

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF MICMAC
HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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THE FUNDAMENTALS OF MICMAC
HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY

BY



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ABSTRACT

As no one has yet traced the historical derivation of the morphology of Micmac this study will attempt to do so, but it does not claim to be a complete and comprehensive study of Micmac historical morphology. This thesis will study Micmac morphology (both nominal and verbal) with regard to its comparison with Proto-Algonkian with an aim to discover how much of the morphology Micmac has retained and how much innovation there has been. Data from other Eastern Algonkian languages such as Abenaki, Maliseet and Delaware will be studied to help give insight as to whether the innovations evident in Micmac are exclusive to Micmac or if they are more widespread. The presentation of the Eastern data does not entail taking a position on the controversy regarding Eastern Algonkian as a genetic subgroup.

The goal of this thesis is to see how Micmac relates to other Algonkian languages and to see what light it can shed on some of the morphological problems evident in Algonkian.

Chapter One will present a general introduction to the thesis. The main verbal morphology will be dealt with in Chapters Two-Four. Chapter Two will deal with the Animate

Intransitive (AI) and the Inanimate Intransitive (II), Chapter Three will deal with the Transitive Inanimate (TI) and the pseudo-Transitive Inanimate (psTI) and Chapter Four will deal with the Transitive Animate (TA). Within each of these verbal morphology chapters there will be a general discussion of the verbal types as well as any peculiarities of the type, followed by a more specific discussion of verbal tenses and modes with representative paradigms of each. The Proto-Algonkian forms will be given where they are known so that morphological comparisons can be made between Micmac and Proto-Algonkian. Data from other Algonkian languages (especially Eastern) will be presented where it is morphologically relevant to the discussion.

Chapter Five will also deal with verbal morphology but with one specific formation - the negative. The Micmac forms of the independent indicative present will be examined and possible derivations from Proto-Algonkian noted. Comparisons will be made with other Eastern Algonkian languages.

Chapter Six will deal with nominal morphology, special regard being given to possession. The nominal morphology of possession will also be compared with the verbal morphology of the subordinative mode to display the similarities which exist between these formations.

The thesis aims to draw some major conclusions regarding the historical morphology of Micmac. On the surface Micmac appears to be very divergent when compared with the traditional Proto-Algonkian reconstructions of Leonard Bloomfield which were based solely on four of the Central languages - Fox, Cree, Menominee and Ojibwa. When a more detailed study of Micmac's phonological development from Proto-Algonkian is carried out it can be seen that this is where Micmac has a radical evolution as there are cluster reductions, vowel contractions, etc.. Consequently, even though the phonological evolution has been somewhat radical, Micmac seems fairly conservative with regard to its historical morphology. Micmac, in fact, retains much of the morphology of Proto-Algonkian.

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Any errors or omissions in this thesis are my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
'TITLE PAGE'	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
CHAPTER	
ONE : INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Orthographies	5
1.2 Spellings	15
1.3 Historical Phonology	16
TWO : ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE AND INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS	20
2.0 Introduction	20
2.1 The AI and II verbal categories ...	27
2.2 Independent indicative present	31
2.2.1 Historical derivation	33
2.2.11 The AI verb	33
2.2.12 The II verb	44
2.2.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	45
2.3 Preterite and dubitative	47
2.3.1 Historical derivation : preterite	49
2.3.2 Historical derivation : dubitative	52

	Page
2.4 Future	54
2.4.1 Historical derivation	56
2.5 Absentative	58
2.5.1 Historical derivation	59
2.6 Imperative	61
2.6.1 Historical derivation	63
2.6.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	66
2.7 Conditional	70
2.7.1 Historical derivation	71
2.8 Subordinative	73
2.8.1 Historical derivation	75
2.9 Conjunct	81
2.9.1 Historical derivation	83
THREE : THE TRANSITIVE INANIMATE AND PSEUDO-TRANSITIVE INANIMATE VERBS	84
3.0 Introduction	84
3.1 Independent indicative present - TI	85
3.1.1 Historical derivation	86
3.1.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	90
3.2 Independent indicative present - PSTI	91
3.2.1 Historical derivation	92
3.2.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	99

	ix
	Page
3.3 Preterite and dubitative	100
3.3.1 Historical derivation - preterite	102
3.3.2 Historical derivation - dubitative	103
3.4 Future	105
3.5 Absentative	107
3.6 Imperative	109
3.6.1 Historical derivation	111
3.6.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	112
3.7 Conditional	115
3.7.1 Historical derivation	116
3.8 Subordinative	118
3.8.1 Historical derivation	119
3.9 Conjunct	121
3.9.1 Historical derivation	122
FOUR : THE TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERB	123
4.0 Introduction	123
4.1 Independent indicative present	130
4.1.1 Historical derivation	134
4.1.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	159
4.2 Preterite and dubitative	162
4.2.1 Historical derivation - preterite	165
4.2.2 Historical derivation - dubitative	166

	Page
4.3 Future	167
4.4 Absentative	168
4.5 Imperative	170
4.5.1 Historical derivation	173
4.5.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	174
4.6 Conditional	177
4.6.1 Historical derivation	178
4.7 Subordinative	179
4.7.1 Historical derivation	181
4.8 Conjunction	184
4.8.1 Historical derivation	187
FIVE : THE NEGATIVE	188
5.0 Introduction	188
5.1 Historical derivation	189
5.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages	191
5.3 AI negative	194
5.4 II negative	196
5.5 TI negative	198
5.6 psTI negative	200
5.7 TA negative	203
SIX : NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY	210
6.0 Introduction	210
6.1 Inanimate nouns	210

6.2	Animate nouns	212
6.3	Possession	213
6.4	Plural possessors	215
6.5	Obviative	219
6.6	Other nominal morphology	221
6.7	Historical derivation	222
6.8	Comparison with the subordinative	232
SEVEN :	CONCLUSION	234
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	237

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1.1 Micmac sound system	5
1.2 Orthography chart	6
2.1 Dual paradigms	30
2.2 The AI and II independent indicative * present	31
2.3 PA AI conjunct	33
2.4 PA II conjunct	44
2.5 EA correspondences of the Micmac AI independent	46
2.6 AI preterite and dubitative	48
2.7 EA AI preterite	52
2.8 Abenaki dubitative	53
2.9 AI and II future	54
2.10 AI and II absentative	58
2.11 Pacifique's AI impératif	61
2.12 AI jussive and imperative	63
2.13 EA AI imperative	67
2.14 EA AI imperative and jussive	68
2.15 AI and II conditional	70
2.16 AI and II subordinative	73
2.17 Verbal and nominal prefixes	74
2.18 EA AI subordinative	78

Table	Page
2.19 EA verbal prefixes	79
2.20 Goddard's PEA subordinative	79
2.21 AI and II conjunct	82
3.1 TI independent indicative present	85
3.2 PA TI conjunct	86
3.3 EA correspondences of the Micmac TI independent	91
3.4 psTI independent indicative present.....	92
3.5 EA correspondences of the Micmac psTI independent	99
3.6 TI preterite and dubitative	100
3.7 psTI preterite and dubitative	101
3.8 EA TI and psTI dubitative and preterite ...	103
3.9 TI and psTI future	105
3.10 TI and psTI absentative	107
3.11 Pacifique's TI and psTI-impératif	109
3.12 TI and psTI imperative and jussive	111
3.13 EA TI and psTI imperative and jussive	113
3.14 TI and psTI conditional	115
3.15 TI and psTI subordinative	118
3.16 EA TI subordinative	120
3.17 TI and psTI conjunct	121
4.1 Algonkian person hierarchy	127
4.2 Hockett's 1966 hierarchy diagram	129

Table	Page
4.3 TA independent indicative present	131
4.4 EA correspondences of Micmac TA independent	168
4.5 TA preterite	163
4.6 TA dubitative	164
4.7 Abenaki preterite (imperfect)	166
4.8 TA future	167
4.9 TA absentative	168
4.10 TA imperative	172
4.11 TA jussive	172
4.12 PA TA imperative	173
4.13 EA TA imperative	174
4.14 EA TA jussive	175
4.15 TA conditional	177
4.16 TA subordinative	179
4.17 EA TA subordinative	182
4.18 PEA TA subordinative	183
4.19 TA unchanged conjunct	185
4.20 TA changed conjunct	185
5.1 EA AI negative	191
5.2 AI affirmative and negative	194
5.3 II affirmative and negative	196
5.4 TI affirmative and negative	198
5.5 psTI affirmative and negative	200

Table	Page
5.6 TA affirmative and negative	203
6.1 Inanimate possession	217
6.2 Animate possession	218
6.3 PA animate possession	223
6.4 EA possession	229
6.5 Comparison between possession and subordinative	232

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

As of 1970 there were approximately 6,000 speakers of Micmac in Canada (Goddard 1978:71) and Micmac is still spoken in Northeast New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and the Gaspé Peninsula of Québec.

We have information on the Micmac language in the form of missionary grammars and dictionaries. Abbé Maillard's Grammaire de la langue mikmaque (1864) is a traditional grammar written in French over a hundred years before its publication.

Rev. Silas T. Rand's contributions to Micmac are his grammar and his two dictionaries on the Nova Scotia dialect. His grammar came about as a result of his classification of his grammatical notes. The end result is a bound volume of about 532 pages of manuscript entitled "A Lecture on the Micmac and Maliseet languages" which remains the property of Wellesley College. In this grammar Rand deals with the noun, the pronoun and the verb.

Rand's first dictionary, the Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians, published in 1888, was an

English-Micmac dictionary. The second one was published posthumously in 1982 and edited by Jeremiah Clark. It is called Rand's Micmac Dictionary and is a Micmac-English dictionary. There are some problems evident with this dictionary as Clark did not know the language. The dictionary is not useful to non-native speakers and there are problems with the alphabetic ordering. Clark also changed Rand's orthography.

Pacifique's Leçons grammaticales théoriques et pratiques de la langue micmaque (1939) is a very thorough traditional grammar written in French on the Restigouche dialect of Micmac. It provides complete nominal and verbal paradigms as well as a detailed discussion of Micmac grammar.

There have been more recent publications on Micmac. Fidelholtz's "Micmac Morphophonemics" (1968) is a lengthy doctoral dissertation (approximately 600 pages) which involves the use of the early generative phonology theory to set up rules to help explain the morphophonemics of the Restigouche dialect of Micmac, using binary distinctive features.

Data has been collected from some of the last speakers of Newfoundland Micmac so that even though the language may

now be considered extinct it can still be studied. Research has been conducted on Newfoundland Micmac since 1969, resulting in publications by John Hewson and in two theses by graduate students of Memorial University of Newfoundland. Alan Humber's 1971 thesis was entitled "Aspects of Verb Morphology in Newfoundland Micmac" and Russell Bragg's thesis, "Some Aspects of the Phonology of Newfoundland Micmac" was presented in 1976.

Metallic and Delisle have put together a preliminary version of a Micmac grammar entitled "Micmac Teaching Grammar" which consists of 20 lessons. This preliminary version was presented in 1976.

Proulx's "Micmac Inflection" (1978) is a doctoral dissertation which, as the title indicates, deals with inflections in Micmac. Proulx discusses verbs, nouns and pronouns and presents lists of paradigms.

A recent contribution to Micmac publications is the Micmac Lexicon (1983) by Metallic and DeBlois. One section of the lexicon is Micmac-English, while the other is English-Micmac.

The main sources of data for this thesis are the materials collected from the speakers of Newfoundland Micmac by John Hewson and Alan Humber, and re-transcribed

materials from Pacific's grammar that have been checked
by native speakers.

1.1 Orthographies

The sound system of Micmac can be represented schematically as can be seen in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 Micmac sound system

		Consonants			
Plosive		p	t	k	q
Fricative			s		
Affricate				ç	
Nasal		m	n		
Lateral			l		
		Vowels			
	i	i:		u	u:
	e	e:		o	o:
		a		a:	

/q/ is often heard as a fricative. The fact that there are plosive pronunciations indicates that in terms of the system of the language /q/ is a plosive.

There have been several different attempts to represent this sound system and therefore there are several different orthographies used in writing the Micmac language; these will be displayed in Table 1.2 below, which is based on Fidelholtz 1976.

Table 1.2 Orthography chart

Mc.	Fr.-Sm.	De.B.	Rand	Pac.	Pr.	F1	F2
i	i	i	e, ɪ	i	i	i	i
i:	i'	ɪ	e, ee, (i)	ɪ	i:	ɪ	ɪ
e	e	e	ā, ǣ, â	e, é	e	e, ǣ	e
e:	e'	è	ā, (ē), āā	ē, è	e:	ē	ē
a	a	â	ǎ, â, a, ǒ	a	a	a, ǎ	a
a:	a'	à	a, â, (ǝ, ǎ)	ā	a:	ā	ā
o	ō	o	ǝ, o	ð, o	o	o	o
o:	o'	ò	ǝ	ð, o	o:	ō	o
u	u	u	oo, ǝǝ	o	u	u	u
u:	u'	ù	oo, (ǝǝ)	ū, o, ǝ	u:	u	u
ə	ɛ	ê	ũ	e	ɛ	ə	'
p	p	p	p, b	p	p	p	p
t	t	t	t, d	t	t	t	t
k	k	g	k, g	g	k	g	g
q	q	g	k, g	g	x	q	g
č	j	j	j, ch	tj	č	j	j
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
y	y	i	y, i	i	y	y, i	y
w	w	w	w, oo	ð, o	w	w	w

ABBREVIATIONS

Mc. = Micmac phonemes

Fr.-Sm. = Francis-Smith

De, B. = DeBlois

Pac. = Pacifique

Pr. = Proulx

F1 = Fidelholtz's earlier system

F2 = Fidelholtz's later system

() = less frequently used

There are problems with some of these orthographies.

Pacifique's orthography is underdifferentiated and cannot be relied on for vowel quantity or quality. There are many examples of Pacifique's failures to mark the length on his vowels.

<u>Pacifique</u>	<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
alaso ^t matig ^o	alaso ^t ma'ti'kw	"we (incl.) pray"
nestemotig ^o	nestmu'ti'kw	"we (incl.) understand"

Pacifique was not consistent with regards to vowel lengths but there are times when the length is marked.

<u>Pacifique</u>	<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
nestem ^o tig ^o	nestmu'ti'kw	"we (incl) understand"
nestem ⁱ tijig	nestmu'tijik	"they understand"

His underdifferentiation can be seen in his use of the letter o to represent / o, o:, u, u:, w / and his use of a to represent / e:, e, ə /.

<u>Pacificus</u>	<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
nestemotiek	nestmü'tiyek	"we (excl.) understand"
teloisoltigō	teluisulti'kw	"we (incl.) are called"
ngois	nkwis	"my son"
gēoisin	kewisin	"you are hungry"
menāton	mena'tu'n	"you remove it"
teloisi	teluīsi	"I am called"
-sep	-s p	"preterite ending"
mkesēn	mkīsin	"moccasin"

There are also problems with the Rand orthography in that in some areas he overdifferentiates while in other areas he underdifferentiates.

There are many examples of overdifferentiation in Rand's orthography. He uses a and ā to represent /e/.

<u>Rand</u>	<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
kikpāsāk	kikpesaq	"it rains"
pējoo	peju	"codfish"

He uses ā, â, a, and q to represent /a/.

<u>Rand</u>	<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
ābleegūmooch	apli'kmuj	"rabbit"
kikpāsāk	kikpesaq	"it rains"
kakakooch	ka'qaqwej	"crow"
kūlooswōkūn	klusuaqañ	"word"

Rand also overdifferentiates in his representation of the consonants.

<u>Rand</u>		<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
b-p	books oogūl	puksukul	"firewood"
	pāskowā	pe'skewey	"gun"
t-d	koodpoode	kutputi	"seat"
	toopse	tupsi	"alder tree"

These distinctions are redundant in Micmac as voicing is not distinctive.

Rand underdifferentiates when he uses oo for /u, u:/.

<u>Rand</u>		<u>Francis-Smith</u>	
	mooin	mui'n	"bear"
	ūlumooch	ilimu'j	"dog"

Also Rand's spelling with a, aa, ā, ā̄ and ū show some confusion and they lack an inner consistency.

There are no major problems with the orthographies of DeBlois, Proulx, Fidélholtz or Francis-Smith. Each of them marks vowel length with a different symbol (ex. a', ā, ā̄, or a:) and has a different representation for /ə/ (ex. ɛ, ê, e or ') but these differences are not problematic.

There are some differences in the way in which the consonants are represented. DeBlois and Fidélholtz continue the traditional position of Pacifique of using g to stand for the velar plosive while Francis-Smith and

Proulx use the voiceless counterpart *k* as voicing is not distinctive.

The phoneme /q/ is represented in different ways in the orthographies. Pacifique and Fidelholtz's later system use *q̇*, a traditional symbol also adopted by DeBlois. Francis-Smith and Fidelholtz's earlier system both use *q* and Proulx uses *x*. There is a problem with Rand in that he uses either *k* or *q* and he also uses *k* and *q* for /k/ which means that he did not distinguish /k/ from /q/.

There are also several different representations for /ç/. The traditional symbol *tj* used by Pacifique has now been generally simplified to *j*.

Before dealing with the orthographic representations of the glides it is important to gain an understanding of the problem of the glides and high vowels in Micmac.

The problem with *w* and *y* is dealt with in Hewson's 1980 article "Micmac Consonant Clusters". Native speakers of Micmac claim that the use of *w* and *y* in the orthography of the language is unnecessary and this indicates to the linguist that the native speaker feels that [w] and [y] are allophones of some other phoneme.

Traditional orthographies represent the glides with vowel symbols. Rand uses either the glide or the vowel symbols while Pacifique uses the vowel symbols and *ö*. This leads to the requirement to test the obvious hypothesis

that [y] is an allophone of the high front vowel /i/ and [w] is an allophone of the high back vowel /u/. The traditional orthographies and the feelings of the native speakers indicate that this could be the case (Hewson 1988:115).

There are two phonological methods which can be used in testing this hypothesis: simple segmental phonology and phonology which takes into account the structure of the syllable.

Simple segmental phonology tends to ignore the syllable; it only takes into account the immediate environment. If data involving the high vowels and glides in Micmac is observed using this method the result will be that they will appear to be separate phonemes.

/patauti/	[padaudi]	"table"
/awti/	[aw?ti]	"road, path"
/wekaikik/	[wɛgɛyɪgɪk]	"they are angry"
/eykik/	[ey?kik]	"they are"

(Hewson 1988:118)

It is this data which led to the postulating of [w] and [y] as distinct segmental phonemes. The glides and their corresponding high vowels are observably different sounds and in segmental phonology they occur in the same environment. Therefore the conclusion is that they are separate phonemes.

Using this method one would also have to set up distinct phonemes for the syllabic and non-syllabic forms of the other sonorants as they are also observably different sounds occurring in the same environment. Thus there would be /l/, /ɫ/, /m/, /ɱ/, /n/ and /ɳ/. This solution of setting up three more new phonemes would be obviously unacceptable to native speakers.

The other method which can be used to test the hypothesis which states that the glides are allophones of the corresponding high vowels is the one which takes into account the syllabic structure and not just the segmental environment. The Micmac syllable has three potential elements:

1. a non-syllabic onset
2. a syllabic core
3. a non-syllabic coda

(Hewson 1980:117)

Glides and vowels are observably different but when the syllabic structure is taken into account it can be seen that they occur in different environments. In fact, [u] and [w] are in complementary distribution and [i] and [y] are also in complementary distribution when one takes into account the syllabic structure. The vocalic allophones, [u] and [i], occur only in the syllabic core while the glide allophones, [w] and [y], occur in the non-syllabic

(consonantal) onset or coda of the syllable. This is also the case for the other sonorants, as the syllabic forms [l, m, n] occur in the syllabic core and the non-syllabic forms [l, m, n] occur in the non-syllabic onset or coda.

These results are backed up by the native speakers' intuitions about their own language which should also be taken into account when studying a language's systems.

The sonorants sometimes need to be marked by an apostrophe (ex. mal'tew) as with l', m' and n'. If consistency were to be followed in the orthography then the situation would be u for [w], i for [y], u' for [u] and i' for [i]. This would lead to confusion as the apostrophe is sometimes used to indicate vowel length. The best solution is thus to use u and i for the syllabic vowels and w and y for the non-syllabic glides. This solution is found in the orthographies of Francis-Smith, Proulx and Fidelholtz's later system.

In the more recent orthographies, different symbols are used to represent the syllabic and non-syllabic forms.

[u] - u

[w] - w

[i] - i

[y] - y

[l] - l' (after a vowel)

[l] - l

[p] - m' (after a vowel)

[m] - m

[ŋ] - n' (after a vowel)

[n] - n

These distinctions are made in the orthography for the sake of the learners of Micmac so as to avoid mispronunciations. A native speaker knows intuitively what form is to be used in what environment; consequently the orthographical differences are not so necessary for the native speaker.

The Francis-Smith orthography will be used in this thesis as it is the orthography which has been chosen by the Conne River Band in Newfoundland for papers and publications sponsored by them and has consequently become the accepted orthography for Newfoundland Micmac. Also, the data collected by Hewson, which is the main source of data for this thesis, is written in the Francis-Smith orthography.

1.2 Spellings

In this thesis I have chosen to spell Algonkian and not Algonquiān. The spelling with -quian is French and it should be remembered that the traditional pronunciation has always been -kian. The use of the -quian spelling leads to a spelling pronunciation of -kwian (Hewson 1978a:vii). Bloomfield used the -quian spelling while Sapir used the -kian spelling and this spelling division is still evident in the followers of these two linguists.

I have also chosen to spell Maliseet and not Malecite, this latter being the French spelling which also results in misleading spelling pronunciations. The use of the English spelling prevents these mispronunciations.

1.3 Historical phonology

Micmac is the most divergent of the Eastern Algonkian languages. An understanding of the phonological evolution of Micmac from PA is required before the morphological developments can also be understood. Once the historical phonology is understood it can be seen that Micmac is not as divergent as it first appears.

The following summary of Hewson's (1973) article "Proto-Algonkian Reflexes in Micmac" will provide the basis of the phonological evolution. There were some gaps in the data in this earlier article and some of these have been discussed in Hewson's 1983 article entitled "Some Micmac Etymologies". These correspondences discussed in this later article will be noted.

The consonant correspondences are:

*p > p

*t > t

*k > k or q

*š > s

*s > s

*č > c

*θ > l

*l > l

*m > m

*n > n

*y > y

*w > w

Proto-Algonkian also had a set of consonant clusters.

In Micmac the prenasalized clusters generally lost the nasal.

*mp > p

*nt > t

*nk > k

*ns > s

*ns > s

*nč > č

*nθ > θ

*nl > θ (Hewson 1983:302)

Preaspirated consonant clusters are reduced to a simple voiceless consonant in Micmac.

*hp > p

*ht > t

*hk > k

*hc > c

*hs > s

*hš > s

*hθ > s

Preglottalized consonant clusters are also reduced to a simple voiceless consonant in Micmac.

*ʔt > t

*ʔč > č

*ʔs > s

*ʔs̄ > s

*ʔθ > θ

*ʔl > β (Hewson 1983:301-302)

Other consonant cluster correspondences are:

*xk > k

*θk > sk

*xp > p

*sk > sk

*sk̄ > k

*sp̄ > sp

There is insufficient evidence of cognates to establish reflexes of *st, *ck, *hl and *cp.

The vowel correspondences are :

*e: > e

*a: > a

*i: > i

*o: > u

*e >

*a >

*i > i

*o > u

*wa: > o

The five long vowels of Micmac are generally the

result of vowel contractions especially *VhV, *VyV and *VwV as can be seen in the following examples.

*-aya-, *-iha-, *iyi-, *-ihi-, *-iya- > i:

*-ehi- > e:

*-aha-, *-awaha- > a:

*-owi-, *-awi- > o:

*-iwa-, *-iwi-, *-awa- > u:

(Hewson 1973:158)

In some cases the long vowels of Micmac are from the PA long vowels without any conditioning as can be seen in the following examples : *ki:la > ki'l and *ni:la > ni'n. It appears to be the case that the PA long vowels are preserved in Micmac mono-syllabic words. At other times the long vowels can be explained through internal reconstruction.

CHAPTER TWO

ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE AND INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE VERBS

2.0 Introduction

All verbs in the Algonkian languages fit into four major categories fundamentally based on distinctions of transitivity and animacy. Before entering into a detailed discussion of any one of the verbal categories a description should first be given of the general features of the Algonkian verbal system.

The intransitive verbs are divided into those which are used for action by an animate subject, the animate intransitive verbs (AI), and those which are used for action by an inanimate subject, the inanimate intransitive verbs (II). With these verbs the agreement is with the gender of the subject (Goddard 1967:66).

The transitive verbs are divided into those which are used for action on an animate goal, the transitive animate verbs (TA), and those which are used for action on an inanimate goal, the transitive inanimate verbs (TI) (Goddard 1967:66).

There is also another category of verbs known as the pseudo-transitive verbs (psTI). Bloomfield provides a

good description of the psTI verbs in his Sketch. He states that,

... some intransitive verbs are used habitually with implied goals thus M menuah he drinks(it) is intr. in form, but in general makes sense only with a pseudo-object... (Bloomfield 1946:95).

These verbs are grammatically much like the AI- but they have a semantically implied object which is why they are classified as psTI verbs.

Each of the four verbal categories has characteristics distinct to the position it holds within the Algonkian verbal system. Algonkian verbs are either transitive or intransitive and this marking is done morphologically within the verb. There are four classes of finals each with their own characteristic set of inflectional endings and it is these finals which distinguish whether a verb is transitive or intransitive as can be seen in the following examples.

(a) transitive verbs

"to ask for"

TA	kelu	-	m	-	k
	root		final		inflection
	"speak"		TA		

"I ask for him"

The final in Micmac is from the PA TA final *-m- "by speech"

TI kelu - t - m₁
 root final inflection
 "speak" TI

"I ask for it"

The final in Micmac is from the PA TI final *-nt- "by speech"

(b) intransitive verbs

"to be big"

AI mes - kil - k
 root AI final inflection
 "big" "shape"

"he is big"

The final in Micmac is from the PA AI final *-ekiθ(e)-
 (erroneously given as *-ekeθe in Bloomfield (1946:110).)

II mes - ki' - k
 root II final inflection
 "big" "shape"

"it is big"

The final in Micmac seems to be an innovation. Bloomfield
 gives *-ya- as the corresponding II final.

Within the verbal categories the number of positions
 in the paradigms varies. The TA paradigm is much more
 complex than the others as all persons (both singular and
 plural) can be both subjects and objects. The TA verb

agrees with two persons, the actor and the goal, and therefore shows the richest variety of inflectional forms.

The II is the one with the least number of formations (positions) as it has only 3rd person forms. The II verbs have an inanimate subject and can thus only have 3rd person forms since 1st and 2nd persons necessarily represent animates.

The AI, the TI, and the pSTI verbal paradigms fit in between the TA and the II in size and the three of them have basically the same number of formations. In the AI there is no object and in the TI the object can only be 3rd person. The pSTI has an implied object so it too has the same number of formations.

The canonical shape of the Algonkian verb is as follows: (personal prefix) + (preverb 1) + (preverb 2) + root + (medial 1) + (medial 2) + (final) + inflections. The brackets indicate optionality (Hewson 1974:388).

The compulsory parts of the verb are the root and the inflections. The format can be seen clearer in the following example from Proto-Algonkian and its Micmac cognate. It should be noted that the PA form is a changed conjunct form: *we:li is the changed form of *weli, the first preverb in the word.

PA

*we:li[?] - a:nexk - a:p - am - ekw - esi - te
 prefix preverb root final inverse final infl.
 "good" "in sequence" "see" TA marker AI

(based on Bloomfield:1946)

Micmac:

weli - ank - am - ku - si - t
 preverb preverb TA root inverse final infl.
 "good" "in sequence" "see" marker AI

(Hewson 1983:385)

"he is good to look at"

In the PA form, there are two preverbs *-a:nexk- and *we:li-. In Micmac, weli- is a true preverb, and -ank- should be considered part of the verbal root as can be seen in in the pair ankam- TA and ankapt- TI see, and -am- and -apt- do not occur as roots.

There is also a problem with trying to give a label to the inverse marker as -if occupies the position of a secondary final but it cannot stand alone. It must be followed by an appropriate AI final.

There are also some problems with trying to discern where to make the divisions in the verb in Micmac. It is difficult to know where to make the division between the root and the final as PA *-a:p- + -am- gives -am[?] in Micmac, by the following evolution: *-a:pam- > -apam- >

-apm- > -am-. Perhaps one should define -am- and -apt- as concrete finals in modern Micmac, attached to the root ank-.

The stem is any combination that begins with a root or preverb and ends with a final. The inflectional endings follow the stem, and the personal prefixes (when they are used) precede the stem (Bloomfield 1946:103-123).

The medial is also an important element in the Algonkian verb. In the following examples it will be seen that the medials are basically lexical items, many of them being also deverbal noun stems.

*ke:p - it - a:xkw - awiθ- - - -
 root medial medial final inflection

"block" "transverse" "solid" TA

Micmac:

kep - ij - oqw - a'l - - - -
 root medial medial final inflection

"block" "transverse" "solid" TA

TA verb "to block, to plug"

*ki:s - a:xkw - eswi - - - -
 root medial AI final inflection

"finish" "solid" "by heat"

Micmac:

kis - oq - si -

root medial AI final inflection

"finish" "solid" "by-heat"

AI verb "already cooked"

2.1 The AI and II verbal categories

Two of these categories, the AI and the II, will be dealt with together because of the similarities which they share. They often have similar finals.

The AI and II verbs can be morphologically divided up into two basic categories - those which end in a stem final vowel and those which end in a stem final consonant.

There are four possible stem final vowels in Micmac which can be seen in the following examples.

	AI		II
-i-	teluisit "he is called"	teluisik	"it is called"
-a'-	ika't "he arrives"	ika'q	"it arrives"
-a-	nepat "he sleeps"	nepaq	"it sleeps"
-e-	ekwitamēt "he fishes"	ekwitamek	"it fishes"

There are also stem final consonants as can be seen in the following examples.

	AI		II
	pekisink "he comes"	pekisk	"it comes"
	meskilk "he is big"	kelu'lk	"it is beautiful"
		pemitk	"it flows"

These stem final vowels and consonants remain constant throughout the singular and dual formations in the paradigm but there is often variation in the plural formations.

Another similarity shared by the AI and the II (and also the TI) verbal categories is the presence of a

dual-plural distinction. The TA does not have this distinction possibly because of the complexity which already exists within the TA category. The Micmac dual is not a dual like the dual which exists in some Indo-European languages where it is used to refer to two objects and two objects only. In Micmac a more descriptive term for the dual would be the "internal" plural or collective, where this form is used for plurality within a single close-knit group which forms a unit, such as members of the family. An example of this is the dual form *pusiyog* meaning "you (plural) go off in a single boat". The true plural can be referred to as an "external" plural to indicate the contrast. This "external" plural is used for plurality outside of the singular group. An example of this is the plural form *pusultiyog* meaning "you (plural) go off in different boats". The dual form is used for the single group while the plural is used for the more diverse group (Hewson 1982:213).

This so-called Micmac dual is historically derived from the PA plural whereas the Micmac plural forms are also derived from the PA plural with the addition of the PA secondary final **-etwi-* which is the PA marker of reciprocal action, and may be added to TA stems. The examples of a TI dual and plural following are typical.

PA plural *e:ki - nt - am - e:kw -
 root TI final TI theme infl.
 "count" "mental" 2nd pl.
 Micmac dual ekitmoq "you (dual) count it (inan)"

There is a problem with deriving the Micmac inflection -oq from the PA inflection *e:kw but the remainder of the form is derivable.

PA plural *e:ki - t - amaw - etwi - e:kw
 root TI final TA final AI final infl.
 "count" "mental" two goal reciprocal 2nd pl.
 Micmac plural ekitmu'tiyog "you (pl.) count it (inan.)"

Once again there is a problem with deriving the Micmac inflection -oq from the PA inflection *e:kw but the remainder of the Micmac form is derivable from the PA form.

According to Pacificque (1939:104) some AI verbs have two dual paradigms that can be seen in verbs like pemiet "to move along" which has one dual paradigm meaning "to move along on water" and another dual paradigm meaning "to move along on land". This distinction is found only in the dual formation of verbs that have the final -ie- meaning "smooth motion". This distinction will be seen in Table 2.1 below where the entire Independent Indicative Present paradigm of the verb pemiet will be displayed to

indicate how the distinctions of person are made within the verb..

Table 2.1 - Dual paradigms

Sg.1	pemiey	"I move along"
Sg.2	pemien	"you move along"
Sg.3	pemiet	"he moves along"
Dual 1 (incl.)	pemieyikw	"we move along on water"
Dual 1 (excl.)	pemieyek	"we move along on water"
Dual 2	pemieyoq	"you move along on water"
Dual 3	pemiejik	"they move along on water"
Dual 1 (incl.)	pemia'ti'kw	"we move along on land"
Dual 1 (excl.)	pemia'tiyek	"we move along on land"
Dual 2	pemia'tiyog	"you move along on land"
Dual 3	pemia'tijik	"they move along on land"
Pl.1 (incl.)	pemita'yikw	"we move along"
Pl.1 (excl.)	pemita'yek	"we move along"
Pl.2	pemita'yoq	"you move along"
Pl.3	pemita'jik	"they move along"

2.2 Independent indicative present

Because of the variation displayed in the AI and II verbs as a result of the stem final vowels, it is useful to display the forms schematically, using V to indicate the presence of the stem final vowel in order to allow for a generalized discussion of the AI and II paradigms. These paradigms are shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 - AI and II independent indicative present

	AI	II
Sg.1	-Vy(an)	
Sg.2	-Vn	
Sg.3	-Vt	-Vk
Dual 1(incl.)	-Vyikw	
Dual 1(excl.)	-Vyek	
Dual 2	-Vyoq	
Dual 3	-Vcik	-Vkl
Pl.1(incl.)	-V(1)ti:kw	
Pl.1(excl.)	-V(1)tiyek	
Pl.2	-V(1)tiyoq	
Pl.3	-V(1)ticik	-Vtikl

The Sg.1 form has (-an) bracketed to indicate that this part of the ending is not always found in Micmac. It occurs when another inflectional element follows as in *patkuisianik* "I am called after them" the basis of which

is patkuisi "I am called after", corresponding to teluisi "I am called thus".

The Dual 1 (incl.) inflection ending -Vyikw is found in Micmac as the ending of verbs which originally had a long stem final vowel in PA. The form -i:kw is the resultant derivation of the forms which originally had a short i stem final vowel.

The use of the form -Vyikw, which includes a -y- element, in the paradigm above shows the similarities with the other paradigmatic forms which have a -y- as can be seen in the following dual forms:

Dual 1 (incl.) -yikw

Dual 1 (excl.) -yek

Dual 2 -yoq

The -y- is a common element, inherited from the PA, that links the vowel of the stem with the vowel of the inflection.

The form -Vyikw will be used from here on as this is the one found with stem final vowel -a- as in amalkayikw "we (incl.) dance" and stem final vowel -e- as in elukweyikw "we (incl.) work". Verbs with stem final -i- have the inflectional ending -i:kw as in teluisi:kw "we (incl.) are called", obviously derived from -iyikw by contraction (-iyikw > -i:kw).

There will be further discussion of the derivations involving these vowels later in this chapter.

2.2.1 Historical Derivation

2.2.1.1 The AI Verb

The Micmac independent indicative present is derived from the PA conjunct mode and this will be seen in the following derivations. For these derivations the PA conjunct endings are from Bloomfield (1946).

As will be seen in Table 2.3 below, Micmac does not always display the expected forms.

Table 2.3 - PA AI conjunct

AI	PA AI Conjunct	Micmac Independent
Sg.1	*-ya:n	-y(an)
Sg.2	*-yan	-n
Sg.3	*-t	-t
Dual 1(excl.)	*-yankw	-yikw
Dual 1(incl.)	*-ya:nk	-yek
Dual 2	*-ye:kw	-yoq
Dual 3	*-čik	-čik
Pl.1(excl.)	*-etwi-yankw	-ti:kw
Pl.1(incl.)	*-etwi-ya:nk	-tiyek
Pl.2	*-etwi-ye:kw	-tiyoq
Pl.3	*-etwi-čik	-tičik

For the purpose of simplicity the stem final vowel has been omitted from most of the discussion of derivations. Each stem final vowel has a different origin in PA and

there is also variation within the stem final vowel in the plural formation.

Singular Forms

Sg.1

*-ya:n > -y(an)

*y > y

*a: > a

*n > n

Micmac displays the expected outcome from the PA ending.

Sg.2

*-yan > -n

With the derivation of the Sg.2 form the discussion of specific stem final vowels will be included as they play an important role. Derivations using the four possible stem final vowels with an explanation will be displayed below.

Stem final -i- from PA *-i-.

*-iyan > -i:n > -in

This change shows a normal contraction of PA *-iya- > -i:-. For this type of contraction to occur the vowels on both sides of the -y- have to be short. This contraction had to occur early enough in the phonological evolution of Micmac that the *-i:- would have been affected by the vowel shortening rule which resulted in *-i:- > -i-. Similar

contractions are predictable from the evolution of other vowels.

Stem final -i- from PA *-i:-.

*-i:yan > -iyən > -iyn > -in
 1 2 3

Stem final -a- from PA *-a:-.

*-ā:yan > -ayən > -ayn > -an
 1 2 3

Stem final -e- from PA *-e:-.

*-e:yan > -eyən > -eyn > -en
 1 2 3

The forms which originally had a long stem final vowel in PA went through a different set of stages than did those forms which originally had a short stem final vowel. The short vowel allowed for a contraction with the yod whereas when there is a long vowel on either side of the yod in the form this contraction cannot occur. Therefore the derivation of the forms with an original long stem final vowel did not include a contraction with yod.

Step 1 involves two different changes which quite possibly occurred simultaneously. The long vowel was shortened (*-i:- > -i-, *-a:- > -a-, and *-e:- > -e-) and the vowel after the -y- was reduced to schwa (*-a- > ə).

Step 2 involves the loss of schwa (→ > ∅) which is a normal phonological development in unstressed syllables.

Step 3 involves the loss of the *-y- before the -n-.

By following these steps one can see the development of the Micmac forms and the role which the distinct stem final vowels play.

Sg.3

*-t > -t

This is the expected result.

It is to be noted that there are also verbs which have -k as the Sg.3 person inflection as in pekisink "he comes" and meskilk "he is big". Such stems had *k as a 3rd person conjunct inflection in Proto-Algonkian and can therefore be derived from Proto-Algonkian *k.

The -nk cluster which remains in Micmac in the form pekisink needs explaining as nasal clusters were simplified in the phonological evolution of PA to Micmac (*nk > k, *mp > p, *nt > t etc.).

Evidence from two of the Central Algonkian languages will be helpful here. Cree and Menominee have a cluster -hk- in the Sg.3 inflection of the conjunct. Ellis (1983:424) gives the conjunct endings of verbs which have n-stems and the 3rd person singular inflection is -hk as can be seen in an example such as takosihk "when he arrives". Based on the presence of -hk in both Cree and

Menominee it is possible to reconstruct *nk for PA. If the -nk- in Micmac is derived from *n η k in PA, this would be an example of paradigmatic resistance to sound change.

Another possible solution for the retaining of the nasalized cluster in Micmac would be to reconstruct an intervening vowel (*nVk) at some point in the phonological evolution. It is possible that this vowel was present in PA and lost in the daughter languages. If it never was originally present in PA it may have been inserted at some later point in the phonological development (possibly the PEA stage). This vowel would have been eventually lost due to regular phonological change in Micmac - *nek- > -nek- > -nk-. The loss of the vowel as a rule would have to occur later than the rule which eliminates the nasal in the cluster.

Therefore there are two possible solutions to explain the retention of -nk- of pekisink in Micmac, which is not the result expected from regular historical evolution.

Dual Forms

Dual 1 (incl.)

*-yankw > -yikw

Here again the specific stem final vowels have to be discussed to help explain the derivations.

Stem final vowel -i- from PA *-i-

*-iyankw > -i:nkw' > -i:kw

This derivation involves the contraction of *-iya- > -i:- and the simplification of the consonant cluster *-nk- > -k-.

For the Micmac stem-final vowels which are to be derived from long vowels in PA this vowel can be represented schematically to allow for one single derivation which can apply to all three forms. The representation for this long vowel will be V:

*-V:yankw > -Vyankw > -Vikw [-Vyikw]

1 2

Step 1 involves the shortening of the long vowel and the reduction to schwa of the vowel following the -y-.

Step 2 probably involves the assimilation of the schwa to the yod resulting in i (yə > i). This type of assimilation also occurs with schwa assimilating with w to give u. The schwa did not assimilate with the yod in the 2nd person singular form above. The assimilation in this Dual 1 (incl.) form above appears to be a paradigmatic resistance to sound change to preserve the syllable as all of the other dual forms have syllables as inflections. The singular forms do not have syllables for inflections so in the 2nd Sg. form the derivation is different. Step 2 also involves the simplification of the nasal cluster *-nk- > -k-.

Dual 1(excl.)

*-ya:nk would not give Micmac -yek.

*y > y

*a: > a

*pk > k (expect -yak)

There is a problem here with deriving the vowel in Micmac.

Dual 2

*-ye:kw would not give Micmac -yoq.

*y > y

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect yekw)

It is a point of interest that there seems to have been a flip-flop or confusion between the vowels in the Dual 1(excl.) and the Dual 2 forms. If the vowels in the PA forms were switched between the two forms there would be no problem with deriving the Micmac forms. Hypothetically the derivations would be:

Dual 1(excl.)	*-ya:nk	Dual 2	*-ya:kw
	-yenk		-yakw
	-yek		-yoq

At this point it will be helpful to the discussion to bring it some examples of this same problem in Maliseet and Delaware. These problems with deriving Eastern Algonkian forms from PA forms indicate that Bloomfield's

reconstructions should be reexamined and the data from Eastern languages used for reconstruction of common Eastern forms.

The problem to be dealt with here is the vowels in Bloomfield's reconstruction of the Plural 1(excl.) and Plural 2 which correspond to the dual forms in Micmac. Bloomfield's Proto-Algonkian reconstructions may be compared with the Eastern data.

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware	PA
Dual 1(excl.)	-yek	-yek	-e:nkw	*-ya:nk
Dual 2	-yoq	-yekw	-e:kw	*-ye:kw

Based upon the data given above, the Proto-Eastern Algonkian forms can be reconstructed as follows: the PEA form for the 1(excl.) should be *-ye:nk as the inflections in these three languages can be derived from this. The derivations would then be:

Micmac and Maliseet	Delaware
*-ye:nkw > -yek	*-ye:nkw > -e:nkw
*y > y	*y > ø
*e: > e	*e: > e:
*nk > k	*nk > nk

The final -w in the Delaware form is possibly paradigmatic analogy; if so, we could reduce the reconstruction to *-ye:nk which would completely justify the Micmac and Maliseet forms.

The inflectional ending reconstructed by Bloomfield for the Plural 2 does not cause any problems for the derivations of the Maliseet and Delaware forms. This reconstructed *-ye:kw form should be retained and in this case the Micmac form -yoq indicates a reshaping.

From this point on the reconstructed form of the dual and plural 1(excl.) will be PEA *-ye:nk while the dual and plural 2 form will remain as *-ye:kw.

Therefore for the Dual 1(excl.) form above the derivation will now be:

*-ye:nk > -yek

*y > y

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result.

Dual 3

*-čik > -čik

*č > č

*i > i

*k > k

This is the expected result.

Bloomfield reconstructs *-twaa or *-waat as the inflection of the Sg.3 plural of the AI conjunct (Bloomfield 1946:101). By using either of these reconstructed forms it would not be possible to derive the Micmac inflections.

As *-t is the Sg.3 inflection and *-ik is the plural marker of the verb it is possible to reconstruct *-tik > *-čik (*t > *č as a result of palatalization caused by the following high front vowel) as the inflection for this form. Evidence for this *-čik inflection is also found in Cree as the 3rd. person AI conjunct inflection in Cree is -čik (Ellis 1983:653).

Plural Forms

The plural forms in Micmac are derived from the PA plural with the addition of the PA secondary final *-etwi- which indicates reciprocal action. This *-etwi- is the origin of the -ti- element in the Micmac plural which distinguishes the plural from the dual as the endings are the same.

The derivation of *-etwi- to -ti- is a basic derivation as follows:

*-etwi-

-etwi *e > ə

-əti *tw > t

-ti *ə > ∅

Plural 1(incl.)

*-etwi-yankw > -ti:kw

-ti-yankw > -ti:kw > -ti:kw

The derivation of this form follows the exact same steps as those followed for the Dual 1(incl.) with a stem

final vowel -i-. The form which is derived is the expected result.

Plural 1(excl.)

PEA *-etwi-ye:nk > -tiyek

This is the expected result as the phonological steps are the same as those for Dual 1(excl.).

Plural 2

*-etwi-ye:kw would not give -tiyoq
(expect -tiyekw)

The same problem exists in the derivation of this form as existed in the corresponding Dual form.

Plural 3

*-etwi-čik(i) > -tičik

This is the expected result and again the derivational steps are the same as those for the Dual 3 form.

2.2.12 The II Verb

The, II Independent is a reflex of the PA Conjunct and the respective paradigms of each will be displayed below in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 - PA II conjunct

	PA II Conjunct	Micmac II Independent
Sg.3	*-k	-k
Dual 3	*-k-ali.	-kl
Pl.3	*-etwi-k-ali	-tikl

DERIVATIONS

Sg.3

*-k > k

This is the expected result.

Dual 3

*-kali > -kl

*k > k

*al > əl > l

final vowel lost

This is the expected result.

Pl.3

*-etwi-kali > -tikl

*-etwi > -ti

*k > k

*al > əl > l

final vowel lost

This is the expected result.

2.2.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

The Micmac independent indicative present corresponds to the indicative conjunct of the other Eastern Algonkian languages, as will be seen in the correspondences in the inflectional endings in Table 2.5 below.

The plural forms in these other EA languages are equivalent to the Micmac dual because it is the Micmac dual with the addition of *-etwi- which ends up as the Micmac plural. It should be noted that a dual-plural distinction has been attested for Maliseet but it was not included in the data given by Leavitt and Francis 1983. According to their data it is the Maliseet plural morphology which corresponds to the Micmac dual morphology.

Another similarity (besides the endings) between the Micmac independent indicative and the Delaware and Maliseet conjunct is of course the absence of personal prefixes. In the EA languages (excluding Micmac) the independent indicative forms have personal prefixes whereas the conjunct forms do not. The Micmac independent indicative has no personal prefixes.

This EA evidence indicates that the Micmac independent indicative comes from the PA conjunct.

Table 2.5 - EA correspondences of the Micmac AI Independent

	Delaware	Maliseet	Micmac
Sg.1	-a:n	-Vyan	-Vy(an)
Sg.2	-an	-Vyin	-Vn
Sg.3	-t	-Vt	-Vt
Pl.1(incl.)	-e:nkw	-Vyikw	-Vyikw
Pl.1(excl.)	-e:nkw	-Vyek	-Vyek
Pl.2	-e:kw	-Vyekw	-Vyoq
Pl.3	-o:htit	-Vhtit/-Včik	-Včik

2.3 Preterite and dubitative

Pacifique's paradigm for what he calls the Indicatif Passé is in fact made up of at least two separate paradigms (the Preterite and the Dubitative). Pacifique makes the statement,

Quand il y a deux ou plusieurs formes pour une même personne, la première est considérée comme la plus usitée; à la 3e, penig est plus expressif que senig; celle-ci semble renfermer un doute ou une hésitation; la première est plus affirmative... (Pacifique 1939:60).

This statement indicates that Pacifique was aware of the distinction between an affirmative past tense (the preterite) and a past tense which involves doubt or hesitation (the dubitative). According to his statement, in his paradigms the first form should be the preterite whereas the second form should be the dubitative. This is not always the case and sometimes leads to confusion. Confusion is also caused by the fact that Pacifique sometimes includes a third form.

In his article "Aspects of Micmac Intransitive Animate Inflection" (1979) Watson Williams gives these two separate paradigms and this was an aid in distinguishing the inflections given by Pacifique. By using both Williams and Pacifique as data bases the two paradigms can be presented as follows (Table 2.6.):

Table 2.6 - AI preterite and dubitative

AI	Preterite	Dubitative
Sg.1	-Vyap	-Vyas
Sg.2	-Vtəp	-Vsəp
Sg.3	-Vp	-Vs
Dual 1(incl.)	-Vyikup	-Vyikus
Dual 1(excl.)	-Vyekəp	-Vyekəsəp
Dual 2	-Vyoqop	-Vyoqsəp
Dual 3	-Vpənik	-Vsənik
Pl.1(incl.)	-V(1)ti:kup	-V(1)ti:kus
Pl.1(excl.)	-V(1)tiyekəp	-V(1)tiyekəsəp
Pl.2	-V(1)tiyoqop	-V(1)tiyoqsəp
Pl.3	-V(1)tipənik	-V(1)tisənik

There are some evident similarities between the inflectional endings for these two paradigms. The two paradigms seem to be distinguished from each other by the fact that the dubitative paradigm has an -s- element while the preterite is marked by the presence of the -p- element. The -s- element of the dubitative occurs throughout the entire paradigm and never in the preterite paradigm so it is the major distinguishing factor.

2.3.1 Historical derivation : preterite

The preterite "indicates a past event the effect or relevance of which lies in the past rather than in the present." (Goddard 1979:53)

The preterite mode can be reconstructed for Proto-Algonkian. Bloomfield (1946) states that "C(ree), M(enominee), O(jibwa) have an emphatic preterite -pa... *pemaatesipanyeeeki they once lived..." (99). It seems that the form should be reconstructed as *-pan. as this is the form found in the examples given by Bloomfield and it is also found in his reconstructed example of the preterite. A simple *-p is found in word-final position in languages such as Micmac, Abenaki and Delaware; this could be explained by loss of the word final *-an. *-pan- occurs non-finally and this indicates that it should be the reconstructed form. There is additional evidence of the loss of -an in word-final position in the Micmac AI 1st. Sg. form (see discussion under AI-Independent Indicative Present).

Evidence for this PA *-pan- marker of the preterite can still be found in the Algonkian daughter languages.

In his grammar of Eastern Ojibwa, Bloomfield gives some examples of the preterite. He states that the inflectional ending of the 1st. person, singular form of the preterite is -na·pan (nenki spenato·na·pan I used to

buy it) while the 3rd. person inflection is -pan (nempopan he died then) (Bloomfield 1958:45).

Montagnais also contains reflexes of this PA *-pan in some of the inflectional endings of the preterite. The 3rd. person singular inflection is -pan as in nipāpan "he was asleep" and the 3rd. person plural inflection is -pant (<*-panik) as in nipāpant "they were asleep" (Clarke 1982b:46).

There is also evidence for the preterite mode in some of the other Eastern Algonkian languages besides Micmac. The data from Maliseet and Abenaki is not from the conjunct order but the morphology is comparable to the Micmac forms. The Maliseet data is limited to one example but it should be stated here that an attempt is being made to reconstruct the mode and not the paradigm of the inflectional endings.

Goddard does not give the forms of the conjunct preterite but a single statement from his Delaware Verbal Morphology is sufficient to describe the formation of the preterite in Delaware. Goddard states that "Preterite forms of the conjunct add /-əp/ in final position or /-əpan/ nonfinally to the regular conjunct indicative endings." (Goddard 1969:188)

The paradigms of the preterite follow in Table 2.7. The Maliseet form contains a fortis (aspirated) [p]

because it was originally preceded by -w- of the 3rd singular inflection which gave a cluster of which the reflex is fortis [p].

It should be noted that the Eastern languages like the Central languages have -p n and -pan in non-word final position. These forms occur when there is another inflectional element following such as the 3rd. person plural marker -ik. This occurrence was noted by Goddard in the above quote where he says ".../-əpan/nonfinally..." (Goddard 1969:188) and equivalent forms occur in Micmac and Abenaki. The single preterite form available for Maliseet is a 3rd. person singular form, yet even though the preterite marker occurs in word final position it consists of the -hpən form which is only used non-finally in the other Algonkian languages.

Therefore based on the above data from languages from both the Central and Eastern Algonkian groups it can be seen that the preterite marker found in Micmac is a reflex of PA *-pan.

Table 2.7 - EA AI preterite

	Micmac	Abenaki	Maliseet	Delaware
Sg.1	-Vyap	-Vp		-əp
Sg.2	-Vtəp			-əp
Sg.3	-Vp	-Vp.	-Vhp n	-əp
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vyikup	-Vp		-əp
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vyekəp	-Vp		-əp
Pl.2	-Vyoqop			-əp
Pl.3	-Vpən-ik	-Vpan-ik		-pan-

(+pl.marker)

2.3.2 Historical derivation: dubitative

The dubitative mode has been reconstructed for PA and it was marked by *-tok (Bloomfield 1946:99). This PA *-tok is still evident as a dubitative marker in Fox, Cree and Ojibwa but this form does not correspond with the Micmac marker.

The Micmac marker is an -s- element and it is possible that this is related to the -ssii element found in Ojibwa. This -ssii is the marker of the Ojibwa negative mode (Bloomfield 1946:188).

There is no evidence of a dubitative mode in Maliseet or Delaware. There is a dubitative marker in Abenaki but it does not contain the -s- element which is the distinguishing feature in Micmac. The Abenaki dubitative

given by Laurent (1884:156) for the verb "to have" is as follows in Table 2.8 .

Table 2.8 - Abenaki dubitative

Sg.1	-ok
Sg.2	-ðan
Sg.3	-ðd
Pl.1	-ðak
Pl.2	-ðakw
Pl.3	-ððdit

The Abenaki data is obviously not related to the reconstructed *-tok form of PA.

This PA *-tok is possibly the origin of Micmac etuk "probably".

For lack of correspondences, the Micmac dubitative has not been reconstructed.

 2.4 Future

The future is used to express an action or make a statement about something that will occur in the future.

As with the independent indicative present, the AI and II future paradigms can be represented schematically as in Table 2.9 below.

Table 2.9 -AI and II future

	AI	II
Sg.1	-Vtes	
Sg.2	-Vtəks	
Sg.3	-Vtew	-Vtew
Dual 1(incl.)	-Vtesnu	
Dual 1(excl.)	-Vtesnen	
Dual 2	-Vtoqsəp	
Dual 3	-Vtaq	-Vtal
Pl.1(incl.)	-V(1)titesnu	
Pl.1(excl.)	-V(1)titesnen	
Pl.2	-V(1)titəqsəp	
Pl.3	-V(1)titag	-Vtital

As can be seen from the data there is a -t- element which exists throughout the entire AI and II paradigm of the future. The origin of this element has been untraceable and therefore it may be an innovation of Micmac.

Another characteristic of the Micmac future is the change in the stem. The stem of the future tense verb is contracted.

<u>Present</u>		<u>Future</u>	
pemiet	"he walks"	pmietew	"he will walk"
teluisit	"he is called"	tluisitew	"he will be called"

This contraction of the initial vowel in Micmac is a reflection of what is known as initial change in PA. Initial change in Algonkian languages consists of "...adding a vocalic element as an infix to the core of the initial syllable" (Hewson 1980:4).

This initial change is found in the conjunct and not in the independent order. In initial change a long vowel was preceded by *-ay- in PA so that *wa:p- in the independent order became *waya:p- in the conjunct order. The following alterations are what have been reconstructed for the short vowels.

Initial vowel - unchanged conjunct	e	a	o
Initial vowel - changed conjunct	e:	e:	we:

"In Micmac the independent order of the verb was lost and replaced by the changed conjunct, which is the basis of the full forms of the Micmac verb." (Hewson 1980:4)

The independent order verbs of Micmac are thus derived from the changed form of the stem. The future forms (and others such as the imperative, conditional,

subordinative, and unchanged conjunct) are derived from the unchanged form of the stem.

2.4.1 Historical derivation

It is not possible to reconstruct a future paradigm for Proto-Algonkian because it is not adequately represented in the daughter languages. According to Meillet, to reconstruct something in a proto-language it should be observable in at least three of the daughter languages (Meillet 1925:38).

The future in most Algonkian languages is expressed by a preverb such as *ka-* in Montagnais (*ni-ka-pimūten* "I will walk") which is the future marker (Clarke 1982b:48). In Eastern Ojibwa the preverb *ta-ki* denotes unrealized action (Bloomfield 1958:62).

Actually Micmac and other Eastern languages have a preverb which gives the meaning "to wish" or "to want" (*ket-*, *ketu-* or *keji-*) which may be used for future reference, sometimes replacing the future tense.

The future in Micmac is quite possibly an innovation of Micmac. Of the three Eastern Algonkian languages chosen to be used as comparison languages in this thesis (Maliseet, Delaware and Abenaki) only Abenaki has a future formation. The future in Abenaki is formed by simply adding a *-ji* element to the end of the verb as in

the example n'okaozemiji "I shall have a cow" from n'okaozemi
"I have a cow" (Laurent 1888:129) and thus cannot be
compared to the Micmac future paradigm.

It seems therefore that the full-fledged future
paradigm of Micmac is probably an innovation.

2.5 Absentative

The absentative has been defined as the mode used when making reference to someone or something that is dead or absent. Proulx has suggested (personal communication) that the use of the term "inaccessible" would be more suited to the true meaning of the mode than the term absentative. The absentative verbal forms have a wider range of use than just referring to someone or something that is dead or absent. Proulx gives the example of using the absentative when referring to a person who is in the same room as the speaker but is sleeping - the person is not dead or absent but inaccessible.

The paradigm of the Micmac absentative can be seen in Table 2.10 below.

Table 2.10 - AI and II absentative

	AI	II
Sg.3	-Vt-aq	-Vk-ek
Sg.3'	-Vli-ta	
Dual 3	-Vt-k-ik	-Vk-ek-l
Dual 3'	-Vli-t-ka	
Pl.3	-V(l)ti-t-k-ik	
Pl.3'	-V(l)ti-li-t-ka	

There are only 3rd person forms in the absentative; the absentative is used for something or someone that is inaccessible and therefore has to be in the 3rd person.

The morpheme -k- appears to be the marker of the Micmac absentative tense and this morpheme is located after the personal inflection and before the plural marker (when there is a plural marker).

2.5.1 Historical derivation

There was no available data for the verbal absentative in the other Eastern Algonkian languages but Teeter has stated (personal communication) that there are verbal absentative forms in Maliseet. There is data available for the nominal absentative in the other Eastern Algonkian languages and these forms contain the same morphology as the Micmac verbal absentative. Bloomfield does not reconstruct an absentative mode for Proto-Algonkian. Goddard states with regards to the nominal absentative that,

The most similar elements in the Central languages would seem to be demonstrative pronouns like Fox *i niya* AN, *i niye* IN 'that (known to speaker and addressee) but absent or dead'... (Goddard 1969:157).

These demonstrative pronouns carry the same meaning as the Micmac absentative but not the same morphology.

According to Goddard the nominal absentative endings of Micmac, Delaware, Maliseet and Western and Eastern Abenaki all resemble each other. He gives possible PEA forms as * $\text{-}\text{ənkak}(V)$ "animate plural", * $\text{-}\text{ənkal}(V)$ "inanimate plural, obviative singular" and * $\text{-}\text{ənkah}(V)$ "obviative plural" (Goddard 1969:156).

Goddard only gives a limited number of forms from Delaware. "... $\text{/}\text{ənkake/}$ would then represent the generalization of the animate plural ending, and $\text{/}\text{-}\text{ənka/}$ would be a shortening of this" (Goddard 1969:156-7).

The Abenaki data for the absentative is found under the conjugation of the substantive. The data is nominal and not verbal but it contains the same -k- element which is found in Micmac. The Abenaki forms which correspond to the PEA forms above are -(e)gak , -(e)gal and -(e)ga (Laurent 1884:121-3,125,127).

The importance of the data above is that Abenaki and Delaware, like Micmac, contain a -k- element which marks the absentative. Goddard states that the Maliseet endings resemble those in these other languages so Maliseet possibly has this same element. (There is no available data for the Maliseet absentative). This morphological marker of the absentative seems to be an Eastern Algonkian innovation.

2.6 Imperative

Pacifique's paradigm of the imperative contains the forms for two separate paradigms. The paradigms he gives follow in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 - Pacifique's impératif

	Affirmative		Negative
	AI	II	AI
Sg.2	-V		k-Vsiw
Sg.3	-Vč	-Vč	-Vuič
Dual 1	-Vneč		-Vneč
Dual 2	-Vkw, -Vq		k-sip
Dual 3	-V:tič	-V:tič	-Vuitič
Pl.1	-Vtineč		-Vtineč
Pl.2	-Vtikw		k-Vtip
Pl.3	-Vti:tič	-Vti:tič	-Vtitič

It is the formations displayed in the negative paradigm of the imperative which provide the first hint that there are two paradigms within the one. The 2nd person forms listed by Pacifique here are very different from the other forms in the paradigm. These 2nd person forms have a personal prefix and they also do not have a contracted stem. Because these major differences occur in the negative paradigm it could be assumed that there would be a morpho-

logical difference in the affirmative paradigm, between the 2nd person forms and the forms of the 1st and 3rd persons.

There are also observable differences displayed by the 2nd person forms in the affirmative imperative paradigm but they are not as obvious as those in the negative paradigm. There are no personal prefixes and the stem is contracted just as in the 1st and 3rd person forms. The difference in this paradigm occurs in the endings. All of the 1st and 3rd person forms have a -č- element in their endings and this element is missing from the 2nd person endings. The absence of this element from the 2nd person forms although it occurs throughout the rest of the paradigm sets the 2nd person forms off as different.

Based on the above observations it appears that the 2nd person forms make up a separate paradigm. The true imperative is represented by the 2nd person forms while the 1st and 3rd person forms make up what we shall call the jussive paradigm.

The II forms will not be discussed because the II paradigms contain (as one might expect) only jussive (3rd person forms). These 3rd person II endings are in fact the same as the AI 3rd person endings.

The imperative and the jussive can be represented by the following paradigms of the verb teluisi "I am called"

and the distinctions will be shown in Table 2.12 below.

Table 2.12 - AI jussive and imperative

AFFIRMATIVE

	<u>Jussive</u>		<u>Imperative</u>
Sg.3	tluisij	Sg.2	tluisi
Dual 1	tluisine'j	Dual 2	tluisi'kw
Dual 3	tluisi'ciij		
Pl. 1	tluisultine'j	Pl.2	tluisulti'kw
Pl. 3	tluisulti'tij		

CONTRACTED STEM

CONTRACTED STEM

NEGATIVE

	<u>Jussive</u>		<u>Imperative</u>
Sg.3	mu tluisiuij	Sg.2	mu k-teluisiw
Dual 1	mu tluisine'j	Dual 2	mu k-teluisip
Dual 3	mu tluisiui'tij		
Pl.1	mu tluisultine'j	Pl.2	mu k-teluisultip
Pl.3	mu tluisulti'tij		

CONTRACTED STEM

FULL STEM and PREFIX

2.6.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield reconstructed the imperative order for Proto-Algonkian based on evidence from the four Central languages - Fox, Cree, Menominee, and Ojibwa.

Bloomfield only reconstructs two AI imperative forms and these are as follows:

Sg.2 *poosilo "embark thou" *-Vlo

Pl.2 *poosiko "embark'ye" *-Vko

(Bloomfield 1946:188)

What should be noted here is that Bloomfield only reconstructed 2nd person forms for the PA imperative which can be used as more evidence to show that the Micmac 2nd person forms listed by Pacifique in the imperative paradigm are the true imperative and should be set apart from the other forms.

Bloomfield reconstructed the singular imperative ending as *-Vlo. This reconstruction has been challenged by John Hewson in his 1983a article, "Proto-Algonquian Prefinal */l/ in Cree". In this article Hewson points out that there is insufficient evidence to support Bloomfield's claim that prefinal /l/ was lost in Cree as a regular phonetic development. With the loss of this evidence from one of the major Central Algonkian languages used for Bloomfield's reconstructions the result is that the reconstruction of *-Vlo is weakened: it appears that the final syllable /-lo/ is attested in some languages and absent in others.

There are several possible explanations which can be discussed as to the supposed loss of PA *-lo in the Micmac singular imperative. As neither Cree nor the Eastern Algonkian languages show a reflex of the PA *-l

in this imperative form this sheds doubt on Bloomfield's reconstruction. This could indicate "... that the suffix *-lo is an optional rather than a regular element" (Hewson 1983:434). Possibly this *-lo ending which occurs in some of the Central languages could be explained by stating that these languages added the element.

It is also possible that variation existed in PA. There may have been two ways of forming the singular imperative form; one way which involved using the reconstructed *-lo ending which would account for the Central languages (excluding Cree) which contain a reflex of it and the other way which did not involve using the reconstructed *-lo suffix and would account for Cree and the Eastern Algonkian languages. It is possible that this *-lo morpheme did exist in PA but there is simply no reflex of the *-l- in Micmac or the other Eastern Algonkian languages. The final vowel would be lost in the regular phonological evolution of PA to Micmac.

The plural imperative ending *-Vko reconstructed for PA by Bloomfield has a correspondence in Micmac. As the Micmac dual is derived from the PA plural the comparison should be made here. The Micmac dual ending -Vkw is derivable from PA *-Vko.

The Micmac imperative must consequently be considered as a regular derivation.

There is other evidence to indicate that the true imperative consists only of the 2nd person forms. Bloomfield (1962:185-186) provides only 2nd person forms for the imperative.

2.6.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

Evidence from the other Eastern Algonkian languages is relevant to this discussion regarding the imperative-jussive distinction.

There appear to be correspondences between Micmac, Maliseet and Abenaki for the imperative order so the data from these languages will be presented. Delaware does not correspond.

Laurent (1884) and Leavitt and Francis (1983) also included the imperative and the so-called jussive within the one paradigm which they labelled the Imperative.

To allow for a discussion as to how the forms differ from each other within the paradigm the paradigms will be presented as they originally were by the respective writers in Table 2.13 and later in Table 2.14 the distinctions will be presented.

The Micmac dual will be compared to the plural of the other languages in this discussion and to simplify the comparisons the Micmac plural will be omitted here.

The Micmac distinctions have been discussed previously but the data has been presented again to allow for comparisons.

Table 2.13 -EA AI imperative

Affirmative

	Micmac	Maliseet	Abenaki
Sg.2	-v	-Vn	-V
Sg.3	-vč	-vč	-vč
Pl.1	-Vne:č	-Vne	-Vta
Pl.2	-Vkw	-Vk/-Vkw	-Vkw
Pl.3	-Vtič	-Vhtič	-Vtič

Negative

Sg.2	k-Vsiw	-Vhkəč	
Sg.3	-Vuič	-vč	
Pl.1	-Vneč	no negative form	-Vta
Pl.2	k-Vsip	-Vhkek	-Vkak
Pl.3	-Vui:tič	-Vhtič	-V:tič

The -č- element which is found in all of the 1st and 3rd person forms of both the affirmative and the negative paradigms of Micmac is also found in all of the 3rd person forms of Abenaki and Maliseet.

Based on the above evidence and the fact that there is a division in the Central Algonkian languages it can be seen that the paradigm should be divided into the

imperative and the jussive paradigms in Maliseet and Abenaki as was suggested for Micmac (Table 2.14). The distinction appears to be common to Eastern Algonkian.

Table 2.14 - EA AI imperative and jussive

IMPERATIVE

Affirmative

	Micmac	Maliseet	Abenaki
Sg.2	-V	-Vn	-V
Pl.2	-Vkw	-Vk/-Vkw	-Vkw

Negative

Sg.2	k-Vsiw	-Vhkəč	-V
Pl.2	k-Vsip	-Vhkek	-Vkakw

JUSSIVE

Affirmative

Sg.3	-Vč	-Vč	-Vč
Pl.1	-Vneič	-Vne	-Vta
Pl.3	-Vtič	-Vtič	-Vtič

Negative

Sg.3	-Vuič	-Vč	-Vč
Pl.1	-Vneč	no negative form	-Vta
Pl.3	-V:tič	-Vhtič	-V:tič

Based on the above evidence it can be seen that the imperative order is a regular derivation from Proto-Algonkian. This does not seem to be the case with the

jussive, a category which has not been reported for the Central languages. The jussive therefore appears to be an innovation of Eastern Algoakian, since it is found in three of the Eastern languages and there are morphological correspondences among the endings.

2.7 Conditional

The conditional is used in reference to an action which is conditioned by something else. The paradigms of the Micmac AI and II conditional follow in Table 2.15 below.

Table 2.15 - AI and II conditional

	AI	II
Sg.1	-Vk	
Sg.2	-Vk	
Sg.3	-Vs	-Vs
Dual 1(incl.)	-V:kup	
Dual 1(excl.)	-Vkek	
Dual 2	-Vkoq	
Dual 3	-V:tis	
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vti:kup	
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vtikek	
Pl.2	-Vtokoq	
Pl.3	-Vti:tis	-Vklutes

Upon observing the schematic representation of the Micmac conditional it should be noted that there is a - element present in most of the forms. The 3rd person forms do not contain this element.

2.7.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield did not reconstruct a conditional mode. Thus data from the other Algonkian languages will be examined for evidence of it.

There is no evidence of a conditional mode in either Maliseet or Delaware but the category does exist in Abenaki. The Abenaki paradigm follows:

Sg.1	-Vba
Sg.3	-Vba
Pl.1	-Vbenaba
Pl.3	-Vakba

These Abenaki endings are not cognate with those of Micmac and therefore cannot be used as evidence to reconstruct proto-forms.

As there is no relevant evidence in the Eastern Algonkian languages some of the Central Algonkian languages will be observed. There is no verbal category labelled as the conditional represented in either Menominee, Ojibwa or Cree.

There is another verbal category which is found in Eastern Ojibwa and some of the Cree dialects which is similar in meaning to the Micmac conditional and also contains some similar morphology in the inflections. This other verbal category is known as the delayed imperative. The Micmac conditional refers to action conditioned by

something else while the delayed imperative commands for action after an intervening event.

Plains Cree is the dialect of Cree which possesses the inflections which appear to be the most similar to those of Micmac. The data for this dialect is taken from MacKenzie and Clarke (1981). Bloomfield also gives a limited number of examples of the delayed imperative in Eastern Ojibwa in his grammar of the language. The data given for Plains Cree and Eastern Ojibwa involves only 2nd person forms as it is from the imperative order.

	Plains Cree	Eastern Ojibwa	Micmac
Sg.1	-hkan	-kkan	-Vk
Pl.1(incl.)	-hkek		-V:kup
Pl.2	-hkahk		-Vkoq

There are some observable similarities displayed in the morphology of the Micmac conditional and the Plains Cree and Eastern Ojibwa delayed imperative. It is possible to reconstruct an *-hk- element in PA based on the above data for the 2nd person form but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct any other forms for this paradigm.

2.8 Subordinative

The subordinative mode "...is used for the verb of sentential complements in certain constructions." (Goddard 1983:351) A schematic representation of the Micmac subordinative mode follows in Table 2.16 below.

Table 2.16 -- AI and II subordinative

	AI	II
Sg.1	n(t)-n	
Sg.2	k(t)-n	
Sg.3	w(t)-n	w(t)-n.
Dual 1(incl.)	k(t)-nenu	
Dual 1(excl.)	n(t)-nen	
Dual 2	k(t)-new	
Dual 3	w(t)-new	w(t)-new
Pl.1(incl.)	k(t)-tinenu	
Pl.1(excl.)	n(t)-tinen	
Pl.2	k(t)-tinew	
Pl.3	w(t)-tinew	w(t)-tinew

As the II forms are morphologically the same as the AI forms they will not be dealt with separately.

The verbal morphology of the subordinative mode is very much like the nominal morphology of possession. The personal prefixes as well as the inflections are very noun-like. This topic will be dealt with in more detail

within Chapter 6 where the nominal paradigm of possession will be compared with the verbal paradigm of the subordinative in Micmac.

The subordinative mode is the only verbal paradigm in Micmac which uses personal prefixes throughout the entire paradigm. These personal prefixes correspond exactly with the nominal prefixes used for possession as will be seen in Table 2.17 below.

Table 2.17 - Verbal and nominal prefixes

	Verbal	Nominal
Sg.1	n(t)-	n(t)-
Sg.2	k(t)-	k(t)-
Sg.3	w(t)-	w(t)-
Dual 1(incl.)	k(t)-	k(t)-
Dual 1(excl.)	n(t)-	n(t)-
Dual 2	k(t)-	k(t)-
Dual 3	w(t)-	w(t)-

The prefixes for the Plural forms are the same as those for the Dual.

2.8.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield has not reconstructed a subordinative mode for Proto-Algonkian. The historical derivation of this mode is a topic of controversy, especially between Proulx and Goddard.

Proulx presents his arguments in his paper entitled "The Subordinative Order of Proto-Algonquian" (1980). As can be seen from the article title, Proulx claims that the subordinative mode in the Eastern Algonkian languages is a reflex of Proto-Algonkian. He claims "...that the subordinative verbs of the Eastern languages have cognates in other Algonquian languages (notably Cree and Menominee)..." (Proulx 1980:289). This historical correspondence is based entirely on a phonological correspondence which Proulx sets up.

The main verbal forms discussed are the 1st person inclusive and exclusive and Proulx reconstructs PA *aye to explain the a: in the Central languages and e in the Eastern languages (e in Micmac and Maliseet, and e: in Delaware). By setting up this correspondence Proulx aims to show that the Eastern subordinative is cognate with the Central indicative.

Proulx presents examples to back up his phonological correspondences of *aye. The examples below will use Cree as the representative of the Central languages and Micmac as the representative of the Eastern languages.

CENTRAL *aye > a:

*netayehsi > Cr. nish (290) 'my legging'

*-ayenk > Cr. -a:hk (290) 'we/us (exc.)'

EASTERN *aye > e

*ketayenawa > Mc. kténu (290) 'our pet dog'

*-ayenk > Mc. -ek (290) 'locative'

Proulx labels this correspondence as a "crucial phonological correspondence" (Proulx 1980:289).

According to Proulx this phonological correspondence relates the forms below:

	Micmac Subord.	Cree Ind.	PA
-1(incl.)	k(t)-Vnenu	ki(t)-inaw	*ke(t)-nayenaw
1(excl.)	n(t)-Vnen	ni(t)-inaw	*ne(t)-nayen

Proulx's discussion of 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive is a crucial point which was overlooked by Bloomfield in his PA reconstruction. Bloomfield reconstructed the same inflectional ending for both the 1st person plural forms and this was quite possibly based on the evidence displayed in Fox, Menominee and Ojibwa where the distinction between 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive has collapsed. Bloomfield's reconstructed ending *ena:n for both inclusive and exclusive is limited as an exclusive inflection only.

Both Cree and Micmac retain a distinction and Proulx takes this distinction back to PA and reconstructs two distinct forms for the inclusive and exclusive. Proulx adjusts Bloomfield's reconstructed form *ena:n so that the exclusive form of both the Eastern and the Central

languages can be derived from it. Both of Proulx's reconstructed forms involve the use of his reconstructed *aye. The forms in Cree and Micmac are morphologically and phonologically similar. This similarity as well as Proulx's reconstructed PA forms can be seen below.

	Micmac	Cree	PA
l(incl.)	k(t)-Vnenu	ki(t)-ina:naw	*ke(t)-nayenaw
l(excl.)	n(t)-Vnen	ni(t)-ina:n	*ne(t)-nayena

The Micmac and Cree forms are derivable from the PA forms through the regular phonological processes for each of the languages.

Goddard argues from a purely morphological viewpoint in his article "The Eastern Algonquian Subordinative Mode and the Importance of Morphology" (1983). This article is primarily a response to Proulx's 1988 article.

Goddard claims that the subordinative mode found in the Eastern Algonquian languages is an Eastern innovation. He does not agree with Proulx and claims that the subordinative is not a reflex of PA. He disputes Proulx's theory, disagreeing with the phonological correspondences proposed. With regard to Proulx's discussion of the plural endings Goddard states, "Proulx's phonological explanation of the different vowel in this element in Eastern Algonquian has been shown to be deficient..." (Goddard 1983:383).

There are still problems to be solved with regard to the historical derivation of the Eastern Algonkian subordinative mode. The relationship between the Eastern subordinative and the Central independent is not easily traceable. This problematic issue requires further study.

The subordinative mode is found in the other languages of the Eastern Algonkian group besides Micmac. Abenaki, Maliseet and Delaware contain evidence for the subordinative mode and these inflections will be displayed in Table 2.18 below. A comparison of the personal prefixes of the Eastern Algonkian languages will be presented in Table 2.19 below.

Table 2.18 - EA AI subordinative

	Micmac	Abenaki	Maliseet	Delaware
Sg.1	-Vn	-Vn	-Vn	-(ə)n
Sg.2	-Vn		-Vn	-(ə)n
Sg.3	-Vn	-Vn	-Vn	-(ə)n
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vnenu		-Vnən	-(ə)ne:n
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vnen	-Vnana	-Vnen	-(ə)ne:n
Pl.2	-Vnew	-Vnə	-Vniya	-(ə)ne:wə
Pl.3	-Vnew	-Vnə	-Vn	-(ə)ne:wə

Table 2.19 - EA verbal prefixes

	Micmac	Abenaki	Maliseet	Delaware
Sg.1	n(t)-	n(t)-	n(t)-	n(ət)-
Sg.2	k(t)-		k(t)-	k(ət)-
Sg.3	w(t)-	'(t)-	'(t)-	w(ət)-
Pl.1(incl.)	k(t)-		k(t)-	k(ət)-
Pl.1(excl.)	n(t)-	n(t)-	n(t)-	n(ət)-
Pl.2	k(t)-	k(t)-	k(t)-	k(ət)-
Pl.3	w(t)-	'(t)-	'(t)-	w(ət)-

Goddard (1983) reconstructs a paradigm of the Eastern Algonkian subordinative mode which follows in Table 2.20. Goddard does not reconstruct the personal prefixes as he deals only with the inflections.

Table 2.20 - Goddard's PEA subordinative

Sg.1	*-ən(e:-)
Sg.2	*-ən(e:-)
Sg.3	*-ən(e:-)
Pl.1(incl.)	*-əne:na(w)
Pl.1(excl.)	*-əne:na(:n)
Pl.2	*-əne:wa(:w)
Pl.3	*-əne:wa(:w)

Based on the above data it is evident that the subordinative is a common mode to all of the Eastern Algonkian languages but its historical derivation still remains a problem.

2.9 Coniunct

There are two forms of the conjunct: the changed conjunct which is used in "when-clauses" and the unchanged conjunct which is used in "if-clauses". The unchanged conjunct does not have any initial change and is therefore contracted (ex. pmiej) whereas the changed conjunct does have initial change and is consequently uncontracted (ex. pemiej).

With regards to the contracted vs. uncontracted stem there is an observation to be made. The unchanged conjunct like the future and the imperative refers to possible events. These three tenses (and modes) all involve contracted stems. The changed conjunct refers to real events and does not involve a contraction. It seems that there is a relation between whether an event is possible or real and whether the stem is contracted or not.

The endings of both the unchanged and the changed conjunct of the AI are exactly the same. In Pacifique's grammar the changed conjunct forms are listed as having a final -l but consequent checking with a native speaker has indicated that this -l is not used and that the inflectional endings for the changed and unchanged conjunct are alike. These conjunct endings are very similar to the endings of the independent indicative present. The contraction which occurs in the unchanged forms is what

distinguishes them from the independent forms. The forms of the changed conjunct are very similar to those of the independent with regards to both the stem and the inflections and thus these forms are to be distinguished from each other by their use (their sentential context).

The Micmac paradigms follow in Table 2.21.

Table 2.21 - AI and II conjunct

	<u>Unchanged Conjunct</u>		<u>Changed Conjunct</u>	
	AI	II	AI	II
Sg.1	-Vyan		-Vyan	
Sg.2	-Vn		-Vn	
Sg.3	-Vč	-Vk	-Vč	-Vk
Dual 1(incl.)	-Vyikw		-Vyikw	
Dual 1(excl.)	-Vyek		-Vyek	
Dual 2	-Vyoq		-Vyoq	
Dual 3	-V:tič	-Vs	-Vti:č	-Vk
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vti:kw		-Vti:kw	
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vtiyek		-Vtiyek	
Pl.2	-Vtiyoq		-Vtiyoq	
Pl.3	-Vti:tič	-Vsən	-Vti:tič	-Vtik

2.9.1 Historical derivation

The 3rd person singular of the Micmac conjunct ends in $-č$ in contrast to the $-t$ of the indicative. Since both the Micmac conjunct and the Micmac indicative come from the PA conjunct mode it is necessary to be more specific.

The presence of the $-t$ as the Micmac 3rd person singular indicative ending indicates that the PA form ended in a mid or low (-high) vowel. The PA participle of the conjunct had an ending $*-a$ for the AI singular (Bloomfield 1946:101). This $*-a$ would explain why there is a $-t$ in Micmac because a mid or low vowel does not cause a palatalization of $t > č$. This final vowel was eventually lost in Micmac.

The Micmac changed and unchanged conjunct forms are reflexes of two separate modes of the PA conjunct order.

The Micmac changed conjunct is a reflex of the PA changed mode which had initial $č$ in the PA forms just as it does in Micmac. The Micmac unchanged conjunct is a reflex of the PA conjunct indicative mode.

There is evidence to support these claims. Both the PA changed mode and the the conjunct indicative mode ended in $*i$ (Bloomfield 1946:100) and this high vowel explains the presence of the final $č$ in the 3rd person singular forms of the Micmac changed and unchanged conjunct. The $*i$ caused the palatalization of $t > č$.

CHAPTER THREE
THE TRANSITIVE INANIMATE AND PSEUDO-TRANSITIVE INANIMATE
VERBS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will deal with both the TI and the psTI verb categories. The TI verbs are used for action on an inanimate goal which is why they are called Transitive Inanimate (TI) verbs. TI verb stems end in a thematic consonant which is always -m. This thematic element occurs between the stem and the inflection and indicates how these two elements relate to each other. The thematic -m of the TI apparently indicates a direct action of an animate on an inanimate.

The psTI verbs are used for action on an implied object which is why they are included in the same chapter as the TI. Bloomfield states that "About half the tr.an. verbs are matched not by tr.inan. verbs but by pseudo-transitive verbs, namely intr. verbs formed mostly with the suffixes -too, -htoo and taking implied objects." (Bloomfield 1946:95)

3.1 Independent indicative present - TI

The Micmac TI independent indicative present paradigm will be displayed in Table 3.1 below.

The Sg.1 TI form has (-an) bracketed to indicate that this part of the inflection is not always found in Micmac. It occurs when there is another inflectional element following.

Table 3.1 - TI independent indicative present

Sg.1	-m(an)
Sg.2	-mn
Sg.3	-(ə)k
Dual 1(incl.)	-mu:kw
Dual 1(excl.)	-mek
Dual 2	-moq
Dual 3	-mi:tiC
Pl.1(incl.)	-mu:ti:kw
Pl.1(excl.)	-mu:tiyek
Pl.2	-mu:tiyoq
Pl.3	-mu:ti:tiC

It should be noted that the -m that occurs in all persons of the TI except for the Sg.3 appears to be a thematic element (Goddard 1967:67). In this form the -m is dropped before the ending is added.

3.1.1 Historical derivation

As with the AI, the Micmac independent indicative present of the TI is also derived from the PA conjunct. The PA endings are from Bloomfield (1946:102) except for the revised reconstructions of the Dual and Pl.1(excl.), which are discussed in the chapter on the AI.

The Micmac paradigm of the TI Independent Indicative Present will be displayed in Table 3.2 below where it will be compared with the PA TI Conjunct.

Table 3.2 - PA TI conjunct

	PA TI Conjunct	Micmac TI Independent
Sg.1	*-ama:n	-m(an)
Sg.2	*-aman	-mn
Sg.3	*-ank	-(ə)k
Dual 1(incl.)	*-amankw	-mu:kw
Dual 1(excl.)	*-ame:nk	-mek
Dual 2	*-ame:kw	-moq
Dual 3	*-amowa:t	-mi:tic
Pl.1(incl.)	*-amaw-etwi-yankw	-mu:ti:kw
Pl.1(excl.)	*-amaw-etwi-ya:nk	-mutiyek
Pl.2	*-amaw-etwi-ye:kw	-mu:tiyoq
Pl.3	*-amaw-etwi-owa:t	-muti:tic

The derivations of these forms follow:

Singular Forms

Sg.1

*-ama:n > m(an)

*-am > -əm > m

*a: > a

*n > n

This is the expected result.

Sg.2

*-aman > -mn

*-am->ə m > m

*-an > ə n > n

This is the expected result.

Sg.3

*-ank > -ək > -(ə)k

*a > ə

*nk > k

This is the expected result.

Dual Forms

Dual 1(incl.)

*-amankw > mu:kw

The long vowel in Micmac "...arises from paradigmatic analogy with psTi and AI formations " (Hewson 1973:164) such as mena'tu'kw and teluisi'kw. The remainder of the

derivation shows the regular Micmac phonological evolution from PA.

*-am > -m > m

Dual 1(excl.)

PEA *-ame:nk > mek

*-am > əm > m

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result. See the discussion of the Dual 1(excl.) form under Section 2.2.11.

Dual 2

*-ame:kw does not give the attested form -moq

*-am > əm > m

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect -mekw)

Dual 3

*-amowa:t does not give the attested form -mitic

The Micmac form involves obvious reshaping.

Plural Forms

"The long vowel in the plural is regular, and stems from the fact that *-etwi can only be added to TA stems." (Hewson 1973:164) *-amaw is used because it consists of the double goal TI plus a TA final and therefore recycles the stem as a TA to which *-etwi can be added. For all the plural forms the following derivations occur:

*-amaw-etwi-

*-am > əm > m

*-awe > u:

*-tw > t

The above explains the derivation of Micmac -mu:t-.

The vowel *-i- of *-etwi is affected by what follows it in the inflection as sometimes contractions occur between this *-i- and the inflections.

Pl.1(incl.)

*-amaw-etwi-yankw > -mu:ti:kw

*-amaw-etw- > -mu:t-

*-iya- > i:

*nk > k

*w > w

This is the expected result. See the discussion under Section 2.2.11.

Pl.1(excl.)

PEA *-amaw-etwi-ye:nk > -mu:tiyek

*-amaw-etwi- > mu:ti-

A long vowel in the proto-form prevents a contraction with the inflection.

*y > y

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result.

Pl.2

*-amaw-etwi-ye:kw does not give -mu:tiyoq

*-amaw-etwi > -mu:ti

A long vowel in the proto-form prevents a contraction with the inflection.

*y > y

*e: > e

*nk > k (expect mu:tiyek)

Pl.3

*-amaw-etwi-cik does not give -mu:ti:tic

The Micmac form involves obvious reshaping.

3.1.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

The Micmac independent indicative present corresponds with the conjunct indicative of the other Eastern Algonkian languages as will be seen in the correspondences in the following endings in Table 3.3 below.

Goddard (1979) does not give a complete paradigm of the TI verb of Delaware.

As noted previously with regards to the AI verb, the plural forms in these other Eastern Algonkian languages are equivalent to the Micmac dual. The Micmac dual is derived from the PA plural, and the PA plural with the addition of *-etwi- gives the Micmac plural.

Table 3.3 - EA correspondences of the Micmac TI independent

	TI Conjunct		TI Independent
	Delaware	Maliseet	Micmac
Sg.1		-man	-m(an)
Sg.2	-aman	-mən	-m̄n
Sg.3	-ank	-ək	-(ə)k
Pl.1(incl.)		-mək̄w	-murkw
Pl.1(excl.)		-mek	-mek
Pl.2		-mekw	-moq
Pl.3	-amo:hti:t	-muhtit	-mi:tič

The above paradigms indicate that the Micmac TI independent indicative present is basically derived from the PA TI conjunct.

3.2 Independent indicative present - psTI

The psTI verbs do not have a theme -m. They are marked by the presence of a stem final vowel (as in the AI verbal category).

Bloomfield states that the psTI verbs are formed by adding the suffixes -to:, -hto: (Bloomfield 1946:95).

The Micmac psTI paradigm follows in Table 3.4 :

Table 3.4 - psTI independent indicative present

Sg.1	-u(an)
Sg.2	-u:n
Sg.3	-oq
Dual 1(incl.)	-u:kw
Dual 1(excl.)	-uek
Dual 2	-uoq
Dual 3	-oqik, -u:tič
Pl.1(incl.)	-u:ti:kw
Pl.1(excl.)	-u:tiyek
Pl.2	-u:tiyoq
Pl.3	-u:tičik

3.2.1 Historical derivation

The PA psTI inflections are much like those of the AI. Some of the PA inflections contain a *-y yet there is no trace of this *-y in the reflexes of the Micmac psTI forms. The Micmac forms seem to have gone through a process of assimilation where the high front glide (y) assimilated with the preceding *o: (in *hto:), resulting in the presence of the high back glide (w) in the Micmac.

An argument for the existence of this /w/ is that the psTI negative is identical to the psTI affirmative except in 3rd person and the 1st and 2nd persons plural. The

negative formation is to be discussed later in Chapter 5 so it is sufficient to state for the sake of this discussion that the negative is formed by inserting a negative morpheme -w- between the stem and the inflections. The fact that most of the negative forms are indistinguishable from the affirmative forms is attributable to the -w- glide existent in the affirmative forms.

To allow for simplification when displaying the derivations of the forms which involve a -w- in the Micmac forms the phonological rules will be discussed beforehand and numbered. The derivations are easier to follow when shown in a consecutive series of phonological stages.

The basic phonological processes involved are:

Rule 1 *o:y > o:w

This is an assimilation rule. The high front glide (*y) assimilates with the preceding *o: to give the high back glide (w).

Rule 2 *o: > u:

*o: results in u in Micmac so we propose that it went through the stages *o: > u: > u.

Rule 3

This rule involves the reduction of a > ə and e > ə. This rule will only occur with forms which had an original

*a or *e in the PA form as original PA *a; and *e: do not reduce to schwa.

Rule 4

This rule is a vowel shortening rule - V: > V, which appears to be, a late rule in Eastern Algonkian. Delaware retains the long vowels of PA and Delaware also displays schwas which seems to be evidence for the proposal that short vowel reduction to schwa occurred before vowel length was lost. In other words the presence of both long vowels and schwa in Delaware is evidence to show that Rule 3 occurs before Rule 4.

Rule 5

This rule involves the loss of -w-. There would necessarily have been a phonetic glide from the back vowel *o: to the following vowel and the phonemic /w/ appears to have been interpreted simply as this phonetic glide. The [w] is phonetically still present in the Micmac forms but it is not written in the orthography.

Rule 6

This rule can be simply as uə > u: or phonetically as [uwə] > [u:]. Rules 5 and 6 can be collapsed so when this occurs they will be written as 5/6.

These rules will be applied to the forms in PA which had a *y which results in a -w- in the Micmac reflexes. It should be noted that Rules 3 and 6 do not occur in all

of the derivations but whenever 3 occurs 6 also occurs.

In all of the derivations *ht > t.

Singular Forms

Sg.1

*-hto:-ya:n > -t-u(an)

*-o:ya:n > o:wa:n > u:wa:n > uwan > uan

1 2 4 5

This is the expected result.

Sg.2

*-hto:-yan > -t-u:n

*-o:yan > o:wan > u:wan > u:w n > uw n > u:n

1 2 3 4 5/6

This is the expected result.

Sg.3

*-hta:-t > -t-oq

There is a problem with deriving the Micmac form from the PA form. It appears that the Micmac ending may possibly be an analogy with the 3rd person singular of the TI. Another possibility becomes clear when data from Delaware and Maliseet is observed. There is evidence in these languages which justifies the -q in the Micmac form. This evidence follows:

	Delaware	Maliseet	Micmac
Sg.3	-a:kw	-akw	-oq

The inflection reconstructed by Bloomfield was based on the Central Algonkian languages without taking the Eastern evidence into account. The Eastern forms are consequently not derivable from Bloomfield's reconstructions. For the Eastern Algonkian inflections we may reconstruct PEA *-a:kw.

^A
*-hta: is a variant of the suffix *-hto: which is used before the third person inflection. Bloomfield's example 278 *-ni:miyihta:wa "he makes it dance" (Bloomfield 1946:112) shows that the 3rd person singular psTI verb uses the variant form *-hta:.

Dual 1 (incl.)

*-hto:-yankw > t-u:kw

*nk > kw

*-o:ya > u:

This is the expected result. See Sg.2 above.

Dual 1 (excl.)

PEA *-hto:-ye:nkw > -tuek

*nk > k

*-o:ye: > ue

This is the expected result. See Sg.1 above.

Dual 2

*-hto:-ye:kw does not give -tuog

*kw > kw

*e: > e

*-oye: > ue (expect -tuekw)

See Sg.1 above.

Dual 3

*-hta:-cik > -toqik/ u:tič

There seems to be reshaping here. The -toqik inflection is obviously formed by adding the -ik 3rd person plural marker to the Sg.3.

Plural Forms

The psTI suffix to be added to the plural forms is *-htaw which is the marker of the 2 goal psTI. The following derivation applies to all the plural forms.

*-htaw-etw

*ht > t

*-awe > u:

*-tw > t

The above derivation explains -to:t- in Micmac which is the marker of the plural in the psTI.

The *-i- of *-etwi- is affected by what follows it as sometimes there are contractions.

Paradigmatic regularization seems to have occurred throughout the plural forms of the paradigm. Phonological processes from PA. to Micmac result in *awe > o: which is expected in all the plural derivations.

Pl.1(incl.)

*-htaw-etwi-yankw > -tu:ti:kw

*-htaw-etw > -tu:t-

*-iya- > i:

*nkw > kw

This is the expected result.

Pl.1(excl.)

PEA *-htaw-etwi-ye:nk > -tu:tiyek

*-htaw-etwi > -tu:ti

*y > y

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result.

Pl.2

*-htaw-etwi-ye:kw does not give -tu:tiyoq

*-htaw-etwi > -tu:ti

*y > y

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect -tu:tiyekw)

See the discussion of Dual 2 under Section 2.2.11.

Pl.3

*-htaw-etwi-čik > -tu:tičik

*-htaw-etwi > -tu:ti

*č > č

*i > i

*k > k

This is the expected result.

3.2.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

Evidence from the other Eastern Algonkian is pertinent to the discussion and this data will be presented in Table 3.5 below.

There are similarities among these Eastern Algonkian paradigms of the psTI. These similarities indicate that, like the AI and the TI, the psTI independent indicative present is derived from the PA psTI conjunct. The above data from Delaware and Maliseet is from the conjunct order.

Table 3.5 - EA correspondences of the Micmac psTI independent

	psTI Conjunct		psTI Independent
	Delaware	Maliseet	Micmac
Sg.1		-u -uwan	-u(an)
Sg.2	-awan	-uwən	-u:n
Sg.3	-a:kw	-əkw	-oq
Pl.1(incl.)		-uəkw	-ukw
Pl.1(excl.)		-uek	-uek
Pl.2		-uekw	-uoq
Pl.3	-o:rhti:t	-uhtit	-oqik, -u:tič

3.3 Préterite and dubitative

Pacifique's paradigm of what he labels as the *Indicatif Passé* of the TI and psTI (1939:189, 125) involves the same confusion as that which was found in the AI paradigm. This *Indicatif Passé* paradigm consists of forms for at least two separate paradigms - the preterite and the dubitative. Pacifique does make note that some forms are more affirmative than others but there still exists a problem in discerning which forms are which.

The paradigms of the TI preterite and dubitative follow in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 - TI preterite and dubitative

	Preterite	Dubitative
Sg.1	-məp	-map
Sg.2	-məp	-musəp
Sg.3	-əkəp	-əkəs
Dual 1(incl.)	-mukup	-mukus
Dual 1(excl.)	-mekəp	-meksəp
Dual 2	-moqop	-moqsəp
Dual 3	-kpənik	-ksənik
Pl.1(incl.)	-mu:tiyukup	-mu:tiyukus
Pl.1(excl.)	-mu:tiyekəp	-mu:tiyeksəp
Pl.2	-mu:tiyoqop	-mu:tiyoqsəp
Pl.3	-mu:ti:tiənik	-mu:ti:tiənik

The paradigms of the psTI preterite and dubitative follow in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7 - psTI preterite and dubitative

	Preterite	Dubitative
Sg.1	-əp	-ap
Sg.2	-up	-usəp
Sg.3	-oqop	-oqos
Dual 1(incl.)	-tukup	-tukus
Dual 1(excl.)	-uekəp	-ueksəp
Dual 2	-uoqop	-uoqsəp
Dual 3	-oqopənik	-oqosənik
Pl.1(incl.)	-u:tikup	-u:tikus
Pl.1(excl.)	-u:tiyekəp	-u:tiyekəp
Pl.2	-u:tiyoqop	-u:tiyoqsəp
Pl.3	-u:tipənik	-u:tisənik

There are some very evident similarities between the inflectional endings of the preterite and the dubitative within both the TI and the psTI. The two paradigms (preterite and dubitative) seem to be distinguished from each other by the fact that the dubitative paradigm has an -s- element which occurs throughout the entire paradigm (except Sg.1 which appears to be irregular). This -s- is the major distinguishing factor.

3.3.1. Historical derivation : preterite

The preterite mode has been reconstructed for PA as Bloomfield states that "C(ree), M(enominee), O(jibwa) have an emphatic preterite with -pa..." (Bloomfield 1946:99). As stated earlier in this thesis under 2.3.1, the evidence found in the daughter languages indicates that the reconstructed marker of the preterite should in fact be *-pan. There is also evidence for this *-pan preterite marker in the Micmac TI and psTI paradigms in the 3rd persons dual and plural forms.

There is also evidence for this reconstructed preterite marker in some of the other Eastern Algonkian languages. There is no Maliseet data available for the preterite of the TI or psTI. The Abenaki data for the TI will be displayed even though it is not from the conjunct order because the morphology of the forms is comparable to the Micmac forms. These paradigms will be displayed below in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 - EA TI preterite and dubitative

TI	Micmac	Abenaki	Delaware
Sg.1		-op	-əp
Sg.2	-mup		-əp
Sg.3	-əkəp	-əp	-əp
Pl.1 (incl.)	-mukəp	-openop	-əp
Pl.1 (excl.)	-mekəp	-openop	-əp
Pl.2	-moqop	-opəp	-əp
Pl.3	-əkpanik	-opanik	-əpan-

(+ plural marker)

Based on the above discussion of the Central and Eastern Algonkian languages it can be seen that the preterite mode is a common mode which is found throughout the Algonkian languages and this mode is marked by similar morphology throughout.

3.3.2 Historical derivation : dubitative

Bloomfield reconstructed the morphological element *-tok as the PA marker of the dubitative (Bloomfield 1946:99). This marker is still evident in Fox, Cree and Ojibwa but this *-tok form does not correspond with the Micmac or the Abenaki marker.

According to the data available in Laurent's New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues (1884) the Abenaki

dubitative is only used with the verb "to have" and it does not contain the -s- element of Micmac.

The -s- element of Micmac may be related to the -ssii element which is found in Ojibwa. This -ssii is the Ojibwa marker of the negative mode (Bloomfield 1946:100).

See discussion under section 2.3.2 above.

3.4 Future

The paradigms of the Micmac TI and psTI future follow in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9 - TI and psTI future

	TI	psTI
Sg.1	-mtes	-utes
Sg.2	-mtesk	-utesk
Sg.3	-mtew	-utew
Dual 1 (incl.)	-mtesnu	-utesnu
Dual 1 (excl.)	-mtesnen	-utesnen
Dual 2	-mtoqsap	-utoqsap
Dual 3	-mtaq	-utaq
Pl.1 (incl.)	-mu:titesnu	-u:titesnu
Pl.1 (excl.)	-mu:titesnen	-u:titesnen
Pl.2	-mu:titoqsap	-u:titoqsap
Pl.3	-mu:titaq	-u:titaq

There is a -t- element which exists throughout the future of the TI and psTI. As with the AI, the origin of this element has not been traceable.

There is also a contraction in the stem of the future forms of the TI and psTI as these verbal forms are used in regard to possible occurrences.

TI nestm "I understand" nesettes "I will understand"
 psTI menatu "I remove it" mnatutes "I will remove it"

The inflections of the TI and psTI future are very similar. They are distinguished only by the thematic element which precedes the inflection. The TI paradigm displays the theme -m- throughout while the psTI displays the stem final vowel -u- throughout (this -u- becomes -u:- before the plural marker).

It is not possible to reconstruct a PA future paradigm because evidence for a future paradigm is not adequately represented in the Algonkian daughter languages.

It appears that the full-fledged future paradigm of Micmac is an innovation.

3.5 Absentative

The absentative is used when making reference to someone or something that is inaccessible. It is because of this restricted usage that the absentative paradigm consists only of 3rd person forms. The inflections of the absentative follow in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10 - TI and psTI absentative

	TI	psTI
Sg.3	-mk-aq	-oq-aq
Dual 3	-mt-k-ik	-ut-k-ik
Pl.3	-mu:ti-t-kik	-u:ti-t-k-ik

From the above data it can be seen that there is a -k- morpheme (-q- after -a-) which seems to mark the absentative forms. The location of the morpheme in the TI and the psTI is the same as that of the AI; that is, it occurs after the person marker and before the plural marker. When there is no plural marker the morpheme occurs word-finally.

There has been no absentative reconstructed for PA. It is possible to reconstruct the nominal absentative for Proto-Eastern Algonkian as Goddard has stated that the absentative endings for Micmac, Delaware, Maliseet and Abenaki all resemble each other. The morphological marker -k- for the TI and psTI inflections seems to be an

Eastern innovation. See the discussion of the historical derivation of the absentative under Section 2.5.1.

3.6 Imperative

Upon close inspection of Pacifique's AI paradigm of the imperative it was noted that there were two separate paradigms included within the one.

A display of the affirmative and negative imperative paradigms of the TI and psTI will show that the same situation occurs in these verbal categories as it did in the AI.

These paradigms follow in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11 - Pacifique's imperative

	AFFIRMATIVE		NEGATIVE	
	TI	psTI	TI	psTI
Sg.2	-e:n	-u	k-mu	k-u
Sg.3	-č	-uč	-muič	-uič
Dual 1	-mneč	-uneč	-mneč	-uneč
Dual 2	-mu:kw	-u:kw	k-mu:p	k-up
Dual 3	-mi:tič	-utič	-mi:tiwič	-utiwič
Pl.1	-mu:tineč	-utineč	-mu:tineč	-utineč
Pl.2	-mu:ti:kw	-uti:kw	k-mu:ti:p	k-utip
Pl.3	-mu:ti:tič	-uti:tič	-mu:tiwič	-utiwi:tič

Again, as with the AI, it is the negative formation which provides the hint that there are two paradigms within the one. The 2nd person forms are different from the rest of those in the paradigm and the major difference

lies in the fact that the 2nd person forms have a personal prefix. As with the AI imperative paradigm the stems of the TI and pSTI are contracted for all persons except for the 2nd persons. This is because the forms refer to possible events. Because these major differences occur between 2nd person forms and 1st and 3rd person forms in the negative paradigm they could possibly indicate a corresponding morphological distinction in the affirmative paradigm.

There is another observable difference displayed in both the negative and affirmative paradigms which sets the 2nd person forms off as different. The difference is found in the endings as all of the 1st and 3rd person forms have a -c- element in these endings and this element is missing from the 2nd person forms.

Based on the above evidence it appears that the 2nd person forms make up a separate paradigm. The true imperative is represented only by the 2nd person forms while the 1st and 3rd person forms make up what has been called the jussive.

Therefore the paradigms can be represented as follows in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 - TI and psTI imperative and jussive

AFFIRMATIVE

JUSSIVE			IMPERATIVE		
	TI	psTI		TI	psTI
Sg.3	-č	-uč	Sg.2	-e:n	-ü
Dual 1	-mneč	-uneč	Dual 2	-mu:kw	-u:kw
Dual 3	-mi:tič	-utič			
Pl.1	-mu:tineč	-utineč	Pl.2	-mu:ti:kw	-uti:kw
Pl.3	-mu:ti:tič	-utu:tič			

NEGATIVE

JUSSIVE			IMPERATIVE		
	TI	psTI		TI	psTI
Sg.3	-muič	-uič	Sg.2	k-mu	k-u
Dual 1	-mneč	-uneč	Dual 2	k-mu:p	k-up
Dual 3	-mi:tiwič	-u:tiwič			
Pl.1	-mu:tineč	-u:tineč	Pl.2	k-mu:ti:p	k-utip
Pl.3	-mu:tiwič	-utiwi:tič			

3.6.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield reconstructed the imperative order for Proto-Algonkian based on the evidence found in Fox, Cree, Ojibwa and Menominee. He reconstructs the TI endings as *-anlo for the singular and *-amoko for the plural (Bloomfield 1946:100). As with the AI only 2nd person forms were

reconstructed as imperatives indicating that they are the true imperative and should be set apart from the other forms.

The reconstructed singular imperative ending *-anlo has no reflex in Micmac. A discussion of this supposed loss of the *-lo in Micmac was offered in the chapter on the AI. As the same arguments hold for the *-lo of the TI there is no need to repeat them here.

The plural ending *-amoko has been reshaped in Micmac but it still appears to be based on the Proto-Algonkian form.

Other evidence to indicate that the true imperative consists only of 2nd person forms can be found in Bloomfield's 1962 The Menomini Language as he only gives 2nd person forms for the imperatives (Bloomfield 1962:198).

Bloomfield does not reconstruct a jussive order for Proto-Algonkian.

3.6.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

Evidence from the other Eastern Algonkian languages is relevant to this discussion regarding the imperative-jussive distinction, as follows in Table 3.13 below.

Table 3.13 - EA TI and psTI preterite and dubitative

IMPERATIVE

	Maliseet		Abenaki	Micmac	
	TI	psTI	TI	TI	psTI
Sg.2	- n		-a	-e:n	-u
Pl.2	- k/- kw	-uk	-okw	-mu:kw	-u:kw

JUSSIVE

Sg.3	- ō	-uč	-ōč	-mneč	-uneč
Pl.3	- htič	-uhtič	-ōda	-mi:tič	-utič

There was no data available for a Delaware imperative of either the TI or the psTI and also there was no available data for the Abenaki psTI.

The distinction for the imperative and the jussive in Maliseet and Abenaki is made above, based on the distinction found in Micmac. It is also based on the fact that this distinction has been shown to exist in the AI.

The -č- element which is found in all the 1st and 3rd person forms of both the affirmative and negative paradigms of Micmac is also found in the 3rd person forms of the affirmative in Maliseet and Abenaki.

Based on the evidence from the other Eastern Algonkian languages it can be seen that the paradigm called the Imperative in these languages should be divided into the

imperative and the jussive. This distinction appears to be a relatively common Eastern Algonkian formation.

Most of the imperative order is a regular derivation from PA but this does not seem to be the case with the jussive as this category has not been reported for the Central Algonkian languages. --The jussive therefore appears to be an innovation of Eastern Algonkian. This conclusion is based on the fact that the jussive is found in three of the Eastern Algonkian languages and there are morphological correspondences among the inflections.

3.7 Conditional

The conditional mode is used in reference to an action which is conditioned by something else and the inflections will be seen in Table 3.14 below.

Table 3.14 - TI and psTI conditional

	TI	psTI
Sg.1	-muk	-uk
Sg.2	-muk	-uk
Sg.3	-s	-us
Dual 1(incl.)	-mukup	-ukup
Dual 1(excl.)	-mukek	-ukek
Dual 2	-mokoq	-ukoq
Dual 3	-mi:tis	-u:tis
Pl.1(incl.)	-mu:tikup	-u:tikup
Pl.1(excl.)	-mu:tikek	-u:tikek
Pl.2	-mu:tikoq	-u:tikoq
Pl.3	-mu:titis	-u:titis

The conditional mode seems to be marked by a -k- element which is found in all the forms except for those of the 3rd person.

3.7.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield did not reconstruct a conditional mode for PA. As was shown with the discussion of the AI, a survey of the other Algonkian languages did not turn up any relevant evidence for a conditional mode. The Abenaki conditional inflections were not cognate with those of Micmac.

With the AI it was suggested that the Micmac conditional mode may be related to the delayed imperative of Eastern Ojibwa and Plains Cree.

There is a very limited number of examples of the delayed imperative in Bloomfield's Eastern Ojibwa grammar. The TI endings of Plains Cree are taken from MacKenzie and Clarke (1981:190). There is no data available for the psTI.

	Plains Cree	Eastern Ojibwa	Micmac
*2	-amo:hkan	-kkan	-muk
21	-amo:hkakh		-mokup
22	-amo:hkek		-mokoq

There is one major morphological similarity evident in the above data and that is the presence of the -hk- or -k- element in all the forms.

It is possible to reconstruct an *-hk- element in PA for the 2nd person singular based on Bloomfield's correspondences which indicate that when there is a -hk- in Cree and a -kk- in Ojibwa the PA was *-hk- (Bloomfield 1946:88)

but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct any other forms.

3.8 Subordinative

The subordinative mode for the TI and psTI follow in Table 3.15 .

Table 3.15 - TI and psTI subordinative

	TI	psTI
Sg.1	n(t)-m̄n	n(t)-un
Sg.2	k(t)-m̄n	k(t)-un
Sg.3	w(t)-m̄n	w(t)-un
Dual 1(incl.)	k(t)-m̄nenu	k(t)-unenenu
Dual 1(excl.)	n(t)-m̄nen	n(t)-unen
Dual 2	k(t)-m̄new	k(t)-unew
Dual 3	w(t)-m̄new	w(t)-unew
Pl.1(incl.)	k(t)-mu:tinenu	k(t)-u:tinenu
Pl.1(excl.)	n(t)-mu:tinen	n(t)-u:tinen
Pl.2	k(t)-mu:tinew	k(t)-u:tinew
Pl.3	w(t)-mu:tinew	w(t)-u:tinew

The inflections of the subordinative mode of the TI and psTI are very similar. The only difference lies in the thematic element preceding the inflection - the TI has a theme -m- before the final inflection while the psTI has a stem final vowel -u.

The subordinative mode is the only verbal paradigm in Micmac which uses personal prefixes throughout the entire paradigm.

As was noted in the discussion of the AI subordinative mode, the verbal morphology of this mode is very much like the nominal morphology of possession. The personal prefixes and the endings are very noun-like. The nominal endings do not involve the addition of a stem final vowel or consonant.

3.8.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield has not reconstructed a paradigm of the subordinative mode for Proto-Algonkian but Goddard has reconstructed a paradigm of the Proto-Eastern Algonkian subordinative mode (Goddard 1983:360-361). This paradigm has already been presented under Section 2.8.1.

Data for the subordinative mode is found in other Eastern Algonkian languages such as Maliseet and Abenaki (no data is available for Delaware) and this data is presented in Table 3.16 below.

Table 3.16 - EA TI Subordinative

	Micmac	Abenaki	Maliseet
Sg.1	n(t)-m̄n	n(t)-on	n(t)-mun
Sg.2	k(t)-m̄n		k(t)-m̄n
Sg.3	w(t)-m̄n	w(t)-on	'(t)-m̄n
Pl.1(incl.)	k(t)-m̄nenu	n(t)-onana	n(t)-m̄nen
Pl.1(excl.)	n(t)-m̄nen		k(t)-m̄nen
Pl.2	k(t)-m̄new	k(t)-on̄	k(t)-m̄niya
Pl.3	w(t)-m̄new	w(t)-on̄	'(t)-m̄niya

3.9 Conjunct

There are two forms of the conjunct - the changed conjunct and the unchanged conjunct. The distinction is based on the presence or absence of initial change. The unchanged conjunct does not have initial change (nestman) while the changed conjunct does have initial change (ns tman). The paradigms follow in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17 - TI and psTI conjunct

	<u>Unchanged Conjunct</u>		<u>Changed Conjunct</u>	
	TI	psTI	TI	psTI
Sg.1	-man	-uan	-man	-uan
Sg.2	-mn	-un	-mn	-un
Sg.3	-ək	-oq	-ək	-oq
Dual 1 (incl.)	-mu:kw	-u:kw	-mu:kw	-u:kw
Dual 1 (excl.)	-mek	-uek	-mek	-uek
Dual 2	-mog	-uoq	-mog	-uoq
Dual 3	-mi:tič	-u:tič	-mi:tič	-u:tič
Pl.1 (incl.)	-mu:ti:kw	-u:ti:kw	-mu:ti:kw	-u:ti:kw
Pl.1 (excl.)	-mu:tiyek	-u:tiyek	-mu:tiyek	-u:tiyek
Pl.2	-mu:tiyoq	-u:tiyoq	-mu:tiyoq	-u:tiyoq
Pl.3	-mu:ti:tič	-u:ti:tič	-mu:ti:tič	-u:ti:tič

Pacifique (1939:112-3, 128-9) gives the Sg.3 forms as -j for the TI and -uj for the psTI. The forms in Table 3.17 above were collected from a native speaker.

As with the paradigms for the AI and the II Pacificque gives the changed conjunct forms of the TI and psTI as having a final -l. Checking with a native speaker has shown that this final -l has been deleted. The inflectional endings of the two conjunct forms are exactly the same.

The conjunct endings are in turn very similar to the endings of the independent indicative present. The contraction which occurs in the unchanged forms is what distinguishes them from the independent forms. The forms of the changed conjunct are similar to the independent forms with regards to the stem and the inflections. These forms of the two modes are distinguished from each other by their use in the sentential context.

3.9.1 Historical derivation

As was noted in the discussion of the AI conjunct, the changed and unchanged conjunct forms in Micmac are reflexes of the PA conjunct order. The changed conjunct in Micmac has been shown to be a reflex of the PA changed mode while the Micmac unchanged conjunct has been shown to be a reflex of the PA conjunct indicative mode (See the discussion under Section 2.9.1.). As this was the case for the AI it is possible to assume that the same situation occurs for the TI and psTI.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE TRANSITIVE ANIMATE VERB

4.0 Introduction

The TA verb is the most complex of the Algonkian verbal categories because of the number of possible forms. This is probably the reason why there are no dual forms in the TA verb. As all persons can be both subjects and objects a hierarchy of persons is necessarily involved.

The Algonkian person hierarchy is different from anything which speakers of Indo-European languages are used to. This Algonkian hierarchy must be understood if the TA verb is to be understood as the TA verbs involve two participants - a subject and an object - in a hierarchical relationship. This hierarchy can be presented in a simple formula where the arrows mean "has hierarchical precedence over".

2nd person -- 1st person -- 3 Proximate -- 3 Obviative
that we symbolize as follows: 2 --- 1 --- 3 --- 3'.

A schematic representation of TA verb forms is used to allow for an ease of discussion such as 2>1. The first number indicates the nearer or leftmost referent, > or < indicates the direction of the verb and the second number indicates the further referent. The example 2>1

means the action of a 2nd person subject on a 1st person object. Some of the abbreviations used require an explanation:

21 = Pl.1(incl.)

13 = Pl.1(excl.)

23 = Pl.2

33 = Pl.3

3' = 3 Obviative

33' = 3 Obviative Plural

It should be noted that the 2nd person is at the top of the hierarchy in Algonkian languages whereas the 1st person is the focal point in many other languages.

There are several different concepts which need to be explained with regard to the TA verb. The two participants involved in the action of the verb may be called, following Bloomfield (1946:94), the actor and the goal. These two elements are essentially semantic, and may be grammaticalized in different ways. In English for example, either the actor or the goal may be the subject of the verb; in the active form of the transitive verb the subject is normally the actor and in the passive verb the subject is normally the goal. It is important therefore to distinguish the semantic roles of actor and goal from the grammatical roles of subject and object. When one adopts this position the subject may be seen simply as a grammatical prop on

which the verb is dependent.

In the Algonkian verb the question of directionality is also of fundamental importance. As Bloomfield points out, the same grammatical elements, such as proximate and obviative, can play diametrically different semantic roles, depending on the directionality of the verb (Bloomfield 1946:94, example from Cree).

(a) okima:w iskwe:wa kitote:w
 chief (3) woman (3') talks to (3>3')

"The chief talks to the woman"

(b) okima:w iskwe:wa kitotik'
 chief (3) woman (3') talks to (3<3')

"The woman talks to the chief"

The sentence in (a) is an example of a direct form; the sentence in (b) exemplifies an inverse form. The message of (b) sentence could equally be rewritten:

(c) iskwe:w okima:wa kitote:w
 woman (3) chief (3') talks to (3>3')

if there were no expressive need to represent the chief as proximate and the woman as obviative.

With the local participants, the hierarchy 2>1 indicates that the 2nd person is always the subject, the 1st person always the object. The direct form then represents 2>1, whereas the inverse form represents 2<1, as the following examples from Cree will show. In English, by contrast,

the persons, when they change their semantic roles (agent/patient), also change their grammatical roles (subject/object).

CREE			ENGLISH		
d) ki	- wa:pam	- in	You	see	me.
2nd		1st	actor		goal
person		person			
subject		object	subject		object
	2>1				
(e) ki	- wa:pam	- it -in	I	see	you
2nd	inverse	1st	actor		goal
person	marker	person			
subject		object	subject		object
	2<1				

The roles of subject and object are reversed between (d) and (e) in the English translations. This is not the case with the Cree verbs. In the Cree examples the grammatical subject has not changed; what has changed is the the directionality of the verb.

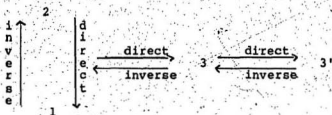
With Algonkian verbs, the person highest on the hierarchy is always the subject. Since 2nd person is higher than 1st person, in both of the above examples 2nd person is the grammatical subject, marked by the personal prefix ki-.

The direction of the action has changed in example

(e) and this is shown by the presence of the inverse marker -it-.

A simplified version of Hockett's 1966 diagram can be used to explain the direct and inverse forms of the Algonkian TA verb. The arrows in this diagram indicate the direction of the action. This diagram will be seen in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 - Algonkian person hierarchy



In any TA verb there are necessarily two persons involved and whichever one is the higher on the hierarchy fills the role of grammatical subject. It follows that the hierarchically lower of the two persons is the object.

The verb form is direct if the action moves toward the direction of the object such as in 2>1, 1>3, 3>3', 2>3, 2>3' etc.. Hockett stated that in the direct form the nearer referent is the actor and the further referent is the goal (Hockett 1966:65).

The verb form is inverse if the action moves toward

the direction of the subject such as in $3<3'$, $1<3$, $2<1$, $2<3'$, $2<3$ etc.. Hockett said that in the inverse form the nearer referent is the goal and the further referent is the actor (Hockett 1966:65).

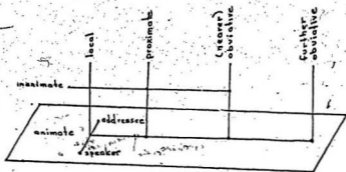
Hockett's diagram (shown in Table 4.2 below) and the discussion he gives pertaining to it involve some problems. His statements about direct and inverse forms are not problematic but there are some problematic statements given with regard to the forms which Hockett calls local.

Hockett states that the local forms (forms involving 2nd and 1st persons) are those for which both actor and goal are local and hence local forms are neither direct or inverse (Hockett 1966:65). This is not the case. A form like $2>1$ (as in example (e) above) is direct because the action is moving away from the subject toward the object so the hierarchy is observed. The form $1>2$ is inverse because the direction of the action is away from the object and towards the subject so the hierarchy is not observed.

Hockett (1966:65) gives descriptions of direct and inverse forms. Direct forms are those which move away from the local towards the further obviative and inverse forms are those which move in the opposite direction (towards the local). These descriptions are correct but they do not explain or include the local forms themselves.

Because of the universality of direct and inverse forms in Algonkian languages the Micmac TA data will be presented in direct and inverse paradigms.

Table 4.2 - Hockett's 1966 hierarchy diagram



(Hockett 1966:60)

4.1 Independent indicative present

Unlike the other verbal paradigms previously discussed, it is not possible to represent the TA inflections schematically. This is because of the contractions which occurred between the vowel of the final and the initial vowel of the inflection. These contractions only occurred in verbs with certain finals in PA such as *ki:s-ih- "to create" and *ki:siht-aw- "to finish" which contained consonants around which contractions may occur (w, h, y). With the resultant forms of these verbs in Micmac it is not possible to isolate the inflections because with the contractions the final and the inflections have merged.

With other verbs, with finals ending in a consonant no contractions occurred with the vowels of the inflections. Consequently with stems such as *e:k-im- "to count" and *pe:m-awiθ- "to carry" (in their "changed" form, from which the Micmac independent comes) it is possible to separate the inflections from the remainder of the verb form. This type of verb allows for determining what the TA Independent Indicative Present inflections are.

Because of the complexities mentioned above, the paradigms of these four verbs will be presented in Table 4.3 below. The finals of the four verbs mentioned above all end in different elements which interact differently with the initial vowel of the PA inflectional endings.

To allow for ease of presentation and discussion there is a certain method used in setting up the TA verbal paradigm. This method involves setting up the seven basic direct forms (as found in the AI, TI and psTI) which involve action on a 3rd person goal and then presenting the inverse forms of these, which involve the 3rd person acting on the other persons. Then the forms which Hockett called local are presented - first the direct forms and then the corresponding inverse forms.

Table 4.3 - TA independent indicative present

pema'lɨk "to carry"

	DIRECT		INVERSE
1>3	pema'lɨk	1<3	pema'lit
2>3	pema'lɨt	2<3	pema'lɨsk
3>3'	pema'lajl	3<3'	pema'lɨjl
21>3	pema'lu'kw	21<3	pema'lulk
13>3	pema'lɨkɨt	13<3	pema'linamɨt
23>3	pema'loq	23<3	pema'lnoq
33>3'	pema'la'tijl	33<3'	pema'lukwi'tijl
2>1	pema'lin	2<1	pema'lul(an)
2(3)>13	pema'liek	2(3)<13	pema'lulek
23>1	pema'lnoq	23<1	pema'lɨloq

ekimk "to count"

	DIRECT		INVERSE
1>3	ekimk	1<3	ekimit
2>3	ekimt	2<3	ekimtak
3>3'	ekimajl	3<3'	ekinjl
21>3	ekimu'kw	21<3	ekimulk
13>3	ekimkit	13<3	ekiminamit
23>3	ekimoq	23<3	ekimuloq
33>3'	ekima'tijl	33<3'	ekimikwi'tijl
2>1	ekimin	2<1	ekimul(an)
2(3)>13	ekimiek	2(3)<13	ekimulek
23>1	ekimloq	23<1	ekimuloq

kisitaq "to finish"

	DIRECT		INVERSE
1>3	kisitaq	1<3	kisituit
2>3	kisitat	2<3	kisitask
3>3'	kisitujl	3<3'	kisitajl
21>3	kisitaqw	21<3	kisitulq
13>3	kisitaq#t	13<3	kisituinamit
23>3	kisituog	23<3	kisituloq
33>3'	kisitua'tijl	33<3'	kisitakwi'tijl
2>1	kisituin	2<1	kisitul(an)
2(3)>13	kisituiek	2(3)<13	kisitulek
23>1	kisituioq	23<1	kisituloq

	kisi'k "to create"		
	DIRECT		INVERSE
1>3	kisi'k	1<3	kisi'it
2>3	kisi't	2<3	kisi'sk
3>3'	kisiajl	3<3'	kisi'jl
21>3	kisikw	21<3	kisulk
13>3	kisi'k tt	13<3	kisinamit
23>3	ki š ioq	23<3	kisuloq
33>3'	kisia'tijl	33<3'	kisikwi'tijl
2>1	kisi'in	2<1	kisul(an)
2(3)>13	kisi'iek	2(3)<13	kisulek
23>1	kisi'ioq	23<1	kisuloq

There are variant forms for the 3>3', 3<3', 33>3' and 33<3' which have /t1/ word finally instead of /jl/. For the sake of consistency the forms ending with /jl/ will be presented in the paradigms and derivations.

There are brackets around the (an) in the 2<1 forms because this element only occurs when there is another inflectional element following. This phenomenon has already been noted in the AI paradigms.

4.1.1 Historical derivation

The Micmac TA independent indicative present is a derived form from the PA TA conjunct and Bloomfield has reconstructed inflections for this mode.

Bloomfield (1946:102) states that the personal endings of the TA fall into four formal categories or sets which are characterized by a theme sign which is added to the verbal stem.

The theme signs given by Bloomfield are part of the TA inflections so that in fact the construction of the TA inflection is - (theme sign) + inflection - where the brackets indicate optionality as one set is characterized by the absence of a theme.

According to Bloomfield the four themes are as follows:

1. no theme sign: The absence of a theme sign characterizes the verbal forms which involve action on a 3rd person goal.
2. *-eke-: This theme sign is found in verbal forms which involve action of 3<3'. This theme has a very limited usage.
3. *-i-: This theme sign marks the personal inflections of verbal forms which involve action on a 1st person as in : 1<3, 1<13, 2>1, 2(3)>13 and 23>1.
4. *-eθ-: This theme sign marks the personal inflections of verbal forms which involve action on 2nd person which, based on the Algonkian hierarchy, are all inverse forms such as : 2<3, 21<3, 23<3, 2<1, 2(3)<13 and 23<1.

Bloomfield has also reconstructed the particular inflections for each of the forms above; the development of the Micmac reflexes will be seen in the following derivations.

The verbs *pe:m-awiθ- and *e:k-im-, because of the nature of the finals, allow for the isolation of the inflectional endings. These two verbs present a relatively clear display of the derivations of the PA conjunct endings into the Micmac independent endings as there is no contractual interference.

Derivations of the verb pema'lik

As there will be no contractions between the final and the inflections for this verb, it is possible to show a derivation of the root and final into Micmac and then to deal with the inflections.

*pe:m-awiθ- > pema'l

*p > p

*e: > e

*m > m

*awi > a:

*θ > l

This is the expected result.

It is now possible to concentrate on just the verbal endings with regard to the inflections.

DIRECT FORMS

1. 1>3

*pe:m-awiθ-ak > pema'lik

*a > ə

*k > k

This is the expected result. The structure of the Micmac syllable comes into play here and prevents from being deleted as it often is in the phonological derivation of Micmac. The stem of the verb pema'l contains the extra heavy syllable CVVC and another non-syllabic element cannot be attached to this syllable (Hewson 1985). Consequently a n / syllable has to be formed with the use of schwa. This schwa occurs in other derivations within this verb and these occurrences will be noted.

2. 2>3

*pe:m-awiθ-at > pema'lit

*a > ə -schwa retention due to syllable structure

*t > t

This is the expected result.

3. 3>3'

*pe:m-awiθ-a:t > pema'lajl

*a: > a

*t > t

This form is one of the variant forms discussed under Section 4.1 above. The -l in the Micmac form is the

regular marker of the obviative, that has been added to the inflection.

4. 21>3

*pe:m-aw¹θ-ankw does not give pema'lu'kw

*ankw > akw > əkw (expect pema'likw)

5. 13>3

*pe:m-aw¹θ-akent > pema'likit

*a > ə -schwa retention due to syllable structure

*k > k

*e > ə

*nt > t

This is the expected result.

6. 23>3

*pe:m-aw¹θ-e:kw does not give pema'loq

*e: > e

*kw > kw. (expect pema'lekw)

See discussions following derivation 13 as well as 16 and 17.

7. 33>3!

*pe:m-aw¹θ-a:wat does not give pema'la'tijl

This form has been reshaped.

INVERSE FORMS

8. 1<3

*pe:m-aw¹θ-it > pema'lit

*i > i

*t > t

This is the expected result.

9. 2<3

*pe:m-awiθ-eθ-k > pema'lisk

*e > ə -schwa retention due to syllable structure and following cluster

*θk > sk.

This is the expected result.

10. 3<3'

*pe:m-awiθ-ekot does not give pema'lɔjl

In this case the inverse form is created simply by dropping the direct theme sign. A schwa is inserted because of the syllable structure (see derivation 1 above). The PA inverse theme sign is not used.

11. 21<3

*pe:m-awiθ-eθ-ankw does not give pema'luk

It seems that *eθ > ul in Micmac. The normal phonological development would be *eθ > əl > l. But, if the schwa survives it is apparently backed by following /l/ to become /u/. This occurs in the derivation of other forms which have *eθ in the PA form.

*eθ > ul

*ankw > akw > əkw > kw

(expect pema'lul+kw)

12. 13<3

*pe:m-awio-iy-ament does not give pema'linamit

In this form the *y is replaced by an n in Micmac and this must have occurred before any contraction (*iya > i:) occurred. Because /n/ replaces /y/, the sequence /ina/ is preserved.

*ina > ina

*m > m.

*e > ə -schwa retention to prevent cluster

*nt > t

This is the expected result.

13. 23<3

*pe:m-awio-eθ-a:kw > pema'lnoq

*eθ > ul.

*a:kw > akw > aqw > oq

In this verbal form the /ul/ of the theme which was derived from PA *eθ has dissimilated to an /n/ because of the preceding /l/ of the final, a dissimilation common in Micmac verbal paradigms.

It is possible that the *a:kw > oq in this form may be the basis for the the-23 forms of /oq/ elsewhere.

The final /-w/ of */-a:kw/ causes umlauting of the /a:/.

The Micmac vowel /o/ stems from a variety of historical sources, all of them showing the influence of /w/. *a and *a may be affected by contact...More frequently however...*a ... subject to back umlauting under the influence of following /kw/. (Hewson 1973:158)

14. 33<3'

*pe:m-awiθ-ekw-a:wat > pemá'lukwi'titl

*ekw > əkw > ukw (umlaut)

The remainder of this form seems to be a Micmac reshaping. i:tit is the marker of the TI 3rd person plural and the -l is the obviative singular marker.

LOCAL DIRECT FORMS

15. 2>1

*pe:m-awiθ-iy-an > pema'lin

With the derivation of this form there are two points to be noted and both of these have to do with the phonological evolution. In the PA form the *-y- was considered as a part of the inflection as it was inserted in front of the inflection after a vowel (intervocally). In the derivation of the PA form to Micmac it appears that this *-y- was reanalyzed to be considered as a part of the theme sign so that the situation was *-iy- as the theme and *-an as the inflection. By reanalyzing the *-y- as part of the theme sign this also helps in the derivation of some of the forms which follow so the forms will be analyzed in this way henceforth.

When the form is reanalyzed as this it is possible to explain the Micmac form if paradigmatic resistance to sound change is also incorporated into the derivation. There seems to have been a paradigmatic resistance to

sound change in this derivation as in the fact that /iy/ is the theme sign and /an/ the inflection leads to their resisting contraction and remaining distinguishable. The *iya did not contract to give -i:-. There is consequently twofold evolution.

*iy > i

*an > an > n

16. 2(3)>13

*pe:m-awiθ-iy-a:nk does not give pema'liek

*iy > i

*a:nk > ank > ak > aq (expect pema'liaq)

17. 23>1

*pe:m-awiθ-iy-e:kw does not give pema'liq

*iy > i

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect pema'liekw)

There seems to have been a flip-flop between the vowels of the 2(3)>13 and the 23>1 forms which corresponds to the one which occurred between the Dual (Pl.) 1(excl.) and the Dual (Pl.) 2 in the AI, TI and the psTI. The TA forms of Micmac would be derivable if the PA forms were: 2(3)>13 *iy-e:nk and 23>1 *iy-a:kw.

As with the other verbal categories it is necessary to look at the paradigms of the other Eastern Algonkian languages which have these forms.

Comparing Bloomfield's reconstructed forms with the data of the Eastern languages the situation is as follows:

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware	PA
2(3)>13	-iyek	-iyek ^h	-ye:nkw	*iya:nk
23>1	-iyog	-iyekw	-ye:kw	*iye:kw

Based upon this data above the Proto-Eastern form for 2(3)>13 should be reconstructed as *iye:nk and the derivations would be as follow:

Micmac and Maliseet	Delaware	(Unami	Munsee)
*iye:nk > iyek	*iye:nk >	-ye:nk	-ye:nkw
*i > i			
*y > y			
*e: > e			
*nk > k			

The Micmac, Maliseet and Unami data display the expected results. The word final w in Munsee may be paradigmatic analogy.

Bloomfield's reconstructed form for 23>1 does not cause any problems for the derivations of the Maliseet and Delaware forms. The reconstructed form *iye:kw should be retained and the Micmac form for 2(3)>13 will be PEA *iye:nk and the 23>1 form will remain as *iye:kw.

Therefore the Micmac derivation for the 2(3)>13 will be now:

PEA *pe:m-awiθ-iy-e:nk > pema'liyek

*i > i

*y > y

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result.

The derivation of the 23>1 form will remain as above and the Micmac form will be explained by reshaping.

LOCAL INVERSE FORMS

18. 2<1

*pe:m-awiθ-eθ-a:n > pema'lul(an)

*eθ > ul

*a: > a

*n > n

This is the expected result.

19. 2(3)<13

PEA *pe:m-awiθ-eθ-e:nk > pema'lulek

*eθ > ul

*e: > e

*nk > k

See discussion following 16 and 17 above. This is the expected result.

20. 23<1

*pe:m-awiθ-eθ-akokw > pema'luloq

*eθ > ul

It is possible that *akokw > a:kw as a result of haplology and as previously discussed a:kw > akw > oq. If this is the case then the Micmac form is the expected result.

Derivations of the verb ekim

As stated previously the verb *e:k-im also allows for the isolation of the inflectional endings. The derivations are basically the same as those for *pe:m-awiθ but there are some differences which will be discussed below.

There were some forms for *pe:m-awiθ where schwa was retained because of the syllable structure of the verb. *e:k-im does not contain an extra heavy final syllable and therefore it is possible to have another non-syllabic element attached, resulting in the regular phonological process of ə > ø. This occurs in the 1>3, 2>3 and 13>3 forms.

As with *pe:m-awiθ, for *e:k-im it is possible to show the derivation of the root and final and then to deal with the inflections.

*e:k-im > ekim

*e: > e

*k > k

*i > i

*m > m

This is the expected result.

The derivations of the inflections will follow.

LOCAL DIRECT FORMS

21. 1>3

*e:k-im-ak > ekimk

*a > ə > ø

*k > k

This is the expected result.

22. 2>3

*e:k-im-at > ekimt

*a > ə¹⁵ > ø

*t > t

This is the expected result.

23. 13>3

*e:k-im-akent > ekimkit

*a > ə > ø

*k > k

*e > ə -schwa retention to prevent consonant cluster

*nt > t

This is the expected result.

There is another minor difference between the derivations of *pe:m-awiθ- and *e:k-im and this follows:

24. 23<3

*e:k-im-eθ-a:kw > ekimuloq

*eθ > ul

*a:kw > akw > oq

This is the expected result.

In the derivation of this form for pema'inoq the /ul/ which was derived from the *eθ of the theme sign dissimilated to an /n/ because of the preceding /l/ of the final. This obviously does not occur in ekimuloq because there is no /l/ in the final.

The other two verbs to be displayed will show the complexities which were discussed previously. The verb *ki:siht-aw has the final -aw- which contains the consonant -w- around which contractions occur. The verb *ki:^vi-h has the final -ih- which contains the consonant -h- around which the contractions also occur. The contractions occur between the vowels of the finals and the vowels of the following inflections.

Derivations of the verb kisitaq

*ki:siht-aw will be dealt with first. The derivation of the stem will remain constant so this will be shown first.

*ki:^vsiht- > kisit

*k > k

*i: > i

*s^v > s

*i > i

*ht > t

This is the expected result.

From this point on it is the interaction between the final and the inflections which will be dealt with.

DIRECT FORMS

25. 1>3

*ki:ših̄t-aw-ak > kisitaq

*awa > a: > a

*k > q / a__

This is the expected result.

26. 2>3

*ki:ših̄t-aw-at > kisitat

*awa > a: > a

*t > t

This is the expected result.

27. 3>3'

*ki:ših̄t-aw-a:t > kisituajl

*aw > u

*a: > a

*t > t

See the discussion of derivation 3.

28. 21>3

*ki:siht-aw-ankw > kisitaqw

*awa > a: > a

*nkw > kw > qw / a__

This is the expected result. This form seems to have

involved some sort of paradigmatic resistance to sound change as one would expect there to have been umlauting and a loss of /w/ as in derivation 13.

29. 13>3

*ki:šiht-aw-akent > kisitaqt

*awa > a: > a

*k > k > q / a ___

*e > ə -schwa retention due to following cluster

*nt > t

This is the expected result.

30. 23>3

*ki:šiht-aw-e:kw does not give kisituoq

*aw > u

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect kisituekw)

See discussions following derivation 13 as well as 16 and 17.

31. 33>3'

*ki:šiht-aw-a:wat does not give kisitua'tijl

A possible derivation for this form could be that *aw > u and *a:wat > a:t but this form still involves reshaping.

INVERSE FORMS

32. 1<3

*ki:šiht-aw-it > kisituit

*aw > u

*i > i

*t > t

This is the expected result. This form shows a resistance to sound change as in derivation 15 above.

33. 2<3

*ki:siht-aw-eθ-k

*awe > a: > a

*θk > sk

This is the expected result.

34. 3<3'

*ki:siht-aw-ekot does not give kisitajl

See discussion of derivation 18.

This form has been reshaped.

35. 21<3

*ki:siht-aw-eθ-ankw does not give kisitulk

A possible derivation could involve a resistance to contraction between the final *aw and the theme *eθ.

This derivation would be:

*aw > u

*eθ > ul

*ankw > akw → əkw (expect kiritu'rikw)

36. 13<3

*ki:siht-aw-iy-ament > kirituinamit

*aw > u

*ina > ina (see derivations 12 and 15 above)

*m > m

*e > ə -schwa retention to prevent cluster

*nt > t

This is the expected result.

37. 23<3

*ki:siht-aw-eə-a:kw > kisu'tlog

*aw > u

*eə > ul

*a:kw > oq (expect kisu'tlog)

Another possible derivation involving paradigmatic resistance to sound change would give the expected result.

*aw > u

*e > ə > ø

*ə > l

*a:kw > oq

This derivation would yield the expected result.

38. 33<3'

*ki:siht-aw-ekw-awa:t > kisitakwi:tijl

Bloomfield does not give the reconstructed PA inflection for this form. See discussion of derivation 14 above.

LOCAL DIRECT FORMS

39. 2>1

*ki:siht-aw-iy-an > kisu'tuin

*aw > u

*iy > i

*a > ɔ > ø

*n > n

This form involves paradigmatic resistance to sound change as in derivation 15 above.

40. 2(3) > 13

PEA *ki:siht-aw-iy-e:nk > kisuieik

*aw > u

*iy > i

*e: > e

*nk > k

This form involves paradigmatic resistance to sound change as in derivation 15 above. See discussion following derivations 16 and 17 above.

41. 23 > 1

*ki:siht-aw-iy-e:kw does not give kisuiekw

*aw > u

*iy > i

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect kisuiekw)

See the discussions following derivation 13 as well as 16 and 17 above.

LOCAL INVERSE FORMS

42. 2 < 1

*ki:siht-aw-eθ-a:n > kisu(n)l

*aw > u

*e > ə > ø

*ə > l

*a: > a

*n > n

This is the expected result. See derivation 37 above.

43. 2(3)<13

PEA' *ki:siht-aw-eə-e:nk > kisitulek

*aw > u

*e > ə > ø

*ə > l

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result. See the discussion following derivations 16 and 17 above as well as derivation 37.

44. 23<1

*ki:siht-aw-eə-akokw > kisituloq

*aw > u

*e > ə > ø

*ə > l

*akokw > a:kw haplology a:kw > akw > əq

This is the expected result. See the discussion of derivation 13 above as well as derivation 37.

Derivations of the verb kisi'k

The derivation of the stem of the verb *ki:s- will remain constant as the contractions occur between the final and the inflections. The derivation of *ki:s- into kis follows:

*ki:s- > kis

*k > k

*i: > i

*s > s

This is the expected result.

The derivations which follow will deal with the contractions mentioned above. Some of the same problems encountered with *ki:siht-aw- will also occur with regard to *ki:s-ih-.

DIRECT FORMS

45. 123

*ki:s-ih-ak > kisi'k

*iha > i:

*k > k

This is the expected result.

46. 223

*ki:s-ih-at > kisi't

*iha > i:

*t > t

This is the expected result.

47. 3>3'

*ki:s-ih-a:t > kisiajl

*ih > i

*a: > a

See derivation 3 above.

48. 21>3

*ki:s-ih-ankw > kisi'kw

*iha > i:

*nkw > kw

This is the expected result.

49. 13>3

*ki:s-ih-akent > kisi'kit

*iha > i:

*k > k

*e > ə schwa retention due to syllable structure

*nt > t

This is the expected result.

50. 23>3

*ki:s-ih-e:kw does not give kisiok

*ih > i

*e: > e

*kw > kw (expect kisiokw)

See discussions following derivation 13 as well as 16 and

17.

51. 33>3'

*ki:s-ih-a:wait does not give kisia'tijl

This form has been reshaped. See derivation 14 above.

INVERSE FORMS

52. 1<3

*ki:s-ih-it does not give kisi'it

*ihi > i:

*t > t (expect kisi't)

According to Pacifique (1939:148) kisi't is the form. kisi'it is the form which was collected from a native speaker and shows an analogical reshaping to retain the inflection. The reflex in Micmac seems to be analogical with the form pema'lit (derivation 8 above) - a form which already exists within the paradigm. The fact that the -i- is retained in kisi'it may be based on the -i- found in pema'lit. The form given by Pacifique is derivable from the PA by the regular phonological rules of Micmac.

53. 2<3

*ki:s-ih-eθ-k > kisi'sk

*ihe > i:

*θk > sk

This is the expected result.

54. 3<3'

*ki:s-ih-ekot does not give kisi'jl

In this form the theme sign has been dropped to indicate

inverse action. The PA inverse sign has not been utilized.
See derivation 10 above.

55. 21<3

*ki:s-ih-eθ-ankw does not give kisulk

*ihe > i:

*θ > l

*a > ə -schwa retention because of syllable structure

*nkw > kw (expect kisi'likw)

See the discussion before derivations 63 and 64 for a possible explanation for this form in Micmac. Based on this discussion the derivation for this form could be as follows:

*ih > Ø

*eθ > ul

*ankw > akw > əkw and the final /w/ was then lost (see derivation 12 above).

56. 13<3

*ki:s-ih-iy-ament does not give kisinamit

*ih > i

*ina > ina (see derivation 12 above)

*m > n

*e > ə

*nt > t (expect kisi'namit)

57. 23<3

*ki:s-ih-eθ-a:kw does not give kisuloq

*ihe > i:

*e > 1*a:kw > akw > oq (expect kisi'log)

58. 33<3'

*ki:s-ih-ekw-a:wat > kisikwi:tijl

See derivation 14 above.

LOCAL DIRECT FORMS

59. 221

*ki:s-ih-iy-an does not give kisi'in

*ihiy > i:

*a > a > Ø

*n > n (expect Kisi'n)

The reflex in Micmac seems to indicate that there was a paradigmatic analogy to pema^llin (derivation 15). See derivation 52 above.

60. 2(3)>13

PEA *ki:s-ih-i-ye:nk does not give kisi'iek

*ihiy > i:

*e > e

*nk > k (expect kisi'ek)

See discussion following derivations 16 and 17 above and also the discussion following derivation 59 above.

61. 23>1

*ki:s-ih-f-ye:kw does not give kisi'ioq

*ihiy > i:

*e > e

*kw > kw (expect kisi'ekw)

See discussion following derivations 16 and 17 and also the discussion following derivation 59 above.

LOCAL INVERSE FORMS

62. 2<1

*ki:s-ih-eθ-a:n > kisul(an)

**ih > i

*eθ > ul

*a: > a

*n > n

This form involves paradigmatic resistance to sound change as in derivation 15 above.

The following two derivations (and also derivation 55 above) are also slightly different from those already given in that the final seems to be deleted and have no effect on the rest of the form. No contractions occurred.

63. 2(3)<13

*ki:s-ih-eθ-e:nk > kisulek

*ih > ∅

*eθ > ul

*e: > e

*nk > k

This is the expected result.

64. 23<1

*ki:s-ih-eθ-akokw > kisuloq

*ih > ø

*eθ > ul

*akokw > akw haplology akw > oq

This is the expected result.

From all of the above derivations of the four representative TA verbs the complexities which exist within this category are quite evident especially with regard to contractions. It is nevertheless possible to see that the forms of the Micmac independent present indicative are in fact derivable from the PA conjunct forms frequently showing the expected reflexes.

4.1.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

The Micmac independent indicative present also corresponds to the conjunct of the other Eastern Algonkian languages.

To allow for an easier comparison the forms will be stated in columns and not with the inverse forms opposite the direct forms. These paradigms of the conjunct from the other Eastern languages will be presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 - EA correspondences of the Micmac TA independent

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware
1>3	-k	-uk -a	-ak
2>3	-t	-at	-at
3>3'	-ačl	-at/-ačil	-aət
1<3	-it	-it	
2<3	-sk	-əsk	
3<3'	-čl	-iht/-ihčil	
21>3	-k	- kw/ukət	-aŋkw/e:nkw
13>3	-kət	-ek	-e:nk/e:nkw
23>3	-oq	-ekw	-é:kw
33>3'	-a:tičl	-ahtit/-ahtičil	-a:h ti:t/-a:hti:t
21<3	-ulk	-inəmək	
13<3	-inamat	-inəmək	
23<3	-uloq	-əlinakw	
33<3'	-ukwi:tičl	-əkuhtit/-kuhtiličil	
2>1	-in	-iyin	-yan
2(3)>13	-iek	-iyek	-ye:nk/-ye:nkw
23>1	-ioq	-iyekw	-ye:kw
2<1	-ul	-əl	
2(3)<13	-uloq	-əlek	
23<1	-ulek	-əlek	

Goddard does not give a complete paradigm of the Delaware TA conjunct. The correspondences among the

forms in these languages indicates that the forms are related and that they are reflexes of the same Proto-Algonkian forms.

4.2 Preterite and dubitative

The paradigm labelled as the Indicatif Passé by Pacifique (1939:150) for the TA includes at least two separate paradigms as was the case with the other verbal categories.

The complexity of the TA verb and the number of forms involved makes it even more difficult to make the distinction as to which forms in Pacifique's paradigm belong to the preterite mode and which belong to the dubitative mode.

Based on the distinctions already set up for the previously discussed verbal categories it is possible to make an attempt to do this with the TA as well. For some of the verbal forms, Pacifique does not give the two forms and this results in gaps in the data. These gaps have been filled in by using forms from two different sources. Some of the forms were collected from a native speaker and these forms will be marked by round brackets (). Dialectal variants are included within these forms.

Some of the other gaps have been filled in with forms which one can postulate based upon the available data and the distinctions which have been set up to distinguish the preterite from the dubitative. Where Pacifique gives the form from one paradigm and not the other it is possible to postulate the form which is not given based on the one which is. These forms will be indicated with square brackets []. The paradigms are as follow in Table 4.5

and Table 4.6.

Table 4.5 - TA preterite

1>3	-(V)kəp	1<3	-ip
2>3	-(V)təp	2<3	-(V)skəp
3>3'	-apnɪ (-apnɪ)	3<3'	(-atəpɪnɪ), [-apənɪ]
21>3	-(V)kup	21<3	(-alkəp), [-ulkop]
13>3	-(V)kəp (- (V)kətəp)	13<3	(-inamətəp)
23>3	-oqop	23<3	-uioqop, (-noqop)
33>3'	-a:tipnɪ	33<3'	-ukwi:tip OR (-ukwi:tipnɪ)
12>1	-itəp	2<1	-ulep
2(3)>13	-iek p	2(3)<13	-ulekəp
23>1	-ioqop	23<1	(-uioqop)

Table 4.6 - TA dubitative

1>3	{-(V)kə p}, {-(V)q ə}	1<3	--is
2>3	-(V)səp, -(V)ts p)	2<3	-(V)skəs
3>3'	-asnɪ, (-asnɪ)	3<3'	-asnɪ
21>3	-(V)kʊs	21<3	-ulkʊs, (-ulkʊsəp)
13>3	-(V)kəʃ	13<3	-inantsəp
23>3	-oqos	23<3	-uloqos, (-oqsəp)
33>3'	-a:tisənɪl	33<3'	(-ukwi:tisəpɪnɪ) OR [ukwi:tisɪnɪ]
2>1	-isəp	2<1	[-uləs]
2(3)>13	-iekəs	2(3)<13	-ulekəs
23>1	-ioqos	23<1	[-uloqos]

The inflectional endings for these tenses have been isolated by analyzing a verb like pema'l- which did not involve contractions between the final and the inflections in its phonological evolution from PA to Micmac. Because there were was no contraction (as shown in the TA independent indicative present derivations of Micmac pema'l- from PA *pe:m-awie-) there was no merging of the final with the inflections. Thus an isolation of the inflections is feasible. This isolation based on a non-contracting verb will be used in determining the inflectional endings of the other TA tenses and modes.

The distinctions between the two verbal paradigms is the same as those found for the other verbal categories. The dubitative is marked by the presence of an -s- element which is not found in any of the preterite inflections and thus is the major distinguishing feature. The preterite is marked by the presence of the -p- element.

4.2.1 Historical derivation : preterite

Bloomfield reconstructed a PA-morpheme *-pa as the marker of the preterite (Bloomfield 1946:99). It has been shown that for the TA, TI and psTI this marker should in fact be reconstructed as *-pan- and this appears to be the case with the TA as well.

In Micmac, the preterite is a simple -p word-finally but it is -pan- when there is another inflectional element following. This loss of final -an or -n has been noted as occurring elsewhere in Micmac such as in the 1st person singular independent form of the AI.

The data from Abenaki follows this same pattern. The paradigm of the Abenaki preterite (imperfect) follows in Table 4.7. With the Abenaki data the preterite is marked by a -p word-finally and -pan or -pan when there is another inflectional ending following (such as the -ik plural marker).

Table 4.7 - Abenaki preterite (imperfect)

2>1	-ip
23>1	-ipop
1<3	-ekop
1<33	-ekopanik
2>13	-ipenop
23>13	-ipenop
13<3	-ekonnop
13<33	-ekonnopanik

4.2.2 Historical derivation : dubitative

Bloomfield reconstructed *-tok as the marker of the PA dubitative mode (Bloomfield 1946:99). The Micmac dubitative marker is not a reflex of this PA element.

The Micmac marker is an -s- element which could possibly be related to the -ssii- marker in Ojibwa which marks the negative mode (Bloomfield 1946:100).

4.3 Future

The paradigm of the TA future will be presented in Table 4.8 below and the inflections have been isolated based on those of a non-contracting verb.

Table 4.8 - TA future

1>3	-ates	1<3	-itew
2>3	-atesk	2<3	-ultew
3>3'	-atal	3<3'	-kotal
21>3	-atesnu	21<3	-ulkutew
13>3	-atesnen	13<3	-inametew
22>3	-atoqsəp	23<3	-uloqtew
33>3'	-atital	33<3'	-kui:tital
2>1	-itesk	2<1	-ultes
2(3)<13	-itesnen	2(3)<13	-ultesnen
23>1	-itoqsəp	23<1	-ultoqsəp

As in the AI, TI, and the psTI, the future tense in the TA is marked in Micmac by the presence of a -t- element which is historically untraceable.

This future paradigm of Micmac seems to be an innovation. It is not possible to reconstruct a future paradigm for PA because no such paradigm is adequately represented in the Algonkian daughter languages.

4.4 Absentative

The verbal forms of the TA Absentative are limited because of the restricted use of this mode to refer to someone or something that is inaccessible.

The forms all involve action on a 3rd person goal (or 3'). This paradigm follows in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 - TA absentative

1>3	-kaq
2>3	-taq
3>3'	-ača
21>3	-kuaq
13>3	-ketaq
23>3	-oqoag
33>3'	-a:tiča

As with the other verbal categories, the TA absentative is also marked by the presence of a -k- element. There is no -k- element in either the 3>3' or the 33>3' as these forms contain the obviative, which is marked in the absentative by -a.

As Goddard has stated (1969:157) there is evidence for the nominal absentative in some of the other Eastern Algonquian languages and that the endings of Delaware, Abenaki, Micmac and Maliseet are similar. The endings in the other EA languages also contain the -k element which is

the Micmac absentative marker for the proximate.

It is not necessary to present the Eastern data here as it has been discussed previously under Section 2.5.1. The important item to note is that the use of -k as the morphological marker of the proximate absentative seems to be an Eastern Algonkian innovation.

4.5 Imperative

Based on the preceding discussions of the other verbal categories it has been shown that the imperative paradigm given by Pacifique (1939:153) is in fact made up of two paradigms - one of the true imperative and the other of the jussive. The jussive forms of the AI, TI, II and psTI all contained a -č- element. This fact should allow for the distinction to be made for the TA paradigm which does not involve simple 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons.

The forms with a -č- element should be considered jussive forms and therefore the remaining forms should be considered the true imperative forms. There is one problematic form when the distinction is based solely on the presence or absence of -č- and this is the 21>3 form. A concrete example of this form is nemianej which Pacifique translated as "voyons-le". There is only one 1st person plural >3rd person form given in the TA imperative paradigm and based on the morphology of this form one would expect it to be a jussive form as it contains the -č- element. Based on the French translation it appears that this form can only be a 21>3 form because the imperative form voyons-le in French means "let you and me see him" whereas it cannot mean "let me and them see him". The second option would involve a completely different verb form. This form is therefore 21>3 and it belongs to the

imperative paradigm because it involves a 2nd person actor. This would indicate that the 2nd person actor is more important than the 1st person actor and would follow the Algonkian person hierarchy as 2 takes precedence over 1. All true imperative forms necessarily have to involve a 2nd person actor.

The 21>3 form is different from the other imperative forms in that it contains the -č- element but it is also different in that it does not simply contain a 2nd person actor since the 1st person is included as well. The ending -aneč can be analyzed as -ane-č with -ane- representing the 2nd person imperative and -č as representing the 1st person jussive element. The inclusion of the 1st person is morphologically marked by the presence of the -č- jussive element.

Pacifique does not give a form for 13>3 in his Imperatif paradigm. If he had given a form it most likely would contain the -č- element but in this case the form would belong to the jussive paradigm as it does not include a 2nd person actor.

There is a clear-cut distinction presented within Pacifique's paradigm when 21 and 13 are the goals of the action. Jussive forms like 3<13 and 3<21 are completely distinct in that they have distinct endings.

The paradigms of the imperative (Table 4.10) and the jussive (Table 4.11) follow.

Table 4.10 - TA imperative

2>3	-ø
21>3	-aneč
23>3(3)	-kw
2>1	-i/-i:
2(3)>13	-in
23>1	-i:kw

Table 4.11 - TA jussive

3>3'	-ač
33>3'	-a:tič
1<3	-ič
2<3	-ulič
3<3'	-ač
21<3	-ulkuč
13<3	-inəməč
23<3	-uloqč
33<3'	-kwititč

The true imperative forms are those which have a 2nd person as the agent. This corresponds with the pattern of the imperative which exists in the other verbal categories (AI, TI and psTI) as in these categories, only 2nd person

forms were imperative. Only forms which include a 2nd person agent can be considered as true imperatives and the forms which do not have a 2nd person agent will be considered jussives.

4.5.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield (1946:100), has reconstructed the PA endings for the TA paradigm and it should be noted that all the forms contain a 2nd person actor. Bloomfield's reconstructed endings and their Micmac counterparts follow in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 - PA TA imperative

	PA	Micmac
2>3	*-i	-ø
23>3	*-ehko	-kw
2>1	*-ilo	-i/-i:
2(3)>13	*-ina:nke	-in
23>1	*-iko	-i:kw

Bloomfield did not reconstruct a form for the 21>3 form.

There are resemblances between the Micmac imperative endings and Bloomfield's PA reconstruction. With regard to the 2>1 form *-ilo a discussion of the supposed loss of the *-lo in Micmac has been presented under the AI imperative in Chapter 2. The 2(3)>31 and 23>1 forms have been reshaped in Micmac.

As is the case with the regular derivation from PA to Micmac the Micmac forms become reduced as can be seen in Table 4.12 above.

Bloomfield did not reconstruct a PA paradigm of the jussive.

4.5.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

The data for the imperative-jussive of the TA from the other Eastern Algonkian languages is limited to Maliseet as there is no available data from either Abenaki or Delaware.

The Maliseet imperative and jussive forms can be distinguished from each other based on the distinctions made for the Micmac data.

The Maliseet and Micmac imperative (Table 4.13) and jussive (Table 4.14) data will be presented below.

Table 4.13 - EA TA Imperative

	Micmac	Maliseet
2>3	-ø	-an
21>3	-aneč	-ane
23>3	-uhk	-kw
2>1	-i/-i:	-in
2(3)>13	-in	-ine
23>1	-i:kw	-ikw

Table 4.14 - EA TA Jussive

3>3'	-ač	-ač
33>3'	-a:tič	-ahtič
1<3	-ič	-ič
2<3	-ulič	-alič
3<3'	-ač	-ihč
21<3	-ulkuč	-inəməč/-inəkəč
13<3	-inameč	-inəməč/-inəkəč
23<3	-uloqč	-əlinahč
33<3'	-kwitič	-əkulič

The Maliseet data fits into the established pattern of the distinction between imperative and jussive. All of the Maliseet forms which have a 2nd person actor have a -č element in the inflectional ending and this corresponds with the -č element which is found in the Micmac jussive forms. The Maliseet jussive forms, like the Micmac forms, all have 2nd person agents and the Maliseet jussive forms, like the Micmac jussive forms, all have -č as the morphological marker.

The Maliseet 21>3 form is also part of the imperative paradigm as it was in Micmac but the difference is that the Maliseet form does not include the -č marker of the jussive to indicate the inclusion of 1st person agent. This lack of the -č element in the Maliseet form is more

evidence to indicate that this form truly belongs to the imperative paradigm.

The Maliseet forms which do not include a 2nd person agent correspond to what has been called the Micmac jussive. The Maliseet jussive corresponds with the Micmac jussive in that the $\text{-}\check{\text{c}}$ element is found in both languages.

Also from the data in Tables 4.13 and 4.14 above it can be seen that the endings in Micmac and Maliseet apart from the presence or absence of $\text{-}\check{\text{c}}$, are otherwise largely cognate.

Based on all of the above data it can be seen that the Micmac imperative is mostly a regular derivation from PA. The jussive has not been recorded for the Central languages and has consequently not been reconstructed for PA. Even though TA jussive data is only available from two of the Eastern languages it is still possible that it is an Eastern Algonkian innovation, as is the case with the other verbal categories where there was more data available.

4.6 Conditional

The TA conditional of Micmac can be represented as follows in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 - TA conditional

1>3	-iek	1<3	-is
2>3	-aq	2<3	-ulis
3>3'	-as	3<3'	
41>3	-aqup	21<3	-ulkus
13>3	-aqek	13<3	-inamets
23>3'	-aqoq	23<3	-uloqs
33>3'	-a:ti's	33<3'	
2>1	-ik	2<1	-ulik
2(3)>13	-ikek	2(3)<13	-ulikek
23>1	-ikoq	23<1	-ulikoq

As with the other verbal categories, the TA conditional is also marked by the presence of a -k-. In the other verbal categories this -k- was not found in the 3rd person forms. The equivalent of this in the TA is that the forms with a 3rd person agent have an -s element instead of -k.

4.6.1 Historical derivation

As has been stated previously, there has been no conditional paradigm reconstructed for PA but there seems to be a connection between the Micmac conditional and the delayed imperative of Eastern Ojibwa and Plains Cree. There are similarities of meaning and similar morphology. It is not possible to reconstruct a paradigm.

There is no relevant corresponding data in the Eastern Algonkian languages. Abenaki has a paradigm of the conditional mode but the endings are not cognate with those of Micmac.

4.7 Subordinative

The inflectional endings of the Micmac subordinative can be seen in Table 4.16 below. As will be seen the subordinative involves the use of personal prefixes although in Modern Micmac these prefixes are becoming lost.

Table 4.16 - TA subordinative

1>3	n(t)-an	1>3'	n(t)-i:kun/n(t)-in
2>3	k(t)-an	2<3	k(t)-kun/k(t)-ulin
3>3'	w(t)-an	3<3'	NO FORM GIVEN.
21>3	k(t)-anenu	21<3	k(t)-kunenu/k(t)-ulkunenu
13>3	n(t)-anen	13<3	n(t)-kunen/n(t)-inen
23>3	k(t)-anew	23<3	k(t)-kunew/k(t)-ulinew
33>3'	w(t)-anew	33<3'	NO FORM GIVEN
2>1	k(t)-in	2<1	k(t)-ulin
2(3)>13	k(t)-inen	2(3)<13	k(t)-ulinen
23>1	k(t)-inew	23<1	k(t)-ulinew

There are some complexities within this mode which are especially brought out in Pacifique's paradigm of what he calls Subjonctif.

Pacifique notes the complexities when he makes the following somewhat puzzling statement in his grammar .

Avec "il, ils" comme sujet, le subjonctif a deux formes: quand le complément est me, te, nous, vous, M. MAILLARD emploie constamment la seconde en gon, goneno, gonen, goneo, tandis qu'avec le, les, il se sert des deux. (Pacifique 1939:158)

This complexity is associated with inverse forms which have a 3rd person actor. As can be seen in Table 4.16 above these forms have two possible sets of endings. One set contains the -ikw- inverse marker while the other set does not contain this marker.

These distinctions will be more clearly visible in some examples of full verbal forms which follow.

with -ikw without -ikw (with -ul-)

2>3 kpmal'likun kpmal'lulin "that he carries you(sg.)"

23>3 kpmal'likunew kpmal'lulinew "that he carries you(pl.)"

21>3 kpmal'likunenu kpmal'lulkunenu "that he carries us(incl.)"

These examples all involve action by a 3rd person actor upon a 2nd person goal. The inverse forms which contain -ikw, a reflex of the PA *-ekw inverse marker, are tending to disappear. This PA *-ekw is a general inverse marker involving 3rd person. The forms used in modern Micmac contain the inverse marker -ul- which indicates action on a 2nd person goal. This -ul- is a reflex of the PA theme sign *-eθ- which indicates action upon a 2nd person goal.

The other inverse forms with examples are as follows:

with -ikw-

without -ikw-

1<3 npmal'likun

npmal'lin.

13<3 npmal'likunen

npmal'linen

Once again, with these examples the older forms are marked by the presence of the -ikw- inverse marker but in the these examples there is no inverse marker in the more recent forms.

From the above examples, it can be seen that the Micmac subordinative has a contracted stem.

4.7.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield has not reconstructed the subordinative mode for PA because there is insufficient evidence in the Algonkian daughter languages to reconstruct a paradigm.

Goddard (1983) has reconstructed a paradigm of the subordinative mode for Proto-Eastern Algonkian as there is enough evidence here to reconstruct the paradigm. He did not reconstruct the inflections for the TA but it is possible to assume that they too can be reconstructed. There is evidence to support this as will be seen in Table 4.17 below which contains inflections of the TA Subordinative in other Eastern languages. There is complete evidence available for Maliseet and Micmac and partial evidence for Abenaki and Delaware.

Table 4.17 - EA TA Subordinative

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware	Abenaki
1>3	n(t)-an	n(t)-an		n(t)-ən
2>3	k(t)-an	k(t)-an		k(t)-ən
3>3'	w(t)-an	'(t)-an	'(ət)-a:n	w(t)-ən
21>3	k(t)-anenu	k(t)-anen		n(t)-ənana
13>3	n(t)-anen	n(t)-anen		
23>3	k(t)-anew	k(t)-aniya		k(t)-ənə
33>3'	w(t)-anew	'(t)-aniya		w(t)-ənə
1<3	n(t)-i:kun	n(t)-əkun		
2<3	k(t)-kun	k(t)-əkun		
3<3'	NO FORM GIVEN	'(t)-əkun		
21<3	k(t)-kunenu	k(t)-əkun		
13<3	n(t)-kunen ^o	n(t)-əkunen		
23<3	k(t)-kunew	k(t)-əkuniya		
33<3'	NO FORM GIVEN	'(t)-əkuniya		
2>1	k(t)-in	k(t)-in		
2(3)>13	k(t)-inen	k(t)-inin		
23>1	k(t)-inew	k(t)-iniya		
2<1	k(t)-ulin	k(t)-əlun	k(ət)-lən	
2(3)<13	k(t)-ulinen	k(t)-ələnən		
22<1	k(t)-ulinew	k(t)-ələniya		

The Micmac forms used for comparison above are the older forms as they are the ones which correspond with the

Maliseet data. The Maliseet inverse forms, like the Micmac forms, seem to contain a reflex of the PA *-ekw-inverse marker.

There are morphological similarities among the endings which indicate that they are related.

Based on the above data it can be seen that the subordinative mode is an innovation of the Eastern Algonkian languages.

Table 4.18. -- PEA TA subordinative

1>3	*-Vn	1<3	*-Vkun
2>3	*-Vn	2<3	*-Vkun
3>3'	*-Vn	3<3'	
21>3	*-Vne:n	21<3	*-ekw + ne:na(w)
31>3	*-Vne:n	31<3	*-ekw + ne:na(:n)
23>3		23<3	*-ekw + ne:wa(:w)
33>3'		33<3'	*-ekw + ne:wa(:w)

It is possible to analyze the Eastern forms in terms of PA and PEA formatives and inflections and this has allowed for a partial possible reconstruction of the PEA subordinative mode which is as above in Table 4.18 below. In this Table the personal prefixes have been omitted. The endings for the 21>3, 31>3, 23>3 and 33>3' forms are from Goddard's 1983 article.

4.8 Conjunct

The paradigms for the two conjunct modes will be displayed in Tables 4.19 and 4.20 below. It is not possible to isolate the inflections because of the vocalic variation involved; consequently an abstract representation of the inflections will be given where (V) indicates that there is variation in the vowel which is located between the stem and the inflection for the different verbs. The brackets indicate that in some verbs there is no vowel. This variation can be seen in four representative verbs from Micmac:

kelpil-k	no vowel
pema'li-k	i
kisitaq	a
nemi'k	i

Table 4.19 - TA unchanged conjunct

1>3	-(V)k	1<3	-ič
2>3	-(V)č	2<3	-(V)sk
3>3'	-ač	3<3'	-(V)č
21>3	-(V)kw	21<3	-ulk
13>3	-(V)keč	13<3	-inameč
23>3	-oq	23<3	-uloq
33>3'	-a:tič	33<3'	-(V)kwi:tič
2>1	-in	2<1	-ulan
2(3)>13	-iek	2(3)<13	-ulek
23>1	-ioq	23<1	-uloq

Table 4.20 - TA changed conjunct

1>3	-(V)k	1<3	-ič
2>3	-(V)č	2<3	-(V)sk
3>3'	-ač	3<3'	-(V)ič
21>3	-(V)kw	21<3	-ulk
13>3	-(V)keč	13<3	-inameč
23>3	-oq	23>3	-uloq
33>3'	-a:tič	33<3'	-(V)kwi:tič
2>1	-in	2<1	-ulan
2(3)>13	-iek	2(3)<13	-ulek
23>1	-ioq	23<1	-uloq

Explanation needs to be given for some of the above representations. It should be noted for the forms which have a /k/ following the (V), if the vowel is an /a/ as in kisitaq then the /k/ is in fact a /q/. This is predictable as $k > q / a$.

The 13>3 form requires explanation. (V)k c can be an abstract representation for the inflection -aqac. As stated above, when (V) represents an /a/ the following /k/ becomes a /q/. In this example a fundamental rule of Micmac phonology is displayed, the rule of vowel copying (vowel harmony) around /q/. This would explain the /a/ which occurs after the /q/. -(V)kəč is an adequate representation of the inflection -aqac because -aqac can be phonologically derived from (V)kəč.

As with the other verbal categories the endings of the TA changed conjunct are the same as those of the TA unchanged conjunct. The conjunct endings are in turn similar to the TA independent indicative present. The stem contraction of the unchanged forms distinguishes them from the independent forms while the changed conjunct forms are distinguished from the independent forms by their use or sentential context.

4.8.1 Historical derivation

The derivation of the Micmac TA conjunct modes is the same as the derivation of the conjunct modes of the other verbal categories.

The TA changed conjunct is a reflex of the PA changed mode of the conjunct order. The evidence for this reflex has been explained under Section 2.9.2.

The TA unchanged order in Micmac is a reflex of the conjunct indicative mode of the PA conjunct order. The discussion of the derivation has been dealt with under Section 2.9.1.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE NEGATIVE

5.2 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the negative formations of the Micmac independent indicative present of the AI, II, TI, psTI and TA. An attempt will be made at tracing the origin of the Micmac negative and this will involve looking at data from other Algonkian languages.

Before entering into any detailed discussion of the negative it will be necessary to isolate the morpheme which marks the Micmac negative. This can best be done by comparing affirmative forms with the negative forms as the morphology of the affirmative forms has already been analyzed.

APP.	pemie-n	"you are walking"
NEG.	mu pemie-u-n	"you are not walking"
APP.	ekitm-n	"you are counting it"
NEG.	mu ekitm-u-n	"you are not counting it"
APP.	kisit-aqw	"we (incl.) are finishing him"
NEG.	mu kisit-u-aqw	"we (incl.) are not finishing him"
APP.	pemie-yek	"we (dual excl.) are walking"
NEG.	mu pemie-wek	"we (dual excl.) are not walking"

From the examples above it is possible to isolate the negative morpheme and to locate its position within the verb. The negative is formed by adding a negative morpheme directly after the stem and before the inflections. This negative morpheme is a thematic element just as the inverse and direct markers are thematic elements. There is an ordering of thematic elements as will be seen in the discussion of the TA negative.

From the above data it can be seen that the Micmac negative morpheme is a -u- element which has two allophones. [u] occurs only in the syllabic core and [w] occurs in the non-syllabic onset or coda of the syllable (Hewson 1988).

5.1 Historical derivation

Bloomfield did not reconstruct a negative morpheme for PA as he based his reconstruction on the evidence from the four Central Algonkian languages - Fox, Cree, Menominee and Ojibwa - and these languages mark the negative by the use of a particle which varies from language to language. There is no common morphological marker of the negative in these languages so Bloomfield did not reconstruct one for PA.

It is possible that the Micmac negative morpheme -u- could be related to the -u- found in the Montagnais

dubitative. This -u- in the dubitative is located after the stem and before the inflections, a position which corresponds to the location of the Micmac -w-. Some Montagnais dubitative neutral conjunct examples follow:

Sg.1	-ūne.	
Sg.2	-ūne	
Pl.1(incl.)	-uātshe	
Pl.1(excl.)	-uākué	
Pl.2	-uekue	(Clarke 1982a:116)

The Montagnais dubitative conjunct is used for statements which begin with "if only" such as nepūūne "if only I were asleep" (Clarke 1982a:116). The negative and the dubitative are closely related in meaning and as the morphology is similar it is quite possible that the Micmac negative and the Montagnais dubitative stem from the same source.

There has been other evidence presented previously which indicates that the negative and the dubitative may be related. It has been shown that the Micmac dubitative marker -s- may be related to the Ojibwa negative marker -ssii-.

It is possible, therefore, that there are reflexes between the Micmac dubitative and the Ojibwa negative, and likewise between the Micmac negative and the Montagnais dubitative.

5.2 Evidence from other Eastern Algonkian languages

As there has been no negative morpheme reconstructed for PA, evidence from the other Eastern Algonkian languages will be presented and compared with the Micmac evidence to discern whether the Micmac negative is related to the negative of the other Eastern Algonkian languages. The data will be from the AI paradigm because it is a relatively simple paradigm and there is comprehensive data available for it. This data is presented in Table 5.1 below.

The forms for Maliseet and Delaware are from the conjunct order as it is the conjunct in these languages which corresponds with the Micmac independent. The Abenaki data will be included because even though the forms are not from the conjunct order there are correspondences which help define the negative morpheme and to show its position within the verb.

Table 5.1 - EA AI negative

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware	Abenaki
Sg.1	-Vw(an)	-Vw -Vwan	-Vwa:n	(-Vw)
Sg.2	-Vu	-Vwən	-Vwan	
Sg.3	-Vkw	-Vhkw	-Vkw	(-Vw1)
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vkwk	-Vwehk	-Vwe:nkw	(-Vppena)
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vwek	-Vwəhkw	-Vwe:nkw	(-Vppena)
Pl.2	-Vwoq	-Vwehkw	-Vwe:kw	(-Vppa)
Pl.3	-V:kw	-Vhtikw/Vhtinkwik	-Vhti:kw	(-Vwiak)

From the data in Table 5.1 it can be seen that the negative in the other Eastern Algonkian languages is formed in the same way as it is in Micmac; that is, it is formed by adding a -u- element after the stem and before the inflection.

This conclusion regarding -u- as the marker of the negative in Eastern Algonkian throws light on the Abenaki data. Abenaki does not always contain the -u- element but it does show the effect of the once-present -u-. The effect of the -u- can be seen in the 1st and 2nd person plural forms which follow.

	Affirmative	Negative
Pl.1	-pena	-ppena
Pl.2	-pa	-ppa


When the /-u-/ element of the negative precedes the inflections -pena and -pa it occurs as the allomorph [-w-] to form the cluster [wp] in both cases. Assimilation then transforms this cluster into a fortis consonant that we represent as [pp]. The forms would have been as follow:

Pl.1	-w-pena > -ppena
Pl.2	-w-pa > -ppa

The geminated devoiced -pp- in the negative form is therefore a reflex of the cluster -wp- and this change is due to the preceding -w-. The evidence that the negative morpheme -u- must have at one point existed in these

forms is that this element survived in several of the Abenaki forms such as Sg.1 and 3 and Pl.3. Therefore the distinction between the affirmative and the negative in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural in Abenaki is indicated by the change in the consonant.

Based on the data from Micmac, Maliseet, Delaware and Abenaki it is possible to postulate an original -w- as the marker of the negative in the Eastern Algonkian languages. This negative marker is not found in any other Algonkian languages except those which can be classified as Eastern Algonkian. This negative formation is an Eastern innovation.



5.3 AI negative

The AI negative will be displayed schematically in Table 5.2 below and the affirmative inflections will also be presented to allow for a more comprehensive discussion.

Table 5.2 - AI affirmative and negative

	Affirmative	Negative
Sg.1	-Vy(an)	-Vw(an)
Sg.2	-Vn	-Vun
Sg.3	-Vt	-Vkw
Dual 1(incl.)	-Vyikw	-Vkwk
Dual 1(excl.)	-Vyek	-Vwek
Dual 2	-Vyoq	-Vwoq
Dual 3	-Včik	-V:kw
Pl.1(incl.)	-V(1)ti:kw	-V(1)tiwkw
Pl.1(excl.)	-V(1)tiyek	-V(1)tiwek
Pl.2	-V(1)tiyoq	-V(1)tiwoq
Pl.3	-V(1)tičik	-V(1)ti:kw

The negative morpheme occurs directly after the stem final vowel -V- and before the inflections. This occurs throughout the paradigm for all persons except the 3rd persons.

In the 3rd person forms the negative is marked by the fact that the -t- of the affirmative inflection becomes a -k- in the negative inflection. This change of t > k is

most likely a morphological change that states that in the 3rd person negative forms the -t- of the affirmative inflection becomes a -k-.

This morphological change is not seen as clearly in the 3rd person dual and plural forms. It should be remembered that the c's found in the dual and plural forms were originally t's which became palatalized under the influence of the following -i-. It is this original -t- which goes to -k- in the negative because of the morphological rule. The negative marker of the 3rd person forms is thus -k- plus the negative morpheme -w- giving -kw- as the marker of negative 3rd person.

5.4 II negative

The paradigms of the II negative and affirmative will be presented in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 - II affirmative and negative

	Affirmative	Negative
Sg.3	-Vk	-Vnuk
Dual 3	-Vkl	-Vnukul
Pl.3	-V(1)tikl	-V(1)tinukul

The II negative is different from the formation in the other categories. Where the other categories insert a -u- element between the stem and the inflections the II negative is formed by inserting -nu-. The II negative morpheme is -nu- but it should be noted that this negative morpheme still contains a reflex of the regular -u- negative morpheme.

The dual and plural forms of the II negative seem to indicate that the 3rd person negative marker is -kw in the II as it was in the AI.

The -nu- marker of the II negative is also found in Maliseet where the inflections are as follows:

Sg.3	-Vnuhk	
Pl.3	-Vnuhk/-Vnuhkil	(Leavitt and Francis 1983:18)

These inflections correspond with those of Micmac.

The Delaware inflections do not contain this -nu- morpheme and they are as follows:

Sg.3 -o:kw

Pl.3 -o:kw (Goddard 1969:182)

This -nu- morpheme used to form the negative in the II verb in Micmac and Maliseet is not traceable.

5.5 TI negative

The TI negative paradigm and the corresponding affirmative forms will be displayed in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 - TI affirmative and negative

	Affirmative	Negative
Sg.1	-m(an)	-mu(an)
Sg.2	-mn	-mun
Sg.3	-k	-muk
Dual 1(incl.)	-mu:kw	-mu:kw
Dual 1(excl.)	-mek	-muek
Dual 2	-moq	-muoq
Dual 3	-mi:tič	-mi:ti ^v kw
Pl.1(incl.)	-mu:ti:kw	-mu:ti ^v kw
Pl.1(excl.)	-mu:tiyek	-mu:ti ^v wek
Pl.2	-mu:tiyoq	-mu:ti ^v woq
Pl.3	-mu:ti:tič	-mu:ti:ti ^v kw

The negative morpheme is added directly after the theme -m- and before the inflections. With regard to the position of the negative morpheme in the 3rd person singular an observation can be made. In the 3rd singular of the affirmative the theme -m- is dropped before the inflections are added. In the corresponding negative form this -m- reappears. This reappearance of the -m- may be because in this paradigm the negative morpheme is

inserted after the TI theme. Because of the negative morpheme insertion rule the theme does not get omitted as it does in the affirmative. This insertion rule will be seen more clearly in the TA negative paradigm.

The morphological rule which states that in the 3rd person the -t- of the affirmative goes to a -kʷ- in the negative also occurs in the TI. This can be seen in the 3rd person forms of the dual and plural. The inflection of the 3rd Sg. form already contains a -k.

5.6 psTI negative

The psTI negative can be represented as follows in Table 5.5 with the corresponding affirmative forms.

Table 5.5 -psTI affirmative and negative

	Affirmative	Negative
Sg.1	-u(an)	-u(an)
Sg.2	-u:n	-u:n
Sg.3	-oq	-uk
Dual 1(incl.)	-u:kw	-u:kw
Dual 1(excl.)	-uek	-uek
Dual 2	-uoq	-uoq
Dual 3	-u:tič	-u:ti kw
Pl.1(incl.)	-u:ti:kw	-u:ti kw kw
Pl.1(excl.)	-u:tiyek	-u:tiwek
Pl.2	-u:tiyoq	-u:tiwoq
Pl.3	-u:tičik	-u:ti:ti kw

There is not much difference between the forms of the psTI negative paradigm and the psTI affirmative paradigm. Pacifique notes that the differences lie in all the 3rd person forms (sg., Dual and Pl.) and in the 1st and 2nd person forms of the plural (Pacifique 1939:124). All of the other forms remain the same.

Most of the other forms remain the same because the stem final vowel of the psTI verbs is a -u- and the

thematic element which marks the negative is a -u- (which is sometimes realized as a -w-). There was probably a coalescence of the two markers so the forms remain basically the same. The negative forms can be distinguished from the affirmative forms only by the presence of the negative particle mu which occurs before the verb.

The forms which display differences between the affirmative and the negative are those which are expected to be different and can be explained.

The 3rd person forms of the negative differ from those of the affirmative in that the negative forms display the -k- which is found elsewhere in the 3rd person negative forms. The distinction between -uk and -oq in the 3rd person singular of the negative and affirmative remains a problem.

In the dual and plural forms the original t's (before they were caused to be palatalized to c by the following -i) go to k in the negative because of the morphological rule which states that t > k in 3rd person negative forms. In these two forms the negative marker -w is located at the end of the inflection and not between the stem and inflectional ending.

The inflections given by Pacifique (1939:124) for these two forms are Dual 3 - u:tiwk and Pl.3 - u:ti:tiwk.

The forms given in Table 5.5 above seem to have undergone a metathesis of *wk* to *kw*.

In the Pl.1(incl.) form the negative morpheme is simply added between the stem and the inflection as is the normal formation. The *-u-* is added after the thematic element for plurality (*-ti-*) and thus does not involve any coalescence with the stem final vowel *-u-* as this *-u-* occurs before the plural marker.

In the Pl.1(excl.) and Pl.2 forms the negative forms differ from the affirmative forms in that the negative morpheme *-w-* replaces the *-y-* found in the affirmative forms. This also occurs in the AI and TI negative

5.7 TA negative

The TA negative paradigm and the corresponding affirmative forms will be displayed in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6 - TA affirmative and negative

	Affirmative	Negative
1>3	-(V)k	-aq
2>3	-(V)t	-awt
3>3'	-acl	-akul
1<3	-it	-ikw
2<3	-(V)sk	-uluk
3<3'	-čl	-(V)kukul
21>3	-(V)kw	-ākw
13>3	-(V)kət	-aqat
23>3	-oq	-awoq
33>3'	-a:tičl	-a:tikul
21<3	-ulk	-ulukw
13<3	-inameət	-inamekw
23<3	-ū:loq	-uluoq
33<3'	-(V)kwi:tičl	-(V)kwi:tikul
2>1	-in	-iun
2(3)>13	-iyek	-iwek
23>1	-iyoq	-iwoq
2<1	-ul(n)	-ulu(n)
2(3)<13	-ulek	-uluek
23<1	-uloq	-uluoq

There are some interesting points to be noted with regard to the TA negative and its derivation from the affirmative. The negative is normally formed by adding the negative morpheme -u- before the inflections. With the TA more has to be said about the location of the morpheme as it does not occur simply after the stem.

It should be remembered that the TA is divided into four formal categories each of which is characterized by a different theme sign (Bloomfield 1946:102). These theme signs are thematic elements, just as the negative morpheme is a thematic element. Within the TA it becomes obvious that there is an ordering of thematic elements.

This ordering is best seen in the use of reconstructed formatives. *aw is being proposed as the reconstructed form of the negative.

	PEA	Micmac
2<3	*eθ - aw - k	-uluk
21<3	*eθ - aw - ankw	-ulukw
23<3	*eθ - aw - a:kw	-uluoq
2<1	*eθ - aw - a:n	-ulu(an)
2>1	*iy - aw - an	-iun
2(3)>13	*iy - aw - e:nk	-iuek
	1 2 3	

In the above data 1 = theme sign, 2 = negative morpheme and 3 = inflection. The theme sign *-iy- has previously

been discussed in relation to derivation number 15 in Chapter Four.

The reconstructed PA formatives show that the thematic elements which characterize the TA categories must occur before the thematic element which marks the negative. There is therefore an ordering of thematic elements. Placing the reconstructed formatives in this ordered sequence we may show the derivation of the Micmac TA negative forms.

2<3

*eθ-aw-k > uluk

*eθ > ul

*aw > u

*k > k

This is the expected result.

23<3

*eθ-aw-α:kw > uluoq

*eθ > ul

*aw > u

*α:kw > akw > oq

This is the expected result.

2(3)<13

*iy-aw-e:nk > iuek

*iy > i

*aw > u

*e: > e

*n̄k > k

This is the expected result.

In the TA negative the negative morpheme is inserted after the TA theme signs and before the inflections.

This ordering explains the obvious difference between the affirmative and the negative of the 2<3 form as the derivations of these forms will show.

Affirmative

*ki:šiht-aw-eθ-k > kisitask

*ki:šiht > kisit

*awe > a: > a

*θk > sk

This is the expected result.

Negative

*ki:šiht-aw-eθ-aw-k does not give kisituluk

*ki:šiht > kisit

*aw > u

*eθ > ul

*aw > u

*k > k

The expected form is ksituuluk > ksitu'luk. The ordering does explain the fact that there is the -sk- cluster in the affirmative which does not exist in the

negative as the insertion of the negative morpheme after the theme *eθ results in a different reflex in Micmac.

There are some complications involved in the formation of the TA negative which will not be discussed, but the negative is mostly formed by inserting the negative morpheme after the TA theme sign and before the inflections.

The morphological rule of t going to k in the negative of 3rd person forms is also displayed within the TA paradigm. Some examples of this can be seen in the 3>3' and 33>3' forms.

Some further examples from the TA will give a clear-cut distinction of the elements which follow the stem in a TA negative verb. The examples used will be from the forms which Hockett has labelled "local" (Hockett 1966:65).

	DIRECT		INVERSE
2>1	-i - u - n	2<1	-ul - u - n
2(3)>13	-i - w - ek	2(3)<13	-ul - u - ek
23>1	-i - w - oq	23<1	-ul - u - oq
	D · N P.I.		I · N P.I

D = direct marker

I = inverse marker

N = negative marker

P.I. = personal inflection

These examples also display the clear-cut distinction between the direct and inverse forms.

The derivations of these forms will follow.

2>1

*-iy-aw-an > iun

*iy > i

*aw > u

*n > n

This derivation shows paradigmatic resistance to sound change as there is no contraction between the theme sign *iy and the negative morpheme *aw. They resist contraction and remain distinguishable (this also occurs in the 2(3)>13 and 23>1 forms below). With this explanation the form in Micmac is the expected result.

PEA 2(3)>13

*-iy-aw-e:nk > iwek

*iy > i

*aw > u

*e:nk > ek

This is the expected result.

23>1

*iy-aw-e:kw does not give iwoq

*iy > i

*aw > u

*e:kw > ekw (expect iwekw)

The 2(3)>13 and 23>1 derivations have been discussed in derivations 16 and 17 under Section 4.1.1. A possible

explanation for the final -oq in this form has been presented in derivation 13 under Section 13.

2<1

*eθ-aw-a:n > ulu(an)

*eθ > ul

*aw > u

a:n > an

This is the expected result.

PEA' 2(3)<13

*eθ-aw-e:nk > uluek

*eθ > ul

*aw > u

*e:nk > ek

This is the expected result.

23<1

*eθ-aw-akokw > uluoq

*eθ > ul

*aw > u

*akokw > a:kw by haplology a:kw > akw > oq

This is the expected result.

Though the TA negative does involve some complications the negative in the TA paradigm is still formed in the same way as it is in the other verbal categories.

CHAPTER SIX
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the nominal morphology of Micmac and will include such topics as animate vs. inanimate, plural formations, possession, proximate vs. obviative and the inclusive-exclusive distinction. With regard to possession, the morphology of nominal possession will be compared with the verbal morphology of the subordinative mode.

Micmac has distinctions in nominal gender as nouns are either animate or inanimate.

Depending on whether the noun is animate or inanimate the plural formation will be different.

6.1 Inanimate nouns

Inanimate nouns form their plurals by adding -l, as in the following:

pe'skewey	"gun"	pe'skeweyl	"guns"
nipit	"my tooth"	nipitl	"my teeth"
m̄ini'jk	"berry"	m̄ini'jkl	"berries"
na'kwek	"day"	na'kwekl	"days"

Some inanimate nouns irregularly add -u- before the plural marker as can be seen in the following examples:

puksuk	"firewood"	puksukul	"firewood (pl.)"
wa'w	"eggs"	wa'wul	"eggs"

Inanimate nouns which end in -l simply double the final consonant. Thus the plural of ntul "my boat" is ntull "my boats".

Inanimate nouns ending in an n change the -l inflection into an [n]. The plural marker -l assimilates with the /n/ of the singular form. The result is that the final consonant is doubled as the following examples will indicate:

kwitn	"canoe"	kwitnn	"canoes"
mkisn	"moccasin"	mkisnn	"moccasins"

Inanimate nouns which end in -ew replace this ending with -al when forming the plural as the following examples show:

kun'tew	"rock"	kun'tal	"rocks"
waqan'tew	"bone"	waqan'tal	"bones"

Inanimate nouns which end in a short vowel lengthen this vowel before adding the plural inflection as can be seen in the following examples:

awti	"path"	awti'l	"paths"
sipu	"river"	sipu'l	"rivers"
nsi	"my lip"	nsi'l	"my lips"

6.2 Animate nouns

Animate nouns form their plural by adding the inflectional ending -k as the following examples will show:

piljaqan	"glove"	piljaqank	"gloves"
aqam	"snowshoe"	aqamk	"snowshoes"
ntus	"my daughter"	ntusk	"my daughters"

Some animate nouns irregularly insert -u- before this k as in the following examples:

ji'nm	"man"	ji'nmuk	"men"
tia'm	"moose"	tia'muk	"moose (pl.)"

There are some variations on this formation. Animate nouns which end in -aw change this -aw to -aq to form the plural and animate nouns which end in -a'w form the plural by changing this -a'w to -a'q as the following examples show.

saqamaw	"chief"	saqamaq	"chiefs"
wijaw	"bluefly"	wijaq	"blueflies"
tmoqta'w	"log"	tmoqta'q	"logs"

Some animate nouns irregularly add -aq to form the plural. Some examples of this are:

muin	"bear"	muinaq	"bears"
kopit	"beaver"	kopitaq	"beavers"
kiwnik	"otter"	kiwnikaq	"otters"

As with the inanimate nouns, animate nouns which end in a short vowel lengthen this vowel before adding the plural inflections as the following examples indicate:

a'pi	"net"	a'pi'k	"nets"
galipu	"caribou"	galipu'k	"caribou (pl.)"
nqosi	"my nail"	nqosi'k	"my nails"

Some of the above examples are examples of possessed nouns and it should be noted that possessed nouns form their plurals the same way as other nouns.

6.3 Possession

Possessed nouns in Micmac are indicated by means of a personal prefix. These personal prefixes mark the person of the possessor.

The 1st person prefix is n- as in ntul "my boat". The prefix of the 1st person always contains this n element but before a noun which starts with a vowel this n usually becomes nt as in ntaqam "my snowshoe".

The 2nd person prefix is k- as in ktul "your boat". This k is always part of the 2nd person prefix and becomes kt before a noun which starts with a vowel such as ktaqam "your snowshoe". A purely phonetic prothetic vowel normally precedes such initial consonant cluster.

The 3rd person prefix is w- as in wtul "his boat". This w is always contained in the 3rd person prefix but

before a noun which starts with a vowel this becomes wt as in wtaqaml "his snowshoe".

Some possessed forms in Micmac contain a possessive suffix -m, which is only added to certain nouns. There does not appear to be any patterning as to which possessed nouns it is added to and which possessed nouns it is not added to. Some examples of nouns which contain this possessive suffix follow:

nta'pim	"my net"
n'te'sipowm	"my horse"
npatalutim	"my table"
nkwitnm	"my canoe"
n'te'pitem	"my wife"
nji'nimum	"my husband"

The forms for "my father" nujj and "my mother" nkij do not contain this possessive suffix whereas the forms for "my wife" and "my husband" do contain this suffix. There is a possibility that the possessive suffix is used with alienable possession and not with inalienable possession.

Some nouns are only found in their possessed forms and these are called dependent nouns. In Micmac, for example, there is no word for "father" but only for "my father", "his father" etc. It is most often nouns representing body parts and relatives which are dependent. Bloomfield noted that dependent nouns are used for denoting body

parts and some intimate possessions as well as relatives (Bloomfield 1946:96). Bloomfield has reconstructed this type of noun for PA based on the fact that it is adequately represented in the Algonkian daughter languages.

In cases such as noun *i:limu'j* "dog" the noun is never used as a possessed form. The possessed forms are as follows:

nti	"my dog"
kti	"your dog"
wti'l	"his dog"

A different stem is used in the possessed forms and this stem cannot be used unless it is a possessed stem.

This is a common occurrence in Algonkian languages. In Montagnais, for example, "The noun *atum* 'dog' has an irregular possessed stem *-tem*, as in *nitem* 'my dog'. Elsewhere the stem is regular, as in *atumut* 'dogs'." (Clarke 1982a:28)

6.4 Plural possessors

When the possessor becomes plural a distinction is made between 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive. The 1st person inclusive includes the person spoken to so "we" = "you and I" whereas the 1st person exclusive excludes the person spoken to so "we" = "he and I". The 1st exclusive pronoun is *ninen* while the 1st inclusive

pronoun is kinu. The prefix for the inclusive is the same /-k/ that is used for second person (i.e. the person spoken to). The prefix used for the 1st person exclusive is the expected n which is the normal prefix for 1st person.

Nouns which have plural possessors have both prefixes and suffixes and these forms are as follows:

	Inanimate	Animate
our (incl.)	k- <u>in</u> u	k-inu
our (excl.)	n-inen	n-inen
your (pl.)	k-wow	k-wow
their	w-wow	w-wal

When both the possessor and the possessee are plural the forms are as follows:

	Inanimate	Animate
our (incl.)	k-inal	k-inaq
our (excl.)	n-inal	n-inaq
your (pl.)	k-wal	k-waq
their	w-wal	w-wa

In the 3rd person plural animate form the loss of the -q (a morphophonemic alternant of the regular k that marks the animate plural) indicates that this is an obviative form.

The nominal paradigms which follow in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 will display the range of combinations in Micmac possession with regard to person and number.

Table 6.1 - Inanimate possession

ntul	"my boat"
ktul	"your boat"
wtul	"his boat"
ktulinu	"our (incl.) boat"
ntulinen	"our (excl.) boat"
ktulwow	"your (pl.) boat"
wtulwow	"their boat"
ntull	"my boats"
ktull	"your boats"
wtull	"his boats"
ktulinal	"our (incl.) boats"
ntulinal	"our (excl.) boats"
ktulwal	"your (pl.) boats"
wtulwal	"their boats"

Table 6.2 - Animate possession

ntus	"my 'daughter"
ktus	"your daughter"
wtusl	"his daughter"
Ktusinu	"our (incl.) daughter"
ntusinen	"our (excl.) daughter"
ktusow	"your (pl.) daughter"
wtuswal	"their daughter"
ntusk	"my daughters"
ktusk	"your daughters"
wtus	"his daughters"
ktusinaq	"our (incl.) daughters"
ntusinaq	"our (excl.) daughters"
ktuswaq	"your (pl.) daughters"
wtuswa	"their daughters"

6.5 Obviative.

In Algonkian languages, "If an animate third person occurs in a phrase, any other animate third person...has a distinguishing form, the obviative." (Bloomfield 1946:94)

This distinction of proximate and obviative is explained clearly and concisely in Hewson's 1982 article "Fundamentals of Micmac Phonology and Morphology" (210-211). The following discussion of proximate and obviative is taken mainly from this article.

It is necessary that the possessor and the possessee differ grammatically. The differences in an inanimate possessed noun can be seen below:

		Possessor		Possessee
ntul	"my boat"	1st	-----	3rd inanimate
ktul	"your boat"	2nd	-----	3rd inanimate
wtul	"his boat"	3rd animate	-----	3rd inanimate

(Hewson 1982:210)

In the form wtul both the possessor and the possessee are 3rd person but the rule which states that the possessor and the possessee must differ grammatically is fulfilled by the fact that they are of different genders. The possessor is animate and the possessee is inanimate.

The grammatical difference between possessor and possessee becomes eliminated when both the possessor and

the possessee are animate. This situation will be seen in the 3rd person form in the paradigm below:

	Possessor	Possessee
ntus "my daughter"	1st -----	3rd proximate
ktus "your daughter"	2nd -----	3rd proximate
wtusl "his daughter"	3rd proximate -----	3rd obviative

(Hewson 1982:211)

In the form wtusl both the possessor and the possessee are 3rd person forms; to satisfy the rule that they must be grammatically different the second 3rd person (the possessee) form becomes obviative. /-(ə)l/ is the morphological marker of the obviative. The 3rd person form which is in focus is the proximate, whereas any other 3rd person form in the same sentence necessarily becomes out of focus and this 3rd person is the obviative. (Hewson 1982:211). "A third-person noun or pronoun becomes obviative...when it is not the most prominent subject or topic of discourse." (Clarke 1982a:30)

The obviative plural is formed by removing the -l (or -n, in some forms) of the obviative singular. Any vowel which was lengthened to form the obviative singular remains long in the obviative plural. The normal /-k/ of the animate plural is not always used but it is found in certain dialects such as the modern Restigouche dialect.

6.6 Other nominal morphology

Diminutives of nouns are formed by adding the suffix -ji:j or -si:s. The plural is formed regularly after this suffix is added. Some examples of this follow:

miawj	"cat"
miawjk	"cats"
miawji'j	"little cat (kitten)"
miawji'jk	"kittens"
nɛme'j	"fish"
nɛme'jk	"fish (pl.)"
nɛme'ji'j	"little fish"
nɛme'ji'jk	"little fish (pl.)"
sipu	"river"
sipu'l	"rivers"
sipu'si's	"little river (stream)"
sipu'si'sl	"streams"

Within the nominal morphology of Micmac there is also an absentative marker which corresponds to the verbal absentative. The morphological marker is added to nouns which refer to people or things which are inaccessible.

These markers are -aq for animate nouns such as lnuaq "inaccessible man" and -ik or -kik for animate plural nouns such as lnukik "the inaccessible men". -eq is the absentative marker used for proper nouns such as Malioq

"Ma'ry who is inaccessible" and the plural of this is either -ik or -kik. Inanimate nouns are marked for the absentative by adding the marker -e'k such as in pipnaqane'k "inaccessible bread (sing.*)" and the plural marker is -e'ki as in pipnaqane'ki "inaccessible bread (pl.*)" (Pacifique 1939:42).

Pacifique also presents a discussion of what he calls case in Micmac. What he labels the accusatif is actually the obviative which has already been discussed. Micmac also has a locative case which is marked by the morpheme -k which is added word-finally. Maqmikew means "earth" while maqmikewek means "on the earth". If the noun ends in a -k then nothing is added (Pacifique 1939:44-46).

Micmac also has a case which Pacifique labels the vocatif. In the singular the vocative is used only with a few nouns which express relationship. The vocative is mainly used in the plural in public address such as in making speeches. In the plural the vocative is formed simply by removing the -k of the regular plural and adding -tut (Pacifique 1939:46).

6.7 Historical derivation

Bloomfield has reconstructed the prefixes and the inflectional endings for the nominal paradigm (Bloomfield 1946:95-96). Table 6.3 will display a representative

paradigm of possession of a singular animate noun, showing a comparison of Bloomfield's reconstructed PA forms and the Micmac forms.

Table 6.3 - PA animate possession¹

	Micmac	Bloomfield's PA
Sg.1	n(t)-∅	*ne(t)-a
Sg.2	k(t)-∅	*ke(t)-a
Sg.3	w(t)-l	*we(t)-ali
Pl.1(incl.)	k(t)-inu	*ke(t)-ena:na
Pl.1(excl.)	n(t)-inen	*ne(t)-ena:na
Pl.2	k(t)-wow	*ke(t)-wa:wa
Pl.3	w(t)-wal	*we(t)-wa:wali

The derivations of the Micmac forms from the PA forms follow:

Sg.1

*ne(t)-a > n(t)-∅

*n > n

*e > ə > ∅

*t > t

final vowel lost

This is the expected result.

Sg.2

*ke(t)-a > k(t)-∅

*k > k

*e > ə > ∅

*t > t

final vowel lost

This is the expected result.

Sg.3

*we(t)-ali > w(t)-l

*w > w

*e > ə > ∅

*a > ə > ∅

*l > l

final vowel lost

This is the expected result.

Pl.1(incl.)

*ke(t)-ena:na will not give k(t)-inu

*k > k

*e > ə > ∅

*t > t

*n > n

*a: > a

final vowel lost

(expect k(t)-nan)

See discussion below.

Pl.1(excl.)

*ne(t)-ena:na does not give n(t)-inen

*n > n

*e > ə > ø

*t > t

*a: > a

final vowel lost

(expect n(t)-nan)

See discussion below.

Pl.2

*ke(t)-wa:wa > k(t)-wow

*k > k

*e > ə > ø

*t > t

*w > w

*a: > a

a > o / w ___ w

final vowel lost

This is the expected result.

Pl.3

*we(t)-wa:wali does not give w(t)-wal

*w > w

*e > ə > ø

*t > t

*a: > a

*a > ə > ø

*l > l

final vowel lost

a > o / w ___ w (expect w(t)-wowl)

This Pl.3 form in Micmac could be derived simply by postulating that haplology occurred. If this was the case then Micmac does display the expected result.

The Micmac morphology of possession is a reflex of the PA morphology of possession. The only forms which involve difficulties are the 1st person plural forms. It is not possible to derive the Micmac endings from those which were reconstructed by Bloomfield for PA. This problem with Bloomfield's reconstructions of the 1st person plural forms has already been discussed with regard to the AI subordinative in Chapter 2. The situation is slightly different with regard to nominal possession.

Once again data from Cree will be brought into the discussion because Cree like Micmac retains the distinction between 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive in the nominal paradigm of possession. This data is as follows:

	Micmac	Cree
1(incl.)	k(t)-inu	ki(t)-inaw
1(excl.)	n(t)-inen	ni(t)-ina:n

These nominal endings are what have been labelled n-endings and therefore they are related morphologically to the n-endings which were found in the subordinative mode. Because of this morphological relation it is possible to incorporate ideas from Proulx's 1980 article on the

subordinative mode. Proulx's phonological correspondence of *aye giving a: in Cree and e in Micmac is pertinent to reconstructing the 1st person exclusive form. Thus a possible reconstruction of the form would be *ne(t)-Vnayen. Both the Cree and Micmac forms are derivable from it as can be seen in the following derivations:

Pl. 1(excl.)

MICMAC *ne(t)-Vnayen > n(t)-inen

*ne(t) > n(t)

*V > V

*n > n

*aye > e

This is the expected result.

CREE *ne(t)-Vnayen > ni(t)-ina:n

*ne(t) > ni(t)

*V > V

*n > n

*aye > a:

This is the expected result.

A possible reconstruction for the 1st person inclusive would be *Kê(t)-Vnâw as both the Micmac and Cree forms can be derived from it as the following derivations show:

PL.1(incl.)

MIGMAC *ke(t)-Vnaw > k(t)-inu

*ke(t) > k(t)

*v > v

*n > n

*aw > u

This is the expected result.

CREE *ke(t)-Vnaw > ki(t)-inaw

*ke(t) > ki(t)

*v > v

*n > n

*aw > aw

This is the expected result.

These reconstructions have been based on data present in only two Algonkian daughter languages which causes them to be rather weak reconstructions. According to Weggelaar (1974) Arapaho also retains the distinction between the 1st person inclusive and exclusive forms. He did not present the forms but the fact that the distinction exists in Arapaho adds some strength to a reconstruction of a distinction in PA.

Table 6.4 will display the paradigm of possession from the other Eastern Algonkian languages along with PA reconstructions. The forms given include only the inflections and not the prefixes. The reconstructions used will be

from Bloomfield except for the 1st person plural forms.

Table 6.4 - EA possession

	Mc.	Ab.	Mal.	Del.	PA
Sg.1	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	*-a
Sg.2	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	*-a
Sg.3	-l	-a	-əl	-a	*-ali
Pl.1(incl.)	-inu	-na	-ən	-əna	*-Vnaw
Pl.1(excl.)	-inen	-na	-ən	-əna	*-Vnayen
Pl.2	-wov	-wō	-əwa	-əwa	*-wa:wa
Pl.3	-wal	-wō	-əwal	-əwo:o	*-wa:wali

As with the Micmac forms the 1st and 2nd person singular possessors of the other EA languages simply lose the final vowel of the PA form.

The 3rd person obviative forms in the Eastern Algonkian languages display a pattern which is common to other Algonkian languages. Siebert in his 1975 article "Resurrecting Virginia Algonquian from the Dead: The Reconstituted and Historical Phonology of Powhatan" discusses the obviative forms. Some languages retain the PA situation of distinguishing number in the obviative as in Micmac and Maliseet. The languages which did not retain this situation did either one of two things. They either generalized the PA obviative singular marker *ali or they generalized the PA plural marker *ahi (Siebert

1975:419). Languages like Menominee generalized the PA singular obviative marker *ali while Abenaki and Delaware seem to have generalized the PA plural obviative marker *ahi. This explains why Micmac and Maliseet have an l in their 3rd person with singular possessee while Abenaki and Delaware do not.

The other Eastern Algonkian languages have collapsed the distinction between the 1st person inclusive and the 1st person exclusive forms. Also the forms have been reduced to such an extent that it is difficult to discern whether they are derived from the PA inclusive or exclusive ending.

Most of the inflections of the 2nd plural form possessor in the Eastern Algonkian languages are derivable from Bloomfield's reconstructed form. The Micmac form has already been shown to be a reflex of the PA form. Maliseet and Delaware both display -wa as the reflex of PA *-wa:w. The initial schwa in the reflexes is not derivable but *w > w and *a: > a. The final *w is lost in Delaware and Maliseet. The ø in Abenaki is easily explained by a phonological correspondence which Goddard presented in his article "The Eastern Algonquian Intrusive Nasal". Goddard states this correspondence as follows: "In Abenaki original *a regularly shows up as a low back nasalized vowel." (Goddard 1965:289). There are some

problems with deriving the Eastern Algonkian forms of the 3rd plural possessor forms from Bloomfield's reconstructed form. Micmac and Maliseet retain a reflex of the PA singular obviative marker *ali. Maliseet and Micmac underwent contractions. The Delaware form appears to have been reshaped. The Abenaki form still displays the results of *a: > ɔ and it too has undergone contractions.

Even though there are some problems, the reflexes still retain enough of the PA morphology to indicate that they are related.

Based on all of the above data and discussion it can be stated that the morphology of the Eastern Algonkian paradigm of possession is a reflex of the morphology of the PA paradigm of possession.

6.8 Comparison with the subordinative

In this section a comparison will be made between the Micmac nominal morphology of possession and the verbal morphology of the AI subordinative.

The paradigms in Table 6.5 will be schematic representations including only the prefixes and inflections. This generalization will allow for ease of comparison. The plural forms for the animate possession paradigm have a plural possessor and a singular possessee. The corresponding forms in the verbal paradigm are in fact dual forms and these have been used because they correspond morphologically.

Table 6.5 - Comparison between possession and subordinative

	Animate Possession	Subordinative Inflections
Sg.1	n(t)-∅	n(t)-Vn
Sg.2	k(t)-∅	k(t)-Vn
Sg.3	w(t)-l	w(t)-Vn
Pl.1(incl.)	k(t)-inu	k(t)-Vnenu
Pl.1(excl.)	n(t)-inen	n(t)-Vnen
Pl.2	k(t)-wow	k(t)-Vnew
Pl.3	w(t)-wal	w(t)-Vnew

There are some obvious similarities between the morphology of animate possession and the subordinative inflections in Micmac. They are related in that the

morphology of both contains prefixes which are identical. The subordinative is the only verbal paradigm in Micmac which has personal prefixes throughout. Both paradigms are also morphologically marked by the presence of n-endings. These similarities would seem to indicate some sort of connection between the nominal morphology of possession and the verbal morphology of the subordinative mode.

This same type of situation occurs in the Central languages where both the indicative paradigm and the possessive paradigm are morphologically marked by prefixes and n-endings. Weggelaar (1974) and Frantz (1974) present a discussion of this type of situation. Weggelaar claims that Goddard's "objective" (Goddard 1967) is related to the possession of the animate noun and Frantz makes the claim that "... the 'objective' paradigm consists of affixes from a type of derived noun." (Frantz 1974:253)

The subordinative is formed by adding an -n- element after the stem final vowel and before the n-endings. The set of plural endings (the n-endings) that is added after the stem final vowel in the subordinative resembles the markers of plural possession in the noun.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to trace the derivation of both the nominal and the verbal morphology of Micmac. Micmac morphology was compared with Bloomfield's reconstructed morphology of Proto-Algonkian with an intent to discern how much of this PA morphology Micmac has retained and how much innovation has been carried out. Data from the other Eastern Algonkian languages was presented where it was considered relevant. This Eastern data was used primarily to help give insight into whether what seemed to be Micmac innovations were in fact innovations of the Eastern Algonkian group of languages.

The morphology of Micmac has sometimes been considered to be very divergent from that which was reconstructed by Bloomfield for PA; this thesis has shown that this is not the case. When the phonological evolution of Micmac is taken into consideration it can be seen that it is here that Micmac is so very radical. When this phonological derivation of Micmac is better understood it can be seen that the Micmac morphology only appears divergent on the surface because of the complexities of the phonological evolution. Micmac morphology also appears divergent when compared to Bloomfield's Proto-Algonkian reconstructions

because Bloomfield based his reconstructions on four of the Central Algonkian languages and did not take into account the languages of the Eastern group. At times throughout the thesis forms for Proto-Eastern Algonkian were reconstructed based on Micmac, Delaware, Maliseet and Abenaki and these forms took into account the phonological derivations of these languages and not simply the Central languages. Micmac verbal morphology appears to be divergent because the Micmac independent is derived from the PA conjunct mode. Until this is understood, Micmac independent verbal morphology seems to be an innovation of Micmac when in fact it is a reflex of the PA conjunct.

Micmac appears to be fairly conservative with regard to its historical morphology as it does in fact retain much of the morphology of Proto-Algonkian as was seen in instances such as the nominal morphology of possession, and such verb tenses and modes as the imperative, preterite etc. Micmac is actually very conservative in that it retains the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the inflections and it also retains the obviative singular and obviative plural distinctions. These distinctions are collapsed in most other Algonkian daughter languages. In some cases where the Micmac morphology appeared to be an innovation, data from other Eastern Algonkian languages was studied and at times the innovation was discovered to be an

Eastern innovation such as was the case with the absentative, jussive, subordinative and the negative. Micmac has innovated some of its morphology such as the complete and distinct paradigm of the future but these completely Micmac innovations are in the minority.

One may conclude, therefore, that Micmac morphology is very much that of a typical Algonkian language, and does in fact retain common elements that are frequently lost or levelled in other Algonkian languages.

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