

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON THE WAWENOCK LANGUAGE

Paul Voorhis  
Brandon University

### 1. Introduction

1.1 Identification of Wawenock. The name Wawenock in this paper refers to a dialect of the Algonquian family formerly spoken at Becancour, Quebec. The suggestion that Wawenock might be more appropriately called something else (Siebert 1980:115) will not be pursued here.

1.2 Sources and Aims. Texts in this dialect were published by Frank Speck (1928), but no grammatical material has appeared. The primary aim of the present work is to present a list of Wawenock inflectional affixes exemplified in Speck's paper.

The texts presented in Speck's work are not very extensive, and their analysis is aided greatly by a comparison with published materials on the closely related Abenaki (Day 1964, Laurent 1884, Masta 1932), and by analysis of Speck's texts in the closely related Penobscot (Speck 1918, Voorhis 1979). A key to the rules for vowel deletion in Wawenock (§§3.2-8) was provided by David Sherwood's analysis of a similar feature in Passamaquoddy (personal communication).

1.3 Format for References. A reference of the form (3.5) specifies text number 3 and line 5 in Speck (1928), the individual texts being numbered as follows:

1. Gluskåbe the Transformer (180-185)
2. How a Hunter Encountered Bmule, etc.
3. The Origin and Use of Wampum (195)
4. Wawenock Drinking Song (197)

A reference of the form (179) specifies page 179 in Speck (1928).

### 2. Phonemics

2.1 Introduction. In order to present Wawenock forms in a consistent spelling, Speck's phonetic transcription will be changed to a phonemic one, or at least to a more nearly phonemic one.

2.2 Phonemes. Wawenock phonemes are assumed to be the following; since Speck's transcription is intended to be phonetic, his letters are written in square brackets to represent the allophones of each phoneme.

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## Consonants:

voiced	voiceless
b [b]	p [p]
d [d]	t [t]
g [g]	k [k]
j [dj]	c [tc]
z [z]	s [s]
l [l]	ɬ [ɬ]
m [m]	
n [n]	
w [w, <sup>w</sup> ]	
y [y]	

## Vowels:

i [i]	e [e]	o [o]
e [e, ε]	a [a]	ɣ [ɣ, ɥ]

## Stress:

' [', ` ]

2.3 Multiple Allophones. Phonemes with two allophones show the following distributions for those allophones:

[e] and [ε] appear to vary freely: el(e)we 'almost' (3.8, 3.9); maskwéozial 'birch tree (obviative)' (1.123, 1.127).

[ɥ] and [q] vary freely after w; the latter allophone occurs elsewhere: wybýbi 'wampum' (3.5); wybybim 'his wampum' (3.7).

[<sup>w</sup>] follows a consonant at the end of a word or before another consonant; w occurs elsewhere: zobekw 'ocean' (1.17); bemizobekwket 'as he wandered by the ocean' (1.34); wikwónəmən 'he took it' (1.46).

The first or only stressed syllable in a word generally takes ['], and any other stressed syllable has ['], but since stress on the last syllable is probably automatic (179), only earlier stresses are marked here: aweni 'who' (3.3); debéldak 'owner' (1.1); debéldamlijil 'owner (obviative)' (1.9); nemvlhíntato 'I am wonderful' (1.10); elimvlhíntatowy 'how wonderful I am' (1.16).

Speck rather frequently omits expected stresses. In this paper

stress will be indicated just as recorded on each example in the texts; no attempt will be made to restore stresses that are left out: debeldak 'owner' (1.22); gəmvlhintato 'you are wonderful' (1.10).

2.4 Additional Letters and Diacritics. Speck uses several additional letters and diacritics not accounted for above, namely, the vowels [u] and [a], the consonant [ŋ], and length [·]. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

2.5 [u]. Initially, where [u] and [wə] vary freely, [u] represents wə: wədidamen 'he said' (1.77, 1.79).

Medially after w, where [u] and [ə] alternate, probably randomly, [u] is ə: bácwəlikkac 'don't cheat me' (2.31); gəbácwəllə 'I will not cheat you' (2.31), with gə- in error for gə-.

Elsewhere [u] is assumed to be o, for [u] and [o] are occasionally found in free variation: mədəólinowak 'shamans' (3.10, 3.12).

More typically [u] occurs finally and in closed syllables, [o] in non-final open syllables: mədəólinə 'shaman' (3.9); mos 'moose' (1.116); mozol 'moose (obviative)' (1.112).

Speck's Penobscot transcription reveals the same multiple phonemic affiliations for [u] (Speck 1918, cf. Voorhis 1979:11).

2.6 [a]. Alternate spellings suggest that [a] is sometimes written for y, sometimes for a, and sometimes for ə.

[a] for ə is most frequently found in final syllables: nb/péskwənek 'on my back' (2.32, 2.61).

Probably [a] is most often written for y: mýje- 'begin to' in wəwýjełyn 'he went away' (2.35) and in mýjegezlvmsvn 'the wind rose' (1.28).

Occasionally [a] may be written for a: ndátvmy 'not' (2.1, 2.20).

Sometimes [a] is written for v: wizywí- 'yellow' in nəwizywímanim 'my gold' (2.24) and in gəwizywímanim 'your gold' (2.30).

In sum, in a given morpheme, if [q] and [a] or [a] are in alternation, the segment is assumed to be y; if just [a] and [a] alternate, a is assumed; and if [a] and [ə] alternate, ə is written in phonemic transcription. But in some morphemes only [a] is recorded. This will be written y here, which does not represent a separate phoneme, but only indeterminate y, a, or ə. And there is always a possibility that a is really y with the alternate unrecorded. For example, mani 'money' (2.14, 2.19, 2.24, 2.28, 2.30, footnote p. 190) is always recorded with a, but Abenaki has móni (Laurent 1884:41) which suggests Wawenock myni.

In the following sections of this paper, in examples, but not in citations of morphemes, Speck's phonetic rendering of these central vowels will be preserved as recorded, with a for [a], v for [a], and y for [ɔ], without regard to alternate spellings in other examples of the same morphemes. This provides the reader with the evidence for the phonemic interpretation of the vowels in the cited morphemes, and, incidentally, relieves the writer of the obligation to collect all citations of each root, stem, and derivational affix in an often futile attempt to identify their vowels, all for a paper on inflection.

Speck has a similar confusion in the central vowels of Penobscot (Speck 1918, cf. Voorhis 1979:9-10).

2.7 [ŋ] and Other Nasals. [ŋ] usually follows y before velar stops, and its presence indicates that preceding [a] or [a] is y; it is omitted in phonemic transcription: zygema 'chief' (1.48); zykh- 'out' (1.42, 2.58).

[n] intermittently follows y before dental stops and before the affricates. It provides the same clue as [ŋ] to the identity of a preceding vowel. It is assumed to be an effect of the nasalization of y, and is therefore omitted in phonemic transcription: gizígibilyt 'when he had felled it' (1.24); bayyhydit 'when they arrived' (1.38); myjihidit 'they left' (1.12); wemýjeivn 'he went away' (2.35).

This intrusive [n] has to be distinguished from phonemic n. For example, in gizígibilyt, above, [n] must be intrusive because nt does not otherwise occur finally (cf. §3.3), and root myj(e)- 'begin' in myjihidit, above, is established in other examples written without the [n], such as wemýjeivn, above.

[m] probably occasionally follows y before labial stops. It is to be treated like intrusive [n], and presents a similar problem of identification. For example, in pannawýpskaok 'in Penobscot River Valley', the [m] is probably intrusive, cf. pawanobskewi 'Penobscot' (Prince 1910:201).

2.8 Length. Long and short vowels vary freely: médéolinowak 'shamans' (3.2, 3.3); dólēbe 'turtle' (1.60, 1.65); ni 'and then' (1.57 in ni débene 'and soon' and in ni wēdiivn 'then he said').

Most typically i is long in open syllables, and all other vowels, including i in closed syllables, are short: ni yólii 'then this (obviative)' (1.48).

Accordingly, length is unmarked after vowels in phonemic transcription.

Long and short consonants vary freely before consonants and finally: nb/péskwanek 'on my back' (2.32, 2.61); nēbik 'in the water' (1.88, 2.4).

Length is dropped therefore between consonants and finally in

phonemic transcription.

Before vowels, however, long consonants are preserved in phonemic transcription, written as geminates: gello 'eagle' (1.45).

2.9 Aspiration. Aspiration is written sporadically before voiceless consonants: ndátvmy 'not' (2.1, 2.20).

It is also written after final voiceless consonants, and usually after final l: zibok 'river (locative)' (1.2, 1.12); widybal 'his friend' (1.10).

In these contexts aspiration is dropped in phonemic transcription.

It does, however, also turn up more inexplicably in the reduplication of verbs, where it will be rewritten as h: genehnámihodíppena 'we will not see each other' (2.68).

2.10 Additional Irregularities. There are a few irregularities in the use of other letters.

Wawenock free variation and Penobscot cognates suggest that Speck has written s for z rather frequently: gezelmvsnol 'wind (obviative)' (1.23) with z written as s, cf. gezelmvsn 'wind' (1.28); m(ə)ziwi 'all' (1.15, 1.31).

z will be written here when found in alternation with s.

e is occasionally written for i: liwityzo 'it is called so' (1.116, 2.37); niga 'then' (1.11, 1.29).

y and zero vary freely after i before a vowel; the forms without y are taken as phonemic: gia 'you (singular)' (1.18, 2.24).

w is assumed to follow o before a vowel, though frequently left unwritten by Speck: zibowal 'rivers' (1.15), cf. wajowal 'mountain (obviative)' (1.12).

[əw] is probably phonemically ow: bmaozowínok (for bmaozowínnok ?) 'human being (locative)' (2.6), cf. bmaozowygan 'life' (2.25).

### 3. Phonemic Alternations

3.1 Introduction. It is necessary to consider certain phonemic alternations in Wawenock, so as to be able to determine the basic shapes of morphemes.

3.2 Deletion of Vowels. The consonant clusters sp, st, sk, and each of these or any single consonant followed by w are basic, at least in some

morphemes. Other consonant clusters arise from loss of an intervening vowel, usually e.

In a sequence of one or more syllables with basic e, that is, e before loss, the vowels in odd-numbered syllables are weak, and those in even-numbered syllables are strong. Accordingly, wədnv̄mna 'they took it' (1.39) is basically \*wəwədənəməny in which the first, third, and fifth vowels are weak, and the second and fourth strong. In nebi 'water' (1.87), the first vowel is weak. The final vowels in these words are neither weak nor strong because they are not e. But there are some words in which i or a are treated like e, as indicated below.

In some words, e in the first syllable is probably strong due to a dropped initial e: spemək 'up' (1.69), cf. the Passamaquoddy rule that initial e is deleted (Sherwood, personal communication).

3.3 Deletion and Final Syllables. Apparently no vowel deletions occur in final syllables; only the basic consonant clusters are found finally: némitykw 'when he saw it' (2.15).

3.4 Deletion of e Before Voiceless Consonants. Weak e is deleted before most voiceless consonants: kci- 'great' (3.5); ntami- 'first' (1.2); bémkamigek 'the existing world' (1.17); gezəlvmsv̄n 'wind' (1.28); abvkskadaiwi 'flat on his belly' (2.17).

This rule does not apply to e before h or ss: ngizidəhydamen 'I created it by wish' (1.17); gizəsəmit 'when he had drunk' (2.19).

Strong e is retained before voiceless consonants: wədəpkwanal 'his hair' (1.31, 1.32); wəbəkwanək 'on his back' (2.34); wəməskawv̄n 'he found him' (1.94), cf. mskaywi 'he could not be found' (1.73); wənīlv̄n 'he killed him' (1.34), cf. wəgizīnlv̄n 'he had killed him' (1.35) in which i is treated like e.

These examples appear to illustrate a Wawenock cognate to Siebert's first Penobscot rule of vowel syncope, namely, 'a and e are syncopated in light closed syllables ending in spirants h and s' (Siebert 1980:124), and to the Passamaquoddy rule that weak vowels in a sequence of syllables containing underlying ǎ or ə are dropped before h or s before a consonant (Sherwood, personal communication). For Penobscot and Passamaquoddy clusters of h plus a consonant correspond to voiceless consonants in Wawenock. In Wawenock, however, a does not appear to participate regularly in this deletion: maskwəmozial 'birch tree' (1.123, 1.126); wədəbaken 'he tossed him' (1.63). Neither is a to be counted in determining strong and weak syllables: amkóldowak 'they wake up' (2.62).

The rules for deletion of e before voiceless consonants appear to be applied quite consistently. Exceptions do occur though: mozíkəci 'moose buttocks' (1.116); býzijikəciəwi 'clean your rear' (1.66); cf. wətəmíkciəssv̄n 'he cut off his rear' (1.47) with t in error for d.

Apparent examples of weak e retained before s before a vowel are probably errors with s written for z, cf. §2.10: gəzəlvm̩sv̩n 'wind' (1.23, 1.24 bis, 1.28 bis).

3.5 Deletion of a Before h. Since weak e is retained before h, clusters of consonant plus h must arise from another sequence. Perhaps there is a Wawenock equivalent to the Passamaquoddy rule that weak underlying ǎ in a sequence as above is deleted next to h (Sherwood, personal communication). So it may be a that is lost before h in the following: zykhéylit 'he coming along out' (2.60); nemvlhíntato 'I am wonderful' (1.10), with the lost vowel in a weak position. Compare bejígedahit 'he came jumping' (2.60); gzəgósktahýnny 'we will cut him to pieces' (1.78), with a retained in a strong position, that is, after weak e.

3.6 Deletion of e Before Voiced Consonants. Weak e is deleted before certain voiced consonants, perhaps between any two consonants, but the recorded examples seem to favor deletions that yield some consonant clusters more than others. Such clusters always involve m, n, or l.

bm, dn, and mn are favored clusters: bmole a name (2.8); bmáozowygan 'life' (2.25); babmizobékwtet 'wandering by the ocean' (1.121); wədnv̩m̩na 'they took it' (1.39), cf. bən, dəm, nəm in gəsélybenv 'we will go fast' (2.33), dəmakwak 'beavers' (2.41), wəbónemən 'he put it' (2.15, cf. 1.40).

A stop consonant before l is favored: bla 'for a while, meanwhile' (1.40, 1.58); edodlv̩m̩sv̩k 'it blew so' (1.30); gloskybe a name (1.1); métlv̩m̩sv̩n 'it blew off' (1.31); notlókygan 'my story' (1.33).

ld and ln are favored: debéldak 'owner' (1.1); alnybe 'man' (2.9), cf. ləb and ləm in dələbe 'turtle' (1.46), eləmigezlv̩m̩sv̩k 'it blew so hard' (1.24).

Additional clusters involving m, n, or l sometimes occur, generally toward the ends of longer words: elágekíngot (with e for e?) 'as he told him' (2.48); debéldamlijil 'owner' (1.9); gəməməssaní bənálgebəna 'we are all insulted by (his) belittling you' (1.50).

Deletion of e before voiced stops and spirants seems to be resisted after stops and spirants: ebəgwac 'on account of it' (1.53); pskytəgwan 'branch' (1.126); wəlágəziál 'his intestines' (1.117); nísəda 'twice' (1.93).

Deletion does not occur in the last syllable of a word: wəgédnəmən 'he took them' (1.115).

Strong e is sometimes deleted in the second syllable of a word before a voiced consonant. Conditions for this loss of e probably include a requirement that the next syllable not contain a deletable vowel. In

addition, this deletion is probably permitted only between certain consonants: wɛdlakewvn 'he threw them' (1.115); wɛljial 'hands' (3.15).

A stem remains subject to this rule after an adverbial or adjectival prefix: alɛmigezlvmsvn 'the wind came up' (1.24), cf. gɛzɛlvmsvn 'wind' (1.28).

Exceptions to the rules for deletion of ɛ before voiceless consonants are frequent: eligɛmodɛnamvk 'so it is stolen from me' (2.21) with [k] for g; wɛmoskwɛldamɛny 'they became angry' (1.50); wɛgɛzɛlomana 'they planned what to do to him' (1.51), cf. ɛlɛmigezlvmsvn 'it was decided' (1.76); gɛzɛlvmsvn 'wind' (1.28), cf. alɛmigezlvmsvn 'the wind came up' (1.24); mɛziwi 'all' (1.15), cf. mziwi 'all' (1.31).

Probably loss of ɛ before voiced consonants is always more or less optional, with deletions more numerous in rapid speech, and retentions more numerous in slow speech.

3.7 Deletion After Personal Prefixes. ɛ after the personal prefixes n- and g-, being weak, is subject to deletion. But the voiced consonants favored to follow this loss appear to be different from those listed previously; the deletion is more frequent before stops and spirants, less frequent before other voiced consonants: nbɛskwanvk 'on my back' (2.61); ngizihy 'I can make him' (1.21); gdɛcwɛ ayin 'you must stay' (2.43); gzɛgɔsktahɛny 'we will cut him to pieces' (1.78); cf. nɛmvlhɛntato 'I am wonderful' (1.10), gɛnɛmihi 'you see me' (1.106), gɛwizawɛmanim 'your gold' (2.30).

But again deletion before voiced consonants is inconsistent: gɛdɛkkiwy 'your land' (1.89).

ɛ after a personal prefix can even be dropped before a deleted (strong) ɛ: gdliɛnyeny 'we shall do with him' (1.77).

The usual writing of [u] for wɛ- makes it difficult to identify loss and retention of ɛ.

Note that complete loss of a personal prefix, when it occurs (§4.2), is subsequent to the determination of weak and strong vowels: niɛgowvn 'it will not kill me' (1.81), cf. ɛdɛlɛnɛlamvk 'where he was killed' (1.116).

3.8 Deletion Before Sibilants. Siebert's third Penobscot rule of vowel syncope, namely, 'ɛ in open syllables before a sibilant and following a checked syllable or an accented tonic syllable is syncopated' (Siebert 1980:126), is probably reflected in the following, and in similar forms: ɛlssik 'where he lay' (1.39); lɛnygwzo 'he resembles' (2.6).

3.9 Devoicing Medially and Finally. A voiced consonant other than l,

when it comes to stand before a voiceless consonant, is replaced by the corresponding voiceless consonant, if such exists; that is, b, d, g, j, and z presumably become p, t, k, c, and s respectively, though not all possibilities can be exemplified: gizípsihalyt 'after he skinned it' (1.114), cf. wébessihalvn 'he skinned it' (1.114).

The same change takes place when w follows the voiced consonant: zobegw- 'ocean' in bemizobekwket 'as he wandered by the ocean' (1.34), cf. zobegok 'to the ocean' (1.38) and zobekw 'ocean' (1.17).

l and the voiced consonants without voiceless equivalents are not subject to this change: gemæsséltoji 'you will have an abundance of it' (2.28); mkwigen 'it is red' (3.8).

A voiced consonant other than l, when it comes to stand at the end of a word, is replaced by the corresponding voiceless consonant, if such exists: moz- 'moose' in mos 'moose' (1.116), cf. mozol 'moose (obviative)' (1.112).

The same change takes place when w follows the final consonant: zobegw-, above.

3.10 Devoicing Initially. Voice and voicelessness in the paired voiced and voiceless consonants appear to vary quite randomly in word-initial position. But the voiced variants are regular after a vowel without intervening pause: yo gedayin 'you are here' (1.7), cf. gedákkiwy 'your land' (1.89).

Probably the voiceless variants everywhere follow pause, and the voiced variants occur elsewhere, though Speck's transcription fails to reflect this consistently.

The variants with initial voiced consonants will be treated as the basic forms of words: gello 'eagle' (1.45); gallowal 'eagle (obviative)' (1.47); dólebe 'turtle' (1.65); doləbal 'turtle (obviative)' (1.63); bodebe 'whale' (1.36, 1.39).

Initial clusters of voiceless consonants probably do not have voiced alternants: kci- 'great' (3.5).

kki 'earth' follows vowels without intervening pause: ni yo kkik 'and here on the ground' (2.14).

Elsewhere the initial k is shortened: ki 'earth' (1.2, 1.4); kik 'on the ground' (1.72).

3.11 Vowel Coalescence. Identical vowels coalesce in a single vowel across word boundary without pause: wálnybe 'that man' (2.15, 2.17) for wa alnybe, cf. wa 'that' (1.30), alnybe 'man' (2.9); bodebélssik 'where the whale lay' (1.39) for bodebe elssik.

#### 4. Personal Prefixes

4.1 Personal Prefixes. The personal prefixes are n- 'first person', g- 'second person', and w- 'third person'. They occur in the inflection of both nouns and verbs.

4.2 Before Consonants. Before a consonant, ə is inserted after the personal prefixes (but cf. §3.7); nəwizywímanim 'my gold' (2.24) and gewizawímanim 'your gold' (2.30), cf. wizwímani 'gold' (2.19); gəmadégenomak 'your hides' (2.44) and wəmadégenoma 'his hides' (2.64).

Each prefix, however, is usually dropped before an identical consonant: niəgəgowvn 'it will not kill me' (1.81), cf. geniəgonv 'it kills you' (1.89); giosénena 'we shall roam about' (1.11); wikwénemen 'he took it' (1.46), cf. wəwikwénemen 'he took it' (2.19).

4.3 Before Vowels. The personal prefixes directly precede vowels in dependent nouns: nidybe 'my friend' (2.23); widybal 'his friend' (2.18); wáde (for wáde ?) 'his belly' (2.66).

In all other cases, d is prefixed to a vowel, and the personal prefixes are then added as before a consonant: gədayin 'you are at' (1.7); wədidamən 'he said' (1.27).

4.4 Before wə and l-. nəwə- and gəwə- are replaced by no- and go- respectively, but wəwə- seems to be retained unchanged: nolihan 'I will make him' (1.28); golybekhydámən 'you bundle them up well' (2.44); wəwəliton 'he built it' (1.59).

l- 'like, as; to' is treated as if preceded by ə after personal prefixes: wədlosenv 'they came to' (1.38), cf. liwityzo 'it is called so' (2.37).

#### 5. Noun Inflection

5.1 Noun Stem Classes. There are two genders of nouns, animate and inanimate.

A noun takes outer inflection: a series of suffixes indicating number and case relationships. It may also take possessive affixes: personal prefixes, with or without suffixes, denoting personal pronouns as possessors.

A group of nouns, mostly kin terms and names for parts of the body, probably do not occur without possessive affixes. Such nouns are called dependent. Nouns which can occur with outer inflection only are called independent.

5.2 Outer Inflection With Animate Nouns. Animate nouns take the following suffixes:

- zero 'proximate and vocative singular': gəzəlvmsvn 'wind' (1.28); mos 'moose' (1.116) with stem moz-, cf. §3.9; gəlləc 'eagle' (1.45); mədəolinə 'shaman' (3.5); nidybe 'my friend (vocative)' (2.23).
- ak 'proximate plural': wənəgigwak 'otters' (2.42); abaziak 'trees' (1.25).
- al 'obviative singular': bmolal a name (2.34); gəlləwal 'eagle' (1.47).
- a 'obviative plural': wənəgigwa 'otters' (2.49).

5.3 Outer Inflection With Inanimate Nouns. Inanimate nouns take the following suffixes:

- zero 'singular': nəbi 'water' (1.87); wazəsse 'nest' (1.59); zobekw 'ocean' (1.17) with stem zobegw-, cf. §3.9.
- al 'plural': nəbəsəl 'lakes' (1.14); zibəwal 'rivers' (1.15).

5.4 Outer Inflection With Nouns of Either Gender. Nouns of either gender probably take the following suffixes:

- ək 'locative singular': nəbəsək 'in the pond' (1.85); wəbəkwanək 'on his back' (2.34).
- ikok 'locative plural': zibəwikok 'at the rivers' (1.100).
- i 'attributive': zibəwinəbəsəl 'river lakes' (1.18).

5.5 Sandhi With Outer Inflection. Stems ending in e drop that vowel before a: bmole a name (2.22); bmolal 'Bmole (obviative)' (2.34).

Stem-final a is treated the same way, unless some or all of the a's in the examples are for y, cf. §2.6: zygəma 'chief' (1.45); zygəmal 'chief (obviative)' (1.47).

Stem-final e is replaced by a before i: bmolaiki 'Bmole's country' (2.37).

Stems ending in o add w before a or i (cf. §2.10): gəlləwal 'eagle (obviative)' (1.47); mədəolinəwak 'shamans' (3.2); zibəwikok 'at the rivers' (1.100).

After certain stems ending in consonants, a is replaced by o: gəzəlvmsvnol 'wind (obviative)' (1.23); mozol 'moose (obviative)' (1.112).

e is replaced by o after a consonant plus w, and the w is dropped: zobegok 'to the ocean' (1.38).

e is dropped after a vowel: nəbik 'in the water' (1.88); wazəssek 'in the nest' (1.69); zibok 'to a river' (2.2), 'in the river' (2.12).

5.6 Personal Affixes. The following possessive affixes are recorded:

- n- 'my': nidybe 'my friend' (2.23); nbéskwanvk 'on my back' (2.61).  
g- 'your (singular)': gəwizawímanim 'your gold' (2.30); gəmadégənomak 'your hides' (2.44).  
w- 'his, her'; an animate noun with this prefix cannot be proximate: widybal 'his friend' (2.18); wəmadegənoma 'his hides' (2.64); wizýwímanim 'his gold' (2.20); wəbéskwənek 'on his back' (2.34).  
g- -wy- 'your (plural)' with only the postvocalic form of the suffix recorded: gədəkkiwy 'your land' (1.89).

5.7 Suffix -m-, Stem Variants. Some stems, when they occur with a personal prefix, require the addition of a suffix -m-, presumably before all other suffixes. Only the postvocalic form of this suffix is recorded: wizywímani 'gold' (2.19); newizywímanim 'my gold' (2.24).

Some stems require a change of shape when they occur with personal prefixes: ki 'earth' (1.2, 1.4); kik, kkik 'on the ground' (1.72, 2.14), cf. §3.10; ndakki 'my land' (1.89); gədəkkiwy 'your land' (1.89).

## 6. Pronoun Inflection

6.1 Independent Personal Pronouns. The following independent personal pronouns are recorded:

- nia 'I' (1.79).  
gia 'you (singular)' (1.18).  
egəma or agəma 'he, she' (2.13).  
giləwy 'you (plural)' (1.88).

6.2 Demonstrative and Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns. Demonstrative and interrogative/indefinite pronouns take the following suffixes:

- igik 'animate proximate plural'  
-ilil 'animate obviative singular' and probably 'inanimate plural'  
-ihi 'animate obviative plural'  
-i 'inanimate singular'

The initial i of these suffixes is dropped after a vowel. Known animate proximate singular forms are irregular. Recorded are the following:

- n- 'that': wa 'animate proximate singular' (1.30); nigik 'animate proximate plural' (3.10); ni 'inanimate singular' (1.3).  
yo- 'this': yógik 'animate proximate plural' (3.2); yolil 'animate obviative singular' (1.3); yohi 'animate obviative plural' (1.52); yo 'inanimate singular' (1.4). Perhaps owa 'that' (for 'this' ?) (1.101) is the animate proximate singular of yo-.

aweni- 'who, someone, anyone' animate only: aweni 'proximate singular' (3.3); awenílil 'obviative singular' (2.5).

gegwi- 'what, something, anything' inanimate only: gégwi 'singular' (2.1).

## 7. Verb Inflection

7.1 Verb Stem Classes. Verb stems can be divided into three classes based on differences in inflection, with several subclasses based mainly on differences in syntax.

Animate intransitive (AI) stems take personal affixes denoting animate personal pronouns as subject: lidəhyzi- AI 'think', wədlidəhyzin 'he thought' (2.16).

A subclass of these, the transitive inanimate (TI) stems, have an implicit inanimate personal pronoun 'it, them' as object: namito- TI 'see it', wenamiton 'she saw it' (1.108).

Another subclass of the AI stems, the general transitive (T) stems, have an implicit personal pronoun of either gender 'him, her, it, them' as object: debake- T 'toss him/it', wədebaken 'he tossed him' (1.63).

Inanimate intransitive (II) stems take personal affixes denoting inanimate personal pronouns as subject: mkazewigen 'it is black' (3.9).

Transitive animate (TA) stems take personal affixes denoting animate personal pronouns as objects with personal pronouns of either gender as subjects: məskaw- TA 'find', wəməskawvn 'he found him' (1.94).

A subclass of these, the double object (DO) stems, have an implicit personal pronoun of either gender 'him, her, it, them' as direct object. The animate object represented in inflection denotes an indirect object with DO stems: mil- DO 'give him/it to', miliane 'if you give it to me' (2.27).

7.2 Gender and Person. Gender is only distinguished in the third person. First and second person affixes are always treated as animate. Therefore, first and second person affixes for subject do not occur with II stems, and first and second person affixes for object are found with TA and DO stems.

7.3 Glosses for Third Person Animate. Throughout the following sections, 'he' or 'him' may equally well be glossed 'she' or 'her'.

## 8. Affirmative Forms

8.1 Indicative Indefinite. The indicative indefinite mode is formed with

a set of personal affixes which include the personal prefixes. The following are recorded.

AI, TI, T

- n- 'I': nəmvlhíntato 'I am wonderful' (1.10).  
g- 'you (singular)': gəbáalaloke 'you have done wrongly' (1.56); gəmvlhíntato 'you are wonderful' (1.10).  
 zero 'he (proximate)', probably with stem-final i replaced by o: línygwzo 'he resembles that' (2.6).  
g- -bena 'we (inclusive)': gesélybənv 'we will go fast' (2.33). The example suggests that stem-final e is replaced by y before b.  
-ak 'they (proximate)', with i replaced by ow before this suffix: gaóldowak 'they slept' (2.39).

II

- zero 'it': wybígen 'it is white' (3.7); wewínygwat 'it is known' (1.128); liwityzo 'it is called so' (2.37).

TA, DO

- n- -y 'I - him': ngizihy 'I can make him' (1.21).  
w- -yl 'he (prox.) - him (obviative)': wesesmiwvnihalyl 'she lost his tracks' (1.110).  
-yk 'indefinite - them': wikwhvbvlyk 'they were invited to the feast' (1.44).  
g- -ynny 'we (inclusive) - him': gzəgósktahýnny 'we will cut him to pieces' (1.78).  
w- -ywyl 'they (prox.) - him (obv.)': wedássottekawywyl 'they fairly covered him up by flocking' (1.43).  
w- -əgol 'he (obv.) - him (prox.)': wedíləgol 'he was told by him' (1.10).  
g- -i 'you (singular) - me': genámihi 'you will see me' (1.106).  
g- -əgebəna 'indefinite - us (inclusive)': gemaməssaní bənəlgebəna 'we are all insulted by (his) belittling you' (1.50).

8.2 Indicative Definite. The indicative definite mode is formed with a set of personal affixes in part different from those of the indicative indefinite. All include the definite suffix -ən, replaced by -n after vowels. The following are recorded.

AI, TI, T

- n- -ən 'I': noliton 'I will build it' (1.58); ngizidəhýdamən 'I created it by wish' (1.17).

- g- -ən 'you (singular)': gədayin 'you are at' (1.7);  
gólybekhydámən 'you bundle them up well' (2.44).  
w- -ən 'he (prox.)': wədlidəhyzin 'he thought' (2.16);  
wədəbaken 'he tossed him' (1.63); wəwəliton 'he built  
it' (1.59); wənamiton 'she saw it' (1.108); wədidamən  
'he said' (1.27); wikwénəmən 'he took it' (1.46).  
g- -əneny 'we (inclusive)': giosénena 'we shall roam about'  
(1.11); gyjiptoneny 'we will go and get it' (1.37).  
w- -əny 'they (prox.)': wətainy (for wedayiny ?) 'they  
were at' (3.2); wədlosenv 'they came to' (1.38);  
wənámitona 'they could see them' (1.14); wəmoskwéldameny  
'they became angry' (1.50).

e appears to be optionally replaced by y before the definite suffix:  
wədlóssvn 'he went' (1.113), cf. the examples above.

TA, DO

- n- -yn 'I - him/them': nolihan 'I will make him' (1.28).  
w- -yn 'he (prox.) - him/them (obv.)': wədəlinámihvn 'he  
saw him at' (2.5); wədəlvn 'he said to him' (1.26);  
wikwənv 'he took them' (1.52); wemeskawvn 'he found  
him' (1.94).  
g- -yneny 'we (inclusive) - him/them': gdlihýneny 'we will  
do with you' (for '...him' ?) (1.77).  
w- -yny 'they (prox.) - him/them (obv.)': nnodáwvny (for  
wənodáwvny ?) 'they heard him' (1.90).  
n- -əgon 'he/it/they - me': niłəgon 'it will kill me'  
(1.83).  
w- -əgon 'he/they (obv.), it - him (prox.)': wədəłəgon  
'he said to him' (1.7); wəbónəgon 'he put him down'  
(2.40).  
g- -əgony 'he/it/they - you (plural)': geniłəgony 'it  
kills you' (1.89).  
g- -in 'you (singular) - me': gmílinneba (for gmílin ba ?)  
'do give me' (2.24).  
g- -əlen 'I - you (singular)': gemvjálelvn 'I will carry  
you back' (2.47).  
g- -əgeneny 'indefinite - us (inclusive)', with -awə-  
replaced by -y-: genvskýgenneny (for -geneny ?) 'they  
will attack us' (1.57).

8.3 Conjunct Modes. The conjunct modes are formed with a set of personal affixes, all suffixes, followed by suffixes for the individual modes. The conjunct modes and their suffixes are the following.

The conjunctive mode takes no additional suffix, but stems with basic e or a in their first syllable replace those vowels with e: wedosan 'whence you come' (4.1); némitykw 'when he saw it' (2.15). This is known as initial change.

The subjunctive mode takes the suffix -e after the personal affixes: gizádieliane 'after you have hunted' (2.43).

Participles are formed with a set of suffixes corresponding to the outer suffixes of nouns, of which the following are recorded:

- zero 'animate proximate singular': elidəhyzit 'he thinking' (2.58).
- il 'animate obviative singular' with d and t replaced by j and c respectively before i: dəbéldamlijil 'owner' (1.9).

Participles take initial change, as seen in the examples above.

8.4 Irregular Initial Change. Stems beginning with l- 'like, as; to' prefix e to form initial change: elijilakwəssinlit 'how their tracks lay' (1.108), cf. línygwzo 'he looks like' (2.6).

Stems beginning with dod- 'so much, to such an extent' prefix e to form initial change: edodlvmsvk 'it blew so' (1.29), cf. gədotsanin 'you are so powerful' (1.23).

Stems beginning with dal- 'at' prefix e in addition to regular initial change: edəlibezwógot 'where he brought him' (2.37); edəlínlamvk 'where he was killed' (1.116); cf. wədálinámihvn 'he saw him at' (2.5).

Stems beginning with wəd- 'from; on account of' apparently optionally change e to a instead of to e to form initial change: wádənvlan 'where I got you' (2.47); wajíndagizinykw (with l for ɛ ?) 'so that he could not kill him' (1.103); cf. weji mecinet 'that he should die' (1.76) and wədosan 'whence you come' (4.1).

8.5 Conjunct Personal Affixes. The following conjunct personal affixes are recorded:

AI, TI, T

- y 'I', with stem-final e dropped before vowels: bemilyv 'I passing by' (1.106); with w inserted after o before vowels: elimvlhíntatowy 'how wonderful I am' (1.16).
- an 'you (singular)': weji gwenýwezian 'so you will love long' (2.69); gizádieliane 'after you have hunted' (2.43); with stem-final e dropped before vowels: wədosan 'whence you come' (4.1).
- d 'he (prox.)' after vowels other than o: elidəhyzit 'he thinking' (2.58); weji mecinet 'that he should die' (1.76); with e optionally replaced by y before this suffix: édojilyt 'he going so fast' (2.65).
- gw 'he (prox.)' after o which is replaced by y: némitykw 'when he saw it' (2.15).

- g 'he (prox.)' after m or n which are dropped before this suffix: debéldak 'owner' (1.1); bágassik 'he falling' (for 'he alighting' ?) (1.72).
- lid 'he/they (obv.)' after vowels: welákweselit 'a straight one' (1.123); with e optionally replaced by y before this suffix: zvkhélylit 'he coming along out' (2.60).
- elid 'he/they (obv.)' after consonants: debéldamlijil 'owner' (1.9); elíjilakwessinlit 'how their tracks lay' (1.108).
- hVdid 'they (prox.)' after vowels, with the vowel following h (indicated here by V) identical with the vowel preceding h: myjihidit 'when they left' (1.12); ebihidit 'when they sat down' (1.64); gadawi weləstywýdihidide 'when they want to make a treaty' (3.12); bavyhydit 'when they arrived' (1.38), probably with stem-final e optionally replaced by y before this suffix.
- ohodid 'they (prox.)' after consonants: gizíwikwénəmohodit 'when they took it' (1.40).
- did optionally occurs in place of -hVdid: bayydit 'when they came' (2.39).

## II

- g 'it, they': eltághazik 'as they stretched out' (1.117); metkámigege 'when it will end' (1.118); with n dropped before the suffix: wybigvk 'when it is white' (3.6).

## TA, DO

- ad 'you (singular) - him/them': gizihat 'he whom you made' (1.9).
- yd 'he (prox.) - him/them (obv.)': gizihyt 'when he made him' (1.3); edojiwehemyt 'he called them together' (1.41); nosókawyt 'he following him' (1.112).
- yhydid 'they (prox.) - him/them (obv.)': wejinlvhydit 'in order for them to kill him' (1.51).
- amvk 'indefinite - him/them': edelinlamvk 'where he was killed' (1.116).
- egowan 'he - you (singular)', with e replaced by o after h: elihogowvn 'he who has done so to you' (1.50).
- egot 'he (obv.) - him (prox.)': elágekimgot 'as he told him' (2.48); with -awe- replaced by -y-: ettakkygocil 'his second chief' (1.49); with e replaced by o after a consonant followed by w: bezwogot 'he bringing him' (2.40); with e replaced by o after h: éligakhikihogot 'how she was teasing him' (1.105).
- ian 'you (singular) - me': miliane 'if you give it to me' (2.27).
- elan 'I - you (singular)': wádenvlan 'where I got you' (2.41).

8.6 Imperative. The following imperative suffixes are recorded:

AI, TI, T

zero 'you (singular)': daládieli 'hunt at' (2.41).

TA, DO

-ya 'you (singular) - him': wélihya 'make him' (1.22).  
The suffix has an unusual shape and may well be erroneously transcribed.

### 9. Other Forms: The Negative and Plural Stems

9.1 Negative Modes. Negative personal affixes are formed from the affirmative ones by addition of a negative suffix, recorded as -o, -w, -wi, change of b to pp, and -kkac in different forms. The recorded affixes follow.

#### 9.2 Negative Indicative Indefinite.

AI, TI, I

g- -o 'you (singular)': gənilkeo 'you will not kill' (1.126).  
-wi 'he (prox.)': namitowi 'he could not see it' (2.2).  
g- -ppena 'we (inclusive)': genehnámihodíppena 'we will not see each other' (2.68).  
-wiak 'they (prox.)': gadonáldiwiak 'they will not hunt one another' (3.16).

TA, DO

w- -ywial 'he (prox.) - him (obv.)': wywélmywial (with wy- written [wɔ-]?) 'he did not know him' (2.7).  
-ywi 'indefinite - him': mskaywi (for mskawywi?) 'he could not be found' (1.73).  
g- -elo 'I - you (singular)': gebácwello (for gebácweləlo?) 'I would not cheat you' (2.31).

#### 9.3 Negative Indicative Definite.

AI, TI, T

n- -wen 'I': ndlíbegwatawen (for ndlíbegwatowen?) 'I cannot create it' (1.20).  
w- -wen 'he (prox.)': wenamítown 'he didn't see it' (2.20).

TA, DO

n- -əgowen 'he/it/they - me': niəgowvn 'it will not kill me' (1.79).

#### 9.4 Negative Conjunct.

TA, DO

-ygw 'he (prox.) - him/them (obv.)': wajindagizinlykw (with l for ɛ ?) 'so that he could not kill him' (1.103).

-əgok 'he (obv.) - him (prox.)', with -awə- replaced by -y-: wejindápskygok (with p for m ?) 'so that she could not find him' (1.111).

#### 9.5 Negative Imperative.

TA, DO

-ikkac 'you (singular) - me': bácwelikkac 'don't cheat me' (2.31).

9.6 Plural Stems. Some animate intransitive verbs form special plural stems by means of a suffix -ldi-; i is replaced by o before this suffix: wəjamkin 'he got up' (2.8); amkóldowak 'they wake up' (2.62).

### 10. Notes on Syntax

10.1 Introduction. The Wawenock texts are hardly long enough to establish details of the syntax of the language, but many of the patterns observable in the Penobscot publications (Voorhis 1979, §14) appear to be exemplified here too.

10.2 Proximate and Obviative. Proximate and obviative nouns occur as subjects and objects of verbs, and as possessors of nouns, with the first mentioned, more important, or only animate noun in a sentence, or in a sequence of closely related sentences, being proximate, and other animate nouns being obviative: debéldak wahwalihyde ntamizenybal 'when the owner made the first man' (with 'made' for 'was going to make' ?) (1.1).

The plain singular and plural forms of inanimate nouns occur as subjects and objects of verbs: wewaliton wazesse 'he built a nest' (1.59); ni wybýbi zógahazo 'that wampum fell out' (3.5).

A verb takes third person subject and object affixes or implicit pronouns agreeing in gender, number, and obviation with the subject and object nouns: ni wedilvn gloskybal 'then he said to Gloskybe' (1.18); ni wedlihyzitemegon yolil gloskabal 'then this Gloskybe replied to him'

(1.19); bayydit yogik mēdeolēnowak (for ...mēdeolinowak ?) 'when these shamans came' (2.39). Other examples are above in this section.

A possessed noun takes third person possessive affixes agreeing in number with the possessor noun: welágezial wa mos 'that moose's intestines' (1.117).

10.3 Apposition. Appositive nouns and pronouns agree in gender, number, and obviation: wa gello zygeṃa 'that eagle, the chief' (1.45); gellowal yólil zygeṃal 'the eagle, this chief' (1.47); yógik mēdeolinowak 'these shamans' (3.2).

10.4 Locative and Attributive. A locative noun is an adverb of place: nēbik wedálinámihvn 'he saw him in the water' (2.5); yo bémoset zibok 'when he came to this river' (2.2); wēji wēdonvk 'from his mouth' (3.6).

An attributive noun modifies and is prefixed to another noun, yielding a compound: zibowinebéssal 'river lakes' (1.18); bmolaiki 'Bmole's country' (2.37).

10.5 Independent Clauses. Indicative verbs form statements: (indicative indefinite) ngizihy ba gēzēlvmsvn 'perhaps I can make the wind' (1.21); gesélybenv 'we will go fast' (2.33); (indicative definite) waweliton wazesse 'he built a nest' (1.59); giosénena 'we shall roam about' (1.11).

The difference in usage or meaning between the indicative indefinite and definite is not clear. The names of these modes are taken over from those of their Abenaki cognates in Laurent (1884:141,145).

Imperative verbs form commands: yo daládieli 'hunt here' (2.41).

10.6 Subordinate Clauses. Subjunctive verbs form subordinate clauses 'if, when (in the future)...': ni miliane golélemegwawin 'then if/when you give it to me, you will have good luck' (2.27).

Conjunctive verbs form subordinate clauses 'when (in the past)...': ni giziwikwénemohodit ni bla baliwi obonēmona (for ...wēbonēmeny ?) 'then when they took it they put it to one side for a while' (1.40).

Relative roots are a group of morphemes that resemble prepositions or postpositions. Conjunctive verbs with relative roots form subordinate clauses with different meanings depending on the root when that root has no antecedent (=prepositional or postpositional object). Some of the relative roots are the following:

dal- 'at' forming subordinate clauses 'where...': ni yo edelínlamvk mos ni mozikēci liwityzo 'and here where the moose was killed, that is called moose buttocks' (1.115), cf. nēbik wedálinámihvn awenílil 'he saw somebody in the water' (2.5).

- l- 'like, as' forming subordinate clauses 'how...':  
wenamiton elíjilakwæssinlit wedygema 'she saw how the tracks of his snowshoes lay' (1.108), cf. bmaozowinok linygwzo (for bmaozowinnok... ?) 'he resembled (=looked like) a human being' (2.6).
- wed- 'from; on account of' forming subordinate clauses 'whence...; in order that...': gemvjálelvn mina wádenvlan 'I will carry you back again to where I got you from' (2.47); ni wegízælomana doləbal wejinlvhydit 'then they planned what to do to turtle so as to kill him' (1.51).
- ges- 'as much, as many' forming subordinate clauses 'as much or as many as...': gesícweldamohodit 'as much as they wished' (1.39).
- dod- 'so much, to such an extent' forming subordinate clauses 'how much...': ni edodlvmsvk 'that's how much it blew (?)' (1.30).

dal- is implicit in a few stems: ebit 'where he sat' (1.46).

10.7 Participles. Participles are nouns: ni wedíłəgon debéldamlilil 'then the owner told him' (1.0).

Participles translate English relative clauses: ntámi zénybe gizihat 'the first man that you made' (1.8).

10.8 Negatives. A negative verb requires a negative particle: ndvtvmy wenamítown wizýwimanim 'he did not see his gold' (2.20); nda nia niłəgowvn 'it will not kill me' (1.79); waji nda gizinlykw (for ...gizinlykw ?) 'so that he could not kill him' (1.103); mozak bəcwelikkac 'don't cheat me' (2.30).

## 11. Vocabulary

A selection of Wawenock stems and particles found in Speck (1928) is given below for comparison with other Algonquian dialects. Only stems and particles are listed whose forms seem to be easily discernible, either within the Wawenock texts themselves, or from Abenaki or Penobscot cognates. Many other stems and particles occurring in the texts are ignored because of some uncertainty or ambiguity in form.

Phonemes omitted in some occurrences, and deleted vowels restored, are written in parentheses.

Nouns (A = animate, I = inanimate; dependent nouns have a preceding hyphen):

Persons (including kinship terms):

alnybe- A 'man' (2.9, 2.12)

bėnvm- A 'woman' (178)  
 bmaozowınno- A 'human being' (2.6), cf. §2.10  
 geptin- A 'secondary chief' (1.49)  
 -idybe- A 'friend' (2.23)  
 medėolėnoskwe- A 'sorceress' (1.102)  
 medėolino- A 'shaman' (3.5, 3.10)  
 walináki- A 'Wawenock Indian' (169)  
 -zásiz- A 'uncle' (1.56, 1.59)  
 zyğema- A 'chief' (1.45, 1.47)  
 zėnybe- A 'man' (1.3, 1.8)

Personal names:

bmole- A (2.11, 2.40)  
 bokėjınskwesso- A (1.104, 1.107)  
 gloskybe- A (1.1, 1.18)

Animals:

bodebe- A 'whale' (1.35, 1.36)  
 -dėmiz- A 'dog' (1.115)  
 demakwe- A 'beaver' (2.41, 2.49)  
 dólėbe- A 'turtle' (1.46, 1.65)  
 gello- A 'eagle' (1.45, 1.47)  
 medėwele- A 'loon' (1.93)  
 moz- A 'moose' (1.112, 1.116)  
 wėnėgıgw- A 'otter' (2.42, 2.49)  
 zıb(ə)s- A 'bird' (1.41)

Body parts:

-adė- (for -ade- ?) I 'belly' (2.66)  
 -bėskwan- I? 'back' (2.34, 2.61)  
 -dėpkwan- I 'hair of the head' (1.32)  
 -dón- I? 'mouth' (2.16, 3.6)  
 -lágezi- I 'intestine' (1.114, 1.117)  
 -lji- I 'hand' (3.15)

Plants and their parts:

abazi- A/I 'tree' (1.15, 1.25)  
 maskėmozi- A 'birch tree' (1.123, 1.126)  
 pskýtėgwan- I 'branch' (1.126)

Material culture:

-dol- I 'canoe' (1.122)  
 gėdėgwabizon- I 'belt' (3.14)  
 mani- I 'money' (2.28)  
 nesėkwagw- I 'knife' (1.46)

wybybi- I 'wampum' (3.5, 3.7)  
 zéskijo- I 'bark basket' (1.74)

Other nouns:

bmáozowygan- I 'life' (2.25)  
 gézelvmsvn- A 'wind' (1.21, 1.28)  
 gisos- A 'the sun' (1.43)  
 ki- I 'earth, ground' (1.4, 1.72), possessed: -akki-  
 'land' (1.89)  
 nábéss- I 'lake' (1.14, 1.18)  
 nəbi- I 'water' (1.87, 1.88)  
 nizn- I 'two' (3.14)  
 wajo- A 'mountain' (1.12, 1.13)  
 wazəsse- I 'nest' (1.59, 1.67)  
 wətlókygan- A 'story' (1.33)  
 wizywiłmani- I 'gold' (2.19, 2.24)  
 zibo- I 'river' (1.15, 1.17)  
 zobəgw- I 'ocean' (1.17, 1.38)

Verbs: AI stems:

abi- 'sit' (2.3)  
 amki- 'get up' (2.8, 2.62)  
 ayi- 'stay; be at' (1.7, 2.43)  
 ydabi- 'sit down' (2.3)  
 bágəssin- 'alight' (1.72)  
 baye- 'come, arrive' (1.38, 2.46)  
 gawi- 'sleep' (2.39)  
 gyłyzi- 'hide' (2.9 bis)  
 gelosi- (for gelosi- ?) 'speak' (2.32)  
 giviłe- 'fall' (1.113)  
 giptəssin- 'fall down flat' (1.113)  
 gizyji- 'be ready' (2.52)  
 idam- 'say' (1.27)  
 jihosi- 'form or create oneself' (1.3, 1.8)  
 ladake- 'do' (1.58, 2.10)  
 l(ə)ssin- 'lie or recline (at)' (1.39)  
 lidəhyzi- 'think' (2.16)  
 ligi- 'be like' (2.8)  
 myji- 'leave' (1.12)  
 mvlhíntato- 'be wonderful' (1.10, 1.16)  
 mecine- 'die' (1.76)  
 mitsi- 'eat' (1.44)  
 moskwéldam- 'get angry' (1.50)  
 nilke- 'kill' (1.126)  
 welełeməgwawi- 'have good luck' (2.27, 2.69)  
 zobekwke- 'walk by the ocean' (1.34)

## Verbs: AI final suffixes:

- adieli- 'hunt':
  - daládieli- 'hunt at' (2.41)
  - giwadieli- 'go hunting' (2.1)
  - gizádieli- 'finish hunting' (2.43)
- as(s)i-:
  - gwilawas(s)i- 'search' (1.73, 1.74)
  - naskasi- 'attack' (1.52)
- ybegəs(s)i-, -ybegəzi-:
  - mvyybégəsi- 'begin' (1.1)
  - métybegessi-, métybegəzi- 'end' (1.33, 1.96)
- ybi- 'look, see':
  - bmátawybi- 'look around wide eyed' (1.13)
  - gwilawybi- 'search to see' (1.106)
  - lybi- 'look' (1.68)
- ədi- to TA 'one another (reciprocal)':
  - gadonáldi- 'hunt one another' (3.16)
  - nehnámihodi- 'keep seeing one another' (2.68) with ə replaced by o after h
- əsani- 'be powerful':
  - dotsani- 'be so powerful' (1.23)
  - lsani- 'be as powerful as' (1.26)
- əssəmi- 'drink':
  - gadawəssəmi- 'be going to drink' (2.4)
  - gizəssəmi- 'finish drinking' (2.19)
- idowi- 'fly':
  - bejídowi- 'come flying' (1.43)
  - zykhədowi- 'fly forth' (1.42)
- igədahi- 'jump':
  - bejígədahi- 'come jumping' (2.60)
  - dessígədahi- 'jump upon' (2.61, 2.63)
- igw(ə)zi- 'crawl':
  - bejigwəzi- 'come crawling' (2.18)
  - mýjegwzi- 'start to crawl' (2.17)
- iļe- 'go':
  - béjile- 'come' (2.37)
  - b(ə)mile- 'pass by' (1.106)
  - dojile- 'go so fast' (2.65)
  - mýjeļe- 'go away' (1.97, 2.35)
  - zykhéle- 'come out' (2.60)
- os(s)e- 'go' (= 'walk'?):
  - giose- 'roam about' (1.11)
  - los(s)e- 'go to' (1.38, 1.113)
  - wədose- 'come from' (4.1)

## Verbs: TI, T stems and final suffixes:

- bagidam- 'let it go' (1.64)
- bonəm- 'put it down' (1.40, 2.15)

debake- 'toss him/it' (1.63)  
 debéldam- 'own it', debéldak 'he who owns it, God' (1.1)  
 -ito- 'make it':  
     wəlito- 'make it' (1.59)  
 namito- 'see it' (1.108)  
 probably nyjipto- 'go and get it' (1.37)  
 nodam- 'hear it' (2.57)  
 wədnəm- 'take it from' (1.39)  
 wikwənəm- 'take it' (1.46)

Verbs: II stems and final suffixes:

-əkamige- 'be (of the earth)':  
     bəkamige- 'exist (of the earth)' (1.17)  
     lkamige- 'be like, be as (of the earth)' (1.15)  
     metkámige- 'end (of the world)' (1.118)  
 -əlvmsvn- 'blow (of the wind)':  
     dodlvmsvn- 'blow so much' (1.30)  
     gəz(ə)lvmsvn- 'blow' (1.24, 1.28)  
     majélvmsvn- 'rise (of the wind)' (1.23)  
 liwityzo- 'be called so' (1.116, 2.37)  
 majiḷe- 'be dull' (1.61)  
 mkazewigen- 'be black' (3.9)  
 mkwigen- 'be red' (3.8)  
 wvbigen- 'be white' (3.7)  
 wewinygwat- 'be known' (1.128)  
 zogvlan- 'rain' (176)

Verbs: TA, DO stems and final suffixes:

bezw- 'bring' (2.40)  
 b(ə)sihal- 'skin' (1.114 bis)  
 bibm- 'shoot' (1.112)  
 bon- 'put down' (2.40)  
 -əlom-:  
     dəpəlom- 'hold a trial over' (1.75)  
     giz(ə)lom- 'decide about' (1.51, 1.76)  
 gakhikih- 'tease' (1.102, 1.105)  
 gibil- 'fell' (1.124)  
 giptah- 'cut down' (1.123)  
 gwilaoh- 'search for' (1.123)  
 -ih- 'make':  
     gizih- 'finish making; be able to make' (1.3, 1.21)  
     lih- 'make so' (1.50)  
     wahwalih- 'keep making' (1.2)  
     wəlih- 'make' (1.28)  
 iḷ- 'say to' (1.10)  
 m(ə)skaw- 'find' (1.75, 1.111)  
 mil- 'give it to' (2.27)  
 námih- 'see' (2.5)

naskaw- 'attack' (1.57)  
 n(i)ł- 'kill' (1.34, 1.51)  
 nodaw- 'hear' (1.90)  
 nosókaw- 'follow' (1.112)  
 wewyl- 'know of' (1.68, 1.100, 2.17)  
 wewedəham- 'know' (1.104)  
 wəden- 'take from' (2.47)  
 wikwen- 'take' (1.52)

Verbs: roots used with final suffixes (t and d become c and j respectively before i; i is dropped after a vowel; w is dropped before o):

bed- 'hither'  
 b(ə)m- 'past'  
 dal- 'at'  
 dess- 'upon'  
 dod- 'so much, to such an extent'  
 gadaw- 'be about to'  
 giw- 'around here and there'  
 giz- 'finish -ing; be able to'  
 l- 'like, as; to'  
 myje- 'begin to'  
 met- 'end'  
 wahwal- reduplication of wəł-  
 wəd- 'from; on account of'  
 wəl- 'well'  
 zyxh- (zykhe- ?) 'out, forth'

Particles:

Adverbs of place:

baliwi 'to one side' (1.40)  
 bésojiwi 'near' (2.18)  
 deka 'in the direction of' (1.100)  
 io 'here' (2.11)  
 lagwiwi 'toward' (1.100, 2.5)  
 manniwi 'among' (1.99)  
 nółəmiwi 'abroad' (2.23)  
 spəmək 'up in the air' (1.69, 2.57)  
 (w)skitkamikw 'in the world, on earth' (1.41, 1.128)  
 yo 'here' (1.7)

Adverbs of quantity and degree:

ebassiwi 'half' (3.7, 3.8)  
 gamýji 'very' (1.9)  
 m(ə)ziwi 'all' (1.15, 1.31)

## Temporal adverbs and conjunctions:

bla	'for a while' (1.40, 1.122), 'while' (1.13), 'mean-while' (1.58)
debene	'soon' (1.57)
dettáci	'and now' (1.27, 1.118)
eskámi	'forever' (1.118, 1.127)
gweni	'while' (1.128)
mejimiwi	'always' (2.28)
mina	'again' (2.67)
ni	'and then, next' (1.9)
niga	'and then, next' (1.11, 1.22, 1.29)
nigatte	'at once' (2.11, 2.47)
nikwybi	'now' (1.11)
ninawa	'then' (1.2); with negative: 'yet' (1.20)
nittáci	'and now' (1.32)
nitte	'immediately' (1.72)
nspiwi	'at the same time' (2.3)
zipkiwi	'for a long time' (2.45)

## Numerical adverbs of time:

besegweda	'once' (2.1)
níseda	'twice' (1.93)
nsede	'three times' (1.94)

## Temporal and modal enclitics:

ba	'perhaps' (1.18, 1.20, 1.21), replaced by əba after consonants (2.24)
ji	'in the future' (2.46)

## Particles of negation:

yda	'not (in the future)' (2.28)
mozak	'don't' (2.30)
nda	'not (in the future)' (1.81)
ndátvmy	'not (in the past)' (2.1, 2.20)

## Other particles:

aci	'also' (2.13)
áida	'well (interjection)' (1.101, 3.1), replaced by wáida after vowels (1.5, 1.34)
yzidaiwi	'in turn' (1.28, 2.13)
bawaji	'because of it' (2.3)
bekki	'only' (2.65)
dylawe	'so, accordingly' (1.13, 1.51)
đvni	'how' (1.7)
ebegwac	'therefore' (1.53)

el(ə)we	'like, almost'	(2.6, 3.8, 3.9)
ganowa	'but'	(2.6, 2.22)
genowa	'but'	(2.7, 2.68)
gwina	'really'	(2.6)
máýwe	'together'	(2.38, 2.39)
malvmi	'at last'	(1.98)
nabawi	'quickly'	(2.44, 2.61)
nigela	'accordingly'	(1.67, 1.106)
-tte	'emphatic'	(1.85, 2.23)
wéji (for wéji ?)	'from'	(1.1); 'on account of' (1.12)
wéji	'from'	(1.3, 3.6); 'on account of' (1.8)
wezamiwic	'because'	(1.110)
wíbiwi	'except'	(1.108); 'just, merely' (2.15); 'just, exactly'
		(2.42)
zalákkiwi	'suddenly'	(2.57)
zibiwi	'and'	(1.15, 1.43)

Prefixes to nouns:

kci-	'great'	(2.46)
ntámi-	'first'	(1.8)

Prefixes to verbs:

ácwi-	'have to'	(2.43)
aləmi-	'along, away'	(1.24, 1.25)
askami-	'forever'	(2.68)
balmi-	'around here and there'	(1.74, 1.21)
dáli-	'at'	(2.5)
gadawi-	'want to'	(3.12)
gizi-	'finish -ing'	(2.3)
li-	'like, as'	(1.107)
mýje-	'begin to'	(1.28)
nyji-	'go and, go to'	(1.35)

## 12. Concluding Remarks

The Wawenock language has evidently been extinct now for several decades. Therefore any information on the language must be gained from the data already gathered. Such information is potentially useful at least for historical Algonquian studies. May this paper serve to make some of it a little more accessible.

For the most part, too few Wawenock forms are recorded in the texts to allow confident prediction of the shapes of other forms in the paradigms of personal affixes. However, most of the affixes in the very similar Penobscot dialect (Voorhis 1979) probably occur unchanged in Wawenock except for the regular phonemic correspondences. Such correspondences involving different phonemes in the two dialects are the following:

Wawenock basic p, t, k, c, s, and ɬ correspond to Penobscot hp, ht, hk, hc, hs, and hl, while Wawenock basic b, d, g, j, z, and l correspond to Penobscot p, t, k, c, s, and l. As a rule, Wawenock final wi is missing in Penobscot: Wawenock mziwi 'all' (1.31) and -wi 'he (negative)' (§9.2), cf. Penobscot məsi and zero respectively (Voorhis 1979).

Further differences in Wawenock and Penobscot affixes do also occur: Wawenock conjunct -əgowan 'he - you (singular)' (§8.5), cf. Penobscot -əsk (Voorhis 1979). So Penobscot forms cannot simply be attributed to Wawenock in every instance.

At several points the Wawenock texts yield affixes for inflectional categories in which no affixes are found in Speck's Penobscot Texts (Speck 1918):

(indicative indefinite)

-yk 'indefinite - them'  
g- -əgebəna 'indefinite - us (inclusive)'

(indicative definite)

g- -əgeneny 'indefinite - us (inclusive)'

(conjunct)

-əlid 'he/they (obviative)' after consonants  
-əlan 'I - you (singular)'

(negative indicative indefinite)

g- -ppəna 'we (inclusive)'  
-ywi 'indefinite -him'

(negative indicative definite)

n- -əgowən 'he/it/they - me'

(negative conjunct)

-əgokw 'he (obviative) - him (proximate)'

(negative imperative)

-ikkac 'you (singular) - me'

To this list can be added the locative plural suffix of nouns, -ikok, which is not cited in Voorhis (1979), but is recorded for Penobscot in Speck (1935:20).

Deletion of vowels in the Penobscot recorded by Speck appears to follow essentially the same rules as in Wawenock (not discussed in Voorhis 1979).

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## APPENDIX

Table 1: Affirmative verb inflection

## Abbreviations:

- 1 first person singular  
 2 second person singular  
 3 third person proximate singular  
 4 third person obviative singular  
 12 first person plural inclusive  
 22 second person plural  
 33 third person proximate plural  
 0 impersonal  
 ind. indicative  
 indef. indefinite  
 def. definite  
 conj. conjunct  
 imp. imperative

number & person	ind. indef.	ind. def.	conj.	imp.
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(to animate intransitive)

1	n-	n- -en	-y	
2	g-	g- -en	-an	-
3	-	w- -en	-d, -gw, -g	
4			-elid	
12	g- -bena	g- -eneny		
33	-ak	w- -eny	-(hV) did	

(to inanimate intransitive)

3	-		} -g	
33				

Table 1 (continued)

number & person	ind. indef.	ind. def.	conj.	imp.
(to transitive animate)				
1-3	n- -y	n- -yn		
2-3			-ad	-ya
3-4	w- -yl	w- -yn	-yd	
12-3	g- -ynny	g- -yneny		
33-4	w- -ywył	w- -yny	-yhydid	
0-3			-amvk	
0-33	-yk			
3-1		n- -əgon		
3-2			-əgowan	
4-3	w- -əgol	w- -əgon	-əgot	
3-22		g- -əgony		
2-1	g- -i	g- -in	-ian	
1-2		g- -elən	-əlan	
0-12	g- -əgebəna	g- -əgeneny		

Table 2: Conjunct-mode affixes

Conjunctive: initial change (a, e → e)  
 Subjunctive: -e  
 Participles: initial change plus...  
           3 -  
           4 -il