

**Recovering the Penobscot TA Conjunct: documentary, analytical, and revitalization considerations**

Conor McDonough Quinn  
University of Maine  
*conor.mcdonoughquinn@maine.edu*

47th Algonquian Conference | University of Manitoba, 24 Sept. 2015

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## 1. Introduction

- The TA Conjunct is, among Algonquian paradigms, typically the most complex and often the most irregular.
- For languages where the Independent remains the primary main clause form, the TA Conjunct is often incompletely documented.
- This is the case for Penobscot: none of the otherwise quite extensive documentary sources evidently ever achieved a direct, systematic elicitation of the complete paradigm. We report here on the successful recovery of nearly all of the paradigm (including the analytically important negative forms (cf. Goddard 2006) from the extant fragmented documentation.

- In the context of recent historical-comparative work on the Algonquian TA Conjunct (Oxford 2014), we first observe that the Penobscot TA Conjunct exhibits several systematic differences (in both components and composition) from its two immediate neighbors (W. Abenaki and Passamaquoddy-Maliseet)---despite otherwise showing very high lexicogrammatical overlap with both.

- Positioning these striking differences within these three otherwise quite similar systems, we also note a set of distinctive TA Conjunct innovations shared in full or in part among Penobscot, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, and Mi'gmaq, and propose a tentative origin.

- Finally, we examine a novel challenge: while pure documentation rightly concerns itself strictly with what is attested, contemporary language revitalization efforts demand a methodology of "practical reconstruction"---i.e. a means to provide learners with the "most likely" candidates for filling attestational gaps in core language patterns.

- To this end, we offer a new set of strategies and suggestions for handling both the "practical reconstruction" of the Penobscot TA Conjunct, and the pedagogical presentation of its forms.

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Non-TA Conjunct

It is easiest to approach the TA Conjunct from the set of non-TA Conjunct forms, i.e. those used with the AI(O) and (O)TI (and II), and which reflect the single primary (or only) argument.

The set is relatively simple, with just a few key issues of contextual allomorphy.

(1) Penobscot non-TA Conjunct

☞	1s	-a, - <u>an</u> -	elí-wisəy <u>a</u>	'the way I am named' (PL)
			alohk <u>áne</u>	'if I work' (S:53:156)
	2s	-an	élikəy <u>an</u>	'the way you [...] look' (PL)
	1p	-ek	elí-wisəy <u>ek</u>	'[the way we are named]' (PL)
	12	-ak <sup>w</sup>	wečipa-məsənə <u>mak<sup>w</sup></u> sk <sup>w</sup> əte	'in order that we obtain fire' (PL)
	2p	-ek <sup>w</sup>	kehsəy <u>ek<sup>w</sup></u>	'how many you [will] be be' (S1918:227)
☞	AN	-t, -k, ...	alóhk <u>e</u> tə	'if he works' (S:53:156)
			ítake	'if he says' (S:53:156) [ <i>stem: itam-</i> ]
	ANobv	-əli-t	épilit	'where [she] (Obv) was sitting' (PL)
	ANpl	-həti-t	épi <u>hətit</u>	'[there] they sat' (PL)
	Impers	-mək	ésim <u>ək</u>	'what happened [to one]'(PD)
	INAN	-k	ni ále <u>k</u>	'if that is true, If that were so; if that happens' (PD)

- 1s has a special word-final allomorph -a, but otherwise is -an-.

- AN (singular) is -t after a vowel, and (with some secondary details) -k after a consonant.

## 2.2 Conjunct and negative concord

Key to observe: interaction of Conjunct endings with the negative concord element -(o)w.

*(-ow after C, -w after V)*

As noted in Goddard 2006, the AN(sg) negative has a slightly quirky form:

-H-k <sup>w</sup> -	alóhkek <u>k</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if he works not' (S:53:157)
-oH-k-	itámok <u>k</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if he doesn't say' (S:53:157)

This emerges by first taking the predicted -k allomorph following -(o)w...

...then the resulting /wk/ sequence reconfigures through isochrony/compensatory lengthening and retiming of the labial gesture to become -kk<sup>w</sup>- medially...and as per basic Penobscot phonotactic restrictions, -hk<sup>w</sup> finally.

- Penobscot also generally levels the /k~k<sup>w</sup>/ contrast after /o(h)/, so the final collocation after -ow is -ohk.

- This characteristic /-kk-/ ~ /-hk/ pattern has then spread to the other forms involving /k/. In the chart below, it is abbreviated as /Hk/, and can be seen to affect the (1p), 12, 2p, Impers, and INAN forms as well.



(2) Penobscot non-TA Conjunct, Negative

	1s	-(o)w-a, -(o)w-αn-	èhsəma ek <sup>w</sup> ássi <u>wa</u> alohké <u>wəne</u>	'before I regained my composure' (PL) 'if I don't work' (S:53:156)
	2s	-(o)w-an	alohké <u>wane</u>	'if thou don't work' (S:53:156)
☞	1p	**-(o)w-eHk	**[no simple attestations so far]	
☞	12	-(o)w-aHk <sup>w</sup>	alohké <u>wakk<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if we don't work' (S:53:157)
☞	2p	-(o)w-eHk <sup>w</sup>	alohké <u>wekk<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if we don't work' (S:53:158)
	AN	-H-k <sup>w</sup> , -oH-k	alóhkek <u>k<sup>w</sup>e</u> itámok <u>k<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if he works not' (S:53:157) 'if he doesn't say' (S:53:157)
	ANobv	-əli-H-k <sup>w</sup>	éyil <u>ihk<sup>w</sup></u>	'[where s/he (Obv) is]' (PD)
	ANpl	-həti-H-k <sup>w</sup>	alohké <u>hətik<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if they don't work' (S:53:158)
☞	Impers	-m{oH}k	[NEG] ésim <u>ohk</u>	'[what did not happen to one]' (PD)
☞	INAN	-n{oH}k	àta ni alé <u>nokke</u>	'if that isn't true; if that doesn't happen' (PD)

- The realization of negative concord involves both simple concatenation, and also more complex contextual allomorphy and paradigmatic effects.

- Here we see how ANpl -həti-t and ANobv -əli-t endings are compounded/extended versions of the basic -t ending: with each, we simply replace -t with its negative equivalent -Hk<sup>w</sup>.

ANobv	-əli-H-k <sup>w</sup>	éyil <u>ihk</u> <sup>w</sup>	'[where s/he (Obv) is]' (PD)
ANpl	-həti-H-k <sup>w</sup>	alohké <u>hətik</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if they don't work' (S:53:158)

vs.

ANobv	-əli-t	ép <u>ilit</u>	'where [she] (Obv) was sitting' (PL)
ANpl	-həti-t	épi <u>hətit</u>	'[there] they sat' (PL)

- Crucially, unlike the 1p, 12, 2p forms, we find no additional -(o)w preceding the full ending. (Unsurprisingly, Impers and INAN negatives also track these forms.)

## 2.3 TA theme signs

With this foundation, we are almost ready to move on to the TA Conjunct, where the above elements still form the bulk of the system. Beforehand, however, we need to briefly introduce the four TA theme signs:

### (3) Penobscot TA theme signs

-i	1.Pat	< PA *-i
-əɫ	2.Pat	< PA *-eθ
-α	Direct	< PA *-a·
-ək <sup>w</sup>	Inverse	< PA *-ekw

These reflect the the Person properties of the notional primary object, either directly or as part of the overall argument configuration. All TA Conjunct forms therefore follow a simple descriptive template:

(4) TA Conjunct template

...-ThemeSign - (Negative) - ConjunctEnding{N}



I.e. a theme sign---or related element, like a reflexive or reciprocal, etc.---whether overt or not, followed by some Conjunct ending. The negative concord element systematically occurs between the two, except where it is also compounded into the Conjunct ending itself.

### 3. TA Conjunct contextual allomorphs


#### 3.1 TA Conjunct: preliminaries

The TA Conjunct endings mainly draw from the above set. For example, the purely SAP Agent-Patient (or "Local") forms are essentially simple combinations of notional primary object and subject markers.

(5) Penobscot TA Conjunct: SAP Agent-Patient ("Local")

-i-an	-1.Pat-1sCj	takáməy <u>ane</u>	'if you (1) hit you' (S:72:165)
-i-ek <sup>w</sup>	-1.Pat-2pCj	takáməy <u>ek<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if ye hit me' (S:72:168)
 -i-ek	-1.Pat-1pCj	takáməy <u>eke</u>	'if you [s/p] hit us' (S:72:168)
-əl-ən-	-2.Pat-1sCj	takámə <u>lən</u> e	'if I hit thee' (S:72:168)
 -əl-ek	-2.Pat-1pCj	takámə <u>leke</u>	'if we hit thee, or you' (S:72:169)
-əl-ek <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-2pCj	takámə <u>lek<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if I hit ye' (S:72:169)

The only point to note here is the familiar loss of the 2s:2p contrast in favor of the 1s:1p contrast

() where the two compete for the single Conjunct element slot.

### 3.2 TA Conjunct: Direct

So this is a fairly simple system. Complications emerge when we come to interactions with the 3rd person, i.e. Direct and Inverse. Here a subset of Conjunct endings appear in irregular but patterned contextual allomorphs; and interactions with the theme signs can also be somewhat surface-opaque.







(6) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Direct

-[α]-ok	-[DIR]-1s{A}Cj	takámo <u>ke</u>	'if I hit him or them' (S:53:169)
-[α]-at	-[DIR]-2s{A}Cj	takáma <u>te</u>	'if thou strikest him or them' (S:53:170)
-[α]-okət	-[DIR]-1p{A}Cj	nə̀yona tən etoči-takám <u>okət</u>	'whenever we strike him, them' (S:53:7b)
-[α]-ak <sup>w</sup>	-[DIR]-12Cj	takám <u>ak<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if we hit him or them' (S:53:170)
-[α]-ek <sup>w</sup>	-[DIR]-2pCj	takám <u>ek<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if ye hit him or them' (S:53:171)
-α-t	-DIR-ANCj	takám <u>αte</u>	'if he hits him or them' (S:53:170)
-a-həti-t	-DIR-ANp-ANCj	takamá <u>hətite</u>	'if they hit him or them' (S:53:171)
-[α]-ot	-[DIR]-Impers{A}Cj	ìhl <u>ot</u>	'[what she] was told' (PL)


- The Direct morpheme is systematically deleted before vowel-initial Conjunct endings, as indicated by bracketed -[α]- in the table (cp. Oxford 2014).

(7) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Direct: special allomorphs

	-[α]-ok	-[DIR]-1s{A}Cj	takámo <u>ke</u>	'if I hit him or them' (S:53:169)
	-[α]-at	-[DIR]-2s{A}Cj	takáma <u>te</u>	'if thou strikest him or them' (S:53:170)
	-[α]-okət	-[DIR]-1p{A}Cj	nəyona tən etoči-takám <u>okət</u>	'whenever we strike him, them' (S:53:7b)
	-[α]-ak <sup>w</sup>	-[DIR]-12Cj	takám <u>ak<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if we hit him or them' (S:53:170)
	-[α]-ek <sup>w</sup>	-[DIR]-2pCj	takám <u>ek<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if ye hit him or them' (S:53:171)
	-α-t	-DIR-ANCj	takám <u>αte</u>	'if he hits him or them' (S:53:170)
	-a-həti-t	-DIR-ANp-ANCj	takamá <u>hətite</u>	'if they hit him or them' (S:53:171)
	-[α]-ot	-[DIR]-Impers{A}Cj	ìh <u>lot</u>	'[what she] was told' (PL)

- All the Direct-triggered contextual allomorphs but one have shifted their first PEA weak vowel \*a/\*ə to a reflex of PEA \*ō.

(8) TA Conjunct Direct-triggered allomorph shift: PEA weak vowel \*a/\*ə to reflex of PEA \*ō.

Pb		PEA	Mq	PsmMl
-ok	1s{DIR}	*-ak	-(ə)k	-ok
-okət	1p{DIR}	*-akənt	-(ə)kət(t)	-ek, -okət
 -at	2s{DIR}	*-at	-(ə)t	-ət
-ot	Impers{DIR}	*-ənt	-ut	-ot

- The exact trajectory is not clear.

- One possibility is a leveling of one of the rounding/contraction processes affecting PEA-weak-vowel reflexes after TA abstract Final \*(a)w at morpheme boundaries.

- If so, the resistance of 2s -at would be framed as (teleological) paradigmatic contrast maintenance effect, i.e. keeping it distinct from Impers -ot. Notably, Mq did not participate except in the Impers, where failing to do so would have caused a homophony of 2s and Impers as /-ət/.

- A new attestational variation to report for PsmMl!

- Special 1p allomorph -okət is absent from online TA inflection charts, with instead just simple non-TA form-ek (9a)...

...but one video recording provided also gives three examples of -okət (9b):

(9) PsmMl variation in Direct-context 1p element: -ek vs. -okət

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| a. | tekə <u>mek</u>   | '[when we (excl.) hit h/her/them]'   |
| b. | licenses, weči-kisi-kətonə <u>lokət</u><br>eli mosək kisi-kətonə <u>lokət</u> təke<br>'kəcicihton eli-təli-npakətəw <u>okət</u> . | 'licenses so we can/could hunt them'<br>'(by) which we can hunt moose now'<br>'he knew we were lying to him' |

([pmportal.org/sites/default/files/Verb%20ta%20Verb%20ta%20Obj%20Charts.pdf](http://pmportal.org/sites/default/files/Verb%20ta%20Verb%20ta%20Obj%20Charts.pdf) 20151021)

([pmportal.org/videos/when-we-went-hunting](http://pmportal.org/videos/when-we-went-hunting) 20151021)

### 3.3 TA Conjunct: Direct Negative

The most salient feature of the negative concord element is that its position blocks Direct morpheme deletion, and also blocks some but not all triggering of the above-discussed contextual allomorphy:

(10) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Direct, Negative

-α-w-αn-	-DIR-NEG-1sCj	àhta nèya ni eli-wíhl <u>α</u> wa	'That is not what I named him' (PD)
		tan etoči-αta-takám <u>α</u> wa	'whenever I don't hit him' (S:53:4)
-α-w-at	-DIR-NEG-2s{A}Cj	àta takam <u>α</u> wate	'if you (1) don't hit him' (S:53:170)
	-DIR-NEG-2sCj	àta takam <u>α</u> wane	[original -an corrected above to -at]
**?[-α-w-ehk]	-DIR-NEG-1p{N}Cj	**àta takam <u>α</u> wine	'if we (excl.) don't hit him, them' (S:53:7)
-α-w-aHk <sup>w</sup>	-DIR-NEG-12{N}Cj	àta kisi-mskaw <u>α</u> wakk <sup>w</sup> e	'if we cannot find them' (S:53:9)
-α-w-eHk <sup>w</sup>	-DIR-NEG-2p{N}Cj	àta takam <u>α</u> wakk <sup>w</sup> e	'if we don't hit him or them' (S:53:170)
-α-H-k <sup>w</sup>	-DIR-NEG-AN{N}Cj	àta takám <u>α</u> kk <sup>w</sup> e	'if he doesn't hit him, them' (S:53:170)
-a-həti-H-k <sup>w</sup>	-DIR-ANp-NEG-AN{N}Cj	àta takam <u>α</u> hətikk <sup>w</sup> e	'if they don't hit him' (S:53:171)
-α-moHk	-DIR-Impers{N}Cj	wečipa-αta-námihαmohk	'so that he could not be seen' (PL)



- Cannot be particularly deep: Mq 1s,1p negative both involve the Direct allomorph:

(12) Mq 1s, 1p negative based on Direct-triggered allomorph: -ək, -əkət(t)

-[a]-(ə)k	-[DIR]-1s{A}Cj	kesalk <u>̄</u>	'I love h/her'
-a-()-k	-DIR-(NEG)-1s{A}Cj	mu kesal <u>̄</u> aq	'I don't love h/her'
-[a]-(ə)kət(t)	-[DIR]-1p{A}Cj	kesalk <u>̄</u> ət	'we (excl.) love h/her'
-a-()-kət(t)	-DIR-(NEG)-1p{A}Cj	mu kesal <u>̄</u> aqat	'we (excl.) don't love h/her'

- Note, however, that the special Impers allomorph in Mq does get blocked:

(13) Mq Impers Direct-triggered allomorph (-ut) blocked in negative

-[a]-ut	-[DIR]-Impers{A}Cj	kesal <u>̄</u> ut	'one loves h/her'
-a-(w)-mək	-DIR-(NEG)-ImpersCj	mu kesal <u>̄</u> amm'k	'we (excl.) don't love h/her'



So we cannot read too much into what the negative might do for "locality" of morphological exponence.

### 3.4 TA Conjunct: Inverse

The Inverse also is mainly a system of a simply marking notional primary object + subject.

(14) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Inverse

-i-t	-1.Pat-ANCj	takám <u>ite</u>	'if he hits me' (S:53:171)
-i-həti-t	-1.Pat-ANp-ANCj	takamí[hə]t <u>ite</u>	'if they hit me' (S:53:172)
-i-k	-1.Pat-INCj	tən etóči-n <u>lik</u>	'when it kills me' (S:53:x1337)
-əs-k	-2.Pat-ANCj	takám <u>əske</u>	'if he hits thee, if they hit thee' (S:53:171)
-iy-akət	-1.Pat-1p{A}Cj	tən etoči-takám <u>əyakət</u>	'when he struck us' (S:53:x1322)
-əl-ak <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-12Cj	takám <u>ələk<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if he hits us' (S:53:171+S:53:x1323)
-əl-ek <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-2pCj	takám <u>ələk<sup>w</sup>e</u>	'if he strikes ye, if they strike ye' (S:53:171)
-əko-ht	-INV-AN{Inv}Cj	némihok <u>oht</u>	'when he (obv.) saw him, [...]' (S:53:x1335)
		takám <u>əkote</u>	'if the other one hits him'(S:53:239)
-əko-həti-t	-INV-ANp-ANCj	eli-katonal <u>əkohətit</u>	'how they [O] were after their [P] lives' (S1918:236)

- The (AN-Agent) Inverse 1s form -i-t consists of nothing more than those precise [-Obj-Sbj] elements.

- 1s is also the only Inverse where plurality and gender are at all contrastive for the 3rd person Agent argument.

(15) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Inverse 1s contrasts of AN plural and IN Agent

-i-t	-1.Pat-ANCj	takám <u>ite</u>	'if he hits me' (S:53:171)
-i-həti-t	-1.Pat-ANp-ANCj	takamí[ <u>hə</u> ] <u>tite</u>	'if they hit me' (S:53:172)
-i-k	-1.Pat-INCj	tən etóči-n <u>lik</u>	'when it kills me' (S:53:x1337)

- This seems to be "opportunistic" morphology: contrasts available only because the core form -i-t surface-phonetically directly resembles other cases where the AN -t contrasts with ANpl -həti-t and IN -k.

- Elsewhere in the paradigm no such contrasts are made.

- Some points of contextual allomorphy and reshaping...

- The 2s Inverse form -əsk goes back to a PA-transparent \*-eθ-k '2.Pat-3', but the 2.Pat theme sign allomorph -əs is somewhat opaque within synchronic Penobscot, where it's otherwise always -əl.

(16) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Inverse 2s, 2p

a.	-əs-k	-2.Pat-ANCj	takáməs <u>k</u> e	'if he hits thee, if they hit thee' (S:53:171)
b.	-əl-ek <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-2pCj	takámə <u>lek</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if he strikes ye, if they strike ye' (S:53:171)
	-əl-αn-	-2.Pat-1sCj	takámə <u>l</u> αne	'if I hit thee' (S:72:168)
	-əl-ek	-2.Pat-1pCj	takámə <u>le</u> ke	'if we hit thee, or you' (S:72:169)
	-əl-ek <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-2pCj	takámə <u>lek</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if I hit ye' (S:72:169)

- However, the corresponding negative, -əl-oH-k- '2.Pat-NEG-3{N}', with surface-regular -əl, suggests a certain degree of still-dynamic analyzability.

(17) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Inverse 2s, Negative

-ə <u>l</u> -oH-k	-2.Pat-NEG-AN{N}Cj	ətta takámə <u>l</u> okke	'[if he doesn't hit you]' (S:53:171)
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- The 'Obv→Prox' Inverse at the PA level is \*-eʔt, possibly from a pre-PA Inverse \*-ek(w) plus \*-t.
- This would have a Pb reflex \*\*-əht (realizing as \*\*-(i)ht or contracted to -(C)t).
- PsmMl and Mq show direct reflexes (18a,b). But in Pb (18c) this \*-əht instead has rebuilt/reinforced with the full Inverse theme sign morph -ək<sup>w</sup>, collocated as -ək<sup>w</sup>-əht → -əkoht ~ -əkot-.

(18) 'Obv→Prox' Inverse (from PA \*-eʔt)

- |    |       |                |                  |  |
|----|-------|----------------|------------------|--|
| a. | PsmMl | -(ə)ht ~ -iht  | tekə <u>miht</u> | 'Obv hit Prox (Cj)' (PMD)              |
| b. | Mq    | -(ə)t          | kesal <u>təl</u> | 'Obv love Prox (Cj)' (Quinn f.n. 2012) |
| c. | Pb    | -əkoht, -əkot- |                  |  |

ni yo níhk<sup>w</sup>αp, àwen αsitéməkote, nìči awewélətamən eli-wičóhkeməkoht.

'So now, if someone was answered [by him], then he would know that the other one would help him.' (PD)

- Perhaps the most distinctive Pb Inverse forms are the 1p, 12, and 2p, as these are apparently not shared with any of its immediate neighbors.

(19) Penobscot (and other) TA Conjunct: Inverse 1p, 12, 2p

	<i>Pb</i>	<i>PsmMl</i>	<i>Mq(E)</i>	<i>MqList</i>	<i>WAb</i>
<i>1p</i>	-iy-akət	-i-nəmət/nəmək	-i-namət	-uksi-ek	??-əko_-ak
<i>12</i>	-əl-ak <sup>w</sup>	-əl-in-ək <sup>w</sup>	-ul-kw	-uksi-:kw	??-əko_-akw
<i>2p</i>	-əl-ek <sup>w</sup>	-əl-in-ak <sup>w</sup>	-ul-oq	-uksi-oq	-əko-ak <sup>w</sup>

- Pb and PsmMl systems actually both work on the same essential principle: theme sign reflects the Person of the notional primary object; and Conjunct morpheme also reflects (at the very least) its further plural Person (1p, 12, 2p) information.

- In Pb, however, the Conjunct morphemes are identical to non-TA equivalents, except that -ek '1p' is replaced by the 3rd-person context-triggered allomorph -akət. (Notably, in its conservative form, not leveled to -okət.)



- The 2.Pat-based forms are especially interesting. The 2p Inverse collocation (20a) is ambiguous with '1s→2p' (20b)...

(20) 2p Inverse ambiguous with 1s→2p

- |    |                     |             |                          |  |
|----|---------------------|-------------|--------------------------|--|
| a. | -əl-ek <sup>w</sup> | -2.Pat-2pCj | takáməlek <sup>w</sup> e | 'if he strikes ye, if they strike ye' (S:53:171) |
| b. | -əl-ek <sup>w</sup> | -2.Pat-2pCj | takáməlek <sup>w</sup> e | 'if I hit ye' (S:72:169)                         |
| c. | -əl-ak <sup>w</sup> | -2.Pat-12Cj | takáməlak <sup>w</sup> e | 'if he hits us' (S:53:171+S:53:x1323)            |

...and like the 12 Inverse form (20c), shows no apparent direct morphological reflection of the 3rd person notional Agent.

- Instead, for both, that 3rd person Agent reading emerges as the only possible one, since the featural overlap of the Conjunct endings with the theme signs would otherwise entail a bizarre sort of "partial reflexive" reading.

- The PsmMl system in fact seems to work in the same way, but with an extra complication. First, we observe in (21a) a similarly sui generis contextual allomorph for the 1p: -nəmət (-nəmək).

(21) PsmMl Conjunct: Inverse 1p, 12, 2p

- |    |                       |                |                                 |  |
|----|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|--|
| a. | -i-nəmət              | -1.Pat-1p{A}Cj | tekə <u>minəmət</u>             | '[when s/he/them hits us (excl.)]' (PMD) |
| b. | -əl-inək <sup>w</sup> | -2.Pat-12{A}Cj | tekə <u>məlinək<sup>w</sup></u> | '[when s/he/them hits us (incl.)]' (PMD) |
| c. | -əl-inak <sup>w</sup> | -2.Pat-2p{A}Cj | tekə <u>məlinak<sup>w</sup></u> | '[when s/he/them hits you (pl.)]' (PMD)  |

- For the 12 and 2p, the Conjunct endings contain expected PEA reflexes: -ək<sup>w</sup> for 12; and -ak<sup>w</sup> for 2p. (Cp. Mq -oq, and noting that -ak<sup>w</sup> is elsewhere shifted to -ek<sup>w</sup>.) But preceding them is a mysterious element: -in-.

-This likely is a paradigmatic reshaping that cuts the (notionally) meaningless sequence /in/ from -[i-n]əmət and applies it as a component of the -ək<sup>w</sup> and -ak<sup>w</sup> endings.

- We assume that this creates a contextual allomorphic effect comparable to the Pb -akət vs. -ek contrast. (We remain agnostic as to whether we should view this as a deep morphosyntactic claim vs. a surface-paradigmatic one.)

- This analysis allows us to retain the broader TA Conjunct pattern generalization: a simple theme sign, followed by a sometimes contextually allomorphic single Conjunct ending.
- So the PsmMl and Pb differ only in details of that Conjunct ending's contextual allomorphy. The details again being PsmMl's distinct 1p allomorph, which in turn creates the model for its distinctive 12 and 2p allomorphs.
- This raises an interesting area of speculation. It may not be a coincidence this "constituent-violating" paradigmatic recutting effect means the latter two PsmMl forms are built like Pb ones in the abstract, but through this -in- based allomorphy, no longer show the ambiguity found in the Pb. No specific claim here re theories of morphology and syntax and functionalist development; just a pattern worth noting.

- Once more, PsmMl also shows variants not yet standardly reported (22).

(22) PsmMl variation in Inverse-context 1p element: *-inəkət* (retranscribed)

čikihtəwinəkət 'if they leave us alone' ([pmpportal.org/videos/when-we-went-hunting](http://pmpportal.org/videos/when-we-went-hunting) 20151021)

- I.e. we now have variants *-i-{nəmət, nəmək, nəkət}....*

*(Oddly, this form is explicitly tied to the inclusive kilòn. but given that the overall discourse referent seems to be the same as that triggering -okət forms, there may just be a performance or other variation factor at work. Our choices are to assume (a) this is actually a 1p (excl.) Inverse form with variant -nəkət for -nəmət/-nəmək, or (b) this is a completely opaque reanalysis of the entire -inəkət sequence as a 12 Inverse.)*

- One Pb speaker, natively fluent in PsmMl and at the time speaking it much more frequently than Pb, also offered forms that look comparable to those reported for PsmMl (23a,b). These are echoed by some rare forms (23c,d) found in Siebert's elicitation documentation but not in any text/sentence forms; they may in fact be from the same speaker.

(23) PsmMl-like forms given for Pb

- a. kek<sup>w</sup> mehsi k<sup>w</sup>iláwəhinǎmæk? 'Why is he looking for us?' (JW:III-K-9:580@7:05)
- b. kek<sup>w</sup> mehsi k<sup>w</sup>ilawǎhólinǎk<sup>w</sup> 'Why is he looking for you people?' (JW:III-K-9:580@7:05)
- c. namihólinak<sup>w</sup>e 'if they see us' (S:53:239)
- d. αta namiholináwakk<sup>w</sup>e 'if they don't see us'(S:53:239)

- These look like mappings of PsmMl forms to Pb usage: PsmMl -əlinak<sup>w</sup> to Pb -əlinǎk<sup>w</sup>, with PsmMl /a/ to cognate Pb /α/ is striking but not unprecedented.

- Siebert also reports (again, purely elicitational) forms directly tracking these PsmMl Inverses, but glossed as variants of *Impersonal Agent* forms.

- The Mq dialects documented by Pacifique (Hewson & Francis 1990) and others are similar to PsmMl, but Listuguj Mq and WAb both use a pattern based on an Inverse morpheme itself.

(24) TA Conjunct Inverse: Mq dialects and WAb

	<i>Mq(E)</i>	<i>MqList</i>	<i>WAb</i>	<i>(H&amp;F:90, Qf.n.2012, WzB)</i>
<i>1p</i>	-i-namət	- <u>uksi</u> -ek	?-ə <u>ko</u> -ak	
<i>12</i>	-ul-kw	- <u>uksi</u> :-kw	?-ə <u>ko</u> -akw	
<i>2p</i>	-ul-oq	- <u>uksi</u> -oq	-ə <u>ko</u> -ak <sup>w</sup>	

- The ready variation across closely related languages/dialects between Inverse-based vs. the 1/2.Pat-based theme sign strategies here is striking: cp. the same alternations attested in Nishnaabemwin and Wampanoag (Quinn 2006, Oxford 2014, Valentine 2001:295, Goddard and Bragdon 1988:556).

- A full set of relevant data for WAb has yet to be assembled, but preliminary material suggests that

- (a) WAb uses an Inverse-based -əko- similarly to MqList -uksi
- (b) deletion of DIR is leveled out, occurring only before 1s -ok, the sole retained DIR allomorph
- (c) negation as usual involves -(o)w(w)- after the theme sign

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(25) Preliminary WAb TA Conjunct data

- a. Ni awani hlekwwagwa 'And if any man say unto you' (WzB)  
 kagwi awani lilawahogwagwa 'if ye have ought against any' (WzB)
- b. Wskebi wajônok telaps. 'Perhaps I have a trap. (L84:156)  
 Wskebi wajônôan [telaps.] '[Perhaps] thou hast [a trap.] (L84:156)  
 Awani kwilawahôan? 'Whom do you look for?' (L84:83)  
 K'wajônô kôksk kasi chowalmôan? 'Have you all the cedar you want?' (L84:113)  
 Wskebi wajônôak [telaps.] '[Perhaps] we have [a trap.] (L84:156)  
 Wskebi wajônôakw [telaps.] '[Perhaps] you [pl!] have [a trap.] (L84:156)
- c. tôna ônda allôgomgowak 'one who is not related to us [excl]' (Masta ms.)  
 Ali ni ôda wajônôwakw pkwazigan. 'It is because we have no bread' (WzB)  
 Kagwi nawa waji ôda wlomawalmôwwakw? 'Why then did ye not believe him?' (WzB)



### 3.5 TA Conjunct: Inverse Negative

The Inverse negatives reaffirm the notional constituency split between theme sign and Conjunct ending. Particularly so for the 2s: as mentioned above, here the 2.Pat form realizes as expected transparent 2.Pat -əl, rather than the quirky allomorph -əs- before AN -k.

(26) Penobscot TA Conjunct: Inverse, Negative

-i-H-k <sup>w</sup>	-1.Pat-NEG-ANCj	àta takám <u>ikk</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if he doesn't hit me' (S:53:171)
-i-həti-H-k <sup>w</sup>	-1.Pat-ANp-AN{N}Cj	àta takamí[ <u>hə</u> ]tik <sup>w</sup> e	'if they don't hit me' (S:53:172)
-i-noHk	-1.Pat-IN{N}Cj	àta n <u>línokke</u>	'if it doesn't kill me' (S:53:x1336)
-əl-oH-k	-2.Pat-NEG-AN{N}Cj	àta takám <u>əlokke</u>	'[if he doesn't hit you]' (S:53:171)
**?-i-w-eHk	-1.Pat-NEG-1pj		**[so far unattested]
-əl-ow-aHk <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-12{N}Cj	àta takam <u>əlówakk</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if he doesn't hit us' (S:53:171)
-əl-ow-eHk <sup>w</sup>	-2.Pat-2p{N}Cj	àta takam <u>əlówekk</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if he doesn't hit ye' (S:53:171)
-əko-H-k	-INV-NEG-AN{N}Cj	àta takám <u>əkokk</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if the other one(s) don't hit him'(S:53:239)
		àta íhl <u>əkokk</u> <sup>w</sup> e	'if the other one(s) don't tell him'(S:53:239)
** -əko-həti-H-k <sup>w</sup>	-INV-NEG-ANpl-AN{N}Cj		**[so far unattested]

- Note the current lacunae in attested forms, with reconstructual suggestions as \*\*...; these will be discussed further in §4.

#### 4. "Practical reconstruction" of attestational gaps, and teaching Cj vs. Idp

##### 4.1 Practical reconstruction

There remain only three major/crucial points in the TA Conjunct paradigm where available documentation fails us:

(27) Remaining gaps/uncertainties: Pb, vs. attested PsmMl

	<i>Pb</i>	<i>PsmMl</i>
a.	1p→AN+NEG	-awe hk
b.	3→1p+NEG	-inəməhk <sup>w</sup>
c.	Obv→ProxPl+NEG	-əkohtihk <sup>w</sup>

The closest Pb patterns we do have are the positive (28a); for the purposes of revitalization, we suggest corresponding negatives as in (28b).

(28) Proposed reconstructions

	<i>closest positive form</i>	<i>proposed negative</i>
a. 1p→AN+NEG	-okət	*-αwehk
b. 3→1p+NEG	-iyakət	*-iweHk
c. Obv→ProxPl+NEG	-əkohətit	*-əkohətikh <sup>w</sup>

- Rationale for \*-αwehk '1p→AN+NEG' and \*-iweHk '3→1p+NEG':

Putative alternatives:

\*-αwokət

cf. Mq -aqat(t)

\*-iwakət

cf. Mq -i-w-ek, PsmMl -i-w-ehk

But in Pb, the most closely related allomorph, -ok, reverts to its non-DIR allomorph when the negative morpheme intervenes, i.e. as in -αwa (-awαn-).

So we choose \*-αwehk, \*-iweHk as a presumably well-formed collocations in Pb, that just use the attested 1p Negative allomorph -ehk.

- Rationale for \*-əkohətikh<sup>w</sup> 'Obv→ProxPl+NEG':

Simple: positive is -əko-həti-t. Negative of -həti-t is always -həti-H-k<sup>w</sup>, so: \*-əkohətikh<sup>w</sup>.

*Cp. PsmMl direct cognate -əko-hti-h-k<sup>w</sup>, and near-direct cognated Mq -ək<sup>w</sup>i-:ti-k<sup>w</sup>*

## 4.2 Pre-conclusion: the TA Conjunct is actually quite simple

TA Conjunct = ...-ThemeSign - (Negative) - ConjunctEnding{N}

= theme signs and negative morphs (a very small set!)

...having simple interactions with the Conjunct endings

...which have only a handful of special allomorphs beyond the basic (non-TA) set.

(29) Penobscot Conjunct Endings: all the essentials

1s	-a, -αn-	-ok
2s	-an	-at
1p	-ek	-okət, -akət
12	-ak <sup>w</sup>	
2p	-ek <sup>w</sup>	
AN	-t, -k	(± -həti-, -əli-)
Impers	-mək	- ot
INAN	-k	

What do we do with this simplicity? We teach it with even more simplicity.

### 4.3 Pedagogical presentation of the (TA) Conjunct

- Assume the Conjunct is simple!
- Don't wait: teach Conjunct forms in direct parallel with Independent forms
- Teach in minimal contrastive pairs, rather than the whole (paradigm) chart at once
- Use a buildup approach from minimal contrastive pairs to forms based on/relatable to them



(30) Simple "coffeeshop Algonquian" trajectory

(N.B.: *constructed forms!*)

a.	<i>nətəli-wisi</i>	<i>kətəli-wisi</i>	my name is....	your name is....
b.	<i>ni eli-wisiA</i>	<i>ni eli-wisiAN</i>		that's what....
c.	<i>kəmilin ni</i>	<i>kəmilələn ni</i>	you give me that	I give you that
d.	<i>ni miliAN</i>	<i>ni miləA</i>		that's what....

- Allows a basic YOU & ME conversation from day one; and teachable to a fellow learner in 5min over a cup of coffee...

- Only two words/phrases at a time; only four for a full Idp+Cj set. After two full sets, learners have mastered the conceptual essentials of the entire system (Idp vs. Cj, + full TA of each)...without being overwhelmed by the entire set of possibilities.

- Learners go by word-relation rather than word-construction. Complex forms are all reachable just by single-element increments (or replacements) to one of the above four. Each step needs only a comparison of one known form with just one new one.

*Both for teaching and for analysis, a key principle is that the morphological system only reflects the syntax; it does not directly build it.*

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