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University of California, Berkeley, 1986

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Plains Cree Morphosyntax

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DISSERTATION

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DOCTORAL DEGREE CONFERRED
DECEMBER 16, 1986
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Plains Cree morphosyntax

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Chapter 1
Introduction

This dissertation explores several topics in Cree morphology, syntax, and discourse structure. Cree is a non-configurational language: that is, the grammatical relations of subject and object are not expressed by word order or other constituent structure relations, as they are in a configurational language such as English. Instead, subjects and objects are expressed by means of the inflection on the verb.

A primary role in the encoding of grammatical relations is played by an opposition within third person known as obviation. Obviation is a discourse-based opposition distinguishing the person of greatest interest in the discourse (= proximate) from all others (= obviative). When a verb has two third person objects, it is the distinction between proximate and obviative, marked on NPs and cross-referenced on verbs, that indicates which is subject and which is object.

Cree is typical of non-configurational languages in allowing a great deal of word order variation. As seen in the following examples, all six possible permutations of subject, object, and verb are grammatical, and are attested in texts. Obviative nouns are indicated in the interlinear glosses, while proximate nouns are unmarked. All the verbs are suffixed with -e.w, which indicates a proximate singular

subject and an obviative object.

- (1) VSO
 [Bloomfield 1934, p. 74]
 e·kosi na·te·w awa iskwe·w o·hi kaskite·wastimwa.
 so fetch this woman this black horse obv
 'So then the woman went and got the black horse.'
- (2) VOS
 [Bloomfield 1930, p. 36]
 nakate·w mahke·si·sah wi·sahke·ca·hk.
 leave fox obv W.
 'Wisahkechahk left Fox behind.'
- (3) SVO
 [Bloomfield 1930, p. 10]
 awa oskini·kiskwe·w ki·we·htahe·w
 this young woman bring home
 anihih awa·sisah, ...
 that child obv
 'This young woman brought the lad home,...'
- (4) OVS
 [Bloomfield 1934, p. 34]
 owi·ce·wa·kanah miskawe·w awa ne·hiyaw.
 his companion obv find this Cree -
 'That Cree found his companions.'
- (5) SOV
 [Bloomfield 1934, p. 158]
 ki·tahtawe· iskwe·w otawa·simisah wi·ce·we·w,
 presently woman her child obv accompany
 e·h·na·tahkik mi·nisah.
 fetch berries
 'Once a woman went with her children,
 to get berries.'
- (6) OSV
 [Bloomfield 1934, p. 110]
 e·kwah awah ote·mah atimwah aw o·pwa·simo·w
 and this his dog obv this Assiniboine
 aye·na·niw kahkiyaw ota·pahe·w, ...
 8 all hitch up
 'In addition, the Assiniboine hitched
 up all his eight dogs, ...'

(The quantifiers in the last example have been floated to preverbal position; see the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.)

This introductory chapter presents some background information on the Cree language itself, on the data used here, and on its transcription. The second section provides an overview of material to be covered in later chapters.

1. Background on Cree

Cree is an Algonquian language spoken across a large area of Canada, ranging from the Rocky Mountains in the west to James Bay in the east, encompassing the central portions of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, northern Ontario, and northwestern Quebec. There are also some Cree speakers in the United States, mostly at Rocky Boy's reservation in Montana. Plains Cree, spoken primarily in central Saskatchewan and in Alberta, is one of five dialects. The major feature distinguishing the various dialects is the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l: in Plains Cree, PA *l corresponds to y, as in PA * mi-le-wa 'he gives it to him' (Bloomfield 1946, item no. 81), Plains Cree mi-ye-w. The following set of forms for 'no, not' illustrates the reflexes of PA *l in the Cree dialects.

(7)	Plains Cree	namo·ya	'no, not'
	Swampy Cree	namo·na	
	Moose Cree	namo·la	
	Woods Cree	namo·ᓐa	
	Tête-à-Boule Cree	namo·ra	

Ellis 1973 estimated the total number of Cree speakers to be 55,000, with 24,000 speaking Swampy Cree and 21,000 Plains Cree. A more recent figure comes from the 1981 Canadian census, where about 66,000 respondents identified Cree as the language they first learned and still understand (Burnaby 1985).

The data used in this dissertation is all from the Plains dialect of Cree. Where possible, textual examples are given to illustrate a point; however, when a syntactic argument requires the negative data of ungrammatical sentences, or when a textual example is not at hand, the textual examples have been supplemented with elicited sentences. The elicited sentences come from fieldwork in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan during the summer of 1985, and from fieldwork with Cree speakers residing in California, in 1984 and 1985. The textual examples are mostly taken from Bloomfield's two published volumes of texts (Bloomfield 1930, 1934); a few are drawn from texts collected in Saskatoon.

Plains Cree has a simple phonemic inventory:

(8)	p	t	c	k		i	i·		
		s		h		e·		o	o·
	m	n					a	a·	
	w		y						

The stop series is voiceless unaspirated; t is alveolar. c is an affricate varying from alveolar to alveo-palatal; s similarly shows some variation from alveolar to alveo-palatal. Vowel length is distinctive. It is sometimes convenient to distinguish two underlying

sources of i: /i/ and /e/, as well as two underlying sources of t: /t/ and /θ/. This allows certain morphophonemic alternations to be easily represented, as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.5. However, /e/ and /θ/ are never written in the Cree orthography.

Examples from my fieldnotes are given in the standard orthography developed for Cree, except that vowel length is indicated by a following raised dot, rather than by a macron or circumflex over the vowel. (For a discussion of the standard orthography, see Wolfart and Ahenakew, to appear.) The transcription used by Bloomfield (1930, 1934) differs from the standard orthography in a number of ways, and the examples taken from Bloomfield's texts have been changed in some orthographic respects. As above, vowel length is indicated by a following raised dot. Bloomfield's u is here written u, his ä is here e, and his ts is here c. These are not the only places in which the transcription used by Bloomfield differs from current orthographic practice. He also wrote word-final h, which is not phonemic, and indicated some instances of syncope of short vowels, external sandhi, and variation in vowel length. These features of Bloomfield's transcriptions, while not standard, have been retained in the examples cited here. I have added interlinear glosses, while maintaining (in most cases) Bloomfield's English translations.

The syntactic investigations reported here have been greatly aided by previous analyses of Cree morphology: most

of all by Wolfart 1973. Chapter 2 presents a lengthy discussion of inflection, as a necessary preliminary to what follows, but the discussion here is more limited in scope than that given by Wolfart. For details on the less common verbal paradigms, as well as an overview of the varieties of Cree word formation, the reader is referred to this excellent study. The summary of inflection given in chapter 2 also does not duplicate the presentation found in Ahenakew 1984, a clear and detailed discussion of noun and verb classes, basic paradigms, and morphophonemic alternations. For readers unfamiliar with Algonquian languages, Ahenakew 1984 is the more accessible description. Other resources on Cree include the dictionaries of Lacombe 1874 and Faries 1938, and the wordlist of Bloomfield 1984.

2. Overview of following chapters

Chapter 2 describes inflection, especially the complex system of verb inflection. As will be seen in chapter 5, the inflectional features associated with the verb serve to link the arguments of the verb to the proper grammatical functions. The marking of these features on the verb, however, is accomplished in a rather unusual manner. Most of the affixes encoding person and number features are not specialized for subject or object, nor are the affix positions themselves dedicated to encoding information about a particular grammatical function. Rather, special suffixes on transitive verbs link the person and number features of

the other inflectional affixes to subject and object.

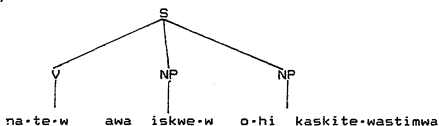
Transitive verbs may be divided into two sets, called direct and inverse, based upon the particular suffix used to perform the linking of features with grammatical functions. Inverse verbs with obviative third person subjects and proximate third person objects display a discourse functional similarity to passives in other languages. Syntactically, however, the direct and inverse verbs are both active. Chapter 3 presents the syntactic analysis of the direct and inverse forms, contrasting them with the genuine passive of Cree. The chapter also contains a discussion of constructions which may be used as tests for grammatical relations in Cree.

Obviation is taken up in chapter 4. Obviative third persons receive special marking, while the proximate third person is expressed by unmarked third person forms. Within a fairly narrow syntactic domain, obviation is obligatory. That is, if there are two or more third persons within a certain syntactic context, all but one must be marked obviative. Obviation is optional outside this syntactic context, and is used in narratives for various purposes. Chapter 4 outlines the syntactic conditions affecting obviation, and also discusses some of its optional uses. The discussion of the uses of obviation examines in depth the patterns found in a single text. This text, taken from Bloomfield 1934, is given in full as an appendix to this chapter.

Chapter 5 examines the inventory of grammatical functions subcategorized for by verbs in Cree: subjects, objects, second objects, obliques, sentential complements, and secondary predicates. Depending on the grammatical function, subcategorization requirements may be satisfied by a separate word, by a morpheme within a complex word, or by the inflection on the verb. This chapter also discusses lexical processes that increase or decrease valence. The lexical entries and syntactic lexical rules are presented in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982b), along with an introduction to LFG concepts and terminology.

The advantage of the Lexical-Functional Grammar framework for describing a non-configurational language is that it represents grammatical relations at a level of functional structure, not at the level of constituent structure. Cree constituent structure displays no characteristic distinguishing subjects from objects. As seen in the examples given at the beginning of the chapter, all varieties of word order are possible for lexical subjects and objects. There is no evidence for a VP node in Cree; the clause structure for (1), for example, would be the following:

(9)



There is also no evidence for any underlying level of constituent structure: there are no movement rules, and no evidence of gaps. Relative clauses, for example, are internally headed:

(10) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 98]

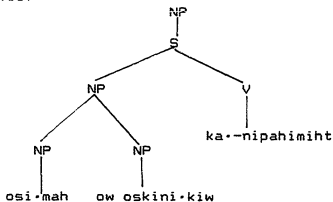
e-kosi kotak awa,
so other this

osi-mah ow oskini-kiw ka--nipahimiht,
his y.sib. obv this young man be killed obv

'Then this other one, the young man
whose younger brother had been killed,'

ow oskini-kiw 'this young man' occurs neither on the left or right periphery of the relative clause, but is instead between two constituents of the lower clause:

(11)



Chapter 5 describes only a few of the lexical processes which have syntactic consequences, and in general, the material presented here is far from being a complete survey of the morphosyntax of Cree. Rather, this dissertation is intended to provide a basis for continuing research. The discussion begins in the next chapter, with the survey of inflection.

Chapter 2

Inflection

Cree is mostly head-marking in the sense of Nichols 1986. The grammatical functions of subject and object are marked on the verb, rather than by case endings on NPs. Possession is indicated on the possessed noun; contrast the dependent-marking strategy of German or Russian (or English 's) where it is the possessor that receives marking, with genitive case.

The inflectional system of any Algonquian language merits a book-length study of its own; for Cree, Wolfart 1973 gives a fuller account of inflection than what is presented in this chapter. The present analysis differs in a few details from that given by Wolfart; these differences are listed in the final section of this chapter.

Although the inflectional system has been described elsewhere, it is necessary to include a description of basic paradigms here to make the examples in later chapters comprehensible. However, it is probably not necessary to read all of the material in this chapter at the outset. The examples in subsequent chapters will be glossed for the categories inflected for on verbs and nouns. For example:

(1)	niwa·pama·wak	'I see them'
	see 1-3p	

The interlinear gloss gives the stem, followed by the subject and object indicated by the inflection: here, first person singular subject, and third person plural object. In

the discussion of inflection in this chapter, the forms will be broken down into morphemes:

(2) ni-wa-pam-a--w-ak 'I see them'
 1 see dir 3 3p

However, for the purposes of the discussion in the later chapters, this level of detail is usually not necessary.

For now, the reader may wish to read only the general discussions of inflection found in sections 1 and 2, and then skip ahead to chapter 3. In the following chapters, all discussion of inflection will be accompanied by references back to the pertinent sections of this chapter.

The bulk of this chapter is devoted to the system of verb inflection which marks subject and object features. First, though, noun inflection will be briefly surveyed. The following nominal categories will be discussed: gender, number, obviation, locative case, and possession. For details on other topics in noun inflection, see Wolfart 1973 or Ahenakew 1984.

1. Noun inflection

Cree nouns belong to one of two genders, animate or inanimate. The animate class includes people, animals, most plants, and some objects. Examples of animate nouns include the following:

(3)	iskwe-w	'woman'
	si-si-p	'duck'
	mi-tos	'tree'
	se-hke-payi-s	'car'
	ospwa-kan	'pipe'

The inanimate class includes most objects, most body parts, and some parts of plants. Examples of inanimate nouns are given below.

(4)	mo-hkoma-n	'knife'
	misit	'foot'
	ni-piy	'leaf'

Animate and inanimate nouns take different plural suffixes: -ak is the ending for animate plural nouns, and -a is the ending for inanimate plurals.

(5)	na-pe-w-ak	'men'
	man pl	
	mi-nis-a	'berries'
	berry pl	

Obviation is a distinction made within third person, motivated by syntactic and discourse conditions that will be discussed in chapter 4. In a stretch of discourse, one third person is considered "proximate", all others, "obviative". The proximate NP is unmarked. Obviative animate nouns are marked by the ending -a. In the following example, oskini-kiskwe-w 'young woman' is proximate, and awa-sisa 'child' is obviative. (The final h written by Bloomfield is not phonemic.)

- (6) [Bloomfield 1930, p. 101
 awa oskini·kiskwe-w ki·we·htahe-w
 this young woman bring home

anihih awa·sis-ah, ...
 that child obv

'This young woman brought the lad home,...'

awa is the form of 'this' used with proximate animate nouns; anihi is the form of 'that' for obviative animate nouns. See Wolfart 1973 for a complete discussion of determiner and pronominal paradigms.

For inanimate nouns, no nominal ending distinguishes proximate from obviative. However, this opposition is reflected in verbal inflection when the inanimate NP is the subject of an intransitive verb. (See section 4 below for a discussion of the inflection of Inanimate Intransitive verbs.) In the examples below, the verbs are in the conjunct order, discussed in section 2.1 below, and are here used as nominal modifiers. In this use, the preverb ka- indicates definiteness of the head noun.

- (7) ka--mihkwa·-k maskisin
 be red 3 shoe
 'the shoe [prox] which is red'

- (8) ka--mihkwa·-yi-k omaskisin
 be red obv 3 his shoe
 'his shoe [obv] which is red'

The noun in (8) is obviative because it is possessed by a third person, as discussed in chapter 4.

There is a locative case ending, -ihk, used on objects of directional postpositions, and on nouns without an adposition to indicate location. -ihk may be added to all

grammatically inanimate nouns, and to those (grammatically) animate nouns which are semantically inanimate. Nouns marked with the locative case do not mark plural or obviative.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------|-------------------------|
| (9) | mi-tos-ihk | | 'in the tree [anim]' |
| | tree | loc | |
| | wa-skahikan-ihk | ohci | 'from the house [inan]' |
| | house | loc from | |

Possession is marked on the possessed noun by prefixes and suffixes. The prefixes mark the person of the possessor. If the possessor is plural or obviative, these features are indicated by suffixes. The paradigm below illustrates possessive affixes on the inanimate noun maskisin 'shoe'.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (10) | ni-maskisin | 'my shoe' |
| | ki-maskisin | 'your shoe' |
| | o-maskisin | 'his shoe' |
| | ni-maskisin-ina-n | 'our (excl.) shoe' |
| | ki-maskisin-inaw | 'our (incl.) shoe' |
| | ki-maskisin-iwa-w | 'your (pl.) shoe' |
| | o-maskisin-iwa-w | 'their shoe' |
| | o-maskisin-iyiw | 'his (obv.) shoe' |

Nouns possessed by third person possessors are obviative. For animate nouns, obviation is marked by a suffix -a. The obviative marker follows the suffix indicating a plural or obviative possessor.

- | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|
| (11) | o-ta-nis-iwa-w-a | 'their daughter' |
| | 3 dghter 3p obv | |

Plural marking of the possessed NP also follows the suffix marking a plural or obviative possessor. This pattern is strikingly similar to the inflection of verbs in the independent order, discussed below. (The suffix -a-,

glossed "direct", in the transitive verb indicates that the non-third person argument is subject and the third person argument is object.)

- (12) ni-ta-nis-ina-n-ak 'our (excl.) daughters'
 1 dghter 1p pl
- (13) ni-sa-kih-a--na-n-ak 'we (excl.) love them'
 1 love dir 1p 3p

The similarity between noun inflection and the inflection of verbs in the independent order suggests that the inflectional affixes are associated only with features of person and number, and are not explicitly linked to particular grammatical functions. This theme will be returned to below.

2. General organization of verb inflection

In this section, an overview of the system of verb inflection will be presented, along with a chart listing the verbal affixes. The following sections of this chapter discuss the distribution of affixes marking features of subject and object on each of the four stem classes.

The description of inflection begins with the division of verb stems into classes, and the grouping of inflectional paradigms into "orders".

2.1. Stem classes and inflectional orders

Verb stems in Cree, and in Algonquian languages generally, fall into one of four classes, depending on their

valence and on the gender of one of their arguments. There are two classes of intransitive verb stems, one class requiring a grammatically animate subject, and the other class requiring a grammatically inanimate subject.

- (14) mihkosi-w-ak asiniy-ak
be red 3 pl rock pl

'The rocks are red'

- (15) mihkwa--w-a maskisin-a
be red 3 pl shoe pl

'The shoes are red'

mihkosi- 'be red' can only be used with animate subjects, such as asiniy 'rock', which belongs to the animate gender class. mihkwa-- 'be red' is similarly specialized for inanimate subjects.

Transitive verb stems also come in pairs, with the choice of verb stem dependent on the gender of one of the verb's arguments. But, unlike the intransitives, the transitive verb stems are sensitive to the gender of the object of the verb, not to the gender of the subject. wa.pam- 'see' is used if the gender of the object is animate; wa.paht- if it is inanimate.

- (16) ni-wa.pam-a--w asiniy
1 see 3 rock

'I see the rock'

- (17) ni-wa.paht-e--n maskisin
1 see shoe

'I see the shoe'

The four classes of verb stems are labelled as follows:

- (18) Animate Intransitive (AI)
 Inanimate Intransitive (II)
- Transitive Animate (TA)
 Transitive Inanimate (TI)

In determining the class of a particular verb stem, only subjects and (first) objects are taken into account. The presence or absence of other types of arguments, such as second objects, obliques, sentential complements, and secondary predicates, has no effect on the class membership of the stem. For example, ohtohte- 'come from' requires a subject and an oblique locative argument. Although ohtohte- has more than one argument, the absence of a direct object places it in the Animate Intransitive class. Verbs with both a first object and a second object, such as mi-y- 'give', belong to the Transitive Animate class. (For mi-y- the recipient is the first object, the thing given the second object.) Varieties of subcategorization frames are discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

The assignment of a verb stem to one of the four classes listed in (18) corresponds, by and large, to the actual syntactic valence of the verb stem. There are, however, cases where a subject or object marked in the inflectional morphology does not correspond to a syntactic argument of the verb. For example, kimiwan- 'rain' can never take a lexical NP subject, but is inflected with Inanimate Intransitive endings as if it had a pronominal inanimate singular subject. [1] In a parallel fashion, certain Transitive Inanimate verbs display inflection for an

inanimate object, although there is no syntactic object. An example is kaske-viht- 'be lonesome, homesick'.

Each class of verb stem may be inflected in one of three "orders": independent, conjunct, and imperative (except that Inanimate Intransitive verbs have no imperative forms). "Order" is an Algonquianist term referring to a superordinate category of paradigms. For example, the conjunct order consists of the simple conjunct indicative, the changed conjunct indicative (with ablaut of the first vowel in the verb stem), the future imperative, the subjunctive, and the iterative paradigms. There are many similarities among the endings of these five paradigms, which motivate grouping them together as a class. Verbs in main clauses may appear in any of the three orders, while verbs in subordinate clauses must be in the conjunct order. The markers of several inflectional categories vary according to the order of the verb. This chapter will present the indicative paradigms of the independent and the conjunct orders; the imperative order will not be discussed.

Before discussing the inflectional morphology found on verbs, some brief comments will be made regarding uses of changed conjunct verbs. This is the most frequently used paradigm in the conjunct order, found in the majority of subordinate clauses, and in some main clauses as well.

Most instances of the changed conjunct bear either the preverb e- or the preverb ka-. The functions of these preverbs are not fully understood, but some general

observations may be made. e-- is used with verbs in subordinate clauses in general. It often appears on relative clauses when the referent is first mentioned, and it sometimes shows up in on verbs in matrix clauses, apparently conveying continuative aspect.

ka-- is most frequently attached to changed conjunct verbs used as relative clauses, and seems to indicate definiteness of the head. It is also used with cleft constructions. When a changed conjunct verb with ka-- is used in an adverbial clause, the verb has a perfective reading.

Changed conjunct verbs marked with ka-- also are found in matrix clauses. In narratives, these verbs present foregrounded, previously unknown information; in other words, this use of ka-- is quite different from its use in cleft constructions, where it expresses presupposed information.

The following examples of matrix clause uses of the changed conjunct marked with ka-- are taken from a single text.

- (19) ke-tahtawe· e-sa awa pe-yak na-pe-w
 presently this one man
 ka--miskahk wa-pamon.
 find 3-inan mirror

'After a while this one man found a mirror.'

(20) e-wa-pamot e-tokwe· ispi·,
 look in mirror 3 when

ka--wa-pama·t oste·sa.
 see 3-obv his older brother obv

'When he looked in the mirror,
 he saw his older brother.'

(21) e-kwa e-tokwe· ispi· awa kise-yiniw
 and when this old man

ka--wa-pamot,
 look in mirror 3

ka--misi-ma-topayit e-sa.
 greatly burst into tears 3

'And when this old man looked in the mirror,
 he burst into tears.'

As seen above, a clause containing a changed conjunct verb marked with ka-- may occur as the only clause of the sentence, or it may follow a clause containing a changed conjunct verb marked with e--. (It may also follow a clause containing a verb in the independent order: see, for example, line 27 of the text given as an appendix to chapter 4.) The third example above shows a pair of conjoined clauses, each containing a changed conjunct verb marked with ka--.

2.2. Inflectional template

The structure of Cree verb inflection may be represented as a flat template, with one prefix position and eight suffix positions. The position class of a given affix is identified not only by what other affixes may precede or follow it, but also paradigmatically, by its being in

complementary distribution with other affixes in that position class.

In the independent order, inflectional affixes appear in the prefix position and the first seven suffix positions. The conjunct order has no inflectional prefixes, but uses all eight suffix positions. Of these affix positions, the prefix and suffixes 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7 participate in marking features of the subject and object, the only grammatical functions verbs are inflected for. The majority of affixes belong to suffix positions 2 or 5. For the indicative paradigms considered here, a position 5 suffix is obligatory. Transitive verbs also require a position 2 suffix. The conditions governing the use of affixes in the other positions will be covered in the later sections of this chapter.

Positions 4, 6, and 8 do not mark features of the subject or object. Some affixes of these positions will be briefly illustrated here, but these three affix positions will not be discussed further; they are listed in the chart mostly to motivate the division of the other affix positions. See Wolfart 1973 for a more detailed discussion of these affix positions. The following examples illustrate a preterit marker in position 4, the future imperative, also in position 4, the dubitative in position 6, and the subjunctive marker in position 8. Dubitative and preterit forms are rare in Plains Cree, though they are apparently more common in eastern Cree dialects (see Ellis 1971).

- (22) preterit [Bloomfield 1934, p.61]
 ni-kost-a-htay anah
 I fear dir pret that

ka--wih-kakwe--nipah-a--ya-hk
 intend try kill dir 1p

'And did I not fear him
 whom we were going to kill?'

- (23) subjunctive;
 future imperative [Bloomfield 1934, p. 52]
 ke-kway wa-paht-am-an-i,
 something see ts 2 subj

pe--itohte--hk-an
 hither go imp 2

'If you see anything, come back here.'

- (24) dubitative [Bloomfield 1934, p. 42]
 a-say wiyawa-w wa-hyaw aya--toke--nik
 already they far be dub 3p

'No doubt they are far on their way by now.'

The suffix -a-, glossed "direct", is a position 2 suffix indicating a non-third person subject acting on a third person object. The opposition of Transitive Animate direct and inverse forms is discussed below and in chapter 3. In (23) the morpheme glossed "ts" is a position 2 theme sign used with Transitive Inanimate verbs. The above examples also display some forms of person and number markers not listed in the chart below, e.g. -nik for third plural in (24). Only affixes used in the indicative paradigms of the independent and conjunct order are listed in the chart below.

2.3. Affix chart

As an overview to the inflectional system, the affixes are listed in the chart below, arranged according to position class. The chart is intended also as a convenient summary which readers may refer back to when reading later chapters. The chart contains some terminology that has not yet been introduced; all terms will be explained in the discussion following the chart.

Obviation, marked by various suffixes in positions 1, 3, and 7, will be covered in this chapter mostly from the standpoint of its morphological realization. Chapter 4 discusses the syntactic and discourse conditions which trigger the obviate marking. Likewise, the discussion of the direct/inverse opposition of Transitive Animate verbs will here focus on the distribution of the direct and inverse markers of suffix position 2. The syntax and use of these verb forms will be explored in the following chapters.

In the interest of keeping the chart readable, alternate forms of affixes have not been given in the chart itself, but instead are noted in section 2.4, immediately after the chart. This is followed by a discussion of general morphophonemic processes affecting inflection, in section 2.5. As mentioned in chapter 1, when describing morphophonemic alternations, it is convenient to distinguish two underlying sources for i: /i/ and /e/. The suffixes beginning with i are therefore listed in the chart along with a form in virgules, showing whether the i represents

/i/ or /e/. The distinct morphophonemic behavior of /i/ and /e/ is discussed in section 2.5.

(25) Inflectional template for verbs

[___ [stem] ___ 1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___ 5 ___ 6 ___ 7 ___ 8]

pfx

(26) Affix chart

Prefix position

[independent order only]

ni	1st person
ki	2nd person

Suffix positions

1. obviative

im /em/

2. theme signs

Transitive Inanimate

Class I stems

e-	non-3 subj (indep.)
am	elsewhere

Class II stems

a-

Transitive Animate

direct theme signs

i	/i/	2 subj - 1 obj
e-		3 subj - 3 obv obj (indep.)
a-		non-3 subj - 3 obj
		3 subj - 3 obv obj (conj)

inverse theme signs

iti	/eti/	1 subj - 2 obj
ikw	/ekw/	3 subj - non-3 obj
		3 obv subj - 3 obj

3. obviative

iyi /eyi/

4. preterit; future imperative

5. person and number

independent order:
 number (for non-third persons)
 and person (for third person)

na·n	1p exc
na·naw	1p inc
na·wa·w	2p
n	non-3 sing
w	3

conjunct order:
 person and number (for non-third persons)
 person (for third person)

ya·n	1sg
yan	2sg
ya·hk	1p exc
yahkw	1p inc
ye·kw	2p
t	3 anim
k	3 inan

portmanteau markers:

ak		1sg subj - 3 obj
at		2sg subj - 3 obj
it	/it/	3 subj - 1sg obj
isk	/esk/	3 subj - 2sg obj
akok		1sg subj - 2pl obj

6. preterit; dubitative

7. third person plural, obviative

independent order:

ak		3 anim pl
a		3 anim obv
a		3 inan pl

conjunct order:

ik	/ik/	3 anim pl
i	/i/	3 inan pl

8. subjunctive; iterative
 [conjunct order only]

2.4. Notes on chart

Prefix: There is a third person prefix o- used on preterit verbs. (Cf. the prefix o- marking third person possessors on nouns, illustrated in section 1.) Before most vowel initial stems, the forms of the prefixes are nit-, kit-, and ot-.

Suffix position 2: In the examples below, position 2 suffixes on TA verbs will be glossed either "dir" (direct) or "inv" (inverse), referring to the sets presented above. The reader is asked to refer to the chart for the exact features encoded by the position 2 suffix. Transitive Inanimate verbs do not have an opposition of direct and inverse forms, so the position 2 suffix used on these verbs will be glossed only "ts" (theme sign).

-iti- (1st subj - 2nd obj) is -it- in the conjunct order.

The inverse marker -ikw- is sometimes realized as -iko-.

A few TI stems (class III) take a \emptyset theme sign. A \emptyset theme sign also appears with certain subject-object combinations on TA verbs in the conjunct order.

Suffix position 3: For combinations of obviative subject and non-third plural object, the position 3 suffix is \emptyset in the independent order, -wa- in the conjunct.

Suffix position 5: The affixes for 1st person inclusive plural and 2nd person plural in the independent order are realized as -naw and -wa-w, respectively, in

certain Transitive Animate forms.

Those position 5 suffixes of the conjunct order beginning in y drop the y following a consonant.

The marker for 3rd animate in the conjunct order is ordinarily -t, but after nasals it is -k.

2.5. General morphophonemic rules

Besides the special alternations listed above, a number of general morphophonemic rules apply to the inflectional affixes. Underlying /i/ and /e/ are both realized as i, but they have distinct morphophonemic effects. /e/, but not /i/, contracts with a preceding vowel-glide sequence, producing a long vowel. Compare the following examples.

(27) /ki-pe-htaw-eti-n/ kipe-hta-tin
 2 hear inv sg

'I hear you'

(28) /ki-pe-htaw-i-n/ kipe-htawin
 2 hear dir sg

'you hear me'

In contrast, /i/, but not /e/, palatalizes a preceding t, across a morpheme boundary. t is itself associated with two underlying segments, /t/ and /θ/. /t/ palatalizes to c, while /θ/ palatalizes to ç. The following examples illustrate, first, that /e/ does not trigger palatalization, second, /i/ causing palatalization of /θ/, and finally, /i/ palatalizing /t/.

- (29) /ki-na-θ-eti-n/ kina-titin
 2 fetch inv sg
 'I fetch you'
- (30) /ki-na-θ-i-n/ kina-sin
 2 fetch dir sg
 'you fetch me'
- (31) /e--api-t-ik/ e--apicik
 sit 3 3p
 'they are sitting' [conjunct]

/i/ and /e/ behave alike with respect to one morphophonemic rule: both contract with a preceding Cw to form Co.

- (32) /ni-pakamahw-ekw-w/ nipakamahok
 1 hit inv 3
 'he hits me'
- (33) /e--pakamahw-it/ e--pakamahot
 hit 3-1
 'he hits me' [conjunct]

As illustrated in (32), above, word-final w is also subject to morphophonemic variation. w is deleted after consonants if followed by another w, or by word boundary. Finally, two more morphophonemic rules need to be mentioned: nasals become h before stops, and suffix-initial short vowels are deleted after vowels. Both of these rules are illustrated below.

- (34) /e--wa-pan-k/ e--wa-pahk
 be dawn 3
 'it is dawn' [conjunct]

(35) /nikamo-eyi-w-a/ nikamoyiwa
 sing obv 3 obv

'he [obv] sang'

The rest of the chapter will be organized as follows.

First the inflectional pattern for intransitives will be discussed, followed by Transitive Inanimate inflection. Last of all, the special complications of the Transitive Animate paradigm will be presented. The Transitive Inanimate stems and the intransitives are fully inflected only for subject, while the Transitive Animate stems are inflected for both subject and object. Full paradigms of each of the four verb classes are given in the appendix following this chapter.

3. Animate Intransitive

Animate Intransitive stems are those stems specialized for a grammatically animate subject. The verb is inflected for the subject, and for no other argument. In the discussion below, inflection for first and second person will be presented first, followed by third person inflection. The position classes to be discussed are the prefix position, and suffix positions 3, 5, and 7. Suffixes of positions 1 and 2 do not appear on intransitive verbs.

3.1. Non-third person subjects

In the independent order, non-third person subjects are marked for person in the prefix position, and for number in

position 5.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----|-----|---------------|
| (36) | ni-pimipahta--n | | | 'I run' |
| | 1 | run | sg | |
| (37) | ki-pimipahta--n | | | 'you sg. run' |
| | 2 | run | sg | |
| (38) | ki-pimipahta--na-wa-w | | | 'you pl. run' |
| | 2 | run | 2pl | |

The first person prefix is ni-, the second person prefix is ki-. ki- is also used with the first person plural inclusive.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----|--------|------------------|
| (39) | ki-pimipahta--na-naw | | | 'we (incl.) run' |
| | 2 | run | 1p inc | |

In the conjunct order, there is no prefix position. Suffixes in position 5 encode both person and number of non-third person arguments.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----|------|---------------|
| (40) | e--pimipahta--ya-n | | | 'I run' |
| | | run | 1 sg | |
| (41) | e--pimipahta--yan | | | 'you sg. run' |
| | | run | 2 sg | |
| (42) | e--pimipahta--ye-k | | | 'you pl. run' |
| | | run | 2 pl | |

3.2. Third person subjects

Like the non-third person subjects in the independent order, information about third person subjects of AI verbs is located in two separate positions. A suffix in position 5 indicates third person, while suffixes in position 7 indicate other features such as plurality. This pattern holds in both the independent and the conjunct order.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| (43) | pimipahta.-w
run 3 | 'he runs' |
| (44) | pimipahta.-w-ak
run 3 3p | 'they run' |
| (45) | e.-pimipahta.-t
run 3 | 'he runs' [conj] |
| (46) | e.-pimipahta.-c-ik
run 3 3p | 'they run' [conj] |

As mentioned above in section 2.5., the conjunct third plural marker -ik palatalizes a preceding t.

Throughout the Cree inflectional system, there is a general division of non-third person versus third, with the affixes marking number often separate from those marking person. In position 5, there is an overlap between the person marker for third persons, and affixes marking features of non-third person. As will be seen below, this overlap leads to complications in the Transitive Animate paradigm, where it is possible to have both a third person argument and a non-third person argument.

Another feature of third persons that may be marked on verbs is obviation. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, if there is more than one third person in a clause, all but one will be marked as obviative. The single unmarked third person -- called "proximate" -- is typically the most central to the discourse; the obviative third persons are more peripheral. One construction in which obviative marking is obligatory is when an animate noun is possessed by a third person possessor. This always triggers obviative marking on the possessed noun. In the examples

below illustrating obviative marking on verbs, possessed animate nouns will be used as subjects.

The obviative status of the subject of an Animate Intransitive verb is reflected on the verb by the position 3 suffix -iyi-. In the independent order, obviative subjects are also marked by a position 7 suffix, -a.

(47) o-kosis-a pimipahta--yi-w-a
3 son obv run obv 3 obv

'his son [obv] runs'

(48) o-kosis-a e--pimipahta--yi-t
3 son obv run obv 3

'his son [obv] runs' [conjunct]

Animate third persons marked obviative are neutralized for number: the obviative noun ending -a is in complementary distribution with the plural ending -ak, as are the homophonous position 7 verbal suffixes which mark obviation and plurality in the independent order.

4. Inanimate Intransitive

Inanimate Intransitive verb stems are specialized for grammatically inanimate subjects, and therefore have no first or second person forms. Inflectional categories found on II verbs are number and obviation. Unlike the other three types of verb stems, Inanimate Intransitive verbs distinguish singular and plural obviative subjects. The following examples illustrate inflected II verbs, first in the independent order, then in the conjunct order.

- (49) mihkwa--w maskisin
 be red 3 shoe
 'the shoe is red'
- (50) mihkwa--w-a maskisin-a
 be red 3 pl shoe pl
 'the shoes are red'
- (51) mihkwa--yi-w o-maskisin
 be red obv 3 3 shoe
 'his shoe [obv] is red'
- (52) mihkwa--yi-w-a o-maskisin-a
 be red obv 3 pl 3 shoe pl
 'his shoes [obv] are red'

Conjunct forms:

- (53) e--mihkwa--k maskisin
 be red 3 shoe
 'the shoe is red' [conjunct]
- (54) e--mihkwa--k-i maskisin-a
 be red 3 pl shoe pl
 'the shoes are red' [conjunct]
- (55) e--mihkwa--yi-k o-maskisin
 be red obv 3 3 shoe
 'his shoe [obv] is red' [conjunct]
- (56) e--mihkwa--yi-k-i o-maskisin-a
 be red obv 3 pl 3 shoe pl
 'his shoes [obv] are red' [conjunct]

The II forms are quite straightforward: -w-, the position 5 suffix marking third person (animate or inanimate) appears throughout the independent order forms; in the conjunct forms, the position 5 suffix for inanimate third person is used: -k-. Plurality is marked by -a in the independent order, and -i in the conjunct: both are

position 7 suffixes. The obviative status of the subject of an Inanimate Intransitive verb is marked in both orders by the position 3 suffix -iyi-. This is the same suffix that is used in the Animate Intransitive forms discussed above, and in the transitive forms below. But, unlike Animate Intransitive verbs, there is no obviative marker in position 7 for the independent order verbs (compare the absence of a nominal obviative suffix for inanimates).

5. Transitive Inanimate

The inflection of Transitive Inanimate verbs -- that is, those transitive verbs specialized for an inanimate object -- is very similar to that of Animate Intransitive verbs, discussed above. The major difference between the two paradigms is that the TI inflection includes a position 2 suffix. In general, the suffixes of position 2, traditionally called "theme signs", contribute information about the features of both subject and object. They play a key role in the inflection of Transitive Animate stems, as will be discussed below. The role of the theme signs in the Transitive Inanimate paradigm, however, is less complicated than their use with Transitive Animate verbs.

5.1. Theme signs

Transitive Inanimate verb stems can be divided into three classes, on the basis of the theme sign required by

the stem (see Bloomfield 1962). Class I TI stems take -e- alternating with -am-, Class II stems take -a-, and Class III stems, the smallest class, have a null theme sign. The alternation of theme signs in Class I operates as follows: in the independent order, with a first or second person subject, the theme sign is -e-; otherwise -am- is used. The following examples illustrate TI stems in the three classes, with the theme sign in position 2 glossed "ts".

Class I

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (57) | ni-wa.paht-e-n
1 see ts sg | 'I see it' |
| (58) | wa.paht-am-w-ak
see ts 3 3p | 'they see it' |
| (59) | e--wa.paht-am-a-n
see ts 1sg | 'I see it'
[conjunct] |

Class II

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (60) | ni-sa.kiht-a--n
1 love ts sg | 'I love it' |
| (61) | e--sa.kiht-a--ya-n
love ts 1sg | 'I love it'
[conjunct] |

Class III

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (62) | ni-mi.ci-ø-n
1 eat ts sg | 'I eat it' |
| (63) | e--mi.ci-ø-ya-n
eat ts 1sg | 'I eat it'
[conjunct] |

5.2. Subject inflection

The inflectional affixes of the prefix position and suffix positions 3, 5, and 7 are identical to those

presented above for the Animate Intransitive verbs. As noted above in section 2.4., on alternate forms of the inflectional affixes, the position 5 suffixes of the conjunct order that begin in y drop the y if a consonant precedes. This environment often occurs in the conjunct order of Class I Transitive Inanimate verbs, as seen in (59) above, where the position 5 marker for first person singular is -a-n, rather than -ya-n, following the theme sign -am-. Likewise, the conjunct order marker for 3rd person is -k, not -t, when the theme sign -am immediately precedes.

Transitive Inanimate stems are fully inflected only for subject. The presence of the theme sign in position 2 indicates that the verb is transitive, and the shape of the verb stem indicates that the gender of the object must be inanimate. However, the number of the object is not indicated; nor is the status of the object with respect to obviation. In this regard, Transitive Inanimate verbs differ from Transitive Animate verbs, which specify features for both subject and object.

6. Transitive Animate

The last class of verb stems to be discussed is Transitive Animate, the class which presents the greatest number of complications. In this class, the object of the verb is animate, so nearly all possible combinations of person, number, and obviation features for both subject and object are found in the Transitive Animate paradigm. The

only exceptions are those combinations representing reflexive or reciprocal action: reflexives and reciprocals are formed by derivational suffixes, which turn the TA stem into an AI stem. This derived intransitive is then inflected for subject only. Reflexives and reciprocals will be discussed in chapter 5.

Following the Algonquianist tradition, Transitive Animate inflection is discussed in three sets: one set involving a third person subject acting on a third person object, another set involving a non-third person subject acting on a non-third person object, and the "mixed set", where one argument is third person and the other non-third. The discussion begins with the mixed set.

6.1. Mixed set

The discussion of Transitive Animate inflection will begin by considering verbs inflected for one non-third person argument and one third person argument. The following examples have a first person subject and a third person object.

(64) ni-wa-pam-a--w 'I see him'
 1 see dir 3

(65) ni-wa-pam-a--w-ak 'I see them'
 1 see dir 3 3p

Compare the examples above with the following Animate Intransitive forms, repeated here for convenience:

(36) ni-pimipahta--n 'I run'
 1 run sg

(44) pimipahta--w-ak 'they run'
 run 3 3p

Looking first at the Transitive Animate examples in (64) and (65), it is evident that in both the subject is first person singular, which is marked on the verb by the prefix ni-. In both (64) and (65), the object is third person, which is indicated by the position 5 suffix -w. In (65), the third person object is plural, indicated by the plural marker -ak in position 7.

Comparing (64) and (65) to the Animate Intransitive examples in (36) and (44), three differences are revealed. The first is that, in the Transitive Animate forms, there is no position 5 suffix indicating that the first person subject is singular. Instead, position 5 is occupied by the third person marker, -w. The second difference is that the third person markers of positions 5 and 7, which mark features of the subject in (44), mark features of the object in (64) and (65). The third difference is that the transitive verbs have a suffix in position 2 -- a "theme sign" -- while the intransitives do not. The function of the theme sign -a- in the Transitive Animate forms above is to indicate that the non-third person argument is the subject and the third person argument is the object.

All of the topics just mentioned -- the distribution of position 5 suffixes, the fact that person and number affixes are unspecified for grammatical function, and the role of the theme signs -- will be returned to shortly. First, however, additional examples will be considered.

- (66) ni-wa-pam-a--na·n 'we (excl.) see him'
 1 see dir 1p
- (67) ni-wa-pam-a--na·n-ak 'we (excl.) see them'
 1 see dir 1p 3p
- (68) ni-pimipahta--na·n 'we (excl.) run'
 1 run 1p

Again, the first two examples are Transitive Animate forms; the third is an Animate Intransitive form given for comparison. In (66) and (67), where the subject is plural, the features of the subject are marked in the same fashion as on the Animate Intransitive verb of (68). This is in contrast to (64), where the singular first person subject does not have an overt marker of singularity. In all three examples above, the prefix ni- marks first person, while the position 5 suffix -na·n marks plurality. As in the earlier examples (64) and (65), the theme sign -a- indicates that the non-third argument is subject and the third person argument is object. Plurality of third person, as in (65), is marked by the position 7 suffix -ak.

What is different about (66) and (67), distinguishing them from all examples seen so far involving a third person, is that -w, the person marker for third person, does not appear in position 5. Instead, in (66) and (67), position 5 is filled by the suffix marking the first person argument as plural.

Leaving the discussion of position 5 for the moment, let us now consider some forms in which the subject is third person and the object is a non-third person. Where morphophonemic processes have deleted inflectional material,

the underlying form is given along with the actually occurring form.

- (69) /ni-wa-pam-ekw-w/ niwa-pamik
 1 see inv 3
 'he sees me'
- (70) /ni-wa-pam-ekw-w-ak/ niwa-pamikwak
 1 see inv 3 3p
 'they see me'
- (71) ni-wa-pam-iko-na-n
 1 see inv 1p
 'he sees us (excl.)'
- (72) ni-wa-pam-iko-na-n-ak
 1 see inv 1p 3p
 'they see us (excl.)'

The difference in inflection between (64)-(67) and (69)-(72), above, is in the choice of the position 2 theme sign. Whereas -a- links the non-third person argument to subject and third person argument to object, -ikw-, or -iko-, links the third person argument to subject and the non-third person argument to object. Otherwise, the inflection is exactly the same: the person of the non-third person argument is marked by the prefix ni-; plurality of the the third person argument is marked by the position 7 suffix -ak. The position 5 suffixes pattern in the same way in (69)-(72) as they do in the earlier examples: in (71) and (72), where the non-third argument is plural, position 5 is filled by -na-n, marking plurality. In (69) and (70), where the non-third argument is singular, the person marker for third person, -w, appears.

These examples illustrate a property of Cree verb inflection that is somewhat unusual: the shape of the person and number affixes does not vary for subject and object. Nor are the affix positions specialized for encoding a particular grammatical function. In general, the morphemes marking subject and object appear in an invariant form, and it is the theme sign of position 2 that explicitly links one argument to subject, and the other to object.

Some accounts of Algonquian inflection (for example, Jolley 1982 on Cree, or LeSourd 1976 on Fox) have analyzed the inflectional system differently. In these accounts, the theme signs mark a voice opposition, with the direct forms (those verbs with -a-, -e-, or -i- in position 2) being active, and the inverse forms (those in which the position 2 suffix is -ikw- or -iti-) some type of passive. This analysis has the effect of allowing a slightly less complex description of the inflectional system. For example, if (69)-(72) were reanalyzed as passives, the prefix ni- could be described as always marking a first person subject.

There is, however, strong syntactic evidence against analyzing the inverse forms as passives; this evidence will be presented in chapter 3. For the remainder of this description of inflection, it will be assumed that both the direct and the inverse forms of Transitive Animate verbs are active.

If the third person argument is obviative, this may be marked in the verb inflection. (Although in texts, at

least, this explicit marking of obviation is sometimes omitted on verbs of the mixed set.)

(73) ni-wa-pam-im- a- -w-a o-kosis-a
1 see obv dir 3 obv 3 son obv

'I see his son [obv]'

okosisa, a noun possessed by a third person, is obviative, as discussed in section 1. As in the earlier examples, the first person argument is marked by the prefix ni-, and the position 2 theme sign -a- indicates a non-third person subject acting on a third person object (regardless of the obviation status of the third person). The object is marked by three suffixes. -w in position 5 indicates that the object is third person, and -im- in position 1 is used to mark an obviative object of a direct verb in these forms involving one non-third person argument. In the independent order, the position 7 suffix -a additionally reflects the obviative status of the third person argument.

If it is the subject that is obviative, acting on a non-third person object, a different pattern is found, as illustrated below.

(74) ni-wa-pam-iko-yi-w-a o-kosis-a
1 see inv obv 3 obv 3 son cbv

'his son [obv] sees me'

This form differs from (73) in two ways: first, as expected, the theme sign in position 2 is iko, indicating that the third person is subject and the non-third person is object. The other difference is in the marking of

obviation. Where (73) marks the obviative object with suffixes in positions 1, 5, and 7, (74) marks the obviative subject with suffixes in positions 3, 5, and 7. The position 3 suffix -iyi- is used here, rather than the position 1 suffix -im-. -im- and -iyi- are in complementary distribution, and -im- never occurs with inverse verb forms. On direct forms, -im- marks obviative objects. (For its use on passives, see section 6.5 below.) If an obviative subject acts on a plural non-third person object, and the verb is in the independent order, there is no position 3 suffix. The obviative subject is marked only by the position 7 suffix -a.

- (75) ni-wa-pam-iko-na-n-a
 1 see inv 1p obv
 'he (obv.) sees us'

The conjunct order forms for non-third person with third person arguments follow the same patterns seen in the independent order in several respects. For instance, if the non-third person argument is plural, it is encoded by a suffix in position 5. As a result, the presence of the third person argument is registered only by the theme sign, and by the third person plural suffix of position 7, if appropriate.

- (76) e--wa-pam-a--ya-hk-ik
 see dir 1p 3p
 'we (excl.) see them' [conjunct]

- (77) e--wa·pam-iko-ya·hk-ik
 see inv 1p 3p
 'they see us (excl.)' [conjunct]

The inflectional pattern is the same in (76) and (77), except for the position 2 theme sign. The direct theme sign indicates that the non-third person argument is the subject, and the third person argument is the object, while the inverse theme sign links the non-third person argument to object, and the third person to subject. Position 5 is filled with the suffix marking first person plural exclusive, and the third plural argument is marked by the position 7 suffix -ik.

However, conjunct order forms for singular non-third person arguments acting on third person display a different pattern. The position 2 theme sign is \emptyset , and the position 5 suffixes encode features of both subject and object.

- | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------------|
| (78) | e--wa·pam- \emptyset -ak
see 1sg-3 | 'I see him'
[conjunct] |
| (79) | e--wa·pam- \emptyset -at
see 2sg-3 | 'you sg. see him'
[conjunct] |
| (80) | e--wa·pam- \emptyset -it
see 3-1sg | 'he sees me'
[conjunct] |
| (81) | e--wa·pam- \emptyset -isk
see 3-2sg | 'he sees you sg.'
[conjunct] |

These suffixes do not appear in any of the other inflectional paradigms, and may therefore be considered portmanteau morphemes encoding the person and number of the non-third person argument, along with the information that the other argument is an animate third person. Plurality of the third person argument is indicated by the usual position

7 suffix -ik, which palatalizes a preceding t.

- (82) e--wa.pam- ϕ -ak-ik 'I see them'
 see 1sg-3 3p [conjunct]
- (83) e--wa.pam- ϕ -ic-ik 'they see me'
 see 3-1sg 3p [conjunct]

Obviative marking in the conjunct order is similar to that seen in the independent order forms above. An obviative object of a direct verb is marked by the position 1 suffix -im-, and an obviative subject of an inverse verb is marked by a position 3 suffix. (The position 3 suffix is -iyi- if the object is singular; -wa- if the object is non-third person plural.) As already seen in the conjunct forms for AI, II, and TI verbs with obviative subjects, there is no position 7 suffix marking obviation in the conjunct order.

- (84) e--wa.pam-im- ϕ -ak o-kosis-a
 see obv 1sg-3 3 son obv
 'I see his son [obv]' [conjunct]
- (85) e--wa.pam-im-a--ya-hk o-kosis-a
 see obv dir 1p 3 son obv
 'we (excl.) see his son [obv]' [conjunct]
- (86) e--wa.pam- ϕ -iyi-sk o-kosis-a
 see obv 3-2sg 3 son obv
 'his son [obv] sees you sg.' [conjunct]
- (87) e--wa.pam-iko-wa--ye.k o-kosis-a
 see inv obv 2p 3 son obv
 'his son [obv] sees you pl.' [conjunct]

6.2. Non-third person set

These forms involve a second person subject acting on a first person object, or vice versa. First the pattern found in the independent order will be discussed, then the conjunct order.

In the independent order, the position 2 theme sign for second person subject, first person object is -i-. The following examples list all the independent order forms with this theme sign.

- (88) ki-wa-pam-i-na·n
 2 see dir 1p
 'you (sg. or pl.) see us'
- (89) ki-wa-pam-i-na·wa·w
 2 see dir 2p
 'you pl. see me'
- (90) ki-wa-pam-i-n
 2 see dir sg
 'you sg. see me'

The prefix on all of these forms is ki-. The theme sign -i- is considered direct; it specifies the person features of both subject and object. The theme sign does not provide any information about the number of either the subject or the object. This information must be provided elsewhere in the inflection. However, since both arguments are non-third person, the suffixes indicating number of non-third persons are all position 5 suffixes. Position 5 can be filled by only one suffix.

Examination of the above examples reveals that when a second person subject, either singular or plural, acts on a first person plural object, it is the first person plural that is marked in position 5. If a second person plural subject acts on a first person singular object, position 5 is filled with the marker for second person plural. There is an interesting difference in the interpretation of these forms. When position 5 is filled with the marker for first person plural, the number of the second person subject is left vague: it could be either singular or plural. But when the position 5 marker is second person plural, it can be inferred that the number of the first person object is singular. This inference is possible because, if the first person object were plural, the position 5 marker would have been na-n, rather than na-wa-w.

In the form for a second person singular subject acting on a first person singular object, position 5 is filled with -n. This suffix is used in intransitives to mark a singular non-third subject; here, it could be interpreted as reflecting the number of either the subject or the object.

Next, the forms for a first person subject acting on a second person object will be discussed. The theme sign for this combination is -iti-, which is considered inverse.

(91) ki-wa-pam-iti-na-n
2 see inv 1p

'we see you (sg. or pl.)'

(92) ki-wa-pam-iti-na-wa-w
 2 see inv 2p

'I see you pl.'

(93) ki-wa-pam-iti-n
 2 see inv sg

'I see you sg.'

Except for the difference in the theme sign, these forms are exactly the same as the forms for second person acting on first. The prefix in all cases is ki-, and the position 5 suffixes display the same pattern as seen above. If the first person subject is plural, it is marked in position 5. Otherwise, if there is a second person plural object, it is marked. If both arguments are singular, position 5 is filled with the marker for a singular non-third person. This pattern results in the same difference of interpretation for the forms with a plural marker in position 5. The form which marks first person plural is vague with respect to the number of the second person argument, while the form marking second person plural can only be interpreted as having a singular first person as its other argument.

The distribution of the prefixes marking person in the independent order is sometimes described as being sensitive to a hierarchy of person, as follows:

(94) 2 > 1 > 3

The generalization is that the prefix encodes the person of the argument which ranks highest on the hierarchy. This schema succeeds in describing the paradigmatic relationship

holding between the person prefixes. However, the position 5 suffixes found in the non-third person set operate on a different ranking, as shown below:

(95) 1 pl > 2 pl > non-3 sg.

The conjunct order forms also reflect this ranking of person/number categories. If either the subject or the object is first person plural, it will be marked in position 5.

(96) e--wa·pam-i-ya·hk
see dir 1p

'you (sg. or pl.) see us' [conjunct]

(97) e--wa·pam-it-a·hk
see inv 1p

'we see you (sg. or pl.)' [conjunct]

When a second person plural subject acts on a first person singular object, it is the second person which is marked for number.

(98) e--wa·pam-i-ye·k
see dir 2p

'you pl. see me' [conjunct]

If a first person singular subject acts on a second person plural object, a special ending is used.

(99) e--wa·pam-it-akok
see inv 1sg-2p

'I see you pl.' [conjunct]

Since akok shows up nowhere else in the inflectional system, it is here considered a portmanteau form marking features of both arguments.

When second person singular acts on first person singular, it is the second person which is marked.

(100) e--wa.pam-i-yan
see dir 2sg

'you sg. see me' [conjunct]

When first person singular acts on second person singular, position 5 is filled with the first person singular suffix.

(101) e--wa.pam-it-a-n
see dir 1sg

'I see you sg.' [conjunct]

In other words, when both arguments of a verb in the conjunct order are singular and non-third person, position 5 encodes the subject. The position 5 suffix found in the independent order on verbs involving two singular non-third person arguments may also be thought of as encoding features of the subject, since it marks singular number.

6.3. Third person set

This section examines the forms used to express two third person arguments of a Transitive Animate verb. As mentioned earlier, third persons are either proximate or obviative, with the most central participant in the discourse considered proximate, and all others considered obviative. In the discussion below, the following combinations of third person arguments will be examined: proximate subject and obviative object, obviative subject and proximate object, obviative subject and obviative

object, and proximate subject with a "further obviative" object.

For the cases where a proximate subject acts on an obviative object, a direct form of the Transitive Animate verb is used. The position 2 theme sign is -e- in the independent order, and -a- in the conjunct order.

(102) wa·pam·e·-w
see dir 3

'he [prox] sees him [obv]'

(103) e·-wa·pam·a·-t
see dir 3

'he [prox] sees him [obv]' [conjunct]

There is no prefix on the independent order verb, because there is no non-third person argument. Position 5 is filled with the person marker for third person. If the proximate subject is plural, this is indicated in position 7.

(104) wa·pam·e·-w·ak
see dir 3 3p

'they [prox] see him [obv]'

(105) e·-wa·pam·a·-c·ik
see dir 3 3p

'they [prox] see him [obv]' [conjunct]

Except for the theme sign, there is no explicit marking of the obviative object on the verb (but see the discussion of proximate subjects with "further obviative" objects, below; these forms have a position 1 suffix marking the obviative object.)

When an obviative subject acts on a proximate object, the Transitive Animate verb is inverse, with the theme sign -ikw- in the independent order, and -iko- in the conjunct. (The independent order sometimes uses -iko-, giving wa·pamikow 'he (obv.) sees him (prox.)'.) In the independent order examples below, the underlying form has been given, to illustrate the position 5 marker. Regular morphophonemic processes delete w when preceded by a consonant, and followed by w or word boundary.

(106) /wa·pam-ekw-w/ wa·pamik
 see inv 3

'he [obv] sees him [prox]'

(107) e--wa·pam-iko-t
 see inv 3

'he [obv] sees him [prox]' [conjunct]

(108) /wa·pam-ekw-w-ak/ wa·pamikwak
 see inv 3 3p

'he [obv] sees them [prox]'

(109) e--wa·pam-iko-c-ik
 see inv 3 3p

'he [obv] sees them [prox]' [conjunct]

If the proximate object is plural, it is marked by a position 7 suffix. Although this marking of object, rather than subject, may suggest that these forms are really passives, the syntactic arguments presented in chapter 4 support the analysis of the inverse forms as active verbs.

There can be only one proximate third person, but more than one obviative. When an obviative third person acts on another obviative, either direct or inverse forms are

possible.

- (110) wa-pam-e--yi-w-a
see dir obv 3 obv

'he [obv] sees him [obv]'

- (111) e--wa-pam-a--yi-t
see dir obv 3

'he [obv] sees him [obv]' [conjunct]

- (112) wa-pam-iko-yi-w-a
see inv obv 3 obv

'he [obv] sees him [obv]'

- (113) e--wa-pam-iko-yi-t
see inv obv 3

'he [obv] sees him [obv]' [conjunct]

The inverse forms involving two obviative arguments are rare. The textual examples below illustrate the use of these direct and inverse forms

- (114) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 98]
o-hi na-pe-wah ka--nipaha-yit
this.obv man obv kill obv-obv [dir]

owi-kima-kaniyiwah itohtahe-w.
obv's wife obv take there 3-obv

'he (prox) took to that place the man (obv)
who had killed his (obv) wife (obv).'

Here, the subject of itohtahe-w 'take there' is proximate, and the object is obviative. The object is expressed as a relative clause: the head noun, na-pe-wah is obviative, and is the subject of the verb in the relative clause. The object of the lower verb is also obviative, referring to the man's wife. Since the wife is referred to by a possessed NP, in which the man is the possessor, she is here more peripheral than he is, and the verb form used is

direct.

- (115) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 70]
 ki.tahtawe.wa.pame.w iskwe.wah e.h.wayawiyit,
 presently see 3-obv woman obv go out obv
 e.-ki.-nipahimiht ona.pe.miyiwah,
 be killed obv her husband obv
 e.-ki.-nipahikowit ka.hka.kiwace.na.
 kill obv-obv [inv] Crow Indian obv

'Presently he saw a woman come out of her lodge,
 a certain woman whose husband had been killed;
 the Crow Indians had killed him.'

In the last clause of the above example, an inverse form of 'kill' is used. (Bloomfield often writes y for y after g.) The inverse form is preferred over the direct form here because the subject of the verb is more peripheral than the object. An interesting feature of this sentence is that the husband is first introduced as the obviative subject of a passive verb: in the following clause, the verb is repeated in the active, inverse form to identify the killers. Passive forms are discussed in section 6.5 below.

When a proximate and two obviative third persons are present, it is possible to explicitly mark a proximate subject acting on a "further" obviative. (See Wolfart 1978 for a discussion of the status of this category.)

- (116) wa.pam.im.e.w o.kosis.iyiw.a
 see obv dir 3 3 son obv obv
 'he_i [prox] saw his_j [obv] son_k [obv]'
- (117) e.-wa.pam.im.a.-t o.kosis.iyiw.a
 see obv dir 3 3 son obv obv
 'he_i [prox] saw his_j [obv] son_k [obv]' [conj]

The subject is proximate; all other third persons must therefore be marked obviative. okosisiyiwa 'his [obv] son' is marked obviative, by the nominal suffix -a, and the possessor is marked obviative by the suffix -iyiw-. The use of a direct verb form that does not include the position 1 suffix -im- would imply only that a proximate subject is acting on an obviative object. Use of this form in the above context would be ambiguous if no lexical NP object were present. The presence of the position 1 obviative marker therefore specifies that the object is the "further" obviative; that is, the obviative third person identified by reference to the first obviative mentioned.

6.4. TA inanimate subject forms

Action by an inanimate subject on an animate object is expressed by inverse forms of Transitive Animate verbs. The theme sign is -iko- (alternating with -ikw-). Position 5 is filled with a suffix encoding the features of the the object. The full paradigm is listed in the appendix to this chapter.

In the conjunct order, inanimate subject paradigm is distinct from the animate subject paradigm in that it does not have the specialized portmanteau morphemes encoding action by an animate third person subject on a non-third person singular object. The inanimate subject form for first person object is given below, followed by the corresponding animate subject inverse form.

- (118) e--se-kih-iko-ya·n 'it scares me'
 scare inv 1sg [conjunct]
- (119) e--se-kih-~~Ø~~-it 'he scares me'
 scare 3-1sg [conjunct]

The portmanteau forms are used with a zero theme sign. -it, for example in (119), has the specialized combination of features of animate third person subject and first person singular object. The inanimate subject form in (118), on the other hand, displays the inverse theme sign, followed by the regular suffix for first person singular. (118) unambiguously encodes action by an inanimate subject, but the information about the gender of the subject is not a function of the features associated with its component morphemes. Rather, this reading is due to the existence of the more highly marked form, (119), specialized for an animate subject. Since this more highly marked form was not selected, (118) can only be interpreted as having an inanimate subject.

All other conjunct forms with inanimate subjects are identical to the regular TA inverse paradigm. For example, e--se-kihikoya·hk could mean either 'it scares us' or 'he scares us'.

A pattern similar to that of the relationship between (119) and (118) is seen in the independent order with the second person plural ending -wa·w. -wa·w is used in direct and inverse forms of the mixed set. [3]

- (120) ki-se-kih-a--wa·w 'you pl. scare him'
 2 scare dir 2p

- (121) ki-se-kih-iko-wa-w 'he scares you pl.'
 2 scare inv 2p

That is, -wa-w is only used when there is an animate third person appearing as the other argument of the verb. In all other contexts, the second person plural ending is -na-wa-w. [4]

- (122) kipimipahta-na-wa-w 'you pl. run'
 kiwa-pahte-na-wa-w 'you pl. see it'
 kiwa-pamina-wa-w 'you pl. see me'
 kiwa-pamitina-wa-w 'I see you pl.'

The inanimate subject form also takes the less marked variant -na-wa-w:

- (123) kise-kihikona-wa-w 'it scares you pl.'

Again, there is no overt morpheme encoding inanimate subject in this form. Its interpretation as having an inanimate subject is a consequence of the existence of the more highly specified form for an animate subject.

Another difference between the inanimate subject paradigm and the animate subject inverse paradigm in the independent order is that the inanimate subject forms display the position 5 suffix -n, marking non-third singular, while the animate subject forms fill position 5 with -w, marking third person:

- (124) ni-se-kih-iko-n 'it scares me'
 1 scare inv sg

The inanimate subject forms are fully inflected for features of their objects. The presence of the inanimate subject is registered only by the inverse theme sign; there is no specification, for example, of the number of the subject. Because of this inflectional pattern, the

inanimate subject forms are sometimes compared to passives. It is clear, however, that these forms are not passives. They are fully transitive, having undergone no valence-reduction process. Neither can they be analyzed as transitive passives, as will be seen in chapter 3. The true passive forms of Transitive Animate stems are discussed in the next section.

6.5. Passives of TA verbs

Passives may be formed from Transitive Animate verb stems, resulting in a syntactically intransitive verb. [3] The syntax of passives will be discussed in chapter 3; here, only the morphology of the passive will be described.

As in other areas of Cree morphology, there is a distinction between third person forms and non-third person forms. Passive verbs with non-third person subjects attach a suffix -ikawi- to the TA stem, resulting in a derived intransitive.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|----|-----------------------|
| (125) | ni-sa-kihikawi-n | | 'I am loved' |
| | 1 be loved | sg | |
| (126) | e--sa-kihikawi-ye-k | | 'you (pl.) are loved' |
| | be loved | 2p | [conjunct] |

This pattern is found in both independent and conjunct orders, for all non-third person subjects.

The forms for passive verbs with third person subjects, on the other hand, do not resemble the non-third person forms; in fact, at first glance, they look like active verbs.

- (127) sa-kih-a--w 'he is loved'
 love dir? 3
- (128) sa-kih-a--w-ak 'they are loved'
 love dir? 3 3p
- (129) sa-kih-im-a--w-a 'he (obv.) is loved'
 love obv dir? 3 obv

Conjunct forms:

- (130) e--sa-kih-iht 'he is loved'
 love 3pass? [conjunct]
- (131) e--sa-kih-ihc-ik 'they are loved'
 love 3pass? 3p [conjunct]
- (132) e--sa-kih-im-iht 'he (obv.) is loved'
 love obv 3pass? [conjunct]

The derivational suffix -ikawi-, found on passives with non-third person subjects, is absent from the third person forms. In fact, there is no derivational morphology at all attached to the Transitive Animate stem to signal a change in grammatical relations. The conjunct passive forms have a special position 5 suffix -iht, but the independent passive forms have no one affix specialized for the passive. Instead, the independent forms display a combination of suffixes that are all used elsewhere in the Transitive Animate paradigm on active verb forms. In particular, the theme sign -a-- is otherwise associated with a non-third person subject acting on a third person object. The position 1 suffix -im- shows up in both independent and conjunct passives marking an obviative subject: elsewhere in the TA paradigm -im- marks obviative objects.

Despite the morphological differences, the passive forms all behave alike, and are syntactically passive, as

will be seen in chapter 3.

7. Departures from Wolfart 1973.

My analysis of Cree verb inflection differs from that of Wolfart 1973 in a few details, which are made explicit in this section. In general, the points of divergence reflect a methodological difference. Where Wolfart sets up underlying forms resembling Proto-Algonquian reconstructions, I have instead chosen to give a less abstract analysis, based upon synchronic data from Cree only. For example, the third person suffix of the independent order, here identified as -w, is analyzed by Wolfart as /-wa/, corresponding exactly to Proto-Algonquian * -wa. A rule deleting word-final short vowels then applies to give surface -w. While it is clear that in the historical development of Cree from Proto-Algonquian most word-final short vowels were lost, it is an open question whether synchronic descriptions of verb inflection ought to recapitulate historical processes such as this one.

Wolfart sets up ten suffix positions, while my analysis has eight. These are listed below for comparison.

(133) Wolfart	AD
1. /em/ obviative	1. (= W's 1)
2. theme signs	2. (= W's 2)
3. /eyi/ obviative	3. (= W's 3)
4. preterit; future imperative	4. (= W's 4)
5. number for non-3 person	5. non-3 number /w/ 3 person
6/7. dubitative; preterit	6. (= W's 6/7)
8. /wa/ 3 person	
9. /k/ 3 plural	7. /ak/ 3 plural
10. /h/ obviative	/a/ obviative
	8. /i/ subj., iter.

One difference between the two analyses is quite trivial: Wolfart puts the dubitative and p-preterit into a complex class 6/7. What I have done instead is simply label this class 6: both paradigms in question are extremely marginal in the Plains dialect of Cree, and I have seen no textual examples of combined dubitative/preterit forms.

The other position class not found in my description is Wolfart's position 8, filled only by the suffix marking 3rd person. This reflects a more substantive difference between Wolfart's analysis of the inflectional system and mine, involving the third person markers for person, number, and obviation.

One point of difference concerns the segmentation of inflectional material, as illustrated by the following inflected forms of api- 'sit'.

(134) apiw 'he sits'

W: /api-wa/
3

AD: /api-w/
3

(135) apiwak 'they sit'

W: /api-wa-k/
3 pl

AD: /api-w-ak/
3 pl

(136) *apiyiwa* 'he [obv.] sits'

W: /*api-eyi-wa-h/*
obv 3 obv

AD: /*api-eyi-w-a/*
obv 3 obv

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, Wolfart sets up /-wa/ as the underlying form of the third person marker. If no other suffixes follow /-wa/, the a is deleted, as in (134). If the plural suffix /-k/ is added, as in (135), the deletion rule fails to apply. In (136), where the stem is inflected for an obviative third person subject, the a of Wolfart's /-wa/ surfaces, despite being in word-final position. For this form, Wolfart posits an obviative suffix /-h:/, which protects the a from being deleted. Word-final h is not phonemic in Cree, so it is not indicated in the surface form *apiyiwa*. Likewise, in Wolfart's position 10 suffix /-ih/, which marks the subjunctive and iterative modes of the conjunct order, the i is protected from deletion by the h.

In contrast, my analysis identifies the marker of third person as -w, third plural -ak, obviative -a, and the subjunctive/iterative marker as -i. [6] For these suffixes, no deletion rules are required. [7]

A related problem is the question of the distribution of the third person suffixes in the inflectional template. First, it should be noted that the dubitative and p-preterit endings of position 6 provide no evidence for either the shape or the position of the morpheme under consideration here, the third person marker of the indicative mode of the independent order. In the dubitative paradigm, the marker

of the third person is apparently zero; the placement of the dubitative suffix in position 6 is based on its occurrence after the non-third person suffixes of position 5, and by it being followed by a suffix marking third plural (-nik, used only with the dubitative). (See Table 15 in Wolfart 1973, p. 44.) The p-preterit forms are even less informative for the purposes of the present discussion.

In the absence of syntagmatic evidence for the position of the third person morpheme, paradigmatic evidence must be considered. Of interest here are the mixed TA forms in which the non-third person is plural. As described in section 6.1 above, these forms do not have a -w suffix marking third person. An example is given below, segmented and glossed according to the analysis presented in this chapter.

(137) ni-wa-pam-a--na-n-ak 'we see them'
 1 see dir (1)p (3)p

In my analysis, the absence of -w is attributed to -w and -na.n belonging to the same position class (position 5). The selection of -na.n to mark the number of the first person argument precludes the appearance of -w. Such co-occurrence constraints are typical of the paradigmatic relations which hold among members of a single position class. Furthermore, the analysis of the third person marker as belonging to the same position class as the non-third plural markers is supported by parallel distributional facts in the conjunct order (cf. section 6.1 above).

Wolfart gives (137) a different analysis. For him, the third person marker is /-wa/, and the plural marker is /-k/. In niwa-pama-na-nak, therefore, the a before the k is taken to be an allomorph of /-wa/, which shows up when position 5 is filled. Consequently, a separate suffix position is needed between position 5 and the plural suffix: this is Wolfart's position 8. As a result of analyzing the third person marker as /-wa/, Wolfart is obliged to increase the inventory of suffix positions, and can provide only an ad hoc account of the absence of w when position 5 is filled. The analysis presented in this chapter, on the other hand, provides motivation for the absence of w, and supports the segmentation of -w alone as the third person marker.

Notes to chapter 2

- 1 The impersonal II verbs take either proximate singular or obviative singular inflection, as discussed in chapter 4.
- 2 The division of affixes into position classes largely follows Wolfart 1973, except for the treatment of the third person markers. See the discussion in section 7.
- 3 -wa.w also marks plurality of second and third person possessors. See section 1.
- 4 In combinations of first person plural inclusive and animate third person arguments, the position 5 suffix in the independent order is always -naw. Elsewhere in the independent order there is free variation between -naw and -na.naw.
- 5 There are also indefinite subject forms of AI and TI verbs. These are most frequently found in the conjunct order, where the ending is -hk. The independent order ending is -niwiw or na.niwiw.
- 6 The discussion of person/number morphemes in the text touches only on the independent order, but another difference between Wolfart's analysis and mine pertains to the conjunct order. For the marker of third plural I set up /-ik/; for Wolfart, the plural marker is the same /-k/ found in the independent order, with the i inserted by a general rule of epenthesis. Evidence for preferring /-ik/, however, comes from the endings of the future imperative, where the third plural ending can only be analyzed as /-ik/; all other person/number endings of the future imperative paradigm match those of the conjunct order. For example,

(i) wi-ce-wa-hkanik 'go with them (later)'
 /wi-ce-w - a - hk - an - ik/
 go with dir fut.imp 2 3p

The third person plural here cannot be analyzed as -k preceded by an epenthetic i: the insertion of i does not occur in the environment n_k (cf. e--pimisihk 'he lies' [conjunct], from /e--pimisin-k/).

- 7 This is not to say there are no synchronic deletion rules in Cree. Strong motivation for a rule deleting a word-final short vowel comes from the imperative paradigm, where an ending /-i/ is posited for 2 singular subject acting on an animate 3 singular object. This /-i/ is deleted word-finally unless the verb stem is monosyllabic and contains a short vowel (Wolfart 1973, p. 58; Ahenakew 1984, pp. 173-5): ahi 'place him', but

mo-w 'eat him', wi-ci-h 'help him', pakamah 'hit him'. The ending /-i/ palatalizes a preceding /θ/: isi 'say so to him', kosi 'fear him' (< /kosθ-/, with palatalization followed by simplification of the geminate θ). The palatalizing effects of /-i/ can also be seen in na-s 'fetch him', pakwa-s 'hate him', although the ending itself has been deleted. /-i/ is thus motivated not only by its actual occurrence with certain stems, but also by its morphophonemic effects on all stems ending in /θ/. A similar vowel-deletion rule has been proposed for noun inflection (see Wolfart 1973, pp. 29-30), though here the evidence is less compelling.

The phenomenon described above, however, shows only that some word-final short vowels in Cree undergo a synchronic deletion rule. The availability of such a rule is not an argument in favor of Wolfart's derivation of, e.g., apiw from /api-wa/. In particular, evidence comparable to that cited above for the imperative ending is lacking. The stem (or stem + theme sign) to which the third person marker attaches is always polysyllabic: that is, the environment in which the rule deleting the imperative ending is blocked never occurs for the third person marker. There are also no morphophonemic processes triggered by a upon preceding segments that would argue for the presence of an underlying a. This lack of evidence, combined with the distributional facts discussed below, argues against Wolfart's account of the third person marker.

Appendix to Chapter 2

Sample Verb Paradigms

Animate Intransitive
(stem: pimipahta-- 'run')

	independent	conjunct
1	nipimipahta-n	e--pimipahta-ya-n
2	kipimipahta-n	e--pimipahta-yan
1p ex	nipimipahta-na-n	e--pimipahta-ya-hk
1p inc	kipimipahta-na-naw	e--pimipahta-yahk
2p	kipimipahta-na-wa-w	e--pimipahta-ye-k
3	pimipahta-w	e--pimipahta-t
3p	pimipahta-wak	e--pimipahta-cik
obv	pimipahta-yiwa	e--pimipahta-yit

Inanimate Intransitive
(stem: mihkwa-- 'be red')

inan sg	mihkwa-w	e--mihkwa-k
inan pl	mihkwa-wa	e--mihkwa-ki
inan obv sg	mihkwa-yiw	e--mihkwa-yik
inan obv pl	mihkwa-yiwa	e--mihkwa-yiki

Transitive Inanimate
(stem: wa-paht- 'see' [Class I])

1	niwa-pahte-n	e--wa-pahtama-n
2	kiwa-pahte-n	e--wa-pahtaman
1p ex	niwa-pahte-na-n	e--wa-pahtama-hk
1p inc	kiwa-pahte-na-naw	e--wa-pahtamahk
2p	kiwa-pahte-na-wa-w	e--wa-pahtame-k
3	wa-pahtam	e--wa-pahtahk
3p	wa-pahtamwak	e--wa-pahtahkik
obv	wa-pahtamiyiwa	e--wa-pahtamiyiwa

Transitive Animate: direct forms
(stem: se-kih- 'frighten')

Subj-Obj	Independent	Conjunct
2-1	kise·kihin	e--se·kihiyan
2p-1	kise·kihina·wa·w	e--se·kihiye·k
2(p)-1p ex	kise·kihina·n	e--se·kihiya·hk
1-3	nise·kiha·w	e--se·kihak
1-3p	nise·kiha·wak	e--se·kihakik
1-obv	nise·kihima·wa	e--se·kihimak
2-3	kise·kiha·w	e--se·kihat
2-3p	kise·kiha·wak	e--se·kihacik
2-obv	kise·kihima·wa	e--se·kihimat
1p ex-3	nise·kiha·na·n	e--se·kiha·ya·hk
1p ex-3p	nise·kiha·na·nak	e--se·kiha·ya·hkik
1p ex-obv	nise·kihima·na·na	e--se·kihima·ya·hk
1p inc-3	kise·kiha·naw	e--se·kiha·yakh
1p inc-3p	kise·kiha·nawak	e--se·kiha·yahkok
1p inc-obv	kise·kihima·nawa	e--se·kihima·yahk
2p-3	kise·kiha·wa·w	e--se·kiha·ye·k
2p-3p	kise·kiha·wa·wak	e--se·kiha·ye·kok
2p-obv	kise·kihima·wa·wa	e--se·kihima·ye·k
3-obv	se·kihe·w	e--se·kiha·t
3p-obv	se·kihe·wak	e--se·kiha·cik
obv-obv	se·kihe·yiwa	e--se·kiha·yit
("further obviative")		
3-obv'	se·kihime·w	e--se·kihima·t
3p-obv'	se·kihime·wak	e--se·kihima·cik

Transitive Animate: inverse forms
(stem: se-kih- 'frighten')

Subj-Obj	Independent	Conjunct
1-2	kise-kihitin	e--se-kihita-n
1-2p	kise-kihitina-wa-w	e--se-kihitakok
1p ex-2(p)	kise-kihitina-n	e--se-kihita-hk
3-1	nise-kihik	e--se-kihik
3p-1	nise-kihikwak	e--se-kihicik
obv-1	nise-kihikoyiwa	e--se-kihiyit
inan-1	nise-kihikon	e--se-kihikoya-n
3-2	kise-kihik	e--se-kihisk
3p-2	kise-kihikwak	e--se-kihiskik
obv-2	kise-kihikoyiwa	e--se-kihiyisk
inan-2	kise-kihikon	e--se-kihikoyan
3-1p ex	nise-kihikona-n	e--se-kihikoya-hk
3p-1p ex	nise-kihikona-nak	e--se-kihikoya-hkik
obv-1p ex	nise-kihikona-na	e--se-kihikowa-ya-hk
inan-1p ex	nise-kihikona-n	e--se-kihikoya-hk
3-1p inc	kise-kihikonaw	e--se-kihikoyahk
3p-1p inc	kise-kihikonawak	e--se-kihikoyahkok
obv-1p inc	kise-kihikonawa	e--se-kihikowa-yahk
inan-1p inc	kise-kihikona-naw	e--se-kihikoyahk
3-2p	kise-kihikowa-w	e--se-kihikoye-k
3p-2p	kise-kihikowa-wak	e--se-kihikoye-kok
obv-2p	kise-kihikowa-wa	e--se-kihikowa-ye-k
inan-2p	kise-kihikona-wa-w	e--se-kihikoye-k
obv-3	se-kihik, se-kihikow	e--se-kihikot
obv-3p	se-kihikwak	e--se-kihikocik
obv-obv	se-kihikoyiwa	e--se-kihikoyit
inan-3	se-kihikow, se-kihik	e--se-kihikot
inan-3p	se-kihikowak, se-kihikwak	e--se-kihikocik
Passive (TA stem)		
1	nise-kihikawin	e--se-kihikawiya-n
2	kise-kihikawin	e--se-kihikawian
1p ex	nise-kihikawina-n	e--se-kihikawiya-hk
1p inc	kise-kihikawina-naw	e--se-kihikawiyahk
2p	kise-kihikawina-wa-w	e--se-kihikawiye-k
3	se-kiha-w	e--se-kihiht
3p	se-kiha-wak	e--se-kihicik
obv	se-kihima-wa	e--se-kihimiht
Indefinite Subject (AI, TI stem)		
	pimipahta-niw	e--pimipahta-hk

Chapter 3

Direct, inverse, and passive verbs

This chapter presents an analysis of the direct forms, inverse forms, and passive forms of Transitive Animate verbs. [1] (Their morphology is described in chapter 2, section 6.) The inverse forms and passive forms have provoked much controversy in Algonquian linguistics: one goal of this chapter is to present clear syntactic evidence that the inverse forms are active, while the passive forms are indeed passive.

A second, broader, goal is to establish for Cree the existence of a syntactic level of grammatical relations distinct, on the one hand, from the representation of thematic roles such as agent and patient, and, on the other hand, from the discourse-based opposition of proximate and obviative third persons. The proximate/obviative opposition and the discourse factors conditioning it are the subject of the following chapter. The role this opposition plays in the choice of direct or inverse verbs is briefly sketched below.

For the subset of Transitive Animate verbs in which both arguments are third person an opposition between direct and inverse forms exists, and is tied to the proximate/obviative distinction within third person. The proximate form is used to refer to the third person most central to the discourse, while more peripheral third

persons are referred to by obviative forms. (A more explicit account of this opposition is given in the next chapter.) When a transitive verb has two third person arguments, either a direct form or an inverse form may be used. The direct form is by far the more frequent, and may be considered the unmarked choice. It signals that the subject of the verb is proximate, and thus more central, while the object is obviative, or more peripheral. The use of the inverse verb, on the other hand, indicates that the subject of the verb is obviative, and the object is proximate. In other words, the more central third person is here not the subject of the verb.

Inverse forms display certain discourse-functional similarities with passive in languages like English. [1] As Jespersen observed regarding the use of passive, "As a rule the person or thing that is the centre of the interest at the moment is made the subject, and therefore the verb must in some cases be put in the active, in others in the passive." (1965, p. 167). A similar characterization may be formulated for the use of inverse verbs involving two third person arguments. The third person that is the center of interest is made proximate, and it determines the form the verb will take. If the proximate third person is the agent, the verb is direct; if it is the patient, the verb is inverse. The terminology of agent and patient is used here to draw a parallel with English: in English, if the subject is the agent, the verb is active, and if it is the patient,

the verb is passive.

Inverse verbs in Cree and passive verbs in English are not, however, syntactically equivalent. In Cree, the proximate patient of an inverse verb is the object, not the subject, as will be seen in this chapter.

At this point, some alternative analyses offered for Algonquian inverse verbs and passives should be mentioned. While the position adopted here on inverse verbs -- that they are active -- follows the approach taken by most Algonquianists (see, for example, Wolfart 1973 on Cree, Bloomfield 1962 on Menomini, or Goddard 1979 on Delaware), others have analyzed the inverse forms as passive. For examples of the latter approach, see Jolley 1982 on Cree, LeSourd 1976 on Fox, or Rhodes 1976 on Ojibwa. Jolley and LeSourd present analyses in which the inverse is the familiar sort of derived intransitive passive. Rhodes, on the other hand, gives an account in which the inverse is, in effect, a transitive passive: not only does the patient argument become the subject, but also the agent argument is made the object of the inverse verb.

The passive forms in Cree, and the corresponding constructions in other Algonquian languages, have also received varying analyses. The analysis of these forms in Cree as passives agrees, for example, with that given in Goddard 1979 for Delaware. On the other hand, the forms which are here analyzed as passives have also been described as active, transitive verbs, with the subject obligatorily

non-specific. For an example of this view, see Hockett's comments in the preface to Bloomfield 1958. The motivation for the latter analysis seems to rest on the form of the third person passives: as discussed in chapter 2, section 6.5, their morphology resembles that of active, transitive verbs.

In short, for both inverse forms and passive forms there is disagreement regarding the valence and grammatical relations associated with each construction. Only the direct forms of Transitive Animate verbs are uncontroversial: here all Algonquianists agree in describing the direct verbs as active and transitive.

The analyses presented in this chapter for Cree direct, inverse, and passive forms are represented schematically below, showing the mapping between thematic roles, grammatical relations, and levels of discourse status (assuming third person arguments throughout).

(1)	thematic roles		grammatical relations		discourse status
Direct:	agent	=	subject	=	proximate
	patient	=	object	=	obviative
Inverse:	agent	=	subject	=	obviative
	patient	=	object	=	proximate
Passive:	patient	=	subject	=	proximate

The chart represents the syntactic claims to be defended here. Both the inverse form and the direct form are transitive and active: that is, both map agent onto subject and patient onto object. The passive in Cree is a

derived intransitive passive, where the patient has been mapped onto subject.

The chart also reflects the claim that there is a level of grammatical relations distinct both from thematic roles, and from the levels of discourse status signalled by proximate and obviative. Indeed, it is the analysis of inverse forms as active that demonstrates that grammatical relations cannot be equated with discourse status, while the passive construction shows that grammatical relations do not reduce to thematic roles. These analyses of the inverse forms and the passive forms will be supported by the syntactic evidence presented in this chapter.

This syntactic evidence is of three types. The first type of evidence to be discussed concerns valence: it is shown that direct and inverse verbs are both transitive. This argues against an analysis of the inverse verbs as derived intransitive passives.

The second type of evidence to be considered is a test for subjecthood: with respect to this test, the agents of direct and inverse verbs, and the patient of the passive, are all shown to be subjects. Again, this argues against a passive analysis for the inverse verbs (either an intransitive or a transitive passive analysis), and it also argues against an unspecified subject analysis of the Cree passive. Evidence in this section comes from a construction called copying to object.

The third type of evidence tests for objecthood. The patient argument of direct and inverse verbs alike is shown to be an object by these tests. The evidence here comes both from the copying to object construction and from floated quantifiers.

Each section describes the constructions appealed to as syntactic tests. It will be demonstrated that these constructions cannot be seen as operating on the level of thematic roles; rather, they must be analyzed with reference to the grammatical relations of subject and object.

1. Valence

The direct and inverse forms of TA verbs are transitive. Third person arguments may be expressed with lexical NPs; in the absence of lexical subjects and objects the inflection on the verb functions pronominally. This is true for both subject and object of both direct and inverse forms. All possible combinations of pronominal and lexical subjects and objects are attested in texts for both direct and inverse forms. Below are examples of direct and inverse forms where both arguments are expressed as lexical NPs ((2) may be seen in the appendix to chapter 4, line 362).

- (2) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 98]
 aya·hciyiniwah nisto e·h-nipaha·t
 Blackfoot obv three kill 3-obv [dir]

 awa na·pe·sis
 this boy

 'this boy had killed three Blackfoot'

- (3) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 58]
 osa·m e·-sa·kihikot ohta·wiyah
 too much love obv-3 [inv] his father obv
 aw o·skini·kiw.
 this young man
 'for his father too much cherished
 this young man.'

The suffix -a (or -ah, as Bloomfield often writes it) marks obviative nouns. It is not a case marker, or otherwise indicative of grammatical relations: the marking of third persons as proximate and obviative reflects instead their discourse status. The following example, in which both subject and object are obviative, makes it clear that the obviative ending cannot be considered a marker of grammatical relations.

- (4) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 96; appendix, line 313]
 e·-pe·-si·hkitisahwa·yit
 hither drive on obv-obv [dir]
 o·hi na·pe·sisah misatimwah.
 this.obv boy obv horse obv
 'the boy drove on the horses.'

When a direct or inverse form is used without a lexical NP argument, the inflection on the verb functions pronominally. The pronominal reading is always specific: the referent must be identifiable.

The passive forms, on the other hand, always have the reading of a non-specific agent. Arguments other than the agent, however, may be expressed as lexical NPs.

- (5) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 96; appendix, line 330]
 awa na-pe-sis e-kwah aw o-skini-kiw
 this boy and this young man

mawi-hka-ta-wak
 be mourned 3p

'this boy and this young man
 were being mourned'

It is not possible to express the agent of a passive verb with a lexical NP.

- (6) awi-na e--sa-kihiht? 'Who is loved?'
 who be loved 3

- (7) * awi-na e--sa-kihiht oma-ma-wa?
 who be loved 3 mother obv

('Who is loved by his mother?')

If a speaker does want to identify the agent of a passive verb, one strategy is to first use the passive verb; and then repeat the verb stem in the inverse form, which allows the agent to be expressed as a lexical NP. This is illustrated below, and also in example (115) of chapter 2.

- (8) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 60]
 namoya nipaha-w; ki-we-htaha-w,
 not be killed 3 be taken home 3

e--ki-we-htahikot ayahciyiniwah.
 take home obv-3 [inv] Blackfoot obv

'He was not killed; he was taken back;
 the Blackfoot took him home with them.'

In summary, both direct and inverse verbs are clearly transitive, each subcategorized for a subject and an object. The valence patterns here are evidence against an analysis of the inverse as a derived intransitive passive. However, the fact that the inverse forms are transitive does not on its own entail that they are active verbs. To argue against

an analysis of the inverse forms as transitive passives, where the patient is subject and the agent is object, tests for subject and object are required. Such tests are discussed in the following sections.

With respect to the passive forms, the valence facts presented above are consistent with an analysis of these forms as passive, but are equally consistent with the alternative analysis, where the construction is seen as a transitive verb with an obligatorily pronominal subject. Tests for grammatical relations are needed to establish whether the patient argument of this construction is a subject or an object.

2. A test for subject

In this section, the copying to object construction is described, and then applied as a test for subjecthood to the arguments of direct, inverse, and passive forms. [3] According to this test, the agent argument in both direct and inverse forms is the subject, as is the patient argument of the passive.

Certain pairs of Transitive Animate and Transitive Inanimate verb stems may be used with clausal complements. While the Transitive Inanimate stem is subcategorized only for a subject and the complement clause, the Transitive Animate stem is additionally inflected for an animate object. There is a syntactic constraint on the construction using the Transitive Animate stem: the object of the matrix

verb must be coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. This phenomenon is something like raising to object in English.

The examples below illustrate a pair of stems, kiske-yiht- 'know', and kiske-yim- 'know (about)', Transitive Inanimate and Transitive Animate respectively, that may take clausal complements.

(9) nikiske-yihte-n e--no·hte--sipwe·hte·t
 know TI 1-inan want leave 3

'I know he wants to leave'

(10) nikiske-yima-w e--no·hte--sipwe·hte·t
 know TA 1-3 want leave 3
 [dir]

'I know he wants to leave'

For the purposes of this section, the class of the matrix verb stem will be indicated in the interlinear glosses, either Transitive Inanimate (TI) or Transitive Animate (TA). The features of subject and object indicated by the verbal inflection are given following the gloss of the stem, and TA verbs will be labelled as direct or inverse. In the examples above, nikiske-yihte-n has a Transitive Inanimate stem, and is inflected for a first person singular subject and an inanimate object. nikiske-yima-w has a Transitive Animate stem, and is inflected for a first person singular subject and an animate third person singular object, which is direct. In both examples, the lower verb is in the conjunct order, as are all verbs in subordinate clauses (see chapter 2, section 2.1), and is inflected for an animate third person singular

subject.

(10), above, is an example of the copying to object construction. The Transitive Animate stem used in the matrix verb is inflected for an object which agrees in features with the subject of the lower verb. In contrast, the Transitive Inanimate stem of (9) is inflected for an inanimate object.

The following textual examples further illustrate the use of kiske-yiht- and kiske-yim- as complement-taking predicates.

- (11) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 84]
 namoya nikske-yihte-n ta-nte e-y-ohtohte-t
 not know TI 1-inan where come from 3
 aw a-yahciyiniw ka--nipahiht.
 this Blackfoot be killed 3

'I do not know where he came from, that Blackfoot who has been killed.'

- (12) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 84]
 ka-kiske-yima-nawak ta-nte wi-kitwa-wi
 know TA 1p.inc-3p where dwell 3p/subjct
 [dir]

'We shall know where they have their camp'

(11) has the Transitive Inanimate form of the matrix verb 'know', inflected for an inanimate object. In (12), the Transitive Animate form of the matrix verb has been chosen, and the object of the verb agrees with the subject of the complement clause.

The opposition of (9) and (10), and (11) and (12), above, is reminiscent of the raising to object construction found in English and other languages. The two constructions, however, are not identical. As illustrated

in the pair of sentences below, the raising to object construction is associated with a non-finite verb in the lower clause.

(13) I believe that he is sick.

(14) I believe him to be sick.

In Cree, the choice of matrix verb stem, whether Transitive Inanimate or Transitive Animate, has no effect on the properties of the lower clause. In both cases, the lower verb is finite, and inflected for a subject.

In the English opposition, the person believed to be sick may be expressed either as the subject of the finite lower verb, taking nominative case, or as object of the matrix verb, taking objective case. It cannot be expressed simultaneously as object of the matrix verb and subject of the lower verb.

(15) * I believe him that he is sick.
 (ungrammatical on the reading:
 'I believe that he is sick')

In the corresponding Cree construction, though, the person believed to be sick would be referred to twice: as object of the matrix verb, and as subject of the lower verb. For this reason, the Cree construction will be labelled "copying to object", rather than raising to object.

Calling this construction copying to object informally expresses the coreference relation between the object of the Transitive Animate matrix verb and the subject of the complement clause. However, the term "copying" is not meant to be taken literally. We are not claiming here that the

Transitive Animate matrix verb is the result of a transformation (or lexical rule), which operates upon a Transitive Inanimate verb with a complement clause, and turns it into a Transitive Animate verb, where the animate object has been copied from the subject of the complement clause. Evidence against such an analysis comes from the fact that the Transitive Animate stem may be used with only an object, and no complement clause.

- (16) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 92]
 namoya kiske-yime-wak
 not know TA 3p-obv
 [dir]

'The latter [the Cree, prox.] did not know of their [the Blackfoot, obv.] presence.'

This sentence is from the story given as an appendix to chapter 4 (line 79). The context is the following: the Cree have shot a buffalo, and the shot is heard by Blackfoot nearby. The Blackfoot sneak up on the Cree; then the narrator says (16), above. Although when kiske-yim- is used only with an animate object and no complement clause it often means 'be acquainted with', it is clear that in this context the sentence means "The Cree did not know about the Blackfoot," rather than, "The Cree were not acquainted with the Blackfoot".

This use of kiske-yim- to mean 'know about' is similar to the use of this verb with a complement clause: 'know about X that [X ...]'. If the object in the latter construction were derived as a copy of the subject of the complement, it should be impossible to get the 'know about'

reading without a complement clause. (16), above, is therefore counterevidence to a copying account.

Although we are not claiming that a syntactic transformation or lexical rule derives the Transitive Animate form of the complement-taking verb from the Transitive Inanimate form, we do want to say that there is a syntactic constraint operating on the Transitive Animate form: the object and the complement's subject must be coreferential.

The semantic differences between the Transitive Animate and Transitive Inanimate stem forms of complement-taking verbs are not fully understood. In certain cases, speakers report an evidential distinction between the two constructions. For example, (10) nikiske-yima-w e--no·hte--sipwe·hte·t, ('I know he wants to leave', with the TA stem for 'know' inflected for an object coreferential with the subject of the complement) would be appropriate if the subject had inferred that this person wanted to leave from the way he looked or the way he was acting. The corresponding construction using a Transitive Inanimate matrix verb (i.e., (9)), seems to be best analyzed as neutral with respect to the source of the knowledge, though for some speakers the TI construction implies that the subject of (9) has been told that this person wants to leave. A similar distinction is felt in the pair of examples below.

- (17) nikiske-yihte-n John e--ki--wa-pamisk
 know TI 1-inan pf see 3-2
 [inv]

'I know John saw you'

- (18) nikiske-yima-w John e--ki--wa-pamisk
 know TA 1-3 pf see 3-2
 [dir] [inv]

'I know John saw you'

In (17), the subject may have been told that John saw the addressee, while (18) might better be glossed "I have the feeling that John saw you". The evidential use of the copying to object construction is not restricted to first person subjects, as illustrated in the next pair of examples.

- (19) Mary kiske-yihtam George-a e--a-hkosiyit
 know TI 3-inan obv be sick obv

'Mary knows George is sick'

- (20) Mary kiske-yime-w George-a e--a-hkosiyit
 know TA 3-obv obv be sick obv
 [dir]

'Mary knows George is sick'

Again, the copying to object construction in (20) is more appropriate if Mary is inferring that George is sick.

However, this evidential opposition of the two forms apparently cannot be extended to cover all cases of both Transitive Animate and Transitive Inanimate forms of complement-taking predicates. For example, consider the use of wa-paht- and wa-pam- 'see' in the examples below.

- (21) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 80]
 ..., ka-wa-pahtahk e-h-ka-h-ki-skicihce-yit.
 see TI 3-inan have severed hand obv

'he [prox] saw that
 he [obv] had some fingers cut off.'

- (22) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 80]
 ..., ka-wa-pama-t e-h-kito-we-hkwa-miyit.
 see TA 3-obv snore obv
 [dir]

'he [prox] saw that
 he [obv] was sound asleep and snoring.'

With verbs meaning 'see', there is less opportunity for an evidential opposition; in general, constructions involving 'see' with a complement involve semantic distinctions that are hard to tease out. Consider the differences between the following English constructions.

- (23) I saw that he was sleeping.
 I saw him sleeping.
 I saw him as he was sleeping.

We will leave the question of the semantic difference between (21) and (22), above, unresolved, and concentrate instead on examples with the matrix verbs kiske-yiht- and kiske-yim- 'know', since these appear frequently in texts, and speakers have clearer intuitions about this opposition.

Whatever the semantics of the construction may be, the copying to object construction in Cree is subject to a syntactic constraint. The object of the Transitive Animate matrix verb must be coreferential with the subject of the complement clause; it cannot be coreferential with the object of the complement clause. (10), (12), (20), and (22), above, are examples of the copying to object construction where the lower verb is intransitive; (18),

above, is an example involving a transitive verb.

The copying to object construction will now be applied to direct, inverse, and passive forms of Transitive Animate verbs as a test for subjects. In all the following examples, the verb form under investigation will be in the complement of a matrix verb allowing copying to object.

The examples below contain direct verbs in the complement clause, and show that only the subject of the complement, not the object, may be coreferential to the object of the matrix verb.

- (24) *nikiske-yima-w* George *e--sa-kiha-t* *okosisa*
 know TA 1-3 love 3-obv 3 son obv
 [dir] [dir]

'I know George loves his sons'

- (25) * *nikiskeyimima-wa* George *e--sa-kiha-t* *okosisa*
 know TA 1-obv love 3-obv 3 son obv
 [dir] [dir]

('I know George loves his sons')

(24) has the matrix verb inflected for an animate proximate singular object, agreeing with George, the subject of the lower direct verb. (25), on the other hand, is ungrammatical; here the matrix verb kiske-yim- 'know' TA is inflected for a third person obviative object, agreeing in features with the object of the lower verb okosisa 'his son(s)'. (An NP possessed by a third person possessor is obligatorily obviative.)

If the lower verb is in the inverse form, and the assignment of proximate status to George and obviative status to okosisa 'his son(s)' is maintained, then a

different reading results: the obviative third person is the one doing the loving, and the proximate third person is the one who is loved. The copying to object construction demonstrates that here it is the obviative experiencer argument which is the subject of the inverse verb, while the proximate goal argument is the object.

(26) *nikiske-yimima-wa* George e--sa-kihikot okosisa
 know TA 1-obv love obv-3 3 son obv
 [dir] [inv]

'I know that his sons love George'

(27) * *nikiske-yima-w* George e--sa-kihikot okosisa
 know TA 1-3 love obv-3 3 son obv
 [dir] [inv]

('I know that his sons love George')

In the pair of examples above, the first has the matrix verb *nikiske-yimima-wa*, where the stem *kiske-yim-* 'know' TA is inflected for an obviative third person object. The object thus matches the features of *okosisa* 'his son(s)', the obviative subject of the inverse verb in the lower clause. The second example shows that the matrix verb cannot be inflected for an object coreferential with the proximate object of the lower inverse verb.

The behavior of passive verbs in the complement of copying to object verbs shows that the non-agent argument is indeed the subject.

(28) *nikiske-yima-wak* e--ki--se-kihihcik
 know TA 1-3p pf be scared 3p
 [dir]

'I know they were scared'

Here the object of the matrix verb is coreferential with the subject of the lower passive verb. In this respect the subject of the passive behaves exactly the same as the subjects of direct and inverse forms.

The behavior of passive verbs is also evidence that the condition of coreference between matrix object and lower subject cannot be stated in terms of thematic roles. In the above example, the subject of the passive verb 'be scared' has the thematic role of experiencer. In the following example, an object with the same thematic role fails to undergo copying to object.

(29) * nikiske-yima-wak anima a-tayo-hkan-a-cimowin
 know TA 1-3p that made up story
 [dir]

awa-sisak e--ki--se-kihikocik
 child pl pf scare inan-3p
 [inv]

('I know that the story scared the kids')

The thematic role of the people who are scared is exactly the same in both (28) and (29). What is different is the grammatical relations associated with these arguments.

It is clear that the copying to object constraint must be stated as a syntactic constraint, mentioning the grammatical functions of subject and object. First of all, while there may be a semantic or pragmatic requirement that the clausal complement of a verb glossed 'know (about)' be somehow related to the object of 'know (about)', there is no semantic reason why the object of 'know (about)' could not

be coreferential to the object of its complement, as in "I know about George that his kids really love him". However, it is ungrammatical to express this with the copying to object construction in Cree. Furthermore, the behavior of passive verbs shows that this constraint cannot be stated in terms of thematic roles.

In this section, the copying to object construction has been described. Using the direct forms of Transitive Animate verbs, which are uncontroversially active, it has been demonstrated that this construction is sensitive to grammatical relations. Given this, the construction can then be used as a syntactic test for the inverse forms and the passive forms. The results of this test showed that the agent argument of both direct and inverse forms is the subject, as is the non-agent argument of the passive. The copying to object construction also provides evidence for objects, as will be seen in the following section.

Further evidence for subjecthood comes from the control of secondary predicates. Discussion of this evidence, however, will be postponed until chapter 5, after certain theoretical points have been developed. For now, it will just be pointed out that the control phenomena support the analysis of inverse verbs as active.

3. Tests for object

In the first part of this section, another piece of syntactic evidence provided by the copying to object

construction will be presented. The major part of this section will take up another test for objecthood, based upon floating quantifiers. These quantifiers appear within a V' constituent; as part of the discussion, motivation for this V' constituent will be provided.

In the previous section, the copying to object construction was used as a test for subject, applied to the various arguments appearing in the complement clause of copying to object verbs. This construction also makes reference to object, of course, since it is the object of the matrix verb that must be coreferential to the lower verb's subject. All the examples in the previous section involved direct forms of the matrix Transitive Animate verb. It is also possible, however, to have the matrix verb in the inverse form, as illustrated below.

- (30) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 92; appendix, lines 36-7]
 namoya kiske-yimik o-hta-wiya e--sipwe-hte-t
 not know obv-3 3 father obv leave 3
 [inv]

'His father [obv] did not know
 that he [prox] had gone off'

Here the inverse matrix verb is inflected for an obviative subject acting on a proximate object: in other words, it is the proximate object that matches the features of the subject of the lower verb. This argues for the proximate argument being the object, and consequently, for the inverse verb being active.

Another test for objecthood involves a constraint on possible construals between a quantifier preceding the verb

and the verb's arguments. Such quantifiers may be construed as modifying the object, but not the subject, of a transitive verb. These quantifiers are here analyzed as being within a V' constituent. Before discussing the quantifier construction, therefore, the existence of a V' constituent must be motivated for Cree.

The motivation for a V' constituent comes from locative relative clauses containing the particles ita or ite. These relative clauses may be headless, with the reading of 'the place where ...' ita is used to indicate stationary location, while ite is used both for motion to or from a place, and for stationary locations in the sense 'around there, near there'.

- (31) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 32]
 ite- ka--pe-y-ohtohe-yit,
 loc hither come from obv

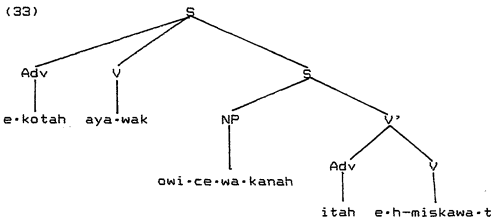
e-kote- misiwe- nipahē-yiwah mostoswah.
 there all over kill obv-obv buffalo obv

'Everywhere in yon direction whence they had come, the others had killed buffalo.'

- (32) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 34]
 e-kotah aya-wak,
 there be 3p

owi-ce-wa-kanah itah e-h-miskawa-t
 3 companion obv loc find 3-obv

'They stayed there where he found his comrades.'



Though the effect of ita is similar to that of 'where' in the lower clause of the English gloss in (32), ita is not fronted within its clause. Instead, it always occurs immediately to the left of the verb. The clause containing ita, or ite-, is often associated with e-kota, or e-kote-, in the higher clause, as in the above examples. As seen in (32), however, the clause containing ita need not be adjacent to e-kota.

The following example show ita occurring without e-kota in the higher clause, and also shows that ita may be used with a lower verb that is not subcategorized for a locative argument.

- (34) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 92; appendix, lines 57-58]
 it e--tipiska-yik, kape-siwak.
 loc be night inan.obv camp 3p

'Where they were by dark, they camped.'
 [or better: 'where night fell, ...']

Saying that ita or ite- is part of a V' constituent represents the dependency between the particle and the lower verb: the particle always occurs immediately to the verb's left. This dependency is brought out by comparing the

locative headless relatives with ita with headless relatives of manner. The latter are formed with the preverb isi- on the lower verb.

- (35) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 34]
 e·kwah a·cimo·w oma k-e·si-wa-pahtahk,
 and tell story 3 this how see 3-inan
 k-e·si-otina-t o·hi misatimwah.
 how take 3-obv this.obv horse obv

'Then he told of what he had experienced,
 and of how he had taken the horses.'

Here the relationship between isi- and the verb is plain: isi- is a preverb within a compound verb stem (compound stems are discussed further in chapter 5), and is itself preceded by another preverb (the preverb is ka--: k-e·si- < ka--isi-).

Though the locative construction with ita functions in the same way as the headless relatives of manner containing isi-, ita is not itself part of the verb stem. Rather, it is a separate word, immediately to the left of the verb. Evidence for this comes from the ablaut rule which applies in the changed conjunct and in the iterative; this rule affects the first vowel in the verb stem, including any preverbs that may be present. This rule never applies to ita. Likewise, the inflectional prefixes of the independent order appear to the left of all preverbs used with compound verbs. These preverbs are never placed to the left of ita.

On the other hand, although ita is a separate word, it does not have the syntactic freedom of most particles. For instance, e·kota 'there' may appear anywhere in a clause, as

illustrated by the two occurrences of e-kota in the following example.

- (36) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 44]
 wa-tihke-wak e-kota saka-hk,
 dig a hole 3p there woods loc
 e-kotah awa kise-yiniw e-h-wi-h-apit
 there this old man intend sit 3
 wa-tihka-nihk, e-kwah pe-yak oskini-kiw.
 hole loc and one young man
 'They dug a pit there in the woods,
 for the old man to stay in,
 and the one young man.'

Representing ita as the left branch of a V' constituent expresses its syntactic status, intermediate between a bound preverb and a totally free adverb. It is a separate word, yet is associated with the verb.

It should be emphasized, however, that this V' construction is not equivalent to the constituent usually labelled VP in configurational languages. In a VP, the verb and its NP object form a constituent, excluding the subject. As stated in chapter 1, there is no evidence for a VP constituent in Cree.

Now that the existence of a V' constituent has been motivated, the discussion will turn to the behavior of quantifiers within V'.

In Cree, numerals and quantifiers like kahkiyaw 'all' or mihce-t 'many' may occur either within NPs, or within V'. [4] If the quantifier occurs within NP, it is construed as modifying the head of that NP. The quantifier may either precede or follow the head noun.

- (37) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 32]
 piyisk miya.skawe-w,
 finally pass 3-obv

mihce-t ayi-siyiniwah e--ki-h-miya.skawa-t.
 many person obv pf pass 3-obv

'At last he passed them;
 he passed a great many people.'

- (38) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 40]
 kotakak ni-so na-pe-wak mi-n
 other pl 2 man pl also

e-wakonik namoya tapasi-wak
 those not flee 3p

'Two other men also did not flee.'

- (39) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 104]
 nka-ntaw-a-ta-ma-w atimwah pe-yak
 fut go to buy from 1-3 dog obv one

o-h o-hci ni-pisisah,
 these.inan from arrow pl

'I shall buy a dog from him with these arrows.'

- (40) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 40]
 otine-wak misatimwah e-h-miyosiyit
 take 3p-obv horse obv be beautiful obv

ni-sitanaw pe-yakosa-p
 twenty-one

'They took twenty-one handsome horses.'

In the NP of (37), mihce-t ayi-siyiniwah 'many people', the quantifier precedes the head noun, as does ni-so 'two' in (38). (39) and (40) illustrate postnominal quantifiers.

Quantifiers may also appear apart from any NP, before the verb. The position of the quantifier will be represented here as the left branch of a V' constituent, parallel to ita and ite in the locative relative clause construction. It is not clear what semantic effects are associated with the various quantifier positions, though

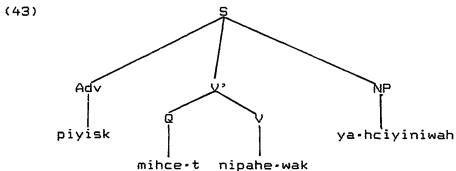
quantifiers in V' seem to be dispreferred if the verb contains the perfective preverb *ki-*.

- (41) kahkiyaw pimipahta-wak awa-sisak
all run 3p child pl

'All the kids are running'

- (42) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 44]
piyisk mihce-t nipahe-wak ya-hciyiniwah
finally many kill 3p-obv Blackfoot obv

'At last they had killed many Blackfoot.'



In (42), *mihce-t* 'many' modifies the object *ya-hciyiniwah* 'Blackfoot', although the quantifier does not form a constituent with the noun.

Since a quantifier in V' does not form a constituent with the noun it is modifying, the potential for ambiguity arises when it is used with a transitive verb. Does the quantifier modify the subject, or the object? In Cree, there is a syntactic constraint on the interpretation of a quantifier in V': it cannot be construed as modifying the subject of a transitive verb. A V' quantifier may, however, modify objects and second objects of transitive and ditransitive verbs. If the verb in question is intransitive, a V' quantifier may modify the subject of the intransitive verb. In texts, the majority of V' quantifiers

modify objects; the use of this construction with intransitive verbs is less frequent.

In both clauses of the following example, a V' quantifier niya-nan 'five' modifies misatimwah 'horse(s)'. In the first clause, miye-w is the second object of miye-w 'give'; in the second clause, misatimwah is the object of aya-we-w 'have'.

- (44) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 98; appendix, line 332]
 awa na-pe-sis o-hih ka--kaskatahomiht
 this boy this.obv be wounded 3

niya-nan miye-w misatimwah;
 5 give 3-obv horse obv
 [dir]

wiya mi-na niya-nan aya-we-w misatimwah.
 he also 5 have 3-obv horse obv
 [dir]

'The boy gave the man who had been wounded five horses; he himself also had five horses.'

In (44), the conjunction mi-na 'also' appears in second position within its clause; this is common for conjunctions in general, and especially for mi-na.

The following example illustrates a quantifier in V' modifying the object of a Transitive Inanimate verb. The quantifier is kahkiyaw 'all'; the object is otaya-na 'his possessions'.

- (45) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 78]
 piyisk kahkiyaw me-stinam otaya-na; ...
 finally all use up 3-inan 3 possession pl

'At last he had spent all his belongings'

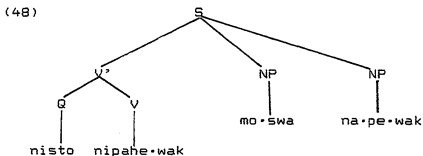
In the next example, kahkiyaw 'all' modifies the subject of an intransitive verb, e-h-takohte-cik 'arrive'.

- (46) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 86]
 ..., kahkiyaw e-h-takohte-cik o-ki ne-hiyawak
 all arrive 3p these Cree pl
 mina opwa-si-mo-wak mi-na nahkawiyniwak.
 also Assiniboine pl also Saulteaux pl
 'all the Cree and Assiniboine and Saulteaux
 having come there.'

In the following example, nisto 'three' is in construction with a transitive verb. The verb is followed by two lexical NPs: mo-swa 'moose' and na-pe-wak 'men'. nisto can only be construed as modifying the object, mo-swa; it cannot modify the subject, na-pe-wak.

- (47) nisto nipahe-wak mo-swa na-pe-wak
 3 kill 3-obj moose obv man pl
 [dir]

'the men killed three moose'
 * 'three men killed moose'



Although in all the above examples the NP modified by a V' quantifier immediately follows the verb, the NP may appear in any other position relative to the verb. The only constraint is that a quantifier in V' may not modify a subject of a transitive verb. The following examples illustrate OSV and VSO orders, in which a quantifier in V' modifies the object.

- (49) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 110]
 e-kwah awah ote-mah atimwah aw o-pwa-simo-w
 and this 3 dog obv dog obv this Assiniboine

aye-na-niw kahkiyaw ota-pahe-w, ...
 eight all hitch up 3-obv
 [dir]

'In addition, the Assiniboine hitched up
 all his eight dogs.'

- (50) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 112]
 ni-sosa-p e-kwah osihta-w aw i-skwe-w
 12 and make 3-inan this woman

pahke-kinwah; ...
 tanned hide obv

'Then the woman prepared twelve hides.'

In (50), the conjunction e-kwah 'and' is in second position, here intervening between the quantifier and the verb. Compare the position of mi-na 'also' in (44).

Logically, a quantifier in V' should also be able to modify an object which immediately precedes the verb. It is not clear, however, whether quantifiers in examples such as the following should be analyzed as being in V' or in NP, since, as seen in (39) and (40), quantifiers may also appear postnominally in NP.

- (51) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 32]
 e-kosi aniki iya-hciyiniwak mihce-t
 thus those Blackfoot pl many

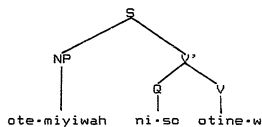
pe--sipwe-payiwak
 hither ride off 3p

'In this way those Blackfoot started off
 in a crowd.'

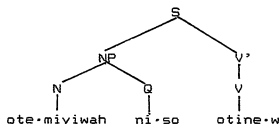
- (52) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 32]
 ...; ote-miyiwah ni-so otine-w; ...
 obv horse obv two take 3-obv
 [dir]

'he [prox] took his [obv] two horses [obv];'

(53)



(54)



Since it is not clear how sentences such as those above should be analyzed, we will avoid the use of examples in which the quantifier immediately follows the NP it modifies, and is in turn immediately followed by the verb. However, there is one example of this type that deserves some discussion.

In examining the use of quantifiers in texts, I have found only one potential counterexample to the claim that quantifiers in V' may not modify subjects of transitive verbs. The quantifier in question is the second instance of mihce-t 'many' in the following example.

- (55) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 32]
 ki·tahtawe· wa·pame·w e·h·pe--sa·ke·we·payiyit
 presently see 3-obv hither come into view obv
 mostoswah mihce·t,
 buffalo obv many
 ka--wa·pama·t aya·hciyiniwah mihce·t
 see 3-obv Blackfoot obv many
 e·h·pe--nawaswa·ta·yit mostoswah....
 hither chase obv-obv buffalo obv
 [dir]

'Then he [prox] saw a great herd of buffalo
 come forth, and saw a large band of Blackfoot
 coming in pursuit of the buffalo ...'

The second mihce·t occurs between the subject
aya·hciyiniwah 'Blackfoot' and the transitive verb
e·h·pe--nawaswa·ta·yit 'come chasing'. Like (51) and (52),
 the quantifier may be analyzed either as a postnominal
 quantifier in NP, or as a quantifier in V'. It is only the
 analysis of mihce·t being in V' that is problematic for the
 syntactic claim made here.

As in (51) and (52), it is difficult to find evidence
 supporting one analysis over the other. A possible
 motivation for preferring the analysis of the second
mihce·t as postnominal within NP is that it would then
 parallel the structure of the first clause of (55). The
 first instance of mihce·t in (55) is clearly a postnominal
 quantifier, following its head noun mostoswah 'buffalo'.
 This NP is the subject of the preceding intransitive verb,
 and there is no possibility of analyzing the first
mihce·t as a quantifier in V'. In texts, conjoined clauses
 often display parallel constructions; cf. the two clauses of

(44).

In any event, in the absence of other examples which constitute unambiguous counterexamples, (55) will not be considered problematic for the present analysis.

The examples above, demonstrating that a quantifier in V' may not be construed as modifying the subject of a transitive verb, all contained direct forms of Transitive Animate verbs. As previously stated, the syntactic analysis of the direct forms is uncontroversial: all agree that the direct forms are active verbs. With the syntactic constraint motivated with data from the direct forms, we can turn our attention to the inverse forms of Transitive Animate verbs.

With respect to this test for objects, the proximate patient of inverse verbs is shown to be an object.

(56) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 44]
 pe-yak pikoh nipahikwak e-wakonik o-ki
 one only kill obv-3p those these

'They (obv) killed only one of them (prox.)'

In (56) the obviative agent is expressed only by the inflection on the verb, not by an NP. The verb is followed by two demonstratives e-wakonik 'those [very ones]' and o-ki 'these'. Since both are explicitly plural, they can only refer to the proximate patient argument: as discussed in chapter 2, obviative NPs are not marked for number. The V' quantifier is construed as modifying the proximate object of the inverse verb, not the obviative subject.

To see whether the same constraint blocking construal of a V' quantifier with the subject of a transitive verb holds for the inverse verbs, we need the negative data of ungrammatical sentences, or ungrammatical readings. The following example demonstrates that the V' quantifier kahkiyaw 'all' may be construed with the goal argument of the inverse verb sa-kihikwak 'love', but not with the experiencer argument. Again, this is consistent only with the analysis of the inverse forms as active.

- (57) kahkiyaw sa-kihikwak ota-nisiwa-wa iskwe-wak
 all love obv-3p 3p dghtr obv woman pl
 'their daughters love all women'
 (all women are loved by their daughters)
 * 'all their daughters love the women'

The English gloss of (57) results in an ungrammatical weak crossover sentence. A passive version of the gloss has therefore been supplied for the reader's convenience.

The constraint on quantifiers is evidence for the patient argument of an inverse verb being the object of a transitive. Unfortunately, it does not provide evidence either way regarding the analysis of passive verbs. Since subjects of intransitive verbs may also be construed with V' quantifiers, the behavior of quantifiers with passive verbs is consistent both with the passive analysis given here, and with the analysis of these forms as transitive verbs with non-specific subjects.

(58) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 86]
 ..., mi-na a-say mihce-t e-h-nipahihcik
 also already many be killed 3p

ayahciyiniwak
 Blackfoot pl

'and that already many Blackfoot had been slain.'

4. Summary

The evidence presented above supports the analysis of direct and inverse forms of Transitive Animate verbs as active and transitive. The evidence comes from the valence of these verbs, from the copying to object construction, and from floated quantifiers. Further evidence for this analysis of the direct and inverse forms comes from their control of secondary predicates, to be discussed in chapter 5. The analysis of passive verbs given here also receives support, though less clearly. It is only the copying to object construction that can be applied to the passives as a syntactic test. Though not as strong as the evidence regarding inverse verbs, it appears that the passives are indeed passive.

The broader goal of this chapter is to motivate a level of grammatical relations distinct from both thematic roles and from the levels of discourse status signalled by proximate and obviative third person. The unambiguously syntactic nature of the constructions described here, and the evidence they provide for the analysis of inverse verbs and passives, support this claim regarding the grammar of

Cree.

Furthermore, the evidence in this chapter demonstrates that it is risky to rely on morphological or discourse properties as tests for syntactic status. Though the the morphological and discourse-functional resemblance between inverse verbs and passive verbs in other languages may be suggestive, a syntactic analysis cannot be motivated solely by inflectional patterns and contexts of use. The analysis of inverse verbs must rest instead on syntactic evidence. The passive verbs show even more clearly the hazards of relying solely on morphology as an indicator of syntactic relations. Although the third person passive forms superficially resemble active, transitive verbs, syntactically they appear to indeed be passive.

Notes to chapter 3

- 1 The term inverse verb for these forms in Algonquian languages dates from Howse 1844.
- 2 Strictly speaking, it is only passives in which the agent is expressed that can be compared to Cree inverse verbs. Agentless passives correspond exactly to the Cree passive, which never expresses an agent.
- 3 The term copying to object was first used, to my knowledge, by Frantz 1978, regarding Blackfoot.
- 4 The discussion in the text does not exhaust the ways in which quantifier notions may be expressed in Cree. There are verbal forms of the lower numerals and of some quantifiers, which are inflected as regular intransitives. Numerals and quantifiers may also appear within the verb stem, as preverbs on compound stems. These alternate strategies are illustrated below, but will not be discussed here.

- (i) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 94; also in appendix to chapter 4, line 165-66]
- ka-wa-pama-t e-h-niya-naniyit ayi-siyiniwah
 see 3-obv be five obv person obv

e-h-pe-c-a-stamohte-yit.
 hither come toward obv

'he saw five men coming toward them.'

- (ii) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 90; and appendix, line 8-9]
- ki-h-ni-so-tipiska-kih ka-sipwe-hta-na-naw
 pf 2 be night subjnt fut leave 1pl inc

'Two nights from now we shall set out.'

Chapter 4

Obviation

Obviation is a grammatical opposition found in the Algonquian languages which distinguishes one third person (or group of third persons) from all others. The one singled out is called proximate, and the other third persons are obviative. [1] The proximate third person may be the topic of the discourse, similar to what Karmiloff-Smith 1980 calls thematic subject. The proximate third person is also usually the focus of the speaker's empathy (cf. Kuno and Kaburaki 1977); in narratives, proximate often corresponds to the character whose point of view is being represented.

Obviative animate nouns bear a suffix -a, while the proximate third person is conspicuous by being the only one morphologically unmarked. Obviative is also the marked term of the opposition: in contexts of neutralization it is the proximate form that appears. Obviation is obligatory only within a fairly narrow syntactic domain, discussed in section 1. Here it has the consequence of disambiguating reference, something like a switch reference system operating with respect to the proximate third person. [2] Outside this syntactic domain, however, obviation is optional and may be employed with varying stylistic effect, often without regard to strict disambiguation of third person reference.

The following examples illustrate the opposition between proximate and obviative. Both are taken from the text given as an appendix to this chapter. In each, a single third person is proximate, and all others are obviative. The proximate third person of the first example is the boy; his father and the horses are obviative. (This example is lines 23-26 in the appendix.) The boy is introduced with a relative clause as a topic NP: he is the subject of the main clause verb aya-w 'be there' in the fourth line.

- (1) awa pe-yak na-pe-sis
 this one boy
- o-hta-wiya e-h-okima-wiyit,
 his father obv be chief obv
- misatimwah ite-h e-y-aya-yit,
 horse obv loc be obv
- e-kote-h aya-w;
 there be 3
- 'A certain boy (prox)
 whose father (obv) was chief,
 where the horses (obv) were,
 there he (prox) was;'

The distinction between proximate and obviative is reflected in noun and verb inflection and in the form of demonstrative pronouns. 'obv' indicates obviative forms in the interlinear glosses, while proximate inflection is indicated by 3 or 3p on verbs, and 'his' or 'their' on possessed nouns. (Obviative animate third persons are not specified for number.) Nouns and demonstratives not glossed 'obv' are proximate.

In the next example (lines 311-313 in the appendix), the proximate third person is the man, with the boy and the horses obviative. As will be seen below, the appearance of the boy as obviative here is an example of the optional use of obviation: the syntax of the sentence does not demand that this noun be obviative. Here the effect of obviation is to present the scene from the man's point of view.

- (2) mistahi miywe-yihtam aw o-skini-kiw,
greatly be glad 3-inan this young man
- e-kwah e--sipwe--te-htapit,
and leave ride 3
- e--pe--si-hkitisahwa-yit
hither drive ahead obv-obv
- o-hi na-pe-sisah misatimwah.
this.obv boy obv horse obv
- 'The young man (prox) was very glad,
and rode away,
while the boy (obv) drove on the horses (obv).'

The various consequences of optional marking of obviation in narratives are discussed in the second part of this chapter.

Clauses involving two third person arguments require at least one argument to be marked obviative. The appearance of direct or inverse forms is governed by which argument is proximate and which obviative: if the subject is proximate and the object obviative, then the verb is direct. An inverse form is required if the subject is obviative and the object proximate. The influence of this discourse-based opposition between third persons was noted in chapter 3, where a comparison was drawn between inverse verbs and

passive verbs in English. Both constructions may be used to indicate that the patient of the verb is more prominent in the discourse than the agent is. (The terminology of agent and patient is used here since the two constructions are not equivalent at the level of grammatical relations.)

The following pair of examples from the text provides a minimal pair, showing that both direct and inverse forms are available for transitive verbs involving third person arguments. The forms of interest are only the underlined verbs of speaking following the quotes. [3] In each of the (b) sentences below, the man is speaking to the boy. In (3b) the verb is inverse, while in (4b) the verb is direct. The (a) sentences are given for context.

- (3) a) "nisto ninipaha-wak,"
three kill 1-3p

ite-w.
say to 3-obv [dir]

"I killed three of them,"
he [the boy-prox] said to him [the man-obv]'

- b) "ta-pwe-, we-skini-kiyin,
truly young man vocative

namoya kikosta-wak!"
not fear 2-3p

itik.
say to obv-3 [inv]

"Really, young man, you are not afraid of them!"
he [the man-obv] said to him [the boy-prox]'

- (4) a) "a-, nimiske-n itah t-ay-aya-yahk,"
 find 1-inan loc fut be 1p inc

ite-w.
 say to 3-obv [dir]

"Come, I have found a place where we can stay,"
 he [the boy-prox] said to him [the man-obv]."

- b) "a-, namoya, na-pe-sis! ki-we- kiya-m!"
 no boy go home rather

ite-w na-pe-sisah.
 say to 3-obv [dir] boy obv

"Oh, no, my boy! Do go home!"
 he [the man-prox] said to the boy [obv]"

The immediate context for both of the (b) sentences is the same: the boy has just addressed his wounded companion. In both (3a) and (4a) the boy, as the hero of the story, is proximate and the man is obviative. Consequently, in both (3a) and (4a), the verb of speaking is in the direct form.

The (b) sentences illustrate the opposition of direct and inverse forms. In (3b), as in (3a), the boy is proximate and the man obviative. Since the subject of (3b) is obviative, and the object proximate, the verb of (3b) must be inverse.

(4b) illustrates the other alternative. In (4b) the man is proximate and the boy obviative: just the reverse of the sentence in (4a). As a consequence, the verb of (4b) is direct.

There is thus an apparent similarity between the third person direct and inverse forms and the active/passive voice opposition in languages like English. The direct and inverse forms of (3b) and (4b) are truth-conditionally

equivalent: they are alternative ways of expressing the same proposition. The difference between them is at the level of discourse pragmatics: (3b) and (4b) single out different arguments as proximate. As these examples show, a given third person may be maintained as proximate across sentence boundaries, or a new third person may become proximate. Like passive, the use of inverse verbs is restricted: in the fairly lengthy text given in the appendix, only eleven of the transitive verbs involving third person arguments are inverse, while about seven times that many are direct.

However, the opposition of direct and inverse is just one aspect of the larger phenomenon of obviation. The apparent similarity between inverse and passive in this context should not be taken to imply that the discourse functions of proximate in Cree and subject in English are everywhere equivalent. Proximate is not a clause-level relation, as subject is: the distinction between proximate and obviative third persons may range over a sentence or a paragraph-sized episode. As a result, the opposition between proximate and obviative is reflected not only in the arguments of transitive verbs, but also in the subjects of intransitives, and on possessed nouns. This may be seen in examples (1) and (2) above.

Nor can proximate be equated with sentence level discourse functions such as sentence topic. Although it is common for there to be one proximate third person in a given

sentence, some sentences may have no proximate third person at all, while others have more than one proximate. The example below has only obviative third persons, and no proximate (lines 163-64 in the appendix).

- (5) ta-pwe- minihkwe-yiwa, e-kwah e-h-mi-cisoyit.
truly drink obv and eat obv

'So he (obv) drank and ate.'

If proximate were the same thing as sentence topic, this sentence would have to be analyzed as topicless. But it does have a topic: the man who is drinking and eating, here referred to pronominally by obviative verb inflection. The following sentence, on the other hand, would be analyzed as having more than one topic, since both subjects are proximate, and are disjoint in reference.

- (6) e-h-takohte-cik e-kotah,
arrive 3p there

a-say o-ma ka--pa-skiswa-t mostoswah.
already this.inan shoot 3-obv buffalo obv

'When they (prox) arrived there,
he (prox) had already shot the buffalo.'

The above example also shows that the primary function of obviation is not that of a switch reference system, since both of the both third persons are proximate even though they are not coreferential.

The discussion below will look at the use of obviation in narrative texts, with the examples drawn from a single text which is given in full as an appendix to this chapter. Various patterns of obviation can be identified within narrative, affecting the use of direct and inverse verbs.

The apparent opposition of inverse and direct verbs in (3b) and (4b) reflect different ways of using obviation within narrative.

Before turning to the uses of obviation in narrative, however, the sentence level factors at play in the marking of obviation are discussed. Where possible, the examples in this first section will also be drawn from the text given as an appendix.

1. Syntactic conditions

Within certain syntactic contexts, obviation is obligatory: that is, one of two third persons must be marked as obviative. The other third person may remain unmarked, and is proximate. In contexts containing only one third person the opposition is neutralized, and the form used is always the unmarked proximate one.

The discussion in this section will outline the contexts in which obviation is obligatory. Some of the contexts in which the marking of obviation is optional will also be illustrated, to demonstrate the limits of the syntactic factors conditioning obviation. The various purposes to which the optional marking of obviation may be put are the subject of the second section of this chapter.

One environment in which obviation is obligatory is found when a noun is possessed by a third person. The possessed noun is obligatorily obviative. If the noun is animate, it takes the obviative suffix -a; if it is

inanimate, the noun itself has no suffix, but Inanimate Intransitive verbs used with the noun reveal that it is obviative. [4] (See the discussion of Inanimate Intransitive verbs in chapter 2, section 4.) The first example below is line 24 in the appendix, and the second is line 167.

(7) o-hta-wiya e-h-okima-wiyit,
his father obv be chief obv
'his (prox) father (obv) was chief'

(8) o-ma ka--pi-kopayiyik oska-t
this.inan break inan.obv his leg
'his (prox) broken leg (obv)'

Both possessor and possessed noun may be obviative: for example, okosisiyiwa 'his (obv) son' in line 352, and oska-tiyiw 'his (obv) leg' in line 168. There is, however, no way to express an obviative possessor and proximate possessed noun, or a proximate possessor and proximate possessed noun.

When two or more third persons appear in the same clause, only one may be proximate. Examples are given below.

(9) awa na-pe-sis o-hih ka--kaskatahomiht
this boy this.obv be wounded obv
niya-nan miye-w misatimwah;
5 give 3-obv horse obv
'the boy (prox) gave the man (obv)
five horses (obv)'

- (10) ta-pwe. pe--na-ciyo-sta-kwak ayahciyinwah.
truly hither creep to obv-3p Blackfoot obv

'Accordingly the Blackfoot (obv)
crept up on them (prox)'

- (11) ma-ka a-say mita-taht ote-miwa-wa
but already ten their horse obv

o-tah nipesi-ma-wa!
here bring 1-obv

'but I have already brought
ten of their (prox) horses (obv) here!'

In the first example (line 358) the subject of a ditransitive verb is proximate, and the first and second objects are obviative. The verb is direct. In the second example (line 85) the subject, the Blackfoot, is obviative, while the object is proximate. The object here is the Cree, referred to pronominally by inflection on the verb. The verb in this example is inverse. In the third example (line 290), the object of the verb is a possessed noun. Since the object is possessed, it is obviative, and this is reflected on the verb inflection.

Both arguments of a transitive verb may be obviative, as illustrated in line 186 of the text, given below:

- (12) ta-pisko-c wa-skahikan e-h-itaha-yit
like house put thus obv-obv

mistikwah
tree obv

'they (obv) placed trees (obv) in the
shape of a wooden house'

The obviative subject here is the Blackfoot, and mistikwah 'tree' is the obviative object, marked by the ending -a because it is animate. This clause occurs within

a sentence in which the proximate third person, the boy, is observing the Blackfoot who are camping nearby.

The preceding example illustrates the use of a direct verb with an obviative subject and an obviative object: the verb is direct because the subject is human, and thus more salient than the object. An example of an inverse verb involving an obviative subject and an obviative object was given in chapter 2, (115). In that example, the Crow Indians had killed a woman's husband. Both subject and object are obviative, but the object, the woman's husband, is the one with whom the speaker is more sympathetic.

Proximate and obviative NPs may appear in any order with respect to the verb and to each other. This was demonstrated in chapter 1, where the examples illustrating the six possible permutation of subject, object, and verb all involved direct verbs with a proximate subject and an obviative object. Two of those examples are repeated below.

- (13) [Bloomfield 1930, p.36]
 nakate-w mahke-si-sah wi-sahke-ca-hk.
 leave 3-obv fox obv W.
 'Wisahkechahk (prox) left Fox (obv) behind'

- (14) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 74]
 e-kosi na-te-w awa iskwe-w
 so fetch 3-obv this woman
 o-hi kaskite-wastimwa.
 this.obv black horse obv
 'So then the woman (prox) went and
 got that black horse (obv).'

In (13) the obviative NP precedes the proximate, and in (14) the proximate NP precedes the obviative. In both

examples the proximate third person is subject.

A proximate NP and proximate possessor corefer regardless of whether the NP is subject or object:

(15) kahkiyaw iskwe-wak sa-kihe-wak ota-nisiwa-wa
 all woman pl love 3p²obv their dght obv
 'All women (prox) love their (prox) daughters (obv)'

(16) kahkiyaw iskwe-wak sa-kihikwak ota-nisiwa-wa
 all woman pl love obv-3p their dght obv
 'Their (prox) daughters (obv) love all women (prox)'
 [i.e., all women are loved by their daughters]

(17) namo-ya awiyak wanikiskisitotawe-w otawa-simisa
 no one forget 3-obv his child obv
 'No one (prox) forgets his (prox) children (obv)'

(18) namo-ya awiyak wanikiskisitota-k otawa-simisa
 no one forget obv-3 his child obv
 'His (prox) children (obv) forget no one (prox)'
 [i.e., No one is forgotten by his children]

As a result, Cree does not show the weak crossover effects found in English and other languages, in which, for example, a quantified object does not have scope over the possessor of the subject. Again, the relative order of proximate and obviative NPs does not affect grammaticality:

(19) ota-nisiwa-wa sa-kihikwak kahkiyaw iskwe-wak
 their dghtr obv love obv-3p all woman pl
 'Their (prox) daughters (obv) love all women (prox)'

(20) otawa-simisa wanikiskisitota-k namo-ya awiyak
 his child obv forget obv-3 no one
 'His (prox) children (obv) forget no one (prox)'

Impersonal Inanimate Intransitive verbs are inflected for proximate or obviative subjects, even though these verbs never occur with lexical NP subjects. When these verbs are

used in contexts in which non-third persons only are present, they appear with proximate inflection. All instances of Inanimate Intransitive verbs occurring in the direct quotes of the text are proximate, as illustrated by lines 11-12, below.

- (21) ki-h-ni-so-tipiska-kih
 perf two be night inan [prox]/subjunctive
 ka-sipwe-hta-na-naw.
 fut leave 1p inc
 'After two nights (prox),
 we shall leave.'

If a third person is present in the context, the impersonal Inanimate Intransitive verbs are almost always inflected for an obviative subject, as seen in the following example (lines 21-22).

- (22) ta-pwe e-h-ki-h-ni-so-tipiska-yik
 truly perf two be night inan.obv
 sipwe-hte-wak.
 leave 3p
 'Accordingly, after two nights (obv),
 twice, they (prox) left.'

In the text given in the appendix, all but two of the Inanimate Intransitive verbs occurring in the narrative sections are obviative. The exceptions occur at lines 55 and 199, and it is not clear why these verbs are proximate. Line 199, for example, is structurally no different from line 174:

- (23) a-say tipiska-w.
 already be night inan [prox]
 'It (prox) was already dark.'

- (24) piyis tipiska-yiw.
 finally be night inan.obv

'At last it (obv) grew dark.'

The syntactic context in which obviation is obligatory seems to extend also into sentential complements of a matrix verb. In the following example, the subject of the matrix verb is proximate, while the object and the conjoined subjects of the complement verb are obviative. The example is lines 351-353 in the appendix.

- (25) e-h-ntawi-wi-htamawa-t o-h o-kima-wa
 go to tell to 3-obv this.obv chief obv

e-h-takosiniyit okosisiyiwa
 arrive obv obv's son obv

mi-n o-hi ka--ki-h-kaskatahomiht,
 also this.obv perf be wounded obv

'he (prox) went to tell the chief (obv)
 that his (obv) son (obv) and the one (obv)
 who had been wounded were arriving.'

The following sentence, however, is an unusual example of both the subject of the matrix verb and the subject of the complement verb appearing as proximate, although they are non-coreferential.

- (26) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 82-84]
 namoya kiske-yime-wak ta-nte-
 not know 3p-obv where

e-y-ohotohte-t aw a-yahciyiniw.
 come from this Blackfoot

'they (prox) did not know where this
 Blackfoot (prox) had come from'

For this example, it is probably significant that the Blackfoot had been the proximate third person two sentences before in the text.

NPs appearing to the left of the sentence in topic position are apparently always proximate:

- (27) [Bloomfield 1934, p.44]
 e-wakonik o-ki oskini-kiwak,
 the very ones these youth pl
 ki-spin e-ka-h e-h-kostikocik iya-hciyiniwah,
 if not fear obv-3p Blackfoot obv
 e-yakoni e-h-nipaha-cik.
 the very one.obv kill 3p-obv
 'These same young men (prox),
 if a Blackfoot (obv) didn't fear them (prox),
 they (prox) killed him (obv).'

Not all NPs appearing in preverbal position are topics; the NP here is analyzed as being in topic position because it is followed by ki-spin 'if', a clause-initial particle. The following example is from the text in the appendix (lines 109-112), and also appears to have a topic NP.

- (28) e-kwah awa ka--kaskatahoht
 and this be wounded 3
 e-wako simatapiw,
 the very one sit up 3
 wi-stah e-h-pa-skiswa-t,
 he too shoot 3-obv
 wi-stah e-h-no-tinike-t;
 he too fight 3
 'And the one (prox) who was wounded
 he (prox) sat up, he (prox) also fired at them,
 he (prox) also fought;'

Other examples of topic NPs in the text may be found in lines 23-24, 120, and 245.

The use of these topic NPs may be related to that of the series of contrastive independent personal pronouns. This series contains no obviative pronoun.

- (29) e-kwah wiyawa-w e--ki-si-wiyanihta-ke-cik,
and they.contr finish cut up game 3p

'But, as for them, when they had cleaned
their game,'

- (30) wiya mi-na niya-nan aya-we-w misatimwa.
he.contr also five have 3-obv horse obv

'he himself also had five horses'

The extension of the domain of obviation into complement clauses of a matrix verb, and the correlation between preposed topics and proximate, may suggest that the syntactic conditions on obviation make the third person which occurs highest in syntactic structure proximate, and all other third persons obviative. However, the following discussion will show that obviative third persons may be arguments of main clause verbs, while the proximate third person occurs lower in the sentence.

Demonstrative pronouns and conjunct verbs used as modifiers agree with the head in obviation, as seen in line 231 of the appendix:

- (31) o-hih ka--kaskatahomiht wi-ce-wa-kanah
this.obv be wounded obv companion obv

'the wounded companion (obv)'

In relative clauses, the head must have the same obviation value within the relative clause as it does in the higher clause. The following example is taken from another one of Bloomfield's texts.

- (32) [Bloomfield 1930, p.280]
e-kwah kisiwa-he-w o-hih ka--kimotamawa-t.
and anger 3-obv this.obv steal from 3-obv

'He (prox) angered the ones (obv) he stole from.'

In this example, the relative clause o-hih ka--kimotamawa-t, 'the ones he stole from' is the object of the higher verb. Since the subject of the higher verb is proximate, this object must be obviative. The head of the relative clause is also the object of the verb within the relative clause, and must be obviative there too. In other words, there can be no switch of proximate and obviative marking on third person arguments within a relative clause: the head must either be proximate in both the relative clause and the higher clause, or obviative in both clauses.

In the next example, from the text in the appendix (lines 268-269), the higher verb of the sentence must be inflected for an obviative subject because the head of the relative clause is obviative within the lower clause.

(33) e-kwah pe--na-tima-wa
and hither be fetched obv

o-hi ka--ki--nipaha-t,
this.obv perf kill 3-obv

'And the ones (obv) whom he (prox) had killed
were fetched.'

If the higher verb were inflected for a proximate subject the sentence would read, 'the one (prox) who had killed them (obv) was fetched'.

The following examples show that other types of verbs marked with proximate or obviative inflection may occur in either order with respect to each other, and either may be higher than the other in constituent structure. The inflection on the verbs for proximate or obviative arguments functions pronominally in the absence of lexical subjects or

objects.

(34) ite·h e·h-ota·kosiniyik,
loc be evening inan.obv

e·-wi·h-minahoyit,
intend kill game obv

wistah e·kote· takohte·w.
he too there arrive 3

'Where [they were by] evening,
as they (obv) were about to kill game,
he too (prox) arrived.'

In the above example, the verb of the main clause, takohte·w 'arrive' is inflected for a proximate subject. It is preceded by intransitive verbs in subordinate clauses inflected for obviative subjects.

(35) mwe·hci niktwa·sikwa·w e·h·ki·h·nipa·cik,
just then six times perf sleep 3p

mo·hkiciwanipe·k itah e·h·aya·yik,
spring loc be inan.obv

ci·k e·kotah mostoswah aya·yiwa.
near there buffalo obv be obv

'When they (prox) had slept six times,
where there was a spring of water (obv),
near there were buffalos (obv).'

In this example, the verb of the highest clause, aya·yiwa 'be there' is inflected for an obviative subject. It is preceded by two subordinate clauses: the first contains an intransitive verb inflected for a proximate plural subject, and the second contains an Inanimate Intransitive verb inflected for an obviative subject.

(36) *mistahi ma-maskā-tamiyiwa,*
greatly be surprised obv-inan

"*ta-ntah e-h-ohtinaman?*"
where get from 2-inan

e-h-itikot.
say to obv-3

'He (obv) was greatly surprised,
"Where did you get it?"
he (obv) asked him (prox).'

In the preceding example (lines 234-236 in the appendix), the highest verb is *ma-maskā-tamiyiwa* 'be surprised', inflected for an obviative subject and inanimate object. The proximate third person is referred to only as the object of the inverse verb in the final clause.

(37) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 44]
ke-ka-c e-h-tipiska-yik,
almost be night inan.obv

e-koyikohk poyo-yiwah o-h iya-hciyiniwah,
just then cease obv this.obv B.foot obv

e-h-tapasiyit,
flee obv

e-h-se-kiha-cik.
frighten 3p-obv

'When it (obv) was almost night
the Blackfoot (obv) quit,
running away because they (prox) had
frightened them (obv).'

In this example, taken from another of Bloomfield's texts, the proximate third person is the subject of *e-h-se-kiha-cik* 'frighten', the direct verb in the final clause. This clause is a subordinate one, and is preceded by two clauses in which the obviative third person is subject, and by a clause containing an impersonal Inanimate Intransitive verb inflected for an obviative subject.

The preceding examples show that obviative arguments may be indicated pronominally in clauses that both precede and command clauses containing proximate arguments. Example (5) at the beginning of this chapter showed that subjects may be marked obviative even when there is no proximate third person in the sentence at all.

Despite the examples in which NPs in topic position are proximate, and the extension of obligatory obviation into sentential complements of a matrix verb, the examples of obviative inflection on main clause intransitives show that obviative marking cannot be predicted with a structural condition like c-command. It is also not possible to predict obviative marking on the basis of linear order of arguments. [5]

2. Uses of obviation in narrative

The discussion in this section covers a variety of ways that obviation is used in narrative discourse, and is based upon examination of about thirty texts in Bloomfield 1930 and 1934. One of these texts, which exhibits a typical range of obviation patterns, is given in full as an appendix to this chapter. All the examples in this section will be drawn from this text, to illustrate the role obviation plays in discourse organization.

The text is 'A Brave Boy' (Bloomfield 1934, pp. 90-99), and the plot is as follows. Seven Cree men go out in search of Blackfoot, and are joined by the young son of their

chief. Even though the boy is really too young, the men let him stay. The Cree are surprised by the Blackfoot, and one man is wounded. All the other men run away, but the boy stays with the wounded man, and they repel the Blackfoot attack. The boy builds a shelter and cares for the wounded man. More Blackfoot camp nearby; the boy attacks them, killing three, and driving the rest away. The Blackfoot later return for their dead, but the boy steals their horses and he and the wounded man return home. The chief and the rest of the band are overjoyed to see them, because they had thought the boy and the man must have been killed.

Most uses of obviation distinguish a single proximate third person from all others. Another pattern, however, may be seen when there is more than one proximate third person, all relatively prominent in the discourse, but no one proximate more salient than the others. Using a term from Goddard 1984, this use of obviation is labelled multiple proximates, and is discussed in section 2.2. Section 2.1. discusses obviation of the single proximate type.

2.1. Single proximate

The discussion of obviation will look at the text in episodes about the size of a paragraph. In general, this is the range of a given pattern of obviation. In some episodes, a single third person is maintained as proximate for the duration of the episode. In other cases, the effect of other obviation patterns can most easily be seen by

considering the episode as a whole.

To take the first episode of this text as an example, the episode begins on line 2, with a sentence beginning with ki-tahtawe. 'presently, soon; suddenly', which is frequently used at the beginning of episodes. (Line 1 has not been counted here: it is a formulaic opening.)

(38) ki-tahtawe- o-mis i-twe-w pe-yak na-pe-w;
presently thus speak one man

'Once a certain man (prox) spoke as follows;'

The first episode ends with the sentence in lines

21-22:

(39) ta-pwe- e-h-ki-h-ni-so-tipiska-yik
truly perf two be night inan.obv

sipwe-hte-wak.
leave 3p

'Accordingly, after two nights, they set out.'

The particle ta-pwe. 'truly' is frequently associated with sentences closing an episode.

In this first episode, the Cree men are planning to go out in search of the Blackfoot. The proximate third person in this episode is the leader of the group; his friend, who speaks only to agree with him, is obviative. In line 22 the verb is inflected for proximate plural: this refers to the men as a group, including both the leader and his companion.

The second episode begins on line 23, lasting until line 37, which is given below.

(40) ta-pwe- pimitisahwe-w
truly follow 3-obv

'Accordingly he followed them'

Again, a sentence beginning with ta-pwe- is used to end the episode.

In the second episode, the proximate third person is the boy. The group of men, who were proximate in the previous episode, are now obviative, along with the boy's father, and the horses. The episode begins with the boy introduced as a topic NP in lines 23-24 (see also example (1) at the beginning of this chapter). The events of this episode are presented from the boy's point of view: he sees the men who are going out after Blackfoot, and decides to go with them.

The third episode takes place that evening, at the place where the men are camping for the night. Just as they are about to kill some game for supper, the boy arrives at their camp. At this point, a little ways into the third episode, the men become proximate, and the boy becomes obviative. At the beginning of the episode the boy was proximate and the men were obviative, just as in the second episode. The effect of the men being proximate is to represent their reactions to the boy joining them: they recognize him as the chief's son, and decide to let him stay.

The change from the boy being proximate to the men being proximate, with a corresponding shift in point of view, is accomplished by repeating two verb stems, as seen in the two examples below (lines 38-40; 43-46).

- (41) ite-h e-h-ota-kosiniyik,
 loc be evening inan.obv
 e.-wi-h-minahoyit,
 intend kill game obv
 wistah e-kote- takohte-w.
 he too there arrive 3
 'Where [they were by] evening,
 as they (obv) were about to kill game,
 he (prox) also arrived.'
- (42) e-kwah o-ki na-pe-wak ka-h-minahocik,
 and these man pl kill game 3p
 ka--takohte-yit o-hi na-pe-sisah,
 arrive obv this.obv boy obv
 nisitawe-yime-wak
 recognize 3p-obv
 o-hta-wiyiwa e-h-okima-wiyit.
 obv's father obv be chief obv
 'And when those men (prox) had killed game,
 and the boy (obv) arrived,
 they (prox) recognized him (obv)
 as the chief's (obv) son.'

In (41), the boy is proximate, so takohte-w 'he arrived' is inflected for a proximate subject. The men are obviative in (41), and e.-wi-h-minahoyit 'intending to kill game' is inflected for an obviative subject.

In the sentence beginning in line 43, the verb stems are repeated, reflecting the change in proximate and obviative. ka-h-minahocik 'when they killed game' has a proximate plural subject, while ka--takohte-yit 'when he arrived' has an obviative subject. Both verbs bear the preverb ka--, here used in its perfective sense. Though it would be clear from the repetition of the verb stems alone that the men are the subject of the first verb in (42), and

the boy the subject of the second, this is made even more explicit by the use of lexical NP subjects with both verbs.

A similar pattern may be seen in an episode later in the text (lines 256-261). In this episode the Blackfoot who escaped the boy's attack return home and tell about it. The first line has the Blackfoot as obviative:

(43) namoya e-s o-ma wa-hyaw e-h-wi-kiyit.
not this.inan far dwell obv

'It seems they (obv) didn't live far away.'

The use of obviative verb inflection is enough to pick out the Blackfoot without using a lexical subject. In the next line the two specific Blackfoot who escaped from the boy are proximate, and referred to by a preverbal NP.

(44) o-ki ka--tapasi-cik ayahciyiniwak
these flee 3p Blackfoot pl

takosinwak wi-kiwa-hk;
arrive 3p their house loc

'Those Blackfoot (prox) who had fled
arrived at their camp;'

These Blackfoot remain proximate for the rest of this brief episode. In the next episode, the boy is again proximate, and the episode begins with an impersonal Inanimate Intransitive verb with a perfective preverb, indicating elapsed time. It is followed by a transitive direct verb inflected for a proximate singular subject. Again, no lexical subject is needed to indicate that it is the boy who is the new proximate here.

Several instances have now been seen of obviation being used to express the point of view of the proximate third

person. Examples are found in the second and third episodes. In the second episode, the boy sees the men go off, and in the third episode, the men become proximate, as the boy's arrival at their camp is told from their point of view. It is generally the case that perception verbs or verbs expressing feelings have proximate subjects. Examples are nisitawe-yime-wak 'recognize' in (42), and the several points in the story where the man is described as being glad, all with proximate subjects:

- (45) miywe-yihtam awa na-pe-w.
 be glad 3-inan this man

'The man (prox) was glad.'

The next example, however, is slightly different from what has been seen so far. In part of this episode the character whose viewpoint is expressed is referred to by proximate forms, but this is not true throughout the episode. Lines 75-81 of the text are reproduced below.

- (46) 75. pe-htamiyiwa ayahciyiniwah
 hear obv-inan Blackfoot obv
76. namoya wa-hyaw e-h-aya-yit,
 not far be obv
77. mita-taht e-y-ihtasiyit,
 ten be so many obv
78. mi-n e-yakonik ne-hiyawah e-h-ntonawa-cik.
 also the very ones Cree obv seek 3p-obv
79. e-kwah e-yakonik wi-h-kakwe--wa-pame-wak
 and the very ones intend try see 3p-obv
- o-hi ne-hiyawa.
 this.obv Cree obv
80. po-tih wa-pamikok ne-hiyawak o-ki
 [surprise] see obv-3p Cree pl these

81. ka--wiyinihta-ke-cik
cut up game 3p

'Ten Blackfoot (obv) who were not far away heard it,
and they (prox) also were seeking Cree (obv).
They (prox) decided to try to see the Cree (obv).
And there they (obv) saw the Cree (prox)
who were cutting up their game ...'

The enemy Blackfoot are introduced in line 75 as obviative: what they have heard is a gunshot fired by the Cree. In lines 78 and 79 the Blackfoot become proximate, then the Cree reappear as proximate in line 80. Several questions arise with respect to this example. What is the effect of making the Blackfoot proximate, and why does it occur at line 78? Likewise, why are the Cree again proximate at line 80?

One effect of the change in proximate is to focus upon the Blackfoot, highlighting their nearness to the Cree, and creating suspense in the narrative. Viewpoint is also involved: the occurrence of the shift at line 78 coincides with a verb describing the intentions of the Blackfoot. They are out seeking Cree, just as the Cree men are out after Blackfoot. The obviative noun ne-hiyawah 'Cree (obv.)' in line 78 is of particular interest. It occurs without a determiner, which favors a non-specific reading of this noun, the object of nitonaw- 'seek'. In other words, the Blackfoot are seeking Cree in general; they do not have in mind any particular Cree, such as the group of seven men and one boy.

There is, therefore, a subtle difference between the use of obviation at this point in the text and that seen in

the description of the boy's arrival at the men's camp. The obviative noun ne-hiyawah 'Cree (obv.)' in line 78 is not, strictly speaking, coreferential with the earlier references to the group of Cree men and the boy. In fact, ne-hiyawah 'Cree (obv.)' in line 78 is nonreferential. It identifies that which the Blackfoot are searching for. Although, as it turns out, the group of Cree men and the boy does satisfy the object of the Blackfoot's search, at the moment recounted in line 78 the Blackfoot have not yet seen these Cree. In line 78, therefore, the Blackfoot gain proximate status, but it cannot be said that the group of Cree men and the boy is here relegated to obviative status.

In the earlier episode, on the other hand, there was a complete reversal of proximate and obviative between two third person referents. The boy and the group of men in the sentence beginning with line 43 are the same boy and group of men as in the previous sentences. Only the forms used to refer to these characters shift.

The Blackfoot continue to be proximate in line 79, and here the object of the verb is o-hi ne-hiyawa 'these Cree (obv.)'. Unlike the object in line 78, this obviative NP is definite: the Blackfoot have heard the gunshot and surmise that it was Cree who fired the gun. Although this NP seems different from the nonreferential object of nitonaw- 'seek' in line 78, the verb of line 79 again expresses the intentions of the Blackfoot: they want to see the Cree who they guess must be nearby. They still have not seen any

specific Cree.

In line 80 the boy who is the hero and the seven Cree men come back into the story when the Blackfoot catch sight of them. This is the point at which the Blackfoot become obviative: the proximate third person in line 80 and the following lines is the Cree. It should be noted, however, that the switch back to the Cree as proximate in line 80 does not coincide with a shift in viewpoint. The viewpoint represented is still that of the Blackfoot, as evidenced by the initial particle po-tih of line 80, which expresses surprise. Here it must be the Blackfoot's surprise at seeing the Cree, because the Cree are at this time unaware of the presence of the Blackfoot (cf. line 86).

Although obviation is frequently used to represent viewpoint, this example shows that this is not its only function. The switch back to the Cree as proximate in line 80 shows a preference for using proximate forms to refer to the character the narrator and the audience are most sympathetic to.

Lines 78 and 79 are striking not only in having the Blackfoot as proximate, but also in the parallel occurrences of the demonstrative pronoun e-yakonik 'those very ones'. The functions of the series of demonstrative pronouns which includes e-yakonik are not well understood, but they surely play a role here in the proximate shift to the Blackfoot.

The Blackfoot are introduced as obviative, and remain obviative for three lines before becoming proximate. This

may be another example of the pattern seen in the episode recounting the boy's arrival at the men's camp, and the brief episode at the Blackfoot's camp, described above. The Blackfoot start out as obviative, and later become proximate. This is true also of the men in the episode of the boy's arrival, and of the Blackfoot in the other episode. The pattern here differs in some respects from that of the earlier examples, however. When the boy arrives at the men's camp, the men are the subject of a subordinate clause verb in line 39 ((41)):

(47) e--wi·h·minahoyit,
intend kill game obv

as they (obv) were about to kill game,

In line 75, on the other hand, the verb is a main clause verb, expressing an important turn of events. The initial appearance of the Blackfoot as obviative thus does not seem to be a device for making the transition between two single proximate episodes.

This episode is atypical in another respect: the shift to the Blackfoot as proximate, and then back to the Cree as proximate, coincides with the use of transitive verbs. It is more common for such switches to occur with intransitive verbs, as seen in (42).

Multiple proximates

The examples discussed so far have focused on a single proximate third person, expressing other third persons with

obviative forms. A variation on this pattern is to express more than one third person with proximate forms. The term multiple proximate is taken from Goddard 1984.

(48) e-h-takohte-cik e-kotah,
arrive 3p there

a-say o-ma ka-pa-skiswa-t mostoswah.
already this.inan shoot 3-obv buffalo obv

'When they (prox) arrived there,
he (prox) had already shot the buffalo (obv).'

The example above (lines 73-74) is typical of the multiple proximate strategy. Although the plural subject of the first verb is disjoint in reference from the singular subject of the second verb, both are proximate. In this case, both proximate third persons belong to the group of Cree out looking for Blackfoot. Neither is more prominent than the other, so they share proximate status.

At the end of the story, when the boy and man return to their band, the multiple proximate strategy is used for all members of the band. (lines 360-363)

(49) mi-na aya-hciyiniwah nisto
also Blackfoot obv 3

e-h-nipaha-t awa na-pe-sis,
kill 3-obv this boy

miywe-yihtamwak o-k a-yisiniyiwak.
be glad 3p-inan these person pl

'Also the people (prox) were glad that
the boy (prox) killed three Blackfoot (obv).'

As pointed out in Goddard 1984, cases of conjoined NPs agreeing in proximate status can be subsumed under the larger phenomenon of multiple proximates. The following example is line 330 in the appendix.

(50) ...awa na-pe-sis e-kwah aw o-skini-kiw
 this boy and this youth

mawi-hka-ta-wak.
 be mourned 3p

'This boy (prox) and this young man (prox)
 were being mourned'

Not all conjoined NPs agree in obviation: it is also possible to conjoin an obviative NP to a proximate NP, as seen in the following example.

(51) [Bloomfield 1934, p.98]

wa-pam
 see 2/imperative

e-si-miyosicik nisi-m o-h i-skwe-wah.
 how be good 3p my y.sib. this.obv woman obv

'Look how beautiful are my brother (prox) and
 this woman (obv)'

Though there is no overt conjunction, the plural marking on the verb confirms that the two nouns are conjoined.

During a multiple proximate episode, it sometimes happens that one proximate acts on another. That is, each of the arguments of a transitive verb is coreferential to a proximate subject of an intransitive verb in the immediately preceding context. When a transitive verb is employed, however, one of the two arguments must be obviative for the duration of the clause. Afterwards, that argument is again proximate.

The episode consisting of lines 165-175 has an example of this. The boy and the man are equally salient at this point in the story, and are both referred to by proximate forms when subject of intransitive verbs. There is one transitive verb in this episode involving the boy as subject

and the man as object. Here the man appears as obviative. This is seen in the example below, containing the first sentence of the episode, which ends with the transitive verb.

- (52) 165. e-h-ki-si-mi-cisot,
 finish eat 3
166. e-kwah miscikosah ka-h-ki-skataham
 then stick dim pl redup cut 3-inan
- e-h-apisa-siniyikih,
 be little inan.obv.pl
167. o-ma ka--pi-kopayiyik oska-t,
 this.inan break inan.obv his leg
168. e-kotah e--tahkopitamwa-t
 there tie 3-obv
- o-m o-ska-tiyiw.
 this.inan obv's leg

'When he (prox) finished eating,
 he (prox) cut some little sticks,
 for [?] his (prox) broken leg,
 there he (prox) tied him (obv) on his (obv) leg'

The proximate subject of the verbs in 165 and 166 is the man. The man is also the proximate possessor in line 167. The proximate subject of 168 is the boy, while the man is the obviative object and obviative possessor. The verb of 168 is ditransitive, and the second object of the verb is the man's leg. This verb is here functioning something like object possessor raising (Munro 1984), in that the object of the verb must be coreferential to the possessor of the second object.

In the sentence following 168, both the boy and man are again proximate.

- (53) 169. e·kosi e·h·ki·si·tahkopitahk,
so finish tie 3-inan
170. e·kwah osi·hta·w wi·kiwa·w ni·piyah ohci,
then make 3-inan their house leaf pl from
171. e·kotah e·h·aya·t,
there be 3
172. e·kwah e·w·osi·hta·t ka·hke·wakwah
and make 3-inan dried meat pl
- ana na·pe·w,
that man
173. e·kwah awah na·pe·sis tahkih e·h·asawa·pit.
and this boy always look out 3
- 'When he (prox) finished tying it,
he (prox) built their (prox) house with leaves,
where the man (prox) stayed,
preparing dried meat,
while the boy (prox) always kept a lookout.'

Here the boy is the proximate subject of the verbs in 169, 170, and 173, while the man is the proximate subject in 171 and 172. The episode closes in line 175 with a verb inflected for proximate plural, referring to the two of them.

The brief use of obviative morphology to refer to the man in line 168 is not a departure from the multiple proximate pattern. It reflects a morphosyntactic requirement of the language, rather than a sharp shift in the discourse status associated with the man in this episode. It is thus different from switching to the boy as a new single proximate. The effect of such a single proximate strategy would have been to refer to the man with obviative forms in 171 and 172. Instead, the boy and the man both continue as proximate, reflecting their equal

status within this episode.

In (52), when a transitive verb brought the two proximates together in a single clause, the object was made obviative, resulting in a direct form of the verb. This is characteristic of multiple proximate episodes: when two of the multiple proximates are to be arguments of a transitive verb, it is always the object that is made obviative, and not the subject. As a result, inverse verbs are not used in these episodes.

Inverse verbs are instead used in single proximate episodes, to continue tracking the one salient third person through the episode. The distinct uses of inverse verbs in single proximate and multiple proximate episodes is the factor governing the opposition between direct and inverse forms seen in the minimal pair of (3) and (4) at the beginning of this chapter. The two lines of those examples that form a minimal pair are repeated below.

(54) Line 253: itik 'he (obv) said to him (prox)'

Line 138: ite-w na-pe-sisah

'he (prox) said to the boy (obv)'

Both of these forms are used in the text for the man speaking to the boy. In the first example, the man is obviative and the boy is proximate; in the second, the man is proximate and the boy is obviative. The inverse form is used in a single proximate episode focusing upon the boy. The boy has attacked the Blackfoot, collected their possessions, and brought them back to the wounded man.

Other reflexes of the focus on the boy as single proximate may be seen in the use of obviative inflection referring to the man in 234, and the inverse verb in 236.

The direct form in line 138, on the other hand, reflects the multiple proximate pattern. It is used in an episode which occurs earlier in the text: the boy and man have been fighting the Blackfoot together; when the Blackfoot retreat, the boy finds a place to stay. He then comes back to the man, and they argue about whether the boy should stay with the man. The two are equally salient at this point, and each of the verbs of speaking in this dialogue is in the direct form.

It was seen above that a given third person tended to remain proximate throughout an episode of text. The same is true for the single and multiple proximate patterns. A given episode may exhibit one or the other pattern.

For example, in the episode immediately preceding example (52), in which the man and boy are both proximate, the pattern of obviation is a single proximate one, in which the boy is proximate and the man is obviative. This is seen by the following sentence, in which the man is subject of both verbs. The inflection is for an obviative subject, even though the proximate third person is not even mentioned in the sentence.

(55) ta-pwe- minihkwe-yiwa, e-kwah e-h-mi-cisoyit.
truly drink obv and eat obv

'So he drank and ate.'

Again, ta-pwe 'truly' is used as a sign that the episode is concluded. The next episode repeats the verb stem mi-ciso 'eat', this time with proximate inflection. This is parallel to the repetition of verb stems seen in example (42), describing the boy's arrival at the men's camp.

This section has illustrated some of the uses that the grammatical opposition of obviation may be put to in narrative. It often represents viewpoint, and is likely to pick out the character the speaker and audience find most sympathetic. Obviation may either pick out a single, highly salient proximate, or it may be used with more than one proximate, all of whom have roughly the same status in the discourse. The inverse verbs are one device used to maintain a given character as proximate; when multiple proximates are involved as arguments of the same transitive verb, the form of the verb is always direct.

Notes to chapter 4

- 1 The term "obviatif" was coined by Cuoq 1866 for this Algonquian grammatical category.
- 2 Contexts in which obviation disambiguates reference have received considerable attention (see, for example, Foley and Van Valin 1984, pp. 333-338). This function of obviation seems to be the motivation behind the term "obviation" used as a synonym for obligatory disjoint reference in Government and Binding theory and Lexical-Functional Grammar (Chomsky 1981, p. 61; Bresnan 1982a, p. 331).
- 3 I have abbreviated the quoted material to save space. The full versions may be found in the appendix to this chapter: lines 237-253 for the first example, and lines 128-138 for the second.
- 4 In the Moose Cree dialect, both animate and inanimate nouns take obviative suffixes (cf. Ellis 1983).
- 5 See Grafstein 1981 for a proposal involving linear precedence, and a discussion of a proposal involving c-command.

Appendix to Chapter 4

Notes on the text

This appendix contains one of the texts from Bloomfield 1934: 'A Brave Boy' (pp. 90-99). This story was told to Bloomfield by Coming-Day, ka--ki.sika-w-pi-htoke-w, at Sweet Grass Reserve, Saskatchewan, sometime in the summer of 1925. Coming-Day is credited with more texts than any of the other Cree speakers who worked with Bloomfield, and the introduction to Bloomfield 1930 makes it clear that he was an accomplished story teller. This story displays a number of complicated syntactic constructions and a range of stylistic devices; the discussion in the present chapter does not exhaust the interesting features of this text, nor of the other texts in Bloomfield's collections. Clearly much more could be done with this textual material; one motivation for presenting this text here is to make it more accessible. These introductory remarks explain the format used for this text, and discuss certain points which could not be adequately conveyed in the interlinear glosses.

To make the text easier to examine, I have presented it here in a series of short lines, following a rough formula of one verb (plus its arguments and adjuncts) per line. This format throws into relief a number of syntactic features, including the order of arguments with respect to the verb and to each other, the use of lexical NPs versus zero anaphora, the scope and placement of adverbs, and the

role of clause-initial and clause-second particles. Some sentence-initial elements that seem to be introducing new topics appear on a separate line: for example, line 245 e-kwah pe-yak 'And one,'. In this case, the intuition that pe-yak occupies a special topic position is reinforced by the following line: osa.m e-toke. e--se-kisit, 'I guess he was too frightened', where e-toke. 'I guess' is an evidential particle which appears in second position within clauses. If pe-yak 'one' were taken to be part of the clause in line 246, then the position of e-toke. would be problematic. Only a few sentence-initial constituents have been given separate lines; probably more divisions of this sort could be made than I have indicated here.

As a result of the widespread use of zero anaphora, most lines are quite short. The clauses with more than one lexical NP argument stand out (for example, line 358), as do certain other clauses containing complex syntactic constructions (an example is line 237). The longer lines, therefore, are of particular interest both syntactically, and from the point of view of discourse structure as well.

The lines of Cree text, along with my interlinear glosses, form the lefthand column of each page. The Cree lines are paired with Bloomfield's English translation in the righthand column. The Cree text, English translation, and interlinear glosses all deserve some comment. Aspects of the Cree text will be discussed first.

The Cree text

The Cree text is exactly as given in Bloomfield 1934, except for the orthographic substitutions described in chapter 1. Bloomfield writes word final h, external sandhi, and syncopation of short vowels. He is inconsistent in recording vowel length, especially before glides and h, and sometimes writes i for a. All these features of Bloomfield's text have been preserved here, since it is impossible to decide for all cases of, say, anomalous vowel length whether the transcription represents what the speaker actually said, a mishearing by Bloomfield, or a typographical error. However, a few items which almost certainly represent typographical errors are listed below. nipahe. (line 215) is presumably nipahe.w 'he killed him (obv.)', nika-pa.skiswe.w (line 195) should be nika-pa.skiswa.w 'I will shoot him', and te.pwe. (line 70) should be ta.pwe. 'truly'. The latter two items have e. for a., which is not a surprising typographical error: Bloomfield wrote long a as ā and long e as ä.

Somewhat different is the use of the plural suffix -ak on the verb in line 62, ta-nitawi-pa.skiswe.wak, literally, 'they (prox) will go to shoot him/them (obv.)', but used for 'he will go to shoot them'. This may represent a slip of the tongue on the part of the speaker. From the context it is clear that it is the obviative object that is plural, while the proximate subject should be singular. -ak indicates proximate plural, and therefore is not

appropriate in line 62. There is no way to indicate number of an obviative object on the verb. However, since in this case the object is in fact plural, this may have led the speaker to use -ak on this verb, despite the mismatch of obviation features.

Bloomfield's English translation

In general, Bloomfield's translation is faithful to the Cree. An exception is line 301, which should be 'his companion crawled outside', not 'he dragged out his companion'. Also, line 207 is probably best analyzed as the complement of the verb in line 206, 'he picked out which ones were well dressed', not separate from line 206, as Bloomfield has it. (Thanks to Ives Goddard for pointing this out.)

Interlinear glosses

Bloomfield gives only the Cree and English texts; I have supplied interlinear glosses, indicating both stems and inflectional categories. For example, the verb in line 14 is glossed as follows:

- (i) miskawa-yahkwa-wi 'when we find them'
 find 1pinc-3p/subjunctive

The stem of this verb, miskaw-, is glossed 'find'; it is inflected for a first person plural inclusive subject and an animate third person plural object. The final suffix

-i indicates that the verb is subjunctive (as does the use of -wa-w, rather than -ik, to mark third person plural).

The categories of subject and object are indicated for each verb immediately following the stem gloss. As in the above example, a hyphen separates the subject and object.

The abbreviations used are mostly self-explanatory:

1	= 1 singular
2	= 2 singular
1p	= 1 plural exclusive
1p inc	= 1 plural inclusive
2p	= 2 plural
3	= 3 animate proximate singular
3p	= 3 animate proximate plural
obv	= 3 animate obviative
inan	= inanimate

On Inanimate Intransitive verbs:

inan	= inanimate proximate singular
inan.obv	= inanimate obviative singular
inan.pl	= inanimate proximate plural
inan.obv.pl	= inanimate obviative plural

Inanimate Intransitive verbs require slightly more complicated glosses, since they distinguish number and obviation of inanimate subjects. This results in a slight overlap of terminology that could be confusing. The category "inan.obv", used for subjects of Inanimate Intransitive verbs, is distinct from the subject-object combinations of "obv-inan" (3 animate obviative subject and inanimate object) and "inan-obv" (inanimate subject and 3 animate obviative object). The hyphen is used only with combinations of subject and object categories.

In this text, all subject-object combinations belonging to the inverse set have been explicitly marked.

As discussed in chapter 2, section 2, verbs may be inflected in one of three orders: independent, imperative, or conjunct. All three orders are found in this text; within the conjunct order, there are examples of the simple conjunct indicative, the changed conjunct indicative, future imperative, subjunctive, and iterative. The vast majority of verbs belong either to the independent indicative or to the changed conjunct indicative. All other verb forms have been identified following the subject-object gloss, as in line 14, given as example (i) above, which has a subjunctive verb. All verbs beginning with the preverbs e.(h)-, ka.(h)-, or ke.(h)-, which are set off from the verb with hyphens, belong to the changed conjunct. (When ka- is attached to stems beginning in i, the combination is written k-e-; before o-, ka- appears as k-) All other verbs which do not begin with one of these three preverbs, and which are not otherwise identified, belong to the independent indicative. The appendix to chapter 2 gives full paradigms of the independent indicative and changed conjunct indicative.

Of the preverbs associated with the changed conjunct, ke- marks future tense, and has been so glossed in the text. The other two preverbs, e- and ka-, have a variety of uses, and have not been given interlinear glosses. See chapter 2, section 2, for some discussion of their functions.

Other grammatical categories indicated in the glosses include future tense and perfective aspect. The perfective preverb ki- is homophonous with the preverb meaning 'be able to'. There are two types of productive reduplication in Cree (Ahenakew and Wolfart 1983), and examples of both are found in the text. Ongoing action is indicated by Ca-, and intermittent action by Ca.h-.

There are two examples of relational verbs in this text, on lines 168 and line 228. This construction sometimes behaves like possessor raising (Munro 1984): often, as in the examples here, the relational verb is inflected for an object agreeing with the possessor of the patient or theme argument.

Grammatical categories for nouns include number, obviation, vocative, locative case, diminutive, and possession.

The dependent locative particles, glossed "loc", form relative clauses with locative heads (i.e., "[the place] where ..."; see line 25 for an example). This construction is discussed in chapter 3, section 3.

"A Brave Boy" [Bloomfield 1934, pp. 90-99]

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 1. | ki-tahtawe· ayi·siniyawak e·h-wi-kicik,
presently person pl live 3p | 'Once upon a time, as some
people dwelt somewhere, |
| 2. | ki-tahtawe· o·mis i·twe·w pe·yak na·pe·w;
presently thus speak 3 one man | a certain man
spoke as follows; |
| 3. | o·hih owi·ce·wa·kanah, "a·y,"
this.obv his companion obv | to his comrade
he said, "Now then, |
| 4. | ite·w,
say to 3-obv | |
| 5. | "nawac sipwe·hte·ta·n,"
better leave 1pinc/imperative | let us set out; |
| 6. | ite·w,
say to 3-obv | |
| 7. | "ka·wi·htamo·wacik a·tiht ayi·siyiniwak;
fut tell to 2-3p/simple conj some person pl | you may tell a few people; |
| 8. | te·pakohp kik·e·htasina·naw,"
seven fut be so many 1pinc | seven of us shall go," |
| 9. | ite·w.
say to 3-obv | he told him. |
| 10. | "a·ha?."
yes | "Very well." |
| 11. | "ki·h·ni·so·tipiska·kih
perf two be night inan/subjunctive | "Two nights from now |

12. ka-sipwe·hta·na·naw. we shall set out.
fut leave 1pinc
13. ayahciyiniwak ka·ntonawa·nawak, We shall look for
Blackfoot pl fut seek 1pinc-3p Blackfoot,
14. miskawa·yahkwa·wi to steal their horses
find 1pinc-3p/subjunctive when we find them.
15. ote·miwa·wa ka·kimotamawa·yahk.
their horse obv fut steal from 1pinc-3/simple conjunct
16. ma·ka wa·pamikoyahkwa·wi, And if they catch sight of
but see 3p-1pinc/subjunctive [inverse] us
17. wi·h·kakwe·-nipahikoyahkwa·wi, and try to kill us,
intend try kill 3p-1pinc/subjunctive [inverse]
18. kiya·na mi·na ka·kakwe·-nipaha·nawak," we shall try to kill
we also fut try kill 1pinc-3p them,"
19. ite·w. he told him.
say to 3-obv
20. "e·ha?." "Very well."
yes
21. ta·pwe· e·h·ki·h·ni·so·tipiska·yik Accordingly, after two
truly perf two be night inan.obv nights
22. sipwe·hte·wak. they set out.
leave 3p
23. awa pe·yak na·pe·sis A certain young boy,
this one boy

24. o-hta.wiya e-h-okima.wiyit, whose father was chief,
his father obv be chief obv
25. misatimwah ite.h e-y-aya.yit, was where the horses were,
horse obv loc be obv
26. e-kote.h aya.w, and saw them
there be 3
27. ka--wa.pama.t and saw them
see 3-obv
28. e-h-pimohte.yit go off
go by obv
29. o.hi ka--sipwe.hte.yit, who were setting off,
this.obv leave obv
30. e-h-kita.pama.t When he looked at them,
watch 3-obv
31. "miya.may e--sipwe.hte.cik!" "Surely they are going
surely leave 3p off!"
32. ite.yihtam, think 3-inan
33. acosisah e-h-aya.t awa na.pe.sis, at the age of having
arrow pl have 3-inan this boy arrows was the boy,
34. ke-karc a.ta.wiya e-h-oskini.kit awa na.pe.sis; though, indeed, he was
almost although be youth 3 this boy close to adolescence;
35. "mahtih nika-wi.ce.wa.wak!" "Oh, do let me go with
let fut go with 1-3p them!"

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| 36. o-mis i-te-yihtam.
thus think 3-inan | That was his thought. |
| 37. ta-pwe-pimitisahwe-w.
truly follow 3-obv | Accordingly he followed them. |
| 38. ite-h e-h-ota-kosiniyik,
loc be evening inan.obv | At the place they reached toward evening, |
| 39. e-wi-h-minahoyit,
intend kill game obv | as they were about to kill game, |
| 40. wistah e-kote takohte-w.
he too there arrive 3 | he too arrived. |
| 41. namoya kiske-yimik o-hta-wiya
not know obv-3 [inverse] his father obv | His father did not know |
| 42. e--sipwe-hte-t.
leave 3 | that he had gone off. |
| 43. e-kwah o-ki na-pe-wak ka-h-minahocik,
and these man pl kill game 3p | And those men, when they had killed game, |
| 44. ka--takohte-yit o-hi na-pe-sisah,
arrive obv this.obv boy obv | and the boy arrived, |
| 45. nisitawe-yime-wak
recognize 3p-obv | recognized him |
| 46. o-hta-wiyiwa e-h-okima-wiyit.
obv's father obv be chief obv | as the chief's son. |
| 47. namoya na-nitaw wi-h-ite-wak.
not anything intend say to 3p-obv | They did not care to say anything to him. |

48. e-kos e-h-ki-site-pocik,
so cook 3p So, when they cooked
their meal
49. e--wi-h-mi-cisocik,
intend eat 3p and were about to eat,
50. miyw-asame-wak o-hi na-pe-sisah.
well feed 3p-obv this.obv boy obv they gave the boy plenty
of food.
51. "ha-w, kitima-ke-yima-tan.
take pity on 1pinc-3/imperative "Well, let us treat him
kindly.
52. kito-kima-minaw okosisah,"
our (inc) chief his son obv He is our chief's son,"
53. itwe-wak.
speak 3p they said.
54. ta-pwe- e-kotah nipa-wak.
truly there sleep 3p Then they slept there.
55. e-h-wa-pahk
be dawn inan The next morning
56. sipwe-hte-wak.
leave 3p they went on.
57. it e--tipiska-yik
loc be night inan.obv Where they were by dark,
58. kape-siwak.
camp 3p they camped for the night.
59. mwe-hci niktwa-sikwa-w e-h-ki-h-nipa-cik,
just then six times perf sleep 3p When they had slept six
times on the way,

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| 60. | mo·hkiciwanipe·k itah e·h·aya·yik,
spring loc be inan.obv | near a spring of water |
| 61. | ci·k e·kotah mostoswah aya·yiwa.
near there buffalo obv be obv | were some buffalos. |
| 62. | "ha·w, pe·yak ta·nitawi·pa·skiswe·wak.
one fut go to shoot 3p-obv | "Now then, let one man
go shoot them. |
| 63. | nipaha·cih,
kill 3-obv/subjunctive | If he kills any, |
| 64. | e·kotah ka·kape·sina·naw,
there fut camp 1pinc | we shall camp there. |
| 65. | kik·o·si·hta·yakh
fut make 1pinc-inan/simple conjunct | and prepare |
| 66. | ta·ni·ma·yakh,"
fut carry food 1pinc/simple conjunct | provisions for the march," |
| 67. | ite·w.
say to 3-obv | the leader told them. |
| 68. | ta·pwe· pe·yak sipwe·hte·w,
truly one leave 3 | Accordingly one set out |
| 69. | e·-wih·kakwe·-nipaha·t mostoswah.
intend try kill 3-obv buffalo obv | to kill buffalos. |
| 70. | te·pwe· nipah·e·w pe·yak.
truly kill 3-obv one | He killed one. |

71. ci·kih e·h-saka-yik
near be woods inan.obv
The others went to a nearby grove.
72. e·kwah itohte-wak o·ki kotakak.
and go there 3p these other pl
73. e·h-takohte·cik e·kotah,
arrive 3p there
When they got to it,
74. a·say o·ma ka·-pa·skiswa·t mostoswah.
already this.inan shoot 3-obv buffalo obv
he had already shot the buffalo.
75. pe·htamiyiwa ayahciyiniwah
hear obv-inan Blackfoot obv
The sound was heard by some Blackfoot
76. namoya wa·hyaw e·h-aya-yit,
not far be obv
who were not far from there,
77. mita·taht e·y-ihtasiyit,
ten be so many obv
ten in number,
78. mi·n e·yakonik ne·hiyawah e·h-ntonawa·cik.
also the very ones Cree obv seek 3p-obv
themselves looking for Cree.
79. e·kwah e·yakonik wi·h-kakwe·-wa·pame·wak o·hi ne·hiyawa.
and the very ones intend try see 3p-obv this.obv Cree obv
They decided to take a look at the Cree.
80. po·tih wa·pamikok ne·hiyawak o·ki
[surprise] see obv-3p [inverse] Cree pl these
And there they saw those Cree
81. ka·-wiyinihta·ke·cik
skin & cut up game 3p
preparing their carcass,

93. oska-tihk e-h-tawahot, his leg pierced by a
his leg loc be pierced by shot 3 bullet
94. e-h-na-twa-payiyik oska-t and broken.
break in two inan.obv his leg
95. o-ki ka--misikiticik na-pe-wak tapasi-wak. The grown men fled.
these be big 3p man pl flee 3p
96. awa na-pe-sis naki-w, The boy stopped,
this boy stop 3
97. e--kisa-ta-t o-hi ka--kaska-tahomiht, and stayed by the wounded
stay with 3-obv this.obv be wounded obv man,
98. e-h-te-pwe-t, crying,
shout 3
99. "aha-, nito-te-mitik, "Hey, friends,
friend vocative pl
100. wi-htamawa-hke-k no-hta-wiy; tell my father when you
tell to 2p-3/future imperative my father see him:
101. namoya niwi,h-nakata-w awa. I shall not leave this
not intend leave 1-3 this man.
102. kiya-m nistah nika-nipahikawin," I don't care if I too am
never mind I too fut be killed 1 killed,"
103. ite-w, he told them,
say to 3-obv
104. e-h-te-pwe-t. calling to them.
shout 3

105. a·say wa·hyaw e·h-atimipahta·yit owi·ce·wa·kaniwa·wa,
 already far run away obv their companion obv
 When their comrades had
 run far away,
106. e·kwah a·hci piko e·h-pa·skisokocik ayahciyiniwah,
 and still shoot obv-3p [inverse] Blackfoot obv
 and the Blackfoot were
 still shooting at them,
107. a·skaw mo·ski·stawe·w,
 now & then attack 3-obv
 he took the offensive
 against them from time
 to time,
108. a·ta wyah e·h-pimwa·t.
 in vain shoot 3-obv
 firing at them.
109. e·kwah awa ka·-kaskatahoht
 and this be wounded 3
 And the man whose bone had
 been broken
110. e·wako simatapiw,
 that very one sit up 3
 sat up,
111. wi·stah e·h-pa·skiswa·t,
 he too shoot 3-obv
 and he too fired at them,
112. wi·stah e·h-no·tinike·t;
 he too fight 3
 joining in the fight;
113. ma·ka nama ke·kway ki·h-nipahe·wak,
 but nothing able kill 3p-obv
 but they did not succeed
 in killing any of them,
114. e·h-mita·tasiyit,
 be ten . obv
 for the others were ten,

115. e-kwah wiyawa.w e-h-ni-sicik awa na.pe.sis. and they only two,
and they be two 3p this boy one of them a boy.
116. ayisk owi.ce.wa.kaniwa.wa nakatisisimikwak. For their companions had
because their companion obv desert obv-3p [inverse] left them behind.
117. piyisk po.yoyiwa o'h iyahciyiniwah, At last the Blackfoot,
finally cease obv this.obv Blackfoot obv fearing them,
118. e-h-kostikocik, fear obv-3p [inverse]
119. e--sipwe-hte-yit. leave obv
120. e-kwah awa na.pe.sis Then the boy,
then this boy as soon as he saw that
121. iyikohk e-h-wa.pama.t they had gone far away,
when see 3-obv they had gone far away,
122. wa.hyaw e-h-atimohte-yit, go away obv
far
123. e-kwah itohte.w mohkiciwanipe.kohk, went to the spring
then go to 3 spring loc
124. itah e-h-tipinawa.yik and found a sheltered
loc be sheltered inan.obv place.
125. e.kotah e-h-miskahk. there find 3-inan.
126. e-kwah ntawa.pame.w Then he went to
then go to see 3-obv

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| 127. | o·hi ka--kaskatahomih.
this.obv be wounded obv | the wounded man. |
| 128. | "a., nimiske·n
find 1-inan | "Come, I have found |
| 129. | itah t-ay-aya-yahk,"
loc fut redup be 1pinc./simple conjunct | a place where we can
stay," |
| 130. | ite·w.
say to 3-obv | he told him. |
| 131. | "a., namoya, na-pe-sis!
no boy | "Oh, no, my boy! |
| 132. | ki·we· kiya·m!
go home 2/imperative rather | Do go home! |
| 133. | ko·hta·wiy okima·wiw;
your father be chief 3 | Your father is chief; |
| 134. | ta-kaske-yihtam.
fut be lonesome 3-inan. | he will grieve. |
| 135. | konitah ka-kakwa-takihta·n o·tah.
just fut be miserable 2-inan here | You will only suffer here. |
| 136. | namoya mayaw nik-e-yiniwin niska·t.
not soon fut recover 1 my leg | My leg will not get well
so very soon. |
| 137. | ki·we·!"
go home 2/imperative | Go home!" |
| 138. | ite·w na-pe-sisah.
say to 3-obv boy obv | he told the boy. |

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| 139. | "a., namoya!
no | "Oh, no! |
| 140. | iyikohk miyw-aya-yani,
when well be 2/subjunctive | When you are well |
| 141. | ki-we-yini,
go home 2/subjunctive | and go home, |
| 142. | e-koyikohk nika-ki-wa-n.
just then fut go home 1 | then I shall go home. |
| 143. | no-hta-wiy iya-cimocih,
my father tell story 3/iterative | Whenever my father tells
stories,
I always hear him say, |
| 144. | 'so-hke-yihta-kosiw awiyak,
be thought brave 3 someone | 'One is counted a brave
man, |
| 145. | ka--nakatisimimiht ke-sa.ta.cih,'
be deserted obv stay with 3-obv/iterative | if one stays with those
who have been left
behind.' |
| 146. | e-h-itwe-t ma-na
speak 3 always | |
| 147. | nipe-htawa-wi
hear 1-3 | |
| 148. | e-wako ohci k-o--wi-h-kisa-tita-n,"
that.inan from from intend stay with 1-2 [inv] | That is why I mean to stay
with you," |
| 149. | ite-w.
say to 3-obv | he told him. |

150. e·kosi itohte·w awa na·pe·sis o·hi wiya·sah; Thereupon the boy went to
 so go to 3 this boy these meat pl where the meat was;
151. aske·kin otinam, he took the hide,
 fresh hide take 3-inan
152. e·kotah e·h·ota·pe·t o·h o·skini·kiwa, and on it dragged the
 there haul 3 this.obv youth obv young man
153. saka·hk e·h·itohtaha·t. to the grove of trees.
 woods loc take to 3-obv
154. om i·tah ka--tipinawa·yik When he had brought him to
 this.inan loc be sheltered inan.obv the sheltered place,
155. e--ki·h·pe·siwa·t,
 perf bring 3-obv
156. e·kwah wiya·sah awata·w. he fetched the meats.
 then meat pl carry 3-inan
157. me·stinam wiya·sah. He took all the meat.
 take all 3-inan meat pl
158. e·kwah kotawe·w, Then he built a fire
 then build fire 3
159. e·kwah e--ki·site·pot and cooked,
 and cook 3
160. ta·mi·cisocik, that they might eat,
 fut eat 3p/simple conjunct

161. e-kwah mi-nah nipiý e-h-otinahk wi-na-stakaye-picikanihk,
and also water take 3-inan paunch [bag?] loc
and drew water
in the paunch,
that the man might drink.
162. ta-minihkwe-yit o-hi na-pe-wa,
fut drink obv/simple conj this.obv man obv
So the latter drank
163. ta-pwe- minihkwe-yiwa,
truly drink obv
and ate.
164. e-kwah e-h-mi-cisoyit.
and eat obv
When he had eaten,
165. e-h-ki-si-mi-cisot,
finish eat 3
he hewed some small sticks
to shape,
166. e-kwah miscikosañ ka-h-ki-skataham e-h-episa-siniyikih,
then stick.dim pl redup cut across 3-inan be little inan.obv.pl
putting a splint on his
leg where it was broken.
167. o-ma ka-pi-kopayiyik oska-t,
this.inan break inan.obv his leg
o-ska-tiyiw.
obv's leg
When he had tied it up,
168. e-kotah e-h-tahkopitamwa-t o-m
there tie [relational] 3-obv this.inan
When he had tied it up,
169. e-kosi e-h-ki-si-tahkopitahk,
so finish tie 3-inan
When he had tied it up,
170. e-kwah osi-hta-w wi-kiwa-w ni-piyah ohci,
then make 3-inan their house leaf pl from
of leaves,

171. e·kotch e·h·aya·t, where the man stayed,
 there be 3
172. e·kwah e·w·osi·hta·t ka·hke·wakh ana na·pe·w, preparing dried meat,
 and make 3·inan dried meat pl that man
173. e·kwah awah na·pe·sis tahkih e·h·asawa·pit. while the boy always kept
 and this boy always look out 3 a lookout.
174. piyis tipiska·yiw. At last it grew dark.
 finally be night inan.obv
175. e·kotch ay·aya·wak. They stayed there.
 there redup be 3p
176. ki·tahtawe·, Presently,
 presently
177. aye·na·niw e·y·itahto·tipiska·yik when they had been there
 eight so many times be night inan.obv eight nights,
178. e·kotch e·h·aya·cik, there be 3p
179. ka·wa·pama·t e·h·niya·naniyit ayi·siyiniwah he saw five men
 see 3·obv be five obv person obv
180. e·h·pe·c·a·stamohte·yit. coming toward them.
 hither come toward obv
181. e·h·ka·kita·pama·t, As he watched them,
 redup watch 3·obv
182. a·say ma·ka e·h·ota·kosiniyik, as it was evening,
 already but be evening inan.obv

183. po·tih itah k-a-ya-cik he saw them make a camp
 [surprise] loc be 3p for the night near to
 where they were,
184. ci·k e·kotah kape·siyiwa,
 near there camp obv
185. e·y-osi·hta-yit wi·kiyw, building a shelter,
 make obv-inan. obv's house
186. ta·pisko·c wa·skahikan e·h-itaha-yit mistikwah.
 like house put thus obv-obv tree obv
 placing trees in the shape
 of a wooden house.
187. e·kwah kisiwa·k e·wi·h-kakwe·-osa·pama·t, And when he made an effort
 and near intend try see from 3-obv to see them at close
 range,
188. e·wi·h-kakwe·-nisitawe·yima·t to see
 intend try recognize 3-obv
189. ke·kw ayisiniyiwah, what kind of people
 what kind person obv they were,
190. po·tih iyahciyiniwah. he saw that they were
 [surprise] Blackfoot obv Blackfoot.
191. e·kosi itohte·w; So he went there
 so go there 3
192. e·kwah o·h o·wi·ce·wa·kanah o·mis i·te·w; and said to his
 and this.obv his companion obv thus say to 3-obv companion,
193. "mahtih kipa·skisikan pe·ta.. "Please give me your gun.
 let your gun bring 2-inan/imp

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| 194. | o·tah kisiwá·k mahi·hkan e·h·aya·t,
here near wolf be 3 | I want to shoot a wolf
that is close by here." |
| 195. | nika·pa·skiswe·w,"
fut shoot 1-3 | |
| 196. | ite·w.
say to 3-obv | |
| 197. | e·kwah e·h·miyikot,
then give obv-3 [inverse] | When the other gave it to
him, |
| 198. | e·kwah itohte·w.
then go there 3 | he went there. |
| 199. | a·say tipiska·w.
already be night inán | It was dark by this time. |
| 200. | e·kwah e·h·pó·namiyit,
then put fuel on fire obv-inán | The others had made a fire |
| 201. | pi·hca·yihk e·h·apiyit,
inside loc sit obv | and were sitting indoors; |
| 202. | na·ciyostawe·w.
creep to 3-obv | he crept up to them. |
| 203. | e·kwah e·h·otihta·t,
then reach 3-obv | When he got near them, |
| 204. | isi·niya·naniyiwa,
thus be five obv | they were five, |
| 205. | e·h·na·h·nawaciyit.
redup roast obv | a-roasting of meat. |

206. nawasawa·pamo·w;
pick out 3 He took careful aim;
207. ta·nihi e·h-miyohoyit,
which obv dress well obv he shot at those who wore
the best clothes,
208. e·wakoni pa·skiswe·w,
that very one obv shoot 3-obv
209. e·-sa·kowe·t.
whoop 3 and gave a whoop.
210. ni·soyawe·w.
shoot two 3-obv He hit two of them.
211. e·h-tapasiiyt ni·so,
flee obv two While two fled,
- *
212. e·h-ta·h-tawikisiniyt mistikohk,
redup bump into something obv tree loc one kept bumping into
things,
213. osa·m e·-se·kiha·t,
too much frighten 3-obv so much had he frightened
him;
214. e·yakhonih mi·na pimwe·w;
that very one obv also shoot 3-obv this one too he shot;
215. nipahe· mina.
kill 3-obv also he killed him too.
216. e·kosi nistoh nipahe·w.
so three kill 3-obv So he had killed three.

* [Bloomfield:] Evidently I here missed the word pe·yak 'one (of them)'.

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| 217. | ni·s o·ki tapasi·wak.
two these flee 3p | The other two fled. |
| 218. | e·h·kiske·yihtahk
know 3-inan | When he saw |
| 219. | e·h·tapasiyit;
flee obv | that they had fled, |
| 220. | pi·htoke·w,
enter 3 | he went inside |
| 221. | otayo·winisiyiwa e·h·otinahk,
obv's clothes take 3-inan | and took their garments, |
| 222. | mi·na pa·skisikan pe·yak,
also gun one | and a gun, |
| 223. | pe·yak acosisah,
one arrow pl | a set of arrows, |
| 224. | pe·yak ci·kahikani·pakama·kan,
one axe club | a tomahawk, |
| 225. | e·kwah pe·yak ca·pi·hcicikanis,
and one lance | and a lance, |
| 226. | mo·hkoma·nah ne·wo,
knife pl four | and four knives, |
| 227. | mi·na ostikwa·niyihk o·tah
also obv's head loc here | and he cut off this, |
| 228. | o·ma e·h·manisamwa·t.
this cut [relational] 3-obv | on their heads here. |

229. kahkiyaw omaskisiniyiwa otinam,
 all obv's shoe pl take 3-inan He took all their
 moccasins,
230. e·kwah e·h·ki·we·htata·t,
 and take home 3-inan. and took it all back
 with him
231. o·h·ih ka·--kaskatahomiht wi·ce·wa·kanah,
 this.obv be wounded obv companion obv and gave it, when he
 brought it into their hut,
 to his wounded companion.
232. e·h·pi·htokata·t,
 bring inside 3-inan.
233. e·h·miya·t.
 give 3-obv
234. mistahi ma·maska·tamiyiwa,
 greatly be surprised obv-inan He was much surprised,
235. "ta·ntah e·h·ohtinaman?"
 where get from 2-inan and asked him, "Where
 did you get it all?"
236. e·h·itikit.
 say to obv-3 [inverse]
237. "e·h·niya·nanicik otah e·--kape·sicik ayahciyiniwak,
 be five 3p here camp 3p Blackfoot pl
 "Five Blackfoot camped
 here for the night;
238. nisto ninipaha·wak,
 three kill 1-3p I killed three of them
239. e·kotah o·h·i e·y·ohtinama·n,"
 there these.inan get from 2-inan and took these,"

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 252. | namoya kikosta-wak!"
not fear 2-3p | you do not seem to be
afraid of them!" |
| 253. | itik.
say to obv-3 [inverse] | the other said to him. |
| 254. | miywe-yihtam awa na-pe-w.
be glad 3-inan this man | The man was glad. |
| 255. | piyis e-kotah ay-aya-wak.
finally there redup be 3p | Then they stayed there. |
| 256. | namoya e-s o-ma wa-hyaw e-h-wi-kiyit.
not apparently this.inan far dwell obv | Now, it seems that those
others had their camp not
far from there. |
| 257. | o-ki ka--tapasi-cik ayahciyiniwak
these flee 3p Blackfoot pl | Those Blackfoot who had
fled |
| 258. | takosinwak wi-kiwa-hk;
arrive 3p their house loc | arrived at their camp; |
| 259. | a-cimowak
tell story 3p | they told |
| 260. | e-h-nipahihcik,
be killed 3p | how their comrades had
been slain, |
| 261. | wiyawa-w piko e-h-pima-tisicik.
they only be alive 3p | and that only they were
alive. |
| 262. | e--ki-h-ne-wo-tipska-yik,
perf four be night inan.obv | After four nights, there, |
| 263. | ki-tahtawe- ka--pe-tisa-pama-t
presently see come 3-obv | the boy saw the Blackfoot
coming, |

264. e-h-pa-piciyit ayahciyiniwah. moving up their camp.
 come travelling obv Blackfoot obv
265. e-kwah e-kotah ohci ka-kita-pame-w, From where he was,
 and there from redup watch 3-obv he watched them,
266. kisiwa-k e-kotah ka--pe--kape-siyit, as they came to pitch
 near there hither camp obv camp close by,
267. e-h-mihce-tiyit. a great number of them.
 be many obv
268. e-kwah pe--na-tima-wa And those whom he had
 and hither be fetched obv killed were fetched
269. o-hi ka--ki-h-nipaha-t, this.obv perf kill 3-obv
270. e-h-ki-we-htayimiht. and taken back.
 be taken home obv
271. ka-kita-pame-w. He continued to watch
 redup watch 3-obv them.
272. piyisk t-ati-tipiska-yiw. At last darkness came on.
 finally fut become night inan.obv
273. iyikohk mistah e-h-tipiska-yik, When it was quite dark,
 when greatly be night inan.obv
274. itohte-w owi-ce-wa-kanah. he went to where his
 go to 3 his companion obv companion was.
275. "mahtih e-ka-ya pa-h-po-nah. "You had better not
 let not redup put fuel on fire 2-inan/imp light any fire.

276. ke-kway niwa-pahte-ni;
something see l-inan I see something;
277. ma-ka namoya nikiske-yihte-n ke-kway.
but not know l-inan what but I do not know what it is.
278. mahtih nika-kakwe-nisitawhte-n,
let fut try hear & recognize l-inan I think I shall try to go hear what it is,"
279. ite-w.
say to 3-obv he told him.
280. e-kosi min e-h-sipwe-hte-t,
so also leave 3 With that he went off again,
281. mi-kiwa-hpihk e-h-itohte-t.
tent loc go to 3 and went to the camp.
282. namoya e--saka-hpita-yit misatimwah;
not tether obv-obv horse obv They had not tied up the horses;
283. mita-taht misatimwa otine-w,
ten horse obv take 3-obv he took ten horses,
284. e-h-kiमतamawa-t iyahciyiniwah.
steal from 3-obv Blackfoot obv stealing them from the Blackfoot.
285. otihte-w owi-ce-wa-kanah.
reach 3-obv his companion obv He came back to his companion.
286. "ha-w, niwi-ce-wa-kan,
my companion "Now then, comrade,
287. ta-nisi ke--to-tamahk?
how fut do lpinc-inan what shall we do?

288. iyahciyiniwak e-s a-ni
Blackfoot pl apparently indeed
It seems that Blackfoot
289. kisiwa-k kepe-siwak;
near camp 3p
are camping close by;
290. ma-ka a-say mita-taht o-te-miwa-wa o-tah
but already ten their horse obv here
nipe-si-ma-wai"
bring 1-obv
in fact I am bringing ten
of their horses now!"
291. "hay hay!"
"Splendid!"
292. itwe-yiwaf
speak obv
said he;
293. "ta-pwe. kitatamihin, niwi-ce-wa-kan!"
truly thank you my companion
[= make glad 2-1]
"truly, you delight me,
comrade!"
294. "kika-ki-wa-na-naw,
fut go home 1pinc
"We shall go home,
295. ka-tapasiyahk,"
fut flee 1pinc
making our escape,"
296. ite-waf
say to 3-obv
he said to him;
297. "namoya ka-ki-h-pimitisahokonawak
not fut able follow 3p-1pinc [inverse]
"They will not be able to
pursue us;
298. namoya mihce-t misatimwak,"
not many horses
the horses are not many,"

299. e-h-ita-t. he told him.
say to 3-obv
300. ta-pwe· pe-yak pe--takohtahe-w wi·kiwa-hk, Accordingly he brought
truly one hither bring 3-obv their house loc one of the horses to
their hut,
301. e-kwah e-h-wayawi·ta·cimoyit owi·ce·wa·kanah, dragged out
and crawl outside obv his companion obv his companion,
302. e-h-oyahpita-t otakohpisiwa-wa ohci, tied him up with their
tie up 3-obv their blanket dim pl from blanket-robcs,
303. e-h-te-htaha-t owi·ce·wa·kanah. and set him on the horse.
put on horseback 3-obv his companion obv
304. "ha·, niwi·ce·wa·kan, "Now, comrade,
my companion
305. kiya kinakacihta·n ni·ka·n ohci. you know how to lead.
you be used to 2-inan ahead from
306. nika-si·hkitisahwa·wak misatimwak. I shall drive on the
fut drive ahead 1-3p horse pl horses.
307. mi·na ka-kiske·yihte·n Besides, you will know
also fut know 2-inan
308. ta·n-e·yikohk ka-pimipayiyin how far to ride
to what extent fut ride 2/simple conj
309. kiska-t o·ma ka·mana·cihta·yin," without injuring your
your leg this.inan fut be careful of 2-inan/simple conj leg,"
310. ite·w. he told him.
say to 3-obv

311. mistahi miywe-yihtam aw o-skini-kiw, The young man was very
greatly be glad 3-inan this youth glad,
and rode away,
312. e-kwah e--sipwe--te-htapit, and
leave ride 3
313. e-pe--si-hkitisahwa-yit o-hi nape-sisah misatimwah.
hither drive ahead obv-obv this.obv boy obv horse obv
while the boy drove on
the horses.
314. kape--tipisk pimipayiwak. They rode all night.
all night ride 3p
315. e-h-ki-sika-yik, When day came
be day inan.obv
316. e-h-wa-pama-t o-w o-skini-kiw misatimwah, and the young man saw
see 3-obv this youth horse obv the horses,
317. "ta-pwe-h miyosiwaki" "Really, they are fine
truly be good 3p ones!"
318. ite-yihtam. he thought.
think 3--inan
319. kape--ki-sik pima-mo-wak, They fled all day,
all day flee along 3p
320. mi-na kape--tipisk. and again all night.
also all night
321. ni-sotipiskwah namoya nipa-wak. For two nights they did
two night pl not sleep 3p not sleep.

343. ispi.h e.h-wa.pamihcik, When they were seen,
when be seen 3p
346. e.h-pe--sipwe-payit pe-yak oskini.kiw, a young man came to them
hither ride out obv one youth from the camp,
347. awi.nik o.k e.yakonik, whom did he see, but those
who pl these the very ones
348. "nipaha-wak," of whom it had been said
be killed 3p that they were killed!
349. ka--ki.h-itwe.t. *
perf speak 3
350. e.kotah ohci ki.we.payiw awa, Then this man rode back
there from ride home 3 this
351. e.h-ntawi-wi.htamawa.t o.h o.kima.wa to tell the chief
go to tell to 3-obv this.obv chief obv
352. e.h-takosiniyit okosisiyiwa that his son had come
arrive obv obv's son home,
353. mi.n o.hi ka--ki.h-kaskatahomiht, as well as the man who had
also this.obv perf be wounded obv been wounded;
354. e.y-isi-pe.htahkik, and when they heard this,
thus hear 3p-inan
355. e.h-ntawi-nakiskawa.cik. they went to meet them.
go to meet 3p-obv
- * [Bloomfield:] Probably read ka--ki.h-itwe-hk, 'it was so reported',
as in translation.

356. e-h-pe-tastimwe-yit aw o-kosisah, That boy, the chief's son,
bring horse obv this his son obv who brought the horses,
357. okima-wa,
chief obv
358. awa na-pe-sis o-hih ka--kaskatahomiht niya-nan miye-w misatimwah;
this boy this.obv be wounded obv five give 3-obv horse obv
gave five of them
to the man who had been
wounded;
359. wiya mi-na niya-nan aya-we-w misatimwa. five horses he kept.
he also five have 3-obv horse obv
360. mistahi miywe-yihtam aw o-kima-w. The chief was very glad.
greatly be glad 3-inan this chief
361. piyisk kahkiyaw awiyak miywe-yihtamwak; Then everyone was glad;
finally everyone be glad 3p-inan
362. mi-na aya-hciyiniwah nisto e-h-nipaha-t awa na-pe-sis,
also Blackfoot obv three kill 3-obv this boy
also because the boy had
slain three Blackfoot
363. miywe-yihtamwak o-k a-yisiyiniwak, those people were glad,
be glad 3p-inan these person pl
364. e-h-miyawa-tahkik, and celebrated the outcome
rejoice 3p-inan
365. e-h-ni-mihitocik, with a dance,
dance 3p

366. awaw ohci na.pe.sis
 this from boy
367. osa.m e--so.hke.yimiht, thinking that boy
 because be thought brave 3 very brave,
368. "ta.pwe. na.pe.hka.so.w!" thinking of him, "Truly
 truly be a brave 3 he is a brave warrior!"
369. e.y-ite.yimiht,
 be thought of thus 3
370. o.hi mi.na na.pe.wa e.h-kaskatahomiht especially because he had
 this.obv also man obv be wounded obv refused to abandon the
 wounded man,
371. e.ka. ka--wi.h-nakata.t,
 not intend leave 3-obv
372. osa.m namoya ce.εkwa mitoni e.h-oskini.kit. even though he was not
 because not yet really be youth 3 yet full-grown.
373. e.yakw a.nima ohci k-o.h-miywe.yihtahkik ayi.siyiniwak.
 that.inan that.inan from from be glad 3p-inan person pl
- That was why those people
 were glad.
374. e.koyikohk e.skwa.k a.cimowin. This is where the story
 that far go so far inan/changed conj story ends.

Chapter 5

Lexical processes

This chapter examines the syntactic role of the lexicon in Cree, including subcategorization requirements, the syntactic role of inflection, and lexical processes which increase or decrease valence. The framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar has been chosen as an appropriate means to describe the effects of these processes. (For background on LFG see the papers in Bresnan 1982b; also Sells 1985, Simpson 1983, and Ishikawa 1985.) As mentioned in chapter 1, Cree is a non-configurational language, and the description of its syntax cannot be dependent on constituent structure relations. LFG represents grammatical relations at a level of functional structure, distinct from constituent structure. Syntactic operations take place within the lexicon; for Cree, this assumption is consistent with the many derivational processes that have syntactic consequences.

The discussion in the first section illustrating some principles of LFG is highly informal, and very incomplete. The use of technical notation has been kept to a minimum. [1] The second section suggests an extension of some LFG concepts to the representation of inflectional morphology. The last section is a brief survey of word formation processes which affect grammatical relations.

1. Overview of Lexical-Functional Grammar

Lexical-Functional Grammar represents grammatical relations at a level of functional structure (f-structure), distinct from constituent structure (c-structure). Only a single level of c-structure is assumed to exist, and only a single level of f-structure. That is, there are no transformations deriving constituent structure from an underlying level of deep structure, as in Government and Binding theory (Chomsky 1981), nor is there a distinction between "initial subject" and "final subject" as there is in Relational Grammar (Perlmutter 1982). Syntactic rules which alter grammatical relations instead take place in the lexicon.

The information contained in the functional structure of a given sentence is contributed by the lexical entries of the words and morphemes occurring in the sentence. The organization of functional structure and of the lexicon is assumed to be similar across languages. Where languages differ is in the mapping of information from the lexical entries to particular grammatical functions. Languages in which subject is identified by word order relations, or by its relationship to a VP node, are configurational languages; English is an example of such a language. In the LFG analysis of configurational languages, the phrase structure rules which generate constituent structure also annotate particular positions as containing specific grammatical functions.

In non-configurational languages, however, there is no position in the constituent structure that can be identified as subject position or object position. Instead, non-configurational languages typically encode grammatical relations morphologically, by case marking on nouns, or by inflection on verbs.

In Cree, grammatical relations are encoded by the verb inflection, combined with the system of obviation which distinguishes third person arguments. An example of a functional structure for a Cree sentence will be given here to illustrate the mechanisms of the LFG framework.

The example will be one of the sentences given in chapter 1 to illustrate varieties of word order:

- (1)
 e-kosi na-te-w awa iskwe-w o-hi kaskite-wastimwa.
 so fetch 3-obv this woman this.obv black horse obv
 'So then the woman went and got that black horse.'

The initial adverb e-kosi will not be represented in this example, as it does not enter into the encoding of grammatical relations. The grammatical information contained in (1) may be represented at functional structure as follows:

(2)

SUBJ	<table border="1"> <tr><td>PRED</td><td>'woman'</td></tr> <tr><td>PERS</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>NUM</td><td>sg</td></tr> <tr><td>GEND</td><td>anim</td></tr> <tr><td>OBV</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>DEF</td><td>+</td></tr> </table>	PRED	'woman'	PERS	3	NUM	sg	GEND	anim	OBV	-	DEF	+
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PRED	'black horse'												
PERS	3												
GEND	anim												
OBV	+												
DEF	+												
PRED	'fetch <SUBJ OBJ>'												
ORDER	independent												

The functional structure represents the glosses of the nouns and the verb as "PRED" values, or the semantic value associated with that lexical item. The PRED value of the sentence is the verb, including its subcategorization requirements. The semantic value of the nouns is listed as the PRED value for the subject and object. The array of features associated with subject and object constitutes a sub-f-structure, embedded within the f-structure of the entire clause. Each f-structure or sub-f-structure must contain a PRED value for the grammatical features to be associated with. In (1) *kaskite-wastimwa* 'black horse' is a compound noun, so 'black' is indicated here as part of the PRED value, and not as a separate modifier.

Within the sub-f-structures associated with subject and object the grammatical features relevant to Cree are listed. The inflectional system of Cree marks person, number, gender, and obviation: all these features are listed in the

f-structure above. The subject is third person, animate, singular, and proximate, while the object is third person, animate, and obviative. Obviative animate third persons are not specified for number, so no entry for singular or plural is given for the object.

The subject and object also have been specified as definite in (2), reflecting the use of the demonstrative pronouns awa and o-hi in (1). The information that the verb is inflected in the independent order is listed at the highest level of f-structure, along with the PRED value of the verb. This listing is parallel to the representation of tense in the functional structures given for English sentences. It is necessary to represent information about order in the f-structure: for instance, the form of negative particles varies according to the order of the verb in the clause. The negative particle used with independent order verbs is nama (or nama-ya), and that used with conjunct and imperative order verbs is e-ka. (or e-ka-wiya). By representing the order of the verb in functional structure, the selection of the proper form of the negative particle can be handled as agreement.

The information contained in (2) is contributed by the lexical entries of the words occurring in (1). These lexical entries are given below.

- (3) iskwe-w, N
 PRED = 'woman'
 PERS = 3
 GEND = anim
 NUM = sg
 OBV = -

- (4) kaskite-wastimwa, N
 PRED = 'black horse'
 PERS = 3
 GEND = anim
 OBV = +
- (5) awa, Det
 DEF = +
 OBV = -
- (6) o·hi, Det
 DEF = +
 OBV = +

The verb contributes two types of information. The verb stem is associated with the PRED value, including the subcategorization requirements of the verb, and it additionally specifies the gender of one of its arguments. na·te·w is a Transitive Animate verb (chapter 2, section 2), and consequently the lexical entry contains the information that the gender of the object must be animate.

- (7) na·t-, V stem
 PRED = 'fetch <agent goal>'
 SUBJ OBJ
 OBJ GEND = anim

The lexical entry specifies the thematic roles of the arguments of the verb, and links the arguments to grammatical functions.

The verb also carries information about the person, number, gender, and obviation value of its arguments. This information is associated with the inflectional morphemes. For the purposes of the discussion in this section, the inflectional morphemes will be taken as a single unit, associated with a bundle of features. The possibility of breaking down the morphemes into components is discussed in the following section.

(8) -e-w
 SUBJ PERS = 3
 SUBJ GEND = anim
 SUBJ NUM = sg
 SUBJ OBV = -
 OBJ PERS = 3
 OBJ GEND = anim
 OBJ OBV = +
 ORDER = independent

The highly specified nature of the lexical entries, especially that of the verb inflection, is consistent with the lack of specification of constituent structure positions as encoding grammatical functions. In LFG, non-configurational languages are described as having the most general rule possible associating elements in constituent structure with grammatical functions: that is, "Assign GF freely", where GF stands for any grammatical function found in the language. (See Simpson 1983, for the operation of this rule in Warlpiri.) The grammatical information contained in the lexical entries, plus general conditions in the grammar, work together to rule out ungrammatical associations of grammatical functions to constituent structure positions. Kaplan and Bresnan 1982 gives a thorough account of these well formedness conditions on functional structure. They will be illustrated informally here.

For example, if awa iskwe-w had been assigned the grammatical function object in (1), and o-hi kaskite-wastimwa were assigned subject, there would be a mismatch of features between those associated with the verb, and those provided by the noun. This is seen in the

ill-formed functional structure below.

(9)

SUBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%;"> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">PRED</td><td style="padding: 2px;">'black horse'</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">PERS</td><td style="padding: 2px;">3</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">NUM</td><td style="padding: 2px;">sg</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">GEND</td><td style="padding: 2px;">anim</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">DEF</td><td style="padding: 2px;">+</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">OBV</td><td style="padding: 2px;">+</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">OBV</td><td style="padding: 2px;">-</td></tr> </table>	PRED	'black horse'	PERS	3	NUM	sg	GEND	anim	DEF	+	OBV	+	OBV	-
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'fetch <SUBJ OBJ>'															
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The result of assigning the grammatical function subject to o-hi kaskite-wastimwa and object to awa iskwe-w is represented above. The PRED values and grammatical information of each NP is listed as subject or object. The verb inflection, however, also contributes features to the sub-f-structures associated with subject and object, and the inflection specifies a proximate subject and an obviative object. These features clash with the features contributed by the nouns, resulting in two values for obviation for both subject and object. The functional structure above is ruled out by a condition requiring f-structures to be consistent: mismatches of features like those seen above are not allowed.

Another constraint on possible annotations of constituent structure produced by "Assign GF freely" relies

on the subcategorization requirements of the verb. If the NPs in (1) had been assigned the grammatical functions of, say, second object and oblique, rather than subject and object, this too would produce an ill-formed functional structure:

(10)

OBJ2	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">PRED</td><td style="padding-left: 5px;">'woman'</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">PERS</td><td style="padding-left: 5px;">3</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">NUM</td><td style="padding-left: 5px;">sg</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">GEN</td><td style="padding-left: 5px;">anim</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">OBV</td><td style="padding-left: 5px;">-</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">DEF</td><td style="padding-left: 5px;">+</td></tr> </table>	PRED	'woman'	PERS	3	NUM	sg	GEN	anim	OBV	-	DEF	+
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The grammatical information associated with awa iskwe-w is found linked to the grammatical function of second object in this functional structure, while that of o-hi kaskite-wastimwa is linked to an oblique function. This is an impossible interpretation of (1), of course, and this functional structure may be ruled out by a condition of coherence applying to f-structures. That is, if a verb is not subcategorized for a particular grammatical function, that GF may not appear in the functional structure. [2]

Another condition on well formed functional structures is that of completeness: every grammatical function subcategorized for by the verb must be satisfied at

functional structure. In Cree, the subcategorization requirements of subject and object may be satisfied either by lexical NPs, as in (1), or pronominally. In the absence of lexical subjects and objects, the inflection on the verb functions pronominally. Some types of oblique arguments, on the other hand, can only be satisfied by a lexical NP occurring with the verb. For example, the compound verb stem ohci-nipah- 'kill with' requires a subject, object, and oblique argument. If the verb occurs alone, the subject and object requirements are satisfied by the inflection on the verb, but the requirement of an oblique argument is not met. The resulting functional structure thus violates the condition on completeness.

(11)

SUBJ	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr><td>PRED</td><td>'pro'</td></tr> <tr><td>PERS</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>NUM</td><td>sg</td></tr> <tr><td>GEND</td><td>anim</td></tr> <tr><td>OBV</td><td>-</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	PRED	'pro'	PERS	3	NUM	sg	GEND	anim	OBV	-
PRED	'pro'										
PERS	3										
NUM	sg										
GEND	anim										
OBV	-										
OBJ	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr><td>PRED</td><td>'pro'</td></tr> <tr><td>PERS</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>GEND</td><td>anim</td></tr> <tr><td>OBV</td><td>+</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	PRED	'pro'	PERS	3	GEND	anim	OBV	+		
PRED	'pro'										
PERS	3										
GEND	anim										
OBV	+										
PRED ORDER	'kill with <SUBJ OBJ OBL> conjunct										

* e--ohci-nipaha-t

The verb is subcategorized for a subject, an object, and an oblique, but only the subject and object requirements are satisfied. Since the oblique requirement is not satisfied, the f-structure is incomplete.

In the above f-structure, the entry 'pro' as the PRED value of subject and object indicates that these arguments have a pronominal interpretation: they are available for deictic or anaphoric reference.

The final condition on well formed f-structures is one of PRED uniqueness: a single grammatical function cannot be associated with more than one PRED value. This condition plays a role in the interpretation of the verb inflection as pronominal if there is no lexical subject, or lexical object. This is the unmarked strategy for expressing pronominal reference in Cree: independent pronouns are used contrastively.

Languages such as Cree, in which verb inflection functions as agreement if a lexical argument is used with the verb, and as an incorporated pronominal element when lexical arguments are omitted, are said to include an optional equation of PRED = 'pro' in the lexical entry of the inflectional material. The option of having the PRED of the subject or object be 'pro' is constrained by the requirements that every f-structure (including the sub-f-structures) contain one, and no more than one, PRED value. If the option of PRED = 'pro' in the inflection for subject is chosen, and the verb occurs in a context where a lexical NP also provides a PRED value for subject, the f-structure is ruled out by the PRED uniqueness condition. If, on the other hand, the subject inflection does not include the PRED value of 'pro', and no lexical subject

appears with the verb, then the f-structure is ill-formed because there is no PRED value for the subject. Optional PRED = 'pro', plus the PRED uniqueness condition, is thus a mechanism for expressing the role of inflection as agreement, when lexical NPs are present, and as incorporated pronominal elements, when lexical NPs are not used. See Bresnan and Mchombo 1985 for further discussion of the issues involved.

In summary, the syntactic interpretation of elements within a clause is determined by the grammatical information associated with the verb. This information is of two types: the grammatical functions subcategorized for by the verb, which must be satisfied either pronominally or by lexical NPs; second, the grammatical features expressed in the verb inflection, which serve to link a lexical NP to the proper grammatical function.

2. A model of inflection

The representation of grammatical information at functional structure is able to bring together elements which may be separated at constituent structure. For example, the quantifiers which occur as the left branch of a V' constituent (chapter 3, section 3), apart from the noun they are understood as modifying, may be represented in f-structure together with the PRED value of that noun. Likewise the features of the determiner o-ma 'this' in the following sentence from Ahenakew 1984 (p. 189) can be

associated at f-structure with the PRED value and other features of the inanimate noun masinahikan 'book'.

(12) o·ma ci· aya·w masinahikan kimis
 this.inan Q have 3-inan book your o.sister

'Does your older sister have this book?'

The same mechanisms which apply to constituent structure to construct and constrain f-structure may be applied within word structure as well. Cree has not only discontinuous syntactic constituents, but also discontinuous morphemes, as described in chapter 2. For instance, first person plural exclusive is expressed in the independent order by the prefix ni- and the suffix -na·n. The component affixes can each be given a lexical entry, and associated with a grammatical feature.

(13) ni-
 PERS = 1

-na·n
 NUM = pl
 PERS =c 1

In the lexical entry for -na·n, the notation PERS =c 1 is a constraint equation: it does not itself contribute the feature of first person, but requires that this feature be present in functional structure. This LFG device ensures that -na·n is used to mark plural only of first person, not of second or third person.

As seen in chapter 2, the affixes marking person and number features are not specified for subject and object. Instead, special suffixes called theme signs are used with transitive verbs to indicate which argument is subject and

resulting clash of features would rule out this f-structure.

The model of inflection suggested above is appealing in a number of ways: it extends mechanisms needed for the interpretation of constituent structure, to perform the interpretation of word structure as well.

In some respects, the organization of verb inflection in Cree is similar to its non-configurational syntax. Though of course the inflectional morphemes cannot be freely reordered, the similarity may be seen in the absence of positions dedicated to subject or to object, and in the fact that the person/number morphemes are not specified for either subject or object. At the clause level, it is the information associated with the verb which imposes an interpretation of lexical NPs as subject or object. In this model of word structure, the theme sign plays a similar role: it imposes a particular interpretation of the other affixes marking features of subject and object.

By the addition of more features, this model can be extended to account for a large part of the inflectional system of Cree. There are some points, however, where the model is inadequate. It cannot express paradigmatic relationships holding between members of a single position class.

As a simple example, if ni- is associated with PERS = 1, and ki- with PERS = 2, the model fails to predict that only ki appears in the prefix position when a verb has two non-third person arguments.

- (17) kiwi·cihitina·wa·w 'I help you pl.'
 kiwi·cihina·wa·w 'you pl help me'

This model does not block ni- from appearing with the verb. This problem is only one of several involving paradigmatic relations among affixes. Resolution of the problems is beyond the scope of this discussion, however. In the remaining sections of this chapter, the grammatical information contributed by inflection will be represented at f-structure without attempting to break it down into component morphemes.

3. Lexical processes

The remainder of this chapter presents a brief survey of the grammatical functions subcategorized for by Cree verbs, and looks at some word formation processes that alter these grammatical relations. The section begins by presenting some terminology for discussing derivational morphemes.

Descriptions of Algonquian languages recognize three classes of derivational morphemes: initial, medial, and final. These labels refer to morphotactic position only: the root morpheme of a verb may be either an initial or a final. Almost all verb stems may be analyzed as having an initial and at least one final. Medials tend to be incorporated classificatory or nominal elements. For example:

(18) e--mihce-tastimwe-t

'he has many dogs'

In the above example the initial is mihce-t- 'many', the medial is -astimw- 'dog; horse', and the final is -e--, used with incorporated elements. -t is the inflectional ending for third person singular in the conjunct order.

Finals are associated with particular stem classes: either Transitive Animate, Transitive Inanimate, Animate Intransitive, or Inanimate Intransitive (chapter 2, section 2). The final of the above example, for instance, is an Animate Intransitive final. Paired verb stems display the same initial, but take different finals:

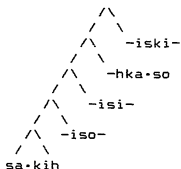
(19) mi-hkosiw 'he is red'
mi-hkwa-w 'it is red'

Here, the initial is mi-hkw- 'red', the Animate Intransitive final is -isi-, and the Inanimate Intransitive final is -a--.

Many relation-changing syntactic rules are associated with the suffixation of finals to the verb stem. Finals may be added recursively to verb stems. In the following example, the Transitive Animate stem sa-kih- 'love' is followed by four additional finals:

(20) sa-kihisosihka-soskiw

'he's in the habit of pretending to love himself
a little bit'



The finals added to sa-kih are -iso- reflexive, -isi- diminutive, -hka-so- 'pretend to', and -iski- habitual. -w is the independent order third person singular inflectional ending.

An example of a final which alters grammatical relations is the reflexive, -iso-. It attaches to Transitive Animate stems, producing a derived Animate Intransitive stem. This may be seen in the lexical entries below.

(21)

```

pa-hpih-, V stem
  PRED = 'laugh at <agent goal>'
                SUBJ  OBJ
  OBJ GEN = anim

pa-hpihiso-, V stem
  PRED = 'laugh at self <agent goal>'
                SUBJ
                └─┬─┘
  SUBJ GEN = anim
  
```

Adding -iso- to the Transitive Animate stem pa-hpih- decreases the valence of the verb. The goal argument that was formerly linked to the grammatical function object is now linked to no grammatical function at all, expressed by the null sign. The reflexivity of the action expressed by pa-hpihiso- is indicated by the arrow

The difference between first objects and second objects is that first objects are inflected for on verbs, while second objects are not. The gender of the first object also determines the shape of the stem, whether Transitive Animate or Transitive Inanimate. Second objects have no effect on the stem form. Even though second objects are not inflected for on the verb, they receive a pronominal interpretation if no lexical NP is present.

Some verbs are subcategorized for a subject and a second object, but no first object. Examples are kimoti- 'steal', and kiskisi- 'remember'. A lexical entry for kimoti- is given below.

- (25)
- ```
kimoti-, V stem
 PRED = 'steal <agent theme>'
 SUBJ OBJ2
 SUBJ GEND = anim
```

The second object of kimoti- may be either animate or inanimate:

- (26)
- |         |                |                    |
|---------|----------------|--------------------|
| kimotiw | se·hke·payi·sa | 'he stole a car'   |
| steal 3 | car        obv | (anim)             |
| kimotiw | mo·hkoma·n     | 'he stole a knife' |
| steal 3 | knife          | (inan)             |

Verbs which do not take first objects are inflected as intransitives, and the lexical entry for kimoti- thus includes the information that the subject's gender is animate.

If a detransitivizing final is added to a ditransitive, the resulting stem is subcategorized for a subject and a second object. An example is given below.





the position of the inflectional affixes, ki- -n, indicating a second person singular subject, which surround the entire compound stem.

Many elements which occur as preverbs in compound stems also appear as initial morphemes of stems if the root is a final morpheme. For example, -ohte.- 'walk, go' never occurs in stem-initial position. It must always be preceded by an element expressing direction or manner. The initial oh- 'from' may appear with -ohte.- to express 'come from', subcategorized for a subject and an oblique. The syntactic effect of adding oh- is the same, whether it is an initial morpheme of the stem, or a preverb in a compound stem: it adds an oblique to the subcategorization requirements of the verb.

As mentioned in the discussion of LFG conditions on functional structures above, it is not possible to use ohci-nipah- without a lexical element expressing the oblique.

(33) \* e-ohci-nipaha-t

Not all types of obliques require lexical arguments, however. Obliques expressing motion towards may be interpreted as anaphoric 'there' if no specific destination is given in the clause. For example, the verb stem itoh-te.- 'go to' is composed of the initial it- used with goal or manner, and the root final -oh-te.- 'go'. It is subcategorized for a subject and an oblique, but texts, including the one given as an appendix to chapter 4, show

many examples of itohte- used without a specified goal.

Secondary predicates may be expressed in the verb stem either as a preverb on a compound stem, or as an initial on a composite stem.

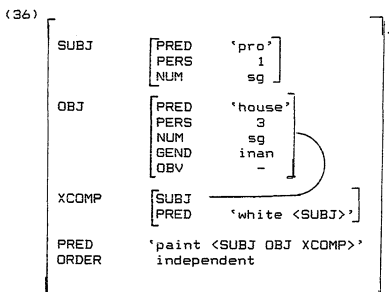
- (34) niwa-piski-sisope-kahe-n wa-skahikan  
white paint 1-inan house

'I painted the house white'

- (35) iskwe-winawe-w  
woman see as 3-obv

'he looked at him and thought he was a woman'

In LFG, secondary predicates are represented as the XCOMP grammatical function: that is, they are a complement, but one that lacks a subject, and which must be controlled by another grammatical function in the clause to satisfy its own subcategorization requirements. For example, (34) would have the following f-structure representation:



The secondary predicate of 'white' requires a subject itself, but must be controlled by the object to receive an

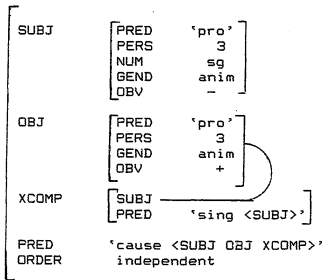
interpretation.

In a similar fashion, the causative in Cree may be expressed as a higher predicate of causation that is subcategorized for a subject, object, and secondary predicate. For example, *nikamohe-w* 'he makes them sing' would have the following representation at functional structure, based on a lexical entry for the causative final as follows:

(37)

-h-  
 PRED = 'cause <agent, patient, event>  
           SUBJ      OBJ      XCOMP  
 OBJ GEND = anim  
 OBJ = XCOMP SUBJ

(38)



Again, it is the object of the causative which is interpreted as the subject of 'sing'. Cross-linguistically, transitive verbs taking secondary predicates almost always exhibit object control of the lower predicate's subject, as does the causative in Cree.

Reflexive verbs may also appear as the secondary predicate in a causative construction. The following example contains the reflexive stem a.cimiso- 'tell a story about oneself'.

(39)

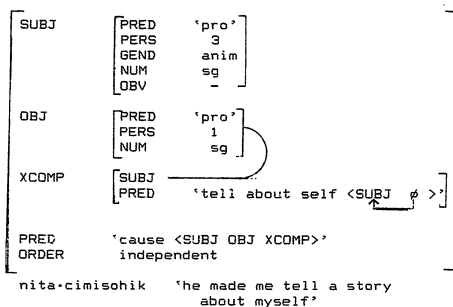
|       |   |      |                                  |   |
|-------|---|------|----------------------------------|---|
| SUBJ  | [ | PRED | 'pro'                            | ] |
|       |   | PERS | 1                                |   |
|       |   | NUM  | sg                               |   |
| OBJ   | [ | PRED | 'pro'                            | ] |
|       |   | PERS | 3                                |   |
|       |   | GEND | anim                             |   |
|       |   | NUM  | sg                               |   |
|       |   | OBV  | -                                |   |
| XCOMP | [ | SUBJ |                                  | ] |
|       |   | PRED | 'tell about self <SUBJ $\phi$ >' |   |
| PRED  |   |      |                                  |   |
| ORDER |   |      | 'cause <SUBJ OBJ XCOMP>'         |   |
|       |   |      | independent                      |   |

nita.cimisoa.w 'I made him tell a story about himself'

In chapter 3, in the discussion of direct and inverse verbs, it was mentioned that the grammatical functions associated with direct and inverse verbs displayed no difference in their ability to control secondary predicates, which argued for direct and inverse verbs having the same syntactic status. This can be seen clearly by comparing the functional structure above with the one below. The functional structure above represents a direct form of a causative verb, with a first person subject and a third person object. The interpretation of the verb can only be that it is the object, the third person, who is being caused to tell about himself. In the following example, the verb

is inverse, having a third person subject and a first person object. Again it is the object, here the first person, who is interpreted as the controller of the secondary predicate. This is consistent with the analysis of the inverse verbs as active. If, on the other hand, the inverse verb were a transitive passive, the interpretation of the secondary predicates would be complicated. For inverse verbs, one would have to say that it was the subject which controlled a secondary predicate, and not the object.

(40)



The behavior of inverse verbs with respect to control of secondary predicates is further evidence that they are not passives of any sort. Indeed, as the representation at functional structure makes clear, the difference between direct and inverse forms is one of the person and obviation features associated with the subject and object; in the rest of the verb's structure, there is no difference at all



between the direct form and the inverse form.

The discussion in this chapter has taken a very preliminary look at a few of the word formation processes that affect grammatical relations in Cree. Though it is not a complete survey, a number of characteristics may be noted. Parts of the word may function to satisfy the subcategorization requirements of a verb, including the inflectional morphology for subject and first object, and preverbs or initials for secondary predicates. Preverbs and initials may also function to add arguments to a verb's subcategorization frame; in particular, they add oblique arguments. Finally, for some grammatical functions, subcategorization requirements may be met even if there is no external argument nor any inflectional morphology encoding features of that grammatical function. This is true for second objects and for obliques indicating goal of motion.

This concludes the brief look at the role of the lexicon in the syntax of Cree. Clearly, many more questions remain to be answered. One result of the investigations reported in this dissertation has been a clarification of the syntactic status of inverse verbs, and the development of tests for grammatical relations. This is a necessary preliminary to investigating further issues in Cree syntax; without this issue settled, the basic grammatical relations

operating in the syntax cannot be identified. The approach of representing grammatical information at a level of functional structure provides an appropriate framework for continued research into the syntactic role of inflection and word formation processes.

## Notes to chapter 5

- 1 In particular, the up and down arrow notation has not been used here. Statements such as "PRED = 'love <SUBJ OBJ>' should more properly read "(↑PRED) = 'love <(↑SUBJ)(↑OBJ)>', and so on. See Kaplan and Bresnan 1982 for details.
- 2 Exceptions to this condition are adjuncts, which by definition are not subcategorized functions, and topic and focus, which in most languages are not subcategorized. These functions are subject to an extended coherence condition. See Bresnan and Mchombo 1985.

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