How to Swear in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot

Philip S. LeSourd

Indiana University

Conor McDonough Quinn

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Abstract. In the Eastern Algonquian languages Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, evaluative forms of verbs are derived by inserting one of several morphemes, not meaningful in themselves, within the verb stem. Corresponding derivatives of nouns and particles are formed by suffixation. This article documents the shapes that these derivatives take and the ways in which they are used to express anger, scorn, impatience, or intensity. Comparative evidence suggests that the source of these formations is an old process by which morphemes making reference to intimate body parts and other off-color concepts were added to verbs and nouns.

1. Introduction

The Eastern Algonquian languages Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot employ a system of morphological modifications of nouns, verbs, and particles to indicate anger, scorn, impatience, or intensity—and sometimes to show approval or to signal closeness.[1] Forms of the type in question were noted in Penobscot by Speck (1918), who referred to them as *objurgatives*, from the verb *objurgate* 'reproach or denounce vehemently', and we adopt Speck's term here.

The objurgative forms of verbs raise particularly interesting issues, since they are derived (descriptively speaking) by inserting one of several morphemes, specialized for this use, within the verb stem. This article provides an analysis of the objurgative forms of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot and illustrates their use.

Maliseet and Passamaquoddy are mutually intelligible dialects of a single language. Maliseet is spoken today primarily in several communities along the Saint John River in New Brunswick and in the area around Houlton in Aroostook Co., Maine. Passamaquoddy is spoken in two communities in the St. Croix Valley in Washington Co., Maine. Estimates from the mid-1990s place the total number of fluent speakers of the two dialects at around 500, a minority of the population (Leavitt 1996:1). Penobscot, spoken into the 1990s at Indian Island in the Penobscot Valley of Maine, is a dialect of Eastern Abenaki. The two languages were long in contact and share a large proportion of their vocabulary.

One of the textual examples of an objurgative verb form pointed out by Speck in his Penobscot work is presented in (1), while three Maliseet-Passamaquoddy examples are given in (2). The objurgative morphemes are in boldface. Corresponding non-objurgative forms are provided for comparison. It will be observed that the other components of the stems are subject to different modifications in the two types of forms. These are the result of regular morphophonological processes, to which we return below.

(1) a. *nòhkəm-i,*   *nət-ələm-əcé-hte-law-α*   *wαp-sk^w.*

     grandmother-VOC 1-away-OBJURG-strike-by.projectile-DIR white-bear

     'Grandmother, I have shot that damn White Bear.' (Pen., Speck 1918:240, our

         translation)

    cf. *nət-ələm-íhte-law-α* 'I shot him' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:155)

(2) a. *Naka nìt=te=hc=ŏna*   *qen-**alŏkittiye**-hpŏnol-t-uhtí-hti-t.*

     and   then=EMPH=FUT=too length-OBJURG-fight-RECIP-MPL-PROX.PL-3AN

     'And then they (pl.) would go on fighting like hell with each other, too.' (Mal.)

     cf. *qen-ihpŏnol-tí-mok* 'during the war (i.e., while people are fighting)' (MPD),

         with unspecified subject suffix *-mok*

    b. *Wòt=kahk*   *skàt meht-ŏ**liqe**-nè-w.*

     this.PROX=CONTRAST not finish-OBJURG-die-(3)-NEG

     'This damn thing (a bear) isn't dead after all!' (Pass.)

     cf. *mehc-íne* 'he dies, is dead' (Pass.)

    c. *Téhpu=yaq*   *qeni=l-ahké-hti-t*   *ŏtuhk-ol*

     only=REPORT length=thus-throw-PROX.PL-3AN deer-OBV.SG

*naka mace-**luttiye**-phuwá-nĭ-ya.*

and   away-OBJURG-flee-N-PROX.PL

'They just dropped the deer and ran the hell away.' (Pass.; Newell 1974:5,

retranscribed)

cf. *mace-phúwe* 'he runs away' (Pass.)

The way objurgative morphemes are inserted into verb stems may remind readers of the process of Expletive Insertion in English, analyzed by McCarthy (1982), which gives rise to forms like *fan-fuckin-tastic*. McCarthy proposed a morphological rule of Expletive Insertion for English that operates in terms of the prosodic structure of the word, inserting the expletive at the edge of a foot. The distribution of the objurgative morphemes of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot is not prosodically conditioned, however, but is entirely a matter of morphology: the position that an objurgative morpheme occupies within a stem is a function of a tightly organized system of stem structure. Moreover, we will see that the process by which objurgative forms are derived may not, in the end, involve insertion. It should be noted as well that Zonneveld (1984) has argued that English Expletive Insertion may better be analyzed as a language game rather than a rule of grammar. However this may be, the Algonquian process that concerns us here is unquestionably a grammatical phenomenon.

The stems of Algonquian verbs typically have either a bipartite or a tripartite structure: they consist either of an *initial component* plus a *final component*, or of an *initial*, a *medial*, and a *final* (Bloomfield 1946, Goddard 1990). (The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that

4

components of any of these position classes may be internally complex.) The objurgative elements that appear within verb stems may be understood in these terms as belonging to the class of medials.

When we look a little more carefully at the properties of objurgative formations, however, it turns out that things are not quite as simple as this. First, there can ordinarily be at most one medial in a verb stem (apart from cases involving compound medials or other internally complex components). But at least one of the objurgative morphemes of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy can freely cooccur with another medial, suggesting that these elements are not ordinary members of this class of components. Second, some objurgative formations (attested only in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy) appear to be derived not from simplex verb stems, but rather from compound stems consisting of a preverb plus a formally complete stem. The preverbs in question (like most preverbs) are themselves derivatives of components that may also appear as initials within verb stems. In a derived objurgative form of this type, the initial component of the underlying preverb-verb compound functions as an initial, and the stem of the underlying compound functions as a complex final. Thus these objurgative formations effectively masquerade as ordinary verb stems, even though they are based on compounds rather than on stems. This is a unique morphological construction, quite unlike anything else in the language.

Objurgative forms of nouns are common in Maliseet-Passamquoddy, but are not securely attested in Penobscot. The Maliseet-Passamquodddy examples are interesting, since they appear to be derived not from the phonological underlying forms of nouns, but rather from their surface forms. In general, however, the nominal forms are much less varied than the corresponding

verbal forms, and only one objurgative morpheme is used in making these derivatives. Objurgative particles are also relatively restricted, but are attested in both languages.

The objurgative forms of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy are used by both men and women. Their characteristic morphemes are regarded by contemporary speakers as having no literal meanings; but as we demonstrate, at least some of them have their origins in off-color expressions. Presumably as a function of this etymology, objurgative forms are still regarded as potentially offensive language; and in the days when the language was still in active use among children such forms were regarded as inappropriate for their use.

In contemporary Maliseet and Passamaquoddy, objurgatives continue to serve a variety of functions. They are often used to express anger or annoyance, but frequently it is not the speaker's attitude but that of one of the participants in the situation that the speaker describes that an objurgative serves to signal. As verbal intensifiers, these morphemes may also be used to indicate that the action or state named by the verb is itself intense or extreme. For this reason, objurgative forms are a useful device in story-telling. Finally, objurgative forms can be used as a humorous device to signal approval or as a sign of the closeness of the relationship between individuals.

Below we first analyze the formation of objurgatives of various categories, focusing on their morphologically interesting properties. We then turn to the question of the functions that these forms serve. Finally, we consider objurgative formations from a comparative point of view, showing that the semantically empty character of the objurgative morphemes is the result of bleaching.

2. Objurgative verb forms in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

The objurgative verb forms of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, as we have already noted, may usually be described as derived from the corresponding nonobjurgative form by inserting one of several specialized morphemes into the stem of the verb as a medial. The most frequently encountered objurgative morphemes are *-alŏkittiye-* and *-ŏliqe-*. These are illustrated in (3) and (4).

(3) a. *'tawi=wol-ihpúksu*

    know.how=good-taste-(3)

    'it (an.) is good eating (tastes good)' (MPD)

  b. *'tawi=wol-**alŏkittiye**-hpúksu*

    know.how=good-OBJURG-taste-(3)

    'it (an.) is damn good eating' (MPD)

(4) a. *n-mat-ŏn-óku-n* (< /n-mat-ŏn-ŏku-n/)

    1-fight-by.hand-INV-N

    'he attacked me' (Pass.)

  b. *n-mat-ŏ**liqé**-n-ku-n* (< /n-mat-ŏliqe-ŏn-ŏku-n/)

    1-fight-OBJURG-by.hand-INV-N

    'the damn thing (a bee) attacked me' (Pass.)

Note that the final -*ihpuksu* in (3a) (underlying /-hpuksi-/ plus the third-person suffix /-w/) begins with /i/. This is actually an epenthetic vowel, added to a consonant-initial final component after a nonsyllabic. This vowel is accordingly absent after the vowel-final objurgative morpheme in (3b). The weak vowel of the final /-ŏn-/ 'by hand' in (4a, b) drops by a general rule after the full vowel of the objurgative element /-ŏliqe-/ in (4b). The presence of the latter morpheme also leads to a different pattern of syncope of weak schwa in (4a) and (4b). There are, in fact, several processes of syncope in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy that target weak vowels for deletion under distinct sets of conditions (see LeSourd 1993 for discussion).

The loss of a weak vowel after a full vowel affects the shape of the objurgative morpheme /-ŏliqe-/ in (5b), where this medial follows a vowel-final initial: here /-ŏliqe-/ is reduced to -*liqe*-.

(5) a. *nokka-hte-lŭw-à*

     (3)-all-strike-by.projectile-DIR-(OBV.PL)

     'he shoots all of them' (Pass.)

   b. *nokka-**liqe**-hte-lŭw-á-nnu-k*

     (1)-all-OBJURG-strike-by.projectile-1PL-PROX.PL

     'we (exc.) shot all of the damn things (an., bears)' (Pass.)

Other phonological processes lead to alternations in the initial components of (6) and (7). The underlying form of the initial 'hither, arrive' in (6) is /pet-/. The /t/ of this morpheme undergoes affrication to *c* before /i/ in (6a), but remains unchanged before the objurgative element /-

alŏkittiye-/ in (6b). In (7b), the initial /mace-/ 'start' is followed by /-alŏkittiye-/, so there is an underlying sequence of /e/ and /a/. This is broken up by a rule that inserts /y/ between two full vowels; the preceding /e/ then surfaces as a weak /i/ before the epenthetic /y/. Compare *ácŏmu* 'he tells a story', *macĭy-ácŏmu* 'he starts to tell a story', with the same treatment of /mace-/ 'start'.

(6) a. *'pec-iphoqál-a-l*

   (3)-hither-follow-DIR-OBV.SG

   'he follows him here' (Pass.)

   b. *n-pet-**al**ŏ**kittiye**-phoqal-ku-nnù-ss*

   1-hither-OBJURG-follow-INV-1PL-DUBIT

   'the damn thing (a bear) must have followed us (exc.) here' (Pass.)

(7) a. *macè-pt* (< /mace-pt-u/)

   start-carry-(TH)

   'take (sg.) it away!' (Pass.)

   b. *macĭy-**al**ŏ**kittiyè**-pt*

   start-OBJURG-carry-(TH)

   'get it the hell out of here!' (MPD)

In addition to *-alŏkittiye-* and *-ŏliqe-*, three other objurgative morphemes are attested for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy: *-ŏce-*, *-ŏnoqe-*, and *-ŏluttiye-*. Examples of the first two are given in (8)–(9); for the third, see (2c) above and (10b) below. None of these elements seems to be commonly used, however; and not all speakers are familiar with all of them.

(8) a. *wol-ihpúkot*

      good-taste-(3)

      'it tastes good' (Pass.)

   b. *wol-ŏ**ce**-hpúkot*

      good-OBJURG-taste-(3)

      'it tastes damn good' (Pass.)

(9) a. *wicu-hkèm-s*

      help-TA-REFLEX

      'help yourself' (Pass.)

   b. *wicu-**n**ŏ**qe**-hkèm-s*

      help-OBJURG-TA-REFLEX

      'help yourself, damn it!' (Mal.)

The various objurgative morphemes also differ in force. Francis and Leavitt (2006) describe *-ŏluttiye-*, *-ŏnoqe-*, and *-ŏliqe-* as "mild" expletives. Example (2c), given above to illustrate the use of *-ŏluttiye-*, is taken from a small book that was intended for use in the Passamaquoddy bilingual education program at a time (1974) when significant numbers of children were still coming to school with a good command of the language. While a mild expletive may have been intended in this context to strike the reader as slightly salacious, it is clear that forms with *-ŏluttiye-* cannot have been regarded as unacceptable for use with children. Thus this morpheme appears to be a particularly mild curseword. Francis and Leavitt (2006) also note that *-ŏnoqe-* is milder than *-ŏliqe-*.[2] On the other hand, our consultants agree that *-alŏkittiye-* is distinctly stronger than any of the other forms. Thus the various objurgative forms can be roughly arranged in order of increasing strength as shown for the form of 'be quiet!' in (10).[3]

(10) a. *cos-tàqs* 'be quiet!' (basic form, without an objurgative medial; Pass.)

 b. *coss-ŏluttiye-htàqs* 'shut up!' (MPD)

 c. *coss-ŏnoqe-htàqs* 'shut up!' (MPD)

 d. *coss-ŏliqe-htàqs* 'shut up!' (MPD)

 e. *coss-alŏkittiye-htàqs* 'shut the hell up!' (MPD)

Additional degrees of expletive force may be indicated by inserting an intensifier *-alŏkittis-* before *-alŏkittiye-*, as shown in (11c). To make an even more forceful expression, *-alŏkittis-* may then be repeated, reportedly at will, although in practice only forms with one or two repetitions of *-alŏkittis-* are ordinarily used. One Passamaquoddy elder with whom we have worked, now in his

nineties, has indicated that sequences of three objurgatives, as in (11d), are (or were) typical of women's speech, but not of men's.

(11) a. *macè-ws* (< /mace-wse/)

   start-walk

   'go (sg.) away!' (Pass.)

   b. *macĭy-alŏkittiyè-ws*

   start-OBJURG-walk

   'go (sg.) away, damn it!' (Pass.)

   c. *macĭy-alŏkittis-alŏkittiyè-ws*

   start-OBJURG-OBJURG-walk

   'go (sg.) away, damn it!' (Pass.)

   d. *macĭy-alŏkittis-alŏkittis-alŏkittiyè-ws*

   start-OBJURG-OBJURG-OBJURG-walk

   'go (sg.) away, damn it!' (Pass.)

We return below to the principles that govern the derivation of objurgative verb forms in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, but first we turn to comparable formations in Penobscot.

3. Objurgative verb forms in Penobscot

Three objurgative medials are attested for Penobscot, all corresponding to Maliseet-Passamaquoddy forms: -*əče*-, -*alikʷe*-, and -*alakittəye*-. Examples are given in (12)–(13). In addition, the intensifier -*alakohkis*- may be added before -*alakittəye*-, yielding a fourth type of objurgative formation; see (14d) below.

(12) a. *nət-ələm-íhte-law-α*

      1-away-strike-by.projectile-DIR

      'I shot him' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:155)

    b. *nət-apočəkəl-əčé-hte-law-α*

      1-upside.down-OBJURG-strike-by.projectile-DIR

      'I shot him so confoundedly hard he somersaulted in air (as by using a double

          charge of powder)' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:118)

(13) a. *wanatám-ine*

      lose.mind-ail-(3)

      'he lost his memory, he is out of his mind, he is crazy' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:475)

    c. *wanatam-**alíkʷe**-ne*

      lose.mind-OBJURG-ail-(3)

      'he is crazy as hell' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:475, our translation)

d. *wanɑtam-**alakíttəye**-ne*

lose.mind-OBJURG-ail-(3)

'he is crazy as hell' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:475, our translation)

Siebert (1988:758) notes that these various "expletive" formations differ in force. He identifies four "degrees" of expletives, as illustrated in (14). Note that the initial ə of -*əče*- and the initial *a* of -*alikʷe*- are deleted after the *e* of *mɑče*- 'start off', while the *e* of the latter morpheme is deleted before the initial *ɑ* of -*ɑlakittəye*- and -*ɑlakohkis*-. There is also an alternation in the form of -*ɑlakittəye*-: the underlying /ə/ of this morpheme becomes *i* before the following /y/ under stress.

(14) *Four degrees of expletive force* (Pen., Siebert 1988:758)[4]

    a. first degree expletive:

        *mɑčé-**če**-sse*

        (start.off-OBJURG-walk)

        'Be off!, Off with you!, Get the hell away!'[5]

    b. second degree expletive: *mɑče-**líkʷe**-sse*

    c. third degree expletive: *mɑč-**alakittíye**-sse*

    d. fourth degree expletive: *mɑč-**alakohkis-alakittíye**-sse*

It is not known whether -*αlakohkis*- could be repeated like its analogue in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. Siebert describes only four levels of intensity for objurgative verb forms in Penobscot.

4. The structure of verb stems

Before we can evaluate the role of objurgative elements in the stems of verbs in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, we must consider how verb stems are derived. We illustrate stem structure here with Maliseet-Passamaquoddy examples. Two types of formations may be distinguished: *primary* and *secondary* stems (Goddard 1990). A few primary stems are unanalyzable, but most may be analyzed into components: initials, medials, and finals. The stem then consists either of an initial plus a final, as in (15a), or of one component of each position class, as in (15b).

(15) a. **ʼkól-**ŏ**n**-*a-l*

      (3)-hold.fast-by.hand-DIR-OBV.SG

      'he holds him' (Pass.)

   b. **ʼkol-iptiné-n**-*a-l*

      (3)-hold.fast-hand-by.hand-DIR-OBV.SG

      'he holds him by the hand(s)' (MPD)

Secondary stems are derived from stems (or sometimes from themes, stems to which certain further suffixes have been added) by the addition of secondary finals. These formations are distinguished from primary stems by the fact that secondary stems are not formed with medials, although a secondary stem may of course be derived from a primary stem that happens to include a medial.

Two examples of secondary formations are given in (16)–(17). The transitive stem in (16b) is formed from the intransitive stem in (16a) by adding the causative final /-kh-/, while the intransitive stem in (17b) is derived from the transitive stem in (17a) by adding the reciprocal final /-(ŏ)ti-/. Many secondary finals have comparable valance-changing effects.

(16) a. *ehq-ŏlúhke*

   cease-work-(3)

   'he stops working' (Pass.)

   b. *'t-ehq-ŏluhké-**kh**-a-l*

   (3)-cease-work-cause-DIR-OBV.SG

   'he fires him (from a job)' (MPD)

(17) a. *mát-ŏn-a-l*

   (3)-fight-by.hand-DIR-OBV.SG

   'he fights him, attacks him physically' (Pass.)

b. *mat-ŏn-**ót**ŭ-w-ok*

  fight-by.hand-RECIP-3-PROX.PL

  'they (du.) fight each other, clash physically' (Pass.)

This system of stem formation allows for the creation of stems of considerable complexity, even in the case of primary derivatives, since the components of primary stems may be internally complex. An example illustrating some of the possibilities is given in (18).

(18) *mokŏse-w-alŏk-iqe-htá-h-a-l*

  (3)-dead.coal-W-hole-face-strike-TA-DIR-OBV.SG

  'he hits the other, giving him a black eye' (Pass.)

The initial here is *mokŏse-w-*, consisting of the noun stem *mokŏse-* 'dead coal (from a fire)' (*mokòs* 'dead coal') plus the affix *-w-*, which is often used to derive initials from stems. This combination has been lexicalized as 'black'. The medial is *-alŏk-iqe-* 'eye', a compound of the simple medials *-alŏk-* 'hole' and *-qe-* 'face'; compare the forms in (19). Again the combination has been lexicalized and functions synchronically as a single unit.

(19) a. *olŏq-**ál**ŏ**k**-ot*

    direction-hole-II-(3)

    'the hole runs in (that) direction' (Pass.)

b. *'koss-**iqé**-n-a-l*

   (3)-wash-face-by.hand-DIR-OBV.SG

   'he washes the other's face' (Pass.)

The third component of the stem in (18) is the complex final *-hta-h-*, underlying /-ĭhte-h-/. This consists of a prefinal element /-ĭhte-/ 'strike' that appears only in combination with a small number of finals; it is combined here with a suffix /-ŏh-/ that forms transitive animate stems, i.e., transitive stems that select grammatically animate objects. Compare (20), where the same prefinal occurs with the homophonous transitive inanimate final /-ŏh-/; see also examples (5a, b).[6]

(20) *'t-aps-**ihté**-h-m-on*

   3-small-strike-TI-TH-N

   'he chops it into small pieces' (Pass.)

We see, then, that the medial component of a stem may be a compound of two simple medials. There are also cases where other components of stems have incorporated material that formerly represented medials. So, for example, the combination of the initial plus the medial in the stem of the verb 'be dirty' in (21a) seems to have been reanalyzed as a single initial meaning 'dirty', which now appears as a unit in verbs like that in (21b).

(21) a. ***moc-cók**-e*

   bad-messy.substance-II-(3)

   'it is dirty' (Pass.)

   b. ***moccok**-iptiné-hl-a-l*

   (3)-dirty-hand-TA-DIR-OBV.SG

   'he gets the other's hand(s) dirty' (Pass.)

Similar examples could be given showing the reanalysis of medials as prefinal elements. It is

clear, however, that neither such cases of reanalysis nor examples of compound medials provide

true exceptions to the generalization that only a single medial component may appear in a stem.

As discussed in the following section, however, objurgative formations in Maliseet-

Passamaquoddy do appear to violate this generalization.

   Primary stems of some complexity arise from the use of initials or finals that are themselves

based on stems. For example, the initial in (22b), given in boldface, is derived from the stem of

the verb in (22a), while the boldfaced final in (23b) in derived from the stem of the verb in (23a).

Note that the derived initial in (22b) itself includes all three components of a primary stem, while

the derived final in (23b) consists of an initial plus a final.[7]

(22) a. *pit-tók-su*

   long-stringlike-AI-(3)

   'it (an.) is long' (MPD)

b. ***pit-tok-su-w**-ináqsu*

long-stringlike-AI-W-look-(3)

'it (rope, snake, etc.) looks long' (MPD)

(23) a. *amik-ŏtókku*

up-jump-(3)

'he jumps up (from sitting or lying down)' (Pass.)

b. *kis-**amik-ŏtókku***

past-up-jump-(3)

'he jumped up (from sitting or lying down)' (Pass.)

In both Maliseet-Passamquoddy and Penobscot, many semantic ends require combining initials with stems. In some cases, as we have seen, a final based on the stem exists, so the effect of combining the initial with the stem may be achieved by combining the initial with the derived final through the usual process of stem-formation. As it happens, however, finals are not productively derived from verb stems. Finals are not productively made from consonant-initial stems,[8] nor do finals correspond to all vowel-initial stems. When no final is available to stand in for a given verb, another construction must be used to achieve the effect of combining the initial with the stem of the verb. In such cases, a preverb derived from the initial is instead used to modify the verb. (See Goddard 1990:478 for a discussion of the comparable situation in Meskwaki.)

An example will serve to make the situation clearer. In (23) above we see that the effect of combining the initial *kis-* 'past' with the stem *amik-ŏtokki-* 'jump up' can be achieved by suffixing the derived final *amik-ŏtokki-* to *kis-*. No final corresponds to the stem *ankuw-acŏmi-* 'relay a message, interpret' in (24a), however, so it is not possible in this case to derive a stem from *kis-* that would parallel (23b). Instead, a preverb *kisi* is derived from *kis-* and used to modify a verb form based on *ankuw-acŏmi-*.[9]

(24) a. *ankuw-ácŏmu*

extend-tell-(3)

'he relays a message, he interprets' (Pass.)

b. **kisi**=*ankuw-ácŏmu*

past=extend-tell-(3)

'he relayed a message, he interpreted' (Pass.)

Further modification of preverb-verb complexes is also by preverbs, as illustrated in (25), where the preverbs are given in boldface. In fact, strings of several preverbs may be generated in this manner.

(25) *Wòt=ŏlu   pèsq   skícìn, 'kisi=kŏmuci=mace-pt-u-nè-ss   tomhikŏn-óssis.*

this.AN=but one.AN Indian (3)-past=secretly=start-carry-N-DUBIT axe-DIM

'But this one Indian had secretly brought a hatchet.' (Mal., LeSourd 2007:120, no. 15)

21

Preverb-verb complexes are fundamentally a type of compound. They are inflected as units, for example, so that the inflectional prefixes used in independent clause modes of the verb go on the first preverb of the preverb-verb complex, if there is one, and otherwise on the verb. Thus the first-person prefix *n-* is attached to the verb stem in (26a), but to the preverb *kisi* 'past' in (26b).

(26) a. *Wikkínaq=ŏte*   ***n****-tókŏm-oq.*

without.cause=EMPH 1-hit-INV

'He hit me for no reason.' (MPD)

b. ***N-kisi****=pok-éhl-oq   kci=ámŭwes.*

1-past=bite-TA-INV big=bee

'A big bee stung (lit., bit) me.' (MPD)

Preverbs nonetheless function as syntactic words independent from the verbs that they modify. To see this, consider the examples in (27). In (27a), the preverb *mace* 'start out, begin' directly precedes the verb that it modifies, bearing the first person prefix *n-*, the verbal inflection. In (27b), however, the same preverb is separated from the associated verb by the reportative enclitic *=yaq*, which is typically stationed in second position in a clause, and by the adverb *tŏké* 'now'. In fact, a wide range of material, including both adjuncts and verbal arguments, may be placed between a preverb and the verb it modifies.[10]

(27) a. *Kìs*   *n-**mace**=**meht-apek-ì**.*

        already 1-start=finish-stringlike-go

        'I'm beginning to run out of energy ("reach the end of my rope").' (MPD)

    b. ***Mace**=yaq*   *tŏké* ***sikte-hpáyu**.*

        start=REPORT now to.death-be.scared-(3)

        'Now, they say, she began to be afraid.' (Pass.)

The syntactic independence of preverbs in other Algonquian languages has led to debate about the role of syntactic and lexical processes in the derivation of preverb-verb complexes (Goddard 1988, 1990, LeSourd to appear). Maliseet-Passamaquoddy objurgatives may shed light on this question, since one type of objurgative verb form in this language appears to be derived not from stems but from preverb-verb complexes. We take up this question in section 6 below.

5. The role of objurgative formatives in stem formation

As we have already observed, the objurgative morphemes of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot function like medials in the formation of verb stems. It should be noted in particular that the initial in an objurgative verb form may be derived from a stem, as in the Penobscot example given in (28b) below. The initial in this case is based on the stem of the verb in (28a). This is a so-called objectless transitive inanimate verb, that is, one which has the form of a transitive verb taking an inanimate object (so that it is suffixed with *-am*, the theme-forming suffix for one class of such verbs), but which is not in fact used with an object.

(28) a. *wán-αt-am*

  lose-TI-TH-(3)

  'he loses his mind, memory'

  b. **wan-αt-ám**-*əče-ne*

  lose-TI-TH-OBJURG-ail-(3)

  'he is crazy as hell' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:475, our translation)

Here we see that the objurgative element truly occupies the medial slot in the verb stem and is not simply inserted after the first initial in the stem, that is, after *wan-* 'lose'.[11]

Objurgative morphemes also differ from medials in certain respects, however. First, there appear to be some differences in morphophonemic treatment. The reader may have noticed that all of the objurgative elements of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy end in the vowel *e*: the two common ones are *-alŏkittiye-* and *-ŏliqe-*; less frequently encountered are *-ŏce-*, *-ŏnoqe-*, and *-ŏluttiye-*. The same is true of Penobscot *-əče-*, *-alikʷe-*, and *-αlakittəye-*. In this respect, these morphemes resemble medials of the class that refer to body parts: Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *-alŏkosse-* 'ear', *-altoqe-* 'hair', *-apite-* 'tooth', *-atpe-* 'head', *-ŏtune-* 'mouth', *-ptine-* 'hand', *-qe-* 'face', etc. The final *-e-* of these body-part medials may be analyzed as a formative in its own right, a "post-medial extension" in Algonquianist terminology (Goddard 1990:467).[12]

This post-medial vowel alternates with zero. The *-e-* is retained before a consonant, as shown in (29a). For the most part, vowel sequences that arise when *-e-* is followed by a vowel-initial element are resolved like those that arise in combinations involving initials. If the second vowel

is a full vowel, *y* is inserted between the two vowels and the final *-e-* of the medial is transformed to a weak ĭ, as in (29b).[13] If the second vowel is weak, it is simply elided, as in (29c); compare (15), (17). Before the abstract final element *-a-*, however, body-part medials occur without the post-medial extension *-e-*, as illustrated in (29d). This final, glossed here simply as AI for the class of stems that it derives (animate intransitives), appears to be used only in construction with body-part medials.

(29) a.   *'t-epŏle-**ptiné**-pt-u-n*

(3)-one.of.pair-hand-carry-TH-N

'he catches it with one hand' (MPD)

b.   *apq-**otun**ĭy-ápu* (< /apq-ŏtune-api-w/)

open-mouth-look-(3)

'he stares open-mouthed, gapes' (MPD)

c.   *'koss-**iptiné**-n-a-l* (< /w-koss-ptine-ŏn-a-ol/)

(3)-wash-hand-by.hand-DIR-OBV.SG

'he washes the other's hand(s)' (Pass.)

d.   *eci=kskek-**iptín**-a-t*

extreme=wide-hand-AI-3AN

'he has very wide hands' (MPD)

The analysis just outlined represents one possible interpretation of the forms in question. Since body-part medials apparently lack the post-medial extension *-e-* only before the abstract final *-a-*, however, and since this *-a-* seems to occur only after body-part medials, it might be better to take these two elements to be alternate realizations of the same formative. That is, we might suppose that body-part medials occur without a final (or with a zero final) in stems like that in (29d), describing a personal quality or condition, and that the *-e-* of the medial is realized as *-a-* when the medial appears in stem-final position. We will nonetheless continue to gloss this *-a-* as AI (for animate intransitive) where this element appears in our examples. (See Goddard 1990:467 for a comparative perspective on these formations.)

Returning to the objurgative morphemes, we find a different pattern of alternation that may have had its origin in the treatment of the post-medial extenstion *-e-* of body-part medials before abstract finals, but now seems disconnected from this phenomenon. At least in the case of *-alõkittiye-*, final *e* is retained before consonants and before weak vowels (which are elided), but is dropped before *any* full vowel.[14] Examples are given in (30): in (30a) *-alõkittiye-* is followed by a consonant-initial morpheme; in (30b) it is followed by *-õn-* 'by hand', which loses its weak vowel; (30c-e) show the loss of final *e* in *-alõkittiye-* before strong vowels.

(30) a. *moc-**al**õ**kittiye**-hpúkot*

        bad-OBJURG-taste-(3)

        'it tastes really awful' (MPD)

26

b. *n-mat-**alɔ̃kittiyé**-n-ku-n*

   1-fight-OBJURG-by.hand-INV-N

   'it (a fishhawk) attacked me' (Pass.)

c. *on=op   n-pahkik-**alɔ̃kittiy**-ál-ku-n*

   then=COND 1-grab-OBJURG-TA-INV-N

   'the damn thing (a bear) would grab me' (Pass.)

d. *psí=te   kèq   'kis-**alɔ̃kittiy**-ankuweht-ú-nĭ-ya*

   every=EMPH something (3)-past-OBJURG-sell-TH-N-PROX.PL

   'they sold every damn thing' (MPD)

d. *macĭ-**yalɔ̃kittiy**-úte-c*

   start-OBJURG-change.residence-3IMP

   'have her move the hell out!' (Pass.)

We see, then, that objurgative morphemes may occupy the medial position in verb stems, but at least one of these morphemes appears to have morphophonological properties that distinguish it from ordinary medials.[15]

   Another and more striking difference between objurgative formations and those involving ordinary medials is that objurgative elements can cooccur with other medials. We observed in the preceding section that only one medial may ordinarily occur in a verb stem, apart from cases

involving compounds or the incorporation of medials into initials or finals. Objurgative

formations are not constrained in this fashion, however, as the examples in (31) may serve to

illustrate.[16] Again, however, examples of this type are attested only for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy;

and all of the attested examples involve the objurgative element *-alõkittiye-*.

    (31) a. *Nìt=al*   *'qon-**alõkittiy**-ahqál*ŭ*w-a-n.*

                 that.IN=UNCERTAIN (3)-length-OBJURG-tail-AI-N

                 'It (a rat) had a tail about this damn long.' (Pass.)

        b. *...nìt=al*   *'tut-**alõkittiy**-aq-sí-li-n*   *nihìht.*

                  that.IN=UNCERTAIN (3)-degree-OBJURG-sticklike-AI-OBV-N those.OBV

                  '...they (trees) were about that damn big around.' (Pass.)

        c. *Cèl*   *kes-**alõkittiy**-altoqé-ph-i-t.*

                 and.even intense-OBJURG-hair-take.hold-3/1-3AN

                 'And it (a ghost) even grabbed me by the hair so hard that it hurt.'

                     (Pass., Newell 1979:11)

    In all of the naturally occurring examples of this type that we have encountered, *-alõkittiye-*

precedes the other medial in the form. Thus the overall generalization governing the formation of

objurgative verb forms appears to be that the objurgative morpheme is inserted immediately after

the initial component of the stem.[17]

A somewhat different view of objurgative formations emerges, however, when we consider the way in which objurgative forms of secondary stems are handled. Take the verb in (32b) as an example. The underlying stem is *mat-ŏn-ŏt-ulti-*, a multi-plural derivative of the reciprocal stem *mat-ŏn-ŏti-* 'fight each other'; compare (17). In terms of its components, this stem consists of an initial *mat-ŏn-ŏti-*, the reciprocal stem based on *mat-ŏn-* 'fight' (transitive), plus *-ulti-*, one of several finals that make explicitly plural (i.e., nondual) stems from animate intransitives.[18] The initial *mat-ŏn-ŏti-* in turn consists of *mat-ŏn-* plus the final *-ŏti-* 'reciprocal'. The objurgative morpheme *-ŏliqe-* is not positioned with respect to either of these analyses of the stem into components, however; it is instead stationed immediately after *mat-*, the initial component of the primary stem on which the various layers of secondary derivation in this form are based.

(32)   a.   *mat-ŏn-ot-ultú-w-ok* (< /*mat-ŏn-ŏt-ulti-w-ok*/)

fight-by.hand-RECIP-MPL-3-PROX.PL

'they (more than two) fight each other (physically)' (MPD)

b.   *nìt=te=hc*   ***mat-ŏliqe-n-t-ultì-nǐ-ya***   *qòcŏm-ok...*

then=EMPH=FUT (3)-fight-OBJURG-by.hand-RECIP-MPL-PROX.PL outdoors-LOC

'then they (more than two) would fight outside...' (Mal.)

To put the matter another way: the objurgative correspondent to a secondary stem is not derived by inserting an objurgative element into the secondary stem directly. In fact, there is no slot for a medial in a secondary stem. Rather, a corresponding stem is built up from a primary

stem that contains an objurgative element as a medial, so that this corresponding stem includes

the right "ingredients" to serve as the objurgative corresponent to the "target" stem.

It would seem, then, that the relationship between objurgative stems and the corresponding

nonobjurgative forms is more complex than we have been assuming. An objuragtive form is not

simply a transform of the corresponding nonobjurgative form. Rather it is a *functionally related*

form with its own morphological derivation.

6. Derivation of objurgative stems from preverb-verb complexes

Objurgative forms that correspond not to single verbs but to preverb-verb complexes

represent another class of formations that cannot be derived simply by inserting an objurgative

morpheme into the medial slot in a verbal base. Consider the examples in (33) in this connection.

The boldfaced verb stem in these examples is *tp-itah-at-*, underlying /tŏp-itah-at-/ (consider-

thought-TI-) 'think about', cf. *'topitahátŏmon* 'he thinks about it'. Like most consonant-initial

stems, *tp-itah-at-* does not ordinarily serve as the base for a deverbal final. It combines instead

with preverbs: *totŏli* 'ongoing' in (33a) and *-ahcŭwi*, the prefixed form of *cuwi* 'should, must', in

(33b). In (33a), where preverb and verb are adjacent, they form a prosodic word together. As we

see in (33b), however, a preverb modifying this verb need not form a surface constituent with it.

(33) a. ***'totŏli=tp-itah-át-**ŏm-on*

      (3)-ongoing=consider-thought-TI-TH-N

      'he is thinking about it' (MPD)

b. *'t-**ahc**ŭwi wèn   psí=te   kèq   **tp-itah-át**-ŏm-on*

     3-must   someone every=EMPH something consider-thought-TI-TH-N

     mèsq   papehc-ikési-hq...

     not.yet find.out-speak-3NEG

     'one has to think about everything before asking...' (MPD)

c. *Kèq **et**ŏl-alŏkittiye-**tp-itah-át**-ŏm-on?*

     what ongoing-OBJURG-consider-thought-TI-TH-2SG

     'What the hell are you thinking of?' (MPD)

The surprising example is (33c). Here we have the same preverb and stem as in (33a), but the objurgative element appears between them, and the whole complex has the form of a single complex stem consisting of an initial, a medial, and a (deverbal) final.

The inflection in (33c) is in a different paradigm from that in (33a), one that requires *initial change*, a modification of the first syllable of the complex, provided that this syllable meets certain phonological conditions. Initial change usually involves a vowel shift, but the changed form of *tot*ŏ*li* is the irregular form *et*ŏ*li*. What we find in (33c) is not *et*ŏ*li*, however, but *et*ŏ*l-*. This appears to be the changed form of the underlying initial *tot*ŏ*l-*, as if the derivative were made not with the preverb itself, but with the base from which it was derived. We will see in the following section, however, that a final *i* is dropped in components of other kinds before an objurgative element. It may be, then, that nothing more than this pattern of vowel loss is at work here. However this may be, the initial in this form is followed by the objuragtive element

-alõkittiye- and then the stem *tp-itah-at-* 'think about'. While the result has the right shape to be a stem with a deverbal final, there is a problem: as already noted, no final is ordinarily derived from the stem *tp-itah-at-*.

Comparable formations appear to be quite common. Three additional examples are given in (34)–(36). (See also examples (55) and (57) in section 10.) In each case we first illustrate the basic preverb-verb complex, then an objurgative form based on it. Each of the objurgative expressions appears to make use of a final based on a verb stem that does not otherwise serve as the base for such a derivative.

(34) a. *n-**kisi**=**pok-éhl**-oq*

　　　　1-past=bite-TA-INV

　　　　'it (an.) bit me' (MPD)

　　　b. ***kis**-alõkittiye-**pok-ehl**-í-pa*

　　　　(2)-past-OBJURG-bite-TA-2/1-2PL

　　　　'you (ants) damn well bit me' (Pass.)

(35) a. ***li**=**min-**ŭ**w-ì**-w*

　　　　thus=mean-W-II-3

　　　　'it means that, has that meaning' (MPD)

b. *Kèq=al*   *nìt*   ***l****-alõkkitiye-**min**-ŭw-ì-w*   *nìt?*

what=UNCERTAIN that.IN thus-OBJURG-mean-W-II-3 that.IN

'What the hell does that mean?' (MPD)

(36) a. ***ehqi****=**wtóme***

cease=smoke-(3)

'he stops smoking' (MPD)

b. ***Ehq****-alõkittiye-**wtóma**-c.*

cease-OBJURG-smoke-3IMP

'Tell her to quit her damn smoking.' (Pass.)

An alternative analysis is possible, however, that does not face this difficulty. Suppose that each of the objurgative forms in (33)–(36) is actually a preverb-verb combination rather than an inflected form of a single complex stem. That is, suppose that *-alõkittiye-* is not a medial in these forms, but a suffix that has been added to the initial to derive an objurgative preverb. This preverb can then be seen as modifying a verb stem like any other preverb, and there will be no need to assume that finals are derived from stems that do not otherwise serve as bases for such derivatives.

The problem with this analysis is that it predicts the occurrence of structures that have not, so far at least, been unattested. Since preverbs may typically be separated form the verbs that they modify, we would expect under this alternative analysis to find examples in which objurgative

33

preverbs prove to be comparably separable. But no examples of discontinuous objurgative verb complexes have been noted. Similarly, under this analysis, we might expect to find objurgative preverbs preceding other preverbs, since two or more preverbs may occur together in the same preverb-verb complex. This situation, too, is unattested.[19]

All of the examples of objurgatives based on preverb-verb complexes that we have noted to date conform to the pattern: initial, objurgative element, plus deverbal final. This, as we have already remarked, is an independently existing stem type. Thus the derivation of these forms clearly involves more than simply inserting an objurgative morpheme between a preverb and the stem that it modifies. It effectively represents a novel type of stem-formation process, one in which a preverb-verb complex functions more like a model for stem-formation than it does like a base from which a stem is formed. However this may be, if we take stem-formation to be carried out by lexical rules, then it would appear that such rules must have access to preverb-verb complexes, despite their phrasal status.

7. Derivation from unanalyzable stems

A number of short stems are unanalyzable, or are taken by speakers to be unanalyzable. Here there is no question of inserting an objurgative element into the base in forming a derivative, but objurgative stems are nevertheless derived using these short stems as initials. It is not clear that there are objurgative correspondents to all monomorphemic stems, but several types of formations are attested.

Take, for example, the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy stem *mil-* 'give'. The objurgative

correspondent of the command given in (37a) is formed on a stem with an initial based on *mil-*,

followed by *-alõkittiye-*, and then the semantically abstract final *-w-*.

(37) a. *mil-ì-n*

      give-2/1-2SG.IMP

      'give (sg.) it to me' (Pass.)

   b. **mil**-*alõkittiye*-**w**-*ì-n*

      give-OBJURG-TA-2/1-2SG.IMP

      'give (sg.) it to me, damn it!' (Pass.)

This *-w-* is found in other TA objurgatives as well. The stem *tokõm-* 'hit' of (38a) was

apparently regarded as unanalyzable by our consultant, despite the evidence of forms like those

in (38c, d), which suggest that there is an independently occurring initial *tok-* 'hit'. The

corresponding objurgative form (38b) includes the same TA final *-w-* as (37b) above.[20]

(38) a. *'tókõm-a-l*

      (3)-hit-DIR-OBV.SG

      'he hits him' (Pass.)

b. *n-koti=**tok**ŏ**m**-alŏkittiyé-**w**-a*

   1-future=hit-OBJURG-TA-DIR

   'I'm going to hit him (said angrily)' (Pass.)

c. ***tók**-e*

   hit-AI-(3)

   'he hits, he boxes' (Pass.)

d. *'**tok**-té-hkŭw-a-l*

   (3)-hit-strike-by.foot-DIR-OBV.SG

   'he kicks him' (MPD)

Another derivational pattern is found for certain short intransitive stems ending in *i*. Corresponding to the command in (39a), for example, both of the objurgative forms in (39b, c) are attested.[21] Here the final *i* of the stem appears to have been deleted before the objurgative morpheme.[22]

(39) a. *ŏ**pì**-n*

      sit-2SG.IMP

      'sit (sg.) down!'

b. *op-ŏliqà-n*

   sit-OBJURG-2SG.IMP

   'sit (sg.) down, damn it!' (Pass.)

c. *op-alŏkittiyà-n*

   sit-OBJURG-2SG.IMP

   'sit (sg.) down, damn it!' (Pass.)

Note that we find *-alŏkittiya-* in (39b, c) rather that *-alŏkittiye-*, and that this sequence occurs in stem-final position. Thus these forms present an analytical problem much like that raised by the verbs with body-part medials that we discussed in section 5, in which the post-medial extension *-e-* appears to be replaced by a final *-a-* when it occurs in stem-final position. Note further, however, that the final involved here (supposing that there is one) cannot be the same morpheme as the one we postulated there, since the semantics of the forms in question are quite different. (There does not seem to be any semantic coherence to this new class of forms, to be investigated further below, in which *-alŏkittiye-* appears with a final *a*.) It may be better, then, to treat at least this case not as involving a special suffix, but in terms of a stem-final realization of *-alŏkittiye-* as *-alŏkittiya-*.

The formation in question, it should be noted, is not limited to AI verbs. Parallel forms are found, for example, for the transitive inanimate stem *ihi-* 'have', as shown in (40). Here again, stem-final *i* is dropped. The resulting initial *ih-* is represented by *iy-* in (40b) for phonological reasons.[23] Note that *-alŏkittiye-* again appears as *-alŏkittiya-*. In the case of (40b), however, it is

37

not clear whether the latter alternation is due to the stem-final position of the morpheme, since quite independently of this consideration there is a morphologically governed rule by which a stem-final *e* is replaced by *a* before the multi-functional suffix *-(õ)n(e)-*, which serves here as an inanimate-object marker. This rule operates across an intervening morpheme.[24]

(40) a. *má=te nt-ihí-w-on*

     not=EMPH 1-have-NEG-N

     'I don't have it' (Pass.)

   b. *Má=te   nt-iy-**alõkittiyá**-w-on   súkol.*

     not=EMPH 1-have-OBJURG-NEG-N sugar

     'I don't have any damn sugar.' (Pass.)

When we turn to Penobscot, we find many of the same patterns of derivation from unanalyzable stems as in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. For example, TA objurgatives formed with an abstract final *-w-* are attested by derivatives of the stem /nəhl-/ 'kill', as shown by the set given in (41b); compare the non-objurgative form in (41a).

(41) a. *nə̀-nihl-α*

     1-kill-DIR

     'I kill him' (Siebert 1996a:311)

b. *"expletive" forms of Penobscot* /nəhl-/ *'kill':*

nə-níhl-əče-w-α

nə-nihl-alíkʷe-w-α

nə-nihl-αlakittíye-w-α

1-kill-OBJURG-TA-DIR

'I kill him' (Siebert 1996a:311)

Short stems ending in *i* form objurgatives by dropping this vowel and adding an objurgative element, in which *e* is replaced by *a* in stem-final position. The stem of *api-* 'sit' is shown by the singular imperative form in (42a), which is made without a suffix in Penobscot. A set of objurgative forms is given in (42b).[25] (Siebert reports that the first of these is "friendly," while the others are "emphatic.")

(42) a. *àpi*

'sit (thou) down!' (Siebert 1996a:72)

b. *Objurgative forms of Penobscot* /api-/ *'sit'*

àp-əčα-kʷ

ap-álikʷα-kʷ

ap-αlakíttəyα-kʷ

ap-αlakohkis-αlakíttəyα-kʷ

sit-OBJURG-2PL.IMP

'sit ye (2) down!' (Pen., Siebert 1996b, notebook 72, p. 60)

Finally, this *α* is subject to a phonological rule that changes it to *a* when it occurs in word-final position, as in (43).

(43) *àp-əča*

sit-OBJURG

'sit thou down! (friendly)' (Pen., Siebert 1996b, notebook 72, p. 60)

The stem *min-əw-i-* 'be mean' is treated like *api-*, even though it is analyzable. The initial here is *min-əw-*, derived from English *mean* by the addition of the affix *-(ə)w-*, which forms initials from stems. The final is *-i-*, which derives AI verbs. These components surface in their basic forms in (44a). Before the third-person suffix /-w/, however, the /i/ of the final is replaced by /ə/, and the resulting sequence /əw-ə-w/ contracts in *o*, as shown in (44b). Before the objurgative medials, the final /-i-/ is dropped; examples are given in (44c, d). Note that the objurgative morphemes appear in both forms with final *e*. This is due not to a failure to replace

40

these items with their usual stem-final allomorphs in /ɑ/, but rather to a rule by which /ɑ/ is

replaced by *e* before the third-person suffix /-w/ (which is then deleted).[26]

(44) a. *nə́-min-əw-i*

      1-mean-W-AI

      'I am mean' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:281)

      b. *mín-o* (< /min-əw-i-w/)

      mean-W-AI-(3)

      'he is mean' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:281)

      b. *mín-əw-əče*

      mean-W-OBJURG-(3)

      'he is damn mean' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:281)

      c. *min-əw-álikʷe*

      mean-W-OBJURG-(3)

      'he is damn mean' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:281)

Stems which parallel Penobscot *min-ǝw-i-* in structure are found in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, but we have not encountered objurgative derivatives of them, so the properties of these Maliseet-Passamaquoddy formations remain to be determined.

8. Objurgative forms of nouns

While the preceding sections have concentrated on objurgative forms of verbs, comparable derivatives of nouns exist as well. No secure cases are citable from Penobscot, but such forns are in regular use in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, where they are formed by suffixing *-alõkittis* to the noun in question. Thus corresponding to the *éspons* 'raccoon', we find the objurgative form in (45).[27]

(45) *Espons-alõkíttis wòt.*

raccoon-OBJURG this.AN

'This is a damn raccoon!' (Newell 1973:5, retranscribed)

Now *alõkittis* can in fact appear as an independent particle, serving as a sort of generalized marker of intense feeling, as illustrated in the following exchange, taken from a longer conversation. (The first speaker is Maliseet, the second Passamaquoddy.)

(45) — *Psí=te   k-nokka=pok-ehl-òk?*

all=EMPH 2-all=bite-TA-UNPEC/2

'Did you (sg.) get stung (lit. bitten) all over?'

— *Alõkíttis, alõkíttis.*

'I sure as hell did!'

It is not immediately obvious, then, that *-alõkittis* is a suffix in a form like that in (45), and in fact this morpheme is written as a separate word in our source for this example. That *-alõkittis* is truly suffixed to the noun that it follows is clear, however, from examples like that in (46b). Here an inflectional suffix belonging to *cehkínsis* 'buttocks (dim.)' follows the objurgative element, which must therefore be a suffix as well. The suffix in question is an obviative ending, required of a grammatically animate noun with a third-person possessor.

(46) a. *'cehkin-sís-**ol***

(3)-buttocks-DIM-OBV.SG

'his little buttocks' (MPD)

43

b.   *'Cehkin-sis-**alokittís**-ol.*

(3)-buttocks-DIM-OBJURG-OBV.SG

'What a cute little bum he (baby) has!' (MPD)

Despite this evidence that *-alõkittis* is a suffix, this element displays an unusual degree of phonological independence from its host. In particular, it appears to be added not to the stem of the noun to which it is attached, nor to a combining form (a nominal initial) derived from it, but rather to the surface form of this noun. To see this, consider the noun *muwìn* 'bear'. The stem is /muwine-/, as shown by inflected forms like *muwiné-m-ol* 'his bear' and the diminutive *muwiné-hsis*.[28] If *-alõkittis* were added directly to this stem, we would have **muwinĭy-alõkíttis*, which is not attested. The form expected of a derivative based on a derived initial is **muwine-w-alõkíttis*; compare *muwine-w-èy* 'bear meat', with /-eya/ 'material, meat'. In the actual form, illustrated in (47), *-alõkittis* directly follows the surface form of the noun.

(47) *Muwin-**al**õ**kíttis** wótta.*

bear-OBJURG   this.EMPH

'There's a damn bear over here!' (Pass.)

While the vast majority of the nominal objurgative forms that we have encountered are like this, we have noted one exception. Corresponding to *amucalù* 'fly' (stem /amucalŭwe-/) we have

recorded *amuc-alõkittís-ok* 'damn flies'. Here the noun in question appears to have been truncated before the objurgative element, perhaps through haplology.

Finally, we should note that at least one pronominal has an objurgative form. Corresponding to the interrogative pronoun *kèq* 'what?', there is *keq-alõkíttis?* 'what the hell?'[29]

9. Other objurgative forms

Several objurgative particles have been recorded. We have already noted the independent use of *alõkíttis* as an interjection in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy; see (45) above. Another common interjection based on an objurgative element is *kin-alõkittiyé-naq*. This appears to contain the initial *kin-* 'big' and is perhaps etymologically related to the AI verb *kin-inaq-si-* (big-look-AI-) 'look big' (*kin-ináq-su* 'he looks big').[30] The shortened form *kin-alõkittiyé-na* is often heard in Passamaquoddy, while Maliseet has *kinalõkitt* (MPD, accent uncertain).[31] Example (48a) shows the Passamaquoddy form in use. As we see in (48b), *-alõkittis-* can be added before *-alõkittiye-* to indicate additional intensity of feeling.

(48) a. ***Kin-al õkittiyé-na***. *Él ŭwe=te*   *n-sikt-al õkittiye-hpáw õl-oq*.[32]

       big-OBJURG-PF   almost=EMPH 1-to.death-OBJURG-frighten-INV

       'Holy smokes! The damn thing (a rat) almost scared me to death!' (Pass.)

b. *Kin-**alõkittis**-**alõkittiyé**-na.*

big-OBJURG-OBJURG-PF

'Holy smokes!' (Pass.)

Penobscot has a cognate interjection *kin-αlakittíye-nαkʷ* with a shortened variant *kin-αlakittíye-na.*[33] Siebert (1996a) also attests an objurgative particle derived by suffixing *-αlakittəye* to a basic form ending in *i*, with loss of this vowel, as shown in (49). Note that the objurgative element ends in *e* here, rather than appearing in its alternate form with final *a*.

(49) a. *kèləpi ni   al-álohke.*

hurry that.IN thus-do

'Hurry up and do [that]!' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:181)

b. *keləp-αlakíttəye, ni   al-álohke.*

hurry-OBJURG   that.IN thus-do

'Hurry the hell up and do that!' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:181)

It seems likely that other objurgative particles were formed in parallel fashion.

10. The functions of objurgative forms

In preceding sections we have primarily been concerned with the forms that objurgative expressions can take. Here we would like to add a few notes on the ends that these expressions are used to achieve, drawing once again largely on Maliseet-Passamaquoddy material.

First, as one would expect, objurgatives can be used to indicate a speaker's anger. Sentence (50), for example was addressed to a woman in anger by a Passamaqoddy man. It features a form of the noun *sqehsŏmùhs* 'female dog, bitch' to which the objurgative suffix *-alŏkittis* has been added. This noun is used with the same derogatory force in Passamaquddy as in English. Here the effect is clearly insulting. Example (51) is taken from a story about encounters with ghosts. One of the characters whose adventures are recounted has just discovered that some force has seized his pack sled and will not let go. He shouts out in anger the words quoted here.[34]

(50) *Sqehs-ŏmuhs-**alŏkíttis**, keqsèy   ol-luhké-hk-oc.*

female-dog-OBJURG   something thus-do-PROHIB-2SG

'You damn bitch, don't do anything!' (Pass.)

(51) *Tòqc   pun-**alŏkittiye**-n-ŏm-ùn   n-utapákon.*

right.away put-OBJURG-by.hand-TH-2SG.IMP 1-sled

'You let go of my sled right now!' (Newell 1979:10, retranscribed)

Sometimes, however, it is not anger, but scorn or disdain that is signaled by the use of an objurgative form. This would appear to be a fair characterization of the use of the objurgative in (52), for example, while the objurgative expression in (53) has the status of a conventional insult. On the other hand, an objurgative form can equally well be used to express simple annoyance on the part of the speaker, as in (54).

(52) *Wòt=õna   sakõl-**alõkittiy-átp**-a-t   sakh-íya-t.*

     this.AN=too hard-OBJURG-head-AI-3AN into.view-go-3AN

     'And here comes the dummy (lit., hard-headed one)!' (MPD)

     cf. *sakõl-átp-a-t* 'one who is thick-headed, slow to understand' (Pass.)

(53) *Kt-ahkuhk-is-alõkíttis.*

     2-buttocks-DIM-OBJURG

     'You're a little jerk!' (MPD)

     cf. *kt-ahkúhk-is* 'your buttocks (dim.)' (Pass.)

(54) *Ma=tahk, ma=tahk, ma nìl nt-iy-**alŏkittiye**-w-à-w*   *wetŏm-ási-t.*

not=EMPH not=EMPH not I   1-have-OBJURG-TA-DIR-NEG smoke-AI-3AN

'I don't have a damn thing (an.) to smoke.' (Mal.)

cf. *nt-íy-w-a* 'I have it (an.)' (Pass.)

Speakers often use objurgative forms of verbs, however, not to indicate their own feelings, but those of participants in the events they are describing. In (54), we see first a form with *-alŏkittiye-* used this way, then one with *-ŏliqe-*. These lines are taken from a description (by an elder of Maliseet extraction) of the way events used to unfold when tribal elections were held in the Passamaquoddy community in "the old days" (that is, some years before 1977, when the remarks were recorded): the supporters of the losing side would start fights with the supporters of the winning side, the consultant reported, outside the dance hall where festivities celebrating the election were taking place. The speaker in this case was not angry. It was the men initiating the fighting who had been all riled up.

(55) *Kénoq yúktok peskúw-ok   temh-úc-ik*

but   these one-PROX.PL defeat-UNSPEC/3-PROX.PL

49

*wisŏk-**alŏkittiye-**lŭwaha-wŏlótŭ-w-ok.*

extreme-OBJURG-be.angry-MPL-3-PROX.PL

*Nìt=te=hc   mat-ŏ**liqe**-n-t-ultì-nĭ-ya   qòcŏm-ok*

then=EMPH=FUT fight-OBJURG-by.hand-RECIP-MPL-N-PROX.PL outside-LOC

on ánqoc=ŏte   lamikŭwàm.

and.then=EMPH indoors

'But some of the ones who were defeated got very damn angry. Then they would

fight each other angrily outside and sometimes inside.' (Mal.)

This use of objurgative forms to signal the attitudes of participants in a described event

shades off into another type of use: to signal that the action or state named by a verb is itself

intense or extreme. Example (56) illustrates this effect in the case of an active predicate. The

objurgative form here is based on a preverb-verb complex. The underlying preverb is *etuci*

'very', a derivative of *tut-* 'to an extreme'; the verb stem is *wtoma-* 'smoke'. The preverb *etuci* is

a common word, and correspondingly lacks any great force on its own. The effect of adding the

objurgative element *-alŏkittiye-* is to boost the force of the preverb-verb complex so that it

becomes clear that we are dealing with a truly unusual situation: the friend in question is really "smoking up a storm."

(56) *Etut-**alokittiye**-wtóma-t*   *n-mótaqs*   *nut-ò-k*

extreme-OBJURG-smoke-3AN 1-woman.friend hear-TH-3AN-(PERF)

eli=koti=kp-úh-ut.

thus=future=closed-TA-UNSPEC/3

'My older friend is smoking up a storm after hearing she's going to be locked up.'

(MPD)

In sentence (57), we see the same kind of effect at work in the case of a stative predicate. The nonobjurgative correspondent of the verb here is *pahs-ék-on* (thick-sheetlike-II-(3)) 'it (sheetlike) is thick'. Adding *-alõkittiy(e)-* signals that the steel in question is thick to an unusually great degree.

(57) *'Sámi, ĭyèy,*   *pahs-**alõkittiy**-ék-on*   *nìt*   *wapi=olõnahq.*

because HES.PRO thick-OBJURG-sheetlike-II-(3) that.IN white=metal

'Because, um, that steel is so damn thick!' (MPD)

Related to the expression of intensity is the use of objurgative forms to convey a sense of excitement or fear. The lines in (58) are taken from a conversation in which two older men were swapping stories. One of them is telling about a time when he had stepped out of a small boat onto a rotten log while wearing bell-bottom pants, and something (it turned out to be a rat) had crawled up his pants leg. The objurgative form he uses is based on a preverb-verb combination: preverb *ahtŏli* 'keep on (doing something)' plus verb stem *nuk-cok-ŏn-* 'squeeze something soft with the hand(s)'. The effect of adding an objurgative element in this case is to indicate that he was squeezing the creature in his pants leg with growing apprehension.

(58) *Nt-ahtŏl-itah-así-hpon   athusòss.*

      1-keep.on-thought-AI-PRET snake

         *Nt-ahtŏl-**alŏkittiye**-nuk-cók-ŏn-a-n.*

         1-keep.on-OBJURG-soft-messy.substance-by.hand-DIR-N

      'I was thinking it was a snake. I kept on squeezing the damn thing.' (Pass.)

Because of the way they can lend drama and excitement to a narrative, objurgative forms are a favorite of storytellers.

Not all of the uses of objurgative forms are serious, however. In fact, objurgative forms are often used purely out of a sense of fun. In section 7 we noted Siebert's characterization of the Penobscot objurgative command *àp-əča* 'sit thou down!' as "friendly." Passamaquoddy *wol-liqe-*

hpúkot (good-OBJURG-taste-(3)) 'it tastes damn good' provides a humorous way to express a positive evaluation of a meal. The use of an objurgative form can also serve to indicate that a speaker feels close to his or her addressee. The conversation from which (58) is taken in fact includes a large number of such forms, and it seems likely that they occur in such numbers in this text partly as an index of the close relationship between the two men involved. Thus while objurgative forms are subject to a certain level of social stigma, they are nonetheless a part of the language that speakers value.

11. A comparative perspective

Objurgative formations are not a recent development in the Abenaki dialects. Laurent (1995:347) notes the occurrence of a form containing a cognate of Penobscot *-alik^we-*, written <-arig8é->, in his edition of an eighteenth-century dictionary of an Eastern Abenaki dialect by the Jesuit missionary Joseph Aubery (1673-1756).[35] He also reports Aubery's comment that employing this objurgative form followed by <da> (an emphatic particle) constituted an insult.

Objurgative forms parallel to those of Penobscot and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy have been reported in Unami, an Eastern Algonquian language of the Delaware group, spoken originally in the Delaware River Valley and New Jersey (and until recently in Oklahoma), and traces of these formations are reflected in Pidgin Delaware, a contact language that developed on the Middle Atlantic Coast of North America in the Colonial Period (Goddard 1997). We have already had occasion to note how similar the objurgative elements of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and

Penobscot are to body-part medials. This feature is immediately explained when we consider how Delaware objurgatives are formed:

> In Delaware more-or-less serious negative opinions can be expressed by adding to otherwise ordinary verbs and nouns morphemes that refer to intimate body parts. These expressions are regarded as off-color and are avoided by most speakers, but some men of earlier generations were recalled in the 1960s as having been especially adept at creating them. (Goddard 1997:80)

One morpheme that is used to derive objurgative forms of nouns in Unami is *-a:lahki:t:i* 'rectum': corresponding to *xkó:k* 'snake' there is *xko:k:-a:lahkí:t:i* 'disgusting snake'.[36] This suffix is cognate with Malisset-Passamaquoddy *-alŏkittis*, except that the latter has been extended by adding the diminutive ending *-is*.[37]

These nominal suffixes involve the same morphemic material as Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *-alŏkittiye-*, Penobscot *-ɑlakittəye-*. The latter in turn reflect a compound medial with two constituents, both of which are reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian: *-a:θak-* 'hole' (Goddard 1990:468) and *-itwiy-e:-* 'rump, buttocks' (Hockett 1957:264). The contemporary forms can be derived by sound law from these PA originals, except that the geminate *t* that both languages show must reflect expressive lengthening. Clearly the meaning must originally have been 'rectum', as reflected by Unami *-a:lahki:t:i*. The combination of *-a:θak-* and *-itwiy-e:-* may

itself be old, since it occurs outside Eastern Algonqian in Meskwaki (originally spoken in Michigan): *meht-**a:nak-itiye:**-šim-e:-w-a* (exposed-hole-buttocks-place-DIR-3-PROX.SG) 'he places him with "hind-quarters" exposed'.[38] The Meskwaki medial is only used with a literal sense, however, and not in formations with a function comparable to that of the Eastern Algonquian objurgative.

While most of the other objurgative morphemes of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot are obscure in origin, the common Penobscot element *-əče-*, also weakly attested in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, can be explained by reference to other forms in these languages. Siebert (1996:252) reports Penobscot *màsk-əč-e* 'he has malodorous feces', representing a stem /mask-əč-α-/. This stem includes a medial that reveals the etymological meaning of *-əče-*, namely 'excrement'. This conclusion is supported by the existence of a noun final *-əči* 'dung, excrement': *mósəw-əči* 'moose dung' (Siebert 1996:288). Compare also Pass. *ahahsŭw-òc* 'horse manure'.

The etymological conclusions that we have reached here, together with the evidence we have noted concerning cognate formations in Delaware, make it clear that the objurgative formations of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot reflect an old process by which a variety of emotionally charged items were inserted into verbs or suffixed to nouns, generally to indicate negative evaluations of various kinds. The morphemes that remain in use have been bleached of their literal meanings, becoming essentially formal elements. All that remains is their expressive force and a sense on the part of speakers that their use makes for off-color speech.

12. Conclusions

Both Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot employ specialized morphemes to derive forms of verbs whose basic function is to express various types of negative evaluations. Comparable forms of nouns are attested for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, and related forms of particles occur in both languages. We have termed forms of all of these types objurgatives, following Speck (1918).

Verb stems in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, as in other Algonquian languages, have either a bipartite or a tripartite structure. Primary stems consist either of an initial component plus a final component, or of an initial, a medial, and a final. Secondary stems follow only the second of these patterns, and thus consist exclusively of an initial plus a final. In these terms, the objuragtive morphemes that appear in verbs may be analyzed as medials. The objurgative element *-alõkittiye-* of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy differs from ordinary medials, however, in cooccurring freely with another medial.

From a descriptive point of view, the derivation of many objurgative verb forms might be taken to involve the insertion of one of the objurgative elements into a target stem as a medial. This type of analysis will not work in general, however. As we observed in section 5, the objurgative correspondent to a secondary stem cannot be derived in this fashion, since secondary stems consist only of an initial plus a final. In such cases a secondary stem is built up to match the desired target by starting from a primary stem that already contains an objurgative medial. In section 6, we saw that a stem containing an objurgative medial may correspond to a preverb-verb combination. Examples of this type involve a novel kind of stem-formation process in which a

preverb-verb complex functions more like a model for stem-formation than it does like a base from which a stem is formed. Deriving an objurgative form in either case involves more that simply inserting an objurgative element into a target stem.

The objurgative forms of nouns that are attested in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy are made by adding an objurgative morpheme as a suffix. The available evidence is not extensive, but suggests that this suffix is added to the noun in its surface shape, rather than to the stem of the noun or to a combining form derived from it, as other nominal derivatives generally are.

Objurgative forms are still in common use in Maliseet and Passamaquoddy. Speakers use them to signal their own anger, scorn, or frustration, or to indicate such feelings on the part of the participants in events that they are describing. Objurgative verbs forms may also serve to indicate that an action or state is extreme or intense. This makes them a favorite of storytellers, who use them to add drama to their narratives. Objurgatives can also be used with good humor, however, as a joking way to indicate approval. Their use in conversation provides a way to signal that participants feel close to one another.

Comparative evidence suggests that the source of the objurgative formations of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot is an old process by which terms for intimate body parts and other emotionally charged items were inserted into verbs or suffixed to nouns to indicate negative evaluations of various kinds. The resulting formations have been grammaticalized and subjected to semantic bleaching in the course of the development of the contemporary constructions.

Notes

Acknowledgments. We are grateful to Ives Goddard for information concerning the Delaware cognates of some of the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Penobscot forms investigated her and about the historical sources of these forms. Maliseet and Passamaquoddy speakers who have contributed to LeSourd's understanding of matters discussed here have included the late Philomene Dana, the late Simon Gabriel, the late Albert Harnois, the late Anna Harnois, Estelle Neptune, Wayne Newell, the late Mary Ellen Socobasin, and the late Fred Tomah of Indian Township, Me.; Margaret Apt, David A. Francis, and Joseph Neptune of Pleasant Point, Me.; and the late Peter Lewis Paul of Woodstock, N.B. Quinn wishes to express his thanks to the Passamaquoddy speakers who have shared their expertise in their language with him, including especially John G. Homan, Andrew Moore, Alice C. Tomah, and the late Kenneth Newell. Naturally remaining errors are those of the authors.

Notation. Maliseet-Passamaquoddy examples are given here in a modified version of a widely used standard orthography: *o* represents phonemic /ə/, while *u* is /o/ (phonetically intermediate in height between [u] and [o]); *c* is /č/; *q* is /kʷ/. Phonemic /h/ before a consonant at the beginning of a word is written as an apostrophe; it is frequently realized only as aspiration of a following stop or affricate, tenseness of a following *s*. Prosodic distinctions are indicated by diacritics: a stressed vowel bearing distinctive high pitch is marked with an acute accent; a stressed vowel pronounced without a pitch rise is marked with a grave accent; phonologically "weak" vowels are marked with a breve. Weak vowels are ignored in stress assignment, which yields an alternating pattern of non-distinctive stresses to the left of the distinctively accented syllable in a word. Penobscot forms are cited in the orthography of Siebert (1988), which has

60

been adopted by the Tribal Council of the Penobscot Nation. Symbols generally have their expected Americanist values, except that *α* is a tense, mid, back nonround vowel. An acute accent marks a vowel as bearing primary accent with an associated rise in pitch; a grave accent indicates primary accent without an associated pitch rise.

Abbreviations. The following abbreviations are used in glosses: 1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; 2/1, etc., second person subject with first person object, etc.; AI animate intransitive; AN animate; DIM diminutive; DIR direct; DUBIT dubitative; EMPH emphatic; FUT future; II inanimate instrantive; IMP imperative; IN inanimate; INV inverse; LOC locative; N suffix *-(õ)n(e)-*, with several functions; NEG negative; OBV obviative; PERF perfective; PL plural; PRET preterite; HES.PRO hesitation pronoun; MPL multi-plural; OBJURG objurgative; PF particle final (particle-forming suffix); PROHIB prohibitive; PROX proximate; RECIP reciprocal; REFLEX reflexive; REPORT reportative; SG singular; SUBJ subjunctive; TA transitive animate; TH thematic suffix of transitive inanimate verb; TI transitive inanimate; UNSPEC unspecified subject, VOC vocative; W suffix used to derive initial components of stems. Glosses are given in parentheses for morphemes that have no surface segmental shape and for the /w-/ of the third-person prefix where this is realized as a surface *h* that is written as an apostrophe. The double hyphen is used to join an enclitic particle to its host and to connect a preverb or prenoun to a following verb or noun, respectively. No grammatical distinction of sex-gender is made in either Maliseet-Passamaquoddy or Penobscot. In glossing forms that involve reference to an animate third person, we generally use appropriate variants of 'he' if the form in question is cited without reference to a context, but use pronouns appropriate to the context in examples taken from texts.

1. Our characterization of the semantics of these intensive formations owes much to commentary in the on-line *Maliseet-Passamaquoddy Dictionary* of Francis and Leavitt (2006), and many of our examples are taken from this source as well, although the translations are ours in some cases. These examples are indicated by the notation "MPD." (A print edition has recently appeared: Francis and Leavitt 2008.) Accent is not marked in the dictionary, however. Thus we have added indications of prosodic features to our transcriptions of these examples, following Passamaquoddy prosodic norms. Maliseet and Passamaquoddy examples not taken from the MPD are from our field notes, except as indicated. These are marked for their dialect of origin (Mal. for Maliseet, Pass. for Passamaquoddy). Penobscot examples (marked Pen.) are taken either from Speck 1918 or from Siebert (1988, 1996a, 1996b, 1997). Forms taken from Speck have been phonemicized.

2. The Maliseet elder Peter Lewis Paul (1902–1989), a noted expert on the language, reported the opposite ordering of *-ŏliqe-* and *-ŏnoqe-* to LeSourd in the 1980s, taking *-ŏnoqe-* to be stronger than *-ŏliqe-*. Whether these differing reports reflect true variation is unknown.

3. *Costàqs* 'be quiet!' is a curious verb. Formally, the stem consists of the initial /coss-/ 'bothersome' and the final /-ĭhtaqsi-/ 'make vocal noise'. Thus the literal meaning of the verb is 'make a bothersome noise'. Nonimperative forms in fact have this meaning: Pass. *costáqsu* 'he talks constantly, annoyingly'. But the meaning of imperative forms is just the opposite of their literal meaning. Perhaps this usage is ironic or sarcastic in origin.

4. Siebert (1988:758) notes that each of these examples is associated with a special intonation that is characteristic of imperative verbs and interjections: "The final syllable rises a variable pitch interval measuring from a third (two whole steps) to a major fourth (three whole

steps)."

5. Siebert remarks that example (14a), illustrating the "first degree expletive of vexation," is "not a malediction, imprecation, or objurgation despite the last English translation" (1988:758).

6. The Penobscot cognate of this morpheme appears in (1a) and (12a, b).

7. To see that *-naqsi-* 'look like' is indeed a primary final, consider the verb *cip-alŏk-ináqsu* 'he looks scary, said of a wide-eyed person, a lion with his mouth open, etc.' (MPD). Here *-naqsi-* appears in what is clearly a primary formation, in combination with the non-derived initial *cip-* 'hideous, fearsome' and the medial *-alŏk-* 'hole'.

8. An exception is *pun-* 'put, place' (*'púnŏmon* 'he places it'). A final based on this stem occurs in such forms as *nekka=kis-apek-**ipún**-o-k* (all=past-stringlike-put-TH-3AN) 'when he had finished setting out the whole line of them (traps)' (Mal., LeSourd 2007:68, no. 3) and *mil-ahq-**ipún**-ŏm-on* ((3)-various-sticklike-put-TH-N) 'he places it (sticklike) in various positions' (MPD). There are also nonproductive formations in which a final is derived from a consonant-initial stem by dropping this initial consonant. Thus corresponding to ***monúh**-m-on* ((3)-buy-TH-N) 'he buys it' we find *'kis-ŏ**núh**-m-on* ((3)-past-buy-TH-N) 'he bought it' (Pass.).

9. Preverbs typically form a single prosodic unit with an immediately following verb or preverb-verb complex. The boundary between a clitic and a following preverb or verb is therefore represented here as comparable to a clitic boundary.

10. Some preverbs are much more readily separated from their associated verbs than others, and it likely that some are subject to restrictions on the material that may intervene.

11. The combination of the TI final -*αt*- and the theme sign -*am*- that appears in the stem *wanαtam*- 'lose one's mind, memory' may have been reananlyzed as a new AI final -*αtam*-, referring to mental activity. Compare *siw-αtam* 'he is weary' (with *siw*- 'weary'), *wew-αtam* 'he is wise, prudent, he is sober' (with *wew*- 'knowledgable').

12. Most medials that serve a classificatory function, like -*ahq*- 'wooden or sticklike object', do not end in this post-medial extension: *pom-ahq-íhke* (along-sticklike-abound-(3)) 'there is a stretch of trees'.

13. For a second example of this type, consider the form *mok-tunĭy-áqh-a-l* 'he props the other's mouth open with a stick' (< /w-mok-ŏtune-aqh-a-ol/ 3-big(?)-mouth-aqh-DIR-OBV.SG) (MPD). Here /-ŏtune-/ 'mouth' is followed by a final /-aqh-/ 'act on by sticklike instrument' which etymologically incorporates the medial -*ahq*- 'sticklike object '; cf. Pass. *wihq-áqh-a-l* 'he pulls him with a hook'.

14. The treatment of /-ŏnŏqe-/ appears to be different. In this morpheme, /e/ is apparently retained before a full vowel; /y/ is then inserted, and /e/ becomes /ĭ/ before the inserted /y/. Compare Mal. *olŏm-**on**ŏ**qĭy-àp*** 'look the hell over that way!' (< /olŏm-ŏnŏqe-api/ away-intensive-look).

15. Perhaps, however, a phonological analysis of this difference should not be excluded: it is conceivable that /-alŏkittiye-/ becomes /-alŏkittiyĭy-/ before a full vowel, and that /iyĭy/ is then reduced to *iy*. One body-part medial, -*kciye*- 'buttocks', has the right shape to provide a test case for this analysis, but is not attested in an appropriate environment.

16. We could, of course, analyze the objurgative element in examples like these as forming a compound with the medial that follows it, thereby salvaging the generalization that a stem

may include only a single medial. There is little to recommend such an move, however. In particular, it does not make objurgative formations any less exceptional, since compound medials are not otherwise productively formed.

17. When asked to judge constructed objurgative forms for 'he covers the other's mouth with his hand', one Passamaquoddy elder accepted both *'kop-**alŏkittiye**-tuné-n-a-l* ((3)-closed-OBJURG-mouth-by.hand-DIR-OBV.SG) and *'kop-**tun**-**alŏkittiyé**-n-a-l*, with the opposite order of the medial and the objurgative element. We are inclined to think, however, that our consultant was being overly cooperative, and that the second of these forms is not in fact correct. Note in particular that the medial /-ŏtune-/ occurs here without its final /e/, which otherwise drops only before the abstract AI final /-a-/.

18. For a discussion of the morphology of multi-plural forms in Passamaquoddy, see LeSourd 1995:122–25.

19. There is an objurgative particle *ehq-alŏkittiye* '(forcefully, urgently) stop it!, oh my goodness!' (accent uncertain) (MPD) that is indirectly related to the preverb *ehqi* 'cease'. While this form looks like an objurgative derivative of the preverb, it is more closely connected with the interjection *ehqí* 'stop it!'

20. Compare the treatment of the analyzable stem *kis-ŏm-* (past-eat-) TA 'ate' in *n-kis-alŏkittiyé-m-a* (1-past-OBJURG-eat-DIR) 'I ate the damn thing (a cake)'. A crucial difference between *kis-ŏm-* 'ate' and *tokŏm-* 'hit' is that the former contains a productively employed final, while the latter does not.

21. The prosodic features of these forms are uncertain, but we have the impression that the initial vowel of the objurgative forms here bears secondary stress and is therefore not a

weak vowel.

22. The loss of stem-final *i* in these forms may reflect a wider pattern in which *i* is dropped at the end of an initial derived from a stem (LeSourd 1993:371–372.). For example, the basic form of the reflexive suffix is *-(ŏ)si-*: *'t-okehkím-si-n* (3-teach-REFLEX-N) 'he learns it'. When an initial is derived from a stem that ends in the reflexive suffix, the final *i* of this morpheme is dropped, as it is in *n-totŏl-okehkim-s-óh-oq* (1-ongoing-teach-REFLEX-TA-INV) 'he (e.g., a dental student) is teaching himself by working on me' (Pass.); the initial in this case is *totŏl-okehkim-s-* 'be teaching self'. The *i* then reappears (presumably as a result of epenthesis) when a nonsyllabic follows: *wicuhkem-s-íkŏton* (help-REFLEX-be.a.year-(3)) 'the time comes when someone (a child) who hasn't previously done things for himself starts to do so' (Pass.).

23. The rule in question changes /h/ to *y* after /i/, provided that a vowel other than /i/ follows. Compare *nemíh-i-t* (see-3/1-3AN) 'he who saw me' (Pass.), *nemíy-usk* (see-3/2) 'he who saw you (sg.)' (Pass.), both with stem /nŏmih-/ (and initial change).

24. Compare *wehkè-n* (use2 IMP) 'use (sg.) it!' (Pass.), *má nt-uwehká-w-on* (Pass.) (not 1-use-NEG-N) 'I don't use it', both with /ŭwehke-/ 'use'.

25. Siebert wrote <a> in his field notebook for the initial *α* of *-αlakittəyα-* and *-αlakohkis-* in the forms cited in (42b). We have emended his transcriptions in accordance with his later recordings of these morphemes; compare, for example, the items in (14).

26. Compare *péč-ihlα-č* (hither-go-3IMP) 'let him come', *péč-ihle* (hither-go-(3)) 'he comes' (Pen., Siebert 1996a:361).

27. This sentence is uttered by a chicken in a children's book (from the Passamaquoddy

bilingual education program of the 1970s) who has discovered a raccoon trying to sneak into the henhouse. It seems, then, that nominal derivatives in *-alŏkittis* do not constitute language from which children need to be shielded.

28. There is an alternative stem /muwinu-/, which gives forms like *muwinúmol* 'his bear' and *muwinúhsis* 'bear (dim.)'; but the speaker who provided the text from which (47) is taken used *e*-stem forms (such as *muwínĭyik* 'bears'), not *u*-stem forms (like *muwinúwok*).

29. Preliminary investigation suggests that the corresponding animate form **wen-alŏkíttis?* 'who the hell?' is not acceptable.

30. A parallel formation, with the medial *-ahantuw-* 'devil' in place of an objurgative element, is attested in Maliseet: *kin-ahantuw-ínaq* 'what the devil!'; cf. Pass. *wahànt* 'devil' (stem /wahantu-/).

31. A variety of other shortened forms have been recorded as well, including *kíttiye* and *alŏkittiyéna(q)*.

32. The non-objurgative stem for 'frighten to death' is *sikte-hpawŏl-*, with *sikte-* 'to death (literally or figuratively)'; cf. *'sikte-hpáwol-a-l* ((3)-to.death-frighten-DIR-OBV.SG) 'he frightens him to death' (MPD). Irregularly, *sikte-* appears as *sikt-* before the objurgative elements *-alŏkittiye-* (as in (48a)) and *-ŏliqe-* (*n-**sikt**-ŏliqe-hpáwŏl-oq* 'he frightens me to death' MPD).

33. The long form occurs in Siebert's *Penobscot Legends* (1997), e.g., in *nekʷtahtawet*, no. 11; the short form is attested by Speck (1918:239).

34. The objurgative form in this example presupposes a TI stem /pun-ŏn-/ (put-by.hand-) 'let go'. This stem is not attested in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, but compare Penobscot *nə-pón-*

ən-əm-ən (1-put-by.hand-TH-N) 'I release it, let it go, omit it, leave it out' (Siebert 1996a:405).

35. In Laurent's representation of Aubery's orthography, <8> represents a symbol consisting of an <o> written together with a <u> above it.

36. Ives Goddard, personal communication September 20, 2007.

37. Penobscot *-ɑlakohkis-*, which corresponds to Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *-alõkittis-* in its use as an intensifier inserted in verbs before *-ɑlakittəye-*, probably reflects a modication of an earlier **-ɑlakittis-* under the influence of *kkohk* 'buttocks' (Siebert 1996:227). Compare also Passamaquoddy *alõkuhkis* 'baby' (accent uncertain), a term of endearment used in speaking to a baby (MPD), perhaps reflecting a related modification of *alõkittis* under the influence of *kúhk* 'buttocks'.

38. Ives Goddard, personal communication September 20, 2007.

References

Bloomfield, Leonard

1946   Algonquian. *In* Linguistic Structures of Native America, edited by Cornelius Osgood, pp. 85–129. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 6. New York: Viking Fund.

Francis, David A., and Robert M. Leavitt

2006   Maliseet-Passamaquoddy Dictionary. Fredericton, N.B.: Mi'kmaq-Maliseet Institute, University of New Brunswick.

www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/Maliseet/dictionary/

2008   Peskotomuhkati Wolastoqewi Latuwewakon / A Passamaquoddy-Maliseet

Dictionary. Fredericton, N.B.: Gooselane Editions.

Goddard, Ives

  1988   Post-Transformational Stem Derivation in Fox. Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics 22:59–72.

  1990   Primary and Secondary Stem Derivation in Algonquian. International Journal of American Linguistics 56: 449-83.

  1997   Pidgin Delaware. *In* Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective, edited by Sarah G. Thomason, pp. 43–98. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hockett, Charles F.

  1957   Central Algonquian Vocabulary: Stems in /k-/. International Journal of American Linguistics 23:247–68.

Laurent, Stephen

  1995   Father Aubery's French Abenaki Dictionary. Portland, Me.: Chisholm Bros.

Leavitt, Robert M.

  1996   Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. Munich: Lincom Europa.

LeSourd, Philip S.

  1993   Accent and Syllable Structure in Passamaquoddy. New York: Garland Publishing.

1995 Diminutive Verb Forms in Passamaquoddy. International Journal of American Linguistics 61:103–34.

to appear On the Analytic Expression of Predicates in Meskwaki (Fox). *In* Hypothesis A / Hypothesis B: Linguistic Explorations in Honor of David M. Perlmutter, edited by Donna B. Gerdts, John Moore, and Maria Polinsky. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

McCarthy, John J.

1982 Prosodic Structure and Expletive Infixation. Language 58:574–90.

Newell, Irene

1979 Kehtaqs [Ghost]. Indian Township, Me.: Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program.

Newell, Wayne

1973 Espons Ali Ehemuhke [Racoon Goes Chicken-Hunting]. Indian Township, Me.: Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program.

1974 Kukec [Game Warden]. Indian Township, Me.: Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program.

Siebert, Frank T.

1988 The Suprasegmental Phonemes of the Penobscot Dialect of Eastern Abenaki, an Eastern Algonquian Language. *In* In Honor of Mary Haas: From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Linguistics, edited by William Shipley, pp. 715–63. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

1996a   Penobscot Dictionary. MS, Old Town, Me., and American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

1996b   Penobscot field notes. MS, Old Town, Me., and American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

1997   Penobscot Legends. MS, Old Town, Me., and American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Speck, Frank G.

1918   Penobscot Transformer Tales. International Journal of American Linguistics 1:187–244.

Zonneveld, Wim

1984   The Game of the Name: Expletive Insertion in English. Linguistic Analysis 13:55–60.