# SPEAKER'S EXPERIENCE:
# A STUDY OF MI'KMAQ MODALITY



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by

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**Abstract**

This thesis examines the grammaticalization of epistemic modality in AI verbs in Mi'kmaq. The focus of the thesis is on an investigation of the productive use in Mi'kmaq of a system of evidential markers. The data ensuing from the research was analyzed from a typological viewpoint using a comparative functional-cognitive approach, not just with related languages, but with general tendencies concerning modality as found in the majority of the languages of the world.

The thesis attempts to demonstrate that the Mi'kmaq language has a complex system of modality which works at two levels: primary modality which functions through the use of full and reduced stems to reference an event as either realis or irrealis respectively and secondary modality which functions through the use of various evidential suffixes to represent the speaker's experience. The general premise of the thesis is that Mi'kmaq is a modality prominent language which contains no system of grammaticalized tense.

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O'Grady, William and Dobrovolsky, Michael. (1996). Contemporary linguistic analysis: an introduction (3rd ed.). Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd.

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## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| abs | absentative |
| AI | animate intransitive |
| an.n | animate noun |
| an.pl | animate plural |
| att | attestive evidential, *-p(n)* |
| att.cf | attestive counterfactual evidential, *-pn* |
| cf | counterfactual |
| Cond | Conditional |
| Conj | Conjunct |
| con | connecting vowel, *-i-* |
| def | deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)* |
| def.cf | deferential counterfactual evidential, *-sipn* |
| dm | discourse marker |
| Dub | dubitative modal suffix, *-tuk(n)* |
| excl | we exclusive |
| Fut | Future and future modal suffix, *-te(k)* |
| dm | derivational marker |
| II | inanimate intransitive |
| If:conj | If-conjunct |
| Imp | Imperative |
| incl | we inclusive |
| Indep | Independent |
| Inf | Infinitive |
| in.n | inanimate noun |
| in.pl | inanimate plural |
| loc | locative |
| M | medial |
| neg | negative |
| neut | neutral |
| no | number |
| obv | obviative |
| pc | personal communication |
| pe | personal experience |
| per | person / personal suffix |
| pl | plural |
| pn | pronoun |
| poss | possessive prefix |
| PV | preverb |
| que | question |
| R | root |
| S | subordinate clause |
| sg | singular |
| Sub | Subordinative |
| supp | suppositive evidential, *-s(n)* |

| | |
|---|---|
| supp.cf | suppositive counterfactual evidential, *-sn* |
| TA | transitive animate |
| TI | transitive inanimate |
| TMA | Tense-Mood-Aspect Questionnaire |
| VF | verb final |
| When: conj | When-conjunct |
| ' | vowel length |
| i̵ | schwa |
| 1 | first person singular |
| 2 | second person singular |
| 3 | third person singular |
| 3' | obviative singular |
| 12 | first person plural (we inclusive) |
| 13 | first person plural (we exclusive) |
| 23 | second person plural |
| 33 | third person plural |
| 33' | obviative plural |

The 12 or 'we inclusive forms' in Mi'kmaq are those first person plural forms which refer to the speaker and the addressee. The 13 or 'we exclusive forms' in Mi'kmaq are those first person plural forms which refer to the speaker and another person but which exclude reference to the addressee.

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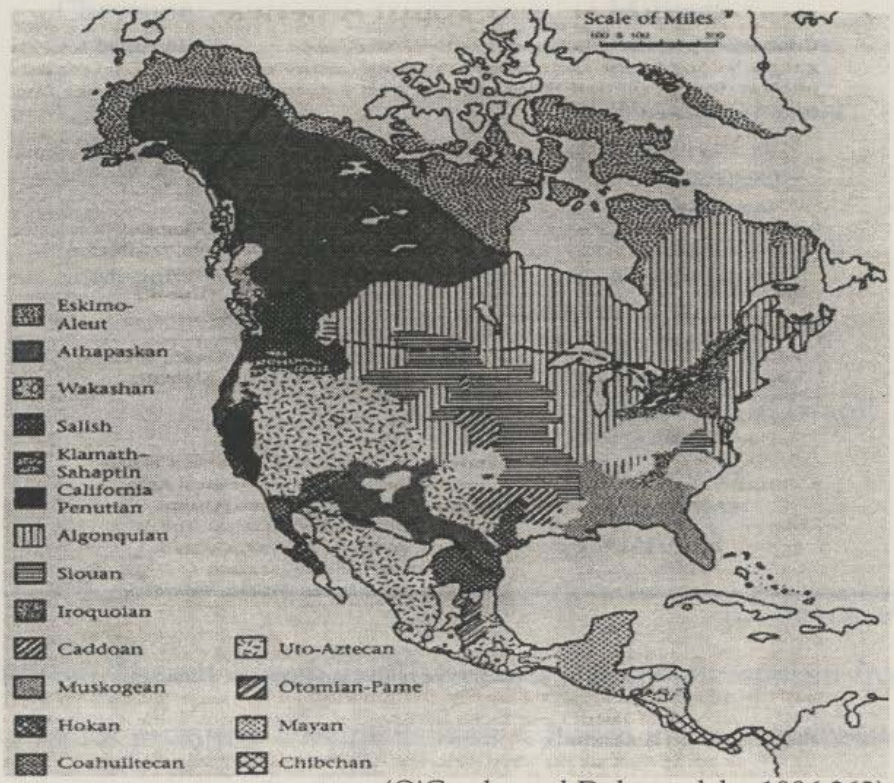
# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates the representation of modality in Mi'kmaq[1]. Mi'kmaq is a North American aboriginal language of the Algonquian language family which is descended from the Proto-language, Proto-Algonquian (PA). Algonquian languages were spoken extensively throughout eastern North America from Labrador to the southern United States and from the Eastern seaboard to the Canadian Rockies (see Figure 1).

Indigenous language families of North and Central America




(O'Grady and Dobrovolsky 1996:363)

**Figure 1**

Two main language subgroups characterize the Algonquian language family: Central Algonquian (west of the St. Lawrence River and the Gulf of St. Lawrence) and Eastern Algonquian. Originally there were ten languages which made up the Central Algonquian language subgroup in contrast to the original eighteen languages of the Eastern Algonquian language subgroup (see Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1**
Central and Eastern Algonquian:
language subgroups of the Algonquian language family

**ALGONQUIAN**

| CENTRAL ALGONQUIAN | EASTERN ALGONQUIAN |
|---|---|
| Blackfoot | Micmac |
| Cheyenne | Maliseet |
| Arapaho | Passamaquoddy |
| Cree | Eastern Abenaki |
| Ojibwa | Western Abenaki |
| Potawatomi | Loup |
| Menominee | Massachusett |
| Fox | Narraganset |
| Illinois | Mohegan-Poquot |
| Shawnee | Montauk |
| | Quiripi |
| | Unquachog |
| | Mahican |
| | Munsee [Delaware] |
| | Unami |
| | Nanticoke |
| | Powhatan |
| | Carolina |

(Goddard 1978:70)

Of the eighteen Eastern Algonquian languages - originally spoken from the Canadian Atlantic provinces through to South Carolina in the United States - all are now extinct except for a few hundred speakers of Maliseet, a few speakers of Passamaquoddy, five to ten Delaware speakers in Ontario (O'Grady and

Dobrovolsky 1996:376) and approximately 3,000 - 6,000 speakers of Mi'kmaq (see Table 1.2).

**Table 1.2**
Status of the Eastern Algonquian Languages, 1970

| Language or Dialect, and Locality | No. of Speakers | Date of Extinction |
|---|---|---|
| Micmac | ca. 6,000 | |
| Maliseet | ca. 600 | |
| Passamaquoddy | ca. 200 | |
| Etchemin | Extinct | 17th c. |
| Eastern Abenaki: | | |
| Penobscot (Old Town) | Extinct | Note: In 1970: ca. pop. 10 |
| Saint Francis, P.Q. | Extinct | |
| Bécancour, P.Q. | Extinct | |
| Western Abenaki | Extinct | Note: In 1970: ca. pop. 22 |
| Loup A | Extinct | 18th c. |
| Loup B | Extinct | 18th c. |
| Massachusett | Extinct | End of 19th c. |
| Narragansett | Extinct | Early 19th c. |
| Mohegan-Pequot | Extinct | Early 20th c. |
| Montauk | Extinct | Early 19th c. |
| Quiripi | Extinct | 18th c. |
| Unquachoq | Extinct | Early 19th c. |
| Mahican | Extinct | Early 20th c. |
| Munsee: [Delaware] | | |
| Moraviantown | 5-10[2] | Note: In 1970: ca. pop. 30 |
| Muncey | Extinct | Note: In 1970: ca. pop. 3 |
| Six Nations Reserve | Extinct | 1965 |
| Cattaraugus | Extinct | Early 20th c. |
| Wisconsin | Extinct | 19th c.(?) |
| Kansas | Extinct | Early 20th c. |
| Oklahoma | Extinct | Early 20th c. |
| Unami: [Delaware] | | |
| Northern | Extinct | Early 20th c. |
| Southern | Extinct | Note: In 1970: ca. pop. 25 |
| Nanticoke | Extinct | Mid-19th c. |
| Powhatan | Extinct | 18th c. |
| Carolina | Extinct | 18th c. |

(Goddard 1978:71)

Mi'kmaq is still spoken in Canada in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec. It was spoken in Newfoundland, the most easterly

province of Canada, until the late 1980s. The language is also still spoken in parts of Maine in the United States. Mi'kmaq language examples found in this thesis are representative of the dialect currently spoken in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and more specifically the variety spoken in the community of Eskasoni. Eskasoni is a Mi'kmaq reserve with a population of 3,000, situated about twenty-five miles to the south of the city of Sydney, Nova Scotia.

## 1.2 The Smith-Francis orthography

All Mi'kmaq examples in the thesis are presented in the Smith-Francis orthography. This orthography is a phonemic writing system developed in the early 1970s by Doug Smith and Bernard Francis under the auspices of the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies (MACS), in Membertou, Sydney, Nova Scotia (Hewson and Francis 1990:ii-iii). An overview of this orthographic system is found in Table 1.3.

**Table 1.3**
Smith-Francis orthography

| **Six Short Vowels** | **Five Long Vowels (Length is marked by an apostrophe.)** | **Two non-syllabic variants** |
|---|---|---|
| a | a' | |
| e | e' | |
| i | i' | y |
| o | o' | |
| u | u' | w |
| ɨ (schwa [ə]) | | |

**Eleven Consonants:**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | t | k | q | kw | qw | j | s | l | m | n |

The Smith-Francis orthography, being a phonemic system, only represents the voiceless obstruents /p, t, k, q/ and /s/ in the writing system. Voiced

obstruents are allophonic in Mi'kmaq; they normally occur intervocalically and/or before the sonorants /l, m/ and /n/, which are syllabic after obstruents and non-syllabic elsewhere. See for example the Mi'kmaq words in (1) through (4).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | te**p**aw | [te**b**aw] | near |
| (2) | at**l**as**m**it | [a**dl**a**z**mit] | S/he is resting. |
| (3) | pata**l**u**t**i | [pa**d**a**l**u**d**i] | table |
| (4) | pi'**k**un | [pi:**g**un] | feather |

As described by Hewson and Francis (1990:ii) the Smith-Francis orthographic symbol *j* "... is a simple affricate as in English 'church' when unvoiced, or English 'judge' when voiced" as in examples (5) and (6) below.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | ejkwit | [e č kwit] | S/he is sneezing, sneezes. |
| (6) | mijisit | [mi ǰ izit] | S/he is eating, eats. |

The Smith-Francis orthography uses a *q* for the post velar /q/. There also occur in the phonemic inventory of Mi'kmaq two labialized segments: a labialized /kw/ ~ /gw/ represented in the Smith-Francis system by *kw* and a labialized /qw/ represented by *qw*. See examples (7) through (10) below for illustration.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7) | sa**q**amaw | [sa**q**amaw] | leader, chief |
| (8) | **kw**inu | [**kw**inu] | loon |
| (9) | pe**kw**ateliket | [peg**w**adeliget] | S/he is buying, buys. |

(10) pipto**qw**a'toq [pipto**qw**a:doq] S/he makes it round.
(Hewson and Francis 1990)

Eleven vowels are represented in the Smith-Francis orthography: five short vowels (*a, e, i, o* and *u*); five long vowels (*a', e', i', o'* and *u'*), with length being indicated by an apostrophe; and schwa, which is represented by a barred i, *ɨ*. The schwa most often occurs to break up a cluster of three consonants, as in (11) and (12).

(11) msɨt [msət] all

(12) apankɨtawalsewajl [abanʔkədawalsewa ǰl] S/he pays for someone.
(Hewson and Francis 1990)

Whitehead (1988:239) explains the pronunciation of the Mi'kmaq vowels using English word cues. His word cues are reproduced in Table 1.4.

**Table 1.4**
English word cues for pronunciation of Mi'kmaq vowels

| Short Vowels Smith-Francis | English cue | Long Vowels Smith-Francis | English cue |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | as the u in bud | a' | as the o in boss |
| e | as the e in bet | e' | as the ay in play |
| i | as the i in sick | i' | as the double e in see |
| o | as the o in boat | o' | as the o in go |
| u | as the u in put | u' | as the double oo in school |
| ɨ | as the i in sir | | |

(Whitehead 1988:239)

There are two non-syllabic variants of the vowels /i/and /u/ ( [y] and [w] respectively) as illustrated in examples (13) and (14). The vowels /i/ and /u/ become non-syllabic in three linguistic environments:

i) between vowels,

ii) word initially before a following vowel and

iii) word finally after a preceding vowel.

(13) pemiey [pemiey] I am moving along.

(14) wius [wius] meat

One last orthographic mark should be commented on, the use of the hyphen. Hyphens in the Smith-Francis orthography are used to demarcate a preverb from the stem to which it is suffixed, as in *sankewi-amalkat* 'S/he is dancing very slowly'. *Sankewi-* is a Mi'kmaq preverb meaning 'slowly' while the remaining stem *amalkat* means 'S/he is dancing'. Throughout the thesis English glosses are placed within single quotation marks when presented directly within the text. When the English gloss is given for a numbered Mi'kmaq example which has been set off from the text as in (16a) of section 1.2 (reproduced below for easy reference) it is presented without quotation marks. Mi'kmaq examples given within the text are italicized. Mi'kmaq examples set off from the text, as in (16a) in 1.3.2 below, will often include a morphological breakdown labeled for both meaning and grammatical form. A list of abbreviations for the grammatical glosses is found following the List of Figures at the beginning of the thesis.

(16)a Nemi-t-oq pataluti ji'nm.
See–TI.VF–TI.3>it.Indep.neut table man

The man sees the table.

## 1.3 Mi'kmaq typology

### 1.3.1 Mi'kmaq as a polysynthetic language

Like other Algonquian languages, Mi'kmaq is polysynthetic in that one word may act as a sentence as in (15).

(15) pemi-e'plewi-natawi-jajika'sit.
(J. Peck /E. Paul, 2000:pc)

Translation:
S/he, who knows how to do this well, is in the process of moving along very close to the edge (of the shore); so close that s/he almost falls in, but because of her/his skill does not.

pemi-e'plewi-natawi-jajik-a'si-t

PV.in the process–PV.over doing–PV.ability–R.follow along the edge–AI.VF.reflexive–AI.3.Indep.neut

### 1.3.2 Mi'kmaq word order

In Mi'kmaq there is a relatively free ordering of constituents within clauses as is characteristic of other Algonquian languages. The English sentence 'The man sees the table' may be realized six ways in Mi'kmaq, as shown by sentences (16)a through f:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (16)a | Nemi-t-oq<br>See–TI.VF–TI.3>it.Indep.neut | pataluti<br>table | ji'nm<br>man |

The man sees the table.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (16)b | Nemitoq ji'nm pataluti. | The man sees the table. |
| (16)c | Pataluti nemitoq ji'nm. | The man sees the table. |
| (16)d | Pataluti ji'nm nemitoq. | The man sees the table. |
| (16)e | Ji'nm nemitoq pataluti. | The man sees the table. |
| (16)f | Ji'nm pataluti nemitoq. | The man sees the table. |

All the sentences given in (16) are considered to be well-formed by first language Mi'kmaq speakers, the choice of one word order over another being often made for stylistic effects or emphasis[3]. More research, however, needs to be done on word order in the Mi'kmaq language before nuances of meaning are fully explained.

### 1.3.3 Mi'kmaq verb types

Algonquian languages are characterized by two genders: animate and inanimate. Bloomfield (1946:94) describes animate nouns as including "... all persons, animals, spirits, and large trees, and some other objects, such as tobacco, maize, apple, raspberry (but not strawberry), calf of leg (but not thigh), stomach, spittle, feather, bird's tail, horn, kettle, pipe for smoking, snowshoe." Nouns which are not animate are inanimate. This dichotomy of entities shapes the Algonquian verb structure which is characterized by four main verb types: II, AI, TI and TA. II stands for Inanimate Intransitive verbs: intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects, as in (17) below. AI refers to Animate Intransitive verbs: intransitive verbs with animate subjects as in (18) below. The TI and TA verb types refer to transitive verbs. TI verbs - Transitive Inanimate - refer to transitive verbs with inanimate objects as in (19) below. TA verbs - Transitive Animate - refer to transitive verbs with animate objects as in (20).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (17) | Meski'k. | It (inanimate subject) is big. | II verb type |
| (18) | Meskilk. | S/he (animate subject) is big. | AI verb type |
| (19) | Nemitu. | I see it (inanimate object). | TI verb type |
| (20) | Nemi'k. | I see him/her (animate object). | TA verb type |

## 1.4 The study

This thesis examines the grammaticalization of epistemic modality in AI verbs in Mi'kmaq. The study was narrowed to AI verbs due to the comlexity of evidential endings within Mi'kmaq transitive verb forms. The focus of the thesis is an investigation of the productive use in Mi'kmaq of a system of evidential markers as outlined by Proulx (1978, 1990). The thesis examines how speakers in Mi'kmaq connect with their listeners and then grammatically express their experiential knowledge of the topic at hand. It is an examination of Mi'kmaq evidentiality and, consequently, provides a description of how Mi'kmaq speakers invoke the knowledge of the OTHER. The study shows how the notion of respect for the other, central to Algonquian culture, is grammaticalized throughout the Mi'kmaq verbal system.

## 1.5 The data

Data collection was done both formally and informally. Formal data collection included use of the tense-mood-aspect (TMA) questionnaire developed by Östen Dahl (Bybee and Dahl 1989; Cyr 1990). Informal data collection was carried out primarily with first language Mi'kmaq students enrolled in studies at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, Nova Scotia, and through dialogues with my academic colleagues within the Mi'kmaq Studies sub-department of the Department of Culture, Heritage and Leisure Studies of the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB). All these colleagues, who are listed below, are fluent Mi'kmaq speakers from Cape Breton:

<u>Mi'kmaq Studies faculty - UCCB</u>
Eleanor Bernard
BA, BEd, MEd Director - Mi'kmaq College Institute

| | |
|---|---|
| Bernard Francis<br>Honorary Doctorate | Adjunct Assistant Professor - Mi'kmaq Studies |
| Eleanor Johnson<br>RN, BA, MA | Assistant Professor - Mi'kmaq Studies |
| Patrick Johnson<br>BA | Director Mi'kmaq Student Services and<br>Acting Director - Mi'kmaq Resource Center |
| Murdena Marshall<br>BA, BEd, MEd | Associate Professor - Mi'kmaq Studies |
| Joseph B. Marshall<br>LLB | Associate Professor - Mi'kmaq Studies |
| Josephine Peck<br>BA, BEd, MEd, MSW | Adjunct Lecturer - Mi'kmaq Studies |

### 1.6 The tense-mood-aspect questionnaire (TMA)

A key data eliciting tool was the tense-mood-aspect (TMA) questionnaire developed for a cross-linguistic study of language universals and language typology by Östen Dahl of the Institute of Linguistics of the University of Stockholm, Sweden. Dahl developed a

> ... questionnaire containing about 150 sentences with indications of contexts, chosen in such a way as to give as good a sample of the tense-mood-aspect field as possible. The questionnaire was translated into 64 languages by native informants. Interference from English was minimized by giving the verbs in the questionnaire in the base form and letting the informants choose the right categories in their own languages on the basis of the contextual indications given. (Bybee and Dahl 1989:54)

Cyr (1990), in her Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Approche typologique du système aspectuel montagnais, de la morphologie à la pragmatique*, used Dahl's TMA

questionnaire as a research tool to investigate aspectual patterns of Montagnais, an Algonquian language closely related to Cree. The appendix of her dissertation includes the English version of the full TMA questionnaire along with the Montagnais responses which she elicited. As explained by Cyr (1990:75) the questionnaire, as originally developed and used by Dahl, was reformulated several times during the course of his study. Cyr (1990) used the third version of Dahl's questionnaire in her work and it is this version of the TMA questionnaire which was used in the present study.

The TMA questionnaire taken from Cyr (1990) contains 195 phrases in English. For this study responses were elicited for 65 of the 195 phrases. This study focuses on the modality system of the Mi'kmaq AI verbal paradigm and not on transitive verbs; consequently, TMA questions which contained transitive verbs were largely ignored. The numbering of the questionnaire phrases was kept the same as the numbering used by Cyr (1990) in her dissertation. This was done so that future researchers might more easily compare the Mi'kmaq responses of this study with the Montagnais responses of Cyr's study. The fully transcribed Mi'kmaq responses, including Dahl's questionnaire cues, are found in Appendix II.

The format of the Mi'kmaq TMA questionnaire is documented in Table 1.5 which duplicates entry # 7 of the questionnaire.

**Table 1.5**
Sample of an entry from the TMA questionnaire

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | [A: I just talked to my brother on the phone. B: What he DO right now? A: answers ]<br>He WRITE letters | |
| 7.i | **Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q.** | He is writing/writes letters [because he told me on the phone that he's doing it now - "to'q"]. |
| Etl-wi'k-i-k-l<br>in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl | | wi'katikn-n<br>book–in.pl |
| | | to'q<br>common community knowledge |
| 7.ii | **to'q** | To'q refers to common community knowledge. |

**DISCUSSION**

As can be seen in Table 1.5, each English entry or phrase of the questionnaire is preceded by a short text, given in square brackets, indicating the situational context of the phrase. The verbs of the English phrases (given in capital letters) are in their base form so as not to influence the choice of the tense, aspect or mood in the Mi'kmaq translation. Following each English questionnaire entry are the Mi'kmaq verbs or phrases which were elicited.

The Mi'kmaq TMA questionnaire was done as a dialogue between the author and her university colleague, Eleanor Johnson, a fluent Mi'kmaq speaker. Eleanor Johnson was given a copy of the transcribed material to be used for her academic research projects. The dialogues were transcribed and each entry of the dialogue numbered. If more than one phrase was given then the Mi'kmaq

forms were numbered using the number of the questionnaire entry followed by a Roman numeral ( see 7.i and 7.ii of Table 1.5).

The last part of each elicited questionnaire response contains a section entitled DISCUSSION. The DISCUSSION provides details of the contextual settings of the Mi'kmaq phrases being used. Within the DISCUSSION sections all of Professor Johnson's comments are labeled alphabetically. Throughout the thesis extracts from the DISCUSSION are used as situational evidence for various evidential patterns. This is done to allow the reader to hear Professor Johnson's voice, which articulates succinctly the workings of Mi'kmaq modality. When used as data in the thesis the number of the TMA questionnaire, including the alphabetized dialogue entry, is given within brackets below the entry. For example, (TMA-7:a), would refer to response (a) by Eleanor Johnson to TMA question #7. Sources for other data examples are given, where necessary, in brackets below the examples.

## 1.7 The analysis

The data ensuing from the research was analyzed from a typological viewpoint using a comparative approach, not just with related languages, but with general tendencies concerning modality as found in the majority of the languages of the world. Within the framework of language typology a functional-cognitive approach was taken. Following Lyons (1977:452) modality was considered a grammatical class, comparable across languages, which indicates "the speaker's opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes".

A study of modality differs from a study of mood or modal verbs. According to Fleischman (1982:13)

> Mood refers to a particular *formal (morphological) category of the verb* which has a *modal* function. Mood generally involves a distinct set of verbal paradigms... . Modality, on the other hand, pertains to certain *elements of meaning* expressed by the language. ...Modality, as traditionally defined, has to do with *the speaker's attitude toward the propositional content of his utterance.*

As Fleischman points out, mood is a purely formal category while modality is a semantic category which has become grammaticalized in various ways throughout the languages of the world and, as Palmer (1986:21-22) comments, "not always within the verb". A study which deals with an examination of modality falls back on the basic assumption that modals are divided into "deontic and epistemic subsystems" and that "evidential distinctions are part of the marking of epistemic modality" (Willett 1988:52).

Following Palmer (1986:121) epistemic modality is "concerned with language as information, with the expression of the degree or nature of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what he says", while deontic modality is "concerned with language as action, mostly with the expression by the speaker of his attitudes towards possible actions by himself and others". However, as Palmer (1986:20) states:

> ...it is probable that the epistemic/deontic cum possibility /necessity systems of modality are by no means universal, and it may be argued that the logicians' preoccupation with them is a reflection of the linguistic systems of only some of the languages of the world, especially those of Europe. For there are other languages in which the speaker may indicate the strength of his

> commitment to what he is saying, not in terms of possibility and necessity but in terms of what kind of evidence he has.

When Palmer (1986:20) notes that "... a speaker may indicate the strength of his [or her ]commitment to what he [ or she ] is saying ... in terms of what evidence he [or she] has", he is referring to a type of modal marker known as an evidential, that is, to the marking of evidentiality. The term evidentiality refers to linguistic devices which mark "...the ways in which ordinary people, unhampered by philosophical traditions, naturally regard the source and reliability of their knowledge" (Chafe and Nichols 1986:vii).

The thesis discusses the various types of Mi'kmaq evidentials which make up a complex system of primary and secondary modality in Mi'kmaq. The material has been organized into seven chapters. Chapter One, of which this discussion is a part, gives background information on the Mi'kmaq language itself, the nature of the data collection and some brief comments on the theory of modality.

Chapter Two is a more historical chapter. It contains a brief discussion and comparison of the verbal terminology used when describing verbs in Central Algonquian languages and in Mi'kmaq. Attention is also given to the nature of the linguistic phenomenon of initial change and to the unique developmental path which was taken by the Mi'kmaq verbal paradigms when evolving from Proto-Algonquian, the historical ancestor of Mi'kmaq.

Chapter Three addresses details of the theory behind evidentiality and presents the two main types of evidentials in Mi'kmaq: the attestive and the suppositive.

Chapter Four focuses on the paramount role of the speech act participants in the encoding of Mi'kmaq evidentiality. A third evidential, the deferential, is discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five deals with the issue of counterfactual reality as coded within the Mi'kmaq AI verb. Three counterfactuals are discussed: the attestive counterfactual, the suppositive counterfactual and the deferential counterfactual.

Chapter Six examines the Mi'kmaq Future and Dubitative forms. In this chapter two modal suffixes are identified, the *-t(e)(k)* modal suffix and the *-tuk* dubitative modal suffix.

Chapter Seven rounds out the presentation of Mi'kmaq as a highly modality prominent language. This chapter draws together into a single system the workings of Mi'kmaq evidentiality

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis. An overview of Mi'kmaq modality as an integrated system of experiential relationships is given. Chapter Eight is followed by a large appendix documenting the data collected via the TMA questionnaire, as outlined in 1.6 above.

## Endnotes

[1] The language traditionally spelled 'Micmac' in Algonquian literature is, throughout this discussion, spelled 'Mi'kmaq'. 'Micmac' is an anglicized version of the Mi'kmaq word for 'the Allies'; *Mi'kmaq* is the spelling using the Smith-Francis orthography (see Hewson and Francis 1990:ii-iii).

[2] The figure of 5-10 Canadian Delaware speakers is taken from O'Grady and Dobrovolsky (1996:376).

[3] See Section 2.4.3 for a discussion on word order with respect to differentiation of When-conjunct and If-conjunct verbs.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Defining the terms: the individuality of the Mi'kmaq verbal system vs. those of other Algonquian languages

### 2.1 Introduction: defining the terms

There is a paucity of published material on modality in Eastern Algonquian languages. Consequently, when discussing systems of modality in Mi'kmaq, reference will be made to the more numerous published works on modality in the related Central Algonquian languages of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi (CMN) complex.

The Mi'kmaq and the Central Algonquian verbal systems followed different evolutionary paths and are described in contemporary Algonquian linguistics using different terms for forms with similar function. To avoid confusion between the sets of verbal terminologies a discussion of terms is needed. Summary definitions of terms used are presented, in this chapter, for both the Central Algonquian languages, represented mainly by Cree and other languages of the CMN Complex, and for Mi'kmaq. Explanatory evidence for the Mi'kmaq use of terms will be given in subsequent chapters of the thesis.

### 2.2 Proto-Algonquian (PA)

The Central Algonquian verbal paradigms evolved from Proto-Algonquian (PA) along a specific evolutionary path. To understand that path and to see how Mi'kmaq later underwent different evolutionary developments Proulx's (1990) classification of the PA verbal system is used as the basis of the discussion. Proulx (1990:101) sets up an opposition in PA between PA Type I

verbs, which are those Proto-Algonquian verbs which had only verbal suffixes including a common set of personal suffixes, and PA Type II verbs, which are those Proto-Algonquian verbs which had personal prefixes for first, second and third person, and verbal suffixes including a complementary set of personal suffixes (e.g. for inclusive and exclusive personal plural). In related literature (Goddard, 1967; Hewson, 1973 and Dawe, 1986) PA Type I verbs are, in Bloomfield's (1946) terms, forms of the PA Conjunct, while Type II verbs are forms of the PA Independent (see Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1**
Proto-Algonquian verbal categories

| PROTO-ALGONQUIAN | |
|---|---|
| Type I Verbs (no personal prefixes) | |
| **PA Conjunct** | |
| • PA simple Conjunct | [unchanged[1] stem] |
| • PA changed Conjunct | [changed stem] |
| • PA Conjunct Participle | [changed stem] |
| **PA Potential**[2] | simple [unchanged] stem |
| Type II Verbs (personal prefixes) | |
| **PA Independent** | simple [unchanged] stem |
| **PA Subordinative** | simple [unchanged] stem |

(Proulx 1990:101)

## 2.3 Representation of Central Algonquian verbal paradigms

Conjunct verbs, in the languages of the CMN Complex, developed from the PA Conjunct (see Table 2.2).

**Table 2.2**
The relationship of CMN verbal structures to PA verbal forms

| PROTO-ALGONQUIAN | CMN COMPLEX LANGUAGES |
|---|---|
| Type I Verbs (no person prefixes) | |
| **PA Conjunct** | **CMN Conjunct** |
| • **PA simple [unchanged] Conjunct** | • **CMN unchanged Conjunct**<br>- unchanged stem / dependent clauses |
| • **PA changed Conjunct** | • **CMN changed Conjunct**<br>- changed stem / dependent clauses |
| Type II Verbs (person prefixes) | |
| **PA Independent** | **CMN Independent**<br>-unchanged stem / main clauses |
| **PA Subordinative** | -not extant |

Bloomfield (1946:100) notes that the Proto-Algonquian Conjunct order, typically used in PA subordinate and embedded clauses, exhibited both a changed and unchanged stem. In Algonquian linguistics the term changed form traditionally refers to the morpho-phonological phenomenon of initial change, i.e. change of the initial syllable. According to Bloomfield (1946:101) "The [PA] changed conjunct is used in *when*-clauses of a single past occurrence, and as a *relative* conjunct." The PA changed Conjunct was characterized by the addition of the infix **-ay-* with long vowels, and some form of lengthening of short vowels.

> ... [in PA] the root *wāp- "see" becomes *wayāp- in the paradigms of the [changed] conjunct order. The short vowels may also have had the same element prefixed, but vowel contraction has obscured the situation. (Hewson 1980:4)

Conjunct verbs in the CMN complex of languages are characterized by their typical occurrence in dependent clauses and by their lack of personal

prefixes (Bloomfield 1946:97, 100-101). In many CMN varieties, however, Conjuncts may also regularly occur in a small number of non-embedded clauses; Clarke (1982:88), for example, notes of Sheshātshīt Montagnais that the Conjunct is found in WH-questions and main clause negatives as in sentence (21) below.

(21) Tshīmā ekā miskākant. I wish it wouldn't be found. / May it not be found. (Clarke 1982:88)

In the languages of the CMN Complex Independent verbs which developed from the PA Independent (see Table 2.2) are characterized by the presence of personal prefixes and are usually restricted to main clauses (Bloomfield 1946:97) as in the Sheshātshīt Montagnais Independent sentences of (22) and (23) from Clarke (1982:42/44).

(22) ni-nip-ā-n. I am asleep.
1.poss–sleep–AI.VF–3.Indicative.neutral

(23) ni-pimūt-e-n. I am walking/I walk.
1.poss–walk–AI.VF–3.Indicative.neutral

To further clarify the evolutionary development of the verbal structures of Central Algonquian, paradigmatic forms of the Proto-Algonquian and Cree Independent and Conjunct, built on the Proto-Algonquian stem **nep-* 'sleep', are given in Table 2.3.

**Table 2.3**
Independent and Conjunct paradigmatic forms built on the Proto-Algonquian stem **nep-* 'sleep' for Proto-Algonquian and for Cree: 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular

**INDEPENDENT**

| **person**[3] | **PA Independent** | **Cree Independent** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ne-nepa:-n-a | ni-nipā-n |
| 2 | *ke-nepa:-n-a | ki-nipā-n |
| 3 | *nepa:-w-a | nipāw |

**CONJUNCT**

CHANGED CONJUNCT

| **person** | **PA changed Conjunct Indicative** | **Cree changed Conjunct Indicative** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ne:pa:-ya:n-e | nēpā-yān |
| 2 | *ne:pa:-yan-e | nēpā-yan |
| 3 | *ne:pa:-t-e | nēpā-t |

UNCHANGED CONJUNCT

| **person** | **PA unchanged Conjunct Indicative** | **Cree unchanged Conjunct Indicative** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *nepa: ya:n-e | nipā-yān |
| 2 | *nepa:-yan-e | nipā-yan |
| 3 | *nepa:-t-e | nipā-t |

Ellis (1961:122) gives a summary of the Cree verbal paradigms which is the standard used by many Central Algonquianists (see Wolfart 1981:73-79 and Clarke 1982:42-46). This representation of the Central Algonquian verbal system is presented below, in Table 2.4, and helps to position the Central Algonquian Independent form within the framework of the other verbal paradigms.

**Table 2.4**
Representation of Central Algonquian verbal paradigms[4]

| Order | Mode | Tense | Submode | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Independent** | Indicative | Neutral<br>Preterit [5] | | |
| | Dubitative | Neutral<br>Preterit | | |
| **Conjunct** | Indicative | Neutral<br>Preterit | Simple<br>Changed | [unchanged] |
| | Subjunctive | Neutral | Simple<br>Changed | [unchanged] |
| | Dubitative | Neutral<br>Preterit | Simple<br>Changed | [unchanged] |
| **Imperative** | | Immediate<br>Deferred | | |

(Ellis 1961:122 slightly modified)

The Indicative and Dubitative in the languages of the CMN complex, as represented in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 above, are modal categories. According to Clarke (1982:22), in Sheshātshīt Montagnais "The Indicative essentially represents an event as fact or reality, while the Dubitative represents it as possibility or potential". The contrast between the Independent Indicative and the Independent Dubitative is illustrated by the Sheshātshīt Montagnais sentences (Clarke 1982:44/48) of (24) and (25) respectively.

(24) Pimūteu. S/he is walking or s/he walks.

(25) Pimūtetshe. Perhaps s/he is walking.

The Conjunct subjunctive (as indicated in Table 2.4) in the languages of the CMN Complex is a suffixally marked variant of the unchanged Conjunct Indicative. As Bloomfield (1946:101) states "The *subjunctive* mode ... is used in subordinate clauses of events which have not yet occurred...". The term Subjunctive refers to unchanged Conjunct dependent clauses characterized by distinct morphology which correspond to English hypothetical ('if'/'when') clauses. The Sheshātshīt sentence (Clarke 1982:86) of (26) below provides an example of the Montagnais Conjunct subjunctive

(26) Pītuāiānī. If I smoke ... .

## 2.4 Development of Mi'kmaq verbal forms from Proto-Algonquian

Turning now to the verbal paradigms of Mi'kmaq there are two noteworthy developments[6] in the evolution of the verbal system of this language: the Mi'kmaq Independent developed from a PA changed Conjunct form; and Mi'kmaq has a reflex of the Eastern Algonquian Subordinative. Discussion of these developments unfolds in three steps: (i) in Table 2.5 a synopsis of Proulx's (1978) Mi'kmaq verbal framework is presented to lay a foundation for the discussion; (ii) the development of the Mi'kmaq Independent is examined; and (iii) the Mi'kmaq Subordinative is presented.

Proulx's analysis provides a framing of Mi'kmaq verbal paradigms which differs from the more traditional Central Algonquian paradigms given in Table 2.4. It is Proulx's Mi'kmaq verbal structure upon which much of the later analysis in this thesis is built, though the thesis expands it to capture the intricate distinctions of the complex system of Mi'kmaq modality. This thesis will argue for a new verbal framework which integrates yet advances Proulx's work.

**Table 2.5**
Representation of the Mi'kmaq verbal system based on Proulx (1978:16)[7]

| Order | Tense | Mode |
|---|---|---|
| **Independent** | changed | neutral<br>suppositive<br>attestive |
| **Conjunct** | changed [when] | neutral |
| **Conjunct** | simple [if] | neutral<br>suppositive |
| **Potential** [Conditional] | | neutral<br>attestive |
| **Future** | | suppositive only |
| **Subordinative** | | . . . |

To more fully understand the Mi'kmaq verbal framework presented above full paradigmatic forms for the Mi'kmaq AI are found in Table 2.6.

**Table 2.6**
Verbal endings for the Mi'kmaq AI

( Table 2.6 is located in a pocket in the back of the thesis.

Concerning Table 2.6, a phonological pattern involving the endings *-s ~ -sn , -p ~ -pn* and *-sp ~ -sipn* should be mentioned. The final syllable of an inflection in Mi'kmaq may be deleted in word final position giving for example *-s(n) -> -s, -p(n) -> -p* and *-s(i)p(n) -> -sp*. However, the *n* of these endings, in the Independent only, is retained when further incremental suffixes are added as in the *-pn + ik* and *-sn + ik* of examples (27) and (28) below where we note the addition of the plural suffix *-ik* .

(27) Nepapnik.
They were asleep (and I can attest to it).

Nep-a-pn-ik
sleep– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep.att– an.pl

(28) Nepasnik.
They supposedly were asleep (so I'm told).

Nep-a-sn-ik
sleep– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep.supp– an.pl

### 2.4.1 Mi'kmaq Independent

In her thesis, Dawe (1986) provides reconstructed evidence using data from the Eastern Algonquian languages of Abenaki, Maliseet and Delaware to trace the evolution of the Mi'kmaq verbal system from its Proto-Algonquian beginnings. Following Goddard (1967:80) and Dawe (1986:45/235) we see how the Type II Verbs (those with personal prefixes) disappeared from Mi'kmaq and how a new Independent form was created from the PA changed Conjunct:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| PA changed Conjunct Participle | > | Mi'kmaq Independent |
| PA changed Conjunct Indicative | > | Mi'kmaq When-conjunct |
| PA unchanged Conjunct Indicative | > | Mi'kmaq If-conjunct. |

In short the Mi'kmaq Independent and Conjunct forms both developed from the PA Conjunct, the Mi'kmaq Independent forms having evolved historically from the PA changed Conjunct Participle.

> The [PA] *participle* of the [PA] conjunct order has the ending -a for the animate singular and -i for the inanimate singular, with initial change. The [PA] participle denotes an actor, a goal, or an implied goal: ... . (Bloomfield 1946:101)

The Mi'kmaq Independent verb forms are a reinterpretation, with respect to function, of the participle form of the PA changed Conjunct. Independent forms evolved from the PA changed Conjunct Participle in both Mi'kmaq and Arapaho (see Salzmann 1960 for Arapaho Independent forms); however, there is no correlation between the two evolutions, and the derived forms in Arapaho are used only in the Affirmative.

This development is in contrast with the evolution of Independent forms in other Algonquian languages which historically originated from the PA Independent. Consequently, Algonquian languages such as Fox, Menomini, Shawnee, Ojibway and the languages of the CMN Complex have Independent verbs which retain a full set of personal prefixes in their verbal morphology; however, Mi'kmaq Independent verbs do not (see Table 2.7).[8] Table 2.7 highlights the historical development of the Mi'kmaq verbal system. The distinctiveness of the development of the Mi'kmaq Independent is shown by presenting the contrast between the development of Cree verbs (as an example of a non-Mi'kmaq Algonquian language) and that of verbs in Mi'kmaq.

**Table 2.7**
Contrasting development from PA of verbs into Cree and verbs into Mi'kmaq
(1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular)

| person | PA Independent | Cree Independent | Mi'kmaq |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ne- nepa:-n-a | ni-nipā-n | (lost) |
| 2 | *ke- nepa:-n-a | ki-nipā-n | (lost) |
| 3 | *nepa:-w-a | nipāw | (lost) |
| **person** | **PA changed Conjunct Participle** | **Cree changed Conjunct Participle** | **Mi'kmaq Independent** |
| 1 | *ne:pa:-ya:na | (lost) | nepa-y(an) |
| 2 | *ne:pa:-yan-a | (lost) | nepa-n |
| 3 | *ne:pa:-t-a | (lost) | nepa-t |
| **person** | **PA changed Conjunct Indicative** | **Cree changed Conjunct Indicative** | **Mi'kmaq When-conjunct** |
| 1 | *ne:pa:-ya:n-e | nēpā-yān | nepa-yan |
| 2 | *ne:pa:-yan-e | nēpā-yan | nepa-n |
| 3 | *ne:pa:-t-e | nēpā-t | nepa-j |
| **person** | **PA unchanged Conjunct Indicative** | **Cree unchanged Conjunct Indicative** | **Mi'kmaq If-conjunct** |
| 1 | *nepa:-ya:n-e | nipā-yān | npa-yan |
| 2 | *nepa:-yan-e | nipā-yan | npa-n |
| 3 | *nepa:-t-e | nipā-t | npa-j |

Independent verbs in Mi'kmaq are used in main clauses of Independent sentences (Proulx 1978:98); examples are provided in sentences (29) through (31).

(29) Kesi-kawi'pit. S/he is running fast.

(30) Kewisin? Are you (sg.) hungry?

(31) Taluisin ki'l? What is your (sg.) name?

The Mi'kmaq Independent is similar in function to the Independent in Cree. However, its form differs: the Mi'kmaq Independent has no personal prefixes

and is a changed form referred to in Mi'kmaq as a full stem, as explained in the following section.

### 2.4.2 Full and reduced stems in Mi'kmaq

The forms in Mi'kmaq which historically came from Proto-Algonquian changed stems are referred to in the literature on Mi'kmaq as the full form of the stem; the forms which came from Proto-Algonquian unchanged stems are referred to in the Mi'kmaq literature as reduced stems. Because of historical reduction and loss (see Hewson 1973) the long vowels of the initial syllables of the historic PA changed stems became short vowels in Mi'kmaq. This evolution, whereby the PA changed form becomes the Mi'kmaq full form, is illustrated by (32) below, where PA **ne:p-*, the historic PA changed stem for 'sleep', becomes the Mi'kmaq full form *nep-* 'sleep', as in *Nepat* 'S/he is sleeping'. In addition, what were originally the short vowels of the initial syllables of Proto-Algonquian unchanged stems became reduced to zero in Mi'kmaq (Hewson 1973). For example, in (33) PA **nep-*, the unchanged stem for 'sleep', became in Mi'kmaq *np-* 'sleep' as in *npan* 'if you (sg.) sleep'.

(32) PA ***nayep-** > PA ***ne:p-** > Mi'kmaq **nep-** **nep-** a -t S/he sleeps.

(33) PA ***nep-** > Mi'kmaq **np-** **np-** a -n If you(sg.) sleep.

In the historical evolution of Mi'kmaq, PA long vowels were shortened, while PA */e/ and */a/were reduced to schwa or zero. As a consequence of these developments in the evolution of the Mi'kmaq verb paradigms, reduced

forms in all Mi'kmaq verbs are equivalent to unchanged forms in other Algonquian languages, while full forms in all Mi'kmaq verbs are comparable with changed forms in other Algonquian languages.

### 2.4.3 Mi'kmaq Conjunct

Table 2.7 (see Section 2.4.1) shows that the Mi'kmaq Independent evolved from the PA changed Conjunct Participle. It also shows how the Mi'kmaq When-conjunct, in turn, evolved from the PA changed Conjunct Indicative, while the Mi'kmaq If-conjunct evolved from the PA unchanged Conjunct Indicative.

Conjunct verbs in Mi'kmaq are used in subordinate adverbial or adjectival clauses and are used to specify "... who performed an action, what action was performed, or the time, place, or manner of an action, or the reason why it was performed" (Proulx 1978:98). Mi'kmaq When-conjunct forms are equivalent to English 'when' clauses (see the underlined verb form of sentence (34) below), while Mi'kmaq If-conjunct forms are equivalent to English 'if' clauses[9] (see the underlined verb form of sentence (35) below).

(34) Mi'kmaq If-conjunct
Ksinukwayan, npates.
If I get sick, I will go to sleep

(35) Mi'kmaq When-conjunct
Kesinukwayan, nepay.
When I get sick, I sleep.

As pointed out in the previous section, Mi'kmaq verb stems show both a full and reduced form. The morpho-phonological phenomenon of initial change in Mi'kmaq is a marker of realis/irrealis and will be discussed at length in section 3.6. Of relevance to the current discussion is the fact that it is the full Mi'kmaq stem - indicating realis - which is used for the Mi'kmaq When-conjunct as in *kesikawi'pij* 'when she runs fast' of sentence (37) below. This is in contrast to the reduced stem - indicating irrealis - which is used for the Mi'kmaq If-conjunct, as in *ksikawi'pij* 'if she runs fast' of sentence (36) below. Here the short /e/ of the first syllable has been reduced to zero.

(36) Kuietew, ksikawi'pij. S/he will fall over, if she runs fast.

(37) Kaniewit, kesikawi'pij. S/he wins, when she runs fast.

Not all verb stems in Mi'kmaq exhibit initial change however. Only roots the first syllabic of which is /e/ - or in some cases short /a/ or /o/ - were reduced to zero historically (see Hewson 1980:4). Consequently, to capture the realis/irrealis distinction of verb stems in Mi'kmaq which do not exhibit initial change, word order must come into play. In sentences (38) and (39) below the one verb, *tukwieyan*, is used to indicate both realis and irrealis situations.

(38) Tukwieyan, na lietes ampalewitiktuk.
If I wake up, I will go to the doctor.

(39) Lietes, (ta'n) tukwieyan.
I will go, (when) I wake up.

In sentence (39) *Lietes, (ta'n) tukwieyan* 'I will go, (when) I wake up' the Mi'kmaq word *ta'n* 'when' or *ta'n tujiw* 'whenever' is often inserted to mark for realis, giving a reading of 'when I wake up'. In contrast, to mark for irrealis (English 'if' clauses) as in sentence (38) *Tukwieyan, na lietes ampalewitiktuk* 'If I wake up, I will go to the doctor' the *tukwieyan* or 'if clause' is positioned first in the phrase.

### 2.4.4 Mi'kmaq Subordinative

The historical evolution of the Subordinative order in Mi'kmaq has been much debated. Proulx (1980) postulates that the Subordinative in Mi'kmaq evolved from a PA Subordinative; however, Goddard (1983) feels that the Eastern Algonquian Subordinative is an innovation and not a reflex of anything in PA. According to Goddard (1974:320)

> The Eastern Algonquian n-endings are also used to form a mode of the independent order which may be called the SUBORDINATIVE. ... The subordinative is used for the complements of certain verbs and particles and, in some languages, in topicalization constructions and in other specialized ways ...

Table 2.8 gives the paradigm of the AI Mi'kmaq Subordinative while sentence (40) gives an example of its use in Mi'kmaq.

**Table 2.8**
Paradigm of the Mi'kmaq AI Subordinative

| pers/ no | personal prefix[10] | stem | Subordinative inflection | English gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | n- | tluisi | -n | that my name is |
| 2 | k- | tluisi | -n | that your (sg) name is |
| 3 | w- | tluisi | -n | that his/her name is |
| 12 | k- | tluisi | -nenu | that our (incl) name is |
| 23 | n- | tluisi | -nen | that our (excl) name is |
| 22 | k- | tluisi | -new | that your name is |
| 33 | w- | tluisi | -new | that their name is |

(Hewson and Francis 1990:53)

(40) ...toqo mna'q kejituoqksip ki's kis tli-ksinukwa-n?

So you (sg.) didn't know that winter was forthcoming?
(Leavitt 1986:8)

...toqo mna'q kejituoqksip ki's kis
so not yet you know/knew already

tli-ksinukwa-n

thus–forthcoming winter–AI.3.Sub

### 2.4.5 Mi'kmaq Conditional

Conditional verb forms in Mi'kmaq are used, according to Proulx (1978:117), " ... to specify an action that could be or could have been performed". Conditional verb forms in Mi'kmaq appear in main clauses and are preceded by an adverbial protasis in the If- conjunct as in sentences (41) and (42) below. The underlined verbs are in the Conditional.

(41) Ksikawi'pis, skwej. S/he would run fast, if s/he shouts.

(42) Npaq, ktuksian. I would go to sleep, if I were sleepy.

### 2.4.6 Proulx's (1978) use of the terms neutral, attestive and suppositive

Within Proulx's framework the term neutral pertains to modality. Neutral verb forms in Mi'kmaq are used when the speaker of the utterance " ... does not specify the authority of his or her knowledge" (Proulx 1978:18). In Mi'kmaq, neutral verb forms contrast with modal verb forms which do mark for presence or absence of direct personal knowledge on the part of the speaker. This differs from the traditional Algonquianist's use of neutral to designate tense (i.e. non-preterit). According to Proulx (1978:18) Mi'kmaq attestive evidential modal verb forms mark direct evidence on the part of the speaker, while Mi'kmaq suppositive evidential modal verb forms mark indirect evidence. Sentence (43) illustrates the use of the Independent neutral, sentence (44) the use of the Independent attestive and sentence (45) the use of the Independent suppositive.

(43) Tekpa'q. It (animate thing) is cold.

(44) Tekpa'qap. It (animate thing) was cold. ( I know because I touched it.)

(45) Tekpa'qas. It (animate thing) was cold, supposedly.

The following chapter examines, in full, the use of the Mi'kmaq attestive and suppositive evidentials.

## Endnote

[1] For an explanation of unchanged and changed stems in Proto-Algonquian see Section 2.3.

[2] As Bloomfield (1946:100) writes concerning the Potential "F [Fox] has a *potential* mode for statements of hypothetical occurrence...".

[3] Abbreviations for person and number are explained in the List of Abbreviations, see page xi.

[4] Drapeau (1984) has expanded this framework to include indirect evidentials, which Ellis's (1961) dialect of Cree, from which this framework was produced, do not mark.

[5] In descriptions of the languages of the CMN complex the past tense is typically referred to as the preterit and the non-past tense is referred to as the neutral (see Ellis 1971:81).

[6] These distinctions have been thoroughly discussed by Goddard (1967, 1974, 1979 and 1983) and Proulx (1980).

[7] Table 2.5 does not include a number of minor categorizations used by Proulx; see Proulx (1978:16) for further details.

[8] See Section 2.4.4 for a discussion of Mi'kmaq Subordinative verbs.

[9] Subordinate noun clauses are represented in Mi'kmaq by the unique Subordinative characterized by *-n* inflections. See discussion in Section 2.4.4.

[10] The older speakers who used these prefixes are now dead. Today's speakers no longer use them; where ambiguity arises, separate personal pronouns are used.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Mi'kmaq attestive, suppositive and neutral

### 3.1 Evidentiality

The term evidentiality refers to linguistic devices which mark "... the ways in which ordinary people, unhampered by philosophical traditions, naturally regard the source and reliability of their knowledge" (Chafe and Nichols 1986:vii). As pointed out by Chafe and Nichols (1986:viii), "Much of the original interest in evidentiality was aroused by American Indian languages, ... especially those of Northern California, where the marking of evidentiality through verb suffixes is widespread."

With respect to Mi'kmaq little published work has been done on studies of modality - specifically evidentiality - though a number of recent studies have addressed characteristics of the modality systems of the Central Algonquian languages. James' 1982a paper "Past tense and the hypothetical: a cross-linguistic study" set the stage for several contemporary papers on Central Algonquian modality such as Dahlstrom's 1994 paper "Irrealis in Fox" which presents her insights into some elements of Fox modality. James specifically discusses modality in Cree in a second paper (1982b) entitled, "Past tense, imperfective modality, and irreality in Cree". In 1984 she pushed her insights into Cree modality further with her paper, "The semantic function of the dubitative in Moose Cree", later adding to this work with her 1991 paper "Preterit forms in Moose Cree as markers of tense, aspect and modality".

Writing mainly in French, Drapeau and Martin have also added to the

work on Cree modality. Drapeau with her 1984 paper "Le traitement de l'information chez les Montagnais" examines the realis/irrealis distinction in the modal system of Montagnais and followed earlier work by Martin (1983) entitled "Le système verbal montagnais: 2. les modalités". Pentland in 1984 and 1988 added to this information with his articles, "New modes in old Ojibwa" and "More new modes in old Ojibwa".

A study of modality in Mi'kmaq, especially evidential modality, breaks new ground. Only Proulx (1978) has done any contemporary analysis of Mi'kmaq modality. In his doctoral dissertation Proulx (1978:18) sets up a contrast, in contemporary Mi'kmaq, between neutral forms which are unmarked for evidential modality and evidential modes such as the suppositive and attestive which are morphological markers of specific evidential status.

### 3.2 Neutral forms in Mi'kmaq

When discussing regularized grammatical patterns within a cognitive functional framework it is important to place the patterning of the forms into "sets of conceptually-related functions" (Bybee 1985:165). To do this the total system must be examined drawing on both diachronic and cross-linguistic evidence before coming to a consensus on the place of the particular form within the larger functional system being described. As pointed out by Willett (1988:52) "There is little doubt that evidentiality as a semantic domain is primarily modal." Linguists (Givón 1982; Bybee 1985) describe grammaticalized modal systems as contrasts between highly marked and less marked forms. Givón (1982:27), describing evidentiality contrasts in Rwanda, notes the difference between two

forms in direct-quote complements. The neutral form implies no sense of a source of evidence being encoded by the Speech Act Participants (SAPs). So too, Bybee (1985) describes modal systems cross-linguistically in terms of marked and unmarked contrasts; however, she views the Indicative Mood as the neutral or unmarked form. According to Bybee (1985:177)

> If the unmarked or basic utterance is a declarative assertion of truth, then contrasts with this basic utterance can develop along the two parameters - the speech act type can be modified, and the degree of assertion can be modulated. Different languages have inflectional markers for different points on each of these parameters. Whatever is left over is called the Indicative Mood.

When describing grammaticalized evidentiality in Mi'kmaq we will follow Proulx (1978) and Willett (1988) in referring to evidentially-unmarked forms as neutral; we will not follow Bybee's use of the term Indicative Mood, though this term has been utilized for Algonquian languages such as Cree (see Section 2.3).

### 3.3 Direct and indirect Mi'kmaq evidentials: the attestive and the suppositive

Investigation of the Mi'kmaq verbal paradigms shows a full set of evidential suffixes. Such findings corroborate current work being done on related Algonquian languages ( e.g. James, Clarke & MacKenzie 1996). These researchers define evidentials as "... morphemes which indicate the kind of evidence the speaker has for the claim that he or she is making in his or her statement", and point out that "cross-linguistically, evidentials can indicate either

direct evidence or indirect evidence" (James, Clarke & MacKenzie 1996:135). Willett (1988) in describing major categories of evidential knowledge across languages identifies direct and indirect evidence as the main types of evidential knowledge referenced by evidentials (see Table 3.1)

**Table 3.1**
Classification of evidential knowledge (Willett 1988:57)

| Types of Evidence | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | DIRECT | **Attested** | visual, auditory, other senses |
| | INDIRECT | **Reported** | 2nd hand, 3rd hand, folklore (hearsay) |
| | | **Inferring** | results, reasoning |

Within the verbs of the Mi'kmaq AI the two significant evidential endings are the attestive *-p(n)* and the suppositive *-s(n)*. These correspond with Willet's Direct attested and Indirect reported types respectively. The Mi'kmaq AI verb types which are characterized by suppositive and attestive evidential endings are summarized in Table 3.2 with a full presentation of endings given in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.2**
Mi'kmaq AI verb types characterized by attestive and suppositive evidentials

| Order | Evidential suffixes: attestive & suppositive | |
|---|---|---|
| **Independent** (main clauses) | **attestive suffix** | (on all forms) |
| | **suppositive suffix** | (on all forms except 2) |
| **If-conjunct** (dependent clauses) | **attestive suffix** | (does not occur) |
| | **suppositive suffix** | (on all forms except 2/23, 13) |
| **Conditional** (main clauses) | **attestive suffix** | (on 12 form only) |
| | **suppositive suffix** | (on 3/33 forms only) |
| **Future**[1] (main clauses) | **suppositive suffix** | (on all forms except 1, 2/23) |

**Table 3.3**
Endings for the Mi'kmaq AI showing neutral forms and forms which take attestive and suppositive evidentials

(Table 3.3 is located in a pocket at the back of the thesis)

The attestive and suppositive evidential suffixes cannot be added, in Mi'kmaq, to all persons for all verb orders as can be seen by the blank spaces which occur in Table 3.3. When viewing the table, the reader should not think in terms of parsed tense paradigms where there is an inflectional ending for each person resulting in fully parsed verb charts. Instead, the pattern is one of evidential suffixes being added to a verb stem with the purpose of the evidential

being to mark information source. Not all persons in all verb orders may take all evidentials as there are constraints on what the speaker may say about what other people know and specifically about how other people come to know what they know. (See chapters Four and Seven for more detailed discussion concerning constraints on evidential choice.) For the purposes of this chapter discussion will focus on the semantic boundaries of the two Mi'kmaq evidential suffixes, the attestive and the suppositive.

### 3.4 Semantic boundaries of the Mi'kmaq attestive and suppositive

Willett (1988:55) examined various types of grammaticalized evidential knowledge and concluded that "the common thread" among the various systems was that "evidentiality is the linguistic means of indicating how the speaker obtained the information on which s/he bases an assertion." In the Mi'kmaq language, speakers use the attestive evidential ending when the source of information is direct visual knowledge or when the speaker has had conscious awareness of an event be it through touch, smell or sound. Table 3.4 summarizes the semantic domains of the Mi'kmaq attestive evidential, *-p(n)*, while sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4 explain them.

Speakers use the suppositive evidential ending when the source of information is indirect evidence (as in hearsay - second-hand information), when the speaker is making reference to mythical or legendary figures or when a speaker wishes to verbally hedge. Table 3.5 summarizes the semantic domains of the Mi'kmaq suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*, while sections 3.4.1 through 3.4.4 explain their usage.

**Table 3.4**
Semantic domains of the Mi'kmaq attestive evidential, *-p(n)*

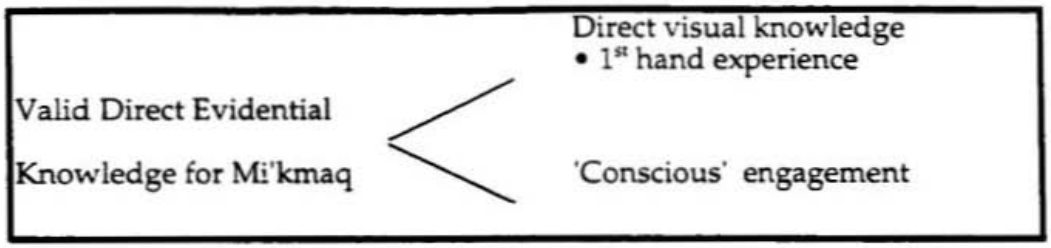
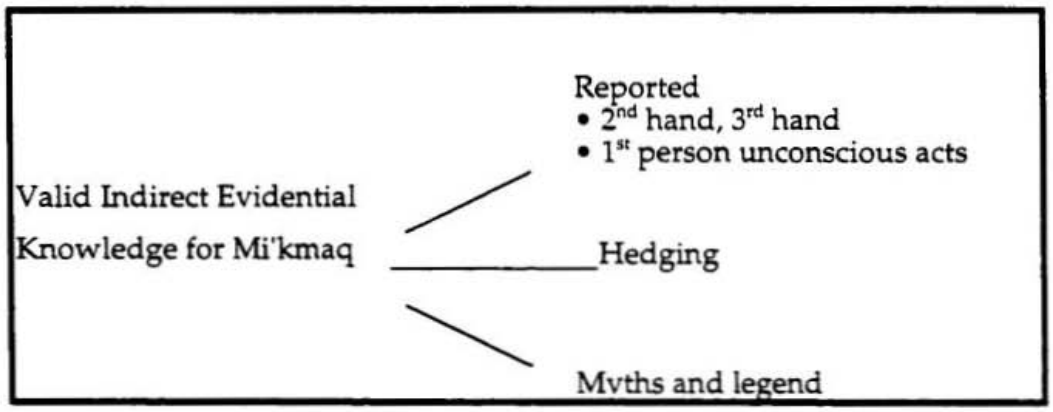



**Table 3.5**
Semantic domains of the Mi'kmaq suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*




### 3.4.1 Myths and legends (suppositive)

Mi'kmaq text data from DeBlois (1990) shows that the Mi'kmaq suffix *-s(n)* is a suppositive evidential suffix used in legends or religious material to indicate knowledge through oral sources of the proposition of the sentence. Sentence (46) is the initial line of a text collected by DeBlois in 1961 (DeBlois 1990:87). The text is a story about Gluscap, entitled "Gluscap and Beaver". The first line of the text has the verb, *eyks*, 'He [Gluscap] was staying (suppositive form)', marked with

the *-s(n)* evidential indicating historical oral transmission ('it is said'). One cannot have attested or personal evidential knowledge of a legend or tale which involves a legendary or mythical figure the existence of whom is known only by the oral transmission of the tale from person to person. The verb *eyks* of sentence (46) is in contrast with the verb *eykɨp*, 'He was staying' (Independent attestive) of sentence (47).

(46) AI Independent suppositive
Nike' na U'nama'kik na'te'l Kluskap ... eyks.

Now Glooscap was staying over there in Cape Breton.
(DeBlois 1990:87)

| Nike' | na | U'nam -a'ki-k | na'te'l | Kluskap | ey-k-s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| now | dm | fog– region–loc | over there | Kluscap | be–AI.3.Indep– supp |

(47) AI Independent attestive
Pie'l Potlotek eykɨp.

Peter was in Chapel Island.
(Francis 1997:pc)

| Pie'l | Potlotek | ey-kɨ-p |
|---|---|---|
| Peter | Chapel Island | be– AI.3.Indep–att |

In sentence (47) the speaker is indicating, by the use of the *-p(n)* attestive evidential, that she or he has personal evidential knowledge that Peter was in Chapel Island. In sentence (48) below, taken from Hewson and Francis (1990:5), reference is being made to the death of Jesus through the use of the suppositive evidential on the verb *nepo's*, 'He was killed (so we are told)'. So too in sentence

(49) the Mi'kmaq verb *weskijinuis*, meaning 'He was born (so we are told)' can be seen to contain the suppositive evidential *-s(n)* as opposed to the attestive evidential *-p(n)* of the form *weskijinuip*, meaning 'He was born'.

(48) AI Independent suppositive
Niskam Se'sus nepo'**s**.

God, Jesus was killed.
(Hewson and Francis 1990:5)

Niskam Se'sus nepo'-s
God Jesus kill–AI.3.Indep–supp

(49) AI Independent suppositive
Aqtatpa'qek eta aqtapukwek tlisip weskijinuis.

In the middle of the night, in the depth of winter that is when he (Jesus) was born. (Hewson and Francis 1990:32)

Aqtatpa'q-ek eta aqtapukw-ek
midnight– abs that is so in the depth of winter– abs

tl-isi-p weskiji-nu-i-s
thus– AI.VF.say– AI.3.Indep.att on the outside–live–AI.VF– AI.3.Indep–supp

### 3.4.2 Hedging (suppositive)

Much of the data for this study comes from the Mi'kmaq answers arising from the completion of Dahl's TMA questionnaire (see Section 1.5.1), with the help of my colleague Eleanor Johnson. If we examine the Mi'kmaq TMA questionnaire answers no. 111 and no. 113 (see Appendix II), we find that the situational context for both entries is such that the speaker is talking about her brother and the statement made by this brother about the water being cold. The

speaker and addressee are not looking at the water during the moment of the speech act and furthermore, the speaker doesn't believe her brother. The speaker knows nothing about the temperature of the water. Of interest in the Mi'kmaq responses are the two forms *tekpa'qap* and *tekpa'qas* of (50) (TMA-113.i) and (51) (TMA-111.i).

(50) AI Independent attestive
Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap samqwan tikwlaku katu mu telianuk ta'n teluet.

My younger brother said the water was cold two days ago but it is not true what he says.(TMA-113.i)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N-jiknam | | tel-u-e-p | | | |
| poss.1– younger brother | | thus– says– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep–att | | | |
| tek-pa-a-q-ap | | | samqwan | tikwlaku | katu |
| cold– liquid– II.VF– II.3.Indep– att | | | water | 2 days ago | but |
| mu | tel-ia-nu-k | | ta'n | | |
| neg | thus–II.VF– neg–II.3.Indep.neut | | when | | |
| tel-u-e-t | | | | | |
| thus– says– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep.neut | | | | | |

(51) AI Independent suppositive
Njiknam teluet tekpa'qas samqwan wlaku, katu puksi-kikajaqnut na.

My younger brother is saying that the water was cold yesterday, but he is exaggerating. (TMA-111.i)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N-jiknam | tel-u-e-t | | | |
| poss.1– younger brother | thus– says– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep.neut | | | |
| tek-pa-a-q-as | | samqwan | wlaku | katu |
| cold– liquid– II.VF– II.3.Indep– supp | | water | yesterday | but |
| puksi-kikajaqn-u-t | | na | | |
| soot– exaggerate– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep.neut | | dm | | |

In example (50) *tekpa'qap* means that the speaker is indicating to the addressee that her brother was sure about his knowledge of the water being cold. This is indicated by the attestive evidential ending on the verb. The fact that the speaker does not agree with her brother does not change the brother's assured knowledge of the water being cold. Thus, the brother's attestive knowledge of cold water must be marked by the attestive evidential.

This is in contrast to (51) above where Johnson[2] uses the form *tekpa'qas* not with the *-p(n)* evidential ending but with the suppositive evidential *-s(n)* meaning 'it (water) was cold - supposedly' (i.e. according to him). In (51) Johnson doesn't just disagree with her brother, she is going one step further and indicating by the use of the suppositive evidential that she thinks he is exaggerating about the water temperature. Consequently, we see the use of the suppositive *-s(n)* by the speaker to indicate the speaker's unwillingness to commit to the validity of her brother's knowledge of the water being cold (i.e. she is hedging). As Johnson (TMA-111:a) states "... I don't exactly believe him, but I'm not exactly calling him a liar either."

Another situation reported by Francis (1998:pc) gives further support to the use of the suppositive evidential *-s(n)* as a grammatical tool functioning to allow the speaker to avoid commitment to personal attestation when the source of the information is other than second-hand - in other words, when the speaker wants to verbally hedge. The situation involves a Mi'kmaq speaker who was in court and was required to enter a plea of guilty or not guilty to a charge. The individual was speaking in Mi'kmaq and a Mi'kmaq court translator was translating from Mi'kmaq to English. In answer to the judge's question "Are you

guilty?" the defendant replied *E'he guiltyewas*[3] (see sentence (52) below) which in a loose English translation could mean 'Yes I was guilty (so they say)'. However, this individual was not guilty. By using the Mi'kmaq ending of *-s(n)*, the individual was indicating, in Mi'kmaq, that he did not want to say, out of respect for the judge (to whom he was speaking), that he was absolutely not guilty; consequently, he hedged. As was explained to me by Joseph B. Marshall (1999:pc) the accused would have felt that it was up to the judge to decide if he, the accused, was guilty or not. It was not the decision of the accused so that was why the accused would have used the suppositive evidential - to avoid a direct attestation of innocence. Sentence (52) contrasts with the attestive form of sentence (53) *guiltyewap*.

(52) AI Independent suppositive
E'he guiltyewas.

Yes, I am /was guilty (according to second-hand sources; therefore, the implication 'I am not guilty'.) (Francis 1998:pc)

E'he guilty-ew-a-s
Yes guilty– dm– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep–supp

(53) AI Independent attestive
E'he guiltyewap.

Yes, I am /was guilty.
(Francis 1998:pc)

E'he guilty-ew-a-p
Yes guilty– dm– AI.VF– AI.3.Indep–att

### 3.4.3 Conscious acts (attestive) vs. unconscious acts (suppositive)

An individual comes late for a university class because she has been asleep. The professor asks *Tami eyksip?* 'Where were you?'. The student can give two answers: *nepayap* or *nepayas* (see (54a-b) below). *Nepayap* means that the student consciously, purposely, fell asleep so she missed the class. For the student to use *nepayap* she would have had to purposely, for example, have taken a nap with the full knowledge that in doing so she would miss class. The second answer, *nepayas*, means that the student unconsciously, perhaps because of fatigue, fell asleep before class and inadvertently because of this unconscious act of falling asleep missed class. The student would not have known that she was asleep until she found herself waking up. The fact that she had been sleeping could not be drawn from the personal experience of knowing that she planned to sleep but could only be supposed from the evidence of waking up.

(54a) AI Independent attestive
Nepayap

I fell asleep/slept.
(I, speaker, can attest to it - I remember going to sleep.)

Nep-a-ya-p
sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.Indep–att

(54b) AI Independent suppositive
Nepayas.

I fell asleep/ slept.
(I, speaker, cannot attest to sleeping as I do not remember dozing off - I only remember waking up.)

Nep-a-ya-s
sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.Indep–supp

Sentences (54a) and (54b) can be contrasted with the Mi'kmaq Independent neutral of sentence (54c) which is unmarked for evidentiality.

(54c) AI Independent neutral
Nike' nepay.

Now, I am going to go to sleep / I am going to go to sleep now. / I'm sleeping now. (In other words - don't wake me up!)

Nike' nep-a-y
now sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.Indep.neut

### 3.4.4 First-hand experience (attestive) vs. reported or second-hand information (suppositive)

While the Mi'kmaq suppositive evidential can be used to narrate myths and legends, to refer to unconscious 1st person acts which the speaker has been made aware of after the fact, or to verbally hedge, the primary function of the suppositive evidential suffix is to mark for second-hand information. This contrasts with the primary function of the attestive evidential *-p(n)* which is to mark for first-hand personal experience of an event. An example of the latter is provided by the Mi'kmaq sentence (55) below, where Eleanor Johnson (TMA-28) uses the verb *etli-skmayap* (with attestive *-p(n)* ) meaning 'I was waiting'. She does this as she knows from first-hand experience that she was waiting in her garden; thus she can attest to it. So too, in examples (56) and (57) we see her using the verbs *pawi'kɨkɨp* and *ki's-kiskɨp*.

AI Independent attestive

(55) Etli-skmaya**p** ni'knaq pmwi'kikek wi'katikn.

I was waiting at our house while he was in the process of writing a letter [assuming that this happened yesterday]. (TMA-28)

| | |
|---|---|
| Etli-skm-a-y-ap | n-i'k-na-q |
| in the process–wait–AI.VF–AI.1.Indep–att | poss.1–house–3–loc |
| pm-wi'k-i-k-ek | wi'katikn |
| along– write–con–AI.3.Indep.neut–abs | book[4] |

AI Independent attestive

(56) Moqwa pawi'ki**k**i**p**.

No. S/he wrote it slowly.
(TMA-29)

| | |
|---|---|
| Moqwa | paw-i'k-i-k-ip |
| No | slowly–write–con–TI.3.Indep– att |

(57) AI Independent attestive
E'e ki's-kisk**i**p.

Yes, already s/he read it [I know because s/he verified it].
(TMA-55)

| | |
|---|---|
| E'e | ki's-kis-ki-p |
| Yes | already–complete–count/read–TI.3.Indep–att |

The verbs *pawi'kikip* and *ki's-kiskip* mean 'S/he wrote it slowly' and 'S/he read it', respectively. Both verbs take the attestive ending *-p(n)*; however, as Johnson notes (TMA-55:a-f), to translate the sentence of the TMA questionnaire no.55 (reproduced as example 57 above) which was 'S/he read it' is a silly

request because of the constraints of evidentiality in the Mi'kmaq language. Johnson states (TMA-55:b)

> ... this is a silly example. Do you know why it's a silly example? You never know if a person really read the book unless they said they read it. You can only assume they're reading when they're holding the book up. So you can only assume that he read the book. Well for me, I could be holding this book up here, opening it, and looking at it, but that doesn't mean I'm reading it. But you looking at me would assume that I am reading the syllabus or something.

Johnson (TMA-55:c) goes on to say that the only way to know if someone read a book is to ask them "Did you read that book?" for as she says

> ... just assuming somebody is reading something is not the actual truth, it's only an assumption. ... That's reality. Either it is or it isn't! ... or you can have second-hand information from somebody, and if that's the case, then you put a qualifier in there - *Stephanie, telimit* 'Stephanie she says so' (Johnson TMA-55:c-f).

#### 3.4.4.1 The particle *to'q*

A study of Mi'kmaq evidentiality, specifically the marking of second-hand information, could not be complete without a discussion of the particle *to'q*. The use of *to'q*, usually sentence finally, is an indication by the speaker that the proposition of the sentence is either derived from a specific second-hand source or is common knowledge. As Johnson states with respect to TMA-25:d, a situation depicting a sibling's office job as writing letters. "If we said *Ewi'kikl*

*wi'katiknn to'q*, that would be more or less, not exactly second-hand information, but common fact."

*To'q* is usually used with neutral verb forms. Sentence (58) below, involving an Independent neutral verb, meaning 'S/he writes letters' contrasts with sentence (59), where the addition of *to'q* lexically represents the idea of community knowledge. Further illustrations are provided by TMA entries 31.ii, 56.ii and 110.i of Appendix II. *To'q* plus the neutral suffix thus provides a means of representation for what otherwise would require a suppositive suffix in Mi'kmaq.

(58) Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn.

S/he writes letters.
(TMA-25.i)

| | |
|---|---|
| E-wi'k-i-k-l | wi'katikn-n |
| specific time– write– con– TI.3.Indep.neut– in.pl | book– in.pl |

(59) Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q.

It is common knowledge that s/he writes letters.
(TMA-25.ii)

### 3.5 Past time as a secondary meaning of attestive and suppositive forms

The presence or absence of the Mi'kmaq evidential suffixes often indicates a temporal distinction; however, we do not believe that the suppositive and attestive Mi'kmaq suffixes are fundamentally grammatical tense markings. As noted by Anderson (1985), it is not unusual within those languages of the world

which mark for evidential knowledge to find so-called present forms unmarked for evidentiality. However, the neutral vs. evidential (attestive / suppositive) contrast in Mi'kmaq is not primarily a temporal distinction even though attestive and suppositive evidential forms do normally carry a sense of the English past. As Bybee states (1985:182) "... evidentials ... signal only the way that the speaker arrived at knowledge about the event, whether in the past, present or future." Evidentials are not temporal markers, per se, though to have directly experienced something is notionally equated with past time. With respect to the Mi'kmaq language we must be careful that the English glosses used for translating forms do not mislead one into equating Mi'kmaq evidentiality only with past time or Mi'kmaq neutral forms only with present time.

We have argued that the *-p(n)* and *-s(n)* suffixes found in the Mi'kmaq AI verbs are direct and indirect evidential markers and not tense markers. Historical evidence from Proto-Algonquian (PA) indicates that the Mi'kmaq attestive and suppositive evidential suffixes come from PA*-*(e)pan* and PA *-*(e)san* respectively. Goddard (1979:89) states that PA*-*(e)pan* is a marker of perfective or preterit mode and he contrasts this with PA*-*(e)san* which he feels is a marker of imperfective mode or even the present. However, Proulx (1990:109) appears to have captured the historical function of PA*-*pan* more persuasively with respect to our Mi'kmaq data when he states "... it would appear that [PA] *-*pan* originated as an attestive evidential and became associated with the past because only the past is normally attested to ...". Bybee (1985:168) notes that it is not unusual that as modals develop historically their meanings often broaden and they develop such that "...they move in the direction of becoming markers

that have the whole proposition in their scope... ." This appears to be what has happened in the case of the Mi'kmaq *-p(n)* and *-s(n)* suffixes which still retain their original grammatical function as evidential markers but which have broadened to notionally mark past time of the proposition.

### 3.5.1 Marking of past time in Mi'kmaq

If the evidential suffixes -p(n) and -s(n) are not grammatical markers of past tense - then the question is whether past time is grammatically marked at all in Mi'kmaq. Yes it is, but not through the use of grammatical tense markers. Notions of past time are explicitly marked through the use of aspectual preverbs and particles which indicate the time depth of event completion. Father Pacifique, in his grammar, notes the use of such particles in Mi'kmaq and comments:

> to indicate that the action is totally past, especially with sa'q, 'a long time ago', the present is often used, when one wishes to emphasize the fact that the action is past more than emphasizing the action itself... .
>
> (Hewson and Francis 1990:49)

Compare sentence (60) with sentences (61) and (62). Sentence (60) contains the Independent neutral verb *pekisin*, 'I arrive' while sentence (61) meaning 'I arrived yesterday', shows the Mi'kmaq Independent verb *pekisinep* containing the personal attestive evidential *-p(n)*. The use of the attestive evidential signals to the addressee that the speaker is sure of his or her recent past action of 'arriving yesterday'. In sentence (62) the neutral form of the verb 'to arrive', *pekisin*, is used

with the preverbs *ki's-* meaning 'already/after' and *sa'q-* meaning 'long ago' the combined meaning of which indicates 'the long ago completed action of arriving'. For further examples of the use of preverbs in Mi'kmaq to mark grammatical aspect see TMA entries 59.i and 59.ii of Appendix II.

(60) Pekisin.

I arrive.

Pekis-i-n
arrive–AI.VF–AI.1.Indep.neut

(61) Pekisinep wlaku.

I arrived yesterday.
(Hewson and Francis 1990:49)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pekis-i-n-ep | wlaku |
| arrive–AI.VF– AI.1.Indep–att | yesterday |

(62) Ki's-sa'q-pekisin.

I got here a long time ago. [I arrived here long ago.]
(Hewson and Francis 1990:49)

Ki's-sa'q-pekis-i-n
already–long ago–arrive–AI.VF–AI.1.Indep.neut

Aspect in Mi'kmaq is grammatically marked by the use of preverbs. Mi'kmaq preverbs provide details concerning the time depth of event completion. This thesis, however, is a discussion of modality; therefore, a full investigation of Mi'kmaq grammatical aspect will not be pursued. Suffice it to

say that the use of grammatical aspect in Mi'kmaq helps to position the completion of events within time and thus, provides some information on past and future occurrence of events, as well as the on-going occurrence of events in the present: information normally conveyed by tense in Indo-European languages.

### 3.6 Evidentiality and degrees of hypotheticalness: the dual marking of modality

Previous sections have dealt only with the attestive, neutral and suppositive endings of the AI Independent. An examination of suppositive evidential forms found on AI If-conjunct suppositive verbs reveals that in Mi'kmaq there is a contrast between If-conjunct suppositive forms and Independent suppositive forms. Compare examples (63) and (64) below. The verb *npayas* of (64) is used in a full sentence in (65).

(63) Independent suppositive

**FULL STEM (nep-)**
**nep-**a-y-as
sleep– AI.VF– AI.1.Indep.neut– supp

I slept (so I'm told).

(64) If-conjunct suppositive

**REDUCED STEM (np-)**
**np-**a-y-as
sleep– AI.VF– AI.1.Indep.neut– supp

if I slept....

(65) Pwaq[5], npayas.

I would dream, if I slept.

What differentiates the Mi'kmaq verbs of (63) and (64) is that the Independent suppositive forms are marked by a full stem, *nep-*, while the If-conjunct suppositive forms are marked by a reduced stem, *np-*. The question is what semantic function is linked to the contrast of the full and the reduced stem.

In Mi'kmaq, If-conjunct forms as well as Conditional, Imperative, Subordinative and Future forms are built on reduced stems, while Independent verb forms along with When-conjunct forms are built on a full stem. Full stems in Mi'kmaq mark realis modality or actualized events, while reduced stems mark for irrealis or hypothetical events (see Table 3.6). This correlates with usage in other Algonquian languages. James (1991:5), for example, notes that in Moose Cree the unchanged forms of the verb stem "... are used only when the event or state is seen as being in some sense hypothetical."

**Table 3.6**
Full (marking realis) and reduced(marking irrealis) stems of Mi'kmaq AI verbal paradigms

| Use of FULL STEMS in Mi'kmaq (realis modality): | example ... **nep-** | |
|---|---|---|
| AI Independent neutral | **nep**at | S/he is sleeping. |
| AI When-conjunct neutral | **nep**aj | When s/he is sleeping. |
| **Use of REDUCED STEMS in Mi'kmaq (irrealis modality):** | **example ... np-** | |
| AI If-conjunct neutral | **np**aj | If s/he is sleeping. |
| AI Conditional neutral | **np**as | S/he would sleep... |
| AI Imperative | **np**a ! | [You (sg.)] Sleep! |
| AI Subordinative | **np**an | ...that s/he is sleeping |
| AI Future | **np**atew | S/he will sleep |

The meaning contrast of realis /irrealis modality between full and reduced stems

can be seen most clearly in the two contrastive forms of the When-conjunct neutral versus the If-conjunct neutral of the AI, as in (66)-(67) and (68)-(69).

(66) **nepaj.** When-conjunct neutral **full stem**
When s/he is sleeping. (realis modality)

(67) Wantaqpit, nepaj.

She is quiet, when she is sleeping.

(68) **npaj** If- conjunct neutral **reduced stem**
...if s/he is sleeping (irrealis modality)

(69) Wantaqpitew, npaj.

She will be quiet, if she sleeps.

It would appear that in Mi'kmaq, modality is doubly marked: primarily by initial change and secondarily by the use of evidentials. Primary modality is marked by the function of initial change as all verbs, regardless of whether they carry evidentials or not, will be categorized as realis or irrealis by stem shape: a Mi'kmaq verb stem must be either full (realis) or reduced (irrealis). The primary modality of real/unreal is the base to which the next layer of evidential modality is grammatically added by means of evidential suffixes, representing the speaker's knowledge source.

In short, within the system of Mi'kmaq verbal morphology a clear distinction is made concerning the source of the knowledge a speaker has about

an event, as realized by evidential suffixes, and the degree of hypotheticalness attributed to the event i.e., whether the event is viewed as either fully actualized (realis), or unactualized (irrealis).

### 3.7 Double modality: a summary

In Mi'kmaq the If-conjunct suppositive form is more hypothetical in meaning than the If-conjunct neutral. This is because If-conjunct suppositive forms are marked twice for uncertainty: once by the irrealis modality of the reduced stem which represents a hypothetical event, and then again by the semantics of the suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*, which indicates a second-hand information source. In contrast If-conjunct neutral forms ( as in (68) above) represent only the hypotheticalness of the event, via the use of the reduced stem to indicate realis modality. No overlaying sentential meaning relating to the speaker's source of knowledge is presented in a neutral form. As Fleischman (1982:13) comments concerning the function of modality markers universally: "... modality covers a broad range of semantic nuances ... whose common denominator is the addition of an overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance... ."

In Mi'kmaq there is an interplay between the function of the evidential modal forms, *-s(n)* and *-p(n)*, and the function of reduced and full stems which indicate irrealis and realis modality, respectively. This interplay of modality markings results in the following cognitive schema (see Table 3.7) which start with the highly realis form (where realis = R) of the AI Independent attestive and moves to the highly irrealis (IR) form of the AI If-conjunct suppositive.

**Table 3.7**
Double Modality:
primary modality (realis/irrealis-initial change) and secondary modality (evidentiality- suffixes)

| | **STEM** (marks primary modality- realis/irrealis) | | **EVIDENTIAL MODAL SUFFIX** (marks secondary evidential modality -attestive/suppositive) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | full stem realis (R) | reduced stem irrealis (IR) | unmarked | marked | |
| | | | neutral | attestive (-p(n)) | suppositive (-s(n)) |
| **highly realis** | | | | | |
| Independent attestive | R | | | -p(n) | |
| Independent neutral | R | | neutral | | |
| Independent suppositive | R | | | | -s(n) |
| If-conjunct neutral | | IR | neutral | | |
| If-conjunct suppositive | | IR | | | -s(n) |
| **highly irrealis** | | | | | |

## Endnotes

[1] A full discussion of the role of evidentials in Mi'kmaq Future forms is found in Chapter Six.

[2] Johnson refers to Eleanor Johnson, co-researcher in the compilation of the Mi'kmaq answers to Dahl's TMA Questionnaire.

[3] In contemporary Mi'kmaq, English words are often borrowed into the Mi'kmaq language and function as Mi'kmaq stems; especially, when there is no straightforward translation from the English as is the case with the concept of the English word 'guilty'. See Inglis 1988 for discussion of the use of the Mi'kmaq *-ew* morpheme.

[4] The Mi'kmaq word *wi'katikn* can have various meanings in English: 'book', 'letter' or 'paper' to name a few.

[5] In Mi'kmaq the inflection /-k/ often becomes /q/ after /a/.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Mi'kmaq AI deferential evidential

### 4.1 The Mi'kmaq deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*: an introduction

Evidence has been given for two evidential Mi'kmaq suffixes: attestive *-p(n)* and suppositive *-s(n)*. There is also a third Mi'kmaq evidential, a deferential, which is marked by the suffix *-s(i)p(n)*. Non-attestive AI evidential forms can alternate between *-s(n)* and *-s(i)p(n)* forms depending on the intention of the speaker. The exception to this pattern occurs in first and second person singular forms: non-attestive 2nd person singular only carries the *-s(i)p(n)* evidential, while non-attestive 1st person singular only carries the *-s(n)* suppositive evidential. AI If-conjunct verbs show *-s(i)p(n)* forms with 2, 23 and 13 persons, while the AI Future marks only 23 verbs with *-s(i)p(n)*. Table 4.1 presents the Mi'kmaq AI verb orders characterized by the *-s(i)p(n)* evidential suffix, while Table 4.2 gives the relevant endings for the Mi'kmaq AI showing forms which take the deferential evidential and the relevant neutral, attestive and suppositive forms which contrast with the deferential forms.

**Table 4.1**
Mi'kmaq AI verb types characterized by the deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*

| Order | Evidential suffix: deferential , -s(i)p(n) |
|---|---|
| **Independent** (main clauses) | deferential suffix on all forms except 1st |
| **If-conjunct** (dependent clauses) | deferential suffix with 2, 23, and 13 only |
| **Future**[1] (main clauses) | deferential suffix with 23 only |

**Table 4.2**
Endings for the Mi'kmaq AI showing forms which take the deferential evidential and relevant contrasting neutral, attestive and suppositive forms

(Table 4.2 is located in a pocket at the back of the thesis)

## 4.2 The function of the deferential evidential

Mi'kmaq bases its grammaticalized modality system on direct personal experience or the lack thereof and makes these experiential frameworks explicit by use of evidential suffixes. Within the Mi'kmaq evidential modality system the use of the deferential evidential suffix, *-s(i)p(n)*, allows a speaker to signal to the addressee that she or he (the speaker) is invoking the addressee's evidential knowledge of the topic under discussion. By using the *-s(i)p(n)* form Mi'kmaq speakers defer to the evidential knowledge of the addressee. The addressee has had experiences which the speaker has not had and which could validate or invalidate the factuality of the statements being made by the speaker. The speaker is seeking confirmation of his or her utterance.

Many times when inquiring about the difference between a verb form in *-s(n)* and a verb form in *-s(i)p(n)* the answer was given that the *-s(i)p(n)* form is a question, even though there is no change in intonation - either a rise or fall - as might be expected to mark the sentence as a Mi'kmaq question. Examine, for example, sentences (69) through (75).

(70) Wape'k. [It is] white. (TMA-70.iii)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (71) | I'-wape'kɨp na amskwes. | It used to be white before. (TMA-70.i) |
| (72) | I'-wape'kɨs. | It used to be white, so I'm told. |
| (73) | I'-wape'ksɨp. | It used to be white, was it not? |
| (74) | I'-wape'ksɨp to'q. | It used to be white, was it not? Everyone knows that. |
| (75) | Tel'te'tm i'-wape'kɨp. | I think that it used to be white. (TMA-70.v) |
| (76) | Tel'te'tm i'-wape'ksɨp. | I think that it used to be white - do you know? (TMA-70.iv) |

Sentence (70) shows an II Independent neutral verb, *Wape'k*; sentence (71) shows the same verb with the addition of the evidential suffix *-(i)p*, indicating attested evidentiality and the preverb *i'-*, marking past or long ago, *i'-wape'kɨp*. As Eleanor Johnson states (TMA-70.f), *i'-wape'kɨp* means "It used to be white before... And I'm telling you because I know". The verb *i'-wape'kɨp* of sentences (71) and (75) contrasts with the Mi'kmaq verbs *i'-wape'ksɨp* of sentences (73) and (76) and *i'-wape'kɨs* of sentence (72): in the latter, the suppositive evidential *-s(n)* adds the sense of 'so I'm told' to the proposition of the sentence, while the deferential evidential *-s(i)p(n)* of sentences (73) and (76) denotes recognition on the part of the speaker that the addressee is the holder of experience relevant to the topic under discussion. As noted by Johnson (TMA-70:n/w) concerning sentence (74), *I'-wape'ksɨp to'q*,

> You have to put the *to'q* in there if you're believing somebody else...When you put the *to'q* there that means I heard it from somebody that it was white... if you put a *to'q* in there, that means that the neighborhood history tells me that it used to be white one

time... But if I tell you, *Amskwes i'-wape'kɨp*, that means that 'I know that it was white'.

As Johnson (TMA-70:t) further elaborates

> ...if I tell you *I'-wape'kɨp*, I'm telling you that it used to be white and [I know for sure because I saw it.] But *I'-wape'ksɨp*, that means I might be getting my information from somebody else to tell you that it used to be white.

Theresa Mudridge, of Membertou, has added to this discussion (TMA-70:u) by noting that *I'-wape'ksɨp* can act as a question for as she says "Oh yes, you're asking, *I'-wape'ksɨp*?" meaning 'It was white, wasn't it?'. For a further example see sentence (77) below where as noted by Johnson (1999:pc) "When you say *panta'teksɨp*, that denotes that the window was open, was it not".

(77) Panta'teksɨp tuo'puti.

The window, it was open, wasn't it? (said while looking at a closed window in a room which is cold).

| | |
|---|---|
| pant-a'-tek-sɨp | tuo'puti |
| open– II.VF– II.Indep– defer | window |

The Mi'kmaq sentences of (76) and (77), above, are questions (76) or statements (77) inviting agreement that something is a certain way "is it not?" acting much as a question tag would in other languages.

A question tag is a short interrogative formula tagged on to the end of a

declarative statement. Some languages have an invariable question tag that can be added to almost any statement (Hartmann and Stork 1972): French *n'est-ce pas?* 'isn't it?' - see examples (78) and (79); Spanish *¿verdad?* 'truly?' - see examples (80) and (81); German *nicht wahr* 'not true' - see examples (82) and (83) and Innu-aimun (Montagnais) *tshîa* 'right' see example (84).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (78) | C'est un mauvais jour, n'est-ce pas? | It's a miserable day, isn't it? |
| (79) | Elle est très jolie, n'est-ce pas? | She is very pretty, isn't she? |
| (80) | Es española, ¿verdad?[2] | She is Spanish, isn't she? |
| (81) | Usted va estar enfermo, ¿verdad? | You are going to be sick, aren't you? |
| (82) | Wir sind uns in dieser Angelegenheit doch einig, nicht wahr?[3] | We are in agreement on this matter, aren't we? |
| (83) | Sie fahren doch am Sonntag nach Hamburg, nicht wahr? | You're going to drive to Hamburg, on Sunday, aren't you? |
| (84) | Ehe, mîtshetinîshapanî utauâssîma tshîa? | Yes, it seems he had a lot of children, eh? (James, Clarke & MacKenzie 1996:143 ) |

The function of question tags is similar to the function of the Mi'kmaq deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*: to confirm with the addressee whether a statement is true or false and/or to elicit information. The Mi'kmaq sentences (85) through (90), below, contain the *-s(i)p(n)* deferential suffix. In these sentences the speaker is checking with the addressee as to whether the statement the speaker is making about 2, 3, 12, 13, 23 or 33 person(s), respectively, is

accurate - the speaker is recognizing that the addressee might be able to add knowledge or information about the topic of conversation. The speaker is invoking the knowledge of the addressee and, in a sense, is deferring to the evidential knowledge of the addressee.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (85) | Kesinukwa'sp? | You (sg.) were sick, weren't you? |
| (86) | Kesinukwa'sp, nekm?[4] | He was sick, wasn't he? |
| (87) | Kesinukwayikusp? | We (inclusive) were sick, weren't we? |
| (88) | Kesinukwayeksip? | We (exclusive) were sick, weren't we? |
| (89) | Kesinukwayoqsip? | You (pl) were sick, weren't you? |
| (90) | Kesinukwasipnik? | They were sick, weren't they? |

In comparing the above sentences (85) through (90) with sentences (91) through (95) below we can contrast the function of the *-s(i)p(n)* deferential evidential suffix with the function of the *-s(n)* suppositive evidential suffix.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (91) | Kesinukwas. | He was sick, so I'm told. |
| (92) | Kesinukwayikus. | We (inclusive) were sick, so we're told. |
| (93) | Kesinukwayeks. | We (exclusive) were sick, so we're told. |
| (94) | Kesinukwayoqs. | You(pl) were sick, so I'm told. |
| (95) | Kesinukwasnik. | They were sick, so I'm told. |

The use of the suppositive evidential gives a different sense than does the use of the deferential evidential. The suppositive evidential marks statements as

second-hand information; consequently, 2nd person singular verb forms never take the *-s(n)* evidential. It would be too explicit to state to the addressee that you, the speaker, had heard second-hand information about the addressee's activities. 2nd person singular forms in the Mi'kmaq AI Independent will either be unmarked for evidentiality i.e. will be neutral or they will be marked as attestive or deferential. They will never, however, be marked as suppositive.

### 4.2.1 Deference to 2nd person (the addressee): the Algonquian person hierarchy

To fully understand the function of the *-s(i)p(n)* evidential suffix in Mi'kmaq we must take into consideration the role played by the Speech Act Participants (SAPs) during a speech act. A speech act is the production of a sentence token under certain conditions. Speech acts are the basic, minimal units of linguistic communication (Searle 1988:16). A speech act involves Speech Act Participants (SAPs). The Speech Act Participants consist of the speaker and the persons spoken to i.e. the addressees. The thing or person spoken about (3rd person) is considered a non-speech act participant. 3rd persons are not active participants in a speech act. Only the 1st person, the speaker, and the 2nd person, the addressee, are active participants. As noted by Hewson (1991:864) "There is the fact that the speaker, as an SAP, is also a listener, and that there are two listeners and only one speaker in any discourse." The Mi'kmaq speaker, when using the *-s(i)p(n)* deferential form, explicitly becomes a listener, ready to hear new information from the addressee about the topic of the discourse in which they are both engaged.

When describing a speech act in a language and the role played by the SAPs during a speech act it is important to consider the person hierarchy of that language. Languages of the world have person hierarchies which tend to grammaticalize the ranking of one person over another, specifically the ranking of SAPs. As discussed by Seiler (1983:46) Indo-European languages often follow the hierarchy 1st > 2nd > 3rd human > 3rd animate > 3rd inanimate or, else consider 1st and 2nd person, the two SAPs, of equal status (see Comrie 1985:62; Hewson 1991). However, as explained by Hewson (1991:864)

> The Algonkian [Algonquian] family, in fact, almost without exception presents the following hierarchy:
>
> 2nd > 1st > 3rd an. proximate > 3rd an. obviative > 3rdin.
>
> where there is prominence given to second person over first. ... and indeed Speck (1935) has discussed at length the fact that among the Naskapi it is felt that one's *mista:pe:w* (literally 'great man' or 'spirit') may not be as powerful as that of one's interlocutor, to whom one must as a consequence, always give deference. (Hewson 1991:864)

The idea that 2nd person takes precedence over 1st person in the hierarchy of Speech Act Participants in Mi'kmaq discourse fits with the function of the Mi'kmaq deferential evidential, -s(i)p(n), which allows the speaker to invoke the evidential knowledge of the addressee (2nd person).

### 4.2.2 The use of the deferential evidential to maintain harmony

Heath (1998:84) while examining 1 <----> 2 combinations in transitive

sentences such as 'I saw you' and 'you saw me' discovered that cross-linguistically such forms "... tend to form negative or taboo targets and are often replaced by more opaque surface structures". Though the Mi'kmaq data in question does not include transitive verb forms there are similarities with Heath's cross-linguistic observations. It is the 2nd person singular forms, in Mi'kmaq, which carry the *-s(i)p(n)* deferential suffix, to the exclusion of the suppositive evidential *-s(n)*, in the AI Independent and the AI If-conjunct. When doing work on Choctaw, a polysynthetic North American aboriginal language, Heath (1998:84) had the following exchange with his Choctaw language expert:

> My first informant [Choctaw] cheerfully translated 'he hit her', 'he hit them' and 'I hit him', etc., but when it came to 'you hit me' he balked saying "we Choctaws don't talk like that; it sounds like I'm accusing you."

The same situation prevails in Mi'kmaq. When the speaker is addressing a second person there is a very obvious sense that the addressee must not in any way be insulted. Heath (1998) refers to this as a "taboo target"; we will refer to it as a strategy used to maintain harmony. As noted by Murdena Marshall in her discussion of contemporary Mi'kmaq relationships (1996:27)

> The distinguishing mark of a true person is his or her willingness to withdraw from conflict and to think good thoughts. An inability to balance passions and conflicts was seen as irresponsible and was not honorable behavior.

Marshall (1996:29) goes on to write

> The essential principle of customary law was that controversies should be prevented. Harmony, not justice, was the ideal.

When speaking Mi'kmaq allowance is made, by the use of the deferential evidential, for consideration of the addressee's knowledge. Deferring to the personal knowledge of the addressee keeps a balance of interpersonal harmony as it allows the speaker to avoid using either the *-s(n)*, reported evidential, or the *-p(n)*, attestive evidential, and thus the speaker avoids direct statements such as "X did Y, so I'm told" or "X did Y". The use of the *-s(i)p(n)* deferential suffix leaves the door open, not only for the addressee to add information to the dialogue, but to avoid what could be interpreted as an accusation.

### 4.3 Historical evidence for *-s(i)p(n)* as a deferential marker < PA **-sapan*

Proulx (1978:63) describes *-s(i)p(n)* as an allomorph of the suppositive evidential *-s(n)* and attributes the allomorph's occurrence to "the morphophonemic shape of the verb stem". We feel however that the *-s(i)p(n)* evidential is functionally a separate morpheme from the evidential suffix *-s(n)* and that *-s(i)p(n)* is not "...just a variant of -s [*-s(n)*]" (Proulx 1978:63). We base our hypothesis on functional and historical evidence.

The function of the *-s(i)p(n)* evidential suffix has been discussed in Section 4.2 above; yet the question remains as to whether the *-s(i)p(n)* suffix is historically a combination of PA **-(e)san* + PA **-(e)pan* or whether there was another Proto-Algonquian morpheme **-sapan* (Dahlstrom 1995). Proulx (1990:105) comments that the history of **-sapan* is as yet unclear. He writes

> In Micmac, -s'n [-*s(n)*] and -sip'n [-*s(i)p(n)*] are rhythmic variants, ... Until we have full accounts of them in all of the languages, we must assume the two morphs are just peculiar by-forms of a single PA morpheme - but this does not explain their origin.

Given that PA *-*(e)san* and *-*(e)pan* give reflexes of -*s(n)* and -*p(n)* in Mi'kmaq respectively and that -*s(n)* and -*p(n)* become -*s* and -*p* in word final position, there is evidence that the -*s(i)p(n)* suffix in Mi'kmaq came from PA *-*sapan* rather than PA *-*(e)san* + *-*(e)pan*. The latter combination of PA *-*(e)san* + *-*(e)pan* would have given a Mi'kmaq reflex of *-*snpn*. The evidence, in fact, suggests that Proto-Algonquian *-*sapan* gave Mi'kmaq -*s(i)p(n)*, with the final *n* of -*s(i)p(n)* being syllabic and dropping in word final position in the Independent; however, it is retained for contrast in the counterfactual verb forms of the Conditional and the If-conjunct (see Chapter Five for details).

## Endnotes

[1] The form and function of the Mi'kmaq Future is addressed in Chapter Six.

[2] I would like to thank Dr. Peter E. Thompson of Queen's University for the Spanish language examples.

[3] I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Bouman of the University College of Cape Breton for the German language examples.

[4] The Mi'kmaq word *nekm* means 'she or he'.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Mi'kmaq Counterfactuals: *-pn / -sn / -sipn*

### 5.1 The Mi'kmaq AI counterfactuals

Lyons (1977:795) explains that counterfactuals are modal forms which impart a sense not only of past but also of negation or contrary-to-fact as in English "She could have, should have, would have or might have; but she did not." Notionally the events characterized by Mi'kmaq counterfactual clauses present notions of contrary-to-fact situations and are more hypothetical than those events characterized by the Mi'kmaq attestive, suppositive and deferential evidentials.

There are three possible Mi'kmaq counterfactual forms: the attestive counterfactual in *-pn*, the suppositive counterfactual in *-sn* and the deferential counterfactual in *-sipn*. Examples of attestive counterfactual verb forms are found in (96) through (98) below; examples (99) and (100) demonstrate use of deferential counterfactuals, while examples (101) and (102) illustrate use of suppositive counterfactuals. The semantic functions associated with each of these counterfactuals are outlined in section 5.3 below.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (96) | Isak tluisik**pn**. | You should have been called Isaac.<br>(Hewson & Francis 1990:53) |
| (97) | Tlimikoq**pn**. | You should have told me so.<br>(Hewson & Francis 1990:53) |
| (98) | Lieka**pn**. | I would have gone.<br>(Hewson & Francis 1990:88) |

(99) Nsaqmam, i'mu'**sipn** ula tett wijikitiyekaq mu npuisoqq.
Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died. (Hewson & Francis 1990:103)

(100) Kjijitu'**sipn** moqwe maja'siwk**pn**.
If you had known it, you would not have left. (Hewson & Francis 1990:121)

(101) telitu**sn**
if he had sung... (Hewson & Francis 1990:112)

(102) nekla mimajia**sn**
if I had lived at that time... (Hewson & Francis 1990:208)

### 5.2 Retention of /n/ as a counterfactual marker in Mi'kmaq

Counterfactual forms in Mi'kmaq retain the final /n/ of the *-p(n)*, *-s(n)*, and *-s(i)p(n)* evidential suffixes as the linguistic means of representing counterfactual reasoning on the part of the speaker. Contrast *ktuksiyas* 'If I was sleepy' of sentence (103) below with *ktuksiyasn* 'If I had been sleepy [but I was not]' of sentence (104). Attestive counterfactual suffixes always occur on verbs found in main clauses while suppositive and deferential counterfactual suffixes always occur on verbs found in dependent clauses. Verbs, in Mi'kmaq, marked as attestive counterfactual are less hypothetical then verbs marked as either suppositive counterfactual or deferential counterfactual.

(103) Npaq ktuksiyas.
I would sleep, if I was sleepy.

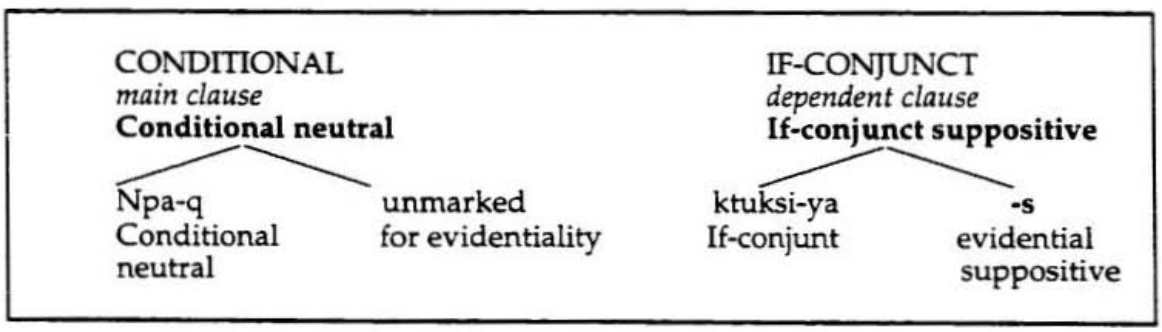
(104) Npaq**pn** ktuksiya**sn**.
I would have slept, if I had been sleepy.

In the above examples sentence (103) contains a Conditional main clause verb unmarked for evidentiality, *npaq* 'I would sleep', and a dependent If-conjunct verb, *ktuksiyas* 'if I was sleepy', marked as suppositive. Sentence (104), which contrasts with sentence (103), illustrates use of the Mi'kmaq attestive counterfactual *-pn*, and the suppositive counterfactual *-sn*. The Mi'kmaq attestive counterfactual *-pn* is found in the Conditional attestive counterfactual verb *npaq**pn***, 'I would have slept' while the suppositive counterfactual *-sn* occurs on the dependent If-conjunct verb *ktuksiya**sn***, '... if I had been sleepy', marked as suppositive counterfactual. In sentence (104) the *-pn* attestive counterfactual suffix of the main clause verb is complemented by the *-sn* suppositive counterfactual suffix of the verb of the dependent clause. Sentences (103) and (104) are fully parsed below.

(103) Npaq ktuksiyas.

I would sleep, if I was sleepy.
(Francis 1998:pc)

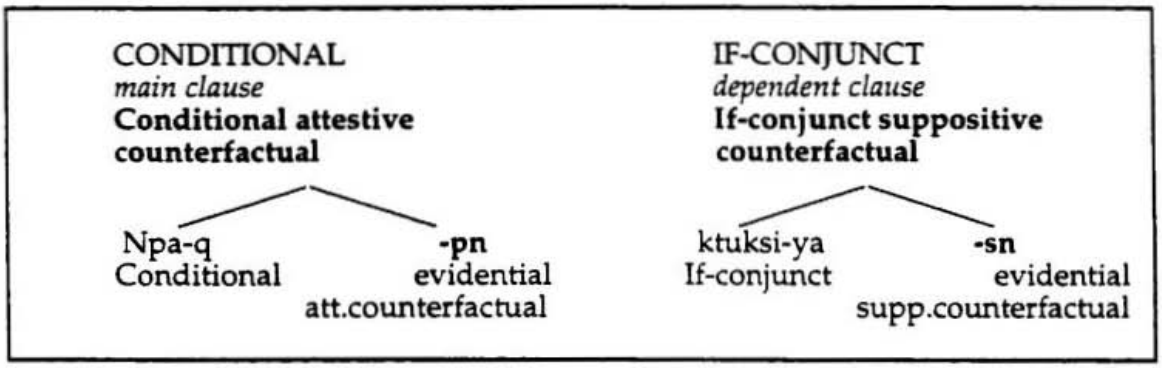
| | |
|---|---|
| Np-a-q | ktu-ksi-ya-**s** |
| sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.Cond.neut | want– AI.VF.sleep–AI.1.If:conj– supp |



(104) Npaq**pn** ktuksiya**sn**.

I would have slept, if I had been sleepy.
(Francis 1998:pc)

| | |
|---|---|
| Np-a-q-**pn** | ktu-ksi-ya-**sn** |
| sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.Cond– att.cf | want–AI.VF.sleep–AI.1.If:conj– supp.cf |




As can be seen in sentence (104) above the If-conjunct suppositive counterfactual clause is dependent on the Conditional attestive counterfactual main clause. Further examples of Mi'kmaq counterfactual usage are found in sentences (105) and (106) below. Sentence (105) gives the If-conjunct suppositive verb *npayas* 'If I slept' which carries the *-s(n)* suppositive evidential suffix which contrasts with the more hypothetical counterfactual suppositive form of sentence (106) *npayasn* 'If I had been asleep [which I was not]'.

(105) Na npaya**s** pkisins.

If I went to sleep, he would arrive.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Na | np-a-ya-s | pki-sin-s |
| discourse | sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.If:conj–supp | arrive–AI.VF–supp |

(106) Na npaya**sn** pkisinsoq.

If I had been asleep, he would have arrived [but he did not].

Na np-a-ya-sn
discourse sleep–AI.VF–AI.1.If:conj–supp.cf

pki-sin-soq.
arrive–AI.VF–AI.3.Cond.att.cf

Returning to the two sentences above sentences (105) and (106), an examination of the verb forms in the Conditional, *pkisins* 'he would arrive' in (105) and *pkisinsoq* 'he would have arrived [but he did not]' in (106) show a contrast between the 3rd person Conditional suppositive form of (105) in ***-s*** and what would appear to be the Conditional suppositive counterfactual form of (106) in ***-soq*** not ***-sn*** as would be expected. In the Mi'kmaq AI Conditional, verbs in the 3rd person singular and plural form the counterfactual by adding *-soq*. This is an anomaly which we can not, as yet, explain and which requires further investigation in the future. The unique patterning of *-soq* as a counterfactual suppositive suffix with 3rd persons, singular and plural, in the Conditional is further illustrated in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 of section 5.3 below.

## 5.3 Function of the Mi'kmaq AI counterfactuals

The *-pn* attestive counterfactual is used for denoting a counterfactual as in 'X would have done Y, but X did not', except for 3rd person where we see the use of the anomalous and still unexplained suffix *-soq*. The *-pn* attestive counterfactual and the 3rd person *-soq* form occur on main clause Conditional verb forms.

In contrast, the *-sn* suppositive counterfactual is used for marking a non-attested counterfactual as in 'If X had done Y, but X did not'. The *-sn* suppositive counterfactual occurs with 1, 12, 3 and 33 persons of If-conjunct verbs in dependent clauses and is in complementary distribution with the *-sipn* deferential counterfactual which occurs on 2, 23 and 13 verb forms of the If-conjunct. The *-sipn* counterfactual is a deference marker used by the speaker to seek confirmation information from the addressee about contrary-to-fact situations. Table 5.1 below shows which persons in the Conditional carry the attestive counterfactual suffix. Table 5.1 also gives the anomalous suppositive counterfactual suffix, *-soq*, of the 3rd person Conditional singular and plural. Table 5.2 illustrates all of the possible evidential suffixes which may occur in the Conditional with the Conditional neutral forms given for contrast.

**Table 5.1**
Counterfactual endings in the AI Conditional

| per/ no | counter- factual |
|---|---|
| 1 | V-kapn |
| 2 | V-kpn |
| 3 | V-soq[1] |
| 12 | V'-ku pn |
| 13 | V-kekpn |
| 23 | V-koqpn |
| 33 | V'-tisoq |

**Table 5.2**
AI Conditional showing all possible evidential endings including neutral forms

| | neutral | att /supp | counter-factual |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | V-k | V-kap[2] | V-kapn |
| 2 | V-k | V-kp | V-kpn |
| 3 | | V-s | V-soq |
| 12 | | V'-kup | V'-kupn |
| 13 | V-kek | V-kekp | V-kekpn |
| 23 | V-koq | V-koqp | V-koqpn |
| 33 | | V'-tis | V'-tisoq |

Table 5.3 below shows which persons in the If-conjunct carry the suppositive and deferential counterfactual suffixes. Table 5.4 illustrates all of the possible evidential suffixes which may occur in the Mi'kmaq AI If-conjunct with the If-conjunct neutral forms giving for contrast.

**Table 5.3**
Counterfactual endings in the AI If-conjunct

| per /no | counter-factual |
|---|---|
| 1 | V-yasn |
| 2 | V-sipn |
| 3 | V-sn |
| 12 | V-yikusn |
| 13 | V-yeksipn |
| 23 | V-yoqsipn |
| 33 | V'-tisn |

**Table 5.4**
AI If-conjunct showing all possible evidential endings including neutral forms

| | neutral | supp /def | counter-factual |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | V-yan | V-yas | V-yasn |
| 2 | V-n | V-sp | V-sipn |
| 3 | V-j | V-s | V-sn |
| 12 | V-yikw | V-yikus | V-yikusn |
| 13 | V-yek | V-yeksip | V-yeksipn |
| 23 | V-yoq | V-yoqsip | V-yoqsipn |
| 33 | V'-tij | V'-tis | V'-tisn |

## 5.4 Conclusion

The Mi'kmaq reflexes of PA *-*(e)pan*, PA *-*(e)san* and PA *-*sapan* are *-p(n)*, *-s(n)* and *s(i)p(n)* respectively and are used as markers of evidential modality. The reduced suffix, *-p(n)*, marks attestive information and contrasts with *-pn*, the full form of the suffix, which marks, in the Conditional, counterfactual attestations. The reduced suffix, *-s(n)*, marks suppositive or second-hand information and contrasts with *-sn*, the full form of the suffix, which marks non-attestive or suppositive contrary-to-fact situations in the If-conjunct. The reduced suffix, *-s(i)p(n)*, marks propositions as deferential and contrasts with *-sipn*, the full form of the suffix, which marks for deference, by the speaker, concerning the validity of the contrary-to-fact proposition under discussion.

James (1982a:377) comments that the "so called" past tense morpheme which occurs in Cree counterfactual clauses really indicates "... that there is some distance from reality involved." James also demonstrates (1991:286) that

such clauses "... arguably constitute the linguistic context involving the greatest degree of distance from reality... ." In Mi'kmaq the AI counterfactual verb forms retain the final /n/ of the evidential suffixes as a contrastive marker expressing extremely hypothetical events in contrast to the suppositive, attestive and deferential forms of the If-conjunct and Conditional which would be, in most cases, identical to the counterfactual forms except for the apocope of the final /n/.

We note too that Conditional and If-conjunct verbs take a reduced form of the stem which indicates an irrealis or imaginary event. It notionally fits that a verb stem marked as irrealis would carry a counterfactual suffix which represents extremely distant hypothetical events as pointed out by James (1991:286).

## Endnotes

[1] In the Mi'kmaq AI Conditional, verbs in the 3rd person singular and plural form the counterfactual by adding *-soq*. This is an anomaly which we can not, as yet, explain.

[2] Pacifique in his 1939 Mi'kmaq grammar (see Hewson and Francis 1990:52) gives both neutral verb forms and verb forms in *-p(n)* (our attestive evidential forms) for the 1st, 2nd, 12, 13 and 23 persons of the Conditional. In our research, however, we could only elicit neutral Conditional forms as in 'I would go' versus counterfactual forms as in 'I would have gone but I did not'. Conditional verb forms with the attestive evidential suffix *-p(n)* were not found except for the we inclusive (12) form which used the attestive Conditional form to replace the neutral.

## CHAPTER SIX

## The Future and Dubitative in the modality prominent language of Mi'kmaq[1]

### 6.1 Introduction

It has been argued in Chapter Three, Sections 3.5 and 3.5.1, that tense is not grammatically marked in Mi'kmaq though notionally past time is referenced through the use of aspectual markers which take the form of preverbs and particles which indicate the location in time of a given action. If tense is not grammatically marked in Mi'kmaq, a highly modal language, then how are concepts of potentiality or futurity expressed?

The answer to this question is that the Mi'kmaq Future is somewhat of an anomaly (Proulx 1990:138; Dawe 1986:54-57). If, however, we re-analyze the verbal paradigms of Mi'kmaq in terms of a modal system characterized by evidential contrasts then the Mi'kmaq Future forms begin to fall into place. Table 6.1 below lists the future endings of the Mi'kmaq AI, while Table 6.2 illustrates the endings of Table 6.1 by use of the verb 'to sleep', i.e. the Mi'kmaq stem *-np*.

**Table 6.1**
Endings of the Mi'kmaq AI Future

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | -tes |
| 2 | -tesk /-teks |
| 3 | -tew |
| 12 | -tesnu/-teksnu |
| 13 | -tesnen/-teksnen |
| 23 | -toqsip |
| 33 | -taq |

**Table 6.2**
Mi'kmaq AI Future of the verb 'to sleep', (reduced) stem *-np*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | npates | I will sleep |
| 2 | npateks | You (sg.) will sleep |
| 3 | npatew | S/he will sleep |
| 12 | npate(k)snu | We incl. will sleep |
| 13 | npate(k)snen | We excl. will sleep |
| 23 | npatoqsip | You (pl.) will sleep |
| 33 | npataq | They will sleep |

## 6.2 Mi'kmaq AI Future: an analysis

There are four observations which can be made about the Mi'kmaq AI Future which will allow us to draw some conclusions and make some hypotheses concerning its historical origins as well as its cognitive framework within an evidential system:

i) The Mi'kmaq AI Future forms are characterized by an unchanged or reduced stem which marks for irrealis modality.

ii) The *-t(e)(k)* element found in the endings of the Mi'kmaq AI Future resembles the *-tuk* suffix used to form the Mi'kmaq Dubitative.

iii) The endings of the Mi'kmaq AI Future appear to contain the Mi'kmaq evidential suffixes *-s(n) /-s(i)p(n)* which mark for supposition and deference respectively.

iv) The Mi'kmaq AI Future developed from a Proto-Algonquian (PA) type II verb form which originally had a full set of personal prefixes and suffixes.

(See Chapter Two, sections 2.4, 2.4.1 through 2.4.4 and 2.5.5 for details concerning the historical development of the Mi'kmaq verbal system.)

A proposed morphological pattern resulting in a Mi'kmaq AI verb denoting potentiality and futurity is presented in Table 6.3 below and is the pattern argued for in this chapter.

**Table 6.3**
Proposed morphological pattern of a Mi'kmaq AI verb denoting futurity

| Reduced stem + *-t(e)(k)* + ( *-s(n) / -s(i)p(n)* ) + ( personal suffixes ) |
|---|

The morphological pattern of Table 6.3, above, shows a reduced stem followed by the suffix, *-t(e)(k)*. This suffix is followed by what appears to be an evidential suffix, *-s(n)* or *-s(i)p(n)*, and finally by personal suffixes. Table 6.4 shows the Mi'kmaq Future AI verb laid out following the proposed morphological pattern of Table 6.3

**Table 6.4**
Future endings of the Mi'kmaq AI showing hypothesized morpheme boundaries

| | reduced stem | -tek suffix | evidential suffix | personal suffix |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | V stem | -te | -s | |
| 2 | V stem | -tek | -s | |
| 3 | V stem | -t | | -ew |
| 12 | V stem | -te(k) | -s | -nu |
| 13 | V stem | -te(k) | -s | -nen |
| 23 | V stem | -t | -oq[2] -sip | |
| 33 | V stem | -t | | -aq |

### 6.2.1 Mi'kmaq AI Future has a reduced stem

There are two types of modality in Mi'kmaq: primary and secondary (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.5 and 3.6, for a full discussion). Primary modality is realized through the use of full and reduced stems which mark realis and irrealis modality respectively. Secondary modality is marked by various evidential suffixes. In the AI Future forms both types of modality are present. Reduced stems of future form verbs mark for irrealis modality while secondary modality, evidentiality, is marked by either the suppositive or deferential evidentials *-s(n)* or *-s(i)p(n)*. Sentences (107) through (112) below illustrate the contrast between the reduced stems of the Mi'kmaq AI Future and the full stems of the Mi'kmaq AI Independent.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (107) | Kelusit. | S/he is beautiful. | AI Independent neutral: full stem |
| (108) | Klusitew. | S/he will be beautiful. | AI Future: reduced stem |
| (109) | Ewisit. | S/he is picking berries. | AI Independent neutral: full stem |
| (110) | Wisitew. | S/he will be picking berries. | AI Future: reduced stem |
| (111) | Pemiet. | S/he moves along. | AI Independent neutral: full stem |
| (112) | Pmietew. | S/he will move along. | AI Future: reduced stem |

### 6.2.2 Mi'kmaq AI Future contains *-t(e)(k)*

In this section we will examine the possibility that the AI Future is built on *-t(e)(k)*. This hypothesis stems from similarities noted between the Mi'kmaq Future and the Mi'kmaq Dubitative. Notionally Dubitatives are not that

removed from Future forms as both express concepts of potentiality, though Dubitative verbs express more doubt concerning the likelihood of the potential event actually happening. In English this contrast is expressed by the modal auxiliaries *might* (Dubitative) versus *will* (Future). In Mi'kmaq it would appear that this contrast is expressed by the modal suffixes *-tuk* (Dubitative) versus our hypothesized *-t(e)(k)* (Future).

#### 6.2.2.1 Mi'kmaq Dubitative: similarities with the Mi'kmaq AI Future

The Dubitative in Mi'kmaq is non-paradigmatic and is created by attaching the suffix *-tuk* to a reduced verb stem as in (113) *Wi'kituk* 'S/he might write' and (114) *Alasutmatuk* 'S/he might pray' (Hewson and Francis 1990:66).

(113) Wi'kituk. S/he might write.

wi'k-i'-tuk
write-AI.VF-Dub

(114) Alasutmatuk. S/he might pray.

alasutm-a-tuk
pray-AI.VF-Dub

In the Dubitative the deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*, may be added to the *-tuk* Dubitative suffix as in (115) below *Alasutmatuksip* 'Perhaps s/he prayed, did s/he not?'. Furthermore, in the Dubitative 3rd person plural forms take the Mi'kmaq animate plural suffix *-ik* giving either

*Alasutmatuksipnik* 'Perhaps they prayed, did they not?' of sentence (116) or *Alasutmatukunik* 'They might pray' of sentence (117) (Hewson and Francis 1990:66).

(115) Alasutmatuksip. Perhaps s/he prayed, did s/he?

alasutm-a-tuk-sip
pray-AI.VF-Dub-def

(116) Alasutmatuksipnik. Perhaps they prayed, did they?

alasutm-a-tuk-sipn-ik
pray-AI.VF-Dub-def-an.pl

(117) Alasutmatukunik. They might pray.

alasutm-a-tukun[3]-ik
pray-AI.VF-Dub-an.pl

The morphological patterning of the Mi'kmaq AI Dubitative is summarized in Table 6.5 below.

**Table 6.5**
Morphological pattern of Mi'kmaq AI Dubitative

| Reduced stem + *-tuk* + ( *-s(i)p(n)* ) + ( plural ) |
|---|

If we compare the morphological patterning of the Mi'kmaq AI Dubitative with our proposed morphological patterning for the Mi'kmaq AI Future there are some similarities, especially with respect to the position of the *-t(e)(k)* and *-tuk* suffixes (see Table 6.6).

**Table 6.6**
Morphological patterns of Mi'kmaq AI verbs denoting doubt and futurity

| |
|---|
| Mi'kmaq AI Dubitative |
| Reduced stem + *-tuk* + ( *-s(i)p(n)* ) + ( plural ) |
| Mi'kmaq AI Future |
| Reduced stem + *-t(e)(k)* + ( *-s(n) / -s(i)p(n)* ) + ( personal suffixes) |

### 6.2.2.2 The *-t(e)(k)* modal suffix: a discussion

The known formation of the Dubitative is very similar to our proposed formation of the Future. The chief difference lies in the modal suffix which is added. In the Dubitative we know that the modal suffix *-tuk* is added - in the same position - as the *-t(e)(k)* suffix proposed for the Future verb forms. Sentences(119)/(120) and (122)/(123) below show the similarities between Mi'kmaq verbs in the Dubitative and Mi'kmaq verbs in the Future, with sentences (118) and (121) giving, for contrast, the relevant Independent neutral verb forms.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (118) | Ewi'kn. | You (sg.) write. | **Independent neutral** |
| (119) | wi'k**ituk.**[4] | You (sg.) might write. | **Dubitative** |
| (120) | wi'k**iteks.** | You (sg.) will write. | **Future** |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (121) | Alasutmat. | S/he is praying. | **Independent neutral** |
| (122) | Alasutma**tuk**. | S/he might pray/ might have prayed. | **Dubitative** |
| (123) | Alasutma**tew**. | S/he will pray. (E. Johnson & E. Bernard 2001:pc) | **Future** |

The *-t(e)(k)* form of the Mi'kmaq AI Future attaches directly to the verb stem as in sentence (124) below and acts as a modal suffix which indicates potentiality or futurity.

(124) Mijisiteksnu kewisinu'kw.

We (inclusive) will eat when we are hungry.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mijis-i-**tek**-s-nu | kewisin-u'kw |
| Eat–AI.VF–Fut–supp–per.12 | hungry–AI.12.When:Conj.neut |
| | (E. Johnson 2001:pc) |

In the AI Future the morpheme *-t(e)(k)* shows allomorphs of *-te* and *-t*. The form *-te* is found in the 1st person singular while the variant *-t* occurs with 23, 3 and 33 persons. Sentence (125) below illustrates a Future form in the 1st person singular while sentence (126) illustrates use of *-t* with a 33 person verb denoting futurity. All forms of the Mi'kmaq AI future contain some form of a morpheme.. *-tek* beginning with the morpheme /t/. At the present time, we do not know why this variation occurs. We can only note that it does occur.

(125) Atlasmites sapo'nuk. I will rest tomorrow.
(E. Johnson 2001:pc)

| Atlasm-i-**te**-s | sapo'n-uk |
|---|---|
| Rest–AI.VF–Fut-supp | tomorrow–loc |

(126) Apaja'sitaq tpu'nuk. They will come back during the night.
(E. Johnson 2001:pc)

| Apaj-a'si-**t**-aq | tpu'n-uk |
|---|---|
| come back–AI.VF–Fut–per.33.abs | night–loc |

In summary we know that in Mi'kmaq verbs use the *-tuk* modal suffix to express a sense of doubt and we suggest that in Mi'kmaq verbs use the *-t(e)(k)* modal suffix to express a sense of futurity or potentiality. Both suffixes are added directly to reduced verb stems.

### 6.2.3 Mi'kmaq AI Future contains evidentials

The AI Future forms appear to contain the evidential suffixes, *-s(n)*, and *-s(i)p(n)*. Referring back to Table 6.4 it can be seen that, in Future AI verb forms, all persons take an evidential, either *-s(n)* or *-s(i)p(n)*, except for the 3rd person singular and plural, which are unmarked for evidentiality in the AI Future. As previously noted, the AI Dubitative in Mi'kmaq may also take an evidential, specifically, the deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*. Use of suppositive and deferential evidential suffixes in verb forms notionally expressing hypothetical potential events (events not yet realized) as in Dubitatives and

Futures makes sense cognitively within the functional framework of the Mi'kmaq evidential system.

### 6.2.4 Mi'kmaq AI Future contains personal affixes

In Mi'kmaq, most of the verbal orders evolved from Proto-Algonquian (PA) Type I verbs which did not have personal prefixes and suffixes (Proulx 1990) (see also Chapter Two, Section 2.4). The exceptions, we suggest, are the Mi'kmaq Future and the Mi'kmaq Subordinative (equivalent to subordinate noun clauses) which both appear to have developed from PA type II verbs which did have personal affixes[5].

First let us examine the Mi'kmaq Subordinative, a verb form for which there has been some discussion concerning its historical evolution (Goddard 1983; Proulx 1980; Dawe 1986:76-80 ). Proulx (1980:300 ) has argued that the Mi'kmaq Subordinative evolved from the PA Independent. The Mi'kmaq Subordinative had at one point a full set of personal prefixes and suffixes as documented by Pacifique (Hewson and Francis 1990:70). Table 6.7 gives the Subordinative verb forms with highlighted personal prefixes and suffixes for the verb *teluisimk* 'to name'.

**Table 6.7**
Mi'kmaq Subordinative of the verb *teluisimk* 'to name'

| | |
|---|---|
| **n** - tluisi - n | that my name is |
| **k** - tluisi - n | that your (sg) name is |
| **w** - tluisi - n | that his/her name is |
| **k** - tluisi - n - **enu** | that our (inclusive) name is |
| **n** - tluisi - n - **en** | that our (exclusive) name is |
| **k** - tluisi - n - **ew** | that your (pl) name is |
| **w** - tluisi -n - **ew** | that their name is |

Note: i. Personal affixes are in bold.
ii. *-(V)n* is the AI Subordinative ending.

(Hewson and Francis 1990:70)

Mi'kmaq Subordinative usage with full verbal prefixes and suffixes has also been documented in Mi'kmaq story narratives collected in 1961 by Don DeBlois (1990:v) and published in the collection, Micmac Texts. Sentence (127) below is an extract from that collection. The underlined verb of sentence (127) gives an example of the Mi'kmaq Subordinative ending in *-(V)n* (here showing *-an*) and illustrates the existence of the 1st person suffix in Mi'kmaq narratives of the sixties.

(127) Ki's nanipunqik nki'aspi-nmi'an.

It as already been five years since I last saw them.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ki's | nanipunq-ik | **n-ki'aspi-nmi'-an** |
| already | it is five years | that I last saw them |
| | | (DeBlois 1990:67) |

However, in the Mi'kmaq spoken in Cape Breton during the late 1980s and into the 1990s and the 21st century the personal prefixes of the Mi'kmaq Subordinative are no longer used (Inglis 1998).

#### 6.2.4.1 Mi'kmaq AI Subordinative: similarities with Mi'kmaq AI Future

Let us now turn to the Mi'kmaq AI Future forms and examine whether the Mi'kmaq AI Future contains personal affixes which could help us to conclude that these verb forms, like the Mi'kmaq Subordinative forms, evolved from a proto-Algonquian Independent Order which contained personal affixes. In the

paradigm of the AI Future it can be seen that the final suffixes on the 3, 12, 13 and 33 forms are recognizable as Algonquian personal suffixes (see Table 6.4, from Section 6.2, which has been reproduced below as Table 6.8).

**Table 6.8**
Future endings of the Mi'kmaq AI showing suggested morpheme boundaries

| | reduced stem | -t(e)(k) suffix | evidential suffix | personal suffix |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | V stem | -te | -s | |
| 2 | V stem | -tek | -s | |
| 3 | V stem | -t | | -ew |
| 12 | V stem | -te(k) | -s | -nu |
| 13 | V stem | -te(k) | -s | -nen |
| 23 | V stem | -t | -oq -sip | |
| 33 | V stem | -t | | -aq |

The 3rd person singular of the Mi'kmaq AI Future shows the personal suffix *-ew*. The 12 person of the Mi'kmaq AI Future shows the personal suffix, *-nu*, which is comparable to the 12 Mi'kmaq personal suffix *-inu*. The 13 person of the Mi'kmaq AI Future shows the personal suffix, *-nen*, which is comparable to the 13 Mi'kmaq personal suffix *-inen*.

The 23 person of the Mi'kmaq AI Future shows the personal suffix, *-oq*. The Mi'kmaq verbal suffix *-oq* marks 2nd person plural (23). Why, in the Future the 23 personal suffix, *-oq*, would appear in a pre-evidential position as opposed to the post-evidential position common to the occurrence, in the Future, of the other personal suffixes is not yet understood. However, E. Bernard (2001:pc) has commented that in Mi'kmaq baby talk common to the community of Eskasoni it is not unusual to hear young children generate incorrect 23 AI Future verbs

either by reversing the *-oq + -sip* order to give an ending **-tsipoq (-t + -sip + -oq)* or by omitting the *-oq* personal suffix altogether to give an ending **-tsip (-t + -sip)* as in sentence (128) **Npatsip tett?* 'You (pl) are going to sleep here?'. The adult Mi'kmaq form of the same verb would be *Npatoqsip tett?* 'You (pl) are going to sleep here?', as in sentence (129) below. It would appear that children either tend to regularize the anomalous position of the *-oq* personal suffix in 23 Mi'kmaq AI Future forms, or that they deal with the anomalous position of the personal suffix by deleting the suffix altogether as we have seen in example (128).

(128) *Npatsip tett? You(pl) are going to sleep here?

(129) Npatoqsip tett? You(pl) are going to sleep here?

Lastly , the final personal suffix *-aq* found to occur with Mi'kmaq AI Future 3rd person plural forms is historically PA **ew + aki* (i.e. **-ewak > -aq*).

If we surmise that the Mi'kmaq Subordinative and the Mi'kmaq Future both came originally from the PA Independent Order we should see remnants of personal suffixes in these verb forms. We know that the Subordinative had personal prefixes. The question then is did the Mi'kmaq Future like the Subordinative, once had personal prefixes - which over time disappeared due to analogy with the other Mi'kmaq verbal Orders which do not have personal prefixes? Upon examining written Mi'kmaq texts from the late 1700s (Pierronet

1797) no evidence was found, however, of the use of personal prefixes with the Mi'kmaq AI future. The difficulty with this line of research is that we would like to have much older samples of Mi'kmaq to use for comparison; however, there are no pre-contact Mi'kmaq texts written in a Roman orthography.

. On the presence of the recognizable personal suffixes in the formation of the Mi'kmaq AI Future we surmise that originally the Future was a PA Type II verb form, similar to the Subordinative, which exhibited personal affixes.

### 6.3 Conclusion

Mi'kmaq AI Future verb forms code for modality, not tense. What this means is that in Mi'kmaq verbs marked as Future forms represent an event that is not yet actualized; as a result, it cannot be attested to through direct personal experience on the part of the speaker. It is the function of the reduced stem of the Mi'kmaq AI Future to denote irrealis events, and it is the secondary function of the non-attestive evidentials to mark that the event is not attestable.

In Mi'kmaq Future forms there is no explicit connotation of time. The cognitive framework used to portray the Mi'kmaq verbal system hinges on whether an event has been actualized or not, and hence, whether or not an event is attestable. Consequently, one way to express the notion of future time reference or unrealized/unexperienced events in a highly modal language such as Mi'kmaq is to use a modal suffix, in this case *-t(e)(k)*, referencing potentiality or futurity (just as the modal suffix *-tuk* is used to denote doubt in Mi'kmaq) and to couple this notion of potentiality with the modality of the suppositive or deferential evidentials. Further, by utilization of a reduced verb stem the

concept of event irrealis is highlighted. The result is the representation of a non-actualized event which, because it is non-actualized, one cannot attest to - i.e. a future.

In summary we conclude that to realize a future form in Mi'kmaq, the modal suffix *-t(e)(k)* as well as non-attestive evidentials are used on an irrealis stem creating a Future form but not a future tense, and that this so called Future form functions within the system of Mi'kmaq modality, which is dominated by the representation of evidentiality.

## Endnotes

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Paul Proulx for his comments concerning an early draft of this chapter.

[2] The suffix *-oq* denotes 2nd person plural. Why it anomalously appears before the evidential suffix and not after, as in the other Future forms, is not yet understood.

[3] The Mi'kmaq Dubitative suffix *-tuk* sometimes shows an allomorph *-tukun*.

[4] Forms in the Dubitative were difficult to elicit from fluent Mi'kmaq speakers in Eskasoni. For example, in the case of *wi'kituk* speakers noted that it didn't sound wrong but, what they would actually say was *wi'kitew etuk* 'S/he will write, maybe' - *etuk* means 'maybe'. In *wi'kitew etuk* we see the use of the Future with the particle *etuk* used to denote doubt. It would appear that use of the Dubitative may be dying out.

[5] The Mi'kmaq Dubitative is also thought to have evolved from PA Type I verbs. Proulx (1990:104) notes "... Micmac, despite its general replacement of the independent by the conjunct participle, has preserved the independent dubitative: it had no other verb with core dubitative meanings".

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Mi'kmaq evidentiality: a system encoding source and accessibility of knowledge

### 7.1 Introduction

We have discussed in Chapter Three that Mi'kmaq modality works on two levels. Primary modality is coded by the use of full and reduced stems to reference realis and irrealis propositions respectively. Mi'kmaq evidentiality, secondary modality, is a semantic sub-system operating within the larger system of Mi'kmaq modality. The main objective of this chapter is to draw together into a single system the workings of Mi'kmaq evidentiality.

### 7.2 Evidential choice: relative evidentiality

As discussed in Chapters Three through Five the Mi'kmaq evidential suffixes function to express SAP knowledge source. However, the speaker's choice of whether or not to use a certain Mi'kmaq evidential suffix is controlled by the person and the number of the grammatical subject. It is as if the speaker is positioning himself or herself along an evidentiality gradient and movement along the gradient of evidentiality is determined by the speaker's experience relative to that of the experiences or potential experiences of the addressee with respect to the subject of the sentence. This means that all speaker experience is relative[1] - relative to what the SAPs know between them.

#### 7.2.1 Relative evidentiality and full stems (realis modality)

To understand the concept of relative evidentiality let us examine Table

7.1 (following section 7.2.2). This table summarizes the relationship of speaker's knowledge source to the knowledge source of the addressee, with respect to AI verbs built on full stems which reference a realis proposition characterizing actualized events. Within the Mi'kmaq AI, the Independent Order is the only verb order in which verb forms demonstrate both the usage of evidentials and the presence of a full stem. All other AI verb orders which demonstrate evidential usage are formed on reduced stems.

In the Mi'kmaq AI Independent the attestive evidential suffix may be affixed to all persons (see Table 7.1). In other words, the speaker knows, through direct personal experience, what she or he can attest to. However, when it comes to non-attested evidentiality, suppositive or deferential, then whom the speaker is referring to comes into play in determining evidential choice. Examining Table 7.1 it can be seen that the suppositive evidential is never used with 2nd person singular subjects, while the deferential evidential is never used with 1st person singular subjects. Why is this?

In sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 of Chapter Four we explained that the function of the-*s(i)p(n)* or deferential evidential is to maintain harmony between the speaker and the addressee; in other words, to avoid conflict between Speech Act Participants (SAPs). Based on this theory we find that in the Independent, the speaker will never be so forward as to draw suppositions (on the basis of 2nd hand information) about the knowledge of the addressee; consequently, the suppositive evidential is never found on 2nd person singular verb forms in the AI Independent. Only the deferential evidential is found to be used in the 2nd person

singular. Yet, when the speaker refers to himself or herself, that is when the speaker and the sentence subject are one and the same person, then the deferential evidential is never used. Only the suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*, will be used with the 1st person singular when denoting a non-attestable knowledge source. Evidential choice in Mi'kmaq is relative: the choice of the evidential suffix used by a speaker is determined by the speaker's knowledge source relative to that of the knowledge source of the subject of the sentence, with the primary goal of evidential choice being to avoid potential conflict between Speech Act Participants and thus to maintain harmonious relationships (see sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 of Chapter Four).

### 7.2.2 Relative evidentiality and reduced stems (irrealis modality)

We have examined evidential choice as found on Mi'kmaq AI verbs with full stems characterizing actualized events and have summarized this information in Table 7.1. Now we will turn to a discussion of evidential choice with Mi'kmaq AI verbs built on reduced stems, which reference irrealis propositions characterizing unactualized events (see Table 7.2 following Table 7.1). Verb orders within the Mi'kmaq AI which show verbs containing both evidentials and reduced stems are the Mi'kmaq AI Future, Conditional and If-conjunct. Table 7.2 shows the relationship of speaker's knowledge source to the knowledge source attributed the addressee, with respect to evidential choice on verbs characterized by reduced stems.

**Table 7.1**
Verbs with full stems -AI Independent
Relative evidentiality: the relationship of speaker's knowledge source to addressee's knowledge source

| Possible evidential choice by per/no | Relationship of speaker's knowledge source to addressee's knowledge source |
|---|---|
| **$2^2$** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | The speaker has attested knowledge about the addressee's actions. |
| **-s(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement, especially as it is the addressee's actions which are being referred to. |
| **23** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | The speaker has attested knowledge about the actions of the addressee and another 3rd person |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker has unattested knowledge about the actions of the addressee and another 3rd person |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement, especially as it is the addressee's actions which are being referred to. |
| **1** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | The speaker has attested knowledge about his/her own actions. |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker has unattested knowledge about his/her own actions |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **12** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | The speaker and the addressee have attested knowledge about their actions. |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker and the addressee have unattested knowledge about their actions. |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement. |
| **13** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | The speaker and a third person have attested knowledge about their actions. |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker and a third person have unattested knowledge about their actions. |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement. |
| **3/33** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | The speaker has attested knowledge about the actions of the person(s) spoken about. |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker has unattested knowledge about the actions of the person(s) spoken about. |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement. |

**Table 7.2**
Verbs with reduced stems-AI Future, Conditional &If-conjunct
Relative evidentiality: the relationship of speaker's knowledge source to addressee's knowledge source

| Possible evidential choice by per/no | Relationship of speaker's knowledge source to addressee's knowledge source |
|---|---|
| **2** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker has unattested knowledge about the addressee's actions.(Fut) |
| **-s(i)p(n)**.... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement, especially as it is the addressee's intentions which are being referred to. (Fut. & If:Conj) |
| **23** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(i)p(n)**.... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement, especially as it is the addressee's intentions which are being referred to. (Fut. & If:Conj.) |
| **1** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker has unattested knowledge about his/her own actions. (Fut. & If:Conj) |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **12** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | **ANOMALY** one incident of attestive (12 per. of AI Conditional) |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker and the addressee have unattested knowledge about their intentions. (Fut.) |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **13** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker and a third person have unattested knowledge about their intentions. (Fut.) |
| **-s(i)p(n)**..... | The speaker is deferring to the addressee as the addressee may have knowledge which could validate the truth of the speaker's statement. (If:Conj.) |
| **3/33** | |
| **-p(n)** ..... | **NEVER USED** |
| **-s(n)** ..... | The speaker has unattested knowledge about the intentions of the person(s) spoken about. (If:Conj & Cond.) |
| **-s(i)p(n)**.... | **NEVER USED** |

AI verbs denoting irrealis propositions i.e. unactualized events never carry the attestive evidential except for the 12 person of the AI Conditional (see Table 7.2.). At this time we cannot account for this anomaly. With verbs built on reduced stems and containing evidential suffixes the suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*, is used with most persons to denote non-attestive knowledge source of the potential event under discussion. The exception is the 23 person where only the deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*, is used. With second person plural (23) forms there is more than one addressee, generally a 2nd person singular plus someone else, i.e., a 3rd person. The speaker's accessibility (see section 7.3 below) to a knowledge source re verification of the potential activities of 2nd and 3rd person becomes more difficult. In this 23 situation the speaker will use not the suppositive evidential, but the deferential evidential as there is now another person (3rd) involved in the speech act along with the addressee (2nd). Consequently, the speaker will not go so far as to make a supposition via use of the suppositive evidential, but will employ the deferential evidential to invoke confirmation from the addressees concerning the feasibility of the potential event being described.

We note that in the Future forms of the Mi'kmaq AI, when discussing the as yet unactualized experiences of third persons, singular and plural, no evidential suffixes are used; however, the suppositive evidential is found with 3rd persons in the AI Conditional and the If-Conjunct. Apparently, discussing the yet unactualized actions of 3rd persons by use of AI Future verbs is so unverifiable in terms of knowledge source that it is unmarked in terms of evidentiality. It

would appear that the degree of accessibility of the subject of the sentence i.e. the person who holds the experience or potential experience under discussion comes into play in evidential choice.

### 7.3 Accessibility of knowledge source

We have discussed in the previous chapters how speaker's knowledge source is marked by the use of evidential suffixes in Mi'kmaq and we have determined that choice of an evidential suffix is relative. Evidential choice is determined by the speakers knowledge source relative to the knowledge source of the addressee (see section 7.2, 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 above). However, the degree of accessibility to the knowledge source holder also plays a role in the workings of Mi'kmaq evidentiality.

Schlichter (1986:58) notes that in many languages without tense but with highly developed evidential (modal) and aspectual systems "... the deictic operation of linking events to the moment of speech - which is handled by tense languages - is carried out by evidential suffixes specifying the immediacy or remoteness of knowledge."

In Mi'kmaq many suffixes and inflections labeled hitherto as present, past or future (see Chapter Six) are endings, evidential in nature, operating on a continuum with respect to type of knowledge source: 1st hand, 2nd hand or deference, and now, we will argue, accessibility of the knowledge source. Accessibility of knowledge source is important because if the speaker cannot access the holder of the knowledge or access the thing of which he or she speaks then how can the validity of his or her statements be verified?

There is a set of endings, found in many of the Algonquian languages, which are referred to as absentatives. In Algonquian linguistics the use of a set of endings called absentatives has been well described from Bloomfield (1946) through Ellis (1983) and Clarke (1982) to name a few. Proulx (1978:14) refers to nouns, in Mi'kmaq, which have been marked inaccessible (absentative) as "An originally living being who is sleeping or dead or has disappeared is inaccessible, as are things which have been lost, consumed, or destroyed." The absentative in Mi'kmaq occurs not only on nouns, but also on verbs, as nouns marked as absentative trigger corresponding absentative verbal morphology. Absentative suffixes in Mi'kmaq take the following forms (Hewson and Francis 1990:31):

Nominal absentative suffixes:

*-o'q*

i) Proper names representing absent or deceased individuals.

ii) Nouns borrowed from English or French which are considered animate in Mi'kmaq.

iii) Mass nouns borrowed from English or French

*-aq* Nouns representing absent or deceased individuals or inaccessible animate entities.

*-ek* Nouns representing absent, broken or unusable inanimate objects.

Verbal absentative suffixes:

*-aq* Absentative singular suffix added verb finally (Independent).

*-ek* Absentative singular suffix added verb finally.(When-conjunct)

*-(k)ik* Absentative plural suffix added verb finally.

Sentence (130)[3] (DeBlois 1990:77) illustrates the use of the nominal absentative ending, *-aq* and the verbal absentative ending *-ek*.

(130) Na ni'n nkisikum**aq** ke'skw wele'kek na kijiwaqa nipuktuk eliet ketanteket.

When my husband was alive, sometimes he went hunting in the woods.

n-kisikum-**aq**
poss.1–husband–absentative

wel-e'-k-**ek**
well-AI.VF-AI.3.When:conj-abs

Absentative suffixes in Mi'kmaq play a role by indicating that the knowledge source is inaccessible; they are thus part of the evidential system, and markers of modality. Mi'kmaq professors at the University College of Cape Breton who teach Mi'kmaq language courses and who are fluent Mi'kmaq speakers[4] often refer in their courses to the short past vs. the long past. The term short past is used to describe an event which the speaker can remember having experienced himself or herself or as having been recently experienced by someone else who has reported this experience to the speaker. We have described these verb forms as exhibiting, not tense, but attestive, suppositive or deferential evidentiality, i.e. modality. When you examine Mi'kmaq, the short past is represented by the use of the evidential endings *-p(n)* or *-s(n)*: either the speaker experienced the event himself or herself or was told of the event by someone else who had experienced it and who is still living. This type of evidentiality has been referred to by Jacobsen (1986:5) as "memory evidence".

The so called long past refers to information passed on by way of community knowledge about people who are deceased or things which no longer exist. The long past, it turns out, is represented by the use of the absentative markers. The absentative suffixes are markers of inaccessible evidentiality - that is evidence sources that cannot be verified or checked. Absentative markers reference the current inaccessibility of two types of absentative evidence. Absentative markers may reference information sources which can no longer be verified or checked by speaking with a living person who has actually experienced the event under discussion because the individual who held the knowledge is deceased. So too, absentative markers may also reference information sources which can no longer be verified or checked by examining an object in person usually because the object no longer exists or has been altered. For example, see sentences (131) through (134).

(131) Meski'k. It is big. (TMA-1)

(132) Meski'ks. It was big, so I'm told.

(133) Meski'kip. It was big (attested).

(134) Meski'kipnek. It was big. (It is now torn down and doesn't exist anymore.) (TMA-3)

Sentence (131) gives the II Independent, *Meski'k*, 'It is big'. Sentence (132), *Meski'ks*, shows the use of the suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*. Sentence (133), *Meski'kɨp*, shows the use of the attestive evidential, *-p(n)* while sentence (134) *Meski'kɨpnek* shows use of both the attested evidential suffix *-p(n)* followed by the absentative marker *-ek*. In sentence (134) the attested evidential is referencing the fact that the speaker knows for sure that the subject of discourse 'was big' and the absentative marker is overlaying this meaning with the notion that the subject of discourse is no longer accessible to be experienced - in this particular case the big house under discussion has been torn down.

## 7.4 The system of Mi'kmaq evidentiality: type of knowledge source, relative evidentiality and inaccessibility of knowledge source

The Mi'kmaq language clarifies type of source of knowledge, through the use of the evidentials. First hand knowledge source is referenced by the attestive evidential, *-p(n)*. Second hand knowledge source is referenced by the suppositive evidential, *-s(n)*, or the speaker may defer to the knowledge source of the addressee by use of the deferential evidential, *-s(i)p(n)*. However, the speakers of the Mi'kmaq language are also concerned with the degree of accessibility of the knowledge source. It is the function of the absentative endings to mark for this inaccessibility of knowledge source because the individual who holds the knowledge is dead or otherwise inaccessible, or because the object referred to no longer exists or is in a changed state, for example, broken. Sentences (135) through (137), below, illustrate the various workings of the verbal suffixes used to mark evidentiality and inaccessibility in Mi'kmaq.

(135) Piskwa'n. You (sg.) went in/go in. (TMA-60.i)

Piskw-a'-n
enter–AI.VF–AI.2.Indep.neut

(136) Piskwa'tuknaq. Maybe he went in. (TMA-60.ii)

Piskw-a'-tukn-aq
enter–AI.VF–dub–abs= AI.3.dub

(137) Piskwa'snaq tett. It would seem he went through the window – there. (TMA-60.iii)

Piskw-a-asn-aq tett
enter–AI.VF–AI.3.If:Conj.supp–abs there

Sentence (135), *Piskwa'n*, is the AI Independent neutral and is unmarked for evidentiality. Sentence (136), *Piskwa'tuknaq*, demonstrates use of both the dubitative modal suffix, *-tuk*, to create an extended stem and to mark doubt and the absentative suffix, *-aq*, which marks inaccessibility of knowledge source. Sentence (137), *Piskwa'snaq tett*, demonstrates use of the suppositive suffix *-s(n)* marking hedging on the part of the speaker, with this meaning being augmented by the notion of inaccessibility of the knowledge source as referenced by the absentative marker *-aq*.

Another example which exemplifies the difference between knowledge source evidentiality and inaccessibility is the telling of stories in Mi'kmaq and how verbs in such story telling are marked for evidentiality (see section 3.4.1 of Chapter Three). Stories are the ultimate second-hand information. The teller or holder of the story is always a living person who then tells the story to someone

else during a speech act so that the information is passed from 1st person (teller) to 2nd person (listener) and on and on. In these instances the second-hand evidential marker, the suppositive, is used. Even though the story may refer to a mythical person such as Gluscap or may refer to some event which took place a long time ago the absentative suffixes are not used because the teller of the story - the holder of the story- is alive.

The Mi'kmaq system of evidentiality is a modality system which codes, by the use of various suffixes, the source of the speaker's knowledge concerning the grammatical subject and, if relevant, the inaccessibility of that knowledge source to the speaker. The system of evidentiality in Mi'kmaq is underpinned by two conceptual frameworks:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| i) | accessible knowledge source (evidentials) | -attestive -> | 1st hand |
| | | -suppositive -> | 2nd hand & hedging |
| | | -deferential -> | deference |
| ii) | inaccessible knowledge source | -absentatives | |

When accessible knowledge sources are being marked by evidentials the choice of which evidential suffix the speaker will chose to use is determined by the experience of the speaker relative to the experience of the addressee. We have called this relationship relative evidentiality.

In summary, we have found that in Mi'kmaq, the evidential endings, attestive, suppositive and deferential, are used to reference accessible knowledge source. However, because maintenance of harmony between the Speech Act

Participants (SAPs) is important a speaker's evidential choice is also determined by not just the speaker's knowledge source but the speaker's knowledge source relative to the knowledge source of the addressee. Added to this dynamic is also the necessity on the part of the speaker to indicate by the use of absentative markers that a knowledge source is inaccessible and thus not verifiable. Consequently, we see a modality system in Mi'kmaq which makes use of evidentials and absentatives to provide information concerning two key aspects of knowledge source:

i) Evidential suffixes reference accessible knowledge source in general and do this in a way which juxtaposes speaker's knowledge source relative to addressee's knowledge source.

ii) The system of Mi'kmaq evidentiality also requires that inaccessibility of the knowledge source be referenced. This is achieved thorough the use of absentative markers which are attached directly to the evidential suffixes.

## Endnotes

[1] I would like to thank Leroy Little Bear, a fluent Blackfoot speaker and Professor Emeritus of Native Studies at the University of Lethbridge as well as former Director of the Native American Studies Program at Harvard University for discussions of evidentiality in Algonquian languages and for his explanation of evidentiality as being a relative semantic function.

[2] In Table 7.1 we have followed the Algonquian person hierarchy 2->1-> 3 when presenting the relationship of speaker's knowledge source to subject's knowledge source.

[3] The Mi'kmaq sentence has been transliterated into the Smith-Francis Orthography.

[4] University College of Cape Breton Adjunct Assistant Professors in Mi'kmaq Studies: Josephine Peck, Elizabeth Ryan Paul and Eleanor Bernard.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## Conclusion

### 8.1 Mi'kmaq modality

We conclude that the Mi'kmaq language is built on a complex system of modality. In this thesis we have endeavored to show that there are two levels of modality at work in Mi'kmaq. The primary level is characterized by the use of full and reduced Mi'kmaq stems which reference actualized (realis) and unactualized (irrealis) events respectively. Within the system of primary modality, non-evidential modal suffixes, *-t(e)(k)* (potentiality) and *-tuk* (doubt), function to create extended irrealis stems. The second level of modality, which augments the first, is characterized by a set of evidential suffixes which overlay the primary sentential meaning of the verb stems with information concerning the nature of the speaker's knowledge source. Inaccessible knowledge sources are referenced by use of absentative markers which often function in conjunction with evidentials. Table 8.1, below, summarizes the workings of the two levels of modality as found in the Mi'kmaq language.

**Table 8.1**
Primary and secondary modality markers as found in the Mi'kmaq language

| **primary modality** | **FUNCTION** | **FORM** |
|---|---|---|
| *realis* | • full stems | |
| *irrealis* | • reduced stems | |
| | • non-evidential modal suffixes: *-t(e)(k), -tuk* | |
| **secondary modality** | **FUNCTION** | **FORM** |
| *accessible knowledge source (type)* | • evidentials | |
| *inaccessible knowledge source* | • absentatives | |

## 8.2 Primary modality

There are two types of Mi'kmaq verb stems: full and reduced. As shown in Chapter Three, full verb stems reference realis events. In the AI only the Independent and When-conjunct verb orders are formed on full verb stems. The AI Future, Conditional, If-conjunct, Imperative and Subordinative verb orders are formed on reduced stems. Reduced verb stems reference irrealis events (see Chapter Three). The use of full and reduced verb stems to code for realis and irrealis respectively is the primary modality function. Irrealis verb stems may be extended by the use of two modal suffixes, both of which are non-evidential in nature. These are the *-t(e)(k)* suffix, used to create Mi'kmaq verbs denoting potentiality, i.e. Future; and the *-tuk* suffix, used to create Mi'kmaq verbs of doubt, i.e. Dubitative.

## 8.3 Secondary modality: evidentiality

In the Mi'kmaq language various suffixes are used to denote the source of the evidence on which a speaker is basing his or her statements. Such grammatical markers of knowledge source are known as evidentials. Chapter Three of this study has built on Proulx's (1978) identification, in Mi'kmaq, of the attestive and suppositive evidentials which reference first and second hand information respectively and has expanded on the semantic domains of both evidentials. Chapter Four has identified a third evidential, a deferential, which marks deference to the evidential knowledge of the addressee. As well, we have described the use of counterfactuals which reference contrary-to-fact evidence sources and which are suffixed to reduced verb stems (see Chapter Five). There

are three counterfactual evidential suffixes: the attestive, the suppositive and the deferential. The attestive counterfactual encodes for contrary-to-fact events in main clause Conditional sentences. The suppositive counterfactual suffix occurs in If-conjunct clauses which are usually subordinate to contrary-to-fact Conditionals. The suppositive counterfactual is notionally more hypothetical than the attestive counterfactual. The deferential counterfactual occurs on 2, 12 and 13 persons of the AI If-conjunct and functions as a deference marker used by the speaker to seek confirmation information from the addressee concerning potential contrary-to-fact situations.

The Mi'kmaq evidentials are suffixed to verb stems and function as a sub-system within the overall system of Mi'kmaq modality. Consequently, we have described Mi'kmaq evidentiality as a secondary modality system working to augment primary modality which marks for realis or irrealis events. Lastly, we have noted that the degree of accessibility to the speaker's knowledge source is also relevant to the overall workings of Mi'kmaq evidentiality. If a speaker's knowledge source is inaccessible then absentative markers will be used to reference the inaccessibility; consequently, we have included absentative markers as making up part of the secondary system of Mi'kmaq modality. All suffixes which function as part of the Mi'kmaq system of evidentiality are normally suffixed to verb stems. Suffixes of the Mi'kmaq evidential system may occur in combination. The following morphological combinations are possible:

i) Verbs with full stems

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb stem full stem | + | **evidential**[1] | |
| | | • attestive | Independent, |
| | | • suppositive | Independent, |
| | | • deferential | Independent |

The attestive, suppositive and deferential suffixes never occur in combination.

Only one of the suffixes may occur at a time.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb stem full stem | + | **absentative** | Independent, When-conjunct |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb stem full stem | + | **evidential + absentative** | |
| | | • attestive | Independent |
| | | • suppositive | Independent |
| | | • deferential | Independent |

ii) Verbs with reduced stems

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb stem reduced stem | + | **evidential** | |
| | | • attestive | anomaly[2] |
| | | • suppositive | Future, If-conjunct Conditional |
| | | • deferential | Future, If-conjunct |

The attestive, suppositive and deferential suffixes never occur in combination.

Only one of the suffixes may occur at a time.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb stem reduced stem | + | **counterfactual** | |
| | | • attestive counterfactual | Conditional att.cf |
| | | • suppositive counterfactual | If-conjunct supp.cf |
| | | • deferential counterfactual | If-conjunct def.cf |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [Verb stem reduced stem | + | **modal suffix**] | |
| | | • *-tuk* (doubt) | Dubitative |

| [Verb stem + reduced stem | **modal suffix**] + | **evidential** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | • *-t(e)(k)* | • suppositive | Future |
| | | • deferential | Future |
| | • *-tuk* | • attestive | Dubitative |
| | | • suppositive | Dubitative |
| | | • deferential | Dubitative |

| [Verb stem + reduced stem | **modal suffix**] | + **evidential** + **absentative** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | • *-tuk* | • attestive | Dubitative |
| | | • suppositive | Dubitative |
| | | • deferential | Dubitative |

The Mi'kmaq evidential, counterfactual and absentative suffixes function in ways similar to evidentials in other North American aboriginal languages. As noted by Oswalt (1986:29) evidentials are grammatical elements which "express the means by which the speaker has learned whereof he speaks". With respect to evidential knowledge in Wintu, a language of the Penutian language family, Schlichter (1986:46) has concluded

> Knowledge is not infallible. A speaker can believe in the truth of a statement he makes but its truth does not logically follow from his belief. The only way to find out if he is right is to examine the facts. With the evidential suffixes, the Wintu speaker points to his evidence, inviting the addressee to verify it.

What has been discovered to drive the evidential system in Wintu has also been found true for Mi'kmaq in terms of the function of the Mi'kmaq deferential evidential suffix. This suffix is used in Mi'kmaq to invoke the knowledge of the

addressee. So too in Makah a language of the Wakashan family Jacobsen (1986:13) comments on evidential usage to mark for deference to 2nd person.

> I have noted that evidentials are especially favored in Makah with second person subjects, often with special functions. They seem to be a way to avoid insulting a person's intelligence by appearing to tell him what he already knows about himself.

The above comment could have been made about the function of the deferential evidential in Mi'kmaq which, as we have discovered, is used as a grammatical tool to maintain social harmony during discourse. The Mi'kmaq suppositive evidential suffix which signals verbal hedging, also fulfills the role of conflict avoidance and maintenance of social harmony during discourse. So too we have noted, in Chapter Seven, that the relationship of speaker's knowledge source to the knowledge source attributed the addressee determines evidential choice and that the key to evidential choice is the maintenance of harmonious relationships between the Speech Act Participants. The relationship of speaker's knowledge source to the knowledge source of the subject of the sentence we have called relative evidentiality.

The system of Mi'kmaq evidentiality proposed by this thesis and triggered by the insightful work done by Proulx (1978) on Mi'kmaq verbal morphology has similarities to patterns of evidentiality found in other North American languages, namely Wintu, Mahka and Innu-aimun (Montagnais) (Drapeau 1996). Drapeau (1996:172) has moved so far as to propose rejection of the traditional model of Montagnais verbal morphology based on tense distinctions and to

hypothesize verbal paradigms which grammaticalize systems of evidentiality.

> A re-analysis of Montagnais modality was presented by Drapeau (1983, 1984) ... . The argument may be summarized as follows. The analysis proposes a rejection of the Cree model (Ellis 1971; MacKenzie & Clarke 1981) in the study of Montagnais verb paradigms. It is claimed that Montagnais possesses a full evidential system in the sense that it exhibits epistemic modalities of the evidential type grammatically encoded in distinct verbal paradigms...

What Drapeau (1996) has postulated for Montagnais we have found functions for Mi'kmaq. The Mi'kmaq verbal system, at least with respect to the Mi'kmaq AI, is a modality prominent system built largely on representations of evidentiality.

### 8.4 Mi'kmaq modality: concluding remarks

It is our conclusion that the Mi'kmaq language has no tense contrasts. Fleischman (1989:38) when speaking about evidentials in Wintu and about tense /evidential system contrasts in general noted the following

> ... the centrality of tense/temporality in universal grammar may be but another example of statistical tendencies that have been promoted to universals by linguistics that still operates to a large degree under the grammatical hegemony of the Indo-European tradition. The universal semantic prime, if we choose to speak in such terms, is in the final analysis the **spatial** concept of 'distance'.

The notion of the spatial concept of distance is exactly what we have observed as framing the modality system in Mi'kmaq. The accessibility of the knowledge source upon which the speaker bases his or her assertions is important to a

speaker: first-hand experience is close, that is extremely accessible, while second-hand experience is farther away or less accessible. So too the notion of distance plays a role in the Mi'kmaq grammaticalization of inaccessibility of knowledge source. In Mi'kmaq, clarifying the access the speaker has to the holder of the experience being reported by the speech act is important and must be grammatically marked. This is also a type of distance - accessibility is near while inaccessibility is removed or distant. The inaccessibility of a knowledge source is specifically marked by the use of the absentative markers.

The orality of knowledge transmission often referred to as oral history is actually grammaticalized within the verbal system of Mi'kmaq through the function of the system of modality. A Mi'kmaq speaker has no choice but to mark the events he or she represents as being either realis or irrealis, as well as to indicate, by the use of the evidential system, both the source of the speaker's knowledge concerning his or her assertion and whether the holder of that knowledge i.e. the speaker's information source is currently accessible or not.

Though little work has been done previous to ours, except by Proulx (1997), on the workings of the system of evidential function in the Mi'kmaq language, Jacobsen (1986:7) does observe that

> Clearly, evidentials are fairly widespread in North American Indian languages, and they tend to differ from the European cases in the specificity with which the channel of information is indicated.

Jacobsen comments (1986:8) that evidentiality is felt to be a "family trait" of several North American language families or stocks including the Algonquian

language family. Our purpose has been to demonstrate that a complex system of evidentiality is present in Mi'kmaq, and that in Mi'kmaq, an Eastern Algonquian language, the system of evidentiality complements a primary system of modality which grammatically encodes for actualized (realis) or unactualized (irrealis) events. In conclusion we can say that Mi'kmaq is a modality prominent language with no grammaticalized system of tense. The workings of this complex system of modality are summarized for the Mi'kmaq AI in Table 8.2.

**Table 8.2**
Schematic summary of the modality system of the Mi'kmaq AI

(Table 8.2 is located in a pocket in the back of the thesis.)

## Endnotes

[1] In the AI Independent plural suffixes may be added in the 3rd person plural after the attestive, suppositive or deferential evidential suffixes. In the Conditional attestive counterfactual plural suffixes occur after the suppositive evidential for 3rd person plural and 12 plural forms.

[2] There is only one incident of an attestive evidential being used on an irrealis stem and that is with the 12 person of the Mi'kmaq AI Conditional. At this time we cannot account for this anomaly.

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## Appendix I

## Summary of TMA Questionnaire entries

**MI'KMAQ RESPONSES**

**for**

**Dahl's**

**TENSE-MOOD-ASPECT (TMA)**
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**The house be BIG.**

**Sentences # 1 - 4**
II verbs

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Meski'k. | It is big. [Speaker can see "it".] |
| 2. | Meski'k. | It is big. [Speaker can't see "it".] |
| 3. | Meski'kupnek. | It was big. ["It" has been torn down/doesn't exist anymore.] |
| 4.iii | Stephanie meski'kupnek wi'kek. | Stephanie's house was big. [Talking about the house which Stephanie had last year but no longer has.] |
| 4.i | Meski'kek. | It is big. [Speaker saw "it" yesterday but is not looking at it now.] |
| 4.ii | Stephanie's meski'k. | Stephanie house is still big. |

**S/he WRITE letter.**

**Sentences # 5 - 29**
AI/Psuedo TI verbs

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5.i | Etlwi'ket. | S/he is writing.writes a letter [Speaker can see him or her. The speaker doesn't know if s/he 's writing a private letter, it's the physical activity that someone is writing something.] |
| 5.ii | Etl-wi'kikl wi'katiknn. | S/he is in the process of writing letters. [Speaker can see him/her.] |
| 5.iii | Etlwi'kik wi'katikn. | S/he is in the process of writing a letter.[The speaker can actually see him or her writing a letter.] |
| 6.i | Etlwikikl wi'katiknn. | S/he is in the process of writing letters. [Speaker can't see him.] see also # 5.ii |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.ii | Etlwi'kik wi'katikn. | S/he is in the process of writing a letter. [Speaker can't see him/her.]<br>see also # 5.iii |
| 6.iv | (Katu) teluepnaq ketuwikik wi'katikn. | But s/he said s/he wants to write a letter. |
| 6.v | Ajuwikik wi'katikn. | S/he is going over there to write a letter. |
| 7.i | Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q. | He is writing.writes letters. [Because s/he told the speaker on the phone that s/he's doing it now - "to'q".] |
| 9. | Etlwi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. | S/he was in the process of writing letters.<br>see also # 11 |
| 11. | Etlwi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. | S/he was in the process of writing letters. |
| 13. | Ewi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. | S/he wrote letters at a specific time [after dinner]. |
| 15. | Telite'lmk ewi'kmuet wi'katikn. | I think, or it is possible that s/he is writing a letter. |
| 16. | Jiptuk pmwi'katew wi'katikn. | Maybe s/he will be in the process of writing a letter. |
| 18. | Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn. | S/he writes letters [habitually].<br>see also # 25.i |
| 20. | Ewi'kikipn wi'katikn. | S/he wrote a letter [habitually during a defined period of time and now s/he doesn't do it anymore]. |
| 22. | Ewi'km wi'katikn nike'. | I am in the process right this instance of writing a letter. |
| 24. | Etlwi'kik etuk wi'katikn. | Maybe.perhaps s/he is writing a letter. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 25.i | Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn. | S/he writes letters. |
| 25.ii | Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q. | It is common knowledge that s/he writes letters. |
| 26.i | Ewi'kikipn (wi'katikn). | S/he wrote letters but does not do so anymore. |
| 26.ii | Nuji-wi'kikipn (wi'katikn). | S/he was the one who was writing. [The former writer of the letter.] |
| 27. | Nuji-wi'kital ap wi'katiknn. | S/he will again begin the job of writing letters. |
| 28. | Etli-skmayap ni'knaq pmwi'kikek wi'katikn. | I was waiting at our house while s/he was in the process of writing a letter [assuming that this happened yesterday]. |
| 29. | Moqwa pawi'kikip. | No. S/he wrote it slowly. |

**It BE cold.**

**Sentences # 30 -36**
II verbs

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 30.i | Tekpa'q. | The speaker knows that this lake is particularly cold water. For example, if you are swimming the shores of Maine, you know the water is freezing there all the time. That would mean that the speaker had swam there previously. That means you know the speaker was just in it [the water] and is telling the you, the addressee, that it's freezing. also see # 31.i, 34, 113 |
| 30.ii | Tekpa'qap. | It [the water] was cold [this morning, or yesterday]. also see # 32 |

30.iii Tekpa'qapnek. [This morning] it [the water] was cold, but the speaker doesn't know if it's cold now.

31.i Tekpa'q. It is cold.

31.ii Tekpa'q to'q. [If I never swam in it [the water], but Patrick [my husband] swam in it, I would tell Stephanie, Tekpa'q to'q.] It is cold, so I'm told.

32. Tekpa'qap. [The speaker was swimming in the water yesterday.] It was cold.

33. I'-tekpa'qap. It used to be cold a long time ago.

34. I'-petekip. It [the water] is usually warm.

36. Tekpa'qatew. [That means if it [water] is cold now, it will be cold tomorrow.] It will be cold.

**My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD.**

**Sentences #109-113**
AI.II verbs

109. Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan. My younger brother says the water is cold, so he says.

110.i Njiknam teluep tekpa'q to'q samqwan katu puksi-kikajaqnut na to'q. My younger brother said the water is cold, so he says, but he is exaggerating.

110.ii Katu puksi-ewlit. but s/he lies - is lying.

110.iii Njiknam teluep tekpa'q to'q samqwan, katu puksi-ewlit. My younger brother said the water is cold, according to him, but, he is lying.

111.i Njiknam teluet tekpa'qas samqwan wlaku, katu puksi-kikajaqnut na. My younger brother is saying that the water was cold yesterday, but he is exaggerating.

| | |
|---|---|
| 112.i Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap to'q samqwan. | My younger brother said the water was cold. |
| 112.ii Talte'tm teluep njiknam tekpa'qap to'q samqwan. | I think my younger brother said the water was cold. |
| 112.iii Njiknam teluet tekpa'q samqwan mita .katu puksi-kikajaqnut. | My younger brother says that the water is cold, but he often exaggerates. |
| 112.iv Njiknam teluet tekpa'qap samqwan wlaku katu mita samqwan weli-epetekip wjit ni'n. | My younger brother says that the water was cold yesterday, but the water was warm for me. |
| 112.v Njiknam teluet tekpa'qap samqwan wlaku katu nekm na mena'jit. | My brother says that the water was cold yesterday, but he's sensitive to cold. |
| 113.i Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap samqwan tikwlaku katu mu telianuk ta'n teluet. | My younger brother said the water was cold two days ago but it is not true what he says. |
| 113.ii Teluet. | S/he says |
| 113.iii Teluep. | S/he said |
| 113.iv Tekpa'q. | It is cold. |
| 113.v Tekpa'qap. | It was cold ( I know for sure.) |

**He READ book.**

**Sentences # 53-55**
<u>TI verbs</u>

| | |
|---|---|
| 53.i E'e ki's-kiskitk. | Yes, s/he read/reads it already. also see # 54 |
| 53.ii E'e te'lte'lm ki's-kiskitk. | Yes, I think s/he read/reads it already. |
| 55. E'e ki's-kis-kip. | Yes already s/he read it ( I know because s/he verified it). |

**He (the king) DIE.**

**Sentences # 56-57**
AI verbs

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 56.i | Nepkaq elike'witaq. | The king died.<br>see also # 57 |
| 56.ii | Nepkaq elike'witaq to'q. | The king died, as everyone knows. |
| 57. | Nepkaq elike'witaq. | The king died. |

**(Yes) he BE TIRED.**

**Sentence # 58**
AI verb

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 58. | E'e kispinet. | Yes, she/he is tired. |

**It SNOW.**

**Sentence # 59**
II verb

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 59.i | Kisi-kis-pesaq etuk. | Probably it already snowed. |
| 59.ii | Kis-pesaq. | It already snowed. |

**The thief ENTER the house by this window.**

**Sentence # 60**
AI verb

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 60.i | Piskwa'n. | I went in/go in. |
| 60.ii | Piskwa'tuknaq. | Maybe he went in. |
| 60.iii | Piskwa'snaq tett. | It would seem he went in - there. |

**The house BE WHITE.**

**Sentence # 70**
II verb

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 70.i | I'-wape'kɨp na amskwes. | It used to be white before. |
| 70.ii | I'-wape'ksɨp to'q. | It used to be white, as everyone knows. [Do you know?]. |
| 70.iii | Wape'k. | (It is) white. |
| 70.iv | Talte'tm i'-wape'ksɨp. | I think that it used to be white - do you know? |
| 70.v | Talte'tm i'-wape'kɨp. | I think it used to be white. |

## Appendix II

## TMA Questionnaire - Mi'kmaq Responses

**MI'KMAQ RESPONSES**

**for**

**Dahl's**

**TENSE-MOOD-ASPECT (TMA)**
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. [Standing in front of a house]
The house BE BIG

---

1. **Meski'k.** It is big. [Speaker can see "it".]

mesk-i'-k
big–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Standing in front of a big house, so you can see it.

**a.Eleanor:** Meski'k.

2. [Talking about the house in which the speaker lives (the house is out of sight)]
The house BE BIG

---

2. **Meski'k.** It is big. [Speaker can't see "it".]

mesk-i'-k
big–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 2, you're talking about the house in which the speaker lives, so it's your house and you're talking to me, but the house is out of sight. Neither of us can see it.

**a.Eleanor:** Meski'k.

**Stephanie:** So it doesn't matter that we can't see it?

**b.Eleanor:** Um. hum.

3. [Talking about the house in which the speaker used to live but which has now been torn down]
The house BE BIG

---

3. **Meski'kupnek.** It was big. ["It" has been torn down . doesn't exist anymore.]

mesk-i'-k-u-pn-ek
big–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–con–att–abs

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** So Number 3 says, we're talking about a house. We're talking about the house in which the speaker used to live, but it's now been torn down.

**a.Eleanor:** Meski'kupnek .

**Stephanie:** O.K. Meski'kupnek . So it's torn down, we can't see it.

4. [Talking about a house which the speaker saw for the first time yesterday and doesn't see now]
The house BE BIG

---

4.i **Meski'kek.** It is big. [speaker saw "it" yesterday but is not looking at it now.]

mesk-i'-k-ek
big–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–abs

4.ii **Stephanie's meski'k.** Stephanie house is still big.

Stephanie's mesk-i'-k-ek
big–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–abs

4.iii **Stephanie meski'kupnek wi'kek.** Stephanie's house was big. [Talking about the house which Stephanie had last year but no longer has. ]

mesk-i'-k-u-pn-ek
big–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att–abs

w-i'k-ek
poss.3–house–abs

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 4 - we're talking about a house which you saw for the first time yesterday, and we're not looking at it now. So if you saw my house for the first time yesterday, and we're sitting here talking, and you're saying, "The house be big."

**a.Eleanor:** Meski'kek.

**Stephanie:** Meski'kek? Because Number 1 was Meski'k? ... but Number 4, you saw it yesterday.

**b.Eleanor:** There are some changes because I saw it.

**Stephanie:** So how does that literally translate into English then?

**c.Eleanor:** I saw a big house.

**Stephanie:** I saw a big house. So if you were telling somebody, "Stephanie's house is big." You'd still say Meski'kek?

**d.Eleanor:** No, if I was telling somebody that you still have a big house, I would say Stephanie's Meski'k. But if I talk about your house last year, I would say, Stephanie Meski'kupnek wi'kek.

**Stephanie:** Right, it was big from last year.

**e.Eleanor:** Yes.

**Stephanie:** So in some languages, seeing it for the first time makes a difference, but I don't think it makes a difference here does it? That you saw it for the first time? (**Eleanor** - nods head to indicate No)

5 [Q: What your husband DO right now? (= What activity is he engaged in?)
A: by someone who can see him]
He WRITE letters

---

5.i **Etlwi'ket.** S/he is writing/writes. [Speaker can see him or her.] The speaker doesn't know if s/he's writing a private letter, it just describes the physical activity that someone is writing something.]

Etl-wi'k-e-t
in the process–write–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

5.ii **Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn.** S/he is in the process of writing letters. [Speaker can see him/her.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Etl-wi'k-i-k-l | wi'katikn-n |
| in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl | book–in.pl |

5.iii **Etlwi'kik wi'katikn.** S/he is in the process of writing a letter. [The speaker can actually see him or her writing a letter.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Etl-wi'k-i-k | wi'katikn |
| in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut | book |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now, Number 5. So, there is a question. What's your husband do right now? What activity is he engaged in, and the answer is by someone who can see him. So I'm asking you, what's Patrick doing right now, what's your husband doing, and your answer is - he write letters. How are you going to say that.

**a.Eleanor:** Etlwi'ket.

**Stephanie:** Etlwi'ket?

**b.Eleanor:** Etlwi'ket. Kisna [or] Etlwikikl wi'katikn. O.K? You're assuming I'm looking over there [at him]?

**Stephanie:** Yes, you can see him right now.

**c.Eleanor:** I can see him. I don't know if he's writing a private letter, or if he is just scribbling. Etlwi'ket.

**Stephanie:** O.K.

**d.Eleanor:** That just tells me the physical activity - that he's writing something.

**Stephanie:** Yes, O.K.

**e.Eleanor:** But if I wanted to put in more detail, if I could actually see him writing a letter, I would say, Etlwi'kik wi'katikn.

**Stephanie:** Etlwi'kik wi'katikn.. O.K. that's the private letter.

**f.Eleanor:** Um, hum. I actually see him with a letter.

## 6 He WRITES letters (but you can't see him)

6.i **Etlwikikl wi'katiknn.** S/he is in the process of writing letters. [Speaker can't see him/her.]

Etl-wi'k-i-k-l wi'katikn-n
in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl book–in.pl

6.ii **Etlwi'kik wi'katikn.** S/he is in the process of writing a letter. [Speaker can't see him/her.]

Etl-wi'k-i-k wi'katikn
in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut book

6.iii **Nmu'ltes na wejiaq.** I'll see you when it happens.

Nm-u'l-te-s na wej-ia-q
see–TA.VF–Fut–supp=TA.1>2.Fut dm come/
result from–II.VF– II.3.Indep.neut

6.iv **(Katu) teluepnaq ketuwikik wi'katikn.** but s/he said s/he wants to write a letter.

(Katu) Tel-u-e-pn-aq ketu
(But) speak–con–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.att–abs want/preceed/wish

wi'k-i-k wi'katikn.
write–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut book

6.v **Ajuwikik wi'katikn.** S/he is going over there to write a letter.

Aju-wi'k-i-k wi'katikn.
movement–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut book

6.vi **Mu tamu wejiaq.** I don't know what is happening.

Mu tamu wej-i-aq
neg where(neg) come/result from–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** He writes letters - and you don't know any of the circumstances, you're just telling me, Oh, what's he doing? He's just writing letters.

**a.Eleanor:** Etlwikikl wi'katiknn.

**Stephanie:** Yes, it's the same [as number 5.ii].

**b.Eleanor:** It's the same.

**Stephanie:** So it doesn't matter whether you can see him doing it or not?

**c.Eleanor:** Nmu'ltes na wejiaq (= I'll see you when it happens.) Because I can't see him. Ah... Wejiaq.

**Stephanie:** Wejiaq. You don't know. O.K. [wejiaq = when it happens]

**e.Eleanor:** But then again, I could qualify and say, Teluepnaq [He said absentative] ketuwi'kik wi'katikn.

**Stephanie:** So it changes. You say Wejiaq, because you can't see him.

**f.Eleanor:** Yes. But then you can put a qualifier in there and say, Katu teluepnaq ketu wikik wi'katikin. He wants to write a letter.

**Stephanie:** You think he writes a letter ?

**g.Eleanor:** Yes, kisna [or] Ajuwikik wi'katikn. He is going over there to write a letter.

**Stephanie:** But you don't know if he's writing it because you can't see him.

**h.Eleanor:** No... mu tamu wejiaq. [I don't know what is happening.]

**Stephanie:** Right

7. [A: I just talked to my brother on the phone. B: What he DO right now? A: answers ]
He WRITE letters

---

7.i **Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q.** He is writing/writes letters [because he told me on the phone that he's doing it now - "to'q"].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Etl-wi'k-i-k-l | wi'katikn-n | to'q |
| in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl | book–in.pl | community knowledge |

7.ii **to'q** To'q refers to common community knowledge

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 7 - Person A just says (the speaker), I just talked to my brother on the phone. So you tell me, "I just talked to my brother on the phone," and I say, "Oh, what's he doing, what's he do right now, what's he doing right now?" and then you are going to tell me he is writing letters.

**a.Eleanor:** Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn. But I would say Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q. You have to put your to'q there.

**Stephanie:** Now the to'q means ... ?

**b.Eleanor:** "Acted right now.""He is doing it actually now."

**Stephanie:** Is that because someone told you that on the phone?

**c.Eleanor:** Because he told me on the phone that he's doing it now - "to'q". Etlwikmn nike' wi'katiknn to'q. Etlwi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q.

**Stephanie:** So can the to'q be translated, "someone told me so"?

**d.Eleanor:** Yes. It is second-hand information. He is the one who is telling me that he is doing that. I don't see him. So when you ask him, "What is your brother doing?" And I tell you, because I spoke to him, I will answer, Etlwi'kikl to'q wi'katiknn to'q.

**Stephanie:** Yes. It tells you supposedly.

**e.Eleanor:** Yes, supposedly that's what he's doing.

9. [A: I went to see my brother yesterday. B: What he DO right now? A answers:] He WRITE letters.

---

9. **Etlwi'kikipnn wi'katiknn.** S/he was in the process of writing letters.

| | |
|---|---|
| Etl-wi'k-i-k-ipn-n | wi'katikn-n. |
| in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.–att–in.pl | book–in.pl |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 9. O.K., you're telling me, I went to see my brother yesterday, and I said, "Oh, what he do?" What activity was he engaged in yesterday?

**a.Eleanor:** O.K., Number 9 - I went to see my brother yesterday. Etlwi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. O.K.?

**Stephanie:** Etlwi'kikipnn wi'katiknn.

11. [A: I talked to my brother yesterday. B: What he DO? (= What activity was he engaged in?)]
He WRITE letters.

---

11. **Etlwi'kikipnn wi'katiknn.** S/he was in the process of writing letters.

Etl-wi'k-i-k-ipn-n wi'katikn-n.
in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep–att–in.pl book–in.pl

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 11 - I talked to my brother on the phone yesterday, and I say to him, "What was he doing when you were talking to him on the phone yesterday?"

**a.Eleanor:** Etlwi'kikipnn.

**Stephanie:** The sentence is the same as in number 9?

**b.Eleanor:** Yes.

13. [A: When you visited your brother yesterday, what he DO after you had dinner? A:]
He WRITE letter

---

13. Ewi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. S/he wrote letters at a specific time [after dinner].

E-wi'k-i-k-ipn-n wi'katikn-n.
specific time–write–con–TI.3.Indep–att–in.pl book–in.pl

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 12 is the same as Number 11 so we will skip it. Number 13 - so I'm asking you, "When you visited your brother yesterday, what was he doing after he had dinner?"

**a.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikipnn wi'katiknn.

**Stephanie:** The same as number 9 and number 11? No, it changes. E'wi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. So it's not Etl ?

**b.Eleanor:** No. He had - he did something specifically after dinner - Ewi'kikipnn wi'katiknn. So if I really translated that, I would say, "Kisatalkek Ewi'kikipnn wi'katiknn." See? Kisatalkek = after he ate. Ewi'kikipnn wi'katiknn.

**Stephanie:** What's the difference between the Etiwi'kikipnn in Number 9, and Ewi'kikipnn?

**c.Eleanor:** O.K. in Number 9, Etlwi'kikipnn he was in the process "Etl" "Etl" In the process, that's right. He was in the process, or he is in the process of writing, O.K.? Depends on what part you're talking about. But in Number 13, you get really specific - he did it right after dinner, O.K.?

**Stephanie:** And that's your Ewi'kikipnn?

**d.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikipnn.

15. [Q: What your brother DO if you don't go to see him today, do you think? A:]

He WRITE letter.

---

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15. | **Telite'lmk ewi'kmuet wi'katikn.** | I think, or it is possible that s/he is writing a letter. |

Tel-ite'lm-k
thus–TA.VF.think–TA.1>3.Indep.neut

| | |
|---|---|
| ewi'km-u-e-t | wi'katikn |
| write.TI stem–TA.VF–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut | book |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 15. It says "What is your brother doing?" or What does your brother do if you don't go to see him today, do you think?" So in other words, you don't see him, we're just talking about your brother, you and I, and I'm saying what do you think your brother is doing today, and you're telling me that he is writing a letter. You think he's writing a letter.

**a.Eleanor:** If I think he might be doing that, then I would say, "Telite'lmk ewi'kmuet wi'katikn." You're just saying, "I think," - Telite'lmk.

**Stephanie:** I think he's writing a letter.

**b.Eleanor:** Yes, "Telite'lmk" is "I think," or "maybe it is possible".

16. [What your brother DO when we arrive, do you think? (What activity will he be engaged in?)]
He WRITE a letter.

---

16. **Jiptuk pmwi'katew wi'katikn.** Maybe s/he will be in the process of writing a letter.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jiptuk | pm-wi'k-a-t-ew | wi'katikn. |
| maybe | along–write–AI.VF–Fut–per.3 | book |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** I'm asking you, "What do you think your brother is going to be doing when we get to his place, when we arrive there and see him, what do you think he will be doing?

**a.Eleanor:** And I would have to say, "Jiptuk pmwi'katew wi'katikn" Jiptuk = maybe. Jiptuk pmwi'katew = maybe he will be in the process of writing a letter.

18. [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast? A:]
He WRITE letters.

---

18. **Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn.** S/he writes letters (habitually).

| | |
|---|---|
| E-wi'k-i-k-l | wi'katikn-n. |
| specific time–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl | book–in.pl |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K. Now Number 18, it's saying, "What does your brother usually do after breakfast? And you say he write letters.

**a.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn. I don't see him writing these letters, but it might be a habit of his.

**Stephanie:** This is it; that's what they're getting at here a habit.

**b.Eleanor:** It's a habit. Eight o'clock he finishes breakfast, and at 8:15 he sits down and he writes letters. So if you say, "Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn" that definitely tells me O.K. that's it, that's what he does.

20. [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast last summer? A:]
He WRITE letter

---

20. **Ewi'kikipn wi'katikn.** S/he wrote a letter [habitually during a defined period of time and now s/he doesn't do it anymore.]

E-wi'k-i-k-ipn
specific time–write–con–TI.3.Indep–att.cf

wi'katikn
book

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K. Number 20. "What did your brother usually do after breakfast last summer?" Only last summer when he was in Maine picking berries.

**a.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikipn wi'katikn.

**Stephanie:** O.K. Why couldn't you say, Ewi'kikl as in number 18?

**b.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikl - that's like saying, Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn. It's like a job. No, but you're talking about a habit, that he did last summer, which means after breakfast last summer he wrote letters.

**Stephanie:** O.K., but if you say "Ewi'kikipn", that means.... ?

**c.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikipn That was last summer. O.K.?

**Stephanie:** O.K., but not a habit.

**d.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikipn wi'katikn. It was almost like saying that every morning for two months that he wrote a letter.

**Stephanie:** So it's a short duration of time.

**e.Eleanor:** Yes, according to your question anyway.

**Stephanie:** Yes, and that's what they..... they're wondering if there is a difference between a habit that has no time span, and something that was done in a certain amount of time only.

**f.Eleanor:** O.K., then, "what does your brother do?" "Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn." So that would be, he does it every day, every day forever.

**Stephanie:** Forever, yes forever. But the other Ewi'kikipn?

**g.Eleanor:** It just tells you that it was a duration. Especially when you qualify it with last summer.

22. [Q: What are you planning to do right now? A:]
I WRITE letter

---

22. **Ewi'km wi'katikn nike'.** I am in the process right this instance of writing a letter.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| E-wi'k-m | wi'katikn | nike' |
| specific time–write–TI.1.Indep.neut | book | now |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 22. What are you planning to do - if I asked you, "Eleanor, what are you planning to do right now?" You're going to write a letter.

**a.Eleanor:** Ewi'km wi'katikn nike'. You have to write nike' down for "right now". I could also say, "Assma nike' = right this minute".

**Stephanie:** And, if you didn't put the nike', and you said Ewi'km wi'katikn?

**b.Eleanor:** So, you might be sitting down there in the process of writing a letter, you might stop or you might start in five minutes time, but Assma nike' seems to denote, I am in the actual process, right now, right this instant, this is what I am doing.

24. [Neither A nor B can see B's Brother. A: What he DO right now, do you think? (What activity is he engaged in?)]
He WRITE letter (I think so because he does that everyday at this time)

---

24. **Etlwi'kik etuk wi'katikn.** Maybe/perhaps s/he is writing a letter.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Etl-wi'k-i-k | etuk | wi'katikn |
| in the process–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut | perhaps | book |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Right. O.K. Number 24. Neither you nor I can see your brother, Peter, and so I'm saying, "What do you think Peter is doing right now?" and you answer, "He's writing a letter " because you think that's something he does every day at that time.

**a.Eleanor:** I would say, I guess, Etlwi'kik etuk wi'katikn, or you can put etuk first; as you may know, free word.

**Stephanie:** How would you translate the "Etuk?"

**b.Eleanor:** "Maybe," or "could be," or "perhaps." It's sort of a word saying, "maybe perhaps." "I'm not sure, but I think that's what he does at this time".

**Stephanie:** So you couldn't say, "Etlwi'kik to'q?"

**c.Eleanor:** No. Etlwi'kik etuk wi'katikn. You have to tell me you think that's what he is doing. Neither one of us can see him, remember?

**Stephanie:** Right. O.K. So if we don't have the etuk, is the ending the part that tells you that neither of us can see him?

**d.Eleanor:** I think Jiptuk will tell you more, but both words need each other to tell you if perhaps or maybe.

**Stephanie:** That we can't see him.

**e.Eleanor:** You can't see him, so perhaps that is what he is doing.

25. [My brother works at an office. B: What kind of work he DO there?]
He WRITE letter(s).

---

25.i **Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn.** S/he writes letters.

E-wi'k-i-k-l wi'katikn-n.
specific time–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl book–in.pl

25.ii **Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q.** It is common knowledge that s/he writes letters.

E-wi'k-i-k-l wi'katikn-n to'q
specific time–write–con–TI.3.Indep.neut–in.pl book–in.pl community knowledge

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** So you're telling me that Peter works in an office in Number 25, and I say, "Oh, what kind of work does he do?"

**a.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn. He writes [letters]. Wi'katiknn also could be books O.K.? Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn.

**Stephanie:** And the wi'katiknn can go front or back of the Ewi'kikl - right?

**b.Eleanor:** yes

**Stephanie:** What would be the difference then between Etlwi'kik as in Number 24? Is it because we can't see him at the office?

**c.Eleanor:** But you're asking me what kind of work does he do. I am describing the work now. Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn. Or you could say - Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q.

**Stephanie:** We could say the to'q?

**d.Eleanor:** We could say that to'q too. If we said Ewi'kikl wi'katiknn to'q, that would be more or less, not exactly second-hand information, but COMMON FACT you know? Everybody knows Peter writes these things.

26. [A: Last year, my brother worked at an office. B: What kind of work he DO here?]
He WRITE letter

---

26.i **Ewi'kikipnn (wi'katiknn).** S/he wrote letters but does not do so anymore.

E-wi'k-i-k-ipn-n wi'katikn-n
specific time–write–con–TI.3.Indep–att.cf–in.pl book–in.pl

26.ii **Nuji-wi'kikipn (wi'katikn).** S/he was the one who was writing. (the former writer of the letter)

nuji-wi'k-i-k-ipn ( wi'katikn)
one who does–write–con–TI.3.Indep–att.cf ( book)

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K. Now, Number 26 - If I said to you, "Oh Eleanor,I knew that Peter was working in an office last year, but he's not working there now, what was he doing?

**a.Eleanor:** Ewi'kikipn (wi'katikn).

**Stephanie:** Finished, done. Yes?

**b.Eleanor:** Or I could also say nuji-wi'kikipn wi'katikn. "He was the one that was writing the [letter]." nuji- = he was the one... So, in a sense when you put the nuji-wi'kikipn wi'katikn, it tells you that that was his former work. O.K.?

27 [A: My brother has got a new job. He'll start tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO there?]
He WRITE letters.

---

27. **Nuji-wi'kital ap wi'katiknn.** S/he will again begin the job of writing letters.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| nuji-wi'k-i-t-al | ap | wi'katikn-n |
| one who does–write–con–Fut–in.pl | again | book–in.pl |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 27. "Oh, I heard Peter got a new job, and he's going to start tomorrow. What is he going to be doing?"

**a.Eleanor:** Nuji-wi'kital ap wi'katiknn. In other words, is he writing books again. Nuji-wi'kital ap. Ap is separate.

28. [Talking of what happened yesterday]
While my brother WRITE a letter, I WAIT in the garden

---

28. **Etli-skmayap ni'knaq pmwi'kikek wi'katikn.** I was waiting at our house while he was in the process of writing a letter [assuming that this happened yesterday].

| | |
|---|---|
| Etli-skm-a-y-ap | n-i'k-n-aq |
| in the process–wait–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep–att | poss.1–house–33–loc |
| pm-wi'k-~~i~~-k-ek | wi'katikn |
| along–write–con–AI.3.Indep.neut–abs | book |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K., so we're at Number 28. We are talking about what happened yesterday, and you tell me that you were waiting in the garden while your brother was writing a letter.

**a.Eleanor:** Etli-skmayap . Do you want me to translate the garden too?

**Stephanie:** However you would want to say that.

**b.Eleanor:** Etli-skmayap ika'taqaniktuk, or we'll just say etli-skmayap.

**Stephanie:** You were waiting?

**c.Eleanor:** Etli-skmayap ni'knaq - at my house. Then pmwi'kikek wi'katikn. Pm- "while he was in the process". Now, after you write down your sentence, I want you to read it for me to see if you got the correct ending.

**Stephanie:** Etli-skmayap

**d.Eleanor:** Etli-skmayap "I waited". Ni'knaq - at my house.

**Stephanie:** Pmwi'kikek.

**e.Eleanor:** That's assuming that this happened yesterday.

29. [Q: Did your brother finish the letter quickly? A:]
(No,) he WRITE the letter slowly.

---

29. **Moqwa pawi'kikip.** No. S/he wrote it slowly.

Moqwa paw-i'k-i-k-ip
No slowly–write–con–TI.3.Indep–att

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Then I ask you (no. 29) "Oh, did your brother finish the letter quickly?"You say, "No." He write the letter slowly.

**a.Eleanor:** Moqwa pawi'kikip.

30. [Talking of the water in a lake which is visible to the speaker and the hearer:]
(The water is usually warm, but today) It BE cold.

---

30.i **Tekpa'q.** It [water] is cold right now.

Tek-pa-a-q
cold–liquidII.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

30.ii **Tekpa'qap.** It [the water] was cold this morning, or yesterday.

Tek-pa-a-q-ap
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att

30.iii **Tekpa'qapnek** That means this morning it [the water] was cold, but I don't know if it's cold now.

Tek-pa-a-q-apn-ek
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att–abs

**DISCUSSION**

**Stephanie:** O.K. Number 30. So you and I are standing here, we are looking out; say we're at Murdena's, and we're looking out at the water, at the lake, and you say to me, "Oh, the water is cold, but it's usually warm, but today it is cold." It's cold.

**a.Eleanor:** You're talking about weather, but if you say tekpa'q, then you're talking about water, O.K.

**Stephanie:** Yes.

**Male Voice(Dr. Micheal Robichaud - folklorist):** But even in English, there has to be some sort of prerequisite that you have touched the water, and that you have done something to know that the water is cold.

**Stephanie:** Not if you saw the temperature on the thermometer - not necessarily; you could say the water is freezing on windy days like today.

**b.Eleanor:** Yes That's an assumption

**Male Voice:** But the assumption has to be based on something. You know what I mean, even in English.

**Stephanie:** But, see she has a choice. She has to make a choice of endings, and one of them being whether she actually experienced something or not.

**Male Voice:** Well, O.K. How you experience it? Like if you touched it or if you saw it ?

**c.Eleanor:** O.K., I can say Tekpa'q. That means cold right now, or I can say Tekpa'qap - it was cold this morning, or yesterday. Or I can say Tekpa'qapnek that means this morning it was cold, but I don't know if it's cold now. Each time you change the ending, it tells you something.

**Male Voice:** O.K., right. So you can't actually then say, physically say, you know, it's cold now, or whatever, ....right?

**d.Eleanor:** I think this part, you know - the water is usually warm, but today it is, you know, it's cold.

**Stephanie:** O.K. Tekpa'q?

**e.Eleanor:** Tekpa'q.

**Stephanie:** After you have touched it?

**f.Eleanor:** Yes. I have to touch it to know if it's cold, or stick my finger in it.

**Stephanie:** You have to experience it?

**g.Eleanor:** Yes

31. [Of a visible lake, what the water is usually like]
It BE cold

---

31.i **Tekpa'q**

That means that I know that this lake is particularly cold water; like if you are swimming the shores of Maine, you know the water is freezing there all the time. That would mean that I had swam there previously. That means, you know I was just in it, and I'm telling you it's freezing.

Tek-pa-a-q
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

31.ii **Tekpa'q to'q.**

It is cold, as everyone knows.
[If I never swam in it [the water], but Patrick [my husband] swam in it, I would tell Stephanie, Tekpa'q to'q.]

Tek-pa-a-q
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

to'q
community knowledge

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K., Number 31. So, we're at Murdena's and we're looking out at the lake, and I would ask you, "How is the water in that lake?"

**a.Eleanor:** Tekpa'q. That means that I know that this lake is particularly cold water; like if you are swimming the shores of Maine, you know the water is freezing there all the time. That would mean that I had swam there previously.

**Stephanie:** But you would had to have gone in the water, you would had to have physically gone in the water? If someone had told you - if you had never, ever gone in the water, and you just sort of know because your husband told you, then do you have to say, Tekpa'q to'q?

**b.Eleanor:** Tekpa'q to'q.

**Male Voice:** But do you have the construction if the water is cold?

**Stephanie:** You can't go by the literal translations. You have to go by working backwards from this language, because then you get false meanings.

**Male Voice:** Right, but again, like say you wanted to say, "The water is cold." Do you still have to verify that - how you have experienced that it's cold?

**c.Eleanor:** Like, you know, Stephanie asked me, "How is this water over here,"and if I never swam in it, but Patrick swam in it, I would tell Stephanie, Tekpa'q to'q.

**Stephanie:** Because she didn't physically go in.

**d.Eleanor:** But somebody else did, and I had this information from somebody else.

**Male Voice:** Right, right. You kind of have to qualify it.

**Stephanie:** It has to be personal experience, or it doesn't count.

**e.Eleanor:** But if I just looked at Stephanie and told her, Tekpa'q. That means, you know I was just in it, and I'm telling you it's freezing.

**Male Voice:** Right, right, right.

**f.Eleanor:** But if I add the to'q on it, that means somebody told me it.

**Stephanie:** You'll even see it as we go through here, because first she said Number 30 - we're talking about the lake, we're both staying at Murdena's house, she has this big picture window right above the Bras D'Or Lakes, we're looking out, and so she says, Tekpa'q. You know it's usually cold because she swam in it; but then asking her Number 31, what the lake is usually like, well she can say Tekpa'q, right - if you know because you are in it, but if she has never really been in it because she is phobic of swimming and she won't go near water, and she has never touched it, she would have to say, Tekpa'q to'q because she is too terrified to touch the water. Right?

**g.Eleanor:** And I know from somebody else that it is cold.

32. [Of a visible lake, in which the speaker swam yesterday]
(Today the water is warm, but yesterday) it BĖ cold

---

32. **Tekpa'qap.** It was cold. [The speaker was swimming in the water yesterday.]

Tek-pa-a-q-ap
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now if we go to Number 32, we're looking out Murdena's window, and you went swimming yesterday - today the water is really, really warm because I just came out, but you want to tell me that yesterday it was cold when you went swimming.

**a.Eleanor:** Tekpa'qap.

**Stephanie:** O.K. Tekpa'qap. And why did you add the -ap?

**b.Eleanor:** It was yesterday.

33. [Of a visible lake]
(The first time I swam in this water many years ago ) it BE cold

---

33. **I'-tekpa'qap** It used to be cold a long time ago.

I'-tek-pa-a-q-ap
it used to be–cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now Number 33. We're looking at the water and you're telling me, "The first time I swam in the water many years ago, it was cold."

**a.Eleanor:** I'-tekpa'qap i'- =it used to be.

**Stephanie:** I'-tekpa'qap. A long time ago. That's the i'-.

34. [Of a visible lake, said in the summer]
(Usually the water is warm, but this summer) it BE cold

---

34. **I'-petekip.** It [the water] is usually warm.

I'-pet-e-k-ip
it used to be–warm–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now we're standing there, we're looking at the lake, it's in the summer, and we're saying the water is usually warm, but now it's cold. This summer it's cold.

**a.Eleanor:** You would say, I'-petekip. "It [the water] is warm."

**Stephanie:** ....it's cold this summer. It's usually warm, but we're sticking with cold.

**b.Eleanor:** Usually the water is warm, but this time it's cold.

36. [It is no use trying to swim in the lake tomorrow]
The water BE cold (then)

---

36. **Tekpa'qatew.** That means if it [water] is cold now, it will be cold tomorrow.

Tek-pa-a-q-a-t-ew
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–con–Fut–per.3

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Number 36. We're standing there and we're talking - the both of us are together - and we're looking at the water, and you tell me, "It's no use trying to swim in the lake tomorrow, the water is cold, and it's going to be cold tomorrow too." The water will be cold.

**a.Eleanor:** I would say, Tekpa'qatew. You know, Tekpa'qatew. That means if it's cold now, it will be cold tomorrow.

53. [A: I want to give your brother a book to read, but I don't know which. Is there any of these books that he READ already? B:]
(Yes,) he READ this book

---

53.i **E'e ki's-kiskitk.** Yes, s/he read/reads it already.

E'e ki's-kis-kit-k.
Yes already–already–count–TI.3.Indep.neut

53.ii **E'e te'lte'lm ki's-kiskitk** Yes, I think s/he reads it already.

E'e te'l-te't-m
yes think–TI.VF.think–TI.3.Indep.neut

ki's-kis-kit-k.
already–already–count–TI.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K., we're going to change subjects now. For Number 53, we're going to start talking about your brother reading a book. So I say, I want to give your brother a book to read, but I don't know which book. Are there any of these books that he has read already? And you're just going to say, "Yes, he read this book." My brother read this book.

**a.Eleanor:** You just want me to say, "Yes, he read this book."?

**Stephanie:** Yes.

**b.Eleanor:** Well, you see what would be happening here, ideally, is that I would be looking at these books pointing out to you, and if you gave me a particular book, I would probably just say, E'e ki's-kiskitk.

**Stephanie:** But you have to be looking at the book?

**c.Eleanor:** Practically, yes. I am also assuming he read this book, and you can also say, E'e te'lte'lm ki's-kiskitk. E'e te'lte'lm. E'e te'lte'lm ki's-kiskitk. Yes I think he read it already. Because - he never told me he read it, but I think he did.

**Stephanie:** Right.

**d.Eleanor:** I am just assuming that he read it.

54. [A: It seems that your brother never finishes books.]
(That is not quite true.) He READ this book (= all of it)

---

54. **E'e ki's-kiskitk.** Yes, s/he read/reads it already.

E'e ki's-kis-kit-k.
Yes already–already–count–TI.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now Number 54 says, "It seems your brother never finishes books." This is not quite true. He read all of this book. You know for sure that he did read it. You know that he read it.

**a.Eleanor:** E'e ki's-kiskitk.

**Stephanie:** It's the same as number 53, it doesn't make any difference?

**b.Eleanor:** yes

55. [Q: Your brother DO what his teacher told him to do today?]
(Yes,) he READ (all of) this book (as he was told)

---

55. **E'e ki's-kis-kip.** Yes, already s/he read it [I know because s/he verified it].

E'e ki's-kis-ki-p.
Yes already–complete–count/read–TI.3.Indep–att

Note: You have to take his [the speaker's] word for it because reading is so personal that only the reader can know for sure if he or she is [really] reading.

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K., Number 55. Your brother, he read the book because someone told him to do it, so he did it. Does it make a difference that someone told him to read it?

**a.Eleanor:** Then what you have to say is, E'e ki's-kis-kip. That's me telling you.....you told Patrick to read the book, and I'm sitting here by Patrick and I know for sure that he read it.

**Stephanie:** O.K.

**b.Eleanor:** But this is a silly example. Do you know why it's a silly example? You never know if a person really read the book unless they said they read it. You can only assume they're reading when they're holding the book up. So you can only assume that he read the book.Well for me, I could be holding this book up here, opening it, and looking at it, but that doesn't mean I'm reading it. But you looking at me would assume that I am reading the syllabus or something.

**Stephanie:** So we still don't know, right?

**c.Eleanor:** You don't know.

**Stephanie:** And what's the only way to know?

**d.Eleanor:** If I ask you, "Did you read that book?" and if you give me a definite answer, because just assuming somebody is reading something is not the actual truth, it's only an assumption.

**Stephanie:** Do you think that's what those endings are doing? Is that why Mi'kmaq has those -p's and -s's?

**e.Eleanor:** Yes!

**Stephanie:** that's the tribal consciousness? ... that's the reality?

**f.Eleanor:** Yes! That's reality. Either it is or it isn't!

**Stephanie:** And you can only know by having the person tell you?

**g.Eleanor:** Yes, or you can have second-hand information from somebody, and if that's the case, then you put a qualifier in there - Stephanie, telimit = Stephanie she says so.

56. [Q: Is the king still alive? A:]
(No,) he DIE

---

56.i **Nepkaq elike'witaq.** The king died.

Nep-k-aq
die–AI.3.Indep.neut–abs

elike'w-i-t-aq
throw–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut= [king ie. cards]–abs

56.ii **Nepkaq elike'wit.** The king died, as everyone knows

Nep-k-aq
die–AI.3.Indep.neut–abs

elike'w-i-t-aq to'q
throw–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut= [king ie. cards]–abs community knowledge

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** In Number 56 we're talking about the king, and I ask you, "Is the king still alive?" And you anwer, "No, he died, he's dead. He's not alive anymore."

**a.Eleanor:** What do you need to know? How long ago did he die?

**Stephanie:** No information there.

**b.Eleanor:** Then I would have to say, Nepkaq elike'witaq. I am saying elike'witaq.

**Stephanie:** Does it matter how long he's been dead?

**c.Eleanor:** No. Well, what did we say?

**Stephanie:** You gave me, Nepkaq elike'witaq. You gave me nepkaq.

**d.Eleanor:** Nepkaq elike'witaq to'q.

**Stephanie:** So what does nepkaq mean here? Long time? Short time? Does it matter?

**e.Eleanor:** Nepkaq elike'witaq to'q.....it's just like you just heard the news that the kind died, but you heard it from somebody else, O.K.? But if I was coming in to announce to you that I knew that the king had died, I would say nepkaq elike'witaq.

57. [A: Have you heard the news? B: No, what happened? A:]
The king BE KILLED (alt: They KILL the king)

---

57. **Nepkaq elike'witaq (to'q).** The king died (as everyone knows).

Nep-k-aq
die–AI.3.Indep.neut–abs

elike'w-i-t-aq
throw–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut= [king ie. cards]–abs

to'q
community knowledge

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now we go to Number 57. "Have you heard the news?" And you say, "No, what happened?" "The king died."

**a.Eleanor:** Have you heard the news, the king died. Nepkaq elike'witaq.

**Stephanie:** It's the same as number 56. O.K.

58. [Q: Do you think the king will go to sleep? A:]
(Yes,) he BE TIRED

---

58. **E'e kispnet.** S/he is tired.

E'e kispn-e-t
Yes tired–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now Number 58. I'm saying, "Do you think the king will go to sleep?" Could we use another word besides king?

**a.Eleanor:** Well, put down baby.

**Stephanie:** O.K. Do you think the baby will go to sleep? And you answer, "Yes, he or she is tired." They're going to go to sleep because they're tired. You answer, "Yes, he is tired."

**b.Eleanor:** I would say, E'e kispnet. But that doesn't mean that they are asleep. I'm just telling you she or he is tired.

59. [Looking out the window, seeing that the ground is wet]
It SNOW (not long ago)

---

59.i **Kisi-kis-pesaq etuk.** Probably it already snowed.

Kisi-kis-pes-a-q etuk
completed–already–snow–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut probably/perhaps

59.ii **Kis-pesaq** It already snowed.

kis-pes-a-q
already–snow–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now Number 59. We're looking out the window, and we're seeing that the ground is wet, and you are going to tell me it snowed. So we're looking out the window, and we see that the ground is wet, and you want to make a comment about snow.

**a.Eleanor:** Kisi-kis-pesaq.

**Stephanie:** Kisi-kis-pesaq. And how would you translate that?

**b.Eleanor:** Mita maqamikew kuspek. = [because the ground is wet] But that's not even right because you don't know why the ground is wet. Kisi-kis-pesaq etuk. You would have to put down etuk. Mita maqamikew kuspek =because the ground is wet.

**Stephanie:** Because the ground is wet. But would you say that? Can't you just say it's snowing?

**c.Eleanor:** Kis-pesaq. But if I'm looking out the window and I see it's snowing, I would say kis-pesaq.

**Stephanie:** But you don't see the snow. You only see wet ground.

**d.Eleanor:** I would just say, Maqamikew kuspek.

**Stephanie:** What does that mean?

**e.Eleanor:** "The ground is wet".

**Stephanie:** So they're trying to force you here to say "because the ground is wet, that it's snowing."

**f.Eleanor:** Is that right? Say that again.

**Stephanie:** Well, they give you a situation. I should put on my tape I have two speakers here, I have Theresa Mugridge of Membertou who is a mature student in Mi'kmaq Studies at UCCB. We're looking out the window, you and I, Eleanor, and we see the ground is wet, and then you're supposed to say, or translate, it snowed not long ago based on the fact that the ground is wet. Are you comfortable doing that?

**g.Eleanor:** I could say, Kisi-kis-pesaq, etuk. Right? You would have to say Kisi-kis-pesaq, etuk. You have to put etuk in there.

**Stephanie:** Why?

**h.Eleanor:** Because you're assuming it snowed. Somebody could have dumped a pile of water out on the grass and it would be wet, right?

**Stephanie:** So, I couldn't just say, Kisi-kis-pesaq?

**Theresa:** Unless it stopped snowing. [and you had just been watching the snow.]

**i.Eleanor:** Kisi-kis-pesaq.

**Theresa:** I think you would still have to say etuk.

**j.Eleanor:** Kisi-kis-pesaq etuk.

**Stephanie:** You've got to see the snow? You can't jump from wet ground to snow?

**k.Eleanor:** No. Because you can have.....the ground is wet out there and it's not snowing because it's the run-off from snow. So the etuk would say it probably snowed, because the ground is wet.

60. [The police are investigating a burglary. Seeing an open window and footprints beneath it, the police inspector says:]
The thief ENTER the house by this window

---

60.i **Piskwa'n..** I went in/go in.

Piskw-a'-n
enter–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

60.ii **Piskwa'tuknaq.** Maybe he went in.

Piskw-a'-tukn-aq
enter–AI.VF–AI.3.Dub–abs

60.iii **Piskwa'snaq tett.** It would seem he went through the window - there.

| | |
|---|---|
| Piskw-a-asn-aq | tett |
| enter–AI.VF–AI.3.If:Conj.supp–abs | there |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Sentence Number 60. The situation is the police are investigating a burglary. Seeing an open window and footprints beneath it the police inspector says [he happens to be working for the Unama'ki police], he says in Mi'kmaq, "The thief entered the house by the window." We're interested in the verb, Enter - the ending.

**a.Eleanor:** Piskwa'n. Enter is piskwa'n. But if he's commenting that the thief went through the window, it would be piskwa'tuknaq. Piskwa'snaq tet.

**Theresa:** This is how he got in.

**b.Eleanor:** Piskwa'snaq tett - you're saying actually he went in "there" = tett through this window.

**Stephanie:** Is there some time.....can this be translated as a present and a past, or how do you translate it?

**c.Eleanor:** It's just like I'm saying, it would seem he went through the window, right? And saying "this is" where he went in. Tet. [tet = there]

**Stephanie:** Tet.

**d.Eleanor:** Tet. O.K.? The other one is.....what was the first word I said?

**Stephanie:** Piskwa'tuknaq

**e.Eleanor:** Yes, it's like I make an assumption this is where he went in.

**Stephanie:** O.K.

**f.Eleanor:** And the second one was.....?

**Stephanie:** Piskwa'snaq.

**g.Eleanor:** Yes, the other is saying, its more of a definite statement that this is where he went in.

**Stephanie:** So the fact that you didn't see him go through the window..... like the snow, you guys didn't want to say it was snowing, don't you have to say to'q or etuk or something here?

**h.Eleanor:** No, that's what the policeman says, so we're not saying anything, we're just translating what the policemen said. (Much laughter) That's alright, this is what you're exploring, aren't you?

**Stephanie:** O.K., Eleanor, I'm going to ask you another question. You, Eleanor Johnson, are sitting right here, and we see Joe B.'s office over there with a broken window and footprints, and you tell me, in your own words, the thief entered the house by the window.

**i.Eleanor:** How do I know if he went there if the footprints just only lead there? He could have just stood there.

**Stephanie:** So can you say it? Or would you not even say it?

**j.Eleanor:** I don't think so.

**Theresa:** No

**k.Eleanor:** because the window could be broken, we don't know if he went in there. We don't even know if the person that walked there broke the window.

**Theresa:** The window might have been broken before.

**l.Eleanor:** hm...hm

**Stephanie:** So that's a ridiculous sentence, then? I mean, you're not going to say that in real life?

**m.Eleanor:** No

**Theresa:** Not if you don't want to get in trouble.

**Stephanie:** Can I say, pi'skwasnas?

**n.Eleanor:** *Pi'skwasnas? That's not even right. Piskwa'snaq. Yes.

70. [Q: Has this house always been red? A:]
(No, earlier) the house BE WHITE

---

70.i **I'-wape'kip na amskwes.** Yes, it used to be white before.

I'-wap-e'-k-ip
used to be–white–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att

na amskwes
dm at first

70.ii **I'-wape'ksip to'q.** It used to be white, as everyone knows [Do you know?]

I'-wap-e'-k-sip
used to be–white–II.VF–II.2.Indep–def

to'q
community knowledge

70.iii **Wape'k** [It is] white.

Wap-e'-k
white–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

70.iv **Talte'tm i'-wape'ksip.** I think that it used to be white - do you know?

Tal-te't-m
thus.que–TI.VF.think–TI.3.Indep.neut

i'-wap-e'-k-sip
used to be–white–II.VF–II.2.Indep–def

70.v **Talte'tm i'-wape'kip.** I think it used to be white.

Tal-te't-m
thus.que–TI.VF.think–TI.3.Indep.neut

i'-wap-e'-k-ip
used to be–white–II.VF–II.2.Indep–att

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now, Number 70. I ask you "Has this house always been red?" And the answer is, "No, the house is/was white." It's white now, but it used to be red. They don't say anything about whether we're looking at it or not looking at it.

**a.Eleanor:** O.K., the house is white now, but it used to be red?

**Stephanie:** So I'm asking you, "Has this house always been red" and you answer "No it BE white.".

**b.Eleanor:** Mu kewjitu. I would tell you I don't know. Mu kewjitu.

**Stephanie:** What if you did know that it used to be white, and you want to tell me that.

**c.Eleanor:** That it used to be white?

**Stephanie:** Um.

**d.Eleanor:** But it's red now?

**Stephanie:** Um, hum.

**e.Eleanor:** And you're asking me do I know if it was white before?

**Stephanie:** Yes, you want to tell me that it was white before?

**f.Eleanor:** I'-wape'kip na amskwes. Yes, it used to be white before. And I'm telling you because I know.

**Stephanie:** Why is the I' there? Can't you say Wape'k?

**g.Eleanor:** I'-wape'kip. I'- denotes that it used to be, O.K.?

**Stephanie:** .....na amskwes. Amskwes - what does that mean?

**h.Eleanor:** It used to be white a long time ago. It just denotes in the past. It doesn't tell you yesterday, last year, or last week, but formerly it was white.

**Stephanie:** What if you just think it was white before, but you're not sure?

**i.Eleanor:** Talte'tm i'-wape'kip.

**Stephanie:** Talte'tm=I think so?

**j.Eleanor:** Yes. Talte'tm tells you, "I think" it used to be white.

**Stephanie:** I can't say i'-wape'k?

**k.Eleanor:** I'-wape'kip. No you wouldn't say a house - i'-wape'k- if you're talking about in the past it has to be, wape'kip.

**Stephanie:** What if you never saw it and someone just told you it used to be white?

**l.Eleanor:** I'-wape'ksip to'q. You have to put the to'q in there if you're believing somebody else.

**Stephanie:** How do you translate that?

**m.Eleanor & Theresa:** It used to be white.

**n.Eleanor:** When you put the to'q there that means I heard it from somebody that it was white. But if I tell you, Amskwes i'-wape'kip, that means I know that it was white.

**Stephanie:** Right. And what if you said, I'-wape'ksip?

**o.Eleanor:** I'-wape'ksip.

**Theresa:** It used to be white.

**p.Eleanor:** Yes, I'-wape'ksip. sip!

**Stephanie:** Wape'k translates as.....

**q.Theresa & Eleanor:** White.

**Stephanie:** Now, present. O.K now translate I'-wape'kip.

**r.Eleanor:** I'-wape'kip, it used to be white.

**Stephanie:** So how do you translate I'-wape'ksip.

**s.Eleanor:** O.K. if I tell you I'-wape'kip, I'm telling you that it used to be white and [I know for sure because I saw it.] But I'-wape'ksip, that means I might be getting my information from somebody else to tell you that it used to be white.

**Theresa:** Oh yes, you're asking, I'-wape'ksip? Like that?

**Stephanie:** And so would you be more comfortable if I said, "Wape'k, I'-wape'kip, or I'-wape'ksip to'q?

**t.Eleanor:** I would say... I mean.....you know one is a definite statement coming from somebody who knows it was white.

**Stephanie:** Which one?

**u.Eleanor:** The first one. It's a definite statement. But if you put a to'q in there, that means that the neighborhood history tells me that it used to be white one time.

109. [Assuming that the speaker's brother is trustworthy and speaking of the water in a lake which is not visible to the speaker and the hearer] My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD

---

109. **Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan.** My younger brother says the water is cold.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N-jiknam | tel-u-e-t | | |
| poss.1–younger brother | thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut | | |
| tek-pa-a-q | | to'q | samqwan. |
| cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut | | community knowledge | water |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K. Number 109. You and I are sitting here right now, and we're talking about the water in the lake in Eskasoni, which is right by your house, and we can't see it now because we are at U.C.C.B., and we're talking about my brother whom we both know and assume is trustworthy. How would you translate "My brother says the water is cold."?

**a.Eleanor:** Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan.

110. [Of the water in a lake which is not visible to the speaker and the hearer]
My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD (but I don't believe him)

---

110.i **Njiknam teluep tekpa'q to'q samqwan katu puksi-kikajaqnut na to'q.**

My younger brother said the water is cold (so he says) , but he is exaggerating.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-t
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

tek-pa-a-q to'q samqwan katu
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut community knowledge water but

puksi-kikajaqn-u-t na to'q.
soot–exaggerate–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut dm community knowledge

110.ii **Katu puksi-ewlit.**

but s/he lies.

katu puksi-ewl-i-t
but soot–hard/bad–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

110.iii **Njiknam teluep tekpa'q to'q samqwan, katu puksi-ewlit.**

My younger brother said the water is cold but, he is lying.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-p
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.att

tek-pa-a-q to'q samqwan katu
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut community knowledge water but

puksi-ewl-i-t
soot–hard/bad–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Now, Number 110. We're talking about the same lake, and my brother. We can't see the lake, and my brother is not here. How would you tell me that my brother says that the water is cold, but you don't believe him.

**a.Eleanor:** I don't believe that he says the water is cold?

**Stephanie:** No you don't think it's cold. He [your brother] said that, and you're going to tell me "my brother says that the water is cold, but personally I don't believe him". Is there any type of ending you can put on there to tell me that you think he's lying?

**b.Eleanor:** What we would say there probably, Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan katu puksi-kikajaqnut na to'q. Katu puksi-kikajaqnut. In other words, he exaggerates - kikajaqnut

**Stephanie:** kikajaqnut. And that means, "He is exaggerating."?

**c.Eleanor:** I'm not exactly saying he's lying, but he is exaggerating about the water. But I also could put down, Puksi-ewlit.

**Stephanie:** Puksi-ewlit?

**Patrick (Eleanor's husband):** [Patrick Johnson who was listening to the conversation adds the following] He got a fish that was that big [he uses his hands to exaggerate length] and says kikajaqnut.

**d.Eleanor:** Ewlit. Yes, you know, he lies. Katu puksi-ewlit.

111. [C = 110]
My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD (yesterday, but I don't believe him)

---

111.i **Njiknam teluet tekpa'qas samqwan wlaku, katu puksi-kikajaqnut na.**

My younger brother is saying that the water was cold yesterday, but he is exaggerating.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N-jiknam | tel-u-e-t | | | | |
| poss.1–younger brother | thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut | | | | |
| tek-pa-a-q-as | | samqwan | wlaku | katu | |
| cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–supp | | water | yesterday | but | |
| puksi-kikajaqn-u-t | | na | | | |
| soot–exaggerate–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut | | dm | | | |

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** So we did Number 109 where we said we're talking about this lake, and we're talking about you talking about your brother, and you're telling me that he said the water was cold. So we did that. You said, Tekpa'q teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan. Then Number 110, the same thing, but you don't believe him. Now we go to Number 111. You are going to tell me, the same situation, that your brother says that the water was cold yesterday, that it was cold yesterday, but again you think he was wrong, it wasn't cold.

**a.Eleanor:** See what's happening there is it could be cold for him, but it might not be cold for me.

**Stephanie:** It says here, my brother says right now that the water be cold yesterday, but I don't believe him. You think he was wrong.

**b.Eleanor:** The water was cold yesterday, but I don't believe him?

**Stephanie:** My brother says, you're telling me that he's saying this right now. Peter (Eleanor's brother) is standing over there and he just told you that the water was cold yesterday, but you don't believe him.

**c.Eleanor:** Njiknam teluet tekpa'qas samqwan wlaku, katu puksi-kikajaqnut na. You'll have to say, katu puksi-kikajaqnut na. You have to put that in there to say, you know, that he is exaggerating. I don't exactly believe him, but I'm not exactly calling him a liar either.

112. [C = 110]
My brother SAY (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (yesterday, but I think he was wrong)

---

112.i **Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap to'q samqwan.** My younger brother said the water was cold.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-p
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.att

tek-pa-a-q to'q samqwan.
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut community knowledge water

112.ii **Talte'tm teluep njiknam tekpa'qap to'q samqwan.** I think my younger brother said the water was cold.

Tal-te't-m tel-u-e-p
thus–TI.VF.think–TI.3.Indep.neut thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.att

n-jiknam tek-pa-a-q
poss.1–younger brother cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

to'q samqwan.
community knowledge water.

112.iii **Njiknam teluet tekpa'q samqwan mita.katu puksi-kikajaqnut.** My younger brother says that the water is cold, but he often exaggerates.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-t
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

tek-pa-a-q samqwan katu
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut water but

puksi-kikajaqn-u-t na.
soot–exaggerate–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut dm

112.iv **Njiknam teluet tekpa'qap samqwan wlaku katu mita samqwan weli-epetekip wjit ni'n.**

My younger brother says that the water was cold yesterday, but the water was warm for me.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-t
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

tek-pa-a-q-ap samqwan wlaku katu
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–att water yesterday but

samqwan weli-ep-e-te-k-ip wjit ni'n.
water fine–warm–M.liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–att for pn.1

112.v **Njiknam teluet tekpa'qap samqwan wlaku katu nekm na mena'jit.**

My brother says that the water was cold yesterday, but he's sensitive to cold.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-t
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

tek-pa-a-q-ap samqwan wlaku katu
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–att water yesterday but

nekm na mena'j-i-t
pn.3 dm sensitive–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** Well, Number 111 is, "Your brother says right now that the water was cold yesterday, but I don't believe him," and we've got, Njiknam teluet tekpa'qas samqwan wlaku, katu puksi-kikajaqnut na.

**a.Eleanor:** Puksi-kikajaqnut = "he's exaggerating", and you can also say.....what was the other one?

**Stephanie:** Puksi-ewlit

**b.Eleanor:** Puksi-ewlit = "you know he lies".

**Stephanie:** But for Number 112, they are saying, "My brother said yesterday that the water is cold, but I think he was wrong."

**c.Eleanor:** O.K., I could say, Njiknam teluet tekpa'qap samqwan wlaku katu - you have to always say katu - we have to say that somehow I've got to prove that the water was warm. That would mean that I would have to try the water yesterday too. But I could also say, katu nekm na mena'jit, meaning that "he's sensitive to cold". Mita samqwan weli-epetekip wjit ni'n. Then that would say "the water was warm for me". That would mean that I tried the water too.

**Stephanie:** Right. So then you would say.....how would you say that?

**d.Eleanor:** Where were we?

**Theresa:** The water is warm.

**e.Eleanor:** Weli-epetekip samqwan wjit ni'n. Weli-epetekip, wjit ni'n - but "it was warm for me", or it was comfortable.

**Stephanie:** What's wjit mean?

**f.Eleanor:** "For me". And if you want to keep on exaggerating, wjit ni'n mita api-kisami'ap, because I went swimming. O.K.? Because of the fact of what you're talking there. We don't know if he is drinking the water, we don't know if he is swimming in it, or we don't know if he's just dipping his finger in it. We're just assuming that the water is cold for him, but I don't believe him because I know he's one of those exaggerators therefore, I was swimming too, and I found the water warm for me.

**Stephanie:** And that's your evidence because you actually went into the water.

**g.Eleanor:** Yes.

**Stephanie:** And that's why you can say, weli-epetekip?

**h.Eleanor:** Weli-epetekip wjit ni'n. Mita api-kisami'ap - if you want to put that in brackets "to exaggerate" that I actually.....mita api-kisami'ap.

**Stephanie:** How would you translate - Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan - can this translate, "my brother is saying that the water is cold?"

**i.Eleanor:** Keep on going.

**Stephanie:** My brother is saying that the water is cold, but he exaggerates, is that a correct translation for, Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan katu puksi-kikajaqnut. Would you agree, Theresa, or you can translate that as my brother is saying that the water is cold but.....

**j.Eleanor & Stephanie:** .....he has the tendency to exaggerate.

**Stephanie:** Now can you also translate - my brother said that the water was cold, but he often exaggerated.

**k.Eleanor:** Njiknam teluet tekpa'q samqwan mita puksi-kikajaqnut.

**Stephanie:** Does it also have the meaning that my brother said that the water was cold, but....

**l.Eleanor:** Then you would have to say, Njiknam teluep

**Stephanie:** O.K. Do you still say tekpa'q?

**m.Eleanor:** Njiknam teluet tekpa'q to'q samqwan.

**Stephanie:** In Number 111, when you say, Njiknam teluet tekpa'qap - how does that translate - my brother says?

**n.Eleanor:** Says the water was cold.

**Stephanie:** It was cold. And if you want to say, my brother said, you'd said, Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap. O.K. And what if you wanted to say, I think my brother said the water was cold.

**o.Eleanor:** Talte'tm teluep njiknam.

113. [C = 110]
My brother SAY yesterday that the water BE COLD (the day before yesterday, but I think he was wrong)

---

113.i **Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap samqwan tikwlaku katu mu telianuk ta'n teluet.**

My younger brother said the water was cold two days ago but it is not true what he says.

N-jiknam tel-u-e-p
poss.1–younger brother thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep–att

tek-pa-a-q-ap samqwan tikwlaku katu
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep–att water 2 days ago but

mu tel-ia-nu-k ta'n
neg thus–II.VF–neg–II.3.Indep.neut when

tel-u-e-t.
thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

113.ii **Teluet.**

S/he says.

tel-u-e-t.
thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.neut

113.iii **Teluep.**

S/he said.

tel-u-e-p.
thus–says–AI.VF–AI.3.Indep.att

113.iv **Tekpa'q.**

It is cold.

Tek-pa-a-q
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut

113.v **Tekpa'qap.**

It was cold ( I know for sure.)

Tek-pa-a-q-ap
cold–liquid–II.VF–II.3.Indep.neut–att

## DISCUSSION

**Stephanie:** O.K. Number 113. My brother said the water was cold the day before yesterday. He's talking about when the water was cold, not when he said it. My brother said that the water was cold the day before yesterday, but I think he was wrong.

**a.Eleanor:** O.K. Njiknam teluep tekpa'qap samqwan tikwlaku

**Stephanie:** Tikwlaku - 2 days ago?

**b.Eleanor:** Um, hum.

**Stephanie:** O.K. But I think he's wrong.

**c.Eleanor:** But I think he's wrong? Then you would have to say katu mu telianuk ta'n teluet.

**Stephanie:** What does that mean?

**d.Eleanor:** What he is saying is not true.

**Stephanie:** Teluep- how would you translate that?

**e.Eleanor:** Teluep = "He said."

**Stephanie:** Teluep Can that mean "He says"? No? it has to be "He said".

**f.Eleanor:** No "He said".

**Stephanie:** O.K. Tekpa'q? How would you translate that?

**g.Eleanor:** It's cold.

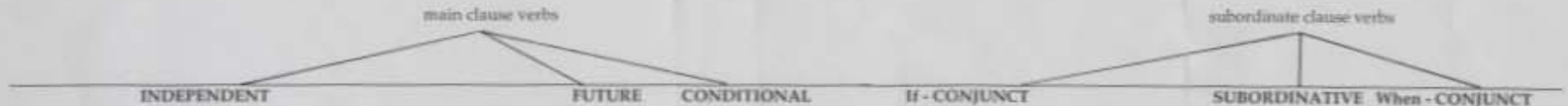
**Stephanie:** Tekpa'qap? How would you translate that?

**h.Eleanor:** Go by me again.

**Stephanie:** Tekpa'qap.

**i.Eleanor:** Tekpa'qap - that's in the past. "It was cold in the past."

**Table 2.6**
Verbal endings for the Mi'kmaq AI




| | INDEPENDENT evidentials: | | | | FUTURE | CONDITIONAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pers/no & pro | neut | att | supp | def | | | att.cf |
| 1 ni'n | V-y(an) | V-yap(n) | V-yas(n) | | V-tes | V-k | V-kapn |
| 2 ki'l | V-n | V-p(n) | | V-s(i)p(n) | V-teks | V-k | V-kpn |
| 3 nekm | V-t | V-p(n) | V-s(n) | V-s(i)p(n) | V-tew | V-s | V-soq |
| 12 kinu | V-yikw | V-yikup(n) | V-yikus(n) | V-yikus(i)p(n) | V-teksnu | V'-kup | V'-kupn |
| 13 ninen | V-yek | V-yekp(n) | V-yeks(n) | V-yeks(i)p(n) | V-teksnen | V-kek | V-kekpn |
| 23 kilew | V-yoq | V-yoqop(n) | V-yoqs(n) | V-yoqs(i)p(n) | V-toqsip | V-koq | V-koqpn |
| 33 nekmow | V-jik | V-pnik | V-snik | V-sipnik | V'-taq | V'-tis | V'-tisoq |
| STEMS full = * reduced = √ | * | * | * | * | √ | √ | √ |

| | If - CONJUNCT | | | SUBORDINATIVE | When - CONJUNCT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | neut | supp/def | supp/def.cf | | neut | abs |
| | V-yan | V-yas | V-yasn | V-n | V-yan | V-yanek |
| | V-n | V-sp | V-sipn | V-n | V-n | V-nek |
| | V-j | V-s | V-sn | V-n | V-j | V-tek |
| | V-yikw | V-yikus | V-yikusn | V-nenu | V-yikw | V-ikwek |
| | V-yek | V-yeksip | V-yeksipn | V-nen | V-yek | V-yekek |
| | V-yoq | V-yoqsip | V-yoqsipn | V-new | V-yoq | V-yoqek |
| | V'-tij | V'-tis | V'-tisn | V-new | V'-tij | V'-titek |
| | √ | √ | √ | √ | * | * |

V = vowel of stem (The endings in Table 2.6 are generalized without morphophonemic adjustments.)

i = schwa (the barred /ɨ/ representing schwa is used in the Smith-Francis orthography to prevent the formation of a cluster of three consonants).

y = "... element, inherited from PA that links vowel of stem with vowel of inflection" (Dawe 1986:32).

**Table 4.2**
Endings for the Mi'kmaq AI showing forms which take the deferential evidential and relevant contrasting neutral, attestive and suppositive forms

| | Independent Evidentials: neut | att | supp | def |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | V-y(an) | V-yap(n) | V-yas(n) | |
| 2 | V-n | V-p(n) | | V-s(i)p(n) |
| 3 | V-t | V-p(n) | V-s(n) | V-s(i)p(n) |
| 12 | V-yikw | V-yikup(n) | V-yikus(n) | V-yikus(i)p(n) |
| 13 | V-yek | V-yekp(n) | V-yeks(n) | V-yeks(i)p(n) |
| 23 | V-yoq | V-yoqop(n) | V-yoqs(n) | V-yoqs(i)p(n) |
| 33 | V-jik | V-pnik | V-snik | V-sipnik |

FULL STEM

| If-conjunct Evidentials: neut | supp | def |
|---|---|---|
| V-yan | V-yas | |
| V-n | | V-sp |
| V-j | V-s | |
| V-yikw | V-yikus | |
| V-yek | | V-yeksip |
| V-yoq | | V-yoqsip |
| V-tij | V-tis | |

REDUCED STEM

| Future Evidentials: neut | supp | def |
|---|---|---|
| | V-tes | |
| | V-teks | |
| V-tew | | |
| | V-teksnu | |
| | V-teksnen | |
| | | V-toqsip |
| V-taq | | |

REDUCED STEM

**Table 3.3**
Endings for the Mi'kmaq AI showing neutral forms and forms which take attestive and suppositive evidentials

| | Independent Evidentials: | | | If-conjunct Evidentials: | | Conditional Evidentials: | | | Future Evidentials: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | neut | att | supp | neut | supp | neut | att | supp | neut | supp |
| 1 | V-y(an) | V-yap(n) | V-yas(n) | V-yan | V-yas | V-k | | | | V-tes |
| 2 | V-n | V-p(n) | | V-n | | V-k | | | | V-teks |
| 3 | V-t | V-p(n) | V-s(n) | V-j | V-s | | | V-s | V-tew | |
| 12 | V-yikw | V-yikup(n) | V-yikus(n) | V-yikw | V-yikus | | V-kup | | | V-teksnu |
| 13 | V-yek | V-yekp(n) | V-yeks(n) | V-yek | | V-kek | | | | V-teksnen |
| 23 | V-yoq | V-yoqop(n) | V-yoqs(n) | V-yoq | | V-koq | | | | |
| 33 | V-jik | V-pnik | V-snik | V-tij | V-tis | | | V-tis | V-taq | |
| | FULL STEM | | | REDUCED STEM | | REDUCED STEM | | | REDUCED STEM | |