ENCLITIC PARTICLES IN WESTERN ABENAKI: FORM AND FUNCTION[1]

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Western Abenaki, an Eastern Algonquian language spoken until recently at Odanak (St. Francis), Quebec, makes extensive use of a set of enclitic particles that are typically placed in second position in a clause. This article presents an analysis of the formal properties of these particles, describes their meanings and their discourse functions, and provides a brief account of their syntactic distribution. The phonological properties of the clitics and their hosts are identified, with particular attention to the realization of word-final *h*, which surfaces only before enclitics in a restricted set of particles and suffixes. The data for this study come primarily from nineteenth-century texts, but attention is also given to phonological developments in the treatment of clitics and their hosts that took place in the twentieth century.

[Keywords: clitics, discourse particles, second position, Western Abenaki, Algonquian syntax]

1. Introduction

Western Abenaki (ISO code abe), an Eastern Algonquian language, was spoken at the time of European contact over much of what is now Vermont and New Hampshire and in adjacent parts of northwestern Massachusetts and southern Quebec (Day 1978). Refugees brought the language to Odanak (St. Francis), Quebec, shortly after 1700, and it continued to be spoken there and by scattered individuals elsewhere into the early years of the twenty-first century. Cécile (Wawanolett) Joubert, the last fully fluent speaker of the language and its dedicated champion and advocate, was born in 1908 and passed away in 2006.[2]

The Western Abenaki language makes extensive use of a set of ten enclitic particles that are placed in second position in a clause. These are semantically diverse. They include future and conditional markers; a reportative particle; several adverbials; and particles indicating focus, contrast, and emphasis. Two types of independently occurring words may also be cliticized. First, three subordinating conjunctions are optionally postpositive: these may either be stationed at the beginning of a clause or be placed in second position. Second, certain short, unstressed demonstrative pronouns become enclitic when they happen to occur in clause-second position.

The fact that certain particles regularly appear in second position in Western Abenaki clauses was already noted by the Abenaki grammarian Joseph Laurent in his pedagogical grammar of 1884. He cites the examples in (1) to show that the future marker $=ci$ maintains its position when other material in a sentence is rearranged. Note that $=ci$ adds an initial ∂ after a consonant in (1c). Other consonant-initial clitics follow the same pattern.[3]

(1*a*)   nət-əlohsa=**ci**   molian   ssanəta-k-a.

1-go.there=FUT   Montreal   be.Sunday-3IN-SUBJ

'I will go to Montreal on Sunday.'

<N'-d-elosaji Molian Sandaga> (Laurent 1884:119)

(1*b*)   ssanətaka=**ci** molian nətəlohsa.

<Sandagaji Molian n'-d-elosa> (Laurent 1884:119)

(1*c*)   molian=**əci** nətəlohsa ssanətaka.

<Molianji n'-d-elosa Sandaga> (Laurent 1884:119)

All of the second-position particles we are concerned with here pattern like *=ci* in maintaining their location in the clause as other words are permuted. This fact gives us an initial reason to suppose that these particles are enclitics. The ones that only occur in second position (all of them except the conjunctions) are consistently or frequently written together with a preceding word in texts by native authors, so there is orthographic evidence as well for their status as enclitics. These obligatorily second-position particles routinely interrupt constituents, as we expect of enclitics that are stationed after the first word in their domain of placement. Thus, *=ci* interrupts a coordinate structure in (2) in which two NPs (noun phrases) are linked by *tta* 'and'.

(2)   [NP [NP kətəmąksəssə-w-ąkan]=**əci**   tta   [NP akacə-w-i—

be.poor-W-NOM=FUT   and   be.ashamed-W-PF—

macaləmək^{w}əso-w-ąkan]]   məsətohką-k^w

have.bad.luck-W-NOM   befall-INV

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tąn-əwa   asah-a-k   kki-tə-w-ąkan

such-this.AN   refuse-TH-3AN   teach-RECIP-W-NOM

'poverty and shameful ill fortune shall befall anyone who refuses instruction'

<Ketmoksesw­oganji ta agajwi majalŭkwzowo-/gan mzedok­okw t­onwa

azahak kidw­ogan> (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:35)

The optionally postpositive conjunctions are always written as separate words, but these forms may also interrupt constituents (see section **3**) and thus likewise seem best analyzed as enclitics.

In examples like those in (1), second position in the clause is equivalent to second position in the sentence. A clause-initial conjunction may be ignored in determining second position, however, and a focused constituent may likewise be set aside. Thus, clitics in "second position" are in fact sometimes located well within the sentence. A brief account of the syntactic distribution of the Western Abenaki clitics is provided in **5**, but the discussion there is included primarily to clarify the structure of the examples given in other sections of the article. For a more extensive treatment of the syntax of second position in Western Abenaki, see LeSourd (2011).

The Abenaki examples that I cite here are taken for the most part from nineteenth-century sources, including not only Laurent's grammar of 1884, but two works by the Abenaki author Peter Paul Wzôkhilain (1830*a*, 1830*b*), as well as his translation of the Gospel of Mark (1845).[4] Examples are also taken from a Western Abenaki catechism that was published anonymously in 1832, which Day (1961:82) has concluded is the work of Basilide Desfossés, a St. Francis schoolmaster. These early sources on the language

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provide many more examples of the use of enclitics than the relatively sparse textual

material that is available from the modern era. Some examples have been taken from

more recent sources as well, however. These include texts by the twentieth-century

Abenaki writer Henry L. Masta (1932) and the linguistic work of Gordon Day (1994,

n.d.).

The earlier nineteenth-century works that I draw upon here display an archaic

phonological feature, the retention of word-final *h* before most enclitics in a number of

particles and in certain inflectional suffixes. By the time Laurent (1884) published his

grammar, the *h*'s in question had disappeared from the written record as the result of an

ongoing sound change by which *h* was dropped between vowels. Phonological traces of

the former presence of *h* remained in many forms containing clitics, however; and indeed

there is evidence from Day's material that final *h* in some bases was still optionally

pronounced before clitics into the latter half of the twentieth century.

Of course, tracing such developments requires us to determine the phonological

interpretation of the sources for Western Abenaki. Since there are still many uncertainties

about matters of detail in the analysis of the material in the language that has come down

to us in the writing of native speakers, it has seemed best to include the original forms of

the examples presented here, as well as my interpretations of the phonemic forms.[5]

Western Abenaki has the eleven non-syllabic phonemes *p*, *t*, *c*, *k*, *s*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *w*, *y*

and the five vowels *i*, *o*, *ə*, *a*, and *ǫ*. Warne (1975:2) reports that obstruents are voiced

between sonorants. Phonologically "weak" occurrences of *ə* (which are skipped over in

counting syllables for stress assignment) are not written by native speakers; they instead

write the non-distinctive voicing of obstruents that the presence of these vowels

conditions. The affricate *c* had an apicoalveolar pronunciation for most twentieth-century speakers (Day 1994:xiv), but both Masta (1932) and the nineteenth-century writers used <ch> and <j> to represent this sound, suggesting a palatalized or alveopalatal articulation. The vowel transcribed here as *ǫ* is mid, back, unrounded, and nasal, according to Day (1994:xv). Warne (1975) and Day (1994) distinguish a tense and a lax series of obstruents, but Warne (1975:2) notes that the tense obstruents are "optionally preaspirated." These are interpreted here as clusters with preceding *h*. I also distinguish between single and geminate consonants. The native writers clearly note this difference, although the orthographic reflection of the distinction is complex.

2. Enclitic particles

As already noted, there are three types of forms that appear in second position: strictly enclitic particles, optionally postpositive subordinating conjunctions, and cliticized demonstratives. The ten particles in (3) always occur as enclitics. These include a future marker and a conditional marker, a reportative particle, four clitics with adverbial functions, and three particles indicating focus, contrast, and emphasis.

(3)   Enclitic particles

=*ahto* 'probably'   =*nawa* 'then, therefore'

=*ak^{w}a* 'they say, it is said'   =*pa* 'conditional'

=*ci* 'future'   =*pǝk^{w}a* 'in fact'

=*hki* 'contrast'   =*ta* 'emphasis'

=*ka* 'focus'   =*tahki* 'but, however'

The future particle =*ci* is illustrated in (1) and (2). It indicates future time relative to a reference point, which may itself be set in the past or the future rather than at the present. The conditional clitic =*pa*, shown in (4), indicates a potential state of affairs. Thus, it is sometimes used, as it is here, where English would use a future form.

(4)   ni   mc-ilaw-a-i—li—mącakim-ok-a

        and.then   empty-stomach-have-PF—thus—send.away-1/3-SUBJ

               wə-wikəwąm-ihko-ą-k,   nawat-ąwəti-a=**pa**

               3-house-PL-PROX.PL-LOC along.way-road-PF=COND

               tali—ąlohom-o-k

               location—faint-3-PROX.PL

        'and if I send them away to their respective houses with empty stomachs, they

               will faint along the road'

        <Ni mchilawai li môjagimoga owigwômikoôk, na-/wadôwdiaba tali ôlohomok>

               (Mark 8:3)

Note the use of dashes to set off the preverbs *mcilawai* 'having an empty stomach', *li* 'there' and *tali* 'in a location' within the two preverb-verb complexes in (4). (Prenouns are likewise written here with a following dash.) A preverb-verb complex is a type of verbal compound, inflected as a unit (Bloomfield 1962:202, 214). Such compounds may nonetheless be discontinuously expressed, as Dahlstrom (1987) demonstrates in detail for Meskwaki (ISO code sac). Examples occur in (6*c*), (9*b*), and at

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various other points below. In such cases, the first segment of the preverb-verb complex is written with a trailing hyphen and the second segment with a leading hyphen.

The reportative particle =*ak^{w}a* is shown in (5). It is used both in reporting particular speech events, as in (5*a*), and with the more general sense 'it is said,' as in (5*b*).

(5*a*)   kətak-ik   it-a-k-ik,   kia=**ka=ak^{w}a**   pasəko

    other-PROX.PL   say-TH-3AN-PROX.PL   you.SG=FOC=REPORT   one.AN

        nihką̨ni—waw-ą̨cəmo-w-inno-w-i-c-ik

        ahead—know-tell-W-person-W-be-3AN-PROX.PL

    'others say you are one of the prophets'

    <kdagik idagik Kiagaagwa pazgo nik<u>o</u>ni waw<u>o</u>jmowinno-/wijik> (Mark 8:28)

(5*b*)   ną̨nək^{w}əci=**ak^{w}a**   ak^{w}aci   wipiwi ahsəss-iya ala aləmoss-iya

    sometimes=REPORT   actually only   horse-meat or   dog-meat

        l-ihpo-ak.

        thus-eat-(3)-PROX.PL

    'Sometimes, it is said, they actually ate only horse meat or dog meat.'

    <n<u>o</u>-/ngueji agua aguachi wibiwi asesiia ala almossiia / lipoak.>

        (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:69)

The adverbial clitics =*ahto* 'probably', =*pək^{w}a* 'in fact',[6] and =*nawa* 'then, therefore' are illustrated in (6), together with =*tahki* 'but, however', which functions as a sentence connective.

(6a)　kahala=**ahto**　　kci—saakwaką́sə-w-ą́kan-o-o.

truly=probably　great—sin-w-NOM-w-be-(3)

'It is quite certainly a great sin.'

<Kaha laato kechi saagauakôzuô-/ganoo.> (Desfossés 1832:29)

(6b)　kakʷi=**pək̯ʷa**　Moses　kət-əl-akim-əkow-ą-ssa?

what=in.fact　　　　　　　2-thus-instruct-INV-2PL-DUBIT

'What in fact did Moses command you?'

<Kagwipgwa Moses / kdellagimgow<u>o</u>ssa.> (Mark 10:3)

(6c)　tą́ni=**nawa** tapalət-a-k　　kisi—nisoht-ą-kʷ, ahkʷi- awani　　-cacapən-ə-c.

such=then　own-TH-3AN　past—join-TH-3AN don't- someone　-separate-TH-3IMP

'What therefore the Lord has joined together, let no one separate.'

<T<u>o</u>ninawa Tabaldak kizi nizot<u>o</u>kw akwi awani cha-/jabnech.> (Mark 10:9)

(6d)　wipiwi=**tahki**　ccowi—sissa—wawihatąso-ssa.

only=but　　　should—disperse—be.known-(3)-DUBIT

'but only that it should become widely known'

<wibiwidaki chowi sissa wawihad<u>o</u>zossa> (Mark 3:22)

The enclitic =*ka* is a marker of focus, in the sense in which Lambrecht (1994) uses this term: the focus of a pragmatically structured proposition is "the balance remaining when one subtracts the presupposed component from a given assertion" (p. 217). This is the component of the proposition that "makes the utterance of the sentence expressing the proposition into a piece of information" (p. 217).

To see how *=ka* functions to mark focus in this sense, consider the following question-answer pair from Desfossés's catechism.

(7*a*) tạni   kci—niwask^w ai-t?

where great—spirit   be.located-3AN

'Where is God?'

<Tôni kechiniuasukait?> (Desfossés 1832:19)

(7*b*) məsiwi=**ka** naləwiwi   wət-ai-n,   wə-pəssan-api-n

all=FOC   everywhere 3-be.located-N 3-full-sit-N

    spəkisk-ok   tta   kki-k.

    heaven-LOC and   earth-LOC

'He is present everywhere; he fills heaven and earth.'

<Meziuiga naluiui odain, obessana-/bin spegiskok ta kik.> (Desfossés 1832:19)

The question in (7*a*) establishes the presupposition that God is located somewhere. Subtracting this presupposition from the proposition expressed by the first clause of the answer in (7*b*), we find the focus of that clause, *məsiwi=ka naləwiwi* 'everywhere', explicitly marked as such by *=ka*.

The same principle is at work in the following exchange from Laurent's grammar. Here the first speaker's comment in (8*a*) establishes the presupposition for the second speaker's statement in (8*b*) that the latter has been a canoe-maker. This presupposition is expressed by the second verb in (8*b*), leaving the verb *nqwat* 'it has been a long time' as the expression of the focus here—precisely the constituent marked with *=ka*.

(8*a*)   kə-nihtąw-tol-i,   n-itąpa.

    2-know.how-canoe-AI 1-friend

    'You are skillful in making canoes, my friend.'

    <K'nitôwtoli, nidôba.> (Laurent 1884:113)

(8b)   nąwat=**əka**   nə-noci—ttol-i-n.

    be.long.time-(3)=FOC 1-regularly—canoe-AI-N

    'It is a long while since I have regularly made canoes.'

    <Nôwatga n'noji tolin.> (Laurent 1884:113)

In answers to questions, it is of course quite possible to omit presupposed material. Then only the focus is given in the answer. This is the case in the exchange in (9), taken again from the catechism. The preverb *waci* 'so that' bears the focus enclitic =*ka* in this example, but it is the entire predicate that is in focus here. This consists of three conjoined verbs, all of them construed with *waci*. The way focus marking works here is typical: =*ka* can indicate focus on a constituent of any size within which it occurs.

(9*a*)   kak^{w}i   tapalət-a-k   waci—kis-ih-ok^w-a-sa?

    what   own-TH-3AN   for—past-make-INV-2SG-DUBIT

    'Why did the Lord make you (sg.)?'[7]

    <Kagui Tabaldak uaji kizihoguaza?> (Desfossés 1832:21)

(9b)   waci-=**ka**   -wawaləm-ok, -kəsaləm-ok, tta -alohka-ok…

    so.that-=FOC -know-1/3   -love-1/3   and -work.for-1/3

    'So that I should know him, love him, and work for him…'

<Uajiga uaualmock, kezalmock, ta / alokaok> (Desfossés 1832:21)

It is also possible for a sentence to express a proposition in which no component is presupposed. In such cases, the entire proposition is in focus. This is the situation in (10). The context here (in a translation of John 5:39) is an admonition to "search the scriptures." It is asserted, rather than presupposed, that the scriptures speak of Jesus's mission. Thus, the focused constituent marked by =*ka* in this example is the entire clause. There is motivation for marking this propositional focus, since the clause in question provides the answer to the implicit question of why the addressee should, in fact, search the scriptures.

(10) ttah=**əka**=tta   nilil   nia wihtənəss-əw-ąm-əkow-ąn-il

       and=FOC=EMPH   those.IN   me witness-W-TA-INV-1SG-IN.PL

       'and they (the scriptures) are those which testify of me'

       <tahagatta nilil nia witnesw<u>o</u>mgow<u>o</u>nil.> (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:25)

Distinct from the notion of focus is the idea of contrast. Contrast is marked in Western Abenaki by the enclitic =*hki*, as seen in (11). This example consists of two clauses, each of which makes a comment about a sentence topic, in Lambrecht's sense of this term: "the discourse referent… about which information is being conveyed in a proposition" (1994:127). The topical expressions in this case are *məcəcahk^{w}* 'the soul' and *mhaka* 'the body'.[8] The two topics are contrasted, and this situation is indicated by stationing =*hki* (reduced here to =*ki*) after the first of them.

(11) **mə-cəcahkʷ=ki** kahala kisąco, kanəwa **m-haka** poskəla.

UNSPEC-soul=CONT truly be.ready-(3) but UNSPEC-body be.weak-(3)

'The soul is truly ready, but the body is weak.'

<Mjechakwki kahala kiz__o__jo, kanwa / mhaga poskella.> (Mark 14:38)

The contrast that *=hki* is used to indicate may be only implicit in the context, as we see in (12). Given the leading question in (12*a*) ('So is the Lord the one who made you…?'), the answer in (12*b*) is predictable. But the use of *na=hki* with the contrastive enclitic in place of simple *na* 'that one, he' serves to contrast the referent 'the Lord' with any other possible referent, thus adding the nuance, 'the Lord, and no one else'.

(12*a*) tapalət-a-k=nawa=na kis-ih-okʷ-a-sa tta paso-kʷ-a-sa

own-TH-3AN=then=that.AN past-make-INV-2SG-DUBIT and bring-INV-2SG-DUBIT

wskitkamikʷ-a?

earth-PF

'So is the Lord the one who made you (sg.) and brought you (sg.) to earth?'

<Tabaldak nauana kizihoguaza ta pa-/zoguaza ueskitkamigua?> (Desfossés

1832:21)

(12*b*) Na=**hki** kis-ih-i-sa tta pasəw-i-sa wskitkamikʷ-a.

that.AN=CONT past-make-3/1-DUBIT and bring-3/1-DUBIT earth-PF

'He is the one who made me and brought me to earth.'

<Naki kizihiza ta pazuiza ueskitka-/migua.> (Desfossés 1832:21)

It is entirely possible for a focused referent to be contrastive. This situation arises, for example, in (13). Both the presence of the poor and that of Jesus have already been noted in the context for this sentence, so both referents might be expected to be presupposed. But here the continuing presence of the poor is contrasted with the temporary presence of Jesus, and it is this contrast that makes the proposition expressed by (13) into "a piece of information." Thus, the referents of *katəmą́ksəssicik* 'the poor' and *nia* 'I' (i.e. Jesus) are excluded from the presuppositions associated with their respective clauses, making them contrastive foci in the sentence as a whole.[9] Their dual status is explicitly indicated by the addition of the clitic sequence *=ka=hki* to the first of these paired expressions.

(13) tą́nəpa **katəmą́ksəssi-c-ik**=əka=**hki**   kə-wicihlam-əko-wą-k

　　　for　　be.poor-3AN-PROX.PL=FOC=CONT　2-accompany-INV-2PL-PROX.PL

　　　macimiwi, tta　tą́ni=tta　　atotalət-am-ak^w

　　　always　　and　when=EMPH　think.then-TH-2PL

　　　kə-kisi—wəlih-ą-wą-k,　　　　　**nia**=kanəwa　ą́ta　macimiwi

　　　2-able—do.good-DIR-2PL-PROX.PL　me=but　　　not　always

　　　kə-wicihlam-i-ppa.

　　　2-accompany-2/1-2PL.NEG

　　'for the poor are with you (pl.) always, and whenever you think of it you can do

　　　them good, but you are not always with me.'

<Tǫnba kadmǫksissijikgaki kowijihlamgowǫk ma-/jimiwi, ta tǫnitta

adodaldamakw kgizi wlihǫwǫk; nia / kanwa ǫda majimiwi

kowijihlamippa.> (Mark 14:7)

A final enclitic to consider is *=ta*, a marker of emphasis, illustrated in (14*a*). This enclitic is distinct from the more common *=tta*, which also indicates emphasis but is not restricted to second position; compare (14*b*), where the position of *=tta* contrasts with that of the second-position conditional clitic *=pa*.

(14*a*) ątah=**əta**   kak^{w}i   kət-əli—ąsitawa?

not=EMPH   something   2-thus—answer-(NEG)[10]

'Do you (sg.) answer nothing?'

<ǫdahada/ kagwi kdelli ǫzidawa?> (Mark 15:4)

(14*b*) awani=**pa**   kisi—anhalətamahsi-t saakawahkąsə-w-ąkan

who=COND   able—forgive-3AN   sin-W-NOM

wipiwi=**tta**   kci—niwaskw?

only=EMPH   great—spirit

'Who can forgive sin but God?'

<awaniba kizi / anhaldamasit saagawakǫzwǫgan wibi witta Kchiniwaskw?>

(Mark 2:7)

It seems likely that *=tahki* 'but, however' is in origin a sequence of emphatic *=ta* and the contrastive enclitic *=hki* discussed immediately above.

A number of combinations of enclitics occur in addition to those already noted. A few of the possibilities are shown in (15).

(15*a*) tąni=**ci**=**nawa**   kət-əli—wawt-am-ən-ą   kətak-il   noləmi—kəlosəwąkan-al?

how=FUT=then   2-thus—know-TH-N-2PL   other-IN.PL   obscure—word-IN.PL

'how then will you (pl.) know the other parables?'

<tonijinawa kdelli wawtamno kdagil nolmi klozwo-/ganal?> (Mark 4:13)

(15*b*) tąni=**nawa**=**pa**   nika=tta   aləwa   məsiwi   matta-ą-n-ą

thus=therefore=COND   then=EMPH   almost   all   kill-DIR-N-PROX.PL

'so in this way they would almost all be killed right then'

<t8ninawaba nigatta alwa mziwi matta8n8.> (Masta 1932:33)

(15*c*) awani=**ci**=**nawa**=**ahto**   kisi—poləwa-t?

who=FUT=then=probably   able—escape-3AN

'Who then can escape?'

<awa-/niji nawaato kizi polwat?> (Mark 10:26)

(15*d*) kahaląm-inąkʷ-a=**tahki**=**pəkʷa**   yohi   kci—niwaskʷ

true-appear-PF=but=in.fact   this.OBV   great—spirit

o-namąn-i-na-shan-i

(3)-3-son-have-N-DUBIT-OBV

'but truly God must have had this (man) as his son'

<kahalo-/minokwadakipekwgwa uhi Kchiniwask onamonina-/shani> (Mark

15:39)

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The relative order of elements in these combinations is generally the same across attested examples, but there is some variation. Thus, *=ci* 'future' precedes *=tahki* 'but' in (16*a*), while the reverse order obtains in (16*b*).

(16*a*) tąni=**ci**=**tahki**=tta   mil-əka-ak^w ni   tociwi, ni   it-am-ok^w

whatever=FUT=but=EMPH give-UNSPEC/2-2PL that.IN at.time that.IN say-TH-2PL

'but whatever you (pl.) will be given at that time, say that'

<tonijida / kitta milgaakw ni tojiwi, ni idamokw> (Mark 13:11)

(16*b*) tatəpəsə-w-ak=**ətahki**=**ci**   tahąlawi ąsali-ak

be.same-3-PROX.PL=but=FUT like   angel-PROX.PL

spəmki-k   ai-c-ik

heaven-LOC be.located-3AN-PROX.PL

'but they will be the same as the angels in heaven'

<tadbezwakdakiji taholawi oza-/liak apemkik aijik.> (Mark 12:25)

3. Postpositive conjunctions

The particles listed in (3) are always enclitics. Three subordinating conjunctions, *ąsohka* 'however', *kanəwa* 'however', and *wəsąmi* 'because, therefore', have a different distribution. These may appear either as free forms in clause-initial position or as enclitics in second position. Examples of each of these items in the two types of environments in which they are found are given in (17)–(19).

(17*a*) **ąsohka** ali—kʷtaaləm-ą-həti-t   pəmąwəsowinno-a, ni   sąkawi

but   thus—fear-DIR-PROX.PL-3AN   people-OBV   then   meanwhile

wə-ponihal-ą-n-ą,   tta   ni   wə-mąci-n-ą

3-leave-DIR-N-PROX.PL   and   there   3-go-N-PROX.PL

'but because they feared the people, they left him for the time being, and they

went away from there'

<u>o</u>zoka ali kwtaalm<u>o</u>h<u>o</u>dit pm<u>o</u>wzowinnoa, ni / s<u>o</u>gawi wbonihal<u>o</u>n<u>o</u>, ta ni

wm<u>o</u>jin<u>o</u>.> (Mark 12:12)

(17*b*) [NP [NP na=**ąsohka**   simo]   wə-səkʷəss-a]   l-əssin-o-ssa

that.AN=but   Simon   3-mother.in.law-OBV   thus-lie-3-DUBIT

kəsapəso-w-ąkan   lina-ssa

be.warm-W-NOM   ail-(3)-DUBIT

'but Simon's mother-in-law lay sick of a fever'

<Na <u>o</u>zoka Simo wzegwessa lessinossa kzabzow<u>o</u>-/gan linassa> (Mark 1:30)

(18*a*) **kanəwa**=ci kisk-ol   payąmoo-al   atoci-=ci   -katənəmaw-ą-mək

but=FUT   day-IN.PL   come-(3)-IN.PL   at.point-=FUT   -take.away-DIR-UNSPEC

nihi   wihikami-li-c-i

that.OBV   be.bridegroom-OBV-3AN-OBV

'but the days will come when the bridegroom will be taken away from them'

<Kanwąji kiskol pai<u>o</u>mowal adojiji kadnemmaw<u>o</u>-/mek nihi wibigamiliji> (Mark

2:20)

18

(18*b*) [_{NP} [_{NP} ni=**kanəwa** kisohkʷ] tta [_{NP} ni pamąmkihpotak]]

that.IN=but day and that.IN hour

ąta awani wə-wawalət-am-ow-ən

not someone 3-know-TH-NEG-N

'but that day and that hour no one knows'

<Ni kanwa kizokw ta ni pam<u>o</u>mkipokak <u>o</u>da awani / owawaldamowen> (Mark

13:32)

(19*a*) **wəsąmi** ątah=əpa nisəta nis wə-kikkisi—lən-əm-ow-ən

because not=COND twice two 3-RED.able—make.thus-TH-NEG-N

waci—payąməwi-k tąpawąs

so.that—come-3IN seven

'because twice two cannot be made to come to seven'

<wz<u>o</u>mi <u>o</u>dahaba nisda nis wgikkizi lenmowen / waji pai<u>o</u>mwik t<u>o</u>baw<u>o</u>z>

(Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:9)

(19*b*) ątah=əpa=**wəsąmi** paliwi kikkisi—payąməwi-wi wipiwi yaw

not=COND=because elsewhere RED.able—come-(3)-NEG only four

'it (two times two) cannot therefore come to other than four'

<<u>o</u>dahaba wz<u>o</u>mi paliwi / kikkizi pai<u>o</u>mwiwi wibiwi iaw> (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:9)

When these conjunctions occur in second position in the native documents, they
are always represented orthographically as separate words, unlike the enclitics of the
preceding section, all of which are frequently written together with a preceding word

(some of them consistently so). The status of the postpositive conjunctions as enclitics is nonetheless guaranteed by the fact that they may interrupt constituents. In (17*b*), for example, *ąsohka* 'however' appears within a possessor NP *na simo* 'that Simon (prox.)', which in turn forms part of a larger NP in [NP [NP *na=ąsohka simo*] *wəsək^wəssa*] 'the mother-in-law of that Simon, however'. In (18*b*), *kanəwa* 'however' occurs within the first of two conjoined NPs. As we have noted, this ability to interrupt phrases is characteristic of clitics that follow the first word in the domain within which they are positioned.[11]

4. Enclitic demonstratives

The monosyllabic demonstratives *wa* 'this (prox. an.)', *na* 'that (prox. an.)', and *ni* 'that (in.), there', which appear from twentieth-century sound recordings to have been unstressed (LeSourd 2011:122-123), may be cliticized to a preceding word if they occur in second position, defined as for other clitics. No examples have been identified that show comparable treatment of *yo* 'this (in.)'.

An example showing cliticized *wa* 'this (prox.)' is given in (20). The evidence for clitic status here is purely orthographic: the pronoun is written together with the preceding word in the source, Wzôkhilain's translation of Mark. But in fact Wzôkhilain only writes *wa* this way when its location qualifies as second position by the usual criteria (to which I return below).

(20)   ątah=əta=**wa**   noc-ik-ka-t?

        not=EMPH=this.AN   regularly-house-make-3AN

20

'Is this not the carpenter?'

<Ondahadawa nojikkat?> (Mark 6:3)

The cliticization of *na* 'that (prox.)' and *ni* 'that (in.)' is frequently more readily apparent from overt features of the forms in question. First, bases ending in underlying *h* retain this segment before the demonstrative, as they do before other enclitics. Second, the demonstrative itself appears with an initial *ə* in such combinations. From a historical point of view, this initial vowel is simply retained from the source of the demonstrative (Goddard 2003); it was lost just where the pronoun was not enclitic. Synchronically, however, the initial vowel of these forms is probably best attributed to the rule that inserts *ə* before a consonant-initial enclitic that follows a base ending in a consonant.

To see how all this plays out, consider the examples in (21). The first of these shows *tta(h)* 'and' as it appears without an enclitic, with its final *h* dropped. Examples (*b*) and (*c*) show the animate and inanimate singular demonstratives in environments in which they are not cliticized, so that they lack initial *ə*. In examples (*d*) and (*e*) the same demonstratives occur as enclitics following *tta(h)*; here the particle retains its *h* and the demonstratives add *ə*.

(21*a*) ni   məsiwi wə-mitsi-n-ą   **tta** wam-ihpə-w-ak.

and.then all   3-eat-N-PROX.PL and enough-eat-3-PROX.PL

'And then they all ate, and they were full.'

<Ni mziwi wmitsino ta wamipowak.> (Mark 6:42)

(21*b*) **na**   nohsohka-ok^w.

that.AN   follow-2PL/3IMP

'follow (pl.) him!'

<na nosokaokw> (Mark 14:13)

(21*c*) wəsąmi ni   ahəliki-c-ik

because that.IN   RED.be.a.kind-3AN-PROX.PL

      ni   wə-kinəcaməss-əw-i—təpalət-am-əw-ąkan   kci—niwask^w

      that.IN   3-king-W-PF—own-TH-W-NOM   great—spirit

'for of their kind is the kingdom of God'

<wzomi ni ahha-/ligijik ni wginjameswi tbaldamwogan Kchiniwaskw>

      (Mark 10:14)

(21*d*) **ttah=əna**   kimina—k^wak^wihal-ą-t   sasohs-a

and=that.AN   secretly—betray-DIR-3AN Jesus-OBV

'and he who betrayed Jesus'

<Tahana kimina kwagwihalot Sazosa> (Mark 14:44)

(21*e*) **ttah=əni**   sokənəpąsə-w-ąkan   nia naspi—sokənəpąsi-a,

and=that.IN   be.baptized-W-NOM   I   with—be.baptized-1SG

      ni=ci   naspi—sokənəpąsi-ak^w

      that.IN=FUT   with—be.baptized-2PL

'and the baptism that I am baptized with, that is what you (pl.) will be baptized

      with'

<tahani sogneboz-/wogan nia naspi sognebozia niji naspi sogneboziakw> (Mark

      10:39)

The enclitic forms of demonstratives are simple clitics, in the terminology of Zwicky (1977:6): they are not displaced into second position, but simply become phonologically dependent on a word they happen to follow if they appear in an appropriate location for independent reasons. In many cases, a cliticized demonstrative forms part of a phrasal constituent, showing no sign of having been extracted. Example (22) is typical in this respect. Here the demonstrative *ni* 'that (in.)' is phonologically attached to *kakəna(h)* 'lest' but forms part of the following NP 'the new piece of cloth that was sewn on'.

(22) **kakənah** [NP =**əni**   wski—maksa-hsis   ahsicik\ʷ‌ąsi-k]

      lest   =that.IN   new—cloth-DIM   be.sewn.on-3IN

            wəci—pakanikao   nəkąnia-k

            from—break.off-(3) old.one-LOC

      'lest the new piece of cloth that was sewn on break away from the old'

      <kagnahani wski maksasis asijigw<u>o</u>zik / wji paganigao ng<u>o</u>niak> (Mark 2:21)

5. Clitic placement

The domain of clitic placement is frequently the sentence as a whole. When it is, it is easy to see that enclitic particles follow the first word in this domain, freely interrupting constituents, as in examples like (23).[12]

(23)   [NP yokik=**əka**   nhaləwi kci-niwaskow-i-c-ik]   wəc-ih-ą-n

            these.AN=FOC three   great-spirit-be-3AN-PROX.PL from-make-DIR-UNSPEC

wipiwi   pasəko   mąmaąwi   kci-niwask-ow-i-t.

only   one.AN   RED.exactly   great-spirit-W-be-3AN

'From these three spirits are made just exactly one God.'

<ugikga nhalui kechiniuask-/ouijik uejihôn uibiui pazgo mômaôui

ke/chiniuaskouit.> (Desfossés 1832:20)

Since preverbs are prior members in compound verbs, a preverb-verb complex
may be treated as a single word in determining second position, so that an enclitic particle
is stationed after the entire complex, as in (24*a*). Alternatively, a preverb may be treated
as a separate word, so that the enclitic interrupts the preverb-verb sequence, as in (24*b*).
This treatment is unsurprising, since other material may intervene between preverb and
verb as well; compare (24*c*), where the subject of the sentence and an adverbial particle,
as well as an enclitic, separate a preverb from the verb with which it is construed.

(24*a*)   **kət-əli—wəlalət-am-ən=əpa**   kə-tohkim-i-n   nąn-ąmkihpota-k-a

2-thus—consider.good-TH-N=COND   2-awaken-2/1-N   five-be.hour-3IN-SUBJ

spąsowiwi?

in.morning

'Would you be so kind as to wake me up when it is five o'clock in the morning?'

<K'-d-eli wlaldamenba k'tokimin nônômkipodaga spôsowiwi?> (Laurent

1884:108)

24

(24*b*) **kət-əli-=tahki -kahtawawim-əl-əpa** tahą̨lawi   nə-kəsalət-am-i—nə-nicą̨n-ak

2-thus-=but   -warn-1/2-2PL   like   1-love-TH-PF—1-child-PROX.PL

'but I warn you (pl.) as my beloved children'

<kdeli daki katawawimleba tah<u>o</u>lawi ngezaldami / nnij<u>o</u>nak> (Wzôkhilain

1830*a*:34)

(24*c*) **nət-owiki-=pa** nia ahci **-kisą̨ci**   ni   tociwi,

1-like-=COND I   also -be.ready then by.time,

waci—nisi—nahilą-ak^w.

so.that—together—go.home-1PL.INC

'I wish I could also be ready by that time, so that we could go home together.'

<N'dwigiba nia achi kizôji ni tojiwi, waji nisi nahilôakw.> (Laurent 1884:117)

In examples like those just noted, it is clear that the enclitics follow the first word

in the domain within which the clitic is stationed. Apparent departures from this

generalization are common, however. Examples fall into two main types. First, a clause-

initial conjunction is optionally excluded from the domain of clitic placement, so that the

next word following the conjunction serves instead as the host for enclitics. Second, a

focused constituent may be excluded from this domain, either by itself or in addition to a

conjunction, so that the clitic host is the word that follows the focused constituent. In

such cases, the host may be located several words into the sentence.

The examples in (25) may serve to illustrate how clitic placement works in

sentences that include a conjunction or a focused constituent. In (25*a*), clause-initial

tta(h) 'and' hosts the future enclitic *=ci* as expected. In the first clause of (25*b*), however,

the same conjunction is excluded from the domain of clitic placement, so that the

conditional clitic *=əpa* is stationed after the next following word, which is *qta(h)* 'not'. In

the second clause of (25*b*), both the clause-initial conjunction *wəsąmi* 'because' and a

focused NP *natonəkoci* 'the one (obv.) who receives him' are ignored for the purpose of

clitic placement.[13] The clitic *=əpa* follows the next word after both of these expressions,

which again is *qta(h)* 'not'.

(25*a*) [**ttah=əci**   [ąta   li—kʷakʷən-əkʷəsi-wi-ak   nipawə-w-ąkan-ək]]

    and=FUT   not   thus—deliver-PASS-NEG-PROX.PL   marry-W-NOM-LOC

    'and they will not be delivered into marriage'

    <tahaji o̲da li kwagwnekwzi-/wiak nibawwo̲ganek> (Mark 12:25)

(25*b*) [**tta**   [**ątah=əpa**   kikkisi—piləwiki-wi]],

   and   not=COND RED.able—be.different-(3)-NEG

       [**wəsąmi** [**naton-əko-c-i**   [**ątah=əpa**

       because receive-INV-3AN-OBV   not=COND

       kikkisi—piləwiki-wi-a]]]

       RED.able—be.different-(3)-NEG-OBV

   'and he (prox.) cannot be otherwise, because the one (obv.) who receives him

       (prox.) cannot be otherwise'

   <ta o̲dahaba / kikkizi pilwigiwi, wzo̲mi natongoji o̲dahaba kikki-/zi pilwigiwia.>

       (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:10)

Clitic placement in these examples can be explained if we assume that the clauses in question have an internal structure as suggested by the bracketing giving here. First, as I have argued in LeSourd (2011), initial conjunctions are adjoined to the clause. On this analysis, *tta(h)* 'and' and *wəsqmi* 'because' are both preceded and followed by a clause boundary in (25*a*) and (25*b*), since an adjunct is a word or phrase that is attached to a constituent (here a clause) to form another constituent of the same category. I also argue in LeSourd (2011) that a focused expression like *natonəkoci* 'the one (obv.) who receives him' in (25*b*) occupies a position to the left of the core clause, comparable to the position occupied by a fronted question word in *wh*-questions.

Given these assumptions, a clause-initial conjunction will be followed (as well as preceded) by a clause boundary, and a focused constituent will likewise be followed by a clause boundary.[14] Suppose, then, that we define second position as follows for the purpose of clitic placement:

(26)   Second-position clitics occupy the position following the first word that itself
        follows a clause boundary.

Given (26), we predict, correctly, that an enclitic may either follow *tta(h)* or another sentence-initial conjunction directly (since the conjunction follows a clause boundary) or may follow the next word after the conjunction (since the conjunction, as a clausal adjunct, is also followed by a clause boundary). We also predict that a second-position enclitic may follow a word that in turn follows a focused expression.

One final point to note involves the preverbs *ali* 'thus' and *waci* 'so that, because', which receive a treatment in clitic placement very much like that of conjunctions in a construction in which these preverbs occupy the initial position in a clause. In the construction in question, these preverbs always appear with *a* as the vowel of their first syllable, reflecting the application of an ablaut process known as initial change, which modifies the first syllable of a preverb-verb complex to mark certain verbal categories. The unchanged forms are *əli* and *wəci*. Consider the postion of the conditional enclitic *=əpa* in (27).

(27) ni [**waci-** [**ạtah**=**əpa** macikə-k -kisi—pitikai-nnok^{w}k^{w15}

      that.IN because- not=COND be.evil-3IN -able—go.in-3IN.NEG

           spəmki-k]]

           heaven-LOC

   'that is why that which is evil cannot enter heaven'

   <ni waji odahaba majigek / kizi pidigainnokw Spemkik> (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:8)

The clitic is not attached to *waci*, but instead to the following word. This situation is expected if *waci*, like a conjunction, is adjoined to the beginning of the clause, so that it is followed by a clause boundary.

To summarize: It appears at first that enclitics in Western Abenaki may occupy a wide range of positions in sentences, including locations far from the beginning of the clause. But if we make two simple assumptions, clitic placement can in fact be reduced to the statement that enclitics are stationed after the first word in a clause. Those

assumptions are these. First, conjunctions (and certain preverbs with conjunction-like functions) are adjoined to the left periphery of the clause. Second, focused constituents occupy a left-peripheral position external to the core clause. These assumptions provide sentence-internal clause boundaries in just the right places for a straightforward clitic placement rule to function as needed to account for the facts as we find them.

6. The phonology of cliticization

As we have noted, *ə* is inserted after a consonant-final base before a consonant-initial enclitic. This vowel is not generally written by Abenaki writers, but its presence is indicated by the fact that an initial obstruent in an enclitic is written as voiced (reflecting its intervocalic allophone). The application of this phonological process is illustrated by the alternation in the phonemic form of the focus marker *=ka ~ =əka* shown in (28).

(28*a*)   nihkąni—waw-ącəmo-w-inno=**ka**   na

         ahead—know-tell-W-person=FOC   that.AN

         'that (man) is a prophet'

         <ni-/k<u>o</u>ni waw<u>o</u>jmowinnoga na> (Mark 6:15)

(28*b*)   tatəpat=**əka**   tahąlawi   nəkwəc-imin-akat   lamotaləti—wskanimən

         be.equal-(3)=FOC like   one-seed-II-(3)   mustard—seed

         'it is like one seed of mustard'

         <Tadbatga tah<u>o</u>lawi ngwejiminagat lamotaldi wska-/nimen> (Mark 4:31)

Certain historically short vowels (marked here with a breve) are phonologically "weak" and are therefore subject to syncope before *h* in odd-numbered positions in sequences of syllables with such vowels. Thus, the second weak /ɔ̆/ of /mɔ̆lɔ̆hk-/ 'strong' surfaces (as *i*, by a general rule) in (29*a*) where the preceding syllable contains a weak /ɔ̆/, making it the second in a series of weak vowels. But this /ɔ̆/ is subject to syncope in (29*b*), where it is preceded by two weak schwas (making it the third weak vowel), and again in (29*c*), where the first vowel of /mɔ̆lɔ̆hk-/ has been replaced by a strong /a/ through initial change (so that /ɔ̆/ is here the lone weak vowel).[16] Note that *h* comes to stand between consonants as a result of syncope in forms like (29*b*) and (29*c*). That this segment is in fact present in the phonemic shape of such forms is shown by the fact that a following obstruent is voiceless after a sonorant consonant plus *h*, rather than undergoing phonetic voicing as would be expected if it followed the sonorant directly.

(29*a*) **məlihk**-iko   < /mɔ̆lɔ̆hk-iki-w/

strong-be.a.kind-(3)

'he is strong'

<Mlikigo.> (Laurent 1884:66)

(29*b*) wəci məsiwi kə-**məlhk**-ahsanə-w-ąkan-ək   < /kɔ̆-mɔ̆lɔ̆hk-ăhsăni-w-ąkăn-ək/[17]

from all   2-strong-have.strength-W-NOM-LOC

'with all your (sg.) strength'

<wji mziwi kemmelkasanw<u>o</u>ga-/nek> (Mark 12:30)

(29*c*) **malhk**-iki-t   sanąpa   < /malə̆hk-iki-t/

strong-be.a.kind-3AN   man

'a strong man'

<Malk-igit sanôba> (Laurent 1884:70)

The *ə* that is inserted before consonant-initial enclitics is presumably subject to syncope before *h* as well. But *ə* is apparently exempt from syncope after *h* (where it undergoes phonetic assimilation, to which I turn immediately below). Thus, I take the contrast-marking enclitic to have the phonemic shape *=hki* after a sonorant consonant other than *h*, as in (30*a*), *=ki* after an obstruent, as in (11) above, and *=əhki* after *h*, as in (30*b*).

(30*a*) wahkahs-ikatən=**hki** wəc-ihtąkwat   aləm-ahkiwi-k,   koląpia

few-be.year-(3)=CONT from-be.heard-(3) away-be.land-3IN   Columbia

al-iwihtąsi-k

thus-be.called-3IN

'a few years ago, news came from off in a land called Columbia'

<Wakasigadenki wjit̲o̲guat almakiwik, Kol̲o̲bia / aliwitôzik> (Wzôkhilain

1830*b*:68)

(30*b*) **ątah**=**əhki** nia tąni ali—wəlalət-am-a, kia=tahki   tąni   ali.

not=CONT   I   such thus—want-TH-1SG you.SG=but   such   thus

'Nevertheless not the way I want, but the way you (sg.) do.'

<o̲dahaki nia t̲o̲ni ali wlaldama, kiadaki t̲o̲ni ali.> (Mark 14:36)

Where it is not subject to syncope, a *ə* inserted before an enclitic is phonetically assimilated to a preceding vowel across *h*. The effects of this process can be seen in the orthographies used by Desfossés in his catechism (1832) and by Wzôkhilain in his translation of Mark (1845). Compare the representation of *=ətahki* as <daki> after *l* in (31*a*), as <adaki> after *ah* in (31*b*), and as <idaki> after *ih* in (31*c*).

(31*a*) <kagwessol**daki** waji sahosaigil agmak>

kak^wəss-ol=**ətahki**　　waci—sahossai-k-il　　　akəma-k

something-IN.PL=but　from—come.out-3IN-IN.PL　him-LOC

'but the things that come out of him' (Mark 7:15)

(31*b*) <ueji poluakhinah**adaki**>

wəci—poləwakh-i-nah=**ətahki**

from—save-2/1-1PL.IMP=but

'but deliver us from them' (Desfossés 1832:16)

(31*c*) <mǫjih**idaki**>

mąci-h=**ətahki**

go-2SG.IMP=but

'but go (sg.) away!' (Mark 1:44)

The same process of assimilation affects various other morphemes, such as the conjunct proximate plural suffix /-həti-/, which has the orthographic variants <hadi> and <hidi>, as seen in (32), as well as a number of others in the context of other preceding vowels.

(32*a*) <waji o̲da kagwi nsposa**hadi**kw>

waci-   ą̆ta kakʷi   -nspossa-**həti**-kʷkʷ

so.that   not something -walk.with-PROX.PL-3AN.NEG

'so that they (prox.) should not take (lit., walk with) anything' (Mark 6:8)

(32*b*) <waji pozi**hidi**t>

waci—posi-**həti**-t

so.that—embark-PROX.PL-3AN

'for them (prox.) to get aboard (a ship)' (Mark 6:45)

  In his earlier work, Wzôkhilain left the first vowel in /-həti-/ unwritten, as in
(33*a*). This practice suggests that the assimilating vowel of this morpheme is phonemic *ə*,
since Wzôkhilain typically fails to write unstressed *ə*. The vowel after *h* in an enclitic was
sometimes omitted as well, as in (33*b*), suggesting that here, too, an analysis of the
assimilating vowel as *ə* is justified. I accordingly write *ə* for vowels in both
circumstances in phonemic representations for early nineteenth-century Abenaki.

(33*a*) <waji tbaskozi**hdi**t>

waci—təpaskosi-**həti**-t

so.that—observe-PROX.PL-3AN

'so that they would observe (it)' (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:14)

(33*b*)   <tmiguataho-/**dahga**>

təm-ikʷa-hta-h-ą̇-**tah**=**əka**

sever-head-strike-TA-1PL.IMP=FOC

'Let's cut his head off!' (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:36)

By the time when Laurent was writing his 1884 grammar, a sound change had taken hold in the language by which *h* optionally drops between vowels. Assimilation still takes place in underlying /Vhə/, but once underlying /h/ drops, the resulting sequences are indistinguishable from other vowel sequences. I accordingly take the assimilated vowels to have become phonemic by Laurent's time.

The situation in Laurent's work is revealed by the examples in (34). The first of these shows a form of the stem /namih-/ TA 'see' in which Laurent has retained *h* in an intervocalic environment. Example (34*b*) illustrates the suffix /-əkʷəsi-/, which forms lexical passives from TA stems. In (34*c*), 'see' and the passive suffix are combined, yielding a stem with the underlying shape /namih-əkʷəsi-/. Here assimilation has taken place in /ihə/, but Laurent has dropped intervocalic /h/, yielding a form with the vowel sequence *ii*. Laurent's treatment of proximate plural /-həti-/, illustrated in (34*d*), shows the same effects.

(34*a*)   nə-**namih**-ą̇-p   moskʷas.

1-see-DIR-PRET muskrat

'I saw a muskrat'

<N'namihôb moskuas.> (Laurent 1884:165)

(34*b*) əl-ahkąl-**ək^wəsi**   sopak-ok

thus-throw-PASS   sea-LOC

'be cast (sg.) into the sea!'

<llak<u>o</u>lgwezi sobagok> (Mark 11:23)

(34*c*) nə-**nami-ik^wəsi**   < /nə-namih-ək^wəsi/

1-see-PASS

'I am seen'

(<N'namiiguezi> (Laurent 1884:196)

(34*d*) ni   alak-ohsa-**ati**-t.   < /alakw-ohsa-həti-t/

there   direction-walk-PROX.PL-3AN

'They (prox.) walk in that direction.'

<Ni alagosaadit.> (Laurent 1884:95)

When a base for cliticization ends in /h/ and an epenthetic *ə* is inserted before a
following enclitic, the same phonological processes are applicable as in examples like
(34*c*). Compare Wzôkhilain's treatment of the sequence of /ątah/ 'not' plus /=pa/
'conditional' in (35*a*) with Laurent's treatment of the same sequence in (35*b*).

(35*a*) **ątah=əpa**   kisi—manohsakkąsi-wi-ak

not=COND   able—fast-(3)-NEG-PROX.PL

'they cannot fast'

<<u>o</u>dahaba kizi manosakk<u>o</u>ziwiak> (Mark 2:19)

(35*b*) **ąta=apa**   kə-kisi—wicaw-i-w

not=COND 2-able—accompany-2/1-NEG

'you (sg.) cannot come with me'

<O'daaba k'kizi wijawiw> (Laurent 1884:94)

Once *h* is lost between vowels, as it is much of the time in Laurent's speech, the resulting vowel sequences are indistinguishable from the inherited sequences that occur in words like those in (36): both Wzôkhilain and Laurent have *aa* in the preverb *paami-* 'more'.

(36*a*) **paami**—wəl-ikən

more—good-be.a.kind-(3)

'it is better'

<paami wligen> (Mark 9:43)

(36*b*) **paami**—wawąt-am

more—know-TH-(3)

'he is wiser'

<paami wawôdam> (Laurent 1884:62)

Thus, by the time when Laurent was writing, speakers had most likely abandoned the earlier analysis of the vowels that undergo assimilation across /h/, either in word-internal contexts or in enclitics, as phonemic *ə*.

7. Word-final *h*

The earlier nineteenth-century sources on Western Abenaki preserve an archaic feature that is of interest for historical and comparative studies of the Algonquian languages: word-final *h*. This segment is well attested in word-final position before enclitics in the writings of Wzôkhilain and Desfossés from the 1830s and 1840s, but then disappears from comparable forms in Laurent's grammar of 1884 as a result of the sound change discussed in the previous section by which *h* was lost between vowels. Phonological effects of the underlying presence of word-final /h/ linger into the twentieth century, however, and in fact there is evidence from Day's work that word-final *h* may still have been pronounced before enclitics in certain particles in careful speech.

Word-final *h* is found in the early sources only in a few particles and in several inflectional suffixes. It is retained before most enclitics but dropped elsewhere. The particles in which final *h* is attested are given in (37).

(37)   Particles retaining word-final /h/ before enclitics

ala(h) 'or'   *kakəna(h)* 'lest'   *wahta(h)* 'afar'

amocka(h) 'even'   *tta(h)* 'and'

ąta(h) 'not'   *=tta(h)* 'emphasis'

Word-final /h/ is not retained before *=nawa* 'then, therefore' or before the postpositive conjunctions. (Data is lacking for *=ahto* 'probably', *=akʷa* 'it is said', and *=pəkʷa* 'in fact'.) Examples showing the particles in (37) with and without final *h* are given in (38)–(44).

(38*a*) ssanətaiwi   l-alohka-n   wal-ikə-k,   **ala** l-alohka-n   mac-ikə-k

   on.Sunday   thus-do-UNSPEC   good-be-3IN   or   thus-do-UNSPEC   evil-be-3IN

   'on Sunday to do good, or to do evil'

   <sandaiwi lalokan / waligek, ala lalokan majigek> (Mark 3:4)

(38*b*) **alah=əci** kak^wi   maka-t   awani?

   or=FUT   something   give-3AN   someone

   'or what shall one give?'

   <Alahaji kagwi magat awani> (Mark 8:37)

(39*a*) ąta   **amocka**   khlą́kan-ək

   not   even   door-LOC

   'not even by the door'

   <o̱da amochka khlo̱ganek> (Mark 2:2)

(39*b*) **amockah=əpa** wipiwi   wasasakiwi   al-sawa-li-t

   even=COND   only   along.edge   thus-wear-OBV-3AN

   'even if only along the edge of what he (obv.) was wearing'

   <amochkahaba wibiwi wazazagiwi alsawalit> (Mark 6:56)

(40*a*) wəsą́mi   **ąta**   wacą́n-əm-owi-ak   kak^wi   mici-həti-t=əpa

   because   not   have-TH-(3)-NEG-PROX.PL   something   eat-PROX.PL-3AN=COND

   'because they did not have anything that they could eat'

   <wzo̱mi / o̱da wajo̱nmowiak kagwi mijihiditba> (Mark 6:36)

(40*b*) kanəwa **ątah=əni** ahcəwi—əla-k kiową wəci

however not=that.IN should—happen.thus-3AN you.PL from

'but that is not how it is to be among you'

<Kanwa o̲dahani achwi llak kiuwo̲ wji> (Mark 10:43)

(41*a*) **kakəna** kə-pitika-n-ą wənəmih-otə-w-ąkan-ək

lest 2-enter-N-2PL tempt-RECIP-W-NOM-LOC

'lest you (pl.) enter into temptation'

<kagna kbidigano̲ wnemmihodwo̲ganek> (Mark 14:38)

(41*b*) **kakənah=əpa** wski—mahkʷəpakah-k potąya-k

lest=COND new—be.red.liquid-3AN bottle-PROX.PL

　　　　oci—səkʷəskihlą-n-ą

　　　　(3)-from—burst-N-PROX.PL

'lest from the new wine the bottles burst'

<kagnahaba wski makwbagak poto̲iak oji seg-/weskihlo̲no̲> (Mark 2:22)

(42*a*) kkina-okʷ n-ikawəss **tta** n-icia-ak.

observe-2PL.IMP 1-mother and 1-brother-PROX.PL

'Behold my mother and my brothers!'

<kinaokw nigawes ta nijiaak!> (Mark 3:34)

(42*b*) **ttah=əpa** wə-nihl-ą-pan-i

and=COND 3-kill-DIR-PRET-OBV

'and she would have killed him'

<tahaba wnihlǫbani> (Mark 6:19)

(43a) ąta awani ahcowi—moh-ą-kʷkʷ-əshan-i wipiwi=**tta** pathlihąs-ak

　　　 not someone should—eat-DIR-3NEG-DUBIT-OBV only=EMPH priest-PROX.PL

　　　 'which (obv.) no one should eat except the priests'

　　　 <ǫda awani achowi mohǫkwkweshani wibi-/witta patlihǫzak> (Mark 2:26)

(43b) tąnəwa=**ttah**=**əci** al-alohka-t ali—wəlalt-a-k kci—niwaskʷ

　　　 whoever=EMPH=FUT thus-do-3AN thus—want-TH-3AN great—spirit

　　　 'whoever will do as God wills'

　　　 <tǫnwattahaji alalokat ali wlaldak Kchini-/waskw> (Mark 3:35)

(44a) waci- **wahta** kakʷi -tali—msk-a-k

　　　 so.that- afar something -location—find-TH-3AN

　　　 'so that he could find something over there'

　　　 <waji wata kagwi tali msak> (Mark 11:13)

(44b) waci- **wahtah**=**əni** -wəci—məsən-əm-a askam-ąwəso-w-ąkan

　　　 so.that- afar=that.IN -from—get-TH-1SG forever-live-W-NOM

　　　 'so that in the future (lit., in the distance) I can thereby receive eternal life'

　　　 <uaji uatahani ueji mezinma as-/kamôuezouôgan> (Desfossés 1832:21)

Note that that demonstrative *ni* 'that (in.)' has been cliticized to the second word in the

sentence in (40b) and (44b), showing that the conjunction *kanəwa* 'however' and the

preverb *waci-* 'so that' have been treated as outside the domain in terms of which second

position is determined in these cases, as expected. These examples illustrate how the same principles enter into determining second position for enclitic demonstratives as for other enclitics.

There are five inflectional suffixes in which word-final /h/ is retained in sources from the 1830s and 1840s. The morphemes in question are listed in (45).

(45)   Suffixes in which word-final /h/ is retained before enclitics

    a. the obviative (singular and plural) suffix /-ah/, used in noun inflection and as part of the TA ending -ą(h) for proximate subject with obviative object (< /-ą-ah/).

    b. the 2sg imperative suffix /-h/, used with AI verbs and as part of the TI1 imperative ending -a(h) (< /-am-h/)

    c. the imperative suffix /-tah/ 'first person plural subject' of AI and TA verbs

    d. the imperative suffix /-nah/ 'first person plural object' of TA verbs

    e. the dubitative suffix /-ssah/ of the independent order (the word-final allomorph of /-shan-/), in Wzôkhilain but not in Desfossés[18]

Examples are given in (46) showing the suffix /-ah/ in obviative singular forms of nouns with and without its final /h/. The first example shows this suffix in 'his brother' without a following enclitic, with /h/ dropped. In (46b), the same noun is followed by the future enclitic =əci, and /h/ is retained.

(*46a*) awani   **w-icia-a**   macina-li-t-a

someone 3-brother-OBV die-OBV-3AN-SUBJ

'if somone's brother (obv.) dies'

\<awani / wijiaa machinalida\> (Mark 12:19)

(46*b*) **w-icia-ah=əci**   na   wikʷən-ą-t   akəma   nisəwi-həti-c-i

3-brother-OBV=FUT that.AN take-DIR-3AN himself be.married-PROX.PL-3AN-OBV

'as for his$_1$ (prox.) brother$_2$ (obv.), he$_1$ should take his$_2$ wife himself$_1$'

\<wijiaahaji na wikwn<u>o</u>t agma / nizwihidiji\> (Mark 12:19)

The examples in (47) show /-ah/ in the obviative plural form of *skok* 'snake', first with /h/ dropped, then with /h/ retained before the future enclitic.

(47*a*) ali-   alənąpa-k   -cipakinaw-ą-həti-t   **skok-a**

thus- person-PROX.PL regard.as.ugly-DIR-PROX.PL-3AN snake-OBV

'that people find snakes (obv.) to be ugly'

\<ali aln<u>o</u>bak / chibaginaw<u>o</u>hdit skoga\> (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:34)

(47*b*) **skok-ah=əci**   otən-ą-wą

snake-OBV=FUT (3)-pick.up-DIR-PROX.PL-(OBV)

'they will pick up snakes (obv.)'[19]

\<Skogahaji odn<u>o</u>w<u>o</u>\> (Mark 16:18)

The obviative suffix /-ah/ is used in TA inflection as well, appearing after the direct theme sign /-ą/ in the suffix complex /-ą-ah/, which indicates the combination of a

proximate subject and a definite obviative object in independent indicative forms.[20] Here the /a/ of /-ah/ is phonologically deleted, so when no enclitic follows and the /h/ of this suffix is dropped, /-ah/ is reduced to zero. Examples of *h* alternating with zero in forms of the type in question are given in (48).

(48*a*) ni   sasohs kahkinaw-ą-t,   wə-kəsaləm-**ą**

and.then Jesus   observe-DIR-3AN 3-love-DIR-(OBV)

'then when Jesus saw him, he loved him (obv.)'

<Ni Sazos kakinaw<u>o</u>t, wgezalm<u>o</u>> (Mark 10:21)

(48*b*) wə-wanaləm-**ą-h**=**əci**   tapalət-am-əli-c-i

3-forget-DIR-OBV=FUT own-TH-OBV-3AN-OBV

'he will forget about the Lord (obv.)'

<owanalm<u>o</u>h<u>o</u>ji Tabaldamliji> (Wzôkhilain 1830*a*:22)

(48*c*) wə-nihton-**ą-h**=**ətahki**   nihi   pacitahkąl-əko-ąn-i

3-receive-DIR-OBV=but that.OBV send-INV-1SG-OBV

'but he receives him (obv.) who sent me'

<wniton<u>o</u>h<u>o</u>daki nihi pajidak<u>o</u>l-/go<u>o</u>ni> (Mark 9:37)

The obviative suffix *-i*, used in preterite and dubitative forms and in participles, is apparently underlying /-i/, without a final /h/, at least if we can judge by Desfossés. (No appropriate examples with enclitics have been noted in Wzôkhilain's writings). Thus, no *h* appears before the focus enclitic *=ka* in (49).

(49)   wə-kakahkim-ą-shan-**i=ka**   pəmąwəsowinno-a waci—l-ohsal-ą-t

3-teach-DIR-DUBIT-OBV=FOC   person-OBV   so.that—thus-lead-DIR-3AN

wawahsi—pəmąwəsowąkən-ək

holy—life-LOC

'he taught the people (obv.) in order to lead them to a holy life'

<Ogagakimôzhaniga penmôuezouin-/noa uaji losalôt uauasi pemôuezouôganek>

(Desfossés 1832:21)

The second-person singular suffix /-h/ is used by itself to form imperatives of AI verbs, and is used in combination with the theme sign /-am/, reduced to /-a/ in this context, to form imperatives of TI verbs of class 1. Examples showing alternations between /h/ and zero in imperative forms of these types are given in (50)–(51). As a result of its deletion in final position, the imperative suffix /-h/ only rarely receives any surface expression.

(50*a*)   **mąci**   waciawi-an   al-ąkom-ą-an-ik

go-(2SG.IMP) be.from-2SG thus-related.to-DIR-2G-PROX.PL

ai-həti-t

be.located-PROX.PL-3AN

'go (sg.) home to where your relatives are!'

<moji wajiawwian alogomoanik aihidit> (Mark 5:19)

(50*b*) **mąci-h=ətahki**

    go-2SG.IMP=but

    'but go (sg.) your way!'

    <mojihidaki> (Mark 1:44)

(51*a*) ahkʷi—sakəsi,   wəląma-w-alət-**a**   wipiwi

    don't—be.afraid   be.right-W-consider-TH-(2SG.IMP) only

    'do not be (sg.) afraid, only believe (it)!'

    <akwi sagzi, wlomawalda wi-/biwi> (Mark 5:36)

(51*b*) kkin-**a**-**h=əta**   kakʷəss-i—hsən-al

    observe-TH-2SG.IMP=EMPH what-PF—stone-IN.PL

        tta   kakʷəss-ikamik-ol   yolil

        and   what-building-IN.PL   these.IN

    'look (sg.) what stones and what buildings these are!'

    <kinahada kagwessi sennal ta kagwessigamigol ulil> (Mark 13:1)

    Underlying word-final /h/ occurs in two further endings used in imperative forms, the AI and TA suffix /-tah/ 'first person plural subject' and the TA suffix /-nah/ 'first person plural object'. AI forms showing /-tah/ with and without its /h/ are given in (52), corresponding TA forms in (53). TA forms illustrating this alternation in /-nah/ appear in (54).

(52*a*) ahkʷi—ccowi- nihkʷąpi -l-ohsa-**ta**   molian

don't—should now   thus-go-1PL.IMP Montreal

'let's not go to Montreal now!'

<Akwi chowi nikwo̱bi losada Molian> (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:14)

(52*b*) l-ohsa-**tah=ətahki**   molian

thus-go-1PL.IMP=but Montreal

'but let's go to Montreal!'

<losada hdaki Molian> (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:14)

(53*a*) nawa-kʷ,   nhl-ą-**ta**

come-2PL.IMP kill-DIR-1PL.IMP

'come (pl.), let's kill him!'

<nawakw, nhlo̱da> (Mark 12:7)

(53*b*) təm-ikʷa-htah-ą-**tah=əka**

sever-head-strike-DIR-1PL.IMP=FOC

'Let's cut his head off!'

<tmiguataho-/dahga> (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:36)

(54*a*) kətəmąkaləm-i-**na** tta wicohkam-i-**na**

pity-2/1-1PL.IMP   and help-2/1-1PL.IMP

'take pity (sg.) on us and help us!'

<ketmo̱-/galmina ta wijokamina> (Mark 9:22)

(54*b*) wəlalətamaw-i-**nah=əka**   nət-api-na-na

  permit-2/1-1PL.IMP=FOC   1-sit-N-1PL

  kə-mətaw-inno-w-i—təpalət-am-əw-ąkan-ək

  2-power-person-W-PF—own-TH-W-NOM-LOC

  'permit (sg.) us to sit in your (sg.) glory!'

  <wlaldamawinahaga ndabinana kmed-/dawinnowi tbaldamwoganek> (Mark

  10:37)

Final /h/ also occurs in the dubitative suffix /-ssah/ of the independent order, the
word-final allomorph of /-shan-/; for the latter, compare (15*d*) and (49). The alternation
in question is illustrated by the examples in (55).

(55*a*) ni   wə-sakəsi-n-ą-**ssa**

  and.then   3-be.afraid-N-PROX.PL-DUBIT

  'and then they were afraid'

  <ni wzagzinossa> (Mark 5:15)

(55*b*) ni   wət-ai-n-ą-**ssah=əni**   kʷahliwi   wacəw-ihkok

  and.then   3-be.located-N-PROX.PL-DUBIT=there   near   mountatin-PL.LOC

  kinal-ək-ik   piks-ak   pam-ikatəpi-c-ik.

  great.many-3AN-PROX.PL   pig-PROX.PL along-feed-3AN-PROX.PL

  'Then there were located there near the mountains a great many pigs that were

  feeding.'

<Ni wdain<u>o</u>ssahani kwahliwi wajwikok kinalkik / piksak pamikadbijik.> (Mark 5:11)

Desfossés generally agrees with Wzôkhilain in his treatment of *h*-final words before enclitics, as we see from examples like (56*a*). The two disagree, however, on the treatment of the dubitative suffix in this environment: Desfossés has -*ssa* without final *h* even before enclitics, as shown in (56*b*) and (56*c*). It would appear, then, that for Desfossés the dubitative allomorph /-ssah/ has been reanalyzed as /-ssa/.

(56*a*) **ątah=əka** kkihtaw-ą-w-ən   tapalət-a-k.

not=FOC   heed-DIR-NEG-UNSPEC   own-TH-3AN

'(Sin is) not to heed the Lord.'

<O'dahaga kitauôuen Tabaldak.> (Desfossés 1832:25)

(56*b*) kakhikih-ą-**ssa=ka**

tease-DIR-DUBIT=FOC

'he was taunted'

<Kaghikihôzsaga> (Desfossés 1832:22)

(56*c*) toci—alənąpa-o-**ssa=ka**   nipą-yamiha-w-i—kisohk$^{\text{w}}$-ək.

at.point—person-be-(3)-DUBIT=FOC   night-pray-3-PF—day-LOC

'He (Jesus) was born on Christmas day.'

<Toji alnôbaossaga nibôniamihaui / kizokuek.> (Desfossés 1832:21)

48

With the loss of *h* between vowels in the course of the nineteenth century, the phonological treatment of words ending in /h/ became opaque, and reanalysis of many of the particles and suffixes we have just examined without final /h/ would be expected. Such reanalyses do appear to have taken place, but in fact there is evidence that underlying final /h/ was maintained in some particles, if not in inflectional suffixes, into the latter half of the twentieth century.

Consider first the situation in Laurent's time. The particle *ǫta* 'not', in which underlying *h* is preserved before enclitics in Wzôkhilain's writings from the 1830s and 1840s, consistently appears without *h* in Laurent's 1884 grammar, but the latter writes a following enclitic with an epenthetic vowel that has undergone the expected assimilation, pointing to an underlying form in which /h/ is maintained. Examples are given in (57).

(57*a*) **ạta=apa**   wətən-əm-owi   maci—pilask^w-i—mạni-al.

           not=COND   pick.up-TH-(3)-NEG bad—paper-PF—money-IN.PL

           'He would not take counterfeit bank notes.'[21]

           <O'daaba wdenmowi maji pilaskwimônial.> (Laurent 1884:71)

(57*b*) **ạta=ani**   mạcəwi-wi pahpiso-ohkwasi-k.

           not=that.IN go-(3)-NEG by.self-make.sound-3IN

           'That clock is not going.'

           <O'daani môjowiwi papisookuazik.> (Laurent 1884:103)

The treatment of *tta* 'and' in Masta (1932) is similar. While Masta does not write *h* in this particle before enclitics, he again writes an assimilated epenthetic vowel, as we

see in (58). Thus, it appears to be possible to motivate the underlying form /ttah/, with final /h/, for his speech.

(58*a*) **tta=aci**   ąta k-otalət-am-ow-ən ni   kis-iht-əw-an-a

      and=FUT not 2-regret-TH-NEG-N that.IN past-do-TH-2SG-SUBJ

      'and you (sg.) will not regret it if you have done it'

      <taaji 8nda kodal-/damowen ni kizitwana> (Masta 1932:45)

(58*b*) **tta=aka**=tta   ahci ask^{w}a wət-ai-n-ą

      and=FOC=EMPH also still   3-be.located-N-PROX.PL

      'and some (pine trees) are also still there'

      <taagata achi / askwa wdain8> (Masta 1932:21)

In his work with Western Abenaki consultants in the 1960s, Gordon Day re-elicited material written by Wzôkhilain, as well as collecting new texts. At least in re-elicited passages, he sometimes recorded overt word-final *h* in particles before enclitics. An example is given in (59*a*), a line from a text Day collected in 1964 on the basis of one published by Wzôkhilain (1830*b*:66-69). In material composed by Day's consultants themselves, I have only noted pronunciations without *h*, as in (59*b*), from a 1968 session.

(59*a*) mąlsəm **ątah=apa** mina nolhka   ala asip-[a][22] katonal-a-wi

      wolf   not=COND again deer-(OBV) or   sheep-OBV attack-DIR-NEG

      'the wolf would not again attack a deer or a sheep'

      <môlsem ndahaba mina nolka / ala azib kadonalawi> (Day n.d.:111)

(59*b*) **ąta=apa**   kə-nąsən-əl-o.

not=COND 2-touch-1/2-NEG

'I would not touch you.'

<Ndaaba genezenelo> (Day n.d.: 108)

Note, however, that the form of the enclitic in (59*b*) suggests that the underlying form of *ąta* 'not' has not been restructured in the speech of the consultant in question, but continues to include a final /h/ that triggers epenthesis and conditions assimilation. Moreover, Day (1994) reports that his consultants pronounced *h* optionally between vowels in other words. For example, he transcribes *kahala* 'truly' as <gahala>, commenting that this word was "commonly" <gaala> (p. 177). It seems likely, then, that Day's consultants pronounced final *h* before enclitics in certain particles in careful speech, but dropped intervocalic *h* in these forms in casual speech, as they did in other cases.

Despite the striking conservatism of Western Abenaki speakers in their treatment of word-final /h/ in some particles, other forms evidently were restructured in the twentieth century. Thus, the particle *kakəna* 'lest', which always ends in *h* before enclitics for Wzôkhilain, always lacks this segment in comparable environments in Masta (1932). Moreover, there seem to be no traces of retained word-final /h/ in inflection in Masta, although few relevant examples have been located. The verb form in the following sentence suggests that the elusive imperative suffix /-h/ had succumbed to reanalysis as zero by Masta's time, just as the dubitative suffix /-ssah/ had lost its /h/ for Desfossés a century earlier.

(60) nimsk-**a**=**tahki**   ahkʷəpi.

go.get-TH-(2SG.IMP)=but liquor

'But go and get liquor!'

<Nimskadaki / akwbi> (Masta 1932:47)

It should be noted, however, that Masta does not always write vowel sequences for the output of probable underlying /Vhə/, even where he most likely pronounced them. For example, he only variably writes such sequences where they arise in forms that include the conjunct proximate plural suffix /-həti-/: compare *kisi—poləwa-**ati**-t* <kizi polwa**adi**d> (past—flee-PROX.PL-3AN) 'they had fled', where /-həti-/ is spelled <adi>, with *waci—mikahka-**ati**-t* <waji migaka**di**t> (so.that—fight-PROX.PL-3AN) 'so that they would fight', where /-həti-/ is written <di>, with its first vowel omitted (both forms at Masta 1932:32). Thus, it is impossible to be entirely sure that Masta pronounced the imperative verb in (64) with no trace of the suffix /-h/.

8. Conclusions

Three types of forms that occur in second position in Western Abenaki clauses have been identified in this article. First, there are ten particles with diverse meanings and discourse functions that always appear in this location as enclitics. Second, three subordinating conjunctions may occur either at the beginning of a clause or as enclitics in second position. Third, certain short, unstressed demonstrative pronouns may become enclitic when they appear in second position.

The strictly second-position particles and the demonstratives in second position are shown to be enclitics by the fact that native speakers typically write them together with a preceding word. Moreover, both the second-position particles and the optionally postpositive conjunctions freely interrupt constituents, as expected of clitics that are stationed after the first word within the domain of clitic placement.

In simple cases, second position in the clause is equivalent to second position in the sentence. A clause-initial conjunction (or either of two preverbs that function like conjunctions) may be ignored in determining second position, however; and a focused constituent may likewise be set aside. As a result, clitics in "second position" are sometimes located well inside the sentence. This situation is readily accounted for, however, if we suppose that initial conjunctions are adjoined to the clause, so that they are followed (as well as preceded) by a clause boundary, and that focused constituents occur at the left periphery of the core clause, where they are also followed by a sentence-internal clause boundary. On this analysis, clitics occur in exactly the position following a word that itself follows a clause boundary, i.e. after the first word in a clause.

The early nineteenth-century texts from which most of the material for this study has been drawn preserve an archaic feature of interest for comparative work on the Algonquian languages: word-final *h* is maintained before enclitics in several particles and in a number of inflectional suffixes. By the later years of the century, *h* in the forms in question was typically no longer pronounced, since *h* was usually dropped between vowels. All phonological traces of word-final *h* were ultimately lost in inflectional endings, but a few particles appear to have resisted phonological restructuring without

underlying final *h* into the second half of the twentieth century, apparently because

pronunciations with *h* remained possible in careful speech.

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NOTES

[2] An account of Cecile Joubert's life and work may be consulted at www.cowasuck.org/obits/joubert_cm.cfm.

[3] The following abbreviations are used in glosses: 1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; 1/2, etc. first-person subject acting on second-person object, etc.; AI animate intransitive; AN animate; COND conditional; CONT contrast; DIM diminutive; DIR direct; DUBIT dubitative; EMPH emphasis; FOC focus; FUT future; II inanimate intransitive; IMP imperative; IN inanimate; INC inclusive; INV inverse; LOC locative; N suffix *-(ə)n(a)-*, with several functions; NEG negative; NOM nominalizer; OBV obviative; PASS passive; PF particle final (particle-forming suffix); PL plural; PRET preterite; PROX proximate; RECIP reciprocal; RED reduplication; REPORT reportative; SG singular; SUBJ subjunctive; TA transitive animate; TH thematic suffix; UNSPEC unspecified subject or possessor; W suffix deriving combining forms. Glosses are given in parentheses for morphemes with no surface segmental shape. The original spelling of each example is given in angled brackets below the free translation; a slash (/) in this material indicates a line break in the source.

[4] Wzôkhilain (1845) is cited here as "Mark" by chapter and verse.

[5] The majority of the phonemic spellings of the words in the examples in this paper have been determined by consulting Day's *Western Abenaki Dictionary* (1994) and by carrying out grammatical analysis of the individual forms. In the case of words not found in Day (1994), I have based my interpretations on comparisons with related words and with words in related languages. Detailed discussion of particular forms cannot in general be offered here, however.

[6] Wzôkhilain usually spells *=pəkʷa* 'in fact' with <p> rather than <b>, as in (6*b*), suggesting a transcription with *hp*; but initial *p* is confirmed for this item by its spelling in the phrase *nia=tahki=pəkʷa nitkamą̨kan* 'but it is in fact my people', given as <Ni**a** daki**bgua** nitkam**o**gan> in Wzôkhilain (1830*b*:34). Compare also Penobscot (Eastern Abenaki, ISO code aaq) *=pəkʷa* (Conor Quinn, personal communication December 17, 2013).

[7] Desfossés usually writes <gu> for *kʷ* before *a*, so the fact that he spells the inverse theme sign as <ogu> in the verb 'make' in this example suggests that his form for this morpheme was *-okʷ-* here, where it precedes the conjunct suffix *-a(n)* 2SG. Two comparable examples occur in (12*a*). Wzôkhilain has spellings that point instead to *-(ə)ko-* for the inverse suffix in this context: <awani milgoan> *awani mil-əko-an* (who give-INV-2SG) 'who gave it to you (sg.)?' (Mark 11:28).

[8] Each clause in (11) expresses a proposition without a presupposed component, so the focus in each case is the entire proposition. Thus, the referents of the contrasted NPs in this example are included in the focus in each clause, but are not themselves foci.

[9] In addition, 'always' and 'not always' are foci here.

[10] Wzôkhilain's negative verb forms consistently lack an overt negative suffix where this morpheme would occur the end of a word, as in the verb in (14*a*); compare *ą̨ta n-oci—payą̨* (not 1-from-come-(NEG)) <ǫda noji paiǫ> 'I did not come for (that reason)' (Mark 2:17). Laurent, on

the other hand, has an overt suffix *-w* in forms of this type: *ǫta nǝt-ai-w* (not 1-be.located-NEG) <ôda n'-d-aiw> 'I am not (there)' (1884:162). Wzôkhilain's speech may be archaic in this respect (Ives Goddard, personal communication April 12, 2013).

[11] Discontinuous constituents are common in Western Abenaki, as in other Algonquian languages. In (17*b*)–(18*b*), however, the enclitics cannot be analyzed as coming between segments of a discontinuous NP. Even if the possessor NP in (17*b*) is taken to be discontinuous, the enclitic that it includes must be seen as interrupting the NP within which this possessor appears; and the NP that the enclitic interrupts in (18*b*) cannot be analyzed as discontinuous, since the fact that is conjoined with another NP shows that it is a syntactic unit.

[12] The bracketed NP is the focus in this sentence, since in the context of the catechism there is a presupposition that there is only one God. Because *=ka* indicates focus for a constituent that contains it, this NP must be a unitary constituent here, so the enclitic truly interrupts it.

[13] Note that the predicate of the second clause in this example is repeated from the first clause and thus reflects presupposed material, while the referent of *natonǝkoci* 'the one (obv.) who receives him' is excluded from the presupposition expressed by this predicate. Thus this NP is the focus of the second clause.

[14] The nature of this boundary will be different in different syntactic frameworks. In a Minimalist analysis (Chomsky 1995), the boundaries in question will be variously CP (complementizer phrase) and TP (tense phrase) boundaries; in an analysis in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Sag, Wasow, and Bender 2003), they will all be S (sentence) boundaries, since there are no (overt) complementizers in Abenaki clauses.

[15] For the form of the conjunct negative suffix *-nnok^{w}k^w* for inanimate subject, compare <<u>o</u>da khaga namit<u>o</u>zi**nnokwkw**a> *q̧ta k-haka namihtq̧si-nnok^{w}k^w-a* (not 2-body be.seen-3IN.NEG-SUBJ) 'if your (sg.) body is not seen' (Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:35).

[16] See LeSourd (1993) for an analysis of comparable phonological alternations in Passamaquoddy (ISO code pqm).

[17] For the weak initial vowel in /-ăhsăni-/ 'have strength' compare *məlihk-sanə-w-akan* 'strength, power' <mliksanwôgan> (Mark 3:15), where this vowel undergoes syncope. The status of the other occurrences of /a/ marked here as weak is conjectured on comparative grounds.

[18] The term *order* is used in Algonquian linguistics to refer to sets of verbal paradigms that share formal properties. Paradigms of the independent order are used primarily in main clauses.

[19] I have followed Mark 16:18 in translating this line with 'snakes', rather than 'the snakes'. The verb form used here would ordinarily be used for a definite object.

[20] The obviative suffix /-ah/ would be expected to occur in inverse forms as well, but no examples have been noted.

[21] Laurent has a definite object, "the counterfeit bank notes," in his translation of this example, but the verb of the Abenaki sentence is inflected for indefinite object.

[22] Day appears to have proximate *asip* 'sheep' here, but this is presumably an error of transcription, since the context requires the obviative form *asipa*, and Day's source, Wzôkhilain 1830*b*:67, has <aziba>.