The Dialectology of Southern New England Algonquian

DAVID J. COSTA
El Cerrito, California

'Southern New England Algonquian' is the name for the subgroup of the Eastern Algonquian language family originally spoken in what is now Rhode Island, almost all of Connecticut, the eastern half of Long Island, and most of Massachusetts (see Salwen 1978:161). The original neighbors of the southern New England languages were Munsee Delaware to the southwest, Mahican to the west, and Abenaki to the north. Additionally, there is reason to believe southern New England languages once extended northwards along the Atlantic coast into southeastern New Hampshire and coastal Maine, though this is far from certain.

The dialectology of southern New England is problematic due to a lack of data from much of the area. None of the southern New England languages have been spoken for about a hundred years, and most have not been spoken for over two hundred years. We have no linguistic records at all for many groups, while the documentation of several other groups is quite meager. The documentation of SNEA is especially poor for the interior (i.e., northern Connecticut, northern Rhode Island, and central Massachusetts), Long Island, and the northeastern Massachusetts and southeastern New Hampshire area. The dialectology of New England as a whole was aptly described by Gordon Day (1967:107) as "very reminiscent of a northern muskeg, with its islands of more or less firm ground rising out of a generally uncertain terrain." Further complicating the dialectological analysis of this area is the fact that most of the materials we do have are of uncertain tribal or geographic identity, or exhibit substantial dialect mixing.

The languages in southern New England for which we have significant data are Massachusett-Coweset, spoken in eastern Massachusetts and central Rhode Island; Narragansett proper, spoken in southern Rhode Island; Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk, spoken in southeastern Connecticut and eastern Long Island; Quiripi-Naugatuck, in southwestern Connecti-

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Map 1. The languages of southern New England.

cut; Unquachog, spoken in central Long Island; and 'Loup', probably spoken in central Massachusetts and adjoining areas of northeastern Connecticut and northwestern Rhode Island.[1] Additionally, the Western and Eastern Niantic, along the southeast coast of Connecticut and the south coast of Rhode Island, were also members of this group, and probably spoke a dialect of the Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk group. The Etchemin language of the coast of Maine might also have belonged to this group,[2] though the extremely meagre documentation will forever prevent its conclusive classification.

The term 'Southern New England Algonquian' (SNEA) was evidently first used in print (and first posited as a linguistic subgroup) by Frank Siebert (1975:442-443). In this group, Siebert (1975:445-446) includes the same languages I list for SNEA in this paper, except that he also includes several languages for which we have no data, such as Tunxis, Siwanoy, and Setauket. While most of these groups probably did speak Southern New England languages, I feel there is little point in speculating about these languages unless data comes to light.

The only other published discussion of SNEA is by Ives Goddard (1978:76). In this article (actually written prior to the publication of Siebert 1975), Goddard does not directly posit the existence of a SNEA linguistic group, though he does refer to a 'southeastern nucleus' of Eastern Algonquian which essentially includes the same languages Siebert (1975) and I put into the group. Goddard also lists more salient phonological features uniting SNEA than does Siebert (Goddard 1978:75), though he does not discuss whether SNEA itself is further subdivided.

In this article, I will re-examine the evidence for the subgrouping of SNEA. I will give special attention to the more poorly-documented languages of the western half of this area, which have been largely neglected in comparative studies. The data I will take into consideration support most of Siebert's classification, and allow us to refine it considerably. I will also demonstrate that, once it is recognized, the dialect mixture found in most of our records of SNEA helps bring the dialectology of this area into even sharper focus.

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1. Although it is highly likely that some of Mathevet's data is from actual Nipmuck speakers from central Massachusetts, given the dialect mixture in the Mathevet manuscript, it is inadvisable to call all data from Day (1975) 'Nipmuck'. Thus, until the dialect variation in that manuscript is better understood, I have labelled data taken from Mathevet's manuscript 'Loup'. The vocabulary known as 'Loup B' contains data from at least two or three different languages and probably does not represent any dialect spoken in the SNEA language area. (See Goddard 1978:71-72.)

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2. See Rhodes & Costa (2003):214, fn. 4.

THE EVIDENCE FOR SNEA

Several distinctive phonological developments unite the SNEA languages, to the point where it is safe to say that SNEA is indeed a genetic unit within Eastern Algonquian, and not merely an areal grouping.

There are three main sound laws that are found in all and only the SNEA languages: palatalization of PA **k*; the merger of PEA **hr* and **hx*; and word final PEA **r* → SNEA *š*.

*The palatalization of PA *k*

One of the more striking sound changes uniting all the SNEA languages (and not Delaware-Mahican or Abenaki), one mentioned by both Goddard (1978:75) and Siebert (1975:346-347, 442-443), is the palatalization of PA **k* before PEA **ē* and some instances of PA **i* (see Goddard 1981:76-77). This palatalized **k* appears most often as a kind of palatal stop [t^{y}] in Massachusett and Coweset, but as simple [č] in all other SNEA languages.[3] As notoriously difficult as it is to define the exact conditioning of this sound change in Massachusett (see Goddard 1981:76-84), it is highly significant that this palatalization occurs in the same places in all the SNEA languages, once minor morphophonemic analogy has been taken into account (see Goddard 1981:83, and below). This indicates that this palatalization of PA **k* was present in the ancestor language of SNEA, PSNEA.

The following examples show this sound change:

(1) Palatalization of PA **k* in SNEA[4]

PA **wi·kiwa·Hmi* 'house' (Goddard 1982:26): Ms ‹wetu›, Nr ‹wetu›, Lp ‹ðichðan›, Pq ‹weejoh›,[No] Qr ‹wejo›, Uq ‹wéecho›; cf. unpalatalized Mu *wí·kwahm* and WA *wigwôm*.

PA **-spike·kani* 'rib' (Goddard 1981:83): Ms ‹wuhpéteog›,[5] Nr ‹peteaúgon›, Pq ‹pechog›,[No] Qr ‹pechaûgun›; cf. unpalatalized Cree *nispike·kan* 'my rib'.

PA **sa·kima·wa* 'chief' (Goddard 1978:75): Ms ‹sontim›, Nr ‹sâchim›, Lp

3. This was first pointed out by Siebert (1975:347, 443); see below for further discussion of this isogloss.

The reflex of this sound is usually written ‹ch› in Loup (see Gustafson 2000:31). However, this is also how the Loup reflex of PA **č* is usually written, and both sounds are occasionally written ‹tch›. Thus, it is most likely that Mathevet simply had difficulty in distinguishing *č* and *š*, due to interference from his French phonology. Therefore, I feel it is safest to assume that older **t^{y}* merged with *č* in Loup as phonetic [č], not as [š].

‹sancheman›, Ni ‹saunchum›, Pq ‹súnjum›,[St] Mt ‹saunchem›, Qr ‹sáchemâuak› (pl.); cf. unpalatalized Un *sa·k·í·ma* and WA *zôgəmô*.

PA **ke·kw-* ‘what, something, thing’ (Goddard 1981:81): Ms ‹teag›, ‹chaqua›,[6] Nr ‹teâguun›, Lp ‹chagɤa›, Pq ‹chogwun›,[No] Qr ‹chawgun›, ‹chawgwunsh›; cf. unpalatalized WA *gagwi*, Mh ‹gaquai› ‘what, something’.

PA **ka·ka·kiwa* ‘crow’: Ms ‹kongkont›,[7] Nr ‹kaukont›, Lp ‹kankanchɤ›, Uq ‹concónchus›; cf. unpalatalized Sauk *ka·ka·kiwa* ‘crow’.

PA **so·kespowi* ‘it snows’:[8] Nr ‹sóchepo›, Pq ‹souch’pouu›,[St] Mo ‹sû´jpō›, Uq ‹soáchpo›; cf. unpalatalized Ojibwe *zoogipo-* ‘snow’.

Goddard (1981:78) also qualifies the palatalization rule of Massachusett by pointing out that “the PA clusters that would give Mass[achu-

4. Data for individual languages is taken from the following sources: Mahican: primarily Masthay (1991), except for words from Heckewelder’s Mahican vocabulary, which are taken from the redaction in Levine (1980:55-56); Massachusett: various sources, but primarily Josiah Cotton (1829), John Cotton’s (1664-1667) notebook at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Eliot (1663) and (1685), Mayhew (1709), and Goddard & Bragdon (1988), with unlabelled Massachusett forms generally found in Trumbull (1903); modern Mohegan: Prince & Speck (1904) and Speck (1928); Montauk: from Tooker’s redaction of Gardiner’s (1798) original vocabulary in the National Anthropological Archives; Munsee Delaware: O’Meara (1996); Nanticoke and ‘Choptank’ (Murray’s vocabulary), Speck (1927); Narragansett/Coweset: Williams (1936); Naugatuck: Levine & Bonvillain (1980:50), checked against Stiles’s original manuscript in the Beinecke Library, Yale University; Loup (‘Loup A’): Day (1975); Niantic (Stiles’s “Narragansett”): Cowan (1973a), checked against Stiles’s original manuscript in the Beinecke Library, Yale University; Penobscot: Siebert (1996); Pequot: Noyes (no date) and Cowan (1973b), the latter checked against Stiles’s original manuscript in the Beinecke Library, Yale University; Pequot forms marked ‘EM’ are taken from Experience Mayhew’s Pequot Lord’s prayer in Trumbull (1873:146); Quiripi: Pierson (1895); Unquachog: Jefferson (1791); and Western Abenaki: Day (1994).

Abbreviations are as follows: Ch = Choptank dialect of Nanticoke; EA = Eastern Abenaki; EM = Experience Mayhew; LB = Loup B; Lp = Loup; Mh = Mahican; Mo = Mohegan; MP = Maliseet-Passamaquoddy; Ms = Massachusett; Mt = Montauk; Mu = Munsee Delaware; MV = Martha’s Vineyard; Ng = Naugatuck; Ni = Niantic, from Stiles’s “Narragansett” vocabulary; No = James Noyes; Nr = Narragansett; PA = Proto-Algonquian; Pb = Penobscot; PEA = Proto-Eastern Algonquian; Pm = Pamlico; Pq = Pequot; PSNEA = Proto-Southern New England Algonquian; Qr = Quiripi; SNEA = Southern New England Algonquian; SO = Samson Occom; Sp = Frank Speck; St = Ezra Stiles; Un = Unami; Uq = Unquachog; WA = Western Abenaki.

In this paper, I use the revised conventions for transcribing PA laid out in Goddard (1994); these are the same as those of Bloomfield (1946), except that PA **l* is here written as **r*, and the PA clusters **xk*, **xp*, and **çk* are written **sk*, **sp*, and **rk*, respectively. Additionally, in phonemicizations of SNEA data I use *ô* to transcribe the nasal vowel phoneme deriving from PA **a·*.

sett] /sk/ are palatalized to Mass[achusett] /hč/ in the same environments in which **k* is otherwise palatalized to /t^{y}/." This sound change is shared by all other SNEA languages as well:

(2) Palatalization of PEA **sk* to SNEA *hč*

PA **-i-neθ k-e·-k* 'pair of hands', i.e., 'ten multiple' (Goddard 1981:78):[9] Ms ‹neesnihchak›,[10] Nr ‹neesneẽchick›, Lp ‹ninzinchak›, Pq ‹niezinchog›^{No} and ‹neezunchaug›,St Uq ‹neésun-chog›, all 'twenty'; cf. unpalatalized WA *nizinska*, LB ‹nissinsko›.

*The merger of PEA *hr and *hx in SNEA*

As discussed by Goddard (1981:65), PA **ʔr* and **nθ* yield Proto-Eastern Algonquian **hr*, while PA **hr*, **hθ*, and **ʔθ* yield PEA **hx*. Further, PEA **hr* and **hx* merge as Massachusett *hš*. In fact, the merger of PEA **hr* and **hx* is characteristic of all the SNEA languages and none of their neighboring languages (i.e., not Delaware-Mahican or Abenaki), so it is safe to assume that this too is a feature of PSNEA.

PEA **hr* and **hx* merge as *hš* in Massachusett-Coweset, Narragansett, Niantic, Mohegan-Pequot and Naugatuck, strongly indicating this was the form this cluster took in PSNEA.[11] However, in several other SNEA languages this cluster appears as *hs*, with different degrees of consistency: it always appears as *hs* in Unquachog (see Rudes 1997:13), almost always as *hs* in Loup (Gustafson 2000:23-24) and occasionally in Quiripi and Montauk. However, the poor transcription quality of our records makes it difficult to state the exact extent of this change from **hš* to **hs* in those languages.

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5. Eliot (1663), Genesis 2:21.

6. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:714).

7. Cotton (1829:12). For a similar form, note Ms ‹weenont› 'kite' (Eliot 1663, Deuteronomy 14:13), phonemic *winôt^{y}*, < PA **wi·na·nke·wa* 'turkey vulture' (cf. Mu *wi·ná·nke·w*, Ottawa *wiinaange*, Kickapoo *(w)iinaakea*).

8. Ives Goddard, personal communication.

9. Goddard (1981:78) gives this ending as phonemic Ms *-(ə)nəhčāk~-ən(ə)hčāk*; cf. also Mu *nxi·náxke* 'thirty'.

10. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:664)

11. The preaspiration of *hš* in Mohegan-Pequot is strongly supported by the fact that this consonant is never voiced in modern Mohegan, as is usually the case for plain obstruents in that language. Additionally, the preaspiration of this cluster in Quiripi is supported by Pierson's (1895) frequent transcription of it as ‹shsh›.

(3) The merger of PEA **hr* and **hx* in SNEA

PA **re·hre·-* 'breathe' (Bloomfield 1946:90); Ms ‹nahshauonk› 'breath',[12] Lp ‹kelasaðang› 'your spirit'[13], Mo ‹nαya´cα·› 'I breathe',[14] and Qr ‹rashshâuwunk› 'spirit'; cf. Mu *lé·xe·w*, Pb *nèhse*.

PA **neʔr-* 'kill' (Goddard 1982:26): Ms ‹nahshont› 'when he kills him',[15] Nr ‹kunnìshickqun› 'he kills you', Lp ‹ninissen› 'I kill him', Pq ‹shough›[No] 'he is killed'[16] and Mo ‹n'shŭñ› 'he kills him',[17] Qr ‹nanschadjek› 'slayers' and Uq ‹wúhnsa› 'kill' (probably 'he kills him'); cf. Mu *níhle·w* 'he kills (him)', Pb *nánihlα* 'I kill him'.

PA **awe·ʔre·wa* 'hawk, large bird' (Siebert 1967:19): Ms ‹owóhshaog› 'hawks'[18] and, with diminutive ending, Uq ‹awássas› 'bird';[19] cf. Mu *awéhle·w* 'hawk, large bird', Pb *áwehle* 'Broad-winged hawk'.

PA **-o·hθ-* 'father': Ms ‹koohshog› 'your fathers',[20] Nr ‹nòsh› 'my father', Lp ‹nðs› 'my father', Pq ‹nœshun›[EM] 'our (excl.) father', Qr ‹koush› 'your father' (but also ‹noûsin› 'our (excl.) father'), and Uq ‹cωs› 'your father'; cf. Mu *nó·xw*, Mh ‹nő́x› 'my father' (Michelson).

PA **pemwehθe·-* 'walk along': Ms ‹nuppomushham› 'I walk',[21] Nr ‹pummushâuta› 'let's walk', Pq ‹bumshash›[No] 'walk!', and Uq ‹copúmsah› 'you walk'; cf. WA *bəmosa***.**

PA **mehθweθ-* 'wooden watercraft' (Goddard 2003:173), PEA **məhxōr* 'canoe, boat'; Ms ‹muhshoon›,[22] Nr ‹mishoòn›, Lp ‹amisðl›, Ni ‹umpshu›, Pq ‹meshwe›,[St] Mt ‹mashuee›:[23] cf. Mu *amóxo·l*, Pb *ámasol*.

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12. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 51:11.

13. This is the probable translation of the last word in Mathevet's sentence ‹akatench espemikik michimi altach kelasaðang›, glossed only as 'plut a Dieu que dans le ciel' (Day 1975:21).

14. Speck (1928:240).

15. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 78:34.

16. Probably phonemic Pq *n'hšôw*, with initial voiceless *n* not heard by Noyes; cf. Ms ‹nushau›, < PA **neʔra·wa*.

17. Prince & Speck (1904:36); probably phonemic (*wə*)*n'hšô*.

18. Eliot (1663), Deuteronomy 14:15; phonemic Ms *awāhšāak*.

19. Rudes (1997:29) gives this form as ‹anassas›; however, an examination of Jefferson's original manuscript shows that while the second letter of this word is somewhat damaged, it bears more resemblance to a ‹w› than to any other letter. Additionally, the acute accent over the second ‹a› is also quite clear.

20. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 45:16.

21. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 26:11.

22. John Cotton (1664-1667:71).

23. The Niantic, Pequot, and Montauk forms presumably all represent phonemic *məhšoy*.

PA **neʔθwi* ‘three’; Ms ‹nushwe›,[24] Nr ‹nìsh›, Lp ‹chðiˑ, Pq ‹nish›[No] & ‹shwéh›;[St] Mt ‹nish›, Qr ‹swe› & ‹nashwe›, Uq ‹nus›; cf. Mu *nxáh*, Pb *nahs*.[25]

PA **neʔθwa·ši(ka)* ‘eight’; Ms ‹nuhshoˑ, ‹nishwôsukˑ,[26] Nr ‹shwósuck›, Lp ‹chðensik›, Pq[27] ‹shwausk›[St] & ‹suansuck›,[No] Mt ‹swans›, Qr ‹swankshit› ‘eighth’, Uq ‹swah›; cf. Mu *nxá·š*, Pb *nsàsək* (see Rhodes & Costa 2003:190-192).

Pseudo-PA **wi·ʔθe·kani*, PEA **wīhθēkan* ‘body hair’;[28] Ms ‹weshaganash› ‘body hairs’,[29] Nr ‹wéshecˑk› ‘the hair’, Pq ‹weshãgunsh›[No] (pl.) ‘haire of a beast’, Mo ‹wishaganˑ,[Al] pl. ‹wî´shâgŭnsh›;[Sp] cf. Mu *wi·xé·kanal* ‘body hairs’.

PA **meʔθanyikwa* ‘(big) squirrel’; Ms ‹mishānnek›,[30] Nr ‹mishánneke›, Lp ‹misanigðe›, Ni ‹shenneague›, Pq ‹múshánneege›,[St] Ng ‹shun-neegqh›; cf. Un *xáni·kw* (see Siebert 1975:389).

PA **ki·šweʔθwa* ‘sun, moon’; Lp ‹kizðs›, Qr ‹kezous›; cf. Un *ki·šu·x*, WA *gizos*.

PA **ma·nθ-i-peθkw-* ‘flint’; Ms ‹môshipsqut›[31] (loc.), Lp ‹mansibskðe›; cf. Mu *máhləs*, Pb *màhsihpsk*^{w} (see Goddard 1981:65).

PEA **wī·(n)kwēhrēw* ‘swan’: Ms ‹wequash›,[32] Nr ‹wéquash›, Lp ‹ðikðasa›; cf. WA *wigwahla*, EA ‹ðigðérré›.[33]

*PEA word-final *r → SNEA š*

Additionally, all (and only) the SNEA languages share a rule taking word-final PEA **r* to *š*.[34] This presumably occurred at the same time as the change of PEA **hr* to SNEA **hš*, though the exact causal connection is

24. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:670).

25. See also the related forms for ‘eight’ in Rhodes & Costa (2003:191-192).

26. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:677) and Mayhew (1709), John 5:5, respectively.

27. The Noyes form is a rare example of expected *hš* giving (*h*)*s* in Pequot; it is also confirmed in his words for ‘eighteen’ ‹piugnabunsuansuck›, and ‘eighty’ ‹suasucsínchog›.

28. The *e·* of the Munsee form disproves Siebert’s (1975:343) reconstruction PEA **wi·hθakan*.

29. Eliot (1663), Exodus 25:4.

30. Cotton (1829:12).

31. Eliot (1663 & 1685), Isaiah 50:7. Both of the forms given for this word by Trumbull (1903:62 & 260) are incorrect.

32. Eliot (1685), Leviticus 11:18. This is probably the same word as the name of the Pequot ‘Captaine’ ‘Wequash’ mentioned by Roger Williams (1936).

33. Râle (1833:383).

34. As discussed by Goddard (1981:59) for Massachusett.

uncertain. It is possible that older word-final **r* was devoiced word-finally in pre-SNEA, and that when **hr* became *hš* in the SNEA languages, phonetically devoiced word-final [r̥] was dragged along with this sound change, turning to **š*.

As noted by Goddard (1981:59) the *š* thus created produced a new Massachusett phoneme, since older PA **š* had already merged with **s* in all EA languages north of Delaware-Mahican (Goddard 1978:75).

This new word-final **š* sporadically appears as *s* in some of the languages of the western and central SNEA area, in much the same way as the cluster *hš* becomes *hs* in these same languages. This reduction of final *-š* to *-s* seems to be obligatory in Unquachog, normal though not universal in Loup, optional in Quiripi (Rudes 1997:8-10) and Montauk, very rare in Pequot and Narragansett, and nonexistent in Massachusett. Word-final *s* for expected *š* seems to be especially common with inanimate noun plurals, probably largely due to English-speaking recorders confusing the SNEA inanimate plural ending *-(a)š* with the English plural ending *-s*.

The most commonly seen examples of final PEA **r* → *š/s* in SNEA languages are from the inanimate plural suffix PA *-*ari*, the second person singular AI imperative *-*ro*, and the theme 4 sign *-*eθe*.[35]

(4) PEA **r* → *š/s* in SNEA languages

Unquachog:

‹mocússenus› 'moccasins, shoes'; < PA **maskesenari*.

‹corítcheus› 'your fingers' (phonemic *kərəčəyas*?); cf. Ms ‹wunnutcheash› 'his hands',[36] Mo ‹wejeesh› 'his hands'; < PA **keθenčye·ri*.

‹quáquees› 'run!'; cf. Pq ‹quockhquish›,[No] modern Mo ‹quogquish›, Ni ‹koquish›, Ms ‹quogquish›.

Quiripi:

‹quonaious› 'they (inan.) are long'; cf. Mo ‹gŭnâ´ĭŭš›.

‹chawgunsh› 'things'; cf. Mo ‹chawgwansh›, Ms ‹chaquanish›,[37] Lp ‹chag8anis›.

‹yous› & ‹yoush› 'these (inanimate)'; cf. Mo ‹yuc›,[38] Ms ‹yeush›.

‹p'tuks› 'trees'; cf. Ni ‹A Tucksh› (sic), Nr ‹mihtuckquash›, Ms

35. For examples of these endings in Massachusett, see Goddard (1981).
36. Eliot (1685), Acts 12:1 and Ephesians 4:28.
37. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:714).
38. Speck (1928:234).

‹muhtugquash›;[39] < PA **me$^{?}$tekwari*.

Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk-Niantic:

Pq ‹puttuggesh›^{No} ‘goe back!’; cf. Nr ‹pittúckish›.

Pq ‹padoush›,^{No} ‹padous›^{No} ‘bring it’; cf. Nr ‹paútous›, Ms ‹paudtaush›; cf. PA **pye·to·ro*.

Pq ‹munjsh›^{No} ‘go away!’; cf. Nr ‹maúchish› & Ms ‹monchish›.

Mt ‹mioomans› ‘wheat’; cf. Nr ‹myuminch›;[40] < PA **maro·minari*.

Pq ‹wewachimān^{a}ush›^{No} and ‹wewaúchemins›St ‘Indian corn’; cf. Ms ‹weahchiminnash›,[41] Lp ‹ðiatchimanĕs›.

Pq ‹wiscunsh›^{No} and Mo ‹shkŭnsh› ‘his bones’ (phonemic *(wə)skanš*; < PA **weθkanari*).

Ni ‹A Tucksh› ‘trees’; cf. Qr ‹p’tuks›, Nr ‹[mihtúck]quash›, Ms ‹muhtugquash›; < PA **me$^{?}$tekwari*.

Ni ‹waumpmunch› ‘chestnuts’; cf. Nr ‹wómpimineash›; cf. Mu *wa·pí·mal*, WA *wôbiməmal*.

Ni ‹koquish› ‘run!’; cf. Pq ‹quockhquish›,^{No} Uq ‹quáquees›, Nr ‹quaquìsh›, Ms ‹quogquish›.[42]

Loup:

‹ðiatchimanĕs› ‘Indian corn’; cf. Pq ‹wewachimān^{a}ush›, Ms ‹weahchiminnash›.

‹chagðanis› ‘things’; cf. Qr ‹chawgunsh›, Mo ‹chawgwansh›, Ms ‹chaquanish›.

‹pachemanĕs› ‘noix petites’; cf. Pq ‹pawchumānush›,^{No} Mt ‹bauchamints› ‘cranberries’; cf. Mu *pa·kí·mal* ‘cranberries’; < PA **pya·kimini* ‘cranberry’ (see Goddard 1982:24).

‹passikðis› ‘get up!’; cf. Pq ‹passugguish›; Nr ‹pasúckquish› and Ms ‹passukqueg› ‘arise! (pl.)’;[43] < PA **pasekwi·-* (Goddard 1982:40).

‹keðamanlis› ‘I love you’; cf. Nr ‹cowàmmaunsh›, Ms ‹koowomonish›;[44] < PEA **wama·r-* ‘love him’.[45]

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39. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:645).

40. This form is from Ezra Stiles’s notes, Itineraries III:420, where it is given as meaning ‘Indian corne’. This form is probably from the same southern Rhode Island dialect seen in Stiles’s Narragansett vocabulary.

41. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 78:24.

42. Eliot (1663), I Samuel 20:36.

43. Mayhew (1709), John 14:31.

44. Cotton (1829).

45. Cf. also Heckewelder’s Nanticoke ‹quámmosch› ‘love’, probably phonemic **k*(*ə*)*wama·š* ‘you love me’.

INNOVATIONS SHARED BEYOND SNEA

*Reflexes of PEA *r*

The reflexes of Proto-Eastern Algonquian **r* (< PA **r* and **θ*) have long been used to subclassify the languages of New England. This classification dates back to Roger Williams (1936:104-105), who famously stated that the word for 'dog' was ‹anùm› in the 'Cowweset' dialect, ‹ayím› in 'Narriganset', ‹arúm› in 'Qunnippiuck', and ‹alùm› in 'Neepmuck'. This classification seems to be basically correct: 'Qunnippiuck', or 'Quiripi' as it is called here, is indeed part of the west Connecticut *r*-dialect area, and 'Neepmuck' or Loup, in the southern New England interior, does seem from the evidence of place names to have been *l*-dialect area (Goddard 1977:157, Goddard 1978:75).

(5) Reflexes of PEA **r* in SNEA

Massachusett: always *n*

"Narragansett" (Williams's data): usually *n*, sometimes *y*

Loup: always *l*

Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk-Niantic: always *y*

Quiripi: usually *r*, occasionally *y*

Naugatuck: always *r*

Unquachog: *r* and *y*

Examples:

'man': Lp ‹ilinȣ›, Ms ‹ninnuoh› 'male (obv.)',[46] Nr ‹enìn›, Pq ‹eyene›,[No] Ni ‹yēnh›,[47] Qr ‹ren›, Ng ‹rinh›, Uq ‹run›; < PA **erenyiwa*.

'dog': Ms ‹annúm›, Nr ‹anùm›, ‹ayím›, Pq ‹Iummoose›[No] (dimin.), Ni ‹ayimp›, Uq ‹arrum›; < PA **aθemwa*.

'necklace, jewel': Ms ‹nompakou› 'jewel, treasure',[48] Lp ‹lanbecou› 'collier, ornement du col', Pq ‹youmbuckoh›[No] 'a band'; cf. WA *nôpkoan* 'collar, necklace, scarf'; < PA **θa·p-* 'hang around the neck'.

'star': Ms ‹anogqs›, Nr ‹anóckqus›, Qr ‹arráksak› (pl.), Uq ‹aráqusac› (pl.); < PA **aθankwa* + diminutive.

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46. Eliot (1663), Mark 10:6.

47. An examination of Stiles's original Niantic vocabulary shows that ‹yēnh› is a more accurate transcription of this word than Cowan's (1973:8) ‹yĕnh›. This would indicate a pronunciation of [yi·n] rather than [yən].

48. Eliot (1663), Proverbs 11:22 et alibi.

‘thus, as’: Lp ‹ali›, Ms ‹unne›,[49] Pq ‹oi›[EM] (phonemic *əyi*), Qr ‹re›; cf. Mu *lí·* ‘here, there, thus, so’; < PEA **ərī*.

‘sea shell, shellfish’: Lp ‹alas› ‘huitre’, Ms ‹annoss›,[50] Nr ‹anâwsuck› (pl.), Pq ‹yeas›,[No] < PEA **are·hs*; cf. WA *als*, Mu *či·kwalále·s* ‘snail shell’.[51]

‘far away’: Lp ‹lanɤatec›, Ms ‹nôadtuk›, ‹nóadtit›,[52] Nr ‹náwwatuck›, Pq ‹yowwattuc›,[No] Qr ‹rôuwat› ‘long ago’; cf. Mu *lá·wate* ‘long ago’.

‘fire’: Lp ‹lɤte›, Ms ‹nœht›, ‹noohtau›,[53] Nr ‹nòte›, ‹yòte›, Pq ‹yout›[No], ‹yewt›,[St] Mo ‹yote›,[Al] Qr ‹yout›, locative ‹rowtag›, Ng ‹ruúh-tah›, Uq ‹ruht›, ‹yuht›; cf. Mu *ló·te·w* ‘it burns’.[54]

‘wheat, grain’: Lp ‹malɤmin› ‘bled’, Nr ‹myuminch› ‘Indian corne’, Mt ‹mioomans› ‘wheat’ (pl.), Uq ‹maroóman› ‘wheat’; < PA **maro·mina*.

‘again’: Ms ‹nombe›, Pq ‹yumba›,[St] Qr ‹rambe›; cf. Mu *lá·pi·*; < PA **θa·pi*.

‘guts/belly’: Ms ‹wunnogkus› ‘his’, Nr ‹wunnáks› ‘his’, Pq ‹meyuggus›[No] ‘one’s’, Uq ‹cráckish› ‘your’; < PA **meθakešyi* ‘one’s guts, entrails’ (Goddard 1974:115).

‘morning’: Lp ‹lanbanɤi›, Pq ‹yowmbowe›,[No] Ms ‹nompoe›.[55]

‘tongue’: Lp ‹nilanɤ› ‘my’, Ms ‹meenan› ‘one’s’, Mo ‹wî´yŭn› ‘his’,[56] Qr ‹méran› ‘one’s’; < PA **-i·θanyiwi*.

‘blackbird’: Lp ‹achɤkali›, Nr ‹chógan›, Pq[57] ‹auchugyeze›,[St] cf. WA *čokələsk*^{w}, Mu *čóhkwali·w*,[58] and Pm ‹chúwquaréo›.

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49. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:721).

50. John Cotton (1664-1667:94). Josiah Cotton’s (1829:12) form ‹anna› ‘shell’ is missing the final s, probably as a misprint. The deleted vowel in the second syllable of the Abenaki form is unexplained. It is unclear how PEA **are·hs* is related to its far more common synonym PA **e·hsa*, as seen in Mu *é·has* and Pb *ess*.

51. Ives Goddard, personal communication.

52. Eliot (1666:21) and Goddard & Bragdon (1988:661), respectively.

53. Mayhew (1709), John 21:9 and Psalms 11:6, respectively.

54. Although this etymon has been reconstructed as PEA **rōtēw*, the sources are compatible with an interpretation that all the SNEA languages reanalyzed the *t* in this word as *ht*, as seen most clearly in the Massachusett, Naugatuck, and Unquachog forms (see Goddard 1981:99).

55. Phonemically these forms would be *lôpôwi*, *yôpôwi* and *nôpôi*, respectively. The Massachusett form is from Mayhew (1709), Psalms 110:3; cf. Ch ‹allappahwee› ‘tomorrow’, indicating PEA **(a)ra·pa·wi*.

56. Noyes’s unexpected ‹menam› would seem to be a copying error for *‹menan›, phonemic *minan*, ‘one’s tongue’. If so, this form is notable for being an extremely rare example of a Mohegan-Pequot word showing *n* from PEA **r*, rather than the expected *y*.

57. This Pequot form probably represents phonemic *ačokayihs*.

58. Ives Goddard, personal communication.

'young woman, girl': Lp ‹languiskðasis›, Ms ‹nunksqua›,[59] Pq ‹younksqwau›,[No] Mt ‹yunksquash›, Uq ‹yúnksquas›; cf. Pb *nàksk^{w}e, nàksk^{w}ehs*,[60] LB ‹nanksðas›; with the same initial, cf. also 'young man, boy': Lp ‹langanbasis›, Ms ‹nunkomp›, ‹nonkumpaes›,[61] Uq ‹rúngcump›; all < PA **ra·nk-* 'light of weight'.

'nose': Lp ‹nijanlek› 'on my nose', Ms ‹mutchôn› 'one's',[62] Nr ‹wuchaûn› 'his', Mo ‹chŏĭ›, Pq ‹mittchawe›[No] 'one's', Uq ‹cochóy› 'your'; < PA **-čya·θ-*.

The Intrusive Nasal in SNEA

Two phonological processes which do *not* define SNEA are the Intrusive Nasal and Abenaki Syncope. The 'Intrusive Nasal' (see Goddard 1965 & 1971) is the most common Algonquianist term for the regular appearance of PA **a·* as some kind of back, mid nasal vowel in all the languages of SNEA, as well as in Mahican, Loup B, and all Abenaki dialects except Penobscot. Goddard (1971:140) points out that the geographic distribution of this sound change (i.e., its absence from certain Abenaki dialects) and the phonological restrictions on its occurrence in Abenaki indicate that this sound change very likely originated in the southern New England area and later spread to Mahican and Abenaki.

It appears most likely that PA **a·* became nasal *ô* without exception in all the SNEA languages, although this is obscured by the poor records, which seldom mark nasalization before sonorants, fricatives, or other vowels (Goddard 1971:141-142). However, the presence of this nasal vowel even in such environments is confirmed by its sporadic marking in Mayhew's (1709) Massachusett materials and Mathevet's Loup recordings (Day 1975). In Mayhew's transcription, this vowel is marked with the letter ‹ô›, while in Mathevet's transcription, it is most often written ‹an› or ‹en›.

(6) Marking of the vowel *ô* in Massachusett and Loup

Massachusett (Mayhew 1709):
‹sontimôog› 'princes' (Psalms 146:3); phonemic *sôt^{y}əmôak*, < PA **sa·kima·waki*.

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59. Eliot (1663), Genesis 24:14; note also the dialect variant ‹nunkiskq› (Mayhew 1709, Psalms 123:2).

60. PA **r* and **θ* appear as n word-initially in all Abenaki dialects.

61. Both of these forms are from Cotton (1829:13).

62. Cotton (1829:13).

‹wadchônau› ‘he preserveth’ (Psalms 146:9); phonemic *wačônāw* ‘he keeps him, has him’; cf. Pb *nəwáčanα* ‘I have him’.

‹wuttœnœwôut› ‘in their mouths’ (Psalms 149:6); phonemic *wətonəwôət*.

‹nishwôsuk› ‘eight’ (John 5:5); phonemic *nəhšwôsək*; < PA **neʔθwa·ši(ka)*.

‹wunnechônit› ‘his child (loc.)’ (John 8:39); phonemic *wəničônət*; < PA **weni·čya·nenki*.

‹pamontamôn› ‘while I live’ (subjunctive; Psalms 146:2); phonemic *pamôtamôn*.

‹ogkômae› ‘on the other side’ (John 6:25); phonemic *akômāi*; < PA **aka·m-* ‘across’.

‹wunnámônoh› ‘his son’ (John 3:17), ‹kunnamôn› ‘thy son’ (John 19:26); phonemic *wənāmônah, kənāmôn*; < PEA **-ne·ma·n-* ‘son’; cf. Pb *wənémαnal* ‘his son’.

‹wámôsit› ‘that he loves me’ (John 10:17) and ‹wamônont› ‘that he loves him’ (John 13:1), phonemic *wamôsət* and *wamônôt*, < PEA **wama·r-* ‘love’.

Loup:

‹nakmanðan› ‘they/them’; phonemic *nākəmôwô*; cf. Mu *ne·kəmá·wa*.

‹ðichðan› ‘house’ and ‹niðichiðanmenan› ‘our house’, phonemic *wičəwô* and *nəwičəwômənô*; < PA **wi·kiwa·Hmi*.

‹sancheman› ‘chief’; phonemic *sôčəmô*, < PA **sa·kima·wa*.

‹kanði› ‘porcupine quill’; phonemic *kôwi*, < PA **ka·wiya*; cf. WA *gôwi* ‘thorn’.

‹mansanbis› ‘rasade’; cf. Pq ‹mazawmpe›,[No] Mu *ma·nšá·pəy* ‘bead’, and EA ‹maɲsaɲbiar› (pl.) ‘rassade’ (Râle 1833:518).

‹keðamanlis› ‘I love you’; phonemic *kəwamôləs*, < SNE **wamôr-* ‘love’.

‹chðensik› ‘eight’, phonemic *šwôsək*; < PA **neʔθwa·ši(ka)*.

‹lanðat› ‘for a long time’ (phonemic *lôwat*) & ‹lanðatec› ‘far away’ (phonemic *lôwatək*); cf. Mu *lá·wate* ‘long ago’ and Pb *nàwat* ‘long ago’.

‹lanbanði› ‘morning’; phonemic *lôpôwi*; cf. Ms ‹nompoe›.[63]

‹nijanlek› ‘on my nose’; phonemic *nəčôlək*; < PA **-čya·θ-* ‘nose’.

‹kipianmen› ‘we (incl.) come’; phonemic *kəpəyômən*; < PA **kepya·mena*.

Presumably Mayhew’s fluency in Massachusett allowed him to hear the phoneme *ô* more consistently than his non-Massachusett-speaking contemporaries, while Mathevet’s French language background enabled

63. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 110:3 & John 20:1.

him to hear vowel nasalization in places where Anglophone recorders would not, such as before *l, m, n* and *w.* Nevertheless, even though the Intrusive Nasal is found in all the SNEA languages (where it probably originated), it is still best seen as an areal phenomenon, and is neither diagnostic for the SNEA languages nor a valid criterion for their subgrouping.

(7) Typical words showing the vowel *ô* in SNEA

'chief': Pq ‹súnjum›,[St] Mt ‹saunchem›, Ni ‹saunchum›, Lp ‹sancheman›, Ms ‹sontim›, ‹sonchum›; < PA **sa·kima·wa*.

'female chief, queen': Pq ‹sunchsquaw›,[St] Mt ‹seaunskq›, Ni ‹saunch sqauh›, Lp ‹sanchemanskðe›, Nr ‹sauncksquûaog› (pl.), Ms ‹sonkiskkq›;[64] cf. Pb *sákəmɑsk^{w}e*.

'door': Uq ‹squnt›, Qr ‹ke squonta› 'thy gates', Mo ‹shkwŭnd›, Nr ‹squauntâumuck› (loc.), Ms ‹usquont›; < PA **eškwa·nte·mi*.

'bow': Uq ‹atúmp›, Pq ‹nutteümpsh›[St] 'my' (pl.), Ms ‹ahtomp›;[65] cf. Pb *ttɑ̀pi*.

'beaver': Pq ‹tummonkq›,[No] Ms ‹tŭmúnk›,[66] Lp ‹temankœa›; < pseudo-PA **tema·skwe·wa* 'cutter-off of wood' (Goddard 1971:143).

'seven': Qr ‹nezense›, ‹nesausak›, Pq ‹nesansuc›[No], ‹nessanghsk›[St], Lp ‹ninzensik›, Ms ‹nesausuk›; < PA **nyi·šwa·ši(ka)*.

'eight': Uq ‹swah›, Qr ‹swankshit›, Pq ‹suansuck›,[No] ‹schaugnsk›,[St] Mt ‹swans›, Lp ‹chðensik›, Nr ‹shwósuck›, Ms ‹nishwôsuk›;[67] < PA **ne^{ʔ}θwa·ši(ka)*.

'stocking, legging': Pq ‹conchoon›,[No] pl. ‹congowuntch›,[St] Mo ‹goongerwonch› (pl.), Lp ‹kenkeðanix^{e}› (pl.), Nr ‹caukóanash› (pl.); cf. Mu *ká·ko·n* 'legging'.

'they/them': Qr ‹nàgamâuwo›, Mo ‹na´gɑmo›, Lp ‹nakmanðan›, Ms ‹nagumôh›;[68] cf. Mu *ne·kəmá·wa*.

'young woman, girl': Uq ‹yúnksquas›, Pq ‹younksqwau›,[No] Mt ‹yunksquash›, Lp ‹languiskðasis›, Ms ‹nunksqua›; < PA **ra·nk-* 'light of weight'.

'be wise': Qr ‹wawántam› 'he is wise', Pq ‹wawuntch›[No] 'be cunning or careful', Lp ‹ðaðantam› 'il est sage', Nr ‹wauóntam› 'he is wise', Ms

64. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 45:9.
65. Eliot (1685), Genesis 9:14.
66. Cotton (1829:12); note also John Cotton's Ms ‹tummaukqh›.
67. Mayhew (1709), John 5:5.
68. Eliot (1663), Exodus 5:7.

‹waantam› ‘he is wise’;[69] cf. Mu *we·wá·tam* ‘he comes to, is aware’.

‘he is high, tall’: Qr ‹quonúnguoso›, Pq ‹quinunquiso›,[No] Nr ‹qunnáuqussu›, Ms ‹quinuhqŭssu›; cf. Mu *kwənáhkwsəw.*

‘soul’: Qr ‹mittachonkq› ‘one’s’, Pq ‹mits chauk›[No] ‘one’s’, Lp ‹nitchichangϑa› ‘my’, Nr ‹míchachunck› ‘the soule’;[70] < PA **nete²čya·kwa* ‘my soul’.

‘again’: Qr ‹rambe›, Pq ‹yumba›,[St] Ms ‹nombe›; < PA **θa·pi*.

‘buck’: Ng ‹i-joun-peh›, Lp ‹aianpe›, Ms ‹ayomp›;[71] < PA **aya·pe·wa*.

Abenaki Syncope in SNEA

‘Abenaki Syncope’ (see Goddard 1978:74, Goddard 1981:69, and Rudes 1997:20-21), is the traditional name for the phonological process whereby short vowels (*a* and *ə*) sometimes delete before primary obstruent clusters, *h*, and sometimes, word-final *š*.[72] As one would assume from its name, Abenaki Syncope is primarily characteristic of the Northern New England languages, Abenaki, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, and Micmac. However, Abenaki Syncope is also found in most of the SNEA languages. It is most common in the languages of the western half of the SNEA area, especially Long Island and Connecticut; it seems to have been obligatory in Unquachog and Naugatuck, and nearly so in Quiripi.

(8) Abenaki Syncope in SNEA

‘hair’: Ng ‹nupph-quo› ‘my’; Pq ‹uppu^{h}cqush›[No] ‘his’, Lp ‹nepϑkϑkϑas› ‘my’, Nr ‹múppacuck›, Ms ‹nuppuhkuhquash›[73] ‘my’.

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69. Eliot (1666:24). This etymon clearly demonstrates that the intervocalic *w* deletion seen in Massachusett and Narragansett is absent from the rest of the SNEA languages.

70. With apparent semantic shift, note also the obviative Ms ‹ahchunkquoh› ‘a dead body’ from Eliot (1663), Numbers 19:11.

71. Eliot (1663), Deuteronomy 12:22; cf. Williams’s Narragansett form ‹kuttiomp› ‘a great bucke’.

72. In the languages of western southern New England, Abenaki Syncope also occurs before word-final s deriving from older **š* (cf. Qr ‹p’tuks› ‘trees’ with Ms ‹muhtugquash›), while in Abenaki itself, syncope does not apply before final *-š/s*. There are other differences in when syncope does or does not occur in Abenaki compared to SNEA. The exact conditioning of Abenaki Syncope in the SNEA languages has not been worked out, nor is the conditioning necessarily the same in the different languages, though it seems to depend on currently ill-understood metrical factors (Ives Goddard, personal communication).

73. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 40:12.

‘sea, sea water’: Uq ‹cutstúh›, Ng ‹kut-hún›, Qr ‹kathans› (pl.), Pq ‹cuthannubbog›[No] ‘sea water’, Nr ‹kítthan›, Ms ‹kehtah›, loc. ‹kehtahhanit›; < PA **keʔtahanwi*.

‘back’: Uq ‹cúpsquan› ‘your’, Pq ‹cupsquanniouge›[No] ‘behind you’, Lp ‹ðpeskðe› ‘his’, Nr ‹uppusquàn› ‘his’, Ms ‹uppusquanit› ‘behind her’;[74] < PA **kespeθkwani*.

‘I am cold’: Pq ‹nuxquatch›,[No] Lp ‹nðkðskðatch›, Nr ‹núckqusquatch›, Ms ‹nukquosquatch›;[75] cf. WA *gwaskwajo* ‘he is cold’.

‘walk’: Uq ‹copúmsah› ‘you’, Pq ‹bumshash›[No] ‘walk!’, Nr ‹pummushâuta› ‘let’s walk’, Ms ‹pomushaush› ‘walk!’; cf. WA *bəmosa* ‘he walks along’.

‘gun’: Pq ‹poskheege›,[No] Mo ‹boshkeag›, Lp ‹paskig›, Ms ‹paskehheg›;[76] cf. WA *baskhigan*.

‘letter, book’: Qr ‹wuskwheâk›, Pq ‹wisk^{wh}ege›,[No] Mo ‹wu´shgwîg›, Lp ‹ðskðig›, Nr ‹wussuckwhèke›, ‹wussúckwhonck›, Ms ‹wussuhqohhonk›.[77]

‘thirty’: Uq ‹sowunchog›, Pq ‹swinchog›,[No] ‹swunchaug›,[St] Lp ‹chðinchak›, Nr ‹swíncheck›, Ms ‹swinnihchag›, ‹nishswinchack›, ‹nishwinehcháge›;[78] cf. Mu *nxi·náxke*.

‘broken’: Uq ‹pώ́ksa›, Pq ‹poc[ks]haw›,[No] Lp ‹pðkð’sau›, Nr ‹pókesha›, Ms ‹poohkshau›;[79] cf. Mu *paxkíhle·w* ‘it breaks’.

‘kill’: Uq ‹wúhnsa› ‘kill’, probably ‘he kills him’, Qr ‹nanschadjek› ‘slayers’, Mo ‹n’shŭñ› ‘he kills him’, Lp ‹ninissen› ‘I kill him’, Nr ‹kunnìshickqun› ‘he kills you’, Ms ‹nunnush› ‘I kill him’; < PA **neʔr-* ‘kill him’.

‘snow’: Uq ‹soáchpo›, Pq ‹souch’pouu›,[St] Nr ‹sóchepo›; < PA **so·kespowi* ‘it snows’.

However, Abenaki Syncope ceases to be a regular process as one progresses eastward through the SNEA area: the process is optional in the oldest records of Pequot (especially the Noyes vocabulary), though it is virtually obligatory in modern Mohegan.

The following Pequot forms from James Noyes fail to show Abenaki Syncope:

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74. Eliot (1663), Genesis 19:26.

75. Cotton (1829:43).

76. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:690).

77. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:745-746).

78. John Cotton (1664-1667), Goddard & Bragdon (1988:670), and Mayhew (1709), John 5:5, respectively.

79. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 124:7.

(9) Abenaki Syncope absent in Noyes's Pequot vocabulary

GLOSS	Noyes's Pq	other Mo-Pq forms	cognates/reconstructions
'tree'	m<u>i</u>ttuck	Pq ‹mattuck›[St], Ni ‹tucksh› (pl.)	Qr ‹p'tuk›, PA **me?tekwa*
'string'	pemunn<u>u</u>t	Mo ‹bî´mŭnt›[Sp]	Ms ‹peminneaht›[1], PEA **pīmənahtān*[2]
'noon'	pasch<u>o</u>quut	Mo ‹bushkwa›[Sp]	Ms ‹puhshaquaut›[3], Lp ‹panskϑau›, Pb *pàhssk^{w}e*
'it is night'	tupp<u>u</u>cho	Mo ‹dȁpku›[Sp]	Nr ‹túppaco›, Lp ‹tepcϑ›, PA **tepeskiwi*
'branch(es)'	witt<u>u</u>cquun, wutt<u>a</u>qunush	Mo ‹wu´dkwŭnch›[Sp] (pl.)	Nr ‹wudtuckqun›, PA **we(h)tehkweni*

1. Cotton (1829:15).
2. Goddard (1990:240).
3. Eliot (1663), 2 Kings, 4:20.

Abenaki Syncope is only sporadic in Loup and Narragansett, and least common in Massachusett, where the sparse examples appear to reflect dialect variation:

(10) Variable marking of Abenaki Syncope in Massachusett

'writing, book': non-syncopating ‹wussuhquohhonk› versus syncopating ‹wussukwhonk› (both Goddard & Bragdon 1988:745-746); cf. Nr ‹wussúckwhonck›.

'female chief, queen': non-syncopating ‹sonkishq› (Eliot 1663, Daniel 5:10) and ‹sonkusq› (2 Chronicles 9:1), versus syncopating ‹sonksq› (Matthew 12:42, et al); cf. Mt ‹seaunskq›, Pb *sákəmɑsk^{w}e*.

'cormorant': non-syncopating ‹kuttis› (Eliot 1663, Isaiah 34:11) and pl. ‹kuttúhsuog› (Deuteronomy 14:17) versus syncopating ‹kuts› (Leviticus 11:17); < PA **kentehsiwa* (Costa 2003:161).

In other cases it is clear that Abenaki Syncope is triggered in Massachusett by metrical factors, such as when the syllable in question is odd numbered or follows a long vowel, probably also depending on dialect:

(11) Metrically triggered Abenaki Syncope in Massachusett

'blood': non-syncopating ‹wusqu<u>e</u>heunk› 'blood' (Eliot 1663, I Corinthians 15:50, et al), versus syncopating ‹œsqheonk› 'his blood' (Colossians 1:14, et al) and ‹nœsqheonganit› 'in my blood' (I Corinthians 11:25).[80]

'star': syncopating ‹anogqs› (Eliot 1663, I Corinthians 15:41, et al), plural ‹anogqsog› (Deuteronomy 1:10, et al), but compare non-syncopating

‹wutanogqusseumoh› ‘his star’ (Matthew 2:2) and ‹mishánogqus› ‘morning star’ (2 Peter 1:19).[81]

In Mayhew’s (1709) psalter, Abenaki Syncope is sometimes triggered by initial change on the preceding vowel, which again renders the syncopating vowel odd numbered for the syllable count:

(12) Abenaki Syncope triggered by Initial Change in Mayhew’s psalter

Unchanged (and non-syncopating): ‹pomushau› ‘he walks’ (Psalms 39:6), ‹pumushoœ› ‘he does not walk’ (John 8:12), and ‹pomushash› ‘walk!’ (John 5:8)

Changed (and syncopating): ‹paumshadt› ‘he who walks’ (Psalms 1:1) and ‹pomshacheg› ‘they who walk’ (Psalms 119:1)

Given the dialectal distribution of Abenaki Syncope within southern New England, the optionality of the process in the oldest Pequot records, and the sparse attestation of the process in Massachusett, it appears very likely that in the earliest contact period Abenaki Syncope was in the process of spreading areally across dialects that were already differentiated. Since syncope is most common in the westernmost SNEA languages, and less common the further east one goes, it seems likely that syncope was spreading eastward, and entered the SNEA languages from Western Abenaki, via some now-unknown language(s) of western Massachusetts. Either way, as with the Intrusive Nasal, Abenaki Syncope cannot be seen as diagnostic for SNEA, nor, given its observed spread in the historic period, can it be used to define its different subgroups.

SUBGROUPING WITHIN SNEA

The east/west split

In his historical sketch of Virginia Algonquian, Frank Siebert (1975:443, 445) posited two subgroups of SNEA, ‘Western SNEA’, and ‘Eastern SNEA’. Into Eastern SNEA, Siebert placed Massachusett and ‘Northern Narragansett’, also known as Coweset; into Western SNEA, he put all the remaining languages of Connecticut, Long Island, Rhode Island, and central Massa-

80. Mayhew shows variation in this word as well: compare his non-syncopating ‹nœshqueheonk› ‘my blood’ (John 6:54) versus his syncopating ‹nooshqhunkanit› ‘in my blood’ (Psalms 30.9).

81. Cf. also John Cotton’s ‹anockquhsaugh› ‘stars’.

chusetts. In other words, Siebert put Massachusett-Coweset into the Eastern group and everything else into the Western group.

Siebert primarily bases this west/east split on the treatment of PA **k* in the languages. He claims (1975:443) that in the Eastern subgroup, PA **k* was fronted to *t* before **i*, **e·* and **y*, and that the locative also became *-ət* in the eastern languages. In contrast, he claims that in the Western subgroup, PA **k* was 'fronted and affricated' to *č* in the same environments, and that the locative was 'analogically restored' to *-ək*, though he does not suggest any mechanism for this analogy.

However, in the wake of considerable research on Massachusett which had not yet been published at the time of Siebert (1975), it is clear that most of these claims are incorrect. For example, there are subdialects of Massachusett itself (including Narragansett) which retain the older *-ək* form of the locative (see Goddard & Bragdon 1988:496-497). This strongly suggests that the *-ət* locative was an innovation that arose in Massachusett and which had not even spread through all the dialects of that language by the colonial period. Thus, the Massachusett *-ət* locative is probably too new to be useful for the dialectal subgrouping of SNEA, and has nothing to do with the palatalization of *k* in SNEA.[82]

Moreover, it became clear with Goddard's work (e.g., Goddard 1981:76, 79) that PA **k* did not become *t* in Massachusett, but rather a sort of palatal stop t^y. Even so, the isogloss of t^y in Massachusett-Coweset versus *č* in the rest of SNEA (see ex. (1) above) seems considerably less important when it is realized that t^y actually appears as *č* in some records of Massachusett (Goddard 1981:82, Goddard & Bragdon 1988:477), and quite frequently in Williams's Narragansett data (Goddard 1981:82-83). Thus, none of the criteria Siebert (1975) gives for the east/west split within SNEA are particularly compelling.

However, there are other isoglosses within SNEA that point to an east/west split more convincingly. One of the more conspicuous is the reflex of II verbs deriving from the the PEA ending **-ēyəw*. In Massachusett-Narragansett and Loup these verbs end in *-āy*, while all the languages of

82. However, the Massachusett *-ət* locative is strikingly reminiscent of the *-ənt* locative seen in Maryland Algonquian, as in words such as Conoy ‹azpummund› and Nanticoke ‹spummend› 'up above' (< PA **ešpemenki*), Conoy ‹akkint› 'on earth' (< PA **askinki*) and Nanticoke ‹ktahend› 'in the sea' (< PA **keʔtahanwenki*; Ives Goddard, personal communication); see also Pentland (1979:297).

Connecticut and Long Island show the full ending *-āyəw*, probably restored by analogy from other suffixed paradigmatic forms (see Goddard 1981:62-63 & 104).[83] The following reflexes of PEA **wāpēyəw* 'it is white' demonstrate this:

(13) PEA **wāpēyəw* 'it is white' in SNEA

'it is white': Uq ‹wámpayo›, Pq ‹wumbio›,[St] Mo ‹wŏmbâ´ĭo›, Lp ‹ðanbai›, Nr ‹wómpi›, Ms ‹wompi›;[84] cf. also Mh ‹wą·pa·yo› (Swadesh) and Mu *wá·pe·w* 'it is white'; < PEA **wāpēyəw.*

(14) Verbs in PEA **-ēyəw* in SNEA

'it is red': Uq ‹squáyo›, Mo ‹skwâ´ĭo›, Lp ‹miskðai›, Nr ‹msqùi›, Ms ‹musqui›;[85] cf. Mh ‹machgajú› (Heckewelder), Mu *máxke·w.*

'it is wet': Pq ‹wuttúggio›,[St] Mo ‹w'tugāyō›, Ms ‹wuttogki›;[86] cf. Mu *wtáke·w* 'it is damp, wet, soft'.

'it is short': Qr ‹taíoquíah›, Pq ‹tioquiyou›,[No] Ms ‹tiahqui›;[87] cf. WA *daakwa* 'it is short'.

'it is long': Pq ‹quinnioh›,[No] Lp ‹kðnai›, Ms ‹quinni›;[88] cf. Mu *kwəné·w*, WA *gwəna*.

'it is new': Qr ‹w'skio›, Ms ‹wuski›;[89] cf. Mh ‹uskáju› (Schmick), Ch ‹whuis-kai-u›.[90]

'it is great, big': Qr ‹shaiô›, Pq ‹m'shiow›,[No] ‹messhíou›,[St] Ms ‹missai›.[91]

'it is black': Uq ‹shìckayo›, Pq ‹suggyo›,[St] Lp ‹segai›, Nr ‹súcki›; cf. Mh ‹n'suckgajú› (Heckewelder), Mu *nsə́ke·w.*

'it is straight, proper': Qr ‹sompâio›, Mo ‹sumbyah›,[SO] Nr ‹saûmpi›, Ms ‹sampi›.[92]

'it is windy': Mo ‹wâbâ´yō›, Nr ‹waûpi›, Ms ‹wahpi›.[93]

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83. This *-ēyəw* ending is retained in Mahican (as *-āyəw*), but reshaped in Munsee as *-e·w.* See the Mahican and Munsee cognates given in the table below.

84. Eliot (1666:13).

85. Eliot (1685), Exodus 15:4.

86. Eliot (1663), Luke 8:6.

87. John Cotton (1664-1667).

88. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:700).

89. Cotton (1664-1667:96).

90. Loup has the unexpected ‹oskiai› 'c'est nouveau'.

91. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:648).

92. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:703).

93. John Cotton (1664-1667).

'it is cold': Pq ‹tucchioh›,[No] Mo ‹t'kâ˜ïyō›, Lp ‹tekai›, Nr ‹tahkì›, Ms ‹tohkoi›;[94] cf. Mh ‹d'háju›, ‹taháo› (Schmick), Mu *thé·w.*

'it is enough': Qr ‹tabbaio›, Nr ‹taûbi›, Ms ‹taupi›.[95]

'it is green': Uq ‹uscusquáyo›, Lp ‹skaskðai›, Nr ‹askáski› (sic), Ms ‹askosqui›;[96] cf. Mh ‹skasquajú› (Heckewelder), Mu *askáskwe·w.*

'it is yellow': Uq ‹weesawayo›, Lp ‹ðisanðai›, Nr ‹wesaûi›;[97] cf. Mh ‹wisawajú› (Heckewelder), Mu *wi·sá·we·w,* Ch ‹wee-sa-way-u›.

'it is warm weather': Mo ‹dju'wa´yu›, Lp ‹chðai›.

This isogloss would seem to point to an east/west split within SNEA which groups Loup with Massachusett-Coweset, as opposed to the Connecticut/Long Island languages.

However, another isogloss splitting SNEA along an east/west line groups Loup with the Connecticut/Long Island languages, as seen in the reflexes of PA **werikiwa* (Goddard 1981:74) 'he is good, beautiful':

(15) PA **werikiwa* 'he is good, beautiful' in SNEA:

'he is good, beautiful': Uq ‹woreeco›, Qr ‹werrégo›, Pq ‹weyegoh›,[No] Lp ‹ðligð›, Nr ‹wunnêtu›, Ms ‹wunnetu›;[98] cf. Mu *wəlí·kəw* 'he grows big, grows well' and Pb *wə́liko* 'he is good'.

The original PA **k* of PA **werikiwa* is palatalized to t^y in Massachusett and Narragansett, yet stays *k* in Loup and the Connecticut/Long Island languages, although by strict sound law one would expect *č* in these languages. In explaining verbs such as these, Goddard (1981:83) has suggested that the forms with t^y are more conservative, and that languages such as Mohegan-Pequot have analogically restored unpalatalized *k* before *-əw* in the third person by paradigmatic levelling. Goddard uses this explanation to account for palatalizing and nonpalatalizing doublets seen with other verbs in Narragansett,[99] and notes that the unpalatalized forms in Williams's data probably represent mixture from dialects to the west such as Mohegan-Pequot.

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94. Eliot (1663), John 18:18.

95. Eliot (1663), Proverbs 30:15.

96. John Cotton (1664-1667).

97. No independent II for this verb can be found in Massachusett, but a form **wisôāy,* identical to the Narragansett form, is indicated by Eliot's (1663, Psalms 68:13) conjunct ‹wesôag› (phonemic *wisôāk*).

98. Eliot (1685), Genesis 29:17.

Shared vocabulary in the languages of Connecticut and Long Island

These isoglosses strongly suggest that the languages of Connecticut, Long Island, and southern Rhode Island form a genetic subgroup as opposed to all the other languages of SNEA. For the most part, the languages of Connecticut and Long Island are so poorly documented that their phonology and morphology are not clear enough to be used for charting isoglosses within SNEA. However, if one tracks shared vocabulary among the SNEA languages, a sharper picture comes into focus. When one compares the vocabulary of the the Connecticut/Long Island languages to that of its neighbors to its east, it is clear that they are all closer to each other than they are to the languages of Massachusetts and central Rhode Island. This is shown by the presence of several basic vocabulary items which are shared by Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk, Quiripi, and Unquachog, but not with Narragansett, Massachusett, or, when cognates can be found, Loup.

For 'fish', Massachusett-Narragansett and Loup preserve a reflex of the old PA etymon **name·hsa*, while the Connecticut and Long Island languages share a neologism which appears to go back to older **piramāk^{w}* (containing the PA 'fish' final **-ame·kw-*):[100]

(16) 'fish'

Connecticut/Long Island	Narragansett-Massachusett, Loup
piramāk^{w} ~ piyamāk^{w}	*namāhs*
Mo ‹pî´âmâ´g›	Nr ‹namaùs›
Mt ‹peremock›[101]	Ms ‹namohs›[102]
Uq ‹opéramac›	Lp ‹namens›

99. In particular, Nr ‹assótu›, ‹assóko› 'he is a fool' (Williams 1936:40), < PEA **ašōkəw* (Goddard 1981:83); cf. Ms ‹assootu› 'he is foolish' and ‹assookitcheg› 'foolish ones', (Mayhew 1709, Psalms 119:130 and Psalms 75:4), EA ‹nedasȣghi› 'je suis fou' (Râle 1833), and Mu *ašó·kəw* 'he is poor'.

For another example of this *k~t^{y}* correspondence, cf. Mo ‹moi´gu› 'witch, medicine man' (Speck 1928:244; presumably phonemic *môyikəw*) with Nr ‹maunêtu› 'conjurer' and Ms ‹manetu› 'one is bewitcht' (sic; Cotton 1664-1667; phonemic *mônit^{y}əw*); cf. Ms ‹monetuonk› 'divination' (Eliot 1685, Deuteronomy 18:10) and Zeisberger's Northern Unami form ‹malliku› 'a witch'.

100. For 'fish', Stiles's "Narragansett" vocabulary has the uninterpretable ‹Ēpanue›. No word for 'fish' is documented in any language of western Connecticut.

101. The *r* in this Montauk form is unexpected, and probably indicates Unquachog influence.

102. Eliot (1663), Matthew 17:27, et al.

Although all the SNEA forms for ‘god’ derive from PA **maneto·wa*, in the Connecticut/Long Island languages this appears as *manto*, while Massachusett-Narragansett share *manət*:[103]

(17) ‘god’

Connecticut/Long Island[104]	Narragansett-Massachusett
manto	*manət*
Pq ‹mandou›,[No] ‹mondtu›[St]	Nr ‹manìt›
Mo ‹mundu›	Ms ‹manit›
Qr ‹mando›	
Uq ‹mánto›	

For ‘head’, Massachusett, Narragansett, and Loup all have different forms, while the Connecticut/Long Island languages all share an etymon of unknown origin and phonemic shape, yet which seems to be most clearly exemplified in the Unquachog form ‹okéyununc›:

(18) ‘head’

Connecticut/Long Island	Narragansett-Massachusett, Loup
Pq ‹acchuanunk›[No] ‘his’	Nr ‹nuppaquóntup› ‘my’[105]
Mo ‹kŭ´nŭng›[Sp] ‘his’	Ms ‹nuppuhkuhk› ‘my’[106]
Mo ‹noquunnuk›[Al] ‘my’	Lp ‹netip› ‘my’
Qr ‹kéounúnguanak› ‘their (pl.)’	
Uq ‹okéyununc› ‘his’	

For ‘blue’, the Connecticut/Long Island languages share a stem *siwôpāyə-* as opposed to apparent **pihšā(w)āy* in Massachusett-Narragansett:

(19) ‘it is blue’

Connecticut/Long Island	Narragansett-Massachusett
siwôpāyəw[107]	*pihšā(w)āy* (?)
Mo ‹zî´wŏmbâ´ĭŏ›	Nr ‹peshaũi›
Uq ‹seewamp-wayo›	Ms ‹peshai›[108]

103. No reflex of basic PA **maneto·wa* is attested for Loup.

104. Montauk consistently shows ‹mund› for ‘god’, with unexpected loss of final *o*. This is matched by the Unquachog by-form ‹múnd›, seen in Jefferson’s phrase ‹masakeétmúnd› ‘great god’. Borrowing between Unquachog and Montauk would seem to be indicated (Ives Goddard, personal communication).

105. Cf. Mh ‹pochquatup› ‘head’ (Heckwelder) and Fox *opehkwa·tepi* ‘severed head’ (Ives Goddard, personal communication).

106. Mayhew (1709), John 13:9.

107. Cf. Mh ‹schiwapawajú› ‘it is blue’ (Heckewelder) and Mu *ši·wa·pé·kələš* ‘bluebird’.

For ‘mother’, the Connecticut languages[109] share a form derived from the PA stem *-*no·na·kan*-‘breast’, while Massachusett-Narragansett and Loup share a form *nohkāhs* of uncertain origin:[110]

(20) **‘**mother’

Connecticut	Narragansett-Massachusett, Loup
-nonôk	*-ohkāhs*
Mo ‹nâ´nŭ´ng›	Nr ‹nókace› ‘my’
Qr ‹kenoûnunk› ‘your’	Ms ‹noohkas› ‘my’[111]
	Lp ‹nϑkas› ‘my’

Additionally, the word (*wə*)*skitôp* means ‘person’ in Connecticut, but ‘man’ in Massachusett-Narragansett:

(21) *(wə)skitôp* ‘person, man**’**

Connecticut/Long Island	Narragansett-Massachusett
‘person’	‘man’
Mo ‹ski·´dɑmb›	Nr ‹skeétomp›
Qr ‹skeetambâwg› (pl.)	Ms ‹wosketomp›

The plural ending of this word is *-ā(w)ak* in Massachusett-Narragansett but has been reshaped as *-āk* in Connecticut:

(22) ‘people, men’

Connecticut/Long Island	Narragansett-Massachusett
skitôpāk	**(wə)skitôpā(w)ak*
Mo ‹shkî´dumbâk›	Nr ‹skeétompaûog›
Qr ‹skeetambâwg›	Ms ‹wosketompaog›

For ‘and’, the Connecticut languages share *k*^{w}*ā*, while Massachusett-Narragansett has *kā*:

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108. Cotton (1664-1667) and Cotton (1829:24). Eliot (1663) consistently has an unrelated etymon, exemplified by ‹œnoi› ‘it is blue’ (Exodus 26:1) and its conjunct ‹œnôagk› (Jeremiah 10:9).

109. For ‘your mother’, Unquachog has a form ‹cώca› which is probably borrowed from Munsee.

110. Additionally, John Cotton’s (1664-1667) notes from Martha’s Vineyard show a relic form ‹nitteah› ‘my mother’, which is ultimately reshaped from < PA **nekya* ‘my mother’. This is also seen in Williams’s Narragansett by-form ‹nítchwhaw›.

111. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 69:8.

(23) ‘and’

Connecticut	Narragansett-Massachusett
k^{w}ā	*kā*
Pq ‹quah›[EM]	Nr ‹kà›, ‹ká›
Qr ‹quah›	Ms ‹kah›

The position of Loup

While it seems highly likely that there is an east/west split within SNEA, the evidence is ambiguous as to how Loup fits into this subgrouping – that is, whether it is closer to the languages to its southwest or those to its east. It has restored unpalatalized *k* to verbs like *wəlikəw,* in common with the Connecticut languages, yet it retains the older *-āy* ending on II verbs, in common with Massachusett-Coweset.

One hint that Loup in fact constitutes its own separate subgrouping within SNEA is the fact that Loup retains more word-final vowels than any other SNEA language, especially on nouns and pronouns:

(24) Retained final syllables in Loup

‘chief’: Lp ‹sancheman› (phonemic *sôčəmô*), Ms ‹sontim›, Nr ‹sâchim›, Pq ‹súnjum›;[St] < PA **sa·kima·wa*.

‘house’: Lp ‹ðichðan› (phonemic *wičəwô*), Ms ‹wetu›, Nr ‹wetu›, Pq ‹weejoh›,[No] Qr ‹wejo›, Uq ‹weécho›; < PA **wi·kiwa·Hmi*.

‘swan’: Lp ‹ðikðasa› (phonemic *wikwāhsā*), Ms ‹wequash›, Nr ‹wéquash›; < PEA **wī(n)kwēhrēw* ‘swan’.

‘man’: Lp ‹ilinð› (phonemic *ələnəw*), Nr ‹enìn›,[112] Pq ‹eyene›,[No] Qr ‹run›, Uq ‹run›; < PA **erenyiwa*.

‘tongue’: Lp ‹nilanð› (phonemic *nilanəw*), Ms ‹meenan›, Mo ‹wî´yŭn›, Qr ‹méran›; < PA **ni·θanyiwi* ‘my’.

‘cornmeal mush’: Lp ‹sanban› (phonemic *sôpô*(*n*)), Ms ‹nasamp›,[113] Nr ‹nasàump›, Mt ‹seaump›, Uq ‹samp›; cf. Mu *nsá·pa·n*.

‘we (incl.)’: Lp ‹kilaðinan› (phonemic *kilawənô*), Ms ‹kenawun›, Nr ‹kéenouwin›, Qr ‹keaúwen›; cf. WA *giona*.

112. Direct reflexes of PA **erenyiwa* ‘man’ are very rare in Massachusett; although it appears not to be attested as a singular noun in that language, Eliot (1663, Mark 10:6) attests an obviative ‹ninnuoh› ‘male’. Possessed forms are much more frequent, such as Mayhew’s (Psalms 19:11 et al) ‹kuttinninneum› ‘thy servant’.

113. William Wood’s vocabulary.

'you (pl.)': Lp ‹kilaðan› (phonemic *kilawô*), Ms ‹kenaau›, ‹kenau›,[114] Mo ‹gi·ya´u›; cf. WA *gilowôwô*.

'he/she': Lp ‹nakman›, ‹neg'man› (phonemic *nākəmô*), Ms ‹nágum›,[115] Nr ‹naûgum›, Mo ‹nâ´gŭm›, Qr ‹nagum›, ‹nágumo›, Uq ‹náacum›; cf. Mh ‹nák'ma› (Schmick), Pb *nèkəma*.

'they': Lp ‹nakmanðan› (phonemic *nākəmôwô*), Ms ‹nagumôh›,[116] Mo ‹na´gɑmo›, Qr ‹nàgamâuwo›; cf. Mu *ne·kəmá·wa*, Mh ‹nahk'mawa› (Schmick).

INDIVIDUAL SNEA LANGUAGES

Narragansett/Coweset (Roger Williams)

Perhaps the most interesting fact about the "Narragansett" data in Williams (1936) is that it is dialectally mixed: the most obvious indicator of dialect mixture in Williams's data is its various reflexes of PEA **r*: Williams has *n* for this sound the great majority of the time, but there is also a sizable subset of data with *y* for this sound, and even a few forms with *l*.[117] By William's own account (1936:104-105), Coweset was an n-dialect, while Narragansett was a y-dialect.

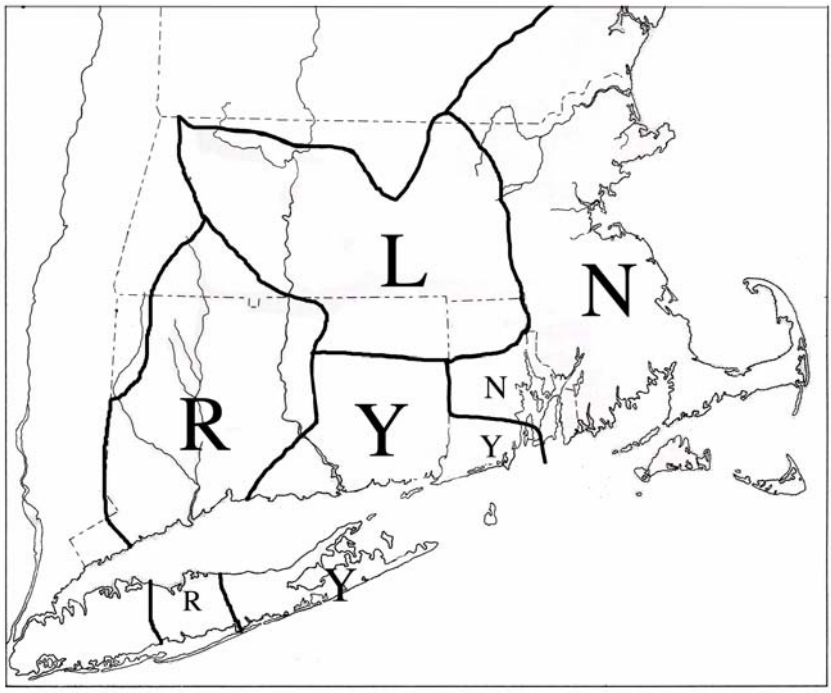
According to Simmons (1978:191), the Coweset were a subtribe of the Narragansetts located in what is now Kent County in central Rhode Island. If we accept Williams's assertion that the Cowesets spoke an *n*-dialect, then we may assume that most of the data in Williams (1936) is Coweset, since most of Williams's data is indeed n-dialect. This is not a new idea; the same identification of Coweset and Massachusett as closely-related n-dialects is also asserted by Siebert (1975:445), Goddard (1978:72), and Pentland (1979:230-231). In fact, Coweset as seen in Williams's book seems to be just another dialect of the Massachusett language, no more divergent than other known Massachusett dialects, such as those of Natick, Plymouth, or Martha's Vineyard. The *n*-dialect compo-

114. In Eliot (1663, 1685) ‹kenaau› is much more common than ‹kenau›, though the double ‹aa› in ‹kenaau› is unexplained. (For ‹kenau›, see, for example, Eliot (1685), Luke 7:44 and Acts 19:15.) Mayhew (1709) shows ‹kenau› far more often, with only two instances of ‹kenaau› in Psalms (versus 58 for ‹kenau›), and none in John.

115. Mayhew (1709), John 3:28 and 4:53.

116. Eliot (1663), Exodus 5:7.

117. This has also been pointed out by Aubin (1972:77-79), Goddard (1978:72, 75), and Pentland (1979:230-231).



Map 2. The reflexes of PEA *r in SNEA.

nent of Williams's data shows a largely identical phonological development to that of Massachusett proper, including such features as deletion of intervocalic *w* and *y* (see Goddard 1981:60) as well as the retention of palatalized *k* as [t^{y}], rather than the [č] reflex this sound has in all the other SNEA languages.

Whether the *y*-dialect data Williams got was actually Narragansett proper, or Eastern Niantic, or whether these last two might have been the same language, is not answerable. However, for clarity, I will here use Siebert's (1975:445) term 'Southern Narragansett' to describe the dialect in Williams's book which appears to have greater affinity with Pequot, and the term 'Coweset' to describe Williams's data which is closer to Massachusett. I will reserve the cover term "Narragansett" for data from Williams's book which cannot be conclusively grouped with either dialect to the exclusion of the other.

The most obvious indication of 'Southern Narragansett' data in Williams (1936) is the doublets he gives where one form shows *n* from PEA **r*,

(25) *r/y* doublets in Williams's Narragansett

GLOSS	Quiripi	Mohegan-Pequot	Narragansett y-dialect ('Southern Narragansett')	Narragansett n-dialect (Coweset)	Massachusett
'fire'	yout, rowtag (loc.)	yout[No]	yòte	nòte	nœht, noohtau
'say so'	ruwaûauk 'they'	chatewwan[No] 'you'	ntéawem 'I'	ntúnnawem 'I'	unnoowau 'he'[1]
'let it be so'	râtch ((*ə*)*rāč*)	eyage[EM] (*əyāč*)	eàtch (*əyāč*)	enàtch (*ənāč*)	nnaj ((*ə*)*nāč*)
'think so'	róytammoúngansh 'thoughts'	nteatum[St], ne-tiatum[Sp] 'I think so'	nteántum, nteeâtum 'I think so'	ntunnántum 'I think so'	nuttinantam 'I think so'[2]
'give'	meràh 'he gives him'	mi·´yɔ[Sp] 'he gives him'	comméish 'I give you'	comméinsh 'I give you'	—

1. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:722).
2. Cotton (1829:69).

(26) Lexical doublets in Williams's Narragansett

GLOSS	Loup	Unquachog-Quiripi	Mohegan-Pequot	Narragansett y-dialect ('Southern Narragansett')	Narragansett n-dialect (Coweset)	Massachusett
'it is black'	segai	shìckayo[Uq]	suggyo[St]	súcki	mówi	mœi[1]
'birds'	—	oppishshauk[Qr]	a'pishaug[St] 'widgeons'	pesháwog	pussuckseésuck	pussuhksesog[2]
'where?'	—	(chaukik[Qr])	togioh[No]	túckiu	tíyu	uttiyeu 'which'[3]
'a comb'	naskðahð	—	nezuck[No]	nésick	nashóqua	nahshooquah[4]
'enter!'	—	—	sŭgwĭ´sh	sukuísh[Gt]	pétitees	peetitteash
'writing, book, letter'	ðskðig	wuskwheâk[Qr]	wisk[wh]ege[No], wúshgwîg[Sp]	wussuckwhèke	wussúckwhonck	wussuhquohhonk, wussukwhonk[5]

1. Eliot (1666:13).
2. Mayhew (1709), Psalms 104:17. Other attestations of this word in Massachusett are ‹pussehkis› (Mayhew 1709, Psalms 124.7), and plurals ‹pissuhksuog› (Mayhew 1709, Psalms 79:2) and ‹psuksesog› (Eliot 1663, Deuteronomy 14:11).
3. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:726).
4. John Cotton (1664-1667).
5. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:745-746).

while the other shows *y*.[118] Presumably these words reflect the Coweset/Southern Narragansett split (25).

However, even more interesting are the instances when Williams gives doublets consisting of different etyma, where one form matches the Connecticut languages, while the other matches Massachusett. These too may well represent the Coweset/Southern Narragansett mixture Williams recorded (26).

With words like 'black', the forms shared between Loup, Mohegan-Pequot and Narragansett probably represent etyma which used to be general throughout SNEA,[119] yet where neologisms have replaced the older forms in Massachusett and Coweset. With 'enter', we see a word shared by Mohegan and Gatschet's 1879 Narragansett fieldnotes (Gatschet 1973), but where Williams attests the same Algonquian stem seen in Massachusett.[120]

Inevitably, there are some cases where Williams gives *only* a Southern Narragansett form for a certain lexeme. For example, the only verb Williams gives for 'it snows', ‹sóchepo› (< PA **so·kespowi*), is very likely a Southern Narragansett form, as shown not only by its [č] for older **k*, but also its absence from all Massachusett records: compare Ms ‹muhpoo› (John Cotton 1664-1667) and ‹muhpœ› (Cotton 1829:65) with Pq ‹souch'pouu›St and Uq ‹soáchpo› in western SNEA.[121]

Finally, some dialect mixture in Narragansett can be detected in alternative inflectional endings. Of the approximately 43 examples of hortative verbs Williams gives, he attests the hortative ending *-tô* about three fourths of the time (32 times) and *-tək* about a quarter of the time (11 times), apparently randomly:

(27) Variation in the hortative in Williams's Narragansett
-tô:
petiteaûta 'let us goe in'
yò aûnta 'let us goe that way'

118. Note also Williams's doublet ‹nanántowash› 'speake plaine' (Williams 1936:142) versus ‹eenàntowash› 'speake Indian' (Williams 1936:8), both from PA **erena·towe·ro* 'speak ordinary language!'

119. Also compare Mu *nsə́ke·w* and Mh ‹n'suckgajú› 'it is black' (Heckewelder).

120. This word is also present in Thomas Commuck's mid-nineteenth century Narragansett vocabulary as ‹suck-wish› (see Pentland 1979:270).

121. For the Massachusett etymon, cf. Fox *mehpowi* and Cree *mispon* 'it snows'.

wuttattumútta ‘let us drinke’
wuddtúckqunash ponamâuta ‘let us lay on wood’
kekuttokâunta ‘let us speake together’
wunishaũnto ‘let us agree’
wechauatíttea ‘let us accompany’
-təkˑ:
metesíttuck ‘let us goe eate’
yo appíttuck ‘let us sit here’
cowwêtuck ‘let us sleepe’
tokêtuck ‘let us wake’
potouwássiteuck ‘let us make a fire’
mammauchêtuck ‘let us be going’
pittuckétuck ‘let us goe back’

Given that Massachusett overwhelmingly has *-tô* (see Goddard & Bragdon 1988:568-569), and Pequot has only *-təkˑ*, it is likely that Williams's *-tô* forms are Coweset while his *-təkˑ* forms are from ‘Southern Narragansett’.[122]

However, what is even more interesting than the split in Williams's materials between a Massachusett-like *n*-dialect and a Pequot-like *y*-dialect is the fact that traces of a third *n*-dialect, is found which combines features of both Pequot and Massachusett. This “Dialect 3”[123] exhibits the following forms for ‘it is so’:

(28) ‘Dialect 3’ forms in Williams's Narragansett

‘it is so’: Qr ‹riò›, Mt ‹eaio›, Mo ‹yáyo›, Narragansett y-dialect ‹eîu›, Nr n-dialect ‹nni›, Nr ‘dialect 3’ ‹nnîu›, Ms ‹unnai›,[124] and Lp ‹lai›; cf. Mu *lé·w* ‘it is, happens’ and Pb *àle* ‘it happens, takes place, is so, is true’.

From an older SNEA form **ərāyəw*, Mohegan and Montauk have expected *əyāyəw*, and Massachusett has expected *ənāy*, but Williams

122. Loup has *-tô* (written ‹-ten›); see Gustafson (2000:122-123).

123. Ives Goddard (personal communication) has suggested an alternative explanation, that Roger Williams's n-dialect data is in fact Massachusett, which Williams learned while near Boston, his y-dialect data is Narragansett proper, and what I call his Dialect 3 is in fact Coweset. Additionally, Goddard assumes, as I do, that Ezra Stiles's “Narragansett” vocabulary is actually Eastern Niantic, a separate language from Williams's Narragansett. I will not here address the implications of this hypothesis, except to point out that if it were true, it would be impossible most of the time to distinguish Williams's Coweset data from his Massachusett data, and thus impossible to tell how much of Williams's data was actually obtained in Rhode Island.

124. Cf. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:720).

attests three Narragansett forms for this word: a form *ənāy* (‹nni›) that matches Massachusett; a form *əyāyəw* (‹eîu›) that matches Mohegan and Montauk exactly; and a blended form *ənāyəw* (‹nnîu›) that shows the consonantism of Massachusett but with the full *-āyəw* ending characteristic of the Connecticut/Long Island languages. This strongly indicates a third dialect, which appears to be transitional between Pequot and Coweset-Massachusett.

No doubt there are other "Dialect 3" forms in Williams, but it is a great challenge to actually identify them, given our limited knowledge of the Connecticut and Long Island languages. Nevertheless, there are a few lexical hints.

For 'do so' Williams gives a stem *əni-*, which represents the same etymon found in the Connecticut languages (and *not* the stem seen in Massachusett), yet which has the consonantism of Massachusett. Conceivably this represents a dialect which is neither 'Southern Narragansett' nor Coweset:

(29) 'do so'

Connecticut, Narragansett	Massachusett
stem **əri-*	stem *əsi-*
Nr ‹enêan› 'that you do so'	Ms ‹usseu› 'he does so', ‹asit› 'what he does'
Qr ‹rehit› 'what they do'	
Mo ‹gĕtî› 'you do so'	
(phonemic *kəti*, < older **kətəyi*)	

For 'deer', Williams gives two forms, ‹nóonatch› and ‹attuck›. ‹attuck› is simply the same word found in Massachusett, while ‹nóonatch› is the same etymon as Pq *noyəhč*, yet with *n* from PEA **r.* However, indicating that ‹nóonatch› is not Coweset is its *-āk* plural ending, which is characteristic of the Connecticut languages, rather than the *-ā(w)ak* plural ending more typical of Coweset and Massachusett. Moreover, in showing *č* rather than t^y for its reflex of PEA **k*, this word phonologically resembles the Connecticut languages more than Massachusett.[125] Thus, ‹nóonatch› combines features expected for both the Connecticut languages and Massachusett, and is thus another likely candidate for Williams's "Dialect 3":

125. Cf. Nr ‹kaukont› 'crow', presumably a Coweset form.

(30) 'deer'

Pequot, Narragansett, Abenaki	Narragansett/Massachusett, west Connecticut, Long Island
PEA **nōrəHkēw*	PA **atehkwa*
Nr ‹nóonatch›, pl. ‹noónatchaug›	Nr ‹attuck›
Pq ‹nógh-ich›St (*noyəhč*)	Ms ‹ahtuhq›
WA *nolka*	Lp ‹attekȣe›
Pb *nòlke*	Uq ‹hátk›
	Ng ‹oopht› (?)

Some of the many other doublets Williams gives probably also reflect this three-way dialect division, as illustrated by the data in (31), yet their distribution is not clear enough to assign them to particular dialects.

Finally, even a fourth dialect can be detected in Williams data, based on a handful of forms with *l* from PEA **r* (32). Most likely these represent seepage from Nipmuck dialects spoken in northwest Rhode Island.

Eastern Niantic (Stiles's "Narragansett")

On 6 September 1769, Ezra Stiles collected a 45-word vocabulary of a language he called 'Narraganset'. Given that Stiles was living in Newport, Rhode Island at the time, and did not mark any travel in his diary for that day (Pentland 1979:260), it is likely that his speaker came to him and was probably not from very far away. While Stiles's "Narraganset" vocabulary is not extensive (regrettably lacking any numerals, for instance), it is enough to tell us that the language spoken by the Indians of that name by the late 18th century was significantly different from that documented by Roger Williams over a century before.[126]

After King Philip's War in 1675, the Cowesets and other Narragansett groups merged with the Eastern Niantics in southern Rhode Island (Salwen 1978:172, Simmons 1978:195). Even though the resulting tribal confederation came to be called the Narragansetts, the Eastern Niantics appear to have been numerically dominant (Simmons 1978:195).

This is confirmed by Stiles's "Narragansett" vocabulary, since by the late 18th century, the language spoken by the Narragansetts in southern Rhode Island was a y-dialect (Pentland 1979:263), closer lexically and phonologically to Pequot than the n-dialect documented by Williams in

126. Stiles's Narragansett vocabulary has been published in a careful redaction by William Cowan (1973a).

(31) Miscellaneous lexical doublets in Williams's Narragansett

GLOSS	Quiripi/ Naugatuck	Mohegan-Pequot	'Southern' Narragansett (?)	Narragansett (Coweset?)	Massachusett	Loup
'bear'	awáususe[Ng]	awausseus[St], pawcunnaw[No]	paukúnnawwáw[1]	mosk	moshq, pakunnauwah[2]	aðasðs
'blood'	népuk[Qr]	umsque[Sp]	néepuck	mishquè	musqueheonk, wishquehheunk, nehpuk[3]	—
'wolf'	—	mucks[St]	muckquashim	natóqus	mukqŭishshum, nattœohqus[4]	makðsem
'sea'	kathans[Qr], kut-hún[Ng]	—	kítthan	wechêkum	kehtoh 'sea', wechekam 'salt water'	—
'breech-cloth'[5]	—	—	aútawhun	aũtah	attoh[6]	atho
'wife'	werógen[Qr]	nehyewgk[St], neyoge[No], weyeo[No]	wullógana, nowéewo	nummittamus	kummuttumwus ('your')	—

1. Note also Ni ‹konooh›, which is presumably related to forms like Ms ‹pakunnauwah›.
2. Cotton (1829:12) and John Cotton (1664-1667), respectively.
3. The first two forms are from Eliot (1685), Deuteronomy 12:16 and 12:23, respectively; ‹nehpuk› is an apparent Martha's Vineyard dialect form from John Cotton (1664-1667).
4. The first form is from Cotton (1829:12), and is also found in various shapes in Eliot (1685), e.g., Acts 20:29, John 10:12, and Matthew 10:16. ‹natt8hqus› is from Mayhew (1709), John 10:12, but is also found in Cotton (1829:40), and Eliot (1685), Matthew 7:15.
5. This noun is glossed 'apron' or 'breeches' in Narragansett, variously as 'breeches', 'apron' and 'skirt' in Massachusett, and as 'braye' in Loup; cf. Western Abenaki *adhon* 'breechcloth' and Unami *é·tho·n* 'skirt' (Ives Goddard, personal communication).
6. Cotton (1829:27), glossed 'apron'.

(32) l-dialect forms in Williams's Narragansett

GLOSS	Williams n-dialect	Williams l-dialect	Loup	Mohegan-Pequot	other
'grieved, sorry'	nnowántam 'I'	nlôasin 'I'	nϑlsani 'je suis vaincu'	noyouson 'I am sorry'	Ms ‹neuantam› 'he grieves'
'wife'	commíttamus 'your'	wullógana 'his'	—	neyoge[No], nehyewgk[St] 'my'	Ms ‹kummuttumwus› 'your'
'nephew/niece' (?)	—	nullóquaso 'my ward or pupill'	—	—	Mu *lónkwas*, WA *nələgwas* 'my nephew/ niece'

(33) Eastern Niantic *y* reflexes of PEA **r*

GLOSS	Pequot	Niantic	Williams's Coweset	PA
'dog'	Iummoose[No] (*ayəmohs*)	ayimp (*ayəm*)	anùm (*anəm*)	**aθemwa*
'man'	eyene[No]	yēnh	enìn	**erenyiwa*
'hand'	meege 'one's'[No] (*məyəč~mič*)	kētche[1] 'your'	wunnícheke 'his hand'	**-θenčy-*
'finger'	—	weechick (< **wəyəčək*)	wunnícheke 'his hand' (*wənəčik*)	**-θenčikan-*
'canoe'	mashuee[Mt] (*məhšoy*)	umpshu (*m'hšoy*?)	mishoòn (*məhšon*)	**mehθweθ-*

1. Stiles's ‹kētche› 'your hand' indicates a pronunciation [ki·č], contracted from an older form **kəyəč*. His form ‹weechick› 'his finger' could indicate either contracted [wi·čək] or uncontracted [wəyəčək].

the mid-1600s. As Goddard (1978:72) first pointed out, this would seem to indicate that the Narragansetts had shifted to speaking (Eastern) Niantic by Stiles's time, rather than the more Massachusett-like speech documented by Williams. It is in fact this ostensible vocabulary of "Narragansett" which I have called 'Niantic' in this paper.

Some examples of Eastern Niantic *y* for Proto-Eastern Algonquian **r* appear in (33). Additionally, stray "Narragansett" words found elsewhere in Stiles's notes also document this same *y*-dialect: in Stiles's notes, he gives a "Narragansett" word ‹myuminch› (also ‹myoumnch›) 'Indian corn',[127] phonemic *mayomənš*, from the PA plural **maro·minari* 'wild rice' (cf. Mt ‹mioomans› 'wheat', Uq ‹maroóman› 'wheat' and Lp ‹malȣmin› 'bled').

While it is likely that Stiles's Niantic data is the same dialect as Williams's "Southern Narragansett", and by extension part of the Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk dialect complex, Stiles's vocabulary is too brief and lacks the diagnostic vocabulary that would allow us to assign it to a specific subdialect.

Quiripi

'Quiripi' is the usual name for a SNEA language of southwestern Connecticut, an r-dialect once spoken by the Quinnipiac Indians around the Branford mission on Long Island sound. It is attested only in a 67-page catechism compiled by Abraham Pierson, first published in 1658.[128]

The Quiripi language has not received much linguistic attention, presumably due to the low quality of the language in the *Catechism*. Goddard (1978:72) aptly described it as "poorly translated," and pointed out that it shows evidence of dialect mixing. Goddard (1996:19) went further and said of the catechism "although [it] uses come correct inflectional forms, such as simple plurals,[129] the words are strung together in unidiomatic constructions." Although Goddard has (1996:19) described the language in the Catechism as an example of 'Pidgin Algonquian', it seems more

127. The word given in Stiles's Narragansett vocabulary as meaning 'Indian corn', ‹accoquiss›, is most likely a mistranslation of the word for 'pot, kettle' (compare Uq ‹coquées› 'kettle').

128. The known details of Pierson's life and the circumstances surrounding the publication of the Quiripi catechism are given by J. Hammond Trumbull in his introduction to the 1895 reprinting of the catechism, as well as in Pilling (1891).

(34) *r/y* variation in Quiripi

GLOSS	Quiripi r-dialect	Quiripi y-dialect	cognates
‘fire’	ront’[1], *loc.* rowtag	yout	Ng ‹ruúh-tah›, Pq ‹yout›[No], Uq ‹ruht›, ‹yuht›
‘think/thought’	róytammoúngansh ‘thoughts’, roytaks ‘whatever he thinks’	eôytàmmoounk ‘thought’	Mo ‹yɑ´t·ɑmwaŋg› ‘thought’
‘help (noun)’	airenamaûwetoowunk	aínamaûetowunk	Ms ‹annunummoadtuonk›
‘do so’	utteréen ‘he does so’, rehit ‘as they do’	uttein ‘he does so’	Nr ‹enêan› ‘that you do so’
‘he gave him’	merâuwus	meáwus	PA **mi·r-* ‘give’
‘among’	rawwe	yarâuwe	Mu *le·lá·wi·*, Lp ‹lalanðiˑ›

1. Presumably ‹ront’› is a printer’s error for intended *‹rout’›.

(35) Pronunciation variants in Quiripi

GLOSS	Quiripi		cognates
‘father’	noûsin ‘our (excl.) father’	koush ‘your father’	Uq ‹cɷs›, Pq ‹nœshun›[EM]
‘three’	swe ‘three’, swot ‘third’	nashwe ‘third’	Uq ‹nus›, Pq ‹shwéh›[St], Ms ‹nushwe›
‘these (inan.)’[1]	yous	youshˑ	Mo ‹yuc›[Sp], Ms ‹yeush›
‘he/she’[2]	nágumo	nagum	Mo ‹nâ´gŭm›, Lp ‹nakman›, Pb *nèkəma*

1. In the catechism, ‹yous› is far more common than ‹youshˑ›.
2. In approximately 30 instances, Pierson uses *nākəm* and *nākəmô* in the proportion of 4:6.

(36) Lexical variation in Quiripi

GLOSS	Quiripi		cognates
‘six’	nukkuddàsk- (*nəkədôsk*)	akkòmmedj- (*akômič*)	Pq ‹acomegeˑ›[No], ‹nucquúddoskˑ›[St], Mt ‹conmaˑ›[1]
‘seven’	nezense, nezzense (*nisôs*)	nesausak (*nisôsək*)	Pq ‹nesansucˑ›[No], Mt *‹neesusˑ›[2]

1. For the etymology of *akômič* and Mt ‹conmaˑ›, see Rhodes & Costa (2003:196-197).
2. Inferred from Allen’s (1856) transcription of this word ‹nususˑ›, as per Ives Goddard (personal communication); see Rhodes & Costa (2003:191); cf. also Mu *ní·ša·š*.

likely that its unidiomatic, non-Algonquian sentence structure is more prosaically due to incompetence on the part of Pierson, who clearly had no fluent command of the language and who appears to have mechanically translated much of the catechism word-for-word from English. Moreover, Pierson's transcription of Quiripi is markedly inferior to that of some of his contemporaries recording Algonquian languages, such as Eliot's recordings of Massachusett. Pierson's marking of vowels is especially chaotic, with the marking of schwa and other short vowels sometimes seeming almost random.

Thus, while the Pierson catechism leaves much to be desired as a source of linguistic data, it nevertheless represents almost our entire corpus of western Connecticut Algonquian, and is thus invaluable as a source of data for any comparative study of the SNEA languages.

Unfortunately, nothing is known of how exactly Pierson translated his catechism or of the exact ethnic composition of the Indians at the Branford mission. Pierson presumably encountered Indians from a wide area surrounding Branford, and indeed, it is clear that at least two dialects are represented in the Catechism: an *r*-dialect characteristic of west Connecticut, and a minority *y*-dialect more like east Connecticut languages such as Pequot. This is clear from the several forms in Pierson's book that show variation between *r* and *y* (34). In some cases, Pierson attests alternative pronunciations for single lexemes, presumably representing dialect variants. In the first three examples in (35), one variant shows *(h)s* while the other shows *(h)š*. Moreover, it is possible to identify a few places where Pierson simply varies between different lexemes for numerals (36).

Since Quiripi (and west Connecticut in general) is predominantly an r-dialect area, it is likely that the r-dialect forms in the *Catechism* belong to Quiripi proper, while the y-dialect variants belong to a dialect closer to Pequot, presumably spoken east of Branford. A prime candidate for the tribe speaking this dialect would be the Mattabesec, a little-known group located just west of the Connecticut River in what is now Middlesex

129. Pierson also manages to inflect many verb forms correctly, such as ‹erráno› 'it is not so' (cf. Nr ‹enâno›, Ms ‹unannœ› {Goddard & Bragdon 1988:534}), ‹kommôotakon› 'thou shalt not steal' (cf. Ms ‹kummœtuhkon› {Eliot 1685, Exodus 20:15}), ‹naumókq'› 'when we see it' (cf. Ms ‹naumog› {Eliot 1666:3}), and ‹nannúppohittit› 'when they die (redup.)' (cf. Ms ‹nuppehettit› 'if they die' {Eliot 1685, Numbers 16:29}). This would further support the idea that Pierson elicited words from a native speaker in his translation of the catechism.

County and southeastern New Haven County. Moreover, given that older *(h)š* shifts to *(h)s* in west Connecticut but not in east Connecticut, in the three lexemes above which vary between *(h)s* and *(h)š*, the *s*-variants probably belong to Quiripi, while the *š*-variants presumably belong to Mattabesec. Additionally, based on what is seen in Mohegan-Pequot, *nākəmô* 'he/she' and *nəkədôsk* 'six' are probably Quiripi forms while *nākəm* and *akômič*, being matched in Pequot, are probably Mattabesec.

Thus, it appears that Pierson worked with at least two different speakers in the translation of his Catechism, one a speaker of Quiripi, and the other (from whom less data was obtained) probably a speaker of Mattabesec.[130] Nevertheless, in trying to discern which parts of the Catechism were translated with which speaker, great difficulties are encountered, since is quite difficult to say where Pierson left off work with one speaker and resumed work with the other. Many of the dialect variants Pierson attests are on the same page and separated by only a few lines, such as 'fire' (page 22) and 'thought' (page 5), or frequently by only one or two pages, such as 'seven' (pages 48-50), 'six' (pages 48-50) and 'do' (pages 12 and 14). Perhaps Pierson worked with both speakers at the same time, each of them giving him different variants, or perhaps some of the time Pierson used his own internalized knowledge of the language to translate particular words (presumably the Quiripi forms), while other times he translated the same word by eliciting it from a speaker (probably the Mattabesec forms). A more detailed answer to this question will have to await further philological analysis of the catechism.

Unquachog

Our only source for 'Unquachog,' formerly spoken in south central Long Island, near the town of Brookhaven, is a vocabulary collected by Thomas Jefferson in 1791. This vocabulary consists of approximately 202 words, mostly concrete nouns, but with several numerals and a handful of verbs. This vocabulary is especially important as constituting our most substantial record of any native language of Long Island. It is also one of the better-transcribed New England vocabularies from the colonial period; while

130. This is supported by the fact that both Quinnipiacs and Mattabesecs were known to live around Branford in the early seventeenth century; see Kirby (2007). Branford is considered to be the area where the territories of the Mattabesecs and Quinnipiacs came into contact (Blair Rudes, personal communication).

not attaining a standard of accuracy comparable to some of the best Massachusett recordings, the text presents fewer philological problems than any other vocabulary from the Connecticut/Long Island area.

By Jefferson's own account, by the time he obtained this vocabulary, there remained only three people who could speak Unquachog, all old women. He also states that the vocabulary was obtained from two different speakers, and implies that some of the data might have been taken from a third person, a "young woman of the same tribe ... who knew something of the language." This is significant, since the Unquachog vocabulary shows abundant evidence of external influences and dialect mixture, and it is likely that much of this can be explained by the vocabulary having been obtained from three different people.

Perhaps the most obvious sign of dialect mixing in the Unquachog list are the variable reflexes of PEA **r*. By Rudes's (1997:11-12) count, PEA **r* appears as Unquachog *r* about two thirds of the time, and as *y* about one third.

(37) Unquachog *y* for PEA **r* (words from Rudes (1997))

'sand': Uq ‹yaac›; < PA **re·kawi*.[131]

'cloud': Uq ‹pamayaúxen›; < PA **-a·raskw-* 'cloud'.[132]

'hair': Uq ‹wé-usk›; cf. Mu *wí·laxk* 'his head hair', Ch ‹nee-eesquat› 'the hair'.

'your nose': Uq ‹cochóy›; < PA **-čya·θ-*.

'you sit': Uq ‹kiummatap›; < PA **θematapi-*

'lass': Uq ‹yúnksquas›; PA **ra·nk-* 'light of weight'.

(38) Additional Unquachog words with *y* for PEA **r* (from Jefferson 1791)

'brother': Uq ‹contàyux›; cf. Ms ‹kenohtónukqus› 'thy brother', Lp ‹netenlegȣse› 'mon frere'.[133]

'(he who is) great': Uq ‹masakeét›; cf. Ms ‹masugkenuk› '(he who is) mighty, powerful, very great'.[134]

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131. The only other SNEA cognate of this word is Ms *nākôht^{y}~nākôht^{y}əw* 'sand' (Mayhew 1709, Psalms 139:18 ‹naguht› and Eliot 1663, Matthew 7:26 ‹naguntu›), locative *nākôht^{y}əwət* (Eliot 1663, Hosea 1:10 ‹naguntuut›), which shows compounding with the 'land' final, as also seen in W. Abenaki *nagako* and Eastern Abenaki ‹néga'kȣ› (Rasles 1833) 'sand'.

132. Ives Goddard, personal communication; cf. MP *pəmalukte* 'there is a stretch of cloud(s)'.

‘bean’: Uq ‹máis-cusseet›;[135] cf. Ms ‹mônasquīsseet›, Mu *ma·láxkwsi·t*.

‘apple tree’: Uq ‹appeesanck›; cf. Mu *a·pəlášahkw*.

The Unquachog word for ‘fire’ is remarkable for being recorded with both *r* and *y*, just as in Quiripi.

(39) ‘fire’: Uq ‹ruht›, ‹yuht›, < PEA **rōtēw* ‘it burns’.

Given that Unquachog has *r* for PEA **r* two-thirds of the time, it is likely that *r* is the regular reflex of PEA **r* in Unquachog, and that the instances of *y* are due to dialect mixture, presumably from a neighboring language to its east, such as Montauk. It is also possible that the mixed reflexes of PEA **r* might be due to Jefferson eliciting the words from different speakers; this would seem especially likely in light of the fact that *r* and *y* are sometimes both attested for the same root, not only with ‘fire’ above, but also with ‹yúnksquas› ‘lass’ and ‹rúngcump› ‘lad’.

However, the dialect mixture in Unquachog goes beyond simple variable reflexes of PEA **r*; in addition to the bulk of the documented vocabulary of Unquachog, which is unproblematically typical of SNEA, Unquachog also has several loans from its *western* neighbor, Munsee Delaware, located on the western third of Long Island.[136] As mentioned in Rhodes & Costa (2003:215), most of these are kinship terms, but they also include some lower numbers:

(40) Munsee loanwords in Unquachog

‘your aunt’: Uq ‹cacácas›, < Mu *kə́kəš*, *nkə́kəš* ‘your/my maternal aunt’; cf. Ms ‹kokummes› ‘thy aunt’.[137]

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133. The Unquachog form is presumably phonemic *kən’htôyək^{w}s*; see Rudes (1997:38). The Massachusett form is from Eliot (1663), John 11:23, probably phonemic *kənəhtônək^{w}əhs* (see also Bragdon 1997: 4). The Loup form, probably phonemic *nəhtôlək^{w}əhs*, seems to be missing its person prefix, presumably due to a scribal error on Mathevet’s part.

134. Eliot (1663), Exodus 6:3.

135. See Rudes (1997:27).

136. This circumstantially confirms the theory that the tribes occupying the western third of Long Island immediately west of the Unquachog, such as the Massapequa and Matinecock, were indeed Munsee-speaking, and not speakers of SNEA languages.

137. Eliot (1663), Leviticus 18:14; note also ‹ohkumésoh› ‘his father's sister’ (Exodus 6:20).

‘your grandchild’: Uq ‹cówhees›, < Mu *kó·xwi·s*; cf. Ms ‹nɤssuhsag› ‘my grandchildren’.[138]

‘your mother’: Uq ‹cɯ́ca›, < Mu *kɘ́k*; cf. Ms ‹kitteah›,[139] ‹koohkas›, and Qr ‹kenoûnunk›.

‘nine’:[140] Uq ‹nɯ́re›, < Mu *nó·li·*; cf. Qr ‹pásakogun›, Pq ‹pasacogun›.[No]

‘chicken’: Uq ‹kékeeps›, < Mu *ki·kí·pəš* (Dutch loan).

The origins of the Unquachog word for ‘seven’ are more problematic:

(41) ‘seven’: Uq ‹túmpawa›; cf. Qr ‹nesausak›, Mt ‹neesus›, Pq ‹nesansuc›,[No] Ms ‹nesausuk›.

Uq ‹túmpawa› ‘seven’ has no cognates in any SNEA language, but it does not match Mu *ní·ša·š* either (see Rhodes & Costa 2003:191-192). In fact, the geographically closest languages with cognates to Uq ‹túmpawa› are Mh ‹tɔ^{n}pawɔ^{n}s›, LB ‹tanboens›, and WA *dôbawôz*. Given the presence of several Munsee loans in Unquachog, it is perhaps most plausible that ‹túmpawa› was borrowed from some otherwise-unattested Munsee subdialect of western Long Island which had borrowed this word from Mahican or Wappinger. Given that no known Connecticut language has this word, it seems less likely, though not impossible, that it was directly borrowed from some Mahican dialect in west Connecticut, before the ancestors of the Unquachog left the Connecticut mainland and moved to central Long Island.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented here shows that SNEA forms a cohesive genetic subgroup within Eastern Algonquian. This is demonstrated most clearly by shared phonological developments among all the languages of this group, but also shared lexicon. However, SNEA also shared sound changes with its neighbor languages: innovations such as Abenaki Syncope probably entered southern New England from the western Abenaki area, while the appearance of long **a·* as nasal *ô* probably originated in the SNEA lan-

138. Goddard & Bragdon (1988:686).

139. John Cotton (1664-1667).

140. See Rhodes & Costa (2003:201).

guages and later spread to other languages outside this group such as Mahican and Abenaki.

Moreover, it appears that the languages of the western half of southern New England form a subgroup sharing phonological and lexical innovations which are absent from the Massachusett-Coweset dialect complex as well as from the languages of the interior (Loup). This presumably tells us how the early SNEA-speaking tribes settled this area. It appears that there were, in the main, three separate areas of linguistic innovation and contact: western southern New England, basically centered around Long Island Sound; the eastern Massachusetts area, with the central Rhode Island area as a comparatively recent extension; and the ill-understood interior, exemplified by Loup, which appears to have been an independent area of development.

Additionally, it is also striking that almost all the sources on SNEA languages exhibit significant dialect variation: Massachusett is known to have had two main dialects, Mainland and Island, with subdialectal variation even being detectible within Eliot's Bible; Roger Williams's "Narragansett" data has forms from two main dialects, one like Massachusett and another like Pequot, plus a small amount of data from two other dialects of unknown origin; every known vocabulary of Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk shows lexical and phonological peculiarities distinguishing them from each other; Quiripi shows mixing from a y-dialect, probably to its east; Unquachog shows both r- and y-dialect forms, plus several Munsee loans; and the verb paradigms in Mathevet's Loup manuscript show several alternative inflectional endings indicating the presence of at least three different dialects (Goddard 2007).

While much of the variation within individual sources is simply an artifact of how the data was gathered, some of it seems also to be a result of the conditions prevailing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries within southern New England, where the disruptions of White contact and warfare had created refugee communities, with distinct tribes that had been critically reduced in numbers being compelled to join one another.

While the dialect mixture found in the records at first seems to hinder our efforts to chart isoglosses, it actually provides revealing glimpses into SNEA dialects which are otherwise poorly attested or altogether unattested.

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