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OBVIATION IN MICHIF

Deborah Weaver

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

Algonquian languages are usually said to have two types of third persons.

Whenever two third persons of animate gender interact within a stretch of discourse or contextual span they are distinguished semantically, syntactically, and morphologically. One of them is in focus, the other peripheral... (Wolfart 1978, p. 255)

The third person in "focus" is usually said to be proximate while the peripheral one is said to be obviative.

This proximate/obviative distinction can be seen in the following Plains Cree examples, the first one provided by Bloomfield (1946, p. 94), the second provided by Wolfart (1978, p. 256):

- 1.1 /okima:w iskwe:wa kitote:w/
'the chief talks to the woman'
- 1.2 /okima:wa iskwe:w kitotik/
'the chief talks to the woman'

Both of these sentences are glossed the same way, but as Wolfart points out when he presents them, in 1.1 /okima:w/

'chief' is unmarked, while /iskwe:wa/ 'woman' has the suffix /-wa/. In 1.2 the exact opposite is true, with /okima:wa/ having the suffix. The only semantic difference between 1.1 and 1.2 is that in 1.1 'chief' is in "focus", while in 1.2 'woman' is. Wolfart (1978, p. 256) illustrates this by an "exaggerated translational paraphrase" of 1.2: 'it is the woman the chief talks to'.

Obviation is fairly easy to identify once it has occurred, since it is clearly marked on both the noun and the verb, but is far more difficult to predict or even explain. Most Algonquianists have given it a cursory treatment, merely stating that it exists, without making an attempt to define the environment(s) which determine it, or even in which it is likely to occur. The attempts they have made to specify adequately the conditions under which it occurs have often failed to account for the frequent cases when obviation seems to be called for but it does not occur (Wolfart 1973).

Delisle (1973) and Rhodes (1976a), however, have attempted to account for the occurrence of obviative forms in Chippewa (Ojibwa) within a unified system of rules that account for all the surface forms. Rhodes most clearly defines the environments in which obviation occurs and writes rules to predict its occurrence. Also Wolfart (1973) has done a great deal of work in accounting for the apparent cases of "neutralization" of the proximate/obviative distinction in Plains Cree.

The purpose of my study is to investigate the occurrence of obviation in Michif, which is a dialect or language that evolved out of the contact between Europeans and Native Americans, primarily the French and the Cree. It is an unusual if not unique linguistic product, its entire noun phrase coming from French, and its verb phrase and overall syntax coming from Cree, albeit with considerable French influence. It is spoken on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in north-central North Dakota.

Crawford (1976, p. 3) states that:

The Michif of North Dakota are essentially the same group as the Metis or mixed bloods of Canada, the word "Michif" itself being a dialectical variant of "Metis" used by residents of Turtle Mountain to identify themselves. It thus serves very well to label the relationship between the North Dakota residents and the larger "Metis" group; it also quite clearly keeps in focus that the subject of discussion is the variety of language spoken on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. It is to this we apply the term "Michif."

Residents of the reservation and its dependents make a distinction between "Michif" and "full-bloods," but the distinction is not so much one of blood, as one of language and culture. "Full-bloods" are those whose roots are primarily in the language and culture of the Ojibwa group, although

many have Michif in their family tree. "Full-bloods" are in the minority on the Turtle Mountain Reservation and, prior to English becoming the dominant language on the reservation, used Michif when dealing with the Michif, rather than the Michif learning Chippewa (Ben Carrington, Turtle Mountain Community College, pers. comm.).

Research in Michif has been primarily done by John Crawford and graduate students working with him. Crawford's publications include "Michif: a new language" (1976) and "Standardization of orthography in Michif" (1978). He is also the co-author, along with Ida Rose Allard and Patline Laverdure of the Turtle Mountain Cree (Michif) Dictionary (in preparation). Theses written or being written on Michif are The relationship between conceptual outlooks and the linguistic description of disease and its treatment among the Chippewa and/or Cree Indians of the Turtle Mountain Reservation (Boteler); The French of the French Cree language (Peske); Coexistent systems: the evidence from Michif (Andrella); and Discourse analysis of a Michif legend (Speers). Other papers done on Michif include "On coexistence and assimilation in two phonological systems in Michif" (Evans) and "French Cree--a case of borrowing" (Rhodes 1976b). The latter paper is especially important for the study of obviation as it includes an excellent chart of Michif verb inflections. These provided a basis for comparison with my own data and in many cases helped resolve the ambiguities in

my data. There is also an unpublished volume of papers dealing with Michif by students of The Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session (Bitterman et al. 1976).

My interest in Michif began in 1980 in a field methods class at The Summer Institute of Linguistics. At that time I, along with other students in the course, attempted to elicit obviative forms with little or no success. One reason for this difficulty was that while Michif has preserved most of the distinctions of Plains Cree in its verb paradigms (Rhodes 1976b), its noun phrase is French. It could be expected that with the loss of most of the Cree nouns, the cross-referencing system, including obviative inflection would fail to transfer over to the French nouns, making it difficult to elicit obviative forms in the verb paradigm. With a lack of obviative inflection on nouns, one might suppose that these forms could have been lost on verbs. However, obviative inflection does occasionally occur, especially on the few existing Cree nouns, making the question of how to predict their occurrence one worthy of exploration.

More significant than the inherent structure of the language in making obviative forms hard to discover are the sociolinguistic factors surrounding the current use of Michif on the reservation. As previously mentioned, English is the main vehicle of communication on the reservation.

What led to the demise of Michif as the dominant speech mode of the reservation is a complex question. Many residents I spoke to attributed this to the fact that in the past children were forced to go away to boarding schools where the use of any language other than English was forbidden. While this may have been a factor, it does not adequately explain why children abandoned speaking Michif at home, nor why many parents refused to speak Michif to their children, creating a situation where little communication occurred because the parents were unable to communicate well in English. It is also doubtful that children were unable to speak Michif at boarding school at all. One woman whose foster parents spoke French, reportedly learned Michif from the other children at boarding school and today is a very fluent speaker of the language.

Because of this situation, the linguist often finds it difficult to get an accurate picture of Michif structure. Since Michif is used mainly within individual family groups, at times it seems like each family speaks a different dialect. English is the acceptable mode of communication outside the family, making it difficult to obtain data. Thus the linguist may have to rely on translations of isolated, unrelated sentences. Since English has nothing like the proximate/obviative distinction, it is difficult to find in such translations. The novice must proceed with caution in assuming that because she or he has been unable to elicit a

form that it does not occur. This is true in any language learning situation, but even more true in a situation as complex as this one.

Whether or not a person uses obviative forms may be affected by many factors. The degree to which speakers are able to use the language to express themselves and interact with other people could be expected to influence the degree to which they use features, like obviation, that often serve a discourse level function, (Rhodes 1976a). The same could be said for the degree to which speakers actually use the language, which in this particular sociolinguistic situation is often less than they are capable of using it. Some people do not think of Michif as a language, but as bits and pieces of other languages, preferring not to use the language on a regular basis.

The degree of fluency and current use of the language may be expected to correlate with the degree to which morphological leveling of several types has occurred. Some speakers preserve the full range of person affixes and are therefore most likely to also preserve obviative forms. Others exhibit a leveling of person prefixes and tense markers and are more likely to neutralize the proximate/obviative distinction. Some speakers use Cree possessive markers on the few remaining Cree nouns including the expected obviative ending:

1.3 /u:mushuma/

'her/his/their grandfather'

while others use French possessive markers:

1.4 /su mushum/

'her/his/their grandfather'

In this study of obviation in Michif a questionnaire (see Appendix A) was used which takes these factors into consideration. The first section of the questionnaire was designed to establish the above factors for each person interviewed. Although I was limited by the availability of speakers, I was able to find a fairly good cross-section of people in terms of age, fluency, use and attitude.

The second part of the questionnaire used in this study was designed in the hopes of providing the optimal environment for the production of obviative forms. In order to do this, it was necessary to first understand the verb morphology and how obviation fits into that. This is presented in Chapter II. Secondly, it was very important to establish what the motivating environments for obviation are in other Algonquian languages. This is presented in Chapter III.

The rationale behind the questionnaire, its results and the conclusions that may be drawn from it are in Chapter IV. Beyond describing the occurrence of obviation in Michif, this study demonstrates the importance of taking sociolinguistic factors into consideration in language work and of designing elicitation techniques that reflect the structure of the language being studied rather than that of the language being used as a medium for elicitation.

Chapter II

MICHIF VERB MORPHOLOGY

Michif, like all Algonquian languages has four basic types of verbs: inanimate intransitive (II); animate intransitive (AI); transitive inanimate (TI); and transitive animate (TA).¹ In independent clauses non-TA verbs are marked for agreement with only one nominal, while TA verbs are marked for agreement with two. Non-TA verbs will be discussed first.

Inanimate intransitive verbs are marked to agree in person and number with an inanimate third person subject:²

2.1³ /lɪlɪvr wihtinikate:w/

'the book is open'

2.2 /lɪlɪvr wihtinikate:wa/

'the books are open'

Animate intransitive verbs agree with an animate subject:

¹ Animacy of verbs is determined by the syntactic gender of the final absolutive of the clause.

² Unless otherwise indicated, subject refers to "final" subject. The distinction between initial and final grammatical relations is discussed below in dealing with TA verbs.

³ The orthography used in this study is after Rhodes (1976b), with the exception of the use of V: to mark length on vocoids and the use of /c/ for voiceless alveolar aspirated affricates.

2.3 /kinipa:n/

'You(s) are sleeping'

2.4 /dinipa:n/

'I am sleeping'

Transitive inanimate verbs have inanimate direct objects, but like intransitive verbs are inflected to agree only with the subject:

2.5 /lɪlɪvr kiyatawe:w/

'she/he bought the book'

2.6 /lɪlɪvr kiyatawe:wak/

'they bought the book'

Non-TA verbs have one prefix position and two suffix positions. The prefix shows agreement with the final subject of the clause.

2.7⁴ Final Subject (FS)

ki- 2

ni- 1

Final Subject marking applies disjunctively: If there is a second person participant (2 singular, 2 plural or 1 plural inclusive) then the prefix /ki-/ occurs. If there is no

⁴ In glosses: 1=first person, 2=second person, 3=third person, poss=possessor, p=plural, s=singular, A=animate, I=inanimate, Def=definite article, Indef=indefinite article, M=masculine, F=feminine, PST=past.

second person participant, but there is a first person participant, then /ni-/ occurs. Otherwise (in the case of the third person alone), no prefix occurs. All sets of markers given below apply disjunctively unless specified otherwise. The first order suffix marks the final subject as either +/- speech act participant (SAP):⁵

2.8⁶ Speech Act Participation (SAP)

| | |
|----|------|
| -n | +SAP |
| -w | -SAP |

The second order suffix marks plurality of the final subject.

2.9 Plurals (PLUR)

| | |
|---------|-----|
| -a:n | 1p |
| -a:wa:w | 2p |
| -ak | 3Ap |
| -a | 3Ip |

This is because there are three possible speech act participant plurals in Michif. The only difference between the inclusive and the exclusive plural is the prefix. The disjunct ordering of that set allows /ni-/ to specifically

⁵ The traditional Bloomfieldian approach uses the terms local and nonlocal. Speech act participant (Hymes 1972), however, more accurately reflects the nature of the distinction made here between the speaker and addressee as opposed to other referents of the discourse.

⁶ The allomorphs for TI am stems are /-ǣ:n/ +SAP and /-am/-SAP.

exclude the addressee, or second person from the clause (2.10). The only difference between the inclusive plural and the second person plural is the suffix. Because of disjunct ordering, when /-a:wa:w/ is used, the speaker, or first person is specifically excluded from the clause (2.12). In the inclusive plural neither is excluded as the first marker in both sets is chosen (2.11).

2.10 /dinipa:na:n/
 ni-nipa:-n-a:n⁷
 1:sleep,A:+SAP:lp
 'We(exc) are sleeping'

2.11 /kinipa:na:n/
 ki-nipa:-n-a:n
 2:sleep,A:+SAP:lp
 'We(inc) are sleeping'

2.12 /kinipa:na:wa:w/
 ki-nipa:-n-a:wa:w
 2:sleep,A:+SAP:2p
 'You(pl) are sleeping'

The morpheme order in non-TA verbs is:

2.13 FS TENSE STEM SAP PLUR

⁷ In some dialects the /ni-/ becomes /di-/ before a verb beginning with an /n/. Others simply delete the prefix, thus: /nipa:n/.

Other examples of non-TA verbs are:

2.14 /lɪlɪvr wihtinika:te:w/

lɪ-lɪvr wihtinika:t-e:w

DefM:book open,I:-SAP

'the book is open'

2.15 /kinipa:n/

ki-nipa:-n

2:sleep,A:+SAP

'You(s) are sleeping'

2.16 /dinipa:n/

ni-nipa:-n

1:sleep,A:+SAP

'I am sleeping'

2.17 /kiyatawe:w lɪlɪvr/

ki-atawe:-w lɪ-lɪvr

PST:buy,I:-SAP DefM:book

'she/he bought the book'

2.18 /kiyatawe:wak lɪlɪvr/

ki-atawe:-w-ak lɪ-lɪvr

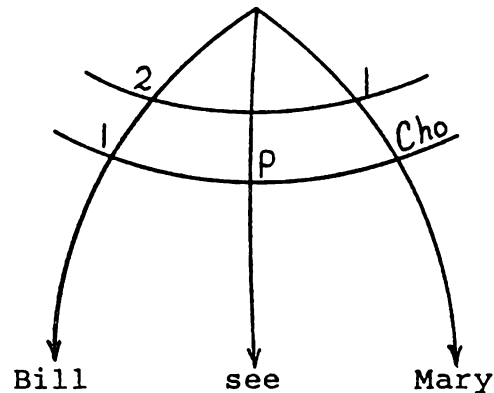
PST:buy,I:-SAP:3Ap DefM:book

'They bought the book'

TA verbs, like non-TA verbs, agree with final subjects,

but they also agree with the other nuclear⁸ term. Nuclear terms are nominals that bear the subject or object relation to the verb at some level. Relational grammar (Perlmutter 1978, 1980; Perlmutter and Postal 1977, to appear) proposes that NP's in passive sentences like 'Bill was seen by Mary' bear two relations to the clause. 'Bill' is the final subject, or 1 of the clause,⁹ but is the initial 2 of the clause. 'Mary', on the other hand is the initial 1 of the clause, but bears the chômeur relation in the final stratum. This can be represented by the following diagram:

2.19



Languages can, and do, mark both initial and final relations. In English, 1-chômeurs are marked by the preposition 'by'. Relational grammar proposes that the universal definition of passive is a 2 to 1 advancement.

⁸ Only if the other nuclear term is animate.

⁹ Relational grammarians use the following notation to refer to final terms: subject=1; direct object=2; indirect object=3. Initial relations are determined, primarily, by their semantic roles (Perlmutter 1978).

This theory helps explain a difficulty of Algonquian grammar. In Michif, 'You see me' is represented as:

2.20 /kiwa:pamin/
ki-wa:pam-in

The prefix /ki-/, 2nd person, is the same as found in the Final Subject set (2.7) of non-TA verbs, so the assumption can be made that /-in/ refers to the first person object. However, the representation of 'I see you' is:

2.21 /kiwa:pamitin/
ki-wa:pam-it-in

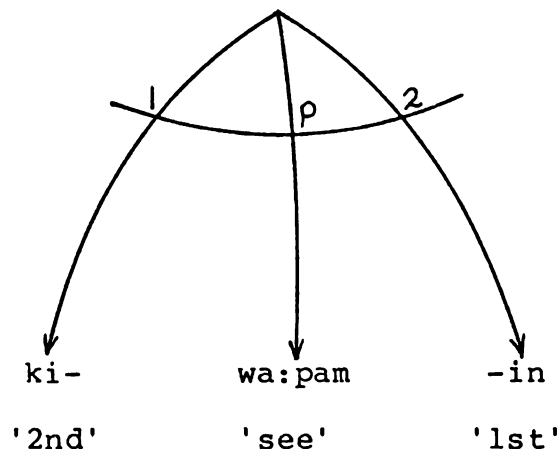
If we tried to gloss this from what we have assumed up until now, we would say that /ki-/ still refers to 'you' as subject, and that /-in/ refers to a first person as object. However, the glosses indicate the opposite is true. The only difference between 2.20 and 2.21 is the marker /-it/. Traditional analyses have called this an inverse marker (Wolfart, 1973), meaning it indicates that the action of the verb in the clause is proceeding from the "right" (the person marked by the suffix) to the "left" (the person marked by the prefix).

Whether a form will be "inverse," or its opposite "direct," depends on its position in a hierarchy, which in descending order is: second person, first person, third person, third person obviative. If the initial 1 is higher on

the scale than the initial 2, a direct form is used. However, if the initial 1 is lower on the scale, the inverse form must be used. Rhodes (1976a) has proposed that if it is assumed that the prefix shows agreement with the final subject, the inverse marker can be reinterpreted as a passive marker. This would mean that there is an obligatory 2 to 1 advancement in Algonquian when the initial 2 is above the initial 1 on the hierarchy.

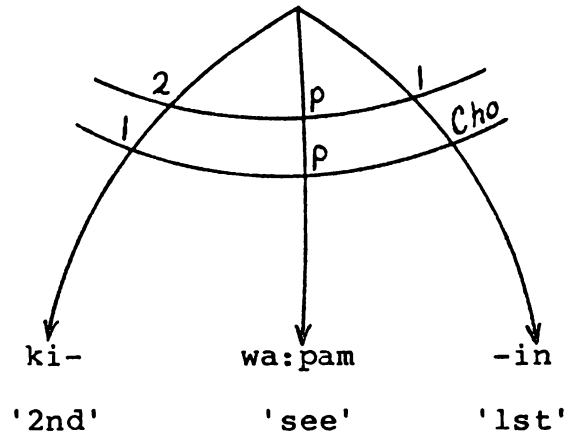
To illustrate this it is necessary first of all to look at the structure of clauses where the passivization does not occur. Sentence 2.20 has the structure shown in 2.22. The verb agrees with the final 1 and the other nuclear term, in this case the final 2.

2.22



In sentence 2.21 the conditions are met for passivization. The verb still agrees with the final 1 and the other nuclear term. (Note that /-in/, 1st person, is an initial 1 and hence a nuclear term, although it is also a chomeur in the next stratum.)

2.23



The fact that passivization has occurred is marked by the presence of the passive morpheme /-it/.

Objections to this treatment of "inverse" forms have been made on the basis that Algonquian languages require the "inverse" under certain conditions. Henderson (1971, p. 35) in countering a similar suggestion by transformational grammarians states that:

. . . to describe the change in form and meaning between [direct and inverse forms] as resulting from a "passive" transformation would imply the possibility of choice or even of "style." In fact, these forms are the only available forms in the language to express these various meanings.

This has been the consensus among Algonquianists. Jolley (1982, p. 5) points out that their thinking is flawed because it is ". . . based entirely on the notion of passive as known from Indo-European languages. . ." Those who reject the passive analysis of "inverse" forms because it is

obligatory, are confusing form and function. It is irrelevant that this form functions stylistically in Indo-European and obligatorily in Algonquian, the form in both Indo-European and Algonquian is a 2 to 1 advancement. We will assume that so-called "inverse" forms are indeed passives. Such an analysis has been proposed for Algonquian by Rhodes (1976a) and Jolley (1982).

There are two passive markers which occur immediately following the verb stem:

2.24 Passive (PASS)

| | |
|------|------------|
| -ikw | -SAP forms |
| -it | +SAP forms |

The suffix immediately following the passive marker, or the verb stem in the case of non-passive forms, marks agreement with the nuclear term other than the final subject:

2.25 Nuclear Term (NT)

| | |
|------|---|
| -in | 1 |
| -a:w | 3 |

Following that occur the suffixes which mark plurality of speech act participants that occur in the clause:

2.26 +SAP Plurals (+SP)

| | |
|---------|----|
| -a:na:n | 1p |
| -a:wa:w | 2p |

Finally, there is a suffix which marks plurality of -SAP's:

2.27 -SAP Plurals (-SP)

-ik if there is a 1st person plural
 -ak otherwise

Morpheme order in TA verbs is thus:

2.28 FS TENSE STEM PASS NT +SP -SP

An analysis of some TA verbs follows.

2.29 /niwa:pama:w/

ni-wa:pam-a:w

1:see,A:3

'I see him/her'

2.30 /niwa:pamiku:na:nik/

ni-wa:pam-ikw-a:w-a:na:n-ik

1:see,A:PASSIVE:3:lp:-SP

'they see us(exc)'

2.31 /kiwa:pama:wa:wak/

ki-wa:pam-a:w-a:wa:w-ak

2:see,A:3:2p:-SP

'you(pl) see them'

2.32 /kiwa:pamitina:n/

ki-wa:pam-it-in-a:na:n

2:see,A:PASSIVE:1:lp

'We see you'¹⁰

¹⁰ Note that the number of the second person is unspecified,

2.33 /kiwa:pamin/

ki-wa:pam-in

2:see,A:l

'You see me'

In comparing the markers for non-TA verbs with those for TA verbs, a striking similarity can be seen. Both types of clauses are marked by the same prefix set (2.7). Also, both types of verbs have essentially the same plural markers (non-TA verbs: 2.9; TA verbs: 2.26, 2.27). The only difference is that for non-TA verbs only one plural marker ever occurs, while for TA verbs two may occur.

The following two sets of markers (2.34, 2.35) are posited for both non-TA and TA verbs:

2.34 +SAP Plurals (PL-1)-a:n~a:na:n¹¹ 1p

-a:wa:w 2p

2.35 -SAP Plurals (PL-2)

-a 3Ip, final subject

-ik 3Ap, if there is a 1st person plural

-ak otherwise

it could either be singular or plural.

¹¹ /-a:n/ occurs on non-TA verbs, while /-a:na:n/ occurs on TA verbs.

Since non-TA verbs have only one participant, only one plural marker will be selected. Which set is used will depend on whether the participant is a speech act participant or not.

Another difference between non-TA verbs and TA verbs are that TA verbs have a suffix marking passive (2.24) that is used when the initial 2 is higher ranked than the initial 1. This is not a problem as the condition under which passive occurs is not found in non-TA clauses.

Finally non-TA verbs have a suffix marking whether the final subject is +/-SAP (2.8), while TA verbs have one marking the other nuclear term that is not a final subject (2.25). If these are ordered disjunctively with each other, 2.25 will be selected if there is another animate nuclear term and 2.8 will be selected if there isn't.

The order of morphemes for both non-TA and TA verbs is thus:

$$2.36 \quad \text{FS} \quad \text{TENSE} \quad \text{STEM} \quad \text{PASS} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NT} \\ \text{SAP} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{PL-1} \quad \text{P1-2}$$

In this presentation I have not given markers for the obviative. As stated previously, the obviative in Michif presents special problems. After a survey of the literature on obviation in Algonquian (Chapter 3), a discussion of the relevant facts relating to obviation in Michif (Chapter 4) will be discussed, followed by a presentation of that occurrence.

Chapter III

SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON OBVIATION

The first use of the word obviate to refer to the so-called fourth person in Algonquian languages seems to have been by James Howse of the Hudson's Bay Company in his 1844 Cree grammar (p. 125):

When two "third" persons (both of them agents, or both of them patients) meet together, this relational form serves to distinguish the accessory or dependent, from the principle or leading "third" person--the relative from the absolute agent, &c--thus obviating [emphasis mine], by shewing their relative position, the ambiguity which would otherwise arise from the meeting of several third persons in the sentence.

Whether by direct borrowing from Howse, or by independent invention, many linguists began using this term. Michaelson (1926) was among those to use it as a role label for some type of case distinction, but it was not until Bloomfield that the proximate/obviative opposition was recognized as a function of the person paradigm, rather than of a system of cases. Bloomfield (1927b, p. 181) in his description of Fox states that:

When two or more animate third persons occur in a close context, all but the most proximate or important one take a special obviative form.

He goes on to define the environments in which obviation necessarily occurs in Fox: third person objects of verbs with a third person actor are obviative, as are nouns possessed by a third person animate possessor. Thus obviation remains fairly consistent over a short stretch of discourse, allowing for an obviative actor to occur if that noun was obviated in a previous clause. Hockett (1966, p. 60) states, for Potawatomi and generalizing to Algonquian:

". . . which of two nonlocal animates is obviated depends on the focus of interest: the entity at the focus of interest remains proximate."

Over a longer stretch of discourse this focus can and does shift. If any noun which has been obviated becomes the entity in focus, it will become proximate. Bloomfield (1962, p. 39) states for Menominee ". . . the choice of proximate third persons often shifts from sentence to sentence; one does not talk at any great lengths in obviative forms."

Some Algonquian languages have been described as having a further obviative (or fifth person) that occurs when an obviative noun acts on another obviative noun, e.g. Blackfoot (Frantz 1966, 1970), Cree (Bloomfield 1928; Ellis 1962), Ojibwa (Holmer 1953; Bloomfield 1958) and Potawatomi

(Hockett 1948, 1966). The following examples (Bloomfield 1946, p. 94) illustrate this for Cree:

3.1 /okima:w ote:ma/

'the chief's horse(obv.)'

3.2 /okima:w okosisa ote:miyiwah/

'the chief's son's(obv.) horse(further obv.)'

Frantz (1969, p. 3) states that this marker ". . . says nothing about the noun (to which it is attached) per se, but rather tells us that its possessor is obviative."

As this morpheme is the only discrete morpheme traditionally glossed as "further obviative," it raises doubts as to there being a "further obviative" at all. Ellis (1971, p. 88) presents non-passive forms of -SAP verbs in James Bay Cree as follows:

| | | |
|------------------|--------|----------|
| 3.3 ¹ | -3' | -3" |
| 3- | -e:w | -eme:w |
| 3p- | -e:wak | -eme:wak |
| 3'- | | -e:liwah |

Wolfart (1978), however, argues that, because of the monomorphemic nature of the suffixes required when both referents of a TA verb are third person, only one referent

¹ 3=third person, 3p=third person plural, 3'=third person obviative, 3"=third person "further" obviative; a hyphen following means initial subject and a hyphen preceding initial object. Thus /-e:w/ refers to a third person initial subject and a third person obviative initial object.

is overtly expressed on the verb. The only time both third person referents are overtly marked on the verb would be when one of them is highly marked for obviative, e.g. an obviative with an obviative possessor. He presents non-passive -SAP verbs in Plains Cree in the following manner (Wolfart 1973, p. 41):

| | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------|
| 3.4 | | -3' |
| | 3- | -e:w -eme:w |
| | 3p- | -e:wak -eme:wak |
| | 3'- | -e:yiwa |

The sentence /sa:kihe:w/, traditionally glossed as 'he loves him' thus ". . . means 'he loves an animate object (sc. neither first nor second person)' and nothing else is specified about the object" (Wolfart 1978, p. 266).

While many have described the proximate/obviative distinction, few have attempted to systematically predict it. Rhodes (1976a) has done the most in attempting to predict the occurrence of obviative forms. He describes three environments where obviation occurs in Ojibwa:

First, any third person noun possessed by a third person is obviated. . .

Second, any third person that appears in a sentence with a third person subject becomes obviated. . .

Third, a third person noun becomes obviated if it is not logically animate but appears in a stretch of discourse that is organized around a third person topic. (Rhodes 1976, pp. 199-200)

Rhodes does not discuss the last environment as its explanation would require a more complete understanding of sentence level obviation and of the overall structure of Ojibwa discourse. He does, however, present a good deal of information on the first two environments.

Obviation in the first environment seems to be universal for Algonquian languages. Hockett (1966, p. 64) states that for all Algonquian languages:

If the possessed noun is animate, then a nonlocal animate possessor and the possessed noun must be located at different points on the obviation scale; and it is a general principle in Algonquian that the possessor in such cases is "closer" than the possessed entity.

The degree to which inanimate possessors trigger obviation is not as predictable. In Ojibwa, for example, it does trigger obviation (Rhodes 1976), in Potawatomi it does optionally (Hockett 1948); while in Menominee it does not (Bloomfield 1962).

The second environment where obviation occurs in Ojibwa can be subdivided into two categories: clausemate obviation and non-clausemate obviation. In clausemate obviation,

Rhodes shows that obviation can occur on superficial objects, on non-terms and on possessors of clausemates. Under this category, Rhodes includes obviation triggered by objects in dependents of lower rank. Thus obviation is usually triggered by a member of a higher rank in a member of a lower rank. Rhodes' hierarchy then would be: subject outranks direct object outranks indirect object outranks non-terms. In non-clausemate obviation, a noun in the matrix clause triggers the obviation of a noun in the dependent clause.

A subtlety of non-clausemate obviation in Ojibwa is the optional nature of the obviation of a possessor triggered by a subject. Unless there is both a subject and an object which could be potential triggers, the obviation is optional--a good example of obviation's primary function in resolving ambiguity.

We have already seen that what Rhodes calls clausemate obviation occurs in Fox (Bloomfield 1927b) and Plains Cree (Bloomfield 1928). This can also be said of all other languages mentioned in this chapter. There is a difference, however, in the degree to which non-clausemate obviation occurs, with it appearing to be optional in most of the languages.

A crucial part of Rhodes' discussion of obviation in Eastern Ojibwa is his treatment of "obviative weight." By this he is referring to the degree to which the different

types of obviation trigger obviative agreement in the verb. (Although the nouns are marked identically no matter which type of obviation is occurring, the verbal agreements are different.) Most importantly ". . . nouns functioning as objects only trigger obviative agreements if they are obviated by clausemate obviation" (Rhodes 1976, p. 204).

Clausemate obviation also cancels out the distinction between singular and plural, while nouns obviated by possessor obviation still trigger normal number agreement. The third way obviation is "weighted" in Ojibwa is that a noun obviated by possessor obviation does not serve as a trigger itself for obviation of a possessed noun.

Neutralization of the proximate/obviative distinction is most thoroughly treated in Wolfart's description of Plains Cree (1973). This neutralization occurs in: 1) third person emphatic pronouns and personal prefixes; 2) verbs, when one dependent noun shows possessive cross-reference to another and is itself marked for obviation; and 3) verbs, when there is a compound subject or object, one being proximate, the other obviative. This is important because it reflects on the nature of the obviative. It is the marked member of the proximate/obviative distinction. The fact that it does not always occur leads Wolfart (1973, p. 20) to posit the unmarked, "non-obviative" category as having both ". . . a wide and a narrow function and meaning." The term proximate is only useful when the unmarked category is in

opposition to the marked, obviative category. In all other cases the unmarked category subsumes the proximate and the obviative, as the distinction between them is neutralized.

This interpretation, according to Wolfart, also accounts for the "non-indexed" form described by Frantz (1966) for Blackfoot. Frantz claims that it is from this non-indexed form that the third, "fourth" and "fifth" persons (proximate, obviative and "further" obviative) are derived. If this is true, it supports Wolfart's contention that the proximate/obviative distinction derives from the third person and would explain why obviation doesn't occur where it might be expected to occur. Unmarked forms, rather than being seen as proximate are simply third persons, usually occurring in unambiguous contexts. The proximate/obviative mechanism comes into operation when it is necessary to "obviate the ambiguity" of more than one third person. Which one is marked as obviative is initially determined by the hierarchies given above for each type of obviation. Once obviation is assigned, it is possible to have obviative initial subjects for a short span, with the proximate/obviative distinction being reassigned if the obviative initial object becomes the actor over a large stretch of discourse.

Rhodes (1976b) was able to elicit obviative forms from a Michif speaker. While he does not give his elicitation method, nor define the environments where they occur, he does give these forms in his excellent verb paradigm (1976b, p. 18, 19). A modified list of these forms is given in 3.5:

3.5 3-3' -e:w
 3p-3' -e:wak
 3'-3" -e:yiw

 3'-3 -ik
 3'-3p -ikwak
 3"-3' ---

These complex endings provide a point of reference for identifying forms that occur as a result of the elicitation technique presented in Chapter IV. After reporting the results of the analysis of the data, a modification of 3.5 is presented (4.4) and the endings are reanalyzed and added to the morpheme sets given in Chapter II. Thus the proximate/obviative distinction in Michif is integrated into the verb system as a whole.

Chapter IV

OBVIATION IN MICHIF

This chapter consists of three parts: 1) a discussion of the methodology used in the study of Michif obviation; 2) the results of the study; and 3) a discussion of the conclusions that can be drawn from the study.

Methodology

The questionnaire¹ used in this study (see Appendix A) is divided into two major sections: sociolinguistic background of subject (Part I) and language data (Part II). The former seeks to establish what sociolinguistic variables might affect whether or not a particular speaker uses obviative forms. It was anticipated that family, age, geographical location, languages spoken in the home when growing up and presently, the types of situations in which Michif is currently used, and perception of Michif as a language in its own right or as only bits and pieces of other languages would be factors that could possibly affect the use of obviative forms.

¹ This questionnaire was not intended to be a statistical tool, but a means of identifying some of the trends in language use on the reservation. Because of the small size of the population who actually use Michif on a regular basis, it was felt to be impractical to find a statistically sound sample.

The questionnaire first asks for the subject's name and age (Part I.A,B) and is followed by a series of questions related to where the subject and his or her parents had been born and lived and the length of time in each location (Part I.C). The latter were asked in order to check for a possible correlation between the part of the reservation a person was from and the degree of morphological leveling exhibited.

The next group of questions relates to language use (Part I.D). This section's purpose is to identify the languages which have influenced the subjects' speech both in the past and in the present, and the degree to which Michif has been or is currently being used as a main vehicle for communication. This includes questions which seek to establish the subject's view of Michif as a language. Here the interest is in whether the subjects make a distinction between the French and the Cree elements, or if they think of it in terms of a cohesive whole. It was anticipated that the latter perception would lead to a more unified treatment of French and Cree elements, e.g. obviation of both French and the few Cree nouns, or neither. Also, this section seeks to establish the degree to which speakers feel the language needs to remain "pure", uncorrupted by English vocabulary.

The second major part of the questionnaire (Part II) is the part where language data was actually collected. The

design of this section was crucial. As described in Chapter III, obviative forms do not occur in isolation, but as a result of two third persons being closely related syntactically. Ideally, linguistic data should take the form of natural texts, elicited over a period of time, from a cross-section of the population. However, such long-term study is not always feasible, making it necessary to design very carefully the elicitation technique used.

Part II. A. asks for the Michif translation of sixteen English sentences. These were asked in pairs, the first sentence intended to establish which third person was proximate and which obviative, the second reversing their initial relationship (semantic roles).

The first pair: 'the girl saw her grandmother' and 'her grandmother saw her', was thought to be the pair most likely to produce an obviative marker on the noun. There are three reasons for this: 1) 'grandmother' is possessed by a third person, an environment that makes obviation obligatory in all other Algonquian languages; 2) 'grandmother' is the goal of a verb with a third person actor, an environment that usually makes obviation obligatory; and 3) 'grandmother' is one of the few remaining Cree nouns in Michif and thus more likely to exhibit Cree morphology. It was anticipated that the first sentence would establish 'grandmother' as obviative and that when it became the actor in the second sentence it would remain obviative, causing the verb to be

marked for an obviative initial subject. In order to double-check the results of this, another pair of sentences with an identical syntactic environment was used: 'the boy hit his grandfather' and 'his grandfather hit him'.

The next four sentences repeat this except the possessed noun is French: 'the girl saw her sister', 'her sister saw her', and 'the boy hit his brother', 'his brother hit him'. It was thought that these forms would be less likely to demonstrate obviation as French nouns usually do not exhibit Cree noun morphology.

Sentences 9-12 eliminate one further motivation--possession: 'the girl saw the dog', 'the dog saw her', and 'the boy hit the girl', 'the girl hit him'.²

Sentences 12-16 were designed to elicit forms involving a third person plural participant and an obviative participant. Only sentences with a Cree noun possessed by a third person and functioning as an initial 2 were used. It was assumed that the use of obviative markers on French possessed nouns would be consistent for each speaker with their use in previous sentences. No attempt was made to elicit non-clausemate obviation. As previously noted, this is not required in any Algonquian language (although, it can and does occur in most) and is, therefore, more difficult to elicit. This study is concerned with establishing obviative

² Unfortunately, these questions were added to the questionnaire after the first field trip. An attempt was made on the second field trip to elicit these forms from the original subjects, but there are still some gaps in the data.

use in Michif in those instances where it always or usually occurs in other Algonquian languages.

Part II. B. consists of a list of forms created by using Michif verb stems with the addition of the obviative forms given by Rhodes (1976b, pp. 18-19) for Michif or, in those cases where he does not give a form, the Plains Cree endings given by Wolfart (1973, p. 41). This was done in order to see if subjects recognize endings even if they do not use them themselves. Two verbs were used with each ending to give the subject a greater opportunity to respond; they were: /wi:chih/ 'to help' and /pi:kishkwe:m/ 'to talk to.' The following endings were used: /-e:w/ 3-3', /-e:wak/ 3p-3', /e:yiw/ 3'-3'', /-ik/ 3'-3, /-ikwak/ 3'-3p, and /-i-kuyiwa/ (Plains Cree) 3''-3'.

Some of those subjects who exhibited a fairly complete set of obviative markers were then given a plot summary (Part II. C.) and asked to tell a story involving several third persons. They were told the story in English with a diagram and then asked to tell it in Michif. The purpose of this was to see if obviation would occur "naturally" in a discourse.

Results

The raw data collected in this study are presented in Appendix B. This section will discuss how the results in Part II of the questionnaire may have been affected by the

sociolinguistic factors identified in Part I and then what the results of Part II indicate about the nature of obviation itself.

Most people interviewed were not related to any of the others interviewed with a few notable exceptions. Subject 10, age 22, is the younger sister of subject 2, age 42. Subject 12, age 66, is the half-sister of subject 11, age 61. Subject 5, age 45, is also a half-brother to both of them, each of them having the same father but a different mother.

From this limited sample, it would seem that family is not an important difference in determining use of obviation. The speech of the three half-siblings differs dramatically from each other. Subject 12 prefers to use Cree and/or Chippewa vocabulary, rather than French, if she can. On the other hand subject 11, who feels the French is part of the language and should be used, is just as conservative as subject 12 as far as obviative forms are concerned. They both show a contrast between sentences with a proximate (unmarked) initial subject and an obviative (marked by /-wa/, if the noun is Cree) initial object, and sentences with an obviative initial subject and a proximate initial object (4.2).

4.1 /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w uhkuma/

la-fi ki:-wa:pam-e:w u-kuhkum-wa

DefF:girl 3poss:grandmother:OBV
PST:see,A:3-3'³

'the girl saw her grandmother'

4.2 /uhkuma ki:wa:pamiku:/

u-kuhkum-wa ki:-wa:pam-iku:⁴

3poss:grandmother:OBV PST:see,A:3'-3

'her grandmother saw her'

The same distinction was made by subject 12 and subject 11 for third person plural forms. This type of morphological distinction between proximate and obviative will be referred to as being morphologically or syntactically conservative.

Subject 5, on the other hand, uses the French possessive on Cree nouns, never uses obviative markers on any noun, and only uses two endings for clauses with only non-speech act participants: /-e:w/ when both participants are third person singular and /-e:wak/ when one is plural. Subject 12 and subject 11 use a fairly fluid word order (SOV,SVO) using obviation to identify subject and object while subject 5 uses a fixed, English word order (SVO) only.

³ For the present, glosses of third person endings are those given in 3.5.

⁴ Rhodes (1976b) gives /-ik/ as the expected ending, but the data presented in Appendix B show /-iku:/ for all speakers who show a distinction, on the verb, between initial proximate and obviative initial subjects.

The differences in their speech could be due to the complicated family relations. Although subject 12 was raised by subject 11's mother, she had a very close relationship to her father's mother who spoke Chippewa (may have been Cree; "full-bloods" are usually identified as Chippewa, whatever their actual language). Subject 11, however, did not have this type of relationship with his grandmother. His mother, while Michif, did not speak the language at home and, as a result, according to subject 12, does not speak the language "as well." He is actually just as conservative morphologically, but, as previously mentioned, subject 12 uses Cree and/or Chippewa nouns whenever possible in situations where subject 11 would use French. Subject 5's mother and step-father spoke only French and Michif at home, but he does not exhibit obviative forms in his speech.

Age may be the factor in differences within a family. Subject 10 exhibited no contrast between verb endings in sentences like 4.1 and 4.2, and only used an obviative noun marker once on 'grandmother' in sentence 1. She does, however, use Cree possessive markers on Cree nouns. Subject 9, age 26, did not use an obviative marker on any noun, used French possessive markers, but did use the /-iku:/ ending on sentences with an obviative initial subject. However, she only used the latter when her older sister corrected her and ceased using it when her sister left the room.

While age may be a factor in the variation between members of the same family, it does not account for variations between people of the same general age. As mentioned previously subject 2, age 42, uses available morphology quite fully, while subject 5, age 45, uses obviative forms hardly at all. Subject 8, age 40, would not even respond to English sentences with pronouns in them because she could not remember the Cree emphatic pronouns. Her use of the language is so minimal that she interpreted them as being necessary, rather than emphatic, not realizing the verb carried all pronominal information.

The two women in their twenties are fairly similar in their use or lack of use of obviative forms, but among those in their sixties there was a wide variation. Subject 12, subject 11, and subject 1, age 62, use the proximate/obviative distinction fully. Subject 6, age 63, uses it infrequently (or at least his wife, age 58, who told him how to say most of the sentences, does). He and his wife used obviative noun markers on Cree nouns, but not at all on French, and only used the obviative initial subject forms in two sentences, both of which were elicited on a second visit.

It was thought that geographical factors might be significant. This was not clearly the case. Subject 6 and subject 2 live a mile apart and have lived most of their lives in the same area, about half-way between Belcourt, the

main community, and St. John, to the north, but have significant differences in their speech. Also, subject 4 from St. John, like subject 2, used all the endings, even putting the obviative marker on a French noun, but differed from subject 2 in that she used rigid English word order in all but one sentence. (Most conservative speakers use SOV, but will also use SVO from time to time.) The same variation can be found in speakers from Belcourt and among those from the western part of the reservation. However, this is not conclusive as the road separating subject 6 and subject 2 may be a dialect boundary. Further study is necessary to determine what the dialect boundaries are and how they affect obviation.

Time spent away from the reservation also seemed to be unimportant. Subject 2 spent 17 years off the reservation, most of it out of state, and is very conservative. Subject 6, who has never lived outside the state of North Dakota, and rarely off the reservation, is inconsistent.

Languages spoken in the home have already been mentioned briefly. This too is not an important factor. Subject 1 spoke mainly French with her foster parents (she reportedly did not learn Michif until she went to boarding school) and is conservative. Subject 11's mother spoke English, but subject 11 is conservative. Subject 6's father was a Chippewa from Minnesota and most likely used a conservative syntax, yet subject 6 rarely uses the obviative initial subject form.

The two factors, besides age, which seem to be most crucial are the degree the language is currently used by the subjects and their attitude towards it. These are probably aspects of the same phenomenon. Subjects who perceive Michif as being less than a language, or who see themselves as unable to speak any language well, did not use very many obviative forms in response to this questionnaire.

A good example of the effect of attitude on speech is subject 6. He grew up speaking the language, his mother spoke only Michif, his wife had to become more fluent in order to live with his people, and yet he almost completely blanks out when asked to speak. Why is this? It is impossible to say what all the factors were that led to his saying, "I speak a little French, a little Cree, a little Chipewewa, a little English, but I speak no language well." When I said, "But that means you speak Michif." He said, "Michif isn't a language, it's just bits and pieces of other languages." However, his wife, who claims to have learned the language from him, is very fluent, used obviative forms on nouns, and occasionally used an obviative initial subject form on a verb.

On the other hand, those who were the most conservative--subject 1, subject 11, subject 12, and subject 2--are aggressively interested in the language. The first three have been language teachers in the field methods course at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Da-

kota Session, for several years. Subject 2 is a teacher's aide at the Ojibwa School, an alternative school in Belcourt that is trying to instill a pride in the children in their heritage as Native Americans. She speaks the language whenever she can, especially to children, and wants to help them learn to speak it.

The second part of the questionnaire, besides eliciting data, sought to identify whether people who exhibited a loss of Cree possessive markers would exhibit a loss of obviative markers on the Cree nouns, as they would be treating them as part of the French system. It was also anticipated that those nouns which lacked obviative noun markers would not trigger the /-iku:/ ending when the initial subject is obviative. While the former proved to be true (although only one person, subject 7, failed to use Cree possessive markers on Cree nouns), the latter was not true. Anyone who used the suffix indicating an initial obviative subject with Cree nouns marked for obviation, also used it with unmarked French nouns fairly consistently. Subject 7 also used the /-iku:/ ending in sentences where none of the nouns were obviated. She used French morphology on Cree nouns, but still had a concept of obviative vs. proximate forms, using an obviative initial subject form when a noun that had been initial object in the one sentence was initial subject in the following one.

This leads to the hypothesis that whether a verb is marked for an obviative subject depends more on pragmatic factors than syntactic roles. The concept of another third person besides the first third person is still deeply embedded in the language, even though many of the speakers have lost the morphological marking on nouns. The two factors that seemed to lead to the complete loss of the concept of a third person obviative were sociolinguistic ones: a failure to use the language because of a low self-esteem linguistically, and failure to completely learn the language as a child. However, most speakers in this study retain a concept of obviation, as expressed in the verb morphology, whether or not they retain markers of this sort on the nouns.

Part B of Section II shed little new light on the nature of obviation. Only those speakers who use the language consistently viewed these sentences as full clauses. Older, more fluent speakers recognized the 3-3' set, the 3p-3' set, and the 3'-3p set. They did not recognize any sentence that involved 3" ("further" obviative). Rhodes gives /-ik/ as the ending for 3'-3 but most subjects translated /wi:chihik/ and /pi:kishkwemik/ as some kind of imperative. However, when I would change the ending to match the one elicited in II. A., the older speakers recognized them as 3'-3. Younger speakers simply viewed most of the forms as gerunds--'helping' and 'talking to'--and said they made no sense without an explicit subject.

Three subjects who exhibited the full range of obviative forms were given a plot summary and asked to tell the story in Michif. Two of them, while demonstrating an obviative marker on nouns possessed by a third person, told the story in such a way that an obviative noun was never the initial subject. Subject 2, however, had one sentence that demonstrated an obviative noun as initial subject of a dependent clause (4.3).

4.3 /pehtewe:w a:wi:yik e:te:pwe:yit/
 pehtew-e:w a:wiyik e:-te:pwe:-yi-t
 hear,A:3' someone CONJ:holler,A:PASS:3'
 'he heard someone hollering'

The conjunct affixes found on dependent verbs have not been discussed, but those used by one speaker are given in Rhodes (1976b, pp. 18, 19). 4.6 is an excellent example of what Rhodes (1976a) calls "non-clausemate obviation." The proximate person is in the matrix clause, providing the motivating environment for an obviative subject in the dependent clause. This suggests that, at least for some speakers, the more syntactically complex types of obviation still exist.

Conclusion

Having defined some of the factors influencing the use of obviative forms, it is now possible to discuss how the proximate/obviative distinction fits into the verb morpholo-

gy as described in Chapter II. Until now the endings on verbs with two third person participants have been glossed as if they were monomorphemic. A modification of 3.5, reflecting the data collected in this study, is given in 4.4.

| | | |
|-----|-------|----------|
| 4.4 | 3-3' | -e:w |
| | 3p-3' | -e:wak |
| | 3'-3" | ---- |
| | ----- | |
| | 3'-3 | -iku: |
| | 3'-3p | -iku:wak |
| | 3"-3' | ---- |

It was stated in Chapter II that the prefix signals agreement with the final subject. Since third proximate ranks higher than third obviative, it is always the final subject in these forms. The other term is always third person obviative, so it can be assumed, therefore, that /-e:w/ refers to a third person obviative as the nuclear term other than the final subject. /-ak/ has the same meaning as it does elsewhere: 3Ap. The set of nuclear term suffixes from Chapter II (2.25) is thus expanded:

4.5 Nuclear Term (TM)

| | |
|------|----|
| -in | 1 |
| -a:w | 3 |
| -e:w | 3' |

A sentence which is 3-3' would be:

4.6 /wa:pame:w/

wa:pam-e:w

see,A:3'

'she/he sees another'

Obviative third persons rank below proximate third persons on the hierarchy of persons. Therefore a sentence with an obviative initial subject and a proximate initial object provides the motivating environment for the obligatory 2 to 1 advancement (passive). Comparing the set of passive markers given in 2.24 to /-iku:/, it can be seen that there is, indeed, a passive marker, /-ikw/, used in clauses where there is an obviative initial subject and an initial proximate object. The lack of a prefix shows agreement with a final third person subject, while /-e:w/, manifested as [u:], is still used to mark the nuclear term other than the final subject as third person obviative. A sentence which demonstrates 3'-3, the condition for the obligatory passive, would thus be:

4.7 /wa:pamiku/

wa:pam-ikw-e:w

see,A:PASSIVE:3'

'she/he was seen by another'

An interesting note on whether so-called "inverse" forms can be interpreted as passive is that when I asked subject 12 how to say 'the boy and the girl saw their grand-

mother' and 'their grandmother saw them', she told me it was necessary to say 'they were seen by their grandmother' in Michif.

What of those who did not use the passive marker in forms like the one in 4.7? As previously mentioned, they seem to have lost the notion of an obviative referent and only use the "active" form. If there is no obviative notion, the initial subject and object are at the same point on the hierarchy and the required condition for the obligatory passive does not occur. Thus subject and object are distinguished, for those speakers, by word order alone as they are in English.

This study demonstrates that obviation remains a viable mechanism in the speech of people who speak Michif on a regular basis and have a positive image of the language. Failure to elicit obviative forms by beginning linguists can be attributed to naive elicitation technique. By understanding how a mechanism operates in languages already described in the literature, it is possible to design elicitation techniques in such a way as to obtain the desired forms.

This study also demonstrates the effect complex sociolinguistic factors have on language use. A language can never be adequately described by working with one person, especially in a multi-lingual community. Care must be taken to study speakers from a wide variety of backgrounds.

Appendix A
SURVEY OF USE OF OBVIATION

I. Sociolinguistic Background

A. Subject:

B. Age:

C. Geographical Factors

1. Where were you born?
2. How long did you live there?
3. Where else have you lived?
4. For how long?
5. Where was your father born?
6. How long did he live there?
7. Where else has he lived?
8. For how long?
9. Where was your mother born?
10. How long did she live there?
11. Where else has she lived?
12. For how long?

D. Language Use

1. What language(s) do you understand? Rate them as:
well, passably, little.
 - a. English
 - b. Michif
 - c. Cree
 - d. French

- e. Chippewa (Ojibwa)
 - f. Other
2. What language(s) do you speak? Rate them as: well, passably, little.
- a. English
 - b. Michif
 - c. Cree
 - d. French
 - e. Chippewa (Ojibwa)
 - f. Other
3. Do you also read and write the same language(s)? Specify which and rate them as: well, passably, little.
4. What languages were spoken in your family?
By whom? Between whom?
5. What languages are spoken in your family now?
By whom? Between whom?
6. Are there now or were there in the past situations in your family in which older people spoke to younger in a language other than English, but the young ones responded largely or exclusively in English? Which languages and between whom?
7. Do you agree with the following statements?
- a. In speaking Michif, one should not use a French word where a Cree or Chippewa (Ojibwa) word exists for the same thing.
 - b. In speaking Michif, it doesn't matter how many words are used.
 - c. In speaking Michif, one should not use any English words.
 - d. In speaking Michif, it doesn't matter how many English words are used.

II. Language Data

A. How would you say the following in Michif?

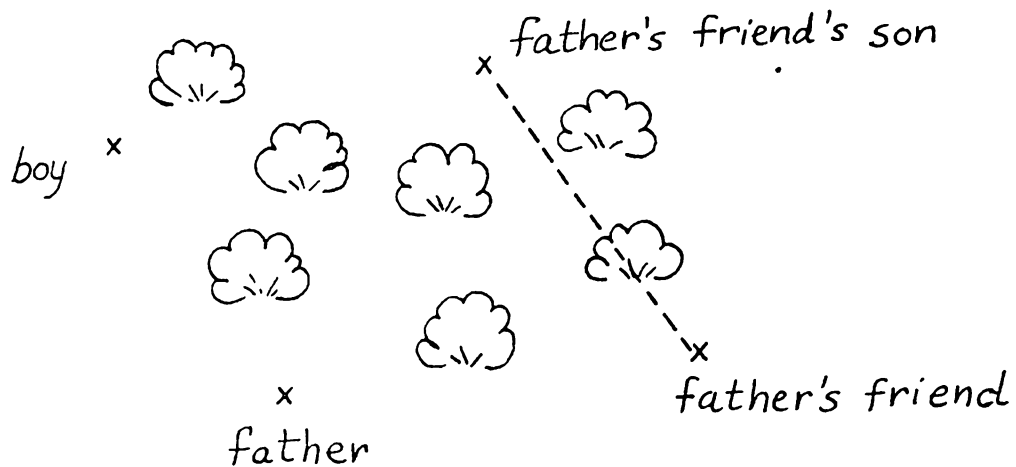
1. The girl saw her grandmother.
2. Her grandmother saw her.
3. The boy hit his grandfather.
4. His grandfather hit him.
5. The girl saw her sister.
6. Her sister saw her.
7. The boy hit his brother.
8. His brother hit him.
9. The girl saw the dog.
10. The dog saw her.
11. The boy hit the girl.
12. The girl hit him.
13. The girl and the boy saw their grandmother.
14. Their grandmother saw them.
15. The girl and the boy hit their grandfather.
16. Their grandfather hit them.

B. Would you tell me what the following sentences mean in English?

1. wi:čihe:w
2. pi:kiškwe:me:w
3. wi:čihe:yiw
4. pi:kiškwe:me:yiw
5. wi:čihe:wak
6. pi:kiškwe:me:wak
7. wi:čihik
8. pi:kiškwe:mik

9. wi:čihikuyiwa
 10. pi:kiškwe:mikuyiwa
 11. wi:čihikwak
 12. pi:kiškwe:mikwak
- C. I'm going to tell you a story in English, and would like you to tell it to me in Michif. (Show them the diagram while telling story and let them use it to retell it in Michif.)

This boy went hunting with his father, his father's friend, and his father's friend's son. They had spread out to see if they could scare up a deer. Suddenly, the father's friend saw something brown move in a bush. He thought it was a deer and shot at it. There was a scream. He had shot his son in the knee.



Appendix B
SURVEY RESULTS

I. A. Subject 1

B. 62

- C. 1. Born in Belcourt, but grew up in the western part of the reservation.
2. Lived most of life on reservation.
3. Also lived in Rolla (5 miles west of reservation) and Grand Forks, ND, Kentucky and Maryland.
4. Rolla--4 years; Grand Forks--off and on; Kentucky--3 years; Maryland--1 year.
5. Foster father born in Belcourt, grew up 3 miles west.
6. Until death
7. No where else
8. ----
9. Real mother--Olga, ND; Foster mother--Belcourt, later moved 3 miles west.
10. Real mother--lived in Olga until marriage. Foster mother--lived on reservation whole life.
11. Real mother--lived in Rolla and Belcourt after marriage. Foster mother--never lived anywhere else.
12. Real mother--lived on reservation until death.
- D. 1. Understands English, French and Michif well, Cree--passably, Chippewa--little.
2. Speaks English and Michif well, Cree and French--passably and Chippewa--not at all.
3. Reads and writes English and Michif well; French, a little.

4. Real mother spoke French, and although foster parents spoke Michif, they wanted subject to speak French also.
5. Michif is only spoken at present when visiting with older adults.
6. Subject's children spoke Michif until they went to school and then began answering in English when addressed in Michif.
7. Feels that it doesn't matter how many French words are used because they are part of the language, but does feel that English words should be avoided unless French or Cree words are unavailable.

- II. A. 1. /lafɪ uhkuma ki:wa:pame:w/
 2. /uhkuma ki:wa:pamiku:/
 3. /lɪgarsõ u:musuma ki:pakamahwe:w/
 4. /u:mušuma ki:pakamahuku:/
 5. /lafɪ sasõr ki:wa:pame:w/
 6. /sasõr ki:wa:pamiku:/
 7. /lɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w sofrɛr/
 8. /sofrɛr ki:pakamahuku:/
 9. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w lɪsɪẽwa/
 10. /lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pamiku:/
 11.¹ /lɪgarsõ lɪminuša ki:pakamahwe:w/
 12. /lɪminuš ki:ka:shipitiku:/
 13. /lɪgarsõ pi: lafi ki:wa:pame:wak ohkumuwa:wak/
 14. /ohku:mu:wawak ki:wa:pamiku:wak/
 15. /lɪgarsõ pi: lafi ki:pakamahwe:wak
 mušumuwa:wak/

¹ This subject was asked a different set of questions for 11-14: 'the girl saw the moose', 'the moose saw her', 'the boy hit the cat', 'the cat scratched him'. These were later changed because of difficulty with the vocabulary on the part of the subjects.

16. /mušumuwa:wak ki:pakamahuku:wak/
 B. 1. 'she/he's helping him/her'
 2. 'she/he's talking to him/her'
 3. '(the man's boy is) being helped by somebody else'
 4. '(the man's boy) he's speaking for him'
 5. 'they're helping him/them'
 6. 'they're talking to him/her/them'
 7. 'help them!'
 8. 'talk to them!'
 9. 'she/they/he/somebody's helping him/her'
 10. 'somebody's talking to him/her'
 11. 'they're helping her/him'
 12. 'they're talking to her/him'

C. Text from plot summary

1. /ǣgarsõ avøk opapawa ekwa opapawa sonami avøk
 sugarsõ ki:ši:pweh te:yawak e:ma:či:čik/

ǣn-garsõ avøk o-papa-wa ekwa o-papa-wa son-ami
 avøk su-garsõ ki:si:pwehte:yawak e:ma:či:čik

IndefM:boy with 3poss:father:obv and
 3poss:father:obv 3poss:friend with 3poss:boy
 PST:leave,A:-SAP:3A CONJ:go hunt,A:3Ap

'a boy, his father and his father's friend with
 his son left to go hunting'

2. /ekwa upapawa sonami wa:patam ke:kway da
 librãš e:mahšči:makani:yik/

ekwa u-papa-wa son-ami wa:pat-am ke:kway da li-
 bras e:-mahščimakani-ik

and 3poss:father:obv 3poss:friend see,I:-SAP
 something in DefPl:bush CONJ:move,I:3Ip

'his father's friend saw something in the bushes
 that was moving'

3. /dawa:t pa:ški:ši:ke:w/
 dawa:t pa:ški:ši:k-e:w
 finally shoot,A:3obv
 'finally he shot it'
4. /pehtewe:w a:wiyik e:te:pwe:yit/
 pehtew-e:w a:wiyik e:-tepwe:-yit
 hear,A:3obv someone CONJ:holler,A:3obv
 'he hears someone hollering'
5. /e:du:yitapit šite sugarsõ/
 e:-du:yitapi-t site su-garsõ
 CONJ:look,A:-SAP was 3poss:boy
 'when he looked it was his boy'
6. /ki:pišči:pa:ški:šwa:t da sujnuiyiw/
 ki:-pešči:pa:ški:šwa:-t da su-jnu-i:yiw
 PST:see,A:-SAP in 3poss:knee:3obv
 'he had shot him in the knee'

I. A. Subject 2

B. 42

C. 1. Belcourt

2. Most of life

3. Chicago, California, South Dakota

4. Lived in Chicago for 3 years, has spent 17 years off the reservation, all together.

5. Father born in Belcourt.

6. Lived there his whole life.

7. ----

8. ----

9. Mother born in Belcourt.

10. Lived there her whole life.

11. ----

12. ----

D. 1. Understands English and Michif--well; Cree--little; French--passably; and Chippewa--not at all.

2. Speaks English and Michif well and the others not at all

3. Reads and writes English only.

4. Michif was spoken by everyone in the home except by children. They tended to speak English among themselves, except when others were present.

5. Lives alone. Spoke only English when daughter was small. Tries to speak Michif to anyone she can and is trying to teach it to the neighbor children.

6. Children answered parents in English a good deal of the time when she was young. Neighbor children usually answer her in English now.

7. Feels that it doesn't matter how many French

or Cree words are used, if they are regularly used by speakers of the language.

- II. A. 1. /lafi o:kuma ki:wa:pame:w/
 2. /o:kuma ki:wa:pamiku:/
 3. /lɪgarsũ o:muřuma ki:pakamahwe:w/
 4. /o:muřuma ki:pakamahuku:/
 5. /lafi sasör ki:wa:pame:w/
 6. /sasör ki:wa:pamiku:/
 7. /lɪgarsũ sufrer ki:pakamahwe:w/
 8. /sufreer ki:pakamahuku:/
 9. /lafi lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pame:w/
 10. /lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pamiku:/
 11. /lɪgarsũ lafi ki:pakamahwe:w/
 12. /lafi ki:pakamahwe:w/
 13. /lafi ekwa lɪgarsũ ki:wa:pame:wak uhkumuwawak/
 14. /uhkumuwawak ki:wa:pamiku:/
 15. /lafi ekwa lɪgarsũ muřumuwa:wak
 ki:pakamahwe:wak/
 16. /muřumuwa:wak ki:pakamahwe:wak/
- B. 1. 'helping him/her'
 2. 'talking to him/her'
 3. ----
 4. ----
 5. 'somebody's helping me'
 6. 'they're talking to me'
 7. 'help me!'
 8. 'talk to me!'
 9. ----

10. ----
 11. '(somebody's) helping them'
 12. '(somebody's) talking to them'

C. Text from plot summary

1. /lɪgarson avɛk u:papawa ki:gu:ma:če:wak/
 lɪ-garson avɛk u:-papa-wa ki:-guma:č-e:w-ak
 DefM:boy with 3poss:father:OBV
 PST:go hunt,A:3':3Ap
 'the boy went hunting with his father'
2. /ǣzami ki:pi:muša:kine:wak/
 ǣz-ami ki:pi:muša:kin-e:w-ak
 IndefM:friend PST:pick up,A:3':3Ap
 'they picked up a friend'
3. /lɔm wi:šta sugarsũ ki:šepweštahe:w aku:te:/
 lɪ-om wi:šta su-garsũ ki:šepweštah-e:w a:ku:te:
 INdefM:man also 3poss:boy PST:take along,A:3'
 over there
 'the man also took his boy over there'
4. /ka:takušiničik da libwa nuči:ku:te:
 ki:ni:powe:wak lišuvru a:šowa:šima:čik/
 ka:-takušini-čik da li-bwa nu:či:ku:te:
 ki:-ni:pow-e:w-ak li-šuvru a:šowa:šim-at-čik
 CONJ:arrive:-SAP:3p in DefP:woods just
 anyplace PST:stand around,A:3Ap DefP:deer watch
 for,A:3':3p
 'arriving in the woods they stood around just any-
 where watching for deer'

5. /lomawa ke:kway ližun wa:paštam/
 lI-om-awa ke:kway ližun wa:pašt-am
 DefM:man:Dem something brown see,I:-SAP
 'that man sees something brown'
6. /amu: kwe:yeštapiw/
 amu: kwe:yeštapi-w
 ?? look well,A:-SAP
 'he didn't look well'
7. /mu:šti:pwašti:šike:w/
 mu:šti:pwašti:šik-e:w
 just shoot,A:3'
 'he just shot it'
8. /sugarsũ pi:šči:pa:ščišwe:w/
 su-garsũ pi:šči:pa:ščišw-e:w
 DefM:boy mistakenly shoot,A:3'
 'he had mistakenly shot his son'

I. A. Subject 3

B. 74

C. 1. Belcourt

2. Has lived there her whole life.

3. ----

4. ----

5. Father born in Belcourt.

6. Lived there his whole life.

7. ----

8. ----

9. Mother was born in Walhalla.

10. Lived there until she was married.

11. Moved to Belcourt after marriage.

12. Lived there the rest of her life.

- D. 1. Understands English and Michif, well; Cree and French, passably; and Chippewa, not at all.
2. Speaks English and Michif, well; Cree and French, passably; and Chippewa, not at all.
3. Reads and writes English.
4. Michif was spoken in her family by everyone. Father spoke Ojibwa to "full-bloods" when they visited.
5. Only speaks Michif with friends her own age at present.
6. Spoke Michif to her children, but they usually answered in English.
7. Feels that it is irrelevant how many French words are used and that one should be able to use English words if there is no Cree or French word available.

II. A. 1. /lapčrtfi iwa:pame:w ohkuma/

2. /ohkuma ki:wa:pamiku:/

3. /lipčigarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w u:musuma/
 4. /u:musuma ki:pakamahuk/
 5. /lapčitfi ki:wa:pame:w sasör/
 6. /sasör ki:wa:pamik/
 7. /lipčigarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w sofrer/
 8. /sofrer ki:pakamahuk/
 9. -----
 10. -----
 11. /lapčitfi ki:wa:pame:w lisiẽ/
 12. /lisiẽ wa:pame:w/
 13. /lapčitfi pi: lipčigarso ki:wa:pame:w uhkuma/
 14. /uhkuma ki:wa:pamikwak/
 15. /lapčitfi pi: lipčigarso ki:pakamahwe:w
u:mušuma/
 16. /u:mušuma ki:pakamahuku/
- B.
1. '(somebody's) helping (somebody)'
 2. '(somebody's) talking to somebody'
 3. -----
 4. -----
 5. '(somebody's) helping them'
 6. '(somebody's) talking to them'
 7. 'help them!'
 8. 'talk to them!'
 9. 'somebody's helping her'
 10. 'somebody's talking to her'
 11. 'they're helping them'
 12. 'they're talking to them'

I. A. Subject 4

B. 57

C. 1. Born in St. John area.

2. Lived there most of her life.

3. Has lived in Dunseith, currently lives in Belcourt,
but still considers St. John her home.

4. Dunseith--3 years; Belcourt--???

5. Father born in St. John.

6. Lived in St. John most of life.

7. Spent some time in Belcourt.

8. ????

9. Mother born in St. John.

10. Lived in St. John most of life.

11. Spent some time in Belcourt.

12. ????

D. 1. Understands English and Michif, well; Cree and
French, passably; Ojibwa, a little.2. Speaks English and Michif, well; Cree and French,
passably; Ojibwa, not at all.

3. Reads and writes English.

4. Michif was the only language spoken in home as
child.5. Spoke to some of her children in Michif, but none
of them speaks it, nor did her husband. Still
speaks it when visiting with her family.6. Children answered her in English when she would
speak to them in Michif.7. Feels that the number of French words used in the
language is irrelevant, but does feel that one
should avoid using English words whenever possible.

II. A. 1. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w ohkuma/

2. /ohkuma ki:wa:pamiku:/

3. /lɪgarsõ ohmušuma ki:pakamhwe:w/
 4. /ohmušuma ki:pakamahuku:/
 5. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w sasõr/
 6. /sasõr ki:wa:pamiku/
 7. /lɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w sufrer/
 8. /sufreɾ ki:pakamahuku/
 9. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w lɪsɪẽna:wa:/
 10. /lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pamiku/
 11. /lɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w lafiya/
 12. /lafɪya ki:pakamahuku:/
 13. /lafɪ ekwa lɪgarsõ ki:wa:pame:w ohkuma/
 14. /ohkuma ki:wa:pamikwak/
 15. /lafɪ ekwa lɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:wak
ohmušumwawak/
 16. /ohmušumwa ki:pakamahukuwak/
- B. 1. 'he's helping somebody'
2. 'they were talking to whoever'
 3. 'helping somebody'
 4. 'talking to somebody'
 5. 'they're helping him'
 6. 'they're talking to him'
 7. 'help them!'
 8. 'talk to them!'
 9. 'he's helping him/her'
 10. 'they're talking to him/her'
 11. 'they're helping me'
 12. 'they're talking to me'

I. A. Subject 5

B. 45

C. 1. Born in Belcourt

2. Has lived there most of his life.
3. Has also lived in Minot and Grand Forks.
4. Minot--went for seasonal work; Grand Forks--4 years of college.
5. Father born in Belcourt.
6. Lived there whole life.
7. ----
8. ----
9. Mother born in Belcourt.
10. Lived there whole life.
11. ----
12. ----

- D. 1. Understands English and Michif--well; Cree (uses this to refer to language of "full-bloods")-- passably; and French--well.
2. Speaks English and Michif--well; Cree--little; and French--passably.
3. Reads and writes English--well; Michif--a little.
4. Mother and step-father spoke Michif and French. Everyone else spoke Michif.
5. Did not speak Michif to children when small, but 12 year old son and 20 year old daughter have both studied it in school and he tries to speak it with them. Otherwise they all speak mostly English.
6. He mostly answered his parents in English when spoken to in Michif.
7. Sees no reason not to use French words and uses a great number of English words himself.

II. A. 1. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w sukuhkum/.

2. /sukuhkum ki:wa:pame:w lapçitfi/
3. /lɪgarson ki:pakamahwe:w sumušum/
4. /sumušum ki:pakamahwe:w/
5. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w susör/
6. /susör ki:wa:pame:w wiya/
7. /lɪgarson ki:pakamahwe:w sofrɛr/
8. /šofrɛr ki:pakamahwe:w wiya/
9. -----
10. -----
11. -----
12. -----
13. /lapçitfi ekwa lɪgarson ki:wa:pame:w sukuhkum/
14. /sukuhkum ki:wa:pame:wak lizãfã/
15. /ki:pakamahwak sumušum/
16. /sumušum ki:pakamahwak/

- B. 1. 'he's helping'
2. 'he's talking about somebody'
 3. -----
 4. -----
 5. 'they're helping somebody'
 6. 'they're talking about somebody'
 7. 'help!'
 8. 'talk to me!'
 9. -----
 10. -----
 11. -----
 12. -----

I. A. Subject 6²

B. 63

C. 1. Born north of Belcourt.

2. Has lived there all of his life.

3. Spent time in different parts of the state working.

4. ????

5. Father born in either Pembina, ND, or in northern Minnesota.

6. Lived there until teens.

7. Moved to Belcourt.

8. Lived there the rest of his life.

9. Mother born in Canada.

10. Left when still quite young.

11. Moved to Belcourt.

D. 1. Understands English and Michif--well; Cree, French, and Chippewa--a little.

2. Speaks English and Michif--well; Cree, French, and Chippewa--a little.

3. Reads and writes English.

4. Everyone in family spoke Michif when he was a child. His mother never spoke English; spoke French, Michif, Cree, and a little Sioux. His father spoke 2 dialects of Chippewa, Cree, French, English and Michif.

5. Only speaks Michif to his wife at the present time.

6. Children answered him and his wife in English when they were spoken to in Michif.

7. Feels that it doesn't matter how many French or English words are used when speaking Michif.

² Subject 6's wife, age 58, helped him a great deal. She said that she learned the language from him.

- II. A. 1. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w ohku:ma/
 2. /ohkuma ki:wa:pame:w/
 3. /lɪpɕɪgarson u:muʃuma ki:pakamahwe:w/
 4. /u:muʃuma ki:pakamahwe:w/
 5. /lafɪ ki:wa:pame:w sasör/
 6. /sasör ki:wa:pamiku:/
 7. /lɪpɕɪgarson sufrɛr ki:pakamahwe:w/
 8. /sufrɛr ki:pakamahuku:/
 9. /lafɪ lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pame:w/
 10. /lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pame:w/
 11. /lɪgarsõ lafi ki:pakamahwe:w/
 12. /lafɪ ki:pakamahwe:w/
 13. /lafɪ pi: lɪpɕɪgarson uhkuma ki:wa:pame:wak/
 14. /uhkuma ki:wa:pame:w/
 15. /lafɪ pi: lɪpɕɪgarson o:muʃuma ki:pakamahwe:wak/
 16. /lɪmuʃum ki:pakamahwe:w/
- B. 1. 'somebody helps somebody' .
 2. 'somebody is talking to somebody'
 3. -----
 4. -----
 5. 'he's helping them'
 6. 'somebody's talking to them'
 7. 'go help them!'
 8. 'talk to me/them!'
 9. 'helping him'
 10. 'talking with them'
 11. 'they're helping me out'
 12. 'they're talking with me'

I. A. Subject 7

B. 63

C. 1. Born a little west of Belcourt.

2. Moved frequently as a child.

3. Father farmed near Rolette, ND, kept moving, but never lived very far from the reservation. Moved east of Belcourt about 8 years ago, having lived most of life west of reservation.

4. see #3 above.

5. Father was born in Canada.

6. Lived there until teens.

7. Lived on or near Turtle Mountain Reservation after that.

8. Rest of life.

9. Mother born in either Montana or North Dakota.

10. ????

11. Lived on or near Turtle Mountain Reservation after marriage.

12. Rest of life.

D. 1. Understands English and Michif--well; French--passably; Cree and Chippewa--not at all.

2. Speaks English and Michif--well; French--passably; Cree and Chippewa--not at all.

3. Reads and writes English.

4. Everyone spoke Michif in home when she was growing up.

5. No one speaks Michif in home currently. Some of her children picked up the language from her and her husband when they were young.

6. She answered her mother in English after starting school.

7. Feels that the number of French words used is ir-

relevant, but that one should avoid using English words if at all possible. However, one can use English words if there is no Cree or French word available.

II. A. 1. /lapčɪtʃi sukuhkum ki:wa:pame:w/

2. /sukuhkum ki:wa:pamiku:/

3. /lɪpčɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w sumušum/

4. /sumušum ki:pakamahuku:/

5. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w sasör/

6. /sasör ki:wa:pamiku:/

7. /lɪpčɪgarsõ sufrer pakamahwe:w/

8. /sufreer pakamahuku:/

9. /lapčɪtʃi lɪsɪẽ wa:pame:w/

10. /lɪsɪẽ kini:wa:pamiku:/

11. /lɪpčɪgarsõ lapc tɪiya pakamahwe:w/

12. /lɪpčɪgarsõ pakamahuku:/

13. /lapčɪtʃi ekwa lapc garso nikuhkum
ki:wa:pame:wak/

14. /nimušum ki:pakamahwe:wak/

15. /nimušum ki:pakamawe:wak/

B. 1. 'somebody's helping somebody'

2. 'somebody's talking to somebody'

3. -----

4. -----

5. '(two or more people) are helping somebody'

6. '(two or more people) are talking to somebody'

7. 'help me!'

8. 'talk to someone'

9. 'somebody's helping him'

10. 'somebody's talking to somebody'
11. 'they're helping you'
12. 'he's talking to them'

I. A. Subject 8

B. 40

C. 1. Born in Belcourt

2. Has lived there her whole life.

3. ----

4. ----

5. Father born west of Belcourt.

6. Lived there until marriage.

7. Moved to Belcourt after marriage.

8. Lived there the rest of his life.

9. Mother born near western reservation line.

10. Lived there until marriage.

11. Moved to Belcourt after marriage.

12. Lived there the rest of her life.

D. 1. Understands English and Michif well. Doesn't understand any other language.

2. Speaks English well and Michif passably. Doesn't speak any other language.

3. Reads and writes English.

4. Parents spoke Michif and kids spoke it until they went to school.

5. No one speaks Michif in her family now.

6. She and siblings answered her parents in English when addressed in Michif after they went away to school.

7. Feels that the number of French words used is unimportant, but does feel that one should avoid using English words.

II. A. 1. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w sukuhkum/

2. -----

3. /l garsu ki:pakamahwe:w sumušum/

4. -----

5. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w sasör/

6. -----

7. /lɪgarsũ ki:pakamahwe:w sufrær/

8-16. This subject was very tense and would not give me the forms where there was a pronoun rather than an overt noun as she could not remember the emphatic pronoun. I thought it best not to pursue eliciting forms as it was upsetting her not to be able to remember how to say them.

- B. 1. 'helping'
 2. 'talking to'
 3. -----
 4. -----
 5. 'they're helping them'
 6. 'they're talking to them'
 7. 'help them!'
 8. 'talking to them'
 9. '(anybody's) helping them'
 10. 'somebody's talking to somebody else'
 11. 'helping them'
 12. 'talking to them'

I. A. Subject 9

B. 26

C. 1. Born in Belcourt

2. Has lived there most of her life.

3. Spent one year in California with her whole family when young; 2-3 months at the university in Grand Forks, ND; and 5 months at the Junior College in Bottineau, ND.

4. See #3 above.

5. Father born in Belcourt.

6. Has lived there his whole life, except for one year in California.

7. See #6 above.

8. See #6 above.

9. Mother born in Belcourt.

10. Has lived there her whole life, except for one year in California.

11. See #10 above.

12. See #10 above.

D. 1. Understands English, Michif and Cree--well; French and Chippewa--a little.

2. Speaks English and Michif--well; Cree and French--a little; and Chippewa--not at all.

3. Reads and writes English. Reads Michif and writes it a little.

4. Parents spoke Michif to each other and to the children. Children spoke English among themselves.

5. Speaks to sisters in English and Michif. Is trying to speak to her own children in Michif some of the time.

6. Answered parents in English when they spoke to her in Michif.

7. Feels that the number of French words used is unim-

portant and that one could use English if there were no Cree or French word available.

- II. A. 1. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w sukuhkum/
 2. /sukuhkum ki:wa:pame:w³ wiya/
 3. /lipčɨgarso ki:pakamahwe:w sumušum/
 4. /sumušum ki:pakamahuku:/
 5. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w sasör/
 6. /sasör ki:wa:pamiku:/
 7. /lapčɨgarso ki:pakamahwe:w sufrer/
 8. /sufrer ki:pakamahuku:/
 9. /lafi ki:wa:pame:w lɨsɨẽ/
 10. /lɨsɨẽ ki:wa:pame:w lafi/
 11. /lɨgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w lafi/
 12. /lafi ki:pakamahwe:w/
 13. /lafi ekwa lɨgarsõ ki:wa:pame:wak sukuhkum/
 14. /sukuhkum ki:wa:pame:wak/
 15. /lafi ekwa lɨgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:wak sumušum/
 16. /sumušum ki:pakamahwe:wak/
 B. 1. 'to help somebody'
 2. 'talk to somebody'
 3. 'he did help somebody'
 4. 'talk to somebody'
 5. 'they're helping somebody'
 6. 'they're talking to somebody'

 3 Her older sister corrected her and gave /ki:wa:pamiku:/ to me. After that the subject gave me /-iku/ when an obviative noun was the initial subject through #8 at which time her sister left and she reverted to /-e:w/.

7. 'help him!'
8. 'go talk to somebody!'
9. 'somebody's helping somebody else'
10. 'somebody's talking to somebody else'
11. 'helping each other'
12. 'talking to each other'

I. A. Subject 10

B. 22

C. 1. Born about 4 miles north of Belcourt.

2. Has lived there most of her life.

3. Has also lived in Devil' Lake and Beulah, ND, as well as in South Dakota.

4. The first two were only for a few months each; the latter was for 14 months.

5. Father born in Belcourt.

6. Lived there most of his life.

7. Spent a brief time in Oregon.

8. See #7 above.

9. Mother born in Belcourt.

10. Lived there her whole life.

D. 1. Understands English and Michif--well; Cree and French--a little; Chippewa--not at all.

2. Speaks English and Michif well, the others not at all.

3. Reads and writes English.

4. Michif was only spoken in her home when there was company that did not speak English. Otherwise English was the primary language.

5. Only speaks Michif with her husband (who is 41) when their children are not around; does not speak it to them.

6. Only time parents spoke Michif and she responded in English was when she was being scolded.

7. Feels that it doesn't matter how many French words are used, but that one should avoid using English words whenever possible.

II. A. 1. /lafɪ o:kuma ki:wa:pame:wak/

2. /o:kum ki:wa:pame:w/

3. /lɪgarsõ u:mušum ki:pakamahwe:w/

4. /u:mušum ki:pakamahwe:w/
5. /lafi səsör ki:wa:pame:w/
6. /səsor ki:wa:pame:w/
7. /lɪgarsõ sufrer ki:pakamahwe:w/
8. /sufreɾ ki:pakamahwe:w/
9. /lafi lɪsɪẽ ki:wa:pame:w/
10. /lɪsɪẽ lafi ki:wa:pame:w/
11. /lɪgarsõ lafi ki:pakamahwe:w/
12. /lafi lɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w/
13. /lafi ekwa lɪgarsõ u:kuma ki:pakamahwe:wak/
14. /u:kum ki:wa:pame:wak/
15. /lafi ekwa lɪgarsõ u:mušumwa ki:pakamahwe:wak/
16. /u:mušum ki:pakamahwe:w/

- B. 1. 'somebody helps somebody'
2. 'somebody is talking to somebody'
 3. 'help you'
 4. 'talk to you'
 5. 'somebody is helping somebody'
 6. 'somebody is talking to somebody'
 7. 'help me!'
 8. 'talk to me!'
 9. 'helping somebody'
 10. 'talking to somebody'
 11. 'helping me'
 12. 'talking to me'

I. A. Subject 11

B. 61

C. 1. Born in Belcourt

2. Lived there about 75% of the time.

3. Has also lived in Grand Forks, ND, Washington State, and New Mexico.

4. Lives off and on in the Grand Forks, and has lived 2-3 years in the other places.

5. Father was born in Belcourt.

6. Lived there his whole life.

7. ----

8. ----

9. Mother was born in Belcourt.

10. Lived there her whole life.

11. ----

12. ----

D. 1. Understands English and Michif--well; Crée--a little; French and Chippewa--passably.

2. Speaks English and Michif--well; Cree--not at all; French and Chippewa--passably.

3. Reads and writes English well and Michif passably.

4. Michif was spoken in the home by everyone except his mother who always spoke English.

5. Michif is spoken now among people 40 and above.

6. His father spoke to everyone in Michif, but George and his mother answered him in English.

7. Feels if there is a Cree word one should use that instead of a French one and that one should avoid English words altogether. He said, "When speaking the language you should speak it right."

- II. A. 1. /lafɪ uhkum ki:wa:pame:w/
 2. /uhkuma ki:wa:pamiku:/
 3. /lɪgarsõ ušuma ki:pakamahwe:w/
 4. /ušuma ki:pakamahuku:/
 5. /lafɪ sasör ki:wa:pame:w/
 6. /sasör ki:wa:pamiku:/
 7. /lɪgarsõ ki:pakamahwe:w sufrer/
 8. /sufrer ki:pakamahuku:/
 9. /lafɪ lɪsĩẽ ki:wa:pame:w/
 10. /lɪsĩẽ ki:wa:pamiku:/
 11. /lɪgarsõ lafi ki:pakamahwe:w/
 12. /lafɪ ki:pakamahwe:w/
 13. /lafɪ pi: lɪgarson ki:wapame:wak uhkuma/
 14. /uhkuma ki:wa:pamikuwak/
 15. /lafɪ pi: lɪgarson ki:pakamawe:wak usuma/
 16. /ušuma ki:pakamahuku:/
- B. 1. 'he's helping him/them'
 2. 'he's talking to him/them'
 3. -----
 4. -----
 5. 'they're helping him'
 6. 'they're talking to him'
 7. '(you,pl) help him!'
 8. '(you,pl) talk to him!'
 9. 'that guy over there is helping this guy over here'
 10. 'that guy over there is talking to this guy over here'

11. 'they help me'
12. 'they talk to me'
- C. 1. /lɪgarsõ avək u:papawa pi: u:papawa sunami
u:papawa sunami sugarsõ ki:tu:ma:či:wak/

lɪ-garsõ avək u:-papa-wa pi: u:-papa-wa su-ami
avək u:-papa-wa su-ami su-garsõ ki:-tu:ma:či:-ak

DefM:boy with 3poss:father:OBV and
3poss:father:OBV 3poss:friend with
3poss:father:OBV 3poss:boy PST:go hunt-
ing:-SAP:3Ap

'the boy with his father and his father's friend,
(along) with his father's friend's son, went hunt-
ing'
2. /da lɪbwa kwe:kwe: ki:pehtamwak/

da lɪ-bwa kwe:kwe:ki:-pehtam-w-ak

in DefM:woods something PST:hear,A:-SAP:3Ap

'in the woods they heard something'
3. /kwe:kwe: wa:pitamak/

kwe:kwe: wa:pit-am-ak

something see,A:3':3Ap

'they see something'
4. /paskišamak/

paskiš-am-ak

shoot,I:3:3Ap

'he shoots it'
5. /çɪ a:ku:ta: kataku:ši:kik ki:wa:pame:wak
sugarsõ akipaškišwat dajno/

çɪ a:ku:ta: ka-taku:ši-k-ik ki:wa:pam-e:w-ak
su-garsõ aki-paškišw-at dajno

well there CONJ:arrive,A:3':3Ap
PST:see,A:3':3Ap 3poss:boy CONJ:shoot,A:3'
in:knee

'well, (when) they arrived there they saw that
he had shot his boy in the knee'

I. A. Subject 12

B. 66

C. 1. Born in Belcourt

2. Lived there until 1963.
3. Moved to Yakima, Washington.
4. Lives there currently except for summers in Grand Forks.
5. Father born in Belcourt.
6. Lived there his whole life.
7. ----
8. ----
9. Mother was born in Belcourt, but her parents were born in Canada.
10. Lived there until death when Veronica was very young. (Veronica was raised by Subject 11's mother.)
11. ----
12. ----

D. 1. Understands English, Michif, Cree, and French well. Equates Chippewa with Cree.

2. Speaks English, Michif and French well and Cree not at all.
3. Reads and writes both English and Michif.
4. Everyone spoke Michif except for paternal grandmother who only spoke "Chippewa." Veronica spoke "Chippewa" with her and English with her younger half-sister, Betty. She learned French from her mother-in-law who spoke nothing else.
5. Her children speak only English.
6. If she answered her father in English, he would insist that she speak Michif.
7. Feels very strongly that one should use Cree words

whenever possible and views the French words as inferior. Does not condone the use of English words at all.

- II. A. 1. /lafɪ ki:wɑ:pɑmɛ:w uhkuma/
 2. /uhkuma ki:wɑ:pɑmɪku:/
 3. /lɪgɑrsõ ki:pɑkɑmɑhwe:w u:mušuma/
 4. /u:mušuma ki:pɑkɑmahuku:/
 5. /lafɪ sɑsõr ki:wɑ:pɑmɛ:w/
 6. /sɑsõr ki:wɑ:pɑmɪku:/
 7. /lɪgɑrsõ sufrɛr ki:pɑkɑmɑhwe:w/
 8. /sufrɛr ki:pɑkɑmahuku:/
 9. /lafɪ susɪẽ ki:wɑ:pɑmɛ:w/
 10. /susɪẽ ki:wɑ:pɑmɪku:/
 11. /lɪgɑrson lafɪ ki:pɑkɑmɑhwe:w/
 12. /lafɪ ki:pɑkɑmahuku:/
 13. /lɪgɑrsõ pi: lafɪ ki:wɑ:pɑmɛ:wɑk uhkumuwɑw/
 14. /uhkumuwɑw ki:wɑ:pɑmɪkuwɑk/ .
 15. /lɪgɑrsõ pi: lafɪ ki:pɑkɑmɑhwe:wɑk/
- B. 1. 'he's helping them'
 2. 'he's speaking to them'
 3. -----
 4. -----
 5. 'bunch of people helping him'
 6. 'bunch of people talking to him'
 7. 'help me!'
 8. 'talk to them!'
 9. 'he's helping him'
 10. 'he's speaking to him'

11.⁴ 'a bunch is helping you'

12. 'speaking to you'

⁴ Said that #11-12 needed a person prefix to really mean anything.

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