

In narrative *shida* is often used to mark evaluative speaker commentary, off-line from main action.

(11) Quch' Nushjunen

- a. Be-jil'u qughettl'et hnuq'u
3POSS-ears they.came.out when
'When its ears came out.'
- b. *he know brown bear* chil'ishen quht'ana ghila ch'u
he who kills them a man it was and
'it knew that this was a man that kills brown bears.'
- c. Ggagga chich'el'ishi quht'ana ghila.
brown.bear someone.who.kills.them man he.was
'He was a bear killer.'
- d. Q'u yeł tsadamen.
now with.it he.hit.it
'He then clubbed that one with it [tomahawk].'
- e. Yet ye-lugh y-el qitel ch'u
there its-end it-with it.jumped and
'That bear jumped over it and.'
- f. dutsi yeqala dedulnen
on top its dirt pile it.fell
'it fell down over its pile of dirt.'
- g. Kiq'u yethdi nitsinitsey
again then it stuck its head out
'Then another one stuck its head out.'
- h. Q'u lach' gheli q'u bejil'u q'u haghil'tit yuq'u tsaytnases.
now true really now its.ears now they.came.out then he.struck.its.head
'Just when its ears came out, he struck its head as hard as he could'
- i. Ch'adach' daghiltey ghu **shida**
thus he.was.strong then EVID
'He was still that strong.'
- j. Q'u kisht'a gheli en'ushen eydlan
now really really old man he was
'And he was really old.'
- k. nch'uk'a belaq'a ch'aydinghel
not his hand it did not drop out of it
'but it (spear) did not drop out of his hand.'
- l. Ch'u yeghech' dudiyu.
and to them he came down
'He came down the hill to them.'

(12) Eklutna Story (1029)

- a. Dach' qit'anesen Eklutna story'a.
thus it.is.known E. it's.story
'that is the Eklutna Story that I know.'

- b. Ki ch'adach' ghu hel dgheshniy
more thus then 2PL-with I.tell
'I will tell you a little more.'
- c. luq'u jitgga qit'anesen
all a.little it.known
'I know a little'
- d. shnugheł nihqelnekt'i *about some country anyway* q'u yagheli.
to me? they told now good
'that they used to tell me about some country anyway, and that is good.'
- e. Yik'a qeyegh batahdalnen **shida**
made it start to go dry EVID
'It [that giant fish] made it start to go dry.'
- f. *Eklutna Lake* batihdalnishi.
started to go dry
'Eklutna Lake started to go dry'
- g. k'chan yan ba k'dilan.
grass only in.it there.is
'Just grass is in there.'
- h. ghinhi tatl'ah bel qi'uni ghini elugh k'a baya qdist'ik
that underwater.creature that.one no.more it has been seen by them
'The underwater creature has not appeared again since.'
- i. Henda q'u baya qtidut'il.
maybe now it will be seen by them
'It might show up, though.'

May express speaker uncertainty.

(13) Quch' Nushjunen (first few lines)

- a. Quch' Nushjun gun lu nch'u 'iyi dilal
Q. that.one EVID NEG name voice-be
'*Quch' Nushjun* wasn't his real name'
- b. ch'adach' k'a hyighiyihen din?
how too they.call.him Q
'how did they call his name?'
- c. q'u gu qenaga ghin nch'u qu-gh-i-la **shit**
now here language that not AREAL-CJ-PERF-be EVID
'this language might have been a short time ago'
- d. nch'u qit'a-ne-esh-yen
neg know-THM-PERF-1SG-know
'I don't know'
- e. *maybe 200 years* gudi qenaga qu-gh-i-la **shit**
here language AREAL-CJ-PERF-be EVID
'this language might have been 200 years ago'

shida may also occur when speaker asserts identity.

- (14) Dena'ina esh-lan shida
D. 1SG-be EVID
'I am a Dena'ina person'
- (15) John esh-lan shida
J. 1SG-be EVID
'I am John'

When asked to produce sentences for a phrasebook Alec Balluta responded:

- (16) Tulchina eshlan 'I'm water clan'
K'kali eshlan 'I'm Fishtail clan'
Nuhzhi eshlan shit 'I'm *Nuhzhi* clan'

Hearer source evidential *dida/dit*

Expresses uncertainty; speaker acknowledgement that evidence is lacking.

- (17) shegh n-i-n-yu dit
to.me CJ-PERF-2SG-go EVID
'[I guess] you came to me'
- (18) hiq'a n-l-qat dit
fish 2SG-CL-eat EVID
'[I guess] you are eating fish'

Most common discourse function of *dida* (*dit*) is as a question marker, an extension of its evidential function.

- (19) Q'u lach' dini dit?
now true you.say Q
'Are you kidding?' ('Is what you say true?')
- (20) Qa-da-sh-d-i-nix dit?
THM-THM-1SG-ORAL-2SG-understand EVID
'Do you understand me?'

Some overlap in function with other evidentials *tu* and *lay*. May have a mirative function.

- (21) Hunting Dog (001)
- a. Nichil ghu k'unde qubeł nituhdinlen
subterranean.house there famine for.them it.struck.them
'Famine struck the people [living] in a subterranean house.'
- b. Ch'at qijuq dit
what it.happened EVID
'[I wonder] what had happened?'
- c. El'ekna qubech' ch'inighet'an k'ashi.
shaman he had wished them bad luck maybe
'Maybe some medicine man wished them bad luck.'
- (22) Quch' Nushjunen (103)
- a. y-iqu nu-qu-l-yał
3SG-in.search.of ITER-AREAL-CL-grope
'he was searching for it (the scalp).

- b. be-laq'a nu-yu-t-neq
3SG-hand ITER-4OBJ-CL-grab
'he got his hands on it'
- c. ndaha gheli k'a qu-te-ne-d-qun-i dit
how.many really too HUM.PL-INCEP-THM-CL-sew-NOM EVID
'[I wonder] how many they sewed together.'

Non-speaker/hearer source *yida/yit*

These particles indicate non-speaker/hearer source and by extension often express certainty. This is perhaps the most clearly epistemic of the *-ida* particles, glossed as 'to be sure' in Kari (n.d.), yet also the least common in both narrative and conversation.

- (23) nu-n-t-ghe-sh-t'ih yida
ITER-2SG-INCEP-FUT-1SG-see EVID
'I'll see you again (for sure)'
- (24) n-egh t-ghe-sh-duł yida
2SG-with INCEP-FUT-1SG,CL-stay.FUT EVID
'I will visit you'
- (25) tagh'i el q'u nu-ch'-t-i-ghu-nix yida
oars with now ITER-IMP-TRANS-FUT-go.by.boat EVID
'we will use oars to go across (river, bay)'
- (26) n-tutda nih q'u t'-i-n-lugg-i da k'i yagheli yida
2SG-father say now thus-PERF-2SG-do-NOM should also good EVID
'you did whatever your father did and it's all right'

Very few examples in our texts. Note the contrast with other evidentials.

- (27) Tiqin Ch'qu' Aggeya Suku'a (Wassillie)
- a. aggeya gin lu
otter that EVID
- b. "Iya! yagheli **yida**," yelni lu
okay good EVID he.said.it EVID
'the otter said to him,'oh, that's alright. don't worry about it''
- (28) Chulyin Sukdu'a (last few lines)
- a. "ch'eshdyex shida," ye-l-ni lu.
we.achieve EVID 4OBJ-CL-say EVID
"We made it," he told her.'
- b. "da q'u nultu shugu ch'e-d-yuq hghu"
when now for this IMP-CL-happen that.way
"That was for life or death, what we did,"
- c. "iqech' q'u ch'eshdyex," ye-l-ni lu
thus now we.achieve 4OBJ-CL-say EVID
"but we made it," he told her.'
- d. "Hhi," ye-l-ni lu
is.that.so 4OBJ-CL-say EVID
"Is that so?" she said to him.

- e. “Yighudahdi q’udi guhdi
there PART PART
“And for that reason,
- f. qighishin sht’a ey guhdi ch’-t-u-duł ch’q’uhdi
be.good just there here IMP-INCEP-OPT-sit and
‘here and now we’ll live a good life, and’
- g. na-qayeh qi-tu-lał,” ye-lmi lu.
1PL.POSS-village AREAL-FUT-lał 4OBJ-CL-say EVID
“this will be our village,” he told her’
- h. “Aa’, iqech’ t’e-ch’-u-t’ał yida,” ye-l-ni lu
yes thus thus-IMP-OPT-be EVID 4OBJ-CL-say EVID
“Yes, we will be that way,” she told him’
- i. q’uyehdi ey h-gh-i-du
then there HUM.PL-CL-PERF-sit
‘and they stayed there’
- j. dach’ hdi lu t’qidyuq chulyin sukdu’a
thus then EVID happen raven story
‘and that’s the way it happened, the Raven Story’

Relation to Upper Inlet *shit’i, t’i*

The particles *shit’i/sit’i* and *t’i* are restricted to Upper Inlet dialect and in our data only occur in the speech of Shem Pete and Katherine Nicolie.

- (29) Ndał Sukdu (cranes talking to their baby)
- a. “Ts’adats’ nu-ni-n-dzu dida?” he-ye-l-ni
how ITER-CJ-2SG-CL-go EVID HUM.PL-4OBJ-CL-say
“How did you get back?” they said.’
- b. “Tsida kuya gu nu-s-i-l-tan sit’i,” ye-l-ni.
old.lady granddaughter here ITER-1SG-PERF-CL-carry EVID 4OBJ-CL-say
“The old lady’s granddaughter brought me here,” it said.’

May be used for offline commentary, as with *shida*

- (30) Susitna Story
- a. shi beshl’an ts’ shughu deshni t’i
1SG I.see COMP exist I.say EVID
‘I’ll tell you how I see it.’
- b. dach’ q’u qu-l nu-h-qe-l-nek sit’i.
thus now them-to ITER-3PL-AREA-CL-say EVID
‘He would tell them.’
- c. K’eqitustlegh.
it will disappear
‘It will disappear.’
- (31) Hunting Dog (125)
- a. ntl’uynuyeshju t’i.
I caught up with you again EVID
‘that’s when I caught up with you again.’

- b. n-el nuqeghelnek t’i,”
2SG-with I.told.story EVID
“I told you the story,”
- c. d-ingha n-el dghini
RFLX-older.brother 2SG-to tell.story
‘he said to his older brother.’
- (32) Diqelas Tukda (201)
- a. hnayul hnuq’u q’ut’en ts’elq’i u-nagga ltel
next.day when morning one.thing 3SG-eye it.burst
‘the next day in the morning one of his eyes burst.’
- b. k’daltel’i gheli
make.booming.noise-NOM really
‘it really made a booming noise.’
- c. u-nagga ltel.
3SG-eye it.burst
‘his eye burst’
- d. heł-ts’ hnuq’u ki ts’ilts’en u-nagga ghin ki q’u ltel
dusk-toward when again other.side 3SG-eye again now it.burst
‘in the evening the other eye also burst’
- e. yahets’ sughu k’iyi el tsiqeyeghił’ik-na k’ghila t’i.
just this spell with it.killed.them-HUM.NOM they.were EVID
‘that’s the way it happened with those who were killed by a spell’

sit’i is often used within direct speech to indicate resolve on the part of the speaker.

- (33) Diqelas Tukda
- a. ugha, k’ta tilts’ah, ye-l-ni
come.on soup INCEP-2SG-CL-drink 4OBJ-CL-say
“Come on, drink some soup,” she said to him.’
- b. nehda’uts’ du t’e-s-dzuq hu du ye-l-ni
impossible PART thus-CJ-happen PART PART 4OBJ-CL-say
“The impossible happened to me!” he said.’
- c. ki gu en’usen yi elan yethdi k’enusk’daluq
again here old.man PART I.am then I.got.lucky
“Here I am, an old man, and I got lucky.”
- d. u’eltsan sit’i, yehni
I.fast EVID he.said.it
“I’ll fast,” he said.’

t’i can function very much like *yida*

- (34) Quch’ Nushjunen (076) (only instance of *t’i* in this story, 13 instances of *lu*)
- yich’en Quch’nushjen be-’iyi k’dilan t’i
because Q. his-name was EVID
‘that’s why his name was *Quch’nushjen*’

- (35) Susitna Story (029)
 shi be-sh-ʔan tsʔ shughu desni tʔi
 1SG 3OBJ-1SG-see COMP this I.say EVID
 ‘I tell you as I see it will happen.’
- (36) Diqelas Tukda (205)
 yahetsʔ sughu kʔiyi el tsi-qe-ye-gh-i-l-ʔik-na kʔghila tʔi
 just this spell with death-HUM.PL-CJ-PERF-CL-kill-NOM was EVID
 ‘that’s the way it happened with those who were killed by a spell’

May be used as a kind of emphatic marker.

- (37) Susitna Story (034)
- a. ntsʔukʔa!
 NEG
 ‘No!’
- b. ntsʔukʔa naqitustlegh shitʔi!
 NEG we.will.disappear EVID
 ‘We won’t disappear!’
- c. quhtʔana kʔilan shitʔi
 people exist EVID
 ‘There are lots of people.’

Paradigmatic alternation

The *-ida* evidentials are phonetically similar to person paradigms.

- (38) Independent pronouns
 shi ‘I, me’
 nen ‘you (sg.)’
 yin ‘he, him, she, her, it’
- (39) Nominal possessive prefixes
 shunkda ‘my mother’
 nunkda ‘your mother’
 yunkda ‘her/his (OBV) mother’
- (40) Verbal object prefixes
 shghilʔan ‘he looked at me’
 nghilʔan ‘he looked at you’
 yeghilʔan ‘he looked at him’

May alternate with person.

- (41) Negh neshyu shit. ‘I came to you’
 Shegh ninyu dit ‘you came to me’

Relation to modal *da*

The *-ida* particles appear to be related to deontic *da*. The following examples are from Kari (1994).

- (42) shegh ghidu da
 with.me you.stay should
 ‘come and see me’

- (43) bi-h-t-n-gh-i-l-ʔan da
 in.it-AREAL-FUT-THM-FUT-2SG-CL-look should
 ‘you should look inside it’

- (44) yaghelichʔ shughu tʔentʔan da
 good for.me you.do should
 ‘you are doing the right thing [by me]’

While *da* generally has a deontic meaning, as in the above examples, occasionally we do find *da* where we might expect *shida*, with an evidential meaning.

- (45) kʔetnu qilan yeh shugu y-esh-du da
 creek exists down LOC CJ-1SG-sit EVID
 ‘I live at/by that creek.’

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the glosses include: CL classifier (voice/valence); CJ conjugation; COMP complementizer; EVID evidential; HUM human; IMP impersonal subject; INCEP inceptive; ITER iterative; NOM nominalizer; THM thematic (lexical); OPT optative; PART particle; PERF perfective; PROG progressive; TRANS transitional; Q interrogative; RFLX reflexive.

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Author addresses: Gary Holton (gary.holton@uaf.edu), Olga Müller (fnocm@uaf.edu)