The Passamaquoddy "Witchcraft Tales" of Newell S. Francis

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Abstract. In 1899, John Dyneley Prince recorded six brief texts in Passamaquoddy, an Eastern Algonquian language, from Newell S. Francis of Pleasant Point, Maine. Prince called the texts "witchcraft tales," since all of them deal with individuals or beings with extraordinary power: five concern the activities of shamans, while the sixth describes an encounter with a cannibal giant. This paper presents retranscriptions and analyses of these texts, summarizes the available information about their author, and documents the cultural context of the tales. Prince also collected translations of three of the texts into Penobscot, another Eastern Algonquian language of Maine. Retranscriptions and analyses of these Penobscot texts are presented in an appendix.

1. Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, Bar Harbor, Maine, was a popular destination not only for summer tourists, but also for Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians from other parts of the state and Maliseets from New Brunswick, who would come to sell baskets or to find other employment among the summer visitors. In 1899, one of these summer people was John Dyneley Prince (1868–1945), then Professor of Semitic Languages at New York University, but already a leading student of the northeastern Algonquian languages as well.[1]

Prince had been coming to Bar Harbor since 1887 to work with Passamaquoddy and Penobscot consultants (Prince 1888:311; Leland and Prince 1902:21), but this time he had brought with him the latest in high-tech equipment: a wax-cylinder phonograph. Nine years earlier, in April, 1890, Jesse Walter Fewkes of the Bureau of American Ethnology had made the first sound recordings of any Native American language at Calais, Me., using the newly available phonograph to record vocabulary, songs, and texts in Passamaquoddy (Fewkes 1890; Brady *et al.* 1984:3). Prince was now prepared to make recordings of his own.

Prince engaged Newell S. Francis, who had come to Bar Harbor from the Passamaquoddy reservation at Pleasant Point, near Eastport, Me., to try out the new apparatus. At Prince's

request, Francis recorded six short texts in the Passamaquoddy language, all of them dealing with what, for Prince, were supernatural subjects: five concern shamanistic activity, while the sixth describes an encounter with a cannibal giant. In November, Prince reported on his work with Francis at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society. His transcriptions and analyses of the texts were published in the Society's *Proceedings* in the following year, under the title "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales" (Prince 1900).

The recording times that could be achieved with the wax-cylinder technology of the 1890's were short: early models employing four-inch cylinders could record only three to four minutes of material at a time, while the more recently introduced models with six-inch cylinders pushed this limit only to about nine minutes (Kinkade and Mattina 1996:255). Prince does not explicitly note what type of machine he used, but no system available to him would have permitted Francis to speak for more than a few minutes before Prince would have had to change cylinders. The texts that Francis recorded are accordingly brief, consisting of only a few lines each. They are therefore not really tales as such, but fragments or summaries of tales.

The texts are nonetheless of continuing interest, both for their language and for their content. First, they provide a window on the state of the Passamaquoddy language at an early stage in a series of sound changes that have since resulted in significant shifts in the pronunciation of many words. They are also important documents from an ethnographic point of view. At the end of the nineteenth century, English was still a foreign language for most speakers of Passamaquoddy. Yet much of the material collected from Passamaquoddy sources in the nineteenth century consists of English versions of traditional narratives, typically in the form of retellings by non-Indians with little understanding of the native language of their consultants. Newell Francis's texts, in contrast, provide an authoritative Passamaquoddy account of Passamaquoddy shamanism.

Many of the manuscripts that Prince collected, including most of his Passamaquoddy material, were destroyed in a fire in 1911 (Prince 1921:2). It seems likely that the sound recordings that Newell Francis had made were lost as well, although Prince does not explicitly mention them in his published account of the fire. Fortunately, however, Prince's published transcriptions, though not always easy to interpret, are nonetheless sufficiently accurate that Francis's pronunciation can for the most part be determined with confidence. Indeed, Prince noted in his report that his consultant had spoken into the phonograph "with great distinctness" as he recorded the texts, making it possible for Prince to reproduce them "with much greater phonetic exactness" than he was usually able to achieve (Prince 1900:181).

Prince's published paper includes not only Francis's Passamaquoddy texts, but translations of two of these into Penobscot, an Eastern Abenaki dialect then spoken on the Penobscot reservation at Indian Island, Me., and in several other communities along the Penobscot River. Penobscot, like Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, is an Eastern Algonquian language; but it is more closely related to Western Abenaki, spoken today at Odanak (St. Francis), Québec.

Prince does not state his source for these Penobscot translations. It is possible that he obtained them from Newell Francis himself, since other evidence suggests that Francis could speak at least some Penobscot, a point to which I return below. Since Prince had been working with a variety of consultants for several years, however, it seems more likely that he obtained this material from a speaker whose primary language was Penobscot.

In fact, it seems clear that Prince made regular use of the material he had obtained from Francis in working with other consultants on their respective languages. Prince 1901, a comparative study of Western Abenaki, includes not only the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot versions of one text from Prince 1900 (in a somewhat different notation), but a Western Abenaki translation as well (p. 362). Prince 1902, a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Penobscot and Western Abenaki, presents translations of still another text from Francis into these

two languages (p. 32), this time without including the Passamaquoddy original. The appearance of new translations in this sequence of publications suggests that Prince was using the material he had collected from Francis in his work with a series of consultants.

Not all of Prince's fieldwork during this period was carried out at Bar Harbor. In particular, he indicates in his 1902 paper that his Western Abenaki data were "the result of several years of study of that language in Canada and northern New York" (p. 18).[2] After his first season of work in Bar Harbor, he had written that the Abenakis "have rarely, if ever, any intercourse with the remaining Wabanaki," or northeastern Algonquian peoples, including the Micmac, the Maliseet, the Passamaquoddy, and the Penobscot (Prince 1888:310). This description is surely exaggerated, since other sources indicate that the Canadian Abenakis were by no means so isolated; but Prince's remark does suggest that Western Abenaki speakers did not often visit Bar Harbor. Thus his Western Abenaki translations of two of Newell Francis's texts were presumably collected elsewhere. Again there is reason to conclude that Prince's field work included eliciting translations of the Francis material.

No account of Prince's work with these texts would be complete without mention of his own efforts at translation, which led to the publication of versions of Newell Francis's texts in English verse. Prince's interest in "Indian languages and lore" was initially inspired by a reading of Charles Godfrey Leland's *Algonquin Legends of New England* (1884), a collection of traditional Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot tales, retold in English (Leland and Prince 1902:21). In an effort to bring this material to the attention of the general reader, Leland and Prince prepared metrical versions of many of these tales, together with verse translations of some of the texts that Prince had collected, which they published in a volume entitled *Kulóskap the Master And Other Algonkin Poems* (1902). (Leland and Prince's "Kulóskap" is *Kŏluskàp*, the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy form of the name of the culture hero of the region.)

As part of his contribution to this volume, Prince prepared poetic renderings of the six texts that Francis had recorded for him, under the title "Six Short Tales of Witchcraft" (Leland and Prince 1902:253–5). Despite his collaborator's romantic view that "the Indian sagas, or legends, or traditions were, in fact, all songs" (Leland and Prince 1902:11), Prince was surely aware that the tales (or fragments of tales) that he had collected from Francis were nothing of the kind. Indeed, while many traditional Passamaquoddy narratives include songs sung by one or another character, there is no evidence that any of these tales were ever cast as a whole in verse before Leland and Prince began their work together.

The Passamaquoddy texts that Newell Francis recorded in 1899 are given below both as Prince initially published them and in a phonemic transcription that I have prepared with the assistance of David A. Francis, Sr., of Pleasant Point. David Francis, born in 1917, is widely recognized in the Passamaquoddy community as an expert speaker of the language. There is no close family connection, however, between Newell Francis and David Francis.

In editing the texts, I have been guided in large part by David Francis's interpretations of the Passamaquoddy material. Newell Francis's speech differed in certain respects, however, from that of any contemporary speaker of Passamaquoddy. For this reason, I have also consulted a variety of nineteenth century sources on the language. The Passamaquoddy field notes of Albert S. Gatschet, three notebooks of material collected between 1889 and 1899 (and now in the collection of the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian), have proven particularly useful in this respect. I cite these here as G, by notebook and page number.

The last known speaker of Penobscot is reported to have died in 1993, and there are only a handful of elderly speakers of Western Abenaki at Odanak today (Mithun 1999:329). Thus the Penobscot and Western Abenaki versions of Newell Francis's texts continue to be of linguistic interest, even though they are translations of Passamaquoddy originals. The Penobscot translations are presented and analyzed in an appendix to the present paper. I have not included

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the two corresponding Western Abenaki translations, however, since the phonemic interpretation of parts of this material remains in doubt. My retranscriptions of the Penobscot texts are based primarily on unpublished work by Frank T. Siebert, Jr., notably his typescript *Penobscot Dictionary* (1996), cited here as PD, by page number.[3]

Little information is available concerning Newell S. Francis, the author of the texts that concern us here. I summarize what I have been able to learn in section 2. Some of the differences between nineteenth-century Passamaquoddy and the contemporary language, as well as the orthography that I employ here for Passamaquoddy, are described in section 3. The cultural background of the tales that Newell Francis's texts represent is discussed in section 4, while the texts themselves are given in section 5. Notes on several items in the texts that merit special attention will be found in section 6.

2. The author of the texts

Prince provides little information about Newell S. Francis in his initial report on their work together, beyond noting that Francis was a member of the Passamaquoddy tribe and that, at the time of the report, he was "resident with his people, numbering some 500 to 600 souls in all, on their reservation at Pleasant Point, Me." (Prince 1900:181).[4] A later publication makes it clear, however, that Prince continued to work with Francis for some time, probably during subsequent trips to Bar Harbor, and ultimately obtained the texts of several additional stories from him, including some that Francis had learned from "Mareschite" (Maliseet) speakers from New Brunswick (Prince 1909:628):

In 1902, I received from Mr Noel Francis, of the Passamaquoddy tribe of Maine, a series of manuscripts in the Passamaquoddy idiom with free translation in Indian English. Mr Francis obtained most of this material from members of his own clan and several from Mareschite (St Johns River) Indians, who speak what is essentially the same language.

Although Prince writes "Noel" here rather than "Newell," there is little reason to doubt that this is the same consultant, since the two spellings were used interchangeably in the Passamaquoddy community at the turn of the century.

Prince called the tale that he published in 1909 "A Passamaquoddy Aviator," since it focuses on the adventures of a protagonist who constructs a flying canoe with the help of a mysterious old woman. The text of some twenty-nine lines follows Francis's own system of spelling. The last line attributes the story to one Plansoe Plansis, or François Francis, and indicates that he was a Maliseet (p. 633).[5] The fact that Francis would take the trouble to write out a series of such texts for Prince, including stories that he had collected rather than simply tales that he knew, suggests that he did not view his work with Prince merely as summer employment, but saw the preservation and communication of Passamaquoddy traditions as important ends in themselves.

Prince presented this text as "the first in a series" (1909:628). Unfortunately, it was also the last. It seems likely that Francis's manuscripts were destroyed in the 1911 fire. In any case, the bulk of the material that would ultimately appear in Prince's *Passamaquoddy Texts* (1921) came from another consultant, Lewis (or Louis) Mitchell (1847–1931), who worked with Prince to reconstruct the contents of a series of manuscripts of his own that had also been destroyed.

A few other bits of information concerning Newell Francis may be gleaned from Gatschet's notes. Gatschet, like Prince, worked most extensively with Lewis Mitchell. In an 1896 passage, however, he recorded the information that "Louis Saktoma, brother-in-law of Newell Salomon Francis, knows all about old local names; over 70 years old. Lives in Pleasant Point." (G 2:76).

In 1897 he noted that "Newell Francis' brother, nearly 80 years old" was "living in Pleasant Point" (G 3:241). It seems likely that Gatschet refers in both passages to the man with whom Prince would work in Bar Harbor in 1899. If so, then Prince's collaborator cannot have been a young man at the time of their work together. He may well have been younger than his brother and brother-in-law; but he was probably considerably older than Lewis Mitchell, who turned 52 in 1899. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that Newell Francis was born well before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Gatschet met Newell Salomon Francis in Washington, D.C., not in Maine. Francis, Gatschet tells us, was the "builder of the Indian wigwam in the Zoological Park, District of Columbia, in January 1897" (G 1:125). He had evidently come to Washington as part of a Passamaquoddy delegation, presumably to help with preparations for an exhibition at the Zoological Park. Gatschet and Francis met on several occasions over a period of at least three months, and Gatschet made use of these sessions to continue his linguistic and ethnographic work.

It is particularly interesting, in the present context, to note that Francis not only provided Gatschet with words and phrases in Passamaquoddy, but also gave him the equivalents of some of these expressions in Penobscot and in Western Abenaki (G 1:139–40). It is clear, then, that Francis was at least familiar with the speech of these nearby Algonquian groups. At the same time, we have concrete evidence here of ongoing contact between the Passamaquoddy and the Western Abenaki, contrary to Prince's assertions concerning the isolation of the latter group.

In fact, many Passamaquoddy speakers in the last decade of the nineteenth century had a good knowledge of Penobscot and at least some familiarity with Western Abenaki. Some thirty years earlier, Eugene Vetromile, a Jesuit missionary who ministered to the Indian population of Maine, noted that "[t]he Passamaquoddy Indians generally know the Catechism in Penobscot language" (1858:299). Not only Francis, but several of Gatschet's other Passamaquoddy consultants (including Mitchell) provided him with Penobscot or Western Abenaki words.

Francis also brought Gatschet a printed version, in English, of a traditional Passamaquoddy account of the Great Council Fire, a former alliance between the northeastern Algonquian tribes and the Mohawk at Caughnawaga, and provided him with information concerning the linguistic and historical background of this document (G 1:125–38). The material in this text is essentially the same as that in a Passamaquoddy version, written by Lewis Mitchell, that Prince published the following year (1898), although the relationship between the two texts is not clear. (For a modern edition of Prince's text, see Leavitt and Francis 1990.)

The picture of Newell S. Francis that emerges from these shards of information is one of a man of middle age or older, who was well traveled and surely quite familiar with the ways of Euro-Americans, but who nonetheless took a personal interest in the cultural heritage of his own people and the traditions of their Algonquian neighbors. He was apparently also active in tribal politics: the Passamaquoddy representative to the Maine state legislature for the 1891–93 term is listed as Newell Francis (Starbird and Soctomah 1999:5).

Prince (1900:181) comments that Francis "firmly believes in the phenomena that he describes" in the tales that he recorded. Clearly, then, traveling to Washington to share Passamaquoddy lore with Gatschet or with visitors to the Zoological Park did not, for Newell Francis, preclude a firm commitment to a traditional Passamaquoddy understanding of the world.

3. The language of the texts

Passamaquoddy and Maliseet are dialects of a single Eastern Algonquian language. Passamaquoddy is spoken today primarily in two communities in Maine: Pleasant Point, near Eastport, and Indian Township, adjacent to Princeton, both in Washington Co. in the eastern part of the state. Maliseet is spoken among members of the Houlton Band of Maliseets in Aroostook Co., Me., and in several communities along the St. John River in New Brunswick. There are also a number of Maliseet and Passamaquoddy speakers who reside today among the Penobscots of

Indian Island, at Old Town, Me.; and there are undoubtedly still some Maliseet speakers as well in the significant expatriate community centered on Bridgeport, Conn. Current estimates place the combined number of speakers of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet at around 500 (Leavitt 1996:1). Almost all of the speakers are over forty years old, however; and few children are now learning the language.

The situation was quite different in Newell Francis's time. Many of the residents of Pleasant Point and Indian Township spoke little or no English then; and the Passamaquoddy language was still in regular use in several off-reservation communities, notably in Calais, Me., and at St. Stephen, St. Andrews, and St. George, N.B. (Erickson 1978:125).[6] Gatschet found Passamaquoddy consultants on Grand Manan Island in Passamaquoddy Bay, which, like Bar Harbor, was a popular destination for tourists in the 1890's, where enterprising individuals from the reservations would go to find summer employment. Families from Indian Township would often spend the summer at Grand Lake Stream, several miles from the reservation (Atkinson 1920:97).

Newell Francis's speech differed phonetically in certain respects from that of any contemporary speaker, notably in the treatment of word-initial consonant clusters in which the first member was one of the sonorants *m*, *n*, or *w*. To see this, however, we must first consider aspects of the sound pattern of the contemporary language.

 The sound system of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy includes the five syllabic phonemes /i e o a ə/ and the twelve non-syllabics /p t č k kʷ s h m n l w y/. These sounds are represented here in a modified version of a practical orthography now widely used by native speakers of both dialects. In this notation, *o* represents /ə/, while *u* is used for /o/ (phonetically intermediate in height between [u] and [o]); *c* represents /č/; and *q* is /kʷ/. Phonemic /h/ before a consonant at the beginning of a word is indicated by an apostrophe. Thus, for example, phonemic /hpíson/

'medicine' is represented here as *'písun*. The phonetic realization of word-initial /h/ in such forms is discussed below.

For most contemporary speakers, the stops *p*, *t*, *k*, and *q* are voiced between vowels, but voiceless in most other environments. The remaining obstruents, *s* and *c*, are lax but voiceless between vowels. For some conservative speakers, however, the non-affricated stops are also lax and voiceless in intervocalic position.[7]

Prince's transcription of voicing is rather erratic, but Newell Francis probably also employed lax voiceless stops in intervocalic position. This is clearly the intended meaning of the consonant symbols that Prince writes with underdots in forms like <skī´tā̤p> 'man' (in line (1) of text III), phonemically *skitàp*. In a later publication, Prince tells us that "*p*, *t*, *k* are voiceless surds, pronounced almost like *b*, *d*, *g* between vowels" (1921:4). Voiceless stops that were pronounced "almost" like voiced ones must have been voiceless but lax.

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy is a pitch accent language. The pitch contour of a word is often fairly complex; but for the most part it can be mechanically determined, given the pitch associated with the rightmost stressed vowel of the word. This vowel is marked here with an acute accent if the associated pitch is high and with a grave accent if the associated pitch is low: *ktopípa* 'you (du.) sit', *ktopìpon* 'we (du. inc.) sit'. This distinctive accent always falls on one of the last three syllables of the word. A word-final syllable that bears the grave accent is often pronounced with rising pitch in utterance-final forms, regularly so in Passamaquoddy. The two dialects differ on the location or pitch of the accented syllable in some words, and there is some variation even within Passamaquoddy (LeSourd 1993:62–8).

To determine the overall stress pattern and pitch contour of a word, we need to distinguish between "weak" and "strong" variants of *o* (schwa). All other vowels (in surface phonemic forms) are consistently strong. Strong vowels may be accented, if they occur in an appropriate position in a word; but weak schwas are never accented. Weak vowels, written here with a

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breve, are simply ignored in determining the stress pattern and intonation contour of a word. By convention, weak schwa is written as ĭ before *y* and ŭ before *w*, elsewhere as ŏ. The distribution of these weak vowels is determined in part by their distribution in underlying forms and in part by various phonological adjustments of vowel strength (LeSourd 1993:114–47). Vowels that remain weak in the output of these adjustments are subject to syncope in several environments. Weak vowels that remain in surface forms are typically very short and are often phonetically deleted in certain contexts.

The distinctively accented vowel in a word bears main stress when the word is spoken in isolation or occurs in utterance-final position, which ordinarily corresponds to sentence-final position. Secondary stress (associated with relatively high pitch) then falls on even-numbered syllables, counting leftward from the accented syllable, but skipping over all syllables with a weak vowel. The first syllable in a word with a strong vowel as its nucleus also bears secondary stress, regardless of its position in the syllable count.

When a word is pronounced in non-final position in a sentence in connected speech, the main stress of the word is usually shifted leftward from the distinctively accented syllable onto the next preceding stressed syllable (LeSourd 1993:153–5). The distinctively accented syllable is then only weakly stressed (and pronounced with a correspondingly less salient rise or fall in pitch). Thus one hears *akŏnutŏmákŏnol* 'stories' with secondary stress on the initial syllable and main stress (and highest pitch) on the antepenult, but the same word is pronounced with main stress (and highest pitch) on the initial syllable in *ákŏnutŏmákŏnol nkisi=nutŏmónol* 'I heard stories'. In retranscribing Prince's texts below, I have indicated both the location of the distinctive accent and the probable location of main stress where Prince's transcription suggests that Newell Francis had applied this rule of stress shift.

Prince remarks that "[t]he intonation of the Passamaquoddy idiom is difficult to acquire" (1900:183). Although he actually succeeded reasonably well in transcribing the prosodic features

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of Newell Francis's speech, he eventually gave up trying to note such information, concluding that the "highly tonic" intonation of Passamaquoddy involves a "voice-raise which often varies, apparently arbitrarily, with various speakers" (1921:4). He had probably run afoul of the two central properties of the accentual system of the language that we have just noted: pitch accent and stress shift.

Gatschet was more successful in coming to grips with the nature of the accentual system of the language and even identified some minimally contrasting forms.[8] For example, he noted that <ndahasûʹm> *ntahahsúm* is "my horse liv[in]g," while the pronunciation <ndáhasûʹm> *ntahahsùm* indicates that my horse has died (G 2:176). The first of these forms is actually a vocative; the neutral pronunciation is *ntaháhsum* 'my horse'. Gatschet was right about *ntahahsùm*, however: this form is accentually marked as referring to a horse that has died (or is otherwise absent). An important category of inflection of both nouns and verbs in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy is the absentative, which indicates that the referent in question was formerly present but is now absent, was formerly alive, or was formerly possessed. The non-absentative and absentative forms of many nouns are distinguished only by accent. Gatschet was thus quite right when he concluded that he was dealing with a "purely tonic or accentuat'n feature" of the language (G 2:176). Moreover, Gatschet's transcriptions suggest that few changes in the accentual system of Passamaquoddy have taken place since the end of the nineteenth century.

Among contemporary speakers of Passamaquoddy, the sonorant consonants /m n w/ are regularly devoiced in word-initial position before an obstruent consonant, a process of voicing assimilation, since the obstruents are basically voiceless. (The other sonorant consonants of the language, *l* and *y*, do not occur in word-initial clusters.) Devoiced /m/ is then denasalized and realized as *p*, while devoiced /n/ and /w/ are reduced to /h/. Where an /h/ reflecting underlying /n/ or /w/ is followed by a consonant cluster, it is deleted. Remaining instances of /h/ may be phonetically realized in any of several ways: as [h] after a preceding vowel-final word, as zero

after a preceding consonant-final word, or as aspiration of the following obstruent (tenseness without aspiration in the case of a following /s/). This complex of phonetic effects is transcribed here by means of the apostrophe.

Contrary to the usual treatment of word-initial /n/, the /n/ of the first-person prefix /n(t)-/ is not subject to devoicing, but instead triggers voicing of a following obstruent. Thus initial *nt* is phonetically [nd] in *ntókŏma* 'I hit him or her' (prefix /n-/, stem /tokŏm-/) and *ntákom* 'my snowshoe' (prefix /nt-/, stem /akŏm-/).[9] This special phonetic treatment of the first-person prefix has clearly been a stable feature of the phonology of Passamaquoddy for some time. Gatschet, for example, recorded <ktún> *ktún* 'your (sg.) mouth' and <utún> *wtún* 'his or her mouth', but <ndún> *ntún* 'my mouth' (G 2:91). Prince's transcriptions of Newell Francis's speech provide several examples as well, such as <Nzī´wĕs> for *nsíwehs* 'my brother' in text V, line (1) below. The same pattern of voicing is found in first-person forms in Maliseet (Teeter 1971:196).

The environments in which devoicing takes place have arisen through the loss of weak vowels in a series of sound changes that are reflected in part by synchronic rules of syncope. As a result, there are many alternations in the contemporary language between *m*, *n*, and *w* on the one hand and the phonetic realizations of their devoiced counterparts on the other: *mókŏnal* 'he or she chooses him or her', *pkonàt* 'if he or she chooses him or her' (stem /mŏkŏn-/); *knopísun* 'your (sg.) medicine', *'písun* 'medicine' (stem /nŏpisun-/); *witápĭyil* 'his or her friend' (prefix /w-/, stem /-itape/), *'túsol* 'his or her daughter' (prefix /w-/, stem /-tus/).

For most younger speakers, the devoicing of initial sonorants is obligatory wherever it is applicable. For older speakers, however, devoicing is optional in certain environments. Moreover, the range of environments in which the process is optional is wider, the older the speaker in question (LeSourd 1993:210–43).[10]

For the oldest contemporary speakers, those now in their seventies or older, word-initial /m n w/ are optionally retained unmodified before an obstruent consonant in utterance-medial contexts, provided that the sonorant consonant may be syllabified with a preceding word-final vowel: *má=te npísun* ~ *má=te 'písun* 'there is no medicine', *mécimí=te wtóme* ~ *mécimí=te 'tóme* 'he or she always smokes'. In utterance-initial contexts or following a consonant-final word, /m/ and /n/ may be retained as syllabic consonants, and /m/ (but not /n/) may be realized as a voiceless nasal: *mqéyu* (with syllabic or voiceless *m*) ~ *pqéyu* 'it is red', *npísun* (with syllabic *n*) ~ *'písun* 'medicine'.

Somewhat younger speakers (roughly, those now in their sixties) retain the option of pronouncing a syllabic *n* in forms like *npísun* 'medicine', but rarely or never pronounce *m* either as a syllabic consonant or as a voiceless nasal (substituting *p*). These speakers recognize pronunciations with unmodified *m*, *n*, or *w* in post-vocalic contexts as correct; but they rarely employ such pronunciations themselves.

Word-initial clusters of two sonorant consonants arise only in forms containing the first-person prefix /n-/ or the third-person prefix /w-/. Here again, *n* may be treated as syllabic (as in *nmíhtaqs* 'my father'). All but the most elderly of contemporary speakers consistently delete word-initial /w/, however, when it stands before a sonorant consonant. Elderly speakers occasionally retain *w* in this context without modification, provided that the preceding word ends in a vowel: *mécimí=te wmosŏnómon* ~ *mécimí=te mosŏnómon* 'he or she always gets it'.

Yet another age-dependent phonological variable involves the treatment of stems that begin with /k/. Elderly speakers optionally round /k/ to /q/ in such stems after a word-initial /w/, which may then be reduced to /h/: compare *má=te nkisihtúwon* 'I did not make it', *má=te wqisihtúwon* 'he or she did not make it' (stem /kisiht-/); *nít=te wkisácin* 'then he or she is ready, *'qisácin* 'he or she is ready' (stem /kisaci-/). Not surprisingly, the generational distribution of this practice is

similar to that for the retention of word-initial /w/ before a consonant. The forms with *q* are rarely used today, and even the most elderly speakers appear to avoid them in careful speech.

To summarize: the older the speaker in question, the more alternative treatments of word-initial sonorant consonants we find. For the oldest speakers, word-initial /m n w/ may be retained unmodified before a following obstruent after a word that ends in a vowel. At the beginning of an utterance or after a consonant, word-initial /m/ and /n/, but not /w/, may be retained as syllabic segments before an obstruent. Alternatively, any of these sonorants may be devoiced, with devoiced /n/ and /w/ appearing in phonemic forms as *h* (orthographic apostrophe), /m/ optionally as *p*. For the youngest speakers, only pronunciations with devoicing are possible, with *h* and *p* as the obligatory outcome of devoicing. Elderly speakers optionally retain word-initial /w/ before a sonorant consonant after a vowel-final word, while younger speakers delete /w/ before a sonorant consonant regardless of the preceding context. The option of realizing /k/ as *q* after a word-initial /w/ is only rarely taken by elderly speakers and has ceased to be a possibility for the youngest.

What should we expect to find, then, in the language of the late nineteenth century? The simplest situation, from a phonological point of view, would be one in which /m/, /n/, and /w/ receive parallel treatment. We would then expect to find three alternative pronunciations of each of these segments in word-initial position before an obstruent: unmodified *m*, *n*, *w* after a vowel-final word; syllabic pronunciations after a consonant or in utterance-initial position; and devoiced pronunciations in alternation with these. We might also expect to find a wider range of contexts in which a word-initial /w/ is retained before a sonorant consonant and at least occasional forms in which /k/ is rounded to *q* after a word-initial /w/.

Prince's transcriptions of Newell Francis's speech are generally consistent with these expectations, and provide clear confirmation of many of the particulars.

Although the apostrophe is one of Prince's notations for schwa, he occasionally uses the notations <m'> and <n'> where no schwa follows the consonant. In such cases, his apostrophe must reflect a syllabic pronunciation of the consonant. Thus contemporary *msí ~ psí* 'all' is written as <m'sī̆> in <m'sīdē> *msí=te* (with the emphatic enclitic) in line (5) of text I, where the preceding word ends in a consonant. Contemporary *nmíhtaqs* 'my father' appears as <N'mī́taukws> at the beginning of the first line of text IV, clearly an utterance-initial context.

Prince's transcriptions also frequently reflect the vocalization of preconsonantal /w/, which is not an option for contemporary speakers in any phonological environment. In fact, the *w* of the third-person prefix *w(t)-* is written as <ū> in most of its occurrences in the texts. Thus *wqossísol wkikuhúkul* 'his son healed him' is written <Ūkwūssī́z'l ūkĭgw'hṓgŏl> in text II, line (6). (The pronunciation that David Francis suggested for this expression is *'qossísol 'kikuhúkul*, with both occurrences of initial /w/ devoiced and replaced by /h/.) Newell Francis himself frequently wrote <o> for *w* in such forms: <osiwess> *wsiwèhs* 'his brothers', <otatapyil> *wtahtápĭyil* 'his bow' (Prince 1909:630–31).

Word-initial /w/ was clearly subject to vocalization before a sonorant consonant as well as before an obstruent. Thus Prince has <ūmā́tn̥tēnīyāl> for *wmatŏnotíníyal* 'he fights with him' in text II, line (1). Francis wrote <omusketon> for *wmuskéhtun* 'he takes it out' (Prince 1909:630). The usual contemporary pronunciations, on the other hand, are *matŏnotíníyal* and *muskéhtun*, with deletion of the third-person prefix /w-/. The contemporary treatment is also attested in the texts by the form <Nōdausā́njā> *nutewsánĭya* 'they go out' in line (1) of text VI. This verb form is drawn from one of the Subordinative paradigms, forms used in clauses that represent states or events that follow temporally or logically on some previously mentioned state or event. The particular form in question is one in which the third-person prefix /w-/ is morphologically obligatory, but no prefix occurs in the phonetic form of word as Prince has transcribed it.

Devoicing of initial /w/ before an obstruent was also an option for Newell Francis. In his introduction to the texts, Prince indicates that the notation <w'> represents a "whistled" initial sound that he had described in an earlier publication as "a forcible expulsion of the breath through the lips, which must be rounded as if to pronounce the vowel *o*" (Prince 1888:312). Thus his transcription of *wtoqecéhtun* 'he tested it' as <w'tŭgwĕjĭ´'tŏn> line (4) of text II clearly indicates a pronunciation with a voiceless initial *w*. In line (8) of text VI, Prince writes <Ŏ'tī´d'mŭn> for *wtítŏmon* 'he says it'. Here <Ŏ'> must represent a short [o]-colored aspiration: a voiceless *w*.

No transcriptions in the texts attest devoicing of /m/ or /n/. Forms recorded as early as the 1854, suggest, however, that devoicing of these segments was already under way by Newell Francis's time. A word list taken down in that year gives *msìw ~ psìw* 'all' as <pis-ee´-oo> *psìw*, with devoicing of /m/, and has <Ko-chee´-n-Qt′-am-qauk′> *kci=nqotamqàhk* 'one million' (literally 'great thousand') with retained /n/, but <Qt′-âm-qauk′> *'qotamqàhk* 'one thousand' with /n/ apparently devoiced and replaced by /h/ (H. Prince 1854:17, 24).

Several forms in Francis's tales must reflect the replacement of devoiced /w/ by /h/, although the exact phonetic effects cannot be determined on the basis of Prince's transcriptions. Thus Prince has <pō´hē´gŭnŭl> *'púwhíkŏnol* 'his supernatural form' in lines (1) and (3) of text I and <kĭstā´hāl> *'kistáhal* 'he hit, beat him' in line (6). While Prince (1900:186) notes that 'man' may be pronounced <ū´skītāp>, that is, as *wskitàp* with a vocalized *w*, Francis has <skī´ṭāp> *skitàp* in line (7) of text I, presumably with deletion of /h/ in the output of devoicing, as in the contemporary language. Several other occurrences of forms of this word in the texts also lack the initial *w*.

Note finally that the form <kwĭ´llhō´găn> *'qolhúkan* 'he gets caught under it' in line (5) of text II reflects the rounding of /k/ to *q* after a word-initial /w/, which has apparently been reduced

here to *h*. The pronunciation that David Francis gave this word is *'kolhúkan*; cf. *kolhúke* 'he or she is caught', with no prefix.

4. The tales and their cultural context

Five of Newell Francis's six tales concern the activities of individuals who possessed extraordinary power. In Passamaquoddy, the word for such a person is *motewŏlòn* (pl. *motewŏlónŭwok*, Maliseet *motewŏlònŭwok*). This term is often translated as "witch," "wizard," or "sorcerer." None of these terms really conveys what it means to be a *motewŏlòn*, however, since the power of a *motewŏlòn* is a personal power, not a capacity achieved by harnessing some occult external force. For this reason, I use the more neutral term "shaman" here, or simply employ the Passamaquoddy term itself.

A word needs to be said here, as well, about the concept of the "supernatural." For many readers, this term is likely to evoke an image of "another world" or some domain outside of "ordinary reality." In a traditional Passamaquoddy or Maliseet view of the world, on the other hand, the power of a *motewŏlòn*, though extraordinary, does not place such individuals in some domain of events distinct from that of ordinary experience.   Thus the reader should bear in mind that references below to "supernatural" individuals or events must be understood only as designating these individuals or events as characterized by the exercise of an altogether natural, but nonetheless extraordinary, type of power.

Both men and women may possess the power characteristic of a *motewŏlòn*. The term may accordingly be used in reference to either a man or a woman. There is also a term *motewŏlonùsq* (or *motewŏlonìsq*), however, that specifically designates a woman with extraordinary power.[11] Accounts differ as to whether the ability to wield such power is innate or learned, and some consultants maintain that all Native people have at least the potential to be *motewŏlónŭwok* (Erickson 1978:132–3; Wallis and Wallis 1957:31–6). At Kingsclear, N.B., in 1977, a Maliseet

woman, then in her eighties, told me, as she fixed me with any icy stare, "Every Indian is a *motewŏlòn*, if she will use her power."

The power of the *motewŏlòn* is often exercised through a *puwhíkon* or supernatural form (pl. *puwhíkŏnok*). The *puwhíkon* typically, though not invariably, takes the form of an animal of a species specific to the individual shaman. An especially powerful shaman may have more than one such *puwhíkon*. The *motewŏlòn* is sometimes described as sending out the *puwhíkon* to do his or her work, and sometimes as transforming himself or herself into the *puwhíkon*. In either case, an injury to the *puwhíkon* constitutes an injury to the *motewŏlòn*.[12] Only the person who has inflicted the injury (or, in some accounts, a member of this person's family) can heal the wounded *motewŏlòn*. Moreover, only someone with sufficient power can cure an injury that a *motewŏlòn* has inflicted. No special medicine is required in either case, however: essentially any substance will do.

In one Maliseet tale (Teeter and LeSourd 2000, text 11), a particularly powerful shaman, described as *Kci=Sahkupìw* 'the late Old Sacoby', takes the form of a spider (*amushopìhk*) in order to attack the nephew of another, less powerful shaman, *Missel=Luwóssis* 'Michel Louis'. The spider jumps at the nephew, making him fall and causing him to injure himself severely. Sacoby then returns in the form of a snake (*athusòss*) to try to finish him off. On both occasions, the *puwhíkon* is recognizable because it has Sacoby's face. Michel Louis keeps Sacoby from entering his nephew's room for six nights, but can withstand him no longer, so on the seventh night he lets Sacoby come in. As the nephew lies in bed, Michel Louis waits until the serpent is about to attack the young man, then hits the *puwhíkon* on the back with a switch, which, we are told, must be made of red willow. Sacoby must then return in his ordinary form to beg for the nephew to heal him, since the pain in his back has become unbearable. "Could you possibly give me something to rub myself with?" Sacoby asks. "Anything at all, even water." Following his

uncle's instructions, the young man negotiates with Sacoby to heal him first, and both recover from their wounds.

Writing about the Penobscot shaman, Speck (1919:243) tell us, "His chief activity was to overcome rivals and demonstrate wherever he could the superiority of his own strength. From all accounts of their behavior the shamans were heartless egoists." There are certainly Maliseet and Passamaquoddy tales of shamans who fit this description, but other accounts paint a different picture. While some *motew˘olón˘uwok* are depicted as malicious or evil, others are portrayed as helpful or humorous, mysteriously appearing with supplies when there are no stores for miles around or procuring whiskey by tapping a maple tree. Even a violent rivalry like that between Sacoby and Michel Louis is often said to arise through some offense by one of the parties, not simply as a mutual display of arrogance: Sacoby vows revenge on the family of Michel Louis only after Michel Louis beats Sacoby's son in a fight. *K˘oluskàp*, the greatest *motew˘olòn* of them all, was often a trickster (his name literally means 'liar'), but he was also a great benefactor to all of the Wabanaki peoples.

In a story widely told on the Maliseet reserve at Tobique, N.B., a man is refused credit by a storekeeper when he needs to buy supplies for his winter hunt, so he temporarily turns wood chips into paper money and buys the goods that he needs. Once he has sold his furs the next spring, however, he goes back to pay the storekeeper, who is still puzzled about the wood chips that had appeared in his cash box (Wallis and Wallis 1957:32; Ives 1964:49; Teeter and LeSourd 2000, text 26). David Francis has told me that a man living at Pleasant Point today is said to be able to go out into the woods one day to get white ash, then come back the next with a load of axe handles already roughed out. "*Él˘uwehkàl motew˘olòn*," Francis suggested. "He must be some kind of wizard."

The first of Newell Francis's tales, however, is indeed one of murderous rivalry. A shaman named Joe Benoit, we are told, had a fight with another, unnamed shaman. The two then met at

Boyden Lake, a body of water located some four miles from Pleasant Point. Benoit transformed himself into a great turtle (*kcíhkŏnaqc*), while his adversary became a huge snake (*kci=athusòss*). They fought in the lake itself, roiling the water so severely that it is muddy to this day. Benoit got the better of his rival, who then died from his injuries. The contemporary name of the lake is *Nesséyik*, although Francis apparently pronounced the word as *Nehséyik*. The meaning, still transparent when Francis told the tale, is 'where the water is roiled up, turbid'.

Versions of this story were widely told, both in Passamaquoddy country and among the Penobscots. Eckstorm (1945:39) remarks, in reference to the residents of Pleasant Point, that it was "one of the most familiar of their fireside tales." Indeed, David Francis commented during our work together that he had heard this story himself. Gatschet (1899:254) published a brief version derived from his work with Lewis Mitchell.[13] Both Leland (1884:345–6) and Alger (1897:81–2) provide English accounts obtained from Penobscot sources. Speck (1919:282–3) gives two more versions, including one in the Penobscot language. Eckstorm (1945:39–48) discusses all of these accounts, as well as Newell Francis's tale, and adds another version from Mitchell, together with notes from several other Passamaquoddy and Penobscot consultants.[14] To my knowledge, however, the text that Prince published is the only version of the story ever taken down in Passamaquoddy.

Mitchell confirmed for Eckstorm that he had heard the tale in the form related by Newell Francis, and told her that as a boy he had known Joe Benoit (Eckstorm 1945:48).[15] In his own version of the story, however, he identified the combatants as "John Neptune of Penobscot" and a Micmac chief (p. 44). While Mitchell seems to have provided Eckstorm with conflicting information about the identity of this John Neptune, and several prominent men had borne this name, he indicated to Gatschet in 1896 that the man in question had "died about 35 years ago" (G 3:290). This description suggests that it was former Penobscot tribal governor John Neptune (1767–1865) that he had in mind.

Eckstorm's other consultants generally held the same view, and indeed Old John Neptune was widely reputed to have been an exceptionally powerful *motewŏlòn*. The following account, from Leland's Penobscot consultant Marie Sakis (or Saukees), may serve to give an idea of the tale as it was told of Neptune:[16]

"The old governor was a great *m'téoulin*. He had got it among the Chippewas. He said that it would come to pass that he would die before the next snowstorm. No, he did not care himself, but my husband's mother did, when she heard this, and she cried. Then he said, 'Well, I will try to live, or else die in a month; but it will be a hard fight.' So he made him a bow, and strung it with his wife's hair; and having done this, he shot an arrow in the smoke-hole of his wigwam.

"All this was at Nessaik, near Eastport. Then he said to his wife, 'Take one of your leggins and put it on my head.' So she did. Then he took medicine. A rainbow appeared in the sky, and a great horse-fly came out of his mouth, and then a large grasshopper. He cried to his wife, 'Do not kill it!' And then came a stone spear-head.

"'Now,' said the governor, 'this is all right so far, but the great struggle is yet to come. It is a *weewillmekq'* who has done this.' (You know what that is: the Passamaquoddies call it *weewilmekq'*. It is a worm an inch long, which can make itself into a horrid monster as large as a deer; yes, and much larger. It is *m'téoulin*; yes, it is a great magician.) 'I am going to fight it. You must come with a small stick to hit it once, and only a mere tap.' But she would not go. So he went and fought that weewillmekq'. He killed it. It was a frightful battle. When he returned he smelt like fresh fish. His wife bade him go and wash himself; but let him bathe as much as he could, the smell remained for days. The pond where he fought has been muddy and foul ever since..." (Leland 1884:345–7, footnotes omitted)

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Here Neptune is first attacked by his rival through a curse, which leaves him deathly ill. He is able to defeat the curse, however, by shooting an arrow through the smoke-hole of his lodge, after which he vomits up various entities which have been afflicting him. He attempts to defeat his rival a second time by having his wife strike his adversary's *puwhíkon* with a stick. Presumably this would have forced the other *motewŏlòn*, like Old Sacoby in the Maliseet story discussed above, to come and negotiate a truce in order to be healed. Since his wife refuses, he must go and fight his enemy's *puwhíkon* himself. Sakis does not tell us that Neptune took on his own supernatural form in preparation for battle, but several other Penobscot accounts indicate that he turned himself into a giant eel, <ktci nahɑ′mu> *kči=nahɑmo* (Speck 1919:282). It is hardly surprising, then, that he "smelt like fresh fish" upon his return.

In the version of this story that Mitchell told Gatschet, Neptune instead assumes the form of a huge serpent, <ktchi at'husis> *kci=athusòss*, some forty feet long (G 3:289). Mitchell and Sakis agree, however, in identifying the *puwhíkon* of Neptune's rival as the fearsome creature known in Passamaquoddy as *wiwílõmeq* and in Penobscot as *wiwíləyamekʷ*.

Although accounts vary, this monster is most often described as resembling a huge slug or lizard, with horns like the eye-stalks of a snail.[17] John Soctomer, one of Eckstorm's Passamaquoddy consultants, described it in the following terms (Eckstorm 1945:89): "Covered with slime; poisons if it touches; has horns—can haul them in and spread them out; must be twenty to thirty feet long; like lizard, big, slimy; soft outside." Etymologically, the term *wiwílõmeq* means 'horned fish', and all accounts agree that the creature inhabits lakes and rivers.[18]

A comparison of the different versions of the story of the fight at Boyden Lake reveals that the only constant elements are the two shamans, their combat in the lake, and the resulting muddying of the water. Eckstorm argues plausibly that the story itself was of considerable antiquity, but that each succeeding generation of story-tellers transferred the leading role to a

more recent figure who was widely recognized as a powerful *motewŏlòn*.[19] Newell Francis's version apparently represented the latest reassignment of this role.

Francis's second tale provides yet another account of antipathy between two shamans, *Kci=Láhkut* 'Old Lacote' and *Kci=Sapatossísol* 'Old Sabattis (obv.)'.[20] In this case, however, Sabattis does not send out his *puwhíkon* to attack his rival, but instead uses his power to put a curse on Lacote: *wmotewŏlonŭwihpŏnólkul* 'he (obv.) puts a curse on him (prox.)'. Lacote is then caught in his own bear trap and nearly killed, but his son rescues him.

The third text is more of a personal reminiscence than a tale. Here Francis tells of a shaman whom he himself had met at the age of fifteen. This *motewŏlòn*, Francis tells us, was called *Mihkomŭwèhs*. Although this noun is used here as a name, it ordinarily refers to a member of a race of "little people" who live in the forest. According to Mitchell, they are generally not more than a foot and a half or two feet tall. He went on to note that a *mihkomŭwèhs* can "change himself into a beautiful man or woman" and inspire lust (G 3:257). They are also said to be red (Smith 1957:32).

One of my consultants at Indian Township in the 1970's indicated the *mihkomŭwehsísok* (dim. pl.) used to anticipate important community events, like the installation of a new tribal governor, by holding ceremonies and dances of their own off in the woods about a week before the corresponding community activities were to be held. Their ceremonies would exactly parallel the corresponding events that were about to take place in the community. They no longer do this, however, and have apparently gone away, perhaps (my consultant suggested) because they are dissatisfied with the current state of affairs in the Indian community.

Prince (1900:188) remarks that "a wood-spirit... may become the familiar of a wizard," that is, his *puwhíkon*, and that the *motewŏlòn* in Newell Francis's tale "was evidently in possession of such a familiar." Of such a *motewŏlòn*, he reports, people would say <mĭ´'kůmwĕ´ss-ů'kē> *mihkomŭwehsúhke* 'he or she is "partner with" a *mihkomŭwèhs*'.[21]

Siebert defines the Penobscot term *mihkə́məwehso* as "small nameless being capable of changing his size at will, and who brings bad luck if his ill is gotten" (PD 278). Mitchell told Gatschet that a *mihkomŭwèhs* "once came into a council of the Penobscots and was made fun of." The *mihkomŭwèhs* then took revenge by telling the council members <slaníketch ktudenéwa> *sŏlaníhke=hc ktutenéwa* "your village will become slán [*sŏlán* 'sumac fruit']; that is will be ruined" (G 2:197–8).[22] Clearly, then, a *mihkomŭwèhs* would have made a powerful partner for a shaman.

The *motewŏlòn* that Francis met could walk in such a way as to sink into hard ground up to his ankles, a feat that Francis describes with forms of the verb *qetkéwse* 'he or she walks like a shaman, stepping ankle deep'. The late Peter Lewis Paul (1902–1989) of Woodstock, N.B., explained that this ability to "step deeply" is indicative of a shaman's power. A sufficiently powerful *motewŏlòn* can even leave tracks in solid rock (Teeter 1974:77). The shaman will walk this way when he is about to do something extraordinary. "I suppose he gets heavy with power," Paul remarked (p. 199).[23]

"Passamaquoddy Indians," reports Fewkes (1890:265), "are believers in a power by which a song, sung in one place, can be heard in another many miles away. This power is thought to be due to *m' toulin*, or magic, which plays an important part in their belief."[24] Francis's fourth tale describes an event exactly like those about which Fewkes had been told: one night Francis heard his father singing to his partner, who heard the song even though he was hunting a hundred miles away.

The climax of Francis's fifth tale takes place on Grand Manan Island (*Mŏnahnùk*) in New Brunswick, the largest of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. At the northern end of the island, Gatschet tells us, is Bishop's Head. Atop it is Bishop's Rock, called <Budebé-uhigen> *Putepewhíkon* 'Whale Trap' (G 3:468). Just to the east is Whale Cove. A rock stands there now where the culture hero *Kŏluskàp* built a trap to catch whales (G 3:300). Between Bishop's Head

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and the cove is <Kadekádik> *Katehkátik* 'Eel Brook', literally 'at the place where eels are caught' (G 3:403). Here *Kŏluskàp* set out his eel pot. As he fished, he "laid down all the eels he caught, in a horizontal position[,] after which they were transformed into stone" and may still be seen today as the layers of rock in a geological formation known locally in English as the "seven days work" (G 3:469).

The high ledge at Bishop's Head, Gatschet was told, was the meeting place for certain murderous shamans, who brought their victims' bodies there to devour them:

> The flat top of the rock, 500′ was the place whe[re] the mtéulinwak ate up their victims, Indians; could kill each other, or injure by some magic power. The pohíkĕn-uk (animals, seaserpent, bears or any other an[imal] into which the mt. could convert themselves) were sent by the mté-ulin to injure people[.] (G 3:300)

It is a version of this story that Francis told for Prince. In his tale, several *motewŏlónŭwok* fight amongst themselves, and one of them is killed. The others take his body to a high ledge on Grand Manan. Francis evidently told Prince about their cannibalism, since this element of the story appears in Prince's translation. Francis refrained from mentioning this atrocity explicitly in his Passamaquoddy account, however, saying only *nìt etŏlihpultíhtit* 'that is where they ate.'

The sixth and last of Newell Francis's tales differs from the others in subject matter. Rather than recounting the deeds of a *motewŏlòn*, it describes an encounter with a *kiwàhq* 'forest giant' (pl. *kiwáhqĭyik*).[25] These creatures, Alger tells us (1897:77), were "legendary giants with hearts of ice, and possessed of cannibalistic tastes." Mitchell described them in the following terms for Minnie Atkinson, author of a history of the town of Grand Lake Stream:

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Kewagh—a wanderer of the Forest. These creatures have pieces of ice attached to their hearts. The more ice a Kewagh has the more powerful and wicked he is. They are giants. When a victim is captured he can be turned into a Kewagh. (Atkinson 1920:116)

In conversation with Gatschet, Mitchell indicated that the *kiwáhqĭyik* were "thought to be tree-high, growing higher when [they] get angry" (G 2:36). He noted further that both male and female *kiwáhqĭyik* would smear themselves with balsam fir pitch (<pupukháwik[8]> *pupukhawìhq*) and roll in moss and dead leaves (G 2:196).

Alger's Penobscot consultant Louisa Franceway explained that forest giants were sometimes encountered even in southern Maine, "although they usually chose a colder place, somewhere far away, where it was winter almost all of the year" (1897:77).[26] They were extremely dangerous and would leave footprints "three or four times larger than that of any man," but they could also make themselves much smaller than their natural size when they chose to do so (p. 78).

As Franceway went on to explain to Alger, even though forest giants typically killed and ate people, one that her father had encountered was in fact responsible for saving him and his family. The events in question had taken place before Franceway's birth, when her parents had only one child, a young son. In those days, her father would regularly "go with his family, in a canoe, in the late autumn, and camp out far north in Canada, in search of furs and skins for purposes of trade" (p. 78). One of the monsters located their camp and, making himself of normal human size, came into the lodge while the father was away:

The poor woman, alone there with her child, knew him for what he was, and knew that her only hope of escape lay in hiding her fear, so she addressed him as her father, and offered him a seat, telling the little boy to go and speak to his grandfather. She cooked

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food for kiawākq', warmed him, and paid him every attention. When her husband returned, she said to him that her father had come to visit them, and he, too, welcomed the monster, who remained with them all winter, going out to hunt, and bringing back moose, bear, and other big game, which the man dressed for him. (Alger 1897:78–9)

Ultimately, this creature saved the family from destruction at the hands of "another and mightier" giant who came to fight him. "You have been good to me," the giant explained, "and I wish to save you" (p. 79). Warning the family to flee, the giant set out to fight the newcomer and perished in the battle.

Another notable feature of the *kiwáhqĭyik* was a propensity to make loud, shrieking noises as they traveled. Mitchell provided for Atkinson the following account of a Passamaquoddy encounter with a *kiwàhq* not far from the contemporary settlement at Peter Dana Point, Me.:

Early in the sixteenth century, little after the Indians converted to Roman Catholic religion by De Monts missionaries, the Indians, after making the spring maple sugar, always camped at the foot of Grand lake stream to spear fish (land locked salmon) by torch light. One fine afternoon they heard an unearthly noise with piercing shrieks. Such noise was never, never heard by them before. They all frightened. The old men and women said, "It is Kewagh!"

The noise came toward the encampment very fast. Along toward sun down he was less than a mile to them. All the children and women and old people are placed in the canoes. The men prepared to fight. By order of some old man, or chief, all the bullets marked Cross and all the trees in front of the encampment toward the noise also marked Cross. Just after he turned back. He was bothered. Probably not less than fifty dogs they heard till midnight. Next morning they went to the swamp and saw nothing but

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human tracks. That the only Kewagh ever visited Passamaquoddy. (Atkinson 1920:116)

Mitchell may well have been hoping to pique Atkinson's curiosity by assigning an early date to these events and including a reference to Pierre Du Gua de Monts, who founded a short-lived colony in 1604 on Île Sainte Croix at the mouth of the St. Croix River (Erickson 1978:123). He had told Gatschet a version of the same story in 1896, but had indicated then that the events in question had taken place only a hundred years before. Mitchell had also noted in this account that when one *motewŏlòn* loses a battle with another, the defeated party may become a *kiwàhq*:

> About a century hence one of them came from the Schoodic lakes and scared the
>
> Indians. The I[ndians] cut crosses in the bark of trees to keep him off, & fired off
>
> their guns, sent their dogs &c. (cf. eclipse) They say, that the origin of the kíwak[8] is
>
> the mdé-ulĕn; the m. fight, & if he is conquered by the other md., he can be turned
>
> into a kíwak[8]. (G 2:196).

Gatschet adds here the when the *kiwáhqīyik* make the "noise of warwhoops," for which he gives the term <m'skulámu> *masqolámu* 'he or she screams, shrieks', they are "calling for" or "soliciting help, in distress."

   In Newell Francis's story, as in Mitchell's, a *kiwàhq* is heard shrieking (*masqolamilícil* 'he (obv.) who screams, shrieks') by a lake. In this case, however, the forest giant walks right up to the two hunters who have heard him. His behavior would have been unmistakable, yet the men ask him to stop and have something to eat. The *kiwàhq* declines their offer, however, telling them that he must go off to the north, where it is cold.

   To understand the behavior of the characters in this little tale, it is helpful to consider the story in the light of Franceway's account of the forest giant who saved her family. The men who

met the *kiwàhq* must have been terrified of the creature. Like Franceway's parents, they nonetheless greeted their visitor politely and treated him with appropriate courtesy by asking him to stay and have something to eat. The *kiwàhq* rewarded them for their kindness by doing them no harm. As Franceway would have predicted, however, the giant was eager to head north, since only a colder climate could relieve the distress that warm weather would have caused him, as it threatened to melt the ice attached to his heart.

Of course, if any Passamaquoddies had been listening as Newell Francis recorded his stories, they would not have required such explanations, since they would have been able to supply a rich array of details from other tales they had heard to flesh out the highly abbreviated accounts made necessary by the limitations of Prince's recording equipment.

5. The Passamaquoddy texts

The six texts that Newell Francis recorded for Prince are given below in the order in which they appear in Prince 1900. I have divided the texts into numbered sections, corresponding for the most part to sentences. Within each such division I first give Prince's transcription as (a), together with the corresponding portion of his translation, then give my proposed retranscription as (b), with a revised translation.

Text I

(1) a. K'chī Joe Bĕ′nōĭ′t m'dē′aulĭ′n pō′hē′gŭnŭl k'chī k'nā′kwchĭl.
        Old Joe Benoit, the wizard, changed himself into a big turtle.

     b. Kci=*Joe Benoit* mótewŏlòn 'púw-h-íkŏn-ol   kc-ihkŏnáqc-ol.
        old=Joe Benoit shaman   (3)-dream-TA-NOM-OBV.SG big-turtle-OBV.SG
        'The supernatural form of old Joe Benoit the shaman was a great turtle.'

(2) a. Ūmā′t̥[n]tēnīyāl k'd'gĭl skīt̥ā′pyĭl.
        He had quarreled with another man.

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b. W-mátŏn-otí-nĭ-ya-l kótŏk-il skitápĭ-yil.
3-fight-RECIP-OBJ-PROX.NS-OBV.SG other-OBV.SG man-OBV.SG
'He had a fight with another man.'

(3) a. Pō´hē´gŭnŭl k'chī āt-hōzĭ´swŭl.
The other changed himself into a great serpent.

b. 'Púw-h-íkŏn-ol kci=athusóssŭw-ol.
(3)-dream-TA-NOM-OBV.SG big=snake-OBV.SG
'His supernatural form was a great snake.'

(4) a. M'dēaulĭ´nwŭk nē´'sē´yĭk t'līp'n'ltō´wŭk.
The wizards fought together at *Nē´'sē´yĭk*.

b. Motewŏlónŭw-ok Néhs-éyi-k tol-ihpŏn-ol-tú-w-ok.
shaman-PROX.NS turbid-II-3IN there-fight-TA-RECIP-3-PROX.NS
'The shamans fought at Boyden Lake.'

(5) a. Kīzīp'n'ltī´tĭt m'sīdē nsēyō kŭ´spĕn.
After the fighting, the lake was all stirred up.

b. Kis-ihpŏn-ol-tí-hti-t msí=te ns-éyu qóspem.
past-fight-TA-RECIP-PROX.NS-3AN all=EMPH turbid-AI-(3) lake
'After they fought, the lake was all stirred up.'

(6) a. Nō´dǎ´mĕn Joe Bĕ´nōĭ´t kĭstā´hāl k'd'gĭl skī̥tā´pyĭl.
I heard that Joe Benoit beat the other man.

b. Nút-ŏm-on *Joe Benoit* 'kis-tá-h-a-l kótŏk-il skitápĭ-yil.
(1)-hear-TH-IN Joe Benoit (3)-past-strike-TA-DIR-OBV.SG other-OBV.SG man-OBV.SG
'I heard that Joe Benoit beat up the other man.'

(7) a. Kīzīp'n'ltī´tĭt k'dŭk skī´tḁ̄p mē´'chīnē.
After the fight the other man died.

b. Kis-ihpŏn-ol-tí-hti-t kŏtók skítàp mehc-íne.
past-fight-TA-RECIP-PROX.NS-3AN other man finish-die-(3)
'After they fought, the other man died.'

Text II

(1) a. K'chī Lācōt(e) m'dē´aulĭn k'chī Sābātĭssī´z'l ūmā´tn̥tēnīyāl.
      Old Lacote, the wizard, quarreled with old Sabatis.

   b. Kci=Láhkut mótewŏlòn Kci=Sapatoss-ís-ol   w-matŏn-otí-nĭ-ya-l.
       old=Lacote shaman   old=Sabattis-DIM-OBV.SG 3-fight-RECIP-OBJ-PROX.NS-OBV.SG
       'Old Lacote the shaman had a fight with Old Sabattis.'

(2) a. K'chī Lācōt(e) ūnājĭ´'tŏn mskwĭglāhē´gŏn k'chī´'kŏk.
      Old Lacote had made a dead-fall trap for bear in the woods.

   b. Kci=Láhkut w-nac-íht-u-n   msqi=kŏl-oh-íkon   kcíhk-uk.
       old=Lacote 3-go-make-TH-IN bear=hold.fast-TA-NOM woods-LOC
       'Old Lacote went to make a deadfall trap for bear in the woods.'

(3) a. Kīzī'tāq pī´zĕ´ssīn.
      After he made it, he crawled in (to test it).

   b. Kis-íht-a-q   'pís-éssi-n.
       finish-make-TH-3AN (3)-into-move-SUB
       'When he finished it, he went inside.'

(4) a. w'tu̥gwĕjĭ´'tŏn wāgōnā´kwĕm. W'mā´jĕtauk kĕ´gĕskw.
      He pulled the prop-stick, touching it only a little.

   b. Wt-oqec-éht-u-n wakŏn-áhqem, mácé-ht-a-q   kekèsk.
       3-try-do-TH-IN   bait-pole   start-do-TH-3AN a.little
       'He tested the bait-stick, moving it a little.'

(5) a. Wāgōnā´kwĕm kwĭ´llhō´găn.
      The prop-stick fell on him.

   b. Wakŏn-áhqem 'qol-h-úka-n.
       bait-pole   (3)-hold.fast-AI-OBJ
       'He got caught under the bait stick.'

(6) a. Ūkwūssī´z'l ūkĭgw'hō´gŏl (ūsĕb'mōyō´gŏl).
      His son (however) rescued him.

b. W-qoss-ís-ol   w-kik-uh-úk-ul   (w-sepŏmuw-y-úk-ul).
    3-son-DIM-OBV.SG 3-heal-TA-INV-3.OBV 3-save-TA-INV-3.OBV

    'His young son healed him (saved him).'

(7) a. W'gīchī´jītŏn Lācōte Sābātĭssī´z'l ūm'dēaulĭ´nwĭk-p'nĭ´lkŏl.
    Lacote knew that Sabatis had bewitched him.

    b. W-kocic-íht-u-n Láhkut Sapotoss-ís-ol   w-motewŏlonŭw-ihpŏn-ól-k-ul.
    3-know-TI-TH-IN Lacote Sabattis-DIM-OBV.SG 3-shaman-fight-TA-INV-3.OBV

    'Lacote knew that Sabattis had put a curse on him.'

Text III

(1) a. Nīl nānā´nkō kĕsĭg'd'nī´yăn n'mī´hā skī´tāp m'dē´aulĭn'wē´ū līwī´zō Mĭ'kůmwĕss.
    When I was fifteen years old, I saw a man who was a wizard. He was called a
        *M*ĭ*'kůmwĕss* (a wood-devil).

    b. Nìl nanánku kehs-ikŏton-ĭ-yàn,   nom-íy-a   skitàp motéwŏlonŭw-ì-w
    I   fifteen   so.many-be.year-AI-1SG (1)-see-TA-DIR man   shaman-AI-3

        l-iwísu   Mihkomŭwèhs
        thus-be.named-(3) sprite

    'When I was fifteen years old, I saw a man who was a shaman, called *Mihkom*ŭ*wèhs*.'

(2) a. Ntīō´gŭn ngīzīkwĕtkē´ūs nāgā ngīzīkīnōslů´ggŏn ēd'lĭ kīzīkwĕtkēū´sĕt.
    He told me that he had sunk into hard ground up to his ankles, and he showed me the
        place where he had done so.

    b. Nt-iy-úku-n "N-kisi=qetkè-ws,"   naka n-kisi=kin-uhs-ŏl-óku-n
    1-tell-INV-SUB 1-can=ankle.deep-walk and 1-past=inform-walk-TA-INV-SUB

                etŏli=kisi=qetké-wse-t.
                there=past=ankle.deep-walk-3AN

    'He told me, "I can walk so as to step ankle-deep into the ground"; and he led me to the
        place where he had walked this way.'

(3) a. Nīl n'mī´tŏn ĕlā´ptāk wĕjō´sĕt.
    I saw the tracks where he had walked.

b. Nìl nom-íht-u-n   el-ápta-q   wec-úhse-t.
   I   1-see-TI-TH-IN thus-make.tracks-3AN from-walk-3AN
   'I saw the tracks he had left as walked from there.'

Text IV

(1) a. N'mī´taukws nō´dwā ēd'lĭ´ntauk nībā´īyū
       I heard my father (once) singing by night

     b. N-míhtaqs nút-ŭw-a   etŏl-ínta-q   nipa-yìw.
        1-father   (1)-hear-TA-DIR ongoing-sing-3AN night-PF
        'I heard my father singing at night.'

(2) a. ōt'lĭntŭwē´wāl wīdā´pyīl.
       to his partner

     b. Wt-ol-intuw-éw-a-l   w-itápĭ-yil.
        3-thus-sing-TA-DIR-OBV.SG 3-friend-OBV.SG
        'He was singing to his partner.'

(3) a. Ūnō´dā´gŏl ēd'lĭntauk-mĕdĕ´ntākw pī´chĕdō´g
       and he (the partner) heard him (my father) singing

     b. W-nút-á-ku-l   etŏl-ínta-q,   meté-nta-q,   pihcetùk.
        3-hear-TA-INV-OBV.SG ongoing-sing-3AN be.heard-sing-3AN far.away
        '(His partner) heard him singing, singing audibly, in a faraway place.'

(4) a. ngwŭttā t'kĕssōsā´lkwŭt t'līgĕdŏ´ñkē.
       when he (the partner) was hunting a hundred miles away.

     b. Nqot-àtq   kehs-uhs-ál-qot   toli=kotún-ke.
        one-hundred X.many-walk-TA-II-(3) there=hunt-AI-(3)
        'He (the partner) was hunting a hundred miles away.'

Text V

(1) a. Nzī´wĕs nt'lāg'nō´d'māk pīchē kĭskākĕsĭ´gd'n mātndŏltī´tĭt m'dēaulĭ´nwŭk.
       My brother told me that many years ago certain wizards had a quarrel.

b. N-síwehs nt-ol-akŏnútŏm-a-q píhce   kìs   kakehs-íkŏton
   1-brother 1-thus-tell-TA-INV   long.ago already many-be.year-(3)

       mat-ŏn-ot-ultí-hti-t   motewŏlónŭw-ok.
       strike-by.hand-RECIP-PL-PROX.NS-3AN shaman-PROX.NS

   'My brother told me that many years ago some shamans fought amongst themselves.'

(2) a. Pĕ´sk'wŏl ūnĕp'hā´njā.
    They killed one (of their number).

  b. Péskúw-ol   w-nehpo-h-á-nĭ-ya.
     one-OBV.SG 3-kill-TA-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS
     'They killed one of their number.'

(3) a. Ūmājĕp'hā´njā Mnā´'nŏk ē´d'lī-spāsēgĕk.
    They brought him to Grand Manan, where there was a steep ledge[,]

  b. W-mace-ph-á-nĭ-ya   Mŏnahnù-k   etŏli=sp-ahsék-e-k.
     3-start-carry-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS Grand.Manan-LOC there=high-ledge-II-3IN
     'They took him to Grand Manan, where there is a high ledge.'

(4) a. Nĭt ēd'līpŏltī´tĭt.
    and there they ate him.

  b. Nìt   etŏl-ihp-ultí-hti-t.
     there there-eat-PL-PROX.NS-3AN
     'That is where they ate.'

Text VI

(1) a. Nĭ´zwŭk skītā´pyĭk t'līg'dŏ´ṅkīyĭk kŭspē´mŭk.
    Two men were hunting on a lake.

  b. Nísŭw-ok   skitápĭ-yik   toli=kotunkí-yik   qospém-ok.
     two-PROX.NS man-PROX.NS there=hunt-PROX.NS lake-LOC
     'Two men were hunting on a lake.'

(2) a. Slā´kīū ūnōd'wā´niā wĕ´nĭl mǎskwŭlǎmīyĭlī´jĭl ĕ´lmā´g'mĕk mĕ´'tāg'mĕk.
    Suddenly they heard some one whooping along the lake, at the foot of the lake.

b. Sŏláhkìw w-nut-ŭw-á-nĭ-ya   wén-il   masqolami-lí-c-il
   suddenly 3-hear-TA-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS someone-OBV.SG scream-OBV-3AN-OBV.SG

   elŏm-ákŏm-e-k, meht-ákŏm-e-k.
   away-lake-II-3IN end-lake-II-3IN

   'Suddenly they heard someone shrieking up the lake, at the end of the lake.'

(3) a. Nōdausā´nja̱—
       They went out,

   b. Nute-wsá-nĭ-ya.
      (3)-out-walk-SUB-PROX.NS
      'They went out.'

(4) a. āpch ūnōd'wā´nja̱ mӑskwu̱lӑmīyĭlī´jĭl.
       and again they heard him whooping.

   b. Àpc w-nut-ŭw-á-nĭ-ya   masqolami-lí-c-il.
      again 3-hear-TA-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS scream-OBV-3AN-OBV.SG
      'Again they heard him shrieking.'

(5) a. Ūnĭmĭyă´wӑl wĕchkōyӑlī´´jĭl.
       They saw him coming.

   b. W-nom-iy-á-wa-l   weckuw-ya-lí-c-il.
      3-see-TA-DIR-PROX.NS hither-go-OBV-3AN-OBV.SG
      'They saw him coming (toward them).'

(6) a. Mă´lū´m'dē pĕchī´'yĭl ēyī´'tĭt.
       Right up he comes to where they are.

   b. Malom-te   pec-íhĭ-yil   eyí-hti-t.
      finally-EMPH arrive-go-(3)-OBV.SG be.located-PROX.NS-3AN
      'Finally he came to where they were.'

(7) a. Ūtīyā´nja̱ : p'´lchīnĕss mĭts.
       They said to him : "won't you eat?"

   b. Wt-iy-á-nĭ-ya,   "Pòl cŏn-èss.   Mìts."
      3-tell-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS first stop-move eat
      'They said to him, "Stop for a while. Eat."'

(8) a. Ŏ'tī´d'mŭn yōt skī´tāp : kă´tămă ngīzījĕnĕ´s-hīyū tē´tĭnt'lī ēd'līt'kēyĭk lă'tōgwĕssnŭk.
    That man said : "I cannot stop; I must go to where it is cold, to the north."

   b. Wt-ít-ŏm-on wòt   skitàp, "Katáma n-kisi=cŏn-éssi-w.   Tètt
      3-say-TH-IN this.AN man   not   1-can=stop-move-NEG that.direction

         nt-ol-ì   etŏli=tk-éyi-k   lahtŏqéhsŏn-uk."
         1-thus-go there=cold-II-3IN north-LOC

      'The man said, "I cannot stop. I am going where it is cold, in the north."'

(9) a. Yōt skī´tāp ĕlwĕ´'kăl kīwă´'kw.
    That man must have been a *Kīwă´'kw*.

   b. Wòt   skítàp élŭwehkàl kiwàhq.
      this.AN man   probably   forest.giant
      'The man must have been a forest giant.'

6. Linguistic notes

Several items in the texts above warrant special comment. As above, forms cited in the spellings of the original sources are given in angled brackets. Actual or possible phonemic forms are given in italics.

*motew*ŏ*lòn* **'shaman' (text I, l. 1).** The term *motew*ŏ*lòn* is probably synchronically unanalyzable, but consists in origin of an initial (a stem-initial component) *motew-*, derived from the stem of Proto-Algonquian (PA) **mete w-a* 'shaman' (Bloomfield 1946:107), plus a noun final (stem-final component) *-*ŏ*lon(*ŭ*w-)*, reflecting a PA final **-elenyiw-*, based in turn on the stem of **elenyiw-a* 'man, person' (Bloomfield 1946:87; Hewson 1993:245). From a historical point of view, the nouns *motew-ékon* 'flag' and *motew-áhqem* 'flagpole' apparently include the same initial and thus appear to be etymologically 'shaman's cloth' and 'shaman's pole'. (Compare *coss*ŭ*wew-ékon* 'mosquito net, gauze', *lam-áhqem* 'heartwood'.) The contemporary shape *motew-* is historically unexpected, however, since PA **e* regularly gives **ə* in Proto-Eastern Algonquian (PEA), and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *o* (schwa) from PEA **ə* is regularly subject to

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syncope in a word-initial syllable (or other weak position) where it is followed by an obstruent consonant. In fact, though, forms showing the expected path of development are also attested. In a Maliseet text recorded in 1963, the syncopated form *kci=mtew*ŏ*lòn* 'great shaman' occurs several times, alongside *motew*ŏ*lòn* 'shaman' and *kci=motew*ŏ*lòn*ŭ*wok* 'great shamans' (Teeter and LeSourd 2000, text 11). In Newell 1979, a collection of contemporary Passamaquoddy stories, syncopated forms like *ptew*ŏ*lòn* 'shaman' and *eci=ptew*ŏ*lón*ŭ*wit* 'she was a powerful shaman' (with *p* replacing earlier *m*, as expected) cooccur with unsyncopated forms like *motew*ŏ*lón*ŭ*wok* and *eli=toli=motew*ŏ*lon*ŭ*wihpón*ŏ*lut* 'that she was being cursed by a shaman'.[27] It seems likely, then, that contemporary forms in *motew-* reflect analogical reshaping.

The root *mote-* 'be heard (doing something)' may well have furnished a model for this reshaping. The historical source of *mote-* is PA **matwe -* 'be heard' (Hewson 1993:98). PA **a* remained **a* in PEA, but ultimately merged with PEA **ə* as *o* (schwa) in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. The loss of weak **ə* before an obstruent evidently took place prior to this merger, so that morphemes like *mote-* 'be heard' retain *o* before an obstruent, even in historically weak positions.

Forms in certain paradigms of the so-called Conjunct type (used primarily in various types of subordinate clauses) are subject to an ablaut process known as Initial Change, in which schwa (from any source) is replaced by *e*. The result, in the case of roots like *mote-* 'be heard', is a pattern of alternation in which *e* in the Changed form of a root is matched by non-syncopating *o* in Unchanged forms: compare *meté-nta-q* 'he or she is heard singing' (text IV, l. 3), *moté-qsu* 'he or she is heard sleeping, snores'. Moreover, many non-syncopating schwas, including the vowel of the first syllable of *mote-*, have been reanalyzed as phonologically strong, with the result that they are no longer exceptions to the synchronic rule that deletes a weak vowel before an obstruent.

The phonological treatment of the old initial *motew-* 'shaman' appears to have been revised, then, to fit the pattern of alternation historically proper to roots like *mote-* 'be heard', with a non-syncopating, inherently strong schwa. This result is hardly surprising, since the two initials would have been identical, apart from the final *w* of *motew-*, both in prefixed forms (where syncope is not applicable) and in forms made with Initial Change. It should be noted, however, that verb stems in contemporary language that etymologically incorporate *motew-* 'shaman' typically fail to undergo Initial Change: *motewŏlonŭwihpónŏlosk* 'the one who puts a curse on you (sg.)' (Newell 1979:14), *motewekŏnahásik* 'that which has a flag on it'. This seemingly irregular treatment reflects another innovation of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy: initial components of denominal verbs are regularly exempt from Initial Change, provided that the meaning of the underlying nominal stem remains salient in the verbal derivative (Leavitt 1985:86–8). Since *motew-* survives in the contemporary language only as a component of noun stems, the first vowel of this element is potentially subject to Initial Change only when it occurs as part of the stem of a denominal verb, where Initial Change is not usually carried out. If *motew-* 'shaman' has been reshaped on the model of *mote-* 'be heard', then, this reshaping most likely took place at some point in the history of the language when Initial Change was still applicable to some set of stems in which *motew-* occurred.

'*puwhík*ŏ*nol* 'his supernatural form (obv.)' (text I, l. 1). From an etymological point of view, *puwhíkŏn* 'supernatural form' is based on a root *puw-* 'dream', reflecting PA **paw-* 'dream' (Hewson 1993:152), which also occurs in such words as *'puwíhtun* 'he or she dreams about it', *'puwíyal* 'he or she dreams about him or her', and *puwíhta* 'he or she dreams'. Compare Micmac *pewitu* 'I dream about it' (DeBlois 1996:68), *puaqn* 'dream' (Hewson and Francis 1990:263), *puwowin* 'shaman' (DeBlois 1996:74); Penobscot *nəpáwihɑ* 'I endow him with supernatural power', *páwəhikan* (in.) 'token, talisman, fetish object used for magic purposes by shamans' (PD 352–3); Massachusett <pauwau> *pawāw* 'he or she practices magic or sorcery',

<pauwauonk> *pawāãk* 'witchcraft' (Trumbull 1903:120). "A wizard or witch," Gatschet tells us, "when seen in the woods in your dream, will turn itself into an animal, bull, horse, dog, muskrat & can bring bad luck" (G 3:289). The etymological meaning of *puwhíkŏn* as 'dreamed entity' does not appear to be salient to my consultants, however. Thus it may be best to regard this noun as unanalyzable in the contemporary language.

    kcihkŏnáqcol **'turtle (obv.)' (text I, l. 1).** My Passamaquoddy consultants generally give *cíhkŏnaqc* for 'turtle' and reject or disfavor pronunciations with an initial *k* (although Peter Paul used the pronunciation *kcíhkŏnaqc* in a Maliseet text that he recorded for me in 1978). Pronunciations without *k* appear to be reflected in a number of nineteenth-century sources as well: Barratt (1851:7) gives <Che-ku-nuks> for Maliseet; Alger (1885:240) reports <Chikquenocktsh> and Gatschet (G 2:95) <tchiknóktch> for Passamaquoddy. On the other hand, there are also recordings that confirm initial *kc* for the language of the nineteenth century. H. Prince (1854:12) has <K-chee k-naʹ-oosk> "Turtle, or Tortoise." Gatschet lists <ktchíknaûkts> as "turtle" (G 1:32), and also gives <ámali=ktchîʹknauks> as "striped turtle of diff[eren]t markings and colors" (G 1:142). The latter is apparently *amali=kcíhkŏnaqc*, with a prenoun *amali-* 'striped, spotted'; cf. *amál-ŏmeq* 'mackeral', literally "striped fish." Chamberlain (1880:60) lists <k'tchiʹ-kû-nâkwtsʹ> as "Mud Turtle" for Maliseet. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that *cíhkŏnaqc* was originally simply a variant of *kcíhkŏnaqc*.

    In contemporary Passamaquoddy, *cíhkŏnaqc* appears to be an unanalyzable noun, although several of my consultants have suggested a connection between this word and *kc-*, the variant of *kt-* 'big, old' that occurs before *i*. This analysis was clearly synchronically valid in Newell Francis's time, since Alger (1897:127) glosses <K'chī Quēnocktsh> as "the Big Turtle" and Gatschet translates <ktchíkĕnawktch> (as a man's name) as "Big Turtle" (G 2:76). Moreover, both Gatschet and Chamberlain recorded a related term that attests to the independent existence

of a noun final *-ihkŏnaqc* 'turtle': Gatschet has \<amalíknauktch\> "striped turtle" (G 2:95), Chamberlain \<a-ma-liʹ-kû-nâkwts\> "wood turtle" (1880:60), both apparently *amal-íhkŏnaqc*.

Additional confirmation for at least the etymological correctness of this analysis comes from Penobscot, which has a number of terms formed with *-(i)hkənahkʷ* 'turtle', e.g., *kč-íhkənahkʷ* 'large or old snapping turtle', *skwè-hkənahkʷ* 'female turtle' (PD 178, 488).[28] This suffix appears to reflect a PA noun final *-(i)xkena hkw- 'turtle', derived from the stem of *mexkena hkw-a 'snapping turtle' (Siebert 1941:301).[29] The final *c* of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *-ihkŏnaqc* shows that this morpheme cannot simply be the inherited reflex of *-(i)xkena hkw, however, and suggests reshaping on the basis of a Micmac model. While this *c* of has no analysis within Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, it resembles the Micmac diminutive suffix *-j* of forms such as *kunnte:j* 'stone' *kwitnu:j* 'small canoe'; cf. *kunntew* 'rock, stone', *kwitn* 'canoe' (DeBlois 1996:35–6). DeBlois gives *mikjikj* as 'turtle' for contemporary Micmac (p. 46), but also reports *amaliknoqji:j* "mud turtle" for the Shubenacadie, N.S., dialect (p. 2). The latter matches Gatschet and Chamberlain's *amalíhkŏnaqc*, except that the Micmac form has *-ji:j*, the productive diminutive suffix of the contemporary language, rather than the older *-j*.

wmatŏnotínĭyal **'he (prox.) fights with him (obv.)' (text I, l. 2).** In Prince's published text (1900:184), the transcription of this word has been split across two lines, with \<Ūmāʹtn-\> occurring on one line and \<ntēnīyāl\> on the next. The repetition of \<n\> across the line break was presumably an accident of typesetting, since the same word is given as \<ūmāʹtntēnīyāl\> in Text II, line (1). The contemporary pronunciation, as noted above, is *matŏnotínĭyal*.

skitápĭyil **'man (obv.)' (text I, l. 2).** This form, like several others in the texts, apparently reflects a recent change in the history of Passamaquoddy by which *o* (schwa) has become *i* after *y* in various inflectional suffixes, including the obviative singular and inanimate plural ending *-ol* and the proximate plural suffix *-ok*. (Compare Maliseet *skitapíyol* 'man (obv.)'.) This change was apparently still in progress in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Gatschet's

recordings include forms of both types, sometimes for the same word: on one page he gives the plural for <agauhú> *akawhù* 'caterpillar' as <agauhúyèk> *akawhúwĭyok* (G2:187), but in another passage he notes a plural in <—húyik>, i.e., *akawhúwĭyik*, the form heard today (G2:114). Spellings employed by Newell Francis in his own writing, however, suggest that his speech was like the contemporary language in this respect. Thus, for example, he has <otatapyil> *wtahtápĭyil* 'his bow (obv.)', with final <il> apparently reflecting *il* rather than *ol*, as in contemporary *'tahtápĭyil* (Prince 1909:632). Compare <ketaquh'mosel> *ktaqhomúhsol* 'old man (obv.)' (p. 631), where Francis writes *-ol* as <el>. (Francis appears, for the most part, to have used vowel letters with their French values.)

Nehséyik **'Boyden Lake' (text I, l. 4).** David Francis gives the contemporary name of this body of water as *Nesséyik*. Prince's transcription <nē''sē'yĭk>, on the other hand, appears to reflect *Nehséyik*. There is reason to believe that Prince's recording correctly represents Newell Francis's speech, although the available evidence is not conclusive.

In form, *Nesséyik* or *Nehséyik* is a Conjunct participle (a relative clause form) based on the stem of *nséyu* 'it (water) is turbid, roiled up' (l. 5). This verb has not been confirmed by my consultants (see the following note), but appears to consist of an initial component *ns-* 'turbid' plus the common stem-forming suffix *-eyi-*; cf. *tk-éyu* 'he or she is cold (to the touch), it is cold weather'.

Comparison with cognate Penobscot forms suggests that at some point in the history of the language, the basic shape of Passamaquoddy *ns-* was /nŏhs-/.[30] In the contemporary language, a morpheme with this underlying form would be expected to have three surface alternates: (1) *ns-* in unprefixed forms, by syncope of the weak schwa of the root; (2) *noss-* in prefixed forms, where this schwa becomes strong and is accordingly not subject to syncope, since /hs/ is regularly replaced by *ss* after schwa; and (3) *nehs-* in forms subject to Initial Change, including participles. This is essentially what we find in Penobscot, except that the initial appears there in an extended

form with the basic shape /nəhse-/. Syncope yields a surface alternate *nse-*: <nse ʹgən> *nsè-kən* "it is riley" (Speck 1919:282). The unsyncopated variant *nəsse-* appears in prefixed forms: *nə-nəssé-pe-n-əm-ən* 'I tore, stirred it (water) up with my hands, paws' (PD 311), with *-pe-* 'water', *-n-* 'by hand', and inflectional affixes. The Changed form is *nehse-*: <neʹʹsegək> *néhse-kə-k* "Riley [Lake]" (Speck 1919:282; brackets in the original). In Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, however, alternations between *hs* and *ss* have generally been leveled out in comparable initials, with *ss* appearing in both prefixed and Changed forms. Thus Passamaquoddy has *ns-* ~ *noss-* ~ *ness-* 'three' (*ns-úlom* 'he or she turns up three (in the traditional bowl and dice game)', *noss-úlom* 'I turn up three', *ness-úlo-k* 'one who turns up three'), while Penobscot has *ns-* ~ *nəss-* ~ *nehs-* in the same meaning (*ns-òlawe* 'he or she turns up three', *nə-nə̀ss-olawa* 'I turn up three', *nehs-awíhkhɑsit* 'three spot (in cards)'; forms at PD 342, 311). It seems clear, then, that at some point the form *Nesséyik* replaced earlier *Nehséyik* as the pronunciation of the name of Boyden Lake. If we find evidence that the latter pronunciation survived in Newell Francis's time, it would seem reasonable to conclude that Prince's transcription is correct.

Most early sources are inconclusive on this point, however. Gatschet's <Nesseyík> (G 2:179) and <Nesséyik> (G 3:289) probably attest this word in its contemporary pronunciation, but he did not consistently distinguish *ss* from *hs*. Mitchell himself wrote the name of Boyden Lake as <Neseyik Quespem>, with *qóspem* 'lake' (Eckstorm 1945:45), but his <s> could again reflect either *hs* or *ss*. Possible support for the pronunciation *Nehséyik* comes from Kilby (1888:488), who gives <Nah sa ickʹ> as "Boyden's Lake" in a list of Passamaquoddy place names that he attributes to Peter E. Vose, a lawyer in nearby Dennysville. Naturally, Vose's use of orthographic syllable-final <h> here can hardly be considered strong evidence one way or another. It is striking, however, that he employs this notation only in one other item (out of sixteen) in his list, where his <h> does in fact correspond to a syllable-final *h* in the

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Passamaquoddy form: <Ma nah′ nook> *Mŏnahnùk* 'Grand Manan'. Stronger evidence comes

from Speck (1919:282), who notes that the lake in which the battle between the two shamans

took place was generally known to the Penobscots by its Passamaquoddy name, which he gives as

<Ne′′se ik>, that is, *Néhseyik*. The accentuation indicated here is Penobscot, however, and

Speck's consultants may have used *hs* in this word on account of their familiarity with related

Penobscot forms. Thus the most we can say with certainty is that it is plausible that Newell

Francis pronounced the name of Boyden Lake as *Nehséyik*, as Prince indicates.

   ***nséyu* 'it (water) is turbid, roiled up' (text I, l. 5).** This word is not recognized by my

consultants, either in the form reflected here or with the expected contemporary pronunciation

'séyu. In Gatschet's notes, however, we find <nesséyu, n'séyu>, glossed as "muddy" (G 3:179).

The first of these forms could represent *nesséyu*, but is perhaps more likely to have been intended

as "nĕsséyu," representing *nosséyu*, with *noss-* for *ns-* through leveling of the alternation between

the expected prefixed and unprefixed forms of this root. The second form given by Gatschet

confirms the interpretation of Prince's transcription that I have followed here. Note also

<nsebegíe> '(the water) is getting roily' (G 2:71), reflecting *ns-opek-íye* (or perhaps *nse-pek-íye*,

with an extended initial as in Penobscot). Compare *tk-ópeq* 'cold water', *con-pek-ìw* 'the motion

of the tide stops', with *tk-* 'cold', *con-* 'stop'.

   ***qóspem* 'lake' (text I, l. 5).** Both *qóspem* and *kúspem* are heard for 'lake' in contemporary

Maliseet and Passamaquoddy. Newell Francis apparently used the pronunciation *qóspem*,

however, since he wrote the plural locative form *qospemíhkuk* 'among the lakes' as

<guespemikok> in the story that Prince published as "A Passamaquoddy Aviator" (1909:632).

   ***msqi=kŏlohíkon* 'deadfall trap for bear' (text II, l. 2).** The first member of this

compound, which Prince recorded as <mskwĭ>, is clearly a prenoun *msqi-* 'bear'. Neither David

Francis nor any of the other speakers that I have consulted is familiar such a form, but this is in

fact the expected derivative of this type from the stem of PA **maθkw-a* 'bear' (Siebert

1941:300): PA *θk regularly gives *sk* in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, and PA short *a* is regularly

lost in weak positions (including initial syllables) when followed by a fricative-initial cluster.

This analysis is confirmed by three forms recorded by Gatschet: <mskwí=bĕm> *msq-ipòm* 'bear

oil' (G 2:183); <mskwä-u>, <mskwé-u> *msq-èw* 'bearskin' (G 2:79, 183); <mskwé wéssis> *msq-*

ewé-hsis 'little bearskin', glossed as "cub's skin" (G 2:79). Compare contemporary *cuspes-ipòm*

'porpoise oil' (/cuspes/ 'porpoise', /-(i)pomi/ 'oil'), Maliseet *qapit-ewĭ-yéya-l* 'made of beaver

skin (in. pl.)' (/qapit/ 'beaver', /-ewe/ 'skin', /-eya/ 'material'). Barratt (1851:12) has

<Unsquaoo> "a Bear's skin," also reflecting *msqèw*, with <Un> written for what must have been

a syllabic *m*. On the same page, he gives "bear's grease" as <skeepum>, evidently a recording of

msqipòm. Alger (1885:240) lists <Msqaouwessis> as "Cub," but this must again be *msqewéhsis*

'little bearskin', a diminutive of *msqèw*.[31]

    The second member of the compound is evidently 'trap (for game animals)'. In the

contemporary language, this word is pronounced *kolhíkon*. Prince's transcription <glāhē´gŏn>,

on the other hand, is probably best interpreted as reflecting a pronunciation *kŏlohíkon*. The latter

form is what we would expect in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, apart from certain relatively recent

changes in the language, given cognates elsewhere in Eastern Algonquian that point to PEA

*kəlahī̆kan, including Penobscot *kàlahikan* (PD 187) and Munsee *kə̆lahíkan* (Ives Goddard, p.c.,

2000).

    In particular, the contemporary form *kolhíkon* reflects a redistribution of phonologically

strong and weak positions in word-initial sequences of syllables in which all of the vowels are

basically weak (i.e., historically short). Under the historically expected treatment, a basically

weak vowel in the first syllable of such a word remains phonologically weak, while the vowel of

the second syllable is made strong by virtue of its position in the sequence. In contemporary

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, however, the vowel in the first syllable of the word is made strong, and

the vowel of the second syllable remains weak, just in case a sonorant consonant stands between

these two vowels. (Phonologically weak vowels are then subject to deletion under particular

segmental conditions.) The basically weak schwa of /pŏm-/ 'along' accordingly remains weak in

pŏm-áptu 'he or she goes along, leaving tracks', since the following vowel is basically strong, but

is promoted to strong status in *póm-ŏka* 'he or she dances', where the following vowel is

basically weak. A few relic forms show the retention and deletion of historically short vowels

according to the old pattern of strength assignment, thus attesting to its former generality. For

example, the initial schwa of */ŏlŏn-/ 'ordinary, native', from PA *elen-* (Hewson 1993:38),

remained weak and was therefore ultimately dropped in *lón-toq* 'fresh water' (*-toq* 'river'), but

was promoted to strong status and therefore retained in *olŏn-ákson* 'Indian shoe, moccasin'

(*-akson* 'shoe').[32]

Given that the old treatment of schwa in initial syllables has been maintained in some words,

is it likely that this treatment was maintained in the particular word *kŏlohíkon* in Newell Francis's

speech? Gatschet noted several forms of this word with pronunciations like those of the

contemporary language: <klhìkĕn> *kolhíkon* "trap and deadfall for bigger deer", pl. <klhìkĕnul>

kolhíkŏnol, dim. <klhíkĕnis> *kolhíkŏnis* "small traps for sable, mink, etc...; deadfalls made of

wooden sticks" (G 1:261). He also noted a pronunciation <kĕlihígĕn>, however, in which the

second vowel of this word was evidently retained (G 1:10). (This form also shows the

assimilation of schwa to a following vowel across /h/, a regular process in the contemporary

language. I return to this point below.) Moreover, he recorded several forms from Newell

Francis himself that appear to confirm that the speech of this consultant was indeed conservative

in relevant respects.

In contemporary Passamaquoddy, the stem /ŏl-ŏhom-/ 'swim (there)' is invariant in prefixing

paradigms: the second vowel of the stem is subject to syncope not only in the first-person singular

nt-ól-hom and the second-person singular *kt-ól-hom*, but also in the unprefixed third-person

singular form *ól-hom*. The initial schwa of this stem is promoted to strong status after a person-

marking prefix, since the prefix itself originally included a weak vowel. In the third-person form, the initial schwa of the stem is promoted to strong status because it is followed by a sonorant consonant and another weak vowel.

From Newell Francis, however, Gatschet recorded <ndĕlham> *ntólhom* 'I swim (there)' and <ktĕlham> *któlhom* 'you (sg.) swim (there)' as in the contemporary language, but third-person <ĕlĕ′ham> 'he or she swims (there)', apparently ŏl-*óhom* (G 2:53).[33] The last of these forms reflects the old treatment of word-initial sequences of syllables with weak vowels, rather than the contemporary treatment.[34] Several forms that Gatschet recorded from other consultants confirm that variation between the older and newer patterns of accentuation continued into the final years of the nineteenth century. Thus, at one point in his notes, Gatschet has <gĕlūt, gĕlúĕt> *kŏlúwot* 'it is good (for use)', reflecting the older treatment of schwa in word-initial syllables (G 1:5); but in another passage we find the same word written as <kĕ′luwut>, indicating the pronunciation *kólŭwot*, as in the contemporary language (G 3:342). It seems entirely plausible, then, that Francis pronounced contemporary *kolhíkon* 'trap' as *kŏlohíkon*.

One final point needs to be considered in connection with this word. In the contemporary language, underlying /a/, /e/, and /o/ are typically subject to assimilation to a following vowel across /h/. This process appears to take place in two steps, however: first /a/ or /e/ becomes /o/ before /hV/, then /o/ is subject to assimilation to the vowel that follows /h/. Although only fully assimilated forms are written in standard Passamaquoddy orthography, the second step in this process, assimilation itself, is in fact variably applied by contemporary speakers. Thus contemporary native writers often make such "spelling mistakes" as writing <motohehsim> for *motehéhsim* 'duck (especially black duck)'. Indeed, the vowels that are subject to assimilation might appropriately be represented as schwas in a fully phonemic orthography.

Gatschet's transcription of 'trap' as <kĕlihígĕn>, perhaps to be interpreted as *kŏlihíkon*, suggests that assimilation in its contemporary form was already a feature of at least some

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Passamaquoddy speech in the late nineteenth century. Returning now to Newell Francis's speech, consider the form that Prince gives as <ūkĭgw'hō´gŏl> in text II, line (6), which is apparently to be read as *wkikuhúkul* 'he (obv.) healed him (prox.)'. The basic shape of the stem of this verb is /kike-h-/ 'heal'; compare the corresponding inanimate-object stem /kike-ht-/ in *'kikéhtun* 'he or she heals it'. Here then, Francis appears to have applied both parts of the contemporary process of assimilation.[35] In text V, line (2), however, Prince has <ūnĕp'hā´njā>, apparently *wnehpohánĭya*, for contemporary *nehpahánĭya* 'they kill him or her (Subordinative)'. The basic form of the stem in this case is /nehpa-h-/; compare /nehpa-ht-/ in *nehpáhtun* 'he or she kills it'. Here Prince's transcription suggests that Francis has applied only the first step of the contemporary two-stage assimilation process, changing /a/ to /o/, but leaving this vowel unassimilated to the following /a/. (In the contemporary language, applying the second part of the assimilation process yields a form that looks as if it has not undergone assimilation at all; but this step is in fact optional.)

Let us then reconsider Prince's transcription of 'trap' as <glāhē´gŏn> in the light of these conclusions. Could his <ā> in this form actually represent *a*, or is it an error for *o*, as I have been assuming?

Note first that *o* and not *a* is the expected Maliseet-Passamaquoddy reflex of the short **a* in the second syllable of PEA **kəlahī kan*. Moreover, Francis otherwise appears to have applied the first stage of the contemporary assimilation process consistently, replacing either /e/ or /a/ with /o/ before /hV/; and, indeed, this rule is obligatory in the contemporary language. Thus Francis would presumably have replaced even an inherited /a/ with /o/ in the relevant position in the item in question. The second stage of the contemporary assimilation process was apparently optional in his speech, however; and indeed it continues to be variably applied today. I conclude, then, that Prince's <ā> should not be interpreted as a writing of *a*, but rather as an inexact transcription

of *o*. Francis appears to have pronounced 'trap' as *kŏlohíkon*, a form that was probably already old-fashioned at the time when he recorded his texts for Prince.

*wak*ŏ*náhqem* **'bait-stick (of a deadfall trap)' (text II, l. 4).** David Francis indicated that he had not heard this term before, but found it immediately interpretable and fully acceptable. The first component of the stem is *wákon* 'bait'; the second is the common noun final *-ahqem* 'wood, stick' (compare Maliseet *siktihikŏn-áhqem* 'deadpole'). Gatschet recorded <wagenákwĕm> *wak*ŏ*náhqem* as "bait-stick with the meat on" (G 3:261). For the basic form of the initial component of the stem, however, he has both <wákĕn> and <uwágĕn>, glossed as "bait... for game & fish, birds" (G 3:261). His transcription <uwágĕn> probably reflects a pronunciation ŭ*wákon*, no longer heard today, since word-initial weak vowels are now regularly deleted before sonorant consonants. In notes from a session with Newell Francis, Gatschet has <huwágĕn> 'bait', with phonetic [h] added before the word-initial vowel, a common feature of nineteenth century Passamaquoddy pronunciation, rarely heard today. Elsewhere in his notes we find <ĕwik'higĕnĕs> ŭ*wikhíkŏnoss* "old, torn book" (G 3:407) as the pejorative form of contemporary *wikhíkon* 'book, letter, etc.' and <í-ap> ĭ*yàp* "buck deer" for contemporary *yàp* (G 2:184). Prince (1900:187) reports <hīy-āp> for "buck," a form that he may have recorded from Newell Francis. (For this item, in fact, I heard disyllabic ĭ*yàp* from some of my elderly consultants at Indian Township in the 1970's.) Compare Penobscot *áwɑkan* 'bait', *awíhkhikan* 'book, letter, writing or printing of any sort', *áyɑpe* 'buck, bull (male of deer, moose, elk, caribou, bison, rabbit, or hare)' (PD 89, 95, 96). It appears, then, that word-initial weak vowels were still only optionally deleted before sonorant consonants in Newell Francis's time, although deletion was apparently usual except in short words.

*wsep*ŏ*muwyúkul* **'he (obv.) saves him (prox.)' (text II, l. 6).** The verb stem here is *sep*ŏ*muw-y-*, consisting of an initial component *sep*ŏ*muw-*, based on English *save*, and a transitivizing suffix *-(i)y-*. This pattern of formation is productively applied in deriving transitive

stems from borrowed English verbs. Compare the expression *kámot kivahpŏmuw-iy-úsi-n* 'it would be better for you to give yourself up', recorded from a Maliseet speaker in 1963, with *kivahpŏmuw-* (based on English *give up*), transitivizer *-iy-*, reflexive *-usi-*, and inflectional affixes (Teeter and LeSourd 2000, text 12). While many loans of this kind are simply nonce formations, some verbs of this type have become well established. David Francis informs me that he has indeed heard forms of *sepŏmuw-y-* in use. Prince does not indicate why he gives *wsepŏmuwyúkul* in parentheses in this passage. It seems likely, however, that Newell Francis in fact used this word in telling his story, and that Prince later elicited the term *wkikuhúkul* 'he (obv.) heals, cures him (prox.)' in an effort to find a more "authentic" substitute.

   ***wmotewŏlonuwihpŏnólkul* 'he (obv.) puts a curse on him (prox.)' (text II, l. 7).** The final component of the stem /motewŏlonŭw-ihpŏn-ŏl-/ that appears in this verb form is /-ihpŏn-ŏl-/, consisting of a prefinal component /-(i)hpŏn-/ 'fight' and an abstract transitivizing suffix /-ŏl-/. The prefinal is also attested as /-(i)hpon-/, with an inherently strong schwa. It is the latter alternate that appears, for example, in the verb form *motewŏlonŭw-ihpón-ŏl-osk* 'the one who puts a curse on you (sg.)', cited above. The two alternates appear to be at least sometimes in free variation: *mace-hpón-ŏsu ~ mace-hpŏn-ósu* 'he or she starts to fight'. One consultant at Indian Township, however, indicated a general preference for forms with /-(i)hpon-/, with a strong schwa.

   ***mihkomŭwèhs* 'sprite' (text III, l. 1).** Despite the resemblance between this noun and *mihkòm* 'Micmac', the two words do not appear to be synchronically related. The stem from which *mihkòm* is derived is *mihkŏma-*, as shown by the plural *míhkŏma-k* 'Micmacs' and by derivatives like *mihkŏma-sqèhs* 'Micmac woman', while *mihkomŭwèhs* is formally a diminutive of an otherwise unattested stem *mihkomŭwe-*. Not only do these stems differ in their segmental shapes, but the vowel of the second syllable of *mihkomŭwe-* is strong, while the corresponding vowel of *mihkŏma-* is weak. This fairly subtle difference can be demonstrated for the language of

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the late nineteenth century as well, and indeed for the speech of Newell Francis. In notes from

one of his sessions with Francis, Gatschet gives a New Brunswick place name as <Mikmáwi

Welamúgĕduk>, apparently *Mihkŏmawi=Welamúkŏtuk* 'Micmac Oromocto (loc.)', with the

prenoun *mihkŏmawi-* 'Micmac' (G 3:350). The schwa of this form was evidently a weak vowel,

phonetically reduced or deleted, with the result that Gatschet did not transcribe it. The word

mihkomŭwèhs, on the other hand, was spelled <MIKAMWES> by Tomah Joseph (1837–1914), a

noted Passamaquoddy artist at the turn of the century, on a birchbark container that he decorated

with an image of one of these woodland creatures, whom he depicted as "a tiny, full-bodied man

firmly seated on a tree stump" and holding a long-stemmed pipe (Lester 1993:9–10). The second,

full vowel of *mihkomŭwèhs* is represented here as <A>, while the third, phonetically reduced

vowel is not written. Prince's transcription <Mĭ'kŭmwĕss> shows that Francis's pronunciation of

this word was essentially the same as Tomah Joseph's.

    ***nkisi=qetkèws* 'I can walk, stepping ankle-deep in the ground' (text III, l. 2).** David

Francis did not recognize the stem that appears here and in *etŏli=kisi=qetkéwset* 'where he

walked, stepping ankle-deep in the ground' later in the same line. For Maliseet, however, Teeter

(n.d., p. 1) reports <kwetkéwse> *qetkéwse* 'he or she walks stepping ankle-deep (like a shaman)',

a form that he recorded in the course of his work with the late Peter Paul of Woodstock, N.B.

    ***pihcetùk* 'far away' (text IV, l. 3).** David Francis prefers a pronunciation of this word as

pihcetùkk, with a final geminate *k*, although I have usually heard it from other speakers with a

single *k*. The final <g> of Prince's transcription <pī´chĕdō´g> would appear to guarantee

pihcetùk for the speech of Newell Francis. Compare Szabó (1981:176) <piihceeto(k)> *pihcetù*,

pihcetùk "far away." Here Szabó identifies two similar particles that seem to have overlapping,

but distinct meanings. *Pihcetù* 'far, far away' may be used to refer to distance in general, as in

kŏtáma píhcetù luhsèw 'he or she does not walk far', while *pihcetùk* 'far away' usually has a

more specifically locative sense. Note, however, that Szabó's transcription of *pihcetùk* agrees with Prince's.

   kehsuhsálqot **'it is so many miles' (text IV, l. 4)**. The stem of this word has the form of a derivational passive in *-qot-* based on a transitive stem *kehs-uhs-al-* (not attested in my material), consisting of *kehs-* 'so many', *-uhs-* 'walk', and an abstract transitivizer. (Compare *pŏm-úhs-e* 'he or she walks along', *'paw-ál-al* 'he or she wants him or her', *paw-ál-qot* 'it is needed'.) Synchronically, however, the sequence of morphemes *-uhs-al-qot-* functions as a unit meaning 'be a mile or miles'. This component combines with numerical roots from 'one' to 'five' to form expressions indicating distances in miles: *'qotuhsálqot* 'it is one mile', *nisuhsálqot* 'it is two miles', *'suhsálqot* 'it is three miles', *newuhsálqot* 'it is four miles', *nanuhsálqot* 'it is five miles'. Higher numbers are expressed, as in the present text, by numerical particles in construction with *kehsuhsálqot* 'it is so many miles'.

   Mŏnahnùk **'Grand Manan Island (loc.)' (text V, l. 3).** The Penobscot cognate of this Passamaquoddy place name is *mənəhánoke* 'to or toward the island or islands', the directional locative of *mə̀nəhan* 'island' (Siebert n.d. a, p. 130; PD 275). Apparently, then, Grand Manan Island was originally just called 'the island' in Passamaquoddy. In the contemporary language, however, *mŏníhq* is used for 'island'; *Mŏnahnùk* is used only as a place name, and only in this form. In a footnote to the present passage, Prince (1900:188) gives <m'nă'n> as Passamaquoddy for 'island', but this is a ghost word, incorrectly abstracted from the locative form of the place name.

   pecíhĭyil **'he (obv.) arrives'** (text VI, l. 6). Some contemporary Passamaquoddy speakers pronounce this word as *pecíhhil*, others as *pecíyyil*. (This variation correlates with variation in the treatment of phonological sequences of the form /ĭyi/ or /iyi/ in forms like *skitápĭhik* ~ *skitápĭyik* 'men (prox.)', *opŏsíhil* ~ *opŏsíyil* 'sticks'; cf. Maliseet *skitapíyok*, *opŏsíyol*.) A pronunciation *pecìhĭyol* is attested for Maliseet, however, in material recorded in the 1960's.

Prince frequently omits weak vowels from his transcriptions, writing, for example, <skī̆tā´pyĭl> for *skitápĭyil* 'man (obv.)' in text I, line (2). Thus his recording <pĕchī´´yĭl> is consistent with a Passamaquoddy pronunciation *pecíhĭyil*. (In Maliseet, a stressed antepenultimate open syllable is regularly associated with low pitch, while Passamaquoddy regularly has a high-pitched stressed syllable in corresponding forms.) On this hypothesis, the contemporary forms *pecíhhil* and *pecíyyil* may be seen as reflecting changes of two kinds that have taken place since Newell Francis made his recordings: loss of the weak vowel in *hĭy*, followed or accompanied by alternative assimilatory treatments of *h* and *y* in the forms in question. (Many speakers in fact maintain *hy* in forms like *macehyà* 'he or she has left (abs.)', where this cluster is followed by a vowel other than *i*. Other speakers have *maceyyà*. Compare also Maliseet *macehĭyà*.) Prince's <pĕchī´´yĭl> would also be consistent, however, with an interpretation as *pecíhyil*, already reflecting syncope.

    wòt skitàp **'this (an.) man' (text VI, ll. 8, 9).** Prince's transcription <yōt> suggests the inanimate demonstrative *yùt* 'this', rather than the corresponding animate form *wòt*. The inanimate demonstrative is grammatically impossible, however, as a modifier of the animate noun *skitàp* 'man'. *Yùt* is often used as 'here', and occasionally as 'now'; but the translation Prince gives here clearly rules out either of these readings. The Penobscot and Western Abenaki consultants from whom Prince elicited translations of text VI apparently came to the same conclusions. The author of the Penobscot translation rendered the first occurrence of <yōt> here as <wa> *owa* 'this' and the second with <na> *na* 'that', both animate forms, while the author of the Western Abenaki translation used <wa> *wa* or *owa* 'this (an.)' in both cases (Prince 1902:30).

Notes

Abbreviations. 1 first person; 3 third person; abs. absentative; AN, an. animate (grammatical gender); DIM, dim. diminutive; DIR direct; DLOC directional locative; du. dual; EMPH emphatic; IN, in. inanimate (grammatical gender): inc. inclusive; INV inverse; LOC locative; NEG negative; NOM nominalizing suffix; NS non-singular; OBJ secondary object; OBV, obv. obviative; PF particle final (particle-forming suffix); PL, pl. plural; PROX, prox. proximate; RECIP reciprocal; SG singular; SUB Subordinative; TH thematic suffix.

Verb-forming suffixes with little or no concrete meaning are glossed only by the abbreviation for the transitivity and gender-selection class of the stems that they form. There are four such classes: Animate Intransitive (AI) verbs require animate subjects; Inanimate Intransitive (II) verbs require inanimate subjects; Transitive Animate (TA) verbs require animate objects; Transitive Inanimate (TI) verbs require inanimate objects. Glosses are given in parentheses for morphemes that have no surface segmental shape and for the third-person prefix /w-/ where it is

realized only as a word-initial /h/ that is written as an apostrophe. The double hyphen indicates cliticization: it joins an enclitic particle to its host and connects a preverb or prenoun to a following verb or noun, respectively.

Phonemic forms and forms cited in standard orthographies are given in italics. Forms cited from sources that do not use phonemic or standard orthographies are given in angled brackets (<...>). Slashes (/.../) are used to indicate abstract phonological representations and to distinguish phonemic representations for Passamaquoddy from the usual orthographic representations.

No grammatical distinction of sex-gender is made in Algonquian languages. In glossing cited forms that involve reference to a third person, I use appropriate variants of 'he or she' if the form in question is cited without reference to a particular context, but use forms of 'he' or 'she' as appropriate if the form in question is taken from a context that determines the (biological) gender of the referent.

1. In 1902, Prince left New York University for Columbia, where he held in succession the positions of Professor of Semitic Languages, Professor of Slavonic Languages, and Professor of East European Languages, ultimately retiring in 1937 (Prince 1939:vii–viii).

2. Prince indicates in his 1901 study that "nearly all of the material" discussed there "has been gathered orally from Abenaki and Penobscot Indians," but then adds in a footnote: "Chiefly at Bar Harbor, Me." (p. 346). Since the paper focuses primarily on the Western Abenaki, it seems odd that Prince would suggest that he had collected his data "chiefly" at Bar Harbor, given his statement in Prince 1902 that his Abenaki fieldwork was conducted "in Canada and northern New York" (p. 18). Perhaps, however, the wording of his 1901 note was intended only to indicate that he had spent more time, overall, with his Penobscot consultants in Maine than with his Western Abenaki consultants elsewhere.

3. Siebert's dictionary of Penobscot exists in at least two versions, dating from 1984 and 1996.

The 1996 version, to which reference is made here, apparently incorporates some additions and corrections to the 1984 dictionary; but Siebert still regarded the volume as a work in progress at the time of his death in 1998 (Conor Quinn, p.c., 2000).

4. Leader (1995:90) cites the following population figures for the Passamaquoddy in 1873: 330 living at or near Pleasant Point, 137 at Peter Dana Point (Indian Township), and 72 at Calais (for a total of 539). The state agent for the Passamaquoddy reported a tribal population of 531 as of November 1, 1885 (Porter 1886:4). Since the Passamaquoddy population appears to have been relatively stable during the last decades of the nineteenth century (Leader 1995:90), the figures at the time Prince was writing were probably comparable. The actual numbers may have been somewhat higher than the official figures suggest, however, since individuals residing in New Brunswick or living with the Penobscots at Indian Island would presumably not have been included in the agent's tallies.

5. The final sentence of the text is <Elathoket Plansoe Plansis Wulasteque w'cheye.>, which Prince glosses as "Related it Frank Francis of the Mareschite tribe." (Prince 1909:633). In the system of transcription described below, this is *Elathúhket Pŏlánsŭwe Pŏlánsis Wolástoq wcíye.* 'This is how the story was told by François Francis, who comes from the St. John River country.' The form *elathúhket* 'how the story is told' is no longer current (instead one hears *elatkúhket*), but is historically expected, given Penobscot forms like *átlohke* 'he or she tells a fable, myth, sacred story' (PD 123). Proto-Eastern Algonquian **hl* becomes *h* in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, but remains *hl* in Penobscot (Goddard 1978:74–5), except that *h* drops in Penobscot in medial position in clusters that arise through syncope. Gatschet attests Passamaquoddy *athúhke* as <at'húke> "he, she tells a story" (G 2:240).

6. Leader (1995) reports that by the 1890's "there were 74 Passamaquoddy families at Pleasant Point, 43 at Peter Dana Point, 5 in Princeton, 8 in Machias, 11 in Calais, and 33 scattered about the state" (pp. 90–91). There is still a small Passamaquoddy community in St.

Andrews, N.B., where Gatschet found consultants in 1896; but the language is reportedly no longer spoken there today. Most of the residents of the various off-reservation communities ultimately moved to one or the other reservation, however. David Francis reports that the Passamaquoddies living in Calais, Me., were forced out not long after the turn of the century, since they did not have legal title to the land on which their settlement was located. Most of this population then relocated to Pleasant Point.

7. Perceptually, the lax voiceless obstruents give the impression of being intermediate between voiced and voiceless unaspirated consonants. From an articulatory point of view, the distinction between tense and lax obstruents can perhaps be attributed to differences in the tension and positioning of the vocal cords: a lax obstruent is produced with a vocal cord configuration that would produce voicing in a sonorant consonant, while a tense obstruent is produced with a configuration that would produce voicelessness in a sonorant consonant. Possible support for such an analysis is provided by the fact that phonemic /hs/ is phonetically realized as tense [s] in utterance-initial position before a vowel, while an /s/ by itself in the same environment is phonetically lax, but voiceless: here the tensing of /s/ appears to reflect the superimposition of the laryngeal articulation of /h/. (See below for discussion of the phonetic realization of word-initial /hC/ clusters.)

8. Prince had, in fact, noted the existence of accentual contrasts in his earliest work on Passamaquoddy (1888), where he remarked that "the position of voice stress affects the meaning" in expressions like <kiskes ígdn> "how many years?" vs. <kiskes igdń> "how old?" (p. 313). The first of these is *kìs kehsíkŏton?* 'how many years has it been?', while the second is *kìs kehsikŏtòn?* 'how old are you (sg.) now?' (both with *kìs* 'already'). Unfortunately, he seems never to have followed up on these early observations.

9. Three person-marking prefixes are used in verbal inflection to index a subject or object argument and in nominal inflection to index a possessor: first-person /n(t)-/, second-person

/k(t)-/ and third-person /w(t)-/. The alternates without /t/ are used before consonant-initial stems. The alternates with /t/ are used before vowel-initial stems, except in the inflection of dependent nouns (nouns that occur only in possessed forms), where the alternates without /t/ are used before vowel-initial stems as well. The /n/ of the first-person prefix is elided before /n/, the /k/ of the second-person prefix before /k/ or /q/. Moreover, initial consonant clusters other than *sC* are often reduced in casual speech through deletion of the first consonant. In the resulting forms, the /n-/ of the first-person prefix is often reflected phonetically only by the voicing that it induces. Many of the youngest speakers seem primarily or exclusively to employ such reduced forms.

10. The description of the speech of different age groups that I give here is based primarily on Passamaquoddy material. Although similar in general, the situation in Maliseet differs in certain details. Many of the phonological processes discussed here were first identified for Maliseet in Teeter 1971.

11. The term *motewŏlonùsq* or *motewŏlonìsq* may also be used to designate the wife of a *motewŏlòn*. For some speakers, this is the primary or only meaning of these forms. The suffix is /-(i)sqe/ ~ /-(o)sqe/ 'woman, wife, female'. Compare *kincémoss* 'king', *kincemoss-isqé-hsis* 'princess (dim.)'; *muwìn* 'bear' (stem /muwine-/), *muwinè-sq* 'female bear'.

12. Eckstorm (1945:45) provides the following account of the concept of the *puwhíkon* (Penobscot *páwǝhikan*): "*Poo-higan* was the Maliseet, *bao-hìgan* the Penobscot name for the animal helper which every magician had. He could send it out as his messenger, or he could himself assume its form as a disguise, in which case his own life was forfeited, if the poohigan were killed."

13. The notes in which Gatschet recorded this information occur at G 3:284, 289–90. Gatschet does not name his source in his published account and does not give the name of his consultant at this point in his notes, but the relevant material in the manuscript closely

parallels what Eckstorm (1945:44–5) reports from her own conversations with Mitchell.

14. In writing his account for publication, Gatschet inadvertently reversed Mitchell's assignments of supernatural forms to the two combatants in the tale, leading Eckstorm, who did not realize that Mitchell was also Gatschet's source, to remark that "Dr. Gatschet's informant was wrong" on this point (1945:40).

15. Newell Francis evidently gave the name "Benoit" a fully anglicized pronunciation in telling his story for Prince. Eckstorm (1945:48) tells us that the usual Indian pronunciation was <Bennoá> or <Bennét>. David Francis confirms the pronunciations *Pénŭwa* and *Penèt*.

16. While Leland gives this narrative in quotation marks, it does not represent the words of the consultant as such, but rather what he took to be the substance of her account. In his discussion of his sources, Leland notes (with appropriate approval) that many of the texts with which he worked were taken down in "Indian-English" (1884:ix–x). His own records from his work with Marie Sakis were undoubtedly of this character as well.

17. In 1896, Mitchell identified the *puwhíkon* of the Micmac chief for Gatschet as <ktchí wiwílmek8> *kci=wiwílõmeq* and translated this term as "a large snail" (G 3:289). In 1930, on the other hand, he wrote in another account of the same events of the "Crokodile Poohigan of the Micmac Medeolin" (Eckstorm 1945:44–5). Wallis and Wallis (1957:38) report, however, that twentieth-century Maliseet consultants often identified the *wiwílõmeq* as a crocodile or alligator. Apparently Mitchell had updated his translation of *wiwílõmeq*.

18. Etymologically, *wiwílõmeq* consists of an initial component *wiwil-* (Penobscot *wiwiləy-*), reflecting PA *$wi\ wi\ \theta$- 'horn' (Siebert 1975:351–2; Goddard 1979:117–18), plus a final component *-õmeq* (Penobscot *-amek^w*) that appears in the names of various species of fish (e.g., *núhk-õmeq* 'cod', literally 'soft fish'). The same word is used, especially in the diminutive form *wiwilõméqsis*, for a slug or a snail. It has often been suggested that the fearsome water monster received its name because it resembles a giant slug, but surely the

reverse is true. Since the etymological sense of *wiwílŏmeq* is 'horned fish', the slug must have been named on the basis of its resemblance to the water monster.

19. By the same token, however, Eckstorm's attempt to identify an *original* version of the tale in which the protagonist was Passamaquoddy tribal governor Jean Baptiste Neptune (d. 1778) seems misconceived. Siebert's first volume of Penobscot texts includes a story (n.d. a, pp. 102–7) that shares many elements with versions of the tale of the fight at Boyden Lake, but assigns the events in question to different antagonists and a different location.

20. In Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, as in other Algonquian languages, a distinction is made between the primary or *proximate* third person within a context, and all other third persons within the context, which are treated as secondary or *obviative*. Since tale II is told from Lacote's point of view, he is the proximate referent throughout. Thus 'he put a curse on him' below is expressed with inflection for an obviative subject acting on a proximate object, since it is Sabattis who puts a curse on Lacote.

21. Gatschet reports this term as well, but with a considerably more sinister sense: "Persons possessed by this evil spirit are called mikmwessúke" (G 3:257).

22. Gatschet glosses <slán> as "sumac" and gives the plural as <slánĕl> *sŏlánol*. He describes these as "dark red, opening like feathers" and notes that sumacs may be found "growing in ruined houses" (G 2:198). Evidently the term *sŏlán* refers specifically to the red, hairy fruits that the shrub produces. Compare contemporary *sŏlanimùs* 'sumac plant', literally "*sŏlán*-bearing tree," pl. *sŏlanimúsĭyik*. The stem *sŏlan-ihke-* is formed with the final *-ihke-* 'be a location with much or many'; cf. *cossŭwew-íhke* 'there are a lot of mosquitos'. The enclitic particle *-hc* indicates future time reference. Thus the words of the *mihkomŭwèhs* literally mean 'your (pl.) village will be full of sumac fruit'. That the Penobscot village should have become red with sumac as a result of this curse seems entirely appropriate, in view of the belief noted above that the *mihkomŭwéhsok* are red themselves.

23. One of Leland's consultants told him that he had once watched as a *motewŏlòn* from Fredericton, N.B., in a demonstration of his power, "took seven steps through the ground up to his ankles, *just as if it had been light snow*" (1884:341).

24. The term *motewŏlòn* properly refers only to the shaman, not to the shaman's power or practice. The power of a *motewŏlòn* is a type of *pilŭwitposŭwákon* 'extraordinary power', but the meaning of the latter term is apparently more general. (Compare *pilŭwitpósu* 'he or she has a different position or office; he or she has extraordinary power'.) Gatschet recorded a term for shamanistic activity from Mitchell: <mdé-ulĕnwágĕn> *motewŏlonŭwákon* "witchery, sorcery, witchcraft" (G 2:196).

25. Gatschet recorded the plural of <kíwak⁸> *kiwàhq* as <kiwákiĕk> *kiwáhqĭyok* (2:36). The contemporary form *kiwáhqĭyik* reflects a relatively recent change in Passamaquoddy by which *o* (schwa) has become *i* after *y* in a number of inflectional suffixes, including the proximate plural ending /-ok/. Evidence from Newell Francis's own writing suggests, however, that his speech reflected this sound change. See the note on the form *skitápĭyil* 'man (obv.)' in section 6 below for discussion.

26. I follow Eckstorm (1945:34) here in writing the surname of Alger's consultant as "Franceway." Alger (1897:30) gives it as "Flansouay," noting that this name is an adaptation of the French "François."

27. The texts in Newell 1979 are written in standard Passamaquoddy orthography, in which accent is not marked. I have supplied accent marking for forms cited from this source on a basis of a recording of this material made by David Francis.

28. The acute accent of the Penobscot form *kčíhkənahkʷ* 'large or old snapping turtle', representing a high-pitched stressed vowel, probably reflects a typographical error in Siebert's manuscript dictionary. The expected form (given *skwèhkənahkʷ* 'female turtle' and other related forms) is *kčìhkənahkʷ*, with the grave accent, representing a low-pitched

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stressed vowel. (See the appendix for discussion of the accentual system of Penobscot.)

29. Compare Southern Ojibwa *dedebkinaak* 'soft-shell turtle' (pl. *dedebkinaakwag*), *mshiiknaakoons* 'baby snapping turtle' (Rhodes 1993:108, 253). The long *ii* of the last of these Ojibwa forms must originally have been short, as Goddard (1993:218) has argued for the corresponding Fox noun *meši hkena hkwa* 'snapping turtle'. Ojibwa *msh-* and Fox *meš-* reflect PA **meʔš-*, the alternate of **meʔθ-* 'big' that occurs before a high front vowel or glide (Hewson 1993:110–11).

30. Siebert (1975:372) has proposed that Penobscot /nəhse-/ continues a PA initial that he reconstructs as **niʔθ-* 'shred'. This reconstruction has been called into question by Ives Goddard (p.c., 2000), however, who points out that Abenaki and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy /ə/ from PA **i* is not ordinarily subject to syncope before clusters that reflect PA **ʔC*. Thus, for example, /ə/ is not subject to syncope in Penobscot /wəssak-/ 'bitter, painful, intense' from PA **wiʔsak-*: *wəssákikən* 'it is harsh, severe' (Hewson 1993:237; PD 476, 478).

31. In the contemporary language, all forms containing the initial *msq-* 'bear' have apparently been replaced by derivatives of *muwìn* 'bear'. The contemporary word for 'bear trap', for example, is *muwinewhíkon*. Alternatives to the forms in which Gatschet recorded *msq-* were already in use at the time of his work, e.g., <muinéwi=bĕm> *muwinewipòm* 'bear oil' and <muine´-u> *muwinèw* 'bear skin' (G 2:183).

32. The old pattern, in which a basically weak vowel remains weak in the word-initial syllable of an unprefixed form, is also continued unchanged in stems in which the vowel in question is followed by an obstruent consonant. There are numerous alternations in the contemporary language of the type seen in forms of /kŏtŏqŏni-/ 'spend the night': *n-kotqòn* 'I spend the night'*, któqõnu* 'he or she spends the night'.

33. In contemporary Maliseet and Passamaquoddy, a word-initial weak vowel is regularly

dropped before a sonorant consonant. Thus Francis's ŏl-óhom would presumably be pronounced today as *l-óhom. The sound change that introduced this pattern into the language was evidently still in progress, however, at the end of the nineteenth century. See the notes on the following item for discussion.

34. The contemporary treatment of initial-syllable weak vowels before sonorant consonants can apparently be stated as a phonological rule with few or no synchronic exceptions (LeSourd 1993:143–46, 360–62). The initial motivation for changing the way in which such vowels are treated, on the other hand, was apparently morphological in character: the new pattern eliminates numerous alternations in both noun and verb paradigms. Replacing kŏlohíkon 'trap' with kolhíkon, for example, has brought the unprefixed form of this noun into conformity with the shape that the stem assumes in prefixed forms like nkolhíkon 'my trap'.

35. Note also <kĭstā´hāl> 'kis-tá-h-a-l 'he beat him (obv.)' in line (6) of text I, where -ta- reflects underlying /-ĭhte-/ 'strike'. Compare 't-otŏl-ihté-h-m-on 'he or she is hitting it', with /ŏtŏl-/ 'ongoing activity', the transitivizing suffix /-h-/, and inflectional affixes.

Appendix: Penobscot Translations

Prince published Penobscot translations of three of the Passamaquoddy texts that he collected from Newell Francis, corresponding to IV, V, and VI above. I give these texts below, both in Prince's transcription and in a phonemic notation adapted from that of Siebert 1988.

For texts IV and V, I give the transcriptions that Prince included in his initial report on his work with Francis (Prince 1900:188). Since Prince did not include separate translations for the Penobscot texts in that work, I give his translations of the corresponding Passamaquoddy texts together with his Penobscot transcriptions. For text VI, I give the Penobscot version that Prince included, together with a Western Abenaki translation, in a later comparative study of these languages (Prince 1902:30). The Penobscot and Western Abenaki texts are given there in parallel, with a single English translation. I have divided each of the texts into numbered sections and supplied the new translations that accompany my proposed phonemic transcriptions.

In Siebert's analysis, the sound system of Penobscot includes the six vowel phonemes /i e o α a ə/ and the thirteen non-syllabics /p t č k kʷ s h hʷ m n l w y/. The vowel /o/ is described as high, back, and non-round (PD, p. iii). It was apparently pronounced with some degree of labial constriction, however, and was probably phonetically intermediate in height between [u] and [o]. The vowel /α/ is mid, back, tense, and non-round, i.e., [ʌ] (PD, pp. ii–iii). Other symbols have their expected values.

In 1899, Prince transcribed many occurrences of Penobscot *α* with digraphs indicating a nasal vowel, e.g., <am> in <wīdāmbāl> for *wítαpal* 'his partner' in line (2) of text IV, <āñ> in <Ūnōtāñgŏl> for *wənótαkol* 'he (obv.) heard him (prox.)' in line (3). By 1902, however, such notations had disappeared from his transcriptions. He had apparently decided that his earlier recordings were in error, and that he had been misled by his experience with Western Abenaki, where the vowel that corresponds to Penobscot *α* is *ô*, a lower-mid, back, unrounded, nasal vowel (Day 1994:xv). Commenting on the orthography of Vetromile (1858), who frequently marks

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vowel nasalization in Penobscot as well as in Western Abenaki texts, Prince (1902:25–6) remarks, "I tried in vain to hear this sound in Penobscot, but could only place it distinctly in the words *muñs* 'moose' [*mos*] and in the verbal third person suffix as *w'niˈlöñ^l* [*wə̀nihlɑl* 'he or she (prox.) kills him or her (obv.)']. Once or twice I fancied that there was a nasal *n* in other words, but in each case when my instructor repeated the syllable, it was without a detectable nasal vowel." Prince's final conclusion, then, was that Penobscot *α* was not ordinarily pronounced with nasalization. This assessment is consistent with Siebert's descriptions of the phonetic character of this vowel.

Like Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, Penobscot is a pitch-accent language (although the more closely affiliated Western Abenaki is not). Siebert 1988 provides a detailed description of the suprasegmental phonemes of Penobscot, but no systematic study of the phonology of the language has yet been carried out. My comments here are intended only to state certain generalizations about patterns of accentuation that seem to hold for a wide range of examples.

Siebert posits two phonemic accents for Penobscot: the *tonic accent*, realized as stress and high pitch on the designated syllable, and the *atonic accent*, realized as stress without a pitch rise. The tonic accent is indicated by an acute accent mark, the atonic by a grave.

Much as in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, certain vowels are phonologically "weak," in the sense that they do not accept the tonic accent and do not figure into the syllable count that determines where it is assigned. (Siebert does not describe accent in these terms, however, and accordingly does not mark weak vowels in his transcriptions.) The weak vowels include many occurrences of ə and some occurrences of *a*. All other vowels are consistently strong. The distribution of strong and weak occurrences of ə and *a* is determined in part by their distribution in the basic forms of morphemes and in part by various phonological principles, which remain to be worked out in detail. At least some role is played in this system, however, by a principle that promotes even-numbered weak vowels to strong status, counting from left to right in a sequence of syllables all

of which contain basically weak vowels. (A principle of this kind plays a role in a number of Eastern Algonquian languages, including Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. See Goddard 1982:32 for discussion of a similar principle in Munsee.) The vowel of a word-final syllable counts as strong, regardless of its basic status.

If a word (exclusive of enclitic particles) contains at least three strong vowels, the tonic accent is ordinarily assigned to the antepenultimate strong vowel (skipping over weak vowels in counting syllables): *nawátoke* 'far away', *mihkə́məwehso* 'elf', *nək^wətóhsɑlək^wat* 'it is one mile', *mətéwələnəwak* 'shamans' (PD 278, 306, 316). (I omit from consideration here certain classes of forms in which the position of the tonic accent appears to be morphologically determined.) In some cases, however, a strong ə in a position where the tonic accent would ordinarily be assigned is realized with the atonic accent instead: *nəpə̀skamənal* 'I wear them' (Siebert 1988:746), *nə̀k^wətahtək^we* 'one hundred' (PD 315). Preverb-verb and prenoun-noun complexes are accented like single words: *etáli=pəmɑt* 'his shooting (arrows) at them' (Siebert n.d. b, p. 2). (The preverb *tali-* is used to indicate ongoing events and to introduce reference to a location. It appears as *etali-* in Conjunct forms made with Initial Change.)

Disyllabic words and longer words that do not include three strong vowels ordinarily bear only an atonic accent. The accent in such words usually falls on the antepenult in words of three or more syllables and on the penult in disyllabic words, without regard to the distinction between weak and strong vowels: *nənò̀tawɑ* 'I hear him/her', *mìhkəmɑ* 'Micmac Indian', *nə̀notɑk^w* 'he or she hears me', *mìna* 'again', *nə̀ma* 'there (indefinite or unspecified)' (PD 278, 281, 317, 336). Monosyllabic words are ordinarily unstressed (Haas 1936b:1), and certain disyllabic pronominal forms are usually unaccented as well.

The distribution of the tonic and atonic accents has been disturbed by the reduction or loss of certain word-final syllables, which has left the tonic accent on the penult in some forms and has brought the tonic and atonic accents into contrast. Thus the penultimate syllable bears the tonic

accent in *nipáyi* 'by night, in the night' and *saláhki* 'at one time' (PD 326, 414); but Western

Abenaki *nibôiwi* 'at night, in the night' and *zalakiwi* 'once in the past, suddenly' (Day 1994:364,

516) show that Penobscot has dropped a final syllable in both words. Penobscot *nòčəmo* 'invalid'

contrasts with *nóčəmo* 'he or she is an invalid' (Siebert 1988:734), but the stems are different.

The plural *nóčəməwak* 'invalids' shows that the noun stem is /nóčəməw-/, while the first-person

verb form *nənóčəməwi* 'I am an invalid' shows that the verb stem is /nóčəməw-i-/, with the suffix

/-i-/, which derives verbs of being from noun stems. Thus the final syllable of *nóčəmo* 'he or she

is an invalid' reflects the disyllabic underlying sequence /məw-i-w/, where /-w/ is a third-person

suffix.

Three other accentual processes of Penobscot are relevant for the interpretation of the texts

that concern us here.

First, many particles and certain pronominal forms are subject to *mutation*, or replacement of

the tonic accent by the atonic accent, usually when they occur in a non-final position in a

phonological phrase (Siebert 1988:748–50). Forms of the pronoun *áwen* 'someone, who'

undergo mutation particularly readily. Siebert notes, for example, that the obviative singular

form *áwenil* may occur as *àwenil* even in phrase-final position.

In a common type of emphatic pronunciation, the tonic accent may be shifted toward the end

of the word, falling on the next strong syllable to the right of its usual location, though apparently

never on a word-final syllable (Siebert 1988:740–48; this description is mine). Siebert refers to

this process of accent shift as *metatony* and uses a double acute accent to write a *metatonic*

accent: *àhtɑmɑ nəpahčóləweskiw* 'I am not a cheat' (an ordinary statement), *áhtɑmɑ*

nəpahčoləwéskiw 'I am not a cheat' (an emphatic denial). He notes, however, that certain words,

including forms of the indefinite pronoun *áwen*, are exceptional in not being subject to metatony,

and thus have immovable accents (1988:749).

Finally, Siebert notes that "the final syllables of isolated words, phrases, and sentences regularly have pitch rises slightly above the general pitch level of the utterance" (1988:754). This phrase-final pitch rise is not contrastive, however, and is therefore not marked in his transcriptions. There is a contrastive final pitch rise in questions that triggers additional accentual adjustments that need not concern us here (Siebert 1988:754–58).

Prince does not indicate the accentual features of words in the two Penobscot texts included in his report on his work with Newell Francis. Indeed, he maintains there that "every syllable receives equal voice-stress" in Penobscot (1900:188). In retranscribing these texts, I have marked accent in accordance with Siebert's transcriptions of the words in question, when these have been available. All other items are marked in accordance with Siebert's transcriptions of words that closely parallel those in the texts in form and structure. Thus the transcriptions that I give represent a possible reading of these texts, one with neutral patterns of stress and intonation.

By 1902, Prince had come to realize that the prosodic contour of a Penobscot word typically involves a pitch rise on a designated syllable, followed by a fall on the next, and that many words are pronounced with a final rise in pitch. In his transcription of the third text below, he chose to "represent the first rising inflection by the acute accent (´), the voice-drop by the grave (`), and the second rise by an inverted circumflex (˘)" (1902:30).

In some cases, Prince's accentual transcriptions of Penobscot forms match the pronunciations we would expect on the basis of Siebert's work. Thus Prince indicates no pitch rise for most of the disyllabic words in text VI below, corresponding to Siebert's practice of transcribing such words with the atonic accent. For example, we find <Niga> for *nìka* 'so then' (PD 322) in lines (4), (7), and (8). Prince's transcriptions <sénòbĕ> 'man' in line (8) and <sénòbăk> 'men' in line (2) match Siebert's *sénape* and *sénapak* (PD 423), provided we suppose that Prince has transcribed both words in their phrase-final pronunciations, with the non-distinctive pitch rise on the word-final syllables.

In many cases, however, Prince's transcriptions do not at first seem to match the accentual patterns we would expect for the words in question. These discrepancies may, of course, simply reflect errors on Prince's part. Yet Prince had clearly developed a sensitivity to the general character of Penobscot word-accent. Thus it seems reasonable to look for an explanation of at least some of his seemingly erroneous accentual transcriptions.

In the majority of the cases in question, Prince indicates a pitch rise one syllable farther to the right than the expected location of the tonic accent. Thus, for example, Prince has <me'tág'mèk> 'at the end of the lake' (i.e., 'where the lake ends') in line (3), while Siebert has *méhtɑkame* 'it is the end, outlet of a lake' (PD 268). Again, Prince has <maskwulamiyilíjil> '(one who is) calling out', with a pitch rise indicated for the penult, while Siebert writes the tonic accent on the antepenult in *ketəwi=moskʷalɑmíličil* '(one who will be) shouting' (Siebert n.d. b, p. 12). In one case Prince locates the pitch rise *two* syllables to the right of its expected location: he has <kwasibémuk> 'by a lake', while Siebert has *məkʷásəpemək* 'lake (loc.)' (PD 274). Note, however, that the schwa of the antepenult in this form must be a weak vowel, since Siebert's transcription shows that the tonic accent falls on the fourth syllable from the end of the word here, rather than the third. Thus Prince's <kwasibémuk> shows a pitch rise postposed from its expected location by two syllables, skipping over an intervening weak vowel. (See the notes following the texts for an explanation of the fact that Prince's <kwasibémuk> lacks the initial syllable of Siebert's *məkʷásəpemək*.)

We see, then, that the locations at which Prince indicates a pitch rise parallel, in many cases, not the expected location of the *tonic* accent, but rather that of the *metatonic* accent. In other words, Prince appears to have recorded emphatic pronunciations for many of the words in his text. I have accordingly used the double acute accent in my retranscriptions of those forms in text VI that can plausibly be interpreted as reflecting metatony.

We can only speculate, of course; but it is easy to imagine why Prince would have recorded emphatic pronunciations as he elicited the material in text VI. Since he took down the text by dictation, he may well have asked his consultant to repeat many words or short phrases several times, eventually inducing his consultant to use emphatic forms. This interpretation cannot be regarded as certain; but it finds support in the fact that Prince often indicates a final pitch rise for words that occur in medial positions in sentences, such as the first two words of line (2). Since the final pitch rise is a characteristic feature of final position in a phonological phrase, the presence of a pitch rise on an apparently non-final form suggests either that the speaker paused, or that Prince asked to have the word or phrase in question repeated. I have therefore written a comma where Prince indicates a final pitch rise for a word that does not end a sentence.

Understood in light of these considerations, Prince's overall success in transcribing accentual information in text VI seems quite respectable. There are nevertheless points at which emendations clearly do appear to be called for. In several cases, Prince indicates a pitch rise in a word that can only have borne the atonic accent: <Níswăk> *nìsəwak* 'two (an.)' in line (2), <mítsì> *mìtsi* 'eat (sg.)!' in line (7), <udidámèn> *wətìtamən* 'he or she says it' and <pebónkìk> *pèponkik* 'in the north' in line (8), <Élwè't> *èləweht* 'evidently' in line (9). (All of these forms appears in PD.) In line (3), Prince has <awénìl> for 'someone (obv.)'. This cannot be a form of *áwenil* with metatonic accent, since accent is immovable in this word, as noted above. It seems most likely that what Prince heard was *àwenil*, the common alternate with mutation, and that he incorrectly perceived the transition from the stressed, low-pitched initial syllable to the unstressed second syllable as a rise in pitch. In one case he fails to mark the occurrence of a pitch rise in a form for which the tonic accent is expected: <edali tkē> 'where it is cold' in line (8) must reflect *etáli=tkek*. (This is a Conjunct participle, which requires the third-person suffix -*k*).

Prince regularly omits the first-person prefix *nə*- before stems beginning with *n*, where Siebert consistently writes it. Here Prince's transcriptions may well reflect the speech of his

consultants accurately, since he explicitly notes that "the Penobscots do not pronounce the *n* of the first person in these forms," contrasting this feature of Penobscot pronunciation with the Western Abenaki treatment of comparable forms (1902:29). In line (3) of text VI, Prince has <nodáwènǎ> for what Siebert would write as *wənotáwɑnɑ* 'they hear him (Subordinative)', where *wə-* is the third person prefix. Thus Prince's transcription appears to reflect deletion of the third-person prefix in this form (in which the vowel of the prefix remains unstressed). Here again, Prince's transcription probably reflects the speech of his consultant accurately. He writes the same word as <unodáwènǎ> in the next line, so there can be no doubt that he was aware of the missing prefix. (In both cases, Prince's <è> was probably meant to represent schwa, misheard for *ɑ*, phonetically [ʌ].) I follow Siebert's practice below and consistently write each prefix in its full form, but I enclose the prefix in brackets where Prince did not record it.

Notes concerning individual items are given below, following the texts.

Text IV

(1) a. Nōdāwā n'mītaugŭs ēdālĭntōkw nībāīhī
         I heard my father (once) singing by night

     b. [Nə]-nòt-aw-ɑ nə-míhtɑkʷəss etál-intɑ-kʷ   nipɑ́-yi.
         1-hear-TA-DIR 1-father   ongoing-sing-3AN night-PF
         'I heard my father singing at night.'

(2) a. ōdālĭntōwēwăl wīdāmbāl.
         to his partner

     b. Wət-əl-intə́w-ew-ɑ-l   w-ítɑpa-l.
         3-thus-sing-TA-DIR-OBV.SG 3-friend-OBV.SG
         'He was singing to his partner.'

(3) a. Ūnōtā̈ngŏl wīdāmbāl ēdālĭntōkw nāwādōgē
         and he (the partner) heard him (my father) singing

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b. Wə-nót-α-ko-l   w-ítαpa-l   etál-intα-kʷ   nαwátoke.
   3-hear-TA-INV-OBV.SG 3-friend-OBV.SG there-sing-3AN far.away

   'His partner heard him singing in a faraway place.'

(4) a. ngwǔdātkwē tkěssōsōňgwāt tālīgǎdōňkē.

   when he (the partner) was hunting a hundred miles away.

b. Nə̀kʷət-ahtəkʷe kehs-óhs-αl-əkʷ-at   tali=káton-ke.
   one-hundred   X.many-walk-TA-PASS-(3) there=hunt-AI-(3)

   'He (the partner) was hunting a hundred miles away.'

Text V

(1) a. Nījīā ndōňdōňkēūkw nauwāt kīzgōňgěsīgād'n āwōdīhīdwāk m'dēolǐnwāk.

   My brother told me that many years ago certain wizards had a quarrel.

b. N-ìčəye nət-αtóhke-w-əkʷ nὰwat   kis   kαkéhsi=katən   aw-otí-hətə-w-ak
   1-brother 1-tell-TA-INV   long.ago already many=be.year-(3) fight-RECIP-PL-3-PROX.NS

       mətéwələnəw-ak.
       shaman-PROX.NS

   'My brother told me that many years ago some shamans fought amongst themselves.'

(2) a. Pězgōwāl ūnī'hlāōňl.
   They killed one (of their number).

b. Pèsəkəw-al wə-níhl-α-wα-l.
   one-OBV.SG 3-kill-DIR-PROX.NS-OBV.SG

   'They killed one of their number.'

(3) a. Ūmōňjīp'hānā Mnā'nōgē ēdālī spāsēgěk ēdālī pǒldīhīdǐt.
   They brought him to Grand Manan, where there was a steep ledge[,]
           and there they ate him.

b. Wə-mαčé-ph-α-n-α   Menáno-ke   etali=sp-áhse-ke-k
   3-start-carry-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS Grand.Manan-DLOC there=high-ledge-II-3IN

etali-hp-óləti-həti-t.
there-eat-PL-PROX.NS-3AN

'They took him to Grand Manan, where there was a high ledge, where they ate.'

Text VI

(1) a. Kiwaʻkwi Achimowáʹkòn.
        A Story About a Kiwaʻkw (Forest Giant)

    b. Kiwahkʷayi=αčəməw-ʺḱkən.
        forest.giant=tell.story-NOM
        A story about a forest giant.

(2) a. Níswăk sénòbăk nachigadónkàk kwasibémuk.
        There were two men who men hunting by a lake.

    b. nìsəw-ak,   sénαpa-k,   nαči=katʺónk-ak   kʷasəpʺḿək.
        two-PROX.NS man-PROX.NS go=hunt-PROX.NS lake-LOC
        'Two men went hunting by a lake.'

(3) a. Niga salá'kì nodáwènă awénìl maskwulamiyilíjìl me'tág'mèk.
        Then suddenly they heard some one calling out (along the lake) at the end of the lake.

    b. Nìka saláhki   [wə]-not-áw-α-n-α,   àwen-il
        then suddenly 3-hear-TA-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS someone-OBV.SG

            moskʷ-alαmi-lʺí-č-il   meht-ʺḱəm-e-k.
            angry-shout-OBV-3AN-OBV.SG finish-lake-II-3IN

        'Then suddenly they heard someone screaming at the end of the lake.'

(4) a. Niga mina unodáwènă maskwulamiyilíjìl.
        Then again they heard some one calling.

    b. Nìka mìna wə-not-áw-α-n-α,   moskʷ-alαmi-lʺí-č-il
        then again 3-hear-TA-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS angry-shout-OBV-3AN-OBV.SG
        'Then again they heard someone screaming.'

(5) a. Unamiáwà¹ wechkawo'selíjìl.
        Then they saw a man coming

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b. Wǝ-nam-ih-α̋-wα-l   wečkaw-ohse-lı̋́-č-il.
3-see-TA-DIR-PROX.NS-OBV.SG hither-walk-OBV-3AN-OBV.SG

'They saw him coming toward them.'

(6) a. Malomte n'mâbechó'se eyídìt.

to where they were.

b. Mὰlam=te   nὲmα peč-ő́hse   eyı̋́-hǝti-t.
at.length=EMPH there come-walk-(3) be.located-PROX.NS-3AN

'At length he walked up to where they were.'

(7) a. Niga udé'lànǎ; pela mítsì.

Whereupon they said to him, "Pray eat."

b. Nìka wǝt-íhl-α-n-α,   "Pὲla mìtsi."
then 3-tell-DIR-SUB-PROX.NS first eat

'Then they told him, "Stop for a while and have something to eat."'

(8) a. Niga udidámèn wa sénòbě; nda ngiziáìwǔn. Nda'chwi-alósè edali tkē pebónkìk.

But that man said, "I cannot stay here. I must go to where it is cold to the north."

b. Nìka wǝt-ìt-am-ǝn owa sénαpe, "Nὲta nǝ-kisi=áyi-w-ǝn.
then 3-say-TH-SUB this.AN man not 1-can=be.located-NEG-SUB

   Nǝt-ahčǝwi=al-ő́hse etáli=tke-k   pὲpon-ki-k."
   1-must=thus-walk   there=be.cold-3IN winter-land-LOC

'Then this man said, "I cannot stay. I must go where it is cold, in the north."'

(9) a. Élwè't na sénòbě kiwá'kwì.

Certainly that man was a *Kiwa'kw*.

b. Èlǝweht na   sénαpe, kiwα̋́hkʷe.
evidently that.AN man forest.giant

'That man must have been a forest giant.'

Notes

wətəlintə́wewal **'he (prox.) sings to him (obv.)' (text IV, l. 2).** For the accentuation of this form, compare *nətəlintə́wewα* 'I sing for him or her', *nət-əl-intə́w-αm-α* 'I sing to him or her' (PD 156).

awotíhətəwak **'they fought amongst themselves' (text V, l. 1).** Siebert gives the dual form of this verb as *áwotəwak* 'they wage war', noting that there are no singular forms (PD 96). The basic shape of the stem is /awoti-/. Explicitly plural stems of AI verbs are derived from basic stems by adding a pluralizing suffix. The plural forms that Siebert lists for /awoti-/ incorporate a pluralizer whose basic shape is probably /-wələti-/: *awotólətəwak* 'they wage war' (accent supplied); *awótolətin* 'there is a general war, there is a battle' (the inflection is for unspecified subject). Compare *nə-pečihlá-wələti-pəna* 'we (pl.) come' (PD 361), with stem /pečihlα-/ 'come' and pluralizer /-wələti-/, plus inflectional affixes. (Against the usual rule for the assignment of the tonic accent, the fourth strong vowel from the end of the word is accented here: only the first vowel of /-wələti-/ and the /ə/ of the first-person plural suffix /-pəna/ can be weak in this form.) Prince's consultant appears to have used a derivative that incorporates another common pluralizer instead: /-həti-/. Compare *álαkkʷe* 'he or she cooks' (PD 36), *wət-əlαkkʷá-həti-nα* 'they (pl.) cook (Subordinative)' (Siebert n.d. a, p. 86), both with stem /əlαkkʷe-/ 'cook'. Underlying /i/ is regularly replaced by /ə/ before any of several suffixes that begin with /w/, including the third-person suffix /-w/ that appears both in *áwotə-w-ak* and in *awotí-hətə-w-ak*.

pèsəkəwal **'one (an., obv.) of them' (text V, l. 2).** Derivatives of the numeral *pèsəkʷ* 'one' that are long enough to be assigned the tonic accent are apparently subject to mutation in non-final contexts, when not emphasized (PD, pp. xvii–xviii). Accordingly, both *pésəkəwal* and *pèsəkəwal* are attested in Siebert's material. The first alternate appears in a text (Siebert n.d. b, p. 60) where it is followed by a comma, thus clearly in phrase-final position. The second alternate occurs in non-final position in an example sentence in the dictionary (PD 364). I write *pèsəkəwal*

rather than *pésəkəwal* here, since the word appears here in a non-final context.

    Menánoke **'to Grand Manan' (text V, l. 2).** As noted above, *Mõnahnùk*, the Passamaquoddy name for Grand Manan, is cognate with Penobscot *mənəhánoke*, the directional locative of *mə̀nəhan* 'island'. The usual Penobscot name, however, is not a form of this word. Siebert gives *mènan* as 'Grand Manan', with the directional locative *menánoke* 'to or towards Grand Manan' (PD 271). (In the entry for this noun in his *Penobscot Dictionary* [1996], Siebert suggests that the stem was borrowed from Micmac, but Rand [1888:123] lists the Micmac name for Grand Manan as <Mŭnănook´>, apparently [mənanuk] or the like.) Prince's <Mnā'nōgē> could reflect a pronunciation comparable to that of the Passamaquoddy place name, but it seems more likely that he was misled by his prior familiarity with the Passamaquoddy word and mistranscribed the speech of his Penobscot consultant. Compare his transcription of Penobscot *moskʷalɑmiĺíčil* 'he (obv.) who shrieks' as <maskwulamiyilíjìl> in line (3) here with his transcription of Passamaquoddy *masqolamilícil* as <măskwŭlămīyĭlī´jĭl> in line (2) of the corresponding Passamaquoddy text. Not only are the two spellings identical (diacritics aside), but they share an error: both represent an antepenultimate vowel *i* as a disyllabic sequence *iyi*. If, as this evidence suggests, Prince was working directly with his transcriptions of Newell Francis's texts in eliciting translations of this material, then we should be suspicious of his Penobscot transcriptions when they appear to reflect pronunciations more like the corresponding Passamaquoddy forms than we can confirm on the basis of other sources.

    kiwahkʷayi=ačəməwǎkən **'a story about a forest giant' (text VI, l. 1).** The construction involved here calls for a prenoun as modifier, not the independent noun *kíwahkʷe* 'forest giant' (PD 218). The prenoun that corresponds to this noun is *kiwahkʷayi-*: *kiwahkʷayi=sénɑpe* 'forest giant man' (Siebert n.d. b, p. 114). Prince does not appear to have recognized the distinction between the two forms, however, since he writes the noun as <kiwá'kwì> in the final line of text VI, with essentially the same spelling as the prenoun. I represent Prince's <kiwá'kwì> there as

kiwa̋hkʷe on the assumption that his transcription reflects an emphatic pronunciation, as discussed above.

   kʷasəpḗmək **'lake (loc.)' (text VI, l. 2).** Siebert gives *məkʷásəpemək* as the locative of *mə̀kʷasəpem* 'lake' (PD 274) and makes no mention of a shorter form of this word that lacks the initial syllable. The short form attested here as <kwasibémuk> nonetheless appears to be real. Prince (1910:187) has the short form again in another text, as <kwasibē′muk> 'from a lake'. In field work with one of the last speakers of Penobscot, Warne (1976:81) recorded <kwásəpem> 'lake', presumably reflecting *kʷàsəpem*, thus confirming that a shortened form of *mə̀kʷasəpem* did eventually become established. Note, too, that Maliseet-Passamaquoddy *qóspem* 'lake', loc. *qospémok* (i.e., /kʷə́spem/, /kʷəspémək/) match the forms attested by Prince and Warne in lacking the initial syllable of Siebert's *mə̀kʷasəpem*. Siebert (PD, p. xvi) reports that speakers of Maliseet and Passamaquoddy began settling among the Penobscots in substantial numbers beginning about 1840, with the result that many nineteenth and twentieth-century speakers of Penobscot spoke Maliseet-Passamaquoddy as well. Thus the emergence of *kʷàsəpem* as an alternative to *mə̀kʷasəpem* may well have been due to Maliseet and Passamaquoddy influence. Working at Indian Island in 1936 with a speaker whose primary language was Penobscot, Mary Haas recorded a Passamaquoddy form that may reflect influence in the opposite direction: <′Mkʷəzəpɛ̆′məL> 'lakes' (Haas 1936a:14). This recording suggests a pronunciation like *mkʷə́səpeməl*, with devoicing of *m* before the following obstruent. The initial *m* of this form may reflect a true archaism, a Passamaquoddy pronunciation of the word that had generally become obsolete elsewhere. Indeed, a pronunciation of 'lake' with initial *m* is attested for Maliseet in the place name *Kci=Mqospémok* 'Grand Lake, N.B. (loc.)' (Teeter and LeSourd 2000, text 10). On the other hand, both the accentuation of the form that Haas recorded and the retention of /ə/ in the sequence /səp/ in this form must reflect Penobscot influence. Speck (1919:280, 282) attests an additional variant of the Penobscot word: <nəgwa′zəbem>, perhaps *nəkʷàsəpem*, forming the

locative <nəgwaʹzəbemuk> *nək^wásəpemək*. It would not be surprising if some speakers who routinely dropped the first syllable of *mə̀k^wasəpem* went astray when they attempted to restore it, thus introducing new alternative forms of this noun.

    owa **'this (an.)' (text VI, l. 8).** Siebert consistently transcribes this pronoun as *wa* after a vowel (in the same phonological phrase), but as *owa* elsewhere. Prince (1910:205–6) in fact notes both variants, but does not appear to have recognized their distribution. Siebert (PD, p. xix) notes that the initial *o* of unaccented *owa* was often pronounced as an extra-short vowel. Thus Prince is likely to have transcribed some occurrences of *owa* as <wa>. I have therefore phonemicized his <wa> as *owa* here, given that the preceding word ends in a consonant.

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