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PLAINS CREE: A GRAMMATICAL STUDY

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PREFACE

Although the goal of linguistic description is well known, the complexity of language is such that a complete grammar does not exist of any language, ancient or modern. Since the linguistic study of a particular language is a cumulative process, however, it is useful to provide progress reports at certain points: neglected areas will then become obvious and research plans can be integrated into a coherent scheme.

The present study outlines an integrated statement of the morphological structure of the Plains dialect of Cree, an Algonquian language. While its primary aim is to provide a framework for further investigation, this work may also serve as an introduction to the study of Cree texts.

The exposition of the grammatical categories of Cree is based on a detailed morphological and semantic analysis of the inflectional paradigms. The sketch of word formation, which is necessarily less comprehensive, is intended to highlight some of the more productive and characteristic patterns of derivation and composition.

This study is a revised version of my 1969 Yale University dissertation, "An Outline of Plains Cree Morphology" whose basic orientation remains unchanged. It is primarily based on data collected in Alberta in 1967–1968; more recent and continuing informant work, mainly in Manitoba, requires only one or two additions which are specifically noted in the text. Examples are also drawn from the published texts of Leonard Bloomfield.

I am grateful to Floyd G. Lounsbury for his criticisms and suggestions during the writing of the original manuscript; in many cases he pointed out the more general implications of specific problems. Warren C. Cowgill was kind enough to send me a long and detailed list of comments. Thanks are also due to Charles F. Hockett who first introduced me to the "marvellous complexity" (Bloomfield) of the Algonquian languages; he has read and extensively criticized all my efforts in Algonquian linguistics, including the present one, and where I have disregarded his advice, I alone am to blame. The greatest debt, of course, is to the Cree speakers who with considerable patience and generosity taught me some understanding of their language.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the field support during 1967–1968 of the National Science Foundation (GS-1535), the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society; and from 1969 to 1971, of the Research Board of the University of Manitoba. The writing of the original dissertation was supported by Yale University which, together with the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes, also largely financed my graduate studies.

From Oblate Fathers to sound technicians, acknowledgments are due to more people than can be named. This preface would be incomplete, however, without special thanks to my wife Juliane whose part in it far exceeds that of the perfect Cree typist.

nikāwiy ē-wī-pētamawak.

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December 1971

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM AND SCOPE

This study is an attempt to describe the structure of words in Plains Cree. Its immediate purpose is twofold: first, in covering a relatively large area, it is intended as a framework for further investigation to which reference can be made in more detailed studies.

It may also serve as an introduction to the fairly large body of Cree texts. Two volumes of texts have been published by Bloomfield, and there are several manuscript collections. To make full use of these texts for linguistic, literary (in a wide, Jeffersonian sense), and other purposes, presupposes both a lexicon (which is in progress) and a reference grammar.

The inadequacy, on a variety of counts, of the present work is recognized. Thus it is not meant as a museum piece, of whatever merit, but as a tool for reference and research which is bound to be modified by the results of its very application.

It is well known that linguistics remains far removed from the goal of providing a complete, formal grammar of a particular language with reference to a unified theory of language. In spite of the important achievements of the last seventy years, there is still no language for which such a grammar is even approximated. In this respect, Cree differs only by degree from a language like English which has been under intensive study for several centuries.[1] On the other hand, the study of "exotic" languages has differed from that of the more widely spoken languages in an important point: in almost all cases, linguistic analysis has been the work of an outside observer with incomplete control of the language under study. Such an observer, whose role as participant is limited, obviously cannot be expected to have the same kinds of insights as a native speaker, and a pessimistic conclusion might be that "beyond a relatively superficial level, informant techniques in general will fail and further work, if any, will depend on linguistically trained natives" (Postal, 1966: p. 93). However, while the basic issue cannot be disputed, Postal's pessimism seems exaggerated. Nor should the tactical advantage of the outside observer be overlooked entirely. Thus, a team effort of linguist and linguistically trained native speaker would appear ideal.

In practice, however, little would be gained by restricting our attention to those languages where native speaker-linguists are available. Unfortunately, the salvage aspect cannot be overlooked in the field of "exotic" languages. Even granting the inadequacy of many grammars, it may be well to remember the concern with which we treasure some scrap of ancient literature or some poorly recorded, brief vocabulary. In the field of American Indian linguistics, at any rate, the salvage efforts of the last one hundred years can hardly be regarded as useless or irrelevant.

The present study of Plains Cree is in a technical sense *informal*.

A fully formal theory of a natural language will remain an ideal for a long time to come, if indeed it is achievable at all. Consequently he who attempts to construct a formal theory of part of a natural language will have to content himself with a very small part.

But even to achieve this limited goal, a fairly substantial knowledge of the language under study is required, so that the partial grammar will not be

[1] In view of this fact, the angry claim (however distorted) that it is a "mass of . . . almost completely superficial and inexplicit linguistic descriptions which make up our linguistic literature today" (Postal, 1966: pp. 92, 93) cannot be dismissed out of hand. To make matters worse, many grammars convey the annoying impression, intentionally or not, that they constitute a definitive statement of fact, observed and described once and for all.

entirely out of tune with the remainder which is eventually to be constructed. In practice, therefore, such partial grammars are usually constructed only for languages which are well known; some languages, such as English, have not only undergone centuries of investigation but have also been studied by large numbers of native-speaker linguists during the present century. In the so-called "exotic" languages, by contrast, informal accounts need yet to be written before more detailed studies can be undertaken and, perhaps, formal theories be constructed.[2]

A formal account, then, does not come into being in a vacuum. Not only that, however; semi-formal descriptions may have the additional advantage of avoiding the straitjacket of premature formalization or of one particular formalism. Data need to be observed from a variety of vantage points and with as few *a priori* restrictions as possible (such as, for example, the familiar stricture against the mixing of levels).

The linguistic framework of this study is intentionally eclectic. The basic orientation may perhaps be described as praeter-Chomskyan since it is influenced by some of the other developments which have taken place simultaneously with the emergence of generative-transformational theory. Thus, to give just one example, the semantic aspects of paradigmatic analysis are emphasized.

The great debt to the Bloomfieldian way of describing Algonquian languages will be obvious. Although his sketch (1946) is surely the most widely known of his writings on Algonquian, it is in the posthumous Menomini grammar that Bloomfield's descriptive style is most clearly expressed.

Adherence to the Bloomfieldian model helps to make grammars of different Algonquian languages more easily comparable. More importantly, Bloomfield's descriptions in general appear to be remarkably appropriate (in the Hjelmslevian sense) to their subject matter—in spite of many unanswered questions. Aside from relatively minor matters, we depart from his model only where there is a special reason and adequate evidence to propose a different approach.

1.2. DIALECTS

The appellation "Cree" is commonly used in at least two different senses. (1) It may refer to the *Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language complex* whose territory stretches from the Labrador coast to the Rocky Mountains; or (2) it may refer to *Cree* as opposed to *Montagnais-Naskapi.*

1.21. Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi

The use of "Cree" for the entire complex of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is widespread even though it has by no means been established that there is a chain of mutually intelligible dialects.[3]

This identification of the Montagnais-Naskapi as "Cree" goes back at least to 1849 when John McLean wrote: "The Indians . . . of Ungava are a tribe of the Cree nation designated Nascopies. Their language, a dialect of the Cree or Cristeneau, exhibits a considerable mixture of Saulteaux words . . ." (cited after Michelson, 1939: p. 87). Michelson, however, probably did not mean to imply mutual intelligibility when he stated (1912: p. 247) that "excluding phonetic changes, Montagnais is practically the same language as Cree." Unfortunately, this statement seems to have been over-interpreted by later scholars. Michelson himself speaks of "very sharp boundaries" (1939: p. 73) and definitely seems to imply a language boundary when he says (1939: p. 70) that "it cannot be too strongly emphasized that east of Hannah Bay (Ontario-Québec line) Cree leaves off and Montagnais-Naskapi begins." (See map 1 in 1.22.)

Recent dialect distance testing by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Irvine Davis, personal communication) would also indicate a break of mutual intelligibility between eastern and western dialects. Curiously, however, the break occurs at an entirely different point, namely between Nelson House, Manitoba, and Winisk, Ontario. The tentative nature of the dialect survey lets it appear possible that testing at further locations in this area would show the transition from the Manitoba dialects to those of northern Ontario to be much less abrupt. In that case, the relatively high scores linking northern Ontario and Quebec dialects might yet point towards a link of Cree with Montagnais-Naskapi. But until less ambiguous and more detailed evidence becomes available, the term "Cree" should be used in its narrow sense.

The reflex of Proto Algonquian **θ* is usually taken as a convenient diagnostic in determining the language affiliation of the Algonquian dialects of eastern and central Canada. Such isoglosses gain special significance where a large number of dialects are spoken by small and fairly mobile hunting bands. While the reflex of Proto Algonquian **θ* is *n* in most of the Algonquian languages, it corresponds to *t* in Cree, e.g. *atim* 'dog, horse'; *cf.* Fox *anemwa*, Menomini *anɛ·m*, Ojibwa *anim*, etc. This correspondence set clearly distinguishes dialects of Cree from the great variety of dialects of the Ojibwa-(Saulteaux)-Ottawa-Algonquin complex.[4]

[2] To avoid any misunderstanding it might be emphasized that "informal," as the opposite of the technical term "formal," is not intended to imply or to excuse lack of internal consistency, elegance, comprehensiveness, economy, etc. These are properties which any account, formal or informal, strives to attain in some degree. But even when considered collectively they are different in kind from formalness, and they do not add up to it.

[3] For writings on Montagnais-Naskapi see Lemoine, 1901; Rogers, 1960; Hisey and Fiero, 1969; MacKenzie, 1971; and McNulty, 1971.

[4] For the application of such criteria to early missionary sources see Hanzeli, 1969.

In its eastern manifestations this set of correspondences is known as "Roger Williams's sound shift" (*cf.* Haas, 1967*a*); Roger Williams was first, in 1643, to observe the regular substitution of *n*, *l*, and *r* in the word for 'dog' in Coweset, Narragansett, and Quinnipiac. The usefulness of the diagnostic for Cree is not affected by the fact that the reflex *t* also occurs in Blackfoot, Cheyenne, and the Atsina and Nawathinehena dialects of Arapaho; the distinction of Cree from these languages is no problem. Note further that since **θ* alternates with **s* before **i*, **ī*, **y*, only its reflexes in other positions are available as diagnostics.

It is thus an important piece of evidence for the close affinity of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi that the same reflex *t* also occurs in Montagnais-Naskapi, e.g. *atum* 'dog' (Lemoine).

Moreover, both Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi differ from the great majority of the surrounding languages by keeping distinct the reflexes of Proto Algonquian **θ* and **l* regardless of their eventual realization in the dialects (*cf.* 1.22); consider the examples below.

Proto Algonquian	**aθemwa* 'dog'	**elenyiwa* 'man'
Cree	*atim*	*iyiniw*
Montagnais-Naskapi	*atum*	*ilnu*
Fox	*anemwa*	*ineniwa*
Menomini	*anɛ·m*	*enɛ·niw*
Ojibwa	*anim*	*inini*

Having so far stressed the common features of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi, it may be well to point out at least one of the more striking differences.

Before the reflexes of Proto Algonquian **i* and **ī*, **k* in Montagnais-Naskapi appears as *c* (alveo-palatal affricate); consider the second person prefix *ci-* (Plains Cree *ki-*) or the preverb *cī* 'past' (Plains Cree *kī*; *cf.* 6.522).[5]

This palatalization is attested at least as early as 1696 when Fabvre listed the alternant forms *miki8aps*, *mitchi8aps* for 'cabane, maison'[6]; *cf.* Plains Cree *mīkiwāhpis*. Whether the *k*-alternant represents Cree, as Hanzeli has it, or whether it reflects a sound change in progress has to remain open.

Valuable evidence on relative chronology is provided by the occurrence of palatalization in cases where the conditioning environment has subsequently disappeared; consider the third person animate plural ending Proto Algonquian **-aki* for which Montagnais-Naskapi shows *-ac* and Plains Cree *-ak*. At least in the Mistassini dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi, this palatalization is also reflected in synchronic morphophonological alternation: "morpheme-final /k/ becomes /c/ before a front vowel" (Rogers 1960: p. 94). Thus, from *sōhk-* and *-isi-* there is a verb stem *sōhcisi-*; *cf.* Plains Cree *sōhkisi-* 'be strong.'

[5] Palatalization apparently does not take place before **y*; consider Proto Algonquian **kyātāwa* 'he hides it', Montagnais-Naskapi *kātau*.)

[6] Fabvre, 1970: p. 152; Fabvre's *8* corresponds to our *w*. *Cf.* also the discussion of this manuscript in Hanzeli, 1961: p. 126 ff., a section which is not included in Hanzeli, 1969.

1.22. Cree Dialects

The dialects of Cree proper (excluding Montagnais-Naskapi) are yet to be described adequately.[7] In his well-known study of 1939, Michelson gives a clear picture of the data situation: "it is not possible . . . to approach the work that has been done on some European languages . . . as regards phonetic, morphological, or syntactic differences; or distribution of words. A single person cannot even accumulate the necessary materials, to say nothing of interpreting them" (1939: p. 75). While the Summer Institute of Linguistics survey referred to earlier (1.21) covers a large area, it is not a dialect study in the usual sense but is based instead on the technique of dialect distance testing (see, for example, Kirk, 1970). Moreover, only eight test points were used west of the Province of Québec. Thus, while yielding some interesting information on mutual intelligibility, the scope of this survey seems to have been too restricted to match the diversity of Cree dialects.

A convenient preliminary classification is provided by the reflexes of Proto Algonquian **l*.[8]

Howse seems to have been first, in 1844, to use this diagnostic: "The widely scattered tribes of this nation change the *th*, consecutively into *y*, *n*, *l*, and (*vide* Eliot) *r*, e.g. Wé-thă ('he'), Wé-yă, Wé-nă, We-lă, etc." (1844: p. 316).[9]

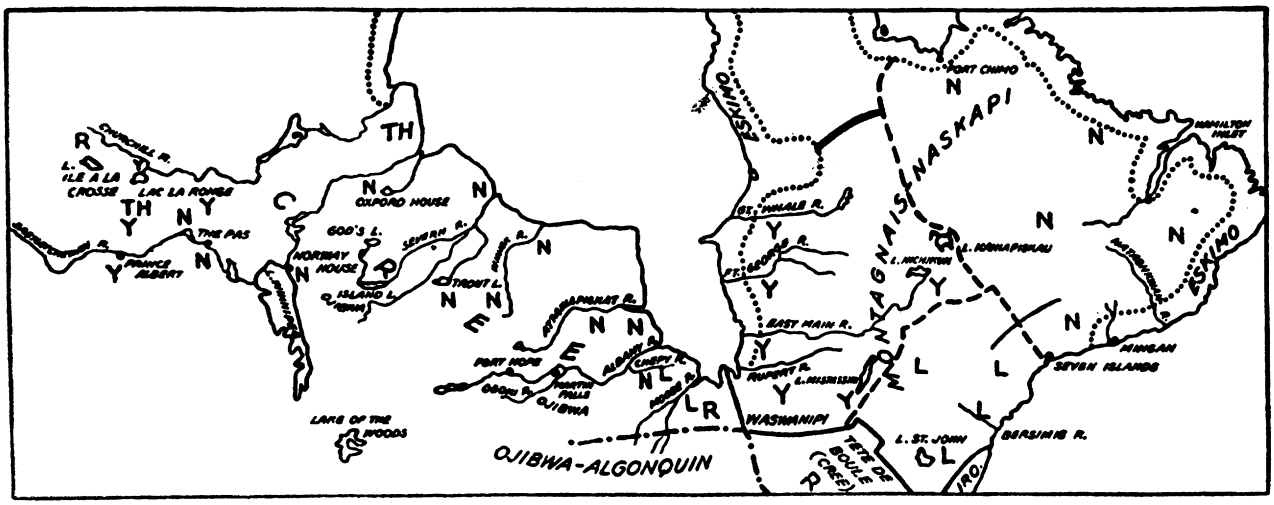
Lacombe further provided the locations where the different dialects are spoken, and because of its wide acceptance his table deserves to be given in full (with the personal pronoun 'I'; Lacombe, 1874*a*: p. xv):

Cris proprement dits (Plains Cree)	*niya*
Cris d'Athabaskaw (northern Saskatchewan)	*nira*
Presque tous les Cris de Bois (Woods Cree of Rupert's Land)	*nitha*
Cris du Labrador (Montagnais? Moose Cree?)	*nila*
Maskégons (Swampy Cree)	*nina*
Algonquins et Sauteux [*sic*] (Ojibwa)	*nin*

[7] Several fairly detailed dialect studies are now in progress at the University of Manitoba, the University of Toronto (under the auspices of the Odawa Language Project), and elsewhere. For a preliminary statement on methodology and a detailed study of a particular population, see Wolfart, 1971*b*.

[8] Note, however, that the reflexes in Cree and in Montagnais-Naskapi are entirely independent, however much they resemble each other. Similar developments have taken place elsewhere; *cf.* Michelson, 1939: p. 75.

[9] The reference to Eliot shows that Howse failed to distinguish fully this intra-Cree variation from Roger Williams' (and John Eliot's) sound shift; it is noteworthy that he gives no example for *r*. Howse's description is of the *th*-dialect of Rupert's Land (see below); we follow him, Lacombe, and Michelson in writing *th* for what generally seems to be a voiced fricative.



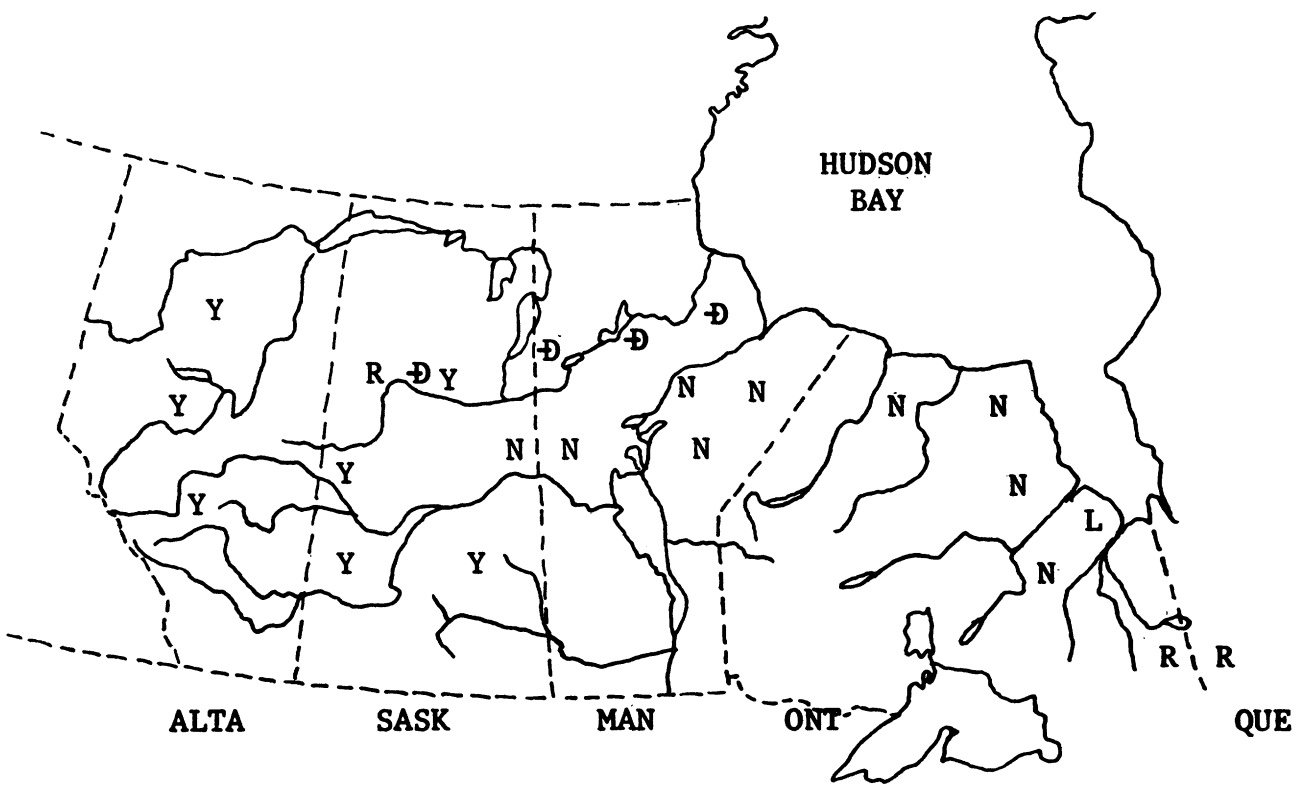
MAP. 1. Distribution and interrelations of the Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. From Michelson, 1939.

Michelson's treatise of 1939 reflects the heterogeneous nature of his data; it is best represented by his map (map 1).

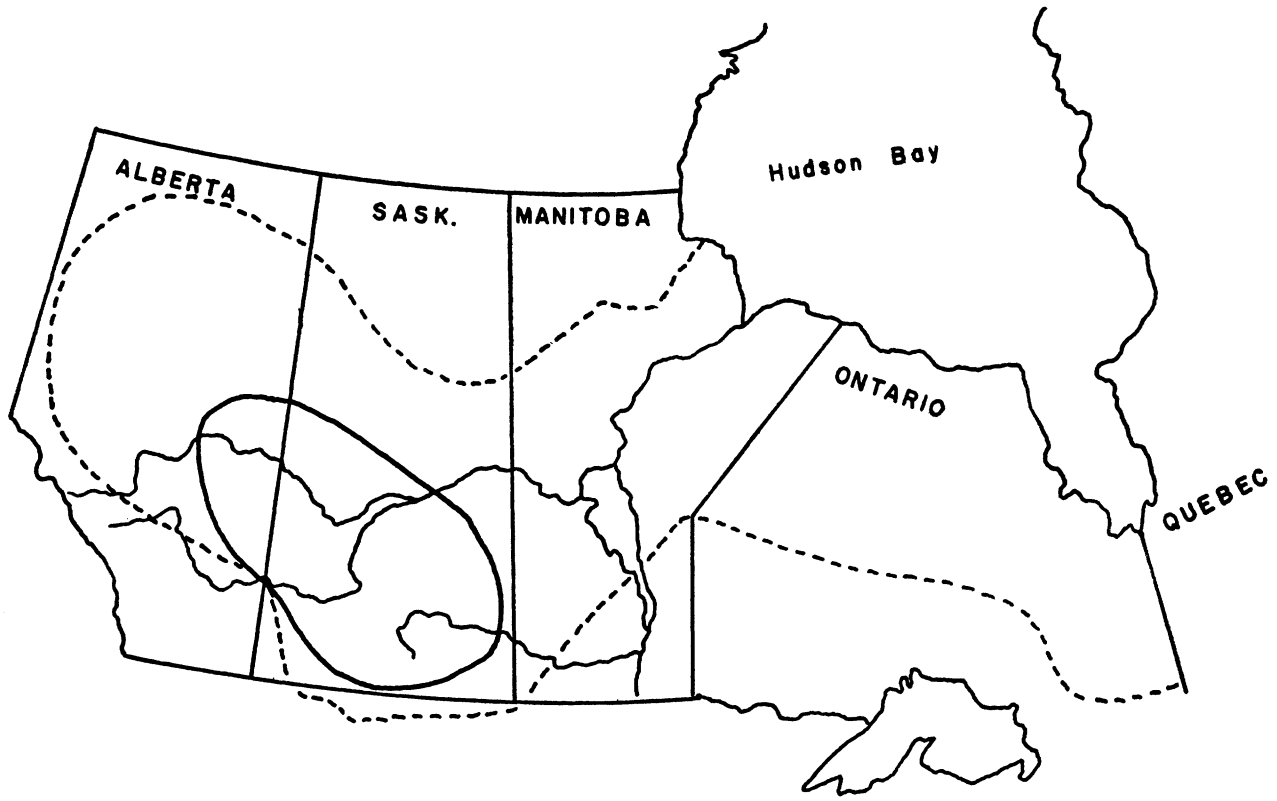
Map 2 and the summary which follows are based on Michelson's study but include other data as well (*cf.* Wolfart, 1971*b*); they may be regarded as a working classification.

Y: Plains Cree and the dialect of northern Alberta; the dialect of Montreal Lake and Stanley and Pelican Narrows in northern Saskatchewan also shows *y*. (Plains Cree is also spoken on Rocky Boy's reserve near Havre, Montana and, at least during the earlier part of this century, also at Turtle Mountain and Fort Totten, North Dakota.)

R: Isle à la Crosse, Saskatchewan and areas to the north of there; Tête-de-Boule Cree, Québec.



MAP. 2. Cree dialects according to reflex of Proto Algonquian **l*.



MAP. 3. Distribution of Cree groups.
--- Approximate distribution of Cree-speaking groups 1970.
—— Plains Cree (culturally defined; after Mandelbaum) 1860.

TH: Woods Cree at Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan and in Rupert's Land (between the lower courses of the Nelson and Churchill Rivers).

N: Swampy Cree, in a broad belt from Cumberland House, Saskatchewan (just west of The Pas, Manitoba) to the coast of Hudson Bay and James Bay, from the Nelson River in the north to the Albany River in the south.[10]

L: Moose Cree, spoken at Moose Factory (Moosomin), Ontario and in the lower portion of the Moose River drainage.

1.23. Plains Cree

The Plains Cree dialect which forms the basis of the present study is spoken primarily in the central part of Alberta and in the central and southern parts of Saskatchewan. Since language-based figures do not exist, we can only cite Canadian government sources[11] which indicate a total of about 26,000 Plains Cree and 12,000 other Cree in Alberta and Saskatchewan.[12] These figures reflect only "treaty Indians" not all of whom necessarily still speak Cree; on the other hand, they ignore the large number of non-treaty Indians and Métis many of whom do speak Cree, so that they may be useful as a gross estimate after all.

The historical movement of the Plains Cree from their seventeenth-century location in an area bounded by Lake Superior, Lake Winnipeg, and Hudson Bay, to the western Plains and the foot of the Rocky Mountains has been described in great detail by Mandelbaum (1940). Mandelbaum's chief concern is the dramatic change, brought on by the fur trade, from the aboriginal woodlands culture to that of the Plains; but the texts even of today bear eloquent witness to the woodlands heritage, as for instance in the Windigo stories.

Map 3 shows the range of the Plains Cree (culturally defined; after Mandelbaum, 1940) in the 1860's; it also indicates the approximate distribution of Cree-speaking groups at present (after Canada, 1970).

[10] Ellis's *Spoken Cree* (1962) and "Cree Verb Paradigms" (1971) are composite treatments of the *n*-dialect of Fort Albany and the *l*-dialect of Moose Factory; in Ellis, 1962 the text shows *l* and the tapes, *n* In the present study, the dialect(s) described by Ellis is referred to as *James Bay Cree* and cited with *n*.

[11] Canada, 1970. These figures are based on cultural affiliation and other criteria and are not to be relied on as guides to dialect or even language assignment.

[12] In 1874 Lacombe had estimated the number of Plains Cree as 15,000 to 16,000 (1874*a*: p. x). These figures would seem to fit the estimate of Chafe (1962: p. 165) who gives a figure of 30,000 to 40,000 for all Cree (and 5,000 for Montagnais-Naskapi).

According to government sources for 1970 (Canada, 1970) there are about 16,000 Cree in Manitoba and another 16,000 in Ontario and Quebec, bringing the total to about 70,000.

In Alberta, speakers of Cree are found as far west as Duffield and as far south as Hobbema and Rocky Mountain House—allowing, of course, for a scattering of Crees even beyond these limits; this is especially true for the foothills region north of the Edmonton-Jasper highway. In the northern part of the province, the Peace River may be considered the western and northern boundary. But even beyond this line, as in the urban centers of the south, Cree is often used as a lingua franca; as Lacombe put it (1847*a*: p. xi): "On peut dire que le cris est pour le Nord-Ouest ce que le français est pour les pays civilisés."

Throughout the Cree-speaking areas of Alberta it is the first, and dominant, language of all those who grow up in the more remote areas. In the immediate vicinity of urban centers, especially Edmonton, many children today learn to speak English first, and some never acquire a working command of Cree; the social pressures in favor of English are, of course, considerable. In the more remote areas, monolingual speakers are not uncommon among the older generation.

In addition to local differences, there is a relatively clear distinction, however slight, in Alberta between a "northern" and a "southern" variant (both *y*-dialects). The boundary runs somewhere between Edmonton and Lesser Slave Lake; that is, it coincides with the cultural and ecological boundary of plains and woodland.

However, there can be no doubt about the full mutual intelligibility of these variants whatever the historical situation may be. We therefore tentatively extend the domain of the linguistic term "Plains Cree" beyond the limits of the cultural unit with which it is primarily associated.

The isolated dialect differences which have been observed are noted in the relevant sections of this study (e.g. 5.33); there is also some lexical variation between the northern and southern areas. One observation of a more general range is that the speed of utterance seems to increase considerably as one moves north.

1.3. DATA AND INFORMANTS

The present investigation is based primarily on data collected in central Alberta in 1967–1968.[13] However, examples from Bloomfield's published texts (1930, 1934) are also used liberally so that the interested reader may examine the wider context. Bloomfield's texts were recorded at Sweet Grass Reserve (near Battleford, Saskatchewan) in 1925; the agreement, sometimes down to minute details, between Bloomfield's texts and those recorded in 1967–1968 is indeed remarkable.

Two informants provided the bulk of the non-textual data. In addition to some direct elicitation, their help was employed mainly in the extensive grammatical analysis of texts, in paraphrasing, etc.

JV who has since died was in his sixties. He was born and raised at Long Lake but later attended a boarding school in the south of the province. His wife is from Saddle Lake and since they lived in relative isolation, some Saddle Lake influence may be expected to show in his speech. JV's unfailing patience and the kindness which both he and his wife extended to me are memorable aspects of my field experience.

MC is in her early twenties. She was born and raised on one of the Hobbema reserves; her slow speech proved particularly advantageous during the early stages of field work.

A large body of texts was collected in 1967–1968 mainly from the "southern" area. A representative selection (comprising approximately seven hours) of these texts has been deposited in the Library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. The informants who appear in this selection are briefly introduced below.

AM is said to have come from Saskatchewan as a child and ML was born at Rivière qui Barre, northwest of Edmonton; all others were born, and spent most of their lives, in the Hobbema area.

AM is over ninety, the patriarch of an important family; his repertoire of texts is known to be extensive. PO who has since died was seventy-eight years old at the time, and was considered to be one of the few "pure-blooded" Cree still alive; the full meaning of this term could not be ascertained. He speaks very slowly and clearly but his repertoire, at least as displayed towards me, seems to be limited. WW appears to be in his eighties, he is rather weak and his enunciation is none too clear; he is apt to get confused in his story-telling.

The other informants represented in the selection all appear to be in their sixties. PL's Cree differs from that normally heard at Hobbema by being much faster; his family seems ultimately to go back to Rocky Mountain House where some "Saulteaux" influence is said to exist. CL is his wife, and MY and JY are her brothers, all of them living close to each other. These last four informants are all very traditionally minded people, observing the old ways and openly longing for the day when the White Man will be gone and the world in its proper state again.

The Cree themselves classify all texts into two categories, *ātayōhkēwin* and *ācimōwin*. The first of these is translated as "sacred story," and while it may contain fairy-tale elements even of European or Oriental origin, and the like it more properly refers to stories about the earlier state of the world and the exploits of the culture hero, *wīsahkēcāhk*. These sacred stories in the narrow sense are highly conventionalized, down to the linguistic structure of particu-

[13] Concordances and indices of Cree texts, an inverse stem lexicon, and a variety of statistical information are among the preliminary results of a computational project which is described in Wolfart and Pardo, 1972.

lar stretches of the story. New stories may be made up on the existing pattern.

Several of these sacred stories have been recorded in more than one version. "Wisahkecahk and the Shut-eye dancers," for example, was recorded in at least two versions by Bloomfield (1930: pp. 34–40 and 1934: pp. 282–284); twelve versions, of varying quality and length, were recorded in 1967–1968.

The term *ācimōwin* is usually translated by informants as 'true story,' which may be taken to imply that texts of the sacred story type are not historical in the usual sense of that term. An *ācimōwin* may concern any everyday event, it may be an anecdote, a funny story, or the like; but there is an important subclass of historical narratives, called *kayās-ācimōwin* 'old-time story.' These deal with military exploits of the horse-raiding days, or with other historical topics; they may be personal recollections, or "recollections by proxy," passed on down the generations. That they contain magical experiences does not disturb their status as true stories.

A final, non-native, subclass has for the moment been labeled "exhortatives"; they usually contrast the golden age of the buffalo economy with today's misery and, especially, alcoholism.

1.4. ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

1.41. Grammatical Information

The use of technical abbreviations has been kept to a minimum.

The verb classes are occasionally referred to by the following symbols:

TA	transitive animate
TI	transitive inanimate
AI	animate intransitive
II	inanimate intransitive

The abbreviations of the person-number-gender-obviation categories (indf, 1, 1p, 21, 2, 2p, 3, 3p, 3′, 0, 0p, 0′, 0′p) are defined in table 1 of section 2.01; the choice of numbers should be largely self-explanatory.

In discussions of transitive animate (TA) verbs, a combination like 1-3 is to be interpreted as the first person acting on the third; an inverse action, with 3 acting on 1, would be indicated by 3-1.

Transitive animate (TA) verb forms which involve third persons exclusively, show only one of the referents morphologically expressed (*cf.* sections 5.622 ff.). Textual examples, however, will be more intelligible if the *syntactic referents* (rather than merely the significative and morphological status of the verb form) are indicated. That referent which is not expressed morphologically, is enclosed in parentheses, e.g.

direct:	*-ēw*	TA 3-(3′)
	-ēyiwa	TA 3′-(3′)
inverse:	*-ik*	TA (3′)-3
	-ikoyiwa	TA (3′)-3′

For transitive inanimate (TI) verbs, only the actor is indicated (e.g., TI 2p) since the number and obviation distinctions of the inanimate goal are not morphologically reflected in the verb (*cf.* 5.13).

When cited in isolation, verbs are generally inflected for a third person actor; nouns and pronouns are given in the proximate singular.

In Cree forms, leading or trailing hyphens indicate that a segment is not a free form; when a form is cited in morphophonological representation, leading or trailing hyphens are usually omitted. In phonemic representation, a hyphen within a word marks it as compound (6.5).

We use Bloomfield's orthography (*cf.* appendix A and Bloomfield, 1930: pp. 2–6) except for the purely mechanical substitution of *o*, *ē*, and *c* for his *u*, *ä*, and *ts*. Phonemic representation is indicated by italics. This mode of representation[14] is used throughout, even when strings smaller than words are cited. Morphophonological notation, namely strings enclosed in slashes (and the additional characters /e/, /θ/, /L/), is used only where it is immediately relevant to the discussion; *cf.* appendix A.

1.42. Text References

Most of the illustrative material is quoted from the texts (see below). Examples which are not specifically identified are taken from my field notes. An identification included in parentheses, e.g. (T55p62), means that the form is not cited verbatim but regularized or in a citation form. Glosses are not necessarily uniform throughout.

Although unpublished, the texts collected by myself are identified by a number preceded by T, e.g. T105. Since they are in varying states of editing, reference is sometimes made to paragraphs (by a hyphen) and sometimes to pages (by the letter p). Thus, 105p10 refers to page 10 of text 105, and T91-6 refers to paragraph 6 of text 91.

Bloomfield's published texts are identified by S for *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree* (1930) and by P for *Plains Cree Texts* (1934). Citation is by page and line, e.g. S247-34.

Passages from the texts are left exactly as originally printed except for obvious misprints and the mechanical replacement of certain symbols; see 1.41 above. Note especially the frequent writing of final *h* in Bloomfield's texts; *cf.* appendix A and Bloomfield 1930: pp. 2, 3.

2. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

The major grammatical categories of Cree are gender, number, person, and obviation. The cate-

[14] *Cf.* appendix A, footnote 85.

gories are present in nominal and pronominal as well as in verbal inflection. The further categories of direction and of verbal order and mode are present in verbal paradigms only and are discussed in 5.62 and 5.3, respectively. Direction, however, not only plays a role in the construction of diagrams which would display the grammatical categories; it also involves problems which are of a sufficiently general nature to be treated here (2.5) rather than in the context of verbal inflection alone.

2.01. Major Dimensions of Contrast

The major dimensions of contrast are displayed in table 1. The table also defines the abbreviations for the person-number-gender-obviation categories.

Table 1 shows the most salient feature of the inflectional categories of Cree: that the third-person category not only contrasts with the first and second persons but also is the domain of the contrast of proximate and obviative. Thus, it functions in both these dimensions simultaneously.

The diagrams which follow are attempts to represent graphically the "fulcrum" function of the third-person category. Figure 1 is a slightly modified version of Hockett's diagram of 1966; *cf.* 2.24.

The usefulness of the diagrams is limited because of the multi-dimensionality of the categories. Both diagrams disregard number entirely. Both are also misleading in suggesting some but not all possible paths of action between categories. Further, figure 1

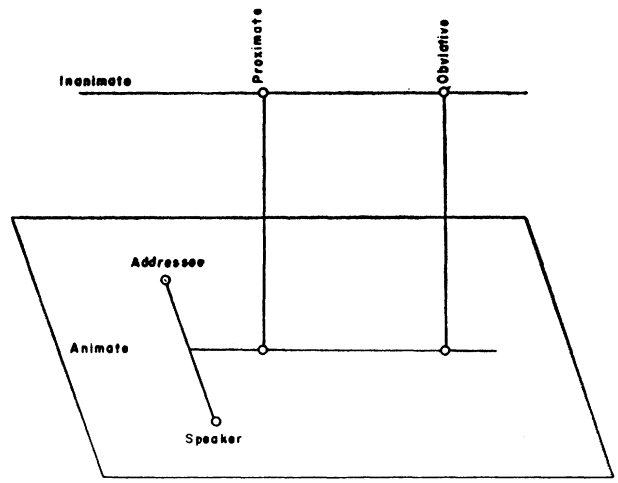


FIG. 1.

shows neither the various combinations of the non-third persons (especially 21) nor does it reflect the wide meaning of the third (non-obviative) category (*cf.* 2.23). Note further that Hockett does not interpret the relation between first and second person as a manifestation of direction (*cf.* 2.5); otherwise the one grammatical dimension of direction would be

TABLE 1

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES (OMITTING DIRECTION)

Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Code
Animate	Indefinite		(sg/pl)	indf
	First and second		pl	21
	First		sg	1
			pl	1p
	Second		sg	2
			pl	2p
	Third	Proximate	sg	3
			pl	3p
		Obviative	(sg/pl)	3′
Inanimate		Proximate	sg	0
			pl	0p
		Obviative	sg	0′
			pl	0′p

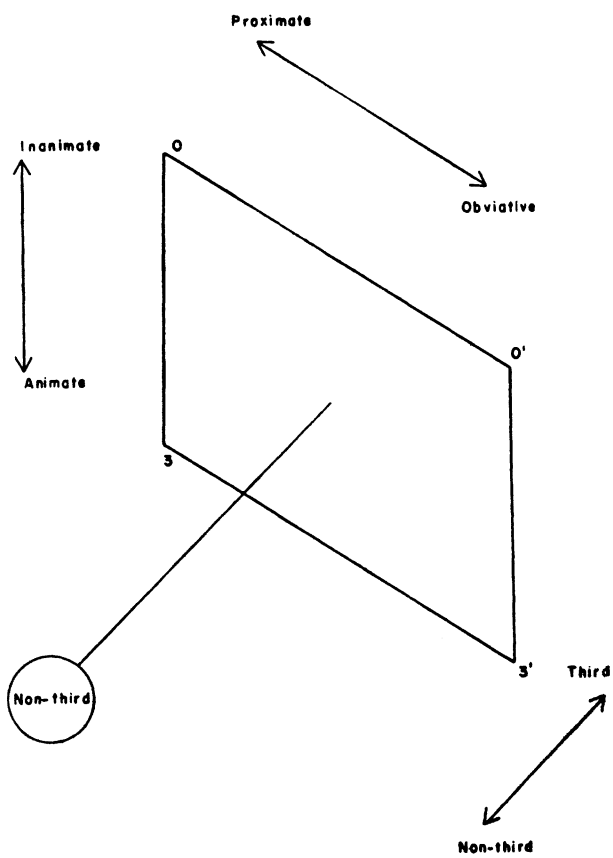


FIG. 2.

represented by two dimensions of the diagram. Figure 2 (which ultimately derives from figure 1) may be interpreted to reflect the wide and narrow meanings of the non-obviative category. It purposely excludes the combinations of the non-third categories and the direction of action among them.

2.02. Animate Obviative and Inanimate Plural

Throughout the grammar of Cree, the inanimate (proximate) plural category and the animate obviative category (number-indifferent) show the same forms. This identity[15] is seen in the inflection of nouns for number-obviation (3.3) as well as in the independent forms of the verb where a direct contrast of gender exists; i.e. in the obviative forms of the transitive verbs with animate or inanimate goal (TA, TI) and of the intransitive verbs with animate actor (AI); and in the plural forms of the intransitive verbs with inanimate actor (II). In all these paradigms, the inanimate plural and the animate obviative are both marked by the ending *-(w)a*.

Such a similarity may of course be accidental, just as the number-indifference of the Cree (animate) obviative is due to the merger, in this position in Cree, of Proto Algonquian **h* and **l*; thus, the Cree ending *-a* (morphophonologically /ah/) corresponds to the Proto Algonquian (obviative) singular ending **-ali* as well as to the (obviative) plural ending **-ahi*. But if such a development were the cause of the identity, it would have to antedate Proto Algonquian, for even there the inanimate (proximate) plural and the animate obviative singular are marked by the same ending, **-ali*.

That the identity cannot be reduced to historical accident (at least not of such superficiality) is evident from the inflectional paradigms of pronouns. In addition to the standard nominal paradigm (4.3) there are two exclusively pronominal paradigms both of which show the same identity in spite of great differences of phonological shape. One (4.1) uses the ending *-hi* for both these categories, another (4.2) *-ēhā*.[16]

If we rule out accident as the cause of the identity of the animate obviative and the inanimate plural, we have to look for that semantic feature of Cree which these categories have in common.[17]

This feature is yet to be found; however, there is at least one set of contexts where a link might conceivably be established.

(*a*) In a series of coordinate nouns which function as the joint goal of a transitive verb,[18] animate obviative and inanimate plural are obviously indistinguishable:

S 57–17 . . .	*otinam*	*ēkwah*	*ospikēkanah*	*ēkwah*
	take(TI 3)	and	rib (0p)	and

otihtihkosiwah . . .
kidney(3′)

'he took the ribs and the kidneys'

(*b*) If a noun which is usually inanimate functions as the goal of a transitive animate verb of speaking, the noun ending is completely ambiguous:

S 8–43	*sōskwāc*	*kahkiyaw*	*kakwēcimēw*
	right away	all	ask(TA 3-(3′))

otāpacihcikanah.
utensil(0p)

'Without delay she asked all her utensils.'

otāpacihcikanah is normally inanimate but here stands in construction with *kakwēcimēw*; for more details see 2.3.

(*c*) Another aspect of the same phenomenon involves a set of transitive animate (TA) verb forms where an animate third person is the goal of an inanimate actor which is otherwise unspecific (5.83). Another set (5.61 ff.) also has an animate third person as goal and, in reference, has an obviative actor; in meaning and morphology, the actor is not specified. Thus, unless the situation is clarified by the context, a form like T60p11 *ē-pīkiskwātikot* may be interpreted as either 'it (0 or 0p) speaks to him (3)' or 'he (3′) speaks to him (3),' and this would be one meeting point of two seemingly disjunct categories.

In fact, the situation just described may give rise to striking ambiguities. Thus, not only individual verbal forms or nominal-pronominal phrases but entire clauses may be truly ambiguous with respect to the categories under investigation, e.g.,

T103p8 . . .	*nanātohk*	*ōhi*
	various	this(0p/3′)

kīkwāsa	*ōhi*	*ē-wiyēsimikot.*
something(0p/3′)		trick(TA (0p/3′)-3)

'all these various little things used to trick him.'

[15] The usual term for such a phenomenon, *syncretism*, is avoided because of its directional implication (of a merger of previously separate categories).

[16] Ojibwa shows the same identity in pronouns which greatly differ from each other in phonemic shape; see Bloomfield, 1958: p. 43.

[17] The situation is somewhat reminiscent of the Indoeuropean case where in many languages the same endings occur in feminine singular and in neuter plural nouns, e.g. Latin *via* 'street': *iuga* 'yokes'; Sanskrit *sēnā* 'army': *yugā* 'yokes.' In some languages, moreover, neuter plural nouns take a singular verb form, e.g. Greek πάντα ῥεῖ 'all things change.'

This state of affairs is taken as evidence for an earlier category of individual vs. collective, with the original collective giving rise to both the feminine singular and the neuter plural. *Cf.* Schmidt, 1889; Meillet, 1937: pp. 291–292; and Lehmann, 1958; on the semantic aspects of this case see Kuryłowicz, 1964, especially pp. 205–206.

The Cree data do not suffice to attempt a similar historical account (in spite of the stimulating suggestions of Warren Cowgill and Francis Pardo), and any directional interpretations (split, merger, category re-alignment) have to be postponed.

[18] For the choice of verb type *cf.* 2.33.

2.1. PERSON

Distinctions of person are found in the actor and, within the transitive animate (TA) paradigm, also in the goal of verbs. They further appear in the possession paradigm of nouns and in the personal pronoun paradigm. The third-person morphemes are also involved in the inanimate intransitive (II) paradigm of verbs as well as in the number-obviation paradigm of nouns and of some pronouns.

Because of its close parallelism to the person categories proper, the indefinite possessor form of dependent nouns is also included here (2.12). The indefinite actor of verbs, on the other hand, is more properly the subject of section 2.5; it shows no prefix.

2.11. Personal Prefixes ki-, ni-, o-

The personal prefixes *ki-*, *ni-*, and *o-*~Ø mark the basic person categories in the possessive paradigm of nouns and in the independent order of verbs. *ki-* marks the second person, or addressee; *ni-* marks the first person, or speaker; and *o-*~Ø marks the person which includes neither speaker nor addressee, namely the third. Of the third-person alternants, *o-* appears in the possessive inflection of nouns, in the personal-pronoun set, and in the independent h- and ht-preterit of verbs; elsewhere the third-person prefix is zero. The combination of these prefixes with stems beginning in a vowel is described in appendix A: 6.

ni-, *ki-*, and *o-*~Ø constitute a position class of morphemes which are mutually exclusive; they are not specific as to actor or goal. Thus, in the transitive animate (TA) verb paradigm, a choice has to be made which person is to be expressed, and the members of this position class can consequently be viewed as an ordered set: *ki-* takes precedence over *ni-* and *o-*~Ø, and *ni-* in turn over *o-*~Ø. That is, whenever a form involves a second person, whether as actor or goal, the prefix is *ki-*; etc.

The ordering of the set of personal prefixes reflects a fundamental order principle of Cree: among the person categories, *second* precedes *first* which in turn precedes *third*. This ordering principle is also manifest in the fixed order of affixes in both noun and verb inflection. Non-third markers always precede third-person markers, and among non-third markers, second-person markers precede first-person markers.[19]

2.12. Personal Prefix mi-

Another prefix of the same position occurs with dependent noun stems only: *mi-* indicates a general possessor. The traditional term "indefinite possessor" will be used for the sake of convenience, even though generality seems to be a much more important characteristic of this form's meaning than indefiniteness; *cf.* also 4.422. *mi-* is used when there is no cross-reference or when it is irrelevant. Thus, consider

T 10p128 *ēkwa* *wiya* *ōma*
and (emphatic) this

micihciy *ē-pē-otinahk* . . .
hand(0) take(TI 3/0)

'and then this hand took it . . .';

when the narrator is asked whose hand it was that reached in through the window, the explanation is,

T 10p129 *tēpiyāhk* *awiyak* *ocihciy*
just somebody(3) his(3) hand(0)

'just somebody's hand.'

awiyak 'somebody' is indefinite but specific (and is therefore cross-referenced by the third-person prefix *o-* of *ocihciy*) whereas the prefix *mi-* indicates generality.

Further examples:

T 34p7 *mistikwāna* *kā-wāpahtamān* . . .
head(0p) see(TI 1)

'heads I saw . . .'

T 53p15 *ēkoni* *miyawa* *ē-nahastācik.*
this(0p) body(0p) bury(AI 3p)

'These bodies they buried.'

The most extensive series of textual examples is found in the sacred story of the rolling head (*cihcipistikwān--ātayōhkēwin*); two children are being pursued by their mother's severed head. The text is currently available in three versions: Bloomfield, 1930: text 1; Bloomfield, 1934: text 43; and T104 of 1968. *mistikwān* 'a head' and *ostikwān* 'his/her head' occur side by side in these texts, e.g.,

S 9–34 . . . *ōma* *mistikwān* *kā-tihtipipayiyik*,
this head(0) roll(II 0′)

okāwīwāwa *ostikwāniyiw.*
their mother(3′) her(3′) head(0)

'that rolling head, their mother's head';

for further examples see also 2.31.

The *o-* form most characteristically occurs as the base of further derivatives, e.g., *otēhimin* 'strawberry,' *otēhipak* 'cabbage,' etc.; *cf.* *nitē* /nitēh/ 'my heart.'

mi- seems to be used primarily with reference to a human possessor while *o-* typically occurs in nouns denoting animal parts, as in slaughtering. However, these are only tendencies rather than discrete distri-

[19] While it might be tempting to speculate about the sociocultural implications of this ordering principle (*cf.* Geary, 1943: p. 150), some writers (especially R. A. Logan) have made it the basis of utterly fantastic claims about Cree personality structure.

butions, and counter-examples are readily found:

T 60p14 . . . *ē-manipitahk* *ēyak* *ōma*
pull(TI 3) same(0) this(0)

o̲sit. *wiy* *ēkosi* *k-ētwēyān,* *wiy*
leg(0) (emphatic) thus say(AI 1)

ē-yāhkipitahk, *moy,* *nayēstaw* *mi̲sita* *ayisk.*
pull out(TI 3) no only leg(0′) because

'... he pulled loose this leg (a duck's leg roasting in the ashes). Just as I said, he pulled it out easily, no! for they were only legs!'

A dependent stem denoting a body part may even be doubly inflected for possession; on the basis of *ostikwān* 'his head' (stem *-stikwān-*, prefix *o-*), a rare and interesting form shows double possession: S150–20 *nōstikwānim* 'my head' (said of a severed head which is used as lodge-emblem). While the evidence is as yet inconclusive, this phenomenon might be interpreted as showing the derivational character of possession; see also 3.21.

2.13. Personal Suffixes

The personal suffixes combine with the personal prefixes to mark the plural persons in the possession paradigm of nouns and in the non-third plural persons of the verbal independent order.

The following prefix-suffix combinations are common to all nouns and verbs (3.22, 5.45):

1p /ni- -enān/
21 /ki- -enaw/
2p /ki- -ewāw/

The 3p possessor form of nouns also shows the suffix /ewāw/; *cf.* 3.22.[20]

/ki- -enaw/ signals a plurality of referents which includes both speaker and addressee. This category has customarily been considered a first person plural inclusive category, and such a view agrees with the usual English translation of this category by 'we.' [21]

The distribution of the prefixes, however, which follows from the order principle of 2.11, would lead one to regard this form as basically a second person.

Thus, the contrast of inclusive versus exclusive would be operative in the second person plural rather than in the first. Comparative evidence seems to support this view; for in most of the Algonquian languages[22] one of the suffixes (/enān/ or /enaw/) has been generalized, so that the distinction of the forms rests entirely in the prefix. While this state of affairs is of some theoretical interest, the choice of interpretation is of relatively small consequence to the description of Cree. We use the symbol "21" rather than "12" to indicate this category; but the really important fact is its status as distinct from the two simple plural categories.

2.14. Combinations of Person Categories

All person categories and their symbols are given in table 1 of 2.01. They fall into two sets, namely the third person, and the non-third persons.[23] This is evident not only from the semantic combinations already discussed but even more clearly from the morphological and semantic structure of the various verbal paradigms.

All non-third persons may act on, or be acted upon by, the third person; this fact is indicated in figures 1 and 2 of section 2.01. Action between first person and second person categories is also viewed as involving the dimension of direction (*cf.* 2.5).

Simple reflexives are formed derivationally, e.g., *niwāpamison* 'I see myself' (primary stem *wāpam-*, derivational suffix *-iso-*; *cf.* 6.438). No forms appear to exist for the complex reflexivization which involves the 21 category acting on, or being acted upon by, the other non-third categories.

2.2. OBVIATION

Within the third-person categories of either gender there are contrasts of OBVIATION. While the obviative forms of Algonquian have occasionally been regarded as fourth (and even fifth) persons, the Cree evidence (2.23) indicates three basic persons; the obviation dimension functions within, rather than on a par with, the third-person category.

Contrasts of obviation are found in the inflection of verbs, in the possession paradigm of nouns, and in the number-obviation paradigms of animate nouns and pronouns.

But even where the dimension of obviation is covert,[24] as in inanimate nouns, it is nevertheless present. This is easily seen when the noun stands in construction with a principal clause, e.g.,

S 58–1 . . ., *kītahtawē* *kā-miskahk*
soon find(TI 3)

maskisinah. *otinam,* *ē-wā-wāpahtahk;*
moccasin(0p) take(TI 3) examine(TI 3)

ēh-miywāsiniyikih.
be pretty(II 0′p)

[20] Note that the form /ewāw/ rather than /wāw/ (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 96) is due to paradigmatic leveling in Cree; *cf.* also 5.451 and 5.48.

[21] But note that Bloomfield, whose translations are clearly informant-inspired, translates two consecutive occurrences of 21 verb forms with 'you': S76-5.

[22] *Cf.* Goddard, 1967: p. 68.

[23] For the non-third persons, Hockett (1966) uses the term 'local.'

[24] In James Bay Cree and in the Mistassini dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi, inanimate nouns have developed the contrast of proximate and obviative, using the thematic marker /eyi/; *cf.* Ellis, 1962: p. 3–20 and Rogers, 1960: p. 110.

'. . ., soon he found some moccasins. He picked them up and examined them; they were very pretty.'

The verb *ēh-miywāsiniyikih* expresses the obviative status of its "actor," *maskisinạh*.

2.21. Focus and Spans

Within each CONTEXTUAL SPAN only one third person is proximate; all others are obviative. Thus, in

niwāpamāw atim.
see (TA 1-3) dog(3)

'I see the dog.'

or in

pimohtēw nāpēw.
walk(AI 3) man(3)

'The man is walking along.'

the third persons are identified as proximate in the verbs as well as in the nouns. In

pakamahwēw nāpēw atimwa.
hit(TA 3-(3′)) man(3) dog(3′)

'The man hits the dog.'

on the other hand, or in

niwāpamāw nāpēw ē-pakamahwāt
see(TA 1-3) man(3) hit(TA 3-(3′))
atimwa.
dog(3′)

'I see the man hit the dog.'

nāpēw is proximate and *atimwa* obviative, and the verb form indicates the same relation.

A basic exception to the above statement occurs when two nouns are in close parataxis; then both may be proximate:

T 49–9 *ē-kī-nōtinitocik, ayahciyiniwak*
fight each other(3p) Blackfoot(3p)
ēkwa nēhiyawak . . .
and Cree(3p)

'they used to fight each other, the Blackfoot and the Cree, . . .'

S264–33 *mistahi kitimākisiwak*
very be pitiable(AI 3p)
kōhtāwiy kikāwiy
your father(3) your mother(3)
kistēs.
your older brother(3)

'Very pitiable are your father, your mother, your older brother.'

The dimension of obviation thus marks a semantic system of FOCUS (as well as the syntactic linkage of cross-reference). We shall say that the proximate person, in any context, is in focus and the obviative person or persons are not. The correlates of focus in terms of discourse analysis are not fully known, and Bloomfield's statement (1962: p. 38) is only an approximation: "The proximate third person represents the topic of discourse, the person nearest the speaker's point of view, or the person earlier spoken of and already known." [25]

There are only few environments where focus assignment is predictable a priori. When a noun is inflected for possession, the possessor is nearer than who or what is possessed; the latter is necessarily obviative.

Focus assignment is largely expectable, but not in a technical sense predictable, in another type of context. When a main clause involving a third person is modified by an inanimate clause indicating a state of the physical environment (climate, time of day, season, etc.), the latter is usually obviative:

S 53–31 *ēkwah ēh-tipiskāyik,*
then be night(II 0′)
ācimostawēw, . . .
tell(TA 3-(3′))

'Then, when night came, he told him tales . . .'

S243–24 *ēh-otākosiniyik iyikohk,*
be evening(II 0′) at that time
kīwēw.
go home(AI3)

'When it was evening, she went home.'

S254–2 *kītahtawē pēponiyikih māna*
then be winter(II 0′) always
kanawēyimik . . .
take care(TA (3′)-3)

'Then in winter-time he would take care of him . . .'

2.22. Inflectional Limitations and Change of Focus

The inflectional machinery may not always be sufficient to accommodate all the referents to be discussed.[26] When such a situation arises, two possibilities exist: either there are several obviative referents which are kept apart by non-inflectional means such as the context; or the span is ended and a new span, with new focus assignment, is begun. This

[25] For further examples and discussions of the semantic function of focus see Hockett, 1966; Frantz, 1966, and the literature referred to in the latter. Other systems of referent-indexing are described by Jacobsen, 1967, who seeks to establish a typology of such systems.

[26] Such a situation is more frequent in Cree than in those Algonquian languages, as for instance Potawatomi or Blackfoot, which show yet another opposition whithin the dimension of obviation; *cf.* 2.24.

second possibility seems to be preferred in conversational style, but there is a great deal of variation in this matter and the details of stylistic variation are yet to be explored.

It may safely be said, however, that focus changes are frequent, i.e. that spans are relatively brief. This is not true, however, in at least one text (Bloomfield, 1930: text 10) which in its entirety constitutes only one span; i.e., it has constant focus assignment throughout.

2.221. The machinery of obviation combined with that of the possession paradigm of nouns may provide full cross-reference. Examples:

P 98–38 *ōhi* *nāpēwah* *kā-nipahāyit*
that man(3′) kill(TA 3′-(3′))

owīkimākaniyiwah *itohtahēw.*
his(3′) wife(3′) take there(TA 3-(3′))

'He took to that place that man who had slain his (own) wife';

the crucial cross-reference is that of the possessor of *owīkimākaniyiwah* 'his own wife' which is marked as 3′ by the prefix-suffix combination *o- -iyi-*.

S 36–39 . . . *ēkwa* *ē-mīcisot,* *wīsahkēcāhkwa*
then eat(AI 3) Wisahkecahk(3′)

ē-kimotamawāt *onawacīwiniyiwa.*
rob(TA 3-(3′)) his(3′) roast(0p)

'. . . then he ate, robbing Wisahkecahk of his roasts';

i.e., Wisahkecahk's roasts: *o- -iyi-*. Contrast

S 37–1 *namoya* *kiskēyihtam* *āsay*
not know(TI 3) already

ēh-kitamwāyit *oniskima.*
eat up(TA 3′-(3′)) his(3) goose(3′)

'He did not know that the other had already eaten his geese.'

i.e., the geese belonging to the first-mentioned person, indexed by *o-* as proximate third, and not the eater (3′).

2.222. Change of focus (||) may be indicated, even within a sentence, simply by indexing different referents with the same obviation category, e.g.,

T 55p35 *ninayomāw* *ē-sākihak,*
carry(TA 1-3) love(TA 1-3)

nikāwiy *ē-māmitonēyimak*
my mother(3) think about(TA 1-3)

ē-wī-pētamawak.
want to bring it to him(TA 1-3)

'I carried it (*sc.* a kettle(3)) on my back, I prized it, || I thought of my mother and wanted to bring it to her.'

P 98–11 *piyisk* *kahkiyaw* *awiyak*
finally all someone(3p)

miywēyihtamwak; || *mīna* *ayahciyiniwah* *nisto*
be glad(TI 3p) also Blackfoot(3′) three

ēh-nipahāt, *awa* *nāpēsis,* ||
kill(TA 3-(3′)) this(3) boy(3)

miywēyihtamwak *ōk* *āyīsiyiniwak,* . . .
be glad(TI 3p) these(3p) people(3p)

'Finally everyone was glad; || also because this boy had slain three Blackfoot, || those people were glad, . . .'

2.223. Change of focus (||) may be indicated by the same referent being assigned to different obviation categories, e.g.,

T125–1 *ēkwa* *anihi* *ostēsa,* ||
and these(3′) his(3) brothers(3′)

ēkonik *ēsa* *kī-wīwiwak*;
these thus marry(AI 3p)

'And his brothers, || they had married';

T10p117 *ēkwa* *mīna* *māna* *anihi*
and this(3′)

k-ācimāt || *kayās* *kā-kī-kimotit*
tell about him(TA 3-(3′)) long ago steal(AI 3)

anihi *sōniyāwa.*
this(3′) money(3′)

'And then he told about this one || who long ago stole this money.'

T 58p19 *sāsay* *kā-kwāskwēwēpahomiht*
already knock up(TA indf-3′)

ōhi *ocēmisisa*; || *mitoni* *ispimihk*
this(3′) his(3) horse(3′) really in the air

kwāskwēwēpahok *awa* *misatim.*
knock up(TA (3′)-3) this(3) horse(3)

'Already his little horse had been knocked up into the air; || really high up he (buffalo) knocked this horse.'

T 58p9 *konta* *ē-pēhtākosit*; || *ōma*
just be heard(AI 3)

kā-pēhtākosiyit *ē-itāpit* . . .
be heard(AI 3′) look around(AI 3)

'he (buffalo) just made a big noise; || when he (buffalo) made a big noise, he (man) looked around . . .'

2.224. When several obviative referents are involved, word order may provide some clues; in the

main, however, the identification of referents then rests on meaning and context.

T124–4 *sakāpēkipahāyit* *okosisa*
lead(TA 3′-(3′)) his(3) son(3′)

otēma, *otēhtapiwina.*
his(3) horse(3′) his(3) mount(3′)

'His son was leading his horse, his mount.'

P 98–27 . . . . *ōhi* *kā-miyosiyit*
this(3′) be beautiful(3′)

oskinīkiwah, ". . ." *ēh-itāt*
young man(3′) say to him(TA 3-(3′))

owīkimākana.
his(3) wife(3′)

'. . . . of that handsome youth, ". . ." he would say to his (own) wife.'

T103p5 *ēkota* *ēs* *ānima* *mahihkana*
there wolf(3′)

otihtinēyiwa *ōhi* *wītimwa*
grab(TA 3′-(3′)) this(3′) his(3) sister-in-law(3′)

ē-nānistipitamātoyit, *ē-mōwāyit.*
tear up jointly(AI 3′) eat him(TA 3′-(3′))

'There the wolves grabbed these sisters-in-law of his, tore them to pieces among themselves, and ate them.'

S 8–5 *pōti* *ēkwa* *kā-wāpamāt* *mistikwa*
and then see(TA 3-(3′)) tree(3′)

ē-pahpakamahwāyit, *ēkwa* *kā-pē-wayawīyit*
beat(TA 3′-(3′)) and come out(AI 3′)

kinēpikwa, *kā-wāpamāt* *owīkimākana*
snake(3′) see(TA 3-(3′)) his(3) wife(3′)

ē-owīcimosiyit.
have as lover(AI 3′)

'And then he saw her (his wife) beating a tree, and when a serpent came out, he saw his wife have it for a lover.'

2.23. *Marked Status of Obviative*

In the opposition of proximate and obviative, obviative is the marked member.

One reason for this assertion is purely morphological. In the present morphological analysis of Plains Cree, the obviative is always marked by a morpheme—/em/, /eyi/, or /h/—which is added to the non-obviative form. Much more important, of course, is that in contexts of neutralization we find the proximate category which is thus clearly characterized as unmarked. Examples in (*a*) through (*c*).

(*a*) One such context is in the personal pronouns where the third-person pronouns *wīya* and *wīsta* are used for both proximate and obviate referents. Similarly the personal prefixes also show no distinction in the third-person prefix.

(*b*) Close-knit nominal phrases where one noun shows possessive cross-reference with the other are often used with non-obviative verb forms even though they are inflectionally obviative:

S 75–8 *ēkwa* *awa* *nīkān* *pimotam*
then this(3) first shoot(TI 3)

macihkiwis *ohtāwiya.*
Silly-Fellow(3) his(3) father

'Then Silly-Fellow's father shot first.'
(*ohtāwiya:* morphologically 3′, syntactically 3)

T124–4 *kā-wāpamāyāhk* *otitwēstamākēw*
see(TA 1p-3) interpreter(3)

okosisa *ē-ati-pimipayit* *ēkotē*
his(3) son start riding(AI 3) there

ē-ispayit.
go there(AI 3)

'We saw the interpreter's son start riding to go there.'
(*okosisa:* morphologically 3′, syntactically 3 as goal of *kā-wāpamāyāhk* and actor of the remaining two verbs; *otitwēstamākēw:* morphologically 3, syntactically disregarded except as possessor of *okosisa.*)

T123–6 *ōta* *kā-pimipayit* *nanos*
there ride(AI 3) Nanos(3)

okosisa, *wāhyaw* *nakasiwēw.*
his(3) son far be ahead(AI 3)

'There Nanos's son was riding by, he was far ahead.'
(*okosisa:* morphologically 3′, syntactically 3)

T114p3 . . . *nimosōm* *awa*
my grandfather(3) this(3)

nipāpā *opāpāwa*
my father(3) his(3) father(3′)

nisipwēhtahikonān.
take him away(TA 3-1p)

'this my grandfather, my father's father, he took us away.'
(*opāpāwa:* morphologically 3′, syntactically 3)

(*c*) The most typical context of neutralization is provided when a verb has two adjuncts one of which is proximate, the other obviative; the verb is then inflected for a non-obviative plural referent, e.g.,

S 53–32 *ēh-kiskēyimāt*, *ēh-nōhtēhkwasiyit*,
know(TA 3-(3′)) be sleepy(AI 3′)

ēkwa kawisimōwak.
then go to bed(AI 3p)

'When he knew the other to be sleepy, then they went to bed.'

P 98–40 *wāpam* *ēsi-miyosicik*
see(TA 2-3p) be so beautiful(AI 3p)

nisīm *ōhi* *īskwēwaḥ.*
my brother(3) this(3′) woman(3′)

'Look how beautiful are my brother and this woman.'

T124–3 *nētē* *tahkohc-āyihk* *ē-otihtāt*
there at the top reach(TA 3-(3′))

kiyomānākosiwak;
be in full sight(AI 3p)

'when he reached them at the top there, they (including him) were in full sight.'

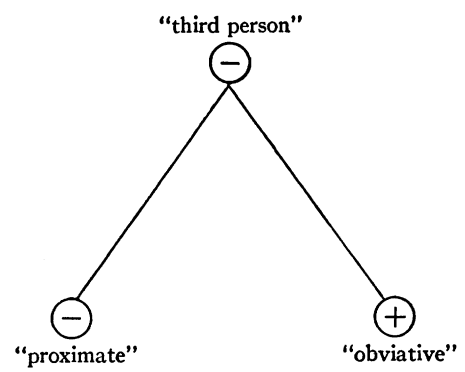
Another example involves a pronominal predication:

T 10p91 *tāniwā* *ētokwē*
where is she(3) I wonder

omāmāwāwa.
their(3p) mother(3′)

'Where is she, I wonder, their mother?'

Thus the non-obviative category, being unmarked, has a wide and a narrow function and meaning. We use the term "proximate" only of the narrow meaning, where it is opposed to "obviative." For the wide meaning, the term "third person" is obviously appropriate. These terminological conventions may be diagrammed as follows:



It is interesting that the present analysis in terms of marked and unmarked members of an opposition is in fact inherent in the system of abbreviations used by many Algonquianists. (In practice, the traditional definitions of the abbreviations differ; "3" is normally used only in its narrow meaning, 'proximate.')[27]

[27] The present analysis finds striking support in the Blackfoot situation where in addition to noun-forms marked for different obviation categories (symbolized as 3, 4, and 5) there is a non-indexed, i.e., general form as well. "This non-indexed form is not hypothetical but the 'name' of an item in a context where person indexing is not relevant, such as in response to the question, "What is the word for ____? . . ." (Frantz, 1966: p. 51). Thus, the non-indexed form for 'man' is *nina*, the proximate, *ninaoa*, and the first obviative, *ninai*.

2.24. "*Further Obviative*"

Most recent studies of Cree grammar assume a further binary opposition within the obviative category, resulting in a "nearer" and a "farther" (Bloomfield) or "further" (Hockett) obviative. Such a system may well be historically justified for Cree. Synchronically, however, there is strong evidence to suggest that this further distinction is spurious.

The only point in Cree grammar where such a further distinction would be expressed is in the third-person forms of the transitive animate (TA) paradigm. The reasons which presumably led to the received analysis are explored in 5.631. One of its more salient weaknesses is that it would skew the TA verb paradigm and require an inordinate amount of paradigmatic mergings.

In an argument (5.63) based on the overall structure of the TA verb paradigm and on the nature of the proximate-obviative opposition we attempt to show that the present interpretation more adequately portrays the facts of Cree.

Certainly no evidence for such a distinction is found in the inflection of nouns and pronouns.[28]

Thus, Hockett's description (1966) of the total system of person indexing in the central Algonquian languages is too wide for Cree. While it may well fit the referential system of Cree, it over-accounts for the morphological and significative patterns. Needless to say, of course, Hockett's system is easily adjusted to account for the Cree situation as viewed here.[29]

2.3. GENDER

There are two gender categories, animate and inanimate. The gender contrast is manifest throughout the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and verbs.

Although the evidence is inconclusive, the gender contrast is possibly neutralized in the identity of

[28] This is in striking contrast with the situation in Potawatomi, for example, where Hockett (1948: p. 72) describes the obviative marker/n/ as occurring twice in succession; e.g., *mt'uk* 'tree' (3), *mt'ukwen* 'tree(s)' (3′), and *mt'ukwenun* 'tree(s)' (3″). However, Hockett himself (1966: p. 64) calls the 3″ forms "extremely rare" and says they are "perhaps avoided as 'awkward.'" Rogers (1963: p. 103) reports the same situation in Northern Ojibwa, but without examples or further details. While Bloomfield (1946: p. 94) asserts the distinction with reference to Cree, no mention of it was found in his descriptions of Menomini, Fox, or Eastern Ojibwa.

[29] In terms of Hockett's diagram (fig. 1; 1966: p. 60), only the "further obviative" node needs to be deleted. If the line leading to it is left to peter out, pointing to no specific node, this might provide a graphic conceptualization of the open-endedness of the Cree situation.

animate obviative and inanimate plural endings which is discussed in 2.02. A typical example is found where a usually inanimate noun functions as the goal of a transitive animate (TA) verb of speaking (see 2.31 below for further details and examples of disambiguation), e.g.,

S 8–43 *sōskwāc* *kahkiyaw* *kakwēcimēw*
right away all ask(TA 3-(3′))

otāpacihcikanah.
her(3) utensils (0p/3′)

'Without delay she asked all her utensils.'

In this sentence, only the verb stem clearly indicates the gender of the goal since the ending of *otāpacihcikana(h)* is ambiguous as to animate obviative or inanimate plural; *cf.* section 2.02. However, when the direction of action is reversed even this indication of gender is removed because of the partial homonymy (2.02) of the transitive animate inverse set with the inanimate actor set of the same paradigm. Thus, a sentence like the following becomes completely ambiguous:

T100p4 "*ēha,*" *k-ētikot* *ēs* *ōhi*
yes tell(TA (3′/0p)-3) these

osita.
his(3) feet(0p/3′)

' "Yes," he was told by his feet.'

2.31. Shift of Gender

Generally, all reference to speaker or addressee is animate; witness the lack of first and second-person forms in the inanimate intransitive (II) paradigm. However, that this is not a hard and fast rule but a tendency which involves competing pattern pressures, is clear from the great deal of variation that is encountered, e.g.,[30]

T 87–1 *kahkiyaw* *kīkway* *pīkiskwātam.*
everything(0) speak to it(TI 3)

'to everything he spoke.'

Even the same narrator may use either gender in essentially the same context; contrast

T131–4 *wiya* *kahkiyaw kīkway*
for everything(0)

ē-kī-wayēsihtahk *awa* *wīsahkēcāhk.*
trick it by speech(TI 3) this(3) Wisahkecahk(3)

'For everything he used to trick by speech, this Wisahkecahk.'

and

T125–8 . . ., *mīna* *kahkiyaw kīkway*
and everything(0)

ē-kī-wayēsimāt, . . .
trick him by speech(TA 3-(3′))

'and everything he used to trick by speech.'

In most cases, however, one gender or the other is obviously more appropriate, and so we find corrections, e.g.,

T 58–3 *ē-ayitāpit,* *sākāstēnohk isi*
look around(AI 3) in the east

ēyāpic *kā-wāpaht- - -,* *kā-wāpamāt*
further see(TI 3) see(TA 3-(3′))

kīkway;
something(0)

'As he looked around, in the east in due course he saw (*sc. kā-wāpahtahk*) - - - -, he saw something.'

The opposite situation occurs in

T103p11 *ē-mēkwā-pimohtēt,* . . ., *āsay mīna*
walk(AI 3) already again

kā-wāpamāt *ōhi,* *kā-wāpahtahk*
see(TA 3-(3′)) this(3′) see(TI 3)

mīkiwāhpis.
wigwam(0)

'As he walked along, . . ., again he saw this one, he saw the wigwam.'

An excellent example on a somewhat larger scale is found in the text of the rolling head, already referred to in 2.12. Consider the following consecutive pair of sentences:

S 8–40 . . ., *kītahtawē* *tōhkāpīmakan*
presently open eyes(AI inan(0))

ōmah *pisisik* *mistikwānis.* *ēkwah* *kītahtawē*
this(0) mere little head(0) then presently

kā-pīkiskwēt *om* *ōstikwān.*
speak(AI 3) this(0) her(3) head(0)

'Presently it opened its eyes, that mere head. Then presently that head spoke.'

However, even when speaking, the head may be inanimate:

S 9–4 . . . *wāpahtam* *ōma* *pisisik*
see(TI 3) this(0) mere

mistikwān *ēh-pīkiskwēmakaniyik,* . . .
head(0) speak(AI inan(0′))

'he saw this mere head which spoke'

[30] The situation of an otherwise inanimate referent speaking or being spoken to most typically occurs in sacred stories.

S 9–6 *ostikwān* *pikoh* *kā-pīkiskwēmakahk.*
head(0) only speak(AI inan(0))

'It is a head only which talks.'

When an otherwise inanimate noun becomes temporarily animate, the ambiguity under discussion may be removed entirely by the presence of modifiers; consider the demonstrative pronoun *awa* in

S 54–42 *nama* *ciy* *awa*
not (question) this(3)

kitastotin *ēwako,* *"nik-āyāwik!"*
your headgear(0/3) this(0/3) possess(TA 3-1)

ēh-itēyimit *kitastotin?*
think of him(TA 3-1) your headgear(0/3)

'Is not this headgear of yours thinking this of me, "Let him possess me!" '

The gender transfer discussed so far has a statable and largely predictable function. Furthermore, it is a one-way transfer, from inanimate to animate. It is thus quite distinct from the lack of gender concord that is occasionally encountered in the texts, e.g.,

T 87–6 *ē-nitonikēt* *ōma* *sihta*
grope(AI 3) this(0) spruce(3)

'he groped for that spruce'

It may be relevant that such discrepancies seem to be particularly frequent with noun stems showing class-cleavage, e.g., *mistikw-* animate 'tree,' inanimate 'stick'; note also the homonymy of 3′ and 0p discussed in 2.02.

S 48–10 *osām* *miywāsin* *awa*
indeed be good(II 0) this(3)

mistik . . . .
stick(0)

'indeed it is good, this piece of wood'

T 76p7 *kā-pasastēhahk* *mistikwa* *ōhi*
whip(TI 3) tree(3′) this(3′/0p)

'he whipped these trees'

It remains to be seen whether such instances are really accidental slips of the tongue (or lapses of the record) or whether they perhaps point to features of the gender dimension which are not understood.

2.32. Gender Classes of Nouns

Gender is one of the basic criteria for the inflectional and derivational classification of verbs. Transitive animate and transitive inanimate stems largely come in pairs, differing as to the gender of the goal, e.g., *otinēw* 'he takes him,' *otinam* 'he takes it'; animate intransitive and inanimate intransitive stems similarly differ by the gender of the actor, e.g. *ohpikiw* 'he grows up,' *ohpikin* 'it grows up'; *cf.* also 5.1.

In most instances, then, there is a choice, as to gender, among verb stems. Nouns are sharply different since most of them belong to only one gender (but see 2.323 below). Even when they are temporarily animate, showing agreement with animate verbs, their inflectional endings (as far as they are unambiguous) remain inanimate.

2.321. Nouns which denote humans, animals, spirits, or trees are animate. E.g., *ayahciyiniw* 'enemy, especially Blackfoot,' *cīpay* 'dead person, corpse,' *tahkohci* 'On-Top' (personal name; there is also a particle *tahkohci*). *mistatim* 'horse,' *mostos* 'buffalo.' *ātayōhkan* (a certain kind of spirit), *kisē-manitōw* 'God.' *sihta* 'spruce,' *māyi-mētos* 'black popular,' *mistik* 'tree.'

Also animate are extensions of these, e.g., *ayīsi-yinīhkān* 'effigy, doll.'

2.322. Also animate is a variety of objects some of which constitute relatively well-defined semantic groupings. By and large, the gender assignment of nouns in Cree seems to correspond fairly closely to that of Menomini which Bloomfield has described in great detail (1962: pp. 28–36).

Some body-parts are animate: *nisakitikom* 'my braid,' *nitasiskitān* 'my calf of leg,' *nitihtikos* 'my kidney,' *nitīhiy* 'my shoulder-blade,' *niyihk* 'my gland,' etc.

Animal hides and garments made from them: *wāposwayān* 'rabbit skin,' *mostoswayān* 'buffalo-robe,' *maskwayān* 'bear skin,' etc.

Certain plants and their products: *mahtāmin* 'grain of maize, ear of maize'; *pahkwēsikan* 'bannock,' *pīswēhkasikan* '(leavened) bread'; *pikiw* 'gum, rosin'; *ayōskan* 'raspberry' (but not *otēhimin* 'strawberry'), *pitikomin* 'dried prune,' *pakān* 'nut'; etc.

Tobacco and other items from its sphere: *cistēmāw* 'tobacco,' *ospwākan* 'pipe,' *ahpihcis* 'tobacco-pouch.'

Some natural objects (perhaps in relation to their function as *ātayōhkan?;* see T104): *pīsim* 'sun, moon,' *pīsimohkān* 'clock, watch, "pseudo-sun," ' *acāhkos* 'star'; *asiniy* 'rock, stone' (*cf.* 2.323 below); *kōna* 'snow,' *maskwamiy* 'ice'; *sōniyāw* 'gold, money'; etc.

Some articles of personal or household use: *askihk* 'kettle,' *napwēnis* 'little frying pan' (loan from French *la poêle*), *kwāpahikan* 'ladle'; *asām* 'snowshoe,' *akwānān* 'shawl,' *nitās* 'my trousers' (but inanimate in the meaning 'my gaiter'); *akwask* 'knob-shaped arrow head,' *pahpahahkwān* 'shield,' etc.

Further and more specific groups may be set up, but their predictive value is obviously low. The above examples are given mainly to illustrate the wide range of animate nouns. In short, only a list can account for the gender of Cree nouns.

2.323. Some noun stems are subject to class-cleavage, taking both animate and inanimate endings, e.g., *akohp* 'blanket,' *askīpwāw* 'wild potato,' etc. The animate and the inanimate stem often have

different meanings. Thus, for example, the animate stem *mistikw-* means 'tree,' the inanimate, 'stick.' Consider

S 8–8 *mistikwah* *ēh-pakamahwāyit*
tree(3′) hit(TA 3′-(3′))

wīwa, . . .
his(3) wife(3′)

'when his wife struck the tree, . . .'

S 48–5 *kītahtawē* *miskam* *mistik*, ...
presently find(TI 3) stick(0)

'presently he found a stick, . . .'

T102p4 *ēkwa* *mistikwa*, . . ., *kī-mihcēnwa*, . . .
and stick(0p) be many (II 0p)

'and pickets, . . ., they used to be plentiful, ...'

Another example of semantic differentiation is *cikahkwān* which means 'lance' when inanimate, and as animate noun denotes a certain gambling toy shaped like a knife-blade; *cf.* Bloomfield, 1930: p. 281. *asiniy*, finally, as animate noun means 'stone'; consider also *misasiniy* 'big stone.' The inanimate noun *asiniy* means 'bullet' and occurs in such combinations as *niskasiniya* 'bird-shot,' *mōswasiniy* 'bullet (for moose),' etc.

Of course, there may also be dialect differences in the gender assignment of nouns. Thus, one text from Fort Vermilion in Northern Alberta consistently shows *sōniyāw* 'gold, money' as inanimate, e.g.,

ē-nitawēyihtamān *ōma* *sōniyāw*
want(TI 1) this(0) money

'I want this money'

even though *sōniyāw* is usually animate.

2.324. It does not appear practical to look for semantic groupings among inanimate nouns.

One generalization, albeit a weak one, may be advanced on the basis of derivational and semantic criteria taken together. Abstract nouns derived from verbs with the suffix *-win* are inanimate; such nouns are freely formed and very frequent of occurrence; *cf.* 6.414. Examples: *nēhiyawēwin* 'Cree-ness, Cree speech' (*cf.* *nēhiyawē-* 'talk Cree'); *ācimōwin* 'story' (*cf.* *ācimo-* 'tell a story'); *mākwēyimōwin* 'scare' (*cf.* *mākwēyimo-* 'feel pressed upon'); etc.

2.33. Marked Status of Inanimate

In considering the gender categories of Cree we encounter the familiar contrast of grammatical and "natural" gender. Where gender largely corresponds to sex, as in Indoeuropean, there will be little argument over the discrepancy of gender and sex; e.g., German *das Weib* 'the woman.' In Cree, however, gender correlates with a feature of the natural environment whose internal categorization is less generally agreed upon. Thus, the skewed relationship of gender and physical properties provides a doubtful basis for investigating the relationship between the genders.[31]

Hockett very aptly characterizes the imbalance of the gender categories by terming the animate gender "absorptive" (1966: p. 62). The crucial feature, however, is not that it includes nouns whose denotata are lifeless from a Western point of view but that inanimate nouns may temporarily become animate in their syntactic behavior (*cf.* 2.31) whereas animate nouns do not, in a similar way, become inanimate. "Thus, there are routes for a shift of gender from inanimate to animate, but not the opposite" (1966: p. 62). It is this argument which would seem to indicate that the animate gender is more general than the inanimate.

However, the inanimate gender also occurs in contexts of neutralization. For example, transitive animate (TA) double-goal verbs (*cf.* 6.446) take a second goal of either gender, but the most characteristic type of these verbs, namely those in /am-aw/ (*cf.* 5.814), are derived from transitive inanimate stems. Consider *ātotamawēw* 'he tells (of him/it) for him' which is derived from the TI stem *ātotam* 'he tells about it'. Further investigation may well show that inanimate second goals are more typical, or perhaps historically prevalent, in this environment; but synchronically, this is a context of neutralization which shows the inanimate member of the opposition to occur.

2.4. NUMBER

Number is singular and plural. In general, contrasts of number are found throughout the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and verbs. In 2.41 we describe the limited contexts where the number contrast is lacking.

2.41. Absence of Contrast

In the you-and-me set of the transitive animate paradigm (5.64), the second person is number-indifferent in the environment of the first person plural (1p). Thus, *māmitonēyiminān* 'think of us!' may be addressed to one or several people; similarly, *ē-kī-papāmi-nitonātāhk* 'we were looking around for you' is indeterminate as regards the number of the goal.

The number distinction is lacking in the indefinite possessor of nouns (2.12) and the indefinite actor

[31] For this reason, Goddard's assertion that "the class of animate nouns includes a good number that refer to non-animate things" (by whose criterion?) and his inference that "the animate gender is the more neutral of the two" (1967: fn. 74) are of doubtful validity.

forms of verbs (5.84, 5.85) as well as in the inanimate actor set of the transitive animate paradigm (5.83).

Since the goal of transitive inanimate verbs is not morphologically expressed (5.13), there is also no indication of number. Consider S48–5 *miskam mistik* 'he found (TI 3) a stick (0)' and S48–13 *ē-wāpahtahk onīmāskwākanah* 'he looked (TI 3) at his (3) weapons (0p).'

By far the most striking and pervasive instance of number-indifference, however, is that of the animate obviative forms. This number-indifference is due to the historical development of Proto Algonquian **l* and **h* both of which in this position correspond to Cree *h* (which in turn is non-distinctive in word-final position). Thus, while there are two obviative endings in Proto Algonquian, namely singular **-ali* and plural **-ahi*, Cree only has the one ending *-(w)a* (morphophonologically /(w)ah/) for both numbers.[32]

2.42. Marked Status of Plural

Singular is regarded as the unmarked member of the number opposition. This analysis is based not only on the morphological fact that a plural morpheme is added to singular forms. More important, a collective singular occurs in statements of general applications, e.g.,

. . .,	*ēkā*	*k-ātoskēt*	*nitōtēminān* . . . .
	not	work(AI 3)	our(1p) kinsman(3)

'our friends had no work . . .'

T 62p1	*ohtitaw*	*ta-pāhpit*	*ayīsiyiniw*, . . .
	always	laugh(AI 3)	man(3)

'people will always laugh, . . .'

T 72p22	*ēkwa*	*nanātohk*	*ē-pīhtokwēt*	*ōta*
	then	all kinds	enter(AI 3)	here

ōma	*tipahaskānihk*	*ayīsiyiniw.*
this(0)	reserve(loc)	man(3)

'Then all kinds of people, different nations entered this reserve.'

2.5. DIRECTION

Apart from the indefinite actor forms, the independent and conjunct orders of the transitive animate (TA) verb fall into two symmetrical sets distinguished by the category of DIRECTION. These sets are characterized by an opposition in the actor-goal relation; e.g.,

(1) *kiwāpamin* 'you see me';
(2) *kiwāpamitin* 'I see you.'

Within the category of direction, DIRECT is the unmarked member, and INVERSE the marked. This analysis is based on evidence from the morphology of the paradigms which fits in well with a much more general phenomenon observed in Cree. Among the morphological evidence, the highly productive theme sign /ekw/ (see 5.422 for further references) is the most obvious case.

The unmarked status of the *direct* member of the direct-inverse opposition finds strong support in the fundamental order principle which holds among the person categories of Cree (*cf.* 2.11) and in turn emphasizes the generality of that phenomenon. The relative position of the person markers within a two-referent verb form is fixed (*cf.* also 5.62). In the direct forms, the actual linear sequence (in time or "left-to-right") of the prefixes and suffixes corresponds exactly to the priority of second over first, and of second or first over third. In the inverse forms, the actual linear sequence remains unchanged but the reversal of the fundamental priority order is indicated by theme signs.

The *direct* set, then, consists of those forms whose action is

(*a*) from a second person onto a first person, e.g., *kitasamin* 'you feed me (2-1)';
(*b*) from a non-third person onto a third person, e.g., *nitasamāw* 'I feed him (1-3)';
(*c*) from a proximate third person onto an obviative third person, e.g., *asamēw* 'he feeds him (3-(3′))';
(*d*) from an obviative third person onto another,[33] e.g., *asamēyiwa* 'he feeds him (3′-(3′)).'

The forms of the imperative order are all direct, either with a second person acting on a first person, e.g. *pēhik* 'wait for me! (2p-1)'; or with a second person acting on a third person, e.g., *pēhihk* 'wait for him! (2p-3).'

The *inverse* set is exactly the opposite of the direct (with the exception of the imperative and the indefinite actor forms which are not symmetrical). The action is

(*a*) from a first person onto a second person, e.g., *kitasamitin* 'I feed you (1-2)';
(*b*) from a third onto a non-third person, e.g., *nitasamik* 'he feeds me (3-1)';
(*c*) from an obviative third person onto a proximate third person, e.g., *asamik* 'he feeds him ((3′)-3)';
(*d*) from another onto an obviative third person,[33] e.g., *asamikoyiwa* 'he feeds him ((3′)-3′).'

Direction is morphologically expressed by ***theme***

[32] Note that in inanimate intransitive (II) verbs the obviative is marked only by the suffix /eyi/; the *-wa* of that paradigm is the plural morpheme.

[33] For details on these two types see sections 5.61 to 5.63.

signs (5.42) which also indicate the agreement of the verb with its nominal complements.

2.51. Direction and Focus

Semantically, direction serves to specify actor and goal. In sentence (3), for instance, the direct theme sign /ā/ indicates the noun *atim* as goal, whereas the inverse theme sign /ekw/ in (4) marks the same noun as actor.

(3) *nisēkihānān atim.*
scare(1p-3) dog(3)
'We scare the dog.'

(4) *nisēkihikonān atim.*
scare(3-1p) dog(3)
'The dog scares us.'

Where both referents are third persons, the interplay of the categories of direction and focus (obviation) gives rise to a somewhat more complex situation:

(5) *sēkihēw nāpēw atimwa.*
scare(3-(3′)) man(3) dog(3′)
'The man scares the dog.'

(6) *sēkihik nāpēw atimwa.*
scare((3′)-3) man(3) dog(3′)
'The dog scares the man.'

(7) *sēkihēw nāpēwa atim.*
scare(3-(3′)) man(3′) dog(3)
'The dog scares the man.'

(8) *sēkihik nāpēwa atim.*
scare((3′)-3) man(3′) dog(3)
'The man scares the dog.'

If a pair of sentences shows the same choice in one of these categories, it necessarily differs in the other, and they describe the opposite event[34]. Sentences (5) and (6) are identical with respect to focus: *nāpēw* is proximate, *atimwa* obviative. However, the direction of the verb forms indicates a reversal of the actor-goal relationship: in (5) the proximate *nāpēw* is the actor, in (6) it is the obviative *atimwa*.

Sentences (5) and (7), on the other hand, are identical with respect to direction: both show a proximate actor, i.e., the verb forms are direct. The reversal of the actor-goal relationship is indicated by the difference in focus assignment: *nāpēw* is proximate in (5), *atim* is proximate in (7).

Sentences (5) and (8), finally, are paraphrases of one another. They describe the same "actual" event but differ both in focus assignment and in direction; the same relation holds between sentences (7) and (6). In any such pair the direct sentence, e.g., (5), is the more neutral, and the other would not occur without appropriate textual environment.

The extreme case of direction being completely determined by focus is rare; an example occurs when a possessed noun acts on its possessor:

cān otēma kī-mākwamik.
John(3) his(3)dog(3′) bite(TA(3′)-3)
'John's dog bit him (*sc.* John).'

Where the choice of direction is not pre-determined, as it is in the above case, the difference between direct and inverse sentences which are paraphrases of one another is clearly a matter of focus and the attending semantic-syntactic emphasis.

Direction is a completely independent category only if we exclude those forms which involve two third person referents. In the latter forms, direction is subordinate to focus.

2.511. The extensive symmetry of the transitive animate (TA) paradigm and the reversibility of direction in many forms are highly reminiscent of voice in the Indoeuropean languages. However, the tempting similarity of the verbal forms must not be allowed to obscure the very fundamental differences.[35]

Direction reflects the actor-goal relationship and the "actual" (or "logical") relationship of the referents.

Voice in the Indoeuropean languages, by contrast, is primarily a matter of emphasis and stylistics.[36] There are, of course, pairs of individual verb forms which appear to reflect opposite actor-goal relationships, e.g., Latin *amat* 'he loves' vs. *amātur* 'he is loved'; but as soon as nominal complements are added, the misleading nature of this example becomes obvious:

puer canem terret.
'The boy scares the dog.'

canis terrētur ā puerō.
'The dog is scared by the boy.'

Whatever the differences in emphasis, etc., may be, the direction of the action is not affected by the change of voice.

In fact, if we want to indulge in cross-language comparison, the Indoeuropean voice category functions in a manner similar to Cree focus (obviation) by providing emphasis, stylistic continuity, etc.

Since glosses can acquire great importance in linguistics, a practical matter deserves to be empha-

[34] Word order is irrelevant to the present discussion.

[35] Further implications of this problem are discussed in 5.664.

[36] The fact that certain English verb phrases seem to be reversible is merely a red herring:
(*a*) *I saw John.* (*b*) *I was seen by John.*
For if we consider (*b*) more closely, it is not the passive of (*a*) but of another sentence, (*c*):
(*c*) *John saw me.*
The passive of (*a*), then, is *not* (*b*) but a fourth sentence, (*d*):
(*d*) *John was seen by me.*

sized here: from a Cree point of view the voice of English glosses is absolutely irrelevant. Whether sentence (4) is glossed 'The dog scares us' or 'We are scared by the dog' has no bearing on the meaning of the Cree sentence.[37]

2.512. The use of "actor" and "goal" rather than "subject" and "object" is an extension of Bloomfield's usage which has become relatively standard for Algonquian linguistics.[38]

The traditional use of the terms "subject" and "object" is based on Indoeuropean languages where the subject does not necessarily coincide with the actor; for example, in the Latin sentence,

canis terrētur ā puerō.
'The dog is scared by the boy.'

the goal *canis* is regarded as the subject by virtue of its case, agreement with the verb, etc. If "subject" and "object" were to be used in Algonquian, their general function would correlate much more closely with focus than with direction. In sentence (6), above, for example, while *nāpēw* is the goal, it is proximate and therefore in focus and might well be labeled the "subject."

Like many similar issues, however, this use of "subject" and "object" is held in abeyance until further semantic and syntactic studies indicate a clear need for these terms.

2.52. Further Implications

Among the implications of the direction contrast which remain to be explored more fully, indefinite actor forms constitute the most obvious problem.

Morphologically, the indefinite actor forms of the transitive animate (TA) paradigm cannot be grouped with either the direct or the inverse set. The indf-3 form of the independent order, e.g., *wāpamāw* 'he is seen,' shows the same morphological structure as the direct forms, notably the direction marker /ā/. But all forms whose goal is a non-third person follow a different pattern (5.84). They are based on a suffix /ekawi/ whose connection with the inverse marker /ekw/ (*cf.* 5.422) remains to be clarified; e.g., *ē-wāpamikawiyān* 'I am seen.'

The inanimate actor set of the transitive animate (TA) paradigm (*cf.* 5.83) are based on the suffix /ekw/ and its extended form /eko/ and clearly belong to the inverse set, e.g., *nipīkiskwātikon* 'it talks to me.'

The semantic status of the indefinite actor forms is difficult to define in terms of the direction category. The examples given above can be described as actorless verbs which only have a goal; in this they are somewhat similar to the agent-less passive of the Indoeuropean languages, e.g., Latin *canis vidētur* 'the dog is seen.' But this interpretation is hardly appropriate for the transitive inanimate (TI) and animate intransitive (AI) forms, neither of which shows a goal:

T73p18 *k-ētamihk* TI
'thus one calls it, thus it is called'

T121–2 *kīwāniwiw* AI
'there was going home, one went home.'

Finally, there are a number of derivational types, many of them involving an /ek/-based suffix, whose meanings have been variously described as "middle" or "passive"; *cf.* 6.439 and the example quoted from Bloomfield in 2.53, below. The analysis of such formations would go far beyond the scope of the present discussion; for a detailed treatment in Menomini see Bloomfield 1962: pp. 280–298. A few examples from Cree follow: *kīsisōw* 'he is cooked to completion,' *cf. kīsiswēw* 'he cooks him to completion'; *kitimākēyimōw* 'he feels pitiable,' *cf. kitimākēyimēw* 'he takes pity on him'; *kipahikāsōw* 'he is obstructed,' *cf. kipaham* 'he closes, obstructs it'; T102p6 . . . *miywēyihtamwak, miywēyihcikātēw* . . . 'they are glad, it feels good . . .'; etc.

2.53. Historical Survey

In view of the remarkable confusion which has come to surround the term "passive" in Algonquian linguistics, it may be of interest to briefly review some of the uses to which it has been put. In so doing, we will also sketch the history of the voice interpretation of the direction category.

Howse uses the term "passive" (1) of the various derivational patterns which were hinted at above; (2) of the indefinite actor forms which he also calls "indeterminate subjective" (1844: p. 107); and (3) of some manifestations of the direct-inverse contrast.

In one context (1844: p. 57) he uses "active-passive" as synonymous with "direct-inverse"; but elsewhere (1844: p. 255) he greatly emphasizes that the active-passive distinction applies to the "double third persons" only: "These in their direct and inverse significations are active and passive, . . ., the other combinations of the pronoun being all expressed actively."

It is noteworthy that Howse also sees the direction contrast in the you-and-me forms (1844: pp. 219, 220).

Lacombe (1874*b*) uses "passif" of the mixed forms, i.e., those involving both a third and a non-third person referent. The indefinite actor forms he calls

[37] Whatever stylistic carry-over might be found in translation would have to be restricted to third-person forms: if it were found that Cree speakers consistently prefer the English passive in translating sentences like (6), this would lend added weight to the hypothesized similarity in function of English voice and Cree focus.

[38] Of course, the choice of terms is primarily a matter of convention and Bloomfield indicates as much when he says: "We prefer 'actor' to the term 'subject' which might be misleading . . ." (1962: p. 45).

"passif indéfini." Lacombe does not seem to recognize the direction contrast among the you-and-me forms.

Hunter uses the terms "direct" and "inverse" (1875: p. 16 *et passim);* some 250 pages of largely unglossed paradigms are yet to be fully evaluated.

In his sketch of Fox, William Jones develops essentially the same view as that indicated for Lacombe. "The use of the passive voice proper is confined to an agent in the third person" (1911: p. 846). Lacombe's "passif indéfini" recurs as the "indefinite passive" (1911: p. 847).

Jones also recognizes a middle voice (corresponding to the derivational patterns mentioned in 2.52):

> The middle voice represents the subject in close relation with the action of the verb. It is a form of construction of which the dialect is especially fond. The form of the verb is active, and mainly of a predicative intransitive character; but the meaning is passive (1911: p. 845).

For Algonquian in general, Michelson listed no fewer than five voices: active, middle, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal (1926: p. 370). These "voices" seem to include both inflectional and derivational patterns; thus, "the last two are formed by special suffixes" and the middle voice apparently is also considered derivational since it is formed with the "instrumental particles." Both types then show the usual endings of intransitive verbs.

On the other hand,

> at least two passives are common, one [1] where the agent is either expressed or understood, the other [2] where the agent is not expressed and is indefinite. The pronominal elements of the last, in the case of the independent mode, are allied partially to the ordinary intransitive verbal pronouns. Other passives [3] apparently exist, but their exact function is not accurately known. One appears to be very indefinite and to occur only with an indefinite subject.

Leaving aside this last, "very indefinite" passive, we can clearly identify [2] with our indefinite actor forms. [1] apparently refers to the inverse forms, at least those involving both third and non-third referents. In fact, Michelson seems to be somewhat hesitant when he says: "The forms of the independent mood with the third person animate . . . as subjects and the first and second person . . . as objects are *really passives in construction*" (emphasis supplied).

In describing the inflectional morphology of Fox, Eastern Ojibwa, Menomini, and of Proto Algonquian as well, Bloomfield strenuously avoided any reference to a voice contrast in the transitive animate paradigm. Instead, he used the terms "direct" and "inverse" which he defines as follows (1962: p. 141):

> *Direct forms.* The first or second person acts upon a third person, or a proximate third person acts upon an obviative. If there is a prefix, accordingly, it agrees with the actor: . . . *Inverse forms.* The third person acts upon the first or second person, or an obviative third person acts upon a proximate third person. If there is a prefix, accordingly, it agrees with the object: . . .

In the you-and-me set, even though the different agreement of the prefix with actor or goal is made explicit, the parallelism with the direct-inverse contrast is not commented upon.

Bloomfield uses the term "passive" to refer to the indefinite actor forms; for these and for the inanimate actor forms, the agreement of the prefix, if any, with the object is also specified. But there is no explicit mention whatsoever of an "active" to which the "passive" would be opposed.

It is interesting that in treating derivation Bloomfield is very explicit about the meaning of passive reflexives and carefully distinguishes them from the middle reflexives which show considerably more variety. In Menomini,

> passive reflexives are freely formed . . .; they are extremely common. In meaning, they border upon passive inflectional forms and upon middle reflexive derivatives. Thus from *we·hnɛw* 'he names him,' the inflectional passive *we·hnaw* means 'his name is spoken; he is mentioned by name; he (say, a newborn child) is given a name,' upon one or several occasions, by some actor or actors not specified in the immediate context; the middle reflexive *we·hsow* means 'he bears (such-and-such) a name; he gives himself such-and-such a name,' with no other person involved; the passive reflexives *we·hcekasow* and *we·hcekatɛ·w* mean 'he, it is named or called so' by people in general (Bloomfield 1962: p. 282).

Hockett's description of Potawatomi in the matter of direction explicitly (1948: p. 141 fn.) follows Bloomfield's treatment of Fox. Since Potawatomi has no indefinite actor form of verbs (nor an indefinite possessor prefix in nouns; see Hockett, 1966: pp. 63, 64), the term "passive" occurs only in the context of derivation (1948: p. 67). In prefacing Bloomfield's posthumous grammars, Hockett argues against the term even in its limited application to the indefinite actor forms: "Algonquian 'passives' are not like those of Latin or Greek; rather, they are special inflected forms for *indefinite actor*, showing the same inflectional indication of object shown by other inflected forms of the same kind of verb" (*in* Bloomfield, 1958: p. vi). Hockett also gives much weight to the syntactic parallelism of the indefinite actor forms and the indefinite possessor form of nouns (1966: p. 64; *in* Bloomfield, 1962: p. ix).

It might finally be noted that Voegelin in his brief sketch of Delaware apparently regards the "direct-inverse" pair as synonymous with "active" and "passive" (1946: p. 145).

3. NOUN INFLECTION

Nouns are inflected in two separate paradigms which are realized in different layers of affixation. The affixes of the POSSESSION paradigm (3.2) which with nouns is optional, constitute an inner layer of affixation. The NUMBER-OBVIATION paradigm (3.3) indicates the categories within which the noun itself functions in the system of anaphoric reference. The

number-obviation paradigm and a few other suffixes (3.6, 3.7) form an outer layer of affixation.

Nouns are of either gender, animate or inanimate.

Simple noun stems end in a non-syllabic or a cluster of non-syllabics, e.g. *maskisin-* 'shoe,' *ihkw-* 'louse.' The usual citation form of nouns is not the stem but the inflected form for proximate singular which is identical with the stem except where the latter is monosyllabic; see 3.31.

3.1. AFFIX POSITION CLASSES

The position classes of the nominal affixes correspond closely, as far as applicable, to those of the verbal affixes; *cf.* 5.4. The present section may also serve as an index of morphemes.

The prefixes are described in 2.1; but see also 3.22, especially for the indefinite possessor prefix *mi-*.

The suffix position classes and their order are summarized below. The brief labels used in this list are intended as approximations only.

1 possessive theme sign
2 thematic obviative sign
3 /epan/ 'former, absent'
4 possessive person suffixes
5 third person, locative, and vocative suffixes
6 plural and obviation (animate) suffixes

Suffix position 1 is occupied by the possessive theme sign /em/ (3.21).[39]

The obviative sign of position 2, /eyi/, marks an obviative possessor (3.22).[40]

The suffix /epan/ 'former, absent' is tentatively assigned to suffix position 3; see 3.5.

In suffix position 4 there appear the personal suffixes of the possessive paradigm (3.22).

In suffix position 5 there appear the third person suffixes of the number-obviation paradigm; the animate suffix is /wa/∼/a/, the inanimate suffixes are /wi/∼/i/ and /wah/∼/ah/ (3.31).

The locative (3.6) and vocative (3.7) markers are mutually exclusive with the morphemes of position 5 and 6.

In position 6 there appear the animate plural and obviative markers of the number-obviation paradigm, namely /k/ and /h/ (3.31).

[39] Note the homonymy of /em/ with the thematic obviative sign of verbs; *cf.* 5.41.

[40] Although in a strict positional analysis positions 2 and 4 might be merged, they are here kept apart for reasons of overall patterning; *cf.* 5.4 and 5.43.

In eastern dialects the corresponding suffix marks the obviative in the number-obviation paradigm of inanimate nouns (see Ellis, 1962: p. 3–20 and especially p. 8–13 for James Bay Cree; and also Rogers, 1960: pp. 110, 112 for the Mistassini dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi); however, since the data are incomplete and lack certain crucial examples (e.g., "he saw our canoe(s)" and "his son saw our canoe(s)") the relevance of this evidence cannot be assessed and the issue must be left open.

3.2 THE POSSESSIVE PARADIGM

The possessive paradigm provides anaphoric reference to a person other than that denoted by the noun itself. Possession in a narrow sense is, of course, only the primary or focal meaning of this morpheme class (and the label "possessive" is chosen just because of its concreteness).[41] Besides this narrowly possessive function, as in *nitēm* 'my horse,' there are other, more attenuated meanings, as in *ninēhiyawēwin* 'my Creeness, my speaking Cree,' or in *otōcikaniwāw* 'their doing'; (*cf.* the use of *my* in *my mother* or in *my going to New York tomorrow*).

While certain noun stems show a special possessed theme (see 3.21), the possessive paradigm may occur with any noun stem. Conversely, however, some noun stems are obligatorily inflected for possession; these bound stems are called DEPENDENT noun stems. Dependent nouns mostly include kin terms, and terms for body-parts and a few personal possessions.[42]

In general, the categories of the possessive paradigm are independent of those of the number-obviation paradigm. Thus, a stem inflected for a first person possessor may be either proximate, e.g. *nisit* 'my foot,' *nisita* 'my feet,' or obviative, as *nitēma* in *nāpēw wāpamēw nitēma.* 'The man sees my dog.' If the possessor is a third person, however, the usual rules of obviation operate. The possessor is always nearer (more in focus) than who or what is possessed, so that any third person possessor automatically causes the noun itself to be obviative.

3.21. Theme Formation

Possessed themes are formed with the theme sign /em/ which immediately follows the stem. However, the formation of possessed themes is subject to a great deal of irregularity which requires further study.

The absence of the special theme sign is typical of stems ending in *n* (but is by no means restricted to these). It is found, for example, with a number of noun types derived from verbs, such as the abstract nouns of 6.41; e.g., *nipimātisiwin* 'my life,' *otōcikan* 'his doing, fault.' Possessive forms without special theme sign are also common with dependent stems, e.g., *nistēs* 'my older sibling'; but contrast *nisīm* 'my younger sibling,' *nitōtēm* 'my kinsman,' etc.

Other than that, the distribution of /em/ cannot even tentatively be indicated; the obvious hypothesis of an alienable: inalienable category has been explored without success. Examples: *sīsīp* 'duck': *nisīsīpim* 'my duck'; *iskotēw* 'fire': *nitiskotēm* 'my fire'; *ihkw-* 'louse': *nitihkom* 'my louse'; etc.

As an example of the seemingly erratic distribution of /em/ consider *nitaskiy* 'my country,' from *askiy*, in contrast to *nipimīm* 'my lard,' from *pimiy*.

[41] Hockett (e.g., 1966) uses the term "allocation."

[42] There is no evidence for an alienable: inalienable dichotomy.

Some stems may even occur both with and without /em/. *ayīsiyiniw* 'human being' has been recorded both ways from the same speaker: T91-7 *wīc-āyīsiyinī-wāwa* 'their fellow-people' and T49-5 *otayīsiyinīma* 'his people.'

A clue to the /em/-problem may be contained in an extremely rare form: While the dependent stem *-stikwān-* does not normally take /em/, e.g., *ostikwān* 'his head, a head,' a secondarily possessed form does in fact show the theme suffix: S150-20 *nōstikwānim* 'my head' (said of a severed head which is used as lodge emblem).

3.22. Inflection

The inflectional affixes of the possessive paradigm correspond closely to those found in verb inflection.

The personal prefixes are described in detail in 2.1. *ki-*, *ni-*, *o-* occur with both nouns and verbs. *mi-* occurs only with dependent noun stems. It marks an indefinite possessor, e.g., *micihciy* 'a hand, someone's hand'; T34p7 *mistikwāna kā-wāpahtaman* . . . 'heads I saw . . . .'

The thematic suffix /eyi/ (*cf.* 5.43) immediately follows the stem or the possessed theme; it marks an obviative possessor, e.g.,

S 36–41 *ositiyiwah* *pikoh* *ōhi*
their(3′) feet(0p) only these(3′)

niskah *ēkwah* *sīsīpah,* *ēkonih* *pikoh*
geese(3′) and ducks(3′) these(3′) only

iskotēhk *astāw*;
in the fire place(AI 3)

'Only the feet of those geese and ducks, only those did he put into the embers';

P 98–38 *ōhi* *nāpēwah* *kā-nipahāyit*
that(3′) man(3′) kill(TA 3′-(3′))

owīkimākaniyiwah *itohtahēw.*
his(3′) wife(3′) take there(TA 3-(3′))

'He took to that place that man who had slain his (own) wife'; *cf.* also 2.221.

The possessor is pluralized by one of the following suffixes (which recur in the independent order of the verb): /enān/ if it involves the first but not the second person; /enaw/ if it involves both; and /ewāw/ otherwise. (*Cf.* also 5.451 and 5.48.)

Table 2 shows the possessive paradigm only.

3.3. THE NUMBER-OBVIATION PARADIGM

Animate nouns have inflectional endings for proximate singular and plural, and for obviative which is number-indifferent.

Inanimate nouns have inflectional endings for singular and plural. While in Plains Cree there is no inflectional distinction for obviation in inanimate nouns, this category is nevertheless present as shown by concord with verb forms, e.g. S12-46 *ēkosi osihtāw ēh-misāyik ōsi.* 'Thus he built a great canoe,' where *ōsi* 'canoe' is covertly obviative as shown by the obviative ending of the verb *ēh-misāyik* 'it (0′) is big.' [43]

TABLE 2

POSSESSIVE PARADIGM: INANIMATE DEPENDENT NOUN /-TĒH-/ 'HEART'

1	/nitēh-/	'my heart'
2	/kitēh-/	'your heart'
3	/otēh-/	'his heart'
3′	/otēheyi-/	'his (3′) heart'
indf	/mitēh-/	'a heart'
1p	/nitēhenān-/	'our heart'
21	/kitēhenaw-/	'our heart'
2p	/kitēhewāw-/	'your heart'
3p	/otēhewāw-/	'their heart'

3.31. Suffixes

The number-obviation ("third person") suffixes have an alternant with initial /w/ and one without. The distribution of these alternants is discussed in 3.32.

The animate third-person suffix is /wa/∼/a/. It is followed by the plural marker /k/ or the obviative marker /h/. Stem /sīsīp-/ 'duck':

3 /sīsīp-a/
3p /sīsīp-a-k/
3′ /sīsīp-a-h/

The inanimate third-person markers are /wi/∼/i/[44] in the singular and /wah/∼/ah/ for the plural. Stem /maskisin-/ 'shoe':

0 /maskisin-i/
0p /maskisin-ah/

Final vowels which are found in our morphophonological representation are subject to apocope (appendix A: 5.1).

The final vowel remains in nouns whose stem is monosyllabic; thus, we find animate nouns like *niska* 'goose' and inanimate nouns like *mihti* 'firewood' or

[43] In other dialects, e.g., in James Bay Cree, and at least in the Mistassini dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi, inanimate nouns are inflected for obviation by means of the thematic sign /eyi/; *cf.* Ellis, 1962: p. 3–20 and Rogers, 1960: p. 110.

[44] The suffix is set up as /i/ rather than /e/ primarily for comparative reasons; the fact that it does not take part in contraction (see appendix A: 4.5) is not considered conclusive since exemption from this rule can be attributed to the special status of monosyllabic stems; only three instances are available: *wāwi* 'egg', *osk-āyi* 'young creature,' and *mēyi* 'dung.'

The absence of palatalization in *wāti* 'hole,' *wīsti* 'beaver lodge,' and *mihti* 'firewood' appears to be a matter of paradigmatic leveling. (The dependent stem /-iwaθ-/, as in *nīwas* (sg), *nīwata* (pl) 'my sacred pack' seems to be the only stem to retain this alternation.)

mihko 'blood' (stem *mihkw-*).[45] A form like *kōna* 'snow' shows that the retention of the final vowel is not restricted to monosyllabic stems with a short vowel (*cf.* appendix A: 5.1).

3.311. The addition of a prefix does not affect the retention of the suffixal vowel, e.g., *otōsi* 'his canoe' or *omihko* 'his blood.' One interpretation of these forms would require apocope of the suffixal vowel to precede the addition of the prefix (both synchronically and historically); this would conflict with the fact that the affixes of the possession paradigm are closer to the stem than those of the number-obviation paradigm, e.g., *kitōsinaw* 'our canoe.' It seems more likely that monosyllabic stems without possessive suffixes are exempt from the apocope rule due to the pattern pressure of the simple forms; in fact, the historical sources show some fluctuation. Clearly, the whole issue of monosyllabic stems requires further investigation.

The suffixal vowel of monosyllabic stems is retained even when they function as the second member of a compound, e.g., *wākayosi-wāti* 'bear den'; this is seen as evidence of the independent phonological status of compound members (*cf.* 6.5).

3.312. Phonemically, the proximate singular and the obviative of monosyllabic animate stems are homophonous. Occasionally, this homophony is resolved by the addition of another *-wa* to the obviative form ending in *-wa*. Thus, in T523p47, 48, 49 we find both *maskwa* and *maskwawa* as the obviative of *maskwa* 'bear.' An extra *-wa* suffix also occurs in the obviative of certain other words most of which are clearly loans from English, e.g., *omāmāwa* 'his mother,' from *nimāmā; mērīwa* 'Mary' from *mēriy; cīmīwa* 'Jimmy' from *cīmiy*, etc.

3.32. /w/- Alternation

The number-obviation ("third person") suffixes of nouns appear with two sets of alternants. One has initial /w/, namely /wa, wi, wah/, the other lacks it, namely /a, i, ah/.

Generally, the distribution of the alternants is governed by the preceding environment; after a consonant the /w/-less alternant occurs, after a vowel that with /w/. For instance, consider the forms *nitēmak* 'my horses,' *otēma* 'his horse,' etc., but *otēmiyiwa* 'his (3′) horse.' *Cf.* 5.471 for the similar situation in the transitive animate verb paradigm.

A large number of noun stems end in a cluster /Cw/. Since the /w/ occurs not only in the 3 and 3p forms but in the 3′ form and in the locative or vocative forms as well, the /w/ clearly belongs to the stem and does not take part in any alternation; the derivational structure of the stem does not bear on the problem at hand. Thus, *mistikw-: mistik* 'tree,' *mistikwak* 'trees'; with suffix /eyiwa/: *omistikoyiwa* 'his (3′) tree'; with suffix /ehk/: *mistikohk* 'on a tree'; or consider the stem *atimw-: atim* 'dog,' *atimwak* 'dogs'; with suffix /etik/: *atimotik* 'you dogs!'

In nouns ending in /Vw/, the identification of the /w/ is less clear-cut.[46] Consider the noun *nāpēw* 'man' whose other inflected forms are *nāpēwak* and *nāpēwa;* its stem could be set up as either *nāpē-* or *nāpēw-*. The formation of the possessed theme fails to throw light on the problem because *ninānāpēm* might be formed from either stem; the contraction of /ēw-e/ to /ē/ occurs independently, e.g., in the inflection of the verb stem *wīcēw-* 'have him along': *niwīcēk* 'he has me along,' *kiwīcētin* 'I have you along,' etc.; *cf.* appendix A: 4.2. The relevant morphophonological statements are all independently motivated and thus do not indicate a solution.

The existence of parallel stems in /Vy/, e.g., *askiy* 'land,' *apasoy* 'tent-pole,' supports the analysis of the semivowel as part of the stem. But the evidence is not conclusive, and a full treatment of noun stems ending in a vowel-semivowel sequence will have to await further synchronic and comparative studies.

3.4. PARADIGM TABLES

The tables show the possessive and number-obviation paradigms combined. For an explanation of the blank positions in the first table see 3.2 and 2.21.

The paradigms are given in phonemic representation; cf. Appendix A, especially fn. 85.

[45] The following list of monosyllabic noun stems appears to be relatively complete:

Animate:

-īw-	'wife' (dependent stem)
-īskw-	'fellow wife' (dependent stem)
cīs-	'Cisa' (name of trickster)
ēs-	'clam-shell'
ihkw-	'louse'
kākw-	'porcupine'
kōn-	'snow'
maskw-	'bear'
mākw-, mwākw-	'loon'
mōsw-	'moose'
nisk-	'goose'
pīskw-	'mosquito-hawk'
siht-	'evergreen'

Inanimate:

-īk-	'dwelling' (dependent stem)
mēy-	'dung'
mihkw-	'blood'
miht-	'firewood'
ōs-	'canoe'
pihkw-	'ashes'
wāt-	'hole'
wāw-	'egg'
wīkw-	'kidney-fat'
wīn-	'marrow'
wīs-	'belly-fat'
wīst-	'beaver-lodge'

[46] A parallel situation exists in Menomini where there are at least two derivational morphemes /w/ one of which "is homonymous with inflectional $-_3w$ and demands the same replacements of preceding vowels" (Bloomfield, 1962: p. 242).

TABLE 3

ANIMATE NOUN, DEPENDENT STEM /-TĒM-/ 'HORSE, DOG'

3	3p	3′	
nitēm	*-ak*	*-a*	1 my horse, etc.
kitēm	*-ak*	*-a*	2 your horse
—	—	*otēma*	3 his horse
—	—	*otēmiyiwa*	3′ his (3′) horse
nitēminān	*-ak*	*-a*	1p our horse
kitēminaw	*-ak*	*-a*	21 our horse
kitēmiwāw	*-ak*	*-a*	2p your horse
—	—	*otēmiwāwa*	3p their horse

TABLE 4

INANIMATE NOUN, STEM /MASKISIN-/ 'MOCCASIN'

0	0p	
nimaskisin	*-a*	1 my shoe, etc.
kimaskisin	*-a*	2 your shoe
omaskisin	*-a*	3 his shoe
omaskisiniyiw	*-a*	3′ his (3′) shoe
nimaskisininān	*-a*	1p our shoe
kimaskisininaw	*-a*	21 our shoe
kimaskisiniwāw	*-a*	2p your shoe
omaskisiniwāw	*-a*	3p their shoe

3.5. THE /EPAN/ SUFFIX

The suffix /epan/ 'former, absent' indicates that the denotatum of the noun no longer exists.[47] It also occurs in the pronoun *awīnipan* 'nobody' (4.123) and (in a slightly variant shape) with verbs (5.321). Examples: *kisēyiniw* 'old man,' *kisēyinīpan* 'old man no longer alive'; *nimosōm* 'my grandfather,' *nimosōmipan* 'my late grandfather.'

/epan/ precedes the number-obviation suffixes as well as the possessive suffixes, e.g. *nimosōmipanak* 'my late grandfathers,' *nōhkomipaninānak* 'our late grandmothers.' Neither the present data nor Lacombe's discussion (1874*b*, pp. 18, 19) establish the position of /epan/ relative to that of the thematic obviative sign /eyi/.

My informants reject /epan/ added to inanimate nouns while Lacombe (*loc. cit.*) gives an entire inanimate paradigm without even mentioning the problem.

It is curious that no corresponding suffix is reported for Fox, Ojibwa, Menomini, and Kickapoo by Bloomfield (1924, 1958, 1962) or Voorhis (1967). Only Potawatomi seems to have what Hockett considers a "preterital suffix" (1948: pp. 8, 73; 1958: p. 238). Delaware also has a "preterite noun paradigm" but with different suffixes (see Voegelin, 1946: p. 144).[48]

The Potawatomi situation differs from that in Cree in three ways: (1) The "preterit" suffix occurs with inanimate stems. (2) It occurs with possessed themes only; note that according to Lacombe Cree /epan/ "ordinairement" occurs with possessed themes, and only secondarily with all nouns. (3) Most important, Hockett describes the "preterit" suffix as *following* the suffixes of the number-obviation paradigm.

3.6. LOCATIVE

There are two locatives, simple (3.61) and distributive (3.62). The locative suffixes are mutually exclusive with the suffixes of the number-obviation paradigm. Thus, number and obviation are not expressed in locative forms; obviation would also be excluded on semantic grounds. (But note that the obviation status of a possessor is not affected.) Examples: *niskāt, niskāta* 'my leg, my legs': *niskātihk* 'on my leg(s)'; *oskīsikwa* 'his (3) eyes': *oskīsikohk* 'on his eye(s)'.

3.61. Simple

The simple locative suffix /ehk/ 'at, in, on, etc.' is used with stems or possessed themes.

sākahikan- 'lake'	*sākahikanihk* 'at the lake'
pihkw- 'ashes'	*pihkohk* 'in the ashes'
otōsiyi- 'his (3′) boat'	*otōsiyihk* 'in his boat'
kīkinaw- 'our (21) home'	*kīkināhk* 'at our home'
wīkiyi- 'his (3′) home'	*wīkiyihk* 'at his home'

3.62. Distributive

The distributive locative suffix /enāhk/ is used with nouns which denote humans or animals. The resulting forms mean 'in the land of such-and-such beings,' 'at the place of such-and-such people.' /enāhk/ has not been recorded with possessed themes.

ayīsiyiniw- 'human being'	*ayīsiyinīnāhk* 'among humans, in this world'
paskwāwiyiniw- 'Plains Cree'	*paskwāwiyinīnāhk* 'in the Plains Cree country'
mostosw- 'buffalo'	*mostosonāhk* 'in the buffalo country'
sāsīw- 'Sarci Indian'	*sāsīnāhk* 'at Sarci Reserve'
kihci-mōhkomān- 'Big Knife, American'	*kihci-mōhkomāninānhk* 'in the USA'

The suffix /enāhk/ is based on the locative suffix /ehk/ preceded by a noun-final /enāw/; (for the

[47] The status of a *nominal dubitative* remains doubtful owing to the lack of adequate data. Only one clear form has been recorded (in Bloomfield's syllabary texts, MS(*a*): p. 1138): *ayīsiyinītokēnik* 'what people, I wonder.' *Cf.* section 4.21, fn. 51, and especially 5.311.

[48] *Nominal tense* markers are not restricted to Algonquian; for an Athapaskan example consider Hupa: "By the use of suffixes the time of the noun's existence may be indicated. This process practically gives tenses to nouns. For the past, *-neen* is employed: for example, *xōûɬneen* 'his wife used to be' (she is now dead). The same form might mean only that the possession of her had ceased" (Goddard, 1911: p. 110). But while Cree shows /epan/ followed by other suffixes, this does not seem to be the case in Athapaskan (where Hoijer speaks of 'enclitics').

contraction *cf.* appendix A: 4.2). Nouns in /enāw/ are derived from inanimate intransitive (II) verbs in /enā/, with their most common inflected forms being homonymous; e.g., *ispatināw* II 0 'it is a hill,' or the noun 'hill.' Since these nouns and verbs typically denote topographical features, the semantic connection with the /enāhk/ suffix is obvious. However, none of the nouns which take /enāhk/ as a distributive locative suffix are actually paralleled by a verb in /enā/ (although a form like *mostosonāw* 'it is buffalo country' might well be expected). Thus, while the /enāhk/ forms must ultimately be regarded as derived nouns, for all practical purposes /enāhk/ functions as a somewhat restricted inflectional suffix.

3.7. VOCATIVE

The vocative singular is formed in a variety of ways while /etik/ is uniformly used for the plural.

3.71. Singular

Normally no special ending is used for the vocative singular, e.g., T7p5, 20 *nitōkimām* 'oh my king.' However, most of the kin terms and a few nouns of intimate possession have vocative forms which are still largely used; the younger generation uses these in free variation with the simple proximate singular form (not the stem; but *cf.* Lacombe, 1874*b*: p. 6).

The vocative singular frequently ends in a long vowel; this fact may well be related to phenomena of rhetorical distortion. While some kin terms remain unaffected, others undergo apocope (the loss of final consonants, vowel-consonant, sequences, or whole syllables) or add a suffix *-ē;* vowels are often lengthened or distorted. The following lists are by no means exhaustive; the glosses are incomplete.

Apocope:	
nōhtāwiy 'my father'	*nōhtā*
nikāwiy 'my mother'	*nēkā*
nimosōm 'my grandfather'	*nimosō*
nōhkom 'my grandmother'	*nōhkō*
nitihkwatim 'my cross-nephew, son-in-law'	*nitēhkwā*
nitawēmāw 'my cross-sibling'	*nitawēmā*
nitānis 'my daughter'	*nitān*
niciwām 'my male parallel cousin'	*niciwā*
nikwēmēs 'my namesake, friend'	*nikwēmē*
Suffix *-ē:*	
nimis 'my elder sister'	*nimisē*
nisikos 'my father's sister, mother-in-law'	*nisikosē*
nisis 'my mother's brother, father-in-law'	*nisisē*
nisīm 'my younger brother'	*nisīmē*
nistēs 'my older brother'	*nistēsē*
nicāhkos 'my (f) sister-in-law'	*nicāhkosē*
Apocope and suffix *-ē:*	
nikosis 'my son'	*nikosē*
nōsisim 'my grandchild'	*nōsisē*

Vocative identical to proximate singular:
nipāpā 'my father'
nimāmā 'my mother'
nīscās 'my male cross-cousin'
nitōtēm 'my fellow tribesman'

3.72. Plural

The vocative plural is always formed with /etik/:

nisīm 'my younger brother'	*nisīmitik*
nitōskinīkīm 'my young man, crew member'	*nitōskinīkīmitik*
ātayōhkan 'spirit guardian'	*ātayōhkanitik*

3.8. "QUASI-NOUNS"

Some otherwise non-paradigmatic forms, i.e. particles, take the vocative plural (3.72) and simple locative (3.61) suffixes and, in a few cases, even the plural marker /k/ (3.31, 5.481). Syntactically, these are predicative particles but because they make use of nominal suffixes they are, for the nonce, called QUASI-NOUNS.

3.81. Locative

The locative suffix /ehk/ occurs freely but not very frequently, e.g., *āstam* 'here, come here': *āstamihk* 'on this side.' The same meaning is usually expressed by the locative morpheme *ita* (which also occurs as a particle by itself), e.g., *āstamita* 'on this side, closer.'

3.82. Vocative

More typical and more frequent are particles which take the vocative plural suffix /etik/.

Extremely frequent are *āstam* 'come here,' *awas* 'go away'; when more than one person is addressed, we find *āstamitik, awasitik.*

A less common example is the particle *mācikōtitān, mācikōcicān* 'look, let me show you' whose internal structure is obscure. Although a "plural" form *mācikōtitak* does occur in Bloomfield's texts, *mācikōtitān* may be addressed to one or several persons. In the narrow use, when only one person is addressed, our texts oppose *mācikōcicān* to a "vocative plural" *mācikōcicānitik.*

A more problematic form is *ēkotik* 'let's go' (T523p86) which seems to be based on the pronominal stem *ēyakw-*~*-ēkw-* (4.41).

3.83. Plural

A few particles have forms with and without final /k/. Whatever the etymological origin of the /k/, the forms with /k/ seem to be interpretable as plural: S326-3 "*niyā, nisīm, sipwēhtē!*" 'Go, little sister, depart! (AI 2)'. S69-23 "*niyāk! mācīk!*" 'be off, hunt! (AI 2p).'

4. PRONOUN INFLECTION

There are three major paradigms of pronominal inflection as well as a few which are found with only one stem each. This inflectional classification of pronouns coincides only partially with classifications based on syntactic or semantic criteria.[48a] Furthermore, most of the pronominal stems not only select inflectional paradigms but are also subject to a host of derivational processes (*cf.* 6.422).

The various pronominal paradigms share a feature which is of great interest to the understanding of the grammatical categories of Cree (*cf.* 2.02). In spite of great differences in phonemic shape between the different paradigms, they all, without exception, exhibit an identity in form of the animate obviative and the inanimate plural forms.

One specifically pronominal paradigm (I) is found with the demonstratives *awa*, *ana*, and *naha* (4.11); with *awīna* 'who' (4.12); and *tāni* 'which one' (4.13).

A second pronominal paradigm (II) is found with *tāniwā* 'where is he' and *ēwakwā* 'there he is' (4.21) as well as with *ōyā* (4.22).

The usual number-obviation paradigm of nouns (in some cases with slight modifications) is found with *kīkway* 'what; what sort' (4.31) and *kīkway* 'something' (4.32); it also occurs with *kotak* 'another' (4.33) and *aya* '. . . one; person; thing' (4.34).

ēwako 'the selfsame' (4.41) and *awiyak* 'someone' (4.42) each show isolated paradigms.

The personal pronouns (4.5) are not inflected for number and obviation. As a set, however, they closely parallel the possessive paradigm of nouns in the systematic use of personal prefixes and suffixes.

4.1. PRONOMINAL PARADIGM I

Pronominal paradigm I has the following basic set of endings:

3	*-a*
3p	*-ki*
3′	*-hi*
0	*-ma*
0p	*-hi*

4.11. awa, ana, naha 'this, that, that yonder'

The demonstrative pronouns *awa* 'this,' *ana* 'that,' and *naha* 'that yonder' inflect exactly alike.[49]

awa has the stem alternant *aw-* in the proximate singular, and the alternant *ō-* elsewhere. *ana* exhibits the stem *an-* in the same shape throughout. Like *aw-*~*ō-*, the pronoun *naha* has the stem alternant *nah-* in the proximate singular, and the alternant *nē-* elsewhere.[50]

3	*awa*	*ana*	*naha*
3p	*ōki*	*aniki*	*nēki*
3′	*ōhi*	*anihi*	*nēhi*
0	*ōma*	*anima*	*nēma*
0p	*ōhi*	*anihi*	*nēhi*

4.111. The demonstrative pronouns *awa*, *ana*, and *naha* clearly constitute a semantic field; its internal structure, however, can only tentatively be indicated. They seem to be ordered in such a way that *awa* is "nearest" to a point of reference and *naha* "farthest away" from it. The exact nature of the point of reference remains to be discovered.

The relation among the demonstratives does not seem to correlate, as one might expect in a three-term system, with proximity to speaker, addressee, or neither. Instead, the demonstratives may be visualized as arranged in a linear sequence. The "distance" between *awa* and *ana* seems to be the same as that between *ana* and *naha*. Informant responses indicate that *awa* refers to someone in reach, *ana* to someone not in reach, and *naha* to someone quite far away. There is strong evidence that *naha* is almost always accompanied by pointing, both actually and figuratively.

When speaking of the relation between demonstratives, we use a spatial metaphor ("distance," "near," "far"). Further investigation is expected to show that this relation is indeed essentially spatial. But until such evidence is forthcoming, the arbitrariness of the metaphor should not be lost sight of.

4.112. *awa*, *ana*, and *naha* are also very similar in syntactic function. All three function as modifier or as verbal complement, e.g., T1-4 *mistikwa ōhi* 'these trees'; T4p15 *ana mōniyāw* 'that White Man'; T104p8 *nēhi onāpēmiyiwa* 'those lovers of hers.' T33-4 *māmākwaht ōma!* 'chew this!'; T73p17 *kakēskimāw anima* 'he was told (indf-3) that'; T131-4 *kiwāpamāw cī naha?* 'Do you see that one yonder?'

All three frequently combine with *ēwako* (4.41).

However, only *awa* and *ana* seem to occur as predicates, e.g., T10p25 *tāns ōma māna nipāpa k-ētwēt.* 'How is it my father says'; T10p15 *Saskatchewan an ōhci.* 'This one is from (*ohci*) Saskatchewan'; T60p10 *ēkwa anima k-ō-nanapotōkanēcik ōki sihkihpak.* 'And that (0) is why these hell-divers (3p) are crooked at their rump.'

[48a] For example, while the following four pronouns are clearly correlated semantically and derivationally, they reflect three different inflectional classes:

awīna 'who'	*kīkway* 'what'
awiyak 'someone'	*kīkway* 'something'

For further details see sections 4.12, 4.3, and 4.42.

[49] *awa* also shows a 3′/0p form *ōhō* and a 3p form *ōkō*. But in a sample of 112,000 words of running text, and leaving aside the sandhi forms *ōh* and *ōk*, *ōhi* is almost fifty times as frequent as *ōhō*, and *ōki* ninty times more common than *ōkō*.

[50] The relation between the two pairs of alternants remains obscure; while it is tempting to speculate about an underlying form /aw-eki/ for *ōki*, /nah-eki/ for *nēki*, etc., little will be gained by such an analysis until similar contractions are found elsewhere.

4.12. awīna 'who'

awīna 'who' has only animate forms:

3	*awīna*
3p	*awīniki*
3′	*awīnihi*

4.121. *awīna* has two distinct but clearly related uses. As an interrogative pronoun, *awīna* shows concord with the other nominal or pronominal expressions in a sentence. Having animate forms only, it is complemented in this function by the inanimate interrogative *kīkway* (4.31).

awīna may occur by itself, e.g. T10p89 *ēha, awīna?* 'Yes, who?'; T10p7 *awīn ētokwē.* "Who, I wonder'; T520p7, 8 *awīniki kanihk.* 'Who are they, then?' P72-4 "*kitānisināw ēh-wītapimāt nāpēwa.*" "*awīnihi?*" *itwēw kisēyiniw.* ' "Our daughter is sitting by the side of a man (3′)." "Who is he," said the old man.'

It may occur as part of an equational sentence, e.g., T27p2, 3 *awīna naha nētē.* 'Who is that one yonder?' *awīna ana naha kā-pē-sākēwēt.* 'Who is that, that one yonder, coming into the open?'

Or it may function predicatively with a conjunct clause depending on it, e.g., T10p12 *awīna ēkosi ē-itwēt.* 'Who says so?' T54p3 *awīna kā-nakatiht.* 'Who was left behind (indf-3)?'

4.122. In combination with a following demonstrative, *awīna* expresses surprise, e.g., T504p2 *awīna ana . . .* 'Who (was it but) that one . . . .'

In this function, *awīna* is not usually inflected (but see P98-5); thus, we find it with any inflected form, of either gender, of the demonstratives; e.g., T73p15 *awīn ēs ōhi (3′) ēkota owīkimākana (3′) kī-apiyiwa (3′), . . .* 'What was this (3′), his wife (3′) sat (3′) there, . . .'; T103p4 *aspin ēsa awīna ōma watihk.* 'Away (she went), lo and behold, into a hole.'

Where it expresses surprise, *awīna* exactly parallels the particle *pōti*, e.g., T46p6 *pōt ōhi (3′) ēsa owīkimākana (3′) . . .* 'What was that (3′) but her husband (3′) . . . .'

4.123. The stem *awīn-* also occurs with the suffix /epan/ 'former, absent' which in this environment is mutually exclusive with the number-obviation endings; *cf.* 3.5, 5.321. Thus, T115p8 *awīnipan ocahpihcisa* 'gone was his tobacco-pouch (3′).'

Much like its counterpart *nama kīkway* (4.323), *awīnipan* most typically means 'not here any more'; in this form, too, there is clearly an element of surprise (*cf.* 4.122 above). Thus, T18-8 *wiyāpaniyik ē-koskopayit, awīnipan otēma (3′).* 'When he got up the next morning, his horse (3′) was gone'; T28p10 *ē-apasāpit, awīnipan.* 'When he looked back: nobody.'

awīnipan may even occur in collocation with an inanimate noun and, indeed, together with *kīkway:* T125-6 *awīnipan ōma mīkiwāhpis.* 'That wigwam (0) was gone!' T125-8 . . . *ē-nanātawāpit, awīnipan kīkway, awīnipan ōma mīkiwāhpis.* '. . . when he looked around, nothing, that wigwam (0) was gone!'

4.13. tāni 'which'

tān- is a delimiting interrogative.

3	*tāni*
3p	*tāniki*
3′	*tānihi*
0	*tāni, tānima*
0p	*tānihi*

The inanimate singular form is problematic; the variant one would expect in this paradigm is *tānima. tānima* is homonymous with a particle meaning 'how much, where' (which presumably developed from the pronoun), and this may well be the reason for the spreading of *tāni.*

Just like the numerous particles based on the root *tān-*, the delimiting interrogative *tān-* functions primarily as a conjunction, e.g., T28p3 *mānakisk tānihi ēkoni ē-wiyinoyit ē-ati-pīmikwēpitāt . . .* 'Then, which ever ones (3′) were fat (3′), of those (3′) he twisted the neck (3-(3′)) . . . .' S280-8 *tānimah kostahkih, ōtah k-ēsiwēpinānaw.* 'Whichever he fears, there we shall throw him.' *tāni* also occurs with the pronoun *ana* as predication: P200-31 *tān āna māka ēh-okimāwit . . .* 'But which is the one who is the chief . . .'; P280-1 *tān ānim āyi okimāw wīkih?* 'Which is the chief's tent?' *tāni* is typically counterbalanced by the delimiting demonstrative *ēwako* (4.41) or by a particle based on the same root, e.g., *ēkota* 'there': S103-24 *ēkwah tānihi ēh-wiyinoyit, ēwakonih tēhtapiw awa mistanask.* 'Then whichever one was the fattest on this one Badger sat down'; P222-32 *tān ēwakw ētokē māka, ntōtēm?* 'But which one is it, Fellow-tribesman?' S129-46 *ēkwah tānihi ēh-miywāsiniyikih wiyāsah, ēkotah pānahikēyiwah tawāsima.* 'Then by the best stores of meat, there his children cleared away the snow.'

4.2. PRONOMINAL PARADIGM II

The pronominal paradigm II has the following basic set of endings.

3	*-ā*
3p	*-ēhkāk*
3′	*-ēhā*
0	*-ē*
0p	*-ēhā*

The pronouns of this type are not common in texts; only the *tāniwā* paradigm is fully exemplified in recently collected texts.

4.21. tāniwā, ēwakwā 'where is he, there he is'

tāniwā 'where is he' and *ēwakwā* 'there he is' are verb-substitutes which might well be called "existential" pronouns. They function as predications

and may be complemented by nominal expressions, e.g., S8-42 *ā, nitōyākan, tāniwēhkāk?* 'Come, my dish, where are they (3p)?'; S89-42 *ēwakwā wāwāskēsiw . . .* 'there goes that elk . . .'; T18p11 . . ., *tāniwē omaskipayiwiniyiw?* '. . ., where was his (3′) limping (0)?'; S179-39 *nōhkō, ēwakwē kipīsākanāpīm!* 'Grandmother, here is your rawhide thong!' T35p1 *tānōwēhā kotaka kitatāwēwina?* 'Where are your other groceries (purchases, 0p)?'

tāniwā[51] and *ēwakwā* are based on the stems *tān(iw)-(?)* and *ēwakw-* which recur in a host of derivations as well as in the pronouns *tāni* (4.13) and *ēwako* (4.41).

3	*tāniwā*	*ēwakwā*
3p	*tāniwēhkāk*	
3′	*tāniwēhā*	
0	*tāniwē*	*ēwakwē*
0p	*tāniwēhā*	

The distinction of 3 *tāniwā* and 3′ *tāniwēhā* is sometimes neutralized in favor of the former (*cf.* 2.23); e.g. *tāniwā ētokwē omāmāwāwa.* 'Where is (3) their (3p) mother (3′), I wonder.'

4.22. ōyā 'that no longer here'

The classification of *ōyā* with this paradigm is highly tentative. It is based on the final long *ā* and the fact that Bloomfield gives the full set of forms in his lexicon (ms(b)). However, only the animate proximate form *ōyā* is textually attested.

In *Language*, Bloomfield cites a form *ōya* [*sic*] as the third member of a pronoun set which also includes *awa* and *ana*. While the final short *a* remains puzzling, the gloss clearly identifies the textual *ōyā:* 'that no longer here, that recently present but now out of sight' (Bloomfield, 1933: p. 259).

Of a dozen textual instances only one shows the predicative function one would expect on the basis of *tāniwā* and *ēwakwā:* P296-10 *"ēhēy," itwēw nōtokēsiw, "wīsahkēcāhk ēs ōyāh!"* ' "Oho," cried that woman, "so that person was Wisahkecahk!" ' In the others, *ōyā* serves as modifier or as the actor complement of a verb, e.g., S201-21 *niwīh-ntawi--pakamahwāw ōyā nnahāhkim!* 'I am going off to club my son-in-law who has just now left!' S169-33 *ta-wīh--ta-tāpwēw ōyā!* 'the fellow might be telling the truth' (referent not present).

It is only very tentatively that we identify the stem *ō-* with the demonstrative stem *aw-∼ō-* of 4.11; for the insertion of *y* between long vowels see appendix A: 3.1.

4.3. PRONOUNS WITH NOUN ENDINGS

Several pronouns select the number-obviation paradigm of nouns which is here given morphophonologically; except with monosyllabic stems, final vowels are deleted (*cf.* appendix A: 5.1).

3	/a/
3p	/ak/
3′	/ah/
0	/i/
0p	/ah/

kotak (4.33) and *aya* (4.34) also show the locative suffix /ehk/.

The interrogative pronoun *kīkway* and the indefinite pronoun *kīkway* are obviously related etymologically.[52] They differ primarily in their syntactic and semantic function (but also in their inflectional paradigms since the indefinite pronoun shows no 3 form).[53]

4.31. kīkway 'what'

kīkway 'what sort; what':

3	*kīkwaya*
3p	*kīkwayak*
3′	*kīkwaya*
0	*kīkway, kīkwayi*
0p	*kīkwaya*

(Because of the neighboring *y*, the 0 form *kīkwayi* is very difficult to distinguish from the 0p *kīkwaya:* in fact, they seem to be used interchangeably.)

The animate forms of the interrogative *kīkway* mean 'what sort' whereas the inanimate forms in addition have the meaning 'what.' In this purely interrogative function they are complemented, for the animate gender, by *awīna* 'who' (4.12).

[51] A pronominal dubitative *tāniwātokē* 'where is he, I wonder' which occurs a few times in Bloomfield's texts requires further investigation. *Cf.* section 3.5, fn. 47, and especially 5.311.

An isolated form in *-hk* is found in S319-44 *tāniwāhk nimosō?* 'Where is my grandfather?' While it may simply be a slip of the tongue or of the record, this form could also be interpreted as containing the nominal locative suffix /ehk/ (3.61); in that case, it would run counter to the normal pattern of forming particles from pronoun roots (*cf.* 6.422).

[52] While *kīkway* is the standard form in Alberta, Bloomfield records both *kīkway* and *kēkway*; in his published texts, *kēkway* is almost five times more frequent than *kīkway* while the opposite is true of the unpublished (syllabary) series: *kīkway* outnumbers *kēkway* by 4:1.

Bloomfield regarded these as real doublets although he was fully aware of the difficulty of distinguishing *ī* and *ē*. The problem has to be re-assessed in view of the fact that a complete merger of *ī* and *ē* has been observed in the Saddle Lake area of northeastern Alberta (not far from Sweet Grass Reserve) as well as in certain areas of northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

[53] In spite of insufficient evidence it should be mentioned that they appear to be differentiated phonologically by contrasting stress patterns in the inanimate singular forms; the bisyllabic alternant of the interrogative seems to be stressed on the first syllable, *kī́kway*, and the indefinite pronoun is stressed on the final syllable, *kīkwáy*. (No distinctions have been observed among the trisyllabic forms of either pronoun.) However, these observations must be considered highly tentative since the data are not without contradictions. A detailed study of Cree stress and pitch phenomena is required before a fuller statement can be attempted.

kīkway 'what sort; what' always functions predicatively; it is never used as a modifier (nor is it modified; contrast 4.32). It may occur by itself, as part of an equational clause, or as a dependent clause. T2-4 *kīkwaya kiya.* 'What kind (3) are you?' P116-38 *ēkosi māka kīkwayak ōki.* 'But now, what sort (3p) are they?' T58-4 *wiya ē-mosci-kitāpamāt, moy kēhci-nahōw kīkwaya.* 'But since he looked at him (3-(3′)) plainly (without telescope) he was not sure (3) what he (3′) was'; T10p22 *ahpō aya, kīkway māna kiyawāw kt-āpacihtānāwāw.* 'or, what do *you* all use?' P304-36 *kīkwayih tē-mīciyahk?* 'What are we to eat?'

The interrogative stem *kīkw-* also occurs in derivation, e.g., (T1-4, T87-5, T108-5, 6) *kīkwāhtikōwiw* 'what kind of tree is he?'

4.32. kīkway 'something'

kīkway 'something, a thing, an entity':

3	- - -
3p	*kīkwayak*
3′	*kīkwaya*
0	*kīkway, kīkwayi*
0p	*kīkwaya*

Although there is some overlap, *kīkway* is complemented, in the animate forms, by *awiyak* 'someone' (4.42). For their semantic characterization see 4.422.

The syntactic function of *kīkway* has been analyzed only in a highly tentative fashion; to facilitate the construction of alternative hypotheses, a large number of examples are given below.

4.321. Like all pronouns which are not purely predicative, *kīkway* may function as a noun-substitute; however, it assumes this role more completely than the other pronouns. Thus, it may not only be modified by other pronouns, particles, and participial clauses but actually enter into composition (6.5) with pre-noun particles and numerals. In this substitute function it also has some animate forms, e.g., T509p47 *kīkwayak ōki* 'these things (3p)'; T105p12 *ē-kī-wayēsimiskik nanātohk kīkwayak* 'all sorts of things (3p) are tricking you (2).' (In these various uses as well as in those described in 4.322 below, *kīkway* greatly resembles the English morpheme *thing: a thing, not a thing, something, anything, nothing,* etc.)

Unmodified: T58-10 *moy konta ōma kā-kī-miyin kīkway* 'not in vain did you give me (2-1) something'; T120-1 *ta-nipahtamawacik kīkway* 'for you to kill something for them (2-3p).'

Modified by other pronouns: T58-10 *ēkoni ōhi kīkwaya ētokwē, ātayōhkana* 'these (3′) things (3′) there, well, dream spirits (3′)'; T58-15 *ēyakw ānima kīkway* 'this sort of thing (0)'; T55p11 *anohc moy kikiskēyihtēnānaw kīkway ēyakw ānima . . .* 'today we don't know (TI 21) that (0) . . .'; T131-3 *ōhi kīkwaya mistikwa* 'these different sticks (0p).'

Modified by particles: T105p14 *nayēstaw kīkwayi ē-pimitisahamān . . .; moy kotak kīkway.* 'The only thing I follow (TI 1) is . . .; nothing else'; T105p12 *ē-kī-wayēsimiskik nanātohk kīkwayak* 'all sorts of things (3p) are tricking you (3p-2)'; T131-4 *wiya kahkiyaw kīkway ē-kī-wayēsihtahk . . .* 'For he used to trick (TI 3) everything . . .'; T15p74 *pītos kīkway* 'something different'; T13p29 *pēyak kīkway* 'one thing.'

Modified by participial clause: T15p74 *kīkway ē-cimāsik kīkway.* 'Something short.'

In composition: T72p14 *maci-kīkway* 'something bad'; T73p24, T102p9 *mayi-kīkway* 'something bad'; S8-45 *nēo kēkway kīh-miyēw . . .* 'four things he had given them (3-(3′))'; T104p7 *nāntaw nēwo-kīkway ēs ānima kā-miyāt, . . .* 'And four things is what he had given them (3-(3′)) . . . .'

4.322. *kīkway* also enters into phrasal combination with certain particles and these phrases, as units, are then used as modifiers, e.g., T103p8 *nanātohk kīkway ōhi ayīsiyiniwa* 'all sorts of these (3′) people (3′).'

Thus, it is used with the question marker *cī* in introducing questions which are either completely neutral or negatively oriented; T4p16 *kīkway cī ohci maskocīsihk ēkota ayāwak?* 'Were there (3p) any from Hobbema there?' T20p139 *kīkway cī wiyasowēwin ihtakon?* 'Is there (0) any law?' *kīkway cī kocawākanis kihayān?* 'Do you have (AI 2) a match?'

Most typically, however, *kīkway* combines with the negators *nama, namōya* or *ēkā* (depending on the order of the verb; *cf.* 5.3). *nama kīkway* may, of course, mean 'nothing' e.g., T58-2 . . . *ē-ayitāpit, nama kīkway.* '. . . when he looked around, nothing'; T121-3 *nitonikēwak, nama kīkway.* 'They looked (for them), nothing'; T80p10 *nama kīkway ohtahtam.* 'He didn't get anything to eat from there.' As a phrase, however, *nama kīkway* or *ēkā kīkway* means 'not,' 'not at all,' 'not any,' etc.; note that the members of the phrasal unit do not have to be contiguous. *nama kīkway* or *ēkā kīkway* are used primarily to modify verbal or nominal expressions (but *nama kīkway* may also function as a predication; 4.323).

Modifying a nominal expression: T120-5 *nama kīkway matokahp ahpō ta-nanōkwaniyik, . . .* 'not even a trace of the campsite (0) could be seen (0′), . . .'; T10p78 *namōya mīna pakahkam aya kīkway osk-āya wāskahikana ē-wī-osīhtāhk sēmāk.* 'They (indf) are not going to build any new (0p) houses (0p) right away, I don't think (*pakahkam*).'

Modifying a verbal expression: T58-8 *nama kīkway pēhōw.* 'he didn't wait at all'; T9p3 . . ., *wiy ēkāya kīkway ē-ospitonit.* '. . ., because he had no arms left.'

4.323. Finally, *nama kīkway* may function as a verb-substitute with the meaning 'be gone, not be here any more'; (*cf.* also Bloomfield, 1934: p. 284). In this function *nama kīkway* closely parallels *awīnipan* (4.123), e.g., T56p3 *māk ēkwa, nama kīkway ēkoni*

ācimōwina. 'But now there aren't any such stories.' In at least one instance recorded by Bloomfield, *nama kīkway* is actually inflected to show concord: S22-9 *nama kēkwayah ōh otōspwākana . . .* 'Gone (3′) was his pipe (3′) . . . .'

4.33. kotak 'another'

kotak 'another, a second one':

3	*kotak*
3p	*kotakak*
3′	*kotaka*
0	*kotak*
0p	*kotaka*

The locative is *kotakihk* 'in another place, elsewhere.'

4.34. aya '. . . one'

aya 'someone':

3	*aya*
3p	*ayak*
3′	*aya*
0	*ayi*
0p	*aya*

The status of *aya* as a pronoun (rather than a noun) is doubtful since it never seems to occur as a substitute by itself. Although it is often glossed 'someone,' its meaning seems to be more fully reflected by such glosses as '. . . one; person, people; thing.' *aya* does not seem to be definable by the semantic categories of 4.422.

aya very commonly functions as the final member of compounds (6.5). For instance, it is used to nominalize particles, e.g. *oski* 'young': *osk-āya* 'a young one,' *osk-āyak* '(the) young people,' which may in turn give rise to animate intransitive (AI) verbs, e.g., *osk-āyiwiw* 'he is young.' The compound status of such words (as distinct from unit words) is evident from the fact that *aya* keeps its final vowel in the proximate singular form; *cf.* 3.31. The locative form occurs only where *aya* is part of a compound, e.g. *pimic-āyihk* 'alongside,' *kapē-ayihk* 'all the time,' etc.

Further examples: *mistahi* 'big': T7p2, 5, T27p2 *mistah-āya* 'the big one; bear.' *kēhtē* 'old': *kēhtē-ayak* 'the old folks,' *nikēhtē-ayimak* 'my old folks.' *aya* occurs also in compounds whose prior member is a verb: T72p24 *pēyakwahpicikēw-ayak* 'carts pulled by one horse'; *cf. pēyakwahpicikēw* 'he drives one horse.'

As a hesitation signal, *aya* is of extremely frequent occurrence and may be inserted virtually anywhere in a sentence; e.g., T47p11 *ōk āyak nōtokwēsiwak* 'these old women'; T10p2 *pīhtaw māna aya kā--nēhiyawēhk mōya cī.* 'But you (indf) can't talk Cree for everything, can you?'

4.4. ISOLATED PARADIGMS

The paradigms of the delimiting demonstrative *ēwako* and of the indefinite pronoun *awiyak* show certain resemblances with other pronominal and non-pronominal paradigms, e.g., /k/ in the animate plural forms. When the full paradigms are considered, however, these two appear to be isolated.

4.41. ēwako 'the selfsame'

The stem of the delimiting demonstrative *ēwako* occurs in several alternants, namely *ēyakw-*, *ēwakw-*, *ēkw-*. Except perhaps for stylistic differences, these alternants seem to be completely interchangeable.

This paradigm is the only non-verbal one in Plains Cree (*cf.* 5.74) to have an inanimate obviative form, *ēwakoyiw.* (Note that *ēwakoyiw* frequently occurs in a surface variant *ēwakwayiw*, and *cf.* also Ellis's form (1962: p. 4-15) *ēwakwēliw.*) Examples: T100p11 *ēyakwayiw kā-pimi-kiskisit* 'this (0′) he remembered as he ran (3)'; T16p77 *ēyakwayiw anima kā-nitawēyihtahk.* 'That (0′) is what he wants (3)'; T105p3 *māskōc kotak ana manitōw ēyakwayiw anima ē-kī-tōtahk.* 'Rather it was the other Spirit (i.e. devil, 3) who did (3) this (0′).'

3	*ēwako*
3p	*ēwakonik*
3′	*ēwakoni*
0	*ēwako*
0p	*ēwakoni*
0′	*ēwakoyiw*

While *ēwako* is clearly a kind of demonstrative, the details of its syntactic and semantic function are yet to be investigated.

ēwako is typically used in combination with one of the other demonstratives, especially *awa* and *ana*, e.g., T20p37 *ēwakoni ōhi āpacihcikana* 'these utensils (0p)'; T91-8 *ēkonik nēki mac-āyīsiyiniwak* 'those evil people yonder (3p)'; T35p3 *ēwakw ānima ohpihkasikan* 'that baking-powder (0).' However, it is by no means restricted to this combination, e.g., T33-6 *ēkosi nikīs-ācimon wiy ēyako.* 'Now I have finished telling (AI 1) this one (0)'; T35p5 . . . *kayās ēyako ē-kī-ihkihk*, 'long ago this (0) really happened (0)'; T35p3 *ēkwa ē-miyosicik ēkonik mostoswayānak.* 'And these (3p) buffalo-hides (3p) were good (3p).'

4.42. awiyak 'someone'

awiyak 'someone' generally seems to be restricted to animate forms; it is complemented, for the inanimate gender, by *kīkway* 'something' (4.32).

3	*awiyak*
3p	*awiyak*
3′	*awiya*

4.421. The pronouns *awiyak* 'someone' and *kīkway* 'something' (4.32) are very similar in syntax and meaning.

There may be some overlap in the animate forms While the data do not permit a more detailed statement, it is worth noting that *kīkway* is attested as a false start where *awiya* was intended: T97p2 *kahkiyaw kīkway- - -, awiya ēsa ē-kī-osīmimit, awa wīsahkēcāhk.* 'Everything- - -, everybody he had for a little brother (AI 3), this Wisahkecahk.'

Just like *kīkway, awiyak* may also be modified by pronouns and particles, e.g., T71p16 *kā-wāpamācik ē-wāwāskawēyit ōhi awiya.* 'They saw (3p-(3')) this (3') somebody (3') moving around (3')'; P260-26 *ēkā wiya pītos awiya wīkim.* 'Don't marry (2-3) anyone else.' (Note that *kīkway* is also found in a number of further combinations; *cf.* 4.321.)

Similarly, *awiyak* may also function as a phrasal modifier, especially when combined with a particle such as *namōya* 'not'; e.g., S257-3 *ēkosi namōy āwiya ayāwēw iskwēwa;* 'He, then, didn't have (3-(3')) any (3') wife (3').' In this function, *awiyak* may even occur with an inanimate noun, e.g., P8-1 *ēkwah kiyām pēyak ēh-ayāt awiyak maskihkiy, kit-ētohtatāw.* 'And please let anyone (*pēyak*) who has any (*awiyak*) medicine (0) bring it (AI 3) there.'

4.422. In meaning, *awiyak* and *kīkway* are both indefinite and SPECIFIC. (Note also the particle *pēyak* 'one, a certain' which is both definite and specific.)

Thus they are distinct from the "indefinite actor" category of verbs and the "indefinite possessor" category of nouns whose major characteristic is not indefiniteness but GENERALITY. (Whether "indefinite" functions at all in these categories remains to be investigated; *cf.* also 2.12, 2.511, and 2.52.)

Consider as an example the following sentence: S63-5 *kēhcināh awiyak ē-sīhkimikoyēk.* 'Surely someone (3) has put you up to this (3-2p).' If we compare this with the "indefinite (general) actor" sentence which would roughly correspond to it, the semantic difference becomes fairly obvious: *kēhcinā ē-sīhkimikawiyēk.* 'Surely someone has urged you (indf-2p) . . ., surely there has been urging directed to you . . ., surely you have been urged . . . .'

The difference becomes even more obvious when, for instance, the corresponding negative sentences are considered. *kēhcinā namōy āwiyak ē-sīhkimikoyēk.* 'Surely nobody has urged you (3-2p) . . .'; contrast *kēhcinā namōy ē-sīhkimikawiyēk.* 'Surely there has been no urging directed to you (indf-2p) . . ., surely you have not been urged . . . .'

The difference between the general ("indefinite") categories of nouns and verbs and the specific indefinite pronouns is not only semantic but is also reflected in inflection and syntax. Thus, for instance, there is only an "indefinite *actor*" form in verbs (action on a general *goal* is indicated derivationally; *cf.* 6.436). Indefinite pronouns, by contrast, occur either as actor or as goal, e.g., T50-2 . . ., *kā-wāpamāt awiya ē-osiskwēpayihoyit,* 'he saw (3-(3')) someone (3') sticking his head up (3').'

4.5. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are not inflected for number or obviation. As a set, however, they closely parallel the possessive paradigm of nouns (3.22), albeit with certain differences. There is no distinction of proximate and obviative in the personal pronoun paradigm; the one third-person form is used for both categories. There is also no indefinite actor form. (Note also the *w-* alternant of the third person prefix.)

There are two sets of personal pronouns: *nīya* 'I' represents the simple type, *nīsta* 'I, too; I myself' the affirmative type.

4.51. Stems

The stem of the simple personal pronouns is *-īya-*, that of the affirmative pronouns *-īsta-*. Even though the details of derivation remain to be discovered, there can be little doubt that *-īya-* and *-īsta-* are etymologically related. The Proto Algonquian forms which Haas (1967b) reconstructs for the simple set, **nīlawa* 'I' and **nīlawenān* 'we (excl.),' suggest that the current system has undergone a good deal of leveling.

4.52. Paradigms

The full sets follow. The 21 form of the simple set shows an alternant of the stem, *-īyā-*, which occurs only here; thus, *kīyānaw* is also the only form of this set stressed on the penultimate syllable. (It may be of interest that the same state of affairs is described by Howse (1844: p. 60) for an eastern dialect.)

1	*nīya*	*nīsta*
2	*kīya*	*kīsta*
3	*wīya*	*wīsta*
1p	*nīyanān*	*nīstanān*
21	*kīyānaw*	*kīstanaw*
2p	*kīyawāw*	*kīstawāw*
3p	*wīyawāw*	*wīstawāw*

5. VERB INFLECTION

5.1. BASIC VERB TYPES

There are four BASIC verb types which are distinct in derivation and inflection. There is also a small number of MARGINAL paradigms which use slightly divergent sets of endings; see 5.8.

The four basic classes are defined by the dimensions of transitivity and gender. Thus, there are intransitive verbs with animate actor (AI), e.g., *apiw* 'he sits,' and intransitive verbs with inanimate actor (II), e.g. *kīsikāw* 'it is day.' Transitive verbs, on the other hand, differ by the gender of the goal; thus, there are transitive verbs with animate goal (TA), e.g. *wāpamēw* 'he sees him,' and transitive verbs with inanimate goal (TI), e.g. *wāpahtam* 'he sees it.'

Derivationally, transitive as well as intransitive verbs largely come in pairs which differ by the gender

of the goal or of the actor, respectively; e.g., TA *itēyim-* 'think so of him,' TI *itēyiht-* 'think so of it'; TA *pakamahw-* 'strike him,' TI *pakamah-* 'strike it.' AI *akohcin-*, II *akohtē-* 'be in water'; AI *mihkosi-*, II *mihkwā-* 'be red.'

The dimensions which are labeled "transitivity" and "gender" define the focal type of each class; the syntactic and semantic properties implied by the label "transitivity" are not always shared by the entire class. The morphological basis of the present classification therefore needs to be emphasized. While the classification accounts for both the inflectional paradigms and the derivational structure of Cree verbs, there is a conflict of morphology and syntax in one important point: animate intransitive (AI) verbs syntactically fall into an intransitive and a transitive type, e.g., *apiw* 'he sits' and *osīhtāw* 'he makes it'; for further details see 5.12. An expression such as "a syntactically transitive animate intransitive verb," therefore, makes sense only when the essentially morphological nature of the classification, and the necessarily limited scope of the labels, are kept in mind.

Similarly, while the inflectional paradigms are an integral part of the classification into four basic types, the labels again are not to be taken too literally with regard to all forms. Thus, not even the transitive animate (TA) paradigm shows both referents, actor and goal, expressed in all its forms (*cf.* 5.61, 5.64) and the transitive inanimate (TI) paradigm, while clearly transitive in derivation, syntax, and meaning, in Cree shows no suffixes for the goal at all; *cf.* 5.13.

The classification of verbs into four basic types is a common trait of Algonquian languages. There can be no question about its appropriateness to the description of Cree even though its terminology is not immediately obvious from the Cree situation.

5.11. Transitive Animate

Among transitive animate (TA) verbs, there is a distinction between a "two-place" and a "three-place" type. (For these terms, *cf.* Lyons, 1968: p. 350.) The two-place type involves an actor and a goal, both animate, e.g., *wāpamēw* 'he sees him.' The three-place type further involves a second goal which may be of either gender or number and which is not morphologically expressed, e.g., *miyēw* 'he gives it or him to him'; *kimotamawēw* 'he steals it or him from him'; this has traditionally been called the "double goal" type (*cf.* 6.446).

5.12. Animate Intransitive

Animate intransitive (AI) verbs fall into two types which are syntactically and semantically distinct from one another. One is always transitive even though only the actor is morphologically expressed, e.g. *āpacihtāw* 'he uses it.' Bloomfield used the terms "pseudo-transitive" or even "pseudo-transitive inanimate" (1946: pp. 95, 112) for this type. Stems ending in *-htā-* (many of them paralleled by TA stems) are most characteristic of this type, e.g., *wanihtāw* 'he loses it' (*cf. wanihēw* 'he loses him'); but there are others as well, e.g. *mīciw* 'he eats it': T55p35 *nama kīkway ē-mīciyāhk.* 'There was nothing for us to eat'; for contrast consider *mīcisōw* 'he eats,' as in T55p26 *ēkāy ēkosi isi-mīcisok!* 'Don't eat like this!'

The other type is generally intransitive, e.g. *apiw* 'he sits,' and constitutes the great majority (in terms of list frequency) of animate intransitive (AI) verbs. However, verbs of this type are occasionally also used transitively even where regular transitive animate (TA) and transitive inanimate (TI) parallel stems exist also. Thus, *itwēw* 'he says so' which is typically intransitive (and is paralleled by TA *itēw* 'he says so to or of him' and TI *itam* 'he says so to or of it'), occurs transitively in T115p3 ". . ." *itwēw ēs ōma osōkan.* '". . ." he said about his rear-end.' Another example of this phenomenon is T60p9 *sihkihpa ēkoni ōhi ēsa kā-nawaswēt awa wīsahkēcāhk, . . .* 'This mudhen (3′) he chased (AI 3), this Wisahkecahk (3), . . .'; the TA and TI parallel stems are *nawaswātēw, nawaswātam* 'he pursues him, it.'

5.13. Transitive Inanimate

As has been noted above (5.1), transitive inanimate (TI) verbs show inflectional affixes for actor only. In meaning, syntax, and in the derivational parallelism with the transitive animate type, however, the transitive inanimate class as a whole is distinctly transitive.

In many other Algonquian languages (but by no means in all) the goal of transitive inanimate (TI) verbs is morphologically expressed. Ojibwa has a double paradigm in the independent indicative where one paradigm indicates a goal, e.g., *otēpwēttān* 'he believes it,' and the other does not, e.g., *tēpwēttam* 'he believes.' Goddard (1967) has made a convincing case for the existence of a double paradigm in Proto Algonquian; *cf.* also 5.614. In Cree this distinction has been obliterated. The goal is not indicated by a suffix but the meaning and syntax of most transitive inanimate verbs is nevertheless clearly transitive.

There are some transitive inanimate (TI) verbs which "refer to no identifiable object, but have a merely *formal* goal" (Bloomfield, 1946: p. 95; 1962: p. 46), e.g., *māham* 'he canoes downriver.' That is, such verbs never occur with an expressed goal in texts; whether they cannot, under any circumstances, take a goal (i.e., whether the "object deletion" is obligatory) has not been established. Bloomfield also referred to such verbs as "pseudo-intransitive" (1958: p. 34) and Goddard (1967: p. 67) even uses "pseudo-AI" (which further obscures the contrast of morphological and syntactic-semantic criteria in

classification). In Cree, however, the evidence for this subtype is inconclusive, and further informant work is required before a fuller statement can be attempted.

5.14. *Inanimate Intransitive*

Inanimate intransitive (II) verbs are always intransitive. (*Cf.* also 6.43.)

5.2. PARADIGM TABLES

The basic paradigms are presented here to summarize the data which are analyzed in this chapter. Without this aid to orientation, the analytic sections might be difficult to follow. The paradigms may also serve as a practical reference guide in the identification of newly encountered forms.

5.21. *Sources*

With the exception noted below, the tables only include forms which are textually attested, either in my own or in Bloomfield's texts.

A few forms which are not attested in the texts are cited in parentheses. These forms are considered to be of fairly high authenticity since they are uniformly given by the four major missionary sources on Plains Cree (Lacombe, Hunter, Lessard, Edwards). They are also at least partially confirmed by the remainder of their respective paradigms.[54]

5.22. *Empty Positions*

A paradigmatic position which is left empty in principle presents a choice of two interpretations: either no such form exists, or it has not been recorded.

The non-existence of a form for a paradigmatic position may reflect the neutralization of a contrast; this is indicated by the layout and the choice of parameters. For example, contrast the direct and inverse third-person sets of the TA independent indicative paradigm. Other cases may involve semantic restrictions (e.g., TA imperative 21-1) or they may correlate with the development of suppletive forms (e.g., the indefinite form of the AI independent indicative paradigm). In such cases, the fact that no form exists is indicated by a dash: ——.

Where a lacuna is considered accidental, it is indicated by empty brackets: [ ]. In the present tables, this type is restricted to the conjunct non-indicative (subjunctive and iterative) paradigms which are readily derived from the conjunct indicative paradigms (*cf.* 5.33).

Since the various preterit and dubitative paradigms are very incompletely attested, they are presented as lists rather than two-dimensionally. They follow the remainder of the basic paradigms.

[54] No attempt is made to incorporate the incredible diversity of paradigms found in missionary sources; while composite presentation would obviously open interesting perspectives, practical difficulties and problems of interpreting these sources preclude such an approach in the present context.

5.23. *Level of Representation*

The paradigms are given in phonemic representation; *cf.* appendix A, especially footnote 85. However, to facilitate use of these tables for quick reference purposes, suffix-initial *i* which reflects the palatalizing /i/ (rather than /e/) is underlined (*cf.* appendix A: 2).

The codes for the person-number-gender-obviation categories are defined in table 1 of section 2.01. For the alternant forms of the personal prefixes, see appendix A: 6. *Direct* and *inverse* are discussed in 2.5, and the terms *mixed*, *third-person*, and *you-and-me* are introduced in 5.611 and 5.612.

5.24. *Versions of the TA Independent Indicative Paradigm*

The TA independent indicative paradigm is presented in two versions; version B is omitted for the TA conjunct. The rationale for this double presentation is discussed in detail in sections 5.61–5.63.

Version A reflects the semantic structure of the paradigm as a whole, as well as the morphemes actually present in each form; thus, there is no obviative (3′) morpheme present in *wāpamēw* 'he sees him.'

Version B reflects the syntagmatic relations entered into by each individual form; for example, referentially and with regard to concord, *wāpamēw* 'he sees him' has a proximate (3) actor as well as an obviative (3′) goal.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF VERBAL PARADIGMS

Basic paradigms:	
TA independent indicative (A: meaning and morphemes present)	Table 6
TA independent indicative (B: reference)	Table 7
TA conjunct simple and changed (indicative)	Table 8
TA conjunct subjunctive and iterative	Table 9
TA imperative	Table 10
AI	Table 11
TI	Table 12
II	Table 13
Incompletely attested paradigms:	
Preterit (TA, AI, TI, II)	Table 14
Dubitative (TA, AI, TI)	
Marginal and suppletive paradigms:	
Relational (AI, TI)	5.813
Diminutive (TA, AI, TI)	5.82
TA inanimate actor	5.83
TA indefinite actor	5.84
AI, TI indefinite actor	5.85
AI inanimate actor	5.86

TABLE 6

TA INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE
A: Meaning and Morphemes Present

	DIRECT			INVERSE			
			[MIXED]				
	-3	*-3p*	*-3′*		*3-*	*3p-*	*3′-*
indf-	-āw	-āwak	-imāwa				
1-	ni- -āw	ni- -āwak	ni- -imāwa	*-1*	ni- -ik	ni- -ikwak	(ni- -ikoyiwa)
2-	ki- -āw	ki- -āwak	ki- -imāwa	*-2*	ki- -ik	ki- -ikwak	(ki- -ikoyiwa)
1p-	ni- -ānān	ni- -ānānak	ni- -imānāna	*-1p*	ni- -ikonān	ni- -ikonānak	ni- -ikonāna
21-	ki- -ānaw	ki- -ānawak	ki- -imānawa	*-21*	ki- -ikonaw	ki- -ikonawak	ki- -ikonawa
2p-	ki- -āwāw	ki- -āwāwak	ki- -imāwāwa	*-2p*	ki- -ikowāw	ki- -ikowāwak	ki- -ikowāwa
			[THIRD-PERSON]				
			-3′				
3-	-ēw		-imēw	*-3*	-ik		
3p-	-ēwak		(-imēwak)	*-3p*	-ikwak		
3′-	-ēyiwa			*-3′*	-ikoyiwa		
			[YOU-AND-ME]				
	-1		*-1p*		*1-*		*1p-*
2-	ki- -in		ki- -inan	*-2*	ki- -itin		ki- -itinān
2p-	ki- -ināwāw		ki- -inān	*-2p*	ki- -itināwāw		ki- -itinān

TABLE 7

TA INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE
B: Reference

	DIRECT				INVERSE				
	-3	*-3p*	*-3′*	*-3″*		*3-*	*3p-*	*3′-*	*3″-*
indf-	-āw	-āwak	-imāwa						
1-	ni- -āw	ni- -āwak	ni- -imāwa		*-1*	ni- -ik	ni- -ikwak	(ni- -ikoyiwa)	
2-	ki- -āw	ki- -āwak	ki- -imāwa		*-2*	ki- -ik	ki- -ikwak	(ki- -ikoyiwa)	
1p-	ni- -ānān	ni- -ānānak	ni- -imānāna		*-1p*	ni- -ikonān	ni- -ikonānak	ni- -ikonāna	
21-	ki- -ānaw	ki- -ānawak	ki- -imānawa		*-21*	ki- -ikonaw	ki- -ikonawak	ki- -ikonawa	
2p-	ki- -āwāw	ki- -āwāwak	ki- -imāwāwa		*-2p*	ki- -ikowāw	ki- -ikowāwak	ki- -ikowāwa	
3-			-ēw	-imēw	*-3*			-ik	
3p-			-ēwak	(-imēwak)	*-3p*			-ikwak	
3′-				-ēyiwa	*-3′*				-ikoyiwa

5.25. Summary of Verbal Paradigms

Table 5 presents a summary of verbal paradigms, including the marginal and suppletive paradigms treated in 8.5.

5.3. MODAL CATEGORIES

Plains Cree verbs are inflected in three ORDERS: INDEPENDENT, CONJUNCT, and IMPERATIVE. The orders use different sets of affixes (although some subsets recur in more than one order, *cf.* 5.67).

The orders also differ in their syntactic function. Briefly, independent and imperative order forms occur as whole sentences, e.g., T33-3 *nipimipahtān.* 'I was running'; P264-38 *āhkamēyimok!* 'Do your best!' Conjunct forms occur in dependent clauses, e.g., S58-5 *tāpwēh ē-kīh-mīcisot kawisimōw ēh-nipāt.* 'Truly, when he had eaten, he lay down to sleep.' The distribution of the negators crosscuts this classification: *nama*, *namōya*, and others based on *nam-* occur with independent clauses while *ēkā* is found with imperative and with conjunct clauses.

5.31. Subcategories

The missionary sources indicate a wide variety of subcategories. Using data from the James Bay dialect, Ellis (1961, 1971) posits three dimensions of contrast below the order level. Ellis's scheme is given in full (table 16) to serve as a point of reference and of contrast.

However, the three modes which Ellis posits for the conjunct order are not coordinate. It is clear from the morphology of these categories, and their syntactic functions seem to pattern correspondingly, that the indicative and subjunctive together are

TABLE 8

TA CONJUNCT SIMPLE AND CHANGED (INDICATIVE)

	DIRECT			INVERSE			
			[MIXED]				
	-3	*-3p*	*-3′*		*3-*	*3p-*	*3′-*
indf-	-iht	-ihcik	-imiht				
1-	-ak	-akik	-imak	*-1*	-it	-icik	(-iyit)
2-	-at	-acik	-imat	*-2*	-isk	-iskik	(-iyisk)
1p-	-āyāhk	-āyāhkik	-imāyāhk	*-1p*	-ikoyāhk	-ikoyāhkik	(-ikowāyāhk)
21-	-āyahk	-āyahkok	(-imāyahk)	*-21*	-ikoyahk	-ikoyahkok	(-ikowāyahk)
2p-	-āyēk	-āyēkok	(-imāyēk)	*-2p*	-ikoyēk	-ikoyēkok	(-ikowāyēk)
			[THIRD-PERSON]				
			-3′				
3-	-āt		-imāt	*-3*	-ikot		
3p-	-ācik		(-imācik)	*-3p*	-ikocik		
3′-	-āyit			*-3′*	-ikoyit		
			[YOU-AND-ME]				
	-1	*-1p*			*1-*	*1p-*	
2-	-iyan	-iyāhk		*-2*	-itān	-itāhk	
2p-	-iyēk	-iyāhk		*-2p*	-itakok	-itāhk	

TABLE 9

TA CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIVE AND ITERATIVE

	DIRECT			INVERSE			
			[MIXED]				
	-3	*-3p*	*-3′*		*3-*	*3p-*	*3′-*
indf-	-ihci	-ihtwāwi	-imihci				
1-	-aki	-akwāwi	-imaki	*-1*	-ici	-itwāwi	[ ]
2-	-aci	-atwāwi	[ ]	*-2*	-iski	[ ]	[ ]
1p-	-āyāhki	-āyāhkwāwi	[ ]	*-1p*	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
21-	-āyahko	-āyahkwāwi	[ ]	*-21*	-ikoyahko	-ikoyahkwāwi	[ ]
2p-	-āyēko	-āyēkwāwi	[ ]	*-2p*	-ikoyēko	-ikoyēkwāwi	[ ]
			[THIRD-PERSON]				
			-3′				
3-	-āci		[ ]	*-3*	-ikoci		
3p-	-ātwāwi		[ ]	*-3p*	-ikotwāwi		
3′-	-āyici			*-3′*	-ikoyici		
			[YOU-AND-ME]				
	-1	*-1p*			*1-*	*1p-*	
2-	-iyani	-iyāhki		*-2*	-itāni	[ ]	
2p-	-iyēko	-iyāhki		*-2p*	-itakwāwi	[ ]	

opposed to the dubitative. Thus, the forms of the subjunctive differ from those of the indicative simply by the suffixation of a closing morpheme /ih/ which is accompanied by the automatic selection of the plural marker /wāw/ (instead of /k/; *cf.* 5.48), e.g., *apiyān* 'that I sit' versus *apiyāni* 'if I sit,' or *wiyāpamācik* 'when they see him' versus *wiyāpamātwāwi* 'whenever they see him.' The formation of dubitative forms, on the other hand, involves a fairly complex set of suffixes differing considerably from the indicative and subjunctive, e.g. (Ellis, 1961: p. 122) *kē-wāpamāwakwē* '(I wonder whether) I'll be seeing him' versus *kē-wāpamak* 'I'll be seeing him'; consider also /ikwē/ (3-1) and /eskwē/ (3-2) versus non-dubitative /it/ and /esk/, respectively; etc.

Consequently, a further opposition, of dubitative versus non-dubitative, seems to be called for. The corresponding level of the classificatory hierarchy is tentatively termed "sub-order." Under this revised scheme there would be no contrast, in the independent

order, in two of the four dimensions. There may even be grounds for questioning the construction of a unified scheme for all three orders.

The present data do not permit verification of the Ellis scheme, especially with regard to the less common dimensions.[55] Thus, only non-dubitative forms are considered for any order, and no data are available for the tense contrast within the conjunct order.

Therefore, we follow Bloomfield's practice of using one generic term for all subcategories (except that for the changed-unchanged dimension "sub-mode" is

TABLE 10

TA IMPERATIVE

Immediate

	[YOU-AND-ME]		[MIXED]		
	-1	*-1p*	*-3*	*-3p*	*-3′*
2-	-in	-inān	-i, -Ø	-i, -Ø, -ik	(-im)
21-	—	—	-ātān	-ātānik	(-imātān)
2p-	-ik	-inān	-ihk	-ihkok	(-imihk)

Delayed

	[YOU-AND-ME]		[MIXED]		
	-1	*-1p*	*-3*	*-3p*	*-3′*
2-	-ihkan	-ihkāhk	-āhkan	-āhkanik	-imāhkan
21-	—	—	-āhkahk	-āhkahkik	(-imāhkahk)
2p-	-ikhēk	-ihkāhk	-āhkēk	-āhkēkok	(-imāhkēk)

TABLE 11

ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (AI)

	Independent Indicative	Conjunct Simple and Changed	Conjunct Subjunctive and Iterative
indf		-hk	-hki
1	ni- -n	-yān	-yāni
2	ki- -n	-yan	-yani
1p	ni- -nān	-yāhk	-yāhki
21	ki- -naw, -nānaw	-yahk	-yahko
2p	ki- -nāwāw	-yēk	-yēko
3	-w, -Ø[a]	-t, -k[a]	-ci, -ki[a]
3p	-wak	-cik, -kik[a]	-twāwi, -kwāwi[a]
3′	-yiwa	-yit	-yici

Imperative

	Immediate	Delayed
2	-Ø, -i[a]	-hkan
21	-tān	-hkahk
2p	-k	-hkēk

[a] The first ending occurs with vowel stems, the second with n-stems; cf. 5.52.

[55] There is a striking contrast between the relatively simple verb paradigms attested in Plains Cree texts and the immense proliferation of forms which Ellis (1971) reports for the Swampy and Moose dialects of eastern James Bay.

TABLE 12

TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (TI)

	Independent Indicative	Conjunct Simple and Changed	Conjunct Subjunctive and Iterative
indf		-amihk	-amihki
1	ni- -ēn	-amān	-amāni
2	ki- -ēn	-aman	-amani
1p	ni- -ēnān	-amāhk	-amāhki
21	ki- -ēnaw, -ēnānaw	-amahk	-amahko
2p	ki- -ēnāwāw	-amēk	-amēko
3	-am	-ahk	-ahki
3p	-amwak	-ahkik	-ahkwāwi
3′	-amiyiwa	-amiyit	-amiyici

Imperative

	Immediate	Delayed
2	-a	-amōhkan
21	-ētān	-amōhkahk
2p	-amok	-amōhkēk

TABLE 13

INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (II)

	Independent Indicative	Conjunct Simple and Changed	Conjunct Subjunctive and Iterative
0	-w, -Ø[a]	-k	-ki
0p	-wa	-ki	[ ]
0′	-yiw	-yik	-yiki
0′p	-yiwa	-yiki	[ ]

[a] The first ending occurs with vowel stems, the second with n-stems; cf. 5.53.

TABLE 14

PRETERIT (INDEPENDENT)

		h-preterit	ht-preterit	p-preterit
TA mixed	1-3	ni- -āh	ni- -āhtay	
	1-3p		ni- -āhtayak	
	1-3′	ni- -imāh		
	2-3	ki- -āh		
	3-1	ni- -ikoh		
	3p-1		ni- -ikohtayak, -ikohtayik	
	3-2	ki- -ikoh		
	3-21		ki- -ikohtānaw	
third-person	3-(3′)	o- -āh		
	3p-(3′)		o- -āhtāwāw	
	(3′)-3	o- -ikoh		
you-and-me	2-1	ki- -ih		
	1-2	ki- -itih		
indf actor	indf-1	ni- -ikawih		
	indf-2	ki- -ikawih		
AI	1	ni- -h		
	2	ki- -h		
	21		ki- -htānaw	
	2p		ki- -htāwāw	
	3	o- -h	o- -htay	
	3p		o- -htāwāw	
	3′	o- -yih		
relational	1	ni- -wāh		
TI	1	ni- -ēh		
	2	ki- -ēh		
	3	o- -ēh		
relational	1	ni- -amwāh		
II	0	-h		-pan

TABLE 15

DUBITATIVE

		Independent	Conjunct
TA	3-1	ni- -okwē	
	3-(3′)		-āhkwē
	indf-1	ni- -ikawinātokē	
AI	2	ki- -nātokē	
	21		-yahkakwē (?)
	3	-tokē	-kwē
	3p	-tokēnik	-wakwē (?)
TI	3	-amōtokē	-amokwē
	3p	-amōtokēnik	
	3′	-amiyitokēni	

TABLE 16

SUBCATEGORIES OF THE VERB ACCORDING TO ELLIS (1961, 1971)

Order	Mode	Tense	Submode
independent	indicative	neutral	
		preterit	
	dubitative	neutral	
		preterit	
conjunct	indicative	neutral	unchanged
			changed
		preterit	unchanged
			changed
	subjunctive	neutral	unchanged
			changed
	dubitative	neutral	unchanged
			changed
		preterit	unchanged
			changed
imperative		immediate	
		delayed	

sometimes convenient). In choosing MODE (Bloomfield, 1946; in 1928 he had used the less neutral "tense"), the implications of the Ellis scheme are expressly disavowed for Plains Cree until further data permit deeper analysis. We interpret Bloomfield's usage in the same way: certainly not as implying a linear structure; but to avoid commitment in a situation which remains insufficiently clear.

5.311. Although the data do not permit a consistent morphological analysis of the dubitative in Cree, the available verb forms are recorded in table 15.

The range of meaning of the dubitative is exemplified in these sentences: S300-15 . . ., *nipēhikawinātokē*, . . . 'I wonder if they are waiting for me'; S130-7 *kaskēyihtamōtokēnik aniki nitēhtāwāw.* 'Surely these co-parents-in-law of mine must be lonely'; S84-11 *māh-mōminēwak, itah misawāc kiw-ōh-pimātisiwakwē.* 'They are eating berries from the bush, they will be living on that, no doubt.' Quite typically, the dubitative occurs with an interrogative pronoun or conjunction: T91p20 *tānisi ē-itinikēkwē.* 'I wonder how he is faring'; T109p10 . . ., *tāntē mīna wēhtināhkwē askihkwa.* 'I don't know where he got a pail'; P200-35 *awīna wēkimāwikwē ēkw āna . . .* 'whoever is chief, he will . . .'; T99p8 *tāntahto nēpahāhkwē, ahpō ēyako namoy nikiskēyihtēn tāntahto.* 'How many he may have killed, that I don't know, just how many.'

There are also isolated cases of a dubitative ending occurring with a nominal or pronominal stem (*cf.* 3.5 and 4.21, footnotes 47 and 51).

Most striking, perhaps, is the use of the dubitative particle *ētokwē* 'I wonder' (Bloomfield consistently records *ētokē*). *ētokwē* occurs very freely both with independent and conjunct order verbs, as well as in non-verbal sentences. Statistical studies (*cf.* Wolfart and Pardo, 1972) show that *ētokwē* is exactly ten times more frequent in the Alberta texts than in Bloomfield's texts. Stylistics, dialect differences, the time difference, etc. undoubtedly must be taken into account in this matter. But the most interesting question, which has to remain completely open at the present time, is whether there is an observable decline in the frequency of dubitative verb forms which would correlate with the increasing frequency of the non-verbal dubitative marker *ētokwē*.

5.32. Independent Order

The non-preterit paradigm corresponds to the INDICATIVE mode of Bloomfield and Ellis, and the latter term will be used for the sake of convenience. This mode is used in simple statements.

There are three different PRETERIT paradigms which are much less fully attested. In spite of some syncretism, they seem to be distinct (but note that there is a much greater degree of syncretism evident in James Bay Cree; *cf.* Ellis, 1971). Following Hunter and Bloomfield, the preterits are identified by reference to morphological characteristics: H-, HT- and P-PRETERIT.

5.321. The p-preterit is distinct from the others: it does not take the third-person prefix *o-* (*cf.* 2.11); its marker, which is tentatively set up as /Lpan/, occupies a different suffix position (6, 7? *cf.* 5.46) from that of the h- and ht-preterits (4); finally, its meaning seems to affect the meaning of the stem, much as a derivational suffix would, rather than that of the construction as a whole. In Bloomfield's words (1928: p. 429), the p-preterit "is used of past occurrence no longer true in the present: *pimātisipan* 'he was alive (and is now dead)'; it seems to be confined to archaizing language." The p-preterit is rare; textual examples seem to be restricted to II stems or to AI/TI indefinite actor forms which pattern like II stems (5.85): S182-32 *miywāsinōpan ēh-otihtikoyahk!* 'It seemed so good (just a moment ago) that he came to us'; S13-7 *misiwē ēsah kiy-iskipēpan.* 'The flood

had covered all'; T520p23 *aspin nīmihitonāniwīpan.* 'There had been dancing there.'

The same suffix also occurs, in a slightly variant form, with nouns (3.5) and with at least one pronoun (4.123).

5.322. Both h- and ht-preterit use the third-person prefix *o-;* this is the only occurrence of the *o-* prefix in the entire verb system.

Bloomfield (1928) considered the ht-preterit archaic but the present data support no such differentiation. The full meanings of the h- and ht-preterits have not been established, and the present evidence neither supports nor contradicts Bloomfield's claim (1928) that there is no difference in meaning between them.

A few observations may be worth noting in spite of their highly tentative nature. The ht-preterit seems to be used mostly of events which are completed, e.g., T122p4 *niwanihāhtayak* 'I lost them'; S9-46 *ēwakw āwa otawāsisiwihtay wīsahkēcāhk.* 'That boy was Wisahkecahk in his childhood'; *cf.* also S12-41, S245-41.

Compared with the ht-preterit, the meaning of the h-preterit is much more clearly different from that of the p-preterit since the h-preterit may denote occurrences which persist, e.g., T110p5 *māninakisk mihta otawatā.* "Then he kept hauling wood" (informant's translation). The continuing, imperfective meaning of the h-preterit is fairly obvious in T108-7 *māninakisk ēkwa ēkoni opahkwatinā. piyisk kaskīhtāw ōma kā--pahkwatināt,* . . . 'He then kept taking these off. Finally he succeeded in taking them off, . . .' The h-preterit very often occurs with the particle *māninakisk, āninakisk* whose meaning is not quite clear; glosses include 'then, right away, vigorously, entirely, just like that,' etc. Thus, T27p4 *pīkohtitāw otatosisa, māninakisk opīkohtitā.* 'He broke his arrows (on him), he just broke them.'

Both the h- and ht- preterit commonly express a past expectation which has not been fulfilled or describe a situation which no longer exists: S281-39 *yah, kipē-wīwi!* 'Indeed, you came here to take a wife!' (*sc.* but have not done so)'; S300-5 *ēkwah mīcisoyahk! knōhtēhkatāhtānaw, nisīmis!* 'Now we shall eat! We surely were hungry, little sister!' (Note that the same function is also exemplified for the p-preterit in S182-32, above.) In the following example, the preterit verb form includes the preverb *wī* 'will, intend to': S257-11 *kiwī-sīkahotih ōma!* 'I meant to comb your hair!'

The "irreal" function of the preterit is particularly striking in conditional sentences; the condition is usually (but not necessarily) expressed by a verb in the simple conjunct mode: P192-16 *ēkosi kiwēh--nipahitih, kī-kisiwāhitān.* 'Thus I was going to kill you, if I had incurred your anger.' Most examples of the "irreal" preterit show the future preverb *ka* combined with the perfective (?) preverb $kī_1$, resulting in an explicitly past irreal conditional: S50-8 *misawāc kī-waskawiyin, sēmāk ka-kīh-nipahikoh awa nitēskan!* 'Certainly, if you had budged, at once this horn of mine would have killed you'; S73-12 *kont ītah miskwamiyah kīh-pīkwāskawāt kōhtāwiy,* '. . .' *ka-kīh--itwāhtānaw!* 'If your father had broken through the ice, no matter where, then we could have cried '. . .'!'; P250-14 *oka-kīh-miywēyihtēh ninahāhkisīm, itah ta--wāpamāt okāwiya* . . . 'How glad my son-in-law would have been to see his father here . . . .'

5.33. Conjunct Order

The four modes of the conjunct order are defined by two morphological criteria which intersect one another. One of these is INITIAL CHANGE which is described in detail in appendix A: 7. It is the basis for Ellis's submode dimension.

The other criterion is the presence or absence of the morpheme /ih/ which is not followed by any other suffix (5.49). (In the environment of /ih/, the third person is pluralized by /wāw/ (5.48); in northern Alberta, /wāw/ is used instead of /k/ throughout the conjunct order, not only in the subjunctive and iterative modes.)

The diagram displays the two oppositions and the modes they define.

		initial change +	*initial change* −
/ih/	+	ITERATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
	−	CHANGED	SIMPLE

The terms which appear in the diagram are those of Bloomfield (1928); they correspond to Ellis's terms as follows:

simple: indicative neutral unchanged
changed: indicative neutral changed
subjunctive: subjunctive neutral unchanged
iterative: subjunctive neutral changed

Note that Bloomfield's terms avoid ranking the oppositions with respect to each other. (Nevertheless, it may sometimes be convenient in discussions of morphology to let "conjunct indicative" refer to the simple and changed modes collectively.) The meaning of the modes may be hinted at in glosses like these:

simple: 'that it is . . .'
changed: 'it being . . .'
subjunctive: 'if it be . . .'
iterative: 'whenever it is . . .'

There follow brief indications of the meaning and use of the conjunct order modes.

5.331. By far the commonest use of the simple conjunct is with the future marker *kita, ta,* e.g., S12-8 *nama kaskihtāw kita-mōsōwit.* 'He didn't succeed in turning into a moose.'

But even without this marker, simple conjunct clauses may express subsequence or purpose; they are usually introduced by a conjunction like *nawac* 'it is better,' e.g., S238-39 . . ., *nawac kakwē-wāpamacik.* 'you ought to try to see them.'

The simple conjunct is also governed by certain specific conjunctions such as *maywēs, pāmoyēs* 'before' (which may, however, also take the changed conjunct with preverb *kā*); *tānika, pitanē* 'would that!' etc. Examples: T55p71 *maywēs pē-sipwēhtēyāhk* 'before we left there'; S8-24 *maywēs askiy ihtakohk* 'before the earth existed'; *tānika kīpa takohtēt cān.* 'I wish John would get home soon'; P78-1 *pitanēh pimātisit!* 'May he live!'

5.332. The changed conjunct indicates subordination in an entirely neutral way. It is the most versatile, in its syntactic use, of the conjunct modes, and consequently the most widely used as well.

Initial change may operate on the first syllable of the verb stem, e.g., S11-31 *tēkohtēt awa kisēyiniw* 'when the old man arrived.' More typically, however, it affects one of a small set of preverbs (6.521), such as *kī* which is changed to *kā*, e.g., S246-25 *ēh-pīhtokēt, kā-wāpamāt ōhi kā-kīh-nipahāt nāpēsisah.* 'When she came in, she saw (3-(3′)) the boy (3′) whom she had killed (3-(3′)).' The most frequent preverb, *ē*, seems to be nothing but a "vehicle" for initial change; its underlying, unchanged form does not occur in Cree. Impressionistically speaking, the use of *ē* is gaining at the expense of forms where the stem itself undergoes initial change. Examples: S41-41 *papāmitācimōw, ē-nitonawāt* 'he crawled about, looking for him'; S41-29 *kā-pēhtamān ē-nikohtēyin* 'I heard you chopping'; etc.

The uses of conjunct forms may be grouped into four basic types. While most of these are found in all conjunct modes, they are most clearly seen in the changed conjunct.

Narrative: where main and subordinate clause show no agreement of referents, e.g., P264-32 *mwēhci ēh-āpihtā-piponiyik, ēh-ati-tipiskāyik, wīsāmēw wīwa.* 'Exactly in the middle of winter (0′), at nightfall (0′), he asked his wife (3′) to go with him (3-(3′)).'

Participial: where there is some agreement, between clauses, of overt or covert referents, e.g., S237-5 *k-āyītawihkwākanēt wīhtikōw* 'the two-faced Windigo'; P262-27 *kitimākisināwāw kā-wī-kakwē-nipahiyēk.* 'You are pitiable (2p) who mean to try to kill me (2p-1).'

Substantive: where a clause functions as the adjunct of a verb, e.g., P2-14 *kītahtawē pēyak kīh-pawātam* (3) *ē-wīh-kapāyit* (3′) *mōniyāw-iyiniwa* (3′) *wāpiski--wiyāsah* (3′). 'Then at one time a certain man dreamt (3) that the Canadian (3′), the White Man (3′) would land here (3′).'

Focal: where the predication is a particle expression, e.g., P256-19 *namoya ēh-āhkosiyān.* 'It is not that I am ill'; S40-4 *kītahtawē wāskahikan kāh-ōtihtahk.* 'Presently, he came to a house'; P262-10 *tānēhki k-ōh-picicik?* 'Why have they moved camp?'

5.333. The subjunctive mode expresses a condition, in a very wide sense. For instance, S62-2 *kīspin nipahikawiyāni,* . . . 'if I am slain (indf-1), . . .'; P8-7 *nika-pimitācimon, pīhtokēyānih.* 'I shall be crawling along the ground when I enter the lodge.'

The predication on which a subjunctive clause depends typically (but not obligatorily) contains an indication of subsequence (futurity), e.g., P8-10 *ēkwa kī-nipahiyēko, ka-pakocēninānāwāw.* 'And when you have slain me, you will (*ka*) cut me open'; S238-3 *takwāmoyani ēkotē, ōmisi itwēhkan:* 'When you get there, speak then (delayed imperative) thus.'

Finally, subjunctive clauses are often used for expressing the time of day (*cf.* 5.334), e.g., P6-34 *hāw, tipiskākih isko nika-pēhon.* 'Well, I shall wait until dark.' But note that besides, say, *wāpahki* 'in the morning; tomorrow' we also find the changed conjunct form *ē-wāpahk* with largely the same meaning.

5.334. The iterative combines not only the morphological characteristics of the changed and subjunctive modes, namely initial change and the suffix /ih/, but also, it would seem, some of their more salient syntactic features: the changed mode's use in participial and narrative clauses, and the subjunctive's feature of conditionality.

Examples: S244-19 *mistahi miywēyihtamwak māna ōki oskinīkiwak, mīnisah miyīcitwāwi.* 'Those young men were always very glad when they had berries to eat'; S8-2 *kītahtawē māna sēpwēhtēci, owīkimākana wawēsiyiwa.* 'Then presently, whenever he went away, his wife dressed up.'

Expressions of season often show the iterative (*cf.* 5.333), e.g., S253-16 *niyīpiniyikih* 'in summer-time'; S254-2 *pēponiyikih* 'in winter-time, every winter.'

5.34. Imperative Order

There are two subcategories, IMMEDIATE and DELAYED. Imperative forms are used for commands, exhortations, etc.

The delayed mode indicates that the command, exhortation, etc. is to be obeyed not immediately but at a later point in time. Most typically, it is found together with a conditional clause, e.g., S254-13 ". . ." *itāhkan, mayaw wāpamacih;* '". . ." do you then say to him, as soon as you see him.' But it is by no means restricted to such a context; consider S247-33 *hāw, awāsis, ōma nawacī; mīcīhkahk ōma otakisih.* 'Come, child, roast this (immediate); let us later eat (delayed) this tripe.'

The marker of the delayed imperative is /Lhk/; it is followed by the same person markers as are found in the conjunct order. For Proto Algonquian, Bloomfield (1946: p. 100) sets up a special "prohibitive" order to which the delayed imperative paradigm of Cree would correspond.

5.4. AFFIX POSITION CLASSES

The position classes of verbal affixes correspond closely, as far as applicable, to those of the nominal affixes; *cf.* 3.1. The present section may also serve as an index of morphemes.

Morphophonemic rules are given in appendix A.

The personal prefixes are described in detail in section 2.11. They occur in the independent order only.

The suffix position classes and their order are summarized below. The brief labels used in this list are intended as approximations only.

1 thematic obviative sign /em/
2 theme signs
3 thematic obviative sign /eyi/
4 mode signs: h- and ht- preterit, delayed imperative
5 non-third person suffixes
6, 7 } mode signs: p-preterit, dubitative
8 third person suffixes
9 third person plural and obviative suffixes
10 mode signs: subjunctive and iterative

One of the theme signs of position 2 (5.422) and the obviative suffix of position 3 (5.43) differ from the remainder of the suffixes by their nearly universal occurrence in different orders, paradigms, word classes (5.2, 3.22, 6.431). Positions 1 to 3 are conveniently termed "thematic."

5.41. Suffix Position 1: Thematic obviative Sign /em/

The *thematic obviative sign* /em/ occurs in the direct sets of the TA paradigm; see 5.633 and 5.663. (Note the homonymy of this morpheme with the possessive theme marker of nouns; *cf.* 3.21.)

5.42. Suffix Position 2: Theme Signs

Only the theme signs of the TA paradigm are listed here; those of the TI paradigm are described in 5.71. (For the terms *mixed*, *third-person*, and *you-and-me* see 5.61.)

5.421. /ā/∼/ē/∼Ø mark *direct* action except in the you-and-me set (5.621, 5.622).

/ē/ occurs in the third-person set of the independent order (5.61).

Zero occurs in those forms of the mixed set of the conjunct order which involve a non-third singular referent (5.662) and in the mixed 2- and 2p-forms of the immediate imperative (5.671).

/ā/ occurs elsewhere, namely in the mixed set of the independent indicative (5.65) and throughout the independent preterit (5.651, 5.652). In the conjunct order, it occurs in the third-person forms (5.61) and in those forms of the mixed set which involve a non-third plural referent (5.661). In the imperative order it occurs in the 21-form of the immediate mode (5.671) and throughout the delayed mode (5.672).

5.422. /ekw/∼/eko/∼Ø marks *inverse* action except in the you-and-me set. /ekw/ occurs in all inverse forms of the independent order (5.621, 5.622).

In the conjunct order, the zero alternant occurs in those forms of the mixed set whose non-third referent is singular (5.662). /ekw/∼/eko/ occur in all other inverse forms of the conjunct order (5.661); for the extended form /ekow/ see 5.663.

The TA inanimate actor paradigm (5.83) is clearly based on /ekw/∼/eko/; the relation between /ekw/ and the suffix of the TA indefinite actor paradigm (5.84), /ekawi/, remains to be explored.

Even in nominal and verbal derivation, "inverse direction" (2.5) is typically expressed by suffixes which include /ek/ (6.418), /ekw/ and /ekōw/ (6.431), etc. This link with derivation might eventually complement semantic evidence for the apparent tendency of the direction category to develop from an inflectional to a derivational phenomenon; *cf.* also 5.664.

5.423. /i/ marks *direct* action in the you-and-me set (5.623, 5.64).

5.424. /et/∼/eti/ marks *inverse* action in the you-and-me set (5.623, 5.64). /et/ occurs in the conjunct, and /eti/ in the independent order. (Note that an alternant /eti/ is indicated by the TA 1-2 h-preterit form *-itih* where the theme sign is followed directly by the preterit marker *-h*; /eti/ cannot be interpreted as /et/ followed by connective /i/ because of the palatalizing effect of the latter.)

5.43. Suffix Position 3: Thematic Obviative Sign /eyi/

The *thematic obviative sign* /eyi/ occurs in obviative verb forms which do not also involve a non-third person. (An exception to this statement is the TA 3′-1, 2 ending *-ikoyiwa* which is discussed in 5.65.)

Apart from its wide occurrence in different orders, paradigms, and word classes (*cf.* 5.4), the thematic nature of /eyi/ is further indicated by its occurrence in the h-preterit which has no personal endings.

5.44. Suffix Position 4: Mode Signs: h- and ht-preterit, Delayed Imperative

The *mode signs* of the *delayed imperative*, /Lhk/ (5.672); the *h-preterit*, /h/ (5.651); and the *ht-preterit*, /htay/ (5.652).

5.45. Suffix Position 5: Non-Third Person Suffixes

5.451. The suffixes /enān/, /enaw/, and /ewāw/ may be viewed in two different ways. On the one hand, /enān/, /enaw/, and /ewāw/ are non-third person markers, alternating with extended alternants /enānaw/ and /enāwāw/ and, in the case of /enān/, occurring also in the immediate imperative which has

no personal prefixes. The alternant forms are clearly the result of paradigmatic leveling.

On the other hand, the use of /enān/, /enaw/, and /ewāw/ parallels that of the same suffixes when they occur in the possessive paradigm of nouns, i.e. in the inner layer of nominal affixation (*cf.* 3.22). In this function they are mere pluralizers which pluralize the personal prefixes.

The purely pluralizing function of /ewāw/, and the hierarchical structuring of affixation it indicates, becomes obvious only where /ewāw/ pluralizes the third person prefix *o-*. (Since the use of this prefix in Cree verb inflection is restricted to a few archaic and rare forms, /ewāw/ has come to be associated almost exclusively with the second person. Except for these rare forms, the third person is expressed in the outer layer of affixation and is pluralized by /k/; *cf.* 5.48.) In verb inflection, the third person prefix *o-* occurs only in the h- and ht-preterits, and the 3p form of the h-preterit is not attested. Thus, only the ht-preterit remains, and there we actually find the affix combination /o- -ewāw/; for examples see 5.652 and 5.7.

5.452. The non-third person suffixes of the *independent* order (5.65).

'Ø 'indf.'

/n/∼Ø '1, 2.' The zero alternant occurs in the direct and inverse sets of the TA independent, /n/ elsewhere.[56] /n/ also occurs in the 2-1 form of the TA immediate imperative (5.643).

/enān/ '1p.' /enān/ occurs also in the TA immediate imperative (5.642).

/enaw/∼/enānaw/ '21.' /enānaw/ occurs besides /enaw/ in the AI and TI paradigms (5.72), /enaw/ occurs elsewhere.

/ewāw/∼/enāwāw/ '2p.' /enāwāw/ occurs in the AI and TI paradigms (5.72) and in the you-and-me set of the TA paradigm (5.64); /ewāw/ occurs elsewhere. (*Cf.* also 5.451 above; for the near-homonymous plural marker of some conjunct modes *cf.* 5.48.)

5.453. The non-third person suffixes of the *conjunct* order.

Most of the morphemes of this class which begin in a vowel also have an alternant beginning in /y/. /y/-alternants are attested for /ān, an, āhk, ahkw, ēkw/. (For the endings /iyit/ and /iyesk/ see 5.663.) The /y/-less forms, which occur in the TI conjunct, in the delayed imperative, and in the (inverse) you-and-me forms of the TA paradigm are taken as basic. A model for the emergence of the /y/-forms by paradigmatic leveling is easily found: /y/ is regularly inserted when long vowels follow each other; *cf.* appendix A: 3.1. Such is the case when an AI stem in *ī, ē, ā, ō* (5.52) combines with /ān/, /āhk/, or /ēkw/. Moreover, the insertion of /y/ prevents the merging of vowels elsewhere in the paradigm, or with short-vowel stems. The closely parallel TI paradigm with its consonantal theme sign may also be mentioned. Outside of the AI paradigm, /y/-alternants occur in the conjunct order of the TA paradigm (5.661, 5.663); the TA indefinite and inanimate actor paradigms (5.83, 5.84) actually use the AI endings (as is seen by the independent order forms).

/eht/∼/hk/ 'indf.' /eht/ occurs in the TA (5.662), /hk/ in the AI and TI paradigms (5.72).

/ān/∼/ak/∼/it/ '1.' /ak/ and /it/ occur in the direct and inverse sets of the TA paradigm (5.662), /ān/ occurs elsewhere.

/an/∼/at/∼/esk/ '2.' /at/ and /esk/ occur in the direct and inverse sets of the TA paradigm (5.662); /an/ occurs elsewhere. /an/ also occurs in the delayed imperative (5.672).

/āhk/ '1p.' See also 5.454. /āhk/ also occurs in the delayed imperative (5.672).

/ahkw/ '21.' See also 5.454. /ahkw/ also occurs in the delayed imperative (5.672).

/ēkw/∼/akw(k)/ '2p.' /akw(k)/ occurs in the 1-2p form of the TA conjunct (5.642); /ēkw/ occurs elsewhere. /ēkw/ also occurs in the delayed imperative (5.672).

5.454. The markers of 1p and 21 in the conjunct order, /āhk/ and /ahkw/, are subject to some partial syncretism; both occur with and without final /w/. Historically they have the shapes cited above; see Bloomfield, 1946: pp. 101, 102. However, the James Bay dialect as described by Ellis is the only one to consistently reflect this situation. In Plains Cree, the above forms seem to be most frequent but the other two possibilities, /āhkw/ and /ahk/, also occur. (On a rather weak statistical basis it would seem that /āhkw/ is particularly typical of the Saddle Lake—Sweet Grass area of northeastern Alberta and northwestern Saskatchewan. A converse statement about /ahk/ cannot be made since it occurs freely in the Hobbema dialect of central Alberta.)

As in other instances, the missionary sources show some variety. Edwards consistently gives /āhk/; on the other hand, while she reports only /ahkw/ for the conjunct indicative (1954: p. 41-3), she gives /ahk/ besides the more "general" /ahkw/ for the conjunct subjunctive (p. 57-2). Hunter exhibits a fairly complete lack of predictability of the final /w/. Lacombe, by contrast, stands out by the remarkable symmetry of his description. Lacombe gives all four possibilities for the AI and TI, and only /āhk/ and /ahk/ in the TA paradigm. Lessard gives only the /w/-less forms throughout.

5.455. The non-third person suffixes of the *imperative* order.

In the you-and-me set of the TA immediate impera-

[56] While a suffix /en/ would be supported by the parallelism of the other non-third person suffixes, this argument is considered insufficient. Moreover, the plural suffixes show a much wider range of occurrence than /n/, e.g., in the mixed forms of the TA paradigm and in the possessive paradigm of nouns (3.2).

tive we find the markers of the independent order, and throughout the delayed imperative of all paradigms there appear the conjunct person markers of the non-third persons; see 5.67.

/i/∼/h/ '2.' /i/ occurs in the mixed set of the TA paradigm, /h/ in the AI and TI paradigms.

/tān/ '21.'

/ehkw/∼/k/ '2p.' /ehkw/ occurs in the mixed set of the TA paradigm, /k/ elsewhere (including the 2p-1 form of the TA).

5.46. Suffix Positions 6 and 7: Mode Signs: p-preterit, Dubitative

The *mode signs* of the *p-preterit*, /Lpan/, and of the *dubitative* appear to occur between the non-third and third person suffixes. Although the present data do not support a more detailed statement (*cf.* 5.31), there is some evidence in Ellis's paradigms (1971) that the dubitative marker precedes or indeed surrounds (discontinuous morpheme) the preterit marker.

5.47. Suffix Position 8: Third Person Suffixes

5.471. In the *independent* order the marker of the *animate* third person occurs as /wa/∼/a/.

In the AI and TI paradigms only /wa/ occurs, even after stem final /n/ or theme final /m/. In the TA paradigm, however, /wa/ occurs after vowels, and /a/ after consonants. (Note that those third person forms of the ht-preterit which show the prefix *o-* do not have a person marker of position 8.)

5.472. In the *conjunct* and *imperative* orders the *animate* third person is marked by /t/∼/k/∼Ø.

/t/ occurs in the third person forms of the TA paradigm and in the AI and TI paradigms except where it is immediately preceded by a nasal (5.73); in these environments /k/ is selected instead. The zero alternant occurs in the mixed forms of the conjunct and throughout the imperative order.

5.473. The *inanimate* third person (5.74) is marked by /k/ in the conjunct order. The endings of the independent order cannot be segmented (*cf.* 3.31); thus /wi/ marks the singular, /wah/ the plural third person.

5.48. Suffix Position 9: Third Person Plural and Obviative Suffixes

The historical relation of the near-homonymous morphemes /ewāw/ and /wāw/ remains to be fully investigated. /ewāw/ corresponds to Proto Algonquian **-wāw-* (*cf.* 2.13 and Bloomfield, 1946: p. 96) whereas /wāw/ seems to correspond to Proto Algonquian **-wā-* (Bloomfield, 1946: p. 101).

/ewāw/ pluralizes the second and third person possessors of nouns; *cf.* 3.22. In verbs, where it occupies suffix position 5, its occurrence as pluralizer of a third person expressed by a prefix is highly restricted; *cf.* 5.451. Instead, in verbs, it seems on the way to becoming a person marker (rather than a mere pluralizer) for the second person plural exclusive; *cf.* 5.451. In either of these verbal functions it occurs in the independent order.

/wāw/ alternates with the position 9 plural marker /k/ and /ih/ in some modes of the conjunct order; for details see below.

5.481. The plural marker of *animate* third persons is /k/∼/wāw/;[57] note that in non-independent forms /k/ is usually preceded by connective /i/.[58] /wāw/ occurs in the subjunctive and iterative modes of the conjunct order (5.33); /k/ occurs elsewhere. (In some dialects, notably in that of northern Alberta, the distribution of /wāw/ is much wider, at the expense of /k/; *cf.* 5.33.)

5.482. The plural of *inanimate* third persons is marked by /ih/∼/wāw/ in the conjunct order; the third person endings of the independent order have not been segmented (5.473). /wāw/ occurs in the subjunctive and iterative modes, where it is followed by the position 10 subjunctive and iterative morpheme /ih/; *cf.* 5.74. The /ih/-alternant of the plural marker occurs elsewhere; in a purely synchronic framework, /ih/ cannot be further segmented.

5.483. The *obviative* marker /h/ occurs in the independent order only (but *cf.* 5.663).

5.49. Suffix Position 10: Mode Signs: Subjunctive, Iterative

The *mode sign* of the *subjunctive and iterative* of the conjunct order, /ih/; *cf.* 5.33.

In a synchronic study it is not possible to segment this morpheme further, for instance into an actual subjunctive and iterative morpheme /h/ preceded by an empty morpheme, namely connective /i/.

In the environment of /ih/, the third person is pluralized by /wāw/ (*cf.* 5.48 and 5.74).

5.5. STEM SHAPES

The morphology of stem final elements is sketched in 6.43 and 6.44. The present section is concerned with their phonemic shapes.

Statistical information is considered important in placing the various stem-types into proper perspective.[59] For example, while AI n-stems are quite prominent grammatically and in terms of text fre-

[57] But see also 5.642.

[58] Jones (1971: p. 52 ff.) and Piggott (1971*a*: p. 32) have presented arguments for a very different interpretation of this /i/ in the Odawa dialect of Ojibwa.

[59] The frequency information included in this section is to be considered highly tentative; for example, the lexicon at present includes some duplicate entries which cause slight distortions. It is based on a preliminary *inverse stem lexicon* of about 11,000 entries which is among the early results of a computational project described in Wolfart and Pardo, 1972.

quency, they constitute only 4 per cent of all AI stems.[60]

5.51. *Transitive Stems*

Transitive verb stems end in a non-syllabic or a cluster of non-syllabics, e.g.,

TA *wāpam-* 'see'
pakamahw- 'strike'
nipah- 'kill,' etc.;

TI *wāpaht-* 'see'
pakamah- 'strike'
sakin- 'seize,' etc.

TA and TI stems are followed by theme signs which are described in sections 5.42 and 5.71.

Transitive animate (TA) verbs end in the following single non-syllabics:

	Approximate percentage of TA stems
h	18.3
m	17.2
n	12.5
s	0.07
t	11.9
w	24.6
y	0.35

In addition, the stems ending in clusters are as follows:

	Approximate percentage of TA stems
ht	0.76
st	0.07
hw	11.1
mw	0.28
pw	0.07
spw	0.07
sw	2.7

Transitive inanimate (TI) verbs end in the following single non-syllabics:

	Approximate percentage of TI stems
h	20.1
n	22.7
s	5.1
t	21.4

In addition, the stems ending in clusters are as follows:

	Approximate percentage of TI stems
hk	0.4
sk	7.2
ht	21
st	2.1

5.52. *Animate Intransitive Stems*

Animate intransitive (AI) verb stems end in a vowel or *n*, e.g.

api- 'sit'
wāpamiso- 'see oneself'
tapasī- 'flee'
pimohtē- 'walk along'
nipā- 'sleep'
pasikō- 'get up'
pimisin- 'lie.'

The AI stem types follow:

	Approximate percentage of AI stems
i	29.2
o	25.4
ī	3.2
ē	27.4
ā	10.9
ō	0.03
n	3.9

ē-stems have stem alternants in *ē* and *ā*. The alternant in *ā* occurs in the non-third forms of the independent indicative and throughout the independent preterit; the alternant in *ē* occurs elsewhere. (However, the distribution of the alternants is not entirely stable. Thus we find S14-3 *ayamihāhkan* (AI 2 delayed imperative), and T101-6 *atoskāsiw* (diminutive) beside T102p1 *acoskēsiw*.)

n-stems have alternants in *n* and *ni*. The alternant in *n* occurs in the 3 and 3p forms of the independent and conjunct orders; the alternant with final *ni* is found in the first and second person forms of the conjunct order. All other instances of *n* followed by *i* are indeterminate since the *i* may reflect the suffix-initial /e/ or, in the case of imperative or derivational suffixes with an initial consonant, connective /i/. That the first and second person forms of the conjunct order actually have the *ni*-alternant rather than *n* plus connective /i/ follows from two observations: (1) These forms have the *y*-alternant of the suffixes (5.453) which normally occurs after vocalic stems or suffixes. (2) Lacombe cites parallel sets of forms with *n* and *ni* (*pimisinān, pimisiniyān* 'that I lie down') and Ellis (1971: p. 83) actually states the *n*-form to be more common in James Bay Cree. Thus, the histori-

[60] Consider also Ellis's recent statement (1971: p. 84) that "most II stems end in /n/ but a few end in one of the vowels /i, ē, ā/." While there may of course be dialect differences, a survey of over 700 II stems shows that vowel stems (in *i, o, ī, ē, ā*) constitute fully two-thirds of all II stems, and that only one-third are n-stems.

cal development seems clear: the basic stem ended in *n*. But with *i* (representing suffix-initial /e/ or connective /i/) occurring in most of the forms, and with all other AI verbs ending in a vowel and thus showing the *y*-alternants of the first- and second-person conjunct suffixes, the pattern pressure was considerable and resulted in a new form in *ni*.

5.53. Inanimate Intransitive Stems

Inanimate intransitive (II) verb stems end in a vowel or *n*, e.g.,

pōnipayi- 'stop running'
kikamo- 'be attached'
timī- 'be deep'
sāpopē- 'be wet'
misā- 'be big'
otākosin- 'be evening'

The II stem types follow:

	Approximate percentage of II stems
i	17.6
o	2.1
ī	1.7
ē	19
ā	23.8
n	35.8

5.6. THE TRANSITIVE ANIMATE (TA) PARADIGM

In considering the scope of our analysis, we emphatically disagree with Gleason's remark (1961: pp. 117, 119) that the TA paradigms "fail to show clearly any recurrent regularities of structure. . . . The paradigms as they stand are unanalyzable." No attempt is made to carry recurrent partial analysis to its ultimate limits (such as trying to combine part of the first person plural morphemes of independent and conjunct, /en-*ān*/ and /*āh*-k/). But most of the thematic and "pronominal" affixes can be extracted and may be assigned meanings consistent with the structure of the paradigms as a whole.

Neither do we attempt to construct a complete structural account of the paradigmatic system which would permit the prediction of all forms. This restriction is only partly due to the inadequacy of the data and the intricacies of handling such a complex system. At least as important is the consideration that the current Cree system is well known to be the result of extensive paradigmatic leveling.[61] Thus, to go far beyond the present analysis within a purely synchronic framework might yield a mechanically feasible account whose structural and historical interest would be small compared to the effort of constructing it.

The transitive animate paradigm is subject to a few general constraints which do not derive from any properties of the system itself but are descriptively prior to it.

Thus, no grammatical person may occur as part of both actor and goal; i.e., forms such as "1-1" etc. are ungrammatical. Reflexivity and reciprocality are expressed derivationally by certain animate intransitive (AI) stems where these relations are part of the meaning of the stem (6.437, 6.438).

For third persons a situation like the above does not arise since only one of the referents of a third person form (*cf.* 5.612) is morphologically and significatively specific (5.61, 5.63). In reference, however, the various third persons differ among themselves; *cf.* 2.01, 2.2. Only one non-obviative referent occurs in any one span, except in parataxis. Of obviative referents, on the other hand, there may be any number, at least theoretically. Thus 3′-3′ is perfectly regular in reference although not fully expressed in morphology and signification; see 5.63.

There is only an indefinite actor, no indefinite goal. Further, there are forms only for an indefinite actor acting on third persons; a suppletive paradigm is used for the indefinite actor acting on non-third persons; see 5.84.

5.61. Morphological Structure and Syntactic Function

In syntactic and referential function, all transitive animate forms are alike: anaphoric reference is made to both an actor and a goal. (For double goal verbs see 5.11.) Except for the indefinite actor, these referents may be expressed by nominal or verbal adjuncts. A different situation emerges, however, if morphological structure and meaning (rather than reference) are considered.

5.611. Let us first direct our attention to those forms whose reference involves both a third and a non-third person, e.g. *niwāpamāw* 'I see him.' Here we find both referents expressed morphologically, namely by the personal prefix *ni-* 'I' and by the suffix /wa/ 'he (proximate).' The direction of the action (2.5) is indicated by the theme sign /ā/. (In conjunct order forms the third person morpheme is realized as zero but is regularly pluralized, by /k/ or /wāw/.) Alluding to the presence of both third and non-third persons in the morphological structure (and in the meaning), we call this the MIXED set.

5.612. If we now consider forms whose reference covers third persons exclusively, we find that only one of the referents is expressed morphologically. Thus, in *wāpamēw* 'he sees him' only the actor is expressed, by /wa/; /ē/ indicates the direction of the action. We refer to these as THIRD-PERSON forms.

The remaining forms of the transitive animate paradigm are referred to as the YOU-AND-ME set; they

[61] *Cf.* Michelson, 1912; Bloomfield, 1946; Goddard, 1967; the dialect data further indicate the extent and sometimes even the direction of these developments; *cf.* 5.664.

involve non-third persons exclusively. The morphological structure of the you-and-me forms is discussed in 5.64.

5.613. Consider the third-person forms:

	independent	conjunct
direct	*-ēw, -imēw*	*-āt, -imāt*
	-ēwak, -imēwak	*-ācik, -imācik*
	-ēyiwa	*-āyit*
inverse	*-ik*	*-ikot*
	-ikwak	*-ikocik*
	-ikoyiwa	*-ikoyit*

Inspection alone will suggest the primary analysis into theme signs (*cf.* 5.42 and 5.62) and into one set of person-number-obviation markers for each form. The latter are, for the independent order: /wa/, /wa-k/, /eyi-wa-h/; for the conjunct order: /t/, t-[i]-k/, /eyi-t/.

These same sets of person-number-obviation markers are found in the animate intransitive (AI) paradigm which throughout expresses only one referent. The independent endings also parallel the forms of the possessive paradigm of nouns; *cf.* 3.22. Thus, the forms themselves (although they might conceivably permit it) clearly do not *require* analysis into two person morphemes.

5.614. To Goddard (1967) we owe the comparative background and historical perspective which corroborate the present analysis of the third-person set. Goddard has pointed out the existence, in some parts of the Ojibwa verb system, of two contrasting paradigms which differ as to whether or not the goal of the action is specified morphologically and significatively.

An ABSOLUTE form only specifies the actor whereas an OBJECTIVE form specifies both actor *and* goal. For example, in the objective *otēpwēttān* 'he believes it' the actor is expressed by the personal prefix *o-* and the goal by a suffix /i/ (which does not appear in the phonemic representation, but whose presence is confirmed by the prefix). In the absolute *tēpwēttam* 'he believes,' by contrast, there is no prefix; the actor is expressed by the suffix /wa/ (which again does not appear in the phonemic representation). Bloomfield's examples for this contrast are objective *nentināpentān* 'I see it thus' and absolute *nentināpentam* 'I have such a vision' (1958: p. 34).

A "living opposition" (Goddard, 1967: p. 71) of absolute and objective paradigms is found only in a small part of the Ojibwa verb system. Traces of this opposition, however, are found so widely among Algonquian languages that Goddard was led to postulate a double system for the independent indicative of the TA and TI paradigms of Proto Algonquian. Such a double system of absolute and objective forms would not only throw light on a number of recalcitrant problems in Algonquian linguistics in general but also provide an explanation for the difference of the mixed and third-person sets of the Cree TA paradigm.

Thus, synchronic and diachronic evidence alike support the conclusion that in the third-person forms of the Cree TA paradigm, only one of the referents is expressed morphologically.

5.615. The existence of a set with one expressed referent (namely the third-person set) alongside the more amply represented set having two expressed referents (namely the mixed set) is by no means universally recognized among those who have studied these paradigms. Since some analyses have been published, a few critical remarks appear to be in order.

Most widely known, of course, is the analysis of Gleason (1961: pp. 116–122). He tried to find both referents in all TA forms but since he omits the prefixes altogether, his efforts are misguided from the outset, and not only with regard to the third-person forms.

Much more striking yet is the analysis of Pittman (1965) which overwhelmingly illustrates the principal danger of segmental analysis of paradigmatic forms. Once a certain pattern has been discovered in part of the paradigm, it is extrapolated to the entire paradigm and no amount of empirical data may stem the analyst's progress. Consider one example: for 3-3′ *ēw* there is contrived "a reconstructed 'ideal' (morpheme-by-morpheme) form" *iko-ima-āwa* which is translated as "3 subject-3′ object-3′." A "morphophonemic (contraction) rule" lets this *iko-ima-āwa* become *ēw*, and there are no fewer than twenty-five such rules. Surely Pittman cannot mean what he seems to be saying, but equally surely his analysis not only fails to enlighten the reader but further obfuscates a problem which is sufficiently complex in its own right.

5.62. Direction

Among the person categories, non-third persons outrank third persons; within the former class, those including the addressee take precedence over those which do not include it. This principle of ordering (precedence) is found not only among the personal prefixes which are members of one position class (thus, paradigmatically) but also in the linear sequence of verbal and nominal affixes (syntagmatically). (For further details see 2.11 and 2.5.)

The relative order of the various sets of affixes which manifest the person categories in verbal inflection is fixed. The one-third persons are represented by markers in two positions, namely the prefix position and suffix position 5. With one exception,[62]

[62] Where the third person is marked by the prefix *o-* (i.e. in the third-person forms of the h- and ht-preterits; *cf.* 5.652), it is pluralized by the position 5 morpheme /ewāw/; but this use of /ewāw/ as a verbal third person morpheme is extremely restricted; *cf.* 5.451.

the third person is represented by suffixes of position 8 (*cf.* 5.47); it takes the plural and obviative markers of position 9.

Since the order of the affix position classes is fixed and cannot be reversed, the *direction* of the action has to be indicated independently. The themes of the TA paradigm function as direction markers and this is, indeed, the only way in which the function of the themes was found to be synchronically relevant. (It is noteworthy that no meanings have been established for the TI theme signs, where there is no contrast of direction; *cf.* 5.71.) We use the term *direct* for an action which corresponds to the left-to-right sequence of the classes, that is, to the actual sequence of the affixes in time when uttered. *Inverse* is used for action in the opposite direction. See also 2.5.

5.621. For all mixed forms, i.e., those involving third as well as non-third person referents, the direct-action marker is /ā/ which alternates with zero in the indf, 1, and 2 forms of the conjunct order (5.662) and in the 2 and 2p (but not the 21) forms of the immediate imperative (5.671). The corresponding inverse marker is /ekw/ which also alternates with zero in the 1 and 2 forms of the conjunct order.

5.622. The dimension of direction is of prime importance in third-person forms. The one referent which is morphologically expressed and significatively specific in direct forms functions as actor, and as goal in inverse forms.

Thus, direct third-person forms express all the usual distinctions (proximate singular, proximate plural, obviative) for the actor but leave the goal completely unspecified: *-ēw*, *-ēwak*, *-ēyiwa*, etc. The direction markers are /ē/ for the independent and /ā/ for the conjunct order. Inverse forms, on the other hand, express these same distinctions for their goal but leave the actor unspecific: *-ik*, *-ikwak*, *-ikoyiwa*, etc. The direction marker for both independent and conjunct is /ekw/. See also 5.613.

5.623. The intrinsic ordering of the person categories and the same distinction of direct and inverse is also found in the you-and-me set. Action by a person which includes the addressee is direct, action upon such a person is inverse. Direct action is marked by /i/, the inverse marker is /et/∼/eti/ (5.424). The structure of the you-and-me subparadigm is considered in detail in 5.64.

5.63. Meaning and Reference in the Third-Person Subparadigm

It was argued in 5.61 that third-person forms express only one referent. This analysis was based on their morphological structure and on the patterning of third-person forms in the other Cree paradigms, and corroborated by comparative evidence. It was further seen in 5.62 that the feature of direction marks this one expressed referent as either actor or goal.

From these premises it would seem to follow that third-person forms do not specify as to the categories of number and obviation, that referent which is not expressed morphologically. (Its gender, on the other hand, is animate by virtue of the meaning of the paradigm as a whole.)

This conclusion leads to a closer investigation of the goals (in direct forms) and actors (in inverse forms) which have traditionally been assigned to third-person forms.

5.631. Most studies of Cree grammar assume the existence of two obviative categories, a "nearer" and a "farther" (Bloomfield) or "further" (Hockett, Ellis) obviative. Apart from comparative considerations, this distinction seems to have been predicated, above all, on the assumption that each TA verb form must have a specific actor and a specific goal, and that these belong to different categories. Thus, if the actor of *-ēyiwa*, for example, is obviative, its goal may not also be just obviative. We have seen that one of the premises of this argument is false.

A second possible source for the assumption of two obviative categories is the presence of two obviative morphemes in *-ēyiwa* and *-ikoyiwa*, /eyi/ and final /h/. In the possessive inflection of nouns (3.22), these morphemes actually refer to different persons: /eyi/ marks the obviative status of the possessor, and /h/ that of the noun possessed. However, that a similar analysis does not hold for the verb forms under consideration is clear from the fact that the AI and TI paradigms which are both one-place verbs have the same complex ending for the obviative actor, /eyi-wa-h/. Furthermore, only one obviative morpheme occurs in the corresponding conjunct forms, /ā-eyi-t/ and /ekw-eyi-t/.

Yet another basis for the distinction of two obviative categories may be thought to lie in the existence, parallel to each other, of such third-person forms as *-ēw* and *-imēw*. Since *-ēw* is glossed 'proximate acting on obviative,' *-imēw* would seem to have the proximate acting on yet a further category. An attempt is made in 5.633 to account for the function of *-im-* and for the difference in meaning between the two sets in a different manner.

If the three lines of reasoning suggested above actually underlie the distinction of two obviative categories, and if the Cree evidence adduced in refutation is accepted, then the distinction may safely be abolished for Cree; *cf.* also 2.24.

5.632. In the dimension of obviation, "obviative" is clearly the marked member and "proximate" the unmarked (*cf.* 2.23). This is evident not only from the inflectional paradigms of nouns and one-place verbs (all types but TA) but also from the TA paradigm itself. The obviative forms of the independent order add the morpheme /h/ and, more importantly, the direct forms of the mixed set of all orders obligatorily mark the occurrence of an obviative referent by /em/.

Syntactically and semantically the unmarked, more general nature of the non-obviative category is obvious from the fact that it occurs in contexts of neutralization. Thus a verb which has both a proximate and an obviative adjunct is itself inflected for proximate plural, e.g.,

T 46p 2 . . . *mānokwēwak, owīkimākana*
camp(AI 3p) his(3) wife(3′)
ē-wīcihikot.
help(TA(3′)-3)

'. . . they set up camp, his wife helping him';

T 7p 4 *ēkosi tāpwē ē-kī-isīhcikēcik*
thus really settle things thus(AI 3p)
ōhi ōkimāwa, ēkwa sipwēhtēw.
this(3′) king(3′) and leave(AI 3)

'So they had really made a deal, he and that king, and then he left.'

The opposition of obviative and non-obviative is discussed in some detail in 2.23; we use the term "proximate" for the narrow meaning of the non-obviative category, and "third person" for its wide meaning.

5.633. In direct third-person forms, a constraint on the range of the morphologically unexpressed referent (the goal) is sometimes provided by the morpheme /em/ which specifically marks it as obviative.[63]

In the mixed set, /em/ occurs in all direct forms involving an obviative goal. While the obviative category is doubly expressed in the independent order, namely by /em/ and /h/, the occurrence of /em/ is its only sign in the conjunct order.

In the third-person set, by contrast, /em/-less endings like *-ēw* freely occur with obviatives as their second, morphologically unexpressed referent. /em/-forms like *-imēw* occur only where a referent is highly marked as obviative,[64] i.e., typically where a noun is inflected for an obviative possessor and thus very specifically obviative, e.g.,

P126–19 *kētahtawē ēkwah ocihciyiw*
presently then his(3′) hand(0)
otinam; ocahcanisiyiwa otinimēw.
take(TI 3) his(3′) ring(3′) take(TA 3-3′)

'Presently she took his hand; she took his ring';

S185–10 . . .*; nēhi kā-kī-mēscihimāt*
that(3′) annihilate(TA 3-3′)
otawāsimisiyiwa nōtokēsiwa, ēyakoni
her(3′) children(3′) old woman(3′) that one(3′)
ēh-tōtākot.
do something(TA (3′)-3)

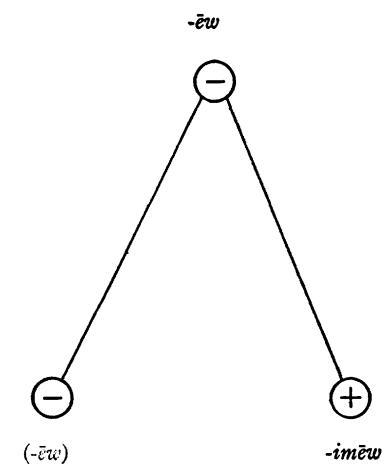
'. . .; it was yon old woman whose children he had wiped out, that one was doing this to him.'

But even where the referent is highly marked as obviative, the /em/-form is not obligatory. The following example shows the /em/-less form used with a noun inflected for obviative possessor:

T104p8 *ēkwa ētokwē, asawāpiw*
then I guess look around(AI 3)
ēkwa awa nāpēw
then this(3) man(3)
ē-kī-nitawi-mēscihāt nēhi
go to annihilate(TA 3-(3′)) those(3′)
onāpēmiyiwa, ōhi wīwa, . . .
her(3′) lovers(3′) this(3′) his(3) wife(3′)

'Then, it seems, this man looked around and then went to annihilate those lovers of his wife's, . . .'

The hypothesis that /em/ occurs only with specifically obviative goals finds strong support in the analysis of obviative and proximate/third person as marked and unmarked members of an opposition (5.632, 2.23). Using just two endings as an example the, situation can be diagrammed as follows:



[63] This also seems to be Bloomfield's view of the function of /em/ although it is neither made fully explicit nor well exemplified (1946: pp. 98, 102). Curiously enough, I cannot find forms involving both non-third and obviative referents (let alone third-person /em/-forms) in Bloomfield's descriptions of Menomini, Fox, and Eastern Ojibwa; *cf.* also Goddard, 1967: fn. 13. Some non-third-and-obviative forms have been recorded for Potawatomi (Hockett, 1948: p. 142, for independent order direct set only); Northern Ojibwa (Rogers, 1963: p. 123); Fox (Voorhis, 1971: p. 70) and Kickapoo (Voorhis, 1967: pp. 99, 108, 114, 125).

[64] The obviation inflection of inanimate nouns in the Mistassini dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi (Rogers, 1960: p. 110) provides an interesting parallel. A general *third-person* form, which may be used for both proximate and obviative, is in free variation with a distinctly *obviative* form. Thus, *nicīwāpahtēn ōt* 'I saw the canoe (0)'; *cīwāpahtam ōt* or *ōtiyiw* 'he saw the canoe (0 or 0′).' But if an inanimate noun occurs in collocation with an obviative, e.g. as the goal of a verb with obviative actor, then only the explicitly obviative form occurs, e.g., *okosisa cīwāpahtam ōtiyiw* 'his (3) son (3′) saw the canoe (0′)'.

Thus, the third-person forms without /em/, namely *-ēw*, *-ēwak*, *-ēyiwa* and *-āt*, *-ācik*, *-āyit*, each have two meanings. The wide meaning covers the entire range of third-person goals, including the obviative; examples are plentiful. The narrow meaning, which derives from the contrast with the /em/-forms, would only cover those goals which are not obviative and thus conflicts with the referential constraints on the co-occurrence of two non-obviatives[65]; there are no examples.

At the same time, the marked and unmarked members of this particular opposition share at least one environment: unmarked /em/-less forms and marked /em/-forms alike occur with nouns which are inflected for obviative possessor (see above), and we cannot yet state the factors which determine the selection of the marked or unmarked forms.

However, if we re-consider the entire direct subparadigm, a striking contrast emerges between the mixed set and the third-person set. In the mixed set, the normal obviative forms are highly marked; they include two obviative signs. The question of an unmarked counterpart has never been raised with respect to these forms.[66] In the third-person set, on the other hand, the marked forms are extremely rare[67] and seem to have given way to the unmarked, /em/-less forms.

In summary, then, the morphological pattern of the /em/-forms, their syntactic use, and the unmarked status of the non-obviative combine to make possible a consistent account of the entire problem.

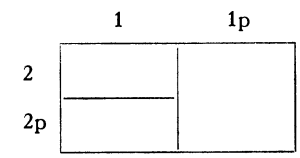
5.64. You-and-Me Forms

The same theme signs occur in all three orders; they function as direction markers. /i/ marks direct action, which in this set means action from a second person on a first; note that the /i/ is lengthened when it is followed by the delayed imperative marker /Lhk/. /et/∼/eti/ marks inverse action (5.424).

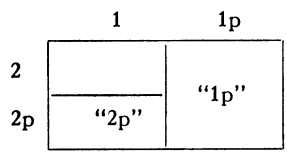
It is obvious on inspection that most of the person-number suffixes of the you-and-me set are identical with the first and second person suffixes of the AI and TI paradigms; that is, the suffixes express only one of the referents.

The independent order also provides for the expression of the second person by the prefix, *ki-*. But even here, the suffixes do not necessarily complement the prefix by marking first persons; rather, the 2p-and-1 forms with some redundancy express the second person both in the prefix and in the suffix. In short, the principle by which one referent rather than the other is chosen to be expressed has not been discovered.

5.641. All you-and-me forms conform to the same pattern of neutralizing the number distinction of the second person in the environment of the first person plural. This pattern which is diagrammed below is also found in Proto Algonquian.[68]



5.642. If we first consider the 2p-and-1 and the 2(p)-and-1p forms in the four modal categories under consideration (independent indicative, conjunct indicative, immediate and delayed imperative), it is easily seen that they also pattern alike in their choice of expressing the "2p" referent in the 2p-and-1 forms and the "1p" referent in the 2(p)-and-1p forms. Part of our diagram may now be filled in:



The 2p-and-1 morphemes of the conjunct and of the immediate imperative need to be taken up individually. In the conjunct order, the /ēkw/ of the direct set is as expected; the /akok/ of the inverse set, however, is somewhat problematic. It clearly contains the plural suffix /k/ preceded by connective /i/ as is seen by the corresponding ending of the subjunctive mode, /akw-wāw-/; note that /k/∼/wāw/ normally pluralize the third person (5.48). The meaning of /akw/ has not been ascertained; without further evidence it cannot be grouped with the 1-3 conjunct morpheme /ak/. Edwards (1954: p. 43-2)

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[65] An apparent contradiction with the constraints of 5.6 would rest in the difference of the frameworks: the constraints are stated in terms of reference whereas here we are dealing with meaning alone.

[66] A highly suggestive example, which shows an obviative noun with a non-obviative verb form, emphasizes the need for further research:

P 4–40	. . .,	*ēkosi*	*niyanān*	*māskōc*	*namoya*
		thus	we	perhaps	not
nikiskēyimikonān			*māci-manitōwah.*		
know(TA 3-1p)			evil spirit (3′)		

'. . ., so perhaps we others are not known to the evil spirit.'

[67] Their low frequency in current texts provides a curious contrast with the fact that Hunter, Lessard, and Edwards give the full set of three third-person /em/-forms per order, e.g., *-imᵊw*, *-imēwak*, *-imēyiwa*; the latter is omitted by Lacombe (and by Ellis).

Ellis's dialect is the only one to show the range of /em/ further expanded: it has inverse forms with /em/ in the mixed set of the conjunct order, e.g., the 3′-1 form *-imici* /em-it-[i]-h/; *cf.* 5.663.

[68] *Cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 100. The same pattern is attested in the works of Lacombe, Hunter, Lessard, and Edwards.

Ellis's paradigms (1962, 1971) show an internal inconsistency which deserves further historical study: while the pattern of the imperative paradigm agrees with the one given here, he reports a different kind of number neutralization for the other orders, e.g.,

	-1	*-1p*
2-	*-in*	*-inān*
2p-	*-ināwāw*	*-ināwāw*

implicitly identifies this /akw/ with /ahkw/, the 21 marker of the conjunct order. Not only does this analysis fail to take the meaning of the morphemes into account; it furthermore runs counter to the other published sources (which show no pre-aspiration) as well as to specific informant tests.

The 2p-1 ending of the immediate imperative, /k/, corresponds to the imperative ending of the AI and TI paradigms (5.72). (An alternative analysis might be thought of: to interpret /k/ as the plural marker (5.481) rather than as a portmanteau morpheme representing the immediate imperative 2p category. However, not only is /k/ primarily a third person pluralizer; comparative evidence also militates against such an interpretation since the immediate imperative 2p morphemes of Proto Algonquian are reconstructed (Bloomfield, 1946: p. 100) as ending in *. . . *ko*.)

It may be noted that the pattern described here for you-and-me forms in general again closely matches that of Proto Algonquian; the one set which in Proto Algonquian differs from the rest, namely the immediate imperative, has obviously approached the general pattern in Cree.

5.643. The 2-and-1 forms do not fit a common pattern. In the conjunct order, the inverse set shows the first person expressed, by /ān/. The direct set expresses the second person, by /an/, and the same is true of the delayed imperative (which throughout uses the same person suffixes as the conjunct order). Since this is the only clear case of differentiation in the entire you-and-me paradigm, and since the Cree situation agrees with the general Algonquian one as reflected in Proto Algonquian, we may here see a clue, yet to be exploited, to the semantic structure of the you-and-me paradigm.

The /n/ of the independent order and the immediate imperative is ambiguous as to first or second person, just as it is indeterminate in the AI and TI paradigms. Without doubt, the AI and TI paradigms may be taken as the model of the emergence of /n/ in the you-and-me set.[69] On the basis of the argument of the preceding paragraph, /n/ might conceivably be assigned specific semantic values.

5.65. *Independent Order Endings*

The third-person forms are described in 5.61 to 5.63, and the you-and-me forms in 5.64; the mixed set and its relation to the third-person set remain to be discussed.

The direct theme sign has two alternants, /ē/ and /ā/. Their distribution coincides with the distinction of the third-person and mixed sets; historically, it seems to correlate further with the absolute-objective dichotomy (*cf.* 5.614). The inverse marker is /ekw/ throughout.

[69] Note that a zero ending has been reconstructed for the Proto Algonquian independent form whose reflex in Cree would merge with the reflex of the reconstructed imperative ending, **-ilo-*.

The direction sign is followed by the suffixes of the non-third referents, /enān/, /enaw/, /ewāw/, and zero; and then by that of the third person referent, /wa/∼/a/, with its plural and obviative markers, /k/ and /h/. The third person obviative forms also include the thematic obviative morpheme /eyi/.

The endings for 3′-1 and 3′-2 do not fit this general pattern. The forms one might expect would consist of the inverse marker followed by the non-third marker zero, the third-person marker /a/, and the obviative marker /h/; thus, /ekw-Ø-a-h/. Its regular phonemic shape would be *-ikwa* alternating with *-iko* in surface variation, and it is here that we may look for the reason for its replacement. For not only would it be homonymous (since final *h* is non-distinctive) with the 3′-1, 2 forms of the h-preterit, but it would also fail to clearly exhibit its obviative nature. The substituted form *-ikoyiwa* /ekw-eyi-wa-h/ is clearly marked as obviative by the thematic morpheme /eyi/ (but differentiated from the 3′-goal form by the prefixes).[70]

5.651. The independent h-preterit shows no personal endings. The usual theme signs are directly followed by the preterit marker /h/.

5.652. The independent ht-preterit is marked by the suffix /htay/ which follows the theme signs /ā/ or /ekw/.

Where /htay/ is followed by a suffix beginning in /e/, contraction takes place; *cf.* appendix A: 4.2. Thus, the 3p-(3′) form /o- -ā-htay-ewāw/ : *o- -āhtāwāw*. Where /htay/ is followed by the third-person suffix /a/ and the position 9 plural marker /k/, there is a surface variant (conditioned by the *y*) ending in *-ik*. Thus, the 3p-1 form /ni- -ekw-[i]-htay-a-k/, for instance, appears either as *ni- -ikohtayak* or as *ni- -ikohtayik*; (note the insertion of connective /i/ before /htay/).

In third-person forms, the third person is expressed by the prefix *o-*. Where it is expressed by this prefix, the third person is pluralized by the suffix /ewāw/ of position 5; *cf.* 5.451. The third person being expressed by a prefix, no personal suffix occurs.[71]

5.66. *Conjunct Order Endings*

As with the independent order, only the mixed set and its relation to the other sets remain to be discussed; the third-person forms are described in 5.61 to 5.63, and the you-and-me set in 5.64.

5.661. Within the mixed set, there is a clear distinction between forms which involve a plural non-third

[70] According to Hunter, /eyi/ is also inserted in the h-preterit where he gives *-ikoyi* /ekw-eyi-h/ as the form for 3′-1, 2.

[71] For the conjunct, however, where there are no prefixes, Hunter cites a p-preterit form with the 3 suffix /t/, *ātipan*.

For mixed forms involving the obviative, Hunter gives direct forms with /em/ but without the obviative marker /h/, e.g. 1-3′ *-imāhtay*. The inverse forms he cites have the obviative theme sign /eyi/ throughout, e.g., 3′-1 *-ikoyihtay*.

person referent, and those which do not. The forms which involve a plural non-third referent are readily segmentable: the same direction signs as in the independent order, /ā/ and /ekw/, as well as a variant form of the latter, /eko/, are followed by the /y/-alternants of the conjunct non-third markers, /yāhk/, /yahkw/, and /yēkw/; *cf.* 5.453. The third person is marked by zero and pluralized by /k/ ~/wāw/; *cf.* 5.33.

There can be no doubt about the composite nature of these forms. The reason for the emergence of the /eko/- variant which results in forms like *-ikoyāhk* rather than a hypothetical form *-ikwāhk*, may be sought in the pervasive occurrence of *-iko-* where it reflects /ekw/ plus suffix-initial /e/ or connective /i/. Such forms occur in the same paradigm, e.g. *-ikot* /ekw-[i]-t/; they occur in the corresponding independent order paradigm, e.g., *-ikonān* /ekw--enān-a/; and they are also found in the TA inanimate actor paradigm (5.83).

Finally, the remarkable structural similarity with the conjunct direct set deserves to be noted.

5.662. The forms involving singular non-third person referents, namely indf, 1, or 2, cannot be further segmented once the third person plural marker and the obviative themes have been identified. Thus, the remaining morphemes /eht/, /ak/, /at/, /it/, and /esk/ might be viewed as portmanteau realizations of theme sign, non-third marker, and perhaps even third person marker (solution I).

An alternative analysis (solution II) would be to regard these morphemes as non-third markers only, and set up zero direction markers as well as zero third person markers. The zero third person marker is then regularly pluralized by /k/. In solution I, on the other hand, the pluralizer would seem to have the entire portmanteau morpheme as its domain. It is mainly the matter of pluralization and the resulting general pattern which let solution II appear preferable; for further evidence in support of solution II see 5.671.

5.663. The obviative forms of the direct subparadigm present no further problems; even though no obviative marker corresponding to the /h/ of the independent order and of noun inflection is to be found in the conjunct order, the theme sign /em/ is sufficient to mark the obviative (but see below for the James Bay situation).

The obviative forms of the inverse subparadigm are of a more complex structure. In the forms involving 1 or 2, namely *-iyit* and *-iyisk*, we find a theme sign /iy/ which is widely attested in these two forms (Hunter, Lacombe, Lessard; Edwards cites a form *-ikowat* instead of *-iyisk*). Whether this morpheme is actually /iy/ or rather /i/ followed by endings with initial /y/ (5.453) cannot be determined on the basis of the present data; we tentatively set it up as /iy/ to distinguish it from the direct theme sign /i/ of the you-and-me set (5.64).[72]

In some of the older sources, this theme /iy/ occurs in all the inverse obviative forms of the conjunct order. Thus, Hunter gives only the /iy/-set whereas Lacombe (1874*b*: p. 128) cites the /iy/-set and the more widely attested one side by side.

The forms for 3′-1p, 21, 2p are not fully understood. They seem to contain an extended form /ekow/ of the inverse marker /ekw/ as well as the direct marker /ā/. If we also consider the form which Edwards gives for 3′-2, namely *-ikowat*, then there can be little doubt that the usual *direct* endings are here added to a derived stem which includes the inverse marker /ekw/ as part of the stem; *cf.* also 5.422 and 5.664.

A specific paradigmatic motivation (as it were) for the emergence of these remarkable forms has not been discovered. Thus we may only suspect a rather general tendency towards more "transparent" forms (*cf.* 5.664). It should be noted here that Lacombe, Lessard, and Edwards report some corresponding forms for the independent inverse. The James Bay data of Ellis strikingly support this view since there we find the obviative marker of the direct subparadigms extended to the inverse. In fact, a fully "regular" system has evolved in the James Bay dialect, with both /em/ and /h/ marking the obviative throughout the conjunct order, e.g. *-imici* /em-it--[i]-h/; see Ellis, 1962: appendix C; Ellis, 1971: p. 85; tables 17, 18.

5.664. There can be little doubt that the transitive animate paradigm is currently in a state of considerable fluctuation. As had already been noted by Michelson (1912), and been clearly shown by Goddard (1967), the Cree TA paradigm in spite or perhaps because of its apparent regularity is *not* typical of the Algonquian languages as a whole.

Even though such a study lies outside the scope of this paper, the structure of the paradigms and their divergences seem to indicate that the direction of development in the Cree TA paradigm is from "fusional" to "agglutinative" forms.

There also seems to take place a concomitant development from inflectional to derivational expres-

[72] Ellis reports *n* and *l* in this position for the Albany and Moose dialects and therefore identifies this suffix with the thematic obviative sign /eyi/ (1971: p. 85). But even in James Bay Cree, the suffix under discussion palatalizes a preceding stem-final /*θ*/. To get around this obstacle, Ellis appeals to "the analogy of its occurrence [*sc.* of palatalization] in the parallel forms with *3* as actor."

Given the low frequency of these forms, a hypothesis based on essentially one other form, /-it/, is not very convincing. More importantly, palatalization does not seem a plausible subject for analogy in these rare forms. If analogy must be invoked, it seems more likely that Swampy Cree *n* and Moose Cree *l* have displaced *y* than that /i/ should have crowded out /e/. Cree speakers are almost universally aware of the *y-n-th-l-r* correspondence, and unexpected intrusions of one of these are not at all uncommon, e.g., Swampy Cree *alikwacās* 'squirrel' (*cf.* Proto Algonquian **n*).

sion of certain semantic relations. Consider, for instance, the emergence of forms based on the "inverse elements" /ek, ekawi, ekw, eko, ekōw/ etc. (*cf.* 5.422) most of which are followed by the usual animate intransitive (AI) endings. It does not seem unlikely that many of these are, in fact, derivatives. Especially in view of the extensive symmetry of the TA paradigm (2.5), these developments indicate a fascinating area for further research.

5.67. Imperative Order Endings

The you-and-me set is described in 5.64. The direct set is best treated separately for the immediate and delayed modes. Both modes have perfectly regular obviative forms with /em/.

5.671. In the immediate imperative only the 21-forms show a non-zero theme sign, namely /ā/. The structure of the other forms exactly parallels that described for the conjunct in 5.662; see also below.

The 2-3 suffix /i/ is subject to apocope, e.g., *pīkiskwās* 'speak to him' (stem *pīkiskwāt-*). With stems which are monosyllabic and have a short vowel, the word-final /i/ usually remains, e.g., T16p84 *isi* 'tell him so'; *cf.* appendix A: 5.1.

For 2-3p, there are two endings, one with and one without the third person plural suffix /k/ added to the 2-3 suffix. My own texts show only the form without /k/, thus T20p67 *nās* 'get them' or T55p46 *kitimākinaw* 'look with pity on them.' In Bloomfield's texts the /k/-form seems to be more typical although both are found[73]: S246-22 *ntaw-asamik ōki āpakosīsi-nōtokēwak.* 'Go feed these Old Mouse Women'; S247-20 *ntaw-asam kōhkominawak.* 'Go feed our grandmothers.'

The suffix of the 2p-forms, /ehkw/, occurs only here. The suffix of the 21-forms, /tān/, on the other hand, occurs here as well as in the AI and TI paradigms. Thus, /tān/ clearly marks the 21 category specifically rather than being a portmanteau realization of 21 and 3. This fact lends support to at least part of our earlier analysis (5.662): that there is in fact a distinct third person marker (here realized as zero) which is pluralized by /k/. (Unfortunately, it throws no further light on the other part of our analysis, since /tān/ is the only person marker of this paradigm to occur with a non-zero direction marker; thus the question if /i/ and /ehkw/ are just person markers or portmanteau realizations of both person and direction remains to be answered adequately.)

5.672. The delayed forms show a remarkably regular structure: the direct theme sign /ā/ and the delayed imperative suffix /Lhk/ are followed by the non-third person suffixes of the conjunct order; the third person is marked by zero and pluralized by /k/.

5.7. THE AI, TI, AND II PARADIGMS

In the animate intransitive (AI), transitive inanimate (TI), and inanimate intransitive (II) paradigms, only one referent is expressed morphologically (*cf.* 5.1).

Within the AI and TI paradigms it is convenient to distinguish between third-person and non-third forms. This distinction corresponds to the distribution of the stem-final alternants of some AI verbs (5.52), and to the distribution of the theme signs in the TI paradigm (5.71).

The preterit endings (5.2) of the AI and TI paradigms require little comment beyond the more general remarks of 5.322 and 5.652. Note that the third person forms of the ht-preterit which show the prefix *o-* have no person suffix; *cf.* 5.451. Examples: T20p43 *opimohtāhtāwāw* 'they walked'; T100p12 *otōh-takopayihtāwāw* 'they would arrive from there.'

In the h-preterit, the mode marker /h/ is preceded only by the TI theme signs and by the obviative marker /eyi/.

5.71. TI Theme Signs

Unlike the situation in the TA paradigm (5.62, 5.64), the function of the TI theme signs has not been established. The historical development of their distribution, however, has been sketched by Goddard (1967: p. 74) who sees their original function as distinguishing the absolute and objective paradigms (5.614).

Synchronically, /ē/ occurs in the non-third forms of the independent order and in the 21 form of the immediate imperative.

/a/ is found in the 2 form of the immediate imperative; it also underlies the diminutive paradigm (5.82).

/amw/ occurs in the 2p form of the immediate imperative and in all forms of the delayed imperative. The etymological relation of /amw/ and /am/, if any, is not clear.

/am/ has the widest distribution of the TI theme markers; it occurs in the third-person forms of the independent order and throughout the conjunct order. (/am/ is further used as the basis for a host of derivatives; see, for instance, 6.413 and 6.446; cf. also 5.812).

5.72. AI and TI Non-Third and Imperative Endings

The non-third endings of the independent and conjunct orders and the endings of the imperative

[73] Note that the missionary sources show a variety of endings for 2p-3p and especially 21-3p:

	21-3p	2p-3p
Hunter	*-āhkahkwāwik* *-āhkahkwānik*	*-īhkēkok*
Lacombe	*-āhkwāniwik* *-āhkwāwik* *-āhkwāwinik* *-āhkwāwiniwik*	*-āhkēkwāwik*
Lessard	*-āhkwāwik*	*-āhkēkwāwik*
Edwards	*-āhkwānik*	*-āhkēkwāw*

order are identical for the AI and TI paradigms:

	Independent	Conjunct
indf		/hk/
1	/n/	/ān/
2	/n/	/an/
1p	/enān/	/āhk/
21	/enaw/, /enānaw/	/ahkw/
2p	/enāwāw/	/ēkw/

	Imperative	
	Immediate	Delayed
2	/h/	/an/
21	/tān/	/ahkw/
2p	/k/	/ēkw/

The 21 ending in the independent order has two alternants, /enaw/ and /enānaw/. These seem to be in free variation, unless some subtle differences of style have gone unnoticed. The evidence for a correlation of the choice of alternant with age group or geographical criteria is inconclusive. Moreover, both forms are used by some speakers, as in T55p49 where *kika-sākēwānaw* and *kika-sākēwānānaw* 'we'll come into open view' occur in successive sentences. (A different situation involving an epenthetic element /nā/ is described in 5.852.)

It may be interesting to review briefly the situation as described elsewhere, especially since Goddard regards the insertion of /nā/ as pivotal in the development of the AI paradigm (1967: p. 76). Edwards, Lessard, and Ellis report only the longer forms, with /nā/, while Hunter and Lacombe give both forms. Lacombe even cites TA forms with the /nā/ optionally inserted; (but I can find no evidence of 2p forms without /nā/ in Lacombe, as Goddard has it in 1967: fn 36).

In the AI paradigm, the non-third-person forms of the conjunct order regularly show the /y/-alternant of the suffixes (5.453).

There is no indefinite actor form in the independent order[74]; for a discussion of derived forms which function in this capacity see 5.85.

5.73. AI and TI Third-Person Endings

The third-person forms of the independent order show the usual third person endings /wa/, /wa-k/, and /eyi-wa-h/.

In the conjunct order, there are two alternative sets of endings. AI stems ending in a vowel take the third person marker /t/ which is pluralized by /k/∼/wāw/ and which may be preceded by the thematic obviative marker /eyi/. Where the third person ending immediately follows a nasal (that is, in the non-obviative forms), the third person marker /k/ is used instead of /t/ and the nasal is replaced by /h/ (*cf.* 5.74 and appendix A: 1.3). Thus, AI /hk/, /hkik/∼/hkwāw/ and TI /ahk/, /ahkik/ ∼/ahkwāw/. In the obviative form, where the third person marker is preceded by /eyi/, /t/ is found throughout.

5.74. II Endings

In the independent order, the II endings correspond exactly to those of inanimate nouns (3.31). The third person endings cannot be segmented. The singular ending is set up as /wi/; (note that the /i/ is posited on the basis of the corresponding nominal ending (3.31) and of comparative evidence). The plural ending is /wah/. The thematic sign /eyi/ marks the obviative.

In the conjunct order, the third person is marked by /k/ before which the /n/ of n-stems is replaced by /h/ (*cf.* 5.73); /eyi/ marks the obviative. In the simple and changed modes of the conjunct order, the plural marker is /ih/, e.g. T45p6 *ē-nōkwahki* 'when they are seen.' In the subjunctive and iterative modes, however, we find /wāw/ instead, which is then followed by the subjunctive and iterative marker /ih/; e.g. *ohpikihkwāwi* 'if they (0p) are growing.'

There is some syncretism between the n-stem forms and the forms used with vocalic stems. Instead of the normal *-hk*, some n-stems end in *-k*. (This is not a case of weak pre-aspiration but of indisputable contrast.) Thus, besides *miywāsin* 'it is good,' T35p1 *ē-miywāsiniyik* 'it (0′) is good,' etc. we find T16p79, T113p2 *ē-miywāsik* 'it is good'; besides *yōtin* 'it is windy,' T10p48 *ē-nipahiyōtik* 'it is really windy,' etc.

5.8. MARGINAL AND SUPPLETIVE PARADIGMS

A MARGINAL paradigm is characterized as one which formally diverges, however slightly, from one of the basic paradigms, and which is used with certain secondarily derived stems only.

SUPPLETIVE paradigms similarly occur with stems which are secondarily derived by certain specific suffixes. Although their forms do not diverge from those of the basic paradigms, the suppletive paradigms generally serve to fill gaps, of whatever origin, in the basic paradigms; they are often themselves incomplete.

The boundaries delimiting marginal and suppletive paradigms from each other and from certain (derivationally) late derivatives are not easy to draw. The RELATIONAL (5.81) and DIMINUTIVE (5.82) paradigms are marginal; they show formal differences from the basic paradigms they are modeled on. The TA INANIMATE ACTOR paradigm (5.83) differs from the basic AI type only in one minute point; and the difference is already leveled out in some dialect areas. The TA INDEFINITE ACTOR paradigm (5.84) shows the suppletive type most clearly: it has some AI forms

[74] For the Odawa dialect of Ojibwa, Piggott (1971*b*: pp. 92, 101) reports an independent ending *m* which might point towards a segmentation of the Cree conjunct ending *-hk*.

with secondarily derived stems which complement some perfectly regular TA forms (5.2). Finally, the AI and TI INDEFINITE (5.85) and INANIMATE (5.86) ACTOR forms are morphologically indistinguishable from the II basic type; syntactically and semantically, however, they fill obvious gaps within their respective basic paradigms. Of course, the gradual scale does not abruptly end here: there is a vast number of formations which pose the familiar problem of the distinction of inflection and derivation (*cf.* also 5.664). The existence of an identifiable paradigmatic gap may well provide an operational criterion, however tentative, for distinguishing suppletive paradigms from derivation.

5.81. The Relational Paradigm

RELATIONAL forms indicate that the action of the verb relates to a person other than the actor in a way which is not specified; there is no concord, nor is the "related" person specified by the verb form as to gender, person, or number. E.g., T54p6 . . . *ē-pimitisahikēt tāntahto-tipiskāw ē-pimohtēwiht nāway ē-nipāt* . . . '. . . he followed behind, and as many nights the party (indf) traveled (with relation to him), he slept behind . . .'; the example indicates that the "related" person is not necessarily a beneficiary of the action.

Bloomfield seems to have coined the term for this formation which he states to be peculiar to Cree (1928: p. 429). By failing to distinguish the relational from the obviative, Hunter and Lacombe further confused an already complex matter; Edwards follows them in this, at least in part (1954: p. 47–2; but see p. XII-10). This confusion is not surprising if we consider phrases like the following: S11-32 *tānēhki mīna k-ō-mēstihkasamwat kitihkwatim otayōwinisah?* 'Why now did you burn your nephew's clothes (in relation to him)?'

5.811. A simpler example of this fairly frequent phrase type is *niwāpahtamwān oskīsikwa.* 'I see his eyes (in relation to him).' However, this is only part of the range of relational forms. Consider the following sentences: T10p94 *ēha, niwāpahtamwān ana* 'Yes, I saw it (*sc.* her leg) in relation to this one (*ana*, namely the person being talked about).' T54p9 *ēkwa napatē kīskisamwān ōma acosis ēkos īsi ē-ohcipitamoht.* 'Then someone cut this arrow off on one side (in relation to the patient), thus pulling it out (in relation to him).' T103p4 . . . . *ēkā kā-nitawēyihtahk t-āpiwiht ōma ohtapiwinihk.* '. . . that he doesn't like it for someone to sit on this seat (with relation to him, i.e. on his seat).' These fairly complex examples should not obscure the fact that many instances of relational forms occur without any adjuncts; this is particularly so with a form which seems to be the most frequent single relational form, namely the indefinite actor form (most typically of AI verbs); e.g., T71-10 *ēkwa ētokwē ē-napatēstāwikēwiht.* 'Then, I guess, a lean-to was built for her'; S10-22 *tāpwē matōtisānihkēwān,* . . . 'Accordingly a sweat-lodge was built for him, . . .'

5.812. Relational forms are formed from AI and TI stems with the suffix /w/. With AI verbs, this marker is added to the stem; no instances of a relational form derived from an n-stem have been recorded.[75] With TI stems, the choice of theme is ambiguous: either /amw/ or /am/ may be posited since /w/ followed by /w/ yields /w/.

Relational forms are not part of inflection because they show in linear order two theme signs, /am(w)/ and /ā/∼/ē/, which are mutually exclusive in inflection. Their derivation is very close to the surface (i.e., late) since they do not underly further derivation; *cf.* 5.814.

5.813. The forms which are attested in texts are listed below; in spite of their small number, they clearly characterize the structure of the paradigm. A full paradigm is given by Ellis (1962: p. 14–10; p. 23–13; app. C-3; 1971: p. 94).

	Independent		Conjunct
	Indicative	h-preterit	
indf	/ān/		/eht/[76]
1	/ān/	/āh/	/ak/
2	/ān/		/at/
3	/ēw/		/āt/

The conjunct forms are obviously identical with the endings of the TA paradigm. The independent forms may be interpreted in at least two ways. Ellis (1962: p. 14–9) regards the vowel following the /w/ (/ā/ in non-third, /ē/ in third person forms) as the stem vowel of the AI ē-stem. This interpretation would not account for the indefinite actor form which is absent in the basic AI paradigm.[77] More important, however, would be the resulting lack of the parallelism between the independent and conjunct orders; it seems more likely that the set of personal endings has been modified in one point than that the orders should have been modeled on different basic paradigms.

Thus, we assume instead that the independent order

[75] Ellis reports that n-stems show *i* before the *w* (1971: p. 87); as he notes himself, his interpretation of this *i* as connective /i/ violates the usual restrictions on the latter. It seems much more likely that n-stems exhibit their *ni*-alternant in this environment, exemplifying further their development towards an eventual vowel stem; *cf.* 5.52.

[76] That the conjunct indefinite ending *-wiht* fails to show the expected contraction (*cf.* appendix A: 4) after AI vowel stems is most plausibly attributed to the structure of this paradigm: under contraction, the characteristic *w* would disappear. It might also mean, however, that contraction does not take place if there are two morpheme-boundaries—a restriction that requires further study.

[77] But note that this is not an oversight on Ellis's part since he gives a different indefinite actor form. His view would seem to be less defensible with regard to the postulation of a freely movable stem vowel just to account for this partial paradigm.

paradigm, too, is modeled on the TA paradigm. Since there is only one series of forms involving non-third persons (and none with plural and obviation markers added), the presence or absence of the third-person marker /wa/∼/a/ cannot be determined. Thus, these forms are phonemically identical to the corresponding AI set; just like AI forms, they make anaphoric reference to an actor only; and finally, the distribution of the TA theme signs /ē/ and /ā/ in the independent order corresponds exactly to that of the AI stem vowels /ē/ and /ā/ (5.52). It is not surprising, then, that the singular non-third forms have been remodeled after the AI paradigm.

5.814. Superficially similar but structurally quite different from the relational forms is a class of TA verbs whose stem ends in *-amaw-*. These verbs belong to the double-goal type of TA verbs, e.g. *nitotamawēw* 'he asks him for him or it' (5.11); although such verbs are typically derived from TI stems, e.g. *nitotam* 'he asks for it,' the second goal is not determined in any way as to gender, number, or person. Thus, P34-16 *. . . ē-wīh-kakwēh-kimotamawācik otēmiyiwah, . . .* '. . . to try to steal (3p-(3′)) their horses from them (3′) . . .'; the second goal here is *otēmiyiwa* 'their horses,' an animate noun with obviative possessor.

The exact difference in meaning between relational forms and TA verbs in *-amaw-* has not been established; *cf.* also 6.446. They are obviously different in syntax, but individual examples may be difficult to assess. Morphology provides the simplest criterion: TA verbs in *-amaw-* are subject to further derivation, e.g., *nipahtamāsōw* 'he kills him or it for himself,' from *nipahtamaw-* 'kill him or it for him.' Relational forms, by contrast, do not undergo further derivation; that is, they close the construction.

5.82. *The Diminutive Paradigm*

The individual TA DIMINUTIVE forms differ from the basic TA paradigm only by the diminutive marker (except possibly the indefinite actor form of the conjunct order). The divergence of the total paradigms, however, is more complex and makes it appropriate to consider the diminutive a marginal paradigm. *Cf.* also appendix A: 2.3.

5.821. From AI and TI stems, diminutive may be formed by the suffix /esi/. It is joined directly to the stem of AI verbs (no instance of an n-stem is recorded); TI verbs exhibit the theme sign /a/ (*cf.* 5.71). The usual AI endings are used with the resulting stem. Examples: T34p6 *. . . sīpīsis ōma nicāsowahasin . . .* 'I crossed this little stream'; *cf. āsowaham* 'he crosses it.' T72p22 *āskaw nikī--acoskēsinān, . . .* 'sometimes we used to work a little, . . .'; *cf. atoskēw* 'he works.' T72-31 *ēkospī āsay ē-nihtā-cēhcapisiyān, . . .* 'Then already I used to be a good rider, . . .'; *cf. tēhtapiw* 'he rides on horseback.'

5.822. Since documentation for the TA diminutive is almost entirely lacking, we will briefly summarize the data given by Lacombe (1874*b*: pp. 124–126). The one instance found in our texts corresponds to Lacombe's form: T10p107 *ēwako māna kā-miywēyimāsit ōhi.* 'That's the one (3) who likes this one (3′)'; the 3 referent is a baby.

As presented by Lacombe, the diminutive paradigm shows one very curious feature. If we leave the you-and-me forms aside, the direct forms have the diminutive morpheme /esi/ inserted after the theme signs, and the inverse forms, before. Thus, /pakamahw-ē-esi-wa/ *pakamahwēsiw* 'he (3) hits him (3′)' but /pakamahw-esi-ekw-[i]-t/ *pakamahosikot* 'he (3′) hits him (3)′ (conjunct form).'

In the you-and-me paradigm, the order of theme sign and diminutive marker is reversed. In the inverse subset, /esi/ follows the theme sign rather than preceding it as in the inverse forms described above; /ki-pakamahw-et-esi-en/ *kipakamahotisin* 'I hit you.' (In the direct set, a form like *pakamahosiyan* 'you hit me' (conjunct) might be interpreted either way, as /-i-esi-yan/ or /-esi-i-yan/.)

5.83. *The TA Inanimate Actor Paradigm*

The transitive animate (TA) inanimate actor paradigm is based on the theme sign /ekw/∼/eko/; for the variant form /eko/ see 5.661. The following forms are attested:

	Independent	Conjunct
-1	*ni- -ikon*	*-ikoyān*
-2	*ki- -ikon*	*-ikoyan*
-1p		*-ikoyāhk*
-21	*ki- -ikonānaw*	*-ikoyahk*
-2p		*-ikoyēk*
-3	*-ikōw, -ik*	*-ikot*
-3p	*-ikwak*	

The theme sign is generally followed by the usual AI endings. The third-person forms of the independent order show some deviation from the rest of the paradigm. In the analysis of the TA inverse paradigm (5.613, 5.622, 5.65) it was seen that a sequence /ekw-a/ results in *-ik*, as in the independent order forms for 3-1, 2 or for (3′)-3. The emergence of the longer form *-ikōw*,[78] however, is attributed primarily to the leveling influence of the paradigm (and at best secondarily to homonym-avoidance). All forms but the two under consideration resemble AI forms by having *-iko-* (partly from /ekw/ plus /e/ or /i/, partly the alternant /eko/; *cf.* 5.661), and it is easy to see how the pattern pressure might work. In fact, this interpretation is supported by the occurrence, side by side, of *-ikōw* on the one hand, and *-ik* and *-ikwak* on the other, e.g., *kīkway mākwahikōw.* 'Something bothers him'; T125-3 *nipahikwak kīkway.*

[78] For the lengthening of *o* before *w cf.* appendix A: 3.5.

'Something has killed them'; *ninōhtēhkatēwin nipahik.* 'My hunger killed him.'

Lacombe (1874*b*: p. 119) cites *-ikōw* and *-ikōwak* for this paradigm, versus *-ik* and *-ikwak* in the TA inverse set. This is also the situation described by Edwards (1954: p. 31–3) except that she reports the plural form with a different plural marker: *-ikowāw.* Most interesting in this connection is Ellis's paradigm where the rebuilt forms *-ikow, -ikowak* are found not only in the inanimate actor set but also in the TA inverse paradigm! (See Ellis, 1962: appendix A, C-1; 1971: table 6; note that *-ikow* occurs only for 3′-3, not for the 3-1, 2 forms.)

5.84. The TA Indefinite Actor Paradigm

The transitive animate (TA) indefinite actor paradigm well exemplifies the suppletive type: it only consists of forms involving a non-third goal while the indf-3 forms belong to the basic TA paradigm.

The suffix of the TA indefinite actor paradigm is /ekawi/. It is followed by the usual AI endings of the non-third persons.

The meaning and use of this paradigm is exactly parallel to that of the other indefinite actor forms.[79] Examples: T20p73 *kikwāsihikawinānaw* 'we are being kidnapped'; T55p75 *nipīhtokwēhikawinān* 'they took us inside'; T72p5 ". . ." *ē-itikawiyān* '". . ." I am called'; T55p68 *asamikawiyāhki* 'if we are fed.'

5.85. The AI and TI Indefinite Actor Paradigm

Both animate intransitive and transitive inanimate verbs have regular indefinite actor forms in the conjunct order. In the independent order, however, this function is taken over by secondarily derived II verbs. But in spite of their morphological inanimateness, these forms are exactly parallel in syntax and meaning to the indefinite actor forms; their meaning is perhaps best indicated by such glosses as 'one does x' or 'there is x-ing being done (by animates)'; *cf.* also 4.422. Thus, S27-14 *kīpah māna picināniwiw, kīksēpā ē-wīh-picihk.* 'We (i.e., "one") always move camp (indf, independent) early, when we move camp (indf, conjunct) in the morning.'

There is considerable variation in the formation of these stems. Thus, we find the suffixes *-(na)niwan-*, *-(nā)niwin-*, and, most frequently, *-(nā)niwi-*. (The resemblance between these suffixes and some of the most productive II finals (*cf.* 6.431, 6.433) might indicate their analysis into an element *-niw-* plus one of the II finals.)[80]

5.851. Another form which also seems to belong here ends in *-ni-*, e.g., P4-28 *mēstinikāniwa* 'there is no wasting (0p)' (from *mēstinikēw* AI 'he uses things up'; *cf.* the conjunct form in P4-28 *ēy-isih-mēstinikēhk* 'one uses things up'). *-ni-* occurs particularly frequently with the AI stem *itwē-* 'say so,' e.g., T79-2 *itwāniw* 'it is said.' All glosses are tentative since the full meaning of this form remains to be ascertained.

5.852. Unlike the situation described in 5.72, the distribution of /nā/ in indefinite actor forms is statable in terms of stem shape. AI stems ending in /ē/ or /ā/ take the alternant without /nā/, while all others select the alternant with /nā/. In the environment of the suffixes *-niwiw, -niwan, -niwin,* ē-stems show the /ā/-alternant; *cf.* 5.52. In effect, then, all these forms contain an /ā/, of whatever structural identity, before the *-niwiw, -niwan, -niwin* suffixes, which makes for considerable superficial similarity: T122-1 *nitopayināniwiw* 'there was going on the warpath (*-nāniwiw*)' and *tipiskihtāniwiw* 'nightfall was encountered (*-niwiw*).'

5.86. The AI Inanimate Actor Paradigm

The animate intransitive (AI) inanimate actor forms are based on the suffix /Lmakan/ and then inflected as II verbs, e.g., T17-3 *pē-nipīmakanwa* 'they (0p) die out,' *cf. nipiw* 'he dies'; T46p10 *ē-tōcikēmakahk* 'it (*sc.* drinking) does things (to people),' *cf. tōcikēw* 'he does things.'

Although parallel forms based on TI stems (with the theme /amw/) have been reported, no examples were found in our texts. Instead, the forms of the basic TI paradigm occur, e.g., T10p128 *ēkwa wiya ōma micihciy ē-pē-otinahk* 'and then this hand took it.'

The AI inanimate actor forms are included here because they parallel the TA inanimate actor paradigm which is truly marginal. But the point is reached where inclusion among the marginal or suppletive paradigms rests on slender criteria indeed.

6. WORD FORMATION

The basic distinction among Cree words is between those which select inflectional paradigms and those which do not, namely particles. A second dichotomy divides the former set into verbs on the one hand and nouns and pronouns on the other.

In the more general aspects of derivation the various word classes are very much alike. The brief sketch of Cree word formation which is presented here follows closely the model of Bloomfield's Menomini grammar.[81]

6.1. DERIVATION

A stem which has only bound constituents is PRIMARY. Where one of the constituents is a free

[79] Note the historical implications of Ellis's statement that the "prefixless forms [e.g., *wāpamāw* indf-3] are rejected at Albany and Moose as being 'incomplete'; instead the AI verbs of undergoing [e.g., *wāpamākaniwiw* 'he is seen'] are used" (1971: p. 85).

[80] In the James Bay dialect, this secondary formation has spread to the conjunct order where it has crowded out the regular ending /hk/. Thus, conjunct *-(nā)niwahk* besides independent *-(nā)niwan*; *cf.* Ellis, 1962: appendix C; 1971: table 2.

[81] In addition to the data described in 1.42, this sketch also includes words cited directly from Bloomfield's manuscript lexicon (MS(*b*)), which is based on his texts.

form (i.e., a stem), we are dealing with SECONDARY derivation. For composition see 6.5.

6.11. Primary Formation

The immediate constituents of primary stems are INITIALS (root or extended root; *cf.* 6.111), MEDIALS which are optional, and FINALS; e.g. root *paw-*, final *-ahw-: pawahw-* TA 'brush him by tool'; with medial *-āpisk-: pawāpiskahw-* TA 'brush him (pipe, stove) with or as metal or stone.'

6.111. All three immediate constituents may exhibit a (lexomorphemic) alternation of shorter and longer forms. We follow Bloomfield in regarding the shorter alternants as basic and calling the longer alternants EXTENDED; the morphemic status of these post-radical, pre- and post-medial, and prefinal ACCRETIVE elements is purposely left open. In fact, the entire problem of lexomorphemic alternation goes beyond the scope of the present sketch. It is mentioned here primarily for practical reasons (*cf.* the brief discussion of extended medials and finals in 6.33 and 6.4, respectively) and to contrast it with the hierarchical structure of derived (deverbal) suffixes (6.13).

6.112. The root or the final suffix may occasionally be set up as zero. Thus, for instance, we posit a zero root in a verb like *oskastimwēw* 'he has a young horse'; the remaining elements are the derived medial *-oskastimw-* and the animate intransitive final *-ē-*. The medial in turn consists of the root *osk-* 'young' and the final *-astimw-* 'dog, horse.'

A zero final is conveniently posited with an unanalyzable noun root such as *sīsīp-* 'duck.'

No root is present in dependent noun stems (*cf.* 3.2), and in many the final is zero as well; thus, the medial *-sit-* 'foot,' as in *kisīpēkisitēw* 'he washes his (own) feet,' occurs with zero root and zero final in the dependent stem *nisit* 'my foot.'

6.12. Secondary Derivation

In secondary derivation further suffixes are added to stems to form derived stems. Thus, from a root *nito-* 'seek' (*cf. nitonam* 'he seeks it') and an animate intransitive final *-payi-* 'move' we get a primary stem *nitopayi-* AI 'go on the war-path'; from this a secondary noun stem may be derived with the abstract suffix *-win;* finally, another intransitive suffix *-ihkē-* completes the verb *nitopayiwinihkēw* 'he leads a war-party.'

6.121. Secondary derivation shows the same ternary structure as primary formation: a stem (rather than a root) is followed optionally by a medial and obligatorily by a final.[82] For examples see 6.133.

Two medials or finals occurring in succession belong to different layers of derivation. A nonce-form may occur where neither meaning nor an intervening final show two medials to be hierarchically distinct, e.g. (T505p17) *kīskacayāskwahwēw* 'he (tree) cuts his belly by tool'; the root *kīsk-* 'cut' is followed by the medials *-acay-* 'belly' (diminutive, *cf. -atay-*) and *-āskw-* 'wood' and the final *-ahw-* 'by tool.' Such a form is considered highly comical.

6.122. Some suffixes are specifically secondary, e.g., the reflexive *-iso-* in *wāpamiso-* AI 'see oneself,' from the stem *wāpam-* TA 'see him.' Others occur in primary as well as secondary word formation, e.g., the transitive animate abstract final *-h-:* primary *kīsihēw* 'he completes him,' secondary *tapasīhēw* 'he flees from him'; *cf. tapasīw* 'he flees.'

Since most suffixes occur in secondary derivation as well as in primary stem-formation, it is not at all surprising "that no clear line can be drawn between these two types of construction; many stems could be described in either way" (Bloomfield, 1962: p. 66).

6.13. Derived (Deverbal) Suffixes

The mechanism of deriving stems from stems is complemented by another, and more characteristically Algonquian one, namely the formation of derived medials and finals.

Medials and finals are of two types. SIMPLE medials and finals show no internal structure. They consist of only one morpheme (but may sometimes have "extended" alternants; *cf.* 6.111). They are not paralleled by independent stems. Examples: medial *-āpisk-* 'stone, metal'; transitive animate and inanimate finals *-ahw-*, *-ah-*, 'by tool.'

DERIVED (deverbal) medials and finals are paralleled by independent stems from which they are said to be derived. The derivative status may not always be obvious, as in *okimāskwēw* 'queen' where the final *-iskwēw* is derived from the stem *iskwēw-* 'woman' (which in turn consists of the root and a zero suffix). It is indisputable where the derived medial differs in phonemic shape from the parallel independent stem, e.g., *atimw-: -astimw-* 'dog, horse'; or *kīsasinah-* TI 'finish writing it' where the final *-asinah-* is derived from the stem *masinah-* TI 'mark it by tool.' No matter what the internal make-up or derivational history of the derived medial or final may be, in its medial or final function it is treated as a unit. Bloomfield called this type of formation DEVERBAL; note that this term does not imply the form-class of the base as do the term "deverbative" and "denominative."

One may visualize the formation of derived (deverbal) suffixes as "vertical" derivation in contrast to the "horizontal" or "left-to-right" pattern of deriving stems from stems. Together these two interlocking types of derivation account for much of the great productivity and complexity of Cree word formation.

6.131. There is a clear distinction between INITIAL

[82] In some of his earlier writings Bloomfield appears to have regarded all secondary suffixes as finals; according to this view the ternary structure would be restricted to the domain of primary stem formation. For a more detailed discussion see 6.333.

and NON-INITIAL alternants of single morphemes as well as of stems.

Thus, for example, the root *atimw-* 'dog, horse' is paralleled by a non-initial alternant *-astimw-* which occurs in *wāpastim* 'white horse or dog,' *manastimwēw* 'he goes on a horse-raid,' or even *atimwastim* 'dog of a dog.'

A stem may similarly have a non-initial alternant. Thus, besides the initial alternant *pāhpih-* TA 'laugh at him' (which consists of the root *pāhpi-* and the transitive animate final *-h-*) we find the non-initial alternant *-āhpih-* which is used as a derived (deverbal) final in *itāhpihēw* 'he thus laughs at him.' (For further examples see 6.133.)

With many forms, however, the initial and non-initial alternants have the same phonemic shape even though they are distinct theoretically; (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1930: p. 72 fn.). Consider the morpheme *wēp-* ~ *-wēp-* in *wēpinēw* 'he throws him away by hand' and in *kwāskwēwēpahwēw* 'he knocks him aloft by tool'; *cf. kwāskwēpayiw* 'he leaps.' Consider also the stem *akim-* TA 'count him' (which consists of the root *ak-* and the transitive animate final *-m-*); the non-initial alternant has the same phonemic shape; as in *itakimēw* 'he counts him so.'

Consequently, the sequence of derivation is often indeterminate. Consider the verb *itācimostawēw* 'he narrates so to him'; it is either secondarily derived from *itācimo-* AI 'narrate so' (where *-ācimo-* is a derived (deverbal) final), or it is a primary verb consisting of the root *it-* and the derived final *-ācimostaw-*. Since both underlying forms, *itācimo-* AI 'narrate so' and *ācimostaw-* TA 'narrate to him,' actually occur, no decision seems possible.

6.132. Only the more obvious types of derived medials and finals can be indicated here.

(*a*) Non-initial forms are rarely longer than the initial forms with which they alternate; (the pre- and post-suffixal extensions mentioned in 6.111 are not included in the present discussion). A very clear example is the initial *atimw-* and the medial *-astimw-* 'dog, horse.'

Sometimes there are variations in the length of vowels; consider the initial *awās-*, as in *awāsis* 'child,' *nicawāsimisak* 'my children,' etc.; and the non-initial *-āwas(o)-* which seems to occur primarily as a secondary suffix, e.g., *wīcēwāwasōw* 'he has his children along,' *cf. wīcēwēw* 'he has him along'; *wāpamāwasōw* 'she sees her child, gives birth to it,' *cf. wāpamēw* 'he sees him'; etc. Another example is the initial *kōn-*, as in *kōna* 'snow,' *kōniwiw* 'it is snowy,' and the medial *-ākon-* which occurs in *nātahākonēw* 'he fetches snow,' *sīpāyākonakihēw* 'he makes him go under the snow,' *mōskākonēpitēw* 'he pulls him out of snow'; concerning the *-ā-* *cf.* 6.332.

(*b*) Many non-initial morphemes which are clearly related to initial stems have to be listed individually since no general pattern of alternation can be detected. Thus, besides the stem *mīnis-* 'berry' (the *-is-* is a diminutive suffix) we find the suffix *-min-* which is very frequent indeed; e.g., *misāskwatōmin* 'saskatoon berry,' *takwahiminēw* 'he crushes berries.' Its meaning is wider than that of the initial stem, e.g. *mahtāmin* 'grain of maize,' *oskahtāmin* '(young) kernel or stone (of fruit),' *wāpimin* 'white bead.' Another typical example is *-sip-*, initial stem *sīsīp-* 'duck'; (*cf.* the Proto Algonquian forms **-eqšip-* and **šīqšīp*). Examples: *kaskitēsip* 'black duck,' *iyinisip* 'mallard,' *oskacānisip* 'mudhen,' etc.

(*c*) Several of the non-initial elements which underlie dependent nouns (3.2) have an alternant form when occurring in other combinations. Most typical are the pairs of alternants with or without suffix-initial *s*, e.g., *niskāt* 'my leg': *-kāt-* in *pēyakokātēw* 'he is one-legged' or *wēpikātēw* 'he flings his legs'; *nispiton* 'my arm': *-piton-* in *sakipitonēnēw* 'he seizes him by the arm'; *niskan* 'my bone': *-kan-* in *pāhkokanēhwēw* 'he crushes his bone by tool.'

(*d*) The non-initial alternant often lacks part of the initial from which it may be said to be derived. Thus, from *maskwamiy* 'ice' we get the medial *-askwam-* in *manaskwamēw* 'he gets ice for use.' This type of alternation where the non-initial alternant shows the loss of stem-initial *w*, *m*, or *n*, appears to occur most frequently, e.g., *-āpēw-*, from *nāpēw* 'man': *mōsāpēw* 'spouseless man, bachelor, widower,' *mistāpēw* 'giant,' etc. Consider also *-āposw-* in *nōtāposwēw* 'he hunts rabbits,' *cf.* the stem *wāposw-* 'rabbit'; *-ahtāmin-* in *oskahtāmin* '(young) kernel or stone (of fruit),' *cf. mahtāmin* 'grain of maize'; *-askisin-* in *pahkēkinwaskisin* 'leather moccasin,' *kētaskisinēw* 'he takes his (own) shoes off,' *miywaskisinēw* 'he has good shoes,' *sāpopēskisinēw* 'he has wet moccasins,' etc; *cf. maskisin* 'shoe.' Note also the alternant *-ēskisin* in *niswēskisinēw* 'he has double moccasins,' and *mihcetōskisin* (recorded at The Pas, Manitoba) 'many moccasins.'

6.133. A few more complex examples of derived suffixes follow. From the simple stem *masinah-*: *masinaham* 'he marks it by tool' the final *-asinah-* may be derived, as in *kīsasinaham* 'he finishes writing it.' From *masinah-* we can also form a secondary animate intransitive stem *masinahikē-* 'write things'; the secondary suffix *-kē-* indicates a general goal. From this stem, a final *-asinahikē* may be derived, as in *pētasinahikēw* 'he writes hither.'

The primary stem *postayōwinisē-* 'dress, put on clothes' consists of a root *post-*, a medial *-ayōwinis-* 'clothes,' and an animate intransitive final *-ē-*. The medial *-ayōwinis-* is paralleled by a diminutive (*-is-*) noun which is derived by the suffix *-win* from a verb stem which is not attested in Cree; but *cf.* Fox *ayōwini* 'thing used' and *ayōwa* 'he uses it' (Bloomfield, 1927: p. 401). Consider also *postayōwinisahēw* 'he dresses him,' *mīskotayōwinisēw* 'he changes clothes,' etc.

Further complex medials are *-atāwākan-* in *nōtatāwākanēw* 'he hunts for furs' and *-ācimōwin-* in *manācimōwinēw* 'he gets a story.' *atāwākan* 'fur' is derived from *atāwākēw* 'he sells' and literally means 'what is sold'; *atāwākēw* in turn is derived from *atāwēw* 'he sells, trades.' *ācimōwin* 'story, text' shows the suffix *-win* used to derive nouns from verbs; the underlying verb *ācimo-* 'he tells (of himself)' is a middle reflexive derived from the transitive animate stem *ācim-* 'tell of him,' which in turn consist of a root *āt-* and a transitive animate final *-m-* 'by speech.'

Derived suffixes are of course not restricted to occurring in primary stems only but examples of complex secondary suffixes are much rarer than either complex primary or simple secondary suffixes. As an example consider *kisīpēkinayōwinisēw* 'he washes his (own) clothes by hand'; the first layer of derivation consists of the underlying stem *kisīpēkin-*, the medial *-ayōwinis-* 'clothes' (*cf.* above), and the animate intransitive final *-ē-*. The underlying stem in turn consists of a root *kisī-* 'agitate,' an extended medial *-ipēk-* 'liquid,' and a transitive final *-in-* 'by hand,' *cf. kisīpēkinam* 'he washes it.'

Finally, consider another example where "vertical" derivation combines with "horizontal" derivation. From a root *kanaw-* (which can probably be further analyzed), the medial *-ēyi-* indicating mental activity, and the transitive animate final *-m-* we form a stem *kanawēyim-* TA 'tend, keep him.' Using this as underlying stem, we can then add the medial *-iskwēw-* 'woman' and the animate intransitive final *-ē-* to get a verb *kanawēyimiskwēwēw* 'he watches his wife.' In a further round of derivation an abstract noun *kanawēyimiskwēwēwin* can be formed, as in T46p8 *kī-poyōw anima okanawēyimiskwēwēwin.* 'He quit this wife-watching of his.' Or yet another verbal suffix, *-iski-*, may be added, to form the verb *kanawēyimiskwēwēskiw* 'he watches his wife constantly' or 'he is a constant (habitual) wife-watcher.'

6.2. ROOTS

Roots occur as the initial constituents of stems. For some formations a zero root is posited; in *oskiskwēwēw*, for instance, the medial *-oskiskwēw-* means 'new woman,' and the meaning of the zero root (or of the construction) is 'he has __'; thus, the meaning of the stem is 'he has a recent wife,' 'he is newly married.' No clear meaning is evident for the zero root of dependent nouns; *cf.* 6.112 and 3.2.

Since roots often occur only in one or just a few stems, their morphological and semantic analysis may remain incomplete. In some cases, as Bloomfield put it (1962: p. 425), "it would be an idle exercise of ingenuity to seek a formula that would cover the meanings of stems that begin with the same sequence of sounds."

Many roots appear in shorter and longer, extended, forms; *cf.* 6.111. Thus, the root *wāp-* whose focal meaning is 'light, see' occurs in the meaning 'white' in *wāpastim* 'white horse or dog,' *wāpimin* 'white bead,' *wāpahkēsiw* 'white fox,' etc. The extended root *wāpisk-*, with no apparent difference in meaning, occurs in *wāpiskāpakonīs* 'white flower,' *wāpiskiwiyās* 'white man,' etc.

6.21. Root Classes

A classification of Cree roots has to take account of the great freedom with which roots may occur in different stem classes; note that this statement applies to primary stem formation alone and does not refer to the classes to which secondarily derived stems may belong. Since each stem class has at least a few members whose roots do not seem to recur in another stem class also, we may tentatively set up classes of noun, verb, particle, and pronoun (?) roots. Such a classification would imply that a very great proportion of roots from each class is subject to class-cleavage.

In Bloomfield's view, there are only two distinct root classes: specifically nominal roots occur in stems with zero suffix; general roots are capable of occurring in nouns (with "concrete" suffixes), verbs, particles, and pronouns. This classification obviously does not imply that each general root appears in the whole range of possible functions; conversely, however, it is impossible without detailed investigation in each case to state a certain root to be restricted to one stem class.

The two classifications outlined above may be viewed as operating on different levels of generalization and therefore do not necessarily exclude each other. For the practical purposes of the present sketch we shall adopt the more specific classification, keeping in mind that it may well be overly specific, and reserving theoretical argument for a fuller investigation.

Thus there is an enormous amount of class-cleavage. For example *wāp-* occurs as a verb root in *wāpiw* 'he sees' or *wāpamēw* 'he sees him'; as a noun root in *wāpastim* 'white horse or dog' or *wāpimin* 'white bead'; and as a particle root in *wāpi* and *wāpiski* 'white.' *mihkw-* 'red' occurs in both nouns and verbs, e.g. *mihko* 'blood,' *mihkwēkin* 'red cloth'; *mihkosiw* 'he is red,' *mihkwāpiskāw* 'it is red (as metal)'; note that this verb is not based on a noun stem (6.32). *kīs-* 'complete' occurs in both verbs and particles, e.g. *kīsihēw* 'he completes him,' *kīsisiw* 'he is mature,' *kīsēyihtam* 'he completes his plan of it'; *kīsi, kī* 'completely.' *kīkw-* 'what' occurs in both nouns and pronouns; consider the stem *kīkwāhtikw-* 'what tree' from which a secondary verb *kīkwāhtikōwiw* 'what kind of tree is he' is derived; *kīkway* 'what' (4.3). *ēyakw-* 'this selfsame' occurs in both pronouns and particles, e.g., *ēyako* 'this

selfsame,' *ēyakwāc* 'just then,' *ēkota* 'there,' *ē(ya)kosi* 'thus,' etc.

The following roots seem to occur in only one type of stem each. Noun: *atimw-* 'horse or dog'; verb: *post-* 'put on (clothing)' in *postastotinēw* 'he puts on his headgear'; particle: *mastaw* 'later'; pronoun: *awiyak* 'someone.'

6.22. Reduplication

Verb and particle roots are freely reduplicated. Reduplication adds the meaning of continuity, repetition, intensity, etc. Some verbs customarily appear with reduplicated root, e.g., *māmitonēyihtam* 'he ponders it.'

6.221. One type of reduplication involves a change of the root which undergoes reduplication; e.g., *pim-* 'along': *papām-* 'about,' as in *pimihāw* 'he flies along': *papāmihāw* 'he flies about.' *nitaw-* 'go to do . . .': *nanātaw-* 'go intensively to do . . .,' as in *nitawāpamēw* 'he goes to see him': *nanātawāpamēw* 'he looks out for him.' Consider also *ohpikihēw* 'he raises him': (S243-6) *oyōhpikihēw* 'he brings him up over a long time' (in this case neither the record nor the interpretation are entirely beyond doubt). This type of reduplication is relatively rare and does not seem to be productive: Bloomfield (1930: p. 6) considered it archaic.

6.222. The productive type of reduplication does not affect the root itself. The root is instead preceded by the reduplication syllable.

With roots beginning in a consonant, the reduplication syllable usually consists of the first consonant (also of a cluster) plus *ā*, e.g., *kākīpa* 'over and over,' *māmēscihtāsōw* 'he carried on his work of extermination,' *cācimatāw* 'he plants it upright (everywhere),' etc. At least one instance has been encountered, however, where both the initial consonant and the vowel of the first syllable are repeated: *mīmīciw* 'he eats it' (T91-9, in an emphatic denial).

Where a root begins in a vowel, the reduplication is normally marked by *ay-* (or *āy-*?), e.g., *ayohpikiw* 'he grows up' (*cf.* also (T73p4) *wayohikiw* 'he keeps growing'); *ayitēyihtam* 'he thinks so'; *ayātotam* 'he tells it over and over,' etc. A deviant type of reduplication has been recorded for the stem *itwē-*AI 'say so.' Besides the usual reduplicated form *ayitwēw* we find the form *itītwēw* (T80p11, T91-13, T110p9); similarly with the transitive animate stem *it-* 'say so to him,' we get a reduplicated form (T115p7) *itītēw* 'he says so to him all the time.'

In a great number of cases, the vowel of the reduplication syllable shows gradual devoicing which is symbolized by *h* in Bloomfield's texts, e.g., *kāh-kinwēs* 'for a very long time.' Elsewhere, such devoicing is interpreted as indicating word boundary, and is then symbolized by hyphen (6.5). The question whether there are in fact two distinct types, one with and one without word boundary, remains to be fully investigated; the writing of hyphen is not always consistent.

6.23. Relative Roots

RELATIVE roots require an antecedent; the antecedent may be a clause, a particle expression, directly quoted speech, etc. Thus, from the root *it-* /eθ-/ is formed the verb *itēw* 'he says so to him,' e.g., S8-13 *ōmis ītēw wīwa.* 'So he spoke to his wife'; note that the relative root *it-* is often balanced by another occurrence of the same root, here in *ōmisi* /ōm-eθ-i/ 'this way.' Another example of two relative roots balancing each other is T55p51 *ēkosi ēsi-wāpahtamān.* 'Thus (it was) what thus I saw'; but this balancing is by no means obligatory, e.g., S8-18 *"ēha,"* *itwēw aw īskwēw.* ' "Yes," said this woman.' For details concerning the syntactic properties of relative roots *cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 120; 1958: pp. 36, 130; 1962: pp. 443–447.

Relative roots constitute a small set; the most common relative roots in Cree are *it-* 'thither, thus,' *oht-* 'from there, therefore,' and *tahto-* 'so many'; e.g. *itapiw* 'he sits thus,' *isi* 'thus'; *ohtinam* 'he takes him thence or therefore'; *tahtopiponwēw* 'he is so many winters old' (secondary verb), *tahtwāw* 'so many times'; etc.

6.3. MEDIALS

Medials in verbs appear between root and final suffix. In nouns and particles, "they mostly appear at the end of the stem or, as we may say, in fixed association with a final of the shape zero" (Bloomfield, 1962: p. 69).

Medial suffixes are characterized primarily by their freedom of occurrence (especially in contrast to concrete noun finals which otherwise tend to be similar in function and meaning; *cf.* 6.412). Furthermore, medials are distinct from the various post-radical and pre-final elements by their meanings which in general are fairly concrete. (*Cf.* Wolfart, 1971*a*.)

Derived (deverbal) medials are amply illustrated in 6.13, especially 6.133. Simple medials fall into two distributional classes which largely coincide with rough semantic groupings.

6.31. "Body-Part" Medials

A large group of simple medials occurs in dependent nouns (6.112, 3.2); they denote kinsmen, body-parts, and a few intimate possessions.

6.311. The medials which denote kinsmen and personal possessions by and large seem to occur only in primary dependent nouns (or in verbs secondarily derived from these), e.g., *nisīm* 'my younger sibling,' *osīmisiw* 'he has a younger sibling'; *nitēm* 'my dog or horse,' *otēmiw* 'he has a dog or horse,' *otēmihēw* 'he makes him have a dog or horse,' etc.

That these medials do not seem to occur in primary verb stems may well be due to semantic and contextual restrictions rather than to an inherent morphological feature. They are certainly not restricted to occurring with a zero root, as is evident from the complex nouns which follow. Thus, the medial *-kosis-*, as in *nikosis* 'my son,' occurs in *āpihtāwikosisān* 'halfbreed'; also *-sōkan-*, as in *nisōkan* 'my buttocks,' recurs in *wāpiskisōkan* 'white hind-quarters' (kind of horse; *cf.* Mandelbaum, 1940: p. 197). The medial *-tās-* in *nitās* 'my trousers' recurs in an extended form *-ētās-* in *mihkwēkinwētās* 'red-cloth breeches.' The medial of *nīwas* 'my pack' (plural *nīwata*) recurs as *-iwas-* in *mīnisiwas* 'berry bag,' *pimihkāniwas* 'pemmican bag,' etc.

6.312. Medials denoting body parts are more frequent than those discussed above, and more typically occur in verbs rather than in dependent stems alone; *cf.* also 6.132 (*c*). Where these medials are followed by a transitive final, post-medial *-ē-* appears to be universal; *cf.* 6.333.

Examples: *-ihcikwān-: nihcikwān* 'my knee,' *kaskihcikwānēhwēw* 'he breaks his knee by shot.' *-tōkan-: nitōkan* 'my hip,' *kaskitōkanēskawēw* 'he breaks his hip by foot.' *-hkw-: nihkwākan* 'my face' (expanded by final *-ākan*), *tōmihkwēw* 'he greases his (own) face,' *kāsīhkwēnēw* 'he washes his face by hand.' *-stikwān: nistikwān* 'my head,' *sakistikwānēnēw* 'he seizes his head by hand.' *-pwām-: nipwām* 'my thigh,' *ohpipwāmēyiw* 'he lifts his (own) thigh.' *-cihc-: nicihciy* 'my hand,' *sakicihcēnēw* 'he seizes his hand (by hand),' *nistocihc* 'three inches.' *-atay-: natay* 'my belly,' *pāskatayēskawēw* 'he opens his belly by kicking.'

6.313. However, there are a number of medials which denote body parts but are not attested to occur in dependent nouns. (They are listed here, rather than in 6.32, primarily for semantic reasons.) In many cases these medials semantically parallel those of the other set (6.312).

Examples: *-nisk-* 'arm': *sakiniskēnēw* 'he seizes his arm (by hand).' *-ikw-* 'neck': *sakikwēnēw* 'he seizes his neck (by hand),' *kīskikwēswēw* 'he severs his neck (by cutting edge),' *kīskikwēwēpahwēw* 'he severs his neck by throwing a missile.' *-iskw-* 'head': *ohpiskwēyiw* 'he lifts his (own) head,' *kwēskiskwēw* 'he turns his (own) head.' *-tihp-* '(top of) head': *paskwātihpēw* 'he is bald-headed,' *pahkwātihpēpitēw* 'he scalps him' (literally 'he peels his head and pulls').

6.32. "Classificatory" Medials

The medials of another group neither function in dependent nouns nor are they paralleled by initial elements. On the other hand, they freely occur in verbs, nouns, and particles and may thus be considered the most narrowly characteristic of the medials. Consider the example of *-āpisk-* 'stone or solid of similar consistency' which occurs in verbs, e.g., *kispāpiskaham* 'he closes it with or as metal or stone,' in nouns, e.g. *pīwāpiskw-* 'piece of metal' or *ospwākanāpiskw-* 'pipestone,' and in particles, e.g., *paskwāpisk* 'bare mountain' or *pēyakwāpisk* 'one dollar.'

Semantically, many of these medials denote not a specific object but a class of objects or, indeed, the characteristic features of this class; see the examples below. The superficial resemblance to a system of classificatory markers deserves detailed investigation.

Probably most frequent is *-āskw-* 'wood or solid of similar consistency.' It occurs very commonly in verbs, e.g., *akotāskohwēw* 'he hangs him on a tree (by tool)'; *mākwāskohwēw* 'he (tree) oppresses him (as tool)'; *mihcāskosiw* 'he is a big tree'; *manāskwēw* 'he takes up (wooden) weapons,' etc. Nouns with *-āskw-* are rare; it occurs as a secondary suffix in *apwānāskw-* 'roasting spit,' for example. One might suspect that the apparent rarity of *-āskw-* in tree names has to do with competition from the noun final *-āhtikw-* 'tree, stick.' (Note also that Siebert 1967*a*: p. 27 glosses the Proto Algonquian equivalent of *-āhtikw-* as 'evergreen or needle tree' and that of *-āskw-* as 'wood; hard wood or deciduous tree.') Examples are *akimāskw-* 'black ash' (cited by Siebert, 1967*a*: p. 27 after Faries, 1938: p. 234) and *ahcāpāskw-* 'oak' (recorded by Bloomfield at The Pas, Manitoba); *cf. ahcāpiy* 'bow' and contrast *ahcāpāhtikw-* 'stick for bow.'

-āpisk- 'stone or solid of similar consistency' has already been exemplified above. Note that here we find a non-zero noun final *-w-*, as in *mōhkomānāpiskw-* 'knife-blade,' *wāpamonāpiskw-* 'glass, window,' *cf. wāpamon* 'mirror'; etc.; contrast the distinctly verbal form *mihkwāpiskiswēw* 'he reddens him (stone) by heat.' If we compare *-āpisk-* to the extended root *wāpisk-* 'white, light' (6.2), it is tempting to regard *-āpisk-* as derived from *wāpisk-* (*cf.* 6.132(*d*)) and to find a semantic connection in the brightness of stones and metals, etc. We certainly cannot exclude the possibility that such a connection actually exists in the "sprachgefühl" of the Cree; historically, however, the two are distinct: *wāpisk-* corresponds to Proto Algonquian **-šk-*, Menomini *-sk-*, Ojibwa *-šk-* (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 121), whereas *-āpisk-* is matched by Proto Algonquian **-θk-*, Fox *-hk-*, Menomini *-hk-*, Ojibwa *-kk-*, Northern Ojibwa *-hk-* (*cf.* also Bloomfield, 1927: p. 398; 1946: p. 118).

Further examples: *-ēkin-* 'cloth or clothlike, expanded object': *askēkinw-* 'raw leather'; *mōswēkinw-* 'moose hide'; *masinahikanēkinw-* 'paper'; *taswēkinam* 'he spreads it out (by hand)'; *misēkan* 'it is an expanse of ice.'

-āpēk- 'rope, elongated object' (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 118): *itāpēkinēw* 'he holds him thus on a rope (by hand)'; *askīhtakwāpēkan* 'it is a green string'; *nīswāpēk* 'in two strings.'

-ipē- 'liquid' (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 118 and also 6.332): *nātipēw* 'he fetches a liquid'; *sīkōpēsin* 'he spills a liquid in falling'; *mōnahipēpitam* 'he drills a

well (literally: he digs by tool for a liquid and pulls)'; *iskopēw* 'he is so deep in water'; *mōskipēw* 'he emerges from water.' *-ipē-* shows a specialized meaning in *kīskwēpēw* 'he is drunk' (*cf. kīskwē-* 'crazy') or *kawipēw* 'he falls from drunkenness.'

6.33. Extended Medials

Many medials occur in shorter and longer, extended forms; *cf.* 6.111.

6.331. Pre-medial extension is rare; one very clear case is that of *-kam-*∼*-ākam-* 'liquid; body of water.' The short alternant occurs in *kihcikamīhk* 'in the sea,' *misikamāw* 'it is a big expanse of water,' *isikamāw* 'it is thus shaped as water'; the extended alternant occurs in *āsowākamēw* 'he crosses a body of water,' *osāwākamiw* 'it is yellow liquid,' etc.

6.332. One type of post-medial extension is exemplified by *-ak-*. Consider the medial *-ākon-* 'snow' in *pīhtākonēw* 'he gets snow into his shoes (literally: he loads snow),' *sōhkākonēw* 'he is strong enough for snow,' *mōskākonēpitēw* 'he pulls him out of the snow,' etc; it shows the post-medial *-ak-* in *sīpāyākonakihēw* 'he makes him go under the snow' or in the particle *atāmākonak* 'under the snow' (*cf. atām-* 'beneath'). (The initial stem corresponding to *-ākon-* is *kōn-* (*cf.* 6.132); the *-ā-* of *-ākon-* might be considered a pre-medial extension if there were any instances of just *-kon-*; *cf.* also Bloomfield, 1962: p. 416).

Consider another example: besides the medial *-ipē-* 'liquid' (*cf.* 6.32 for examples) we find an alternant *-ipēk-* occurring in *kisīpēkinam* 'he washes it by hand'; in the particle *atāmipēk* 'under water'; in *iskopēkāw* 'the water goes so far'; etc.

6.333. The most typical post-medial extension is *-ē-* which is particularly common where a medial occurs before a transitive final in primary stem formation, e.g., *sakicihcēnēw* 'he seizes his hand (by hand)' where the extended medial is *-cihcē-* 'hand' and the final *-in-* 'by hand.' Or consider the stem *mēstātayōhkanēsin-* AI 'run out of sacred stories' where the extended medial is *-ātayōhkanē-* (*cf. ātayōhkan* 'spirit animal,' subject of sacred stories) and the complex final *-sin-* 'lie, rest.'

The post-medial element *-ē-* is homonymous with the animate intransitive final *-ē-*, and this homonymy often leads to indeterminacies as to the primary or secondary status of a stem. The two *-ē-*'s may well be related historically (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1927: p. 399) but no attempt is made to untangle this complicated situation; (*cf.* also the uncertain position of Bloomfield in 1927: p. 401, 1946: pp. 117, 119; 1958: p. 76; 1962: pp. 305, 383).

For further illustration of this situation consider another instance of post-medial *-ē-* in *kaskāwikanēhwēw* 'he breaks his back by shot.' (Note that post-medial *-ē-* occurs very frequently but not exclusively with medials denoting body-parts.) The root is *kask-* 'break,' the final *-ahw-* 'by tool'; the medial *-āwikan-* recurs in the dependent noun *nāwikan* 'my spine.' For contrast consider also the verb *pakamāpahwēw* 'he strikes his eye by tool' where the medial *-āp-* 'eye, vision' is not followed by a post-medial extension but directly by the final *-ahw-*.

The *-ē-* is clearly an animate intransitive final, rather than a post-medial extension, in *pakamāskwēw* 'he hits wood'; the root is *pakam-* 'hit,' the medial *-āskw-* 'wood.' Consider such parallel forms as *pakitāskwahwēw* 'he (tree) lets him go (by tool)' with the transitive animate final *-ahw-;* or *asāskonēw* 'he piles him up (as wood) by hand' with the transitive animate final *-in-*. The *-ē-* is also unambiguously identified as final where it is followed by a suffix which is distinctly secondary, e.g., *-iski-* 'constantly, habitually' in *nōtiskwēwēskiw* 'he is a woman chaser'; the underlying form *nōtiskwēwēw* 'he courts a woman' also occurs.

In the vast majority of instances, however, the identity of the *-ē-* is subject to different interpretations. Consider the intransitive verb *kētaskisinēw* 'he takes his (own) shoes off' and the transitive *kētaskisinēnēw* 'he takes his shoes off by hand, undresses him as to his shoes.' Both have the derived medial *-askisin-* 'shoe,' and in the first example it is followed by the animate intransitive final *-ē-*. For the second example, however, where the *-ē-* is followed by the transitive animate final *-in-* 'by hand,' two interpretations are possible: (1) The *-ē-* is the animate intransitive final; then we are dealing with a secondary derivative. (2) The *-ē-* is a post-medial extension; then the verb is primary. A decision, in each case, will have to depend on further semantic and combinatorial features.

6.4. FINALS

Finals determine the word class of a stem and, in verbs, also the verb type (5.1).

It is convenient to distinguish between ABSTRACT and CONCRETE finals, even though they do not constitute fully discrete classes. The meaning of concrete finals is readily statable, e.g., transitive animate *-ahw-*, transitive inanimate *-ah-* 'by tool.' Abstract finals seem to have no further meaning than to determine the appurtenance of the stem to word class or verb type, e.g., the *-ē-* typically found with animate intransitive verb involving a medial (*cf.* 6.333).

Most finals are used in both secondary and primary derivation. Some noun finals and some intransitive verb finals seem to be restricted to secondary derivation; see 6.413 ff. and 6.433 ff.

It is not the aim of this survey to attempt a listing of the immense variety of final suffixes. Thus, only some particularly productive or typical suffixes are cited as examples. (Note that it is this practical restriction which leads us to favor secondary suffixes over the more idiosyncratic primary ones.)

It is often possible to further segment finals into a more restricted pre-final element and the more widely recurring final proper. The distinction between pre-final elements and medials is primarily one of freedom of occurrence and in many cases no clear line can be drawn. As an example of a pre-final consider *-s-* 'lie, fall' (Proto Algonquian **-hθ-*) which commonly combines with the animate intransitive and transitive animate abstract finals *-n-* and *-m-* to form the complex finals *-sin-* and *-sim-;* (note the insertion of connective /i/). Thus, with the root *pim-* 'extension in time or space' we find *pimisin* 'he lies extended' and *pimisimēw* 'he lays him extended.' Compare also *pakamisimēw* 'he strikes him to the ground,' or *wēwēkisimēw* 'he wraps him as he lies.' A middle reflexive *-simo-* which corresponds to the transitive animate final, is found in *kawisimōw* 'he lies down' or *pahkisimōw* 'he (sun) sets'; for further examples see also 6.439.

6.41. Noun Finals

The finals described in 6.411 and 6.412 may function in primary or secondary derivation while those of the remaining sections are typically secondary. Derived (deverbal) noun finals are exemplified in 6.13.

6.411. Many nouns are unanalyzable and a zero final is conveniently posited, e.g. *sīsīp-* 'duck'; *atimw-* 'dog or horse.'

6.412. Concrete noun finals. *-wayān-* 'hide or garment made from it': *mostoswayān* 'buffalo robe,' *amiskwayān* 'beaver-skin.'

-āhtikw- 'tree, stick': *ayōhkanāhtikw-* 'raspberry bush'; *pipikwanāhtikw-* 'whistle-tree'; *sōkāwātikw-* 'sugar maple'; a noun *kīkwāhtikw-* 'what tree' also underlies the verb *kīkwāhtikōwiw* 'what tree is he.'

-āpoy- 'broth, soup': *mihkwāpoy* 'blood soup'; *maskihkīwāpoy* 'tea (literally: herb-broth)'; *mātōwināpoy* 'tear (literally: crying-liquid).'

6.413. Agent nouns are freely formed from animate intransitive verbs with a final *-w-* and the third person prefix *o(t)-* (2.11, appendix A: 6), e.g., *pimipici-* 'travel': *opimipiciw* 'a traveler'; *mācī-* 'hunt': *omācīw* 'hunter'; *āhkosi-* 'be sick': *otāhkosiw* 'sick person, patient.' The same prefix-suffix combination is also found with transitive inanimate stems; e.g., *omāhamw-* 'one who canoes downriver, voyageur' from *māh-* 'canoe downriver' (with thematic suffix /am(w)/; *cf.* 5.71); or even with a particle, e.g. *onīkāniw* 'headman, leader' from *nīkān* 'ahead.'

In addition to the "agentive" type just mentioned, there is a multitude of nouns ending in *-w-*, e.g., *kaskitēw* 'gunpowder' from the root *kaskitē-* 'black,' or *sēhkēw* 'car,' *cf.* the particle *sēhkē* 'by itself.' Their analysis in most cases is problematic (*cf.* Bloomfield, 1962: p. 242). Not only is this *-w-* homonymous with the agentive *-w-;* there may also be some connection with the inflectional *-w-* of 3.32 and 5.47. Finally, a number of stems which do not normally end in *-w-*, e.g. *asiniy* 'stone,' plural *asiniyak*, do in fact exhibit a final *-w-* when they function as the base of further derivation, e.g. *asinīwispwākan* 'stone pipe.'

6.414. Abstract nouns are freely formed from animate intransitive verbs by the suffix *-win-*, e.g. *ācimo-* AI 'tell a story': *ācimōwin* 'story'; *pimātisi-* AI 'live': *pimātisiwin* 'life'; *nanātawiho-* AI 'doctor oneself': *nanātawihōwin* 'remedy'; *sōskwaciwē-* AI 'slide downhill': *sōskwaciwēwin* 'slide' (action and place-name; Bloomfield instead recorded the alternative form *sōskwaciwān*, derived by the pattern of 6.415).

6.415. The final *-n-* is used to form nouns denoting action, instrument, product, etc. from animate intransitive verbs. This type seems to be slightly more archaic than the one described in 6.414.

Our examples all involve animate intransitive verbs ending in *ē*∼*ā* (5.52). According to the treatment of the stem-final vowels before *-n-*, they fall into two sets: one shows the alternant *ā*, the other instead has a short *a*.

With *ā: apahkwē-* AI 'thatch it': *apahkwān* 'thatch'; *kistikē-* AI 'to farm': *kistikān* 'grain, wheat'; *apwē-* AI 'make a roast': *apwān* 'roast.'

With *a: atāwākē-* AI 'sell': *atāwākan* 'fur (literally: what is sold)'; *ātayōhkan* 'spirit animal,' from *ātayōhkē-* AI 'tell a sacred story'; spirit animals are the typical subjects of sacred stories. Note also the noun *ātayōhkēwin* 'sacred story,' derived by the pattern of 6.414.

6.416. The suffix *-kan-* forms mainly nouns which denote instruments; it is used primarily with transitive inanimate stems or with animate intransitive stems which are syntactically transitive (5.12); it is often preceded by connective /i/. *-kan-* consists of the suffix *-n-* (6.415) added to the animate intransitive suffix *-kē-* 'action on general goal' (6.436).

Examples: *kwāpah-* TI 'dip it up': *kwāpahikan* 'ladle'; *mamitonēyiht-* TI 'ponder it': *māmitonēyihcikan* 'mind'; *kisākamis-* TI 'heat it as liquid': *kisākamisikan* 'tea-kettle.' Also, *pahkwēsikan* 'bannock' from *pahkwēs-* TI 'cut a piece from it.'

It occurs also with animate intransitive stems, e.g., *pīhtwā-* 'smoke': *pīhtwākan* 'pipe'; *pimihā-* 'fly': *pimihākan* 'airplane'; *ospwākan* 'pipe' from an underlying stem *ospwā-* 'smoke' which is not attested; *nīmāskwē-* 'carry weapons': *nīmāskwākan* 'weapon.'

6.417. The suffix *-ihkān-* /ehkān/ forms nouns from nouns. The derived noun denotes a substitute or surrogate of the denotatum of the underlying stem; *cf.* also Ellis, 1960. *-ihkān-* appears to consist of the suffix *-n-* of 6.415 added to the animate intransitive suffix *-ihkē-* which forms verbs of making; *cf.* 6.435.

Examples: *pīsimw-* 'sun': *pīsimohkān* 'watch'; *niskīsikw-* 'my eyes': *niskīsikohkāna* 'spectacles (0p)'; *wīhtikōw* 'Windigo': *wīhtikōhkān* 'member of the

Windigo Society'; *okimāw* 'chief': *okimāhkān* 'elected or appointed chief.'

6.418. The suffix *-ākan-* occurs primarily with transitive animate verbs. It forms nouns which denote the goal of the action, e.g. *nōtināk*an 'enemy' from *nōtin-* 'fight him'; *wīkimākan* 'spouse' from *wīkim-* 'live with him or her'; *manācimākan* 'parent- or child-in-law' from *manācim-* 'avoid speaking to him.'

The relation of *-ākan-* to the inverse theme sign of verbs /ekw/ and to various other /ek/-suffixes involving "passive" meanings is a fascinating problem; *cf.* 5.422.

6.42. Particle Finals

The vast majority of particle finals occurs with roots which are paralleled by either verb or pronoun roots (*cf.* 6.21). Particles whose root does not recur elsewhere, e.g. *kanihk* 'of course,' are usually unanalyzable.

Medials in fixed association with a particle final zero are frequent; for examples see 6.32.

6.421. The most characteristic and productive abstract final is /i/, e.g., *oht-* 'thence': *ohci* 'thence'; *it-* 'thus': *isi* 'thus'; *kanāt-* 'clean': *kanāci* 'clean'; *cf.* also appendix A: 5.1.

Also very common is the final *-āc* (perhaps to be analyzed into pre-final *-āt-* plus /i/; e.g., *sōskwāc* 'right away' from *sōskw-* 'smooth'; *nitawāc* 'as the best thing to do' from *nitaw-* 'go to do . . . .' In at least one instance a particle with final *-āc* is consistently paralleled by a variant with *-āk: ē(ya)kwayāc, ē(ya)kwayāk* 'just then.'

A large number of particles end in *-taw* or *-aw*, e.g., *ohcitaw* 'on purpose, expressly' from *oht-* 'thence.' In many instances, however, the root remains obscure, e.g., *pīhtaw* 'in the actual outcome'; *tipiyaw* 'in person'; *nayēstaw* 'only'; etc.

6.422. Concrete particle finals seem to be relatively few in number. The most common ones are paralleled by the following independent particles: *itē* 'thither, there'; *ita* 'there'; *isi* 'thus'; *ispī* 'then'; *tahto* 'so many.'

Examples: *nikotita* 'just somewhere,' *cf. nikot-* 'some, any'; *āstamita, āstamitē* 'on, to the higher side (in time or space),' *cf. āstam* 'come here'; *awasita, awasitē* 'on, to the further side (in time or space),' *cf. awas* 'go away.' The underlying forms are not known in *napatē* 'to one side' and *patōtē* 'off alone, away from the band.'

However, the main use of these finals is not with the handful of underlying forms given so far but with roots which also occur in pronominal stems. Thus, with the stem *ēyakw-, ēkw-* 'the selfsame' (4.41), we find *ēkotē* 'just thither, just there,' *ēkota* 'just there,' *ēkosi* 'just thus,' and *ēkospī* 'just then.' With the demonstrative stems (4.11) one finds mainly the locative particles *ōtē, ōta,* 'hither, here,' *anita* 'there,' *nētē* 'yonder.' The full range is exemplified by the interrogative *tān-: tānitē* 'whither, where,' *tānita* 'where,' *tānisi* 'how', *tānispī* 'when,' *tāntahto* 'how many.'

6.423. The finals *-wāw* '(so many) times' and *-wayak* 'in (so many) ways or places' represent the simple (vs. derived) types of concrete particle finals.

Examples: *nikotwāw* 'anytime' from *nikot-* 'some, any'; *mihcētwāw* 'many times' from *mihcēt* 'many'; *tahtwāw* 'so many times, every time' from *tahtw-* 'so many'; finally also *tāntahtwāw* 'how many times' from *tāntahtw-* 'how many' (*cf.* 6.422).

-wayak: mihcētwayak 'in a lot of ways' from *mihcēt* 'many'; *tahtwayak* 'at every place' from *tahtw-* 'so many'; and finally *tāntahtwayak* 'in how many places, from how many sides,' *cf. tāntahtw-* 'how many.'

Both *-wāw* and *-wayak* also occur with numerals: *pēyakwāw* 'once' (both as numeral and as temporal adverb), *pēyakwayak* 'in one place,' *cf. pēyakw-* 'one'; *nīswāw* 'twice,' *nīswayak* 'in two ways or places,' *cf. nīsw-* 'two'; *nikotwāsikwāw* 'six times,' *cf. nikotwāsik* 'six.'

6.43. Intransitive Verb Finals

Intransitive verb finals form animate intransitive (AI) and inanimate intransitive (II) verbs. Some intransitive finals come in derivationally and etymologically related pairs, for animate and inanimate actor. For obvious semantic reasons, however, paired finals are much less common here than with transitive finals which differ according to the gender of the goal.

There is in fact a large subset of inanimate intransitive verbs where to speak of an "actor" is misleading syntactically as well as semantically; while morphologically inanimate intransitive, verbs like *kimiwan* 'it rains' or *yōtin* 'it is windy, wind' are more aptly labeled "impersonal."

Most intransitive finals can be used in both primary and secondary formation. The suffixes described in sections 6.433 to 6.439 are typically secondary.

6.431. Of the great variety of abstract finals, only one example is given which is treated in some detail.

The animate intransitive abstract final *-isi-* /esi/ is often paralleled by inanimate intransitive *-ā-* or *-an-*. Root *sēk-* 'scare': *sēkisiw* 'he is scared.' Root *kaskitē-* 'black': *kaskitēsiw* 'he is black.' Extended root *wāpisk-* 'white': *wāpiskisiw* 'he is white,' *wāpiskāw* 'it is white.' Extended root *māyāt-* 'bad (of character)': *māyātisiw* 'he is bad,' *māyātan* 'it is bad.'

-isi- and *-ā-* are freely added to all manner of stems. From the particle *misiwē* 'everywhere, all' we get *misiwēsiw* 'he is all in one piece, entire'; from the particle *nanātohk* 'different kinds' (ultimately derived from the root *nitaw-* 'go to do . . .'?) there is *nanātohkisiw* 'he is many different kinds.' Consider also *namakīkwāw* 'it has disappeared' which ultimately

derives from the phrase *nama kīkway* 'nothing, absent' (*cf.* 4.32); since *namakīkwāw* is not a compound (6.5), we have to assume an underlying stem *namakīkw-* which is not attested; *cf.* 6.433.

-isi- and *-an-* also occur freely in complex finals. Thus, *-isi-* is part of the complex final *-ākosi-* which derives "medio-passive" verbs from transitive inanimate stems, e.g., *itēyihtākosiw* 'he is thus thought of' from *itēyiht-* TI 'think so of it'; *nisitawēyihtākosiw* 'he is recognized' from *nisitawēyiht-* TI 'recognize it.' (The other constituents of the complex final are the inverse or "passive" marker /ekw/ (5.422) and a pre-final element *-ā-; -ā-* most likely is a back-formation based on contracted *-ā-* from /aw-e/, e.g., *kiskinōhamākosiw* 'he is taught' from *kiskinōhamaw-* TA 'teach (it to) him.' Thus, while the *-ā-* arises regularly in most forms it is part of the complex final in others, such as the examples cited above.)

The complex finals *-ikosi-*∼*-ākosi-* and *-ikwan-*∼*-ākwan-* are often suffixed to finals which denote sensory perception, such as TA *-naw-*, TI *-n-* 'see,' TA *-htaw-*, TI *-ht-* 'hear'; e.g. *ohcinākosiw* 'he is seen from there,' *wiyasinākwan* 'it looks funny' (but consider also *miyonākohēw* 'he makes him look well'); *itihtākwan* 'it is thus heard, it sounds thus,' *kitimākihtākosiw* 'he sounds pitiable'; consider also *miyomākosiw, miyomākwan* 'he, it smells good'; etc.

Verbs in *-ikosi-*∼*-ākosi-* and *-ikwan-*∼*-ākwan-* generally denote single actions and thus differ from the "middle reflexives" of 6.439, which denote a general, habitual action. Bloomfield (1962: p. 299) also speaks of "a weakening of the passive sense."

-isi- and *-an-* further combine with a longer alternant of the inverse marker /ekw/ (5.422) to form the complex final *-ikōwisi-* 'action by supernatural powers.' This final is suffixed to transitive animate stems, e.g., *itēyim-* 'think so of him': *itēyimikōwisiw* 'he is thus thought of by the powers'; *pakitin-* 'set him down by hand': *pakitinikōwisiw* 'he is set down by the powers'; *pakitinamaw-* 'set it down for him (by hand), permits it to him': *pakitinamākōwisiw* 'he is permitted it by the powers.'

6.432. Concrete finals. Example *-payi-* (animate and inanimate) 'move': *nitopayiw* 'he goes seeking, goes on the war-path' (*cf. niton-* TA 'seek him (by hand)'); *miyopayiw* 'he fares well,' *miyopayiw* 'it goes well'; *cf. miyo-* 'well'; *kīwēpayiw* 'he goes home,' *cf. kīwē-* AI 'go home'; *kōkīpayiw* 'he goes under water,' *cf. kōkī-* AI 'dive'; *pīkwaskisinēpayiw* 'he goes with torn moccasins,' *cf. pīkwaskisinē-* AI 'tear one's moccasin'; *kwēskitinipayiw* 'the wind changes,' *cf. kwēskitin-* II 'the wind turns' and the root *kwēsk-* 'turn.'

Stems with the final *-payi-* are subject to further derivation, for instance with the causative finals *-h-* and *-htā-; -h-* is transitive animate and *-htā-* forms animate intransitive verbs which are syntactically transitive (5.12). Examples: *miyopayiw* 'he fares well': *miyopayihēw* 'he makes him fare well'; *nōhtēpayiw* 'he runs short': *nōhtēpayihēw* 'he causes him to run short'; *pimipayiw* 'he, it moves along': *pimipayihtāw* 'he conducts it'; *kōskopayiw* 'he, it bursts' (not attested): *kōskopayihtāw* 'he makes it burst.'

As with the various complex suffixes discussed in 6.431, the complex suffixes built on *-payi-* seem to be treated as units and may be found even where an underlying form in *-payi-* or *-payih-* is not likely to occur. This is particularly obvious with the "middle reflexive" complex final *-payiho-* in a form like *kitāpipayihōw* 'he turns to look,' *cf. kitāpi-* AI 'look.' Other examples, with or without underlying forms, are extremely frequent, e.g. *nōhtēpayihōw* 'he is in want (for himself),' *cf.* the underlying form above; *kwēskipayihōw* 'he throws himself around,' *cf.* the root *kwēsk-* 'turn'; *sākiskwēpayihōw* 'he throws himself so that his head sticks out,' *cf. sākiskwē-* AI 'stick one's head out'; *kīpipayiw* 'he tumbles over,' *kīpipayihōw* 'he throws himself over'; *nīhcipayiw* 'he comes, falls down,' *nīhcipayihōw* 'he throws himself down'; etc.

6.433. Verbs of being are freely formed, primarily from nouns. The animate intransitive and inanimate intransitive stems are homonymous.

Where a noun stem ends in a vowel followed by *-w-*, the verb final has the shape *-i-* /i/: *iskwēw* 'woman': *iskwēwiw* 'she is a woman'; *mōsāpēw* 'single man: *mōsāpēwiw* 'he is a widower'; *nēhiyaw* 'Cree': *nēhiyawiw* 'he is a Cree'; etc. (*Cf.* also 3.32 and 6.413.)

All other noun stems take the verb final in the shape *-iwi-* /ewi/, e.g., *kōn-* 'snow': *kōniwiw* 'it is snowy'; *mahīhkan* 'wolf': *mahīhkaniwiw* 'he is a wolf'; *kihci-mōhkomān* 'American': *kihci-mōhkomāniwiw* 'he is an American'; *amiskw-* 'beaver': *amiskōwiw* 'he is a beaver.' Note that nouns ending in *-iy* show contraction (/iy-e/ becomes /ī/; *cf.* appendix A: 4.2): *nipiy* 'water,' *nipīwiw* 'it is water'; *askiy* 'earth, year,' *askīwiw* 'it is earth, year.'

Verbs of being are not only derived from nouns but may be formed from particles as well, e.g., *kēhtē* 'old': *kēhtēwiw* 'he is old'; *kisiwāk* 'near': *kisiwākiwiw* 'it is near,' etc.

The animate intransitive final *-iwi-* also appears in *namakīkwayiwiw* 'he comes to nothing'; *cf.* 6.431 and the references given there. The underlying stem *namakīkway-* which ultimately derives from the phrase *nama kīkway* 'nothing, absent,' is not attested. Example: T534p8 *ka-namakīkwayiwinānaw* 'we shall come to nothing'; the form which occurs in T534p28 might even be interpreted as yet a further derivative (*cf.* 5.85): *ka-namakīkwayiwināniwiw* 'there will be coming to nothing.'

6.434. Verbs of possession are freely formed from possessed themes (3.2) of nouns with the suffix *-i-* /i/; the possessed theme shows the third person prefix *o-* (2.11). Thus, *mōhkomān* 'knife': *omōhko-*

māniw 'he has a knife'; *mīciwin* 'food' (from *mīciw* 'he eats it'): *omīciwiniw* 'he has food.'

This type of verb also occurs with transitive meaning, e.g., *nikosis* 'my son': *okosisiw* 'he has a son, he has him as son'; *nimanitōm-* 'my god': *omanitōmiw* 'he has a god, he has him as god.' Consider the following example: T105p15 *namoy ihtāw kotak manitōw, . . ., t-ōmanitōmihk, . . .* 'There doesn't exist another spirit, . . ., (for a person, indf) to have as god.' Further transitive animate derivatives are frequently made with a final *-m-* ('by speech'?), e.g., *omanitōmimēw* 'he has, addresses (?), him as god'; or *okosisimēw* 'he has him as (adopted?) son.'

6.435. The animate intransitive final *-ihkē-* /ehkē/ is freely suffixed to nouns to form verbs whose meaning is 'make, gather, produce such-and-such.' Thus, *mēnisk* 'trench': *mēniskēhkēw* 'he digs a trench'; *matotisān* 'sweat-lodge': *matotisānihkēw* 'he builds a sweat-lodge'; *sōniyāw* 'gold, money': *sōniyāhkēw* 'he makes, creates money.'

-ihkē- seems to be particularly common with derived nouns denoting communal activities, e.g., *nitopayiwin* 'raid': *nitopayiwinihkēw* 'he arranges a raid, leads a war-party'; *piciwin* 'trek, moving of camp': *piciwinihkēw* 'he arranges for the moving of camp'; *pasakwāpisimōwin* 'shut-eye dance': *pasakwāpisimōwinihkēw* 'he gives a shut-eye dance.'

6.436. Morphologically intransitive verbs of action on a general goal are formed with the suffix *-kē-* ~ *-ikē-*.[83]

-kē- seems to occur most typically with transitive inanimate verbs or animate intransitive verbs which are syntactically transitive (5.12); note the insertion of connective /i/. Thus, *mākwaht-* TI 'chew it': *mākwahcikēw* 'he chews, he chews things'; *mēstin-* TI 'use it up': *mēstinikēw* 'he uses things up'; *pakamah-* TI 'strike it': *pakamahikēw* 'he strikes'; *sakah-* TI 'fasten it (by tool)': *sakahikēw* 'he drives nails.' Also, *kīnipotā-* AI 'sharpen it': *kīnipocikēw* 'he sharpens things'; *nōcihtā-* AI 'hunt for it': *nōcihcikēw* 'he hunts'; (note that syntactically transitive AI verbs here show an alternant without their final vowel, *cf.* 6.444 and 6.446).

With other animate intransitive stems, *-kē-* either emphasizes the generality of the goal (which is not, of course, expressed syntactically), as in *mētawākēw* 'he plays with things,' from *mētawēw* 'he plays, contends'; note the further TA derivative *mētawākātēw* 'he plays (with things) with him.' Or *-kē-* may serve to mark the meaning of the derived stem in a fairly idiosyncratic way, as in *atāwākēw* 'he sells' from *atāwēw* 'he trades, buys.'

[83] In his discussion of Algonquian palatalization, Piggott (1971*a*: p. 27) sets up only one suffix, which begins in /i/, in spite of their different environments. The assumption that this is *one* suffix which takes part both in palatalization (of TI stems in *t*) and contraction (of TA stems in *aw*) is crucial to his analysis of palatalization.

-ikē- /ekē/ occurs with transitive animate stems, e.g., *paskiyaw-* TA 'win from him': *paskiyākēw* 'he wins from people'; note the contraction of the stem-final /aw/ with the suffix-initial /e/. Also, *tēpwēstamaw-* TA 'act as announcer for him': *tēpwēstamākēw* 'he acts as announcer (for people)'; *wīhtamaw-* TA 'tell it for him': *wīhtamākēw* 'he makes predictions'; etc. *-ikē-* by no means closes the construction; thus, from *nōtin-* TA 'fight him' there is *nōtinikēw* 'he fights (people)'; from this may be derived another transitive animate verb, *nōtinikēstamawēw* 'he fights (people) for him' (*cf.* 6.446), and then even a further derivative, namely the reflexive *nōtinikēstamāsōw* AI 'he fights (people) for himself.'

With transitive animate verbs there is also another suffix, /iwē/, of similar meaning. Thus, *nāt-* TA 'fetch him': *nāsiwēw* 'he fetches people'; *takohtah-* TA 'bring him': *takohtahiwēw* 'he brings people'; etc. The meaning of /iwē/ seems to be emphatically, expressly general; consider the following sequence of derivations: AI *nawaswē-* 'pursue' (which is itself derived); TA *nawaswāt-* 'pursue him'; AI *nawaswāsiwē-* 'pursue people.'

6.437. Reciprocal verbs are freely formed from transitive animate verbs with the final *-ito-* /eto/. Thus, *nipah-* TA 'kill him': *nipahitōwak* 'they kill each other'; *kitimah-* TA 'ruin him': *kitimahitōwak* 'they ruin each other'; *wīhtamaw-* TA 'tell it to him': *wīhtamātōwak* 'they tell it to each other'; *miyowīcēw-* TA 'get along well with him: *miyowīcētōwak* 'they get along well together.'

In some cases we find a slightly divergent formation. Thus, beside *wāpam-* TA 'see him' there is the reciprocal *wāpahtōwak* 'they see each other.' Bloomfield described this form as derived from the transitive inanimate pendant *wāpaht-* 'see it' by a shorter alternant (Proto Algonquian **-wi-*) of the suffix (1946: p. 108). However, if we assume an alternation of *-m-* with *-h-* before *-t-*, as well as a form of the suffix without the initial /e/, namely *-to-*, then the reciprocal verb can be derived directly from the transitive animate stem. There is good independent evidence for such a morphophonological alternation; *cf.* 5.73, 5.74, and appendix A: 1.3. Not only would such an interpretation preserve the characteristic consonant of the suffix; it would also avoid the semantic complications of deriving an animate intransitive reciprocal verb from a transitive inanimate stem. This latter difficulty would have been particularly obvious in cases like the following, where from a transitive animate verb *wīkimēw* 'he lives with her, is married to her' we get *wīkihtōwak* 'they live with each other, are married.'

For obvious semantic reasons the reciprocal verbs usually appear in plural forms. However, singular back-formations are not uncommon. Thus, besides *wīkihtōwak* 'they are married' we find *wīkihtōw* 'he gets married.' From the TA stem *ohpikih-* 'raise him'

we get S67-1 *ēkwah ayīsiyiniw wī-ohpikihitōw.* 'Now mortal man is to come into being.' And besides *nīmihitōwak* 'they make each other dance, they dance,' there is *nīmihitōw* 'he dances'; note that the underlying stem of the TA verb *nīmihēw* 'he makes him dance,' namely the AI stem *nīmi-* 'dance' does not seem to occur in Plains Cree.

6.438. Explicit reflexives are freely formed from transitive animate stems with the suffix *-iso-* /eso/. Thus, *nipah-* TA 'kill him': *nipahisōw* 'he kills himself'; *wīh-* TA 'name him': *wīhisōw* 'he names himself'; *pēhtaw-* TA 'hear him': *pēhtāsōw* 'he hears himself'; *kiskinōhamaw-* TA 'teach it to him': *kiskinōhamāsōw* 'he teaches it to himself.'

6.439. Of the great variety of "middle" reflexives only very few examples can be given.

One of the most common pairs of finals is animate intransitive *-o-* and inanimate intransitive *-ē-* which occur in both primary and secondary derivation. The AI final *-o-* palatalizes a preceding */θ/*; *cf.* appendix A: 2.4. Thus, beside *kāt-: kātēw* 'he hides him' and *kātā-*: *kātāw* 'he hides it' (*cf.* 5.12) we find the middle reflexive pair *kāso-: kāsōw* 'he hides' and *kātē-: kātēw* 'it hides, it is hidden.' Similarly, besides TA *tahkopitēw*, TI *tahkopitam* 'he ties him, it fast' we find AI *tahkopisōw* 'he is tied fast' and II *tahkopitēw* 'it is tied fast.'

The same suffixes recur in the complex finals AI *-kāso-* and II *-kātē-;* (whether these are in any way related to the suffix *-kē-* (6.436) which forms verbs with general goal, remains to be seen). Thus, from the transitive inanimate stem *masinah-* 'mark, write it' and besides the animate intransitive verb *masinahikē-* 'write' we find *masinahikāsōw* 'he is marked, pictured' and *masinahikātēw* 'it is marked, pictured, written.' Or besides *wīhtam* 'he names it, tells it' we find *wīhcikāsōw* 'he is named or told' and *wīhcikātēw* 'it is named or told.'

Another very frequent type of "middle reflexives" adds an animate intransitive final *-o-* to transitive animate stems. Thus, with the complex final *-sim-* 'make him lie' cited in 6.4 we get a middle reflexive complex final *-simo-* as in *pahkisimōw* 'he (sun) sets,' *cf. pahkisimēw* 'he lets him fall.' This complex final also occurs freely in the specialized meaning 'place oneself, dance,' e.g., *pimisimōw* 'he dances along,' *nēwosimōw* 'he dances as one of four (in a fiddle-dance),' *pasakwāpisimōw* 'he dances with eyes shut,' *yīwacayēsimōw* 'he loses his belly by dancing,' etc.

-o- also occurs with the transitive animate stem *ācim-* 'tell of him' to form *ācimo-: ācimōw* 'he tells of himself, narrates.' It is frequently found with stems ending in the complex transitive animate final *-ēyim-* 'think of him,' e.g., *kitimākēyimēw* 'he takes pity on him': *kitimākēyimōw* 'he takes pity on himself, he feels pitiable.' As a complex final, *-ēyimo-* means 'feel in such a way' and may be used even where no transitive animate pendant seems to occur, e.g., *mākwēyimōw* 'he feels oppressed,' *cf. mākohēw* 'he presses hard on him.'

6.44. Transitive Verb Finals

Transitive verb finals mostly come in pairs, for animate or inanimate goal. Most transitive finals seem to function in both secondary and primary formation; some exclusively secondary finals are discussed in 6.445 and 6.446.

Only a very small sample of transitive finals can be considered here; we present fairly concrete, instrumental finals in 6.441 to 6.443 and more abstract finals in 6.444 to 6.446.

6.441. One of the most common instrumental finals is TA, TI *-in-* 'by hand,' which has the same shape in transitive animate and transitive inanimate stems. Many transitive animate finals show a *w* which is lacking in the transitive inanimate pendant, e.g., TA *-ahw-*, TI *-ah-* 'by tool,' TA *-isw-*, TI *-is-* 'by heat,' TA *-isw-*, TI *-is-* 'by cutting edge,' etc. (These last two pairs are homonymous in Cree but distinct elsewhere, *cf.* Proto Algonquian **-esw-* 'by heat' and **-ešw-* 'by cutting edge.')

-in- /en/ 'by hand': root *it-* 'thither, thus': TA *itinēw*, TI *itinam* 'he moves him, it thither or thus by hand.' Root *oht-* 'thence, therefore': TA *ohtinēw*, TI *ohtinam* 'he takes him, it thence or therefore.' Root *kisī-* 'agitate,' medial *-ipēk-* 'liquid': *kisīpēkinam* 'he washes it.' *-in-* occurs as a primary final in the AI verb *kisīpēkinisitēw* 'he washes his (own) feet' which is derived from the stem *kisīpēkin-*, above. It is a secondary final in TA *kisīpēkistikwānēnēw* 'he washes the other's head' which is derived from the AI verb *kisīpēkistikwānēw* 'he washes his (own) head.'

TA *-ahw-*, TI *-ah-* 'by medium': Root *pat-* 'miss': TA *patahwēw*, TI *pataham* 'he misses him, it by tool (or shot)'; *cf. patinēw* 'he misses him (ball) by hand (in catching).' *-ahw-*, *-ah-* also occur with pre-final *-at-* which specifies the tool as being stick-like or having a handle, e.g., *kīskataham* 'he chops it off by axe,' *kīskikwētahwēw* 'he severs his neck by axe,' root *kīsk-* 'sever,' medial *-ikw-* 'neck.' For the meaning 'by external medium' consider *nātahwēw* 'he fetches it by water,' root *nāt-* 'fetch'; *sipwēham* 'he utters it,' root *sipwē-* 'out, off'; *ōhōsimōwaham* 'he sings the Owl Dance,' stem *ōhōsimo-* AI 'dance the Owl Dance.'

TA *-isw-* /esw/, TI *-is-* /es/ 'by heat': Root *kīs-* 'complete': TA *kīsiswēw*, TI *kīsisam* 'he completes him, it by heat, i.e., he cooks him, it done.' Root *pāsk-* 'open' TA *pāskiswēw*, TI *pāskisam* 'he shoots him, it with gun; he hits him, it with lightning' (literally: 'he opens or uncovers him, it by heat'). Root *mihkw-* 'red,' medial *-āpisk-* 'stone or metal': TA *mihkwāpiskiswēw* 'he reddens him by heat as stone or metal.'

TA *-isw-* /esw/, TI *-is-* /es/ 'by cutting edge': Root *kīsk-* 'sever': TA *kīskiswēw*, TI *kīskisam* 'he cuts him, it through or off.' Root *man-* 'take, get': TA

maniswēw, TI *manisam* 'he cuts him, it to take; he mows it (grass).' Root *kīsk-*, medial *-ikwē-* 'neck': TA *kīskikwēswēw* 'he cuts his throat'; consider also the AI verb *kīskikwēsikēw* 'he cuts throats' which is derived by the suffix *-kē-* (6.436) of general action from an unattested TI stem *kīskikwēs-* 'cut its throat.'

6.442. TA *-m-* 'by mouth, by speech; (by thought)' is particularly frequent in the latter meanings. (For various other finals of the same shape *cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 113.)

Examples: Root *nito-* 'seek': *nitomēw* 'he calls or invites him.' Root *kis-* 'hot, angry': *kisimēw* 'he angers him by speech.' Root *sīhk-* 'push': *sīhkimēw* 'he urges him by speech.' *kīhkīhkimēw* 'he persuades him against his will,' particle *kīhkīhk* 'in spite, nevertheless.'

TA *-m-* is often paralleled by TI *-ht-* (to be analyzed as *-m-* plus *-t-; cf.* appendix A: 1.3), e.g., root *mākw-* 'press': TA *mākwamēw*, TI *mākwahtam* 'he bites or chews on him, it.' Root *paskw-* 'clean, clear': TA *paskomēw*, TI *paskohtam* 'he cleans or clears him, it by mouth.' Root (?) *pahkwē-* 'break into pieces': TA *pahkwēmēw*, TI *pahkwēhtam* 'he bites a piece from him, it.'

-m- and *-ht-* typically combine with the pre-final *-ēyi-;* the complex suffixes *-ēyim-* and *-ēyiht-* denote the action of the mind. Examples: Root *it-* 'thus': TA *itēyimēw*, TI *itēyihtam* 'he thinks so of him, it.' Root *oht-* 'thence, therefore': *ohtēyimēw* 'he is jealous of him.' Root *kwētaw-* 'impatiently': *kwētawēyimēw* 'he misses him.' TA *māmitonēyimēw*, TI *māmitonēyihtam* 'he ponders over him, it'; reduplicated, *cf.* the particle *mitoni* 'really.' TA *ayiwākēyimēw*, TI *ayiwākēyihtam* 'he thinks more of him, it', *cf.* the particle *ayiwāk* 'more'; etc.

6.443. Transitive animate finals often differ from their transitive inanimate pendants by the addition of *-aw-*.

TA *-ihtaw-* /ehtaw/, TI *-iht-* /eht/ 'hear, by hearing': Root *it-* 'thus': TA *itihtawēw*, TI *itihtam* 'he hears him, it so.' Root *nito-* 'seek': TA *nitohtawēw*, TI *nitohtam* 'he tries to hear him, it.' Root *miyw-* 'well': TA *miyohtawēw*, TI *miyohtam* 'he likes the sound of him, it.' Stem *kitimāk-* 'pitiable': *kitimākihtawēw* 'he hears him with pity.'

TA *-naw-*, TI *-n-* 'by vision': Root *it-* 'thus' (plus connective /i/): TA *isinawēw*, TI *isinam* 'he sees him, it so.' Root *nito-* 'seek': TA *nitonawēw*, TI *nitonam* 'he seeks him, it.' Root (?) *nisitaw-* 'recognize': TA *nisitawinawēw*, TI *nisitawinam* 'he recognizes him, it by sight'; *kitimākinawēw* 'he looks on him with pity,' *cf.* above.

TA *-iskaw-* /eskaw/, TI *-isk-* /esk/ 'by foot or body movement': Root *miskw-* 'find': TA *miskoskawēw*, TI *miskoskam* 'he finds him, it with his foot or body.' Root *kik-* 'have along; with': TA *kikiskawēw*, TI *kikiskam* 'he wears him, it; he goes having him, it.' Root *miyw-* 'well': TA *miyoskawēw* 'he (food) goes through his body with good effect, does him good,' TI *miyoskam* 'he has a good fit of it.' Root *pāst-* 'break': *pāstiskam* 'he breaks it by foot.'

6.444. The most common abstract final is transitive animate *-h-*. *-h-* is paralleled by *-htā-* which forms, not transitive inanimate stems but syntactically transitive AI stems (5.12); *cf.* also 6.436.

Thus, from the root *kīs-* 'complete' we get TA *kīsihēw* 'he completes him' and AI *kīsihtāw* 'he completes it'; also TA *kaskihēw*, AI *kaskihtāw* 'he manages, controls him, it'; TA *wanihēw*, AI *wanihtāw* 'he loses him, it'; TA *mōsihēw*, AI *mōsihtāw* 'he perceives his, its coming or presence'; *kōskohēw* 'he startles him,' *cf. kōskomēw* 'he startles him by call,' *kōskonēw* 'he startles him by hand'; etc.

-h- and *-htā-* also function in secondary derivation: *manātisiw* 'he acts discreetly': TA *manātisihēw* 'he spares him,' AI *manātisihtāw* 'he is careful of it.' *wawēyīw* 'he gets ready': TA *wawēyīhēw*, AI *wawēyīhtāw* 'he gets him, it ready.'

A few verbs show what seems to be an extended alternant of *-h-* and *-htā-:* TA *isīhēw*, AI *isīhtāw* 'he makes him, it so,' *cf. it-* 'thus'; TA *osīhēw*, AI *osīhtāw* 'he makes, arranges him' (*cf. os-* in *osāpiw* 'he looks from there'); AI *misīhtāw* 'he makes it big,' *cf.* the particle *misi* 'big.'

Secondary verbs which are formed with a transitive animate suffix *-h-* often have a causative meaning, e.g., *nikamohēw* 'he makes him sing,' *cf. nikamo-* 'sing.' (Whether this suffix can actually be identified with the *-h-* discussed above is yet to be fully determined.) Further examples: *miyonākohēw* 'he makes him look well,' *cf.* the stem *miyonākw-isi-* 'look well'; *kiskēyihtamohēw* 'he makes him know it,' *cf. kiskēyihtam* 'he knows it.' Some of the underlying stems show different alternants (with *ē* and short *a*) when combining with this suffix; AI *mētawē-* 'play': TA *mētawēhēw* 'he makes him play'; AI *tipahikē-* 'pay': TA *tipahikēhēw* 'he makes him pay'; AI *pīhtokē-* 'enter': TA *pīhtokahēw* 'he makes him go inside'; AI *takohtē-* 'arrive': TA *takohtahēw* 'he brings him,' etc.

6.445. The abstract finals TA, TI *-t-;* TA *-staw-*, TI *-st-;* TA *-totaw-*, TI *-tot-* are used to derive transitive verbs from animate intransitive stems. If the derivational suffixes add a further meaning to the resulting stem, it is yet to be discovered.

-t- /θ/ derives both TA and TI stems. *kito-* 'call': TA *kitotēw*, TI *kitotam* 'he talks to him, it.' With AI stems ending in *ē*∼*ā*, *-t-* is added to the *ā*-alternant: *pīkiskwē-* 'speak': TA *pīkiskwātēw*, TI *pīkiskwātam* 'he speaks to him, it.' *sākowē-* 'call, yell': TA *sākowātēw* 'he whoops at him.' *nawaswē-* 'pursue': TA *nawaswātēw* 'he pursues him.' *nōtiskwēwē-* 'he courts a woman': *nōtiskwēwātēw* 'he courts her.'

TA *-staw-*, TI *-st-: ācimo-* 'narrate': TA *ācimostawēw* 'he narrates to him.' *kwēskī-* 'turn': TA *kwēskīstawēw* 'he turns to him.' Where *-staw-* is added to a

stem ending in *-i-*, that *-i-* is lengthened, e.g. *wāsakāmēpayi-* 'move in a circle': TA *wāsakāmēpayīstawēw* 'he circles him'; consider also *pimitēhcipayīstawēw* 'he rides along with him' (*pimi-* 'along,' *-tēhci-* 'on horseback'). With AI stems ending in *ē*∼*ā*, *-staw-* is added to the *ē*-alternant, e.g., *pimitēhcikocikāwē-* 'race (*-kocikāwē-*) along on horseback': *pimitēhcikocikāwēstawēw* 'he races along with him on horseback.'

In the following two examples the underlying forms are not attested; in each case the root *it-* 'thither or thus' is followed by a medial, and the *-ē-* is ambiguous (*cf.* 6.333). *itiskwē-* AI 'have one's face thither or thus': TA *itiskwēstawēw* 'he faces him'; *isiniskē-* AI 'have one's arm thither or thus': TA *isiniskēstawēw* 'he makes hand signs to him.'

Transitive animate verbs formed by *-staw-* are paralleled by transitive inanimate verbs in *-st-*, e.g., *nahapi-* 'sit down': TA *nahapīstawēw*, TI *nahapīstam* 'he sits down by him, it'; *mōskī-* 'come forth': TA *mōskīstawēw*, TI *mōskīstam* 'he attacks him, it.' However, syntactically transitive AI (5.12) parallels also occur, e.g., *nēpēwisi-* 'be bashful': TA *nēpēwisīstawēw*, AI *nēpēwisīstāw* 'he is bashful about him, it.'

TA *-totaw-* and TI *-tot-* also occur with the *ē*-alternant of AI ē-stems, e.g., *kīwē-* 'go home': TA *kīwētotawēw* 'he goes home to him'; *sākēwē-* 'come into view': TA *sākēwētotawēw*, TI *sākēwētotam* 'he comes into view of him, it.' Further examples: *ākayāsīmo-* 'speak English': TA *ākayāsīmototawēw* 'he speaks English to him'; *kawisimo-* 'lie down': TA *kawisimototawēw* 'he lies down with him'; etc.

6.446. Transitive animate double-goal verbs (5.11) are derived from transitive inanimate verbs with a suffix *-aw-* which follows the transitive inanimate theme sign *-am-*.

The meaning of these verbs clearly reflects their morphological structure: the inanimate goal of the underlying stem, although not cross-referenced in the derived verb, is still the primary object, and the animate goal of the derived stem is the secondary object; since in the great majority of instances it is the beneficiary of the action, we may also call these verbs *benefactive*[84]; *cf.* also 5.814.

Examples: *ātot-* 'tell of it': TA *ātotamawēw* 'he tells of it for him.' *nakat-* 'leave it': TA *nakatamawēw* 'he leaves it for him.' *manis-* 'cut it': TA *manisamawēw* 'he cuts it from or for him.'

This suffix may also be added to TI stems which are derived from AI stems by the suffix *-st-* of 6.445. Thus, from *mōskī-* 'come forth' there is a derived TI stem *mōskīst-* 'come forth towards it, attack it'; TA *mōskīstamawēw*, in turn, means 'he attacks it for him.'

However, many verbs which appear to be formed this way have a different meaning; that is, the goal of the hypothetical TI stem which would form the intermediary stage between the AI stem and the eventual TA stem, does not seem to appear in the meaning of the TA stem. Thus, a different analysis seems indicated: that there is also a complex final *-stamaw-* which derives verbs of action on a general goal with a transitive animate beneficiary from AI stems. Examples: *tēpwē-* 'speak, call': TA *tēpwēstamawēw* 'he acts as announcer for him.' *pīkiskwē-* 'speak': TA *pīkiskwēstamawēw* 'he speaks for him'; a further AI stem may then be derived by the reflexive suffix *-iso-:* AI *pīkiskwēstamāsōw* 'he speaks for himself, he prays.' Consider also AI *nikamo-* 'sing'; while the TA stem *nikamostamaw-* 'sing for him' is not attested, we find an AI stem of action on a general goal which is derived from it by the suffix /ekē/ (6.436): *nikamostamākēw* 'he makes music for people.' Finally consider the root *nōt-* 'pursue' and the stem TA *nōtin-* 'fight him' (*-in-* 'by hand'); AI *nōtinikē-* 'fight (people)'; TA *nōtinikēstamaw-* 'fight (people) for him'; and finally AI *nōtinikēstamāsōw* 'he fights (people) for himself.'

The final *-aw-* also derives transitive animate stems from syntactically transitive AI stems (5.12). It is added to an alternant of the underlying stem which lacks the final vowel. Thus, *nahastā-* 'place it right, put it away': TA *nahastawēw* 'he places it right for him.' Consider also the pair of derived stems already cited in 6.445: TA *nēpēwisīstawēw*, AI *nēpēwisīstāw* 'he is bashful about him, it.'

This is obviously an area of extreme productivity and considerable fluctuation. It is not too surprising, then, that parallel to syntactically transitive AI verbs we also find transitive verbs derived with *-amaw-*, e.g., AI *kimotiw* 'he steals it': TA *kimotamawēw* 'he steals it from him.' Indeed, both formations may be found with the same stem; thus, from AI *nipahtāw* 'he kills it' we get both TA *nipahtawēw* and TA *nipahtamawēw* 'he kills it for him,' with no apparent difference in meaning.

6.5. COMPOUNDS

Compounds combine certain characteristics of phrases and of unit words. (The term "compound" in this specific use is adopted from Bloomfield.) The members of a compound are separated by a hyphen.

Compounds differ from unit words and resemble phrases in that the sandhi between compound members is of the external type; that is, even though not all compound members actually occur separately as free forms (6.52), they are nevertheless treated like words phonologically. For example, the particle *isi* 'thus' and the verb *atoskēw* 'he works' may form a compound *is-ātoskēw* 'thus he works' which clearly shows the effect of external sandhi in the loss of the *-i* and the lengthening of the *a-*. (The existence of a

[84] As a historical aside, it may be noted that the missionary fathers who considered this formation part of inflection, regarded it as unique among languages: "C'est une richesse que la langue Crise seule possède" (Faraud *in* Lacombe, 1874*b*: 186). Faraud also provides a term which beautifully suggests his sentiments: *cas vicaire.*

variant form *isi-atoskēw* is due to the optional nature of external sandhi and does not affect the status of compound words.) Furthermore, the final vowels of compound members are subject to the same gradual devoicing as those of simple words; in Bloomfield's texts this is symbolized by *h*, e.g., S44-4 *ēy-isih--tapasīt* 'he thus fled.'

Compound words differ from phrases by showing prefixation and suffixation just like unit words. This difference is particularly striking in the case of compound verbs where the verb stem may follow a series of preverb particles. There the prefixes are attached to the first preverb rather than to the initial element of the verb stem itself, e.g., S11-23 *kiwīh--kakwē-nipahin* 'you are going to try to kill me.' Furthermore, initial change (5.332, appendix A: 7) also affects the first member of the compound, thus attesting to the tight linkage among its constituent members. For example, the preverb *wī* 'intend to' appears in changed form in S247-17 *wāh-pimācihāt-wāwī* 'whenever they were going to revive him.'

While compounds are distinct from unit words theoretically, the heuristic problem of distinguishing the two is considerable. The use of morphological criteria is often vitiated by two sets of homonymies: of initial elements with their non-initial (suffixal) alternants (6.131); and of connective /i/, an empty morph, with the near-ubiquitous particle final /i/ (6.421). The semantic criteria, which might well be the most reliable and the easiest to use, require the services of a fairly sophisticated informant.

When such homonymies occur and semantic criteria cannot be applied, a decision can be made only if the effects of external sandhi are obvious (which they need not be), or if one of the members is otherwise distinctly marked as free or bound. In a large number of cases no such criteria are available; consider the root *it-* /eθ-/ 'thus' and the stem *tēhtapi-* 'ride on horseback.' *it-* shows the alternant *is-* both in the particle *isi* and when followed by connective /i/, as it would be in combination with *tēhtapi-; tēhtapi-* has the same phonemic shape as (initial) stem and as noninitial element. Thus, in the absence of unambiguous phonological evidence (such as the devoicing of the final *-i-* of *isi: isih*), the phonemic sequence *isitēhtapiw* cannot be unambiguously interpreted as either unit word or compound.

In many instances, however, one of the compound members is clearly marked as free (or, conversely, part of a unit word is obviously bound). Thus, *mistahi* 'big, great' is a free form in the compound *mistahi-maskwa* 'Big Bear'; the corresponding root *mist-* 'big' occurs in *mistasiniy* 'big stone.' The free status of these compound members is also evidenced by the fact that the monosyllabic noun stems retain their suffix vowel (*cf.* 3.311), e.g., *wākayosi-wāti* 'bear-den,' *kihci-mihti* 'big club.'

Conversely, *it-* is clearly a verb root in *itatoskēw* 'he works so'; *cf.* the compound *is-ātoskēw*, above. Similarly, *mahkēsīs* 'fox' is clearly a compound member, rather than a derived (deverbal) suffix, in *māski--mahkēsīs* 'lame fox' since it is paralleled by a non-initial alternant *-ahkēsīs-*, as in *wāpahkēsīs* 'white fox.'

6.51. Nominal Compounds

Nominal compounds consist of a noun as second member and either a noun or a particle as first member. Examples: *oski-mīnisa* 'fresh berries' (*mīnis* 'berry' is paralleled by the non-initial *-min-*); *sōniyāw--okimāw* 'money-boss, Indian agent' (*okimāw* 'chief' is paralleled by a non-initial alternant *-ikimāw-* so that a corresponding unit word would probably have the shape (contracted) *sōniyākimāw*).

Bloomfield posits a special ending *-i-* /i/ which noun stems take when functioning as the prior member of a compound (1946: p. 103, 1930: p. 5; *cf.* also 1958: p. 41); e.g., *paskwāwi-mostos* 'buffalo,' *cf. paskwāw* 'prairie'; *atimo-kisēyiniw* 'dog of an old man,' *cf. atimw-* 'dog'; *maskēko-sākahikan* 'Muskeg Lake,' *cf. maskēkw-* 'muskeg.' However, this "suffix" seems to occur only where the second member begins in a consonant (otherwise it would result in a lengthening of the initial vowel of the second member); thus it greatly resembles connective /i/ which is typical of internal sandhi. Whether these forms should be regarded as unit words (so far, no distinctly initial elements have turned up as second members), or whether noun composition needs to be treated differently from verb composition, remains to be studied in detail. (Note that the distinction of unit word and compound "has been troubled in Cree" (Bloomfield, 1930: p. 5) in any case; the details go beyond the scope of this survey but see also Bloomfield, 1930: p. 72, footnote).

6.52. Verbal Compounds

Verbal compounds consist of one or more PREVERB particles combined with a verb stem. Preverbs belong to two position classes. The preverbs of position 1 are few in number and mutually exclusive. The preverbs of position 2, by contrast, constitute an open class of particles several of which may occur in succession.

The loosest point of linkage is after the last preverb and before the stem; other material may be inserted at this point. Usually, however, after such an insertion is begun, the speaker breaks off and forms the compound all over again; so S239-6 *kā-kapē-kīsīk kā-tāh-tēhci-kwāskohtiyit* 'all day jumping down (on them)' where the insertion is, or would have been, *kapē-kīsik* 'all day.'

Although treated like words with regard to sandhi, not all preverbs actually occur as independent words. Those of position 1 occur only as preverbs. Some

preverbs of position 2 also occur only in this function, e.g., *pē* 'hither' or *ati* 'progressively'; the vast majority, however, also occur freely as mere particles, e.g., *isi* 'thus,' *ohci* 'thence, therefore,' *nēwo* 'four,' *kāmwāci* 'quietly,' etc.

Some of the preverbs of position 2 may even be reduplicated, e.g., S43-22 *niwāh-wani-kiskisin* 'I remember very dimly' where *wāh* adds emphasis to *wani* 'dim, dark.'

6.521. The preverbs of position 1 are mutually exclusive.

ē indicates subordination in an entirely neutral way. It is formed by initial change from an underlying form /a/ which, though reflected in Ojibwa (Bloomfield, 1958: p. 62), does not occur in Cree. We interpret it as an empty "vehicle" for initial change since it seems to be the latter which actually does the subordinating; *cf.* 5.332.

Examples: P254-8 *ōki mac-āyīsiyiniwak ēh-mihcētiticik* 'these evil men who were many'; P266-1 *acosisah mitoni ēh-apisāsikih* 'very small arrows' (literally 'arrows being very small'); S12-28 *ē-kīh-wīhtamākot, nipahēw ōhi.* 'When he (3′) told him (3), he (3) killed this one (3′).'

kā is historically the changed form of the preverb *kī*$_1$ 'past' but its primary role now is that of a subordinator, in which function it may in fact be followed by *kī*$_1$. The term "relative," applied to it by Ellis and others, is applicable to only part of its range.

Examples: S237-37 *oskinīkiskwēw kā-pēsiwak* 'the young woman (3) I have brought (1-3)'; S244-14 *ōhi oskinīkiwah kā-kīh-wāpamāt* 'that young man (3′) whom she (3) had seen (3-(3′))'; S236-10 . . . *ēh-wēpinahk, kā-pēh-pīhtokētācimoyit iskwēsisah.* '. . . when he threw it out (3), there came crawling inside (3′) a little girl (3′)'; S239-27 ". . ." *ēh-itwēyit, mēkwāc ostēsah kā-pēhtawāt.* '". . ." they (3′) said, while she (3) listened to her brothers (3′).'

ka and *kita*, the latter optionally reduced to *ta*, mark subsequence or futurity. In preterit forms or in simple conjunct clauses, the future preverbs combine with the position 2 preverb *kī*$_1$ 'past' to indicate irreality; *cf.* 5.322.

Although *ka* seems to be more intimately associated with forms involving speaker and/or addressee, all three preverbs are freely interchangeable in most contexts. However, *kita, ta* does not occur with the personal prefixes *ki-* and *ni-*. Also, only *ka* is subject to initial change, yielding *kē;* the unchanged *ka* does not occur in conjunct forms. The shape *ka* also occurs as a contraction (haplology) of the personal prefix *ki-* followed by the preverb *ka;* only this shorter form occurs before the preverb *kī*$_2$ 'able to.'

Examples: S243-9 *ēkwah kītahtawē kā-kiskēyihtahk kitah-pimihāt.* 'Then, presently, she knew that she would fly'; P4-33 *nika-miywēyihtēn niya mīna wāhyaw kit-ētohtēmakahk pīkiskwēwin, . . .* 'I myself shall be glad that far away my speech will go, . . .'; S42-23 *kiya nama nāntaw ka-kīh-ohtinamāson ta--mīciyin.* 'you, you wouldn't be able to get anything to eat, anyway'; S243-12 *nimisē, tānitēh māka kē-kīh--miskaman mīnisah?* 'Big sister, where, however, will you be able to find berries?'

6.522. More than one of the preverbs of position 2 may be present.

Contrary to the claim of Edwards (1954: p. 17), no order of occurrence has been established among position 2 preverbs, although *kī*$_1$ 'past,' *kī*$_2$ 'able to,' and *wī* 'intend to' tend to precede, and *isi* 'thus' to follow all others. (But consider P266-20 *kit-si-kī--ohci-nipahikawiyahk* 'by what means each of us can be killed' which runs counter to both the above assertions at once.) At least when following the position 1 preverb *kā, ō* 'from there, therefore; originally' precedes all other preverbs.

Position 2 preverbs are semantically ranged along a continuous scale from abstract to concrete; consider, for instance, *isi* 'thus' or *kī*$_1$ 'past' versus *matwē* 'audibly' or *misi* 'much, big.' Such a semantic classification also seems to correlate with the relative freedom of occurrence of position 2 preverbs and, perhaps, with features of internal syntax yet to be explored. For practical purposes, position 2 preverbs are treated as if they constituted two discrete classes.

Examples of "abstract" preverbs. *āta* 'although, in vain': S41-31 *ēh-ātah-kitōtāt* 'although he spoke to him'; S13-2 *iyātah-pēy-itohtēyici* 'when in vain they came there.'

kī$_1$ 'past': S246-11 *nikīh-pē-maskamikawin* 'he was taken away from me.' *kī*$_1$ rarely occurs with a negative particle, e.g., S13-32 *ēkotah ohcih nama wīhkāc ēsah kīh-nipiwak ayīsiyiniwak.* 'From then on people never died'; the preferred preverb for a past negative statement is *ohci.*

kī$_2$ 'able to' normally occurs with a negator (*ēkā, namōya*, etc.) or after the future markers *ka* and *kita, ta;* it does not undergo initial change. S14-1 *namoya nika-kīh-itwān.* 'I cannot say'; S63-3 *tānisi kē-kīh--tōtamān?* 'What shall I be able to do?' S63-22 *ēwak ōhci ēk āwiyak k-ō-kīh-nipahit.* 'That is why no one can kill me.'

ō, ohci 'from there, therefore; originally' is based on a relative root (6.23) and thus usually has an antecedent. *ō* and *ohci* differ tactically: (1) *ō* functions only as a preverb while *ohci* is freely used as a particle, as in P10-34 below. (2) While *ohci* is not attested with *kā, ō* does not seem to occur with *ē.* (3) Occurring immediately after *kā, ō* precedes all other preverbs; the relative position of *ohci* is not fixed. P2-5 *acosis pikoh kīh-ohcih-nipahēwak* 'with merely an arrow they killed them'; P262-21 *ēkotōwah nik-ōh-nipahāwak* 'with such I shall kill them'; P10-34 *ēyak ohci yōspisiwin k-ōh-ayāt nēhiyaw.* 'That is why the Cree has gentleness.' When it occurs with a negator (*ēkā, namōya*, etc.) *ō, ohci* takes the place of *kī*$_1$ which does not normally occur with one;

such expressions usually indicate a very remote past. P2-4 *nama kēkway ohc-āyāwak iskotēw.* 'Originally they had no fire'; P12-8 *ayisk namoya niyanān nōh--nipahānān manitōw okosisa;* 'For not we have ever slain God's son.'

wī 'will, intend to': S43–37 *wī-mēscihāwak* 'they will all be killed' (indf-3p); S248-2 *ē-wīh-pē-nipahikot* 'as he (3′) was about (*wī*) to come (*pē*) and kill him (3).'

Examples of "concrete" preverbs. *kāmwāci* 'quietly': S13-33 *kīh-kāmwāci-pimātisiwak* 'they lived quietly'; *matwē* 'audibly': S237-19 *matwēh-nipahaciyiwa* 'they (3′) were audibly freezing to death'; *mēcimwāci* 'permanently': S44-16 *ta-mēcimwācih--nahapiw* 'let him sit down for good'; *mēsci* 'exhaustively': S244-37 *ēh-kīh-mēsci-sipwēhtēyit* 'when everyone of them had departed'; *nēwo* 'four': S245-25 *ēh-kīh-nēwo-tipiskāyik* 'when the fourth night had passed.'

APPENDIX

A: MORPHOPHONOLOGY

0.1. Transcription

The transcription system used in this study is essentially that of Bloomfield. While it is adequate as a practical orthography, it does not reflect a comprehensive and detailed analysis of Cree phonology.

Among the many problematic issues of Cree phonology, the status of the semivowels, syllable structure, the phonological delimitation of the word, and the stress, pitch, and intonation system seem most urgently in need of investigation. In presenting his orthography (1930: pp. 1-6) Bloomfield mentions some of these points, for example the interplay of stress and syllabification, and Longacre (1957) has published a brief study of vowel length. But far too much of Cree phonology has remained unexplored.

The following symbols are used in the phonemic transcription:

consonants:	*p t c k s h m n*
semivowels:	*w y*
vowels:	*i a o ī ē ā ō*

c ranges from a blade-alveolar to a dorso-laminal affricate. Word-final *h* appears to be non-distinctive (for its morphophonological role *cf.* A:5.1); there is some fluctuation in Bloomfield's texts which appear "as they were actually taken from dictation." For a brief discussion of stress, external sandhi, and surface variations see Bloomfield, 1930: pp. 1-6.

0.2. Scope

The morphophonological statements[85] given in this appendix are based primarily on the alternations of inflectional affixes and of entire stems. Most of them will also reflect the alternations which take place in derivation but no attempt is made to fully incorporate the latter. Within these restrictions, Bloomfield's treatment of Menomini internal sandhi (1962: pp. 78-100) is followed closely.

Phonemic representation is indicated by italics, morphophonological representation by slashes. The latter is used only where it is immediately relevant to the discussion.[86]

In the morphophonological representation we use all the symbols of the phonemic representation, plus the special symbols /θ/, /e/, /L/.

0.3. Summary

For the task at hand, namely paradigmatic analysis, statements of internal combination are most conveniently formulated as replacement rules.[87]

Thus, rules (1) to (4) are replacement rules operating on morphophonological symbols. They are partially ordered: (1) precedes all others. Rule (1) is also ordered internally.

After the rules of internal combination have been applied, (R 1) and (R 2) which are ordered with respect to each other, yield the actual phonemic shapes.

This summary includes only the more generally applicable statements in a general form. For details see section A: 1 through A: 5, below. This summary also omits prefixation (A: 6) as well as initial change (A: 7). Hyphen and # indicate morpheme and word boundary, respectively.

(1) (a) w-w → w

(b) (m,n)-(k,t) → h(k,t)

(c) C-C → C-iC

(2) θ-(i,ī,y) → s(i,ī,y)

t-(i,ī,y) → c(i,ī,y)

(3) $\bar{V}$-$\bar{V}$ → $\bar{V}$y$\bar{V}$

$\breve{V}_1$-$\bar{V}_2$ → $\bar{V}_2$

$\bar{V}_1$-$\breve{V}_2$ → $\bar{V}_1$

$\breve{V}_1$-$\breve{V}_2$ → $\breve{V}_1$

V-L → $\bar{V}$

o-w → ōw

[85] The terms "phonemic" and "morphophonological" are used throughout as a matter of convenience. Their use is not intended as a commitment for a "taxonomic" approach to phonology or against, say, a distinctive feature approach; the particular choice of words is considered to be largely accidental and other terms, e.g., "segment" and "underlying representation," might be substituted without greatly affecting the discussion. In short, given the morphological-semantic emphasis of the present study, "phonemic" and "morphophonological" are seen as *convenient* levels of phonological representation which may later be developed in one of several different directions.

[86] Although this policy may result in loose formulations, as when phonemically represented stems are combined with morphophonologically represented suffixes, it is nevertheless adopted because the underlying forms, especially of stems, are by no means always known. Even with the suffixes, only internal evidence is used; historical evidence could not usefully be introduced without a full historical account of the various paradigms; *cf.* 5.6.

[87] The present sketch of internal combination is, of course, analysis-oriented. In a more detailed study of morphophonological alternation, the insertion of connective /i/ would be distinct from the remainder of rules (2) to (4); /θ/ would be treated as the higher-level representation of the alternation of phonemic *t* and *s*; etc.

(4) Cw-iC, Cw-eC → CoC
Vw-e, Vy-e → V̄

(R 1) V̆ → ∅ in env. __#
w → ∅ in env. C__#

(R 2) θ → *t*
e → *i*
p, t, c, k . . . → *p*, *t*, *c*, *k* . . .

1. CONSONANT SEQUENCES

1.1. Connective /i/. When a morpheme ending in a non-syllabic is followed by a morpheme-initial consonant, a CONNECTIVE /i/ is normally inserted between them. Consider the transitive animate conjunct endings for 1-3 and 2-3, /ak/ and /at/; when they are followed by the third-person plural marker /k/, /i/ is inserted, e.g. 1-3p /ak-i-k/. In the case of 2-3p /at-i-k/, the sequence /t-i/ shows palatalization (A: 2.2), yielding /acik/.

1.2. Connective /i/ does not occur before semivowels. For example, the third person conjunct suffix /t/ followed by the plural marker /wāw/ yields /twāw/. Or consider the third person plural ending /wak/; with a stem ending in . . ./n/ we get . ./nwak/, e.g., *pimisinwak* 'they lie.'

Where a morpheme ending in /w/ is followed by one beginning in /w/, only one /w/ remains. Consider the morpheme /ahkw/ which marks the inclusive plural in the conjunct order; when followed by the third person plural marker /wāw/, the resulting form is /ahkwāw/.

1.3. In certain combinations which have to be listed individually, insertion of connective /i/ does not take place. The combinations which concern us here are of /m/ or /n/ with /k/ or /t/. Where an intransitive stem ending in /n/ or a transitive inanimate stem in /m/ is followed by the third-person suffix /k/, the resulting form is /hk/ (5.73, 5.74). Similarly, in the combination of the transitive animate stem /wāpam-/ 'see' with the reciprocal suffix /to/, the resulting forms is /wāpahto-/ 'see each other,' etc. (6.437).

2. PALATALIZATION (MUTATION)

t/θ/ alternates with *s*, and *t*/t/ alternates with *c*, before *i*/i/, *ī*, and *y*. This is the major type of palatalization or MUTATION.[88]

2.1. /θ/ is replaced by /s/ before /i,ī,y/; elsewhere, e.g. before /e/, /θ/ remains.

Thus, when the stem /nāθ-/ 'fetch' occurs before the ending /in/ '2-1 independent,' the resulting form is *kināsin* 'you fetch me'; with the corresponding 1-2 ending /etin/, the resulting form is *kināt̄itin* 'I fetch you.'

The palatalizing suffix may be subject to apocope (A: 5.1); for instance, when the dependent noun stem /-īwaθ-/ 'pack' is followed by the inanimate proximate singular suffix /i/, the result is *nīwas* 'my pack'; with the locative suffix /ehk/, by contrast, we get *nīwatihk* 'in my pack.'

2.2. /t/ is replaced by /c/ before /i,ī,y/. Elsewhere, e.g., before /e/, /t/ remains.

For example, consider the third person conjunct suffix /t/; when it is followed by the plural marker /k/ and connective /i/ (A: 1) occurs, the resulting form is /cik/.

Conversely, from the dependent noun /nisit-/ 'my foot' and the locative suffix /ehk/, we get *nisitihk* 'on my foot.'

However, palatalization is not without exception. Thus, the stem *wāt-* 'hole' is followed by the inanimate proximate singular suffix /i/ in *wati* 'hole.' Whether the *t* corresponds to /t/ or /θ/, palatalization would be expected but does not occur. Conversely, consider the combination of the root *nōt-* /nōt-/ 'hunt' with *-acaskwē-* in *nōcacaskwēw* 'he hunts muskrats'; unless this is simply a matter of non-contiguous assimilation, a model for analogical leveling is easy to find: *nōcih-* 'hunt him' from /nōt-/, /-h-/, and connective /i/. While the alternation of *t* and *c* is "partly troubled" (Bloomfield, 1930: pp. 5, 72) in Cree, that of *t* and *s* "had suffered analogic disturbance [even] before Proto Central Algonquian time" (Bloomfield, 1925: p. 144).

2.3. A further type of palatalization is found in diminutives.

Usually, when a word contains one of the diminutive suffixes /es/, /esis/, etc., all preceding *t*'s in that word are replaced by *c*, e.g., *nitēm* 'my horse': *nicēmisis* 'my little horse'; *otakohp* 'his blanket': *ocakohpis* 'his little blanket'; *mistahi* 'lots': *miscahīs* 'quite a lot.' For verbal examples see 5.82. Note that this palatalization does not distinguish *t*/t/ and *t*/θ/, e.g., /aθemw-/ *atimw-* 'dog': *acimosis* 'little dog.'

Pervasive palatalization to indicate diminution is not restricted to stems with a diminutive suffix. Thus, for example, the stem *wat-* 'hole' (*cf.* A: 2.2) appears in the diminutive shape *wac-* in *waca* 'little holes (0p)'; consider also *yōtin* 'it is windy': *yōcin* 'it is a little windy.' Palatalization of *t* throughout entire sentences or even speeches "makes them sound pitiful" or overly sweet and effeminate. It is characteristic of the culture hero Wisahkecahk to occasionally speak this way.

2.4. Derivation, finally, presents many instances of palatalization. Few of these are very productive, and some are definitely archaic. A great deal of work remains to be done before a comprehensive account can be written.

[88] A fairly detailed and highly readable account of Algonquian palatalization is given by Piggott, 1971*a*, even though the evidence does not always seem sufficient to support his conclusions.

Examples: *tahkopit-* TA 'tie him fast': *tahkopiso-* AI 'be tied fast' (*cf.* 6.439); *pītotēyiht-* TI 'think it strange': *pītosisi-* AI 'be a stranger'; *mitātaht* 'ten': *mitātasi-* AI 'be ten.'

The non-initial alternant *-āpam-* TA 'see him' provides a particularly interesting example. Not only are there both palatalized and unpalatalized initials, e.g., *pakisāpamēw* 'he lets him out of sight' (*cf. pakitinam* 'he sets it down') vs. *kitāpamēw* 'he looks at him.' There are also clear chronological sequences; for example, consider the archaic *kosāpahtam* 'he conjures' (root *kot-* 'try,' e.g., *kotāpacihtāw* 'he tries using it') and *kocihtāw* 'he tries it' which shows that the original /θ/ has been re-interpreted as /t/.

3. VOWEL COMBINATIONS

3.1. When two long vowels come together, /y/ is inserted between them, e.g., *wayawī-* 'outside' and *-āmo-* 'run, flee': *wayawīyāmōw* 'he runs outside'; *kīsikā-* 'be day,' *-āpan-* 'be dawn': *kīsikāyāpan* 'it is day-break.' (*Cf.* also 5.453.)

3.2. Before or after a long vowel, a short vowel disappears, e.g., *pimohtē-* 'walk,' /eyiwah/ (AI 3′ ending): *pimohtēyiwa* 'he (3′) walks'; *pīhtokwē-* 'inside,' *-akocin-* 'fly, hang': *pīhtokwēkocin* 'he comes flying inside'; *nīpā-* 'in the dark,' *-ohtē-* 'walk': *nīpāhtēw* 'he walks in the dark'; *kask-* 'break,' *-ihcikwanē-* 'knee,' *-ahw-* 'by tool, by shot': *kaskihcikwanēhwēw* 'he breaks his knee by shot.'

3.3. In a sequence of short vowels, the second disappears; this situation seems to occur only with suffix-initial /e/, e.g., ositiyi- 'his (3′) foot or feet,' locative suffix /ehk/: *ositiyihk* 'on his (3′) foot or feet'; *nikamo-* 'sing,' /eyiwah/ (AI 3′ ending): *nikamoyiwa* 'he (3′) sings'.

3.4. Where a morpheme beginning in /L/ is preceded by a short vowel, that vowel is lengthened, e.g., stem *nipi-* 'die' plus suffix /Lmakan/ (5.86): *nipīmakan* 'it dies.'

3.5. When a stem-final /o/ is followed by /w/, it is lengthened; thus, *ācimo-* 'narrate': *ācimōw* 'he narrates'; contrast *nitācimon* 'I narrate.'

4. CONTRACTION

4.1. Interconsonantal /w-i/ or /w-e/ are replaced by /o/, e.g., *pakamahw-* 'strike him,' /in/ (TA 2-1): *kipakamahon* 'you strike me'; the same stem combined with the corresponding 1-2 suffix, /etin/: *kipakamahotin* 'I strike you.'

In some instances, interconsonantal /w-i/ or /w-e/ may remain as a matter of surface variation, e.g. *pahkēkinw-* 'hide,' /eyi/ (obviative possessor), /ehk/ (locative): T58-11 *pahkēkinwiyihk* 'on his (3′) hide.'

4.2. When a morpheme ending in a sequence of vowel and semivowel is followed by another beginning in /e/, contraction takes place. That is, the first vowel of the sequence, if not already long, is lengthened, and the semivowel and the /e/ disappear.

In the formula /Vw-e/, the following values are attested for /V/: /i, a, ī, ē, ā, ō/. Examples: *kisēyiniw* 'old man,' /epan/ 'former, absent': *kisēyinīpan* 'old man no longer alive'; *mahkēsiw* 'fox', diminutive /es/: *mahkēsīs* 'little fox, coyote'; *pēsiw-* 'bring him,' /ehkok/ (2p-3p imperative): *pēsīhkok* 'bring them!' *nēhiyaw* 'Cree Indian,' vocative plural suffix /etik/: *nēhiyātik* 'oh you Cree'; *wīhtamaw-* 'tell it to him,' 1-2 ending /etin/: *kiwīhtamātin* 'I tell it to you'; *kīkinaw* 'our (21) house,' locative suffix /ehk/: *kīkināhk* 'in our house.' *sāsīw* 'Sarci Indian,' distributive locative suffix /enāhk/: *sāsīnāhk* 'in the land of the Sarci, at Sarci Reserve.' *nāpēw* 'man,' possessed theme suffix /em/: *nināpēm* 'my husband'; *wīcēw-* 'have him along,' 1-2 ending /etin/: *kiwīcētin* 'I have you along.' *mōniyāw* 'Canadian', /eskwēw/ 'woman': *mōniyāskwēw* 'Canadian woman'; *ispatināw* 'hill', diminutive /es/: *ispacinās* 'little hill'; locative /ehk/: *ispatināhk* 'on a hill.' *manitōw* 'spirit, god', possessed theme suffix /em/: *nimanitōm* 'my god'; *askōw-* 'follow him,' reciprocal suffix /eto/: *askōtōwak* 'they follow each other.'

In the formula /Vy-e/, only the values /i, a, o/ are attested for /V/. Examples: *pimiy* 'lard,' possessed theme suffix /em/: *nipimīm* 'my lard.' *natay* 'my belly,' locative suffix /ehk/: *natāhk* 'on my belly'; *wanoway* 'his check,' locative suffix /ehk/: *wanowāhk;* *kīkway* 'something,' diminutive /es/: *kīkwās* 'something little.' *nisoy* 'my tail,' diminutive /es/: *nisōs* 'my little tail.'

Contraction is one of the clues for the identity of *i* as *i*/i/ or *i*/e/; the other is the alternation of *t* with *s* and *t* with *c* (A: 2); contraction and palatalization appear to be mutually exclusive.[89] Contrast the following forms with a stem ending in . . ./aw/: *kiwīhtamātin* 'I told it to you' and *kiwīhtamawin* 'you told it to me'; the 1-2 suffix is /etin/, the 2-1 suffix, /in/. Similarly, with a stem ending in . . . /ōw/: *askōk* (ending /ekwa/) 'he (3′) followed him (3′),' *askōwin* (ending /in/) 'follow me!', etc.

There are, however, also a few exceptions to the contraction rule. Contraction does not take place if the stem is monosyllabic, e.g., *-īw-* 'wife' (dependent), /ki- -enaw/ 'our (21)': *kīwinaw* 'our wife.' TA stem *miy-* 'give him or it to him'; (3′)-3 suffix /ekwa/: *miyik*. TA stem *mōw-* 'eat him,' same suffix: *mōwik*.[90] It seems reasonable to assume that exceptions of this type occur wherever the contraction would excessively distort the stem; *cf.* also 5.813. There are several instances of disyllabic stems where

[89] For an analysis based on a somewhat different interpretation of these phenomena, see Kaye, 1971*a*, and Piggott, 1971*a*; *cf.* also section 6.436, fn. 83.

[90] As might be expected, there is some fluctuation which may also reflect the difficulty of distinguishing some of these forms, e.g., *mōwikwak* and *mōkwak* 'he eats them (TA (3′)-3p).'

contracted and uncontracted forms occur side by side, e.g., *wiyaw-* 'his body,' locative suffix /ehk/: *wiyāhk*, *wiyawihk* 'on his body'; *watay* 'his belly,' locative suffix /ehk/: *watāhk*, *watayihk* 'in his belly.'

The full range of applicability of the contraction rules remains to be determined. For Proto Algonquian, Bloomfield stated them to be restricted to instances where the second morpheme is an inflectional ending (1946: p. 92). It also seems to hold for Cree that contraction is mostly absent when morphemes are joined in derivation. Consider these examples: *kaw-* 'prostrate,' /en/ 'by hand': *kawinēw* 'he prostrates him by hand'; particle *kahkiyaw* 'all,' animate intransitive abstract final /esi/ (6.431): *kahkiyawisiw* 'he is entire'; *wīcēw-* 'have him along,' /eskwēwē/: *wīcēwiskēwēw* 'he has his wife along,' etc.

However, contraction is also widely found where morphemes are joined in derivation, and thus the situation remains in need of further investigation. A few examples may be added to those already given: *okimāw* 'chief,' /eskwēw/ 'woman': *okimāskwēw* 'queen'; *okimāw* 'chief,' /ehkān/ 'substitute' (6.417): *okimāhkān* 'elected or appointed chief.' Consider also the multitude of instances (of which a few were already cited) which are provided by the combination of noun stems in . . ./Vw/ with the diminutive suffix /es(is)/. (A different analysis, discussed in 3.32, would regard the final /w/ of these nouns as inflectional; even though the above examples would then fall in the domain of A: 3.2, there is ample evidence in the verbal instances referred to below.) For examples which involve the final (derivational) suffix of verbs see 6.43. As a representative example, consider here only stems in . . ./aw/ when followed by the secondary reflexive or reciprocal suffixes /eso/ or /eto/ (6.437, 6.438): *wīhtamaw-* 'tell it to him': *wīhtamāsōw* 'he tells it to himself' and *wīhtamātōwak* 'they tell it to each other.'

5. PHONEMIC REALIZATION

Certain word-final sounds do not appear in the phonemic realization of our morphophonological forms.

5.1. Final short vowels are subject to apocope, e.g. proximate singular animate /sīsīp-a/: *sīsīp* 'duck.'

In words whose stem is monosyllabic, the final vowel remains, e.g., /nisk-a/: *niska* 'goose'; /wāw-i/: *wāwi* 'egg.' The final vowel is dropped sometimes (but not always, *cf. wāwi*) if the stem vowel is long, e.g., /nāθ-/ 'bring him,' 2-3 imperative ending /i/: *nās* 'bring him!'; *cf.* the same ending with the stem /eθ-/ 'say so to him': *isi* 'tell him so!' (Although incomplete in Cree, this distinction between stems with long and short vowels reflects the Proto Algonquian situation; *cf.* Bloomfield, 1946: p. 93.)

With regard to the final /i/ of particles (6.421), the application of this rule seems to be optional, e.g., *kwayāc*, *kwayāci* 'ready,' *nāspic*, *nāspici* 'for good, beyond return,' etc.

5.2. Postconsonantal word-final /w/ is lost, e.g., the 21-suffix of the conjunct order /ahkw/ in *ē-apiyahk* 'when we were sitting.'

This final /w/ may arise from loss of final vowel, e.g., /aθemwa/ 'dog': *atim;* contrast the plural form *atimwak* 'dogs.'

5.3. Otherwise, i.e., when the rules of 5.1 and 5.2 have been applied, the morphophonological symbols are phonemically manifested as follows: /θ/ is realized as *t*, /e/ as *i*, and /p, t, c, k, . . ./ as *p*, *t*, *c*, *k*, . . .

6. PREFIXATION

In general, when the personal prefixes *ki-*, *ni-*, *o-*, and *mi-* occur before a stem-initial vowel, the normal manifestations of vowel combination (A: 3) do not appear; instead, /t/ is inserted. Thus, ***nitapin*** 'I sit,' etc.

Instead of this /t/, the insertion of /h/ or /w/ has been observed in isolated instances, e.g., ***nihayān*** 'I have it' or *kiwātotēn* 'you tell it,' etc.

6.1. Before certain dependent stems (3.2) which begin in a vowel, the prefixes have the alternants *k-*, *n-*, *w-*, and *m-*; *katay* 'your belly,' *natay* 'my belly,' *watay* 'his belly'; *kīki* 'your dwelling,' ***nīki*** 'my dwelling,' *wīki* 'his dwelling,' *mīki* 'a dwelling.' Before dependent stems beginning in /o/ or /ō/, the third person prefix disappears, e.g., ***nōhkom*** 'my grandmother,' *ōhkoma* 'his grandmother (3′).'

6.2. Before stems with initial /o/ or /ō/ there is a great deal of what seems to be free variation. When the regular pattern (*cf.* above) appears and /t/ is inserted, /o/ is lengthened, e.g., *okimāw* 'chief': *nitōkimāminān* 'our chief'; *ospwākan* 'pipe': *otōspwākana* 'his pipe (3′),' etc. (This pattern does not normally occur with dependent nouns.)

More often, however, no /t/ is inserted and the prefixes are directly followed by /ō/ (short /o/ is lengthened); thus, *okimāw* 'chief': *nōkimāminān* 'our chief'; *ohtapiwin* 'seat': *kōhtapiwin* 'your seat'; *otinēw* 'he takes him': *nōtināw* 'I take him'; preverb *ō* 'past (in negative statement)': T113-6 *mōyihkāc nō--wāpahtēn.* 'I had never seen it.' With the third person prefix *o-*, only dependent nouns show this pattern, e.g. *ōhkomiwāwa* 'their grandmother.'

7. INITIAL CHANGE

INITIAL CHANGE is a systematic alternation of the first vowel of a stem or compound (6.5); it occurs in the changed and iterative modes of the conjunct order (5.33).[91]

i∼ē: itāpiw 'he looks thither or thus': T45p6 *ētāpihki* 'wherever one (indf) may look'; *pimohtēw*

[91] Its function in word formation is yet to be investigated systematically; as an example, consider the reduplicative formation *mamwēsahkīw* 'he goes naked' from *mosawaham* 'he bares it.'

'he walks along': T55p87 *pēmohtēyāhk* 'as we walked along.'

a∼ē: takohtēw 'he arrives walking': T61p13 *tēkohtēcik* 'when they arrived'; *apiw* 'he sits': S22-46 *ēpiyāni* 'whenever I sit down.'

o∼wē: otawāsimisiw 'he has children': *wētawāsimisicik* 'those who have them as children'; *ohtinam* 'he takes it thence': S244-1 *wēhtinahk* 'taking it'; *postaskisinahēw* 'he makes him put on moccasins': S126-12 *pwēstaskisinahāt* 'putting on moccasins.'

ī∼ā, iyī. In Plains Cree both *ā* and *iyī* occur but *ā* is attested only in the preverbs *kī∼kā* and *wī∼wā* (6.52); *cf.* also Geary, 1945: p. 171 and Bloomfield, 1946: p. 101. For James Bay Cree, by contrast, Ellis reports only the *ā*-variant. Examples: *wī-kapēsiw* 'he is going to camp': T103p8 *wā-kapēsici* 'whenever he was going to camp'; *kīsi-nikamōw* 'he completes his singing': P14-24 *kiyīsī-nikamotwāwi* 'whenever they have sung their song'; *mīciw* 'he eats it': S244-20 *miyīcitwāwi* 'whenever they had it to eat.'

ē∼iyē: tēhtapiw 'he rides (on horseback)': T123-5 *tiyēhtapit* 'as he rode'; preverb *pē* 'hither': T105p8 *piyē-sākēwēyāni* 'when I rise (sun speaking),' T120-4 *piyē-nipātwāwi* 'whenever they slept on the way.'

ā∼iyā: āpasāpiw 'he looks back': T80p8 *iyāpasāpici* 'whenever he looked back'; *wāpahtōwak* 'they see each other': T54p14 *wiyāpahtoyāhki* 'whenever we see each other.'

ō∼iyō: tōtam 'he does it so': T53p6 *tiyōtahkwāwi* 'whenever they did this,' S58-44 *tānisi tiyōtahk?* 'How did she do it?'; *nōtinito-* AI 'fight one another': P60-39 *niyōtinitohki* 'whenever there is a battle.'[92]

B: SAMPLE TEXT

The text which is here presented was narrated by CL in February, 1968. It is a *kayās-ācimōwin*, a historical narrative. For a brief characterization of the informants for whom CL is representative, see 1.3.

TEXT: AN ENCOUNTER AT BATTLE LAKE

(1) ēyāpic nīsta nik-ācimon. (2) māk ēyako namōya nikiskēyihtēn, tāniyikohk ōma ta-kī-ispīhc--āskīwik aspin ēyak ōma kā-wī-ātotamān. . . .

(3) ōt ētok ōma ē-ayayācik, maskwacīsihk ōki pēyakwayak ayīsiyiniwak. (4) asinīpwātis ētokwē pēyak, otawāsimisa, owīkimākana, osikosa; ēkwa nisto mīna nāpēwa. (5) ētokwē kā-pē-piciwinihkēt, ēkwa posiskahcāw ōma nānāway pimipiciw ōma, nōtinitō-sīpiy.

(6) ēkos īsi ētokwē, kītahtaw ētokw āwa pēyak, nāway ē-ayāt awa, nāpēw awa, kā-wāpamāt awiya ē-osiskwēpayihoyit. (7) ēyakosi. (8) wīhtamawēw ēsa owīkimākana, "awiyak kōsāpamikonaw." (9) "awīn īta kī-osāpamikoyahk?" itik. (10) "ā, namōya, awiyak kōsāpamikonaw."

(11) māk ēsa wītimwa ēyakw āwa nāpēw awa, ē--mōsiskwēwēyit, māk ēs ē-ocawāsimisiyit ē-tahkopitāwasoyit. (12) kītahtaw ētok ōma, ēkota ē-ayayācik ōma, ē-wāpamāt ēsa mān ēyakw āwa. (13) kītahtaw ētokwē ē-māmātot ēyakw āwa awāsis awa. (14) aw ētokwē pēyak awa, iskwēw awa, osīmisa ōhi, "kika--kakwē-pisiskēyimā ana mān ēyako kā-tatwēwitahk," itēw ētokwē. (15) "yaw," k-ētwēt ēs āw īskwēw. (16) āt ān ōhtāwiya ē-wīcēwāt, "ta-kī-pāpisiskēyimikot, mīn ē-kiskēyihtamiyit," k-ētwēt ēs āwa.

(17) pēhtawēw awa kisēyiniw tānis ē-itwēyit otānisa. (18) "ēha," k-ētwēt ēsa. (19) "kīspin tāpwē, wīcēwēw ohtāwiya nōsisimis. (20) namōya wāhyaw ēkot āstēw, ayahciyiniwak ta-nipahicik" k-ētwēt ēsa.

(21) ēkosi. (22) namōya mihcēt tipiskāw, ēs āna ayahciyiniwa kī-nipahik ēyakw āna kisēyiniw. (23) ēyak ōm ōta namōya wāhyaw, "Battle Lake" isiyīhkātēw, ēkot ēs āna ē-kī-nipahiht ēyako kisēyiniw. (24) "George Maskwa" ēsa kī-isiyīhkāsōw. (25) ēkota ēs āni kēkāc kī-mēscihāwak mīn ēkonik aniki. (26) ēkonik māna nōhkom, ēkosi ē-kī-itātotahkik. (27) ēkosi.

TRANSLATION

(1) I too will narrate some more. (2) But I don't know how many years it has been since that which I am going to tell about. . . .

(3) Here at Hobbema some place these people must have lived. (4) A certain Stoney Indian, his children, his wife, and his mother-in-law; and also three men [apparently his sons-in-law]. (5) He must have made a trip this way, and in a steep valley they traveled one behind the other, along this Battle River.

(6) Thus, I guess, presently this one who was at the end, this man, saw someone ducking up and down. (7) So it was. (8) He told it to his wife, "Someone is watching us." (9) "Who would be able to watch us there?" she answered him. (10) "Oh, no, someone is watching us."

(11) But this man's sister-in-law, she was single, but she had a baby which she had tied in a moss-bag. (12) Presently, I guess, they were there where this one had seen him [someone]. (13) Suddenly this baby screamed. (14) This one, this woman, told her younger sister, "You should have tried to look after this one who makes the noise," she must have told her. (15) "Why," said this woman. (16) But since she had her father along, "he should have taken care of him [the baby], and he knows it," this one said.

(17) The old man heard his daughter how she spoke. (18) "Well," he said. (19) "If this were true, my grandchild will follow his father [i.e., die]. (20) Not far from here, there is the place where the Blackfoot will kill me," he said.

[92] For James Bay Cree, Ellis reports *ō ∼ wā*, e.g. *pōsiw* 'he embarks': *pwāsit* 'as he embarks'; *nōtamēsēw* 'he is fishing': *nwātamēsēt* 'as he is fishing.'

(21) So it was. (22) Not many nights [passed], and this old man was killed by the Blackfoot. (23) Not far from this here, Battle Lake it is called, there this old man was killed. (24) George Maskwa he was called. (25) Right there these [other people] were also almost all killed. (26) This is how my grandmother's people always used to tell it. (27) This is it.

ANALYSIS

Since numerous examples of complex word formation are given in chapter 6, the present interlinear analysis is restricted to identifying the word class and the inflectional form of each word. In nouns and verbs, endings (which appear in a phonemic transcription), and personal prefixes, are separated from the stem by =. The person-number-gender-obviation codes given for inflected forms also serve to indicate cross-reference, especially with the numerous demonstrative pronouns.

The frequent occurrence of the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *awa*, *ōma*, *ēyako*, and especially of such particles as *ētokwē* and *ēsa*, is characteristic of narrative style; the full meaning of *ēsa* and *māna* is not known.

The sequence of spans (2.2) and the focus assignment within each span are summarized separately. (The phrases listed under "proximate" are the first or clearest indication of who is in focus.)

SENTENCE	SPAN	PROXIMATE (FOCUS)	OBVIATIVE
1, 2	a	(2) *ēyak ōma kā-wī-ātotamān* 'that which I am going to tell about'	
3–5	b	(3) *ōki ayīsiyiniwak* 'these people,' then (4) *asinīpwātis* 'the Stoney'	(4) *otawāsimisa* 'his children,' etc., including *nāpēwa* 'men'
6–12	c	(6) *nāway ē-ayāt awa, nāpēw awa* 'this man who was at the end'	(6) *awiya* 'someone'
			(8) *owīkimākana* 'his wife'
	(d)	(direct speech is inserted: (9) *awiyak* 'someone' and (10) *awīna* 'who')	
	c	(8) *itik* 'she answered him' shows that the man is still in focus	
			(11) *wītimwa* 'his sister-in-law'
		(12) *ē-ayayācik* 'they were there,' then *ēyakw āwa* 'this one'	(12) goal of *ē-wāpamāt* 'he had seen *him*'
13	e	*awāsis awa* 'this baby'	
14	f	*iskwēw awa* 'this woman'	*osīmisa* 'her younger sister'
	(g)	(direct speech: *ana ēyako kā-tatwēwitahk* 'that one who makes the noise')	
	f	*itēw* 'she told her'	
15–16	h	(15) *aw īskwēw* 'this woman' (the younger sister)	(15) *ohtāwiya* 'her father'
	(i)	(direct speech, but note that the father remains obviative: the baby is the goal of (16) *ta-kī-pāpisiskēyimikot* 'he should have taken care of him')	((16) *ē-kiskēyihtamiyit* 'he knows it')
	h	(16) *k-ētwēt ēs āwa* 'this one said'	
17–25	j	(17) *awa kisēyiniw* 'this old man'	(17) *otānisa* 'his daughter'
	(k)	(direct speech: (18) *nōsisimis* 'my grandchild')	((18) *ohtāwiya* 'his father')
	(l)	((19) *ayahciyiniwak* 'the Blackfoot')	
	j	(20) *k-ētwēt* 'he said,' then (25) *ēkonik aniki* 'these (people)'	(22) *ayahciyiniwa* 'the Blackfoot'
26	m	*ēkonik nōhkom* 'those (including) my grandmother'	

In the interlinear analysis which follows, these special abbreviations occur:

NA, NI	animate, inanimate noun	PV	preverb
NDA, NDI	animate, inanimate dependent noun	red	reduplication syllable
PR	pronoun	indep	independent indicative
PC	particle	cj	changed conjunct
PP	personal prefix	simple cj	simple conjunct

For the symbols TA, TI, AI, II see 1.41, and for the number codes of the person-number-gender-obviation categories see table 1 of 2.01.

In the interlinear version of the text, the modifications of external sandhi have been removed.

(1)	*ēyāpic*	*nīsta*	*ni=ka-ācimo=n.*
	PC	personal PR, emphatic	PV *ka* 'future,' AI 1 indep
	in due course	I too	I will narrate

(2)	*māka*	*ēyako*	*namōya*	*ni=kiskēyiht=ēn,*
	PC	0 PR	PC	TI 1 indep
	but	just this	not	I know it

tāniyikohk	*ōma*	*ta-kī-ispīhci-askīwi=k*
PC (conjunction)	0 PR	PV *ta* 'future,' PV *kī*$_1$ 'completion,'
to what extent	this	it will have been years since

		aspin	*ēyako*	*ōma*
PV *ispīhci*	'meanwhile,' II 0 simple cj	PC	0 PR	0 PR
		away	just this	this

kā-wī-ātot=amān. . . .
PV *kā* (subordinator, 6.521), PV *wī* 'intend to,' TI 1 cj
what I am going to tell

(3)	*ōta*	*ētokwē*	*ōma*	*ē-ayayā=cik,*
	PC	PC	0 PR	PV *ē* (subordinator, 6.521), AI 3p cj, red *ay-*
	here	I guess	this	they were, they lived

maskwacīs=ihk	*ōki*	*pēyakwayak*
locative NI	3p PR	PC
at Hobbema ("Bear Hills")	these	at one place

ayīsiyiniw=ak.	(4)	*asinīpwātis*	*ētokwē*	*pēyak,*	
3p NA		3 NA	PC	PC	
people		Stoney (Assiniboine)	I guess	a certain	

ot=awāsimis=a,	*o=wīkimākan=a,*	*o=sikos=a;*	*ēkwa*	*nisto*
3′ NA (3 poss)	3′ NA (3 poss)	3′ NDA (3 poss)	PC	PC
his children	his wife	his mother-in-law	and	three

mīna	*nāpēw=a.*	(5) *ētokwē*	*kā-pē-piciwinihkē=t,*	
PC	3′ NA	PC	PV *kā*, PV *pē* 'hither,' AI 3 cj	
also	men	I guess	he made a trip hither	

ēkwa	*posiskahcāw*	*ōma*	*nānāway*
PC	0 NI	0 PR	PC, red *nā-*
and	long, narrow valley	this	one behind the other

pimipici=w	*ōma,*	*nōtinitō-sīpiy.*
AI 3 indep	0 PR	0 NI
they traveled (general singular)	this	Battle River

(6)	*ēkosi*	*isi*	*ētokwē,*	*kītahtawē*	*ētokwē*	*awa*
	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	3 PR
	just thus	thus	I guess	presently	I guess	this

pēyak,	*nāway*	*ē-ayā=t*	*awa,*	*nāpēw*	*awa,*
PC	PC	PV *ē*, AI 3 cj	3 PR	3 NA	3 PR
one	behind	he was there	this	man	this

kā-wāpam=āt	*awiya*	*ē-osiskwēpayiho=yit.*	(7)	*ēyakosi.*
PV *kā*, TA 3-(3′) cj	3′ PR	PV *ē*, AI 3′ cj		PC
he saw (him)	someone	he ducked with his head up		just thus

(8)	*wīhtamaw=ēw*	*ēsa*	*o=wīkimākan=a,*	*"awiyak*
	TA 3-(3′) indep	PC	3′ NA (3 poss)	3 PR
	he told it to her	then	his wife	someone

k=ōsāpam=ikonaw."	(9)	*"awīna*	*ita*
PP *ki-*, TA 3-21 indep, *-osāpam-*		3 PR	PC
he is watching us		who	there

kī-osāpam=ikoyahk,"	*it=ik.*
PV *kī*$_2$ 'able to,' TA 3-21 simple cj	TA (3′)-3 indep
he would be able to watch us	she answered him

(10)	*"ā,*	*namōya,*	*awiyak k=ōsāpam=ikonaw."*
	excl.	PC	(see above)
	Oh	no	

(11)	*māka*	*ēsa*	*wītimw=a*	*ēyako*	*awa*
	PC	PC	3′ NDA (3 poss)	3 PR	3 PR
	but	then	his cross-cousin	just this	this

nāpēw	*awa,*	*ē-mōsiskwēwē=yit,*	*māka*	*ēsa*
3 NA	3 PR	PV *ē*, AI 3′ cj	PC	PC
man	this	she was single	but	then

ē-ocawāsimisi=yit	*ē-tahkopitāwaso=yit.*
PV *ē*, AI 3′ cj	PV *ē*, AI 3′ cj
she had a child	she had it tied up in a moss-tie

(12)	*kītahtawē*	*ētokwē*	*ōma,*	*ēkota*	*ē-ayayā=cik*
	PC	PC	0 PR	PC	PV *ē*, AI 3p cj, red *ay-*
	presently	I guess	this	just there	they were there

ōma,	*ē-wāpam=āt*	*ēsa*	*māna*	*ēyako*	*awa.*
0 PR	PV *ē*, TA 3-(3′) cj	PC	PC	3 PR	3 PR
this	where he had seen him	then	then	just this	this

(13)	*kītahtawē*	*ētokwē*	*ē-māmāto=t*	*ēyako*	*awa*
	PC	PC	PV *ē*, AI 3 cj, red *mā-*	3 PR	3 PR
	presently	I guess	he cried loud	just this	this

awāsis	*awa.*	(14)	*awa*	*ētokwē*	*pēyak*	*awa,*	*iskwēw*	*awa,*
3 NA	3 PR		3 PR	PC	PC	3 PR	3 NA	3 PR
child	this		this	I guess	one	this	woman	this

o=sīmis=a	*ōhi,*	*"ki=ka-kakwē-pisiskēyim=ā*
3′ NDA (3 poss)	3′ PR	PP *ki-*, PV *ka* 'future,' PV *kakwē* 'try
her younger sister	this	you should have taken care of him

	ana	*māna*	*ēyako*
to,' TA 2-3 indep h-preterit	3 PR	PC	3 PR
	that	always (?)	just that

kā-tatwēwit=ahk,"	*it=ēw*	*ētokwē.*	(15)	*"yaw"*
PV *kā*, TI 3 cj	TA 3-(3′) indep	PC		exclamation
who makes noise	she told her	I guess		why

kā-itwē=t	*ēsa*	*awa*	*iskwēw.*	(16)	*āta*	*ana*
PV *kā*, AI 3 cj	PC	3 PR	3 NA		PC	3 PR
she said	then	this	woman		however	that

o=htāwiy=a	*ē-wīcēw=āt,*	*"ta-kī-pāpisiskēyim=ikot,*
3′ NDA (3 poss)	PV *ē*, TA 3-(3′) cj	PV *ta* 'future,' PV $kī_1$
her father	she had him along	he should have

	mīna
'completion,' TA (3′)-3 simple cj, red *pā-*	PC
taken care of him	and

ē-kiskēyiht=amiyit,"	*kā-itwē=t*	*ēsa*	*awa.*
PV *ē*, TI 3′ cj	PV *kā*, AI 3 cj	PC	3 PR
he knows it	she said	then	this

(17)	*pēhtaw=ēw*	*awa*	*kisēyiniw*	*tānisi*
	TA 3-(3′) indep	3 PR	3 NA	PC (conjunction)
	he heard her	this	old man	how

ē-itwē=yit	*o=tānis=a.*	(18)	*"ēha,"*	*kā-itwē=t*	*ēsa.*
PV *ē*, AI 3′ cj	3′ NDA (3 poss)		PC	PV *kā*, AI 3 cj	PC
she spoke	his daughter		yes	he said	then

(19)	*"kīspin*	*tāpwē,*	*wīcēw=ēw*	*o=htāwiy=a*
	PC	PC	TA 3-(3′) indep	3′ NDA (3 poss)
	if	truly, indeed	he accompanies him	his father

nōsisimis.	(20)	*namōya*	*wāhyaw*	*ēkota*	*astē=w,*
3 NDA		PC	PC	PC	II 0 indep
my grandchild		not	far	just there	it is there

ayahciyiniw=ak	*ta-nipah=icik,"*	*kā-itwē=t*	*ēsa.*
3p NA	PV *ta* 'future,' TA 3p-1 simple cj	PV *kā*, AI 3 cj	PC
the Blackfoot	they will kill me	he said	then

(21)	*ēkosi.*	(22)	*namōya*	*mihcēt*	*tipiskāw,*
	PC		PC	PC	0 NI
	just thus		not	many	nights (general singular)

ēsa	*ana*	*ayahciyiniw=a*	*kī-nipah=ik*
PC	3 PR	3′ NA	PV $kī_1$ 'completion,' TA (3′)-3 indep
then	that	the Blackfoot	they killed him

ēyako	*ana*	*kisēyiniw.*	(23)	*ēyako*	*ōma*	*ōta*	*namōya*
3 PR	3 PR	3 NA		0 PR	0 PR	PC	PC
just this	that	old man		just this	this	here	not

wāhyaw, "Battle Lake"	*isiyīhkātē=w,*	*ēkota*	*ēsa*	*ana*
PC	II 0 indep	PC	PC	3 PR
far	it is named so	just there	then	that

ē-kī-nipah=iht	*ēyako*	*kisēyiniw.*
PV *ē*, PV $kī_1$ 'completion,' TA indf-3 cj	3 PR	3 NA
he was killed	just this	old man

(24)	*"George Maskwa"*	*ēsa*	*kī-isiyīhkāso=w.*
		PC	PV $kī_1$ 'completion,' AI 3 indep
	("Bear")	then	he was called so

(25)	*ēkota*	*ēsa*	*ani*	*kēkāc*
	PC	PC	PC	PC
	just there	then	(emphasizes preceding words)	almost

kī-mēscih=āwak			*mīna*	*ēkonik*	*aniki.*
PV *kī*$_1$ 'completion,' TA indf-3p indep			PC	3p PR	3p PR
they were annihilated			also	just these	those

(26)	*ēkonik*	*māna*	*n=ōhkom*	*ēkosi*	*ē-kī-itātot=ahkik.*
	3p PR	PC	3 NDA	PC	PV *ē*, PV *kī*$_1$ 'completion,'
	just	these	always (?)	my grandmother	just thus

(27) *ēkosi.*

TI 3p cj	PC
they used to thus tell it	just thus

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