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**DEMONSTRATIVE WORDS IN  
THE ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGE PASSAMAQUODDY:  
A DESCRIPTIVE AND GRAMMATICALIZATION ANALYSIS**

by

**Eve Chuen Ng**

**Defended on December 9, 2002**

**A dissertation submitted to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
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the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of Linguistics**

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## List of abbreviations

0	inanimate third person
1	first person, singular or plural
12PL	first person plural inclusive
1PLEX	first person plural exclusive
3	animate third person proximate
3'	animate third person obviative
3I	indefinite animate third person subject
ABS	absentative
ACC	accusative
AI	animate intransitive verb
AI+O	animate intransitive plus object verb
AN	animate
ASA	Away from Speaker and Addressee
CMPL	completive
CONJ	Conjunct
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEIC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DER	derivational suffix

DIM	<b>diminutive</b>
DIR	<b>direct (TA verb theme sign)</b>
DUB	<b>dubitative</b>
EMPH	<b>emphatic</b>
ERG	<b>ergative</b>
EVID	<b>evidential</b>
FEM	<b>feminine</b>
FUT	<b>future</b>
HESPRO	<b>hesitator pronoun</b>
II	<b>inanimate intransitive verb</b>
INAN	<b>inanimate</b>
INDC	<b>Indicative</b>
INDP	<b>Independent</b>
INV	<b>inverse</b>
IRR	<b>irrealis</b>
LOC	<b>locative</b>
MASC	<b>masculine</b>
MPL	<b>multiplural</b>
NA	<b>Near Addressee</b>
NEG	<b>negative</b>
NMLZ	<b>nominalizer</b>
NS	<b>near speaker</b>

+O	<b>object argument added to make an AI+O or TA+O verb</b>
OBJ	<b>object</b>
OBV	<b>obviative</b>
ONGO	<b>ongoing</b>
PASS	<b>passive</b>
PAST	<b>past tense</b>
PL	<b>plural</b>
POSS	<b>possessive</b>
PRET	<b>preterit</b>
PROX	<b>proximate</b>
PROXIMAL	<b>proximal</b>
PRT	<b>particle</b>
PTCP	<b>participle</b>
RECIP	<b>reciprocal</b>
RFLX	<b>reflexive</b>
RLRT	<b>relative root</b>
SBJN	<b>Subjunctive</b>
SG	<b>singular</b>
SUBD	<b>Subordinative</b>
TA	<b>transitive animate verb</b>
TA+O	<b>transitive animate plus object verb</b>
TH	<b>verb theme sign</b>

TI	transitive inanimate verb
TOP	topic

Note that in examples in the text with interlinear glosses:

- A hyphen ‘-’ indicates an affix/affix boundary or an affix/stem boundary.
- An equals sign ‘=’ indicates either a host/enclitic boundary, a preverb/preverb boundary, or a preverb/verb stem boundary.
- Gloss elements enclosed in parentheses ‘( )’ are not reflected segmentally in the Passamaquoddy, so are either marked by zero or by accent alone.

## Abstract

Words which are commonly called “demonstratives” in Passamaquoddy, an Eastern Algonquian language, inflect for a range of grammatical categories and refer deictically and anaphorically to people, animals, and objects. There are also several types of items that take certain of the phonological forms from this demonstrative paradigm, but otherwise show different grammatical and functional characteristics: they make use of a more restricted range of the paradigm, have different distributional behavior, and serve as temporal deictics, manner deictics, clausal connectives, copulas, and distributive quantifiers. In this study, all items which have the phonological shape of words from the demonstrative paradigm are labeled “demonstrative words”.

The characteristics of the various demonstrative words are discussed, and their word class membership considered on the basis of inflectional and distributional properties. It is argued that while Passamaquoddy demonstrative words fall into several different word classes, they are all historically related, and have developed distinct formal and functional properties through processes of grammaticalization. Specific grammaticalization pathways are proposed for each type of demonstrative word, explaining how these changes could have come about. The discussion also addresses issues related to the synchronic determination of word classes when diachronic processes may have led to some degree of grammatical differentiation, with the aim of producing more consistent word class classifications for Passamaquoddy and Algonquian languages in general.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 The data and its sources

Passamaquoddy, along with Maliseet, is a dialect of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, an Eastern Algonquian language spoken in Maine in the U.S. and in New Brunswick in Canada. Passamaquoddy is spoken primarily in two communities in eastern Maine, the Pleasant Point Reservation (*Sipayik* in Passamaquoddy) and the Indian Township Reservation (with the part of Indian Township known as Peter Dana Point in English called *Motahkomikuk* in Passamaquoddy). The Maliseet speech communities are mainly located along the St. John River in New Brunswick, with one community also in Aroostook County in Maine. There are slight dialect differences between the different speech communities, mainly in pronunciation and vocabulary items.

In Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, the language is usually referred to as *skicinuwatuwewakon* ‘Native language’, derived from the verb *skicinuwatuwe* ‘s/he speaks a Native language (i.e. Maliseet-Passamaquoddy)’<sup>1</sup>. The pre-noun *Pestomuhkati* (or *Peskotomuhkati*)<sup>2</sup> is derived from the noun *Pestomuhkat* (or *Peskotomuhkat*)

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<sup>1</sup> *skicinuwatuwe* in turn consists of the morphemes *skicinuw-* ‘Native (person)’ and *atuwe* ‘speak’.

<sup>2</sup> This is close to IPA /pe stə muh 'ka ti/ or /pe skə tə muh 'ka ti/, although the vowel transcribed as ‘u’ in the Passamaquoddy orthography is intermediate in height between [u] and [o] and only slightly rounded. Phonetically, stops are voiced intervocalically and voiceless elsewhere, so that the phonetic realization of *Pestomuhkati* is close to [pe stə muh 'ka di] and *Peskotomuhkati* is close to [pe skə də muh 'ka di].

'Passamaquoddy person', and can be used to modify the noun *latuwewakon*<sup>3</sup> 'language', giving the expression *Pestomuhkati latuwewakon* for referring specifically to the Passamaquoddy language, but this is not in common use. In Maliseet, the corresponding prenoun is *Wolastoqewi*<sup>4</sup> as a nominal modifier meaning 'Maliseet', derived from *Wolastòq* 'St. John River person'. However, similarly to *Pestomuhkati*, *Wolastoqewi* is not usually combined with *latuwewakon* 'language', since *skicinuwatuwewakon* is the most common term for referring to the Native language.

With respect to texts, early published works are Prince (1897), *The Wampum Records*, and Prince (1921), *Passamaquoddy texts*, a collection of traditional Passamaquoddy stories based on ones written out by Lewis Mitchell for John D. Prince. Unfortunately, the original set of manuscripts were lost in a fire at Prince's house in 1911, and had to be "re-created".<sup>5</sup> In the 1970s, the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program (WBEP) published a number of monolingual and bilingual texts in the 1970s. Some WBEP texts were newly published stories. Others were reworkings of the texts in Prince (1921), using an updated orthography and replacing a number of old words with ones more familiar to contemporary speakers. Leavitt and LeSourd (1990) is a similarly updated edition of *The Wampum*

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<sup>3</sup> *latuwewakon* consists of the morphemes *l-* 'thus', the verb stem *atuwe-* 'speak', the derivational suffix *-w*, and the nominalizer *-akon*.

<sup>4</sup> IPA /wə la stə 'kʷe wi/.

<sup>5</sup> LeSourd (p.c.) suggests that the 1921 published version of the texts may have been translations of English material derived from Rand's *Legends of the Micmacs* (1894), either directly or via Partridge's *Glooscap the Great Chief: Legends of the Micmac Indians* (1913), which retells some of Rand's material as children's stories. Evidence for this is that Prince's 1921 texts show influence from English usage, and many of the characters are given Micmac names, even when there are equivalent terms available in Passamaquoddy (e.g. *Mikcic*, the name of one of the stories, is Micmac for 'turtle', but the Passamaquoddy word is *cihkonaqc*). Thus, Prince's texts may not fully reflect Passamaquoddy oral traditions.

*Records*. In my dissertation, I also have a few examples drawn from Maliseet texts recorded by Karl Teeter in the 1960s, currently being edited by Phil LeSourd (cited as “LeSourd 2002 draft”).

With respect to other analyses of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, LeSourd (1984, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2000, forthcoming) has given detailed descriptions of the language, particularly its phonology, as well as compiling a bilingual dictionary (which was subsequently edited by Robert Leavitt and David Francis) and providing analyses and commentary on several texts. Teeter (1971) and Leavitt (1996) are grammatical sketches of the language. Sherwood (1986) gives a comprehensive analysis of the language’s verbal morphology, and Leavitt (1986) and Francis and Leavitt (1992) provide charts of nominal and verbal inflectional paradigms. Other previous work includes Teeter (1967), Goddard (1970), Szabó (1981), and Leavitt (1985). Currently, a searchable-database dictionary is being compiled under the direction of Robert Leavitt in conjunction with a number of Passamaquoddy speakers.

In this dissertation, I have drawn from those sources, as well as from a body of elicitation of my own collected mainly during April 1998 and August 1998-May 1999, when I spent time at the two Maine Passamaquoddy reservations conducting fieldwork with a number of native speakers. I worked most extensively with David Francis Sr. at Pleasant Point, and was also assisted by Dolly Dana at Pleasant Point, and Wayne Newell and Joan Dana at Indian Township. All the speakers are bilingual in Passamaquoddy and English. At the time that I was working at the reservations, David Francis was in his early 80s, Dolly Dana in her early 50s, Wayne Newell in his late 50s, and Joan Dana in her early 60s.

While it is likely that what I describe for Passamaquoddy will generally hold true for Maliseet as well, in this dissertation, I will refer to my language data as Passamaquoddy, since I generally did not have the opportunity to consult Maliseet speakers.

## 1.2 A brief overview of Passamaquoddy grammar

As mentioned above, grammatical sketches of Passamaquoddy are given in Teeter (1971) and Leavitt (1996). In addition, LeSourd provides excellent overviews of the phonetics in LeSourd (1993a: 9-32), the phonetics and phonology in LeSourd (2002 draft: 5-14), and the morphology in LeSourd (1993a: 33-70), and Sherwood (1986: 83-107) discusses some key aspects of the syntax. Thus, this section offers a brief review of the main points from these materials to give the reader an idea of the nature of Passamaquoddy grammar. In 1.2.1, I mention some important facts about the phonology. In 1.2.2, I present a list of word classes. In 1.2.3, I discuss the definitions of argument and predicate. Finally, in 1.2.4, I give examples of sentences in Passamaquoddy.

### 1.2.1 Phonology

There are twelve consonants and five vowels in the language. The consonants are the obstruents /p/, /t/, /tʃ/, /k/, /kʷ/, /s/, and /h/, and the sonorants /m/, /n/, /l/, /w/, and /j/. The vowels are /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /ə/. The orthography developed for Passamaquoddy, which will be used in the transcriptions in this dissertation, has a few differences from the IPA

symbols; /tʃ/ is written as *c*; /kʷ/ as *q*; /h/ as an apostrophe ' before a word-initial consonant; /j/ as *y*; /o/ as *u*; and /ə/ as *i* before *y*, *u* before *w*, and *o* in other environments.

Passamaquoddy has an accentual system in which both stress (syllable prominence) and pitch are involved. LeSourd (1993a) gives a detailed analysis of the phonology of Passamaquoddy stress and accent. Accentual differences alone only occasionally distinguish lexical items, but there are inflectional categories which are marked partly or solely by accent (for the latter, see the section on nouns in 1.2.2.2 below).

## 1.2.2 Word classes

Like Algonquian languages in general, Passamaquoddy has a great deal of inflectional morphology. Hence, at a first pass, three major word classes can be distinguished on the basis of inflectional properties alone, which are traditionally called “verbs” (have “verbal” inflection), “nouns” (have “nominal” inflection), and “particles” (uninflected). These three groupings are the ones that have always been identified in previous descriptions of Algonquian languages, usually along with the category “pronoun”, which includes items with a range of inflectional behavior.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.2.2.1 Verbs

As for all Algonquian languages, the verb is central to the morphosyntax of Passamaquoddy due to the amount of grammatical information that is marked on it. Thus,

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<sup>6</sup> In Chapter 2, I will examine word classes in more detail, and present a revised classification of “nouns” and “pronouns” for Passamaquoddy.

verbal paradigmatic morphology is extensive, and only the major facts can be presented here. First, Passamaquoddy verbs show distinct stem characteristics and certain differences in their inflectional paradigms according to their transitivity and the grammatical animacy of their arguments. The inflection for verbal arguments reflects the person, number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity status of the argument(s). Besides person, these grammatical categories are also associated with noun inflection, and thus will be discussed in 1.2.2.2. **Person** has the values of first-person, second-person, and third-person, and is marked with prefixes on the verb stem or on the first preverb (see 1.2.3) if preverbs are present. The other grammatical categories that reflect the status of the verb argument(s) are marked with suffixes and, for the obviative plural and absentative singular, by accent on the final syllable of the word.

The traditional labels in Algonquian descriptions for the four most common types of verb are:

**Inanimate intransitive** (commonly abbreviated as ‘**II**’), which is inflected for a single inanimate third-person subject<sup>7</sup> argument. Examples are given in [1].

[1] *apqotesson* ‘it [INAN] opens’

*kinkihqonul* ‘they [INAN] are big’

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<sup>7</sup> Following much of the literature in Algonquian, I use the terms “subject” and “object” to refer to the verbal arguments. Although Passamaquoddy does not show the same sorts of syntactic behavior that a subject-centered language like English does (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 250-253), the verbal inflections for the arguments provide evidence that the single argument of an intransitive verb is treated similarly to the Actor argument of an transitive verb.

**Animate intransitive (AI)**, which is inflected for a single animate subject argument. Examples are given in [2]. Note that in some cases, the translation appears to have two arguments, such as a verb like *'tahqomiw* 's/he has lice'; however, this is due to the verb containing the stem *-qom-* for 'lice'; in terms of its inflection, it behaves as an AI verb.

- [2] *ntolint* 'I sing'  
*'tahqomiw* 's/he has lice'

**Transitive inanimate (TI)**, which is inflected for two arguments – an animate subject argument and an inanimate third-person object argument. Examples are given in [3].

- [3] *nkisihunen* 'we [EXCL] can make it [INAN], we [EXCL] made it [INAN]'<sup>8</sup>  
*'tuwehkanol* 's/he uses them [INAN]'

**Transitive animate (TA)**, which is inflected for two arguments – an animate subject argument and an animate object argument. Examples are given in [4].

- [4] *'tiyal* 's/he tells her/him'  
*knomiyak* 'you [SG] see them [AN]'

Two other kinds of verbs are:

**Transitive animate plus object (TA+O)**, which is in some cases inflected for three arguments, an animate subject argument, an animate primary object argument (semantically

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<sup>8</sup> The initial component of the verb stem is either *kis-* meaning complete or *kis-* meaning 'be able to'.

the recipient in most cases), and an animate or inanimate third-person secondary object argument (semantically the theme in most cases)<sup>9</sup>, and in other cases inflected only for its subject and its primary object.<sup>10</sup> TA+O inflectional morphology is based on the paradigm for TA verbs. Examples are given in [5].

- [5] *milan* 's/he gives her/him to her/him', 's/he gives it [AN/INAN] to her/him'  
*'tolihtuwanol* 's/he makes them [AN/INAN] for her/him'

**Animate intransitive plus object (AI+O)**, which is in some cases inflected for two arguments, an animate subject argument and an animate or inanimate object argument, and in other cases inflected only for its subject.<sup>11</sup> AI+O inflectional morphology is based on the paradigm for AI verbs. Examples are given in [6].

- [6] *muhsacin* 's/he is fond of it/her/him'  
*'qasahkanol* 's/he throws them away'

A verb also inflects for various "Order"- "Mode" combinations by means of segmental suffixes and accent on the suffixes. The three Orders are called Independent, Conjunct, and Imperative. The Independent has two Modes, Indicative and Subordinative. The Conjunct has Unchanged Subjunctive, Changed Indicative, Changed Subjunctive, and

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<sup>9</sup> The terms "primary object" and "secondary object" are from Dryer (1986).

<sup>10</sup> In the Indicative Mode of the Independent Order, the verb inflects for all three arguments; in other Order-Mode categories, it inflects only for the subject and primary object. See below for a summary of verbal Orders and Modes.

<sup>11</sup> In the Indicative Mode of the Independent Order, the verb inflects for both arguments; in other Order-Mode categories, it inflects only for the subject. See below for a summary of verbal Orders and Modes.

Changed Participle Modes.<sup>12</sup> The Imperative consists of a single Mode.<sup>13</sup> For convenience, a specific Order-Mode combination is generally referred to simply as a “mode”, e.g. the “Independent Indicative mode”.

The different modes correspond to a range of semantics which will only be very broadly sketched here. One major grouping of verb functions is one of **predication**. Verbs in the Imperative mode are used in commands, as in [7].

- [7] Elicited:  
Maca-ha!  
start-go.AI-(IMP.2)  
Leave [2SG]!

Verbs in the Independent Indicative mode generally yield main clauses, either a declarative sentence or a “yes”/“no” question; however, the Independent Indicative also occurs after the particle *'sami* ‘because’. Verbs in the Independent Subordinative mode are used mostly in declarative sentences that follow another statement, either in temporal sequence or in certain logical relations, and as complement clauses.<sup>14</sup> In [8], the first verb *mawessultuwok* ‘they

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<sup>12</sup> The “Changed” appellation for Changed modes refers to the fact that in some cases, the first vowel of a verbal complex (where a verbal complex is a verb stem plus any preverbs; see 1.2.2.3 for preverbs) in a Changed mode is /e/, where the original vowel was /o/ (which in the Passamaquoddy orthography used in this dissertation is written as *u*) or /ə/ (written as *o*). The formation of Changed forms is, however, more complex than this; for more details, see LeSourd 1993a: 431-448.

<sup>13</sup> I follow LeSourd (1993a) in the identification of the modes. Sherwood (1986) presents a slightly different set, listing the Injunctive and Prohibitive as Conjunct paradigms, both of which LeSourd classes under the Imperative order, and identifying an Unchanged Indicative mode in the Conjunct, which LeSourd finds is not attested in Passamaquoddy, though it is in Maliseet.

<sup>14</sup> LeSourd (1993a) notes that the Independent Subordinative mode has three submodes, which he calls I, II, and III. The Subordinative I submode is the most common one and its occurrence is as stated here. The Subordinative II submode is associated with irrealis conditions where someone does not actually carry out some action, while the Subordinative III submode is used mainly in clauses beginning with the particle *tane* ‘ever since’.

gathered' is in the Independent Indicative, while the verb describing the subsequent action 'toqeciwichketultiniya 'they try to help each other' is in the Independent Subordinative:

[8] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Mawsuwinuw-ok=na psi=te  
 person.AN-PL=PRT all=EMPH  
 People all

maw-ess-ultu-w-ok naka 't-oqeci=wicuhke-t-ulti-ni-ya.  
 gather-move.AI-MPL-3-3PL and 3-try=help.AI-RECIP-MPL-SUBD-3PL  
 gathered and tried to help each other.

Verbs in the Unchanged Conjunct mode are generally used in irrealis conditional clauses.

In [9], the Unchanged Conjunct verb *olikisehtaq* means 'if he can do it'.

[9] From *Lewis Mitchell – Espons* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Nit=te Muwin ' -kis-itah-at-om-on nehpah-a-n, tehpu  
 so=EMPH bear.AN 3-CMPL-think-TI-TH-0 (3)-kill.TA-DIR-SUBD only  
oli-kis-eh-t-a-q.  
 thus-able-do.TI-TH-CONJ-3

So Bear made up his mind to kill him, if he could.

Verbs in the Conjunct Changed Indicative and Changed Subjunctive modes are often associated with a range of subordinative temporal clauses that translate as 'when', 'while', and 'as' clauses. In the first clause of [10], the preverb-verb collocation *weckuwi=maceki* in the first line is in the Changed Conjunct Indicative, and is translated as a temporal clause 'as I was growing up', and in the third line, *ewasisuwiyan*, a Changed Conjunct Subjunctive form, is translated as 'when I was young'.

[10] From *Joan Dana – The Traditional Ways*:

Weckuwi=mace-kì,  
coming=start-be.of.a.kind.AI-(CONJ.INDC.1)

As I was growing up,

yet            n-wik            n-uhkomoss-okk,  
OSG.ASA    I-live.AI        I-grandmother.AN-at.house.of  
at that time I lived at my grandmother's,

'sami mama        mehc-ine        nil ewasisuw-i-yan.  
because mom.AN    finish-die.AI-(3)    1SG child.AN-be.AI-CONJ.SBJN.I  
because mom died when I was young.

Verbs in certain modes are also used for **reference**. Verbs in the Conjunct Changed Participle mode usually occur as referring expressions<sup>15</sup> in clauses where another item serves the predicate. They also occur in a number of *wh*-questions – most *wen* 'who?' questions, 'where' questions using *tan*, and many though not all *keq* 'what?' questions.<sup>16</sup> In [11], the

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<sup>15</sup> Changed Participle forms also occur occasionally as predicates.

<sup>16</sup> More specifically, whether a verb in a *wh*-question is in the Independent or the Conjunct relates to whether there is an argument in the verb with which the *wh*-word is coreferential. First, when either *wen* 'who' or *keq* 'what' is coreferential with an oblique complement introduced by a relative root in a verb or preverb (*oli*, *ol-*, *l-* 'thus'), the verb of the question is an Independent form rather than a Conjunct form. An example with *keq* is given in [I].

Since oblique complements aren't usually animate expressions, the situation for *wen* questions occurring in the Independent form arises only rarely. However, if *wen* is used to ask for identification of a personal name, then there will be structures of the right type for the verb to be an Independent form, as shown in [II].

[II] Elicited (data from Phil LeSourd):  
Wèn=cel        nòt        l-iwisù-ss?  
who=moreover that.AN thus-be.named-(3)-DUB  
Now what was his name (I've forgotten)?

With *tan*, the syntax is more complex. Its basic meaning is 'such, how', and in questions in which *tàn* is directly coreferential with an oblique complement, the verb is typically in the Independent Subordinative mode. However, when *tan* is used to mean 'where', the verb in the question will be a Conjunct participle, perhaps because *tan* is only indirectly coreferential with the oblique complement in such questions. The more usual word for 'where?' is the particle *tama*, and *wh*-questions with *tama* are usually made with Independent Indicative verb forms.

Changed Participle verb *ketunolicihi* ‘those who hunt it/them [AN]’ refers to the hunters of Turtle, and is the argument of the predicate verb *petapasilit* ‘when they [OBV] arrived’.

[11] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Ketun-ol-ihc-ih<sup>17</sup> pet-apasi-li-t,                    tehsaq-opu                    mus-ok  
 hunt-TA-3'-PTCP.3'PL    to.here-walk.AI-3'-CONJ.3    on.top.of-sit.AI-(3)    moose.AN-LOC  
 etoli=wtoma-t                    etol-askuwasi-t.  
 ONGO=smoke.AI-CONJ.3    ONGO-wait.AI-CONJ.3

When the hunters arrived, he [Turtle] was sitting on the moose, smoking and waiting for them.

Changed Indicative forms are homophonous with Changed Participle forms for proximate, singular arguments; in addition, contemporary speakers often omit participle endings where one would expect them based on earlier usage. Thus, in some sentences, it is not possible to determine whether the verb being used is a Changed Participle form or a Changed Indicative form. For example, in [12], the verb *eyik*, which is the form for both the Changed Indicative and Participle modes, occurs in a *tan* ‘where?’ question, while in [13], the verb *eyyin*, which is the form for both the Changed Indicative and Participle modes, occurs in a *keq* ‘what?’ question.

[12] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Mikcic    't-itom-on,                    “Tan=olu eyi-k?”  
 turtle.AN    3-say.AI-SUBD                    where=TOP    located.II-CONJ.0  
 Turtle said, “Where are any of them?”

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<sup>17</sup> In published versions of *Mikcic*, this verb is given as *ketunolicihi*, but this is most likely erroneous.

[13] From *Peter Lewis Paul – Trading* (Teeter text 42, LeSourd 2002 draft):

Itom,            “Keq ey-yin?”  
say.AI-(3)    what    have.TI-CONJ.2  
He said, “What have you got?”

A Changed Indicative or Changed Participle verb may also occur with a preceding Nominal, and the combined expression is what is translated into English as a noun phrase with a relative clause modifier. For example, in [14], the preverb-preverb-verb collocation *etoli mawi wicikhotihtit* ‘(those) who were staying with someone else’ follows the Nominal *pomawsuwinuwok* ‘people’, giving an expression which translates as ‘people who were staying with someone else’.

[14] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Pomawsuwinuwok-ok etoli=mawi>wicik-hoti-hti-t  
person.AN-PL                    ONGO=gather=stay.at.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
People who were staying with someone else

yat=te            wen    ’t-ol-*iya-n*            w-ik-uwa-k.  
3SG.ASA=EMPH    one.AN    3-to.there-go.AI-SUBD    3-house.INAN-POSS.3PL-LOC  
each went back to their house.

In Passamaquoddy, Changed Indicative and Changed Participle forms used by themselves to refer (i.e. without a Nominal) can be considered to be relative clauses, e.g. *wapeyi-t* (white.AI-CONJ.3) ‘one who is white’. Thus, a Changed Indicative or Changed Participle verb, such as *etoli mawi wicikhotihtit* in [14], may be analyzed as taking the Nominal *pomawsuwinuwok* ‘people’ as its argument.

Verbs also have inflectional suffixes for negative status, and may optionally mark by suffixation a Preterit sub-mode, which expresses time prior to a reference point, and a

Dubitative sub-mode, which, according to LeSourd (p.c.), has an evidential function, indicating that the speaker is not presenting information derived from personal experience, but rather, is second-hand or the speaker's opinion. For more details on the forms and uses of the various verbal forms, see Sherwood (1986), LeSourd (1993a: 21-31), and Leavitt (1996).

The internal structure of a verb stem is usually complex, consisting of an **initial** and a **final**, and optionally a **medial** between the initial and the final. The medial and/or the final may in turn be compound (see Goddard 1990). Many initials are systematically related to preverbs, where such a preverb is a free morpheme generally ending in /i/ (see 1.2.2.3). Initials and medials can usually be assigned some sort of lexical meaning, although in some cases, these are fairly general, such as for the initial *ol-* 'thus, in this way' (morphologically related to the preverb *oli* 'thus'). The final always determines the transitivity/animacy type of verb (as AI, II, TI, TA etc.), and is associated in some stems with lexical meaning and in other stems seems to have fairly abstract meaning or no clearly assignable meaning (apart from its grammatical function of indicating the verb type).

#### 1.2.2.2 Nouns and pronouns

Items which distinguish number, animacy, and obviation (for third-person animates), and, where relevant, absentativity, locative case, and possessed status, are traditionally called nouns. Certain nouns also have diminutive and/or vocative forms. Items traditionally called pronouns show a range of inflection, distinguishing different subsets of these "nominal" grammatical categories. In 2.3, I discuss the inflectional behavior of nouns and pronouns in

more detail, and propose that an umbrella category that I call “Nominal” should subsume them. Here, I briefly summarize the grammatical categories.

For **number**, the values are singular and plural. Plural forms are distinguished from singular forms by a suffix in nouns and some pronouns, and by stem suppletion in other pronouns. For **animacy**, the values are inanimate and animate. For nouns, animacy is generally not apparent in the singular, but the plural suffixes are characteristically different for inanimate and animate nouns, ending in *-ol* for inanimates and *-ok* for animates; for pronouns, animacy is generally apparent from the form of the stem. For **obviation**, the values are proximate and obviative. Only third-person animates make an obviation distinction, with obviative singular forms marked by an obviative suffix *-ol*<sup>18</sup> and obviative plural forms taking a suffix *-o*<sup>19</sup>. Obviation may be discourse-governed (referents of proximate forms are typically more topical in some sense than obviative forms) or grammatically required (possessed third-person forms must take obviative marking, regardless of their discourse status).

For **absentativity**, the values are non-absentative (which is unmarked) and absentative. The absentative is used to indicate the absence of a referent which had recently been present; a former status of ownership of something; and for human referents, absentative marking is often used to indicate whether the person is alive or deceased.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Obviative singular suffixes for animate nouns are identical to plural suffixes for inanimate nouns.

<sup>19</sup> For noun stems ending in a vowel, the obviative plural is realized by grave accent on the vowel in the final syllable of the stem.

<sup>20</sup> Note that non-absentative forms are used when the absent versus nonabsent is not considered relevant; thus, absentative forms do not always occur in contexts where they could legitimately be used, i.e. in reference to an entity which is not visible.

Absentative forms are differentiated by suffixation and for singular forms, by grave accent on the final syllable. **Locative** status is marked with a suffix, *-k* for singular forms and *-hkuk* for plural forms. **Possessed** forms are marked with both prefixes and suffixes.

There are two **diminutive** suffixes: *-hs* and *-is*, which are added in the order *-hs-is* (see LeSourd 1995). **Vocative** forms are used as address forms, and are accentually distinct for nouns which have consonant-final stems.

### 1.2.2.3 Preverbs

The category of “preverbs”, which have a distinct set of inflectional and distributional properties, are often not included in Algonquian word class descriptions, probably because some of their grammatical characteristics seem more like those of bound morphemes.

In most instances, a preverb occurs immediately before the verb stem, and personal prefixes which would otherwise affix to the verb stem attach to the first preverb occurring with the verb stem. However, it is also possible for other words to intervene; thus, in this respect, preverbs share the properties of free morphemes. On the other hand, preverbs generally form a single stress domain with the verb stem as well as undergoing the process of “initial” vowel change<sup>21</sup> in the Changed Conjunct modes that would otherwise affect the first vowel of the verb stem. In these respects, preverbs look more like sublexical morphemes, which is most likely the reason that preverbs are not always mentioned in word class descriptions of Algonquian languages, given that their status as free morphemes is not

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<sup>21</sup> Recall from 1.2.2.1 that the term “initial” refers to the initial component of the verb construct. Initial vowel change thus affects the first syllable of the verb stem when there is no preverb, or the first syllable of the preverb when there is one preverb, or the first syllable of the first preverb if there is more than one preverb.

clear-cut. However, as LeSourd (1993a: 432) points out, one could also state the stress and vowel change conjunct rules over phrasal categories, and as Dryer (p.c.) has suggested, if the pronominal morphemes which attach to the beginning of verb stems or preverbs are analyzed as clitics rather than (as is usual) prefixes, then these facts do not argue for preverbs forming a lexical unit with the verb stem.

Preverbs are almost all derived from verb initials (see 1.2.2.1 for a summary of verb structure). Whether it is the preverb that occurs or the corresponding initial depends on whether this morpheme is combining with a verbal element that is itself free or bound with respect to the beginning of the stem. In [15] are two examples of a preverb and the corresponding initial. *toli* is the preverb and *tol-* the initial that expresses ongoing or progressive aspect, and *mehci* is the preverb and *meht-* the initial that means ‘finish doing something’.

[15] Preverb/initial pairs

*toli, tol-* [ONGOING ASPECT]  
*mehci, meht-* ‘finish (doing something)’

[16] shows a verb stem *monuw-* ‘buy her/him/it [AN]’ that does not require any morpheme bound to it initially (thus, *monuwal* means ‘s/he buys her/him/it [AN]’), and how it combines with the preverbs *toli* and *mehci*. [17] shows a verb final *-ahqe-* ‘cook’ that cannot occur without an initial (thus, *\*ahqe* is ungrammatical), and how it combines with the initials *tol-* and *meht-*.

[16] Preverbs with TA verb stem *monuw-*

<b>mon-uw-</b> buy-TA buy her/him/it [AN]	<b>mon-uw-a-l</b> (3)-buy-TA-DIR-3' s/he buys her/him/it [AN]
<b>'toli=mon-uw-a-l</b> ONGO=buy-TA-DIR-3' s/he's buying her/him/it [AN]	<b>mehci=mon-uw-a-l</b> finish=(3)-buy-TA-DIR-3' s/he finished buying her/him/it [AN]

[17] Initials with AI verb final *-ahqe-*

<b>-ahqe-</b> cook.AI	<b>* ahqe</b>
<b>tol-ahqe</b> ONGO-cook.AI-(3) s/he is cooking	<b>meht-ahqe</b> finish-cook.AI-(3) s/he finishes cooking

From a diachronic perspective, the relationship between the bound and free forms can be seen as reflecting varying degrees of lexicalization for different collocations of morphemes. Hence, preverbs and their collocations with verb stems present interesting data for considerations of historical change as well as models of morphology and syntax. While these are interesting questions with respect to the free vs. bound distinction for words and morphemes, I will not pursue them further here since they are not immediately relevant to the rest of this dissertation. I will simply assume that preverbs are enough like free morphemes to warrant discussion as a word class. Further discussion about the morphology and syntax of Algonquian preverbs can be found in Leavitt (1985) and Goddard (1988, 1990).

Preverbs (and the corresponding initials) convey a wide range of semantic notions, including temporal duration, frequency, and aspect; spatial location and path; manner of an

activity; quality; quantifier, comparative, and intensifier meanings; and deontic or epistemic mode. Some examples of preverbs are given in [18]:

[18] Examples of preverbs

<i>toli</i>	'be X-ing' [ONGOING ASPECT]
<i>mace</i>	'start'
<i>ahtoli</i>	'keep doing X'
<i>ali</i>	'around'
<i>ckuwi</i>	'toward here'
<i>wiwoni</i>	'around in a circle; encircling'
<i>ihtoli</i>	'place where X is done'
<i>pili</i>	'new'
<i>eci</i>	'very'
<i>aqami</i>	'more'
<i>piyemi</i>	'the most'
<i>ehqi</i>	'stop doing X'
<i>cuwi</i>	'must, should be'

#### 1.2.2.4 Copulas

A number of verbless constructions contain demword morphemes which I will suggest in Chapter 5 are functioning as copulas, and could, under some analyses, be analyzed as a distinct word class. As we will see, these morphemes are similar in syntactic distribution and function to each other, while showing a range of inflectional properties which differentiate them from demwords which are unambiguously used to refer.

#### 1.2.2.5 Particles

“Particles”, which are inflectionally homogeneous, do not all share the same distributional and functional properties. Sherwood (1986: 83) notes this fact too, and comments that “it is convenient to group [particles] together in a single word class, and to

recognize various subclasses in order to distinguish among their diverse syntactic functions.” He does not, however, proceed to propose a set of subclasses. A detailed description of the syntax of particles lies beyond the scope of this dissertation, but I will provide some suggestions in this section.

We will obtain somewhat different groupings depending on how much we focus on distributional properties vs. functional properties; items which are functionally similar can have different distributional behavior, and conversely, items which behave the same distributionally may have different functions. Below, I present one possible word class division of particles.

**PRENOUNS.** A prenoun always occurs immediately preceding a noun. Prenouns express a range of semantic notions, including physical dimension, color, age, value, material origin, and state.<sup>22</sup>

Some prenouns are morphologically related to noun stems; */-i/* is suffixed to the noun stem, sometimes preceded by a general derivational suffix */-w/*. Some examples are given in [19].

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<sup>22</sup> Of these, physical dimension, color, age, and value fall neatly under the semantic categories that Dixon (1977) identifies as being crosslinguistically associated with a class of “adjectives.” On the other hand, two other of his categories, “physical property” and “human propensity”, tend to be verbs in Passamaquoddy, while his category of “speed” is generally expressed in Passamaquoddy by preverbs, verbs, and a number of verb-modifying particles.

[19] Prenouns derived from noun stems (from Leavitt 1985)

Noun		Prenoun	
<i>otuhk</i>	'deer'	<i>otuhki</i>	'deer, deer's'
<i>ahkiq</i>	'seal'	<i>ahkiqi,</i> <i>ahkiqewi</i>	'seal, seal's'
<i>sakom</i>	'chief'	<i>sakomawi</i>	'chief, chief's'

Other pre-nouns are morphologically related to preverbs (see 1.2.2.3) and/or verb initials (see 1.2.2.1), since preverbs and pre-nouns may both be derived from initials. For example, *kci* 'big; great; old' and *woli* 'good' in [20] below are preverbs as well as pre-nouns; *wap-* 'white', *wisaw-* 'yellow', and *piluw-* 'different', and *wol-* 'good' are the corresponding initials.

[20] Examples of pre-nouns which are also verb initials and/or preverbs

*wapewi* 'white'  
*wisawi* 'yellow'  
*piluwi* 'different'  
*kci* 'big; great; old'  
*woli* 'good' (*woli* is also a preverb)

GENERAL QUANTIFIERS AND NUMERALS. The morphemes corresponding to the numbers 'six' and higher and several quantifier morphemes such as *psi/psiw* 'all'.

MODIFIERS expressing manner, degree, spatial, and temporal modification. Examples are given in [21] to [24].

[21] Examples of manner modifier particles

*kaciw* 'secretly'  
*kakawiw* 'fast'  
*menakaciw* 'quietly; slowly'

[22] Examples of degree modifier particles

<i>kekesk</i>	'a little'
<i>komac</i>	'very (much)'
<i>keka</i>	'almost, practically'
<i>sesomiw</i>	'completely'

[23] Examples of spatial modifier particles

<i>ewepiw</i>	'up; up above'
<i>lamiw</i>	'inside; underneath'
<i>lampeq</i>	'underwater'
<i>milawiw</i>	'out in the water; out on the ice'
<i>wahte</i>	'ahead, in front'

[24] Examples of temporal modifier particles

<i>amsqahs</i>	'at first'
<i>spasuwiw</i>	'this morning; tomorrow morning'
<i>siqoniw</i>	'in the spring'
<i>temonu(k)</i>	'later'
<i>wolaku</i>	'yesterday'

We might choose to place all of these in one word class because of a certain degree of similarity of function as well as of distributional characteristics. However, we might also choose to subclassify these morphemes based on their: (a) morphological characteristics, since certain manner particles are formed by suffixing /iw/ or /w/ to a preverb or a verb initial); (b) distributional restrictions, since, certain particles only occur pre-verbally, while others have freer distribution; (c) dependency relations characteristics, since certain particles with spatial meaning are like English prepositions such as *in* (*the house*), in that they can occur with or without a nominal expression specifying the location.

NEGATORS. These include the morphemes *ma*, *kat*, and *skat*.

**SECOND-POSITION CLITICS, which include:**

**EVIDENTIAL MARKER** =*yaq*

**EMPHATIC MARKERS** =*kahk*, =*tahk*

**IRREALIS MARKER** =*op/=hp*

**FUTURE MARKER** =*oc/=hcl/=c*

**TOPIC MARKER** =*olul=lu*

**=*onal/=na* CLITIC** =*onal/=na*, which sometimes means 'also'

We can choose to think of this as a class of items which shares distributional properties but have different functions, or we might prefer to regard the distributional property as insufficient to motivate grouping items with such distinct functions together.

**OTHER CLITICS**, such as the emphatic clitic =*te* . While =*te* is sometimes second-position, it occurs in a range of other positions as well, unlike the clitics in the previous group.

**CONJUNCTIONS**. These include *naka* 'and' and *cel* 'and'/'and even', which may conjoin nominal expressions or clauses.

**CLAUSE-INITIAL MORPHEMES EXPRESSING RELATIONS BETWEEN CLAUSES IN COMPLEX SENTENCES**. Besides simple conjunction, there are various more complex sorts of event relational meaning that may be expressed by morphemes between clauses. Such meaning includes logical sequence (expressed by particles like *saku* 'therefore'), reason (*ipocol* 'because'), conditionality (*tokec* 'if'; *nehtaw* 'just in case'; *ska* 'if not'), contrast (*kenoq* 'but'), and subordination of ongoing events (*kesq* 'while').

#### CLAUSE-INITIAL MORPHEMES EXPRESSING EPISTEMIC MODALITY AND SPEAKER ATTITUDE.

These particles convey the speaker's judgment about the likelihood of some event or some other aspect of the speaker's attitude to an event or state of affairs, and are always clause-initial. For example, *eluwehkal* expresses that the speaker is speculating that some state of affairs is the case, and can be translated as 'Surely [the case is such that] ...'.

INTERJECTIONS. An interjection forms a complete utterance by itself. They include affirmative and negative responses, such as *aha* 'yes' and *kotama/nama* 'no'; particles calling for attention, such as *aki* 'Look!'; expletives, such as *kinalokittiyena!*, usually translated 'Holy cow!'; and expressions of pain such as *okiya* '[All-purpose] Ouch!' and *akocu* 'Ouch [from heat or cold]!'.

#### 1.2.2.6 Open vs. closed classes

We can also see how the categories we have identified so far divide up according to the open class-closed class distinction. Open classes typically have a large number of members, and can easily accept new members, while closed classes are typically small and only rarely gain new members.

In Passamaquoddy, the clearly open classes are verbs and most "nouns". The clearly closed classes are pronouns and a few more "noun"-like items (to be discussed in more detail in 2.3), and all types of particles except perhaps verbal modifiers expressing manner (see below).

In between the clearly open and clearly closed classes are (i) preverbs and (ii) particles derived from preverbs which express manner modification of verbs. Some preverbs (and manner particles derived from them) express grammatical meaning (notably aspect), which is crosslinguistically associated with closed class status. However, there are also many preverbs expressing lexical meaning (notably a range of manner notions), and the class as a whole numbers in the hundreds, which is much larger than any of the unequivocally closed classes.

### 1.2.3 Reference and predication

The reference-predication distinction is a key one in grammatical description, although it is not always straightforward to make. For now, I define a **predication** as the encoding of an event, relation, or a property, and a **predicate** as an expression which encodes a predication. Predicates are typically verbs, but Nominal expressions and certain types of particles can also serve as predicates.

With respect to the definition of reference, a function typically associated with **arguments**, there are a couple of distinct issues. First, as mentioned in 1.2.2.1, a verb is inflectionally marked for its participants, and thus an inflected verb may constitute a complete clause. However, independent constituents coreferential with the verbal affixes may also at times be present. Such facts have generated some discussion about what items are the “actual” grammatical arguments of the verb in head-marking languages.

A number of authors have argued that the pronominal affixes on the verbs are the grammatical arguments (e.g. see Van Valin 1977, 1987 for Lakhota). Any independent coreferential constituents that might occur are then analyzed as being clausal adjuncts. Other authors have proposed that it is the independent constituents that are the grammatical arguments. LeSourd (2001 ms) outlines the generalizations which any analysis needs to account for, and in discussing Passamaquoddy in particular, argues that analyzing the independent constituents as the grammatical arguments has certain theoretical advantages over analyses where it is the pronominal affixes that are the arguments.<sup>23</sup> Nothing crucial in this dissertation hinges on which items are understood as a verb's grammatical arguments, so for terminological convenience, I will call the pronominal affixes on verbs "pronominal (verbal) affixes", and use the term "(external) grammatical argument" to refer to the independent constituents coindexed with the verbal affixes.

Second, for (external) arguments, I distinguish between semantic and grammatical arguments, where a **semantic argument** is an expression which codes a participant in some event or relation, or a participant with some property, and a **grammatical argument** is such an expression which is coindexed inflectionally on the verb. While most semantic arguments are grammatical arguments, this is not always the case.

I now turn to the question of what can function as a grammatical argument. It turns out that there are five types of items with different morphological properties that can do so:

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<sup>23</sup> A third analytical possibility is that we need not seek to assign syntactic argumenthood to either one or the other (independent constituents or pronominal morphemes on the verb). Rather, one may think of the notion of "syntactic argument" as an abstract linguistic entity that in principle may be phonologically realized by independent constituents, pronominal affixes, or a combination of both. However, this sort of analysis is not usually considered at all, and I will not pursue it, since it is not crucial to my discussions what item or items are considered the syntactic arguments in clauses with verbs.

- (I) Nominal expressions, including most items traditionally called nouns and pronouns. Nominal expressions are the prototypical types of grammatical (and for that matter, semantic) arguments.
- (II) Particles corresponding to the numerals ‘six’ and higher and general quantifiers such as *psilpsiw* ‘all’.
- (III) Certain lexicalized instances of nouns marked with the locative suffix.

As a rule, locatively inflected nouns do not function as grammatical arguments even if they are semantic arguments, and are therefore not coded inflectionally on the verb, as in [25]. In this sentence, the verb *napittetul* ‘they are attached’ is an II verb which takes *mihqotanisol* ‘knives’ as its single grammatical argument, while the locative *peskuwatik* ‘to the guns’ is not a grammatical argument although it is a semantic argument of the verb:

[25] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

Mihqotan-is-ol	napit-te-tul	<u>peskuwati-k.</u>
knife.INAN-DIM-PL	rod.into.hole-II-0PL	gun.INAN-LOC

Bayonets were attached to the gun[s]<sup>24</sup>.

However, certain other locatively inflected nouns have been conventionalized as names of places, and can be used as grammatical arguments. Hence, in [26], the place name *Kelisk* ‘Calais’ bears locative inflection but is now a conventionalized proper name which serves as the grammatical argument for the preverb-II verb collocation *aqami kinkihqon*

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<sup>24</sup> The Passamaquoddy *peskuwatik* is singular, ‘to the gun’, but the speaker used the plural form of *mihqotanisol* ‘knives’, and is clearly talking about all the guns, not just one, getting bayonets fitted on them.

'bigger (than)'. (*Sipayik* 'Pleasant Point' is another place name with locative inflection; it could perhaps be argued to also be a grammatical argument for an elided *aqami kinkihqon*, or alternatively, to be its semantic argument.)

[26] Elicited:

Aqami kin-kihq-on Kelisk katok Sipayik.  
more big-size-II-(3) Calais.LOC than Pleasant.Point.LOC  
Calais is bigger than Pleasant Point.

(IV) Referential verbs with Changed Conjunct and Changed Participle inflection

As I mentioned in 1.2.2.1, verbs with Changed Indicative or Changed Participle inflection sometimes function as arguments referring to entities. In some cases, such verbs are only semantic arguments, while in other cases, they serve as grammatical arguments.

(V) Clausal verbs with Independent Subordinative inflection

Verbs in the Independent Subordinative may be clausal arguments of TI verbs such as *wewitahatomon* 's/he remembers it' (see 1.2.4 for examples).

#### 1.2.4 Sentences

In general, like other Algonquian languages, Passamaquoddy has relatively free word order at the sentence level. However, sentences without verbs (that is, the ones that involve more than a single word such as *Aha!* 'Yes!') typically have more word order constraints than sentences with verbs. In sentences with verbs, there is generally no grammatically

obligatory position where the verb's external argument(s) must occur, but the information status of the external arguments has bearing on what word orders will be preferred in certain linguistic contexts.

**Simple sentences** consist of a clause with one verb. Such a sentence may contain a range of other items, including external argument expressions; adjunct expressions which may express manner, degree, spatial, or temporal semantics, such as verbal modifier particles; and a range of clause-level grammatical morphemes such as negators, emphatic morphemes, the evidential clitic =*yaq*, the irrealis clitic =*op/=hp*, and the future clitic =*ocl=hc/=c*. Some of these expressions have fixed or preferred clause positions; for example, clausal negators are clause-initial, while the evidential, irrealis, and future clitics and some of the emphatic morphemes are second-position. On the other hand, verbal modifier particles and external arguments generally occur frequently both before and after the verb.

Some examples of clauses with one verb are given in [27] to [29]. In [27], the AI verb *kisiyaliye* 'one can go around' is preceded by a locative noun *kcihkuk* 'in the woods', an indefinite pronoun *wen* 'one', which is the argument of the verb, and the expression *psite tama* consisting of the quantifier *psite* 'all' and *tama* 'somewhere' which together mean 'everywhere, anywhere'. In [28], the II verb *epahsitpuhkot* 'it is midnight' is preceded by a particle with temporal deictic meaning, *toke* 'now', a particle with completive aspectual meaning *kis*, as well as the second position clitic =*yaq*. In [29], the TA verb *nahsonomuwan* 's/he dresses her/him' is preceded by an external subject argument, *Koluskap*, followed by an external object argument, *piyemikoluwahkil loqtewakonol* 'the best garments'.

[27] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Psi=te      tama      wen      kcihku-k      kisi=yal-iye.  
all=EMPH   somewhere   one.AN   wood-LOC   able=around-go.AI-(3)  
One could go anywhere around the woods.

[28] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

Kis=yaq      toke      epahs-itpuhk-ot.  
already=EVID   now   half-night-II-(0)  
It was already midnight.

[29] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Koluskap      nahsonom-uw-a-n      piyemi=koluwah-k-il      loqtewakon-ol.  
Koluskap.AN   (3)-dress-TA-DIR-SUBD   most=good.II-CONJ.O-PTCP.OPL   garment.IINAN-PL  
Koluskap dressed him in the best garments.

**Complex sentences** have more than one clause, usually two. The relationship between the clauses may be indicated by the Order-Mode inflections on the verbs, by some sort of morpheme between the two clauses, or a combination of both of these.

We can make the traditional distinction between coordinate sentences, consisting of two independent clauses, and sentences involving a main clause with a dependent clause. Most complex sentences are of the latter type.

In **coordinate sentences**, simple sentences may be coordinated with morphemes like *naka* 'and' and *kosona* 'or'. With *kosona*, both verbs are generally inflected for the independent indicative. With *naka*, the second verb is in the independent indicative if no temporal or logical sequence is implied; if there is such semantics of sequentiality, then the second verb will be in the independent subordinative. This second type of situation is by far the more common.

For **main-dependent sentences**, there are a range of sentence types where one verb is in some way semantically subordinate to another. The dependent clause types include<sup>25</sup>:

- (i) Complement clauses, i.e. clauses which are arguments of other verbs.
- (ii) Conditional clauses, which translate as ‘if’-clauses.
- (iii) Clauses expressing time, place, manner.

Complement clauses do not need any morpheme outside of the verb which marks the clause specifically as a complement; this syntactic status is coded by the verbal order-mode inflection alone. In some cases the complement clause is in the Independent Subordinative, as illustrated in [30] to [31].

[30] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

[Anqoc ma kocic-ih-t-u-w-on]<sub>CLAUSE 1</sub> [tan=oc  
 sometimes NEG (2)-know-TI-TH-NEG-0 how=FUT  
 qon-uh-se-kh-uke-n]<sub>CLAUSE 2-</sub>  
 (2)-through-walk-cause.TA-3I-SUBD

Sometimes you didn't know how far you would be marched.

[31] From *Mary Ellen Socobasin – Maliyan* (WBEP 1979):

“[N-koti nom-iy-a]<sub>CLAUSE 1</sub> [Susehp tan 't-oi-luhka-n  
 I-want see-TA-DIR Joseph how 3-thus-do.AI-SUBD  
 Nipay-imiya-mk]<sub>CLAUSE 2-</sub>”  
 night-pray.AI-CONJ.SBJN.3I

“I want to see what Joseph does on Christmas.”

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<sup>25</sup> Relative clauses, i.e. verbs in the Conjunct Participle or Conjunct Indicative mode used to refer, might be considered to be dependent clauses when they function as arguments of main clauses, but the relationship of a main verb to such a relative clause seems more like that between a verb and an argument more generally, as detailed in 1.2.3 above, than to the types of complex clausal relations in this section.

In other sentences, such as those where the main verb is ‘know’, the complement clause is in the Conjunct, as shown in the second line of [32] for clauses 3 and 4 of the extract.

[32] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

[Mate li-naq-ot-u]<sub>CLAUSE 1</sub> [n-toli=tpost-uw-aku-n]<sub>CLAUSE 2</sub>, qenoq  
 NEG thus-appear-II-NEG I-ONGO=listen.to-TA-INV-SUBD but  
 It didn’t look like they were listening to me, but

[n-kocic-iy-a-k]<sub>CLAUSE 3</sub> [eli=toli=tpost-uw-i-hti-t]<sub>CLAUSE 4</sub> ’sami  
 I-know-TA-DIR-3PL thus=ONGO=listen.to-TA-1.OBJ-3PL-CONJ.3 because  
 I knew they were listening to me because

nil n-wew-itah-at-om-on neke pihce n-uhkomoss  
 1SG I-known-think-TI-TH-0 ABS.0SG.NA long.ago 1-grandmother.AN  
 anci keq akonutom-uw-i-t  
 when thing.INAN tell-TA-1.OBJ-CONJ.3

I remembered that a long time ago when my grandmother told me something

n-nut-om-on mec naka n-mihqitah-asi-n.  
 I-hear.TI-TH-0 still and I-remember-AI-SUBD  
 I heard it and remembered.

Conditional clauses sometimes occur with a clausal conjunction *tokec* expressing the meaning ‘if’. However, there are also examples where the Unchanged Conjunct order-mode inflection alone indicates the semantics, as in [33] and [34]:

[33] From *Lewis Mitchell – Espons* (WBEP 1976 edition):

’T-iy-a-n, “Tan pal kt-olkuw-i-ni-ya nil  
 3-tell.TA-DIR-SUBD would 2-treat.TA-TH-SUBD-2PL 1SG  
muhu-l-eq?”  
 eat.TA-TH-CONJ.1SG:2PL

‘He said to them, “Would you agree with me, if I ate you?”’

[34] From *David Francis – Life After the Army*:

Wen kotuw-ame-t=ona ktanaqsu-w-ok nomehsuw-ok  
one.AN want-fish.AI-CONJ.3=PRT so.many.AI-3-3PL fish.AN-PL  
neket pihce.  
ABS.0SG.NA long.ago

If one wanted to fish, there were plenty of fish back in those days.

Clauses expressing time, place, and manner are sometimes coded simply by order-mode inflection, with the subordinate “adverbial” clause in Changed Conjunct modes, as in [35].

[35] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Kotok-ik ketun-ka-hti-hti-t, nekom=kahk l-ossi-n w-ik-ok.  
other-AN.PL hunt-AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3 3SG=EMPH (3)-there-lie.AI-SUBD 3-house.INAN-LOC  
While others hunted, he lay around at home.

Alternatively, a morpheme with clausal connective semantics may be present which makes the semantics between the clauses more explicit.

Note that certain types of semantics, such that of ‘want’, ‘going [to do something]’, and ‘try’, which in other languages are expressed by complex sentences, are in Passamaquoddy expressed by the use of preverbs that code what would in other languages be expressed by a matrix verb; the most common such preverbs are *koti* ‘want [to do something]’, *naci* ‘going to [do something]’, *(-o)qeci* ‘try to’.

### 1.3 Passamaquoddy demonstrative words, word classes, and grammaticalization

This dissertation is concerned with a set of words in Passamaquoddy which I label demonstrative words, and from here on as **demwords** for short. I am presenting a comprehensive reanalysis of these demwords, so that not all of the items previously labeled “demonstratives” will be placed in the same grammatical grouping, while a number of items not previously considered to be demonstratives will also be included in my analysis. What all the items share is having the phonological forms of words which have been considered to be demonstratives; however, having this property in common does not mean that the items share other linguistic properties, and in fact, we will see that a range of formal and functional characteristics is manifested by demwords in Passamaquoddy.<sup>26</sup>

One of the main objectives in this dissertation is therefore to describe the formal and functional characteristics of these demwords. In the course of this, two discussions which will recur are (a) word class criteria and (b) grammaticalization. Criteria for word class differentiation are central to my analyses, because I will classify the demwords examined into a number of different word classes on the basis of various formal (inflectional and distributional) characteristics. I will also discuss how these word classes are semantically

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<sup>26</sup> I choose the term “demword” rather than simply labeling all the items “demonstratives” for two main reasons. First, several types of the demwords to be discussed would not fit any notional definition of “demonstrative” as it is commonly understood. Second, in the literature, the label “demonstrative” sometimes has implications of being a word class category, whereas the demwords I will be examining collectively display a range of formal properties. On the hand, I have incorporated “demonstrative” into the label because I will argue that the shared forms of the various types of demwords are not accidental, but due to processes of functional extension and change from what might be considered “demonstratives proper”.

and historically related, arguing that grammaticalization explanations can account for the similarities and differences amongst the various types of demwords.

This will be a novel treatment of demwords in Algonquian linguistics, where inflectional characteristics have tended in general to take precedence over the other properties a word has in determining its word class assignment.

In the rest of this introductory chapter, I will define the scope of the dissertation in more detail and place it in the context of previous work. In 1.4, I review some definitions of “demonstrative” in the general linguistics literature. In 1.5, I outline the main proposals of grammaticalization theory, and explain its relevance to my study. Finally, in 1.6, I introduce examples of the main types of Passamaquoddy demwords that will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters of the dissertation.

#### 1.4 Discussions of “demonstrative” in the general linguistics literature

A number of authors have sought to define “demonstrative” and classify its types in ways that can be applied crosslinguistically. Most crosslinguistic definitions of “demonstrative” in the literature are notionally based, and thus, generally cross-cut grammatically defined word classes; however, some definitions also depend on formal properties, such as word class membership or inflectional behavior.

Although it is not an aim of this dissertation to offer another classification of demonstratives, it will be useful to review some of the literature on this topic for several reasons. First, it should make clearer the reasons behind past treatments of demwords in

Algonquian, which I will be reviewing. Second, it will be interesting to examine how the word class categories that emerge from my analysis of Passamaquoddy demwords relate to definitions of “demonstrative” found in the literature. Third, while functional multiplicity alone is not generally considered a sufficient reason for separating items into different word classes, functional change is an important part of processes of grammaticalization, a phenomenon which I will argue has taken place or is taking place for many demwords in Passamaquoddy; for this reason, we require hypotheses about the functional as well as formal characteristics of the source morphemes in grammaticalization, i.e. “demonstratives.”

With respect to the classification of demonstratives, Himmelmann (1996) notes that a range of criteria may be used, including formal properties (e.g. pronominal vs. adnominal); information flow categories such as activation state (e.g. given, new) and discourse function (e.g. anaphoric, identifying); and referent type (e.g. entity, location, proposition). In practice, classification based on the referent’s information status looks to be rather more uncommon than classification on the basis of the other three types of criteria.

1.4.1 below presents notional definitions of “demonstrative,” and 1.4.2 looks at formal definitions.

#### 1.4.1 Deixis and the definition of “demonstrative”

Demonstratives are commonly described as **deictic** morphemes. For example, Diessel (1999), summarizing from earlier discussion by Lyons (1977), writes:

“Demonstratives are deictic expressions. They are primarily used to focus the hearer’s attention on objects, persons, or locations in the speech situation, but they may also refer to linguistic entities in discourse.” (Diessel 1999: 19, after Lyons 1977: 636-677)

Deixis can be defined as a set of linguistic phenomena involving distinctions based on orientation within the immediate context of an utterance, or, as may be the case in narrative, some projected context. In the broadest sense of deixis, these distinctions may be of person, space, or time, but in reference to demonstratives, authors are referring specifically to spatial deixis, i.e. contextual differentiation along some dimension of space. For example, such differentiation may be made with reference to distance from the speaker or from the addressee. In this dissertation, then, ‘deictic’ and ‘deixis’, unless otherwise noted, will refer to spatial deixis, while location-referring demonstratives will be labeled “locational deictics” or “locational demwords” (rather than another possible term, “spatial deictic”, which would be ambiguous). In other words, demonstratives like *this* [*chair*] or *that* [*sister*] that refer to “objects” and “persons” are spatial deictics, along with demonstratives referring deictically to physical locations like *here* and *there*, but only the latter are locational deictics.

The use of demonstratives to point to something in the real world is known as **exophoric** or **situational deixis**, and generally involves, as one might expect of demonstratives as they are defined, the expression of spatial deictic meaning. An example is the use of *that* in [36]:

[36] *Context* – Speaker points to a UFO in the sky.  
Look at that!

Authors such as Himmelmann (1996) also use the label **situational** for demonstratives that point to something in a fictional or imagined discourse world involving “various levels of displacement and shifts of perspective” (Himmelmann 1996: 220). In other words, if I tell a story and say something like [37], *that* is still a situational demonstrative, since in the discourse context of the story, the entity being referred to exists as a physical object in the utterance situation.

[37] As Mulder saw the UFO, he cried out, “Look at that!”

While situational demonstratives always express spatial deixis, it has been recognized that certain types of demwords commonly called demonstratives are not true spatial deictics.

One such area is the use of demwords for reasons related to emotive connotation, not spatial deixis. In an early paper about English demonstratives, R. Lakoff (1974) presents several types of demonstrative use which convey what she calls “emotional deixis.” When the demonstratives occur with proper names, the speaker indicates a certain attitude to the referent, by which they may seek common ground with the addressee; both *this* and *that* may participate in this sort of phenomenon, as in [38] and [39]. Note that demonstratives with proper names may also indicate negative emotional attitudes, as in [40] and [41].

[38] Emotional deictic *this* with proper nouns (positive evaluation):

This Ashcroft guy is really something!

[39] Emotional deictic *that* with proper nouns (positive evaluation):

That Timothy McVeigh sure taught the government something, didn't he?

[40] Emotional deictic *this* with proper nouns (negative evaluation):

This Ashcroft guy creeps me out.

[41] Emotional deictic *that* with proper nouns (negative evaluation):

That Timothy McVeigh sure was a piece of work!

When the demonstratives occur with common nouns in English, *this* can be used for indefinite specific reference, but seems to have more familiarity and/or immediacy than *a/an*, as in [42], while *that* can be used to communicate solidarity or sympathy, as in [43].

[42] Emotional deictic *this* with common nouns:

There's this bookstore in town that I like.  
(cf. There's a bookstore in town that I like.)

He emerged, wearing this incredible-looking jacket.  
(cf. He emerged, wearing an incredible-looking jacket.)

[43] Emotional deictic *that* with common nouns:

Better get that right tire fixed soon. [spoken by a mechanic to a customer]

How's that throat? (cf. How's your throat?)

Fillmore (1982), in his typology of demonstrative functions, also presents a non-deictic use which he calls the "Acknowledging use." These are cases in English where the speaker assumes that the addressee already knows the identity and location of the referent, but nevertheless uses a demonstrative for a certain type of rhetorical effect, as in something uttered in anger like [44]:

[44] *Context:* There is only one snake and one house in the discourse context, and the speaker is angry.

Get that snake out of this house!

He considers such a use to be “derivative and secondary” to deictic uses of demonstratives, the latter being the prototypical instances of demonstratives.

More commonly discussed types of demonstratives which do not truly express spatial deixis include **anaphoric deictics** and **discourse deictics**, which have been discussed in the literature for some time (e.g. Lyons 1979; Fillmore 1982), as well as the category of **recognitional deictics** that Himmelmann (1996) proposes. One might well argue that these three types are somewhat confusingly named given that they are not truly deictic in meaning, although they are pro-words; however, I will not change the terminology since “discourse deictic”/“discourse deixis” and to a lesser extent “anaphoric deictic”/“anaphoric deixis” in particular are terms that have already gained currency in the literature.

Anaphoric deixis involves the use of a demonstrative to refer back to a previously mentioned referent, as illustrated in [45], where *this pony* refers back to the referent first mentioned as *a young black pony* in the first sentence of the passage.

[45] Once upon a time, there was a young black pony. This pony lived on an old farm in the countryside ...

Himmelmann (1996) proposes that in general, demonstratives seem to be used anaphorically “only if other tracking devices fail”, since crosslinguistically, such demonstratives are rather less common than strategies such as zero-anaphora, regular third-person pronouns, and definite full NPs. Thus, he argues that demonstratives used

anaphorically have a narrower function than simply “anaphora”, and he gives them the label **tracking demonstratives**. Following work by Linde (1979) and Sidner (1983), Himmelmann suggests that tracking demonstratives are used for instances of anaphoric reference that require contrast to another, similar referent or a shift in focus of attention. For example, in [46], which is a retelling of *The Pear Stories* (Chafe 1980) by an English speaker, the NP *these colors* makes use of a tracking demonstrative, since the use of a regular third-person pronoun *they* would also have *the pears* as a possible antecedent.

- [46] Something that I noticed about the /movie/ particularly unique was that the colors . . were just very strange. Like the green was a[n] inordinately bright green, for the pears, ... and these colors just seemed a little kind of bold, almost to the point of being artificial.  
(from Himmelmann 1996: 227)

Discourse deixis involves reference to some part of the content of the linguistic discourse, such as a proposition or a whole event, rather than, say, a person or an object. In [47], *that* refers anaphorically to the proposition that Speaker A makes that they would try their best. In [48], *this* refers cataphorically to the whole sequence of events that the speaker recounts.

- [47] Speaker A: I really tried my best.  
Speaker B: I find that hard to believe.

- [48] Hey, listen to this – Chris bought a new car and the power steering failed almost immediately, so ....

In the recognitional use as defined by Himmelmann, “the intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational cues or reference to

preceding segments of the ongoing discourse.” (230) Thus, speakers may choose to use recognitional demonstratives when the referent is something that the hearer knows but may need prompting on, often with additional descriptive information in the form of a relative clause or complement. Example [49] is from Himmelmann, and [50] is another example. In [49], the speaker expects the hearer to share some specific knowledge about a certain type of dust hill common to the area. Similarly, in [50], the speaker assumes that the hearer can also identify a certain type of disorganized person who increases waiting time at the copying place.

[49] It was filmed in California, those dusty kind of hills that they have out here by Stockton and all.  
(from Himmelmann 1996: 230)

[50] Those people who never organize their materials before going to the photocopier make me really mad.

Himmelmann (1996) proposes that the scope of “demonstrative” includes both the deictic situational demonstratives as well as the non-deictic anaphoric, discourse, and recognitional “deixis” types, with all types being equally basic. In contrast, Diessel (1999) posits exophoric or situational deictics as basic, and discourse deictic, anaphoric deictic, and recognitional deictic demwords as secondary and more grammatical (i.e. less lexical) in meaning than situational deictics. Outside of these defined types of demonstratives, however, both authors seek to make distinctions between demonstratives and other types of morphemes used to refer. Hence, Himmelmann (1996) discusses at some length ways for distinguishing demonstratives from third-person pronouns and definite articles when the

latter two types of items show no phonological or morphological difference from demonstratives (proper), and Diessel (1999) would argue that demwords serving as third-person pronouns and definite articles but which are otherwise identical formally to demonstratives proper are in the incipient stages of grammaticalization (involving only functional change). In other words, both authors would label some occurrence of a demword a “demonstrative” only when it has the function(s) associated with one of the demonstrative subtypes they have defined, regardless of the item’s phonological form.

On the other hand, there is recognition by scholars that it is not always possible to make clear-cut distinctions between “demonstrative” items and items that are developing another function, particularly when there remains a significant similarity between the original, “demonstrative” function and the emerging function. Thus, Himmelmann (1996: 213) notes that the phenomenon of demonstratives grammaticalizing into third-person pronouns in numerous languages means that “one would expect transitional phenomena and borderline cases.” In a similar vein, Greenberg (1978: 75) writes in his discussion about the development of definite articles and gender markers: “... the synchronic boundary of these forms [demonstrative, definite article, third-person pronoun] is a shifting one. In most languages the demonstrative pronoun and demonstrative adjective are identical. In many languages the third person pronoun is identical with a demonstrative, and often an article is identical with one or the other.”

We have seen that not all items commonly labeled as demonstratives are true spatial deictics. However, what they do have in common is the performance of a referential

function, which I call **entity-referring**.<sup>27</sup> When a word does not have this property in some particular instance of use, it tends not to be labeled as a demonstrative, even if it is deictic.<sup>28</sup>

For example, temporal deictics, referring to points in time such as ‘now’ and ‘then’, sometimes have the phonological forms of entity-referring demonstratives, but discussions of such items generally do not include them as “demonstratives”. Diessel (1999: 139) argues that “temporal expressions are semantically more abstract and subjective than spatial terms”, so that temporal deictic demwords are necessarily evolved from demonstratives (proper) used as spatial deictics and hence should be viewed as results of grammaticalization, regardless of whether the temporal deictics have undergone phonological or morphological changes.

In Passamaquoddy, we will also see that there are other demwords which are neither involved in expressing reference nor are deictic in any respect; such items include demwords which function as clausal connectives and demwords associated with certain types of verbless sentences.

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<sup>27</sup> Entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>28</sup> The exception to this are items labeled “manner demonstratives” like Japanese *koo* ‘in this way’, *soo* ‘in that way’, and *aa* ‘in that way’ (see Diessel 1999: 75), which refer to a type of action demonstrated in the real world or mentioned in the surrounding linguistic discourse. However, such items are generally called manner “adverbs” rather than demonstratives in the literature (Diessel 1999, Fillmore 1982 being exceptions), perhaps because they don’t have the typical referring functions. Passamaquoddy has a manner demword *nit* which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

#### 1.4.2 Formal properties in definitions of “demonstrative”

In the last section, I considered purely notionally-based definitions of “demonstrative”. There are also definitions that refer at least partly to formal characteristics. For example, in his dictionary of linguistic terms, Trask (1993: 76) defines a demonstrative as: “A determiner with a clear deictic function, such as *this* or *that* in English.” This involves a combination of notional and formal characteristics. Determinerhood, which involves a particular type of lexical category associated with a noun in a head-modifier or head-complement relationship<sup>29</sup>, is a syntactic property, while deixis is a notional one. It can immediately be pointed out, however, that under a common definition of “demonstrative” such as Diessel (1999) gives (see 1.4.1 above), not all demonstratives, even in English, will be determiners, since locational deictics like *here* and *there* are not determiners (they are commonly described as adverbs). In addition, not all demonstratives in all languages would be best analyzed as determiners, given the variation in syntactic structure crosslinguistically.

Another theoretical option for defining demonstratives crosslinguistically as a word class might be to characterize them as pronouns rather than determiners. However, this analysis requires assuming that demonstratives which look to be occurring adnominally are actually pronominal NPs syntactically independent of the noun. While one or both of these might be the preferred analysis for some languages, it is problematic to argue that they are the best characterizations for all languages. I will return to the problems of defining

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<sup>29</sup> Whether the determiner or the noun is considered the syntactic head of such a constituent is a matter of debate; analyzing the determiner as the head is fairly standard in current versions of Principles and Parameters or Minimalism syntax, although it is not in theories such as HPSG (Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar) and RRG (Role and Reference Grammar).

demonstratives crosslinguistically as one word class in 3.1.3, when I discuss some previous analyses of adnominal and pronominal demwords.

It has also been suggested that all pronouns, including demonstratives, are determiners (Postal 1969). While this analysis eliminates the pronoun-determiner distinction, it does not overcome the issue of assuming that all demonstratives in all languages are best analyzed as determiners regardless of the grammatical facts in those languages.

The other major type of formal property which one might use to identify demonstratives is inflectional behavior. While there are no explicit definitions of “demonstrative” that I am aware of which require demonstratives to have some specified set of inflectional characteristics, we will see in 2.2 that treatments of Algonquian demwords have generally relied on inflectional properties to identify which demwords are demonstratives, while also assuming a relatively narrow notional definition of “demonstrative” that excludes items that would be considered to be demonstratives under most notional definitions in the literature.

To recap a point made earlier, it is not crucial to the present endeavor to arrive at one particular definition of “demonstrative”, because my purpose is to examine the properties of all demword items in Passamaquoddy, and not to decide which ones should be labeled as “true” demonstratives. I will, however, refer back to the definitions presented here when I discuss grammaticalization for the Passamaquoddy data in the chapters ahead.

## 1.5 Grammaticalization

Linguistic items can change over time in various ways. In the last twenty years or so, various scholars have explained a range of changes using the framework of **grammaticalization**. Recent key expositional works include Lehmann (1982/1995); Heine and Reh (1984); Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991); Traugott and Heine (1991); and Hopper and Traugott (1993). Definitions of grammaticalization are often cited from earlier works by Meillet (1912/1921), who is credited with the first use of the term “grammaticalisation” (in French), and Kuryłowicz (1965/1975).

Grammaticalization accounts are especially concerned with processes involving morphemes that originally had relatively more lexical meaning developing into morphemes that have relatively more grammatical meaning (or function). As Lehmann (1982/1995: v) puts it, “[grammaticalization] is a process which turns lexemes into grammatical formatives and renders grammatical formatives still more grammatical.” This can be represented as in [51], or more simply as in [52].

[51] lexical item > grammatical item > more grammatical item

[52] less grammatical item > more grammatical item

The lexical vs. grammatical distinction (sometimes labeled “content” vs. “function” elsewhere in the literature)<sup>30</sup> is thus a crucial one, although many authors do not define it explicitly. One definition is given in Hopper and Traugott (1993: 4), who, in reference to free forms, identify content/lexical words (which they exemplify with *example*, *accept*, and *green*) as those “used to report or describe things, actions, and qualities”, while function/grammatical words (like *of*, *and*, *or*, *it*, and *this*) have a range of grammatical functions, such as to “indicate relationships of nominals to each other (prepositions), to link parts of a discourse (connectives), to indicate whether entities and participants in a discourse are already identified or not (pronouns and articles), and to show whether they are close to the speaker or hearer (demonstratives).” Lexical/content meaning is assumed to be more concrete, and grammatical meaning more abstract. Thus, Heine (1997: 6) writes, “The development of grammatical forms proceeds from less grammatical to more grammatical; from open-class to closed-class categories; and from concrete, or less abstract, to less concrete and more abstract meanings.”

It is not always obvious whether a particular morpheme should be classified as lexical or grammatical, since these two form poles on a cline rather than being two distinct types of items. Furthermore, some phonological form may have two semantically related meanings, one of which has more lexical meaning, and one more grammatical meaning; for example, English prepositions like *on* and *in* have relatively more lexical meaning as spatial

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<sup>30</sup> Both of the terms “lexical” and “grammatical” have more than one meaning in linguistics. For example, “lexical” can also mean “pertaining to the lexicon”, “word-level”, or “pertaining to a lexeme”; “grammatical” also has the sense of “acceptable to a native speaker.” For this reason, “content” and “function” would be better labels for these notions, but in the grammaticalization literature, it is “lexical” and “grammatical” that are generally used.

morphemes than when they serve as prepositions in phrases like *on the subject of* or *in dispute*.

Change in linguistic items is not, of course, limited to semantic or functional aspects, but may also involve inflectional, syntactic, and phonetic changes. However, typically meaning/functional change is what is involved in the incipient stages of a grammaticalization process, which may then be followed later by changes such as reduction in inflectional/paradigm complexity, increased restrictions on position, increased syntactic obligatoriness (and reduced optionality based on pragmatic considerations), and decreased phonetic content. Thus, Heine and Reh (1984: 67) propose that “the more grammaticalization processes a given linguistic unit undergoes,

- a) the more it loses in semantic complexity, functional significance, and/or expressive value;
- b) the more it loses in pragmatic and gains in syntactic significance;
- c) the more reduced is the number of members belonging to the same morphosyntactic paradigm;
- d) the more its syntactic variability decreases, that is, the more its position in the clause becomes fixed;
- e) the more its use becomes obligatory in certain contexts and ungrammatical in others;
- f) the more it coalesces semantically, morphosyntactically, and phonetically with other units;
- g) the more it loses in phonetic substance.”

Thus, besides the lexical-to-grammatical developmental direction, another commonly claimed sequence of development in grammaticalization is that of moving from a more phonological independent item to a less phonological independent one, as shown in [53].

[53] free word > clitic > affix

Hopper and Traugott (1993: 7) combine the change towards more grammatical function, as diagrammed in [51] and [52], with the decrease in phonological independence as given in [53], to produce [54], which implies that while free forms may have lexical or grammatical meaning, bound forms are expected to have grammatical meaning.

[54] lexical (content) word > grammatical (function) word > clitic > inflectional affix

Grammaticalization scholars commonly make some sort of claim about the **unidirectionality** of grammaticalization, in the sense that more grammatical items should not be observed to develop into more lexical items, and that less phonologically independent items should not be observed to develop into more phonologically independent items.

There are various examples, from a range of language families, that have been discussed as cases of grammaticalization. For example, full verbs may develop into auxiliaries (e.g. English *will*, which originally meant only 'want', is now a future auxiliary, and is often reduced phonetically to [ɪ] or [ɪ̃] – see Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1994; the Greek future auxiliary *tha* arose from Classical Greek *thélei* 'want' – see Meillet 1912, Joseph 1990); verbs of saying may develop into complementizers (e.g. *bé* in Ewe, a Kwa language of West Africa – see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 14-16); verbs may develop into

adpositions (e.g. *bǎ* in Mandarin Chinese, which as a verb meant ‘grasp’, and now marks a noun phrase as a direct object – see Li and Thompson 1976: 485); adpositions may develop into bound case markers (e.g. *-ka(h)* or *-ka.n*, the comitative case marker in the Upper Satakunta and Savo varieties of Finnish, from postposition *kans/ka:s/kah* ‘with’ – see Oinas 1961); nouns may develop into clausal conjunctions (e.g. English *while*, meaning ‘a time’, can now also be used as a concessive conjunction – see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 84-86); independent pronouns may develop into bound markers on verbs (e.g. Swedish verb suffix *-s* [passive, impersonal person], from Old Norse third person accusative reflexive pronoun *sik* – see Norde 1997).

Note that for some of these cases, the resultant item continues to retain its less grammaticalized meaning as well (for example, English ‘while’ can still be used as a noun referring to a stretch of time), while in other cases, the original, more lexical meaning is lost.

What we might think of as prototypical demonstratives (deictic forms used to refer to entities such as people, objects, and places) are interesting in terms of the grammatical-lexical meaning continuum. A significant amount of the meaning of such demonstratives is grammatical, since they often encode the grammatical categories of nouns with which they are semantically associated, such as number and gender (or animacy). However, demonstratives can be viewed as also having some lexical meaning, since spatial deixis involves spatial relations, and space is a fairly concrete conceptual domain.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> On a similar note, Diessel (1999: 150-153) argues that although demonstratives are commonly considered to be *grammatical morphemes*, their deictic function seems to be cognitively quite basic, and is less completely based on “organiz[ing] lexical material in discourse” than is the case for typical grammatical morphemes.

Crosslinguistically, demonstratives have been observed to participate in a wide variety of grammaticalization processes (e.g. see especially Diessel 1999); the phenomenon where one item follows multiple grammaticalization pathways has been referred to by Craig (1991) as “polygrammaticalization”.<sup>32</sup> One reason why this may be so is that demonstratives occur in a relatively wide range of syntactic contexts (e.g. adnominally, pronominally, adverbially) compared to grammatical morphemes in general, yet are relatively non-specific in terms of lexical semantic content compared to most lexical morphemes. Thus, there are a range of possibilities for demonstratives to undergo reanalysis semantically and syntactically, since, it has been suggested, reanalysis is favored when the meaning or function of some linguistic item is not apparent (see Langacker 1977; Bybee 1985).

It should be mentioned that the tenets of grammaticalization, and the validity of grammaticalization theory itself, have not gone unquestioned. For example, amongst grammaticalization scholars, there has been some discussion about how to characterize the semantic change associated with grammaticalization; while many definitions of grammaticalization state that it involves semantic weakening or “bleaching”, authors such as Sweetser (1988) and Hopper and Traugott (1993) argue that the semantic developments are better thought of as metaphoric extension and/or enrichment, at least in the initial stages of many grammaticalization processes.

The key component of grammaticalization that has been challenged, however, particularly by grammaticalization’s critics, is unidirectionality. Thus, some authors (e.g.

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<sup>32</sup> Craig (1991) discussed data from Rama, a Chibchan language of Nicaragua, where reconstructed *\*bang* ‘go’ developed into a temporal marker with verbal expressions, a purposive adposition with nominal expressions, and a clausal conjunction.

Janda 2001; Campbell 2001) cite data where more grammatical morphemes develop into more lexical items (e.g. English prepositions that have developed uses as verbs, like *up* as in *up the ante*, or as nouns, such as *in* and *out* in *the ins and outs*), or where less phonologically independent morphemes have acquired more phonological independence (e.g. English possessive 's, which is now a clitic rather than a suffix).

Grammaticalization theorists have countered such criticisms most effectively in two main ways. First, some proponents of grammaticalization acknowledge that there are exceptions to unidirectionality, but that the majority of documented linguistic changes follow the patterns proposed by the framework (e.g. see Hopper and Traugott 1993; Haspelmath 1998; Ramat 1998; Ramat and Hopper 1998; Norde 2001). Second, some scholars have also distinguished **lexicalization** – where the result of linguistic development is a lexical item rather than a grammatical one – from de-grammaticalization, defined more strictly as the gradual change of a grammatical item into a more lexical one. Lexicalization is much more common than de-grammaticalization, and, as Norde (2001) points out, lexical items may arise not just from grammatical ones, but from all sorts of sources such as phrases (e.g. *forget-me-not*) and parts of words in acronyms (e.g. *laser*), blends (e.g. *brunch*), and reanalyses or morpheme boundaries (e.g. *hamburger*), so that lexicalization is basically “non-directional” rather than counter-directional the way de-grammaticalization is.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Another reply to the challenges to unidirectionality is to argue that linguistic changes which run counter to the directions of change proposed cannot by definition be examples of grammaticalization. However, authors such as Newmeyer (1998) and Campbell (2001) point out that building unidirectionality into the definition of grammaticalization makes it theoretically uninteresting, and means that it is circular to then claim that particular processes of grammaticalization are “found” to be unidirectional.

The Passamaquoddy data I will present do not pose a problem for the unidirectionality claims of grammaticalization, since, as we will see, the various developments of Passamaquoddy demwords follow the directions proposed. I do depart from the majority of grammaticalization theorists – but along with, as mentioned above, Sweetser (1988) and Hopper and Traugott (1993) – in preferring to characterize the semantic changes not as weakening, but as change from one type of meaning to another. However, in other respects, my analyses of the Passamaquoddy demwords that have undergone grammaticalization will show them to evidence one or more of the expected directions of change, in terms of having less inflectional complexity, using a reduced range of the inflectional paradigm, showing a lesser degree of distributional variability, and being more obligatory in particular linguistic contexts, compared to the source items. Thus, my data are compatible with a perspective that the directions of change proposed in grammaticalization are attested in the majority of instances of linguistic change.

A more general issue concerns the explanatory role of grammaticalization theory. Some detractors have sought to dismiss grammaticalization as simply a set of processes (sound change, semantic change, and reanalysis) which are general to historical linguistic change and not limited or limitable to those cases that have been cited as involving grammaticalization; thus, it is argued, even if grammaticalization is a useful heuristic, it is not a process in itself, and has no independent status of its own (e.g. Newmeyer 1998; Campbell 2001; Joseph 2001).

In response, proponents of grammaticalization have pointed out that in many cases of historical linguistic change, the types of changes that grammaticalization critics argue

should be considered independently, such as phonetic reduction and semantic change towards lesser lexical meaning, are so frequently intertwined that a framework like grammaticalization – which has explicitly drawn the connection between functional, morphosyntactic, and phonetic change – is useful and provides explanatory value beyond that possible when each type of change is considered separately (e.g. see Norde 2001). In addition, based on attested data, grammaticalization theory also offers various predictions about the sorts of historical linguistic changes we expect to see; thus, analyses of languages where the changes have been able to be documented provide hypotheses about how changes may have occurred in a comparable way in languages without long written histories.

I share this latter perspective on grammaticalization, and thus draw on previous work on the grammaticalization of demonstratives in other languages to inform my discussion about the functional, syntactic, and morphological properties of the various types of Passamaquoddy demwords; in turn, I am presenting the Passamaquoddy data and analysis as a contribution to the body of data in grammaticalization theory. In this dissertation, I will argue that grammaticalization of what were morphemes with the functional characteristics of prototypical demonstratives has taken place, so that the resultant morphemes have the phonological forms of such demonstratives, but exhibit differences with respect to their function, as well as their inflectional/paradigmatic possibilities, and/or syntactic obligatoriness, and/or syntactic distribution.<sup>34</sup> In discussing possible pathways for these grammaticalization developments, I will at times refer to similar examples of

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<sup>34</sup> None of the data I examine show phonetic reduction, although, as mentioned before, this is a possible consequence of grammaticalization.

grammaticalization that have been previously discussed and at times propose my own theories.

## 1.6 An introduction to Passamaquoddy demwords

Demwords in Passamaquoddy show a range of grammatical properties. In this dissertation, I describe all of these demword types in turn. I will show why their inflectional and distributional characteristics warrant making categorical distinctions amongst them, and propose how they may be historically related through processes of grammaticalization. Examples of the Passamaquoddy demwords that I will be discussing are given below. In the following examples, the relevant demword is underlined in the Passamaquoddy line, and glossed as it would be if it were a demonstrative that distinguishes number, animacy, obviation, and deictic distance, even though for some of the uses, this is not the case.

In [55], *nit* is a deictic morpheme that points out a chair in some particular location. This *nit* is one that is uncontroversially labeled a “demonstrative”. It is an inanimate singular form, agreeing in number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity with the coreferential *qotoput* ‘chair’, and encodes a spatial deictic meaning, Near Addressee. Passamaquoddy has an extensive paradigm of such demwords, which we will see in 2.3.3.1 and in more detail in Chapter 3.

[55] Elicited:

Mil-i-n                    nit        qotoput!  
give.TA-1.OBJ-IMP.2    OSG.NA chair.INAN  
Give me that chair!

The second *nit* in [56], coreferential with *wihk* ‘fat’, is from the middle of an account about hunting seals and preparing their hides for use; *wihk* ‘fat’ has been mentioned a number of times already, and *nit* is translated by the English definite article ‘the’.<sup>35</sup> Although this *nit* does not express spatial deictic meaning, it is still referring to an entity, and agrees with the coreferential *wihk* ‘fat’ for number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity. We have seen earlier that notional definitions of demonstratives in the literature often acknowledge that not all instances will have spatial deictic meaning, so at least some authors would probably accept calling the *nit* in [56] a “demonstrative.”

[56] From *David Francis – Seals*:

Mam=ote=hc        nit        nekka=kisi=mon-os-om-uhti-t                    nit        wihk,  
finally=EMPH=FUT    OSG.NA completely=CMPL=off-cut-TI-PROX.3PL-CONJ.3    OSG.NA fat.INAN  
When finally they finished cutting off the fat,

on=na            ’-kostokon-a-ni-ya    nihiht ahkiqewì.  
then=PRT        3-wash.by.hand.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL-(3’PL)        3’PL.NA seal.skin.AN-(3’PL)  
then they would wash the seal pelts.

In [57], *nit* is a demword referring anaphorically back to the place mentioned in the first clause. There are three such locational demwords in Passamaquoddy, encoding the meanings ‘here’, ‘there, near you’, and ‘there yonder’. They fit most notional definitions of

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<sup>35</sup> The first *nit* occurs with a temporal expression *mam=ote* ‘finally’ and a verb in the changed conjunct mode which is used to express ‘when ..’. temporal clauses; a *nit* in such a linguistic context is commonly glossed as ‘then’, and has a temporal meaning.

“demonstrative”, but are morphologically invariant with respect to number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity, and have previously been labeled “particles.” Such items will be discussed in Chapter 3, where I argue that they should be considered to be entity-referring demwords in the same word class as those illustrated in [55] and [56].

[57] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

**Cuwi-tp-ot-uhpon** waht kt-ol-iy-a-n  
 must-happen-II-(0)-PRET far.away 2-there-go.AI-SUBD

ikolisomanu-wi-hkuk,  
 white.person.AN-DER-PL.LOC

“You should go away to the white people’s place,

**nit** kil weceya-w-i-yin.”  
 OSG.NA 2SG person.from-DER-be.AI-CONJ.2  
 that’s where you come from.”

In [58], *nit* has a temporal meaning ‘then; at that time’. There are five demwords used for temporal deictic or anaphoric reference, with meanings corresponding to ‘now’, ‘then, at that time’, and ‘back then’. Like the locational demwords, they are morphologically invariant with respect to number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity, and have previously been labeled “particles”. Such items will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[58] From *David Francis – Going to School*:

**Nit** tehpu eli=nut-om yut ikolisoman-atuwe-w-akon  
 OSG.NA only thus=hear.TI-TH-(CONJ.1) OSG.NS Englishman-speak.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN

Only then did I hear the English language,

qen-okehki-m-k-i.  
 through-teach-TA-3I-CONJ.1  
 while I was going to school.

In [59], *nit* has a logical connective meaning of ‘so, therefore’. It is not deictic; it refers neither to an entity nor a place; and it is morphologically invariant with respect to number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity. It too has previously been labeled as a “particle.” Such items will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

[59] From *David Francis – Seals*:

Masp-ahte komac wihk ahkiqi-yik  
 thick-be.located.II-(0) very fat.INAN seal.AN-PL  
 The seal fat was very thick

nit cuwi=te pehki=mon-os-asu.  
 OSG.NA must=EMPH completely=off-cut.TI-PASS-(0)  
 so it had to be completely cut off.

In [60], *not* occurs between two non-referential expressions, the argument *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ and the predicate *wehkewakon* ‘tool’. A demword in this sort of verbless construction is non-referential, but it does agree in number, animacy, and obviation with the argument expression (the expression is always non-absentative). It has been glossed as a demonstrative or as a particle in previous descriptions (e.g. see Leavitt and Francis 1990). In [61], *nit* allows the predication of *nil* ‘I’, also in a verbless sentence, and *nit* fails to agree in animacy with *nil*. The types of demwords in [60] and [61], along with a number of others which occur specifically in verbless constructions, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

[60] Elicited:

Maltuhs-is not wehke-w-akon.  
 hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
 A hammer is a tool.

[61] Elicited:

Nil     nit.  
1SG    0SG.NA  
It's me./I'm the one.

In [62], *nit* refers to the manner of eating that the speaker is pointing out, and has the meaning of ‘thus, in this way’. Although such a use of *nit* can be deictic or anaphoric, *nit* refers neither to an entity nor a place, and it is morphologically invariant with respect to number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity. Not surprisingly, this type of demword has previously been labeled as a “particle”. Such items will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[62] Elicited:

*Context* – You’re teaching a young child to eat using silverware, and as you demonstrate, you say:

Nit    l-ihp.  
0SG.NA thus-eat.AI-(IMP.2)  
Eat like this.

Finally, in [63], the item *yat=te wen* is a distributive quantifier meaning ‘each’. *yat=te* is morphologically a combination of a demword *yat* and an emphatic enclitic *=te*, and *wen* is in other contexts an indefinite third person Nominal meaning ‘one, someone’. Note, however, that *yat=te wen* may combine with a non-third person referent, such as *kilun* ‘us’ [EXCLUSIVE] in [uu]. As part of the *yat=te wen* quantifier, *yat=te* is for some speakers morphologically invariant with respect to number, animacy, obviation, and absentativity. This use of *yat=te* will also be discussed in Chapter 6.

[63] Elicited:

*Context* – There's a potluck dinner, which a number of people are attending.

Yat=te            wen    kilun    cuwi-tp-ot=yaq  
3SG.ASA=EMPH   one.AN   12PL    must-happen-II-(0)=EVID  
k-pec-ipt-u-hti-ne-n            piluw-ik-o-k            micu-w-akon.  
2-to.here-carry-PI-MPL-SUBD-IPL    different-kind-II-CONJ.0    eat.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN

Each (one) of us should bring a different dish.

## **Chapter 2: The treatment of demwords in Algonquian**

**In this chapter, I begin in 2.1 by reviewing the classification of “demonstratives” in previous descriptions of Algonquian languages, and point out how such treatments do not adequately account for the behavior of demwords. I then discuss how word classes can be determined more systematically in 2.2, and outline my category of Nominal, which includes entity-referring demwords, for Passamaquoddy in 2.3. Finally, in 2.4, I outline my approach to demwords more generally in the rest of this dissertation.**

### **2.1 Algonquian word class descriptions and “demonstratives”**

**In this section, I examine the descriptions of word classes for Algonquian languages, in particular in relation to the description of “demonstratives.” As I will discuss in more detail in 2.2, the criteria generally used for determining word classes are inflectional behavior, syntactic distribution, and syntactic function, but each of these criteria applied separately does not always pick out the same groups of words. Thus, to come up with an exhaustive list of word classes for a language, one is at times faced with the question of which type of criteria to rank above the others.**

**Given the rich inflectional nature of Algonquian languages, Algonquianists have most frequently given primacy to inflectional behavior. At the same time, we will see that the mismatch between inflectional and syntactic criteria for certain types of words has been dealt with in two main ways.**

Some authors seek to stick more or less strictly to inflectional criteria, proposing just three word classes, “verb” (with “verbal” inflection), “noun” (with “nominal” inflection), and “particle” (uninflected). Inflectionally, entity-referring demwords in Algonquian languages behave similarly, though not identically, to “nouns”, so in these descriptions, entity-referring demwords have been classified either with “nouns” or with “particles”.

Most authors, however, have chosen to additionally identify a category of “pronoun”, based implicitly, it would seem, on two types of criteria which are not based on inflection. One is semantic; “pronouns” have relatively less lexical semantic content than “nouns”, typically encoding little more than grammatical categories such as person, number, and animacy. Another criterion is syntactic; “pronouns” and “nouns” often do not cooccur with the same range of other items; for example, a “pronoun” may not be able to take the same sorts of nominal modifiers that “nouns” can.

Thus, items commonly called “(independent) personal pronouns”, corresponding to ‘I’, ‘you’, etc., fit the “pronoun” category by both these criteria, while behaving inflectionally most like “particles”. As for entity-referring demwords, these most closely resemble “nouns” inflectionally, but fit the “pronoun” category in terms of the semantic criterion, while, as we will see in 2.3.3, the syntactic distribution of entity-referring demwords is not completely like either that of “personal pronouns” or of “nouns”. Still, in Algonquian word class descriptions with a “pronoun” category, entity-referring demwords are invariably identified as a subtype of “pronoun”.

Below, the word class systems will be discussed with particular reference to the classification of demonstratives, starting first in 2.1.1 with the few that do not include

“pronoun” as a word class, and then turning in 2.1.2 to those that do. For ease of reference, I have first summarized the descriptions I will be discussing in Table 1, giving them in order of presentation.

**Table 1: Summary of Algonquian word class descriptions discussed in 2.1.1 and 2.1.2**

Reference – language discussed	Word classes	Word class (and sub-class) under which “demonstratives” fall
Hockett (1948a, 1948b) – Potawatomi	verb; noun; particle	particle (substitutive particle)
DeBlois (1996) – Micmac	verb; noun; particle	not explicitly specified; presumably particle
Rhodes (1993) – Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa	<i>Major:</i> verb; noun <i>Minor:</i> adverb; number; particle; pre-noun; pre-verb	noun
Bloomfield (1958) – Ojibwe	noun, pronoun [perhaps these two form a larger class]; verb; particle	pronoun
Wolfart (1996) – Cree	noun, pronoun [perhaps these two form a larger class]; verb; particle	pronoun (Pronominal Paradigm I and II; Isolated Pronouns III); particle
Wolfart and Ahenakew (1998) – Cree	noun; verb; pronoun; particle	pronoun
Leavitt (1996) – Maliseet-Passamaquoddy	noun; pronoun; verb; particle	pronoun
LeSourd (1984) – Maliseet-Passamaquoddy	noun; pronoun; verb; particle	pronoun
Day (1994) - Western Abenaki	noun; pronoun; verb; particle; numeral	pronoun
Goddard and Bragdon (1988) – Massachusett	noun; pronoun, quantifier [these two share some similarities]; verb	pronoun
Bloomfield (1962) – Menomini	noun; pronoun, negator [negator shares some similarities with some pronouns]; verb; particle	pronoun (nominal type)

### 2.1.1 Descriptions without a separate “pronoun” word class

In Hockett’s (1948a, b) description of Potawatomi, three categories are identified; verbs, nouns, and particles. Pronouns are subsumed under the particle category, discussed in a paper about “numeral stems,” “substitutive particles” (i.e. pronouns), and “other particles.” Hockett does recognize that some pronouns inflect and others do not, so that it looks like he treats “pronoun” basically as a syntactic category:

“In addition to the independent personal pronouns (5), there are two other pronominal elements which share, at least partially, in noun-type morphology, and a number of particles which are syntactically pronominal, though uninflected.” (Hockett 1948b: 214)

The “two other pronominal elements” with nominal-like inflection are a set of “demonstratives” and an animate indefinite pronoun meaning ‘someone’.

Discussed under uninflected “syntactically pronominal” forms is an item which “parallels the demonstratives (9.1) syntactically, with the meaning *distal-visible*”; the inanimate indefinite pronoun meaning ‘something’; an indefinite pronoun unspecified for animacy meaning ‘somebody’ or ‘something’; quantifier-type pronominals unspecified for animacy meaning ‘everything, all’, ‘both’, ‘a great many’, ‘a few’; and temporal and spatial morphemes meaning ‘sometime’, ‘never’, ‘somewhere’, and ‘nowhere’.<sup>1</sup>

More recently, we also find DeBlois’s (1996) Micmac dictionary recognizing just these three word classes: “Forms that are neither nouns nor verbs are referred to as particles.” (DeBlois 1996: xv). DeBlois has the usual subcategories for Algonquian nouns and verbs,

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<sup>1</sup> Not all of these items are uninflected in all Algonquian languages, as we shall see.

so that some entries are marked as animate noun or inanimate noun, while other entries are marked as animate intransitive verb, inanimate intransitive verb, or some other verb subcategory. Still other entries receive no word class identification at all, and I assume these are considered particles. This group of entries includes those items labeled “demonstrative” in other descriptions and all other pronominals.

Rhodes’ (1993) Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa dictionary appears to distinguish between “major” and “minor” word classes, with Rhodes beginning his explanation of word class categories by saying “There are three general types of parts of speech in Ojibwa, *nouns*, *verbs*, and *others*.” (Rhodes 1993: xiv) Nouns and verbs are divided up into subclasses based on animacy and transitivity respectively in the usual way. “Other classes” are then given: adverb, number, particle, pre-noun, and pre-verb. Rhodes concludes the section by acknowledging the mixed nature of criteria being used:

“Membership in these word classes is determined by a combination of morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of words. All forms which do not readily fit in one of the other classes are treated as particles.” (Rhodes 1993: xv)

With respect to pronominals, he classifies as nouns personal pronouns which do not inflect for number and obviation, as well as (i) the entity-referring demonstratives (‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’, ‘those’), (ii) interrogative pronouns (‘who?’, ‘what?’), and (iii) indefinite pronouns (‘someone’, ‘something’), these last three being morphologically differentiated for number, animacy, and obviation like nouns are. Morphologically invariant spatial and temporal deictics, some of which share their single uninflected forms with entity-referring demonstratives, are labeled as adverbs.

### 2.1.2 Descriptions with a separate “pronoun” word class

In most descriptions, a word class of “pronoun” is distinguished. This class invariably includes the following subgroups of items, which show disparate inflectional properties while sharing the function of being pro-forms:

- (i) **personal pronouns**, such as ‘you’, ‘I’ etc. These are all animate, and do not participate in the same inflectional paradigms for number and obviation as “nouns” do.
- (ii) **demonstrative pronouns**, labeling morphemes translated as ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’, ‘those’, as well as these morphemes when they are used non-deictically in ways translated as ‘the’ and as third person pronouns ‘s/he’, ‘it’, ‘they’. These are morphologically differentiated for number, animacy, and obviation in ways similar to ‘nouns’.
- (iii) **interrogative pronouns** (‘who?’, ‘what?’). The animate member (‘who?’) is more often inflected for number and obviation in the Algonquian languages than the inanimate member (in Passamaquoddy, the animate member is inflected for both number and obviation, while the inanimate member is inflected for number but not obviation). The inflection where it occurs is similar to that of ‘nouns’.
- (iv) ‘indefinite pronouns’ (‘someone’, ‘something’). In most languages, these are identical to the interrogative pronouns, so that Goddard and Bragdon’s (1988)

discussion of Massachusett, for example, refers to “interrogative-indefinite pronouns.” However, in some languages, e.g. Ojibwe and Cree, this is not the case.<sup>2</sup>

Authors may also include certain other morphemes, e.g. ones meaning ‘other’, ‘that sort’, certain quantifiers (e.g. numerals, ‘both’), and sundry other items as ‘pronouns’ when these function pronominally and are morphologically differentiated for at least one of the nominal inflectional categories of animacy, number, or obviation.

In his (1958) Ojibwe grammar, Bloomfield writes, “The parts of speech are NOUN, PRONOUN, VERB, and PARTICLE.” (Bloomfield 1958: 31) He discusses the inflectional behavior of pronouns and nouns in the same chapter, but pronouns are treated in their own section. Under this section for ‘pronoun’, there are subsections for personal pronouns, (entity-referring) demonstrative pronouns, pronouns translating as ‘that sort’, interrogative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns ‘someone’ and ‘something’. Bloomfield concludes the pronoun section by noting that “the particles of place *ma•meppi•* ‘here’, *uwiti* ‘there, yonder’ resemble demonstrative pronouns; not so *ema•* ‘there’.” (Bloomfield 1958: 43), although he refrains from calling these locational deictics “pronouns”.

It may be that Bloomfield is regarding pronouns and nouns as subtypes of some higher class ‘nominal’, but if so, it is clear that not all members of this class would have a set of inflectional properties in common, given that certain pronouns do not participate in nominal inflectional paradigms.

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<sup>2</sup> In Cree, the inanimate interrogative and indefinite pronouns are identical, but the animate interrogative (‘who?’) and indefinite (‘someone’) pronouns – *awina* and *awiyak* respectively – are distinct (though morphologically related). In Ojibwe, both the animate and inanimate pairs of interrogative and indefinite pronouns are distinct, and not morphologically related.

Wolfart's (1996) treatment of Cree is similar to Bloomfield's discussion of Ojibwe:

**"The inflected words of Cree include verbs, nouns, and pronouns that are very similar to nouns inflectionally and syntactically. All uninflected words are subsumed under the term particle (or undeclinable)." (Wolfart 1996: 424)**

As was the case for Bloomfield (1958), it is not completely clear from Wolfart's quote if pronouns are regarded as distinct from nouns or as a subtype of nominals that includes both nouns and pronouns.

Wolfart recognizes that pronouns do not all share common inflectional properties, and seems to acknowledge the syntactically or semantically based nature of the category, saying that "The inflectional classification of pronouns coincides only partially with classifications based on syntactic and semantic criteria." (Wolfart 1996: 422)

In discussing pronoun inflection, Wolfart identifies "two specifically pronominal paradigms" and "two isolated paradigms" for demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. According to these inflectional patterns (see Table 17, Wolfart 1996: 423), demonstratives as identified are split between (i) Pronominal Paradigm I, for demonstratives 'this', 'that', 'that yonder'; the paradigm also includes interrogative 'who' and delimiting interrogative 'which one', (ii) Pronominal Paradigm II, for existential demonstrative 'there s/he is'; the paradigm also includes existential interrogative 'where s/he is', and (iii) Isolated Pronouns Paradigm, for delimiting demonstrative 'that one'; the paradigm also includes the indefinite pronoun 'someone'.

Wolfart notes that personal pronouns do not inflect like most other nominals, although they still have some inflectional property that makes them like nouns, stating that

“The personal pronouns are not inflected for number and obviation; however, as a set, they largely parallel the possessive paradigm of nouns” (424) In addition, Wolfart at times treats pronouns with particles, writing that “Most of the pronominal stems also participate in a number of derivational processes (for examples, *see 5.3.3.2*.)” (Wolfart 1996: 422, italics mine) Section 5.3.3.2 then gives examples of “particle stems” participating in derivational processes, with one of the examples given involving a demonstrative stem: “*o-m-* ‘this’; *o-misi* ‘this way’.

In their student Cree dictionary, Wolfart and Ahenakew (1998) give without further elaboration the following categories (sub-categories are in parentheses): noun (animate; inanimate; dependent animate; dependent inanimate), verb (animate actor, usually intransitive, i.e. AI verbs; inanimate actor, intransitive, i.e. II verbs; animate goal, transitive, i.e. TA verbs; inanimate goal, usually transitive, i.e. TI verbs); pronoun (no sub-categorization); particle (indeclinable particle; indeclinable preverb particle; indeclinable prenoun particle; indeclinable nominal, i.e. name of place).

Entity-referring demonstratives are listed as pronouns, while (non-inflecting) locational and temporal deictics, including those which share their forms with the entity-referring demonstratives, are listed as indeclinable particles. Also given as pronouns are (i) interrogative-indefinite pronouns (e.g. ‘who, someone’), which inflect similarly to nouns, and entity-referring demonstratives, and (ii) personal pronouns, which do not.

Leavitt’s (1996) sketch of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy follows essentially the same classification as Bloomfield (1958) and Wolfart (1996). Nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles are identified as distinct word classes. Pronouns are subdivided into personal

pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, the item for 'other (one)', and hesitator pronouns<sup>3</sup>. Once again, demonstrative pronouns are defined and exemplified by entity-referring morphemes that are morphologically differentiated for animacy and inflect for number and obviation.

LeSourd's (1984) Passamaquoddy-Maliseet dictionary, which was edited by Leavitt, basically presents the same system as Leavitt (1996). Locational and temporal deictics, including those which share their forms with the entity-referring demonstratives, are listed as particles.

In Day's (1994) Western Abenaki dictionary, the four familiar word classes nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles are identified, along with an additional class of "numeral" and "adverb" as a sub-class of particles. Entity-referring demonstratives are classed as pronouns, while locational and temporal demwords are classified as particles or adverbs. Also classified as pronouns are (i) interrogative-indefinite pronouns (e.g. 'who, someone') which inflect similarly to nouns and entity-referring demonstratives, and (ii) personal pronouns, which do not.

In Goddard and Bragdon's (1988) sketch of Massachusetts (Wampanoag), there are separate treatments of inflectional behavior for:

(a) nouns

(b) pronouns and quantifiers

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<sup>3</sup> These are loosely translatable by "what's-it" or "whatchamacallit" in English, but are far more common than such English counterparts, perhaps as common as the rather unspecific English 'um' or 'er'. Hesitator pronouns are morphologically differentiated for animacy and inflected for number and obviation, generally in agreement with the as yet unmentioned something to follow in the coming discourse. For more detail, see LeSourd (forthcoming).

**(c) verbs**

A recognition of similarity between (a) and (b) is however noted, with Goddard and Bragdon writing that “In addition to nouns Massachusetts has words with some nominal functions and morphology that it is useful to classify separately as pronouns and quantifiers.” (507)

Pronouns are further divided into “personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative-indefinite pronouns; the word for ‘other, another’ patterns in part like a pronoun and is also listed here.” (507)

Two types of personal pronouns are distinguished:

- (i) the familiar “independent” personal pronouns, which do not display the inflectional patterns of nouns.
- (ii) “objective” personal pronouns which are formed from the animate noun stem for ‘body’ and “used as reflexive objects, first and second person secondary objects, and as the object of prepositions.” (507) These can be treated with nouns because they share their inflectional behavior with ordinary dependent nouns.

Demonstrative pronouns which inflect for number, animacy, and obviation are subclassified as:

- nearer deictic ‘this’, ‘these’
- farther deictic ‘that’, ‘those’
- anaphoric [which includes both nearer and farther deictic versions] ‘this/these (mentioned)’, ‘that/those mentioned’

Also included as a demonstrative is the word for ‘whichever, whatever’ which “sometimes functions almost as a relative pronoun.” (508)

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns are words for ‘someone, anyone; who?’ and ‘something, anything; what?’ Not all forms are attested in the available Massachusett texts, but there are some plural forms for both animate and inanimate items. The items for ‘other, another’ have the same stem for animate and inanimate; they are sometimes uninflected for number when used attributively with plural nouns. Quantifiers are the other group of items identified as having some nominal inflectional characteristics:

“The quantifiers are the cardinal number expressions above ‘one’ and the words for ‘many’, ‘few’, and ‘half’. They have the forms of agent nouns derived from intransitive verbs and consequently have separate stems for each gender, and like nouns they are inflected for gender, number, and obviation.” (509)

Finally, Bloomfield (1962) gives a slightly different word class classification in his Menomini grammar:

“2.1 The parts of speech are  
noun: o-s ‘canoe’;  
pronoun: yo-m ‘this’;  
negator: kan ‘no, not’;  
verb: po-sew ‘he embarks’;  
particle: mi-p ‘early in the morning’.

The first four are distinguished by differing types of inflection; particles have no inflection.

Verbs are subdivided into intransitive and transitive ...

Pronouns fall into several subtypes according to inflection and syntactic function.

Particles fall into several subtypes according to syntactic function.”

(Bloomfield 1962: 25)

Compared to the Ojibwe classification, the Menomini categorization has an extra class, negator. This is due to some interesting inflectional properties, which it shares with

certain pronouns; in ch. 12, pronouns and the negator are described as having inflectional behavior that “resembles in part the inflection of nouns and in part that of verbs.” (191) More specifically, while some pronouns (though not all) inflect for the “nominal” categories number, gender, and obviation, certain other pronouns (of the “predicative” type) inflect for the verbal category of mode.

In summary, we see that in previous descriptions the label “demonstrative” has generally been applied only to items which are morphologically differentiated for animacy, number, and obviation, and that refer to phenomena such as people and physical (as well as less concrete) objects. In contrast, demwords referring to locations (corresponding to ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘yonder’), which in Passamaquoddy and several other Algonquian languages are undifferentiated for any of the categories of number, animacy, and obviation that “nouns” distinguish, are generally labeled as particles<sup>4</sup> rather than demonstratives, although locational deictics fit most common notional definitions of “demonstrative”.

As for the items labeled “demonstrative”, these have usually been classified as a subtype of “pronoun” (Bloomfield 1948, Bloomfield 1958, Wolfart 1996, Goddard and Bragdon 1988, LeSourd 1988, Day 1994, Leavitt 1996, Wolfart and Ahenakew 1998), a grouping which includes items with a range of inflectional (and to some degree syntactic) properties. In descriptions without a pronoun category, “demonstratives” have also been

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<sup>4</sup> Hockett (1948) does include the morphemes for ‘somewhere’ and ‘nowhere’ as pronouns, although he treats pronouns overall as a type of particle. Also, Bloomfield (1958) notes that the “particles of place” meaning ‘here’ and ‘there, yonder’ resemble demonstrative pronouns, but he does not explicitly call them pronouns.

grouped under “particle” (Hockett 1948; DeBlois 1996) and “noun” (Rhodes 1993), although inflectionally, “demonstratives” are not the same as either “particles” or “nouns”.

Thus, none of the classifications discussed in this section give either a purely notional account of “demonstratives” or situate them within a consistent inflectionally-based system. First, by classifying entity-referring demwords one way, as “demonstrative pronouns”, and locational demwords another way, as “particles”, the descriptions do not follow most notional definitions of demonstratives, which would include locational demwords. Second, classifying entity-referring demwords as “pronouns” places them in a group of items which is inflectionally heterogeneous, even if to some extent the items in this class are similar in syntactic function. While Hockett (1948) and Bloomfield (1958) do note that items in the pronoun group vary inflectionally, they do not explicitly tackle the issue of the mismatch between syntactic and inflectional criteria. In the next section, I discuss a more systematic approach to word class classification, and then explain how I will apply it to demwords in Passamaquoddy.

## 2.2 Criteria for determining word classes

The standard view of word class determination, such as given in Schachter (1985), is that we examine language-internal morphosyntactic properties:

- (i) distributional position in sentences;
- (ii) (where present) inflectional behavior;
- (iii) syntactic function.

While the first two of these are self-explanatory, it is less clear what precisely “syntactic function” entails. Although Schachter does not define this explicitly, his examples – the fact that nouns typically function as arguments and verbs as predicates – show that he uses the term in referring to what Zwicky (1993) calls “dependency relations”. What Zwicky calls the **modified-modifier** relationship, such as a noun and its modifying adjective, is another important dependency relation for descriptions of word classes and phrase structure.

In clear cases, a set of words will share their inflectional, distributional, and functional characteristics, and analyzing that set of words as members of the same word class is unproblematic. However, the mapping between word class membership on the one hand and the morphosyntactic criteria listed above is sometimes less than straightforward. Instead, what we often find is a situation where what by some criteria (e.g. inflectional) are items of two different word classes patterning together with respect to other criteria (e.g. syntactic distribution and function).

Let us take the set of items in English that have been identified as adjectives. In attributive use, we may say that their distribution is after any determiners present and before nouns, with the option of infinite recursion; their inflectional behavior is null, in that they do not inflect for any Nominal categories like number or possession; and their syntactic function is to modify the nouns that they occur with. Consider now the examples in [1] and [2]:

[1] my beautiful laughing baby

[2] an excellent history instructor

The first candidates for adjective status in each example are unproblematic: *beautiful* and *excellent* not only always have the distribution<sup>5</sup> and syntactic functions associated with adjectives, they also have derivational morphology that identifies them as adjectives (*-ful* and *-ent* suffixes respectively). On the other hand, *laughing* in [1], as a participle, is derived from the verb root *laugh* and has the *-ing* suffix which is generally taken by verbs; furthermore, the participle form usually occurs in syntactic environments and with the syntactic function associated with verbs, as in [3], where it patterns with other verb-headed phrases:

- [3] The baby was laughing.  
                   laughed.  
                   laughs often.

In the same vein, *history* in [2] has the form of an item that usually occurs in syntactic environments and with the syntactic function associated with nouns. But because both *laughing* and *history* in [1] and [2] respectively are occurring in the pre-noun position associated with (attributive) adjectives, and are the modifier in a modifier-modified relationship with the noun, both types of items have at times been analyzed as adjectives by some authors in traditional grammar.

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<sup>5</sup> Actually, if we consider a broader range of data, then we find that participles like *laughing* in [1] can also follow the noun, as in *the beautiful baby laughing*, which adjectives like *beautiful* generally cannot. Also, for [2], *history* must follow *excellent*, since we cannot have \**a history excellent teacher*. However, we also find ordering restrictions/preferences amongst items which are both definitely adjectives, such as *that great new restaurant* (preferred) vs. ?? *that new great restaurant* or *a sweet young thing* (preferred) vs. *a young sweet thing* (less preferred), so the fact that *history* must occur closest to *instructor* in [2] does not in itself distinguish from all adjectives. Still, the ordering constraints between adjectives are preferences rather than categorical, while the fact that the noun follows any adjectives is a categorical rule. Also, adjectives and nouns as modifiers follow different stress rules: for *Japanese teacher*, the stress is on *teacher* if *Japanese* is an adjective (and hence the phrase means 'a teacher who is Japanese'), while the stress is on *Japanese* if *Japanese* is a noun (and hence the phrase means 'a teacher of Japanese').

However, the use of participle forms which clearly are formed from verb stems and of otherwise uncontroversially noun forms as modifiers of nouns in the pre-noun slot is completely productive; that is, generally any semantically suitable participle or noun may be used in this way. If participles and nouns serving as noun modifiers were really adjectives, we would expect that speakers would not use specific nouns or participles as modifiers of nouns unless they had heard them in this usage, which seems unlikely. Therefore, rather than analyzing these forms as verbs (for *laughing*) or nouns (for *history*) when they occur in their more usual environments and as adjectives when they occur as they do in [1] and [2], a better analysis is that participles and nouns can serve the same syntactic function as adjectives (modifiers of nouns), in at least one of the same syntactic environments as adjectives (pre-nominal, between determiner and noun), but should not themselves be considered to be adjectives in those environments, given their different inflectional properties as well as their most usual distributional and functional properties.

We can illustrate a similar situation with another example of a syntactic function (i.e. one of Zwicky's dependency relations), that of subject in English, being served by phrases with heads from different word classes. Typically, of course, subjects are noun phrases, but verb phrases [4] and clauses [5] can also serve as subjects:

[4]    [To truly know yourself]<sub>VP</sub> is something rare.

[5]    [That you lied to her]<sub>S</sub> sits badly enough; that you lied to all of us is even worse.

Nevertheless, parallel to the case of participles and nouns being used as noun modifiers, note that although verb phrases and clauses are typically not subjects, the process of using them as subjects is completely productive; it is simply that the subject function is a statistically uncommon one for verb phrases and clauses to have in sentences. I will discuss productivity in a more general way in the section below.

There are, of course, clearly usual or prototypical associations between particular dependency functions (e.g. modifier, modified, operator, argument) and particular sets of items which group together on the basis of shared distributional and inflectional characteristics; but as we have seen, these associations are not absolute. In the light of this, we might wonder if it would be better to give up or assign less weight to syntactic function in determining word class status, and rely instead on inflection and distribution, which on initial consideration seem more solid. An immediate problem with such an approach would be that distributional properties are frequently interlinked with syntactic function, not just in configurational languages like English, but also in less strongly configurational languages, where we might also, for example, be able to best characterize the distribution of “nouns” as being typically those positions in a sentence where an argument can occur. That is, situations where different criteria (e.g. syntactic function vs. inflectional characteristics) do not pick out exactly the same classes of words is also sometimes the case (though perhaps not quite to the same extent) for distributional characteristics compared to inflectional characteristics.

Processes of historical change – notably grammaticalization and lexicalization – complicate the synchronic picture. For example, with respect to inflection in items that have

lexicalized, what were at one time morphological distinctions for grammatical categories may no longer express the notions which they once did. For example, for participles that have lexicalized as arguments (vs. being used as predicates), their “verbal” inflection may no longer express notions of event characterization.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, there are still certainly groups of items which cluster together with respect to their usual inflectional, distributional, and functional behavior; and even if traditional word class descriptions often have not adequately represented the complexities of how properties overlap and cross-cut, it still remains the case that there are generalizations which are useful to identify. As long as one is explicit about what criteria are being used to come up with word classes in a language, the description can still be of value in describing how the language works.

With respect to inflectional properties, the situation may be more complicated, as I mentioned above, when we are considering words which have undergone historical changes that result in some degree of “freezing”, such that they contain phonological segments that in other items express inflectional meaning and that at one time also expressed such meaning (inflectional) in the items in question themselves, but which no longer do so. For example, while English participles have generally not lexicalized in this way, we shall see that a number of Passamaquoddy participles have.

With respect to distributional and functional properties, one of the crucial factors I consider in determining word class membership when some set of items occurs with the

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<sup>6</sup> Hence, one might choose to analyze “inflection” in such cases as either being more akin to derivational morphology which forms a noun from a verb, or as involving zero derivation applying to the inflected forms.

distributional and/or functional behavior typical of some other set of items is the productivity of such occurrences.

Consider first the situation if such a phenomenon is not productive. For example, let us say that item *x*, which generally patterns with other members of a category C1, is used such that it has distributional and/or functional characteristics associated with category C2, and that other members of category C1 can generally not occur having such characteristics associated with category C2. In such a case, I would choose to analyze *x* in that particular expression as being a member of category C2, rather than as a member of C1 being used like a member of C2. The reasoning behind this analysis is that it is not a general property of C1 items to be able to occur in the distributional environments or with the functional properties associated with category C2, so it is parsimonious to simply have the exceptional items like *x* be considered as a C1 item when it behaves like other C1 items, and as a C2 item when it behaves like other C2 items.

For example, in English, pronouns as a rule do not occur with the distribution and function of determiners (and vice versa).<sup>7</sup> Thus, as analyzed by Diessel (1999), English demonstratives occurring in the syntactic position where items that are unequivocally determiners such as *a*, *the*, and *every* are found (as in [6]) should also be analyzed as

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<sup>7</sup> One exception is a quantifier like *some*, which is one which can also occur as a pronoun:

- [I] I bought some fish.
- [II] I bought some.

determiners, while demonstratives that occur with the distribution and function of pronouns (as in [7]) should be analyzed as pronouns<sup>8</sup>:

[6] They bought a the cheap knick-knack.  
every  
this/that

[7] They bought it.  
this/that.

Now consider a situation where C1, a group of items with a set of usual morphosyntactic properties, can also manifest, in a completely productive way, with the distributional and functional characteristics associated with a category C2 that has a different set of usual morphosyntactic properties; that is, where the situation is that basically all members of C1 can occur with the syntactic distribution and function usually associated with C2 items. Even if this situation is not frequent or prototypical, I would in such a case choose to simply note in the grammar that the set of items of C1 in general has the property of being able to occur in that syntactic environment and/or with that syntactic function usually associated with category C2. That is, items of C1 are not analyzed as being members of C2 when they occur with the distributional/functional properties associated with C2, since this would entail most or all members of C1 having two grammatical identities: as a C1 item when it is in the typical C1 environment/has the typical C1 function, and as a C2 item when

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<sup>8</sup> Not all theories assume that pronoun and determiner are two distinct word classes; notably, DP analyses such as proposed by Abney (1987) treat determiners as heads, some of which always require a nominal complement (e.g. *a, the, every*), some of which optionally take such a complement (e.g. demonstratives), and some of which never take such a complement (e.g. personal pronouns *I, you, s/he* etc.).

it is in the typical C2 environment/has the typical C2 function, and such an analysis does not seem to be the most parsimonious possible.

Examples of such a situation include what we described earlier for English participles and nouns used as noun modifiers (a function typical of adjectives), or English verb phrases and clauses used as subjects (a function typical of noun phrases).

The two types of situation can be illustrated diagrammatically as in [8]. (I) represents a situation where only a minority of items occur in both syntactic environments (such as English demonstratives in determiner and pronoun positions), while (II) represents a situation where most items occur in both environments (such as English nouns occurring in both argument and noun-modifying positions):

[8] Two possibilities for distribution of C1 and C2 items

Phonological forms {*a, b, c, …*}

(I) Most C1 and C2 items  
phonologically distinct

(II) Most C1 and C2 items  
phonologically identical

C1 environment	C2 environment	C1 environment	C2 environment
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
		<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>

Another way to conceptualize this is in terms of the amount of distinctiveness between the grammatical profiles of the two (or more) groups of items. If one group of items, {*a, b, c, d …*} has a typical profile for inflection, distribution, and syntactic function,

and another group  $\{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \dots\}$  has a stateably different typical profile, then it is useful to treat the two groups as different word classes even if there is, for example, some subset of syntactic environments or some subset of syntactic functions for which items of both groups can occur.

For example, in English, “nouns” and “adjectives” are two such groups of items – even though nouns may occur attributively in the same environment as adjectives, the two groups of items are inflectionally distinct and have different typical syntactic functions and distributions. Obviously, at the other end of the continuum, when  $\{a, b, c, d \dots\}$  and  $\{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \dots\}$  share all or basically all their morphosyntactic properties, we treat them as members of the same word class. And when the facts lies somewhere between these two types of situations, then it may be largely a matter of analyst preference whether to treat  $\{a, b, c, d \dots\}$  and  $\{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \dots\}$  as being at the level of subclasses of a class (e.g. verb subtypes based on transitivity) or as distinct classes.

### 2.3 A category of “Nominal” for Passamaquoddy

Based on the considerations in 2.2, the Passamaquoddy word classes given in 1.2.2 can be partially revised. Recall that the word classes usually identified for Algonquian languages are verb, noun, pronoun, and particle. However, there are grammatical similarities as well as differences amongst “nouns” and “pronouns”, such that a category that includes all of these, with sub-types, better captures the morphological facts. Thus, I will identify a category of “Nominals”, which subsumes items that in previous descriptions are labelled

“nouns” and/or “pronouns”. A major type of demwords – those that refer to entities – will be classified under this Nominal category.

We may identify sub-types based on which grammatical categories are distinguished. Below I list the subtypes, stating what Nominal categories they distinguish and also the traditional labels for the items. Table 2 lists the seven Nominal types 1-7 which I identify by inflectional properties, gives them a label that will be used for easy reference, and states what grammatical categories they distinguish.

**Table 2: Nominal types and their inflectional categories**

NOMINAL TYPE	ALTERNATIVE LABEL	INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES DISTINGUISHED					
		number	animacy	obviation	locative	absentativity	possession
1	noun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	hesitator Nominal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
3	entity-referring demword	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-
	Nominal meaning 'other'	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-
	interrogative-indefinite Nominal	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-
4	-ey Nominal	✓	✓	✓	✓	(occasionally)	(some)
5	quantifier Nominal	inherently singular or plural	✓	✓	-	-	-
6	distributive <i>yat=te (wen)</i>	inherently singular	✓for some speakers	✓for some speakers	-	-	-
7	personal pronoun	✓	inherently animate	-	-	-	-

I will also describe what syntactic environments they can occur in, of which there are four types: (i) with another Nominal in what is commonly described as a modifier-head relationship<sup>9</sup>; (ii) as the possessor of a possessed Nominal; (iii) as the possessed Nominal of a possessor Nominal; or (iv) without any other semantically associated Nominal. All of the Nominals can occur without any other semantically associated Nominal, and some of them do occur as modifiers of another Nominal. For modifier-head expressions, any modifier Nominal precedes the modified Nominal. For possessive expressions, the possessor Nominal precedes the possessed Nominal.

### 2.3.1 Type 1 Nominal

Type 1 Nominals inflect for number, animacy, obviation (for animates), locative status, possession, and absentativity. Certain Type 1 Nominals – those encoding kinship and other human relation terms – may have vocative forms, and many Type 1 Nominals have diminutive forms that take the diminutive suffixes /-hs/ and /-is/. Type 1 Nominals are commonly called “nouns”.

[9] presents a partial inflectional paradigm for *opos* as an animate Type 1 Nominal meaning ‘tree’, while [10] gives the comparable paradigm for *opos* as an inanimate Type 1 Nominal meaning ‘stick’. The inflectional morphemes are underlined:

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<sup>9</sup> The relationship between such Nominals is not as syntactically tight as a comparable construction is in a language like English. In addition, calling the construction a modifier-head one assumes an asymmetry between the Nominals which may not necessarily exist (see, for example, Zwicky 1985, 1993 and Hudson 1987 for a discussion about the properties associated with heads). However, since this issue has no significant bearing on the themes of this dissertation, I will follow convention and speak of one Nominal “modifying” another, where it is the first Nominal that is assumed to modify the second Nominal.

- [9] Partial paradigm for animate Type 1 Nominal *opos* [AN] ‘tree’ (from LeSourd 1993a: 19)

proximate singular	<i>opos</i>
obviative singular	<i>oposiyik</i>
proximate absentative singular	<i>oposì</i>
obviative absentative singular	<i>oposikol</i>
proximate plural	<i>oposiyik</i>
obviative plural	<i>oposì</i>
absentative plural	<i>oposikk</i>
possessed: 3SG on SG	<i>'toposimol, 'toposiyil</i> ‘her/his rock’
locative singular	<i>oposik</i>
locative singular	<i>oposihkuk</i>
diminutive	<i>oposis</i>

- [10] Partial paradigm for inanimate Type 1 Nominal *opos* [AN] ‘stick’ (from LeSourd 1993a: 19)

singular	<i>opos</i>
absentative singular	<i>oposì</i>
plural	<i>oposiyil</i>
absentative plural	<i>oposikol</i>
possessed: 3sg on 3sg	<i>'toposim, 'topos</i>
locative singular	<i>oposik</i>
locative singular	<i>oposihkuk</i>
diminutive	<i>oposis</i>

See Leavitt (1996; 1986) and LeSourd (1995) for more details and paradigms.

A Type 1 Nominal can occur as the possessor of another Type 1 Nominal, as in [11],

or, more commonly, without such a Nominal, as in [12]:

- [11] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

Kesq=yaq etoli=wolaq-ahqos-ulti-hti-t,  
 while=EVID ONGO=evening-cook.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
 While they were cooking supper,

komotu=yaq sakhi=conotomha-k kukec utapakon.  
 suddenly=EVID unexpectedly=pull.up.II-CONJ.0 warden.AN (3)-car.INAN  
 suddenly the warden's car pulled up.

[12] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

On=yaq 't-itom-oni-ya, "Kamot=op wot  
 then=EVID 3-say.AI-SUBD-3PL better=IRR 3SG.NS  
 komuci=mace-ph-a-ne-n oloqiw kcihku-k,  
 (2)-secretly=start-carry.TA-DIR-SUBD-1PL over.there woods.INAN-LOC  
 Then they said, "It would be better if we took it away secretly into the woods,

yut=kahk ksokaya-skute-k oloqi-ph-oq solahki=hc  
 OSG.NS=EMPH across-field.II-CONJ.0 to.there-take.TA-CONJ.12PL suddenly=FUT  
 k-nom-iy-uku-n kukec."  
 2-see-TA-INV-1PL warden.AN  
 if we take it across the field, the warden will see us."

Type 1 Nominals do not generally occur together to form a modifier-head construction, as in English *wood house* or *deer head*. In Passamaquoddy, such expressions are often expressed by a single morphologically complex Type 1 Nominal: *oposikuwam* 'wood house' consists of a bound noun initial *oposi-* derived from the stem of the noun *opos* 'stick' (which is *oposi-*) and a bound noun final *-(i)kuwam* related to the noun *wikuwam* 'house'; similarly, *otuhkatop* 'deer head' consists of a bound noun initial *otuhk-* derived from the stem of the noun stem *otuhk* 'deer' and a bound noun final *-atop* 'head'. Noun-noun compounds in English may also correspond in Passamaquoddy to prenoun-noun expressions, such as *otuhki 'qat* 'deer leg', where *otuhki* is a prenoun derived from the Type 1 Nominal *otuhk* 'deer' and *'qat* is an inalienably possessed Type 1 Nominal 'her/his leg'. On the other hand, Type 1 Nominals are commonly modified by other Nominal Types (demword Type 3 Nominals, Type 3 Nominals meaning 'other', Type 4 Nominals, Type 5 Nominals, and Type

6 Nominals). Type 1 Nominals also occur as the possessor or possessee in possessive expressions.

### 2.3.2 Type 2 Nominal

Type 2 Nominals commonly distinguish number, animacy, obviation (for animates), and locative case, and an absentative form has also been attested (see LeSourd forthcoming). Compared with Type 1 Nominals, Type 2 Nominals lack distinctions for possession. They have been called “hesitator pronouns” and “noun substitutes” (LeSourd forthcoming; Leavitt 1996), since they are most commonly used when the speaker is searching for lexical items.

Hesitator Nominals in Passamaquoddy anticipate the inflectional properties of their referent when it is Nominal; when the referent is verbal or clausal, the inanimate singular *iyey* is usually used. Table 3 gives a list of the commonly encountered, non-absentative forms.

**Table 3: Hesitator Nominals**  
(see also LeSourd, forthcoming)

			<i>Hesitator Nominal</i>
<i>Animate</i>	<i>sg</i>	<i>prox</i>	<i>iya, ya</i>
		<i>obv</i>	<i>iyil</i>
	<i>pl</i>	<i>prox</i>	<i>iyik</i>
		<i>obv</i>	<i>iyi</i>
<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>sg</i>	<i>iyey</i>	
	<i>pl</i>	<i>iyil</i>	
<i>Locative</i>			<i>iyik</i>

[13] is a text extract segmented by intonational units (IUs) that illustrates the occurrence of several hesitator Nominals. In the first IU, *iyik* anticipates the locative Nominal *'tolamhokeweyak* 'meat from the stomach'. In IU 3, *iyil* anticipates the obviative Nominal *ahkiqol* 'seal'. In IU 7, *iyi* anticipates the plural obviative Nominal *nomehsu* 'fish'. And in IU 8, *iyik* anticipates the plural animate Nominal *peskotomuk* 'pollock'.

[13] From *David Francis – Porpoises*:

IU<sup>1</sup> Nt-aluw-iwiht-om-on iyik o  
 1-in.vain.name.TI-TH-0 HESPRO.LOC FILLER  
 I can't think how to say it --

IU<sup>2</sup> 'tolam~ '-tolamhok-ew-eya-k o  
 FALSE.START 3-stomach-DER-stuff.from.INAN-LOC FILLER  
 the meat from the stomachs

...

IU<sup>3</sup> psi=ehta=te ul-apem-a-wa-l      iyil      o  
all=EMPH=EMPH well-use.TA-DIR-3PL-3'      HESPRO.3'      FILLER  
they used all of

IU<sup>4</sup> ahkiq-ol  
seal.AN-3'  
the seal

IU<sup>5</sup> e      cuspes-ol  
FILLER      porpoise.AN-OBV  
I mean the porpoise

IU<sup>6</sup> na ..      o  
also      FILLER  
also

IU<sup>7</sup> salawehta~ salawehtl-a-hti-t      iyi      nomehsu  
FALSE.START      salt.TA-DIR-3PL-CONJ.3      HESPRO.3'PL      fish.AN-(3'PL)  
when they salt the fish

IU<sup>8</sup> niktok      iyik  
3SG.NA      HESPRO.3PL  
those

...

IU<sup>9</sup> peskotomu-k.  
pollock.AN-PL  
pollock.

### 2.3.3 Type 3 Nominal

Type 3 Nominals inflect or are differentiated in stem for number, animacy, obviation (for animates), and absentativity<sup>10</sup>. Compared with Type 1 Nominals, they lack distinctions

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<sup>10</sup> LeSourd (1995) and Sherwood (1986: 114) note, however, that there is not always concord for absentativity, i.e. non-absentative forms of these Nominals are sometimes used to modify absentative Type 1 Nominals.

for possession and locative case. They include three sub-types: (i) items commonly called “demonstratives” or “demonstrative pronouns”, which I will call **entity-referring demwords**; (ii) items meaning ‘other (one/s)’; and (iii) items commonly called “interrogative-indefinite pronouns”, which I will call interrogative-indefinite Nominals.

### 2.3.3.1 Entity-referring demwords

Entity-referring demwords, which are commonly labeled by other authors as “demonstratives” or “demonstrative pronouns” are given in Table 4, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Note that there are alternative forms for some of the demwords. In addition to the Nominal categories given in the above paragraph, there are also different forms for three deictic distances – Near-Speaker, Near-Addressee, and Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee.<sup>11</sup>

These Nominals can occur without another semantically associated Nominal or as modifiers of a Type 1, 4, or 5 Nominal (see below for descriptions of Type 4 and Type 5 Nominals). In [14], the demword *not* occurs without another Nominal.

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<sup>11</sup> The terms “proximal”, “medial”, and “distal” are also commonly used, but I will follow other authors in reserving these labels for what Anderson and Keenan (1985) in their typological study of deixis label “distance-oriented” deictic systems which are based on distance from a particular point (such as the speaker), in contrast to “person-oriented” systems which have as reference points both the speaker and addressee. Another set of terms that are sometimes used for deictic morphemes in person-oriented systems are “first person” (for Near Speaker), “second person” (Near Addressee), and “third person” (Away from Speaker and Addressee), but I have chosen not to use these because of their associations with the grammatical category of person.

[14] Elicited:

Wen not?  
what 3SG.NA  
Who's that?

When a demword Nominal is a modifier of another Nominal, the demword always precedes the other Nominal, but need not necessarily be immediately adjacent; in particular, second-position clitics often intervene. In [15], the evidential clitic =*yaq* and the topic clitic =*olu* occur between the demword *wot* and the Type 1 Nominal *kukec* 'game warden':

[15] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

Wot=*yaq*=*olu*    *kukec*    *mec*=*ote*    *totoli*=*masqolamu*.  
3SG.NS=EVID=FOC    warden.AN    still=EMPH    ONGO=scream.AI-(3)  
As for the game warden, he was still screaming.

Occasionally, a demword Nominal and the Nominal it modifies are separated by words other than clitics. In [16], the verb *kisimuskiyat* 'as it emerged' occurs between the demword *wot* 'this' and the Type 1 Nominal *wiwilomeq*<sup>12</sup>.

[16] From *Charles Laporte – Tom and the Wiwilomeq* (Teeter text 20, LeSourd 2002 draft):

Nita, *nit*=*te*,    wot    *kisi*=*musk-iya-t*    *wiwilomeq*  
well    0SG.NA=EMPH    3SG.NS    CMPL=come.out-go.AI-CONJ.3    *wiwilomeq*.AN  
Well, as this *wiwilomeq* emerged

*nit*=*te*=*na*    *w-sakhi*=*amon-ahm-on*.  
0SG.NA=EMPH=PRT    3-into.view=circling-swim.AI-SUBD  
it came swimming into view along a circular path.

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<sup>12</sup> A *wiwilomeq* is a "fearsome aquatic creature that is said to inhabit rivers and lakes." (LeSourd 2002 draft: 115)

**Table 4: Entity-referring demword Type 3 Nominals**

			NON-ABSENTATIVE		
			<i>near speaker</i>	<i>near addressee</i>	<i>away from speaker and addressee</i>
<i>animate</i>	<i>sg</i>	<i>proximate</i>	wot	not	yat
		<i>obviative</i>	yuhtol	nihtol	yehtol
	<i>pl</i>	<i>proximate</i>	yuktok, yukt, yukk	niktok, nikt, nikk	yektok, yekt, yekk
		<i>obviative</i>	yuhuht	nihiht	yeheht
<i>inanimate</i>	<i>sg</i>	yut	nit	yet	
	<i>pl</i>	yuhtol	nihtol	yehtol	
			ABSENTATIVE		
			<i>near speaker</i>	<i>near addressee</i>	<i>away from speaker and addressee</i>
<i>animate</i>	<i>sg</i>	<i>proximate</i>	waka, wakat, wakaw	naka, nakat, nakaw	yaka, yakat, yakaw
		<i>obviative</i>	wehketkikol	nehketkikol	yehketkikol
	<i>pl</i>	<i>proximate</i>	wehketkikk	nehketkikk	yehketkikk
		<i>obviative</i>	wehketkikk	nehketkikk	yehketkikk
<i>inanimate</i>	<i>sg</i>	weke, weket, wekew	neke, neket, nekew	yeke, yeket, yekew	
	<i>pl</i>	wehketkikol	nehketkikol	yehketkikol	

### 2.3.3.2 Items meaning ‘other (one)’

Type 3 Nominals which mean ‘other (one)’ are given in Table 5. The root of all the forms is *kotok(i)*.

**Table 5: Forms of *kotok* ‘other’ Type 3 Nominal (after LeSourd 1995)**

			<i>Non-absentative</i>	<i>Absentative</i>
<i>Animate</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Proximate</i>	kotok	kotokaw
		<i>Obviative</i>	kotokil	kotokikok
	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Proximate</i>	kotokik	kotokikk
		<i>Obviative</i>	kotokihi	
<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Singular</i>		kotok	kotokew
	<i>Plural</i>		kotokil	kotokikol

These Nominals can also without another semantically associated Nominal or as modifiers of a Type 1, 4, or 5 Nominal. In [17], *kotokik* is a plural form occurring independently, while *kotok* in [18] is a modifier of the Type 1 Nominal *monihq* ‘island’.

[17] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Itom-uk, “Eluwehkal=te Koluskap nicalkul.”  
 say.AI-3PL must.be=EMPH Koluskap.AN (3)-uncle.AN  
 They said, “He must be Koluskap’s uncle.”

Kenoq=olu kotok-ik l-itah-asu-w-ok nit=al nit Mikcic  
 but=TOP other-AN.PL thus-think-AI-3-3PL OSG.NA=DUB OSG.NA turtle.AN  
 ’-kis=ikonu-w-akon.  
 3-CMPL=grow.II-DER-NMLZ.INAN

But others thought that it was a result of Mikcic’s upbringing.

[18] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

Apc nt-ankuwi=pcit-ahkal-ke-ne-n kotok monihq.<sup>13</sup>  
 next 1-further=send-throw.TA-3I-SUBD-1PL other.INAN island.INAN  
 Then we were sent further out to another island.

<sup>13</sup> More commonly in this context, a locative form of the noun would occur, *monihkuk* ‘to the island’.

### 2.3.3.3 Interrogative-indefinite Nominals

Interrogative-indefinite Nominals are given in Table 6 (note that the inanimate forms, like inanimate Nominals in general, do not differentiate obviation).

**Table 6: Interrogative-indefinite Type 3 Nominals (after LeSourd 1995)**

			<i>Non-absentative</i>	<i>Absentative</i>
<i>Animate</i> 'who?'; '(some)one'	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Proximate</i>	wen wena (EMPH)	wenaw
		<i>Obviative</i>	wenil	wenikol
	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Proximate</i>	wenik	wenikk
		<i>Obviative</i>	wenihi	
<i>Inanimate</i> 'what?'; '(some)thing'	<i>Singular</i>		keq, keqoss, keqsey	
	<i>Plural</i>		keqseyal	

In Passamaquoddy, as in many Algonquian languages, the same forms serve as interrogative Nominals ('who?'; 'what?', 'where?') and as indefinite Nominals ('someone', 'one'; 'something', 'thing'; 'somewhere').<sup>14</sup> *wen* as an indefinite Nominal is often best translated with English indefinite 'you' or 'we', although the more formal translation of 'one' preserves the third person singular features of *wen*. Both *wen* and *keq* occur frequently after *psite* 'all' and *mate* [NEG] to mean 'everyone, everything' and 'no one, nothing' respectively.

*wen* and *keq* almost always occur without another semantically associated Nominal, whether they are used as indefinite or as interrogative Nominals; *wen* does occur occasionally

<sup>14</sup> 'where, somewhere' is a particle *tan*, not a Nominal.

as the possessor in a possessive expression. Examples are given in [19] to [22]. In the first clause of [19], *wen* is an indefinite Nominal expressing the indefinite subject of the preverb-verb collocation *ktahcuwi kehkimkepon* ‘someone has to teach us’, while in the second clause, *keqsey* is an indefinite Nominal expressing the object of the preverb-verb collocation *nkisi pcitahkanen* ‘we can send it’:

[19] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

Naka kt-ahcuwi=na kehkim-ke-pon el-okit-o-k wen  
 and 2-must=also teach.TA-3I-1PL how-read.TI-TH-CONJ.3 one.AN  
 posaqh-ess-o-k posaqh-enom-akon  
 light-move-II-CONJ.0 light-TI-NMLZ.INAN

And we had to be taught (lit. someone had to teach us) how to read flashing lights

nit=ona weci=hc n-kisi=pcit-ahka-ne-n keqsey nipayiw.  
 so=PRT so.that=FUT 1-able=send-throw.TI-SUBD-1PL thing.INAN at.night  
 so that we could send things at night as well.

[20] to [22] are examples of the Nominals as interrogatives. In [20], *wen* is the subject argument of the verb *etuci=kinitahamsit* ‘s/he thinks so much of herself/himself’.<sup>15</sup> In [21], *keq* is the subject argument of the II verb *leyu* ‘happen’, while in [22], *keq* expresses the object argument of the TI verb *eyyin* ‘what you have’.

[20] From *Solomon Polchies – Lucky* (Teeter text 34, LeSourd 2002 draft):

Wen yut etuci=kin-itah-am-si-t yut,  
 who.AN OSG.NS to.that.extent=big-think-TA-RFLX-CONJ.3 OSG.NS  
 ’-totol-ihkosi-n yut?  
 3-ONGO-build.AI-SUBD OSG.NS

Who here has the gall here to build his house here?

(lit. ‘Who here thinks so much of herself/himself here that s/he builds here?’)

---

<sup>15</sup> Recall that interrogative sentences with *wen*, the verb is always in the Changed Conjunct Participle mode; see 1.2.2.1.

[21] Elicited:

Keq leyu?  
what happen.II-(0)  
What happened?

[22] From *Peter Lewis Paul – Trading* (Teeter text 42, LeSourd 2002 draft):

Itom, “Keq ey-yin?”  
say.AI-(3) what have.TI-CONJ.2  
He said, “What have you got?”

### 2.3.4 Type 4 Nominal

All Type 4 Nominals distinguish number, animacy (when plural), obviation (for animates), and locative case. Absentative forms were not consistently elicited; examples of those that were are given below. As for possession marking, it generally does not occur on the ordinal Type 4 Nominals (*amsqahsewey* ‘first’, *nisewey* ‘two’, *nuhuwey* ‘third’), but does on Type 4 Nominals such as *pahtatuwey* ‘(one on the) left’.<sup>16</sup> Compared with Type 1 Nominals, then, Type 4 Nominals lack systematic distinctions for absentativity and possession. Type 4 Nominals all end in a nominalizing *-ey(a)* morpheme, and are mostly derived from particle stems (e.g. *amsqahsew-* ‘first’, *nisu-* ‘two’, *pil-* ‘new’, *piluw-* ‘different’), although they may also be derived from Nominal stems (e.g. *pahtatuw-* ‘her/his left hand’); for mnemonic convenience, they might thus be referred to as “*-ey* Nominals”.

Table 7 gives the non-locative forms.

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<sup>16</sup> For example, ‘your first book’ was given as *amsqahsewey ktahtuwikhikon*, with possession marking only on the Type 1 Nominal *ktahtuwikhikon* ‘your book’, although when pressed, the consultant said that *ktamsqahsewey*, with the second person prefix /kt-/ , is possible as well. On the other hand, ‘my left leg’ was given as *npahtatey nkat* without hesitation, with the first person prefix /n-/ on both *pahtatey* ‘left’ and *kat* ‘leg’.

**Table 7: Type 4 Nominals – non-locative forms**

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>		
	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate</i>		<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate</i>	
		<i>prox</i>	<i>obv</i>		<i>prox</i>	<i>obv</i>
'first (one)'	amsqahsewey	amsqahseweyal	amsqahseweyal	amsqahseweyak	amsqahseweya	
'second (one)'	nisewey	niseweyal	niseweyal	niseweyak	niseweya	
'third (one)'	nuhuwey	nuhuweyal	nuhuweyal	nuhuweyak	nuhuweya	
'last (one)'	pcossolewey	pcossoleweyal	pcossoleweyal	pcossoleweyak	pcossoleweya	
'new (one)'	piley	pileyal	pileyal	pileyak	pileya	
'different (one)'	piluwey	piluweyal	piluweyal	piluweyak	piluweya	
'(one on the) left'	pahtatuwey	pahtatuweyal	pahtatuweyal	pahtatuweyak	pahtatuweya	
'(one on the) right'	tinahkatuwey	tinahkatuweyal	tinahkatuweyal	tinahkatuweyak	tinahkatuweya	

Some locative forms of Type 4 Nominals are given in [23]. *-wi* in the plural forms is a derivational linker.

[23] Locative forms for *piley* 'new (one)' and *piluwey* 'different (one)':

**locative singular**

*pileya-k* 'on a/the new one'  
*piluweya-k* 'on a/the different one'

**locative plural**

*pileya-wi-hkuk* 'on (the) new ones'  
*piluweya-wi-hkuk* 'on (the) different ones'

Absentative forms for Type 4 Nominals are hard to elicit and seem to be uncommon.

One form that could be elicited was the absentative singular form of *piley* ‘new (one)’, as given in [24].

[24] Absentative form for *piley* ‘new (one)’:

**absentative singular**  
*pileya-kol* ‘a/the new one [ABS]’

Type 4 Nominals can occur without another semantically associated Nominal; as a modifier of a Type 1 Nominal or another Type 4 Nominal; or modified by a demword Type 3 Nominal, a Type 3 Nominal meaning ‘other’, a Type 5 Nominal, or a Type 6 Nominal. In [25], the Type 4 Nominals occur without another semantically associated Nominal. In [26], the Type 4 Nominal *pileyal* occurs as a modifier of the Type 1 Nominal *wikuwamol* ‘houses’, while in [27], *pileyak* is modified by the demword *niktok*.

[25] Elicited:

Nom-iy-a	amsqahseweya/	niseweya/	pcossoleweya.
(3)-see-TA-DIR	first.AN-(3')	second.AN-(3')	last.AN-(3')
S/he saw	(the) first ones/	second ones/	last ones.

[26] From *David Francis – Life After the Army*:

Malom=te,  
finally=EMPH  
Finally,

sap-iyē	eli=kotuw-iht-asi-k	<u>pileya-l</u>	w-ikuwam-ol
pass-II-(0)	thus=will-build.TI-PASS-CONJ.0	new-INAN.PL	3-house.INAN-PL

Sipayik.  
Pleasant.Point.LOC

it came through that new houses were going to be built at Pleasant Point.

[27] Elicited:  
niktok pileya-l  
3PL.NA new-AN.PL  
those new ones

### 2.3.5 Type 5 Nominal

Type 5 Nominals are inherently singular or plural, and inflect for animacy and obviation (for animates). Compared with Type 1 Nominals, they lack distinctions for locative case, absentativity, and possession.

This category includes the count numbers ‘one’ to ‘five’<sup>17</sup> and the quantifier ‘several’<sup>18</sup>, given in Table 8, so for convenience, this type of Nominal will sometimes be referred to as “quantifier Nominals”. The number Nominals have morphologically related particle forms used for enumeration which I also present in the table for comparison.

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<sup>17</sup> Numerals higher than five are morphologically particles.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the items for ‘several’ are morphologically plural forms of *pesqon* [INAN]/*pesq* [AN], which in these singular forms mean ‘one’. This can be viewed as an instance of grammaticalization, in which the semantics of singularity associated with the forms meaning ‘one’ are sufficiently bleached so that pluralization is possible. It is fairly common for singular indefinite articles to originate from numerals meaning ‘one’ (e.g. French *un* (MASC)/*une* (FEM) can mean indefinite ‘a/an’ as well as ‘one’); the pluralization of the forms meaning ‘one’ to produce a form meaning ‘several’, evidenced in the Passamaquoddy data, is less common.

**Table 8: Type 5 Nominals**

TRANSLATION	PASSAMAQUODDY NUMBER			
	<i>Particle</i>	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate</i>	<i>Obviative</i>
'one'	pesq	pesqon	pesq	peskuwol
'two'	nis	nisonul	nisuwok	nisu
'three'	nih	nohonul	nuhuwok	nuhu
'four'	new	newonul	newwok	newu
'five'	nan	nannul	nanuwok	nanu
'several'		pesqonul	peskuwok	pesku

Type 5 Nominals can occur without another semantically associated Nominal; as a modifier of a Type 1 or Type 4 Nominal; or modified by a demword Type 3 Nominal or a Type 6 Nominal. In [28], *peskuwok* 'a few (people)' occurs without another semantically associated Nominal. In [29], *peskuwok* modifies the Type 1 Nominal *wasisok* 'children', while in [30], *nanuwok* is modified by the demword Nominal *niktok*.

[28] From *David Francis – Houses*:

Anqoc    peskuw-ok    mil-a-k    micu-w-akon.  
 sometimes    one.AN-PL    (3t)-give.TA-DIR-3PL    eat.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
 Sometimes food was given to some (people).

[29] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

Etol-ayyom-uk    peskuw-ok wasis-ok  
 ONGO-play.with.TA-CONJ.1    one.AN-PL    child.AN-PL  
 When I was playing with a few of the kids

nit etoli=sotuhmuw-i-hti-t.  
0SG.NA ONGO=tell.sb.about.sth.TA+O-1.OBJ-3PL-CONJ.3:1SG  
that's what they were telling me.

[30] Elicited:

niktok nanuw-ok  
3PL.NA five-AN.PL  
those five

### 2.3.6 Type 6 Nominal *yat=te (wen)*

Type 6 Nominals, forms of *yat=te (wen)*, can only be used for animate referents. *yat=te* – occasionally given as *yet=te* or *yut=te*<sup>19</sup> – occurs with *wen* '(some)one' to mean 'each (one)'; thus, this type of Nominal will sometimes be referred to as "distributive *yat=te wen*". With respect to morphological form, *yat* is the non-absentative proximate animate Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee singular demword (*yet* is the non-absentative inanimate Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee singular demword, and *yut* is the non-absentative inanimate Near-Addressee singular demword). *=te* is often glossed as an emphatic morpheme when it occurs in other contexts, but it is not optional here (i.e. *yat*, *yet*, and *yut* do not have the meaning 'each' for contemporary speakers).

According to LeSourd (p.c.), the inflectional properties of *yat=te wen* vary amongst speakers. For some speakers, *yat=te wen* inflects for obviation only in the *wen* part, as given in [31].

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<sup>19</sup> The form is given as *yat=te* because this is the only form that occurs in texts with the meaning of 'each', but certain speakers also occasionally produce the other forms listed.

[31] Type 6 Nominal forms for some speakers

**Proximate**    *yat=te wen*

**Obviative**    *yat=te wenil*

However, for other speakers, *yat=te wen* inflects for both number and obviation, in both the *yat=te* and *wen* parts, as shown in [32].

[32] Type 6 Nominal forms for other speakers

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Proximate</b>	<i>yat=te wen</i>	<i>yektok=te/yekt=te/yekk=te wenik</i>
<b>Obviative</b>	<i>yeheht=te wenil</i>	<i>yehtol=te wenihi</i>

*yat=te wen* can occur without another semantically associated Nominal or as a modifier of a Type 1, Type 4, or Type 5 Nominal. An example of *yat=te wen* occurring without another semantically associated Nominal is given in [33], with *yat=te wen* underlined.

[33] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Mawsuwinuw-ok etoli=mawi=wicik-hoti-hti-t  
person.AN-PL            ONGO=gather=stay.at.AI-MPL-PL-CONJ.3

People who were staying with someone else

yat=te            wen    't-ol-iya-n            w-ik-uwa-k.  
3SG.ASA=EMPH    one.AN    3-to.there-go.AI-SUBD    3-house.INAN-POSS.3PL-LOC  
each went back to their house.

The grammatical characteristics and development of *yat=te wen* will be discussed further in 6.2.

### 2.3.7 Type 7 Nominal

Type 7 Nominals are inherently animate, and inflect for number. These are what are commonly called the “personal pronouns”, used only for sentient animate entities (usually human beings).

The forms of the number inflection for this type of Nominal are notable for being completely different from those for the other types of Nominals; for the first person exclusive and inclusive plurals *nilun* and *kilun*, we could analyze the stems as underlying */nilu/* and */kilu/* and */-n/* as a morpheme marking plural involving a first person, while for the second person and third person plurals *kiluwaw* and *nekomaw*, the underlying stems could be analyzed as */kilu/* and */nekom/*, with */-aw/* a non-first person plural morpheme. Neither */-n/* nor */-aw/* resemble the usual plural morphemes for Nominals, which end in */-k/* for animates and */-l/* for inanimates, and one might argue that */-n/* and */-aw/* are marginal as inflections due to the extremely limited range of their occurrence. Type 7 Nominals are given in Table 9.

**Table 9: Type 7 Nominals**

PERSON	NUMBER	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>1st</i>	nil ‘I’ <i>also: nila (EMPH)</i>	nilun ‘we [EXCL] (me and another/others, not including you)’
		kilun ‘we [INCL]’ (you and I, and maybe another/others)’
<i>2nd</i>	kil ‘you [SG]’ <i>also: kila (EMPH)</i>	kiluwaw ‘you [PL]’
<i>3rd</i>	nekom ‘s/he’	nekomaw ‘they’

This type of Nominal can occur without another semantically associated Nominal or as the possessor of a possessed Type 1, 4, or 5 Nominal. When a Type 7 Nominal occurs as a possessor, it occurs before the possessed Nominal, and is usually though not always adjacent to it.

In [34], *nil* is a possessor which immediately precedes the inalienably possessed Type 1 Nominal *nikuwoss* ‘my mother’:

[34] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

Kenoq nil n-ikuwoss  
 but 1SG I-mother.AN  
 But my mother

mate non-uw-a-w tokkiw mace-ph-i-t.  
 NEG (1)-know-TA-DIR-NEG until start-bear.TA-1.OBJ-CONJ.3  
 I didn’t know her until she took me away.

In [35], *nekom* is a possessor which precedes the locative, inalienably possessed ‘*tulok* ‘in her/his canoe’, with the morphemes *yey*, a hesitator Nominal, and *nihkaniw*, a spatial modifier particle, intervening between possessor and possessed:

[35] From *Alexander Sacobie – A Mother-in-law’s Trap* (Teeter text 9, LeSourd 2002 draft)

Yut=yaq=te nekom yey nihkaniw ’-tul-ok,  
 0SG.NS=EVID=EMPH 3SG HESPRO.0SG front 3-canoe.INAN-LOC

Then, up in the bow of his canoe,

’posqole-n-om-oni-ya-l nihtol.  
 3-light-by.hand.TI-TH-INDC.0-3PL-3’ 3’PL.NA  
 they lit them.

### 2.3.8 Overview

With respect to conventional terminology, in Algonquian descriptions, what are usually called “nouns” are the Type 1 and Type 4 Nominals. Type 3 and Type 7 Nominals are commonly called “pronouns.” Type 5 Nominals are sometimes called “numerals” or “particles” despite their Nominal inflectional behavior. Type 6 Nominals seem not to occur in most Algonquian languages. Type 2 Nominals are not usually mentioned in Algonquian descriptions, although LeSourd (forthcoming, 1995) and Leavitt (1996) for Passamaquoddy and Cyr (1993) for Montagnais are exceptions.

Nominals that pattern together inflectionally nevertheless show some differences in syntactic behavior. Thus, as I have mentioned:

- The interrogative-indefinite Nominals under Type 3 Nominals and Type 7 Nominals do not occur with Nominal modifiers; they can, however, occur as possessors of another Nominal. By range of usual syntactic function then, one might call these Type A Nominals.
- Entity-referring demwords and Nominals meaning ‘other’ (both of these are kinds of Type 3 Nominals), Type 4 Nominals, Type 5, and Type 6 Nominals occur commonly both without another semantically associated Nominal and as modifiers of another Nominal. We can call these Type B Nominals.
- Type 1 Nominals occur commonly without another semantically associated Nominal. A Type 1 Nominal can also be modified by entity-referring demwords and Nominals meaning ‘other’ (both of these are kinds of Type 3 Nominals), Type 4 Nominals, Type 5, and Type 6 Nominals. In addition, a Type 1 Nominal can occur as a

possessed Nominal or as the possessor of a possessed Type 1 or Type 4 Nominal.

We can call these Type C Nominals.

- Type 2 Nominals occur in a range of positions where the speaker is searching for a word or words; we can call these Type D Nominals.

Thus, we arrive at somewhat different groupings depending on whether we are considering inflectional properties, in which case we come up with Nominal Types 1 to 7, or whether we are considering syntactic behavior, in which case we come up with Nominal Types A to D. There is no reason to choose one or the other categorization as the sole valid one. Nor are we compelled to try to fit the various types of Nominals identified in Passamaquoddy into just two categories, “noun” and “pronoun”, since the Nominals show a range of inflectional behavior as well as the amount of semantic content that they code.

With respect to semantic content, it will be useful to distinguish two main sorts of external (semantic) arguments<sup>20</sup>, since we will see that they sometimes behave differently in the language. Thus, I will use the term **HIRI**, an abbreviation for “higher information referring item”, to refer to arguments which have relatively high lexical semantic information. These include Type 1 Nominals and Type 4 Nominals, along with Changed Indicative and Changed Participle forms used as arguments, as described in 1.2.2.1. Conversely, I will refer, using quote marks, to “pronominal” types of arguments as a cover term for Type 3, Type 5, Type 6, and Type 7 Nominals, along with quantifier and numeral

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<sup>20</sup> Recall that in 1.2.3, I made a distinction between two sorts of external arguments: semantic arguments and grammatical arguments; semantic arguments need not be coded inflectionally on the verb.

particles noted in 1.2.2.5, that have relatively low semantic information. This is summarized in Table 10.

**Table 10: HIRI vs. “pronominal” arguments**

<b>HIRI argument sub-type</b>	<b>Examples</b>	<b>“pronominal” argument sub-type</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Type 1 Nominal	<i>qotoput</i> ‘chair’	Type 3 Nominal	<i>wen</i> ‘one; someone’ <i>kotok</i> ‘other (one)’ <i>yut</i> ‘this [INAN] (one)’
Type 4 Nominal	<i>amsqahsewey</i> ‘first (one)’	Type 5 Nominal	<i>nisonul</i> ‘two [INAN]’ <i>nisuwok</i> ‘two [AN]’
Changed Conjunct Indicative or Participle verb	<i>wapeyit</i> ‘one who is white; white person’	Type 6 Nominal	<i>yat=te wen</i> ‘each (one)’
		Type 7 Nominal	<i>kil</i> ‘you [SG]’
		quantifier or numeral particle	<i>psiw</i> ‘all’ <i>kamahcin</i> ‘six’

## 2.4 The approach to Passamaquoddy demwords in this dissertation

In the last section, I classified entity-referring demwords under the category of Nominal by virtue of their inflectional behavior. As I already mentioned in Chapter 1, there are also other types of demwords in Passamaquoddy consisting of different subsets of the demword paradigm and showing a range of grammatical properties. In this dissertation, I will discuss all of these demword types in turn.

I start in Chapter 3 by looking at entity-referring demwords, which make use of the entire demword paradigm and are the types of demwords with the functions most familiarly associated with demonstratives.

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, the grammatical behavior of other types of demwords in Passamaquoddy (temporal, clausal connective, copula, manner, and quantifier *yat=te* demwords) will be discussed and contrasted with that of entity-referring demwords. Using the argumentation outlined in 2.2, I will show why these demwords should no longer be grouped with entity-referring demwords as members of the same word class.

The non-morphosyntactic properties of demwords will form an important part of the discussion about demwords in the chapters to come, but not used as a basis for determining word class classification. By taking this approach, I will be able to discuss the different grammatical types of demwords in Passamaquoddy, give a detailed characterization of their discourse functions, information status, and referent types, and offer explanations of the functional similarities and differences with reference to processes of grammaticalization that I propose have occurred.

## Chapter 3: Entity-referring demwords

One of the major uses of demwords is for reference, to relatively concrete phenomena such as people, animals and other sentient creatures, physical objects, and physical places, as well as less concrete phenomena such as sections of linguistic discourse or things like ‘life’ and ‘education’. For convenience, I will refer to these collectively as **entities**,<sup>1</sup> and I label the demwords used to refer to such phenomena **entity-referring demwords**, forms of which were presented in Table 4 of 2.3.3. Recall that entity-referring demwords are a Type 3 Nominal, which morphologically differentiate number, animacy, obviation (for animates), and absentativity. Also, there are different forms for three deictic distances – Near-Speaker, Near-Addressee, and Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee.

Entity-referring demwords are the only type of demword that can make use of the full range of items in Table 4 in 2.3.3, and on this basis, they can be considered to be in some sense more basic than the other types of demwords to be discussed in later chapters (such as place-referring demwords, time-referring demwords, and demwords in verbless sentences).

I will discuss two major occurrences of entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy: **adnominal entity-referring demwords** and **pronominal entity-referring**

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<sup>1</sup> It is admittedly a non-trivial conceptual extension to include events and propositions under the rubric of “entity” as the term is most commonly understood, but I will assume that, for the purposes of anaphoric reference, events and propositions are in some sense treated like other, more abstract phenomena that are expressed by HIRIs such as *pomawsuwakon* ‘life’ and *spokehkitimok* (a participle based on the bound verb root *okehki* ‘teach’) ‘higher education’.

**demwords.**<sup>2</sup> I begin in 3.1 by reviewing some previous literature relevant to the description and classification of Passamaquoddy demwords. 3.2 and 3.3 present and discuss data for adnominal and pronominal demwords respectively, and then 3.4 gives a summary of the chapter.

### 3.1 Some preliminaries

I begin this section in 3.1.1 by summarizing two classifications relevant to the Passamaquoddy data, Prince's (1981) taxonomy of the information status of discourse entities, and Himmelmann's (1996) classification of demonstrative types, along with Dryer's (p.c.) slight amendment of Himmelmann's system. In 3.1.2, I review discussions about the functions generally associated with demonstratives and with definite articles, since adnominal entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy have functions that have been described for both demonstratives and definite articles; I look in particular at discussions by Hawkins (1978) and Greenberg (1978).

For reference, I first present in Figure 1 a chart of the various types of discourse entities and/or demonstrative types that Prince (1981), Himmelmann (1996), Dryer (p.c.), Hawkins (1978), and Greenberg (1978) propose, showing with arrows when two types are largely equivalent, when one type would include all instances of another type, or when one

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<sup>2</sup> The distributive quantifier *yat=te wen* 'each one', which involves a demword *yat* is not included in this chapter for a couple of reasons. First, the semantics of quantifier reference is different in important ways from non-quantifier reference. Second, *yat* in *yat=te* no longer inflects for these categories for all speakers, making it different from the entity-referring demwords to be examined in this chapter. Hence, *yat=te wen* will be discussed in Chapter 6, which examines various demword types that do not fit into any of the earlier chapters.

type would include only some instances of another type. The absence of arrows between one type and another means that there was no fully or partially equivalent type in any of the other descriptions.

**Figure 1: The discourse entities and demonstrative types of Prince (1981), Himmelmann (1996), Dryer (p.c.), Hawkins (1978), and Greenberg (1978)**

**Key:**

$X \longleftrightarrow Y$  : instances of  $X$  and instances of  $Y$  are largely equivalent

$X \xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}} Y$  : all instances of  $Y$  fall under  $X$

$Y \xleftarrow{\hspace{1cm}} X$  : some instances of  $Y$  fall under  $X$

- Prince: brand new unanchored
- Prince: brand new anchored
- Prince: situationally evoked
- Greenberg: demonstratives/definite articles with proper nouns and vocatives
- Greenberg: demonstratives/definite articles with possessive constructions

<b>Greenberg:</b>	<b>demonstratives/definite articles with common, unpossessed nouns</b>
----->	<b>Hawkins: immediate situation &lt;-----&gt; Himmelmann: situational</b>
----->	<b>Prince: textually evoked</b>
----->	<b>Hawkins: anaphoric</b>
----->	<b>Himmelmann: tracking</b>
----->	<b>Himmelmann: discourse deictic</b>
----->	<b>Prince: inferrable &lt;-----&gt; Hawkins: associative-anaphoric</b>
----->	<b>Prince: unused new &lt;-----&gt; Hawkins: larger situation</b>
(maybe) ----->	<b>Himmelmann: recognitional &lt;----- (maybe)</b>
----->	<b>Dryer: recognitional</b>
----->	<b>Dryer: inferential</b>

In 3.1.3, I show that in Passamaquoddy, adnominal entity-referring demwords (i.e. those which modify an HIRI<sup>3</sup>) and pronominal entity-referring demwords (those which occur without an HIRI) are members of the same word class occurring in two different syntactic environments. Finally, in 3.1.4, I summarize the types of uses for adnominal and pronominal demwords in Passamaquoddy that will be discussed in more detail in 3.2 and 3.3.

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<sup>3</sup> When the HIRI is a participle, the term “adnominal” is not strictly accurate if taken literally as “occurring with a Nominal”. However, for ease and familiarity of reference, I will use “adnominal” to refer to demwords that occur with participles in ways parallel to adnominal demwords occurring with Nominals.

### 3.1.1 Prince (1981) and Himmelmann (1996)

One of the main aims of this chapter is to show the functional range of Passamaquoddy entity-referring demwords and how it compares with the way demonstrative functions have previously been described. Therefore, I will briefly discuss two previous works relevant to the Passamaquoddy data in this general sense: Prince (1981) and Himmelmann (1996). I will refer back to the classifications given in those papers when I look at examples of Passamaquoddy entity-referring demwords in later sections.

#### 3.1.1.1 Prince (1981)

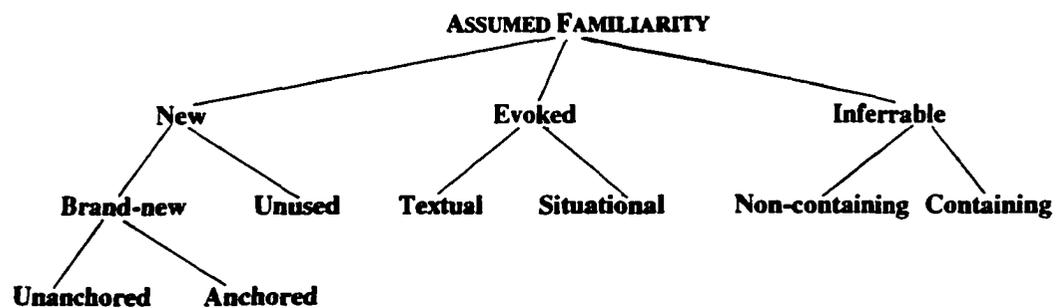
Referring expressions involving adnominal and pronominal demwords are not, of course, the only ways for making reference to entities in Passamaquoddy. Any language will have different coding options for referring to discourse participants, and the choice(s) most appropriate in a particular context will vary depending on factors such as information status, speaker attitude towards the referent, and so on. There have been a number of classifications of the information status that a referent may have, with Prince's (1981) landmark work still commonly cited (see also Halliday and Hasan 1976; Clark and Haviland 1977; Kuno 1972; DuBois 1980; Chafe 1980; Givón 1983; Lambrecht 1994).

While it is not the aim of the present study to give an in-depth analysis of referring strategies and the relevant discourse-pragmatic factors in Passamaquoddy, I will give a brief summary of Prince (1981) below, and in later sections describe which types of referents proposed in that paper occur with entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy. (A fuller picture of reference in Passamaquoddy would require an investigation of the other linguistic

options speakers use for making reference, as well as explore more thoroughly the correlations between the different referring strategies and the discourse status of the referents.)

Prince (1981) presents a way of classifying discourse entities based on what familiarity the speaker assumes the hearer to have with it. Figure 2 gives a summary of all the types of discourse entities that Prince describes.

**Figure 2: Prince's (1981) types of discourse entities**



When a discourse entity is introduced by a speaker for the first time into the discourse, it is **new**. New entities may either be **brand-new**, in which case the addressee must create a new one in their discourse model, or **unused**, which means that the hearer has in their model an entity corresponding to the speaker's. Brand-new entities may be further divided into **unanchored** and **anchored**; an anchored entity is one where the NP coding it is *semantically linked by means of another (non-brand new) NP* – the anchor – contained in it, to some other discourse entity, whereas an unanchored brand-new entity is not linked in this way.

An example of a brand-new unanchored entity is given in [1], while an example of a brand-new anchored entity is given in [2]. The relevant referring NP is in bold. In [1], *movie* is anchored to *the newspaper*, while in [2], *movie* is unanchored.

[1] Brand-new unanchored:  
Last night I saw **a movie**.

[2] Brand-new anchored:  
Last night I saw **a movie that the newspaper recommended**.

An example of an new unused entity is given in [3]. A speaker can assume that a hearer has *the original Star Wars movie* in their discourse model without prior mention in the discourse.

[3] Unused:  
What do you think of **the original Star Wars movie**?

If an entity is already in the discourse model, it may be **evoked** by the hearer upon mention by the speaker. It may be evoked **textually**, in that the entity was mentioned earlier in the text, or it may be evoked **situationally**, in which case it refers to one of the discourse participants and some salient properties in the extratextual context.

Examples of textually evoked entities are given in [4] and [5]; *the old man* in [4] and *he* in [5] refer to the same individual as *her grandfather* in the earlier clause.

[4] Textually evoked:  
Mary went to visit her grandfather, and **the old man**, was very happy.

[5] Textually evoked:

Mary went to visit her grandfather, and **he**, was very happy.

[6] is an example of a situationally evoked entity; the hearer can identify the referent of *you* by situational factors such as cues that they are the person being addressed.

[6] Situationally evoked:

Hey, do **you** have the time?

Finally, if the speaker can assume that the hearer can infer a discourse entity via logical or commonsense reasoning that involves associating it with discourse entities already evoked or with other inferrable entities, then the entity is **inferrable**. A range of what might be loosely termed part-whole relationships allow such inferences; for example, *a car* will allow inferring of things like *the wheel*, *the brakes*, and *the passengers*, while *a hospital* will allow inferring of *the lobby*, *the doctor*, *the waiting* and so on. A further distinction can be made as to whether the entity being inferred is associated with an entity expressed by some other NP, in which case it is a non-containing inferrable, or whether the entity being inferred is associated with an entity expressed by in the same NP, in which case it is a containing inferrable.

An example of a non-containing inferrable is given in [7], while an example of a containing inferrable is given in [8]. In [7], *the waiter* is a discourse entity inferrable from the previous NP *an expensive restaurant*. In [8], the referent of *one* is inferrable from the NP *these salads* contained in the same NP of which *one* is the head.

[7] Non-containing inferrable:

We went to an expensive restaurant but **the waiter** was very slow.

[8] Containing inferrable:

Let's put **one of these salads** back in the fridge.

We will see that, in general, Passamaquoddy does not use entity-referring demwords for brand-new entities or inferrable entities, while it can and often does use them for unused new, textually evoked, and situationally evoked entities.

### 3.1.1.2 Himmelmann (1996)

Recall (from Chapter 1) that Himmelmann offers a classification of demonstratives based primarily on discourse function, distinguishing four types of uses:

(1) **situational** – makes reference to an entity present in the utterance situation in relation to a deictic center, and establishes that entity in the discourse. An example, repeated from Chapter 1, is given in [9].

[9] *Context* – Speaker points to a UFO in the sky.  
Look at that!

(2) **discourse deictic** – makes reference to propositions or events. An example, again repeated from Chapter 1, is given in [10].

[10] Speaker A: I really tried my best.

Speaker B: I find that hard to believe.

(3) **tracking** – makes reference to discourse participants, generally already mentioned, and helps the hearer keep track of what is happening to whom. Recall that Himmelmann's definition of the tracking function is narrower than anaphoric reference in general, since in order to distinguish the function of tracking demonstratives from that of other, more common tracking devices, Himmelmann defines the tracking use more specifically as only those instances of anaphoric reference involving contrast to another, similar referent or a shift in focus of attention. Once again, an example from Chapter 1 is repeated, in [11].

[11] Something that I noticed about the /movie/ particularly unique was that the colors . . . were just very strange. Like the green was a[n] inordinately bright green, for the pears, ... and these colors just seemed a little kind of bold, almost to the point of being artificial.  
(from Himmelmann 1996: 227)

(4) **recognitional** – makes reference to a discourse entity that the speaker expects can be identified by the addressee via specific, shared knowledge (and not by situational cues or reference to preceding segments of the discourse) upon reminder. Thus, recognitional demonstratives can be used for the first mention of a referent, whereas tracking demonstratives normally cannot be.

Dryer (p.c.) points out that Himmelmann's recognitional demonstrative type may conflate two different types. First, consider [12] below. This is a good example of a true recognitional demonstrative, in which the addressee is invited by the speaker to search their memory for the referent, which the speaker expects is in the addressee's long-term store of referents.

[12] Do you remember that guy from Kandahar that we met in Sao Paolo three years ago?

Now compare [13] and [14], where the relevant NPs are *thése people who voted for Nader* in [13] and *thóse people who voted for Nader* in [14], with stress on the demonstrative. [13] seems most felicitous when the speaker expects the addressee to have some representation of the set of “people who voted for Nader”.<sup>4</sup>

[nn] *Thése people who voted for Nader and who now wish they hadn't are probably going to vote for the Democrats in 2004.*

In contrast, in [14], the addressee need not have a representation of any such set of people, “people who voted for Nader”, to recognize in their memory, and so it may never have occurred to the addressee that such people might exist. However, the addressee can infer that such a referent must exist, and thus form a representation of this referent when they hear [14].

[14] *Thóse people who voted for Nader and who now wish they hadn't are probably going to vote for the Democrats in 2004.*

Let us therefore label demwords like that in [12] as the true recognitional use and demwords like the one in [14] as a fifth distinct type which I will call an **inferential** use.

Himmelmann's classification is of particular interest because of his consideration of how demonstratives may develop uses beyond these four, which he identifies as their core functions. Since we will see that the functional range of entity-referring demwords in

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<sup>4</sup> Thus, the referent could be textually evoked from the previous discourse, in which case the use of the demonstrative would be what Prince (1981) calls a textually evoked sort; alternatively, the referent could be present in the speech situation, in which case the demonstrative is an instance of Hawkins' (1978) immediate situation use or Himmelmann (1996)'s situational use.

Passamaquoddy spans that commonly associated in the literature with demonstratives, definite articles, and third-person pronouns, it will be relevant to see what implications the Passamaquoddy data have for Himmelmann's discussion about the grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles and third-person pronouns.

To summarize, in this section I have reviewed work by Prince (1981), Himmelmann (1996) (along with Dryer's critique of his recognitional type), Greenberg (1978), and Hawkins (1978) relating to demonstrative and definite article functions. These are all slightly different, such that there is some overlap of functions described (with different labels assigned), but also such that functions described in one account may have no equivalent in another account. Thus, for convenience, I will give a brief comparison between these four discussions.

Greenberg (1978) describes demonstratives as occurring with proper nouns and possessive constructions (as well as with common, non-possessed nouns). None of the other authors explicitly discuss these two sorts of uses; Prince's (1981) typology of discourse entities would presumably not exclude these, but it is likely that she was primarily concerned with the occurrence of definite articles (and perhaps demonstratives) with common, non-possessed nouns since her data are from English.

Himmelmann's (1996) situational type looks to be approximately equivalent to Hawkins' (1978) immediate situation use, except that Himmelmann explicitly notes that he defines this type to include reference to entities not literally in the utterance situation, in order to allow for projected contexts in non-conversational discourse. Prince's situationally

evoked type of entity refers only to discourse participants (i.e. speaker or addressee), and is thus not equivalent to Himmelmann's and Hawkins' somewhat similarly named types.

Prince's (1981) textually evoked entities encompass both Hawkins' (1978) anaphoric function and Himmelmann's (1996) tracking use.

Hawkins' (1978) definition of associative-anaphoric function is essentially the same as what Prince (1981) describes is involved in NPs encoding inferrable entities.

Himmelmann's (1996) discourse deictic type is one that has been discussed earlier in the literature (e.g. Lyons 1979; Fillmore 1982), but it was not discussed explicitly by Prince (1981), Greenberg (1978), and Hawkins (1978), although perhaps Prince's (1981) textually evoked type of entity would also include sections of linguistic discourse. Himmelmann's definition of discourse deixis is somewhat unusual in excluding adnominal uses of demonstratives with nouns that name the linguistic discourse unit (e.g. this chapter, that story), which Himmelmann classifies instead as situational uses of demonstratives. For this reason, there are no adnominal demwords which have discourse deictic uses under Himmelmann's definition.

Referents that illustrate Hawkins' larger situation use correspond to Prince's (1981) unused new entities, in that the speaker assumes that the addressee has the relevant discourse entity somewhere in storage without previous (recent) mention in the preceding text.

Himmelmann's (1996) recognitional type is one that none of the other authors describe explicitly, although it might fall under what Prince (1981) calls reference to unused new entities. The recognitional type has some elements similar to Hawkins' (1978) larger situation use, in that both of these involve the speaker counting on the addressee to share some common knowledge, but Himmelmann's recognitional type is defined explicitly as the

speaker reminding the addressee about a referent, while for Hawkins' larger situation use it seems more the case that the speaker assumes that the addressee can as readily identify the referent as the speaker can.

Finally, Dryer's inferential type is also not discussed by any other author, although they would be classified as the recognitional type by Himmelmann (1996).

### 3.1.2 Distinguishing demonstrative and definite article functions: previous discussions

In Chapter 1, the definition of "demonstrative" was discussed at some length. In this section, then, I focus on discussions about the differences between definite articles and what some authors might consider "demonstratives proper." However, it is of no concern here if certain types of functions that have been attributed to demonstratives overlap to a significant extent with the functions that have been attributed to definite articles, since I am not seeking to make any sort of grammatical distinction on functional bases. Rather, the goal is to show that Passamaquoddy has demwords functioning in ways that have in studies of other languages been considered definite article uses. I will then argue that whether Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords occur with functions usually considered to be associated with demonstratives or with definite articles, all these demwords nevertheless belong to the same word class.

Many discussions about distinguishing demonstrative and definite article functions draw on languages where there are two phonologically distinct sets of items that have been labelled "demonstratives" and "definite articles". Here, we begin by looking at the situation

in English, particularly as discussed in detail by Hawkins (1978), and then consider Greenberg's (1978) discussion about the environments in which definite articles are found crosslinguistically.

In languages with phonologically distinct demonstratives and definite articles, the functions of adnominal demonstratives and definite articles show some degree of overlap, such that both may be used in certain contexts. For example, many instances of **anaphoric reference**, where the nominal expression refers back to a previously mentioned referent, allow both a definite article or a demonstrative. The corresponding discourse entities are labeled textually evoked by Prince (1981) and instances of demonstratives for such a function is called the tracking use by Himmelmann (1996). English examples are given in [15] and [16] below:

- [15] Once upon a time, there was a young black pony. The/This pony lived on an old farm in the countryside ...
- [16] There were several fairies that lived in the woods next to the village. But few people had actually seen the/these/those fairies.

However, not all cases of anaphoric reference allow the use of demonstratives. In a context like [17], generally only the definite article can occur (unless the speaker is showing the addressee the actual shirt, a point which we will return to shortly):

- [17] There were two shirts in the shop that I liked – a green one and a red one.  
I ended up buying the/\*this/\*that green one.

Another context where demonstratives and definite articles are interchangeable in English is illustrated by [18] and [19], where the referent is specific but not definite. In this

use, the demonstrative when it occurs can only be the distal one, and the noun phrase with this demonstrative must be modified by a relative clause, full as in [18] or reduced as in [19].

Both the definite article and the distal demonstrative can occur.

[18] When you're cleaning up the storage room, be sure to put the/those bottles which have not been opened into a separate cupboard.

[19] When you're cleaning up the storage room, be sure to put the/those bottles not yet opened into a separate cupboard.

In contrast, the demonstrative in [20] is unacceptable since there is no modifying relative clause in the NP, and in [21], there is a post-noun modifier phrase, but it is a PP *of ink*, so the demonstrative is still unacceptable.

[20] When you're cleaning up the storage room, be sure to put the/\*those unopened bottles into a separate cupboard.

[21] When you're cleaning up the storage room, be sure to put the/\*those bottles of ink into a separate cupboard.

Demonstratives and definite articles are also both found in what Hawkins (1978) called the **immediate situation use** and defined for definite article use as involving a situation where an object is in the immediate vicinity and can be unproblematically located by the addressee. For example, if there is only one videotape within range, one could say, using the definite article:

[22] Can you pass me the videotape?

A demonstrative is also possible in reference to a uniquely identifiable item, as [23] shows:

[23] Can you pass me that videotape?

However, while [22] could be felicitously uttered with the speaker not looking at the videotape, [23] is most natural when the speaker directs the addressee's attention with a head motion, direction of gaze, and/or pointing. These facts reflect a condition of visibility that Hawkins (1978) identifies for certain cases of English demonstrative use – the referent must be visible to the addressee. This is also evident from the example [17] above, where the use of demonstratives was allowable only if the addressee was being shown the shirt. [17] in fact illustrates more strongly the differentiation between demonstratives and definite articles, since if the speaker *is* showing the referent to the addressee in the situation where a sentence like [17] is uttered, the definite article cannot be used. Note that demonstratives in [17] and [23] are examples of what Himmelmann (1996) calls the situational demonstrative use.

Also, definite articles but not demonstratives are used for what Hawkins terms the **larger situation use**, where shared commonalities of residency and other sorts of life situational factors amongst conversational participants allow a speaker to assume that the addressee can identify one entity of some particular kind, even though the kind has more than one possible member from a broader perspective. Examples are given in [24] and [25]:

[24] the school [as referred to by speakers for whom one particular school is the one they are associated with, as students, parents, teachers etc.]  
The school will be closed until the weather improves.



[28]  $x$  = transformational grammar     $y$  = deep structure, transformations  
In transformational grammar, the deep structure is the input to the transformations.

Again, although an acceptable sentence can be formed if a demonstrative is substituted for the definite article in [27], *these/those polling booths* can only refer to booths that are visible in the situation or known on the basis of previous mention in discourse to the addressee, and again, the sentence would no longer constitute an example of associative anaphoric use.

Thus, it is clear that, at least sometimes, there are certain semantic distinctions between demonstratives and definite articles in English, even when there are sentences where both may be used; for further discussion, see Hawkins (1978: 107-115).

From a more crosslinguistic perspective, Himmelmann (1996) seeks to identify a set of functional characteristics that can be identified with “demonstratives” crosslinguistically. Hence, one of his aims is to define ways of distinguishing the functions of demonstratives from those of third-person pronouns and definite articles, since in many languages some or all of these may have the same phonological forms. With respect to the relationship between the function of demonstratives and of definite articles in particular, he stipulates that adnominal items used in the larger situation and associative-anaphoric contexts – which are characteristic for definite articles in languages like English – cannot by his definition be demonstratives. As we saw in the discussion of Hawkins (1978) above, it is in these very two environments that English demonstratives do not occur; however, as we will see for Passamaquoddy, entity-referring demwords can be used in the associative-anaphoric context (or for what Prince (1981) calls inferable discourse entities).

In English, definite articles appear most commonly with common, unpossessed<sup>5</sup> nouns, which are typically referentially definite. However, crosslinguistically, Greenberg (1978) has found that, although that is the most common type of referring expression with which definite articles occur, there are a range of other types of referring expressions which may show marking by definite articles, particularly in languages where definite articles are relatively far along on the grammaticalization path.

Thus, Greenberg discusses cases of “automatic definiteness,” or expressions which are (typically) inherently referentially definite. These include “proper nouns, vocatives and nouns modified by demonstratives and personal pronouns” (Greenberg 1978: 64).

Proper nouns and vocatives typically allow the identification of a referent which is unique in some context, and which is hence identifiable by the addressee. For example, although *Tyler* is not in general a label for a single individual, when a parent calls out *Tyler!* to their child named Tyler or says *Tyler is feeling sick today* to a friend, the referent of “Tyler” is unique in those contexts.

Demonstratives are definite in meaning in many instances, such as anaphoric uses. For example, [29] is taken from the beginning few pages of a book that begins by locating a woman, Megan, walking along a deserted beach. In the underlined noun phrase in [29], *these beaches*, there is an anaphoric demonstrative *these* which refers back to the various beaches that Megan has walked along in “in Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and New

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<sup>5</sup> Definite articles in English cannot co-occur with attributive possessives like *my* and *your*, e.g. \**the my book*. They can, however, occur with nouns modified by a PP containing *of* with a possessive pronoun like *mine* and *yours*, especially if the NP also contains a clausal modifier, e.g. *the book of mine that I like best*.

Jersey”; the NP *these beaches* is definite since both the speaker (writer) and addressee (reader) can identify which beaches are meant.

[29] From *Ursula Hegi – Intrusions*, in Hegi (1981: 7):

Megan had never been able to find a deserted beach, and that although she had pretended to be walking along deserted beaches in Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and New Jersey, while picking her path through toddlers, sand castles, pet chihuahuas, plastic shovels, and other elements associated with tourism, she had never quite succeeded in convincing herself that these beaches were deserted.

However, it should be noted that for at least some exophoric deictic uses of demonstratives, the speaker is unlikely to be assuming that the addressee can identify the referent from the linguistic sign alone, without tracking down what entity or phenomenon the speaker is pointing to. For example, in [30], the demonstrative *that* is used for exophoric deixis, which is combined with a physical gesture to point out to an addressee something in the non-linguistic domain that was not identifiable by the addressee before the deictic act of the utterance and physical pointing.

[30] Speaker [pointing to an individual bird that neither the speaker nor addressee has seen before]: Look at that peregrine falcon!

In fact, part of Himmelmann’s (1996) definition of the situational demonstrative use, of which [30] is an instance, is that the demonstrative serves to establish a referent in the universe of discourse.

Possessive constructions are also frequently identifiable by the addressee, particularly certain kinship expressions which normally refer to only one individual, such as *my mother/father* or *my wife/husband*. It is clear, however, that possessive constructions are not

inherently definite in general. We can fairly easily construct scenarios where a possessive expression is not definite. For example, in [31], *my sister* would only consistently refer to a unique individual if the speaker had only one sister; if the speaker has more than one sister, *my sister* could refer to any of them. Similarly, in [32], an addressee could not be expected to identify the referent of *her book* unless the owner of the book only has one book (and the addressee know this).

[31] *my sister*, when the speaker has more than one sister

[32] *her book*, when the referent of *her* has a number of books

Occurrence of a definite article is thus often (though not always) semantically redundant with those items that Greenberg labels “automatically definite”, but such definite marking does occur in some languages; hence, for example, definite articles occur with proper nouns in Modern Greek (Haspelmath 1999), with demonstratives in languages such as Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989) and Hungarian (Haspelmath 1999), and with possessive constructions in Italian (Haspelmath 1999). We will see that demwords sometimes occur with proper nouns and in possessive constructions in Passamaquoddy.

### 3.1.3 Category status of adnominal and pronominal demwords

Passamaquoddy demwords used in an entity-referring capacity may occur with or without a modified HIRI, that is, what I will call adnominal or pronominal occurrences. Note that the term “adnominal” is used by some scholars only to describe situations where

a nominal modifier is immediately adjacent to the head noun, as in *that dog*, or separated from the head noun only by other adnominal modifiers, as in *that black dog*. In this dissertation, however, “adnominal” implies only a relationship of semantic association between the demword and the HIRI, and will be descriptive of all cases where a demword occurs with another semantically associated HIRI whether or not the demword is immediately adjacent to it.

Recall the discussion in 2.2, that when words of the same phonological form occur in two different syntactic environments, two analyses are logically possible: (a) there is one word class that occurs in two different environments, or (b) two word classes corresponding to the items in the two different syntactic environments. Which analysis is usually preferred by analysts seems to come down to how the items in each of the two environments are distributed in terms of occurrence in those environments. If it is the case that most items in the two environments are phonologically distinct, then one may prefer the analysis that there are two different word classes; those forms which occur in both environments would then belong to two different word classes depending on which environment they occur in. On the other hand, if most items which occur in one environment also occur with the same phonological forms in the other environment, then an analysis where there is one word class that (systematically) occurs in two different environments is more attractive. We can adapt the general diagram [8] from 2.2 into [33], which illustrates two scenarios possible in general for the distribution of pronominal and adnominal demonstratives:

[33] Two possibilities for distribution of pronominal and adnominal items

Phonological forms { *a, b, c, …* }

(I) Most pronominal and adnominal items phonologically distinct items

(II) Most pronominal and adnominal phonologically identical

Pronominal environment	Adnominal environment	Pronominal environment	Adnominal environment
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>		

The first situation is approximated by a language like English, where pronominal items do not all have the same forms as adnominal items ([I]<sub>NP</sub> and [she]<sub>NP</sub> and [a student]<sub>NP</sub> and [the teacher]<sub>NP</sub> are fine, but not \*[I student]<sub>NP</sub>, \*[she teacher]<sub>NP</sub>, \*[a]<sub>NP</sub>, \*[the]<sub>NP</sub>). In contrast, Passamaquoddy has the second situation: generally, there are several Nominal types that can occur pronominally (i.e. without another semantically associated HIRI) as well as adnominally; this is true of all the entity-referring demwords (which are Type 3 Nominals), the item *kotok* ‘other’ (also a Type 3 Nominal), all Type 4 Nominals, and all Type 5 Nominals, as shown in 2.3.<sup>6</sup>

Nominals which occur both adnominally and pronominally have exactly the same phonological and inflectional characteristics in both environments. Thus, for demwords, we

---

<sup>6</sup> In contrast, Type 1 Nominals (“nouns”), Type 7 Nominals (“personal pronouns”) and interrogative-indefinite Nominals, *wen* ‘who, (some)one’ and *keq* ‘what, (some)thing’ (inflectionally classified as Type 3 Nominals), occur pronominally but not adnominally.

find that adnominal and pronominal demwords have identical phonological and inflectional properties, as well as make use of the same range of items in the demonstrative paradigm, and refer to the same semantic range of things. Additionally, the discourse functions of adnominal and pronominal demwords overlap to a large degree. Thus, adnominal and pronominal demwords can both occur in contexts where they are associated with a referent that is emphatic, unexpected, or being contrasted with another referent; and adnominal and pronominal demwords can both function as simple anaphors, conveying no emphasis, unexpectedness, or contrast about the referent. All of these facts support an analysis of pronominal and adnominal demwords as belonging to the same word class.

Other arguments that have been made for treating pronominal and adnominal demwords as members of one word class come from considerations of the nature of the syntactic association between adnominal demwords and the nouns they semantically modify. In several previous analyses of other non-configurational languages, it has been proposed that adnominal demonstratives are independent pronouns juxtaposed to, but not syntactically associated with, a semantically associated noun. For example, Mithun (1976) argues that demonstratives in the Iroquoian language Tuscarora which semantically modify a noun do not form a syntactic constituent with the noun, since: (a) both demonstrative and noun may occur without the other as a complete NP; (b) the position of noun and demonstrative is flexible – either may occur first; and (c) there is often an intonational break between them. In other languages, noun modifiers such as demonstratives may even be separated from the noun by morphemes that are not part of the nominal expression; this is not uncommon in, for example, Australian languages (e.g. see Dixon 1972 for Djirbal; Hale 1983 for Warlpiri; Heath 1986 for Nunggubuyu).

Passamaquoddy is similar to these languages in that demwords can occur pronominally to function as an argument, and, as we saw in 2.3.3, other morphemes may separate an adnominal demword from the Nominal with which it is semantically associated. On the other hand, with regard to linear position, Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords always precede the modified Nominal; if an entity-referring demword follows a noun, it is never modifying that Nominal<sup>7</sup>. Still, while Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords are somewhat more distributionally restricted than pronominal demonstratives, their syntactic association with the modified Nominal is, from a crosslinguistic perspective of constituency, a rather loose one.

There have also been proposals that pronominal and adnominal demonstratives in *all* languages fall into the same word class. For example, DP (determiner phrase) analyses of constituents consisting of a determiner and a noun treat the determiner rather than the noun as the head. In these approaches, determiners take complements in a way comparable to verbs; thus, some determiners, like English articles *the* and *a*, are obligatorily “transitive,” requiring a nominal complement, while demonstratives, like English verbs *eat* and *burn*, can be both “transitive” and “intransitive.” Hence, pronominal demonstratives are determiners without a complement noun while adnominal demonstratives are determiners with one. For

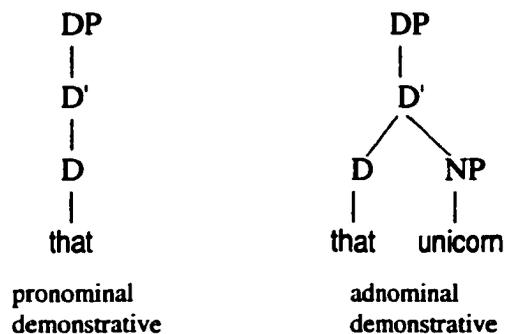
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<sup>7</sup> Note, however, that *place*-referring demwords occasionally occur postnominally as modifiers of an HIRI, e.g. *yut* in the example below, meaning ‘here’, modifies the noun *pomawsuwinuwok* ‘people’ to mean ‘the people (who live) here’:

pomawsuwinuw-ok	yut
person.AN-PL	0SG.NS
people here	

example, working within the generative syntax framework, Abney (1987)<sup>8</sup> suggested the structures for determiner phrases given in Figure 3:

**Figure 3: DP analysis of optionally transitive demonstratives (after Abney 1987)**



Abney assumes that DPs are universal, while others in the generative literature (e.g. Cheng and Sybesma 1999, Bittner and Hale 1995, and Ritter 1995) have argued that a DP analysis might be appropriate for some but not all languages.

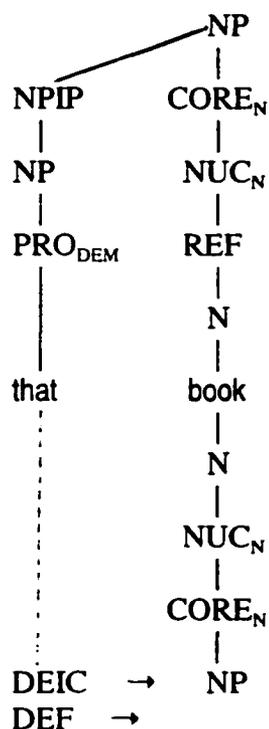
From a Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) approach, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) propose that adnominal and pronominal demonstratives belong to the same word class in some languages, arguing that demonstratives in, for example, English, are always pronouns (and hence, are always NPs). When they occur adnominally, they occupy an “NP-initial position” in the NP constituent structure that allows independent nominals, whether nouns (such as possessive nouns) or pronouns, to function as **operators**<sup>9</sup> of a juxtaposed

<sup>8</sup> Hudson (1984), working in Dependency Grammar, preceded Abney (1987) in proposing the analysis of the determiner as the head, but Abney (1987) is the analysis cited most often in this context.

<sup>9</sup> Constituent structure proper in RRG consists of a single level – the “layered structure of the clause”.

noun or noun phrase, as given in Figure 4 for the expression *that book*. In this figure, *that* functions as both a deictic operator (DEIC) and a definiteness operator (DEF), both with scope over the entire NP. *that* in Figure 4 is also part of the constituent structure, in the NP-initial position.

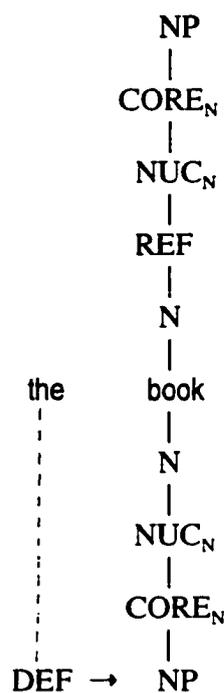
**Figure 4: RRG analysis of an English NP occurring with an adnominal demonstrative** (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 62)



abbreviated as LSC – but there is also an **operator projection** which is conventionally represented below the LSC. **Operators** are a diverse range of syntactico-semantic elements posited to have scope over different layers of the LSC, which are Nucleus, Core, or NP in the case of noun phrases. For a referring expression (abbreviated as REF in [cc]) like an NP, operators include quality (such as expressed by adjectival or nominal modifiers), nominal aspect (i.e. individuation characteristics such as exemplified by the mass/count distinction) number, quantification, negation, deictic and definiteness. Operators are usually represented only in the operator projection, but occasionally there are items, like demonstratives, which have representation in the LSC as well as serving as a deixis operator.

This analysis of English demonstratives differs that for English articles, because Van Valin and LaPolla treat articles in English as determiners rather than pronouns. Thus, while an adnominal demonstrative in English is an operator as well as a constituent having a syntactic position in the LSC, an article like English *the* or *a* is a pure operator inside of the NP core and therefore has no syntactic position. The RRG analysis of English determiners can be seen in Figure 5 below, which is a representation of an English NP *the book*.

**Figure 5: RRG analysis of an English definite NP (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 62)**



In more semantic terms, one may see this as representing an analysis of articles as more purely grammatical, whereas demonstratives are also partly lexical. In favor of this analysis, Van Valin and LaPolla cite crosslinguistic evidence that, in languages which have both articles and demonstratives, these items tend to have different word order positions

relative to the noun, with articles tending to be pre-nominal and demonstratives post-nominal.

In contrast to approaches such as Abney (1987), Diessel (1999) in his crosslinguistic analysis of demonstratives argues against all treatments which propose that the same analysis for adnominal and pronominal demonstratives can be applied in all languages. Instead, Diessel proposes that the grammatical properties of demonstratives – phonological, morphological, and syntactic – must be examined in each language, and doing so provides evidence that in some languages adnominal and pronominal demonstratives are not grammatically distinguished, while in other languages they are. This is also the analytic approach that I take in this dissertation; Passamaquoddy adnominal and pronominal demwords are treated as members of the same word class not for any theory-internal reasons but because examination of the language's morphosyntactic properties supports such an analysis.

#### 3.1.4 Adnominal and pronominal demword uses in Passamaquoddy to be discussed

In 3.1.3 I argued that adnominal and pronominal demwords in Passamaquoddy are not categorially distinguished. However, for various reasons, not all of the demonstrative/definite article functions summarized in 3.1.1 apply to both adnominal and pronominal demwords. For adnominal demwords, then, we see the following types: with proper nouns and possessive constructions as described by Greenberg; Himmelmann's situational type/Hawkins' immediate situation use; Prince's textually evoked entity, encompassing Himmelmann's tracking type and Hawkins' anaphoric use; Hawkins' associative-anaphoric

use/Prince's inferrable entity; Himmelmann's recognitional type; and Dryer's inferential type. For pronominal demwords, we see the following types: Himmelmann's situational type/Hawkins' immediate situation use; Prince's textually evoked entity, encompassing Himmelmann's tracking type and Hawkins' anaphoric use; and Himmelmann's discourse deictic type.

In 3.2 below, I look at adnominal demwords in Passamaquoddy, and in 3.3, I look at pronominal demwords in Passamaquoddy.

## 3.2 Adnominal demwords

In this section, I describe the grammatical and semantic characteristics of Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords in 3.2.1. In 3.2.2, I discuss data illustrating the functional range of Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords, and I consider their word class status. Finally in 3.2.3, I consider the relevance of grammaticalization phenomena to the Passamaquoddy case, including reviewing some literature on the grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles in other Algonquian languages.

### 3.2.1 Morphological and distributional properties

Adnominal demwords can be drawn from the entire demword paradigm (see Table 4 in 2.3.3). Thus, they can be singular or plural; animate or inanimate; proximate or obviative; non-absentative or absentative; Near-Speaker, Near-Addressee, or Away-from-

**Speaker-and-Addressee.** An adnominal demword always precedes its modified HIRI term, and is often, though not obligatorily, adjacent to it.

### 3.2.2 Uses of adnominal demwords

In terms of the types of constituents that Greenberg (1978) describes adnominal demwords occurring with, in Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords occur on occasion before proper nouns and possessive constructions and are very common before common, non-possessed HIRIs.

With common, non-possessed HIRIs, adnominal demwords are used in a wide range of contexts. With respect to the discourse context, adnominal demwords may refer to entities in the speech situation (actual or projected), which corresponds to Himmelmann's situational type or Hawkins' immediate situation use. Alternatively, adnominal demwords may refer to entities identifiable from previous mention in the text, which Prince calls textually evoked. If the demword is used to refer to a contrastive, emphatic, or unexpected entity (which, as discussed in Chapter 1, is a commonly associated in the literature with demonstrative function), then it fits Himmelmann's (1996) tracking use; if it simply indicates previous mention, then it serves what Hawkins (1978) calls an anaphoric use. Adnominal demwords in Passamaquoddy texts with English translations are thus sometimes rendered into English with a demonstrative as 'this', 'that' etc., and sometimes with a definite article 'the'.

With respect to entities that are not identifiable from the speech situation or from explicit previous mention in the text, Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords are sometimes,

though not always, used in what Hawkins calls associative-anaphoric uses and for what Prince labels inferrable entities. Passamaquoddy also has adnominal demwords which fit the definition of Himmelmann's recognitional type and of Dryer's inferential type.

For reference I present in Figure 6 a chart of the types of adnominal demword uses that will be illustrated. The types, drawn from Prince (1981), Himmelmann (1996), Dryer (p.c.), Hawkins (1978), and Greenberg (1978), were summarized in full earlier in Figure 1.

**Figure 6: Types of adnominal demword use in Passamaquoddy (types from Prince 1981, Himmelmann 1996, Dryer p.c., Hawkins 1978, and Greenberg 1978)**

**Key:**

$X \longleftrightarrow Y$  : instances of  $X$  and instances of  $Y$  are largely equivalent

$X \xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}} Y$  : all instances of  $Y$  fall under  $X$

( ) : this type of use not discussed explicitly in this description

Greenberg:	demonstratives/definite articles with proper nouns and vocatives
( $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ )	Prince: textually evoked)
	( $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ ) Hawkins: anaphoric)
	( $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ ) Himmelmann: tracking)

Greenberg:	demonstratives/definite articles with possessive constructions
( $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ )	Prince: textually evoked)
	( $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ ) Hawkins: anaphoric)
	( $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ ) Himmelmann: tracking)

Greenberg:	demonstratives/definite articles with common, unpossessed nouns	
----->	Himmelman: situational	<-----> Hawkins: immediate situation
----->	Prince: textually evoked	
	-----> Hawkins: anaphoric	
	-----> Himmelman: tracking	
----->	Prince: inferrable	<-----> Hawkins: associative-anaphoric
----->	Himmelman: recognitional	
	-----> Dryer: recognitional	
	-----> Dryer: inferential	

The examples in this section will show that adnominal demwords in Passamaquoddy occur in both contexts where in other languages demonstratives would normally occur, as well as in contexts where in other languages definite articles would normally occur. I will underline the relevant demwords and identify what type they are as I present them.

### 3.2.2.1 Adnominal demwords with proper nouns

Although it is not the norm in Passamaquoddy, adnominal demwords are on occasion found with proper nouns. The demword in this context seems to always be the Near-Speaker forms, most commonly the non-absentative proximate singular *wot*. In [34], *wot* occurs before the proper noun *Maliyan* 'Maryanne', in a story where there is only one *Maliyan*.

[34] From *Mary Ellen Socobasin – Maliyan*:

Mam=te      pet-kawoti-hti-t,    nit=yaq=ote      wot    Maliyan  
 finally=EMPH    to.here-walk.AI-3PL-3    OSG.NA=EVID=EMPH    3SG.NS    Mary Ann  
          kip-taha-n      naka    eci=koti=wewis-i-t.  
          down-hit.AI-3I    and      very=want=inquire-AI-CONJ.3

Finally when they arrived, Mary Ann had to go to bed (lit. 'she was knocked down') and she really wanted to find out [about the baby].

[35] is an extract from a story featuring two characters named Susehp and Hesi. In the last clause of this extract, *wot* occurs before the proper noun *Susehp* ‘Joseph’, in a story where there is only one *Susehp*.

[35] From *Solomon Polchies – Joseph and Hesi* (Teeter text 33, LeSourd 2002 draft)

Nit=yaq        weci=kse-tqihi-t        Susehp.  
 OSG.NA-EVID    from.there=in-jump.AI-CONJ.3    Joseph  
 Then they say, Joseph jumped up and ran inside.

’Ti-y-a-l=yaq        “Hesi, n-sikte-h-a        ehpit        yut        qocomok.”  
 3-tell.TA-DIR-3’-EVID    Hesi    1-to.death-hit.TA-DIR    woman.AN    OSG.NS    outside  
 He told them, “Hesi, I’ve killed a woman outside here.”

Nit        weci=nute-tqihi-hti-t.  
 OSG.NA    from.there=out-jump.AI-3PL-CONJ.3  
 They both jumped up and ran out.

Mace-phuwa-ni-ya.  
 start-run.away.AI-SUBD-3PL  
 They set out running.

Elomi-phuwe-hti-t.  
 along-run.away.AI-3PL-CONJ.3  
 They ran on.

Am=te=yaq        komutonesk,    nom-iy-a-wa.  
 finally=EMPH=EVID    robber.AN-(3’PL)    see-TA-DIR-3PL-(3’PL)  
 After a while they saw some robbers.

Eci=tqatuwe-phuwe-hti-t        oposi-k.  
 very=climb.up-run.away.AI-3PL-CONJ.3    tree.AN-LOC  
 Frightened, they scrambled up a tree.

An wot    Susehp    napit-te-hsin-on.  
 then3SG.NS    Joseph    (3)-rod.into.hole-strike-come.to.lie.AI-SUBD  
 And Joseph had gotten stuck in the door.

In a section of this same text a few sentences later, *Susehp* occurs again with *wot*, and the obviative *Hesiwol* is preceded by both an obviative singular near-Speaker demword *yuhtol* and an obviative singular hesitator Nominal *iyol*, as illustrated in [36].

[36] From *Solomon Polchies – Joseph and Hesi* (Teeter text 33, LeSourd 2002 draft)

Am=yaq=te      wot    Susehp,    'ti-y-a-l=yaq    iyol,  
 then=EVID=EMPH    OSG.NA    Joseph    3-tell.TA-DIR-3'-EVID    HESPRO.3'  
                   yuhtol iyol,    Hesiwol,  
                   3'SG.NS    HESPRO.3'    Hesi-3'

After a while, Joseph said to, um, um, Hesi,

“Hesi, nim=kahk=olu=na    n-kotuw-ocokuhk.”  
 Hesi    PRT=EMPH=TOP=PRT    I-want-shit.AI  
 “Hesi, I have to shit really bad.”

These uses are likely to be simple anaphoric uses, akin to the functions served by definite articles in other languages, rather than instances of Himmelmann’s (1996) tracking demonstrative. In both the texts *Maliyan* and *Joseph and Hesi*, the identity of the proper noun marked with a demword is clear, so that the demword cannot be serving a contrastive function. In addition, there is no indication in the discourse that the referent is unexpected or being treated emphatically, which are functions that would fit Himmelmann’s tracking type of demonstrative.

Note that non-proper HIRI expressions that denote unique entities, such as the noun *kisuhs* ‘the sun; the moon’ or the Changed Conjunct verb *nipawset* ‘the moon’ (literally, ‘one which night-walks’) are generally not marked with adnominal demwords, as seen in [37]:

[37] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Kisuhs=na    nip-aws-e-t=na    iyu-hpon    qenoq ma  
moon.AN=also    night-walk-AI-CONJ.3=also    be.located.AI-(3)-PRET    but    NEG  
nom-iy-a-wi-n  
(1)-see-TA-DIR-NEG-1PL

The moon also was out but we couldn't see it

'sami    'sam-aluhk-iyē.  
because too-cloudy-II-(0)  
because it was too cloudy.

If, however, a speaker wishes to draw attention to such a unique entity, such as a sun which looks unusual because of eclipse or an exceptionally beautiful full moon, the HIRI expression may occur with an adnominal demword, as illustrated in [38]:

[38] Elicited:

Ipa,    I-apom-a-n    not    kisuhs!  
hey!    thus-look.at.TA-DIR-IMP.2    3SG.NA    sun.AN/moon.AN  
Hey, look at that sun/moon!

### 3.2.2.2 Adnominal demwords in possessive constructions

Adnominal demwords may occur with possessed expressions, especially kinship terms. The most common demword in this context is the non-absentative animate singular Near-Speaker form *wot*, although Near-Addressee forms also occur. It is possible that some semantic difference may exist between marking the possessed expression with a Near-Speaker demword and marking it with a Near-Addressee demword, but it is not clear from my data what this difference might be.

[39] is from a story about a man with a brother with special powers. When the inalienably possessed *'siwehsol* 'his brother' occurs in this text, it is sometimes preceded by

the Near-Speaker animate obviative singular demword *yuhtol*, as in [39]. (Third person possessed nouns like *'siwehsol* are always grammatically obviative.)

[39] From *Solomon Polchies – Old Snowshoe Lace* (Teeter text 12, LeSourd 2002 draft):

“Koma tama ihi-wi nil peskuwat tan nehpih-i-k,”  
 NEG where be.present.II-NEG 1SG gun.INAN howkill.TA-1.OBJ-CONJ.3  
 't-iya-l=yaq yuhtol 'siwehs-ol.  
 3-tell.TA-DIR-3'-EVID 3'SG.NS 3-brother.AN-OBV  
 “There isn’t a gun anywhere that will kill me,” he told his brother.

In [40], from *The Wampum Records*, the Near-Addressee animate plural demword *nikt* occurs with *ksiwehsonuk* ‘our brothers’, which the chief uses to refer to visitors from another tribe.

[40] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Nit sakom 't-ahkinuweht-uw-a-n uskitape-m,  
 0SG.NA chief.AN 3-inform-TA-DIR-SUBD (3)-man.AN-POSS-(3'PL)  
 Then the chief notifies his men,  
 “Nikt k-siwehs-on-uk kisacu-w-ok wesuw-ess-i-ni-ya.”  
 3PL.NA 2-brother.AN-POSS.1-PL ready.AI-3-3PL (3)-return-move-AI-SUBD-3PL  
 “Our brothers are ready to go back.”

In [41], the absentative near-Addressee demword *nakat* precedes the absentative noun *nmuhsùms* ‘my grandfather [ABS] (the non-absentative form would be accentually different: *nmuùhsùms*) in an introductory sentence to a story about the speaker’s late grandfather. (Note that there is another demword, *neket*, which is an inanimate absentative form, being used as a temporal demword meaning ‘at that time some time ago’; see 4.1 for discussion of temporal demwords.)

[41] From *William Saulis – Digby and the Moose* (Teeter text 38, LeSourd 2002 draft)

Nt-akonut-om-on      neket      nakat      n-muhsùms,  
1-tell.TI-TH-0      ABS.OSG.NA    ABS.3SG.NA    1-grandfather.AN-(ABS)  
naci=kotun-ka-hti-hti-t      kcihku-k.  
go.to=hunt-AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3    wood.INAN-LOC

I'll tell the story about the time when my late grandfather [and some other men] had gone hunting out in the woods.

Like the use of adnominal demwords with proper nouns, the adnominal demwords which occur in possessive constructions look like simple anaphoric uses marking definiteness rather than the tracking use described by Himmelmann (1996). In the text *Old Snowshoe Lace* from which [39] is extracted, there is only one brother being talked about, so the identity of 'siwehsol 'his brother' is clear, and the demword is not needed to contrast 'siwehsol with any other referents of the same type. Similarly, in *The Wampum Records* from which [40] is drawn, the identity *ksiwehsonuk* 'our brothers' is unambiguous since this is the only group of people being referred to as 'our brothers'. In addition, there is no indication in the discourse that the referents of 'siwehsol or *ksiwehsonuk* in [39] and [40] respectively are unexpected or being treated emphatically. In [44], the adnominal demword *nakat* precedes the first occurrence of the absentative possessed noun *nmuhsùms* 'my late grandfather', so *nakat* technically cannot be an anaphoric use because there is no previous noun to refer back to; however, there is no indication in the text that the identity of the speaker's grandfather is being contrasted with another grandfather, and nor is it the case that the referent of *nmuhsùms* is unexpected or being emphasized.

### 3.2.2.3 Adnominal demwords with common unpossessed HIRIs

Adnominal demwords occur frequently with common, non-possessed HIRIs, and both Near-Speaker and Near-Addressee forms are common. A number of uses can be distinguished.

#### 3.2.2.3.1 *Himmelmann's (1996) situational type/Hawkins' (1978) immediate situation use*

[42] is an example of Himmelmann's situational type, or what Hawkins calls an immediate situation use. The speaker is referring to an eagle in the speech context, more specifically, in the sky.

[42] Elicited:

*Context* – Speaker sees an eagle in the sky, and points it out to the addressee.

Ipa, I-apom-a-n not cihpolakon!  
look thus-look.at.TA-DIR-IMP.2 3SG.NA eagle.AN  
Look at that eagle!

[43] is an example of Himmelmann's situational type, or what Hawkins calls an immediate situation use, in the discourse situation of the story. The speaker in the text refers to the village where he and the addressee are currently located, using the demword *yut* with *utenehsis* 'village':

[43] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

“Nita,” eli asitewt-o-k sakom, “nit sik-eyu luhk-hoti-mok.  
well thus answer-AI-CONJ.3 chief.AN OSG.NA hard-II-(0) do.AI-MPL-CONJ.3I  
“Well,” answered the chief, “that is hard to do.

Mesq nok-ot-om-uw-an      yut      utene-hs-is,      nt-ol-luhka-n=c  
before leave-TI-TH-NEG-CONJ.SUBD.I    OSG.NS    town.INAN-DIM-DIM    I-thus-do.AI-SUBD=FUT  
nit.”  
OSG.NA

But before I leave this village, I will do it.”

3.2.2.3.2 *Prince's (1981) textually evoked entity: Hawkins' (1978) anaphoric use/Himmelman's (1996) tracking type*

[44] and [45] are longer extracts illustrating the use of demwords to refer to entities previously mentioned in the text. The sentences are numbered by superscript at the beginning of the sentence.

[44] is from an account of customs surrounding the death of a chief which is given in Lewis Mitchell's *The Wampum Records*, sentences 59-124. *peciyacik*, a participle meaning 'visitors', refers to members of the Wabanaki tribes who have come from somewhere else to an inter-tribal gathering. In its first two occurrences in sentences 67 and 75, *peciyacik* occurs without a demword. In the next mention in sentence 80, *peciyacik* occurs with the animate plural Near-Speaker demword *yukt*. In sentence 82 is an instance of the participle inflected for obviation, *peciyalicihi*, and it also occurs with an demword *yuhuht*, which is the obviative counterpart of *yukt*. Finally, in 86, we have once again *peciyacik* occurring with *yukt*. (It should also be pointed out that although *peciyacik* does not appear in the other sentences, its referents – i.e. the visitors – are coded inflectionally in a number of the verbs in those sentences.) *peciyacik* is bolded wherever it appears.

[44] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

<sup>67</sup>T-iy-a-n,            “Nikt weckuw-ya-c-ik            nikt    nit<sup>10</sup>  
3-tell.TA-DIR-SUBD    3PL.NA coming-go.AI-CONJ.3-PTCP.3PL 3PL.NA    OSG.NA  
          kinuweht-ahsu-wi    **pec-iy-a-c-ik.**”  
          deliver.a.message-AI-DER    to.here-go.AI-CONJ.3-PTCP.3PL

He says to them, “Those who are coming arrive here as messengers.”  
[lit. “Those who are coming are the message-delivering ones who arrive.”]

<sup>68</sup>Nit msi=te    wen,    wasis-ok    naka    ehpic-ik,    skitapi-yik,  
OSG.NA all=EMPH    one.AN    child.AN-PL    and    woman.AN-PL    man.AN-PL  
Then all of them – children and women and men –

motapiy-apasu-w-ok    nat-ass-ihkuw-a-ni-ya.  
down-walk.AI-3-3PL    go.to-greet-act.on.by.body.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL  
walk down the hill to greet them.

<sup>69</sup>Malom=te    oqi-h-hik.  
finally=EMPH    canoe-go.AI-(3)-3PL  
At last they pull their canoe up on shore.

<sup>70</sup>Nit=te            pesq    ’-kahpotassi-n,    na tuciw  
OSG.NA=EMPH    one.AN    3-step.out.AI-SUBD    PRT immediately  
          noskawe-w-intuw-ew-a-n.  
          (3)-greet-DER-sing-TA-DIR-SUBD  
Then one of them steps ashore and immediately sings a greeting song to them.

<sup>71</sup>Nit    ’t-ali=esuwi=nskaw-a-n            l-amki-kapuwi-ya-li-t.  
OSG.NA    3-around=back.and.forth=greet.TA-DIR-SUBD    thus-in.an.array-stand-AI-3<sup>1</sup>-CONJ.3  
Then he walks back and forth between their lines greeting them.  
(lit. ‘Then he walks around back and forth greeting those standing in lines.’)

<sup>72</sup>Malom=te    mehc-intu.  
finally=EMPH    finish-sing.AI-(3)  
Finally, he finishes singing.

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<sup>10</sup> This *nit* demword will be discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>73</sup>Nit=te=na yukt weceya-w-i-c-ik pesq  
 OSG.NA=EMPH=PRT 3PL.NS person.from.AN-DER-be.AI-CONJ.3-PTCP.3PL one.AN  
 li-tposu-w-in milaw-iy-a-n,  
 thus-have.power.AI-DER-NMLZ.AN (3)-out.in.water-go.AI-SUBD

Then the Micmacs, one of their councillors goes out from shore,

nit=na nekom 't-asitehm-a-n '-siwehs-ol=na nekom  
 OSG.NA=PRT 3SG 3-answer.TA-DIR-SUBD 3-brother.AN-3'=also 3SG  
 noskaw-a-n.  
 (3)-greet.TA-DIR-SUBD

and answers his brother, and he too makes a greeting.

<sup>74</sup>Malom=te msiw mehci=nskaw-hoti-mok,  
 finally=EMPH all finish=greet.AI-MPL-CONJ.3I

At last all the greetings are over,

naka tuciw maciy-apasi-ni-ya imiye-w-ikuwam-ok  
 and immediately (3)-start-walk.AI-SUBD-3PL pray-DER-house.INAN-LOC  
 naci=mawe-miya-ni-ya.  
 (3)-go.to=together-pray.AI-SUBD-3PL

and they walk over to the church to pray together.

<sup>75</sup>Malom=te=hc apc kisi=maw-iy-a-wolotu-w-ok,  
 finally=EMPH=FUT again CMPL=gather-AI-MPL-3-3PL

Eventually they come together again,

naka tuciw l-iph-a-n pec-iy-a-c-ik tan koti  
 and right.away thus-take.TA-DIR-SUBD to.here-go.AI-CONJ.3-PTCP.3PL where will  
 ktoq-oni-hti-t w-ikuwam-ok.  
 over-AI-3PL-CONJ.3 3-house.INAN-LOC

and at that point the visitors are taken to the *wikuwam* where they will spend to night.

<sup>76</sup>Nit msiw wen – peciw=te ehpic-ik wasis-ok – msiw  
 OSG.NA all one.AN even=EMPH woman.AN-PL child.AN-PL all

't-ol-apasi-ni-ya.  
 3-to.there-walk.AI-SUBD-3PL

Then all of them – even the women and children – walk over there.

<sup>77</sup>Naci=wol-assihkuw-a-wa, '-sokiptinen-a-wa,  
 go.to=well-greet.TA-DIR-3PL-(3'PL) 3-shake.hands.with.TA-DIR-3PL-(3'PL)

They go to greet them, they shake their hands,

naka=na '-pun-om-oni-ya motewekon tehsahqiw w-ikuwam-ok.  
 and=also 3-put-TI.TH-SUBD-3PL flag.INAN on.top.of 3-house.INAN-LOC

and also they put up a flag on top of the *wikuwam*.

<sup>78</sup>Naka tuciw mili=skicinuw-otak-hoti-ni-ya.  
 and right.away (3)-various=Native-engage.in.activity.AI-MPL-SUBD-3PL  
 And at that time they follow many of the Indian customs.

<sup>79</sup>Nit amsqahs welaqiw-i-k, oli=wol-itahasuw-elt-uw-i  
 OSG.NA first evening-be.II-CONJ.0 thus=well-think-TI-DER-DER  
 pom-oka-wolotu-w-ok.  
 through-dance.AI-MPL-3-3PL  
 That first night, they dance joyfully.

<sup>80</sup>Nit apc wespasahkiw-i-k,  
 OSG.NA next morning-be.II-CONJ.0  
 Then the next morning

yukt pec-*iya-c-ik* 'pocit-ahk-a-ni-ya peskuw-ol  
 3PL.NS to.here-go.AI-CONJ.3-PTCP.3PL 3-send-throw.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL one.AN-3'  
 uskitape-m-ol sakoma-wi-w-ikuwam-ok.  
 (3)-man.AN-POSS-3' chief-DER-3-house.INAN-LOC  
 the visitors sent one of their men to the chief's *wikuwam*.

<sup>81</sup>T-iy-a-ni-ya sakoma-l 'paw-at-om-oni-ya msi=te  
 3-tell.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL chief.AN-3' 3-want-TI-TH-SUBD-3PL all=EMPH  
 nom-iy-a-ni-ya skitapi qonotihkan-ok.<sup>11</sup>  
 see-TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL man.AN-(3'PL) long.hall.INAN-LOC  
 They tell the chief that they want to see all the men in the long hall.

<sup>82</sup>Nit=te sakom 't-ahkinuwehtuw-a-n uskitape-m  
 OSG.NA=EMPH chief.AN 3-inform.TA-DIR-SUBD (3)-man.AN-POSS  
 maweki-m-a-n qonotihkan-ok.  
 (3)-orders.to.go.to-TA-DIR-SUBD long.hall.INAN-LOC  
 Then the chief notifies his men – he gathers them in the long hall,

---

<sup>11</sup> Phil LeSourd (p.c.) notes that while *qonotihkanok* may have been a possible Passamaquoddy word, it is doubtful if any native speakers actually used it when *The Wampum Records* were originally written down. The word, given in Prince's (1921) as <kwandowan'k> "in the hall", was probably *qonotuwanok* in modern transcription, with an initial component *qon-* 'length'. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in Penobscot, a closely related Eastern Algonquian language, there is the form *k'ənətawən* for 'long house, council house' (see Siebert's *Penobscot Dictionary*, manuscript, Old Town, Maine, 1996, p. 235), with the sound correspondences between Passamaquoddy and Penobscot working exactly as expected. However, *qonotuwan* for 'long hall' has fallen out of use, and was not known by David Francis Sr., who co-edited the 1990 version of *The Wampum Records* from which this extract is drawn.

naka apc 't-ahkinuwehtuw-a-n yuhuht=te pec-iya-li-c-ih*i*.  
 and next 3-inform.TA-DIR-SUBD 3'PL.NS=EMPH to.here-go.AI-3'-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'PL  
 and then he notifies the visitors.

<sup>83</sup>Nit=na kisi=ksiy-apasi-hti-t, naka tuciw  
 OSG.NA=PRT CMPL=into-walk.AI-3PL-CONJ.3 and right.then  
 musk-eh-t-u-ni-ya wapapi-yil,  
 (3)-take.out-do.TI-TH-SUBD-3PL wampum.INAN-PL  
 After they enter, they take out the wampum belts,

naka tuciw okit-asu neket eli=kisolot-om-uhti-t-s:  
 and right.then read.TI-PASS-(0) ABS.OSG.NA thus=decide.TI-TH-3PL-CONJ.3-DUB  
 and then what they decided long ago is read aloud:

<sup>84</sup>Not etol-aws-i-t peskotomuhkati-k 'kosk-ahta-n-ol  
 3SG.NA RLRT-live-AI-CONJ.3 Passamaquoddy.AN-LOC 3-lose-AI+O-3-3'  
 'kihci skinuhs-is-om-ol.  
 3-great young.man.AN-DIM-POSS-3'  
 "He who lives at Passamaquoddy has lost his chief.

<sup>85</sup>Not=olu k-paw-at-om-aku-n kil yut etol-aws-i-yin  
 3SG.NA=TOP 2-want-TI-TH-INV-SUBD 2SG OSG.NS RLRT-live-AI-CONJ.2  
 And he wants you who are living here

k-naci=wicuhke-m-a-n el-iya-t 'kihci skinuhs-is-om-ol."  
 2-go.to=help-TA-DIR-SUBD thus-go.AI-CONJ.3 3-great young.man.AN-DIM-POSS-3'  
 to go and help him make a new chief."

<sup>86</sup>Malom=te nekka=kis-ewest-ulti-hti-t yukt  
 finally=EMPH complete=CMPL-speak.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3 3PL.NS  
 pec-iya-c-ik,  
 to.here-go.AI-CONJ.3-PTCP.3PL  
 Finally, when the visitors have finished talking,

nit=na sakom unak-essi-n, na 't-ol-ewestu-n.  
 OSG.NA=PRT chief.AN (3)-get.up-move.AI-SUBD PRT 3-thus-speak.AI-SUBD  
 the chief rises and speaks.

[45] gives the first few lines of a segment of *The Wampum Records* explaining traditional marriage customs, and shows adnominal demwords marking instances of the (common, non-possessed) noun *skinuhs* 'young man'. The first mention of *skinuhs* 'young

man' in sentence 170 occurs without a demword, while the next mention of this Nominal in sentence 174 occurs with the near-Speaker demword *wot*.

[45] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

<sup>170</sup>Tan etuci skinuhs paw-at-o-k<sup>12</sup> nisuwi-hti-c-il,  
 when young.man.AN want-TI-TH-CONJ.3 (3)-live.together.AI-3PL-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'  
 Whenever a young man wanted a wife,

on 't-ahkinuwehtuw-a-n nikhkù,  
 then 3-inform.TA-DIR-SUBD (3)-parent.AN-(3'PL)  
 he notified his parents,

naka tan yuhtol paw-at-o-k-il nihkaniw nihtaskawoti-hti-c-il.  
 and whoever.AN.3' want-TI-TH-CONJ.3-PTCP.3' head help.TA-3PL-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'  
 and told them which woman he wanted as a helpmate.

<sup>171</sup>On apc wot ktaqhomuhs 't-ahkinuwehtuw-a-n 't-olonape-m.  
 then next 3SG.NS old.man.AN 3-inform.TA-DIR-SUBD 3-relative.AN-POSS-(3'PL)  
 And then the old man [the young man's father] notified his relatives.

<sup>172</sup>Nit ska wen wapol-itah-at-om-uh-k, nit=te=hc  
 0SG.NA NEG one.AN wrong-think-TI-TH-NEG-CONJ.3 0SG.NA=EMPH=FUT  
 't-oqec-eh-t-u-ni-ya.  
 3-try-do.TI-TH-SUBD-3PL

If no one disapproved, then they would attempt it.

<sup>173</sup>Nit wot ktaqhomuhs mil-a-n kelusuwew-i-li-c-il<sup>13</sup>  
 0SG.NA 3SG.NS old.man.AN (3)-give.TA+O-DIR-SUBD speak-be.AI-3'-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'  
 pili muwine-wiy-eya-l,  
 new bear-DER-skin.AN-3'

Then the old man gave a spokesman a new bear-hide,

---

<sup>12</sup> Although this is formally a TI verb, it is also (exceptionally for TI verbs) used as a TA verb, with an animate object.

<sup>13</sup> The verb initial here, *kelusuwew-* (*kolusuwew-* if in not in Changed form) looks related to the initial *kolusi-* 'speak', but synchronically there is no AI verb *\*kolusuwe*.

kosona otuhk-ew-eya-l kosona qapite-wiy-eya-l.  
 or deer-DER-skin.AN-3' or beaver-DER-skin.AN-3'  
 or deer-hide or beaver-hide.

<sup>174</sup>Tokec wol-itah-am-ut,  
 now good-think-TA-CONJ.3I  
 If he was accepted,

on=oc wot skinuhs mace-ph-a-n 't-onekosun-ol  
 then=FUT 3SG.NS young.man.AN (3)-start-bear.TA-DIR-SUBD 3-sleeping.mat.AN-3'  
 yet naksq w-ik-uwa-k,  
 0SG.ASA young.woman.AN 3-house.INAN-POSS.3PL-LOC  
 then the young man would take his sleeping mat over to the young woman's  
 wikuwam,

on=oc nit '-pun-a-n 't-onekosun-ol naw-te-k.  
 then=FUT 0SG.NA 3-put.TA-DIR-SUBD 3-sleeping.mat.AN-3' in.the.middle-be.located-CONJ.0  
 and put the sleeping mat far away.

Note that not all textually evoked entities require the occurrence of an adnominal demword for a grammatical sentence. For example, in [44], I gave the first five mentions of *peciyacik* (and obviative form *peciyacilihi*) 'visitors'; the first two mentions in sentences 67 and 75 occurred without an accompanying demword, while the next five mentions, three of which I included in the extract (sentences 80, 82, and 86), occurred with a demword, *yukt* or obviative *yuhuht* 'these'.

[46] below also illustrates the fact that not all referential HIRIs occur with adnominal demwords. This passage illustrates terms identifiable from what Hawkins (1978) calls the larger situation context. The extract comes from the beginning of a description of customs about replacing a chief when he dies. In the passage, *skicinuwok* '[the] Indians' in sentences 60 and 61 and *putuwosuwinu* '[the] councillors' in sentence 61 occur without adnominal demwords, although both expressions encode referents which could be identified by the addressee from knowledge of the larger situation:

[46] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

<sup>59</sup>Tan etuci mehc-ine-t sakom, motewahqem-ol  
when finish-die.AI-CONJ.3 chief.AN (3)-flagpole.AN-3'

cuwi=tom-ihta-h-a  
(3I)-must=severed-strike-TA-DIR

When a chief dies, his flagpole has to be cut down

naka nkihkay-aqosa-n,  
and completely-burn.AI-3I  
and completely burned,

wiciw msi=te tan kisi=ihi-t-s:  
together all=EMPH what CMPL=have.TI-CONJ.3-PRET  
together with all his belongings:

't-uwehke-w-akon-ol, 't-ahtapi-yil, 'tomhikon, naka motewakon.  
3-use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN-3' 3-bow.AN-3' 3-axe.INAN and (3)-flag.INAN  
his implements, his bow, his axe, and his flag.

<sup>60</sup>Skicinuw-ok nihtak-iht-om-uw-a-wa-l 'qoc-ikoton.  
Indian.AN-PL mourn-TI-TH-TA-DIR-3PL-3' one-year.II-(0)  
The Indians mourn him for one year.

<sup>61</sup>On tan etuci tepon-askuw-ya-k, skicinuw-ok wihqim-a-ni-ya  
then when enough-wait-II-TH-CONJ.0 Indian.AN-PL (3)-call.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL  
putuwosu-w-in-u,  
meet.in.council.AI-DER-NMLZ.AN-3'PL

And when the time is up, the Indians call the councillors;

'-putuwosi-ni-ya, '-top-olum-a-ni-ya pili sakoma-l.  
3-meet.in.council.AI-SUBD-3PL 3-consider-by.speech.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL new chief.AN-3'  
they hold a council and discuss a new chief.

### 3.2.2.3.3 Hawkins' (1978) associative-anaphoric use/Prince's (1981) inferrable entity

[46] above also illustrates what Hawkins calls an associative-anaphoric use and what Prince calls reference to an inferrable entity. After the mention of *skinuhs* 'young man', the first mention of *ktaqhomuhs* 'old man', occurs with an adnominal demword *wot*, as does a subsequent mention in sentence 173. The relevant part of [46] is repeated below in [47].

[47] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

<sup>171</sup>On apc wot **ktaqhomuhs** 't-ahkinuwehtuw-a-n 't-olonape-m.  
then next 3SG.NS old.man.AN 3-inform.TA-DIR-SUBD 3-relative.AN-POSS-(3'PL)  
And then the old man [the young man's father] notified his relatives.

<sup>172</sup>Nit ska wen wapol-itah-at-om-uh-k, nit=te=hc  
OSG.NA NEG one.AN wrong-think.TI-TH-NEG-CONJ.3 OSG.NA=EMPH=FUT  
't-oqec-eh-t-u-ni-ya.  
3-try-do.TI-TH-SUBD-3PL

If no one disapproved, then they would attempt it.

<sup>173</sup>Nit wot **ktaqhomuhs** mil-a-n kolusuwew-i-li-c-il  
OSG.NA 3SG.NS old.man.AN (3)-give.TA+O-DIR-SUBD speak-be.AI-3'-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'  
pili muwine-wiy-eya-l,  
new bear-DER-skin.AN-3'

Then the old man gave a spokesman a new bear-hide,

kosona otuhk-ew-eya-l kosona qapit-ewiy-eya-l.  
or deer-DER-skin.AN-3' or beaver-DER-skin.AN-3'  
or deer-hide or beaver-hide.

#### 3.2.2.3.4 *Himmelman's (1996) recognitional use*

Passamaquoddy also uses adnominal demwords in what Himmelman calls a recognitional use. In [48], the addressee is asked to remember a woman that both of them know, based on some information about where and when they previously met her, and the noun *ehpit* 'woman' is preceded by the adnominal demword *not*.

[48] Elicited:

*Context* – You remember a woman that both you and a friend met a while ago, and ask your friend.

K-wew-itah-am-a    not    ehpit    '-ceya-w-i-w    Sitansisk  
2-known-think-TA-DIR    3SG.NA woman.AN    3-one.from.AN-DER-be.AI-3    Fredericton.LOC  
etoli=nom-iy-oq-pon    Penka tuci    nis-ikoton?  
ONGO=see-TA-CONJ.12PL-PRET    Bangor past    two-year.II-(0)

Do you remember that woman from Fredericton who we met in Bangor two years ago?

In [49], the addressee is asked to recall a shovel that s/he should be able to identify (since the addressee borrowed it previously from the speaker), and the noun *sapol* 'shovel' is preceded by the adnominal demword *nit*.

[49] Elicited:

*Context* – You remember that your friend borrowed a shovel from you a while back, and ask her/him:

K-wew-itah-at-om-on nit    sapol    kisi=mahqal-i-yin-pon  
2-known-think.TI-TH-0    0SG.NA shovel.INAN    CMPL=borrow.from.TA-TH-CONJ.2SG:1SG-PRET  
kotok-ipun?  
other-winter.INAN

Do you remember that shovel you borrowed from me last winter?

### 3.2.2.3.5 Dryer's (p.c.) inferential use

Passamaquoddy can also use adnominal demwords for what Dryer (p.c.) calls inferential uses. In [50], the speaker does not expect that the addressee knows a specific group of people who voted for Bush, but the addressee can infer the existence of this referent. In the relevant term, the noun *pomawsuwinuwok* 'people' is preceded by the adnominal demword *niktok*.

[50] Elicited:

*Context* – You and a friend are talking about politics, and you make a comment about voters. When you say “those people who supported Bush” in the sentence below, you’re not trying to remind your friend about any specific people that you know, you’re just referring in a general way to supporters of Bush.

Niktok pomawsuwinuw-ok    kisi=wicuhke-m-a-hti-c-il                    *Push-ol*  
3PL.NA person.AN-PL                    CMPL=support-TA-DIR-3PL-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'                    Bush.AN-3'

Those people who supported Bush

cipotu=te            skat    apc    wicuhke-m-a-wi-wa-l.  
perhaps=EMPH    NEG    again    support-TA-DIR-NEG-3PL-3'  
might not support him again.

From these examples, we see that Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords occur in contexts that have been described as associated with demonstratives in other languages, as well as in contexts that have been described as associated with definite articles in other languages.

The situational use is one commonly described as a demonstrative function, while Hawkins' (1978) associative-anaphoric use, or what Prince (1981) calls uses with inferrable entities, is a function generally described as associated with definite articles and not with demonstratives. Recognitional and inferential functions have been associated with both demonstratives and definite articles in other languages.

Perhaps trickier are adnominal demwords used with proper nouns, possessive constructions, and those used for anaphoric reference. Still, despite the fact that in Passamaquoddy, such adnominal demwords do not occur in all cases where definite articles would for in other languages, it is not hard to argue that at least some of these Passamaquoddy adnominal demword examples do not have the functions typically described as associated with demonstratives crosslinguistically, as reviewed in Chapter 1. This is

because interpreting certain instances of these demwords as having such typical demonstrative functions results in odd or unlikely meanings for the sentences.

For example, if all the adnominal demwords in the examples with proper nouns and with possessive constructions were taken to have the functions generally described for demonstratives, then we would end up with translations like “this Maryanne” for [37], “that grandfather of mine” for [44], and so on. However, for uniquely identified entities like those coded by proper nouns or possessed kin expressions, there is normally no need to mark them with a demonstrative morpheme as contrastive, unexpected, or emphatic.<sup>14</sup>

For the anaphoric use of adnominal demwords with common, unpossessed nouns as in [45] and [46], again, we can argue that it is unlikely that all the demwords not functioning to express contrast, emphasis, or unexpectedness with respect to the Nominals they co-occur with, since there is no ambiguity of who *is/are* being referred to; rather, the demwords are simply marking the nominals as either previously mentioned (*peciyacik* ‘visitors’ in [45], later mentions of *skinuhsis* ‘young man’ and *ktaqhomuhs* ‘old man’ in [46]) or as clearly associated with something previously mentioned (first mention of *ktaqhomuhs* ‘old man’ in [47]).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> This is not to say that, for example, possessive constructions cannot take adnominal demwords that *do* have the semantics typical of demonstratives (e.g. “this book of yours” vs. “that book of yours”); however, such interpretations should be statistically marked, and the frequency with which adnominal demwords occur with uniquely identified entities argues in favor of an interpretation that they are simply marking definiteness.

<sup>15</sup> Of course, as mentioned in 3.2.1, crosslinguistically, in languages that have clearly grammatically distinct definite articles and demonstratives, demonstratives as well as definite articles may function anaphorically, so that the contexts in [45] and [46] in which adnominal demwords are found are not environments unique to definite articles.

Finally, in looking at Passamaquoddy adnominal demwords in the various linguistic contexts illustrated, it is important to establish whether or not the functional differences amongst them correlate with any differences in formal characteristics (phonological, inflectional, or distributional). If, formal distinctions existed amongst the demwords, then it would make sense to identify what functional differences the different forms were associated with. However, this is not the case; in the Passamaquoddy data, (i) adnominal demwords with functions typical of demonstratives crosslinguistically and (ii) adnominal demwords with functions typical of definite articles crosslinguistically both take the same phonological forms, inflect in the same ways, and occur in the same syntactic positions. That is, what Passamaquoddy has are adnominal demwords whose range of functions span both those that have been crosslinguistically identified with demonstratives and some of those that have been crosslinguistically identified with definite articles. In the next section, I discuss how such a situation may have arisen, drawing from work in other languages on the development of definite articles from demonstratives.

### 3.2.3 Grammaticalization and functional range for adnominal demwords

The development of adnominal demonstratives into definite articles has been documented in a number of languages. The formal and functional changes that come about have been discussed by a number of authors (e.g. Greenberg 1978; Ultan 1978; Laury 1993; Cyr 1993; Epstein 1994; Faingold 1996; Diessel 1999). For example, in the well-known case of Romance, forms of the Latin remote demonstrative *ille* gave rise to both phonologically distinct definite articles and third-person pronouns.

The frequency of the pertinent demwords has been documented to have increased as the grammaticalization progressed (e.g. see Faingold 1996 for a discussion specifically of Romance data). This is unsurprising if we consider the functions associated with demonstratives compared with those associated with definite articles. Recall from Chapter 1 that anaphoric demonstratives are usually used to refer to contrastive, emphatic, otherwise unexpected antecedents, which by definition will not be common. When such demonstratives start developing into definite articles, their use is gradually extended to more and more kinds of referents, and eventually, the items have lost their original, more limited set of functions, and turned into markers of definiteness that are obligatory for referents with certain definiteness characteristics.

In Passamaquoddy, there appear not to be any environments where a definite article demword is obligatory. It is, of course, possible that what looks like optional occurrence is actually a lack of discerning of what contexts in particular require adnominal demwords. However, simply based on the analysis of texts that I have conducted thus far, what the functional difference is between referring expressions with and without an adnominal demword is not clear. In any case, it is clear that adnominal demwords in Passamaquoddy are at a stage where their use is as widespread as a language like English where there are various environments in which definite articles are obligatory.

Greenberg (1978) addresses the issue of frequency in his discussion of the possible grammaticalization pathways that demonstratives can take. For the development of definite articles, he presents a number of stages, 0 through 3, with 0 representing the initial stage where the item is still a demonstrative and 3 representing a late stage where the item is basically a noun marker, being obligatory in a wide range of environments independent of

the noun's discourse status. Hence, definite articles can be thought of as occupying Stages 1 and 2, with the earlier stage of these characterized by having fewer environments where the item normally occurs.

One criterion that Greenberg sets out as a criterial indicator of an initial stage of grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles is for the demword to be obligatory in at least one environment. He also proposes an implicational hierarchy of sorts with respect to the types of nouns that are marked with definite articles, part of which predicts that if definite articles mark proper nouns, then they should also be found with common, unpossessed nouns. As mentioned, Passamaquoddy does not seem yet to have an environment where definite article marking is obligatory. By this characteristic, then, within Greenberg's system Passamaquoddy does not yet have any definite articles. Yet Passamaquoddy does on occasion mark proper nouns and possessive constructions with demwords, which under Greenberg's predictive system would not occur until a later stage of grammaticalization by which time the use of adnominal demwords has spread to the extent that the language should be considered to have definite articles. Thus, the stages of grammaticalization that Greenberg proposes do not capture the situation in Passamaquoddy.

Himmelmann (1996) notes that most analysts assume the source morphemes for definite articles to have been adnominal demonstratives with an anaphoric function. However, he argues that it is the demonstrative use which he labels "recognitional" that would most likely give rise to definite articles, while demonstratives with an anaphoric function would be the source for third-person pronouns rather than for definite articles. On the other hand, Dryer (p.c.) suggests that what he calls the "inferential" use of demonstratives is a good candidate for being the source for definite articles, pointing out that

in Swedish, such an inferential use involves the use of a definite article which is formally distinct from other uses of the definite article. Since currently in Passamaquoddy, demwords of the same formal type can be used for anaphoric, recognitional, and inferential functions, the Passamaquoddy data do not help differentiate between these hypotheses; however, if Passamaquoddy is on a path to develop formally distinct definite articles from adnominal demwords, we see that it has such demwords used in the various contexts that have been proposed to give rise to definite articles.

Cyr (1993; 1996) argues that in two other Algonquian languages, Montagnais (also known as Innu) and Cree, definite article demwords are in fact now grammatically distinct from demwords which are true demonstratives. Like various other authors, she proposes that the definite articles in Montagnais and Cree are a result of the grammaticalization from demwords which originally only had (crosslinguistically) typical demonstrative functions. Examining Montagnais texts and conversation transcripts which she and coworkers collected, as well as the Cree texts of Chris Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew, Cyr reports that demwords which she analyzed as definite articles were found in high proportions with proper nouns, possessives, and expressions that were referentially definite by virtue of previous mention in both languages; Montagnais also commonly had locative constructions marked by definite article demwords, while Cree did not.

Cyr makes a crucial claim about the grammatical difference between adnominal demwords with functions typical of definite article crosslinguistically and those with functions typical of demonstratives crosslinguistically – she argues that definite article items occur prenominal, while those which have the function of demonstratives are postnominal. Hence, the claim is that definite articles and demonstratives in Montagnais and Cree, though

identical in phonological and morphological properties, differ in syntactic distribution, and hence should be considered to be two grammatically distinct word classes. This differs from the Passamaquoddy data, where adnominal demwords always occur pre-nominally.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Cyr's claim that definite articles and demonstratives are formally distinct cannot be not extended to Passamaquoddy.

In conclusion, then, I propose that Passamaquoddy is on a point on the grammaticalization pathway for developing definite articles which could theoretically lead to more extensive uses of adnominal demwords in environments associated with definite article functions, and perhaps also be accompanied by formal changes in the items (such as loss of inflectional distinctions). However, we do not know, of course, whether Passamaquoddy (and languages at a similar stage) will be fairly stable for a long period of time with respect to the ways adnominal demwords are currently used, or whether further functional and/or formal changes are in store in the near future.<sup>17</sup> What we can say is that adnominal demwords in Passamaquoddy currently cover a larger functional range than typical definitions of "demonstrative" discussed in Chapter 1, with some of their functions being ones typical of definite articles in other languages.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Although I have not examined Montagnais, my impression of Cree texts (in Ahenakew and Wolfart 1998; Wolfart, and Ahenakew 1993) is that adnominal demwords are never or almost never postnominal. Although one would expect definite article demwords to be more common than demonstratives proper, demonstratives should not be as infrequent in the texts I looked at as they would be under Cyr's analysis that only postnominal demwords are true demonstratives.

<sup>17</sup> Obviously, with an endangered language like Passamaquoddy, there is the real possibility that such questions will be simply academic in a couple of decades unless language revitalization work is successful.

<sup>18</sup> Thus, should one choose to follow convention in Algonquian linguistics and use the label "demonstrative" for all entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy, it should be borne in mind that this category is not equivalent to "demonstrative" in a language such as English which has grammatically distinct definite articles and which only uses definite articles to mark common unpossessed nouns.

In the next section, in which we examine the occurrence of entity-referring demwords without a semantically associated HIRI, we will see, among other things, that such pronominal demwords show a functional range parallel to adnominal demwords.

### 3.3 Pronominal demwords

It is useful to divide pronominal demword uses into those that show morphological differentiation from those that do not. Pronominal demwords that refer to physical locations, or what I will call **location-referring pronominal demwords**, are always the non-absentative proximate inanimate singular forms, Near-Speaker *yut*, Near-Addressee *nit*, and Away-From-Speaker-And-Addressee *yet*. Pronominal demwords that refer to sections of linguistic discourse, or what I will call **discourse deictic pronominal demwords** are always either the non-absentative proximate inanimate singular Near-Speaker form *yut* or the non-absentative proximate inanimate singular Near-Addressee form *nit*. In contrast, pronominal demwords that refer to other types of things, including people, animals and other living creatures, physical objects, and certain abstract phenomena such as ‘life’ and ‘illness’ are morphologically differentiated for number, animacy, obviation (for animates), and absentativity based on what values for these grammatical categories their referents have. I will call these **general pronominal demwords**.

The reason why demwords referring to physical locations and to sections of linguistic discourse are inflectionally invariant can be attributed to two factors. First, the referents of these demwords do not vary along the dimensions that the grammatical categories of

animacy and number distinguish, and thus it makes sense that physical locations and sections of linguistic discourse referred to pronominally are consistently treated morphologically as inanimate singular entities. (Also, inanimate Nominals in Passamaquoddy do not distinguish obviation, so this is another grammatical category that location-referring demwords and discourse deictic demwords do not mark.) Second, in general it is not unusual to find that in more restricted contexts of linguistic use (in this case, reference only to locations or only to discourse segments), it is the most frequent forms of some paradigm which occur. Location-referring pronominal demwords and discourse deictic demwords take the most frequent value for absentativity, i.e. non-absentative forms, which are much more frequent in texts and morphologically simpler than absentative forms. In addition, for discourse deictic demwords, the reason why the Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee form came not to be used may be because demwords with this distance are much less frequent than Near-Speaker or Near-Addressee demwords; alternatively, there may be semantic reasons why Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords cannot serve as discourse deictic demwords, although it is not immediately clear what these would be.

In other words, *yut*, *nit*, and *yet* are the forms used for pronominal locations because these forms have the grammatical characteristics that are consonant with the semantic characteristics of location referents (singular and inanimate) and also because these forms are the most unmarked with respect to obviation and absentativity. Similarly, *yut* and *nit* are the forms used for discourse deixis both because these forms have the grammatical characteristics that are consonant with the semantic characteristics of discourse deixis referents (singular and inanimate) and because these forms have the most frequent values for obviation, absentativity, and deictic distance. Thus, I consider location-referring

demwords and discourse deictic demwords to belong to the same word class as the general pronominal demwords.<sup>19</sup>

In summary then, we have general pronominal demwords, which will be discussed in Section 3.3.1; location-referring demwords, which will be discussed in Section 3.3.2; and discourse deictic demwords, which will be discussed in Section 3.3.3. In 3.3.4, I will discuss the functional range of all of the pronominal demwords.

### 3.3.1 General pronominal demwords

#### 3.3.1.1 Morphological, distributional, and semantic properties

Like adnominal demwords, general pronominal demwords make use of the entire demword paradigm (see Table 4 in 2.3.3). With respect to their syntactic distribution, general pronominal demwords are quite freely distributed in clauses with verbs, and can occur before or after a verb, although it is likely that information structure is relevant in determining preferred orders in particular linguistic contexts. In clauses with non-verbal predicates, to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, there are more obvious word order restrictions related to information status.

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<sup>19</sup> Algonquianists to date, however, have not done so, particularly for location-referring demwords. Thus, generally the term “demonstrative” is reserved for general pronominal demwords, while location-referring demwords are labeled as “particles” or “adverbs”. There are probably two reasons for this. First, traditional grammatical descriptions based on European languages such as English where locational deictics (‘here’, ‘there’) differ in phonological form from entity-referring demwords (‘this’, ‘that’) tend to call the locational deictics “adverbs” rather than “demonstratives.” Second, many Algonquianists treat “demonstrative” as a word class or subclass as identified by inflectional behavior, and since locational demwords do not inflect, they would not be considered as belonging to the same category as the entity-referring demwords, which do inflect.

Also similar to adnominal demwords, general pronominal demwords are used in a wide range of contexts. With respect to the discourse context, general pronominal demwords may refer to entities in the speech situation (actual or projected), which corresponds to Himmelmann's situational type or Hawkins' immediate situation use. (Pronominal demwords used to refer to discourse deictic entities will be discussed this separately in 3.3, since the demword forms that can be used for discourse deixis are restricted.)

Alternatively, general pronominal demwords may refer to entities identifiable from previous mention in the text, which Prince calls textually evoked. If the demword is used to refer to a contrastive, emphatic, or unexpected entity (which, as discussed in Chapter 1, is a commonly associated in the literature with demonstrative function), then it fits Himmelmann's (1996) tracking use; if it simply indicates previous mention, then it serves what Hawkins (1978) calls an anaphoric use. Thus, pronominal demwords in Passamaquoddy are sometimes translated into English with a demonstrative as 'this (one)', 'that (one)' etc., and sometimes with a regular (non-demonstrative) third-person pronoun, i.e. 's/he', 'it', 'they' etc.

For reference I present in Figure 7 a chart of the types of pronominal demword uses that will be illustrated. The types, drawn from Prince (1981), Himmelmann (1996), and Hawkins (1978), were summarized in full earlier in Figure 1.

**Figure 7: Types of general pronominal demword use in Passamaquoddy (types from Prince 1981, Himmelmann 1996, and Hawkins 1978)**

**Key:**

$X \longleftrightarrow Y$  : instances of  $X$  and instances of  $Y$  are largely equivalent

$X \xrightarrow{\quad} Y$  : all instances of  $Y$  fall under  $X$

Hawkins: immediate situation $\longleftrightarrow$ Himmelmann: situational
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Prince: textually evoked $\xrightarrow{\quad}$ Hawkins: anaphoric $\xrightarrow{\quad}$ Himmelmann: tracking
--

**3.3.1.2 Uses of general pronominal demwords**

The examples in this section will show the uses of pronominal demwords in Passamaquoddy. I will underline the relevant demwords and identify what type they are as I present them.

**3.3.1.2.1 Himmelmann's (1996) situational type/Hawkins' (1978) immediate situation use**

The use of general pronominal demwords to refer to entities in the discourse situation is undoubtedly much more common in conversational than in narrative texts, but it is possible to find examples.

In some cases, pronominal demwords with a situational use are clearly being used emphatically (that is, where the speaker is aiming to draw particularly strong attention to the relevant referent), a function typical of demonstratives crosslinguistically. In [51], the

pronominal demword, *wotta*, an emphatic form of the Near-Speaker demword *wot*, occurs in sentence 90. The reason why the emphatic form is used here is probably at least partly due to the pressing nature of the context; the speaker is urgently trying to get the people around her to hide an illegally-hunted deer they are cooking before the referent of *wotta*, the game warden, arrives.

[51] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974)

Skicinuw-ok=yaq etut-ahqos-ulti-hti-t otuhk-ey.  
 Indian.AN-PL=EVID at.that.point-cook.AI+O-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3 deer-stuff.from.INAN  
 The Indians were cooking the deer meat.

Etuci=yaq wol-imahte-k otuhk-ey etol-aq-ote-k.  
 very=EVID good-smell.II-CONJ.0 deer-stuff.from.INAN ONGO-cook-II-CONJ.0  
 The deer meat cooking smelt very good.

Kesq=yaq etoli=wolaq-ahqos-ulti-hti-t,  
 while=EVID ONGO=evening-cook.AI+O-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
 While they were cooking supper,

komotu=yaq sakhi=conotomha-k kukec utapakon.  
 suddenly=EVID unexpectedly=pull.up.II-CONJ.0 warden.AN (3)-car.INAN  
 suddenly the warden's car pulled up.

On=yaq 't-itom-on pesq ehpit,  
 then=EVID 3-say.AI-SUBD one.AN woman.AN  
 Then one woman said,

"Ehq-alokittiye, kamot=op nit kat-u-ni-ya,  
 stop.AI-EXPL-(IMP.2) better=IRR 0SG.NA (2)-hide.TI-TH-INDP-2PL  
 "Stop! You'd better hide it,

temonuk wotta k-mace-ph-uku-n."  
 soon 3SG.NS.EMPH 2-from-bear.TA-INV-SUBD  
 [or] soon this guy will take you away."

In [52], a father is telling his daughter Maliyan about the pumpkin she should get (for Halloween). The demword *not* in the final clause is followed by an emphatic particle *tahk*,

and the expression marks a contrast of ‘that one’, the one which is too heavy, with the referring expression in the preceding clause, *wot apsapskosossit* ‘this little one’, which is the one Maliyan’s father is recommending she take:

[52] From *Mary Ellen Socobasin – Maliyan* (WBEP 1979):

'T-iy-uku-l=yaq mihtaqs-ol,  
3-tell.TA-INV-3'=EVID (3)-father.AN-3'  
Her father told her,

“Kamot k-naci=yal-iph-a-n wot aps-apskos-ossi-t,  
would.be.better 2-go.to=around-bear.TA-DIR-SUBD 3SG.NS small-shaped.AI-DIM-CONJ.3  
“You’d better carry this little one around,

not=tahk kat=op kisi=yal-iph-a-w 'sami tkiq-ol.”  
3SG.NA=EMPH NEG=IRR (2)-can=around-bear.TA-DIR-NEG because heavy.AI-3'  
you can’t carry that one around because it’s heavy.”

### 3.3.1.2.2 Prince’s (1981) textually evoked entity: Hawkins’ (1978) anaphoric use/Himmelmann’s (1996) tracking type

More common in narrative texts are instances of pronominal demwords functioning as simple anaphors, conveying no contrast, emphasis, or unexpectedness about the referent. This sort of pronominal use is parallel to the adnominal uses in Passamaquoddy that function like definite articles in other languages, in that once again, the demword encodes a referent as previously mentioned. The following examples illustrate such uses of pronominal demwords.

[53] is an extract which is about some Passamaquoddies planning to hide a recently killed deer from the game warden. In the fourth line, the demword *wot* refers back to the deer mentioned in the first clause of the passage.

[53] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

Yukk=yaq=ona skicinuw-ok kisi=nehpah-a-hti-t otuhk-ol,  
3PL.NS=EVID=PRT Indian.AN-PL CMPL=kill.TA-DIR-3PL-3 deer.AN-3'  
After the Indians had killed the deer,

nekomaw=yaq=ona kis mace=piskiy-enoma-k.  
3PL=EVID=PRT already start=get.dark-AI-3PL  
they started to get caught in the dark.

On=yaq 't-itom-oni-ya,  
then=EVID 3-say.AI-SUBD-3PL  
Then they said,

“Kamot=op wot komuci=mace-ph-a-n-en oloqiw  
better=IRR 3SG.NS (2)-secretly=start-bear.TA-DIR-SUBD-1PL over.there  
kcihku-k,  
woods.INAN-LOC

“It would be better if we took it away secretly into the woods,

yut=kahk ksokaya-skute-k oloq-iph-oq,  
0SG.NS=EMPH across-field.INAN-CONJ.0 to.there-bear.TA-CONJ.12PL  
if we take it across the field,

solahki=hc k-nomiy-uku-n kukec.”  
suddenly=FUT 2-see.TA-INV-SUBD warden.AN  
the warden will see you all of a sudden.”

In [54], *nakaw* refers to the main character of the narrative, *Espons* ‘Raccoon’, who has gone around creating mischief everywhere.

[54] From *Lewis Mitchell – Espons* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Nit Espons etoli=sankew-oss-i-t tokkiw pokomk maca-ha-t,  
0SG.NA raccoon.AN ONGO=quietly-lie-AI-CONJ.3 until blackcat.AN start.from-go.AI-CONJ.3  
nekom=na maca-ha-n.  
3SG=also (3)-start.from-go.AI-SUBD  
Raccoon lay quietly until Blackcat left, and then he went on himself.

Kci motewolon=kahk nakaw, kenoq wahk-e-hs-oss-u  
 great magician.AN=EMPH ABS.3SG.NA but few-DER-DIM-DIM-AI-(3)  
 wol-ey-uw-a-c-ih*i*.  
 well-do-TA-DIR-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'PL

He was a great magician, but there were hardly any he treated well.

In [55], there are two occurrences of *nihih*t, which both refer to *cuspes* ‘porpoise’ mentioned in the first sentence.

[55] From *Mary Ellen Socobasin – Maliyan* (WBEP 1979):

Mam=te kisi=wolaq-ihp-ulti-hti-t,  
 finally=EMPH CMPL=dinner-eat.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
 Finally after they finished having dinner,

on mihtaqs-ol 't-akonutoma-ku-n kehsi=nehpah-a-hti-t  
 then (3)-father.AN-3' 3-tell.TA-INV-SUBD so.many=kill.TA-DIR-3PL-CONJ.3  
 cuspe*s*.  
 porpoise.AN-(3'PL)

her father told her about all the porpoise that they killed.

'-Koti=yaq nihiht salaw-ehl-a-wa.  
 3-will=EVID 3'PL.NA salt-TA-DIR-3PL-(3'PL)

They are going to salt them (he says).

'Qoci pun=te=hc=yaq nihiht 't-ol-ape-m-a-wa.  
 one winter.INAN=EMPH=FUT=EVID 3'PL.NA 3-thus-rely.on-TA-DIR-3PL-(3'PL)

They will be relying on them for the winter.

### 3.3.1.2.3 Other factors affecting the use of general pronominal demwords

The information status of the referent is not the sole factor determining the use of general pronominal demwords. First, another grammatical fact which contributes to the use of demwords pronominally is that regular personal pronouns (Type 7 Nominals) can only be used for sentient animates, so that any inanimate or (grammatically) animate but non-

sentient referent which occurs overtly as a pronominal can be coded only by a demword.<sup>20</sup>  
*nihit* in sentence [56] is such an example, referring to grammatically animate but non-sentient apples:

[56] From *Joan Dana – The Traditional Ways*:

On=oc      poqon-ask-ehl-a-nnu-k      cikoni-yik  
 then=FUT    (2)-peel.off-peelings-TA-DIR-1PL-3PL    apple.AN-PL  
 Then we would pare the apples

naka      kt-ol-sa-ne-n,  
 and      2-thus-cut.AI-SUBD-1PL  
 and we cut them,

on=oc      nap-h-a-ne-n,  
 then=FUT    (2)-rod.into.hole-TA-DIR-SUBD-1PL  
 then we would string them through,

on=oc      nihit nt-ekhul-a-n      weci=kispahsi-hti-t.  
 then=FUT    3'PL.NA 1-hang.TA-DIR-SUBD    so.that=dry.AI-3PL-CONJ.3  
 and then I would hang them up to dry.

As for inanimate referents, it turns out that in clauses with verbs, these are rarely encoded by overt Nominals at all; most pronominal demwords, with the exception of those coding discourse deictic referents (which will be discussed separately in 3.3), are animate; other inanimate referents are usually simply marked by the verbal inflectional morphology.

Crosslinguistically, animate referents tend to be coded with more phonetic material than inanimate referents. This presents somewhat of a discourse paradox, since in general, an animate entity is more likely than an inanimate entity to serve as a long-lasting,

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<sup>20</sup> -ey Nominals (Type 4) and quantifier-numeral Nominals (Type 5 Nominals) can also code such referents pronominally, but, for example, a Type 5 Nominal like *peskuwok* (AN) and *pesqonul* (INAN) 'a few' carries more semantic content than demwords or Type 7 Nominals, and hence are appropriate only in a restricted set of contexts.

prominent discourse participant; in other words, animate entities tend to be more topical than inanimate entities. However, since higher topicality tends to be associated with a lower degree of overt phonetic material (e.g. see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 205), we might expect that animate entities would be more likely than inanimate entities to be coded with zero, yet this is not the most common situation. The questions raised by this phenomenon will not be further addressed here, but its occurrence in Passamaquoddy and other languages certainly deserves investigation.

As to whether sentient animates are coded with a Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) or a pronominal demword, it is not completely clear what factors favor each of these coding options. In terms of frequency, pronominal demwords are rather more common than third-person Nominals; across my texts, there are 15 pronominal demwords and 4 third-person Nominals.<sup>21</sup> Hence, we may infer that demwords are generally less marked in terms of relevant discourse properties; as has been noted in 2.3.7, Type 7 Nominals tend to be used in emphatic contexts, and while, as we see, pronominal demwords can also be used emphatically, they need not be.

Other characteristics with respect to the information status of the referent, including textual distance of a referring expression from the last mention of the referent and other measures of topicality or prominence which have been found to be important in studies of

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<sup>21</sup> The most common type of third-person Nominal by far is the indefinite *wen* 'one, someone' and its derivatives *mate wen* 'no one' and *psite wen* 'everyone'; in my texts, the numbers for these three items were 92, 12, and 16 respectively.

reference and discourse properties in other languages (e.g. see Givón 1983) require more data and analysis in Passamaquoddy.

Second, in constructions with Nominal or other HIRI predicates, the argument must be overtly expressed. When pronominal demwords occur in such constructions, there are two types of constructions: [HIRI PREDICATE]-[PRONOMINAL DEMWORD] and [PRONOMINAL DEMWORD]-[COPULA DEMWORD]-[HIRI PREDICATE].

The [HIRI PREDICATE]-[PRONOMINAL DEMWORD] construction is used when the HIRI predicate is the focus, and the demword is the topic. The [PRONOMINAL DEMWORD]-[COPULA DEMWORD]-[HIRI PREDICATE] construction is used when the demword is the focus, and the HIRI predicate is the topic term. These constructions, along with other clauses with HIRI predicates, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5; here, I provide a couple of examples of each construction, with the focus term bolded in the English translation.

[57] and [58] are examples of the [HIRI PREDICATE]-[PRONOMINAL DEMWORD] construction, where the HIRI predicate is the focus. In [57], *yut* is the general pronominal demword, agreeing inflectionally with the HIRI predicate *mitsut* ‘fork’, and in [58], the general pronominal demword *wot* agrees inflectionally with the HIRI predicate *emqansis* ‘spoon’.

[57] Elicited:

Mitsut     **yut.**  
fork.INAN     OSG.NS  
This is a **fork.**

[58] Elicited:

Emqansis wot.  
spoon.AN 3SG.NS  
**This is a spoon.**

[59] and [60] are examples of the [PRONOMINAL DEMWORD]-[COPULA DEMWORD]-[HIRI PREDICATE] construction, where the HIRI predicate is the focus. In [59], *yut* is the general pronominal demword, agreeing inflectionally with the HIRI predicate *mitsut* ‘fork’; a copula demword *nit* occurs between these two terms. In [60], the general pronominal demword *wot* agrees inflectionally with the HIRI predicate *emqansis* ‘spoon’, and again there is a copula demword *nit* between these two terms.

[59] Elicited:

Yut nit mitsut.  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA fork.INAN  
**This is the fork. or This is a fork.**

[60] Elicited:

Wot nit emqansis.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN  
**This is the spoon. or This is a spoon.**

The pronominal demwords in [57] to [60] illustrate a type of demonstrative use that Diessel (1999) calls “demonstrative identifiers”, which he defines as demonstratives in copular and non-verbal clauses used to introduce new discourse topics. Diessel presents evidence that in some languages these constitute a grammatically distinct class of demonstratives, in which case he labels them “identificational demonstratives”, when they are phonologically and/or inflectionally distinguished from other types of demonstratives

(particularly those which occur pronominally in clauses with verbs). For example, in Supyire (Niger-Congo) and Ponapean (Malayo-Polynesian), demonstrative identifiers have different stems from demonstrative pronouns, while in Inuktitut demonstrative identifiers and demonstrative pronouns share the same stems but have different inflectional and derivational characteristics (see Diessel 1999: 78-88).<sup>22</sup>

In Passamaquoddy, pronominal entity-referring demwords in clauses with HIRI predicates are not phonologically or inflectionally different from pronominal entity-referring demwords in clauses with verbal predicates, which is evidence that Passamaquoddy does not have a distinct class of identificational demonstratives.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.3.2 Location-referring demwords

#### 3.3.2.1 Morphological and distributional properties

Location-referring demwords have only the forms of the non-absentative inanimate singular demwords, *yut*, *nit*, or *yet*. Because they are inflectionally invariant (except for distinguishing the three deictic distances), traditionally Algonquian linguists have analyzed location-referring demwords as particles and not as belonging with demonstrative pronouns. However, as I explained at the beginning of 3.3, since the fact that location-referring demwords don't distinguish animacy, number, and absentativity can be explained with

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<sup>22</sup> English is a language where this is not the case, since the demonstrative forms used pronominally (*this*, *that* etc.) are also the forms used in copular clauses.

<sup>23</sup> In 5.6.1, I will consider additional data regarding the question of identificational demonstratives in Passamaquoddy, and reach the same conclusion.

reference to semantics and markedness, I analyze location-referring demwords as uses of pronominal demwords.

Location-referring *yut*, *nit*, or *yet* may be associated with an emphatic enclitic =*te*, in which case the items usually have the meanings ‘right here’ for *yut=te*, ‘right there’ for *nit=te*, and ‘right (over) there’ for *yet=te*. Locational demwords most commonly express the location of an event, but may also express the target or source of an event (the latter usually being translated into English as ‘from here’/‘from there’ respectively).

Location-referring demwords which modify a verbal predicate are usually preverbal, whether they are semantically the location, target, or source of an event, but there is the occasional exception. Location-referring demwords serving as arguments are generally clause-initial.

### 3.3.2.2 Uses of locational demwords

In terms of uses, how locational demwords would be classified in the descriptions discussed in 3.1 is less clear than for general pronominal demwords, since some of those authors did not have location-referring demwords in mind. However, it is possible to make a few comments.

Passamaquoddy locational demwords may be properly deictic, such that the referent location is identifiable based on orientation within the immediate context of an utterance (or often in narrative, orientation within some projected context), or they may be anaphoric, such that the referent location is one that was mentioned earlier in the text. Properly deictic locational demwords fit Himmelmann’s (1996) definition for the situational type, and



locational particle. When locational demwords are modifying a verbal predicate, they are usually preverbal<sup>24</sup>, whether they are semantically the location, target, or source of an event, but there is the occasional exception. In [61], *yut* modifies the preverb-verb expression *ncuwi op* ‘I must sit’, and occurs between the preverb *cuwi* and the verb stem *op*. In [62], *nit* occurs at the beginning of the second clause and modifies the verb ‘*punomoniya* ‘they put it’. In the first clause in [63], *yet* occurs clause-initially and modifies the verb *kolocin* ‘it [AN] froze’. In the second clause in [63], *nit=te* occurs pre-verbally and modifies the verb *koloton* ‘it [INAN] froze’.

[61] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

On=yaq 't-ol-itahas-i-n, “Katok=al=te=hc n-kis-ihp-i-w,  
 then=EVID 3-thus-think-AI-SUBD instead.of=DUB=EMPH=FUT I-can-eat-AI-NEG  
 Then he thought, “Perhaps instead of eating,

n-cuwi=te=hc yut op, naka n-kotuhp-i-n tokki spasuwiw.”  
 I-must=EMPH=FUT 0SG.NA sit.AI and I-hungry-AI-SUBD until morning  
 I must sit here, and I will be hungry until morning.”

[62] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

'-Tol-alk-ahti-ni-ya waste-wi-hkuk naka  
 3-ONGO-dig.AI-MPL-SUBD-3PL snow.INAN-DER-PL.LOC and  
 They dug in the snow and

nit '-pun-om-oni-ya micu-w-akon-uwa weci skat  
 0SG.NA 3-put-TI-SUBD-3PL (3)-eat.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN-POSS.3PL so.that NEG  
 kaskomha-nuh-k.  
 melt.II-NEG-CONJ.0  
 they put their food there so that it wouldn't melt.

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<sup>24</sup> With the exception of morphemes such as the negative *ma*, which have scope over a clause, and would therefore logically precede verbal modifiers such as locational demwords.

[63] From *David Francis – Houses*:

Yet=kahk    emehkew    muck=ote    '-kol-oci-n,  
0SG.ASA=EMPH    downstairs    even=EMPH    3-freeze-AI-SUBD  
Downstairs it even froze,

tama    'samaqan    etoli=ote-k                      nit=te                      kol-oton.  
where    water.INAN    ONGO=be.located.II-CONJ.0    0SG.NA=EMPH    freeze-II-(0)  
where water was set down it froze right there.

When a locational demword co-occurs with a noun with locative inflection, it always precedes that noun. Nouns with locative inflection which are the names of places are common with locational demwords. In [64], *yet* precedes a locatively inflected noun which is the name of a place, *Muselenk* 'Eastport' (literally, *Mus-elen-k* 'moose-island [loan from English]-LOC').

[64] From *David Francis – Going to School*:

On apc    nat-okehkim-ke-n                      yet                      Muselenk.  
thennext    (1)-go.to-teach.TA-3I-SUBD    0SG.ASA    Eastport.LOC  
Then I went to school over at Eastport.

Locational demwords may also serve as arguments. In [65], *yut* is an argument, occurring in a clause with the participial expression *Maliyan wikit* 'where Mary Ann lived' (the demword *nit* in between the two arguments will be analyzed as a copula in Chapter 5). In [66], *yut=te* is an argument, occurring with the participial expression *nil keti wiki* 'where I want to live'. In [67], *nit* is a argument, as is the participial expression *kil weciyawin* 'where you come from'.

[65] From *Mary Ellen Socobasin – Maliyan* (WBEP 1979):

Yut nit Maliyan wiki-t.  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA Mary Ann live.AI-CONJ.3  
This is where Mary Ann lived.

[66] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

Yut=te nil keti=wiki, mecimi=te.  
0SG.NS=EMPH 1SG want=live.AI-(CONJ.1) always=EMPH  
Here is where I want to live, always.

[67] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

“Cuwi-tp-ot-uhpon waht kt-ol-iy-a-n ikolisomanu-wi-hkuk,  
must-happen-II-(0)-PRET far.away 2-to.there-go.AI-SUBD white.person.AN-DER-PL.LOC  
“You should go away to the white people’s place,  
  
nit kil weceya-w-i-yin.”  
0SG.NA 2SG person.from.AN-DER-be.AI-CONJ.2  
that’s where you come from.”

Locational demwords may also occasionally be found modifying a non-locative Nominal expression. In [68], *yut* modifies the Nominal *nilun* ‘we [EXCL]’, and (like the *yet* in [64]) co-occurs with a noun with locative inflection used as the name of a place, *Motahkomihkuk* ‘Dana Point’ (literally, *Mota-hkomiku-k* ‘sloping-land-PL.LOC’).

[68] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Nilun yut Motahkomihkuk  
1PLEX 0SG.NS Dana.Point.LOC  
For us here at Dana Point  
  
ma=te n-tuci=sikonoma-hti-w-one-wi-n tahalu=hp  
NEG=EMPH 1-to.that.extent=live.a.hard.life.AI-MPL-NEG-SUBD-NEG-1PL like=IRR  
Sipayik.  
Pleasant.Point.LOC  
we didn’t have as tough a time as at Pleasant Point.

### 3.3.3 Discourse deictic pronominal demwords

Recall that discourse deictic demwords are uses of pronominal demwords for discourse deictic referents, which are events or propositions described in the texts. While it is perhaps a non-trivial conceptual extension to include events and propositions under the rubric of “entity” as the term is most commonly understood, I will assume that, for the purposes of anaphoric (or cataphoric) reference, events and propositions are in some sense treated like other more abstract phenomena that are expressed by HIRIs such as *pomawsuwakon* ‘life’ and *spokehkitimok* (a participle based on the bound verb root *okehki* ‘teach’) ‘higher education’.

#### 3.3.3.1 Morphological and distributional properties

Only *yut* and *nit*, the non-absentative inanimate singular Near-Speaker and Near-Addressee forms respectively, are used for discourse deixis.<sup>25</sup> The texts contain only instances of anaphoric use, most of which use *nit*; but it is not clear from my examination of examples what factors, if any, determine which of the two demwords is used.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> In many languages, discourse deictic referents can be referred to pronominally with the same set of demwords as other, more concrete entities. As I pointed out at the beginning of 3.3, the limitation of discourse deictic reference in Passamaquoddy to non-absentative inanimate singular demwords *yut* and *nit* can be accounted for partly semantically (sections of linguistic discourse are singular and semantically inanimate) and partly by the fact that demwords used in more restricted contexts would be expected to have the most frequent values for grammatical categories such as absentativity. However, there are no immediately obvious such reasons why the non-absentative inanimate singular Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demword *yet* is not used for discourse deixis, although an explanation based on the semantics of Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords is a possibility that requires more exploration.

<sup>26</sup> In English, both *this* and *that* are used as discourse deictics, with anaphor vs. cataphor status being an important factor – cataphoric discourse deixis is obligatorily coded by *this*, as in [III]. Certain types of anaphoric discourse deixis requires the use of *that*, as in [IV], but other types allow both *this* and *that*, as in

### 3.3.3.2 Uses of discourse deictic demwords

[69] and [70] illustrate the use of *nit* as a discourse deictic. In [69], the underlined *nit* refers to the marching instructions that the sergeant would give the recruits:

[69] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

Tan eli=paw-at-o-k nt-ol-amk-uhsa-ne-n  
however how=want-TI-TH-CONJ.3 I-thus-in.a.line-walk.AI-SUBD-1PL  
However he [the sergeant] wanted us to march

nit nit=oc it-o-k.  
OSG.NA OSG.NA=FUT say.TI-TH-CONJ.3  
that's what he would say.

In [70], the underlined *nit* refers to the possibility that pipes in people's houses could freeze:

[70] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Nit pomawsuwinuw-ok mace=noka-t-om-oni-ya  
OSG.NA person.AN-PL (3)-start=afraid.of-TI-TH-SUBD-3PL  
At this point people started to be afraid

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[V]:

[III] Hey, listen to this/"that – Chris bought a new car and the power steering failed almost immediately, so ....

[IV] Speaker A: I really tried my best.  
Speaker B: I find that/"this hard to believe.

[V] Narration of some event for a fable or moral tale:  
*Beginning*: Once upon a time there was a boy who liked to cry "Wolf!"  
.....  
*Ending*: And that/"this is why today I tell you, children, to never lie like that for fun.

The cataphoric-anaphoric restrictions illustrated by [III] and [IV] in English do not seem to apply in Passamaquoddy.

psi=te=hp ' -kol-oci-ni-ya *their pipes.*  
 all=EMPH=IRR 3-freeze-AI-SUBD-3PL  
 that all their pipes would freeze.

Tan yut ska w-ikuwam eyi-nuh-k  
 whichever.INAN NEG 3-house.INAN have.II-NEG-CONJ.0  
 For those houses which didn't have

kete=hp tan etol-opote-k  
 for.one=IRR how ONGO-warm.II-CONJ.0  
 for example, any heat source

kisi nit leyu.  
 can OSG.NA happen.II-(0)  
 that can happen.

[71] to [73] illustrate the use of *yut* as a discourse deictic. In [71], *yut* refers back to the situation described by the promise (made by Koluskap, the speaker of the first two sentences in the extract) that Turtle will be able to live on for a long while even after head or heart removal:

[71] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1974 edition):

Cika=te tom-iqe-htu-h-uki-yin,  
 even.if-EMPH severed-head-strike-TA-PASS-CONJ.2  
 Even if your head is chopped off,

mec=ote=hc k-pom-aws esqonatek kehs-ukon-i-w.  
 still=EMPH=FUT 2-through-live.AI nine so.many-day-be.II-0  
 you will still live for nine days.

Peci=te=hc k-moshun toli-hte-hson=c kisi=mon-eht-asi-k sipkiw."  
 even=EMPH-FUT 2-heart.INAN ONGO-strike-lie.II-(0)=FUT CMPL=out-TI-PASS-CONJ.0 a.long.time  
 Even your heart will beat after it is taken out for some time."

Komac Mikcic wol-itah-asu yut peci leyi-k.  
 very turtle.AN well-think-AI-(3) OSG.NS become happen.II-CONJ.0  
 Turtle was very happy that this was to be the case.

In [72] the underlined *yut* refers to the description of how grease is made from the porpoise-fat:

[72] From *David Francis – Porpoises*:

Ewep-ape-kh-asu-w-ok *yut* *sqote-k*,  
up-cord-cause.TA-PASS-3-3PL OSG.NS fire.INAN-LOC

They [porpoises] were hauled up over the fire here,

*nit=oc tep-cok-hom-uhti-t cuspesi wihk*  
OSG.NA=FUT in-soft-handle.TI-3PL-CONJ.3 porpoise fat.INAN  
then they would throw the porpoise-fat in by the handful

*naka wolocikon-ok naka yut 'soqon;*  
and fin.AN-PL and OSG.NS 3-tail.INAN  
and the fins and its tail;

*psi=te 'kap-aqs-om-oni-ya nit etol-akomitaha-k.*  
all=EMPH 3-together.with-cook-TI-INDP-3PL OSG.NA ONGO-boil.II-CONJ.3  
they cooked together everything that was boiling.

*Yut* *nit el-iht-a-q mimey –*  
OSG.NS OSG.NA thus-make.TI-TH-CONJ.3 grease.INAN  
That's how they made the grease –

*cuspes-ipom 't-ol-iwiht-om-oni-ya.*  
porpoise-oil.INAN 3-thus-call.TI-TH-INDP-3PL  
they call it porpoise-oil.

In [73], the underlined *yut* is a cataphoric discourse deictic, referring to the discourse to come.

[73] Elicited:

*Yut* *nit weci=tuci=musq-itah-am-a-t Plansuwes*  
3SG.NS OSG.NA so.that=to.that.extent=hostile-think-TA-DIR-CONJ.3 Frances.AN

*Susehp-ol ...*  
*Joseph.AN-3'*

This is why Frances hates Joseph ...

Incidentally, Himmelmann (1996) found for his language sample that the most common use of pronominal demonstratives is as discourse deictics, but this is true for Passamaquoddy only of inanimate pronominal demwords, which are indeed mostly discourse deictics.

### 3.3.4 The functional range of Passamaquoddy pronominal demwords

In 3.3.1-3.3.3, I examined general pronominal demwords, location-referring demwords, and discourse deictic demwords.

General pronominal demwords have a large range of entities that they can refer to, and occur in both contexts where in other languages demonstratives would normally occur, as well as in contexts where in other languages regular third-person pronouns would normally occur. This to some degree parallels the situation for adnominal demwords, which cover a range of functions that crosslinguistically is associated with both demonstratives and definite articles. The use of pronominal demwords as regular third-person anaphors is a phenomenon that has been observed in many other languages, where the initial, more restrictive contexts of use (tracking emphatic, contrastive, or unexpected referents) give way to a more general anaphoric function (e.g. see Givón 1984: 353; Himmelmann 1996; Klein-Andreu 1996). In some languages, such a functional extension proceeds such that what was originally a pronominal demword becomes a clitic pronominal, and then a bound verbal agreement marker, but Passamaquoddy shows no signs of following such a pathway.

Location-referring demwords and discourse deictic demwords are (by definition) restricted in what kind of entities they refer to, and are limited in what forms can be used for

due to the semantic properties of their referents. Referring to spatial locations is often considered to be a basic function of demonstratives, while for some scholars such as Diessel (1999), discourse deictic demwords are already partly grammaticalized morphemes, since linguistic objects are in some senses more abstract types of referents than other types of entities such as people, animals, or physical objects.

### 3.4 Overall summary

A summary of my discussion of Passamaquoddy entity-referring demword uses is given in [74]. Two main groupings can be distinguished by syntactic context – adnominal and pronominal. Pronominal demword uses can be further divided into general, location-referring, and discourse deictic based on the type of referent they are used for.

[74] Entity-referring demword uses in Passamaquoddy

**Entity-referring demwords**

*Adnominal*

*Pronominal*

General

Location-referring

Discourse deictic

The examples in this chapter have shown that entity-referring demwords have a range of functions, including those described as typical of “demonstratives” crosslinguistically, as well as functions associated crosslinguistically with definite articles, “regular” pronouns (i.e. non-contrastive, non-emphatic), and what Diessel (1999) has called demonstrative

identifiers. Thus, what we have is one word class with a rather large semantic and distributional range.

In the chapters to follow, I will discuss a number of other types of demwords in Passamaquoddy, and show how they differ functionally and formally from entity-referring demwords. I will also propose how these other demword types may have developed by processes of grammaticalization from a range of entity-referring demword uses that have been surveyed in this chapter.

## Chapter 4: Temporal demwords and clausal connective demwords

In the last chapter, I examined entity-referring demwords, which have the uses most commonly attributed in the literature to demonstratives. This chapter looks at two more types of demwords, time-referring or **temporal demwords** and **clausal connective demwords**, which have clearly developed, directly or indirectly, from entity-referring demwords.

On first glance, temporal demwords may look like they also refer to entities of a sort. However, we will see that reference to points in time differs from reference to entities of the type described in Chapter 3; furthermore, the demword forms that can be used for temporal reference are only a small subset of those I call entity-referring demwords. Still, it is likely that Passamaquoddy temporal demwords are another example of the well-known phenomenon of morphemes with spatial meaning acquiring temporal meaning via metaphoric extension. Thus, these temporal demwords would have developed originally from entity-referring demwords used to refer to locations.

Like entity-referring demwords, temporal demwords can be either deictic or anaphoric. A temporal demword is deictic if the point of temporal reference expressed is identifiable relative to the time of the speech event. In [1], the point of time expressed by *now* is dependent on when the utterance occurred, and refers to the point of time at the time of speech.

- [1] *Context* – one person showing another how to make a food dish:  
Put the oil in now.

A temporal demword is anaphoric if the point of temporal reference expressed is identifiable by reference to a point in time previously mentioned or understood. In [2], *then* refers to the point of time that has been reached in the narration, i.e. at that time when the hunters were crouched waiting for the ducks.

[2] From *Colin Thiele – Storm Boy*, in Thiele (2001: 96):

... there behind a bending boobyalla bush near the Coorong he saw two shooters crouching. They were very still, waiting for six ducks out on the water to swim a little nearer. Just then Mr Percival came sweeping by in his ponderous flight.

Clausal connective demwords are different from entity-referring demwords and temporal demwords in terms of their syntactic function, distribution, and paradigmatic range, but I will argue that they either developed directly from pronominal entity-referring demwords or from temporal demwords.

I begin in Section 4.1 with temporal demwords, examining their morphological, semantic, and distributional characteristics; consider their word class status, including the categorial relations between temporal demwords and other particles which function as verbal modifiers; consider the semantic relations between spatial and temporal terms in general and draw on work on other languages to offer some grammaticalization explanations for the Passamaquoddy data. In Section 4.2 on clausal connective demwords, I examine their morphological, semantic, and distributional characteristics; consider their word class status, including the categorial relations between these demwords and other particles which function as clausal connectives; and consider the semantic relations between clausal connective demwords and entity-referring and temporal demwords.

## 4.1 Temporal demwords

In this section, I first describe the morphological and distributional properties of temporal demwords in Passamaquoddy. I will then discuss examples of these demwords. Section 4.1 concludes with a consideration of the word class status of these items and how they may have developed from location-referring demwords.

### 4.1.1 Morphological and distributional properties

Demwords with unambiguous temporal location meaning take the forms *neke*, *neket* (absentative inanimate singular Near-Addressee), *yut* (non-absentative inanimate singular Near-Speaker), *yet* (non-absentative inanimate singular Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee), and *yaka* (absentative animate singular Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee). In addition, *yaka*, along with *nit* (non-absentative inanimate singular Near-Addressee) and *nit=te* (which consists of *nit* combined with an emphatic clitic =*te*)<sup>1</sup>, occur in clauses where they can be interpreted as having temporal meaning, but it is usually not possible to decide whether they are expressing a location in time or a temporal sequence, with the latter involving clausal connective semantics that will be discussed in more detail in 4.2.

Like other morphemes with temporal adverbial meaning, temporal demwords usually semantically modify a verbal predicate or a clause. Most instances of temporal demwords, with the exception of *neke(t)*, occur only pre-verbally and usually clause-initially. In

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<sup>1</sup> If the demword forms *yut* and *yet* occur with the clitic =*te*, as *yut=te* and *yet=te*, they do not function as temporal demwords, but as emphatic location-referring demwords; see 3.3.2.

addition, there is a form =*yaka* which behaves as a second-position enclitic when it occurs after the particle *on* ‘then (next)’, and this morpheme may be formally distinct from instances of *yaka* which occur clause-initially with the meaning of ‘until’. *neke(t)* has relatively free distribution, occurring both pre-verbally and post-verbally. Temporal demwords often occur in conjunction with another word expressing temporal semantics, either a particle or a verb in the Conjunct Indicative or Subjunctive modes which expresses a temporal subordination translatable as a ‘when’, ‘while’, or ‘as’ clause in English. When a temporal demword occurs with a Conjunct verb, it always precedes it.

#### 4.1.2 Uses of temporal demwords

In this section, the temporal demwords in the examples are underlined.

The most common temporal demword is *neke(t)*, which most commonly refers to time in the remote past, in which case it is often translated as ‘long ago’, ‘back then’, or ‘in those days’. *neke(t)* often occurs before or after *pihce* ‘a long time ago’, as in [3] and [4].

[3] From *David Francis – Houses and food*:

Ma=na    mil-uwe-w-on-ol neket    pihce    piwsok-ul.  
 NEG=also    give-AI-NEG-+O-0PL    ABS.OSG.NA    long.ago    firewood.INAN-PL  
 Back in those days [the government] didn’t give you firewood either.

[4] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

N-ikuwoss    na n-kisi=qecimul-a-n  
 I-mother.AN    PRT I-CMPL=ask.TA-DIR-SUBD  
 I also asked my mother

cipotu wew-itah-at-om-on apc nit kisi=leyi-k;  
 maybe (3)-known-think-TI-TH-0 again OSG.NA CMPL=happen.II-CONJ.0  
 if she remembered when this had happened before;

itom aha;  
 say.AI-(3) yes  
 she said yes,

pihce neke;  
 long.ago ABS.OSG.NA  
 a long long time ago,

*I think uh, 1929=yaq*  
 EVID

I think, uh, 1929 she said,

kisi=wisok=amoq-ess-u.  
 CMPL=extreme=storm-move-II-(0)  
 there was a big storm.

*neket* may also precede a Conjunct verb, as in [5], where it occurs before *etolayyomuk* ‘when I was playing with them’.

[5] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

Mihq-itah-at-om-on nit, 'sami  
 (1)-come.to-think-TI-TH-0 OSG.NA because  
 I remembered that, because

neket etol-ayyom-uk peskuw-ok wasis-ok  
 ABS.OSG.NA ONGO-play.with.TA-CONJ.I one.AN-PL child.AN-PL  
 when I was playing with a few of the kids

nit etoli='sotuhmuw-i-t.  
 OSG.NA ONGO=tell.sb.about.sth.TA+O-1.OBJ-CONJ.3:1SG  
 that's what they were telling me.

In [6] and [7], *neket* serves as a temporal morpheme by itself, before the verb in [6] and after the verb in [7].

- [6] From *Lewis Mitchell – Koluskap naka Wocawson* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Neket Koluskap mec yali=wic-iye-m-a-t skitapi-yi.  
 ABS.0SG.NA Koluskap still around=together-go-TA-DIR-CONJ.3 man.AN-3'PL  
 At that time Koluskap was still amongst men.

- [7] From *Charles Laporte – The church comes to Tobique* (Teeter text 28, LeSourd 2002 draft)

On nit, yut nekomaw peci-phuw-hoti-ni-ya yut nikt  
 then 0SG.NA 0SG.NS 3PL around-run.away.AI-MPL-SUBD-3PL 0SG.NS 3PL.NA  
 nuci=mihku-kem-uhti-c-ik neket, miyaw.  
 do.as.occupation=preach-AI-MPL-CONJ.3-3PL ABS.0SG.NA exactly  
 So then they fled and came here, those preachers, at just that time.

*yut* as a temporal demword means ‘now’, its temporal distance – the least removed relative to the current time – parallel with its meaning as a locational deictic – ‘here’, i.e. the least removed relative to the current source of the utterance. The temporal deictic meaning is, however, uncommon for *yut*; this form usually functions as an entity-referring or locational demword. When *yut* has the meaning ‘now’, it frequently occurs with the particle *tokeltokec*, which also means ‘now’ (in fact, the meaning ‘now’ is more frequently expressed by the particle *toke* or *tokec* by itself). as illustrated in [8].

- [8] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Kil=te=hc na yut toke kt-ol-iy-a-n el-ayya-woloti-mok  
 2SG=EMPH=FUT PRT 0SG.NS now 2-to.there-go.AI-SUBD thus-play.AI-MPL-CONJ.3I  
 nahs-eht n-kospisun.  
 put.on-TI-(IMP.2) 1-belt.INAN  
 You should for now go to the sports, and put on my belt.

*yet* is also not very common as a temporal demword; when it is used as one, it generally occurs with a Conjunct verb form which is interpreted as a ‘when’-phrase, so that

*yet* can be understood as meaning ‘at that time, at the time (when)’. This is the case in [9], where *yet* occurs with a the Conjunct verb *macepanakik* ‘when the sky began to clear’. [10] is a rarer examples of *yet* occurring as a temporal demword without a verb in the Conjunct.

[9] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Qenoq na mahkiyew-oss-is=te  
 but PRT a.while-DIM-DIM=EMPH  
 But in just a short while

yet mace=panaki-k  
 OSG.ASA start=clear.off.II-CONJ.0  
 when the sky began to clear,

on=yaka=te peci=tk-eyu.  
 then=ABS.3SG.ASA=EMPH become=cold-II-(0)  
 then it got cold.

[10] From *David Francis – Houses*:

Tepot=olu yet puniw tehpu wen iqon-apqotewot-ahsi-t  
 however=TOP OSG.ASA in.winter only one.AN keep.on-open-AI-CONJ.3  
 mon-uwehk-asi-k.  
 off-use.TI-PASS-CONJ.0

So in winter you would just keep opening up what had been preserved.

*yaka* refers to a time later than some reference point in time. It can have the meaning ‘until (the point in time)’, occurring clause-initially, as in [11], where it precedes *tan=ci* ‘when’ (a contraction of the particle *tan* and the preverb *eci*) and the lexicalized Conjunct verb *Nipayimiyamok* ‘Christmas’, and [12], where *yaka* precedes a Conjunct verb *peciqasqihitit* ‘when they got back’.

[11] From *David Francis – Houses*:

Ma=te    tama    al    keqsey,    pihcetu    weci=peci-ya-k,  
NEG=EMPH    where    DUB    thing.INAN    far.away    from.there=to.here-go.II-CONJ.0  
There wasn't anything [here], so that things were brought here from far away,

kete    aloncis-ol    naka  
for.example    orange.INAN-PL    and  
oranges for example, and

ma=te    tama    ihi-wi-yil    yaka    tan=ci<sup>2</sup>    Nipay-imiya-mok.  
NEG=EMPH    how    be.present.II-NEG-0PL    ABS.3SG.ASA    when    night-pray.AI-CONJ.3I  
there weren't any until Christmas.

[12] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

Yukk=olu=yaq    skicinuw-ok    ma=te    con-essi-wi-yik  
3SG.NS=TOP=EVID    Indian.AN-PL    NEG=EMPH    stop-move.AI-NEG-3PL  
yaka    peci=qasqi-hti-t    Motahkomikuk.  
ABS.3SG.ASA    to.here=run.AI-3PL-CONJ.3    Dana.Point.LOC

As for the Indians, they didn't stop until they had got back to Dana Point.

More commonly, the form *yaka*, along with *nit*, are translated as 'then, at that time' when they are morphemes with temporal meaning. It is important to note, however, that just as English 'then' has a variety of meanings, not all Passamaquoddy demwords translated as 'then' are necessarily pure temporal deictics in the same semantic paradigm as the temporal deictic meaning of the Near-Speaker temporal demword *yut* 'now, at this time'. Rather, *nit* and *yaka* can often be interpreted as having temporal sequence meaning 'then next' rather than 'at that point in time', and it is not always possible to determine whether it is the temporal location or temporal sequence meaning that pertains in a particular example. This is especially so when, as is often the case, *nit* and *yaka* occur with another morpheme that

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<sup>2</sup> *tan=ci* is an irregular shortening of *tan=eci*, which consists of the particle *tan* (which in other contexts usually means 'how; where') and the preverb *eci* (which in other contexts usually means 'very').

has temporal sequence meaning, such as *on* ‘then (next)’; in such clauses, it is unclear whether the *nit* and *yaka* have temporal location meaning or are expressing temporal sequence meaning in concert with *on*. Furthermore, such instances of *yaka* have the distribution of a second-position enclitic.

In the fourth line of [13], *nit* was translated by the teller of the story as ‘at this point’, which suggests a temporal location meaning; however, a temporal sequence meaning of ‘then next’ for *nit* would also make sense in such an example, and it is unclear if we can distinguish between the two types of meanings for *nit* here.

[13] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Qenoq na mahkiyew-oss-is=te  
 but PRT a.while-DIM-DIM=EMPH  
 But in just a short while

yet mace=panaki-k,  
 OSG.ASA start=clear.off.II-CONJ.0  
 when the sky began to clear,

on=yaka=te peci=tk-eyu.  
 then=ABS.3SG.ASA=EMPH become=cold-II-(0)  
 then it got cold.

Nit pomawsuwinuw-ok mace=noka-t-om-oni-ya  
 OSG.NA person.AN-PL (3)-start=afraid.of-TI-TH-SUBD-3PL  
 At this point people started to be afraid

psi=te=hp ’-kol-oci-ni-ya *their uh, pipes.*  
 all=EMPH=IRR 3-freeze-AI-SUBD-3PL  
 that all their pipes would freeze.

In the third line of [13], =*yaka* occurs after *on* ‘then (next)’, and thus, =*yaka* could be analyzed as meaning ‘then next, at that time’, meaning that *on=yaka* together means ‘then

next, at that time’; alternatively, *yaka* might be analyzed as having a temporal sequence meaning ‘then (next)’ which reinforces the meaning of *on*. =*yaka* may co-occur with other morphemes that are second-position enclitics. For example, in [14], =*yaka* occurs after the future enclitic =*oc/=hc*. Thus, the instances of the form =*yaka* in [13] and [14] could be argued to be an enclitic =*yaka* distinct from the *yaka* in sentences [11] and [12] which means ‘until’.

[14] From *Charles Laporte: Tom and the Storekeeper* (Teeter text 26, LeSourd 2002 draft)

Tokec=oc=yaka      kt-apenk-ul.  
 now=FUT=ABS.3SG.ASA    2-pay.TA-1:2  
 Now I'll pay you.

Finally, *nit=te*, when translated as ‘immediately, right away’, could be interpreted as having a temporal location meaning, but it might also be the case that its meaning contains that of temporal sequence, akin to ‘immediately next’. [15] is an example of *nit=te* with the meaning of ‘right away’.

[15] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Pomawsuwinuw-ok    etoli=mawi=wicik-hoti-hti-t  
 person.AN-PL            ONGO=gather=stay.at.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
 People who were staying with someone else

yat=te            wen    't-ol-iy-a-n            w-ik-uwa-k.  
 3SG.ASA=EMPH    one.AN    3-to.there-go.AI-SUBD    3-house.INAN-POSS.3PL-LOC  
 each went back to their house.

Nit=te            psi=te            mace=wol-atok-ess-on.  
 OSG.NA=EMPH    all=EMPH            start=well-string.like-move-II-(0)  
 Everything started to straighten out right away.

### 4.1.3 Word class status

Temporal demwords share their forms with certain of the entity-referring demwords in Chapter 3, but temporal demwords are inflectionally invariant and are hence formally particles. Recall that location-referring demwords and discourse deictic demwords are also inflectionally invariant, but I consider them instances of entity-referring demwords, since their lack of inflection can be explained by the fact that the nominal categories such as animacy and number would not be semantically relevant for referring to physical places or sections of linguistic discourse. We might therefore ask whether a similar explanation could be applied here to temporal demwords; if it could, then temporal demwords should also be considered to be instances of entity-referring demwords for the same reasons as location-referring and discourse deictic demwords. However, unlike location-referring and discourse deictic demwords, which are all inanimate singular forms, temporal demwords do not form a paradigmatically coherent set; while *yut*, *nit*, and *yet* are non-absentative inanimate singular forms, *neke(t)* is an absentative inanimate singular demword, and *yaka* is an absentative animate demword. Thus, there is no obvious semantic way to account for the reason why these are the only forms used as temporal demwords.

Also, points in time, unlike most entities, cannot literally be physically pointed out; that is, time is a more abstract conceptual domain in that respect than physical things and space. I will return to this fact in Section 4.1.4.

In addition, the syntactic distribution of temporal demwords is different from that of entity-referring demwords; several of the temporal demwords tend to occur preverbally, with

=*yaka* meaning ‘at that time’ (or possibly with the clausal connective meaning ‘then next’) behaving as a second-position enclitic, while entity-referring demwords have much freer distribution relative to the verb.

If temporal demwords are not entity-referring demwords, what word class do they belong to? Since temporal demwords usually serve as semantic modifiers of verbs or clauses, it is interesting to compare the properties of temporal demwords with other words with temporal modifying meaning, since the latter are also generally verbal or clausal modifiers. We find that almost all temporal modifier morphemes are particles inflectionally<sup>3</sup>. Also, if we compare the distributional behavior of temporal demwords and (other) temporal particles in texts, we find that there are good parallels; just as certain temporal particles are obligatorily pre-verbal while others have freer distribution, so certain temporal demwords occur only pre-verbally, while others occur both pre-verbally and post-verbally. *yut*, *nit*, *nit=te*, and *yet* are like some temporal particles which are always preverbal, such as *sesolahkiw*, *sesolahki=te* ‘suddenly’. *neke(t)* is like other temporal particles that have relatively free distribution, such as *pihce* ‘long ago’, *spasuwiw* ‘in the morning’, *nipayiw* ‘at night’, and particles for the four seasons – *siqoniw*, *niponiw*, *toqakuwiw*, and *puniw* corresponding to ‘in spring’, ‘in summer’, ‘in fall’, ‘in winter’ respectively.

When *yet* occurs with Conjunct verbs, its distribution is to some extent similar to particles like *kesq* ‘while’ and *mesq* ‘before’ which can also precede verbs in Conjunct

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<sup>3</sup> There are Nominals that express temporal location, e.g. *pun* ‘winter’, but they are the exception. There are also preverbs expressing aspectual notions, but preverbs are clearly a grammatically distinct class of their own; see 1.2.2.3.

modes. [16] shows an example of *mesq* ‘before’ occurring before the Unchanged Conjoint verb *nokotomuwan* ‘I leave it’.

[16] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

“Mesq nok-ot-om-uw-an            yut        utene-hs-is,            nt-ol-luhka-n=c  
not.yet    leave-TI-TH-NEG-CONJ.SUBD.I    OSG.NS    town.INAN-DIM-DIM    1-thus-do.AI-SUBD=FUT  
nit.”  
0SG.NA

Before I leave this village, I will do it.”

On the other hand, particles like *mesq* and *kesq* are clause-initial, while temporal demword *yet* is simply pre-verbal.

Thus, temporal demwords are like entity-referring demwords morphologically with respect to the shape of their stems, but are distinct from them with respect to their paradigmatic range and syntactic distribution. On the other hand, temporal demwords are like other types of particles morphologically in being uninflected, as well as like certain of them functionally and with respect to textual distribution patterns, particularly temporal modifier particles. Hence, if one were to place temporal demwords with a group of items with similar morphosyntactic properties, it makes sense to group them together with those other particles with which they share functional and distributional characteristics,<sup>4</sup> even though clearly, temporal demwords are historically related to entity-referring demwords.

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<sup>4</sup> Also, as I noted in Chapter 2, verbal modifier particles in general may be grouped together based on their syntactic function, although we may choose to identify sub-groups based on distributional properties, such as distinguishing those which are obligatorily pre-verbal from those with freer distribution, or semantic differences, such as distinguishing temporal particles from manner particles.

#### 4.1.4 The semantics of space-to-time extensions and the grammaticalization of temporal demwords

Temporal demwords tend not to be grouped with entity-referring demwords, even when they have the same phonological forms.<sup>5</sup> I already noted one possible reason earlier: points in time are different from points in space and from entities because while we can point to both entities and physical locations, we cannot literally point to some point in time. That is, time is in some senses a more abstract conceptual domain, so that temporal deixis is different in important respects from deictic reference to entities or places.

The expression of space and time, however, is typically closely linked in languages, and there are numerous examples of concepts of time being expressed with reference to the spatial domain (e.g. see Traugott 1974, 1978; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Anderson and Keenan 1985; Claudi and Heine 1986; Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1991; Haspelmath 1997).

In many cases, expressions which encode spatial concepts can also be used to express temporal notions. For example, English prepositions such as *before* and *after* can have either spatial or temporal meaning, as shown in [17] to [20].

[17] Spatial *before* (= 'in front of'): The defendant stood before the judge.

[18] Temporal *before* (= 'earlier in time'): The sun set before I got home.

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<sup>5</sup> This is true even of authors who have a fairly broad definition of demonstratives. For example, Diessel (1999) calls locational deictic demwords "adverbial demonstratives", while regarding temporal demwords as being morphemes which are now more grammatical (vs. lexical) in meaning than the locational deictics from which they are proposed to have developed.

[19] Spatial *after* (= 'following behind'): The security officer ran after the thief.

[20] Temporal *after* (= 'later in time'): I got home after the sun set.

In other cases, it is clear that temporal expressions have developed from spatial ones<sup>6</sup>, and this is also the case for deictic morphemes – deixis in the realm of space is extended to deixis in the realm of time. In fact, with respect to demwords, Anderson and Keenan (1985: 298) remark in their crosslinguistic survey of deixis that it is unusual “for a language to employ demonstratives with specialized temporal senses that are not (in any obvious way) based on the metaphor of time as space.” Some languages, such as Wik-Munkan (Pama-Nyungan), use the exact same set of forms as both locational and temporal deictics. Other languages, such as Kannada (Dravidian), have temporal deictics which share the same set of roots as locational deictics, but which have different inflectional properties, a phenomenon that Diessel (1999) found to be quite common crosslinguistically.

Passamaquoddy is somewhat different again from both these situations in that while all of the demword forms used as locational deictics can also be used as temporal deictics, there are also temporal demwords – *neke(t)* and (=)*yaka* – which are not also used as locational deictics.<sup>7</sup> If temporal demwords have grammaticalized from locational ones, why would this be the case? There are two possibilities: (a) all of the forms of the temporal

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<sup>6</sup> Since space is a more concrete domain in terms of physical tangibility, it is assumed to be more cognitively basic than time as a cognitive domain; hence, logic, as well as the data, supports the hypothesis that temporal expressions develop from spatial ones when the forms of both suggest a historical relationship. See, for example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) for further discussion.

<sup>7</sup> Also, not all morphemes with temporal meaning in Passamaquoddy are obviously derived from morphemes with spatial meaning. For example, the particles *mesq* and *nanakiw* correspond respectively to 'before' and 'after' only in a temporal sense.

demwords, including *neke(t)* and (=)*yaka*, were at some point also locational deictics, but *neke(t)* and (=)*yaka* are no longer used for locational deixis, or (b) *neke(t)* and (=)*yaka* developed their temporal meanings directly from instances of demwords used to refer to entities, and hence were never used as locational deictics.

Given the lack of adequate historical evidence, it is impossible to know for sure, but the first possibility does not seem to have any obvious supporting reasons. Consider that the set of locational demwords that there are now – *yut*, *nit*, and *yet* – take the forms of all the non-absentative inanimate singular forms and thus cover each of the three distances, Near-Speaker, Near-Addressee, and Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee that Passamaquoddy entity-referring deictic demwords express. Why then would two absentative forms, one of them grammatically animate (*yaka*), be needed for locational deixis at any point in the language's history?

In contrast, it is easier to imagine why the three terms *yut*, *nit*, and *yet* might be found insufficient for the expression of temporal deixis in terms of the range of the domain to be covered: while removal from a current physical location is generally conceived of as proceeding unidirectionally, removal from a current temporal point could proceed in two directions, back into the past and forward into the future<sup>8</sup>. Now if this is the main motivating reason, then one might wonder if a temporal demword system with five terms, which is what we have for Passamaquoddy, would be symmetrical, having one term referring to CURRENT

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<sup>8</sup> Of course, there is no physical reason why locational deixis could not also proceed in more than one direction, e.g. relative to a speaker's left vs. right or front vs. back, but this apparently does not occur in natural human languages, for reasons which we can assume have to do with the relative low functional utility of referring to these factors for locational deixis.

TIME, two terms referring to PAST and REMOTE PAST respectively, and two referring to FUTURE and REMOTE FUTURE respectively. This is, however, not the case; in general the forms are either used only for past time (*neke(t)*) or can be used for both future and past. One explanation for this is that there are more distinctions made for past time because what has already happened tends to have more salient points than what is yet to come.<sup>9</sup>

We can, however, present other types of scenarios for why *neke(t)* and (=)*yaka* came to be used as temporal demwords without ever having been used as locational demwords. First, with respect to how absentative entity-referring forms might develop into temporal deictics, we know that the former are often used to refer to deceased people, meaning ‘the late X’, and thus these uses have an element of temporal meaning – someone who is no longer here. The development of this type of absentative entity-referring demword into a temporal deictic would then involve the loss of the reference to an entity but the retaining of the meaning of a time that is not the present.

Another possibility may relate to Proulx’s (1988) reconstruction of proto-Algonquian demonstratives, where the basic forms of the Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee

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<sup>9</sup> Haspelmath (1997: 41) claims that “past and future are typically fairly symmetric in languages”, but he also has examples of asymmetry. For example, he talks about a **distance-posterior extent** type of temporal expression which expresses how long a time extent something has been true starting from a past point in time. The example [I] is from German, with the relevant temporal expression in bold.

[I] From Haspelmath (1997: 40):

Stephen lebt	<b>seit fünf Jahren</b>	in Hongkong.
Stephen lives	since five years	in Hong Kong
Stephen has lived in Hong Kong for five years.		
(more literally, ‘Stephen has lived in Hong Kong since five years ago’.)		

However, Haspelmath notes that he found no language which has a separate “distance-anterior” temporal expression, which in English would be something like:

[II] \* She will live in Hong Kong until in five years.

demonstrative appear to have originally had absentative meaning. Thus, one meaning of the absentative category at an early stage in the development of Passamaquoddy demonstratives may have indeed been spatial distance; thus, it is possible that the temporal sense of *neke(t)* and *yaka* may have developed from their earlier spatial senses.

In any case, the question that remains is why more forms other than the three currently used for locational deixis – *yut*, *nit*, and *yet* – came to be used as temporal deictics at all. One possible reason might have been to avoid too much polysemy. Thus, although at some point temporal deixis may have made use of only *yut*, *nit*, and *yet*, the fact that these forms, in particular *yut* and *nit*, are common not only as locational demwords but also as entity-referring demwords, and the fact that *nit* is also very common as a clausal connective, may have resulted in a functional pressure against these forms serving yet another function – temporal deixis – with too much regularity, thus motivating the selection of other demwords to serve in this capacity. Absentative forms, with their frequent element of temporal meaning when referring to deceased people, turned out to fit the bill.

For example, the demword form *yet* is used as the Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee locational deictic, so one might think that it would be a good candidate for referring to remote points in the temporal domain. However, *yet* as a temporal deictic does not refer to particularly remote time; thus, whatever the reason that *yet* ended up not being used in this way, another demword – the absentative *neke(t)* – developed this function.

Also, if we are exploring a hypothesis where *neke(t)* and *yaka* developed into temporal deictics from entity-referring uses rather than locational deictic uses, there is still the question of why it was the forms *neke(t)* and *yaka* in particular that underwent this

development. Once again, one can only really speculate. Thus, for *neke(t)*, part of the reason that it has developed into a temporal deictic could have to do with it being a Near Addressee term in the demonstrative paradigm; crosslinguistically, this distance is the most semantically neutral and hence the term that most frequently participates in processes of grammaticalization into other types of morphemes.

On the other hand, *yaka* is an Away from Speaker and Addressee term, as well as being animate, so the possible explanation offered for *neke(t)* cannot be applied to *yaka*. One speculative explanation, suggested by Phil LeSourd (p.c.), is that what appears to be a grammatically animate form, *yaka*, may have originally been based on an inanimate demonstrative stem, and arisen through a series of reanalyses of the original demonstrative morphemes that have affected a number of demonstrative forms in Passamaquoddy; such an account would then mean that all of the Passamaquoddy temporal demwords arose from inanimate demword forms, which would be consonant with the expectation that points in time be treated as inanimate referents.

Proulx (1988) has proposed that a number of demonstrative forms in Passamaquoddy arose from processes of incorporating enclitics into the stems. For absentative forms, this enclitic is reconstructed as  $*/=(\emptyset)ka:/$ <sup>10</sup>. Thus, for contemporary *neke(t)*, the original absentative inanimate Near-Addressee form is reconstructed as  $*/\emptyset ne:/$  (the corresponding animate form would be  $*/\emptyset na:/$ ), so with the enclitic  $*/=(\emptyset)ka:/$ , this gives us  $*/\emptyset ne:=ka:/$ , from which contemporary *neke* developed after  $*/\emptyset ne:=ka/$  was reanalyzed as a single word

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<sup>10</sup> This morpheme is reflected in modern Penobscot and Western Abenaki as  $-(\emptyset)ka$ , a form Frank Siebert (in an unpublished 1996 manuscript) called a “focusing enclitic”.

and its final vowel reinterpreted as an inflectional ending (the absentative proximate inanimate singular suffix is reconstructed as \*/-e:/). The alternative form *neket* may have arisen by the addition of further enclitics to the stem or analogical reshaping.

For contemporary (=)*yaka*, the account LeSourd suggests is more complicated. If the enclitic \*/=(ə)ka:/ was added to the inanimate form of the Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demonstrative, reconstructed as something like \*/aye:/ (where the shape of the initial vowel is uncertain), this would have given \*/aye:=ka:/, subsequently reanalyzed as a single word \*/aye:ka:/. \*/aye:/ was originally an absentative form, but at some point its meaning shifted to a non-absentative Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee sense (and it is likely that it is from this stem that the contemporary non-absentative inanimate Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee form *yet* derives, with the addition of a different enclitic, \*/=ta:/, to \*/aye:/). When \*/aye:ka:/ took over the function previously associated with \*/aye:/, as an absentative inanimate entity-referring demword, its final vowel would have been subject to adjustment through reinterpretation as an inflectional suffix, and thus, as for contemporary *neke*, changed to *-e*. But if \*/aye:ka:/ was also at this point used as a temporal demword, it would not need to vary inflectionally, so that its final vowel was not subject to reinterpretation as an inflectional affix. However, if \*/aye:ka:/ was still felt to be related to the demonstratives “proper”, it could have been remodeled as \*/aya:ka:/ based on a false analogy with the absentative animate form \*/aya:ka:/, since \*/-a:/ was the absentative animate ending.

This account would mean that we could explain why temporal (=)*yaka* has the phonological form of the absentative proximate animate singular demword without positing

that this word was ever either an animate form or an absentative form. On the other hand, the question arises as to why a similar process did not occur with the Near-Addressee form, i.e. why contemporary Passamaquoddy does not use animate *nakat/nakaw* rather than inanimate *neke(t)* as a temporal demword. Still, it is worth pursuing additional reconstructive data to see what sequences of changes could have occurred that led to the demword forms that are now used with temporal meaning.

Another obvious source of data to look at is other Algonquian demword systems. However, while in other Algonquian languages, locational deictic demwords usually share their forms with items used as demwords referring to entities such as people, animals, and objects, temporal deictics are usually non-demword particles. This is the situation, for example, for Cree, Ojibwe, and Micmac. Thus, perhaps the development of temporal demwords of Passamaquoddy, whatever it has been, has followed a somewhat independent pathway.

## 4.2 Clausal connective demwords

As noted earlier in 1.2.2.5, Passamaquoddy has a number of morphemes which function as clausal connectives to express event relational meaning. Some of these clausal connective morphemes have the forms of demwords.

**Temporal sequential** meaning indicates that one event follows another, translatable as '(and) then', '(and) next', 'then next'. Note that in English, the phonological form *then*

can also have a temporal deictic meaning, as seen in 4.1. However, as a temporal sequential morpheme, *then* in [21] and [22] means not so much ‘at that time’ but ‘and next’.

[21] Put the sugar in the bowl, then stir.

[22] I got some money, then went to the store.

As I noted in 4.1, it is often not possible to tell whether Passamaquoddy demwords have temporal location or temporal sequence meaning, since their occurrence in sentences with temporal sequence meaning is usually accompanied by another morpheme that itself has temporal sequence meaning. For example, in [23], =*yaka*, which behaves as a second-position clitic, occurs after a particle *on* that means ‘then (next)’, a common environment for =*yaka*. Hence, =*yaka* might mean ‘at that time’, such that *on=yaka* means ‘then next, at that time’, or =*yaka* may have a temporal sequence meaning in concert with *on*.

[23] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Malom=te    tama    nis-ukon-okkiwi-k    sakom    pkon-a,  
finally=EMPH    how    two-day-past.II-CONJ.0    chief.AN    (3t)-pick.TA-DIR

Finally, in about two days the chief is selected,

on=yaka            mace=ol-iya-ni-ya            motewahqem-ol.  
then=ABS.3SG.ASA    (3)-start=thus-build.TA-SUBD-3PL    flagpole.AN-3'

and then they begin to make a flagpole.

**Logical connective** meaning will refer to the clausal relations in one of the following linguistic situations:

(1) The second clause involves the result of the event or state of affairs described in the first clause. This is illustrated in [24] and [25] for English, where *so* is the clausal connective.

[24] I got sick, so I went to the hospital.

[25] The baby was hungry, so she cried.

This is the most common sort of logical connective meaning associated with demwords in Passamaquoddy. An elicited example is given in [26], where in the second clause the demword *nit*, occurring with the clitics =*te* and =*na*, is associated with the meaning of ‘so; for that reason’.

[26] Elicited:

Ahkiq ehq-ihp-i-t,            nit=te=na            mehc-ina-n.  
seal.AN stop-eat-AI-CONJ.3    OSG.NA=EMPH=PRT    (3)-finish-die.AI-SUBD  
The seal stopped eating, so it died.

(2) The second clause is the apodosis of a conditional. This is illustrated in [27] and [28] for English, where *then* is the clausal connective.

[27] If you don't study, then you will fail.

[28] If you leave, then I will leave too.

In Passamaquoddy, the demword *nit* may occur with clausal connective meaning if the sentence is affirmative, as in [29], where *nit* in the second clause is associated with this meaning.

[29] Elicited:

Tokec kil maca-ha-yin,      nit=te=hc=ona      nil n-maca-ha-n.  
 if      2SG start-go.AI-CONJ.2      0SG.NA=EMPH=FUT=PRT      1SG I-start-go.AI-SUBD  
 If you leave, then I will leave too.

For a negative conditional, *nit* is not used. [30a] is an example of a negative conditional sentence, and [30b] shows that the use of *nit* in the second clause would be ungrammatical.

[30a] Elicited:

Tokec skat      kil maca-ha-w-on,      nil=oc=ona      kat      oc n-maca-ha-w.  
 if      NEG      2SG start-go.AI-NEG-CONJ.2      1SG=FUT=PRT      NEG      FUT I-start-go.AI-NEG  
 If you don't leave, then I won't leave.

[30b] Elicited:

\* Tokec skat      kil maca-ha-w-on,      nit=oc=ona      nil      kat=oc  
 if      NEG      2SG start-go.AI-NEG-CONJ.2      0SG.NA=FUT=PRT      1SG      NEG=FUT  
     n-maca-ha-w.  
     I-start-go.AI-NEG  
 (If you don't leave, then I won't leave.)

(3) The second clause is something that the speaker concludes or infers because of the content of the first clause, as illustrated in [31] and [32] for English, where *so* is the clausal connective.

[31] Joan isn't home, so she must be at work.

[32] The lake is frozen, so it must be less than 20 degrees.

In Passamaquoddy, demwords with clausal connective meaning are not commonly found in this type of context. An elicited example which fits is given in [33], where the demword *nit*, occurring with the clitic =*olu*, is associated with the meaning ‘then in that case’.

[33] Elicited:

*x* ketuwikh-ut          nis peyem-iyā-t          kamahcin,  
*x* subtract.TA-CONJ.3I    two be.more-AI-CONJ.3    six  
When one wants to write *x*, which is two more than six,

nit=olu          *x* cuw=al=lu          oqomolcin.  
0SG.NA=TOP      *x* must=DUB=TOP    eight  
then *x* must be eight.

In the next section, I describe the morphological and distributional properties of clausal connective demwords. Then in 4.2.2, I present some more examples of demwords in Passamaquoddy with clausal connective meaning, and show that in different linguistic contexts, such demwords look like they may have: (i) solely or primarily temporal sequential meaning; (ii) solely or primarily logical sequential meaning; or (iii) a mix of temporal and logical sequential meaning. However, it is often not possible to tease apart temporal sequence from logical sequence meaning, particularly in sentences where the second clause expresses the result of what has been described in the first clause, in which case the event or state of affairs of the second clause normally follows that expressed in the first clause.

#### 4.2.1 Morphological and distributional properties

The Passamaquoddy demword which is most frequently used as a clausal connective is *nit*, which is the non-absentative inanimate singular Near-Addressee form. =*yaka* (absentative animate singular Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee) and (occasionally) *neke(t)* (absentative inanimate singular Near-Addressee demword) also appear in contexts where they are open to being interpreted as having clausal connective meaning. Clausal connective *nit* is sometimes followed immediately by the clitic =*te*, which is generally glossed as an emphatic morpheme, although it is not clear if an emphatic meaning is always significant when =*te* is present when *nit=te* is used as a clausal connective. *nit*, *nit=te*, =*yaka*, and *neke(t)* are inflectionally invariant when used as clausal connectives.

Clausal connective demwords always occurs pre-verbally and are usually clause-initial, with the exception of =*yaka*, which has the distribution of a second position clitic, commonly occurring after the clausal connective particle *on*, meaning ‘then’. On occasion =*yaka* also occurs with other clausal connective particles or with a Conjunct Indicative or Subjunctive verb (which by itself can also be understood as a ‘when’-clause).

#### 4.2.2 Uses of clausal connective demwords

*nit* as a clausal connective is vague with respect to whether it has temporal sequence meaning, logical sequence meaning, or both, depending on the linguistic context. Thus, it

can be translated as ‘so’, ‘so then’,<sup>11</sup> ‘so that’, or ‘therefore’<sup>12</sup> when it occurs in a realis clause.

In [34], *nit* in the second clause has a temporal sequential meaning.

[34] Elicited:

Nil n-uci maca-ha-n, nit=ona nekom.  
1SG 1-from start-go.AI-SUBD 0SG.NA=PRT 3SG  
I left, then s/he left.

In [35] (given at the beginning of 4.2 as [29]), *nit* in the second clause marks the apodosis of a conditional (i.e. the ‘then’-clause of an ‘if ... then’ sentence), and thus has one type of logical sequential meaning.

[35] Elicited:

Tokec kil maca-ha-yin, nit=te=hc=ona nil n-maca-ha-n.  
if 2SG start-go.AI-CONJ.2 0SG.NA=EMPH=FUT=also 1SG 1-start-go.AI-SUBD  
If you leave, then I will leave too.

In [36], *nit* occurs in the second clause, which expresses the result of the event described in the first clause, and thus has another type of logical sequential meaning.

[36] Elicited:

Tehpu nil eli=maca-ha-y, nit=te=na nekom maca-ha-n.  
only 1SG thus=start-go.AI-CONJ.1 0SG.NA=EMPH=also 3SG (3)-start-go.AI-SUBD  
Because I left, s/he left too.

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<sup>11</sup> English ‘then’ and ‘so then’ are similarly ambiguous in whether the meaning is one of temporal sequence, logical sequence, or both.

<sup>12</sup> It is worth noting that while *nit* as a clausal connective is not uncommon, these meanings seem to be more commonly expressed by the particles *on*, *saku*, or the combination *on saku* for ‘so then’ or ‘therefore’, and that *weci* often occurs without *nit* to mean ‘so that’.

[37] and [38] show that essentially identical sentences were elicited for translations of ‘The seal stopped eating, then it died’, in which ‘then’ expresses temporal sequence, and ‘The seal stopped eating, so it died’, in which ‘so’ expresses the result of the event described in the first clause, which is a type of logical sequential meaning. In both sentences, *nit* occurs in the second clause (along with the clitics =*te* [EMPHATIC] and =*na* ‘also’).

[37] Elicited:

Ahkiq con-ihp-i-t, nit=te=na mehc-ina-n.  
 seal.AN stop-eat-AI-CONJ.3 OSG.NA=EMPH=also (3)-finish-die.AI-SUBD  
 The seal stopped eating, then it died.

[38] Elicited:

Ahkiq ehq-ihp-i-t, nit=te=na mehc-ina-n.  
 seal.AN stop-eat-AI-CONJ.3 OSG.NA=EMPH=also (3)-finish-die.AI-SUBD  
 The seal stopped eating, so it died.

In examples [39] and [40], the clausal connectives are associated with logical connective meaning. Example [39] below was given as [33] at the beginning of 4.2. The logical sequence should be clear – the proposition in the second clause is something that the speaker can conclude from the facts of the first clause.

[39] Elicited:

*x* ketuwikh-ut nis peyem-iy-a-t kamahcin,  
*x* subtract.TA-CONJ.3I two be.more-AI-CONJ.3 six  
 When one wants to write *x*, which is two more than six,

nit=olu *x* cuw=al=lu oqomolcin.  
 OSG.NA=TOP *x* must=DUB=TOP eight  
 then *x* must be eight.

In [40], *nit* occurs at the beginning of the second clause, and is associated with the logical sequence meaning. This sentence is an example where the second clause expresses the consequence of the state of affairs of the first clause; the reason that the speaker had to move in with his grandfather is because there weren't enough houses.

[40] From *David Francis – Life After the Army*:

Ma=te tama ihi-wi-yil pil-ikuwam-ol neket,  
 NEG=EMPH somewhere be.present.II-NEG-0PL new-house.INAN-PL ABS.OSG.NA

There weren't new houses anywhere at that time,

nit=ona n-muhsums wiki-t-pon n-kisi=ksi-yuta-ne-n.  
 OSG.NA=PRT 1-grandfather.AN live.AI-CONJ.3-PRET 1-CMPL=into-move.AI-SUBD-1PL  
 so we moved in to where my grandfather had lived.

[41] is another example where *nit* occurs at the beginning of the second clause, and where the second clause expresses the consequence of the state of affairs of the first clause; only after it is established that no one objects can the marriage take place.<sup>13</sup>

[41] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Nit=olu msiw li=wol-itah-at-om-uhti-t, nit=ote=hp kisi  
 OSG.NA=TOP all thus=good-think-TI-TH-3PL-CONJ.3 OSG.NA=EMPH=IRR can  
 tp-iyē.  
 happen-II-(0)

However, if everyone is pleased, then the marriage can take place.

There may still be a sort of temporal sequencing in these examples, i.e. the events or state of affairs described in the clause(s) before the clausal connective may need to happen

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<sup>13</sup> In the first clause, the occurrence of *nit* is associated with irrealis meaning 'if', which is also carried by semantics of the Unchanged Conjoint mode of the preverb-verb expression *li wolitahatomuhtit* 'if they are pleased'. For other discussion of this use of *nit*, see the discussion below of example [43].

or exist in order for the events described in the clause following to take place; however, the temporal meaning of the clausal connectives here looks to be secondary to that of the logic of causality. This means that a great deal of time may pass between the occurrence of the first event (or the time that the state of affairs described in the first clause first comes about) and the occurrence of the second event; for example, in [40], establishing that no one objects to the marriage, and the occurrence of the marriage *per se*.

*nit* may also occur with other morphemes with temporal or logical sequence meaning, in which case it is generally not clear the extent to which the meaning of *nit* is independent of the other morpheme. For example, in [42], *nit* in the second and third clauses (both given on the second line of the extract) occurs before the particle *apc*, which means ‘next’; thus, *nit* might have temporal location meaning ‘at that time’ or it may reinforce the temporal sequence meaning of *apc* ‘next’. In the events being described, the giving of clothes to the servicemen that the speaker is talking about need not logically follow the ship’s landing in America; it could have reasonably have been routine for the clothes to be given preceding arrival. Thus, the meaning of *nit apc* together is one of temporal rather than logical sequence.

[42] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

N-uckuw-hul-ke-n	tokkiw	Malihkinu-wi-hkuk.
1-come-bear.by.boat.TA-3I-SUBD	to	American.AN-DER-PL.LOC
I was brought back by boat to America.		

<u>Nit</u>	<i>apc</i>	cicok-iyawoloti-yek,	<u>nit</u>	<i>apc</i>
0SG.NA	next	shore-go.AI-MPL-CONJ.IPLEX	0SG.NA	next
Then once we got to shore, then				

on      apc      psi=te      wen      on      apc      el-oqot-a-t      wen  
 then    next    all=EMPH    one.AN    then    again    thus-wear-AI-CONJ.3    one.AN  
           psi=te      apc      n-mil-ke-ne-n.  
           all=EMPH    next    I-give.TA+O-3I-SUBD-1PL  
 then everyone, then all of us were given clothes.

In [43], *nit* occurs with a verbal complex containing the preverb *weci*, and is thus associated with the logical sequence meaning ‘so that’ which *weci* has.

[43] From *David Francis – Houses and food*:

Ma=te      wen      tama      al      kin-cok-apskosi-w      tahalu    toke  
 NEG=EMPH    one.AN    so      DUB    big-soft-fat.AI-NEG-(3)    like      now  
 no one was so very fat, like now

nit      weci=mili=ksinuhk-hoti-hti-t.  
 OSG.NA    so.that=many=sick.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
 so that [now] they are sick in so many different ways.

With somewhat different semantics are irrealis clauses with the verb in the Unchanged Conjunct mode, where in the first, conditional clause, *nit* is associated with the meaning ‘if’, a meaning that is also carried by the modal semantics of the verb. [44] is an example, where, *nit*, with the topic clitic =*olu* attached to it, occurs with the negative morpheme *skat* and an Unchanged Conjunct preverb-verb complex inflected negatively, *koti olluhkewon* ‘if you do not do [something]’. Mikcic (Turtle) has been idle for a long time, and his wife speaks up to urge him to go hunting.

[44] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Neqt      pem-kisk-ah-k      nisuwi-hti-c-il      't-iy-uku-n,  
 one      through-day-II-CONJ.0    live.together.AI-3PL-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'    3-tell.TA-INV-SUBD  
 One day his wife said to him,

“Nit=olu      skat      keq      koti=ol-luhke-w-on,      nokosayiw=c  
 0SG.NA=TOP      NEG      thing.INAN      (2)-will=thus-do.AI-NEG-SUBD      quickly=FUT  
 k-sikte-lami-pon.”  
 2-to.death-starve.AI-1PL

“If you do not do something, we will quickly starve to death.”

As already mentioned, =yaka as a clausal connective is usually translated as ‘then’, and it is often unclear whether it has temporal sequence or logical sequence meaning. [13] in 4.1.2 was an example of this, and [45] below illustrates the same phenomenon. In the second clause of [45], =yaka occurs with the particle *on* which means ‘then (next)’, so it is unclear if =yaka has a temporal location meaning corresponding to ‘at that point’ or if it has a temporal sequence meaning like *on* does. In any case, *on=yaka* together in [45] express temporal sequence and not logical sequence meaning, since the order of the events described do not logically have to occur in the sequence they do; we could imagine a custom where the flagpole is made, and then a chief is selected.

[45] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Malom=te      tama      nis-ukon-okkiwi-k      sakom      pkon-a,  
 finally=EMPH      how      two-day-past.II-CONJ.0      chief.AN      (3I)-pick.TA-DIR  
 Finally, in about two days the chief is selected,

on=yaka      mace=ol-iy-a-ni-ya      motewahqem-ol.  
 then=ABS.3SG.ASA      (3)-start=thus-make.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL      (3)-flagpole.AN-3'  
 and then they begin to make his flagpole.

In other examples, *on=yaka* seems to be associated with both logical as well as temporal sequential meaning. [46] is an extract from a section of a story where Blackcat had been pursuing Raccoon, and then mistakenly thinks that he has killed Raccoon after striking Raccoon on the head with a bulrush that bursts open. There is a clear temporal sequence

here of Blackcat leaving after he thinks that he has smashed out Raccoon's brains, but the sequence of events is also partly a logical one – Blackcat leaves because he thought Raccoon was dead.

[46] From *Lewis Mitchell – Espons* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Tepot=olu    't-ol-itah-asi-n    Pokomk, Espons    nit    wilitpan  
 however=TOP    3-thus-think-AI-SUBD    blackcat.AN    raccoon.AN    OSG.NA    3.brain.AN  
 msi=te    nute=htem-uw-a-n.  
 all=EMPH    coming.out=hit-TA+O-DIR-SUBD

However, Blackcat thought that he had smashed out all of Raccoon's brain.

On=yaka    maca-ha-n.  
 so=ABS.3SG.ASA (3)-start-go.AI-SUBD  
 So he left.

In [47], *on=yaka* occurs in the last clause of a passage which describes a situation of the weather turning colder. It gets cold after the clearing of the sky has occurred, but also, it gets cold because of the clearing,<sup>14</sup> which is again a logical sequence as well as a temporal one.

[47] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Kekesk    mec    wol-op-ote,  
 a.little    still    well-warm-II-(0)  
 It was still quite warm,

qenoq=na    mahkiyew-oss-is=te  
 but=PRT    a.while-DIM-DIM=EMPH  
 but in just a short while

yet    mace=panaki-k,  
 OSG.ASA    start=clear.off.II-CONJ.0  
 when the sky began to clear,

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<sup>14</sup> That is how the meaning of the verb *macepanakik* was explained to me – the verb refers to a weather phenomenon whereby a windy change that clears the sky is followed by a significant drop in temperature.

on=yaka=te                      peci=tk-eyu.  
 then=ABS.3SG.ASA=EMPH    become=cold-II-(0)  
 then it got cold.

Finally, *neke(t)* is rare as a clausal connective, and seems to occur only as a temporal sequence morpheme, meaning ‘and then (next)’. In [48], there is a clausal connective demword *neke* meaning ‘and then, next’ in the final clause. A sequence of actions is described, namely, one person speaking after another; *neke* indicates that the sequence then turns to Koluskap speaking.

[48] *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

“K-nostuw-a        ito-k?”    Koluskap        metiy-ewest-a-q.  
 2-understand.TA-DIR    say.AI-3        Koluskap.AN    be.audible-speak-AI-CONJ.3  
 “Do you understand what he [the child] says?” Koluskap asked.

“Kotama,”        Mikcic        oli=ikotohom.  
 NEG                turtle.AN        thus=yawn.AI-(3)  
 “No,” Turtle yawned.

“Cipotuk Musikisq-atuwe.  
 perhaps        Musikisq-speak.AI-(3)  
 Perhaps he is speaking in Musikisq.<sup>15</sup>

Kotama    tan tehpu    el-ik-i-t                      skitap    nost-om-uw-on.”  
 NEG        whatsoever    thus-be.such-AI-CONJ.3    man.AN    (3)-understand.TI-TH-NEG-0  
 There is no longer anyone who can understand that.”

Neke        Koluskap        itom,        “Wawon-ol        weskuw-ot-o-k-il.”  
 ABS.OSG.NA    Koluskap.AN    say.AI-(3)    egg.INAN-PL    talk.about-TI-TH-CONJ.3-0PL  
 Then Koluskap said, “He is speaking of eggs.”

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<sup>15</sup> Phil LeSourd (p.c.) notes that from comparison with Penobscot and Micmac cognates, the original meaning of *musikisq* can be identified as ‘clear sky’, so that Mikcic is suggesting that the child may be speaking the ‘sky language’.

To recap, then, it is not always clear the extent to which a particular sort of connective meaning is present for some particular occurrence of a demword. We can think of a semantic continuum from {high temporal}-{low logical} connective meaning to {low temporal}-{high logical} connective meaning. It is not hard to understand how logical connective meanings develop from strictly temporal ones, given the realities of causation and temporal flow in the world as we understand it. Causation includes within it the phenomenon of temporal sequence (of events); what it has in addition to simply temporal sequence is a reason for why one event occurs before another. Thus, logical connective meaning is conceptually more complex than (simply) temporal connective meaning.

In the Passamaquoddy data, it looks like the high-logical connective meanings are most commonly expressed by *nit*; the high-temporal connective meanings are commonly expressed by both *nit* and *=yaka*; and *=yaka*, in combination with particle *on*, is frequently used when there is both temporal and logical connective meaning.

#### 4.2.3 Word class status

In terms of inflectional, distributional, and functional properties, clausal connective *nit*, *neke(t)*, and *=yaka* are to a large degree similar to other clausal connective particles, some examples of which were given in 1.2.2.5. *nit*, *neke(t)*, and *=yaka* are inflectionally invariant, and like other clausal connective particles, they also all occur pre-verbally, although the distribution of *=yaka* could be argued to be more like other second-position clitics as given in 1.2.2.5. Functionally, clausal connective demwords are of course by

definition similar to other clausal connectives. Furthermore, clausal connective demwords cannot be substituted for by any sort of Nominal, unlike entity-referring, place-referring, or time-referring demwords.

In past treatments of Passamaquoddy, clausal connective *nit* has been classified as a particle, and from the examination of its properties in 4.2.1, this is supported by its inflectional characteristics. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, “particle” subsumes a rather disparate range of items, and it is therefore more useful to distinguish different word classes from amongst these inflectionally invariant items. From the examination here, it makes sense to group clausal connective *nit* and *neke(t)* with other clausal connective particles on the basis of shared functional and distributional properties. As for =*yaka*, its distributional behavior could group it with other second-position clitics (which do not function as clausal connectives), although it is still like clausal connective particles in its inflectional and functional characteristics.

#### 4.2.4 Grammaticalization

As we saw in 4.1, (=)*yaka* and *neke(t)* are commonly used as temporal demwords. This, combined with the discussion in the present section, makes it reasonable to assume that the clausal connective uses of =*yaka* and *neke(t)* developed from their temporal deictic uses. *nit* is also occasionally used as a temporal demword, and it is possible that its clausal connective use arose from its temporal use, but, as I will discuss later, there may have been additional or alternative pathways leading to the use of *nit* as a clausal connective.

I have proposed here that logical sequential meaning can arise from temporal sequential meaning:

*next in time* → *logically next*

Thus, all that needs to be posited is, quite understandably, that temporal sequential meaning can (and does) arise from temporal deictic meaning:

*at that time* → *next in time*

This gives a total suggested set of changes as follows:

*at that time* → *next in time* → *logically next*

In English, this has apparently occurred. *then* can mean 'at that time', as in [48]. It can also mean 'next in time', as in [49], and 'logically next', as in [50].

[48] I didn't know (back) then what I know now.

[49] I changed the oil, then I checked the transmission fluid.

[50] If you treat people rudely, then you can't expect them to like you much.

The development of temporal meaning in clausal connectives into logical sequence meaning has been documented for non-demonstrative morphemes, such as *since* in English. *since*, which was *sippan* in Old English, once had only a temporal sequential meaning 'from the time that, after', as it does in the Modern English example [51], but now can be used with a causative interpretation 'for that reason', as in [52].

[51] Temporal *since*:

My friend had aged a great deal since the last time we met.

[52] Causal *since*:

She isn't able to attend the party tonight since she has two final exams tomorrow.

[53] is an early example from Old English strongly suggestive of a reanalysis, since *sibþan* precedes a stative perception verb 'see, understand' rather than a dynamic verb encoding the completion of some action; furthermore, it was a translation of the Latin morpheme *quoniam* 'because'.

[53] From *Boethius* 36 104.26, c. 880, in Hopper and Traugott (1993: 77):

Ac ic þe wille nu giet gatæcan þone weg  
but I thee will now still teach that way  
But still I will now teach you the way

sibþan ðu ongidst þurh mine lare hwæt sio soðe gesælð bið,  
since thou seest through my teaching what that true happiness is  
since you see that true happiness comes through my teaching,

& hwær hio bið.  
and where it is  
and where it is.

According to Hopper and Traugott (1993: 77), examples like [53] coexisted for several centuries with others where the temporal and causal interpretations were both possible, such that a more definitive change in the range of meaning for *sibþan/since* did not seem to have occurred until the fifteenth century. Passamaquoddy may have passed through a stage similar to that for *sibþan/since* in the Old English period for clausal connective demwords which can be interpreted as having temporal sequence or logical sequence meaning, without many clear cases of clausal connectives definitely having logical sequence meaning. However, from the elicitations as well as text examples, it appears that *nit* now

participates in sentences where it unambiguously has a logical sequence interpretation (e.g. see [38] in 4.2.2.2 above) as well as retaining its use in expressing a temporal sequence, a situation not unlike contemporary English *since*.

The above discussion notwithstanding, it may be significant that in contrast to *yaka* and *neke(t)*, *nit* is not nearly as commonly used as a temporal demword than it is as an entity-referring or place-referring demword. Thus, clausal connective *nit* may have arisen from one of two other ways, from a pronominal demword or from a manner demword, both of which are grammaticalization pathways that have previously been proposed in the literature based on diachronic evidence from other languages, such as Hixkaryana (Southern Carib; Brazil) and Khasi (Mon-Khmer; Northeast India) for the pronominal source pathway and Epena Pedee (Choco; Colombia) for the manner source pathway (see Diessel 1999: 125-127).

For the pronominal pathway, the hypothesis is that a certain overlap exists between the linguistic functions of clausal connectives and of certain pronominal uses. First, consider that pronouns are words that refer back to something previously mentioned or understood, or forward to something about to be mentioned. The “something” may be either something in the world (typically, an entity or a place) or some section of the linguistic discourse; it is the latter type – discourse deictic demwords<sup>16</sup> – that is relevant here. Thus, we find that in certain sorts of sentences, pronouns occur between two propositions, and [54] and [55] are examples where demonstrative pronouns refer to sections of the linguistic discourse – in [54], the demonstrative *that* refers to the preceding discourse, while in [55], the demonstrative *this* refers to the following discourse:

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<sup>16</sup> Discourse deictic demwords in Passamaquoddy were discussed in 3.3.

- [54] Speaker A: I am sorry but I didn't mean to hurt you.  
 Speaker B: That's hard to believe.

- [55] Listen to this! Chris got a new car yesterday and ...

Pronouns like the demonstratives here serve as links between two propositions, and it is from such uses that it has been proposed that clausal connectives with meanings like 'so' and 'so then' can develop, since clausal connectives serve to indicate a relationship between two propositions. This explanation is a possible one for the development of clausal connective *nit* in Passamaquoddy, because *nit* commonly occurs as a pronominal discourse deictic demword.

Alternatively, it may be the manner use of *nit*, to be described in 6.1, which is the source of clausal connective *nit*. An example of a manner demword *nit* is given in [56].

- [56] Elicited:

*Context* – You're teaching someone to cut sealskin, and as you demonstrate the right way, you say:

Nit kt-ol-s-a-n wot.  
 0SG.NA 2-thus-cut.TA-DIR-IMP.2 3SG.NS  
 Cut it like this.

An example of a manner demonstrative participating in a clausal connective expression in another language occurs in Epena Pedee, where a manner demonstrative *maa* combines with one of a range of other morphemes which specify the clausal connective semantics to yield a clausal connective collocation. In [57], *maa* occurs with the morpheme *p<sup>h</sup>éda* 'after', to give the clausal connective *maa-p<sup>h</sup>éda* 'after that':

[57] Epena Pedee data (Harms 1994: 145, in Diessel 1999: 126)

Perōrá-pa imáma wárra pee-t<sup>h</sup>aa-hí maa-p<sup>h</sup>éda unu-hi-dá ewári  
spotted.cavy-ERG tiger son kill-OBJ-PAST like.that-after find-PAST-PL day  
ába méé.  
one jungle

A spotted cavy killed a tiger's child. After that, one day they met in the jungle.

Since the phonological form of discourse deictic *nit* and manner *nit* in Passamaquoddy are identical, it is not clear which one may have been the source of the clausal connective *nit*. Furthermore, the semantics of manner demwords and discourse deictic demwords overlap in certain ways. That is, if a demword means 'in this way', it could be either a manner deictic used in a context where the referent is the manner of some action, or a discourse deictic demword referring back to a section of text describing some action(s). Thus, one could argue that a manner demword used anaphorically is not distinguishable from a discourse deictic demword, since such a manner demword necessarily refers to a section of the linguistic discourse. In fact, Diessel (1999: 74) states that "manner demwords are often used as discourse deictics", although it seems that it is rather the case, at least sometimes, that the phonological forms of manner demwords and discourse deictic demwords simply overlap, as is the case for Passamaquoddy. (Recall that discourse deictic demwords may be either the Near-Speaker inanimate singular form *yut* or the Near-Addressee inanimate singular form *nit*, but the manner demword is only ever *nit*.) I will briefly return to the relationship between manner demwords and discourse deictic demwords in 6.1.4.

In summary, it looks like there are three possible sources from demonstratives for clausal connectives in Passamaquoddy: pronominal discourse deictic demonstratives and

manner demonstratives, as discussed by Diessel (1999), and temporal demonstratives, as discussed here.

## Chapter 5: Demwords in clauses with non-verbal predicates

In this chapter, I discuss a set of demwords in Passamaquoddy which I will suggest are functioning as copulas. These demwords occur specifically in constructions with non-verbal predicates, i.e. in clauses where the predicate is a Nominal or participle expression. I will call these demwords **construction demwords**<sup>1</sup> to distinguish them from other types of demwords, particularly entity-referring demwords, which sometimes also occur in these types of clauses. In Chapter 3, I discussed the various uses of entity-referring demwords, including those used adnominally and those used pronominally. Whatever the type of use, entity-referring demwords share the property of being referential. I will argue that the construction demwords to be discussed in this chapter are no longer clearly referential, and also have grammatical properties that make them different from the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3.

Two examples of clauses which contain construction demwords are given in [1] and [2]. In [1], the construction demword *nit* follows the Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) predicate *kil* ‘you [SG]’. In [2], the construction demword *not* occurs between the two HIRI expressions<sup>2</sup> *nomehs* ‘fish’ and *polam* ‘salmon’, where *nomehs* ‘fish’ is the predicate.

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<sup>1</sup> Since the argumentation about the identity of these demwords as copulas has not been given at this stage, I refrain from calling them “copula demwords”.

<sup>2</sup> Recall from 2.3.8 that “HIRI” is an abbreviation for “higher information referring item”, to refer to expressions which have relatively high lexical semantic information, i.e. Type 1 Nominals (commonly called nouns), Type 4 Nominals (-*ey* Nominals), and Changed Indicative and Changed Participle verb forms used to refer, as described in 1.2.2.1.

[1] Elicited:

Kil nit.  
2SG 0SG.NA  
It's you. (*or* You're the one.)

[2] Elicited:

Nomehs not polam.  
fish.AN 3SG.NA salmon.AN  
A salmon is a fish.

In the data to be discussed in this chapter, the construction demwords are all morphologically non-absentative, non-obviative, Near-Addressee forms,<sup>3</sup> although, as we will see, a range of

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<sup>3</sup> I have not yet completed eliciting data to see if and when obviative or absentative construction demwords may appear in these sorts of constructions, so I will not discuss them in the remainder of this chapter. What it looks like is that, even if obviative or absentative construction demwords can be used, they are not preferred. In some preliminary elicitations for clauses with obviative expressions, I used possessive Nominals, but my language consultant usually gave a clause with a verb, as in [I]:

[I] Elicited:

W-ikuwoss-ol taktal-uw-i-w-ol.  
3-mother.AN-3' doctor-DER-be.AI-3-3'  
Her/his mother is a doctor.

Two examples of clauses with obviative expressions that I found in texts occurred with a proximate construction demword. In [II], the construction demword (which is underlined) is the proximate *nit* while the Nominals in the clause are both obviative: *nihtol* [obviative singular near-Addressee pronominal demword] and *motewahqemol* 'sakomamuwal' 'their chief's flagpole'. Similarly, in [III], the construction demword (underlined) is the proximate *nit*, while the Nominals in the clause are both obviative: *nihtol* [obviative singular near-Addressee pronominal demword] and *nekom* 'takom' 'his snowshoes' (*nekom*, like other Type 7 Nominals, has no obviative form).

[II] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Nihtol nit motewahqem-ol ' -sakoma-m-uwa-l. nikt  
3'SG.NA 0SG.NA flagpole.AN-3' 3-chief.AN-POSS-POSS.3PL-3' 3PL.NA  
keptin-ok wiwoni-kapuw-iht-uw-a-hti-c-il.  
captain.AN-PL around-stand-TI-TA-DIR-3PL-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'  
That is their chief's flagpole, around which the captains stand.

inflectional behavior occurs amongst the different types. I will argue that they are being used as copulas, and consider how they may have developed from the entity-referring demwords discussed in Chapter 3.

I will be classifying Passamaquoddy clauses with non-verbal predicates in a novel way, based in part on their information structure. Thus, I will not use the more familiar typologies of clauses with nominal predicates, which often distinguish only two broad categories: one where one of the expressions is a kind or a characteristic rather than an identifiable entity, as in [3], and one where an identity is asserted between two expressions, as in [4]:<sup>4</sup>

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[III] From *Solomon Polchies – Koluskap’s Tricks* (Teeter text 4, LeSourd 2002 draft)

Nihiht nit nekom `t-akom, wot motewolon.  
 3’PL.NA 0SG.NA 3SG 3-snowshoe.AN-(3’PL) 3SG.NS motewolon.AN  
 Those are his snowshoes. (those of) this motewolon.

When I elicited clauses with absentative expressions, my consultant would invariably give a clause with a verb inflected for the preterit case (*taktaluwivihpon* below), as in [IV]:

[IV] Elicited:

Tuma-winaw taktal-uw-i-w-uhpon.  
 Thomas-ABS doctor-DER-be.AI-3-PRET  
 The late Thomas was a doctor.

<sup>4</sup> In Passamaquoddy, the comparable constructions to the English sentences [3] and [4] may both be like [2] above, with a construction demword occurring between two HIRI expressions. This is illustrated in [I] and [II]:

[I] Elicited:

Maya not nut-uwikh-ike-t.  
 Maya 3SG.NA do.as.occupation–write-AI-CONJ.3  
 Maya is a writer/Maya is the writer.

[II] Elicited:

Maya not ketuw-ewest-a-q.  
 Maya 3SG.NA will-speak-AI-CONJ.3  
 Maya is the speaker (lit. ‘one who will speak’).

There is also another type of construction in which two HIRI terms have two demwords between them. Such

[3] [Maya Angelou] is [an author].

[4] [Maya Angelou] is [the invited speaker].

These have been given different labels by different authors. For example, Dryer (forthcoming) calls sentences like [3] “predicate nominal” constructions, and those like [4] “equational” constructions. Hengeveld (1992) distinguishes “ascriptive” predications, which assign some property to the argument entity, from “equative” predications, which are based on only referential predicates. Some authors do not make such distinctions, and may use labels like “predicate nominal” or “equational” to cover all types of clauses involving two nominal expressions.

In my classification of Passamaquoddy clauses with non-verbal predicates, I will use the label **term** to refer to the Nominal or participle expressions in the constructions, whether they are serving as arguments or predicates.

I will also draw from Van Valin and LaPolla (1997)’s account of information structure, which is in turn based primarily on Lambrecht (1994), Chafe (1987), and Prince (1981). Particularly relevant to this discussion is the information status of referents in sentences. First, a referent may vary as to whether it is **identifiable** or **unidentifiable**. If

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a clause is translated as ‘*X* is the *Y*’, where *X* and *Y* are *HIRI* items. This is illustrated in [III]:

[III] Elicited:

Maya not nit ketuw-ewest-a-q.  
Maya 3SG.NA 0SG.NA will-speak-AI-CONJ.3  
Maya is the speaker (lit. ‘one who will speak’).

The status of the demwords in this constructions is not clear, as I will discuss in 5.4.

it is unidentifiable upon first mention, it may be **anchored** to some entity that is more identifiable (e.g. 'some student I taught last year'), or it may be **unanchored** ('a student'); an initially unidentifiable referent will be identifiable in subsequent mentions. Chafe (1987) proposed that identifiable referents may vary with respect to their status in the speakers' consciousnesses in a particular discourse context on a scale from **active**, to **accessible**, to **inactive**. An active referent is the focus of consciousness; an accessible referent is available to the speakers' consciousnesses due to its existence in the physical context or because it is related to something linguistic or physical in the discourse context, but is not currently the focus of the speakers' consciousnesses; an inactive referent is not in the speakers' short-term memory, although it may be in the speakers' long-term memory.

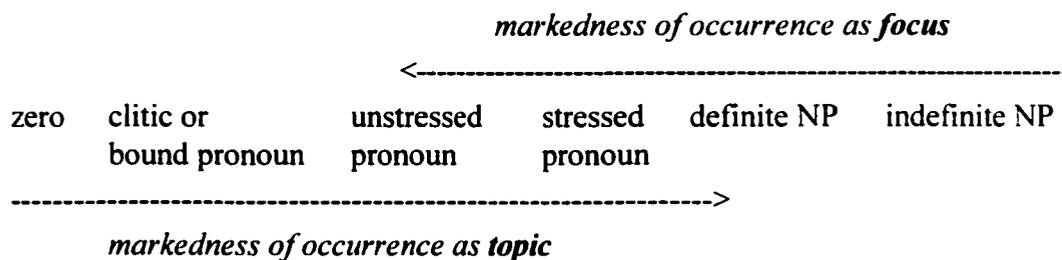
There are two further claims about a referent's activeness that are of particular interest here. First, Lambrecht (1994) relates the activeness of the referent to its acceptability as a discourse **topic**; in general, the more active the referent, the more acceptable it is as a topic. This is because a topic is defined as "the matter of current concern", so that a topic referent "must already be 'under discussion' or otherwise available from the context" (Lambrecht 1994: 203). A topic functions to name the referent that an assertion is about, and a topic referent is expected or presupposed "to play a role in a given proposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 151). Topic is contrasted with **focus**, which is information that is not already presupposed in an assertion.

Hence, the more prominent some referent is in the consciousness of the speaker and of the addressee, the more likely it is to be the matter of current concern and hence be a good topic pragmatically, whereas the less prominent a referent is in the consciousness of the

speaker and of the addressee, the more likely it is to be something that is not already presupposed, and hence something that would be a focus expression rather than a topic expression upon first mention.

Second, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), drawing from earlier work, have proposed that the activeness of a referent correlates to how it is coded phonologically. Roughly speaking, the more reduced phonologically a form is, the less marked it is a topic, and the more marked it is as a focus; conversely, the fuller phonologically a form is, the more marked it is a topic, and the less marked it is as a focus. This is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 9.

**Figure 9: Coding of referents in terms of topic/focus markedness**  
(from Figure 5.2, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 205)



These correlations can to some extent be attributed to the amount of semantic information encoded in pronominal morphemes on the one hand and full NPs on the other. In general, NPs have more lexical semantic content than pronominals do; in fact, pronominal items are by definition high in grammatical information (like person, number, gender) and low in lexical semantic information. Thus, what Figure 9 shows is that a referent is more likely to be encoded by an expression with high semantic content – that is, by a full NP –

when it is not presupposed information; conversely, a referent is more likely to be encoded by an expression with low lexical semantic content – that is, by pronominal items – when it is information that is already in the discourse context.

With respect to the Passamaquoddy data to be discussed then, an HIRI expression tends to be less marked as a focus than as a topic, while a demword or a Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) tends to be less marked as a topic than as a focus. I will return to these points in later discussion.

Table 11 on page 243 summarizes all of the constructions that will be discussed in this chapter. The first major division of Passamaquoddy constructions will be by the number of terms: one-term constructions, two-term constructions, and three-term constructions. Further distinctions are based the types of terms in the constructions and on other characteristics of the clauses such as information structure.

Because I will be discussing so many different types of constructions with non-verbal predicates in this chapter, it is useful to first look briefly at a couple of these constructions here before going on to the more detailed discussions in 5.1 to 5.4.

At the beginning of the chapter, [1] was given as an example of a construction with one Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) as the focus term. For one-term constructions, the focused term may also be a pronominal entity-referring demword, as shown in [5], where *wot* ‘this [AN]’ is the focused demword term and *nit* is the construction demword.

**Table 11: Summary of the constructions with non-verbal predicates to be discussed**

	TERM	CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD		EXAMPLES	
<b>ONE-TERM CONSTRUCTIONS</b>	Type 7 Nominal (focus)	<i>nit</i>		<i>Nil nit.</i> 'It's me.'/'I'm the one.'	
	demword Nominal (focus)	singular: <i>nit</i> plural: <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt(ok)</i> [AN]		<i>Wot nit.</i> 'It's <b>this (one).</b> '/' <b>This</b> is the one.'	
	FIRST TERM	CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD(S)	SECOND TERM	EXAMPLES	
<b>TWO-TERM CONSTRUCTIONS</b>	HIRI expression (focus)	(none)	Type 7 Nominal/ demword (topic)	<i>Taktal nil.</i> 'I'm a <b>doctor.</b> ' <i>Emqansis wot.</i> 'This is a <b>spoon.</b> '	
	Type 7 Nominal (focus)	singular: <i>nit/not</i> plural: <i>nikt(ok)</i>	HIRI expression (topic)	<i>Nil nit/not taktal.</i> 'I'm the doctor.'/'I'm a doctor.'	
	demword Nominal (focus)	singular: <i>nit</i> plural: <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt(ok)</i> [AN]	HIRI expression (topic)	<i>Wot nit emqansis.</i> ' <b>This</b> is the spoon.'/' <b>This</b> is a spoon.'	
	demword Nominal (focus)	singular: <i>nit nit</i> plural: <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt(ok)</i> [AN]	HIRI expression (topic)	<i>Wot nit nit emqansis.</i> 'The spoon is <b>this one.</b> '	
	HIRI expression	singular: <i>nit</i> [INAN]/ <i>not</i> [AN] plural: <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt</i> [AN]		HIRI expression	<i>Nomehs not polam.</i> 'A salmon is a fish.'
	HIRI expression	first construction demword – singular: <i>nit</i> [INAN]/ <i>not</i> [AN] plural: <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt</i> [AN]  second construction demword: <i>nit</i>		HIRI expression	<i>Tepit not nit taktal.</i> 'David is the doctor.'

[5] Elicited:

Wot nit.

3SG.NS 0SG.NA

It's **this (one)** [AN]. (or **This** [AN] is the one.)

Sentence [2] at the beginning of the chapter was given as an example of a construction with two HIRI terms, with a construction demword occurs between the two terms. In other constructions with two terms, the construction demword also occurs between the two terms. For example, in [6], the first term is a focused pronominal entity-referring demword *wot* 'this [AN]', and the second term, which is the topic, is a Type 1 Nominal *emqansis* 'spoon'. A construction demword *nit* occurs between these two terms.

[6] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.

3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** is the [only] spoon/**This** is a spoon [not one of the forks].

or **This** is the spoon [that I was talking about].

In the following sections, I will examine in more detail one-term constructions in 5.1; two-term constructions with one HIRI term and one more "pronominal" term (pronominal demword or Type 7 Nominal) in 5.2; two-term constructions where both the terms are HIRI terms in 5.3; and three-term constructions in 5.4. I summarize the properties of these constructions in 5.5. In 5.6, I consider the categorical status of all the construction demwords discussed, and then in 5.7, I present grammaticalization analyses for the construction demwords, considering their formal and functional properties and how

construction demwords may be related semantically and historically to demwords which function in other ways.

## 5.1 One-term clauses with non-verbal predicates

In one-term clauses, there is one Nominal expression which encodes a focused term that is being identified, while the topic is unexpressed.<sup>5</sup> The term is followed by a demword particular to the construction which fails at least partly to agree with the term in the relevant Nominal categories. An example of such a clause was given earlier in [1], and is repeated here as [7]. *kil* 'you [SG]' is the term and the underlined *nit* is the construction demword.

[7] Elicited:

Kil     nit.  
2SG    0SG.NA  
It's you. (*or* You're the one.)

The exact inflectional properties of the construction demword depend on what type of Nominal there is, although the constructions to be discussed in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 are fundamentally similar. Sentences with one Type 7 Nominal term will be presented in 5.1.1 and those with one demword Nominal term in 5.1.2.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In 5.6.2 and 5.6.3, I will consider whether the construction demwords are dummy subjects, or a term corresponding to the unexpressed topic, and suggest that these are not the best analyses, although it is likely that this demword was historically a pronominal demword.

<sup>6</sup> What one would imagine to be the equivalent construction with an HIRI term does not exist in Passamaquoddy distinct from a construction that has two terms. That is, there is no construction meaning 'It's a girl' distinct from the construction translating as 'That's/she's a girl'; both would be as given in [1], with one HIRI expression as the focus and one demword Nominal as the topic:

### 5.1.1 One-term clauses with one Type 7 Nominal term

In one-term clauses with one Type 7 Nominal term, the Type 7 Nominal is the sole, focused term in a clause, and the meaning of the resulting clause is translated as ‘*X* is the one’ or ‘It is *X*’, where *X* is the focused Type 7 Nominal. For example, in a situation where there is a doctor at some place, a question might be asked about who that doctor is. An example of a possible question in this context is given below in [8], and a possible response is given in [9].

[8] Elicited:

On al wen taktal?  
then DUB who.AN doctor.AN  
So who’s the doctor?

[9] Elicited:

Nil nit.  
1SG 0SG.NA  
It’s **me**. (or I’m the one.)

In a sentences like [9], there is an implicit topic that is not expressed in the sentence itself; that is, the topic is what *X* is ‘the one’ of.

In affirmative sentences, an inanimate singular demword form, *nit*, occurs regardless of the animacy and number of the term; this construction demword cannot be of any other

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[1] Pilsqehs-is not.

girl.AN-DIM 3SG.NA  
That’s/She’s a **girl**. (or It’s a **girl**.)

This construction will be discussed in more detail in 5.2.1.

form. The order of words in the clause is [TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD (*nit*)]. [8] and [9] above are examples of this construction, and more examples are given in [10] to [12],<sup>7</sup> with the construction demword underlined.

[10] Elicited:

**Kil**     **nit**.  
 2SG     0SG.NA  
**It's you.** (*or You're the one.*)

[11] Elicited:

**Nilun** **nit**.  
 1PLEX 0SG.NA  
**It's us.** (*or We're the ones.*)

[12] Elicited:

**Kiluwaw** **nit**.  
 2PL     0SG.NA  
**It's you (PL).** (*or You're the ones.*)

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<sup>7</sup> There are other sentences that look like these one, but which involve two terms, where the first word is a interpreted as a possessor Nominal (there are no distinct possessed forms for interrogative or Type 7 Nominals) and the second word is a pronominal entity-referring demword:

[I] Elicited:

**Wen**     **nit?**  
 who.AN 0SG.NA  
**Whose is that?**

[II] Elicited:

**Nil**     **nit**.  
 1SG     0SG.NA  
**That's mine.**

[III] Elicited:

**Kil**     **nit**.  
 2SG     0SG.NA  
**That's yours [SG].**

Thus, [I] to [III] are instances of a construction that does not have a construction demword.

Negative clauses may begin with the negative morpheme *kat* and be followed by the construction demword and then the term, giving the order [*kat*]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD (*nit*)]-[TERM], as in [13]. Alternatively, the construction demword may not occur, in which case there is usually another morpheme after the negative morpheme *kat*, such as the emphatic enclitic =*kahk*, followed by the term, giving the order [*kat*]-[=*kahk*]-[TERM], as in [14].

[13] Elicited:

**Kat** **nit** **nil.**  
 NEG 0SG.NA 1SG  
 It's not **me**.  
 (or I'm not the one.)

or [14] Elicited:

**Kat=kahk** **nil.**  
 NEG=EMPH 1SG  
 It's not **me**.  
 (or I'm not the one.)

Note that in both types of these negative clauses, the term is in clause-final position, opposite to its position in an affirmative clause. Further examples are given in [15] to [20], with the construction demword underlined; [15], [17], and [19] are examples of the [*kat*]-[DEMWORD (*nit*)]-[TERM] type, and [16], [18], and [20] are examples of the [*kat*]-[=*kahk*]-[TERM] type.

[15] Elicited:

**Kat** **nit** **kil.**  
 NEG 0SG.NA 2SG  
 It's not **you** (SG).  
 (or **You**'re not the one.)

or [16] Elicited:

**Kat=kahk** **kil.**  
 NEG=EMPH 2SG  
 It's not **you** (SG).  
 (or **You**'re not the one.)

[17] Elicited:

**Kat** **nit** **nilun.**  
 NEG 0SG.NA 1PLEX  
 It's not **us**.  
 (or **We**'re not the ones.)

or [18] Elicited:

**Kat=kahk** **nilun.**  
 NEG=EMPH 1PLEX  
 It's not **us**.  
 (or **We**'re not the ones.)

<p>[19] Elicited:</p> <p><b>Kat</b>    <u><b>nit</b></u>    kiluwaw.  NEG    0SG.NA 2PL</p> <p>It's not <b>you</b> (PL).  (or <b>You</b>'re not the ones.)</p>	<p>or</p>	<p>[20] Elicited:</p> <p><b>Kat=kahk</b> kiluwaw.  NEG=EMPH 2PL</p> <p>It's not <b>you</b> (PL).  (or <b>You</b>'re not the ones.)</p>
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### 5.1.2 One-term clauses with non-verbal predicates with one demword term

In the second type of one-term clauses, a demword Nominal is the sole, focused term, and the meaning of the resulting clause is translated as 'X is the one' or 'It is X', where X is expressed by the demword Nominal. Table 12 summarizes the types of affirmative and negative constructions, with singular and with plural terms. Reading across a column shows what items occur in a construction (a dash indicates that there is no item). Note that there is only one construction type when the clause is affirmative singular or when it is affirmative plural. On the other hand, there are three types of negative singular clauses and also three types of negative plural clauses, due to the different possibilities of what negative morpheme occurs and where, whether or not the construction demword occurs, and where the term occurs; if there is no construction demword, there is generally another morpheme after the negator morpheme *kat*, such as the emphatic enclitic =*kahk*.

**Table 12: Summary of one-term clauses with one demword term**

AFFIRMATIVE	Term	Construction demword				
SINGULAR	demword	<i>nit</i>				
PLURAL	demword	<i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt(ok)</i> [AN]				
NEGATIVE	Negator	Term	Enclitic	Negator	Construction demword	Term
SINGULAR	<i>kat</i>	demword	–	–	<i>nit</i>	–
	–	demword	= <i>kahk</i>	<i>skat</i>	( <i>nit</i> )	–
	<i>kat</i>	–	= <i>kahk</i>	–	–	demword
PLURAL	<i>kat</i>	demword	–	–	( <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt(ok)</i> [AN])	–
	–	demword	= <i>kahk</i>	<i>skat</i>	( <i>nihtol</i> [INAN]/ <i>nikt(ok)</i> [AN])	–
	<i>kat</i>	–	= <i>kahk</i>	–	–	demword

In affirmative sentences, a construction demword occurs after the demword term, so the order of words is [TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD] (like the sentences with one Type 7 Nominal term, discussed in 5.1.1 above). Recall that construction demwords are always Near-Addressee forms; the demword term, on the other hand, can be any of the forms in the demword paradigm. An example is given in [22], which could be the answer to the question asked in [21]. Note that in [21], the particle *tan* (which translates in different contexts as ‘how?’, ‘where?’, and occasionally ‘what?’) combines with a demword with the appropriate inflection to form an interrogative ‘which one’? The construction demwords are underlined.

[21] Elicited:  
Tan wot nit?  
which.AN 0SG.NA  
Which one [AN] is it?  
(or Which is the one [AN]?)

[22] Elicited:  
Wot nit.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA  
It's **this (one)** [AN].  
(or **This** [AN] is the one.)

The construction demword in affirmative sentences with singular terms is always the inanimate singular Near-Addressee demword form *nit*; thus, this demword fails to vary with the animacy of the term. Further examples of such sentences are given in [23] to [25], with the construction demword underlined. In [23] and [24], the terms *yut* 'this (one) [INAN]' and *nit* 'that (one) [INAN]' are inanimate, while in [25], the term *not* 'that (one) [AN]' is animate.

[23] Elicited:  
Yut nit.  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA  
It's **this (one)** [INAN].  
(or **This** [INAN] is the one.)

[24] Elicited:  
Nit nit.  
0SG.NA 0SG.NA  
It's **that (one)** [INAN].  
(or **That** [INAN] is the one.)

[25] Elicited:

Not nit.  
3SG.NA 0SG.NA  
It's **that (one)** [AN].  
(or **That** [AN] is the one.)

On the other hand, in affirmative sentences with plural terms, the construction demword is always a Near-Addressee form which agrees in both animacy and number with the term. Examples are given in [26] to [29], again with the construction demword underlined.

[26] Elicited:

Yuhtol nihtol.  
0PL.NS 0PL.NA  
It's **these (ones)** [INAN].  
(or **These** [INAN] are the ones.)

[27] Elicited:

Yuktok niktok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA  
It's **these (ones)** [AN].  
(or **These** [AN] are the ones.)

[28] Elicited:

Nihtol nihtol.  
0PL.NA 0PL.NA  
It's **those (ones)** [INAN].  
(or **Those** [INAN] are the ones.)

[29] Elicited:

Niktok niktok.  
3PL.NA 3PL.NA  
It's **those (ones)** [AN].  
(or **Those** [AN] are the ones.)

*Comparing affirmative clauses with (i) a demword term and (ii) a Type 7 Nominal term*

Summarizing the properties of affirmative one-term clauses with a demword Nominal term, as discussed here, and affirmative one-term clauses with a Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) term, as discussed in 5.1.1, in both constructions the term is followed by a construction demword. When the term is a demword Nominal, this construction demword

agrees in animacy and number with the term when the term is plural, but when the term is singular, the construction demword is invariably the inanimate singular form *nit*, which thus fails to agree in animacy with the term. On the other hand, when the term is a Type 7 Nominal, the construction demword in both singular and plural clauses is invariably the inanimate singular form *nit*, which thus does not agree in number or animacy with plural terms and fails to agree in animacy with singular terms.

Moving on now to negative one-term clauses with a demword Nominal term, several different constructions exist, with some of the variation depending on whether the term is singular or plural; the main difference is that in plural sentences, the demword is optional in contexts where it is obligatory for singular sentences. For sentences with singular terms, the following are possible negative sentences:

- (1) The negative morpheme *kat* precedes the items that would be in an affirmative sentence of this sort. The construction demword must be present.

*kat* [TERM] [CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]

\* *kat* [TERM]

Examples are given in [30] and [31], with the construction demword underlined.

[30] Elicited:

Kat yut nit.  
NEG OSG.NS OSG.NA

It's not **this (one)** [INAN]. (or **This** [INAN] isn't the one.)

[31] Elicited:

Kat wot nit.  
NEG 3SG.NS 0SG.NA

It's not **this (one)** [AN]. (or **This** [AN] isn't the one.)

(2) The term occurs first, followed by an enclitic, such as emphatic=*kahk*. then the negative morpheme *skat*, and, optionally, the construction demword:

[TERM]=*kahk skat* [CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]

or [TERM]=*kahk skat*

Examples are given in [32] and [33], with the construction demword underlined.

[32] Elicited:

Yut=*kahk skat (nit)*.  
0SG.NS=EMPH NEG 0SG.NA

It's not **this (one)** [INAN]. (or **This** [INAN] isn't the one.)

[33] Elicited:

Wot=*kahk skat (nit)*.  
3SG.NS=EMPH NEG 0SG.NA

It's not **this (one)** [AN]. (or **This** [AN] isn't the one.)

(3) The negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic =*kahk*, and then the term [thus, there is no construction demword associated with this construction, as there is in the above negative clause types (1) and (2)]:

*kat=kahk* [TERM]

Examples are given in [34] and [35].

[34] Elicited:  
Kat=kahk yut.  
NEG=EMPH 0SG.NS  
It's not **this (one)** [INAN]. (*or This* [INAN] isn't the one.)

[35] Elicited:  
Kat=kahk wot.  
NEG=EMPH 3SG.NS  
It's not **this (one)** [AN]. (*or This* [AN] isn't the one.)

*Comparing negative clauses with (i) a singular demword term and (ii) a singular Type 7 Nominal term*

Summarizing the properties of negative one-term clauses with a singular demword Nominal term, as discussed here, and negative one-term clauses with a singular Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) term, as discussed in 5.1.1, for both of these, there can be negative constructions without a construction demword as well as negative constructions with a construction demword.

The construction where the negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic =*kahk*, and then the term, is possible both when the term is a demword Nominal or a Type 7 Nominal, as illustrated by [34] and [35] above for clauses with a demword Nominal, and by [16] and [18] above for clauses with a Type 7 Nominal.

There can also be a negative construction where the negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by either the term and then construction demword, when the term is a demword term; or followed by the construction demword and then the term, when the term is a Type 7 Nominal. In other words, if the term is a demword, the order of the term and demword after negative morpheme *kat* in this construction remains the same as in an

affirmative construction, i.e. [DEMWORD TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD], as illustrated by [30] and [31] above. However, if the term is a Type 7 Nominal, the order of the term and demword after negative morpheme *kat* in this construction is the opposite of that in an affirmative construction. i.e. [CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM] for the negative construction, as opposed to [TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD] for the affirmative construction; examples of the negative construction are illustrated in [15] and [17] above.

In addition, when the term is a demword, another possible negative construction is one where the term occurs clause-initially, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic =*kahk*, and then the negative morpheme *skat*; *skat* is optionally followed by the construction demword, which agrees in animacy with the demword term. Examples were given in [32] and [33] above.

Going on to negative clauses with a plural demword term, the following are possible constructions:

- (1) The negative morpheme *kat* precedes the items that would be in an affirmative sentence of this sort, but the construction demword is optional:

*kat* [TERM] [CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]

or *kat* [TERM]

As in affirmative sentences, the construction demword agrees with the term in the sentence for animacy and number. Examples are given in [36] and [37], with the construction demword underlined.

[36] Elicited:

Kat    yuhtol (nihtol).  
NEG    0PL.NS 0PL.NA

It's not **these (ones)** [INAN]. (*or These* [INAN] aren't the ones.)

[37] Elicited:

Kat    nihtol (nihtol).  
NEG    0PL.NA 0PL.NA

It's not **those (ones)** [INAN]. (*or Those* [INAN] aren't the ones.)

(2) The term occurs first, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic=*kahk*, then the negative morpheme *skat*, and, optionally, the construction demword:

[TERM]=*kahk skat*    [CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]

or    [TERM]=*kahk skat*

Examples are given in [38] and [39], with the construction demword underlined.

[38] Elicited:

Yuhtol=*kahk skat*    (nihtol).  
0PL.NS=EMPH    NEG    0PL.NA

It's not **these (ones)** [INAN]. (*or These* [INAN] aren't the ones.)

[39] Elicited:

Nihtol=*kahk skat*    (nihtol).  
0PL.NA=EMPH    NEG    0PL.NA

It's not **those (ones)** [INAN]. (*or Those* [INAN] aren't the ones.)

(3) The negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic=*kahk*, and then the term [thus, there is no construction demword associated with this construction, as there is in the above negative clause types (1) and (2)]:

*kat=kahk* [TERM]

Examples are given in [40] and [41].

[40] Elicited:

Kat=kahk yuhtol.  
NEG=EMPH 0PL.NS

It's not **these (ones)** [INAN]. (or **These** [INAN] aren't the ones.)

[41] Elicited:

Kat=kahk nihtol.  
NEG=EMPH 0PL.NA

It's not **those (ones)** [INAN]. (or **Those** [INAN] aren't the ones.)

*Comparing negative clauses with (i) a plural demword term and (ii) a plural Type 7 Nominal term*

Summarizing the properties of negative one-term clauses with a plural demword Nominal term, as discussed here, and negative one-term clauses with a plural Type 7 Nominal (personal pronoun) term, as discussed in 5.1.1, for both of these, there can be constructions without a construction demword as well as constructions with a construction demword.

For negative clauses with a singular demword term, the construction where the negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic =*kahk*, and then the term, is possible both when the term is a plural demword Nominal or a Type 7 Nominal, as illustrated by [40] and [41] above for clauses with a demword Nominal, and by [20] above for clauses with a Type 7 Nominal.

When the term is a plural demword, another type of negative construction without a construction demword is where the negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by the term – [kat]-[TERM], as illustrated by [36] and [37]; however, this construction is not allowed when the term is a Type 7 Nominal, whether it is singular or plural (it is also not allowed when the term is a singular demword).

Negative clauses with a plural demword term may also have the sequence [kat]-[TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD], where the construction demword agrees in animacy and number with the term, as illustrated in [36] and [37]. For negative clauses with a plural Type 7 Nominal term, a similar construction is [kat]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[TERM], but the construction demword is invariantly the inanimate singular form *nit*, and thus doesn't agree in animacy or number with the term, as shown in [19] above. Another difference between these two constructions is in the order of term and construction demword after the negative morpheme *kat*, which is [TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD] when the term is a demword, and is [CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[TERM] when the term is a Type 7 Nominal.

In addition, when the term is a demword, another possible negative construction is one where the term occurs clause-initially, followed by an enclitic such as emphatic =*kahk*, and then the negative morpheme *skat*; *skat* is optionally followed by the construction demword, which agrees in animacy with the demword term. Examples were given in [38] and [39] above.

## 5.2 Two-term clauses with one HIRI term

In two-term clauses with one HIRI term (i.e. Type 1 Nominals, Type 4 Nominals, and Changed Indicative and Changed Participle verb forms used to refer), one term is an HIRI term and the other term is a Type 7 Nominal or a demword Nominal. Whether or not there is a construction demword depends on the information status of the terms:

- (i) When the **HIRI** term is the focus, there is no construction demword. An example is given in [43], where the focused term is an HIRI expression *taktal* ‘doctor’ and the topic term is a Type 7 Nominal *nil* ‘I’. [43] is a possible answer to a statement like ‘Tell me about yourself’ or a question like [42], *Wen kil?* ‘Who are you?’.

[42] Elicited:

[ *Wen* ]<sub>FOCUS</sub> [ *kil* ]<sub>TOPIC?</sub>  
who.AN                      2SG  
**Who** are you?

[43] Elicited:

[ *Taktal* ]<sub>FOCUS</sub> [ *nil* ]<sub>TOPIC.</sub>  
doctor.AN                      1SG  
I’m a **doctor**.

- (ii) When it is the Type 7 Nominal or the demword Nominal which is the focus, then a construction-specific demword occurs between the two terms. An example is given in [45], where the focus term is a Type 7 Nominal *nil* ‘I’ and the topic term is an HIRI expression *taktal* ‘doctor’. The construction demword is underlined; it may

be either the inanimate singular Near-Addressee form *nit* or the animate singular Near-Addressee form *not*. [45] is a possible answer to a question like [44], *Wen not taktal?* ‘Who’s the doctor?’.

[44] Elicited:

[ *Wen* ]<sub>FOCUS</sub> *not* [ *taktal* ]<sub>TOPIC?</sub>  
1SG 3SG.NA doctor.AN

**Who’s the doctor?**

*or* **Who’s a doctor?**

[45] Elicited:

[ *Nil* ]<sub>FOCUS</sub> *nit/not* [ *taktal* ]<sub>TOPIC.</sub>  
1SG 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN

**I’m the doctor.**

*or* **I’m a doctor.**

In 5.2.1 to 5.2.4 below, four types of two-term clauses with one HIRI term and one “pronominal” term in Passamaquoddy will be discussed. As illustrated by [43] above, when the focus term is the HIRI term, there is no construction demword; this type of construction is presented in 5.2.1. The constructions in 5.2.2 to 5.2.4 all contain construction demwords. 5.2.2 shows the construction where the focus term is a Type 7 Nominal and the HIRI term is the topic, and 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 present two constructions where the focus term is a demword Nominal and the HIRI term is the topic.

### 5.2.1 Two-term clauses with one HIRI term: HIRI term is the focus

In two-term clauses where an HIRI expression is the focus term while a demword Nominal or a Type 7 Nominal is the topic term, the two terms are juxtaposed; in affirmative sentences, the HIRI usually occurs first<sup>8</sup>, followed by the other Nominal: [HIRI TERM]-[TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM], as in [46], or [HIRI TERM]-[DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM], as in [47]. In the examples, I have bolded the focus term in the English translation. There is no construction demword.

[46] Elicited:

Taktal nil.  
doctor.AN 1SG  
I'm a **doctor**.

[47] Elicited:

Tuwihput yut.  
table.INAN 0SG.NS  
This/It is a **table**.

Further examples with a Type 7 Nominal as the topic term are given in [48] and [49], while [50] is an example with a demword Nominal as the topic term. When the focus term

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<sup>8</sup> Exceptions generally occur in older texts, such as in [1], where the demword term *wot* comes first, and then the HIRI term *motewolon* 'motewolon [a type of sorcerer]', which occurs with the prenoun *kci* 'great':

[1] From *Lewis Mitchell – Kiwahqiyik* (WBEP 1976 edition):

“Komac wot kci motewolon.”  
very 3SG.NS great motewolon.AN  
“He is a very great motewolon.”

is a Type 1 Nominal, it may be either a common noun, as in [46], [47], [49], and [50]. or a proper noun, as in [48].

[48] Elicited:  
Tepit nil.  
David 1SG  
I'm **David**.

[49] Elicited:  
Taktal-ok nilun.  
doctor.AN-PL 1PLEX  
We're **doctors**.

[50] Elicited:  
Tuwihputi-yil yuhtol.  
table.INAN-PL 0PL.NS  
These are **tables**.

In negative two-term clauses where an HIRI expression is the focus term while a demword Nominal or a Type 7 Nominal is the topic term, the negator morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, and the order of the argument and predicate expressions is obligatorily reversed compared to the affirmative sentences; [*kat*]-[TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM]-[HIRI TERM] or [*kat*]-[DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM]-[HIRI TERM]. Examples with a Type 7 Nominal as the topic term are given in [51] to [53], while [54] and [55] show examples with a demword Nominal as the topic term.

[51] Elicited:

Kat nil taktal.  
NEG ISG doctor.AN  
I'm not a **doctor**.

[52] Elicited:

Kat nil Tepit.  
NEG ISG David  
I'm not **David**.

[53] Elicited:

Kat nilun taktal-ok.  
NEG IPLEX doctor.AN-PL  
We're not **doctors**.

[54] Elicited:

Kat yut tuwihput.  
NEG OSG.NS table.INAN  
This/It isn't a **table**.

[55] Elicited:

Kat yuhtol tuwihputi-yil.  
NEG OPL.NS table.INAN-PL  
These aren't **tables**.

### 5.2.2 Two-term clauses with one HIRI term and one Type 7 Nominal term; HIRI term is the topic

In two-term clauses where an HIRI expression is the topic term while a demword Nominal or a Type 7 Nominal is the focus term, the Type 7 Nominal term occurs first, the HIRI term occurs last, and a demword specific to the construction occurs between the two

terms: [TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI TERM]. The reverse order is ungrammatical. Type 7 Nominals are inherently animate, and the HIRI term in these sentences will also be animate.

When the terms are singular, there is some variation amongst different speakers and occasionally from the same speaker as to whether the construction demword agrees in animacy with the terms; hence, in the data below, I give both the inanimate *nit* and the animate *not* demwords as options. In the examples, I have underlined the construction demword, and bolded the focus term in the English translation.

In [56], the context is one where the speaker is seeking to identify the person who is a doctor amongst a group of people; [57] would be the corresponding response from another speaker who is the sought-after individual. Thus, *taktal* ‘doctor’ is the topic term, and the Type 7 Nominal is the focus term. [58] and [59] show that reversing the order of the words in the clause is ungrammatical.

[56] Elicited:  
 Kil nit/not taktal?  
 2SG 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN  
 Are **you** the doctor?  
*or* Are **you** a doctor?

[57] Elicited:  
 Nil nit/not taktal.  
 1SG 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN  
**I**’m the doctor.  
*or* **I**’m a doctor.

[58] Elicited:  
 \* Taktal nit/not kil?  
 doctor.AN 0SG.NA/3SG.NA 2SG  
 (**Are you** the/a doctor?)

[59] Elicited:  
 \* Taktal nit/not nil.  
 doctor.AN 0SG.NA/3SG.NA 1SG  
 (**I**’m the/a doctor.)

In [60]; the context is one where the speaker is seeking to identify the person called David; [61] would be the corresponding response from another speaker who is the sought-after individual. Thus, the Type 7 Nominal is the focus term, while *Tepit* ‘David’ is the topic term.

[60]	Elicited:		[61]	Elicited:		
	Kil	<u>nit/not</u>	Tepit?	Nil	<u>nit/not</u>	Tepit.
	2SG	0SG.NA/3SG.NA	David	1SG	0SG.NA/3SG.NA	David
	Are <b>you</b> [the person called] David?			I’m [the person called] David.		

[62] shows an example where the HIRI term is a Conjunct Indicative expression. *eliyay Sitansisk* ‘one who is going to Fredericton’.

[62]	Elicited:			
	Nil	<u>nit</u>	el-iyā-y	Sitansisk.
	1SG	0SG.NA	to.there-go.AI-CONJ.INDC.I	Fredericton.LOC
	I’m the one who is going to Fredericton.			

When the terms are plural, the construction demword agrees in both animacy and number with the terms. An example is given in [63].

[63]	Elicited:		
	Nilun	<u>nikt</u>	taktal-ok.
	1PLEX	3PL.NA	doctor.AN-PL
	<b>We’re the doctors.</b>		
<i>or</i>	<b>We’re doctors.</b>		

There are three types of negative clauses for this construction, which all have the negative morpheme *kat* occurring sentence-initially, and the Type 7 Nominal term before the

HIRI. Unlike in affirmative sentences, the construction demword is optional in negative sentences; thus, two types of negative sentences are *kat*-[TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM]-[HIRI TERM] and *kat*-[TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI TERM]. When the construction demword is present, there is a strong preference for it to agree in animacy with the terms.<sup>9</sup> Examples of these types of sentences are given in [64] to [66].

[64] Elicited:

**Kat**    **nil** (**not**)    **taktal**.  
 NEG    1SG 3SG.NA    doctor.AN

**I'm not the doctor.**

*or*    **I'm not a doctor.**

[65] Elicited:

**Kat**    **nil** (**not**)    **Tepit**.  
 NEG    1SG 3SG.NA    David

**I'm not David.**

[66] Elicited:

**Kat**    **nilun** (**nikt**)    **taktal-ok**.  
 NEG    1PLEX    3PL.NA    doctor.AN-PL

**We're not the doctors.**

*or*    **We're not doctors.**

A negative sentence may also be formed by having an emphatic clitic =*kahk* follow the negative morpheme *kat*, followed in turn by the Type 7 Nominal term and the HIRI term: *kat=kahk*-[TYPE 7 NOMINAL TERM]-[HIRI TERM]. An example is given in [67].

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<sup>9</sup> This seems to be part of a trend for the less frequently occurring types of sentences – including negative sentences and sentences with plural terms – to be less likely to allow construction demwords that lack agreement with the terms in the sentence. This point will be discussed further in 5.7.

[67] Elicited:

Kat=kahk nil taktal.  
NEG=EMPH 1SG doctor.AN

I'm not the doctor.

or I'm not a doctor.

### 5.2.3 Two-term clauses with one HIRI and one demword Nominal term; HIRI is the topic; one construction demword

In two-term clauses where an HIRI expression is the topic term while a demword Nominal is the focus term, the demword Nominal term occurs first and the HIRI term occurs last. In one type of construction, to be discussed here, there is usually a construction demword between the two terms: [DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI TERM], as illustrated in [68].<sup>10</sup> I have underlined the construction demword, and bolded the focus term in the English translation.

[68] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** is the [only] spoon/**This** is a spoon [not one of the forks].

or **This** is the spoon [amongst many, that I was talking about].

The presence of a construction demword seems to be strongly preferred when the HIRI term is a noun-based expression (i.e. one based on a Type 1 Nominal),<sup>11</sup> while in cases

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<sup>10</sup> In 5.2.4, I discuss a construction where two construction demwords occur between the demword Nominal and HIRI terms.

<sup>11</sup> My language consultants were fairly consistent in rejecting sentences without such a demword, but exceptions can be found in older texts, where there are sentences involving a simple juxtaposition between the argument and predicate expressions. For example, in the first clause of [I], the demword term *wot* and the noun

where the HIRI term is a participial expression (i.e. one based on a Conjunct Participle or Conjunct Indicative verb), it is more common to find clauses that do not have a construction demword between the terms. For example, in [69], there is a demword argument *not* occurring with the emphatic clitic =*te*, and then a participial expression *piyemi miyawitahamuk* 'sakomawin' 'one that I am most satisfied with being chief' (more literally, 'one that I most satisfiedly think about him that he is chief').

[69] From *Mary Ellen Socobasin – Maliyan* (WBEP 1979):

ʼT-iy-uku-l=yaq, “Not=te           piyemi=miyaw-itah-am-uk  
 3-tell.TA-INV-3ʼ=EVID 3PL.NA=EMPH   most=exactly-think-TA-CONJ.I  
 ʼ-sakoma-w-i-n.”  
 3-chief.AN-DER-be.AI-SUBD

He told her, “He’s the one that I am most satisfied with being chief.”

Similarly, in [70], a demword term *nit* occurs in the first clause, followed by a participial term *etoli sotuhmuwihitit* ‘what they were telling me’, with no construction demword between the terms.

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expression *Pokomk sakom* ‘Blackcat the chief’ are juxtaposed without a demword between them:

[1] From *Lewis Mitchell – Pukcinsqehs* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Wot    Pokomk       sakom –  
 3SG.NS Blackcat.AN    chief.AN  
 This was Blackcat the chief –

Koluskap       not –  
 Koluskap       3SG.NA  
 he was Koluskap –

mihtaqs-ol       muwini-yil.  
 (3)-father.AN-3ʼ   bear.AN-3ʼ  
 his father was a bear.

[70] From *Dolly Dana – Going to School*:

Nit etoli=sotuhmuw-ihtit  
0SG.NA ONGO=tell.sb.about.sth.TA+O-PL-3:1SG  
That's what they were telling me

on n-sasotem-i-n 'sami n-utomey-aku-n.  
then (1)-cry-AI-SUBD because I-bother.TA-INV-SUBD  
so I cried because it bothered me.

In the examples below, I will discuss only clauses where the construction demword is present. I have underlined the construction demword, and bolded the focus term in the English translation.

In sentences with singular terms, the construction demword is the inanimate singular form *nit*, regardless of whether the terms are inanimate (e.g. *mitsut* 'fork') or animate (e.g. *emqansis* 'spoon'), as illustrated by [71] and [72].

[71] Elicited:

Yut nit mitsut.  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA fork.INAN

**This** is the [only] fork/**This** is a fork [not one of the spoons].  
or **This** is the fork [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[72] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** is the [only] spoon/**This** is a spoon [not one of the forks].  
or **This** is the spoon [amongst many, that I was talking about].

With plural terms, the construction demword usually agrees in both animacy and number with the Nominals, as shown in [73] and [74]. In [73], the terms are animate and

plural, so the construction demword is the animate plural form *nikt*. In [74], the terms are inanimate and plural, so the construction demword is the inanimate plural form *nihtol*.

[73] Elicited:

Yuktok nikt emqan-s-is-ok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM-PL

**These** are the spoons/**These** are spoons [not the forks].

or **These** are the spoons [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[74] Elicited:

Yuhtol nihtol mitsuti-yil.  
0PL.NS 0PL.NA fork.INAN-PL

**These** are the forks/**These** are forks [not the spoons].

or **These** are the forks [amongst many, that I was talking about].

However, occasionally plural sentences where the construction demword does not agree with the terms occur in elicitation, as shown in [75] and [76], where the inanimate singular form *nit* fails to agree with the animate plural terms – *yuktok* ‘these’ and *nil nikhkuk* ‘my parents’ in [75], and *yektok* ‘those yonder’ and *taktalok* ‘doctors’ in [76].

[75] Elicited:

*Context* – You and a friend are looking at a photograph of several people, two of whom are your parents. Your friend wants to know which ones are your parents, so you point them out.

Niktok nit nil nikhku-k.  
3PL.NA 0SG.NA 1SG (1)-parent.AN-PL

**Those** are my parents.

[76] Elicited:

*Context* – There are two doctors amongst a group of people, and they are identified as follows.

Yektok    nit            taktal-ok.  
3PL.ASA    0SG.NA        doctor.AN-PL

**Those (yonder)** are the doctors.

In negative sentences, the negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, and is followed by the elements in the rest of the sentence in the order that they would have in an affirmative sentence, so that we have the order *kat*-[DEMWORD TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI TERM]. (This is unlike the negative sentences we have encountered so far, where either the construction demword follows *kat*, as in the sentences of 5.2.2, or the order of the terms is reversed compared to affirmative sentences, as was the case for the constructions discussed in 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.2.1.) In plural negative sentences, the demword is not obligatory.<sup>12</sup> Examples of singular negative sentences are given in [77] and [78], and examples of plural negative sentences are given in [79] and [80].

[77] Elicited:

Kat    yut    nit    mitsut.  
NEG    0SG.NS 0SG.NA fork.INAN

**This** isn't the fork./**This** isn't a fork [since it's one of the spoons].  
*or*    **This** isn't the fork [amongst many, that I was talking about].

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<sup>12</sup> It is not clear if there is any difference in meaning between sentences with and without the demword, since the consultant gave both types of sentences readily and said there was no difference between them.

[78] Elicited:

Kat wot nit emqan-s-is.  
NEG 3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** isn't the spoon /**This** isn't a spoon [since it's one of the forks].

*or* **This** isn't the spoon [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[79] Elicited:

Kat yuktok (nikt) emqan-s-is-ok.  
NEG 3PL.NS 3PL.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM-PL

**These** aren't the spoons/**These** aren't spoons [since they're the forks].

*or* **These** aren't the spoons [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[80] Elicited:

Kat yuhtol (nihtol) mitsuti-yil.  
NEG 0PL.NS 0PL.NA fork.INAN-PL

**These** aren't the forks/**These** aren't forks [since they're the spoons].

*or* **These** aren't the forks [amongst many, that I was talking about].

#### 5.2.4 Two-term clauses with one HIRI term and one demword Nominal term; HIRI is the topic; two construction demwords

The semantic differences between the construction in this section and the one just discussed in 5.2.3 are not immediately apparent. Both involve a demword as the focus term and an HIRI expression as the topic; the difference is that in the 5.2.3 construction, there is one construction demword between the terms, while the sentences in this section have two construction demwords between the terms. An example of the construction discussed in 5.2.3 is repeated in [81], and an example of the construction to be discussed in this section is given in [82].

[81] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** is the [only] spoon/**This** is a spoon [not one of the forks].

or **This** is the spoon [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[82] Elicited:

Wot nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

The spoon is **this one**.

In Passamaquoddy, affirmative sentences with singular terms have two construction demwords which occur between the terms, both of them the inanimate singular form *nit*, and neither of which agree in animacy with the terms. In the examples below, I have underlined the construction demwords, and bolded the focus term in the English translation.

[83] and [84] are examples of questions using Near-Speaker demword terms, and [85] and [86] are the corresponding responses.

[83] Elicited:

Yut nit nit mitsut?  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA fork.INAN  
Is the fork **this one**?

[84] Elicited:

Wot nit nit emqan-s-is?  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
Is the spoon **this one**?

[85] Elicited:

Yut nit nit mitsut.  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA fork.INAN  
The fork is **this one**.

[86] Elicited:

Wot nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **this one**.

[87] to [90] show questions and answers using Near-Addressee demword terms.

[87] Elicited:  
Nit nit nit mitsut?  
0SG.NA 0SG.NA 0SG.NA fork.INAN  
Is the fork **that one**?

[88] Elicited:  
Not nit nit emqan-s-is?  
3SG.NA 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
Is the spoon **that one**?

[89] Elicited:  
Nit nit nit mitsut.  
0SG.NA 0SG.NA 0SG.NA fork.INAN  
The fork is **that one**.

[90] Elicited:  
Not nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NA 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **that one**.

My language consultant David Francis<sup>13</sup> generally translated the sentences of 5.2.3 as ‘**This** is the spoon’, ‘**This** is the fork’ etc.. and the sentences of this section as ‘The spoon is **this one**’, ‘The fork is **this one**’ etc. When asked to elaborate on what contexts each type of construction would be used in, he said that one might use the sentences with two construction demwords when emphasizing the identification of the relevant item (e.g. the spoon) to someone who kept failing to identify it correctly from some group of items which contained a number of other types of objects.

Based his comments, one possibility is that the construction in this section is most appropriate when there is presupposed a set of objects with which the demword term referent is being contrasted, which is why the declarative sentences of this section are best as responses to questions like ‘Is the spoon this one?’ or ‘Which one is the spoon?’, ‘Is the fork this one?’ or ‘Which one is the fork?’ etc. In contrast, the sentences in 5.2.3 may not have

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<sup>13</sup> David Francis was the only speaker I worked with who was able to offer a possible explanation of what the difference between the constructions might be; other speakers accepted both constructions but were uncertain what, if any semantic differences, there were between the two constructions.

such a presupposition, and are thus most appropriate as responses to questions like 'Is this the spoon?', 'Is this the fork?' etc.

Such a distinction between the construction of this section and that described in 5.2.3, if it exists, may be similar to one that Kiss (1998), discussing English and Hungarian data, makes between what she calls **identificational focus** and **information focus**. Identificational focus is described as an exhaustive identification of relevant entities, and in English, is associated with a cleft construction. In [91], the referent phrase with identificational focus is bolded, and the sentence implies that the only person who Anna gave flowers to was Mikko.

[91] It was **to Mikko** that Anna gave the flowers. (after Kiss 1998)

On the other hand, informational focus is merely associated with non-presupposed information, and is not exhaustive. In the English sentence [92], the referent phrase with informational focus, *to Mikko*, is in small caps; in contrast to [91], there is no implication in [92] that Anna gave flowers only to Mikko.

[92] Anna gave the flowers TO MIKKO. (after Kiss 1998)

If the identificational-information focus difference is relevant for the two Passamaquoddy constructions being considered here, then the demword term in the construction of 5.2.3 may have informational focus, while the demword term in the construction presented in this

section may have identificational focus. Further investigation into Passamaquoddy is necessary to see if this is indeed the relevant distinction.

Whatever the difference is, it is not distinguished in the plural, since in the Passamaquoddy sentences elicited for ‘The spoons are these ones’, ‘The forks are these ones’ etc., only one demword occurs between the terms, so these plural sentences are not different from those given in 5.2.3. Similarly, there are no negative sentences with two demwords, so again, such sentences are no different from those in 5.2.3. Thus, as mentioned previously, the difference between the construction described in 5.2.3 and the one described in this section made grammatically only for affirmative, singular sentences.

### 5.3 Clauses with two HIRI terms and one construction demword

In this section, I discuss clauses that have two terms which are both HIRI expressions. Unlike the two-term clauses with one HIRI term and one demword or Type 7 Nominals (personal pronoun) term, this construction is not associated with a particular topic-focus structure; either the first or the second HIRI expression may be the focus.

Most of the clauses have one argument term and one predicate term, and have a classificatory meaning, with a non-referential predicate term, as in [93] and [94], where the predicate terms are *nomehs* ‘fish’ and *taktal* ‘doctor’ respectively.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Constructions where the predicate term refers to a kind have sometimes been called “true predicate nominal” constructions (e.g. Dryer, forthcoming), where the semantically more general term (e.g. ‘fish’ or ‘doctor’ in the examples here) is the predicate nominal.

[93] Elicited:

Nomehs not polam.  
fish.AN 3SG.NA salmon.AN  
A salmon is a fish.

[94] Elicited:

Tepit not taktal.  
David 3SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is a doctor.

The argument term may also be non-referential, such as the generic *polam* ‘salmon’ in [93]. However, apart from this kind of classificatory sentence, the argument term must be referential. It may be inherently referential by virtue of being a proper noun such as *Tepit* ‘David’ in [94] or for other semantic reasons, such as the *-ey* Nominal *amsqahsewey* meaning ‘the first one’. If the argument term is a common noun, such as *ehpit* ‘woman’, it must generally occur with some sort of restrictive modifier in order to have an acceptable clause, as illustrated in [95].

[95] Elicited:

Kehc-ikoton-e-t ehpit not taktal.  
great-year-AI-CONJ.3 woman.AN 3SG.NA doctor.AN  
The old woman is a doctor.

For some clauses, however, the referentiality of the predicate term is vague, allowing the clause to be interpreted in more than one way, such that sentences like [96] below may

in different contexts mean ‘Maya is a writer’/‘Maya is the writer.’<sup>15</sup> It appears that when a term is a Changed Indicative or Changed Participle verb functioning as a referring expression, such as *nutuwikhiket* ‘one who writes’ in [96], it is more likely to be open to be a referential interpretation in this type of construction than a Nominal term is.

[96] Elicited:

Maya not nut-uwikh-ike-t.  
 Maya 3SG.NA do.as.occupation-write-AI-CONJ.3  
 Maya is a writer/Maya is the writer.

As can be seen from [93] to [96], in affirmative clauses, a construction demword generally occurs between the two terms, agreeing in animacy and number with the argument term.<sup>16</sup> Both orders, [HIRI ARGUMENT TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI PREDICATE

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<sup>15</sup> In interpretations like ‘Maya is the writer’, the clause has an equational meaning such that the two terms are not clearly distinguished as argument and predicate respectively. However, for convenience, I will talk about the “argument” and the “predicate” terms for this construction in the following discussion about the order of expressions, which should for terms in clauses interpreted like ‘Maya is the writer’ be taken simply to mean “one of the two terms.”

<sup>16</sup> When both terms in the clause were noun-based expressions, my language consultants generally rejected sentences without such a demword, but there are exceptions in older texts, where there are clauses that have a simple juxtaposition between the two terms. For example, in the third clause of [I], the terms *mihtaqsol* ‘father’ [OBLIATIVE] and *muwiniyil* ‘bear’ [OBLIATIVE] are juxtaposed without a demword between them:

[I] From *Lewis Mitchell – Pukcinsqehs* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Wot Pokomk sakom –  
 3SG.NS Blackcat.AN chief.AN  
 This was Blackcat the chief –

Koluskap not –  
 Koluskap 3SG.NA  
 he was Koluskap –

mihtaqs-ol muwini-yil.  
 (3)-father.AN-3’ bear.AN-3’  
 his father was a bear.

TERM] and [HIRI PREDICATE TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI ARGUMENT TERM] occur, as illustrated by [97a] and [97b] respectively. These clauses have two inanimate singular terms *tomhikon* ‘axe’ and *wehkewakon* ‘tool’, and an inanimate singular construction demword *nit* between them (which is underlined). Both [97a] and [97b] mean ‘An axe is a tool’.

[97a] Elicited:	<i>or</i>	[97b] Elicited:
Tomhikon <u>nit</u> wehke-w-akon.		Wehke-w-akon <u>nit</u> tomhikon.
axe.INAN 0SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN		use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN 0SG.NA axe.INAN
An axe is a tool.		An axe is a tool.

The possibility of both word orders means that certain types of clauses (those where both the HIRI expressions are on the same hierarchical semantic level) will be ambiguous, as illustrated by [98a] and [98b]. These clauses have two animate singular HIRI terms *nukcoktihikon* ‘maul’ and *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’, with an animate singular construction demword *not* between them, and can mean either ‘A maul is a hammer’ or ‘A hammer is a maul’. This sort of ambiguity does not arise for most clauses, where one term is more general than the other, so that only one interpretation usually makes sense (e.g. ‘An axe is a tool’ vs. ?? ‘A tool is a hammer’).

[98a] Elicited:

Nukcoktih-ikon not maltuhs-is.  
 crush.TA-NMLZ.AN 3SG.NA hammer.AN-DIM  
 A maul is a hammer. *or* A hammer is a maul.

[98b] Elicited:

Maltuhs-is not nukcoktih-ikon.  
hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA crush.TA-NMLZ.AN  
A maul is a hammer. *or* A hammer is a maul.

[99] is an example with inanimate plural terms *kompiyuhtawol* ‘computers’ and *pili mosinol* ‘new machines’. The construction demword, which occurs between the terms, is the inanimate plural form *nihtol*, which agrees with the inanimate plural argument *kompiyuhtawol* ‘computers’.

[99] Elicited:

Kompiyuhtaw-ol nihtol pili mosin-ol.  
computer.INAN-PL 0PL.NA new machine.INAN-PL  
Computers are new machines.

[100] to [103b] are clauses where one of the terms is inherently referential. [100] to [102] are examples with singular terms, while [103a] and [103b] are clauses with plural terms. In [100] and [101], the argument term is a proper noun, *Eyts* ‘AIDS’ in [100] and *Tepit* ‘David’ [101]. When the argument term is referential, the order [HIRI ARGUMENT TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[HIRI PREDICATE TERM] is preferred, though, as [103b] shows, the opposite order can also occur.

[100] Elicited:

Eyts nit pili ksinuhke-w-akon.  
AIDS.INAN 0SG.NA new sick.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
AIDS is a new disease.

[101] Elicited:

Tepit        not        taktal.  
David        3SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is a doctor.

In [102], *amsqahsewey* ‘the first one’ is also inherently referential.

[102] Elicited:

Amsqahsewey    nit        piluwey.  
first.one.INAN        0SG.NA new.one.INAN  
The first one is a new one.

In [103a] and [103b], the argument term is a plural noun expression. *Mali naka Tepit* ‘Mary and David’.

[103a] Elicited:

Mali naka Tepit    nikt        taktal-ok.  
Mary and David    3PL.NA doctor.AN-PL  
Mary and David are doctors.

*or*

[103b] Elicited:

Taktal-ok        nikt        Mali        naka        Tepit.  
doctor.AN-PL    3PL.NA Mary        and        David  
Mary and David are doctors.

The argument terms are inanimate singular in [100] and [102], so an inanimate singular demword *nit* is the construction demword. The argument term is animate singular in [101], so the construction demword is the animate singular *not*. The argument term is

animate plural in [103a] and [103b], so the construction demword is the animate plural *niktok*.

Although the two terms usually match in animacy in these constructions, occasionally they do not. For example, in [104a] and [104b], the argument *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ is animate while the predicate *wehkewakon* ‘tool’ is inanimate.

[104a] Elicited:

Wehke-w-akon      not      maltuhs-is.  
use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN    3SG.NA hammer.AN-DIM  
A hammer is a tool.

or

[104b] Elicited:

Maltuhs-is not      wehke-w-akon.  
hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
A hammer is a tool.

We see that the construction demword is the animate form *not*, agreeing with the argument, not the predicate, since [105a] and [105b], with the inanimate demword form *nit*, are ungrammatical.<sup>17</sup>

[105a] Elicited:

\* Wehke-w-akon      nit      maltuhs-is.  
use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN    0SG.NA hammer.AN-DIM  
(A hammer is a tool.)

or

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<sup>17</sup> Although copula agreement with the subject is the familiar pattern for English and a number of other European languages, agreement with the predicate nominal also exists, as Diessel (1999: 143-148) argues for Hebrew.

[105b] Elicited:

\* Maltuhs-is nit wehke-w-akon.  
hammer.AN-DIM 0SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
(A hammer is a tool.)

In [106a] and [106b], we have the opposite situation with respect to the animacy of the Nominal expressions – the argument *aloncis* ‘orange’ is inanimate while *mins* ‘fruit’ is animate, and it is the inanimate form *nit* which must be used.

[106a] Elicited:

Mins nit aloncis.  
fruit.AN 0SG.NA orange.INAN  
An orange is a fruit.

or [106b] Elicited:

Aloncis nit mins.  
orange.INAN 0SG.NA fruit.AN  
An orange is a fruit.

This time, if the construction demword is animate, as in [107a] and [107b], then the result is ungrammatical.

[107a] Elicited:

\* Mins not aloncis.  
fruit.AN 3SG.NA orange.INAN  
(An orange is a fruit.)

or [107b] Elicited:

\* Aloncis not mins.  
orange.INAN 3SG.NA fruit.AN  
(An orange is a fruit.)

Thus, [104a] to [107b] show that the construction demword agrees with the argument term, not the predicate term, in cases when the animacy of the two terms differs. Such a mismatch between the animacy of the argument term and the animacy of the predicate term does not, however, usually occur.

In negative clauses, there is a clause-initial negator morpheme *kat*, followed by the construction demword, and then the two terms, either with argument followed by predicate,

[*kat*]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[ARGUMENT TERM]-[PREDICATE TERM], or predicate followed by argument, [*kat*]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[PREDICATE TERM]-[ARGUMENT TERM]. As was the case for affirmative sentences, this means that some clauses may be ambiguous, as will be seen from the examples below.

[108a] to [109b] are examples where there is a non-referential predicate term and a generic subject. In [108a] and [108b], the argument term *aloncis* ‘orange’ is inanimate singular, and thus the inanimate singular form *nit* is the construction demword.

[108a] Elicited:

Kat    nit    aloncis    pehsuwahsuwehsok.  
 NEG    0SG.NA    orange.INAN    flower.INAN  
 An orange isn’t a flower.

or

[108b] Elicited:

Kat    nit    pehsuwahsuwehsok    aloncis.  
 NEG    0SG.NA    flower.INAN                    orange.INAN  
 An orange isn’t a flower.

In [109a] and [109b], the terms *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ and *nukcoktihikon* ‘maul’ are animate singular, and thus the animate singular form *not* is the construction demword. Similarly to the comparable affirmative sentences, note that [109a] and [109b] are ambiguous as to which term is the argument and which the predicate; both can mean either ‘A hammer isn’t a maul’ or ‘A maul isn’t a hammer’. Again, this sort of ambiguity does not arise for most clauses where one term is more general than the other, since in those cases only one interpretation usually makes sense (e.g. ‘An orange isn’t a flower’ vs. ?? ‘A flower isn’t an orange’).

[109a] Elicited:

Kat not maltuhs-is nukcoktih-ikon.  
NEG 3SG.NA hammer.AN-DIM crush.TA-NMLZ.AN  
A hammer isn't a maul. *or* A maul isn't a hammer.

*or*

[109b] Elicited:

Kat not nukcoktih-ikon maltuhs-is.  
NEG 3SG.NA crush.TA-NMLZ.AN hammer.AN-DIM  
A hammer isn't a maul. *or* A maul isn't a hammer.

In [110], the argument term *kompiyutawol* 'computers' is inanimate plural, and thus the inanimate plural form *nihitol* is the construction demword.

[110] Elicited:

Kat nihitol kompiyuhtaw-ol pili mosin-ol.  
NEG 0PL.NA computer.INAN-PL new machine.INAN-PL  
Computers aren't new machines.

[111] to [113] are examples where the argument term is inherently referential. In [111], the argument term *Eyts* 'AIDS' is inanimate singular, and thus the inanimate singular form *nit* is the construction demword.

[111] Elicited:

Kat nit Eyts pili ksinuhke-w-akon.  
NEG 0SG.NA AIDS.INAN new sick.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
AIDS isn't a new disease.

In [112], the argument term *Tepit* 'David' is animate singular, and thus the animate singular form *not* is the construction demword.

[112] Elicited:

Kat not Tepit taktal.  
NEG 3SG.NA David doctor.AN  
David isn't a doctor.

In [113], the argument term *Mali naka Tepit* 'Mary and David' is animate plural, and thus the animate plural form *niktok* is the construction demword.

[113] Elicited:

Kat nikt taktal-ok Mali naka Tepit.  
NEG 3PL.NA doctor.AN-PL Mary and David  
Mary and David aren't doctors.

In sentences where the argument is animate, it appears that negative sentences with the inanimate demword form *nit* may sometimes nevertheless be acceptable, a phenomenon which may be due to some degree of reanalysis of the negative morpheme *kat* followed by *nit* as a single unit of sentential negation. For example, the consultant accepted [114], with the inanimate demword *nit*, as well as [115] for a sentence translated as 'A strawberry isn't a flower.'

[114] Elicited:

Kat nit pehsuwahsuwehsok pskihqimins.  
NEG 3SG.NA flower.AN strawberry.AN  
A strawberry isn't a flower.

[115] Elicited:

Kat not pehsuwahsuwehsok pskihqimins.  
NEG 3SG.NA flower.AN strawberry.AN  
A strawberry isn't a flower.

## 5.4 Clauses with two HIRI terms and two construction demwords

In the construction described in the previous section, there are two HIRI terms and a construction demword between them. The two terms are usually an argument term and a non-referential predicate term, but there are clauses where both of the terms are interpreted as referential, as illustrated in [96] above. In the construction to be described in this section, there are also two HIRI terms, but there are two construction demwords which occur between them. Also, unlike the construction described in 5.3, the second HIRI term must be interpreted as referential. An example is given in [116], with the construction demword underlined.

[116] Elicited:

Tepit not nit taktal.  
David 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is the doctor.  
(or The doctor is David.)

From the elicitations, it appears that the first HIRI term is usually the focus and the second HIRI term the topic, such that [116] would mean ‘**David** is the doctor’ [not Mary], but these clauses were also elicited for contexts where the second HIRI term was the focus and the first HIRI term the topic, meaning something such as ‘David is **the doctor**’ [not the

dentist], where the bolded term indicates focus. Thus, I will assume that there is neither of the HIRI terms is obligatorily the topic or the focus.<sup>18</sup>

In both singular and plural sentences, the first construction demword agrees in animacy and number with the terms, while the second construction demword does not, whether the terms are singular or plural; thus, the second construction demword is invariably the inanimate singular form *nit*. The order of items in the sentence is [FOCUS HIRI TERM]-[FIRST CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[SECOND CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD *nit*]-[TOPIC HIRI TERM].

I give more examples of affirmative clauses in [117] to [120], in which I have underlined the construction demwords in the Passamaquoddy and bolded the focus term in the English translation. In [117] and [118], the context is one where one is exhaustively identifying who the tribal council members are. In [117], the first construction demword is the animate singular form *not*, agreeing with the animate singular terms *Tepit* ‘David’ and *taktal* ‘doctor’, while the second construction demword is *nit*. In [118], the first construction demword is the animate plural form *nikt*, agreeing with the animate plural terms *Tepit naka Mali* ‘David and Mary’ and *taktalok* ‘doctors’.

[117] Elicited:

Tepit not nit taktal.  
David 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is the doctor.  
(or The doctor is David.)

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<sup>18</sup> According to the language consultant, this construction is not often used, so his judgments about the information status of these clauses tended to take longer, and may be somewhat less robust than for the other constructions.

[118] Elicited:

Mali naka Tepit nikt nit taktal-ok.  
Mary and David 3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
Mary and David are the doctors.  
(or The doctors are Mary and David.)

In [119], the context is one where the speaker asserts that there is only one real doctor around, *kehcikotonet ehpit* ‘old woman’. Like the previous sentences, the second construction demword is invariably the inanimate singular form *nit*, while the first construction demword *not* agrees in animacy and number with the animate singular HIRI terms.

[119] Elicited:

Kehc-ikoton-e-t ehpit not nit ansa=te taktal!  
great-year-AI-CONJ.3 woman.AN 3SG.NA 0SG.NA really=EMPH doctor.AN  
The old woman is the real doctor!

In [120], the context is where one of the entities in a group is new, and it is the first one. Again, the second construction demword is *nit*. The first construction demword *nit* agrees in animacy and number with the animate singular terms *amsqahsewey* ‘first one’ and *piluwey* ‘new one’.

[120] Elicited:

Amsqahsewey nit nit piluwey.  
first.one.INAN 0SG.NA 0SG.NA new.one.INAN  
The first one is the new one.  
(i.e. The new one is the new one.)

For negative sentences, there is only one construction demword, which agrees in animacy and number with the terms. The negative morpheme *kat* occurs clause-initially, followed by this construction demword, and then the two HIRI terms. (Thus, the negative sentences here look the same as the negative sentences of 5.3, where there are two HIRI terms and one construction demword.) Examples are given in [121] to [124].

[121] Elicited:

Kat not Tepit taktal.  
NEG 3SG.NA David doctor.AN

The doctor isn't David.

(This sentence can also mean: 'David isn't a doctor.')

[122] Elicited:

Kat nikt Mali naka Tepit taktal-ok.  
NEG 3PL.NA Mary and David doctor.AN-PL

The doctors aren't Mary and David.

(This sentence can also mean: 'Mary and David aren't doctors.')

[123] Elicited:

Kat not kehc-ikoton-e-t ehpit taktal.  
NEG 3SG.NA great-year-AI-CONJ.3 woman.AN doctor.AN

The old woman isn't the doctor.

(This sentence can also mean: 'The old woman isn't a doctor.')

[124] Elicited:

Kat nit amsqahsewey piluwey.  
NEG 0SG.NA first.one.INAN new.one.INAN

The first one isn't the new one.

(This sentence can also mean: 'The first one isn't a new one.')

## 5.5 Summary of the construction demwords

In 5.1-5.4, I presented a range of verbless constructions in Passamaquoddy in which what I have called construction demwords occur. In this section, I summarize the grammatical properties of these demwords, focusing on their behavior in affirmative sentences, since some of the demwords do not occur in negative sentences. In general, it is not unusual to find more grammatical distinctions made in sentence types which on average have greater textual frequency. In Passamaquoddy, affirmative sentences are more common than negative sentences, a pattern which is found crosslinguistically; see, for example, Keenan's (1976) discussion about "basic sentence" types.

With respect to distributional behavior, all the construction demwords in affirmative sentences occur after the first term (which is, of course, the only term in one-term constructions), and before the second term in two-term constructions.

There is some variation in the inflectional properties of the construction demwords, apart from the fact that the construction demwords are always Near-Addressee forms. By inflectional behavior, there are the following types of demwords:

- [I] The construction demword agrees in both animacy and number with the terms in the sentence, in both the singular and plural. I will refer to these as construction demwords which **agree in animacy and number**. There are two demwords of this sort:
  - (a) The construction demword in clauses with two HIRI terms as presented in 5.3. For example, in [125], *not* is the animate singular demword form, and agrees with the

terms *Tepit* ‘David’ and *taktal* ‘doctor’. In [126], *nikt* is the animate plural demword form, and agrees with the terms *Tepit naka Mali* ‘David and Mary’ and *taktalok* ‘doctors’.

[125] Elicited:

Tepit not taktal.  
David 3SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is a doctor.

[126] Elicited:

Tepit naka Mali nikt taktal-ok.  
David and Mary 3PL.NA doctor.AN-PL  
David and Mary are doctors.

- (b) The first of two construction demwords in sentences with two HIRI terms as presented in 5.4. For example, in [127], *not* is the animate singular construction demword, and agrees with the terms *Tepit* ‘David’ and *taktal* ‘doctor’. In [128], *nikt* is the animate plural demword form, and agrees with the term *Tepit naka Mali* ‘David and Mary’ and *taktalok* ‘doctors’.

[127] Elicited:

Tepit not nit taktal.  
David 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is the doctor.

[128] Elicited:

Tepit naka Mali nikt nit taktal-ok.  
David and Mary 3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
David and Mary are the doctors.

[II] The construction demword agrees in neither animacy nor number with the term(s) in the sentence. I will refer to these as construction demwords which are **animacy-invariant and number-invariant**. There are two demwords of this sort:

(a) The construction demword in one-term clauses with one Type 7 Nominal term, presented in 5.1.1. For example, in both [129] and [130], *nit* is the inanimatesingular demword form, thus failing to agree in animacy with both *nil* ‘I’ and *nilun* ‘we’, as well as not agreeing in number with *nilun* ‘we’ in [130].

[129] Elicited:

Nil nit.  
1SG 0SG.NA  
I’m the one.

[130] Elicited:

Nilun nit.  
1PLEX 0SG.NA  
We’re the ones.

(b) The second construction demword in clauses with two HIRI terms that occur with two construction demwords, presented in 5.4. For example, in [131], the inanimate singular demword *nit* fails to agree in animacy with the animate HIRI terms *Tepit* ‘David’ and *litposuwin* ‘tribal council member’ (as well as the first construction demword *not*, which is an animate singular form). In [132], *nit* fails to agree in both animacy and number with the term *Tepit naka Mali* ‘David and Mary’, the demword term *not*, and the HIRI term *taktalok* ‘doctors’.

[131] Elicited:

Tepit not nit taktal.  
David 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is the doctor.

[132] Elicited:

Tepit naka Mali nikt nit taktal-ok.  
Mary and David 3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
David and Mary are the doctors.

[III] The construction demword agrees in number but not animacy with the term(s) in the sentence when the term/terms are singular; it agrees in both animacy and number when the term/terms are plural. I will refer to these as construction demwords which are **animacy-invariant in the singular**. There are three demwords of this sort:

(a) The construction demword in one-term clauses with one demword Nominal term, presented in 5.1.2. For example, in [133], *nit* is the inanimate singular demword form, and thus does not agree in animacy with *wot* ‘this’, while in [134], *niktok* is animate plural, which thus does agree with *yuktok* ‘these [ANIM]’.

[133] Elicited:

Wot nit.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA  
This is the one.

[134] Elicited:

Yuktok niktok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA  
These are the ones.

(b) The construction demword in two-term clauses with one demword term and one HIRI term that has one construction demword, presented in 5.2.3. Again, in [135], *nit* is the inanimate singular demword form, and thus does not agree in animacy with *wot* ‘this’, while in [136], *niktok* is animate plural, which thus does agree with *yuktok* ‘these [ANIM]’.

[135] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
**This is the spoon.**

[136] Elicited:

Yuktok niktok emqan-s-is-ok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM-PL  
**These are the spoons.**

- (c) One of the construction demwords in the two-term construction with one demword term and one HIRI term, and two construction demwords, discussed in 5.2.4; since there is only one construction demword in a plural sentence of this type, we cannot say for sure which one it corresponds to in the singular sentence<sup>19</sup>. In [137], *nit* is the inanimate singular demword form, and thus does not agree in animacy with *wot* ‘this’, while in [138], *niktok* is animate plural, which thus does agree with *yuktok* ‘these [ANIM]’.

[137] Elicited:

Wot nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **this one**.

or Wot nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **this one**.

[138] Elicited:

Yuktok niktok emqan-s-is-ok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM-PL  
The spoons are **these ones**.

- [IV] The construction demword sometimes does, and sometimes does not, agree in animacy with the terms in the clause when the terms are singular; it agrees in both animacy and number when the terms are plural. This is the construction demword

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<sup>19</sup> This assumes that the singular and plural sentences are structurally parallel to at least some degree, which might not necessarily be the case, but it seems reasonable to take this as the null hypothesis at this point.

in two-term clauses with one HIRI and one Type 7 Nominal term, where the Type 7 Nominal is the focused term, as presented in 5.2.2. I will refer to this as the construction demword which is **animacy-variant in the singular**. For example, in [139], *nit* is the inanimate singular demword form, which does not agree in animacy with the terms *nil* ‘I’ and *taktal* ‘doctor’, but *not* is the animate singular demword, which does agree in animacy with these terms. In the plural sentence [140], *nikt* is an animate plural demword, which agrees with the terms *nilun* ‘we’ and *taktalok* ‘doctors’.

[139] Elicited:

Nil     nit/not           taktal.  
 1SG    0SG.NA/3SG.NA    doctor.AN  
**I**’m the doctor.

[140] Elicited:

Nilun nikt    taktal-ok.  
 1PLEX  3PL.NA   doctor.AN-PL  
**We**’re the doctors.

For ease of reference, all of the construction demwords are summarized in Table 13, which gives: (i) the Roman numeral label used in this section, which groups the constructions based on the construction demword’s inflectional behavior); (ii) the section number that the construction was discussed earlier in the chapter (grouped on the basis of the number and types of terms); (iii) the number of terms and construction demwords; and (iv) the inflectional characteristics of the construction demword, with the label I have given each major type of construction demword bolded.

**Table 13: The construction demwords and their characteristics**

CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD NUMERAL LABEL	DETAILED DISCUSSION SECTION	TERM(S) AND NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTION DEMWORDS	CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD(S) CHARACTERISTICS
Ia	5.3	2 HIRI expressions, with 1 construction demword	<b>agrees in animacy and number</b> in both the singular and the plural
Ib	5.4	2 HIRI expressions, with 2 construction demwords	first construction demword: <b>agrees in animacy and number</b> in both the singular and the plural
IIa	5.1.1	1 focus Type 7 Nominal, with 1 construction demword	<b>number-invariant and animacy-invariant</b> (for the IIb construction, this applies to the second construction demword)
IIb	5.4	2 HIRI expressions, with 2 construction demwords	
IIIa	5.1.2	1 focus demword, with 1 construction demword	<b>animacy-invariant in the singular</b> , agrees for animacy and number in the plural (IIIc has two such demwords in the singular)
IIIb	5.2.3	1 focus demword, 1 topic HIRI expression, with 1 construction demword)	
IIIc	5.2.4	1 focus demword, 1 topic HIRI expression, with 2 construction demwords	
IV	5.2.2	1 focus Type 7 Nominal, 1 topic HIRI expression, with 1 construction demword	<b>animacy-variant in the singular</b> , agrees for animacy and number in the plural

It is useful to note that the construction described in [IIa], with one Type 7 Nominal term and a construction demword which is number-invariant and animacy-invariant, is comparable to the construction described in [IIIa], with one demword term and a construction demword which is animacy-invariant in the singular. Both allow a Nominal term to participate in a predication, and both have the Nominal term followed by the construction demword; the main difference is that in [IIa], the construction demword is

invariably the inanimate singular form *nit* for both singular and plural terms, whereas for [IIIa] sentences, the construction demword agrees in animacy and number in sentences with plural terms.

Similarly, the construction described in [IIb], with two HIRI terms, one demword term, and a construction demword which is number-invariant and animacy-invariant; the construction described in [IIIb], with one demword term, one HIRI term, and a construction demword which is animacy-invariant in the singular; and the construction described in [IV], with one Type 7 Nominal term, one HIRI term, and a construction demword which is animacy-variant in the singular, are all essentially similar with respect to their clause structure, in that a construction demword occurs between two terms. The main difference is in the inflectional behavior of the construction demwords; in [IIb], the demword is invariably the inanimate singular form *nit* for both animate and inanimate terms; for the [IIIb] and [IV] constructions, the demword sometimes agrees in animacy as well as number in the singular (as well as in the plural).

## 5.6 Word class status of the construction demwords

In this section, I discuss analyses of the word class status of the construction demwords, based on their inflectional and distributional characteristics. I begin in 5.6.1 by considering to what degree construction demwords in Passamaquoddy fit the description of identificational demonstratives, a type of demonstrative defined by Diessel (1999) as occurring in verbless clauses, and conclude that the construction demwords are unlike

identificational demwords in important ways. In 5.6.2, I consider another analysis, where the construction demwords in certain of the constructions are dummy subjects, and also conclude that this is not the best analysis. I then move on in 5.6.3 to analyses where the construction demwords are instances of entity-referring demwords, and argue that if this is the case, then the construction demwords have the function of **copulas**, rather than any of the functions of entity-referring demwords previously discussed in Chapter 3. I also compare this type of analysis with analyses where the construction demwords belong to a distinct word class of copulas, and conclude that both types of analyses are possible based on the data. The Passamaquoddy data are to some extent similar to data from other languages where demonstratives have developed into copulas that are unambiguously grammatically distinct, even if the formal differentiation of the Passamaquoddy construction demwords from entity-referring demwords may not have proceeded as far as in those other languages.

### 5.6.1 Identificational demonstratives

Diessel (1999) makes a distinction between entity-referring demonstratives which occur in verbless sentences, which he calls demonstrative identifiers, and entity-referring demonstratives which occur in sentences with verbs, for which he reserves the term demonstrative pronouns. In both cases, these demonstratives are referential, as opposed to morphemes such as copulas which are “non-referential and non-contrastive” (Diessel 1999: 80).

Diessel notes that although in many languages, demonstrative identifiers are not formally distinguished (phonologically or inflectionally) from demonstrative pronouns,<sup>20</sup> in some languages they are. When such a formal distinction exists, he calls the demonstratives in verbless sentences **identificational demonstratives**, and the demonstratives in sentences with verbs **pronominal demonstratives**. An example of a language which makes this distinction is Hebrew. Although the phonological forms of identificational demonstratives and pronominal demonstratives are the same, their agreement properties are different; a pronominal demonstrative agrees with its antecedent, while an identificational demonstrative agrees with the following predicate nominal. In [141], the feminine singular demonstrative *zot* in the second clause agrees with the antecedent *kasda* ‘helmet’ in the preceding clause, and is an example of what Diessel calls a pronominal demonstrative. In [142], the masculine singular demonstrative *zot* agrees with the predicate nominal *aba* ‘father’ which follows it, and is an example of what Diessel calls an identificational demonstrative.

[141] From Glinert (1989: 100), in Diessel (1997: 146):

Ten	li	kasda,	aHéret,	ani	sone	et	zot,.
give	me	helmet.FEM.SG	other	I	hate	ACC	DEM.FEM.SG
Give me another helmet, I hate this (one).							

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<sup>20</sup> English is such a language; demonstratives used in verbless sentences have the same phonological form and inflectional behavior as demonstratives used in sentences with verbs:

Sentences without verbs:

- [I] That is untrue.  
 [II] Yours are those.

Sentences with verbs:

- [III] That hit me hard.  
 [IV] I want those.

[142] From Glinert (1989: 100), in Diessel (1997: 146):

Ze<sub>i</sub>                    aba<sub>i</sub>                    sheli.  
DEM.MASC.SG    father.MASC.SG    mine  
This is my father.

A question here, then, is whether Passamaquoddy has identificational demonstratives, i.e. pronominal entity-referring demwords in verbless clauses that are formally distinct from pronominal entity-referring demwords in clauses with verbs.

If we first consider verbless clauses where one of the terms is an HIRI expression, then the inflectional properties of entity-referring demwords used in verbless sentences is the same as those used in sentences with verbs. For example, in [143], the demword *not* in the second line is one of the terms in a verbless construction (this verbless clause is an example of the kind described in 5.2.2), and has the same formal properties as the pronominal demword *not* which occurs as the argument of the verb *nkociciya* 'I know her/him' in the first line.

[143] From *Lewis Mitchell – Espons* (WBEP 1976 edition):

“Aha!”    mihtaqs-ol    itom-ul,                    “not=kahk    n-kociciy-a.  
EXCL        (3)-father.AN-3'    say.AI-(3)-3'            3SG.NA=EMPH    I-know.TA-DIR  
“Aha!” said his father, “That one I know.

Espons    not!”  
raccoon.AN 3SG.NA  
That's Raccoon!”

Now recall that in the construction described in 5.1.1, with one Type 7 Nominal term, there is a construction demword which fails to agree in animacy and number with the term. An example is repeated in [144]:

[144] Elicited:

Nilun nit.  
1PLEX 0SG.NA  
It's us. (*or* We're the ones.)

Also recall that in the construction described in 5.1.2, with one demword Nominal term, there is a construction demword which fails to agree in animacy and number with the term when the term is singular. An example is repeated in [145]:

[145] Elicited:

Wot nit.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA  
It's this (one) [AN]. (*or* This [AN] is the one.)

Now if the demword *nit* in [144] and [145] is considered to be an entity-referring demword, then it would be an identificational demonstrative in Diessel's terms that behaves distinctly from pronominal demonstratives in clauses with verbal predicates. However, I do not analyze the demwords in clauses like [144] and [145] as identificational demonstratives, since demwords with the inflectional properties illustrated in [144] and [145] (i.e. failing to agree for animacy and number with the argument term) do not occur more generally in constructions with HIRI terms, as can be seen from [143] above (and from the examples in 5.2.2). Of course, it is possible to analyze the demwords in sentences like [143] as pronominal demonstratives, and the construction demwords in the constructions described in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 as identificational demonstratives, but since to me this seems like altering

the definition of identificational demonstrative in a non-motivated way to fit the data. I will offer other analyses for the data.<sup>21</sup>

### 5.6.2 Dummy subject analysis

For the inflectionally invariant demwords, another analytical possibility is that they are a type of dummy subject, which by definition, would not agree with the grammatical category values of the terms in the sentence.<sup>22</sup> When *nit* is the construction demword, it is the best candidate to be such a dummy subject, since *nit* is unmarked for its grammatical categories in being non-absentative, inanimate, singular, and Near-Addressee.<sup>23</sup>

The dummy subject analysis is probably most plausible for sentences where there is one term, either a Type 7 Nominal or a demword Nominal (i.e. a Type IIa construction or a Type IIIa construction), examples of which are repeated again here. [146] and [147] show

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<sup>21</sup> Diessel (p.c.) agrees that he would not consider that Passamaquoddy has a class of identificational demonstratives, and that the Passamaquoddy demwords look like something else.

<sup>22</sup> For example, English has a dummy subject *it* (which is morphologically identical to, but nevertheless grammatically distinct from, a third person pronoun with the values singular for number and neuter for gender in the *she/hel/it; they, her/him/it; them* pronoun paradigm) which retains this form whatever the gender or number values for the terms in the sentence are:

- [I]     It's a box of candy.
- [II]    It's a girl!
- [III]   It's the mailman.
- [IV]    It's twins!
- [V]     It's Mary and Susan.

<sup>23</sup> I explained earlier in 4.2.4 why these values are unmarked in Passamaquoddy, i.e. that singular forms and non-absentative forms are more frequent than plural forms and absentative forms respectively, and that inanimate forms and Near-Addressee are used when the referent's animacy and distance respectively is unknown.

sentences with a Type 7 Nominal term, while [148] and [149] show sentences with a demword Nominal term.

[146] Elicited:

Nil nit.  
1SG 0SG.NA  
It's me. (*or* I'm the one.)

[147] Elicited:

Nilun nit.  
1PLEX 0SG.NA  
It's us. (*or* We're the ones.)

[148] Elicited:

Wot nit.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA  
It's this one. (*or* This is the one.)

[149] Elicited:

Yuktok niktok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA  
It's these ones. (*or* These are the ones.)

However, if this *nit* is a dummy subject, then it is one that only ever appears in clauses with a Type 7 Nominal or a demword term. This is unlike dummy subjects in a language such as English, where dummy subjects occur in sentences with various types of predicates (along with a copula verb *be*), as shown in [150] to [152]:

[150] It's [a girl]<sub>NP</sub>!

[151] It's [cold]<sub>AP</sub>.

[152] It's [not that I don't like her]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>, it's [that she's a New Republican]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>.

The [IIb] construction (with one focus HIRI term, one focus demword term, and one topic HIRI term) and the [IIIc] construction (with one focus demword term and one topic HIRI term), while a little different, are still no better candidates for the dummy subject analysis.

First, examples of the [Iib] construction are repeated in [153] and [154] below:

[153] Elicited:

Mali not nit taktal.  
Mary 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
Mary is the doctor.

[154] Elicited:

Mali naka Tepit nikt nit taktal-ok.  
Mary and David 3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
Mary and David are the doctors.

If we assume that the first term (*Mali* in [153], *Mali naka Tepit* 'Mary and David' in [154]) is outside of the main clause, this leaves the main clauses as shown in [155] and [156]:

[155] not nit taktal  
3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
she is the doctor

[156] nikt nit taktal-ok  
3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
they are the doctors

If *nit* in these clauses is a dummy subject, presumably it would form a clause with one of the HIRI terms, and the other HIRI term stands outside of that clause, in order to get a structure which might somewhat match the interpretation of the clause:

[157] [not nit]<sub>CLAUSE</sub> taktal  
3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
[s/he it<sub>DUMMY SUBJECT</sub>]<sub>CLAUSE</sub> [doctor]  
It [is] s/he, doctor. *i.e.* Doctor – it [is] s/he.

*or*

[158] not    [nit                            taktal]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
           3SG.NA 0SG.NA                    doctor.AN  
           s/he    [it<sub>DUMMY SUBJECT</sub>    doctor ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
           S/he, it [is] doctor. *i.e.* It [is] doctor – s/he.

Once again, however, if *nit* is a dummy subject, then it is one that only ever appears in clauses with non-verbal predicates.

In addition, positing the *nit* in the [IIb] construction as a dummy subject requires assuming that one of the terms in [155] and [156] is outside of the main clause. Going back to the original sentences in [153] and [154], this would then mean that those sentences are analyzed as being doubly embedded, as shown in [159] and [160] for [153] and [154] respectively. However, this sort of analysis sets up constituents to which it is difficult to ascribe interpretations that match what we know the sentences to mean.

[159] Mali    [ [ not    nit ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>            taktal]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
           Mary        3SG.NA 0SG.NA                    doctor.AN  
           Mary        s/he    it<sub>DUMMY SUBJECT</sub>    doctor  
           Mary, it [is] s/he, doctor.

*or*

[160] Mali    [    not    [nit                            taktal]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>    ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
           Mary        3SG.NA 0SG.NA                    doctor.AN  
           Mary        s/he    it<sub>DUMMY SUBJECT</sub>    doctor  
           Mary, s/he, it [is] doctor.

The [IIIc] construction also requires an embedded structure; in fact, since there are two construction demwords, we would be positing two dummy subjects, giving the structure in [161]:

[161] [ Wot nit ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>                      nit                      emqan-s-is.  
          3SG.NA 0SG.NA                                      0SG.NA                      spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
          this    it<sub>DUMMY SUBJECT</sub>                      it<sub>DUMMY SUBJECT</sub> spoon  
          It [is] this one, it [is] spoon.

Again, the dummy subject analysis for this construction is problematic for the same reason as it is for the other constructions reviewed here, because the construction demwords would be dummy subjects that only occur in clauses with non-verbal predicates.

### 5.6.3 The construction demwords as copulas

As we have seen, some of the construction demwords agree in animacy and number with the terms in the sentence, whether singular or plural, while others do not. The construction demwords that retain agreement properties for animacy and number (though not, it looks like, for obviation – see footnote 2 in this chapter) with the terms in the clause look the most like the entity-referring demwords discussed in Chapter 3, although the construction demwords that do not agree consistently for animacy and number with the terms in the clause still have the phonological forms of entity-referring demwords. Thus, one analysis of the construction demwords is that they belong to the same word class as entity-referring demwords. If so, it is nevertheless likely that, with one possible exception, these construction demwords are not functioning in the same ways that entity-referring demwords as described in Chapter 3 do, something that I will show in 5.6.3.1. Rather, I will suggest in 5.6.3.2 that these construction demwords have the functions of **copulas**. In 5.6.3.3, I also consider an alternative analysis where these construction demwords not only function

differently from the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3 but belong to a different word class from them.

### 5.6.3.1 Comparing the function of the construction demwords with entity-referring demwords used adnominally and pronominally

In this section, I consider a number of analyses where the construction demwords have the functions of the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3. I begin in 5.6.3.1.1 with the construction described in 5.4. In 5.6.3.1.2, I consider such analyses for other constructions with two terms. Finally, in 5.6.3.1.3, I consider such analyses for constructions with one term.

#### *5.6.3.1.1 The first construction demword in the construction with two HIRI terms and two construction demwords*

Recall that for affirmative sentences of the construction described in 5.4, there are two construction demwords occurring between two HIRI terms, where the first construction demword agrees in animacy and number with the terms, while the second construction demword is invariantly the inanimate singular form *nit* regardless of the animacy or number of the terms are singular or plural. Examples are repeated in [162] and [163], with the first construction demword underlined.

[162] Elicited:

Tepit not nit taktal.  
David 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is the doctor.  
(or The doctor is David.)

[163] Elicited:

Mali naka Tepit nikt nit taktal-ok.  
Mary and David 3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
Mary and David are the doctors.  
(or The doctors are Mary and David.)

If the first construction demword is an entity-referring demword, one possibility is that it is a pronominal demword which forms a clause with the following construction demword and HIRI term, while the first HIRI term is outside of that clause. This is illustrated in [164] and [165], which would then be more literally translated as ‘Mary, she’s the doctor’ and ‘Mary and David, they’re the doctors’.

[164] [Mali] [not nit taktal]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>.  
Mary 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
Mary is the doctor.  
(or The doctor is Mary.)

[165] [Mali naka Tepit] [nikt nit taktal-ok]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>.  
Mary and David 3PL.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
Mary and David are the doctors.  
(or The doctors are Mary and David.)

The marked clause in [164] and [165] bear some resemblances the IIIb construction, discussed in 5.2.3, which has a pronominal entity-referring demword as a focus term, a construction demword, and an HIRI topic term. However, there are also some differences.

First, recall that in the construction described in 5.2.3, the construction demword does not agree in animacy with the terms in the singular, but does agree with the terms for animacy in the plural. Examples of those clauses are repeated in [166] to [169]. In [166] and [167], which have singular terms, the construction demword is invariably the inanimate

singular form *nit*, which thus fails to agree for animacy with the terms. In [168] and [169], which have plural terms, the construction demword does agree in number and animacy and with the terms, and is the animate plural form *nikt* in [168] and the inanimate plural form *nihtol* in [169].

[166] Elicited:

Yut nit mitsut.  
0SG.NS 0SG.NA fork.INAN

**This** is the [only] fork/**This** is a fork [not one of the spoons].

or **This** is the fork [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[167] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** is the [only] spoon/**This** is a spoon [not one of the forks].

or **This** is the spoon [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[168] Elicited:

Yuktok nikt emqan-s-is-ok.  
3PL.NS 3PL.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM-PL

**These** are the spoons/**These** are spoons [not the forks].

or **These** are the spoons [amongst many, that I was talking about].

[169] Elicited:

Yuhtol nihtol mitsuti-yil.  
0PL.NS 0PL.NA fork.INAN-PL

**These** are the forks/**These** are forks [not the spoons].

or **These** are the forks [amongst many, that I was talking about].

In contrast, the construction demword in the clauses posited in [164] and [165] is invariably the inanimate singular form *nit*, whether the terms are singular or plural.

Second, in the construction described in 5.2.3 (and illustrated by [166] to [169] here). the demword term is the focus and the HIRI term is the topic. However, for the construction exemplified by [162] and [163] above, the information status of the terms does not seem to be fixed in this way.

One possible source of evidence for clause structure in Passamaquoddy is the position of second-position clitics, such as the evidential =*yaq*, which, if translated, is often rendered as ‘they say’. Such clitics usually occur after the first phonological word of the domain – whether that word is part of the main clause or a sentential adjunct – but may also occur after a larger unit (LeSourd 2002). For example, in the first clause of the first sentence in [170], =*yaq* occurs after the preverb-verb complex *etuci wolkilulit* ‘good-sized’, but in the second sentence, it occurs after the preverb *etuci* and before the verb stem *palitahasi* ‘pleased’. In addition, in the second clause of the first sentence, =*yaq* occurs after the first word, the temporal connective particle *on* ‘then’.

[170] From *Kukec* (WBEP 1974):

Etuci=wol-kilu-li-t=*yaq*            otuhk-ol    nem-iy-a-hti-t,  
 very=good-sized.AI-3'-CONJ.3=EVID    deer.AN-3'    see-TA-DIR-3PL-CONJ.3  
       on=*yaq*    nehpah-a-ni-ya.  
       then=EVID    (3)-kill.TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL

When they saw a very good-sized deer, they killed it.

Etuci=*yaq* pal-itah-asi-hti-t.  
 very=EVID    pleased-think-AI-3PL-3  
 They were very pleased.

Looking at the occurrence of =*yaq* in sentences like [162] and [163], we find that its preferred position is after the first construction demword, as shown in [171] and [172].

[171] Elicited:

Mali not=yaq nit taktal.  
Mary 3SG.NA=EVID 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
Mary is the doctor (apparently).

[172] Elicited:

Mali naka Tepit nikt=yaq nit taktal-ok.  
Mary and David 3PL.NA=EVID 0SG.NA doctor.AN-PL  
Mary and David are the doctors (apparently).

If =*yaq* is occurring in the second position of a clause, this suggests that *not* in [162] and *nikt* in [163] may be the first words in a clause. There are, however, other theoretical possibilities. For example, if the first HIRI term and the first construction demword in sentences like [162] and [163] form some sort of larger unit (e.g. *Mali not* or *Mali naka Tepit nikt*), then the position of =*yaq* may mark that unit rather than being due to the presence of a clause as posited in [164] and [165]. Still, there are examples from texts where the punctuation is suggestive of the first HIRI term being in some way outside of the rest of the sentence, perhaps as an adjunct. For example, in [173] and [174], taken from Lewis Mitchell's *The Wampum Records*, the HIRI terms *nihtol nikihkuwal* 'their parent' (where the topic clitic =*lu* occurs on the adnominal demword *nihtol*) and *lahkalusonihikon naka ipis* 'the fence and the whip' respectively are set off from the rest of the sentence with a comma, suggesting that the first demword in the main clause does not form a unit with the first HIRI term.

[173] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Nihtol=lu      nikhku-wa-l,      not    nit      kci      sakom Kanawak.  
3'SG.NA=TOP    (3)-parent.AN-POSS.3-3'    3SG.NA    0SG.NA    great      chief.AN Kahnawake.LOC  
As for their parent, he was the great chief at Kahnawake.

[174] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition):

Nit=na      lahkalusonih-ikon      naka      ipis,  
0SG.NA=also    have.a.ring.around.AI-NMLZ.INAN    and      whip.INAN  
    nihtol nit      Wapapi      Tpasku-w-akon-ol.  
    0PL.NA    0SG.NA    Wampum      measure.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN-PL  
And the fence and the whip, those were the Wampum Laws.

If indeed the first construction demword is part of a clause as posited in [164] and [165], it is still unlike entity-referring demwords more generally as discussed in Chapter 3. First, the first construction demword in sentences like [162] and [163] must always be a Near-Addressee form, while entity-referring demwords in general can occur with the full range of entity-referring demword forms as given in 2.3.3.1. One explanation for this could be that there is some degree of grammaticalization of the demword in this construction, such that in this linguistic environment, the entity-referring demword used is obligatorily one that is unmarked in certain respects. For Passamaquoddy, near-Addressee forms are unmarked in that these are the forms which tend to be used when the distance is unknown or not relevant. For example, in a ‘What’s that?’ question, the Near-Addressee form *nit* (which is also unmarked in being non-absentative, singular, and inanimate) is usually used, as shown in [175], although the Near-Speaker form *yut* can also occur, as shown in [176]:

[175] Elicited:

Keq nit?  
what.INAN 0SG.NA  
What is it?/What's that?

[176] Elicited:

Keq yut?  
what.INAN 0SG.NS  
What is it?/What's this?

Another way in which the construction demword is different from entity-referring demwords in general is that it is distributionally restricted in ways that entity-referring demwords are not; the construction demword must occur between the two HIRI terms (and before the second construction demword). Still, it is possible to account for this fact within a theory that the construction demword is an entity-referring demword by positing that the construction dictates the position of the entity-referring demword.

Thus, from the data presented here, the status of the first construction demword cannot be definitely determined to be a type of entity-referring demword, but nor can it be definitely determined to not be a type of entity-referring demword. How it is classified depends on what assumptions we make about the degree of grammatical variation possible within a word class. In general, the greater the amount of inflectional and distributional disparity of some item (or group of items) from a class as a whole, the stronger the case that that item does not belong to the class. The first construction demword in sentences like [162] and [163] show some notable grammatical differences from entity-referring demwords as described in Chapter 3, which provides some evidence that may be used to argue that it belongs to a different word class from them. However, as we have seen, we can also come up with theoretically possible accounts that the construction demword is a type of entity-referring demword.

### 5.6.3.1.2 Construction demwords in constructions with two terms

There are a number of other constructions containing construction demwords that have two terms. In this section, I argue that these construction demwords are unlikely to be functioning in the same way as the adnominal or pronominal demwords described in Chapter 3.

First, recall that the construction described in 5.3 has two HIRI terms and a construction demword which agrees in animacy and number with the argument term. Examples are repeated in [177a] to [178b]. In [177a] and [177b], the construction demword is the inanimate singular form *nit*, which agrees with the inanimate singular argument term *tomhikon* ‘axe’; also, as is usual, the predicate term has the same animacy and number as the argument term. [178a] and [178b] show that when the animacy of the argument and predicate terms differ, the construction demword, animate singular *not*, agrees with the argument, which in this case is the animate singular *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’.

[177a] Elicited:

Tomhikon nit wehke-w-akon.  
axe.INAN OSG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
An axe is a tool.

or

[177b] Elicited:

Wehke-w-akon nit tomhikon.  
use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN OSG.NA axe.INAN  
An axe is a tool.

[178a] Elicited:

Maltuhs-is     not     wehke-w-akon.  
hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
A hammer is a tool.

or

[178b] Elicited:

Wehke-w-akon     not     maltuhs-is.  
use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN 3SG.NA hammer.AN-DIM  
A hammer is a tool.

To consider the grammatical status of the construction demword, let us take sentences [178a] and [178b]. If *not* is a pronominal entity-referring demword forming a clause with one of the terms, there are four obvious analytical possibilities. Two of the analyses yield structures which match the interpretations of the clauses, but not the inflectional properties of agreement, while the other two analyses account for the agreement properties but do not result in structures with the right interpretations.

For structures which match how the clause is interpreted, one possibility is that in [178a], it is an argument associated syntactically with the predicate *wehkewakon* 'tool' to form a clause, with *maltuhsis* 'hammer' being a term outside of the main clause, as given in [179]:

[179] [Maltuhs-is] [not wehke-w-akon]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>.  
hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
A hammer is a tool. (more literally, 'Hammer, that's tool.' or 'Hammer, it's tool.')

As for [178b], if *not* is grouped into a clause with the predicate *wehkewakon* ‘tool’ which precedes it, then *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ is a term outside of the main clause. This analysis is illustrated in [180]:<sup>24</sup>

[180] [Wehke-w-akon      not      ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>      [maltuhs-is].  
          use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN      3SG.NA                      hammer.AN-DIM  
          A hammer is a tool. (more literally, ‘That’s tool, hammer.’ or ‘It’s tool, hammer.’)

However, we see that the construction demword agrees with the argument, not the predicate. On the basis of inflectional behavior, then, the construction demword (assuming that it is a pronominal entity-referring demword) should be grouped with the argument, which is *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ in both [178a] and [178b]. Since both word orders – [ARGUMENT HIRI TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[PREDICATE HIRI TERM] and [PREDICATE HIRI TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[ARGUMENT HIRI TERM] – occur, we would need to posit two structures, given in [181] and [182]:

[181] [Maltuhs-is      not]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>      [wehke-w-akon].  
          hammer.AN-DIM      3SG.NA                      use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
          A hammer is a tool. (more literally, ‘That’s hammer, tool.’ or ‘It’s hammer, tool.’)

[182] [Wehke-w-akon]      [not      maltuhs-is]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>.  
          use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN      3SG.NA                      hammer.AN-DIM  
          A hammer is a tool. (more literally, ‘Tool, that’s hammer.’ or ‘Tool, it’s hammer.’)

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<sup>24</sup> As noted in 5.1.1, although the usual order for predicate nominal constructions with a demword argument is [PREDICATE]-[ARGUMENT], as is the case for the suggested clause in [180], the reverse order of [ARGUMENT]-[PREDICATE] is also possible (which is what the suggested clause in [179] has), though this is less common in texts.

However, the structures in [181] and [182] impose an interpretation of *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ as a predicate, something which is inconsistent with the actual interpretation of the sentences, where *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ is the argument and *wehkewakon* ‘tool’ the predicate. That is, in both [181] and [182], the clause consists of *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ as the HIRI predicate and the demword *not* as its argument, with *wehkewakon* ‘tool’ outside of that clause, so that the interpretation according to these structures would be something like ‘It’s hammer, tool.’ or ‘Tool, it’s hammer.’

Next, if we consider the possibility that the construction demwords in sentences like [178a] and [178b] are functioning as entity-referring demwords used adnominally, the question arises as to which term to group the construction demword with. Two word orders are possible for this type of construction – either the argument term occurs clause-initially and the predicate term occurs clause-finally, or vice versa. Recall that all instances of adnominal demwords we have encountered precede the Nominal with which the demword is coreferential (see 3.2). On this basis, this would mean that the construction demword *not* should be analyzed as associated with *wehkewakon* ‘tool’ for [178a], with *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ being another term, as shown in [183]; and for [178b], *not* should be analyzed as associated with *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’, with *wehkewakon* ‘tool’ being another term, as shown in [184].

[183] [Maltuhs-is]<sub>TERM</sub> [not; wehke-w-akon]<sub>TERM</sub>  
 hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
 A hammer is a tool.  
 (more literally, ‘Hammer [is] that/the tool.’ or ‘That/the tool [is] hammer.’)

- [184] [Wehke-w-akon]<sub>TERM</sub> [not<sub>i</sub> maltuhs-is<sub>i</sub>]<sub>TERM</sub>  
 use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN 3SG.NA hammer.AN-DIM  
 A hammer is a tool.  
 (more literally, ‘Tool [is] that/the hammer.’ or ‘That/the hammer [is] tool.’)

While the use of an adnominal demonstrative with terms that are generic (like ‘hammer’ in sentences like [178a] and [178b]) is often awkward in a language like English, generic noun phrases do sometimes have a definite article, e.g. ‘The modern home often has various energy-saving design features.’ Furthermore, crosslinguistically, it is not uncommon for generic terms to be treated similarly to referentially definite terms, the explanation being that both types of terms share the function of naming; referentially definite terms name a specific entity, while generic terms name a kind (e.g. see Givón 1984: 405-406).

However, currently for Passamaquoddy, the use of an adnominal demword with generic terms is generally unacceptable, as shown in [185] and [186] for the construction being discussed here. For clauses with verbs, the use of an adnominal demword can only have a referential meaning, as shown in [187] and [188]:

[185] Elicited:

- \* Nomehs not [not polam]<sub>TERM</sub>  
 fish.AN 3SG.NA 3SG.NA salmon.AN  
 (The salmon is a fish.)

*or*

[186] Elicited:

- \* [Not polam]<sub>TERM</sub> not nomehs.  
 3SG.NA salmon.AN 3SG.NA fish.AN  
 (The salmon is a fish.)

[187] Elicited:

Kin-kil [not polam]<sub>TERM</sub>  
big-size.AI-(3) 3SG.NA salmon.AN  
That salmon is big.  
(\* The salmon [generic] is big.)

or

[188] Elicited:

[Not polam]<sub>TERM</sub> kin-kil.  
3SG.NA salmon.AN big-size.AI-(3)  
That salmon is big.  
(\* The salmon [generic] is big.)

This data does not constitute a holeproof argument against the adnominal demword analysis in itself, but it certainly suggests that such an analysis is unmotivated.

More problematic is the fact that the demword in question agrees inflectionally with the argument term. If we decide on this basis that the demword should be grouped with *maltuhsis* ‘hammer’ for both [178a] and [178b], we would have to assume that in for [178a], our posited adnominal demword *not* follows rather than precedes the Nominal it modifies, as given in [189]:

[189] [Maltuhs-is<sub>i</sub> not<sub>i</sub>]<sub>TERM</sub> [wehke-w-akon].  
hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
A hammer is a tool.

However, this is something which never occurs for adnominal demwords in any other types of sentences we encounter, and thus makes the analysis questionable.

Finally, it should be mentioned that for some examples of the construction, the speaker also accepted a sentence where a demword occurred clause-finally, as in [190],<sup>25</sup> although he rejected variants where the construction demword occurs clause-initially, as in [191] and [192].

[190] Elicited:

Mali	naka	Tepit	taktal-ok	nikt.
Mary	and	David	doctor.AN-PL	3PL.NA
Mary and David are doctors.				

[191]\* Nikt Mali naka Tepit taktalok.

[192]\* Nikt taktalok Mali naka Tepit.

The acceptability of [190] is consistent with *nikt* being a pronominal entity-referring demword which serves as the argument of *taktalok* ‘doctors’, with *Mali naka Tepit* ‘Mary and David’ being in some sort of extra-clausal (dislocated) position. However, this sentence was not given by the language consultant before he was explicitly asked if it was an acceptable alternative. Thus, it may be the case that in [190], *nikt* is in fact a entity-referring demword used pronominally which forms a clause with *taktalok* ‘doctors’ (and that *Mali naka Tepit* ‘Mary and David’ is a left-dislocated term), but this does not mean that the demwords in the other sentences in this section are therefore also the same type of entity-

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<sup>25</sup> For sentences with two non-referential terms, however, a clause with the construction demword occurring clause-finally is not grammatical: \* *Maltuhsis wehkewakon not* and \* *Wehkewakon maltuhsis not* for ‘A hammer is a tool.’

referring demwords. Given that the sentences initially given are only those where the demword occurs between the argument and predicate expressions, I will continue to argue that such demwords in general do not have the set of grammatical behavior associated with the entity-referring demwords discussed in Chapter 3.

As for other constructions with two terms and a construction demword between them, recall that the construction demword does not agree consistently for animacy and number with the terms, as summarized in 5.5. These construction demwords are: the construction demword in the [IV] construction, with one Type 7 Nominal term, one HIRI term, and a construction demword which is animacy-variant in the singular, as illustrated in [193] where the construction demword may be either an inanimate form *nit* or an animate form *not*; the construction demword in the [IIIb] construction, with one focus demword term, one topic HIRI term, and a construction demword which is animacy-invariant in the singular, as illustrated in [194] where the construction demword is the inanimate form *nit* although the terms are animate; the construction demwords in the [IIIc] construction, with one focus demword term, one topic HIRI term, and two construction demwords which are animacy-invariant in the singular, as illustrated in [195], where both construction demwords are the inanimate form *nit* although the terms are animate; and the second construction demword in the Ib construction, with one topic HIRI term, one construction demword which agrees in animacy and number with the terms, one construction demword which is animacy-invariant and number-invariant, as illustrated in [196], where the construction demword is the inanimate form *nit* although the terms are animate.

[193] Elicited:

Nil nit/not taktal.  
1SG 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN  
**I'm the doctor.**

[194] Elicited:

Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
**This is the spoon.**

[195] Elicited:

Wot nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **this one**.

[196] Elicited:

Tepit not nit taktal.  
David 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
David is the doctor.

As we saw in Chapter 3, entity-referring demwords inflect fully for all the Nominal grammatical categories. In contrast, these construction demwords do not always agree inflectionally with the terms in the clause; moreover, such demwords occur only in clauses with non-verbal predicates. There is no obvious explanation as to why they would be grammatically a type of entity-referring demword that nevertheless happens to have different inflectional properties than entity-referring demwords in general simply by virtue of being

in a clause with a non-verbal predicate,<sup>26</sup> and thus, analyzing them as instances of entity-referring demwords as described in Chapter 3 is theoretically unappealing.

With respect to the distributional characteristics of the construction demwords in two-term constructions, the main problem with analyses in which the construction demwords are entity-referring demwords used pronominally or adnominally as described in Chapter 3 is that the construction demwords essentially occur between the two terms, rather than in a position relative to one or the other, which is how we would describe the syntactic position of entity-referring demwords used adnominally (which occur before the HIRI item) or pronominally (in verbless clauses with a demword argument and a non-referential HIRI term, the pronominal entity-referring demwords usually occurs after the HIRI expression).<sup>27</sup>

#### *5.6.3.1.3 Construction demwords in constructions with one term*

Recall that there are two one-term constructions: one labeled [IIa], with one Type 7 Nominal term and a construction demword which is number-invariant and animacy-

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<sup>26</sup> Recall that Diessel (1999) has proposed that if in some language, entity-referring demonstrative forms occurring in non-verbal clauses have a set of formal properties (phonological form and/or inflectional behavior and/or syntactic distribution) distinct from entity-referring demonstrative forms occurring in clauses with verbs, then the two should be considered grammatically distinct classes. He calls the grammatically distinct demonstratives in non-verbal clauses "identificational demonstratives". However, as I discussed in 5.6.1, the properties of the Passamaquoddy demwords do not fit the definition of identificational demonstratives.

<sup>27</sup> It is possible to define the distribution of the construction demwords differently than that of entity-referring demwords as described in Chapter 3 by, for example, proposing that the construction demwords are second-position clitics. Such a proposal is akin to analyzing English complementizer *that* as a member of the same class as entity-referring demonstratives which happens to be restricted to clause-initial positions. However, to me this type of distributional difference would be grammatically significant enough to warrant classifying the item as distinct.

invariant, and another labeled [IIIa], with one demword term and a construction demword which is animacy-invariant in the singular. Examples are repeated in [197] and [198] below.

[197] Elicited:

Nil nit.  
1SG 0SG.NA  
It's **me**. (or I'm the one.)

[198] Elicited:

Wot nit.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA  
It's **this (one)** [AN].  
(or **This** [AN] is the one.)

I suggested earlier in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 that there is an implicit topic in both these constructions, but one might ask if the construction demword is in fact the topic. and therefore, is some sort of discourse deictic demword.

For the [IIa] construction, this analysis looks possible, given that the construction demword is always *nit* regardless of the animacy and number of the term. In [199] below, which is a conversation between a human, Tom (subscripted as *i*), and an animal (subscripted as *j*), *nita* appears in the last line with *nil* 'I', and is underlined.

[199] From *Charles LaPorte – Tom in the Woods* (Teeter text 21, LeSourd: 2002 draft)

On     yuhtol `t-akonutom-uw-a-n     yuhtol etol-ahsihpil-a-c-il  
then    3'SG.NS 3-tell.a.story-TA-DIR-SUBD   3'SG.NS ONGO-treat.TA-DIR-CONJ.3-PTCP.3'  
So then he, explained to him, this creature, that he, had been doctoring,

“Wen etoli=kakaluwe-t yut.  
one.AN ONGO=call.AI-CONJ.3 0SG.NS

“Someone is hollering around here.

Etut-taq-si-t                      nokka-hpaw-ol-a                      weyossis.”  
to.that.extent-noisy-AI-CONJ.3 (3)-completely-frighten-TA-DIR-(3'PL) animal.AN-(3'PL)  
He makes so much noise that he scares away all the animals.”

'T-iy-a-l=yaq,            “U,    Tuma, nil nita.            Nil    nit.”  
3-tell.TA-DIR-3'=EVID oh            Thomas 1SG 0SG.NA.EMPH    1SG    0SG.NA  
He<sub>3</sub> told him<sub>3</sub>, “Oh, Tom, that's me. It's me.”

Note that *nita* is morphologically inanimate, and therefore does not behave as a general pronominal demword of the sort discussed in 3.3.1, since it does not agree in animacy with the Type 7 Nominal *nil* ‘I’ in the same clause. The English translation gives *nita* as ‘that’, and so apparently is treating it as a discourse deictic referring back to something like ‘that which has been the source of your trouble as you detailed just now’.

However, I prefer not to analyze the construction demword in the [IIa] construction as a discourse deictic, because I am looking at the data across constructions. For the [IIa] construction, the construction demword is always *nit*. However, for the [IIIa] construction, the construction demword agrees in animacy and number with the demword term when the term is plural; therefore, for this construction, it is awkward to argue that the construction demword is a discourse deictic *nit*, since discourse deictic demwords in general never take any plural forms (see 3.3.3). Furthermore, when we look at the parallel two-term constructions, a discourse deictic analysis for the construction demwords is even less

attractive; [201] and [203] are examples of two-term constructions where the construction demword does not look like a discourse deictic at all.

<i>One-term construction</i>	<i>Two-term construction</i>
[200] Elicited:	[201] Elicited:
Nil nit. 1SG 0SG.NA It's <b>me</b> . ( <i>or I'm the one.</i> )	Nil nit/not taktal. 1SG 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN <b>I'm the doctor.</b> <i>or I'm a doctor.</i>
[202] Elicited:	[203] Elicited:
Wot nit. 3SG.NS 0SG.NA It's <b>this (one)</b> . ( <i>or This is the one.</i> )	Wot nit emqan-s-is. 3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM <b>This is the spoon.</b> <i>or This is a spoon.</i>

#### 5.6.3.1.4 Summary

In 5.6.3.1, I looked at the first construction demword in the construction with two HIRI terms and two construction demwords between them, and concluded that its grammatical characteristics are not completely the same as or different from the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3. In 5.6.3.2 and 5.6.3.3, I examined the other construction demwords discussed earlier in this chapter, and showed that they have inflectional and distributional properties different from the entity-referring demwords of Chapter 3. Thus, in the next section, I will argue that the construction demwords be analyzed as having the function of copulas, and consider to what extent this can account for their grammatical differences from the behavior of entity-referring demwords as discussed in Chapter 3.

### 5.6.3.2 The construction demwords as entity-referring demwords functioning as copulas

From 5.6.1, 5.6.2, and 5.6.3.1, it does not look like the Passamaquoddy construction demwords are identificational demonstratives, dummy subjects, or entity-referring demwords functioning pronominally or adnominally as described in Chapter 3. On the other hand, given that these demwords occur sentences with non-verbal predicates, one obvious possibility is that they are examples of morphemes which function as **copulas**. Following authors such as Hengeveld (1992), I define a copula as a morpheme which allows a predication to occur without a verb.<sup>28</sup>

In languages where there are constructions in which a copula is obligatory, such as (Standard) English, we can say that a predication is otherwise not possible. For example, [204], [206], and [208] are not grammatical clauses without the copula *is*, while copulas allow a NP to form a predication in [205], an AP to form a predication in [207], and a PP to form a predication in [209].

[204]\* My mother a professor.

[205] My mother is a professor.

---

<sup>28</sup> Although in languages like English, the copula *be* is a type of verb, not all copulas are verbs (e.g. see Hengeveld 1992: 188-191, Devitt 1994: 60-70, Stassen 1997: 76-91), and in Passamaquoddy, clearly the demwords in question have none of the properties of verbs in the language. As Devitt (1994: 151) notes, copulas arise from two main sources: (1) verbs of posture and location and (2) deictic elements such as pronouns and demonstratives; copulas derived from (2) typically do not express the grammatical categories generally associated with verbal inflections, while copulas that developed from (1) frequently do.

[206]\* My mother very smart.

[207] My mother is very smart.

[208]\* My mother in the lecture hall.

[209] My mother is in the lecture hall.

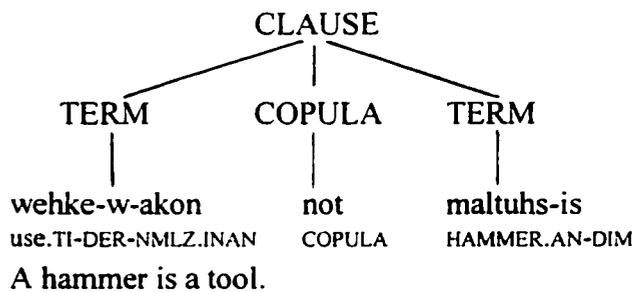
Analyzing the construction demwords as having the function of copulas resolves a couple of important problems associated with trying to analyze the demwords here as dummy subjects or entity-referring demwords functioning adnominally or pronominally. First, these demwords occur only in verbless sentences, which is perfectly natural if they are copulas, but awkward to explain if they are dummy subjects. Second, the construction demwords show grammatical differences from the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3, which are easier to explain if the construction demwords occur in a different syntactic context than those demwords. Whether these grammatical differences are sufficient to place the construction demwords into their own word class will be discussed in 5.6.3.3.

I will postpone discussion about how entity-referring demwords might have developed into copulas until 5.7, but simply note here that the grammaticalization of items which were once demonstratives into copulas has been documented in a number of languages, including Hebrew (e.g. see Berman and Grosu 1976), Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1977), and Panare (Gildea 1993). In Passamaquoddy, the demword is not obligatory in all clauses with non-verbal predicates, but this is unsurprising if the item is in

an intermediate position on the grammaticalization pathway, since grammatical obligatoriness tends to increase as a process of grammaticalization progresses (e.g. see Heine and Reh 1984: 67).<sup>29</sup>

With respect to syntactic structure, I propose that the copula is a constituent on the same level as the two terms in the clause: [[TERM]-[COPULA]-[TERM] ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>. An example, *Wehkewakon not maltuhsis* 'A hammer is a tool', is represented diagrammatically in Figure 10.

**Figure 10: Structure of a two-term clause with a copula demword**



Given that the sentences involve terms which are not predicated of verbs, we can analyze the *nit* as allowing those terms to participate in a predication, and hence form a complete clause. For the constructions [IIa-b], [IIIa-b], and [IV], this gives us the structures in [210] to [214]:

---

<sup>29</sup> However, it should be noted that in some other languages where there are fully grammaticalized copulas (e.g. Mandarin Chinese), the use of the copula may not necessarily be required in all contexts either.

[210] Copula analysis for [IIa]

Nil nit<sub>COPULA</sub>

1SG 0SG.NA

It's **me**./I'm the one.

[211] Copula analysis for [IV]

Nil not/nit<sub>COPULA</sub> taktal.

1SG 3SG.NA/0SG.NA doctor.AN

I'm the doctor./I'm a doctor.

[212] Copula analysis for [IIIa]

Wot nit<sub>COPULA</sub>

3SG.NA 0SG.NA

It's **this (one)**. (or **This** is the one.)

[213] Copula analysis for [IIIb]

Wot nit<sub>COPULA</sub> emqan-s-is.

3SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

**This** is the spoon./**This** is a spoon.

[214] Copula analysis for [IIb]

Mali [not nit<sub>COPULA</sub> taktal]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>

Mary 3SG.NA 0SG.NA doctor.AN

Mary is the doctor.

As I mentioned in 5.6.3.1 in the discussion about the construction with two HIRI terms and two construction demwords, it can be useful to examine data involving second position clitics such as the evidential morpheme =*yaq* when considering syntactic structure. Recall that such items usually occur after the first phonological word in a sentence, whether that word is part of the main clause or a sentential adjunct, although second-position clitics do on occasion occur after a larger unit. As can be seen in [215] to [222] below, =*yaq* occurs after the first term rather than after the construction demword in all of the constructions, which is consistent with the clause structures proposed in [210] to [214] above. The =*yaq* data at least suggest that in two-term constructions, the construction demword do not form a clause with the second term, since if that were the case, =*yaq* should be able to occur after the construction demword.

[215] Elicited:  
Kil=yaq nit.  
2SG=EVID 0SG.NA  
It's you, apparently.

[216] Elicited:  
Kil=yaq nit/not taktal.  
2SG=EVID 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN  
You're the doctor, apparently.

[217] Elicited:  
\* Kil nit=yaq.  
2SG 0SG.NA=EVID

[218] Elicited:  
\* Kil nit=yaq/not=yaq taktal.  
2SG 0SG.NA=EVID/3SG.NA=EVID doctor.AN

[219] Elicited:  
Wot=yaq nit.  
3SG.NS=EVID 0SG.NA  
It's this (one), apparently.

[220] Elicited:  
Wot=yaq nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS=EVID 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
This is the spoon, apparently.

[221] Elicited:  
\* Wot nit=yaq.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA=EVID

[222] Elicited:  
\* Wot nit=yaq emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA=EVID spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

For the [IIb] construction, we saw the relevant =*yaq* data in 5.6.3.1. Recall that =*yaq* occurs after the first construction demword, which is consistent with it forming a clause with the second construction demword and the second HIRI term, as in [223]:

[223] Elicited:  
Mali not=yaq nit taktal.  
Mary 3SG.NA=EVID 0SG.NA doctor.AN  
Mary is the tribal council member, apparently.

For [IIIc], recall that there are two construction demwords in singular, affirmative sentences. The presence of two construction demwords means that it is unclear if a flat structure with the terms and the construction demwords on the same syntactic level, which

I have proposed for the one-term constructions and the other two-term constructions, best accounts for the data, if both of the construction demwords are functioning as copulas.<sup>30</sup> One possibility is that the first construction demword is a copula forming a clause with the preceding demword Nominal term, and then that clause and the HIRI term form another predication with the second construction demword as a copula, giving what is translated as a pseudo-cleft sentence in English:

[224] [ [ Wot    nit<sub>COPULA</sub> ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>    nit<sub>COPULA</sub>    emqan-s-is ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
           3SG.NA 0SG.NA                           0SG.NA           spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
           ‘Is this one, is [the] spoon.’  
*i.e.*     ‘What this is, is the spoon.’

However, it does not seem that in general a clause can occupy the posited clause slot in [224], as shown in [225].

[225]\* [Nil    kospahl-uk]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>    nit<sub>COPULA</sub>    emqan-s-is ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
           1SG    wash.TA-CONJ.1SG    0SG.NA           spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
           (‘What I washed, is the spoon.’)

Furthermore, this construction does not seem to take second-position clitics as easily as the other constructions, perhaps due to its non-straightforward syntactic (and information) structure. For example, sentences where =*yaq* occurs after the first term, as in [226], and sentences where =*yaq* occurs after the first construction demword, as in [227], were both at some point accepted as well as rejected.

---

<sup>30</sup> The phenomenon of multiple occurrences of demwords in clauses with non-verbal predicates has also been reported for Fox, another Algonquian language, by Goddard (1989), but he does not suggest a syntactic analysis for such sentences.

[226] Elicited:

(??)Wot=yaq nit nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS=EVID 0SG.NA 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **this one**, apparently.

[227] Elicited:

(??)Wot nit=yaq nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA=EVID 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
The spoon is **this one**, apparently.

Thus, the structure as well as the semantics of this construction remains to be adequately explained.

Finally, it is also interesting to contrast constructions that don't have a construction demword with comparable constructions that do. Compare [228] with [229], and [230] with [231]:

[228] Elicited:

FOCUS TOPIC  
Taktal nil.  
doctor.AN 1SG  
I'm a **doctor**.

[229] Elicited:

FOCUS TOPIC  
Nil nit/not taktal.  
1SG 0SG.NA/3SG.NA doctor.AN  
I'm the doctor./I'm a **doctor**.

[230] Elicited:

FOCUS TOPIC  
Emqan-s-is wot.  
spoon.AN-DIM-DIM 3SG.NS  
This is a **spoon**.

[231] Elicited:

FOCUS TOPIC  
Wot nit emqan-s-is.  
3SG.NS 0SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM  
**This** is the spoon./**This** is a spoon.

As I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, we can see the [228] and [230] types of sentences as having the more frequent informational status situation. An HIRI term will

inherently bear more semantic content than a more “pronominal” Nominal, such as a Type 3 or Type 7 Nominal; thus, the focus term is more likely to be an HIRI term because focused information is not presupposed and hence is more likely to be encoded with expressions having high lexical semantic content, while the topic term is more likely to be a more “pronominal” Nominal, since topic information is presupposed and hence more likely to be encoded with expressions having low lexical semantic content. In contrast, the [229] and [231] types of sentences have the opposite information status situation, where it is the more “pronominal” Nominal that is the focus, and the noun term that is the topic.

To restate my earlier point, then, in two-term sentences involving one HIRI and one non-HIRI, where we find copulas is in those constructions where the information status is the less frequent one. I will discuss the significance of this in 5.7, when I consider how and why entity-referring demwords as described in Chapter 3 could have developed the function of copulas, and why they now have grammatical properties that are different from those entity-referring demwords. Before I do so, however, I will consider whether the construction demwords could be treated as members of a word class distinct from entity-referring demwords.

### 5.6.3.3 Analyzing the construction demwords as a grammatically distinct class of copulas

In 5.6.3.2, I proposed that the construction demwords described in this chapter are functioning as copulas, which allow a predication to occur without a verb. Such a function is distinct from the functions described for entity-referring demwords in Chapter 3, which

involve reference, and in some cases, the encoding of deictic distance. One issue which arises is whether the construction demwords should be regarded as belonging to the same class of items as the entity-referring demwords of Chapter 3 or be treated as a distinct word class.

As I discussed in 5.6.3.2, if we review the formal differences between the construction demwords and the entity-referring demwords of Chapter 3, it is possible to argue that at least some of the grammatical differences that construction demwords have compared to the entity-referring demwords of Chapter 3 are due to the construction demwords occurring in a restricted syntactic context (verbless clauses), which could account for their distribution being distinct from entity-referring demwords more generally and their forms being the most frequent from the demword paradigm – Near Addressee forms, and in some cases, inanimate and singular forms regardless of the animacy and number values of the terms in the clause.

Alternatively, we could propose that the general obligatoriness of the construction demwords in their constructions, their distributional restrictions, use of a smaller range of the demword paradigm, and the lack of consistent agreement for animacy and number for at least some of the construction demwords is evidence in favor of analyzing them as a class of items distinct from entity-referring demwords. Recall that Heine and Reh (1984: 67) propose that, among other things “the more grammaticalization processes a given linguistic unit undergoes ... the more reduced is the number of members belonging to the same morphosyntactic paradigm; ... the more its syntactic variability decreases, that is, the more its position in the clause becomes fixed; ... the more its use becomes obligatory in certain

contexts and ungrammatical in others ...”, all of which are observed in the behavior of the Passamaquoddy construction demwords. Heine and Reh also associate grammaticalization with phonetic reduction, a phenomenon not seen in the Passamaquoddy construction demwords, but in cases of grammaticalization in general, it is often observed that reduction of the phonetic form of an item does not occur until fairly late in the process, when other grammatical changes such as distributional and inflectional changes have already taken place. Thus, the construction demwords discussed in this chapter may be regarded as having already at least partially grammaticalized into a class of items that is formally as well as functionally different from the entity-referring demwords of Chapter 3. This is the perspective I take when I continue with section 5.7 on grammaticalization.

#### 5.6.4 Summary

In 5.6.1, I argued that, although demwords in some verbless constructions in Passamaquoddy may look like what Diessel (1999) calls identificational demonstratives, the construction demwords do not behave the way that identificational demonstratives have been described. Next in 5.6.2, I argued that a dummy subject analysis is theoretically unappealing, given that the construction demwords appear only in clauses with non-verbal predicates. Finally in 5.6.3, I showed the differences between the construction demwords and the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3, and proposed that the construction demwords have the function of copulas. I discussed the possibility of two types of analysis, one of which analyzes the construction demwords as belonging to the same word class as the entity-

referring demword of Chapter 3, and another analysis where the construction demwords have become a separate word class from entity-referring demwords or any other type of demword. Regardless of what theoretical position is taken on their word class status, I argue that some degree of grammaticalization has occurred in the construction demwords with respect to their inflectional and distributional behavior, and in 5.7 below, I consider grammaticalization in more detail.

## 5.7 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization involves both functional and formal differentiation. As I suggested above, the Passamaquoddy data are suggestive that grammaticalization may have occurred and/or be occurring, even if the functional differentiation of the construction demwords from the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3 is not currently accompanied by full formal differentiation. Below, I review some previous discussions about the grammaticalization of entity-referring demonstratives into copulas in 5.7.1, and then consider analyses for Passamaquoddy in 5.7.2.

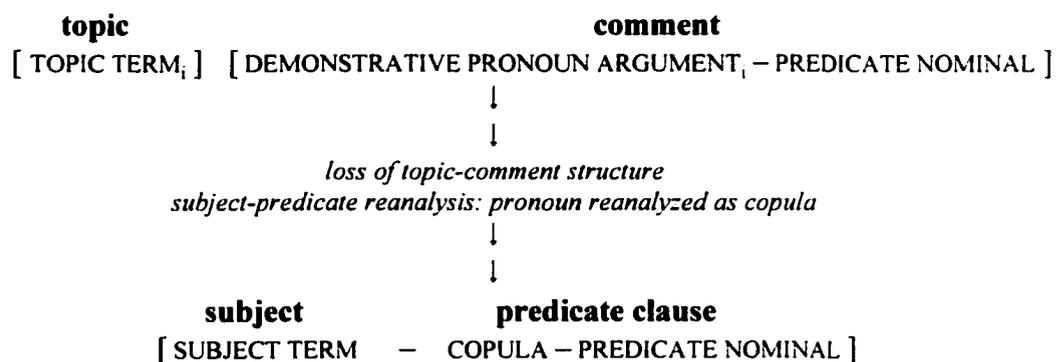
### 5.7.1 Previous analyses

When there is a construction consisting of [NOMINAL EXPRESSION]-[COPULA]-[NOMINAL EXPRESSION], and the copula is proposed to arise from a demonstrative pronoun, there are two obvious analyses: (1) the demonstrative originally formed a clause with the

Nominal following it, or (2) the demonstrative originally formed a clause with the Nominal preceding it. In previous analyses of other languages, Li and Thompson (1977) analyze Mandarin data along the lines of (1), while Gildea (1993) suggests an analysis for Panare along the lines of (2).

Li and Thompson (1977), discussing Mandarin, proposed that the reanalysis of a topic-comment construction into a subject-predicate construction would allow what was originally a pronominal demonstrative subject in the comment clause, coreferential with the topic term, to become reinterpreted as a copula. This can be represented as in Figure 11 below:

**Figure 11: Li and Thompson's (1977) analysis for the development of the Mandarin copula**



For some data in other languages, Diessel (1999) has challenged Li and Thompson's analysis. As mentioned in 5.6.1, Diessel notes that some languages, such as Hebrew, make a formal distinction between identificational demonstratives, which occur in clauses with nominal predicates, from pronominal demonstratives that occur in clauses with verbs. In Hebrew, while a pronominal demonstrative agrees with its antecedent, an identificational

demonstrative agrees with the following predicate nominal. Demonstrative forms can also serve as copulas in Hebrew, in which case it can be seen in certain examples that they agree with the following predicate nominal, not an antecedent. For example, in [232], the demonstrative form *zot* is feminine singular, agreeing with the predicate nominal *dugma* ‘example’, not with the antecedent *báyit* ‘house’ which is masculine.

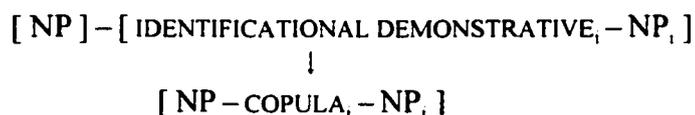
[232] From Glinert (1989: 189), in Diessel (1997: 146):

Ha-báyit	shelHa	<u>zot</u> <sub>i</sub>	dugma <sub>i</sub>	tova.
the-house.MASC.SG	your	COP/DEM.FEM.SG	example.FEM.SG	good

‘Your house is a good example.’

Thus, Diessel argues that the copula occurrences must have arisen from identificational demonstratives. He proposes the reanalysis given in Figure 12 below for the development of demonstratives into copulas, where the agreement properties of the copula are determined by those of the predicate nominal, not those of the preceding nominal term.

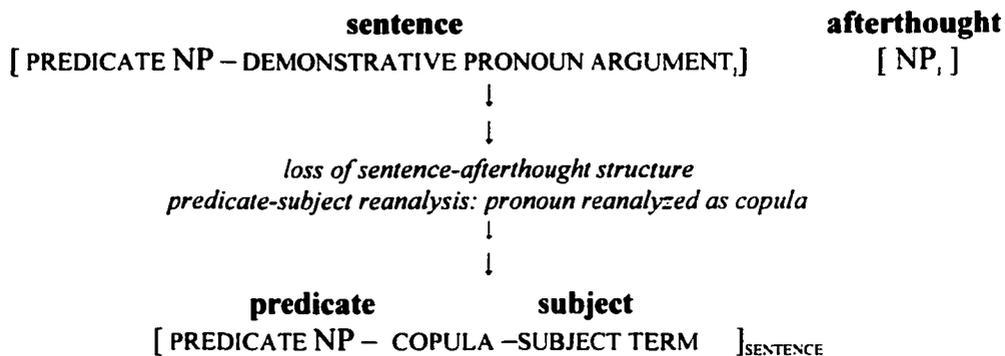
**Figure 12: Diessel’s (1999) analysis for the development of Hebrew copulas**



Gildea (1993) points out that Li and Thompson’s (1977) analysis cannot account for Panare NP-COPULA-NP sentences, since Panare, unlike Mandarin, is a predicate-initial language. Like Li and Thompson, Gildea also proposes that the copulas were originally demonstrative pronouns, but he posits that the demonstrative originally formed a sentence with the preceding NP, while the second NP was an “afterthought” coreferential with the

demonstrative. Through reanalysis, then, a sentence-afterthought construction became a predicate-copula-subject construction, as illustrated in Figure 13:

**Figure 13: Gildea's (1993) analysis for the development of Panare copulas**



Gildea notes that both copulas occur only (and obligatorily) in predicate nominal sentences with third-person subjects, which is unsurprising given that demonstratives are always third person. [233] and [234] show the lack of copulas when the subject is first or second person, while [235] shows the occurrence of an animate proximate copula in a sentence with a third person subject, *e'ñapa* 'Panare (person)'. (In Panare, both proximate and distal demonstratives have grammaticalized into copulas, with preservation of the distance semantics for the subject argument.)

[233] From Gildea (1993: 54)

Maestro yu.  
teacher 1SG  
I am a teacher.

[234] From Gildea (1993: 54)

Maestro amën.  
teacher 2SG  
You are a teacher.

[235] From Gildea (1993: 54)

Maestro    kěj                    e'ñapa.  
teacher    AN.PROXIMAL    Panare

The Panare person (PROXIMAL) a teacher.

### 5.7.2 An analysis for Passamaquoddy

One major issue for Passamaquoddy is whether the construction demwords in the different constructions followed comparable or different grammaticalization pathways. In the previous analyses given by Li and Thompson (1977), Gildea (1993), and Diessel (1999), the focus has been on two-term constructions; if any of these could apply to Passamaquoddy two-term constructions, there is still the question of how to analyze the one-term constructions.

With regard to two-term constructions, recall that Li and Thompson's (1977) and Diessel's (1999) topic-comment reanalysis accounts assume different basic word order facts from Gildea's (1993) sentence-afterthought reanalysis account. To see how these analyses could apply to the Passamaquoddy data, an immediate question is whether Passamaquoddy was generally predicate-initial or predicate-final at the time of grammaticalization. Reconstructed evidence suggests that verbless sentences in Proto-Algonquian tended to be predicate-initial, and also that, in general, the focus term occurred before the topic term (Ives Goddard, p.c.). As I have discussed earlier (see the beginning of the chapter), a focus term is more likely to be an HIRI expression than a more "pronominal" Nominal with less lexical semantic meaning; thus, if the more common order in verbless sentences was [FOCUS]-[TOPIC], then for a verbless sentence with an HIRI and a demword Nominal, the more

common order would presumably have been [HIRI TERM]-[DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM]. Synchronically for Passamaquoddy, verbless sentences with one HIRI term and one demword term *without copula demwords* are also generally [HIRI TERM]-[DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM], although the reverse order does occur occasionally. I will thus assume that the [HIRI TERM]-[DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM] word order was the usual order when considering what syntactic structures gave rise to the development of demwords into copulas.

In addition, both Li and Thompson (1977) and Gildea (1993) assume that the copulas arose from pronominal demonstratives, while Diessel (1999) argues that copulas may also arise from identificational demonstratives. Although I argued earlier in 5.6.1 that Passamaquoddy does not have a distinct class of identificational demonstratives which occur only in verbless clauses, Diessel's analysis predicts that the copula will agree with the predicate, while the pronominal analyses of Li and Thompson (1977) and Gildea (1993) predict that the copula will agree with the argument. I will review how the Passamaquoddy data behave in this regard.

I will also evaluate the possibility that some Passamaquoddy copulas could have arisen from adnominal demwords, particularly since in some constructions, the construction demword precedes an HIRI expression that one might posit it used to be coreferential with. (Recall, however, from Chapter 3 that there is no categorial distinction between adnominal and pronominal entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy, the difference being simply whether or not the demword occurs with an HIRI item that it is modifying.)

I will conclude that while the analysis that the copulas were originally adnominal demwords may look attractive for some of the constructions, it is crosslinguistically

unattested for adnominal demwords to grammaticalize into copulas. Also, while analyses where the copula demwords were originally pronominal demwords accounts well for some of the constructions, this is not the case for other constructions; hence, I will propose that some of the constructions came to use copula demwords after the demwords had developed into copulas in other constructions.

In the following sections, I look at all the demwords discussed in 5.1 to 5.4. I first look at the construction demwords in one-term clauses, and then at the construction demwords in two-term clauses. In the hypothetical reconstructed structures below, ER-DEM is an abbreviation for “entity-referring demword.” A more-or-less literal translation based on the construction demword being an adnominal entity-referring demword is given, along with a free translation.

#### 5.7.2.1 One-term constructions

For one-term constructions, the most obvious analysis is that the construction demword was originally a pronominal entity-referring demword (and hence that there were originally two terms in the sentence), since there is no term following the construction demword in the constructions as they are now. Such an analysis is illustrated in [236] for the [IIa] construction, and in [237] for the [IIIa] construction. I have bolded the focus term in the English translation.

[236] [IIa]: The construction demword as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

Nil not<sub>ER-DEM</sub>  
1SG 3SG.NA

That [is] I. *i.e.* That (relevant discourse entity) [is] me.

for It's **me**./I'm the one.

[237] [IIIa]: The construction demword as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

Wot not<sub>ER-DEM</sub>  
3SG.NS 3SG.NA

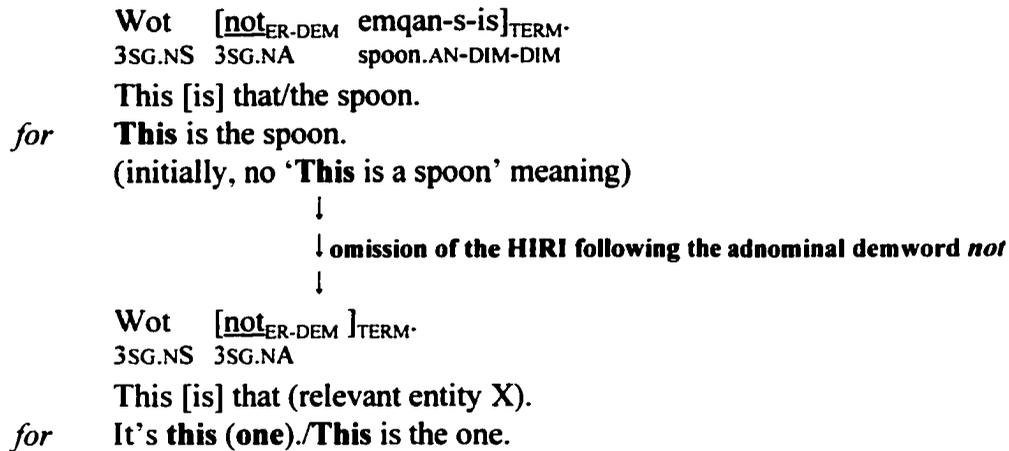
That [is] this. *i.e.* That (relevant discourse entity) [is] this.

for It's **this (one)**./**This** is the one.

This is not to say that it is impossible to analyze the construction demword as originally being an adnominal entity-referring demword, but this would involve positing that the [IIa] and [IIIa] constructions developed from comparable two-term constructions in which the construction demword was originally an adnominal demword. When the HIRI item with which this adnominal demword was coreferential is omitted, this would leave the demword along with the term that precedes it.

For example, for the [IIIa] construction, the comparable two-term construction is the one given in [IIIb], and how the [IIIb] construction could have given rise to the [IIIa] construction is diagrammed in Figure 14 below.

**Figure 14: How a [IIIb] construction with an adnominal demword could have developed into a [IIIa] construction**



Alternatively, copula demwords could have first arisen in one-term constructions, and then become available to be used as a copula in two-term constructions, or copula demwords could have arisen somewhat independently in both constructions. I will evaluate these different theories further after reviewing the possible grammaticalization pathways for two-term constructions in 5.7.2.2.

#### 5.7.2.2 Two-term constructions

If the copula demword in these constructions arose from entity-referring demwords, two possibilities are that (i) the entity-referring demwords were being used adnominally, or that (ii) the entity-referring demwords were being used pronominally. I consider both of these analyses for each of the two-term constructions that have been previously discussed. I will conclude that while the analysis that the copulas were originally adnominal demwords may look attractive for some of the constructions, it is crosslinguistically unattested for

adnominal demwords to grammaticalize into copulas, and that the analysis that the copulas were originally pronominal demwords accounts well for some of the constructions but not others; hence, I will propose that some of the constructions came to use copula demwords after the demwords had developed into copulas in other constructions.

5.7.2.2.1 *The construction demword as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword*

As an adnominal entity-referring demword, the construction demword would be associated with the second term of the sentence, since an adnominal demword always precedes the HIRI that it is modifying. Thus, an adnominal demword analysis looks more likely for the Passamaquoddy constructions where the second term commonly has a referential interpretation. I will first briefly show the problems of an adnominal demword analysis for constructions where the second term is not referential, before going on to present the analyses for the constructions where the second term is referential.

Clauses of type [Ia] with two non-referential HIRI expressions often occur with both orders of argument and predicate terms. [238] shows the order for [PREDICATE TERM]-[ARGUMENT TERM] and [239] shows the order for [ARGUMENT TERM]-[PREDICATE TERM]. In these hypothetical structures, the construction demword *not* is associated with the HIRI that follows it, *polam* ‘salmon’ in [238] and *nomehs* ‘fish’ in [239].

[238] The construction demword in [I] as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword

Nomehs	[ <u>not</u> ] <sub>ER-DEM</sub>	polam] <sub>TERM</sub>
fish.AN	3SG.NA	salmon.AN

Fish [is] that salmon. *or* Fish [is] the salmon.

*for* A salmon is a fish.

[239] The construction demword in [I] as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword

Polam [**not**<sub>ER-DEM</sub> **nomehs**]<sub>TERM</sub>  
salmon.AN 3SG.NA fish.AN

Salmon [is] that fish. *or* Salmon [is] the fish.

*for* A salmon is a fish.

As stated earlier in 5.5.2.2, although crosslinguistically, generic terms may be marked adnominally, either optionally or obligatorily, in Passamaquoddy as spoken today, the use of an adnominal demword with generic terms is generally unacceptable. While hypothetically it is possible that Passamaquoddy historically did use adnominal demwords with generic terms, this analysis does not seem optimal, given that languages where adnominal demwords are undergoing functional change usually show an increase rather than a decrease the range of uses of the adnominal demwords (e.g. see Greenberg 1978).

There are other constructions reviewed in this chapter where there is an HIRI term which is referential rather than generic, and I now turn to see how an adnominal demword analysis could apply to these constructions. For both the [IIIb] construction (with one focus demword term and one topic HIRI term) and the [IV] construction (with one focus Type 7 Nominal term and one topic HIRI term), one interpretation of the sentences is ‘**X** is the Y’. while another is ‘**X** is a Y.’ (The bolded term is the focus term.) For the first interpretation, the presence of an adnominal demword makes sense, but for the second, it is not clear how to incorporate an adnominal demword into the interpretation. Thus, one possible analysis is that initially, an interpretation where the second term is non-referential was not available. such a use developing later after the construction demword had already grammaticalized into a copula. [240] illustrates such a structure for the [IIIb] construction, in which the

construction demword *not* is associated with the HIRI that follows it, *emqansis* ‘spoon’.

[241] illustrates the comparable structure for the [IV] construction, in which the construction demword *not* is associated with the HIRI that follows it, *taktal* ‘doctor’.

[240] The construction demword in [IIIb] as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword

Wot [not<sub>ER-DEM</sub> emqan-s-is]<sub>TERM</sub>  
3SG.NS 3SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

This [is] that spoon. *or* This [is] the spoon.

*for* **This** is the spoon.  
(initially, no ‘**This** is a spoon’ meaning)

[241] The construction demword in [IV] as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword

Nil [not<sub>ER-DEM</sub> taktal]<sub>TERM</sub>  
1SG 3SG.NA doctor.AN

I [am] that doctor. *or* I [am] the doctor.

*for* **I**’m the doctor.  
(initially, no ‘**I**’m a doctor’ meaning)

The [IIIc] construction has two construction demwords between a demword term and one HIRI term, both referential. There is no obvious way to interpret the first construction demword as an adnominal entity-referring demword, so I will not discuss it here.<sup>31</sup> Thus, in the structure proposed in [242], only the second construction demword is represented as originally being an adnominal entity-referring demword; this second demword precedes and is associated with the HIRI *emqansis* ‘spoon’.

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<sup>31</sup> In 5.7.2.2.2, I will propose that it was originally a pronominal entity-referring demword.

[242] The second construction demword in [IIIc] as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword

Wot not [not<sub>ER-DEM</sub> emqan-s-is]<sub>TERM</sub>  
3SG.NS 3SG.NA 3SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

That [is] this, [is] that spoon. *or* That [is] this, [is] the spoon.

*for* The spoon is **this one**.

The [IIb] construction has two HIRI terms, and between these terms a construction demword which agrees in animacy and number with the terms and a construction demword that is animacy-invariant and number-invariant. Analyzing the second construction demword as originally being an adnominal entity-referring demword means that it would precede and be associated with the second HIRI, which in [242] is *taktal* ‘doctor’.

[242] The second construction demword in [IIb] as originally an adnominal entity-referring demword

Mali [not [not<sub>ER-DEM</sub> taktal]<sub>TERM</sub>]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
Mary 3SG.NA 3SG.NA doctor.AN

Mary, s/he the doctor.

*for* Mary is the doctor.

In summary then, at least for two-term clauses where the final term is now interpreted as referential, an analysis where the copula demword was originally an adnominal demword looks possible. However, from a crosslinguistic point of view there is no evidence that adnominal demonstratives ever grammaticalize into copulas. Adnominal demonstratives have been documented in other languages to grammaticalize into definite articles, noun class markers, number markers, determinatives, linkers (between a head noun and attributive expressions), and boundary markers of postnominal relative clauses or attributive expressions (see Heine and Kuteva 2002; Diessel 1999; Greenberg 1978); copulas which have arisen

from demonstratives have, as discussed earlier, been observed to arise from pronominal or identificational demonstratives.

For these reasons, analyzing the copula demwords as originally being adnominal entity-referring demwords does not look like the best hypothesis, and in the next section, I show that structures where the construction demword was originally a pronominal demword can explain the development of copula demwords in several of the constructions, as well as following pathways of development that have been attested.

#### *5.7.2.2.2 The construction demword as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword*

In this section, I examine analyses where the construction demword in two-term constructions was originally a pronominal entity-referring demword. As I mentioned at the beginning of 5.6.2.2, I will assume that clauses consisting of one HIRI term and one demword term had as the unmarked order [HIRI TERM]-[DEMWORD NOMINAL TERM]. Thus, if the construction demword in two-term constructions now was previously a pronominal demword, then it would have once formed a clause with the term that preceded it. The term following it would thus be in outside of the coreferential term in the preceding clause, i.e. an “afterthought” in Gildea’s (1993) words. Hence, the construction may have then undergone [CLAUSE]-[AFTERTHOUGHT]-to-[PREDICATE-SUBJECT] reanalysis. These possibilities are given below for the different constructions in Passamaquoddy.

[243] shows the proposed structure for the [IIIb] construction, where the construction demword *not* forms a clause with the term that precedes it, *wot* ‘this’ [animate singular Near-Speaker], and is coreferential with the second term *emqansis* ‘spoon’.

[243] The construction demword in [IIIb] as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

[Wot not, ER-DEM]CLAUSE emqan-s-is,  
3SG.NS 3SG.NA spoon.AN-DIM-DIM

That [is] this, spoon. or It [is] this, spoon.

for **This** is the spoon. or **This** is a spoon.

Note that the proposed clause *wot not* in [243] is parallel to the construction that in Passamaquoddy today is a one-term construction, e.g. *Wot nit* ‘It’s this (one)’. In 5.7.2.1 above, it was proposed the copula demword *nit* in that construction arose from a pronominal entity-referring demword *not* (which subsequently lost some of its inflectional properties). Thus, if the analysis here for the [IIIb] construction is correct, then we have a one-term and a two-term construction where the derivations of the copula are both from pronominal entity-referring demwords.

[244] shows the proposed structure for the [IV] construction, where the construction demword *not* forms a clause with the term that precedes it, *nil* [first person singular], and is coreferential with the second term *taktal* ‘doctor’.

[244] The construction demword in [IV] as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

[Nil not, ER-DEM]CLAUSE taktal,  
1SG 3SG.NA doctor.AN

That [is] I, doctor. or S/he [is] I, doctor.

for **I**’m the doctor. or **I**’m a doctor.

Similarly to the [IIIb] construction just discussed, note that the proposed clause *Nil not* in [244] is parallel to the construction that in Passamaquoddy today is a one-term construction, e.g. *Nil nit* ‘It’s me.’ I proposed in 5.7.2.1 that the copula demword *nit* in that

construction arose from a pronominal entity-referring demword *not*, so again, if the analysis here for the [IV] construction is correct, then we have a parallel between a one-term and a two-term construction where the derivations of the copula are both from pronominal entity-referring demwords.

For the [Ia], [IIIc], and [Ib] constructions, the analytical picture is a little more complicated. For the [Ia] construction, with two non-referential HIRI terms, recall that both orders, [PREDICATE TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[ARGUMENT TERM] and [ARGUMENT TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[PREDICATE TERM], occur. [245] shows the proposed structures for a [Ia] construction with the order [PREDICATE TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[ARGUMENT TERM], while [246] shows the proposed structure for a [I] construction with the order [ARGUMENT TERM]-[CONSTRUCTION DEMWORD]-[PREDICATE TERM]. In the structure proposed in [245], the construction demword *not* forms a clause with the term which precedes it, *nomehs* ‘fish’, and is coreferential with the second HIRI *polam* ‘salmon’.

[245] The construction demword in [I] as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

	[Nomehs	<u>not</u> ,	ER-DEM]	CLAUSE	polam,
	fish.AN	3SG.NA			salmon.AN
	That [is] fish, salmon. <i>or</i> It [is] fish, salmon.				
<i>for</i>	A salmon is a fish.				

[245] allows an interpretation that is coherent with what the sentence means. On the other hand, a similar analysis for a sentence with the opposite word order is problematic. In the structure proposed in [246], the construction demword *not* forms a clause with the term

precedes it, *polam* ‘salmon’, and is coreferential with the second HIRI *nomehs* ‘fish’; however, this structure gives an interpretation along the lines of ‘A fish is a salmon’.

[246] The construction demword in [I] as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

[Polam not,<sub>ER-DEM</sub>]CLAUSE nomehs,  
 salmon.AN 3SG.NA fish.AN  
 That [is] salmon, fish. *or* It [is] salmon, fish.  
*for* A salmon is a fish.

In order for a [Ia] sentence which now has the order [ARGUMENT TERM]-[PREDICATE TERM] to have a coherent interpretation in an analysis where the construction demword was originally a pronominal demword, the demword must form a clause with the following (predicate) term, with the first term being in apposition to the demword in the following clause. Such a structure would thus have been able to undergo [TOPIC-COMMENT]-to-[SUBJECT-PREDICATE] reanalysis (rather than [CLAUSE-AFTERTHOUGHT]-to-[PREDICATE-SUBJECT] reanalysis), and is shown in [247].

[247] The construction demword in [I] as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword forming a clause with the second term

Polam, [not,<sub>ER-DEM</sub> nomehs]CLAUSE  
 salmon.AN 3SG.NA fish.AN  
 Salmon, that [is] fish. *or* Salmon, it [is] fish.  
*for* A salmon is a fish.

In [247], the order of items in the proposed clause *not nomehs* ‘that [is] fish’ is [ARGUMENT]-[PREDICATE]. If we take [247] as the correct analysis for sentences like *Polam not nomehs*. ‘A salmon is a fish’, then we have a situation where [CLAUSE]-[AFTERTHOUGHT]-to-

[PREDICATE-SUBJECT] reanalysis is proposed for one order, while [TOPIC]-[COMMENT]-to-[SUBJECT-PREDICATE] reanalysis is proposed for the other.

Another possibility is that the demword first grammaticalized to a copula in sentences with one word order, and then a copula demword was available to be used in sentences with the other order. In this vein, recall that in type [Ia] clauses where the argument term is referential, such as being a proper noun, the order of [ARGUMENT TERM]-[COPULA DEMWORD]-[PREDICATE TERM] is preferred. Perhaps it was in such clauses that copula demwords in constructions with two HIRI terms may have first developed; clauses with at least one referential term are, in any case, far more common in texts than clauses with two non-referential terms. Consider [248], which is from a Maliseet story collected at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> In the last sentence are two clauses which are possible examples of the [Ia] construction.

[248] From *The Origin of the Maliseet family called Bear* (originally in Chamberlain 1899: 93-94, re-transcribed and re-translated by Philip LeSourd):

Tokec kt-iy-ul: elom-aws-i-yon, sipk-aws-i-yon,  
now 2-tell.TA-3' extent-live-AI-CONJ.2 long-live-AI-CONJ.2  
“I tell you now: as long as you live, if you live a long time.

kotun-ol-ot muwin li-nut-aha-yon spasuwiw,  
hunt-TA-CONJ.2 bear.AN thus-out-go.AI-CONJ.2 morning  
if you hunt a bear when you go out in the morning,

---

<sup>32</sup> Chamberlain's published work attributed this story to Lola Bear, but Phil LeSourd (p.c.) believes that it is possible that it was another Maliseet speaker, James Paul, who was the source, since, from Chamberlain's notes, Paul looks to have supplied Chamberlain with the bulk of his material on Maliseet.

k-nom-iht-uw-a-n-ol=c<sup>33</sup> w-pokte-wa-l.  
 2-see-TI-TA-DIR-+O-0PL=FUT 3-smoke.INAN-POSS.3-0PL  
 you will see their [columns of] smoke.

Tan piqi=pkotenoma-t not k-muhsums;  
 that.which thick=smoke.AI-CONJ.3 3SG.NA 2-grandfather.AN  
 The one who has thick smoke, that [is] your grandfather;

wahakaci=pkotenoma-t not k-uhkomoss.  
 hardly.any-smoke.AI-CONJ.3 3SG.NA 2-grandmother.AN  
 the one who has hardly any smoke, that [is] your grandmother.”

The translation given by LeSourd treats the underlined demwords as pronominal demwords forming a clause with the following Nominal. However, it is also possible that those demwords are now copulas, so that closer translations for the last two lines of the passage would be ‘The one who has thick smoke is your grandfather; the one who has hardly any smoke is your grandmother’. Alternatively, the demwords in [248] may have been subjected to a sort of dual interpretation, as both pronominal demwords and as copulas. In any case, clauses like those in [248] look like they may be the type of construction where copula demwords could have arisen for verbless clauses with two HIRI terms, after which the use was extended to clauses with non-referential HIRI terms.

For the [IIIc] construction, there are two construction demwords. If the first construction demword was originally a pronominal demword, then it would form a clause most obviously with the previous demword term, similar to the clauses posited for the [IIIa] and [IIIb] constructions. In the posited structure [249], the first construction demword *not*

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<sup>33</sup> The verb *knomihtuwanol* is a TA+O form derived from a TI verb with theme sign *-iht*. Although the Nominal for the object seen, *wpoktewal* ‘their smoke’, is grammatically inanimate, the verb marks the possessor, which is an animate third person plural, as its primary object. *wpoktewal* ‘their smoke’ is the secondary object, glossed as +O in the verbal inflection.

forms a clause with the preceding demword *wot* ‘this’, followed by the second construction demword *not* and the HIRI *emqansis* ‘spoon’.

[249] [IIIc]: The first construction demword as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

[ *Wot* *not*<sub>ER-DEM</sub> ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>    *not*    *emqan-s-is*.  
 3SG.NS   3SG.NA                    3SG.NA   *spoon*.AN-DIM-DIM

That [is] this, is spoon. (What this is, is the spoon.)

*for*    The spoon is **this one**.

However, even if the first construction demword is a copula that arose from a pronominal demword, recall from 5.6. that synchronically, there is no good evidence that the demword term (which is the animate singular near-Speaker form *wot* in [249]) forms a clause with the first construction demword. As for the second construction demword, if it was originally a pronominal demword, the obvious choice would be to group it with the following HIRI to form a clause. This would then result in a posited sentence with two clauses in juxtaposition, as shown in [250]:

[250] [IIIc]: The first construction demword as originally a pronominal entity-referring demword

[ *Wot* *not*<sub>ER-DEM</sub> ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>    [ *not*<sub>ER-DEM</sub> *emqan-s-is* ]<sub>CLAUSE</sub>.  
 3SG.NS   3SG.NA                    3SG.NA    *spoon*.AN-DIM-DIM

That [is] this, spoon [is] that.

*for*    The spoon is **this one**.

While such a development cannot be ruled out, there is no clear evidence for it either. Thus, I prefer to hypothesize that the second demword did not develop into a copula within this construction, but came to be used as a copula when the demword had already developed

into one in other, simpler constructions, perhaps in the [IIIb] construction with one demword term and one HIRI term, or in the [IIIa] construction with one demword term.

For the [I Ib] construction, there are two HIRI terms and two construction demwords between these terms. Recall from 5.6.3.1 that I argued that the first construction demword in some ways still resembles an entity-referring demword functioning pronominally; if so, it makes sense that it was previously also a pronominal entity-referring demword. As for the second construction demword, it occurs between the first construction demword and the second HIRI term. If this second construction demword was originally a pronominal demword, then it presumably formed a clause with the following HIRI term. In the structure given in [251], this construction demword forms a clause with *taktal* ‘doctor’, and the first construction demword is outside of that clause.

[251] The second construction demword in [I Ib] as originally an pronominal entity-referring demword

Mali	[not	[not <sub>ER-DEM</sub>	taktal]	CLAUSE]	CLAUSE·
Mary	3SG.NA	3SG.NA	doctor.AN		
	Mary, s/he, s/he [is] the doctor.				
<i>for</i>	The doctor is Mary.				

However, note that [251] posits two layers of clause embedding, and for that reason, such an analysis seems less plausible than other possibilities. Perhaps, like the second construction demword in the [IIIc] construction illustrated in [250], the second construction demword in the [I Ic] construction here did not develop into a copula within this construction, but came to be used as a copula when a demword had already developed into a couple in one or more other constructions.

### 5.7.2.3 The sequence of copula development and use

I suggested above that not all of the copula demwords now in use developed into copulas in the constructions that they occur in. Thus, I propose that copula demwords may have developed first in one-term constructions and some two-term constructions, and then become available to the other constructions. I favor this scenario for the following reasons.

First, one-term constructions, involving Type 7 Nominal terms and demword terms, lend themselves very naturally to an analysis where a construction demword which was originally a pronominal entity-referring demword was reanalyzed into a copula.

Second, as I showed in 5.7.2.2, there are two-term constructions in Passamaquoddy which look to be parallel to the one-term constructions, and it is possible that the grammaticalization of the construction demwords into copulas in those two-term constructions occurred along with the grammaticalization processes in the one-term constructions.

Finally, we saw in 5.7.2.2 that for the constructions that contain two construction demwords, positing that all those construction demwords developed into copula demwords in those constructions was problematic.

To summarize, I propose the following possible sequence of grammaticalization processes. First, entity-referring demwords in the following set of construction types may have developed into copulas (as before, the construction demwords are underlined, and where relevant, the focus terms are in bold in the English translation):

*Demword as originally  
an entity-referring demword*

*Demword as a copula*

Nil <u>not</u> .	----->	Nil <u>nit</u> . 'It's <b>me</b> .'
Nil <u>not</u> taktal.	----->	Nil <u>nit/not</u> taktal. 'I'm the/a doctor.'
Wot <u>not</u> .	----->	Wot <u>nit</u> . 'It's <b>this (one)</b> .'
Wot <u>not</u> emqansis.	----->	Wot <u>nit</u> emqansis. ' <b>This</b> is the/a spoon.'
Tepit not taktal. [i.e. with a referential term]	----->	Tepit <u>not</u> taktal. 'David is a doctor.'

Copula demwords were then available for use in the following constructions:

Mali not nit litposuwin.  
'**She, Mary**, is the tribal council member.'

Wot nit nit emqansis.  
'The spoon is **this one**.'

Maltuhsis not wehkewakon. *or* Wehkewakon not maltuhsis.  
[i.e. with no referential terms]  
'A hammer is a tool.'

If we look at Passamaquoddy and Maliseet texts collected at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is not hard to find instances of copula demwords, showing that the grammaticalization process has apparently been underway for over a hundred years for at least some of the constructions.

[248] above was one example; another is given in [252] below, which is from Lewis Mitchell's stories told to John D. Prince in the 1890s, published in 1921. It is an example of the [IIIb] construction, with one focus demword term and one topic HIRI term, and a copula demword that is animacy invariant in the singular. The demword term is the animate singular near-Speaker *wot* and the HIRI term is *kotunkewin* 'hunter'.

[252] From *Lewis Mitchell – Koluskap naka Wocawson* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Pesq    tehpu    apac-iya-t                    w-ik-ok                    apc –  
 one      only      return-go.AI-CONJ.3    3-house.INAN-LOC      again  
           wot      nit      kotun-ke-w-in.  
           3SG.NS    0SG.NA    hunt-AI-DER-NMLZ.AN

Only one returned home again – this was the hunter.

[253] and [254] (given above as [173] and [174]) are examples of the [IIIc] construction with two HIRI terms and two construction demwords. The terms are singular in [253] and are plural in [254], but note that the copula demword is invariably *nit*, which is morphologically inanimate and singular.

[253] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition)

Nihtol=lu      nikihku-wa-l,                    not      nit      kci      sakom Kanawak.  
 3'SG.NA=TOP    (3)-parent.AN-POSS.3-3'    3SG.NA    0SG.NA    great    chief.AN Kahnawake.LOC

As for their parent, he was the great chief at Kahnawake.

[254] From *Lewis Mitchell – The Wampum Records* (Leavitt and Francis 1990 edition)

Nit=na                    lahkalusonih-ikon                    naka    ipis,  
 0SG.NA=also      have.a.ring.around.AI-NMLZ.INAN    and      whip.INAN  
           nihtol nit      Wapapi    Tpasku-w-akon-ol.  
           0PL.NA    0SG.NA    Wampum    measure.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN-PL

And those, the fence and the whip, were the Wampum Laws.

A question raised by these proposals is why such reanalysis of demwords took place, with entity-referring demwords developing into copulas. Devitt (1994: 145-149) suggests that the answer may have to do with a general tendency to move from more elaborated syntactic structures, such as sentences with expressions which are adjuncts to the main clause, to flatter structures that incorporate such expressions into that clause, with the motivation for this type of reanalysis based on the strength of the semantic relations between two adjacent structures: the stronger the semantic relations between two adjacent structures, the greater the motivation to package them syntactically into a single unit.

It would be useful to examine data from other Algonquian languages to see if the sort of development observed in Passamaquoddy for demwords in verbless clauses has occurred; if so, this supports the hypothesis that such structures may in particular contexts be subject to copula reanalysis. For example, Goddard (2001 ms) shows that in Fox, a central Algonquian language, the inanimate Near-Addressee demword =*ni/i-ni* occurs in verbless clauses between two terms, including sentences where one of the terms is an animate personal pronoun, like *ni-na* 'I' or *ki-na* 'you [SG]'. However, to obtain a fuller picture of Fox (or any other Algonquian language), a more comprehensive examination of clauses with non-verbal predicates is required.

Finally, as noted in earlier sections, in some constructions there is no copula when the terms are plural, or when the clause is negative rather than affirmative. This is not surprising if a grammaticalization process is still in progress and/or relatively new, in which case the relevant item may not be at the point where it is obligatory for all instances of some construction. In such cases, a recently grammaticalized item is most likely to be found in

the linguistic structures that occur most frequently. In Passamaquoddy (and languages generally), affirmative clauses are more frequent than negative clauses, and clauses with singular terms are more frequent than clauses with plural terms, which fits the picture of where copula demwords currently occur.

## 5.8 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined a range of constructions with non-verbal predicates that have demwords specific to the construction. Some of these construction demwords agree consistently in animacy and number with the terms in the clause, but most do not. Apart from these inflectional characteristics, there are two types of grammatical restrictions, one distributional and the other substitutional, which make the demwords considered in this chapter distinct from entity-referring demwords. First, the demwords in question are restricted to a syntactic position after the term in one-term constructions and between the two terms in two-term constructions. Second, these demwords are all non-absentative proximate Near-Addressee forms.

I have explained how the construction demwords no longer look completely like pronominal or adnominal entity-referring demwords. I also showed the problems with analyzing them as dummy subjects. Analyzing these demwords as copulas is the most attractive account, since demwords with the grammatical behaviors described in this chapter occur only in clauses with non-verbal predicates, a natural environment where copulas are found. In addition, demonstratives have been documented to grammaticalize into copulas

in other languages, and I presented analyses of how entity-referring demwords could have developed into copulas in Passamaquoddy.

## Chapter 6: Other types of demwords – manner *nit*, distributive quantifier *yat=te wen*, and fillers

In this chapter, I discuss the remaining types of Passamaquoddy demwords which do not fit into the chapters discussed earlier: *nit* used as a manner adverbial, the distributive quantifier *yat=te wen* ‘each’ which contains the demword *yat*, and demwords used as fillers during hesitation. Once again, I will look at the formal and functional properties of these demwords, as well as consider how they may be related semantically, and thus historically, to other demwords.

### 6.1 Manner adverbial *nit*

#### 6.1.1 Morphological and distributional properties

The non-absentative proximate inanimate Near-Addressee demword *nit* can be used with a manner adverbial meaning ‘thus; in this way; like this’, although this meaning for the form *nit* is rather less common than any of its other possible meanings. *nit* is the only demword which can have manner adverbial semantics, regardless of the deictic point of reference of the event being referred to. With the manner meaning, *nit* occurs pre-verbally, though not necessarily clause-initially.

### 6.1.2 Uses of manner *nit*

The manner meaning of *nit* can be properly deictic, such that the manner is specified by reference to something in the discourse situation, or it may be anaphoric, in which case the manner is detailed in the preceding text. In the following examples, manner *nit*, which is underlined, is deictic.

In [1] and [2], the contexts are those in which the speaker is drawing the addressee's attention to how an act of eating should be done. In [1], the speaker is demonstrating the act her/himself, while in [2], the speaker draws the addressee's attention to someone else's act of eating. That is, in the context in [1], the deictic point of reference is near-Speaker, while in the situation in [2], the deictic point of reference is away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee. Still, in both cases, *nit* is used, and no other demword can be used with this meaning. *nit* occurs clause-initially in both examples.

[1] Elicited:

*Context* – You're teaching a young child to eat using silverware, and as you demonstrate, you say:

Nit I-ihp.  
0SG.NA thus-eat.AI-(IMP.2)  
Eat like this.

[2] Elicited:

*Context* – You and a young child see a parent demonstrating to another young child how to eat using silverware. As the parent is doing this, you say to the child with you:

Aki? Nit I-ihp.  
see? 0SG.NA thus-eat.AI-(IMP.2)  
See? Eat like that.

In [3] and [4], the contexts are those in which the speaker is drawing the addressee's attention to how an act of cutting sealskin should be done. In [3], the speaker is demonstrating the act her/himself, while in [4], the speaker draws the addressee's attention to someone else's act of eating. Thus, once again, we have one context, in [3], where the deictic point of reference is near-Speaker, and another context, in [4], where the deictic point of reference is away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee. Again in both cases, *nit* is used, and occurs clause-initially. (Also, note that in both [3] and [4], following the verb there is an entity-referring demword referring to the sealskin, which is grammatically animate; in [3], it is the animate singular near-Speaker form *wot*, and in [4], it is the animate singular near-Addressee form *not*.)

[3] Elicited:

*Context* – You're teaching someone to cut sealskin, and as you demonstrate the right way, you say:

Nit    kt-ol-s-a-n                    wot.  
 0SG.NA 2-thus-cut.TA-DIR-IMP.2    3SG.NS  
 Cut it like this.

[4] Elicited:

*Context* – You and a friend see someone demonstrating to someone else how to cut sealskin. As the person is cutting the sealskin, you say to your friend:

Nit    kt-ol-s-a-n                    not.  
 0SG.NA 2-thus-cut.TA-DIR-IMP.2    3SG.NA  
 Cut it like that.

### 6.1.3 Word class status

In terms of some of the other demword types that I have examined thus far, manner *nit* is distinct from the entity-referring demwords discussed in Chapter 3 and the copula demwords discussed in Chapter 5 with respect to inflectional, functional, and distributional properties, while in certain ways resembling some of the temporal demwords discussed in Chapter 4 because of its distributional restrictions and its function of modifying a verbal expression. (Recall that I suggested that temporal demwords could be classified with other verb-modifying, inflectionally invariant items.)

If we consider all morphemes that express manner adverbial meaning, we find that the majority of these are either preverbs, which, as discussed in section 1.2.2.3, have inflectional and distributional properties quite distinct from all other items, or morphologically related but bound verb initials (see 1.2.2.1). However, there are also various particles that modify verbal expressions, with a range of meanings that include spatial, temporal, and manner modification. Some manner particles are given in [5] below:

[5] Manner verbal modifier particles

<i>esuwiw</i>	'back and forth'
<i>kaciw</i>	'secretly'
<i>kakawiw</i>	'fast'
<i>menakaciw</i>	'quietly; slowly'

With respect to inflectional characteristics, manner *nit* and other manner particles are alike in that both are inflectionally invariant; but in terms of morphological form, most manner particles are related to a preverb (which will have the same or a related meaning),

while *nit* is of course phonologically identical to the non-absentative proximate inanimate singular Near Addressee entity-referring demword. As for distributional behavior, we find that manner *nit* is rather more restricted than manner particles in general, since (non-*nit*) manner particles commonly occur both pre-verbally and post-verbally. However, this may be due to a crosslinguistic tendency for anaphoric morphemes to occur earlier in the clause.<sup>1</sup>

Should we group manner *nit* with other manner particles, with other verbal modifier particles more generally, or as its own class? This depends on what weight we wish to give to the various possible criteria for word class membership. If we set aside the distributional behavior of manner *nit* as being attributable to it frequently functioning as an anaphoric morpheme, then it could be grouped with other manner particles, with which it shares the characteristics of inflectional invariancy and the general function of verb modification. If, on the other hand, we wish to give priority to distributional behavior, we could group manner *nit* with other obligatorily pre-verbal particles (such as, for example, *mesq* ‘not yet’ and *kesq* ‘while’). Alternatively, we could group manner *nit* with all the verbal modification particles without aligning it with any particular subgroup within, or place it in its own class altogether.

#### 6.1.4 Grammaticalization

Manner *nit* can have deictic meaning, as shown in the examples [1] to [4] above, but manner deictics in general are not usually considered to be demonstratives; instead, such

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<sup>1</sup> In preliminary counts in my Passamaquoddy texts, this is true of the position of external arguments with respect to verbs; more pronominal arguments, such as demword Nominals, indefinite Nominals, and Type 7 Nominals (personal pronouns), are more likely to occur before the verb than HIRI arguments, such as nouns and verbal participles.

items tend to be called “adverbs” in the literature (e.g. see Diessel 1999: 74-75 for discussion of this point), presumably because the deictic meaning of these items counts for less than the fact that they are referring to activities or events, and not to entities or places like more familiar “demonstrative” items.

Still, it is reasonable to assume that when the form of a manner deictic is the same as that of an entity-referring deictic that the two are historically related. I will assume that entity-referring deictics are more basic than manner deictics, in line with various other authors,<sup>2</sup> given that entity-referring deictics are more frequent than manner deictics.

Thus, one question a grammaticalization account should address is how a manner deictic would arise, directly or indirectly, from (a morphologically related) entity-referring deictic, i.e. how deictic meaning referring to entities ends up extended to deictic meaning referring to activities. Given the lack of the relevant historical data for Passamaquoddy and the sparseness in general of discussion regarding manner deictics, we can do little more than speculate here.

First, it should be mentioned that in some languages, there are deictic morphemes that acquire more specific manner-referring meanings with the addition of another morpheme or material to the deictic morpheme. For example, in Mandarin Chinese, *zhè* is a proximal deictic morpheme, which comprises the manner deictic *zhè-yang* ‘like this’, where *yang*

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<sup>2</sup> Classifications of demonstratives invariably include entity-referring deictics as basic, and none include manner deictics. For example, Diessel (1999) gives four basic types of demonstrative – pronominal demonstrative, adnominal demonstrative, adverbial demonstrative, and identificational demonstrative – three of which are entity-referring, the exception being adverbial demonstratives, which are spatial deictics such as ‘here’, ‘there’. Himmelmann (1996) also proposes four basic types of demonstrative – situational, discourse deictic, tracking, and recognitional – three of which are also entity-referring, with the exception being discourse deictic demonstratives, which refer to sections of the linguistic discourse.

means ‘manner’, ‘demeanor’.<sup>3</sup> In such cases, no extension of meaning as such (i.e. from entity-referring to manner-referring) need be explained. However, in Passamaquoddy, the manner demword is exactly the same form as the entity-referring demword, so unless we posit that the manner demword at some point had an additional, manner-indicating morpheme that has since been lost, we must seek other explanations.

One possibility is that an entity-referring deictic item meaning ‘that’ was used to refer to an action, in a sentence like *Do that!*, and the demword then developed a ‘like that’ meaning in such contexts. It might seem that another plausible alternative would be if an entity-referring demword meaning ‘that’ was used in a sentence like *Do it that way!*, and then the demword developed a manner deictic meaning when whatever morpheme meaning ‘way’ was dropped in these contexts. However, Passamaquoddy has a preverb *oli* (Changed form *eli*) meaning precisely ‘[do something] this/that way’, and so it seems to me unlikely that there would have been, say, a [demword Nominal]-[noun] construct meaning ‘that way’ used in this context.

It is also interesting to speculate about the relationship between manner deictic and clausal connective meanings. In 4.2.4, in discussing the origin of clausal connective demwords, I noted that manner demwords may share some semantic characteristics with discourse deictic demwords, such that a manner demword used anaphorically may not be distinguishable from a discourse deictic demword. Recall from 4.2 that the demword form *nit* also has a range of clausal connective meanings like ‘then next’, ‘so; therefore’, and ‘in

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<sup>3</sup> *zhè* is also the deictic morpheme in the entity-referring demonstrative *zhè-ge* ‘this’, where *ge* is a classifier, and in the location-referring demonstrative *zhè-er* or *zhè-li* ‘here’, where *er* and *li* have non-specific meanings.

that case'. In other languages too, demword forms with manner meanings may also have clausal connective meanings. For example, in English, *thus* (which is apparently historically related to *that*) can be used both as a manner deictic and as a clausal connective meaning. In [6], *thus* is a manner deictic 'in this way'; in [7], it is a clausal connective 'therefore'; and in [8], both meanings, perhaps simultaneously, are possible, i.e. *thus* may mean 'in this way', referring specifically to the conservation of water, or it may mean 'as a consequence; therefore', with a logical sequential meaning.

[6] Do it thus.

[7] The mayor vetoed the proposal. Thus, we decided on further action.

[8] The city began conserving water when the drought started. Thus, a shortage was averted.  
 = "A shortage was averted by means of actions taken to conserve water."  
 = "Therefore, a shortage was averted."

Another example is found in Mandarin. *zhè-yang*, cited above as a manner demonstrative, also occurs as a clausal connective meaning 'in that case'. In [9], *zhè-yang* is a manner demonstrative, while in [10], it is a clausal connective.

[9] Elicited:

Bú-yào zhè-yang huà; qīng yì-diǎn!  
 NEG-want PROXIMAL-manner draw light one-little  
 Don't draw like that; do it more lightly!

[10] Elicited:

Nǐ-men bù xǐhuān dòngwù-yuán, shì bù shì?  
 2-PL NEG like animal-compound true NEG true  
 You don't like zoos, right?

Zhè-yang            wǒ-men    háishì    bú    qù ba.  
 PROXIMAL-manner    I-PL            better.that    NEG    go    PRT

In that case maybe we shouldn't go.

The implications of this semantic overlap between manner demwords and discourse deictic demwords for how both these demwords may have developed are not immediately clear, but obviously, there is the possibility that one type of demword may have developed from the other, or that both types shared to some extent a development pathway from some other type of demword, such as (non-discourse deictic) pronominal demwords. If we are considering whether manner demword uses are more likely to have given rise to discourse deictic uses or vice versa, we would need to make an argument that one or the other use is more basic than the other. With respect to cognitive complexity, manner uses seem to involve more concrete types of reference than discourse deixis; on the other hand, while crosslinguistically, entity-referring demonstratives are commonly used for discourse deixis, manner deictics which have the same forms as entity-referring demonstratives are relatively uncommon. Thus, the historical relationship between manner demwords and discourse deictic demwords remains an open question.

The other question relevant to the Passamaquoddy data is why it is only the demword form *nit* in particular that can be used as a manner adverbial. The answer is likely to be because *nit* is unmarked for its various grammatical categories (which are, of course, linguistically relevant when *nit* is an entity-referring morpheme, but not when it is a manner deictic descriptive of activities rather than entities) in being singular, non-absentative, inanimate, and Near-Addressee. In Passamaquoddy, singular forms are more frequent than

plural forms, something which is also true of Nominal-type word class items in other languages; non-absentative forms are much more frequent compared to absentative forms, and in Algonquian languages generally); inanimate forms are used when the animacy of a referent is unknown; and the Near-Addressee form tends to be used when the distance is unknown, suggesting that Near-Addressee is the unmarked value for distance in Passamaquoddy.<sup>4</sup> Thus, as mentioned already in 5.4, the most common way to ask ‘What is it?/What’s that?’, where the characteristics of the referent are as yet unknown, makes use of *nit* as the pronominal demword in the question ‘*Keq nit?*’

## 6.2 Distributive quantifier *yat=te wen*

### 6.2.1 Morphological and distributional properties

*yat=te wen* ‘each (one)’ consists of *yat=te*, which contains a demword *yat* (the non-absentative proximate animate singular Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demword) and the clitic *=te* which is often glossed as an emphatic morpheme in other contexts, and *wen*, which in other contexts serves as an indefinite or interrogative animate Type 3 Nominal ‘(some)one; who?’. For contemporary speakers, *yat=te* without *wen* cannot generally be

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<sup>4</sup> Crosslinguistically also, the Near-Addressee distance in a three-distance deictic system tends to be the unmarked one with respect to range of use in a language. Also, crosslinguistically, it seems that Near-Addressee forms tend to participate in the greatest number of grammaticalization developments into other types of morphemes (see Diessel 1991: 161).

used to mean ‘each’<sup>5</sup>, but in older texts, there are examples where *yat=te* or *yat* by itself has a quantificational meaning.

According to LeSourd (p.c.), for a couple of older speakers, *yat=te wen* inflects in both the *yat* and *wen* components for number and obviation. However, for many other speakers today (Benjamin Bruening, p.c.), *yat=te* by itself cannot mean ‘each’, and when it occurs with *wen* with the meaning of ‘each’, it is inflectionally invariant. Thus, it is possible that the loss of inflection in *yat=te* amongst younger speakers is a recent development, although the data need to be checked with more speakers to confirm this. For speakers who do not inflect *yat=te*, *yat=te* is formally a particle, with a function like that of other quantifier particles such as *psiw* ‘all’ and *toqiw* ‘both’. Such uses of *yat=te* could thus be grouped with other quantifier particles, as given in 1.2.2.5, although *yat=te* differs from these other particles in having to be followed by *wen* ‘one’.

*yat=te wen* can occur pronominally or as a quantificational modifier of another Nominal or HIRI expression. Pronominally, it can occur, like other arguments, either before or after the verb. When it is a modifier of another Nominal or HIRI expression, it usually occurs before that expression.

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<sup>5</sup> According to my elicitations and also those of Benjamin Bruening, *yat=te* by itself would only be an entity-referring demword, referring to either a person or object away from the speaker and the addressee, ‘that one yonder’, or to a location away from the speaker and the addressee ‘right over there’.

## 6.2.2 Uses of distributive quantifier *yat=te wen*

Although *yat=te wen* is morphologically singular, it is commonly associated with plural HIRI expressions because it has a distributive meaning, predicating something about each member of the plural set. In the examples here, the relevant demword is underlined.

[11] and [12] are examples of *yat=te wen* in texts. In [11], *yat=te wen* refers to *pomawsuwinuwok* ‘people’. In [12], *yat=te wen* refers to the group ‘women who did not love him (Glooscap)’.

[11] From *Wayne Newell – The Ice Storm*:

Pomawsuwinuwok etoli=mawi=wicik-hoti-hti-t  
person.AN-PL ONGO=gather=stay.at.AI-MPL-3PL-CONJ.3  
People who were staying with someone else

yat=te wen 't-ol-iya-n w-ik-uwa-k.  
3SG.ASA=EMPH one.AN 3-to.there-go.AI-SUBD 3-house.INAN-POSS.3PL-LOC  
each (one) went back to their house.

[12] From *Lewis Mitchell – Mikcic* (WBEP 1976 edition):

Wahke-hs-u ehpit skat muhsal-a-h-q.  
few-DIM-AI-(3) woman.AN NEG fond.of.TA-DIR-NEG-CONJ.3  
Rare was a woman who did not love him.

Msi=te 'paw-at-om-uw-a-ni-ya '-pec-iya-li-n  
all=EMPH 3-want-TI-TH-TA-DIR-SUBD-3PL 3-to.here-go.AI-3'-SUBD  
yat=te wen w-ik-uwa-k.  
3SG.ASA=EMPH one.AN 3-house.INAN-POSS.3PL-LOC  
They all wanted him to come to each of their houses.

[13] and [14] are examples (from David Francis, who is in his mid-80s) where *yat=te wen* is inflected for obviation and number. Both sentences have much the same meaning;

*yehtol=te wenil* in [13] is obviative singular for both *yehtol* and *wenil* (=te is an emphatic clitic), and *yeheht=te wenihi* in [14] is obviative plural for both *yeheht* and *wenihi*.

[13] Elicited (data from Phil LeSourd):

**Kinaq=op pesq pilsqehs-is nom-iy-a-t-sopon yehtol=te wen-il.**  
 at.least=IRR one.AN girl.AN-DIM see-TA-DIR-CONJ.3-DUB 3'SG.ASA=EMPH one.AN-3'  
 If only one girl could have seen every one of them.

[14] Elicited (data from Phil LeSourd):

**Kinaq=op pesq pilsqehs-is nom-iy-a-t-sopon yeheht=te wen-ih.**  
 at.least=IRR one.AN girl.AN-DIM see-TA-DIR-CONJ.3-DUB 3'PL.ASA=EMPH one.AN-3'PL  
 If only one girl could have seen every one of them.

[15] to [17] show the occurrence of *yat=te wen* with a range of non-third person and/or plural Nominals. For each of these sentences, the context given was that of a potluck dinner, where each person is expected to bring a dish. *yat=te wen* can occur with an HIRI, such as *wihqimut* 'guest' in [15], and with non-third person Nominals like *kilun* 'we' [12PL] in [16] and *kiluwaw* 'you' [2PL] in [17].

[15] Elicited:

*Context* – There's a potluck dinner, which a number of people are attending.

**Yat=te wen wihqim-ut pec-ipt-u-n**  
 3SG.ASA=EMPH one.AN invite.TA-CONJ.3I (3)-to.here-carry.TI-TH-0  
**piluw-ik-o-k micu-w-akon.**  
 different-kind-II-CONJ.0 eat.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
 Each (one) of the guests brought a different dish.

[16] Elicited:

*Context* – There’s a potluck dinner, which a number of people are attending.

Yat=te            wen    kilun    cuwi-tp-ot=yaq  
3SG.ASA=EMPH   one.AN   12PL    must-happen-II-(0)=EVID  
          k-pec-ipt-u-hti-ne-n                    piluw-ik-o-k                    micu-w-akon.  
          2-to.here-carry.TI-TH-3PL-SUBD-1PL    different-kind-II-CONJ.0    ea.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN

Each (one) of us should bring a different dish.

[17] Elicited:

*Context* – There’s a potluck dinner, which a number of people are attending.

Yat=te            wen    kiluwaw    cuwi-tp-ot=yaq  
3SG.ASA=EMPH   one.AN   2PL                    must-happen-II-(0)=EVID  
          k-pec-ipt-u-hti-ni-ya                    piluw-ik-o-k                    micu-w-akon.  
          2-to.here-carry.TI-TH-3PL-SUBD-1PL    different-kind-II-CONJ.0    ea.AI-DER-NMLZ.INAN

Each (one) of you should bring a different dish.

Finally, [18] is an example which shows a use of *yat=te* (without *wen*) that means ‘each’, along with an instance of *yat* (occurring with neither the clitic =*te* nor with *wen*) which does not have quantificational meaning. It is extracted from a story about an old custom that women had of calling out insults to one other from each of their doorways. The first sentence of [18], which has an occurrence of *yat=te* meaning ‘each (one)’, is followed in the next sentence by another occurrence of *yat* that refers to “that other woman” in the preceding clause. Thus, perhaps at some point, there were passages with two instances of Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords that functioned together to set up a comparison between two entities, without initially meaning ‘each’. The semantic relationship between such a comparison and the development of quantificational meaning will be taken up again in 6.2.4.

[18] From *Peter Lewis Paul – Tongue Lashing* (Teeter text 18, LeSourd 2002 draft):

Yat=te=hc            sehk-e       'qahakon-um-ok.  
3SG.ASA=EMPH=FUT stand-AI-(3) 3.door.INAN-POSS-LOC

Each one would stand at her own door.

On     nit     tan            kisi=kehsi-mili-m-a-t            kotok-il  
then   then   however   CML=so.much=say.much-TA-DIR-CONJ.3   other-3'  
ehpi-li-c-il,  
woman.AN-3'-3-3'

Then, when she would call out as many different insults as she could to the other woman,

Yat=oc=na            asitewtoma.  
3SG.ASA=FUT=also answer-AI-(3)  
that one would respond in kind.

### 6.2.3 Word class status

As mentioned in 6.2.1, there is some variation amongst speakers for the inflectional behavior *yat=te wen*. For speakers for whom *yat=te* does not inflect, it is formally a particle, with a function like that of other quantifier particles such as *psiw* 'all' and *toqiw* 'both'. *yat=te* could thus be grouped with other quantifier particles, as given in 1.2.2.5, although *yat=te* differs from these other particles in having to be followed by *wen* 'one'.

For speakers for whom *yat=te* in *yat=te wen* still inflects for number and obviation, it to some extent resembles the entity-referring demwords described in Chapter 3. However, since it is only forms of the animate Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords that can have the quantifier meaning of 'each', and *yatte wen* has a distribution distinct from entity-referring demwords, it is best treated as to some extent categorically different from them, as another type of Nominal.

## 6.2.4 Grammaticalization

The grammaticalization of demonstratives into quantifiers has not, to my knowledge, been previously documented in other languages. In the main, demwords are not used as quantifiers in other Algonquian languages either; one exception is Penobscot, another Eastern Algonquian language, as shown in [19].<sup>6</sup>

[19] Data given by Ives Goddard, taken from Frank Siebert's unpublished dictionary

*iya* 'that yonder (AN)'  
*iyàtte* 'each (AN)'

It is not immediately obvious how the relevant demwords in both languages – *yat=te* in Passamaquoddy and *iyàtte* in Penobscot – would have developed quantifier meanings from their more prototypically demonstrative ones. One possibility may relate *yat=te* being originally associated with emphatic meaning. The enclitic *=te* in other contexts is commonly associated with emphasis. Also, since *yat* is an Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee form, it is possible that a speaker would need to draw attention more emphatically to its referents, which are far from both speaker and addressee, than to a referent close to either the speaker or addressee. Thus, perhaps from an emphatic meaning of 'that one over there' there

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<sup>6</sup> Since the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Maliseet communities were in close contact for a long period of time, these languages share some grammatical similarities, such as the development of phonemically distinct pitch accent LeSourd (p.c.). Thus, it is unsurprising to see that Penobscot may have had the same sort of quantificational use for the Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demword as Passamaquoddy does. Unfortunately, there are currently no fluent speakers of Penobscot, so additional data cannot be gathered for further comparison. However, Frank Siebert collected numerous Penobscot texts and made a large amount of field notes, material which might provide some data about the quantificational use of *iyàtte*. Also, it would be useful to look at Western Abenaki, another Eastern Algonquian which is closely related to Penobscot. A few speakers of Western Abenaki remain, so eliciting relevant data is possible, and there are also a number of Western Abenaki texts which have been collected that could provide relevant evidence.

developed the sense of ‘even that one over there’. Then at some point the meaning of exceptionality of inclusion (‘even that one’) is reanalyzed as meaning ‘each one,’ because situations where even the remote items in the linguistic discourse are included are likely to be those where all items are included.

There are also some interesting data in texts collected by Karl Teeter in the 1960s (LeSourd 2002 draft), and below, I present some possible reanalyses suggested by Phil LeSourd (p.c.) involving three developments for *yat=te*: the acquisition of distributive quantificational meaning, the loss of inflectional variation, and the significance of the clitic *=te* associated with the demword.

Recall that in [18], there is a pair of Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords – one of which can readily be interpreted as meaning ‘each’ and one of which cannot – which suggests that Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords might have been used to set up a comparison between a pair of entities in contexts. It is useful to consider some more data where the use of Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demwords sets up this sort of comparison. [20] is an extract from a story, *Moci Ehpit* ‘The Evil Woman’, published in 1975 by the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program. The passage describes how a happy couple is split up by the lies of the evil woman.

[20] From *Moci Ehpit* (data provided by Phil LeSourd, translation tentative):

Nit=ehta=te      wot      moci=ehpit      nit=te      't-ol-luhka-n.  
 then=EMPH=EMPH      3SG.NS      bad=woman.AN      OSG.NA=EMPH      3-thus-do.AI-SUBD  
 Then the evil woman did just that.

Amsqahs=ote      skitapi-yil      nem-iy-a-t,      moc-akonut-omuw-a-n:  
 first=EMPH      man.AN-3'      see-TA-DIR-CONJ.3      (3)-bad-tell.story-TA-DIR-SUBD  
 As soon as she saw the man, she told him a malicious story:

“K-nisuwi-yeq nit kisi=ol-luhke-t,  
2-live.together.AI-CONJ.2PL 0SG.NA CMPL=thus-do.AI-CONJ.3

'-kisi=tp-inuw-a piluw-eya skitapi-yi.”  
3-CMPL=consider.TA-look-DIR-(3'PL) different-NMLZ-(3'PL) man.AN-3'PL

“Your wife (spouse) has done this: she has checked out (considered by looking) different men.”

Yehtol=na ehpi-li-c-il nem-iy-a-t, nihtol=na 't-iy-a-l,  
3'SG.ASA=also woman-3'-AN-3' see-TA-DIR-CONJ.3 3'SG..NA=too 3-tell.TA-DIR-3'

Then when she saw the woman, she told her as well,

“K-nisuwi-yeq ehpi-li-c-ih i 't-iyali=tp-inuw-a.”  
2-live.together.AI-CONJ.2PL woman-3'-3-3'PL 3-around=consider-look.TA-DIR-(3'PL)

“Your husband has been going around checking out women.”

Ipa, mam=ote '-kis-eh-tuw-a-n '-kolul-ti-li-n  
hey finally=EMPH 3-CMPL-make.TA-DIR-SUBD 3-argue.with.AI-RECIP-3'-SUBD.PL

nihit.  
3'PL.NA

Well, finally she got them to argue with each other.

Elomi=kolul-ti-hti-t, elomi=kolul-ti-hti-t,  
ahead=argue.with.AI-RECIP-3PL-CONJ.3 ahead=argue.with.AI-RECIP-3PL-CONJ.3

mam=ote cep-ih-hik.  
finally=EMPH separated-go.AI-(3)-3PL

They argued and argued, until they finally split up.

'-Kisi=cep-on-a.  
3-CMPL=separated-by.hand.TA-DIR-(3'PL)

She had split them up.

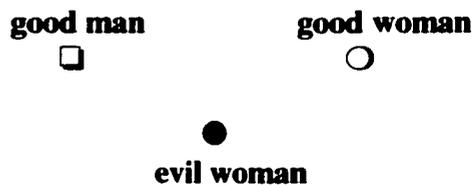
Yehtol=te moc-akonut-omuw-a-l, yehtol=ona.  
3'SG.ASA=EMPH (3)-bad-tell.story-TA-DIR-3' 3'SG.ASA=too

She told malicious stories to one, then to the other.

First, note the initial occurrence of *yehtol* (with the clitic =*na* ‘too, as well’ bound to it) in the fourth line of the passage, used adnominally with *ehpilícil* to refer to the woman in the couple. Looking at the context of the story, it looks like this Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demword is used not because the (good) woman is distant from the narrator or

from the addressee, nor because she is distant from the evil woman. Rather, the use of *yehtol* here places the good woman at a distance from her husband, and highlights the fact that the evil woman is telling tales to each member of the couple separately. This can be diagrammed simply as in Figure 15.

**Figure 15: A diagrammatic representation of the distance between the text participants in [20]**



In the last line of [20], the obviative Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee *yehtol* is used (without *wen*) twice (in the first instance with the emphatic clitic =*te* and in the next with the clitic =*na* ‘too, as well’) to refer first to one member of the couple and then to the other member. Although there is no direct quantificational meaning associated with each separate occurrence of the relevant demword, the double occurrence of *yehtol* sets up a comparison between two entities – this time the wife and the husband – and thus functions to express a sort of distributive quantification, since the evil woman spoke to each member of the couple. It is not hard to see how an Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demword which occurs in contexts like [20] could be reinterpreted as a quantifier in its own right, without another occurrence of *yat*.

Also, it is not surprising to find that *yat* continued to be inflected even when it functioned as an expression of quantification, since in the initial stages of

grammaticalization, it is common to see a change in function or meaning without any changes in inflectional behavior (or phonological form). For most contemporary speakers, however, it seems that inflectable *yat=te* has been reanalyzed as uninflected *yat=te*.

It is interesting to compare *yat=te* with the quantifier *tan* meaning ‘how, such’, since a similar loss of inflectional properties also seems to have occurred for *tan*. *tan* can combine with a demword Nominal to mean ‘whoever/whichever’ (e.g. *tan wot* means ‘whichever [AN, SG]’, since *wot* is an animate singular demword) or with a participle to mean ‘whoever/whichever *verb*-s’. In [21], an extract from a text recorded in the 1960s, *tan* combines with the participle *eliyamacil* ‘the one [3] who s/he [PROX] goes to’ to mean ‘whoever [3] s/he [PROX] goes to’. This example shows that *tan* is now clearly an uninflected particle, since otherwise we would expect an obviative form that agrees with the participle *eliyamacil*:

[21] From *Solomon Polchies – Lucky* (Teeter text 34, LeSourd 2002 draft):

Tan=yaq el-*iya-m-a-c-il* nihtol=c=yaq, mihtaqs-ol.  
 such=EVID thus-go-TA-DIR-CONJ.3-PTCP.3' 3'SG.NA=FUT=EVID (3)-father.AN-3'  
 Whoever he [PROX, a baby] goes to, they say, that one [OBV] will be his father.'

According to LeSourd (p.c.), the source of *tan* in Proto-Algonquian was an inflected pronominal, and in Maliseet texts collected by Silas Rand as late as 1863, *tan* could still be inflected, so that the proximate plural form *tanik* and the obviative singular *tanil* are attested. From this evidence, it seems that that *tan* has become uninflectable only in the last century or so. Given this timeline for *tan*, we may hypothesize that *yat=te* (*wen*) could be headed

down a similar pathway where the loss of inflection occurs completely in a matter of a few generations (assuming, of course, that the language continues to be spoken).

Another question concerns the fact that for contemporary speakers, the quantifier meaning is only possible when the demword *yat* occurs with the clitic *=te*. While *=te* often has an emphatic meaning in other contexts, the use of *=te* that looks the most likely to be relevant to the development of *yat=te* is in a correlative construction that translates into English as “the more... the more...” Some examples provided by Phil LeSourd, elicited from David Francis, involve verbs with the initial *olom-*. First, note that *olom-* literally means ‘ahead’, in the sense of motion along the line of sight of the referent of a verb’s argument. An example of this basic meaning is given in [22]:

[22] From *David Francis – Army Days*:

N-siwehs kete tett=te olomi pcit-ahkal-a-ne  
1-brother.AN for.example out.there=EMPH ahead send-throw.TA-3I-SUBD  
my brother, for example, was sent ahead out there

waht oloqiw etol-ihponul-ti-mok.  
far.away over.there ONGO-fight.TA-RECIP-CONJ.3I  
way out there where the fighting was.

In [23] and [24], however, which are correlative constructions, *olom-* is used in the first verb of each example with a metaphorically extended sense of ‘to that extent’. Thus, this use of *olom-* is used to set up a comparison between two terms – in this case, two verbs. In both [23] and [24], the clitic *=te* is bound to the verb in the clause encoding the first term of the comparison, and seems to have some sort of distributive force, indicating that the construction as a whole should be interpreted as involving a comparison of extents.

[23] Elicited (data provided by Phil LeSourd):

Elom-oluhk-i=te,                    nt-olomi=wol-aws.  
ahead-work.AI-CONJ.I=EMPH    I-ahead=good-live.AI

The more I work, the better off I am (the better I'm living).

[24] Elicited (data provided by Phil LeSourd):

Elom-uwinatom=te                    sahti-hil,                    nt-olomi=mokeht-om-on-ol.  
ahead-pick.TI-(CONJ.I)=EMPH    blueberry.INAN-PL    I-ahead=eat.TI-TH-0-PL

The more blueberries I pick, the more of them I eat.

Thus, this use of =*te* may to some extent be a parallel to the uses of *yat* seen in [20], which are also involved in comparisons between members of a pair. If so, the occurrence of =*te* in correlative constructions like [23] and [24] might be the source for the use of this clitic with forms of *yat* that have developed a distributive meaning of 'each'.

Still, given the absence of additional evidence in Passamaquoddy, as well as a lack of documentation in other languages on the development of quantificational meaning 'each' from a demonstrative, the possibility remains open that it was a grammaticalization pathway different from the ones presented here which led to *yat=te wen* acquiring the meaning of 'each'.

### 6.3 Filler demwords

It appears that in Passamaquoddy, there are also occurrences of demwords whose function is primarily or solely that of a filler or place-holder. The discussion here must be

tentative, however, since my data are primarily from one speaker (David Francis) who used filler words rather prolifically.

### 6.3.1 Morphological and distributional properties

As discussed in 2.3.2, Passamaquoddy has hesitator Nominals, but these are distinct from filler demwords. Still, demwords used as fillers commonly co-occur with hesitator Nominals. It appears that the non-absentative inanimate Near-Speaker singular demword *yut* is the most common demword used as a filler, and it occurs when the speaker is searching for wording.

### 6.3.2 Uses of filler demwords

In the following extracts, the text is segmented by intonation units. Intonation units (IUs) as identified in my texts are generally separated by a pause of “significant” duration. Occasionally, *absence* of pause was ignored in deeming there to be an IU boundary, in cases when there was one or more of the following: (i) significant reset of pitch; (ii) significant change in intensity; (iii) significant change in speed of delivery. For more details about how intonation units were determined, see Ng (to appear).

In [25], the underlined instance of the demword *yut* occurs with the hesitator Nominal *iyey*. While it is possible to interpret this demword as an adnominal demword, co-occurring with *peskuwat* ‘gun’, it looks to me that it at least also serves the function as a place-holder, particularly since it occurs before an intonation break.

[25] From *David Francis – Life in the Army*:

Nit=te            apc        nu~            nute-kim-ke-ne-n            naka  
0SG.NA=EMPH    next        FALSE.START (1)-out-order.TA-3I-SUBD-1PL    and  
right away we were sent out and

psi=te        el-ac-i-t  
all=EMPH    thus-ready-AI-CONJ.3  
all the equipment

'somakonoss    't-ahcuwi=pom-ipt-u-n  
soldier.AN        3-must=through-carry.TI-TH-0  
a soldier had to carry it

yut        ihik                    k-tolomakon-ok    naka    yut        iyey  
0SG.NS    HESPRO.LOC        2-shoulder.INAN-LOC    and        0SG.NS    HESPRO.INAN  
on your shoulders and

peskuwat    wiciw.  
gun.INAN    together  
with your gun.

In [26], the *yut* demword co-occurring with the hesitator Nominal *iyey* is not co-occurring adnominally with any other Nominal; in fact, the *yut iyey* combination occurs between a preverb *mehci* 'finish' and a verb *metokehkimkan* 'when I finished training', and it is clear that the speaker started by producing a free morpheme preverb, *mehci*, before producing a verb with the bound form *met-* meaning the same thing. In other words, the place where *yut iyey* occurs is exactly where one might expect a filler or place-holder item, and also a place in the text where the demword cannot be (obviously) interpreted as, say, an adnominal demword.

[26] From *David Francis – Life in the Army*:

Nil lu, mehci mehci yut iyey  
1SG TOP finish finish 0SG.NS HESPRO.INAN

As for me,

met-okehki-m-ki-yan o  
finish-teach-TA-3I-CONJ.SUBD.1 FILLER  
when I finished training

n-pocit-ahkal-k iyik etoli  
I-send-throw.TA-3I HESPRO.LOC ONGO  
I was sent to where ...

etoli wen  
ONGO one.AN  
where

etoli wen kehki-m-ut iyey yut o  
ONGO one.AN teach-TA-CONJ.3I HESPRO.INAN 0SG.NS FILLER  
where they teach you ...

ma n-kis-iwiht-om-uw-on keq al it it's iyey  
NEG I-able-call.TI-TH-NEG-0 thing.INAN DUB it it's HESPRO.INAN  
o  
FILLER

I don't know what to call it, it's ...

weci=hc wen kisi iyey  
so.that=FUT one.AN able HESPRO.INAN  
so that you would be able to

pcit-ahke-t o  
send-throw.AI+O-CONJ.3 FILLER  
send

kolusuwakon.  
word.INAN  
words.

### 6.3.3 Word class status

Inflectionally invariant filler items (which is what the demwords here are) akin to English *um* or *er* would normally be marginal in any word class classification, so I will simply assume that demword filler items can be grouped with other filler particles such as *o*, where “filler” implies that the speaker is not anticipating the grammatical characteristics of the items to come, in contrast to the hesitator Nominals of 2.3.2.

### 6.3.4 Grammaticalization

Crosslinguistically, demwords have been documented to develop into filler or placeholder morphemes (according to Diessel 1999: 154, these languages include Japanese, Korean, Mandarin Chinese, and Finnish; see also Nichols 1993: 170 for Russian). For example, in Mandarin Chinese, the proximal demonstrative form *zhège* is used by some speakers as a filler morpheme, as in [27].

[27] Elicited:

Wǒ-men	jīntiān,	zhè-ge,	zhè-ge,	yào	xué	jì-suàn.
1-PL	today	PROXIMAL-CLF	PROXIMAL-CLF	will	learn	compile-calculate

Today we're, um, um, going to learn statistics.

Like the Passamaquoddy examples, it is the proximal demword which is used as a filler in Mandarin, which is an interesting contrast to the more common situation of the distal or near-Addressee form being the unmarked form.<sup>7</sup>

In regard to why demwords come to be used as filler items, I can only offer my own speculations due to the lack of sufficient investigation in different languages. It may be that the deictic nature of demonstratives – which means that there is some uncertainty of reference for the addressee until the deictic reference is established – allows the speaker to give the impression of knowing what they want to say while somewhat masking the fact of not having the appropriate item at hand during production difficulties. This sort of account, of course, explains why demonstratives can evolve into filler morphemes, but it does not really explain why demonstratives rather than some other type of morpheme (like, for example, some common verb) come to be used as filler morphemes in a particular language. More research and data is needed to evaluate these initial thoughts.

## 6.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have looked at a variety of demword types showing a range of functions rather different from those usually associated with demonstratives. Nevertheless, the forms of the items leave little doubt that they are historically related to the more familiar

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<sup>7</sup> Recall that the Near-Addressee forms in Passamaquoddy are the ones which are used in the broadest range of linguistic contexts – manner *nit*, clausal connective *nit*, demwords in equative constructions, as well as the entity-referring, place-referring, and time-referring demword functions shared with Near-Speaker and Away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee forms.

entity-referring demwords. For manner *nit*, I discussed its possible semantic connection with entity-referring demwords and with clausal connectives. For *yat=te wen*, there is data which suggests how the quantificational meaning may have developed from a simple referring one, as well as data which suggests why the clitic *=te* came to play a role in the expression. Finally, for filler uses of demwords, I referred to crosslinguistic data where demonstrative forms in other languages are also used as fillers.

This chapter concludes my presentation of the different types of demwords in Passamaquoddy. In the next and final chapter, I will look back at the discussions in Chapters 3-6, summarize what I have found, and offer some suggestions for future research.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

### 7.1 Major findings

As I discussed in 2.2, word classes are defined as groups of words in a language sharing similarities of inflectional behavior, syntactic distribution, and syntactic function,<sup>1</sup> and grammaticalization, as discussed in 1.5, is a phenomenon that may involve functional, distributional, inflectional, and sound changes. Thus, grammaticalization commonly results in a change in the word class of the original item. In the preceding chapters, I discussed the behavior of a set of words in Passamaquoddy which I labeled demwords (demonstrative words), since they share the characteristic of having the phonological forms of words from a large “demonstrative” paradigm. Only a subset of the Passamaquoddy demwords fit the usual notional definitions of “demonstrative”<sup>2</sup>, and they also show a range of formal properties. Thus, I looked at these properties in order to determine their word class membership, and I sought to explain what the historical relationships between the different types of demwords may have been by considering the processes of grammaticalization that could have occurred.

Entity-referring demwords are the only type of demword for which the entire “demonstrative” paradigm is available; the other demword types use only some of the

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<sup>1</sup> In practice, as I discussed in 2.2, these three types of criteria do not always pick out exactly the same groups of words.

<sup>2</sup> Recall from Chapter 1 that “demonstrative” is commonly defined as a word used to refer deictically to entities such as people, animals, objects, and places.

demword forms, and, with the exception of certain of the copula demwords, fail to show the inflectional agreement that entity-referring demwords do. In terms of distributional behavior, in general entity-referring demwords, along with quantifier *yat=te wen* ‘each (one)’, have the widest range, while temporal demwords (except for *neket*), clausal connective demwords, most copula demwords, and manner demword *nit* are more restricted in syntactic position.

Thus, based on their morphosyntactic behavior, Passamaquoddy demwords fall into a number of word classes as identified in Chapter 2: Nominals (entity-referring demwords, which are Type 3 Nominals, and forms of quantifier *yat=te wen*, which are Type 7 Nominals), verbal modifier particles (manner and temporal demwords), copula demwords<sup>3</sup>, and clausal connectives (clausal connective demwords).

I suggested that these demwords can be related to each other by looking at how processes of grammaticalization may have led to the functional and formal differences observed. More specifically, I described entity-referring demwords as the basic type of demword in Passamaquoddy, and argued that the other types of demwords have developed directly or indirectly from them. Thus, I proposed that copula demwords developed from Near-Addressee general pronominal demwords; temporal demwords developed from locational pronominal demwords and general pronominal demwords; clausal connective demwords developed from temporal demwords and from the discourse deictic demword *nit* or from manner demword *nit*; manner demword *nit* developed from a general pronominal demword *nit* and perhaps shared some of its development pathway with discourse deictic

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<sup>3</sup> While certain copula demwords retain some inflectional behavior similar to entity-referring demwords, all copula demwords nevertheless have a number of grammatical differences, inflectional and distributional, from entity-referring demwords (and from other demwords).

demword *nit*; and *yat=te wen* developed from the general pronominal demword *yat*. These pathways are represented in Figure 16 on page 397.

To some extent, these pathways mirror developments that have been previously described for demwords that have undergone grammaticalization. For example, in other languages, copula demwords have been documented to develop from pronominal demwords, and temporal demwords are commonly found to have developed from location-referring demwords. Also, in terms of the distance characteristics of the demwords, Near-Addressee forms in Passamaquoddy participate in the greatest number of the developments, which is apparently in accord with a crosslinguistic trend. In addition, Passamaquoddy demwords, particularly the non-absentative inanimate singular Near-Addressee form *nit*, illustrate the phenomenon called polygrammaticalization by Craig (1991), where a single item gives rise to multiple other items. There are, however, some exceptions in the Passamaquoddy data to what has been reported for demonstrative grammaticalization pathways.

First, temporal demwords have not, as far as I am aware, been described as arising from pronominal demwords that are not location-referring. However, in Passamaquoddy, it is quite possible that temporal demwords *neket* and (=)*yaka* developed from general pronominal demwords rather than location-referring pronominal demwords, and that this occurred since *neket* and *yaka* are absentative forms which can be used for deceased entities, so that the semantics of “formerly present” developed into “not the present time”, and, in the case of *yaka*, specifically into the meaning “at a later time”.

Second, clausal connective demwords have been described as arising from discourse deictic demwords or from manner demwords, but not from temporal demwords. This seems



to me to be more an omission of description than of data, since, as noted in Chapter 4, English *then*, which is historically related to *that*, would seem to illustrate the same process, and also, the development of temporal morphemes into clausal connectives (e.g. English *while*) has been observed for morphemes which are not demonstratives.

Third, the quantifier *yat=te wen* illustrates a result of grammaticalization from entity-referring demwords that has not been described previously. While such a process apparently also took place in Penobscot, another Eastern Algonquian language, it is likely that this was because this development was an areal phenomenon. Although the reanalyses of the entity-referring demword *yat* which was proposed to have occurred is not particularly complex, I suspect that in other, non-Eastern Algonquian languages and languages in general, the meaning 'each' is rarely derived from a demword. However, this requires further research.

## 7.2 Directions for future research

For Passamaquoddy demwords, a range of research awaits to be done. For entity-referring demwords and temporal demwords, it would be desirable to get more exact descriptions about their semantics, with respect to what deictic distances in space and time the various forms correspond to. Research into the spatial semantics of entity-referring demonstratives by scholars such as Wilkins (1999) has shown that there is not necessarily a simple correlation between demonstratives labeled with a particular deictic value and the actual range of distance in space/time associated with those forms; in addition, pragmatic factors and gestural properties often play a crucial role in demonstrative use, and ideally

should be observed and recorded by the researcher. The type of elicitation work developed at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen (e.g. see the 1999 field manual of the Language and Cognition group) may be valuable in obtaining this sort of data for entity-referring demwords in Passamaquoddy, although the methodology is currently limited to situational uses of entity-referring demonstratives, and thus excludes the use of demonstratives in texts, discourse deictics, and temporal deictics.

In addition, it would be useful to have a greater elaboration of the different types of uses of entity-referring demwords in discourse, and more quantitative information about the frequency of those uses in texts, particularly genres not discussed here, such as conversation. Such work could provide a fuller picture of the discourse functions, information status, and referent types of entity-referring demwords. This is particularly interesting since Passamaquoddy entity-referring demwords have a large functional range, encompassing functions associated in other languages with demonstratives, definite articles, and third person pronouns, and there is currently no comprehensive account regarding in what linguistic contexts the occurrence of Passamaquoddy entity-referring demwords is preferred or dispreferred, or how their use compares to other options for reference, such as the use of HIRI expressions or other Nominals, or having no overt referring expression at all.

For clausal connective demwords, recall that it appears that their meaning is generally vague with respect to being one of temporal sequence, logical sequence, or a mix of these. Further investigation into their contexts of use would allow better elaboration of their semantics, and help answer questions regarding what meaning is associated with the

demwords independent of the linguistic context, and what meanings are inferred from the context.

For copula demwords, further data should be gathered to determine what other, if any, Near-Addressee forms in the paradigm can serve as copulas, in particular, obviative and absentative forms, since the forms discussed in this dissertation were all proximate and non-absentative. The little data that I have so far suggest that obviative forms are not used, but more examples are needed to confirm this.

Also, more elicitation and analysis are needed to better determine the semantic differences between the constructions with copula demwords, in particular sentences like *Wot nit emqansis* ‘This is the spoon’, which has one construction demword *nit*, and *Wot nit nit emqansis* ‘The spoon is this one’, which has two, and also sentences like *Tepit not nit taktal* ‘David is the doctor’, which has two construction demwords, *not* and *nit*. Based on the data elicited, for several of the constructions, the information status of the terms looks to be relevant in determining the use of copula demwords; ideally, however, having more data containing instances of copula demwords – especially in texts where copula demwords were not specifically being elicited – would help clarify the role that information structure plays in copula use.

In addition, for some of the constructions, there remains some degree of inflectional agreement between the copula and the terms in the clause. Thus, it would be interesting to see how stable the grammaticalization process has been, and whether further reanalysis is occurring amongst any groups of speakers.

A similar comment can be made for quantifier *yat=te wen*, for which there is variation between different speakers with respect to its inflectional behavior. Examining such variation in more detail can provide a picture of the degree to which grammaticalization has proceeded, since this is evidently a process which has recently occurred in the last few generations of speakers.

For manner demword *nit*, it would be interesting to further investigate its semantic relationship to discourse deictic demwords, such as seeing if there are sentences with *nit* that are vague in the same way as *thus* sentences in English (i.e. allowing either a manner or discourse deictic reading).

As for the use of demwords as fillers, as I noted in Chapter 6, this was a strategy that I observed frequently only in the speech of one speaker. I would like to see how general this use is, and how independent it is from the use of hesitator Nominals (Type 2 Nominals).

The Passamaquoddy data also raise questions for research into related languages. It would be interesting to see the degree to which the findings for Passamaquoddy occur in other Algonquian languages, particularly the non-Eastern ones which did not have significant contact with Passamaquoddy. With respect to the semantics of Algonquian demwords, while some historical reconstruction has been done (e.g. Proulx 1988), there is no comprehensive description about Algonquian demwords as they are currently used. I cited some suggestive data here and there, such as possible copula use of demwords in Fox and the quantifier use of the animate away-from-Speaker-and-Addressee demword in Penobscot, but obviously a more comprehensive study is needed. It is clear, however, from my preliminary perusal of published materials in Western Abenaki (e.g. Day 1994), Micmac (e.g. DeBlois 1996;

DeLisle and Metallic 1976), and Cree (e.g. Wolfart 1996; Wolfart and Ahenakew 1998) that the phenomena of demwords with a range of non-deictic and/or non-entity-referring functions are not unique to Passamaquoddy. Thus, it is possible that a similar sort of investigation would show that such items also show formal differences from entity-referring demwords, which would suggest that some processes of grammaticalization have occurred for such demwords. If so, there would be the same issue as arises in Passamaquoddy of what word classes those items belong to, based on their inflectional and distributional properties.

Finally, my discussion of the Passamaquoddy data also sheds light on the more general issue of grammaticalization and the determination of word classes. In the clearest cases of grammaticalization, we observe the whole combination of changes in function, inflection, distribution, and phonological form. For example, English complementizer *that* developed from a demonstrative *that*. Complementizer *that* is no longer a referring term; it is restricted syntactically to a position at the beginning of a subordinate clause; only the singular distal form can be used as a complementizer; and it is commonly pronounced with a reduced vowel, /ðət/. For these reasons, complementizer *that* is treated by grammarians of English as a different grammatical item from entity-referring demonstrative *that*.

However, since grammaticalization occurs over time, it is typical that at the earlier points of the process, only some linguistic changes will have occurred. In well-documented cases of grammaticalization, it is relatively unproblematic to propose that at the point when the forms showed only, say, changes in syntactic function and distribution, this was an earlier period of grammaticalization; instances of the language documented later will then show that these forms proceeded to change inflectionally and phonetically as well. A number of

changes associated with the development of Latin into the Romance languages provide such examples of grammaticalization, e.g. the development of the Late Latin verb *habere* 'have' into future suffixes in Romance (see Harris 1978; Fleischman 1982; Vincent 1982; Pinkster 1987).

On the other hand, when there are insufficient written records, it can be less obvious how to treat some item *X* which does not show phonetic or inflectional differences compared to the suspected source item *Y*, since in such cases, we cannot necessarily rule out the possibility that item *X* is not simply evidencing part of the functional and distributional range of the supposed source item. For example, in many languages, the forms with the functions generally associated with demonstratives are the same as the forms used as regular third person pronouns, with no difference in inflectional behavior (e.g. see Greenberg 1978). Although there are languages where the historical record shows that third-person pronoun forms subsequently diverged phonetically from the demonstratives (such as the development of third-person pronouns in the Romance languages from Latin demonstratives), in other languages there is no sign of such a development, and it seems clear that the latter situation can be stable for some time. Such a situation is seen in Passamaquoddy where, as described in Chapter 3, there are numerous instances of demwords which refer to entities anaphorically rather than deictically, corresponding in function to items which in other languages are often grammatically distinct definite articles and third-person pronouns. If the Passamaquoddy data were historical, and we subsequently had evidence that the entity-referring demwords used anaphorically changed formally as well (e.g. losing their inflectional properties and/or showing changes in phonetic form), then we might look upon the data described in Chapter

3 as being an incipient stage of grammaticalization that had not as yet involved any formal changes. However, since this is not the case, I argued that entity-referring demwords used anaphorically should be considered to belong to the same grammatical class as the entity-referring demwords with deictic meaning, since there are no grammatical differences between these two uses of demwords.

On the other hand, in Chapter 5 I considered the properties of demwords which occur specifically in certain types of clauses with non-verbal predicates. These construction demwords, as I called them, are all restricted to Near-Addressee forms, but otherwise vary in their inflectional behavior. In some constructions, the demword inflects for animacy and number; in other constructions, the demonstrative word inflects for animacy and number in the plural but not in the singular; and in still other constructions, the demonstrative word does not inflect for number and animacy in either the singular or the plural. Those instances of construction demwords which still show inflectional agreement for animacy and number look most like entity-referring demwords, and one might ask if they belong to the same word class as entity-referring demwords. However, I argued that their grammatical behavior overall is different enough that they could be considered to belong to a separate word class, weighing the similarity of phonetic form less than the differences in distribution and in paradigmatic restriction and other reductions in inflectional range.

In addition to copula demwords which are inflectionally invariant, it is also illuminating to compare other types of demwords which are morphologically particles. These include location-referring demwords and discourse deictic demwords, as discussed in

3.2 and 3.3; temporal demwords, as discussed in 4.1; clausal connective demwords, as discussed in 4.2; and manner *nit*, as discussed in 6.1.

The reason that location-referring demwords and discourse deictic demwords are limited to non-absentative inanimate singular forms can be explained by considering the characteristics of their referents, and given that both location-referring demwords and discourse deictic demwords are distributionally (and functionally) like other pronominal entity-referring demwords, they were identified as being in the same class as entity-referring demwords. On the other hand, such an explanation is not available to account for the various forms used for temporal demwords, which include both morphologically animate and inanimate, and non-absentative and absentative forms. Similarly, we cannot give a good semantic explanation as to why clausal connective demwords and manner *nit* use the forms that they do. Furthermore, the distribution and syntactic function of temporal, clausal connective, and manner demwords are different from that of entity-referring demwords. With respect to distribution, clausal connective demwords, manner *nit*, and most temporal demwords are pre-verbal, while *neket* as a temporal demword occurs both pre-verbally and post-verbally. In regard to syntactic function, clausal connectives serve to express clausal relations, manner *nit* refers deictically to verbal events, and temporal demwords refer to points in time.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Of these demwords, perhaps temporal demwords have a syntactic function most like that of entity-referring demwords, in that locations in a temporal dimension are similar in some respects to locations in spatial dimensions. Still, as I noted in Chapter 4, we cannot literally point to some “location” in time the way we can point to some location in space. This makes temporal deixis different in important respects from deictic reference to physical locations.

In summary, no single formal criterion by itself should be the determining factor for word class membership. Processes of grammaticalization may result in a number of items with shared phonological forms that show a range of differences with respect to other formal properties such as inflection and distribution. On the other hand, while words whose use is syntactically restricted (e.g. to verbless clauses) can undergo other grammatical divergences that further differentiate them from the original set of words, we need to first consider if any grammatical differences, such as restriction in inflectional range, can be explained with reference to semantics or discourse factors such as frequency before positing that a word class distinction does in fact exist.

A question from a different perspective is how all the demonyms in Passamaquoddy are represented in the mental lexicon of speakers. If a major goal of linguistic theory is to come up with models of the psychological grammar(s) of native speakers, then ideally, word class distinctions proposed on paper should match the word class distinctions that speakers actually have in their minds. Of particular interest here are discussions about the representation of words with the same phonological forms. Some psycholinguistic models of the lexicon propose that homophones, such as *bank*<sub>1</sub> (of a river) and *bank*<sub>2</sub> (a financial institution) share a single phonological form representation, but have distinct semantic and syntactic representations; other models propose that words such as *bank*<sub>1</sub> and *bank*<sub>2</sub> have different form representations as well. The experimental evidence does not clearly favor one model over the other (e.g. see Jescheniak and Levelt 1994; Caramazza, Costa, Miozzo and Bi 2001), but there is agreement that there must be a way for speakers to distinguish the two different semantic-syntactic functions.

For the Passamaquoddy demwords, then, presumably speakers would have different representations in the mental lexicon for demwords that are clearly grammatically different, even if their phonological forms are the same; for example, clausal connective *nit* vs. entity-referring *nit*, or temporal *neket* vs. entity-referring *neket*, since these have different meanings, inflectional possibilities, and distributional behaviors. The more interesting question is how speakers treat demwords which are partly similar grammatically, such as entity-referring demwords and the construction demwords in verbless clauses that show agreement for animacy and number. If, for example, reliable psycholinguistic evidence showed that speakers were treating the animate singular Near-Addressee *not* in [1] differently from the *not* in [2], this would support the analysis I proposed in Chapter 5, that the demword in [2] is sufficiently different from entity-referring demwords to warrant being classified distinctly.

[1] Elicited:

Ipa, l-apom-a-n not cihpolakon!  
 look thus-look.at.TA-DIR-IMP.2 3SG.NA eagle.AN  
 Look at that eagle!

[2] Elicited:

Maltuhs-is not wehke-w-akon.  
 hammer.AN-DIM 3SG.NA use.TI-DER-NMLZ.INAN  
 A hammer is a tool.

Finally, I would like to conclude by noting that while linguists typically direct the bulk of our time and energy into developing and refining analyses of data, the various proposals suggested here for further research on Passamaquoddy (and most other indigenous

languages of North America) will simply be unrealizable goals if language maintenance and revitalization efforts do not prove successful. I am grateful that the Passamaquoddy data elicited by me and by other scholars have provided me with the opportunity to explore areas within linguistics which I find interesting, such as word classes, grammaticalization, and grammatical description. However, the more urgent task at the moment is to ensure that the language is passed onto successive generations.

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## Passamaquoddy and Maliseet texts

### (I) Elicited by me

Told by Dolly Dana, Pleasant Point, Maine, 1998:

*Going To School*

Told by Joan Dana, Indian Township, Maine, 1999:

*The traditional ways*

*Thoughts on forgiveness and the language*

Told by David Francis Sr., Pleasant Point, Maine, 1998-1999:

*Army Days*

*Going To School*

*Houses*

*Life After The Army*

*Porpoises*

*Seals*

Told by Wayne Newell, Indian Township, Maine, 1999:

*The Ice Storm*

## (II) Other sources

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*Moci Ehpit* ('The Evil Woman'). 1975. Indian Township, ME: Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program.

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