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A BILINGUAL MICMAC INDIAN COMMUNITY
OF EASTERN CANADA.

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1977

DIFFERENTIAL LANGUAGE USE AT BURNT CHURCH,
A BILINGUAL MICMAC INDIAN COMMUNITY
OF EASTERN CANADA

by

Lawrence Franklin Van Horn

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1977

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

DIFFERENTIAL LANGUAGE USE AT BURNT CHURCH, A BILINGUAL MICMAC INDIAN COMMUNITY OF EASTERN CANADA

Lawrence Franklin Van Horn

This study is based upon fieldwork conducted from September 1971 through September 1972 at Burnt Church, a bilingual Micmac Indian community in New Brunswick, Canada. The subject of analysis is strategic language use according to the social meaning signaled by choice of language, that is, what messages are being communicated beyond strict semantic content.

Historical, ethnographic, and life-sketch materials are presented to show the past and present overall setting for bilingualism at Burnt Church. Data upon which the language-use analysis is based consist of life sketches of individuals, responses to a questionnaire for language attitudes, and descriptions of speech events from direct observation and from tape recordings of natural conversations.

It is suggested that strategies to influence the behavior of the other speaker underlie choice of language. For example, switching to Micmac with Micmac constables appears to be a strategy to evoke egalitarian behavior from them, that is, to induce the constables to follow Micmac rather than English rules. In switching to Micmac, a constable signals that he will follow Micmac rules, and in the process, he affirms his community membership, even though as a policeman he has an outsider's position.

Interlocutors tend to share knowledge of the social rules associated with each language, Micmac and English. In their interactional strategies, individuals employ these rules, and the identification of such social strategies may then suggest why bilinguals choose one language over the other in various situations. The use of Micmac is congruent with local egalitarian values and the use of English with the values of the larger, hierarchical Canadian society.

The basic bilingual selection rules are given below. The use of such rules for strategies is seen in a variety of interactions, among which are those between citizen and constable, husband and wife, parent and child, and community member and chief.

Micmac demeanor rule: use Micmac with other Micmac bilinguals to signal equal status or solidarity and to evoke behavior considered congruent with Micmac values;

English demeanor rule: use English with other Micmac bilinguals to signal differences of status or of social distance and to evoke behavior congruent with such differences.

It is shown that a complementary distribution exists within the community between the use of Micmac and English among the following domains of social interaction:

Micmac domains:

home

folklore

work groups

local-level politics

English domains:

school

church

commerce

higher-level politics

It is concluded that the recognition of basic social meanings

for Micmac and for English, as reflected in interactional strategies and selection rules, is sufficient to account for complementary language use in a bilingual community like Burnt Church.

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To the people of Burnt Church, I will ever be grateful for their kind hospitality and cooperation. I am particularly indebted to Simon Dedam for his indispensable aid in the transcription and translation of the tape recorded conversations which appear in Appendix 1.

I would like to acknowledge the unfailing support and direction of my dissertation supervisor, Professor Francis P. Conant. I am also grateful to Professor Edward H. Bendix, committee member, for his many creative suggestions and for sharing with me his special knowledge of sociolinguistics. To Professor Sydel Silverman, committee member, who first introduced me to fieldwork in a course on methodology, I owe a debt of gratitude for her guidance and insight.

Sincere appreciation must be expressed for the many critical observations and pertinent suggestions made by my external reader, Professor Philip K. Bock. I am grateful to Professor Sally McLendon for her helpful comments in the early stages of the thesis and to Professor Ronald Waterbury who contributed significantly to its organization. Lastly, I cannot sufficiently express the thanks due my wife, Judith, for her steadfast encouragement. I bear ultimate responsibility, of course, for the study that follows. I hope that in some measure it justifies the faith and support of my professors at the City University of New York and my friends at Burnt Church.

PREFACE

Since Euro-Canadians who frequent New Brunswick are either monolingual in English or bilingual in French and English, English is the language the Micmacs must use with the larger society. This study examines bilingualism in a Micmac Indian community of Canada and attempts to demonstrate the differential social functions of Micmac and English in the community according to the social meaning, beyond semantic content, signaled by choice of language. I became interested in the Micmacs from pre-fieldwork visits to several of their reserves in New Brunswick and Quebec. The community chosen for investigation is Burnt Church, a Micmac reserve of 600 on Miramichi Bay in New Brunswick. I selected Burnt Church for fieldwork because it seemed to be representative of Micmac communities with respect to location and population size. Its location is not as close to a town, yet not as physically isolated as some Micmac reserves, and its population size is at the mid-point among Micmac reserves in New Brunswick and Quebec.

In Canada, Micmac-speaking groups reside in Quebec, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. In the United States, there are settlements in northern Maine and in Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts. New Brunswick Micmacs have told me that there are regional differences in Micmac pronunciation between Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The pronunciation of English at Burnt Church is modeled much more on the linguistic range covered by standard North American English (Canada and the United States) than on the local variety of the Miramichi

region, i.e. North Shore New Brunswick English. This is especially true for younger Micmacs. A partial explanation is that no sustained contact occurs with Miramichi Valley English-speakers until seventh grade when students from Burnt Church attend school in Newcastle, the English-speaking town 23 miles southwest of Burnt Church (see Map 1, page 16), by which time they have already learned English from non-Miramichi English models (other Micmacs, non-Miramichi school teachers, government officials, etc.).

Fieldwork in Burnt Church was conducted from September 1971 through September 1972. I lived with a Micmac family (a young couple and their five children) whose home was situated near an important intersection in the community. A small grocery store, the church, community hall, school, new community office building, and new handicraft center are at this crossroads, which is the social center of Burnt Church. Even the just-completed Burnt Church Cooperative Supermarket is located here (see Map 2, page 17). Thus, my home during fieldwork was ideally placed for observing many of the events and interactions at Burnt Church.

I became involved as a participant-observer in many activities of the community, from fishing and cutting pulpwood to attending the high school graduation of three Burnt Church students. In trying to observe natural conversation, I used a tape recorder inside four homes in which the families had become especially accustomed to my presence, and in my field notes I recorded instances of language switching and language choice. I tested my data-based hypotheses about settings, topics, and relationships between speakers later when I asked informants about their perception of certain speech events and social situations.

Burnt Church shares many features with its neighbors in the Mira-

michi Valley such as radio and television reception, similar rural architecture, and a dependence on the automobile to travel outside the community. However, unlike other settlements and villages along the Miramichi but like other Micmac reserves, Burnt Church has an economy which in recent times has been almost completely dependent on the Government of Canada for work projects on the reserve, for roads, for new housing, for capital investment (e.g. for the new CO-OP store), and for social assistance (welfare). "Getting things from the government" is the means of survival for Burnt Church as a community because it enables people to stay on the reserve, and this is what almost all people want to do.

At Burnt Church there is a little horticulture, some commercial fishing, occasional hunting for sport and table, but no plow agriculture and no animal husbandry except for the raising of a hog or two by a few families as a subsistence activity. Income derives from fishing, cutting pulpwood and "Christmas" trees, building new houses needed on the reserve, and making handicraft products. These activities are funded directly as work projects or as potentially self-sustaining programs, after initial capital investment, through the recently established Burnt Church Indian Cooperative Association (the CO-OP). In addition, a few Micmacs hold salaried jobs from various government agencies, e.g. schoolteacher, practical nurse, welfare officer, janitor, and constable.

A basic Burnt Church economic unit for the sharing of money and the performance of household and other tasks is the patrilocal extended family. Residence is patrilocal after matrilocal bride service or suitor service of a year or two in which the groom lives with his bride in her parents' house. This continues until the couple acquires

a home by petitioning the Band Council for a new house that will be built near that of the husband's father. The kinship terminology reflects an Eskimo type of system with the exception of obligatory elder-younger sibling distinctions and speaker sex-linked sibling-in-law terms. Descent is bilateral. My findings on the type of system confirm those of Wallis and Wallis (1955:230) and Bock (1962:123, 1966a:72).

The language Burnt Church has in common with its neighbors is English, even those settlements that are primarily French-speaking. This is true for historical reasons discussed in Chapter III. Micmac reserves are bilingual in Micmac and English in New Brunswick. It is Bock's impression that several other Micmac reserves, in Nova Scotia and on Prince Edward Island, "are nearly monolingual in English" (personal communication 1976). There are signs of increased English usage among the younger generation at Burnt Church, which possibly may portend a shift to English (see Chapter V). The reserve of Maria in Quebec is trilingual in Micmac, English and French, and the Eel River reserve in New Brunswick appears to be undergoing a complete shift from Micmac to English.

Modern ethnographers of the Micmacs have been Philip K. Bock, Professor of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico and the late Wilson D. Wallis (1886-1970), Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota. Bock conducted fieldwork at Restigouche, a Micmac reserve in Quebec approximately 150 miles northwest of Burnt Church, for his dissertation at Harvard University (1962, 1966a). Wallis was at Burnt Church in 1911 doing fieldwork for his dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania (1915), and in 1953 he and his anthropologist wife, Ruth Sawtell Wallis, revisited Burnt Church and other Micmac reserves throughout the

Maritimes, after which they published The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada (1955).

William F. Ganong (1864-1941), a native of New Brunswick and Professor of Botany at Smith College, was also a historian of New Brunswick and knowledgeable in its Indian heritage. He traced the name Burnt Church (Ganong 1914:304) to the Seven Years' War (see Chapter III), and he translated from the French the seventeenth century ethnographies of the Micmacs: Nicolas Denys' Description of the Natural History of the Coasts of North America (1672, translated 1908) and Chretien LeClercq's New Relation of Gaspesia (1691, translated 1910). Both of these works refer to the Micmacs along the Miramichi, including the aboriginal site that is now Burnt Church. These works serve as primary sources for modern Micmac histories such as those of Bailey (1937) and Hoffman (1955).

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PART ONE

COMMUNITY BACKGROUND:

PRESENT AND PAST

CHAPTER I PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

The Problem

According to Gumperz (1974:786), "Language is simultaneously a store or repository of cultural knowledge, a symbol of social identity, and a medium of interaction." In this study, I discuss the use of Micmac in the context of Micmac ethnicity and values and the use of English in conjunction with corresponding values of the larger society. The domain concept is utilized (Fishman 1972a:442) as a construct to classify the distribution of each language among different areas of social interaction.

This is a study in strategic language use according to the social meaning signaled by choice of language in a bilingual community, i.e. what messages are being communicated other than the strict semantic content of an utterance. Interlocutors tend to share knowledge of the social rules associated with each language. In their interactional strategies, individuals employ these rules, and the identification of such social strategies may then suggest why bilinguals choose one language over the other in various situations. Social strategies are defined as instrumental decisions or plans of individuals (Goffman 1970:100) directed toward personal and community or group goals.

The problem of this study may be stated as follows: how are the two languages, Micmac and English, functionally differentiated at Burnt Church, and what are the rules which may account for their presumed complementary use in the community?

Bilingualism in some degree has a considerable history among the

Micmacs. European contact with New Brunswick Micmacs goes back to the coastal explorations of Cartier in 1534. Micmacs survive today on forested reserves on what once was aboriginal land, and for approximately half of the period since contact they have used English more and more as a second language. English became useful after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) when hegemony changed from the French to the English in eastern North America, and its use was enhanced in what is now New Brunswick by the influx of Loyalists who quickly became politically dominant upon their settlement there at the close of the American Revolution.

Goodenough (1963:226) suggests that effective bilingualism can be maintained only when a given community has "to deal with some people who speak only one of (its) two languages and with other people who speak only the other." But this idea does not account for what Diebold (1964:497) calls "indefinitely prolonged bilingualism" when virtually all members of a community speak both languages, as at Burnt Church. Perhaps for a community to maintain bilingualism, the two languages must have complementary uses, i.e. they must be used in distinct contexts for different purposes, which is an idea well documented in the literature (Swadesh 1941:61; Barker 1947:185; Weinreich 1953:69; Ferguson 1962:3; Rubin 1962:52, 1968:523; Stewart 1962:21; Diebold 1964:497; Hymes 1966:124; Cooper and Greenfield 1969:167; Haugen 1969:52; Reina 1969:310; Fishman 1970:283, 1971b:74, 1972a:451; Miller 1970:57; Riley 1975:291).

Thus, for a community to use two languages for any length of time internally there must be a "functional differentiation between (the) two languages...because no society needs two languages for one and the same set of functions" (Fishman 1971a:560). Such functional differentia-

tion may be described in terms of culturally patterned bilingual choices abstracted as rules and classified as separate domains for each language. Social domains of language use are implied by and abstracted from categories such as topics, roles of particular statuses, and settings which further abstracted may suggest rules of bilingual selection (Jackson 1974: 58). Fishman (1972a:442) defines domain as "a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a speech community, in such a way that individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other." Such speech activities which take into account topics, status and role relationships, and locales may include family life, education, and subsistence activities as well as other categories of social organization (Findling 1972:151).

Thus, a domain is a class of social situations and/or topics in which a given code is used (i.e. Micmac or English). I suggest that the social domains of a bilingual community associated with differential language use may be viewed as comprising sets of speech events governed by rules of bilingual language selection. Hymes (1967:19-20) defines speech events as "activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules for the use of speech." Speech situations are settings for speech events; different types of events may comprise a speech situation. Language choice signals which set of overall social rules, Micmac or English, the speaker wishes to employ, and the study of strategies has to do with which set of rules is chosen, when, and with whom.

For the rules of bilingual language selection I state later, I

make the assumption that such rules are "learned along with grammatical rules" (Gumperz 1964:138) as part of community culture (Hymes 1974:202). As an overriding precept, this means that when the interaction shifts from egalitarian to deferential behavior so does the language chosen, Micmac or English. An exception is angry discourse, when people arguing keep changing the rules, saying in effect, "I'm not going to cooperate." Thus, in the course of a dispute if one person switches to the other language, that act appears to signify increased anger, and it may result in a speaker shouting in one language, with his or her antagonist retorting in the other. The accelerating disharmony marked by this type of language choice, whatever the direction of the switch, is in contrast to the presumed harmony or solidarity sought by bilingual speakers who use the same language for an implied purpose or function, e.g. working together or talking politics. (Teeter 1973:96).

Various government officials visit Burnt Church from time to time for conferences with the Chief and an occasional public meeting to sample community opinion on a specific issue. It is not uncommon to hear three languages being spoken in the Chief's office: Micmac, English, and French. People from Burnt Church may be speaking Micmac with one another while waiting to see the Chief, who will be speaking English with government officers, or perhaps a building contractor from Neguac (the neighboring French-speaking village), or even with some of his constituents. These same government representatives may in turn speak French with the Chief's bookkeeper (a resident of Neguac) and to the Neguac contractor. The Chief's Micmac secretary (his daughter) may be speaking Micmac to someone from Burnt Church and then say something in English about office business

to the Chief (her father) or to his bookkeeper. The Chief's predominant use of English with bilingual Micmacs, as mentioned above, is discussed later as a leadership strategy.

When a bilingual uses another person's native language in recognition of the other speaker's ethnic identity, it may be said that he or she is making an accommodation to the other's native language (Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1973:177). For the Micmacs of Burnt Church, the only bilingual accommodation which occurs is that of an Acadian storekeeper's wife, who has learned enough Micmac over the years to converse in Micmac with her customers from Burnt Church.

As a bilingual community, the inhabitants of Burnt Church use both Micmac and English in everyday interaction. That is, in addition to using English with outsiders or non-Micmacs, the people of Burnt Church use Micmac and English with each other. Since Micmac and English are used within the community, the comment of one informant that the people of Burnt Church simply use Micmac on the reserve and English off the reserve is not quite accurate. His comment is more important for its implication that Micmac is viewed as the in-group language and English as the out-group one.

The residents of the neighboring village of Neguac, in comparison, are also bilingual and do use one language (French) more within their community and the second language (English) outside it. This is perhaps so because in Neguac, French is appropriate to the domains of education, religion, family, and local government; English is used with non-Acadians primarily for business. In Burnt Church, however, different domains within the community are associated with the use of different languages. English

domains include school, church, commerce, and higher-level politics. Micmac domains include home, folklore, work, and local-level politics.

When individuals respond to certain topics by switching to the other language for further discourse (Weinreich 1953:3), it can be referred to descriptively as topic conditioning. Work projects, for example, tend to be talked about in English. That is, Micmac is used during work itself (in a group as a team), but the topic of "work project" is discussed in English (i.e. the external organization as part of the English domain of higher-level politics). Micmac is used to talk about folklore, e.g. references tend to be made and continued in Micmac when the topic is a sgateegamuuj (ghost) or puuoin (witch)¹.

¹I use a modified Micmac orthography based upon that of Watson Williams (1972) of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Micmac words are underlined only when first introduced in the text.

/aa/ (a)	/j/ (j) beginning of a word or syllable;
/a/ (ə)	(č) elsewhere
/ee/ (e)	/l/ (l)
/e/ (ɛ)	/m/ (m)
/ii/ (i)	/n/ (n)
/i/ (ɪ)	/p/ (b) beginning of a word or syllable;
/o/ (o)	(p) elsewhere
/uu/ (u)	/s/ (s)
/u/ (ʊ)	/t/ (d) beginning of a word or syllable;
/g/ (g) beginning of a word or syllable;	(t) elsewhere
(k) elsewhere	/w/ (w)

/e/ automatically inserted before initial /s/ + consonant clusters.

Burnt Church is an example of a community in which each successive generation, monolingual in the native language, is rendered bilingual in the language of contact, primarily through the school. That is, Micmac is the first language learned, and the learning of English as the second language starts in the reserve elementary school. Differential competence in each language for a significant number of individuals may be a reason for a community's prolonged bilingualism (Goodenough 1963:226). To test this assertion it would be necessary to obtain linguistic data on the relative proficiency in Micmac and in English of a representative sample in each generation at Burnt Church. Impressionistically, I do not view generation per se as a crucial predictor of proficiency in English. Exposure to the larger society and the amount of schooling a person has received seem to be the relevant variables for English proficiency. Burnt Church men, as a rule, seem to use more English than women, perhaps because men tend to interact more with the larger society while women stay at home for family and household tasks. As more girls attend high school off the reserve, however, women's usage of English may increase.

According to Murphy and Ornstein (1976:441), Rubin now views the uses of Spanish and Guarani (1968b) from her well-known study of bilingualism in Paraguay to be more variable than the previously supposed complementary distribution among distinct domains. This could be a matter of differential switching, i.e. metaphorical versus situational switching. Metaphorical switching marks a change in interlocutor mood whereas situational switching indicates a change in the type of social event (Blom and Gumperz 1972:424-425; Fishman 1972b:36, 42). In other words, with metaphorical switching the speaker imitates the other code without actually using it

(Bendix 1977, personal communication). I utilize differential switching to account for some data (language switching at baseball games), but mostly I rely on differential strategies as explanation for choice of language.

Fieldwork Conditions and Methods

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I was able to establish a reciprocal arrangement with Chief Paul Storey. The Chief suggested that I help him with his letter writing in exchange for permission to live on the reserve in rent-free accommodations. This relationship held for the duration of fieldwork, and I was only charged board by the Micmac family with whom I resided.

When the Chief first sought my advice, he would tell me in general what he wanted to say and ask me to compose the letter. My reaction always was to encourage him to first express his own thoughts on paper, and then in effect to edit his letter, not for substance, but only for mistakes in grammar and spelling. He called this a learning process for himself. The confidence in attacking problems he says he gained, stems from our discussions about what courses of action were open to him on particular problems and how he was leaning in approaching a solution. I explained to the Chief my purpose in doing fieldwork and alluded to the idea of an anthropologist being both a "stranger and friend" (Powdermaker 1966). The Chief referred to it as "anthropologist and friend."

I was often present at all sorts of informal and formal meetings and became such a fixture that when absent, people wanted to know where I was and why I was not there. In addition, as participant-observer, I went fishing, cut pulpwood, and cleared brush. Also, I observed and taught in the elementary school (sixth grade). In trying to follow various types of

work days on the reserve, I would frequent gathering places such as the community hall in the morning when the men assembled for work assignments, and the little grocery stores at noon when people stopped by for ice cream or something else to supplement their dinner (the noon meal).

I was trusted by several couples of one extended family to the extent that if I happened to stop by at dinner time (noon) and the men had to leave their homes to go back to laboring on a work project, they allowed me to stay and continue to talk with their wives. With the family of Arnold Deme¹ I became almost a member in the sense that I was accepted and given entry at any time.

Acceptance took time to gain. One fisherman, for example, who was married to a daughter of Arnold Deme would not talk to me at first beyond a curt greeting, but after three months or so of attending some of the same meetings, drinking sessions, birthday parties, and fishing outings, we became good friends. If any one moment stands out as a hallmark of community acceptance, it is the following incident: upon my return from a drive to town, I encountered a group of Burnt Church teenagers who blocked my car and showed me rocks in their hands with which they claimed they were going to pelt certain non-Indian cars. The leader's closing remark to me was, "It's a good thing you're not a White man."

As mentioned in the Preface, in trying to observe natural conversation, I used a tape recorder inside four homes in which the families had become especially accustomed to my presence, and in my field notes I recorded instances of language switching, language choice, and English terms

¹All names of Burnt Church people have been changed to protect their privacy.

in Micmac. I tested my data-based hypotheses about topics, settings, and relationships between speakers later when I asked informants about their perception of certain speech events and social situations. I was specifically asked not to bring a tape recorder to political meetings and drinking sessions. However, a tape recorder was accepted at one wake, and a conversation between Micmac singers there appears in Appendix 1.

I found acceptance of a tape recorder at Burnt Church proportional to some idea of what anthropology is about. George Foulard, for example, had previously worked one summer with Paul Morrissy (an anthropologist at Saint Thomas University, Fredericton) in recording the Micmac songs sung at wakes. And Sidney Deme had had an introductory course in anthropology as a student at Saint Thomas University. The assurance of these two persons helped gain acceptance of my tape recorder in the situations when it was used.

Data for my questionnaire (see Appendix 2) were obtained through formal interviews. I interviewed a total of 12 men and 12 women for each of three generations: "young," "middle-aged," and "old" defined respectively as age 15 to 30, 30 to 60, and over 60. These categories correspond to the overall age range noted by Bock (1962:189) for Micmac generational statuses: jiinam and eepit are the terms for a man and for a woman over 16 but under 65, and gisiiguijij and gisiiguesg are those respectively for a man and a woman over 65. However, for analytical purposes, I divided the age range into three generations instead of two.

The questionnaire aims at providing data on language attitudes, that is, what language individuals say they use in various situations. Some activities such as playing bingo and telling jokes could have been

subdivided into components (see Chapter VI and Appendix 2) which might have been seen as separate social events calling for differential language use. In the analysis, I discuss some of the individual exceptions to the emerging patterns of language-use reporting. A strength of the questionnaire, I believe, is that it was developed in the field so that the questions are presumably more relevant to the community than if they had been developed mechanically prior to arrival.

CHAPTER II THE COMMUNITY

Individuals at Burnt Church are members of a community, not just an ethnic group. A community will have evolved patterns of interpersonal communication, reinforced by repeated face-to-face contacts, which may be represented as rules of conduct. Membership in a community implies a commitment to follow such rules among which are selection rules that govern language choices in a bilingual community (see Chapter VI). The purpose of this chapter is to portray communal aspects of Burnt Church.

Geographical Setting

New Brunswick has a total of 15 Indian reserves, six of which are those of Maliseet Indians in the western half of the province, and the others, all Micmac, are in the eastern half. Although Micmac and Maliseet are closely related branches of the Eastern Algonkian family of North American Indian languages (Wallis and Wallis 1957:1), the Micmacs and Maliseets do not have a native language in common. English is the language shared by Micmacs and Maliseets and the language used for mutual correspondence and conferences.

There are eight additional Micmac reserves in Nova Scotia, and in Newfoundland there are Micmac settlements but no official reserves -- perhaps owing to the late residence of Micmacs there in the historical period and to the status of Newfoundland as a British colony until 1949 when it joined the Canadian Confederation.

Burnt Church, a permanent community on Miramichi Bay located 23

miles northeast of Newcastle, lies between the monolingual English-speaking settlement of New Jersey (population 200) and the French-speaking village of Neguac (bilingual in English, population 1500). Burnt Church actually lies between a series of English-speaking settlements to the southwest and a series of French-speaking settlements to the northeast along the coast of the Miramichi River and Bay (see Map 1). An exception is the English-speaking village of Tabusintac which is located within the French-speaking area. Historically, Burnt Church may have been a buffer between the French and English settlements. The French were in the Burnt Church area as missionaries and fishermen much earlier than the English, but only slightly earlier as settlers.

The Burnt Church Indian Band lives on the Burnt Church Indian Reserve and has the use of the uninhabited Tabusintac Indian Reserve, 12 miles north. (It should be noted that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development -- referred to hereafter as "Indian Affairs" -- uses "band" as the legal term for a Canadian Indian group, and the Indian land is officially a "reserve.") Placed under the jurisdiction of the Government of Canada in 1867 at the time of Confederation by provisions of the British North America Act (MacBeath and Chamberlin 1965:291), the Province of New Brunswick already had established an Indian reserve of 2,058 acres at Burnt Church on March 5, 1805 (Perley 1842:99). Another reserve of 12,000 acres, "Tabusintac" as it is called at Burnt Church, was set aside on the Tabusintac River as an additional resource for the people of Burnt Church on which to pursue some of their traditional subsistence activities -- inland hunting and fresh water fishing at Tabusintac and salt water fishing at Burnt Church. The two reserves are not contiguous because European settlement had inter-

vened prior to their establishment.

With a population of 600, Burnt Church is at the mid-point in the demographic range of the 12 Micmac reserves of eastern New Brunswick, the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec, and Prince Edward Island (see Table 1, below).

TABLE 1 POPULATION OF SIX MICMAC RESERVES REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC RANGE OF MICMAC RESERVES IN NEW BRUNSWICK AND QUEBEC

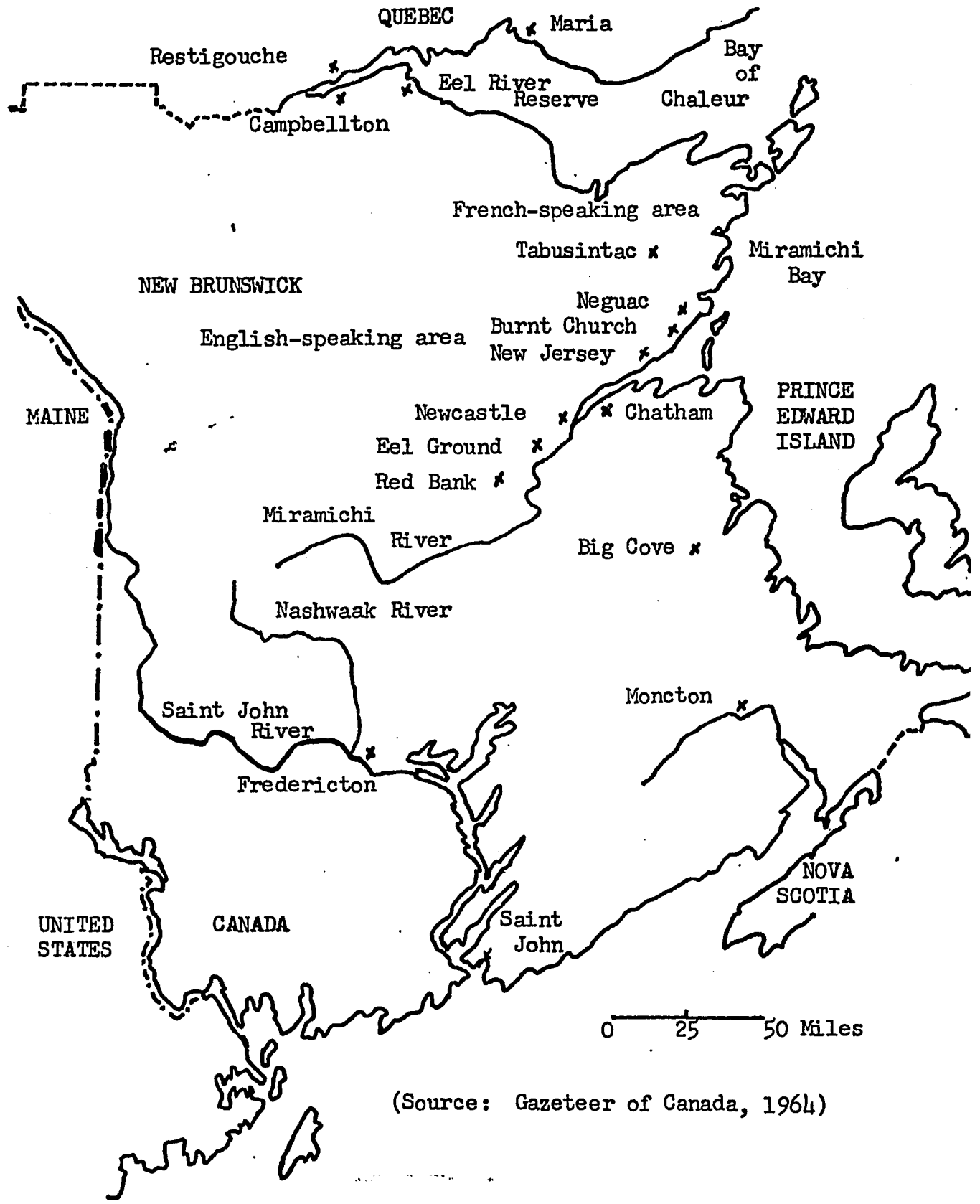
<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Population</u>
Restigouche, Quebec	1,200
Big Cove, New Brunswick	1,200
Burnt Church, New Brunswick	600
Eel Ground, New Brunswick	200
Eel River, New Brunswick	200
Pabineau, New Brunswick	50

(Source: Band Lists of Indian Affairs, 1971)

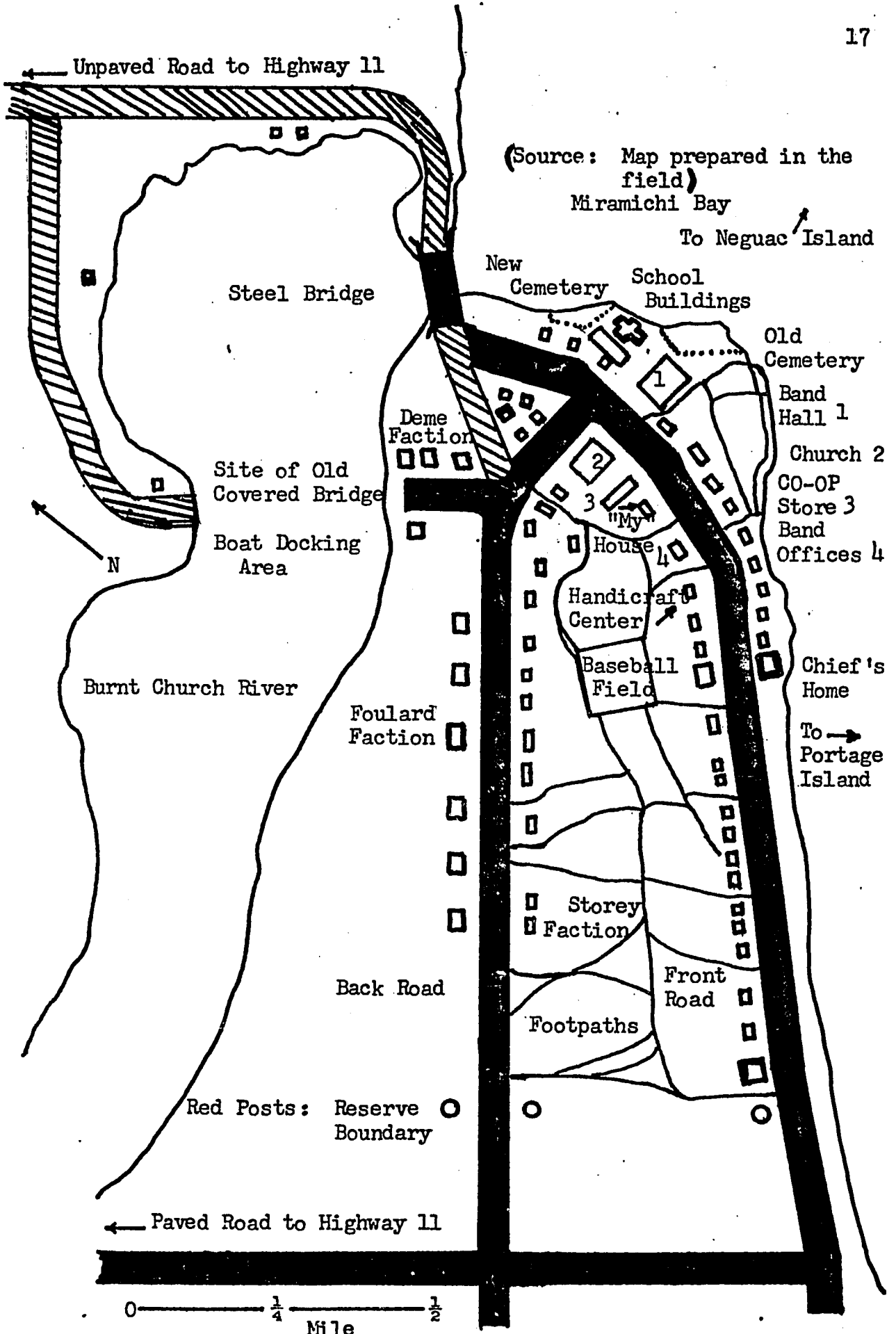
(As of January 1976, the Union of New Brunswick Indians estimated the population of Burnt Church to be 650; my own house-to-house census in December 1971 put the population at 582).

The landscape of Burnt Church has not changed since Ganong (1908: 276) described the spot on which the settlement is located as a "very commanding and attractive" one -- on top of bluffs which rise ten or twelve feet from the narrow beach below. Nearly all the buildings sit atop these bluffs on a point of land between the mouth of the Burnt Church River and Miramichi Bay, and the houses are close enough to allow virtually every household convenient access to the sea. The Burnt Church River is meandering, smooth, and shallow -- a safe harbor, once for birch bark canoes

MAP 1 CITIES AND TOWNS AND MIGMAC RESERVES IN NEW BRUNSWICK AND QUEBEC



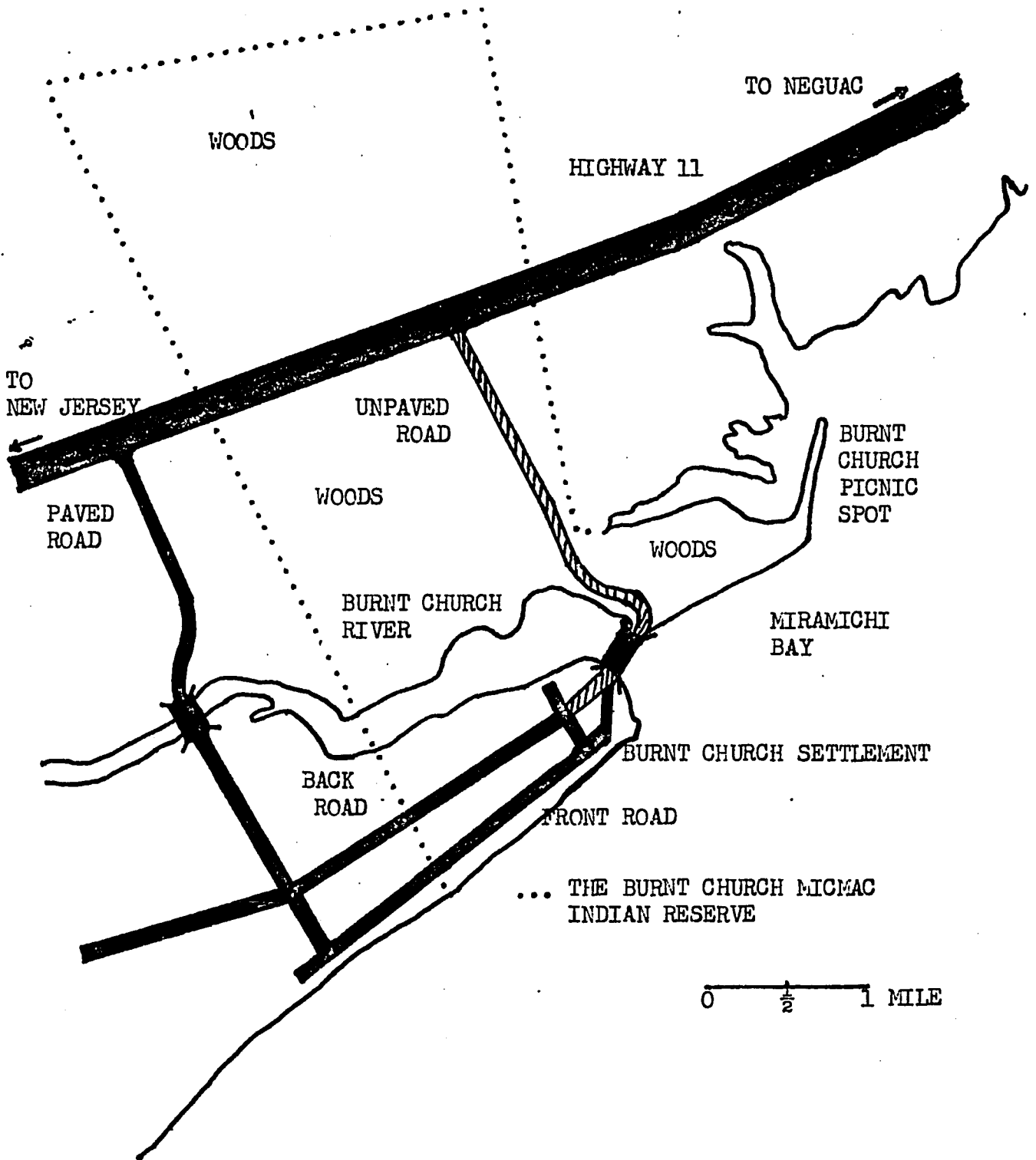
(Source: Gazetteer of Canada, 1964)



MAP 3 THE BURNT CHURCH MICMAC INDIAN RESERVE

FARMS AND PATCHES OF WOODS

(Source: Indian Affairs' map in the possession of the Chief, 1971)



(Wallis and Wallis 1955:43) and now for dories with outboard motors.

Beyond the bluffs, the waters of Miramichi Bay mingle with those of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, and looking south on a clear day the far shore can just barely be seen. Two slim islands, wooded and uninhabited, partly shelter the waters immediately in front of Burnt Church (see Map 1). One of them, Portage Island, five miles out and parallel to the settlement, is a favorite spot for individuals from Burnt Church to have an occasional fish boil and to walk along the sandy beach with its ocean-sized breakers. Now and then, seals are hunted in the area. Burnt Church men will circumnavigate the island with rifles in dories in an attempt to sight a swimming seal.

The other island (Neguac Island) runs parallel to the village of Neguac. Burnt Church and its neighbors, Neguac and New Jersey, share typical vistas of the Miramichi Valley -- farms, forests, and the bay fed by small fresh water rivers such as the Burnt Church River and the Tabusintac River. Burnt Church itself, however, has no farmland; Micmacs have resisted farming (Bock 1974a:226), although there used to be pasturage at Burnt Church for some dairy farming and the raising of livestock about 1919. Except for the settlement, the land of Burnt Church is heavily forested with hemlock, juniper, spruce, and pine, but occasionally one sees a stand of hardwoods such as maple, ash, and oak as well as beech and birch.

New Brunswick's average annual precipitation is 40 inches "well distributed throughout the year" (Raymond 1961:276). Temperatures vary seasonally from 30 degrees Fahrenheit below zero in February to 90 degrees in July. During the period of fieldwork, September 1971 through September 1972, the temperature ranged at Burnt Church from 20 degrees below zero in

February to 80 degrees in July, no doubt moderated by the sea.

Burnt Church is very windy, and in the winter storms may be severe enough for snow drifts to accumulate to the height of a one-story building. During fieldwork, one such storm created a mound of snow which blocked the main road of the settlement for two weeks. The bay freezes in winter, often to a depth of several feet. With the thaw in spring, huge blocks of ice pile up towards shore, thrust there by wind and waves.

Highway 11 of the Province of New Brunswick as it traverses the Burnt Church Indian Reserve has two four-mile spurs, one paved and the other unpaved, which lead seaward to each end of the Burnt Church settlement (see Map 3, page 18). There are two paved roads within the settlement which run parallel to the bay -- "Front Road," close to the bay, and "Back Road" (see Map 2, page 17). (These names are used in English whether the rest of the utterance is in English or Micmac.) The two roads merge near the mouth of the Burnt Church River, where there is a steel bridge, built in 1967 (see Map 2), which replaced an old covered bridge farther upstream.

Over the bridge, the road veers towards Highway 11 where a right turn takes you to Neguac and Tracadie and other French-speaking towns (see Map 3). A left turn takes you to New Jersey and Newcastle and other towns in the English-speaking area. In opposite directions, Neguac and New Jersey are both five miles from Burnt Church. The paved spur from Highway 11 to the Burnt Church settlement goes through New Jersey farmland and close to the Burnt Church Indian Reserve without actually traversing it, whereas the unpaved spur is completely on the reserve. The

fact that the "English" road is paved while the "Indian" road is not is a constant source of irritation to the Micmacs.

A number of foot paths interlace the wooded area between the Front and Back Roads. They are used to visit back and forth as short cuts between homes. At the start of fieldwork, September 1971, there were 87 houses at Burnt Church plus a recently constructed fishing shed, an old church, and a relatively new community hall. During the ensuing year, ten new houses, a handicraft center, and a community office building were built. In January 1976, the Burnt Church Indian Cooperative Association (the CO-OP) opened a brand-new grocery store on the reserve. This store of small supermarket proportions may replace the two tiny grocery stores that are housed in extensions built onto existing homes, and which have been on the reserve for some time. These stores carry a stock of milk, bread, canned goods, lard and butter, soft drinks, and ice cream and candy -- sufficient for intermittent needs but not enough for a week's grocery shopping.

The buildings of Burnt Church are all of frame construction, not essentially different from other rural settlements in the Miramichi Valley. Most of the buildings face either of the two parallel roads of the settlement except where the Front Road skirts the bay so closely at the southwestern end that there is room for dwellings only on the leeward side of the road. At the opposite end of the settlement, the community's public buildings cluster around the intersection where I lived during fieldwork, near the point of land between the Burnt Church River and Miramichi Bay.

Burnt Church has a sewage system, garbage collection, and street

lights, all administered by the community. Just about every home has a wringer-type washing machine. Automobiles are less common. In the summer of 1972, there were 26 cars being operated on the reserve.

The increasing use of electrical appliances and oil burning furnaces has been a mixed blessing. For example, the electric stove is not nearly as adaptive to winter conditions as the wood-burning stove (epsagtej) or the wood/oil stove. Both of these stoves are found in older homes on the reserve and, in contrast to the electric stove, are independent of an external power supply. The wood stove burns chopped wood, readily available at Burnt Church, and a wood/oil stove has separate sections for burning wood and kerosene. In severe weather, when power lines snap under the weight of accumulated ice, there is no heat in the new houses because the oil furnaces have electric starter motors. The occupants of the newer homes must move out and stay with relatives who have non-electric stoves until power is restored.

Burnt Church as a Community

Gumperz (1968:381) defines a speech community as "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage." Burnt Church shares its Micmac-English bilingualism with other Micmac reserves in New Brunswick and Quebec. However, it has close economic ties with neighboring non-Micmac groups along the Miramichi. What, then, may be thought of as a "community" in this context? According to Arensberg, the extent to which a given settlement or group may be considered a community depends upon the degree of its representativeness,

completeness, inclusiveness, and cohesiveness; to be considered a community, the aggregate should be "integrated enough...to...contain in it the institutions, the culture traits, the forces of the whole society or civilization for which it is to serve as a part, sample, or mirror" (1961:247). Arensberg's criteria provide useful questions to ask in describing the nature of a settlement's social boundedness.

With other Micmac reserves, Burnt Church shares a dependence on the federal government for economic development, formal education, and health care. The contemporary Micmac political system is outlined by the Indian Act (1867) which provides for the biennial election of chief and councillors for each reserve (one councillor for every 100 band members). Communication among reserves is aided by membership in the Union of New Brunswick Indians and similar Unions in Nova Scotia and Quebec, which lobby for the betterment of social conditions on Indian reserves.

Burnt Church shares with other Micmac reserves a surviving body of folklore (see section on religion and folklore later in this chapter) as well as egalitarian values, expressed by cooperation, reciprocity, and the use of Micmac.

Burnt Church shares with its non-Micmac neighbors rural mail delivery, radio and television reception, and a dependence on the automobile for shopping in towns along the Miramichi. Burnt Church along with Neguac, New Jersey, Newcastle, and Chatham are all part of the Miramichi Valley commercial network. Some goods and services are exchanged between Burnt Church and its neighbors, but money essentially flows out from Burnt Church for the purchase of consumer goods in Neguac and to a lesser extent in New Jersey, Newcastle, and Chatham. The direction of the flow of money may change,

however, as more people from Burnt Church itself as well as residents of New Jersey, Neguac, and elsewhere along the Miramichi, start using the Burnt Church CO-OP Supermarket for their weekly shopping.

Territoriality is a concomitant of community but not necessarily congruent with it. Burnt Church has definite boundaries marked by red-painted posts five feet in height along Highway 11, and along the Front and Back Roads. Burnt Church is somewhat isolated compared to its neighbors because of its location directly on the edge of the bay, with the sea as its backyard (see Maps 2 and 3). Perhaps because of commercial interests, the neighboring villages have their settlements on both sides of Highway 11 as it follows the contour of the bay approximately a mile inland from the bay's edge (see Map 1). Highway 11 traverses the Burnt Church Indian Reserve through a wooded area, the same now as it has been since the reserve was established.

The isolation of Burnt Church no doubt contributes to its completeness or wholeness as a community because most interaction is focused within the settlement rather than externally. When I attended Andrew Stover's birthday party (see section on drinking in this chapter), he told me that I was the first "English" person ever to have been a guest in his home. The people from Burnt Church may shop in Newcastle, Chatham, and Neguac, but they do not have friends there with whom they socialize. There is no reciprocity between the Burnt Church Micmacs and their English-Canadian and French-Canadian neighbors. There is no exchange of an evening's card game, nor do they fish, drink, or go to the movies together. The relationships off the reserve are formal ones: customer-merchant, patient-doctor, student-teacher. For secondary students, lack of convenient transportation limits

participation in after-school activities in Newcastle. During the period of fieldwork, no Burnt Church students were active in any extra-curricular programs at the Miramichi Valley Junior and Senior High Schools, nor did they have non-Micmac friends from school with whom they visited in their homes. Transportation -- that is, only one school bus leaving right after school to return to Burnt Church -- is a limiting but not a prohibitive factor, because there is some visiting back and forth between Micmac students from Eel Ground (just outside of Newcastle) and from Burnt Church.

At Burnt Church, people interact with one another on the reserve during the work projects, in the grocery stores, in the community hall, at church, in one another's homes, etc. They observe the life-crisis events of others on the reserve but not of acquaintances off the reserve, because close relationships with non-Micmacs simply have not been established.

I think that Burnt Church is as complete a community in Arensberg's sense of the term, as a Micmac reserve can be. With the exception of a church choir, Burnt Church has all the statuses found on a contemporary Micmac reserve. With the establishment of a CO-OP with fishing, grocery, wood-cutting, and handicraft sections, Burnt Church is moving in the direction of greater economic self-sufficiency, but, as yet, there are not enough permanent jobs on the reserve to achieve that goal. At present, the federally sponsored work projects enable Burnt Church people to stay on the reserve.

The fact that most of the people wish to remain on the reserve contributes to the cohesiveness of Burnt Church, as does a relatively high rate of endogamy (mentioned later in this chapter), and the practice of egalitarian values. As Guillemin says (1975:149), Micmacs value people

over things and freely share material possessions. Bock (1974b:385) corroborates this and offers the following traits as Micmac characteristics in the context of valuing community over individual privacy: "kindness, loyalty, strength, and quiet dignity." Burnt Church may be thought of as an ongoing Micmac social unit with egalitarian values. The relevance of this fact to the pattern of bilingual choices will be brought out in Chapters IV and VI.

Economy

As mentioned above, Burnt Church, New Jersey, and Neguac are all part of the Miramichi Valley commercial network which centers around the English-speaking towns of Newcastle and Chatham (population about 6,000 and 8,000 respectively). Newcastle lies on the north bank of the Miramichi 23 miles upriver from Burnt Church, and Chatham is situated on the south bank diagonally across from Newcastle. Newcastle has a plant which processes pulpwood for paper while Chatham is the site of a major base of the Canadian Air Force and is also an international seaport for small freighters.

The pulpwood cut on the Burnt Church and Tabusintac reserves is trucked to the plant in Newcastle, and income from the sale of this wood is channelled into the Burnt Church Indian Cooperative Association. The Burnt Church CO-OP was chartered during my period of fieldwork and consisted of three divisions: wood cutting, fishing and eel farming, and handicrafts. A fourth division was created in January 1976 with the opening of a small supermarket. Capital for the pulpwood, fishing, and handicraft sections of the CO-OP derives from a grant from Indian Affairs, while capital for the CO-OP store was provided by Indian Affairs in the form of

a loan to be repaid in 15 years at 7½% interest.

Burnt Church receives the bulk of its income from three independent departments of the Government of Canada: the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and the Department of the Secretary of State. The last provides funds to Canadian communities for youth work projects over the summer months, and the Department of Manpower provides grants for adult work projects in the winter when seasonal unemployment peaks. The Chief and others in the community have indicated that what is needed is the extension of work projects throughout the year.

In addition to work projects, the Department of Indian Affairs also funds regular budgets for social assistance (welfare) to members of Indian communities, for operating expenses and salaries to maintain elementary schools, and for tuition for secondary and college-level students who attend school off the reserve. A small number of Micmacs at Burnt Church receive salaries from budgets not dependent on grants: a schoolteacher, a school janitor, a practical nurse, two school attendance officers, two constables, and the band manager. The Chief at Burnt Church has chosen to double as Band Manager because he can meet the English educational requirements of the latter position and because this position is salaried, whereas the elected position of chief is not.

Also there is a Micmac employed full-time as a community development worker, a sort of social worker and social researcher paid by the Union of New Brunswick Indians. The Union has its headquarters in Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick, and was formed in 1967 to study Indian social conditions and, as mentioned previously, to lobby for their

improvement.

Nearly every year there is a housing allotment from Indian Affairs for the construction of a few homes in each reserve according to need. These less regular funds -- which include work projects, capital investments such as the CO-OP, and training projects such as carpentry and handicraft courses -- all have to be audited annually along with the regular budget. Some projects only run for a quarter of a year, with provision for renewal provided satisfactory records are kept and progress towards completion is demonstrated. Chief Paul Storey of Burnt Church has an excellent record in obtaining and maintaining grants, and his reputation has even spread from Micmac circles to non-Indian Miramichi communities. Some of these have sent representatives to him for advice in applying for grants.

Although handicraft production is not a significant part of the economy, Burnt Church is gaining a reputation for making a distinctive product for sale in its handicraft center: a bead-work necklace called an "Indian tie" which features an Indian person conspicuously depicted amongst geometric designs on each side of the Y-shaped tie. Seemingly, Burnt Church has a chance to eventually be comparable to Big Cove, the Micmac reserve to the south of Burnt Church which has had a handicraft center for a number of years producing a distinctive local product -- silk screened, originally designed greeting cards and stationery that feature modern motifs drawn from Micmac folklore. The two instructors who taught a course in handicrafts at Burnt Church prior to the opening of the handicraft center were a husband and wife team from Big Cove. They introduced to Burnt Church a variety of leather, bead-work, and birch bark

items including the manufacture of flat, shallow circular boxes of birch bark, decorated with porcupine quill-work. In contrast, the new handicraft center on the Micmac reserve of Eel River in northern New Brunswick sells mostly artifacts made by other native peoples of Canada purchased through Indian Affairs in Ottawa.

The handicraft center at Burnt Church also sells artifacts of other Canadian Indian peoples purchased from the Central Marketing Service in Ottawa. Each artifact bears a tag certifying it to be an "Authentic Canadian Indian Fine Craft." The marketing service is reciprocal, buying local products and selling raw materials (such as tanned moosehide) and finished artifacts to Indian handicraft centers. Thus, the bead-work "tie" of Burnt Church could be distributed across Canada.

The handicraft center figures in the community's plan for developing tourism to augment the income of Burnt Church. A picnic grove and sports fishing cabins are other tourist attractions under development. Tourists stopping at Burnt Church generally fall into three categories: regional people who come to Burnt Church for Saint Anne's Day; Canadians from Quebec, Ontario, and even farther west, on their way to Nova Scotia; and Americans on a tour of the Gaspé Peninsula who want to see some of the by-ways of New Brunswick.

An event which attracts people to Burnt Church is Saint Anne's Day, July 26, the official birthday of the patroness of the Micmacs. It is already an established holiday at Burnt Church for people of the Miramichi Valley, Micmacs and non-Micmacs alike. The year of fieldwork, approximately 300 non-Micmacs came as well as many Micmacs from other reserves. Food is sold at the festivities, and there are tables and booths for bingo and other

games of chance. Saint Anne's Day or any other summer day might bring tourists to Burnt Church for a picnic lunch and a visit to the handicraft center. Because of its sweeping view of the bay, the picnic spot may appeal to tourists seeking respite from the highway.

During the period of fieldwork, four Burnt Church men obtained commercial licenses from the Province of New Brunswick as hunting and fishing guides, primarily for the Burnt Church CO-OP's sports fishing project on the Tabusintac River. Three cabins were built by the river on the Tabusintac Reserve to be occupied by sports fishermen from Canada, the United States, and possibly even Europe.

The Atlantic salmon season in New Brunswick runs from May 15 to September 15. Some of the well established lodges are booked a year in advance for a week's fishing. The Miramichi River has been called "one of the finest salmon rivers in the world" (Lank 1972:4). At the fishing lodge of Clayton Steward on the southwest branch of the Miramichi near Boiestown, New Brunswick, four days' fishing costs \$300, including license, guide, food, lodging, and transportation from town (Bryant 1974: 16). Chief Paul Storey would like to provide similar services at Burnt Church which could take advantage of its convenient access to both fresh water and salt water fishing if a choice is desired.

Burnt Church once was heavily involved in Atlantic salmon fishing, but in recent years fishing has declined in significance as an income producing activity partly because of overfishing by international commercial trawlers in ocean waters and partly because of river pollution (Lank 1972: 4). Burnt Church fishermen now fish for mackerel, eel, smelt, herring, and lobster in addition to maintaining their eel farming enterprise on the re-

serve (i.e. the stocking of eel pools for commercial purposes).

Pairs of men sharing one dory comprise the everyday fishing teams, and proximity of residence seems to be the principal factor in the selection of fishing partners (see Table 2, below). Most fishing partners live across the road or next door to one another, which seemingly makes for more convenient cooperation.

TABLE 2 CHOICE OF FISHING PARTNERS (Two Men Sharing One Boat)

Relationship	Fishermen	Boats	Percent of Fishing Partners According to Kin Relationship
Mother's brother- sister's son	2	1	8%
Father-son	4	2	15%
Affines	6	3	23%
Friends	12	6	46%
Alone	2	2	8%
	<u>26</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>100%</u>

These data refer to CO-OP fishing which began in the autumn of 1971 and include young married fishermen who do not yet have their own homes and thus still reside matrilocally, as well as those whose new homes have been located in their respective patrilocal sections of the community. Fishing for various species takes place throughout the year; in the winter, when the bay is frozen with ice thick enough to support an automobile, holes are chopped to fish for smelt with hand lines.

Prior to 1970, entire families from Burnt Church and other reserves would travel to Maine every autumn to harvest potatoes. This activity frequently conflicted with school attendance as Bock (1966b:101) has described for the Micmac reserve of Restigouche. An administrative decision was made at Burnt Church by the Band Council in consultation with Indian Affairs and the school district in Newcastle, not to allow pupils to

enter school after the semester has begun solely because they were working in the potato fields. This decision has altered a once seasonal labor pattern at Burnt Church; children do not miss school any more because of the potato harvest. During the fieldwork period, only a few youths went to Maine for "potato money," and they had already dropped out of school.

Adult and youth work projects have in large measure met the need for money previously earned in harvesting potatoes. Chief Paul Storey's reputation for proper grant administration was instrumental in getting the first "winter works" project in all of Canada to be approved for the ensuing winter of 1974-1975 (Agenutemagen 1974:10). The Chief has also won summer youth projects from the Department of the Secretary of State. "Winter works" projects are granted by the Department of Manpower. As mentioned previously, the youth projects are designed to provide employment in the community for boys and girls during vacation. Both departments (Manpower and the Secretary of State) stress local work projects for the benefit of the community, and in each case, the individual participants must devise a proposal suitable for their particular community. There are on-site inspections before approval and during the course of a grant. Progress reports are required as well as a full report upon completion. During the year of fieldwork, 111 men and women were employed through the work projects.

While some individuals at Burnt Church have occupations common in the larger society, they practice these specialties without the formal license required off the reserve. Several men, for example, are known as good automobile mechanics, yet none have obtained licenses from the Province of New Brunswick which would enable them to practice their trade

outside the community. The same is true for the few barbers, hair dressers, plumbers, and carpenters at Burnt Church (see Table 3, below). The services of these specialists are based on reciprocity and the exchange of goods and services in times of need, and not upon a fixed scale of payment in money. One exception to this is the price of a taxi ride: two dollars to Neguac and ten dollars to Newcastle or Chatham, round trip.

Production activities which contribute to subsistence at Burnt Church are gardening, hog raising, fish salting, and moose hunting. In the summer 1972, there were seven small vegetable gardens tended by women to supplement the dinner table. Also that year, two hogs were raised by two different families. The meat was shared with family and friends, and some of it was sold to one of the schoolteachers who lives in Neguac. In the exchange of goods between Burnt Church and its neighbors, Burnt Church provides lobsters and Neguac delivers home heating oil. There is some subsistence fishing, and some of this fish is salted and stored. Hunting moose or tiam is a minor subsistence activity today, but one pursued with great interest by the few men who engage in it.

TABLE 3 INVENTORY OF OCCUPATIONS

Occupational Statuses Filled by Micmacs (Number in Parentheses)

<u>Male</u>	licensed taxi driver (1)
woodcutter (42)	school janitor (1)
fisherman (26)	<u>Male, part-time</u>
carpenter (10)	taxi driver (10)
constable (2)	automobile mechanic (5)
school attendance officer (2)	hunting/fishing guide (4)
school bus driver (2)	barber (3) plumber (3)
	garbage collector (2)

TABLE 3 INVENTORY OF OCCUPATIONS

<u>Female</u>	<u>Female, part-time</u>
handicraft worker (15)	baby sitter (16)
secretary (1)	housekeeper for the elderly (7)
	hair dresser (2)
<u>Male and Female</u>	<u>Male and Female, part-time</u>
storekeeper (6)	student summer worker (18)
band manager (1)	
CO-OP manager (1)	
CO-OP assistant manager (1)	
CO-OP bookkeeper (1)	
community development worker (1)	
practical nurse (1)	
schoolteacher (1)	
teacher's aide (1)	
welfare officer (1)	
<u>Combined Occupational Statuses</u>	
fisherman, combined with:	part-time taxi driver (5)
	carpenter (4)
	hunting/fishing guide (4)
	automobile mechanic (3)
	garbage collector (2)
	barber (1)
	licensed taxi driver (1)
	plumber (1)
	storekeeper (1)

TABLE 3 INVENTORY OF OCCUPATIONS

woodcutter, combined with: barber (2)

plumber (2)

automobile mechanic (1)

school janitor (1)

school bus driver, combined with: automobile mechanic (1)

Occupational Statuses Filled by Non-Micmacs Not Resident in the Community

schoolteacher (5)

Chief's bookkeeper (1)

priest (1)

school principal (1)

visiting registered nurse (1)

The economy, despite its meager resources, contributes to the cohesiveness of the community because of Micmac expectations of sharing and reciprocity. Bock (1966a:43) describes such an example -- sharing the meat from a moose hunt: "A few years ago, one man shot five moose in a single season...Everybody had some that year. For a dollar, L... would give you a big steak; and if you didn't have a dollar, he'd still give you one.'" At Burnt Church, I observed that people readily shared such items as fresh and salted fish, money, clothes, and other material things (e.g. gasoline cans and fishing gear). Automobiles are loaned too, say for a visit to another reserve. This type of sharing is part of the egalitarian values characteristic of Burnt Church and other Micmac reserves.

Political Organization

Local government on any Micmac reserve consists of a chief and band council (one councillor for every 100 band members), elected every two years by majority vote of the band members over the age of 21. This system is outlined by the Indian Act (stemming from the British North America Act of 1867), and it applies to the Micmacs in the absence of any other treaties with the federal government. The chief and council appoint committees, make by-laws, and pass resolutions. There are three permanent committees in the community -- the School Committee, the Church Committee, and the Health Committee as well as an occasional ad hoc committee like the one created in 1971 to make a recommendation on whether Burnt Church should form its own CO-OP. The by-laws have to do with the regulation of such matters as garbage collection and dog licensing, and the resolutions concern the expenditure of band funds and the hiring of people to fill salaried positions in the school and community.

Actions of a band council must be approved by Indian Affairs, and the Burnt Church Band Council routinely submits by-laws and resolutions to the district office in Fredericton. It has been Indian Affairs policy in recent years to cooperate as fully as possible with local wishes as represented by the due process of band council resolutions. Furthermore, the administration of relatively large sums of grant money, for example, \$80,000 for housing construction, has been placed in band hands. Burnt Church was the first band in the Miramichi Agency to acquire this privilege. Band councils also determine what members of their communities receive new houses, and they act as a review board if, for some reason, charges of misconduct are brought by band members against individuals

holding community office or a salaried position.

The community of Burnt Church has political factions which center around three patrilocal extended families: the Demes, the Storeys, and the Foulards. The Deme family lives in the northern section of the settlement (see Map 2, page 17) around the homes of three middle-aged brothers -- Arnold, Gabriel, and James. Their father, Walter, was a former chief as was James, who served prior to the incumbent, Chief Paul Storey, who has been in office since 1970. Paul heads the second political faction which clusters at the south end of the settlement (see Map 2). The third political faction, the Foulards, lives in the central section of the settlement, and centers around the home of Simon Foulard. His daughter, Betsey Foulard Soudain, was the welfare officer upon my arrival (autumn 1971), and his son, Steven, continues as the community development worker of the Union of New Brunswick Indians at Burnt Church.

The political factions form coalitions for each biennial election. Individuals, however, sometimes shift loyalties, and factions themselves might switch their support back and forth into two-against-one alliances for a given election. Prior to an election, there may be an alliance on some issue such as the fact that a particular road remains unpaved, the failure to obtain a specific grant, or allegations of improper management of on-going grants.

The political factions at Burnt Church are not disruptive in the sense of creating lasting hostilities; as mentioned earlier, they cooperate as well as compete with one another for political office. Except at election time, information about new grants gathered from the Union of New Brunswick Indians and from Indian Affairs or other sources is freely

shared between factions. Indeed, the mechanical process of applying for a grant, such as the one recently received for eel farming, may be a joint effort of members of all the factions.

Candidates for chief and council campaign for office by visiting people in their homes and discussing issues such as the need for more housing and work projects, and for having the reserve access road to Highway 11 paved (see Map 2). The performance of those in office is, of course, discussed also. The basis of a Micmac leader's support is the esteem of his kinsmen, friends, and followers based upon voluntary action since the Micmacs "find it virtually impossible to accept authority of any kind" (Bock 1966a:55) in contrast to the obedience expected with Euro-Canadian hierarchical authority (Miller 1955:287). A Micmac chief or office holder is expected to distribute benefits and goods according to what may be stated as an ethical precept that property is to be shared freely and that immediate needs of others take precedence over a person's future goals. A modern Micmac chief is not unlike a traditional Micmac chief when in an egalitarian society chiefs were chosen annually by consensus and, "Micmac chieftainship was the product of kinship affiliations and superior personal ability" (Hoffman 1955:570). Kinsmen still play an important part in, and make up a large part of, a chief's constituency, yet kinship can be a two-edged political sword, as kinsmen may be more sensitive than non-kinsmen as to how a Micmac officer holder handles the redistribution of benefits such as jobs, welfare payments, and new housing assignments (with the Band Council) or home repair priorities. Thus, there is potential conflict between honoring bilateral kinship obligations and treating everyone in the community as fairly as possible in the context of Micmac egalitarianism.

The kinship obligations of a person in office may lead to charges of unfairness by kin and non-kin alike from different points of view. A case in point is the ouster of Betsey Foulard Soudain as Welfare Officer in the spring of 1972.

Betsey was accused of being unfair in her distribution of welfare payments by Hector Foulard, her father's brother's son, whose dispute with her was over the sum of ten dollars she had deducted because she claimed he had sufficient other income. When a written petition was circulated, public opinion coalesced against her because many others apparently thought that she was favoring certain of her other relatives such as her mother and sister. The petition reads as follows:

We, the undersigned, believe that the present Welfare Officer is not acting in the best interests of the Indian people of Burnt Church. We say that this officer, Mrs. Betsey Soudain, has not visited enough people in their houses to make proper welfare decisions, and we believe that she has shown favouritism to some people and has been unfair to others in some of these decisions. Therefore, we request a hearing on the conduct of this officer and perhaps immediate replacement. (Dated, April 19, 1972.)

The Chief decided to support the petition for dismissal, and Indian Affairs concurred in the interests of community harmony. It may be said that the November election of 1972 began in the spring of that year on the question of the ouster of the Welfare Officer. That issue led to a realignment of political factions. Except for Hector Foulard, and his father, George, all signers of the petition were either in the Storey or Deme factions, and this presaged their later coalition in the autumn election. In that election, Derek Soudain, the husband of Betsey Foulard Soudain, ran for chief against Paul Storey. Paul won, and James Deme, the former chief, was elected a band councillor.

The results of the election of 1972 revealed a shift from women

to men in five councillor positions. In 1970, Betsey Soudain had actively recruited women for political support, but five of them were replaced because Paul Storey no longer backed them, favoring instead a coalition with the larger, more conservative Deme faction whose women are not active in politics nor in tasks outside the home other than in handicraft production. (I do not have data at hand for other elections, but for the election of 1972 it is interesting to note that 86% of those eligible to vote as registered members of the Burnt Church Indian Band did in fact vote.)

The Welfare Officer was ousted because she allegedly showed favoritism to some and unfairness to others. A Micmac officer holder is expected to be fair to everybody and to govern and lead by persuasion, not by any direct assertion of power. In the case of Betsey Soudain's ouster, she apparently should have negotiated the ten dollar reduction in welfare payments with her cousin, Hector Foulard, rather than just stop the payment. As Bock (1966a:55) has said, Micmacs "find it virtually impossible to accept authority of any kind." The case of the Welfare Officer reveals how not to be a Micmac office holder, and it shows the action taken by community members when egalitarian values are believed to have been violated.

Religion and Folklore

Sacred affairs among the Micmacs means church-related matters (Bock 1966a:55), and church means Roman Catholicism introduced and perpetuated through an ongoing history of missionary contact of over centuries (Wallis 1961:43). In recent years, Burnt Church has had either a resident priest or a visiting priest who comes for Sunday Mass and other occasions when needed (see Chapter III). Burnt Church shares its modern religious ob-

servances with Neguac and other Acadian towns along the Miramichi. Every Sunday, people from Neguac who want to attend a later Mass will come to Burnt Church for an 11 o'clock service.

Important events in the religious calendar, such as Halloween (the evening before All Saints' Day), Christmas, Easter, and Saint Anne's Day, generally coincide with the seasons of autumn (towaag), winter (gesig), spring (sigw), and summer (nipg). On Halloween, children masquerade as the goblins they learn about in school; on Christmas and Easter, special Masses are held, and people make an effort to visit each other. Such visits may be marked by gifts, social drinking, and a specially prepared meal. Baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death are rites of passage observed by Micmacs as Church ritual, together with events of the Church Year such as Advent (the beginning of the Church Year), Christmas, Septuagesima (preparation for Lent), Lent (penitence for Easter), Easter, and Saint Anne's Day (Bock 1962:191-200). Saint Anne's Day (July 26, commemorating the birth of the patron saint of the Micmacs) seems to be the focal point of the modern Micmac ritual cycle. As mentioned earlier, its celebration has both sacred and secular aspects: a Mass is performed, sometimes outdoors near the edge of the bluffs overlooking the bay; and food is served on the church grounds where there are picnic tables and booths for bingo and other games of chance.

In the seventeenth century, the Saint Anne's Day feast would probably have included haunches of venison and bear (Kelly 1976:13), but the contemporary fare for this picnic fete is ice cream and hamburgers. In retrospect, perhaps the only thing "Micmac" about Saint Anne's Day is the date. That is, Saint Anne may have been chosen as the patroness of the

Micmacs by seventeenth century missionaries because her day of commemoration in the Church calendar coincided with the time of the year when the Micmacs used to gather in relatively large groups in summer fishing settlements (Bock 1966b:97) at several coastal locations including Burnt Church.

Micmacs have reinterpreted borrowings from European contact in terms of their own beliefs (Bailey 1937:135; Bock 1974a:226) as evidenced by the belief at Burnt Church in the second coming of Gluusgap, the Micmac culture hero who figures so prominently in their folklore (Wallis and Wallis 1955:321-337). Other Micmac beliefs in supernatural beings or forces at Burnt Church involve the presence in the community of a puoin (witch), giinap (a person's special power to come to the aid of the community), sgateegamuuj (ghost), and puuguulaataamuujg (little people).

It is believed that the image of a puoin may appear in a dream, sometimes disguised as an animal such as a bear (muuin), and is an omen of what a puoin in the community may be intending towards that person or members of his or her family. If in a dream, you successfully ward off an attacking animal-witch, it is a good omen, but if the creature overwhelms you, that portends "bad wishes" from a puoin. In the conversation between Micmac singers at a wake (Frank Gleneg, Sheila Dudley, and George Foulard -- see Appendix 1), the belief is expressed that the songs for the dead should not be sung other than at wakes and funerals. To do so might in some way hasten a death.

Some people always carry twigs of upsaamuusii (sumac) sharpened at both ends to ward off the destructive power of witchcraft. The Chief at Burnt Church carries upsaamuusii regularly in his pockets. A story told at

Burnt Church is that a son of the Chief was "killed" by the puuoin in the community -- an old woman commonly referred to as a puuoin, Mary Dunagen. The story goes that she was overheard scolding the boy for allegedly disturbing her flower garden. Having first complained of headaches, he was rushed to the hospital in a coma, and a few weeks later he died. The boy's older sister told me that the medical diagnosis was a brain tumor. She is of the generation now in young adulthood that does not accept witchcraft literally, as do some elderly people, but which also does not completely discount it.

Traditionally, both good and evil were associated with puuoins, but nowadays their "influence and performance...are almost always evil" (Wallis and Wallis 1955:158), perhaps a borrowing of the form and meaning of the European term "witch" (Bock 1966a:94). Overtones from the European concept of witch seem to have given the modern Micmac puuoin the aura of a harridan. An aboriginal puuoin could apparently function as a healer and leader (assistant to the chief of a settlement and peacemaker in disputes) as well as a foreteller of the future (Wallis and Wallis 1955:156-162). A puuoin today is defined as "a person with magical powers who seeks to control others" (Guillemin 1975:115), a behavior that would conflict with Micmac egalitarian values.

It would appear traditionally that a person of either sex could be a puuoin, but historically it was more common for a woman to be known as one (Wallis and Wallis 1955:160-161). In the seven puuoin tales reprinted in Wallis and Wallis (1955:157-161, 246, 386), the sex of the puuoin is female in five instances and male in two. At Burnt Church, I was told by George Foulard, a septuagenarian knowledgeable in these matters, that a

puuoin might be a man but it was just more likely (for reasons he did not know) for a puuoin to be a woman. Perhaps this female tendency in the sex of a puuoin was borrowed as a cultural trait along with the other attributes of the English witch (Currie 1973:361) mentioned above.

The puuoin discussed in a conversation between septuagenarian George Foulard and his hospitalized nonagenarian friend, Joe Storey, is referred to by both speakers as female (see Appendix 1). I assume that the reference is to the woman in Burnt Church, mentioned above, who is known as a puuoin (Mary Dunagen, see Chapter IV). In the conversation, George and Joe come to the understanding that since Joe is away from the community and thus not in the proximity of the puuoin, she is not likely to harm him. Joe says that he was bothered by her at home, but not here in the hospital, and -- responding to George's queries -- says that he has not dreamt of the puuoin since his arrival.

The dream as omen is again illustrated in the tape recorded conversation (see Appendix 1) when George Foulard himself is hospitalized and young Sidney Deme asks him in Micmac during a visit if he has had any strange dreams lately. George says no, but talk continues with George revealing that he did dream of some people or animals; he is not sure which because he woke up before he could attempt to ward them off as possible witchlike beings. George ventures the judgment that he would feel better if he had beaten them off in the dream. Sidney gives him encouragement by saying that he will be able to if such dreams recur.

Sidney and George discuss in Micmac the possibility that Charles Dudley, a recent suicide at age 39, might have been bewitched; no accusations are made, however. Perhaps it is understood that if he had been, the

blame would be directed toward Mary Dunagen as the one commonly known as a puuoin. Sidney and George do talk disparagingly of anyone who would bewitch another, agreeing that eventually fate catches up with such a person, or puuoin, causing them to suffer.

Giinap refers to a person of great strength who does not know of its existence until called upon to use it in defense of his or her community or people. Giinap may imply special mental strength or intelligence such as that of a puuoin, but the power of a giinap is never evil (Wallis and Wallis 1955:156). A modern definition of giinap as used at Burnt Church is the power to become a good leader of the community. One of my older informants suggested that a particular youth who had just graduated from high school might be a giinap, seemingly because of his leadership potential.

It is said that sgateegamuujs or ghosts may appear at any time, sometimes as a sign of an imminent death. Two sgateegamuuj sightings were reported to me during fieldwork. Reference was also made to the puuguulaataamuujg (little people) who were gathered for a gambol along the shore. These spirits are said not only to play mischievous tricks on the Micmacs but also to help by protecting beached or anchored boats during a storm, just as they did in the old days when they watched over birch bark canoes.

What emerges as indicators of desirable behavior from categories of Micmac folklore are approval and potential leadership recognition for a person with unassuming ability (giinap), and dissonance and condemnation for one who by "bad wishes" would allegedly seek to control others (puuoin). We will later see (Chapter VI) the effect of such egalitarian values versus

hierarchical ones on language choice.

Kinship, Marriage, and Family

At Burnt Church for the past 20 years, only 17 out of 164 marriages (10%) had non-Micmac partners. From records for the same period in the Indian Affairs district office in Fredericton, 23 out of 58 (40%) of the marriages at the Micmac reserve of Eel River in northern New Brunswick were exogamous in that one of the partners was non-Micmac. Burnt Church, thus, tends to be endogamous in that people tend to find mates on the reserve or to a lesser extent from other other Micmac reserves such as Big Cove or Restigouche.

Having a child before marriage is no stigma at Burnt Church and may even be considered a step in the process of marrying. One third of those questioned on the subject (20 out of 60) had become parents prior to marriage. Marriage and children (or vice versa) are conditions for "getting a house" on the reserve, which usually means being assigned a new house by the Chief and Band Council -- one of the new homes being built on Micmac reserves to help alleviate the Indian housing shortage in New Brunswick (Francis 1972).

The child grows up in a patrilocal extended family, and interacts with grandparents, sometimes even with great grandparents, and a host of other relatives in the section of the settlement occupied by the extended family. As has been shown, the patrilocal extended family functions politically as a membership core for the three factions which compete in the biennial elections for chief and council, and economically for the sharing of money and material resources among its members. The extended

family is also the basic cooperative unit for child care and the communication of information about jobs and other opportunities. Later we will see (Chapter IV) the importance of old family members in the care of the young (and vice versa for teenagers and up when the old are very old).

A rule of matri-patrilocal residence seems to be the case at Burnt Church. The residence pattern shows that when a couple acquires a newly built home, it has been placed in the vicinity of the groom's father; prior to this, the couple lives with the bride's parents. The current practice fits the traditional Micmac custom of a groom's bride service for a year or so while living with the family of his wife (Speck 1922:90). At Burnt Church today, bride service followed by removal to the patrilocal residence predominates. Bock (1966a:74) observed this practice at Restigouche but indicates that what predominates there is ambilocal residence followed by the neolocal placement of a new home within the settlement. In Chapter IV, Madeline Deme and Marshall Perry are mentioned as an example of a young couple who became sweethearts, had two children and then married before the birth of a third child. They are still living matrilocally while waiting for a new home -- to be patrilocally placed when built.

My findings on kinship terminology corroborate those of Bock (1962: 123-124) and Wallis and Wallis (1955:230-232). The terminology (see Table 4, below) differs "little from our own (Eskimo type of) system" (Wallis and Wallis 1955:230) with the following exceptions: obligatory elder-younger sibling distinctions and sex-of-speaker/sex-of-relative sibling-in-law distinctions. Evidence of kin-term change can be seen in Micmac cousin terminology, which has changed from "Hawaiian" (Murdock's classification of seventeenth century Micmacs, 1967:102) to "Eskimo."

TABLE 4 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<u>Micmac Term</u>	<u>Kin Types</u>	<u>English Term</u>
angeguunit	...	godfather, godparent
angeguusg	...	godmother
anganigan	...	godchild
niisgaamiij	FaFa, MoFa	grandfather
nuuj	Fa	father
nuuguumiij	FaMo, MoMo	grandmother
angiij	Mo	mother
angwiis	So	son
antuus	Da	daughter
ansiis	ElBr	elder brother
anjigaaanam	YoBr	younger brother
naiis	ELSi	elder sister
angweejiiij	YoSi	younger sister
wijigatiieg	Br, Si	sibling
nuujiiij	SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa; spouse's child	grandchild; step- child
antlaamuugsis	FaBr, MoBr, FaSiHu, MoSiHu	uncle
ansuugwis	FaSi, MoSi, FaBrWi, MoBrWi	aunt
nogamau	FaSiSo, FaBrSo, FaSiDa, FaBrDa, MoBrSo, MoBrSo, MoSiDa, MoBrDa	cousin
naluugs	BrSo, SiSo	nephew
ansamjiiij	BrDa, SiDa	niece

TABLE 4. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<u>Micmac Term</u>	<u>Kin Types</u>	<u>English Term</u>
anjiinamuum	Hu	husband
anteepiitem	Wi	wife
anjilj	HuFa, WiFa	father-in-law
anjagwiijiiij	HuMo, WiMo	mother-in-law
namagtum	WiBr; HuSi	brother-in-law (man speaking); sister-in-law (woman speaking), i.e. sibling-in-law of the same sex as speaker
nilmuus	WiSi; HuBr	sister-in-law (man speaking); brother-in-law (woman speaking), i.e. sibling-in-law of the opposite sex of speaker
antluusuug	DaHu	son-in-law
antluuswesgam	SoWi	daughter-in-law

Drinking Patterns

Often taciturn, Micmacs become quite talkative when drinking. Many people at Burnt Church suggested that if I wished to talk with them, I should drink with them. Gatherings, composed of peer groups, and including both sexes, tend to be held in individual homes the evening or weekend of a payday, every other Friday.

Social drinking sometimes leads to aggressive behavior. I witnessed five fist fights, one slap fight between two women, and one incident of verbal aggression, and I also saw the wreckage from three serious automobile accidents. All of these episodes involved at least one person who had been drinking; in fact, I saw no instances of physical aggression on the part of individuals at Burnt Church when they were sober.

People are not held strictly accountable for what they say or do when drinking; that is, being under the influence of alcohol is an acceptable excuse for the expression of grievances and aggression that otherwise would be considered extremely bad form. Some individuals, I was told, may even pretend to be drunk to take advantage over an opponent who really is. Interestingly enough, Denys (1672:444) cites this strategy of feigning drunkenness for seventeenth century Micmacs, and it seems to have survived. Drunkenness, however, is not accepted as an excuse for child abuse or neglect.

Drinking behavior according to MacAndrew and Edgerton (1970:165), is culturally determined; that is, learned, and these authors suggest (1970:142) that the Micmac association of drinking with aggression was copied from the French. The Micmacs were introduced to alcohol beginning with Cartier in 1534, and exposure continued into the seventeenth century

through contact with fishermen and fur traders (Denys 1672:444-445).

Hallowell (1955:142) offers a functional interpretation of voracious drinking behavior: aggressiveness with alcohol is a release from a sober norm of stoicism, which Bock for the Micmacs (1966a:82) has labeled an avoidance-of-conflict pattern. It is possible, however, that the interpersonal aggression associated with Micmac drinking is historically a development of the use of alcohol in combination with an aboriginal "time out" concept. Bailey (1937:73-74) makes such a suggestion when he says that the Micmacs and their Algonkin neighbors interpreted the action of alcohol in the same category as "time out" occasioned by spirits or supernatural agents, which is the origin of the surviving belief that people under the influence of alcohol are not strictly responsible for their acts.

Since drinking is a time to talk freely, i.e. a time for extended conversation, gossip, social commentary, and the testing of personal plans and aspirations, perhaps it is best understood as a forum for the open discussion of ideas relevant to the life of the community. Apparently, a similar drinking pattern occurs in Labrador and Quebec among the Naskapis, northern Algonkin neighbors of the Micmacs, which has been likened to a forum (Robbins 1973:100) in which people in turn put forward ideas and projects they might wish to undertake -- to gauge the reactions of others. Such reactions are important in an egalitarian society, as at Burnt Church. The drinking session allows ideas to be expressed and differences of opinion to be put forth without anyone suffering a loss of face. Thus, if conflict is avoided at other times (Bock 1966a:82), it is not necessarily avoided during drinking sessions.

Identity-resolving drinking forums, as Robbins (1973:100) calls them

for the Naskapis, include among other topics proposed status changes. At Burnt Church drinking sessions, a non-automobile owner may say that he is considering buying an automobile; an ordinary community member may feel out opinion on whether to apply for or accept a position as constable or to run for office -- or shift from a position as work-project wage earner to that of salaried employee. While the discourse may appear casual, the drinking session has the additional function of enlisting the ratification of others in the proposed status change. Thus, if a change does occur, the person involved will not appear "too proud" in assuming a new status because he has already explored the idea with others for their support.

As with Frake's analysis of Subanun drinking (1964:127-132), Micmac drinking seems to consist of several stages: friendly talk, "feeling good," discussion, arguing, and fighting. However, most drinking sessions stop short of actual fights. Micmac terms for the respective stages are as follows: tliiwogwee (to talk), musgaatu (to point out, to make a point, to express oneself), tapuuewiistuueg (to have a dialogue), wegeeei (to get angry), and getgiemg (to be drunk). A case follows which shows the development of these stages.

Several friends and members of Andrew Stover's family had gathered in the evening at his home to celebrate his 27th birthday. People took seats at the kitchen table, in varied areas of the living room, and around the ping pong table in the basement. Everyone was drinking beer in abundance. Initial conversations seemed to focus upon what others had been doing since they last saw each other (whether the interim was of long or short duration). For example, I had not seen Andrew's father, Arnold, for a few days, and he inquired if I were still using my tape recorder at

Andrew's house at dinner time (noon) "to catch what people say." And Gene Dunagen, whom I had seen at a fishermen's meeting that afternoon, asked if I had helped transport the beer for the party that evening. Talk is encouraged at drinking sessions, and it starts with what we might call "small talk," that is, a readiness to chat (tliiwogwee).

On this occasion, I became a bystander to a discussion between Gene and Arnold over the best use of Dickle's Point (the spot being developed as a picnic area for tourists). Arnold said that the spot ought to be cleared so thoroughly that grass could be planted. Gene differed, saying that even with the placement of picnic tables after removal of the underbrush, the area should be left as much as possible in its natural condition.

This conversation began as a statement of what one of the parties had been doing (the tliiwogwee stage), as Arnold is a member of the work team clearing the picnic area. It went through the musgaatu stage with the expression of opinions about the picnic spot, and it evolved into a dialogue (the tapuuewiistueg stage) as the merits of each point of view were discussed.

The conversation then turned into a comparison of leadership on the Big Cove and Burnt Church reserves, and bystanders to the first dialogue expressed opinions which led to another dialogue with other speakers. The clearing of the picnic spot is under one of the federally financed work projects at Burnt Church. This knowledge prompted an exchange between Ward Rapley and a woman from Big Cove, who was visiting with her husband, over the merits of the chiefs of the two reserves and their respective ability to bring work projects to the reserves. The dialogue stage then passed to the angry discourse stage (wegeei) between Ward and the woman visitor, with

each defending his or her chief. When the woman's husband joined in to support his wife's position, Ward shoved him at the table. This was a possible prelude to fighting; however, that stage was not reached.

The likelihood of arguing and then fighting increases as more alcohol is consumed. I saw no instances of fighting at Burnt Church which did not involve drinking, nor did I hear of any. All of the episodes of fighting which I witnessed (see Table 5, below) involved at least one person who had been drinking.

TABLE 5 FIST FIGHTS OBSERVED AT BURNT CHURCH

1. Edward Austin and Joseph Austin (no relation) fighting on the Front Road, late at night, both drinking; fighting in Micmac.
2. John Deme and Jacob Deme (brothers) fighting, late afternoon, on the Back Road near the intersection with the Front Road; John drinking. Issue: John's claim that Jacob had shown disrespect towards their mother. The fight was in English -- literally a bloody fight. Jacob was briefly knocked out, and neighbors called the RCMP to stop the fight.
3. Samuel Storey and Ronald Deme. Ron had been drinking and lay in wait as Sam returned home from his new job as constable. Issue: alleged unfair treatment of Ron by Sam in an earlier police incident. The fight took place near Sam's house and was in English.
4. Steven Austin and Robert Deme, Robert drinking. The fight took place late at night on the Front Road. Robert was fighting Steven, an RCMP constable, to keep possession of the beer he had just purchased from a bootlegger off the reserve. It was after hours, and the Government Liquor Store in Neguac was closed. The fight was in English.
5. Ward Rapley and Steven Austin, Ward drinking. Steven as RCMP constable tried to arrest Ward for illegal possession of beer -- for drinking on the road outside of one's house. There was a brief scuffle on the ground, and Ward then ran for his front porch. On the porch, Ward switched from English to Micmac. So did the constable; no arrest was made.

In this section, I have alluded to the concept of being "too proud" and have suggested that one function of drinking sessions is to present proposed status changes and to enlist the support of others. This avoids the possible allegation of being "too proud" if a status change should occur suddenly. "Too proud" (wesawiimegeg) is a phrase often used in English to a person's face and in gossip as a censure. The term implies that a person is setting himself or herself above others; that he or she thinks they are better than others; and that a person is acting too individualistically, not for the common good. For example, in talking about buying a car, what is stressed is how the prospective purchase can help others by the addition of another vehicle for taxi service to town. The existence and use of the term "too proud" supports other evidence that Burnt Church is an egalitarian society, with implications for language use that will be discussed in Chapter IV.

This chapter has shown some of the ways in which Burnt Church functions as a community. With the exception of a church choir, Burnt Church has a full complement of statuses found on a modern Micmac reserve. Like other reserves, Burnt Church has an economy based upon government grants, work projects, and welfare (social assistance), which enable people to remain on the reserve. A relatively high rate of endogamy prevails, and the settlement is geographically and socially isolated from non-Micmac settlements along the Miramichi. This isolation contributes to the cohesion of Burnt Church, as the primary focus of interaction is within the settlement. Egalitarian values have been seen in the material on the economy, religion and folklore, political organization, and drinking patterns. The

values that were illustrated include expectations of reciprocity; the concept of leadership being conferred upon an unassuming, able person (giinap); the expectation of leadership by persuasion, and the withdrawal of support if a person is believed, by consensus, to act unfairly in office; and the expectation that drinking sessions will operate as forums for the approval of possible status changes, enabling people to avoid appearing "too proud." Micmac egalitarian values contribute to the maintenance of Micmac in the pattern of bilingual language choices, as will be seen in Chapters IV, V, and VI.

CHAPTER III HISTORY AND BILINGUALISM

The application of Fishman's concept of domain (1972b) which this study attempts requires consideration of certain institutions and statuses which may be variables in the differentiation of the domains of language use within the community. Domains are abstracted from patterns of language selection and switching and from attitudes associated with each language. This chapter presents historical material on the school and Church as institutions responsible for the transmission of English on the reserve. It shows that initially the Church used Micmac, but as different priests came to Burnt Church there was a trend toward the substitution of English for Micmac in sacred affairs.

History

The Micmacs have the "dubious distinction of being among the first North American Indians to have been contacted by Europeans -- with the discovery of Cape Breton (Nova Scotia) by the French Bretons in 1504" (Hoffman 1955:7). Aboriginally, the Micmacs were distributed through all of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and through Quebec's Gaspé Peninsula and eastern New Brunswick. First contact for the New Brunswick Micmacs is traced to 1534 when Jacques Cartier entered Miramichi Bay and the Bay of Chaleur and traded with Micmacs from ships and later on shore (Hoffman 1955: 27; Wallis and Wallis 1955:473; Sauer 1971:298; Guillemin 1975:25-27).

The Micmacs were not dispossessed and pushed westward as happened to so many native peoples as a result of European settlement in North

America. Although they lost vast amounts of land to Europeans, the Micmacs stayed on their aboriginal land (Patterson 1972:4). In the process of adaptation to European contact, the Micmacs have survived over 400 years of acculturation -- maintaining a Micmac identity by clinging to their language and aboriginal egalitarian values (Bock 1974a:225-226).

Burnt Church aboriginally was a summer fishing village. In the winter, patrilocal extended families were the largest residential groups as they lived and hunted inland (Speck 1915:303; Webster 1947:67; Wallis and Wallis 1955:25). Burnt Church was also an ancient annual meeting place "at the junction of important lines of coast and river travel" for political conferences of Micmac regional groups (Ganong 1908:269).

Sixteenth and seventeenth century Burnt Church Micmacs apparently were in seasonal contact with French fishermen (Hoffman 1955:31), at least those in "the habit of landing in the Miramichi region" (Wallis and Wallis 1955:10). In the eighteenth century, French Acadians settled at Neguac, adjacent to Burnt Church, after their expulsion by the British from Nova Scotia in 1755. The oldest extant tombstone in the Burnt Church cemetery is that of a Frenchman, Pierre Robichaud, who died in 1796.

With the close of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and the shift in hegemony from the French to the English in eastern North America, the first English-speaking settlement appeared on the Miramichi, a salmon fishery established by William Davidson in 1764 to the southwest of Burnt Church in what is now Northumberland County (Ganong 1904:44). New Jersey, the English-speaking settlement neighboring Burnt Church, was settled in 1825 (Ganong 1908:284).

The name "Burnt Church" stems from the Seven Years' War. (The aborig-

inal name of Burnt Church is Sginowopotij (or a place of watching and waiting, and this name is still known by young and old but used mostly for folk tales, not in everyday conversation). A stone church had been built by the French and Micmacs for their mutual use near the site of the school at Burnt Church, close to the mouth of the Burnt Church River (see Map 2, page 17). Pebble deposits at the mouth of the river were a possible source of building material for the old church. The church burned on September 17, 1758 when a British patrol from a man-of-war in Miramichi Bay set fire to the entire settlement. The incident is mentioned in the following report of Colonel James Murray to General James Wolfe:

I therefore in the Evening of the 17th (September 1758) in Obedience to your Instructions embarked the Troops, having two days hunted all around Us for the Indians and Acadians to no purpose, we however destroyed their Provisions, Wigwams and Houses, the Church which was a very handsome one built with Stone did not escape...(reprinted in Ganong 1914:304).

Remnants of the burnt church apparently remained for sometime after its destruction, giving rise to the name of the settlement. The only trace visible today is a right-angled depression by the bay at cliff top, approximately a foot wide and three inches deep, which could mark the location of one of the corners. The rest of the site no doubt has been lost to the sea over the years through erosion and tidal action (Bourque 1971:2). In 1842, the stone rubble was observed to be close to the edge of the cliffs (Perley 1845:115).

The Micmacs of Burnt Church found Loyalists in their vicinity after the American Revolution. Some came with degrees from Harvard, Yale, and Columbia; a few taught in schools for Indians in New Brunswick established by the New England Company (Lawson and Sweet 1946:277; MacNutt 1967:

20), which was an English Protestant organization founded in 1649 to teach "useful arts and trades" to North American Indians (Perley 1842:108). One of these English-language schools was opened on the Miramichi at Chatham in a central location for relatively convenient access from the Micmac settlements along the Miramichi: Burnt Church, Eel Ground, and Red Bank (see Map 1). This school for Micmacs, however, was closed after a few years for lack of funds. Started two years after the Province of New Brunswick was founded (1784), the work of the New England Company came to an end in New Brunswick in 1825 when its last school closed there (Perley 1842:108).

A fact of Burnt Church history, nevertheless, has been an initially slow but ever increasing exposure to English over the years through English-language schools.

Perhaps the school for Micmacs at Chatham was a source for the diffusion of some knowledge of English to Burnt Church. Moses H. Perley as Indian Affairs Commissioner of the Province of New Brunswick visited Burnt Church in 1842 during an extended tour of all the Indian reserves in New Brunswick. He commented concerning knowledge of English at Burnt Church that: "Most of them know the Alphabet, can spell a little and write their names" (1842:122). Perley further reported that the Burnt Church Micmacs were eager to learn more English, and he advocated immediate establishment of schools for Indians on reserves. In spite of his recommendations it would seem that no official provisions were made until the "advent of reserve schools in the 1870's" (Osborne 1971:13). Mary Dunagen of Burnt Church, born 1886, remembers attending the first school there, and she says an older brother preceded her by a few years. This first school at Burnt Church was established by Indian Affairs and staffed by a teacher from

Chatham, a Miss Campbell, who taught in English.

When Mary Dunagen went to elementary school at Burnt Church, attendance was voluntary. Compulsory attendance began under a 1956 amendment to the Indian Act which requires Indian children to attend school from ages 7 through 16. This regulation presumably has increased the number of children who attend school regularly and thus the number formally exposed to education in English.

Formal instruction in English not only exists for children but also for adults at Burnt Church and other Micmac reserves. Adult education involves the so called up-grading courses in vocational subjects such as carpentry and plumbing sponsored by Indian Affairs. A course in carpentry, for example, lasts for a few weeks, has two divisions -- using tools and reading blueprints -- and it provides the student with a certificate of proficiency upon completion. Wallis and Wallis (1955:23-24) have pointed out the historical increase in the use of English by Micmacs associated with acculturation of occupations and ways of doing business in the larger society. During fieldwork, ten men worked as carpenters in housing construction, having completed a carpentry course held on the reserve the previous year. These men make up the core of the Burnt Church construction team and can put up an entire house, with the exception of the foundation and basement (this is done by a sub-contractor from Neguac who brings in heavy equipment for excavating and the mixing and pouring of cement).

An interesting problem for further research in Burnt Church bilingualism is the extent to which French may have been spoken there at one time. Perley (1842:101) cites no French in use by Burnt Church Micmacs,

although he does say a Micmac group at Pokemouche, farther inland and surrounded by French settlers, spoke some French but no English. It may be that the early French missionaries used Micmac at Burnt Church (Wallis 1961:47) -- a practice continued to a degree into the twentieth century (Lamonde 1937:2), when English came to be used.

Were the Burnt Church Micmacs ever French-speaking? It seems clear that such non-Micmacs as missionaries, traders, fishermen, and explorers acted as interpreters. Champlain, for example, "never really learned to speak any Indian language" (Morison 1972:128) and apparently relied mainly on interpreters such as Mathieu ds Costa or d'Acosta, a Black fisherman who died in Nova Scotia during the winter of 1606-1607 but "who had been to L'Acadie before in a Portuguese ship and learned the Micmac language" (Morison 1972:95). French missionaries who spent any time with the Micmacs learned some Micmac and acted as interpreters between prominent Micmacs and prominent Frenchmen (Wallis 1961:47). There were several French missions to the Micmacs along the Miramichi in the last half of the seventeenth century:

At Miramichi Bay, in the spring of 1645, Father Martin de Lyonne... held a mission...In 1677, LeClercq was at the Miramichi, and from 1684 to 1686 Father Thury was there. In 1688, the Recollets offered to buy Richard Denys' Miramichi property...This property, on the north side of the river at the forks, was abandoned in 1691 (Wallis 1961:45).

Let us assume, however, that the Micmacs had opportunity for some exposure to French and perhaps other continental European languages before the establishment of English. That they may have is certainly possible, given the dry fishery technique which appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. After light salting, this technique required "immediate

drying at a suitable locality near the fishing grounds...(which produced a change in) the contact situation...from one of accidental and intermittent association to one of long seasonal acquaintance" (Hoffman 1955:31). "French boats put into the bays on the coast of New Brunswick to dry their catch; in 1605, they were in the habit of landing in the Miramichi region ...and Basque, Dutch and other peoples were vigorously engaged in the fisheries" (Wallis and Wallis 1955:10). This kind of contact suggests the use early in the contact period of a French-based pidgin, as implied in the following quote of Lescarbot (1609:183-184):

For, to accommodate themselves with us, they (the Micmacs) speak unto us in the language which is to us more familiar, wherein is much Basque mingled with it; not that they care greatly to speak our languages...

However, the "Souriquoien" suggested by Hancock (1971:512), who cites an extinct pidgin for seventeenth century Micmacs and French traders in Nova Scotia, could have been a Micmac-based pidgin. "Souriquois" is a seventeenth century French term for the Micmacs (Wallis and Wallis 1955:14).

At some point, the Burnt Church Micmacs and their Acadian neighbors started to use English with each other and with the politically dominant English-speaking Loyalists in New Brunswick. According to Gallien (1964: 1), the Micmacs of Burnt Church were very much involved in the fur trade along the Miramichi, promoted by Nicolas Denys and his son, Richard, in the late seventeenth century. The fur trade declined in the next century. Wallis has stated that in "1724 a lone French trader resided on the Miramichi," but that by 1755 "Acadian refugees had settled at Neguac and Burnt Church" (1961:45). It was a French and Micmac stone church which was burned by the British in 1758. In 1816, a missionary, Father Morrisset, requested lumber from the Micmacs: "'Sunday, November 3, 1816, I explained to the

Burnt Church Indians the necessity of a new contribution to complete the new church...' (signed) J. E. Morrisset" (Gallien 1964:2). This church also was for a combined French and Micmac congregation. Even though there was a chapel in Neguac at this time and "Public prayers were held there... Mass was celebrated at Burnt Church" (Gallien 1964:3).

The Use of Writing

A history of Micmac literacy perhaps should begin with Micmac hieroglyphics in the seventeenth century. Shea (1861:38) characterizes Micmac hieroglyphics as a "European work on an Indian foundation." In 1652, Father Gabriel Druillettes recorded the spontaneous use of pictographs as individual mnemonic devices among an Algonkin group (probably Penobscot) to the southwest of the Micmacs in what is now Maine:

Some wrote their lessons after their fashion; they used a small coal (charcoal) as pen, and a bark for paper. Their characters are so new and so peculiar, that one would not know or understand the writing of another; that is to say, they use certain marks, according to their ideas, as a local memory, to recollect the points, articles, and maxims which they had heard. They took their paper with them to study their lessons during the night... (Druillettes 1652, quoted in Shea 1861:38).

Father Chretien LeClerc made symbols of such signs as he saw used indigenously by the Micmacs. In 1677, LeClerc was in the Miramichi region and remarked that he saw children "making marks...on a piece of birch bark...pointing to them exactly, at each of the prayers they uttered" (1691:141). Table 6, below, reproduces a prayer printed in Micmac hieroglyphics and rendered into Micmac and English.

Europeans promoting the use of hieroglyphics are Father LeClerc (1691), Abbe Maillard (1755), and Father Kauder (1866). In addition, Father Pacifique, a Capuchin missionary at Restigouche from 1894 until

TABLE 6 MICMAC HIEROGLYPHICS

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


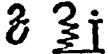
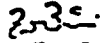
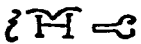

OCTOBER, 1861.

[No. 10.

General Department.

MICMAC OR RECOLLECT HIEROGLYPHICS.

THE OUR FATHER.

 <i>Nutichinen</i> Our Father	 <i>wasok</i> light	 <i>chin</i> thou art	 <i>tchiptuk</i> sitting	 <i>deluisin</i> may	 <i>mekidedemet,</i> honored,	 <i>wasok</i> heaven	 <i>n'elidanen,</i> that we go,	 <i>tchiptuk</i> may
 <i>igenemutik</i> us give	 <i>ula</i> there	 <i>temulek</i> we see thee	 <i>widessenen,</i> we will be happy,	 <i>nadil</i> there	 <i>wasok</i> heaven	 <i>eitit</i> they are	 <i>deli skedak;</i> as they obey thee,	
 <i>tchiptuk</i> may	 <i>elp</i> also	 <i>ninen</i> we	 <i>deli skedulek,</i> so we obey thee,	 <i>magamitek</i> earth	 <i>eimet</i> we are	 <i>delamugubenikel</i> the same food		
 <i>ekemikel,</i> us thou hast given,	 <i>apsch</i> again	 <i>nigatsch</i> now	 <i>kiukuk</i> to-day	 <i>delamultatsch</i> the same food	 <i>penegunemuin</i> to us let come	 <i>nilunal</i> for our nourishment		
 <i>deli abikiktukik</i> as we pardon	 <i>worgaiuinamedenik,</i> who have been angry with us,	 <i>elp</i> also	 <i>ku</i> thou	 <i>Niskam</i> Great Spirit	 <i>deli abikiktuin</i> thou us pardon	 <i>elueutiek,</i> sincere,		
 <i>melkenin</i> us strengthen	 <i>metich</i> never again	 <i>winsudil</i> bad things	 <i>ms</i> not	 <i>Eligalinen,</i> we are brought,	 <i>kesinudumakel</i> evils	 <i>winschikel</i> bad		
 <i>kolual</i> of every kind	 <i>tunchuin</i> remove from us	 <i>n' deliatsch.</i> that is true						

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(Shea 1861:37 after the work of Father Charles Kauder at Restigouche)

1943, turned out a Manuel hieroglyphique du religion (Wallis and Wallis 1955:23). From their inception in the seventeenth century, Micmac hieroglyphics have been a medium for sacred, not secular, subjects. The hieroglyphics are not in use as a medium today, but they are a symbol of Micmac identity. Micmac hieroglyphics, for example, were embroidered recently on a set of Mass vestments in Nova Scotia. The work was commissioned by a Micmac chief for his parish church in honor of Micmac ancestors "we are proud of" (Micmac News 1974:16).

Historically, as with the hieroglyphics, the motivation for writing Micmac has been for the propagation of Christian doctrine, Catholic and Protestant (e.g. Pacifique's 1939 Micmac grammar and Rand's 1888 Micmac dictionary, respectively). The same motivation still holds true. A current effort at Restigouche is that of Watson Williams of the Summer Institute of Linguistics whose goal is to help develop a contemporary Micmac alphabet which can be agreed upon by a significant number of Micmacs throughout the Maritimes. Newspapers might then be published using this alphabet, even though Williams' overwhelming interest is to translate the Bible into Micmac. A portion of his work has been circulated at Restigouche in mimeographed form as From Letters to Words in Micmac (1972), and I use a modified version of his orthography in this thesis (see page 7), further modified from that of Fidelholtz (1968:12).

Father Pacifique developed a Micmac alphabet that was used in his books and newspaper, The Micmac Messenger, which was published monthly in Micmac "from 1906 until 1936 and distributed throughout the Maritimes" (Wallis and Wallis 1955:24). At Burnt Church, I came across three books by Pacifique published in Micmac: a book of prayers (1912), a catechism

(1913), and a sacred history (1921). The sacred history tells of the Old and New Testaments as well as the conversion of the Micmacs, which began in 1610 with that of Membertou, a Micmac leader in what is now Nova Scotia.

Today, however, English is the language of literacy for the Micmacs. The Union of New Brunswick Indians, as mentioned in Chapter II, was founded in 1967 to research land claims and to study Indian social conditions. The staff regularly sends out literature in English, and their monthly newspaper, Agenutemagen, is published in English. The Union is composed of Maliseet and Micmac Indians of western and eastern New Brunswick, respectively, and uses English as its working language, because though closely related Eastern Algonkin languages, Micmac and Maliseet are by and large mutually unintelligible. There is, however, some overlap of meaning; for example, agenutemagen is translated as news or a story or tale in both languages. Letters to the editor of Agenutemagen are occasionally written from Burnt Church. During the period of fieldwork, I noted the following kinds of letters: one congratulating the editor on the paper's format as an Indian newspaper; two letters expressing support for the Burnt Church baseball and ice hockey teams in reference to contests with other reserves; and one letter commenting on the need for more economic cooperation between non-Indians and Indians in New Brunswick.

Agenutemagen regularly publishes poetry contributed by readers.

One such poet from Burnt Church is Rupert Harvey; writing poetry in English is one of his pastimes. It is with his permission that two of his unpublished poems are reproduced below. The poems express the despair of a chronic drinker who has known better times. The desolation alluded to is very real for those few caught up in the vicious circle of inveterate drinking and

who become lost souls avoided by the rest of the community.

MY EMPTY WALLET AND ME

I've been on the go since Monday;
 My heart is full of woe.
 I'm so sad and lonely,
 How lonely, you'll never know.
 Whenever I ask for work,
 They only look at me and sneer.
 I think I'll just keep on bumming
 Just to get another beer.
 Wine gives me a smile;
 Beer always gives me happiness;
 Rum makes my life worthwhile.
 Home only gives me loneliness.
 Friends I haven't any;
 No future for me I see.
 In my pockets not a penny,
 Just my empty wallet and me.

WHY?

I sometimes wonder why
 As days go rolling by;
 Tear drops keep falling,
 Even though I try so hard
 To hold back the flow.
 Stain marks leave memories;
 Why, I never know.
 Twilight brings back heartaches;
 Dawn brings back sighs;
 Daylight gives me sorrows,
 Fading by moonlight and skies.
 Why I ever doubted you;
 Why I let you go,
 No one will ever know.
 How I loved you.
 Come back to me sweetheart,
 I need you most of all.
 I miss you night and day;
 I do miss your welcome call.

The Sacerdotal Use of Micmac

Father Pacifique, in addition to propagating Catholic doctrine in the Micmac language through his publications, mentioned earlier, was also interested in church music sung in Micmac. The music, in the style of Gregorian chants, is passed down orally from generation to generation; the words are preserved in notebooks -- handwritten in Micmac. These notebooks are individually owned by those who sing, e.g. in church choirs at Restigouche and Big Cove. The handwritten notebooks are used at Burnt Church for the singing of hymns at wakes, held in the home of the deceased person or that of a close relative. During the period of fieldwork, three old men from Burnt Church regularly sang at the wakes, six of which took place that year. Bock (1966a:85) notes that the practice of setting Micmac words to church music in the style of Gregorian chants may be traced to

the efforts of Abbé Maillard in the eighteenth century and to those of Father Pacifique in the nineteenth century.

In the tape recorded conversation between Sidney Deme and George Foulard (see Appendix 1), young Sidney asks old George how he learned the Micmac songs for the dead. George explains that as a youth he learned to write and read Micmac, and he would join in when others sang and follow along in the handwritten notebooks. Finally, he says, he was accepted as a Micmac singer when he could turn to the proper page and sing it correctly.

Father Pacifique encouraged literacy in Micmac, and he ministered and preached in Micmac himself, visiting other reserves from his base at Restigouche. His visits to Burnt Church are still remembered; one of my informants said she had been baptized by him. A visit to Burnt Church is recorded in the parish register:

For the Day of St. Anne (July 26, 1937)...the patron saint of this parish, we asked the Reverend Father Pacifique, Capuchin of Restigouche and famous pastor of the Micmacs of that reserve, to come and preach...in the Micmac language...He reverted to this language in all his instruction... Considering the age and infirmities of the good Father Pacifique, he will never be able to come again to Burnt Church to preach in the Micmac language... (Lamonde 1937).

With the death of Father Pacifique, there seems to have been a decline in the use of Micmac by priests serving the Micmacs, a decline which began even before his death in the Miramichi region. Father Lamonde in the entry above implies that in the summer of 1937 it would be a treat for the people of Burnt Church to hear preaching in Micmac.

The parish records show that French-speaking priests (bilingual in English) were successively in charge of Burnt Church from 1921 until 1959 on a part-time basis in conjunction with two neighboring French-speaking parishes, Neguac and Lagaceville. These priests were not in

residence at Burnt Church but came only on Sunday for Mass and at other times when needed. They used English with the people of Burnt Church, except for the Mass which was in Latin. According to Mary Dunagen, age 86, these French-speaking priests were "too busy" to learn Micmac or to use Father Pacifique's writing system. As mentioned with regard to the individual cases in Chapter IV, Mary Dunagen delights in reading and writing in Micmac, using Father Pacifique's orthography. But when he died, it died with him, and at Burnt Church only three or four persons know the Pacifique writing system. Perhaps transmission of the system ended because Father Pacifique was an outsider and a non-Micmac. The use of Micmac for sacred affairs shifted from Micmac to English because of new priests who did not speak Micmac. Without the leadership of a priest who did use Micmac, continuity in the transmission of the Micmac writing system was lost. No substitute teachers or leaders emerged from Burnt Church to transmit it, perhaps because of fear of the accusation of being "too proud" (wesawiimegeg) in appearing to imitate traits of a priest, whose status reflects the hierarchical nature of the larger society.

I found an interesting ledger at Burnt Church, handwritten in Micmac and English, which is further evidence of the sacerdotal use of Micmac at Burnt Church in the early twentieth century. The different entries of Micmac and English actually represent two different institutions the community had to deal with -- the Church and Indian Affairs, in Micmac and English, respectively. The following entries of Chief Walter Deme in the Burnt Church Indian Band Account Book (owned by son James) suggest that the priest at Burnt Church in 1919 was fluent in Micmac,

written and spoken. This historical ledger shows handwritten bilingualism in an apparent complementary distribution between Micmac and English for sacred and secular domains, respectively, in the second decade of this century. For the years 1918 and 1919, items having to do with the church are written in Micmac, and Band Council resolutions are written in English. For instance, accounting entries for April 5, 1919 are in Micmac (my translations in brackets):

Mitchell Prance	\$3.00
Leonard Cloud	2.00
Thomas Deme	5.00
Frank Gamin	1.50
Charles Deme	1.00
<u>Telgiig (sum)</u>	<u>12.50</u>
Telgiig niigaanuu (sum previous)	10.20
Na telgiig suulieewee (thus this sum of money)	<u>22.70</u>

The foregoing Micmac entries are in reference to money being collected from individual band members to pay an insurance premium for a new church, built circa 1911, which is the one now standing. In secular matters, however, Chief Walter Deme used only English, as below in the entries for April 1, 1919:

Resolution No. 9 -- That assistance to old Mrs. Judy Look, 83 years of age, be increased from \$1.00 per week to \$2.00. Carried.

Resolution No. 10 -- That five tons of hay be supplied for the use of those (band) members who now have to feed their stock before the summer. Carried.

Walter Deme's pattern of record keeping is that of written language switching between Micmac and English. The examples presented above were selected because they were entered at approximately the same time.

In terms of the community's relationships with the larger society, the entries in Micmac were probably for the primary information of the chief and the priest, and those in English were the concern of the chief and Indian Affairs. With its early missionary activity, the Roman Catholic Church has had a long tradition of using Micmac, spoken and written, to communicate with and preach to the Micmacs, culminating in the publishing efforts in Micmac of Father Pacifique. However, Band Council resolutions were recorded in English in 1919, as they are now, because they are subject to the scrutiny of Indian Affairs, an agency with no tradition of ever using Micmac, spoken or written.

In recent times, from 1959 to 1971, Father Robert Grattan, whose native language is English, lived in Burnt Church as a community pastor and sixth grade teacher; he learned some Micmac for everyday conversation, but never used Micmac liturgically. After the Papal Bull of 1963, which permitted Mass to be celebrated in languages other than Latin without special dispensation for accommodation to languages of native peoples, Father Grattan switched from Latin to English for Mass. He also taught religion in the classroom in English.

During fieldwork, Father Leon Creamer, who lived at the rectory of Saint Michael's Church in Chatham, was a part-time pastor at Burnt Church and in two other parishes along the Miramichi, both English-speaking. Father Creamer used English for everything at Burnt Church, sacred and secular, with the exception of a few phrases and greetings in Micmac, e.g. welaalin (thanks or thank you) and waliigiisgug (good day).

It should be said that the use of language for sacred affairs varies from reserve to reserve. A current example is the Micmac reserve

of Chapel Island, Nova Scotia, where there is a non-Micmac priest who "speaks Micmac...(and the people answer) him in Micmac at Mass" (Joe 1974:15). At Burnt Church today, however, with the exception of singing in Micmac at wakes and praying privately in Micmac, the language of sacred affairs is English.

To provide the overall setting for bilingualism at Burnt Church, this chapter has traced the history of the addition of English as a second language. The development of English usage was discussed with reference to two domains, church and school. Missionaries used Micmac in the seventeenth century, and the native language continues to be used in church on some reserves. Burnt Church did use Micmac in the early part of this century, for sacred affairs, under the influence of Father Pacifique of Restigouche, who published religious texts in Micmac and encouraged preaching and the performance of church music in Micmac. Beginning in 1921, however, a succession of non-Micmac-speaking priests replaced priests who had used Micmac at Burnt Church. This led to a language shift in sacred affairs, thereby making it a domain of English.

Since the 1870's, when the first schools appeared on Micmac reserves, there has been an ever increasing exposure to English at Burnt Church through the school. The effect of English on socialization is discussed further in Chapter IV.

PART TWO

ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USE

CHAPTER IV LANGUAGE USE: INDIVIDUAL CASES

The data upon which the analysis in Chapter VI is based are presented in this and the following chapter. Here we look at language use as revealed by individual cases, and, in Chapter V, at delineations of speech events and borrowings, the latter mainly from English into Micmac. First, however, in order to provide a context for the individual cases, a brief description is given of the life cycle and differences between the sexes in language acquisition and usage.

The Life Cycle

Most people born in Burnt Church live out their lives there. Of those who do leave to work for wages in other parts of Canada or the United States, most return to visit family and friends, to vacation, to marry and establish a household, to retire, to die, or to be buried. For the past 15 years, birth has taken place in a hospital in Newcastle or Chatham. Formal recognition of the newborn is by baptism at Burnt Church in the presence of parents and godparents and often other relatives and close friends of the family. Many baptisms are held as part of a Sunday church service, but some are done with less of an audience on an afternoon when the priest is visiting in the community. Informal recognition of the newborn occurs when female relatives and friends of the mother call on her at home to view the child. Since a couple usually lives with the bride's parents until they acquire a home of their own (to be placed patrilocally), first children spend at least their infancy in the home of the mother's parents.

For first children, there is a move to a new home at anywhere from birth to age two or three, when the parents join the father's extended family. At this stage, there is plenty of freedom for a child to play, explore, and venture into nearby homes. At age five, formal education and exposure to the authoritarian Canadian teacher begins. The child spends half a day in kindergarten at the elementary school on the reserve where only two of eight teachers are Micmac (the third grade teacher and the kindergarten teacher's aide). At the time of fieldwork, Burnt Church children completed six grades on the reserve and then at age 12 began commuting by bus to the English-speaking junior and senior high schools in Newcastle where there are no Micmac teachers.

The decision was made in 1972 to return grades seven and eight (and eventually grade nine) to the reserve school, but allow those pupils already attending school in Newcastle to continue there. Attending school in Newcastle means sudden contact with the larger society, and the Micmac students are the only ethnic minority in the Newcastle school system. Some of the students from Burnt Church have complained of ethnic prejudice towards them. The report of the task force studying the question of returning the above mentioned grades to Burnt Church concluded that there was cultural misunderstanding on both sides, that is, by Micmac students and their Euro-Canadian teachers (Creamer 1972:2). Another reason cited by this report for the return of the three grades to the reserve was the relatively high drop-out rate from junior and senior high school for Burnt Church students, 35% for the year of fieldwork.

Leaving school (whether by dropping out or graduating) is the transitional point between adolescence and adulthood. In the spring of 1972,

three Burnt Church students did graduate. This was considered a record by the community since previously only two people from Burnt Church had ever graduated from high school.

There are several possible reasons for not finishing secondary school: cultural conflict, incomplete preparation from a slower-paced elementary school on the reserve, and a desire on the part of some adolescents to speed up the process of assuming adult status, which is marked by acquiring a house by government grant through the Band Council. A house is rarely granted a student. Thus, leaving school, marriage, and parenthood (not necessarily in that order) seem to be conditions for acquiring a house. Marriage at a young age and having a large family are Micmac norms.

The possession of a house on the reserve as a marker of adulthood and active community membership helps to further group continuity since it supplies a significant incentive for Micmac young people to stay on the reserve (Wallis and Wallis 1955:275). After acquiring a house, a person is ready for fuller participation in other adult duties, e.g. as committee member, active CO-OP member, and/or running for political office, that is for a seat on the Band Council or perhaps eventually for Chief. Prior to running for office, a man or woman will customarily spend some time on one of the permanent committees having to do with school, church, and health (see section on political organization in Chapter II).

For adults, the work day begins at eight in the morning. The men engaged in work projects report to the community hall, and the women assemble in the handicraft center where they make beadwork products, wooden baskets, and other items of leather and fur. The Chief, his four foremen, and the men have a consultation to decide upon work assignments, which are usually

performed in teams of two or more workers.

Everyone on the reserve takes a midday break for dinner (the noon meal). The work projects, the offices, and the school all shut down from twelve to one o'clock -- a common practice in towns and villages up and down the Miramichi. The work day ends at five o'clock, followed by supper at home.

After-supper activities include card playing (especially cribbage, which is very popular at Burnt Church), walking and visiting, and watching television. Young people may meet on the front steps of the church to talk, and perhaps to walk up and down the roads of Burnt Church or along the shore. People do not usually go to bed early, and it is not uncommon to see individuals, especially young persons, roaming the reserve on foot at midnight or cruising around in an automobile. Nearly every home has a television set and one or more radios. The programs selected are in English, although French programs are available in the Miramichi area. English television programming comes from the United States as well as Canada.

Sports at Burnt Church consist of men's baseball and ice hockey teams, which in 1971-1972 played a series of games with teams from other Micmac reserves. There are no organized women's sports. Both sexes, however, from youth to middle age participate in the annual Maliseet/Micmac Games sponsored by the Union of New Brunswick Indians. This event occurs in the summer over a three day period at one of the reserves, where baseball and softball games, track and field events, and canoe races are held.

In old age, people are respected for their wisdom and revered for their storytelling. As part of the status of being old, old persons may contribute significantly to the rearing of their grandchildren and sometimes

great grandchildren, especially if the parents of these children are living in urban areas but are maintaining ties with the reserve:

What the reservation actually supports in the way of a stable household is a conglomeration of "home bases," that is, extended families which will host individual adults and children for longer or shorter periods of time, depending on what a visit is prompted by: ill health, good luck and a desire to... (be)...munificent...or bad luck and the need to put up somewhere for a while. The extended family includes three or even four different generations (Guillemain 1975:83).

Death on the reserve is marked by an all night wake in the home of the deceased or that of a close relative, by a funeral in the church the next morning, and burial in the cemetery across the road (see Map 2). Professional undertakers in Newcastle prepare the body (at the expense of the family or of Indian Affairs if need be) and transport it from the home of the wake to the church and then to the cemetery for burial. During the wake, family members tend the dead; food is served at midnight to all who attend, and hymns in the form of Gregorian chants are sung in Micmac by a few singers (specialists) who follow the words from the handwritten notebooks (see section on the use of writing in Chapter III). The priest, usually but not always, puts in an appearance at the wake, and, of course, conducts the funeral.

Gender Differences

Boys learn about the woods and the sea from their fathers, older brothers, and their father's brothers, who take them along at an early age on fishing, wood-cutting, and hunting activities. Boys do a lot of exploring of the physical environment on their own, learning from each other about certain landmarks in the woods, such as the "sinking spring" a mile from the settlement which contains sand in colloidal suspension. Girls

are less likely to acquire such knowledge of the environment or to venture forth to places like Dickle's Point on the reserve, two miles along the bay from the settlement, where the picnic spot is being developed to attract tourists. In the division of labor by sex, a girl is expected to learn to keep house and to care for children by watching her mother and other women. While sex is no bar to political office, a woman is likely to be a chief (as at Eel River) or a councillor (as at Burnt Church) only in middle age, after having raised a family.

No doubt because of their wider contacts, men use more English than women. As part of my observation of the occurrence of English words in Micmac speech (see Table 7, below), I present categories of English nouns. The terms are listed in Table 9 later in this chapter.

My purpose in categorizing the terms was to apply the Mann-Whitney U Test to the number of English nouns in a sample of men's versus women's Micmac speech. The test requires the grouping of observations in ranked categories. The categories emerged from the English terms themselves, and they represent types of cultural borrowings from the larger society. The Mann-Whitney U Test is a test of the significance of the association between one nominal variable and one ordinal variable. In this case, sex is the nominal variable. The ordinal variable is frequency of English nouns in Micmac speech arranged in ranked categories. The utterances do not represent strict independence of cases, as the same individual may have contributed more than one utterance. However, the sample does represent data gathered in everyday interaction in the community, during which I attempted to spend time in all kinds of settings and with persons of both sexes.

The null hypothesis states that there is no association between

TABLE 7 THE GREATER FREQUENCY OF ENGLISH WORDS IN MEN'S MICMAC SPEECH

CATEGORIES OF ENGLISH NOUNS IN MICMAC SPEECH	UTTERANCES		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	
Landscape	1	4	5
Household containers	0	6	6
Animals	1	8	9
Kitchen stoves	11	2	13
Games	13	3	16
Alcoholic beverages	11	6	17
Children	2	16	18
Tobacco products	16	3	19
Hand tools	16	4	20
Clothing	27	2	29
Motor vehicles	36	14	50
School supplies	29	23	52
Food	36	20	56
Tools larger than hand tools	84	10	94
Housekeeping items	99	3	102
			N = 506

sex of speaker and frequency of English nouns in Micmac speech. The alternative hypothesis states that men use more English nouns in Micmac speech than women. With a value of 6.97 for z (one-tailed test), the null hypothesis is rejected at the .01 level of significance (Freeman 1965:252). This result supports my impressionistic observation that men tend to use more English than women, and, as a possible cause, I have suggested that men tend to interact more with the larger society. For example, the greater male frequency of English terms in the category "house-keeping items" may reflect the tendency of men rather than women to deal with sales personnel in the selection and purchase of such items of the dominant culture.

It is the men who negotiate with merchants in Newcastle, Chatham, and Neguac to purchase "big money" items such as furniture, a refrigerator or washing machine, television set, or a used car. In seeking automobile parts and in the purchase of fishing gear and woodcutting equipment (e.g. gasoline-powered chain saws), the men are the ones who have contacts off the reserve.

Before work projects became as prevalent as they are now on the reserve, men used to seek seasonal or temporary jobs in New Brunswick and Maine, as extra crew members on the "big boats" fishing out of Chatham and Newcastle, as construction workers for the erection of the steel bridge spanning the Miramichi at Chatham in 1967, and loggers helping to bring wood out in the spring that was cut in the winter. Also, when times were more tough than usual, men and women would make wooden "potato" baskets for various household uses, and the men (more than the women, I was told by George Foulard) would go from house to house as basket pedlars up and

down the Miramichi.

It is interesting to note that Mougeon (1976:59, 64) has found for French-English bilingualism in a district of Quebec's Gaspé Peninsula that more men than women are bilingual in each language group, a fact he attributes to occupational differences, that is, men have wider contact than women outside the community.

In the following sketches of individual cases, I try to illustrate what it is like to grow up and stay on the Burnt Church reserve, or to return to it, for those few who have sought higher education or employment in the larger society. The first section looks at cases that reveal the effects of socialization and the school on language use. Then, two important contrasting statuses are illustrated, a chief and a witch, which represent positive and negative behavioral models, respectively.

Socialization and the School

The cases of Douglas, Donald, and Karla Rapley illustrate the difference between formal education in school today and traditional means of socialization. Douglas, age five, the second of six children of the couple with whom I lived during fieldwork, started kindergarten with virtually no knowledge of English. His older brother, Donald, age six, had preceded him to school and was speaking some English in the house. Donald sometimes addressed me in English, Douglas always in Micmac. Formal teaching via verbal explanation begins in kindergarten in Micmac and English. The regular teacher uses English as the language of instruction, and a teacher's aide from the reserve translates in Micmac. As part of the fieldwork, I observed

all the grades at Burnt Church (kindergarten through sixth grade). Thus, I had a chance to see Douglas and Donald in their respective classes, kindergarten and first grade. In kindergarten, the children start to learn the English alphabet, along with words and numbers. The teacher makes extensive use of Eaton's catalog (the Canadian equivalent of Sears, Roebuck and Company) from which the children cut out pictures of items and learn the names in English. From the first grade on instruction is in English.

Outside of school, the two boys learned mostly by the traditional Micmac method of imitation. Their father, Ward, age 26, a school janitor and woodcutter, would take the boys along for certain chores from patching the hull of a dory (to help a fisherman neighbor) and washing his car to cleaning the school in the evening. The boys would pitch in with the task, and Ward would encourage his sons to do so by giving them a mop or a rag to use in cleaning or a piece of cotton to patch a boat seam. One time Ward put Douglas on the ice and began to skate himself. He remarked to me afterwards, "All I can do (to teach Douglas to skate) is to put him on the ice and let him watch me." This method of learning by doing I also witnessed with the younger sister of the two boys, Karla, age three, and their mother, Joanne, age 24, when Karla first learned about snow. Karla insisted on going outside with her older brothers, Douglas and Donald, who were playing in the snow, yet she refused to put her shoes and galoshes on at her mother's urging. Joanne let her go out into the snow barefooted. Karla soon returned crying, but presumably she had learned something on her own about the properties of snow. Joanne also let Karla care for the newborn baby by holding him and giving him his bottle. I think that Karla was being entrusted with her baby brother at a much earlier age than customary

in non-Micmac Canadian or American homes. Thus, along with a certain permissiveness in child-training practices, goes responsibility at an early age towards others in the family (Bock 1966a:77).

In another family, in comparison to Douglas Rapley, above, I suspect that Marie Deme, age four, in addition to her Micmac, is acquiring more English at an earlier age. I have this impression from interacting with her and observing her while working closely with her father. Her parents, paternal grandparents, uncles, and great uncles are all quite fluent in English. Douglas' mother on the other hand is not very proficient in English, and even though his father is, Douglas' exposure to English will not essentially come before elementary school.

Early exposure, meaning pre-school exposure, to English may be a factor in the differential competence of individuals in English, as well as in their performance in school, which is reflected in the number of years completed.

Madeline Deme and Marshall Perry, both 18, are examples of students who have completed the elementary grades on the reserve and have gone on to high school in Newcastle. They are completely bilingual. The only contact they have with their White peers is during school hours; they spend the rest of their time on the reserve with other Micmacs. Once in a while they go in a group to a drive-in movie 23 miles away on Highway 11. Madeline and Marshall have been sweethearts since their days in junior high school, and they had their first child while they were both in high school. Madeline, although a good student, dropped out after her second pregnancy. After the birth of a third child, Madeline and Marshall were married when he returned to the reserve after a year at college.

Marshall graduated from high school in 1972 from a vocational-drafting curriculum, and spent a year at Saint Thomas University in Fredericton. He dropped out because of unsatisfactory grades and is now working on the reserve as a school attendance officer. Despite Marshall's stated aspirations to take advantage of opportunities in higher education (Indian Affairs will pay for any Indian student's college tuition plus stipend for living expenses), he had great difficulty adjusting to life outside the reserve and the discipline required in his studies at college.

Back on the reserve, Marshall and Madeline still live with her parents. When they are granted a new house by the Band Council, it will be built somewhere on the other side of the reserve close to Marshall's father's house. This is an illustration of matrilocal bride service and later patrilocal residence. Madeline and Marshall are a typical example of what young people at Burnt Church do -- early parenthood, early marriage, and dropping out of school to settle down on the reserve with full adult status, marked by being granted a house.

Margaret Harvey, age 24, has had more formal schooling than anyone else at Burnt Church. Her bachelor's degree is from Saint Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia. She had previously attended the Catholic convent high school in Newcastle where she boarded rather than commute by bus. Summers she attends the University of New Brunswick to acquire a teaching degree (B.Ed.) required by the public school system. She is the third grade teacher at the Burnt Church School.

Margaret, unmarried and living at her parents' home, is the oldest of five children. She and her siblings have been encouraged to read (in English) since childhood, and the household of her parents is exceptional

in that it has a bookcase packed with books. Margaret's father told me that he had purposely taken his children regularly on short trips off the reserve as part of their education, e.g. to Newcastle to watch the trains of the Canadian National Railroad pass through and to the public library; to Chatham to see the ships in port and to another library at the Chatham Historical Society. The family is active in church; the father used to sing in the choir, the mother still does occasionally (when a group can be put together), and Margaret sings every Sunday, either a cappella or with organ accompaniment.

In her teaching, Margaret uses English as the principal language of instruction but switches to Micmac if her students have trouble comprehending. Margaret Harvey's third grade classroom has something of a Micmac atmosphere about it in that much learning takes place in group activities rather than individual performances. This maintains a level of interest and participation that might otherwise be discouraged by the teaching methods of the Euro-Canadian teachers which stress individual recitation and personal competition.

An instance occurred in which Margaret was accused of being "too proud," an alleged violation of egalitarian values. The incident involved the disciplining of a student by keeping him after school a half an hour longer than usual. The parents complained, saying they had not been informed about their son's extra detention.

The formal complaint was heard by the School Committee, which is composed of a president (in this instance, the Chief), three local Micmacs, the other teachers, and the school principal. The principal in this case was called as a witness to the event (he had been informed about the pupil's

extra detention), and the other teachers as character witnesses for Margaret. Two officers of Indian Affairs were also called upon to be present from the education branch, as was an observer from the Union of New Brunswick Indians (a Maliseet who is a professional consultant in education with a Bachelor of Arts degree). The Department of Indian Affairs, aided by recommendations of the local school committee, is the actual employer of the teachers on a Micmac reserve. Following the hearing, the School Committee (minus those members called as witnesses) rebuked Margaret for not properly informing the parents of the whereabouts of the child she had detained.

The significant question is why the case escalated in the first place. Community gossip has it that Margaret was being labeled "too proud" simply because she had received a Bachelor of Arts degree and was thus on a par with the Euro-Canadian teachers, no longer equal to her fellow community members.

The school experience contributes to an individual's proficiency in English, but not to any change in egalitarian values. This is seen in Margaret Harvey's third grade classroom as she employs many more group activities than her Euro-Canadian colleagues. The case material thus far in this chapter has shown that in spite of the acquisition and use of English in school, egalitarian values prevail, even off the reserve in college among other Indian students, as with Marshall Perry, above, and Sidney Deme, below. Individual cases of a chief and a witch represent, respectively, as material later in this chapter, positive and negative behavioral models in the community, with reference to its egalitarian values. These egalitarian values are important in social strategies and language choice.

Sidney Deme, age 23, as one of the two school attendance officers who now hold this position at Burnt Church, deals with students who attend junior and senior high school in Newcastle. He says he likes his job and that he tries to encourage "his" students to stay in school and to cope with the problems of cultural conflict which he himself underwent. The case of Sidney Deme shows cultural conflict between the high value placed upon sharing in Micmac culture and the need to provide time to do one's own work in the larger society, in this instance, the university. Sidney's experience in college is similar to that of Marshall Perry, above.

Sidney was one of six Micmac and Maliseet students admitted to Saint Thomas University in a special program for mature students, which in lieu of a high school diploma requires the applicant to write an essay stating his objectives in going to college. The essay is judged for content and for competence in English. Sidney learned English in elementary school on the reserve and in junior high school in Newcastle, dropping out at the end of ninth grade to work in the woods with his father. He married young and is the father of four children.

After two years, Sidney dropped out of college because of poor grades. The task of coping with college work, difficult enough without prior academic preparation, was made more difficult by his participation in many non-academic activities with the other Indian students at Saint Thomas. The group played ping pong and consumed beer and pizza during hours when they were expected to be studying. Sidney apparently felt obliged to conform to the group, transferring the Micmac value on hospitality and reciprocity among relatives and friends at home to the Indian group at college. Thus, he always interrupted his studying to join the others.

Sidney expressed to me the conflict he felt about competing as an individual against his fellow Micmacs and Maliseets in the university. He also said that his Micmac peers at Burnt Church would take him to task on weekends when he came home. He was accused of "showing off" his knowledge and "acting proud." As an example, he told me that he became embroiled in a fight with his best friend, Leonard Dudley, while drinking, over Leonard's accusation that Sidney was "too proud." This incident revolved around Sidney wearing his university jacket, the alleged sign of his being too proud. Sidney said he bought the jacket for a number of reasons: to obtain rides more readily when hitch-hiking home; to identify with the university; and, maybe, to be proud in a positive way, i.e. to have pride for his people that he had gained university entrance. Sidney added that some of his male friends at Burnt Church, including Leonard, would borrow his university jacket to wear to town but never if on the reserve.

I discussed with Sidney my satisfactory experience teaching the sixth grade one day as a substitute for the teaching-principal at the Burnt Church School. Sidney said that perhaps one reason for my apparent success with the Micmac children was that I told stories (about Indian history), since story telling is an old but still utilized method of teaching among the Micmacs. Sidney provided an illustration of the Micmac function of story telling: if a person visits someone who has broken an arm or leg and is told only that the victim fell and broke a limb, one is likely to forget how it happened. But if a story is told detailing all the events, those listening will presumably learn to be careful in similar situations.

Sidney recalled some happy moments in his early years listening to stories, especially from his grandmother. He also commented on what he

called the question-and-answer method of teaching so often employed by Euro-Canadian teachers. He feels that this method of singling out individual students to respond is not very effective with Micmac children. What I observed in the classroom was group response, a Micmac value, rather than the individual response associated with Euro-Canadian-American methods.

Sidney says that his college experience has been useful in his present job as a school attendance officer because he is more aware of the cultural conflicts of Indians attending school or college and can better advise them, as mentioned above. At this writing, Sidney and his family have moved into a new house on the reserve, which he had applied for but had not been granted as a student.

A Chief

Chief Paul Storey, age 50, has demonstrated effective leadership at Burnt Church, which has undergone an economic revitalization since he came into office in 1970. An accomplishment of the Chief was the recent opening of a supermarket on the reserve (see section on economy in Chapter II) as part of the Burnt Church CO-OP, chartered in 1971 through his efforts, by the Province of New Brunswick.

Paul completed eighth grade on the reserve, and then went to work fishing and cutting pulpwood. He fought in Europe during the Second World War, and upon his return, he became successful to the extent that he owned a relatively large inboard fishing boat and hired a few other men from Burnt Church as full-time fishermen to work with him. As an entrepreneur, Paul also hired other men from the reserve to cut pulpwood, which he sold to the CO-OP in the English-speaking village of Tabusintac of which he is a member.

Only members may sell their fish and wood to the CO-OP. Any Burnt Church Micmac may cut wood, hunt, and fish on the Burnt Church or Tabusintac reserves, but only Paul Storey has combined Indian band membership and English-speaking Tabusintac CO-OP membership into a business. Paul married a Burnt Church woman, Jeanne Soudain, age 44, and they have nine children living, one son having died at age 13 (see Chapter II, section on religion and folklore).

Paul mostly uses English in the conduct of community affairs with his bilingual Micmac constituents as well as with outsiders. At times he will speak Micmac to other Micmacs when outsiders are present, if he wishes to keep them from understanding what is being said. At home he uses Micmac with his family. He switches to Micmac, as others do at Burnt Church, when certain topics of Micmac folklore are discussed.

The Chief employs a French-speaking woman (bilingual in English) from Neguac as a bookkeeper. The fact that Paul has secured a nearby non-Micmac for this important post must be regarded as a strategy on his part to enable him to be more independent of kinship obligations and political factionalism within the community, also to enable him to be more independent of Indian Affairs. This woman, Margot Lavillette, cannot use her knowledge of band finances politically at the local level as she is not an Indian band member; neither can she use her knowledge to promote her rise in the Indian Affairs hierarchy -- again she is not part of it.

The Chief became interested in politics by working as a member of the School Committee a few years ago. He began to represent Burnt Church not only before visiting Indian Affairs agents but also at regional conferences, Indian and non-Indian, related to improving the educational opportunities of young people throughout the Maritimes.

A Micmac politician must be particularly sensitive to charges of unfairness because of the Micmac concept of voluntary authority in contrast to hierarchical authority. And, as also mentioned previously, a Micmac chief has to be especially careful about not appearing "too proud." This appellation must be avoided, which is based upon how a person may be alleged to act with regard to reciprocity and egalitarianism. LeClercq (1691:235) says of a traditional Micmac chief that he "made it a point of honor to be always the worst dressed of his people, and to take care they were all better clothed than he." And Ganong (1910:10) calls the above practice a traditional value of "noblesse oblige among Micmac chiefs." I would say that the same is true today at Burnt Church, in that the Chief is quite unostentatious in his presentation of himself and his possessions. In overseeing repairs to existing homes, he saw to it that everyone else's renovations were made before touching his own house. The Chief seems to follow public opinion and Micmac values as much as he can, although at times he simply must bend to Indian Affairs. On some issues, however, he does not do so without a fight, and he has taken certain questions all the way to the Minister of Indian Affairs, as illustrated below.

The Chief enjoys reading papers and pamphlets in English put out by the Union of New Brunswick Indians and the Department of Indian Affairs, and he routinely carries an attache case with him back and forth from his home to his office and to meetings on and off the reserve. His conspicuous display of this case full of the latest literature is consistent with my suggestion that he uses English a great deal as a political strategy. This would symbolize his effectiveness in dealing with the government and obtaining benefits for his community. He tells his constituents that he must be

ever on the alert for new ways to further the social position of Indians in general and members of Burnt Church in particular. Indeed, he actively seeks out possible advantages having to do with the official rules and regulations concerning Canadian Indian reserves.

One incident will serve as example. From his reading of the Indian Act as well as a directive on the administration of welfare from the Department of Indian Affairs, the Chief devised a plan whereby additional money would be collected from Indian Affairs for rent. Some individuals would turn over title to their own homes to the band for one dollar "to make it legal." The Chief then, in the name of the Burnt Church Indian Band, charged them rent (from \$100 to \$115 a month, the highest rate allowable under the welfare tabulations for the families involved). The plan was to put this money into a separate bank account of the band and use it for major home repairs, an unfunded category in the budget regulations of Indian Affairs. The money would accumulate and take care of the major home repairs of that family. After that, the money would still be collected month after month and be used for the home repairs of other families. Most families at Burnt Church are never completely free of welfare, even though there are seasonal wages from work projects.

Legal possession of land is based on the authority of a band council to allot parcels of reserve land to individual band members. A Certificate of Possession (the equivalent of a title) is issued and filed in Ottawa in the Reserve Land Register of the Department of Indian Affairs. Such a certificate can indeed be inherited, but the land can never be separated from the reserve -- only sold or transferred to the band or another band member.

The Chief was aware of Section 24 of the Indian Act:

An Indian who is lawfully in possession of lands in a reserve may transfer to the band or to another member of the band the right to possession of the land, but no transfer or agreement for the transfer of the right to possession of lands in a reserve is effective until it is approved by the Minister (of Indian Affairs).

But the Chief based his idea on Section 90, Subsection 2:

Every transaction purporting to pass title to any property that is by this section deemed to be situated on a reserve, or any interest in such property, is void unless the transaction is entered into with the consent of the Minister (of Indian Affairs) or is entered into between members of a band or between the band and a member thereof.

Section 24 requires approval of Indian Affairs for a transfer of land to take place on a reserve; Section 90 implies that property being transferred on a reserve does not need Indian Affairs' approval if the transaction occurs between a band member and the band or with another band member. The Chief preferred to make a distinction between land and houses, and he placed houses as property under Section 90. He had some precedent for doing this, saying that Indian Affairs in the past had permitted an individual from Burnt Church to sell his house to a White man. The house was moved off the reserve and, as pointed out to me, is now on Route 11 near Neguac. Also, an old school house, the predecessor of the two modern buildings now at Burnt Church, had been similarly removed from the reserve.

For three months, the Chief had one or two houses a month signed over to the band by cooperating band members, and with the help of the Welfare Officer submitted requests for additional welfare money for rent. The additional money came from Indian Affairs with no comment. The Chief then announced his plan to the Union of New Brunswick Indians. When Indian Affairs came to understand his plan through the resultant publicity,

the answer was that his idea was not a proper use of welfare funds:

We return herewith the Quit Claims of Rights and Certificates of Possession which you had forwarded to us for consideration in the matter of Band ownership for housing purposes. The proposal is not permissible as the Band cannot charge out and pay for the rent, out of welfare funds (Gourley 1972).

In fighting for his idea, the Chief corresponded with his Member of Parliament in the House of Commons and with the Minister of Indian Affairs. He also consulted a lawyer from the Union of New Brunswick Indians, a Maliseet. With counsel, the Chief came to accept the eventual opinion of Indian Affairs, namely that the approval of Indian Affairs for the transfer of Certificates of Possession for houses could not be circumvented by the band, because this matter would be covered as real estate under Section 20 of the Indian Act and not Section 90 which refers to personal property.

This incident shows the Chief's use of English as a skill in dealing with the government to increase his community's benefits. It also points to the Micmac value of sharing, in that the additional money was to be shared for home repairs in the community -- and the idea itself was shared with other Micmac chiefs through the Union of New Brunswick Indians, and with Maliseet chiefs too, of course. The Chief had hoped that if his plan were found to be legally acceptable, Canadian Indians in general would benefit by the addition of a significant source of revenue to reserves.

A Puuoin or Witch

Mary Dunagen (Mrs. Lionel Dunagen, Sr.) age 86, is known universally at Burnt Church as a puuoin or witch. For example, I was with a man in his 70's visiting another man in his 90's in the hospital. The man who was ill seriously discussed (in Micmac) the possibility that his neck tumor

had been caused by the puuoin in Burnt Church (see Appendix 1). Also, it was told to me (in English) that, "She's a witch," by the sixth grade class I taught on the reserve. As recounted earlier, the Chief does not discount the possibility that this woman may indeed possess a puuoin's malevolent power.

Mary Dunagen, as previously mentioned, attended the first school established on the reserve. Outside of school, she learned much of the Micmac traditional beliefs and folklore, and she excels in storytelling (in Micmac) to the delight of her audience, mostly children and teenagers who stop by. Mary was an important source for the compilation of Micmac folk tales of Wilson and Ruth Wallis (1955:317-367), and in her photograph collection she has one of Wilson Wallis and her husband standing together outside their home at Burnt Church. She and her husband, Lionel, a fisherman and past chief, became charter members of the Church River CO-OP in New Jersey when it began 25 years ago, the only people from Burnt Church ever to join that CO-OP.

Mary has lived at Burnt Church all of her life, and brought up ten children of which four daughters and one son survive. Two of her daughters now reside in the United States; she has a complete picture puzzle of the skyline of New York City hanging on her living room wall. A grandson, unmarried, age 22, lives with her; her two other daughters and her son have their own homes at Burnt Church.

In addition to Micmac folklore, the Catholic religion is important to her. She appreciates church services and especially looks forward to the special Mass held Christmas Eve. When Father Pacifique of Restigouche was active in published religious books in Micmac (see section on the use of

writing in Chapter III), she was a salesperson for him at Burnt Church. She recalls his visits to her home when he was in Burnt Church to preach, teach, and hear confessions in Micmac.

Mary Dunagen is a curious blend of the old and new. Though known as a puuoin, she is respected for her wisdom. She is surprisingly up-to-date and knowledgeable about current events and the world in general as well as being a repository of traditional Micmac culture. She listens to the radio and watches television, and she says that she has liked to read all her life. When visiting her, one is impressed with her quick and inquiring mind and her lively interest in people and events.

The following story illustrates Mary's particular concern for ritual. At the funeral of Martin Alexander, a man from Burnt Church who died in the United States but whose body was shipped back for burial, the visiting priest for some reason did not go to the grave site after the ceremony in the church. Thus, no priest was present at internment to offer last prayers. This bothered Mary, so she quietly asked Margot Lavillette, the Chief's bookkeeper from Neguac who was standing next to her, to say a prayer aloud. Margot did so in French. Mary then said to Margot, "Martin didn't understand that, but God did." Mary, though assertive, did not say the prayer herself, possibly because she did not want to appear "too proud" by assuming an outsider's role.

As mentioned previously (page 43), Guillemin (1975:115) defines a modern Micmac puuoin as "a person with magical powers who seeks to control others." At Burnt Church, it was rumored that Mary Dunagen possessed a magical medicine bag which she used to inflict "bad wishes" on others. It was said by Sidney Deme that this pouch would be passed on to the next puuoin.

He speculated that one of Mary's daughters in Burnt Church might be the next puuoin. Mary's grandson, Bernard Dunagen, told me that he had once seen her handle this magical pouch, but did not know its whereabouts.

The incident in the graveyard suggests that Mary is assertive and knowledgeable, but whether she actually seeks "to control others" is another question. Another grandson, Rodney Dunagen, became incensed when she was referred to as a puuoin in his presence. Sidney Deme and George Foulard both suggested to me that a Micmac community is likely to have at least one puuoin, and that at Mary's death it would not be a question of whether there would be another one, but who it would be. These statements suggest a scapegoat theory: if by a combination of factors, a person is regarded as consistently being "too proud" for demonstrating individual assertiveness and knowledge, such a person could become known as the puuoin or a puuoin, especially if an alleged puuoin has recently died.

Belief in the existence of a puuoin may fulfill two functions: a need to blame misfortune on someone or something, and a need for a social leveling device to be used against persons consistently seen as "too proud." I think that knowledge of the specialized lexicon of the old folk tales and an interest in telling them in Micmac, as in the case with Mary Dunagen, may be a part of the combination of factors that could lead others to label a person a puuoin.

The case material in this chapter has shown that in spite of the acquisition and use of the English language in school, Micmac values prevail, even in college off the reserve among other Indian students. The school experience contributes to an individual's proficiency in English,

but not to any change in values as seen in the classroom of the Micmac third grade teacher who employs many more group activities than her Euro-Canadian colleagues. The chief and witch represent, respectively, positive and negative behavioral models in the community, with reference to its egalitarian values and social strategies. These egalitarian values play an important role in language choice, as will be seen in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V SPEECH EVENTS AND BORROWINGS

Data on speech events and borrowings, mainly from English into Micmac, are presented in this chapter and analyzed in Chapter VI. Hymes (1967:19-20), as noted in Chapter I, defines speech events as "activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules for the use of speech." Speech situations are settings for speech events, different types of which may comprise a speech situation. Social domains in a bilingual community associated with differential language use may be viewed as comprising sets of speech events governed by rules of bilingual language selection.

Asking for a Ride to Neguac

In the following account from a tape recorded conversation, Harry Rapley, age 55, asks for a ride to Neguac for groceries from David Deme, age 23, and Andrew Stover, age 27, who are on their lunch break from their jobs as carpenters on a housing project. The answer is "no" because there is no time for the ride, as Andrew and David are work partners who must be back at their afternoon's assignment by one o'clock sharp in accordance with the work rules of the Chief (determined by consensus with the men). Andrew, whose car is not operational at the moment because of starter trouble, is in the process of putting tools in David's car when Harry makes his request in Micmac.

In the excerpt below, English words in Micmac are underlined. At one point, Harry switches to English to say that he needs a ride very badly

since he does not even have "smokes" or cigarettes in the house. Yet, Andrew and David do not switch to English when Harry does, but continue in Micmac in their turn-taking with him.

David Deme: "Getua telmeg."

(That's what we'll do -- go to Neguac after work to buy a new solenoid switch or starter for Andrew's car.)

Harry Rapley: "Now, I'm going to have no more smokes."

David: "Togo saugpen?"

(Are you rum sick -- do you have a hangover?)

Harry: NODDING "Jeemoweteemow. Etnaawen gisiipuugtamwiitow."

(I'm not even smoking. Can anyone give me a smoke?)

Andrew Stover to David: "Solenoid switch, telawitamiitij."

(Solenoid switch, is that what it is?)

David: "That or the starter, something like that."

Harry: "Gaaganmi, Nisgameetog; jeemoweteemow. I got no smokes in the house."

(I'm out of everything, God knows; I'm not even smoking. I got no smokes in the house.)

Andrew: "Netowjii eulalig na San?"

(Is that how badly John treats you -- that as your best friend and neighbor, he won't give you a ride?)

Using Micmac for Exclusionary Communication

At a meeting of the fishing section of the Burnt Church CO-OP which I attended, a man representing Indian Affairs was explaining the necessity of voting (under the regulations for cooperatives of the Province of New Brunswick) on the question of whether a few cents of the sale price of each pound of eels should be set aside in a separate account for the maintenance of fishing equipment. During what amounted to a soliloquy on the part of the Indian Affairs man, the ten fishermen present talked quietly in Micmac. By the time the officer had started to pass out slips

of paper for a secret ballot, one of the fishermen announced in English that the group had arrived at a decision: yes, they would permit a portion of the sale of each pound of eels to be set aside for equipment, and the amount would be three cents.

Switching to Micmac, so that non-Micmac-speakers within earshot are not able to understand what is being said, occurs sometimes at Burnt Church. I observed this at public meetings on the reserve, in the Chief's office, and on inspection tours of a work project. It also occurred in reference to the petition circulated in the community for the ouster of Betsey Soudain as Welfare Officer (see Chapter II). The person bringing up this matter did so in Micmac, and the Chief responded in Micmac in the presence of an Indian Affairs official.

At the time, the ouster attempt was unknown to Indian Affairs, and the Chief was undecided as to what position to take. When the petition reached him later with signatures of the majority of eligible voters, he decided to support it in the name of community consensus.

Playing Baseball

Burnt Church has a summer baseball schedule with other Micmac reserves in New Brunswick and Quebec: Red Bank, Eel Ground, Big Cove, and Restigouche. The Burnt Church "MERCHANTS" wear uniforms so inscribed, which is particularly apt now with the recent opening of the CO-OP supermarket. The baseball games I observe were all between Micmac-speakers, bilingual in English. The tendency through the course of a game was for spectators and players on the sidelines to cheer and shout epithets in Micmac to players on the field, but to discuss the progress of the game

itself in English. That is to say, the score and umpire rulings and disputes about these, as well as the rules of the game, were talked about in English.

As spectator at six games, I attempted to count utterances with the help of one of my informants to test my supposition that when playing baseball Micmac tends to be used for applauding and badgering, and English for referring to the state of the game (e.g. score, inning, count on the batter, and disputes over an umpire's rulings). The tabulation (Table 8, below) represents a compilation of all six games; a chi-square test suggests a significant association between Micmac utterances and cheering and heckling at baseball games. An example of an epithet shouted to a player of the opposing team is, "Melgmustiwen," (You have a 'strong' belly -- you're out of shape). In ice hockey, the same language-switching pattern applies as in baseball.

TABLE 8 LANGUAGE CHOICES OF BASEBALL PLAYERS AND SPECTATORS AT SIX GAMES

	Micmac	English	
Cheers and epithets	90	47	137
Rules, rulings, and counts of the game	31	85	116
	121	132	253

$$\chi^2 = 38.284 \quad \alpha = .001$$

Table 7 shows an unmistakable correlation between Micmac and the broad category of cheers and epithets and between English and the broad category of discussing and disputing rulings and the rules of the game. Each

of these two categories is thus congruent with the underlying values signaled by the respective language with which it correlates. But the correlations are also not 100 percent. Obviously then, when a speaker decides to use English for cheers and epithets or Micmac for discussing rulings and rules, that person is manipulating signalling of the respective underlying values in more subtle strategies of interaction.

Selection of Language According to Topic

There is a tendency for certain topics, as previously mentioned in Chapters I and IV, to influence a speaker to switch languages. Mention of a *sgateegamuuj* (ghost) is likely to be a stimulus for the interlocutor to switch to Micmac if the conversation up to this point has been in English. Other topics I observed people respond to by switching to Micmac are *giinap* (special power), *puuguulaataamuujg* (little people), and *puuoin* (witch). And in English, mention of the term "work project" tends to influence an interlocutor to switch to English for further discussion concerning it. However, work itself, *elugwii* (to work), calls for Micmac.

Encounters with the Micmac Constabulary

There are two Micmac constables who live at Burnt Church who are attached to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) at Neguac. I observed that the Micmac constables start their inquiries in English but switch to Micmac when people from Burnt Church switch to Micmac. That happens when the objective of questioning is felt to be petty or not serious by a person from Burnt Church, such as a minor liquor violation (possessing alcohol outside of one's home more than an hour after the closing of the nearest liquor store). Switching to Micmac also occurs when a person feels temporarily safe from further

police action.

A person's home is a safe area usually because the RCMP will not enter it without first having obtained a warrant. From my observation, a Micmac being pursued by a Micmac constable tends to run to the sanctity of his dwelling and switch to Micmac upon reaching the steps or porch. The Micmac constable in pursuit then also switches to Micmac.

If the matter at hand is recognized as a serious wrong or tragic event (e.g. arson or death), people from Burnt Church tend to respond in English to the queries of the Micmac constabulary. The latter initiate queries and continue speaking in English if the respondent does not switch to Micmac. Actual cases in this category which occurred during the period of fieldwork were the destruction by fire of historic Anderson's General Store in New Jersey (established 1850), the suicide of a middle-aged man in Burnt Church, and the accidental death of a youth who was struck by an automobile while walking towards Neguac on Highway 11. When these matters were investigated in Burnt Church, the questions and answers were all in English, according to my observations and according to what the Micmac constables and some of their respondents told me. In the case of Anderson's Store, two youths from Burnt Church were charged and convicted of arson. The successful closing of this case was due to the cooperation of the community in telling what was known and to the detective work of the constables.¹ It should be noted that in the modern period there are no native jural rules that are applicable to such serious matters which could be evoked by a switch to Micmac.

¹For a detailed description of the bilingual interaction of encounters with the Micmac constabulary see Van Horn (1975:23-24).

Child Discipline and Argumentation

For child discipline, I observed a young mother, not very proficient in English, switch to English to shout at her toddler son not to wander any farther away from the house. She switched to English when he had not stopped after first telling him in Micmac. I noted initial admonitions in Micmac and then switches to English for further discipline in other homes also. The Chief, for example, would speak to his children first in Micmac and then in English if they did not behave. And I saw children and teenagers, who did not pay attention when the summons was in Micmac, take heed immediately on the next round when the reprimand was in English.

During arguments I observed that language switching occurs either way, that is, from Micmac to English or vice versa. One person may switch and the other may not. Thus, the situation sometimes occurs in which one person speaks one language and his or her antagonist retorts in the other language.

I observed the Micmac teacher's aide in kindergarten switch to English for discipline. She does most of her teaching in Micmac (using some of her own material and translating that of the regular non-Micmac teacher), but she frequently employs English commands such as, "Stop that;" "Get in line;" and "Go to the circle" (play-circle on the classroom floor).

The Importance of Not Being Too Proud to Speak Micmac

The title of Miss Indian New Brunswick was denied a girl from the Micmac reserve at Eel River in the summer of 1971 because she could not speak the native language of her people. Not only Burnt Church but other

Micmac reserves and the Union of New Brunswick Indians recognize the ability to speak Micmac as the overriding criterion of Micmac identity. The Micmac who does not speak Micmac with his or her fellow Micmacs in settings such as the town of Newcastle, where not speaking it could be construed as identification with the dominant society at the expense of Micmac society, may be alluded to as being "too proud" (wesawimegeg). This is a serious matter if the person in question needs allies for political office or other purposes which may be as mundane as asking for help in launching a boat, repairing an automobile, finding a baby sitter, obtaining a taxi ride, or whatever endeavor. No one who wishes to remain in good standing in Micmac society can afford to be labeled "too proud." This appellation, as noted earlier, is based upon how a person acts in regard to reciprocity and egalitarianism and how a person employs language selection to show egalitarianism.

Micmac egalitarianism can be seen in non-kin terms of address at Burnt Church. Friends call each other by their first names regardless of sex, age, or political position. The Chief is so addressed by persons of all ages; any given pupil in the elementary school on the reserve may call the school principal, "Mister," but no doubt has greater respect for the Chief whom he calls by his first name. One earns respect among the Micmacs. It can never be demanded hierarchically by way of a status difference as in the larger society. No one addresses any other Micmac by other than first names, except for relatives who use Micmac and English kin terms of address.

Saying "No"

People at Burnt Church do indeed say "no" in both Micmac (mogwaa) and English. The following, however, is an instance of switching to English

to say "no." I was with Ward Rapley when he was visiting his mother with two of his children. A neighbor, Evelyn Harvey, came in to use the telephone from her home across the road. In English, she telephoned the RCMP to report the possible illegal use of a firearm. In Micmac, she told Ward and his mother that she had just discovered that the glass door of her bookcase was broken, and she feared that it may have been the result of a stray bullet. Recently an old man near by had threatened some teenagers with a rifle for allegedly damaging his house.

Ward inquired whether the record player on top of the bookcase could have fallen somehow and broken the glass door. At that, Evelyn switched to English and said, "It couldn't be." Switching back to Micmac, she explained that the record player was still in its original position, apparently untouched and could not have been the cause.

I have no statistics on this, but the tendency seems to be to say "no" or otherwise use a negative utterance in Micmac to give information. That is, Micmac is used to answer a question for factual information as opposed to a request for action. Saying "no" in English, however, may be associated with a denial of a request or a difference of opinion, as in the example above of Evelyn Harvey and in several other instances I observed.

When a negative supplies requested information, it is consonant with the Micmac values of cooperation, reciprocity, and the avoidance of confrontation. However, English serves better, when, contrary to these values, the action to be performed by the negative utterance is one of opposition or contradiction.

Another example of switching to English to say "no" can be found in the tape recorded conversation between Marshall Perry and Madeline Deme

(see Appendix 1). Marshall and Madeline are discussing a stencil that Marshall is using to label his mechanical drawing project for high school. Madeline suggests in English that they can use the stencil on the windows to letter Christmas and New Year's greetings as they did the previous year. Marshall responds in Micmac that what they did last year was done in white to represent snow. He then switches to English to say "no" for the moment, that is, to tell Madeline not to stencil right now with the green ink he is using but to wait until they get some white spray. Marshall is expressing a difference of opinion when he switches to English to say, "But not green snow." He switches from an informational "no" in Micmac to a difference of opinion in English.

An additional switch to English for negation is found in the tape recorded conversation between Frank Gleneg, Sheila Dudley, and George Foulard (see Appendix 1). These three are participating in a wake as singers of the songs for the dead in Micmac, and the discussion during a break has been in Micmac and continues in Micmac except for a few lexical switches to English terms and the switch below. Frank switches to English to say that he does not possess a handwritten notebook in Micmac containing the words to the songs; this was said in response to comments of Sheila and George over the identity of a certain song that Sheila is trying to remember. Frank says, "No book, I got no book,"

In the tape recorded conversation between Harry Dudley, and his wife, Laura, (see Appendix 1), Laura has an emphatic "no" in English when she says that she does not know where the matches are nor the location of Harry's lighter fluid. After this "no" Laura switches to Micmac to say that their daughter, who is ill, just woke up.

English Incorporations, Lexical Switches, and Borrowings

Some English terms are frequently used as loanwords in Micmac utterances such as units of time, numbers (e.g. amounts of money), place names, school supplies, tobacco products, modern housekeeping items, packaged foods, some tools, and automobile parts. Often there is no Micmac equivalent, e.g. carburetor, transmission, and pliers.

In other instances, there are Micmac equivalences, e.g. taapatang (potatoes) and mijjuuwajij (baby), for English terms used in Micmac. I observed young women use "baby" instead of mijjuuwajij in otherwise Micmac utterances which include the still prevalent use of the following terms for children at Burnt Church: ulpoj (little boy), eepiiteejij (little girl), angwiis (my son), and antuus (my daughter).

The contemporary borrowing of English loanwords appears similar to that of 1871 when a Micmac woman was quoted as saying, "I often wonder why our children learn so many words of English, while English children don't know one word of Micmac" (Elder 1871:4).

Tables 9 and 10, below, represent the English words I heard in spoken Micmac. Table 9 is a list of those terms clearly incorporated into Micmac with Micmac inflections. Table 10 includes items falling on a continuum which ranges from lexical switches when there are possible Micmac and English equivalents to borrowings without inflection.

A lexical switch is a switch for one word from one language to another. A term from one language may go through stages of nativation - from lexical switching through borrowing to full incorporation into the other language. The absence of lexical equivalents may be a stimulus to borrowing (Ervin-Tripp 1972:241). Without more data on the subject, the

analytic distinction between a borrowing and a lexical switch remains unclear in practice and may in fact be indeterminate for an item in the process of becoming a borrowing. However, in Chapter VI, I suggest that the use of English terms in Micmac is related to the borrowing of associated cultural traits and to the degree of an individual's fluency in English.

An English word in a Micmac sentence is called a lexical switch if there is a Micmac equivalent whereas an English word in a Micmac sentence would be called a borrowing if there is no Micmac equivalent. An incorporation is an English borrowing used with Micmac inflections. The following are examples (see Table 10, below) of English words used in Micmac when Micmac equivalents exist: water (saamugwan), few (tegalaatiieg), river (siipuu), door (gaagun), porcupine (matuues), tomorrow (saaponug), and tea (pateewee). In context, the word "few" is used in English by Sidney Deme in an otherwise Micmac utterance to George Foulard (see Appendix 1 for this and the following examples):

Igen nuumultes ij few puatamin."
(I'll give you a few -- cigarettes -- if you wish.)

Also; Marshall Perry to Harriet Deme:

"Memaanog gutatowatigult uulaa tea?"
(You haven't poured tea yet?)

"Few" and "tea" are lexical switches.

In the following utterance, we have a borrowing and an incorporation in the same sentence; Madeline Deme to Marshall Perry:

"Meeagii staineewigtesag munamiisgamoan na paper towel."
(It --the tea which spilled on Marshall's drafting paper -- would have stained more if I hadn't gotten a paper towel.)

"Paper towel" is a borrowing (i.e. no Micmac equivalent), and "stain" is an

incorporation (used with Micmac inflections).

Another example of a borrowing is "cancer" in the utterance below; George Foulard to Sidney Deme about Joe Storey's illness:

"Cancer? Getumuetuug cancer."
(Cancer? Perhaps it isn't cancer.)

Other borrowings are these English terms: anyway, sink (noun), refrigerator, stroller, snow plow, battery, cabinet, and envelope (see Table 10).

Incorporations can be seen in the following examples: visiting woman to Joanne Rapley:

"Wiijeetiieg giicarum?"
(Shall we go together in your car?)

Frank Gleneg to another Micmac singer at a wake:

"Giisiistarteewates pasnama giisii endeewatuwan."
(I can start the song, but I can't end it.)

George Foulard to Joe Storey:

"Na neegam Lester Deme togetug swatog jobeewee."
(That fellow, Lester Deme, wants to have the job -- of welfare officer.)

Many English words are used in Micmac (see Tables 9 and 10, for example), but the only instance I observed of the use of a Micmac word in an otherwise English utterance is the following: I was walking with the Chief and two other Burnt Church men when we saw Rodney Dunagen, age 33, pounding on the door of one of the small grocery stores on the reserve, which was not open for business. The Chief said, "Rod is a gesguug drinker," (Rod is a heavy or chronic drinker), as if in explanation of his behavior.

Data collected as part of my questionnaire for language attitudes (see Appendix 2) under questions 36 and 37 (words in English not known in Micmac and vice versa) are included below -- Tables 9 and 10 for the English terms. A few are repeated here: "bulb" (electric light), "media" (news

media), "rat," "work project." "Bulb" is an English term incorporated into Micmac; "media" and "work project" are examples of borrowings. All three show cultural contact. I was told that there is no Micmac word for "rat;" a word that might apply, aapugjiiij, is the term for field mouse. Thus, "rat," too, appears to be an English borrowing. Rand (1888:174, 213), however, lists aapugjiiij as an inclusive term for the two forms mouse and rat.

Wijeetieg, giinap, and upsaamuusii are examples of responses to number 37 of the questionnaire, that is, words in Micmac not known in English. Wijeetieg means to go or to do something together with another person as a duo or pair. As discussed previously in Chapter II, a giinap is a person found to possess extraordinary strength or leadership capacities at times of community crisis. Possession of a twig of upsaamuusii is supposed to ward off anticipated misfortune from suspected witchcraft. There was general knowledge of the Micmac term, and several persons pointed the bush out to me. But no one knew of any equivalent in English. The identification of upsaamuusii as sumac is mine (see Chapter II) by matching specimens of bark, leaf, and berry.

TABLE 9 ENGLISH INCORPORATIONS INTO MICMAC

all right	church
bed	cigarette
belt (noun)	end
biscuit	home
bulb (electric light)	hospital
bus	job
car	join

TABLE 9 ENGLISH INCORPORATIONS INTO MICMAC

lighter (cigarette lighter)	smokes (cigarettes)
matches	spare
night	stain (noun and verb)
o'clock	start
pulp	sugar
pulpwood	sure
sassy	taxi
school	telephone
skidoo (snowmobile)	transport (truck)

TABLE 10 ENGLISH WORDS USED IN MICMAC UTTERANCES ALONG THE CONTINUUM FROM LEXICAL SWITCHES TO MORPHOLOGICAL UNINCORPORATED BORROWINGS

Lexical Switches

after	boots
apple	bother
attic	bottle
axe	box
baby	boy
baby powder	bread
bag	bridge
basket	broom
bean(s)	brown
bear	brush
beautiful	butter
boat	cake
bone(s)	calendar

TABLE 10 ENGLISH WORDS USED IN MICMAC UTTERANCES ALONG THE CONTINUUM FROM
 LEXICAL SWITCHES TO MORPHOLOGICAL UNINCORPORATED BORROWINGS

<u>Lexical Switches</u>	
candle	crow
candy	cry
carpet	cup
cellar	cupboard
chain	curtain(s)
chair	doctor
chief	dog
cliff	...dollars
chimney	door
clock	draw (verb)
closet	drawer
coat	dress (noun)
coil	drinking
cook (verb)	drive (noun)
collection	drunk
color	dry
comb	eagle
come on	egg(s)
company (visitors)	engine
corn	everyday
cover (blanket)	few
cranky	fig
crib	finger nail(s)
cross (symbol)	floor

TABLE 10 (continued)

Lexical Switches

food	lamp
fork	lard
furnace	leaf
girl	light
glass	lips
glue	lock
good-bye	mattress
good-day	meat
grass	medicine
gravy	metal
gun	mirror
hammer	molasses
hat	moon
hello	moose
hole	mouse
home	muscle
house	nail
iron (household appliance)	navy
jacket	newspaper
jam (jelly)	nipple
jewelry	no
juice	number
key	off
knife	office

TABLE 10 (continued)

Lexical Switches

one night	rope
orange	rug
order (noun)	ruler (measuring instrument)
paint	rum
pan	salt
paper	screw (noun)
participate	share (verb)
pen	short time
pencil	ship
pepper	shirt
picture	shit
pill(s)	shoe(s)
pin	shore
pipe (tobacco)	show (noun)
porcupine	skirt
post (fence)	shrub
priest	skunk
pump (noun)	soap
pumpkin	sock(s)
razor	song
relax	sorry
ring (noun)	spell (verb)
road	spoon
rock(s)	squirrel
room	stain (noun and verb)

TABLE 10 (continued)

Lexical Switches

star

start

station

steady (adjective)

steak (meat)

steps

store

stove

strap

study (verb)

sun

supper

swing

table

tea

tea pot

thanks

thank you

thread

tight

tomorrow

tool(s)

tree(s)

try

tube

use

vegetable

walk (verb)

watch (timepiece)

water

wheel

when

whisky

wine

wire

wood

Borrowings

after 'while

airplane

alcohol

all right

always

anyway (in any case)

army

ash tray

balloon

banjo

baseball

TABLE 10 (continued)

<u>Borrowings</u>	
bath tub	chesterfield (sofa)
battery	chips (potato)
bead set	circle ball (game)
beer	clothesline
beer bottle	coat hanger
Bible	coffee
bicycle, bike	coffee table
bin	company (a business)
binder (loose-leaf notebook)	corn flakes
bleach	crane (machine)
book	cribbage
bootlegger	desk
Boston	dictionary
bother	dime
bread box	doghouse
bulldozer	doorknob
bus driver	drive (verb)
cabinet	drum (car brakes)
camera	dryer (clothes)
cancer	duster
carburetor	electric
card(s)	electricity
...cents	envelope
chain saw	eraser
cheese	film

TABLE 10 (continued)

Borrowings

filter (car oil)	ignition
flashlight	jump rope (game)
fuel pump	library
funny book	mail
fuse	mail box
gall bladder	Maine
game (fun activity)	marbles (game)
garage	media (news media)
garbage	mop
garbage can	motor
giant steps (game)	motorboat
glasses (eyeglasses)	mountie
golf	next day
good time	nuts and bolts
gown	oatmeal
guitar	on
hall	overalls
hamburger	panties
handle bars	paper towel(s)
hanger	piano
hang up (i.e. the telephone)	pie
heater	pipe (plumbing)
hockey	plastic
hot plate	play pen
ice cream	pliers

TABLE 10 (continued)

Borrowings

polar bear	sling shot
police	slipper(s)
polish	snow plow
pop (soda pop, soft drinks)	so far
pork chops	spark plugs
rat	split (slang, i.e. 'go or leave)
razor blade	stapler
record(s) (phonograph)	steel wool
record player	stroller
refrigerator	submission (official application)
rink	suction
rocket	suit (of clothes)
rubber	sweater
safety pin	switch (electric or mechanical)
sandwich	tablet (writing pad)
school bag	tap (faucet)
school keys	tape recorder
screwdriver	teddy bear
scribbler (notebook)	telephone book
seesaw	television set
sewing machine	tiger
shorts (underwear or short pants)	tile
should be	time
sink (noun)	tire
sliding board	toaster

TABLE 10 (continued)

Borrowings

train

transmission

tray

truck

typewriter

umbrella

underwear

wall

wall board

washer (washing machine)

welfare officer

wieners

work project

wreath

wrench

yeast

This chapter has presented data on bilingual speech events and on the use of English words in Micmac. These data will be analyzed in Chapter VI according to social strategies, cultural borrowing, domains of language use, and bilingual selection rules.

CHAPTER VI ANALYSIS OF BILINGUAL CHOICES

Hymes (1974:54) reminds us that "how something is said is part of what is said," and that "the strategies of participants are an essential determinant of the form of speech events" (1974:57). Part of "how something is said" in a bilingual community is choice of language. Strategies to influence the behavior of the other speaker underlie choice of language in accordance with community values. According to Austerlitz (1976:70), "values govern human societal life and it is a concentration on these values and how they affect language that is required of the student of bilingualism." Values may be defined as those concepts utilized as criteria for desirable behavior (Williams 1967:23). My material on the Micmacs suggests that pride in group achievement takes precedence over individual accomplishment, persuasion over coercion, and the needs of others over immediate personal interests and possessions (see section on economy in Chapter II and individual cases in Chapter IV). Rules of conduct and strategies of interaction which apply to bilingual language choices may be viewed as stemming from such values as guides to action. The analyses which follow are based largely on data about the Micmacs of this study, and about other information on bilingual usage in other societies.

While the reactions of informants to bilingual selection rules were solicited, another step would be to look at responses in an effort to further define possible variables for language choice. This procedure, which has been recommended by Fishman (1972b:34-35), would be a productive line of inquiry in additional work on the Micmacs.

Strategies

In the conversation between Harry Rapley, David Deme, and Andrew Stover (see Chapter V), Harry seems to be making a plea when he switches to English to press his need for a ride to Neguac for cigarettes, groceries and perhaps more alcohol. Harry by asking again, this time in English, appears to be placing himself in a supplicant's status. David and Andrew, however, do not accept this behavior. They do not switch to English but continue to respond to Harry in Micmac, thereby ignoring his switch to English. Harry seems to be attempting to show deference by using English, but David and Andrew do not permit him to do so because they counter by remaining in Micmac, which keeps the interaction on an equal footing.

By using English, a speaker apparently intends to signal a difference in status, that is, authority over or deference to the other speaker. The switch to English in child discipline, for example, when the child or teenager does not respond initially to an overture in Micmac, apparently carries the meaning that the parent wishes to exert more authority toward the child. The continued use of English with Micmac constables by Micmac respondents when the matter is deemed worthy of police intervention by the latter is another example: by sticking to English, the respondent recognizes the authority of the constable as an RCMP officer.

Bock (1966a:70) suggests from Restigouche data that in an election for chief on a Micmac reserve, the ability to use English is an important consideration having to do with "which candidate might 'get the most from the government.'" I think Chief Paul Storey's predominant use of English is a strategy to emphasize his competence in dealing with various federal agencies to obtain government grants. The higher-level politics of nego-

tiating with government officials is closely intertwined with the Burnt Church economy. For this reason, the Chief is not viewed as being "too proud" by community members for his predominant use of English with them on the reserve, and, thus, for being too closely identified with the larger society. Some use of English has become a skill or tool that a modern Micmac chief must employ to exploit the surrounding social environment of the larger society, much as traditional Micmac leaders had to manage the exploitation of the surrounding physical environment (Speck 1915:303) in the Micmac "seasonal migration pattern of winters spent inland, and summers spent on the coast" (Martin 1975:126).

The Chief's predominant use of English may also be a strategy on his part to maintain some social distance on the reserve by making himself somewhat less accessible to his constituents, because of his obligation to abide by government regulations to insure continued grants. Thus, if a request from a constituent has to be denied, it is easier, and not the personal affront it would be otherwise, for the Chief to say "no" in English rather than "mogwaa" (no) in Micmac. When a negative supplies requested information, as mentioned in Chapter V, it is congruent with Micmac egalitarian values. However, English serves better, when, contrary to these values, the negative signals opposition, contradiction, or a denial of a request. The Chief's predominant use of English could incidentally serve to reduce the stress inherent in his middleman position, who must somehow balance the conflicting expectations of government officials in the higher-level hierarchy with those of his egalitarian constituents (see also Kupferer 1966:61-71).

Both the Chief's predominant use of English and his regular church

attendance may be part of his efforts to promote a good-leader image. This would be consistent with participating in religious rituals for political purposes: "Most (North American) Indian cultures intricately...(combined) religious ceremonies and political authority" (McLoughlin 1974:366). A link in the historic period between politics and church among the Micmacs can be found in Perley's report (1842:99-100) who says of the Micmacs at Burnt Church:

They have prayers in the Chapel every morning and evening at six o'clock...after which (in the evening) one of the Chief's usually makes a short address or exhortation to the congregation.

Another sign of the Chief's trying to show himself as a good leader, is his ever-present attaché case filled with government literature. The Chief's use of English is the exception which proves the rule, that is, by using English so much he is signifying the behavior of a good leader -- that he is on the job dealing with the dominant society "getting things from the government." If the Chief is exempted from Micmac rules for domain-specific language use (as discussed below), presumably his good-leader image is the reason. Perhaps he is not really exempted, but his status itself is a determinant of the appropriate language. In spite of an egalitarian society, the Chief is recognized as such, i.e. as the leader of the community who holds his elected position because of demonstrated ability to be fair with people within the community and to fight for community benefits outside of it. Thus, a modern Micmac chief is not unlike traditional ones when "the Chiefs as a whole were rendered respect and attention. Their words and opinions carried weight" (Hoffman 1955:574).

The aim of the strategy of using Micmac is to put the social interaction on an equal footing (i.e. between Micmac person and Micmac person)

in which individual autonomy is respected and leadership and cooperation materialize through the mutual recognition of personal worth. In encounters with the Micmac constabulary, when a person feels safe or secure from further police action on petty matters, he or she is likely to use Micmac. By switching in return, the constable apparently is responding to a strategy of the other speaker in using Micmac to signal a reminder of their common identity as fellow Micmacs. The suspect or respondent who switches to Micmac with a Micmac constable is signaling a shared Micmac identity. When this happens, the constable is no longer being treated as a policeman but rather just as another member of the community. Thus, the switch to Micmac may be interpreted as a strategy of language choice (Bauman and Sherzer 1975:110) on the part of the person being questioned to influence the constable to do likewise. The constable, regardless of his police status associated with the dominant society, still lives in a Micmac community, and he usually does switch to Micmac. The use of Micmac to affirm community membership and thus mutual egalitarian status is consistent with language use as strategy to "communicate group identity" (Watson 1975:58).

Micmac may be used to exclude non-Micmacs. Bock (1966a:84) reports examples of exclusionary switching for the Micmacs of Restigouche, and Goffman (1959:178) mentions it in general as a strategy of bilinguals in encounters with monolinguals. Exclusionary switches refer to bilinguals who switch to a language not known to others in a given situation such as a game, business transaction, or political conference. Under these circumstances, certain items of information and possible decisions are being shared only with the Micmacs present. This occurs in situations requiring

a consensus, those involving asides to the Chief or other band member on community issues not yet ready to be divulged to outsiders -- and baseball and hockey games played against non-Micmac teams. Thus, I classify this use of Micmac as a strategy to exclude outsiders.

Social Domains of Language Use

Domains represent abstractions of language-use patterns which, once known, may be utilized to predict which language in a bilingual community individuals may use in conjunction with different clusters of activities, statuses, and settings (Fishman 1972:451; Rubin 1975:191). At Burnt Church, I found the following domains to be associated with the use of Micmac: home, folklore, work, and local-level politics. Domains of English were found to be school, church, commerce, and higher-level politics. Micmac is used during work, but the topic of "work project" is talked about in English, referring to the external organization as part of the English domain of higher-level politics.

People of all ages tend to use Micmac in their work when they cooperate with one another in groups. Micmac is used for reaching a consensus in discussing matters requiring a decision and for exclusionary communication in the presence of non-Micmac, especially on matters of local politics. Micmac is the language used in the home for everyday interaction, informal education, and the telling of folk tales.

With entrance to elementary school, English is imposed. This is the language of formal education for the early grades on the reserve, in junior and senior high school off the reserve in Newcastle, and in college (for the few who go). In occasional adult classes held on the reserve, English is

used for all occupational skills except handicrafts.

Except for the fact that a few old men sing primarily in Micmac at wakes, there has been a shift from Micmac to English in sacred affairs, both in oral and written form. Thus, church is now a domain of English. Commerce is a domain of English and is reflected in the consumer activities of Burnt Church people on and off the reserve. Higher-level politics is a domain of English by necessity, as is commerce, since they require dealings with people who do not speak Micmac.

Type of activity is the paramount determinant of a domain, although certain settings, statuses, or topics may be relevant components of a domain. Folklore, for example, is a domain which is defined by discourse on supernatural topics. That is, "doing folklore" (telling folk tales) defines the domain regardless of setting (where the tales are told) or statuses (who tells the tales). To further illustrate, in the case of work groups completing tasks, say at the school or church, the cooperative aspect of the activity is more important than the setting in choice of language -- Micmac is used for working in a group as a team, whether repairing an automobile, fixing a furnace, or installing a flag pole. Correspondingly, the school or church committee meeting elsewhere than at the school or church will tend to speak English; the exceptions to this pattern are when Micmac is used for exclusionary communication at those times when non-Micmacs are present.

Selection Rules

I suggest that the distribution of Micmac and English among the domains identified above may be governed by the following bilingual selec-

tion rules (Blom and Gumperz 1972:416-423). If there is an apparent conflict between lexical switching and the rest of an utterance, the major portion of a message follows these rules:

Micmac demeanor rule: use Micmac with other Micmac bilinguals to signal equal status or solidarity, and evoke behavior that can be judged congruent with Micmac values;

English demeanor rule: use English with other Micmac bilinguals to signal differences of status or of social distance, and evoke behavior congruent with such differences;

Micmac exclusionary communication rule: use the native language, which happens to be Micmac, to exclude speakers of the other language, which happens to be English.

A switch to Micmac often occurs when the subject of the message is not yet an item for higher-level politics, and mentioning it in English would make it so if overheard by a representative of the larger society. The exclusionary communication rule is not necessarily a Micmac rule; it could just as well be an English rule. The exclusionary rule, in this case switching to Micmac to exclude non-Micmac speakers, follows from the condition of Micmac-English bilingualism among the Micmacs. For bilingual selection rules, it is important to note that for the community studied by Blom and Gumperz (Hemnes, Norway), the local dialect is congruent with egalitarian values (1972:433) as is Micmac for Burnt Church.

The Rules Further Illustrated

In the conversation between Ward Rapley and his wife and children (see Appendix 1), Ward scolds his two younger sons and daughter in Micmac

for jumping on the furniture. As he becomes more agitated, he switches to English, sends his oldest son to another room for a belt, and threatens to use it on the others. This switch reflects Ward's angry mood, which, however, soon changes to one of affection and humor as he hugs his daughter and jokes with his wife in Micmac. Another switch to English occurs when daughter Karla, age three, comes into the living room carrying her newborn brother in her arms. Ward switches to English and asks, perhaps rhetorically, "Okay, what's going on here?" He answers his own question in Micmac by joking with his wife that little Karla was already starting to have children.

If Ward had actually punished one of his children for being too rambunctious, I would classify his switch to English, calling for the belt, as a change in the ongoing social situation. The children, in continuing to laugh and play despite Ward's outbursts, and his own evident good humor at the end, make the sequence of acts part of a family interaction, marked only by mood and not situational changes.

In the conversation between Madeline Deme and Marshall Perry (see Appendix 1), Madeline's mother, Harriet tells her granddaughter, Rhoda, age two, in Micmac to put back whatever it was she had just taken from Marshall's mechanical drawing table. Harriet then switches to English for an approbation to Rhoda, "That's a girl." This appears to be a switch reflecting a positive but more formal mood, as if for the moment Harriet is acting like a teacher in the elementary school, behavior that would be associated with the use of English.

In the tape recorded conversation between Sidney Deme and his wife, Martha, and two little daughters (see Appendix 1), Martha speaks in Micmac

throughout her interaction with Sidney and daughters until their niece, Rhoda, age two, comes in from next door wearing a new dress. Martha then says in English, "Oh, you have a pretty dress on." Switching back to Micmac, Martha discusses it with her daughter, Marie, age four, and uses a Micmac equivalent for "pretty" (welteg) in a mixed Micmac and English utterance: "Oh, welteg, oh my goodness." Why would Martha switch to English at the sight of the new dress? Her switch may be interpreted as a switch with the social meaning of English as the out-group language, that is, the switch may have occurred in an association of the dress with its mode of acquisition, an item requiring the use of English for its purchase through the larger society. Marie in Micmac at the end of the conversation informs us that the dress had been bought the night before.

Why, when talking in Micmac, switch to English to say, "Whose tea?" This occurs in the tape recorded conversation between Donald Dudley, Sidney Deme, and Sidney's wife, Martha. Don (Sidney's brother-in-law) has stopped by in the morning. Invited to breakfast, Don sips from a cup of tea, already poured, with the remark in Micmac that now nobody else can have it. He then switches to English saying, "Whose tea?" Martha responds right away: "My tea" in English, and switches to Micmac to say that she had put a lot of sugar in it (Don uses little or no sugar). The switch to English for Don's exclamation and Martha's reply may be in the category of a brief situational switch here if "English" social rules are active in this instance, with the implication of private personal possession of material things instead of sharing. If so, this would evoke the use of English.

A switch reflecting an affectional change in the individual is in the tape recorded conversation between Harry Dudley and his wife, Laura

(see Appendix 1). Laura switches to English to remark, "It's so hot." She is referring to the forehead of their infant daughter who has been feverish with an ear infection. Perhaps this switch to English occurs because of the rising anxiety of the young mother over her child's condition. And, as mentioned in Chapter V, Laura has an emphatic "no" in English when she says that she does not know where the matches are nor the location of Harry's lighter fluid. After this "no," she switches to Micmac to say that their daughter just woke up. By using Micmac here she seems to be saying that the subject of their daughter and her health is closer, more intimate, and much more important to them than Harry's quest for a light for his cigarette.

Lexical Switching

The type of in-group/out-group reference norms, above, for strategic language use, are implied below in a statement of Gumperz and Hernandez (1971b:329) on what a person does in making a choice of language:

In any particular instance of code switching, speakers deduce what is meant by an information processing procedure which takes account of the speaker, the addressee, the social categories to which they can be assigned in the context, the topic... Depending on the nature of the above factors, a wide variety of contextual meanings derive from the basic meaning -- inclusion (we) versus exclusion (they). This underlying meaning is then re-interpreted in the light of the co-occurring contextual factors to indicate such things as degree of involvement, anger, emphasis, change in focus, etc. (Gumperz and Hernandez 1971b:329).

Topics as predictors of code switching may be viewed as part of the co-occurrence of contextual meanings associated with the basic selection rules above. Prevalence of the view that topical specialization is a predictor of language switching or code switching is evident from the sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Weinreich 1953:3; Albo 1970:49; Hunt 1966:124;

Fishman 1972a:439; Giles, Taylor and Bourhis 1973:177; Hymes 1968:31).

That is, one language or code rather than another will be switched to for the discussion of or discourse on certain topics. An example of topical specialization can be found in the tape recorded conversation between Sidney Deme and Donald Dudley (see Appendix 1). They talk about a new work project in English, but Sidney switches to Micmac when he refers to work itself, i.e. the process of working, saying that he would enjoy working again -- it would be fun.

Topic conditioning may be a matter of lexical and cultural specialization in a bilingual and bicultural community. The lexicon of the Micmac supernatural seems to condition a switch to Micmac for further discussion. A Micmac witch, for example, is not the same as a Western one, in spite of acculturation in this category among the Micmacs (see Chapter II). So too with work projects, as mentioned in Chapter V, which are talked about in English, and work itself, which is referred to in Micmac.

Lexical switching may be found in the George Foulard/Joe Storey conversation (see Appendix 1) in which George queries Joe about whether he is being vexed in the hospital by the puuoin in Burnt Church. In the first two of the three separate instances when George refers to the puuoin, he uses the Micmac word, but then immediately switches to English in a disclaimer of the likelihood of her power affecting Joe in the hospital to cause his throat tumor to worsen. George in the course of the conversation has three switches to English, consisting of English phrases which constitute all or most of the sentence. The first two contain "puuoin" as the subject of the sentence, with the remaining words in English. The third is all in English and refers not to the puuoin but to the probability of

the new welfare officer having wanted the job "all along." This is a reference to abstract time and may be an English borrowing of a Western cultural trait.

Each man uses a few loanwords, lexical switches, and words incorporated into Micmac from English; otherwise the conversation is all in Micmac. George may switch to English for a disclaimer of the puuoin's power to show his own dissonance towards her and perhaps thus to help reassure his friend. However, it is interesting to note that each of these switches to English expresses a denial of the puuoin's power. George may be switching to English to say "no" as if in trying to mollify Joe's worry over the puuoin; he is actually disagreeing with, or offering a difference of opinion about, a traditional belief on the range of a puuoin's power.

The switch to English by Sidney Deme and the responding acknowledgment in English by George Foulard in regard to Sidney's comment that the fishing partner of George's son drinks a lot (see Appendix 1) may be considered a metaphorical switch (as discussed later in this chapter). Perhaps dissonance felt about chronic drinking is being expressed by the use of English.

In the tape recorded conversation between Madeline Deme and Marshall Perry (see Appendix 1), there is a sequence in Micmac in which Madeline says that while giving their infant son, Louis, his bottle, she almost ate the biscuit she intended for him. Marshall then asks if she has poured tea yet. At that moment, Harriet, Madeline's mother comes in from the kitchen with teapot in hand and inquires who wants tea. All of this is in Micmac except for Madeline's use of the English word "biscuit"

with Micmac morphology, and Marshall's use of the English word "tea" in an otherwise Micmac sentence. In contrast, Harriet immediately uses the Micmac word for tea (pateewee) in her inquiry. Marshall's use of the English word for tea would appear to be a clear example of lexical switching. Perhaps Madeline's use of "biscuit" as an English incorporation into Micmac just prior to Marshall's query may have triggered his switch, by an English association of "tea" with "biscuits."

In the above conversation, Madeline, in an otherwise Micmac comment about shaking the baby's bottle, has a switch to English for the word "nipple." This lexical switch occurs perhaps because she is referring not to a nipple in the flesh, as the Micmac term connotes, but to the rubber nipples of baby bottles and to the borrowed cultural trait of bottle feeding babies.

In the tape recorded conversation between Sidney Deme and George Foulard (see Appendix 1), George, an ailing singer of the Micmac songs for the dead, makes the statement that he does not seem to be able to sing any more -- that he has not sung all winter. First, he says this in Micmac, then he repeats the phrase "all winter" in English. Since the sequence is Micmac, then English, does switching to English somehow emphasize the importance the speaker attaches to the message? Perhaps language sequence is not relevant in such a lexical switch, but the fact of a repetition of the message by a switch to an equivalent term of the other language serves to make the message more emphatic.

English Borrowings and Incorporations into Micmac

The use of English terms in Micmac utterances (see Tables 9 and 10, above) no doubt reflects the borrowing of English lexical items with the

adoption of cultural traits of the dominant society, for example, numbers (only a few old people can still count in Micmac at Burnt Church), amounts of money, units of time on the clock, and technical items such as certain tools and automobile parts. The English borrowings point to differential age and gender lexical resources in both languages revealing what Voegelin calls "linguistic acculturation (from the donor language)...a special instance of languages in contact" (1960:67). Rand (1888:266) in his English-Micmac dictionary says there is no word in Micmac for "time" as a quantity; the Micmac terms are more relative to the event at hand. What was borrowed was the concept of abstract time, plus the seemingly arbitrary scheduling of events at times on the clock or on days of the calendar, and the unitary valuing of goods and services in terms of a common medium of exchange, money.

What the Micmacs do by incorporating English loanwords (see Table 9), rather than devising loan translations when there are no Micmac equivalents, has been alluded to in the literature as a general research problem (Sherzer and Bauman 1972:142) and in a specific instance, the use of English terms around 1911 for "all the bracing and rigging on a vessel" (Wallis and Wallis 1955:24). English terms with Micmac inflections and phonology are indicative of a further stage of incorporation of English terms into Micmac, as is the case with "school" and some of its supplies and "cars" and some of their parts. At other times, however, the same category, automobile parts, may trigger an immediate switch to English for a subsequent utterance, as in the dialogue in mostly Micmac between Andrew Stover and David Deme (see Chapter V). When Andrew uses "solenoid switch" as an English term in a Micmac utterance, David, who had been speaking Micmac, answers Andrew

completely in English. The more technical automobile terms apparently represent borrowed cultural items not yet subjected to nativization.

It is possible that certain English terms in Micmac that do have equivalents, e.g. the use of "baby" by young women at Burnt Church, may mean that they regard "baby" in English and "mijjuwajij" in Micmac (see Chapter V) as separate terms. The English term connotes hospital birth to the Micmacs whereas its equivalent (mijjuwajij) does not. This interpretation is consistent with the apparent preference of the Micmacs to incorporate the lexical form of a new item or concept into Micmac along with that cultural item or concept. The list of English words in Micmac (Table 10) represents the addition of new cultural items. The use of English words in Micmac may be also a reflection of increased individual bilingualism regarding the donor language (T'sou 1975:449-451), that is, more fluency in English. Borrowing is the attempt by a speaker to reproduce in one language, forms learned in another (Haugen 1969:363). Loanwords are utilized as lexical switches, borrowings, or incorporations, all of which reflect cultural borrowing.

Metaphorical Switching

If we assume that topics are associated with the language in which they are learned (Darnell 1971:159), the question becomes why are they learned in that language? Folklore is an artifact of traditional Micmac culture and is learned at home from parents and grandparents. Baseball, as an artifact of the dominant culture, is learned in English at school. Knowledge of work projects is acquired in English primarily from the Chief, who stresses time (Euro-Canadian time) and its importance to maintaining

the grants by talking about the need for cooperation in meeting government work schedules and project-completion deadlines. Just as English words are borrowed and used in Micmac sentences, so too are Canadian institutions borrowed and used in Micmac communities.

The data of language switching at baseball games show that the players and spectators can and do perform and comment upon all parts of the game in either language. This may be an example of metaphorical switching, in which Micmac and English epithets at baseball games (see Chapter V) have the same referential meaning but a different social meaning in the same interaction. Metaphorical switching indicates a change in interlocutor mood rather than a change in the type of interaction (Blom and Gumperz 1972:424; Fishman 1972b:36). Epithets when expressed in Micmac are good-humored raillery, but when conveyed in English they represent serious heckling. The use of either Micmac or English for rules, rulings, and the progress of the game also can fall into the category of metaphorical switching, wherein Micmac implies in-group solidarity while English connotes out-group social distance, consistent with the general community norms for the use of the two languages (Fishman 1972a:450).

Analysis of Questionnaire for Language Attitudes

Appendix 2 presents the questionnaire that was carried out to learn how sex and generation differences may be variables in attitudes about each language. Language-use responses are analyzed in terms of generation and sex trends. (See Chapter I for generation definitions.) The questionnaire was administered by me in a formal interview, for which the informant visited me in the house where I lived. No other people were present in the room. A few persons said they felt they could confide in me like a priest.

The responses to the questionnaire reveal primary attitudes about topics and the components of social situation (i.e. participants, time, and place). The self-reportings for a given question may thus represent the domain salience of the feature or features of a question, rather than how they may combine with different other features with which they can co-occur. In some cases, respondents specified missing features in their explanations for their language choice. (See Appendix 2 for further explanation.)

For Question 1 ("Which language do you use with your spouse daily?"), all of the old generation and all but two men of the middle-aged generation say they use only Micmac. These two say they use both Micmac and English. One of them, Charles Dudley, says that because a son of his had been hospitalized for an extensive period in an English-speaking hospital as a youngster and came home speaking English, he decided to speak English with this son and then with the other children and his wife. He says that he did this to help his children be better prepared for school. Charles and his wife constitute the only ones at Burnt Church I observed to offer the opinion that speaking English at home exclusively with the children would help them in school. Charles does use Micmac just with his wife.

Steven Austin, a Micmac RCMP constable, is the other middle-aged man who says he uses both Micmac and English with his spouse. His reason is that he uses English so much in his work that he finds himself using it at home too sometimes, especially when angry. Perhaps this is related to Steven's use of English in his position of authority as a constable.

Four times as many women than men in the young generation report using only Micmac for Question 2 ("Which language do you use with your spouse when angry?"). This is so, perhaps, because in spite of a tendency

to use more English than the other generations, young women may feel that Micmac gives them an advantage when arguing, since it is the language of the home; home is the place where Micmac women do have much to say about what happens (Guillemin 1975:215).

All but one of the young women answered that they use only Micmac with their parents (Question 3: "Which language do you use with your parents?"). This person reports using both Micmac and English. She is an exception, in that she is the Chief's daughter who works as his secretary. Her answer reflects her use of English with him in the office.

The two men who report using only English with their spouses for Question 1 are married to non-Micmac women. One is Maliseet and the other American; neither can speak Micmac. Yet, even these men say they sometimes speak Micmac to their non-Micmac spouses in front of their children (Question 4). This attitude perhaps reflects the general recognition of Micmac as the language of the home. The American woman was indeed learning some Micmac from her husband and his mother and grandfather, all of whom lived together in the grandfather's house. The Maliseet woman also lived in a large household where Micmac was readily spoken by three generations. All of these cases must qualified as individual exceptions to the prevailing pattern.

"On the road," as used in Question 5, is a synonym for courting behavior. Being seen walking together regularly on one of the roads of Burnt Church is a sign of a serious relationship, and merely walking together can provoke gossip. Generational differences in the answers to this question show Micmac as a clear preference for middle-aged and old people. The one middle-aged man who indicated the use of both languages for "walk-

ing on the road" is known for pursuing non-Micmac as well as Micmac women (being seen walking on the road with them hand in hand), which may account for his answer. The young respondents are approximately evenly divided between those reporting the use of only Micmac and the use of both languages. One young man and one young woman say they use only English. They are a couple that is more acculturated to the outside Canadian world. Margaret Harvey is the third grade Micmac schoolteacher, and her suitor, Edwin Deme, is the assistant manager of the new CO-OP supermarket. They enjoy going to the movies frequently off the reserve. So perhaps their responses to this question reflect to a greater extent than others at Burnt Church, the Western notion of romantic love.

Young people are approximately evenly divided in their reporting of the use of only Micmac and the use of both Micmac and English for Question 6 ("Which language do you use when making love with your spouse or sweetheart?"). Thus, this generation shows more bilingualism than the other two on this question. There is a slight tendency for young and middle-aged men combined to say they use both languages rather than just Micmac. Middle-aged women along with old women say they prefer only Micmac for love and courtship.

There is a curious pair of responses for Question 7 ("Which language do you use to say 'I love you'?"). One old man and one old woman indicate using both Micmac and English: George Foular and Mary Dunagen, who are both knowledgeable people and perhaps more bicultural than others of their generation. George worked off the reserve for many years as a fisherman, and Mary with her late husband, Lionel, a former chief, were active in the English-speaking CO-OP in New Jersey (see Chapter IV). The fact that

the young generation says they use either Micmac or English but not both, bespeaks a relationship between language and culture. In Micmac, one cannot say, "I love you," as in English when expressing romantic love. The closest equivalent in Micmac (gesaaluu) means "I like you," and is much more comprehensive in its inclusion of types of affection. All my informants were quick to point out that you cannot say, "I love you," in Micmac precisely, without ambiguity.

There seems to be a gender difference in the self-reporting of the young generation for Question 8 ("Which language do you use with your friends drinking tea?"). More women than men say they use only Micmac, with men reporting the use of both languages. This may reflect differences in topic and setting. While tea (or coffee) is consumed mainly at the kitchen table, women may just be coming in from sitting outside in summer and gossiping; men may be coming in from a work group or casually formed group doing something such as repairing an automobile. In men's speech, some of the topics discussed, as I have discussed earlier, may mean more use of English and more English words in Micmac speech by men than women, especially active young men on and off the reserve.

For Question 9 ("Which language do you use drinking alcoholic beverages with your friends?"), men and women of the old generation show a clear preference for only Micmac. Men of the middle-aged generation are just about evenly divided between using only Micmac and both languages, while middle-aged women uniformly report only Micmac. Young men show a marked preference for both languages, with young women evenly divided between reporting the use of only Micmac and both Micmac and English. Since drinking is a time to talk, perhaps the pattern of self-reported usage here

not only reflects the use of more English among men than women, starting with middle-aged men, but also more bilingualism among young people, including young women.

There is an overwhelming preference for all generations to say they use only Micmac in town with other Micmacs for Question 10 ("Which language do you use with friends from the reserve in the streets of Newcastle?"). This reported usage is consistent with my observations about speaking Micmac and not English in town with fellow Micmacs, lest one be accused of being "too proud."

With regard to Question 11 ("Which language do you use with the Chief?"), no one in any generation says they use only Micmac with the Chief. The two older generations report using both Micmac and English, with the exception of one old man who says he uses just English. He explained that since the Chief almost always replies in English anyway, even if spoken to in Micmac, he might as well use English too: "If he (the Chief) wants to use English, I will too; it's up to him." In the sample, 11 out of 12 of the young men and the same proportion of young women say they speak only English with the Chief. The exceptions are the daughter of the Chief (his secretary) and her husband, who say they interact with the Chief at home mostly in Micmac and at the office in English. I believe that the answers indicating the preponderant use of both Micmac and English by middle-aged and old people reflect the fact that some persons do speak to the Chief in Micmac. He responds in English usually, with the exception that he uses Micmac for certain topics (as previously discussed) or for exclusionary communication in the presence of non-Micmacs.

Questions 12 and 13 ("Which language do you use with your grand-

parents...(and)...godparents?") show an almost uniform reporting of the use of only Micmac. I interpret this to represent an identification of Micmac with older persons to express a Micmac value of respect for elders on the part of all generations.

One young man reports using both Micmac and English and two middle-aged men report using just English with Steven Austin, a Micmac RCMP constable (Question 14). Otherwise, all others in all three generations report using only Micmac. I believe this reflects the tendency to view Steven first and foremost as a member of the community. Thus, the reporting of only Micmac occurs, when in fact everyone at one time or another probably has spoken English with Steven about serious police or community matters. Viewing Steven as someone they speak with only in Micmac may compensate for the ambivalent feelings about him as a Micmac police officer, with power conferred upon him by the dominant society. Perhaps a difference in the perception of the Chief's predominant use of English and Steven's use of English is in the way it is used. The Chief uses English to benefit the community; Steven more often than not is perceived to harass the people on petty matters with his police power.

The stated choice for using only Micmac with a school attendance officer and the welfare officer (both Micmacs) in Questions 15 and 16, respectively, no doubt reflects Micmac as the in-group language. This is especially true for matters requiring tact and mutual understanding such as welfare requests and queries about a child's absence from school.

English is the overwhelming choice for the language used for confession in church (Question 17). The only exception is a middle-aged man, a former chief, whose preference for only Micmac in this context may be

dictated by his lack of proficiency in English. His comment was that he still speaks Micmac to the priest; even if the priest does not understand, God will. (See Chapter IV for the expression of the same sentiment by Mary Dunagen.)

Micmac is the clear choice reported by all three generations for the language used with the parents of one's spouse or sweetheart (Question 18). This is in the same category as Questions 12 and 13 above, a stated preference for only Micmac for use with older relatives and other elderly people.

Data for the young men show that eight report using only Micmac and four report both Micmac and English for use with siblings (Question 19). The young women are evenly divided in their responses between only Micmac and both languages. The other two generations uniformly indicate only Micmac. The young generation may actually be using more English than the other two generations. My tape recorded conversations (see Appendix 1) suggest this because of the presence of more English sequences in the conversations of the young generation than in those of the older generations.

With the exception of two individuals, only Micmac is uniformly reported for use with James Deme, a former chief (Question 20). The exceptions are a Micmac constable and the daughter of Chief Paul Storey. The former includes speaking English as part of his police work. The latter says she finds herself speaking English in her father's office when James occasionally stops in, which would suggest language choice as a function of setting. The overall choice, however, of the other respondents is only Micmac because of James's lack of proficiency in English, which is well known in the community, to the point that it became a political issue in

the election of 1970 when James was defeated by Paul Storey. It would seem that the answers to Question 20 show recognition of differential competence; to communicate with James Deme at any length, Micmac must be used.

It is interesting to note that even those of the young generation say they use Micmac and not English with their neighbors (Question 21). What this reflects is that Micmac is the in-group language, a symbol of Micmac identity.

The responses for Question 22 ("Which language do you use to make jokes?"), show variability among the young and middle-aged generations between only Micmac, only English, and both languages, whereas those of the old generation uniformly report only Micmac. The young man and young woman who indicate using only English are a brother and sister who have a predilection to pun in English as a game among themselves. It is possible to pun in Micmac also, which I was aware of occasionally. A weakness of this question is that it does not distinguish between various types of joking, e.g. acting out practical jokes and laughing with the "victim" afterwards, telling anecdotes about funny incidents, or passing along fictitious stories for their humorous subject matter. The replies to this question show men of the young and middle-aged generations saying that they use both Micmac and English more than women of their respective generations. Perhaps women in groups (e.g. sitting on porch steps in the summer while minding children at play near by) gossip more about community affairs and joke less than do men, whose additional repertoire of jokes in English may mean differential diffusion from the larger society. The stated preference "to make jokes" in Micmac by all old people has the appearance of a genuine difference between the generations. Some of the anecdotal jokes of the old generation

fall into the category of folklore, the topics of which, as discussed before, are associated with the use of Micmac.

The language choices reported for use with Margaret Harvey, the Micmac schoolteacher (Question 23), may be indicative of differential views about social change. As previously mentioned, Margaret is the most highly educated person at Burnt Church in terms of formal education, i.e. the possession of credentials of the larger society, and she is earning her own living, having returned to the reserve to teach. Women of the middle-aged and old generations as well as the old men report using only Micmac with Margaret. There is more variation among young and middle-aged men and young women, who are split evenly between those who report they only use Micmac and those who say they use both Micmac and English. How Margaret is viewed perhaps also depends upon the extent of an individual's own bilingualism. The two men in the young generation who cite English for use with Margaret are Edwin Deme, her suitor, mentioned earlier, and Andrew Stover, the informant referred to above who likes to pun in English and who says he has the opportunity occasionally to test his puns with her.

A slight increase in the number of responses to their use of Micmac "when angry" (Question 24A) among the young generation, as compared to their use of both languages "when happy," may mean that more arguments begin in Micmac than in English. It is my limited observation, that many arguments start out in Micmac as differences of opinion, and then switch back and forth between Micmac and English as the exchange becomes more heated. For Questions 24A and 24B ("Which language...when happy?"), the responses follow the pattern of greater variation among young men and women than among the other two generations in reporting the use of Micmac

and both Micmac and English.

The responses for which language at a dance in the community hall (Question 25), reveal the overall pattern suggested by the results of the questionnaire: a tendency for old people to report the greatest use of Micmac; the next greatest use of Micmac is reported by the middle-aged, with more women than men saying they would use only Micmac; and a tendency for young men and women to be just about evenly divided between those who report using only Micmac and those who say they use both Micmac and English.

The old generation is uniform in its reporting of only Micmac for bingo in the community hall (Question 26). A weakness of this question is that it does not distinguish between various types of activities when playing bingo. Unlike the old, the middle-aged and young say they count to themselves in English, as well as follow along with the announcer who publically counts and directs the game in English. So counting is one activity at bingo. There is some talk not related to the game at all but part of the greetings and social exchange that occurs at any gathering. Perhaps the difference in the responses of the middle-aged and young generations reflects different perceptions of who and what they talk about, in addition to the game itself, during an evening of bingo. The old people do not seem to be recognizing the public counting in English that occurs nowadays at bingo games at Burnt Church.

How to greet a strange Indian man or woman is the question in 27 and 28. The responses are the same for each question, and sex of stranger is not a variable. However, generation of respondents seems to be. The old, with the exception of one man who says he uses English, indicate that they use Micmac. The middle-aged consistently report using English, and

the young are split between those who say they use Micmac and those who say English. The rationale suggested by one informant is that one is "safe" using English for a greeting without risking a possible violation of etiquette, i.e. impinging upon someone's else's identity perhaps by addressing him in Micmac when he or she might be a Maliseet or a non-Micmac-speaking Micmac (e.g. from Eel River in New Brunswick) or an Indian from a non-Maritime people. The old generation would appear to be content to use Micmac and the middle-aged, English, whereas the young generation may be more willing to make an estimate of a stranger's identity in accordance with how Micmac they think the other is by offering a greeting in Micmac.

In Question 29 ("Which language...with your children?"), age is not specified; different responses might result from different ages of children in the family, with more English, perhaps, being reported as children mature. Since compulsory school attendance is less than a generation old, a tendency to report using English with children in addition to Micmac may be related also to informants' age and age of child. The data seem to reflect this, with the young generation evenly divided between reporting the use of Micmac and the use of both languages, the middle-aged showing a stated preference for only Micmac but with some variation between Micmac and English, and the old saying only Micmac.

A small grocery store on the reserve is the setting for greetings, news, and gossip; it is a very "in-group" place. Thus, the reporting for Question 30 ("Which language...in one of the grocery stores on the reserve?"), as a setting may reflect the young generation's perception of increased use of English in their speech when they report the use of both Micmac and English. The other two generations uniformly report the use of only Micmac.

The phrase "at church" is not defined in Question 31. This question no doubt have been better if stages of "at church" were specified. The respondents cannot mean the actual service or English would have been reported by all, since the priest uses no Micmac in church. For this question, twelve women and six men of the young generation say they use English or both languages at church. Six women and two men in the middle-aged generation say they use English. The socializing before and after the service may reflect a tendency for young and middle-aged women to be more involved in church affairs and thus to interact more with the English-speaking priest. The fact that all men and women in the old generation sample say they would use Micmac at church may mean that they have in mind the mingling before and after the service with at least a greeting in Micmac.

The responses to Question 32 ("Which language do you use to discipline your children?") show a marked preference for Micmac in all generations. This may reflect the fact that differences of opinion often are initially begun in Micmac with progressive switching back and forth to English. In this case, if a child does not obey at first in Micmac, switching to English occurs for a further command.

"Feeling good" in Question 33, as noted earlier, is an English phrase used at Burnt Church which means to be pleasantly under the influence of alcohol without being drunk. It can occur anywhere from tliiwogwee through musgaatu to wegeei but before getgiiemg (see Chapter II), which is the drunken stage of a drinking session. As part of the talk of drinking, Questions 33 and 34 recognize "feeling good" and "drunk" as separate but progressive conditions of drinking directly related to the consumption of alcoholic beverages but not necessarily related to the exact sequence of

the stages of talk during a drinking session. Men and women of the young generation report more usage of both Micmac and English while "drunk" compared to "feeling good." Young men and women report no use of only Micmac while "drunk." Middle-aged men on the other hand report an increased use of only Micmac when "drunk" compared to "feeling good," while middle-aged women remain evenly divided in reporting only Micmac and the use of both languages. The old generation is constant in its reporting of only Micmac for both questions, "feeling good" and "drunk."

Steven Foulard, mentioned in Question 35, represents in-group cooperation, in that he is a community development worker employed by the Union of New Brunswick Indians. He helps the Chief obtain information on government grants and work projects, tells the people about opportunities available, and encourages their participation. Steven is also involved in the coordination of community activities, such as Saint Anne's Day and sports events. All generations report using mostly Micmac with him, perhaps because he is so identified with the concerns of the community and is a spokesman for the people and not the government.

Data collected under Question 36 (words in English not known in Micmac) and under Question 37 (words in Micmac not known in English) have been discussed in Chapter V. Data gathered from Questions 38 through 56 have been incorporated where appropriate in Chapters II, III, and IV.

The oldest generation reports the greatest use of Micmac. Next in reporting the use of only Micmac is the middle-aged generation. The young, however, report using both languages more or less equally, in response to the greatest number of items on the questionnaire as compared to the other

two generations measured. In only seven of the 35 questions is the use of English reported to the exclusion of Micmac. For example, young men and women report the use of only English with the Chief. The young of either sex are evenly divided in reporting either Micmac or English to say, "I love you," but theirs is the only generation to have any responses for English on that question. Concerning differences in sex, men and women of the old generation report the most use of only Micmac. Middle-aged men show an increased use of English, along with the use of Micmac, in comparison to middle-aged women who report more use of Micmac than English. This may reflect the wider contact of men with the larger society. Young men and women are about evenly divided in their reporting of the use of both Micmac and English. Thus, the young generation shows more use of English than the other two generations, and reports the greatest amount of bilingualism. In comparison with middle-aged women, young women may be using more English because of increased schooling.

The analysis in this chapter suggests that the use of Micmac is congruent with local egalitarian values, and the use of English with hierarchical values of the larger society. Strategies to influence the behavior of the other speaker underlie choice of language, in accordance with the bilingual selection rules mentioned earlier in this chapter. These rules operate so as to signal equal status or solidarity through the use of Micmac, and to signal differences of status or of social distance through the use of English. The use of such rules for strategies and the distribution of Micmac and English among complementary domains of social interaction are summarized in detail in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII CONCLUSIONS

It has been the intent of this study to examine a fundamental aspect of contemporary Micmac social organization, the role of bilingualism. By focusing on the social domains of language use in a single community, as abstracted from choices made by individuals between Micmac and English, the ways the two languages are functionally differentiated in the community have been described and analyzed in accordance with bilingual selection rules for interactional strategies. I conclude that Micmac is used to signal equal status and that English is used to signal differences in status associated with the larger society.

Micmac is the first language learned and the language spoken in the home. It is, thus, the language of early socialization and the medium of the inculcation of Micmac egalitarian values and folklore beliefs. Throughout the life cycle, it is the language used by groups engaged in cooperative tasks, such as working together on a geography project in sixth grade; repairing an automobile; playing baseball and ice hockey; or completing the tasks of adult work groups (fishing, wood cutting, land clearing, housing construction, and handicraft production). Micmac is used for exclusionary communication in the presence of non-Micmacs. While the subjects discussed need not be political, many of the comments I recorded were concerned with local-level politics. These were items not yet ready for negotiation with government representatives and thus not ready for treatment in accordance with rules associated with English.

The basic bilingual selection rules are as follows:

Micmac demeanor rule: use Micmac with other Micmac bilinguals to signal equal status or solidarity and to evoke behavior considered congruent with Micmac values;

English demeanor rule: use English with other Micmac bilinguals to signal differences of status or of social distance and to evoke behavior congruent with such differences.

To investigate the functional differentiation of domain appropriate bilingual choices in the community (Fishman 1964:42; Cohen 1975: 10-11), I tried to follow the analytic approach of Fishman (1972a:451). This requires identifying social domains of language use by abstracting them from patterns of individual language choice. At Burnt Church, we see a complementary distribution of Micmac and English among these domains:

<u>Micmac domains</u>	<u>English domains</u>
home	school
folklore	church
work groups	commerce
local-level politics	higher-level politics

English is the language learned in school and the language used in interaction with the larger society. As a concomitant, we find the incorporation of English terms into Micmac to refer to borrowed cultural traits. Topical specialization may influence interlocutors to switch to English for the category of work projects (Micmac is used for work itself), and to switch to Micmac for reference to categories of Micmac folklore.

The church became a domain of English because of an ebb in the sacerdotal use of Micmac, which I have indicated occurred at Burnt Church but not

on all other Micmac reserves. Apparently due to the bureaucratic rearrangement of personnel, English-speaking priests who spoke and wrote Micmac ceased to come or be assigned to Burnt Church -- or indeed may have ceased to exist in the Miramichi area -- and were replaced by part-time neighboring French-speaking priests who used English but not Micmac with the people of Burnt Church. One can see here the possible effect of a domain of a language depending so crucially on a single position filled by a single person, in this case, the parish priest.

Commerce is a domain of English because the people of Burnt Church produce goods (eels, fish, handicrafts, and pulpwood) sold on and off the reserve to non-Micmacs. In addition, money for clothing, household appliances, automobiles, and groceries (sometimes) is spent off the reserve. That higher-level politics is an English domain is especially important, because the economy is tied to government grants for work projects and investment on the reserve, such as the capital grant and loan to establish the new CO-OP supermarket.

The questionnaire data comparing people of different ages and both sexes on the language individuals say they use for various activities and situations show that men and women of all ages regard Micmac as a language of in-group solidarity. This is so in spite of a trend for more young people, and to a lesser extent the middle-aged, to report that they are more bilingual than the old people.

Although a separate language or dialect of a language does not necessarily have to be a symbol of ethnic identity (Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens 1970:145-149), one reason for language maintenance may be that people do not want to lose the ethnicity associated with that language

(Gulick 1958:60). However, the use of a language with the knowledge that it does signal ethnic identity may indeed contribute to its retention by a community (Weinreich 1953:108; Haugen 1969:281). Speaking Micmac is an important marker of Micmac identity because it is used so much in everyday interaction to signal egalitarian status. Thus, at Burnt Church, there is always the possibility of hearing the accusation of being "too proud" for not speaking Micmac to fellow Micmacs in Newcastle and other non-Micmac settings.

The essential conditions under which communities maintain bilingualism or shift to monolingualism seem to be the retention or loss of functional differentiation of the two languages, respectively. Bilingualism continues as long as some distinct domains remain for each language. As a consequence of culture contact, there may be a language shift in a domain if people acculturate to that sphere of activity. An example is the shift to English for sacred affairs at Burnt Church. The home seems to be the crucial domain for the maintenance of native languages of cultures in contact as the source of native language acquisition (Greenberg 1962:26; Haugen 1969:235-247). In the case of Burnt Church, one can also discern political and economic incentives for maintaining Micmac. Its use signals in important ways an earnest identification with the community, thus increasing access to new housing assigned by the Band Council and to jobs distributed by the Chief.

The rules of bilingual language selection which determine the domain distribution indicate that Micmac is used to communicate Micmac egalitarian status and ethnic identity, and that English is used to communicate differential status or social distance associated with the larger society.

The Micmac exclusionary sub-rule suggests that Micmac is also used for secret communication when local concerns are not to be shared with non-Micmacs, especially if such knowledge would make the subject of the message a matter of higher-level politics.

A speaker, by choosing Micmac or English, signals to another his or her intention to abide by Micmac or English rules in a conversational sequence. Each language reflects corresponding values as guides to action. Choice of language also underlies the strategy of influencing the behavior of the other speaker, in accordance with the rules associated with the language to which the speaker switches. The context (i.e. situation, topic, etc.) is used by the interlocutors to determine which subset of the rules is in fact being evoked in a given instance.

If we ask what are the historical background and contemporary uses of each language in a bilingual community, as does this study, we find that the concept of social domains of language behavior enhances our understanding of how each language is used. The functional differentiation of Micmac and English, as manifested in complementary uses among separate domains, is dependent upon distinct social meanings for each language. I conclude that the recognition of basic social meanings of each language beyond strict semantic content, as reflected in interactional strategies and selection rules, is sufficient to account for complementary language use in a bilingual community like Burnt Church.

APPENDIX 1 TRANSCRIPTS OF TAPE RECORDED CONVERSATIONS

1. Setting: Ward Rapley, age 26, comes home to his wife Joanne, age 24, and his children -- Douglas, age 6; Donald, age 5; Karla, age 3; Kenneth age 2, and newborn John. The children are playing rambunctiously.

Speakers: Ward, Joanne, and Donald with the other children laughing.

Ward: "Jiigali, mutelguusuwo guutpuudil."
(Get off, don't climb on those chairs.)

Children: LAUGHTER, GIGGLING, AND CONTINUED PLAY ON THE FURNITURE.

Ward: "Jiigali, jiigali, jiigali."
(Get off, away with you, out.)

Joanne: "Naguul managiisii ulmilig niigee salmadelog wena."
(No one can play now without you spanking them.)

Ward: "Teliigit."
(Look how he's dressed -- sloppily.)

Children: LAUGHTER.

Joanne: "Muuatmatow muuneegam telowtig pasespeg ag wiinumugateget."
(Don't spank him; it's not worth it just for making noise and messing up the place.)

Children: CONTINUED LAUGHTER AND JUMPING AROUND; KENNETH IS PUSHING A TOY SNOWMOBILE OR SKIDOO ON THE LIVING ROOM FLOOR.

Joanne: "Elsamaaow gatuniigee tliigtulijin."
(I'm going to lay you down right now if you continue to do that.)

Ward (also to Kenneth): "Uulaatet musgwatogsup siiwaalig."
(Here, put that thing away; I'm tired of it.)

Ward to Joanne: "Hospitaleemaneg¹ naatelig skidoo peggiijeetesgumitip. Jesus Christ, gesigow maatami. Uutamu giiniwowiee."
(When you were in the hospital -- giving birth -- another toy skidoo was crushed on the road -- by an automobile. Jesus Christ, I ran to the road. As it turned out, it wasn't ours.)

¹English words which occur in Micmac utterances are underlined.

Joanne: CRYING "Neegamonet?"

(Was it them -- did our boys put it there? Joanne is implying that Ward may have neglected the children in her absence.)

Ward: "Jesus Christ, taalaweegetowog na skidoo. Niineneewee na."

(Jesus, Christ, why are you worried about that other skidoo? It's ours -- that survived and that matters.)

Joanne: "Naatoweewog na."

(You should know how to handle them better -- the children.)

Children: STILL LAUGHING AND JUMPING AROUND.

Ward: "Belt, belt."

Ward to Donald: "Go get the belt."

Donald: "What's that?"

Ward: "Belt, belt; go get the belt."

Donald: "Okay."

Ward: YELLING "Kenneth ag Douglas!"

(Kenneth and Douglas!)

Donald: "Uulaa."

(Here -- giving the belt or strap to Ward.)

KARLA PRETENDS TO HIDE AT THE SIGHT OF THE BELT.

Ward to Karla: "Etug suwiigsugat uulaatet teeojijsatg tanteteeag."

(Maybe Karla is pretending to be hurt because she likes the way I make her better. HUGS HER.)

Joanne to Ward: "Naniin seebi ugsaatamugapen eluugeesapin giislugeeapin niigee niin."

(I would have appreciated it if you had worked this morning -- in the school as a janitor -- so I could be working now -- house cleaning.)

Karla: "Uulaa."

(Here.)

KARLA HAVING SCAMPERED INTO THE OTHER ROOM, COMES BACK CARRYING HER NEW-BORN BROTHER.

Ward: "Okay, what's going on here?"

Ward to Joanne: AS A JOKE "Seegeeweeget naagii ugtuus?"

(Your daughter has already started to have children?) END OF TAPE.

2. Setting: George Foulard, age 78, is visiting Joe Storey, age 93 in the Miramichi Valley Hospital.

Speakers: George and Joe.

George: "Mawiiwilaluuwet na wenpegiisiing. Togo igaetleewogwee giijimg."
(One is always glad when someone else comes to visit. We can talk a little.)

Joe: "Niigee neetot telephoneltog?" POINTING TO MY TAPE RECORDER.
(Is he using a telephone?)

George: "Na niigee tanetluwen na gaiipeejaigtatow."
(Whatever you say now, all of it will go in there.)

Joe: "Taonaa?"
(Is that so?)

George: "Taonaa, etleewogwotesg gulapisg uusitgamuu puuniag jiptug natami etleewogwen."
(That's right, you will talk till the world ends as your voice will be around somewhere.)

Joe: "Niitopjiiij."
(My good friend.)

George: "Welotaain? Meemolaluunamug Saint John?"
(Are you being taken care of? They haven't taken you to Saint John yet -- to another hospital?)

Joe: "Mogwaa; gatugetulaalit pasagana mogejiia tantujugiiwa."
(No; he -- the doctor -- wants to take me there, but I don't know when.)

George: "Wajuwa na niigee etugjel. Na tantelinaseg spareewig ampogun na wiiguumulten."
(As soon as there is a spare bed, they'll call you.)

Joe: "Ee."
(Yes.)

George: "Ag ameguumii mestagteg. Melgeegmea seven feet tellegtog." PAUSE.
"Puuoin, ain't got no place to come here. Mopuuoinemiowt?"
(The ice is still there on the bay. It's still hard, seven feet thick, they say. PAUSE. Witch, ain't got no place to come here. Have you seen or had visions of the witch?)

Joe: "Wen?"
(Who?)

George: "Puuoin."
(The witch.)

- Joe: "Mogwaa, giipijigam ag mogetunumiag."
(No, she is an animal, and I don't want to see her.)
- George: "Atpugnapewiigaponeg Wenuujg getumanitgig. Nitop, ee."
(I dreamt during the night that the French wanted to fight me.
Yes, my friend.)
- Joe: "Nitop. Paatliias na telimiipnag nemias na puoin teluwepunag."
(My friend. The priest told me that I'll be seeing him, not the
witch but the priest I'll be seeing; that's what he said.)
- George: "Nitop."
(My friend.)
- Joe: "Mogejiiag tantlateegetow."
(I don't know what he'll do.)
- George: "Atmutna weneg gegugna tantlaatulna."
(He'll do what he must; he has his ways -- rituals.)
- Joe: "Ee."
(Yes.)
- George: "Mogwaa siilowneewun?"
(You're not lonesome, are you?)
- Joe: "Mogwaa."
(No.)
- George: "Na geluulg."
(That's good.)
- Joe: "Agtamosiweo. Wegowiitieg uulaa."
(Of course I'm not lonesome. I'm having a great time here.)
- George: "Saaponug Ralph upgiisintow."
(Tomorrow Ralph -- Joe's grandson -- will visit you.)
- Joe: "Ee."
(Yes.)
- George: "Teluwet neegula pegiising niiganag."
(That's what he said when he was at home.)
- Joe: "Nitop."
(My friend.)
- George: "Ag na niigee saaponug."
(And that'll be tomorrow.)
- Joe: "Ee."
(Yes.)

- Joe: "Leonard teluwet upgiisintusna apna."
(Leonard -- another grandson -- said he would be by again.)
- George: "Piisieowtiijij."
(People are busy -- they can't come all the time.)
- Joe: "Amuujna."
(Yes, that's so.)
- George: "Puoin. Yes sir, puoin got a small thing to do here."
(The witch. Yes sir, the witch has little or no power here.)
- Joe: "Tantlaiieg na puoin giisiitoan gogwee."
(What I would do to that witch if I could.)
- George: "Panasuugulagaliieg gesgwajigapilg. Getug umpsing na ag meegam tepiiag. Umpsing taonaa aniiapsiiatna tangiistlateget. Oh yes."
(If I caught her and reeled her in, she would rot. She's going to get what's coming to her, that's what she'll get. She'll suffer for what she's done. Oh yes.)
- Joe: "Taogii steady gesiispaliijij apugijig pesgapaliijij."
(They wash me so steady -- so often -- that I think they'll rub the skin off.)
- George: LAUGHING "Igsiinigowanan neejiijjapatujij."
(It's a group of people washing illness away.)
- Joe: "Etug."
(Maybe.)
- George: "Ee."
(Yes.)
- Joe: "Umpiisuun ag pasotujij."
(And medicine is dropped into the water.)
- George: "Ee. Peewiiian puoin."
(Yes. You haven't dreamt about the witch?)
- Joe: "Mogwaa. Niigee peewiiag uulaa short time. Na muugiis mala amaneg niitop wesgowaiianeg bother meewalit."
(No. I haven't dreamt in the short time I've been here. It is not like home, my friend, when I was bothered -- by the witch.)
- George: "Ee. Sagamow toluugeg eepit getun."
(Yes. Do you know the woman who works with the Chief?)
- Joe: "Wen neegela?"
(Who's that?)

George: "Mrs. Betsey Soudain weswaalugtog."
(Mrs. Betsey Soudain was taken off -- removed as Welfare Officer.)

Joe: "Weswaalugtog?"
(Taken off?)

George: "Ee. Na neegam Lester Deme togetug swatog jobeewee."
(Yes. That fellow, Lester Deme, wants the job.)

Joe: "Sureewiina?"
(Are you sure?)

George: "Oh yes, all along you know. Gabriel Deme ugwiisla na neegam. Umpsiintow neegam. Geluulgsiiag na upgiijiipoguwii tow na."
(Oh yes, all along you know -- he's been wanting it. Gabriel Deme's son, that's him. He'll get it -- the job. If he's good, he'll last long.)

Joe: "Ee."
(Yes.)

George: "Ag igatlaiij stagee Betsey uulaa maaupgii siipoguwii tow."
(And if he's like Betsey, he won't last long.)

Joe: "Mogwaa, niitop."
(No, my friend.)

George: "Neesiijiig maagesiimunalamagig Eliigeewit, Ugjiipatlilas, ag Papeewit."
(There are only three who cannot be removed -- from office: King, Bishop, and Pope.)

BOTH JOE AND GEORGE LAUGH.

George: "Napoleon opulateg na weswaalugtog guuneg."
(Napoleon went wrong, and he was taken off.)

Joe: "Ee."
(Yes.)

George: "Ag uguusitgamuu na eeweeieeg."
(And the world had been his.)

Joe: "Ee, niitopjiiij."
(Yes, my good friend.)

END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

3. Setting: Marshall Perry, age 18, and Madeline Deme, age 18, are at her home. Marshall is working on a mechanical drawing project for high school. Madeline helps him occasionally. Her mother, Harriet, age 47, is in the background with Louis, age 1 (son of Marshall and Madeline), and Rhoda, age 2, (niece of Madeline).

Marshall: "Look sweetheart. Do you think this stencil will fit here?"

Madeline: "Yes, it will. You can use it on the window too, just like we did last year" -- for Christmas decorations.

Marshall: "Wapegusnag. Okay, but not green snow."
(That was white. Okay, but not green snow -- not with the green ink I'm using.)

RHODA TRYS TO PICK UP SOMETHING FROM MARSHALL'S TABLE.

Harriet to Rhoda: "Talpaj na apagigul. That's the girl."
(Let it stay there; put it back. That's a girl.)

Madeline to Louis: "You're going to lie down, young man."

Madeline to Marshall: "Tiger, etug neegam."
(He's just like a tiger -- he's so rambunctious.)

Marshall to Louis: "Louie, tiger togneegam."
(Louie's a tiger.)

Marshall to Madeline: "Polar bear neegam etug."
(He's just like a polar bear.)

Madeline to Louis: "You have to lie down for a little, while I fix your bottle."

Madeline to Marshall: "Etltestagup na. Muunagesaluugul uulaa nipple agotunetl."
(I used to shake it -- the baby's bottle -- like that, but he doesn't like the nipple dripping here.)

Madeline to Louis: "Might as well seowlsugtun. Put your head like this, young man. There's some more there anyway. Alugtegul etegul anyway."
(Might as well take it. Put your head like this young man. There's more anyway.)

Marshall: "Gogwee neget?"
(What's that?)

Madeline: "Ugbiscuitum sualgigamuj."
(I almost ate all his biscuit.)

Marshall: "Memaanog gutatowatigult uulaa tea."
(You haven't poured tea yet?)

Harriet: TEA POT IN HAND "Pateewee?"
(Tea?)

Marshall: "Welaalin."
(Thanks.)

ENTER DAVID, AGE 1, BROTHER OF RHODA, CRAWING ON FLOOR.

Madeline: "Gagemjiigatuwatl ugpitagaweoul. Niigee pogtateemuultijig.
Weoneewee uulaa mulugej Mom?"
(He's getting his pants all dirty. Now he's crying. Whose milk is this, Mom?)

Harriet: "Tanpusweeneewee pasgiisiigen."
(Anybody's, as long as you can use it.)

Madeline: "Igunumag Louie. Niigee wanogiet. Manogneegamneepiasinseg
etug na."
(I'll give it to Louie. He's still jumpy and restless. He hasn't gone to sleep yet.)

Marshall: "Holy God, peegetapit."
(Holy God, he's staying up late.)

Madeline: "Umpajnampatu all night."
(If he goes to sleep, he'll sleep all night.)

LOUIE CRY

Marshall: "Wenet?"
(Who's that?)

Madeline: "Louie. He never slept yet from when he woke up before."

Marshall: "Oh yeah."

Madeline: "Togo wenagiet niigee."
(He's irritable and restless now.)

Marshall: "Yeah."

Madeline: "Sassyewetna. Getuwet togbedigtug. That's why he's sassy."
(He just wants to be sassy. He wants to end up in the big bed. That's why he's sassy.)

Marshall: "Bad boy, Louie, bad boy. He never slept all evening."

Madeline: "Tas o'clock toguiis?"
(What time did he wake up?)

Marshall: "Five:thirty? Before supper anyway."

Madeline: "Must have been around four o'clock."

Marshall: "No, after that."

Madeline: "Four:thirty?"

Marshall: "Yeah."

Madeline: "We had supper, what time?"

Marshall: "Menuubusal pemiagnuugupen. Quarter to five."
(The buses hadn't gone by yet -- school buses returning from Newcastle. Quarter to five.)

Madeline: "Asuma busulpemiagapun."
(The buses had just gone by then.)

Marshall: "Miijungwas gatu?"
(Did he -- Louie -- defecate?)

Madeline: "Ee. Neepungii? Neepat, ee. If he sleeps now, he'll sleep until seven o'clock tomorrow morning."
(Yes. Are you going to sleep?-- to Louie. Yes, he's going to sleep. If he sleeps now, he'll sleep until seven o'clock tomorrow morning.)

Marshall: "Gogwee aliigiogtuwen."
(Why are you looking cross at me?)

Madeline: "Puualunaijiina ollaigii. Tantepees na igenamaasgul."
(I want you to do well -- on the drawing. So you earn what you'll be given.)

Marshall: "Giistepug."
(I've already earned it.)

TEA SPILL ON THE DRAFTING PAPER.

Madeline: "Niigee staineewigtetow."
(Now it's going to stain.)

Marshall: "Maapiiamiaigiiganug."
(Nothing much will happen.)

Madeline: "Meeagii staineewigtesag muunamiisgamoan na paper towel."
(It would have stained more if I hadn't gotten a paper towel.)

Madeline: ERASING SOME PENCIL LINES UNDER MARSHALL'S INKING, "Uulaa all
righteewig so far? Gatumuutet giisasopgumula. Uulaa niintug
igiias."
(Is this all right so far? I couldn't get these. I'll use this
instead -- another eraser.)

Marshall: "Yeah. Uulaa eteigul."
(Get these here.)

Madeline: "Pasmuutemiineegeewon."
(I hope I don't tear it.) END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

4. Setting: Sidney Deme at home with his wife and daughters.

Speakers: Simon, age 23; his wife, Martha, age 19, and Marie, age 4,
and Sarah, age 3.

Marie: "Sarah, telephone. Iгии. Iгии, Sarah, igii."
(Sarah, telephone. Go ahead -- and speak into the tape recorder.
Go ahead, Sarah, go ahead.)

Sidney to Sarah: "Mugetuijun?"
(You don't want to?)

Marie: "Iгии, igii, pulaliiieg."
(Go ahead, go ahead or should I?)

Sidney to Marie: "Gogwee wegii puuwalt Sarah etleewogwen?"
(Why do you want Sarah to talk?)

Marie: "Niigee pasig Sarah ag puujig niin anyway."
(Just now, Sarah -- i.e. Sarah can talk now -- I'll talk in a
little while, anyway.)

Sidney: "Muugogweejit niigee? Eteewogwee niigee."
(Why not now? Speak now.)

Marie: "All right." MARIE THEN WHISTLES INTO THE MICROPHONE. "Ag neegam?
Ag gii Sarah, igii; niinigiup."
(All right. WHISTLE. And her? And you, Sarah, go ahead; I did it.)

Sidney: "Gisettleewog getogsup."
(You can talk without getting too close -- to the microphone.)

Martha: "Muugiigjeetpatneow."
(Don't put your head close -- to the microphone.)

Marie: "All right."

Martha: "Iawatogsup."
(You're going to break it.)

Sidney: "Muugiigjeetpatneow."
(Don't put head too close.)

Sarah: "Hi."

Marie to Sarah: "Taluwiisin?"
(What is your name?)

Sidney to Sarah: "Teluwet taluwiisin."
(She said, 'What is your name?')

SARAH LAUGHS.

Marie: "Ag niin ag Sarah."
(And me and Sarah.)

Sarah: "Ag Marie ag giil ag niin."
(And Marie and you and me.)

Marie: "Ag mee."
(And more -- more people can talk.)

Martha: "Muugiigjeetpin."
(Not too close with your head.)

Marie: "All right."

Martha to Tina, WHO IS CRYING, AGE 1: "Meegutniin Nisgam ag Malii
siwalii."
(God and Mary, I'm fed up with you -- with Tina's crying.)

Martha: "Epteg guujamug, Sidney?"
(Is it warm outside, Sidney?)

Sidney: "Yogwaa."
(No.)

Marie: "Geijiiap."
(Let me do it -- speak into the microphone.)

RHODA, AGE 2, ENTERS FROM NEXT DOOR (SIDNEY'S NIECE).

Martha to Rhoda: "Oh you have a pretty little dress on."

Marie: "Geealaa eepita."
(Look at her.)

Martha: "Wiigwasiigit."
(She looks nice -- all dressed up.)

Marie: "Piileealaa. Alaapiilee."
(That's new. That's new -- the dress.)

Martha: "Oh welteg, oh my goodness."
(Oh pretty, oh my goodness.)

Marie: "Welteliieeg utpuug."
(She bought it last night.) END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

5. Setting: Joanne Rapley, age 24, in her home with two women of similar age visiting from Big Cove for a wake and funeral at Burnt Church.

Speakers: Joanne and the two women.

First woman: "Getulatiiegup na niigee. Wiijeetiieg giicarum."
(We want to go over now -- to the house of the wake. Shall we go together in your car?)

Joanne: "Yeah. Should be saseewis ugarum gesteliulugij. Na ulimpsinteow niin Ward telimpgup pageegup natuju. Niin telimpgup gisiuluugat ag tangogee na sasewiiteow guulamana ulimpsinteow."
(Yeah. I was just telling Ward that he should be able to get something good for his car. I told him when we were sober -- not just when we were talking and drinking -- that if he fixed up his car and traded it in, he could get something of value for it -- i.e. a better car. THE RESPECTIVE HUSBANDS OF THESE WOMEN ARE OUTSIDE. WARD IS SHOWING THEM HIS CAR.)

First woman: "Tas o'clock?"
(What time is it?)

Joanne: "Twenty after or twenty-five after."

First woman: "Seven?"

Joanne: "Eight."

First woman: "Eight?"

Joanne: "Tas o'clock iigio?"
(When did you arrive?)

Second woman: "Na tami etug five o'clock."
(Somewhere around five o'clock.)

Joanne: "Mogwaa magiis five o'clockignug. Eta five o'clock supper etlug-watema. Maamog peteowogup."
(No, it couldn't have been five o'clock. I was fixing supper at five o'clock and you hadn't arrived yet.)

First woman: "Na six etug natami."
(Perhaps it was somewhere around six.)

Second woman: "Talegiis wejiimitigweg Big Cove?"
(What time was it when we left Big Cove?)

Joanne: "Giis six o'clock giigup natami."
(It was already past six o'clock -- when you arrived.)

Second woman: "Four o'clockeg wejiimitigup."
(It was four o'clock when we left.)

Joanne: "Uulaa amwesewee pemaatejeow ugsiio na Ward pisgwatengup na teluwep iij Barry ag eepit taluwisitnet eglian teluuwet pepateejautgiig asuuma etna asuuma petiogsup."
(When you first drove by, Ward came into the house and said that Barry and his wife had just driven by. Where did you go then?)

Second woman: "Na eltigem Martin's na monemug."
(We went to Martin's but nobody was home.)

Joanne: "Mogwaa."
(No.)

Second woman: "Na Edwardeg eltigem magatuuwajuwa."
(We went to Edward's then -- the location of the wake -- but it was too crowded.)

Joanne: "Holy God etna."
(Holy God, it must be.) END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

6. Setting: Conversation at a wake between two of the regular singers of Micmac hymns and songs for the dead, and a woman interested in learning.

Speakers: Frank Gleneg, age 66, Sheila Dudley, age 40, and George Foulard, age 78. Irwin Deme, age 66, is an incidental speaker.

Frank: "Nii topjiiij, ee?"
(My dear friend, yes?)

Sheila: "Igtig song etlganutamuiitup one nighteg."
(Let's sing the other song you were teaching me one night.)

Frank: "Mugetu sapuutatum nawasapuutatu etug. Namagtum Irwin juuguwa apogunumuuii."
(I don't know if I know it well enough to get through it. Brother-in-law Irwin, come and help me.)

Irwin: "Hello."

Frank: "Juguuwa apogunumuuii."
(Come and help me.)

Irwin: "Ugtapegiagia."
(You sing.)

Irwin's wife: "Tetjuguuwa, Irwin."
(Come over here, Irwin.)

IRWIN LEAVES. GEORGE STARTS TO SING BUT SOON STOPS.

George: "Telasig muugisintummgeg gisna gogwee."
(It happens sometimes that you can't sing or what.)

Frank: "Muutsiawow puunintuu."
(Don't stop singing, go on.)

George: "Muuwelnameetu wiigatiigen muugiisin tuatamug niin. Wesamalate-
gim."
(I didn't sing it clearly because I can't see the book. The
light is poor.)

EDWARD DUDLEY, THE HOST AS BROTHER OF THE DECEASED, TURNS ON CEILING LIGHT.

Frank: "Giisiowintuatamug pasnamogiisiju teepiag niin."
(I could sing it, but I can't now; enough for me -- I'm tired.)

SHEILA AND GEORGE SING QUIETLY.

George: "Etnapuugwel tageemuuegnu tangiisintamug."
(There are a lot of things that I can sing that aren't here -- in
the handwritten book.)

Frank: "No book. I got no book."

Sheila: "Igtig Frank. Etlganutamuuwiitup one nighteg togo Pamela telimuug-
siigul weliitelemog.npuuagun."
(The other one, Frank. Let's do the one you were teaching me one
night when Pamela -- Frank's wife -- said that you were wishing a
death to occur -- by singing songs for the dead when no one had
just died.)

Frank: "Muugiisiimiiguitetamu."
(I can't think of it.)

Sheila: "Etlganutamuuwiitup..."
(You were teaching me...)

Frank: "Muugeetu tanteltog."
(I don't know how it goes.)

Sheila: "Etlganutamuuwiitup one nighteg welogapiigweg. Pasegtan
getapegiieg. Panamuugeetu tanteltogeg."
(All we did was sing. I just don't know how that song goes.)

Frank: HUMMING "Is that the one?"

Sheila: "Upigtig ijii."
(Try another one.)

Frank: "Maagis piamaatuan antuus."
(I can't add to that, my daughter.)

Sheila: "Nepmugewee, Frank. Nepmugewee, Frank."
(For the dead, Frank. For the dead, Frank.)

Sheila to Mary Storey, seated nearby: "Teltognet mungii? Malii getun?
Etlganutamwiitup na niin one nighteg."
(How does it go? Do you know, Mary? The one he was teaching me
one night.)

Frank: "Giisiistarteeewates pasnama giisii endeewatuwan."
(I can start it, but I can't end it.)

George: "Eptegtaleg."
(It sure is warm -- in here.)

Frank: SINGING BUT STOPPING SHORT "Nawegii etug niin, George. Gaa-
tejiiee."
(That's as far as I go, George. I'm worn out.)

George: "Niin ag na gaatejiie etamuunemiituwen wiigatiigun. Teltiup na
uulaa teteow."
(And I'm worn out, too, because I can't see the book. I thought
it would be well lit.)

Sheila: "Muugupuungaatejiieg. Getugaatejiiejigtog."
(Don't be tired. MUMBLING They want to be worn out.)

George: "Mogwaa."
(No.)

Sheila: "Telimpgapanig muugupuungaatejiieg. Giagna getun, George."
(I said to stop being worn out and irritable. You know the song,
George.)

George: "Getuan pasnamuunemiitawon muugugnwatiigun neemiag."
(I know the songs, but I can't see the letters.)

Sheila: "Muugiisiiagiiitetamun tanteltog."
(Can't you think how it goes -- how the song goes?)

George: "Angiitetam na pastalgiisgagentutes telpittag. Nagamasiitetamig
na. Pana no use gogwee igin."
(I can think of it, but how can I sing all of it -- it's so long.
You think it is so easy. It's just no use to try it.)

Frank: HUMMING "Should be siioalgalusig ag ugtapegiiatamug this one."
(I should be persistent and sing this one.)

Sheila: "Getogiigtig igii uulaa etlgiinamuuwiitup one nighteg Frank.
Niin na gatu gegiinamuuwiitup. Muunetgii. Nisgam, Malii,
teltiup giinagetun."
(Do the one you were teaching me one night, Frank. You were
teaching me. Wasn't it you? God, Mary, I thought you knew it.)

Frank: "Niitopjiiij, mogwaa."
(My dear friend, no.)

Sheila: "Etug giigetun."
(I think you know.)

Frank to George: "Igpuuguwegul?"
(Where are your eyeglasses?)

George: "Muutelowtigul nasatuan."
(They're not worth putting on.)

Frank: HANDING GEORGE A DINNER PLATE FOR THE MIDNIGHT MEAL "Uulaa."
(Here.)

George to Edward: GEORGE RETURNS FROM THE KITCHEN AND PREPARES TO SING
AGAIN. EDWARD IS STANDING, BLOCKING GEORGE'S LIGHT.
"Nugupasii ag giisgumuuin na gisna. Gisna eulapii apna gagamiin
uulaa epiiog uulaa tarwetapiieg."
(You might sit down as you're in the way -- you're blocking the
light. I'm already poor sighted, and then you have to stand
where you block the light.)

END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

7. Setting: Sidney Deme's kitchen. Sidney and his family have just finished breakfast when his brother-in-law, Donald Dudley, comes in.

Speakers: Sidney Deme, age 23, his wife, Martha, age 19, and daughters Marie, age 4, and Sarah, age 3, plus Donald Dudley, age 24.

Sidney: "Now you owe me four dollars."

Martha: "No, you said it was two, and you already owe me two."

Sidney: "Yeah, but I thought maybe you'd forget."

Martha: "No, no chance."

Marie to Sarah: "Alaatet Mommy eliiup."
 (Mommy went over there -- to the church yesterday for the baptism of Frances, the newborn.)

Martha: "Tamiitet?"
 (Where?)

Marie: "Frances alaatet elaaŋtiog."
 (You and Frances went over there -- to the church, which is in view from the window.)

Martha: "Ee, alsituwogowung."
 (Yes, to the church.)

Sarah to Martha: "Niin na wiijeewiigpun."
 (You should have taken me with you.)

Martha: "Muuwiigeeunuas?"
 (You didn't go?)

DONALD DUDLEY ENTERS.

Don: "Good morning. How's she going?"

Sidney: "Not too bad. You're just in time for breakfast."

Martha: "Heat some more potatoes?"

Don: "No potatoes; I'll have some ham though. Whose slice of bread?"

Martha: "Nobody's."

Don: "I want half. Them guys started working over at Dickle -- Dickle's Point on the reserve, site of the work project for a picnic area.)

Sidney: "Who?"

Don: "Your father, Drew, Bill, Andy, Harry, and Ted; sixteen total, but I don't know who else."

Sidney: "Are you on?"

Don: "I don't know."

Sidney: "You must have got black-listed."

Don: "I must be the underdog or something. Ed Gunn -- a foreman -- had a list of the men that are working, and I wasn't on it. So I think he doesn't like me."

Sidney: "Working the first week without pay and then being a week behind, that's what I hate."

Don: "That's what I hate too."

Sidney: "Ugewiagtus eluugweumg giisag menag eluugwow."
(It would be fun to work; it's been so long since I've worked.)

Don: SIPPING FROM A CUP OF TEA ALREADY ON THE TABLE "Maniigeewenpiluwee
giisieomiiitig. Whose tea?"
(Now nobody can use it. Whose tea?)

Martha: "My tea. Ijigin maunsugarig."
(My tea. There's a lot of sugar in it.)

Don: "Forget it. I didn't want it anyway."

Sidney: "Look for a cup."

Marie: "Igii."
(Go ahead.)

Don: "Here I go looking for a cup."

Marie: "Igii. Geataalatog."
(Go ahead. Look at him; he's got something.)

Don: "Petugtesgiis."
(Did you wake up early?)

Sidney: "I was up early; I woke up at six-thirty this morning."

Don: "When I came back from Dickle, my lights were out -- automobile
headlights. My battery is dead. It takes a long time to recharge
it."

END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

8. Setting: Sidney Deme visiting George Foulard in the Miramichi Valley
Hospital, Newcastle.

Speakers: Sidney, age 23, and George, age 78.

Sidney: "Charleseg etlintuutiog talgiisganutamin net eluuwel igtapee-
giiagon. Talgiisganutamin."
(We heard the songs that you sang for Charles -- at his wake.
How do you learn these Indian hymns? How did you learn them?)

George: "Geegenuutamin giiptug wengeetapegiiej. Getun naaspaluugwen
naaspaluugwen neegowl. Neegowl joinsewin."
(Let's say you learn them when someone sings. You know, you
mimic, you mimic all the time. You always join in.)

Sidney: "Yeah."

George: "Apna geetaapiigiitijig apna gisna wen eewosuwinto wiiguwag elnuu naspaluugwen ag geginam. Minig nuuweeg gungwaatiigung gulaapiisagiigjiites teleemulg gepaanangatuwii netelagmug nogjiites."

(Again, again when they sing or when someone sings at his house, you imitate and you learn. Finally, you know, you're told to turn the pages -- of the handwritten Micmac notebooks -- to a particular song and sing it.)

Sidney: "Panangaates? Oh yeah. Giisgiitaamun ija."

(You turn to a page? Oh yeah. Once you can read -- the songs in Micmac.)

George: "Ee, elnuuwel gisigiinaamasin, gisigiinaamasin muumetuwegnugul niigee giinagasigjiites."

(Yes, you can learn the Indian letters; they're not hard. You could learn them quickly now.)

Sidney: "Yeah."

George: "Gisigiinaamasiup niin elnuuwel Paul Perry pilmiiseeog ipeetuwiigaamup getun. Naaiij Martin Barnes igtaapeegiiup naajieewalig joineewalig gulaapis Clarence Perry. Na Clarence gagjoineewalig naupij Joe Storey. Muumaamunig getuwan niigee."

(I learned the Indian letters when Paul Perry used to write to me, you know. And when Martin Barnes used to sing, I would join him; then it was Clarence Perry. And then it was Joe Storey -- that I sang with. But now I don't know the songs too well.)

Sidney: "Mogwaa?"

(No.)

George: "Mogwaa."

(No.)

Sidney: "Pulgulnagatgetun."

(There's a lot you must know.)

George: "Amuuj. Paasnasaa managetapeegiiow."

(Yes. It's been a long time since I've sung.)

Sidney: "Peemuantin nteemgewel."

(Are you forgetting the songs?)

George: "Giisuulgutuit. Neeuugtiipuug eta, all winter."

(The Almighty hears me even if I haven't been able to sing all winter, all winter -- 'all winter' is said first in Micmac and then in English.)

- Sidney: "Taligsenuugwonet?"
(In what way are you ill -- what's wrong with you?)
- George: "Ntlaamilug na. Mogwaa, muusuuel miijuu."
(It's my stomach. But I don't actually eat that much -- for anything to be wrong with it.)
- Sidney: "Mogwaa."
(No.)
- George: "Ag mogwaa gewiisiinuu."
(And I'm not hungry at all.)
- Sidney: "Oliiateewiilin."
(I hope you get better.)
- George: "Oliiateeow? Giisuulg getog."
(Get better? God knows.)
- Sidney: "Gatumee giisiigu Joe Storey taleg?"
(How is old Joe Storey getting along?)
- George: "Giisiigu Joe Storey egiiij homeg; muugeejiiog tanteelaateeg
neeguuma itneeguuma teluweeponig iij maatnetl iit."
(Old Joe Storey is at home; I don't know what's the matter with him, something is fighting him.)
- Sidney: "Cancer?"
- George: "Cancer? Getumuutuug cancer."
(Cancer? Perhaps it isn't cancer.)
- Sidney: "Mogwaa?"
(No?)
- George: "Amuuj, amuui neepatuatetl. Niigee teluweejig saamateewit.
Wiiguweeg teluwes naajitmiituwalg Joe saaponug."
(Yes, that's right, little by little they're killing it -- the disease. Now they're saying he's getting better. He's home. I'm going to see or visit with Joe tomorrow.)
- Sidney: "Oh yeah? Geluug na muupiami igsnuugweeon."
(Oh yeah? It's good that you're not too sick.)
- George: "Giisuulg getog oliiateeow. Paaseg giisiimijana. Tepiag niinu
peegiisiituwing gatu mogwaa getutaamuu meetuweg na."
(God knows I hope. If only I could eat. They bring food for me to eat, but I'm not hungry. It's hard -- for me to eat.)
- Sidney: "Iganamuulg gaturalin?"
(Do they let you walk around?)

- George: "Ee. Peegwiup na uulagu, gatu giisguug teegeenamiieg. Geeow-jigeepti. Alaa oegwigiisgun apajin."
(Yes. I was all over the place yesterday, but today it was too cold. I'm cold if I get off -- the bed. I walk around there and back.)
- Sidney: "Yeah."
- George: "Na welpaateg piijilameg."
(It's warm inside -- the bed -- so I stay in.)
- Sidney: "Momiilpuitegeeown?"
(Have you had any strange dreams recently?)
- George: "Mogwaa."
(No.)
- Sidney: "Nageeluug."
(That's good.)
- George: "Megatapeewiigapanig muugejiigapaanig tarwengig."
(I did dream of some people or animal, but I don't know who or what they were.)
- Sidney: "Mogwaa."
(No.)
- George: "Ag nawaalegog neowteeitag. Nuutiituugten ag suuel mesnig. Ugsataamuugapen amsing."
(And before I could do anything to ward off those possible witch-like beings, I woke up. I would have liked it if I had been able to beat them off -- in the dream.)
- Sidney: "Ampsanatesna."
(You will be able to.)
- George: "Neegulapeetlij. Telawiisit net Joe Storey jiinam?"
(I'll be ready for another try. Say, what's his name, the man -- that fellow -- who lives at Joe Storey's -- Joe's grandson?)
- Sidney: "Ralph Storey."
- George: "Ee. Tasaajiiet?"
(Yes. What time is it?)
- Sidney: "Four o'clock."
- George: "Meeweteemeewee?"
(Do you have any smokes -- cigarettes?)
- Sidney: "Ee, puueljiigta?"
(Yes, do you want some?)

George: "Geneewtogsit meeigunanunuui."
(Give me one, then.)

Sidney: "Igen nuumultes ij few puataman."
(I'll give you a few, if you wish.)

George: "Mogwaa, geguulgig na neeguula paasua muuigpageg animp. Welaalin."
(No, just one, not more as I have these, but I don't like their taste very much. Thanks.)

Sidney: "Uulaa iigtigjeliigenamu iigtuugtaman after."
(Here, I'll give you another one if you want to smoke after -- later.)

George: "All right, sir. Niitopjiiij meegatu welaalin."
(All right, sir. My kind friend, thanks for the favor.)

Sidney: "Muuteesig numeejig niigee."
(Not many fish now.)

George: "Mogwaa."
(No.)

Sidney: "Numeejugwet net Hector?"
(Is Hector -- George's son -- fishing?)

George: "Ee."
(Yes.)

Sidney: "Wen eluugotl?"
(Who is working with him -- Hector?)

George: "Will Barnes."

Sidney: "He drinks a lot."

George: "Oh yes, too much."

Sidney: "Natanuwinto net Rupert?"
(Does Rupert Harvey know how to sing in Indian?)

George: "Mogwaa."
(No.)

Sidney: "Mogwaa?"
(No?)

George: "Mogwaa, gatigtapegilion niin nuuwintuwan na piito giigju epii."
(No, if he sings in Indian, he'll sit near me -- to follow me.)

Sidney: "Siigatusg?"
(Does he listen to you?)

George: "Ee. Natelamug igetaapegiieeten apna."
(Yes. He says to sing this one and again to sing another one.)

Sidney: "Oh yeah."

George: "Tanweljewiieetog togitumg naj Joe Peters. Gejiit?"
(The one fun to sing with is Joe Peters. Know him?)

Sidney: "Mogwaa."
(No.)

George: "Ijiipuugtuu naatlee. Joe Peters, Basil Peters uugwiisil.
Pegiisinga neegula."
(He's from Richibucto -- Big Cove Reserve. Joe Peters is Basil Peters' son. He was here you know -- visiting Burnt Church.)

Sidney: "Yeah. Charles etgotloluutega."
(Yeah. Was he here for Charles' funeral?)

George: "Ee, neeotiitopa egup. Uptelwepanig pegiisinga pasna muugeejiieg
nuutiu ejiguli."
(Yes, he was here for one night. They said he came again -- for the second night of the wake -- but I don't know as I left early that night.)

Sidney: "Gogwee?"
(Why?)

George: "Mogwaa aniiim elulateg olaepii getun mogwaa gisna wagatapii apna
wagatuuwiiigig untuwiigatiigen. Na mogwaa puugwelintu."
(The light was poor where I was sitting. My eyesight is poor, and my book -- handwritten in Micméc -- difficult to follow so I didn't sing that much.)

Sidney: "Muueemuwin igpuuguwel?"
(You don't use your glasses?)

George: "Eeumon pasna muutaliiolaenuugul."
(I use them, but they aren't much help.)

Sidney: "Mogwaa."
(No.)

George: "Getun este pusnumaugwel. Ijiig gasiieg wiigatiigen."
(You know, my vision is still blurred with my glasses. This book is blurry.)

Sidney: "Yeah?"

George: "Igsaatamuug, igsaatamug ugjuuwiigaig ij tanweliimseegiilgig
guugwatiigung."
(I would like it if the book were written in much larger letters.)

Sidney: "Ee. Teluwepanig na ij Charlesog tantelimpug na puuoinwaalagtog. Puuoinwaalagtog Charles?"
(It has been said that Charles -- a suicide at age 39 -- died because he was bewitched. Was Charles bewitched?)

George: "Wenpuuoinwataalatl?"
(Who bewitched him?)

Sidney: "Muugajiiag pasnuutamiup gagmuultiipanig etlewogtiijig."
(I don't know. I just heard that from people standing around talking.)

George: "Wel, wel. Ganiigee gisipuuointat teowjuuatapesit."
(Well, well. But now what has the one who bewitched him gained?)

Sidney: "Yeah."

George: "Wel. Ag wen getuasgoteej maaganeg liieg ag neegam; amsimpteow na ija neegam ag ija."
(Well. The person who wants to bother someone else won't go far; he'll get himself into trouble.)

Sidney: "Teepiiag."
(Enough -- trouble enough.)

George: "Teepiiag ugshareum."
(He'll have more than enough of his share of trouble.)

Sidney: "Ee."
(Yes.)

George: "Welmaatogag na jinumog mowen amsaaliimagwalg. Gliiapagetgiet mowen amsaalagwul."
(That one who died -- Charles -- was kind; he never said anything discourteous to anyone. Even when he was drunk, he never did anything wrong.)

Sidney: "Welmatogag taatan?"
(He was kind, wasn't he?)

George: "Nice fellow."

END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

9. Setting: Harry and Laura Dudley at home in their kitchen. Their infant daughter is ill with an ear infection.

Speakers: Harry, age 18, and Laura, age 17.

- Harry: "Muug^{etun} tanugejaates matches?"
(Don't you know where I can get some matches?)
- Laura: "Matches? Gogwee w^{etenlutun?}"
(What do you need them for?)
- Harry: "Getu waaogaalig ncigaretteum."
(I want to light my cigarette.)
- Laura: "Muuniin matchesil, ag jel Giijuu muumatchesil gegunmuugul."
(I don't have any matches, and Mother doesn't have any matches either.)
- Harry: "Laura, surewin muug^{etun} taneeteg lighter fluid?"
(Laura, are you sure you don't know where the lighter fluid is?)
- Laura: "No. Anna tuugwiieta."
(No. Anna -- their daughter -- just woke up.)
- Harry: "Iganamuuag medicine; neepateew."
(Give her the medicine; she'll sleep.)
- Laura: "Maanajinpaog; teligsiinugwa uungia. It's so hot."
(She won't sleep; her head is bothering her. It's so hot.)
- Harry: LOOKING IN THE REFRIGERATOR "Muupeegwatenmuugsip ice cream? I'm
going to have a bottle of pop. Do you want a bottle of pop, Laura?"
(You didn't buy ice cream? I'm going to have a bottle of pop --
soda. Do you want a bottle of pop, Laura?)

END OF TAPED CONVERSATION.

APPENDIX 2 QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Name :

Date of interview :

Date of birth :

Sex: Age :

<u>Which language do you use :</u>	Micmac	English	Both
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1. With your spouse daily?
2. With your spouse when angry?
3. With your parents?
4. With your spouse when your children are present?
5. With your spouse or sweetheart walking on the road?
6. With your spouse or sweetheart making love?
7. To say "I love you"?
8. With your friends drinking tea?
9. With your friends drinking alcoholic beverages?
10. With your friends from the reserve in the streets of Newcastle?
11. With the Chief?
12. With your grandparents?
13. With your godparents?
14. With Steven Austin, RCMP Micmac Constable?
15. With Nelson Deme, a School Attendance Officer?
16. With Betsey Soudain, Welfare Officer?
17. To confess?
18. With the parents of your spouse or sweetheart?

19. With your brothers and sisters?
20. With James Deme, former Chief?
21. With your neighbors?
22. To make jokes?
23. With Margaret Harvey, Micmac schoolteacher?
24. When angry? When happy?
25. At a dance in the community hall?
26. At bingo in the community hall?
27. When meeting a strange Indian man walking on the road in the reserve?
28. When meeting a strange Indian woman walking in the reserve?
29. With your children?
30. In one of the grocery stores on the reserve?
31. At church?
32. To discipline your children?
33. When "feeling good"?
34. When drunk?
35. With Steven Foulard, Community Development Worker?
36. Are there words in English that you do not know in Micmac?
37. Are there words in Micmac that you do not know in English?
38. Age at marriage:
39. School grade completed:
40. Have you had any "up-grading" after leaving school?
41. Work activities and jobs on the reserve:
42. Jobs off the reserve:
43. Ever hold community office? Positions:
44. Ever run for chief or councillor?

45. Best subjects in school:
46. Worst subjects in school:
47. What types of activities do you enjoy doing?
48. What activities do you dislike?
49. Grade completed of father: of mother:
50. How often do you leave the reserve?
51. Where do you go?
52. Places visited in the past:
53. Do you have friends off the reserve? Where?
54. Which language do you like best? Micmac, English, French Why?
55. Spouse: Micmac from this reserve? Another reserve? Non-Indian?
56. Family tree:

The sociolinguistic model used here sees the choice of language as dependent on a complex interaction of such variables as, for example, the topic, time, place, and role relations of the participants to the interaction. Furthermore, each of these variables is typically associated most saliently with a particular domain of community life and its associated values. When the variables co-occur in a given interaction, one may outweigh the other for purposes of deciding domain appropriate behavior, including the language to be used. The questionnaire did not always specify all of the potentially relevant variables in a given question. The self-reportings for a given question may thus represent the domain salience of the variables or variables actually specified in the question rather than an accurate picture of usage with respect to these variables when they combine with other variables with which they can congruently co-occur. In some cases, respondents specified missing variables in a question in explaining their choice of language.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 1: Which language do you use with your spouse daily?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	4	10	12	
Female	6	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	2	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	6	2	0	
Female	6	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 2: Which language do you use with your spouse when angry?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	2	8	12	
Female	8	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	2	2	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	8	2	0	
Female	4	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 3: Which language do you use with your parents?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	12	12	12	
Female	11	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	1	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N=72

Question 4: Which language do you use with your spouse when your children are present?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	5	10	12	
Female	6	11	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	7	2	0	
Female	6	1	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 5: Which language do you use with your spouse or sweetheart walking on the road?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	11	12	
Female	6	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	1	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	5	1	0	
Female	5	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 6: Which language do you use with your spouse or sweetheart making love?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	8	12	
Female	6	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	5	4	0	
Female	6	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 7: Which language do you use to say, "I love you?"

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	12	11	
Female	6	12	11	
<u>English</u>				
Male	6	0	0	
Female	6	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	0	1	
Female	0	0	1	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 8: Which language do you use with your friends drinking tea?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	3	10	11	
Female	8	12	11	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	1	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	9	1	1	
Female	4	0	1	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 9: Which language do you use with your friends drinking alcoholic beverages?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	2	5	11	
Female	5	12	10	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	1	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	10	6	1	
Female	5	0	0	
<u>Do not drink</u>				
Female	2	0	2	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 10: Which language do you use with friends from the reserve on the streets of Newcastle?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	10	12	11	
Female	10	10	11	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	0	1	
Female	1	0	1	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	1	2	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 11: Which language do you use with the Chief?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>English</u>				
Male	11	0	1	
Female	11	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	1	12	11	
Female	1	12	12	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 12: Which language do you use with your grandparents?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	12	12	12	
Female	12	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 13: Which language do you use with your godparents?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	11	12	12	
Female	11	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	1	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 14: Which language do you use with Steven Austin, RCMP
Micmac Constable?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	11	10	12	
Female	12	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	2	0	
Female	0	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 15: Which language do you use with Nelson Deme, a School Attendance Officer?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	12	11	12	
Female	12	12	11	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	1	0	
Female	0	0	1	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 16: Which language do you use with Betsey Soudain, Welfare Officer?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	10	8	12	
Female	12	12	11	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	2	4	0	
Female	0	0	1	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 17: Which language do you use to confess in church?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	0	1	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>English</u>				
Male	12	11	12	
Female	12	12	12	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 18: Which language do you use with the parents of your spouse or sweetheart?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	11	12	12	
Female	11	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	1	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 19: Which language do you use with your brothers and sisters?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	8	12	12	
Female	6	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	4	0	0	
Female	6	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 20: Which language do you use with James Deme, former Chief?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	12	11	12	
Female	11	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	1	0	
Female	1	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 21: Which language do you use with your neighbors?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	11	10	12	
Female	10	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	1	2	0	
Female	2	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 22: Which language do you use to make jokes?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	4	12	
Female	9	10	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	0	0	
Female	1	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	5	8	0	
Female	2	2	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 23: Which language do you use with Margaret Harvey, Micmac Schoolteacher?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	8	8	11	
Female	6	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	2	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	2	4	1	
Female	6	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 24A: Which language do you use when angry?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	7	8	10	
Female	8	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	0	1	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	4	4	1	
Female	4	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 24B: Which language do you use when happy?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	4	8	11	
Female	6	12	11	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	8	4	1	
Female	6	0	1	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 25: Which language do you use at a dance in the community hall?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	8	11	
Female	6	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	6	4	1	
Female	6	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 26: Which language do you use at bingo in the community hall?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	0	9	12	
Female	0	6	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	1	2	0	
Female	0	6	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	11	1	0	
Female	12	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 27: Which language do you use when meeting a strange Indian man walking on the road on the reserve?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	0	11	
Female	8	0	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	6	12	1	
Female	4	12	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 28: Which language do you use when meeting a strange Indian woman walking on the road on the reserve?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	0	11	
Female	8	0	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	6	12	1	
Female	4	12	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 29: Which language do you use with your children?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	8	12	
Female	6	10	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	6	4	0	
Female	6	2	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 30: Which language do you use at a store on the reserve?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	8	12	12	
Female	8	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	4	0	0	
Female	4	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 31: Which language do you use at church?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	10	12	
Female	0	6	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	4	0	0	
Female	10	6	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	2	2	0	
Female	2	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 32: Which language do you use to discipline your children?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	8	11	12	
Female	8	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	2	1	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	2	0	0	
Female	4	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 33: Which language do you use when "feeling good?"

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	6	4	12	
Female	6	6	10	
<u>English</u>				
Male	4	8	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	2	0	0	
Female	4	6	0	
<u>Do not drink</u>				
Female	2	0	2	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 34: Which language do you use when drunk?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	0	11	12	
Female	0	6	10	
<u>English</u>				
Male	2	1	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	10	0	0	
Female	10	6	0	
<u>Do not drink</u>				
Female	2	0	2	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

Question 35: Which language do you use with Steven Foulard, Community Development Worker?

	<u>Young</u>	<u>Middle-aged</u>	<u>Old</u>	
<u>Micmac</u>				
Male	11	11	12	
Female	11	12	12	
<u>English</u>				
Male	0	0	0	
Female	0	0	0	
<u>Both</u>				
Male	1	1	0	
Female	1	0	0	
Total	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	N = 72

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