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AN OUTLINE OF PLAINS CREE MORPHOLOGY

Hans Christoph Wolfart

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1969

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Errata

| <u>Page</u> | <u>Line</u> | <u>For</u> | <u>Read</u> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 7 | 2 up | Narragensett | Narragansett |
| 11 | 8 | dit | dits |
| 11 | 10 | tout | tous |
| 14 | 2 up | peu | peut |
| 36 | 2 up | other (3p) | other (3p), |
| 47 | 2 | partical | partial |
| 48 | 10 | here | mere |
| 48 | 7 up | from | form |
| 53 | 7 | Latin <u>agricola</u> 'farmer' | German <u>das Weib</u> 'the woman' |
| 74 | 17 | 1962 | Bloomfield 1962 |
| 76 | 7 up | later | late |
| 100 | 11 up | gender | gender, |
| 128 | 10 | <u>. ka-</u> | <u>. ka-</u> |
| 152 | 11 | <u>-koyiwa</u> | <u>-ikoyiwa</u> |
| 152 | 12 | /ēkw/ | /ekw/ |
| 161 | 1 | /ak/ | /akw/ |
| 170 | 12 | anwered | answered |
| 178 | 11 up | 5.813 | 5.812 |
| 182 | 6 up | <u>kipakamhotisin</u> | <u>kipakamahotisin</u> |
| 191 | 2 | <u>-iskēw</u> | <u>-iskwēw</u> |
| 195 | 12 | my | by |
| 197 | 1 | <u>kanawēyin-</u> | <u>kanawēyim-</u> |

| <u>Page</u> | <u>Line</u> | <u>For</u> | <u>Read</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 197 | 2 up | incomplete | incomplete |
| 200 | 6 | <u>awiya</u> | <u>awiyak</u> |
| 204 | 8 up | 'head' | 'my head' |
| 206 | 4 up | <u>mihkāpiskiswēw</u> | <u>mihkwāpiskiswēw</u> |
| 213 | 8 up | 'car' | 'car', cf. |
| 219 | 3 | intransitive | intransitive verbs |
| 221 | 12 | <u>-payiw-</u> | <u>-payi-</u> |
| 230 | 12 | <u>-esw</u> | <u>-esw-</u> |
| 237 | 11 | intransitive | inanimate |
| 247 | 12 up | (3.23) | (6.23) |

Abstract

An Outline of Plains Cree Morphology is an attempt to describe the inflectional and derivational patterns of the Plains dialect of Cree, an Algonquian language.

An exposition of the grammatical categories of Plains Cree is followed by a detailed analysis of the inflectional paradigms of nouns, pronouns, and of verbs; particular attention is given to those verbs which are inflected for both subject and object. The semantic aspects of paradigmatic analysis are emphasized.

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.

Plains Cree is spoken in the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. This Outline is based on data collected in Alberta in 1967/68; examples are also drawn from the published texts of Leonard Bloomfield.

The immediate aim of this Outline is to provide a framework for further, more detailed investigation. It may also serve as an introduction to the study of the published texts.

Preface

I wish to thank Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury for his generous help while I was working on this dissertation, above all for pointing out the more general implications of specific problems. Thanks are also due to Professor Charles F. Hockett who first introduced me to the "marvellous complexity" (Bloomfield) of the Algonquian languages. The greatest debt, of course, is to the Cree, who with considerable patience and generosity taught me some understanding of their language.

I gratefully acknowledge the field support of the National Science Foundation (GS-1535), the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The writing of the dissertation was supported by Yale University which, together with the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes, also largely financed my graduate studies.

Acknowledgements are due to more people than can be named. This preface would be incomplete, however, without special thanks to my wife Juliane for her psychological support and practical assistance during the writing of this dissertation.

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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 two-fold: it is intended to provide a framework for further, more detailed, investigation, and it may also serve as an introduction to the study of the published texts. 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.

The present outline of Plains Cree morphology is in a technical sense informal.

It is a common complaint, especially among adherents of the generative-transformational theory of language "that our knowledge of even so-called 'well-described' 'exotic' languages barely begins to scratch the surface" and that it is a "mass of ... almost completely superficial and inexplicit linguistic descriptions which make up our linguistic literature today" (Postal 1966:92,93). Postal's pessimistic conclusion is that "beyond a relatively superficial level, informant techniques in general will fail and further work, if any, will depend on linguistically trained natives" (93).

At least to some degree, one cannot but agree with Postal in this point. Many grammars convey the annoying impression, intentionally or not, that they constitute a definitive statement of fact, observed and described once and for all.

Unfortunately, however, 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 and gratefulness 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 100 years can hardly be regarded as useless or irrelevant.

The inadequacy, on a variety of counts, of the present outline is recognized. Its purpose is to cover a relatively large area and to provide a framework to which reference can be made in more detailed studies.

Another consideration is the existence of a fairly large body of Plains 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 not only a lexicon (which is planned) but also a reference grammar. Tentative as the

present outline is, it should greatly facilitate the study of these texts.

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 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.

Lest there be 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.

A formal account, then, does not come into being in a vacuum. Not only that; but "a premature formalization is a rigid structure which acts as a straitjacket upon any who use it, causing their thought to become inflexible" (Lamb 1966:547). Amidst all the current clamoring for formalization it is particularly appropriate that a leading proponent of a formal theory of language should emphasize the virtues of preliminary and of semi-formal descriptions. Such description, it is hoped, not only avoids the straitjacket of one particular formalism; it also has the obvious advantage of permitting the observation of the data 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 essential point of the present discussion is aptly summed up in another passage from Lamb's 'Epilegomena' (547): "It is only at a very advanced stage of knowledge of a subject matter that it is feasible to undertake the construction of a formal theory, ... Until such time one should operate with semi-formal partially constructed theories."

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 important, Bloomfield's descriptions appear to be appropriate (in the Hjelmslevian sense) to their subject matter. We depart from his model only in relatively minor matters or where there is compelling evidence to do so.

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. The use of "Cree" for the entire complex of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects is wide-spread even

though it has by no means been established that there is a chain of mutually intelligibly dialects.

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 1939:87). Michelson, however, probably did not mean to imply mutual intelligibility when he stated (1912:247) 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" (1939:73) and definitely seems to imply a language boundary when he says (1939:70) that "it cannot be too strongly emphasized that east of Hannah Bay (Ontario-Quebec 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 only 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 anε.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. For the application of such criteria to early missionary sources cf. Hanzeli 1961.

In its eastern manifestations this set of correspondences is known as "Roger Williams' sound shift" (cf. Haas 1967a); Roger Williams was first, in 1643, to observe the regular substitution of n, l, and r in the word for 'dog' in Coweset, Narragensett, 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, *I, *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 | * <u>aθemwa</u> 'dog' | * <u>elenyiwa</u> 'man' |
| Cree | <u>atim</u> | <u>iyiniw</u> |
| Montagnais-Naskapi | <u>atum</u> | <u>ilnu</u> |
| Fox | <u>anemwa</u> | <u>ineniwa</u> |
| Menomini | <u>anɛ·m</u> | <u>enɛ·niw</u> |
| Ojibwa | <u>anim</u> | <u>inini</u> |

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 *l and *l̥, *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). (Palatalization apparently does not take place before *y; consider Proto Algonquian *kyātāwa 'he hides it', Montagnais-Naskapi kātau.)

The palatalization is attested at least as early as 1696 when Father Bonaventure Fabvre (cited after Hanzeli 1961:126) listed the alternant forms miki8ap, mitchi8ap for 'cabane'; cf. Plains Cree mikiwāhp 'wigwam'. Whether the k-alternant represents Cree, as Hanzeli has it, or whether it reflects a sound change in process 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 morphophonemic alternation: "morpheme-final /k/ becomes /c/ before a front vowel" (Rogers 1960:94). Thus, from sōhk- and -isi- there is a verb stem sōhcisi-; cf. Plains Cree sōhkisi- 'be strong'.

1.22. The dialects of Cree proper (excluding Montagnais-Naskapi) are yet to be described adequately. Michelson's basic study of 1939 was based on inadequate data: "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" (1939:75). The recent survey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics supplies much-needed information (yet unpublished) on mutual intelligibility; but even here the scope 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. (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 1939:75.)

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, Wé-lă, etc." (1844: 316). (The reference to Eliot shows that Howse failed to fully distinguish 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

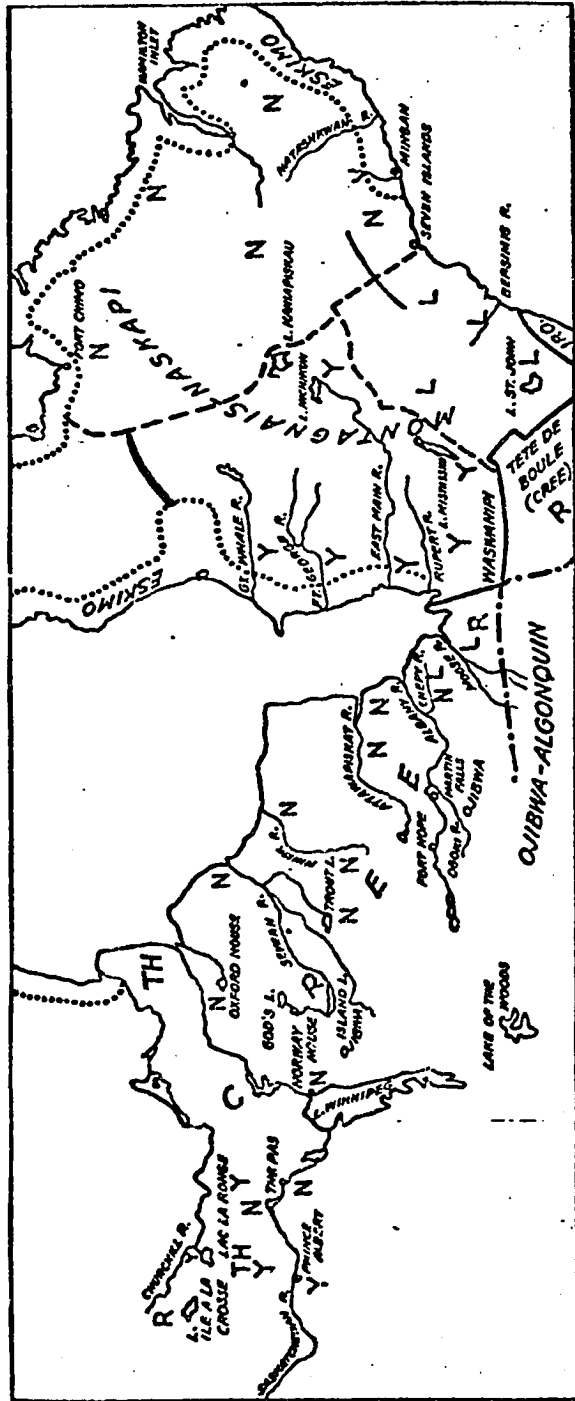
of the th-dialect of Rupert's Land (see below); we follow him, Lacombe, and Michelson in writing th for what seems to be a voiced fricative.)

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'; 1874a:xv):

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Cris proprement dit (Plains Cree) | <u>niya</u> |
| Cris d'Athabaskaw (northern Saskatchewan) | <u>nira</u> |
| Presque tout les Cris de Bois (Woods Cree of Rupert's Land) | <u>nitha</u> |
| Cris du Labrador (Montagnais?, Moose Cree?) | <u>nila</u> |
| Maskegons (Swampy Cree) | <u>nina</u> |
| Algonquins et Sauteurs (Ojibwa) | <u>nin</u> |

The complicated treatise of Michelson (1939) is best represented by his map (map 1). The summary which follows is based on Michelson's study but includes other data as well; it 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.)



Map 1 (from Michelson 1939).

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

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. Swampy Cree is the basis of Ellis' 'Spoken Cree'; the dialect he describes is also referred to in the present study as 'James Bay Cree'.

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

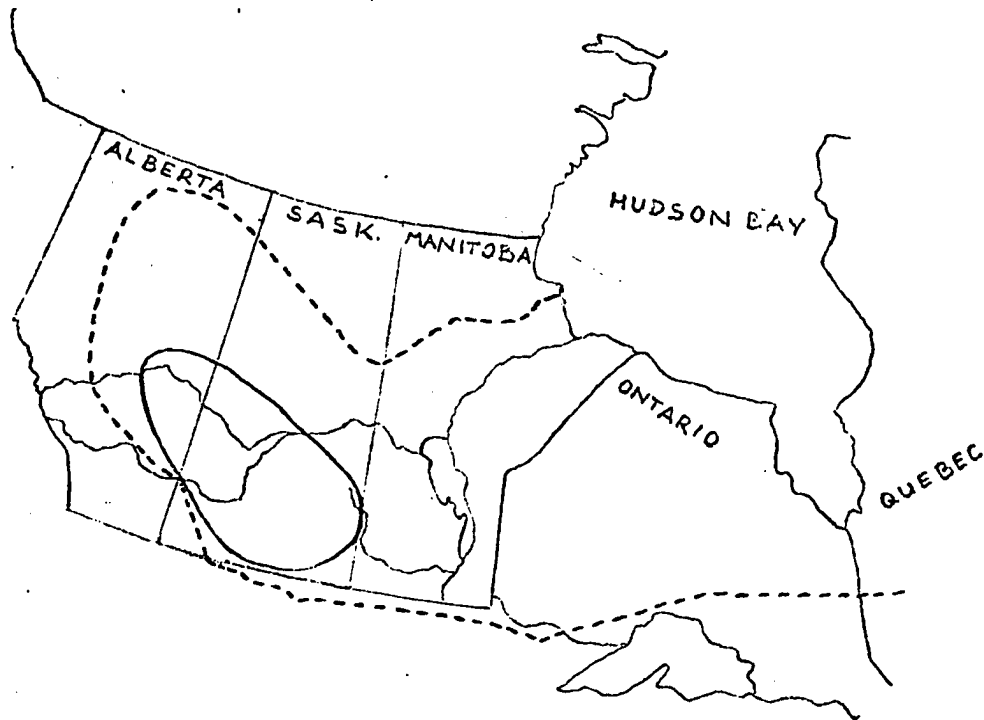
1.23. The Plains Cree dialect which forms the basis of the present study is spoken primarily in the central part of Alberta and in the central and southern parts of Saskatchewan. Canadian government figures (Canada 1967) indicate a total of about 21,000 Plains Cree in this area. (This figure reflects only 'treaty Indians' not all of whom necessarily still speak Cree. On the other hand, it ignores the large number of non-treaty Indians and Métis many of whom do speak Cree; so perhaps it is a fair estimate after all.) In 1874, Lacombe had estimated the number of Plains Cree as 15,000 to 16,000 (1874a:x). These figures would seem to fit the estimate of Chafe (1962:165) who gives a figure of 30,000 to 40,000 for all Cree (and 5,000 for

Montagnais-Naskapi).

The historical movement of the Plains Cree from their 17th 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 2 shows the range of the Plains Cree (culturally defined; after Mandelbaum 1940) in the 1860s; it also indicates the approximate maximum dispersion of Cree speakers (after Hlady 1964 and Canada 1965).

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 (1874a: xi): "On peu dire que le cris est pour le Nord-Ouest ce que le français est pour les pays civilisés."



----- Maximum dispersion of Cree speakers
—— Plains Cree (culturally defined) 1860

Map 2.

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. (According to Hlady 1964, the Alberta Plains Cree came not only from the east but directly from the north as well.) 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 the dissertation (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 1967/68. 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 1967/68 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 is 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 live 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.

Unfortunately, no informant was available during the writing of this paper. With the help of an informant, many of its errors and omissions might have been avoided.

A large body of texts was collected in 1967/68 mainly from the "southern" area. A representative selection (comprising approximately 7 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 90, the patriarch of an important family; his repertoire of texts is known to be extensive. PO is 78 years old and 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 toward 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, wīsaḥkēcāḥk. These sacred stories in the narrow sense are highly conventionalized, down to the linguistic structure of particular stretches of the story. New stories may be made up on the existing pattern.

Some 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 (1930:34-40 and 1934:282-284); twelve versions, of varying quality and length, were recorded in 1967/68.

The term ācimōwin is usually translated by informants as 'true story', implying that even the Cree themselves are not absolutely certain of the historicity of the sacred stories. 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 labelled "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. 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 2.01; the choice of numbers should be largely self-explanatory. In discussions of transitive animate verbs, a combination like "1-3" is to be interpreted as the first person acting on the third; an inverse ("passive") action, with the same referents, would be indicated by "3-1".

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

We use Bloomfield's orthography (cf. Appendix A and Bloomfield 1930:2-6) except for the purely mechanical substitution of o, ē, and ę for his u, ä, and ts. Phonemic representation is indicated by italics (underlining). This mode of representation is used throughout, even when segments smaller than words are cited. Morphophonemic notation, namely segments enclosed in slashes (and the additional symbols /e/, /θ/, /L/) is used only where it is immediately

relevant to the discussion; cf. Appendix A.

1.42. 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 1930:2,3.

2. Grammatical Categories

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

| <u>GENDER</u> | <u>PERSON</u> | <u>OBVIATION</u> | <u>NUMBER</u> | <u>CODE</u> |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|
| animate | indefinite | | sg/pl | indf |
| | first and second | | pl | 2l |
| | first | | sg | 1 |
| | | | pl | 1p |
| | second | | sg | 2 |
| | | | pl | 2p |
| inanimate | third | proximate | sg | 3 |
| | | | pl | 3p |
| | | obviative | sg/pl | 3' |
| | | proximate | sg | 0 |
| | | | pl | 0p |
| | | obviative | sg | 0' |
| | | pl | 0'p | |

Table 1.

The diagrams which follow are attempts to graphically represent 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 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 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.

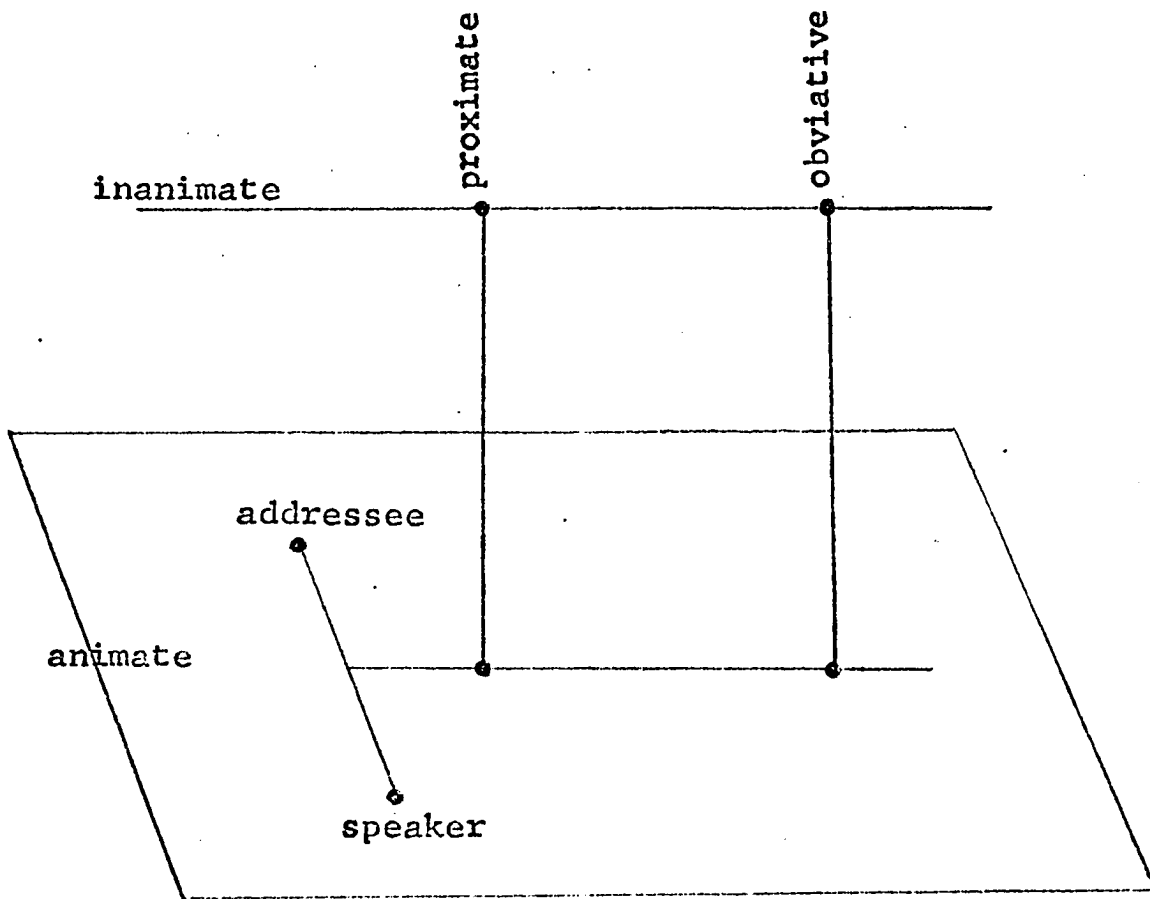


Figure 1 (after Hockett 1966).

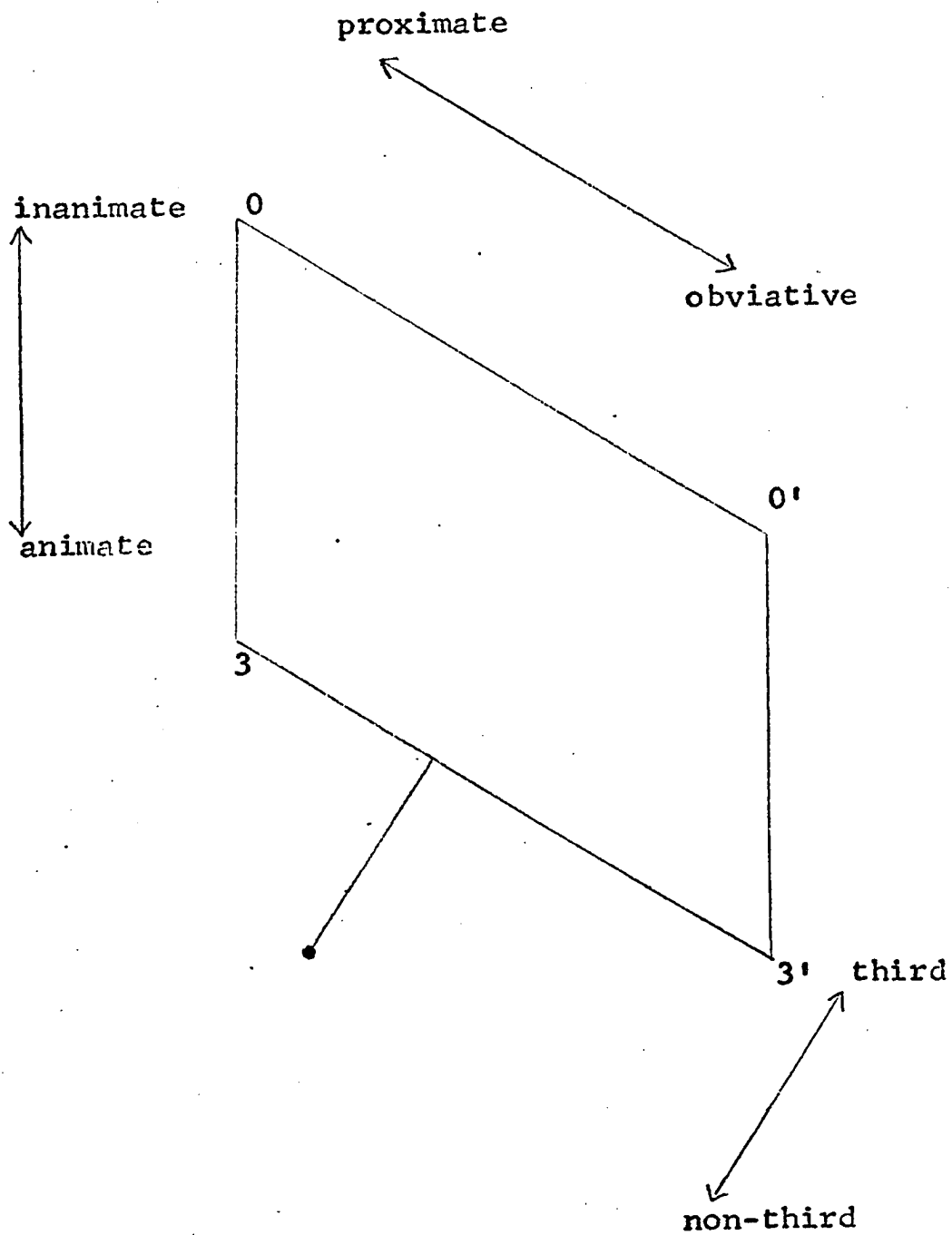


Figure 2.

2.02. Throughout the grammar of Cree, the inanimate (proximate) plural category and the animate obviative category (number-indifferent) show the same forms.

This identity 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 Cree, of Proto Algonquian *h and *l; thus, the Cree ending -a (morphophonemically /ah/) corresponds to the Proto Algonquian singular ending *-ali as well as to the 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 plural and the animate obviative plural 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 phonemic shape. One (4.1) uses the ending -hi for both these categories, another (4.2) -ēhā. (Ojibwa shows the same identity in pronouns which greatly differ from each other in phonemic shape; see Bloomfield 1958:43.)

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.

This feature is yet to be found; only one very elusive point has been discovered where a link might eventually be established. The transitive animate verb has a set of 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 ᑲᑲᑲᑲ ē-pikiskwētikot may be translated 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 kīkwāsa ōhi ē-wiyēsīmikot. 'all these various little things (Op or 3') used to trick him (...-3)'.

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. The personal prefixes ki-, ni-, and o-~∅ 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-~∅ 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- ~ ∅ constitute a position class of morphemes which are mutually exclusive on semantic grounds; for instance, 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- ~ ∅, and ni- in turn over o- ~ ∅. That is, whenever a form involves a second person, whether as actor or goal, the prefix is ki-; etc.

The order found in the ordered set of personal prefixes is also manifest in the fixed order of suffixes 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.

2.12. 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 T10p128 ēkwa wiya ōma micihciy ē-pē-otinahk ... 'and then this hand took it ...'; when the narrator is asked whose hand it was that reached in through the window, the explanation is, T10p129 tēpiyāhk awiyak ocihciy 'just somebody's hand'. awiyak 'somebody' is indefinite but specific whereas the prefix mi- indicates generality.

Further examples: T34p7 mistikwāna kā-wāpahtamān ... 'heads I saw ...'; T53p15 ēkoni miyawa ē-nahastācik. '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. This text is currently available in three versions: Bloomfield 1930:text 1; Bloomfield 1934:text 43; and T104 of 1968. mistikwān 'a head' and ostikwān 'her head' occur side by side in these texts, e.g. S9-34 ... ōma mistikwān kā-tihtipipayiyik, okāwīwāwa ostikwāniyiw. 'that rolling (0') head, their (3p) mother's (3') head (0)'; 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 distinct distributions, and counter-examples are readily found: T60p14 ... ē-manipitahk ēyak ōma osit. wiy ēkosi k-ētewāyān, wiy ē-yāhkipitahk, moy, nayēstaw misita ayisk. '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!'

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

/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 translation of the category by 'we'. (But note that Bloomfield whose

translations are clearly informant-inspired, translates two consecutive occurrences of 21 verb forms with 'you'; S76-5.)

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. (For this insight I am indebted to Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury.) 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 (cf. Goddard 1967:68), one of the suffixes (/enān/ or /enaw/) has been generalized, so that the distinction of the forms rests entirely in the prefix. While such a state of affairs may be of interest to typological studies, 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. 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. 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. For

the non-third persons, the convenient term 'local' has been introduced by Hockett (1966).

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 2.01.

For obvious semantic reasons the 21 category does not act on, nor is it acted upon by, the other non-third categories. Action between first person and second person categories is viewed as involving the dimension of direction; cf. 2.5.

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, as in inanimate nouns, it is nevertheless present. This is easily seen when the noun stands in construction with a

participial clause, e.g. S58-1 ..., kītahtawē kā-miskahk maskisinah. otinam, ē-wā-wāpahtahk; ēh-miywāsiniyikih.
 '..., soon he found some moccasins (0p). He picked them up and examined them; they were very pretty (0'p).'; the verb ēh-miywāsiniyikih expresses the obviative status of its "actor", maskisinah.

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 1962:3-20 and Rogers 1960:110.

2.21. Within each contextual span only one third person is proximate; all others are obviative. Thus, in niwāpamāw atim. 'I saw (1-3) the dog (3).' or in pimohtēw nāpēw. 'The man (3) walked along (3).', the third persons are marked as proximate in the verbs as well as in the nouns. In pakamahwēw nāpēw atimwa. 'The man (3) hit (3-3') the dog (3').', on the other hand, or in niwāpamāw nāpēw ē-pakamahwāt atimwa. 'I saw (1-3) the man (3) hit (3-3') the dog (3').', nāpēw 'man' is proximate and atimwa 'dog' 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, e.g. T49-9 ē-kī-nōtinitocik, ayahciyiniwak ēkwa nēhiyawak.
... 'they used to fight each other (3p) the Blackfoot (3p) and the Cree (3p), ...'.

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. "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" (Bloomfield 1962:38).

(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.)

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, e.g. S53-31 ēkwah ēh-tipis-kāyik, ācimostawēw, ... 'Then, when night came (0'),

he told him tales (3-3'), ...'; S243-24 ēh-otākosiniyik iyikohk, kīwēw. 'When it was evening (0'), she went home (3).'; S254-2 kītahtawē pēponiyīkih māna kanawēyimik ... 'Then in winter-time (0') he would take care (3'-3) of him....'.

2.22. The inflectional machinery may not always be sufficient to accommodate all the referents to be discussed. (Such a situation is more frequent in Cree than in those Algonquian languages, as for instance Potawatomi or Blackfoot, which show yet another opposition within the dimension of obviation; cf. 2.24.) 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 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: P98-38 ōhi nāpēwah kā-nipahāyit owikimākaniyiwah itohtahēw. 'He took to that place that man who had slain his wife.' (itohtahēw 'he (3) took him (3') there'; ōhi (3') nāpēwah (3') kā-nipahāyit (3'-3') owikimākaniyiwah (3') 'that man (3') who had slain (3'-3') his own (3') wife (3)'); the crucial cross-reference is that of the possessor of owikimākaniyiwah, which is marked as 3' by the prefix-suffix combination o- -iyi-. S36-39 ... ēkwa ē-mīcisot (3), wīsakēcāhkwa (3') ē-kimotamawāt (3-3') onawaciwiniyiwa (0p). '... then he ate (3), robbing (3-3') Wisahkecahk (3') of his (3': o- -iyi-) roasts (0p).' S37-1 namoya kiskēyihtam (3) āsay ēh-kitamwāyit (3'-3') oniskimah (3'). 'He did not know (3) that he (3') had already eaten (3'-3') his (3: o-) geese (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. T55p35 ninayomāw (1-3), ē-sākihak (1-3), nikāwiy (3) ē-māmitonēyimak (1-3) ē-wī-pētamawak (1-3). 'I carried it (3; 'kettle', animate) on my back, I prized it (3), || I thought of my mother (3) and wanted to bring it to her (3).' P98-11 piyisk kahkiyaw awiyak (3p) miywēyihtamwak (3p); mīna ayahciyiniwah (3') nisto ēh-nipahāt (3-3'), awa nāpēsis (3), miywēyihtamwak (3p)

ōk āyīsiyiniwak (3p), ... 'Finally everyone (3p) was glad (3p); || also because this boy (3) had slain (3-3') three Blackfoot (3') || those people (3p) were glad (3p), ...'.

2.223. Change of focus (||) may be indicated by the same referent being assigned to different obviation categories, e.g. T125-1 ēkwa anihī ostēsa (3'), ēkonik (3p) ēsa kī-wīwiwak (3p); 'and his (3) brothers (3'), || they (3p) had married (3p)'; T10p117 ēkwa mīna māna anihī (3') kā-ācimāt (3-3') kayās kā-kī-kimotit (3) anihī (3') sōniyāwa (3'). 'And then he (3) told about this one (3') || who long ago stole (3) this (3') money (3')'. T58p19 sāsay kā-kwāskwēwēpahomiht (indf-3') ōhi (3') ocēmisisa (3'); mitoni ispimihk kwāskwēwēpahok (3'-3) awa misatim (3). 'Already his (3) little horse (3') had been knocked up (indf-3') in the air; || really high up he (3'; buffalo) knocked this horse (3)'. T58p9 konta ē-pēhtākosit (3); ōma kā-pēhtākosiyit ē-itāpit ... 'he (3; buffalo) just made a big noise; || when he (3'; buffalo) made that big noise, he (3; Indian) looked around ...'.

2.224. When several obviate 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 sākāpēkipahāyit (3'-3') okossa (3') otēma (3'), otēhtapiwina (3'). 'His (3) son (3') was leading his (3) horse (3'), his (3) mount (3)'. P98-27, ōhi (3') kā-miyosiyit (3') oskinīkiwah (3'), "..."

ēh-itāt (3-3') owīkimākana (3'). '... , of that handsome youth (3'), "... he would say to his own (3) wife (3').'
 T103p5 ēkota ēs ānima mahihkana (3') otihtinēyiwa (3'-3')
ōhi (3') wītimwa (3') ē-nānistipitamātoyit (3'), ē-mōwāyit (3'-3'). 'There the wolves (3') grabbed (3'-3') these sisters-in-law (3') of his (3), tore them to pieces among themselves (AI 3'), and ate them (3'-3').'; S8-5 pōti ēkwa kā-wāpamāt (3-3') mistikwa (3') ē-pahpakamahwāyit (3'-3'), ēkwa kā-pē-wayawiyit (3') kinēpikwa (3'), kā-wāpamāt (3-3') owīkimākana (3') ē-owīcimosiyit (3'). 'And then he (3) saw her (3') beating (3'-3') a tree (3'; mistikwa) and when a serpent (3'; kinēpikwa) came out (3'), he (3) saw his wife (3') have it for a lover (AI 3').'

2.23. 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).

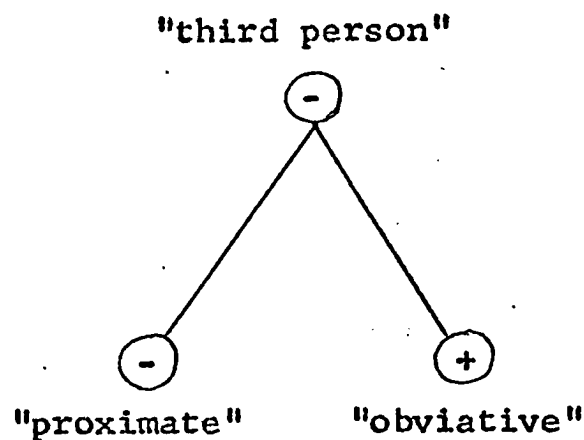
(a) One such context is in the personal pronouns where the third person pronouns wiya and wīsta are used for both proximate and obviative referents. Similarly the personal prefixes also show no distinction in the third person prefix.

(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: S75-8 ēkwa awa nikān pimotam macihkiwis ohtāwiya. 'Then Silly-Fellow's father had the first turn.' (awa (3) pimotam (3) macihkiwis (3) ohtāwiya (3')): 'this one (3) had his turn (3), Silly-Fellow's (morphologically 3, syntactically relevant only as possessor of ohtāwiya) father (morphologically 3', syntactically 3)'). T124-4 kā-wāpamāyāhk (1p-3) otitwēstamākēw okosisa ē-ati-pimipayit (3) ēkotē ē-ispayit (3). 'We saw (1p-3) the interpreter's son start riding (3) to go there (3).' (okosisa 'his (3) son': morphologically 3', syntactically 3; goal of kā-wāpamāyāhk (1p-3) and actor of the remaining verbs; otitwēstamākēw 'the interpreter': morphologically 3, syntactically disregarded except as possessor of okosisa). T123-6 ōta kā-pimipayit (3) nanos okosisa, wāhyaw nakasiwēw (3). 'There Nanos' son (morphologically 3', syntactically 3) was riding by (3), he was far ahead (3).' T114p3 ..., nimosōm (3) awa (3) nipāpā opāpāwa nisipwēhtahikonān. 'this (3) my grandfather (3), my father's father (morphologically 3', syntactically 3), he (3) took us (1p) away.'

(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. S53-32 ēh-

-kiskēyimāt (3-3'), ēh-nōhtēhkwasiyit (3'), ēkwa kawisimōwak (3p). 'When he (3) knew the other (3') to be sleepy, then they (3p) went to bed.' P98-40 wāpam (2-3p) ēsi-miyosicik (3p) nisim (3) ōhi. Iskwēwah (3'). 'Look (2-3p) how beautiful (3p) are my brother (3) and this woman (3')'. T124-3 nētē tahkohe-āyihk ē-otihtāt (3-3') kiyomānākosiwak (3p); 'when he (3) reached them (3') at the top there, they (all) (3p) were in full sight;'. Another example involves a pronominal predication: T10p91 tāniwā (3) ētokwē omāmāwāwa (3'). 'Where is she (tāniwā 3), I wonder, their (3p) mother (3')'.

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'.)

(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 1966:51). Thus, the non-indexed form for 'man' is nina, the proximate, ninaoa, and the first obviative, ninai.)

2.24. 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, the evidence is inconclusive and may be interpreted in a way which assumes only one dimension of obviation.

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

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. (In terms of his diagram (1966:60), 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.)

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 animate obviative and inanimate plural endings which is discussed in 2.02.

Generally, all reference to speaker or addressee is animate; witness the lack of first and second person forms in the inanimate intransitive (II) verb paradigm. Thus, any object which is usually inanimate but speaks or is spoken to, as is often the case in sacred stories, becomes temporarily animate, e.g. S8-43 sōskwāc kahkiyaw kakwēcimēw (3-3') otāpacihcikanah. 'Without delay she asked (3-3') all her utensils.' In this sentence, only the verb clearly indicates the gender of the goal since the ending of otāpacihcikana is ambiguous as to animate obviative or inanimate plural; cf. 2.02. However, even

this indication of gender is removed when the direction of action is reversed because of the partical 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 osita. ' "Yes," he was told (3' or 0p-3) by his (3) feet (syntactically 0p or 3')'.

All reference to speaker and addressee tends to be animate. 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. T87-1 kahkiyaw kīkway pikiskwātam (3-0). 'to everything he spoke (3-0).' Even the same narrator may use either gender in essentially the same context; contrast T131-4 wiya kahkiyaw kīkway ē-kī-wayēsihtahk (3-0) awa wīсахкēсāhk. 'For everything he used to trick by speech (3-0), this Wisahkecahk.' and T125-8, mīna kahkiyaw kīkway ē-kī-wayēsimāt (3-3'), ... 'and everything he used to trick by speech (3-3')'.

In most cases, however, one gender or the other is obviously more appropriate, and so we find corrections, e.g. T58-3 ē-ayitāpit, sākāstēnohk isi ēyāpic kā-wāpaht--- --- (3-0) kā-wāpamāt (3-3') kīkway; 'As he looked around, in the east in due course he saw --- (3-0), he saw (3-3') something.'. The opposite situation occurs in T103p11 ē-mēkwā-pimohtēt,, āsay mīna kā-wāpamāt (3-3') ōhi

(3'), kā-wāpahtahk (3-0) mīkiwāhpis (0). 'As he walked along, ..., again he saw (3-3') this one (3'), he saw (3-0) this wigwam (0).'

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: S8-40 kītahtawē tōhkāpīmakan (0) ōmah pīsisik mistikwānis (0). ēkwah kītahtawē kā-pīkiskwēt (3) om ōstikwān (3). 'Presently it opened (0) its eyes, that here head (0). Then presently it spoke (3), that head (3)'. However, even when speaking, the head may be inanimate, e.g. S9-4 ... wāpahtam (3-0) ōma pīsisik mistikwān ēh-pīkiskwēmakanīyik (0'), ... 'he saw (3-0) this mere head which spoke (0') ...'; S9-6 ostikwān (0) pikoh kā-pīkiskwēmakahk (0). 'It is a head (0) only which talks (0).'

When an otherwise inanimate noun becomes temporarily animate, this is indicated not only by the appropriate verb form but also by the modifiers which may accompany it, e.g. awa in S54-42 nama ciy awa (3) kitastotin ēwako, "nik-āyāwīk!" ēh-itēyimit (3-1) kitastotin? 'Perhaps this (3) headgear of yours is thinking (3-1) this of me, "Let him possess me (3-1)!".'

The gender transfer discussed above has a storable 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. 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. (It may be relevant that such discrepancies seem to be particularly frequent with noun stem showing class-cleavage, e.g. mistikw- animate 'tree', inanimate 'stick'. Note also the homonymy of 3' and 0p; cf. 2.02).
 Examples: S48-10 osām miywāsin (0) awa (3) mistik (0) ... 'indeed it is good (0), this (3) piece of wood (0)';
 T76p7 kā-pasastēhahk (3-0) mistikwa ōhi 'he whipped (3-0) these trees (3)';
 T87-6 ē-nitonikēt ōma (0) sihta (3) 'he groped (AI 3) for that (0) spruce (3)';

2.32. Gender classes. 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'.

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 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 poplar', mistik 'tree'.

Also animate are extensions of these, e.g. ayīsiyinihkān '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 (1962:28-36).

Some body-parts are animate: nisakitikom 'my braid', nitaskitān 'my calf of leg', nitihikos 'my kidney', nitihiy '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'), pitikomín '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'; asiníy 'rock stone' (cf. 2.323 below); kōna 'snow', maskwamiy 'ice'; sōniyāw 'gold'; etc.

Some articles of intimate 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 S8-8 mistikwah (3') ēh-

-pakamahwāyit (3'-3') wīwa (3'), ... 'when his wife (wīwa) struck (3'-3') the tree (mistikwah), ...'; S48-5 kitahtawē miskam (3-0) mistik (0), ... 'Presently he found (3-0) a stick (0), ...'; T102p4 ēkwa mistikwa, ..., kī-mihcēnwa, ... 'and pickets (0p), ..., they used to be many (0p), ...'. 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 1930:281. 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 (1-0) ōma (0) sōniyāw (0) 'I want this money'.

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 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. E.g. nēhiyawēwin 'Cree-ness, Cree speech' (cf. nēhiyawēw 'he talks Cree'); ācimōwin

'story' (cf. ācimōw 'he tells a story'); mākwēyimōwin 'scare' (cf. mākwēyimōw 'he feels pressed upon'); etc.

2.33. 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 in, say, Latin agricola 'farmer'. 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. The validity of Goddard's assertion (1967:fn.74) is therefore limited.

Hockett very aptly characterizes the imbalance of the gender categories by terming the animate gender "absorptive" (1966:62). 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" (1966:62). It is this argument which would seem to indicate that the animate gender is more general than the inanimate.

However, we also find the inanimate gender occurring in a context of neutralization. Transitive animate verbs in /am-aw/ (cf. 5.814) are derived from transitive inanimate stems but take a second goal of either gender, e.g. ātotama-wēw 'he tells of him or it for him'; cf. 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 (and on the basis of the data at hand), this is a context of neutralization showing the inanimate member 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 absent.

2.41. 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 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 (3-0) a stick (0)' and S48-13 ē-wāpahtahk onīmāskwākanah 'he looked (3-0) 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 simply to the historical development of Proto Algonquian *l and *h both of which correspond to Cree h (which 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 (morphophonemically /(w)ah/) for both numbers. (Note that in inanimate intransitive verbs the obviative is marked only by the suffix /eyi/; the -wa there is the plural morpheme.)

2.42. 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 application, e.g. T62pl ohtitaw ta-pāhpit ayīsiyiniw, . . . 'people will always laugh, . . . ' (literally: always he will laugh (3), man

(3)'); T72p22 ēkwa nanātohk ē-pīhtokwēt ōta ōma tipahas-kānihk ayīsiyiniw. 'Then all kinds of people, different nations entered this reserve.' (literally: 'then all kinds, he entered (3) here on this reserve, man (3)').

2.5. Direction

Apart from the indefinite actor forms, the independent and conjunct orders of the transitive animate verb fall into two symmetrical sets. The direct set consists of those forms whose action is from a non-third person on a third person, e.g. niwāpamāw 'I see him'; from a proximate or obviative third person on an obviative third person, e.g. wāpamēw 'he (3) sees him (3)'; or from a second person on a first person, e.g. kiwāpamin 'you see me'.

The inverse set is exactly the opposite. The action is from a third person on a non-third person, e.g. niwāpamik 'he sees me'; from an obviative third person on a proximate or obviative third person, e.g. wāpamik 'he (3) sees him (3)'; or from a first person on a second person, e.g. kiwāpamitin 'I see you'.

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

The direction of the action is indicated by theme signs (5.42).

2.51. Semantically, the dimension of direction seems to correspond very closely to the category of voice as found, for instance, in the Indoeuropean languages. Consider the sentences

- (1) niwāpamānānak atimwak. 'We saw the dogs.'
 (2) niwāpamikonānak atimwak. 'The dogs saw us.' or
 'We were seen by the dogs.'

From a Cree point of view, the glosses of (2) are absolutely equivalent. The direction of the action is indicated by the theme sign /ā/ in (1), and /ekw/ in (2).

Consider further some sentences involving only third person referents:

- (3) wāpamēw nāpēw atimwa. 'The man saw the dog.'
 (4) wāpamik nāpēw atimwa. 'The dog saw the man.' or
 'The man was seen by the dog.'

In both nāpēw 'the man' is in focus (i.e. proximate, by contrast with the obviative form atimwa) but in (3) he is the actor and in (4), the goal.

Finally consider a sentence (5) describing the same event as sentence (3); (of course, such a sentence would not occur without appropriate textual environment).

- (5) wāpamik nāpēwa atim. 'The man saw the dog.'
 The difference is not one of "acting" or "suffering" but of focus and the attending semantic-syntactic emphasis;

cf. also 2.512 below.

2.511. Analysis within a voice framework would find its strongest support in the extensive symmetry of the transitive animate paradigm and in the reversibility of "direction" in many individual forms. Some of its further ramifications are explored in 2.52; cf. also 5.664.

However, in keeping with the Bloomfieldian tradition and what seems to be the current practice of Algonquian linguistics we will continue to speak of "direct" and "inverse" forms, of "indefinite actor" forms, etc. The re-interpretation of these phenomena and of the entire verb system in terms of a voice category is held in abeyance until further syntactic, semantic, and derivational studies can be made.

Another reason, although admittedly a less momentous one, for adhering to the "direct-inverse" terminology is the remarkable confusion which has been surrounding the term "passive" in Algonquian linguistics; a historical survey is given in 2.53.

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.

Obviously the choice of terms is of relatively little importance and primarily a matter of convention; Bloomfield indicates as much when he says (1962:45): "We prefer

'actor' to the term 'subject', which might be misleading, ... In a form like kognēw 'he (proximate) fears him (obviative)' the actor corresponds to what in an Indo-European language would be the subject, but in a form like kognek 'he (the other, obviative) fears him (proximate)' it is rather the object which, being at the center of discourse, would correspond to the subject of an Indo-European verb."

Different sets of terms might become appropriate if direction were re-interpreted as voice. Consider the sentences (3) and (4), above. In the active sentence (3), "subject" and "actor" would be the same. In the passive sentence (4), however, nāpēw 'man' would remain the (grammatical) subject (i.e. there would be partial overlap of the subject-object dimension with that of obviation); semantically, on the other hand, atimwa 'dog' would remain the actor.

2.52. The analysis of the direct-inverse contrast as voice might lead to the interpretation of the indefinite actor forms as "middle" voice, i.e. a kind of passive with an unspecified actor.

Such an interpretation would fit the meaning not only of the indefinite actor forms of the transitive animate paradigm (5.84) but also of those of the animate intransitive and transitive inanimate paradigms (5.85); e.g. TA ē-wāpamikawiyān 'I am seen'; AI (T121-2) kīwāniwiw 'there was going home, one went home'; TI (T73p18) k-ētamihk

'thus one calls it, thus it is called'.

However, there is a morphological problem (for which a ready solution is not available): the indf-3 form of the transitive animate paradigm in the independent order shows the same morphological structure as the direct forms, especially the direction marker /ā/, e.g. wāpamāw 'he is seen'.

A further subtype, whether of the "middle" or of the "passive" proper would be found in the inanimate actor set of 5.83.

In a fuller treatment of the category of voice in Algonquian one would also have to consider the numerous derivational types which involve both "middle" and "passive" meanings; 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 1962:280-298. A few examples from Cree follow: kīsisōw 'he is cooked done', cf. kīsiswēw 'he cooks him done'; 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. It may be of interest to briefly review some of the uses to which the term "passive" has been put in the

description of Algonquian languages and in so doing also to sketch the history of the voice interpretation.

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" (1844:107); and (3) of some manifestations of the direct-inverse contrast.

In one context (1844:57) he uses "active-passive" as synonymous with "direct-inverse"; but elsewhere (1844:255) 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 (1844:219,220).

Lacombe (1874b) 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 "passif indefini". Lacombe does not seem to recognize the direction contrast among the you-and-me forms.

Hunter uses the terms "direct" and "inverse" (1875:16 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" (1911:846). Lacombe's "passif indefini" recurs as the "indefinite passive" (1911:847).

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" (1911:845).

For Algonquian in general, Michelson listed no fewer than five voices: active, middle, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal (1926:370). 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 (1962:141): "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.

For the "passive" and "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. "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.hnaw '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 acting person involved; the passive reflexives we.hcekasow and we.hcekatE.w mean 'he, it is named or called so' by people in general" (Bloomfield 1962:282).

Hockett's description of Potawatomi in the matter of direction explicitly (1948:141 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 1966:63,64), the term "passive" occurs only in

the context of derivation (1948:67). 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:vi). Hockett also gives much weight to the syntactic parallelism of the indefinite actor forms and the indefinite possessor form of nouns (1966:64; in Bloomfield 1962: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" (1946:145).

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 most 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 consonant or consonant cluster, 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 rough approximations only.)

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

Suffix position 1 is occupied by the possessive theme sign /em/~ \emptyset (3.21). (Note the homonymy of the /em/-alternant with the thematic obviative marker of verbs; cf. 5.41.)

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

In suffix position 3 there appear the personal suffixes of the possessive paradigm (3.22).

The suffix /epan/ 'former, absent' is tentatively assigned to suffix position 4; see 3.5.

In suffix position 5 there appear the third person markers 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).

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). Besides this narrowly possessive function, as in nitēm 'my horse' or nikāwi 'my mother', there are other, more attenuated meanings, as in ninēhiyawēwin 'my Cree-ness, my speaking Cree', or in otōcikaniwāw 'their doing'; (cf. the use of my in my going to New York tomorrow).

The possessive paradigm requires a special form of the noun stem, the possessive theme, which may be formed from any noun stem; see 3.21. Conversely, however, some noun stems are obligatorily inflected for possession; these are called dependent noun stems. Dependent nouns mostly include kin terms, and terms for body-parts and a few intimate possessions.

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 saw 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. 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 cannot yet be fully accounted for.

The zero alternant of the theme sign typically seems to occur with stems ending in n (but by no means there alone). 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'. The zero alternant is also common with dependent stems, e.g. nistēs 'my older sibling'; but contrast nisīm 'my younger sibling', nitōtēm 'my kinsman', etc.

The distribution of the alternant /em/ cannot even tentatively be indicated. 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 the alternants consider nitaskiy 'my country, from askiy, in contrast to nipimīm 'my lard', from pimiy.

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-äyīsiyiniwāwa 'their fellow-people' and T49-5 otayīsiyiniṃa 'his people'.

3.22. 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. mīcihciy 'a hand, someone's hand'; T34p7 mistikwāna kā-wāpahtaman ... 'heads I saw ...'.

The thematic suffix /eyi/ (cf. 5.43) immediately follows the possessed theme; it marks an obviative possessor, e.g. S36-41 ositiyiwah pikoh ōhi niskah ēkwah sīsipah, ēkonih piko iskotēhk astāw; 'only the feet of those geese and ducks, only those did he put into the embers;' (literally: 'their (3') feet (Op) only, (of) those geese (3') and ducks (3'), those (Op) only in the fire he put'); P98-34 ōhi nāpēwah kā-nipahāyit owīkimākaniyiwah itohtahēw 'He took to that place that man who had slain his wife.' (literally: 'that man (3') who had killed his (3') wife (3'), him (3') he (3) took there'; for a more detailed analysis see 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.)

The following example shows only the possessive
 paradigm.

The stem /-tēh-/ 'heart' is dependent, of inanimate
 gender.

| | | |
|------|--------------|------------------|
| 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' |
| 2l | /kitēhenaw-/ | 'our heart' |
| 2p | /kitēhewāw-/ | 'your heart' |
| 3p | /otēhewāw-/ | 'their heart' |

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.' (Note that 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 1962:3-20 and Rogers 1960:110.)

3.31. The 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 /sīsip-/ 'duck':

| | |
|----|-------------|
| 3 | /sīsip-a/ |
| 3p | /sīsip-a-k/ |
| 3' | /sīsip-a-h/ |

The inanimate third person markers are /wi~/i/ 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 morphophonemic 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 wati 'hole' or wāwi 'egg'. (wāwi shows that the retention of the final vowel is not restricted to monosyllabic stems with a short vowel.)

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. onāmāwa 'his mother', from nimāmā; mēriwa 'Mary' from mēriy; cīmiwa 'Jimmy' from cīmiy, etc.

3.32. The 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 nitāmak 'my horses', otēma 'his horse', etc. but otēmiyiwa 'his (3') horse'. Cf. 5.471 for the similar situation in the transitive animate 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 /éyiwa/: 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!'

The /w/ is ambiguous, or at least difficult to identify, in nouns ending in /Vw/. (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." (1962:242)).

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 nināpēm 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', kiwīcētīn 'I have you along', etc.; cf. Appendix A:4.2. The relevant morphophonemic statements are all

independently motivated and thus do not indicate a solution.

Since no clear criteria seem to be available, we regard the final /w/ of nouns ending in /Vw/ as part of the stem. But it should not be overlooked that this is an arbitrary decision taken for practical purposes only. A reasoned statement will have to be based on further synchronic as well as on diachronic 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.

Animate noun, dependent stem /-tēm-/ 'horse, dog':

| 3 | 3p | 3' | | |
|------------------|------------|------------------|----|----------------|
| <u>nitēm</u> | <u>-ak</u> | <u>-a</u> | 1 | my horse, etc. |
| <u>kitēm</u> | <u>-ak</u> | <u>-a</u> | 2 | your horse |
| --- | --- | <u>otēna</u> | 3 | his horse |
| --- | --- | <u>otēmiyiwa</u> | 3' | his (3') horse |
| <u>nitēminān</u> | <u>-ak</u> | <u>-a</u> | 1p | our horse |
| <u>kitēminaw</u> | <u>-ak</u> | <u>-a</u> | 2l | our horse |
| <u>kitēmiwāw</u> | <u>-ak</u> | <u>-a</u> | 2p | your horse |
| --- | --- | <u>otēmiwāwa</u> | 3p | their horse |

Inanimate noun, stem /maskisin-/ 'moccasin':

| | | |
|-----------------------|----|------------------|
| 0 | Op | |
| <u>nimaskisin</u> | -a | 1 my shoe, etc. |
| <u>kimaskisin</u> | -a | 2 your shoe |
| <u>omaskisin</u> | -a | 3 his shoe |
| <u>omaskisiniyiw</u> | -a | 3' his (3!) shoe |
| <u>nimaskisininān</u> | -a | 1p our shoe |
| <u>kimaskisininaw</u> | -a | 2l our shoe |
| <u>kimaskisiniwāw</u> | -a | 2p your shoe |
| <u>omaskisiniwāw</u> | -a | 3p their shoe |

3.5. The /epan/ Suffix

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

/epan/ precedes the number-obviation suffixes. While the present data do not indicate its position relative to the possessive suffixes, Lacombe (1874b:18) gives a paradigm where /epan/ precedes the possessive suffixes also.

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" (1948:8,73; 1958:238). (Delaware also has a "preterite noun paradigm" but with different suffixes; see Voegelin 1946:144.)

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

sākahikan- 'lake'

sākahikanihk 'at the lake'

pihkwi- '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. The distributive locative suffix /enāhk/ appears to be based on the simple suffix /ehk/. It 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'

kisē-manitōw- 'God'

kisē-manitōwināhk 'in God's
realm, in heaven'

sāsīw- 'Sarci Indian'

sāsīnāhk 'at Sarci Reserve'

kihci-mōhkomān- 'Big Knife,
American'

kihci-mōhkomānināhk 'in the
USA'

3.7. Vocative

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

3.71. 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 1874b: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 lose final consonants 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.

Loss of final syllable:

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| <u>nōhtāwi</u> y 'my father' | <u>nōhtā</u> |
| <u>nikāwi</u> y 'my mother' | <u>nēkā</u> |
| <u>nimosō</u> m 'my grandfather' | <u>nimosō</u> |
| <u>nōhkom</u> 'my grandmother' | <u>nōhkō</u> |
| <u>nitihkwatim</u> 'my cross-nephew, son-in-law' | <u>nitēhkwā</u> |
| <u>nitawēmā</u> w 'my cross-sibling' | <u>nitawēmā</u> |

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <u>nitānis</u> 'my daughter' | <u>nitān</u> |
| <u>niciwām</u> 'my male parallel cousin' | <u>niciwā</u> |
| <u>nikwēmēs</u> 'my namesake, friend' | <u>nikwēmē</u> |

Suffix -ē:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| <u>nimis</u> 'my elder sister' | <u>nimisē</u> |
| <u>nisikos</u> 'my father's sister, mother-in-law | <u>nisikosē</u> |
| <u>nisis</u> 'my mother's brother, father-in-law | <u>nisisē</u> |
| <u>nisīm</u> 'my younger brother' | <u>nisīmē</u> |
| <u>nistēs</u> 'my older brother' | <u>nistēsē</u> |
| <u>nicāhkos</u> 'my (f) sister-in-law' | <u>nicāhkosē</u> |

Loss of consonant and suffix -ē:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| <u>nikosis</u> 'my son' | <u>nikosē</u> |
| <u>nōsisim</u> 'my grandchild' | <u>nōsisē</u> |

Vocative identical to proximate singular:

| |
|--------------------------------------|
| <u>nipāpā</u> 'my father |
| <u>nimāmā</u> 'my mother' |
| <u>nīscās</u> 'my male cross-cousin' |
| <u>nitōtēm</u> 'my fellow tribesman' |

3.72. 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). They are, for the nonce, called quasi-nouns.

3.81. 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. 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. Bloomfield gives the above form only, speci-

fyng that it is used when addressed to one or several; our texts show this wide use (T72p30) as well as the more narrow use (T115p12), when only one person is addressed; this latter is then opposed to a plural form mācikōcicānitik.

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

3.83. 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 forms, e.g. niyā, niyāk 'ahead', awahē, awahēk 'take care!', etc.

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. Furthermore, most of the pronominal stems not only select inflectional paradigms but are also subject to a host of derivative and compounding processes.

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).

ēyako '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 | <u>-a</u> |
| 3p | <u>-ki</u> |
| 3' | <u>-hi</u> |
| 0 | <u>-ma</u> |
| 0p | <u>-hi</u> |

4.11. The demonstrative pronouns awa 'this', ana 'that', and naha 'that yonder' inflect exactly alike.

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.

| | | | |
|----|------------|--------------|-------------|
| 3 | <u>awa</u> | <u>ana</u> | <u>naha</u> |
| 3p | <u>ōki</u> | <u>aniki</u> | <u>nēki</u> |
| 3' | <u>ōhi</u> | <u>anihi</u> | <u>nēhi</u> |
| 0 | <u>ōma</u> | <u>anima</u> | <u>nēma</u> |
| 0p | <u>ōhi</u> | <u>anihi</u> | <u>nēhi</u> |

4.11. 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 the 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 'these lovers of hers'. T33-4 māmākwaht ōma! 'chew this!'; T73p17 kakēskimāw anima 'he was told (indf-3) that'; T131-4 kiwāpanāw 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-ētweēt. '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.'

4.12. awīna 'who' has only animate forms:

| | |
|----|----------------|
| 3 | <u>awīna</u> |
| 3p | <u>awīniki</u> |
| 3' | <u>awīnihi</u> |

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?'

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-nakatih. '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 mikiwāhpis. 'That wigwam (0) was gone!'; T125-8 ... ē-nanātawāpit, awīnipan kīkway, awīnipan ōma mikiwāhpis. '... when he looked around, nothing, that wigwam (0) was gone!'

4.13. The delimiting interrogative tān- 'which, which ever, no matter which' is here given mainly after the lexical sources; textual examples are rare.

| | |
|----|---------------------|
| 3 | <u>tāni</u> |
| 3p | <u>tāniki</u> |
| 3' | <u>tānihi</u> |
| 0 | <u>tāni, tānima</u> |
| 0p | <u>tānihi</u> |

In spite of the paucity of textual data, we may perhaps infer from the numerous particles based on the root tān- that tāni functions primarily as a conjunction.

This is borne out by 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') ...'.

(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 presumable developed from the pronoun), and this may well be the reason for the spreading of tāni.)

4.2. Pronominal Paradigm II

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

| | |
|----|---------------|
| 3 | <u>-ā</u> |
| 3p | <u>-ēhkāk</u> |
| 3' | <u>-ēhā</u> |
| 0 | <u>-ē</u> |
| 0p | <u>-ēhā</u> |

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

4.21. 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)?'; S89-26 ēwakwā. 'There he goes!' T18p11, tāniwē omaskipayiwiniyiw? '...., where was his (3') limping (0)?'; T35p1 tānōwēhā kotaka kitatāwēwina? 'Where are your other groceries (purchases, 0p)?'

tāniwā 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 | <u>tāniwā</u> |
| 3p | <u>tāniwēhkāk</u> |
| 3' | <u>tāniwēhā</u> |
| 0 | <u>tāniwē</u> |
| 0p | <u>tāniwēhā</u> |

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. The meaning of ōyā is described by Bloomfield as 'that no longer here' or 'that recently present but now out of sight' (1933:259). Textual examples are rare; P296-10 "ēhēy," itwēw nōtokēsiw, "wīsahkēcāhk ēs ōyāh!"

' "Oho", cried that woman, "so that person was Wisahkecahk!".'

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.

| | |
|----|----------------|
| 3 | <u>ōyā</u> |
| 3p | <u>ōyēhkāk</u> |
| 3' | <u>ōyēhā</u> |
| 0 | <u>ōyē</u> |
| 0p | <u>ōyēhā</u> |

4.3. Pronouns with Noun Endings

Several pronouns select the number-obviation paradigm of nouns which is here given morphophonemically; 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. They

differ primarily in their syntactic and semantic function (but also in their inflectional paradigms since the indefinite pronoun shows no 3 form).

Their phonological differentiation seems to rest in the stress patterns of the inanimate singular forms. The bisyllabic alternant of the interrogative is stressed on the first syllable, kīkway; the indefinite pronoun is stressed on the final syllable, kīkway; (there may well be further differences which have gone unnoticed). No distinctions have been observed among the trisyllabic forms of either pronoun.

4.31. kīkway 'what sort; what':

| | |
|----|--------------------------------|
| 3 | <u>kīkwaya</u> |
| 3p | <u>kīkwayak</u> |
| 3' | <u>kīkwaya</u> |
| 0 | <u>kīkway</u> , <u>kīkwayi</u> |
| 0p | <u>kīkwaya</u> |

(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).

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 kēhcinahōw kīkwaya. 'But since he looked at him (3-3') plainly (without telescope) he was not sure (3) what he (3') was.'

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, a thing, an entity':

| | |
|----|--------------------------------|
| 3 | --- |
| 3p | <u>kīkwayak</u> |
| 3' | <u>kīkwaya</u> |
| 0 | <u>kīkway</u> , <u>kīkwayi</u> |
| 0p | <u>kīkwaya</u> |

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, 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 enters 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-wayēsismiskik 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 (21-0) 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 (1-0) is ...; nothing else.'; T105p12 ē-kī-wayēsismiskik

nanatohk kīkwayak 'all sorts of things (3p) are tricking you (3p-2)'; T131-4 wiya kahkiyaw kīkway ē-kī-wayēsihtahk ... 'For he used to trick (3-0) 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 matohkahp 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 1934:284). 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; (any historical inferences would have to be based on a complete search of all textual occurrences):
 S22-9 nama kēkwayah ōh otōspwākana ... 'Gone (3') was his pipe (3') ...'.

4.33. kotak 'another, a second one':

| | |
|----|----------------|
| 3 | <u>kotak</u> |
| 3p | <u>kotakak</u> |
| 3' | <u>kotaka</u> |
| 0 | <u>kotak</u> |
| 0p | <u>kotaka</u> |

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

4.34. aya 'someone':

| | |
|----|-------------|
| 3 | <u>aya</u> |
| 3p | <u>ayak</u> |
| 3' | <u>aya</u> |
| 0 | <u>ayi</u> |
| 0p | <u>aya</u> |

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'. 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 'along-side', 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
pēyakhahpicikēw-ayak 'carts pulled by one horse'; cf.
pēyakhahpicikēw '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 nōtokwēsivak '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. 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' form (1962:4-15) 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 | <u>ēwako</u> |
| 3p | <u>ēwakonik</u> |
| 3' | <u>ēwakoni</u> |
| 0 | <u>ēwako</u> |
| 0p | <u>ēwakoni</u> |
| 0' | <u>ēwakoyiw</u> |

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

| | |
|----|---------------|
| 3 | <u>awiyak</u> |
| 3p | <u>awiyak</u> |
| 3' | <u>awiya</u> |

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 wīṣahkēcāhk. '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. 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, *nīlawā 'I' and *nīlawenān 'we (excl.)', suggest that the current system has undergone a good deal of leveling.)

4.52. The full paradigms 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 (1844:60) for an eastern dialect.)

| | | |
|----|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 | <u>nīya</u> | <u>nīsta</u> |
| 2 | <u>kīya</u> | <u>kīsta</u> |
| 3 | <u>wīya</u> | <u>wīsta</u> |
| 1p | <u>nīyanān</u> | <u>nīstanān</u> |
| 21 | <u>kīyānaw</u> | <u>kīstanaw</u> |
| 2p | <u>kīyawāw</u> | <u>kīstawāw</u> |
| 3p | <u>wīyawāw</u> | <u>wīstawāw</u> |

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 osihtāw '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. Among transitive animate (TA) verbs, there is a distinction between a "two-place" and a "three-place" type. (For the terms, cf. Lyons 1968:350.) 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 and which is not morphologically expressed, e.g. miyēw 'he gives it or him to him'; kimotamawōw 'he steals it or him from him'; this has traditionally been called the "double goal" type (cf. 6.644).

5.12. 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" (1946:95,112) for this type.) Although, as a group, verbs in stem final -htā- are most characteristic of this type, 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 wīsaḥkēcāḥk. ... '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. 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.

A transitive inanimate paradigm with a morphologically expressed goal is amply attested in other Algonquian languages, along with others which, like Cree, do not express the goal morphologically. Ojibwa even 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 verbs which "refer to no identifiable object, but have a merely formal goal" (Bloomfield 1946:95, 1962:46), 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; (no informant is available at this writing). Bloomfield also referred to such verbs as "pseudo-intransitive" (1958:34) and Goddard (1967:67) 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 (II) verbs are always intransitive.

5.2. Paradigm Tables

The basic paradigms which are analyzed in the following sections are given in full. Where a paradigmatic position

is empty, two interpretations are always possible: (1) that the form actually does not occur, i.e. that certain dimensions of the paradigm are merged; (2) that the form has not been recorded by accident. It is believed that for the kind of Plains Cree under consideration, the first alternative may be chosen.

The tables are based on two kinds of material: (1) forms attested in my own or in Bloomfield's texts, and (2) forms on which the following sources agree: Lacombe, Hunter, Lessard, and Edwards. Forms of the second kind are given in parentheses. Allowing for dialect divergences, the James Bay forms of Ellis 1962 usually correspond closely. However, because of the highly discrepant nature of most of the dialect data (mainly from missionary sources), no attempt is made to fully incorporate them.

The tables do not include the personal prefixes which are fully accounted for in section 2.11.

The paradigms are given in phonemic representation. Hyphens are omitted.

Addenda

The pages which follow (110' - 112") were added after the dissertation had been accepted; they are intended to clarify (and partially replace) the tables which appear on pages 111 and 112.

Those forms of the TA independent and conjunct order which involve third person participants (pages 111 and 112) are displayed in sets of two tables each.

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

Table B 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.

For a more detailed discussion of this differentiation see 5.61 - 5.63.

TA Independent IndicativeTable A: ReferenceDirect

| | -3 | -3p | -3' | -3'' |
|-------|------|--------|---------|----------|
| indf- | āw | āwak | imāwa | |
| 1- | āw | āwak | imāwa | |
| 2- | āw | āwak | imāwa | |
| 1p- | ānān | ānānak | imānāna | |
| 21- | ānaw | ānawak | imānawa | |
| 2p- | āwāw | āwāwak | imāwāwa | |
| 3- | | | ēw | (imēw) |
| 3p- | | | ēwak | (imēwak) |
| 3'- | | | | ēyiwa |

Inverse

| | 3- | 3p- | 3'- | 3''- |
|------|--------|----------|-----------|---------|
| -1 | ik | ikwak | (ikoyiwa) | |
| -2 | ik | ikwak | (ikoyiwa) | |
| -1p | ikonān | ikonānak | ikonāna | |
| -21 | ikonaw | ikonawak | ikonawa | |
| -2p | ikowāw | ikowāwak | ikowāwa | |
| -3 | | | ik | |
| -3p | | | ikwak | |
| -3'- | | | | ikoyiwa |

TA Independent IndicativeTable B: Meaning and Morphemes PresentDirect

| | -3 | -3p | -3' |
|-------|------|--------|----------------|
| indf- | āw | āwak | imāwa |
| 1- | āw | āwak | imāwa |
| 2- | āw | āwak | imāwa |
| 1p- | ānān | ānānak | imānāna |
| 21- | ānaw | ānawak | imānawa |
| 2p | āwāw | āwāwak | imāwāwa |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 3- | ēw | | ēw, (imēw) |
| 3p- | ēwak | | ēwak, (imēwak) |
| 3'- | | ēyiwa | |

Inverse

| | 3- | 3p- | 3'- |
|-------|--------|----------|-----------|
| -1 | ik | ikwak | (ikoyiwa) |
| -2 | ik | ikwak | (ikoyiwa) |
| -1p | ikonān | ikonānak | ikonāna |
| -21 | ikonaw | ikonawak | ikonawa |
| -2p | ikowāw | ikowāwak | ikowāwa |
| <hr/> | | | |
| -3 | | ik | |
| -3p | | ikwak | |
| -3' | | ikoyiwa | |

TA Conjunct IndicativeTable A: ReferenceDirect

| | -3 | -3p | -3' | -3'' |
|-------|-------|---------|-----------|----------|
| indf- | iht | ihcik | imiht | |
| 1- | ak | akik | imak | |
| 2- | at | acik | (imat) | |
| 1p- | āyāhk | āyāhkik | (imāyāhk) | |
| 21- | āyahk | āyahkik | (imāyahk) | |
| 2p- | āyēk | āyēkok | (imāyēk) | |
| 3- | | | āt | (imāt) |
| 3p- | | | ācik | (imācik) |
| 3'- | | | | āyit |

Inverse

| | 3- | 3p- | 3'- | 3''- |
|-----|---------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| -1 | it | icik | (iyit) | |
| -2 | isk | iskik | (iyisk) | |
| -1p | ikoyāhk | ikoyāhkik | (ikowāyāhk) | |
| -21 | ikoyahk | ikoyahkik | (ikowāyahk) | |
| -2p | ikoyēk | ikoyēkok | (ikowāyēk) | |
| -3 | | | ikot | |
| -3p | | | ikocik | |
| -3' | | | | ikoyit |

TA Conjunct IndicativeTable B: Meaning and Morphemes PresentDirect

| | -3 | -3p | -3' |
|-------|-------|---------|----------------|
| indf- | iht | ihcik | imiht |
| 1- | ak | akik | imak |
| 2- | at | acik | (imat) |
| 1p- | āyāhk | āyāhkik | (imāyāhk) |
| 21- | āyahk | āyahkik | (imāyahk) |
| 2p- | āyēk | āyēkok | (imāyēk) |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 3- | āt | | āt, (imāt) |
| 3p- | ācik | | ācik, (imācik) |
| 3'- | | āyit | |

Inverse

| | 3- | 3p- | 3'- |
|-------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| -1 | it | icik | (iyit) |
| -2 | isk | iskik | (iyisk) |
| -1p | ikoyāhk | ikoyāhkik | (ikowāyāhk) |
| -21 | ikoyahk | ikoyahkik | (ikowāyahk) |
| -2p | ikoyēk | ikoyēkok | (ikowāyēk) |
| <hr/> | | | |
| -3 | | ikot | |
| -3p | | ikocik | |
| -3' | | ikoyit | |

TA Independent IndicativeDirect

| | -3 | -3p | -3' |
|-------|------|--------|----------------|
| indf- | āw | āwak | imāwa |
| 1- | āw | āwak | imāwa |
| 2- | āw | āwak | imāwa |
| 1p- | ānān | ānānak | imānāna |
| 21- | ānaw | ānawak | imānawa |
| 2p | āwāw | āwāwak | imāwāwa |
| 3- | | ēw | ēw, (imēw) |
| 3p- | | ēwak | ēwak, (imēwak) |
| 3'- | | ēyiwa | |

Inverse

| | 3- | 3p- | 3'- |
|-----|--------|----------|-----------|
| -1 | ik | ikwak | (ikoyiwa) |
| -2 | ik | ikwak | (ikoyiwa) |
| -1p | ikonān | ikonānak | ikonāna |
| -21 | ikonaw | ikonawak | ikonawa |
| -2p | ikowāw | ikowāwak | ikowāwa |
| -3 | | ik | |
| -3p | | ikwak | |
| -3' | | ikoyiwa | |

TA Conjunct IndicativeDirect

| | -3 | -3p | -3' |
|-------|-------|---------|----------------|
| indf- | iht | ihcik | imiht |
| 1- | ak | akik | imak |
| 2- | at | acik | (imat) |
| 1p- | āyāhk | āyāhkik | (imāyāhk) |
| 21- | āyahk | āyahkik | (imāyahk) |
| 2p- | āyēk | āyēkok | (imāyēk) |
| 3- | āt | | āt, (imāt) |
| 3p- | ācik | | ācik, (imācik) |
| 3'- | | āyit | |

Inverse

| | 3- | 3p- | 3'- |
|-----|---------|-----------|-------------|
| -1 | it | icik | (iyit) |
| -2 | isk | iskik | (iyisk) |
| -1p | ikoyāhk | ikoyāhkik | (ikowāyāhk) |
| -21 | ikoyahk | ikoyahkik | (ikowāyahk) |
| -2p | ikoyēk | ikoyēkok | (ikowāyēk) |
| -3 | | ikot | |
| -3p | | ikocik | |
| -3' | | ikoyit | |

TA Independent IndicativeYou-and-me

| (Direct) | | (Inverse) | |
|----------|--------|-----------|----------|
| 2-1 | in | 1-2 | itin |
| 2(p)-1p | inān | 1p-2(p) | itinān |
| 2p-1 | ināwāw | 1-2p | itināwāw |

TA Conjunct IndicativeYou-and-me

| (Direct) | | (Inverse) | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 2-1 | iyan | 1-2 | itān |
| 2(p)-1p | iyāhk | 1p-2(p) | itāhk |
| 2p-1 | iyēk | 1-2p | itākok |

TA ImperativeImmediate

| <u>You-and-me</u> | | | <u>Direct</u> | | |
|-------------------|----|------|---------------|--------|----------|
| | -1 | -1p | -3 | -3p | -3' |
| 2- | in | inān | i, ø | ik, ø | (im) |
| 21- | -- | -- | ātān | ātānik | (imātān) |
| 2p- | ik | inān | ihk | ihkok | (imihk) |

Delayed

| <u>You-and-me</u> | | | <u>Direct</u> | | |
|-------------------|-------|--------|---------------|----------|------------|
| | -1 | -1p | -3 | -3p | -3' |
| 2- | Ihkan | Ihkāhk | āhkan | āhkanik | (imāhkan) |
| 21- | -- | -- | āhkahk | āhkahkik | (imāhkahk) |
| 2p- | Ihkēk | Ihkāhk | āhkēk | āhkēkok | (imāhkēk) |

Animate Intransitive (AI)

| <u>Independent</u> | <u>Indicative</u> | <u>Conjunct</u> | <u>Indicative</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| indf | --- | | hk |
| 1 | n | | yān |
| 2 | n | | yān |
| 1p | nān | | yāhk |
| 21 | (nā)naw | | yāhk |
| 2p | nāwāw | | yēk |
| 3 | w, ∅ | | t, k |
| 3p | wak | | cik, kik |
| 3' | yiwa | | yit |

Transitive Inanimate (TI)

| <u>Independent</u> | <u>Indicative</u> | <u>Conjunct</u> | <u>Indicative</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| indf | --- | | amihk |
| 1 | ēn | | amān |
| 2 | ēn | | aman |
| 1p | ēnān | | amāhk |
| 21 | ē(nā)naw | | amahk |
| 2p | ēnāwāw | | amēk |
| 3 | am | | ahk |
| 3p | amwak | | ahkik |
| 3' | amiyiwa | | amiyit |

AI ImperativeImmediate

| | |
|----|-----|
| 2 | ∅ |
| 21 | tān |
| 2p | k |

Delayed

| |
|-------|
| hkan |
| hkahk |
| hkēk |

TI ImperativeImmediate

| | |
|----|------|
| 2 | a |
| 21 | ētān |
| 2p | amok |

Delayed

| |
|----------|
| amōhkan |
| amōhkahk |
| amōhkēk |

Inanimate Intransitive (II)Independent Indicative

| | |
|-----|------|
| 0 | w, ∅ |
| 0p | wa |
| 0' | yiw |
| 0'p | yiwa |

Conjunct Indicative

| |
|------|
| k |
| ki |
| yik |
| yiki |

Preterit Endings (Independent)TA h-preterit

| | | |
|-------------|------|------|
| Direct: | 2-3 | āh |
| | 3-3' | āh |
| Inverse: | 3-1 | ikoh |
| | 3-2 | ikoh |
| | 3'-3 | ikoh |
| You-and-me: | 2-1 | ih |
| | 1-2 | itih |

TA ht-preterit

| | | |
|----------|-------|----------------------|
| Direct: | 1-3 | āhtay |
| | 1-3p | āhtayak |
| | 3p-3' | āhtāwāw |
| Inverse: | 3p-1 | ikohtayak, ikohtayik |

AI h-preterit:

| | |
|---------|-----|
| 1, 2, 3 | h |
| 3' | yih |

AI ht-preterit:

| | |
|----|--------|
| 21 | htānaw |
| 3 | htay |
| 3p | htāwāw |

TI h-preterit:

| | |
|---|----|
| 1 | ēh |
|---|----|

II h-preterit:

| | |
|---|---|
| 0 | h |
|---|---|

II p-preterit:

| | |
|---|-----|
| 0 | pan |
|---|-----|

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 ākā 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 posits three dimensions of contrast below the order level. Ellis' scheme is given in full to serve as a point of reference and of contrast.

| 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 | | |

Subcategories of the verb, after Ellis 1961.

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 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 wiyāpamācīk '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 1961:122) kē-wāpamāwakwē '(I wonder if) 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. 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 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.

5.32. 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 (ms)). 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 /epan/, occupies a different suffix position (6, 7? cf. 5.46) from the h- and ht-preterits (4); finally, its meaning seems to affect the meaning of the stem, much as derivational suffix would, rather than that of the construction as a whole. In Bloomfield's words (1928:429), 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: S13-7 misiwē ēsah kiy-iskipēpan. 'The flood had covered all.'; T520p23 aspin nīmihitonāniwīpan. 'There had been dancing there.'

The same suffix also occurs 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 ō- 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. With the ht-preterit especially (but not exclusively) there may be a tinge of irreality, e.g. S74-14 haw, kimētawāhtānaw! 'Oho, we were to have a contest!'; cf. also S42-17. Furthermore, the ht-preterit seems to be used mostly of events which are completed, e.g. T122p4 niwanihāhtayak 'I lost them'; S9-46 ēwakw āwa otawāsisiwihitay wīsakēcāhk. 'That boy was Wisahkecahk in his childhood.'; cf. also S12-41, S245-41. It is used in punctual meaning in T111p3 nika-papā-
-papakwacihikohtayak 'they're going to cause excitement for me all over the place'.

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 kaskihtāw 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.'

5.33. Conjunct order. The four modes under investigation 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' submode dimension.

The other criterion is the presence or absence of the morpheme /ih/ which is not followed by any other suffix. (In a synchronic study of Cree it is not possible to further segment this sequence, for instance into an actual subjunctive and iterative morpheme/h/ preceded by an empty morph, namely connective /i/.) In the environment of /ih/, the plural marker /wāw/ is selected instead of /k/. (In the dialects of northern Alberta, /wāw/ is used instead of /k/ throughout the conjunct order, not only in the subjunctive and iterative modes; cf. 5.48.)

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

| | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | | <u>initial change</u> | |
| | | + | - |
| /ih/ | + | <u>iterative</u> | <u>subjunctive</u> |
| | - | <u>changed</u> | <u>simple</u> |

The terms which appear in the diagram are those of Bloomfield 1928; they correspond to Ellis' 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-pihtokēt, 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-āyitawihkwākanēt 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 dreant (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-pakocēnināwāw. '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 nawaci; 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 (1946:100) 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.

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 rough approximations only.)

- 1 thematic obviative suffix /em/
- 2 theme signs
- 3 thematic obviative suffix /eyi/
- 4 mode suffixes
- 5 non-third person suffixes
- 6 } mode suffixes
- 7 }
- 8 third person suffixes
- 9 third person plural and obviative suffixes
- 10 mode suffixes

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). The positions 1 to 3 are conveniently

termed "thematic".

5.41. Suffix position 1 is occupied by the thematic obviative suffix /em/ which 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. The suffixes of position 2 are theme signs. (For the terms "mixed", "third person set", and "you-and-me forms" see 5.61.) Only the theme signs of the transitive animate (TA) paradigm are listed here; those of the transitive inanimate paradigm are described in 5.71.

5.421. /ā/~ /ē/~∅ 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/~∅ 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" 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 (2.5) 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 is occupied by the thematic obviative sign /eyi/. /eyi/ occurs in obviative forms which do not also involve a non-third person. (An exception to this statement is the TA 3'-1,2 form -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 contains the mode markers of the delayed imperative, /Lhk/ (5.672); the h-preterit, /h/ (5.651); and the ht-preterit, /htay/ (5.652).

5.45. Most of the suffixes of position 5 are non-third person markers.

5.451. The suffixes /enān/, /enaw/, and /ewāw/, however, may also be viewed in another way. 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 markers of the independent order (5.65).

∅ 'indf'.

/en/~∅ '1, 2'. The zero alternant occurs in the direct and inverse sets of the transitive animate inde-

pendent, /en/ elsewhere. /en/ also occurs in the 2-1 form of the immediate imperative of the transitive animate paradigm (5.643).

/enān/ '1p'. /enān/ occurs also in the immediate imperative of the transitive animate paradigm (5.642).

/enaw/~enānaw/ '21'. /enānaw/ occurs besides /enaw/ in the animate intransitive and transitive inanimate paradigms (5.72), /enaw/ occurs elsewhere.

/ewāw/~enāwāw/ '2p'. /enāwāw/ occurs in the animate intransitive and transitive inanimate paradigms (5.72) and in the you-and-me set of the transitive animate 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 markers 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 1946:101, 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 sources show some variety. Edwards consistently gives /āhk/; on the other hand, while she reports only /ahkw/ for the conjunct indicative (1954: 41-3), she gives /ahk/ besides the more "general" /ahkw/ for the conjunct subjunctive (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 markers of the imperative order. In the you-and-me set of the TA immediate imperative 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/ ~ ∅ '2'. /i/ occurs in the mixed set of the TA paradigm, zero elsewhere.

/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 contain the markers of the p-preterit, /epan/, and of the dubitative. Although the present data do not support a more detailed statement (cf. 5.31), there is some evidence in Ellis' paradigms (ms) that the dubitative marker precedes or indeed surrounds (discontinuous morpheme) the preterit marker.

5.47. In suffix position 8 there appear the markers of the third person.

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~/ \emptyset .

/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. In position 9 there appear the plural and obviation markers of the third person.

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 1946:96) whereas /wāw/ seems to correspond to Proto Algonquian *-wā- (Bloomfield 1946:101).

/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/ in some modes of the conjunct order; for details see below.

5.481. The plural marker of animate third persons is /k/~wāw/; note that in non-independent forms /k/ is usually preceded by connective /i/. /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 is occupied by the subjunctive and iterative marker of the conjunct order, /ih/; cf. 5.33.

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.

5.51. Transitive animate (TA) and transitive inanimate stems end in a consonant, 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.

5.52. Animate intransitive (AI) stems end in n or in one of the vowels i, o, ī, ē, ā, ō, e.g.

pimisin- 'lie'
api- 'sit'
wāpamiso- 'see oneself'
tapasī- 'flee'
pimohtē- 'walk along'
nipā- 'sleep'
pasikō- 'get up'.

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 with final 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 acoskāsiw.)

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 (unattested) 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) Both Lacombe and Ellis cite parallel sets of forms with n and ni (pimisinān, pimisiniyān 'that I fall') and Ellis (ms) actually states the n-form to be more common in James Bay Cree. Thus, the historical development seems clear: the basic stem ended in n. But with i (representing suffix-initial /e/) occurring in most of the forms, and with all other animate intransitive 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 (II) stems end in n or in one of the vowels i, ē, ā, ō, e.g.

yōtin- 'wind'

pōnipayi- 'stop running'

pikihtā- 'smoke'

misā- 'be big'

nā-nīsō- 'be two each'.

5.6. The Transitive Animate Paradigm

In considering the scope of our analysis, we emphatically disagree with Gleason's remark (1961:117,119) 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. (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.) 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" or "1-21" etc. are ungrammatical. Reflexivity and reciprocity are expressed derivationally by certain animate intransitive 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 significantly 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 a perfectly regular form 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 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 | <u>-(im)ēw</u> | <u>-(im)āt</u> |
| | <u>-(im)ēwak</u> | <u>-(im)ācik</u> |
| | <u>-ēyiwa</u> | <u>-āyit</u> |
| inverse | <u>-ik</u> | <u>-ikot</u> |
| | <u>-ikwak</u> | <u>-ikocik</u> |
| | <u>-ikoyiwa</u> | <u>-ikoyit</u> |

Inspection alone will suggest the primary analysis into theme signs (cf. 5.42 and 5.62) and into person-number-obviation markers. 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, e.g. tēpwēttam 'he believes', only specifies the actor, viz. .../wa/. An objective form, on the other hand, specifies both actor and goal, e.g. otēpwēttān 'he believes it' where the actor is expressed by /o/... (and perhaps also /n/) 'he' and the goal by .../i/ 'it'. (Bloomfield's examples for this contrast are (1958:34) nent-ināpentam 'I have such a vision' and nent-ināpentān 'I see it thus'.)

A "living opposition" (Goddard 1967:71) 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.

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 (1961:116-122). 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 25 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.)

The order of the various sets of affixes which manifest the person categories in verbal inflection is fixed relative to one another. The non-third persons are represented by markers in two positions, namely the prefix position and suffix position 5. (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.)

With this one exception, the third person is represented by suffixes of position 8 (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 2l) 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 significantly 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 unspecified: -ik, -ikwak, -koyiwa, etc. The direction marker for both independent and conjunct is /ēkw/. See also 5.613.

5.623. The intrinsic ordering of the person categories and the same distinction of direct and inverse is also found among non-third person forms (the you-and-me set); cf. also Geary 1943. Action by a person which includes the addressee is direct, action on 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 premisses 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) obviative. Apart from comparative considerations, this distinction seems to have been predicated, above all, on the assumption that each TA verb form 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 premisses 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.

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 important, 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. T46p2 ... mānokwēwak, owīkimākana ē-wīcihikot. 'they (3p) set up camp, his wife (3') helping him (3)'; T7p4 ēkosi tāpwē ē-kī-isīhcikēcik ōhi ōkimāwa, ēkwa sipwēhtēw. 'So they (3p) had really made a deal, he (3) and that king (3'), and then he (3) 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 unexpressed referent (the goal) is sometimes provided by the morpheme /em/ which specifically marks it as obviative.

(This also seems to be Bloomfield's view of the function

of /em/ although it is neither made fully explicit nor well exemplified (1946:98,102). 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 1948:142 for independent order direct set only); Northern Ojibwa (Rogers 1963:123); and Kickapoo (Voorhis 1967:99,108,114,125).)

The function of /em/ is most clearly seen in the mixed set where it occurs in all forms involving an obviative goal, and in no others. 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; (but see 5.663 for the developments in James Bay Cree).

In the absence of textual examples we tentatively rely on the morphological pattern of the direct subparadigm as evidence for the hypothesis that /em/ has the same function in third person forms. This hypothesis finds support in the analysis of the obviative and proximate-third person categories as marked and unmarked members of an opposition (5.632). Indeed, while each piece of evidence may be short of convincing when considered by itself, their conjunction seems to make possible a consistent account of the entire problem.

Thus, the third person forms without /em/, namely -ēw, -ēwak, -ēyiwa and -āt, -ācīk, -āyit, each have two meanings. The wide meaning covers the entire range of third person goals, both proximate and obviative. The narrow meaning would only cover those goals which are not specifically marked obviative.

(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.)

While no textual examples of /em/-forms are available, the wide meaning of the /em/-less forms can be exemplified. Thus, one might expect an /em/-form in the following sentence where the goal, onāpēmīyiwa 'her (3') lovers (3')', is inflected for an obviative possessor and thus very markedly obviative. In fact, however, an /em/-less form occurs, namely ...-mēscihāt 'he (3) annihilates them (3)'. T104p8 ēkwa ētokwē, asawāpiw ēkwa awa nāpēw ē-kī-nitawī-
-mēscihāt nēhi onāpēmīyiwa, ōhi wīwa, ... 'Then, it seems, this man (3) looked around and then went to annihilate (3-) those lovers (3') of her (3'), this wife's (3') of his (3), ...'.

(Hunter, Lessard, and Edwards give the full set of three /em/-forms per order. Lacombe and Ellis, on the other hand, do not list the form whose expressed referent is 3'. Ellis' dialect is the only one to show the range

of /em/ further expanded: it has inverse forms with /em/ in the mixed set.)

Without further informant work it is not possible to state the factors which determine the selection of the wider or narrower form. It is striking, however, that in the mixed set the specifically marked forms are used almost exclusively (counterexample: P4-40) whereas in the third person set they seem to have given way to the wider forms almost entirely.

(The obviation inflection of inanimate nouns in the Mistassini dialect of Montagnais-Naskapi (Rogers 1960:110) provides an interesting parallel. The proximate form may be used for both proximate and obviative; in the obviative, it is in free variation with the obviative form. Thus, nicīwāpahtēn ōt 'I saw the canoe'; cīwāpahtam ōt or ōtiyiw 'he (3) saw the canoe'. But when it occurs in collocation with an obviative, e.g. as the goal of a verb with obviative actor, then it shows the obviative ending only; e.g. okosisa cīwāpahtam ōtiyiw 'his (3) son (3') saw the canoe'.)

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 plural 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.

| | | |
|----|---|----|
| | 1 | 1p |
| 2 | | |
| 2p | | |

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:

| | 1 | 1p |
|----|------|------|
| 2 | | |
| 2p | "2p" | "1p" |

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 (5.481). The meaning of /akw/ has not been ascertained; without further evidence it cannot be grouped with the 1-3 conjunct morpheme /ak/. Edwards (1954:43-2) implicitly identifies this

/ak/ 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 1946:100) 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 /en/ 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 /en/ in the you-and-me set. (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-.) On the basis of the argument of the preceding paragraph, /en/ 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 marker has two alternants, /ē/ and /ā/. Their distribution coincides with the distinction of the third person and mixed sets; historically, it seems to further correlate with the absolute-objective dichotomy (5.614). The inverse marker is /ekw/ throughout.

The direction marker is followed by the markers 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-∅-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). (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.)

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 markers /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. (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.)

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 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), e.g. -ikon /ekw-en/ and -ikot /ekw-(i)-t/. 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).

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 (1874b: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 "perspicuous" 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 ms:3.21, 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 expression 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 possible re-interpretation of the direction contrast as voice (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 in 5.662; see also below.

For 2-3, the suffix is /i/. 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: S246-22 ntaw-asamik ōki āpakosīsi-nōtokēwak. 'Go feed these Old Mouse Women.' and 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 which is realized as zero and 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.)

(Note that the missionary sources show a variety of endings for 2p-3p and especially 21-3p:

| | 21-3p | 2p-3p |
|---------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Hunter | <u>-āhkahkwāwik</u> | <u>-īhkēkok</u> |
| | <u>-āhkahkwānik</u> | |
| Lacombe | <u>-āhkwāniwik</u> | <u>-āhkēkwāwik</u> |
| | <u>-āhkwāwik</u> | |
| | <u>-āhkwāwinik</u> | |
| | <u>-āhkwāwiniwik</u> | |
| Lessard | <u>-āhkwāwik</u> | <u>-āhkēkwāwik</u> |
| Edwards | <u>-āhkwānik</u> | <u>-āhkēkwāw)</u> |

5.7. The AI, TI, and II Paradigms

In the animate intransitive, transitive inanimate, and inanimate intransitive 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 (1967:74) 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 order are identical for the animate intransitive and transitive inanimate paradigms:

| | <u>Independent</u> | <u>Conjunct</u> |
|------|--------------------|-----------------|
| indf | --- | /hk/ |
| 1 | /en/ | /ān/ |
| 2 | /en/ | /an/ |
| 1p | /enān/ | /āhk/ |
| 21 | /e(nā)naw/ | /ahkw/ |
| 2p | /enāwāw/ | /ēkw/ |

Imperative

| | <u>Immediate</u> | <u>Delayed</u> |
|----|------------------|----------------|
| 2 | ∅ | /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, so T55p49 where kika-sākēwānaw and kika-sakēwānānaw '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 briefly review the situation as described elsewhere, especially since Goddard regards the insertion of /nā/ as pivotal in the development of the AI paradigm (1967:76). 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).

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 stem-final 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. The 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 (Op) 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 is 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 with secondarily derived stems which complement some perfectly regular TA forms (5.2). Finally, the indefinite (5.85) and inanimate (5.86) actor forms of the AI and TI 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: 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 (1954:47-2; but see 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
Isi ē-ohcipitamoh̄t. '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-nitawēyihtah̄k t-
-āpiwiht ōma ohtapiwinih̄k. '... 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-napa-
tēstāwikēwiht. 'Then, I guess, a lean-to was built for
 her.'; S10-22 tāpwē matōtisānih̄kēwān, ... 'Accordingly a
 sweat-lodge was built for him, ...'.

5.813. Relational forms are derived from AI and TI
 verbs 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. 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 (1962:14-10; 23-13; App. C-3).

| | <u>Independent</u> | | <u>Conjunct</u> |
|------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | <u>Indicative</u> | <u>h-preterit</u> | |
| indf | /ān/ | | /eht/ |
| 1 | /ān/ | /āh/ | /ak/ |
| 2 | /ān/ | | /at/ |
| 3 | | | /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 (1962:14-9) 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. (But note that this is not an oversight on Ellis' 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.) 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 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, 6.446); although such verbs are typically derived from TA 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-kimotamawācīk 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. 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, diminutives 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 niki-acoskēsinān, ... 'sometimes we used to work a

little, ...'; cf. atoskēw 'he works'. T72-31 ēkospī āsay
ē-nihtā-cēhcapiyān, ... '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 (1874b: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/ kipakamhotisin '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 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:

| | <u>Independent</u> | <u>Conjunct</u> |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------|
| -1 | <u>-ikon</u> | <u>-ikoyān</u> |
| -2 | <u>-ikon</u> | <u>-ikoyan</u> |
| -1p | | <u>-ikoyāhk</u> |
| -21 | <u>-ikonānaw</u> | <u>-ikoyahk</u> |
| -2p | | <u>-ikoyēk</u> |
| -3 | <u>-ikōw</u> , <u>-ik</u> | <u>-ikot</u> |
| -3p | <u>-ikwak</u> | |

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, 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 nīpahikwak kīkway. 'Something has killed them.'; nīnōhtēhkātēwin nīpahik. 'My hunger killed him.'

Lacombe (1874b:119) cites -ikuw and -ikuwak for this paradigm, versus -ik and -ikwak in the TA inverse set. This is also the situation described by Edwards (1954:31-3) except that she reports the plural form with a different plural marker: -ikowāw. Most interesting in this connection is Ellis' paradigm where the rebuilt forms -ikow, -ikowak are found not only in the inanimate actor set (ms:table 6) but also in the TA inverse paradigm! (See Ellis 1962: Appendix A, C-1; note that -ikow occurs only for 3'-3, not for the 3-1,2 forms.)

5.84. 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. 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 forms. 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, kīksēpa ē-wīh-picīhk. '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 -(nā)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.)

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; ms: table 2.

5.851. Another form which also seems to belong here ends in -ni-, e. g. P4-28 mēstinikāniwa 'there is no wasting (Op)' (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 stable 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 war-path (-nāniwiw)' and tipiskihtāniwiw 'nightfall was encountered (-niwiw)'.

5.86. The AI and TI inanimate actor forms are derived by the suffix /Imakan/ and then inflected as II verbs, e.g. T17-3 pē-nipīmakanwa 'they (Op) die out', cf. nipiw 'he dies'; T46p10 ē-tōcikēmakahk 'it (sc. drinking) does things (to people)' cf. tōcikēw 'he does things'.

The animate intransitive and transitive inanimate, 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 tender 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. (In addition to the data described in 1.42, this sketch also includes words cited directly from Bloomfield's manuscript lexicon, which is based on his texts.)

6.1. Derivation

A stem which has only bound constituents is primary. Where one of the constituents is a free form (i.e. a stem), we are dealing with secondary derivation. For composition see 6.5.

6.11. 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-: pawahwēw 'he brushes him by tool'; with medial

-āpisk-: pawāpiskahwēw 'he brushes 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 morpholexical 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. 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 nitopayiw 'he goes 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. For examples see 6.133.

(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).

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- 'see oneself', from the stem wāpam- '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 tapasihēw 'he flees from him'; cf. tapasiw '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 1962:66).

6.13. Derived 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 -iskēw 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- 'finish writing it' where the final -asinah- is derived from the stem masinah- '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 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- '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 1930:72 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- '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 derivations is often indeterminate. Consider the verb itācimostawēw 'he narrates so to him'; it is either secondarily derived from itācimōw 'he narrates 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, itācimōw 'he narrates so' and ācimostawēw 'he narrates 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 shoes off', miywaskisinēw 'he has good shoes', etc.; cf. maskisin 'shoe'. (Note also these alternants recorded by Bloomfield: -skisin- in sāpopēskisin 'he has wet moccasins'; -ēskisin- in niswēskisinēw 'he has double moccasins', and mihcētōskisin (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 my tool'. the final -asinh- may be derived, as in kīsasinhaham '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 -asinhikē- may be derived, as in pētasinhikēw '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 1927:401). Consider also postayōwinisahēw 'he dresses him', mīskotayōwinisēw 'he changes clothes', etc.

Further complex medials are -atāwākan- in nōtatā-wākanēw '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 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 kanawēyin- '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 (1962:425), "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. 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 wāpanēw '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', ēyawkwāc '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 head-gear'; particle: mastaw 'later'; pronoun: awiya 'someone'.

6.22. 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 ...': nanāstaw- 'go intensively to do ...', as in nitawāpamēw 'he goes to see him': nanāstawāpamēw '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 (1930:6) 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) wayohpikiw '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- 'say so'. Besides the usual reduplicated form ayitwēw we find the form ititwēw (T80p11, T91-13, T110p9); similarly with the transitive animate stem it- 'say so to him', we get a reduplicated form (T115p7) ititēw '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 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 itēw 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 1946:120; 1958:36,130; 1962:443-447.

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 1962:69).

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. 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. 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 intimate possessions by and large seem to occur only in primary dependent nouns (or in verbs secondarily derived from these), e.g. nisim 'my younger sibling', osimisiw 'he has a younger sibling'; nitem 'my dog or horse', otemiw 'he has a dog or horse', otemihaw '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: 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: -ihciqwān-: nihciqwān 'my knee', kaskihciqwānēhwēw '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 'head', sakistikwānēnēw 'he seizes his head by hand'. -pwām-: nipwām 'my thigh', ohpipwāmēyiw 'he lifts his (own) thigh'. -cihc-: nicihciw '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 is 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)', kīskikwēsēwēw 'he severs his neck (by cutting edge)', kīskikwēwēpahwēw 'he severs his neck by throwing a missile'. -iskw- 'head': ohpiskwēyiw 'he lifts his own head', kwēsiskiwēw '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. The medials of another group function neither 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 1967a: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 1967a:27 after Faries 1938:234) 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 mihkāpiskiswēw '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 1946:121), whereas -āpisk- is matched by Proto Algonquian *-θk-, Fox -hk-, Menomini -hk-, Ojibwa -kk-, Northern Ojibwa -hk- (cf. also Bloomfield 1927:398, 1946:118).

Further examples: -ēkin- 'cloth or cloth-like, 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 1946:118): itāpēkinēw 'he holds him thus on a rope (by hand)'; askihtakwāpēkan 'it is a green string'; nīswāpēk 'in two strings'.

-ipē- 'liquid' (cf. Bloomfield 1946:118 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. 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 1962:416.)

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 mēstātayōhkanēsīn- 'run out of sacred stories' where the extended medial is -ātayōhkanē- (cf. ātayōhkan 'spirit animal', subject of sacred stories) and the complex final -sīn- '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 1927:399) but no attempt is made to untangle this complicated situation; (cf. also the uncertain position of Bloomfield in 1927:401; 1946:117,119; 1958:76; 1962:305,383).

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 pimisinēw 'he lays him extended'. Compare also pakamisinēw 'he strikes him to the ground', or wēwēkisinēw 'he wraps him as he lies'. A middle reflexive -simo- which corresponds to the transitive animate final, is found in kawisinōw 'he lies down' or pahkisinōw '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'; sōkāwāhtikw- 'sugar maple';
a noun kikwāhtikw- 'what tree' also underlies the verb kikwāh-
tikōwiw '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'; māci- 'hunt': omāciw 'hunter'; āhkosiw 'he is 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. onikāniw 'headman, leader' from nikān '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' the particle sēhkē 'by itself'. Their analysis in most cases is problematic (cf. Bloomfield 1962:242). Not only is this -w- homonymous with the agentive -w-; there may also be some connection to 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 ašiniyak, 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- 'tell a story': ācimōwin 'story'; pimātisi- 'live': pimātisiwin 'life'; nanātauiho- 'doctor oneself': nanātauihōwin 'remedy'; sōskwaciwē- '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 ā~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- 'thatch it': apahkwān 'thatch'; kistikē- 'to farm': kistikān 'grain, wheat'; apwē- 'make a roast': apwān 'roast'.

With a: atāwākēw 'he sells': atāwākan 'fur (literally: what is sold)'; ātayōhkan 'spirit animal', from ātayōhkēw 'he tells 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- 'dip it up': kwāpahikan 'ladle'; mamitonēyiht- 'ponder it': māmitonēyihcikan 'mind'; kisākamis- 'heat it as liquid': kisākamisikan 'tea-kettle'. Also, pahkwēsikan 'bannock' from pahkwēs- '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': pīsimōhkān 'watch'; niskīsikw- 'my eyes': niskīsikohkāna 'spectacles (Op)'; 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. nōtinākan 'enemy' from nōtin- 'fight him'; wīkimākan 'spouse' from wīkim- 'live with him or her'; manācimākar '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 hither 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 ēykw-, 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'; mihcēt wāw '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: mihcēt wayak 'in a lot of ways' from mihcēt 'many'; taht wayak 'at every place' from tahtw- 'so many'; and finally tāntaht wayak '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), pēyak wayak 'in one place', cf. pēyakw- 'one'; nīswāw 'twice', nīswayak 'in two ways or places', cf. nīsw- 'two'; nikotwāsakwāw 'six times', cf. nikotwāsik 'six'.

6.43. 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 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' itēyiht- 'think so of it'; nisitawēyihtākosiw 'he is recognized' from nisitawēyiht- '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- '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 (1962:299) 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 -payiw- (animate and inanimate) 'move': nitopayiw 'he goes seeking, goes on the war-path'; cf. niton- 'seek it (by hand)'; miyopayiw 'he fares well', miyopayiw 'it goes well'; cf. miyo- 'well'; kīwēpayiw 'he goes home', cf. kīwē- 'go home'; kōkīpayiw 'he goes under water', cf. kōkī- 'dive'; pīkwaskisinēpayiw 'he goes with torn moccasins', cf. pīkwaskisinē- 'tear one's moccasin'; kwēskitinipayiw 'the wind changes', cf. kwēskitin- 'the wind turns' and 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- '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- 'stick one's head out'; kīpipayiw 'he tumbles over', kīpipayihōw 'he throws himself over'; nīhicipayiw 'he comes, falls down', nīhicipayihōw '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': kōniwīw 'it is snowy'; māhīhkan 'wolf': māhīhkaniwīw 'he is a wolf'; kihci- mōhkomān 'American': kihci-mōhkomāniwīw 'he is an American'; amiskw- 'beaver': amiskōwīw 'he is a beaver'. Note that nouns ending in -iy show contraction (/iy-e/ becomes /ī/; cf. Appendix A:4.2): nīpiy 'water', nīpīwīw 'it is water'; askiy 'earth, year', askīwīw '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': kēhtēwīw 'he is old'; kisiwāk 'near': kisiwākīwīw 'it is near', etc.

The animate intransitive final -iwi- also appears in namakīkwayīwīw '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-namakīkwayīwinānaw 'we shall come to nothing'; the form which occurs in T534p28 might even be interpreted as yet a further derivative (cf. 5.85): ka-namakīkwayīwināniwīw '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': omōhkomāniw '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 dips 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. nitopayiwīn 'raid': nitopayiwīnihkēw 'he arranges a raid, leads a war-party'; piciwīn 'trek, moving of camp': piciwīnihkēw 'he arranges for the moving of camp'; pasakwāpīsimōwīn 'shut-eye dance': pasakwāpīsimōwīnihkēw 'he gives a shut-eye dance.'

6.436. Morphologically intransitive verbs of action on a general goal are formed with the suffix -kē- ~ -ikē-.

-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, mākwahtam 'he chews it': mākwahcikēw 'he chews, he chews things'; mēstinam 'he uses it up': mēstinikēw 'he uses things up'; pakamaham 'he strikes it': pakamahikēw 'he strikes'; sakaham 'he fastens it (by tool)': sakahikēw 'he drives nails'. Also, kīnipotāw 'he sharpens it': kīnipocikēw 'he sharpens things'; nōcihtāw 'he hunts for it': nōcihcikēw 'he hunts'; (note that syntactically transitive AI verbs here show an alternant without their final vowel, cf. 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'.

-ikē- /ekē/ occurs with transitive animate stems, e.g. paskiyawēw 'he wins from him': paskiyākēw 'he wins from people'; note the contraction of the stem-final /aw/ with the suffix-initial /e/. Also, tēpwēstanawēw 'he acts as announcer for him': tēpwēstanākēw 'he acts as announcer (for people)'; wihtamawēw 'he tells it for him': wihtamākēw

'he makes predictions'; etc. -ikē- by no means closes the construction; thus, from nōtin- '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 'he fights (people) for himself'.

With transitive animate verbs there is also another suffix, /iwē/, of similar meaning. Thus, nātēw 'he fetches him': nāsiwēw 'he fetches people'; takohtahēw 'he brings him': takohtahiwēw 'he brings people'; etc. The meaning of /iwē/ seems to be emphatically, expressly general; consider the following sequence of derivations: AI nawaswēw 'he pursues' (which is itself derived); TA nawaswātēw 'he pursues him'; AI nawaswāsiwēw 'he pursues people'.

6.437. Reciprocal verbs are freely formed from transitive animate verbs with the final -ito- /eto/. Thus, nipahēw 'he kills him': nipahitōwak 'they kill each other'; kitimahēw 'he ruins him': kitimahitōwak 'they ruin each other'; wihtamawēw 'he tells it to him': wihtamātōwak 'they tell it to each other'; miyowīcēwēw 'he gets along well with him': miyowīcētōwak 'they get along well together'.

In some cases we find a slightly divergent formation. Thus, beside wāpamēw 'he sees him' there is the reciprocal wāpāhtōwak '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 (1946:108). 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 morphophonemic 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 backformations are occasionally found. Thus, besides wīkihtōwak 'they are married' we find wīkihtōw 'he gets married'. 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, nipahēw 'he kills him': nipahisōw 'he kills himself';
wihēw 'he names him': wihisōw 'he names himself'; pēhtawēw
 'he hears him': pēhtāsōw 'he hears himself'; kiskinōhamawēw
 'he teaches 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 -so- and inanimate intransitive -tē- which occur in both primary and secondary derivation. 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- which are based on the suffix -kē- (6.436); -kē- forms verbs with general goal. 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 wihtam 'he names it, tells it' we find wihcikāsōw 'he is named or told' and wihcikātēw '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 pahkिसिमोव 'he (sun) sets', cf. pahkिसिमेव 'he lets him fall'. This complex final also occurs freely in the specialized meaning 'place oneself, dance', e.g. पिसिमोव 'he dances along', नेवोसिमोव 'he dances as one of four (in a fiddle-dance)', पासाकवापिसिमोव 'he dances with eyes shut', यिवयायिसिमोव 'he loses his belly by dancing', etc.

-o- also occurs with the transitive animate stem ācim- 'tell of him' to form ācimo-: ācिमोव 'he tells of himself, narrates'. It is frequently found with stems ending in the complex transitive animate final -ēyim- 'think of him', e.g. कितिमāकēयिमेव 'he takes pity on him': कितिमāकēयिमोव '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. माक्वेयिमोव 'he feels oppressed', cf. माकोहेव 'he presses hard on him'.

6.44. 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 *-esw- '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': kisipēkinam 'he washes it'. -in- occurs as a primary final in the AI verb kisipēkinisitēw 'he washes his (own) feet' which is derived from the stem kisipēkin-, above. It is a secondary final in TA kisipēkistikwānēw 'he washes the other's head' which is derived from the AI verb kisipēkistikwānēw 'he washes his (own) head'.

TA -ahw-, TI -ah- 'by tool, 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 ōhōsimō(w)- '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 kīskikwēsēwēw '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 verb

kīskikwēsam 'he cuts 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: 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- (perhaps 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 māmitorēyimēw, 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- 'pitiabile': 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).

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 manācihtāw 'he is careful of it'. wawēyiw 'he gets ready': TA wawēyihēw, AI wawēyihtāw 'he gets him, it ready'.

A few verbs show what seems to be an extended alternant of -h- and -htā-: TA isihēw, AI isihtāw 'he makes him, it so', cf. it- 'thus'; TA osihēw, AI osihtāw 'he makes, arranges him' (cf. os- in osāpiw 'he looks from there'); AI misihēw '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'. navaswē- 'pursue': TA navaswātēw '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. pimitēhci-kocikāwē- '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- 'have one's face thither or thus': TA itiskwēstawēw 'he faces him'; isiniskē- '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 sākēwē-

totawēw, TI sākēwētutam '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 intransitive goal of the
 underlying stem, although not cross-referenced in the
 derived stem, is still the primary (direct) object, and
 the animate goal of the derived stem is the secondary
 (indirect) object; in the great majority of instances it
 is the beneficiary of the action; cf. also 5.814.

(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"
 (Faraut in Lacombe 1874b:186). Faraut also provides a
 term which beautifully suggests his sentiments: cas
vicaire.)

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 mōskī-stamawēw, 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 nikamo-stamaw- '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 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-pimācihātawāwi '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 non-initial 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'. 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 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 (1946:103, 1930:5; cf. also 1958:41); 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 1930:5) in any case; the details go beyond the scope of this survey but see also Bloomfield 1930:72 fn.)

6.52. 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-kīsik 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 re-duplicated, 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 1958:62), 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-mihcētīcīk 'these evil men who were many'; P266-1 acosisah mitoni ēh-apisāsīkih '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 kī₁ 'past' but its primary role now is that of a subordinator, in which function it may in fact be followed by kī₁. The term "relative", applied to it by Ellis and others, is

applicable to only part of its range.

Examples: S237-37 oskinīkiskwēw kā-pēsīwak '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 (3-0), 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. 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 kī₂ 'able to'.

Examples: S243-9 ēkwahkītahtawē kā-kiskēyihtahk kitah-pimihāt. 'Then, presently, she knew that she would fly.'; F4-33 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-ohatina-māson 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 (1954:17), no order of occurrence has been established among position 2 preverbs, although kī₁ 'past', kī₂ '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 kī₁ '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.'

kī₁ 'past': S246-11 nikīh-pē-maskamikawin 'he was taken away from me'. kī₁ never cooccurs with the position 1 future markers ka and kita, ta. Only rarely does kī₁ occur with a negative particle, e.g. S13-32 ēkotah ohcih nama wihkāc ēsah kih-nipiwak avīsiyiniwak. 'From then on people never died.'; the preferred preverb for a past negative statement is ohci.

kī₂ '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-kih-itwān. 'I cannot say.'; S63-3 tānisi kē-kih-tōtamān? 'What shall I be able to do?'; S63-22 ēwak ohci ēk āwiyak k-ō-kih-nipahit. 'That is why no one can kill me.'

ō, ohci 'from there, therefore; originally' is based on a relative root (3.23) 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 kih-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 kī₁ 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: Morphophonemics

Bloomfield's analysis of the distinctive sounds of Plains Cree is adopted without change; it is a purely mechanical matter that we write o, ē, and c for his u, ā, and ts. Thus, consonants: p t c k s h m n; semivowels: w y; vowels: i a o ī ē ā ō. (For the details of his analysis see Bloomfield 1930:2-6; cf. also Longacre 1957. c ranges from a blade-alveolar to a dorso-laminal affricate. Word-final h is non-distinctive; there is some fluctuation in Bloomfield's texts which appear "as they were actually taken from dictation.")

The morphophonemic statements 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 (1962:73-100) is followed closely.

Phonemic representation is indicated by italics, morphophonemic representation by slashes. The latter is used only where it is immediately relevant to the discussion. (Although this policy may result in loose formulations, as when phonemically represented stems are combined with morphophonemically 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.)

In the morphophonemic representation we use all the symbols of the phonemic representation, plus the special symbols /θ/, /e/, /L/.

Summary

For the task at hand, namely the paradigmatic analysis of a relatively restricted corpus, statements of internal combination are most conveniently formulated as replacement rules. Thus, rules (1) to (4) are replacement rules operating on morphophonemic symbols. They are partially ordered: (1) precedes all others. Rule (1) is also ordered internally. (The present sketch of internal combination is, of course, practically oriented. In a more explicit account of morphophonemic 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.)

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) $w-w \longrightarrow w$
 (b) $(m,n)-(k,t) \longrightarrow h(k,t)$
 (c) $C-C \longrightarrow C-iC$

- (2) $\theta-(i,\bar{i},y) \longrightarrow s(i,\bar{i},y)$
 $t-(i,\bar{i},y) \longrightarrow c(i,\bar{i},y)$

- (3) $\bar{V}-\bar{V} \longrightarrow \bar{V}_y\bar{V}$
 $\check{V}_1-\bar{V}_2 \longrightarrow \bar{V}_2$
 $\bar{V}_1-\check{V}_2 \longrightarrow \bar{V}_1$
 $\check{V}_1-\check{V}_2 \longrightarrow \check{V}_1$
 $V-L \longrightarrow \bar{V}$
 $o-w \longrightarrow \bar{o}w$

- (4) $Cw-iC, Cw-eC \longrightarrow CoC$
 $Vw-e, Vy-e \longrightarrow \bar{V}$

- (R 1) $\check{V} \longrightarrow \emptyset$ in env. $___\#$
 $w \longrightarrow \emptyset$ in env. $C___\#$

- (R 2) $\theta \longrightarrow \underline{t}$
 $e \longrightarrow \underline{i}$
 $p, t, c, k \dots \longrightarrow \underline{p}, \underline{t}, \underline{c}, \underline{k} \dots$

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/ undergoes mutation (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/; (for parallel Menomini examples cf. Bloomfield 1962:80). 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. Mutation

t /θ/ alternates with s, and t /t/ with c, before i /i/, ī, and y. This set of alternations has been called mutation.

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 kināsīn 'you fetch me'; with the corresponding 1-2 ending /etin/, the resulting form is kinātītin 'I fetch you'.

Similarly, when the dependent noun stem /nīwaθ-/ 'my pack' is followed by the inanimate proximate singular suffix /i/, we get nīwas 'my pack'; cf. A:5.1 below for loss of final /i/. With the locative suffix /ehk/ we get nīwatīhk '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, mutation 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/, mutation 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 1930:5,72) in Cree, that of t and s "had suffered analogic disturbance (even) before Proto Central Algonquian time" (Bloomfield 1925:144).

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 (Op)'; 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.

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, e.g. ositiyi- 'his (3') foot or feet', locative suffix /ehk/: ositiyihk 'on his (3') foot or feet'; api- 'sit', /eyiwah/ (AI 3' ending): apiyiwa 'he (3') sits'.

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'; cf. 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'. 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/: kiwīcētīn 'I have you along'. mōniyāw 'Canadian', /eskwēw/ 'woman': mōniyāskwēw 'Canadian woman'; ispatināw 'hill', diminutive /es/: ispacinās 'little 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'; kīkway 'something', diminutive /es/: kīkwās 'something little'. niso '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). 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 (3rd) followed him (3)', askōwin (ending /in/) 'follow me!', etc.

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 (1946:92). 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/: wīcēwiskwēwēw '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): wihtamaw- 'tell it to him': wihtamāsōw 'he tells it to himself' and wihtamātōwak 'they tell it to each other'.

5. Phonemic Realization

Certain word-final sounds do not appear in the phonemic realization of our morphophonemic forms.

5.1. Final short vowels are lost, 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 1946:93.)

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 morphophonemic 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 /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.

Just as often, however, no /t/ is inserted and the prefixes are directly followed by /ō/ (short /o/ is lengthened); thus, 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'.

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).

i~ē: itāpiw 'he looks thither or thus': T45p6
ētāpihki 'wherever one (indf) may look'; pimohtēw 'he
 walks along': T55p87 pēmohtēyāhk 'as we walked along'.

a~ē: takohtēw 'he arrives walking': T61p13
tēkohtēcik 'when they arrived'.

o~wē: otawāsimisiw 'he has children': wētawāsimisicik
 'those who have them as children'; ohtinam 'he takes it
 thence: S244-1 wēhtinahk 'taking it'.

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 1945:171 and Bloomfield 1946:101.
 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 kiyīsi-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. Only two instances are attested: tōtam 'he

does it so': T53p6 tiyōtahkwāwi 'whenever they did this',
 S58-44 tānsi tiyōtahk? 'How did she do it?'. 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'.

Appendix 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 ēyawk āwa nāpēw awa, ē-mōsiskwēwēyit, māk ēs ē-ocawāsimisiyit ē-tahkopitāwasoyit.

(12) kītahtaw ētok ōma, ēkota ē-ayayācik ōma, ē-wāpamāt ēsa mān ēyawk āwa. (13) kītahtaw ētokwē ē-māmātot ēyawk

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-ētswēt ēs āw iskwēw. (16) āt ān ōhtāwiya ē-wīcēwāt, "ta-kī-pāpīsisiskēyimikot, mīn ē-kiskēyihtamiyit," k-ētswēt ēs āwa.

(17) pēhtawēw awa kisēyiniw tānis ē-itwēyit otānisa. (18) "ēha," k-ētswēt ēsa. (19) "kīspin tāpwē, wīcēwēw ōhtāwiya nōsisimis. (20) namōya wāhyaw ēkot āstēw, ayahciyiniwak ta-nipahicik" k-ētswēt 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 kēkēc 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 a widow, 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 grand-child will follow his father (i.e. die). (20) Not far from here, there is the place where the Blackfoot will kill me," he said.

(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 section 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 | (2) <u>ēyak ōma kā-wī-ātotamān</u> 'that which I am going to tell about' | |
| 3-5 | (3) <u>ōki ayisiyiniwak</u> 'these people', then (4) <u>asinipwātis</u> 'the Stoney' | (4) <u>otawāsīmisa</u> 'his children', etc., including <u>nāpēwa</u> 'men' |
| 6-12 | (6) <u>nāway ē-ayāt awa, nāpēw awa</u> 'this man who was at the end' | (6) <u>awiya</u> 'someone' (8) <u>owīkimākana</u> 'his wife' |
| (d) | (direct speech is inserted: (9) <u>awiyak</u> 'someone' and (10) <u>awīna</u> 'who') | |
| c | (8) <u>itik</u> 'she answered him' shows that the man is still in focus | (11) <u>wītimwa</u> 'his sister-in-law' |
| 13 | (12) <u>ē-ayayācik</u> 'they were there', then <u>ēyakw āwa</u> 'this one' | (12) goal of <u>ē-wāpamāt</u> 'he had seen <u>him</u> ' |
| 14 | <u>awāsīs awa</u> 'this baby' <u>iskwēw awa</u> 'this woman' | <u>osīmisa</u> 'her younger sister' |
| (g) | (direct speech: <u>ana ēyako kā-tatwēwītahk</u> 'that one who makes the noise') | |
| f | <u>itēw</u> 'she told her' | |

| SENTENCE SPAN | PROXIMATE (FOCUS) | OBVIATIVE |
|---------------|---|---|
| 15-16 | (15) <u>aw Iskwēw</u> 'this woman' (the younger sister) | (15) <u>ohtāwiya</u> 'her father' |
| (i) | (direct speech, but note that the father remains obviative: the baby is the goal of (16) <u>ta-kī-pāpisisiskēyimikot</u> 'he should have taken care of him') | ((16) <u>ē-kiskēyihhtamiyit</u> 'he knows it') |
| h | (16) <u>k-ēt̄wēt ēs āwa</u> 'this one said' | |
| 17-25 | (17) <u>awa kisēyiniw</u> 'this old man' | (17) <u>otānisa</u> 'his daughter' |
| (k) | (direct speech: (18) <u>nōsisimis</u> 'my grandchild' | ((18) <u>ohtāwiya</u> 'his father') |
| (l) | (19) <u>avānciyiniwak</u> 'the Blackfoot' | |
| j | (20) <u>k-ēt̄wēt</u> 'he said', then (25) <u>ēkonik aniki</u> 'these (people)' | (22) <u>ayahciyiniwa</u> 'the Blackfoot' |
| 26 | <u>ēkonik nōhkom</u> 'those (including) my grandmother' | |

In the interlinear analysis which follows, these special abbreviations occur:

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| Na, Ni | animate, inanimate noun |
| dep | dependent noun |
| P | pronoun |
| pcle | particle |
| pp | personal prefix |
| pv | preverb |
| red | reduplication syllable |
| indep | independent indicative |
| cj | changed conjunct |
| 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 or 2.01.

In the interlinear version of the text, the modifications of external sandhi have been removed.

| | | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------------------|--|------------------------------|
| (1) | <u>ēyāpic</u> | <u>nīsta</u> | <u>ni=ka-ācimo=n.</u> | |
| | pcle | personal P, emphatic | pp <u>ni-</u> , pv <u>ka</u> 'future', | |
| | in due course | I too | I will narrate | |
| (2) | <u>māka</u> | <u>ēyako</u> | <u>namōya</u> | <u>ni=kiskēyiht=ēn.</u> |
| AI 1 indep | pcle | 0 P | pcle | pp <u>ni-</u> , TI 1-0 indep |
| | but | just this | not | I know it |

tāniyikohk ōma ta-kī-ispīhci-askīwi=k

pcle (conjunction) 0 P pv ta 'future', pv kī 'completion',
to what extent this it will have been years since

aspin ēyako ōma

pv ispīhci 'meanwhile', II 0 simple cj pcle 0 P 0 P
away just this this

kā-wī-ātot=amān. ...

pv kā (subordinator, 6.521), pv wī 'intend to', TI 1-0 cj
what I am going to tell

(3) ōta ētokwē ōma ē-ayayā=cik,

pcle pcle 0 P pv ē (subordinator, 6.521),
here I guess this they were, they lived

maskwacīs=ihk ōki pēyakwayak

AI 3p cj, red ay- locative Ni 3p P pcle

at Hobbema ("Bear Hills") these at one place

ayīsiyiniw=ak. (4) asinīpwātis ētokwē pēyak,

3p Na 3 Na pcle pcle

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' Na (3 poss) dep pcle pcle

his children his wife his mother-in-law and three

mīna nāpēw=a. (5) ētokwē kā-pē-piciwinihkē=t,

pcle 3' Na pcle pv kā, pv pē 'hither', AI 3 cj

also men I guess he made a trip hither

(10) "ā, namōya, awiyak kōsāpam=ikonaw."

excl. pcle (see above)

Oh no

(11) māka ēsa wītimw=a ēyako awa

pcle pcle 3' Na dep (3 poss) 3 P 3 P

but then his cross-cousin just this this

nāpēw awa, ē-mōsiskwēwē=yit, māka ēsa

3 Na 3 P pv ē, AI 3' cj pcle pcle

man this she was a widow 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

pcle pcle 0 P pcle 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 P pv ē, TA 3-3' cj pcle pcle 3 P 3 P

this where he had seen him then then just this this

(13) kītahtawē ētokwē ē-māmāto=t ēyako awa

pcle pcle pv ē, AI 3 cj, red. mā- 3 P 3 P

presently I guess he cried loud just this this

awāsis awa. (14) awa ētokwē pēyak awa, iskwēw awa,

3 Na 3 P 3 P pcle pcle 3 P 3 Na 3 P

child this this I guess one this woman this

ē-itwē=yit o=tānis=a. (18) "ēha," kā-itwē=t ēsa.

pv ē, AI 3' cj 3' Na dep (3 poss) pcle pv kā, AI 3 cj pcle
she spoke his daughter yes he said then

(19) "kīspin tāpwē, wīcēw=ēw o=htāwiy=a
pcle pcle TA 3-3' indep 3' Na dep (3 poss)
if truly, indeed he accompanies him his father

nōsisimis. (20) namōya wāhyaw ēkota astē=w,

3 Na dep pcle pcle pcle II 0 indep
my grandchild not far just there it is there

ayahciyiniw=ak ta-nipah=icik," kā-itwē=t

3p Na pv ta 'future', TA 3p-1 simple cj pv kā, AI 3 cj
the Blackfoot they will kill me he said

ēsa. (21) ēkosi. (22) namōya mihcēt tipiskāw,

pcle pcle pcle pcle 0 Ni
then just thus not many nights (general sin-

ēsa ana ayahciyiniw=a kī-nipah=ik
gular) pcle 3 P 3' Na pv kī, 'completion', TA 3'-3 indep

then that the Blackfoot. they killed him

ēyako ana kisēyiniw. (23) ēyako ōma ōta namōya

3 P 3 P 3 Na 0 P 0 P pcle pcle
just this that old man just this this here not

wāhyaw, "Battle Lake" isiyīhkātē=w, ēkota ēsa ana

pcle II 0 indep pcle pcle 3 P
far it is named so just there then that

ē-kī-nipah=iht ēyako kisēyiniw.

pv ē, pv kī 'completion', TA indf-3 cj 3 P 3 Na

he was killed just this old man

(24) "George Maskwa" ēsa kī-isiiyhkāsō=w.

pcle pv kī 'completion', AI 3 indep

("Bear") then he was called so

(25) ēkota ēsa ani kēkēc

pcle pcle pcle pcle

just there then (emphasizes preceding words) almost

kī-mēscih=āwak mīna ēkonik aniki.

pv kī 'completion', TA indf-3p indep pcle 3p P 3p P

they were annihilated also just these those

(26) ēkonik māna n=ōhkom, ēkosi ē-kī-itātot=ahkik.

3p P pcle 3 Na dep pcle pv ē, pv kī 'completion',

just these always (?) my grandmother just thus

(27) ēkosi.

TI 3p-0 cj

pcle

they used to thus tell it just thus

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