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Dialect Symbols in Aubrey's Dictionary

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Thomason, Sarah G. 1984 Is Michif Unique? Ms.

Weaver, Deborah 1982 Obliviation in Michif. MA thesis, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

Aubery's Abenaki Dictionary is composed of two manuscripts, one a French-Abenaki lexicon, and the other Abenaki-French. The French-Abenaki part is dated August 8, 1715. In the introductory notes of the French-Abenaki part, Aubery stated that he had known the Abenaki language, but he waited for more than ten years before setting about writing it down according to the French. He also stated that he probably had missed certain words such as those referring to birds or other similar things in the French. This statement leads me to believe that the French-Abenaki part of the manuscript may have been composed later than the Abenaki-French part. However, there is no date in the Abenaki-French part to verify this hypothesis. Both parts include numerous entries which are in several dialects and languages, although in the main, the dictionary is a record of the Aroosagunticook (Androscoggin River, Maine) dialect of Eastern Abenaki. In many cases there is no indication that Aubery was aware of the fact that he was recording samples from more than one variety of speech. Still, Aubery's many years at St. Francis (later called Odanak), must have led to an awareness of the many different languages represented by temporary residents and visiting peoples. In addition, his maps show that he had knowledge of the location of communities of Indians other than his own. Some of Aubery's entries are marked with a small capital "L" and some similarly with a "P". We know that the "L" stands for "Loup" because in one entry marked "L" Aubery wrote "mot Loup". Aubery tells us in his introductory notes to the French-Abenaki part, that the letter "P" is a mark indicating that the word is from another language close to
Abenaki. Unfortunately, he does not tell us which one.

There were several Eastern Algonquian peoples that were called Loup in Aubery’s time. Gordon Day has given an extensive discussion of the subject in his introduction to “The Mots Loups of Father Machevet.” Day states that Loup was first used to designate the Mahican of the Hudson River, but as early as 1662 Sokoki individuals were registered at Notre Dame de Montréal under the name Loup. Day’s investigations of maps in the Public Archives of Canada revealed that in 1860 a map of Canada shows two types of Loups, Mahicans and Sokokis. Another map (1715, attributed to information supplied by Aubery) includes two villages: the “penogou ancien village de loups” of the Merrimac River (or Penacooks), and the Koes (Koasessks) on the upper Connecticut River. In addition, Day cites a reference in which the Loups are called a type of Abenaki living, so to speak with the English, and suggests that this came from Aubery, who must have noticed the linguistic affiliation existing between the Sokokis, Penacocks and the Abenakis (1975:35-44).

A number of communities located in northern New England were known by names that begin with the letter “P.” These include: Penobscot, Pigwacket, Pencook, and Pocomtuck. Moreover, analysis of the data narrows the possibilities considerably. The problem entails more than just guessing the identity of the two dialects in Aubery. For some time, scholars have noticed that the language spoken at modern Odanak does not appear to be the same language as that of Aubery’s dictionary. In fact, the Odanak speech has been classified as Western Abenaki to distinguish it from Eastern Abenaki (first used by Siebert in personal communications to Gordon Day and Ives Goddard in 1960). Eastern Abenaki includes Penobscot, Canusa (the language native recorded in his lexicon), and Aroosagunticook (most of Aubery’s dictionary). Western Abenaki (WAB) is distinguished from Eastern (EAB) by vocabulary differences, different vowel phonemes, and in WAB the obivative is not distinguished as to singular and plural forms as it is in EAB. In addition, Goddard (1967) has observed differences in the objective and absolute TA verbs in WAB. The problem therefore includes the question of what language is represented by modern WAB? Gordon Day (1981) has discussed the historical data and family names. The present study offers a small contribution towards solving this problem.

Before discussing the two word lists labelled “L” and “P”, I would like to present some of the assumptions that have been made in this paper. First, we must assume that each corpus represents a sample from only one speech community. Within this assumption there is the related notion that Aubery did not err in his understanding or his transcriptions. Both of these assumptions are risky and neither can be proved irrefutably. In addition, one must assume that the speech communities that we are describing were located approximately where they always had been. If this is true, one would expect a dialect continuum from east to west and north to south.

What was the nature of the speech community at Odanak when Aubery was there? According to Pilling, Aubery served as missionary at the St. Francis River or Odanak village from 1707 until he died in 1755. Odanak was a refugee village. As early as 1669 the village consisted primarily of Sokokis. In 1696 some Loups (?) arrived. Abenakis from the Saco, Androscoggin, and the Kennebec Rivers were led by Jacques Bigot from St. Francis de Sales on the Chaudière to Odanak in the autumn of 1700. In 1702 100 persons including Sokokis, Algonkins, and Abenakis were added. In 1707, the year that Aubery came, there were also Pigwackets arriving, and they remained for seven years. These Pigwackets werepolitically aligned with the Abenakis of Maine, having reaffirmed peace with one another at Casco Bay in June, 1703. In 1724 Schaghticoke from the Hudson River including some Pocomtucks, Sokokis, Nipmucks and others arrived at Odanak. They were followed in 1730 by some Mississiquoi and in 1754 more refugees arrived from Schaghticoke.

It is likely that the languages that were recorded by Aubery are samples of speech represented by one or more of the groups who were living at Odanak before 1715. The body of Aubery’s dictionary is for the most part understood by Penobscot speakers of modern times. Aubery certainly knew Abenaki well enough at some time in his career to be capable of differentiating some of the dialects that were spoken at Odanak.

Following is an annotated list of the words Aubery marked “L” and “P”. For the most part, Penobscot words are from Siebert (1984).
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Following is an annotated list of the words Aubery marked “L” and “P”. For the most part, Penobscot words are from Siebert (1984).
The "L" Words

180 second pagination neksekabâdêgê 'Je lave'; -hâdûn, harás-
'cêla'; Pen/kâšêpâhâton/Al 'he does washing'; /nâkâšpâhâton/
TA 'I wash him', /nâkâšpâhâton/ TI class 2 'I wash it';
Râles: neksekabêkârâ 'Je le lave', neksekabâdên 'Je le lave';
Day: ogebâdêgê 'he washes'

133 arêkîgan 'une gratté' pl.ar 'melius' kâk bîsûnar; Pen. /âlékhîkan/
INAN 'smoke hole cover'; Râles: Gratté: kâzhîgan

267 ne matîm-hê 'Je préte' hâni 'a luy' hê ôs 'a moi même une chose
d'autrue' v.g. I borrow, I pay (it); Pen. /mâkâmhaswe/ Al 'he
borrows from people'; Râles:415/514 'Je entre v.g. castor'
matâmîhêkê

8 âpaskâsinâm 'ble d'inde inêlé: cuis et seché au soleil'; vel tô
ahâmân Râles 60/305 [bêd] nêdêlêtê apâskasisti 'Je fais rotir
un épé'; /ni etolî apâskasisi 'he roasts it in the coals there'
(possible cognate)

86 ngokiskîn-astê (mot L.) 'Je tire la chaudière du fer'; Pen
[kape] 'out of water or medium'; not found in Râles

259 mâyêkâ'é 'joulger' Pen. /molîhiko/ Al 'he is odd' (special
accomplishment skilled at unusual or extraordinary things);
not in Râles

271 mazaâmân 'flâmes'; Waokîhîâin: mazo'n 'wild hemp'; PA /'masain/
AN nettle (Siebert 1975:362), not used in Pen.

273 mêgêh-näâtê 'avec chois (mot loîp), megênaîtê arenoonâk
'bones choises', ke megênaîtê-e-rumor 'Je te juge le meilleur', a
megênaîtê-erdîgêm kô 'les elle de dieu' Pen. /mâkâmhasa/
'he chooses'; Day:377: omegêno 'he choises him'

284 meràgêt ô 'ce a est foible de peu de durée'; not Pen.

318 naasû 'un peu andela' Pen. [nah] 'downstream', Râles:27/358 na
'en bas de la riviere

352 nîtî 'chien'; Laurent: atâs, Râles:113/413: atî, atîk, (EAb
but not Pen.), Mathevet-80: nîtêy 'mon chien'

DIALECT SYMBOLS

369 nekê 'Lac' /nekêe:nexâk (Lac des 2 montagnes); (name of
the people-Nipissings?); (found in Speck's Bécancour texts);
Laurent:16: nekî 'Lake'; not Pen, not Râles

374 pêskêk pêkâsinâm nêsmîhân piannuk on vant un pain pour 5
cordes'; Pen. /pêskêk pk*êsinuk nêsmîhân /piannuk (snare)/
'One loaf of bread for 5 cords.' (of wampum?) Day:387:piân
'a rope, string'

619 sodi ak kêsik Masta, setti, Waokîhîâin sodi 'conifer'; Pen.
/sati/ 'conifer', /kasiwak/ 'hemlock'; Râles:30/356 'les ce-
dre' sodiak, 'epine rouge' kêsikêk

637 ëwún 'continuellement, a chaque fois, en détail'; Pen. /sowe/
'at intervals, on and off'; not in Râles

639 nêshè-éâm 'Je me'ennuye pain, Jay de la peine du chagrîn';
Pen. /nêshèlê/ /'I am weary of mind'

670 nedâsîkân rô 'Je suis en embuscade' Pen: /nàtâsâk*ôlôwe/
'Al 'I lie in ambush for people'

714 ne tatan 'mon pere' netatsâm 'Le frere de mon pere "Les
enfants vrais abnauis se servens aussi de ce mots.' Pen: /lakát/
b.t.w father /nêtatsâm 'my daddy'

746 me thè'coeur' ëthè 'le sien'; Mathëvet: nèch; Edwards's Ma-
ghâm,?weh; Nudenan:89:m thè 'pro Lupis', 'cor'; 'item pro
Montanias'; not found in Râles or Pen.

795 ta'dôpîxâm 'hamecon' Pen: /cawahwîpanik/ INAN 'net sinker,
anchor', Râles:283/465: hamecon ta'dôpîxám

820 Satsâ 5c 'montage' Pen: /wâhô/; not in Râles, but Nuden-
ans:97: Satsâ 'Lup,' 'mons'

820 Satta brindâ 'peut etre viendra Nudenans:97:Satta 'Lup' for-
tasse' (perhaps) Day:375 haï 'he arrives'

907 Sëkânô 'ost'; not Pen. (except as a deverbal); Laurent:25:usêk;
Day:376:usêk 'bone'; Nudenans:105: usêk 'Lupis significat
'os (osse)'

863 Sûnêk 'sak bignon sauvage' not Pen., not Râles; Laurent:43:wi
nos 'an onion'; Nudenans:102: Sûnê (L.) 'cepa, allium'
The "L" Words

180 second pagination neko duckaduik 'Je lave'; -had'nu, haras-'cela'; Pen./kisepahake/I 'he does washing'; /nikassapahol/ TA 'I wash him', /nikassapahoton/ TI class 2 'I wash it'; Rasles: neksebekahari 'Je le lave', neksebekadun 'Je le lave'; Day: ogezabang 'he washes'

133 arkhigan 'une gratte' pl.ar 'melian' kik hisnar; Pen. /alohkian/ INAN 'smoke hole cover'; Rasles: Gratte: kakhigan

267 ne matmi-kh 'Je preste' ha'n's lay' khas 'a moi meme une chose d'autrui' v.g. I borrow, I pay it (it); Pen. /motamhawe/ AI 'he borrows from people'; Rasles:415/514 'Je prete v.g. castor nemathkik

8 apsoksainar 'ble de ndine inelé: cuit et seché au soleil'; vel ad abamin Rasles 60/305 [bïd] nedesotet apsaksani 'Je fais rotir un épé'; ni eto apsaksar 'he roasts it in the coals there' (possible cognate)

86 negatokos-atk (mot L.) 'Je tire la charioidre du fer'; Pen [kape] 'out of water or medium'; not found in Rasles

259 mairki-g 'jouleur' Pen. /mühliko/ AI 'he is odd' (special accomplishment skilled at unusual or extraordinary things); not in Rasles

271 mazitnak 'Elames'; Wozkhillan: mazon 'wild hemp'; PA /masina/ AN nettle (Siebert 1975:362), not used in Pen.

273 mejey-nai até 'avec chris' (mot loip), megnatatni eneszesak 'homes chosen', ke meghenat-èrmer 'Je te juge le meilleur', a megnatat-èrdigana k8 'les eler de dio' Pen. /nokmanhosa/ 'he chooses'; Day:377: omegeno 'he chooses him'

284 merigteq io 'ce a est foible de peu de durée'; not Pen.

318 naa'is 'un peu andeis' Pen. [nah]- 'downstream', Rasles:27/358:na'n'é 'en bas de la riviere'

352 natè 'chien'; Laurent: atis, Rasles:113/413: atis, atiek (EAb but not Pen.), Mathiawet:68:nitay 'mon chien'

369 nebes 'Lac' enkesin 'kak' (Lac des 2 montagnes); (name of the people-Nipissings?); (found in Speck's Bécanour texts); Laurent:16: nebes 'Lake'; not Pen, not Rasles

374 pësëxii pikabiga nanganesii kipanak 'on vent un pain pour 5 cordes'; Pen. /pësëxii kikpëikun nìnsékak pihpanak / (pìpëhanak / 'smarte') 'One loaf of bread for 5 cords.' (of wampum?) Day:387:piàm 'a rope, string'

619 sedi ak kesik Masta, setti, Wozkhillan sedi 'conifer'; Pen. /sati/ 'conifer', /kaswa/ 'hemlock'; Rasles:36/360 'les cedre' sedik, 'spinette rouge' kesikhek

637 ëven 'continuellement, a chaque fois, en detail'; Pen. /servo/ 'at intervals, on and off'; not in Rasles

639 nesië-dëmad 'je m'ennuye pain, Jay de la peine du chagrin'; Pen. /nëwilxamf/ 'I am weary of mind'

670 nedaskän rë 'Je suis en embuscade' Pen: /nataskh* 'laune' AI 'I lie in ambush for people'

714 ne tatan 'mon pere' netañas 'Le frere de mon pere' "Les enfant vrais abnaquis se servens aussi de ces mots. Pen: /istik/ b.t.w. father /natast/ 'my daddy'

746 me thé 'coeur' ë-thë 'le sien'; Mathievet: nikë; Edwards's Mahigan:6:teh; Nudenans:89:teh 'pro Lupis', 'cor'; 'item pro Montanais'; not found in Rasles or Pen.

795 tsapigen 'hamecon' Pen: /cawhapanikan/ INAN 'net sinker, anchor'; Rasles:283/465: 'hamecon' tasapigen

820 Sata Sà 'montagne' Pen: /wòho/; not in Rasles, but Nudenans:97: Sata 'Lup.' 'mons'

820 Satta bëniand 'peu etre viendra' Nudenans:97: Satta "Lup" 'fortasse' (perhaps) Day:375 hait 'he arrives'

907 ëskunar 'os'; not Pen. (except as a deverbal); Laurent:25:oesen; Day:376:oesen 'bone', Nudenans:105: oes 'Lupis signifacat 'os (ossa)'

863 Sëna's, -sak 'bignon sauvage' not Pen., not Rasles; Laurent:43:vinos 'an onion', Nudenans:102: Sëna (L.) 'cépa, allium'
The words marked "P" are not clearly visible in the image.
The words marked "P"
129 ne pérainh-térnam 'je désesespère', Raseles:176-177 'Je désespère du malade', nenep8ôfremâh, 'Je désespére de cela', nederainhërdëmânen (no cognate for the root -per-)

138 éskânn 'tranche a percer la glace, cornée a poudre', not Pen.; Raseles:488,489,490: 'Tranche tranché p't're la glace, item, gauche, ciseau à pierre à bois', éskânn

158 ne'k râskë-âtsi 'j'ay froid', ne kesâk âtsi, ned'ënpëtâsi, ne'gësâk-stita-âtsi 'J'ai froid aux pieds', Pen. /kwâkâkwâ/ to death, /nak'sâk 'sitâuwâ/ Al 'my feet are frozen to death', /kwâsâkhiyâko, kwâskihiyâko/ Al 'he has cold feet'

160 éghek'ëssee certaine plante a fleur blanche, not Pen., but [ekh]- 'hang'

176 erepââmek 'to dream', Pen. /alâk'sñmek/ c. conj. 'where there is dreaming', /alâk'sn'ashwokan/ INAN 'a dream', /alâk'sñahso/ Al 'he dreams (thou)'

183 azâ' apesâk 'pierre ne repasser a affiler a oter le morfis', Pen. /âzâpahpâpek/ INAN 'smooth rock'

195 (second pagination) n'ëddokkânn 'mon frere a né dit l'h, es la femme', Pen. /nôtokhâan/ DN AN 'my favorite younger sibling'

205 n'ërermâ 'la soeur de ma femme vel. la frere de mon mari', Pen. /nîmohi/ DN AN 'my parallel sibling-in-law'

225 ned êkëhâni-arí nôân an'âni 'c'est pour la premiere fois que je vois une personne d'un tel caractere', intelligible in Pen. /natah'ëpî-âlînâwâsâ/ 'I see someone in this way at a certain point' but more commonly would use /natah'ëpî-nâmîha/

262 kesî-te 'il est chaud', (intelligible, but not Pen.), Raseles:104/409 'cela est chaud', (intelligible, but not Pen.), Raseles:93 'je suis chaud', kesêbë î e. kesêî, Mathevet:73:kesêtenen 'Je sue'

282 ketën 'il fai du bruit', kesê-ketën 'beaucoup', Pen. /kesi/- 'intense', Raseles:73/399 'bruit' kekëshësëm, e. kekëshësëm. Pen. /kâlewrom/ Al 'he makes a roaring sound', /kâle/ prev. 'make noise, sound'

309 gëskëkëva 'de conjuge zelotips (jealous) est tipa' not Pen.
304 PAULEENA SKEBER

129 ne pérainb-érdom 'Je désespère', Rasles:176-177 'Je désespère du malade', nenepôfrafan, 'Je désespère de cela', nederainbérdomen (no cognate for the root per-)

138 éskann 'tranche a percer la glace, cornée a poudre', not Pen.; Raslen:488,489,460: 'Tranche trence p't la glace, item, gouge, ciseau à pierre à bois', éskan

158 nek'esk-ati 'j'ay froid', ne kesk-ati, ned'asptati, ne' aske-sika-ati 'j'ai froid aux pieds', Pen. /kwakakw/ to death, /nak'asak 'sitawak7/ Al 'my feet are frozen to death', /kwatâsakikhakó, kâwâzâkikó/ 'Al 'he has cold feet'

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282 ketô 'il fais du bruit', kesi-ketô 'beaucoup', Pen. /kawi- 'intense', Raslen:73/399: 'bruit' ksâtidosan ë. kesiâtidosan, Pen. /kâlawmo/ Al 'he makes a roaring sound', /kâlawi- prev. 'make noise, sound'

309 gësâkkñé 'de conjugué zeotipus (jealous) is tipa' not Pen.

DIALECT SYMBOLS

323 ne kën 'mon sang', not Pen.

327 ne nañkó-kâmass 'Je lui disens' (not transitive, 'I quote things'), Pen. /kâmopó hanawo 'I quote him', /sândahwasan 'I quote it'

416 ñë askëmn 'tagamitè de bë melé', Pen. /naipôm,'/soup' [similarly Rasle:454/525: nëtëkësàn, and Mathevet:13:lando] (also entered under "L")

494 n'ëri pend 'j'ay un sort heureux' "on pronounce pëd", Pen. /nolipâpane/ Al 'I have good testicles' (someone was pulling Aubery's leg)

498 pérainb 'en perdons courage a cause de la difficulté ou impossibilité", not Pen.

510 pin 'corde', this is St. Francis meaning, Pen. /ppihâ/ 'snare' is more specific

540 pp 'il nege', not Abenaki or Mathetev, (a final in some SNE languages)

574 ne regsas 'Le fils de ma soeur moi home', ne regsas 'mes neveux', Pen. /nâlak'asë ou nâlak's/ 'my cross nephew'; ne regasas 'ma niece la fille de ma soeur moi h. ou de m. fr. moi f.' Pen. /nâlak'asë/ 'my cross niece' (these forms are rare or archaic in Pen.)

593 peig sâp 'un piece de bois fendu, une planche, un madrier'; Pen. /patikas/ INAN 'board, plank' (in songs, used for a paddle)

663 kañkëse-ykë-sam-anëd kisi pëmërêt 'ayant fai plusieurs jours de marche', Pen. /këkëbâ këi skëmawati kisi-pannash/ 'He finished walking on the short path after many days.'

551 pakësëgan 'fusil' v. pesk., Pen. /pesk'ëx/ INAN 'gun' [similarly in Raslen:263/460: 'fusil' pesk'dandi, but Laurent:47:pekësëgan 'a gun'

597 sa sahâ net 'ce qu on fais passer sans obstacles une aiguille' -meta, Pen. /sup- 'in and out', /sândahwasen 'I pierce it', /soup- redupl., /sândahwasen 'he pierces over and over
598 *sasiteio, sanex*$8a 'il est ferme, forte, stable'. Pen. *ahsane* 'firm, dense', /sanex/* prev. 'dense, firm', /sanikko/ *Al* 'he is tight, compact, dense, solid, firm'  
598 *amanté* *sangtek* *nerêhâgan* 'plus adieu que mon coeur fus' Pen./*amont sekkok nekawan/ 'Would to God my heart is strong', [note EAb 'heart']  
658 *sibin* 'sel', not Pen., Laurent:28:riuan 'salt', PA /"siiw/- 'sour' (Siebert 1975:374)  
683 *Saâni-pânesseâk* 'il y a trop de bois au feu', Pen./*waemipunâsako/ 'there is a little bit too much placed on', Laurent:189 ponâs 'put, place'  
684 *ne mitsi-kadiâon* 'sur la terre nue'  
719 téngaâlas 'il est penché', not Pen. [not found in Rasles or Mathew et]  
811 *Saâni-kkonâni, titaâni 'qui a un coté du nes coupé', Pen. /we-sikithanât* /AN part. 'one with an injured nose'  
833 *têhâ, sehêni* marked "P*" vel. *keeerâmâseeni* tagahâgan 'moulin a ven'; Rasles:348/400: tagahâgan, Mathevet:23 takâsâgan 'moulin a scie', windmill, sawmill, Pen. /takâhsâkan/ 'mortar'  
801 Staipreg* idem v. Staipreg*$8 'il a un retirement de nerfs', Pen. /wâchipilâc* /'he has a convolution, seizure'  
805 *círémon* *sek* vel. *dëkenek* 'il viendra quelquun des jours suivants', Pen. /kêshokoni/ 'many days', /niskoni/ 'during two days'  
856 *giâgkii* 'sans sujet, sans y penser, sans en parler', Pen. /wikâki/ *pc. 'without cause, reason'  
858 *tiyek* 'ecorce dans on les fais', Pen. /wik*esk*/ /AN yellow birch  
876 *n'êkem* *La sœur de ma mere* d.h. *et f*, Pen. /nhêkm/ 'paternal aunt', /nhêkmes/ 'grandmother'; Rasles:377/498 'mere, grandmere, ma tante' /nêkem* /nêkm*
598 samé io, sanses 8a 'il est ferme forte stable, Pen. ahsane- 'firm, dense', /səsni/- prev. 'dense, firm', /saśiko/ AL 'he is tight, compact, dense, solid, firm'
598 sen, senar 'pierres'; Laurent:16:sen, senis 'stone, pebble', not Pen.
598 samé sangék nerešišgan'plus adieu que mon coeur fus' Pen./'samé sokéke naëwokan/ 'Would to God my heart is strong', [note EAb 'heart']
658 sišan 'sel', not Pen., Laurent:28:siwan 'sault', PA /'šiwi:/ 'sour' (Siebert 1975:374)
683 šašiši-pënašiš 'il y a trop de bois au feu', Pen./wësë-pënašišo/ 'there is a little bit too much placed on', Laurent:189 ponsaš 'put, place'
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719 têgašis 'il est penché', not Pen. [not found in Rasles or Mathévet]
811 šašiši-kkônaiš, tásanai 'qui a un coté du nés coupé', Pen. /wešikhtanaš/ AN part. 'one with an injured nose'
833 šëab cébes 'marked' 'P' vel kešerašišení tagšašišgan 'moulin a ven', Rasles:348/400: tagšašišgan, Mathévet:2b takšašišgan 'moulin a eole', windmill, sawmill, Pen. /takšašišgan/ 'mortar'
801 Steinpreß idem v. Steinpreß 'il a un retirement de nerfs', Pen. /wësipiškë/ 'he has a convulsion, seizure'
805 érem-šhenik vel. šhenakké 'il viendra quelqu'un des jours suivants', Pen. /kehsokeši 'many days', /nišokeni 'during two days'
856 šigakši 'sans sujet, sans y penser, sans en parler', Pen. /wikškë/ pc. 'without cause, reason'
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876 n'ëkëmës 'La soeur de ma mere' d.h. et f., Pen. /nëkëmë/ 'paternal aunt', /nëkëmë/ 'grandmother'; Rasles:377/498 'mere, grandmere, ma tante' nëkëmës, nëkëmëni
Mahican. Thus it seems possible that this may be a sample of Sokoki. If it is, then Sokoki was an EAb dialect.

At the same time Penacook cannot be ruled out entirely, since they were also called Loups and are near the other Abenakis. Either the Penacooks or the Sokokis probably spoke a Western Abenaki dialect. Day (1965) reported the meaning of the term Sokoki, which is 'people broken off'. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the patentee of the Province of Maine stated (1658) that Bashaba (chief of the Penobscots) had many enemies, including Sockhigones to the West and Southwest. These Sockhigones were undoubtedly Sokokis (Siebert 1973) who had separated from the remainder of the nation and moved to the upper Connecticut River.

Most other known bands can be ruled out on the basis of their geographical position, or known samples of their language. Penacook has been considered a probable candidate for the origin of the WAb language found at Odanak in modern times. Other bands located further west such as the Mahicans, and those located along the Connecticut river valley in general can probably be ruled out as the source of this speech sample.

The entries marked with a "P" do not represent a sample of Penobscot. There are 33 entries that correspond to EAB. There are 8 entries that are WAb terms. Fifteen entries could be found neither in EAB nor in WAb lexicons. One entry was located in Mathevet's Lexicon.

Some additional evidence includes the word *sitAan* 'selt' which corresponds to the WAb word for salt and differs from that of Penobscot or Mathevet's Loup. The word 'heart' is given as *nered^a^gan*, an Abenaki term differing from the one given in the list of Loup words. The word 'sister' is rendered *niseemis*, which matches the WAb term and also differs from Penobscot, Rasles' Abenaki and Mathevet's Loup, although the Loup word in Mathevet is a close cognate. The word given for blood is *nek7I*, which is not Abenaki. Also, *Hyh^zsk* is given for 'birch bark canoe'. This is a WAb term also given in the list of Loup words. There are six EAB kinship terms. Phonemically, the *e* is found throughout. For example, *nelauungan* is given instead of the WAb *nelauungan*. The three sentences all translate easily into Penobscot, and would be understood by Penobscot speakers.

The material presented supports the notion that this is an EAb language. The presence of WAB vocabulary along with two or three forms not found in the other EAB languages, suggest that this language may have represented a speech community on the western fringe of the EAB group. Also, it should be noted, that the forms cited that represent EAB more often are closer to forms in Rasles lexicon than in modern Penobscot.

The Pigwacket band was located between the Penacook and the Androscoggin. We know that they were politically allied with the Abenakis of Maine. Their presence at Odanak for a period of seven years corresponds to the first seven years of Aubery's ministry there. Other scholars, including Siebert, Day, and Goddard have discussed the possibility that this list of words might represent the Pigwacket dialect. The systematic analysis of the vocabulary, phonemes, and syntax suggest an Eastern Abenaki language that is geographically between the Androscoggin dialect of EAB and WAB. Thus, Pigwacket is the most logical choice for the speech community represented by this small vocabulary list.

Finally, I think that the association of the "L" and "F" words is such a close one, that it leads me to believe that the two sets of sample are closely related dialects, and thus, perhaps the Sokokis were broken off from the Pigwacket band. The two samples are small, and only three corresponding entries could be found. The first shows a contrast in vocabulary: The "F" sample has *nered^a^gan* which is an EAB term for heart; but *nethe* is given in the "L" sample and is not an Abenaki word, but is found in Mathevet's Loup. This may be a borrowing from the Nipmuck since the Sokokis were in close association with the Nipmuck. The second term is *skoak^th^an* 'sausage' (soup or stew) is found in both samples. The only difference between the two entries is that one sample is given in the singular, and the other in the plural. I have not found this word elsewhere. The third term *tu* *ke / *ke / *ke* is given for 'bois manche de hamecon, perche de ligne, hanecon' (fish hook) is nearly the same in both samples and is an Abenaki word. In Penobscot, this term has a different meaning, 'net sinker'. Rasles gives the same translation 'hamacon' as found in the two Aubery samples. Both samples contain a mixture of EAB and WAB vocabulary. The "L" sample has 46 percent EAB and the "F" has 60 percent EAB. The "L" has 34 percent WAB but the "F" has only 10 percent WAB. Since dialects usually blend into one another, thus forming a space continuum (where languages are related), the samples indicate that the "F" forms represent an EAB
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dialect with a minimum of WAb overlap.

Admittedly, there are problems preventing a firm resolution of the identity of the dialects marked in Aubery. One problem is that one would expect to find many of the forms marked "P" in the Aroosagunticook dialect. It thus seems odd that Aubrey distinguished these as being from another dialect. Another problem is that the "L" list may be a mixture of Sokoki with Nipmuck, although the data suggests that this is mostly an EAb dialect. Nevertheless I believe that it is reasonable to hypothesize that these are samples of Sokoki and Pigwacket and further, that they are actually closely related dialects of EAb. My conclusion does not solve the problem of the origins of WAb, but it may eliminate some of the candidates.¹

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Requesting and Rejecting in Algonquin: Notes on a Conversation

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Introduction
The analysis we develop in this paper\(^1\) began with some relatively casual observations on how people accomplish the activities of making requests and rejecting requests in two Algonquin communities: Winneway and Pikogan. Beginning with these initial categories we sought to discover structural features of request and rejection deliveries which might underlie them. The analytical work did not consist of developing a technical version of the lay characterizations with which we began. The initial categories we started with interested us in the data, but our analysis of the materials led us to considerations which we could not have entertained in the pre-analysis stage. If our analysis is to have any merit, we believe that the issues which it leads us to consider ought to be of interest beyond the domains of requesting and rejecting.

It seems that social interaction is, to a large extent, verbal interaction, and we believe that orderly features of talk can be located and described — not merely linguistic features but interactional features.

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