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Variations in style in Eastern Abenaki narratives

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1. Introduction

Eastern Abenaki was once spoken by the native people of central and western Maine, but is now extinct. Most collection of language took place by missionaries and travelers in the era before professional anthropological linguistics and consists of word lists, brief collections of sentences or dictated traditional legends. As a result, knowledge of ordinary conversational Eastern Abenaki depends on a very small corpus. A discourse analysis of two texts collected by different people at different times by different collectors may yield a better understanding of narrative styles that are formal, in the case of a traditional narrative, or informal, as in the case of a statement of opinion or argument.

The two narrative samples used for this study represent different genres. One, a traditional tale told by a raconteur to anthropologist Frank Speck in the early twentieth century represents the traditional literature genre. The second, told by one of the remaining speakers in the middle of the twentieth century to a linguistic student from Harvard represents a genre of argument. For the purposes of this paper, only the first few pages of the material are reproduced here (due to their length) but it is enough of a sample to determine essential differences in the narrative style. The first text I shall refer to as A is the story of Wolverine collected by Frank Speck and located in his papers housed at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The second text I shall call B was collected by Eugene Gordon and deposited in the American Philosophical Society in the early 1960s. Unfortunately, the society has no provenience for the material. It appears, however, that Gordon may have been a student at Harvard when he did this work.

2. The texts

Text A

Frank G. Speck Alnksu ‘Wolverine’ (Line 1 original transcription, line 2 my analysis, line 3 English translation). Frank G. Speck papers, American Philosophical Society Collections.

1. *Wigit ndatlokan* |

   |wz|wiket  AI redupl. conj. 3psg ‘as he lives continuously’ |
   nrtztlo|hkzkan AN ‘my traditional story’ |
Here lives my story.

2. *Inksu naga nizwidjil medjimi kiwite.*

\textit{alz|kso AN} ‘wolverine\textsuperscript{`}\textit{nz~kz pc.}\textsuperscript{`}\textit{and}’\textit{ni|srwrcil AN} obv.sg.’his spouse\textsuperscript{`}\textit{meci~mi pc.} ‘always’\textit{|ki|witte* pc.} kiwi + emph. –tte ‘away [* should be} \textit{kiwi|hlzt.} AI 3pl. conj ‘When they were going about’\textsuperscript{']}

Wolverine and his wife were always going about.

3. *malam salaki wunodown alemussal mede u gi kelidjil naga made kwezn.*

\textit{|mz~lam pc.’at last’|sala|hki pc.} ‘at one time’\textit{|wrno~tawzn TA 3p sg. ind. def.} ‘he heard him’\textit{|a|lrmossal AN} obv.’dog\textsuperscript{`}\textit{mete-wr~kihkricil prev.} ‘make noise’ AI c.conj. ‘he was barking’ \textit{|nz~kz pc.} ‘and’\textit{|mate|hjesrn AI m.reflex. ind.def.} ‘he made himself heard’\textsuperscript{’}

At last he heard a dog barking and howling.

4. *gamete mulhstawn alemussal nedudji.*

\textit{|ka|matte pc. + emph. encl.} ‘very, very’\textit{|mzlhzsrtawzn TA Ind. def. ‘He was surprised’|a|lrmossal AN} obv.

He was very surprised at the dog.

5. *kwilustaw nt dn alagwi mede kwezn.*

\textit{|jilawa|hstawzhztit TA conj.3p-3p obv.} ‘as they searched for him’\textit{|alaji- prev.’ in that direction, that way,’ mate|hjesrn AI m.reflex. ind. def.} ‘he made himself heard’\textsuperscript{’}

Then he started to look for him (the one who made the noise).

5. *nedudji mdjett agwilachn amlm elbit el kwel t unami tun pemi pkwakthzit nembedjilt.*

\textit{|atoci pc.} ‘at that time’\textit{| mzcetajihlacrn AI 3p ind.def. ‘he started to go’|alrmi- prev.} ‘steadily’\textit{ e|lzpit AI c. conj ‘as he looked’|wrna|mihton IT Class 2 Ind. def. ‘he saw it’| tzn pc.} ‘where’\textit{| prmi- pren.} ‘along’\textit{|pjzhz|wihkrsit AN pl. obv.} ‘Balsam fir trees’\textit{|nemrpe|trcilit AI 3p obv. conj. redupl. ‘He arrived across or crosswise’}\textsuperscript{’}

At last, looking as he went, he saw a cross opening in the woods.
6. *ibitde wudjnasla nemitingwi*

*i πitte pc. emph. encl. ‘only, just, merely’| wr-cikkznrsal INAN 1p. poss ‘his empty house’| nemitrnz| ji II m. reflex. conj. ‘it appeared in the direction ahead’*

Only an abandoned camp ground appeared there.

7. *nemina alemus umdekwezin.*

| ni pc. ‘then’| mi-na pc. ‘again’| a| lrmoss AN ‘the dog’| mate| hjesrn AI Ind. Def. ‘he howled’|

Then again the dog howled.

8. *elbit unamitun wigwomsis etekwaka wikwakthzik.*

*e~lzpit AI c. conj. ‘as he looked’| wrna| mhton TI class 2 ‘he saw it’| wi| krwzmsis INAN DN dim ‘(his) little house’| e~htek II. c. conj. ‘where it was located’| taka| ki pc. ‘so far’| wi|hja|hjihkek II conj. ‘It was at the edge of the woods.’*

Looking, he saw a little wigwam set at the far end of the opening.

9. *udlitn nalemus za Khinoidetn*

| wrte| lhlzt AI 3p. conj. ‘he went there’| na AN demonstrative.pc. ‘that one’| a| lrmoss AN ‘dog’| kina| witte pc. + emph. encl. (-itte) ‘at regular intervals.’|

That dog went in and out of there.

10. *manitte ulidehzu ebegwa sizikkwezu.*

| ma| nrnitte pc. emph.encl. (-itte) ‘so, as if’| wrli| trhzso AI m. reflex. ‘he is glad’| e~pejac pc. ‘even so that, yet’| sisi| kjeso AI reflex. ‘he whines’|

Then he was so glad that on account of it, he whined.

11. *manitte bidigete wigwomsisk naga mina uzizikkwezin nem almi wigwomsis.*

| ma| nrnitte pc. emph. encl. (-itte) ‘so, as if’| pi~tikete AI conj. ‘he went into a dwelling’| wi| krwzmsis INAN DN dim. ‘(his) little house’| nz~kz pc. ‘and’| mi-na pc. ‘again’| wrsisi| kkjesrn AI ind. def. ‘He whined’| nr~mz pc. ‘there’| alz| mi pc. ‘inside’| wi| krwzmsis INAN DN dim. ‘(his) little
house’|  
Then he entered the little wigwam and again he whined, when inside the little wigwam.

12. nalnksu ubidigetn wigwomsis k unamih awssizal.

Na AN demonstrative pc. ‘that’| alz| kso AN ‘wolverine’| wrpitigetn AI ind. def. ‘he went inside’| wi| krwzmsis INAN DN dim. ‘(his) little house’| wrne| mihzk TA ind. def. 3p. ‘when he saw him’| a| wzssisal AN dim obv. ‘little child’|  
That Wolverine went in the little wigwam where he saw a baby.

13. sidabizu tkin ganuk abadessik neg nkesnuk meji sisuk megiyu kedemgi awassis.

sihtrw ‘cut rawhide strips’ pi| si- pren. ‘into’ tki| nzkanok INAN loc ‘on the cradleboard’| zpa| tehsek AI reflex conj. ‘he leans against something’| nrkz| nkehsrnok INAN loc. ‘on an old rotting log’| mrsi- pren. ‘all, every’| wsi- srj INAN DN ‘his face’| me| kihle AI ‘he is covered with scabs’| krtrmki- pren. ‘pitiful’| a| wzssis AN dim ‘little child.’|  
He was lashed in a cradle board, leaning on a moss covered log with his face all scabby, poor child.

14. edlainegalossa.

rtal- prev. ‘there, in that place or time’| neka| tzlossa AI pret. Ind. Def. ‘he was abandoned’|  
He was abandoned there.

15. Gamto alnksu ugedemegidehmal.

ka| mzte pc. + encl. (te) ‘very much’| alz| kso AN ‘wolverine’| wrkrtrmzki| trhzmal TI 3-3p ‘he pitied him.’|  
Very Wolverine he felt pity.


Ni pc. ‘then’ ato| ci pc. ‘at that time’| Wrwi| hjrnzt TA 3-3 conj. prox. obv. ‘he took him’|  
Then he took him.
17. kii alemus ulidehasu.

|kki| interj. of exclamation| a| lrmos| AN ‘dog.’| wrli| trhzso| AI m. reflex. ‘He is glad’.|

Wow! That dog was glad.

18. Nalnksu nomdjephn awsissal.

alz| kso AN ‘wolverine’| wrmz| cephzn TA indic. Def. 3-3 ‘he took him away’| a| wzssisal| AN dim obv. ‘little child.’|

Wolverine took away the baby.

‘Here lives my story; Wolverine and his wife were always going about. At last he heard a noise of a dog barking and howling. He was very surprised at the dog when he stopped and listened from what direction the noise and howling came. Then he started to look for him. At last, looking as he went, he saw a cross opening in the woods. When he came there he could see only an abandoned camp ground. Then again the dog howled. Looking, he saw a little wigwam set at the far end of the opening. He went there and that dog came out. Then he [the dog] was so glad that on account of it he whined. Then he entered the little wigwam. When inside the little wigwam that Wolverine went in. In the little wigwam he saw a baby lasted in cradle board leaning on a moss covered log. His face was all scabby. The poor child was abandoned there. Wolverine felt much pity. Then he took him. Boy! That dog was glad. Wolverine took away the baby.’

Text B

Eugene Gordons Penobscot Record. American Philosophical Society Collections.

1. Kamac nrmo|hsrcin elakek nrtalohkewakan.

pc. ka| mzc very much| nrmo|hszcin TI class3 conj. ‘I loved it’| e| leke II c.conj. ‘as it happens’| nrtalo-hkewzkan INAN ‘my work’| .

I liked my work very much.

2. weli kenossa kamac ejec kowatocit yok wrpi kicik ataina otintestre moyokona kiyona krtrlatewewanrrna.

wr~likrnossa II pret. ind. def. ‘it has been good’| ka| mzc pc. ‘very’| ejelc prev. try-kowatocit c. conj.| i~yok pc.+ prior.encl.’These were the ones’| wzpiki| cik AI part. White-faced people| krtayin AI 3pl. ind. Def. they remain|Eng. Interest| kr~yona 1p pl. pron. incl.
Our speech.

It is good that white-faced people have taken an interest in our language.

3. kamac milakekat mosahk awen nrkrmitahatamohkic.

|very much pc.|milrke|kat II conj. ‘it is mixed, variable’|mo~sahk pc.+ encl. (-ahk deictic) ‘does not’|a~wen pron. ‘anyone’|nrkrmi~trhztamohkic TI class 3 neg. conj. ‘they (don’t) easily regard it’|

Our language is very difficult, complex, no one can easily learn it.

4. tajeckoaten nakasipi okisialiaton trha|la wrnawat elatawemrkapan.

|krtajeckzwatrn TI conj.incl. we try it|nz~kasipi pc. prior neg. pron of na (AN) the former (lost or missing)|wrki~sryalryaton OTI 1pl. ‘We are able to do it’|ta|hrlaw pc. as, like, as though|wrn AN deictic pc. ‘the very one’owa this one|elatawe|mrkapan AI 1pl. c. conj. pret. ‘the way we used to.’

We try but futilely are unable to talk that same language as we used to.

5. milikrnel mselrtol kamac wrniatajil krlossawakanal anrta crwitepato koniatenena.

|mili|krnel II pl. ‘they are variable, different’|mse~lrt II ‘it is a lot’|ka|mzc pc. very much|wenihatajil TI 1pl. c. conj. ‘when we lost them’|krlo|srwzkanal INAN pl. ‘words’|aneta pc. ‘not’|krwa|nihatenenena TI 1-3 ind.def. excl. we lost them|

We have lost very many of our words; we should not have lost them.

6. kenokasje iketacelihto|nena kenihe|nrnawak elimate|hlatit tahapa|nihjrm.

|ke~nokasje pc. + encl. ‘but nevertheless, although’|ihkrtacelihto|nena TA incl. 1pl.-3p.pl. ind. Def... ‘We try to defend and help’|krni|cznawak ADN pl. ‘all our children’|ali~mace|hlatit AI reflex. 3pl. prox. c. conj. ‘as they go’|a~htz pc. ‘not’|?

We are unable to help our children from the way they are going.

7. krihihrnawak alimacehla |tikje ki srpa krtrelatewe|wakana kisikrlrne|mrnena.
We have been unable to hold onto our language for our children.

‘I like my work very much. It is good that white-faced people have taken an interest in our language. Our language is very difficult, complex; no one can easily learn it. And (we) try but are unable to talk the same way as we used to. We talk differently now. We have lost very many of our words. We should not have lost them. We can’t help the way our children go, for we have been unable to hold onto our language.’

3. Analysis

Text A presents the problem that a child is abandoned by parents. The problem is solved when the child is rescued and raised by Wolverine (later in the story he returns to avenge his abuse). As a type of narrative this is a traditional story repeated every generation by storytellers. Traditional stories in Eastern Abenaki tend to be about spiritual matters. Although the surface meaning relates to an abandoned child and his search for his parents and vengeance, the deeper meaning relates to family origins and religious beliefs. The wolverine represents, on one level the head of a family, and on another level a man with supernatural powers.

In traditional Abenaki legends, heroes or protagonists are often raised by magicians or wizards and are themselves endowed with magical powers. Leadership in this culture involves wisdom and strength but also above-average spirituality. The sample provided relates only that Wolverine and his spouse pay attention to the sound of the dog and follow through in investigating the dog’s message. They show compassion and rescue the abandoned child. In this, the audience knows immediately that this child is special, as he has been rescued and will be raised by someone with great spiritual abilities.

The problem in text B as the narrator opines, is that his native language is being lost. He offers a solution (although it is not resolved in the narrative) that the community must get together and talk about it, and consider letting ‘white people’ help. But more importantly he argues, the community must help itself. The narration represents an argument on a subject about which the narrator feels passionately. The argument is made not to other community members, however, but to an outsider, in this case Eugene Gordon, who has expressed an interest in the language.

The argument genre in Abenaki culture is well documented. Abenaki men were known for their excellent rhetorical skills, often giving speeches that would go on for hours. Here, a Native speaker has been visited by a Harvard graduate student who wants to know more about the language. Rather than answering a series of questions or translating a series of sentences, the speaker chooses to talk about his language and what
it means to him. He is greatly concerned about its loss, and the first part of his narrative (provided here) is an impassioned speech on the topic. The elements of discourse in these two samples illustrate differences in the two genres in Eastern Abenaki. These elements include repetition, tense and mode, the use of particles, word order and sentence structure, gender and obviation.

In text A ‘wolverine,’ ‘dog,’ ‘making noise,’ ‘little house’ and ‘baby’ are all terms repeated in the story. On one level the story is a historical tale that addresses the issue of child abandonment. The wolverine is the hero of the story, but he represents a spiritual man (probably the head of a clan) as is the case in many traditional Eastern Abenaki tales. In text B the synonyms for language, speech and words are used to emphasize the purpose of the narrator. Other repeated terms include ‘our children, lose and very much.’ This text is an impassioned argument lamenting the loss of the native tongue and calling for some action to save it. As it is being told to a white man, the white people are addressed as well.

3.1. Orders, Tenses and Modes

Text A begins with the verbs in conjunct order. In a main clause, conjunct verbs in narrative contexts mark the discourse as a traditional narrative, not a report of the narrator’s direct experience (Dahlstrom 2003). This is reinforced by the subject of the first sentence which is a noun that can only be translated as ‘my traditional story.’ Note that in this sentence, the verb precedes the subject, and the verb is intransitive. In Penobscot, as in other Algonquian languages, an intransitive verb can have an object in the sentence. The second sentence establishes the scene of the story; the wolverine and his spouse are usually walking about (in the woods). The verb expresses an unspecified past time, thus the conjunct order is used. (kiwite may be a mistake by the speaker or the transcriber—it is clear from the translation that kiwihlzt is meant.) In the next sentence, the speaker switches to the definite mode (affirmative). The definite mode brings the audience and narrator into the story, and establishes it as a true event that really happened. ‘At last he heard a dog barking and growling.’ This pattern of using the conjunct and indicative definite continues throughout most of the narrative.

Text B begins with a declaration by the narrator that he loves his work. He expresses this idea using the conjunct and changed conjunct because he is talking about work he has completed—the conjunct can be used to express the simple past. He then switches in the next sentence to a new topic, using the indicative indefinite preterit to compliment his interviewer by declaring that ‘it has been good that white people have taken an interest in saving the Eastern Abenaki language.’ In the next sentence, he uses the conjunct and negative conjunct tenses to warn that the language is complex and very difficult to learn. In the next sentence he uses the prioritive to talk about the words that have been lost, and the changed conjunct preterit to mourn that loss. In sentences five, six and seven he uses the definite mode to affirm that his community has truly tried to help their children learn the language, but they have been unable to help their children (from speaking English), and that they have been unable to hold onto their language (as a community) so that their children will learn it.
3.2 Use of particles

The Eastern Abenaki language uses particles, pronouns and preverbs as modifiers. The narrator of text A uses numerous deictic particles, nearly every sentence has one or two; one even has five. Most of the particles are connectives that mark a change in scene and that refer to time for example: ‘at last, at one time, at that time, then, again, at regular intervals.’ Other connective particles signal a shift in the narrative in relation to place: ‘where, so far, there, inside.’ The remaining particles are particles of emphasis such as ‘very much, so, or only’; there is one use of the conjunction ‘and’ four preverbs of direction or quality modify verbs: ‘in that direction, steadily, along, into’; and two prenouns modify nouns: ‘all or every, and pitiful.’

Text B uses particles of emphasis: ‘very, very much,’ and demonstratives such as ‘these, the very one, this one.’ There are three negative particles: ‘don’t, prior or lost, and not.’ One connective is used by the speaker: ‘nevertheless.’ I think it is in the use of particles where we see the greatest difference in the style of the two texts. The first includes a greater use of time and place connectives that can be used by a narrator to mark changes in the scene of his story. One would expect this of traditional literature that requires some markers that can serve as clues to memory as well as shifting the attention of the listener to different times, places and actions in the story. However, text B uses emphatic enclitics and negative particles to emphasize the points the speaker is trying to make about a somewhat negative subject: the loss of a language. The use of emphatic enclitics (suffixes on particles) marks the passion or importance the speaker lends to the topic of the text.

This use of particles as a narrative device in traditional literature is not unique to Algonquian languages. Dell Hymes (1996) noted that storytellers use particles in the traditional literature of Zuni, a southwestern language unrelated to Algonquian. He finds patterns in the text where at certain points, the word for ‘meanwhile’ marks units of scene change; although this is not the exclusive way the speaker marks a change of scene in the story.

3.3 Word order/sentence structure

Word order in Eastern Abenaki sentences is very diverse. A sentence can consist of a single intransitive verb, a verb first and a noun second, or just the opposite. Transitive verbs can be either followed by or preceded by a noun or a verb. Because the person markers (I, you, he, we, and they) are attached to the verb as prefixes, they do not need to be added as pronouns; yet they can be, usually for emphasis. Particles can begin a sentence, come between nouns or nouns and verbs or between two verbs. They may also appear next to other particles. Text A uses more particles and begins quite a few sentences with particles as a means of setting a scene in time or place. Text B uses particles more often as a means of emphasis of the importance of particular statements in the argument. In this small sample, no significantly different patterns in syntax could be found.
3.4 Gender

In Algonquian languages gender is marked (animate/inanimate) in both nouns and verbs. Text A uses many more animate nouns and verbs than text B. The topic of the first text deals with animals, a baby and a dog. However, the second text uses more inanimate verbs because the speaker is referring more to processes of language learning and less than to animate beings. Note the difference in animacy between language and words. The difference has semantic importance, animacy being associated with more intimate articles of human culture.

In the English sense of gender, note that while the translator uses the English male pronoun ‘he’ for the wolverine and dog, no such designation is required by the grammar in the story. The term translated as ‘wife’ more accurately would be translated ‘spouse’ as there is no specific term for wife or husband in Eastern Abenaki. The story could just as easily be translated with female protagonists. No doubt the gender of the storyteller and transcriber comes into play here. In Eastern Abenaki, if a speaker wants to mark an animate noun as specifically female, they may add the suffix –skwes. Otherwise, the nouns can be interpreted as either gender.

3.5 Obviation

A grammatical feature found in Algonquian languages is known as obviation, in which one third-person referent (singular or plural) is assigned the unmarked grammatical form proximate, and any and all other third-person referents are assigned the marked obviative form. Skjon (2001) reported on point-of-view and obviation in Fox, another Algonquian language. Any number of Algonquianists have argued that obviation in formal narratives refers to point-of-view (Goddard 1984 Russell 1996). Skjon found that that was not the case in Fox. Instead, he found that proximate assignment to characters in a narrative was marked also by other devices such as spatial deictic terms, verbs, and summary descriptions, and so forth. The concept of point-of-view in literary analysis is actually a derivative of these devices as a whole. In Text A we do not find point-of-view narrated through the main character’s (Alzkso) mind but rather it is told from the perspective of the narrator, who claims knowledge of the events he is describing. He can relate the mental state of the main character, as in the case when he says that Alzkso was surprised by the noise of the dog, or that he ‘took pity’ on the little child. So this text is told through the narrator’s point of view from the outside of the minds of the characters in the story. The narrator relates the main character (Alzkso) in every case as the proximate actor, whereas he uses obviation to mark other occurring third persons including the spouse (second subject of the sentence), the dog (object of the sentence), and the child (He saw him, he took him).

This use of obviative is more common in the traditional narrative than in text B. In text B, the narrator is the main character of the speech, in a sense, and his beliefs, feelings and opinions are unmarked as proximate. The only use of obviative occurs when the narrator uses the animate nouns ‘our speech’ and ‘our language’ as objects of the verb
marking them obviative. The obviative occurs quite often in Text A (wolverine, wife, dog, baby occurring in the same sentence). However, in Text B we find the obviative used only in reference to ‘our language, speech’, because the Eastern Abenaki word for language is animate and so is the word for white people in sentence two, and in sentence seven, language and children, both appear. On the other hand, ‘words’ is an inanimate noun so the obviative is not needed. Thomason (1995) has reported that formal and informal narratives in Algonquian languages exploit two different paradigms for the assignment of proximate and obviative categories in Fox. Our data for Eastern Abenaki is not extensive enough at the present time to determine if there are different obviation paradigms in different narrative styles, or if some other explanation for the dearth of obviation in ordinary conversation is required.

4. Conclusion

While both brief text samples use similar mechanisms to tell their story: use of repetition, variable word order, use of conjunct and definite modes to express simple past and true statements, it is clear that the two texts do represent different styles of discourse. The greatest difference in the two texts is in the number and type of particles used by each speaker. Many more connectives of time and place occur in the traditional story style, while particles of negation and emphasis mark the style of the argument or speech. I found speaking errors in both texts, though only in text B did I find a sample of code-switching to English. Some of the errors may be assigned to the transcriber who interpreted the speech. As I do not have access to the recording as yet, I have not had an opportunity to investigate the accuracy of the transcription. But on the whole, the transcription is quite sound, as you can see by the interlinear translation I have provided.

As this is a preliminary analysis, and only a portion of the two texts are represented here, more extensive conclusions must await further work.

KEY to abbreviations:
Pc.: Particle
TI: Transitive inanimate verb
TA: Transitive animate verb
AI: Animate intransitive verb
II: Inanimate intransitive verb
Conj.: Conjunct mode,
Cc. conj: Changed conjunct (initial vowel change)
Ind. Def.: indicative definite mode (affirmative)
Obv.: Obviative (marks 3rd person in discourse)
AN: Animate noun or pronoun
INAN: Inanimate noun or pronoun
D: Dependent (requires person prefix.)
Prev.: Preverb (adverbial prefix)
Pren.: Prenoun (adjectival prefix)
Pron.: Pronoun
Encl.: Enclitic suffix
Emph.: Emphatic
Redupl.: Reduplicated
P: Person,
Pl. plural
Part.: Participle
Pret.: Preterite
Poss.: Possessive
Prior.: Prioritive
Prox.: Proximate
Incl.: Inclusive
Excl.: Exclusive
Dim.: Diminutive
M. reflex.: Middle reflexive
Person prefixes: 1 nr- 2 kr-, 3 wr

Notes

1. The language is no longer spoken in the home though efforts to teach it in the school are on-going.

2. Authorities for Algonquian grammar include Leonard Bloomfield (1946), Ives Goddard (1967) and for Eastern Abenaki in particular, Paul Voorhis and Dr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr. (1941) (see bibliography). The phonemic orthography used here follows Siebert.

References


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