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THE DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN THE PENOB-
SCOT AND THE CANADIAN ABENAKI
DIALECTS

By J. DYNELEY PRINCE

The Penobscot Indians of Maine number at present not more than 300 to 350, most of whom are resident at the Indian village of Oldtown on Penobscot river, near Bangor. These people still speak a characteristic Algonquian language which bears more resemblance to the idiom of the Abenakis near Pierreville, Quebec, than it does to that of the nearer Algonquian neighbors of the Penobscots, the Passamaquoddies of Pleasant Point, Maine. Moreover, a philological examination of Penobscot and Abenaki shows that both of these forms of Algonquian speech are sister dialects which have sprung from a common original at a comparatively recent date. The early history of the Maine Indians still further confirms this statement. It is well known that the Abenakis of Canada are the direct descendants (of course with some admixture of French and other blood) of the majority of the savages who escaped from the great battle of the Kennebec in Maine, where the English commander Bradford overthrew their tribe December 3, 1679.¹ Many of the survivors at once fled to French Canada, where they settled themselves in their present village of Saint Francis, near Pierreville, Quebec (*Alsigontegw*, "river of empty habitations"²). Others, again, may have wandered into Canada at a slightly later date. There can be little doubt that the Indians now called Penobscots, from their resi-

¹ Trumbull, *Indian Wars*, pp. 96-97.

² *Alsigontegw* = Old Abenaki *Arsikantekw*, from *ars* "empty" + *kan* an infix signifying "cabin," and *tekw* "river"; cf. modern *tego* "wave." See Gill, *Notes sur les Vieux Manuscrits Abenakis*, pp. 13 ff., Montreal, 1886.

dence near the river of that name, are the descendants of those of the early Abenakis who, instead of fleeing to French dominions, eventually submitted themselves to the victorious English.

It will thus be seen, in examining the Penobscot and Abenaki idioms, that we have to deal with a dialectic differentiation which must have taken place within a period of two hundred and twenty-two years; i. e., from 1679 to 1901, during which time practically no communication has taken place between the Maine Indians and their Canadian cousins, except the visits of a few wandering hunters. It should be added that the similarity which is still so evident between these dialects precludes the supposition that they were linguistically apart at the time of the Indian flight to Canada. Probably nowhere among American languages, therefore, has the philologist so favorable an opportunity as he has here of determining the exact extent and period of time necessary for linguistic differentiation. The object of this paper is to demonstrate, from a careful observation of modern Penobscot and Abenaki usage, the condition of both these dialects in comparison with their common mother tongue, the Old Abenaki.

The Penobscot material used in this treatise has all been gathered orally from Indians at Bar Harbor, Maine. The Abenaki data are the result of several years of study of that language in Canada and northern New York.¹ All the Abenaki words and forms herein quoted are tabulated in a modern Abenaki-English dictionary, now in course of preparation by the writer. The ancient Abenaki material comes from Rasles' lexicon,² the manuscript of which, now in the library of Harvard University, was rescued from the flames of the mission of Norridgewalk during the English campaign in Maine in 1722.

The pronunciation of the Indian words in this article is indi-

¹ See Prince, "The Modern Dialect of the Canadian Abenakis," in *Miscellanea Linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli*, Turin, 1901.

² "A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language in North America," by Father Sebastian Rasles, published by John Pickering in *Memoirs Amer. Acad. Sci. and Arts*, vol. 1 (N. S.), pp. 375-565, Cambridge, Mass., 1833.

cated as follows: All the consonants should be sounded as in English, with the following exceptions. In Penobscot *ch* has the same value as in English, but in Abenaki it is often, although not invariably, pronounced as *tsʰ*. Rasles always gives *ts*, *tz*, for modern *ch* or *j*. In the same way we find Penobscot and English *j* identical, but the same consonant pronounced *dsʰ* in Abenaki. Abenaki *l* after *a*, *o*, and *u*, usually has a sound like the Polish "barred l." The Penobscot and English *l* are the same, except in final syllables after *a*, *o*, *u*, when the Penobscot *l* is an almost inaudible lingual touch. I have represented it in such cases by a superior *l*, as in *w'mitdgwesa'* "his father." In both dialects *ñ* is equivalent to the French nasal *n*, and the combinations *kh* and *ph* are to be pronounced *k + h* and *p + h* respectively. The inverted comma (') indicates a voice-stop, accompanied by a soft guttural, not unlike the Arabic medial *He*. When *m* and *n* are written in juxtaposition with the consonant following them, they have their own inherent vowel, as in *ndaki*, "my land." The ancient Abenaki *r* is represented in both dialects by *l*. So far as I am aware, the only Algonquian idioms which still use *r* are the Montagnais language of Labrador and a dialect of the Cree, spoken near James bay, which approaches very closely to Montagnais. The consonant *s* has always the hard sound as in English "mistake." The combination *sz* in Penobscot is a medial sibilant, half-way between English *s* and *z*; i. e., it stands in about the same relation to each as the Czech voiceless *t* does to English *t* and *d*. The *w* in *kw* is pronounced with a soft whistling vowel following it. In both dialects the vowels have the Italian values, except Penobscot *a* = English *aw*, Penobscot *ä* = a very short *ä*-sound, *ö* as in German, and the apostrophe (') which represents a short indeterminate vowel sound like the Hebrew *Sh'va*. When two vowels are written together, as *aa*, they are each pronounced separately with a hiatus.

As to intonation, the two dialects differ widely, which is often as much of a bar to mutual comprehension as the comparatively

slight differences in vocabulary. The Penobscots accentuate their words in much the same manner as do their distant neighbors the Passamaquoddies¹; i. e., they sing their syllables, giving sometimes to the first and often to the second, third, and fourth syllable of a combination, a rising inflection and then allowing the voice to fall on the succeeding syllable. If the syllable after the rising tone is followed by still another syllable in the same word, this ultimate often receives a secondary tone-rise similar to an interrogative inflection in English. This, however, is never so high as is the first inflection. Thus, in the word *nachigadónkàk*,² "they go hunting," there is only one rising inflection, that on the fourth syllable, while the ultimate receives the voice-drop. In the forms *séndbàk* "men," *unodauwèná*³ "they hear," *udé'lànd* "they say to him," we have the high rise, the drop, and the secondary rise occurring on the syllables indicated. This difficult system of tones can be learned only by practice, as there is apparently no rule for the place of the variable rising inflection. The Abenaki intonation, on the other hand, is very monotonous, as every syllable has practically the same accented value. The voice *timbre* of the Penobscots is pitched somewhat higher than that of the Abenakis.

I am strongly tempted to regard the Penobscot system of intonation as the original one, which was, no doubt, peculiar to the ancient language, first, because the racially and linguistically kindred Passamaquoddies have a very similar system and they are and have always been too distant from the Penobscots to influence the entire tone of the latter speech, and, secondly, because the Abenakis have been for two centuries in Canada, surrounded by and allied by blood to French-speaking whites, whose idiom has been used as a second language for several generations by nearly all the residents of Saint Francis. Under these conditions, it would be quite natural that the French practice of lay-

¹ Cf. Prince in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, XXXVIII, p. 183.

² I represent the first rising inflection by the acute accent (´), the voice-drop by the grave (`), and the second rise by an inverted circumflex (v).

ing equal stress on each syllable should influence the accentuation of this Indian dialect. The Penobscots, on the other hand, have had very little intercourse with the English-speaking whites, who are much more prone to hold themselves aloof from the Indians than are the Canadian French.

The main organic variation between the Penobscots and the Abenakis consists of the striking phonetic differences which have developed between the dialects. Most of these, as is quite natural, appear in the vowel system, whose most important changes from the mother idiom may be tabulated as follows in each dialect :

PENOBSCOT	ABENAKI	OLD ABENAKI	ENGLISH
A.	A.	A.	
<i>medala</i>	<i>medala</i>	<i>mtara</i>	ten.
<i>n' musajin</i>	<i>n' musajin</i>	<i>nemδssantzin</i> ¹	I love.
<i>pi'ta</i>	<i>pi'ta</i>	<i>pi'ta</i>	very.
A.	OÑ.	AÑ.	
<i>achimowágon</i>	<i>oñj mowoñgan</i>	<i>nañnegañnañ-</i> [<i>tseðañgan</i>] ²	tale.
<i>agim</i>	<i>oñgem</i>	<i>añgem</i>	snowshoe.
<i>ságg'má</i>	<i>soñg'moñ</i>		chief.
<i>widábe</i>	<i>widoñba</i>		friend.
E.	A.	E.	
<i>alnóbe</i>	<i>alnoñba</i>	<i>arenañbe</i>	man, Indian.
<i>awēni</i>	<i>awāni</i>	<i>aδēnni</i>	who, someone.
<i>kegwes</i>	<i>kagwes</i>	<i>kegδes</i>	what?
<i>w'logwe</i>	<i>w'loñg'wa</i>	<i>δrañgδe</i>	yesterday.
E.	E.	E.	
<i>nebi</i>	<i>nebi</i>	<i>nebi</i>	water.
<i>petegwágamek</i>	<i>petegwoñgamak,</i>		
	round		
	[lake.	<i>petegδigen</i>	ball.
E.	A and OÑ.	E and AÑ.	
<i>mewia'sis,</i> a little.	<i>maoñwi,</i> rather.	<i>meδiassis</i>	a little.
<i>tebauwus</i>	<i>toñbawoñz</i>	<i>tañbaðañs</i>	seven.
I.	I.	I.	
<i>idam</i>	<i>idam</i>	<i>ahidam</i>	he said.
<i>k'chí</i>	<i>k'chí,</i> big.	<i>nekδna'kδsi</i>	I am big.

¹ In Old Abenaki the sign *δ* represented consonantal *w*, *w'* followed by the short vowel, and *z*.

² A combination of *nañnegañ* "old" and *añtsewañgan* "tale."

PENOBSCOT	ABENAKI	OLD ABENAKI	ENGLISH
I.	E.	E.	
<i>nsida</i>	<i>nseda</i>	<i>ntseda</i>	three times.
O.	O.	8.	
<i>alemōs</i>	<i>alemōs</i>	<i>arem8s</i>	dog.
<i>awenōch</i>	<i>awanōch</i>	<i>a8enn8ts</i>	Frenchman.
O.	OÑ.	AÑ.	
<i>alnōbe</i>	<i>alnoñba</i>	<i>arenañbe</i>	man, Indian.
<i>spoza'ku</i>	<i>aspoñza'kiwīk</i>	<i>asspañs8i8i</i>	morning.
O.	Vowel inherent in N.	E.	
<i>nogwudał'gwe</i>	<i>ngwudał'gua</i>	<i>neg8da'leg8e</i>	hundred.
Ö.	ÖÑ.	AÑ.	
<i>w'dalidahōszi</i>	<i>w'dalidahōñzi</i> , he con-		
<i>nsözük</i>	<i>nsoñzek</i>	[siders. <i>nederitahañ8i</i>	I consider.
O'.	OÑ.	<i>ntsañsek</i>	eight.
<i>-o'kan</i>	<i>-oñkan</i>	<i>-añk8a</i>	hunt.
U.	U.	8.	
<i>kiūna</i>	<i>kiūna</i>	<i>ki8na</i>	we (excl.).
<i>niūna</i>	<i>niūna</i>	<i>ni8na</i>	we (incl.).
U.	O.		
<i>pudawasi'na</i>	<i>w'bodarwazinoñ</i>		they take counsel.
U.	A.		
<i>sukhamid</i>	<i>sakat</i>		standing upright.
U.	OÑ.	AÑ.	
<i>nukw'dus</i>	<i>ngwedoñz</i>	<i>nek8dañs</i>	six.
<i>-kesunkaw</i>	<i>-kasonkaw</i>	<i>-kesañnkao</i>	-teen.
U.	Vowel inherent in N.	E.	
<i>nukw'dus</i>	<i>ngwedoñz</i>	<i>nek8dañs</i>	six.
AW (AU).	AW.	E8 and AO.	
<i>iawda</i>	<i>iawda</i>	<i>ie8da</i>	four times.
<i>-kesunkaw</i>	<i>-kasonkaw</i>	<i>-kasañnkao</i>	-teen.
AW.	A.	A.	
<i>tebauwus</i>	<i>toñbarwoñz</i>	<i>tañba8añs</i>	seven.
AW.	OÑW.		
<i>p'mauszowinnowak</i>	<i>p'moñwzowinnowak</i>		people.
EW.	AW.	E8.	
<i>iew</i>	<i>iaw</i>	<i>ie8</i>	four.
IU.	IU.	IU.	
<i>piüksessik</i>	<i>piüksessik</i>	<i>pi8sessik</i>	little.

The following explanation should be made in connection with the above table.

(1) Out of seventy-two recorded cases where *a* is found in Penobscot, the corresponding vowel appears forty-eight times in Abenaki as *a* and twenty-four times as *oñ*. The *a*-vowel and the nasal *añ* are characteristic in many of these cases in Old Abenaki.

(2) Out of seventy-two recorded cases where *e* is found in Penobscot, the corresponding vowel appears in Abenaki sixty-one times as *a*, seven times as *e*, three times as *oñ*, and once as *ü*. The *e*-vowel is characteristic in nearly all these cases in Old Abenaki; compare, however, *tañbaðañs*, Penobscot *tebauwus*, Abenaki *toñbauwoñz* "seven."

(3) Old Abenaki, Penobscot, and Abenaki *i* is, so far as I am aware, constant. The only exception noted is the verbal prefix of the third person in Penobscot *ud'la-* and in Abenaki *ud'li-*; compare Penobscot *ud'labozino*, Abenaki *ud'libozinoñ* "they embark."

(4) Out of twenty-one recorded cases where *o* is found in Penobscot, the corresponding vowel appears in Abenaki eleven times as *o*, nine times as *oñ*, and once as the vowel inherent in the consonant *n*. It will be seen from the above that the pure modern *o* is a heightening from Old Abenaki $\delta = \bar{u}$, and that modern *oñ* is a direct survival of ancient *añ* which Penobscot has in some cases changed to *o* and in some cases to *ö*. The Old Abenaki had an *e*-vowel in *negðda'tegðe*, "hundred," which becomes *o* in Penobscot and the inherent *n*-vowel in Abenaki. Note also that in Penobscot *o'kan*, Abenaki *oñkan*, the Abenaki has preserved better the Old Abenaki form, *-añkða*.

(5) The Penobscot *o* appears twice in Abenaki as *oñ*. Rasles makes no allusion to this sound in Old Abenaki.

(6) Out of eight recorded cases where *u* is found in Penobscot, the corresponding vowel appears three times in Abenaki as *u*, once as *o*, once as *a*, once as the inherent *n*-vowel, and twice as *oñ*. The Old Abenaki has *e* for later short *ü* in many instances.

(7) The diphthong *aw* (*au*) is identical in both modern dialects in two recorded cases; — *kesunkaw-kasonkaw* and *iawda-iawda* (compare, however, Old Abenaki *ie8da*); Penobscot *aw* = Old Abenaki and Abenaki *a* once, and once Penobscot *au* = Abenaki *oñw*. On the other hand, we find Penobscot *ew*, Abenaki *aw* once; *iew-iarw* (so Old Abenaki *ie8*).

(8) In Old Abenaki, Penobscot, and Abenaki the diphthong *iū* is constant.

An instance of diphthongal contraction is seen in Penobscot *talāū* for Abenaki *tahoñlāwi* "like, similar to."

The consonantal variations between Penobscot and Abenaki are not numerous. Both dialects follow the same system of consonants, and in both appears the frequent change of *tenues* (*p, t, k*) into the corresponding medials (*b, d, g*) after an immediately preceding vowel. Thus, we find in both *kizi'to* "he makes," but *k'gizi'to* "thou makest"; Penobscot *pidige*, Abenaki *pidiga* "enter" (imv.), but Penobscot *k'bidige*, Abenaki *k'bidiga* "thou enterest;" in both, *New York tali* "at New York," but *iū dali*, "here" (i. e. "in this"). In the case of *p, t, k* = *b, d, g*, the rule seems to be practically fixed, even when the consonant begins a word; *nia ta gia* "I and thou," but *kia ta nia* "thou and I." Sometimes, however, a *p, t, or k* appears in writing apparently *after* a vowel, but in such a case it is quite certain that this preceding vowel is accompanied by the rough breathing ^ˈ, which is never indicated in ordinary Penobscot and Abenaki texts; thus, *kizito* for *kizi'to*.

A similar medialization is found with *ch, s*, which in Abenaki are often heard after vowels as *j* and *z* respectively. Thus, Abenaki *channoñmuk* "one stops, hinders," but *w'janibianoñ* "they stop paddling" (i. e. $\sqrt{\text{chan}} + \text{ibia}$ "paddle"); *sibo* "river," but *k'ch̄i zibo* "big river." In Penobscot, the change *ch* = *j* seems not to be so invariable as in Abenaki. Thus, I find Penobscot *nochibōzin* "I depart in a boat," which in Abenaki would usually be *nojibōzin* (*n* = "I" + *oji* = "from" + *pōz* = "go in a boat");

compare also Penobscot *kamāch* "very," Abenaki *kamoñji* "O how—" (exclam.); Penobscot *n'wuchénemen*, Abenaki *n'wajōnemen* "I have it," etc. In Penobscot, however, I have heard plainly the form with middle *j*; *n-oji-enigokutahégon* "I go hence to spear fish," so that in this dialect the rule does not seem to be so firmly fixed in the case of *ch = j*. In Penobscot, the original *s* generally becomes *sz* after a vowel, as *abāsz*, Abenaki *abazi*, "tree"; Penobscot *kiszumārwa* "they decide," Abenaki *kiz'toñjik* "one decides," etc. In Penobscot the *s* appears as pure *z* in *kizi-* "can."

Indications of such consonantal changes are not recorded in Old Abenaki texts. Thus, Rasles writes *nepitighe* "j'entre," Abenaki *n'bidiga*, Penobscot *n'bidige* "I enter"; also *netzanšsse* "je m'arrete," *netsaniganbaš* "je m'arrête marchand auparavant," etc. This by no means precludes the supposition that such changes did not exist at all. It is quite possible that the earlier Abenakis may have only partially medialized their consonants after vowels and that the form *nepitighe*, for example, really represented a form *nepitighe* (*p, t = voiceless tennes*), a phenomenon which escaped Rasles's French ear. I have personally heard almost this mincing pronunciation from some Abenakis who were trying to speak with elegance. The tendency to medialization in ancient times, however, must have been very slight, if it existed at all.

A very interesting point also is the apparent loss of the nasal, Old Abenaki *añ*, Abenaki *oñ*, in the Penobscot dialect. I say "apparent," because Père Vetromile, in his *Indian Good Book* (New York, 1858),¹ writes a nasal in many words; compare *alnamba* for Penobscot *alnōbe* "Indian." I tried in vain to hear

¹ *Alnambay Uli Awikkigan kisitunessa Eugin Vetromile, S. J., Alnambay Pat-
kas* ("Indian Good Book which Eugene Vetromile, S. J., the Indian Priest, made"),
New York, third edition, 1858. The so-called Penobscot and Passamaquoddy forms
in this work do not agree phonetically with the actual spoken idioms. I strongly sus-
pect that the good father introduced some sounds and forms as he thought they ought
to be from the Old Abenaki formularies.

this sound in Penobscot, but could only place it distinctly in the word *muñs* "moose" and in the verbal third person suffix as *w'ni'lõñ'*. Once or twice I fancied that there was a nasalized *n* in other words, but in each case when my instructor repeated the syllable, it was without a detectable nasal vowel. The probability is that the *ñ* has only recently disappeared in Penobscot. This obsolescence of the nasal may be due both to the influence of the kindred Passamaquoddy idiom, which has no such sound, and to that of English which nearly all the Penobscots can use.

The only consonantal changes worthy of note between Penobscot and Abenaki are, (1) the clear insertion of *h* in Penobscot before the particle *ali* = conj. "that, if"; thus, Penobscot *kiabe k'wao'tarwi halig'lõlane*; Abenaki *kia k'wao'tarwi alig'lolana* "can you understand me, if I speak?" This is probably not a distinctively Penobscot phenomenon, as the Abenaki forms *ndaaba* and *ndahaba* "not," *kalaato* and *kalahato* "yes, indeed," occur constantly. The *h* is evidently inserted in these cases to avoid a hiatus. (2) In Penobscot *abigiwo'set* "when he returns from hunting" and Abenaki *oñboñji-kich* "let him return," there is a clear case of palatalization; *g* = *j*.

The grammatical structure of both dialects is essentially the same, the most noteworthy peculiarity of Penobscot being undoubtedly its retention of the original = *a'* (Old Abenaki)—*ar* of the ancient "accusative of the third person," or obviative. The great majority of Algonquian idioms represent an objective case only in a noun denoting an animate object, when it is preceded either by a verb in the third person singular or plural, or by another animate noun in the third personal state. This was so in ancient Abenaki, where the sign of such an obviative state both in the verb and noun was = *r* or *ar*, and it is still true of both its modern daughters Penobscot and Abenaki, although the Canadian dialect has dropped the = *l* (Old Abenaki *r* = *l*) and altered the verb-form slightly, retaining only the *a*-vowel in the noun as the obviative sign; thus, Old Abenaki *unamihañr*

arem&sar, Abenaki *unamihōñ alemoza* "he sees the dog." It will be seen that the modern Abenaki has changed the original *añ* to *-ōñ* in the verbal ending and dropped the *-r = -l*. Compare Penobscot *iüwa senobe unamia' nolka'*, Abenaki *iü sanoba unamioñ nolka-a* "this man sees the deer," or Penobscot *wa nolke unamia' alemosza'*, Abenaki *wa nolka unamioñ alemoza* "that deer sees the dog." An apparent exception in Penobscot to this rule is the word *muñs* which makes its obviative *muñszo*; compare Penobscot *wa senobe w'ni'lōñ' muñszo*, Abenaki *wa sanoba w'ni'loñ mōñza* "that man kills the moose." For an instance of the obviative occurring after another obviative, compare Penobscot *alnōbe unamia' widāba' wijia'*, Abenaki *alnoñba unamihōñ widoñbaa wijiaa* "the Indian sees his friend's brother."

There is no trace in Penobscot, Abenaki, Passamaquoddy, or Lenâpe of the so-called sur-obviative or "third third person" of the Cree and Ojibwa.

The loss of the obviative *-l* in Abenaki is quite natural, as its feeble pronunciation (*-a'*) shows that it is fading away also as a recognizable element in Penobscot, although in the latter dialect the obviative *l* is audible after the vowels *i* and *e*. The obviative *-l* is still strongly uttered in Passamaquoddy; *w'nimial haaswul* "he sees the horse."

The distinction between animate and inanimate gender is still preserved in both Penobscot and Abenaki, the only deviation between the dialects which I have observed being the Penobscot inanimate plural *madeg'n'l*, but Abenaki animate plural *madagenōk* "skins." Here the Abenaki has departed from Old Abenaki which has *mateghen&r*, inanimate.

The following comparative table of Old Abenaki, Penobscot, and Abenaki numerals, separable pronouns, and pronominal elements with nouns, will illustrate the relation and deviation of both the modern dialects from the mother tongue.

VALUE	THE NUMERALS		
	PENOBSCOT	ABENAKI	OLD ABENAKI
1	<i>pezukw</i>	<i>pazekw</i>	<i>pezek8</i>
2	<i>nis</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>niss</i>
3	<i>na's</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>nass</i>
4	<i>iew</i>	<i>iaw</i>	<i>ie8</i>
5	<i>nan</i>	<i>noñlan</i>	<i>barenesk8 (nann8ak)</i>
6	<i>nukw' dus</i>	<i>ngwedoñz</i>	<i>nek8dañs</i>
7	<i>tebauwus</i>	<i>toñbawoñz</i>	<i>tañba8añs</i>
8	<i>nsözuk</i>	<i>nsöñzek</i>	<i>ntsañsek</i>
9	<i>noli'</i>	<i>noliwi</i>	<i>n8ri8i</i>
10	<i>medala</i>	<i>medala</i>	<i>mtara</i>
11	<i>nogwudonkaw</i>	<i>ngwedoñkaw</i>	<i>neg8dañnkao</i>
12	<i>nisonkaw</i>	<i>nisonkaw</i>	<i>nisañnkao</i>
13	<i>nsonkaw</i>	<i>nsonkaw</i>	<i>tsañnkao</i>
14	<i>iawonkaw</i>	<i>iawonkaw</i>	<i>ie8añnkao</i>
15	<i>nanonkaw</i>	<i>nononkaw</i>	<i>nañnankao</i>
16	<i>nukwdus-kesunkaw</i>	<i>ngwedoñz-kasonkaw</i>	<i>neg8dañntsañnkao</i>
17	<i>tebauwus-kesunkaw</i>	<i>toñbawoñz-kasonkaw</i>	<i>tañba8añntsañnkao</i>
18	<i>nsözuk-kesunkaw</i>	<i>nsöñzek-kasonkaw</i>	<i>ntsañsek-kesañnkao</i>
19	<i>noli'-kesunkaw</i>	<i>noliwi-kasonkaw</i>	<i>n8ri8i-kesañnkao</i>
20	<i>nisinske</i>	<i>nisinska</i>	<i>nisineske</i>
30	<i>nsinske</i>	<i>nsinska</i>	<i>tsineske</i>
100	<i>nogwudat'gwe</i>	<i>ngwedat'gwa</i>	<i>neg8dat'eg8e</i>

THE SEPARABLE PRONOUNS

PENOBSCOT	ABENAKI	OLD ABENAKI	ENGLISH
<i>nia</i>	<i>nia</i>	<i>nia</i>	I
<i>kia</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>kia</i>	thou.
<i>neg'ma</i>	<i>ag'ma</i>	<i>8a (?)</i>	he, she, it.
<i>nñuna</i>	<i>nñuna</i>	<i>ni8na</i>	we, I and they.
<i>kñuna</i>	<i>kñuna</i>	<i>ki8na</i>	we, I and you.
<i>kilwa</i>	<i>kilwowoñ</i>	<i>kir8a</i>	you.
<i>negumwa</i>	<i>ag'moñwoñ</i>	<i>(?)</i>	they.

PRONOMINAL POSSESSIVE ELEMENTS WITH NOUN

PENOBSCOT	ABENAKI	OLD ABENAKI	ENGLISH
<i>n'mitågwes</i>	<i>n'mitoñgwes</i>	<i>n'mitañg8s</i>	my father.
<i>k'mitågwes</i>	<i>k'mitoñgwes</i>	<i>k'mitañg8s</i>	thy father.
<i>w'mitågwesat'</i>	<i>w'mitoñgwesat'</i>	<i>w'mitañg8sar</i>	his, her father.
<i>n'mitågwesena</i>	<i>n'mitoñgwesena</i>	<i>n'mitañg8sena</i>	our father (excl).
<i>k'mitågwesena</i>	<i>k'mitoñgwesena</i>	<i>k'mitañg8sena</i>	our father (incl).
<i>k'mitågweswa</i>	<i>k'mitoñgwes'woñ</i>	<i>k'mitañg8swan</i>	your father.
<i>w'mitågweswa</i>	<i>w'mitoñgwes'woñ</i>	<i>w'mitañg8swar</i>	their father.

It should be noted that Abenaki has two pronouns for the second persons plural: *kiūwoñ*, used when speaking to several persons when their number is definite to the speaker, and *kiłwowañ*, used of an indefinite number. These may have existed in Old Abenaki, but I have been unable to find them in Penobscot. The exclusive and inclusive "we," it will be observed, exists in all the dialects.

The verb with incorporated suffixes is essentially the same in both the modern idioms, the main difference being the omission of the nasal in the third person; compare Penobscot *namiö*, Abenaki *n'namioñ* "I see him." The Penobscot form *namiukw* (*n'namiukw*) = Abenaki *n'namiok* "he sees me." It will be noticed that the Penobscots do not pronounce the *n* of the first person in these forms.

The following sentences and short story in Penobscot and Abenaki, with commentary, will serve to illustrate still further the mutual relations of the two dialects.

SENTENCES

- (1) Pen. *W'li spoza'ku niddbe* }
 Abn. *Paakwinoñgwzian nidoñba* } "Good morning, my friend."
- (2) Pen. *N'weweldamen kia alod'wan mewia'sis* }
 Abn. *N'wawaldamen k'd'loñdwaoñgan tagasiusi* } "I know your language a little."
- (3) Pen. *Ndaligiszagekimge Bar Harbor* }
 Abn. *Ngizagakimzi Bar Harbor tali* } "I learned it at Bar Harbor."
- (4) Pen. *Nda mis'gi awenoch namiö w'dalnobad'wun* }
 Abn. *Ndattamo kuina woñbigijik alnoñba oñd'wak* } "There are not many white men who speak Indian."
- (5) Pen. *M'selok p'mauszowinnowak iu dali* }
 Abn. *M'salok p'moñwzowinnowak iu dali* } "There are many people here."
- (6) Pen. *Nia nglidahus k'm'sali-g'zi'tōba moni* }
 Abn. *Nia ndelaldamen k'm'sali-ulitoba moni* } "I think you must make much money."
- (7) Pen. *Noli-musajinba nadodielin* }
 Abn. *N'wigiba n'nadialin* } "I would like to go hunting."
- (8) Pen. *Nia mechimi mache'la tagwōg'wi* }
 Abn. *Nia majimiwi n'moñji tagwoñgwiwi* } "I go every autumn."

- (9) Pen. *Nbemiwigadielin ndak ndaman* } "I like to hunt
 Abn. *Nbamaldamen n'nadialin ndaki ndaman* } more than to fish."
- (10) Pen. *Wa senobe gizi-awenoch-waduwi* } "That man can speak
 Abn. *Wa sanoba gizi-iglizmon-oñd'wa* } English."

KIWA'KWI ACHIMOWÁ'GÒN.

Ntswák séndbák nachigadónkàk
*kwasibémbùk.*¹

Niga salá'kì noddwónà awénìl
maskwulamiyiljìl mè'tá'g'mèk.

Niga mina unoddwèné maskwul-
amiyiljìl.

Unamidwà' wechkawo'selijìl.

Malomte n'mábechó'sè eyidít.

Niga udd'lanà; pela mìtsì. Niga
uddádmèn wa séndbè; nda ngizidá-
wùn.

Nda'chwi-alóse edali tkè pebónkìk.

Élwè't na séndbè kiwá'kwì.

KIWA'KWI OÑJMOWOÑGAN.

Wdainoñp nizwak sanobak na-
dialijik senojíwi nebeseke.

Ni sasala'kivi w'nodawoññoñ awa-
nihi tajkuaziliji al'moñgamak
ma'toñgamak.

Niga mina unodawoññoñ awanihi
tajkuaziliji.

Ni unamioññoñ sanobaa soñkhosat

li ayidít. Niga udi'loññoñ; mo-

hina. Niga w'didamen wa
sanoba; nda ngiziaiwen.

Nda'chowí-losa adali tkè pebónkìk.

Pakalmeguat wa sanoba kiwá'kwì.

Translation

A STORY ABOUT A KIWA'KW (FOREST GIANT)

There were two men who went hunting by a lake. Then suddenly they heard some one calling out (along the lake) at the end of the lake. Then again they heard some one calling. Then they saw a man coming to where they were. Whereupon they said to him, "Pray eat." But that man said, "I cannot stay here. I must go to where it is cold to the north." Certainly that man was a *Kiwa'kw*.

COMMENTARY

(1) The word *spoza'ku* occurs in Abenaki in the form *spoñza'kiwik* "in the morning"; *spoñzoo* "it is morning"; *n'spoñzìpi* "I breakfast," etc. *Paakuinoñgwzian* is really a participle in the second person; lit. "hail thou." The Penobscot *nidábe*, Abenaki *nidoñba*, contain the ending *-ábe -oñba* signifying male; compare Delaware *len-ápe* "a man" (*lenno + ápe*).² (2) *Alod'wan* is a participle, second person, "that which thou speakest," from *od'wa*; compare Abenaki *loñdwaoñgan*, noun formed with pre-

¹ I represent the first rising inflection by the acute accent (´), the voice-drop by the grave (`), and the second rise by an inverted circumflex (v).

² See Prince in *American Journal of Philology*, XXI, p. 298.

formative *l* + *oñd'wa* + abstract ending *-oñgan*. Both *mewia'sis* and *tagasiüsi* occur in Old Abenaki. (3) The Penobscot incorporates the locative preposition *tali* (*dali* after vowel) with the root *agekim*. The Abenaki separates it as a postposition. (4) Note the difference of construction. (5) Penobscot *nglidahus* is a Passamaquoddy loan-form. The real verb "think" is Abenaki *alidahômuk* "one thinks," from which *ndelaldam*. *M'sali* "much" is incorporated into the verb-form in both dialects. Penobscot uses *kizi'to* and Abenaki uses *ulito* "make." (6) Penobscot *nadodielin* is a participle, first person, Abenaki *n'nadialin* is subjunctive. (7) Penobscot *mache'la* would be Abenaki *moñji'lon* and mean "bring," i. e., "cause to go." (8) Penobscot *Nbemiwigadielin* = *n* "I" + *pemi* "more" + *wig* "wish" + (*n*) *adieli* "hunt." This is a better instance of agglutinative polysynthesis than the Abenaki *nbamal-damen*; *n* "I" + *pami* "more" + *alida* "think," on which compound form depends the subjunctive *n'nadialin*. *Ndaman* is also subjunctive. (9) Abenaki *awanoch*, the cognitive of Penobscot *awenoch*, means Frenchman, the first whites with whom the early Abenakis were brought in contact.

Penobscot *nachigadonkak* is a Passamaquoddy loan-form. Note the Abenaki plural participle *nadialijik*. Penobscot *kwasibemuk* is a Passamaquoddy loan-word, the last element of which contains \sqrt{bi} "water." Abenaki *senojjwi* "on the shore of" (from *sen* "stone, rock"). Abenaki *sasala'kiwi* is a reduplicated form. Note the absence of the prefix *u-* in Penobscot *nodarwona* (Abenaki *w'nodarwoñmoñ*) "they hear." The *-l* in Penobscot *awenil* (obviative) is audible, because it follows a soft vowel. Compare Abenaki *awanihi* with the last syllable lengthened, on account of the loss of the *-l*. *Maskwulamiyilijil* is Passamaquoddy. Abenaki *tajkuaziliji* (obviative) "he calling."¹ *Wechkarwo'selijil* (obviative) is a Passamaquoddy loan-form; in Passamaquoddy *wechkoyalijil*. *Malomte* = Passamaquoddy *malumde*. Note the Abenaki

¹ The formation of the participle in Abenaki is *-at*, obviative *-aliji*; *-it*, obviative *-iliji* (for *alijil*, *ilijil*).

mohina "eat," from the stem \sqrt{mo} , instead of *mitsi* which also exists in Abenaki. *Ngiziaiwun* = *n* "I" + *kizi* "can" + *ai* "be" + *wun* = negative ending. Penobscot *elwe't* is probably from Passamaquoddy *elwe'kal*: *yut skidap elwe'kal kiwa'kw*, "that man must have been a *Kiwa'kw*," i. e. "a forest giant."

In point of vocabulary the dialects have not deviated very widely. Thus, in one of my collections of 315 Penobscot words, there are 248 instances of close cognate relationship with Abenaki, of which 63 are exactly equivalent. Of the remaining 67 (315 - 248 = 67), 57 are explicable as being either Passamaquoddy loan-words or forms, or else as independent formations.

It appears evident from a careful comparison of Penobscot and Abenaki that the former dialect has diverged somewhat less than the latter from the original common language. Thus, Penobscot has retained the primitive system of phonetics much more accurately than has the Abenaki, and it is probable that the Penobscot intonation is more like that of the ancient speech. Penobscot still has the obviative *-l*, a highly important conservation. On the other hand, the Abenaki has the ancient nasal sound which has almost disappeared in Penobscot. I have observed in the Maine dialect also what seems a better preservation of the original pure polysynthesis in many instances. The Abenaki appears more inclined than the Penobscot to separate the sentence elements into distinct words, especially in the matter of the use of separate prepositions or postpositions, rather than of incorporated prepositional elements in the verb-form. Thus, Penobscot *Ndaligizagekimgon New York*, but Abenaki *Ngizagakimgon New York tali* "he taught it to me at New York."

In short, the dialects exhibit a highly interesting amount of individual conservation and development. Their deviations are not greater than we should expect to find between any two idioms which have been kept absolutely apart for more than two centuries, so that the old theory regarding the instability of American languages finds no support from this investigation.