pa8ssas 'go to war' 109.b14; 9.b23; ka8is 'sleep' 40.a19; 25.a20; pitijas 'enter' 94.a19; 109.b16-17; piant¹²⁸ 'come' 19.b16; ak8taux 'stop' 77.b12-13; nanch kilipis 'go get it, go away' 101.b20-21; nanch kilipil 'go fast' 1.b2; nanch kilipis 101.b20-21; k8ssentanx 'observe the Sabbath' 48.b3; matcheps 'eat s.t. up' 70.b9-10; kisabis 'warm yourself' 17.a17-18; 50.b10; 57.b11; tala8mis 'bawl' 46.b8-12

21

k8leta8ten 'epargnons' 87.a19; kaki8ateten 'let's get drunk' 24.a18; kilipiten matchiten 'let's hurry and leave' 47.b4-5; k8ssenta8ten 'let's observe the Sabbath' 48.b4; ag8ah8seten 'let's disembark' 78b.9; 8a8it8ititen 'let's be diligent' 77.a4-5; pakkiten 'let's bathe' 76.a3; antabeten 'let's rest' AR.a30; antabateten 100.b9; ket8h8manten 'let's sing' 55.a7; anla8ta8ten '?' 55.b20; k8ak8nematen 'let's play checkers' 67.b2; skebamanten 'let's play cards' 67.b5; ak8ta8ten 'let's stop' 77.b15; p8ssihiten 'let's embark' 31.a19; 8lsanten 'let's make peace' 98.b19; ans8anman8ateten 'let's trade' 97.b15; ka8iten 'let's sleep' 40.a19; 25.a20; choutau8ten 'let's try our best' 47.a16; 55.b16-17; aiamienten 'let's pray' 22.a6; ak8i 8ank ai8teten 'let's go to war again' 98.b19

2p

n8pa8ssak8a 'go to war' 9.b25; 109.b15; l8ak8^a 'speak' 26.a4; paliang8a 'retire' 45.a9-12; ak8ta8eg8a 'stop' 77.b14; ponsak8a 'put wood on the fire' 113.a21-22; 13.b17; p8ssig8a 'embark' 31.a18; 8tansamiang8^a 'come here' 105.a8-9; ennalis8g8^a 'convert' 39.a18-19; piang8^a 'come' 19.b16; g8atsikkeng8a 'go outside' 94.a20; pitsizak8a 'enter' 94.a19; alk8k k8atchikank8e 'go off, leave' 10.a1-4; alk8k k8atchikang8^a 109.b19-21; ennalix8g8^a 'convert' 39.a18-19; alkamikisi8g8^a 'renounce your evil ways' 39.a18-19

Consonant Stems

2s	___-s	2s	___-s/x
21	___-etā	21	___-ten
2p	___-okw	2p	___-8k

¹²⁷ Note that in the two previous examples, *kilipi* is treated as an AI verb and thus takes the imperative suffix *-s*. In this example, it may be that *kilipi* acts as a particle, and thus takes no inflection.

¹²⁸ The imperative suffix *-s* is written as *-(t)*, perhaps in error.

2s

akatens 'try your best' 34.a13; alkx k8atchik¹²⁹ 'go off, leave' 10.a1-4

21

sibsineten 'let's go to bed' 70.b16; ia8cameten 'let's be four' 45.b15-17;
8anbanata8anbeten 'let's sit/stay up' 56.a9; paig8kameten 'let's be ten' 45.b14-15;
akatementeten 'let's try our best' 47.a17; 55.b16-17

2p

8anbanata8anb8k 'sit/stay up' 56.a10; akatement8k 'try your best' 34.a14; sibsin8k
'go to bed' 70.b15; amai8k 'retire' 94.a11-12; k8let8k 'save' 87.a18; ma8k 'cry'
37.b12; ak8antaman8at8k 'forgive each another' 85.a18-19; alk8k k8atchikank8e 'go
off, leave' 10.a1-4; 109.b19-21; pesk8a8anet8k 'pull out s.o.'s hair' 45.b22-23;
guitimankelit8k8°e 'pity each another' 40.b8-9

Stems ending in *-n* drop the nasal when the imperative suffix *-s* is added. Only one

example of this dropping is attested:

⟨sibsis⟩ 'go to bed' (70.b14).

One form shows borrowing or orthographic influence from Ojibwe, with imperative suffix *-l*:

⟨nanch kilipil⟩ 'hurry and get it' (1.b2).

Some forms translated as imperative forms inexplicably show no imperative

marking:

kecen 'retire (said to animal)' 94.a9-10; 8anbanata8anb8° 'sit/stay up' 56.a8; kechau
'sow' 87.a12-13; amai 'retire' 94.a11-12; p8ssi 'embark' 31.a17

TA Imperative

Direct imperative inflection on TA verbs follows the theme sign (*ã* for theme 1, and *i* for theme 4, the only two attested), except for verbs with singular subjects, which take no theme sign at all. There is no distinction of object number in the imperative. Paradigms for third person object are as follows:

¹²⁹ The second word is perhaps a particle meaning 'outside'.

2s-3	__-Ø	2s-3	__-Ø
21-3	__-ātā	21-3	__-enten/aten/anten
2p-3	__-kw	2p-3	__-g8a

2s-3*singular object*

sam 'feed him' 22.a20; nachkan 'look for him' 44.b12; 8ikem 'call him' 76.b6; m8 'eat him' 114.b6-7; guitimanchelim 'pity him' 109.a16-17; sekagan 'cover him' 50a.v6; 8ten 'take him' 96.b3

plural object

8linana8an 'take care of them' 3.b18-19

21-3*singular object*

nachka8enten 'let's look for him' 44.b13; 8ikematen 'let's call him' 76.b8; samanten 'let's feed him' 22b.1; memik8alimaten 'let's remember him' 34.b1-2

2p-3*singular object*

nant818ag8°a 'look for him' 76.b16-17; nachka8g8°a 'look for him' 44.b14; 8ikemk8a 'call him' 76.b7; m8k8°e 'eat him' 114.b6-7

plural object

8linana8ank8e 'take care of them' 104.a19-20; 3.b20-21; 8linana8ank8°e 'take care of them' 104.a2-7,21-23; 4.a2-7

Paradigms for first person object (theme 4):

2s-1s	__-i	2s-1s	__-i
2p-1s	__-ikw	2p-1s	__-ig8a

2s-1*singular object*

sami 'feed me' 22.a22-23; 107.a1-2; achami 'feed me' 6.b11-12; mili 'give s.t. to me' 112.b4; 12.b19; guitimanchelimi 'pity me' 109.a1; 9.a5; ak8antama8i 'forgive me' 85.a13; kikit8kantama8i 'interpret me' 22.a15; 8ich8h8mi 'help me' 44.b18-19; 8ik8tema8i 'ask for me' 22.a17-18; ket8taka8i 'come see me' 54.b8-12; namkahi 'lend s.t. to me' 35.b1; taga angim8ka8i 'tell s.t. to me' 101.b16-17

2p-1*singular object*

alnema8ig8°a 'help me' 36.a8

TI Imperative

As mentioned, verbs seem to lose one mora before imperative -s. For TI₁ verbs, this means that the final -am deletes when followed by 2s inflection, due to regular sound laws (*am-lwe > *anlwe > *aš > s). This is most evident in *pakit*'s 'leave/abandon/stop it!',

spelled ⟨pakitch⟩, from *pakitam+s*, and *8tat*'s 'drink!' spelled ⟨8tatch⟩, from *8tatam+s*. Other words exhibit the *-as* ending:

pampetas 'listen to it!'; kenketas 'listen to it!'; piantas¹³⁰ 'pray!'; pihan'tas; 8a8antas 42.b8; 44.a17-19; 88.a4-6; 8a8anets¹³¹; pemantas 'live!'; 8leldas 'have a good heart!'

The non-singular forms contain the *-am* final.

TI₁

2s-0	__-(a)s	2s-0	__-(a)s
21-0	__-(a)ten	21-0	__-(e)ten
2p-0	__-amokw	2p-0	__-am8k/am8k8e/am8g8a

2s-0

-s

pakitch 'leave/abandon/stop it' 39.a16,17; pakits 67.a1-3

-as

pampetas 'listen to it' 39.a10; 26.a19-21; kenketas 'listen to it' 39.a10; 26.a19-21; ak8i 8au8elelendās 'do not laugh' 23.a21; ak8i m8sk'elindās 'do not get angry' 18.b17; kehpas' 'close the door' 13.b10; 113.a15; kehpase 63.a11; piantas 'pray' 13.b12-14; pihan'tas 63.a13; 8a8antas 'be wise' 42.b8; 44.a17-19; 88.a4-6; 8a8anets 85.a11; pemantas 'live' 87.b18; 8leldas 'have a good heart' 88.b19

21-0

8a8antameten 'let's be wise' 42.b10; 22.a5; piantameten 'let's pray' 22.a10-11; 97.b17; 8tatameten 'let's drink' 22.a7; 99.b6; chipkalendameten¹³² '?' 55.b19; ak8i lan8elendameten 'let's not despair' 55.b18-20

2p-0

pakitam8k 'leave/abandon/stop it' 39.a18-19; natam8k8'e kilipik8'e 'hurry and look for s.t.' 101.b22; 60.b18; ak8i 8ik8elendam8k 'do not laugh' 23.a13; 8a8antam8g8a 'be wise' 42.b11

TI₂

There are only two examples of a TI Class 2 verb with imperative inflection, where inflection follows the *ā* verb final.

¹³⁰ The word for 'pray' also appeared several times with no imperative inflection, as ⟨piantam⟩ (9.b19; 1-9.b11; 113.a17-18).

¹³¹ metathesis of ⟨t⟩ and ⟨e⟩ probably Mathevet's error.

¹³² Although the gloss is uncertain, this word seems to contain the word ⟨chipki⟩ 'late, in a long time', with Ojibwe interference in the morpheme -elendam- of thought or feeling.

2s-0 ___-ās

2s-0 ___-anx

2s-0

ak8i nans8chitanx 'do not waste it' 48.a10-11; choutanx 'try your best' 47.a14-15

TI₃TI₃ verbs take no verb finals, so imperative inflection follows the verb stem:

2s-0 ___-(e)s

2s-0 ___-ch/s/x/ix

21-0 ___-ten

21-0 ___-ten

2p-0 ___-okw

2p-0 ___-8k

2s-0

latch 'do it' 87.a5; mitchix 'eat' 14.b9; 61.a20; kenchtaux 'hide it' 77.b19

21-0

laiten 'let's do it' 87.a6

2p-0

pat8k 'carry it' 115.b10; 15.b13-14; mitch8k 'eat it' 114.a21; 14.b9; 61.a20

CHAPTER 6

DERIVATION

Derivation is the combination of affixes and roots (primary derivation) and stems (secondary derivation), producing a stem that is then subject to normal inflection. In all Algonquian languages, derivation is extremely productive, and there is an abundance of examples in Nipmuck. In this chapter, some of the most common and productive methods of derivation will be discussed, but this will not be an exhaustive list, since less common forms are unrecognizable.

Derivation is best divided into five categories: verbs formed from verbs, verbs formed from nouns, nouns formed from nouns, nouns formed from verbs, and finally particles formed from nouns.

Verbs from verbs

Many of the secondary verb finals have already been mentioned in chapter 5, such as the reciprocal *-etiw-*, as in the following words (in which the reciprocal morpheme appears in bold face):

⟨mat ak8antaman8at8aga⟩ ‘when/that you(pl) don’t forgive one another’ (85)
 ⟨mat 8amanlet88eg8a⟩ ‘when/that you(pl) don’t love one another’ (26.a7-8)
 ⟨tebelimit8⟩ ‘he is ruled’ (98) (compare ⟨tebelimis8⟩ ‘he rules himself’ 74)

More common, and more productive, are verb finals that change nouns into verbs.

Verbs from nouns

The distributive morpheme ⟨-chekau⟩ (often contracted to ⟨-ch8⟩) turns nouns into verbs with the meaning of ‘there is N’ or ‘there is an abundance of N’. This is glossed in the manuscript as ‘*tas de...*’:

ma18min **chekau** ‘there is an abundance of wheat’ 89.a18; 8iachemanes **chekau** ‘there is an abundance of wheat’ 89.a19-20; pis**chakau** ‘there is an abundance of peas’ 89.a17

Also glossed as ‘*tas de...*’ are several verbs ending in <-ch8>:

misk**ch8** ‘there is an abundance of hay’ 89.a14; miskach**oux**¹³³ 89.a13; metek**ch8** ‘there is an abundance of wood’ 89.a15

These are more likely derived using the verb suffix **-ehke:wa* ‘he makes N’, which becomes *-ehʔa:* in Nipmuck, as in *nich8gatcha* ‘I make sugar (<ch8ga>)’ (92). Thus the translations of the above two verbs are more likely ‘he makes/gathers hay’ and ‘he gathers wood’ respectively. This verb final is more common in the participle form with a final *-t*, used as a noun designating ‘one who makes N’:

nataons8sak8**chat** ‘blacksmith’ AR.b11; 24.b20; 100.b18; 8tanganch**an**¹³⁴ ‘paddle-maker’ 24.a23-24; makisinich**at** ‘shoe-maker/repairer’ 24.a21; pitik8niganch**at** ‘baker’ 24.a19

Nouns from nouns

Noun to noun derivation involves some sort of additional qualification to the original noun. For example, the suffix <-sk8e> can be added to a noun to denote ‘female N’:

sancheman ‘chief’ → sanchemans**sk8** ‘wife of chief’ 33.a4; chikah88 ‘widower’ → chika’8sk**8e** ‘widow’ 35.a13; chikitis ‘black man’ → chikitisk**8e** ‘black woman’ 1.b1; matanet8 ‘devil’ → matanet8sk**8** ‘she-devil’ 71.b12

The noun final *-ahkesen* is added to a noun to mean ‘shoes of N’:

ilini**kissinits** ‘Loup shoes’ 84.b11; mek8ak**isinits** ‘Iroquoian shoes’ 84.b12; chahak**essinits** ‘French shoes’ 84.b10

Similarly, when the final *-o:l* is added to a noun, it creates a new noun meaning ‘boat of N’:

amis**8l** ‘wood canoe’ 5.b7; 8ik8ai**8l** ‘bark canoe’ 105.b20

The suffix *-āhkw*, when added to a noun, creates a noun meaning ‘N of word or solid’:

manit8ik8ak**8a** ‘steel’ 36.a16

¹³³ Final <∞> is unexplained.

¹³⁴ Final <n> is likely a misprint.

One of the most common types of noun to noun derivations is the diminutive, marked by the suffix *-ehs*. This suffix simply adds a diminutive connotation to the original noun, meaning ‘little N’:

8ach8is ‘small mountain’ 78.b20; satanis ‘a bit of salt’ 100.b1; langanbasis ‘little boy’ 115.b21; 16.a5; 64.a22; languisk8asis ‘little girl’ 115.b22; 16.a6; 64.a23; n8simis ‘little son’ 86.b9; nitai8mis ‘little child’ 88a.4-6; nitaiomsis¹³⁵ ‘little child’ 44.b9-10; 8ambig8sis ‘little rat, mouse’ 6.b6; 106.b19; chagesaonix ‘earring’ 17.a2; kenke8anix ‘stocking’ 57.a3; 16.b6; aiamianganēs¹³⁶ ‘rosary’ 5.b20; 106.a13

Nouns from verbs

Noun finals commonly change verb stems into nouns. The suffix <igan> is probably the most productive of all, or at least the most widely attested, and when added to a verb carries the meaning ‘thing to do V’. Due to final sonorant dropping, this suffix often appears as <ik> or <ig>:

p8ta8esig ‘bellows’ 45.b26-27; aasinik ‘needle’ 35.a2; sibakik ‘sail’ 33.b9, 8; 8sk8ig ‘paper, book’ 1.b6-8; 8angskaig ‘pick’ 36.a14; sib8tig ‘file’ 2.a10; n8tamag8ig ‘spear/dart’ 40.a16; 25.a16; katamskaig ‘wad-extractor’ 94.b19; pisk8a8a atig(anēs) ‘spiral-shaped scraper(s) resembling the wad remover on a ramrod’ 94.b20-21; piminig(anēs), pimighinik ‘gimlet(s)’ 93.b3; kagakig(anēs) ‘measure(s)’ 87.b20; kepalinig(anēs) ‘scissors’ 92.a15; katachapkaig(am)ēs ‘pick(s) (straight)’ 95.a3-4; 8aukig(anēs) ‘hook(s)’ 23.a17; kelammesk8abelig(anēs) ‘anchor(s)’ 98.a2-3; pig8antik ‘tavelle’ 24.b18; 100.b2; AR.a13; paskig ‘rifle’ 106.a11; 5.b18; pitemesk8ig ‘bullet’ 106.a9; pipina8chank8ik ‘mirror’ 10.b18; pisk8a8lig ‘drawshave, spokeshave’ 113.b13-14; pekenlagenik ‘crooked knife’ 91.a7; kichipiminig ‘auger’ 93.b4; 8tanchikig ‘train’ 98.a8; k8ak8nig(am) ‘checkers’ 67.b1; temaigan ‘axe’ 53.a13; 8ansonk8lanig ‘candle’ 109.a23

Abstract nouns are formed by the suffixation of <-8angan> to the stem of an AI or TI verb (again, the final syllable may drop). Where the original verbs is also attested, it is listed before its derived noun:

kem8t ‘steal it’ → kem8t88ang ‘theft’ 65.b8; m8skelendam ‘be angry’ → m8sk8elendam88ang ‘anger’ 65.b15; chilai ‘be bad’ → chilai88ang ‘badness’ 65.b10; matchil8a ‘speak bad’ → matchil8a8ang ‘bad talk’ 65.b14; kaki8a ‘be drunk’ → kaki8a8ang ‘drunkenness’ 65.b9; ponpatam ‘hear it’ → ponpatam8angan

¹³⁵ Note that the diminutive suffix on this word, seemingly <sis>, was written above an original crossed-out suffix.

¹³⁶ The last three words do not have non-diminutive counterparts, in which case the diminutive suffix appearing on them may be fossilized.

'prayer' 29.a1; missal 'be proud' missals~~88~~angan¹³⁷ → 'pride' 90.a8; mitsisi 'eat' → mitsis~~88~~ang 'food' 99.a15-17; michis~~88~~ang 55.a16-17; panlai 'be proud' → panlai~~88~~angan 'pride' 90.a6; nananbalis 'be lazy' → nananbalis~~88~~angan 'laziness' 90.a12; 8ikantama 'be glad' → 8ikantama~~88~~angan 'gladness' 90.a10; panpit8a 'tell a lie' → panpit8a~~88~~ank 'lie' 37.a21; matchililai 'be bad' → matchililai~~88~~anges 'bad things' 12.b13-14; nika8i 'I sleep' → nika8i~~88~~ank 'my sleep' 53.b15-16; 8lipemantam 'have a good life' 92 → m8tchi 8lipemantam~~88~~ang 'a very good life' 55.b14-15; mat tanett8 8tela8ahans~~88~~and¹³⁸ 'juggling' 65.b12-13; sasank8ai~~88~~angan 'greed' 90.a7; peg8ssema~~88~~ang 'seasoning' 112.b10; tchila~~88~~angan eska8a~~88~~angan 'anger' 90.a9; matchiaant8a~~88~~anges 'sins' 12.b10-12

Occasionally, <-8anes> occurs instead (or alongside) <-8angan>. It is possible that it may carry diminutive meaning:

aiamiangan~~es~~¹³⁹ 'rosary' 5.b20; 106.a13; mitsisi~~88~~anes 'food' 105.a15-16; matchiaiat8a~~88~~anes 'sins' 66.b1-2

The suffix <-8igan> can be added to a verb stem to denote a dwelling:

santa 'be Sunday' → santa~~88~~igan 'church' 109.b8; piantam 'pray it' → piantam~~88~~igan 'religion, church' 81.a13-14

Less productive is the <-bsk8> morpheme meaning 'stone for V':

kikamisk~~e~~ 'whetting stone' 26.a13; mansibsk~~e~~ 'gunflint' 106.a12; m8nsibsk~~8~~^{oe} 5.b19

Particles from nouns

Another form of derivation is the formation of particles from nouns, and by far the most common of these is the locative. The locative is marked by the suffix *-ek*, attached to noun stems of either grammatical gender. The addition of the locative suffix changes a noun into a particle, so that it can no longer be marked for nominal categories like gender, number and obviation, thus the following set of locatives may have either a plural or singular reading:

l8tag 'in the fire' 35.a8-9; santa~~88~~iganeg 'to the church' 109.b10; nepesc 'in the lake' 66.b3; m8liang 'to Montreal, to town' 26.b4; 54.b1-3; 69.a5-6; alamikik 'in hell' 44.a17-19; 50.a10-12; plachemankik 'to Montreal' 60.b5; tali'kik 'on earth' 2.b21;

¹³⁷ The <s> that appears between the stem <missal> and the suffix <-88angan> is unexplained.

¹³⁸ Final <d> is likely a misprint.

¹³⁹ This word is derived from what seems to be an Abenaki word for 'prayer'.

8tenag 'to, from town/Montreal' 21.a11-12,5,4; **8itchipakik** 'from the north-east'
34.a16

Possessive nouns can also become locative particles:

nitehω¹⁴⁰ 'from my heart' 105.b4; 5,a8; **nitonnω** 'from my lips' 5.a8; **8tehec** 'from his heart' 50.b14; **8t8nec** 'from his lips' 50.b13; **nikatek** 'on my leg(s)' 92.b2-3; **n8kassik** 'at my mother's' 113.b18-19; **nilal8k** 'on my tongue' 92.b4-5; **nilichik** 'in my hand(s)' 92.b6-7; **nita8ag8k** 'in my ear(s)' 92.b8-9; **nijanlek** 'on my nose' 92.b9

¹⁴⁰ The symbol ω appears only in this word and the next.

CHAPTER 7

SYNTAX

Extracting syntactic information about Nipmuck from the *Mots Loups* manuscript has proved difficult, due mainly to the lack of complex phrases and full sentences: the majority of the manuscript is in the form of a vocabulary, composed of single words and simple phrases with their translations. As a result, many syntactic features expected to be found in Nipmuck, on the basis of their presence in neighbouring Algonquian languages, are simply unattested in the manuscript. However, some of these syntactic features are attested, if only in one or two sentences, providing enough information to make tentative conclusions about the syntactic structure of the language.

WORD ORDER

“Free” Word Order

Algonquian languages have long been described as having “free” word order (Dahlstrom 1995:1). While word order in these languages is not entirely “free” (it is constrained by syntactic demands of topic and focus), the Nipmuck manuscript contains many clear examples of subject and object NPs appearing before and after the verb (the following examples are listed in Mathevet’s orthography, with the noun appearing in bold face):

Subject+Verb

nitaionsis 8anisau	‘ My child is lost’ (44)
Adam kitilihig8nan	‘ Adam is the cause of it’ (46)
nika8i8ank sanis8	‘ My sleep is strong (deep?)’ (53)
ch8gat 8tepassau	‘ The sap is running’ (92)
oskil’ n8oc n8pa8ssa8ak	‘ The young men go to war’ (109)

Verb+Subject

mat sanan8 k8ami	'The ice is not strong' (7)
kighitimanchelimik kitaneto	'God will have pity on you' (21)
p8k8'sau ni8ik8ai8i	'My wood canoe is broken' (22)
8iguel8 pitig8uet	'The bread is good' (23)
8igan ch8gat	'The sugar is good' (23)
ask8an la8a8k palca8ok	'The partidges no longer fight' (24)
8anisa8an nichahag8'a	'My knife is lost' (44)

Object+Verb

pitig8nic nikenkatebam	'I hunger for bread' (25)
pitig8nik nekateban	'I hunger for bread' (15)
pitig8nigan nim8han	'I eat bread' (7)

Verb+Object

nikatepan pitig8nigan	'I hunger for bread' (79)
nikatepan 8iaux	'I hunger for meat' (79)
nim8han pitig8nig	'I eat bread' (114)

Negation

Negation is partly marked by the clause-initial particle *mat(am)*. This particle always appears first in the clause, as in <mat nip8s8> 'I do not embark' (41) and <mat 8liganen8> 'it is not good' (50). There is only one occurrence of *mat* appearing in a position other than clause initial:

tekten **mat** n8a8t8an tenl8k8i matchian 'I don't know when I will leave'(107)
 NEG I know it when that I leave

The word <tekten> appears on its own in the manuscript, translated as 'I know nothing about it' on page 113, and as 'maybe' on page 13 and 63 (as <teten>). It is possible that <tekten> may represent an independent clause, in which case the clause-initial status of *mat(am)* is not compromised.

If-then Clauses

While complex sentences are rare in the manuscript, one type that does appear with some frequency is the "if-then" sentence. Generally, the "if"-clause appears first, followed by the "then"-clause, or main clause:

pag8achi chag8a 8achanem-an ki-mil-il-in.
maybe something have it-cj1s 2-give s.t. to-ind1s-2s-obj
 'If I have something, I will give it to you(pl).' (107)

mat k8au8k8at-aan-a. mat k-8amanl-[l]-8.
neg be wise-cj2s-subj neg 2-love-1-2-neg
 'If you are not wise, I will not love you' (10)

kila8an 8a8antam-ag8a, ki-ghetimanchelim-ig8an.
you(pl) be wise-cj2p 2-have pity-ind3s-2p
 'If you (pl) are wise, he will have pity on you(pl)' (22)

8a8antamana-tch, n-8amanl-eg8°a.
be wise-cj1s-fut 1-love-ind3s-1s
 'If I am wise, he will love me' (42)

One sentence has the "if"-clause following the main clause:

mat iauten kit-ili8-inanen ni-tchichag8-nen 8anisan-ta
neg something 2-make use of it-ind21 1-soul-1p be lost-cj3s
 'It will be worth nothing if we lose our soul' (49)

Interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns in Nipmuck occur in clause-initial position. While in Massachusetts the interrogative is considered a mode of the independent order (Goddard and Bragdon 1988:510), in Nipmuck the interrogative pronouns may be followed by a verb with either independent or conjunct inflection.

awa:n 'who'

independent

a8en kes8ghenebanleg8s 'Who baptized you?' 43.b9-10; **a8en keta18kenleg8a** 'Who hired you?' 67.a16

conjunct

a8en matten8hat 'Who won?' 68.a7-8

t°akwa 'what'

independent

chag8a k8sk8am 'What are you writing?' 74.b2; **chag8a ka kenaman** 'What are you looking at?' 21.b14-16; **chag8a kekem8t** 'What did you steal?' 107.b20; **chag8a kenachkam** 'What are you looking for?' 92.a14; **chag8a kenateb8k°** 'What are you feasting on?' 114.b11-12; **chag8a ketes8itamem** 'What do you call that?' 109.a21-22

conjunct

chag8a 8anita8an 'What did you lose?' 68.a16-17; **chag8a mattenian** 'What do you lose?' 68.a12-13; **chag8a che8antaman** 'What do you want?' 91.a15-16; **chag8a ka**

8atamag8'a 'What should we drink?' 22.a8; **chag8a** maten8aian 'What do you earn?' 68.a4-6; **chag8a** natahon pataman 'What do you come looking for?' 115.b17-19

t'a:hsetã 'how much/many'

The particle **chasseten** is attested only in the independent order.

chasseten kekim8t 'How much did you steal?' 107.b19; **chasseten** kikim8t 7.b17; **chasseten** kikaki8e 'How many times have you been drunk?' 7.b10; 107.b14-15; **chasseten** kimatchil8a almi kizigak 'How many times per day do you speak bad?' 83.a11-12

tã 'when, what'

independent objective

ta g88man 'Where do you come from?' 7.a22; **ta** g88men 107.b5; **te** k8men 8.b13; 108.b9; **ta** g88menan 'Where do you(pl) come from?' 7.a23; 107.b6; **te** g8menan 8.b14; **te** k8menan 108.b10; **ta** oumen¹⁴¹ 'Where does he come from?' 15.b19; **tan** neten 'Where am I going?' 50a.2-4; **ta** keten 'Where are you going?' 15.b18; 60.b6; **te** ke'ten 7.a20; **te** keten 9.b16; 107.b3; **te** kketen 109.b9; **tem** keten 21.a3; 115.b13; **te** ketenna8an 'Where are you(pl) going?' 107.b4; 7.a21; **tem** 8tapin 'Where is he?' 2.a4; 102.b4

independent absolute

tan ketel8a 'What do you say?' 13.b20; 63.a18; **tem** ketel8a 113.a3; **tem** ketes88is 'What are you called?' 40.a17; 25.a17-18; **tem** ketel8h8man 'What are you worth?' 104.a15; 3.b15-16; **tem** ketelai [8atchi ma8ian] 'What do you have [to cry about]?' 33.b1-2; **tem** ketel8aman 'What do you(pl) say?' 113.a4; **tan** ketel8aman 13.b21; 63.a19; **tem** ketelaiman [8atchi ma8iag8^c] 'What do you(pl) have [to cry about]?' 33.b3-4; **tan** l8au 'What does he say?' 13.b22; **tan** louau 63.a20; **tem** l8au 113.b5; **tem** lan8at8 'How much is that worth?' 7.b22-23; 108.a3; 82.b13-14; **tem** l8a8ok 'What do they say?' 113.b7; **tan** l8aua8ak 13.b23-24; **tan** loua8ak 63.a21; **tem** leteng8at 1.a5-6

conjunct

ta 8men 'Where do you come from?' 60.b7

Noun Phrases

The word order of noun phrases in Algonquian languages is interesting in two ways. First, noun phrases involving possession take free word order; that is, the possessor may occur before or after the possessed noun (all examples are listed in Mathevet's orthography, with nouns appearing in bold face):

¹⁴¹ Should be *tã weto:men*.

Noun+Possessor

8taia chahag8s ‘the Frenchmen’s **animals**’ (8)

Possessor+Noun

temank8e **8k8lha** ‘beaver’s **skin**’ 106

The phenomenon of discontinuous noun phrases also appears in Nipmuck, as in most Algonquian languages. Although the nature of the manuscript limits detailed syntactic analysis of the language due to the lack of complex sentences, in the sentences that are present, two unquestionable examples of discontinuous NPs were found (appearing in bold face in the following sentences):

nala **8ami** ketebelindamen **chag8a**
 in vain **all** you rule it **thing**
 ‘In vain you would rule all things.’ (48.b12-14)

pejek8 nim8han **abelis**
 one I eat it **apple**
 ‘I eat one apple.’ (79.a6-7)

In both sentences, the NP is separated by a verb. While borrowings are present in both sentences (the verb in the first sentence has inflection suggesting Ojibwe spelling <-elind> rather than Nipmuck <-alet->, while the NP in the second sentence is made up of two borrowings → <pejek8>, from Ojibwe, and <abelis>, from English), there is no reason to suspect Ojibwe influence on the word order, since other eastern languages also have discontinuous NPs.

Verb Phrases

The word order of verb phrases presents some challenges. Generally, in a verb phrase containing one or more adverbial elements, the adverbial particle comes first, followed by the preverb, and then the verb. However, it is difficult to determine whether an adverbial element is a free-standing particle or a preverb. As mentioned earlier, particles are words that do not have any inflectional affixes, and are free-standing members within a clause. Preverbs, however, are so called because they are attached to the verb. An exception to this

order is what Amy Dahlstrom (1995) has identified for Fox as the “floating preverb”.

Floating preverbs are a small set of preverbs that may appear in the regular position at the beginning of the verb between the personal prefixes and the stem, or separated from the verb (resembling a free-standing particle), in what Dahlstrom assumes is Topic Position. In Nipmuck, the preverbs which most consistently show this trait of being able to “float” outside the verb are *ki:si* ‘past; be able to’ and *wesāmi* ‘too (much/many)’. The following are only a selection of a multitude of examples found in the text of the preverbs in both floating and non-floating position (all examples are listed in Mathevet’s orthography, with the preverb appearing in bold face).

Floating

kizi n8amanlanb ‘I had loved him’ (29.a20)

kizi netennalix ‘I have converted’ (39.a14-15)

kizi nitelendaman ‘I have thought thus of it, I have resolved it’ (73.a3-6)

Non-Floating

matam **kikizi** amaki ‘you cannot leave’ (50.a15-16)

kikizi mitch ‘did you eat?’ (64.b12; 16.a19)

nikizi p8ssihib ‘I had embarked’ (31.b2)

Floating

8ssammi kimatcheton ‘your mouth is too bad; you speak too badly’ (52.a8-10)

8ssammi kinananbalis ‘you are too lazy’ (78.a3-4)

8ssammi nitamachihig8 ‘he angers me too much’ (85.a7-8)

Non-Floating

k8ssami 8ikesebam ‘you are too drunk’ (60.a14)

k8ssami missant8a ‘you talk too loudly’ (26.a1-2)

Clitics

While all of the above elements have appeared generally in first position within the sentence or phrase, the future clitic *mā* meaning ‘shall, may, might’ appears primarily in second position within the sentence:

mat **ma**n tekan8 almi kizigag ‘it might not be cold all day’ (49.b14-17)

lapi **ma** nenep ‘I shall die soon’ (47.b13-14)

In sentences that consist of a single verb, this means that the *mā* clitic will appear verb-

finally:

n8amanlan~~ma~~ 'I will love him' (29.a21)
 n8amanlang~~ma~~ 'I will love them' (29.b19)
 n8amanlan~~me~~ 'we (excl) will love him' (29.a24)
 n8amanlan~~na~~8ak~~ma~~ 'we (excl) will love them' (29.b18)
 k8amanlan~~ma~~ 'you will love him' (29.a22)
 k8amanlan~~na~~ 'we (incl) will love him' (29.a25)
 k8amanlan~~na~~8an~~ma~~ 'you (pl) will love him' (29.a26)
 8amanlan~~ma~~ 'he loves him' (29.a23)
 8amanlan~~na~~8an~~ma~~ 'they love him' (29.a27)

nip8sim~~an~~ 'I shall embark' (30.a16)
 kip8sim~~an~~ 'you shall embark' (30.a17)
 poss8h8~~man~~ 'he shall embark' (30.a18,b1)

The future clitic *c*, meaning 'shall, will' seems to appear verb-finally, regardless of the verb's position in the sentence:

ke8amanleg8ant~~ch~~ 'he shall love you (pl)' (43.a4-5)
 ak8i machak tepitahant~~ch~~ 'you shall not think evil!' (49.b3-4)
 8ligec tepitahant~~ch~~ 'you shall think of good things' (49.b5-6)
 neg8tene'hant~~ch~~ 'there will be a time...' (47.a19-21)
 kizi mitik padkatansits 'after the first of May' (68.b18-19)
 8tansami santat~~ch~~ 'before Sunday' (69.a1-2)
 8a8antamanat~~ch~~ 'when I am wise' (42)

In Abenaki, it is clear that a similar future clitic ⟨ji⟩ is a second-position clitic, not simply attaching to the end of the verb as it appears to do in Nipmuck (Laurent 1884:129):

N'okaozemiji kizi (or) Kiziji n'okaozemi 'I shall have had a cow.'

It is possible that the appearance of *c* in the manuscript, then, is simply a borrowing from Abenaki *ci*, with Nipmuck speakers misunderstanding the nature and position of the clitic.

AGREEMENT

As mentioned in chapter 1, the inflection of intransitive verbs marks agreement for the gender, number and person of the subject. Therefore, an animate subject takes an animate verb, with the appropriate number and person inflection, while an inanimate subject takes an

inanimate verb. For transitive verbs, it is the object that must agree with the verb, animate objects taking animate verbs, and inanimate objects taking inanimate verbs.

Absolute/Objective Inflection

As one would expect, Nipmuck seems to share certain traits with two of its closest neighbours, Massachusett (to the east) and Abenaki (to the north). One of these traits is the distinction between objective and absolute inflections on transitive verbs. The objective inflection indexes both arguments of the transitive verb; thus both subject and object are morphologically expressed on the verb. On the other hand, absolute inflection indexes only one argument (Goddard 1967).

In Ojibwe, regular TI verbs are both morphologically and semantically transitive, taking both a subject and an object, but TI-O verbs are inflected as intransitives. This is most evident in Ojibwe in the third person. TI-O verbs take intransitive or absolute inflections, and thus have no third person prefix, while TA and regular TI verbs take transitive inflections, with the third person prefix *od-*, as in the following examples (Nichols and Nyholm 1995):

TI-O	<i>inendam</i>	'he thinks so' (absolute)
TI	<i>odinendaan</i>	'he thinks so of it' (objective)
TA	<i>odinenimaan</i>	'he thinks so of him'

Thus in Ojibwe, when there is only one semantic argument, as in TI-O verbs, the absolute inflection is used. On the other hand, when there are two semantic arguments, as in regular TI and TA verbs, the objective inflection is used.

However, in the eastern languages, such as Nipmuck, even when there are two arguments, either objective or absolute inflection may be used. Thus in Nipmuck, there are two sets of paradigms for each TI verb, one used in clauses where there is an overt object (absolute) and one used in clauses with no overt object (objective).

As in Ojibwe, the absolute paradigm is used with TI-O verbs, since these are semantically objectless, as in the following examples (for a complete list of examples, see pages 85-91):

⟨nim8sk8elendam⟩ ‘I am angry’ (18)
 ⟨patk8ahan 8an8antam⟩ ‘lightning flashes’ (94)

However, unlike Ojibwe, Nipmuck transitive verbs can take absolute inflection when there are two semantic arguments. Therefore, when there is an overt noun, absolute inflection will appear on the verb. However, this is only true when the overt noun is indefinite:

missali pitig8niganak n8skekal ‘I take much bread on credit’ 87.a1-2; **ni8iguapan pakess8ak** ‘I like partidges’ 103.a5-6; **ninamkahija missali pitig8niganak** ‘I borrow much bread’ 87.a3-4; 32.4-5; **chess8ak kena8an a8ass8osak** ‘how many bears did you see?’ 25.a10-11; 40.a12; **ni8igueta8 8iaux** ‘I find meat good’ 103.a3-4; **ankepi nikenkatam** ‘I thirst for brandy’ 40.a7; **ankepi nikenkatam** ‘I thirst for brandy’ 25.a8-9; **nich8hantam mabisk8bagac** ‘I like wine’ 15.a21-22; **nich8hantam mabisk8bab** ‘I like wine’ 60.a12; **nich8antam mabisk8bagac** ‘I like wine’ 115.a21-23; **nipaiami ch8hantam enk8pi** ‘I prefer brandy’ 60.a13; **nipaiami ch8antam ankepi** ‘I prefer brandy’ 115.a21-23; **8ansalac nich8endam** ‘I like light (as opposed to darkness)’ 19.b3-4; **8iaux nimitch** ‘I eat meat’ 114.b9; **k8achann8m8 ka makian sinibat** ‘you have money’ 6.a14-15; **k8achann8m8 kamakian sinibat** ‘you have money’ 106.b8-9; **ki8ighisita8 matchil8a8ank** ‘you listen with pleasure to bad news’ 83.a19-21; **kes8keh8kepi** ‘you sell brandy’ 80.21; **missali ten kenessen** ‘Did you kill many?’ 8.a12

Overt definite objects require objective inflection:

ninamen sip8 ‘I know the river’ 111.a14; 11.b10; **ketach8entaman piantam88igan** ‘you want the religion (Catholicism)’ 81.a7; **kipanpit8anamen piantam88igan** ‘you speak against the religion’ 81.a13-14; **kipanpit88asitamen piantam88igan** ‘you doubt the religion’ 81.a5-6; **8tibelindamen kepementam8ik** ‘you rule your life’ 23.b19-21; **k8k8siten io kiz8k8^o** ‘you observe this day’ 48.b1-2; **kenans8chiten kizigat** ‘you waste the day’ 48.a4-5; **kenans8chiten kiz8k8^o** ‘you waste the day’ 48.a4-5; **ki8a8iton nimitang8ssena** ‘you know the Our Father’ 81.a3-4; **ketanet8 8au8ten kete** ‘God knows your heart’ 51.a1-2; **kinana8anbamen kinijanak** ‘you take care of your children’ 83.b6-7; **tanit l8k8i kena8an ilini8aiak** ‘when did you know the indians?’

Reflexives

There are two ways in which to create reflexives in Nipmuck, either with an AI verb that does not have an overt object, or with a TA verb. The reflexive ending *-eso-* forms AI verb stems:

tibelimis8 'he rules himself' 74; nitibelimis 'I rule myself' 74; a8as8 'he warms himself' 23; nita8as 'I warm myself' 23; 100; ni8isaguis 'I burn myself' 18; nich8s 'I burn myself' 51; nitilelimis 'I think thus of myself' 22; nitelelimis 68; nin8tan8elimis 'I believe myself incapable/unworthy' 94

The second way to form reflexives is to use a TA verb with the dependent noun *-hak* 'self' as direct object:

nitatagaman [n]'hag 'I beat myself' 3; ninissen [n]'hag 'I kill myself' 3; kizi t annatahan nhaga 'I converted myself' 109; nitalkansita8an [n]haga 'I work for myself' 98; nitannatahama [n]hak 'I repent' 11; annatahan kaga 'convert yourself!' 109;

Note that both ways of forming the reflexive may appear on identical verbs:

n8amanlis 'I love myself' 74; 8amanlis8 'he loves himself' 74 ~ n8amanlan [n]'hag 'I love myself' 3
 nisikagenes 'I cover myself' 50a ~ sekagan kaga 'cover yourself!' 50a.v
 niguitimankelimis 'I pity myself' 25; nighitimankelim[is] 40 ~ nighitimanchelimen [n]hag 'I pity myself' 3; mat kighitimanchelima kaaga 'you don't pity yourself'

Subordination

While main clauses in Nipmuck are by far the most common, subordinate (or objective) clauses also appear frequently throughout the manuscript. As explained in the preceding section, objective inflection generally appears on a transitive verb when there is no overt object. However, objective inflection also regularly appears on intransitive verbs, although the reason is not as clear. While the independent always appears in main clauses, while the conjunct always appears in subordinate clauses that are translated as "if", "that", "when", etc., the difference between absolute and objective inflection does not seem as readily apparent. Objective inflection often appears after question particles (†te ketenna8an) 'where

are you going?' 7, (ta oumen) 'where does he come from?' 15, (ten eldeldak 8telain) 'what he wants, he does' 98) but this is not always the case ((tan ketel8a) 'what do you say?' 13, (ten ketes88is) 'what are you called?' 40). Objective inflection also appears in clauses that are translated in English as an infinitive clause:

mat 8ligan8 8i8ikesemin 'It is not good to be fond of drink' 79
 mat 8ligan8 8imamisipin 'It is not good to eat a lot' 79
 mitchimi ketel8s nes8ghenebansin 'I always tell you to baptise me' 67
 nich8ldan k8au8k8atan 'I want you to be wise' 18

It is clear that neither of these explanations for the appearance of objective inflection is adequate or without exception, and the topic of subordination may prove to be an interesting and fruitful topic for further study.

Subject to Object Copying

Agreement can also occur between clauses, where the subordinate clause functions as an NP or argument of the main clause. Subject-to-object copying means that the subject of the subordinate clause is copied to the main clause, appearing as the object, as in the following examples:

nitilelimik. k.n. 8atsi 8nk8amamian
 he thinks of *me* God that *I* be sick
 'God wants me to be sick.' 81

Adam kitilihig8nan 8atsi ghetemanghisiag8a
 Adam he causes it to happen to *us* that *we* be miserable
 'Adam is the cause of our misery' 46

mat nil kitilikall8an 8atsi ghimanghisian
 not I I cause it to happen to *you* that *you* be miserable
 'I am not the cause of your misery' 75

neta18kenleg8°a 8atsi nisenchaian
 he hired *me* that *I* kill you
 'He hired me to kill you' 67

Obviation

Obviation, as introduced in chapter 1, is also an example of subordination. It is always the lower ranking person in a construction (according to the person hierarchy), including the possessed noun of a possessive NP, that requires obviative inflection. Essentially, the obviative argument is in a subordinate position to the other argument in the construction, and therefore must be marked for subordination, in this case, with obviative inflection.

NEGATION

Besides being a first-position particle, the particle <ask8an> is unique, meaning ‘still, yet’ with positive inflection, and ‘not yet, no longer’ with negative inflection, a distribution similar to French *encore*:

With positive inflection:

ask8an n8skil8n8 ‘I am still young’ (3.b1-2; 104.a1-2)

ask8an pi8iciana ‘I am still small’ (42.a10-12)

With negative inflection:

ask8am nitapeg8am8 ‘I have not yet slept enough’ (65.a4-5)

askam kissiten8 ‘it is not yet cooked’ (26.a6)

ANOMALIES AND/OR ERRORS

There are several anomalies present in the manuscript that contradict the above description of the Nipmuck language in general. While it is not clear whether these were forces at work in Nipmuck at the time it was recorded, or simply errors of Mathevet, they are labelled anomalies because they appear to be exceptional in relation to the rest of the Nipmuck data, regardless of whether these features normally appear in other Algonquian languages.

Verbless Sentences

There are at least two verbless sentences in the manuscript, having only free-standing particles and nouns within their structure:

pang8i nipi n-haga
all water 1-body
 'I am all wet' (92)

mat k-itolin-8. 8inai kil
neg 2-be a man-neg woman you
 'You are not a man. You are a woman' (116)

Agreement Errors

One possible agreement error occurs with the word ⟨k8ami⟩ 'ice'. While this word is animate in nearly all Algonquian languages, including Nipmuck's close neighbours Abenaki and Delaware, ⟨k8ami⟩ appears with two inanimate verbs:

mat sanan8 k8ami. milag8ai. 'The ice is not strong. It is weak.' 107

It is possible that ⟨k8ami⟩ in Nipmuck is inanimate, as it is in such languages as Fox, Arapaho-Atsina, and Cheyenne, or both animate and inanimate, as it is in Menominee.

A similar agreement anomaly occurs with the reflexive pronoun *nahaka:*, which is historically an inanimate noun from **nahakayi* 'my skin, my scale (fish)'. As mentioned in chapter 4, *nahaka:* appears as an animate noun. However, when *nehak*, which as a reflexive pronoun is always animate, appears as the subject of a verb, it is unexpectedly inanimate:

mat 8ligan nhak 'I am not good (my body is not good).' (11)

Several agreement errors occur with absolute and objective inflection. Although absolute inflection generally indicates the presence of an overt indefinite object, there are several exceptions which show absolute inflection without an object:

n8amandam 'I love it' 19.a12; nitalisitam 'I hear it said' 93.b10; 20.b15-16;
 ni8anelendam 'I forget it' 12.a24; nich8endam 'I want it' 3.b9; nimemelatam 'I vomit it up' 17.b18; n8amandamemmena 'we (excl) love it' 19.a13; nipankaichan 'I borrow it' 17.a1; nig8ssau 'I fear it' 34.a9; nipetameni 'I hear it' 46.b6-7; nitanla8i k8ak8achi 'I honestly try it' 47.a11-12; nikisini nensi 'I dislike it' 81.b13-14; nimitch

'I eat it' 5.b4; 14.b2; 105.b19; 114.a1; 1.a12,10,21; 61.b19; nisan8mits 'I am tired of eating it' 52.a6; nima8i kem8t 'I am going to steal it' 97.b16; kimitch 'you eat it' 61.a13; 114.a14; 14.b3; kikizi mitch 'you did eat it' 64.b12; 16.a19

Note that these examples lack the overt indefinite object that is expected for absolute inflection. On the other hand, the following examples exhibit objective inflection with indefinite overt objects:

niket8naman ankepi 'I thirst for brandy' 15.a10-11; kipakitamenenz ka 8ami
matchiaant8a8angane8 'you renounce all sin' 12.b10-12; 112.a17-19; 8kichiten
ankepi 'he creates brandy' 99.b9

One sentence contains what appears to be an error or anomaly in agreement of person; the verb in the sentence appears with inclusive inflection, while the noun exhibits inclusive possessive inflection:

mat iauten kit-ili8-inanen ni-tchichag8-nen 8anisan-ta
neg something 2-make use of it-ind21 1-soul-1p be lost-cj3s
'It will be worth nothing if we lose our soul' (49)

The verb <kitili8inanen> fits best as a TI₃ verb with inclusive inflection, although this classification is tentative since the TI₃ verb class in Algonquian languages generally consists of a small number of verbs, of which <kitili8inanen> is not known to be one. Whether this classification is correct or not, it likely carries 21 inflection in this example, considering the presence of other forms which may contain the same basic morpheme:

<8atelen8aten> 'he is worth s.t.' (3.b11-12)

<mat iauten ketelan8at8> 'you are not worth anything' (51.a7-8)

However, the following noun <nitchichag8nen> is clearly inflected with 1p inflection (compare with <kitchichang8a> 'your soul' 66.b14-18).

Negation

There are many semantically negative clauses that exhibit no negative inflection. Verbs require both the negative particle *mat(am)* and the negative suffix *-w*. However, the particle *mat* may also be used to negate a pronoun, such as <a8en> 'someone', or certain

preverbs, like <kizi> 'able', creating the more complex negatives 'no one' and 'unable' respectively. In this case, it is the pronoun or preverb that is being negated (at least semantically), while the verb takes regular positive marking:

mat a8an ni8amanlan 'I love no one' (9.b2-4; 109.a18-20)
mat t8ank a8an [pamiki8ik] n8amanlan 'I love no one [on earth]' (79.b18-21)
mat nikizi miska8an 'I am unable to find him' (44.b17)
mat a8an nina8a 'I saw no one' (21.b12-13)
mat a8en 8tetipis8en 'no one is equal to him' (66.a11-12)
mat a8an n8li 8temang8 'no one well-instructed me' (53.a1-3)
matam a8an n8lanmah8g8 'no one will make me change my mind' (81.b17-20)
mat a8aia nena8a 'I saw no one (none)' 40.a13; 25.a12-13
mat chag8a nipahameg8a 'he paid me nothing' (67.b6-8)

The pronoun <chag8a> 'something' is not always negated by preceding *mat*, and thus the following verb will indeed take negative inflection:

mat chag8a n8achanam8 'I do not have it (I have nothing)' 107.a5-6

There are two possible answers to this disparity. The first is that, at least syntactically, <chag8a> in the above sentence is acting as the object of the TI verb <n8achanam8>. However, in the first sentence, <mat chag8a nipahameg8a>, <chag8a> is associated with the negative particle <mat>, creating a more complex negative pronoun <mat chag8a> 'nothing'.

A second possibility must be considered given the ambiguity of Mathevet's orthography: it is possible that the inflectional suffix on <nipahameg8a> could represent *-ekow*, the negative suffix, as opposed to the positive suffix *-ekw*, but the latter is orthographically more likely.

Many imperative forms also exhibit a lack of negative inflection. In this case, the negative suffix is replaced by the positive suffix; it seems that the appearance of the negative particle <ak8i> is sufficient to signal a negative meaning.

ak8i aiantagaīs 'do not lie!' 75.a7; **ak8i missanix** 'do not be ashamed!' 2.a19; **ak8i missanise** 59.b5-7; **ak8i missanis** 11.b11; **ak8i maux** 'do not cry!' 37.b11; **ak8i 8au8elelendās** 'do not laugh!' 23.a21; **ak8i m8sk'elindās** 'do not get angry!' 18.b17; **ak8i ma8k** 'do not cry! (pl)' 37.b11; **ak8i missaniss8k8'e** 'do not be ashamed! (pl)' 2.a20-21; **ak8i nans8chitāux** 'do not waste it!' 48.a10-11; **ak8i kenkatas** 'do not listen to it!' 26.b1-3; **ak8i kenkates** 39.a11; **ak8i kenketas** 39.a9; 26.a16-18; **ak8i**

pampetas 'do not listen to it!' 39.a9; 26.a16-18; ak8i iauten lalldam8k 'do not think of s.t. (pl)' 46.b16-17; ak8i 8tatam8g8a 'do not drink! (pl)' 99.b8

The following sentences are translated as negative yet exhibit no negative inflection on the verb:

ask8an kit8'ki 'you are not yet awake' (1.a15-16; 101.b8-9)
 ask8an la8a8k pakes8ok 'the partidges are no longer fighting' 24.a2-3
 ask8an pamipian teten 8tenlaian 'he has not yet arrived' (35.a19-21)

There seems to be no explanation for these exceptions.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to *The Mots Loups of Father Mathevet*, Day (1975:61) states that “[i]t is unlikely that Mathevet’s work contains sufficient material for a comprehensive grammar of his Loup language”, and indeed, he may be right. There are several limitations that the manuscript, by its nature, imposes on a grammar of the present kind, many of which have been mentioned throughout as reasons for inexplicable forms and inconclusive data.

A more consistent and precise orthography would have been helpful: the ambiguity created by Mathevet’s French-based spelling is a hindrance to phonemic and inflectional interpretation of Nipmuck. It must be stated, however, that Mathevet’s knowledge of the Algonquin sound system must have helped in his recording of the Nipmuck language and that, despite its failings, the orthography used renders the Nipmuck words, for the most part, recognizable and interpretable, particularly once familiarity with his orthography is established.

Mathevet’s field notes contain mostly vocabulary lists, which are extremely useful in identifying the language and its sound system. However, the lack of complex sentences, especially the scarcity of subordinate clauses, hinders the analysis of the Nipmuck syntactic structure. Three Nipmuck texts of considerable size, although without translation, appear in the manuscript.

One problem regarding the manuscript has more to do with its content than its presentation or elicitation. Mathevet’s role as a linguist was secondary to his vocation as a missionary, and this is clearly represented in his field notes. Many phrases are admonitions against behaviour contrary to the teachings of the Catholic Church: e.g. <kinissitang8s> ‘you talk obscenely’ (18.b1-2); <ak8i kaki8akan> ‘do not get drunk’ (110.a12, etc). Other phrases

encourage conversion to Catholic beliefs: <ennalix> ‘convert!’ (39.a13); <conpessaux> ‘confess!’ (66.b14-18); <k8ssentanx> ‘observe the Sabbath’ (48.b3); <kes8ghenebans> ‘you are baptised’ (43.b8). As well, Mathevet’s intention to preach Christian beliefs to the Nipmuck are clear in several phrases: <nitilikallanan Jes8s 8atsi nepit> ‘we are the cause of Jesus’ death’ (75); <mat nip8g8sanan J., 8ami alamkik kitamenab mattanet88inag> ‘if J[esus] hadn’t died for us, we would all go to hell’ (75). Indeed, phrases such as these outnumber those describing the Nipmuck traditional life; the latter are extremely rare, and provide only a glimpse of the Nipmuck culture:

<8taban> ‘he cooks bread over ashes’ (53.b13-14)
 <pemh8ss8> ‘he goes by canoe’ (76.a5-6)
 <apimis8> ‘he turns wheat over ashes’ (53.b11-12)
 <lakans8> ‘he removes hair from skin’ (98.a9-10)
 <8ilans8> ‘he is smoked’ (95.a12)
 <nimissahan8che> ‘I cut/prepare meat for smoking’ (95.a17-18)
 <n8lagesen> ‘I whittle with a crooked knife’ (91.a8-9)

Some disapproval has been voiced at the appearance of certain phrases which they feel denigrate the Nipmuck culture and reinforce negative stereotypes towards native people in general. For example, phrases such as <nikat8tan ankepi> ‘I thirst for brandy’ (79.a17) and <kiki8i 8tatam> ‘you always drink’ (103.b15-17) reinforce stereotypes of alcoholism and drunkenness in native communities. While some may wish to omit any data that reflect negatively on the native culture, this would be virtually impossible since there is so little available on the Nipmuck language, and absolutely unacceptable as a linguistic procedure. Therefore, it must simply be understood that the nature of the manuscript and the elicitation of data has been influenced by and represents Mathevet’s perception of the native culture and his primary purpose as a missionary.

This being said, it must be remembered that Mathevet worked diligently all his life to combat the introduction of alcohol to native communities by the Europeans, and that because of his work, he gained great respect and honour from the communities in which he worked. Mathevet’s manuscript, despite its minor failings, is the only substantial evidence of the

Nipmuck language available today, and his manuscript and this grammar are, if nothing else, a testimony to the memory of a people whose language might otherwise have been forgotten.

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